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**THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEMS
OF THE SHANG DYNASTY**

CHAO LIN

NANKANG, TAIPEI, TAIWAN
REPUBLIC OF CHINA
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FOREWORD

The Shang period presents a unique challenge to the student of Chinese history. It attracts because it is the least known time for which we have enough data to reconstruct some picture of the society and institutions. And a number of the glimpses of that society which the evidence gives us suggest a picture of surprising brilliance. But the aspiring student is restrained by the prospect of years of the most intense study that must be expended before one can presume to make any interpretation of the data. And perhaps most discouraging of all is the fact that cautious scholars, no matter how diligent and brilliant, confess that they can only slightly penetrate the curtain that veils Shang. I remember that the late Tung Tso-pin, surely one of the most indefatigable and effective students of the Shang inscriptions, toward the end of his life sadly told me that he was afraid that, unless some entirely new kind of evidence should come to light, we would never have a satisfactory understanding of the Shang period. He was certainly not forgetting archeology, for he was in charge of some of the early excavations by the Academia Sinica at Anyang.

The historian who tries to recreate the past is usually faced with one of two problems. There may be so much available evidence, for the period under study, that it is difficult if not impossible to deal with all of it. One must either select, and choose to thoroughly study only a part of the data, or vow to be thorough and plow through it all, which may leave neither time nor energy for drawing proper conclusions. Either course has its dangers. For some periods, on the other hand, reliable data is extremely scarce. In this case one can only make the most meticulous examination of all the available evidence and draw conclusions from it with the utmost care, always bearing in mind the fragility of the scaffold that can support one's deductions. This situation gives the scholar a perilous freedom: to deduce almost anything, with little assurance that any of one's deductions is sound.

The student of Shang civilization is not confronted by only one of these problems, but by both. On the one hand, the materials that must be mastered are stupendous in volume. The data from excavations is not inconsiderable, but is little compared with the inscriptions on bone and tortoise shell, numbering many tens of thousands. There is now a long and valuable tradition of the decipherment of these inscriptions, yet the reading of many characters is still uncertain or controversial, and others remain entirely problematic. Many of the inscriptions are endlessly repetitious and may seem to require only casual scrutiny, yet constant vigilance is necessary. For hidden among a thousand boring formulaic lines there may be one which, in one character, holds the

key to a baffling problem. The difficulty is compounded when a crucial inscription occurs on two or more fragments that must, with tremendous labor, be reassembled before it can be read.

The problem of paucity of material is equally present. Although the volume of the inscriptions is vast, the scope of the subjects with which they deal is decidedly limited. It is as if we were faced by a shutter, in which there are only a few chinks through which we catch tantalizing glimpses. To expand these tiny pieces into a picture calls for the utmost ingenuity—and for even greater caution. One must conclude that the study of Shang China is a field in which both the mere drudge, and the brilliant but erratic scholar, are equally out of place.

When Chao Lin first came to me as a student, and proposed that he should produce a study of Shang government, I was afraid that this undertaking was too ambitious. But I soon became convinced that he not only had an unusual competence in reading the Shang inscriptions but also, more important, possessed the two kinds of ability that are prerequisite for the successful scholar in this field. His capacity for arduous research was tremendous, and while working through vast amounts of material he never relaxed his alertness to seize upon the important detail. Yet he was no mere drudge. Sometimes his hypotheses were surprising, but I usually found that he had a considerable body of evidence to back them. He showed little tendency to succumb to the temptation to use a single striking piece of evidence as the foundation for a supposed universal principle.

Dr. Chao's dissertation shed new light on the governmental institutions of the Shang, which are important not only historically but also because they were an integral part of the continuous development of China's governmental institutions into our own century. Now, ten years later, he gives us his present understanding of Shang social and political institutions. Much of this present volume (such as the material on kinship) lies beyond the scope of my own competence, but I am sure that it too will further our understanding of this little known, important, and fascinating page of Chinese history.

Herrlee G. Creel

PREFACE

Almost a decade has elapsed since the first draft of the present work was completed. The early part of the 1970's was a time of crisis in modern China. Chinese both at home and abroad were confronted by a set of new questions. Many fine and sensitive minds responded to the challenge of the time eagerly as well as actively. I was then a student in the University of Chicago, and I had decided to participate in this historical movement. For six entire years after graduation from Chicago, I served my country in the quest of her future. In 1979, I felt I had fulfilled my duty as a concerned intellectual; I resigned from my political position and returned to scholarly work.

Many significant studies on Shang civilization have been published in recent years. Some of them were written by experts on Shang oracle bone inscriptions, others by archaeologists. They have presented us with much valuable information and have extended the horizon of our understanding on Shang China. As one of their colleague, I intend to reconstruct a history of the Shang dynasty. The present study is just the beginning of this work. I believe in the traditional training of a Chinese historian, i.e., from *hsiao-hsüeh* 小學 (philological studies) to the classics and then to history; but to be a modern historian, it is also necessary that one be equipped with knowledge of other sciences. I have found that it is extremely helpful to apply social science methodology in doing research works on Shang history.

My present study is divided into two parts: the first part addresses Shang kinship, the second part addresses Shang government. In dealing with the Shang kinship and government institutions, I have paid special attention to a careful exposition of certain key terms and their historical development. These discussions are not exercises in hair-splitting: misunderstood terms have often returned to haunt their progenitors. A careful terminological investigation on the other hand will help us to gain insight into the nature of Shang systems and their evolution.

Chapter I in Part I is devoted to a description of Shang marital systems and the resultant residential groups. Chapter II deals with the Shang descent and succession rules. In fact since the publication of Chang Kwang-chih's hypothesis on Shang kingship succession, the issue has become important and controversial. I have presented a concise critique on Chang's theory. The major conclusion of Chapter III is that in the Chou period the Shang intra-clan bilateral cross-cousin marriage had become of an inter-clan variety. I have determined this change partially from a reconstruction of the historical development of the term *sheng* 生 in Shang and Chou times. The *hsing-tsung-tsu* 姓宗族 hierarchy, our focus of attention in Chapter IV, is precisely the clan-lineage-

localized lineage hierarchy. The discussion is based on the Shang and Chou ancestral temple systems. The final section deals with the bestowal of *hsing* 姓, a feudal institution which involved the decline of collateral inheritance and intra-clan cross-cousin marriage and the emergence of the Chou unilateral succession and inter-clan cross-cousin marriage.

While studying the Shang government, I found that the method utilized by Wang Yü-ch'üan in his treatment of the Han government inspiring. Following Wang's example, I have treated the king as an independent institution and devoted the whole of Chapter VII in Part II to the Shang kingship. The comments on Shang government made by King Ch'eng of the Chou dynasty as preserved in the *Book of Documents* have been adopted, and transformed into the main topics for Chapter VIII and Chapter IX. King Ch'eng made a division of internal-service and external-service in Shang government, where I interpret it as central administration and local and semi-local administration. In Chapter X, I discuss Shang social stratification, the cult of Shang Ti, as well as a unique type of social organization named "local common descent and common residence groups."

It should be noted here that each Shang king's date given in this work is the date of his reign. I have arbitrarily adopted 1028 B.C. as the year of the conquest of Chou from among a dozen other dates given by modern scholars. These dates range from 1137 B.C. to 991 B.C. with a discrepancy of 146 years.

In March 1971, with the encouragement of Professor H.G. Creel of the University of Chicago, the decision to embark on the research for the Shang government was made. Almost once a week for two years, except during the summer, I presented questions or parts of my work to him and asked his advice. Truly, if this work meets the minimum requirement of scholarship, it is largely due to his guidance.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor R.T. Smith, formerly Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, the University of Chicago, for his suggestions and criticism on my work on the Shang kinship system. And also to Professors Tsien Tsun-hsün 錢存訓, and Edward Kracke, Jr., of the University of Chicago for their guidance during my writing of this thesis during 1971 and 1972. I owe a debt of thanks to Professor Kao Ch'ü-hsün 高去尋, a prominent Shang archaeologist and Member of Academia Sinica, for his advice and comments on the present revised draft. I should like to thank Miss Janine Lee Goldstein, currently a graduate student at Georgetown University, for proofreading and typing of the manuscript for publication. I am grateful to Professor Ch'en Chao-nan 陳昭南, Chairman of the Institute of the Three Principles of the People, Academia Sinica, and to Professor Lo Tsung-t'ao 羅宗濤, Chairman of the Chinese Department, National Cheng-chi University, and to Dr. Wei Yüing

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Finally, I acknowledge my special debt to Professor Chang Ping-ch'üan 張秉權 From 1966 to 1968, under his direction I started to work on oracle bone inscriptions in the Oracle Bone Section of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.

趙林 Chao Lin
Taipei, 29, June 1982

CONTENTS

Figures	vii
Tables	vii
Foreword by Herrlee G. Creel	i
Preface	iii
PART I SHANG KINSHIP SYSTEMS	
I The Royal Household	1
II Royal Descent and Succession	11
III Double Descent and Cross-cousin Marriage	20
IV Lineage Organization and the Ancestral Temple System	27
V Clan Politics and Marriage Class	38
1. The <i>Chao-mu</i> 昭穆 Order	38
2. The Rule of Five Generations	41
3. The Bestowal of <i>Hsing</i> 姓	44
VI Conclusion	50
PART II SHANG GOVERNMENT	
VII The Kingship	53
1. The Authority of Shang King	53
2. Royal Techniques of Control	58
3. Royal Secretaries and the Process of Royal Decision-making	65
VIII The Central Administration	74
IX Local and Semi-local Administration	93
1. Semi-local Administration: The Subjugation of <i>Fang</i> 方 State	94
2. Semi-local Administration: The <i>Hou</i> 侯 Lords	98
3. The <i>Tien</i> 奠 Local Administrative District	101
4. Other Local Lords and Other Administrative Districts	102
5. From State Confederacy Toward Empire	103
X The Foundations of the Shang Government	108
1. The Tie of Blood	108
2. Local Common Descent and Common Residence Groups	112
3. Social Stratification	115
A. The Ch'iang 羌 People	115
B. The Shang Multitudes	117
4. Kingship and the Gods	121
XI Conclusion	130
Bibliographies	133
Index	141

FIGURES

1. Kinship and Succession of the Shang Kings	15
2. <i>Sheng</i> ₂ 甥	22
3. $FsS=sH=wB=mBS=sS=dH$	23
4. The Shang Intra-clan Bilateral Cross-cousin Marriage	24
5. The Seven Mu 七穆	30
6. The Shang Clan and Lineage Temple System	32
7. <i>Tsu</i> , <i>Wang-tsu</i> , and <i>To-tzu-tsu</i> 族, 王族, 多子族	34
8. Kinship and Succession of the Chou Kings and Feudal Lords	39

TABLES

1. Royal <i>Tzu</i> 子	7
2. A Comprehensive Study of the Shang Descent System	14

CHAPTER I

THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD

During the Shang dynasty, kings had large households. Our sources indicate that more than fifty women were married to the Shang king Wu-ting 武丁 (ca. 1300-1242 B.C.).¹ The term *fu* 婦, appearing in the divinations made by Wu-ting concerning pregnancies and childbirths, has been deciphered as having been applied to these royal wives.² For example, one divination reads:

- (1) Divination on the day *wu-ch'en*. The King asked: "Fu-shu is pregnant. Will I have a boy?"

戊辰卜，王貞：婦鼠媿，余子？ (Ch'ien 8,12,3.)

Here *fu* indicates her status, and *shu* her identity, i.e., the state or place of her birth. Similarly, other wives of Wu-ting were called Fu-chu 婦竹, Fu-yang 婦祥, Fu-ch'i 婦杞, Fu-ching 婦姘, Fu-ch'u 婦楚, and so on. A common phenomenon seen from the inscriptions is that an individual's name was generally a combination of a status word, e.g., *hou* 侯 (marquis) or *po* 伯 (earl), and a postfix or place name, or vice versa (with the exception of the sons of Shang kings). Sometimes the radical *nü* 女 (woman) was added to the postfix; the resultant compound indicated the name belonged to a woman.³ These marriages between King Wu-ting and each individual woman disclose to us the presence of clan exogamy (the marriage of the King Wu-ting to Fu-hao 婦好 is an exception and will be more fully discussed later).

Despite the obscure relationships between Shang and certain other states whose women had married into Shang, it is possible to explain the phenomenon of Shang royal polygamous marriage in terms of the interstate politics of that time. For the native states of most royal consorts were politically related to the Shang; the rulers of the former were either allies or the enemies of the latter, and in war they might either support King Wu-ting, for example, or be attacked by him. Perhaps, about one-tenth of the total divinations of the Wu-ting period related to war, and most states of the time were involved. The essence of these interstate politics may then be tentatively defined as wartime confederations of states. But doubtlessly, Shang was the largest and most powerful state at that time. The term state (which is a direct translation from the oracle bone inscription *fang* 方) here means no more than an independent, semi-independent or dependent polity with a city, *i* 邑, either walled or non-walled, as its political center, for instance, the city of Shang. The political organization of these

states was more or less the same: each one of them was under the authority of one house. Sometimes they formed alliances amongst themselves, but very often one state became the overlord of her allies and tried to build up a powerful central government while converting the latter into local administrations. Clear cut cases of this are seen in the bestowal of the semi-feudal title *Hou* by the Shang kings upon the rulers of Chou and other allied states. One legend concerning King Wu-ting has been preserved in *The Book of Songs* 詩經 (dated as earlier than the 6th century B.C.):

The early lords of Shang
Received a charge that was never
in peril.
In the time of Wu-ting, the
grandson,
Wu-ting, the grandson,
Warlike king ever conquered,
With dragon-banners and escort of
ten chariots,
Great store of viands he offered,
Even his inner domain was a
thousand leagues;
In him people found sure support,
He opened up new lands as far as
four seas,
Men from the four seas came in
homage,
Came in homage, crowd on crowd;
His frontier was the river.
Yin (i.e., Shang) received a charge
that was all good;
Many blessings Yin bore.⁴

This poem is highly informative for it shows that King Wu-ting was successful not only in military action but in diplomacy as well: he was warlike, yet “men from four seas came in homage” and “in him people found sure support”. From association of this poem with the topic of our discussion, the general nature of these royal marriages, we may conclude that some of the King’s allies or even enemies were obviously politically motivated in marrying their women to him. In fact, the marriages went both ways; Shang kings also married women to them. Affinal relationships always played crucial roles among this ancient ruling elite: they facilitated the establishment of political alliances, and influenced the succession of the supreme authority.

The status of these royal consorts varied from one individual to another. Probably, there were legitimate spouses as opposed to concubines; among these fifty wives of King Wu-ting, only three were given posthumous names and were arranged to be the

recipients of the annual royal sacrifices to ancestors.⁵ The work commonly undertaken by the average royal consort was to sanctify through ritual performance the bones and tortoise shells used in royal divinations, and only a selected few assumed responsibility in the less important sacrifices to the royal ancestors or in temporary public missions such as the supervision of the planting and harvesting of millet.⁶ It is, therefore, interesting to find that Fu-hao and Fu-ching had the opportunity to lead armies. The divinations below reveal this fact.

- (2) Divination on the day *hsin-ssu*. Asked: "Should (the King) call up soldiers, 3,000 for Fu-hao and 10,000 for Lü, in order to attack (the state of) Yang?"

辛巳卜，貞：登婦好三千，登旅萬，乎伐羊？ (K'u 310.)

- (3) Asked: "Should not (the King) order Fu-ching to attack (the state of) Lung?"

貞：勿乎婦姘伐龍方？ (Hsü 4,26,3.)

But in general, King Wu-ting and his officials were in charge of everyday public affairs, and although the position of women perhaps was higher in the Shang dynasty than in later times, they still were considered to be inferior. In the inscriptions it is said that to give birth to a boy was *chia* 嘉, good, while to bear a girl was not *chia*.⁷

In 1976, Fu-hao's tomb was excavated by archaeologists at Anyang, Shang site. Her body "was interred with no less than sixteen human sacrifices and six dogs," and "the tomb furniture was placed in the fillings of the tomb chamber, both above and on the chamber top, in the space between the chamber and coffin, and inside the coffin. Altogether, there are over 1,500 pieces; of these about 440 are bronzes, while nearly 500 are jade and bone objects, plus some stone sculptures and ivory carvings. In addition, there are seven pottery vessels and nearly 7,000 pieces of cowries."⁸ It is an undisturbed tomb, and thus presents us a reliable picture of the richness of a Shang queen.

According to the oracle bone inscriptions, Fu-hao died during King Wu-ting's reign, and she had borne at least three children, a boy and two girls. She was given the posthumous title Pi-hsin 妣辛.⁹ It seems that military activities were the center of her public life. She participated in most major campaigns of King Wu-ting, and famous generals like Chih-ka 紕戛 and Hou-kao 侯告 were once under her command.¹⁰ It is no wonder that there are a great many bronze and jade weapons that were unearthed from her tomb. More than once she was sent out on missions of the King. King Wu-ting frequently made divinations about the dates of her return, or about her health, and often prayed to ancestors to bless her. It is very unlikely that Fu-hao or any other royal consort might have set up their own household and lived independently from the

King. They were by no means feudal lords as some scholars used to think.¹¹ Fu-ching might have been another queen of King Wu-ting though there is no direct evidence to confirm this theory at the present time. As compared to a large number of divinations made concerning her activities in the field of agricultural administration, Fu-ching's military function appears to be insignificant.

After the conquest of Chou, Chou royal wives continued to enjoy their places in public affairs. Professor Creel writes:

Not only the Kings but also the Queens carried on social activities of importance. We have already seen evidence that their lives did not conform to the pattern of sequestration that we sometimes think of as typical for royal consorts in China. In fact, women of position seem to have enjoyed a good deal of freedom in Western Chou times. The *Poetry* might lead us to suspect this, and the inscriptions seem to show it very clearly. . . . Queens had their own officers, who were persons of high status. We have seen that the Queen of King Ch'eng, who was probably a daughter of Duke T'ai of Ch'i, issued orders on some governmental matters, quite like those issued by the King. We see her traveling about the country with the King, and even accompanying him on a military expedition.¹²

But such a situation was severely criticized and condemned around the end of the Western Chou period as being one of the main factors contributing to the downfall of the royal Chou House. This is, nevertheless, the second time a woman was accused of corrupting a state. On the day that the final battle between Shang and Chou was fought, the Chou King Wu made a campaign speech in front of allied forces. In it he said, "The ancients have said, 'The hen does not announce the morning. The crowing of a hen in the morning indicates the subversion of the family.' Now Show, the king of Shang, follows only the words of his wife."¹³ No doubt, women enjoyed a relatively higher position during the Shang and early Chou periods, but such a situation was challenged in the meantime. By the end of the Western Chou period, their position declined greatly. A poem dated to that time says, "So a woman who has nothing to do with public affairs. Leave her silk-worms and weaving."¹⁴

The oracle bone inscriptions indicate that the second generations resulting from these royal marriages were admitted into the royal household with distinction. The inscription *tsu* 子 means both child, in the biological sense, and the *Tzu*, Prince, in the sense of status. A biological child of the king was first identified by reverse teknonymy, for example, Fu-chih-tzu 婦姪子, which literally means the child of Fu-chih. Reverse teknonymy—to name by adding the name of one's parent in front of the term 'child' is the academic term for such a type of nomenclature, and it is thought to have certain implications regarding the descent system. Later, the king would divine whether to

establish this child as his *Tzu*. We have two cases in point:

- (4) Divination on the day *chi-hai*. The King (asked:) “Should not I *tzu* (i.e., establish as a *Tzu*) Fu-chih-*tzu*?”

己亥卜，王：余弗其子婦姪子？ (Ch'ien 4,26,7.)

- (5) Divination on the day *wu-ch'en*. Diviner Cheng asked: “Should not (the King) *chih* [?] and (make) Fu-shih-*tzu* a *Tzu*?”

戊辰卜，爭貞：勿致，婦餽子，子？ (Ch'ien 4,1,6.)

Evidently, the children of Fu-chih, and of Fu-shih, were not considered as the sons of the King unless these children had officially been adopted. There were many instances that the biological children of the King failed to be established as royal princes. The term *sheng* 生 was used to categorize these less lucky children.¹⁵ Those who had been officially adopted by the King might be further differentiated as the King's Left-*tzu*, Right-*tzu*, Middle-*tzu*, Great-*tzu*, and so on. The status of the Great-*tzu*, traditionally recognized as the Crown Prince in China, does not appear to have been the same in the Shang dynasty as during later periods. As *Tzu-hsin* 子辛, a Middle-*tzu*, was also named Hsiao-wang, the Small King, it is highly probable that the Middle-*tzu* was the actual Crown Prince of the Shang dynasty, or at the least that a Middle-*tzu* might become the Crown Prince.¹⁶ The term “Small King” also appears in the divinations during the periods of Kings Lin-hsin and K'ang-ting, and is attributed to the Kings' deceased father, Father-chi 父己. Scholars generally believe that the “Small King, Father-chi” 小王父己 in the Shang inscriptions is the Hsiao-chi 孝己 recorded in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shang Geneology*.¹⁷ Hsiao-chi, the crown prince of King Wu-ting and the father of Kings Lin-hsin and K'ang-ting, died before he actually became king. (In reality, Hsiao-chi was the uncle of Kings Lin-hsin and K'ang-ting; the Shang people also used the term “father” to refer to their father's brothers, and we here follow the Shang usage.) Thus, it is evident both from the geneological sequence as seen in *Shang Geneology* and from the identical posthumous name, *chi*, that Father-chi was Hsiao-chi. Hsiao-chi's case testifies to the fact that the Shang Crown Prince actually went by the title of “Small King”.

The statuses of the Right-*tzu* and the Left-*tzu* are difficult to determine. During the Spring and Autumn period (722-481 B.C.), in the state of Wei, there were the duke's right-son and his left-son (i.e., *Tso-kung-tzu* 左公子 and *Yu-kung-tzu* 右公子).¹⁸ The relative connection between the Shang titles and the Wei titles cannot be ascertained as of now. For these various *tzu*, the term *to-tzu* 多子 (i.e., many-*tzu*) was used. The Shang inscriptions indicate that *to-tzu* were further grouped into *tsu* 族 organizations, which were called *to-tzu-tsu* 多子族. As I will point out in Chapter III, a *tsu* was a

localized lineage, and in the Shang dynasty it might have its own officers and chariotry—administrators and military machines. *To-tzu-tsu* became the segments of the royal household.

Each royal prince had a personal name, which was bestowed upon him by the king, and this personal name was appended to his status word. Approximately seventy-one persons with names of the Tzu-x type appear in the inscriptions that are dated to the King Wu-ting period. They were royal princes. The Shang inscriptions say:

(6) On the day *hsin-hai*, Diviner Tzu divined and asked: “Fu-t’ou-tzu be named Ch’ing. (Is this) allowed?”

辛亥子卜貞：婦妥子曰擒若？ (Ts’ui 1240.)

(7) On the day *jen-ch’en*, Diviner Tzu divined and asked: “Fu-hsü-tzu be named Chih?”

壬辰子卜貞：婦子曰戡？ (I 4856.)

We are not sure as to whether such a naming ceremony actually took place before or after the establishment of a Fu-x-tzu as a royal *Tzu*. However, it would seem that a child’s personal name which had been bestowed by the king and his royal diviners would not be abolished at the time that the child’s status was changed.

In 1936, Tung Tso-pin gathered the names of twenty people of the Tzu-x type from the inscriptions of the King Wu-ting period and pointed out that these names were of persons who were the sons of King Wu-ting.¹⁹ Following the same theory, in 1944, Hu Hou-hsüan found another thirty-three persons with the same type of name, thus increasing the number of royal *Tzu* to fifty-three.²⁰ In 1958, Kunio Shima was able to list seventy-one royal *Tzu* (still of the same period) in his new publication.²¹ This was possibly because Shima had intended to be comprehensive and also was because he had benefited from publications which were not available to Tung and Hu at the time they did their studies. However, in checking Shima’s 1967 index on the oracle bone inscriptions, I have found that among these so-called seventy-one royal *Tzu*, thirty-one of these persons appear in the inscriptions in name with almost nothing said about their lives or actions. Therefore, for our study, I have classified the records of oracles for only the remaining forty royal *Tzu* into five groups according to their subject matter (see Table I). For reference and convenience, I have also indicated both the numbers of the divinations referring to each of the royal *Tzu* and the page numbers in Shima’s index to indicate whence our sources come. Most divinations in the first group are those in which the King asked about the health of his various Tzu-x. The second group of divinations are those concerned solely with the King’s *Yü* 卣 ceremony, which was usually made to the living king’s deceased father or mother with the purpose of gaining

Table I Royal Tzu

Names	A	B	C	D	E	N	P	Names	A	B	C	D	E	N	P
Tzu-kung 弓	x	x	x	x	x	48	377	Tzu-an 安	x	x				9	274
-yü 漁	x	x				40	240	-jü 宥				x	x	6	275
-yang 央	x	x		x	x	30	30	-竊	x					1	275
-ching 腎	x	x	x	x	x	87	281	-ho 荷				x		2	13
-hua 畫	x	x	x	x	x	104	452	-tien 腎	x					3	50
-hsiao 效					x	16	365	-爵				x		1	
-扶	x	x				18	39	-冢	x					1	397
-衛		x				13	319	-t'uan 醬	x					4	472
-ch'un 春	x	x			x	16	190	-彘					x	1	30
-mei 美	x				x	9	30	-疋					x	2	57
-ch'ai 醫			x		x	5	476	-yang 洋	x					4	215
-唐	x	x				13	228	-傑	x					1	326
-yüing 雋	x	x			x	16	231								
-li 扁					x	4	395								
-攷	x					1	378								
-歸					x	2	275								
-pu 不	x	x			x	10	361								
-shang 商	x					2	280								
-坡	x				x	3	143								
-mu 目	x					6	101								
-cheng 奠					x	1	390								
-shui 妥	x	x				3	138								
-姪					x	3	275								
-親	x	x				3	188								
-冢	x	x			x	15	274								
-堂	x					2	132								
-t'a 音	x					1	82								
-冢		x		x	x	4	274								

A: His physical condition was king's concern.

B: The king performed a *Yü* ceremony for him.

C: He participated in military affairs.

D: He joined royal hunts.

E: He took responsibility in public affairs.

N: Number of divinations seen.

P: Page number in Shima's *Inkyo Bokuji Sōrui*.

殷墟卜辭綜類 (Tokyo, 1967).

their protection for a certain Tzu-x.²² The divinations of this group usually read "yü Tzu-x to Father-x."

Military activities, hunting activities, and participation in the state's public affairs are the subject matter of the divinations of the third, fourth, and fifth groups respectively. It can be seen from Table I that more royal *Tzu* engaged in the state's public affairs than in hunting or military activities; for every two royal *Tzu*, there was one having the opportunity to do public work. Of special interest, though not shown in the chart, is the fact that King Wu-ting divined whether to order Tzu-ching's *ch'en* 子齊臣 and Tzu-hsiao's *ch'en* 子效臣 to join in certain public activities, thus suggesting to us now that these royal *Tzu* could have their own *ch'en*, officers or retainers.²³ This certainly corresponds to what we have already mentioned concerning the existence of official bodies in the various localized lineages made up of and headed by individual royal *Tzu*. Furthermore, we will also see that the King wanted to make an inspection at the place governed by Tzu-ching.²⁴ The inscriptions also indicate that sometimes these sons would present the King with tortoise shells and oracle bones. When they participated in the wars, they were usually the King's generals. Tzu-ch'ai 子騫 appears to have been garrisoned on the northern frontier; he was the one from the north who reported to the King about the invasion of the state of T'u.²⁵ Tzu-t'ai was ordered by the King to welcome Pao with a wine banquet after Pao had surrendered to the King.²⁶

One of the royal princes, Tzu-kung 子邕, deserves our further attention. Table I shows that he took up responsibilities in wars and public affairs, and that his physical condition was a concern of the King. Tzu-kung was also called Liang-tzu-kung 良子邕. This kind of name is identical to those of Ch'i-hou-i 杞侯藝, Yu-hou-hsi 攸侯喜, Yang-po-chih 易伯羲, in which the first word indicates a place, the second word a status, and the third word a personal name. Many of these *hou* or *po* were rulers of states or semi-states contemporary to the Shang dynasty. The states where they ruled were indicated by the first word in their names. It is thus more than likely that Liang-tzu-kung was the ruler of the place Liang. This suggestion would raise a host of questions. Was Liang an independent state or simply a fief? How did Tzu-kung become its ruler? We shall deal with these and other related questions in Part II, Chapter IX. So far, it is reasonable to consider that no matter what positions these royal princes might have assumed, they all constituted the diffusion of the power within the royal household.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Chang Ping-ch'üan 張秉權 "The Power and Scope of the Political Unification of the Shang Dynasty as Observed in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions 卜辭中所見殷商政治統一的力量及其達到的範圍," *BIHP* 50:1 (1979), p. 197 (referred to hereafter as: Chang, "Shang Unification Power"). Chang lists the names of fifty-two wives of King Wu-ting.
2. For the term *fu*, see Lee Hsiao-ting 李孝定, *Chia-ku Wen-tzu Chi-shih* 甲骨文字集釋 (Academia Sinica, 1965), VII, p. 2587 (referred to hereafter as: Lee, *Chi-shih*).
3. Such a phenomenon occurred not only during the Shang dynasty, but also during the Chou dynasty. Cf. Fu Ssu-nien 傅斯年, "Chiang Yüan 姜原," *BIHP* 2:1 (1930), pp. 134-135.
4. *The Book of Songs*, trans. Arthur Waley (New York, 1960), p. 276. The subject of this poem is "Wu-ting *sun-tzu* 武丁孫子" which should be "Wu-ting, the grandson", but was translated as "Wu-ting's grandsons and sons" by Waley. The "*sun-tzu*" like the *tsu-fu* 祖父 (grandfather) is a compound instead of two terms, and its position in this poem is an appositive. "*Sun-tzu*" can either mean grandson or descendant. In fact, according to the Han commentary, this song was composed for the sacrifice in memory of King Wu-ting. For the meaning of the "*sun*" 孫 or "*sun-tzu*," see Feng Han-yi, "The Chinese Kinship System," *HJAS* II (1937), p. 148. Also see Part I, Chapte, IV, Footnote 4.
5. See Tung Tso-ping 董作賓, *Yin Li P'u* 殷曆譜 (Academia Sinica, 1945), 1:3, p. 4b.
6. See David N. Keightley, *Sources of Shang History: the Oracle Bone Inscriptions of the Bronze Age China* (University of California Press, 1978), pp. 16-17 (referred to hereafter as: Keightley, *Sources of Shang History*).
7. Hu Hou-hsüan 胡厚宣, "Yin-tai Chia-tsu Hun-yin Tsung-fa Sheng-yü Chih-tu K'ao 殷代家族婚姻宗法生育制度考," in *Chia-ku-hsieh Shang-shih Lun-ts'ung Ch'u-chi* 甲骨學商史論叢初集 (Ch'i-Lu University, 1944), pp. 19-23 (referred to hereafter as Hu: "Hun-yin").
8. See The Anyang Archaeological Team of the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese academy of Social Science, "Excavation of Tomb No. 5 at Yin-hsü in Anyang," *KKHP* II (1977), p. 97.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 98. For her childbirth records, see *Ping* 245 and 247, *I* 4729.
10. See *I* 2948 and Divination 19.
11. See Hu Hou-hsüan, "Yin-tai Feng-chien Chih-tu K'ao 殷代封建制度考," in *Ch'ia-ku-hsieh Shang-shih Lun-ts'ung Ch'u-chi* (Ch'i-Lu University, 1944), pp. 5a-8a.
12. H. G. Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China, Volume I: The Western Chou Empire* (The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 395 (referred to hereafter as: Creel, *Western Chou*).
13. *Shu: The Book of Historical Documents*, trans. James Legge, (Taipei, 1972), pp. 302-303.
14. *Shih: The Book of Poetry*, trans. James Legge, (Taipei, 1972), p. 562.
15. See Part I, Chapter III for detailed discussion.
16. These two terms appear in *Jen* 1249. I have read both names as referring to one person, Tzu-hsin, on the basis of the rules of divinations in pairs and in sets. For discussion on such rules, see Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Lun Cheng-t'ao P'u-tz'u 論成套卜辭," *BIHP* Extra IV (1960), pp. 389-401. Also see Keightley, *Sources of Shang History*, pp. 37-40.
17. See Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, *Yin-tai Cheng-p'u Jen-wu T'ung-k'ao* 殷代貞卜人物通考 (Hongkong University Press, 1959), I, p. 690 (referred to hereafter as: Jao, *T'ung-k'ao*).
18. See *Tso Chuan* 左傳, *Huan* 桓 16.
19. See Tung Tso-ping, "Wu-teng-chüeh Tsai Yin-Shang 五等爵在殷商," *BIHP* 6:3 (1936), pp. 422-426.

20. Hu, "Hun-yin", pp. 8b-9a.
21. Kunio Shima, *Inkyo Bokuji Kenkyū* 殷墟卜辭研究 (Tokyo, 1958), pp. 443-445 (referred to hereafter as: Shima, *Kenkyū*).
22. See Lee, *Chi-shih*, II, p. 583 for the word *yü*.
23. See *T'ieh* 175, 1, and *Ch'ien* 2,37,7.
24. See Divination 28 Below.
25. See Tung Tso-ping, *Yin Li P'u*, 2:9, p. 41b, the sixth month of King Wu-ting's twenty-ninth year.
26. See detailed discussion on the case of Pao in Part II, Chapter IX.

CHAPTER II

ROYAL DESCENT AND SUCCESSION

Modern scholars in the field of ancient Chinese studies generally believe that the descent system of the Shang was patrilineal, but when they discuss the organization of Shang descent group together with Shang kingship succession, their opinions diverge. The focus of their arguments is on whether Shang kingship passed within a single lineage or among various lineages of the Tzu clan. (*Tzu* 子, in addition to the usages specified above, was also the clan name of the Shang ruling elite, while Shang 商 was the name of the dynasty and its capital). In dealing with the question of Shang descent, kingship succession, and their connection with a view toward contributing to a resolution of this controversy, we should perhaps best make a comprehensive study of the four following relevant aspects: (1) the relationships between deceased kings and queens as revealed in the inscriptions concerning the annual sacrificial ceremonies of the King Wu-ting (ca. 1300-1242 B.C.) and King Ti-yi 帝乙 (ca. 1098-1089 B.C.) periods, (2) the Shang royal geneology as in the book *Shih Chi* 史記 by Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (ca. 145-95 B.C.), (3) the ancestral tablet system found in the inscriptions, and (4) the correlation between posthumous names and the above three items.

The annual sacrifices constituted a system wherein five unchanging but different kinds of sacrificial ceremonies were held in honour of the king's most important ancestors—both kings and queens. These rituals were performed on the day corresponding to the deceased's posthumous name, which was one of the ten "celestial stems". (The Shang used the "celestial stems", *t'ien-kan* 天干, both to name the days of the "week", *hsün* 旬 (i.e., 10 days), and to designate royal ancestors.) Within a Shang ceremonial year, each one had the right to receive the quinquupartite ceremonial sacrifice once, and the process was then repeated the next year. Although the dates of ritual performance occasionally did not correspond to the kings' posthumous names during the King Wu-ting period, the system as a whole was practiced from at least the 14th century B.C. until the end of the dynasty in the 11th century B.C.¹ Based on the inscriptions, the late Professor Tung Tso-ping compiled a list of those entitled to receive the sacrifices during the Ti-yi period, and scholars in the field of oracle bone inscriptions have extensively studied the annual sacrifice system of the Wu-ting period.²

Traditionally, the Shang royal geneology in the *Shih Chi*, together with the *Shang Shu* 商書 in *The Book of Documents* 尚書, as well as the *Shang Sung* 商頌 in the *Book of Songs* 詩經 were taken as the orthodox sources for the study of the Shang dynasty.

The first scientific excavation of oracle bone inscriptions carried out at the Anyang, Shang site in 1928 proved this geneology to be highly accurate: the sequence of generations and succession and the names of Shang kings in the *Shih Chi* are mostly identical to the records preserved in the inscriptions: the only discrepancies are one king's geneological position which must be changed from ascending tenth generation to ascending ninth generation (from King Ti-yi), and the name of two kings appearing in the *Shih Chi* which have not yet been found with certainty in the inscriptions.³ The inscriptions record deceased Shang queens whereas the *Shih Chi* does not. And the latter delineates Shang kingship succession as from father to son or to brother's son, or to father's brother's son in two generations and from brother to brother or between paternal cousins in one generation (see Fig. I).

The basic facts concerning the ancestor tablet system in the Ti-yi period are: (1) every deceased Shang king had a *szu* 示 (tablet) which was placed in the royal ancestral temple; (2) for any one generation there was only one *ta-szu* 大示 (great tablet) granted to one of the kings of the generation; (3) the tablets of those deceased kings who did not have 'great tablet' status were classified as *hsiao-szu* 小示 (small tablets); (4) the wives of those with 'great tablet' status received the annual quinquartite ceremonial sacrifice in the Ti-yi period, but the wives of the other deceased kings without this status are neither mentioned in the records of the annual sacrifices nor in any other inscriptions.⁴ However, during the Wu-ting period there was a case of two 'great tablets' in one generation (see Table II, generation 8, kings N and O), and the wives concerned also received the quinquartite ceremonial sacrifice.⁵ The significance of this exception will be mentioned shortly.

The names of the Shang kings, appearing both in the *Shih Chi* and the inscriptions, are combinations of an indicator, such as *ta* 大 (great), *hsiao* 小 (small), *chung* 中 (middle) and a postfix, namely, one of the celestial stems. Since there were only ten celestial stems, only ten words were available for the kings' posthumous names and the alternation of posthumous names, i.e., *yi-ting-yi-ting* 乙—丁—乙—丁, was occasionally on a generation-to-generation basis. On the basis of this phenomenon and noting that the ancestral temples as well as the royal tombs at Anyang were dualistically laid out, Chang Kwang-chih, in his article "Some Dualistic Phenomena in Shang Society" equates these regularities with the *chao-mu* 昭穆 system of the Chou dynasty; he further believes the posthumous name borne by a Shang king actually indicated his lineageship: inasmuch as there were ten different stems and were ten lineages.⁶ Supposing that there were patrilineal cross-cousin and sister-exchange marriages among these lineages and guided by the *yi-ting* frequency revealed in the royal geneology, he formulates the hypothesis that the kingship alternated between two politically prominent lineages, *yi*

and *ting*, or between their respective affiliated lineages, and that the throne was handed down from maternal uncle to sororal nephew in two generations, or from grandfather to grandson in three generations.⁷

To facilitate a comprehensive study of the four aspects given above, I have constructed Table II, in which I have listed the names of the kings prior to Ti-yi, and provided numerals to indicate their generations ascending from Ti-yi. I have given each name a letter as a facilitating abbreviation, then I have used X to indicate (1) those with an enthroned son (according to the *Shih Chi*), (2) those whose wives were entitled to receive the quinquartite ceremonial sacrifice during the annual rituals of King Ti-yi (according to the study of Professor Tung Tso-ping) and (3) those who bore 'great tablet' status during the Ti-yi period based on the inscriptions. Finally I have listed the frequency of the posthumous names *yi* and *ting* among kings and have added a few necessary notes pertaining to certain kings. Supplementary to Table II, I have made Figure I to give a bird's eye view of kinship and succession of kings.

From Table II we can see that those who had an enthroned son were the ones with 'great tablets' in the Ti-yi period and were also those whose wives were entitled to receive the annual sacrifices of King Ti-yi. As mentioned above one exception in the table is the case of King Ch'iang-chia (N) who had an enthroned son (L) but who in the Ti-yi period did not have 'great tablet' status and whose wife did not receive the annual sacrifices. (We see from Figure I that both Ch'iang-chia 羌甲 (N) and Tsu-hsin (O) had enthroned sons and were of the same generation.) In fact, in the Wu-ting period, both Ch'iang-chia and Tsu-hsin bore 'great tablet' status and their wives received the quinquartite ceremonial sacrifice from Wu-ting.⁸ For some reason, Ch'iang-chia and his wives lost their privileged position by the reign of Ti-yi, but Tsu-hsin still kept his 'great tablet' status, and so 'great tablet' status was granted by Ti-yi to only one of the kings of the same generation.⁹ Nevertheless, even the exceptional case of Ch'iang-chia as manifested in the ancestor-worship ritual provides supplementary evidence on the consistency of the patrilineal descent and inheritance system of the Shang.

It is quite amazing to find that those with the posthumous names *yi* and *ting* were actually great tablets, had wives entitled to receive the annual sacrifices, as well as sons who assumed the kingship after them. Yet according to Chang Kwang-chih's hypothesis of maternal uncle—sororal nephew succession not even one single king had an enthroned son. A partial resolution of this difficulty may be had by examining a serious logical inconsistency in the article of Chang mentioned above. First of all, Chang says that King Wu 武王 of the Chou dynasty was of the *chao* 昭 generation, his father (King Wen 文王) was of the *mu* 穆 generation and his son (King Ch'eng 成王) was of the *mu* generation,¹⁰ i.e., the *chao-mu* designation of consecutive generations in the Chou was

Table II A Comprehensive Study of the Shang Descent System

Generations	Names	Abb.	An enthroned son	Sacrifices for wives	<i>yi</i> and <i>ting</i>	Great Tablet
(Pre-dynastic)	Pao-chia Pao-yi Pao-ping Pao-ting Shih-jen Shih-kuei					
15	Ta-yi (T'ang)	a	X	X	<i>yi</i>	X
14	Ta-ting	Z	X	X	<i>ting</i>	X
	P'u-ping Chung-jen	Y b				
13	Ta-chia	X	X	X		
12	Wo-ting	c			<i>ting</i>	
	Ta-keng	W	X	X		X
11	Hsiao-chia	V				
	Yüng-chi	U				
	Ta-wu	T	X	X		X
10	Chung-ting	S	X	X	<i>ting</i>	X
	P'u-jen	R				
9	Ch'ien-chia	Q				
	Tsu-yi	P	X	X	<i>yi</i>	X
8	Tsu-hsin	O	X	X		X
	Ch'iang-chia	N	X			
7	Tsu-ting	M	X	X	<i>ting</i>	X
	Nan-keng	L				
6	Hu-chia	K				
	P'an-keng	J				
	Hsiao-hsin	I				
	Hsiao-yi	H	X	X	<i>yi</i>	X
5	Wu-ting	G	X	X	<i>ting</i>	X
4	Tsu-keng	F				
	Tsu-chia	E	X			X
3	Lin-hsin	D				
	K'ang-ting	C	X	X	<i>ting</i>	X
2	Wu-yi	B	X	X	<i>yi</i>	X
1	Wen-wu-ting	A	X	X	<i>ting</i>	X
	Ti-yi					
	Ti-hsin					

made on the basis of a father-to-son inheritance of the throne and a father-son relationship between kings of consecutive generations. Since he equates this system with the *yi-ting* pattern of the Shang—an identity I fully support—then logically the *yi-ting* system should also entail a father-to-son succession to the throne, and a father-son relationship between kings of consecutive generations. He further hypothesizes that the eight non-*yi-ting* stems represented eight lineages associated with the two primary lineages, but in the admittedly equivalent Chou system the three kings mentioned above were of the same lineage.¹¹ Further examination (see Chapter V) shows that the *chao-mu* designation and the *yi-ting* nomenclature were the linguistic manifestation of a dualism also evident in the ancestral tablet arrangements of both the Shang and the Chou dynasty.

