THE ORIGINS OF CHINESE TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE

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1986
DECLARATION

This thesis has been composed by myself and is my own original work.

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August 1986
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis has benefited from the encouragement, understanding and criticism of my supervisor Professor C.B. Wilson, Professor of Architectural Science. Without his perseverance, inspiration and guidance, this research would have been impossible. I would therefore like to express my deepest gratitude to him.

I would also like to acknowledge with gratitude the Vans Dunlop Scholarship (1983/84) awarded by the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Postgraduate Studentship and Overseas Research Student Award (1984/5) by the University.

My profound thanks are also due to Mrs. Shona Hayes and Miss Sheila Masterton for their great help and encouragement in various ways, to my fellow Postgraduate students for their helpful discussions, and to the CAAD group for the use of their word processor. They have made both tangible and intangible contributions to the thesis.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my parents and to my family, especially to my wife, Feng-lan Chen, who shared my most critical moments. I sincerely thank her for her unflagging support, patience, encouragement and understanding. My child, although too young to understand my research, was the unfathomable source of my strength. I dedicate this thesis to my deceased father to whom I owe so much, and to my people who have such a great past.
ABSTRACT

An attempt has been made to identify the origins of certain key characteristics of Chinese traditional architecture by tracing the evolution of "grand" architecture during the pre-traditional period starting from neolithic times. The study focuses upon the Three Dynasties because their architecture was of great symbolic importance and already contained many characteristics of traditional form and planning. In order to explore the evolution of an architectural form, it is necessary not only to expose its changing plans and constructions, but also to understand its purpose at different times. Reconstructions have therefore been undertaken using socio-cultural, historical, religious and etymological evidence together with detailed evidence from archaeological sites.

The thesis starts with a description of the main features of the architecture of the traditional period followed by a brief critical review of previous attempts to explain their origins. Those characteristics which might reasonably be hoped to be explicable on the basis of available archaeological evidence are then identified. The second chapter defines the approach to socio-spatial analysis which has been adopted throughout in interpreting the architecture of pre-traditional times and ends with a summary of the structure of the main body of the thesis.

The idea of "the Centre" as a dominant place of power or control runs as a thread through the thesis in exploring the relations between changes in architectural and settlement form and socio-cultural evolution. It enables a coherent history over a long period of time to be constructed out of a study of critical stages by concentrating upon the changes in the form and significance of the symbolic Centre: from a neolithic circular open space to a square walled open space, then to a walled compound (as a Centre or sub-Centre), and finally to the walled compound of the king, a lord and every family (called ssu-ho-yuan generally) and even to a walled city. It was the idea of the symbolic Centre that allowed the form and plan of the "grand" architecture which evolved during the Three Dynasties to become a model which was later embedded in almost every type of building in traditional China.

Reconstructions of ancient societies inevitably contain a high degree of speculation. The thesis ends with a discussion of particular needs for further investigations of the relationship between the culture and social structure of the pre-traditional Chinese and the spatial structure of their settlement and territories. Whether these would support or contradict the architectural story told in this thesis remains to be seen, but they would certainly lead to a deeper understanding of early Chinese society.
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CHAPTER ONE: PROBLEMS AND BACKGROUND

In this study we present a history of Chinese architecture of the pre-traditional period, dating from the fortieht century B.C. (the Yang-shao period) to the close of the third century B.C. (the beginning of the traditional era) with special emphasis on the "grand" architecture ¹ of the Three Dynasties (referred to as "ancient China", (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.8)). We have chosen this specific architecture of the Three Dynasties as the focus of our study, partly because the characteristics of its form were, according to the archaeological evidence found so far, not very different from those of traditional architecture, and partly because buildings belonging to the grand design tradition (in our case, both the walled city and the buildings within it) have generally been regarded as a symbol of power and a necessary instrument of the ruling classes to gain and maintain their political power (for instance by Fei: 1953, pp.95-9 and Chang Kwang-chih: 1985, p.63). This assumption, however, will be questioned.

Before the Three Dynasties, the form of Chinese architecture was mainly dominated by the so-called "primitive" neolithic buildings: the wattle-and-daub or adobe ² houses with single or multiple rooms found in the north of China, and the pile dwellings of the south. After the Three Dynasties, Chinese architecture reached its adolescence in the Han dynasty, and then was persistently used throughout the rest of Chinese history until modern times. This is what is usually called "Chinese traditional architecture".

The transitions during the Three Dynasties are the main keys to revealing how and

¹ Rapoport classifies Western architecture into buildings belonging to the grand design tradition and those of the folk or popular tradition: the former are "built to impress either the populace with the power of the patron, or the peer group of designers and cognoscenti with the cleverness of the designer and good taste of the patron", and the latter are "the direct and unself-conscious translation into physical form of culture, its need and values — as well as the desires, dreams and passions of a people". (Rapoport: 1969, p.2) We borrow the word "grand" simply to a similar distinction in ancient Chinese architecture. The "grand" architecture of the period could take a number of different forms: an open space, a walled compound, or a building.
² The details of these two methods of construction can be found in Appendix(2).
why traditional architecture evolved step by step from the neolithic period onwards. But before trying to study the how and the why, we must first describe what Chinese traditional architecture was and review some different views about its origins.

The present chapter together with Chapter Two form an introduction to the thesis. In this chapter, we consider those aspects of Chinese traditional architecture which might be explained by a study of their earlier history and thus conclude that the study of how and why the initial walled compound with the form of "[image]" was generated during the Hsia dynasty should be the key point of our concerns. Chapter Two introduces the methodology that has been adopted in the study. The second half of Chapter Two (pp. 34 - 38) gives an outline of the structure of the main body of the thesis.

1.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE

The era of what is known as "traditional China" extended over a long period, from the Ch'in and Han dynasties to the Ch'ing dynasty, that is from 206 B.C. to 1911 A.D.. During this time, socio-cultural behaviour continued with little change from generation to generation; that is to say, there was a model of behaviour shared by everyone through collective assent. Parallel to this, a certain architectural form, manifested very widely in what is generally called "Chinese traditional architecture", was embedded in this society as a model. It persisted in essentially the same form through this period and over a widespread area, and was an indigenous style created and developed continuously within an isolated and self-sufficient society and culture. It was a form applicable to any type of Chinese building in the tradition, something very different from Western architecture which has always distinguished between buildings belonging to the grand design tradition and those of the folk tradition, as Rapoport points out (1969, p.2).

The most common descriptions of the characteristics of Chinese traditional architecture
are concerned with the appearance of its form, and usually concentrate on three major components: platform, wooden column and beam structure, and curved roof. Other descriptions emphasise the plan: the unit of space, the compound, and the ordering of space. The following paragraphs describe these main features concisely to provide a general picture of the principal characteristics.

(a) The raised platform was a terraced hang-tu \(^3\) base on which a building was erected. (Fig 1.1)

(b) Wood was always used as the main material in construction.

(c) Needing neither base, wall, nor roof, the wooden structure stood up by itself as a firm geometrical grid of columns and beams. (Needham: 1971, p.97) (Fig 1.2)

(d) The walls used under the wooden structure were simply screens and partitions which carried no load. This arrangement provided the greater flexibility for openings. (Fig 1.1)

(e) The roof, with its curved form, became the most characteristic and beautiful feature of Chinese traditional architecture. Not only the "raise and depress" or the "raising the truss" method, but also the "overhanging eaves" method provided the curvature of the roof, which gave traditional architecture its remarkable functional and aesthetic character. The "raise and depress" method was a canon for structural carpentry to determine the pitch and curvature of a roof during the Sung dynasty (Fig 1.3) and the "raising the truss" method was a different canon for the same purpose during the Ch'ing dynasty (Fig 1.4). The "overhanging eaves" method was a canon of using double rafters to construct the eaves into a curved form. (Fig 1.5) This elaborate curved roof was developed into five variations, see Fig 1.6.

\(^3\) The details of this and other methods of construction can be found in Appendix(2).
Fig 1.1: Principal parts of a Chinese timber-frame building  
(Liang: 1984, p.9)

Fig 1.2: The timber structure of a Chinese building as a firm geometrical grid.  
(Chien-kung: 1980, p.4)

Fig 1.3: The "raise and depress" method in constructing a curved roof during the Sung dynasty  
(Liang: 1984, p.16)
Fig 1.4: The "raising the truss" method in constructing a curved roof during the Ch'ing dynasty (Liang: 1984, p.19)

Fig 1.5: The "overhanging eaves" method in constructing a curved eaves during the Ch'ing dynasty (YTHS: 1934(1), Appendix, Fig 9)

Fig 1.6: Five types of roof
(Liang: 1984, p.11)
(f) The *tou-kung* (斗拱) bracket-system, between the roof and the columns and beams carried the load of the roof structure, and then transferred it directly or indirectly to the columns. The *tou* was so called because it was a block of wood resembling a capacity-measure (*tou*) in shape, and the *kung* or bow-piece was the double elbow-shaped arm supporting one of these on each side. But the *tou-kung* was particularly significant because its arm was taken as a module, *ts’ai* (材), a special proportion, namely the end elevation (*kuang*, 幡, *kao-to*, 高度) of the horizontal corbel bracket arm (*hua-kung*, 驛拱), to measure every single structural component, and thence to fix the scale of the building. (Fig 1.7) (Needham: 1971 pp.93 & 68)

(g) The space enclosed by two parallel timber frames (Fig 1.8) was called one *chien* (間), one bay. It was the standard space unit for constructing a typical traditional building, which was usually two, three or more units combined breadthways into a rectangular plan. It was nearly always intended that this rectangular building should be approached from its long sides rather than its ends.

(h) The typical enclosed unit for Chinese traditional architecture was usually called *ssu-ho-yuan* (四合院). This consisted of a number of individual rectangular dwellings disposed around the sides of a central courtyard within a walled enclosure. The main hall (*cheng-t’ang*, 正堂) was located on the north, the side halls (*hsiang-fang*, 廊房) on each side, and a gate (*men*, 门), sometimes connected with reversed halls (*tao-ts’o*, 倒座), on the south; sometimes these dwellings were then connected by open galleries (*lang*, 廊); and finally all were enclosed by a wall. (Fig 1.9)

(i) Although the courtyard was usually regarded as a central space for this walled unit, the main hall was in fact its focus. This is because it was the dominant element from which came the characteristics of the central north-south axis, the symmetry, and the south orientation of the unit, as well as giving the latter two characteristics to the important buildings.
Fig 1.7: The Chinese "order" and its details of tou-kung
(Liang: 1984, pp. 10 & 13)

Fig 1.8: The unit of space in a Chinese traditional building
(Chien-kung: 1980, p. 4)
Fig 1.9: The organisation of the typical compound
(Chien-kung: 1980, p.12)

Fig 1.10: Three principles of disposing space for a traditional compound
which were located on the central north-south axis where there was more than one courtyard.

(j) The central north-south axis, and the halls and gates transversely located on it, were two coordinates which allowed traditional buildings to be expanded in depth as well as in breadth. Its internal coherence was maintained under three principles of disposing space: distinguishing the inner (private) from the outer (public), the unbiased (cheng, 正 ) from the biased (p’ien, 偏 ), the upper from the lower. (Fig 1.10)

1.2. DIFFERENT VIEWS ABOUT THE ORIGINS OF CHINESE TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE AND COMMENTS UPON THEM

In the last two decades, analyses of architectural form have shifted from an emphasis upon the physical factors of climate, the need for shelter, natural resources, availability of materials, construction methods, technology, and the like, to an emphasis on socio-cultural factors, such as social and economic structure, defence, cultural currents, religion, and ritual and mythical complexes, etc. In presenting those studies which have in some respects contributed to the enquiry into the origins of Chinese traditional architecture under these two categories, we will discuss them on the basis of the particular characteristic of Chinese traditional architecture with which they are primarily concerned.

1.2.1. Physical factors

Firstly, we will present the interpretations based upon a various physical determinants. Most of these are hypothetical, because they suffer from three limitations: first, most have confined themselves to the interpretation of isolated phenomena; second, although many different viewpoints have contributed to an explanation of the origins of some characteristics of Chinese traditional architecture, most are too fragmented and vague to fit alongside
the historical changes and reciprocal influences of other characteristics; third, the lack of visible ancient buildings requires these attempts to rely more on assumptions than on any hard evidence. In fact Rapoport has pointed out some of these limitations (referring to architecture generally):

First, they have tended to be largely physical determinist in nature. Second, no matter which specific form-determinant has been stressed, the theories have inclined toward a rather excessively simplistic attempt to attribute form to a single cause. (Rapoport: 1969, p.18)

It is these disabilities which prevent the attempts outlined below from achieving a proper interpretation of the origins of Chinese traditional architecture.

Platform

Utilitarian function has been considered for a long time as the main factor contributing to the use of a hang-t'u platform for traditional Chinese architecture. The ancient book Mo Tzu said that the house should be built high enough to avoid damp and moisture, and Needham shares this interpretation: "This was presumably utilitarian from earliest times, to raise the living quarters and the passages between them above the mire of farmyard and caravan-serai." (Needham: 1971, p.63) Although this view proposes that the creation of the platform was derived from a need to raise the house to accommodate it to the physical environment, this is only one of many possibilities as anyone can easily point out.

Timber used as the main building material

The question about the basic material is why the Chinese throughout their history consistently used timber as the main building material, never making use of stone as did other civilisations such as those of Greece, India, and Egypt, which left such great architectural monuments. The most common argument concerns the relative availability of timber and stone in the cradle of early Chinese civilisation, the Central Plain. Several Chinese scholars,
such as Liu Tung-chen and Liu Chih-p'ing, think that the reason why the Chinese built in stone so rarely is mainly because of the abundance of timber and a lack of stone in this loess area. (Chien-kung: 1980, p.2 & Liu Chih-p'ing: 1957, p.22)

This prevalence of trees, however, has been disproved by Ho Ping-ti in his study of *The Origin of Chinese Agriculture and The Loess*. Based on the analyses of ancient botanical records (such as *Shih Ching*), the archaeological evidence (such as pollen), and geological research, he concludes that the loess area was, much as it is today, a semi-arid steppe where forests existed only on hills, mountains, and near water courses. (Ho Ping-ti: 1969, pp.68-9) This view is also held by Ito Chuta who considers that North China, unlike Middle and South China, as an area where there was a lack of timber. (Ito: 1978, pp.20 & 22)

As for the lack of stone, Needham has a different opinion:

It certainly cannot be said that China had no stone suitable for great buildings analogous to those of Europe and Western Asia, but it was used only for tomb construction, steles and monuments (in which typical woodwork details were frequently imitated), and for pavements of roads, courts and paths. (Needham: 1971, p.90)

There are other arguments about the correlation between the features of a material and its choice. An alternative approach to the question is to relate it to the economics of material, labour, and construction, and even to the properties of timber, that is, its flexibility and elasticity suitable to the whole of China which was, at times, subject to earthquakes. Conversely, Liang Ssu-ch'eng attributes the reason for the use of timber to the failures of stone construction methods during early Chinese history, in particular to the absence of an understanding of the mechanics of stone building and to the lack of a satisfactory mortar. (Liang: 1980, p.7)

According to the archaeological evidence, the use of small timbers to construct a building was evident in the wattle-and-daub walls during the neolithic period; and not until the Hsia dynasty was one specific building constructed only by timber columns without
walls into a rectangular plan similar to the plan of a traditional rectangular building. Under these circumstances, tracing the origin of using timber in constructing the wattle-and-daub walls during the neolithic period is less important than tracing the development of the earliest timber structure during the Hsia dynasty. The question therefore must focus not on the presence of the timber and its applications in respect of materials, construction, and technology, but on why timber alone continued to be used to construct a building in a rectangular form, a purely timber structure without walls, during the Hsia dynasty. In addition, from the archaeological evidence found so far, the lack of evidence for the use of stone, even for tomb-construction, during that period renders previous arguments from the viewpoint of different materials, construction, and technology unavailing. On the whole, although some light has been thrown on the question of the use of timber as the main building material in ancient China there seems as yet to be no satisfactory answer.

As Needham considers, it is better look into this interpretation from other viewpoints:

I have often felt that if a full answer to this question (of using wood as the basic material) could be obtained, it would throw light on many wider aspects of cultural difference. (Needham: 1971, p.90)

Curved roof

The origin of the curved roof is a prime subject of disagreement amongst scholars, both Oriental and Western. The most strange theory attributes it to the outcome of an ancient desire to imitate the catenary curves of tents and mat-sheds or of the branches of Himalayan fir trees. (Ito: 1978, pp.48 & 50) But in fact, as Needham comments, these statements are only the popular clichés of tourists used for centuries, and they are the wrong kind of answers, for there is neither literary nor archaeological evidence to support them. (Needham: 1971, p.91)

There are theories that attribute the curved roof to a response to climate: a need to
adapt to the slanting winter and near vertical summer sunlight, to reduce the lateral wind-pressure, and to carry the snow and rain-water well off the eaves into the courtyards away from the edge of the platform. (YTHS: 1934(1), p.15 & Willetts: 1958, p.719) But based on his comparisons of different constructional principles of rafters and the ‘front’ of a building between Chinese and Western architecture, Needham regards these as only the practical effects of a method of roof-construction, not its origins. (Needham: 1971, p.97)

As Willetts claims, "a fundamental objection to all the above-mentioned theories is that they treat the curve as an isolated phenomenon and ignore its mechanical connection with the underlying system of supports for the actual roof fabric." (Willetts: 1958, p.719) Hence, there are theories which connect the origin of the curve with the method of roof-construction, accounting for the curve as the result of using a certain type of roof-construction or roofing material. In Willetts' view, the method of roof-construction was specifically designed to suit a sagged roof, for which purpose pliable rafters that would take the sag were essential. (Ibid., p.720) He rejects the idea that the weight of pottery roof-tiles resting on light rafters caused the sag, but thinks that this sag was originally brought about by the use of bamboo for roofing purposes. (Ibid., p.723)

It is generally believed that the Chinese roof became curved only during the traditional period, either from the Han dynasty (207 B.C.-220 A.D.) or from the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-581 A.D.) onwards. If this is so, the origin of the curved roof is not one of our concerns. But even if one did intend to question the reliability of this common view, the lack of roofs to be found among the archaeological evidence makes the study of their origins during the Three Dynasties very difficult indeed.
Bracket-system (tou-kung)

The initial function of the tou kung is widely thought to have been as a device to reduce excessive tension at the junction between the column and beam. This view has been shared by many scholars, such as Liang Ssu-ch'eng, William Willetts, and Joseph Needham:

Superbly logical as these systems are, all suffer from the disadvantage of being confined to the column, so that they give support only at points on the column axes. (Willetts: 1958, pp.702-3)

In ancient times only the cross beams (chia-liang, 藩梁) were used, but as time went on it was found that this placed excessive tension at the junction between columns and beams, failures tending to occur there. The improvement was therefore introduced of inserting a number of corbel brackets (tou-kung) between the top of the column and the cross beam.— Corbel brackets successively longer were then piled on top of one another at the capital of the column, so as to form what were essentially corbelled arches of wood supporting the cross-beams. The tou-kung branched forth not in one direction only but in both, i.e., as well parallel as transverse to the long axis of the building, thus supporting both longitudinal and crosswise beams. (Needham: 1971, pp.93-4)

The initial type of this bracket system was set on the top of each column, described as "sideways bracketing from the columnar complexes" (Willetts: 1958, p.703), whose original name was lu ( 陸 ) or luan ( 蘭 ), words which later were sometimes used for the king-post (Needham: 1971, p.95). Based on the presumptions of Li Yun-ho, the form of lu or luan originated from the yen ( 釙 ), the small horizontal beam as a "bracket cap", whose development is shown in Fig. 1.11. (Li Yun-ho: 1980, pp.236-7) It is said that the curved yen, the lun, had been completely developed by the end of the Chou period as the corbel bracket (tou-kung), because it was characteristic of all buildings built during the Han dynasty. As well as supporting the tie-beams, the bracket-system was also used to support the eaves with their rafters and flying rafters by means of purlins on brackets before the T'ang dynasty. (Needham: 1971, pp.95 & 126) However, Yang Hung-hsun, although he agrees with the original development of the bracket-system on the head of column, considers that, on the basis of Shang archaeological evidence, the bracket system for the eaves
Fig 1.11: The development from *yen* to *lu-luan*.
(Li Yun-ho: 1980, p.237)

Fig 1.12: The development from "small column to support the eave" to "the bracket-system on the head of column"
(Yang Hung-hsun: 1976, p.22)
was derived from the small column which supported the eave, as shown in Fig 1.12. (Yang Hung-hsun: 1976, pp.21-2)

As to the bracket-system set between the longitudinal tie-beams, its original was called "inverted V-brace (jen-tzu-kung or cha-shou) (人字拱, 叉手). As Needham states:

they had at first little constructional importance; they were used mainly as an ornamental device between the longitudinal tie-beams, diversifying the appearance of the building as seen from the front. (Needham: 1971, p.99)

In his descriptions, there were several uses for it which later made a significant contribution to structural stability, such as:

used between the uppermost cross-beam and the ridge-pole instead of a king post;
used as strengthening element for the king-posts repeated at each end of the lower cross-beams, connecting sometime beam with beam, sometimes beam with purlin, and forming thus a true kind of trapezoidal truss. (Ibid., p.101)

Finally, combined with the bracket-system originally used to support the eaves, it was developed into the "level arm" (ang, 柳 ) or "cantilever principal rafter" to support the widely overhanging eaves. As Needham writes:

they were nothing but an extension of the principle of the cha shou or 'forked hand' struts to solve the problem of the widely overhanging eaves, placing eave purlin upon 'cantilever principal rafters' or 'lever arms' (ang) and fixing to the interior framework and piercing the bracket-arm clusters in a direction approximately paralleled with the slope of the roof above. (Ibid., pp.85 & 102)

Most descriptions of the development of the bracket-system seem to concentrate on the changes during the traditional era rather than in pre-traditional times. An exception, given by Yang Hung-hsun based on the Shang archaeological evidence, is still far from showing how the details of the ancient bracket-system evolved. Therefore, like the curved roof, the lack of detailed archaeological (or any other) evidence concerning the ancient bracket-system makes it very difficult to discuss its origins in this study.
1.2.2. Socio-cultural factors

As Rapoport points out, it is the vision that people have of the ideal life which finally decides the form of their houses, and moulds the spaces and relationships in their environment, which includes many socio-cultural factors such as religious beliefs, family and clan structure, social organisation, way of gaining a livelihood, and social relations between individuals. (Rapoport: 1969, p.47) As for those studies which have contributed to the socio-cultural view of Chinese phenomena, they, too, are still far from providing all the complete and precise information which could reveal the genesis of Chinese traditional architectural form. Except for those concerning the curved roof, views derived from a picture of ancient Chinese social life seem to be very disparate and contradictory.

It is difficult to discuss these socio-cultural factors without further archaeological evidence, especially from the pre-traditional era, but all of them provide us with some important clues to look into how and why the initial walled compound, with so many characteristics of the traditional form, was erected during the Hsia dynasty: (1) Who built this compound, were they slaves? (2) For whom was it built, their gods and ancestors, or their chiefs and kings? (3) How was this compound built? In other words, from what was the basic idea of constructing this compound derived?

Timber used as the main material

After rejecting the view that there was a lack of stone in ancient China, Needham relates the timber style to the absence of mass slavery throughout Chinese history which was very different from other early civilisations, such as those of Assyria or Egypt. (Needham: 1971, p.90) But in fact, this correlation is invalidated by another observation he makes: "Of course heavy building in stone does not always imply the use of slave labour; the Greek temples were built almost entirely by freeman." (Ibid., p.91 (note a)) Based on
research about the slavery system in ancient China by Kuo Mo-jo, which shows undoubtedly that it did exist during the Three Dynasties, Li Yun-ho disputes Needham’s views, concluding that there can be no close relationship between the use of wood and the lack of slaves (Li Yun-ho: 1980, p.31), though this view will be questioned later.

Social values and religious beliefs have also been raised. One possible factor is the ancient philosophy of symbolic-correlation of the five elements, in which wood was regarded as the only proper substance for building. (Needham: 1971, p.91) A second factor relates to the Chinese concept of eternity, as Needham asks, "why try to dominate posterity?", on the basis of Ch'i Wu-fou's statements. 4 (Ibid.) This idea can be seen to underlie certain cultural attitudes, there being no virtue in asking the original to last forever, but in genial sobriety and a dislike of extravagance which persisted in Chinese traditional social values. According to Liang Ssu-ch'eng, the outcome of not asking the original to last forever was that the Chinese were satisfied with using timber for several thousand years, developing a highly standardised method of constructing timber architecture, and never considering its replacement with stone. (Liang: 1980, p.2) Further, the desire to repair the original was less than to rebuild it, with little attention paid to the original, except to treasure its old site and remember the date of its construction. (Ibid., p.8) These attitudes can be closely related to the idea that the traditional Chinese held on to a strong archetypical principle of built form, just like other traditional societies, so that all that needed to be kept was the archetype (by continually manifesting it by building) rather any particular building. In this sense, these attitudes are rather considered to be derived from this strong archetypical principle of built form throughout traditional times. Therefore, tracing how these attitudes influenced the use of timber to construct buildings continually is less important than tracing how and why the traditional Chinese held on to an archetypical principle of built form and

4 Ch'i was China's greatest writer on gardens (1643 A.D.).
finding what was the built form of this archetype.

The third argument relates to secularism as having produced the Chinese practice of using timber to construct buildings only for human beings. A most persuasive case is presented by Ito Chuta who believes that building the secular palaces and houses (kung-shih, 宮室) was the first priority of the ancient Chinese, mainly for the following reasons: first, there was no real religious belief since archaic time mainly because the Chinese did not believe in the existence of a human soul, and this made the ancient Chinese realistic and egoistic; second, this nature meant that the ancient Chinese had no passion for creating a special monument for their God, but only for erecting an altar for their natural gods (the Heaven and Earth and the Mountain and River) and the ancestral temple whose form was only an imitation of that used for the palaces or ordinary houses. (Ito: 1978, p.40-4) This view is shared by Needham:

The Chinese mood was essentially secular, loving life and Nature; hence the gods had to conform, to sit and be worshipped in buildings identical with the halls of families and palace, or not to be worshipped at all. (Needham: 1971, p.90)

But the questions still remain. Why did the palaces and the halls of families share the same built form? Why was the most important building (named shih-shih (世室), chung-wu (中屋) or ming-t'ang (明堂), during the Three Dynasties) clearly sacred? Why was this kind of building erected in timber rather than stone, according to the descriptions in the kao-kung-chi section of the Li Chi? And what was the function of this sacred building? Under these circumstances, the correlation between social values and religious beliefs and this characteristic needs to focus on the studies of the archaeological remains of two compounds which are dating back to the Hsia dynasty, because so far they are the earliest walled compounds which possess most of the characteristics of traditional architecture. The key point in these studies is to trace how and why a specific rectangular form, built as a wattle-and-daub building with timber columned galleries or as a timber columned pavilion, was located on the north of the courtyard; and to discuss its function
and location within this walled compound, by an exploration into the meaning of the character shih (⿳,⿳) during that time.

Curved roof

The most common socio-cultural theory of the formation of the curve concerns the innate aesthetic tendencies of the Chinese. Lin Yu-t'ang is one who strongly inclines to view that:

[Chinese architecture] has succeeded because it took its inspiration from the spring of plum blossoms- translated first into the moving, living lines of calligraphy and secondarily into the lines and forms of architecture.— Unbelievable as it seems, the influence of calligraphy comes in even in Chinese architecture. (Lin Yu-t'ang: 1936, p.296)

Similarly, Needham considers that it would be at least equally plausible to derive the curve from calligraphy. (Needham: 1971, p.91) But to Willetts, poetic explanations such as this are merely fanciful. (Willetts: 1958, p.718)

Another theory explains the curve as a solution to a simple problem of aesthetics: "the curved Chinese roof does most perfectly exemplify the principle of formal design that Trystan Edwards calls 'punctuation', by means of which a building can be made to have 'a certain consciousness of it own extremities'." (Willetts: 1958, p.718) Lin Hui-ying has a similar explanation of the curvature of the roof as purely aesthetic in origin. (YTHS: 1934(1), p.15) On the basis of the records in the Shih Ching: "We build a house, many hundred cubits of wall,—. As a halberd, even so plumed. As an arrow, even so sharp. As a bird, even so soaring. As wings, even so flying. Are the halls to which our lord ascends.—" (Waley: 1937,pp.282-3), Li Yun-ho considers the origin of the curved roof as derived from the ancient concept of imitating some natural forms, such as bird's flying, applied aesthetically in the construction of a built form. (Li Yun-ho: 1980, p.222) But Willetts considers this idea as only a possible reason for the retention and perhaps accentuation of the curve,
not an explanation of its origin. (Willets: 1958, p.719)

As in our discussion of the physical factors relating to the curved roof, we are left with many speculations but with no detailed archaeological evidence to separate them, and so it seems more or less impossible to study further the connection between the aesthetics and the process by which the Chinese curved roof was created.

