

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF CLAN SETTLEMENT IN ANCIENT CHINA I

Phratry Yen-Ying-Ki I
(Shao-hao)

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Introduction

That community which sinologues are in the habit of calling a clan (Chinese 姓) embraces to-day the totality of all bearing the same "family name" (modern also 姓, as clan—and family name mean the same thing to-day). It is exogamic and regulates the relations of its membership for the various generations from the paternal line; and therefore adheres to the patriarchal variety¹.

But the social unit thus described does not show the original type of communal organisation among the Chinese; it is rather the result of a double evolution from an older stage of development.

Though to-day clan organisation comprises the whole of the people, the clan was formerly the sign of nobility, which as "the hundred clans" = totality of clans (百 姓) was contrasted to the "black-haired people" (黎 民) or "lower" *i. e.* numerous people (庶 人). Somewhat parallel to this widening of the clan organisation goes a second change. At the time of the old "clans of the nobles" the "community of people with the same family name" (then 氏), was not yet an independent exogamic group; a number of 氏, and quite a large number, was needed for such a group, a 姓; so that to the approximately 4000 modern 姓 = family names = old 氏,

¹ Since the distinction between the terms "clan" and "gens" is not yet strictly observed by sociologists, I have refrained from introducing the term "gens" for the word clan, which has become general in sinology; cf. Chavannes, *M. H. I.*, p. 1, n. 3; Tscheppe, *Histoire du royaume de Tch'ou*, App. III, p. 386 ff.; Conrady, Part "China" of the *Pflug-Hartung Weltgeschichte*, p. 483 ff.

given in the great Chinese encyclopaedia T'u-shu tsih-ch'eng, section 氏族, (L. Giles, Index p. XI)² only 23 (or 25 resp.) old 姓 — "clans of the nobles" are corresponding as genetic unities of a higher degree.

These old 姓 are partly likewise subordinate to a higher unit; several groups of old 姓 trace their descent back to a common ancestor and are therefore to be considered as related by blood. Such associations of related clans will be called fratrics in this essay; the most important fraternity consists of the clans Ki (己 + Tung), P'eng (+ T'uh), Yün, Ts'ao and Chen, which trace their ancestry back to Chuan-hüh, and the smallest fraternity is composed of the clans Kuei and Yao, which consider Shun as their ancestor.

The development of the 氏 into the 姓 and the extension of clan organisation to the whole of the people take place within an historical period, and may be observed by means of contemporary sources. The social revolution commences with the older Chou dynasty² and is completed at the end of the Chou period.

Yet this older stage of the patriarchal exogamic clans of the nobles, characterised by the distinction of 姓 and 氏, may also be traced back to a simpler state of the social organisation, provided that we can show the 氏 to have originally consisted of one of that old limited stock for which the identity of the family-

² This is not meant to say that the number 4000 is even as much as approaching that of the old 氏; for it was even lower. To find that number, several not very numerous groups must be taken off, especially the group of the modern 姓, which were formed from transcribed foreign names, when the barbarians had invaded China after the 氏 had developed into 姓 (*e. g.* the Toba). They form quite a considerable part of the total number. (Cheng Ts'iao, in his analysis of 1831, reckons 320 names as certainly of foreign origin (among them 295 polysyllables) to which must be added another 90 polysyllabic ones of which the Chinese origin is doubtful, which makes about 1/5 of the total number; cf. T'ShTsCh' XIV, 5, 12b seq.). An increase of the old 氏, by way of division of several modern 姓 into several groups, (exogamic among themselves (= old 氏), for having been formed from 氏 of the same name, members of different old 姓) need hardly be considered; it is not a frequent case (collected from the T'ung-chi of Cheng Ts'iao in T'ShTsCh' XIV, 6, 1b, seq.; cf. the notes of the same author to the three exogamic 余 in T'ShTsCh' XIV, 134).

² Kuoh-yü 2 (Chou 2), 2a—b mentions six cases of marriages between members of 氏 of the same 姓 which means a loosening of the exogamic principle in these 姓, severely condemned as a serious crime [635 B. C.]; cf. also the note about the four 姬 in Duke P'ing of Tsin's harem in the Tso-chuan Chao 1 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 573/80) [541 B. C.]

names with the name of a state was the chief characteristic.¹ These old (primary) 氏 for their part can be linked to the old 姓 so that, as can be demonstrated, the cleavage of the 氏 from the 姓 is the result of the granting of certain landed property to a member of the 姓.

The dissolution of 姓 into 氏 (i. e. into independent families within the clan) must have begun, if not long, at least some time before the beginning of the early historical age.² Amongst the old indigenous clans the splitting up of the primary 氏 into secondary and of the secondary again into tertiary may be observed within the historical period. The causes of these changes are the subletting of fiefs, the conferring of hereditary offices, etc. whilst the splitting up of a 姓 into primary 氏 is only noticed with original clans of foreign origin; most clearly with Clan Ki 姬, domiciled in China through the invasion of the Chou (12th century B. C.).³

¹ In his analysis of 1831, Cheng Ts'iao separates (vide above) about 600 family names which go back to names of territory (國名, 郡國名, 邑名, 鄉名, 亭名, 地名) of which 233 are names of states (國名).

Without going further into the voluminous information concerning the priority of those family names (氏) which coincide with the names of states over others which are otherwise constituted, I will simply refer to the following as examples of the most extreme opposite category, those names which coincide with office; 1. The Sze-ma 司馬 (keeper of the horse, marshal, minister for war) are descended from the Count of Ch'eng; hence their original name was Ch'eng (= Pih-ch'eng), which is the name of a district (Ch'eng, to be more exact, being the capital of the Earldom of Pih). The first man to bear the name was Hiu-fu, who lost his fief during the reign of Süan-wang, Kuoh-yü 18 (Ch'u 2), 2b; 2. The Shi 士 (shortened from 師, Minister of Justice, also named after their estate Fan or Sui) are descendants of the Count of T'u (T'u is the name of an estate), the first bearer of the name being Sih-shuh, the son of the last Count of T'u who was killed in 785; the son fled to Tsin and held his post there, BA Süan 43 (Ch. Cl. III / prol. p. 156), Tso-chuan Siang 24 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 505/07) Kuoh-yü 14 (Tsin 8), 3b; 3. The Chung-hang 中行 (shortened from 將軍 commander of the army of the centre) are a branch of the family Sün (Sün Yen = Chung-hang Hien-tse, Sün Wu = Chung-hang Muh tse, Sün Yin = Chung-hang Wen tse; Sün is the name of an estate, originally immediate earldom but later on annexed by Tsin). They take their name from the position held by their ancestor Sün Liu-fu (Sün Huan-tse), Tso-chuan Hi 28 (Ch. Cl. V. p. 206/13).

² I. e. as the following work shows, at the epoch of the union of North China under the reign of Yao, chronologically and very uncertainly so — somewhere in the middle of the third millenium B. C. (cf. S' 17).

³ On the other hand, it is not impossible that a few 姓 did not arise before the early historical period, as for example a few of the Chuan-hüh fraternity; these will be discussed in the detailed investigation of the individual clans.

We have seen that the attainment of political independence on the part of a member of the 姓 as the ancestor of these 氏 can be proved as the constituent element in the genesis of a primary 氏. This fact shows decisively that the character of the old 姓 was that of a political unity.

It follows therefrom, that in its oldest form the clan organisation of the aristocratic ruling classes led to no vertical differentiation among the ancestral stock of the Chinese: (when the 姓 belonged to no special geographically limited county of the territory which was occupied by the nation; each settlement had to be formed of members of at least some and theoretically of all the clans within this space, as is the fact to-day). On the contrary, it led to a horizontal as territorial organisation, for it is only when each individual 姓 possesses a fixed part of the country as its original place of settlement (original home) that there is a possibility of assigning to the clan its political status in the government of the whole nation.

From this proof of the function of the clan being that of a political association, it follows the right to treat the apparent social unions of the ancient Chinese people from the point of view of a history of its settlements. It must be the aim of such a "history of the clan settlement of the Chinese" to discover the original homes of each ancient Chinese clan, by studying the history of the settlements of the primary 氏.¹

Then by gathering together all the partial results, we shall be in a position to present an exact and detailed picture of the size and the structure of the area on which the ancestral stock of the Chinese had settled.

To judge from its material, its method (which is identical with that of the historical geography), and its aims, the history of the Chinese clan settlement must be assigned to the domain of the historian of the early history of China. Inasmuch as the historian has taken up researches into the political history, the investigation of it must even be at present considered as the most urgent object of his work, for there can be no doubt that the clans of the nobles, organised as

¹ An experiment which I tried in the winter of 1920 with the small East-Chinese clan Feng showed that the older the period, the more approached to one another were the settlements of the 氏, until finally a limited territory was reached which served as the point of radiation, i. e. the original home. (Since published as the first part of the "Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte chinesischer Clans", Asia Major, Festschrift für Friedrich Hirth, London—Leipzig, 1922).

political bodies, were also the only tolerably stable forces within the active ones of the time.—To a certain extent the recognition of this fact means setting up a new aim altogether for the studies of the early history of China. There is very scanty information at the disposal of the historian of this period, and this little is frequently distorted because of a prejudiced tradition; he has to ascertain this corruption, without, however, being in a position always to subject his information to a critical valuation from within, and thus he could only entertain a vague conception about the driving political and social powers of that time. The partition of the masses into large consanguineous political unions which essentially remained constant from about the middle of the third until the beginning of the first millennium B. C. gives a background, on which he can arrange the political happenings of his period, as events on its surface: the political history of Ancient China in its characteristic features will be most exactly comprehended as the history of the relations which existed between the "clans" of Chinese feudal chiefs.

After ascertaining the original homes of each individual Chinese clan and therefore discovering the geographical space of the settlements of the Chinese ancestral stock, the history of the clan settlement has a wider and last aim: to clear up the relation of the nobility clan to the tribe. Here I am also standing on solid ground. The most reliable means of ascertaining the homes of the Chinese tribes is undoubtedly a map of the ancient Chinese dialects. Such a map was reconstructed in the summer of 1922 by Mr. Lin Yü-t'ang Ph. D. of Peking University and myself, based on the oldest Chinese idiomikon, the Fang-yen of the first century A. D. When compared with one compiled by me of the original homes of the 姓, it showed that the original territory in which a Chinese nobility clan (often a fraternity) settled, was generally identical with the locality of a dialect, *i. e.* as a result there is the following formula for the relation of the 姓 to the tribe:—a clan (or a fraternity resp.) of the ruling classes corresponds (generally) to a tribe within the lower classes.¹

¹ The term "tribe" is here used to designate the whole of the people with the same language (or of the same dialect) which is organised to a political unity. Owing to the complexity of the material to be investigated, it was impossible to avoid a definition, which in many cases must imply too wide a conception of the tribe (*e. g.* among the Tih as occasionally among others it would be better to speak of the tribal character of the 氏; here 姓 coincides rather with "nation"). It was not feasible to define it

This solution of the problem is fundamentally fixed, although a good deal of investigation of detail is still necessary in order to solve the part problems, which must of necessity arise owing to the great length of time which is covered by the various stages of evolution.²

Although from the point of view of methodical investigation, the Fang-yen had to be used as one of the starting points for an enquiry on the old ethnical groups since generally speaking it is easiest to prove tribal territories through dialectic localities, and this is the only work from which they could be reconstructed, it contains, however, many drawbacks: firstly, there is its relatively late a date and then, for example an extremely awkward geographical terminology³, so that further references in literature are greatly to be desired, especially in the historical sources of the first millenium B. C.

But even though no comprehensive reference can be expected, we are not in such a bad position as one might be led to suppose from the complete silence of the great native historians on this

in a more restricted sense and give the term "nation" to the social body described above, because, as will be seen later, within the old indigeneous clans, which above all mostly are in dispute it was generally only a number of clans or fratrics which bore the character of a nation.

Conrady was the first to see that we could advance from the clans to the ancient Chinese tribes, without, however, making a fixed formula in the passage quoted there (*cf.* in "China", p. 522: the comments on the "primordial emperors"). Otherwise, as far as I know nothing has been done in this direction, since the investigation of the political history of Ancient China has been quite unbroken ground. In Quistorp's *Männergesellschaft und Altersklassen im alten China* (Mit. d. orient. Seminars in Berlin, 1916) and others, the use of the word "tribe" and its boundary line in connection with the "clan" is very undecided.

² The fact that the map of the dialects which was valid approximately at the beginning of our era could with quite inconsiderable exceptions be brought in a perfect equality with a map of the original homes of the clans, which after all reproduces in all essentials the family states of circa the end of the third millenium B. C. is the most important result of the comparison for the historian, for the constancy of the ethnical groups is thereby very distinctly shown. The following formula will therefore hold good for certain provinces: transfers in the clan membership of the ruling classes generally do not affect the ethnical character of the lower classes (the Chou can serve as an example; they govern the largest part of North China directly or through the states of their clan from the end of the second until about the middle of the first millenium B. C. without their language supplanting the old indigeneous dialect in any part).

³ Some sections (*e. g.* 楚) can only be exhaustively treated through the help of the equation of the primitive seats of the clans of the nobles with the localities of the dialects, which equation had been found from other parts.

subject; in point of fact, information about the primitive Chinese tribes is to be found in their sources, although they did not make use of it. From the point of view of the history of settlements an unprejudiced investigation of the so-called "barbarians" shows quite convincingly that the preponderating part of them is identical with the primordial tribes which have been deducted from the map of the original homes of the clans on the one hand and that one of the early dialects on the other, resp. that since several of these formed a "barbarian people", in this more favourable second case several primordial tribes could be gathered together into primordial peoples¹ and thus we should be in a position to complete, in very essential characteristics, the picture gained from the history of the clan settlements and the maps of the dialects.

The results thus gained from all these elements for the ethnical structure of the cultured Chinese nation have been added to the introduction in an appendix called "The Chinese Primordial Tribes". I have included in this compilation all the primitive and half civilized peoples which had been absorbed down to the 3rd century B. C. whether Indo-Chinese or not.

In the preceding remarks the method, work and aims of the history of the clan settlement in Ancient China have been positively set out. It seems to me that they suffice the historian as the basis for his research and justify the idea of a history of the clan settlement for China before the sociologist. It will be the task of the sociologist on the one hand to determine the development of the patriarchal, exogamic clan of the Chinese ruling classes², and on the other hand to clear up the social structure of the lower classes. For the history of the clan settlement the results of his work are only

¹ The civilized Chinaman lacks an ethnical self-designation: 中國人 "Man of the Middle Empire" or 漢人 "Man of (the Kingdom of) Han" are taken from the name of the state and these either go back to the nomenclature of dynasties (夏 Hsia, or 華 | Hua Hsia, or Han 漢 itself) or they arise from the egocentric conception of the world and the universalistic tendencies of the state (中國 Middle Kingdom). This circumstance has certainly contributed towards obstructing the understanding of the Chinese historian on the "barbarian question".

² Chavannes, like Conrady and the latter's pupils, Quistorp and Erkes, assume that, in China as well as everywhere in the world, the patriarchal organisation succeeded a matriarchal one, which was in accordance with the results of the scientific researches of that time. Conrady (China p. 484 ff.) has given many reasons for his view.

mediately of importance. The condition of my investigations does not allow me at the moment to fix my opinion on this matter, either one way or the other.

In the first place I have to thank Prof. Conrady and then Dr. A. Wedemeyer of Leipzig for kind assistance, and Dr. O. Maenchen-Helfen for various references. The results were for the most part ventilated and discussed at the sittings of the Far Eastern Seminary of Leipzig University.

The Chinese Primordial Tribes

(Provisional Results of Research up to December 1922)

I. North Chinese Centre of Civilisation.

1. North East Chinese Civilised People: Self designation *Jung* 戎:
 - A: Phratry: *Yen* 偃—*Ying* 嬴—*Ki* 己. Original seats: the plains of N. W.—and N. Shantung. Holders of the dynastic power in the Jung State before the consolidation of N. China.
 - B: Phratry: *Ki* 己 (+ *Tung* 董)—*P'eng* 彭 (+ *T'uh* 秀)—*Yun* 耘—*Ts'ao* 曹—*Chen* 斟. Original seats: W. Shantung, the southern neck of Chihli and parts of N. E. Honan.
 - C: Phratry: *Kwei* 媯—*Yao* 姚. Closely related to B. Original seats: about Ts'ao-chou-fu in W. Shantung. Holders of Shun's dynasty (Yü).
 - D: Clan *Tse* 子. Original seats: E. Honan. Holders of the Shang dynasty.
2. Middle and West Chinese Civilised People, presumably the nucleus of the Chinese. The name they gave themselves not yet ascertained:
 - A: Clan *Kiang* 姜. Original seats: S. W. Shansi and adjacent parts of N. and N. W. Honan.
 - B: Clan *K'i* 祁. Closely related to A. Original seats: S. E. Shansi and Ho-nan-fu Basin (?). Holders of Yao's dynasty (T'ao-t'ang).

¹ The Jung group was first discussed by me in a contribution to Schindler's "Development of the Chinese Conceptions of Supreme Beings", in *Asia Major*, Hirth Anniversary Volume p. 361. Schindler succeeded in dividing the supreme deity of the old Chinese Huang-t'ien Shang-ti, into two older ones, each of which has to be assigned to one of the 2 large ethnic groups of the N. Chinese centre of civilisation. This is a highly important start on the way of dividing the entire N. Chinese civilisation, after Conrady's success in proving the parts contributed by North China and South China to the whole of Chinese civilisation. This again opens wide perspectives for the early history, to mention only: that the Shi-king songs, decried as highly lascivious by the orthodoxy, and from which so special customs and habits of the author's home may be inferred (Conrady), must now be assigned as a whole to the Jung region.

- C: Clan *Sze* 姒. Original seats: the plains of the Wei Valley and the Upper Han Valley around Han-chung-fu, *i. e.* E. and S. E. Shensi. Holders of the Hia dynasty.
3. Remaining Clans: Ethnologically undetermined:
 - A: Clan *Kih* 嵒. Original seats: the mountains E. of Ho-nan-fu and the plain to the N. of K'ai-feng-fu, *i. e.* N. E. Honan.
 - B: Clan *Man* 曼. Original seats: On the Upper Ju-ho, in the mountains S. E. of Ho-nan-fu and in N. W. Hupeh N. of Han-River where River Tan empties into it; presumably also the Peh-ho and T'ang-ho Plains of S. Honan (over which—in very early times—members of I, 2, A held the dominion). This clan—at the same time—forms the transition to II.

II. South Chinese Centre of Civilisation ("Barbarians" of Indo-Chinese progeny).

1. The *San Miao* 三苗. Original seats S. E. Hupeh, N. E. Hunan, N. W. Kiang-si. Their state was destroyed towards the end of the 3rd millenium B. C (The ruling stratum related to I, 2, A ?).
2. A: Clan *Hing* 熊 and B: Clan *Mi* 羸. Ethnic name used by themselves: *Man* 蠻 (?). Original seats: Plains of N. and M. Hupeh, N. slope of Yang-tse Valley beyond Kuei-chou.

III. Eastern Barbarians belonging to the Indo-Chinese Group: Self designation *I* 夷. Original seats: the mountainous land of Middle Shantung, S., S. E. Shantung and the Shantung peninsula, N. E. Nganhui and N. Kiangsu N. of the Huai. The nobility-clan organisation comprised but a part of the people, only one indigenous clan, the clan *Feng* 風,² whose original seats were near Yen-chou-fu in Middle Shantung; with the exception of the peninsular and adjoining coast-tribes of Shantung and Kiangsu, they were very early overtopped mainly by members of groups I, 1, A and B.—The Princes of the Lai on the Shantung peninsula evidently accepted successively the clans Tse (I, 1, D) and Kiang (I, 2, A; the clan of the earlier princes of Ts'ü).

² Advanced as an hypothesis in my contribution to the Hirth Anniversary Volume. A number of other arguments will be treated in the 2nd part of this treatise, when the seats of the I in Shantung will be discussed in order to substantiate the assumption of the Feng clan belonging to the I proposed there, which may, therefore, pass as ascertained.

IV. *South Eastern Barbarians of the Indo-Chinese¹ Group.*²

1. The *Shu* 舒. Original seats: Middle Nganhui round about Lü-chou-fu and the Ch'ao-hu. No nobility-clan; in historic time overtopped by I, 1, A.
2. The *Wu* 吳 (*Kou-wu* 勾 |). Original seats: Plains S. of the Yang-tse mouth, i. e. in S. Kiangsu, S. E. Nganhui and adjacent portions of N. Chehkiang. The ruling family accepted the clan of the Chou dynasty (VII, 1).
3. The *Yüeh* 越 (*Yü-yüeh* 於 |). Original seats: Middle and S. Chehkiang coast and farther south along the Chinese coast in a length not yet determined by me. A kindred, though tribally strongly differentiated population apparently inhabited also Fuhkien, E. and S. Kiangsi, S. E. Hunan, Kuangtung and E. Kuangsi. Furthermore Tongking and Annam stood very near, at least politically [as between 473 and 333 the old Wu (S. Kiangsu and parts of S. and E. Nganhui, N. Kiangsu and the coast of S. E. Shantung]. As, surely, Austric languages dominated here, it will be difficult to settle the boundaries between this whole group and the Austric family (I remark—according to the newest results found by Conrady of kindred origin with the Indo-Chinese); perhaps (as assumed already, by Chavannes) the whole group must be counted as among Austric, or at any rate it must be taken as an open question (thus Conrady. That, on the other hand, their region, including 2, is—as a whole—nearly congruent with the domain of the modern so-called "South Chinese Dialects" must not be forgotten). The royal family of the north eastern kernel-state accepted the Hia clan (I, 2, C). Chinese colonisation had, to the end of the 3rd century B. C., only taken hold of the northern part.

¹ This is, however, not quite sure; cf. the statements of the following note.

² Groups IV—VII appear to have been formed from a geographical point of view, but—as far as I can see—they also reflect ethnical groups of large dimensions.—I give the subdivisions with greatest reserve; for the linguistic material on hand, very scanty till now, does not suffice for making definite statements whether they morphologically correspond with the subdivisions of I and II or represent units of a superior order (perhaps as I—III themselves). As far as I can see, we shall have to see such a group at least in Yüeh (without detriment to their possible Austric progeny), considering the enormous area covered by them.

Whether 2 and 3 have developed an indigenous clan (clan *Li* 釐, ancestor Ti Hung, Tsin-yün), I cannot tell yet.

V. *South Western Barbarians of the Indo-Chinese Group.*

1. *Yung* 庸 and relatives. Original seats: mountains of W. Hupeh and on Middle Han River. No indigenous clans known.—Also the *Yü-fuh* 魚復 about K'uei-chou-fu, N. E. Sze-ch'uan are reported to belong to them.
2. The *Pa* 巴. Centre of location: S. E. and E. Sze-ch'uan and the southwestern neck of Hupeh, S. of the Yang-tse. The royal family accepted the Chou clan (VII, 1); but several indigenous clans are known too. The original seats, at least those of the ruling family seem to lie in S. E. part (I-shui region, *Lin*). Near relation to the *Puh* 濮 in the Tung-t'ing region seems highly probable.
3. The *Shuh* 蜀. Original seats: Middle Sze-ch'uan about Ch'eng-tu-fu, thence the neighbouring Upper Han Valley. (The nucleus: Ts'an-ts'ung-ch'eng, Yü-fu-ch'eng, P'i, is entirely in the plains of Ch'eng-tu-fu). The royal family belongs to the Sze-clan (I, 2, C) or at least claims this origin.

VI. *Western Barbarians of the Indo-Chinese Group.*

1. *Küan-jung* 犬戎 and relatives. Original seats: Upper Wei Valley. In the beginning of the 8th century B. C. they took possession of the Wei Valley Plains, but their states were destroyed by the Ts'in towards the end of the same century. From the 7th to the 5th century a detached part lived in the mountains S. and S. W. of Ho-nan-fu and—mixed with VII, 4—in the Tan-kiang Valley. They consider themselves related to I, 2, A. (Descending from members of the group II, 1, forced to settle there?)
2. The *Kiang* 羌. Original seats: Middle, W. S. and S. E. Kansuh and adjacent parts of N. Sze-ch'uan. Sinified in the S. E. parts only, the rest being merged in the modern Tibetans. Informations about the social organisation of this people are found in HSh, chap. 87 (lieh-chuan 77).

VII. North and North East Barbarians, originally probably not Indo-Chinese, sinified before the 3rd century B. C.¹

1. The *Chou* 周. Clan *Ki* 姬. Original seats: Lower Ma-lien-ho, Middle King-ho and the plateau on the Ts'ih and Tsü in N. E. Kansuh and W. Shensi. Holders of the Chou dynasty.

Probably pertaining to them: the *Mih-süih* 密須 about Ling-t'ai, perhaps also the *Hü-chi* 烏氏 about King-chou in E. Kansuh, and some lesser tribes (*Li-jung* 驪戎 among others).—Of Turkish origin?