Mr. Spangler has suggested the following additional comments: “In five of the fifteen cases, deceased kings with Great tablet status had neither *yi* or *ting* as part of their posthumous name. One may argue this high proportion (1/3) of exceptions invalidates the argument. But there are reasons for believing these cases indeed are not ‘exception’. In fourteen of the cases convergence of an enthroned son, ‘Great tablet’ status and privileged wives is complete, and the cyclical variation from generation to generation holds true even in cases where *yi* or *ting* was not bestowed (i.e. one may insert consecutively *yi* or *ting* in the appropriate blank spaces in the *yi-ting* column of Table II, the one irregularity being the eighth ascending generation). Hence, as far as can be determined from the Ti-yi period data, the *system*, if not its terminology, was consistent for the span of the dynasty. Three-fifths of the “exceptions” occurred during the first third of the dynasty, a fact which taken together with the system’s regularity, suggests that the term *yi* and *ting* were adopted at some point to reflect and designate a pre-existing (or newly-emerged?) reality. We observe that the first two kings were designated *yi* and *ting*, that most of the “exceptions” fall in the subsequent hiatus, that founding kings and their enthroned sons in later history were accorded special status, and that the first five Great tablets were denominated Ta-x, *ta* 大 meaning great, whereas thereafter *yi* or *ting* but in no cases *ta* was used in Great tablet kings’ names. Quite possibly the *yi-ting* nomenclature was adopted around the tenth ascending generation, in honor of the first two kings, as an alternative to the *ta* designation. After all, one term inadequately describes a dualism.”¹²

Having clarified the controversy involved in the Shang descent and inheritance systems, we may now safely start our analysis on the evolution or revision of the royal Shang succession system. We notice that of the 31 kings in a span of 17 generations, the throne was passed between brothers 13 times, between father and son 12 times, between paternal cousins once, between paternal uncle and nephew three times, and

between one and his uncle's grandson once. I am using the term "collateral inheritance" to cover such ways of succession, because the traditional expression "elder brother ended; younger brother succeeded" 兄終弟及 or "fraternal inheritance" is not inclusive enough. Thus, according to the patterns of succession, those in the ruling clan who had the right to claim the throne should include the king's brothers, king's cousins, and the sons of both, not to mention king's own sons. The living king might have the choice of an heir among these people. (See Fig. I.)

In actual practice, before the Shang people moved their capital to Anyang, where they stayed for the remaining 265 years of the Shang dynasty, the throne was passed between father and son five times during a total of ten generations and the reigns of 20 kings. They had moved their capital five times during the preceding 243 years. Interestingly enough, during the 265 years at Anyang that included the reigns of 12 kings from the final eight successive generations, the throne was uniformly passed from father to son between two generations; there were only four occurrences of transferring the crown to brothers in the same generation. Before the Shang people moved to Anyang, however, the patterns of succession between two generations included: (1) from father to son, which occurred five times, (2) from uncle to nephew, which occurred three times, and (3) from one to his uncle's grandson, which occurred once. The patterns of succession within the same generation included (1) from brother to brother, which happened nine times, and (2) between paternal cousins, i.e., from one to his uncle's son, which happened once.

It is clear enough that the right to administer the kingship was first distributed among the "branches" of the royal lineage according to respective seniority, then this right was gradually concentrated within the hands of "the families of a single branch of the royal lineage," and finally it was exclusively assumed by "a single family". The last of these three phases began during the reign of King K'ang-ting. From then on there was only one king for each generation and brothers were excluded from claiming the crown. The second phase began during the reign of King P'an-keng 盤庚, under whose reign the Shang capital was moved to Anyang. By that time, none of the sons of brothers, or of uncles, or the grandsons of uncles succeeded to the crown.

The methods by which Shang kings revised their succession rules are not clearly known, however it seems to have been connected with the Shang sacrificial and ancestral tablet systems. As I have shown, the Shang kings granted 'great tablet' status to the deceased kings who had an enthroned son, and 'small tablet' status to the deceased kings who had not had an enthroned son. Both "great tablet" and "small tablet" status holders were recipients of the annual quinquartite ceremonial sacrifice, but only the former could have their wives also entered on the sacrificial list. The word

爽, which is also pronounced as *shih*, was used to refer to those ancestresses who received the annual quinquartite ceremonial sacrifice. This sacrificial institution was clearly consolidated during the time of King Tsu-chia 祖甲, and was already starting to take shape during the time of King Wu-ting (the father of Tsu-chia), though certain elements of it were not included in the sacrifices of King Wu-ting.¹³ It must be noted here that the ancestral tablet system and the quinquartite ceremonial sacrifice system were separate institutions. The former regulated the status of royal ancestors, while the latter systematized sacrificial ceremonies. It was through the performance of the actual sacrifice that the two systems merged.

The significance of establishing "great tablet" status as opposed to "small tablet" status was to honor a "non-classificatory" father-son relationship between the deceased kings of two generations. This relationship differed from the Shang popular "classificatory" father-son relationship, in which one could call his uncle "father" and his nephew "son". Thus, when a king wished to be honored with "great tablet" status, he would have to transfer the throne to his own son, not to his brother's son. Under such circumstances, the possibility for the branches of the royal lineage or the fraternal families of the king to assume the throne was greatly reduced, and the likelihood of the succession continuing with in a single family was concomitantly increased. Interestingly enough, the establishment of the ancestral tablet and the quinquartite ceremonial sacrifice systems went almost hand in hand with the centralization of royal power into the hands of a single family of the ruling clan.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Tung Tso-ping, *Yin Li P'u* 1:3, pp. 11b-15b. By "a Shang ceremonial year" I mean a *szu* 祀.
2. See for instance Shima, *Kenkyū*, p. 104.
3. The names of King Chung-jen 中壬 and King Wo-ting 沃丁 have not yet been found with certainty. See Tung Tso-ping, *Yin Li P'u* 2:3, p. 4b; Tung Tso-ping, *Chiao-ku-wen Tuan-tai Yen-chiu Li* 甲骨文斷代研究例 (Academia Sinica, 1955), pp. 10-13. The generation position of King Ch'ien-chia 堯甲 should be changed. See Hsü Chin-hsiung 許進雄 "Comments on Dr. K.C. Chang's Paper," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica*, XIX (1965), p. 123. Kwang-chih Chang, "Further Remarks on the Posthumous Names of the Shang Kings and Royal Genealogy of the Shang Dynasty: A Sociological Analysis," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* XIX (1965), p. 61.
4. See Tung Tso-ping, *Yin Li P'u*, 2:3 p. 4b. For *ta-szu* and *hsiao-szu*; see Shima, *Inkyo Bokuji Sōrui* 殷墟卜辭綜類 (Tokyo, 1967), p. 150 (referred to hereafter as: Shima, *Sōrui*).
5. See Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Wu-ting Shih Ti I-pan Fu-yüan Kuei-chia" 武丁時的一版復原龜甲 *Ta-Lu Tsa-chih* 大陸雜誌 XXXIX 10/11 (1964), pp. 98-99. Professor Chang has kindly introduced this article to me. His reconstruction of the quinquupartite sacrifice phenomena in the King Wu-ting period is one of the foundations of the present argument.
6. See Kwang-chih Chang, "Some Dualistic Phenomena in Shang Society," *JAS* XXIV: 1 (1964), p. 49 (referred to hereafter as: K.C. Chang, "Dualistic Phenomena").
7. *Ibid.*, p. 50 Also, a brief discussion of the same hypothesis can be seen in his 1980 publication. See Kwang-chih Chang, *Shang Civilization* (Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 178-183.
8. Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Wu-ting Shih Ti I-pan Fu-yüan Kuei-chia," p. 98.
9. *Ibid.*
10. K.C. Chang, "Dualistic Phenomena," p. 47.
11. Kwang-chih Chang defines *tsu* 族 as "lineage", (see K.C. Chang, *Shang Civilization*, pp. 158-163), but I define *tsu* as "localized lineage" and *tsung* 宗 as "lineage". For the difference between "localized lineage" and "lineage", see Part I, Chapter IV., and Part II, Chapter X. Also see Kwang-chih Chang, "The Animal in Shang and Chou Bronze Art," *HJAS* 41:2 (1981), p. 554.
12. In discussing the Shang descent in the hot summer of 1969, my colleague Mr. Donald Spangler of the University of Chicago has shown his special interest in the *yi-ting* phenomenon. The above comment reveals his deep insight, which has penetrated into the core of our problem.
13. See Hsü Ching-hsiung, *Yin P'u-tz'u Chung Wu-chung Chi-shih Ti Yen-chiu* 殷卜辭中五種祭祀的研究 (Taipei, 1968), pp. 6-8 (referred to hereafter as: Hsü, *Wu-chung Chi-shih*).

CHAPTER III

DOUBLE DESCENT AND CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

In addition to the exogamous marriage between Shang and other states, the inscriptions also provide us with evidence of clan endogamy. Fu-hao, one of the wives of Wu-ting, came from the royal Tzu clan. The word *hao* 好 is composed of the two radicals *nü* 女 “woman” and *tzu* 子, a clan name. As mentioned earlier, *nü* can be added to indicate the name of a woman coming from a place designated by the primary radical. In this case the primary radical is *Tzu*, the clan name of the Shang ruling elite. In fact Fu-hao was the most prominent woman in Wu-ting’s court; she led armies, took responsibility for public affairs and ritual ceremonies, and gave birth to princes. Divinations made by Wu-ting concerning her activities were more numerous than those relative to the other *fu*. On the basis of this marriage, as well as the dualism manifested in the alternating *yi-ting* designation, and the dualistic arrangement of the ancestral temples and tombs at the Shang site, Chang Kwang-chih says that patrisib endogamy in the manner of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage characterized the royal Shang marriage.¹ Previously Chinese specialists had supposed that a man theoretically could not marry a woman of the same *hsing* 姓, “clan” or “clan name” (see the next two chapters for a more detailed discussion), and that marriage between different *hsing* represented exogamy. But modern anthropologists have pointed out that marriage between the moieties of a clan still constitutes exogamy and that similarities between alternate generations (such as the *yi-ting* or *chao-mu*) is a phenomenon commonly resulting from cross-cousin marriage.² Hence, Chang has provided us with the background for an inquiry into aspects of the Shang royal marriage system in addition to those I have previously discussed. In fact, I support his cross-cousin marriage theory, but I do not agree that the form was patrilateral. This contention rests mainly on a study of the kinship term *sheng*₁ 生.

In the oracle bone inscriptions and Western Chou bronze inscriptions, *sheng*₁ means the child of ego and a woman, but in the book *Tso Chuan* 左傳 (dated 400-300 B.C.), the book on the history of the Spring and Autumn period (772-481 B.C.), one of its derivatives *sheng*₂ 甥 also means ego’s nephew and it has been pointed out by Professor Yang Hsi-mei 楊希枚 that the term *hsing* 姓 (clan, clan name), another derivative of *sheng*₁, retained the original meaning “child” in those early texts.³ The difference between *sheng*₂ and *hsing* in terms of their form is that the *hsing* is composed of the radical *sheng*₁ and the radical *nü* 女 (woman), while *sheng*₂ is composed of *sheng*₁

and *nan* 男 (man). During the Spring and Autumn period, a *hsing* was not considered to be a *tzu* "son" by the patrimonial (i.e., Weber's terminology) family, as we may read in the *Tso Chuan*:

Muh-tsue left his brother, the Head of the Shuh-sun 'family' (Shuh-sun *shih*) and went to (the state of) Ts'e. When he had got to Keng-tsung he met a woman, whom he asked to prepare some food for him, and then passed the night with her. She asked him where he was going; and when he told her all about it, she wept and escorted him part of the way. He then went to Ts'e, and married there a lady of Kwoh family, by whom he had Mung-ping and Ching-jin. . . . When his brother Seuen-pih fled to Ts'e he supplied him with food. Seuen-pih said to him, "out of regard to the services of our father, (the state of) Lu will preserve our ancestor temple, and is sure to call you back to it." . . . Lu did call him, and he returned. . . . When he had been appointed a minister, the woman of Keng-tsung, with whom he had spent the night, came and presented him with a pheasant; and when he asked whether she had a *hsing* she replied: "My *tzu* is a big boy, he was able to carry the pheasant and follow me." Muh-tsue called for him, and as soon as he saw him, lo! it was the person he had seen in his dream (in which this person helped him to hold the falling sky during his stay at Ts'e). Without asking him his name, Muh-tsue called out to him, "New!" and the boy answered, "Here I am!" Muh-tsue then called all his followers, and made them look at him, after which he made him his waiting boy. The lad became a favourite with him, and grown up, was entrusted with the management of his house.⁴

First of all, the woman of Keng-tsung was not the wife of Muh-tsue who left her without even seeing their child. Hence before he named him and showed him to everyone in the Shuh-sun *shih*, (the significance of the term *shih* 氏 will be mentioned shortly) he used the word *hsing* to mean a child he had sired but who did not belong to the patrimonial family. And yet, on the other hand, the woman of Keng-tsung used the word *tzu* to denote the child. Similarly, the word *tzu* also means son in the oracle bone inscriptions and the term was socially different from *sheng*₁. One divination says:

(8) Should many-*tzu* be invited to the banquet? (and) Should many-*sheng*₁ be invited to the banquet?

亩多子饗?亩多生饗? (Chia 380.)

Tzu and *sheng*₁ are observed here to be separate individuals. Sometimes *tzu* appeared in such combinations as *Fu-x-tzu* 婦某子 (the son of Fu-x) which seems to be no different from *Fu-x-sheng*₁ 婦某生 (the child of Fu-x). But the true distinction between them is precisely that the former was used as a title of political or social status while the latter retained its original meaning; persons known as *Tzu-x* (i.e., *Tzu*, the *Tzu* status or Viscount; *x* his personal name) performed many political services. But the word *sheng*₁ was never used as political or social title. *Tzu-x* were further divided

According to him, *sheng*₂ as defined by the *Erh Ya* 爾雅, “primarily meaning sister’s son, was applied to father’s sister’s son, mother’s brother’s son, wife’s brother, and sister’s husband by a man in ego’s own generation, resulting not only in the merging of consanguinal with affinal relatives but also the overriding of generation difference.”⁸ Furthermore, as found in the *Mencius*, and the *Book of Odes*, the term was used for daughter’s husband and sister’s son.⁹ Professor Ruey cites the view of Marcel Granet, Chen and Shryock, and Feng Han-yi that this equating of these terms is a manifestation of symmetrical cross-cousin marriage in ancient Chinese society, and he adds that such marriages took place between states of different clan names.¹⁰ (We should add for the sake of clarity that “cross-cousin marriage” does not necessarily involve actual cross-cousins: it is sufficient that the partner involved be terminologically considered a cross-cousin.) Analytically, we can say that FsS, sH, mBS, wB in the diagram above refer to men of ego’s father’s matrilineage and all are indeed the same person; and that sS, dH refer to men of ego’s matrilineage and are identical—but the difficulty is that these persons are identical only under the condition of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, classificatory or real:

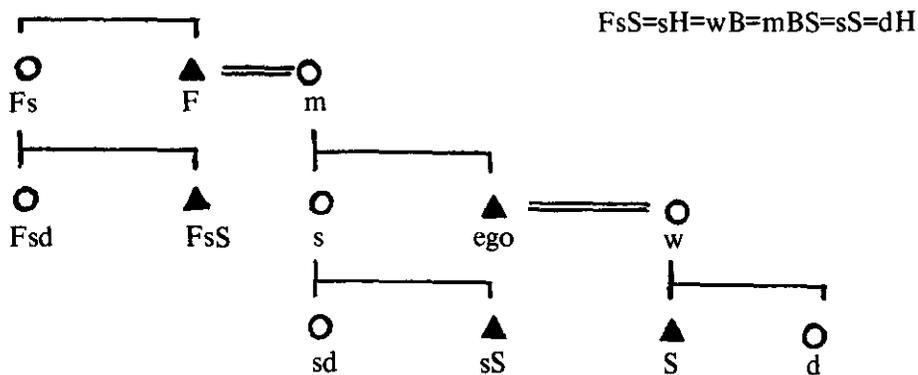


Figure III

Now I have pointed out that *sheng*₂ derived from *sheng*₁, and I have quoted Professor Ruey that the former term primarily meant sS; thus, logically sS (*sheng*₂ in the Chou) should be the derivative of S (*sheng*₁ in the Shang). Modern scholars have found that the term *fu*₂ 父 (father) in the inscriptions was applied to ego’s father and ego’s father’s brother.¹¹ Moreover, there is a case where Wu-ting applied the word to a man of the same place as his wife (Fu-liang 婦良).¹² Thus in addition to being Wu-ting’s wife, she might also have been related to him analytically as his sister (or cousin). And the situation was particularly clear in the case of Fu-hao, since she had come from the Tzu clan, and the term *fu*₂ was applied to the male relatives of ego’s first ascending generation.

Therefore, the *sheng*₁ of Fu-hao might be understood to be Wu-ting's sister's son. We have noted that in the Chou the derivative term *sheng*₂ meant primarily "sister's son" while *sheng*₁ retained the meaning of "child". Now I suggest that once bilateral cross-cousin marriage had changed from an intra-clan to an inter-clan from (see Chapter V for more detail), wherein each clan had already constituted itself on a patrilineal basis, a woman of clan A was required to marry a man in clan B. As a result sS and S fell into different patrilineages and the *sheng*₂, the implicit meaning of *sheng*₁ in the Shang dynasty, became explicit in the Chou dynasty and was required to be independent from the latter.

In short, the *yi-ting* designation of deceased Shang kings of alternate generations, the distinction between *tzu* and *sheng*₁, the social significance of *hsing*, *sheng*₁, *sheng*₂, seen in the *Tso Chuan*, the breakdown of the sS-S equation (and the emergence of the equation of sS, dH, FsS, sH, wB, mBS) lead us to conclude that the ruling elite of the Tzu clan divided themselves dualistically (into moieties) for marriage purposes. We may further believe that once Wu-ting had married Fu-hao, a woman of the other Tzu clan moiety, a child of theirs (*sheng*₁) was considered a member of Fu-hao's moiety, and if that child receives the *Tzu* status, later becoming the Shang king, he might be granted great tablet status, in the event he had an enthroned son:

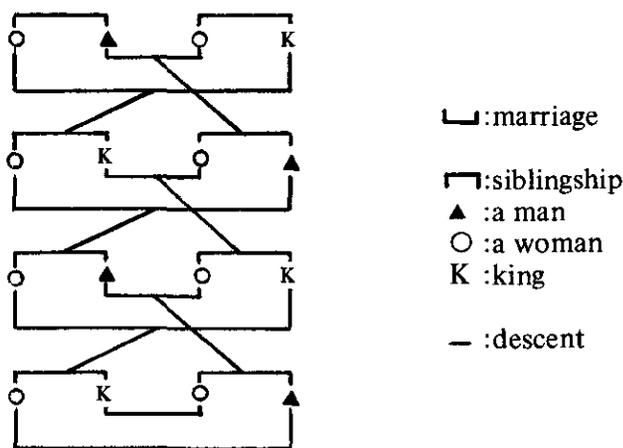


Figure IV The Shang Intra-clan Bilateral Cross-cousin Marriage

We may see from the diagram that the matrilineal principle clearly functioned as a mechanism for producing the occasion for bilateral cross-cousin marriage. (Incidentally, although the existence of ceramic male genitalia at the Shang sites perhaps indicates the celebrations of the male role in matters procreative, certain deceased Shang queens were recipients of the royal *ch'iu-sheng*₁ 求生 i.e., asking for *sheng*₁ ceremony.)¹³ None-

theless, the patrilineal principle kept the Shang kingship under the firm control of the royal patrilineage of the Tzu clan.

The existence of matrilineage may be further deduced from the fact of ancestral temple (*tsung* 宗) for deceased queens. After the Shang, the tablets of deceased queens were placed in their husbands' temples. But we have found evidence of two independent temples during the Shang:

- (9) Divination on the day *keng-sheng*. Diviner Lü asked: "Should (the King) make a sacrifice at the *tsung* of Pi-keng?"

庚申卜，旅貞：于妣庚宗歲？ (Wen 447.)

- (10) Divination on the day *chia-sheng*. Diviner Chi asked: "Should (the King) make a sacrifice to Brother-jen at the *tsung* of Mother-hsin?"

甲申卜，即貞：其又于兄壬于母辛宗？ (Hou 1,7,11.)

Lü and Chi were the diviners of King Tsu-chia, the son of Wu-ting. Whereas Pi-keng probably was the deceased queen of Hsiao-yi 小乙, the father of Wu-ting. Several deceased queens (*pi* 妣) were given the stem *keng* as posthumous names, hence her identity is not as certain as that of Mother-hsin. Mother-hsin was one of the wives of Wu-ting, probably Fu-hao. Brother-jen, Tsu-chia's 祖甲 brother, died without being a king so that there was no temple for his tablet. Would Brother-jen's tablet be located in Mother-hsin's temple? No information could tell. However, during the Shang dynasty as well as later in ancient China, the existence of a man's *tsung* (temple) was commensurate with the existence of his lineage and obviously there could be no exception in the case of Mother-hsin and Pi-keng. I have devoted my subsequent discussion to lineage organization and ancestral temple system, but since proof of matrilineage is crucial to my present argument, I have cited part of my later conclusion.

(73) Divination on the day *wu-shü*. Diviner Ku asked: "Should the King thus order: Hou-hu return! I will not give a banquet. Take all your *Shih* officers and return?"

戊戌卜，殼貞：王曰，"侯虎圭，余不燕，其合挈乃史歸？ (Ch'ing 7.)

It appears that *Hou* participated in a much wider range of royal activities than did *Po*. Shang kings ordered *Hou* to be responsible for such public works as farming, herding, hunting, construction, and transportation. Some of them served as the king's generals, ambassadors or commissioners, while other held offices in the capital and became the king's trusted ministers.²⁶ Among the *Hou* seen in the Shang inscriptions, only three broke relations with the king. The first one was 𠄎-hou, who was arrested and sacrificed to the king's ancestor.²⁷ The second one, 𠄎-hou, and the third one, Chou-hou, were attacked by the king,²⁸ but we do not have any records of the outcome of these events. There were numerous royal divinations made about the health of *Hou*. No doubt, the king's relationship with the *Hou* was a very close one.

Perhaps, in the early Shang or in an even earlier time, *Hou* might appear somewhat similar to the first century *comitatus*—"free warriors who had taken service of their own free will under a chieftain, and fought with him on his behalf as a band of close comrades."²⁹ This point, which concerns the origin of *Hou* institution, is made in light of the ancient *Hou* ritual. This ritual is traceable both from the records in Chinese classics and from the word *hou* itself. We can even see the actual scene of this custom from decor patterns on ancient vessels.

The word *hou* had two elements, 𠄎 an arrow and 𠄎 a certain target board. Apart from meaning vassals in general it had two other different meanings: (1) Bull's eye, (2) to wait or to serve. It also referred to those who held the *Hou* title as well as those who guarded the frontiers.³⁰ The *Hou* ritual was practiced, according to Chinese classics, by people of different levels of society. There were no basic changes in the features of this ritual whether the ritual was sponsored by a ruler or by a noble. The *Hou* ritual was actually an archery contest. In this contest, the sponsor would let young men and inferiors contest in archery first, and then the sponsor and his honored guests shot arrows while the young men or inferiors served them.³¹ It was said that the second round of the archery contest was repeated once with the music which accompanied it. The contestants had to act according to the rhythm of the music.³² Such an archery contest was usually practiced in the *Chiao* 教, which I have rendered as "School".³³ Through such a contest, the archery skill of the young men or inferiors was improved and their ability recognized. It is reasonable to suppose that the superior selected the most able men to serve as his bodyguards or offered them opportunities in a military career, and that they were called *Hou*.

CHAPTER IV

LINEAGE ORGANIZATION AND THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE SYSTEM

The *tsu* 族 was a basic kinship and economic organization in traditional Chinese society, but it was also a fundamental unit in the power structure of pre-bureaucratic China. The *Tso Chuan*, the history of the Spring and Autumn period, says that “the great affairs of a state are sacrifice and war,”¹ and under the sway of patrimonialism these affairs were indeed carried out on the basis of the *tsu* hierarchy within a state. During the Shang dynasty, there existed three types of *tsu*: (1) *wang-tsu* 王族 (the kingly *tsu*), (2) *to-tzu-tsu* 多子族 (the *tsu*(s) of many-sons), and (3) “enumerated” *tsu*, as for example the “three *tsu*” or the “five *tsu*” of the inscriptions.² The *Tso Chuan* records the ultimate fate of this Shang system: after the Chou conquest the Shang ruling elite were divided by *tsu* membership and given to the closest and most meritorious relatives of Chou kings.³

The nature of the *tsu* and its relation to the other elements of the hierarchy mentioned above were as follows. (The primary method of analysis will be to consider the Chou data and work backwards in time.) The simplest definition of *tsu*, and one which we can derive from the *Tso Chuan* is “localized lineage”. Given A as the chief of this localized unit, A’s immediate family, his brothers and their families were components, and together they shared an ancestral temple wherein they kept only the ancestor tablets of the mother and father. A’s “lineage” included not only living kin but his deceased father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, that is those deceased in the prior generations of A’s patrilineal descent line. Now given B as the chief of B-*tsu* who was related to A through A’s grandfather, members of both A-*tsu* and B-*tsu* went to the ancestral temple of A’s grandfather. If C were affiliated to A through A’s great-grandfather, members of A-*tsu* and C-*tsu* went to the ancestral temple of A’s great-grandfather. The term *tsung* 宗 meant “lineage” in exactly this sense, and the *tsung-tsu* 宗族 of A-*tsu* included B-*tsu* and C-*tsu*. Furthermore, supposing A received the kingship or the ducal position or the headship of a “corporate group” (as Professor Creel defines the *shih* 氏 using Max Weber’s terminology) from his father who had in turn received the position from his father, B and B-*tsu* thus became the *hsiao-tsung* 小宗 (small-*tsung*) of A and A-*tsu* and the latter constituted the *ta-tsung* 大宗 (great-*tsung*) of B and B-*tsu*. In other words, A and A-*tsu* meant the main stem of this lineage relative to B and B-*tsu*, who in turn were the minor stem of this lineage. The *Tso Chuan* says:

In autumn, Shou-mung, Viscount of Wu died. The Duke (of Lu) went to the Chou temple. On the occasion of the decease of any prince, if one were of a *hsing* 姓 different from that of the deceased, he was wailed for outside on the city wall. If one were of the same *hsing*, the wailing took place in the *tsung-miao* 宗廟 (Lineages' temple); if he were of the same *tsung*, in the *tsu₂-miao* 祖廟 (temple of the common *tsu₂*, ancestor); if he were of the same *tsu* 族, in the *ni-miao* 禰廟 (paternal temple). Thus the Duke of Lu mourned for the Chi generally in the Chou temple, but for the lords of Hsing, Fan, Chiang, Mao, Tso in the temple of Chou-kung.⁴

Here the *Tso Chuan* nicely delineates the hierarchy wherein the *tsu* functioned: *hsing-tsung-tsu* 姓—宗—族. Interestingly, modern anthropologists have developed the same hierarchy: clan, lineage and localized lineage.

We have already encountered the term *hsing* 姓 but some elaboration will be useful. Professor Creel has interpreted *hsing* to be a "large and rather loose 'common descent group' sharing an attitude of solidarity which in a specific situation might or might not produce united action."⁵ As an example we may cite the Chi *hsing* 姬姓, members of which were the lords of the states of Chin and Wei, and who were related to the contemporary Chou king through their ancestors who were in fact the brothers of King Ch'eng and of King Wu respectively (see Fig. VIII). Hence the relationship between the lords and the king was similar to that of *hsiao-tsung* vs. *ta-tsung*. (The "*hsiao-tsung* vs. *ta-tsung*" means the "minor stem of a lineage vs. main stem of this lineage", or, "the head of a *shih* vs. a feudal lord"; or, the "minor lineage of a clan vs. main lineage of a clan", or, "feudal lord vs. Chou king"). The lords' *tsung* (lineages) were independent of each other and each had an individual temple for the lord's first ancestor within his own territories, but together they went to the *Tsung-miao* (Lineages' temple) in the capital of the Chou king on the occasion, say, of the decease of a prince of the Chi *hsing*/clan. Professor Yang Hsi-mei has pointed out that the primary meaning of *hsing* is "to beget"; and this character tells a story—common to early Greeks, Romans and Chinese—of a way created for expressing a kinship organization known to modern scholars as the "clan".⁶ After all, the original meaning of "gens" is also "to beget". Just how the terms Chi, Tzu etc., came to be associated with various *hsing* (clan name/totem) has been a question of controversy among modern scholars. Chinese aristocrats of the Spring and Autumn period discussed the issue and their inquiries may cause us to relate the terms to the "totemism" (Lévi-Strauss' terminology).

My premise that the *tsu* constitutes a "localized lineage" derives from the institutionalized nomenclature of segmentation of the royal Chou house and the ducal houses in the Spring and Autumn period. In each case the naming of descendants of the first and second descending generations was uniform: a *ming* 名, i.e., personal

name, was attached to one of the following four terms: *wang-tzu* 王子 (king-son), *kung-tzu* 公子 (duke-son), *wang-sun* 王孫 (king-grandson), *kung-sun* 公孫 (duke-grandson). Thus, we have *wang-tzu-x* and *kung-tzu-x* as the basic type for the sons of Chou kings and dukes respectively, and *wang-sun-x* and *kung-sun-x* for the grandsons thereof. In addition to a *ming* an individual might adopt a *tzu*₂ 字, second personal name, which Professor Creel has called a “style”.⁷ Finally, a living duke or king bestowed the style of a *kung-tzu-x* or *wang-tzu-x* upon a grandson of the latter as the surname for this grandson’s *tsu*. This process may best be illustrated by the case known as the Seven Mu 七穆⁸ (see Figure V).

From this diagram we can see very clearly that the “style” of a certain *kung-tzu-x* became the surname of his grandson. During the lifetime of Duke Ling and Duke Hsiang, those *kung-tzu-x* were the brothers of the dukes and they and their families composed the so-called *kung-tsu* 公族 (ducal *tsu*). The *Tso Chuan* says the dukes of these states “fed” (i.e., *ch’u* 畜) their brothers unless the latter became a threat to them.⁹ These *kung-tzu-x* did not become dukes but took up service positions in the ducal courts, in many cases receiving land as a salary. After their death, their positions were handed down to their sons who later similarly transferred them. On the other hand, when Duke Hsiang died, his son Duke Chao succeeded to his position and together with his brothers formed a new ducal *tsu* affiliated with the previous one only through Duke Mu. When the members of the previous one died out, segmentation took place along the descent lines of the descendants of the old ducal *tsu*, so the style of a certain *kung-tzu-x* was applied to indicate the earliest ancestor of the minor stem newly segmented from the lineage composed of Dukes Chao, Hsiang, Ling and Mu. For the sake of clarity we should note that a “segmented lineage” was a minor stem of a lineage while *tsu* or “localized lineage” could mean either the main or a minor stem; hence the formation of segmented lineages illustrates the character of localized lineages.

It was also common practice to use the term *shih* 氏 in conjunction with the style of *kung-tzu-x* to denote the distinctiveness of a segmented lineage. For example, the Seven Mu were sometimes called the Liang *shih*, Han *shih*, Ssu *shih*, Feng *shih*, Kuo *shih*, Kung *shih*, and You *shih*. *Tso Chuan* says:

When King Wu had subdued Shang, King Ch’eng completed the establishment of the new dynasty, and chose and appointed the (princes) intelligent virtue in order to act as bulwarks and screens to Chou. . . Therefore Chou-kung was appointed to be the minister of royal court. . . To the Duke of Lu, there were given a grand chariot. . . . , as well as six *tsu* of the people of Shang: The T’iao *shih*, Hsu *shih*, Hsiao *shih*, So *shih*, Ts’ang-chuo *shih*, Wui-chuo *shih*. Duke of Lu was ordered to lead their *tsung-shih* 宗氏 (the *shih* of a *tsung*), to collect their *fen-tsu* 分族 (segmented-*tsu*) to conduct their *lei-*

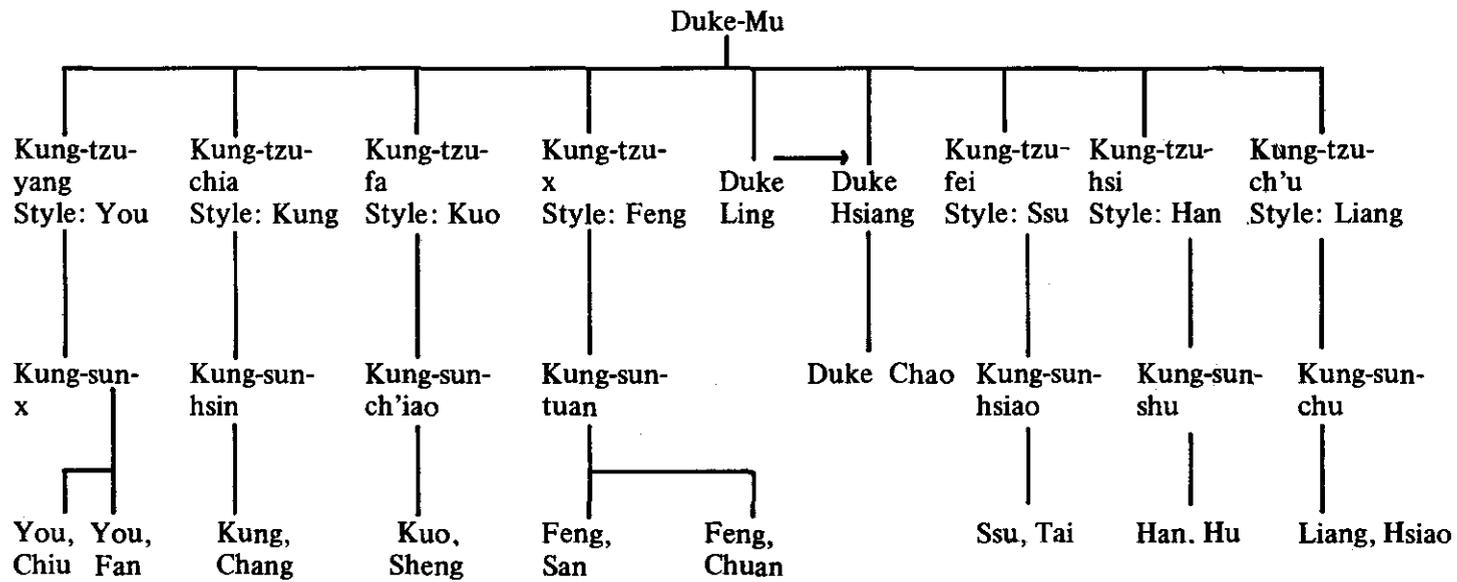


Figure V The Seven Mu

ts'ou 類醜 as well as following the instructions of Chou-kung, receiving order from the capital of Chou. To (the first duke of Wei) K'ang-shu, there were given . . . seven *tsu* of Shang people: the T'ao *shih*, Ssu *shih*, Fan *shih*, Ch'i *shih*, Chi *shih*, Fan *shih*, Chung-kuei *shih*, . . . To (the first duke of Chin) T'ang-shu there were given . . . the nine *tsung* of Huai *hsing*.¹⁰

Hence we may see that *tsu* and *shih* were different terms for the same thing. However, *shih* had an additional use: Professor Creel has pointed out that the surname plus *shih* "was not only used to designate the *shih* but also to designate its head. It is often impossible to determine, for instance, whether Chi₂ *shih* 季氏 means Chi₂ *shih* or the head of the Chi₂ *shih*."¹¹ In the above passage it is quite clear that the *shih* is identical to the *tsu*. The *shih* in the *tsung-shih* refers to an individual. In the texts earlier than the *Tso Chuan*, for instance in the Western Chou bronze inscriptions, the word *shih* was sometimes attached to such official categories as *yin* 尹, and *yin-shih* 尹氏 always referred to an individual, therefore *shih* might mean the head of a certain office or organization.¹² Thus, the *tsung-shih* meant the head of the lineage, in other words, the "ta-*tsung*" (which was an individual as well as the main *tsu* of a lineage). It is quite explicit in the *Tso Chuan* quotation above that not only might these *shih* have *fen-tsu* (segmented lineage) subordinate to them, but also that the *hsing-tsung-tsu* hierarchy had already existed among the latter Shang ruling elite.

We may ask to what extent this evidence, which is fairly clear and detailed for the Spring and Autumn period, is applicable to the late Shang. In keeping with our method of working backwards, we may note that as early as 714 B.C. there was a case of using a "style" as a surname in the state of Lu, (we will come back to this case later), and that the terms *ta-tsung* and *hsiao-tsung* are found frequently in Western Chou texts. However, we must remember that while the *Tso Chuan* passage is suggestive, it is not conclusive evidence, inasmuch as the author was describing historical facts already ancient in the language of his day. Fortunately some direct evidence helps us connect the late Shang and Chou systems.

The inscriptions of the Wu-ting period indicate that the temples of individual deceased kings were the place for making sacrifices and performing ceremonies. The character for temple was *tsung* 宗 with "house" 宀 as the upper radical and "tablet" 示 as the lower radical. *Ta-tsung* however exclusively referred to "Great Temple" unlike the term in the *Book of Odes* and *Tso Chuan* which meant the main stem of a lineage (and the main/royal lineage of a Chi clan); *Hsiao-tsung* was the "Small Temple" and did not mean the minor stem of a lineage (and the minor/ducal lineage of a Chi clan): *tsung* in the Shang inscriptions referred only to the temple and not the lineage.¹³ We have two divinations on a piece of oracle bone which read:

(11) Divination on the day *x-hai* . . . Asked: "Should (the King) make a

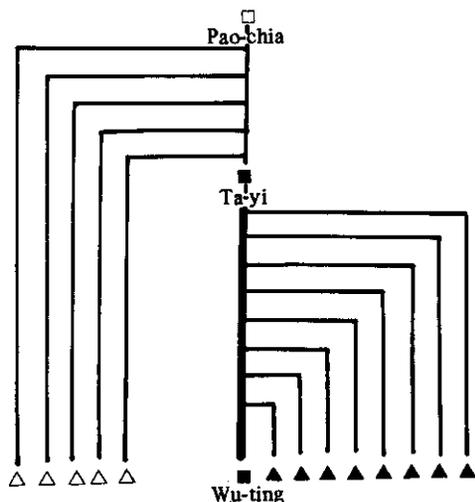
You-yün sacrifice to (those ancestors counted) from Pao-chia downward at the *Ta-tsung* (Great Temple) and kill Ch'iang (i.e., certain human beings) as well as ten sheep (as offerings)?”

☱亥卜：在大宗又云，伐纣十小軍，自報甲？ (Yi 131.)

(12) Divination on the day *Chi-ch'ou*. Asked: “Should (the King) make a *You-yün-shui* sacrifice to (those ancestors counted) from Ta-yi downward at the *Hsiao-tung* (Small Temple)?”

己丑卜：在小宗又云歲自大乙？ (Yi 131.)

Now Pao-chia was the first pre-dynastic king and Ta-yi the first dynastic king. Hence the *Ta-tsung* 大宗 (Great Temple) of the inscriptions corresponds exactly to the *tsung-miao* 宗廟 (lineages temple) of the *Tso Chuan*: both were for *hsing* (clan) members. Similarly, the *Hsiao-tsung* 小宗 (Small Temple) was the same as the *Tso Chuan tsu₂-miao* 祖廟 (the Temple of the common ancestor) in that both served lineage members. The descendants of Shang pre-dynastic royal ancestors did not belong to the descent line wherein Ta-yi, the first dynastic king, was counted as the first ancestor. They were affiliated only with the *Ta-tsung* (Great Temple). Those individuals who were collaterally members of the royal lineage descended from Ta-yi (i.e., members of minor stems) could either attend the *Hsiao-tsung* or the individual temple of the deceased king through whom they were members of the royal lineage. Thus an individual temple of certain king was set up for a descent line wherein this king was counted as the first ancestor; deceased queen's temples should be understood likewise. Individuals of the main stem of the royal lineage held a unique position in that they were affiliated with both the *Ta-tsung* as well as the *Hsiao-tsung*. Below is a diagram of the Shang clan and lineage temple system:



- pre-dynastic king
- king
- ▭ descent
- △ those who affiliated to Wu-ting through *Ta-tsung*: members of the minor lineages of the Tzu clan.
- ▲ those who affiliated to Wu-ting through *Hsiao-tsung*: members of the minor stems of the royal lineage.

Figure VI The Shang Clan and Lineage Temple System

Hence we have some basis for asserting the institutional continuity from the Shang to the Chou. We may easily explain how terms for clan and lineage temples in the Shang came to mean “main stem” and “minor stem” of a lineage in the Western Chou. If we take the royal Chou lineage as a case in point, we may say that those who were affiliated to the Chou king through the *tsu₂-miao* were necessarily members of the minor stem of the royal lineage and that the Chou king, being the head of the main stem (of the royal lineage) which represented the most prominent lineage of the Chi clan, held the temple for clan members in the capital.

At this point we have hopefully indicated and clarified the existence of a kinship group hierarchy after the 14th century B.C. Now on the basis of the foregoing information we may perhaps elucidate the nature of the various types of *tsu* mentioned in the Shang Wu-ting records. The enumerated *tsu*, if our idea of this institutional continuity is valid, would mean localized lineages. *Wang-tsu* 王族 (kingly *tsu*) referred to King Wu-ting's family plus his male siblings' families. What needs further explanation is the term *to-tzu-tsu* 多子族 (many-sons-localized lineages). We have observed above that in the Shang dynasty *tzu* 子 meant son and that *fu₂* 父 might designate either ego's biological father or his father's brother(s), i.e., his classificatory father(s). King Wu-ting referred to these latter collectively as the *to-fu₂* 多父 (many-fathers). By a process of terminological substitution we might expect the *to-tzu* 多子 to be the sons of the *to-fu₂*, namely, Wu-ting's classificatory brothers, i.e., his father's brothers' sons. In this case, *to-tzu-tsu* would simply be the *tsu* (one or more) of ego's (e.g. the king's) classificatory brothers. Upon Wu-ting's death, a son of his succeeded him to the throne and Wu-ting's male siblings' sons and their families constituted the new *to-tzu-tsu*. Given this analysis, the essential difference between the *wang-tsu* and the *to-tzu-tsu* was that between brothers with a common father and classificatory brothers. (We may note at this point that it is not true that everyone bearing the Tzu status referred to in King Wu-ting inscriptions was necessarily the actual son of Wu-ting. Such persons might be King Wu-ting's brothers, sons, classificatory brothers or classificatory sons.)