The typical plan of a walled compound

Until recently, there was no significant research concerned with the origin of the Chinese traditional walled compound. New work by Kwan, based on the concept of ch'i ( chá ) in Feng-shui (Chinese geomancy), tries to show how the way of creating a space on the basis of this concept was reflected in the form of a typical unit of Chinese architectural plan. Although this analysis is applied only to a discussion of the traditional houses in Taiwan built during the Ch'ing dynasty, Kwan's study regards the concept of the retention of ch'i in Feng-shui system as the most important reason for constructing an enclosed form for the house and the grave in China. (Kwan: BIE(49), 1980, p.214) After comparing the symbolic and imaginative layout imitated from the human's top-view (Fig 1.13-c) with the topographic layout of the grave (Fig 1.13-a) and the planning layout of a ya-men (administrative office) (Fig 1.13-b), Kwan concludes that the need to express the concept of ch'i in fact "not only determines the axis and location of the house, but also the principles of form such as symmetry, back vs. front, the multiple side wings, the scales of doors and windows, etc.". (Ibid., p.215) A view relating the concept of back vs. front to Feng-shui has also been presented by Willets, interpreting the north as the home of evil influences to Chinese minds -- connecting it with the threat of barbarian invasion and other hostile emanations from the north, and thus explaining why the Chinese preferred to look towards the south in an attempt to keep something solid between themselves and these evil influences. (Willets: 1958, p.664)
Fig 1.13: The comparison of different concepts on the plans proposed by Kwan Hwa-shan (Kwan: BIE(49), 1980, pp.189-91)
As Kwan recognises, the evidence of this interpretation is not enough to explain the original planning concept of the typical unit of the walled compound (ssu-ho-yuan) with any accuracy. (Kwan: BIE(49), 1980, p.191) Besides, it is fundamentally inadequate to use a concept from Feng-shui, which probably originated in the East Han dynasty, to interpret the plan of ssu-ho-yuan, which had already existed in the West Han.

In addition to the concept of back vs. front, Willetts also considers the symbolism of the north-south axis and the orientation upon this axis of the place where the Emperor or the family head lives:

Symbolism is implicit, for all important buildings, whether administrative or private, face south. The south-north axis is the celestial meridian writ small; and the Emperor's palace corresponds to the Pole star (pei ch'en), the circumpolar residence of Tai-i from which he surveys the southerly world of men. The family elder is a petty ruler, and, like the dynastic ruler, he too turns his back on the north and faces south. (Willetts: 1958, p.664)

In fact, most of the characteristics of the plan of a Chinese traditional walled compound have been found in a plan drawn up from the remains of two walled compounds which have been dated to the Hsia dynasty. The interpretations presented above are therefore quite inappropriate to explain how and why those ideas had appeared in the plan of such an early walled compound. As we showed in considering the correlation between the social values and religious beliefs and the use of timber as the main material, the only way to trace why the Chinese traditional walled compound possessed this specific plan is to study how and why the form of this plan was created during the Hsia dynasty.

Walled city or early urban form

The symbolism of the north-south axis and the Centre has also been studied by Paul Wheatley who relates the symbolism of the ceremonial Centre to the origin of the Chinese traditional city, ascertaining the existence of the ceremonial complex during the Shang dynasty, based on his comparisons of the earliest urban forms around the world. Although
his general theory regards the initial ceremonial Centre as having become partly secularised to form the ceremonial complex, the only sacred and secular Centre, he was unable to give any explanation of two situations in ancient China: (1) From where was the Shang ceremonial complex derived? The process of secularising the initial ceremonial Centre and the relevant information concerning this initial Centre are still unknown; (2) Although he has given very clear insight into the secular Centre of the Chou dynasty (the palace) and the cosmology of this Centre, the transformation from the ceremonial complex of the Shang dynasty to the secular Centre of the Chou dynasty is also unclear. (Wheatley: 1971, pp.315, 438 & 451)

Opposed to explanations through cosmological symbolism are current theories which focus on the social factors of class consciousness and political need. The former is based on Marx's theory of the conflict between classes and is applied by Chinese Marxist scholars who regard the rise of the Three Dynasties as the rise of discrimination between rulers and ruled (including commoners and slaves). On this premise, the archaeological evidence concerning pre-traditional architectural remains has been classified to correlate with the different stages of social evolution as proposed by L.H. Morgan. (Yang Hung-hsun: KCSWC(1977), pp.112-34) The walled compounds or cities, and the "grand" architecture within them during the Three Dynasties are naturally regarded as the instruments of the rulers to suppress the resistance of the ruled. (Ibid., p.124) Parallel to this conclusion there is a general viewpoint which regards the Chinese traditional city as a symbol of political power, a necessary tool for maintaining that power (Fei: 1953, p.95) and also as a political node in the administrative network (Needham: 1971, p.71). Chang Kwang-chih considers that this general viewpoint can still be applied to the earliest cities during the pre-traditional era, proposing that the formation of the Chinese ancient city and its "grand" architecture, including the palaces and the ancestral temple, was also mainly derived from the same needs. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1985, p.63) The core of his views can be presented as
regarding the Chinese ancient culture as a political one in which "the accrual of political authority in the Chinese context was facilitated by several interrelated factors: kinship hierarchy, moral authority of the ruler, military power, exclusive access to gods and to ancestors (as through rituals, art, and the use of writing), and access to the wealth itself". (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.8)

These two opposed types of approach in fact represent the two prevailing interpretations of the actual nature of early Chinese civilisation in all respects. Wheatley's approach, based on his global theory of the genesis of the ceremonial Centre, cannot provide adequate evidence to explain the whole evolution of the built form of this Centre during the Three Dynasties, but at least he correlates the central architectural spaces (used as the secular Centre with the sacred meaning) to the cosmological basis of the formation of the early Chinese Centre. The full application of formulations traceable to L.H. Morgan by contemporary archaeologists in mainland China to interpret the early Chinese phenomena has been criticised by Fried mainly in terms of how and why the stratification was generated and maintained during the early Chinese period. (Keightley: 1983, pp.467-493) Chang Kwang-chih comments that Fried's article "has truly theoretical originality", and he agrees with Fried's view that "valid use of the Chinese data for comparative purposes must depend on valid understanding of those data in terms of their internal order", and then suggests that it is necessary to continue to study "pertinent data, including new archaeological and epigraphical data" more in "the characterisation of ancient economics and politics". (Ibid., pp.574-6)

Chang's approach can be considered as an attempt to apply a model derived from the political situation which started from the East Chou dynasty (such as the rise of the king or emperor and his ruling class and of the walled city as a political node in the king's or emperor's administrative network), to the phenomena of the Three Dynasties: everything was related to the ruler's political purposes. Except for the criticism of Chang's claim by Keightley that it is inadequate to consider that "the various fang states 'were political units
but not cultural or ethnic units" (Keightley: JAS, 1982(May), p.551), in fact, only two of the seven interrelated factors proposed by Chang above, namely, military power and access to wealth, are really direct evidence for the accrual of political authority and also the only evidence which demonstrates the existence of stratification derived from political authority. In fact, these two factors also provide the best evidence for the existence of class consciousness and the accumulation of private property during the pre-traditional era which have enabled Chinese Marxist scholars to fit the Chinese data into the formulations of L.H. Morgan. In this sense, there is no basic difference between Chang's approach and that of Chinese Marxist scholars. On the whole, none of these three approaches (by Wheatley, by the Chinese Marxist scholars, and by Chang) have given a full understanding of the evolution of pre-traditional Chinese architecture, especially to explain how and why the walled compound and its "grand" architecture came into being.

1.3. CONCLUSIONS

From the descriptions of the nature and characteristics of Chinese traditional architecture we have given an outline of what the form of this specific architecture was and how this form was embedded as a model in an isolated and self-sufficient traditional society and culture. Much research has been devoted to tracing the origins of its nature and some of its characteristics. We have briefly reviewed them because we need to know their background and to see how far they have and have not succeeded in certain areas. Generally, our reviews provide us with some important clues to look into how and why the initial walled compound, with so many characteristics of the traditional form, was erected during the Hsia dynasty: (1) who built this compound? (2) For whom was it built? (3) How was it built?

These are the main key points to allow us to properly present a history of Chinese architecture of the pre-traditional period with special emphasis on the "grand" architecture of the Three Dynasties. The next question, then, is how to reexamine the new data from the
archaeological remains to gain a proper understanding of these architectural spaces belonging to the "grand" architecture. In the next chapter, we try to establish the best way towards this understanding or interpretation. Theoretically, we consider these architectural spaces as the dominant space which plays the crucial role in maintaining the ordering of the organisation of a certain socio-cultural unit within a spatial system.
CHAPTER TWO: APPROACH

As presented in Chapter One, previous studies, whether from a physical or socio-cultural viewpoint, devoted to tracing the origins of Chinese traditional architecture on the basis of the archaeological evidence found so far, do not provide a satisfactory account. The key point at present is how to reexamine the data from the archaeological remains to gain a proper understanding of what the architectural spaces were, who used them, how and for what purpose. In addition, it is important to understand the reciprocal relationships between these spaces and the time when they were created so that we can trace the historical changes in these architectural forms. This will help us in turn to obtain a better picture of the transitions of early Chinese architecture.

In fact, we are involved in two major enquiries about these transitions: first into how Chinese architecture evolved from the Yang-shao period to the beginning of the Hsia dynasty into a specific form of "grand" architecture; and second into how this form was developed and was then shared by so many different kinds of buildings as a prototype throughout the Three Dynasties. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to establish a suitable theoretical model to interpret the "grand" architecture of the Three Dynasties, even though we do not have all the data on the settlements where it was erected.

Before starting to discuss how to approach these two themes, we need to list the relevant archaeological remains of buildings and spaces belonging to the pre-traditional period on the basis of the excavations so far. Those which possess some characteristics of the traditional form are mainly the remains from the Three Dynasties which can be listed chronologically as follows with the main sources of the relevant archaeological information:

(a) Hsia dynasty: the remains of two walled compounds at Erh-li-t'ou (KK: 1974(4)), (KK: 1983(3)), and (KK: 1984(7)).

(c) Chou dynasty: (1) the remains of a walled compound at Feng-ch'u (WW: 1979(10)); (2) the remains of a group of buildings at Chao-ch'en (WW: 1981(3)); (3) the remains of a walled compound at Lo-yang (Ch'eng-chou) (KKHP: 1959(2)); (4) the remains of some walled cities (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978)

The above examples are only relevant to the study of our second theme. In order to deal with the first theme we need to look for relevant remains from the neolithic period. They are as follows, also chronologically listed with the main sources:

(a) Yang-shao period: (1) Sian Pan-p'o site (KKHCK: 1963); (2) Pao-chi Pei-shou-ling site (KKHCK: 1984(2)); (3) Chiang-chai site (WW: 1975(8) & (12)); (4) the remains of several houses at Ta-ho-foo-tsun (KKHP: 1979(3)).

(b) Lung-shan period: (1) the remains of a walled compound at P'ing-liang-t'ai (WW: 1983(3)); (2) the remains of a walled compound at Wang-ch'eng-kang (WW: 1983(3)); (3) a ceremonial site at Ch'iu-wan (KK: 1973(2)) & (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978).

2.1. METHODOLOGY OF APPROACH

Based on these two sets of archaeological remains, the best way to describe the transitions of the architectural forms throughout the pre-traditional period might seem to be to trace them step by step chronologically. But unfortunately both the archaeological information and the relevant research in other fields are very deficient and controversial. They are still far from providing enough available material to carry out an explicit analysis of the evolution of the very early Chinese architectural form. Some such attempts have been made, such as those of Yang Hung-hsun (KCSWC, 1977) and Lin Huei-ch'eng (1984), but by describing only one individual phenomenon through each part of the pre-traditional period they do not take into account the full picture of the many other simultaneous transitions. Even Yang has only fitted data from the archaeological remains into the formulations traceable to L.H. Morgan. Our foremost task, then, is to find out the best way to analyse these specific examples of the "grand" architecture of the Three Dynasties.
Although Rapoport has suggested that socio-cultural factors should be the focus of this type of study, his views are unfortunately too general to meet our needs. (Rapoport: 1969, p.17) Believing that architecture is "the outcome of a multitude of cultural factors acting diachronically and in reciprocal relationship", Guidoni analyses primitive architecture as a global phenomenon by showing it to be a product of not only social necessities, but also of symbolic and cosmic interpretation, predominantly depending on myths. (Guidoni: 1978, p.28) Because of his relative success in the study of primitive architecture, this approach proves enlightening. Another researcher, Kwan Hwa-shan, regards living behaviour and the activities of construction as two bridges which connect the Chinese traditional house form and its idea of creating an architectural space. (Kwan: BIE(49), 1980, p.170) (Fig 2.1) He recognises that there exist so many inevitable restrictions on these two bridges that they are unable to clarify directly the relationship between architecture and culture (Ibid.), but he provides us with a pioneering concept which draws our attention to the connection between the idea of creating an architectural space and the socio-cultural factors.

Obviously, there are two sets of phenomena which are to be connected, the architectural space on the one hand, and the socio-culture on the other. The architectural phenomena include the spatial form of various kinds, the house (or building unit) or the cluster of buildings, their settlement, and their territory based on classifications of their use and significance. The socio-cultural phenomena consist of the social values, thoughts, ideas, customs and institutions, and the way of living and behaviour, which reflect on the interpretations, attitudes, associations and explanations -- the raison d'etre for the construction of the architectural space and the built form which it takes.

This raison d'etre has been redefined as "the social logic of space" by Hillier and Hanson on the basis of Durkheim's theory of social solidarity or cohesion:
Fig 2.1: Two bridges connecting culture and architecture
(Kwan: BIE(49), 1980, p.178)
Space is, in short, everywhere a function of the forms of social solidarity and these are in turn a product of the structure of society. The realisation of these differences in systematically different spatial form is because, as Durkheim showed, society has a certain spatial logic and, as we hope we have shown, because space has a certain social logic to it. (Hillier: 1984, p.22)

It seems, therefore, that the way to understand and talk about a particular space (or architectural space) analytically should require a clear understanding of what is the social logic which creates and orders the elements of space into a pattern as a part of the society. In other words, every space should play its social role within its society by way of the status it has within the ordering of the spatial organisation. This means that this ordering of spatial organisation should have within it a social logic to match the spatial logic of the society where this ordering is constructed.

Therefore, the organisation can be regarded as "a prism" to analyse the phenomena (the diffracted) in order to understand what kind of logic (the fused) exists within the ordering of the organisation. (Fig 2.2) In the sociological field, "the social organisation refers to the interdependence of parts, which is an essential characteristic of all enduring collective entities: groups, communities, and societies; and usually they consist of some or all of the following: tasks and other activities; relationships amongst roles; values, norms, and beliefs; subgroups within a large unit, and (in societies) institutions". (Mitchell: 1979, p.85) (our italics) At first there was no definition of "social organisation", and even Winick's Dictionary of Anthropology(1956) only defines social structure as "the ordered relation which the parts of a society have to each other, seen from a reasonably long-range point of view" and notes that "Anthropological viewpoints of social structure have ranged from seeing it as a web of all the interpersonal relations in a community to the relations among only the major groups". (Service: 1971, p.10) (our italics) Walter Goldscheidt considers it to involve two things:"first, there is a division into smaller social units, which we call groups; and the second, there are recognised social positions (statuses) and appropriate behaviour pattern to such positions (roles)." (Ibid.) (our italics) Firth states that "in a narrow context,
Fig 2.2: The prismatic concept

Fig 2.3: The organisation of a society
organisation implies a systematic ordering of positions and duties which defines a chain of command and makes possible the administrative integration of specialised functions towards a recognised limited goal" and that "in a broader context, it implies diversity of the ends and activities of individuals in society, a pattern for their coordination in some particular sphere, and specific integration of them there by processes of choice and decision into a coherent system, to yield some envisaged result". (Firth: 1964, p.60) (our italics) A New Dictionary of Sociology concludes that it is typically viewed as "the interrelation of social positions and roles". (Mitchell: 1979, p.200) (our italics)

According to the same dictionary, social status is regarded as "the position occupied by a person, family, or kinship group in a social system relative to others". (Ibid., p.193) It determines rights, duties and other behaviour, including the nature and extent of the relationships between persons of other statuses. A social role is the expected behaviour associated with terms like "social status" or "social role". (Ibid., pp.187 & 193) On the basis of reference to a wider range of literature, Jen defines it thus "a social role is a kind of pattern of behaviour and this behaviour is performed when a person or individual occupies a certain position in a given social unity or structure". (Jen: 1962, BIE(15), p.99) (our italics) These are only analytically separable terms, which all indicate the function of each role within the structure of a society. Here function refers to the diagnosed objective consequence which a social phenomenon has for a wider system of which it is a part. (Mitchell: 1979, p.85)

From such viewpoints, it can be seen that the organisation of a society consists in general of two main elements: the first is structure, which is the web (network) of relations among the subgroups’ or members’ role; the second is status, which defines the function of each subgroup’s or member’s role in the structure. (Fig 2.3)

Using these definitions, the organisation of architectural space could also be described as falling into two main components, the structure which combines each individual space and the status of each individual space. As with the social organisation, the interdependent
parts within the organisation of the architectural space can also be roughly classified into three collective levels: the building or the cluster of buildings, the settlement, and the territory. Each part consists of many elementary individual spaces which have their own status in it and among them there is a structure which organises the whole in an orderly way.

At the level of a building, those elementary individual spaces are assembled into an ordered space with a certain style of form. Its ordering of space and style of form both express their socio-cultural reference: the function and the meaning of a building to the socio-cultural unit. Both are major tasks which an architectural designer makes every effort to accomplish. He is concerned with how to organise those elementary spaces in a building in the most orderly way to achieve its socio-cultural function and with how to give a building a significance to express its socio-cultural identity or meaning. As Guidoni states, one involves the spatial language and the other involves the artistic language. (Guidoni: 1978, p.26)

Hillier and Hanson propose the elementary cell as the basic unit of space which not only consists of the interior elementary spaces within a building but also the collective exteriors that a building carries. (Hillier: 1984, p.19) This gives a building a wider content so that it can be considered as an intimate part within a system of architectural space. In this way, a cluster of buildings can then be regarded as an architectural space organised from the accumulation of buildings with their exterior spaces. A Marquesas dwelling and some farms once described by Rapoport are good examples of our description of a cluster of buildings. (Fig 2.4) Of course, the typical Chinese traditional walled compound is also an outstanding example.

Similarly, a settlement can be considered as a larger unit of architectural space which aggregates or accumulates buildings with their exteriors or clusters of buildings to form an ordered organisation. In archaeological usage the term "settlement" is defined by Chang
Fig. 2.8. Diagrammatic plan of a typical French farm with yard.

Fig. 2.9. Diagrammatic plan of a typical Italian farm with yard.

Fig. 2.11. Clustering within free outline (additive) as a method of providing space differentiation in dwellings and farms.

Fig. 2.12. Internal division within fixed outline (subtractive) as a method of providing space differentiation in dwellings and farms.

Fig. 3.1. Diagrammatic plan of Marquesas dwelling.

Fig. 3.5. Comparison of Cameroon houses, both drawn to the same scale. (Adapted from Beguin, Kelt et al., L'habitat au Cameroun, pp. 19, 52.)

Fig 2.4: Some diagrammatic plans of examples described by Rapoport which meet our description of a cluster of buildings (Rapoport: 1969, pp. 35, 36, 53, 56 & 57)
Kwang-chih as "the physical locale or cluster of locales where the members of a community lived, ensured their subsistence, and pursued their social functions in a delineable time period". (Chang Kwang-chih: 1968, p.3) His premise, that "the settlement must substitute for the community (the primary unit for the classification of social groups)", has been criticised by Rose: "his (Chang's) mistake is in not also including the concepts of focus and phase in his science of society; and in not acknowledging that prehistorians must form foci and phases, by a process of classification, before proceeding to form settlements and communities, by a process of influence and analogy" (Ibid., p.25), but Rose still thinks that "there is nothing wrong with Chang's concepts of settlement and community per se." (Ibid.)

To Tringham, however, "it seems doubtful that any correlation between archaeological settlement and the sociological concept of community can be made on the basis of the present evidence". (Tringham: 1972, p.XXI) In the broadest terms, he believes that "an archaeological settlement may correspond to the area (comprising in archaeological evidence various sites or locations) inhabited and exploited by a particular social unit". (Ibid., p.464) Based on this viewpoint, the definition that "a settlement need be nothing more than an aggregate of people resident in a particular locality" (Ibid., p.377) seems to need a modification which connects "an aggregate of people" with the terms "collectivity and socialisation" in order to regard this people as "a collective or social unit". In this sense, it is likely that "a settlement" and "a social unit" are equivalent to one level of the organisation of architectural space and of socio-cultural organisation. Despite the arguments from the archaeological fields, from the spatial point of view, a settlement can be defined as a societal space created by a collective socio-cultural unit for their residence.

Based on Sack's views, there are two related ways to connect a societal space with the collective socio-cultural group which occupies it: "first, the social organisation and individuals within them are 'in' space and their interactions have spatial manifestations; second,
social organisations are often territorial, a fact largely overlooked by all but some political geographers". (Sack: 1980, p.167) In his interpretations, territoriality is regarded as "the assertion by an organisation, or an individual in the name of the organisation, that an area of geographic space is under its influence or control" rather than "the location and extension in space of a social organisation or of its members". (Ibid.) This is quite similar to the following definition by Lyman and Scott:

Territoriality, defined as the need of individuals and groups to claim some geographical area as their own, is another need of the human personality that can best be satisfied through the provision of specific environmental or spatial conditions. The specific environmental condition that can fulfill this need is the availability of a fixed, circumscribed area, which the individual or group has the capacity to control. A territory, because it is a fixed area, can be said to exist even when the individual identified with it is not physically present. (Gutman: 1972, p.65) (our italics)

From these interpretations, a settlement is not just a societal space for residence that is manifested and asserted by an organisation of a collective socio-cultural group as a whole. Like the building or the cluster of buildings, a settlement not only contains the spaces, including its buildings and exterior spaces which are organised into one continuous system, but also controls or influences spaces outside itself, the interfacing space between this socio-cultural unit and others. In this sense, all spaces under the influence of a settlement described above can be regarded as a territorially societal space occupied within a specific, fixed, and circumscribed area under the control of a certain socio-cultural unit which identifies the collective existence of this unit and its members. If the territory of a socio-cultural unit comprises more than one settlement, this territory then has its own structure in which every constitutional settlement has its own status.

Descriptive methods linking the social logic of space and the spatial logic of society are used by Hillier and Hanson, mainly for describing and analysing the social order of an existing building or settlement or that of an excavated building or settlement to explain how a society determines space, based on the relevant information from its contents. Applying these methods to the case of the Three Dynasties in China (particularly the Hsia dynasty)
seems to be very difficult, because, on the one hand, there are no complete settlements excavated which closely relate to specific archaeological remains of buildings or walled compounds; and, on the other hand, because there is a lack of relevant socio-cultural information which can show the social status or function of the buildings or walled compounds represented by these archaeological remains in their socio-cultural unit.

Under these limitations, to understand analytically these remains of buildings or walled compounds of the Three Dynasties, we can only rely on the analysis of the spatial ordering of a socio-cultural unit rather than that of the socio-cultural ordering of a space. That is to say, the understanding of how a socio-cultural unit determines space is mainly based on the understanding of the spatial logic of this unit. However, the specific architectural remains of walled compounds of the Three Dynasties can be understood with reference to what kind of status they had within the ordered structure of that settlement, and further, within that of the whole territory. This can be done mainly by knowing what kind of role they played in the spatial logic which was the main tool used by this socio-cultural unit to organise itself into a spatial system. However, for the purpose of the present study the "socio-spatial concept" is more useful than any analytical spatial logic because this term can express the central idea of how the architectural language is to determine the social function of a space and the social meaning (style) of its built form from a socio-cultural viewpoint. In other words, this term combines the terms "social" and "spatial concept" to express the idea that the spatial concept has its own social meaning. We also need to consider the factor of time in the analysis. A theoretical model of our approach, then, can be established as shown in Fig 2.5.

How can we explore this socio-spatial concept within the organisation of a certain socio-cultural unit? Let us look again at two fundamentally different principles of social solidarity or cohesion proposed by Durkheim (1933), mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity, which have been used by Hillier and Hanson to sketch out two principles as a basis
Fig 2.5: A model of the theoretical approach

Architectural Phenomena  Architectural Organisation  Socio-spatial Concept  Socio-cultural Organisation  Socio-cultural phenomena

(1) house or cluster  
(2) settlement  
(3) territory  
(1) values  
(2) thoughts, ideas  
(3) customs, institutions  
(4) way of living, behaviour
for analysing the social logic within the ordering of a space. (Fig 2.6) (Hillier: 1984, pp. 18-22 & 260) One example analysed by Hillier and Hanson is the description of the "state":

The state can, for our purposes, be defined here as a global formation which projects both a unified ideology and a unified politics over a specific territory; and the more it acts to realise this aim, then the more the exterior is dominated by a system of ideologically defined structures, and the more the interiors are dominated by controlled transactions. The distinction between exterior and interior space becomes the distinction between power and control, that is, between an abstractly defined system of power categories which, prior to their projection into a unified symbolic landscape, have no form of spatial integration, and systems for the reproduction of social categories and relations which mould the organisation of interiors. (Hillier: 1984, p. 21)

The state can be seen, in these arrangemental terms, as existing not when an ideological landscape is defined by conceptual relations between spatial groups, but when the control of descriptions, which under more primitive conditions ceases at the limits of the spatial group, is projected across the landscape and forms discrete spatial aggregates into a continuous political territory. (Ibid., p. 260)

Based on this, we can draw out the spatial pattern of this kind of "state" in Fig 2.7, including its elementary unit of space, the spatial pattern of its elementary settlement, and the structure of its territory. If we consider the elementary settlement as a unit, then we can see that the spatial pattern of this territory has a dispersed form which is "dominated by a system of ideologically defined structures". On the other hand, when we look into the spatial pattern of the elementary settlement, then it has a dense or "clumpy" form which is "dominated by controlled transactions".

On the basis of these analyses, it is likely that we can combine Durkheim's theory of society with Hillier and Hanson's theory of space to introduce two major general socio-spatial concepts which affect the way of constituting a socio-cultural unit into a spatial system on the basis of which form of solidarity the unit possesses.

First, the concept of "diffusion" relates a socio-cultural unit having mechanical solidarity to a dispersed spatial organisation in which elementary components are united mainly on the basis of the ideology of the unit: in other words, as "integration through similarities of belief and group structure" as defined by Durkheim. (Ibid., p. 18) Basically, as Hillier
Fig 2.6: Two principles of analysing the social logic within the ordering of a space proposed by Hillier and Hanson.
(Hillier 1984, pp. 22 & 260)

Fig 2.7: The pattern of the spatial system of a "state"
states, elementary components are added to the whole system without increasing the size of the spatial groups. (Ibid., p.258) The second, the concept of "concentration" relates a socio-cultural unit having organic solidarity to a dense or "clumpy" organisation in which elementary components are associated mainly by their political relationship, that is by "interdependence through differences" as defined by Durkheim. (Ibid., p.18) As Hillier states, in this case elementary components are added by increasing the size of spatial groups. (Ibid., p.258)

These two concepts can be illustrated by diagrams as in Fig 2.8, showing their structure, spatial form and outer boundary. Do these two diagrams form adequate models for us to describe or analyse real phenomena? Probably not completely, because the distinction between them which has been indicated by Hillier and Hanson (Fig 2.6b) (1984, p.22) as the difference between the space of power and that of control could not be presented in these two diagrams. The question is how to show their features properly in these two diagrams.

We consider that it is the dominant space which is distinguished from the other uniform elementary components and which allows these components a collective sense within the whole organisation constituted by them. Without this space, there can be no organisation which is meaningful and significant to every component. In order to express the distinction between the space of power and control defined by Hillier and Hanson, we identify two kinds of dominant space, that of power and that of control. This is the missing component which can indicate the feature of power in a dispersed space of ideology and that of control in a dense space of politics.

The kind of role or function of the dominant space within a spatial organisation depends on what kind of society the socio-cultural unit is that has its own socio-spatial concepts to bring the various kinds of elementary components together to form its own spatial
organisation. But generally, the dominant space, whether the space of power or control, must be a relatively public space which is the focus of a relatively isolated unit within a larger spatial organisation. The form this dominant space takes can be a building, a group of buildings, a compound, or an open space. For example, the Maya ceremonial centre, taken by Hillier and Hanson as one example of the space of power, can be considered as the dominant space of power, having several groups of buildings and compounds, which dominated the proto-urban area of Tikal. (Fig 2.9)

Sometimes, the space is one of both power and control. If we simplify Fig 2.7 by showing only these dominant spaces in the organisation, their hierarchy is shown in Fig 2.10, in which the dominant space marked as "□" is only one of control, but that marked as "⊙" or "⊕" is one of both control and power. Through these two principles of the socio-spatial concept, the dominant space can be understood and discussed analytically within any level of organisation, without a complete layout, to realise what role it plays in maintaining the order of the organisation of a certain socio-cultural unit.