2. The *Ngü-k'ü* 義渠. Seats: Ma-lien-ho Valley, evacuated by the Chou. Clan unknown.
3. The *Chu-no* 朝那. Original seats: around P'ing-liang-fu in E. Kansuh. Clan unknown. May be related to 2.
4. The *Tih* 狄. Original seats: Highlands of Middle and N. Shensi, N. of the Wei Valley Plains and neighbouring regions E. of the Ho in W. Shansi. Part of them emigrate in the 7th century B. C. and seize upon S. E. Shansi, S. W. and Middle W. Chihli and N. E. Honan. (A portion, the kingdom of *Chung-shan* 中山, old *Sien-yü* 鮮虞—around Ch'eng-ting-fu—Pao-ting-fu in Chihli—existed till about 300 B. C. here though after 408 under foreign rulers).—Clans: *Kuei* 隗 and *Ts'ih* 漆 (the latter the clan of the tribe *Sou-man* 鄆瞞 which probably had left before).
5. North Shensi and North Chihli tribes presumably Tungusian: Old name: *Meh* 貉, 貉, since the Chan-kuoh time *Hu* 胡 (*Tung-hu* 東 胡) dominating: In the west (Shansi about 38° n. lat. and adjacent Chihli) about the middle of the 1st millennium B. C. the *Lou-fan* 樓煩, *Tan-lin* 澹林, and *Tai* 代 become conspicuous. The states of *K'iu-yü* 仇由 and *Pan-wu* 般吾 (in the region of Yü-hien—P'ing-shan-hien, S. of the Upper Hu-t'ö) must rather be added here than to 4.—In the east the group *Ku-chuh* 孤竹—*Wu-chung* 無終—*Ling-chi* 令支—*T'u-ho* 屠何 in the region of Yung-p'ing-fu—Chao-yang-fu, border line between Chihli and S. W. Manchuria, is paramount. It has old relations to China (as presumably also

¹ This group has been arranged from a geographical point of view. The boundary line between the Turkish and Tungusian families cannot yet be exactly drawn.—Further it is not impossible, that also some tribes of Indo-Chinese origin have been absorbed by the lower groups.

the neighbouring *Chao-sien* 朝鮮 [*Fah-chao-sien* 發 朝鮮]: Liaotung, N. W. Corea) and has apparently been sinified already in the 4th century B. C. No indigenous clans known. Ku-chuh is reckoned with I, 2, A—I suppose wrongly. (The most ancient dynasty of Chao-sien claims to descend from a Shang prince.)

Abbreviations

(cf. the index of quoted authors and works)

- BA = The Annals of the Bamboo Books, *Chu-shu ki-nien* (V)
 Ch. Cl. = The Chinese Classics by Legge (contains V, VII, LVI, LXXXVI, LXXXIX and CVIII)
 HHSb = Hou Han shu (XXVI)
 HK = Hou-ki, 後記 part of the Lu-shi (LII)
 KKCh = Kün-kuoh-chi 郡國志, Chap. 19—23 of the Süh Han shu (LXXI)
 KMK = Kuoh-ming-ki 國名記, part of the Lu-shi (LII)
 MAGW = Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien
 Mayers = W. F. Mayers, The Chinese Readers Manual, 2^o, Shang-hai-London 1910
 M. H. = Mémoires historiques de Sze-ma Ts'ien by E. Chavannes (translation of LXV and chap. 1—47 of LXXX)
 PWYF = P'ei-wen-yün-fu (LXIII)
 Ti-hing-chi = 地形志, chap. 106 of the Wei-shu (CXIV)
 TLCh = Ti-li-chi 地理志, chap. 28 (8) of the Ts'ien Han shu (CXI)
 TLKSh = Ch'un-ts'iu ti-li k'ao-shih (IX)
 T'ShTsCh' = T'u shu tsih-ch'eng (CIII)
 TWShK = Ti-wang shi-ki (XCVIII)
 Ts'HSb = Ts'ien Han shu (CXI)
 Tze-tien = K'ang-hi tze-tien (XLIII)
 Wedemeyer, Yao, Shun, Yü = A. Wedemeyer, Schauplatze und Vorgänge der chinesischen Geschichte gegen Ausgang des dritten und im zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend. I. Kapitel: Yao, Shun und Yü. Asia Major, 1922.
 Yung-cheng-shu = K'in-ting shu-king chuan-shuoh hui-tsuän (v. Legge, Ch. Cl. III/Prol., p. 201—202)
 WH Map = Karte zur Geschichte des Yao, Shun und Yü, v. A. Wedemeyer u. G. Haloun. Asia Major, 1922.
 Pr Map = Karte von Ostchina 1:1000000 der kartographischen Abteilung der Königl. Preußischen Landesaufnahme, 1901 ff.
 WCh'Map = „Wu-ch'ang-Karte“ (v. v. Richthofen, Atlas von China I, Vorerl. S. 2) = Huang-chao chung-wai yih-t'ung yü-tu (subhead Ta Ts'ing yin-t'ung yü-t'u). Revised edition. Wu-ch'ang 1863.

§ 1. The clans Yen, Ying and Ki¹ (of which the latter is closely connected with the Ying clan) all together trace their descent from the "emperor" Shao-hao. The enquiry into the historical value of this figure consequently must become the natural starting point of a general investigation of the fraternity; for it is to be expected that the most ancient conditions will be found with the genealogical representative of their one-time unity.

§ 2. Shao-hao's historical position can now be considered as anything but certain; the high degree of unsteadfastness is shown, however, by the bare fact that no fewer than eleven names² are attributed to him.

Now these names are, for the predominant part only comprehensible from the functions of their bearer in a cosmological system; they therefore prove that Shao-hao had such functions; indeed the most important name of this figure "Shao-hao" itself, which means "little splendour", cannot be historical (but belongs to the terminology of the historically stated cosmology, as is proved by the following) since it would hardly be thought of independently but could well be under-

¹ It is impossible to give the transcription with absolute certainty, on account of the troublesome interchange of 己, 巳, and 卮, which occurs over and over again in Chinese prints; and there is corresponding uncertainty among the sinologues, whenever they have to deal with the name of this clan. Thus Legge favours the transcription *Sze*: in the explanation of Ch'un-t'siu 1, 2, 2 for Kū (Ch. Cl. V, p. 9) and at 7, 4, 1 for T'an (Ch. Cl. V, p. 296), but is not always consistent (Ch. Cl. V, p. 249, Col. II, l. 15-16, Shing Sze next to Shing Ke, I, 19, for the name of Princess 馨 | of Kū). Chavannes M. H. I, p. 34, n. 2 transcribes Ki (but writes 卮!), likewise Tschepe in Ap. II of the *Histoire du royaume de Tch'ou* p. 388 (in the translation of the chapter of the Jih-chi-luh referring to the subject); de Harlez in Koue-yu II, p. 99 transcribes Tze, which however is absolutely wrong. After some hesitation I have decided on Ki on account of the variant 紀 which is given throughout HK and KMK by Lo Pi on account of the Shi-pen. The clan is also inserted in T'ShTsCh' (XIV, 401) under 己, whereas a name of a clan 卮 does not occur there, and likewise the Tze-tien only knows 己 as the name of a clan. It must surely follow that there were two clans 己 belonging to different fraternities of which the one descended from Shao-hao comprises Kū and T'an while the other including the families K'un-wu, Su, Wen, Kuan, Tung and those who descended from them (cf. e. g. Kuoh-yü 16, (Cheng), 3a) goes back to Chuan-hüh. Whenever it is necessary to differentiate between them, the first named will hereafter be designated by the sign 紀 which for the time being will be written next to the name of the clan.

² 少昊; 白帝, 金天氏, 朱宣; 清 (清), 清陽 (清 |); 玄器; 質, 帝皐; 窮桑; 雲陽.

stood as an antithesis ("Gegenspieler") to a "great splendour", a T'ai-hao. This shows the direction the investigation will take. It is necessary first of all to grasp Shao-hao's place in the cosmological system and thus to achieve the basis from which it will be possible to separate the historical personality of the clan hero from the cosmological, extra historical figure. After eliminating the mythical portions this personality must be placed into its proper relation to recognised historical realities.

It has already been remarked above that the majority of the 10 cognomens of Shao-hao are the cognomens of a cosmological figure, in fact of a figure which, if we are to judge from the character of these names, must have fulfilled many functions within the system.

At this stage, after having determined these functions, the investigation must be amplified by the necessary trial to reestablish from them the cosmological unity which must be corresponding to the real genealogical unity already shown up, and to point out the tendencies which led to the disruption of it. On the other hand, this very rupture of the functions of Shao-hao forms the most favourable basis for an easier and more thorough insight into the structure of the pseudo-historical orders of the clan heroes, than could possibly be the case with any other figure; and thereby is given the possibility of finding a solution to one of the most important problems in the study of the clan and beyond it of Chinese history in general.

§ 3 A. But at any rate Shao-hao belongs to the multifarious orders which Chinese historiography places together in the schedule of the "three sublime ones" and the "five emperors". Therefore we have to make ourselves acquainted with these.

Arranged systematically they fall into the following groups:

三皇: A: —	B: T'ai-hao (Fuh-hi)	D: D ₁ : —	D ₂ : 天皇
—	Shen-nung (Yen Ti)	—	人
—	Huang Ti	—	地
五帝: A: T'ai-hao	B: Shao-hao	D: Fuh-hi (Pao-hi)	
Yen Ti	Chuan-hüh (Kao-yang)	Shen-nung	
Huang Ti	Ti K'uh (Kao-sin)	Huang Ti	
Shao-hao	Ti Yao (T'ao-t'ang)	Ti Yao	
Chuan-hüh	Ti Shun (Yü)	Ti Shun	

三皇:	C: C1:—	C2: Sui-jen (T'ai-yang)	C3: Chuh-yung	C4: Wu-huai
	—	Fuh-hi (T'ai-hao)	Fuh-hi	Fuh-hi
	—	Shen-nung (Yen Ti)	Shen-nung	Shen-nung
	C5: Fuh-hi (T'ai-hao)	C6: Fuh-hi	C7: Chu-siang	
	Nü-kua	Shen-nung	K'oh-t'ien	
	Shen-nung (Yen Ti)	Kung-kung	Yin-k'ang	
五帝:	Huang Ti			
	Chuan-hüh (Kao-yang)			
	Ti K'uh (Kao-sin)			
	Ti Yao (T'ao-t'ang)			
	Ti Shun (Yü)			

The following are mentioned as representatives:

A: Lü-shi ch'un-ts'iu, Yüeh-ling of Li-ki, Huai-nan-tse 5, 21 b—23 b (with 赤帝 instead of 炎 |).

B: Shu-king preface of K'ung Ngan-kuoh (acc. to Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 1, 1 a), Ts'HSh ch. 20 (8), Huang-fu Mih in TWSHK 1, 8 a¹, Su Che in the Ku-shi and Cheng Ts'iao in the T'ung-chi (both according to Ko Wei-k'i in the Shi-ki p'ing-lin, Shi-ki 1, 1 b), Lo Pi in the HK, the T'ung-kien kang-muh, since then official. (The same order of the san-huang is also to be found in the San-fen-shu: Fuh-hi—Shen-nung—Hien-yüan).

C1: Shi-pen (Shi-ki cheng-ngi loc. cit; T'ung-kien wai-ki 1/II, 28 b), the Ta Tai Li-ki ch. 7 (62) and from the latter Kia-yü ch. 5 (23); Shi-ki ch. 1².

C2: Fuh Sheng in the Shang-shu ta-chuan (Ko Wei-k'i in the Shi-ki p'ing-lin, commentary to San-huang-pen-ki, 1 a); Ts'iao Chou in the Ku-shi-k'ao; Chen Yao-tu (T'ung-kien wai-ki loc. cit.).

Variant 1: Fuh-hi—Sui-jen—Shen-nung in the Han-wen-kia-ki (PWYF s. v. 三皇 according to Feng-suh-t'ung).

¹ Quoted in the Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 1, 1 a. It must be granted that he also knows Nü-kua as 女皇 (1, 3 a according to a quotation in the Li-ki cheng-ngi and in the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan, ch. 78; cf. also v. 1. (考異), a quotation of the Hsi-tz'e cheng-ngi and the commentary to San-huang-pen-ki 2 b). But as far as the present fragments can be ascertained, it is certain that he does not count them, so that in any case Huang Ti belongs to the san-huang, which fact is decisive for the classification of his system.

² The order Huang Ti — Shun is already found in the same sequence in the Kuoh-yü 4 (Lu 1), 6 a—b; the absence of Shao-hao is decisive for its membership to system C (close to C6; see p. 93 note 5).

Variant 2: Fuh-hi—Shen-nung—Sui-jen in the system of Liang Wu Ti (T'ung-kien wai-ki loc. cit.)³.

C3: Li-hao-shi-ki in the Feng-suh-t'ung (Ko Wei-k'i, PWYF. loc. cit.) and the Peh-hu-t'ung (Ko Wei-k'i loc. cit.); Sung Kiün (Commentary to the San-huang-pen-ki 2 b).

Variant 1: Fuh-hi—Chuh-yung—Shen-nung in the Shantung sculptures (Chavannes, Sculptures sur pierre en Chine, pl. III and pp. 4—5)⁴.

Variant 2: Fuh-hi—Shen-nung—Chuh-yung in the Hiao-king (T'ung-kien wai-ki 1/II, 30 b).

C4: Kuan-tse 16 (50), 10 a-b (this chapter, is in my opinion, in the bulk interpolated at the time of Han Wu Ti); Shi-ki 28, 5 b—6 a (M. H. III, p. 423—23)⁵.

C5: Ch'un-ts'iu-yün t'ou-ch'u (in the Feng-suh-t'ung, Ko Wei-k'i, PWYF l. c.); Sze-ma Cheng in the San-huang-pen-ki; Cheng Hün⁴.

Variant: Fuh-hi—Shen-nung—Nü-kua Kao Yu in the commentary to Lü-shi ch'un-ts'iu 14, 1 b.

C6: Anonymous source in the T'ung-kien wai-ki 1/II, 28 b. In the table, Kung-kung is arbitrarily placed after Shen-nung, but could just as well be placed at the head instead of Fuh-hi⁵.

³ Here Shao-hao is reckoned among the wu-ti so that Shun falls out (among the 四代); that, of course, is wrong: Shao-hao has to be eliminated from the wu-ti in that case as with the ti-order of Cheng Hün (v. note 4).

⁴ According to the quotation cited in the PWYF, the Li-hao shi-ki should likewise really belong to this variant; unfortunately I was unable to look up the text of the Feng-suh-t'ung itself.

⁵ The order which has been transmitted follows: Wu-huai—Fuh-hi—Shen-nung—Yen Ti—Huang Ti—Chuan-hüh—Ti K'uh—Yao—Shun, i. e. an order of nine, in which however, Shen-nung and Yen Ti belong together, so that in reality it is only an order of eight.

⁴ The membership of Cheng Hün to this system is beyond question; in some details however, I do not see my way clearly; the commentary to San-huang-pen-ki 2 b asserts that Cheng Hün reckons Nü-kua among the san-huang on the authority of the Ch'un-ts'iu-wei, but makes no standard about the wu-ti order. This order runs according to Liu Shu (in the T'ung-kien wai-ki l. c. Cheng Hün assigns, as source, the Ch'un-ts'iu-yün t'ou-ch'u): Hien-yüan (Huang Ti)—Shao-hao—Kao-yang—Kao-sin—T'ao-t'ang—Yo-yü [san-huang: Fuh-hi—Nü-kua—Shen-nung]; it is quite clear that in this case Shao-hao springs from the wu-ti.

⁵ The passage Kuoh-yü 4 (Lu 1), 6 a—b decides the matter by mentioning the following sequence: Lieh-shan (Shen-nung)—Kung-kung—Huang Ti—Chuan-hüh—Ti K'uh—Yao—Shun; i. e. a sequence of seven, which can be brought up to the proper sum total by the addition of Fuh-hi (cf. also the order with Kung-kung in the Tso-chuan to Chao 17 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 665—66/67—68) which is, however, absolutely corrupt and finally Ts'HSh 21/II, 14 b—15 a).

C7: Obtained from Lü-shi ch'un-t's'iu 5, 10a-13a; the order transmitted is: Chu-siang—K'oh-t'ien—T'ao-t'ang. I have corrected the senseless T'ao-t'ang in the table to Yin-k'ang¹.

D1: Hi-tz'e-chuan to Yih-king (section 2, 1; Yih-king 3, 20a-b). Liu Shu, who immeasurably overates the authority of Hi-tz'e-chuan, has taken this system as basis of the (Tze-chi) T'ung-kien wai-ki, just as Wang Feng-chou has accepted it in the Kang-kien tsih-lan (Fries, Abriss der chin. Geschichte). The order also occurs Chan-kuoh-t's'eh 19 (Chao 2), 10b, but it must be left in suspense if it is meant being a system in that place.

D2: Hu Hung in the Huang-wang ta-ki (Ko Wei-k'i in the Shi-ki p'ing-lin to Shi-ki 1, 1b).

§ 3 B. A mere external comparison for the present (referring only to their shape) shows that the orders **D1** and **D2** are adjustments of systems **A** and **C1**: as a matter of course, they are to eliminate therefore from the further investigation. The orders **C2—C7** too prove to be secondary ones for they are obviously built up on analogous lines to **B**: the discrepancies in the san-huang (Sui-jen, Chuh-yung, Wu-huai, Nu-kua or Kung-kung are inserted quite clearly in place of the elsewhere needed Huang Ti, while **C7** seeks to avoid the rocks by the introduction of otherwise unknown names)² show quite sufficiently that this superstructure must be later than the substructure of the wu-ti which remained unchanged in every part

¹ The text is corrupt because 'Pao-tang' = Yao occurs once more in the same sequence. Its comparison to T's'HSk 20, 4a-b, T'WSk 1, 3a and the San-huang-pen-ki (M. H. I, p. 20) shows Yin-k'ang as the name, which must be inserted.

² Chu-siang, K'oh-t'ien (and Yin-kang) are first mentioned as far as I am aware in the passage of the Lü-shi ch'un-t's'iu referred to. The cult of Chu-siang and of Yin-k'ang can thus be fixed geographically. As regards Chu-siang, the neighbourhood of Cheh-ch'eng, a hien of the fu Kuei-teh in Ho-nan is owned by him. Old Cheh-ch'eng passes as the city of Chu-siang (Ho-nan-fu-chi in T'ShTsCh' VI, 391/I, 6b; cf. 396/III, 22a; older sources: Lo Pi in the Ts'ien-ki 9, 9b, T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-ki, quoted by K'iao K'o in the commentary to same and Liu Chao ibid.); the local chronicles give a temple and a grave of Chu-siang in old Ch'eh-ch'eng in T'ShTsCh' VI, 396/III, 31b, 395/II, 18a, (A grave of Sui-jen is also shown near Kuei-teh-fu, 2 li northwest of the city; Kuei-teh-fu-chi in T'ShTsCh' VI, 396/III, 22b-23a. Perhaps from this, Sui-jen belongs to the territory of the well known fire cult in Sung; as far as I know, he is first mentioned in Kuan-tse 23 (78), 5a, Chuang-tse 6 (16), 5a, (18), 22a and Han-fei-tse 19 (49), 1a-b). On the other hand Yin-k'ang belongs to the neighbourhood of Lin-t'ung—Si-ngan-fu, Shen-si, where his grave is shown (Ts'ien-ki 9, 10b).

and meant increasing the number of five in this order to the number of eight of the other system. A further reason for suspicion results from the fact that T'ai-hao is often not in the right place (**C2**, **C3**, **C4**, cf. the variants thereto which attempt to correct the disproportion) and becomes always meaningless through the absence of the opposing Shao-hao. Further utilisation of these orders must be out of the question as well and so **A**, **B** and **C1** are all that remains for the attempt at the reconstruction of the archetype.

§ 3 C. I am taking system **A** as the starting point of it for the postulate, hypothetical at present, that the order of the wu-ti altogether, and not only in this system where it has been positively transmitted, stands in a certain relationship to the general foundation of all the other speculative "orders of five", "the five elements" (or "the five corners of the world" which may be better in this case). That it did not result from history is proved by the changes in the figures already brought to light, whilst at the very outset the numbers which always remain unchanged throw suspicion on the cosmological origin of it.

(Among other things), within the five elements theory there is the following correspondence:

East	青 Blue (Green)	木 Wood (Jupiter, Spring)
South	赤 Red	火 Fire (Mars, Summer)
West	白 White	金 Metal (Venus, Autumn)
North	黑 Black	水 Water (Mercury, Winter)
Centre	黄 Yellow	土 Earth (Saturn, —)

Fitted in with this scheme are: first the 五神 or 五行之官. Their order will be treated fully in the second part of the essay³; close to them and, as should be mentioned at once, at the very beginning the only ones are: the wu-ti.

Within system **A** T'ai-hao corresponds to the east, Yen Ti (Ch'ih Ti) to the south, Huang Ti to the centre, Shao-hao to the west and Chuan-hüh to the north: i. e. here the wu-ti bear quite distinctly the character of the rulers of the corners of the world („Weltgegen-den-herrscher“).

³ There are individual figures from this order because of the establishment of a second younger 神 (佐) order, which occasionally also slipped into the wu-ti (Yüeh-tsüeh-shu (5), 4a).

§ 3 D. An analysis of the names of the *wu-ti* order of system **A** shows that these names cannot belong to one single stratum of tradition because the pairs T'ai-hao—Shao-hao, Yen Ti (Ch'ih Ti) —Huang Ti and the name Chuan-hüh show, in each case, other principles of construction.

Let us keep to the type of the "rulers of the corners of the world" and let us set out as a postulate that the system of the most homogenous nomenclature must be the oldest for that reason, which postulate will not be difficult to defend. We shall find as a corresponding order to these hypotheses, one of the *wu-ti* orders of the *Kia-yü*.¹ This order is first used, as far as can be traced for the designation of the gods of the planets at the time of the Han.² It calls the lords of the corners of the earth after the colours corresponding with them *i. e.* 青帝, 赤 |, 白 |, 黑 | and 黃帝.³

In consideration of the age problem, it may be remarked here that the combination of colours with the elements resp. the corners of the earth, must of course be as old as the theory of five elements itself. According to that, the 五色 [the five (!) colours] are the first to be found in the passage fixed as very old (Yü!) of the *Shu-king* 2, 4/1, 5 (Ch. Cl. III, p. 81). A few old passages not so well known may be mentioned here; for the positive combination of the five colours with the five elements: *Chou-shu* 3 (28), 9^a, *Meh-tse* 15 (69), 3^a⁵; for the positive combination with the corners of the earth: *Chou-shu* 5 (48), 8^a, *Meh-tse* 12 (47), 5b—6a [*Wen-tse* (7), 16b—17^a⁶ gives a most interesting old collection of orders

¹ This *Kia-yü* sequence is to be found in Lockhardt, *Manual of Chinese quotations* (Ch'eng-yü-k'ao), p. 41—43 (as I only had part of the Chinese text at my disposal, I am unable to give the original passage); it is, moreover, not quite intact, as instead of Ts'ing Ti T'ai-hao has been inserted, which has no meaning whatsoever.

² *I. e.* more exactly, in a later stage of development, for another sequence of probably foreign names is added to it; cf. Chalmers arguments in Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 97—98 (illustrated *ibidem*); on the age problem cf. p. 97.

³ Shao-hao's cognomen Peh Ti springs from this order and another cognomen, Chu-süan, from its further development in the Ho-t'u (cf. the Ho-t'u order by Pfizmayer, *Geisterglaube im alten China*, p. 4 of the Reprint; cf. the detailed treatment of the question in T'WShK 考異 2^a—b. The primary source of Chu-süan as a cognomen of Shao-hao might be Sun Kün, cf. *Chuh-shu t'ung-t'sien* 1, 8^a and K'iao K'o to HK 7, 5^a).

⁴ Although Conrady is of opinion that the *Chou-shu* chapter 3 (28) is no longer preclassical.

⁵ For the age of *Meh-tse* cf. p. 102 note 2.

⁶ For the age of *Wen-tse* cf. p. 102 note 3.

of five used cosmologically, from a still older source (中黃子)]. These passages prove the high antiquity of the "colour order" from the literary side, as well, for there was the possibility at any time that the rulers of the corners of the earth were named after the cosmical colours.

The Ch'ih Ti (Yen Ti) and Huang Ti of the *wu-ti* order of system **A** are therefore common to the "colour order" (Proto-A Sequence)¹. The divergences of the former from the latter consist of the following: 1. two opponent pairs (E. S.—W. N.) are introduced, led by T'ai-hao and Shao-hao, as figures with opposite names, and, in Huang Ti an indifferent element is put in between them; 2. T'ai-hao has supplanted Ts'ing Ti, and Shao-hao Peh Ti and 3. Chuan-hüh has supplanted Heh Ti.