A diagram on the basis of the royal genealogy may help to clarify the interrelation of *tsu*, *wang-tsu*, and *to-tzu-tsu* (see Figure VII); According to the royal genealogy the throne passed to ego's male sibling or classificatory brother in one generation and to ego's son or ego's classificatory nephew (e.g., ii, considering G to the ego) in two generations. When G (King Wu-ting) was on the throne, i being the classificatory brother of G, was a potential heir. When the throne passed from G to F, ii, the son of i, no longer had any claim, but supposing i indeed became king, then ii definitely had the right of succession and i and his siblings became members of the new *wang-tsu*. Now, it was iii who represented the established minor stem of the lineage consisting of M, K, J, I, H,

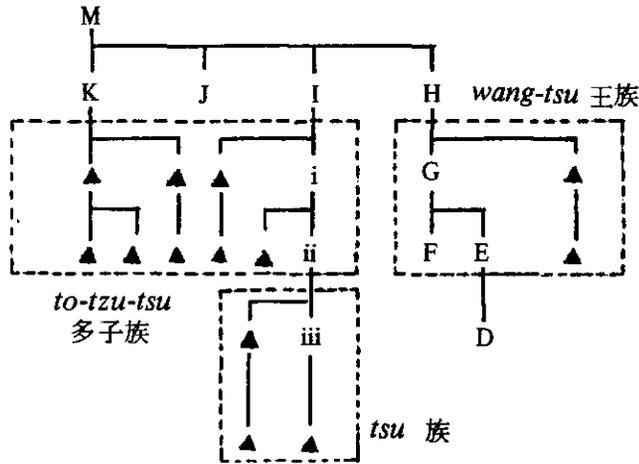


Figure VII *Tsu*, *Wang-tsu*, and *To-tzu-tsu*

G, F, E with E or D as the living Shang king. (It is therefore worthwhile to note that the existence of the *to-tzu-tsu* made impossible the differentiation of the main descent line from collateral descent lines within a span of three generations.)

The preceding discussion is based totally on the rule of patrilineal descent inasmuch as the matrilineal principle during the Shang functioned only in relation to marriage and lineage segmentation in the ancient period as a whole involved inheritance. Also the role of the collateral relatives declined from Shang to Chou times: after the Shang the classificatory brother, i.e., father's brother's son, no longer had the right to be an heir. The change actually was implicit in the Great Tablet system of Ti-yi. Ti-yi bestowed 'great-tablet' status only to one deceased king per generation, the one with an enthroned son. Significantly the term *to-tzu-tsu* does not appear in post-Shang texts. As in other cases, though, there was institutional continuity: the highest official ranks, i.e., *kung* 公 in the royal Chou court and *ch'ing* 卿 in the ducal courts, were always held by the king's and duke's collaterals.

There were two kinds of office, *tsu-yin* 族尹 and *tsu-ma* 族馬, woven into the body of the *tsu*.¹⁴ Here, *yin* means administrator, and *ma* charioteer. The *tsu-yin* and *tsu-ma* were different from the *yin* and *ma* of the royal court. In other words, a *tsu* might have administrative and military organizations of its own, but a *tsu* was always subordinate to the administrative system of the royal court. For instance, during the war against the state of T'u 土, three *tsu* were summoned and commanded by Chia-ka, 汜戛, confidential general of King Wu-ting.¹⁵ In another instance in the inscriptions Wu-ting asked if the *to-tzu-tsu* would be sent to follow a certain officer to carry out "the King's business."¹⁶ After the King had received a good omen from his own divina-

tion, he then asked if another officer should be assigned to lead the *to-tzu-tsu* to follow the first officer, who was responsible for the King's business.¹⁷ The second officer was also assigned to lead the *wang-tsu* in another similar mission.¹⁸ *Wang-tsu*, *to-tzu-tsu*, and the "enumerated *tsu*", most likely, all had the organization of *tsu-yin* and *tsu-ma*.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 302 (Ch'eng 成 13).
2. For a brief introduction of these terms, see Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家, *Yin-hsiu P'u-tz'u Tsung-shu* 殷墟卜辭綜述 (Peking, 1956), p. 516 (referred to hereafter as: Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*); Shima, *Kenkyū*, p. 471. My definitions of *tsu* and *wang-tsu* are different from those of K.C. Chang. Cf. K.C. Chang, *Shang Civilization*, pp. 165-176.
3. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 754 (Ting 定 4).
4. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 455 (Hsiang 襄 12). For our discussion I have let crucial Chinese terms remain untranslated. The term *tsu*₂ 祖 as in *tsu*₂*miao* has been recognized as one of the elementary kinship terms by Kroeber and Feng; it refers to (1) father's father, and (2) ascendant, and it is to be distinguished from *tsu* 族, which I have defined as a "localized lineage". For *tsu*₂ see Feng Han-yi, "The Chinese Kinship System," p. 148.
5. H.G. Creel, "The Beginnings of Bureaucracy in China," *JAS* XXIII:2 (1964), p. 168 (referred to hereafter as: Creel, "Bureaucracy").
6. Yang, "The Meaning of 'Hsing' ", p. 420. In Chinese a word can always be a noun or verb depending on situation. Moreover the passive voice did not exist in the oracle bone inscriptions. Therefore, *hsing/sheng*₁ could mean "to beget" or "that is begotten"—child. For the original meaning of "gens" see Morgan, *Ancient Society* (First Meridian Printing, 1963), II, p. 62.
7. H.G. Creel, *Literary Chinese by the Inductive Method* (Chicago, 1960), I, p. 57.
8. For geneological relationship see Fan Chao-li 范照藜, *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan Shih-jen*, 春秋左傳釋人 (China, 1802), VIII.
9. For instance, see the case of Duke Hsien of Chin. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 105, 107, 109 (Chuang 莊 23, 24, 25); and p. 289 (Hsüan 宣 2) for the terms *ch'u* and *kung-tsu*.
10. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 754 (Ting 定 4).
11. Creel, "Bureaucracy", p. 168.
12. For *Yin-shih* see Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若, *Liang-Chou Chin-wen-tz'u Ta-hsi K'ao* 兩周金文辭大系考 (Tokyo, 1935), p. 72a (referred to hereafter as: Kuo, *Liang-k'ao*).
13. The "Great Temple" and "Small Temple" appear together eleven times in our most comprehensive concordance: Shima, *Sōrui*, p. 270. The "Great Temple" as in the stereotype text, "Sacrifice from Pao-chia 報甲 downward at the Great Temple", appears twice. The "Small Temple" as in the stereotype text, "Sacrifice from Ta-yi 大乙 downward at the Small Temple", appears three times. There are four occurrences of these two terms in those inscriptions, which do not mention Pao-chia or Ta-yi and are hard to read. The 10th and 11th occurrences are preserved in one piece of broken oracle bone (see, *Hou* 2,42,15) and have been read by Shima as "sacrifice from (Ta)-yi downward at the Small Temple . . . sacrifice from Pao-chia downward at the Small Temple." According to Ch'en Meng-chia and Chin Hsiang-heng, the latter part of Shima's reading is made of two divinations and should be read as "Sacrifice from Pao-chia downward at (the Great Temple) . . . (sacrifice . . .) at the Small Temple." Evidentially Shima reads three divinations as two divinations. See Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, p. 473. Chin Hsiang-heng 金祥恒, "P'u-tz'u Chung So-chien Yin-Shang Tsung-miao Chi Yin-chi K'ao III 卜辭中所見殷商宗廟及殷祭考(下)," *Ta-lu Tsa-chih Shih-hsüeh Ts'ung-shu* 大陸雜誌史學叢書 I:III (Taipei, 1966) p. 56 (referred to hereafter as: Chin: "Yin-Shang Tsung-miao").
14. See *Ch'ien* 7,1b,2, and *Ts'ui* 1291 for *tsu-yin* and *tsu-ma*.
15. *Chia* 948.

16. *Ch'ien* 6,51b,3.
17. *Ch'ien* 7,38b,1.
18. *Ch'ien* 7, 38,2.

CHAPTER V

CLAN POLITICS AND MARRIAGE CLASS

Basing themselves on the kinship term *sheng*₂ 甥 in the book *Erh Ya* 爾雅, scholars such as Chen, Shryock, and H.Y. Feng, once pointed out the existence of cross-cousin marriage in ancient China.¹ In his article, "Categories matrimoniales et relations de proximité dans la Chine ancienne," Marcel Granet dated a Kariera (or four classes) marriage system to the most ancient China, to a time even earlier than the Shang dynasty, on the basis of the *sheng*₂ of the *Erh Ya*, and hypothesized that the Aranda type marriage (or eight classes) developing from the Kariera type might be observed from the *chao-mu* 昭穆 ancestral temple order of early Chou China together with the "rule of five generations" of ancient China.² Lévi-Strauss in discussing Granet's article as well as Hsü's review of this article, points out the possibility of the existence of a Murngin type marriage system instead of an Aranda type system.³ In Chapter III, I pointed out that the earliest meaning of the term *sheng*₂ of *Erh Ya* was derived from *sheng*₁ of Shang inscriptions and therefore the term *sheng*₂ first appeared during the Chou dynasty. Thus Granet made a mistake at the very beginning of his thesis. I have also deduced the existence of bilateral cross-cousin marriage in the Shang dynasty and pointed out the inconsistency in Chang Kwang-chih's hypothesis of a patrilineal cross-cousin marriage. Since we have had some general understanding on the marriage, descent, and lineage organization principles of Shang and Chou dynasties, I would like to further discuss a unique system of the Chou dynasty, which functioned together with those rules and to a certain degree portrayed the soul of pre-Confucian or pre-Taoist Chinese as well as making us understand how a four classes marriage system (or a pseudo-Kariera system) was unconsciously set up at the beginning of the Chou dynasty. Moreover, this discussion also makes it possible to differentiate Shang marriage and inheritance systems from those of Chou, and to settle a certain amount of controversy. Yet the essence of this system was simply a method of control and maintenance worked out by the Chou rulers when facing reality immediately after their glorious victory. I have made Figure VIII to show the kinship among Chou kings, feudal lords and certain *shih* 氏, for the discussions of (1) the *chao-mu* 昭穆 order, (2) the "rule of five generations", and (3) the bestowal of *hsing* 姓 (clan name), a feudal institution which involved the decline of collateral inheritance and intra-clan cross-cousin marriage and the emergence of the Chou primogeniture and inter-clan cross-cousin marriage.

I. *The Chao-mu Order*

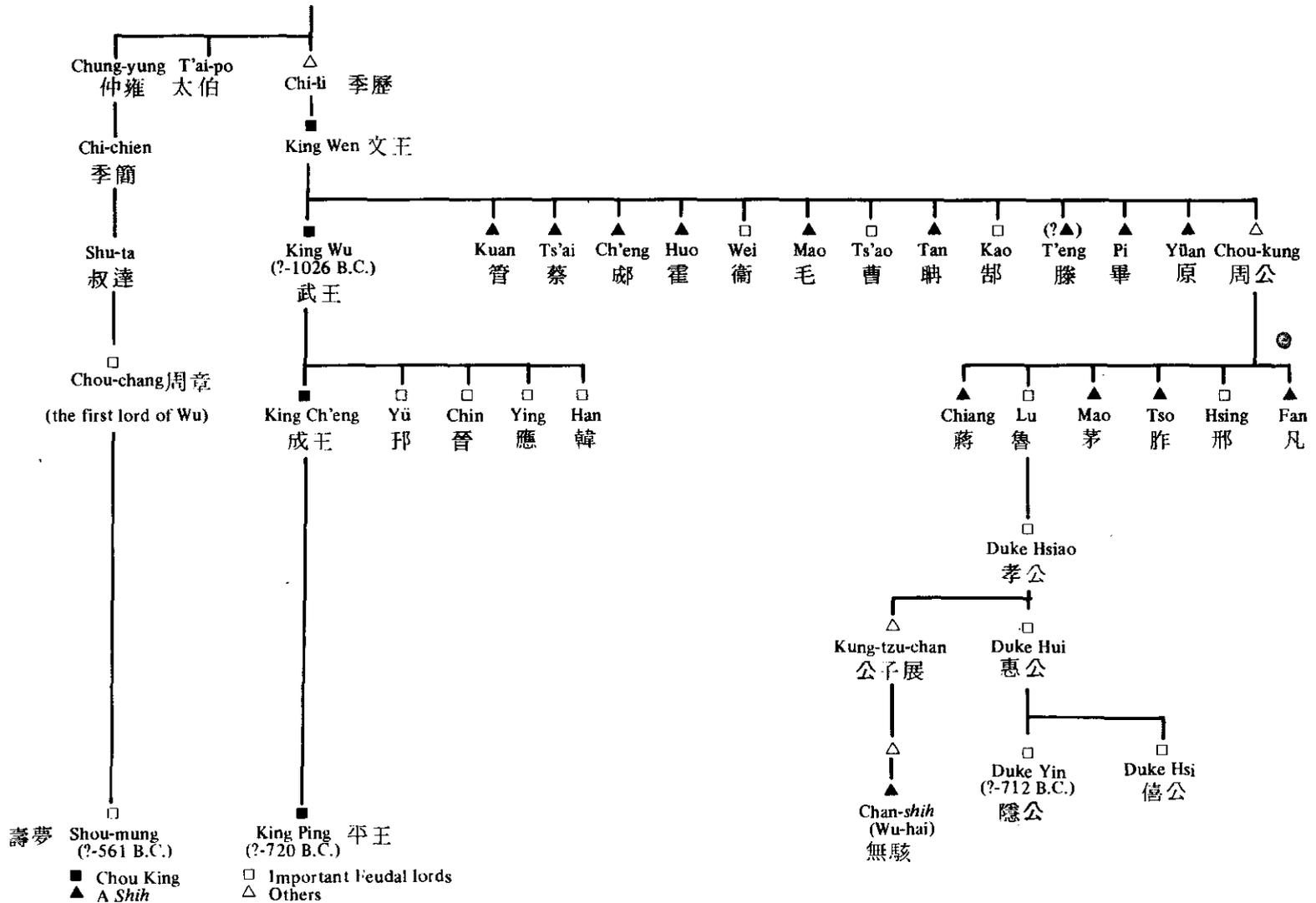


Figure VIII Kinship and Succession of the Chou Kings and Feudal Lords

According to the *Tso Chuan*, Kuan 管, Ts'ai 蔡, Ch'eng 鄭, Huo 霍, Lu 魯, Wei 衛, Mao 毛, Tan 聃, Kao 郟, Ts'ao 曹, T'eng 滕, Pi 畢 and Yüan 原 were the *chao* 昭 of King Wen 文王; Yü 邶, Chin 晉, Ying 應, and Han 韓 were the *mu* 穆 of King Wu 武王 (see Figure VIII).⁴ Chou-kung 周公 was King Wu's brother, and the most important statesman at that time; he was the hero of Confucius, who always dreamed of him, and called him the initiator of most Chou institutions. Po-ch'ing 伯禽, one of Chou-kung's sons, was enfeoffed by King Ch'eng and became the first duke of the state of Lu (see Figure VIII). One point which should be stressed here is that the state of Lu was counted as the *chao* of King Wen. Thus, if there were a fixed *chao-mu* designation of alternate generations (which was different from *chao-mu* designation of Chou kings of alternate generations) Lu simply would not have been counted as the *chao* of King Wen. In fact, it is totally misleading to say that King Wen's father was of the *mu* generation and that his son was of the *mu* generation; *chao* and *mu* simply did not mean "chao generation" and "mu generation". The terminology was used only as the name of certain kings of alternate generations in the Western Chou period, and was not similarly used in those feudal states; it was not related to the ancestral temple order until the book *Li Chi* 禮記 appeared in the Han dynasty. However, except for the dualistic layout and the number of ancestral temples involved, *Li Chi* does not tell us the position of a certain ancestor's temple or how the order maintained its consistency when generations accumulated. Moreover, as one refers to the *Tso Chuan*, one might find that the ordinance on the quantity of ancestor temple of a king or a feudal lord as recorded in the *Li Chi* is by no means testifiable. For instance, in the state of Chin 晉 the temple of Duke Wu 武公 was still remaining during the time of Duke Cho 悼公, and also the temple of Duke Wen 文公 in the time of Duke Ch'ing 頃公.⁵ Between Duke Wu and Duke Cho, there were another nine deceased dukes standing on the succession line, and there were also another ten deceased dukes between Duke Wen and Duke Ch'ing. If a feudal lord could only have five ancestor temples as the *Li Chi* says, then the temple of Duke Wu or Duke Wen could not have existed in the time of Duke Cho or Duke Ch'ing, for there was always a temple set up for a feudal lord after his death. *Chao-mu*, however, was more related to ancestor tablet. This point is assumed not simply on the basis of the *yi-ting* order of the Shang dynasty, but also on the basis of pre-Ch'in historical sources. In the August of 625 B.C. in the state of Lu 魯, a sacrificial ceremony was held for all the ducal ancestors of Lu, and in which the tablet of Duke Hsi 僖公 was designated to a higher position than that of Duke Min 閔公. The arrangement was considered as improper. Argued a ceremonial officer, "The reason of ancestor-temple's having *chao-mu* is to sequence the seniority of successive (ducal) reigns and to rank the closeness of (ducal) descendants. . ."⁶ Significantly enough, Duke Hsi,

the duke who succeeded Duke Min, was the elder half-brother of Duke Min, and the mother of the former was a concubine while the mother of the latter was one of the queens. Indeed, the more we refer our topic to reliable sources, the more we realize how absurd it is for the Confucian students to have related the *chao-mu* to the order of ancestor temples.

II. *The Rule of Five Generations*

The rule of five generations was associated with lineage segmentation, the formation of a *shih* 氏. The *Tso Chuan* says:

After Wu-hai died (see Fig. VIII), Yü-fu requested (for him) a posthumous title and *tsu*. The duke (i.e. Duke Yin of Lu) asked Chung-chung about (the rituals of establishing a) *tsu*, who replied:

“The Son of Heaven (i.e. the Chou King) in establishing (various) *te*, (first of all) he bestows upon a man *hsing* (i.e., clan name) according to (his) birth, (and secondly) gives him territory, (and thirdly) designates him *shih*; the feudal lords (of the Son of Heaven) confer a posthumous title (on a grandson of a *kung-tzu-x*) using the style (of the *kung-tzu-x*). Thus (the family of the deceased grandson) takes (this posthumous title) as (the name of its) *tsu*.

When merit has been displayed in one office by members of the same family for generations, (the name of) the office may be bestowed (upon this family as the name of its) *tsu*. A city is also bestowed as such.”

Duke Yin designated (Wu-hai) Chan *Shih* according to the style.⁷

Before we go into the question of bestowing *hsing* 姓, let us review the case of Chan *shih* 展氏. Wu-hai was affiliated to Duke Yin through the latter's grandfather, Duke Hsiao (see Fig. VIII); he was designated “Chan *shih*” as his posthumous title, and by this title his descendants were able to turn the salary-land of Wu-hai into their own property as the economic foundation of the Chan corporate group. One point which should be noted here is that the establishment of such *shih* was under the authority of the duke. Thus a *shih* was always a “heteronomous” (i.e., Weber's terminology) corporate group. To facilitate our discussion, a *shih* using the grandfather's style will be called a “secondary type A *shih*”, that utilizing the name of an office or city, a secondary type B *shih*”, and finally a *shih* based on the bestowal of a *hsing* and territory will be termed a “first class *shih*”. A secondary type A *shih* was just what the “Record of Small Matters in the Dress of Mourning” 喪服小記 of the book *Li Chi* referred to in saying the *tsung* 宗 (lineage) “moves” (i.e., is segmented) from the *tsung* established by the collateral descendants (for example, of kings) at the fifth generation (*wu shih tse ch'ien chih tsung* 五世則遷之宗).⁸ Actually, Feng points out that the mourning system in the book *Li Chi* or *I Li* 儀禮 was the elaborated work of Confucianists, who used the family and clan as the ideological basis for their works.⁹ Thus, with reference

to the establishment of a secondary type A *shih*, it is fully conceivable why the obligation to mourn for "internal" relatives (all members of the same lineage including women married into it) is removed after the fourth ascending or descending generation counting from ego.

Now readers of Granet's article can see very easily that Granet commonly treated whatever happened in the Chou dynasty as having happened long before. Granet hypothesized a Kariëra type (or four classes) marriage from the term *sheng*₂ of the book *Erh Ya*, and dated it as prior to the Aranda type (or eight classes) marriage, whose trace was preserved in the *chao-mu* order of the Western Chou dynasty. Thus what he did was precisely to divide what happened in the Chou dynasty into two parts and locate them one after the other before the Chou dynasty. In reviewing Granet's article, Hsü quotes Professor Creel and T'ao Hsi-sheng and points out that in the Shang dynasty brother succeeded brother, members of the father's generation were all called fathers, and members of the grandfather's generation were all called grandfathers. Consequently, he thinks that the agnatic family must have suddenly appeared with the Chou.¹⁰ Lévi-Strauss mentions the preceding viewpoint of Hsü and relates it to Professor Creel's statement that the grouping by five, so frequent in the latter Chou, is completely lacking in the more ancient literature.¹¹ Thus, with Granet's dating of the *Erh Ya* on one side and Hsü's and Professor Creel's statements on the other side, Lévi-Strauss says:

This raises a host of problems. As we have seen, the Chinese system, according to Granet, has developed from a strict clan regulation which has given way to a freedom gradually established by the transition to the agnatic family. The historical facts not only clearly suggest a change (not gradual, but abrupt) to the agnatic family, but also the replacing of relative freedom by rigorous regulation. It is never clear in Granet over what period of time the following sequence applies: four-class system—eight-class system—modern period. If it is of long continuance it does not correspond to the facts. On the other hand, the rule of the five generations should appear in connection with the eight-class system. Consequently, the latter must be contemporaneous with Hsia and Shang period, or even earlier. This would relegate the four-class system to a mythical past to which Hsia themselves also belong. Consequently, we would have to admit to the following sequence: four-class—eight-class—relative freedom (with the limit of five generations)—a return to the strict clan exogamy (under the influence of the Confucian reformation)—and direct development towards the modern stage of freedom, this being an infinitely more complex picture than that postulated by Granet. Secondly, we must accept the hypothesis that the system of the *Erh Ya* and of the *I Li* attest to an evolution effected several millennia before these works were written, and that the various stages of this evolution—themselves separated by very considerable space of time—have persisted in these works

as vestiges, and are there presented on the one level.¹²

But how can we admit to the sequence postulated by Lévi-Strauss, since the system of the *Erh Ya* and *I Li* could not possibly be dated prior to the Chou dynasty; how can we turn things which happened in the Chou dynasty into those of the Shang or Hsia dynasties? Lévi-Strauss is not a sinologist. He believes at the same time another false statement brought in by Granet that there was a regime in which the rule of exogamy disappeared after the fifth generation, and with which he “translates” Granet’s Aranda type into Murngin type.¹³ But not even a single word in any pre-Ch’in (?-221 B.C.) text tells that the rule of exogamy disappeared after the fifth generation. Granet followed the mistake of the T’ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.) commentary on the *Li Chi*. This mistake has been pointed out by Professor Li Tsung-t’ung. Below is a brief summary of Professor Li’s discussion.

- (1) The T’ang commentator misunderstood the below passage in the “Great Treaties” of the book *Li Chi*:

For parties four generations removed (from the same common ancestor) the mourning was reduced to that worn for three months, and this was the limit of wearing the hempen cloth. If the generations were five, the shoulders were bared and the cincture assumed; and in this way the mourning within the circle (i.e., *hsing*) was gradually reduced. After the sixth generation the bond of kinship was held to be at an end.

As the branch-surnames (i.e., the *shu-hsing* 庶姓 or *shih*) which arose separated the members of them from their relatives of a former time, and the kinship disappeared as the time went on, (as far as wearing mourning was concerned), could marriage be contracted between parties (so wide apart)? But there was that original surname (i.e., *hsing*) tying all maintenance of the connection by means of the common feast (i.e., given to all the kindred after the seasonal sacrifices in the ancestral temple); while there were these conditions, there could be no inter-marriage, even after a hundred generations. Such was the rule of Chou.

- (2) The T’ang commentator said:

“As the branch-surname which arose separated . . . could marriage be contracted between parties?” is a question made by the author of the “Great Treaties”, who supposed that the marriage could be contracted after the fifth generation in the Shang dynasty.

- (3) In fact, not only the author of the “Great Treaties” did not say that marriage could be contracted after the fifth generation, but also the Han commentator did not say so, although the latter sometimes tended to say what was not of Chou then was of Shang.
- (4) The T’ang commentator was affected by the bad habit of the Han commentator, and thus made this mistaken commentary.¹⁴

Although instances of exogamy disappearing at the fifth generation have been reported by modern field workers of African tribes, it was not recorded in the Chinese classics. In fact, the question in the "Great Treaties" is simply a question asking whether or not marriage could happen between the *ta-tsung* and *hsiao-tsung* or, for example, between Duke Yin and Chan *shih*, since the bond of kinship between them seemed to be at an end under the rule of (Confucian) mourning system. But the author explained (to the rest of the Confucian students) that it was the rule of Chou that marriage between them was still prohibited. On the other hand, supposing there was a mourning system in the Shang dynasty, its features were necessarily different from those of the Chou (Confucian) system, because collateral lines were not able to be immediately differentiated from the main descent line. (The existence of *to-tzu-tsu* reveals this characteristic.) In other words, the Chou (Confucian) mourning system, a hierarchical arrangement of one year—nine months—three months for first—second—third—fourth collateral line could not exist in the Shang dynasty. Thus it was not necessary that the author of the "Great Treaties" ask that question on the basis of the Shang mourning system. The preceding review on the hypotheses of Granet and Lévi-Strauss has been made mainly on a sinological basis.

III. *The Bestowal of Hsing*

I have translated the first sentence of the second paragraph of the *Tso Chuan* quotation immediately above as "the Son of Heaven in establishing the various *te*," but Legge translated it as "the Son of Heaven would enoble the virtuous."¹⁵ Legge was incorrect in understanding the term *te* 德 as "the virtuous." *Te* here should be understood as the *te* in the Taoists compound term *tao-te* 道德, so that the relationship between *te* and *hsing* 姓 can be immediately observed. Donald J. Munro has presented us with a good interpretation of the meaning of *tao-te*:

A Unity, *Tao*, underlies and is presented in the many particular things in the world. Being a Unity, *Tao* cannot be more or less present in one thing than another. When individual objects come into being, *Tao* is found in each one as its *te*, the principle that determines what a thing is like and what changes it will undergo.¹⁶

In short, *Tao* is the universal category, while *te* is its sub-categories. The relationship between *te* and *hsing* was once discussed by Ssu-k'ung Chi-tzu 司空季子, an aristocrat of the 7th century B.C. His discussion has been preserved in the *Discourses of the States* (dated the 4th-3rd century B.C.) as follows:

Ssu-k'ung Chi-tzu says,

Those of the same *hsing* are brothers. The Yellow Emperor had 25 sons,

but only two of them shared the same *hsing*—Ch'ing-yang (A) and Yi-ku (B) were of Chi. A was the *sheng*₂ (son) of (a woman of) Fang-lei *shih*, and B the *sheng*₂ of (a woman of) T'ung-yü *shih*. Those of the same birth but of different *hsing*—the sons of four mothers—were differentiated into 12 *hsing*: the Chi 姬, Yu 酉, Ch'i 祁, Ssu 巳, Chen 箴, Jen 任, T'eng 滕, Sun 荀, Hsi 僖, Chieh 結, Huan 僎, Yi 依. Only A and Ts'ang-lin (i.e., Yi-ku) were of Chi.

It is so difficult to share the same *te*! Previously, the Shao-tien *shih* married from Yu-ch'iao *shih* and had the Yellow Emperor and the Red Emperor. The Yellow Emperor established himself with the territory of the River Chi, the Red Emperor the territory of the River Chiang. After they had become established, they were differentiated in terms of *te*. Therefore, the Yellow Emperor was the Chi and the Red Emperor, the Chiang. Two emperors encountered each other with arms, because of the differentiation of *te*. Those who are differentiated in *hsing*, are then differentiated in *te*; those differentiated in *te*, then differentiated in category. No matter how closely (related to each other) are those of different categories, they (i.e., men and women) mutually touch to bring forth population. Those who are of the same *te*, then of the same soul, then of the same will. No matter how distantly (related to each other) are those of the same will, they do not mutually touch each other for fear of defiling reverence. To defile reverence gives rise to resentment. Resentment and chaos nourish disaster. Disaster, thus born, destroys the *hsing*.

Thus in marriage, one avoids marrying a woman of the same *hsing*, for fear of disaster. Therefore, for those who are of a different *te*, they may unite *hsing*; for those who are of the same *te*, they may unit *i* (the right conduct). *I* gives the way to the coming of *li* (benefits) which nourishes *hsing*. *Hsing* and *li* mutually alternate; after they have become established, they never move. Hence they can consolidate and protect one's lands and houses.¹⁷

The purpose of presenting this passage is to draw the conclusion that a four classes marriage system was one of the issues in bestowing *hsing*. Because at the beginning of the Chou dynasty a single *hsing* (clan name) such as Chi or Chiang, might be granted to those with the same grandfather as the *hsing* (clan name) of their individual *shih* (i.e., here referring to a first class *shih*),¹⁸ clan endogamy was thus brought to an end. But the double descent rule still remained after the Chou conquest, and bilateral cross-cousin marriage happened on an inter-clan level. As a result, those aristocrats might analytically constitute themselves into four different categories, for example, (1) Chi of Lu, (2) Chiang of Ch'i, (3) Chiang of Lu, (4) Chi of Ch'i (i.e., Chi, Chiang were *hsing* (clan name); Lu, Ch'i were first class *shih*.) Hence their marriage pattern was a pseudo-Kariera type (or a four classes system).

By this marriage system, in a close elite society (closed to outsiders by birth status) such as early Chou, the aristocrat class might thus maintain its existence, or in fact, recruit its new components. However, the more explicit issue of bestowing *hsing*

was simply that a power structure on the basis of *ta-tsung* vs. *hsiao-tsung* was brought into being. For instance, Chou-kung, the brother of King Wu, was the common ancestor of Lu, Chiang, Fan, Mao, Tso and Hsing. (See Fig. VIII.) In 561 B.C. when the Viscount of Wu, Shou-mung (of the Chi clan) died, the Duke of Lu, says *Tso Chuan*, was of the Chi *hsing* and wailed in the *Tsung* temple in the capital Chou.¹⁹ In other words, the ducal house of Lu being the lineage segmented from the royal lineage was counted as one of the independent lineages of the royal Chi clan, just as the state of Wu, whose first ancestor was Chung-yung, the brother of King Wen's father. This situation could not happen in the Shang dynasty because the Duke of Lu was affiliated with the living king through the Small Temple, while the Viscount of Wu was affiliated through the Great Temple. It was mentioned at the very beginning of Chapter IV that B and B-*tsu* were the *hsiao-tsung* relative to A and A-*tsu*, as well as affiliating to A through A's grandfather. Those who affiliated to A through A's father were members of A-*tsu*. Supposing B was Chan *shih* and A was Duke Yin, we learn that in the Spring and Autumn period it took at least four generations to produce a *ta-tsung* vs. *hsiao-tsung* chain. But in the early Chou it only took two generations by means of bestowing *hsing*. Obviously the motive of this action was to differentiate the main line and the collateral line at ego's second generation, and its result was precisely to bring the existence of *to-tzu-tsu* to an end. (Many Chinese scholars believe that the collateral inheritance is still observable in the relation between King Wu, his brother Chou-kung, and his son King Ch'eng.) After all, the clan confederation politics reached its zenith by the time of King Ch'eng; the process of power centralization was accomplished in the form of the dictatorship of the Chi clan. Now let us go back to the quotation from the *Discourses of the States* to clarify certain ambiguous points about *hsing*, *te* and marriage rules.

The theme of Ssu-k'ung Chi-tzu's discussion is that "those who are of the same *hsing* are brothers (i.e., siblings)," In order to discuss 'the significance of *hsing*, he presented certain historical facts first (which can be defined as legendary by us). Secondly he associated *hsing* with *te*, and then started his discussion of the chain relationship of *hsing-te-lei-hsin-chih* 姓德類心志.

According to Ssu-k'ung Chi-tzu, if a man is of A *hsing* (clan name); he is of A *te*, A category, etc.; if a man is of B *hsing*, B *te*, B category, etc. A man of A can marry a woman of B. People within A perform the "right conduct" together. We also learn from him that at the time of the Yellow Emperor, the *hsing* could be assumed by a man through his residence. A *hsing* thus assumed might be the name of a tribe wherein more than one *tsung* might be involved. However, according to the *Tso Chuan*, at the beginning of the Chou dynasty, a single *hsing* (clan name) could be bestowed to several individuals as the *hsing* of their individual *shih*. Moreover, a man did not use the *hsing*

as his and his descendants' family name; he used his *shih* (no man was recorded in the *Tso Chuan* as having Chi, Chiang or Tzu as his family name). But a woman used the *hsing* (clan name) as her family name. Thus a man belonged to a certain *hsing* through the *shih* he belonged to, but a woman belonged to a certain *hsing* (clan) directly: a man was not allowed to marry a woman of the same *hsing* (clan name) of his *shih*. Ssu-k'ung Chi-tzu did not ask whether after a man of A clan had married a woman of B clan or a woman of C clan their children were A or B of A, or C of A, but the answer to this question was extremely crucial to him. For the purpose of Ssu-k'ung Chi-tzu to present his argument was to persuade Kung-tzu (duke-son) Ch'ung-erh 重耳 to marry the daughter of Duke of Ch'in, who was the abandoned wife of Duke Huai of Chin, the son of Chung-erh's half-brother (i.e., brother of the same father by different mother).

The situation was as follows. Ch'ung-erh had been exiled in the state of Ch'in and wished that the Duke of Ch'in might help him to take over the ducal position of the state of Chin from Duke Huai, who formerly had stayed at Ch'in as a hostage of Chin and had married the daughter of the Duke of Ch'in, but broke this alliance when he secretly returned to Chin a year before Ch'ung-erh's arrival. Ch'ung-erh did not want to marry Duke Huai's abandoned wife. Moreover, he was impolite to her after the Duke of Ch'in had sent to him. But she was not able to bear his impoliteness, and inquired of him the reason for his conduct. Her action made Ch'ung-erh go to the court of the Duke of Ch'in and apologize for his misbehaviour. The Duke of Ch'in said to Ch'ung-erh that he had married his daughter to him because he loved her, and that if this girl made him (Ch'ung-erh) unhappy, he could send her back to her father. Ssu-k'ung Chi-tzu was one of the aristocrats following Ch'ung-erh in exile; he knew that the only chance for his master to become the Duke of Chin would be to have the help of the Duke of Ch'in, and that sending back his daughter simply meant the end of this chance. Thus with the argument in the *Discourses of the States* that I have quoted, he reached the conclusion that Duke Huai was a "stranger" to Ch'ung-erh.²⁰ "Stranger", of course, refers to people of different *hsing-te-lei* (category)-*hsin* (soul)-*chih* (will) according to him. In other words, Duke Huai was not considered as Ch'ung-erh's "brother's" son. Ch'ung-erh accepted this argument and married the abandoned wife of Duke Huai. Because Ch'ung-erh's mother and his half-brother's mother were of different *hsing*, thus they belonged to different categories. Hence if A married B, their children would be B of A or A of B, but never A or B; if A married C, their children would be C of A or A of C, but never A or C. B of A and C of A, or A of B and A of C were people of different categories. The X-*sheng*₂ or X-*sheng*₁ personal naming system is further evidence of this kind of classification, which obviously was a manifestation of the matrilineal descent rule. Thus with reference to the discussion of bilateral cross-

cousin marriage in Chapter III, I suggest there was a four classes marriage system in the Chou dynasty. Furthermore, since bilateral cross-cousin marriage happened between the two moieties of the Tzu clan, say M and N, and consequently their descendants continued to be M of the Tzu or N of the Tzu and married each other constantly, I suggest there was a two classes marriage system in the Shang dynasty. After all, when we separate the political and marital implications of the *hsing* 姓, we are coming close to the truth.

FOOTNOTES

1. Chen and Shryock, "Chinese Relationship Terms," *American Anthropologist* XXXIV (1932), pp. 629-630; Feng Han-yi, "The Chinese Kinship System," p. 45.
2. *Annales Sociologiques*, serie b, fasc. 1-3. Paris, 1939.
3. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, trans. James Harle Bell, John Richard Von Stummer, ed. Rodney Needham (Boston, 1969), pp. 311-324.
4. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 189 (Hsi 僖 24).
5. See *Tso Chuan*, Ch'eng 成 18, Chao 昭 17.
6. *Kuo Yü* 國語, vol. 4, *Lu Yü* 魯語 1. Cf. *Tso Chuan*, *Kung-yang Chuan* 公羊傳, *Ku-liang Chuan* 穀梁傳, Wen 文 2.
7. Cf. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 269 (Yin 隱 8).
8. See *Li Chi*, trans. Legge, II, pp. 42-43.
9. Feng Han-yi, "The Chinese Kinship System," p. 131.
10. Francis Lang-kwang Hsü, "Concerning the Question of Matrimonial Categories and Kinship Relationship in Ancient China III," *T'ien-Hsia Monthly* XI (1941), pp. 359-369. The term, agnatic family, is Lévi-Strauss's re-interpretation of Hsü's term *Chung Fa* (i.e., *tsung-fa*; literally, lineage rule), which has been defined by Hsü as "The familist organization, having as its basis the continuation and aggrandizement of the agnatic dynasty," (*Ibid.*, p. 359). It is safe to say that "*Chung Fa* appeared suddenly with the Chou" (*Ibid.*, p. 360) if the term *Chung Fa* is attributed to the Chou system alone. But if it means agnatic family then there is reason to disagree with Hsü's statement. The existence of varieties of *tsu* in the Shang period proves the agnatic family was there already.
11. Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, p. 335.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-345.
14. Li, *She-hui Shih*, p. 48.
15. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 269.
16. Donald J. Munro, *The Concept of Man in Early China* (Stanford, 1969), p. 17: Prof. Li has related the *te* to the *Mana* as discussed in R. H. Corrington's *The Melanesians*. See Li, *She-hui Shih*, pp. 37-40.
17. *Kuo Yü*, v. 10, Chin 4. Cf. Yang Hsi-mei "A Study of the Legend of Hwang-ti's Descendants in the *Kuo Yü*," *BIHP* XXXIV: 11 (1963), pp. 627-648.
18. It is misleading to think that the Chi 姬 or Chiang 姜 was used as a surname (i.e., family name in the modern sense) of a male aristocrat. The term *hsing* 姓 could mean clan name instead family name which should be the *shih* 氏 according to nomenclature seen in the *Tso Chuan*. But the term *hsing* became to mean family name/surname after the decline of the clan organization and the emergence of the bureaucratic empire in the Han dynasty (I have elaborated this point in the conclusion of Part I). From the case of the Seven Mu and the Chan *shih*, it is to be noted that a Duke-son-x or Duke-grandson-x did not even have a family name. The reason is simply that *shih* or *tsu* was an independent economic entity, and was not possessed by a Duke-son-x or Duke-grandson-x. For records of bestowal of *hsing*, see *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 621, col. 17; p. 729, col. 6 (Chao 昭 8, 29).
19. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 455 (Hsiang 襄 12). Reader may refer to the *Tso Chuan* quotation 2 in the Chapter IV.
20. *Kuo Yü*, v. 10, Chin 4.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

If we explain the Shang system by means of Chou terminology, we would say that the Shang hegemony was a conglomeration of various units of *hsing-tsung-tsu* 姓一宗一族. The clan endogamy met the need of internal solidity of the Tzu clan; the clan exogamy the solidity of the Shang conglomeration. It is interesting to see that by bestowing *hsing*, collateral inheritance, clan endogamy, and the *to-tzu-tsu* system were brought to an end after the Chou conquest, although some of the changes had already taken shape during the late Shang times.

The term collateral inheritance used in this paper refers to four different ways of kingship succession in addition to that of from ego to ego's son, namely (1) from ego to ego's male sibling, (2) from ego to ego's classificatory brother, i.e., uncle's son, (3) from ego to ego's classificatory son, i.e., brother's son, (4) from ego to ego's classificatory nephew, i.e., father's brother's son's son. The *to-tzu-tsu* 多子族 was the manifestation of this inheritance with regard to lineage organization. In short, the Shang kingship was passed among various segmented as well as localized patrilineages of the royal lineage of the Tzu clan by means of the above four methods.

The clan organization of the Shang or Chou dynasty has been examined on the basis of the ancestral temple system. The clan temple was named *Ta-tsung* (Great Temple) according to the Shang inscriptions, while it was called *Tsung-miao* 宗廟 (Lineages' Temple) according to the *Tso Chuan*. (A clan is composed of several lineages, which are not segmented lineages to one another.) The lineage organization could be found from the existence of the *Hsiao-tsung* (Small Temple) or the *Tsu₂-miao* 祖廟 both referring to the temple of the common ancestor of certain living people. The paternal temple was prepared for people of the same localized lineage. It should be added here that according to traditional history, there were another seven generations preceding the first predynastic Shang king, and 20 generations preceding the first dynastic Chou King (King Wen). There were mythologies which contributed to these earlier ancestors. The ancestors of pre-dynastic Shang kings were excluded from the annual quinquartite ceremonial sacrifice of the royal Shang, but randomly received some sacrifices from the Shang kings. What happened to the pre-dynastic ancestors of the royal Chou with regard to their tablets or scarifices is not known. It may be true that ancestral temples are dualistically laid out in the Anyang Shang site as modern archaeologists think. In fact, the discussion on the dualistic layout of ancestral temples

together with cross-cousin marriage and the rule of alternate generation by modern scholars is one of the biggest academic issues in the field of ancient Chinese study. So far, we have pointed out certain mistakes involved in their discussions and presented, hopefully, a new understanding.

It does not suffice for me to comment on the clan organization prior to the Shang dynasty, although some information has been preserved in the *Discourses of the States*. And yet it will be helpful to mark clearly the later usage of the terms *hsing*, *tsung*, and *tsu* since their modern definitions are quite confusing. Actually, the clan organization composed of several independent lineages no longer existed in Chinese society after the 2nd century A.D. (Han dynasty), except for the imperial houses such as the Mongolian and Manchurian houses. After the 2nd century A.D., there was no clan temple for those of the same *hsing*. People of one *hsing* dispersed all over the country and did not necessarily have kinship ties with one another. In short, the term *hsing* ceased to possess one of its meanings (i.e., clan), but it still meant “name” (hence, surname). However, it is often observed that in China from the 3rd century to the 5th century A.D. people of the same *hsing* (surname) living in the same locality were relatives to each other, but not to those of the same *hsing* (surname) living in another locality. For example, during that period the Wang (i.e., the *hsing*, surname) *shih* of the Lang-ya province 瑯琊王氏 who was descended from Wang Chieh, a bureaucrat of the Han dynasty, was not related to the Wang *shih* of the Tai-yüan province 太原王氏.¹ The term *shih*, formerly referring to a corporate group whose basic component was people belonging to one single localized lineage, could still appear in the surname (*hsing*, e.g., Wang) plus *shih* style in the texts of the 5th century A.D., but it referred to the families or extended families of the surname having financially independent (or dependent) households. Moreover, the surname plus *shih* was always preceded by a geographical name in order to identify or to be identified. Feng has used the term “sib” (i.e., clan) referring to both the Chi *hsing* organization of the Chou dynasty and the organization such as the Wang *shih* of the Lang-ya province existing throughout the 3rd to 5th centuries A.D.² Obviously he is wrong; the Wang *shih* of the Lang-ya province constituted only one lineage and its segmented as well as localized lineages.

The preceding discussion on the double descent system of the Shang dynasty has been based mainly on the ancestral tablet system and the existence of female ancestor's temples, and that of the Chou dynasty on the male ancestral temple system and matrilineal classification of descendants. The problem of descent pertains to the counting of one's kinsmen and is independent of the problem of inheritance. It would be methodologically incomplete to ascertain, say, patrilineal descent simply by citing patrilineal inheritance, although descent and inheritance may be patrilineal at the same time. The

archaic Chou Chinese way of counting one's kinsmen was conceptualized in the speech of Ssu-k'ung Chi-tzu, and the character of the kinsmen thus determined was discussed by him too. I have simplified his main points as follows: *hsing-te-lei-hsin-chih* 姓—德—類—心—志. During the Chou dynasty, *hsing* functioned as a criterion in marriages, but it was not carried by a male nobility—who bore his *shih*—it was carried by a female nobility. This Chou rule also reflects a system of double descent, in which that of patrilineal seems to regularize the rules of succession, while that of matrilineal the rules of marriage. Such a situation can be applied also to the Shang double descent system.