On this basis, we can define the roles played by the dominant spaces of power and of control within a spatial organisation. The dominant space of power is one which dominates in the dispersed spatial organisation of a socio-cultural unit having mechanical solidarity, because it has the power to unite the other elementary spatial components through their shared ideology. That is, they integrate through similarity of belief and group structure. On the other hand, the dominant space of control is one which dominates in the dense spatial organisation of a socio-cultural unit having organic solidarity. It unites by controlling the other elementary spatial components politically: they interdepend through their differences.

The centre of our concerns is how the elementary spatial components are united into a larger spatial organisation and what kind of role the dominant space plays in this process. With regard to ancient Chinese, the elementary spatial unit is the one called \( i (\mathcal{E}, \mathcal{L}) \) and
Fig 2.8: Diagram of two social-spatial concepts

Fig 2.9: The proto-urban agglomeration of Tikal, after Hardoy, central area. (Hillier: 1984, p.62)

Fig 2.10: The hierarchy of the dominant spaces within a "state"
the dominant space is the "grand" architecture of the pre-traditional period.

2.2. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

As to the understanding of the "grand" architecture of the Three Dynasties, the first task is to clarify what kind of socio-cultural unit existed during that time. It is generally supposed that each of the Three Dynasties was founded by a different clan whose members all believed that they were derived from the same legendary ancestor. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.9) In this sense, the main feature of this socio-cultural unit was of mechanical solidarity. Based on this, there should be a close relationship between these specific architectural remains and the dominant space which played the crucial role in maintaining the order of this socio-cultural unit, the clan; and this dominant space seems to be generally a space of power rather than of control, a dominance based on an ideological bond rather than upon any political means. Under these circumstances, it is easy to reject the general view which regards the genesis of these specific architectural spaces as a reflection of class consciousness or political need, simply from the above theoretical discussions, but this point will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters Three to Seven.

Our study is not only based on this theoretical premise. It uses evidence from various relevant fields, particularly archaeology, of course, which reveal the whole transition from neolithic to traditional times. These changes indicate that the initial reason for the generation of the form of traditional architecture was the need to create a dominant space of power on the basis of the ideological bond which was derived from the nature of a clan. The initial ideologically dominant space was the only Centre where the members of the clan could communicate with the world of their gods through intermediaries of various kinds, shaman, chief, or king.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it is very difficult to trace those
transitions chronologically. Consequently we choose another alternative, tracing from the Hsia dynasty backwards to Yang-shao times to trace how and why the prototype of the ancient Chinese walled compound was created in the form seen from the remains of two walled compounds of the Hsia dynasty at Erh-li-t'ou. Later, we trace from the Hsia dynasty forwards to the traditional period to show how this form was developed as a model applicable to different kinds of buildings in the traditional era.

In fact, the abundance of archaeological evidence from the Shang dynasty and of other relevant research into that period allows us to concentrate first on the study of the Shang settlement and territory and then trace back to the Hsia dynasty to reveal the role of this kind of dominant space within the settlement in which it was erected. Later we trace the origin of the Hsia walled compound further backwards to neolithic times to relate its formation to the symbolism of the initial form of the she (ྱིད་, 亠), the central space of the archaic Chinese socio-cultural unit. Afterwards, we study the changes during the Chou dynasty to reveal how the Chou people applied the ideas of the earlier two dominant clans in constituting their own settlements and architectural spaces.

In Chapter Three, we first use the famous archaeological remains at Hsiao-t'un as the case for re-examination and then trace their functions and planning on the assumption that they were worthy of the Centre of a royal capital of the Late Shang dynasty (ta-i-shang 天邑商, 大邑商 or t'ien-i-shang 天邑商). We correlate evidence from various fields (archaeology, history, and etymology) to discover why these architectural spaces were the most important places for the Shang king to fulfil his preeminent role in both communication with the world of gods and in the administration of the whole clan. This conclusion is strengthened by an analysis of the spatial pattern of the settlements in and around the An-yang core, showing that the architectural spaces at Hsiao-t'un are the centre of the capital (the An-yang core) and the surrounding settlements. The role of the An-yang core as the capital is supported by discussions as to whether or not it could be the place referred to
in the oracle bone inscriptions by the terms, *ta-i-shang* and *t'ien-i-shang*.

As a continuation of Chapter Three, Chapter Four deals with the exploration of how the spatial organisation of the Shang territory was constituted, on the basis of five kinds of settlement pattern represented by five archaeological sites (An-yang and four other sites). This exploration concentrates on three main themes: (1) the symbolism of constructing the walled compound within the Shang territory, (2) the socio-spatial concept in organising the Shang territory in relation to the organisation of the Shang clan and its formation, and (3) the planning of the central architectural spaces for a Centre and its sub-Centres within the Shang territory.

In Chapter Five, based on four remains of walled compounds, dating from around the Lung-shan period to the Hsia dynasty, we trace what was the prototype of the collective Centre during that time and why and how it was constructed in this form in relation to the formation of the first dynastic clan by the integration of different social units which needed a prime leader and a collective Centre. In fact, this tracing of the original form of the central architectural spaces during the Shang dynasty is an attempt at correlating the events during the Late Shang period with the events in the Hsia dynasty in respect of the same process of constituting a clan. Therefore, we concentrate on the symbolism of the *shih-shih* (世室, Hall of Generations) during the Hsia dynasty, and on the symbolism of the "Great Altar" during the transitional period from the Lung-shan period to the Hsia dynasty, so as to investigate how and why the typical characteristics of early Chinese "grand" architecture were generated in such a specific form.

In Chapter Six, we trace the origins of the "Great Altar" from the Lung-shan period back to the Yang-shao period in order to show that the initial and common form of a Centre during neolithic times was an open space, centralised and circular, which was so essential to the construction of a Chinese neolithic settlement (*i*, *k*, *g*). We first examine the
meaning of the character she (𓄝, 𓄙 or 𓄝) used by the people of the Three Dynasties and then trace its initial spatial form. Then, we show that the she was indeed a Centre, the dominant space of an early Chinese neolithic settlement by connecting the symbolism of the character she with the symbol (𓄝 or 𓄝, 𓄝) within the character i (𓄞, 𓄝 or 𓄝). Finally, based on the archaeological remains of three neolithic settlements, we connect the significance of the symbol 𓄝 with the spatial pattern of these settlements, as indicated by their remains, to show that the initial form of a Centre was an enclosed circular open space.

In Chapter Seven, an attempt is made to show how the form and plan of early Chinese architecture were developed throughout the Chou dynasty into a model applicable to any type of Chinese building. First, we trace how the idea of constructing a walled Centre initiated by the Hsia and then followed by the Shang was then applied gradually by the Chou in the construction of the three main settlements throughout the period from the pre-dynastic period to the end of the West Chou dynasty. Second, we describe how the initial form of the walled Centre was applied in the construction of a number of military bases which were deliberately disposed by the Chou king for protecting the Chou territory and then was gradually developed into a hierarchy of walled cities to form a territorial state. Finally, we describe how the model of the walled Centre (such as the one at Feng-ch’u) was gradually applied to the homestead of every family.

In Chapters Three to Seven, we only trace the origins of Chinese traditional architecture step by step by describing the features of architectural and settlement form and plan during different periods. It is therefore necessary for us to further piece together a coherent story of the development of early Chinese architecture and settlement by pointing out the critical periods of change. This concentrates on revealing those symbolic forces which link the genesis of early Chinese "grand" architecture to the general, more or less global idea of creating a symbolic Centre, in relation to the corresponding socio-cultural changes.
Therefore, Chapter Eight deals with these transitions in four stages to indicate how the initial form of a neolithic Centre (open space) was gradually developed into a prototype of the Chinese walled compound and then why this prototype was imitated continuously to become a model applicable to any type of building. This shows how the "grand" building gradually participated within the construction of a symbolic Centre and gradually bore the symbolism which was originally only possessed by this Centre itself.

Finally, in Chapter Nine, general problems and issues concerning the study are discussed and suggestions are made for further research. These discussions, we hope, will clarify the limitations of the arguments developed in the thesis.

On the whole, the chapters of the thesis trace how and why the dominant spaces were used as symbolic tools by the ancient Chinese when they constructed their settlement or territory on the basis of the same socio-cultural need, the construction of a Centre which was derived from neolithic times.

Apart from the direct evidence of archaeological remains concerning the architectural spaces and other relevant findings, the interpretations of the socio-cultural roles of these remains over a certain period of time must also refer to studies in other fields. These fields include the study of ancient and traditional texts, the recent studies of sociology, culture, history, art and artifacts of early China, ancient architectural history and etymology. Although views from these fields are sometimes contradictory, we hope that a correlation of them leads to a more complete and accurate picture of the evolution of Chinese pre-traditional architecture than could be obtained without them.
CHAPTER THREE: THE SYMBOLISM OF THE ARCHITECTURAL COMPLEX AT HSIAO-T’UN - the multipurpose Centre of the royal capital

Hsiao-t’un is a small village, north-west of the walled city of the present An-yang prefecture (hsien, 縣), a famous place first tracked down by Lo Chen-yu in 1910 as the source of the Shang oracle bone inscriptions. This has led to much detailed archaeological excavation since 1928. Both findings, the inscriptions and archaeological sites, for the first time provided a direct approach to an understanding of the Shang socio-culture through their own writings and remains. According to the studies of Shang history, the An-yang area has been generally considered to be the site of the last royal capital of the Shang dynasty, to which the capital was transferred under P’an Keng, the nineteenth king of the Shang dynasty. The fact that the archaeological remains found at Hsiao-t’un represent the most outstanding and significant site found in and around the An-yang area, strongly suggests that this architectural complex must have been the dominant place of this royal capital.

Based on discussions of Shih Chang-ju’s proposal on the functions of this complex, which has been supported by both western and oriental scholars and shows the remains as comprising three distinctive zones (the northern group as the palace area, the middle group as the temple area, and the southern group as the altar area), the purpose of this chapter is first to re-examine the archaeological remains of this complex and then to trace its functions and planning. Thence, we can discover why this complex was the most important place for the Shang king to fulfil his preeminent role both in communications with the world of gods and in the administration of the whole clan. Based on an analysis of the spatial pattern of the settlements in and around the An-yang core, we provide evidence to show why this complex at Hsiao-t’un was the Centre of the An-yang core and of its surrounding settlements. Finally, we discuss whether this An-yang core could be the place referred to in the oracle bone inscriptions by the terms, ta-i-shang and t’ien-i-shang, on
the basis of our interpretation of these terms. From these discussions, we hope to establish
that this complex is, in fact, worthy to be considered as the only dominant Centre of the
Shang territory after the time when P'an Keng removed the Shang capital to the present
An-yang area.

3.1. THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ARCHITECTURAL COMPLEX AT HSIAO-T'UN
AND ITS PLANNING

The site where the remains of a number of platforms have been found at the north of
Hsiao-t'un village is the most famous and best-excavated area, located at the south of
Huan river, in the An-yang prefecture. Although its eastern section was undermined by
flooding long ago, according to the initial excavation reports written by Shih Chang-ju and
published in 1959, this area is considered to be a complex consisting of three main parts:
the northern group (the palace area), the middle group (the temple area), and the southern
group (the altar area). (Fig 3.1) Shih's report has been criticised by Chang Kwang-chih as
presenting "data of very uneven completeness and, therefore, contain(ing) significant ele-
ments of conjecture and uncertainty". (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.73) Although this
disability makes it very difficult to reconstruct the plan of each hang-t'u platform with its
constructional details, we can still discuss the archaeological material which is available,
and use it to interpret the functions of this complex and then reconstruct its planning, as in
Fig 3.2. In the following sub-sections, we present evidence to support our reconstructions
of the three groups of platforms.
Fig 3.1: *Hang-t'u* foundation units excavated at Hsiao-t'un
(Li Chi: 1977, p.152)
Fig 3.2: Reconstruction of the plan of the architectural remains at Hsiao-t'un
3.1.1. Northern area as the residential area (ch'ın, 宮, 宮)

The northern group consists of fifteen rectangular units of hang-t'u foundations (Fig N-S) in which the larger ones are cardinaly orientated (E-W). Because no evidence of human or animal sacrificial victims has been found in this area, Shih suggests that these buildings were residential and perhaps erected during the reign of Wu Ting. (Shih Chang-ju: 1959, p.92) The remains of these buildings in this area are so incomplete that Shih had to rely on other resources to help him to reconstruct them. As Li Chi states, they include:

1) the pictorial characters in the oracle bone scripts related to houses; (2) classic records like Ta-tai-li and Kao-kung-chi; and (3) survivals of simple structural forms and methods still current in Yunnan and Szechwan where Shih had the opportunity to see them during wartime. (Li Chi: 1977, pp.182-3)

Based on these three main sources, in this northern area only α4 building on Fig 3.3 has been reconstructed as in Fig 3.4, and this is the one which has been widely quoted by many scholars as a typical Shang building. But it can be seen that the reconstruction of this plan and the structural system of the building, mainly on the basis of the descriptions recorded in the kao-kung-chi section of the Chou Li, is basically inadequate, because these descriptions - the ancient myths about shih-shih (世室, Hall of Generations), chung-wu (重屋, Double-eaved Hall), and ming-t'ang (明堂, Bright Hall) of the Three Dynasties (an important sacred building called shih (hall)) - are not suitable for a reconstruction of this residential building α4 because it functioned as a residence rather than a hall. In addition, the scale of each hang-t'u platform in this area, if compared to the middle area, is too small to qualify as an example of this chung-wu during the Shang dynasty.

How was this kind of residence recorded in the oracle bone inscriptions? According to Ch'en Meng-chia, the only name for a place which was not involved in any ceremony in the oracle bone inscriptions is ch'ın (宮, 宮), a character indicating the residence of the Shang king. (Ch'en Meng-chia: 1956, p.475) If simply based on the pictograph of this
Fig 3.3: The fifteen hang-t'u foundations of the northern area
(Li Chi: 1977, p.153)

Fig 3.4: Reconstruction of building α4 at Hsiao-t'un
(Shih Chang-ju: 1954, p.276)
character, ch'in (繁) indicates a building for fu ( mutually. What was the meaning of this character fu? On the basis of the studies of the oracle bone inscriptions, it has been widely interpreted as a female who was the royal consort. According to Li Hsueh-ch'ìn, this character signified a family relationship rather than a rank. (Kuwayama: 1983, p.17) In spite of the argument about whether it is possible that Wu Ting could have had sixty-four consorts (which will be discussed in the next chapter), the fact that "Fu Hao (Lady Hao) and Mu Hsin (Mother Hsin) refer to one and the same person" shows Fu Hao must be the consort of Wu Ting. (Ibid.) On this basis, the ch'in (繁) must indicate the residence of at least the Shang king and his consort(s).

In general, it seems to be very difficult to reconstruct a reliable plan of the hang-t'u platforms of this area and to relate them to one another. The only possible way to do this is to correlate them to the plan of a building represented by the remains (F1) at P'an-lung-ch'eng (Fig 3.5). In view of the fact that this kind of residential building is located at the north of the architectural complex, both in the case of P'an-lung-ch'eng and of Hsiao-t'un, it is probable that this area was likewise arranged out of individual rectangular buildings comprising a few small partitioned rooms, similar to the F1 remains shown in Fig 3.5.

3.1.2. Middle area as the "ancestral temple and hall" complex (tzung-shih, 宗室, 宗堂)

The middle group of the remains contains twenty-one units of hang-t'u platforms which were probably placed in relation to one another in accordance with the overall plan. Shih suggests that this group was a planned and unified complex of ancestral temples, constructed during the reign of Tsu Chia, from which a symmetrical plan has been reconstructed of the hang-t'u foundations as shown in Fig 3.6. (Li Chi: 1977, p.151) Only three of the buildings on these hang-t'u platforms, β21(β20) and β8, have been reconstructed.
Fig 3.5: The plan of the archaeological remains F1 at P'an-lung-ch'eng  
(WW: 1976(2), p.9)

Fig 3.6: Reconstruction of the hang-t'u platforms at the middle area  
(Li Chi: 1977, p.154)
by Shih Chang-ju. (Fig 3.7) (Shih Chang-ju: 1970 & 1977) Two of them are shown as a pair of buildings (β21) erected on the platform (β20). He proposes that this pair was of two storeyed buildings which functioned as watch towers or guardhouses, mainly for the following reasons:

(1) These two buildings were the southern most buildings of the β area, and since their orientation was toward the south, they occupied the frontal, entrance position. (2) Along the south front of β20, there are remains indicating the original existence of seven flights of stairs, the longest and main one being in the middle, flanked by three minor staircases on each side. (3) Finally, Shih said the door of the second storey of this storeyed building opened toward the north, for the reason that all the main buildings are located on the north as the restored sketch of the geographical distributions of the B area shows. But the door of first floor opened eastward so that the guards might watch the entrance directly. (Li Chi: 1977, p.187)

Li Chi considers that this plan "presents a magnificent frontage and reminds the reader not only of the drum and bell towers in historical times, but even of a prototype of the altar for the most sacred worship dedicated to the supreme deity: Heaven or T'ien". (Ibid.) It is impossible to reconstruct this unified complex simply on the basis of the reconstructions of these three platforms (β8, β20, β21), but the reconstruction of all the platforms in this area (Fig 3.6) and the β21(β20) remains suggest that the plan of this complex was probably symmetrical, facing south. Following these principles, we endeavour to reconstruct this complex (seen Fig 3.2) on the basis of the following viewpoints and interpretations.

Firstly, the oracle bone inscriptions which referred to the names of some buildings where the king's ceremonies and other activities took place have been studied by Ch'en Meng-chia. The relevant characters and their proposed functions have been classified into five main groups as follows (Table 3.1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group (1)</th>
<th>Group (2)</th>
<th>Group (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The place for storing the tablets: 室, 存, 家, 室, 匠, 室, 屋, 室</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The place for sacrificing: 室, 祭室, 中室, 南室, 匠室, 大室, 檐室, 南室, 公宮, 甸宮, 室</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The place for residing: 室, 屋, 室, 从宮</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 43 -
a. remains of β21 (β20) and their reconstructions

b. reconstruction of β8

Fig 3.7: Reconstruction of β8 and β21 (β20)  
(Shih Chang-ju: 1970 & 1977)
Table 3.1: Characters referring to some buildings in the oracle bone inscriptions as studied by Ch'en Meng-chia (1996, p. 468 & 479)

Secondly, if it is true, as Shih proposed, that the remains of the architectural complex at Hsiao-t'ung were erected during the reign of Tsu Chia, its planning should appear to be suitable for the rituals reformed by Tsu Chia. These reforms were named by Tung Tso-pin as the New School as distinct from the Old School whose rituals were practised from the reigns of P' en Keng to Tsu Keng. Later, during the reign of Wu I, the rituals were changed back to those of the Old School. Finally, during the reign of Ti I, they were changed again to those of the New School and then practised throughout the Shang dynasty. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p. 184) Based on the changes in those rituals from the Old Schools to the New School proposed by Tung Tso-pin (the details can be found in Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p. 185-6), the change from the liao process ((!_character: feng) ,(!_character: mu) ) to the "(_!character: fong)" process ((_!character: san) ) shows that the ceremony held before the shih "(_!character: fan)" (the symbol for a group of ancestors, probably their ancestral tablet(s)) was changed into holding a burning wood in the hand. This was probably the original form of the traditional Chinese ritual of burning a joss-stick every day before the ancestral tablet.

Comparing this with another ritual called chi ((!_character: chu) ,(!_character: i) ) which was one of the five main rituals performed to ancestors by the New School, we find that the forms of these two rituals were similar, except that the objects held in the hand were different, (_!character: xie) indicating the burning wood and (_!character: shui) indicating the pouring of wine or blood (or of the sacrificial meat) from the ritual vessel. There were many other rituals similar to these, such as t'ien ((!_character: min) ,(!_character: lin) ), symbolising a ritual vessel ((!_character: tian) ) held by two hands which was performed before the ancestral tablet ((_!character: fan) ). Under these circumstances, there must have been a number of ceremonies performed in the place.
called tsung (a building for sacrificing to a group of ancestors as the ancestral temple).

But where was this kind of building located in the middle area? We prefer the northern big hang-t' u foundation (β1) where the "yellow platform" was located, mainly because this "yellow platform" was erected as an altar by using special earth, just like the traditional high table or altar in the ancestral temple, on which the tablets and sacrificial objects were placed. Another main reason comes from the discussion below which indicates that the building on the southern big hang-t' u platform may have functioned as the shih (宮, 宮), the hall.

Thirdly, the finding that most of the sacrificial victims were buried close together in the area outside the β12 platform shows two significant phenomena: (1) as Li Chi states, the distinction between the victims sacrificed for rituals and for the construction of buildings; (2) the connection between the function of the building erected on this β12 platform and the different ritual procedures. The place recorded in the oracle bone inscriptions which is most likely to represent the building β12 is the place called hsieh-shih (祭祀, 祭子) named by Ch'en Meng-chia. (Ch'en Meng-chia: 1956, p.476) Translated, it means "blood hall". Its original form in the oracle bone inscriptions is " 祭 王 " . (Shima: 1971, p.272) We consider the meaning of the character " 王 " to be a ritual vessel in which the offerings were placed, because " 賓 " can be considered as a ritual vessel and " 王 " as the offering. In that case, the place called hsieh-shih or ming-shih (祭祀, 明子 ) would have been a hall used for preparing offerings for different rituals.

The outcome of the processing of these offerings can be naturally connected with those sacrificial victims buried around the β12 remains. Of course, the preparation procedure itself was ritualistic, that is why, according to some records, there were some rituals performed in this place. After preparation, the offerings placed in the ritual vessels
were transferred to the place where the rituals were being performed.

Fourthly, what was the meaning of the character *chih* (繁, 階) used during the Shang dynasty? It was written indicating that an arrow, "신용", was struck in the ground, "日 -". One possible meaning indicates that the war was coming, because the arrow, "日", was generally used as the symbol connected with affairs of warfare, as the character "階 " indicated a clan. If the war was coming, the clan urgently needed to meet. It is quite natural to use the character "階 " to indicate a building where a clan would plan the coming conflict. It is possible, then, that its use could be extended to a common counselling place as well, a place for dealing with any matters of common interest to the clan.

The other possible meaning is that the character *chih* (繁, 階) was used to indicate anything which was coming or had arrived. It was used to signify the solstices during the Shang period (Needham: 1959, p.284), to indicate the arrival of the new season. Connecting it thus with astronomical affairs, the "階 " can be regarded as a place for observing the celestial signs of the planets and the seasons which were the bases of the Chinese ancient lunar calendar used in agriculture. We consider that it is very probable that this hall functioned for both these affairs: as the counselling and as the cosmological space. Taking the interpretation of this character further into the meaning of pinning down, or fixing, we can consider that this hall probably also functioned as the place for general decision-making.

Finally, based on the studies of the oracle bone inscriptions, the matters which were settled by divination have generally been divided into the following: "rituals, battles, hunts, journeys, sacrifices, king's movement, well-being during the coming hsun (week), well-being during the coming evening, informing ancestors, misfortune, harvests, solar and lunar eclipses, births, dreams, illnesses, deaths, rains, requests for fair weather, etc.".
The organisation of the world of gods and the living world during the Shang dynasty (Fig 3.8) strongly suggests that the Shang king was "the one man" (yu-i-jen, 中人) who could communicate with the world of gods by way of these divinations. The content of each divination set has been understood as follows: "initiating the oracular inquiry on behalf of the king; carrying out the physical act of divining with bones and shells; reading the cracks and prognosticating; engraving the inscriptions; and filling the shells and bones in the archives for future reference". (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.90) Because the inscriptions in each divination set were the written records of what had been divined, as Keightley states, their purposes "were at least partly historical and bureaucratic - to identify the topics, forecasts, and results for which the cracks had been formed". (Keightley: 1978, p.45)

There are two interesting questions arising from these acts of divination. The first is, who gave the answers to the divinations, shown on the cracks? The second is, who could interpret these prognostications properly? The answer to the first is still not clear except for those inscriptions which had recorded the names of ancestors for whom the Shang king prayed. But generally, these answers should come from those spirits who lived in the world of gods as the intermediaries between the Supreme God and the living king. This suggests that the act of divining itself was basically sacred, ritual, and ceremonial, whether or not this divination involved any actual ritual or sacrifice. As for the second question, there were apparently several persons who were involved in the act of divining and its interpretations, as Chang Kwang-chih states:

The king himself, who sometimes initiated an inquiry but in whose name all inquiries were made in any event; the chen-jen บุรุษ, or the person who made inquiry (chen) as the king's official representatives; the p'u-jen บุรุษ, or person who specialised in the interpretation of the cracks; and the shih 史, or archivist who inscribed the notations pertaining to the whole inquiry. These, however, were basically roles that could be performed by as many individual persons, or by fewer persons who combined some of the functions. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.34)
Fig 3.8: The structure of the world of gods and the living world of the Shang clan
The presumption that the ways of interpreting came from the wisdom of the departed ancestors, including, of course, those departed kings, at least suggests that the living king was the person who had the wisdom finally to decide the proper interpretation of the communication with the gods. If so, then naturally the living king was the only representative of the world of gods who could properly interpret the will of the Supreme God through the signs shown by Supreme God's intermediaries, inferior gods or ancestors of various kinds. Corresponding to the interpretations of the character shih (㚭, 㠬) above, this hall could be an important building for the living king and his representatives to deal with these divinations which gave the directions for the regulation of life and rituals of the Shang clan, establishing the order of everything.

Based on these five groups of interpretations and viewpoints, the functions of some of the platforms in this middle area can be roughly pinned down: (1) the most northern group, including β5, β1, and β2, functioned as the ancestral temple; (2) the most southern group, including β20, β21, β16, β17, and β18, as part of the halls for astronomical affairs and the entrance of the whole complex; (3) the southern group, including β11, β12, and β13, as the main part of the halls for the divinations, rituals, and meetings. Except for the part of the reconstruction of the most southern group (β20 and β21) by Shih Chang-ju (Fig 3.7-a) which we can probably follow, the problem here is how to reconstruct the plan of this whole area into a proper scheme on the basis of these functions, even though we do not have constructional details of the building on every platform.

There are only two pieces of evidence available to us: one from the remains found at Yen-shih (Fig 3.9), which represents a single courtyard compound consisting of a large building without walls on the north, many small rooms enclosed by hang-t'u walls on the other three sides, enclosing a courtyard in the centre; the other from a character written as "亝" symbolising "buildings erected on a huge hang-t'u foundation on the four sides to enclose a central courtyard". Simply bringing these two together, we can propose
Fig 3.9: The plan of the archaeological remains D4 at Yen-shih
(KK: 1985(4), p.326)
a bold and imaginative plan to reconstruct the whole area as one consisting of several compounds.

But based on Ch'en Meng-chia's studies, the buildings dedicated as ancestral temples were given the posthumous names of the ancestors (such as ta-i-tzung, 太乙宗, tsung-ting-tzung, 中丁宗, --- etc.) or a special term for a group of ancestors (such as ta-tzung, 太宗, (Great Temple for trunk line of the ancestors), hsiao-tzung, 小宗 (Small Temple for the branch of the ancestors), tsung-tzung, 中宗, (Middle Temple for the middle line of ancestors), --- etc.) or others (such as hsin-tzung, 新宗, (New Temple), chiu-tzung, 舊宗, (Old Temple), hsi-tzung, 西宗, (Western Temple), and pei-tzung, 北宗, (Northern Temple), --- etc.).

Under these circumstances, how could we be sure that our reconstruction is the most accurate one that we can draw with the data we have? Firstly, as there are so many names, if we were to consider each name as an individual building or room, it would be quite impossible to include them all in our reconstruction of this huge platform. Secondly, some scholars, Chang Kwang-chih for instance, consider that the character tsung used in the oracle bone inscriptions sometimes indicated a certain group of ancestors, such as ta-tzung (the trunk line of ancestors), or hsiao-tzung (the branch line of ancestors). (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.185) Thirdly, although we are far from understanding the processes of the ancestral rituals performed by the Shang king, we consider that the most likely explanation is that when certain rituals were performed to a particular ancestor or a group of ancestors, their tablets were moved from the buildings where the tablets were stored to the central ancestral temple, and this temple was then called by the name of the particular ancestor or a group of ancestors for the duration of the ceremony.