It is very important that Huang Ti stands in the middle, for he could also end the order. At the end the element earth or its equivalent is to be found in: 1. *Chou-shu* 5 (48), 8^a, *Tso-chuan* Ch. Cl. V, p. 729/31 (五神 sequence), *Kia-yü* (the *wu-ti* order quoted p. 96 and the element order in 6 (24), 1 a): Wood, Fire, Metal, Water, Earth; 2. *Shu-king* 5, 4, 5 (Ch. Cl. III, p. 325), *Chou-shu* 3 (28), 9 b: Water, Fire, Wood, Metal, Earth; 3. *Shu-king* 2, 2, 9, (Ch. Cl. III, p. 56 = *Tso-chuan*, Ch. Cl. V, p. 247/50), *Wen-tse* (9), 23 a [cf. (12), 28 b]: Water, Fire, Metal, Wood, Earth; 4. *Wen-tse* (8), 17 a, b, and *ibid.* (12), 28 a, *Luh-t'ao* 2 (28), 7 a, *Peh-hu-t'ung* 2, 1 a: Metal, Wood, Water, Fire, Earth; 5. *Yüeh-tsieh-shu* (5), 4 a: Metal, Water, Wood, Fire, Earth².

The introduction of the name "Chuan-hüh" points to a higher standard of corruption of the archetype, because Chuan-hüh is not a cosmological name as T'ai-hao and Shao-hao still are. The neglect of the "Black" with Lü Puh-wei especially could probably be explained by the fact that the Ts'in only brought sacrifices to the white, blue, yellow and red "emperor" (cf. M. H. III, p. 449; for the establishment of the various sacrificial places,

¹ It must be emphasized that in all systems the names Huang Ti and Yen Ti (Ch'ih Ti) are the primal ones compared with those of the personalities identified with them. Hien-yüan, Yo Hiung, Tsin-yün and Ti Hung have hardly ever succeeded in supplanting Huang Ti; and in the older writings Yen Ti is used for Shen-nung to a much greater extent, and also denotes another figure in Ch'ü-yü, that has never been merged fully into it (cf. p. 104—105). With all this, both names are probably quite explicable from the colour order which fact represents another proof of the primitiveness of the latter.

² For the cosmological proper meaning of the sequences cf. Forke, *Lun-heng* II, p. 469—72. The Lü-shi ch'un-t's'iu sequence with Huang Ti in the middle (the colour sequence *Kuan-tse* 14 (41), 15b—16a corresponds also to it) is characterised in *Huai-nan-tse* 3, 21a and often in the *Ch'un-t's'iu fan-lu*, especially ch. 13 (59) as that in which the elements follow and produce each other (in the course of the seasons).

M. H. III, p. 419-20, 423 and 429)¹.—How strongly Chuan-hüh's character is determined by his cosmological function, can be best inferred from this little feature that he, like his Near-Eastern and Mexican counterparts has also to do with the crossways (vide Huai-nan-tse 11, 6 b: 帝顓頊之法婦人不辟男子於路者拂於四達之衢).

§ 3 E. After analysing sequence **A** let us now compare it with **B** and **C**. With **B** we see a part of the old wu-ti connected with the five elements (the five points of the world)—while maintaining the sequence of system **A**—pushed into the san-huang order (even with retention of the title 帝!) and the gap in the Ti sequence filled up with personalities either genealogically or historically important, who therefore are in no way originally connected with any one of the points: i. e. san-huang: T'ai-hao (Fuh-hi) E.—Yen Ti (Shen-nung) S.—Huang Ti centre; wu-ti: Shao-hao (Peh Ti) W.—Chuan-hüh (Kao-yang, Heb Ti) N.—Ti K'uh—Yao—Shun.

Later on, K'uh, Yao and Shun are also found correlated to parts of the elements sequence, but the correspondents are of necessity only reiterations of its first three components, for we are consequently obliged to see a subordinate development in these proceedings. In spite of this the process of this secondary combination with the elements is very interesting and not unimportant for the criticism of the wu-ti, because it spreads beyond Shun to reliable historical dynasties. The normal order as given e. g. Ts'HS 21/II, 15 b seq. is the following: Ti K'uh—wood—blue; Yao—fire—red; Shun—earth—yellow; Hia—metal—white; Shang—water—black; Chou—wood—blue; Ts'in—fire—red. An older example is in Lü Puh-wei, Lü-shi ch'un-ts'iu 13, 5a-b: Huang Ti—earth—yellow; Yü—wood—blue; T'ang—metal—white; Wen-wang—fire—red; reserved for the Dynasty which should be the following: water—black (as a matter of fact Ts'in Shi-huang-ti recognised water as his element, the 10th month as the beginning of the calendar and black as the Dynasty colour, Shi-ki M. H. II, p. 129—130, Ts'HS 25/I, 5 b and TWSHK 6, 1 a)². Of no less interest for the relation of the san-huang to the wu-ti are the further constructions: 五帝—三王 and 三王—五伯 (| 霸), of which the former is first mentioned by Wen-tse (2), 4 a; (7), 16, and (12), 28 a, Yin-wen-tse (2), 7 a, Chuang-tse 6

¹ The system of four of the Shan-hai-king: Kou-mang—Chuh-yung—Juh-shou—Yü-kiang (instead of Huan-ming) is fundamentally different from this.

² These speculations have also produced that colour order which as the only one, as far as I know, deviated from the general rule in respect of its correlates in the sequence of the elements, viz. in Kia-yü 6 (24), 2b—3a: Yao—fire—yellow; Shun—earth—blue; Hia—metal—black; Shang—water—white; Chou—wood—red.

(17), 9 a, Kuei-kuh-tse (4), 4 b, Hoh-kuan-tse 3 (12) 1 a¹, Han-fei-tse 19 (49), 9 a and more often in Lü-shi ch'un-ts'iu, and the latter, not taking into account the interpolated passage in Kuan-tse 20 (64), 15 b likewise first by Wen-tse (7), 16 a. Here also the numbers only are constant, so that the orders are unhistorical (That will say they are not engendered by the very real historical conditions though they may avail themselves of historical realities). Thus e. g. in Meh-tse 2 (9), 9 a and 12 (47), 2 b is to be found: 昔者三代聖王堯舜禹湯文武者是也 or 8 (31), 6 b: 昔者虞夏商周三代之聖王, or again 9 (37), 9 a, and 13 (49), 1 a: 昔者三代聖王禹湯文武 and again for the ordinary order of the wu-peh (pa) (Mayers, p. 336)²: T'si Huan-kung—Tsin Wen-kung—Sung Siang-kung—Ch'u Chuang-wang—Ts'in Muh-kung. Meh-tse 1 (3), 6 a [cf. Lü-shi ch'un-ts'iu 2/III, 11 a—b] gives: T'si Huan-kung—Tsin Wen-kung—Ch'u Chuang-wang—Wu Hoh-lü-wang—Yüeh Kou-t sien-wang, while from Hoh-kuan-tse 3 (16), 12 b (cf. 3 (12), 1 b, 5 a and (13), 7 b) the following order can be recognised: Ts'in Muh-kung—Ch'u Chuang-wang—Tsin Wen-kung—Yüeh Kou-t sien-wang—T'si Huan-kung, which order is also absolute for Han-fei-tse (cf. 3 (10), 13 b; 4 (14), 23 a; 5 (18), 11 b; 7 (22), 25 a, 28 a; 15 (37), 13 b; 16 (38), 5 b, (39), 11 a, 14 a, 15 b; san-wang wu-pa mentioned 20 (51), 4 b; wu-peh resp. wu-pa 15 (37), 14 a and 16 (39), 11 b).

Order **C** 1 turns out essentially to be the latest for it has only two of the old five rulers of the corners of the world (Huang Ti and Chuan-hüh) and of these Huang Ti is evidently in a wrong position and stands instead of Shao-hao, as the system would require (cf. also § 3 K at the end).

To conclude, the orders **B** and **C** 1 presuppose order **A**, as orders **C** 2—**C** 7 that of order **B**, and consequently their relative age can be fixed provisionally in the formula **A**→**B**→**C**. Order **A** itself has attained the correspondence with the five elements in a preceding "colour order" [Proto-**A**-(**P**-**A**)-Order] and the composition of the **P**-**A** order is logical and complete in itself.

§ 3 F. The antithesis of T'ai-hao—Shao-hao (which is of particular importance to us) in virtue of **A**, must be traced back to the antagonism of the groups E. S.—W. N. and from there it does not come out of the wu-ti. But it no longer belongs to the **P**-**A** order and thus, after all, must not necessarily belong originally to the scheme of the wu-ti.

¹ For the age of Hoh-kuan-tse cf. p. 102 note 1.

² Yin-wen-tse [(1), 6 b] seems to be the first to know this order, for which the fact decides that he reckons Sung Siang-kung among the wu-peh.

The ascertainment of this fact is of the highest importance, for we are then in a position to undertake a further reconstruction within the cosmological orders of the rulers of the corners of the world. If on the strength of A it were to be expected that the designation Ts'ing Ti had been due to Tai-hao—Fuh-hi (the transmitted Ruler of the East), we find that it is tied up in the most unexpected but convincing way to Shao-hao; T'ai-hao—Fuh-hi, on the contrary having only 天皇 (so TWSHK 1, 2a).

Shao-hao—T'ing Ti: Ts'HSK 21/II, 15a (from an older source): 少昊曰清, and just so the primary gloss to the BA, Ch. Cl. III/prol. p. 110. The oldest passage is likely Chou-shu 6 (56), 11a printed in the Pi-shu-nien-yih-chung—and in the Han-wei-ts'ung-shu edition: (帝)乃命少昊請司馬鳥師以正五帝之官. For 請 we possess the v. l. 清 through the quotation of the passage in the commentary to Shan-hai-king 14, 1b and HK 7, 1a; 清 is to be understood as belonging to the name, if 司馬 is to be taken verbally; in my opinion this should not create any difficulties and agrees with the interpretation of the passage by Chang Heng (cf. Shan-hai-king, commentary l. c., cf. also PWYF s. v. 清陽). The identification of Shao-hao with 青陽 (清 |) also belongs here. This figure plays an important part in the genealogical system (v. § 4) and is looked upon there as Huang Ti's son: Chang Heng HSH 59, 3b, BA primary gloss, l. c., TWSHK 2, 1a (cf. 考異 2b), Sung Chung after Sze-ma Cheng to Shi-ki 1, 7b, T'ung-kien wai-ki 1, 7b; Lo Pi HK 5, 22b and 7, 1a—b interpolates 青 as father of 青陽—Shao-hao between the latter and Huang Ti, as already the Ts'HSK, in its explanation of the above quotation considers Shao-hao—皐 as a descendant (子孫) of a son of Huang Ti named 清—清陽 (cf. as well the commentaries to Shi-ki 1, 7b, Kuoh-yü 10 (Tsin 4), 9a, Chuh-shu T'ung-tsin 1, 8b, Shan-hai-king 14, 1b, Lo Pi HK 7, 1a and T'ung-kien wai-ki l. c.).

The result of that is the following scheme (P-Order):

I. 天皇	— 太皞	1. 青帝	— 少皞
II. 人		2. 赤 (炎)	
III. 地		3. 白 (or instead of 4)	
		4. 黑 ² („ „ „ 5)	
		5. 黃 („ „ „ 3)	

¹ II and III can be interchanged as the order 天—地—人 is proved early enough by Chou-shu 2 (8), 3b (cf. 3 (28), 9b).

² Or 玄帝, as Chuan-hüh is called in Lo Pi HK 8, 2a.

The antithesis of T'ai-hao—Shao-hao, appears in that case to be firmly established by the function of the bearers of the names as leaders of the two groups san-huang and wu-ti; the nomenclature is thus much more obvious than if it had been motivated through opposite groups within the wu-ti, who through their connection with the five elements, would sooner be a unity, and less qualified for a split.

§ 3 G. The primitiveness of the scheme will be established if the reasons for shifting Shao-hao from the 青帝 of the order P to the 白帝 of systems A and B can be further cleared up.

I think I am in a position to do this; in 770 B. C. Siang of Ts'in, risen to the dignity of a prince of the Empire and appointed lord of the West Marches (西垂) erected the sanctuary Si (西 = West!) and offered up a sacrifice to Shao-hao as Lord of the West and as 白帝 (M. H. III, p. 419—20; cf. M. H. II, p. 15, n. 2 and I, p. 78, n. 1)¹. Ts'in Siang as a member of the Ying Clan traced his descent from Shao-hao and was the official representative of the kingdom in the west; these two elements seem to be sufficient to account for Shao-hao as Lord of the West, that is, as the ancestor of the prince of the west.

If the K'uan-jung be really descended from the San Miao and these latter in their turn trace their descent from Pan-hu, (which will be discussed more fully in the second part of this article) we shall be able to identify the figure which Shao-hao has supplanted (as Peh Ti). In all probability Pan-hu is identical with a 白帝, who was honoured especially in the territory of the Yang-tse-kiang rapids of E. Sze-ch'uan and W. Hu-peh; and, in a most characteristic manner it is not exactly a white dog, but a piebald one, thus likely a black and white one, if it is to correspond to the picture which Röck has drawn from parallel material outside Chinese sources as being applicable to the representative of the west in the old cosmic image of the Chinese (Sternglaube und Weltbilder der Tolteken als Zeugen verschollener Kulturbeziehungen zur alten Welt, MAGW LH (1922) p. 102 and in other places)². (I first find the white tiger mentioned as the representative of the west (with the blue dragon, red bird and dusky warrior for the other corners of the earth) in Hoh-kuan-tse 3 (17), 16b, *i. e.* in a text which in its present form must

¹ In Ts'in sacrifices were offered to 白帝 further in the following other places: in the sanctuary of Fu, for the first time by Wen in the year 756 B. C. (M. H. III, p. 420; cf. II, p. 16, n. 3) and in the sanctuary of Hui, for the first time by Hien in the year 374 B. C. (M. H. III, p. 429.)

² A white dog is the progenitor of the K'uan-jung, Shan-hai-king 17, 7a—b; Pan-hu is a dog with a coloured coat (其毛五采) HSH 86, 1a.

have originated about the year 240 B. C.)¹. Another presentation of the cosmical animals, which assigns five dragons coloured after the cosmical colours (*i. e.* a blue, a red, a white, a black and a yellow one) to the corners of the earth as cosmical animals, is preserved by Meh-tse in that interesting passage 12 (47), 5 b-6 a, written circa 400 B. C.)².

But if Shao-hao has effected this function then Tai-hao must of necessity fall back into the order of the wu-ti, take the place of Shao-hao—Ts'ing in the east and become the leader of the wu-ti *i. e.* system **A** is evolved.

The first testimony of Shao-hao as the predecessor of Chuan-hüh is to be found in the Tso-chuan, as the oldest source in this case in the year 525 B. C. (Chao 17, Ch. Cl. V, p. 666/67); the cognomen Kin-t'ien-shi (Lord of Metal-heaven (corner of the earth)) which must be traced from his function as lord of the west, is first verified in a passage to Chao 1, in 541 B. C. (Ch. Cl. V, p. 573/80); there are therefore about 200 years in which the above described development could have taken place.

A preliminary note on the antiquity of the san-huang—wu-ti-system. The san-huang—wu-ti are mentioned in the following old works: Chou-li (Biot, Tcheou-li, II, p. 119), Wen-tse (3), 6 b, (5), 9 b, (8), 17 a, (11), 26 b (san-huang only (1), 1 b; san-huang—wu-ti—san-wang (2) 4 a)³, Yang Chu in

¹ Ch. 3 (16) gives the discussion between P'ang Nuan (P'ang-tse of the text?) and King Tao-siang of Chao (244—236 B. C.). In 3 (12), 3a—b an episode is given (the history of Kih Sin) which took place in 242 B. C.; the final casting of the work must, however, have taken place shortly after 240, as a passage of Hoh-kuan-tse (3 (13), 8 b is quoted in Han-fei-tse (7 (23), 15 a—b), who died in 233 B. C. (Parts of the text are repeatedly quoted by authors of the second century B. C., *e. g.* very often by Kia Ngü).

² The nucleus of the work must have already been in existence at the time of King Hui of Ch'u (488—432 B. C.) [v. 12 (47), 1 b], while another part must have been written down later, as for example ch. 13 (49) which must have been written just before 412; at the time of Han-fei-tse, the followers of Meh Tih were already divided into three schools [19 (50), 13 b—14 a].—While reading the proof sheets, I was in a position to examine the translation of Meh-tse, since published by Forke (*Mé Ti, des Sozialethikers und seiner Schüler philosophische Werke*; Berlin 1922, Mitt. Sem. für orient. Sprachen, Beiband). As I see that Forke has come to the very same results in general with regard to the age of Meh Tih, I can abstain from sifting some details which ought still to be discussed.

³ Wen-tse, however, is perhaps a pupil of Lao-tse himself, which fact is expressly mentioned in the work (5), 10 a) in Wen-tse's discourse with King P'ing of Ch'u (528—516 B. C.). Unfortunately, this text, which must become so important for the future Lao-tse interpretation, does not seem to be entirely free from interpolation (in

Lieh-tse 7, 9 a—b (Wilhelm, *Lü dsi*, p. 88) and Lieh-tse himself, 4, 3 b (Wilhelm, p. 41), Chuang-tse 5 (14), 26 a, 29 b, (29 a twice falsely 三王 instead of 三皇), as well as in the Lü-shi ch'un-t'iu, the system of which is constructed strictly on the wu-ti, 7, 8 b and 14, 1 b; further Luh-t'ao 2 (28), 7 a knows the san-huang, and Chou-shu 6 (54), 5 a, Kuan-tse 6 (17), 14 a, Hoh-kuan-tse 2 (9), 14 a (cf. § 5 A to the 九皇 of this author), and K'ang-ts'ang-tse (acc. to T'ung-kien wai-ki 1/II, 26 a: 明皇—聖帝) know the climax ti—huang (devoid of numbers).

Now it is quite true that the textual transmittance of most of these works is at present not so examined as it might be.⁴ We have, of course, to reckon with apocrypha and interpolations, but I must most emphatically enter a warning against so radical a criticism as that of Liu Shu, who having based his remarks on K'ung Ying-tah, declares in a treatise of T'ung-kien wai-ki (1/II, 24 ff) that all these passages have been interpolated. Once their unhistorical character is ascertained, we get the orders wu-ti—san-wang and san-wang—wu-peh(pa) as an indirect proof of the existence of the order san-huang—wu-ti for they are analogous formations to it, and thus to the literature already enumerated can be added Meh-tse, Kuei-kuh-tse, Yin-wen-tse, Han-fei-tse and the Chan-kuoh-ts'eh; as compared with the writings of K'ung-tse, Lao-tse, Ts'eng-tse, Tung-tse, Shen-tse, Teng-sih-tse, Wu-tse and Wei-liao-tse⁵, they form only a fraction but they

(8), 19 b Meh Tih is mentioned next to K'ung-tse!), but it is quite out of the question in view of the numerous passages concerning the san-huang—wu-ti (in addition to those concerning the wu-ti—san-wang, san-wang—wu-peh; for those v. p. 98/99) that just these should have been interpolated. For textual criticism of the work cf. v. d. Gabelentz in *Ber. d. Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. W., phil. hist. Cl.*, Leipzig 1887.

⁴ In connection with the Chou-li passage especially, Schindler, "Priestertum im alten China" I, p. 73 in discussing this work has stood up for its age. To be sure he does not bring forward the happiest arguments: his conception of Chalmers' notes rests on a misunderstanding, as well as his three Chinese quotations.

⁵ Leaving the Shu-king, Shi-king, Yih-king and the Ch'un-t'iu aside, in spite of Liu Shu's assertion, none of these authors mentions either the san-huang or the wu-ti and san-wang. The complete order which is given by him l. c. 26 a, runs as follows: Lao-tse, Ts'eng-tse, Tung-tse, Shen-tse, Teng-sih-tse, Yin-wen-tse, Sun-tse, Wu-tse, and Wei-liao-tse. Of these I have only been able to verify Lao-tse, Shen-tse, Yin-wen-tse, and Sun-tse as the other four texts were not at my disposal, with the result that Yin-wen-tse who mentions the wu-ti—san-wang (v. p. 98 and cf. p. 99 n. 2) and Sun-tse who, 9, 10 (according to Giles' division in his translation of Sun-tse p. 84) mentions the battle of the 黃帝 against the 四帝 have to be eliminated. The result of this is that the reliability of the reference of Liu Shu for the other texts as well, comes into question; more particularly as also those for Wen-tse, Kuei-kuh-tse and the Lü-shi ch'un-t'iu are insufficient, and his literary proofs in general are also not satisfactory, for a number of works of the period in question, which have been still preserved, *e. g.* K'ung-sun-lung-tse or Shi-tse, are not even considered by him. (Under such circumstances it is

require careful consideration within the literature out of the first millennium B. C. which was still in existence after the Burning of the Books.

Considering the eminently fragmentary character of the pre-classical works which have been preserved, especially of the Shu-king, it is therefore no longer possible to work in this case with the argumentum ex silentio; the more so as the order of the san-huang—wu-ti can be put together without any difficulty from larger classical works, as for example from the Tso-chuan—in spite of Sün-tse 3, 6 a—b—even though the system san-huang—wu-ti is not mentioned. On the other hand the purely speculative philosophical character of authors as Lao-tse, Shen-tse or K'ung-sun-lung-tse justifies positively its non-mentioning, and the same holds true for works on special subjects, such as Wu-tse's or Wei-liao-tse's Art of War, or the Ch'un-ts'iu Chronicle. After all, the radicalism of the philological criticism of Liu Shu is, surely, very narrowminded, if he repudiates a whole work because of one interpolation, without considering the rest of its contents or even wishing to approach the material points of view—although one cannot help being sympathetically affected by the critical spirit of this famous historian.

An investigation based on material criticism and executed in the bulk on strictly philological lines has led to a date, between 770—550 B. C., in which the P order was changed into the order of the system A (as far as I know no Chinese historian has attempted to reconstruct the archetype of the san-huang—wu-ti orders, in spite of their striking discrepancies). This, therefore, places the P order chronologically quite definitely before this period.—That this statement is correct will be proved hereafter by the derivation of the ti order of System C from B←A, which will follow from the genealogical system and for which I would refer the reader to § 3 K and finally to § 18.

The reconstruction of the archetype has given a number of eight for the order of the rulers of the corners of the earth, while the order A which by comparison of orders A—D has been proved as relatively the oldest, is a typical order of five. Therefore it seems to me to be desired greatly to produce further proofs of the primitiveness of the number eight for the rulers of the corners of the earth.

To commence with Chinese material: the figure of 炎帝 of the present systems falls quite openly into two personalities in olden times, namely Shen-nung and Ch'i-yu. If the designation Yen Ti originally belonged to

particularly unfortunate that I had no opportunity of examining the originals of a number of works quoted by him (besides the above mentioned works especially: Shang-tse, Yeu-tan-tse and Sze-ma Fah).

Ch'i-yu, then Shen-nung originally belongs to another order which can only be that of the san-huang; this is not at all improbable because the battle of Huang Ti with Yen Ti seems to have been referred exclusively to him and not to Shen-nung, and it is certain since only he bears the character of the god of war (cf. Shi-ki 28, 9 b, = M. H. III, p. 432) while Shen-nung bears that of an agricultural hero. The connection between 神農 and 地皇 is however quite obvious.

For a logical investigation of the material, it will be necessary to make use of the results of the research in comparative mythology, even though they have mostly been gained from extra-Chinese material. Firstly these researches have shown¹ that the numbers 5 and 8 are most closely connected, for both originate in the Venus calendar². Since in such a case both numbers belong to the same calendarical (and therefore to the same cosmological) system, it is not unimportant to me that pertinent investigation is inclined to allow a higher antiquity to the system of eight than to that of five. Röck writes, l. c. p. 83: ". . . So weit wir bisher zu erkennen vermögen, stellt die Venusrechnung mit Achterwoche und Maltermonat³ eine ältere Kulturschicht dar als der Venuskalender mit Koppelung von Fünfer- und Siebenerwoche bzw. mit alleiniger Verwendung der Fünferwoche." That agrees with the results I have obtained in so far as they require the priority of the origin of the system of eight over the system of five in the ranks of the Chinese rulers of the corners of the earth, and also justifies them on a broader basis.⁴

¹ Authoritative on this problem are the three articles: F. E. Weidner, Die astronomischen Grundlagen des Venusjahres; F. Bork, Das Venusjahr, and W. Schultz, Das System der Acht im Lichte des Mythos und der mythenhaltigen Überlieferung, which appeared in Memnon IV (1910), p. 29 ff., 83 ff., 111 ff.; to these may be added as a new and comprehensive work on the subject the article by F. Röck in the MAGW which is quoted on p. 101.

² The meaning of it rests on the equation: five synodic Venus periods (2920 days) = eight solar years (2920 days).

³ That is the month lasting 32 1/2 days of the Venus reckoning; kleiner Maltermonat, mala-ināsa.

⁴ I have purposely abstained from following up—from the cosmological side as well as from interpreting—the P order ascertained as the archetype of the systems A—D, and have allowed it to stand in the form which splits the 8 into 5 + 3, which is hardly the oldest, because that seemed to me the *certainly* oldest attainable stage of the Chinese order of eight rulers.