The kinship term, *sheng*₁, and its derivatives have been our focus of attention in the preceding discussion on Shang and Chou bilateral cross-cousin marriages. Both *hsing* and *sheng*₂ derived from *sheng*₁. *Hsing* retained the origin meaning of *sheng*₁—ego's child, but *sheng*₂ became to mean primarily sister's son. This change took place when the Shang intra-clan bilateral cross-cousin marriage transformed into a Chou inter-clan variety, and the implicit meaning—sister's son—of the word *sheng*₁ had to be independent and became explicit. Thus the radical *nan* was added to *sheng*₁ to create the new word, *sheng*₂. We have already seen the continuities and discontinuities in the Shang and Chou marriage as well as lineage institutions. In fact the legend about the relationship among T'ai-po, Chung-yüng, and Chi-li would certainly lead us to consider that before the conquest, the Chou people also practiced the so called collateral inheritance.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Mao Han-kwang 毛漢光, *Liang-Chin Nan-pei-ts'ao Shih-tsu Cheng-chih Chih Yen-Chiu* 兩晉南北朝士族政治之研究 (Taipei, 1966) I, pp. 48-63. Dr. Mao has analyzed the origins of 50 individual cases, among them the Wang *shih* of the Lang-ya province and the Wang *shih* of the Tai-yüan province.
2. See Feng Han-yi, "The Chinese Kinship System," p. 175.

CHAPTER VII

THE KINGSHIP

The supreme ruler of the Shang dynasty was called *wang* 王, king. The Shang inscription *wang* is a pictograph resembling a great man "standing on a line representing the territory that he possesses."¹ This title was first secured by two Shang royal ancestors, Wang-hai 王亥 and Wang-heng 王恒, around the seventeenth century B.C., approximately one hundred and fifty to two hundred years before the Shang dynasty was founded. These two men were brothers and the "fathers" of Pao-chia 報甲, the first pre-dynastic king, who made the Shang people strong and prosperous.² The oracle bone inscriptions show that Wang-hai was also given the rank *Kao-tsu* 高祖, High Ancestor.³ These spirits of the High Ancestor might possess a kind of power in between those of ancestors and the gods. Their position was higher than those of later ancestors and yet their relation to the Shang people themselves was remote. Colorful legends surround the lives of Wang-hai and Wang-heng.⁴ Therefore I shall classify them as legendary kings of the Shang people. Pao-chia and the rulers of the next five generations are classified as predynastic kings. T'ang the founder of the Shang dynasty, and the subsequent Shang kings are classified as dynastic kings. It should be noted here that the title *wang* was not used exclusively by the Shang; it was also used contemporaneously by rulers other than those of the Shang.⁵

I. *The Authority of the Shang King*

The Shang king was definitely the highest authority of the state. He controlled—insofar as we can tell from the inscriptions—political, military, and even economic activities. He frequently consulted the oracles as to whom should be delegated responsibility in certain missions. Sometimes, officers mentioned by category were ordered by the King to carry out certain work. For instance:

(13) Divination on the day *kuei-hai*. Asked: "Should the King order many *Yin* officers to work on the fields in (the area of) *Yü*?"

癸亥貞：王令多尹墾田于羽？ (Jen 2363.)

(14) Asked: "Should not the King order Ch'ing to take the Multitudes and attack the state of K'u?"

貞：王勿令禽擊衆伐邑方？ (Hou 1,16,10.)

(15) Divination on the day *hsin-ch'ou*. Asked: "Should the King order Wu to take Tzu-fang and establish a *Tien* settlement at (the place) Ping?"

辛丑貞：王令武以子方奠于井？ (Hou 2,34,3.)

The *Yin* 尹 officers, as seen in other divinations of the King Wu-ting period, were also sent to engage in royal construction projects or to manage military parades.⁶ The person Ch'ing here was a *Ya* 亞 officer, while Wu bore the official title *Hsiao-chi-ch'en*. 小藉臣.⁷

The King would also send persons to honor royal guests, to make preparations for sacrifices, to transport herds, and to do many other types of work. Indeed, he was so involved in managing the state's affairs that they appeared to be his personal enterprises. The simple phrase *ku wang shih* 古王事 (to fulfill the king's affairs)⁸ supports this point as seen below:

- (16) Divination on the day *yi-wei*. Diviner Ch'u asked: "Will not Wu be in trouble while fulfilling the king's affairs?"

乙未卜，出貞：𠄎古王事不囚？ (Wen 621.)

- (17) Divination on the day *chia-shu*. The King asked: "Should I order Chiao-fu to fulfill my affairs?"

甲戌卜，王：余令角婦古朕事？ (Yi 15.)

- (18) Divination on the day *chi-mao*. Diviner Yün asked: "Should the *to-tzu-tsu* be ordered to associated with Ch'üan-hou in attacking (the state of) Chou. (would they) fulfill the king's affairs?"

己卯卜，允貞：令多子族比犬侯寇周，古王事？ (Hsü 5,2,2.)

In Divination 17, the King used the phrase *ku chen shih* 古朕事, "to fulfill my affairs," without noting the actual specifics of the work that Chiao-fu would possibly be ordered to do. In Divination 16, Diviner Ch'u used the phrase *ku wang shih* 古王事, "to fulfill the king's affairs;" but he did not specify what Wu was doing at that particular moment. In Divination 18, we observe that attacking the state of Chou was potentially the actual means of fulfilling the king's affairs. The phrase to "fulfill the king's affairs," occurring quite frequently in the inscriptions of the King Wu-ting period, might be used in the divinations concerning either specified or unspecified work. It merges the public affairs of that time with the King's affairs, and suggests that those responsible for fulfilling these affairs were all men in the King's service.

The oracle bone inscriptions also provide evidence of the king's control of the state's military machine. Such things as the proclamation of war, the selection of a general to fight a war, and the distribution of military forces during the war were all presented to the oracles by the king and his diviners before any decision concerning such was reached. It was also common in the Shang dynasty for the king to personally lead a military expedition. For instance, during the war against the states of Pa 巴 and Hsia-wei 下危, King Wu-ting appointed Chih-ka 沚戛 to attack Pa and Wang-ch'eng 望乘 to attack Hsia-wei; the King then divined whether he himself should associate with

Chih-ka or Wang-ch'eng in the war.⁹ The actual result of this divination is not known, but we do have the following divination:

- (19) Divination on the day *hsin-wei*. Diviner Cheng asked: "Fu-hao will associate with Chih-ka in attacking the state of Pa. Should the King attack Kuo from the east and set a trap at Fu-hao's position?"

辛未卜，爭貞：婦好其比沚戛伐巴方，王自東戛伐，隍于婦好立？(I 2948.)

The word 隍 is read as 隍, a trap or to trap, and 立 as 位, position.¹⁰ Possibly the King wanted to ambush the enemy with the forces of Fu-hao as a trap, after he had destroyed Kuo, another state involved in the war.

During the invasion of the states of K'u 囂 and T'u 土, which was perhaps the biggest war during the reign of King Wu-ting, Chih-ka and at least four other persons, *Shih Pan* 紂, Yü 羽, Ch'ing 禽, and 兪, were all appointed as generals.¹¹ Ch'ing was ordered to lead the Multitudes, and Yü the people from Ko 戈. The types of forces led by Chih-ka and these other people are not known. Besides these generals, the King also sent many 命, many *Ch'en* 臣, and many *Shih* 史 officers to participate in the war.¹² It was the king who gave the order to mobilize the Multitudes. The king's control of the military does not seem to have weakened during the Shang dynasty. It is evident from the late Shang inscriptions that the king was still the Commander-in-Chief of the Shang military. He personally led a large number of aristocrats and officers while fighting against the states of Yü 孟 and Jen 人.¹³ From the day the King left the capital until the day he returned the latter campaign lasted about twelve months.¹⁴ In fact, the tradition of command of the military by the king existed not only during the Shang dynasty, but also during the early Chou dynasty. The eight armies at Ch'eng-chou and the West Six armies were each under the direct control of the Chou king. At times, he would command the forces and march with them to the places where battles were fought, at other times, he might appoint generals to fight the battles for him. The divination below is yet another important piece of evidence:

- (20) Divination on the day *ting-yu*. Asked: "Should the King establish the Three Armies—the Right, the Middle, and the Left?"

丁酉貞：王作三軍，右，中，左？(Ts'ui 597.)

From the particular style of writing, we know that this divination was made during the reign of King Wu-yi or King Wen-ting, about sixty years before the fall of the Shang dynasty. Scholars heretofore have quoted it as evidence of the probable existence of a standing army during the Shang dynasty. It is merely for convenience of discussion that I have separated the military machine from the administrative machine in this chapter. In fact, an overlapping of the two did occur; for example, offices such as *Ya* 亞,

Yin 尹, *Shih* 史, and *Shih* 𠄎 concomitantly carried both military and administrative functions.

Both archaeological artifacts and the oracle bone inscriptions also suggest royal management of the state's economy. In 1928, more than 1,000 "stone knives" were excavated from a single pit at Anyang, a capital of the Shang, and, in 1932, about 444 pieces of "stone knives" were unearthed in the same manner.¹⁵ As additional knives and other types of stone implements were dug up, their functions were gradually recognized. These stone knives were used by the Shang people in the harvesting of their crops.¹⁶ From the fact that so many stone knives were found in the same pit, scholars have deduced that they were the property of the Shang royal government, which implies a collective farming system under the control of the king. Such speculation is supported by the oracle bone inscriptions:

- (21) (Asked); "(The King) grandly orders the Multitudes and says, "Cultivate the fields together! Will we receive a (good) harvest?"

〔王〕大令衆人曰𠄎田，其受年？ (Hsü 2,28,5.)

- (22) Divination on the day *wu-yin*. Diviner Pin asked: "Should the King go and take the Multitudes to plant millet at Ming?"

戊寅卜，旁貞：王往挈衆黍于𠄎？ (Ch'ien 5,20,5.)

"The Multitudes" is a direct translation of *Chung* 衆 or *Chung-jen* 衆人. Scholars have two different interpretations of the specific status of *Chung* or *Chung-jen*. One group argues that *Chung* were free plebeians, while the other group believes they were slaves.¹⁷ However neither party disputes the fact that *Chung* constituted the bulk of the Shang population. Hence, from the above two pieces of divination, we may be sure of the state's practice of collective farming under the management of the king.

The following divinations provide information on other aspects of this collection farming system:

- (23) Asked: "Should *Hsiao-ch'en* (officers) order the Multitudes to plant millet?"

貞：由小臣令衆黍？ (Ch'ien 4,30,2.)

- (24) Divination on the day *kuei-hai*. Asked: "Should the King order many *Yin* (officers) to open new fields at Yü?" Divination on the day *yi-chou*. Asked: "Should the King order (*Yin* officers) to open new fields at Ching? At Hsün, to open new fields?"

癸亥貞：王令多尹墾田于羽？乙丑貞：王令〔多尹〕
墾田于京？于𠄎墾田？ (Jen 2363.)

The meaning of Divination 23 is quite clear. Divination 24, with its three questions, reveals that the King was trying to decide whether the *Yin* officers should be sent to

open new farming fields at Yü, Ching, or Hsün. From other similar divinations, we see that the King was divining whether to order Yüng 祿 to open new fields at 𠄎, and *Ch'üan Yen* 犬征 at Lu 盧, and Ch'ing 禽 at Ching.¹⁸ Ch'ing 禽, a *Ya* officer, was once the candidate to inspect the granaries, and the one who led the Multitudes to attack the state of K'u. *Ch'üan Yen* perhaps also bore an aristocratic title, *Hou*.¹⁹ Since Yüng, *Ch'üan Yen*, and Ch'ing were prominent figures, they probably supervised or were responsible for the agricultural programs at the places noted by the King. Questions such as where to plant what kind of crops or whether the capital and the four quarters would receive a good harvest, were presented to the oracles by the king and his diviners. When crops had been harvested, the king would hold ceremonies in which he invited his ancestors to taste the new grains.²⁰ Agriculture was the backbone of the Shang economy, and it is evident that the king was quite involved in its management.

The king also directed the state's urban building planning. According to the studies of modern archaeologists, one of the more important discontinuities between the neolithic culture and the Shang culture was the mature "urbanism" of the Shang culture, Chang Kwang-chih has a very fine discussion of this point:

Because the term "urbanization" is somewhat arbitrarily defined in the archaeological literature, we must carefully characterize the nature of city life of the Shang dynasty in North China. The foremost feature of the Shang sites is that individual villages were organized into inter-village networks in economy, administration, and religion. . . . There was a political and ceremonial center (a walled enclosure in the case of Cheng-chou), where the royal family and the nobles resided. It apparently served as the nucleus of the group and when the capital of the dynasty was located there, as the center of political and economic control of the whole kingdom. Surrounding and centripetal to this nucleus were industrial quarters with high degrees of specialization, and farming villages. Goods apparently circulated among the various villages, with the administrative center serving also as the center for redistribution . . . the Shang capital sites performed all the essential functions of a city, indicating a definite break from the Neolithic community pattern.²¹

There were two kinds of *i* 邑 "city" as seen in the oracle bone inscriptions; the first one *ta-i* 大邑, great city, the second one *i*. As the Shang people called their capital *Ta-i* Shang, *ta-i* would be the name for the kind of political, economic, religious center described above. *I*, composed of an upper element 邑, a square enclosure, and a lower element 𠄎, a sitting man, was an ideograph symbolizing a certain type of settlement.²² Chang Kwang-chih notes the Shang sites "showing a similar urbanized structure but without a concentrated aristocratic complex extend to Western Honan as far as Shan Hsien, Southern Hopei as far as Ch'ü-yang, and Shantung as far as Chi-nan."²³ An *i* was

possibly this type of settlement. The following divinations show that the construction of an *i* or a *ta-i* was planned by the King and his diviners:

- (25) Divination on the day *chi-hai*. Diviner Nei asked: “Should King make a *Yu-shih* ceremony in the northeast of Lu, and build an *i* here?”
 “Should King make a *Yu-shih* ceremony in the northeast of Lu, and build an *i* here?” “Build an *i* at Lu?”

己亥卜，內貞：王出石，在麓北東，作邑于之？
 王出石，在麓北東，作邑于之？作邑于麓？ (I 3212.)

- (26) Asked: “If the King built an *i*, will Ti agree?”

貞：王作邑，帝若？ (T'ieh 220,3.)

- (27) Asked: “Build a *ta-i* at the land of T'ang?”

貞：作大邑于唐土？ (Chin 611.)

The *Yu-shih* ceremony, as in the first divination, is part of a religious procedure involved in the city-building plan. The above three divinations reveal two points: (1) an *i* or a *ta-i* was to be built in a place decided upon by the king and his diviners, and (2) the will of the highest god, Ti, was to be consulted. Kunio Shima has collected 44 pieces of divinations about *i* building. The contents of these further support these two points.²⁴ Such planning of “urbanization” by the king also existed with the Chou people before their conquest of the Shang: King Wen built the city of Feng, King Wu, the city Hao.²⁵

One of the most important elements in an urbanized settlement was its specialized industrial quarters. We may assume that the establishment of these quarters was part of the king's city building plan. These industrial complexes generally included bronze, pottery, and bone workshops. It is highly probably that the *Kung* 工 (literally, Artisan) officers were in charge of these industries. In fact, in the Shang sites at Cheng-chou, there were above ground stamped-earth-houses—the symbol of social and political prestige—built into these industrial quarters, perhaps as quarters for *Kung* officers.²⁶ Moreover, it is particularly clear from the late Shang sites that each workshop's function was limited to the production of one or two types of goods. Archaeologists on the mainland of China have deduced that in addition to self-consumption, a certain portion of the products produced by these workshops was for trade.²⁷ It is extremely unlikely in a city built up by the king, with its industrial complexes managed by his royal officers, that the problem of the distribution of the city's wealth was not of the king's concern.

II. *Royal Techniques of Control*

In order to make sure that the men in the royal service were carrying out their *ad hoc* missions or long term duties in a satisfactory manner, the king would periodically make inspection trips around the countryside paying personal attention to cattle,

granaries, and housing. The following divinations may give a few glimpses into such royal routines:

(28) Asked: "Should the King make an inspection at (the area governed by) Tzu-ching?"²⁸

貞：王省于子鬲？ (T'ieh 95,1.)

(29) Divination on the day *keng-shen*. Diviner Ku asked: "(During) this spring, should the King inspect (the affairs about) attacking the state of T'u?"

庚申卜：覿貞：今春王省伐土方？ (Lin 1,27,11.)

(30) (Asked:) "Should the King go forth for an inspection?"

王畷出省？ (Ping 21.)

(31) Asked: "Should not the King go and inspect cattle at Fa?"

貞：王勿往省牛于夬？ (Yi 4.)

That the king personally appeared before the men in his service and examined the areas for which they were responsible was of both practical and psychological significance. Since officers personally received orders from and reported to the king, they would be anxious to appear worthy of the responsibility given to them. Thus, in this way, the king enforced his orders, while the officers could appear conscientious in the performance of their work and thereby gain the confidence of the king.

Such royal inspection trips were always one of the most important aspects of the Shang kingship. Since these trips were sometimes coincidental with or incorporated within royal hunting expeditions, it is impossible to gain a thorough understanding of them without a full treatment of the royal hunts.

Hunting was a well developed and commonly practiced royal sport in the Shang dynasty. Officers of Dogs were established in various localities to manage hunting affairs. For days, and even months, the king would make a tour from one place to another hunting wild animals. His favorite hunting grounds were at the Hsing-yang 沁陽 area near the Yellow River and at the foot of the Tai-hang 太行 Mountains. Methods of the hunting included shooting, chasing, trapping, and netting; sometimes the brush was set ablaze to drive the animals out of hiding. Deer, wild boar, and birds were the common game, but, occasionally tigers, rhinoceroses, bears, and elephants were hunted. King Wu-ting is recorded to have caught 348 wild animals on a single hunting trip. Evidently, hunting was an exciting and celebrated event, on a considerable scale. Game also provided meat and fur, and antlers and bones became the raw materials for tools.

Besides sport and practical needs, hunting was, in addition, utilized for military

and administrative purposes. The pre-Ch'in classics reveal that in ancient times the seasonal hunts held during the intervals of agricultural productivity enabled the common people to practice their military skills. This issue has been widely studied by both traditional and modern scholars. Yang K'uan suggests that that was because the weapons used in war were used in hunting as well, and also that the disposition of hunting was quite similar to the disposition of battle. Consequently, people could be trained to fight through participating in hunting parties.²⁹ He also points out that when coming to the Spring and Autumn period the military parade, or *Ta-shou* 大蒐 ceremony, previously a part of the seasonal hunt, had become purely a military parade and did not have a hunting party to carry it out.³⁰

So far as the Shang sources are concerned, the relationship between hunting and military rehearsal is quite explicit:

(32) On the day *ting-ch'ou*. The King divined and asked: "Should (we) parade the troops and go for a hunt at Yü; would there be no disaster when (we) go and return?" The King examined and said: "Auspicious".

丁丑，王卜貞：其還旅，社于孟，往來亡災？
王占曰：吉。

(Yi 971.)

The term 還旅 should be read as *cheng lü* 振旅, to parade the troops.³¹ In annotating restored specimens of Shang inscribed tortoise shells, Professor Chang Ping-ch'üan points out that when King Wu-ting wanted to appoint Ts'a Chih-hua 咎 咎化 and others to attack the state of Fang, the King ordered the *Yin* officers to manage the *Ta-t'ien* 大田 (the Great Hunt) ceremony so that the soldiers and the equipment for the war could be reviewed and a military drill made.³² Li Hsüeh-ch'ing also thinks that the royal hunts had the nature of a military rehearsal; he refers to the fact that when King Lin-hsin was hunting in Mai, Li, and 兪, he had *Ma-ya* 馬亞, *Shu* 戌, and *Chung* 衆 under his command, and that *Ma-ya*, *Shu*, and *Chung* were those who were participating in battles.³³

Hunting, as previously mentioned, was not always an independent activity; it could be a part of the king's inspection tour. According to the "Daily Schedule of King Wu-ting" as reconstructed by Tung Tso-pin, in August of the 28th year of the King's reign, the King decided to make a trip to Fa. In January of the next year, while the King was hunting rhinoceroses, he and Prince Tzu-yang both fell from a chariot driven by a *Hsiao-ch'en* officer. This was on his way to Fa. In March, the King divined whether he should inspect the cattle in Fa. This then was probably the reason he went to Fa. He was then in Fa for at least two months, leaving in July. In August, he again hunted at Pi-lu 敝畝.³⁴ During his stay in Fa, both Diviner Ku and Diviner Cheng recorded that in May officer Fu "arrested" five Ch'iang 羌 men.³⁵ Then, possible because of the

mounting threat from the states of T'u and K'u, the King decided to return. The invasion of these two states was first reported to the King in March by Yu-chiao and Chih-ka from different places. The King then divined to levy 5000 people to counter-attack T'u. But again in June from Tzu-ch'ai 子翬 and in July from Ch'i-jan 季犛, reports on damage inflicted from these two states reached the King. The King thereupon ordered Chih-ka and Wang-ch'eng to return to the capital immediately, and he himself later followed them.³⁶ (Both Chih-ka and Wang-ch'eng were important generals at that time.) We observe that on this trip there were several diviners, princes, royal retainers, officers, and aristocrats accompanying the King. During the trip, the King was met by messengers from various localities who reported on the current situation. The King though did not cease in the least in the performance of his royal duties; on the contrary, he sent down orders to mobilize the Multitudes and appointed persons to deal with other problems. He appeared to be much at ease, as on his way home he enjoyed yet another hunt. It seems that the governmental machine worked well even when the king was away from the capital periodically.

The hunting tour and the inspection trip were so incorporated into one event that in the Chinese Classics they both were simply referred to by one term, *hsün-shou* 巡狩, inspection hunting. In the Western Chou period, the kings frequently made inspection hunts into the territories of the feudal lords. So too, the Shang kings took trips into the territories of the Shang aristocrats. *Tso Chuan* says that "the Son of Heaven, if not for the purpose of displaying justice, will not make an inspection hunt."³⁷ This is more or less the case in the Shang dynasty as well as reward and punishment are implied by inspection. Our reasoning here is supported by evidence: a bronze of the late Shang period records the following:

The King came for a hunt. From Tou-lu, he arrived at Hsi-shih. The King offered a wine banquet. The King bestowed five strings of cowries upon Tsai Miao. Tsai Miao thereby made this precious tripod.

王來狩，自豆泉，在禘師，王鄉酒，王宴宰嘗貝五朋，
用作寶彝

(*Shan-tai* 8,19,1.)

We do not know why Miao, a *Tsai* officer, was rewarded with cowries, but, it is evident that this event was related to the King's hunting trip. The royal banquet, after which *Tsai* Miao received the present, is another inseparable part of the royal institution; it deserves our careful study.

In the oracle bone inscriptions *hsiang* 𠄎 is the word for "banquet" it is a pictograph of two men facing each other with a food vessel between them. The court banquets in ancient China were not generally held simply for the purpose of epicurean delights. On the contrary, there were fine rituals to regulate such feasts. For instance,

in the Spring and Autumn period, many court banquets were held among states at times when significant events occurred. The parties involved in the feasts would quote from the *Book of Odes*; by this means, they communicated with one another. Sometimes, a diplomatic dispute was resolved due to the propriety of one's behavior, or, sometimes, the problem of the succession of a ruling house was clarified by the arrangement of the seats. In many cases, the banquets were held in order to settle serious difficulties. Thus, *Kuo-yü* says, "The reasons that the kings and lords had banquets were for discussion of affairs with a view toward attaining excellence, as well as for establishing those with great virtue and displaying the grand articles."³⁸ As observed from the oracle bone inscriptions, the king's relatives, certain officers, and other prominent individuals would be guests at a king's banquet. The articles displayed at the banquet were also of concern to the king.

(33) (Asked:) "The grand *kuei*? (Should the King) give a banquet to the many *Yin* officers?"

元殿? 畝多尹鄉? (Chia 752.)

In commenting on this divination Ch'ü Wan-li says, "*Kuei* is the *kuei* vessel usually seen in the classics . . . this was to divine whether the grand *kuei* should be used in the banquet given for the many *Yin* officers."³⁹ The royal banquet could also be a meeting for planning military action:

(34) Asked: "The state of K'u has been encroached upon. Should the King give a banquet?" (In) the eleventh month.

貞: 呂出, 王鄉? 十一月 (Ts'un 1,549.)

It is evident that the invasion of K'u induced the King to consult the oracle. As I have mentioned, the King was still away from the capital in August. We are not sure whether the King returned to the capital or not in the eleventh month, but, it is evident that the banquet that was held would have been held in order to deal with the problem of defense. Without a doubt, there had to be a certain kind of arrangement of the seats so that the honored and the important were not confused with those less prominent.

The original meaning of *hsiang* was then preserved only by adding the word *shih* 食 beneath the original *hsiang*. The original *hsiang* came to mean *ch'ing* 卿, minister, or *hsiang* 鄉, village. Some scholars suppose that in the Shang dynasty, *hsiang* did have the additional meaning of "minister". This probably was not the case.⁴⁰ Numerous traditional scholars have thought that there were certain relationships between the *Ch'ing* officers and the local administrative system in the Chou dynasty.⁴¹ Yang K'uan further suggests that the six *Ch'ing* officers of the royal Chou originated from the six *hsiang* (village) local administrative and military units, and that this institution evolved

from the banquets held by the elders of each *hsiang* (village) in the remote past.⁴² It is hard to judge whether in the Shang dynasty there was such a connection between *hsiang* and *ch'ing*, as *hsiang* probably did not contain these meanings. Another meaning of *hsiang*, as found in the oracle bone inscriptions, is "to accomplish". This *hsiang* appears in the phrase, *k'e hsiang wang shih* 克鄉王事, which means "to be able to accomplish the king's affairs."⁴³ This meaning of *hsiang* probably came about due to the fact that at a court banquet participants were supposed to "discuss affairs with a view toward attaining excellence." On the basis of Western Chou bronze inscriptions, Professor Creel points out that the term *Ch'ing-shih* 卿事 usually denotes a group of officers.⁴⁴ Therefore, if *hsiang shih* means "to accomplish affairs" instead of *Ch'ing-shih* officers, as I have discussed, then, the term *Ch'ing-shih*, as an official title, may have been derived from the Shang *hsiang shih*. The meaning of the term could simply have changed from specific action to the men carrying out such an action. Now, we can deduce four probable aspects of the political significance of the royal banquet: (1) to discuss affairs of state, (2) to display the hierarchial arrangement of the king's subordinates or relatives, (3) to develop a body of administrative assistants for the king, and (4) "to establish those with great virtue," remembering *Tsai Miao's* being rewarded after a royal banquet.

Shang diviners occasionally presented the oracle with the question of whether or not the king should *hsün* 覘, interrogate judicially. Unfortunately, there are no divinations to give us the slightest idea regarding the cases and persons involved in each inquisition. Among the divinations available to us at the present time, only the following three pieces provide us with further information toward reconstructing a partial picture of the royal judicial process:

- (35) (Asked:) "Should the King 'measure' the chiefs of the two states at Shih-x?" "At Southern Gate measure?"

王其度二方伯于自屮于南門度? (Ning 1,441.)

- (36) Divination on the day *chi-yu*. Diviner 𠄎 asked: "Should (the chiefs of) the two states be used (as an offering)?"

己酉卜, 卯貞: 畝二方〔伯〕用? (Chia 1130.)

- (37) (Asked:) The chiefs of the two Ch'iang states, would (they be) used (as offerings) to Tsu-ting?"

羌二方伯, 其用于祖丁?

(Ching 4034.)

The above three divinations were made during the King Lin-hsin period. The term "measure" as in the first divination is the translation of *tu* 𠄎, a pictograph showing two hands measuring with some kind of stick. Thus, it means to measure or a mea-

sure. The *Shuo-wen* interprets *tu* as *fa-chih* 法制, law, which might be a derivative meaning.⁴⁵ These three divinations show that the Shang king first chose a place to try these two chiefs, and that they were evidently sentenced to death—to be treated later as offerings to Tsu-ting 祖丁, a deceased Shang king. Nearly the same judicial pattern is also observed in the early Chou. A bronze of that time notes that after interrogating captive enemy chiefs, king Ch'eng of the Chou had them decapitated.⁴⁶ We should understand that this legal procedure represents only one aspect of the royal administration of justice at that time. In fact, as seen in the reliable early Chou sources, Shang kings, except for Ti-hsin 帝辛, were all lauded by royal Chou for their meticulousness in executing punishment. After the fall of the Shang dynasty their penal system was partially inherited by the Chou ruling class.⁴⁷

In addition to inspection-hunting, multi-purpose banquets, and the execution of justice, the king's control also extended to the state's educational system. We have a piece of broken shell on which the King was divining whether to establish a *chiao* 教, academy, at a certain place.⁴⁸ Of great interest, is the fact that this school was quite similar to the Chou Circular Moat, the royal Chou academy. A divination says:

(38) Divination on the day *keng-yin*. Asked: "On the next *hsin-mao*, the King would fish in the *chiao*. Will there be no rain?"

庚寅卜，貞：羽辛卯王魚教，不雨？ (Chia 3510.)

Thus, there had to be a pool or some kind of moat at the Shang royal academy. We also see from several places that the diviners divined whether the King should *chiao*, teach.⁴⁹ The following two pieces of divination are of greater significance:

(39) Divination on the day *ping-tzu*. Asked: "The (royal) 'many-sons' would go for schooling. Would not they meet rain on their way home?"

丙子卜，貞：多子其往學，返不遇雨？ (Lin 2,25,9.)

(40) Divination on the day *ting-yu*. (Asked:) "Should (the King) call upon the young men and the petty retainers of various states and educate (them)?"

丁酉卜：其乎以多方小子小臣，其教戒？ (Ts'ui 1162.)

These may indicate that the royal "many-sons" (i.e., the children of the Kings and the King's collaterals) and noble descendants of foreign states had the opportunity to receive educations at the King's academy. Unfortunately, we have not obtained any further information about this school from the Shang inscriptions. An early Chou bronze records that a young man of the Chou ruling class who did well at the Chou royal academy was then appointed to an office by the Chou king.⁵⁰ I believe such events occurred in the Shang as well, as many of these young men educated in the royal academy were then serving the state. In fact, education had a much greater

impact than inspection or the judicial process as the latter two could only prevent people from doing what the king did not want them to do, and the former might induce them to behave according to the royal code. Early Chou rulers not only praised those Shang kings who were able to use persuasion, but also followed their examples closely.⁵¹

III. *Royal Secretaries and the Process of Royal Decision-Making*

The process of divination making reflects the decision making process of the king. No matter how small an order or action might be, the king would consult the oracles before a decision was reached. Shang divinations were made on tortoise shells or on the bones of either oxen or sheep. Making divinations was an elaborate ceremony. First of all, the raw bones or shells had to be dealt with by specialists. The preparation consisted of scraping and polishing the bones and shells, cutting them into standard shapes, and gouging holes in their back sides while leaving their front surfaces unbroken. A diviner would apply a twig with a flaming point to these holes in order to make stress cracks on the front surface of the bones or shells.⁵² Next, these treated bones or shells had to undergo a purifying ceremony before they were ready for the actual divination. Participating in the divining process were various types of diviners and the king. These diviners presented the questions to be divined about and applied the burning twigs to the bones or shells. Each individual question was usually divined several times, and each time a crack was produced on the front surface. Hence, when one question was asked several times, there was a set of cracks for that question.⁵³ The diviners would usually assign a number and record certain remarks for each crack. Finally, though not always, the king would read the cracks and their relative remarks, determine their meanings, and sometimes make predictions. Furthermore, the outcomes of the predictions were occasionally recorded on the bones or the shells by the diviners. For instance:

- (41) Divination on the day *kuei-ch'ou*. Diviner (Cheng) asked: "From today to the day *ting-ssu* will we defeat the state of Chou?" The King examined and said: "We will not defeat (Chou) on *ting-ssu*. We will defeat (Chou) on the coming *chia-tzu*." After eleven days, on the day *kuei-hai*, Ch'e did not succeed in defeating. But from that night till the next day *chia-tzu*, (we) succeeded in defeating (Chou).

癸丑卜，（爭）貞：自今至于丁巳我戡亩？王占曰：丁巳我毋其戡，于來甲子戡，旬又一日癸亥，車弗戡，之夕壘甲子允戡。

(*Ping* 1.)

- (42) Divination on the day *jen-shu*. Diviner Chung asked: "Should Hsin be ordered to work on the millet?" The King divined and said: "Auspicious. Should be Hsin."

壬戌卜，吉貞：乎辛酉倣黍？王占曰：吉，其辛酉。

(*Ts'un* 2,60.)

In the second divination, the King determined the meaning of the cracks, while in the

first divination he made a prediction on the basis of those cracks which was then totally fulfilled. It seems that the appropriateness of the appointment of Hsin to work on the millet and the defeat of Chou were hidden facts of the future revealed by the secret language of the cracks which could only be understood by the kings and a few diviners.

There were always diviners accompanying the king to whichever place he went—for inspections, for hunting, or for military expeditions. They were evidently part of the Shang ruling class. Ku 𠄎, one of the most important diviners in the court of King Wu-ting, has left us several bronze vessels bearing his personal emblem.⁵⁴ Huan 𠄎, of the same period, appears to have been the chief of the state of Huan. Pin 𠄎, Ni 𠄎, P'eng 𠄎, and many others had individual localities named after them.⁵⁵ It seems, however, that most of them were limited in the range of their functions to make divinations, and that only a few of them had a chance to be appointed as the king's *ad hoc* commissioners. Some diviners were more important than the others. Importance can be determined on the basis of the quality and quantity of the questions they asked during the process of divination. The remarks made by them were simple phrases, for instance, "top auspicious," "great auspicious," "small auspicious," and so on. There were technical terms some of which are totally impossible to understand. In order to determine how such terms were assigned to cracks, Professor Chang Ping-ch'uan has made a comprehensive study of the cracks and their respective remarks. He found that there were no objective rules. Among the cracks with the same angle different technical terms were assigned. With reference to the records in the "*Biographies of Diviners*" in the *Shih Chi*, Professor Chang argues that it was possible that an agreement was made by the diviner and the tortoise shell or the bone as to which degree of the crack's angle represented which consequence before the crack was produced; that is, each time before the diviner applied the burning twig to the shell or the bone, he would pray, probably in this manner: if such a result then a crack of such a degree.⁵⁶ Even if this were not the case, these remarks would automatically serve as references with which the king could make predictions. It was thus probable that the diviners were influential in the king's decision-making process. The king, however, did not read every crack nor make predictions on every question. These diviners' remarks then in such cases became the only answers to the questions. In fact, many of these questions were actually the proposed plans which only needed confirmation from the oracle:

(43) Divination on the day *chi-ch'ou*. Diviner Ku asked: "Should (the King) order Han (?) to come and say, Han (?) attack the state of K'u?"

己丑卜，𠄎貞：令𠄎來曰：𠄎𠄎伐𠄎方？ (Chin 525.)

(44) "Should the King greatly order the Multitudes and say, 'Cultivate the

fields together, will (we) receive a harvest?"

王大令衆人曰：「田，其受年？」 (Fu, shui 5.)

These questions were almost the same as the essence of the king's orders. It seems probable, however, that the Shang kings did not entirely rely on the oracles to solve their day to day difficulties. As I have pointed out, when the king was away from the capital, there were messengers from various places reporting to the king on what was currently happening. In ordinary times, I believe, such a practice also existed. Moreover, the king and his followers could sit down and discuss problems during the banquets.

Indeed, inasmuch as royal decision-making was conducted with their participation, the Shang diviners' position in the government was very special. While the king ultimately had the right to make decisions, these diviners could give advice to the king through their art of scapulimancy. In addition to war, agriculture, administrative personnel, the royal household, and other socio-political and economic questions, the subject matter of Shang divinations also pertained to rites, gods, astral bodies, mountains and rivers, and other culture specific or supernatural affairs. Some of the diviners were probably well informed in one or the other of these areas. Approximately one hundred and twenty diviners, belonging to the reigns extending from Wu-ting to Ti-hsin (nine kings), in a period of two hundred and eleven years, can be seen from the Shang inscriptions.⁵⁷ It seems that some of them were entrusted with divinations concerning political or economic affairs, while other made divinations concerning sacrifices or other special events. This does not mean, though, that the areas of their duties were clearly divided, on the contrary, we see that those who make divinations concerning political events, for instance Diviners Ku and Cheng, sometimes made divinations concerning other kinds of events. Because the king sometimes asked several diviners to divine the same problem, the chances for a single diviner to become a dominant figure in the royal Shang court were small. However, when the king always consulted the same group of diviners—for instance Ku, Cheng, Wei, and Pin in the court of King Wu-ting—they became the dominant diviners under the King. It would be improper to define the diviners as being exclusively secular councilors or as secretaries of state. They were the king's assistants whose positions were established on the basis of the king's religious authority, which was hardly separable from the king's secular power. Some scholars have thought that these diviners were the *Shih* 史 officers of the Shang dynasty responsible for the royal archives and proclamations of the king's orders.⁵⁸ But our evidence suggests that *Shih* officer in the Shang dynasty was a kind of military and administrative official. We may define the Shang diviners more safely as the king's religious assistants, though they might have political influence of a certain degree.

There is an obvious decrease in the number of diviners after the reign of King Wu-ting. They also were gradually prevented from making divinations especially relating to the state's administrative affairs. In the final thirty years of the Shang dynasty, the king almost entirely took over the diviners' responsibility of presenting questions.⁵⁹ Thus, though divination was still practiced, the role of the diviners in the king's decision-making process was reduced to an insignificant one.

Coincidental with the decline of the influence of the diviners was the rise of the *Tso-ts'e* 作冊, Maker of the Bamboo Tablets, in the late Shang dynasty. *Tso-ts'e* officers made tablets pertaining to at least two types of documents—the royal sacrificial records, and the decrees or orders of the kings. During the mid-Shang dynasty, the role played by *Tso-ts'e* office in the government is very vague, and, the function of this office seems to have been limited to the making of bamboo tablets and recording the above two kinds of documents on bamboo tablets. It seems that the people who held this office were relatively obscure and insignificant in the royal court. However, in the early Chou, this office was held by high ranking officers who acted as royal secretaries; some of them were even appointed feudal lords.⁶⁰ If this office originated in the Shang dynasty and the corresponding Chou office was merely a copy, then there should have been considerable expansion of the responsibilities of this office during the late Shang.

Direct evidence of this institutional expansion is not available to us at the present time, yet several late Shang bronze vessels made by *Tso-ts'e* P'an 作冊般 provide us with certain hints. The inscription on the first vessels says:

On the day *kuei-hai*, the King visited (?) the new temple of *Tso-ts'e* P'an. The King conferred upon *Tso-ts'e* the *feng* cowries; the Great-son bestowed *tung-ta* cowries. (*Tso-ts'e* P'an) thereby cast the precious tripod of Father-chi.

癸亥，王迄(?)于作冊般新宗，王賞作冊豐貝，
大子賜東大貝，用作父己寶鬯， (Hsüeh 10.3.)

Possibly the new temple of P'an was constructed for P'an's recently deceased Father-chi. The King and the Great-son, bringing the cowries as a gift, might have come to the temple for a mourning ceremony. The second bronze vessel records:

The King (used) Wu-mao (?), (the chief) of the Jen state, in an *I* sacrifice. When this was done, the King conferred cowries upon *Tso-ts'e* P'an. (*Tso-ts'e* P'an) thereby cast the Father-chi vessel. Coming of tablets.

王宜人方無救，咸，王賞作冊般貝，用作父己薄。
來冊。 (Shan-tai 5,11.)

In Shang and Chou times, a common custom was to offer captive enemy chiefs as sacrifices. In it *I* ceremony was usually introduced. From the above bronze inscriptions, we

know that *Tso-ts'e* P'an was involved in the execution of Wu-mao (?). He probably acted as some kind of secretary. Thus, he then received certain tablets, but, it is not clear whether these tablets were the record of the event, which would have been put under the charge of *Tso-ts'e* P'an, or if they were of some other nature. On the third vessel, the inscription reads:

The King ordered P'an to (offer a) *Chu-mi* ceremony at Hu. (The King bestowed upon P'an) two 丌 册 . (P'an) thereby made a *Pin* sacrifice to Father-chi. Coming (of tablets).

王令般祝米于毓，丌 册 二，用賓父己。來〔册〕 (Hsi-ch'ing 32,11.)

These tablets that came to *Tso-ts'e* P'an were probably related to the ceremony of *Chu-mi*. Making a conclusion from the inscriptions on these three vessels, we may say that P'an was an officer of considerable social prestige and an intimate of the king and the Great-son. The *Tso-ts'e* office held by such a man definitely must have been an office of considerable importance by this time. Indeed, when the power of the king's religious assistants began to wane, the rise to prominence of the king's secular secretaries is predictable. Again, the office of *Tso-ts'e* was gradually replaced by the *Shih* 史 office in the Western Chou and finally fell into oblivion at the close of the Western Chou period. But this another story.

It is important to note here that neither the Shang diviners nor the *Tso-ts'e* officers took charge of the promulgation of royal decrees. Proclamations of the king's orders in the Shang dynasty were often performed by the king himself. According to the oracle bone inscriptions, on several occasions they took place at the Gate of I. There is a vivid picture in *P'an-keng* 盤庚 of a scene in which the Shang people and their officers gather in front of the palace and listen to instructions from King P'an-keng.⁶¹ The king at times when he so desired also appointed others to announce his edicts. In the inscriptions of the King Wu-ting period, at least five persons were once chosen to announce the royal decrees. Two of them held aristocratic titles (*Po* 伯 and *Hou* 侯), one was a royal wife, and one was a *Shih* 史 officer. The status of the remaining person was not recorded. These persons were Hou-kao 侯告, Chih-ka 沚夏, (who was also called Po-ka 伯夏), Fu-mu 婦相, *Shih* P'an 史般, and Mu 穆. Chih-ka, a subordinate of King Wu-ting, was the chief of Chih. When the state of T'u invaded the eastern frontier of the Shang, Chih-ka, who probably served as a frontier general, reported on this to King Wu-ting.⁶² He was then ordered to make a counter-attack against T'u. At the beginning of the battle, he was the one "raising the tablets" (*ch'eng ts'e* 聃册) on which the King's announcement of the war against T'u was undoubtedly inscribed.⁶³ To whom Chih-ka raised the King's decree was not recorded in the inscriptions. At the end of the war, when T'u was subdued, Chih-ka was again the one ap-

pointed to “announce the tablets” (*ts'e ts'e* 幣冊). This time, the state of T'u, the one that received the decree, is clearly documented.⁶⁴ As to the others, it is not clear under what conditions Hou-kao and Mu were chosen to raise the tablets. In the case of Fu-mu, it is said that she was assigned to announce a decree to a certain man, Hua 晝.⁶⁵ Shih P'an was probably ordered to first raise the tablets in the Northern Land and then to return to the capital.⁶⁶ Obviously, the statuses and the backgrounds of these five persons were not the same, nor were they the personnel of one single bureau. It suffices to say that there was not a bureau or an office which was established for the purpose of announcing the king's decrees.