On this basis, the northern compound dedicated to the ancestral temple would have
consisted of a main building without walls on the north, two rows of buildings on the east and the west, and the main gate with two side gates on the south. The first building was the focus of this compound, in which the ancestral tablets were placed on the "yellow platform" to be used in worship. The second group of buildings was the place for storing the ancestral tablets. If it is true, as Chang Kwang-chih states (1980:pp.178-188) that the ancestors could be divided into two distinctive groups, these two buildings then can be considered as two distinct places for storing the ancestral tablets of these two groups. Similarly, the two gates beside the main gate of this compound (tzung-men, 庠門) can probably be dedicated also one to the i-men (乙門) and the other to the ting-men (丁門) recorded in the oracle bone inscriptions. The reason we propose that these two gates were in these locations is because the northern part of the foundation β8 connected with this compound was not only used as a gallery, but possibly also as a semi-open space for the inferior attendants of some members of the two groups while the ceremonies were held to worship their ancestors. Although the process of the ancestral worship is far from clear, this compound would have been the place where the five main rituals proposed by Tung Tso-pin (乐 drum music, 舞 feather dance, 食 wine and meat, 帛 millets, and 大 grand harmony) were performed by the kings of the New School to the ancestors regularly (and successively, but sometimes simultaneously), and were completed in one year, which was called ssu (祀, ritual or ritual cycle). (The details of these rituals can be found in Chang Kwang-chih: 1980,pp.185-6)

The southern compound of the hall (shih, 室) also consists of the main hall (ta-shih, 大室) on the north without walls, the tung-shih (東室, Eastern Hall) on the east, the ming-shih (明室, the Hall of Ritual Vessel) on the west, the nan-shih (南室, Southern Hall) and the nan-men (南門, Southern Gate) on the south. This was the multipurpose space for different divinations involving many of the affairs of the whole clan as mentioned above. The foundations β20 and β21 at the south
of this hall compound have been reconstructed by Shih as in Fig 3.7-a. But comparing those platforms (β16, β18, β19, β20, β21) with the forms of some Han buildings (Fig 3.10, one is a two-storied building with two chueh (⿵⿵) shown on a Han engraved relief, others are the Han clay house models), we favour a taller pair of buildings similar to the Han chueh in the front of the Southern Gate and a pair of watch-towers located at the east and west of this pair of chueh. Probably, the pair of watch-towers, 亖亖, can be connected with the function of observing the celestial signs of the planets and the four seasons.

Finally, we designate the area between the compound of the ancestral temple and that of the hall as spaces for ting (⿷⿷) and kung (⿷⿷). The former not only consists of the foundations β9, but also the southern part of the foundation β8 to form a semi-open space in a "亐亐" shape for feasts held after certain ceremonies or on other occasions. As for the latter, kung, on the foundation β7, we reconstruct it as a small courtyard surrounded by many small rooms. These two compounds were probably the place where preparation was made before attending ceremonies, such as changing into proper dress, preparing musical instruments and so forth.

The remains in this area then can be roughly reconstructed as part of the plan of the architectural complex at Hsiao-t'un shown in Fig 3.2. This plan is only the result of trying to fit together the archaeological discoveries and certain written characters with their possible meanings. Beyond this, however, it is very difficult to speculate about the details of this complex or about the actual form of the buildings.
Fig 3.10: The architectural forms of a storeyed house, watch tower, and chueh shown on the Han relief and by the clay house models (Liang: 1984, pp.29 & 30)

(a) the architectural form of a two-storeyed building with a pair of chueh shown on a Han engraved relief. (Liang: 1984, p.29)

(b) a Han clay house model, showing a four-storeyed building with a pair of chueh beside its main gate. (Liang: 1984, p.30)
3.1.3. Southern area as the altar area (she, 社, )

The remains in the south-west are of a group of altars consisting of seventeen small carefully ordered hang-t’u platforms. The evidence for this is the lack of post foundations and the abundance of human and animal sacrificial victims (humans on the east and animals on the west) buried under these platforms. (Fig 3.11) (Shih Chang-ju: 1955, pp.184-5) From the arrangement of this group, remains no.1 can be regarded as the main altar upon which three altars, nos. 2, 3, and 4, were located to form a stepped structure and to the south of which many small altars were adjoined. Comparing the victims in the middle area with those in this altar area, the only significant difference between them is that some in the altar area had been burnt before being buried. Therefore, this group must almost certainly be the remains of a sacrificial altar.

The evidence of this burning can be correlated to some sacrificial rituals, such as liao (燎), chiao (燒), and ti (禘), which were almost always performed to the legendary ancestors or the various inferior gods, but only by the Old School. (Ch’en Meng-chia: 1956, pp.330, 586, 587 & 602) This correlation shows that this altar area could be one of the main places for the Shang king to sacrifice to the legendary ancestors and the inferior gods. Based on Tung Tso-pin’s studies of the changes of the rituals from the Old School to the New School (e.g. that the kings of the New School did not perform any ritual to the legendary ancestors and the various inferior gods), the setting of this altar area could be only for performing sacrificial rituals by the kings of the Old School. The abandonment of these rituals during the reign of the last Shang king was one of the main excuses for king Wu of the Chou to attack the Shang king. (Creel: 1970, p.83)

The descriptions in the chi-fa section of the Chou Li state that the ancestral temples erected by the Chou king were accompanied by one tan (壇) and one shan (壇). Corresponding to this, the archaeological remains at the west of this area could be of the
Fig 3.11: The sacrificial victims buried in association with the altar area
(Shih Chang-ju: 1955, p.184)
tan or the shan. Based on Ling Shun-sheng's views that the form of this shan "was built by sweeping clean and leveling off a small plot of land and the tan by raising a mound or a platform" (Ling: BIE(17), 1964, p.14), the remains at the west of this area must be of a three-stepped platform called tan. If we assume the symmetry for the whole site, then a shan can be reconstructed at the east of this area as an open space also pounded by the hang-t'u method. Another possible reconstruction is that the shan was not a small open space located at the east of this area but the whole open space located in the front of the most southern platform on which a pair of chueh was erected. This open space was probably the only place where the Shang king could gather the chung or chung-jen (the multitude) who lived in the small settlements of this An-yang core, when something important was to be announced to these members of the clan.

3.1.4. Characteristics of the plan of the architectural complex at Hsiao-t'un

Based on the reconstructions of these three areas, it is clear that the plan of the architectural complex can be divided into three functional areas: the residences on the north, the complex of the "ancestral temple and hall" in the middle, and the altar(s) on the south. Although this plan is only a modification of the original one proposed by Shih (the palace, the temple, and the altar respectively), it is probably more accurate, because we obtain a greater understanding of the remains by correlating the interpretations of the relevant characters in the oracle bone inscriptions with the functions of this architectural complex at Hsiao-t'un. The impossibility of obtaining more archaeological evidence for the constructional details of these buildings makes it very difficult to reconstruct them completely and precisely, but the reconstructions shown in Fig 3.2 at least present some characteristics of this plan which correspond to those of traditional architecture generally. These characteristics can be described as follows:
(A) The great hall was the dominant element from which came the characteristics of the central north-south axis, the symmetry, and the south orientation of the whole site, as well as giving the latter two characteristics to the important buildings which were located on the central north-south axis in a succession of courtyards.

(B) The central north-south axis, and the important halls and gates transversely located on it (the ancestral temple, the gate of the ancestral temple, the feasting hall, the great hall and the southern gate) were two coordinates to form four distinct zones in the whole site: (1) the private zone for the residence, (2) the semi-private zone for the ancestral temple and the feasting hall, (3) the semi-public zone for the hall, and (4) the public zone for the open space outside the southern gate. This planning shows not only the distinction between the public (on the south or in front) and the private (on the north or at the rear), but also between the unbiased (in the centre) and the biased (at two sides).

(C) The basic unit of the building, whether erected individually or with others raised on a platform, was ordinarily rectangular, except for the pair of multi-storeyed towers. Any platform, not only for an individual building or a courtyard but also for the southern platform on which a pair of chueh was erected or the altar(s), was built by the hang-t’u method, the typical constructional method for erecting a platform for a Chinese building used throughout the whole of Chinese history.

3.2. THE SPATIAL PATTERN OF THE SETTLEMENT AROUND AND OUTSIDE AN-YANG

In reconstructing a plan of the complex represented by the archaeological remains at Hsiao-t’un, we have endeavoured to show the functions which it fulfilled; but it is not only these functions which give it its importance as the core of the settlements in the An-yang area and also the settlements beyond, but also the fact that this is where the great
majority of the oracle bone inscriptions have been found. This An-yang core must be the area which is generally considered to be the centre of the last royal capital of the Shang dynasty. Although the precise perimeter of the settlements around and outside An-yang surrounding these architectural spaces has not been clearly delineated, the findings around An-yang in fact provide just sufficient material to help us discover the spatial pattern of those settlements of this royal capital and the area outside.

A structural network of this An-yang core has been proposed by Chang Kwang-chih based on archaeological loci, as shown in Fig 3.12. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.130) This model gives us a chance to look at two significant phenomena which help us to analyse the organisation of the whole settlement of this An-yang core.

First, the pattern of the whole network contained many elementary spaces in a dispersed form. From this structure, these spaces not only include small villages indicated by Chang as those for both the nobility and commoners, but also workshops, the royal cemetery and a large grave. (Ibid.) The identification between the settlements for the nobility and for the commoners is in fact derived from the general idea of the critical importance of the emergence of private property (the differentiation of wealth) and class consciousness (the human victims). This is indicated by the variation in funerary gifts offered in the graves expressing the discrimination between the nobility and the commoners. The arguments surrounding this issue will be presented below in the discussion of the royal cemeteries.

If we connect the information presented in this structure (Fig 3.12) with others presented by Wheatley (Fig 3.13), the organisation of the small villages identified by Chang mainly consisted of two elementary parts: dwelling site and burial site; and sometimes they were adjoined to the workshop. We can, therefore, point out four kinds of elementary spaces which made up the spatial pattern of the settlements in the An-yang core:
Fig 3.12: A structural model of the An-yang urban network during the Shang dynasty proposed by Chang Kwang-chih
(Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.130)

Fig 3.13: The contents of the settlement remains at the An-yang core
(Wheatley: 1971, p.37)
the residential space, the burial space, the dominant space, and the workshop. Using four symbols to present these four elementary spaces, the whole spatial organisation of the core is shown in Fig 3.14 as a dispersed form in which the centrally situated dominant spaces (a complex of the ancestral temples, the halls, and the altar(s)) were surrounded at varying distances by many smaller villages which stretched along both sides of the Huan river for a distance of about five kilometers. The residence for the Shang king and at least his consort(s) was close behind these dominant spaces, because the Shang king performed the most important role in these spaces. Just like the graveyard attached to the residential space in the small village, the royal cemeteries at Hsi-pei-kang and at the north-west of Hsiao-t'un village (such as tomb no.5) were associated with the king's residence, though at a distance.

The royal cemeteries are our second concern. The royal cemetery at Hsi-pei-kang can be divided into two areas (Fig 3.15), the western section consisting of seven large tombs and a large rectangular pit, and the eastern section consisting of three large tombs occupying an estimated quarter of the burial site. The shape of most large tombs looks like a cross with four long ramps. At the centre, a wooden chamber, in which the coffin and funerary gifts were placed, was also shaped like a cross. This chamber of HPKM 1004 tomb has been reconstructed by Kao Chu-hsun, as shown in Fig 3.16, who believes that the cross-shaped chamber was an imitation of the ancestral temple of the Shang dynasty. (Kao: BIHP(39), 1969,pp.175-188) But the lack of evidence for this kind of building found at Hsiao-t'un makes this proposition very doubtful. Outside this chamber, the floor between the chamber and the wall was pounded layer by layer and was used for placing other funerary gifts and the sacrificial victims. More than this, an abundance of funerary gifts and sacrificial victims was also found in the ramps. As Li Chi states, the archaeologists all conclude that these sacrificial human victims, accompanied by their animals and weapons, were "the skeletons of the guards placed there to protect the dead
Legend
- residential space
- burial space
- workshop
- dominant space

Fig 3.14: A spatial pattern of the An-yang core
Fig 3.15: The royal cemetery at Hsi-pei-kang (Li Chi: 1977, p.83)

Fig 3.16: The floor of the wooden chamber of HPKM 1004 (Li Chi: 1977, p.87)
master against subterranean evil spirits." (Li Chi: 1977, p.91)

Except for those gifts and sacrificial victims found inside the tombs, many small graves have been discovered around these large tombs. These graves were arranged in parallel rows (see Fig 3.15), and were also clustered into different groups. The content of each grave varied from one skeleton to many, and sometimes they were accompanied by animal victims and funerary goods or treasures. It has been generally believed that the presence of these graves was closely related to the requirement to sacrifice during the performance of the rituals for the dead who were buried in the large tombs. (Li Chi: 1977, pp.87-8, & Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.121)

In this sense, three kinds of offerings were presented to the dead: (1) the sacrificial victims, including the animals of various kinds and the captives of war sacrificed to the dead; (2) the sacrificial humans and animals who were to serve the dead, such as the guards with their horses and weapons; (3) the funerary gifts, such as the utensils and weapons for the dead. The distinction between the human burials of the first and second types has been pointed out by Hu Shih on the basis of ancient Chinese documents:

One type is called 'using human victims' at the altar of sacrifice. In this kind of human sacrifice, apparently only captives of war were used. The other type had a special term Hsun which may be translated as 'followers of the dead' or 'human beings killed and buried with the dead.' Hsun was defined by Cheng Hsuan (d. 200 A.D.) as 'killing men as guards for the dead.' The idea was that the dead wants his own bodyguards for his protection and his favourite wives and play-boys to keep him company. Human beings thus killed and buried with the dead were those whom the dead had either explicitly designated to 'follow' him or would have liked to have with him. (Hu Shih: HDSB, 1945/6, p.26)

In fact, these three types of offerings were also found in the remains at Hsiao-t'un which have been mentioned in section 3.1., but their purposes were slightly different. The second and third types which were offered together, as Shih Chang-ju suggests, were these sacrificial guards with their utensils, animals, weapons, and chariots to protect the temple area (Shih Chang-ju: 1955, p.165), but the first type was offered frequently and
regularly to the male and female ancestors in the ancestral temple area and to the gods of various kinds and legendary ancestors on the altar(s).

The difference between the offerings at the grave and in the ancestral temple can be realised from the facts about what happened during traditional times: the third type (sometimes including the second type) was offered only when the dead person was buried and then repeated once a year on the anniversary of his or her death; the first type, but only animals, was offered according to the cycles of ancestral sacrifices. We do not know yet whether the Shang people followed exactly the same rules as the traditional Chinese, but basically, the nature of those offerings to specific dead members of the Shang clan, either in the ancestral temple at Hsiao-t'un or at the royal cemeteries at Hsi-pei-kang and to the west of Hsiao-t'un village, remained unchanged. To these specific members (the deceased kings and consorts, or specific officers) who were worshipped in the ancestral temple, it seems entirely adequate to apply Hu Shih's statement that "the dead ancestors have feelings, desires and wants similar to those of the living, and that those feelings, desires and wants have to be appeased by regular offerings and sacrifices". (Hu Shih: *HDSB*, 1945/6, p.26)

In this sense, every effort devoted to the royal cemeteries can be interpreted as a contribution to helping the dead enter successfully into the world of gods by way of sacrificial victims and with adequate followers and treasures while he was being buried. But for those members who were not worshipped in the ancestral temple, what was the purpose of making the same kinds of offerings to them, although less in quality and quantity than those to the host of ancestors? And why were the offerings unequal between different graves?

The inequality shown in the latter question has been widely interpreted as the only strong evidence to express the emergence of private property and then of class
consciousness, especially by Marxist scholars in China, fitting the data of early China into the formulation initiated by L.H. Morgan. (Shih Hsing-pang: SCYC, 1983(1), pp.27-45)

This involves an ideological predisposition towards the interpretation of early Chinese socio-culture. A criticism of this has been given by Keightley: "Overemphasis on class structure and property relations, as well as the natural desire to publish the more glamorous finds, could lead to a disproportionate interest in elite burials as compared with, for example, more mundane lithic technology, domestic architecture, and refuse heaps." (Keightley: 1983, p.xxi) In addition, it is easy to propose another interpretation of this differentiation: the symbol of ceremonial rank, as suggested by most (ibid., p.26).

This means that the quality and quantity of the offerings will be decided on the basis of the deceased's rank within the Shang clan. The criteria which determine whether there was a nobility within the socio-culture of the Three Dynasties will focus on two questions: (1) was there an inheritable rank which was passed down through a certain group of people? and (2) were there certain people who were eligible to become members of certain ranks?

There is no proof that these two criteria were positively fulfilled during the Shang dynasty on the basis of the understanding of the oracle bone inscriptions so far. This will be discussed in the next chapter. We, therefore, consider that the nature of the Shang socio-cultural organisation was fundamentally egalitarian, so that every position of higher rank, even the position of the king and his consort(s), was generally open to every member of the Shang clan who was meritorious, virtuous, and capable, although the procedures may have been based on certain conditions. If so, it is not that the deceased person of higher rank had the power to obtain rare goods and ritual bronzes and to order other people to be sacrificed for him, but rather that his contributions in his duties during his lifetime led other members of the Shang clan to offer varieties of offerings to him when he was buried, to express their respect and gratitude. The funerary gifts were a
symbol of his rank rather than of his wealth, especially the ritual bronzes. That the human victims used were captives from warfare rather than members of the Shang clan means that the evidence can not be used to prove the emergence of class consciousness. The offering of followers of the dead is the only point which we cannot answer so far to reject the view that this evidence can be used to support the emergence of class consciousness.

The question is, whether the followers of the dead were simply, just like the funerary gifts and captives, considered as the private property of the dead. Even if they were all presumed to be the private property of the dead, the question remains as to why the captives and the followers of the dead needed to be sacrificed at all. In other words, is it probable that there was a belief behind the act of making these offerings at the grave of the dead, and, were there also some ceremonies related to the burying of the dead?

From the evidence of the varieties of offerings found in different neolithic graves, the discussion of what was the purpose of these offerings to the dead must be traced back to neolithic times. We are far from understanding these practices, but if there was a belief in another world (the world of dead) behind the act of these offerings at the graves, we only can point out that the difference between the purpose of sacrificing at the grave and in the ancestral temple is that the former was for pacifying or helping the dead into another world, but the latter was to assist communications between the Supreme God and the king through the ancestors, ancestresses and inferior gods. Whether there was a belief in another world or not, the worship in the ancestral temple was more important than that at the grave, because the host of male and female ancestors and inferior gods were believed to be the only intermediaries between the Supreme God and the king during the Shang dynasty. Under these circumstances, the dominant spaces, including the "ancestral temple and hall" complex and altar(s), can be strongly proposed as the only proper Centre in the spatial pattern of this An-yang core.
The elementary components, including the individual small villages, the royal cemeteries, and the central complex, located around An-yang are generally considered as the central area of the last Shang capital, so-called Yin-hsu or Shang-hsu (殷墟 or 商墟, Yin Ruins). Based on the historical records, such as Shih Chi, Ku-pen Chushu, and Han-shu Ti-li-chih, the boundary of this capital has been drawn to include "an area about 200 kilometers long from north to south in the plains east of the Tai-hang Mountains, which was drained by several small rivers (Chi 濡, Huan 湘, and Chang 樂) which flowed into the river Wei 滬." (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.129) (Fig 3.17) Corresponding to the remains of settlements found around this area so far, the structure of the Shang capital at Yin has been identified by Chang as in Fig 3.18:

I shall refer to the area within which the An-yang sites cluster as the An-yang core, and the larger area of Shang sites in northern Honan, of which the An-yang core was only a part, as the Royal Capital. (Ibid., p.73)

Based on this, the structure of the territory of the royal capital can be expressed in a more complicated form as shown in Fig 3.19, in which the An-yang core was surrounded by many other settlements, and was the centre of the domain of the last Shang capital. This diagram is plotted mainly on the basis of the actual locations where the relevant archaeological information has been found, but only indicates its dispersed spatial form. Although the status of the An-yang core within this spatial pattern has been emphasised simply by the functions of the central complex at Hsiao-t’un previously proposed, the evidence for this status can be further strengthened by another important consideration, that is, whether or not this An-yang core was what was referred to as ta-i-shang (大邑商) and t’ien-i-shang (天邑商) in the oracle bone inscriptions found there. If this enquiry can be answered, the central complex at Hsiao-t’un can, then, be considered as the only proper Centre of the Shang territory.
Fig 3.17: Possible real scope of the Shang capital at Yin proposed by Chang Kwang-chih
(Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.71)

Fig 3.18: Possible structure of the various components of the Shang capital at Yin proposed by
Chang Kwang-chih (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.72)
Fig 3.19: Spatial pattern of the last Shang capital area
3.3. THE AN-YANG CORE: THE GREAT SETTLEMENT OF THE SHANG DYNASTY OR NOT?

The An-yang core has been considered by Chang Kwang-chih as the central part of the territory of the last Shang capital in northern Honan shown in Fig 3.18, but what was the name given to it by the Shang people? According to Shih Chi, the last Shang capital was named Yin (殷), to which the capital was moved by P'an Keng and used throughout the rest of the Shang dynasty. (Shih Chi, yin-pen-chi, 史記殷本紀) In fact, the sources of Ssu-ma Chien's views came from the ancient texts of the Chou dynasty, such as Shu Ching, Shih Ching, Kuo Yu, Tso Chuan, Shih Pen (世本), and Ta Tai Li. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.3) In this case, the name Yin which was given to the last capital of the Shang dynasty should have occurred frequently during the Chou dynasty, but unfortunately, there is no such character in the oracle bone inscriptions found so far which can be positively related to this name.

In the shang-sung (商颂) section of the Shih Ching, there is one part which describes a place called shang-ı (商邑). With reference to many other translations 1, Wheatley translates this part as follows:

The Capital of Shang was a city of cosmic order,
The pivot of the four quarters,
Glorious was its renown,
Purifying its divine power,
Manifested in longevity and tranquillity,
And the protection of us who come after.
(Wheatley: 1971, p.450)

On the basis of this translation, the symbolism of this place contains the following six features. It is: (1) a place of cosmic order; (2) the pivot of the four quarters; (3) a glorious place; (4) a place with divine power; (5) a place manifested in longevity and

tranquillity; and (6) a place protecting the people who come after. Correlating these characteristics to the functions of the central complex erected at Hsiao-t’un which have been proposed previously, the An-yang core must deserve to be called shang-i. Based on the oracle bone inscriptions found at An-yang, only two terms, ta-i-shang and t’ien-i-shang, are related to the place called shang-i. Simply from these connections, the An-yang core could probably be named ta-i-shang or t’ien-i-shang, indicating the only Centre of the Shang territory.

Based on the itinerary reconstructions of Ti Hsin’s military campaign against Jen Fang (ascarid, the alien people at the east of the Shang), Tung Tso-pin concludes that the place called Shang was located at present Shang-ch’iü, “a considerable distance from the current capital” and “the central fixed point of the Shang territory”:

The Yin people used their ancestral capital, Great City Shang, as the center, referring to it as Chung Shang 中商 (Central Shang), and accordingly divided their land into four quarters, the Eastern land, the Southern land, the Western land, and the Northern land. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1981, pp.212-3, translated from Tung: Yin-li-p’u, 1945, p.62)

Strongly supporting Tung’s views, Chang Kwang-chih considers that the capital area of the Shang dynasty may have consisted of two interrelated but different regions, Shang and the current capital, seen Fig 3.20:

The importance of locating the city of Shang at a place near Shang-ch’iü (or, for that matter, at any other fixed location outside An-yang) lies in the fact that Shang provided the one immobile central place for the dynasty and the state called Shang, whose kings and their capitals have proved to be highly mobile.—— The city of Shang was probably the place where the Shang kings kept their most sacred ancestral temples, tablets, and regalia, and it figured importantly in certain rituals and in many military campaigns. (Ibid., p.213)

Possibly the name of the city still lies buried in the corpus of characters that are yet to be deciphered, but in any event it is significant that in the Shang conception their ancestral capital at Shang was the fixed point of their political and ritual universe, around which their other cities, including their capitals, orbited. (Ibid., p.214)

Sharing these same views, Keightley provides the following provisional assumptions, considering that the An-yang core was not the capital, but only a cult and mortuary centre:
Fig 3.20: City Shang and current capitals within the hierarchy of the Shang state network proposed by Chang Kwang-chih

(Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.219)
1. The Hsiao-t'un site (36° 07' north, 114° 19' east) was referred to in the inscriptions (S43.1-2) as zu-i 賢邑, 'this settlement'. 2. Hsiao-t'un was not the capital, but a cult and mortuary centre. 3. In the oracle bone inscriptions the Shang capital — to the extent that there was such a conception — was variously called Shang, ta yi Shang 大邑商, chung Shang 中商, and ch'i Shang 正商 (S279.2-3). 4. This capital was located near modern Shang-ch'i'u 莘丘 (34° 26' north, 115° 39' east), Honan.

The choice of Shang-ch'i'u is based primarily on: (1) Tung's reconstruction of the itineraries of the Period V campaigns, which seem to require a place called "Shang" in Eastern Honan; (2) the similarity between the name ch'i Shang of the bone inscriptions (S279.3) and the traditional Shang-ch'i'u; (3) the fact that the capital of the Shang-successor state of Sung is said to have been established at Shang-ch'i'u, which would presumably have been in the Shang heartland; (4) strong Eastern Chou traditions that at least one of the Shang capitals was in this area (Creel1937:158-167) summarises the evidence); and (5) Shang-ch'i'u's location at the center of the North China plain, standing at the junction of many modern and presumably also ancient routes.

(Keightley: 1983, p.533)

It is, therefore, necessary for us to argue against the views of Tung, supported by Chang and Keightley, in order to maintain our case that the An-yang core was the central area of the last capital of the Shang dynasty and the only Centre of the Shang territory. This argument is important to us, because it helps to strengthen the position of the dominant spaces located at Hsiao-t'un as the Centre of the Shang territory, strongly correlating their socio-cultural functions with the characteristics of the Shang-i described in the shang-sung section of the Shih Ching.

Besides Tung's views, in fact, there are two other kinds of view presented by Lo Chen-yu and Ch'en Meng-chia (see Table 3.2). Here, we present some evidence to indicate that the place called shang or ch'i-shang was located near the present Shang-ch'i'u as the deserted ancestral capital and that the place called ta-i-shang, t'ien-i-shang, or chung-shang was, in fact, the central area of the last capital, located at the present An-yang. Our view is not that there was one fixed place erected for the Shang dynasty as its centre throughout its whole history, but rather that the central area of the capital was the only Centre of the Shang territory named under the specific term ta-i-shang or t'ien-i-shang or chung-shang, no matter where this capital was located.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>name of scholars</th>
<th>Lo Chen-yu</th>
<th>Tung Tso-pin</th>
<th>Ch'en Meng-chia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>names of places</td>
<td>(須瑟)</td>
<td>(壹師)</td>
<td>(肖衰)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shang(商)</td>
<td>An-yang</td>
<td>Shang-ch'iu</td>
<td>Shang-ch'iu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(安陽)</td>
<td>(商丘)</td>
<td>(商丘)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'iu-shang(丘商)</td>
<td>An-yang</td>
<td>Shang-ch'iu</td>
<td>Shang-ch'iu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-i-shang(大商)</td>
<td>An-yang</td>
<td>Shang-ch'iu</td>
<td>Chin-yang(必遷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ien-i-shang(天商)</td>
<td>An-yang</td>
<td>Shang-ch'iu</td>
<td>Chao-ko(朝朝)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chung-shang(中商)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shang-ch'iu</td>
<td>An-yang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Three main views concerning the actual geographical locations of five names of places recorded in the oracle bone inscriptions (Sources come from Ch'en Meng-chia: 1956, pp.256-258 and Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, pp.213-215)

The best way to support our opinion is to enquire whether the character shang, used as part of a name for a place in the oracle bone inscriptions, should always indicate the place called Shang, the ancestral capital of the Shang clan. According to the Shih Chi, this character was generally regarded as the name of the place where Hsieh (繄, the legendary ancestor of the Shang clan) was enfeoffed by Ti Shun (帝舜, the legendary emperor before the Hsia dynasty). For a long time afterwards, this character had also been used by the Shang as a specific name identifying their own clan. For example, as Ch'en Meng-chia states, the term "shang-sho-nien" (商受年) means "praying a good (harvest) year for the Shang clan". (Ch'en Meng-chia: 1956, p.257) In this sense, the meanings of the terms, ta-i-shang, t'ien-i-shang, and chung-shang, can be interpreted as the ta-i of the Shang clan, the t'ien-i of the Shang clan, and the chung of the Shang clan.

What was the meaning of ta-i (大邑,大邑)? Based on the meaning of the character ta (大,大) in ordinary usage during the Shang dynasty, the distinction between ta-i and i indicates that the former was larger than the latter, and the character i (邑,邑) used in
the oracle bone inscriptions can be only translated in a general way as "settlement". Therefore, ta-i means a larger settlement. In the oracle bone inscriptions, there was one case where ta-i, was used, the whole sentence of which can be translated as "creating or establishing a larger settlement in the land of T'ang ( 王, the name of the founder of the Shang dynasty)". (Ch'en Meng-chia: 1956, p.321) But once this larger settlement was established in the land of T'ang, the name of this place was only called T'ang or T'ang-i in other records, rather than ta-i-t'ang which follows the grammatical structure of the term ta-i-shang. Under these circumstances, the meaning of ta-i-shang can be translated as "the large settlement of the Shang (clan) or within the Shang (land or territory)", because it was the only larger settlement within the Shang territory under this name. The term tsu-i ( 王, this settlement) used by the king in the oracle bone inscriptions should indicate this large settlement of the Shang clan where the king resided.