The 八方 of the Chou-shu 5 (47), 5 b, the 八極 in Hoh-kuan-tse 1 (4), 7 b, 9 b, 2 (10), 17 a, as well as the 八風, for example in the same author 2 (11), 17 a, 25 a, and similar, may make it possible to continue the investigations from the standpoint of Chinese tradition. A further distinct East Chinese eight ruler order has been preserved

§ 3H. Compared with system **A**, system **B** represents a re-establishment of the archetype, in so far as it shows again an order of eight and in so far as T'ai-hao and Shao-hao resume their old places. Yet, this Shao-hao is not the Ts'ing Ti of the **P** order but the Peh Ti of system **A**, and thus in accordance with its inner character, system **B** is the prototype of the latter orders wu-ti—san-wang; *i. e.* the orders of three and five which are supplementing one another to the order of eight are detached from each other in wrong place, after Huang-ti instead of after Chuan-hüh, as ought to be the case according to the historical development.—On the whole, system **B** is merely only a throw back of system **A** into the form of the archetype, whose essence *i. e.* the original cosmological meaning was no longer recognised; thus we have an order to the cosmological component of which must have been added such of another kind.

§ 3J. Now this component is given in the fusion of the old rulers of the corners of the earth with the clan heroes; the system **A** was already exposed to it; in § 3G, the transformation of the **P** order into the order of system **A**, which owes its rise to the

in the Shi-ki (28, 9a—10a=M. II. III, p. 431—35), but it is corrupt to a high degree: Lord of the Heavens, Lord of the Earth, Lord of War, Lord of the Yin (=the dark, feminine principle), Lord of the Yang (=the light, manly principle), Lord of the Moon, Lord of the Sun, Lord of the four Seasons.

This may suffice for the time being, for if a far stretched investigation would not follow, there would be great danger of misunderstandings. A satisfactory investigation into the lore of numbers for Ancient China by a well equipped specialist is an urgent necessity and had to go far beyond a mere translation of the respective tracts. To substantiate another item of the Venus-Calendar viz. 52, we take at random two other "historical" dates: Ti Kueih—Kieh, the last (17th; 17 = 5 + 12) Emperor of the Hia reigned 52 years (so Standard-Chronology: 1818—1706; BA 30: 1589—1559), as also Shou-sin—Chou, the last (28th; BA: 30th) Emperor of the Shang (so BA: 1102—1050; Standard-Chronology 32: 1154—1122); its correlate, the number 73, (see below) I document by Kuan-tse 16 (50) = Shi-ki 28, 5^a — 7^a = TSHSH 25/1, 3^b — 4^b: "72 generations have already brought the sacrifices feng and shan; if Duke Huan should bring his (as 73rd), this would be perilous to him." [In Central America, everybody is known to have reckoned on the possibility of the end of the world, whenever this period [„Jahrbündel“, „siebentzigjährig“, the Maya-scientists' "Calendar Round", which period is brought about by uniting a solar year of 365 days with the "Tonalamatl"—52 × 365 = 18980 = 73 × 260 (*i. e.* 20 × 13)] came to an end—and this clears the situation in both cases.]

The meaning of the 8 which has been split into 3 + 5 within the constant numbers of the Mythos has been established by W. Schultz in the article mentioned above (v. p. 105 n. 1). It takes its rise in the week of the Venus month epagomena and corresponds therefore to the "Aryan" 3 (by which it is influenced) and the "Babylonian" 12.

shifting of Shao-hao from Shao-hao—Ts'ing Ti to Shao-hao—Peh Ti, was based upon the fusion of Shao-hao (Ts'ing Ti) with the hero of the Ying Clan, or in a wider sense of the fraternity Yen-Ying-Ki.

The most necessary particulars about the clan heroes are as follows: Fuh-hi (Pao-hi)—T'ai-hao is looked upon as the progenitor of the clan Feng, Shen-nung as that of the clan Kiang, Huang Ti as that of the clans Ki (姬)¹ and Kih (姁), Shao-hao as that of the fraternity Yen-Ying-Ki, Chuan-hüh as that of the fraternity Ki (己 + Tung)—P'eng (+ T'uh)—Yün—Ts'ao—Chen, and in addition to these of the clans Kuei and Yao connected with him through Shun and of the clan Sze connected through Kun-Yü. A separate position as is occupied by these three clans whose heroes have not been merged directly into the rulers of the corners of the earth, is occupied as well by the progenitor of the clan Tse (the clan of the Shang Dynasty), by Kao-sin the "father" of Hou Tsih (progenitor of the Chou clan Ki 姬) and by Yao (progenitor of the clan K'i 禘); in the following paragraphs (for the results see §§ 16—17) we shall have to occupy ourselves with the reasons for its independence. The clans of the south and southeast Chinese states (*i. e.* Hiung, Li, etc.) are attached to Huang Ti, so much so that their clan heroes (Yo Hiung, Tsin-yün, Ti Hung) have been merged with him into one person; an exception forms the clan Mi which took Chuan-hüh as its ancestor (in order to legitimise itself) at an earlier moment. Further, the dynasties of these states have, to some extent, adopted the clan of the Chou Kings, as for example Pa (巴 姬 Tso-chuan Chao 13, Ch. Cl. V, p. 644/50) or most likely also Wu; another part has been attached to other dynasties (*e. g.* clan Sze=Hia-clan in Yüeh and in Shu, to which surely he could originally belong; clan Tse among the Lai, etc.); similar conditions hold good for the northern and western neighbours of China in so far as they have been comprised within the genealogical system (thus for example, as far as the Hiung-nu are concerned they traced their descent from the Hia.)

As we have seen from § 3G, generally speaking the **P** order has given the basis for claiming historical authenticity of the rulers of the corners of the earth, and the order of system **A** has been the product

¹ As the ancestor of this clan he appears only secondary because of the setting up of the genealogical system, cf. § 3K.

of this process;¹ or if we wish to take into consideration the exceptional position of the clans of the Dynasties, (Kuei-Yao, Tse-K'i, K'i; Sze) the order of system B; most completely corresponds to it: the nine ruler order with which we shall be acquainted in § 5 A.

§ 3 K. The most striking modification which the order of the rulers of the corners of the earth has experienced during their metamorphosis into the pseudo-historical order of the clan ancestors has been that the rulers of the corners of the earth instead of being placed side by side in point of space, had to be turned into a coming one after the other in point of time as relative to ancestors of clans who must descend one from the other if the order should be supported at all; that means a vertical building up of the new *ti* order in the place of the horizontal one of the old order.

This process was the formative of the genealogical *system* which has come down to us.

This system has been built up on the preponderance of the Huang Ti on the one side and of the Chou clan Ki on the other. Huang Ti is looked upon as the progenitor of this clan and the following are also counted as belonging to it: Ts'ing-yang (Shao-hao) as Huang Ti's son, Chuan-huh as Huang Ti's grandson, and Kao-sin as the great grandson of Huang Ti; from the last named the genealogical tree of the Chou branches off from the "emperor order" through Hou Tsih.²—That this system cannot correspond to the historical conditions, is convincingly proved by the fact—should further proof still be considered as necessary—that we cannot point to a single state of the Ki clan in China proper, whose foundation goes back beyond the Chou invasion in the Shang kingdom *i. e.* about the

¹ There seem to be divergences among other clans. *E. g.*, as far as I can see at present, the ancestor of the clan Kiang, Shen-nung, is the figure which has already been handed with Ch'i-yu—Yen Ti, which we at the earliest meet in the order of system A, while Yen Ti—Ch'i-yu himself is no longer an independent clan hero. This again points to A as the basis for the historicification, and if needed, this system could be interpreted as the still purely cosmological adjustment order of the A and P orders. Without doubt the blending process took a long time, and it is not necessary to assume that it was regulated uniformly from one spot only.

² It is therefore superfluous to count Yao as belonging to the clan Ki (Chavannes in M. H. I, p. 42, n. 1 from a source not mentioned, and otherwise as far as I know only HK 10, 1 a). This certainly does not belong originally to the system and is nothing but a meaningless analogous construction. For Yao's real clan membership cf. § 16.

end of the twelfth century B. C.¹ But if in spite of this we find Huang Ti, the old ruler of the centre, bound up with the clan of a reigning dynasty and looked upon as the progenitor of other ancestral lords of clans, then, without forcing this fact, his preponderance in the genealogical system can only be explained by means of that veneration for the centre ("the navel of the world") which has its rises in the cosmological system and which must also have been connected with the theory of the five ends of the earth in China.

That Huang Ti *had to be* the starting point for each genealogical system is shown also just convincingly by his fictitious membership of the clan Ki as well as by the genealogical system which Wang Mang on founding the Dynasty Sin had ordered to be contrived and which is preserved in Ts'HSu 98, 1 a. Since he is descended from the T'ien, who as members of the clan Kuei trace their genealogical tree back to Shun, Wang Mang has had to make Huang Ti the progenitor and the genealogical links which connect him with them members of the Shun's clan Yao.

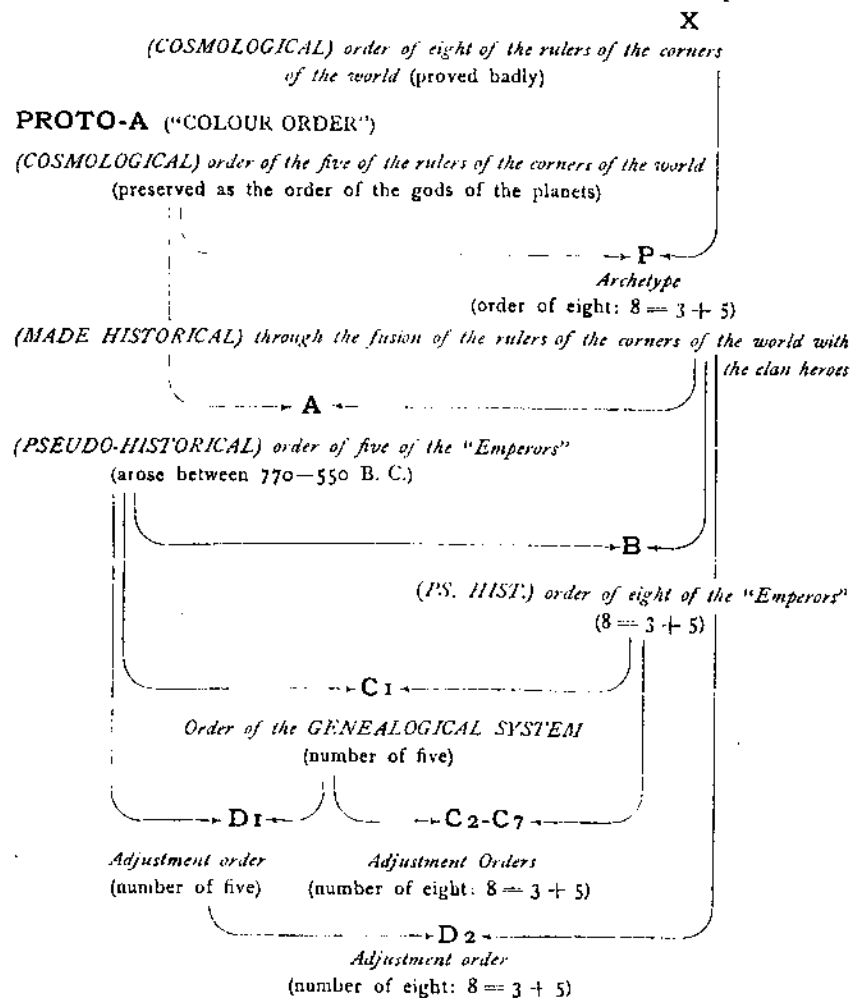
Here we have the key to the understanding of the order of system C. Since Huang Ti has now become a starting point for genealogical orders, it is but natural that the tendency should have arisen which allowed him to stand at the head of "History". Because Huang Ti owed his position as progenitor to his position in the middle among the other four rulers of the world, this tendency above all must have led to the fact of not being able to take notice of Fuh-hi and Shennung when setting up the new "emperor" order if it was desired to begin the order with Huang Ti. This could be done in a twofold way since there existed two historicized orders of the old rulers of the corners of the world, those of systems A and B. Either an order of three was established with Huang Ti—Shao-hao—Chuan-huh as the balance of the five *ti* of system A or an order of five was established putting Huang Ti at the head of the *wu-ti* of system B, which place was filled there by Shao-hao. If the latter way were adopted then Huang Ti had to come in collision with Shao-hao. That way was taken and Shao-hao evacuated his position; his disappearance from the *wu-ti* order is just the characteristic of the orders of system C; he became the son of Huang Ti and "did not come to the throne", so that he need not be counted and thus disturb the traditional order

¹ The early history of the Chou, however, will be treated with full particulars in § 8 and in the "Appendix" and the tradition subjected to appropriate criticism.

of five. Thus arose the order **C₁**, while **C₂—C₇** are adjustments of it and of the order of system **B**, as has been shown in § 3B.¹

§ 3L. Now that we have succeeded in tracing the last of the transmitted cosmological or pseudo-historical systems of the san-huang—wu-ti from the archetype disclosed, we are in a position to set up its genealogical tree.

The following table shows its condition of mutual dependence:²



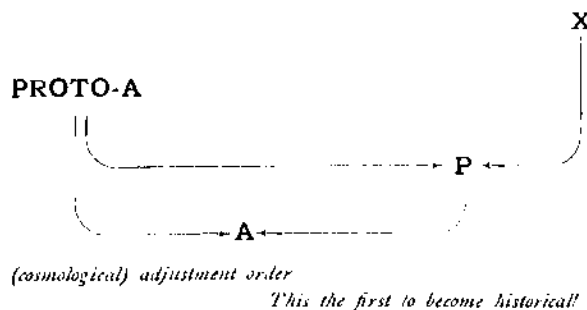
¹ Thus Shao-hao was also "in ill favour" among the Chou, to whom is to be ascribed the authorship of this genealogical system and according to this of order **C₁** of system **C**. (Ts'HSu 24/II, 15 a.)

² With reference to the arguments put forward p. 108 n. 1 for the present I would like to have open the possibility of the following scheme:

§ 4. The above analysis in § 3K of the order **C₁** has explained why (Shao-hao) Ts'ing-yang is not counted among the "emperors" in the orthodox historiography (on which for example the Shi-ki is dependent) and has simply remained a genealogical figure.

From the literature on Ts'ing-yang there still remains the investigation of a corrupt though ancient passage, Kuoh-yu 10 (Tsin 4), 7b—8a, which for all that has become particularly important for the building up of the genealogical orders, so that its interpretation has become directly the basic formula for the different varieties of the genealogical system.

However interesting it might be, after having shown the ground idea of the genealogical system, to become acquainted with the pedigree of the genealogical order in the same way as with the pedigree of the san-huang—wu-ti orders, I have resisted giving it at this point and would refer the reader to § 19 (second part of this work), because the results of this investigation, in so far as they concern above all Shao-hao are of importance for the assessment of the position of the clan Ki within the Shao-hao fraternity.



As already shown at that place the one scheme does not necessarily preclude the other; the membership to this or that variant will have particularly to be noticed from time to time during the investigation of each clan hero.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF CLAN SETTLEMENT IN ANCIENT CHINA I

Phratry Yen-Ying-Ki I
(Shao-hao)

By GUSTAV HALOUN

(Continued from page 111)

§ 5. Up to the present this investigation has been occupied with Shao-hao as a cosmological figure, but has shown at the same time that besides the cosmological component parts Shao-hao unites in himself another one, partly legendary partly historical which is evolved from his character as progenitor of a clan.

In accordance with this, six of the eleven cognomens of Shao-hao were shown to be cosmological and explained by means of various functions in the cosmological system; Shao-hao himself, then Ts'ing and Ts'ing-yang, Peh Ti, Kin-t'ien-shi and Chu-sūan. This list exhausts the cognomens which are directly cosmological. If we now turn our attention to the remainder, they seem to emphasize the value of the name Chih¹ as the nucleus for the further formation of the name.

¹ 藝 should be transcribed thus, taking into consideration the passage already quoted from Chou-shu 6 (56), 11 a: 乃命少昊濔司馬鳥師以正五帝之官。故名曰質。質和藝 are taken as equivalent by Lo Pi, HK 7, 1a: 少昊... 名質是為藝 and K'iao K'o to it: 質藝同, as well as by I Hing to Shan-hsi-king 14, 1b: 質藝聲相近. Now as a matter of fact 藝 in the phonetic form chi' (脂利切) is substituted for 質 (chi'), but both actually stand for 贊 (chi'), which already forms the transition in the written characters, but in its meaning is hardly sufficient for an explanation of the Chou-shu passage (執物以為相見之禮也與贊質通, Tze-tien s. v. 藝). We might expect "He who sets things to right", "He who completes", "He who is perfect", meanings which could also be derived for 質 (Tze-tien:

Chih is identified with Shao-hao in the Tso-chuan (Ch. Cl. V, p. 666/667) by the ruler of T'an who considers himself the former descendant (我高祖少皞), further in the Ts'HSb 21/II, 15; TWSbK 2, 1a, in the BA (Ch. Cl. III/Prol., p. 110), by Kuoh Poh in the Commentary to the Shan-hai-king 14, 1b, by Lo Pi, HK 7, 12 and by Liu Shu, T'ung-kien wai-ki 1/1, 35b. There is already a variant to this name in the Chou-shu (質, v. p. 587, note 1). Of these passages that in the Tso-chuan which is dated 525 B. C. and the considerably older one in the Chou-shu are among the very oldest mentioned at all.

This fact is of the greatest importance for the further course of the investigation, because here is at last an ancient proof of a name of Shao-hao which is not the result of cosmological functions but which, according to what has been asserted above, can be assumed to be the name of the progenitor of the clan, which name was (only secondarily) fused with that of the ruler of the corners of the world. At the same time a new problem arises, for besides Ti Chih Shao-hao we find another Ti Chih inserted into the genealogical system who is given as the son of Ti K'uh and brother as well as predecessor of Yao; *i. e.*, he is no longer inserted in cosmological surroundings (cf. § 3J).

Those who know Ti Chih as the son of Ti K'uh and brother of Yao are:—the Shi-pen (v. M. H. I, p. 40, n. 4), the Ta Tai Li-ki (7 [63], 11b), the Shi-ki (M. H. I, p. 41--42), the Ts'HSb (20, 10a, 11b), the TWSbK (2, 2b, 3a--b), one of the glosses of the BA (Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 111)¹, Lo Pi (HK 9/II, 18, 19b; v. I. 廣), the T'ung-kien

正也, 成也, cf. 信也 and 鵠正 | 皆在侯中也) but with the sound chit (之日切, 職日切). It must therefore have been absolute for the Chou-shu [cf. the definition of 質: 名實不爽曰 | in the lexicon of the posthumous names 6 (54), 8b; opposite (l. c. 9a) 名與實爽曰謬] and must also stand for 皞, which as a matter of fact should be pronounced Chit if a family name (姓) (Tze-tien: 又姓 . . . 職日切音質¹).

¹ The primary gloss to Ti K'uh—Kao-sin, in contradiction to the primary gloss of the Yao story (l. c., p. 112) which connects Yao directly with Kao-sin and a variance with the principal text which only knows Ti Chih once, *i. e.*, as Shao-hao (Chavannes (M. H. III, p. 659, n. 1), however, in his notes to the Tso-chuan, Chao (Ch. Cl. V, p. 621/23) has shown that this passage presupposes a chronology corresponding to that in the BA which reckoned nine years for the reign of Ti Chih, son of Ti K'uh; *i. e.*, it must have known him as belonging to the order of "Emperors."—The passage

kang-muh (de Mailla-Grosier, Histoire générale de la Chine I, p. 37); at the same time they all know him as the predecessor of Ti Yao (with the exception of the Shi-pen fragment and the Ta Tai Li-ki, which in this case have to be supplemented).—These sources fall into two groups according to their relation to Shao-hao. When maintaining the equation Shao-hao=Chih, the (Ti) Chih is counted as two in: the BA (Ch. Cl. III/Prol., p. 110 and 111)², the TWSbK (2, 1a and 3a--b) as well as the HK (7, 1a; 9/II, 19b); to these must be added the Ts'HSb and the T'ung-kien kang-muh, both of which know Ti Shao-hao as well as the Ti Chih=the son of Ti K'uh, without assigning the name Chih to Shao-hao (Ts'HSb 20, 7b and 11b; de Mailla-Grosier, Histoire générale de la Chine I, p. 29 ff., 42 ff.)². Finally all the works of this group know the equation Shao-hao=son of Huang Ti=Ts'ing-yang (not expressed in the T'ung-kien kang-muh, but to be assumed) and therefore belong to the system which is designated in § 3A as system B.—The other group is made up of the Shi-pen, the Ta Tai Li-ki and the Shi-ki; these works know Ti Chih merely as the son of Ti K'uh and brother of Yao; the Shi-ki also knows him as the predecessor of this emperor which in the case of the Ta Tai Li-ki and the Shi-pen may be supplemented accordingly without hesitation; on the other hand they do not know Ti Shao-hao but only Ts'ing-yang as the son of Huang Ti who did not ascend the throne; *i. e.*, they represent System C.

On the face of it, it is improbable that Ti Chih should be found twice in the group of "emperors" which is so very limited in number, the more so since he is only known once to the one genealogical

interesting as the oldest proof of the drawing up of a chronology of the ancient rulers of the corners of the world. Dated 534, it foretells the fall of Ch'en in a year shun-ho, and at the same time that shortly before this the T'ien family in Ts'i would obtain the direction of the state. The fall of Ch'en did, in fact, take place in the very year shun-ho 478 (Ngai 17), the coup d'état of Ch'en Ch'eng-tse—T'ien Ch'ang happened in 481.—The prophecy as that in Chao 9 [Ch. Cl. V, p. 624/26, 533 B. C.: The reestablishment of Ch'en within five years (took place indeed in 529) and the final overthrow; 52 (!) years later (=478)] and that in Chuang 22 [Ch. Cl. V, p. 102/103] a vaticinium ex eventu, falls within the 5th century B. C. (the coup d'état of T'ien Ho in 386 being still unknown). Chao 8 gives a year shun-ho as the year of the death of Chuan-hüh (*i. e.*, it refers to 2218 B. C.).

¹ In this valuation of the sources, the experiences of a minute investigation of the genealogical system in § 19 (cf. § 4) have been turned to good account.

² *i. e.*, with the restrictions of note 1 on the previous page.

system. Besides Ti Chih = Shao-hao is placed in pure cosmological surroundings, while Ti Chih = son of Ti K'uh is no longer to be found in cosmological surroundings. Now we know that Shao-hao unites cosmological and historical characteristics in his person; on the other hand the investigation of the san-huang—wu-ti orders has shown that no fundamental scruple stands in the way of the detachment of Ts'ing-yang—Shao-hao from his genealogical relation to Huang Ti, should this prove necessary for the historical personality Shao-hao—Ti Chih is evidently the name of the mythical historical progenitor of the clan —, since *this* position of Shao-hao is the result of a cosmological function [*i. e.*, this position of Shao-hao arose through a descent of space on the part of the rulers of the corners of the world and is in no wise the result of history]. Thus it seems necessary to investigate whether in the two Ti Chih's we really have to deal with two personalities.—If it should make the identity of both probable, then it would be necessary to establish on a firm basis the dissolution of the unity Shao-hao—Ti Chih in the genealogical system.

Now Ti Chih occurs in the lists of emperors dependent on both system B and system C merely as the son of Ti K'uh, so that we must commence here making the group Shi-pen—Ta Tai Li-ki—Shi-ki the starting point. Here the conditions are less complicated, since the equation Ti Chih = Shao-hao is not present.

Before everything else the fact is established that Ti Chih is not reckoned among the wu-ti of these works, although he is designated as ti and ruling years are assigned to him. Ch. 7 (62) of the Ta Tai Li-ki (=Ch. 5 [23] of the Kia-yü) gives the wu-ti order as Huang Ti, Chuan-hüh, Ti K'uh, Ti Yao, Ti Shun and Yü; we find the correct order of the system, without Yü (cf. § 5 A), in the 13th chapter of the Shi-ki (M. II. III, p. 2—3) and in the Shi-pen (Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 1, 1 a). Ti Chih should not even appear in the order of the wu-ti, as he destroys their number of five. In any case together with Ts'ing-yang—Shao-hao we have found in him, in those systems which depend on C, a second "emperor" who appears in the "order of the emperors" without being counted among the "emperors."

At any rate, from Kao-sin to Shun the order of the ti no longer possesses originally cosmological equivalents (cf. § 3 E) and must therefore have an inner structure other than the order of their

"predecessors." First of all we might be inclined to interpret the order as an historical one and from that deduce for Ti Chih that his temporal insertion opposite Ti K'uh or Ti Yao has been the result of historical conditions, and was afterwards maintained when his surroundings were pressed into a cosmological scheme, at any rate, not consistently, since a cosmological equivalent has been found for him (Shao-hao—Ts'ing-yang). But it will be necessary to examine the whole of this complex problem especially the type of the orders of the rulers, before the rulers of the corners of the world—clan heroes took their places as "emperors" at the head of "history."