FOOTNOTES

1. Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 498. Also see Lee, *Chi-shih*, I, p. 113.
2. Most scholars in the field of Shang history would agree with this relation, except Chou Hung-hsiang 周鴻翔; see Chou Hung-hsiang, *Shang-Yin Ti-wang Pen-chi* 商殷帝王本紀 (Hong Kong, 1958), p. 7.
3. See *Hou* 1,21,4.
4. Yüan K'e 袁珂 has organized the records on Wang-hai and Wang-heng in *Shang-hai Ching* 山海經 and *T'ien-wen* 天問, and has retold their stories in his *Chung-kuo Ku-tai Shen-hua* 中國古代神話 (Shanghai, 1957), pp. 275-282.
5. For instance, in *Chia* 3510, we find the case of Pi Wang 毘王. Also according to the *Ch'i-shan* 岐山 oracle bone inscriptions, the rulers of the Chou state were called *wang* during the Shang dynasty. Cf. Kwang-chih Chang, "Yin-Chou Kuan-hsi Ti Tsai Chien-t'ao 殷周關係的再檢討," *BIHP* 51:2 (1980), pp. 212-213. But the *wang* in Ch'i-shan inscriptions might refer to a Shang king. See Li Hsüeh-ch'ing and Wang Yü-hsing 李學勤, 王宇信, "Chou-yüan P'u-tz'u Hsüan-shih 周原卜辭選釋" *KWTYC* IV (1980), p. 255.
6. See *Chien-shou* 25,13; *Ping* 71.
7. See *Ts'ui* 1178; *Ch'ien* 6,17,6.
8. For an interpretation of *ku*, see Lee, *Chi-shih* III, p. 701. Also see Keightley, *Sources of Shang History*, p. 179.
9. *Ping* 33.
10. See Lee, *Chi-shih*, V, p. 1743 and X, p. 3251.
11. *Ch'ien* 6,58,4; *Chin* 522; *Hou* 1,16,10; *Chin* 525.
12. "People from Ko," i.e., *Ko Jen* 戈人, however, can also be read as dagger-axers. Shima has collected many other divinations about the people sent to the war in addition to these persons. See Shima, *Sōru*, p. 130.
13. See Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, p. 301. Ch'en has made a study on the records concerning these two campaigns.
14. See Tung Tso-pin, *Yin Li P'u*, 2:9, p. 62a.
15. Li Chi, *Anyang Fa-chüeh Pao-kao* 安陽發掘報告 (Peking, 1929-1933), pp. 249, 594, 722-723.
16. *Ibid.* Also see Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, pp. 547-548.
17. Kuo Mo-jo represents the second party: see Kuo Mo-jo, *Nu-li-chih Shih-tai* 奴隸制時代 (Peking, 1962), p. 9. Chao Hsi-yüan 趙錫元 represents the first party; see Chao Hsi-yüan, "Shih-lun Yin-tai Chu-yao Sheng-ch'an-che Chung Ho Chung-Jen Ti She-hui Sheng-fen 試論殷代主要生產者衆和衆人的社會身份," *Tung-pei Jen-min Ta-hsüeh Jen-wen K'o-hsüeh Hsüeh-pao* 東北人民大學人文科學學報 (1956). See also Part II, Chapter X. Section 4 for a discussion of *chung* and *chung jen*.
18. See *Ch'ien* 2,37,6; *Jen* 281; *P'u* 417. The term "墾田" is translated as "to open new fields." For more information on this agricultural institution, see Yü Hsing-wu 于省吾, "Ts'ung Chia-kwen K'an Shang-tai Ti Nung-t'ien k'en-Chih 從甲骨文看商代的農田墾殖," *KK* 1972 (4), pp. 40-45.
19. See Shima, *Sōru*, p. 216, part 2.
20. Such ceremonies were called *chien* 薦. Cf. Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, p. 529.
21. Kwang-chih Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China* (3rd ed. rev.: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 282-283.

22. Lee, *Chi-shih*, VI, p. 2165.
23. Kwang-chih Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China* (2nd ed. Rev.), p. 228.
24. Shima, *Sōrui*, p. 43. I have done some research on the religious ceremonies involved in the city-building process. See Chao Lin, "Shang-tai Ti She-chi 商代的社祭," *Ta-hu Tsa-chih* 57:6 (1978), pp. 2-12.
25. See *Shih*, No. 244, *Ta-ya: Wen-wang-wu-sheng* 文王無聲.
26. See Kwang-chih Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, (3rd ed.), pp. 235-236.
27. *Hsin Chung-kuo Ti K'ao-ku Shou-huo* 新中國的考古收穫, ed., The Institute of Archaeology, Science Academy (Peking, 1962), p. 48.
28. For an explanation of why the phrase "the area governed by" can be added to the front of "Tzu-ching", see my discussion on local common descent and common residence groups in Part II, Chapter X.
29. Cf. Yang K'uan 楊寬, "Ta-shou Li Hsin-t'an 大蒐禮新探," *Ku-shih Hsin-t'an* 古史新探 (Peking, 1965), p. 263.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
31. See Lee, *Chi-shih*, II, p. 554.
32. Chang Ping-ch'üan, *Yin-hsü Wen-tzu Ping-pien*, I, Fasc. i, p. 111.
33. Li Hsüeh-ch'ing, *Yin-tai Ti-li Chien-lun* 殷代地理簡論 (Peking, 1959), p. 7.
34. Tung Tso-pin, *Yin Li P'u*, 2:9, p. 4a.
35. For my discussion on the Ch'iang people, see Part II, Chapter X.
36. Tung Tso-pin, *Yin Li P'u*, 2:9, p. 4a.
37. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 111. (Chuang 莊 27) 天子非展義，不巡狩。
38. See *Kuo Yü*, Chou-yü II, 夫王公諸侯之有鈇也將以請事成章，建大德，昭大物也。
39. Ch'ü Wan-li, *Yin-hsü Wen-tzu Chia-pien K'ao-shih* 殷墟文字甲編考釋 (Taipei, 1961), p. 118, No. 752 (referred to hereafter as: Ch'ü, *Chia K'ao*).
40. The divination commonly believed to have the term *Ch'ing shih* is:

Divination on the day *hsin-wei* in the plact of Chao-hou. (Asked:) "Should Chih be ordered *ch'ing shih*?"

辛未卜，在 𠄎 居，惟 執其令卿事？ (Chui-ts'un 17.)

However, before we read *ch'ing shih* as an official title, we must not ignore the following divination:

(Asked:) "Should Chih be ordered to return; will (he) be able to assist in the king's affairs?"

執乎歸，克 鄉王事？ (Chia 427.)

Instead of reading the word 𠄎 as *ch'ing* here, we should read it as *hsiang* meaning "to assist", which was then loaned for the word 襄. Cf. Lee, *Chi-shih*, IX, p. 2888. It is highly possible that the *ch'ing shih* in *Chui-ts'un* 17 was an abbreviation of *hsiang wang shih* of *Chia* 427 here. Actually, most occurrences of 𠄎 should be read as *hsiang*, to assist. In my opinion, the *Ch'ing-shih* officer did not exist in the Shang dynasty.

41. Cf. Wang Yin-chih 王引之 *Ching-i Shu-wen* 經義述聞 (Taipei, 1963), pp. 230, 235.
42. Yang K'uan, *Ku-shih Hsin-t'an*, p. 290.
43. See Footnote 40 above.
44. Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 106.
45. Ch'ü Wan-li reads 𠄎 as *tu* 度. See Ch'ü, *Chia K'ao*, p. 101, No. 639. Also see Tuan Yü-ts'ai 段玉裁, *Shuo-wen Chieh-tzu Chu* 說文解字註 (Taipei, 1964), p. 117, or III:i, p. 20a.
46. This case has been discussed in Creel's *Western Chou* p. 233.

47. Cf. Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu Shih-i* 尚書釋義 (Taipei, 1956), p. 117; Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 165.
48. See *Jen* 60.
49. See *Ning* 3,95; *Ts'un* 2,126; *P'u* 501.
50. See Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 406. This office, however, was previously held by his grandfather and father.
51. Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu Shih-i*, p. 117.
52. Cf. Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Chia-ku-wen Ti Fa-hsien Yü Ku-p'u-hsi-kuan Ti K'ao-cheng 甲骨文的發現與卜骨習慣的考證," *BIHP XXXVIII* (1967), pp. 853-854. Also Keightley, *Sources of Shang History*, pp. 12-27.
53. *Ibid.*, Chang Ping-ch'üan, pp. 856, 861, 868.
54. *Yeh* 2a, 13ab.
55. See Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Identical Names;" Simple Example Nos. 47, 52, 50. Also see Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Shang Unification Power," pp. 203-205.
56. Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Chia-ku-wen Ti Fa-hsien Yü Ku-p'u-hsi-kuan Ti K'ao-cheng," pp. 859-860.
57. See Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, pp. 202, 206; Keightley, *Sources of Shang History*, p. 31.
58. See Tung Tso-pin, *Chia-ku-wen Tuan-tai Yen-chiu Li*, pp. 24, 32.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 32. Tung pointed out that only one or two percent of the divinations of this period were divined by royal diviners.
60. *Tso-ts'e* Nieh-ling was one among such officers who was appointed feudal lord by the Chou King. See Creel, *Western Chou*, pp. 403-404 for the case of Nieh-ling. For a concise study on *Tso-ts'e* and *Shih* offices in the Chou dynasty, see Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi-Chou T'ung-ch'i Tuan-tai I 西周銅器斷代 (一)," *KKHP IX* (1955), p. 98-100.
61. See Chü Wan-li, *Shang-shu Shih-i*, pp. 43-44.
62. See Tung Tso-pin, *Yin Li P'u*, 2:9, p. 41b.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 43a.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 43b.
65. *Fu, tsa* 89.
66. See *Ching* 1384.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

The Shang state had the king positioned at the top of its government making decisions, giving orders, commanding the military forces, and doing many other sundry things — he was even personally involved in managing the state's agriculture. From the previous discussions, we see that he was surrounded by a group of people who answered to his orders and helped him in dealing with day-to-day affairs. About these people, some of them bore titles indicating the nature of their official functions; for instance, *Kung* 工 (Artisan), and *She* 射 (Archer); while others bore titles indicating status; such as *Tzu* 子 (Royal Son), and *Fu* 婦 (Royal Wife). More than twenty of these official as well as semi-official titles have been found in the Shang inscriptions.

Previous studies on the Shang administrative system by experts on oracle-bone inscriptions are not satisfactory. In 1956, Ch'en Meng-chia classified Shang official titles into three categories: *ch'en-cheng* 臣正, *wu-kuan* 武官, and *shih-kuan* 史官; he said that his classification was made only for the sake of convenience.¹ I find it extremely inconvenient however. First, he gives no explanation of the meaning of his first category. *Ch'en-cheng* is a term first found in the Shang inscriptions, and it has not yet been discussed by scholars.² Second, the third category immediately raises questions. By *shih-kuan* does he mean "official-historians"? If so, why does he put Artisans and Administrators (i.e., *Yin* 尹) under this category?³ If by *shih-kuan* he means "administrators", why does he suppose Artisans, diviners, and Makers of Books belong to this category?⁴ While he has made good points in many other places and brought to our attention many significant references, the problem of handling the organization of the Shang government still remains unsolved.

Two years later, the work done by Kunio Shima was published. Shima has made a systematic study utilizing the classic divisions, i.e., the *nei-fu* 內服 and *wai-fu* 外服 (literally, internal-service and external-service). However, the hierarchy depicted at the end of his discussion is not an official hierarchy. He has not differentiated official titles from the names of individual persons or from non-official agents like *tsu* 族; he simply arranges them all together in a superior-inferior relational chart.⁵

In view of the shortcomings of these treatments, I have come to the conclusion that it is necessary, first, to carefully analyze the meaning of each official or semi-official title and study the records of those who held these titles. Then, the question of the division of labor in the Shang government, and of the relationship among these persons

laboring in the government, can possibly be handled. In this chapter, I shall deal with those offices and persons relative to the Shang central administration. In the next chapter, I will investigate the formation of the state's administrative districts as well as the people involved.

Here, I shall begin with *Yin* 尹, one of the most important types of officers during Shang times. The founding of such an office can be dated as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C. Traditional history records that T'ang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, appointed Yi Yin 伊尹 as his "prime-minister", and that Yi Yin had helped T'ang in the struggle to ultimate power.⁶ The records concerning the loyalty of Yi Yin to the new king Ta-chia after the death of T'ang are controversial;⁷ however, the Shang inscriptions are a testimony to Yi's special position in the dynasty. The sacrifices made to Yi Yin by King Wu-ting were as frequent and luxurious as those to the kings.⁸ There are references to eight deceased officers found within the sacrificial records of the Wu-ting period.⁹ The offerings to Yi Yin far exceed those to these others, and were made sometimes together with offerings to the kings.¹⁰ Another deceased *Yin* officer was called Huang Yin 黃尹, who was perhaps the son of Yi Yin.¹¹

Yin was a high ranking office. In the previous chapter, I quoted one divination concerning the selection of grand *kuei* vessels to entertain *Yin* officers at a royal banquet; I also quoted one in which the King ordered *Yin* officers to "make" the Great Hunt military exercise.¹² *Yin* officers could be put in charge of the cultivation of farming fields and royal construction projects.¹³ It seems that they functioned in matters of public affairs and acted as managers of various types of work. At times, the King simply referred to them as *to-Yin* 多尹 (i.e., many-*Yin*).

Actually, the word *yin* itself, when used as a verb, meant "to have charge of." Along with *to-Yin*, we have found a special kind of *Yin*, the 𠄎 *Yin*. The word 𠄎 perhaps meant a certain kind of supply.¹⁴ 𠄎 *Yin* thus can be read as officer in charge of 𠄎. After the Shang dynasty, there came into being all sorts of *Yin* officers, who had their common title *Yin* preceded by a word or two indicating the place, the work, or the resource that they were put in charge of.¹⁵

The second type of officer we are going to deal with here is the *Shih* 史 officer. The Chou *Shih* officers along with their records of activities have been carefully studied by important scholars of our time. According to Professor Creel, *Shih* officers in the Western Chou government "performed a wide variety of functions, some of which were no doubt scribal; but some *shih* were clearly secretaries in the sense of being trusted with the performance of important and perhaps confidential missions."¹⁶ There were continuity and discontinuity between the *Shih* officers of the two governments. Although important scholars like Wang Kuo-wei, Bernhard Karlgren, and Kuo

Mo-jo, who did research on *Shih* officers before Professor Creel, have pointed out that *shih* 史, *li* 吏, *shih* 使, and *shih* 事 were originally one word rather than four,¹⁷ one still finds people today who identify *Shih* officers as official-historians without realizing that these four terms have a single derivation.

There is a tendency for the word *shih* to appear in two forms on the oracle bones, i.e., 史 and 吏, but on the whole these two forms were interchangeable and used without a clear distinction by Shang diviners.¹⁸ We shall treat these two forms as one word rather than two. The word *shih* had the sense of “affairs”, as in the phrase *ku wang shih* 古王事 (to fulfill the king’s affairs). However, the word sometimes would refer only to sacrificial affairs; for instance, the *shih* in the phrases “Grandfather so-and-so’s *shih*,” or the *shih* of a certain deceased individual.¹⁹ When used as a verb the word *shih* meant “to send”. We notice that Shang kings would divine whether they should *shih* someone to some place. People sent out by the king were also called *shih*. Professor Creel points out that the word had the sense of “functionary, one commissioned by the ruler to perform certain specific tasks.”²⁰ This definition not only implies the word’s first meaning, “affairs”, but also the word’s second meaning, “to send”, when the word is used to name a type of Shang officer.

Shang kings sometimes made divinations as to when their *shih* would return to the capital, or whether they had encountered any difficulty on their missions.²¹ Most of these *shih* were sent on *ad hoc* missions to foreign states or to places governed by *Hou* lords or *Po* lords.²² Evidently, the word *shih* already had the sense of “envoy” at this time. However, we also find that people who held titles like *Pei-shih* 北史 (Northern-*shih*), *Hsi-shih* 西史 (Western-*shih*), and *Tung-shih* 東史 (Eastern-*shih*) were localized,²³ a fact that suggests a routinized basis of their positions. One divination says:

(45) Asked: “In *Pei-shih* have (we) captured the Ch’iang people?”

貞：在北史有獲羌？ (Ping 29.)

The King was asking whether the Shang people had captured the Ch’iang people in the area governed by *Pei-shih*. It is not at all surprising that *Shih* here could refer to the highest local administrators. The reason behind this was that *Shih* were supposed to be royal commissioners, and some of them were assigned to stay in the countryside representing the king in dealing with problems that occurred there. Evidence shows that the establishment of a *Shih* office within the Shang territory required mobilization of the Shang Multitudes:

(46) Divination on the day *hsin-hai*. Diviner Cheng asked: “Shall we raise the Multitudes and establish the Grand *Shih* in (the territory of) She-po of the Western *Tien*?”

辛亥卜，爭貞：共衆人立大史于西奠或伯？

(Lin 2,11,16.)

Tien was a term for a type of Shang local administrative district.²⁴ The Multitudes, the fundamental social force of the Shang dynasty, were always called upon for military activities or for public works. It is possible that they were needed both for the creation of the *Shih* office and for their military services. Another divination shows the power of the *Shih* officers to utilize the state's manpower:

(47) Divination on the day *chi-wei*. Diviner Chung asked: "Our three *Shih* send people?"

己未卜，𠄎貞：我三史史人？

(I 7797.)

In view of the fact that this divination was made by the King's diviner, these three *Shih*—perhaps, the Eastern, Western, and Northern *Shih*²⁵—were indeed entrusted with the royal power to work on certain projects. Interestingly enough, the word *shih* sometimes was written with its lower element, a hand, holding a 𠄎 type of ensign²⁶—in this case, it is perhaps a symbol of royal power.

In the Shang dynasty, there were two persons, Jen 壬 and Chia 尗, who held the title Grand *Shih*. Our sources show that their activities in the court were no more than making sacrifices.²⁷ However, no matter how little information we have about them, there is reason to think that they are functionally distinguishable from the Grand *Shih* established in the Western *Tien*.

Professor Tung Tso-pin suggested that Shang diviners (i.e., *chen jen* 真人) were *shih-kuan* 史官.²⁸ By *shih-kuan*, one means "official-historians" or "official-scribes", who, however, do not relate to any type of Shang *Shih* officers that I have discussed. The official scribe of the Shang dynasty was *Tso-ts'e* 作冊, Maker of Books, whose position has been mentioned in the previous chapter. According to the studies of Ch'en Men-chia, the *Tso-ts'e* were gradually replaced by the *Nei-shih* 內史 and other types of *Shih* officers during the mid-Western Chou period.²⁹ It is quite doubtful that *Shih* officers could be identified as historiographers or official-historians before this point.

Among the titles of officers who fell into the official category of *Ch'en* 臣; *Hsiao-to-ma-Ch'iang-ch'en* 小多馬羌臣, *Hsiao-chi-ch'en* 小藉臣, and *Hsiao-Chung-jen-ch'en* 小衆人臣 can be regarded as individual official titles. The Shang king would appoint a certain person to hold such a position:

(48) Divination on the day *chi-hai*. Asked: "Order Wu to be the *Hsiao-chi-ch'en*?"

己亥卜貞：令𠄎小藉臣？

(Ch'ien 6,17,6.)

(49) Asked: "Whether Wu should be ordered to act as *Hsiao-Chung-jen-ch'en*?"

貞：雷象乎小衆人臣？

(*Ts'un* 2,476.)

50) Divination on the day *ting-hai*. Diviner Pin asked: "Whether Yü should be ordered to act as *Hsiao-to-ma-Ch'iang-ch'en*?"

丁亥卜，宀貞：雷羽乎小多馬羌臣？ (Ch'en 116.)

Judging from the titles themselves, *Hsiao-chi-ch'en* would relate to the state's agriculture; it literally meant *Small-tilling-ch'en*; whereas *Hsiao-Chung-jen-ch'en*, (literally, *Small-Multitude-ch'en*), related to the state's population administration, and *Hsiao-to-ma-Ch'iang-ch'en*, (*Small-various-Ch'iang-chariotry-ch'en*), to a special type of military force.

Was it possible that these three officers were *Hsiao-ch'en* 小臣 (*Small-ch'en*) as well? We have not yet seen a man's personal name attached to these three titles, and we do not know whether Wu and Yü might have held these titles at the time. However, *Hsiao-ch'en* Chung 小臣中, *Hsiao-ch'en* Ch'ing 小臣禽, *Hsiao-ch'en* Ch'iang 小臣疆, *Hsiao-ch'en* Wu 小臣喆, and many other *Hsiao-ch'en* have their personal names mentioned after their titles.³⁰ These *Hsiao-ch'en* drove the king's chariots, followed the king in military action, worked on the sanctification of the oracle bones, made prayers in the central chamber of the royal palace, and even sent royal orders to the Multitudes to plant millet.³¹ Several Shang bronzes record the occasion of a *Hsiao-ch'en*'s being rewarded by the king with cowries and other honorable articles. One of them reads:

The King conferred (gifts) on *Hsiao-ch'en* Tzu. They were conferred in the living room. (*Hsiao-ch'en* Tzu) hence made a Grandfather-yi vessel, Yao kan.

王錫小臣茲，錫在寢，用作祖乙尊。爻敢 (Hsü Yin 1,86.)

The inscriptions reveal where the conferring took place—the King's living room. We also find the vessels with the personal names of *Hsiao-ch'en* inscribed on them were often the property of the palace, or were made for use in the palace. It is not entirely impossible that some of these *Hsiao-ch'en* were eunuchs, and it is highly probably that they were the king's domestic servants.³² *Ch'en* might be used as an appellation for a kind of slave—the word was a pictograph of an eye of a surrendered man, or of a captive.³³ Also, we have found that Shang kings divined about chasing runaway *Ch'en*.³⁴ Third, in the early Chou bronze inscriptions, we see that Chou kings gave the households of *Ch'en* to their followers as well as to their relatives.³⁵

Instances of slaves being first trusted with confidential tasks by their master-rulers and then becoming influential political figures can often be found in other ancient regimes. It is not necessary, however, to insist that anyone who was called *Ch'en* in the Shang dynasty was a slave in origin, or that he had been elevated from his humble status to being the king's entrusted servant. Actually, the ruler of the state of *Chih* was addressed in the royal divinations as *Ch'en Chih*, on the other hand, he also held the title *Shih* 史. (This *Shih* should not be confused with *shih* 史.)

The word *ch'en*—perhaps originally meaning a kind of slave—became an appellation of courtesy, and was adopted as an official title in the Shang dynasty. The term, *ch'en-cheng* 臣正, found in the Shang inscriptions, supports my speculation.³⁶ The word *cheng* is the archaic form of *cheng* 政, meaning government. Hence, *ch'en-cheng* meant *ch'en*-administrator. As a matter of fact, the Small-Multitude-*ch'en*, Small-tilling-*ch'en*, and Small-various-Ch'iang-chariotry-*ch'en* satisfied the definition of *ch'en-cheng* perfectly; they were public servants rather than domestic servants.

Like *Hsiao-ch'en*, *Tsai* 宰 perhaps were domestic servants of the king. Unfortunately, we do not have records of their activities; we have only a few words on a piece of bone tablet about a certain household utensil conferred upon a *Tsai* named Feng by the King.³⁷ "Intendant" is Creel's translation of the word *Tsai*, and "attendant", Karlgren's.³⁸ Later in China, *Tsai* became the title of a prime minister, but the process in which *Tsai* seize state power was already taking place during the Western Chou.³⁹

Treasurer and treasury alike were called *Ch'u* 守 in the Shang dynasty. There were three persons, *Ch'u* P'eng 守 壺, *Ch'u* Nien 守 隸, and *Ch'u* Kuo 守 垂 holding the title *Ch'u* during different reigns. Among the inscriptions of the King Wu-ting period, we can see in several places that the King divined to order *to-Ch'u* 多守 (many-*Ch'u*) to make sacrifices with *ch'ang* 粢, millet wine, and with many other things.⁴⁰ But we do not find any evidence to show whether they were clerks, cashiers, or even accountants. As to *Ch'u* P'eng, we know only that the King once consulted the oracle about his health.⁴¹ "*Ch'u* Nien *ju*" 守隸入 (*Ch'u* Nien presents)—these three words are all we know about *Ch'u* Nien.⁴² The divination in which *Ch'u* Kuo was mentioned can hardly be deciphered.⁴³

Nevertheless, there are still several reasons for reading *ch'u* as treasurer or treasury. First, the word *ch'u* 卣 was a pictograph of a certain kind of depository; its derivative form 貯 was created by adding the element *pei* 貝, cowrie, to specify the nature of such a depository.⁴⁴ Cowries were articles of value at that time. Both *ch'u* and its derivative form are seen in the Shang inscriptions; they also were interchangeable. Second, there were actual *ch'u* built in different parts of the country; for instance, in Po 亳, in Shih 豕, and in the place of Tzu 琢:

(51) Diviner Cheng asked: "Order the *chi* and millet wine of Po *ch'u*?"

爭貞：令亳寧饗也？ (Chih-hsü 189.)

We do not know exactly what this word with chicken as the upper element and with cowrie as the lower element really meant. It might be a type of cowrie. Po was one of the capital cities of the Shang dynasty. The other two *ch'u* were called Shih *ch'u* and Tzu *ch'u*, just like Po *ch'u*.⁴⁵ The wealth of that time was mainly expressed in terms of the kinds of goods instead of in monetary form. Therefore, the nature of the Shang treasures also would be very different from ours. These *Ch'u*, at the least, were put in charge of the royal treasuries.

There were two deceased *Kung* 工 (literally Artisan, but probably Officer in Charge of Artisans) called *Kung Jen* 工壬 and *Kung I* 工乙 to whom King Wu-ting offered sacrifices.⁴⁶ *Jen* and *i* were celestial stems, which were constantly applied by the Shang people as posthumous names. It seems that a *Kung* office had been set up in the northern part of the country during the time of King Wu-ting:

(52) Asked: "Order to raise the people in the Northern *Kung*?"

貞：令在北工共人？ (Ts'ui 1217.)

Perhaps, this divination was made because some public works were to be carried out in the Northern *Kung*. The King once divined whether to order a person by the name of *Kung* 𠄎, perhaps a royal prince, to take charge of the Artisans:

(53) Asked: "Whether *Kung* is to be ordered to *ssu* (i.e., have charge of) *Kung* (i.e., Artisans)?"

貞：𠄎 𠄎 令司工？ (Ts'un 1,70.)

In later dynasties, the term *ssu kung* was adopted as the title for the director of public works.

There were two types of official dancers: 𠄎 and 𠄎.⁴⁷ Their dances were mainly for the purpose of inducing rain:

(54) Divination on the day *jen-shen*. (Asked:) "Various 𠄎 dance. Would not it rain heavily?"

壬申卜：多𠄎舞，不其縱雨？ (Yeh 1,40,5.)

As to functionaries such as *to Yin* 多堊, *to Fu* 多箎, and *to 𠄎*, we do not have enough information for a conclusive study.⁴⁸ Hence we shall pass them by and discuss those concerned with the state's military.

A late Shang bronze records *wang yin to ya* 王飲多亞 (the King offers drinks to various *Ya* officers).⁴⁹ Among the mid-Shang inscriptions, we have found five persons, *Ya Ch'üeh* 亞雀, *Ya Ch'ing* 亞禽, *Ya K'e* 亞克, *Ya P'ang* 亞旁, and *Ya Chih* 亞錫, holding the title *Ya*.⁵⁰ *Ch'üeh* was very active in the court of King Wu-ting; at different

times he was ordered to attack more than ten different states.⁵¹ During the campaign against the state of Chi, he had both the King's *tsu* and Prince Tzu-ching under his command.⁵² He was also asked to make sacrifices to the Yellow River, and to the rising and the setting sun.⁵³ Possibly, he was one of the King's relatives as the King divined whether to make a *yü* sacrifice to Mother-keng in order to ask for the latter's protection of Ch'üeh.⁵⁴ Both *Ya* Ch'üeh and *Ya* Ch'ing made sacrifices to royal ancestors.⁵⁵ It appears that Ch'ing was even more active than Ch'üeh. Ch'ing was ordered to command various *Po* lords, the King's *tsu*, the Multitudes, and Archers to carry out different activities during different situations.⁵⁶ He seems to have been either the commander of the Royal Central Army or the commander of the Central Chariotry.⁵⁷ Information about the other three *Ya* officers is lacking. Two of them seem to have had functions related to the state's military.

In the Chou sources, *Ya* was mentioned in connection with the feudal lords, as in the terms *hou ya* 侯亞 and *chu hou ta ya* 諸侯大亞. *Hou* of Chou times can be construed as "marquis" or as an all-inclusive word for "feudal lords". Hence, the above two terms can be translated as "lord *Ya*" and "various lords great *Ya*." T'ang Lan and Ting Shan, two of the prominent scholars on inscriptional studies of our time, refer to these and other Chou sources and consider that Shang *Ya* might well be ranked among *Hou* or *Po* as yet another type of "feudal lord" in the Shang dynasty.⁵⁸ But *hou ya* and *chu hou ta ya* can also be read as *hou* and *ya*, and *chu hou*, and *ta ya* respectively. In other words, the validity of their evidences for their theory is still open to debate.

Apart from being used as an official title, the word *ya* was also used as both a personal name and as a place name, as can be seen in the Shang inscriptions. Its most interesting usage, however, was to refer to the area where ancestral temples, as well as graves, were located.⁵⁹ It is possible that the title *Ya* derived from this meaning and, thus, referred to temple guards. In view of the fact that *Ya* officers were frequently leaders of the king's *tsu*, and also, of the fact that one's *tsu*—composed of one's closest kinsmen—might either serve as one's bodyguards or as one's private force in ancient China,⁶⁰ it appears that *Ya* officers functioned in the Shang dynasty in the same way as palace guards functioned in later times.

The Shang people employed the term *shih* 師 to denote both their military forces and their commanders. The Chou people followed accordingly. The project of establishing three *shih*, armies, in the period of Kings Wu-yi and Wen-ting is known to us through the following divination of that time:

(55) On the day *ting-yu*. Asked: "Should the King establish three armies, the Right, the Central, and the Left?"

丁酉貞：王作三師，右、中、左？

(*Ts'ui* 597.)

Actually, in the time of King Wu-ting, the great-grand-father of King Wu-yi, Shang armies had already been called *shih* 師. Divinations such as “our *shih* was not defeated,” or “*shih* marched for defense,” or “call upon the *shih* in such and such places” are found among those divinations dated to King Wu-ting’s period.⁶¹

Two of King Wu-ting’s officials, *Shih Ka* 咎戛 and *Shih P’an* 咎般, were called by their titles plus their personal names. *Shih Ka* was one of the major commanders during the campaign against the states of T’u and K’u; he also acted as a special commissioner of Wu-ting in announcing the war, as well as in proclaiming royal edicts to the peoples of T’u and K’u when the war was about to end.⁶² He was also a *Po* lord and ruler of the state of Chih and had been called *Po Ka*, *Chih Ka*, and *Ch’en Chih*; he was appointed by the King as a *Shih*. As to *Shih P’an*, our records show that his functions were connected more with the state’s defense strategy than with its actual military operations. He did mostly patrolling, fortification, and other works supplementary to these:

(56) Divination on the day *kuei-ssu*. Diviner Chung asked: “Order *Shih P’an* to march to the east of the Yellow River?”

癸巳卜，中貞：令咎般涉於河東？ (Cho 23.)

(57) (Asked:) “*Shih P’an* takes people to the garrison in the Northern *Tien*? (Takes) people to the garrison in Ling? To the garrison in Ch’u?”

般以人于北奠？人于浮？于崇？ (Hou 2,24,1.)

Here King Wu-ting was trying to decide upon a place for *Shih P’an*’s mission. As with the Chou usage, in the Shang inscriptions *shih* also had the sense of “to garrison” or of “a garrison”.

Among the inscriptions of the mid-Shang dynasty, we have found a series of place names with the word *shih* appearing before each of these place names; such as, *Shih Hsi* 咎喜, *Shih Mao* 咎皐, *Shih Liao* 咎釐, *Shih Shang* 咎商 and so on.⁶³ My observation is that this place-designation method continued to be used during the time of King Wen-ting or King Ti-yi, but that it was revised during the time of Ti-hsin, the King who surrendered the Shang dynasty. The revised designation was formed by utilizing *shih*’s complex form 師. There was, however, an intermediate method of designation. In the divinations dated to the Ti-yi and Ti-hsin periods, we find that the place 咎 師 was also written as 咎 師.⁶⁴ In other words, X-*shih* was the intermediary between *Shih X* and X-complex form *shih*. In the Western Chou bronze inscriptions, we frequently read that someone is at X-*shih*. Professor Creel points out that they were large, permanently fortified places; he says, “such military camps must have had a good deal in common with the Roman *castra*, built by the legions of garrison the empire. A number of British towns originated as Roman camps. The name of the city of Chester derives from *castra*,

as do the endings of such names as Lancaster, Manchester, and Worcester. Chinese cities, too, must have sprung up about the sites of such garrisons.”⁶⁵ As evidence, he has discussed the founding of the eastern capital of the Chou people—the city of Ch’eng Chou—and has pointed out that before the Chou had a city in this area there was a garrison, a fortified military town called Lo-shih.⁶⁶

The foundation of the Shang *castra* was under the supervision of *Shih* 師 and other types of officers, or even the king himself. They were often the king’s stations during his inspection-hunting trips. There, he might even set up a court to try rebels. But they were also the targets of enemy attack:

(58) On the day *yi-ssu* The King asked: “Ch’i exclaimed, and reported and said that the state of Yü raises people up to go out and attack 虜 -shih. Should Kao be ordered to meet (them) in the east?”

乙巳，王貞：啓乎祝曰：孟方共人其出伐 虜 邑，高其令東會？ (Lin 2,25,6)

Sometimes, the distance between two *shih* was only a one or two day trip, but sometimes the distance took more than a week. Chariots were commonly used for transportation.

The Shang charioteers or chariotry were called *Ma* 馬.⁶⁷ Chinese archaeologists have discovered two undisturbed chariot burials from the Shang sites. Shih Chang-ju, a field worker and expert on Shang-Chou archaeology has made a report, which I have summarized below:

Five chariots as one unit were found both from the site at Hsi-pei-kang and from Cemetery C of Hsiao-t’un. There were altogether five of them at Cemetery C, and twenty-five at Hsi-pei-kang; five chariots composed a small unit, while twenty-five composed a large unit. The small unit in both sites divides itself into three parts: three chariots in the middle, the fourth one to the right and the fifth one to the left. There were three men and two horses for each of the three chariots in the middle parts. The right and the left chariots had three men and four horses each. In each of these graves of five chariots, a horse-whip had been put in the center, a bow in the back right side, and a dagger-ax in the back left side. Hence, the driver was in the center, the archer on the right, and the dagger-axeman on the left. (Near these chariot graves,) there were twenty-four persons buried evenly in eight graves, and another six persons in one grave. These thirty persons were the charioteers who were divided into five groups. Thus, there were six persons in two shifts for each chariot. There were ninety-five persons buried in eighteen graves. They were foot-soldiers following the chariots.⁶⁸

Thus the organization of *Ma* chariotry was: five chariots for a small unit, twenty-five chariots for a large unit; six persons were divided up into two shifts for each chariot, the driver in the center, the archer on the right, and the dagger-axeman on the left, plus foot-soldiers. A Shang divination says:

(59) Asked: “ 𠄎 takes thirty *Ma*. Will (they) surely seize the Ch'iang people?”

貞：𠄎掣卅馬，允其執羌？ (I 3381.)

These thirty *Ma* charioteers made up exactly a small chariot division. Another divination says:

(60) Divination on the day *ping-shen*. Asked: “Establish the *Ma* chariotry—the Left, the Right, and the Center—persons three-hundred?”

丙申卜，貞：肇馬左右中，人三百？ (Ch'ien 3,31,2.)

These three-hundred persons were just the number of charioteers required for fifty chariots, which would constitute a chariot battalion. It is evident that the archaeological and inscriptional sources concerning *Ma* correspond to each other.

There were three types of officers related to the *Ma* chariotry. *Ma-hsiao-ch'en* 馬小臣 might either be royal *hsiao-ch'en* who supervised the chariotry or those who drove the chariots of the king.⁶⁹ *Ma-ya* 馬亞 appeared in the divinations much more often than *Ma-hsiao-ch'en*; they might be *Ya* officers in the chariotry.⁷⁰ One divination says:

(61) Divination on the day *yi-hai*. Asked: “Order many *Ma-ya* to meet Ke and inspect the granary at 隕 reaching (the area governed by) K'uang-hou by way of 隕 river, and (the area governed by) Wu-hou?”

乙亥卜，貞：令多馬亞從隕省隕廩，至于匡侯，
從隕川舞侯？

(Ts'un 1,66.)

Hsiao-to-ma-Ch'iang-ch'en 小多馬羌臣 probably was the officer in charge of *To-ma-Ch'iang* 多馬羌.⁷¹ I have mentioned before that King Wu-ting appointed Yü to be the *Hsiao-to-ma-Ch'iang-ch'en*. It is necessary to solve the problems about the Ch'iang people's position relative to the Shang dynasty before we can properly define *To-ma-Ch'iang*. we will deal with such problems later.

There were chariotries of different *tsu*—perhaps, the localized branches of the royal house—and there were also chariotries called *shu ma* 戌馬.⁷² garrison chariotry. Chariotry that preceded the king's chariot was called *hsien-ma* 先馬, which in later dynasties became an official title too.⁷³

Probably, three-hundred archers constituted an archery detachment. Archers, *She* 射, usually engaged in royal hunting and in the defense of the state's security. There were two *She* officers called *She Ts'a* 射 射 and *She* 射.⁷⁴ However, we also notice that the king could order other types of officers to lead the archers:

(62) (Asked:) “Should not Ch'ing be ordered to take the three-hundred Archers?”

勿令禽擊三百射？ (I 7661.)

(63) Asked: "Wu takes the Archers?"

貞：𠄎 擊射？ (Ching 1524.)

(64) Asked: "Order *Ch'üan* Yen to take the new Archers?"

貞：令犬止擊新射？ (K'u 1027.)

Ch'üan Yen was a *Ch'üan* officer; *Ch'ing*, a *Hsiao-ch'en*; *Wu*, a *Hsiao-chi-ch'en* as well as a *Hsiao-Chung-jen-ch'en*. *She* officers themselves might also engage in other kinds of activities. For instance, King *Tsu-chia* once made a divination as to whether *She* Ts'a was to be ordered to offer a royal banquet to a person called *Ping* 立立, who was a trusted high dignitary of the King.⁷⁵ Unless *She* Ts'a was ranked equal to *Ping*, it is unlikely that he would have been sent to honor *Ping*, the King's commissioned inspector of granaries and commander of the Multitudes.⁷⁶ It is extremely difficult to judge the relative positions between any two officers simply on the basis of their official titles.

Among the *Ch'üan* 犬 (literally, Dog) officers in the Shang dynasty, we know three by name: *Ch'üan* Yen 犬征, *Ch'üan* Kuang 犬光, and *Ch'üan* Chung 犬中.⁷⁷ Dogs were of great use at that time. Modern archaeologists have found a dog's skeleton underneath each and every important building in the Shang ruins.⁷⁸ Perhaps the Shang people considered that dogs were their watchful friends both during life and afterwards. Our records show that dogs were utilized to chase wild animals as well as run-away slaves and rebels:

(65) Divination on the day *jen-shu*. Diviner *Ku* asked: "Order various *Ch'üan* officers to trap deer at the place of *Nung*?"

Divination on the day *jen-shu*. Diviner *Ku* asked: "Bring dogs and order to trap deer at the place of *Nung*?"

壬戌卜，殺貞：乎多犬羅鹿于農？

壬戌卜，殺貞：取犬乎羅鹿于農？

(I 5329.)

(66) (Asked:) "Would not dogs (or *Ch'üan* officers) chase *Huan* and catch him?"

犬追亘亡其及？ (Ho 302.)

Officer *Ch'üan* Chung once served as the King's hunting attendant:

(67) Divination on the day *wu-ch'en* at *Hua*. (Asked:) "*Ch'üan* Chung reported deer. Should the King shoot? Now disaster? Will catch (deer)?"

戊辰卜，在畫，犬中告鹿，王其射？亡戕？擒？ (Ts'ui 932.)

However, like many other prominent officers in the Shang dynasty, Officer *Ch'üan* Yen acted not only within the sphere of duty prescribed by the official title he held, but he was also ordered to take up missions which did not correspond to his offi-

cial duty. He was ordered to make sacrifices to deceased kings, to attack a certain state, and even to bring his kin to cultivate fields.⁷⁹ The following divination is particularly interesting:

(68) On the day *keng-ch'en* asked: “. . . Fang (state) came and discussed issues with *Ch'üan Yen* . . .”

庚辰貞：四方來即事于犬社？

(*Nan, fang* 4,411.)

This divination tells us that, with the knowledge of the King, *Ch'üan Yen* might discuss issues with a foreign state. He was certainly not an ordinary Officer of Dogs.

Li Hsüeh-ch'ing, a scholar who specializes in Shang geography, has pointed out that the king had set up Offices of Dog in different parts of the country. He has cited *Yü Ch'üan* 孟犬, *Ch'üan*, and *Sheng Ch'üan* 省犬 as examples.⁸⁰ *Shu* 戌 was another type of military office. War and garrison duties were its chief functions. Two people, *Shu Yen* 戌衞 and *Shu 朮*, held this title in the time of King Wu-ting; *Shu Chia* 戌甲 had it in the time of King Lin-hsin.⁸¹ However, the office of *Shu* was also held by *tsu*: *Shu Ho* 戌何, *Shu Shui* 戌遂, *Shu 鬲*, *Shu 兗*, and *Shu 耆* together were called *wu-tsu-tsu* 五族戌.⁸² They appeared in the divinations dated to the period of King Lin-hsin. A *tsu* was—as we can conclude both from the records in the classics and from those in the inscriptions—a localized lineage, i.e., a group of families related to each other through a common male ancestor at least two generations from themselves; a *tsu* in the Shang dynasty had its own *Yin* officers and *Ma* chariotry.⁸³ These five *tsu* were neither *wang-tsu* 王族 nor *to-tzu-tsu* 多子族, both of which were composed of king's kinsmen.⁸⁴

Although episodes celebrating meritorious officers such as Yi Yin, Kan P'an 甘般, and Fu Shuo 傅說 in the Shang dynasty have been mentioned from time to time together with the deeds of other well known ministers throughout Chinese history.⁸⁵ It seems that in the Shang dynasty, the heart of central administration was the king. It does not seem that the king entrusted the central administration to a prime minister or to a cabinet. The earliest occurrence of a prime minister type of central administration in the Chinese history can only be dated to the early part of the Eastern Chou period, when the Chou king's power had greatly declined.⁸⁶ (One might suggest that the Duke of Chou appears to have been the prime minister in the early Chou, however it is more precise to consider him as a regent at that time, for he returned his power to the King when King Ch'eng came of age. It is possible to regard the Duke of Chou as a quasi-prime minister, inasmuch as he was commissioned to govern the eastern capital, while the King stayed in the western capital. It is also significant that the usurpation of royal power on the part of the Chou feudatories, which came along with the Chou king's en-

trusting the central administration to a prime minister, i.e., a Chou feudal lord, eventually reduced the king to a minor political figure.