Another piece of evidence comes from the meaning of "great" which was given to this character ta. Based on comparisons of the character ta ( 大, 天) with other characters, t'ien (heaven, 天, 天, 天), wang (king, 王, 大, 天), li (stand, 立, 梨), and jen (human being, 人, 人) carried out by Creel (Creel: 1970, p.493-506) (Table 3.3), the relationship among characters, ta, t'ien, and wang strongly suggests that the latter two were derived from the character ta. That is to say, these two characters were two important variant forms of the character ta, indicating two important meanings, "Heaven" and "king", which were very significant to the Shang people towards the end of the Shang dynasty. Although there is argument about whether the character t'ien used during that time had the same meaning, "Heaven", as it had for the Chou people (Ibid., p.500), it still remains that characters t'ien and wang in fact directly show that the meaning of "great" should be given to the character ta. From the change of the forms of the character wang, from ( 王 ) to ( 王 ) (Tung Tso-pin: 1965, p.115), the character ta ( 大 ) and character t'ien ( 天 ) may have once
shared the same meaning of "great".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Oracle bone inscriptions</th>
<th>Bronze inscriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'ien, (Heaven, 天)</td>
<td>上 上 上 上 上 上 上 上</td>
<td>上 上 上 上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jen, (Human being, 人)</td>
<td>上 上 上 上 上 上 上</td>
<td>上 上 上 上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta, (Great, Large, 大)</td>
<td>上 上 上 上 上 上 上</td>
<td>上 上 上 上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wang, (King, 王)</td>
<td>上 上 上 上 上 上 上</td>
<td>王 王 王</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li, (Stand, 立)</td>
<td>上 上 上 上</td>
<td>上 上 上</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Under these circumstances, the terms, ta-i-shang and t'ien-i-shang, may once have had the same meaning, "the great settlement of the Shang clan". In addition, simply from a comparison of the forms of the characters, t'ien, ta, and wang, shown in Table 3.3, the place called ta-i-shang or t'ien-i-shang which was very closely related to the Shang king must have been very important to the Shang clan.

We conclude, then, that this place must be the place where the Shang king always resided and played his role in communications with the world of gods through his divinations. This place must be the Centre of the last royal capital where the remains at Hsiaot'un were focused, rather than the place called shang-ch'iü, mainly because it would have been impossible for the Shang king to be involved in so many affairs regularly going back and forth between these two places which were at a distance of several hundred miles. Although, based on some oracle bone inscriptions, some divinations were made at Shang-ch'iü in the course of the king’s military campaign, such as that of Ti Hsin against Jen Fang, the fact that those records were still returned to and deliberately stored in the Anyang core shows the significant status of this place within the Shang territory. Therefore,
the term *chung-shang* can be translated as the Centre of the Shang clan or territory.

Lastly, it is worthy mentioning a point made by Kane, questioning Chang’s views about the correlation between the place called *ta-i-shang* (Great City Shang) and the place called *Shang*, which provides us with another view supporting our argument:

If, however, the ‘Great City Shang’ of the Shang oracle bone inscriptions was thus not located at the well-known site of Yinxu (Yin Hsu) in northern Henan (Honan), one is rather left to wonder why the Zou (Chou) conquerors should have made Yinxu their target for destruction and how they could have been so foolhardy as to install the Shang heir in his people’s ‘sacred citadel’, which was presumably the political power seat of the defeated dynasty since its royal tombs were surely located at Yinxu. (Kane: JAS, 1985(Aug), p.811)

3.4. CONCLUSIONS

Abundant archaeological evidence and relevant studies in other fields on the Late Shang period, especially the oracle bone inscriptions, have provided us with the means of studying the extraordinary example of the Shang "grand" architecture, the famous archaeological remains at Hsiao-t’un. Based on the reconstructions of it and research by archaeologists, as well as our own and others’ interpretations of the oracle bone inscriptions, we have concluded that the architectural complex represented by these remains consisted of three distinct areas with a symmetrical plan (as shown in Fig 2.2): (1) the residential area of the king and his family on the north, having many individual rectangular buildings (*ch’in*, 宦); (2) the "ancestral temple and hall" complex (*tzung-shih*, 宗室) in the middle; (3) the altar(s) (*she*, 社) on the south on which the king performed sacrifices to the legendary ancestors or inferior gods.

But the focus of this complex was the middle group (*tzung-shih*), because it consisted of a group of buildings (*tzung*) for the living king to worship the deceased kings as collective ancestors, and a group of buildings and platforms (*shih*) for him to divine, to observe celestial phenomena, and to counsel. Both were erected for dealing with the living
king's communications with the Supreme God through his intermediaries (the deceased kings), and for dealing with the daily affairs of the clan through his proto-bureaucracy.

Although the legendary ancestors and the inferior gods of various kinds were also the intermediaries during the reign of the kings of the Old School, it is the worship of the deceased kings as the collective ancestors (through whom the living king could communicate with the Supreme God) which promoted the importance of the *tsung-shih* (宗室) within the central architectural complex. On the one hand, this worship degraded the sacred power of the living king, but on the other, the belief that it guaranteed the king a position as an ancestor who would live in the world of gods after his death in fact strengthened the secular authority of the living king.

Our other two studies, the understanding of the spatial pattern of the settlement remains in and around An-yang and the question whether or not the An-yang core was the great settlement of the Shang clan (*ta-i-shang*, 太商, 大商 or *t'ien-i-shang*, 天商, 天商), strengthen the foundation of our reconstructions. Although others may strongly disagree with the results of these studies of the pre-eminent position of the An-yang core, they cannot reject the symbolic functions of the central complex where the *tsung-shih* (宗室) was focused, because this complex must have been very significant to the Shang people, and so, wherever their great settlement was constructed they must have built this symbolic Centre.

In the next chapter, we trace how the Shang people organised the territory within which this complex was centred. In particular, we look into how "diffusion" converted the Shang clan of mechanical solidarity into a dispersed spatial organisation in which the elementary components were constituted mainly on the basis of the ideology of the clan and their shared beliefs and group structure.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE SPATIAL ORGANISATION OF THE SHANG TERRITORY

As argued in Chapter Three, the settlements around An-yang deserve to be considered as those of the "Great Settlement" of the Shang clan. The architectural complex at Hsiao-t'ung was located as its Centre. Simply because of its dispersed spatial pattern, it is very difficult to regard this "Great Settlement" as an ancient city defined by the criteria proposed by Childe (1950, pp.3-17).

What was the typical form of a traditional walled city or town? As shown in Fig 4.1, its form was very similar to that of an ancient European city or borough in consisting of residences for the population, a city wall for defence and public buildings. But the difference between the symbolism of these two forms is that the Chinese traditional walled city or town was only a political centre or node in an administrative network. (Fei: 1953, pp.95-9 & Needham: 1971, pp.71-3) In this sense, although the political centre represented by the Chinese traditional city was also used for the protection and refuge of the surrounding countryside, the city walls and the administrative office (ya-men) of the civil and military governors are basically more significant and important than the dwellings inside the city walls, particularly because the wall was the main feature which caused the city or town to be called ch'eng (城, meaning a wall, enclosure, or defence work). (Fei: 1953, p.95)

Comparing the form of this typical traditional city or town with that of the Great Settlement of the Shang clan presented in Chapter Three, there are two obvious differences: the distinction between a clumpy spatial pattern and a dispersed one, and between a settlement with walls and one without walls. The latter factor is, of course, closely related to the former, because the form of the Great Settlement was too dispersed to be able, to enclose it by walls. This has been pointed out by Chang Kwang-chih, but he also adds two other possible reasons for there apparently being no wall: (1) a walled enclosure did, in fact, exist
Fig 4.1: The typical form of a traditional walled city or town
(Skinner: 1973, p.80)
around the Centre at Hsiao-t'un, but eluded the archaeologists' search; (2) the garrison forces in the last loyal capital were so concentrated that a wall was not necessary. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.134) The argument for these three explanations will be discussed in the end of the section 4.2. Based on the interpretations of the form of "□" in the characters i (亙), wei (丕), &qf; and hsiang or yung (墉 or 委, 殿) as a "walled enclosure" (Ibid.), Chang suggests that the walled towns "were the principle ruling instruments in Shang China" (Ibid., p.210) and then proposes that the network of a Shang state consisted of "hundreds of walled towns" (Ibid., p.240). This view has been criticised by Keightley, based on the archaeological evidence of other settlements without any walled enclosure. He makes the following suggestion:

the possibility exists that the Shang polity was mainly composed of unwalled "residential hamlets" and that the political architecture of the North China Plain was closer in style to the Neolithic model, rather than to the Middle and Late Chou model (which may unduly influence our expectations with its records of wall building in Shih-ching, Chun-chiu and Tso-chuan). (Keightley: JAS, 1982(May), p.554)

But unfortunately, he does not explain why there are walled enclosures at the Cheng-chou, Yen-shih, and P'an-lung-ch'eng sites which have also been linked to the Shang dynasty. In 1983, Chang Kwang-chih still held strongly to his own views, but slightly modified them and then further described how, in his view, a state was constructed during the Three Dynasties:

The absence of walls could be archaeologically accidental; many of the sites have not been investigated thoroughly, and many of the walls could have been largely obliterated by erosion and disturbance. But the towns were in any event more important than their walls; walls may have been unnecessary where defence needs did not exist, or they could have been built with timber. The planning and the political function of the towns were the same with or without earthen walls. The thousands of towns that dotted the Three Dynasties' political landscape were linked together - by invisible lines, as it were - into hierarchical systems of administrative control and wealth distribution, and the town hierarchies largely coincided with the hierarchies of clans and lineages. Each "state", or kuo, in ancient China was thus a network of towns linked in various hierarchical levels. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.25)

There remain several interesting questions to which neither Chang nor Keightley have given a full answer and which we need to explore, because they are the main clues to the
picture of how the Shang territory was constructed. Firstly, when did the wall become necessary? And is it true that the wall was used to enclose the whole settlement or town, or something else? The former question is concerned with the criteria for constructing a walled enclosure, whether for a settlement or town, and whether it was built only for defence. The latter concerns the kind of architectural spaces which were enclosed, and what qualified them for enclosure, if the walls did not encompass the entire settlement or town.

Secondly, what was the main criterion for recognising that "the planning and the political function of the towns was the same with or without earthen walls", as Chang suggests? This is to raise the following questions: (1) was there always a dominant space in a settlement? (2) was its function political? (3) what was the meaning of ts'o-i (造邑, creating or establishing a settlement) and how was this act involved in the construction of the whole Shang territory? (4) what was the difference between the central (dominant) space of the capital and that of an ordinary settlement, if, indeed, the latter had one?

Thirdly, what was the meaning of the "invisible lines" which linked those settlements or towns into an "hierarchical system of administrative control and wealth distribution"? And how did these invisible lines coincide with the hierarchy of clans and lineages? This is the question of the structure of the Shang territory and of the role or function of each settlement or town within this territory.

Finally, what was the meaning of kuo (in fact, ho, 墾政) used during the Shang dynasty? Was its meaning during the Shang dynasty the same as that during the Chou dynasty? This point has also been raised by Chang.

In this chapter, we will investigate these four groups of questions focusing upon three main themes: (1) the symbolism of constructing the Shang walled compound; (2) the socio-spatial concepts in the organisation of the Shang territory; (3) the planning of the central architectural spaces for a Centre and its sub-Centres within the Shang territory. Before we
begin, though, we need to introduce the four main archaeological sites outside An-yang which provide the basic evidence for us to explore the spatial organisation of the early Shang settlements, whether walled or not.

4.1. FOUR MAIN REMAINS OF THE SHANG SETTLEMENTS OUTSIDE AN-YANG

Except for the An-yang site itself and some other sites around it, no significant archaeological remains of settlements have been thoroughly excavated so far which can be linked to the Late Shang period, when its capital had been moved to the present An-yang. But what about those settlements before the Late Shang period? Four main groups of remains found so far are relevant to our study. Their locations are shown in Fig 4.2: (1) T'ai-hsi-ts'un (台西村), west of Kao-ch'eng (考城), which was excavated in 1965, 1972, and 1973; (2) Cheng-chou (商城), the capital of Honan province since 1954, which since 1950 has brought to light the so-called Erh-li-k'ang (二里岗) period of the early Shang dynasty; (3) P'an-lung-ch'eng (盤龍城), located near the Nieh-k'ou (轅口) village in Huang-p'i (黃陂) county of Hupei (湖北), where excavation began in 1954, though it was not until 1974 that digging on a sufficiently large scale was undertaken; (4) Yen-shih (偃師), east of Lo-yang (洛陽) around 40 km, at which excavation began in 1983.

In the following sub-sections, we introduce these sites and describe briefly what has been found, in particular the remains of buildings; we also summarise the conclusions that have been drawn about their functions. Finally we try to sketch out the spatial pattern of these Shang settlements.
Fig 4.2: Locations of four major Shang archaeological sites (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978, p.219)
4.1.1. T'ai-hsi-ts'un site

This site is most important in the northern area which has been linked to the late sub-phase of Erh-li-k'ang in the early Shang period. It has an area of around 0.1 km square, in which three large rectangular earthen platforms, 100 by 60-80 meters each, are located in the west, south, and north: the so-called three Mounds. According to Chang Kwang-chih, remains have only been recovered from the North Mound (consisting of house floors and a well) and from the area of the West Mound (consisting of at least fifty-eight burials). (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, pp. 290-3, for his main archaeological sources see his notes 3-5) There are a number of interesting and important finds we can summarise in order to raise some crucial points.

First, most of the eleven house remains which have been uncovered had been constructed "above ground with walls built of hang-t'u in the lower parts and unfired clay bricks in the upper portions" and with "one, two or three adjoining rooms". (Ibid., p. 291) The largest (14.2m N.S. x 4-4.35m E.W.) was constructed with three rooms, probably using a sophisticated timber structure. (Ibid.) Not only is there a difference between these two kinds of house in their constructional method, but also the fact that animal and human remains were found below the post bases of only the largest house shows that this house was so significant that sacrifices were required for its construction. The function of this house has been proposed as a nobleman's residence. (Ibid.)

Second, a distinction has been made between two groups of the fifty-eight rectangular graves found so far in respect of the number of valuable funerary gifts buried with the dead which have been considered as discriminating between the rich and the poor within the same cemetery -- mainly relating to the high stratification within the lineage of the Shang clan. (Ibid.)
Simply comparing the large house mentioned above with the architectural complex at Hsiao-t'un, it is difficult to consider this house as a residence, because even the residences for the king and his family were not accompanied by animal and human sacrifices, as a prelude to construction. This suggests that the house must be related to a tsung (⿰ nodo, an ancestral temple) or a shih (⿴ 房, a hall): but which one? The question about the purpose of burying bronze vessels in the cemetery in fact concerns whether or not these bronze vessels were simply the nobleman's private property, a symbol of his wealth. As presented in Chapter Three, we have provided another interpretation suggested by Mr. on this issue: that they were an expression of achievement based on merit rather than "a symbol of wealth". This view can be also supported by the achievement within the Shang clan which will be discussed below in detail in the sub-section 4.3.3.

4.1.2. Cheng-chou site

Cheng-chou site has been under excavation since 1956 and has disclosed a large walled enclosure, in which a cluster of hang-t'u foundations is located in the north, and also the remains of a number of settlements around the enclosure. (Fig 4.3) (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.272) As usual, this enclosure was constructed by the hang-t'u method, with the lengths of the four sides :north 1690m, east and south 1700m, and west 1870m. This hang-t'u wall encloses the walls of the existing ancient city of Cheng-chou. Although the cluster of hang-t'u foundations on the north has been further excavated, only two of them have disclosed their constructional details. (WW: 1983(4),pp.1-14) One is the platform C8 G15 (see Fig 4.4-a) occupying an area of over 65 m E.W. by 13.6 m N.S., which has been reconstructed as shown in Fig 4.4-b. It has been proposed that it was a residential building with nine rooms similar to the northern remains within the walled enclosure at P'an-lung-ch'eng, shown in the next section. The other is platform C8 G16 (see Fig 4.5), whose size has been estimated at 38.4 m N.S. by 31.2 m E.W.. Because of its ruinous state, it is hard to
Fig 4.3: The Shang archaeological site at Cheng-chou (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978, p.282)

(a) the plan of the remains

(b) the reconstruction of the remains

Fig 4.4: The reconstruction of the remains of foundation C8 G15 (WW: 1983(8), pp.6 & 7)

Fig 4.5: The remains of foundation C8 G16 (WW: 1983(8), p.8)
reconstruct this building. On the whole, as Chang Kwang-chih states, "those miscellaneous remains are insufficient for any clear understanding of the settlement pattern inside the walls, but clearly the conditions were quite complex". (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.277) However, he still considers this walled settlement as similar to the architectural complex at Hsiao-t'un. Outside this walled enclosure, the other remains include a number of workshops for bronze and pottery production; graves, some of which are accompanied by abundant and valuable funerary gifts and sacrificial remains; and dwellings which have been divided into two groups, those of the common people and those of the nobility. This distinction will be discussed below in the sub-section 4.3.3.

Because of the huge scale of these findings and their significance, this site has been widely discussed as to whether it was one of the early capitals before An-yang. As for those viewpoints which regard this site as one of the early capitals, there are two distinctive groups: one regarding it as the second capital of the Shang dynasty, to which the capital was moved under Chung Ting, named Ao (王室) or Hsiao (小) ; the other proposing it as the first capital founded by T'ang, named Po (攸). The former view was introduced by An Chin-huai (WW, 1961(4/5),pp.73-80), later strengthened by T'ang Lan (WW, 1973(7),pp.5-14), and finally confirmed by Chang Kwang-chih (1980,pp.270-2). The second view was initiated by Tso Heng (WW, 1978(3),pp.69-71). It seems that no certain conclusion can be drawn so far, because neither view can reject the fundamental evidence presented by the other and so give a satisfying answer. Among those scholars who reject this site as the royal capital are, for example, Keightley who believes that "the identification of Cheng-chou as a Shang capital needs to be treated with caution" (Keightley: JAS, 1982(May), p.552), and also Yang Kuan who considers it to have been only the sub-capital of the early dynasty which continued in use until the end of the Shang dynasty and in which the ancestral temple and great hall were located. This view is based on the inscriptions recorded on a bronze ritual vessel found at An-yang (Yang Kuan: FD, 1984(1),pp.81-6).
On the whole, it is difficult to be sure of what role this site played within the Shang territory, whether from an archaeological or an historical approach. More findings and studies are needed, but we will discuss the symbolism of constructing the Shang walled compound within the Shang territory in the section 4.2.. This will provide a general idea of the meaning of erecting a walled compound during that time. We will then further propose a rough outline of the role or function this Cheng-chou walled compound played within the Shang territory at the beginning of the Shang dynasty.

4.1.3. P'an-lung-ch'eng site

P'an-lung-ch'eng is a small walled enclosure, 290 metres north-south and 260 metres east-west, located beside P'an-lung lake in Huang-p'i county of Hupei. (Fig 4.6-a) As with the Cheng-chou site, a huge hang-t'u foundation, 60 metres wide east-west and at least 100 metres north-south, was discovered on the northeastern region of this walled enclosure. (WW: 1976(2), p.8) It is suggested by the archaeologists who excavated this site that there are three rectangular buildings erected on the large foundation, on a line 20 degrees east of the north-south axis. (Fig 4.6-b) Only the most northerly one, F1, has been fully excavated as shown in Fig 4.6-c. It is described as a hall (34m by 6m) with four partitioned rooms surrounded by a continuous corridor, and erected on a rectangular platform (40m by 12m) raised about 20 cm from the hang-t'u foundation. The plan of these remains shows forty-three large posts erected on this platform outside and the wattle-and-daub walls inside which partitioned this hall into four rooms. (Ibid., p.11) It has been reconstructed by Yang Hung-hsun as a "double-eaved" house (chung-wu). (Yang Hung-hsun: WW, 1976(2), p.24) The middle building, F2, has still not been fully excavated, but the excavation report considers it to be a platform (about 30m by 11m) on which many large posts were erected along its four sides without any wall, either wattle-and-daub or hang-t'u. (Tso Heng: 1980, p.145) The southern building, F3, is quite unclear.
(a) the location of site (WW: 1976(2), p.5)

(b) the plan of walled remains in which three main foundations were erected on the north-eastern area

(c) the plan of F1 remains (WW: 1976(2), p.9)

(d) the reconstruction of F1 remains (WW: 1976(2), p.24)

Fig 4.6: The Shang archaeological site at P'an-lung-ch'eng
According to the excavation report, as well as these excavated platforms which, it is suggested, were made at the same time as the walled enclosure, there are other remains beneath. (WW: 1976(2), p.8) This constructional order shows that some buildings on the site were erected first without the enclosing wall and later rebuilt with the walled enclosure. Outside this enclosure, a burial ground with small graves was found in the northern area called Yang-chia-wan; some remains of residential buildings and five graves in the western area called Lou-tzu-wan. (Ibid., p.11-14) The four richest graves with abundant funerary gifts were found in the eastern area called Li-chia-tsui. (Ibid.)

Comparisons between this site and the Cheng-chou site have been made by the excavators, pointing out that the former is almost an exact duplicate of the latter, based on the similarities of the construction techniques of the walled enclosure and the central hang-t'u foundations inside, of burial customs, and of bronze, jade, and pottery technologies. (Ibid., p.14-5) In addition, as Chang Kwang-chih has noted, the patterns of these two settlements are so similar in respect of "a walled enclosure, a palace area inside at the northeastern corner, and residential and burial areas outside" that the former is a "condensed copy" of the latter. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.303) These comparisons are very significant especially since these two sites are almost five hundred kilometers apart.

Recently, discussions on the purpose of erecting a walled enclosure have questioned the original views which consider this site to be only the remains of an alien people's settlement (feng-kuo, 方國) or as only the remains of an ordinary Shang settlement. Based on the geographical location of the site and its abundance of significant archaeological remains, central buildings and walls, and of funerary gifts (particularly a specific bronze axe which reminds us one of the royal symbols in An-yang), Kao Ta-lun suggests that this site was an important military fort of the Shang clan on its southern land (nan-t'u, 南土). (Kao Ta-lun: CHKK, 1985(1), p.85) From further studies of the oracle bone inscriptions, mainly based on the views of Li Hsueh-chin, Kao suggests that this site probably bore the same name as an
important place and its lord both of which were called chueh (ChangeEvent.0, ChangeEvent.1), which—both the place and the man—were frequently involved in divinations made by the Shang king. (Ibid.) Its importance to the Shang king was not only expressed in the oracle bone inscriptions through its frequent participation in fighting against various alien peoples, but also by its contribution of the scarce turtle shells which were necessary materials for the divinations. (Ibid.) If this correlation is acceptable, then there is strong evidence that this walled compound was an important base of the Shang clan within the area of Middle China, far from the Central Plain. If it is not, the archaeological evidence still indicates that this site was once established by the Shang people, especially in the significance of erecting the enclosing walls later, which will be discussed in the section 4.2. below.

4.1.4. Yen-shih site

This is a famous site in the archaeological field because certain remains belonging to the famous Erh-li-t'ou phase around this site first led archaeologists to recognise the Hsia dynasty, although it is still argued whether or not the Erh-li-t'ou remains can be dated to the early Shang dynasty. In 1983, a walled compound was found at Shih-hsiang-kou, southwest of the present Yen-shih city, with an almost rectangular walled enclosure: 1640 m east wall, 1710 m west wall, 1240 m north wall, and 740 m south wall. (Fig 4.7) (KK: 1984(6), p.490) According to the excavation report, seven main gates have been uncovered along the wall, a network of roads inside, and three huge hang-t'u foundations located in the southern area. (Ibid.) The largest of these foundations is (J1), approximately 200m by 200m, enclosed by 2-3m thick hang-t'u walls with a south gate, in which only one of the inner walled compounds (D4) has been fully excavated. (KK: 1985(4), p.322) As shown in Fig 4.8, this compound (D4) consists of a main hall at the north without walls, halls on the east, south and west enclosed by wattle-and-daub walls and partitioned into small rooms by small hang-t'u walls, and also two small gates on the south and west. But this compound
Fig 4.7: The Shang archaeological site at Yen-shih
(KK: 1984(6), p.490)

Fig 4.8: The plan of the remains of D4 walled compound
(KK: 1985(4), p.326)

Fig 4.9: The sketchy location of the three main walled compounds within the J1 walled compound and the south gate of the J1 compound
(D4) is not the main one within the whole J1 compound. According to the information from later excavations, the likely locations of the three main walled compounds within this larger J1 walled compound is as drawn in Fig 4.9. (Ibid., p.334) We are still a long way from an understanding of all the remains in this whole walled enclosure; this will need to await further excavation not only within the walled enclosure but also around it.

In spite of the incompleteness of the excavations, it has been proposed by Cheng Chieh-hsiang that this walled enclosure coexisted with the walled enclosure at Cheng-chou. (Cheng Chieh-hsiang: CYWW, 1984(4), pp.66-70) According to Cheng, this was the place called \textit{hsi-po} (簋), erected by T'ang (the founder of the Shang dynasty) as his west capital, an important military fort for the suppression of the remnants of the Hsia people, and the walled enclosure at Cheng-chou was in fact the first capital of the Shang dynasty, Po (亳), also erected by T'ang, a view which he shares with Tso Heng (1980, pp.190-2). If this is so, the relation between the geographical locations of the Erh-li-t'ou site, the Yen-shih site, and the Cheng-chou site must be the key to the truth about the early history of the Shang dynasty concerning the legend which tells that after T'ang defeated the last king of the Hsia dynasty he returned to the capital Po. This connection will be discussed in a tentative way at the end of section 4.2..

4.1.5. The spatial pattern of the Shang settlements

Based on the archaeological evidence summarised in the previous four sub-sections, we can use four simple symbols to draw out the spatial pattern of the four settlements in which only some elementary spaces have been found, just as we drew out the spatial pattern of the "Great Settlement" at An-yang, only using four symbols to express the residential space, the dominant space, the workshop space, and the cemetery space. The reason why we distinguish the residential space from the dominant one (such as the halls, ancestral temples, and altars in the Hsiao-t'un case) is because the latter was symbolic to the settlement.
The reason why the residential space was adjacent to the dominant space is because the person who lived in the residential space had some important duties in the dominant space. At least two cases, the walled compound at P'an-lung-ch'eng site and the central architectural complex at Hsiao-t'un site, have shown that the location of the residential space was behind the dominant space.

The four remains are shown in this way in Fig 4.10(a-d). Comparing these four settlements with the An-yang core, the basic spatial pattern of a Shang settlement can be shown as in Fig 4.10-A -- the case at T'ai-hsi-ts'un. Because the dominant space was adjacent to the residential space, we draw a dotted ring enclosing these two symbols to indicate their intimate relationship. The people who lived in this settlement shared the same cemetery and workshops, in spite of the distinction of the funerary gifts between graves, therefore, we draw only one symbol to indicate each space.

Because the archaeological evidence found in this site is still not enough, this analysis can only be tentative. But from the scale of this site and its rough spatial pattern which may be compared with those of other sites mentioned here, our analysis shows that this kind of settlement was the fundamental element of the Shang territory where the elementary social unit of a sub-clan (tsu) was settled. Basically, this settlement was self-sufficient so that there must have been some cultivated fields surrounding it. The origin of this kind of spatial pattern can be traced back to that used in organising a neolithic settlement which will be discussed in Chapter Six.

From an analysis of P'an-lung-ch'eng, we suggest the pattern shown in Fig 4.10-B. This indicates that the specific residential space at the north of the dominant spaces must have been only for the accommodation of certain persons who shared the same cemetery located to the east. Based on the archaeological findings and comparisons with other settlements, there could be one or more workshop(s) and some small settlements (consisting of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T'ai-hsi-ts'un</th>
<th>P'an-lung-ch'eng</th>
<th>Cheng-chou</th>
<th>Yen-shih</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Fig 4.10: The spatial pattern of four main Shang settlement remains.

Legend:
- ♦ dominant space
- ○ residential space
- ⊙ cemetery space
- ⊠ workshop space
residential spaces and their own cemeteries or a common cemetery) outside the walled enclosure.

The spatial pattern of the settlements at this site shows a spatial organisation in which the central spaces with or without walls were centred to bind together the small settlements surrounding them. There are two possible patterns of this kind of spatial organisation. One simply consists of many small settlements (like the one at T'ai-hsi-ts'un) which directly surround their central spaces (including the dominant spaces and the residential space for the leader). The other, which may be compared with the spatial pattern of the "Great Settlement", not only consists of some small settlements which directly surround their central spaces to form a kind of "sub-central settlement", but also includes many small settlements outside. These two patterns are shown in Fig 4.11.

It seems possible that the first pattern was the initial outcome of the migration of part of the Shang people into this place where they established the central spaces and the elementary settlements surrounded them; and when the territory which expanded from this base was too large for every social unit to be directly involved in daily affairs in the central spaces, it is likely that they established a kind of "sub-central settlement" as a miniature of the "Great Settlement", to bind every settlement together, no matter where the elementary settlement was established.