§ 5 A. *Yü in the Ti order: the system of the nine rulers:* Yü as the sixth person disturbs the system of the "Five Emperors" and as a matter of fact should be eliminated from the Ta Tai Li-ki order, since the corresponding orders of the Shi-pen and the Shi-ki do not know him. After all, the fact that he is reckoned among the wu-ti in the Ta Tai Li-ki might be ascribed to the influence of an order, which knew Yü (or K'i) among the 帝, *i. e.*, it connected him with Shun outside the Hia dynasty, traces of which we are still just able to recognise.

The curious order in Lieh-tze 2, 16 a (Wilhelm, p. 26): Pao-li, Nü-kua, Shen-nung, Hia-hou-shi points in this direction, and we find further in Huai-nan-tze, 15, 1 b the following scheme: Huang Ti, Chuan-hüh, Yao, Shun and K'i¹.

In this case there might also once have been an order of nine "emperors" in China, which consisted of the 3 huang, the 5 ti and Yü. Actually the 九主 of the Shi-ki 3, 3 a (M. H. I, p. 179) are divided up² in this way by Sze-ma Cheng while the 九皇 of Hoh-kuan-tze [1 (4), 7 a, 2 (10), 16 a, b; 2 (11), 21 b] afford at least an indirect indication of its existence³.

¹ Hia-hou-shi is a title which can be given to Yü just as well as to K'i. If in this case, Yü can take the place of K'i, then in another K'i can take the place of an old Yü; he appears in the text as the opponent of the ruler of Hu and it is just the battle of Kan, as is well known, which is ascribed sometimes to Yü and sometimes to K'i.

² Sze-ma Cheng's analysis makes a much better impression than that of Liu Hsiang who interprets the "nine rulers" as "nine kinds of ruler", so to say, and altogether works it out to a classification of the rulers: 法君, 勞, |, 等, |, 授, |, 專, |, 破, |, 齊, |, 固, |, 三歲社 | (v. Chavannes, M. H. I, p. 179, n. 1). Nevertheless, Liu Hsiang has a predecessor already in Kuan-tze, who in Ch. 17 (52) gives the following order of 七主 ("rulers of seven kinds") 申主, 惠, |, 侵, |, 芒, |, 勞, |, 振, |, 芒, |.

³ Hoh-kuan-tze's conclusions on Ch'eng|kiu-(shi) in ch. 2 (9) advise caution. But if the nine 主 of Sze-ma Cheng's conception are not the nine huang of Hoh-

The system of the nine corners of the world has been preserved in the Lü-shi ch'un-ts'iu 13, 1b—2a together with an order of the colours belonging to them; viz. in the Centre: the potter (*i. e.*, the creator-) heaven 鈞天¹; East: azure heavens, 蒼 |; North-east: the changing (*i. e.*, variegated!) h. 變 |; North: black h. 玄 |; North-west, dark h. 幽 |; West: white h. 顯 |; South-west: vermilion h., 朱 |; South: fire h., 炎 |; South-east: light h., 陽天.

This colour system can of course not have been original². But another has been preserved for us through Hing Ping (quoted by K'iao K'o in the commentary to HK 7, 2a: cf. commentary to HHS 3, 11a s. v. 三微); he transmits the following equations: Nü-kua—white, Shen-nung—red, Huang Ti—black, Shao-hao—white, Kao-sin—red, Kao-yang—black, T'ao-t'ang—white, Yo Yü—red. It is perfectly clear that this order of eight must be increased to an order of nine through the link "Yü—black." Since we know the close relationship between 3 and 9 (both lunar numbers) through other traditions, the association of a three colour system with the scheme of nine corners of the earth must also be the original one here. Moreover it might be noticed that the division of the Kingdom into nine provinces (chou) is ascribed to this very Yü³. The influence of the order of the nine rulers of the corners of the earth on the formation of the sequence of clan-heroes-emperors has been mentioned in § 31 and may be worked out elsewhere.

§ 6. What then is the position of Ti Chih's descent from Ti K'uh? Four wives are ascribed to the latter and by them four sons

kuan-tze, but rather the nine brothers of the 天皇, 地 | and 人 | are meant, who to-day rank at the head of the system after Pan Ku (old in the Ch'un-ts'iu-wei, quoted in the commentary to Hoh-kuan-tze 1(4), 7 a and in the PWYF s. v. 天皇), then they cannot be otherwise than a primitive cosmological order of nine of the rulers of the (corners of the) earth; if the order is to be valued from the historical genealogical point of view, it must be interpreted as Sze-ma Cheng has done; as in the same way the 天皇, 地 | and 人 | and the 五龍 of the later system which follows them, form a duplicate to the 三皇五帝 as from the other side do the 三王五伯 (霸).

¹ For the term cf. Wen-tze (9), 21 b and Chuang-tze 9, 8 b (天均).

² 天 = 方 Heaven is to be taken as one of the corners of the earth.

³ The variants which have been collected by Yen Shi-ku in the Commentary to Ts'HS 25/I, 9 b (s. v. 九天) are of no value, while the colour order of the 九宮 (Mayers p. 362) is still more lamentable than that of the Lü-shi ch'un-ts'iu.

⁴ The astrological interpretations of the order of nine were already corrupt in very ancient times, *e. g.*, in the 九紀 of the Chou-shu 3 (28), 9 b [constellations and seasons (9)]: 辰, 宿, 日, 月, 春, 夏, 秋, 冬, 歲; further orders of nine with moral interpretations are to be found *e. g.*, 4 (38), 4 b ff.

are derived from him:—Hou Tsih K'i, the progenitor of the Chou; Shih, the progenitor of the Shang; and the two "emperors" Yao and Chih (v. Shi-pen in M. H. I., p. 40, n. 4; Ta Tai Li-ki 7 (63), 11 b; Shi-ki M. H. I., p. 40; Ts'HS 20, 9b—10a; TWShK 2, 2b, 3a; HK 9/I, 6b, 9/II, 13 b—14a, 18a; these works are representative of the different varieties of the genealogical system).

It must, however, be mentioned that this genealogical scheme should not be assumed to be directly historical without any further examination: the preponderating position which is given here to the progenitor of the Chou forces this reservation. We can approach this investigation better equipped and therefore with hope of success, because these sons of Ti K'uh are somewhat sharply delineated figures being at the least representatives of groups which can be conceived historically and whose mutual relations, postulated, can be checked by material which has not been subjected to the tendencies of the genealogical orders, namely through the results of historical geographical research.

§ 7. Of these four groups which, according to the genealogical system, are brought into genetical connection with Ti K'uh, that of only one of them, the Shang, is borne out by these results.

Ti K'uh's "residence," Poh, may it be the western town, or, what is more probable, the southern Poh, in the neighbourhood of which the place name Kao-sin is to be found to this very day, and his grave were near Tun-k'iu in recognised Shang territory near or in the capitals of the Shang Kings; *i. e.*, the centres of the "kingdom" of Ti K'uh were identical with those of the Shang kingdom (*viz.* the older kingdom).

Poh as the residence of Kao-sin. Huang-fu Mi (TWShK 2, 3a; 4, 7a, 8a) and the Ho-nan t'ung-chi in T'ShTsCh' VI, 427/1, 2b, decide in favour of the western Poh; it corresponded, as is well known, to the modern Yen-shi, Ho-nan-fu, and in fact the place lay 20 li west of the modern town; the Yen-shi-hien-chi (T'ShTsCh' VI, 438, 12b) even believes it possible to give a near indication of Ti K'uh—Kao-sin's capital by identifying it with the village Kao (高莊), which is five li west of the town. Lo Pi (HK 9/I, 6a, cf. KMK 內, 28b) defends the southern Poh; this town lay within the district of the modern Kuei-teh-fu, whose place of administration is called Shang-k'iu to this very day, and which was built on the site of

the capital of Sung, the state which traced its antecedents back to the Shang. This is 45 (or better 40) li southeast of Shang-k'iu—Kuei-teh [not as given by Chavannes in M. H. I, p. 176, n. 3]; this means that it is equivalent to the old Kuh-shuh (founded as hien by the Tung Han and dissolved by the Yüan: v. T'ShTsCh' VI, 391/I, 2a-b; 396/III, 1a-2a).

Furthermore the place Kao-sin is to be found here, which Lo (KMK 丙, 28b) knows as 鎮, the local chronicles as 里 (T'ShTsCh' VI, 395/II, 1b; 396/III, 23a; Kuei-teh-fu-chi) and the WCh' map as 集, and which is given by Lo Pi as being 45 li southwest of Kuh-shuh¹.—In the town are to be found a temple (built 973)², a grave of Ti K'uh (T'ShTsCh' VI, 395/II, 1b; 396/III, 23a) and an old temple of the tutelary god of Shang-k'iu (T'ShTsCh' VI, 395/II, 4b)³. Another temple of Ti K'uh lies by the "magic well" (靈井) 40 li south of Kuei-teh (T'ShTsCh' VI, 391/III, 3a), a Sin-shan (辛山) 3 li to the south of Kuei-teh (T'ShTsCh' VI, 391/III, 1a; this may possibly be identical with the 商邱 (hill) mentioned above), while another grave of Ti K'uh, according to local tradition (世傳), lies 20 li northeast of Sui (T'ShTsCh' VI, 396/III, 30a; cf. 391/III, 18b, s. v. 帝丘).

Ti K'uh's Grave. Besides the two graves near Kuei-teh mentioned above, which are not generally recognised, this grave is supposed to be situated in old Tun-k'iu-hien (inhabited about 1070, T'ShTsCh' VI, 133/3b-4a), whose seat of administration, according to Chih-li-t'ung-chi and Ts'ing-feng-hien-chi, was originally (Tun-k'iu I) situated 5 li northwest and later (Tk' II) 50 li southwest of the present Ts'ing-feng, Ta-ming-fu, Chih-li⁴. According to this it is sought for to the south of Tun-k'iu by the older authors and in the older writings [Huang-lan chung-mu-ki, quoted in Shi-ki tsih-kie to Shi-ki 1, 10a (M. H. I, p. 41, n. 3); Huang-fu Mih TWSH 2, 2b, the full quotation, however, in Shui-king-chu 9, 22a; Kuoh Poh

¹ Old Sung lay south of the modern town, at the foot of the north side of the hill Shang-k'iu: T'ShTsCh' VI, 396/III, 1b; 391/III, 1a.

² According to the Pr. map the distances amount to as follows:—Gui-dē-fu—Gáu-hsin-dsi 22 km, Gui-dē-fu—Gu-schu 19 km, Gu-schu—Gáu-hsin-dsi 25 km. The distances have been measured as the crow flies, as will be the case in future when reference is made to the Pr. map.

³ The dates of the construction of temples always refer to the present day buildings.

⁴ Thus the place itself was once called Shang-k'iu!

⁵ The hien Ts'ing-feng was established in 770; the T'ang city lay 18 li northwest and the Sung city 5 li southwest of the present town: T'ShTsCh' I, c, and VI, 142, 8b-9b. Perhaps a place which lies 15 li southwest of Ts'ing-feng called 古 (T'ShTsCh' VI, 142, 9b) might be taken into account for Tun-k'iu (Tk' III); its position with regard to the Ti K'uh grave would correspond more closely than that of Tun-k'iu I to the conditions given by the Tsin authors.

the commentary to Shan-hai-king 6, 6a; the oldest passage, Pan Ku in the Peh-hu-t'ung, quoted by Liu Chao in the commentary to KKCh, 3, 2a s. v. 顛丘, gives no direction, but as regards style it agrees with the others just mentioned]; the later authors seek it northwest resp. north of that town (Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi, quoted by K'iao K'ö in the commentary to HK 9/I, 6a; local chronicles: see below). The exact position can be determined with a very slight error of calculation by means of the position of the Ti Kuh grave in relation to the Tih (Ts'iu?)-shan¹—it is supposed to lie on the north side²—which is given as 35 li northwest of Tun-k'iu (Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi loc. cit.; T'ShTsCh' VI, 133/IV, 7b). Thus, according to the only possible calculation from Tk' II, it approaches somewhere the immediate neighbourhood of the Fu-yü (Wu-yü, Fu-li?)-shan³, on the southern slope of which is the well known grave of Chuan-hüh, and the position of which is determined in the local chronicles as 30 li northwest of Tun-k'iu, 30 li northwest of K'ai and 70 li northwest (in reality northeast!) of Hua (T'ShTsCh' VI, 133/IV, 7b-8a). But probably the Tih (Ts'iu?)-shan should be identified altogether with the Fu-yü (Wu-yü, Fu-li?). Huang-fu Mih indicates Ti K'uh's grave in Kuang-yang-li (TWSH 2, 2b) and in Kuang-yang-li the grave of Chuan-hüh is also given (TWSH 2, 2a; the statement also to be found in HK 8, 6b and according to commentary to it in the Huang-lan-chung-mu-ki and in the Ts'ien Chao luh); but the name Kuang-yang-shan has been handed down for the Fu-yü besides the name Shang-k'iu (!); Kuang-yang as the name of a mountain is already known in the Ts'ien Chao luh and the identity of both burial mountains is pronounced in the T'ang shih-tao-chi, quoted by K'iao K'ö, commentary to HK 8, 6b, as well as in the Chih-li-t'ung-chi and the Hua-hien-chi, quoted T'ShTsCh' VI, 133/IV, 7b-8a.—The Ti K'uh grave was known by sight to the T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-ki and the Yüan-feng kiu-yüh-chi (cf. commentary to HK 9/I, 6a); nothing can be gathered from the local chronicles about the present state of preservation.

§ 8. The position is different regarding the remaining groups: the geographical material either does not support the postulated

¹ Shan-hai-king 6, 6a writes 狄山, HK 9/I, 6a and the local chronicles 狄山; one of these ways of writing is certainly wrong, probably 狄.

² Only Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi different: 秋山, 35 li northwest and the grave 30 li north Tun-k'iu.

³ 附禺. 附禺, 附魚; 務隅; 務隅; 附鯉: cf. Shan-hai-king 8, 4b-5a; 15, 4a-b; 17, 1a; T'ShTsCh' VI, 133/IV, 7b-8a; on the other hand 隄 in the v. l. 務 | HK 8, 6b must indoubtedly be a printing mistake.

relationship, or excludes it altogether unless it even makes counter evidence possible.

First of all with regard to the Chou, the genealogy as handed down is absolutely untenable; the list of descendants is insufficient for according to it Wen-wang is the successor of Kao-sin already in the 15th generation.

Shi-ki ch. 4 and 13 (M. H. I, p. 209 ff.; III, p. 6—7) gives the first complete preserved list of ancestors: Kao-sin (Ti K'uk), Hou Tsih, Puh-choh [P'iau<ui—t'iat<t-], K'uh [Kiuk], Kung Liu [Kung Liəu], K'ing-tsieh [K'iang<tsiet], Huang-p'uh [I'w'ang<g'—b'uok], Ts'e-fuh' [T's'i-piuet], Hui-yü [Xj'w'ic<a—ju<d-], Kung Fei [Kung Pj'w'ei], Kao-yü [K'au<ngi'o], Ya-yü [A'<g—ngi'o], Kung Shuh-tsu-lei (Tsu-lei [T'suo-lj'w'i]); T'ai-kung Tsu-kan-chu-chou [T'suo-käm'-t'si'w'o<t'-d'jəu<d'g]: Shi-pen quoted Sze-ma Cheng to Shi-ki 4, 3a; Huang-fu Mih TWSHK 5, 10a, Ku Kung Tan-fu [T'an-b'iu], Ki-lik [Kji'liek] (Wang Ki), Ch'ang [T'siang<t'-] (Wen-wang).—Previous to the Shi-ki the passages in Kuoh-yü 3 (Chou 3), 7b and 20a prove that the number of the ancestors of the Chou (from Hou Tsih to Wen-wang 15) was already firmly established in the 6th century B. C. (the first passage is dated 550 and the second 510 B. C.)

Attempts have not been lacking to increase by a few links this list of rulers, which was also unsatisfactory for Chinese historians. Before anything else the full names² given by the Shi-pen (Shi-ki-tsih-kie and Shi-ki soh-yin to the Shi-ki 4, 2b—3a) of Kung Fei, Kao-yü, Ya-yü and Shuh-tsu-lei, namely:—Kung Fei Pih-fang [Kung Pj'w'ei Piäk-pi'w'ang], Kao-yü Hou Mou [K'au<ngi'o I'əu<g'—miəu], Ya-yü Yün-tu [A'<g—ngi'o Jj'w'ən<g—tuə], and Tsu-kan-chu-chou have been the point of attack of such a desire. While Huang-fu Mih TWSHK 5, 1a still takes Pih-fang and Yün-tu (Hou Mou not transmitted) as honorary names (字) of Kung Fei and Ya-yü, Pan Ku on the other hand, Ts'HSK 20a—b, makes Pih-fang the son of Kung Fei, I—sze [K'<D—'dz'i] (instead of Hou Mou 夷峻—侯倅), the son of Kao-yü and Yün-tu the brother of Ya-yü; and therefore has two generations more³; Lo Pi HK 9/I, 8b is consistent throughout and divides Tsu-kan-chu-chou into Shuh-tsu-kan = Tsu-lei, son of Yün-tu and Chu-chou, son of the former and like T'ai-kung, father of Ku-kung Tan-fu; besides

¹ For the transcription of 不窳 cf. n. p. 598, 1, for that of 差 in 弗 v. n. p. 597, 2.

² That is their most obvious interpretation, the correctness of which, moreover, is shown by the uncertainty of the historian's analysis (see below) where it is used. These names are probably not Chinese!

³ The BA primary gloss to Wu-wang (Ch. Cl. III/prol p. 142) presupposes this if it reckons 13 generations from Kung Liu to Ki-lik.

this he accepts out of a legendary genealogy from the Shan-hai-king 16, 2a (T'ai<Lai?)-kien¹ as the son of Hou Tsih and Shuk-kün (ostensibly = Tien-tsu) as the son of the former and so gets 3 generations more than Pan Ku and 5 more than the Shi-ki list. But it goes without saying that even after taking into consideration these more than doubtful operations, the number remains quite insufficient.

If we leave Hou Tsih, Pu-choh (see below), Tan-fu and the latter's successors out of the question, from all historical works of the first millennium B. C. only the BA mention people of the Chou ancestral order: Kao-yü Wu-yih 15 and Ch'eng 7, Ya-yü Pan-keng 19, Tsu-kan Tsu-kiah 13 (Ch. Cl. III/prol, p. 133, 135, 136, 146), and Kao-yü besides in Kuoh-yü 4 (Lu 1), 7a².

But what weighs much more heavily is the fact that the early history of the Chou shows the gravest internal contradictions. It is not right to take a people as a unity which has three heroes of civilisation in its ancestral order as the Chou have: Hou Tsih, Kung Liu and Tan-fu; (for this special character of the figures named cf. Shi-king-Odes 3, 1, 3; 3, 1, 7, 2; 3, 2, 1; 3, 2, 6; Ch. Cl. IV, p. 437 f., 449—450, 465 ff., 483 ff.; cf. further Shu-king 5, 3, 5, Ch. Cl. III, p. 311/19; *i. e.*, it is already established in the oldest written and at the same time fixed in a very old and in fact sacred tradition). To these we could add a fourth, Puh-choh³, who mentioned in the Kuoh-yü 1 (Chou 1), 2b—3a

¹ 蔡邕; for the transcription of 蔡 see p. 618 note 2.

² Since the v. l. of the names of the Chou predecessors are of importance, I am giving herewith those known to me; in HK *l. c.* Kük-t'ao (yao?) is given for the simple Kük [but could be misunderstood through a mistake in writing to represent 鞠 (t'ao, yao?) for 鞠 (kük); also Kuoh-yü ming-tao-pen-k'ao-i, 1, 17 b], Wei-yü (偽 隸) Ngj'w'ic<a—ju<d- for Hui-yü (毀) 'Xj'w'ic<a—ju<d-; according to Kuoh-yü ming-tao-pen-k'ao-i, 1, 17a 偽 隸 is the form for Shi-pen), Fuh-t's'e for Ts'e-fuh; this is probably only a writing mistake, such as often occur in Lo Pi through the reversal of the characters (with Wei Chao in the commentary to Kuoh-yü 3 [Chou 3], 7 b K'iang-fuh 羌 弗 for 差) could quite well be a similar mistake; according to Yen Shi-ku in the commentary to Ts'HSK 29, 19 a, 差 in 弗 should be read 楚 宜 反 *i. e.*, Ts'e—T's'i). I find K'ing-pu 慶 誦 as a variant of K'ing-tsieh 節 (the former the name of a minister of Ch'eng T'ang according to Yü-h-tse) in the Chuh-shu t'ung-tsien from an unknown source and I-k'i 夷 岐 for I-sze 夷 族 of the Ts'HSK in K'iao K'o's commentary to HK *l. c.*

³ 不窳. Chavannes remarks in M. H. I, p. 211, n. 5: "le caractère 窳 est indiqué par le Kang-hi tse-tien comme se prononçant 紉, c'est-à-dire Tschou". This reference, it is true, is in the Tze-tien, but according to the latter is not valid for the pronunciation of 窳 in 不 | which comes much more under the pronunciation

(quoted Shi-ki=M. H. I, p. 254) and Tso-chuan Wen 2 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 232/34)¹ is after all very old². Our historical experience has taught us that it is highly improbable that an agricultural people could have been "barbarianised" (made nomads?) three times in the course of a thousand years, thus taking to the plough four times in all.

The only possibility of overcoming this contradiction, in my opinion, is, as it often is, the substitution of a horizontal organisation for a vertical one; *i. e.* to destroy the sequence in time of the heroes of civilisation and to change it into connection through space—breaking up the Chou people of tradition into four primitive tribes, each of which individually effected the change to agriculture and presumably at different times; the particular persons who brought civilisation to each tribe, were brought within a fixed temporal relation to each other (in which actual circumstances, a later connection with the principal people, may have played their part) and thus they could be included in the history of the whole people. This explanation may be taken as valid if it can be shown that the four heroes of civilisation are only connected with particular parts of the ancient Chou territory.

This evidence can be traced and shows the most satisfactory results³. In fact the results are such that they prove that the alleged first ancestor of the Chou, the son of Ti Kuh, Hou Tsih himself, was taken over from an alien population and is the hero of

張滑切音疑 resp. 張刮切, *i. e.*, it is to be pronounced Choh (t'wät). Giles (No. 6272) simply gives the pronunciation k'u* (= k'ui) as the only one of the character, but this cannot be proved from the Tze-tien; 密-kui can only arise as the result of the substitution of characters for 篇 (k'ui) (篇 occurs as a printer's error in Legge's text of the BA, Ch. Cl. III/Prolog. p. 121; Legge transcribes Puh-fuh which could be a second printer's error for Puh-k'uh, Ch. Cl. V, p. 234, correctly Puh-chueh; Chuh-shu T'ung-tsien 3, 15 a as well as the Tso-chuan text print correctly 密; in Chuh-shu T'ung-tsien commentary l. c., however, the printer's error is found twice).

¹ The Kuoh-yü passage originates in a speech which is supposed to have been delivered before the advance of Muh-wang against the K'uan-jung, *i. e.*, 990?/951 B. C. (cf. also M. H. I, p. 211—12); the Tso-chuan passage is dated 625 B. C.

² Even for Wen-wang we notice tendencies to such a function; *i. e.*, deeds generally ascribed to Tan-fu are also assigned to him; Shi-king 3, 1, 7, 6 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 453 to 454) 度其鮮原居岐之陽在謂之將.

Taking all in all, I am not at all inclined to regard Tan-fu as an authenticated historical personality.

³ See below pp. 600-623 the appendix on the genealogy of the Chou.

civilisation (agriculture) of a group of the Kiang clan; and that this is the group which as the direct predecessors of the Chou, ruled over the western part of the Wei-Valley Plains (the T'ai kingdom), the oldest possession of the Chou in China proper. The Chou, related to these Kiang (the wife of Tan-fu was of their race) under Tan-fu seized the former's land; and it can only have taken place after the surrender of the kingdom of Pin *i. e.*, (according to the current tradition) in the third generation before Wu-wang, the founder of the dynasty, that Hou Tsih was included in the genealogical tree.

But if it could be shown that the Chou genealogy was influenced by political motives (the relationship on the maternal side was of little importance. Maternal right must not, however, be presupposed; as otherwise the Chou would have had to change their genealogical tree each time a king married), it will no longer appear daring to explain the connection of Hou Tsih with Ti K'uh as due to the same motive. This explanation is in fact imperative, because the Kiang genetically can have absolutely nothing to do with the ancestor of the Tse clan. On the other hand, the connection is sufficiently proved by the assumption that the Chou declared their (newly acquired) ancestor to be the son of the progenitor of the then legitimate dynasty, in order to show that their race was equivalent to and as well born as the Shang and thus to legitimise themselves.