From the Western Chou inscriptions, we notice that the king issued orders in *miao* 廟 (temples) and in *kung* 宮 (palaces).⁸⁷ These temples and palaces together constituted the royal court in the Chou dynasty, and are termed *ming-t'ang* 明堂 (bright halls) in traditional records.⁸⁸ The style of the *ming-t'ang*'s physical construction has been one of the most discussed issues among scholars, traditional as well as modern. According to Wang Kuo-wei, the *ming-t'ang* was graphically a *ya* 亞 form of building, that is, one square room in the center with four rooms on the four sides of the center room.⁸⁹ It is highly probable that this type of court construction was a Shang derivative. The symbolic *ya* type of pits in the royal tombs, says Kao Ch'ü-hsün 高去尋, a prominent Shang archaeologist of our time, suggest the existence of the *ya* type of palace or temple constructions in the Shang dynasty, even though evidence from Shang archaeology still remains to be seen.⁹⁰ The Shang inscriptions show that the Gate of I and certain halls were where the Shang kings gave their orders, but there is no further information available for our study of the relation between the *ming-t'ang* and these court-like places. Without doubt, in the Shang dynasty there had to be a court, and perhaps the Gate of I and the halls mentioned in the inscriptions were part of it. After all, the court was where the king issued his edicts and listened to the reports from his officers. However, because of the Shang kings' habitual inspection-hunting tours, the court was not necessarily identical to its physical location. The king could hold court-meetings whenever and wherever he desired.

We may have been surprised by the fact that a Shang office could be held by a *tsu*, i.e., a localized lineage, as in the case of *wu-tsu-shu*. Actually, it was common in Shang dynasty and in the early Chou for the king to order not only an officer but also this officer's *tsu* to join his service. (We have quoted the case of *Ch'üan* Yen and the case of Duke Mao's son above.) we might also be surprised by the fact that an officer could be commissioned to do various tasks not corresponding to the official function as indicated by his official title. Such a contradiction might be due to the custom of using *ad hoc* commissioners on the part of the king. The founding of different types of offices on the basis of their functions in the Shang dynasty had the effect of routinizing the official duties of the king's officers. And yet it was indeed difficult to carry such a routinization to its fullest degree, especially when the system of *ad hoc* commissioners was still practiced.

We notice that among the officers of the same type, some were more prominent than others. For instance, only a few of them could have personal names mentioned in the royal divinations. These people were often the ones ordered by the king to be

responsible for certain missions. Most officers, however, were simply called, for instance, *to-Ch'en* (many-*Ch'en*), *to-Yin* (many-*Yin*), or *to-She* (many-*She*). Evidently, the Shang official titles could not decide one's official rank; or else, everyone should be equally regarded in case the same title was held. It is also practically impossible to draw a hierarchy among the offices mentioned above. Perhaps, one may suggest that the *Yin* or *Shih* or *Ya* offices were higher in rank than the others on the basis of their functions. But the overlapping of official functions rules out the validity of a possible hierarchical table on the basis of official functions. In short, Shang officialdom was still in a process of development, and it was still many centuries before the beginning of Chinese bureaucracy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, p. 503.
2. The meaning of this term will be discussed later in this chapter together with other types of *ch'en* officers.
3. Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, p. 521.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Shima *Kenkyū*, p. 474.
6. The deeds of Yi Yin are recorded both in traditional history and in the Eastern Chou bronze inscriptions. According to *Shih Chi*, he was a *ying-ch'en* 鷹臣, a type of *hsiao-ch'en*, of Yu-hsin 有莘 before he became attached to T'ang. See *Shih Chi: Yin-pen-chi*. A bronze called him "Yi Shao-ch'en 伊少臣." See Kuo, *Liang-k'ao*, p. 203a. (The word *shao* 少 and the word *hsiao* were interchangeable in the bronze inscriptions.) The personal names of most Shang officers occurred after their official titles in the Shang inscriptions. The case of Yi Yin is an exception; his personal name, Yi, is mentioned before his official title *Yin* or *Shao-ch'en*. Cf. *Tsung-shu*, p. 363.
7. The controversy derives from contradictory records as to how Ta-chia, the son of T'ang, regained his throne. The question is whether Ta-chia killed Yi Yin or whether Yi Yin willingly returned the royal power to Ta-chia after his three years of exile. Cf. Ch'ü Wan-li, "Shih-chi Yin-pen-chi Ch'i-t'a Chi-lu Chung So Tsai Yin-Shang Shih-tai Ti Shih-shih 史記殷本紀及其他記錄中所載殷商時代的史實," *Wen-shih Che-hsüeh-pao* 文史哲學報 XIV (1965), p. 95; (referred to hereafter as: Ch'ü, "Yin-Shang Shih-tai Ti Shih-shih").
8. See Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, p. 363.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 366.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 363.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 364. However, other scholars suggest that Huang Yin might be another name of Yi Yin. See Ch'ü, "Yin-Shang Shih-tai Ti Shih-shih," pp. 95-96.
12. See Divination 33, and Part II, Chapter I, Footnote 32.
13. See Divinations 13 and 24. Sometimes, *Yin* officers could also be put in charge of military affairs. See Part II, Chapter I, Footnote 32.
14. This term was mentioned several times in connection with the word *hsin* 新, such as in "*hsin* 新 san-shih pao 新愛卅隻," (*Nan, nan* 2,14) which can be translated as "new 愛 thirty packages."
15. For instance, we can find the following official titles from the *Tso Chuan: P'ü-yin* 卜尹, *Men-yin* 門尹, *Ling-yin* 令尹, *Kung-yin* 工尹, *Yueh-yih* 樂尹, *Hsien-yin* 縣尹, etc. Cf. *Ch'un-ch'iu Ching-chuan Yin-te* 春秋經傳引得 ed. Harvard-Yenching Institute, (Peking, 1937), II, p. 595.
16. Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 110.
17. Wang Kuo-wei, *Kuan-t'ang Ch-lin* 觀堂集林 (Taipei, 1968), VI, p. 3b-4a: Bernhard Karlgren, "Grammata Serica Recensa," *BMFEA* XXIX (1957), pp. 256-257, nos. 971, 975; Kuo Mo-jo, *Chin-wen Ts'un-k'ao* 金文叢考 (Peking, 1954), I, pp. 52b-53a.
18. For instance, in a restored tortoise shell, the term *wo shih* 我史 occurs six times: three times as *wo* 我, and the other three times as *wo* 叟. See *Ping* 71.
19. See *Chia* 608, 1250 and 2038.
20. Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 110.
21. In *I* 5301, 5302, a series of this type of questioning is present.
22. Shima has gathered forty-seven pieces of divinations under the entry *shih-jen* 史人 (sending

- people), from which we can see where the King sent his envoys. See Shima, *Sōri*, p. 421.
23. For these titles, see *Ping* 29 and 5; *Ho* 240, respectively.
 24. For the formation of the *Tien* district, see Part II, Chapter IX.
 25. The term “three *Shih*” occurs twice in *Ling-fang-i* 令方彝, a bronze vessel dated to the reign of King Ch’eng of early Western Chou. The inscriptions on *Ling-fang-i* read: “. . . The King ordered Ming-pao, the son of the Duke of Chou to take charge of the three *Shih* and the four quarters, . . . Ming Kung (i.e., Ming-pao) arrived at Ch’eng-Chou in the morning, making orders: distributing orders to the three *Shih*, the colleague of managers of affairs, . . .” For *Ling-fan-i* and its inscriptions, see Ch’en Meng-chia, “Hsi-Chou T’ung-ch’i Tuan-tai II,” *KKHP* X (1955), p. 82. The three *Shih* were mentioned in connection with the four quarters, so too, the Shang three *Shih*. Thus, it is possible that the Chou people followed the three *Shih* institution of the Shang.
 26. As in *Jen* 3016. Actually, the word *chung* 中 was very often written in the form .  was a pictograph of a flag. See *Chia* 624, 2052.
 27. See *Jen* 1271; *Chia* 3536; *Ch’ien* 4,34,1.
 28. Tung Tso-pin, *Chia-ku-wen Tuan-tai Yen-chiu Li*, p. 59.
 29. In the early Chou, *Tso-ts’e* and *Nei-shih* were separate offices. They started to be combined into a new office called *Tso-ts’e-nei-shih* in the mid-Western Chou, however, at the expense of *Tso-ts’e*, while *Nei-shih* remained independent, and became more important.
 30. Cf. Jao Tsung-i, *T’ung-k’ao*, Index p. 2, Jao has found eleven of them.
 31. Cf. Shima, *Sōri*, p. 109.
 32. *Chou Li* records that *hsiao-ch’en* attended to the clothing, transportation, and private social activities of the king and queen, as well as to the royal orders concerning the above three matters, and that those attending the queens were castrated. *Chou Li* does not mention whether the king’s *hsiao-ch’en* were castrated or not. Without any contemporary sources on the physical nature of *hsiao-ch’en*, we can only relate to the records of *Chou Li*, not for our answer, but for our reference. See *Chou Li* (*Ssu-pu-ts’un-k’an* ed.), 7: 5a, 8: 8a.
 33. Lee, *Chi-shih*, III, pp. 989-994.
 34. *Ts’ui* 1169: I 2093.
 35. See Kuo, *Liang-k’ao*, pp. 30b, 34a, 39a.
 36. See *Ts’ui* 13; I 6414. Possibly, *Hsiao-ch’iu-ch’en* 小丘臣 and *Chou-ch’en* 州臣 were part of *ch’en-cheng* too, because *ch’iu* and *chou* were terms for local administrative districts in ancient China. We do not have enough information from the Shang inscriptions to deal with their relative problems. See *Yi* 533, *Ts’ui* 262 for these two titles.
 37. *Yi* 518, 426. The word *tsai* here is written in the form . However, some scholars consider that the word  was *tsai* too. My observation is that the latter was not used as an official title, but as a term for certain people—perhaps slaves or captives who worked for the Shang people. Cf. Shima, *Kenkyū*, p. 481.
 38. Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 120; Karlgren, *Shih* 163.
 39. Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 120.
 40. *Ts’ui* 237; *Yi* 140; *Chin* 365. The Shang *ch’u* should be distinguished from the Chou *ch’u*, in the Western Chou bronze inscriptions. See Ch’i Kui-yen 戚桂宴, “Shih Ch’u 釋貯,” *KKIV* (1980), pp. 359-360.
 41. *Wen* 547.
 42. *Nan*, *fang* 3,19.
 43. *Ch’ien* 4,33,7.
 44. Lee, *Chi-shih*, XIV, pp. 4163; VI, pp. 2141. Also see Ch’i Kui-yen, “Shih Ch’u”.
 45. *Ho* 281; *Ts’un* 2, 229.
 46. *Jen* 2982; I 9037. Hsiao Nan, however, suggests that *kung* or *to-kung* 多工 were slave-artisans.

- He disagrees with the theory that *kung* could be an official title. See Hsiao Nan 肖楠, "Shih-Lun P'u-tz'u Chung Ti 'Kung' Yü 'Pai-kung' 試論卜辭中的工與百工," *KK* III (1981), pp. 266-270. Cf. Part II, Chapter I. Footnote 26.
47. *Ch'ien* 7,35,2; *Yeh* 1,40,5.
 48. See *Ching* 9418; *I* 4212; *Ching* 4825, respectively.
 49. See *Hsin-ssu-i* 辛巳彝 in *Chen-sung* 4,47.
 50. See *I* 3478; *Ts'ui* 1178; *Nan, nan* 2,121; *Chia* 2464, 3913, respectively for these *Ya* officers.
 51. Cf. Shima, *Sōrui*, p. 236.
 52. *I* 5582; *Ho* 302.
 53. *I* 3357; *Ho* 178.
 54. *Chia* 3078.
 55. *Yi* 132; *Ts'un* 1,56, *T'ieh* 114,3.
 56. Cf. Shima, *Kenkyu*, p. 465.
 57. *Ibid.*, p. 466.
 58. See their discussions in Ting Shan 丁山, *Chia-ku-wen So-chien Shih-tsu Chi Ch'i Chih-tu* 甲骨文所見氏族及其制度, (Peking, 1956), p. 46.
 59. Such as used in *Ho* 67 *tsai to ya* 在多亞 (in various *ya*), in *Chih-hsiu* 167 *ju yü to ya* 入于多亞 (enter into various *ya*). For *ya*, see Lee, *Chi-shih*, XIV, pp. 4165, 4172.
 60. For instance, the son of the Duke of Mao was ordered by King Ch'eng of Chou to take his *tsu* and follow his father to attack the eastern states. See Kuo, *Liang-k'ao*, p. 20b. During the Spring and Autumn period, the best of the Ch'u armies was its central army, which was the king's *tsu*. See *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 391 (Ch'eng 成 16.)
 61. *I* 811; *Ch'ien* 4,31,5; *Hsü* 5,21,9; *Ch'ien* 6,55,7.
 62. See Part II, Chapter I.
 63. *Ts'ui* 1211; *Wen* 710; *Yi* 395; *Wen* 682. Cf. Shima, *Sōrui*, p. 441.
 64. *Lin* 2,25,6; *Hou* 1,15,12.
 65. Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 311.
 66. *Ibid.*
 67. See Lee, *Chi-shih*, X, pp. 3031-3034; Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, pp. 508-509.
 68. Shih Chang-ju 石璋如, "Hsiao-t'un C-ch'ü Ti Mu-tsang Ch'un 小屯C區的葬墓羣," *BIHP* XXIII (1952), pp. 453, 447-479. Cf. Cheng Te-k'un, *Archaeology in China, Volume Two, Shang China* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 209.
 69. In *Ch'ing* 1, we have a piece of divination about a *Hsiao-ch'en* who drove the king's chariot. But it is not about *Ma-hsiao-ch'en* who, however, is mentioned in *Ts'ui* 1152. This latter divination reads: "... came and reported that the state of Ta intruded and attack our armies; should *Ma-hsiao-ch'en* be ordered?" We do not know what kind of duty *Ma-hsiao-ch'en* was to perform. .
 70. *Ch'ien* 5,6,5; *Ching* 1617; *Ch'en* 117.
 71. For the term *to-ma-Ch'iang*, see *Ts'ui* 1554.
 72. *Ts'ui* 1155; *Ning* 1, 507.
 73. It, however, later became *Hsi-ma* 洗馬. Cf. Huang Pei-chi 黃本驥, *Li-Tai Chih-kuan Piao* 歷代職官表 (Shanghai, 1965), III, p. 129.
 74. See *Chia* 555; *Fu*, ti 62.
 75. *Chia* 868.
 76. Cf. Shima, *Sōrui*, p. 39.
 77. *Ibid.*, p. 216. *Jen* 2044; *Ts'ui* 935.
 78. Shih Chang-ju, "Honon Anyang Hsiao-t'un Yin-mu-chung Ti Tung-wu Yi-hai 河南安陽小屯殷墓中的動物遺骸," *Wen Shih Che Hsüeh Pao* V (1953), p. 10-11.
 79. See *Jen* 281.

80. Li Hsüeh-ch'ing, *Yin-tai Ti-li Chien-lun*, pp. 11, 22, 23.
81. Both *Shu Yen* and *Shu* 朙 occur in *Chia* 3510. *Shu Chia* occurs in *Chia* 807.
82. Ch'en Meng-chia and Li Hsüeh-ch'ing also discuss *wu-tsu-shu*. See Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, p. 516; Li, *Yin-tai Ti-li Chien-lun*, p. 77.
83. See Part I, Chapters I, IV.
84. See Part I, Chapter IV.
85. Ch'ü, "Yin Shang Shih-tai Ti Shih-shih," p. 95.
86. For instance, the cases of the Duke of Cheng and of the Duke of Kuo. See *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 11: (Yin 隱 3).
87. See Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi-Chou T'ung-Ch'i Tuan-tai III," *KKHP* XI (1956), p. 100.
88. Kao Ch'ü-hsün 高去尋, "Yin-tai Ta-mu Ti Mu-shih Chi-ch'i Han-i Chih T'ui-ts'e 殷代大墓的墓室及其涵義之推測," *BIHP* XXXIX:II (1969), p. 182 (referred to hereafter as Kao, "Yin-tai Ta-mu").
89. Wang Kuo-wei, *Kuan-t'ang Chi-lin*, III, pp. 103, 125.
90. Kao, "Yin-tai Ta-mu," pp. 181-182.

CHAPTER IX

LOCAL AND SEMI-LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS

In the course of its five hundred year history, the Shang dynasty had made itself the greatest power in northern China, controlling most of central China. The T'ai-hang mountains lay as its natural boundary in the west. The influence of Shang culture reached the Shantung peninsula. It appears that the dynasty did not encounter serious threats from the east, perhaps because the east was the former home of the Shang rulers, and where they had started their career.¹ Several barbaric states were located on the north and in the neighborhood of the T'ai-hang mountains. Scholars tend to think that the people there were forefathers of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 and the Jung 戎 barbarians.² Although there were some emergencies brought to bear on the capital by inhabitants in the "Southern land," yet it seems that Shang kings raised few large-scale military expeditions against the South. As the power of the Shang was penetrating southeastwards into the lower Yangtzu valleys, however, Shang suffered a fatal attack from the Chou people behind the T'ai-hang mountains, thereby bringing this time-honored dynasty to an end.

Reliable early Chou sources indicate that there was a clear-cut division between Shang administration at central and local levels. For instance, an early Chou bronze, *Ta-yü ting* 大盂鼎 says:

I have heard that the Yin (i.e. Shang) lost their mandate, for the reason that the *Hou* and *T'ien* on Yin's frontier, and the hundred officers in Yin's center all indulged in intoxicating liquid.

我聞殷墜命，唯殷邊侯田，與殷正百辟率肆于酒。³ (Liang-k'ao 34a)

The *Chiu Kao* 酒誥 also says:

In the times of those ancient sage kings of the Yin . . . no one dared to seek leisure hours for himself. . . . In the External Service, the *Hou*, *T'ien*, *Nan*, *Wei*, *Pang-po*, . . . in the Internal Service, the hundred officers, various *Yin*, *Ya*, *Fu*, *Tsung-kung*, hundred surnames, and *Li-chü* dared not indulge themselves in intoxicating liquid.⁴

在昔殷先哲王……不敢自暇自逸……越在外服，侯、甸、男、衛、邦伯、越在內服，百僚，庶尹，惟亞，惟服，宗工，越百姓里居，罔敢湎于酒。

Sources dated after the Spring and Autumn period, such as *Chou li*, *Kuo Yü*, and *Yü Kung*, however, record a system of the "Five Degrees of Service." According to the studies of Mo Fei-ssu and other scholars, this system was contrived to support the

traditional interpretation of Chou feudalism, and was the twin of the theory of the “Five Degrees of Ranks.”⁵ Mo points out that there were only the External and Interior Services in ancient China, but the records on this system were relegated to an obscure position while the theory on the “Five Degrees of Services” prevailed.⁶

The External Service or the concept of Yin’s frontier in the above records is, in the context of my discussion, the “Local and Semi-local Administration.” Thus it is not sufficiently precise just recognize the External Service as a synonym for local administration. The concept of semi-local administration has to be added to cover the institution involving the *Po* 伯, *Hou* 侯, *Tien* 奠, and *T’ien* 田.

During the Shang dynasty, the Great City Shang was taken for granted as being the center of the world. In the king’s mind, the state was divided into four parts—the Eastern, Western, Southern, and Northern lands. This division, however, does not seem to have the organizational implications, such as the terms *t’ien* 田, and *tien* 奠 suggest. Outside of the Shang territory, there were various *fang* 方 states. The word *fang* can have many meanings, such as territory, region and quarter. However, I shall adopt the meaning “state” in this paper.⁷ In the course of time, some of these *fang* states had been subjugated by Shang kings, while others lost their independence—entirely or partially—to the Shang. The subjugation of neighboring states and the formation of administrative districts, though they were closely connected events, actually involved different types of processes and personalities and therefore resulted in different types of local administration. They constituted one of the main themes in the Shang history.

I. *Semi-local Administration:*

The Subjugation of Fang States

The ruler of a *fang* state was termed *Po* 伯.⁸ He was usually referred to in the Shang inscriptions as an X-fang-po-x (the first X indicating name of state, and the second, his personal name). He might also be called Po-x without specifying his state, or X-fang-x, X-po-x, X-x, or simply by mentioning his state or personal name.⁹

War frequently occurred between Shang kings and these *Po*. Below is the record on the result of a war between the Shang king and these *Po*.

. . . . *Hsiao-ch’en* Ch’iang followed (the king) to attack. (We) capture the rulers of the states) Wei and Mei 20, people four, *erh* (decapitated heads?) 1570, *chi* 100 , chariots two, shields 183, quivers 50, arrows (We) sacrificed Yu-po-lu to Ta-yi, Sheng-po-yin to , *chi* to Grandfather-yi, Mei to Grandfather-ting *jan kan ching* bestowed . . .¹⁰

小臣𠄎從伐，擒危，美……廿，人四，而千五百七十，隳百……，車二兩，盾百八十三，函五十，矢……用又伯𠄎于大乙，用𠄎伯印……隳于祖乙，用美于祖丁，傳甘京……，易𠄎

The above text is inscribed on a broken bone tablet. Since there were recorded, on the

other side of this tablet, one third of the sixty combinations of cyclical characters for the Shang day-count system, we may assume that we only have one third of the record of the whole event. From this inscription and other similar sources, we can vaguely see that some of these states were relatively small, probably able to gather an army of only a few thousand soldiers.

However, wars in the Shang dynasty sometimes were of considerable size, for several states might become involved on both side. For instance:

(69) On the day *ting-mao*, the King divined and asked: "Now practicing the *wu-chiu-yao*. Should I associate various *T'ien* and many *Po* to attack Yü-fang-po-yen? Should not (I call a) *Yin* meeting, and march (our forces) tomorrow?"

丁卯，王卜貞：今田巫九者，余其比多田于多伯正孟方伯炎，
勿斃，翌日步？

(Chia 2416.)

Evidently this divination was made when King Ti-yi (ca. 1098-1089 B.C.) decided to unite various allies and march on the enemy. The fate of a defeated *Po*, if he were captured alive, was, in many cases, to be sacrificed to the king's ancestors. Such incidents have already been noted in preceding passages. We will deal with the *T'ien*, another kind of local lord, later.

How did the Shang people carry on their overruling enterprise? Was war its only course? Insofar as we can tell from our sources, military actions were indispensable, but there were still plenty of incidences of non-violent settlement. We have two cases in point. The first case is the homage made by Pao 岳 to the Shang king Wu-ting. It has been reconstructed on the basis of some thirty pieces of divination, some of them recorded on the same pieces of shells, others scattered among broken pieces of bones or shells.¹¹ Usually the time sequence of certain events is self-evident when they are inscribed on the same plate. Here we have to deduce for ourselves the time sequence of those events which appeared on different pieces of bones or shells.

The reconstructed story is as follows:¹² Pao, the ruler of the state of Chi 基, decided to pay homage to King Wu-ting in order to end the war between the Chi and the Shang. The King then ordered his son Tzu-t'ai to honor Pao with a court banquet. However, before the banquet, the King demanded that Pao contribute a certain amount of grain or provisions to support royal forces. Later on, Pao appears to have become the King's subordinate, receiving orders from the King.

Giving homage to the king was practiced by other *fang* rulers. Ch'en Meng-chia says that divinations like "whether so and so would come to *ch'en* 臣 (i.e., to be subservient)" or "whether so and so would come to *wang* 王 (i.e., to pay a homage to the king)" affirm what the Shang Temple Songs recorded:

None dared not make offering to him,
None dared not to acknowledge him their king,
Saying, "Shang forever."¹³

Of course, this song overstated the real situation, but no doubt at the time there must have been much homage paid to the Shang kings. This practice was also part of the royal etiquette in the Chou dynasty. Traditional Chinese histories reveal that vassalage might be created between the Chou king and a noble during such an occasion.¹⁴ We do not have this type of information in the Shang inscriptions. However, one thing that is certain is that through homage to the Shang king, a *fang* ruler might render himself the king's subordinate.

The second case took place under similar circumstances, when the King (King Ti-yi or Ti-hsin) was at war with four enemy states. This time the King conferred several *i* 邑 (city or settlement) on one of these four states.¹⁵ In this manner, the King's enemies were reduced to three. The conferring ceremony was held in the Shang capital, since it was in the Great City Shang that the King consulted the oracle about this affair. (Note, there was another person to whom several *i* were also given at the same time.)¹⁶ Unfortunately we do not know whether such conferred *i* served only as some kind of bribe, or as a kind of fief.

It appears that the submissive or friendly relationship between the Shang and these *fang* states was not entirely stable or institutionalized. We see the state of Yü, once sending envoys to the royal court and for two or three generations being a place traversed by the king's entourage, turning into a serious opponent that the king had to rally his allies to oppose.¹⁷ Similar revolts also broke out in the states of Kuo 夔, Huan 亶, Chou 周 and many other states.¹⁸

The story about the state of Ch'iang 絳 may give us a suggestion on the relationship between the king and these petty state rulers. We notice that one of King Wu-ting's diviners, Pin, divined whether to order the Shang Multitudes to enter Ch'iang and work in its fields.¹⁹ But interestingly enough, in another inscription, Diviner Pin was asking whether to sacrifice Ch'iang-po-ming 絳伯盟 in a certain Shang ancestral temple.²⁰ We have no information about the time sequence of these two divinations, but checking with the inscriptions later than the King Wu-ting period, we find that the state Ch'iang appeared to be continuously engaged in war with the Shang.²¹ The Ch'iang and the Shang were thus possible friends at the very beginning, so the former asked the latter for help. At some point, however, the King entered Ch'iang and captured its ruler. Evidently, the King failed to command a firm control over the Ch'iang so that its ruling class soon regained their position and sought retaliation against the Shang.

This event reminds us of the story of Ko-po 葛伯 recorded in the *Mencius*. Ko was a neighboring state of the Shang in the time of T'ang, the founder of the Shang dynasty. Seeing that Ko-po was reluctant in making offerings to the spirits, T'ang sent people over to Ko to ask the reason. Ko-po replied that it was due to a lack of sacrificial provisions. T'ang then offered the Shang Multitudes to help Ko-po work the fields. Evidently Ko-po disliked the idea and made a raid on the Shang youth who were carrying food to the Shang workers in the Ko fields. This made T'ang furious, and he immediately mobilized his troops and destroyed the state of Ko. According to traditional history, this was the first battle fought by the Shang people in its campaign to overthrow the Hsia dynasty.²² Evidently there were similarities between the cases of Ch'iang and Ko-po.

The oracle bone inscriptions also provide us with information on how a *fang* might have lost its independence to the Shang. A divination says:

(70) Divination on the day *hsin-hai*. Diviner Cheng asked: "Should (we) raise the Multitudes and establish the Great *Shih* office in the (territory of) She-po of the West *Tien*?"

辛亥卜·爭貞：共衆人立大史于西奠玃伯？ (Lin 2,11,16.)

Tien 奠 was the term for a kind of Shang administrative district. (See below.) She-po was the *Po* of the place She. Occasionally, we observe that a Shang diviner mentions a person's name when referring to the place governed by this person. This is especially common with the names of individuals composed of a place name and a status word.²³ It is quite evident from the above divination that She-po's territory had been subjugated by the Shang and woven into the *Tien* district.

We have already pointed out that *Shih* officers were the king's commissioners, who might be appointed either for *ad hoc* missions or for long-term duties, and that they might become localized when their missions required them to do so. Judging from the tendency of mobilizing the Multitudes for the establishment of a Grand *Shih* office in She-po's region, considerable official duty would be imposed upon such an office. She-po might even have surrendered his authority over internal affairs partially to the Shang Grand *Shih*. One divination reveals that the king would appoint a person to be responsible for the establishment of a *Shih* office in the region governed by a *Hou* local lord too:

(71) Asked: "Should (the King order) Ch'ing to establish a *Shih* office in (the territory of) Ya-hou?"

貞：禽立史於亞侯？ (Hou 2,4,3.)

Ch'ing was a prominent figure in the court of King Wu-ting and was entrusted with

many important responsibilities. We have already mentioned his name in several places above. *Hou* was another kind of local lord in the Shang dynasty; its modern translation “marquis” derives from the Chou usage. The *Shih* officer might be a supervisor sent out to Ya-hou by the Shang king.

The existence of *fang* states within the Shang territory can be seen from other divinations as well:

(72) Divination on the day *wu-wu*. Asked: “Whether or not (there is) destruction? Disaster in the Southern Land? Report the affair?”

Divination on the day *wu-wu*. (Asked:) “Whether (the state of 𠄎) will conquer Pei and Hsüan—the southern boundary states?”

Divination on the day *chi-wei*. (Asked:) “Whether the state of 𠄎 will conquer Pei?”

戊午卜，貞：𠄎不疆，在南土田，告事？

戊午卜：𠄎克貝，隸，南丰方？

己未卜：佳𠄎方其克貝？

(Chia 2902.)

These three pieces of divination and several other divinations relating to the attack of the southern boundary states by the state of 𠄎 were recorded together on one shell. The term *nan-feng-fang* 南丰方, which I have translated as southern boundary states, can also be translated as southern-eneffed-states, because the word *feng* had the sense of “to enfeoff” or that of a “fief”.²⁴ But no matter whether they were southern boundary states or southern-eneffed-states, it is clear that they were located in the Southern Land, and that the Shang king was their overlord.

II. *Semi-local Administration:*

The Hou Lord.

Loosely speaking, the ways that a *Hou* was referred to were similar to those of a *Po*. X-hou-x (the first X a place name and the second a personal name) appears to be the most detailed way of naming a *Hou*. Such types of appellation as X-hou and Hou-x, were also freely used. There is one important distinction between *Hou* and *Po*. No *Hou* had a name in “X-fang-hou-x” form like the “X-fang-po-x” type. (Unlike the place name preceding the word *po*, the place name preceding the word *hou* seldom related to a *fang* state in the Shang dynasty. This is an interesting phenomenon, one that suggests that a *Hou* might differ from a *fang* ruler.) Nonetheless, the Shang inscriptions speak of “I-hou-ku’s *pi* 伊侯古鄙” and of “in Yu-hou-hsi’s *pi*, Jung 在佞侯喜鄙永.”²⁵ *Pi* 鄙 meant “territory” or “country”. Yi, Yu, and Jung were *i* 邑, city. From these and other sources, we may say that a *Hou* had his own realm in which several *i* were included. The Shang inscriptions also reveal that a *Hou* had his own officers:

(73) Divination on the day *wu-shü*. Diviner Ku asked: "Should the King thus order: Hou-hu return! I will not give a banquet. Take all your *Shih* officers and return?"

戊戌卜，殼貞：王曰，"侯虎圭，余不燕，其合挈乃史歸？ (Ch'ing 7.)

It appears that *Hou* participated in a much wider range of royal activities than did *Po*. Shang kings ordered *Hou* to be responsible for such public works as farming, herding, hunting, construction, and transportation. Some of them served as the king's generals, ambassadors or commissioners, while other held offices in the capital and became the king's trusted ministers.²⁶ Among the *Hou* seen in the Shang inscriptions, only three broke relations with the king. The first one was 𠄎-hou, who was arrested and sacrificed to the king's ancestor.²⁷ The second one, 𠄎-hou, and the third one, Chou-hou, were attacked by the king,²⁸ but we do not have any records of the outcome of these events. There were numerous royal divinations made about the health of *Hou*. No doubt, the king's relationship with the *Hou* was a very close one.

Perhaps, in the early Shang or in an even earlier time, *Hou* might appear somewhat similar to the first century *comitatus*—"free warriors who had taken service of their own free will under a chieftain, and fought with him on his behalf as a band of close comrades."²⁹ This point, which concerns the origin of *Hou* institution, is made in light of the ancient *Hou* ritual. This ritual is traceable both from the records in Chinese classics and from the word *hou* itself. We can even see the actual scene of this custom from decor patterns on ancient vessels.

The word *hou* had two elements, 𠄎 an arrow and 𠄎 a certain target board. Apart from meaning vassals in general it had two other different meanings: (1) Bull's eye, (2) to wait or to serve. It also referred to those who held the *Hou* title as well as those who guarded the frontiers.³⁰ The *Hou* ritual was practiced, according to Chinese classics, by people of different levels of society. There were no basic changes in the features of this ritual whether the ritual was sponsored by a ruler or by a noble. The *Hou* ritual was actually an archery contest. In this contest, the sponsor would let young men and inferiors contest in archery first, and then the sponsor and his honored guests shot arrows while the young men or inferiors served them.³¹ It was said that the second round of the archery contest was repeated once with the music which accompanied it. The contestants had to act according to the rhythm of the music.³² Such an archery contest was usually practiced in the *Chiao* 教, which I have rendered as "School".³³ Through such a contest, the archery skill of the young men or inferiors was improved and their ability recognized. It is reasonable to suppose that the superior selected the most able men to serve as his bodyguards or offered them opportunities in a military career, and that they were called *Hou*.

A careful examination of the case of Ching-hou 荝侯 may answer in part our question on the nature of *Hou* in the Shang dynasty. Ching-hou was a contemporary of King Wu-ting; he was once ordered to join the campaign against the state of Ssu.³⁴ We have two pieces of royal divination relative to his first establishment as a *Hou* in the place of Ching. The first one is:

(74) Asked: "Should (we) gather Ching's people to reside in Ching?"

貞：共 荝人宅于荝？ (I 5906.)

"Ching's people" refers to the people associated with Ching-hou, including the members of Ching's family and those under his command. It is not likely that the term "Ching's people" referred to the natives of the place Ching, because it would not have been necessary for them to be gathered by the King and resettled in Ching. It was because the King had recently appointed Ching-hou as a royal *Hou* in Ching, that Ching-hou gained a name as such, and that his people—now referred to as Ching's people—needed to be transported from a certain previous hometown to the place Ching. Nearly the same situation occurred with the people of the Earl of Shen in the Chou dynasty.

The *Book of Odes* tells us that King Hsüan of the Chou gave charge to Shao-po to arrange the residence of the Earl of Shen in Hsieh—the place where the future capital of the Chou feudatory state Shen was to be located.³⁵ Following this, a royal order was sent to a steward to transport the people of the Earl of Shen to Hsieh. The Earl previously held Shen as a fief from the King. He was moved from Shen to Hsieh because of the royal intention that the feudatory state should serve as a buffer against the southern barbarians.³⁶ In contrast to the Marquis of Wei who was the Marquis of K'ang before he was moved from K'ang to Wei, the Earl of Shen did not discard his old title after moving.³⁷ This was because the Earl still held Shen as a fief from the King. The case of Ching-hou is studied in light of these two instances. Unfortunately, our knowledge about the background of Ching-hou before he became established in Ching is limited.

The second piece of royal divination relative to Ching-hou's establishment is:

(75) Asked: "Should (we) go forth to *tien* in the place Ching? Should not (we) *tien* in the place Ching?"

貞：乎往奠于荝？勿乎于荝？ (I 5330.)

Usually a Shang diviner would ask the same question twice, once in positive and once in negative form, so the above inquiry was made only for a single purpose. The word *tien* 𠄎 was a pictograph of a vessel sitting on a line or on a certain surface. It meant "to establish" or "to found", but the word was also used to refer to a kind of Shang administrative district.³⁸ Hence "to *tien* in the place Ching" would mean "to set up a

Tien settlement in the place Ching.” By “*Tien* settlement”, I mean the kind of settlement subjected to the *Tien* administration of royal Shang. In order to understand the connection between the issues involved in this divination and the first establishment of Ching-hou in Ching, we must first know more about the *Tien* institution.

III. *The Tien Local Administrative District*

When the state of K’u encroached on the Shang state, Ch’a and Ch’ang-kou, reported to the King that four *i* in the outer *Tien* were destroyed by the K’u people.³⁹ Such terms as “Yün *Tien* Ho *i* 云奠河邑”, i.e., the Ho *i* in Yün *Tien*, also suggest that a *Tien* might include several *i*-town or city.⁴⁰ So far we have found only two *Tien* with place names preceding them. The others were East, West, South, and North *Tien*. It appears that Yün *Tien* and Chih *Tien*, the two *Tien* with place names preceding them, had Yün and Chih as their capital *i*. From these various *Tien*, cattle and grain were collected and transported to the Great City Shang, probably as royal revenues.⁴¹ The king’s garrisons were stationed in some of these *Tien*. The following divinations are related to the founding of a *Tien* settlement.

(76) Asked: “Should the people of Ch’ang *tien* in 滂?”

貞：長人于滂奠？ (Chin 507.)

(77) Asked: “Should the King order Wu to take Tzu-fang to *tien* in Ping?”

貞：王命吳以子方，乃奠于井？ (Hou 2,36,3.)

(78) Asked: “Should Ch’ing take Hua to *tien* in Shu?”

貞：禽以畫于蜀乃奠？ (Chin 349.)

The people of Ch’ang were the people of Ch’ang-po; they were sent to *tien* in 滂. The inscriptions above also show that the King might appoint an officer to take charge of the foundation of a *Tien*. Such a practice would have corresponded to the Chou case, in which Shao-po was nominated by the King to arrange the details of the residence of the Earl of Shen upon the latter’s investiture.

Now it becomes clear that not only a *Hou* but probably a *Po* or a royal *Tzu* could be made into a semi-territorial-ruler through the *tien* process. Although *Po* started with the status of a state ruler, they may have encountered the same situation as *Hou*, with their territory located within a royal *Tien*. I have cited the case of Ch’ang-po, whose people were moved to *tien* 滂. She-po in the West *Tien* was another instance, because apart from ordering the establishment of the Great *Shih* office in She-po, the King appointed Ch’ing to *tien* in She:

(79) Asked: “Should the King order Ch’ing to *tien* in She and to return?”

貞：王命禽奠玆，返？ (Ts’ui 1059.)

However, this divination can also be interpreted to mean that the King would send Ch'ing to incorporate the already existing She state into the West *Tien*, i.e., to annex the state She. In this case it would not involve the immigration of people nor the opening up of a new area.

In short, the *Hou* and *Po* institutions derived from different origins, but by the time of the mid-Shang dynasty, with the installation of the *Tien* system, they had become similar in certain respects. The congruence of *Hou* and *Po* was such an overwhelming phenomenon in the Chou times that some modern scholars hardly care for the distinction between the two.

IV. *Other Local lords and Other Administrative Districts*

Apart from *Hou* and *Po*, those who fell into the category of local lords were *Nan* 男, *Tzu* 子, and *T'ien* 田. There are only six occurrences of the word *nan* in the Shang inscriptions. Scholars have not yet been able to reach a common agreement to read this term as a status word.⁴² It is doubtful that any significant result will come from an investigation of these pieces of information. We have dealt with *Tzu* in the previous chapter, and we have pointed out: (1) the word *tsu* meant son, and it was used to refer to royal princes, (2) *Tzu-x* was the standard name for these princes, (3) a great many of them served in the royal court, and some of them became localized, according to the *tsu* lineage principle, as well as having charioteers and other subordinates of their own. Divination 77 cited above reveals at least one of the official procedures through which these princes became localized. We have also pointed out that Liang-tzu-kung was a royal prince localized in Liang. Unlike other Shang royal princes, Mi-tzu-huang, though having the same type of name as Liang-tzu-kung, was perhaps the ruler of the state Mi, and 夔-tzu, the ruler the state 夔.⁴³ It was possibly because a royal prince, *tsu*, could be a local ruler, and so the word *tsu* also might be used by other people to refer to chief of another locality. The latter usage of *tsu* can be seen frequently among the Chou inscriptions, but rarely among the Shang inscriptions. Here by "*Tzu* local lords", I mean localized royal princes, and "*Tzu* lord", a state ruler by the title *Tzu*.

Records concerning the *T'ien* 田 local lords are few, and the contents are limited to their military service. For instance, these *T'ien* local lords were called upon to fight together with various *Po* during the campaign against the state *Yü*. (See Divination 69.) The word *t'ien* 田 or 畝 was a pictograph of a plotted field. From the Western Chou bronze inscriptions, we see that Chou kings bestowed *t'ien* upon their vassals and officers. The inscriptions read "bestowed upon so and so *t'ien*, ten *t'ien*," or "fifty *t'ien*" in such and such places.⁴⁴ *T'ien* was also a unit of measure for farming fields in Chou times. Unfortunately, we have not found from Shang inscriptions that this was so in Shang times. The Shang *t'ien*, however, appears to be territorial unit comparable to

i. One fragment of a Shang inscription says, "the state T'u invaded our eastern *pi* 鄙, and destroyed two *i*; the state K'u grazed at our *t'ien* in western *pi*."⁴⁵ Both *i* and *t'ien* were included in the *pi*.

It is easily assumed that *t'ien* had to be attached to an *i*, since the evidence for such an assumption can be found from the Western Chou sources without too much difficulty. Few people would consider that a *t'ien* might contain several *i*, but this does not mean that such a situation did not exist. In 711 B.C., the Duke of Cheng traded jade for Hsü-t'ien 徐田 with the Duke of Lu.⁴⁶ Hsü-t'ien was a place where the Duke of Lu stayed while he was paying homage to the Chou kings.⁴⁷ The *Kung-Yang Chuan* comments that Hsü was actually an *i*, but because in Hsü there were more *t'ien* than *i*, i.e., more cultivated fields than human settlements, the place was thus called Hsü-t'ien.⁴⁸ A place where there were more human settlements than cultivated fields, says the *Kung-Yang Chuan*, was called an *i*.⁴⁹ One may find from Hsü-t'ien and many other X-t'ien type of place names the archaic usage of the word *t'ien*.

In Shang inscriptions *T'ien* 田 should not be confused with the word *tièn* 甸, or the *Tien* 奠 district, although in the Chinese classics, *t'ien* 田 appears to be interchangeable with the word *tièn* 甸 which was interchangeable with *tien* 奠.⁵⁰ Those who held the *T'ien* 田 title were still ranked among the king's vassals in the early Chou period.⁵¹ Probably after this period, the *T'ien* title gradually fell into disuse, and by the time of the Warring States period, it was almost completely forgotten. The fact that the title *T'ien* 田 corresponded to *t'ien* 田, the cultivated field, would certainly lead us to conclude that such a title was first adopted for those who held "cultivated fields" from the king.

V. From State Confederacy Toward Empire

Shang bronze inscriptions and early Chou records provide further basis for analyzing the political history during the later part of the Shang dynasty. A state-wide meeting was recorded on a late Shang bronze:

On the day *ting-mao*, the King ordered I-tzu to meet the western states in the place Sheng. (The King) returned. The King conferred upon *Shu X* two strings of cowries. (*Shu X*) therefore cast (this) Father-*i* tripod.

丁卯，王命宜子會西方于省，唯返，王賞戌鬲貝二朋，用
作父乙鬲。 (Shan-tai 4,7,2.)

Neither the causes for this meeting nor its events were recorded. I-tzu, a *Tzu* lord, was appointed to take charge of this meeting, while *Shu X*, the *Shu* officer, probably stayed with the King and acted as his escort. The first occurrence of such a state-wide meeting, according to Chiao-chü 椒舉, may date back to the Hsia dynasty. In 538 B.C., when King Ling of the state of Ch'u intended to follow the example of Duke Huan in be-

coming the chief of the Chou feudatories as well as the other Chinese and barbarian states, Chiao-chü—one of King Ling's ministers—cited a series of such meetings, ancient as well as modern, in order to convince King Ling that he should conduct himself according to *li* 禮, proper procedure, instead of presenting a pure display of his wealth and power during the meeting of allies sponsored by the Ch'u state.⁵² This was because this chief had the right to rally the allied force—one that was supposed to maintain the status quo of each of the allied states and to guard them against assault from either without or within this alliance.⁵³ In other words, the autonomy of each allied member was to be respected, and harmony cultivated among them. If the chief failed to fulfill this requirement, members of this alliance would eventually pay no allegiance to it. The incidents cited by Chiao-chü served his own purpose, and were colored by the contemporary political environment. Those cited from Hsia and Shang times, however, cannot be considered historical without further corroboration.