As for the case at Cheng-chou, the spatial pattern can be sketched out as in Fig 4.10-C. This is more complicated and larger than P'an-lung-ch'eng, but it is likely that in this pattern some small settlements were closely related to workshops. It is probable that certain people had been appointed to do certain work in the workshops so that they lived together around the workshop thus forming a small settlement. Comparing this with the An-yang core (Fig 3.14), there is no difference between them, particularly in the respect of a number of industrial workshops for bronze, pottery, and bone crafts. The Cheng-chou site can
Legend

- dominant space
- residential space
- cultivated field
- cemetery space
- workshop space

Fig 4.11: The spatial pattern of two variants of the "sub-Centre" level and its surrounding settlements
probably be regarded as a "capital" level rather than a "sub-Centre" level (such as the one at P'an-lung-ch'eng). This suggestion will be discussed at the end of section 4.2.

Under these circumstances, in spite of the uncertainty of the socio-cultural role of the Cheng-chou site and of the archaeological findings around the Yen-shih site, the hierarchy of spatial patterns which made up the Shang territory must be composed of at least three levels, the "capital" level as the An-yang core, the "sub-Centre" level as the P'an-lung-ch'eng one, and the "village" or "hamlet" level as the T'ai-hsi-ts'un one. If there were other levels, they must be variants of the "sub-Centre", as shown in Fig 4.11.

Generally, we would theoretically expect the spatial pattern of the higher level to consist of some lower levels to form a hierarchical system of the spatial organisation. If the Shang territory was only organised by these three levels, then the spatial pattern of this whole territory can be sketched out as in Fig 4.12. But why did some of the "sub-Centre" level settlements have a walled enclosure as in the P'an-lung-ch'eng site? In the next section, we discuss this issue.

4.2. THE SYMBOLISM OF CONSTRUCTING THE SHANG WALLED COMPOUND

If it is true that the P'an-lung-ch'eng site was initially established without a wall around it, then the wall was not the first priority in constructing a settlement, at least at the "sub-Centre" level. Why was this enclosing wall added afterwards?

According to the excavation report (WW: 1976(2), p.8), the proposed purpose of constructing the wall was mainly to defend the palace inside. Without arguing the meaning of "palace" used here, if the "palace" was so important, why was the wall not constructed simultaneously with it? If it was not, its purpose cannot be simply the defence of this "palace".
Fig 4.12: The spatial pattern of the Shang territory
It is very difficult to untangle the arguments about the socio-cultural role of each site mentioned above, but roughly speaking, the common feature of those viewpoints which stress the military aspect is the connection with the specific concept of ssu-ko (𦆙) in the oracle bone inscriptions, the protection of four directions by the ko (.swt), a kind of Shang weapon. According to Ch'en Meng-chia, ssu ko can be equivalent to four borders. (Ch'en Meng-chia: 1956, p.32) It is thus not very difficult to relate this ssu-ko to the four borders protected by the military forces. Simply from the divinations of the Shang king in the records, the protection of the four directions was so important to the Great Settlement, the centre of the Shang territory, that the character for protection from the borders must be closely related to the character ko.

In the oracle bone inscriptions, the military nature of the Shang clan was clearly expressed by a number of characters which were connected with the characters eht (ｇ, flag), shih (ｎ, arrow), ko (.swt, adze), and wu (_featured). The most significant one was the character tsu (３), a flag above and an arrow below, which has been taken to indicate that the Shang clan was basically a military unit. (Ting Shan: 1956, p.33) Those characters formed by the character ko or wu (shown in Fig 4.13 (Shima: 1967, p.(10))), although many of them still can not be interpreted, can be connected with the meaning of kill, attack (or raid), defend (or protect), identifying oneself, or a weapon. For example, the four main weapons can be written as "Roboto" (*)& (ko), "Roboto" (*)& (yueh), "Roboto" (*)& (wu), and "Roboto" (*)& (hsu); the character "Roboto" indicates the identification of oneself, the "ego" or "self", because according to Hu Hou-hsun, this character was also a kind of weapon, but borrowed to express that a person owned his weapon to protect himself (Hu Hou-hsun: KWTYC(1), 1979,pp.71-7); and the character "Roboto" indicates to kill someone, "attack" or "raid" (Ibid.). In the following sub-sections, we discuss those characters which are probably related to the duties of defending the borders of the Shang territory.
Fig 4.13: Characters formed on the basis of character ko or wu in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions. (Shima: 1967, p.(10))
4.2.1. Kuo (國, 国) and ho (或, 或)

Kuo is the term used as "state" by Chang Kwang-chih who considers that "at the beginning of the Three Dynasties, there were numerous such states, each probably consisting of a smaller number of towns". (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.25) But in fact kuo was a common character used in the same way as the character pang (邦, 邦), a "state", but only after the beginning of the East Chou dynasty. Based on the studies of the bronze inscriptions, Ch'en Chung-yu distinguishes the character kuo used in the East Chou dynasty from the character ho used in the West Chou dynasty not only with respect to their forms of writing but also their meanings. (Ch'en Chung-yu: SH, 1980(12),pp.1-9) During the West Chou dynasty, the original form of the character kuo (國, 国) was written as "或", "或", or "或", indicating only the meaning of the "area" which was located outside the central domain of the Chou-pang (周邦, the Chou state), such as tung-ho (Eastern Area), nan-ho (Southern Area), or ssu-ho (Four Areas). But the character pang (邦) was the common term used throughout the Chou dynasty to indicate any "state" around the Chou state rather than the character ho (或, the original character of the character kuo which later indicated a state), for instance, in hsiao-ta-pang (小大邦, every state), or wan-pang (文邦, all states).

In this sense, the character ho was not used to indicate a "state" during the West Chou dynasty. Only when it was enclosed by "[" or "O" (a wall), probably during the East Chou dynasty, did it become a "state" similar to the meaning of the character pang. The significance of this will be left for a later discussion in Chapter Seven concerning the initiation of the walled city in early Chinese history. However, the meaning of the character ho used during the West Chou dynasty was in fact very similar to the meaning of ssu-ko used during the Shang dynasty, based on Ch'en Meng-chia's interpretations mentioned above.
4.2.2. *Ho* (bellion) and *sheng* (devotion)

It has been generally considered that the character *ho* (bellion) used during the West Chou dynasty was derived from the character *ho* (bellion), used during the Shang dynasty, which has been interpreted as "protecting a piece of land or a walled city". (Li Hsiao-ting: 1965, vol.6, p.2111) Regardless of what was protected by *ko*, the difference between them, simply from the comparison of their written forms, from (bellion, rebellion, or rebellion) to (bellion), can be seen to be that the first three possess the additional lines ( or ) around the circle ( ) in addition to the *ko* (bellion). But this character *ho* (bellion) was not the popular character used in the oracle bone inscriptions, and from most existing examples from the reign of Wu I and Wen Ting, it was usually connected with the character *chih* (leader) to become *chih-ho* (leader, rebellion). (Shima: 1967, p.327) This term has been interpreted as "the lord or leader of the *chih* sub-clan named *ho* (bellion)" or "the place of the *chih* sub-clan named *ho*", or even "the lineage of the *chih* sub-clan named *ho*". (Shao Nan: KWTYC(9), 1984, p.166) Although these interpretations cannot help us to understand the meaning of *ho*, the duty of the *chih* sub-clan must be connected with the character *ho*, protecting something like " rebellion ". We consider " rebellion " to be the ritual bronze vessels, the symbol of the Shang clan.

But in the oracle bone inscriptions during the reign of Wu Ting, this sub-clan, *chih*, was always connected with the character *sheng* (devotion) from the duty of protecting (devotion) the Shang territory and inspecting (mu, eye, eye) the alien peoples. It is not known why there were two different characters designated for the same sub-clan called *chih* (*mu*), but the duty of this sub-clan was obviously closely related to the character *ko* (bellion or rebellion) -- using the military force to defend or attack. There were a number of divinations made by the Shang king concerning this sub-clan, either *chih-ho* or *chih-sheng*. (Shima: 1967, pp.327 & 338-9) The general contents of this kind of divination recorded that the Shang king set out with *chih-ho* (or *chih-sheng*) to attack a certain alien people.
What was the spatial pattern of the place where this sub-clan settled down? It is recorded that chih-sheng reported to the Shang king: "T'u fang (刀戈), reached my (our) eastern suburb to raid two settlements (villages) (里, 里), and 庫 fang invaded my (our) agricultural fields (田, 田) in the western suburb". (Ch'en Meng-chia: 1956, p.322) Simply from this report, we discover that the place where chih-sheng settled down must have consisted of a central settlement and many smaller settlements (里, 里) and fields (田, 田) in its four suburbs (pi, 里). Obviously, the spatial pattern of the central settlement was one of the "sub-Centre" type, as at P'an-lung-cheng. Although we cannot be sure whether there was an enclosing wall erected for this central settlement of the chih-sheng, the symbolism of this sub-Centre is fully presented in the expression of its four suburbs.

Although the proposed connection between the P'an-lung-ch'eng site and the sub-clan called chueh (pool) is not entirely convincing, it at least assures us that the spatial pattern of the place where this sub-clan settled down must be that of one of the "sub-Centre" levels in the Shang territory. Unfortunately, we cannot find a connection between the duties of this sub-clan and any character related to the character ko (戈), such as ho (戈) or sheng (政). The most likely one is the character "戈戈" which with the character chueh, becomes "戈戈戈", or "戈戈戈", but the character "戈戈戈" in fact was sometimes used with the meaning fa (戈戈, attack or raid) or as ko (戈戈, protect or defend) so that the meaning of this term "戈戈戈" is unclear. The idea that protection relied on any weapon which was connected with the shape of ko (戈) is suggested by many specific characters used in the names of certain departed ancestors and eminent officials of the Shang clan, such as Wu I (戈戈), Wu Ting (戈戈), Ch'eng (戈戈) for Ta I (T'ang, the founder of the dynasty), and "戈戈戈" (戈戈戈, the famous officials of king Ta Wu, 戈戈戈). Therefore, it is likely that the Shang clan used the weapon ko (戈) as a symbol of the protection of its territory from the four directions (ssu-ko).
4.2.3. DISCUSSION

From the evidence of the P'an-lung-ch'eng site, the initial erection of the central residence and the dominant space without any enclosing wall suggests that at the beginning the wall was less important than the architectural spaces inside, and that defence relied upon protection by military forces. Later, because of the symbolic importance of this sub-Centre, the wall was added and no doubt assisted in its defences.

It seems that when the Shang people moved southwards and exploited the site of the present P'an-lung-ch'eng, they built an architectural complex as the Centre of their settlements at first; then, after carefully considering and deciding that this was a suitable place to settle down for a relatively long period, they rebuilt the central architectural complex surrounded by a wall.

Although we do not know whether the content of the central architectural spaces was changed or not, the building of the wall shows that this place was an important and relatively permanent base on the border which had a responsibility to protect the Shang territory, because a wall only surrounded those central architectural spaces which formed the symbolic Centre of the whole settlement area. This wall was therefore both a symbol and a physical defence.

Its symbolic use must have been closely connected with the concept of four protections (ssu-k'o) at the four borders which means that the protection of the Shang territory was equivalent to the protection of the symbolic architectural spaces of the sub-Centre. On this basis, we would argue that because the wall was closely connected with the symbolism of the central architectural spaces it protected, the erection of a wall around some of the sub-Centres during the Shang dynasty had only (or primarily) a symbolic purpose.

We still do not know whether all of these sub-Centres had a wall around central
architectural spaces; but at least some of them had. What about the Centre of the Shang territory, the "Great Settlement"? From the archaeological evidence found at An-yang, it seems that there was no such wall around the complex at Hsiao-t'oun. And how, too, do we explain the wall remains at Cheng-chou and Yen-shih?

Let us then offer a hypothetical model of the changes from the beginning of the Shang period to its end, but on the assumptions that Cheng-chou was the capital Po and Yen-shih was the western Po which were erected by T'ang (the founder of the dynasty) and continued in use for a period of about 183 years, according to the chronology of Tung Tso-pin (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.271); and that An-yang site was the capital of the Late Shang period from the reign of P'ang Keng to the fall of the dynasty. These transitions are shown in Fig 4.14.

When the Shang people were led by T'ang to settle at Po, their initial territory was only 70 li (里) across, according to the Meng Tzu. (Ibid., p.9) The situation of the Shang clan was very similar to that of the Chou people when they were led by Tai-wang to settle at the south of Mount Ch'ii, in a limited area. Following the expansion of the Shang by amalgamating the neighbouring people (based on the Meng Tzu, such as Ko (郭), Wei (衛), Ku (蠡) and K'un-wu (昆吾), though in what way is uncertain), the contact between the Hsia and the Shang made T'ang recognise a need to erect their own walled Centre (Fig 4.14a), one imitated from the Hsia. The questions as to why these two bases for erecting a walled compound shared the same idea is left for discussion in the next Chapter.

While the Shang people invaded the central territory of the Hsia, the present Erh-li-t'ou, and defeated king Chieh (桀) of the Hsia dynasty, they erected the walled "sub-Centre" at Yen-shih called his-po (the western Po) as a means of protecting their capital at Po. From that time onwards, the concept of the four protections at the borders was established. (Fig 4.14b)

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Fig 4.14: The idea of "the protection of the four directions" of the Centre is applied to "the protection of the four directions" of the territory by way of enclosing the walls around some sub-Centres at the borders.
There were six moves of the capital throughout the Shang dynasty. These have been listed by Yang Shu-ta as follows (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.7):

Po 安, old capital under T'ang (no.1)
Hsiao 漵 (or Ao 陳), moved under Chung Ting (no.10)
Hsiang 西, moved under Ho T'an Chia (no.12)
Keng 建 or Hsing 邑, moved under Tsu Yi (no.13)
Pi 庇, moved under Tsu Yi when Keng was destroyed by a flood
Yen 豐, moved under Nan Keng (no.17)
Yin 女, moved under P'an Keng (no.19)

The reasons for these moves are still arguable \(^1\), but we do not plan to discuss this issue further. When Yin (the present An-yang) became the new location of the capital, their territory must have been much more extensive than what it was when they set up the first capital at Po. Therefore, it is possible that some of the Shang people may have reached to the Middle of China to set up their new base at the present P'an-lung-ch'eng. Later, the central spaces of this base were fortified. This indicates the possibility that this walled Centre was one of the important walled Centres during the Late Shang period used to symbolise protection of the "Great Settlement" (the present An-yang) from the borders, corresponding to the concept of four protections at the borders.

But why were there no wall around the central complex at Hsiao-t'un? It is possible, as Chang Kwang-chih suggests, that a wall existed around it, but eluded the archaeologists' search. But if, in fact, there was no wall, we can try to offer an alternative explanation.

The protection of the "Great Settlement" relied on the military forces on the four borders (ssu-ko) where the wall was used symbolically to defend their sub-Centres. Therefore, it was not necessary to use a wall in defence of the Centre of the "Great Settlement".

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\(^1\) There are two views of this issue: one argues that the Shang were still more or less nomadic, therefore, they needed to keep moving; the other relates to political needs: arising from the inner conflicts between the royal house and the nobility or invasions by the other groups of people. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1985, pp.63-4) Chang further emphasises the latter in terms of the need for casting the bronzes as the symbols of political power, therefore, the moving of the capital during the Three Dynasties was a result of searching for raw material for bronze casting. (Ibid., pp.64-5)
Also, the greater the emphasis on military forces, the less the need for a defensive wall, and so it is also possible, as Chang Kwang-chih suggests, that the garrison forces in the "Great Settlement" was so strong that a wall was not considered necessary defensively. The reason why it was not symbolically necessary will be discussed in section 8.3.

These speculative interpretations need to be supported by further excavations within and around the walled enclosures at these sites, especially archaeological finds inside these two walled compounds, and more excavation, also, around the architectural complex at Hsiao-t'un, to ascertain whether or not only the central architectural spaces were enclosed, as in the one erected at P' an-lung-ch'eng. However, we are sure at least, that the erection of the walled enclosure was not applied to every village or hamlet (i, 谷), so it cannot be as Chang Kwang-chih has proposed that every i was a walled town, symbolising the principal ruling instrument in Shang China.

4.3. THE SOCIO-SPATIAL CONCEPT OF ORGANISING THE SHANG TERRITORY

Based on the previous analysis of the spatial patterns of five main Shang settlements (including the An-yang core, the "Great Settlement"), at least three levels of spatial pattern have been identified as three elementary components in the spatial organisation of the Shang territory. Theoretically, then, this territory (as seen in Fig 4.12) was composed of two kinds of sub-territory, one directly controlled by the "Great Settlement" and the other directly controlled by the sub-Centre and then indirectly controlled by the "Great Settlement". Outside this territory there were a number of surrounding alien territories. On this basis, there were three distinctive zones surrounding the "Great Settlement": the interior territory, the exterior territory, and the alien territory.

In each zone, there were many groups of people who had their own sub-territory
under their own control. An understanding of the socio-spatial concept which organised the Shang territory, then, requires an analysis of the relationship between these sub-territories and the "Great Settlement", and the roles played by these sub-territories within or outside the Shang territory. Except for those characters used to describe the social unit of Shang people (clan) and its leader, tsu (בר, sub-clan) and wang (בר or בר, king), or to indicate some groups of people as a certain fang (בר, alien people or area), we shall limit ourselves to using only general terms, that is, a "group" and its "leader", and a "territory" and its "settlement", to discuss this question.

4.3.1. Theories on the formation of the Shang territory

It has been generally thought that the territory of the Shang clan was a "state" where the legitimate authority of the Shang king was displayed, and not where there was a replacement of the blood bond by territorial bonds. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983; p.363) Many theories have been used to produce views as to how this authority was displayed and from where it was derived. The latter is very important to the former, because the processes by which the authority was established would strongly determine its nature. It is the conflicting views about the latter which produce different definitions of the ancient Chinese "state". The central argument is about whence the stratification or hierarchy between different groups of people or between the members of each group was derived.

Marx's concept of "Oriental Society" emphasises the dependent duty of the small self-sustaining community-unit to the larger community, devoting "part of their surplus product to pay the cost of the (larger) community, i.e., for war, religious worship, etc., and for economically necessary operations such as irrigation and maintenance of communications, which will thus appear to be done by the higher community, the despotic government suspended above the small communities". (Marx: 1965, pp.33-34) Based on this "Asiatic Mode of Production", almost all the Chinese Marxist scholars consider that the society of
the Three Dynasties was basically a slave society where the class discrimination expressed between the nobility and the commoners was very obvious, although according to Hou Wei-lu, the Shang society was only the beginning and not the typical stage of the slave society. (Hou: 1954, pp.51-59)

Although, as Fried states, "the idea (Marx's) passed to the sociologist Max Weber" (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.125), the concept of Weber's "patrimonial state" is different from the "Oriental Society". In spite of Weber's doubtful suggestion that "the power of patrimonial officialdom was based on river regulation, especially canal construction", his central idea emphasises that this power was "only possible through intensive use of compulsory labour and through the use of magazines for storing payments in kind, from which the officials drew their benefits and the army its equipment and provisions", and "was confronted only by the sibs (clans) as autochthonous power, aside from merchant and craft guilds as they are found everywhere". (Weber: "Economy and Society", quoted by Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.127)

Based on this theory, Wheatley considers the late Shang society as one which was "characteristic of patrimonialism that the ruler treats all political administration as his personal affair, while the officials, appointed by the ruler on the basis of his personal confidence in them, in turn regard their administrative operations as a personal service to their ruler in a context of duty and respect". (Wheatley: 1971, p.52)

Both the "oriental society" and the "patrimonial state" have been criticised by Chang Kwang-chih (1983, pp.125-9). He emphasises that the rise of political authority was the main key to the formation of ancient Chinese civilisation beginning from the Three Dynasties, because of the mutual dependence between this power and resource distribution. (Ibid., p.124) Based on this convincing premise and supported by abundant evidence, he proposes two specific processes which rearranged "those farming villages whose inhabitants were

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grouped into clans and lineages" into the ancient Chinese "state" of the Three Dynasties, probably during the Lung-shan period:

First, there was the fission of villages and the segmentation of the lineages, which resulted in an increase in the number of individual villages. Second, there was the political subjugation of some villages by others, which resulted in a decrease in the number of independent political units. The combined result was increasing stratification in terms of political authority, both within and among the villages. At the higher end of the spectrum were people nearest the main line of lineage descent in the conquering villages; at the opposite end were people farthest away from the main lineage and people from vanquished villages. This was not a stable system of political authority. There were many clans and lineages, and their members constantly increased by fission. Eventually there were so many that maintaining the relative political status of different villages, clans, and collateral lineages could not be accomplished by genealogy alone but required practical means. Of these, there were mainly three: moral authority (the carrot); coercive force (the stick); and exclusive wisdom derived from exclusive access to the spiritual world (religion and ceremonialism). By the Three Dynasties period, the shape of the ancient Chinese political system had become clear and distinctive. A small number of states were born in the several regions of China. (Ibid., pp.122-4)

The view which considers every state as a political unit has been questioned by Keightley: "the various fang states 'were political units but not cultural or ethnic units'". (Keightley: JAS, 1982(May), p.553) Keightley concentrates rather on considering religious belief as "a major role in focusing and legitimating political developments in early China". (Ibid.) Based on Akatsuka's model of religious incorporation derived from the study of the Shang culture, Keightley proposes the religious processes which formed the Shang state to have been as follows:

Originally, prior to the dominance of the Shang kings, North China was inhabited by a series of local groups; these shared, in broad terms, a common culture but worshipped their own tutelary spirits, each of which functioned as a miniature, local Ti with full control over rain, harvest, and the fate of the community (cf.p.178, where Akatsuka presents a rather similar view). When, as we see in period I, these groups were incorporated; both politically and religiously, into the Shang system, these spirits lost their particularistic nature but they did not lose their individuals powers. These powers had been characterised, not by restricted content (i.e., control over rainfall but not over harvest) but only by restricted geographical influence. They continued to be addressed as spirits with comprehensive powers but spirits who could now influence rain, harvest, and fate for the entire realm. Their original functions came to parallel or duplicate those of Ti who was an invention perhaps of the Shang dynasty, wishing to see in the spirit world the same kind of domination for which they strove on earth. (Keightley: HJAS, 1982(1/2), p.297)
Because of this basic need, according to Keightley, the Shang king had to travel through the area of other groups which participated in the state, "pregnant with symbolic meaning, sacrificing to the local spirits, giving and receiving power at each holy place, and thus renewing the religious and kin ties (fictive or not) that bound the state together". (Keightley: 1983, p.552) But the relationship between those groups and the Shang clan, even if they were all patrimonial, was still unclear, and Keightley emphasises "our need to know more about the relations that exist between the centre and the periphery". (Ibid.) On the whole, Keightley concludes:

It is doubtful therefore that the Late Shang state - whatever its claims to large, chiefdom-like hegemony under Wu Ting - was, by period V, little more than an incipient state, a dynastic ruling in proto-bureaucratic, patrimonial style over a central and perhaps shifting nucleus, and beyond that area operating still by a series of chiefdom-like foray. --- Shang theocracy created the patrimonial proto-bureaucratic mix--. (Ibid., pp.557-8)

Politics were dynastic and compliance relations were conceived primarily in terms of dynastic advantage and the ancestral cult that legitimated the dynasty. The state included the various officers and functionaries clustered around the king, the various allied leaders who subscribed to the king's authority, and the populations, associated with these officers and leaders, who were ready to accept the customary ties of obligation, loyalty, and belief that bind all Bronze Age societies together. (Ibid., p.523)

In fact, Marx's and Weber's theories have been more or less merged into those of Chang and Keightley. The fundamental difference between the latter two is simply that one is political and the other religious, in spite of the details in the differences of the complicated processes which merged different groups into a larger group from the neolithic period to the Three Dynasties, as Chang and Keightley have presented. Considering the conflict between these two plausible suppositions, it appears to be very difficult to sketch out the actual picture of the Shang society in an easy and precise way. Let us first expose the main threads in this puzzle and then find a way to untangle them.

First, if the Shang territory was constructed through the two processes proposed by Chang, the nature of this territory should possess two important features which were the main instruments in forming the political hierarchy or class consciousness within a group:
(1) the political subjugations of the villages of other group by the Shang clan; (2) the political stratification within the Shang clan which it was necessary to maintain by the three practical political means proposed by Chang. In order to deal with first point we need to enquire into whether other groups of people were ruled or controlled by the Shang clan in some settlements or whether the settlements of other groups of people were ruled or controlled as colonies by the nobility of the Shang clan within these settlements. The second point requires an enquiry into whether there was any political stratification between the nobility (the king and the dynastic descent group, "wang-tsü", the king's sub-clan as the hereditary ruling class) and the commoners (chung or chung-jen, the multitude, and slaves, such as Chiang captives, as the ruled class).

The second thread is this: if the Shang territory was formed during the reign of Wu Ting through the processes proposed by Keightley (mainly based on Akatsuka's suppositions), the Shang territory would have been only a dynamic aggregative territory composed by many sub-territories of groups of people; in other words, the Shang clan would be only a dynamic collective name for the united groups of people from among whom the Shang king was appointed and, who, after his death, worshipped him as their collective ancestor.

But Keightley also proposes that the Shang clan was only one of these groups of people although it was the dominant group within this dynamic federation. In fact, there is great conflict between these two propositions by Keightley in the criteria used to decide which people could belong to the group called Shang. The crucial point in solving this problem is to discover at what point the Shang people identified itself as a clan, as the Hsia did. The study of when and how this clan and its territory was formed will be left for a detailed discussion in the next chapter dealing with the model of the formation of the three main early Chinese clans, Hsia, Shang, and Chou.

The questions to be dealt with here concentrate on the following: (1) whether the
Ancestral worship performed by the Shang king was also applied to the various "officers" and "allied leaders" of other groups and their people; in other words, did they also reckon the host of Shang ancestors (both legendary ancestors and deceased kings and their consorts) as also their collective ancestors? (2) what was the relation between the Shang king (and his people) and the various "officers" or "allied leaders" (and their people) of other groups; in other words, was a group of people led by one of the various "officers" or "allied leaders" an independent group or part of the kinship of the Shang? (3) how and why did the Shang theocracy create the patrimonial proto-bureaucracy; in other words, a kind of bureaucracy which formed the hierarchy within the clan on the basis of kinship?

The best way to answer these questions is to classify into groups the people who lived in each of the three zones surrounding the "Great Settlement" (as defined at the beginning of this section) on the basis of one crucial criterion: whether the relationship between the "Great Settlement" and the sub-territory was an ideological or a political one.

The distinction between these two types of relationship is mainly based on the distinction between "mechanical solidarity" and "organic solidarity" defined by Durkheim and discussed in the Chapter One; in other words, between the "integration through similarities of belief and group structure" (the ideology) and the "interdependence through differences" (the politics). (Hillier: 1984, p.18) To find out which group of people lived in which zone of the territory we first concentrate on those groups which it is certain lived in or occupied part of either the alien territory or the interior territory, and then on those groups in the exterior territory which were indirectly controlled by the "Great Settlement". 
4.3.2. Fang \( (\underline{\underline{f}}) \), an alien group of people who occupied part of the alien territory

In the oracle bone inscriptions, the character \textit{fang} was used by the Shang king as a specific name, indicating an alien group of people and its territory, as distinguished from the Shang clan and its territory. Despite the meaning of this character as the "direction" (such as four quarters, \textit{ssu-fang}), this character was never used in terms describing the Shang territory. In the same way, the character \( i \ (\underline{z}) \) used for describing the Shang territory was never used as an elementary territorial unit to describe the alien territory of a certain \textit{fang}. In this sense, the discrimination between a certain \textit{fang} and the Shang was apparently presented in the oracle bone inscriptions, and therefore, a \textit{fang} must be an independent group of people or territory. The character \( i \ (\underline{z}) \) and \textit{fang} \( (\underline{\underline{f}}) \) were two mutually exclusive territorial terms as two essential discriminators to identify a certain territory as part of the Shang territory or as part of the alien territory.

Because a \textit{fang} and the Shang were two independent groups of people, their relationship must have been potentially changeable, either hostile or friendly, depending on whether there was any conflict between their interests. The extreme case of an hostile relationship recorded in the oracle bone inscriptions was the one between the Chiang \textit{fang} and the Shang from the reign of Wu Ting onwards.