APPENDIX ON THE GENEALOGY OF THE CHOU

A. *The Problem.*

As we have already shown on pp. 597—98 the Chou possess four heroes of civilisation in their ancestral order (Hou Tsih, Puh-choh, Kung Liu & Tan-fu). A serious inner contradiction within the traditional history of their tribe follows on this statement, because we can state with a probability bordering certainty that it is historically impossible for one single people to adopt agriculture from a more primitive stage of economic organisation four times in the course of a thousand years, during which period it must have gone back to a "barbarian stage" three times.

The only possibility of reconciling the contradiction seems to be in the dissolution of the temporal sequence of the four heroes and in transforming it into a side by side in space (dependent on ethnical conditions); *i. e.*, the division of the Chou people of tradition into four primitive tribes, each of which accomplished its transition to agriculture independently of the others and whose special bringer of civilisation we now see in the four heroes of the whole people.

Does historical-geographical investigation show that the four heroes of civilisation were at one time only attached to particular provinces of the Chou kingdom, and do historical statements exist, which contain information on the mutual relations of these provinces?

B. *The Extension of the Early Chou Kingdom.*1. *The Oldest Chou Kingdom in the Wei Valley.*

In the old Chinese province, from which we must start, the oldest Chou kingdom comprised the western section of the plain of the Wei Valley, from Wu-kung in the East to Pao-ki in the West. Thither

¹ This question shows that there is no intention of making an exhaustive investigation of the very problematical early history of the Chou, which until now has not been examined at all thoroughly. I am reserving this for my treatment of the Ki-Chan [姬姓]. At any rate good preliminary work will have been accomplished, if a satisfactory solution of the problem in question be found. On p. 617 I have tried to lay down the course of the lines which further investigation will follow.

under the very perceptible pressure of "barbarian" northern tribes¹, the "old Duke" (ku-kung) Tan-fu starting from Pin², passing the Liang-shan and crossing the Ts'ih & the Tsü (?) invaded and laid the foundation of the capital of his kingdom on the southern slope of the K'i-shan, on the Chou plateau³.

Liang-shan: A part of the border range of the first terrace of the Wei Valley together with the Mei-shan & K'i-shan (v. p. 602). It can be fixed by the following distances which are given: 60 li north-east of K'i-shan (city), 60 li north-east of Fu-feng, 30 li north of K'ien and 80 li south of Yung-shou (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 5b, 14a; 526/IV, 13a; 495, 23a; cf. also M. H. I, p. 214, n. 5 & II, p. 178, n. 2).

Ts'ih and Tsü: Sü Kuang (Shi-ki tsih-kie to Shi-ki 4, 3b) looks for both rivers in the old hien Tu-yang, the seat of administration of which lay not far from the present Lin-yu⁴. The Ts'ih, however, is the only one which can be fixed with certainty. It rises 45 li north-west of Yung-shou (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 25b incorrectly north-east), breaks through the Liang-shan to the north-west of K'ien, receives near Wu-kung its most important tributaries, the Wu-ting-ho (Tu-shui) and the Wei-shui 漳水, and flows into the Wei 渭 opposite Chou-chih (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 24a, 25b); a tributary of the Heh-shui bears the same name, which also rises in the hien Yung-shou and after a northern course flows out 40 li to the east of Ch'ang-wu (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 25b, 39a). We have further proved the name of the river through the Ts'ih-hien of the Han period, which took its name from the Ts'ih-shui (TLCh I, 8b; KKCh I, 9b) and which comprised the present Yung-shou-hien, the greatest part of the Pin-chou and probably also parts of the Lin-yu-hien, while the city corresponded with the present town Pin(-chou)⁵.

¹ cf. Meng-tse I, 2, 3, 1; 14, 2; 15, 1 (Ch. Cl. II, p. 155 & 174 ff.)

² cf. p. 608 ff.

³ cf. further Shi-king 3, 1, 3, 2—3; 3, 1, 7, 6; 4, 1, 5; 4, 2, 4, 2 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 438, 453—54, 574, 622); Meng-tse I, 2, 5, 3; 4, 2, 1, 2 (Ch. Cl. II, p. 161—62, 316); Shi-ki 4, 3a—b (M. H. I., p. 213 ff.) & TWSHK 5, 1b, 10b.

⁴ established under the Si Han and dissolved under the Tsin. The town, the present Tu-ts'un, 40 (?) li north-east of K'i-shan (city), 90 li north (or rather north-east) of Feng-siang, T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 2b u. 8a, cf. 12b (has nothing to do with the present town of Tu-yang-p'u on the left bank of the K'ien, 7 km to the south of Lung).

⁵ The name was changed into Sin p'ing-hien by the Fu Ts'in, which in turn was dissolved by the Ming; near it Sin-p'ing-kün, established by the Tung-Han (?), dissolved by the Peh Wei, and existing again between 744 & 758. The name has been preserved in the post station Sin-p'ing which lies immediately to the west of Pin and which was built in 1372. Cf. Kuah-ti-chi (Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 4, 2b), TLKSh 254, 11a s. v. 幽 and T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 15a; 491, 23a—b; 508, 30b—31a.

Both Ts'ih are thus the natural connection between Pin & T'ai' and this must have been used by Tan-fu, the more so, since the road through the valley of the King was closed by the then ruling power in the Wei Valley, the princes of Ch'ung, by means of the fortress of Ta Loh (K'üan-k'iu, Huai-li, 10 li south-east of Hing-p'ing)².

It is difficult to determine the Tsü-shui. The only clue which I have been able to find is on the third map which is added to section I of T'ShTsCh' VI, 492, where Tsü(-shui) is given as the name for the Tu-shui (Wu-ting-ho), flowing from Lin-yu, without, however, finding any confirmation either in the sections on mountains and rivers in volumes 514 & 523/IV or in the WCh' map. I, therefore, consider it highly probable, in view of the fact that Ts'ih & Tsü always occur together in Shu-king (Yü-kung I, 10, 74; II, 2, 12) and Shi-king (2, 3, 6, 2; 3, 1, 3, 1; 4, 1)³ that the unreal Tsü-shui has been dragged into the Shi-ki text to the real Ts'ih, all the more since the source of Sze-ma Ts'ien (Meng-tse I, 2, 15, 1; also TWSHk 5, 1 b, 10 b) only mentions the Liang-shan and not the rivers.

K'i-shan and Chou-yüan: The K'i-shan lies 50 li north-east of the town K'i-shan (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 4 b—5 a), not 90 li as K'ung Ying-tah asserts (Legge in Ch. Cl. III, p. 95; on the other hand correctly Ch. Cl. IV, p. 2; cf. also M. H. J., p. 105, n. 1; p. 132, n. 2). At its foot, 40 li north-east of the K'i-shan city lies the Chou plateau 周原 (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 7 b). The hien K'i-shan exists since the end of the Sui-period (for the former San-lung-hien, v. below), had its name changed into K'i-yang in 618, and was given its old name again in 757. The city originally lay 5 li to the north of the present Lung-wei-chen but since 634 has occupied the present site (T'ShTsCh' VI, 534/I, 2 a; 526/IV, 7 b).

City of Tan-fu: It was called K'i-chou [Chou-shu 5 (48), 7 a; BA Wu-yih 1, Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 137; Meh-tse 9 (35), 3 b; Meng-tse 4, 2, 1, 2 (Ch. Cl. II, p. 316)]. The present K'i-yang-chen; at the same the city of the San-lung-hien of the Sui, whose temples to the God of Protection and the God of Literature have been preserved to this very day. Ruins of the earthen altar and the gates mentioned in the Shi-king 3, 1, 3, 6 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 440) are still shown. A temple to T'ai-wang (renewed already in 1212 and then again in 1436 & 1450) as well as temples to Ki-lih and to Wen-wang (renovated in 1449 and 1580) are also to be found there, v. T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 5 b, 6 a; 526/IV, 6 b & 8 b.

¹ For the position of both cf. p. 608 ff. & p. 618 ff.

² Will be treated in detail in connection with the history of the Ts'in.

³ For the position of both these rivers cf. p. 614.

The province fell into four parts, that of the residence and of the fiefs of the "three dukes"; Kuoh in the west (right wing, front facing the K'üan-jung), Shao in the east (left wing, front facing Ch'ung) and Chou in the middle.

As regards the division of the kingdom as a whole, this must go back to the early period of Wen-wang, in as far as the first possessors of the hereditary dukedoms are concerned: certainly one of these, the second most probably, were given each to a son of Ki-lih (v. below Kuoh-shuh and Shao [Kün] Shih); and this strict division into three also corresponds quite well with the conditions as set forth in Shi-king 3, 2, 6, 5 concerning Kung Liu and the Kingdom of Pin and in Shi-king 3, 1, 3, 4 concerning Tan-fu and the old Chou land; it was also kept intact within the army organisation of the larger outside states (e. g., Tsin or Lu) and had to be adopted again by the kings after their withdrawal from the Wei Valley (v. for example, Tso-chuan Huan 5, Ch. Cl. V, p. 44/45); the army organisation of the Chou kingdom when at its zenith was, however, more extensive.

(Si) Kuoh: Capital 26 km east south-east of Pao-ki on the northern bank of the Wei (Kuoh-hien from the Sui until the Yüan period; distances as given by the Pr. map, as the other references differ:—40 li north-east T'ShTsCh' VI, 524/III, 1 b; 50 li east 526/IV, 10 b; 60 li east M. H. J., p. 276, note 1; IV, p. 256, note 1)¹. The Kuoh province is further made up as follows: a Kuoh-wang-chen 31 km east of Pao-ki, 20 km south-east of Feng-siang, 10 km west of K'i-shan (Pr. map, WCh' map) and a T'ao-kuoh-ch'eng on the T'ao-ch'uan, presumably the old Shao Kuoh (v. p. 605), 50 to 60 km south-east of Pao-ki (Pr. map; T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 8 a: 150 li south-east of Pao-ki in the mountains; 12 b the direction is incorrect, 526/IV, 10 b both statement of direction and of distance) already directly west of Mei, where the border of Ch'ung is reached². The most westerly point of the immediate Chou territory (and therefore of Kuoh) is, above all, a Wen-wang-ch'eng 45 li east of the old city Wu-shan (hien of the Sui, 120 li south-east of Lung) i. e., in the valley of the K'ien (T'ShTsCh' VI 526/IV, 22 a—23 b; cf. KMK 丙, 30 b).

The first known possessor of the fief is Kuoh-shuh, a brother of Wen-wang (cf. Shu-king 5, 16, 12, Ch. Cl. III, p. 481. Tso-chuan Hi 5,

¹ These differences may be partly due to the different positions of the seats of administration of Pao-ki—Ch'en-ts'ang. cf. T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 11 a.

² That on the south bank of the Wei stretched somewhat more to the west than to the north bank: The Loh-kuh-shui is the most easterly river source of the K'ien (Kan?)-kou-ho, which flows into the Wei 5 li to the east of Mei; T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 19 b.

Ch. Cl. V, p. 143/45; M. H. IV, p. 268; T'ShTsCh' VI, 524/III, 1 b; 526/IV 10 b)¹; he no longer plays any part in the history of the conquest and was probably too old or else administrator or defender of the tribal country. His successors fought with varying fortune against the K'üan-jung (BA 7; Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 152, 153) whose pressure upon the Wei Valley had been ever increasing since the time of Muh-wang; finally, after the unlucky battle of Ts'ien-mou (789) and especially after the storming of Kiang-yih (788) and K'üan-k'iu (776) by the K'üan-jung they had to evacuate their old province. In 775 they conquered Tsiao (BA Yu 7, Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 175) and ruled here (Nan Kuoh): to the south of the Ho the Ho Valley from the Hua-shan and the mouth of the Wei (Tso-chuan Min 2, Ch. Cl. V, p. 126/28) eastward to the west of Mien-ch'i, and the upper Loh Valley to Yung-ning-hien and west of Sung (according to Tso-chuan to Siang 14, Ch. Cl. V, p. 460/64 this must have been very sparsely peopled), and north of the Ho parts of P'ing-luh-hien and Kie-chou (this territory mixed with those of the fiefs Yü, Wei and Jui)². Here

¹ Chavannes' references in M. H. I, p. 276, n. 1. and M. H. IV, p. 256, n. 1, contradict one another; in the former Si-kuoh is assigned as fief to Kuoh-shuh and in the latter to Kuoh-chung. It might be remarked that the latter opinion receives no support from the passage in Shi-ki 39, 4 a (M. H. IV, p. 256), for Chavannes' interpretation of the name 統仲 as (*le prince descendant de*) *Kouo-tchong* (and the latter thus forefather of the dukes of Nan = Si-Kuoh) cannot in my opinion be justified, and can be reduced to absurdum through Tso-chuan to Chuang 21 and 22 [Ch. Cl. V, p. 99/100 & 100/101 cf. Kuoh-yü I (Chou 1), 10b—11a]. In this instance 統叔 appears without any doubt as the name of the then reigning duke of Kuoh, and to translate as *le prince descendant de Kouo-chou* would result in exactly the opposite meaning of the Shi-ki passage as that really intended. In point of fact, all the passages [Tso-chuan Huan 8 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 51/52) and BA (Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 161) correspond to the Shi-ki passage; in addition Tso-chuan Huan 9 & 10 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 53 & 54)] Kuoh-chung can only be taken as the name of a person then living [Legge:—*Chung of Kuoh, the brother of the duke of Kuoh the brother of (the duke of) Kuoh*]. We know the names of three dukes of Kuoh after 722:—Ki-fu (Tso-chuan Yin 8; the 統公 of Yin 5), Chou (Hi 5, BA Hui 19; surely be the 公 of Chuang 26, 27, 30, 32; Min 2 & Hi 2) and Lin-fu (Huan 5; Tu Yü considers Kuoh-chung as his surname, which Tso-chuan to Huan 10 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 54) also seems to confirm; Wei Chao (Com. to Kuoh-yü I. c.) declares that Lin-fu is identical with the Kuoh-shuh of Chuang 20 & 21, Kuoh-yü I, 10b—11a, in which case he would also have to be the 統叔 of Chuang 16 & 18; if we accept Tu Yü's hypothesis, then we ought to recognise a duke in 公 (叔), whose name has not been preserved.

² See the demarcation of the province conquered by Tsin in the Tso-chuan to Huan 15 (Ch. Cl. V, p. 164/67) and TLKSh 253, 17 b s. v. 陰地 (*i. e.* the province formed by the conquered Kuoh) as well as 253, 5 a s. v. 統略 (in addition to this KKCh I, 6 a s. v. T'ShTsCh' VI, 429, 17 a: Kuoh-shan, half a mile to the north east of Lu-shi, the Kuoh-chou of the Sui dynasty, T'ShTsCh' VI, 427/I, 7 a—b), further KKCh I, 3 a, TLKSh 252, 4 a (cf. 3 a), KMK 戊, 1 a—b. The "five cities" of Kuoh were *Shang-yang*,

again, the line was not able to maintain for long. Threatened from the west by the remnant of the K'üan-jung who had been driven from the Wei Valley by Ts'in (battles with them 660 & 658, Tso-chuan, Ch. Cl. V, p. 126/128, 135/37; after the destruction of Kuoh, between 649 & 638, they occupied the upper Loh and I Valleys) in the summer of 658 the kingdom lost to Tsin the province to the north of the Ho (Ch. Cl. V, p. 135/37) and in the winter of 655 it was "extinguished" by it (Ch. Cl. V, p. 143—44/45—46).—Already in 687 the remainder of the old province (Shao Kuoh, probably only the city) which had maintained in the possession of a collateral line in spite of the K'üan-jung invasion, had gone over to Ts'in and had been changed into a hien (Shi-ki, M. H. II, p. 21).

Shao: Capital the present Shao-ts'un, 8 li south-west of K'i-shan (city) (there Shao-kung-ting T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 7 a; it lies south-east of Feng-siang, the ancient Yung, for which reason the statement of Tu Yü in TLKSh 253, 8 b and of Shen-si t'ung-chi T'ShTsCh' VI, 524/III, 1 b; 523/I, 1 a refer to it); a Shao-kung-chen [= Shao-ts'un, with footmarks of Shao-kung (Shih) and of a (ruined) sacrificial altar for the dukes (or Duke Shih?) of Shao T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 9 b; 526/IV, 12 b] 30 li north of Fu-feng (or rather north-east-north, 13 km according to the Pr. map) and a Shao-chai (宅) chen south-east of it (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 12 b; maps to T'ShTsCh' VI, 492/II) indicate that in the main Shao comprised the centre of the old state T'ai (v. p. 618 ff.). A temple to Shao-kung Shih, of the time of the Sung, stands near the Chou-kung temple north-west of K'i-shan (v. p. 607; T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 4 a).

southern capital [south-east of Shen TLKSh 253, 3 b; exact localisation K'iao K'o to KMK 戊, 1 b: 36 li west of Hiah-shih-chen (70 li east of Shen, T'ShTsCh' VI, 435/I, 7 a—b, 438, 30 b, resp. 26 km east of Shen, 27 km west of Mien-ch'i, Pr. map) south-east of the post station Ch'ang-yang; T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 38 a—b does not correspond]; in the vicinity of the old capital of Tsiao (TLKSh 253, 10b—11a, 17b: 2 li south of Shen), both south of the Ho; north of the Ho: *Hia-yang*, the northern capital [45 li north-east of P'ing-luh, 30 li north-east of old T'ai-yang TLKSh 253, 1 b; (Tsiao had already a second capital north of the Ho, 5 li north-east of P'ing-luh, T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 37 b)], *Hia* (5 li south-west of Kie, TLKSh 253, 10b—11a; the seat of administration of the Tsin province Yin-ti; cf. Tso-chuan Wen 13, Ch. Cl. V, p. 262/63, BA Hui 19, Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 163 and the name of the first governor of Yin-ti 瑕 (父) 呂飴甥 = 陰飴甥 = 子金 in Tso-chuan Hi 15, Ch. Cl. V, p. 165/68—69), and *Kie-liang* (18(20) li south-east of Lin-tsin, TLKSh 253, 5 b, 60 li west of Kie, on the north bank of the Su, T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 27 b and therefore—in spite of 324, 20b—21a—identical with Peh-kie ku-ch'eng (327—594 hien)]. For the remaining land of Kuoh cf. further TLKSh 252, 20 a s. v. 埤 and 酒泉, 22 a s. v. 葦 and T'ShTsCh' VI, 438, 33 a s. v. 稠桑.

Duke Shih (or Kün-shih?, posthumous name: K'ang) is the first known holder of the fief, an alleged son of Wen-wang by a concubine¹, but more probably his nephew. The last duke of Shao of importance (the margraves, since 333 kings of Yen, are descended from Shao-kung Shih side by side with the former) was Duke Hu of the time of the kings Li and Süan (posthumous name Muh)².--With the conquest of the Wei Valley by the K'üan-jung, the dukes of Shao evacuated their tribal land and settled from this time north-west of the new capital, where their fief comprised the present Yüan-k'üeh-hien (Kiang-chou, Shan-si) and the western part of the Tsi-yüan-hien (Huai-k'ing-fu, Ho-nan)³. The present Kao-loh-ch'eng (chen) on the upper course of the Peh-ts'ing-ho (39 km north-west-north of

¹ This statement is made by Huang-fu Mih TWSHK 5, 6a (cf. Legge, Ch. Cl. III, p. 420). It is not very probable that one of the three most important fiefs should have been assigned to the son of a concubine and Shao is also missing in the enumeration of Wen-wang's sons to whom fiefs were given (Ch. Cl. V, p. 189/94, cf. 750/54); on the other hand, an ancient enumeration of fiefs held by the sons of Wang Ki is not known. In any case the tracing of a direct descent from Wang Ki bristles with difficulties, as Shih only dies in the fourteenth year of K'ang-wang (BA Ch. Cl. III/ProL, p. 149) i. e. 57 or 56 years after the battle of Muh-ye, in which he took his share (Chou-shu 4 (36), 2b—3a, Shi-ki M. H. I, p. 233, 236, TWSHK 5, 4a—b); i. e. too young to be a son of Wang Ki. The only way of solving the difficulty seems to me to assume that Shih was a grandson of Kih-lih, the son of one of the sons of this king, who held a fief with Shao.

² M. H. I, p. 271 n. 2 is abortive. First of all Muh as the posthumous name of Shao-kung Hu is confirmed by the BA Li 12, 14, 26 and Süan 1 & 6 (cf. also Legge, Ch. Cl. V, p. 413, 533 & 567, as well as Tso-chuan Hi 24, Ch. Cl. V, p. 189/92), the only deduction to be drawn from this is that Margrave Hui of Yen in the Shi-ki 34, 2a (M. H. IV, p. 135), was someone else than Duke Hu of Shao. As a matter of fact, the BA report the death of Margrave Hui in the first year of King Süan (827; the same as the succession year of margrave Hi in the Shi-ki itself!), whilst Duke Muh of Shao was still taking the field against the Huai-I in 822 (BA, Süan 6, Shi-king 3, 8, Ch. Cl. IV, p. 551 ff.), at the end of which he still assisted at the investiture of the count of Shen with Sieh (Süan 7th year: 821, cf. Shi-king 2, 8, 3; 3, 3, 5; Ch. Cl. IV, p. 413/14, 535 ff.). Finally, there can be just as little justification for speaking of a unit of the fiefs Shao and Yen as there is in the case of Lu and Chou; thus, Chavannes M. H. IV, p. 135 n. 2 has rectified his assumption.

³ More exactly the province of the old Wang-wu-hien=Shao-peh-hien since the T'ang period, a district, which was detached by the Peh Chou from the Yüan-hien (to which the Wang-wu-shan originally belonged, v. KKCh I, 5b)—corresponding to the present Yüan-k'üeh-hien, and added to the Tsi-yüan-hien by the Yüan (TLKSh 254, 8a; T'ShTsCh' VI, 307/I, 16a).

At the time of the Peh Wei, this part was under a Shao-kün, which was changed into a chou by the Si Wei and which existed with a break at the Sui period (617 Shao-yüan-kün) until 627 (T'ShTsCh' VI, 307/I, 16a—b). Peh-shui was the seat of administration for the Shao-kün of the Peh Wei (Ti-hing-chi, I, 19b), and also probably that of the Shao-chou (the P'ing-yang-fu-chi is insufficient here) and lay (since the Peh Chou

Yüan-k'üeh; Pr. map), from the quotation from the Wen-hien-t'ung-k'ao in T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 51 a—b, seems to have been an important place of Shao; the centre lay north-east of Yüan-k'üeh (60 li according to the KMK 戊, 36 b—37 a; the plateau of Shao 邵原) in the western part of the Tsi-yüan-hien: here was situated the old Wang-wu-hien, which was renamed Shao-peh-hien by the T'ang (the city itself 80 li west of Tsi-yüan, T'ShTsCh' VI, 421/IV, 7 a), the pass of Shao-yüan (120 li west of Tsi-yüan according to TLKSh 254, 8 a; 25 km according to the Pr. map, 39 km north-east of Yüan-k'üeh) and to the west of it a temple to Shao K'ang kung (according to K'iao K'ao to KMK l. c., 35 li to the west of the Wang-wu-shan, which in its turn is situated 100 li west of Tsi-yüan, T'ShTsCh' VI, 418/IV, 4 b)¹.

The dukes of Shao must have lost the feudal tenure over this province in the seventh century: already in 660 (i. e., one year after the conquest of Hing) a tribe of the red Tih is reported as being in Kao-loh (Tso-chuan Min 2, Ch. Cl. V, p. 127/30; better than the localisation in TLKSh 252, 23 a), in 621 P'i (100 li west of Tsi-yüan TLKSh 253, 13 b, 254, 3a) is mentioned as belonging to Tsin (Tso-chuan Wen 6; Ch. Cl. V, p. 243/45), in 572 Chu-hu-k'iu (Tso-chuan Siang 1, Ch. Cl. V, p. 412/13; =Yang-hu-ch'eng, not quite 1 li south of Yüan-k'üeh, on the north bank of the Ho, west of the mouth of the Ts'ing-shui (Poh-ts'ing-ho) TLKSh 254, 1a; T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 51 b) and in 519 Shao itself (Tso-chuan Siang 23, Ch. Cl. V, p. 498/502). Since Shao, P'i and Hu-k'iu do not belong to that part of the domain which was ceded to Tsin in 635 (Tso-chuan Hi 25, Ch. Cl. V, p. 194/96), Tsin must have conquered them during its battles with the Tih, while the latter had already driven the Shao out of the province. The Dukes of Shao play an important part at the royal court for some time to come, but their last estates cannot be established (but cf. p. 608, n. 2; like the counts of Yüan, they may have remained as ground-lords in their old province, which politically was subject to Tsin).

Chou: Capital Chou-ch'eng, which is not identical with K'i-chou but which lies 15 li north-west of K'i-shan(city) at the foot of the Feng-huang-shan (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 6 b—7 a; a temple to Chou-kung Tan was built there between 618 & 626, T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 5 a, 525/III, 6 b; another temple in K'i-shan itself and a third on the northern slope of the Feng-huang, 30 li north-west of K'i-shan, T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 6 b)².

Peh-ch'eng) 15 li north-west of the present Yüan-küeh (T'ShTsCh' VI, 324, 51 a, & 50b well as 307/I, 16a).