In fact, in Chiao-chü's time, the royal Chou had already been reduced to a small powerless state, although the King was still considered to be the Son of Heaven. About five hundred years before this time, when the Chou people were faced by a great revolt on the part of the conquered Shang people and others allied with them, King Ch'eng of Chou issued his "Great Announcement", in which he appealed to the supporters of the Chou to rally and crush the rebels. He said:

I tell you, the princes of my friendly states, and you, the directors of departments, my officers, and the managers of my affairs—I have obtained a favorable reply to my divinations. I will now go forward with you from all the states, and punish those vagabond and transported ministers of Yin (Shang).⁵⁴

肆予告我友邦君，越尹氏，庶士，御事，曰：“予得吉卜，
予惟以爾庶邦，于伐殷逋播臣。

Upon encountering the term *yu-pang-chün* 友邦君 (the princes of friendly states) here and in important early Chou records in other places, Wang Kuo-wei, a leading scholar in the field of Shang and Chou inscriptions in the first quarter of the twentieth century, commented that no institutional change had been so huge in scale as those happening during the Shang-Chou time, in which the *yu-pang-chün* institution finally gave way to centralized power.⁵⁵ Indeed, after the great revolt had been subdued, the rulers of those petty states once allied with Shang were allowed to keep their dwellings but were forced to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the Chou.⁵⁶ King Ch'eng of the Chou said to them, "We, the sovereigns of Chou, will greatly help you and confer rewards, selecting you to stand in our royal court. Only be attentive to your duties, and you may rank among our great officers. . . ." ⁵⁷ The King appointed those allied

with Chou to be his feudal lords or conferred lands upon them, and selected them to serve in the royal court. In his recent publication, Professor Creel writes about the Chou as a "feudal empire".⁵⁸ In fact the Chou empire was China's first unifier; it accomplished a deed long in process from Shang times—placing the various *fang* states under a single authority.

Perhaps a comparison of Shang policies with those of Athens after 445 B.C. would throw some light on our questions. Botsford and Robinson in their time-honored study say:

The agreement reached with Sparta under the Thirty Years' Peace (445 B.C.) freed Pericles' hands to complete the transformation of the Delian League into an empire. This maritime confederacy, outlined by Aristides and developed by Cimon, had enjoyed a leisurely expansion and depended in part on Athens' successes elsewhere. One by one the states of the League had been reduced to subjection, till only Lesbos, Chios, and Samos remained autonomous. They paid no tribute, but furnished naval forces, whereas the other states had been compelled to pay tribute and often to adopt democratic constitutions. The synod of the League no longer met, the treasury had been removed to Athens in 454 B.C., because of threatened danger from Persia, and the League's officials, the *Hellenotamiae*, were of course, Athenian magistrates. . . . In 454 B.C. there were about 140 contributing cities in the League, with a total tribute of about 350 talents. . . . The assessment of 443 B.C. recognized by name for the first time the five tribute districts—Ionia, the Hellenpont, the Thracian district, Caria, and the islands. . . . The Athenians exercised more and more control over their allies without giving them any participation in the great decisions. There was no thought in Athens of offering Athenian citizenship to the allies and it is unlikely that it would have been accepted had it been offered. A true federal government was even further from men's minds.⁵⁹

Developing from confederacy toward an empire—by means of conquest, establishment of overlordship, and of transforming the lands of *Po* into Shang local administrative districts—was indeed the main theme of political history from Shang to early Chou times. One by one these petty states were reduced to subjection in the same manner as Athen's allies were subjected to Athens. Shang kings not only had a claim over the labor, livestock and military service of these petty states, but also exerted their authority over internal affairs. And in a state-wide meeting these petty states never enjoyed an equal footing to the Shang; they were there to listen to and to carry out Shang kings' orders. Divination 69 quoted above is a typical example reflecting such a situation. After all, had the Shang people crushed the Chou revolt, they would have built the first Chinese empire during the eleventh century B.C.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Fu Ssu-nien, "I Hsia Tung-hsi Shuo 夷夏東西說," *Studies Presented to Ts'ai Yüan-pei on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (Academia Sinica, 1935), pp. 1130-1132.
2. See Wang Kuo-wei, "Kuei-fang K'un I Yen Yü K'ao 鬼方昆夷獫狁考," *Kuan-t'ang Chi-lin*, VIII, pp. 565-569; Lee, *Chi-shih*, IV, pp. 1335-1336.
3. The transliterations are put into modern forms by the author to save a lot of difficulty in making ancient printed writings.
4. This is my translation. Cf. *Shu*, trans. Legge, pp. 406-407.
5. Mo Fei-ssu 莫非斯 "Hsi-Chou Feng-chien Chih-tu Cheng-hsiang Chih T'an-chiu 西周封建制度真相之探究" *Shih Wen* 說文 II: VI (1935), pp. 9-16.
6. *Ibid.*
7. This is because a *fang* state usually had a ruler or a ruling class, and occupied certain territory. See Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 453, n. 35.
8. Cf. Lee, *Chi-shih*, VII, p. 2595.
9. Chang Ping-ch'üan has collected a few examples of these names. See Chang, "Identical Names," Complex Examples Nos. 78-90.
10. This broken bone tablet used to be in Yü Hsing-wu's 于省吾 collection. It has been photographed and printed in Ch'en's work. See Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, plate 16.
11. These divinations have been collected together by Shima. See Shima, *Sōru*, pp. 125-126.
12. *Ping* 1, *Ho* 301, *I* 7751, *Ts'un* 1,78, and *I* 155 are the major divinations used for reconstructing the story.
13. Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, p. 505.
14. Chinese encyclopedists of the Sung dynasty made "homage" one of the entries in their encyclopedia. For the Chou dynasty, they quoted more than twenty incidents from traditional histories. One can find from there the records that Hsü-tzu-tan, and the son of the Duke of Lu were given the charge to be royal vassals. See *Ku-chin Tu-shu chi-ch'eng* 古今圖書集成 (Taipei 1964), XC, p. 282.
15. *Hsü* 3,13,1, *Hou* 1,18,2.
16. See *Hou* 1,18,2.
17. See Divination 69 quoted above; also see Shima, *Kenkyū*, pp. 414, 422.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 422. Shima has a table revealing the historical relations between the Shang and many other states. Chang Ping-ch'üan also gives a list of the same nature. See his "Shang Unification Power," pp. 215-216, 190-192.
19. *Chia* 3510.
20. *Hou* 2,33,9.
21. See Shima, *Kenkyū*, p. 422.
22. Cf. *Mencius*, trans. Legge, pp. 272-273.
23. See Chang, "Identical Names." Also see Part II, Chapter X discussion on local common descent and common residence groups.
24. See Lee, *Chi-shih*, XIII, pp. 3993, 3998; Ch'ü, *Chia K'ao*, p. 374.
25. For detailed discussion on *pi*, see Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, pp. 322-323; also, see *Chui-erh* 132, *Nan ming* 786.
26. See Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, p. 330; Shima, *Kenkyū*, pp. 426-434; Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Shang Unification Power," pp. 187-190.

27. See Shima, *Kenkyū*, p. 432.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 430-431.
29. F.L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, trans. Philip Grierson, (New York, 1964), p. 5.
30. See Yang K'uan, *Ku-shih Hsin-t'an*, p. 331; Lee, *Chi-shih*, V, p. 1809.
31. Yang K'uan, *Ku-shih Hsin-t'an*, p. 321. Also see Part II, Chapter VII for King Wu-ting's *Chiao*.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 318.
34. *Ch'ien* 5,9,3.
35. See *Shih*, trans. Legge, pp. 535-540; Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 239.
36. Creel, *Western Chou*, pp. 238-239, 241, 352.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 170-71, 354, 374, 450-451 for K'ang-shu, the Marquis of Wei.
38. Lee, *Chi-shih*, V, p. 1585; Ch'en *Tsung-shu*, p. 325.
39. *Cho* 117.
40. For Yün Tien Ho i, See *Chin* 728; For Chih Tien, see *T'ieh* 168,3.
41. A series of such records has been collected by Shima. See Shima, *Sōrui* pp. 389-390.
42. See Shima, *Sōrui*, p. 300 for *nan*'s six occurrences, and see Shima, *Kenkyū*, p. 425 for a discussion on *nan*.
43. For Mi-tzu-huang, see *Ch'ing* 1, and for 𣪠-tzu and 𣪠-fang, see Chang, "Identical Names," Complex Examples No. 101.
44. Kuo, *Liang-k'ao*, pp. 85b, 106a, 110a.
45. *Ch'ing* 2.
46. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, p. 35. (Huan 桓 1).
47. *Ibid.*, (Huan 桓 1 and 4).
48. *Kung-yang Chuan*, Huan 桓 1 and 4.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Cf. Lee, *Chi-shih*, V, p. 1586.
51. See the record on *Ling-fang-i* 令方彝. For *Ling-fang-i*, see Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi Chou T'ung-Chi Tuan-tai II", p. 70.
52. *Tso Chuan*, trans. Legge, pp. 593, 597, (Chao 昭 4).
53. Hsü Ch'uan-pao 徐傳保, *Hsien Ch'in Kuo-chi-fa Chih I-chi* 先秦國際法之遺跡 (Shanghai, 1931) pp. 345-445. Hsü made his study on the basis of these meetings.
54. *Shu*, trans. Legge, pp. 500-507.
55. Wang Kuo-wei, "Yin Chou Chih-tu Lun 殷周制度論," *Kuan-t'ang Chi-lin*, pp. 1a, 8a.
56. *Shu*, trans. Legge, p. 503.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 506.
58. See Creel, *Western Chou*, pp. 101-194, 317-387. David N. Keightley in his review of this book finds the concept "empire" unsatisfactory, and tends to think of Western Chou as a confederation of vassal states. See *JAS* XXX:iii (1971), pp. 655-658. My research on the relationship between the Shang kings and the *Po* and other local lords, and on the continuity and discontinuity between Shang and early Chou institutions, though far from detailed, supports Professor Creel's view that the centralization of political power completed its process in early Western Chou with the Chou king as its center.
59. Botsford and Robinson, *Hellenic History*, Rev. Donald Kagan, (New York, 1969), pp. 198-200.

CHAPTER X

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE SHANG GOVERNMENT

Modern anthropologists point out that government exists among stateless societies; most of them would suggest that it is unnecessary to argue that government has to be carried out within the state.¹ According to their research and studies, there are governments among tribal societies, or among “nations” and “political communities”, in which nothing is more decisive than blood relationship.² They have also pointed out that at this level of civilization force is sometimes a legitimate resort for the redress of wrongs rather than an instrument of dominating others. Their arguments against the theory that sovereignty came as a result of social contract are sound and supported by evidence from field reports.³ It is also true that the genesis of government is not necessarily only in conquest or in the initial seizure of power by a privileged or dominating group.⁴ One of our contemporary political scientists has gone so far as to advance the theory that the family is the breeding ground of government. This theory appears to be another logical construction rather than one that is historically true.⁵ But at any rate, it is beyond doubt that blood relationship is a fundamental factor in the formation of government in history.

Henry Maine thought that the change from the tribe based on blood relationship to the state based on local contiguity was one of “those subversions of feeling which we term emphatically revolutions.”⁶ Frederick Engels, in his study of the rise of the state in Athens and in Rome, also gave considerable importance to the role played by a common place of residence. He said:

Thus in Rome also, even before the abolition of the so-called monarchy, the old order of society based on personal ties of blood was destroyed and in its place was set up a new and complete state constitution based on territorial division and difference of wealth.⁷

However, in the Shang state, the tie of blood did not give way to local contiguity; on the contrary, the two united and gave birth to a unique type of socio-political entity which I call “local common descent and common residence group.” Most of the Shang people were members of this type of group. It constitutes one of the essential factors for the basis of legitimacy for the Shang government.

I. *The Tie of Blood*

The fact that the tie of blood maintained its predominance during the Shang dynasty can be verified from the Shang ancestral worship system, especially from the

Shang ancestral temple system.

A great variety of names for ancestral temples have been found in the Shang inscriptions. *Pao* 報, *ya* 亞, *sheng* 升, *tsung* 宗 and many types of shrines, some of which are dedicated to individuals—a deceased father or grandfather—or to several ancestors of the same posthumous rank, while others are given different attributes on the basis of their locations, their status, etc., make the system of Shang ancestral temples appear to be extremely complicated.⁸ Etymologists agree that the word *pao* was a pictograph of a certain stone construction, where the Shang people located the tablets of Pao-chia 報甲, Pao-yi 報乙, Pao-ping 報丙, and Pao-ting 報丁, the four pre-dynastic kings posthumously named with “*pao*”.⁹ Perhaps both *pao* and *ya* temples were termed according to their architectural style or materials. As to the nature of *sheng*, it is even more difficult for us to make a “learned guess”. The common usage for temple, however, was *tsung*, a house (宀) for a tablet (示). Perhaps, the *pao* and *ya* models were gradually replaced by the *tsung* model, a point which we can suggest from the appearance of *pao-tsung* as well as *ya-tsung*.¹⁰ The models of temples, however, are not our concern here; it is the individual *tsung* dedicated to individual deceased kings,¹¹ as well as the two collective *tsung*, i.e., the *Hsiao-tsung* (Small Temple) built for deceased dynastic kings, and the *Ta-tsung* (Great Temple) built for pre-dynastic kings as well as deceased dynastic kings.¹²

The meaning of *tsung* in the Shang inscriptions still retained its pictographic sense—temple. As I have demonstrated in Part I, Chapter IV, the word *tsung* came to mean, in the Chinese classics, “lineage”, in the strictest sense of the modern anthropologists’ terminology. In fact, the Shang ancestral temple system gives the term “lineage” a most concrete flesh. Regarding the definition of lineage, Robin Fox writes:

Such a group, which has perhaps a name, property or ritual, or some activity in common, will be a descent group; a group formed on the basis of descent from a common ancestor. Where the actual relationship between members in such a group can be demonstrated, . . . and is not simply assumed, the group is called a lineage.¹³

Radcliffe-Brown suggested the “polysegmentary” structure of certain lineages, he said:

A lineage of several generations in depth, i.e., back to the founding ancestor or ancestress, will normally be divided into branches. In an agnatic lineage of which the founding ancestor has two sons each of them may become the founder of a branch consisting of his descendants in the male line. The two branches are united by the fact that their founders were brothers. As a lineage continues and increases the branching process continues, resulting in a large and complex organization. . . A lineage of any considerable size is usually divided into branches, which are themselves small lineages, and these

again may be subdivided.¹⁴

In the Shang dynasty brothers might succeed each other to the throne, and there were temples built for kings after their deaths. When a king died without having his sons or grandsons become Shang kings, in other words, when the throne went to his brother or his brother's sons and never returned to his descendants, this deceased king became the founding ancestor of a branch of the royal lineage and his temple became the ritual center of this branch. These individual temples symbolized the existence of the branches of the royal lineage. So too, the Small Temple where the tablets of all deceased kings were kept, symbolized the existence of the royal lineage.¹⁵ While sacrifices were made to deceased kings collectively in the Small Temple by the living Shang king, the relationship between the king and the branches of the royal lineage was cultivated and the tie of blood was also refreshed. The Small Temple thus functioned as a device to unite the royal descendants who had branches out from the royal house.

Perhaps a brief observation of Cleisthenes' (ca. 600-560 B.C.) reforms in Athens will shed light on our understanding of the Shang system. According to Aristotle, Cleisthenes' first step "was to distribute the whole population into ten tribes in place of the existing four, . . . he divided the country into thirty groups of demes, ten from the districts about the city, ten from the coast, and ten from the interior. These he called trittyes; and he assigned three of them by lot to each tribe, . . ." ¹⁶ The four old tribes founded on gentile constitution and having their origin back in the heroic period were destroyed finally by Cleisthenes, the lawgiver: each of these four tribes used to consist of three phratries, while each phratry numbered thirty clans.¹⁷ Cleisthenes also "made the Council to consist of 500 members instead of 400, each tribe now contributing fifty."¹⁸ This was the organ governing the Athenian state. In Part I, Chapter IV, I have demonstrated that the Great Temple actually served as a temple for the members of a clan. In other words, a ruling clan was formed in time through the royal ancestral temple system. Before we go into this point, it is necessary to define what a clan is. Robin Fox says:

Higher order units often consisting of several lineages in which common descent is assumed but cannot necessarily be demonstrated, are most often referred to as *clans* (after the Gaelic *clann*, meaning offspring or descendants). There are other usages which cause considerable confusion. Morgan established *gens* for patri-clan and clan for matri-clan, with no generic term. American writers often use *sib* as the generic term with parti-sib and matri-sib as the sub varieties. This is quite wrong. . . . But then *clan* is not accurate either. . . . This term has now been appropriated to mean only *unilineal*

descent groups. . . . Here I will use *clan* and *lineage* as the terms for higher and lower order descent-groups of whatever variety.¹⁹

We observe that the Shang kings made sacrifices collectively to deceased kings and the six pre-dynastic kings in the Great Temple.²⁰ These six pre-dynastic kings, four classified *pao* and two classified *shih* 示, might well be fictitious figures, as Hsü Ching-hsiung, a young scholar and expert on the Shang quinquupartite sacrifice, points out.²¹ For they were named Pao-chia, Pao-yi, Pao-ping, Pao-ting, Shih-jen, Shih-kuei, and *chia. yi, ping, ting* are the first four ordinal numbers of the ten celestial stems, while *jen* and *kuei* are the final two ordinal numbers of the celestial stems. These celestial stems were applied by the Shang people to designate their dead for ceremonial purposes since they also designated days with these stems. It was a common phenomenon in the Shang dynasty to make sacrifices to a deceased on the day shown by his stem. (The posthumous names of a deceased Shang person usually consisted of two words, the first word showing his status, for instance, father, grandfather, great, small—although there were certain exceptions—and the second word always a celestial stem.)²² It should be noted that the stems borne by the deceased dynastic kings never followed the ordinal sequence. Thus it is possible to suggest that the six predynastic kings were invented for the purpose of relating the kinsmen not belonging to any branches segmented from the royal lineage (whose founding ancestor was the first dynastic king), and thus rendering them descendants of pre-dynastic kings. The Great Temple was then the ritual center for them plus the descendants of the royal lineage, i.e., members of the ruling clan.

Such a situation is not reconstructed by pure imagination. First, as I have shown, each deceased king had a temple for his tablet which served as the ritual center for the branch in which he was the founding ancestor. Second, the Small Temple, starting with the tablets of the first dynastic king and including all the deceased dynastic kings, clearly marked the ritual center for the descendants of dynastic kings. Third, it is impossible that the first dynastic king built up a dynasty by himself; there had to be his kinsmen. It would be incredible if a dynasty founded on the basis of blood ties ignored the relatives of its founder, as well as their descendants. Fourth, the Great Temple included the six pre-dynastic kings plus the members belonging to the Small Temple, which meant that Shang kings recognized relatives descending from the six generations ahead of the founder of the dynasty. As the six pre-dynastic kings were fictitious figures, a common descent relationship was traced through them for the relatives of the founder, because their relation to the living king could not be concretely demonstrated, that is, with a real historical figure, as is the case with branches of the royal lineage. Fifth, lineage structure was likely to have existed among the king's

kinsmen not descending from the royal lineage, but descending from pre-dynastic ancestors. (See discussion on local common descent and common residence groups below.) These lineages together with royal lineage and their branches constituted a clan.

It is interesting to see that in classic Greece, the lawgivers destroyed the clan, phratry, and tribal system, but in Shang China, the practice of royal sacrifices gave rise to a ruling clan. Perhaps, we would find more of a resemblance in a comparison of the Greek lawgivers to the Chinese "legalists" throughout the Warring States period, since both of them endeavored to subdue the existing gentile rules to constitutions based on impersonal relationship.

II. *Local Common Descent and Common Residence Groups*

It is true that most oracle bone inscriptions are royal divinations and that it is difficult to study organization, social or political, at the local level. However, some light on organizations at the local level may be gained on the basis of two phenomena: (1) the identity of personal and geographical names in the oracle bone inscriptions, and (2) the identity of pictorial symbols in Shang bronzes with the personal as well as geographical names in the oracle bone inscriptions.

In 1967, Professor Chang Ping-ch'uan collected 173 cases of personal names identified with geographical names in the oracle bone inscriptions; he divided them into two groups, Simple Identities and Complex Identities.²³ In Simple Identities a word, for instance *i* 邑, appears to be used both as place name and personal name:

(80) Divination on the day *kuei-hai*. Diviner Chung asked: "On the next *chia-tzu* day, will I come?"

癸亥卜，咎貞：羽甲子邑至？ (Ning 3,25.)

The word *i* was used as a personal name, while in the other divinations it was used as a place name. In Complex Identities, geographic names such as Ch'i 杞, Yang 羊 (or Yang *fang* 羊方), Sung 宋, etc. were postfixed with a status word, for example, *hou* 侯, *tzu* 子, *po* 伯, and resulted in the following personal names: Ch'i-hou, Yang-tzu, Sung-po, etc. These people were the rulers or governors of each place, as we have already discussed.

In 1968 Minao Hayashi, a young scholar in the Kyoto University Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, made a study of more than 200 pictorial symbols cast on Shang bronzes. These symbols were actually pictographs in a realistic style, for instance,  ,  ,  ,  ,  whose oracle bone transliterations were  ,  ,  ,  ,  , respectively. Hayashi has determined that out of the 200 odd symbols, about 32 occurred both as place names and personal names in the oracle bone

inscriptions, about 63 were Shang place names, and the rest can be found as personal names in the oracle bone inscriptions.²⁴ He comments that these symbols served as the names of individual *shih-tsu* 氏族 in the Shang dynasty; he uses the Western anthropologists' terminology "localized lineage" to be more precise about the organization he means.²⁵ In Part I, Chapter IV, I point out that pre-Ch'in *shih* and *tsu* were structurally the same—both were localized lineages—except that a *shih* was also an economic and political entity, while a *tsu* was a kinship organization.

The Shang bronzes on which the pictorial symbols were cast provide evidence on the existence of kinship organizations identical to that of the royal Shang among the people who had such symbols as their names. Given the case of Wei 隹 for example: the pictorial symbol *wei* 隹 was cast above the appellation "Father-kuei" 父癸 on a Shang bronze.²⁶ Whereas the word *wei* occurred in the oracle bone inscriptions as a personal name and a place name:

(81) (Asked:) "Should Wei be ordered to manage affairs?"
 乎隹禦事? (Ping 150.)

(82) Divination on the day *kuei-mao*. Diviner Ku asked: "Should Kung be ordered to go to Wei by way of Ch'eng?"
 癸卯卜，般貞：乎往于隹從乘? (Ping 155.)

Possibly the bronze on which the bird symbol *wei* was cast was a sacrificial utensil dedicated to the Father-kuei of the Wei house in the place Wei. It was a Shang practice to name the deceased with celestial stems for ceremonial purposes. Father-kuei, Grandfather-hsin, and many other such types of posthumous names are found cast under or beside the pictorial symbols—the names of Shang dignitaries and their residences—on the Shang bronze vessels.²⁷ We do not know how far back the pedigrees of these families ran. But as long as sacrifices to ancestors were held, and ancestral temples were constructed, their lineages continued. We have found a piece of Shang bone on which the geneology of a certain family was recorded:

Erh's fore ancestor was called Ch'ui; Ch'ui's son was called Yao;

Yao's son was called Yen; Yen's son was called Ch'üeh;

Ch'üeh's son was called I; I's brother was called Ch'i;

I's son was called Shang; Shang's son was called Yang;

Yang's son was called Hung; Hung's son was called Yü;

Yü's younger brother was called Shih; Yü's son was called Tz'u;

Tz'u's son was called Ching.²⁸

兒先祖曰吹，吹子曰欸，欸子曰詵，詵子曰雀，雀子曰壹，
壹弟曰啓，壹子曰喪，喪子曰養，養子曰洪，洪子曰御，
御弟曰矧，御子曰啟，啟子曰賢。

(K'u 1506.)

All together twelve generations were involved in this geneology.

In the early twentieth century three Shang dagger-axes were unearthed. They were termed the "Three Dagger-axes of the I Province" according to the locality where they were found.²⁹ Wang Kuo-wei suggested that they probably belonged to local lords to the north of the Shang capital.³⁰ The inscriptions cast on the bronze dagger-axes also provide evidence of the existence of a kinship structure similiar to that of the royal Shang. The inscriptions on the "Six Grandfathers Dagger-ax" read:

且且且大
日日日且
己丁乙日
。 ， ， 己
且且
日日日
己庚日
， ， 丁
，

Big-grandfather day *chi*; grandfather day
ting; grandfather day *yi*; grandfather day
keng; grandfather day *ting*; grandfather day
chi; grandfather day *chi*.

(Shan-tai 19,20.)

Those on the "Six Fathers Dagger-ax" read:

父父大且
日日父日
己癸日乙
。 ， 癸 ，
父 ， 大
日中父日
辛父日癸
， ， 癸
，

Grandfather day *yi*; big-father day *kuei*;
big-father day *kuei*;
middle-father day *kuei*; father day *kuei*;
father day *hsin*;
father day *chi*.

(Shan-tai 19,20.)

Those on the "Six Brothers Dagger-ax" read:

兄兄大
日日兄
癸壬日
， ， 己
兄兄兄
日日日
丙癸日
。 ， 戊
，

Big-elder brother day *chi*; elder brother
day *wu*; elder brother day *jen*;
elder brother day *kuei*; elder brother
day *kuei*;
elder brother day *ping*.

(Shan-tai 19,22.)

These relatives' days (shown by the celestial stems *chi*, *ting*, *kuei*, etc.) were the days on which the owner (or owners) of the dagger-axes made sacrifices to his (or their) deceased

brothers, fathers, and grandfathers. Like the Shang kings, the owner (or owners) called his (or their) father's (or fathers') brothers "father".³¹

In addition to the records on Shang inscriptions about common descent groups at the local level, some information in the *Tso Chuan* is also applicable. According to the *Tso Chuan*, during the early Chou enfeoffments, the Chou king once gave six Shang *tsu* 族 (localized lineages) to the Duke of Lu, and seven Shang *tsu* to the Marquis of K'ang; the King ordered the Dukes to lead the heads of each individual lineage to collect their branches, and to guide the members of each group in serving the king.³² Among the names of these *tsu* groups, several can be found as place names in the Shang inscriptions.³³

Piecing together the above information, the picture we have is probably as follows: A large portion of the Shang population at the local level was organized on the basis of common descent and common residence. The pedigrees of individual groups, and their sizes, varied, but their gentile constitution was quite similar to that of the royal Shang. Their names were often identical with the names of the places where they were located. The individuals who were called by these names, perhaps, were the heads of these groups, and among them *Hou*, *Tzu*, *Po*, and other Shang officers. Indeed, they and their common residence groups played a most fundamental role on the Shang socio-political stage.

III. *Social Stratification*

Although blood ties provided the means to frame the social hierarchy and to sustain the rule of royal Shang, military force was indispensable; it was the tool for defence and for conquest, and it was also a decisive factor in forming and characterizing the social order. Our sources indicate that, at least until the mid-Shang times, the structure of the Shang society does not seem to have changed greatly as a result of the prolonged military activities incurred by the Shang kings. A policy of human sacrifice more than that of slavery was directed towards war captives, especially from the western frontiers.³⁴ Thus two of the most important roles in the Shang society, i.e., soldier and farmer, remained to be played by the Shang Multitudes who organized themselves in local common descent and common residence groups.

A. *The Ch'iang People*

There were a group of people in Shang China called Ch'iang 羌. Many of them became captives caught in war and during the royal hunts.³⁵ Some of them were even tribute sent to Shang by neighboring states.³⁶ The Ch'iang people had a state, which apparently made war with the Shang people throughout the mid-Shang and late Shang times.³⁷ Shang inscriptions mention the term *pei* Ch'iang 北羌, northern Ch'iang, three times.³⁸ A divination records that King Wu-ting asked whether Ch'iang people

were captured in the office of the Northern *Shih* 北史.³⁹ Perhaps Ch'iang *fang* 羌方, the Ch'iang state, was located north of the Shang capital. But evidence suggests that they might have appeared in the west after the time of King Wu-ting.⁴⁰

The ethnic origin of the Ch'iang is hard to determine. They might have been barbarians, since the name Ch'iang was associated with western barbarians during the Han and T'ang dynasties. However, the clan name Chiang 姜 seems to have derived from Ch'iang,⁴¹ and the state built up by the leader of the Chiang clan after the downfall of the Shang dynasty was a Chou feudatory with a clear heritage of Chinese culture. Thus we also have some basis to consider them as Chinese, while we recognize them as sineticized barbarians. Chiang-fu 姜父, the head of the Chiang clan, was a major ally of the Chou people in the campaigns to overthrow the Shang dynasty.⁴² In fact, the Ch'iang people were helping a new friend to fight an old enemy.

Judging from the fact that the king frequently asked about the "coming of the Ch'iang" from his commissioners, perhaps there was a long-range policy toward the Ch'iang people.⁴³ It might include at least the following two issues: (1) utilizing the Ch'iang as the major source of human-sacrifice, and (2) reducing them to servile servants of the court. When the Ch'iang were first brought to the captial, the king would personally receive them:

(83) (Asked:) "Should the King receive the Ch'iang at the Temple Gate?"

王于宗門逆羌？ (Chia 896.)

Another divination mentioned Ch'iang people being *tu* 度, tried, at the Temple Gate. Perhaps, this was where a ceremonial place was built for such situations.

In most cases, these Ch'iang people were used as offerings in the sacrifices to royal ancestors. They were also offered to the Spirit of the Yellow River, or to the Spirit of the Four Quarters in some cases.⁴⁴ They might sacrifice in groups of ten, thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and be presented with other offerings, such as cattle, sheep, dogs, or liquor:

(84) Asked: "Should (the King make a) *yü* sacrifice to T'ang, Ta-chia, Ta-ting, and Tsu-yi with one hundred Ch'iang and one hundred sheep?"

貞：禦自唐，大甲，大丁，祖乙，百羌，百宰？ (Yi 873.)

It is true that the Ch'iang people were the main sources for the Shang human sacrifice ceremonies. Constantly, they tried to escape from their detention camps, but the king would send out his officers to pursuit the runaways vigorously.⁴⁵

We have fewer divinations about the servile role of Ch'iang people in comparison with those on their role as human sacrifices. Only in one divination did the king ask

about using them to cultivate the farming fields.⁴⁶ There are several other divinations in which they were ordered to chase wild animals during royal hunts.⁴⁷ It is important to know that both hunting and farming were generally carried out by the Multitudes, i.e., the *Chung* 衆 or *Chung-jen* 衆人, and royal officers, rather than by Ch'iang people.

Interestingly enough, we have found three persons with the surname of Ch'iang: Ch'iang-li 羌立, Ch'iang-chih 羌陟, and Ch'iang-.⁴⁸ They appear to have performed jobs of sanctifying the oracle bones—work commonly done by the king's consorts.⁴⁹ But on the other hand, it seems that some of the Ch'iang people were organized into a type of royal chariotry, the *to-ma-Ch'iang* 多馬羌 (various-horse-Ch'iang), and were commanded by a royal officer, the *Hsiao-to-ma-Ch'iang-ch'en* 小多馬羌臣. Since the royal chariotry force was relatively small, and the activities of *to-ma-Ch'iang* were even fewer than the former, perhaps, only a small portion of the captured Ch'iang people escaped being used as human sacrifices.⁵⁰

It has to be noted here that the Ch'iang in Shang society did not constitute the major production force, and that while some of them might have been kept alive to serve the throne, the majority of them were used as human sacrifices. In short, to the Shang people, their ceremonial value was far greater than their labor value.

There are few divinations about the *Hsi* 奚, *Ch'ieh* 玃, and *P'u* 僕, who have been thought to have been slaves in the Shang dynasty. Some of these divinations reveal that they were used as human sacrifices.⁵¹ Perhaps, the situation of Ch'iang people in the Shang dynasty was typical in the Shang system of treating war captives or petty slaves.

B. *The Shang Multitudes*

Chung or *Chung-jen* constituted the most essential part of the Shang military and productive forces. We can see this point from the divinations quoted above (Divinations 14, 21, 22, and 23). *Chung* or *Chung-jen*, which is translated as the Multitude, have been identified as slaves by scholars in Communist China to construct the system of dialectical materialism in Chinese history. But according to my study, the Shang Multitudes were not slaves. On the contrary, they might well have been part of the Shang aristocracy, those who made up the Shang local common descent and common residence groups.

Before we start to discuss the social identity of the *Chung* or *Chung-jen*, it is important for us to confirm the understanding that the term *jen* 人 was a word meaning “person” or “man” in general without any social or political implication. The term was not concerned with whether such a person or such a man was a free man or a slave, an alien or a fellow countryman. For instance, the king called himself *yü-i-jen* 余一人 “I, the first man”; the diviners spoke of *fu* 𠄎 (captives) as so many *fu* or so many *jen*.⁵²

There are records of Ching *jen* 菴人, Ch'ang *jen* 長人, Hsien *jen* 先人, Erh *Jen* 兒人, K'u *jen* 𡗗人, etc.⁵³ The words preceding *jen* are place names; they modify the word *jen*. These combinations can only be understood as meaning the people from Ching, or the people from K'u; it is from the place names that we know whether such *jen* were aliens or countrymen. We cannot say whether they were commoners or slaves. In short, *chung jen* was a more detailed way to name *Chung*. *Chung-jen* could not be a different type of people other than *Chung*; here, *jen* was just modified by the word *chung*.⁵⁴

We cannot agree with Kuo Mo-jo's interpretation of *Chung*. He quotes a passage from the *Hu Ting* 鬲鼎, a Western Chou bronze, upon which one *Chung* and several other types of people were given by one party to another.⁵⁵ Scholars have already pointed out that the information on the *Hu Ting* can only prove what *Chung* were in the Western Chou, but cannot be confused with the *Chung* in the Shang dynasty.⁵⁶ Kuo says that the word *chung* 眾 was a pictograph of a group of people working under the sun, and that they were farmers, because the Shang inscriptions recorded their farming activities.⁵⁷ He insists that the original meaning of *chung* was "farmers", and that the sense "many" was derivative from "farmers".⁵⁸ Then he adds that the meanings of words like *t'ung* 童, *nung* 農, *chung* 種, *nu* 奴, and *ju* 辱 were "mutually receiving" 相襲 with the *chung* 衆, and the sounds of these words were interchangeable.⁵⁹ In fact, when one opens any Chinese-English dictionary, one will be struck by the fact that there are many different words with different meanings, but having identical sound, not to mention words only sharing the same vowel or the same consonant. It is unscientific to say that the meaning of *chung* was "mutually receiving" with the word *nu* (slave) on the basis of their sound relation. The sense "many" was not derived from "farmers"—an irrelevant meaning first assigned to *chung* by Kuo Mo-jo. (The *Chung* also fought, thus according to Kuo's logic, the word's original meaning could be "soldiers".) The sense "many" was conveyed by a crowd of people gathering in open ground; hence, the pictograph was written with three persons standing together under the sun. "Three" conveyed the sense "many".

After quoting a Chou source without discussing its validity, and misinterpreting the original meaning of *chung*, as well as finding unscientific connections between *chung* and other words, Kuo Mo-jo goes further into the *Shang Documents*, the *P'an-keng*. He isolates all other records about *Chung* in the same passage, but emphasizes the point that King P'an-keng treated the *Chung* as *ch'u min* 畜民, who could be killed like domestic animals.⁶⁰ But again, he misinterprets the meaning of *ch'u* as "domesticated animals" rather than following the context properly and reading the word *ch'u* as "to rear" or "to nourish". (See the text below.) Kuo quotes *feng ch'u ju Chung* 奉畜汝衆,

but keeps silent about the phrase's meaning—"served, reared you *Chung*."⁶¹ Actually, the relationship between the King and the *Chung* is evident in the following words addressed to the *Chung*—which Kuo has skipped—in the *P'an-Keng*:

Formerly, the kings, my predecessors, and your forefathers and fathers, shared together the ease and labors of the state;—how should I dare to lay undeserved infliction on you? For generations the toil of your families has been approved, and I will not conceal your goodness. Now when I offer the great sacrifices to my predecessors, your forefathers are present to share in them. . . . Of old, my royal predecessors toiled for your ancestors and fathers. You are equally the "people whom I nourish" (i.e., *ch'u min*).⁶²

古我先王，暨乃祖乃父，胥及逸勤，予敢動用非罰，
世選爾勞，予不掩爾善，茲予大享于先王，爾祖其從
與享……古我先后，暨勞乃祖乃父，汝共作我畜民。

The fact that, in the *P'an-keng*, fathers and forefathers of the *Chung* could share royal sacrifices has been emphasized by scholars in Communist China, who do not think of the *Chung* as slaves.⁶³ Indeed, how could slaves' fathers, and forefathers share royal sacrifices? How could royal ancestors have toiled for slaves' ancestors? King P'an-keng was obligated to rear the *Chung*, since they were his people. Continuing his words to the *Chung*, the King said, "But your conduct is injurious—it is cherished in your heart. Whereas my royal predecessors made happy your ancestors and fathers, your ancestors and fathers will cut you off and abandon you, and not save you from death. . . . Your ancestors and fathers urgently represent to my *kao-hou* (i.e., high deceased rulers), saying, 'Execute great punishment on our descendants.' So they intimate to my *kao-hou* that he should send down great calamities."⁶⁴ It was after such a persuasion that King P'an-keng instituted instruction about capital punishment for the disobedient: But Kuo Mo-jo says that the King could kill them like domestic animals; he ignores the fact that the King said, "How should I dare to lay undeserved infliction on you?" It is noticeable that the above persuasion of the King fits into the cult of *wang-ti* perfectly. (See Section IV below.)

King P'an-keng said, "My predecessors, and your forefathers and fathers, shared together the ease and labors of the state." This is part of the reason why the ancestors of the Shang Multitudes could share the royal sacrifices. Now, the point here is that the Shang Multitudes had an ancestry as old as the Shang king's, they had a long history of family organization. Evidently, these family organizations of the Shang Multitudes were those local common descent and common residence groups, which I have just discussed. In the *P'an-keng*, the King said that: "Of old, our former kings had it as a principle object in their plans to employ the men of old families to share in the govern-

ment." To employ the men from old families is a common and unavoidable phenomenon in aristocratic politics. Thus when a *Chung* was appointed as an official by the Shang king, his position would immediately be raised above his fellow members. However, since a *Chung* was a member of the kinship group, his status also depended on his relative position in this group. Thus, a *Chung* might be a plain citizen, or the head of a family, a royal official, or even a local lord.

A person named Wu was perhaps appointed to the office of Small-Multitude-*ch'en*; perhaps he also held the office of Small-tilling-*ch'en*.⁶⁵ If he did hold both offices, he would have been the person responsible for the fulfillment of the *Chung*'s role in the state's agriculture. However, the Multitudes were sent under the command of different officers for public works and military missions. Even the king would lead them personally. (See Divination 22.)

The occurrences of the terms *wang Chung* 王衆 and *Ping Chung* 竝衆 in the Shang inscriptions support Ch'en Meng-chia's theory that not only were there the king's Multitude but also the Multitudes of different localities governed by Shang dignitaries (Ping was one of them).⁶⁶ The following set of divinations are supplementary evidence:

(85) (Asked:) "Should (we) take the Multitudes and garrison Cheng? Should people be sent? No disaster?"

(Asked:) "Should the King have the Multitudes garrison Cheng? Should people be sent? "If people (are sent) from Lin-tu, (would there be disaster?"

(Asked:) "Should the King order the Multitudes to garrison Cheng? Should people (be sent)? If people (are sent) from Lin-tu and from Pu, (would there be) disaster?"

弜以衆戍啓，受人，亡戕？

王其衆戍啓，受人，由廩土人又戕？

王其乎衆戍啓，受人，由廩土人，及杼人又？

(Yeh 3,45,6,
3,43,7.)

The king was thinking of having *Chung* garrison Cheng, but he was not sure of whether or not there would be disaster if he sent people there. So he made the first divination. Then he started to ask if he should send the people from Lin-tu to do this task. Finally, he wanted to add the people from Pu to the mission, so he made the third divination. Thus we observe that among people from different localities, there were persons who might be called *Chung*. But very few divinations spoke of the *Chung* from certain places; in most cases, Shang divinations only spoke of *jen* of a certain place. Scholars familiar with Chinese classics would agree that the usage of a place name plus the word *jen* is commonly seen, for instance, in the *Tso Chuan*, and that

such a term always refers to a mixture of people, including the ruler, the aristocrats, and their subjects from that particular place.⁶⁷ This usage of words can also be seen in the Shang divinations:

- (86) Divination on the day *kuei-yu*. The King asked: "From this *kuei-yu* to the day *yi-yu*, would I *jen* take captives from the state of Chien?"
癸酉卜，王貞：自今癸酉至于乙酉，邑人其見方及執？ (Wai 34.)

Obviously, I *jen* here referred to whomever from I was participating in the war, including I, the local lord of the place I. In much the same way, when diviners spoke of attacking K'u *jen* they meant people of the K'u state, including its ruler. People from different localities were ordered to take part in the state's military campaigns and public works. Payment in kind was also demanded, for instance:

- (87) (Asked:) "Order I *jen* to contribute sheep and cattle?"
乎邑人出羊牛？ (Ping 333.)

Finally, the status of these local *Chung* or *jen* basically did not differ from one locality to another. And yet the degree of nobility might change as the local leader's position in the Shang government changed. *Chung* were always *Chung*, they just differed according to whom they belonged.⁶⁸

IV. Kingship and the Gods

"Like the Shang," says Professor Creel, "the Chou called their supreme ruler *Wang*, 'King', but they also called him 'Son of Heaven'."⁶⁹ The Chou king was believed to derive his power, in large measure, from Heaven and from his royal ancestors. "T'ien", Heaven, as a deity appears to have been unknown to the Shang. It is the cult of Ti 帝 or Shang Ti 上帝 that was a state religion in the Shang dynasty—in much the same way that the cult of T'ien was in the Chou dynasty.

In 1969, 34 years after Professor Creel's initial study on the deity T'ien, I was able to discuss with him certain Shang inscriptions in the forms of 𠄎 while he was writing a chapter on the origin of the deity T'ien for his book on Western Chou government.⁷⁰ These few characters are about the only ones which might be transliterated into the modern word *t'ien* 天. Some of them have been printed on unpublished manuscripts not available to Professor Creel. But those few characters are just like the other characters—collected by him—in the forms of 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, etc., meaning "great" or being used as a place name.⁷¹ None of them can be said to refer to the deity T'ien.

Among other scholars who have done intensive study on the Shang inscriptions, Ch'en Meng-chia strongly argues that the deity T'ien was not worshiped by the Shang

people, but was first worshiped by the Chou people.⁷² Kuo Mo-jo began with the same stand and considered the records of T'ien in the classic *Shang Documents* as not being contemporary and not to be trusted, but then he changed his attitude toward the *Shang Documents* and believed in the existence of T'ien in the Shang dynasty. In fact, most *Shang Documents* have been clearly identified as late forgeries. Scholars would suggest that certain real events might have been recorded in the *P'an-keng*, but no one would think of it as a contemporary Shang document. It was retold by the descendents of the Shang people.⁷³

In my opinion, the writing of *P'an-keng* perhaps occurred in early Chou when the Chou people subdued the Shang revolt and enfeoffed an obedient Shang prince in Sung to continue the sacrifices to his ancestors. That occasion involved the movement of large numbers of people and corresponded to the situation that occurred in the time of King P'an-keng. After all, it is permissible to apply the "argument by silence" to conclude the non-existence of the deity T'ien in the Shang dynasty, especially when we realize that Shang oracle bones are essentially "religious" records, and that there would be no reason for a "religious" people not to mention one of their most important deities in their "religious" records, unless he actually did not exist.