According to Ch'en Meng-chia, the events in which the Chiang \textit{fang} was usually involved can be divided into the three following types: (1) Chiang was one of the main alien groups attacked, raided, and pursued by the Shang, sometimes employing vast numbers of Shang troops; (2) the people of Chiang \textit{fang} were captured, arrested, and then mostly transported to the capital; (3) those Chiang prisoners who were sent to the capital were sometimes used for participation in the royal hunt or for agricultural labour, but most, including their leaders, were sacrificed in rituals performed by the Shang king to the various gods and ancestors. (Ch'en Meng-chia: 1956, p.279)
As for the cases of allied relations, the most extraordinary one is that between the Chou and the Shang. During the reign of Wu Ting, according to Keightley, their friendly alliance can be shown by the following 14 positive criteria recorded in the oracle bone inscriptions:

- they received orders from the king (criterion 1) and from another state member (2);
- they supported the king’s affairs (4); the king divined about the Chou leading officers and men (5) and about the Chou hunts (6); the Chou were given the title of archer lord (20) and were generally not called Chou-fang (21); the Chou participated in a Shang sacrifice (24); the Shang king was concerned when Chou was sick (27) and prayed that Chou would suffer no disaster or curse, and in the last case the divination was performed by a diviner of the royal family group (28); the Shang may have sacrificed at Chou (30); the Chou were potential allies (31) and the Shang were concerned that the Chou not suffer in battle (34); marriage relations appear to have existed between Shang and Chou (37); finally, the Chou did send in plastras for divinations (38). (Keightley: 1983, p.530)

From this, we can see how intimate was the relationship between the Chou and the Shang, but this is only the sign of the interdependence between the Chou and the Shang during a certain period, because 15 negative criteria are also given by Keightley who considers these to be the reasons why Shang’s control over the Chou was neither strong nor continuous. (Ibid.,pp.530-1)

In addition, the strong identity of the Chou clan which became very clear after its people were led by T’an-fu (T’ai-wang) to settle down at the south of Mount Ch’i (this detail will be discussed in Chapter Five) is another reason to suggest that the Chou was an independent group of people rather than a group of people whose territory was indirectly controlled by the Shang. This is the main reason why some essential affairs, involved deeply with the ideology of the Chou and represented by their religious activities, did not have any connection with those of the Shang, e.g.:

(a) in the realm of agriculture, the Chou did not participate in Shang rituals (26), nor did the Shang divine about the success of the Chou harvest (29); (b) in terms of service obligations, the Chou supplied no diviner of that name to the Shang court (36), nor, with the exception of turtle shells (38), did they send in any other goods (39). (Ibid.)
The fact that they did not share the same ideology does not mean that there were extreme differences of socio-culture between the Chou and Shang in all respects, because both socio-cultures were in fact derived from that of the Hsia which we will discuss in the next chapter, but rather they expressed their own solidarity on the basis of affinity amongst their own members.

Based on the myths, the Hsia, Shang, and Chou had each claimed that the members of their group were all derived from their own legendary ancestor who gave them a common name and an "emblem" (totem). (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.9) It is this belief which gave each different group of people an identity for itself during the Late Shang period. Under these circumstances, even for a group of people like the Chou which had more intimate relations with the Shang than other fang, the strong identity of each fang was dominant during the Late Shang period and thus made any significant ideological connection between the Shang and the fang impossible.

This means that the territory occupied by these fang was an alien territory, an independent sub-territory, as Keightley suggests:

The fact that for 55 of the X-fang cases collected by Shima we have 22 matching bronze insignia (Hayashi, 1968: 36, fig.14) suggests that 40% of these non-Shang groups were able to maintain their independence through the period of the Chou conquest, a significant clue to their probable self-sufficiency in Late Shang. (Keightley: EC, 1979/80, p.28)

This is why, in the outcome of warfare between the Shang and the fang, the Shang king was largely concerned with the spoil taken for him (including rare and specific goods, animals, and even Chiang people) or in the damage caused by the raiding fang (including settlements or fields), but never with the subjugation of other villages as colonies of the Shang.
4.3.3. The interior territory of the Shang clan

Tsu (王) was a character only used by the Shang king in the oracle bone inscriptions in terms describing an elementary unit of the Shang clan. There were four terms, wang-tsu (the king’s tsu), tzu-tsu (the sub-tsu), san-tsu (three tsu), and wu-tsu (five tsu) which have been found so far. (Shima: 1967, pp.367-8) Although there was no term indicating the Shang clan, if we consider the whole group of the Shang people as a single unit named as "clan", the meaning of the character tsu then can be translated as "sub-clan", and the tzu-tsu as "sub-tsu" for the convenience of our descriptions.

The meaning of wang-tsu has been given by Chang Kwang-chih as "a hereditary ruling class, of a single consanguineal origin (the Tzu clan)", which was not only the dominant unit consisting of many noblemen, such as fu (父), tsu (王), major court officials, and lords, (po (伯), hou (侯), and perhaps t’ien (臣) or nan (男)), but also an endogamous unit from which the heir of the Shang king was chosen. Based on Chang’s political reconstruction, every sub-clan should be ruled by the nobility under the name of its leader appointed by the Shang king, and the basic members of this sub-clan were the lowest economic class ordinarily called chung (殖) or chung-jen (殖人). (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.227) In this sense, the discrimination between these two groups of people was so apparent that it was impossible for a person of chung or chung-jen to become one of the nobility. Under these circumstances, how did the nobility control the commoners within a sub-clan or unit, by way of the political military forces?

According to the oracle bone inscriptions, chung was the main source of recruitment for the Shang military forces, because the status of the chung was that of both farmers in the field and of warriors in battle. As Ho Ping-ti suggests, then, the characteristics of the chung were expressed as follows in the oracle bone inscriptions:
(1) It was chung who cultivated royal fields and fields belonging to other lords and officials. (2) Chung participated in royal hunting. (3) Chung provided an important source for the Shang army. (4) Chung could be summoned by the king and by royal sons for war and garrison duties. (5) Shang kings were very concerned about the loss of chung in war and about their education, health, and well-being. (6) Most significantly, chung were never used by Shang kings or nobles as human victims, as the Chiang people and war captives had been. (Ho: 1975; p.307)

Besides this, from his studies on the p'an-keng section in the Shu Ching, Ho indicates "that the chung's ancestral spirits was said to share the king's sacrifices with royal ancestral spirits is certainly strong evidence against their slave status, for it reveals beyond doubt the then firm belief that the king and his various grades of subjects, including chung as a broad social base, were all descended from the same tribal god and were thus inseparable elements of the Shang body politic", and suggests "it is fairly clear that, because of the various vital services performed by the chung for the state, many of them could climb up the social ladder through individual merit and ability". (Ibid., pp.307-8)

Although there are some statements in this which we need to question, such as "fields belonging to other lords or officials", "were all descended from the same tribal god", and "were thus inseparable elements of the Shang body politic", the conclusion gives us a crucial basis for an understanding of how the Shang people constituted their basically egalitarian organisation so that the chung or chung-jen could have opportunities through "individual merit and talent" to become one of the nobility (the higher rank), even the Shang king.

This means there was no real nobility at all. As Keightley considers: "these tsu are generally thought to have been units drawn from, or led by, members of the royal family; but it has also been argued that the word originally referred to a war-band (see note 107), which could, of course, still have been organised on kinship lines". (HJAS, 1982(1/2), pp.311-2)

Under these circumstances, the following are the guidelines which, we conclude, formed the fabric of the spatial organisation of the Shang interior territory corresponding to
the socio-cultural organisation shown by the opportunity of social mobility just mentioned:

(1) The interior territory was the area where probably ten basic sub-clans of the Shang people settled down, if we hold to the proposals of Chang (1980, p.180). These sub-clans were probably divided into two main groups or divisions (i and ting). These sub-clans were called tsu (戈), such as san-tsu (three sub-clans) or wu-tsu (five sub-clans) in the oracle bone inscriptions. Each sub-clan had its own leader who was selected from its members (chung or chung-jen) by "individual merit and talent" as their representative. In order to participate in the necessary daily activities in the "Great Settlement", each sub-clan needed to choose some of their members as its sub-tsu called tsu-tsu (戈戈) to live there.

(2) These sub-tsu (to tsu tsu, 戈戈) formed the basic components of a special tsu called wang-tsu (王戈) provided for the Shang king to run the daily activities concerning the whole clan. When the time came for selecting an heir for the king, each tsu needed to present some of their outstanding members with merit and talent as candidates, who must live in the "Great Settlement" with their own sub-tsu to join the competition. Probably, as Chang proposes, "the heir was probably chosen when the king was still alive, although after his demise a new successor could emerge". (Ibid., p.182) Other rules concerning this selection also follow those proposed by Chang. (Ibid., pp.180-2) Those names connected with the character tsu (戈) could be used as part of the names of the candidates for the heirship. Similarly, those connected with the character fu (王) could be part of the names of those candidates for the king's future consort(s), and of course, only one or some of these fu could become the king's consort(s). Both the tsu and the fu are two titles of the rank in the Shang proto-bureaucracy. We propose these interpretations, because the original interpretation of tsu and fu as prince (son) and consort of the Shang king have been questioned by some scholars, for instance Keightley: "Whether these Tzu were true or fictive kins, ---" and "the large member of Fu-X (fu-mou, 王戈) combinations --- makes it highly
unlikely that all were consorts of Wu Ting". (Keightley: EC, 1979/80, pp.28 & 32) Therefore, this seems likely that sixty-four fu and fifty-three tsu recorded in the oracle bones during the reign of Wu Ting could not all be his consorts and sons.

(3) When the king and his consort(s) died, they were then automatically worshipped as the male and female ancestors. The heir succeeded him as the new king, probably also as Chang suggests "assisted by a (formal or loosely informal) council of important officials, the prime official being the chief of a kan unit from the opposite division". (Based on Chang's theory of the I-ting system, the king was selected from one of these two divisions (i or ting) and then the prime official had to be selected from the other division) (Ibid.) In this court, some of those previous candidates not selected as the previous heir or new candidates for the new heir or consort, a group of people called tsu and fu, were probably appointed as major court officials, because of their merit and talent which had already been recognised.

(4) Those members who lived in the "Great Settlement" were all called wang-chung (五眾, the multitudes of the king) and served the king. Some of them could serve the special needs of the "Great Settlement" as the specialists, "artisans, bureaucrats, and retainers", or later as "professional soldiers" (members of the Shang army called lu (旅) or shih (師)). Although we do not yet know how the sub-clan was divided, based on Tao Chuan which described that those shih (氏) of the Shang people given to the founding Chou lords were "occupation-related: Tao 陶 (pottery), Shih 艮 (flag), Chi 炊 (cooking pot), Chang-shuo 長勺 and Wei-shuo 尾勺 (wine vessels), So 㝄 (cordage), Fan 椁 (horse plume), Fan 播 (fence)" (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.231), the units within these sub-tsu might have been appointed to particular duties.

(5) During the Late Shang period, the An-yang core (the "Great Settlement") must have been the place where the Shang king, his various officials and chung (multitudes)
settled down. Except for the Shang king and his family who lived in the residences at Hsiao-t'ün, others stayed in the small settlements scattered around the central architectural complex (the ceremonial-administrative Centre) at Hsiao-t'ün. Outside this "Great Settlement", there were many middle-sized sub-territories provided for those tsu (sub-clans) to settle. In each sub-territory, similar to the spatial pattern of the "Great Settlement", the sub-central architectural spaces were surrounded by many other small settlements. These sub-territories formed the interior territory which was directly controlled from the central architectural complex erected at the "Great Settlement".

We cannot be absolutely sure that these principles do indeed draw an accurate picture of the Late Shang territory, but they at least provide us with a possible outline of how the Shang interior territory was organised through the ideologically socio-spatial concept based on organic solidarity amongst different settlements, "the integration through similarities of belief and group structure". In the following paragraphs, we explain how these principles—more ideological than political—can answer most of the questions raised at the beginning of this section.

First, the nature of the Shang socio-cultural organisation was basically egalitarian. The stratification, contrary to popular belief, was only evident in that people held different positions according to their different duties to serve the daily needs of the whole organisation led by the Shang king. Of prime importance is the supposition that generally the access to these different positions was open to all members of this organisation through individual merit and talent, perhaps with some special restrictions, though we do not know exactly. The reasons for holding this view are mainly derived from the following: (1) no evidence has been found so far in the oracle bone inscriptions which strongly shows any enfeoffment of the Shang king to the lords or officials as the Chou king did; (2) no evidence has been found, either, of any inheritable title which automatically passed through a family, not even, as Chang suggests, could the position of the Shang king do that; (3) the vital status of the
chung and chung-jen within the Shang socio-cultural organisation as Ho Ping-ti suggests.

But why, then, was there a differentiation between the funerary gifts, which is generally regarded as an indication of the inequality of private property between the nobility and the commoners? As suggested in Chapter Three, we can only correlate these differences to the degree of honour attributed by the people to a specific person with merit and talent, who had played a crucial role in a group, either unit, sub-tsu, sub-clan, or clan. It is hard to say yet whether or not this custom related to beliefs about the other world (the world of the dead), but this could be a strong basis for establishing the practice of the worship of legendary ancestors, and then that of the deceased king (which we will discuss later in this chapter) during the time when they were believed to live in the world of gods. But on the whole, we must emphasise that the organisation of this socio-cultural unit was basically meritocratic.

Second, the solidarity of the Shang socio-cultural organisation was strengthened by the worship of collective ancestors (deceased kings). The worship of deceased kings as collective ancestors was in fact derived from the worship of the legendary ancestors from whom the members of this group were descended. These legendary ancestors were those specific persons wu (ishlist, shamans) described in the legends as powerful intermediaries with merit and talent to successfully communicate with the god(s) and had done many good deeds to the group so that they deserved to be worshipped.

Perhaps there are two practical reasons behind this idea: (1) the descendants believed that the legendary ancestor(s) with merit and talent could still help them to obtain the gods' blessings; (2) the legendary ancestor(s) was or were a collective symbol of the solidarity of this group which was so important to its members. A discussion of how this idea was originated in the Hsia dynasty will be presented in the next chapter.
But why was this practice applied to the deceased kings during the Shang dynasty, and when? We are a long way from being able to answer this with any certainty, but probably it can be related to the supposition that when the Shang clan was formed by many different sub-clans, the practice of worshipping the legendary ancestors was applied to the deceased kings to provide a stronger identification to strengthen the solidarity of their members in the following ways: (1) the belief behind the worship of the deceased kings was that certain human beings with merit and talent, like the legendary ancestors, could ascend into and live in the world of gods, but, unlike the legendary ancestors who were so mythological, the deceased kings had been real living persons; (2) the collective ideology behind the worship of the deceased kings was more direct and powerful than that of the legendary ancestors, because, as suggested above, the processes of appointing or choosing an heir to the king were open to every member of individual merit and talent; (3) from the structure of the world of gods and the living world presented previously in Fig 3.8, the worship of the deceased kings in fact relegated the position of the living king, because he could not directly communicate with the Supreme God anymore (unlike their legendary ancestor(s)). But on the other hand, through the guarantee of his being worshipped as an ancestor when he died, the living king strengthened his authority within the Shang socio-cultural organisation.

Third, the need for a bureaucracy for the Shang socio-cultural organisation was mainly derived from the need for the administration of those who lived in the Great Settlement under the Shang king. As shown previously, those chung who lived in the Great Settlement were mainly composed of the sub-tsû which each tsû had selected to serve the king. Basically, the type of administration for a tsû based purely on kinship was clearly not adequate for the administration of a whole clan. Therefore, a proto-bureaucracy must have been developed from the administration of the Great Settlement to help to run the daily activities, both sacred and secular, of the clan.
It is possible that this proto-bureaucracy was applied later to the whole clan. Although we do not understand the actual stratification in the bureaucracy, the criteria for selecting its members were still in the same terms of merit and talent which were applied to the legendary ancestors and also to the leader (or king). It is not very important to know the details of the procedure and here we only emphasise that this proto-bureaucracy was created to serve the whole clan under the administration of the king. Because the creation of the kingship itself was closely related to the theocracy based on the patrimonial system, it is not surprising that this proto-bureaucracy under the king was basically theocratic and patrimonial. Both were naturally strengthened by the practice of worshipping the deceased kings.

Under these circumstances, we can see how the spatial organisation of the interior territory was constructed, using the three principles proposed above, into a dispersed form which was bound together by a strong ideology based on theocracy rather than politics or purely on kinship. The Great Settlement was created out of a socio-cultural need to be the Centre of the whole clan, similar to the creation of the kingship.

Therefore, the creation of an architectural complex as the Centre, just like the one erected at Hsiao-t’un, must have arisen basically from the same need. Every contribution offered voluntarily by the members to the Great Settlement was not because the king had absolute authority but because they needed a Centre in which to communicate with the world of gods through the king, and it was natural that they should construct this Centre as best as they could and with a full personal commitment.

4.3.4. The exterior territory of the Shang clan

Compared to the analysis of the alien and the interior territories, the analysis of the exterior territory is more difficult, because it has been hard to identify so far whether or not the names of over a hundred places or groups of people (except for those few fang which
have been identified) were in fact areas or peoples which were indirectly controlled by the Shang king. Keightley establishes thirty-nine criteria to test some of these place names in order to find out the degree of their participation in the so-called Shang "state". (Keightley: 1983, p.528-9) Unfortunately, his conclusions (in which he gives each place name a 'state score') cannot provide us with a firm basis on which to identify those names located within this exterior territory, because even the fact that the name has a high score does not mean that it was controlled indirectly by the Shang king. But he does provide us with much information about the Late Shang so that we can use some of the criteria and some of his interpretations of the oracle bone inscriptions to serve our interests.

If the spatial organisation of the interior territory was constructed as presented above, then, theoretically, there are two possible ways in which an exterior territory outside the interior territory may have been established: (1) expansion by some members of the Shang people, either from one or more tsu, led by a special person appointed or selected by the king or central court; (2) the absorption of other alien people to become Shang people. The former could include activities such as tso-i (作邑, creating a new settlement) or chi-t'ien (辟田, cultivating or opening up a new field); the latter must rely on how deeply the alien people participated in the Shang theocratic proto-bureaucracy in the "Great Settlement". If either of both actions succeeded and continued over a certain period of time, their outcome should be the same, the formation of a new sub-clan (tsu) and sub-territory outside the interior territory with the ideology established between them as the only bond.

Of course, the spreading of the Shang people was probably derived from the pressure of the growing population or the lack of fields for shifting cultivation, or sometimes from the exploration by people sent on special errands by the Shang king to look for scarce goods or animals. In other words, it was the outcome of economic needs. But this economic need was not the bond which bound the "Great Settlement" (or the sub-central settlement) and the new settlement they exploited together, because every settlement (either new or old)
within the Shang territory was self-sufficient, even the "Great Settlement" which consisted of its own fields cultivated by chung or chung-jen.

In this sense, the relationship between the small settlements and their Centre was not simply based on economic dependence: the enforced supply from the small settlements to their Centre as the "Oriental System" suggests (devoting part of their surplus product to pay the costs of the (larger) community, i.e., for war, religious worship, etc., and for economically necessary operations such as irrigation and the maintenance of communications) (Marx: 1965, pp.33-34).

The gifts, probably mostly specific goods, such as shells, from the small settlements to the Centre were not simply payments but primarily for maintaining the Centre which was important and symbolic to every small settlement. There is no evidence of the Centre imposing a tax upon the small settlements. Nevertheless, this devotion to maintaining the Centre must have involved a transfer from the small settlements, either to the sub-central settlement or to the "Great Settlement".

The reason why we consider the addition of new sub-territories, by way of participation in the Shang proto-bureaucracy in the "Great Settlement" to have been quite possible, is because of the outstandingly close relation between the Shang and the Chou during the Late Shang period, which shows that the Shang king tried his best to persuade the Chou to join the Shang theocratic proto-bureaucracy, although this work was not completed. This is why 15 negative criteria concerning the Chou have been presented by Keightley indicating "that Shang control over the Chou was neither strong nor continual". (Keightley: 1983, p.531) But, in fact, it can be argued that some of these negative criteria are the most crucial conditions for an alien people and its territory to qualify as a new dependent sub-territory of the Shang territory on the basis of the ideological bond between them.
Some of these criteria can be listed as follows: (a) criterion (3) that "the king calls upon or cries out (hu, 上) for X (indicating a certain place or group of people) to do something" shows that this order, different from ling (令, orders), made by the king must be closely related to the practice of worshipping the ancestral tablet (卜); this implies that the place or persons to whom this order was issued must indicate that this certain group of people must share the same basic belief of ancestral worship; (b) criteria (26), "(Ritual) agriculture by X or at X", and (29), "X will receive harvest, rainfall", show that X should be qualified to receive the blessing from the Supreme God, but only through the Shang ancestors, on its harvest and rainfall; in other words, X must share the theocracy of the Shang clan; (c) criterion (36), "identity of diviners' or recording officials' names with those of other regions", shows that the participation of some groups of alien people in divinations in the "Great Settlement" must strengthen the ideological connection with the "Great Settlement".

Although our analyses of this issue are mainly based on the records of the Late Shang, the fundamentally ideological bond that organised a socio-cultural territory must also have applied to the time before the Late Shang period. It was this ideological bond which dominated the construction of the Shang territory (including the Great Settlement, the interior, and exterior territories) into a spatial form which while so dispersed nevertheless ensured that the social units which settled down within the territory still possessed a deep solidarity. In particular, the principles which we suggest underlay the creation of the "Great Settlement" as the Centre of the Shang territory in fact also made it possible for the Shang territory to include other alien territories without any subjugation of the people, but rather by an ideological bond created by sharing the practice of selecting a collective king and of worshipping the deceased kings as collective ancestors.

The expansion of the Shang territory, then, was mainly based on two methods: (1) the spreading of the Shang clan by its members from their interior territory and the "Great
Settlement", ordinarily by way of the creation of a new settlement (tso-i, でしょう) based on many relevant records; (2) the amalgamation of other alien territories based on identity with the ideology of the Shang clan. For both, as we have already noted, the outcome was the same: the establishment of a new sub-Centre surrounded by many small settlements. The name of this sub-clan or unit, of the place they settled, and of the leader were the same. The spatial pattern of this sub-territory might have been similar to that of one of the interior sub-territories.

The ordinary sequence of this expansion was always by means of: (1) warfare, either the invasion of the Shang lineage into the land of other fang to establish a new agricultural field or settlement or the invasion of other fang into the Shang territory; or (2) a merger, voluntarily through sharing of the ideology which was established on the basis of the worship of deceased kings as ancestors.

The spatial organisation of the Shang territory was then constructed as in Fig 4.12, in which the bond connecting the sub-Centre with the Centre was expressed very clearly by the ideology, and the spatial form of some walled sub-Centre was constructed mainly because of its symbolic position which was important to the "Great Settlement", according to the concept of protecting the four directions.

4.4. THE PLANNING OF THE CENTRAL ARCHITECTURAL SPACES FOR THE CENTRE AND ITS SUB-CENTRES WITHIN THE SHANG TERRITORY

Based on the analyses of the spatial patterns of the Shang settlement given previously, at least three kinds of Centre were erected to correspond to three levels of the settlement patterns shown in Fig 4.10. It has been suggested that these Centres include residential spaces and public spaces. From the discussion of the socio-spatial basis of the organisation of the Shang territory, the creation of these Centres should bear a socio-cultural meaning
corresponding to the ideological bond between the sub-territories of any level. It is the dominant spaces which make this Centre significant to the settlements surrounding it, because these spaces were the essential node in the ideological network of the Shang territory. The reason why the residential spaces closely adjacent to these dominant spaces became an important part of the Centre is because of the crucial role played by their residents, as leaders, in fulfilling the functions of the dominant spaces.

As to the capital level, such as the one at Hsiao-t’un (its reconstruction is shown in Fig 3.2), this Centre has been shown to be a multipurpose complex including the *ch’in* (residences) on the north, the *tzung-shih* (ancestral temple and hall) in the middle, and the *she* (altars) on the south. The functions of these central architectural spaces have already been presented in detail in Chapter Three. Comparing the organisation of these spaces with those within the walled enclosure at P’an-lung-ch’eng, it is likely that the three architectural remains of buildings erected on a large foundation (60m x 100m), could correspond to a residence (F1) on the north, a hall (F2) in the middle, and a platform (F3), on which two *chueh* (ศาล) were erected, on the south. (Fig 4.15)

It is certain that the F1 remains must be a residential space, not only because of the archaeological evidence of the partitioned rooms, but because of its northern location in the whole site. The reconstruction of the F2 remains as a hall results from our consideration that no ancestral worship could possibly have been held in here, because only the king could perform this ceremony of communications with the world of gods. The southern remains (F3) can be seen symbolically as the entrance to the hall, therefore, a pair of *chueh* were erected.

The similarity between the settlement patterns of this site and the Cheng-chou site, which has been shown previously in sub-section 4.1.3., in fact also strengthens the possibility that the spatial pattern of the central architectural spaces within a Centre might share a
Fig 4.15: Reconstructions of the plan of F2 and F3 foundations within P'An-lung-ch'eng walled compound based on the comparison with the planning of the central complex at Hsiao-t'un
common model. This means that the building of such central spaces may have played an important ideological role in establishing a new sub-territory. The existence of the P'an-lung-ch'eng site and its spatial pattern show that the expansion of the Shang territory must have relied upon the erection of these central architectural spaces as an important base from which to begin to organise their new territory (although Bagley suggests that perhaps the settlement had lost its base of support in the north during the Late Shang period (Bagley: 1977,pp.166,169 & 212)). In other words, the erection of these central spaces must have been a symbol of the Shang ideology and a means of distinguishing their own territory from that of others.

Although there was the ideological bond between the Centre of the "Great Settlement" and that of the sub-territory, in the latter Centre there was no worship of deceased kings even though it was such an important means of solidarity for binding the Shang territory together. The question we are bound to ask, then, is, what was its function?

It cannot be doubted that the hall must have been the place which the people of this sub-territory used as the common meeting place to deal with matters of common interest to the whole group, just like the hall within the Centre of the "Great Settlement". Because the local leader of these people could not communicate with the world of gods himself, this hall was not used for ceremonies and rituals to achieve this communication. But was this Centre only a node in the Shang proto-bureaucratic network? Certainly not. We consider that the ideological bond between this Centre and its surrounding settlements must still exist, not only dependent upon their original affinity, but also possibly strengthened by two ceremonies concerning the thanksgiving festival which continued to be performed from the Chou period onwards.

One of these involved the worship of the god of land (earth or soil) at she (社). According to the Li Chi, this worship was one of the important ways adopted by the ancient
kings to ensure that "the ceremonial usages should be generally understood by all below them":

They sacrificed at the altar of earth inside the capital, and thus they intimated the benefits derived from the earth. --- By means of those preformed at the altar of earth, all the things yielded (by the earth) receive their fullest development. (the li-yung section of the Li Chi, translated by Legge: 1885(1), pp.185-6)

During the Chou dynasty (also according to the Li Chi) the background of belief behind this worship can be seen as follows:

In the sacrifice at the she altars they dealt with the earth as if it were a spirit. The earth supported all things, ---. They derived their material resources from the earth; --- Thus they were led to give -- their affection to the earth, and therefore they taught the people to render a good return (to the earth). (The Heads of) families provided (for the sacrifice to it) at the altar in the open court (of their houses); in the kingdom and the states they did so at the she altars; showing how it was the source (of their prosperity). When there was a sacrifice at the she altar of a village, some one went out to it from every house. When there was such a sacrifice in preparation for a hunt, the men of the state all engaged in it. When there was such a sacrifice, from the towns, small and large, they contributed their vessels of rice, thereby expressing their gratitude to the source (of their prosperity) and going back in their thoughts to the beginning (of all being). (the chiao-te-sheng section of the Li Chi, Ibid., pp.425-6)

Therefore, there were a number of she erected for different groups of people:

The king, for all the people, erected an altar to (the spirit of) the earth, called the Grand altar, and one for himself, called the Royal altar. A feudal prince, for all his people, erected one called the altar of the state, and one for himself called the altar of prince. Great officers and all below them in association erected such an altar, called the Appointed altar. (the chi-fa section of the Li Chi, translated by Legge: 1885(2), p.206)

From these descriptions, it is likely that this worship did prevail during the Chou dynasty, and the spirit (god) of earth was localised to relate to a certain group of people and a certain place so that these people could express their gratitude to the source of their prosperity. If it is true, as Li Chi states, that this worship was one of the important means adopted by the ancient kings, then this worship probably also prevailed during the Shang period.

Although from the oracle bone inscriptions we only know that this spirit was
worshipped by the Shang king at the "Great Settlement", if based on the model of religious incorporation suggested by Akatsuka concerning the worship by each sub-clan (tsu) of their own tutelary spirits (Keightley: HJAS, 1982(1/2), pp.294-99), it is possible that originally they worshipped their own god which later became the god of a locality having only the power to affect the affairs of the local area.

Although it is not very easy to refute Akatsuka’s corollary that the legendary ancestors, such as Wang Hai and Kuei, could be examples of these original local spirits, because of their legendary background, we strongly reject the idea that the deceased kings after T’ang (the founder of the Shang dynasty) played the same role, because the distinction between the nature of a god and a deceased king was quite obvious during that time: the latter was only a human being who was believed to be eligible for promotion into the world of gods when he died.

The belief in the existence of a local god in fact led each sub-clan naturally to believe in the existence of Ti (the Supreme God) when they joined together with other groups of people. There was no difference between the need for a king and the need for the Supreme God who "tied all things together" according to Akatsuka’s model. (Ibid.) On the whole, whether or not these local tutelary gods who were worshipped only by the local people were believed during the Chou dynasty to be the same as the god of earth, there is little doubt that the nature of this worship did not change. It was to express the gratitude of the local people to the source of their prosperity and to the origin of all being.