¹ T'ShTsCh' VI, 421/IV, 7 a & 420/III, 5 b knows only of a 邵 west of the town Wang-wu, without giving the distance.

² A distinction must be drawn between this Chou-ch'eng and the hien Chou-ch'eng of the Peh Wei, which comprised the southern part of the present K'i-shan-hien and

The oldest known holder of the fief is Chou-kung Tan (Chou Wen-kung), a son of Wen-wang. The old fief continued with his successors, the dukes of Chou, likewise until the K'üan-jung invasion (v. Legge, Ch. Cl. IV, p. 2; Chavannes M. H., IV, p. 133, n. 1, & 100, n. 2)¹. They also lost their territory in the Wei Valley in 771, and since then established themselves in the royal domain in Ho-nan (cf. Tso-chuan Yin 6, Ch. Cl. V, p. 20/21). They, however, did not evolve as a sovereign vassal state as were Kuoh and Shao (even Kiang Yung cannot give any information: TLKSh 252, 7 a). They must, after all, have had their real property here: a retainer seems to be, for example, in 1 (cf. Tso-chuan Chuang 18, Ch. Cl. V, p. 94/95; site unknown TLKSh 252, 19 a, 253, 13 b). This, however, is so remarkable in one of the highest dignitaries of the crown, that the assumption hardly seems to be too daring, namely:—they had the administration of the capital as an hereditary fief, as one or two things seem to suggest².

2. The Kingdom of Pin.

The Shi-king 3, 2, 6 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 483 ff.) gives information about the size and extension of the kingdom of Pin at the time of Kung

at times Mei-hien, and the seat of administration of which lay south of the city K'i-shan T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 8 b; 523/I, 3 b.

¹ The Tso-chuan passage mentioned here does not occur under Hi 25 as Chavannes remarks, but to the 24th year Ch. Cl. V, p. 189/92; the deductions in M. H. I, p. 271, n. 2, concerning the relations of Chou and Lu are untenable.

² Thus Chou-kung Tan was governor of the eastern capital (deeds of investiture Shu-king 5, 13, Ch. Cl. III, p. 434 ff.) and according to the BA (Ch'eng 11, Ch. Cl. III/ProL p. 146) his office devolved on to his son P'ing, the second duke of Chou [and in fact during the life-time of his father who was then very old. P'ing is this man's posthumous name and investigations should be made to ascertain whether Duke P'ing was not the Kün Ch'en of Shu-king 5, 21, which opinion e. g. Shen Yoh has held; Cheng Hüan already (who did not know the BA!) considers Kün Ch'en as a son of Chou-kung Tan, and although Legge (Ch. Cl. III, p. 538) dissents from this opinion on otherwise obvious grounds, he, nevertheless, has not made use of the BA passage in his argument]. At any rate, the office of the governor of the east country went over to the duke of Pin in the time of K'ang-wang (deeds of investiture Shu-king 5, 24, Ch. Cl. III, p. 568 ff.)—and under Süan-wang Prince To-fu (Count Hüan of Cheng) is its holder (BA, Süan 22, Ch. Cl. III/ProL p. 156); but before the catastrophe of 771, the latter conquered a province for himself to the east of the later royal demesne (legally Count Chuang was the first to be immediate) and with it Ch'eng-chou became free once more. According to Ho-nan-fu-chi, T'ShTsCh' VI, 427/I, 6 b Sung-hien would be considered as domain or apanage (聽訟之處) of the Dukes of Chou in the eastern royal domain; in 633 they would have lost their domain to the Luh-hun, a remainder of the K'üan-jung. My arguments do not seem affected by this. The same source (l. c. 427/I, 4 a) attributes the hien I-yang to the Shao.

Liu; the capital was always situated on the Pin plateau, which together with the Huang and Kuo Valleys formed the nucleus of the kingdom; the valley of the Jui is described as the last province to be added.

The Pin Plateau & Capital of the Kingdom: The 京師之野 stanza 3 is shown north of the present city of San-shui (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 19 b), which lies on a Pin-shan itself (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 30 b). The extensive ruins in the valley of Pin, 5 li to the east of San-shui (stretching 8 li east and west and 3 li north and south), are supposed to comprise the remains of the city of Kung Liu; they also include the ruins of the old city of San-shui, founded by the Han (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 19 b & 20 a (with reference to the T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-ki); KMK 丙, 29 a; TLKSh 254, 11 a). Close by—and this is important because we have the same conditions in the oldest Chou country—there is a second Pin Valley with a second city 30 li west (Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi in the Chuh-shu Kung-t sien Com. to 5, 15 b; Legge in Ch. Cl. IV, p. 2 note to 1, 1, 1), more exactly south-west (Lo Pi in KMK 1. c.), of San-shui, 30 li east (or rather north-east) of the present Pin(-chou) (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 27 a)¹.

Huang & Kuo: Both branch valleys of the Wen-liang-ho, a tributary of the Pin-shui², on which lies the city of San-shui; the Kuo Valley is like the Liang-k'ü-ch'uan, a parallel river to the Pin-shui, which flows into the Wen-liang south-west of Chang-hung-chen (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 33 b), and the Huang Valley (or Chi-t'ung-ch'uan) is a parallel valley of the Ch'ü-siu-ch'uan, containing a source of the Wen-liang, 30 li north of San-shui (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 33 b).

The Jui-shui: It rises west of Hua-ting, passes Ch'ung-sin and flows near the city King(-chou) into the King (river) (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 27 b; 551/IV, 8 b, 13 a; 552/I, 1 b, 2 b, 3 a; cf. also 514, 14 b). T'ShTsCh' VI, 553/III, 2 a notes a temple to Kung Liu on the Feng-shan, north of Ch'ung-sin (cf. 551/IV, 5 b; a well of K'ang-wang in the city Ch'ung-sin 551/IV,

¹ Cheng Hüan and Tu Yü TLKSh, l. c. and Sü Kuang in the Shi-ki tshü kie to Shi-ki 4, 2 b refer to it; Chavannes in M. H. I, p. 213, n. 2 and de Groot in „Die Sprachen der vorchr. Zeit“ p. 4, unfortunately do not notice Sü Kuang's statement, but follow the Kuah-ti-chi, which alone out of all the sources (or its abstract in the Shi-ki cheng-ngi?) gives an inexact and incorrect localisation. The seat of administration of the present Pin-chou corresponds to the old Ts'ih(-hien) and must be sharply distinguished from Old-Pin [cf. for example Tsin-shu 14/I, 27 b—28 a; here the Sin-p'ing-kün comprises 漆縣 and 汾邑 | (for 邠 |)].

² 汎水; it is, of course, the old name of the country (邠, 分), which is hidden in the name of the river; the sign is missing in Giles and the pronunciation pah which is given by Couvreur as a standard pronunciation is not confirmed by the Tze-tien for the name:—彼銀切, 府巾切, 悲巾切音邠.

8 b). A sanctuary for Kung Liu in the Ch'ang-wu-hien tides over the transition (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 33 a).

Whereas the nucleus, the core, of the province is covered by the present hien San-shui or the river basin of the Pin-shui and the Wu-lung-ho, the whole province embraced the river system of the King commencing with a line south-east of P'ing-liang, running east to north-west of Shun-hua, the spot where the King breaks through the upper terrace of the Wei Valley.

Valley of the Wu-lung-ho: The Wu-lung-ho or the Wu-lung-kuh-shui (Pr. map, WCh' map) is also called Kiang-yüan-shui (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 37 a and map to 492/II). The grave of Kung Liu and a sacrificial altar (祠) to him are mentioned as 30 li south of San-shui, 80 li east of Pin(-chou) (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 19 b, gives it as lying in 古公鄉 (516, 26 b 二陵村 is given, 504, 31 a 杜陵村; the locality must be corresponding to the 姜娘鎮 of the WCh' map) show that this province belonged within the very narrowest domain of Pin.

Western Border of Pin (Barbarian states on the western border).

This is rather difficult to draw, because, although the expansion of the Pin kingdom was directed to the west (Jui Valley), it also set in motion the strongest counter pressure, and later on we find the old Chu country overrun with "barbarians", the Mih(-sü), Wu-chi and Chu-no.

a) The Chu-no¹: The most westerly of these tribes. The extent of their tribal land may be comprised by the hien Chu-no, which was established under the Si Han and (for a time broken up by the Peh-Wei) renamed P'ing-liang-hien by the Sui (at the present day the seat of administration of the fu of the same name); it originally consisted of the present districts Hua-ting-hien (for the most part), Tsing-ning-chou, P'ing-liang-hien (temporarily next to a King-yang-hien under the Si Han), Lung-teh-hien (first established under the Kin), Hua-p'ing-ch'uan-ting and the southern portion of Ku-yüan-chou, *i. e.*, the south-west part of P'ing-liang-fu, the upper course of the King, the Ku-shui and the Ts'ing-shui and their tributaries above all of the Jui². The Hien city lay 15 li south-east of P'ing-liang (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 1 b; 553/III, 1 b; the temple is all that remains).—The name, however, has been preserved to this very day: in the name of a small market town Tung Chu-no shi, with a sacrificial altar (祠) 90 li north-west

¹ 朝 should be read as Chu here; Tze-tien s. v., 追輸切音株; Chavannes transcription Tchao-no in M. H. II, p. 477, IV, 441 is therefore incorrect (cf. also Yen Shao in the Commentary to TLCh II, 3 b and Shuoh-wen in the Tze-tien s. v. 那).

² Shen-si t'ung-chi in T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 1 b, 2 b, 4 b, 5 b.

of Ling-t'ai, probably in the valley of the P'an-k'ou-ho (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 16 b), in the name of a second Chu-no temple 10 li north-west of Hua-ting (T'ShTsCh' VI, 553/III, 4 b), in that of a third some 3 li east of King(-chou) (l. c. 7 a), in a Chu-no-shan 75 li west of Hua-ting (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/IV, 11 a), in the name of three ponds, two of which lie in Ku-yüan-chou, 40 li south-west and south-east of the city respectively (l. c. 17 b—18 a), the third some 90 li north of Hua-ting (l. c. 12 a, cf. 11 a) and in a ditch near King(-chou) (l. c. 20 a). In the east, therefore, local memories stretch the extent of the hien somewhat; the western and northern boundaries could be specified by the "long wall" of the Ts'in, the course of which being given as 10 li north-west of Ku-yüan and 60 li north-west of Lung-teh (T'ShTsCh' VI, 555/I, 11 a, 20 b; the Hui-ning-hien lies outside: 557/I, 4 a). This wall was built by the Ts'in after the overthrow of the Ngi-k'ü (between 327 & 310) and it is therefore not at all improbable that the Chu-no stood in some sort of near relationship with the Ngi-k'ü.

b) The Wu-chi²: The same condition is much more probable with this tribe; the Kuah-ti-chi (quoted in the Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 110, 4 b) states that they were overthrown by King Hui of Ts'in, *i. e.*, probably in one of the expeditions against the Ngi-k'ü kingdom in 327 or 315. But as Shi-ki 110, 4 b, as well as the T'sHSh 94 b (on the other hand not HSH 87, 2 b!) reckon the Wu-chi with the Ngi-k'ü, the relations of dependancy mentioned above can only have been very vague³. The province of the Wu-chi comprised the present King-chou and extended in the west in the Jui Valley over Ch'ung-sin to the eastern part of the Hua-ting-hien; that, at least, is the extent of the later hien Wu-chi, which was established by the Si Han and dissolved by the Ts'in (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 2 b; 551/I, 14 a). The Hien city lay south-east of King(-chou), 30 li east of the old

³ Generally written 烏氏; 氏 according to Yen Shi-ku's commentary to T'sHSh 94, 2 b and to TLCh II, 3 b and according to Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 110, 4 b should be read like 支, therefore chi, which is confirmed by the v. l. 枝, as it is written in the KKCh V, 5 b; 氏 instead of 氏 (Tsin-shu 14/I 17 b and T'ShTsCh' VI, 555/I, 14 a) could quite well be the result of a printer's error (analogous 月氏 instead of 氏).

² On the other hand, the Kuah-ti-chi does not include King-chou 涇州, the province of the Wu-chi (v. above), among the possessions of the Ngi-k'ü tribe, as Chavannes M. H. II, p. 56 n. 1 mentions, but next to Ning-chou also K'ing-chou 慶州, *i. e.* the present K'ing-yang-fu, and that in both passages where it is quoted in the Shi-ki cheng-ngi (to Shi-ki 5, 20 a and 110, 4 b). The commentary to Chub-shu t'ung-tsien 6, 8 b gives a fuller quotation, namely Yüan-chou besides Ning-chou and K'ing-chou; *i. e.*, the present Chen-yüan-hien and Ku yüan-chou (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I, 31—b). Whether de Groot's references in "Die Hunnen der vorchr. Zeit" p. 22 go back to a variant of the text is not clear from his very arbitrary transcription, all the more since the Kuah-ti-chi edition of Sun Sing-yen was not at my disposal.

Ngan-ting(-hien), which in its turn lay again 5 li north of the modern King(-chou), (Kuah-ti-chi in the Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 110, 4 b; T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/I 14 a)¹.

c) The Mih-sü²: The most easterly of these tribes; their province included the south-eastern extremity of P'ing-liang-fu, the course of the Hēh-shui and (part) of the P'an-k'ou-ho, *i. e.*, for the most part the modern Ling-t'ai-hien (Ta Ts'ing Yih-t'ung-chi and Shen-si-t'ung-chi in T'ShTsCh' VI, 552/IV, 1 a, KMK 甲, 30 b, and Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi *ibid.*) The capital corresponded to the hien city Yin-mih of the Si Han³, 50 li west of Ling-t'ai, the modern Peh-li-chen (TLKSh 254, 20 a; T'ShTsCh' VI, 555/I, 15 b; according to the Pr. map it lies 19 km to the west, in the Hēh-shui Valley, at which point a pass goes down into the Wei Valley⁴; the west boundary is marked by the San-nü-ch'uan which contains the right source

¹ De Groot's localisation in "Die Hunnen der vorchr. Zeit" p. 22 is typical of the carelessness of his geographical references and may therefore be treated more fully: the Ngan-ting hien of the Kuah-ti-chi is not identical with the modern Ngan-ting-hien in the Kung-ch'ang-fu, Kan-suh, which is much later (the Sung first built Ting-si-ch'ang here, which was raised to Ting-si-hien by the Kin and later to Ting-si-chou; Ting-si-chou was not renamed Ngan-ting-chou until this was done by the Yüan, which again was changed by the *Ming* to Ngan-ting-hien¹; Tung-ch'ang-fu chi T'ShTsCh' VI, 557/L, 3b—4a), but with King-chou; the Si Han already built a Ngan-ting-hien here which was inhabited by the Tung Han (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/L, 14a, v. 徑川廢縣)—at the same time a kün Ngan-ting, the seat of administration of which was not however Ngan-ting(-hien) but Kao-p'ing (*i. e.* the present Chen-yüan, T'ShTsCh' VI, 555/I, 9b), and later was transferred to Lin-king by the Tsin (2 li west of Chen-yüan, *l. c.* 8b) and to P'an-yüan by the Peh Wei (40 li east of P'ing-liang, *l. c.* *ibid.*); the kün was dissolved by the Sui, but established again in 605 instead of King-chou and at the same time the old Ngan-ting-hien was brought into use once more. The T'ang dissolved the kün once again (742—757 it was only existing in part), but the hien Ngan-ting remained intact until 757 (Shen-si t'ung-chi T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/L, 1 a, 3b—4a). This contemporary Ngan-ting, of course, is meant in the Kuah-ti-chi. The old city lay 5 li north of the modern King(-chou) which lies south of the King(-ho) ever since the Ming period (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/L, 14a v. 保定古城).

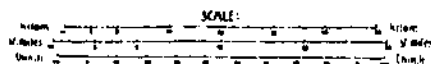
² Mih-sü is the full name, Mih the abbreviation.

³ TLCh II, 3b, cf. commentary (Ying Shao); Wei Chao to Kuoh-yü I (Chou I), 4 b; Tu Yü in TLKSh 254, 20a; Shi-ki tsih-kie to Shi-ki 4, 6a and 20b; Yin-mih-hien was dissolved by the Tung Han and made into the Yih-p'an-hien (KKCh V, 5a) which was dissolved of itself in 518 and added to the Shuo ku-hien; its name was ultimately changed in 743 into Ling-t'ai-hien (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/L, 4a—b; 555/I, 6a; the statements of the Kuah-ti-chi in the Shi-ki cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 4, 6a and 20b and of the Kuah-ti-siang in K'iao K'o to KMK 甲, 30b refer to Shun-ku-hien).

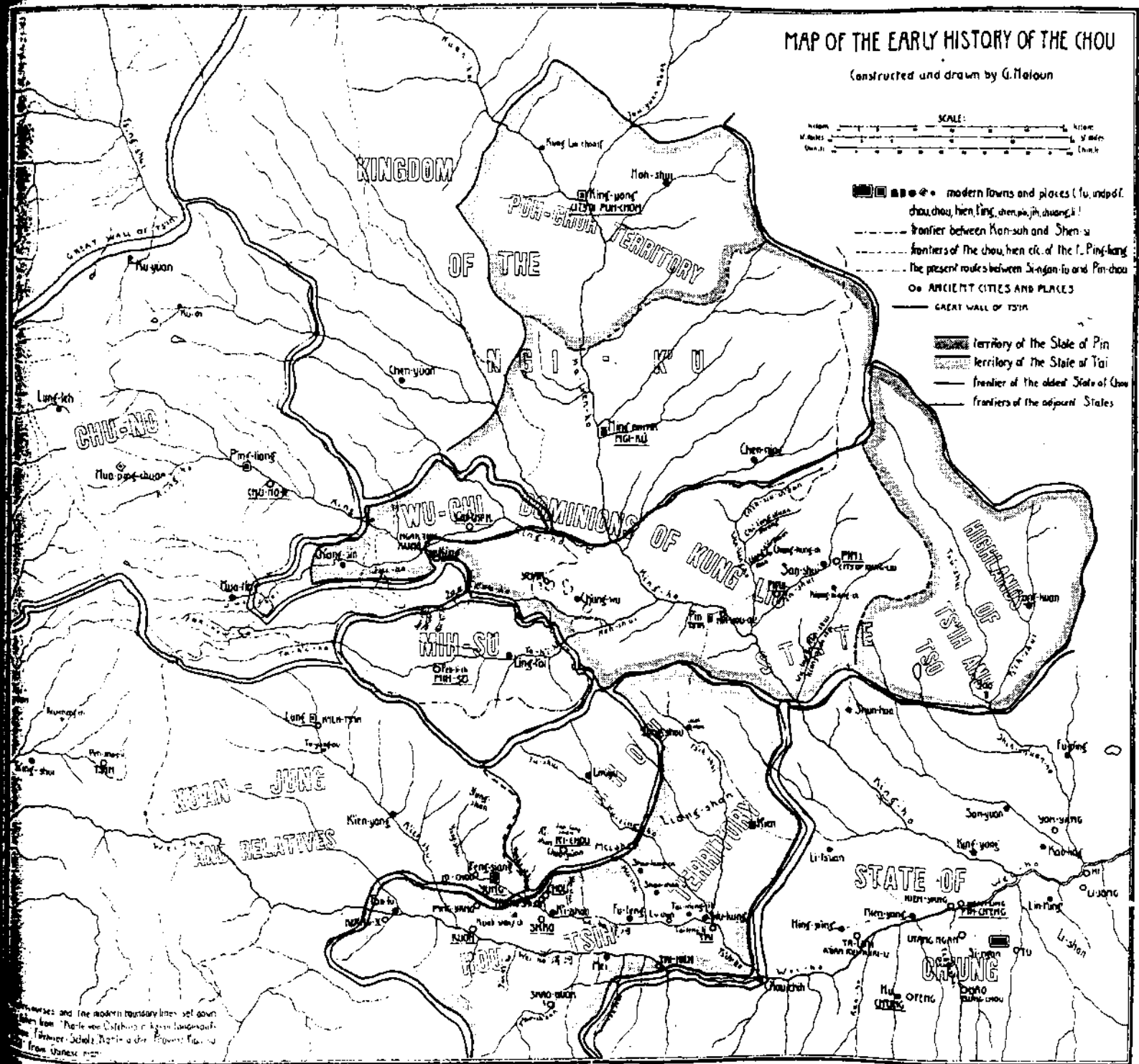
⁴ The grave of Duke K'ang of Mih, a contemporary of Kung-wang is found in Peh-li-chen, T'ShTsCh' VI, 555-I, 15b; 23b (here the direction is incorrect); cf. also M. H. I, p. 265, n. 6.

MAP OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHOU

Constructed and drawn by G. Meloun



- modern towns and places (Fu, ind. p. chow, chow, hien, ling, shen, pa, jin, shuang, etc.)
- frontier between Kan-suh and Shen-si
- frontiers of the chow, hien etc. of the T. Ping-kang
- the present routes between Si-ngan-fu and Pin-chow
- ANCIENT CITIES AND PLACES
- GREAT WALL OF TSIN
- territory of the State of Pin
- territory of the State of Tai
- frontier of the oldest State of Chou
- frontiers of the adjacent States



Boundaries and the modern boundary lines set down later than the Chou. The names of the states and territories are taken from the 'Shih-chi' and the 'Shih-tsu' and from Chinese maps.

of the P'an-k'ou-ho, near which the tale of Kuoh-yü 1 (Chou 1), 4 b cited in the Shi-ki M. H. I, p. 265 ff.) is supposed to be laid (T'ShTsCh' VI, 51/IV, 22 a).

The Mih-süh—perhaps tribal relatives of the Chou (I must refrain from discussing this extraordinarily interesting and far-reaching question; it has already been treated by Chavannes M. H. I, p. 265, n. 6, p. 266, n. 1, but in my opinion not in sufficient detail)—were dangerous and obstinate opponents of the early Chou state. Here the reports are important only in so far as they have preserved geographical references for us; these, however, show a diminution of the Chou country as against the extension of the kingdom of Pin. Shi-king 3, 1, 7, 5 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 452—53; cf. BA Sin 33, Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 140; the interesting account in TWSHK 5, 1 a and besides Chou-shu 3 (27) 7 b), gives this report about the battles of Yüan and Kung.

Yüan clings as the name of the country to the province between King(-chou) and Ch'ang-wu (v. Shen-si-t'ung-chi T'ShTsCh' VI, 552/IV, 1 a and Legge's note to the given Shi-king passage, further T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 13 a: Ch'ang-wu-ch'eng, 30 li north-west of the hien-city of Ch'ang-wu, considered as a kind of arsenal of Yüan); Kung has been preserved in the name of a pond, 5 li to the north of King(-chou) (T'ShTsCh' VI, 551/IV, 19 b—20 a; 555/I, 13 a—b)¹.

Thus about this time, the Chou territory stretched only to the mouth of the Jui. Wen-wang seems to have succeeded in pacifying his disturbing neighbour (Shi-king and TWSHK l. c.; for this reason a temple to Wen-wang on the Pao-yen-shan, 30 li south-east of Ling-t'ai—T'ShTsCh' VI, 51/IV, 20 b; 553/III, 9 b; a temple to Chou T'ai-peh 7 li north of Ling-t'ai, 533/III, 9 a); the last politically independent representative, a certain Duke (!) K'ang was deposed in the year 943²/904 and Mih-sü was "extinguished" (Kuoh-yü and Shi-ki, l. c.; BA, Kung 4, Ch. Cl. III/Prol. 151).

We can increase this territory in the East as far as about the present districts of Yao-chou and Tung-kuan-hien, the plateau of the rivers Ts'ih and Tsü, corresponding to Shi-king, 3, 1, 3, 1 and in the north round about the valley of the lower Ma-lien-ho, especially the present districts of Ning-chou and Ngan-hua (seat of administration of K'ing-ang-fu) corresponding to the statements of the local chronicles.

¹ One has wanted to interpret 徂, in the Shi-king text between 阮 & 共, the name of part of the country (Cheng Huan). Legge has dissented from this and in my opinion rightly so, although it should be noticed here that T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 25 b confirms a 明 岷 山 10 li west of Pin(-chou).

Ts'ih and Tsü: Since both these rivers are named before the emigration of Tan-fu from Pin, they can only stand for the two sources of the Shih-ch'uan-ho (*i. e.*, the Ts'ih and Tsü of the Yü-kung) which meet 3 li south of the city of Yao and flow into the Wei (mouth half-way between Wei-nan and Lin-t'ung; for the course cf. T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 19 a, 22 to 23 a, 27 b).—The history of Ki-lih's expeditions gives us independent and indigenous information which shows that this province belonged to the oldest Chou territory, a fact which is all the more probable because the early relations of the Chou state with the states in the province of the Wei mouth (Sin; Wei, Jui, Yü) allow the presumption of a line of communication between Chou and them, taking course to the north of Ch'ung and Pih (the middle plain of the Wei Valley). It is curious that local memories here can only exhibit a mountain of Wen-wang and of Wen-wang and the temples connected therewith (T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 21 a—b 504, 27 a.)