About the origin of the deity Ti, there are two well-known theories. The first theory suggests that Ti derived from a kind of sacrifice called *liao* 燎. The word *liao* was a pictograph of a bundle of burning wood, quite similar to the word *ti*. This theory was first propounded by James M. Menzies, a Canadian scholar, and Yeh Yü-sheng, and was then elaborated by Professor Creel.⁷⁴ Professor Creel cites the cult of Aryans of India, in which the position of the heavenly gods was gradually replaced by Agni, the sacrificial fire produced during the ceremony to these high heavenly gods. Then Agni's position of being the highest god was replaced by the sacred words recited in the ceremony, the Brahman.⁷⁵ Professor Creel says:

It is thought, then, that Ti was at first merely the name of a way of sacrificing to the ancestors or other deities, but that gradually men confused the sacrifice itself with the deity sacrificed to, and came to think of it as a separate deity.⁷⁶

The second theory was first given by Wu Ta-ch'eng, a famous etymologist in the late Ch'ing dynasty and was then followed upon and developed by Wang Kuo-wei, Kuo Mo-jo, and Lee Hsiao-ting.⁷⁷ They think that the word *ti*, sometimes written in the form 蒂, clearly depicted the peduncle of a flower, and that *ti* was the ancient form of the word *ti* 蒂, flower's peduncle.⁷⁸ Kuo Mo-jo says that the rise of the cult of Ti probably can be dated toward the end of nomadism, when people started to form their gods from the world of agriculture instead of from the animal kingdom, and that the flower's

peduncle, which symbolized life and fertility might have been the residence of a spirit.⁷⁹ Therefore the ancient Chinese called their god Ti.

Rich sources from Shang inscriptions about Ti indicate that Ti had supreme control over the course of nature and the destiny of human beings. Ti commanded the wind, clouds, thunderbolts, and the rain. He sent down blessings as well as calamity.⁸⁰ He lived on the high, so he was called Shang Ti 上帝, God on High. He had a heavenly court: the Four Winds were His envoys, and the spirits of the Center and the Four Quarters were His retainers.⁸¹ Shang divinations show that sometimes Ti would pay a visit to mankind:

(88) Asked: "Will Ti come down to the *i* settlement?"

貞：帝降邑？ (I 653.)

(89) Divination on the day *kuei-hai*. (Asked:) "On next day, *hsin*, will Ti descend? Will (He) enter the great hall in Ch'üan?"

癸亥卜，翌日辛帝降？其入于巽大室？ (Ning, 1,516-17.)

Shang diviners always asked whether Ti would confer sufficient rain for the "year".⁸² The word "year" is directly translated from the word *nien* 𠄎, a pictograph of a man carrying certain crops overhead, thus meaning harvest.⁸³ It is from the harvest seasons that the idea of year sprang forth.

The king had to consult the oracle about Ti's willingness before he could start to build an *i* settlement (just as the Greeks went to Delphi to obtain consent from the oracle for their new colonization plans).⁸⁴ The king also made divinations in order to discover Ti's intention about the future of a certain *i*.⁸⁵ Sometimes enemy invasions were taken as disasters brought about by Ti.⁸⁶ Ti was awesome, dominating, and almighty, but he was also the one who conferred upon the Shang people "years", protection against the enemy, and even promises of various sorts.⁸⁷ The king's destiny appeared to be controlled directly by Ti. He might bring assistance, fortune, and protection, as well as illness and adversities, to the king.⁸⁸

However, we have found that in the Shang inscriptions the word *ti* was also used to signify deceased kings. Moreover, in traditional history the names of the final two Shang kings were Ti-yi 帝乙 and Ti-hsin 帝辛. *Ti* here was used as a title quite similar to the title *Ti* adopted by China's "first unifier"—Ch'in Shin Huang Ti 秦始皇帝—meaning "emperor". These different usages cause confusion. Credit must be given to Hu Hou-hsüan, who has brought new light to the relationship of the appellation of "*Ti*" to the Shang ruling house. Hu's contribution can be summarized as follows: According to the Shang inscriptions, the word *ti* was used to signify deceased kings, for instance, Ti-ting for Wu-ting, Ti-chia for Tsu-chia, Ti-ting for K'ang-ting, Wen-wu-ti for Wen-wu-

ting; a deceased king was called *wang-ti* 王帝 (kingly *ti*) and perhaps *hsia-tzu* 下子 (man-below) while *Ti* was called Shang *Ti* 上帝 (God on High), and perhaps *Shang-tzu* 上子 (Man-above) as well; the difference between Shang *Ti* and *wang-ti* was such that the Shang people never demanded “years”, rain, protection, etc., directly from Shang *Ti*, but prayed to *wang-ti* who supposedly transferred the petitions to Shang *Ti*.⁸⁹

Perhaps the Shang people started to regard their deceased kings as *Ti* during the time of Wu-ting, or of Tsu-chia, because we notice that none of the deceased kings prior to Hsiao-yi or Wu-ting were so called.⁹⁰ Except for one pre-dynastic ancestor, *Kao-tzu* Ho 高祖河, who had command over rain, none of the deceased ancestors appears to have had command over nature’s course, but they were quite troublesome—they might make trouble concerning rainfall and the harvest as well as for people.⁹¹ They had power to send down blessings and calamity. The king constantly sought their protection and permission when something was about to be done. We notice that some of the deceased kings would *pin* *Ti* 賓帝, visit *Ti*; they acted as a bridge for communication between the king and *Ti*.⁹²

It has been suggested that *Ti* was actually *Ti-k’u* 帝嚳, the first pre-dynastic ancestor of royal Shang as recorded in the *Shih Chi*.⁹³ In other words, *Ti* was an ancestor of the Shang people instead of a nature god. But this is not likely. Wang Kuo-wei suggested that *K’u* 夬 in the Shang inscriptions should be the *Ti-k’u* known to us from classical writings as well as from the *Shih Chi*.⁹⁴ In fact *K’u* was also called *Kao-tsu* *K’u* 高祖嚳 (High-grandfather *K’u*), but was not called *Ti-k’u* in the Shang inscription.⁹⁵ *Ti* and *Kao-tsu* or *wang-ti* were clearly demarcated in the oracle bone inscriptions. *K’u* was not *Ti*. But why *Kao-tsu* *K’u* was named *Ti-k’u* in Chinese classics? The answer to this question can be found partially from a study on why so many legendary heroes prior to the Hsia dynasty were suddenly titled *Ti* during the Spring and Autumn period.

To call a deceased King *Ti* certainly added to the kingship some divine quality, which it had not hitherto possessed. The Chou people, however, established a father-son relationship with their highest deity, and called their king the Son of Heaven. Such is one aspect of difference between the two cults. In fact, the Chou people assimilated certain elements from the Shang cult, while disregarding those that appeared to be unsuitable. Perhaps one of the reasons for the Chou people to do so was the fact that the cult of *Ti* was so deeply rooted in the beliefs of the Shang people. Professor Creel points out that “of all twenty-five references to *Ti* or Shang *Ti* in the Western Chou Documents, eighteen occur in the words of the Duke of Chou. And in all but four of these cases the Duke is addressing the conquered Shang people. This is clearly a part of the deliberate attempt by the Duke of Chou to assimilate the Shang people to Chou

culture and make the two people one.”⁹⁷ The Duke of Chou also identified T’ien with Ti; he frequently used the two names as synonyms, and even made a combined name, Huang T’ien Shang Ti 皇天上帝, which Professor Creel translates into “August Heaven Shang Ti.”⁹⁸

From the above discussion, it can be seen that the Shang people believed that Ti was nature’s ruler and the lord of human destiny. The spirits of the dead possessed supernatural power. Man and Ti could not communicate directly, but only through deceased kings and prominent high ancestors of the royal Shang. By sacrifices, man pleased and served his dead and also asked for their protection and aid. It was through divinations that the intentions of both ancestors and Ti were perceived. The king established a monopoly through religious performances over the access to the lord of the universe. Almost every enactment of the Shang government was supposedly carried out in accordance with the intention of Ti, or with Ti’s permission. The Shang government existed by working with divinations to ascertain that it had not gone against Ti. We notice that Ti’s orders were issued to the wind, clouds, thunderbolts, and the rain, but never directly to the king or to an individual human being, even though he might send down blessing and calamity to man. But the Chou deity T’ien issued orders to the house of Chou directly. The Chou king even went so far as to proclaim himself the son of his highest deity. But Shang kings were not the descendants of Ti; they were the descendants of *wang-ti*, who had been the rulers of the Shang people before they died, and who with their supernatural power were able to visit the court of Ti, asking “year” and blessings for their descendants.

FOOTNOTES

1. See I. Shapera, *Government and Politics in Tribal Societies* (New York, 1967), pp. 39-66; Lucy Mair, *Primitive Government* (Baltimore, 1964), pp. 61-78.
2. Shapera, *Government and Politics in Tribal Societies*, pp. 1-38, 203-222; Mair, *Primitive Government*, pp. 15-16.
3. Mair, *Primitive Government*, pp. 35-61.
4. Robert M. MacIver, *The Web of Government* (New York, 1965), pp. 13-23.
5. *Ibid.*. The basic problem is that we do not know the whole historical development of family as a social institution. MacIver's theory has been developed on the basis of an ideal primeval family.
6. Henry Maine, *Ancient Law* (London, 1959), p. 76.
7. Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (New York, 1968), pp. 118-119.
8. See Chin Hsiang-heng, "P'u-tz'u Chung So-ch'ien Yin Shang Tsung-miao Chi Yin-chi K'ao," pp. 42-59.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
10. The two can be understood as referring to *pao* style *tsung* and *ya* style *tsung*. See Chia 1296, and Hou 2,27,1.
11. See Chia 2771 for Tsu-hsin *tsung*; Hsü 1,22,2, Tsu-ting *tsung*; Ts'un 1,1787, Ta-i *tsung*; Ch'i-shan H11:1, Wen-wu-ti-yi *tsung*.
12. See Yi 131, Chu 631 for the terms *ta-tsung* and *hsiao-tsung*.
13. Robin Fox, *Kinship and Marriage* (Baltimore, 1967), p. 49.
14. A.R. Radcliff-Brown and Darylle Forde ed. *African System of Kinship and Marriage* (London, 1967), pp. 14,40.
15. Each deceased king could be the founding ancestor of a new lineage, if his son did not assume the throne; whereas deceased kings were also members of the royal lineage. Thus the establishment of the Small Temple, by including the founders of royal branches, revealed the polysegmentary structure of the royal lineage.
16. Aristotle, "The Constitution of Athens," *History of Western Civilization* Topic II ed. The College History Staff, (Chicago, 1956), p. 29.
17. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, p. 93.
18. Aristotle, "The Constitution of Athens," p. 30.
19. Robin Fox, *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 49-50.
20. See Part I, Chapter IV, and Divination 11.
21. Hsü Ching-hsiung, *Wu-chung Chi-shih*, p. 25.
22. See Ch'ü Wan-li, "Shih-fa lan-shang Yü Yin-tai Lun 論法濫觴於商代論," *BIHP* XIII (1948), pp. 219-226.
23. See Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Identical Names."
24. Minao Hayashi 林巳奈夫." In *Shū jidai no zushō kigō 殷周時代の圖象記號*." *Tōhō gakhō 東方學報* XXXIX (1968), pp. 37-41.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 41. Also, see *Shan-tai* 16,21.
27. For instances, see *Shan-tai* 11,10; 14,41; 14,5; 6,11; 16,3.
28. K'ü 1506. Ch'en Meng-chia has reproduced the rubbing and made annotations to it. See Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, pp. 498-499; Plate 20.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 499.
30. Wang Kuo-wei, *Kuan-t'ang Chi-lin*, XVIII, p. 1.
31. See Part I, Chapter IV.
32. See Part I, Chapter IV for the *Tso Chuan* quotation.
33. For instance, T'iao 條, So 索, T'ao 陶, Ch'ang-shao 長勺. For discussions on T'iao and Ch'ang-shao, see Jao Tsung-i, *T'ung-k'ao*, pp. 190, 687.
34. Tsou Heng points out that some of the old cultures in this area belonged to the Ch'iang people, who originally came from Kan-shu province, and that around the mid-Shang times, the Chou people started to move into this area. Although the two people in this area united by marriage, their relationships with the Shang state were different: one hostile, the other friendly. Cf. Tso Heng 鄒衡 *Essays on the Archaeology of the Hsia, Shang and Chou Dynasties* 夏商周考古論文集 (Peking, 1980), pp. 351-354.
35. See Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, pp. 279-280; Lee, *Chi-shih*, IV, p. 1340.
36. We have quoted *Ch'ing* 1 above to suggest this point, see Part II, Chapter VII
37. For the Ch'iang state, see Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, pp. 276, 298.
38. *Ch'ien* 4,37,1; *Yeh* 3,34,14; *Liu* 2,90.
39. *Ping* 29.
40. Li Hsüeh-ch'ing, *Yin-ta Ti-li Chien-lun*, pp. 34-36.
41. Ancient Chinese *hsing* 姓 (clan name) almost always had the character *nü* 女 as one of its elements. In quite a few cases, the *nü* was combined with a place name or a tribal name. The word *chiang* was made of *nü* and *ch'iang*. See Fu Ssu-nien, "Chiang Yüan," pp. 134-135. But According to *Hsi Ch'iang Chuan* 西羌傳, the Ch'iang people were originated from the Chiang clan.
42. This event has been recorded in *Shih*, *Ta-ming* 大明.
43. For divinations on the coming of Ch'iang, see *Ching* 1287, 1285; *Ho* 122; *Chien-shuo* 42,3; *Jen* 938, 1631; *Ping* 38. Also Shima, *Sōrui*, p. 15.
44. Shima has collected more than four hundred examples of divinations of this type. See Shima, *Sōrui*, pp. 15-19. Also see Chang Ping-ch'üan "The Sacrifices and Sorcery During the Shang Dynasty 殷代的祭祀與巫術," *BIHP* 49:3 (1978), p. 472. Also see *I* 2639; *Ho* 301.
45. Cf. Hu Hou-chüan, "Chia-ku-wen So-chien Yin-tai Nu-li Ti Fan-ya-po Tou-chen 甲骨文所見殷代奴隸的反壓迫鬥爭," *KKHP* I (1976), pp. 3,8.
46. *Ts'ui* 1222. Cf. Yao Hsiao-sui, "Shang-tai Ti Fu-Lu 商代的俘虜," *KWTYC* I (1979), p. 386.
47. See *Hsü* 4,29,2; *Ch'ien* 4,48,1.
48. For the records on them, see *P'u* 68; *Hsü* 6,9,3; *Fu*, *tien* 48.
49. *Ibid.* Also see Part I, Chapter I, Footnote 6.
50. Cf. Yao Hsiao-sui 姚孝遂, "Shang-tai Ti Fu-Lu," p. 387.
51. Cf. Shima, *Kenkyū*, p. 481.
52. For instance, in *Yi* 118, the divinations read *ts'e fu erh jen*, 卅二人; for *Yü-i-jen* see *Chin* 124. "I, the first man," is Cheng Te-k'un's translation. See his *Shang China*, p. 205.
53. See *I* 5906; *Chin* 507; *K'u* 286; *Ch'ien* 7,16,2; *Ts'ui* 1089.
54. Ch'en Meng-chia, however, thinks that *chung-jen*, *chung*, and *jen* were three different types of people. See Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, p. 610.
55. See Kuo, *Nu-i Chih Shih-tai*, pp. 6-7.
56. See Chao Hsi-yüan, "Shih-lun Yin-tai Chu-yao Sheng-ch'an-che Chung Ho Chung-jen ti She-hui Sheng-fen," p. 73.
57. Kuo, *Nu-li Chih Shih-tai*, pp. 6-7.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*
62. *Shu*, trans. Legge, pp. 239-241.
63. Chao Hsi-yüan, "Shih-lun Yin-tai Chu-yao Sheng-ch'an-che Chung Ho Chung-jen Ti She-hui Sheng-fen," p. 77.
64. *Shu*, Trans. Legge, pp. 240-241.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
66. See Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, p. 610.
67. Cf. *Ch'un-ch'ü Ching-chuan Yin-ti*, p. 670. A collection of place names plus the word *jen* in *Tso Chuan* is indicated there..
68. I have elaborated my theory on the status of the Shang Multitudes in my recent article, "Lun Shang-tai Chung Yü Chung-jen Ti She-hui Ti-wei 論商代衆與衆人的社會地位," *Jen-wen Hsüeh-pao* 人文學報 VII (1982). Readers may refer to this article for more discussion.
69. Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 82.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 496, Footnote 15.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 497, Footnote 16.
72. Chen, *Tsung-shu*, pp. 581, 632.
73. Cf. Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu Shih-i*, p. 42. Ch'ü suggested that the *P'an-keng* was retold by the people of late Shang or by the people of Sung.
74. Cf. Lee, *Chi-shih* I, pp. 27, 30; Creel, *The Birth of China*, p. 182.
75. Creel, *The Birth of China*, pp. 182-183.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
77. Lee, *Chi-shih*, I, pp. 25-31.
78. *Ibid.*
79. Kuo Mo-jo, "Shih Tsu Pi 釋祖妣," *Chia-ku Wen-tzu Yen-chiu* 甲骨文字研究 (Shanghai, 1931), I, pp. 18-19. In my opinion, the origins of the cult of Ti perhaps should be found among the Shang people themselves. I have done some research on the religion prior to the Shang dynasty, and I have pointed out that the highest god of the Hsia people was not Ti. See Chao Lin, "Ni-hung Yü Chiao-lung Ti Shen-hua 蜺虹與交龍的神話," *Jen Yü She-hui* 人與社會 VI; 5 (1978), pp. 41-45. And Chao Lin, "Chung-kuo Ku-tai Ti Yü-chou-kuan Yü Ch'uang-shih Shen-hua 中國古代的宇宙觀與創世神話," *Jen-wen Hsüeh-pao* VI (1981), pp. 141-160.
80. Hu Hou-hsüan, "Yin P'u-tz'u Chung Ti Shang-ti Yü Wang-ti I 殷卜辭中的上帝與王帝(上)," *LSYC* IX (1959), p. 24 (referred to hereafter as: Hu, "Shang-ti Yü Wang-ti I").
81. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
83. Lee, *Chi-shih*, VII, pp. 2361-63.
84. Hu, "Shang-ti Yü Wang-ti I," pp. 32-36. Also see Part II, Chapter VII.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 39.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
89. Hu Hou-hsüan, "Shang-ti Yü Wang-ti II," *LSYC* X (1959), pp. 109-110.
90. In 1956, the word *ti* was inscribed after Fu-i 父乙. Hu suggests that they should be read together as a term, Fu-i-ti, and that the inscriptions are of the first period, so that this term might refer to King Wu-ting's father, Hsiao-i. See *Ibid.*, p. 91. But because the context below the word *ti* in *I* has been lost, I am hesitant to read Fu-i-ti as a term.
91. Hu, "Shang-ti Yü Wang-ti II," pp. 97-104.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
93. Kuo Mo-jo, *Ch'ing-t'ung Shih-tai* 青銅時代 (Ch'eng-tu, 1945), p. 10. Ho Ping-ti 何炳棣 follows

Kuo's theory in his discussion on Shang religions, see Ho Ping-ti, *The Cradle of the East* (Hong Kong, 1975).

94. See Wang Kuo-wei, *Ku-shih Hsin-ch'eng* 古史新証 (Peking, 1935), p. 3b.
95. For Kao-tsu K'u, see *Ts'ui* 1; *Yi* 645.
96. For Kao-tsu Wang-hai, see *Hou* 1,21,13.
97. Creel, *Western Chou*, p. 500.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 501.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

The study of the Shang government has raised more questions than it has answered. This is because being divinations, *chia ku wen* do not intentionally provide the information that we need. Repetitions of the same types of divinations asking about such subjects as weather, sacrifices or harvests occur frequently on the bones and shells. One can find only a small amount of information after going through a large amount of material. Moreover, since most of these *chia ku wen* were royal divinations, persons or events which did not directly concern the court or the royal house were seldom mentioned. Many essential questions about the Shang officers should be asked. For instance, were their offices hereditary or not? What were their salaries? How did an officer, especially in the local or semi-local administrations, carry out his daily routine? And what was his routine work? However, finding answers to these questions from the Shang inscriptions is no easier than "fishing up a needle from the bottom of the sea"—nearly impossible.

About the results of this study, first I have to point out that much of the discussion is devoted to the government during the mid-Shang period. In several places, I discussed changes and development in the Shang government, but I find that I cannot proceed with the discussion to a more satisfactory point. This is because a large portion of the Shang divinations are dated to the Wu-ting period. Relatively few inscriptions are of late Shang times, while almost nothing about the early Shang is available to us.

Nevertheless, our information on the Shang kingship system far exceeds that on the other sectors of the Shang government. It should be clear from the discussions above that the king was the highest authority and the chief executive of the Shang government. He appointed officers, directed the state's agricultural and urbanization programs, commanded the military, and most important of all, acted as the chief priest of the Shang people, who worshipped ancestors and Shang Ti. We find that the king spent a great deal of time away from the capital, making hunting and inspection trips all over the country. He personally decreed rewards and punishments.

It appears probable that a royal academy was established for the king's sons and the other noble descendants. Among the former, some became high officials in the court, some became local lords. They held a wide range of responsibilities in the Shang government. The queens too, had a chance to gain important positions in the government. These king's sons and wives were not the only ones who shared royal power. In

the early Shang, the king's nephews and cousins were just like the king's sons; they even had the right to claim the throne.

It is true that our picture of the officialdom of the Shang central administration is incomplete. Only two aspects of it can be seen from the Shang inscriptions: a system of offices that were established on the basis of their functions, and a system of *ad hoc* commissioners. In the former system, there were the *Yin* (Administrator), *Shih* (Functionary), *Ch'en* (Retainer), *Tsai* (Intendent), *Shih* (General), *Kung* (Artisan), *Ch'u* (Treasurer), *She* (Archer), *Ch'üan* (Officer of Dogs), *Ma* (Charioteer), *Shu* (Frontier Guard), *Ya* (*Ya* Marshall), and so on. Each of these offices could be held by several persons at the same time, who bore the names of the offices together with their personal names as if they were their surnames. Some of these offices might develop several sub-offices. For instance, we have *Hsiao-Chung-jen-ch'en* (Small-Multitude-*ch'en*) and *Hsiao-to-ma-Ch'iang-ch'en* (Small-various-Ch'iang-chariotry-*ch'en*) which developed from *Ch'en*, and *Ta-shih* (Grand *Shih*), *Hsi-shih* (Western *Shih*), and *Pei-shih* (Northern *Shih*), which developed from the *Shih*. These officers, however, might be assigned missions which sometimes did not correspond to their official functions. The king's *ad hoc* commissioners could be an officer, a local lord, a queen, or a prince. The missions could either be military, economical, or political.

By setting up the *Tien* local administrative districts and establishing the *Shih* officers in the local areas, the court exercised its local administration. However, in a *Tien* district, there might be *Po* lords, *Hou* lords, and *T'ien* lords. Being the heads of common descent and common residence groups, they had their own subjects and territories, as well as private armed forces. Among these local lords, some were established by the king; however, some were former rulers of independent states. Their obligations to the Shang court included military and labor support as well as payment in kind. From the study of Shang local and smei-local administrations, we have found a major historical trend in ancient China: the Shang people were pushing their government from a state confederacy toward an empire.

In ancient Greece, the king was first replaced by the council, which was then replaced by the assembly as the center of political power. During this process, the old order of society based on personal ties of blood was destroyed and in its place was set up a new and complete state constitution based on territorial division and difference of wealth. In Shang China, the king remained to be the highest authority. And the tie of blood and the local contiguity united and gave birth to a unique type of socio-political entity, which I call "local common descent and common residence group."

In my research, I have pointed out that the construction of the two major temples, i.e., *Ta-tsung* and *Hsiao-tsung* provided ceremonial centers for the members of the

royal clan and the members of the royal lineage. The rule of the succession to the throne seems to relate to the ancestral tablet system. These and other aspects of the gentile constitution of the royal Shang shared a great similarity with that of the Shang people, who organized themselves in common descent and common residence groups in different parts of the country. It is evident that the existence of the ruling clan and of the local common descent and common residence groups went hand in hand with the Shang people's worship of their ancestors.

Ti was believed by the Shang people to be the lord of the universe. He not only had supreme power over the course of nature, but also controlled human destiny. By working with divinations, the Shang government managed to function in accordance with the intention of Ti. But there was no direct communication between Ti and the Shang people. It was through their deceased rulers that they demanded "years" and protection from Ti. In the mid-Shang dynasty, the king started to entitle deceased king with the term *ti*. This certainly marks the beginning of divine sovereigns in China.

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INDEX

- Academy 64,130.
Ad hoc 58,66,87,97,131
 Administrative 55-6,60,62,67,68,75.
 Agriculture 4,56-7,60,67,74.
 Annual sacrifice 3,11,12,17,50.
 Aranda 26,38,42,43.
 Archer 74,81,84,85,131.
 Aristotle 110,126.
 Armies 55,81
 Artisan 58,74,80,131
 Athens 105,108,110.
 Banquet 61-3,95.
 Blood 108-11,115,131.
 Botsford and Robinson 105,107.
 Brother 17,18,23,29,33,46,53,110,113,115;
 half 47;father's 5;classificatory 33,50.
 Bureaucracy 88.
Castra 82-3
 Celestial stems 11,111-3.
 Central Administration 74-5,131.
 Chan *Shih* 展氏 39,41,46.
 Chang Kwang-chih 張光直 12-3,19,20,26,38,
 57,71-2.
 Chang Ping-ch'üan 張秉權 9,19,26,60,66,
 72-3, 106-7, 112.
 Ch'ang-po 長伯 101.
 Chao Hsi-yüan 趙錫元 71,128.
 Chao-mu 昭穆 12-3, 16-20, 38,40-2.
 Chariot 83-4.
 Chariotry 79,81,83-4,86.
 Ch'en 臣 8,55,77-8,88,95.
 Chen and Shryock 23,49.
 Ch'en-cheng 臣正 36,74,79.
 Cheng lü 振旅 60.
 Cheng Te-k'un 鄭德坤 91,127.
 Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家 36,71,73-4,77,89,
 90,92,95,106,120-1,126-8.
 Chi 姬 45-7,51.
 Chia 嘉 3.
 Chiang 姜 45,47,116.
 Ch'iang 羌 60,63,76,84,115-7.
 Ch'iang 統 96.
 Ch'iang-chia 羌甲 13-5.
 Chiao 教 64,99.
 Chiao-chü 椒舉 103-4.
 Chiao-fu 角婦 54.
 Chih-ka 社夏 3,34,54-5,61,69,82.
 Ch'i-hou-i 杞侯藝 8.
 Chin 晉 39,40.
 Ch'in 秦 47.
 Ch'ing 卿 62-3,72
 Ch'ing 禽 53-7,80-1,84,97,101.
 Ching-hou 崔侯 100-1.
 Chin Hsiang-heng 金祥恒 36,126.
 Chou 周 4,13,54,64,65,75,78,81,82,83,86,
 87,93,102,104,105,115,118,121,122,124.
 Chou-hou 周侯 99.
 Chou Hung-hsiang 周鴻翔 71.
 Ch'u 畜 29,118.
 Ch'u 宁 79,80,90.
 Chüan 犬 57,85-6,131.
 Chüan Yen 犬征 57,85-7.
 Ch'üeh 雀 80-1.
 Chung 眾 56,60,71,117-21.
 Ch'ung-erh 重耳 47.
 Chung-jen 眾人 56,71,117.
 Chü Wan-li 屈萬里 72-3,89,128.
 City 57-8.
 Clan 18,20,28,32-3,46,50-1,110-2,116;
 inter 24,38,52;intra 24,38,52.
 Classificatory 18,33,50.
 Cleisthene 110.
 Collateral 17,32,34,38,41,44,46,50,52,64.
Comitatus 99.
 Concubine 2,41.
 Confederacy 103,105,131.
 Confederation 1,46,107.
 Confucian 38,41,44.
 Cousin 12,131;paternal 12,16,17.
 Cowries 3,61,68,79,80,103.
 Creel, H.G. 4,9,26,28-9,31,36,42,71-3,76,
 79,82,89,90,105-7,121-2,125,128-9.
 Crown prince 5.
 Decision-making 65,67.
 Descent 11,16,27,108-11,115;double 20,
 51-2;patrilineal 13,27,34,51;matrilineal
 47.
 Divinations 65,66-8,73,112,130.
 Diviners 6,60,63,65-9,74,77.
 Dog 59,85,86
 Dualism 16,20.
 Dualistic 12,19,24,40,50.

- Earl of Shen 100,101.
 Empire 105,131.
 Endogamy 20,45,50.
 Engels, Frederick 108,126.
Erh Ya 爾雅 23,38,42,43.
 Exogamy 1,20,43,44.
 External service 74,93,94.
 Family 17,18,21,41-2,47,113,119.
Fang 方 1,94-8,105-6.
 Farmers 115,118.
 Father 5,13,16-8,23,27,33,53,114-5.
 Father-chi 父己 5.
 Feng Han-yi 9,23,26.
 Feudal 2,4,38-40,68,81,94,100,105.
 Fief 96,98,100.
 Field 56-7,67,71,75,97,102,117.
 Five degrees of ranks 94.
 Five degrees of service 93.
 Fox, Robin 26,109-10,126.
*Fu*₂ 父 23,33.
Fu 婦 1,20,74.
Fu 艮 117.
 Fu-chih-tzu 婦姪子 4,5.
 Fu-ching 婦姘 1,3,4.
 Fu-ch'i 婦杞 1.
 Fu-chu 婦竹 1.
 Fu-hao 婦好 1,3,20,24-5,55.
 Fu-hsü-tzu 婦郵子 6.
 Fu-liang 婦良 23.
 Fu-shih-tzu 婦餽子 5.
 Fu-shu 婦鼠 1.
 Fu Ssu-nien 傅斯年 9,22,26,106
 Fu-t'ou-tzu 婦妥子 6.
 Fu-x-sheng₁ 婦某生 21.
 Fu-x-tzu 婦某子 21.
 Ganshof, F.L. 107.
 Gate of I 87.
 Gods 53,121-2.
 Government 74-5,108,130
 Grandfather 9,13,27,41-2,45-6.
 Granet, Marcel 38,42-4.
 Harvest 3,56-7,123.
 Hayashi, Minao 林已奈夫 112,126.
 Homage 2,95-6.
Hou 侯 1,2,8,57,69,81-2,93-4,98-102,112,
 115,131.
 Hou-kao 侯告 3,69,70.
 Hsia 夏 42-3,97,103-4.
Hsiang 鄉 61-3,72.
Hsiao-ch'en 小臣 56,60,64,78
 Hsiao-chi 孝己 5.
Hsiao-chi-ch'en 小藉臣 54,77.
Hsiao-Chung-jen-ch'en 小眾人臣 77-8,131
 Hsiao Nan 肖楠 90-1.
Hsiao-szu 小示 12,19.
Hsiao-to-ma-Ch'iang-ch'en 小多馬羌臣 77-8,
 84,117,131
 Hsiao-yi 小乙 14-5,25,124.
 Hsia-wei 下危 54.
Hsing 姓 22,26,31,44,47-8,50-1,127;
 bestowal of 38,44-6;clan 28;clan name
 20,28; child 20.
Hsing-te-lei-hsin-chih 姓德類心志 45-7,52.
 Hsü Chin-hsiung 許進雄 19,111,126.
 Hsü, Francis Lang-kwang 42.
Hsün 旬 11.
Hsün 夙 63.
Hsün-shou 巡狩 61.
 Huan 亘 65.
 Hu Hou-hsüan 胡厚宣 6,9,10,123,128.
 Human sacrifice 3,115-7.
 Hunting 7,8,59-61,85.
I 邑 1,57,58,98,101,103.
 Inheritance 16,17,34,50,51;patrilineal 13;
 collateral 17,38,52;fraternal 17.
 Inspection 59-61,65.
 Internal service 74,93,94.
 Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 9,90.
Jen 人 71,117-8,121.
 Judicial 63,65.
 Justice 61.
 Kao Ch'ü-hsün 高去尋 87,92.
Kao-tsu 高祖 53,124.
 Kariera 26,38,42,45
 Karlgren, Bernhard 75,79,90
 Keightley, David N. 9,71,73,107.
 King Ch'eng 成王 4,13,28,39,40,46,104.
 Kingship 11-3,17,22,50,53,59,121.
 King Wen 文王 13,39,40,46.
 King Wu 武王 4,13,28,39,40.
 Ko-po 葛伯 97.
 Ku 穀 66-7,85.
 K'u 𠄎 55,61-2,66,82,118,121.
Kung 工 58,74,80,131.
Kung-sun 公孫 29.
Kung-tzu 公子 29,41.
 Kuo Mo-zo 郭沫若 36,71,75,89,118,119,122,
 127-9.

- Kuo-yü* 國語 44,46-7,49,62,93.
Ku wang shih 古王事 54,76
Lee Hsiao-ting 李孝定 9,10,19,71-2,90-1,
 106-7.
Legge, James 9,26,49,106-7.
Lévi-Strauss, C. 28,42-4,49.
*Liang-fu*₂ 良父 26.
Li Chi 禮記 40-1,43.
Li Hsüeh-ch'ing 李學勤 71-2,86,92.
Lineage 1,12-3,17,27-8,32-3,41,46,50,
 109-11,115;segmented 29,31,46,50;patri
 25,50;matri 23,25;localized 6,19,27-9,
 36,51-2,87,113.
Lin-hsin 廩辛 14-5,63.
Li Tsung-tung 李宗侗 26,36,43,49.
Local common 108,112,115,131-2.
Lu 魯 21,28-9,31,39,40,45-6.
Ma 馬 34,78,83-4,86,91,117,131.
Ma-ya 馬亞 60,84.
Maine, Henry 108,126
Mao Han-kwang 毛漢光 52.
Marriage 1,2,20,34;bilateral 24,48,52;cross-
 cousin 23,48,51,52;patrilateral cross-
 cousin 12,20;sister-exchange 12;four-classes
 38,42,45,48;eight classes 38,42;two classes
 48.
Matrilineal 24,34,47,51.
Miao 廟 87;*tsung-* 28,32;*tsu*₂- 28,32;*ni-* 28.
Military 6,8,54-5,59,60,62,67,74,80-1,99,
 115,131.
Ming 名 28.
Ming-tang 明堂 87.
Mo Fei-ssu 莫非斯 93,106.
Moieties 24,28.
Multitudes 53,55-7,61,66,76-7,79,81,
 96-7,115,117-20.
Munro, Donald J. 44,49.
Murngin 26,38,43.
Nan 男 20,52,93,102.
Nan-feng-fang 南丰方 98.
Nei-fu 内服 74.
Nephew 17,131;sororal 13;paternal 16;
 classificatory 33,50.
Nü 女 1,20.
Official dancers 80.
Official historian 74,76,77.
Oracle 65,67,96.
Pa 巴 54-5.
Palace 87.
P'an-keng 盤庚 14-5,17,119,122.
P'an-keng 119,122.
Pao 報 109.
Pao 缶 8,95.
Pao-chia 報甲 14-5,32,36,53,109.
Pi 妣 25.
Pi 鄙 98,103.
Pictorial symbols 112-3.
Pi-hsin 妣辛 3.
Pin 旁 65,67,96.
Po 伯 1,8,63,69,93-9,112,115,131.
Posthumous name 2,5,11-3,16,25,113.
Prime minister 75,79,86-7.
Punishment 61,64,130.
Quinquartite 12,13,17,50.
Reverse tekonymy 4.
Reward 61,130.
Ruey Yih-fu 芮逸夫 22,23,26.
Secretaries 65-8.
Seven Mu 七穆 29,30.
She 射 74,84-5,88,131.
*Sheng*₂ 甥 20,22-4,47,52.
*Sheng*₁ 生 5,20-4,47,52.
She-po 疫伯 76,97,101.
Shih 史 55-6,67,69,75-7,79,88-9,97,131;
tung- 76;*pei-* 76,116,131;*hsi* 76,131;
grand- 76-7,97,131;*kuan* 74,77.
Shih 自 55-6,69,79,81-3,131.
Shih 氏 21,28-9,31,38,41-3,47,51,113.
Shih Chang-ju 石璋如 91.
Shih Chi 史記 11-3,66.
Shih P'an 自般 55,69,70,82.
Shima, Kunio 島邦男 6,7,10,19,36,71-2,74,
 89-91,106-7,127.
Shu 戊 60,86,103,131.
Sibling 15,33,46.
Slave 56,78,90,117-9.
Slavery 115.
Small King 5.
Soldiers 3,60,115,118.
Son 5,6,16,18,21,113,130;sister's 24,52;
 brother's 12,47,50,110;enthroned 13,16;
 classificatory 33.
Spangler, Donald 16,19.
Spring and Autumn Period 5,20-1,27-8,31,
 46,60,93,124.
Ssu Kung 司工 80.
Ssu-k'ung Chi-tzu 司空季子 44,46-7.
State 1,8,27,94,96,98,100,103-5,108,115-6.

- Succession 2,11-8,33-4,50.
Sun-tzu 孫子 9.
 Surname 31,43,49,51,131.
Szu 示 12,31.
 Tablet 25,31,69,110-11;bamboo 68-70;
 ancestral 11-2,17-8,51;great 12-4,16-8,
 34;small 12,18.
Ta-chia 大甲 14-5,75.
T'ang 湯 53,75.
Tao 道 44.
Ta-shou 大蒐 60.
Ta-szu 大示 12,19.
Ta-t'ien 大田 60.
Ta-yi 大乙 14-5,32,36.
Ta-yü-ting 大盂鼎 93.
Te 德 44.
 Temple 25,27-8,31-3,50,111,116;names
 109;small 31-2,50,110;great 31-2,46,
 50,110,111;paternal 28;lineages' 28.
The Book of Historical Documents 9,11.
The Book of Songs 2,9,11,31,100.
 Three dagger-axes 114.
Ti 帝 121-5,132.
Tien 奠 53,82,94,97,100-3,131.
T'ien 甸 93,103.
T'ien 天 121-2,125.
T'ien 田 93-5,102-3,131.
Ti-hsin 帝辛 14-5,64,67,82,96,123.
Ti-k'u 帝嚳 124.
Ting Shan 丁山 91.
Ti-yi 帝乙 11-5,34,82,95-6,123.
*To-fu*₂ 多父 33.
*To-sheng*₁ 多生 21.
 Totemism 28.
To-tzu 多子 5,21,33.
To-tzu-tsu 多子族 5,6,33-5,44,46,50,54,86.
Tsai 宰 61,79,90.
Ts'e 冊 68-70.
Tso Chuan 左傳 20-2,24,27-9,31,33,36,40,
 46,61,115,120.
Tso-kung-tzu 左公子 5.
Tso-ts'e 作冊 68-9,77.
Tsu 族 5,19,27-9,31,33-6,46,50-1,74,81,
 84,86,102,113,115;ducal 29;*wang* 27,
 33-5,86;*yin* 34;*ma* 34.
Tsu-chia 祖甲 14-5,18,25,123.
Tsu-fu 祖父 9.
Tsu-hsin 祖辛 13-5.
Tsung 宗 19,25,27-8,31,41,50-1,109;*ta*
 27-8,31-2,44,46,50,109,131;*hsiao*
 27-8,31-2,44,46,50,109,131;*Pi-keng's*
 25;Mother-hsin's 25.
Tsu-ting 祖丁 14-5,64.
Tu 度 63-4,72.
T'u 土 34,59,61,70,82
Tung Tso-pin 董作賓 6,9-11,13,19,71,73,
 90.
Tzu 子 20-1;middle 5;right 5;left 5;status
 4,6,8,21,24,33,74,112,115;rank 102;child
 4,5,21;naming of 6;clan name 11,20,24,
 48.
Tzu-ch'ai 子鬯 7,8,61.
Tzu-ching 子鬯 7,8,59,81.
Tzu-fang 子方 53.
Tzu-hsiao 子效 7,8.
Tzu-hua 子晝 7.
Tzu-kung 子弓 7,8,102.
Tzu-yang 子央 7,60.
Tzu-x 6,8,21,102.
 Uncle 13,17,50;maternal 13;paternal 16.
 Urbanism 57.
Wai-fu 外服 74.
 Waley, Arthur 9.
Wang 王 53,71,95,120-1.
Wang-ch'eng 望乘 54-5,61.
Wang-hai 王亥 53.
Wang-heng 王恒 53.
Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 75,87,89,92,104,
 106-7,114,122,126,129.
Wang-sun 王孫 29.
Wang-ti 王帝 119,124-5.
Wang-tsu 王族 27,33-5,86.
Wang-tzu 王子 29.
Wang Yü-hsing 王宇信 71.
 Weber, Max 21,27,41.
Wen-ting 文丁 14-5,55,81,123.
 Wife 1-4,13,17,47,130.
Wu 武 53-4,77-8,85,101.
Wu-hai 無駭 39,41.
Wu-ting 武丁 1-11,14-5,18,20-5,31-4,54,
 59,60,67,75,82,96,115-6,123,130.
Wu-tsu-shu 五族戍 87.
Wu-yi 武乙 14,15,55,81-2.
Ya 亞 55,57,80-1,87-8,91,93,109,131.
Ya-hou 亞侯 97-8.
Yang Hsi-mei 楊希枚 20,26,28,36.
Yang K'uan 楊寬 72,107.

Yang-po-chih 易伯焱 8.
Yin 尹 31,34,53-4,56,60,62,74-5,88-9,93,
131.
Yin 殷 2,93.
Yi-ting 乙丁 12-4,16,19,20,24.
Yi Yin 伊尹 75,86,89.
Yu-hou-hsi 攸侯喜 8,98.

Yu-kung-tzu 右公子 5.
Yu-pang-chün 友邦君 104.
Yü 羽 53,56,78,84.
Yü 禦 6-8,116.
Yü 孟 55,60,83,95.
Yü Hsing-wu 于省吾 71,106.
Yüan K'e 袁珂 71.

商代的社會政治制度目錄

顧理雅先生序	i
自序	iii
圖表目錄	vii

上篇 商代的親屬制度

壹 王室	1
貳 傳宗法與傳位法	11
叁 雙宗法與交表婚	20
肆 宗族與宗廟	27
伍 姓族政治與婚姻級分	38
一、昭穆之秩	38
二、五世則遷之宗	41
三、賜姓制度	44
陸 結論	50

下篇 商代的政府組織

柒 君王	53
一、王權	53
二、統御法	58
三、機要秘書及決策過程	65
捌 中央行政	74
玖 地方行政	93
一、半地方行政：方國兼併	94
二、半地方行政：群侯	98
三、地方行政單位「奠」	101
四、其他地方行政首長與行政單位	102
五、從聯盟到帝國	103
拾 商代政府的基礎	108
一、血緣	108
二、地方同宗同堂組織	112
三、社會階層	115
甲、羌人	115
乙、眾人	117
四、上帝與王帝	121
拾壹 結論	130
參考及引用書目	133
索引	141

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商代的社會政治制度

趙 林

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