Valley of the Ma-lien-ho: The local chronicles record: a *Sin* (西姬河!) as dwelling-place for descendants of Kung Liu, 10 li south of Ngan-hua (T'ShTsCh' VI, 571/IV, 4 a; 473/IV, 1 a), a village (莊) of Kung Liu, 30 li north (*i. e.*, north-westerly direction towards Huang) of Ngan-hua (573/IV, 1 a); a temple of Kung Liu, the ruins of which lie 80 li south-west of Ngan-hua (572/V, 2 a) and finally a city (邑) of Kung Liu, about 1 li west of Ning, which later became the capital of the Ngi-k'ü kingdom and was also called Peh Pin (northern Pin)¹. To these must be added the Puh-choh memories concerning the province of Ngan-hua-hien for which cf. p. 616.

Neither was the later Chou kingdom able to keep the northern province any more; it was, in fact, just here that it suffered the greatest loss in its one time territory. The very city of Kung Liu west of Ning, just mentioned, became the capital of the Ngi-k'ü kingdom (T'ShTsCh' VI, 573/IV, 17 b; cf. 571/I, 3 b). The Ngi-k'ü must have entered there already in the time of Tan-fu, for the BA mention Wang Ki's battles with the (Wu-yih 30, *i. e.*, 9 years after the death of Tan-fu; Ch. Cl. III/Proc. p. 137); in the south their province approximately reached the boundaries of the provinces Kan-suh and Shen-si: the local chronicles according to the Fang-yü-sheng-lan specify a Ngi-k'ü-ch'eng to the north of the Ngi-

¹ The Emperor Hiao-wen of the Peh Wei dynasty (471—99) called it Pin-chou (earlier Hua-chou under Hien-wen Ti, instead of the Ni-yang-hien of the Si Han) while the present Pin-chou was called Nan Pin-chou; the Si Wei united both under the name Pin-ning-chou, an arrangement which was maintained until the Peh Chou (T'ShTsCh' VI, 571/I, 1 a, 3 b; 573/IV, 17 b, cf. 491, 23 a).

chen, *i. e.*, of the present city of Ch'ang-wu (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 18 a & 32 a; the history of Ngi-luh cf. 491, 25 a; 514, 18 b & 32 a—b)¹.

Similar to the conditions in the old Chou kingdom of the Wei Valley, we also find the administration of the kingdom here sharply divided into three, the military restrictedness of which is besides quite obvious on the face of it: the 三單 of Shi-king 3, 2, 6, 5. In view of the direct historical statements we are no longer in the position to mark off the settlements of these three parts of the Kung Liu people, and thus the geographical structure of the province just sketched must prove the deciding factor when fixing them. This falls naturally into three original particular territories: 1) The north-west right wing, front facing the Ngi-k'ü: the valley of the Ma-lien-ho; 2) the middle: the basin of Pin, the valley of the King-ho; 3) south-west (left wing, front facing Ch'ung): plateau near the rivers Ts'ih and Tsü. Such a grouping at once directs the chief driving force of the whole kingdom against the west, from the King Valley upwards, and therefore has the advantage of making the direction of the expansion of the Pin kingdom, as transmitted by history, appear natural, thus lending it note-worthy support.

C. The Heroes of Civilisation:

1. Puh-choh, Kung Liu and Tan-fu and their "kingdom" within the state of Pin.

The chief evidence in favour of the above stated hypothetical division of the Pin kingdom is to be found in the fact that each of these geographical particular provinces at some time or other contained in the centre of the "kingdom" of one of the heroes of civilisation, which fact seems sufficient justification for their political separate position.

¹ Of the very few Ngi-k'ü names which have come down to us, the one 公孫 那: Shi-ki 109, 1 b, Ts'HSb 54, 1 a, 66, 1 a, resp. | | 渾那: Shi-ki 111, 15 b, Ts'HSb 30, 17 a, pronunciation Hun-ya (yuan<g>—ja<z>; P'ei Yin to Shi-ki 109, 1 b; 音魂, Yen Shi-ku to Ts'HSb 54, 1 a; | | 下溫反, to 66, 1 a as well as to 6, 8 b; | | 斤門反; cf. to 55, 5 a 渾音下昆反) also occurs in Chinese and therefore presumably as Turkish: 渾那王: Shi-ki 110, 23 a, 111, 8 a, 102, Ts'HSb 55, 5 a, 6 a—b, resp. 昆那王: Ts'HSb 6, 8 b; 94/1, 13 b. The old name 君牙 (Shu-king 5, 25) is probably the same; on this point as on the Chinese parallel to 君陳 (Shu-king 5, 21; v. p. 608, n. 2) Conrady, the discoverer of parallels, will express his opinion himself (v. p. 617).

Thus the north-west province (valley of the Ma-lien-ho) is the "kingdom" of Puh-choh: his capital is supposed to have been situated 3 li south of Ngan-hua¹, his grave is found 2 li to the east² and his temple to the south of this city³. In the same way the south-eastern province (Ts'ih-Tsü plateau) is without any doubt connected with the Tan-fu tradition. Indeed, this connection occurs in the *Shi-king* 3, 1, 3, 1, in such a striking manner *i. e.*, this province of secondary importance—contrary to the tradition concerning Hou Tsih, Puh-choh, Kung-Liu and contrary to all historical probability,—is described with such emphasis as the original seat of the Chou, that the conjecture forces itself to the front, namely, that the rule of Tan-fu presupposed a change of power in the state of Pin, as the result of which the people of the left wing obtained the political lead⁴.—As far as the middle province is concerned, this is strewn with local memories of Kung Liu (city, village, grave, sacrificial altar as well as the places mentioned in the *Shi-king* 3, 2, 6, specially mentioned on pp. 608—10) and the extent of their dissemination is covered by the area of the narrower Pin Kingdom and its offshoot into the Jui Valley (temple to Kung Liu near Ch'ung-sin, v. p. 609). If at any rate this area also overlaps into the Ma-lien Valley in the north (Si Ki-ho, village and temple to Kung Liu near Ngan-hua v. p. 614; the city near Ning is attached directly to the fundamental province of Pin, and may possibly have belonged to the middle province, since the district produces no Puh-choh memories), on the other hand the fact that the middle province is absolutely free of local memories of Puh-choh resp. Tan-fu is sufficient to speak in favour of Kung Liu as the seat of civilisation of the middle group.

In this way the program developed on pp. 598 & 600 is in great measure realised; Puh-choh, Kung Liu and Tan-fu are connected

¹ Statement of the K'uan-ti-chi, quoted in the *Shi-ki cheng-ngi* to *Shi-ki* 4, used by Chavannes in *M. H. I.*, p. 212, n. 2; cf. also the statements of the *Shi-king* *l'ung-chi* and the *K'ing-yang-fu-chi* in *T'ShTsCh'* VI, 573/IV, 1a & 573/I, 1a; *Li-chi* in *KMK* 丙, 29b calls the city Yüeh(Wei?)-ki-ch'eng 尉季城 (K'iao K'o), and considers this another way of writing 郁郅城, the city of a hien of the Si-chou must surely be wrong; because in ancient times the former was pronounced yüeh-ki (the latter yüeh-chi). It lies at the juncture of the Peh-ma and Ma-liang-ch'uan rivers.

² Statement of Yüan-ho kün-hien-chi, in Chavannes, *l. c.* According to the *Shi-king* chronicles, quoted in *T'ShTsCh'* VI, 573/IV, 23a but in a very bad state of preservation.

³ *K'ing-yang-fu-chi* *T'ShTsCh'* VI, 573/V, 1a; also ruined.

⁴ Cf. also the researches on p. 617 & p. 623.

with particular provinces of the Pin kingdom in such manner that each individual "kingdom" belonging to each of these heroes corresponds to the province of each of the three military unities of the kingdom of Pin.

The above result is sufficient for the purposes of this investigation but is not comprehensive enough to allow of any decision on the ethnical equivalencies or differences of these three parts. The continuation of study on these lines is surely very necessary, but it lies without the scope of the present work. Besides the historical-political investigation and that of history of civilisation, philological research will also have an important word to say in the matter, in so far as the list of names of the kings given on p. 596 as well as the Chou names of later periods will have to be examined as to their affinity of languages with regard to the Hirth-Conrady hypothesis of the Turkish origin of the Chou people. A work by Conrady on this very theme is about to be published. — Some more preliminary work which is just as essential and which must be accomplished by research is to find out whether the clan-membership of several "barbarian" members of the clan Ki (姬) goes back to an old ethnical relation with the Chou, which has also been omitted here.

The following investigation of Hou Tsih will yield fundamental facts which will make it possible to pass judgment on the Chou tradition—(cf. also p. 623). Here just one thing may be added which can be deduced from the material already brought together: the south-eastern group (Tan-fu) stands isolated, whilst the middle group (Kung Liu) and the north-west group (Puh-choh) seem to have connections; so much so that the Kung Liu memories cover the territory of both and (Shi-king 3, 2, 6) an immigration of Kung Liu into Pin is given as over the "mountains", *i. e.* from the north—from the province of the Puh-choh group. Further, to work out an idea hinted at on p. 598: after re-establishing the provinces of Puh-choh, Kung Liu and Tan-fu, it is fairly easy to state as a fact that their economic conditions must have been widely different; the most favourable would have been the basin of Pin, which must have been capable of being already opened up to primitive agriculture (and the ode *Shi-king* 1, 15, 1, shows it on a high grade) and the most unfavourable the highlands of Ts'ih and Tsü. Now tradition puts the cultivation of the latter at a very late period *viz.* under Tan-fu, whilst Pin must have been cultivated land from very ancient times. Besides this the Hia calendar in Pin (in the agricultural ode *Shi-king* l. c.) and the Hia-hou-ch'eng, which the local chronicles describe as 5 li east of Pin-chou) (*T'ShTsCh'* VI, 514, 18b), point to it.

2. Hou Tsih's Kingdom T'ai; Population of T'ai; Hou Tsih is the Hero of Civilisation of the West-Kiang.

It now remains to extend the investigation to Hou Tsih. Local memories of Hou Tsih, like those of the Kiang-yüan, are found, it is true, in the neighbourhood of Pin-chou, but on the other hand they do not make a good impression of their age and their real indigenous character¹. The good old tradition on the other hand as already found in the sacred ode Shi-king 3, 2, 1, (5), knows Hou Tsih as lord of T'ai. This state had its centre in the Wu-kung-hien, K'ien-chou, Shen-si, the Tsih-chou of the Tang period (according to T'ShTsCh' VI, 491, 22a—b, existed temporarily between 620 & 691 and according to KMK 丙, 29a already in 617 or 618), which contains a temple to Hou Tsih and Kiang-yüan (T'ShTsCh' VI, 504, 29b) whilst a grave of the Kiang-yüan is found outside the southern gate of the city (T'ShTsCh' VI, 516, 25b). The capital, T'ai (Lai?) ch'eng² probably the present village T'ai-feng should be placed 8 li south of Wu-kung (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 11a; TLKSh 254, 17a).

¹ The legend of the birth of Hou Tsih takes place outside the southern gate of Pin(-chou), a sacrificial altar for Kiang-yüan, built in the time of the T'ang and renovated in 1547, is found outside the city walls, and a grave of Kiang-yüan 10 li east of the city in a glen of the mountains (T'ShTsCh' VI, 504, 31a; 514, 14a; 516, 26b). In addition, Kiang-yüan-shui, the other name of the Wu-lung-kuh-shui, in the river-bank of which the Kiang-liang-chen is also situated (cf. p. 610). This accumulation within the smallest compass of the modern city of Pin is suspect, because the most important places of olden times were situated, as has been shown, to the east of it in the Pin-shan Valley; only the country surrounding Kiang-liang-chen played any role at all in ancient times and that place was obviously an important one for the Kingdom of Pin, but bears also other names.

² 蔡城: Pronunciation T'ai in the Tze-tien: 湯來切 同部 on the ground of the reference to the sound by Yen Shi-ku in TLCh 1, 8a: | 與部同音 胎 thus already P'ei Yin and finally, Sze-ma Cheng in the commentary to Shi-ki 95, 3b: | 音胎, resp. 台; in the KKCh I, 7b 部亭 appears instead of the | 蔡 TLCh I, 8a. The character | (representing 蔡) is also pronounced li (又音 離 Tze-tien s. v. |) and this is also the standard pronunciation of the variants, which are given to 蔡, namely 蔡 (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 13a; in the same way in the quotation of the passage Shi-ki 95, 3b in the Tze-tien; the editions, accessible to me print 蔡) 蔡, Ku-wen form 蔡 (TLKSh 254, 17a). In any case both are supposed to possess the pronunciation T'ai as well: Tze-tien s. v. 蔡: 湯來切 音胎 與部同音 s. v. 蔡: 土來切 音胎; 地名... 后稷之封也, besides this however, the Tze-tien also admits the pronunciation Lai and for all these signs as well when describing our place:—s. v. 蔡: 郎才切 音來; 地名, 在夫風陽... 通作蔡 又作 蔡.

Closely there exists a T'ai (Lai?)-ting to the east of Mei on the south bank of the Wei, 40 li south-west of T'ai (Lai?)-ch'eng (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 29b), resp. 30 li south-east of Fu-feng (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 13a) and 30 li south-west of Wu-kung (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 10b; this reference makes the distance too short and must be rectified by about 40 li); it is the T'ai (Lai?)-hien of the Si Han (TLCh 1, 8a) which was dissolved under the Tung Han and added to Mei-hien (KKCh I, 7b, T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 16a. The Wu-kung-hien-chi gives the Wu-kung-hien of the Si Han as situated there, which statement, however, does not agree with the KKCh and is therefore incorrect); perhaps the statement of the Kuah-ti-chi (Shi-ki-cheng-ngi to Shi-ki 4, 2a) and (according to it?) that of Lo Pi in KMK 丙, 29a refers to this place with regard to the position of T'ai (=T'ai (Lai?) = Wu-kung-ch'eng(!), 22 li south-west of the hien city of Wu-kung).—In addition a county town T'ai-ch'eng 40 or 45 li south-east (or rather east-south-east) of Fu-feng, with a temple to Kiang-yüan (T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 9a; 526/IV, 12b) which cannot be identical with T'ai (Lai?)-ch'eng (=T'ai-feng-li) (the distance between the cities Wu-kung and Fu-feng alone amounts to 50 resp. 55 li: T'ShTsCh' VI, 492, 17a; 523/II, 3a); it may possibly coincide with the post station T'ai-ch'eng which the WCh' map enters west of Wu-kung on the north bank of the Wei (漳) and which, according to TLKSh 254, 17a was built during the Ming period (in T'ShTsCh' VI, 508, 29b, the direction is incorrect again, east being given instead of west, which can be drawn here from the context itself).

T'ai, therefore, lay in the province of the Wei Valley which was conquered by the Chou after being dispossessed of Pin.

But this state T'ai was in the possession of the Kiang-clan³. This circumstance allows the possibility of ascertaining the population in the east of the Chou kingdom, which met these in the Wei Valley; but not here alone; the local memories of the whole district become revealed everywhere as the older stratum of Kiang clan settlements.

³ A general assumption, cf. Chavannes in M. H. I, p. 209, n. 2 and possibly further T'ShTsCh' XIV, 115.

It is senseless for Lo Pi in KMK 甲, 15a—b to look for the T'ai of the Kiang-clan in the unimportant place of the same name in Lu on the border opposite K'ü and Chou, to the south of the present Pi, merely to save T'ai for the Ki-clan (cf. 丙, 28b—29a); it is mentioned once in the Ch'un-ü-shü (Ch. Cl. V, p. 454/55; the Ku-liang-chuan has the v. l. 合附), then in the Tso-chuan appendix (Ch. Cl. V, p. 860/61) and in the Shi-ki (M. H. IV, p. 81). According to Lo Pi, Kiang-yüan would possess a Kiang clan fief, T'ai, in Shan-tung and her son Hou-Tsih a Ki clan fief, T'ai, in Shen-si.

A Lieh-shan, 2 li east of Yung-shou marks the northern boundary and closes the road to Pin (cf. thereto p. 601)¹. The western boundary of the province of the Kiang-settlement—in the same way as with the Chou—merges into the Pao-ki-hüen, whose seat of administration itself contains a temple to Shen-nung (outside the eastern gate of the city T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 7b), and is marked by the city Kiang-ch'eng (Kiang-yih, Kiang-shü-ch'eng) the ruins of which, according to the modern local chronicles, lie 5 li south of the city and by a Kiang-shui.² In the same way the middle province is rich in local memories of such kind as enable us to determine the Kiang-clan family, among whose possessions T'ai was to be found: they are the princes of Lü (and after the division of this branch into Ts'i and Shen, the counts of Shen, v. below). A hereditary residence (Erbhof) of the Lü (呂宅) is known 30 li east of Fu-feng (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 13a); T'ai-kung Wang (Lü Shang) is supposed to have lived there. Several local memories are connected with him; a grave of his wife lies near Fu-feng, 8 li south of the Wei (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 27b), a temple near the Chou-kung temple K'i-shan (v. p. 607; T'ShTsCh' VI, 525/III, 4a), further, several places where he is supposed to have fished³; the best confirmed (also by the BA) is the valley of the Pan-k'i-ho, a tributary of the Wei (渭) from the Ts'ingling, 60 li south-east of Pao-ki; here is to be seen a stone house in which he is supposed to have lived, a stone from which he fished, a temple and a terrace (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 12b. cf. 526/IV, 9a—b, 525/III, 7b); a further spot is shown on the bank of the Huang-shui, a tributary of the Wei (漳), 3 li south of K'i-shan city (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 8a—) and a third is the "Eight Fish Spring", 30 li south-east of Pao-ki (T'ShTsCh' VI, 523/IV, 11b).

It is now quite comprehensible why Lü Shang allies himself with the Chou and proceeds against the Shang dynasty. — Again,

¹ T'ShTsCh' VI, 495, 24b. The mountain bears the same name as the birthplace of Shen-nung and is besides a sacrificial mountain.

² Thus T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 9b and the Ta Ts'ing Yih-t'ung-chi quoted in Chu-shu-t'ung-t'ien com. to 9, 102 that places the city 7 li south-west of Pao-ki. Another localisation which rests on the Shui-king-chu, places Kiang-shi-ch'eng to the south of Chou-ch'eng (15 li north-west of the city of K'i-shan, v. p. 607), on the west bank of K'i-shui, which from thereon (probably until it flows into the Wei 漳) is supposed to bear the name of Kiang-shui; this also links up the statement of the T'ai-p'ing huan-yü according to which it rises near K'i-ch'eng (T'ShTsCh' VI, 526/IV, 6a & Chu-shu-t'ung-t'ien l. c.)

³ The story belonging thereto occurs in a primary gloss of the BA. Ch. Cl. Prol. p. 143.

Kiang element has not been preserved only as a subjected population in the western part of the Wei Valley; during the first periods of the Chou dynasty Kiang princes have remained here, not merely as owners of the land but as political rulers.⁴

The local Chronicles (T'ShTsCh' VI, 514, 10b, s. v. 釐亭) report that at the time of the Chou, T'ai was fief to the counts of Shen. And — extraordinary as this information may appear at first sight — it is specially qualified to throw light on a few hitherto dark points in the more ancient history of the Chou. We know that Shen had very great interests in the Western Wei Valley; thus the BA report under Hiao 1 (909/870 B. C.; Ch. Cl. III/Prol. p. 152) that the king gave the margrave of Shen the order and power (命) to lead a punitive expedition against the Si-jung (i. e., generally speaking the K'üan-jung); thus under the same king the margrave of Shen boasts of very old and good connections with the Si-jung and has an influential word to say when a wall is inserted between the territory of the Chou and that of the K'üan-jung through the establishment of Ts'in; in fact, his consent is necessary for the bestowal of the fief (Shi-ki; M. H. II, p. 11); and finally, it is the margrave of Shen who is in a position to make just the K'üan-jung his allies when strife breaks out between him and King Yu (774) and who, with their help, is able to destroy 772 the power of the king in the Wei Valley. For if this state, whose centre lay in the furthest South-West Ho-nan, in the plains of the Peh and T'ang-ho ("extinguished" here in 688 B. C. by Ch'u), had not had direct possessions in the province of the Wei Valley, its interest in this province would be incomprehensible.

I state therefore:—To Hou Tsih, the ostensible *first* ancestor of the Chou belonged the western part of the plain of the Wei Valley i. e., the *last* province of which the Chou took possession before they commenced the struggle for the whole of China, i. e., approximately in the thirteenth century after they had been driven out of large parts of the kingdom of Pin. Furthermore, the state which the Chou encountered here, Hou Tsih's "fief" T'ai, had a Kiang population and was still ruled in part by Kiang (Lü-Shen family) in the Chou period. Accordingly, Hou Tsih must have been the hero of civilisation (agriculture) of the Kiang population of the Wei Valley (West Kiang) and was adopted by the Chou as quite a strange tribe.—It is therefore absolutely clear why the mother of Hou Tsih bears the name of Kiang-yüan, i. e., "Origin of the Kiang".

⁴ A fact, which shows how weak in number this conquering people really was.

The connection of the West Kiang with the principal tribe of the Kiang people can be well established both in time and place. The province of the present hiens Tsih-shan and Wan-ts'üan in the P'ing-yang-fu of South-West Shan-si which borders on the land T'ang, the hereditary fief of Yao, is to be regarded as their home. Quite a considerable number of local memories of Hou Tsih and Kiang-yüan are found here (cf. the second part of Wedemeyer: Yao, Shun, Yü, which is appearing very shortly; partly entered on the WH map, by-map D).—In point of time the cleavage from the principal tribe takes place in the time of Shun. Shu-king 2, 1, 5, 18 (Ch. Cl. III, p. 43—44) already puts the investiture of Hou Tsih during the reign of Shun. The Shun period, however, from the point of view of the history of settlements, means the period of the irruption of the eastern tribes (Jung, relatives of Shun) into the province of the middle of the kingdom (Ho-tung, to take up once more this ancient but very useful geographical terminus) which formerly was under Kiang rule (relatives of Yao). Accordingly, the fall of Yao resulted in the emigration of the West Kiang.

One thing which made it easier for the hero of civilisation of the West Kiang to appear in the Chou genealogy is surely the marriage of Tan-fu, the ruler to whom the conquest of the Wei Valley is ascribed, with a lady of the Kiang clan, the Kiang-nü of Shi-king 3, 1, 3, 2 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 438), the Chou-kiang of Shi-king 3, 1, 6, 1 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 446) and the T'ai-kiang of the Shi-ki (M. H. I. p. 215) and of the Lieh-nü-chuan 1, 9 b, 10 a; she belonged to the Lü race (so at least Lieh-nü-chuan, l. c. 有呂氏之女) and from precisely that branch which ruled T'ai (KMK 甲, 15 a: 太王... 娶于豳).

The seizure of T'ai by the Chou must have taken place in a friendly way; this is shown by the close alliance between the Chou and the princes of the Kiang (Lü Shang) besides the fact of the alliance by marriage. It is not necessary to represent T'ai-kiang as the heir (Erbtochter), because it is quite likely that the Kiang of T'ai found themselves in political difficulties, and apparently were at war with barbarian neighbours; the expulsion of the Kuan-i (= K'üan-jung), which in Shi-king 3, 1, 7, 2 (Ch. Cl. IV, p. 459) is ascribed to Tan-fu at the foundation of K'i-chou, seems to point to this. And then the lords of T'ai themselves called the Chou into the country and at any rate could not rid themselves of them again.

¹ At the best, the Chou also added by conquest the country round the K'i-shan to the T'ai kingdom; we learn from the BA (Kuei 3, 1816/1587 B. C.; Ch. Cl. III

This seems to me sufficient to clear up the position of Hou Tsih. His joining with Ti K'uh—Kao-sin, the legitimate ancestor of the Shang, was the result of a desire to place the aspiring dynasty on an equality, as far as nobility goes with the ruling one, to legitimise it; and it is absolutely arbitrary. (To the legend of the birth of Hou Tsih, as found in sacred tradition, Shi-king 3, 2, 1, Kao-sin is not yet known, but it may be older than the Chou.)

At this juncture we may cast one more glance over the general structure of the Chou genealogy. We see then that the latest acquisition to the ancestral order is placed highest; therein the Chou follow an apparently universal Chinese tendency (cf. *e. g.*, what Conrady says of P'an-fu in his history of China p. 522). Are we justified in assuming that the same tendency was also effective when establishing the mutual relations of the three heroes of civilisation of Pin? It would constitute an important support in favour of a conception which would see the real Chou people, *i. e.*, its ruling elements, in the Tan-fu stratum (with property in the Ts'ih and Tsü) (cf. p. 616). At the present moment, however, this problem is not yet ripe for judgment (the necessary preliminary work was stated on p. 617; in particular, objections could still be raised to the fact that Hou Tsih must take this position in the genealogical tree of the Chou, on the grounds of a firm and general Chinese chronology).

vol. p. 125) that the K'üan-i (K'üan-jung) had established themselves round the territory of the K'i-shan [parallel passage in the HHS 87, 1 b: the country between Pin and the K'i(-shan)] since the end of the Hia period, and they may have held their own there during the Shang period.