The other ceremony involved the rituals (li, 禮) which were in fact closely related to the one just discussed. The most extraordinary group of rituals relating to our subject, according to the I Li and the Li Chi, was called hsiang-yin-chiu (獻飲酒) (the drinking ceremonies held in the country districts). We consider this group of ceremonies as the remains of the earlier offerings to the local god so as to strengthen the solidarity of the
local people based on their affinity. According to the *I Li* and the *Li Chi*, Cooper states that these ceremonies in fact indicate "a group of ceremonies of which there are four types":

One, held every three years, is a ceremony in which the worthy (*hsien*, 體) and talented (*neng*, 能) of the realm were singled out for special honours and recommendation to high ranking positions. A second invites the worthy to a ceremonial drinking. A third is an archery contest involving ceremonial drinking of wine presided over by a regional officer. The fourth is a drinking ceremony of thanksgiving called the *cha* (酢). (Cooper: *BIE*(51), 1981, pp.159-60)

Like Cooper, we are concerned with the first and the fourth, because they can provide us with much information to relate the events which occurred in the country districts during the Chou dynasty to those of the sub-Centre of the Shang territory, and can also lend strong support to the interpretations proposed above.

The fundamental purpose of this series of ceremonies "served to illustrate the distinction between seniors and juniors" (the *she-yi* section of the *Li Chi*, translated by Legge: 1885(2), p.446), "illustrating the honour which should be paid to elders", and "illustrating how the aged should be cherished and nourished". (the *hsiang-yin-chiu-i* section of the *Li Chi*, Ibid., pp.439-40) This respect for the aged must be the remains of the original distinction or order (*shu*, 肇) within an ancient socio-cultural unit on the basis of the age of their members. This order must also have been the basis of any socio-cultural unit within the Shang territory.

The first ceremony in the *hsiang-yin-chiu* ceremony which was concerned with the process of appointing or selecting specific persons with merit (*hsien*, 體) and talent (*neng*, 能) to high ranking positions suggests that the ancient socio-cultural rank or hierarchy was established through recommendations sanctioned by the members rather than by the dictates of their leader.

The fourth ceremony in fact was very similar to the worship of the local god discussed above. Based on the *chiao-te-sheng* section of the *Li Chi*, it was to reflect the origin
of all being in the sacrifices at the end of the year; in other words, this was some kind of thanksgiving festival as defined by Granet, Bodde, and Karlgren. (Cooper: BIE(51), 1981, p.163) In this ceremony, as Cooper states:

the cha festival was an occasion of rank display and status validation, it is not an unwarranted assumption that participations might use such an occasion to consolidate the rank positions to which they laid claim by offering women of their respective kin groups to the reigning man of influence in their district. In any case, as a ceremony of redistribution, involving great feasting and drinking, and ceremonial display of rank, the cha ceremony may very well have been a potlatch-like status validation ceremony in its primeval pre-Confucian form. (Ibid., p.166)

From these descriptions, we catch a glimpse of the original picture of these ceremonies which were probably held in the sub-Centre of the Shang territory. Although it does not explain what actually happened during the Shang period, we can be fairly sure that the following three characteristics were possessed by every socio-cultural unit of the Shang clan or people: (1) the nature of any unit was egalitarian in that the order of distinction was established on the basis of the age of every member; (2) there were some occasions when some specific members with merit and talent were appointed either to particular positions in this unit or to the wang-tzu, basically through the recommendations given in the rituals; (3) the solidarity of this unit was, apart from the affinity of its members, strengthened by some kind of thanksgiving festivals in which they expressed their gratitude to the originators of all beings in their district, probably to their local tutelary god who was believed to have the power to affect every affair of the locality. It is probable that they performed this kind of ceremony only to express their gratitude or prayers to their local god or to request help, rather than to communicate with the god to obtain an answer directly, because there is no oracle bone inscription to show that any kind of divination was practiced at these ceremonies.

It seems, therefore, that there must have been a place erected in the "sub-Centre" or the "village" level of the Shang territory for these rituals or ceremonies. We consider that the form of this place was not a multi-stepped platform, but only an open space. The
evidence for this view will be discussed in Chapter Six where we trace that the original form of a neolithic Centre (called she, 首) was an open space. In the case in P’an-lung-ch’eng site, this open space must have been located at the south of the three platforms; and this place was also located at the centre of three Mounds in T’ai-hsi-ts’un site, south of the northern residential area. On the whole, the planning of the central architectural places for the Centre and its sub-Centres within the Shang territory must have included some spaces based on the same socio-spatial concept: the leader’s residence, the hall, and the she; and their locations were probably planned from the north to the south in a certain defined order.

4.5. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter is, in fact, a continuation of Chapter Three, in that it has tried to demonstrate how the Shang territory was constituted. Based on the analyses of the spatial patterns of four main settlement remains (in this chapter) and that of the "Great Settlement" (the An-yang core in the former chapter), we have concluded that at least three levels of settlement pattern were involved in the spatial organisation of the Shang territory, and that this territory comprised three zones: the "Great Settlement", the interior settlement, and the exterior settlement. The territory outside the control of the Shang clan we have called the alien territory. This pattern can be sketched out as a series of settlements surrounding the "Great Settlement", and can be seen as a magnification of the spatial pattern of this "Great Settlement" itself, and this series of settlements within the Shang territory must have surrounded the central architectural complex (i.e., that at Hsiao-t’un during the Late Shang period).

These understandings have enabled us to catch a glimpse of the need for the construction of the collective Centre and sub-Centres corresponding to the organising of different sub-clans into a clan called Shang in which the king was selected by their members. It helps us to understand how the "grand" architecture, with walls or not, played its essential
role within the Centre or sub-Centre during the Shang period. This understanding is very important to our tracing of the origins of traditional architecture, because the characteristics of the Shang "grand" architecture we have studied were more or less similar to those of traditional architecture in some respects, especially the plan of an individual building or a complex of buildings, and even the plan of a walled compound.

Although this understanding mostly relies on analyses of how the Shang territory was organised by setting up a hierarchy of Centre and sub-Centres on the basis of some more or less plausible, but inevitably tentative proposal as to how the Shang clan was organised, the spatial organisation around the Centre or sub-Centre shown by the archaeological evidence so far at least does not project a compact pattern. This indicates that the structure of the Shang territory was dominated by the Centre and sub-Centres through the ideology of their members rather than the politics (such as conquests, subjugations, etc.).

From these viewpoints, there is no doubt that there were central spaces collectively constructed in the "Great Settlement" by the Shang people as their Centre, the dominant space of power within their territory to express their integration through the similarity of belief (the worship of the legendary ancestors, various inferior gods, and deceased kings as the ancestors only through whom the living king could communicate with the Supreme God) and group structure (tsu and tzu-tsu). Similarly, there were central spaces collectively constructed by the members of the tsu (sub-clan) as their sub-Centre, the dominant space of power within their sub-territory to express their kinship through the similarity of belief (the worship of the god of locality) and group structure (tsu).

But from where were the ideas of constructing the central spaces for the Centre and the sub-Centres derived? In the next chapter, we explore their origins during the period from the end of the Lung-shan period to the Hsia dynasty.
CHAPTER FIVE: THE ORIGINAL FORM OF THE CENTRAL ARCHITECTURAL SPACES FOR THE CENTRE

The main purpose of this Chapter is to trace the original idea of spatial organisation of the Shang clan which led to the construction of the central architectural spaces for the Centres of both the "Great Settlement" and of the territories outside it. Based on four walled remains, dating from around the Lung-shan period to the Hsia dynasty, we first enquire why it was that two walled enclosures were built during the Hsia dynasty in a similar form: a square or rectangular walled enclosure in which an individual rectangular building was located on the north of the enclosed open space or courtyard. Second, we trace the original form of this kind of walled compound, correlating it with the study of the relationship between the socio-cultural need for a walled central space (or the ta-she\textsuperscript{1} , "Great Altar") and the rise of the powerful prime leader (or the head shaman).

This correlation helps us to understand socio-spatially the early Chinese construction of a collective Centre during the Lung-shan period for a number of different groups of people when they incorporated together. This will reveal how the typical characteristics of early Chinese architecture were generated in such a specific form, that is, a walled compound in which a rectangular building was erected on the north of the courtyard.

5.1. FOUR ARCHAEOLOGICAL WALLED REMAINS DATING FROM THE END OF LUNG-SHAN PERIOD TO THE HSIA DYNASTY

The identification of the Hsia culture and history is one of the crucial issues of contemporary Chinese archaeology. Two possible areas have been proposed as the geographical location of the area of the Hsia settlements:

\textsuperscript{1} the translation of the character she as "altar" is not very exact but from the viewpoint of offering sacrifices, this translation seems to bear the closest meaning.
one is the Lo-yang plain and the neighbourhoods of Teng-feng and Yu-hsien in Honan, and the other is the middle and lower Fen river valley in south western Shansi. Both are associated with the legendary capital towns of the Hsia dynasty and with some important historical events. (Keightley: 1983, p.505, original source comes from "Hsin Chun-kuo ti Kao-ku Shuo-huo" (1962, pp.43-5) translated by Chang Kwang-chih)

Since the remains of a walled compound were thoroughly excavated from 1972 to 1973 at Erh-li-t'ou in Honan, the argument about whether this Erh-li-t'ou phase was in the early Shang period, or in the Hsia period, has been pursued energetically. Until recently, the conclusion seems to have been as stated by Chang Kwang-chih:

In short, according to available data, the identification of Erh-li-t'ou culture as Hsia is consistent with the evidence of both time and space, although we need many more radiocarbon dates, especially those associated with the remains of Erh-li-t'ou III and V, before this identification can be firmly established. (Ibid., p.506)

Archaeology and legendary history meet at the beginning of the Three Dynasties. The Hsia can be only tentatively identified with the Erh-li-t'ou culture. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.122)

Thus, although only tentatively, the Hsia socio-culture seems likely to correlate with the Erh-li-t'ou phase according to its archaeological contents. The following four archaeological remains of walled enclosures are of those extraordinary compounds which were probably erected around the beginning and middle of the Hsia dynasty.

5.1.1. The remains of walled compound no.1 at Erh-li-t'ou

The entire excavated remains are in fact found on a large, almost square, hang-t'u platform (108m E.W. x 100m N.S. oriented 8 degrees to the West of the North South axis) having the form of a walled compound. As shown in Fig 5.1, the elementary components of this compound can be listed as follows: (1) the hang-t'u platform raised 80cm above ground level; (2) the wattle-and-daub walls with roofed galleries along the four sides, but with double galleries on the northern and southern sides; (3) the southern gate with nine columns; (4) the northern rectangular building (30.4m x 11.4m) without walls surrounded by a series
Fig 5.1: The plan of No.1 walled compound at Erh-li-t'ou site
of columns (40cm diameter inside and 18-20cm outside), and built on a hang-t'u platform (36m x 25m). (KK: 1974(4),pp.234-6) Almost at the centre of the courtyard, there is a burial area for the victims of sacrifices.

Archaeologists suggest that this compound is a palace of the early Shang dynasty. (Ibid., p.238) As Chang Kwang-chih states, "the word 'palace' (kung-t'ien, 宮殿), incidentally, is used by the excavators advisedly, in the light of its architectural features that are identical with those of the palaces of kings and noble people in later historical age" (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978,pp.223-4). This word 'palace', therefore, is only a borrowed term used here to tentatively point to the possible function of this walled compound during that time.

Based on his interpretations of the descriptions of the legendary sacred building (shih-shih, chung-wu, and ming-t'ang) recorded in the Kao-kung-chi section of the Chou Li, Yang Hung-hsun reconstructs a plan of the northern rectangular building as shown in Fig 5.2, corresponding to a reception room (t'ang, 廳) at the front, and a residential room (shih, 廳) at the rear. On the basis of the series of columns (larger and smaller), he supposes this structural system as the primary support for the double eaved roof which was then developed into the bracket system (tou-kung). (Fig 1.9) (Yang Hung-hsun: KK, 1976(2),pp.18, 21 & 22)

This reconstruction is inadequate, because Yang's plan includes some columns and walls in the middle of this building where there is no evidence of post holes and wattle-and-daub partitioned walls. Also correlating to the legendary sacred building of the Three Dynasties, Tso Heng rather considers the northern building as only a kind of rectangular pavilion without walls which functioned as an ancestral temple, an initial form of ming-t'ang (Bright Hall) as it was called by the Chou people. (Tso: 1980,pp.169-70) Tso's view is probably more reliable than Yang's, because a rectangular form without walls is more consistent with the archaeological evidence of the constructional details, though this view
Fig 5.2: The reconstruction of the plan of the rectangular building on No.1 walled compound at Erh-li-t’ou site
(KK: 1974(4), p.18)
will be questioned in section 5.2.

5.1.2. The remains of walled compound no.2 at Erh-li-t'ou

From the excavations of 1977 to 1978, more remains of a walled compound (no.2) were found at a distance of about 150m to the north-east of the no.1 remains. It is a rectangular walled compound, around 57.5-58m E.W. and 72.8m N.S., enclosed by hang-t'u walls on the east, west, and north, and by a wattle-and-daub wall on the south. (Fig 5.3) (KK: 1983(3),pp.206-210) Except for the hang-t'u which formed the exterior walls, the main features which distinguish this no.2 compound from the former (no.1) are as follows: (1) the southern gate with a pair of guardhouses which was constructed with wattle-and-daub walls; (2) the ground level of the interior galleries is 20cm higher than the level of the courtyard; (3) the absence of a rear gallery along the northern hang-t'u wall; (4) the northern rectangular building (32.6m x 12.7m) of three partitioned rooms (26.5m x 7.1m) constructed with wattle-and-daub walls inside to form a corridor surrounded by 24 columns (this form is very similar to the F1 remains at P'ang-lung-ch'eng site); (5) the absence of evidence of sacrificial victims buried in the courtyard, although there was a tomb found at the rear of the northern building. (Ibid.)

According to the excavation report, the function of this compound is also proposed as a "palace" and it has the same date as the no.1 remains. (Ibid.,pp.210-1) Generally, the planning of these two compounds shared the same layout: a courtyard was built by the hang-t'u method and then enclosed by walls with galleries, and a columnar rectangular building was erected at the north of this courtyard.

Around these two remains (no.1 and no. 2) a number of other items were discovered, including the remains of small houses with hang-t'u earth floors and stone post bases, pottery kilns, water wells, human graves with funerary gifts (pottery, bronze bell, jade etc.),
Fig 5.3: The plan of No.2 walled compound at Erh-li-t'ou site

Legend
- wattle-and-daub wall
- hang-t'u wall
○ post hole
○ stone postal base
--- reconstruction part
and storage pits. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978, pp.224-5) From 1980 to 1981, the remains of an extraordinary house floor were fully excavated (see Fig. 5.4), and its form was generally very similar to the northern building within the no.2 walled compound. (KK: 1984(7), p.583) We are far from understanding the spatial pattern of the entire Erh-li-t’ou site, but, as the excavation report in 1974 states: "it looks as if the Erh-li-t’ou site was of a scale of an ancient capital city, and not just an ordinary natural village". (KK: 1974(4), p.234)

5.1.3. The remains of walled compounds at Wang-ch’eng-kang

The excavations at Wang-ch’eng-kang in Honan, from 1977 to spring 1981, have fully recovered "dual walled compounds" built with hang-t’u walls. The western compound is around 82.4m x 92m but the extent of the eastern one is unknown. (Fig 5.5) (WW: 1983(3), p.14) According to the excavation report, there are a number of storage pits, some hang-t’u foundations (perhaps for the buildings) and graves (perhaps for the constructional sacrifices) in the central and the western areas. Other archaeological findings within this walled compound include pottery and stone tools of various kinds. (Ibid., pp.15-6) Based on the radiocarbon dating of charcoal found there, estimated at 2017±65 B.C., these remains may have been built around the end of the Lung-shan period or the beginning of the early Hsia dynasty. This correlates with the legendary first ancient walled city founded by K’un (鲧, father of Yu, 禹, the founder of the Hsia dynasty) which continued to be used by Yu as the first capital of the Hsia dynasty. (Ibid.)

5.1.4. The remains of a walled compound at P’ing-liang-t’ai

The P’ing-liang-t’ai remains are of a square walled enclosure (185m x 185m) located at the south-east of Huai-yang (淮陽) district city in eastern Honan. These were excavated from 1979 to 1980. According to the excavation report, the wall was built with hang-t’u walls, but with a breach in each of the southern and northern walls likely to be the southern
Fig 5.4: One group of building remains close to No.1 and No.2 remains at Erh-li-t'ou (KK: 1984(7), p.583)

Fig 5.5: The plan of two walled compounds at Wang-ch'eng-kang (WW: 1983(3), p.14)
and northern gates (Fig 5.6-a). In particular, the southern gate had a pair of guardhouses beside the main gate (1.7m wide) and these guardhouses were constructed in "adobe". (Fig 5.6-b) (WW: 1983(3), pp.27-8) About a dozen house floors constructed in "adobe", three pottery kilns, sixteen graves of children, and a number of storage pits have been found in this enclosure. Of particular interest are two rectangular house floors, one (F1, 12.4m x 4.34m) located at the south east and also built of "adobe" from the ground level with three rooms, seen Fig (5.6-c), and another (F4, more than 15m x 5.7m) erected on a hang-t'u platform (0.72m above the ground level) also of "adobe" with four rooms. (Ibid., pp.30-1)

Based on two radiocarbon dates of charcoal found in the storage pits (H53 and H15), 2147±100 B.C. and 2472±175 B.C., it has been proposed that this enclosure was erected towards the end of the Lung-shan period. (Ibid., p.36)

5.2. THE SYMBOLISM OF THE SHIH-SHIH (世基, HALL OF GENERATIONS) DURING THE HSIA DYNASTY

From these four remains of walled enclosures, we can assume that the first two which were constructed during the Hsia dynasty shared the same idea. There are only two pieces of evidence available for us to distinguish the functions of these two remains: the archaeological evidence for sacrifice and the difference of built form between the two northern buildings. As presented in the previous two chapters, the distinction can be shown between the residence (ch'in, 陳) and the hall (shih, 堂) by the lack of sacrificial victims in the residential area at Hsiao-t'un and the presence of partitioned rooms in the residential building at P'an-lung-ch'eng. Besides, by referring to the legends described in the Huai Nan Tzu and the Shih Chi, which will be discussed later, the form of the earliest sacred building which was described as only a thatched building without walls was rather a hall than a residence. Under these circumstances, it is probable that the remains of no.1 compound may be of a hall and the remains of no.2 of a residence.
(5.6a): The plan of the walled compound (p.27)

(5.6b): The plan of south gate with two gatehouses (p.28)

(5.6c): The plan of rectangular house built with adobe method (p.30)

Fig 5.6: The remains of a walled compound at P'ing-liang-t'ai
(WW: 1983(3))
The fact that the same idea of constructing a walled compound was shown by compounds no.1 and no.2 suggests that one might have been built first and the other was imitated from the original; in other words, the hall and the residence were not placed together in the same walled compound, as the case at the architectural complex planned at Hsiao-t'un. From the discussion of the functions of the sacred building called shih ( SHR ) which follows, we shall propose that walled compound no.1 was first created as the Centre of the Hsia people, for them to communicate with their gods. Later, probably the crucial role of their leader within this society led the Hsia people to build walled compound no.2 as a residence for him by imitating the plan and form of the central compound no.1, because the leader was the only person who used the no.1 compound to fulfil his duties for managing any affair of this society, therefore, once a residence was built for him, it was possible for it to share the same idea. For other members who lived around these two compounds, the rectangular buildings represented by the remains in Fig 5.4 might be their residence but without the enclosing wall.

Although we do not have a clear picture of the spatial pattern of the settlements around these two walled compounds, the limited archaeological evidence available does seem to suggest that the Hsia territory might have had a spatial pattern similar to that of the "Great Settlement" and the interior settlement of the Shang clan, based primarily on the similarities between the socio-cultures of the Shang clan and the Hsia clan which will be presented below. But its actual size is unknown mainly because of the lack of archaeological evidence. The link between the "Great Settlement" and the small settlements around it was still an ideological one based on the participation in selecting the collective leader and in worshipping the collective God (or gods) and legendary ancestors. The fact that the deceased kings were not worshipped as ancestors by the Hsia people makes the bond which bound together the settlements of the Hsia territory a looser one than that of the Shang.
The reason why the northern building, built only as a hall, was widely considered to be very sacred during the East Chou dynasty is because it was located on a sacred ceremonial courtyard (altar) enclosed by walls. The courtyard floor and the platform for the northern building and all the walls were constructed by the hang-t'u method. The northern building was built entirely of timber without any walls, a colonnaded pavilion or a semi-open space. We are not certain why this northern building was constructed in this form without walls, but this form without walls, at least, can correspond to the built form of a sacred building described in the *Huai Nan Tzu* and *Shih Chi* as "a thatched building that had no walls", which we will discuss later.

As suggested earlier, when the residence for the leader (compound no.2) was constructed by sharing the same idea as the sacred building, the northern building was changed in that the partitioned rooms were added inside the columns to form the colonnaded galleries around the four sides. The most likely reason is that it was intended to maintain the appearance of the *shih* (hall) in the form of the residential building, because of the close relationship between this hall and the duties of the leader.

Most of the characteristics of Chinese traditional architecture can be found in the plan of this walled compound based on the archaeological evidence alone: the north-south axis, the symmetry, south orientation, the southern gate with a pair of guardhouses, the typical rectangular unit of building, the courtyard and colonnaded galleries. This form can be considered as the earliest form of a Chinese walled compound in which the earliest form of a Chinese rectangular building (that is, without walls, erected on a hang-t'u platform) was located at the north of the courtyard. This walled compound might have been the initial prototype of the early Chinese "grand" architecture applied to the construction of a dominant space for the Hsia clan, and the rectangular building with partitioned rooms may have been the prototype of the early Chinese rectangular unit applied later to the construction of the individual house or building.
In the following sections, we will present two sets of evidence to support the views proposed above: first, the ancient legends concerning the sacred building, showing why this building was so important to the archaic Chinese and why it was so closely linked with the archaic leaders or sages; second, the functions of shih-shih during the Hsia dynasty on the basis of different interpretations and comparisons.

5.2.1. Ancient legends about the sacred building

According to the Kao-kung-chi section of the Chou Li, similar sacred buildings were erected by each of the Three Dynasties, but each was given a different name:

what Hsia Hou Shih (Yu, founder of the Hsia dynasty) called shih-shih, the people of Yin (Shang) called chung-wu, and the people of Chou called ming-t'ang. (translated by Eugene Cooper: BLE(51), 1981, p.167)

Unfortunately, the function of this sacred building is not described in this section, but it is distinguished quite clearly from other buildings called tsu (\

, the ancestral temple), ch' in (\

, the residence), and chao (\

, the court for consultations).

The ming-t'ang of the Chou dynasty has been described in the Li Chi as one multipurpose building having the following functions: (1) a place described as the court for the Son of Heaven (king) to receive his ministers, feudal lords, and other chiefs, in the min-t'ang-wei section, for clarifying the distinctive positions or ranks of the nobles or princes; (2) the ancestral temple, because the ming-t'ang-wei section of the Li Chi indicates that the ta-miao (Grand Temple) of Lu state where ti ritual (\

) was performed to Duke Chou was equivalent to the ming-t'ang of the Son of Heaven; this view was directly described in the Meng Tzu and the Chung Yung (\

) as the temple for the worship of Wen Wang (文王); (3) one of ta-miao, described in the yueh-ling section of the Li Chi, which the Son of Heaven occupied in different seasons to accomplish the duties and ordinances of each season; this shows that there were duties in which the Son of Heaven communicated with
the world of gods, for the observation of celestial signs, planets and atmospheric conditions which were the basis for guiding their ancient agricultural practices according to the seasons, or for the divination of the influence of the world of gods on the world of human beings.

During the traditional era, this building was mentioned in many texts but referred to by different names according to the various legendary sages (shen-jen, 聖人) up until the Three Dynasties: (1) *Ho-kung* (合宮, the Assembly Palace or Hall) dedicated to Hung Ti (黃帝, Yellow Emperor) where he sacrificed "to the Shang Ti, received the myriad spirits and published his instructions of government"; (2) *Wu-fu* (五府, the Five Offices or Halls) for "sacrifice to the Five Ti --- The Son of Heaven received his appointment from Heaven, and set up the fu, or Halls, to honour Heaven, and pay regard to its signs" or *wen-tsu* (文祖, Halls of the Ancestors, which "is not the ancestors in the usual sense of the word as we know it, but the culture patriarchs of fire, marriage, agriculture, etc.), or *i-.tsu* (執祖, Hall of the Ancestor of Skill, or the Patriarch of Craft) dedicated to Yao (敟); (3) *Tsung-chang* (統章) or *tsung-ch'í* (統期) (the Unification of the Calendar) dedicated to Shun (舜); (4) *Shih-shih* (世室, House of the Generations) or *cheng-shih* (正宮, Rectifying Hall, the centre or hall in which calendar was corrected and adjusted) dedicated to the Hsia dynasty; (5) *Chung-wu* (重屋, the Storeyed House) or *yang-kuan* (陽館, the Sunny Banqueting Hall or even Hall of Light, a name apparently derived from the southern room of the structure, in which banquets were offered to the Ti and other honoured invisible guests) dedicated to the Shang dynasty; and (6) *Ming-t'ang* (明堂, the Bright Hall, the Hall of Brightness, or Hall of Light, or Hall of Illumination) dedicated to the Chou dynasty. (Soothill: 1951, pp.78-81)

Based on the ancient legends, two traditional texts, *Huai Nan Tzu* and *Shih Chi*, described this sacred building dedicated to the Yellow Emperor as one that "had a thatched cover, but no four sides so that neither wind nor rain could invade it, nor heat nor cold
harm it" or as "a thatched building that had no walls". (Ibid., p.72) These are the direct translations from the contents in these two ancient books, although their meanings are very peculiar. We only want to show how the form of this earliest sacred building was described in the legends. These descriptions provide strong evidence that this was a building without walls.

5.2.2. Functions of the shih-shih during the Hsia dynasty

Simply from these descriptions in the ancient legends, the functions of this building can be summarised as follows: (1) the cosmological space for dealing with celestial signs from the world of gods, mainly Heaven, Shang Ti, or Ti by way of divinations and ceremonies so that the legendary sage or the king of the Three Dynasties could regulate the calendar and manage the affairs of his group on the basis of the answers from these signs; (2) the place for consulting or assembling the people to deal with the daily activities of the group, where a hierarchy within the group was established for its administration; later this place was changed into "a Hall of Audience" where rank was "distinguished or clarified by the ceremonial order of procedure at the sacrifices" (Ibid., p.79); (3) the ceremonial space for sacrifices to be presented to the world of gods, Shang Ti, Ti, spirits or ancestors (the deceased kings). In fact, the central matter of these three main functions can be seen to focus on dealing with the communications between the sage or king and the world of gods to affect the lives of his people.

The shih-shih erected during the Hsia dynasty must have been mainly to accomplish these communications. But what functions did this shih-shih actually serve during that time? Is it possible that this shih-shih was a multi-purpose building?

If we compare three characters, shih (形), wu (武), and t'ang (唐), described in the Kao-kung-chi section of the Chou Li, the difference between the first two indicate that the
same character chih (⿳) was covered under two different types of buildings or roofs, the "⿸⿴" and the "⿸⿻", but the difference between the first and the third characters is not only in the different types of buildings or roofs, the "⿸⿴" and the "⿸⿻", but also in the different contents covered by these roofs, the chih (⿳) and the "⿸⿻". In fact, there is no character in the oracle bone and bronze inscriptions from the Shang and Chou dynasties which indicates the characters wu (⿴⿴) and t'ang (⿴⿴), and only the character shih (⿳) was commonly used. These three characters used during the late Chou dynasty which appear to indicate three specific buildings, in the Kao-kung-chi section of the Chou Li, were only the outcome of attempting to dedicate a similar building with different names to different dynasties; in other words, the second and third characters were variants of the first shih (⿳): wu (⿴⿴) as a double-eaved building and t'ang (⿴⿴) as a building having a more decorated roof. Generally speaking, then, the character shih must also have been used during the Hsia dynasty to indicate a specific building having special functions which were at least the same as those of the shih of the Shang dynasty described in Chapter Three, a hall used for the first two of the three functions described above, that is, a space for celestial observation, counselling (or assembling), and divining.

In order to find out whether the shih of the Hsia dynasty possessed the third function (a temple for God, gods, or ancestors), we need to have an understanding of the religious beliefs and the relevant architectural spaces of the Three Dynasties. This means that we need to study this issue by comparing the religious beliefs of each of the Three Dynasties and the possible sacred architectural spaces used for the worship of their God, gods, and ancestors, based on an analysis of the relationships between these three groups of people.

It has been generally regarded that the Three Dynasties were sequentially founded by three different groups of people who coexisted in separate settlements. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.354) While the Hsia settled down in the Central Plain, the Shang was only one of the I (⿳) people, still living as nomads around the northeastern area of the Central Plain.
(Fu Ssu-nien: 1980, vol.3, p.87), and the Chou was a northern nomadic people also related to the Jung (戎) and the Ti (狄). (Chien Mu: YCHP(10), 1931, pp.1955-2008) When the Shang moved southwestward into the Central Plain and then defeated the Hsia, it is said that some of the Hsia people moved westward and settled down around the west area of the Yellow River (ho-hsi, 河西), probably the Wei (渭) valley, but the Chou were still nomadic, living in the area around the northeastern area of the Central Plain. According to the legends, during the beginning of the time when the Shang moved its capital to the present An-yang, the Chou had been allied with the Shang. Later, under pressure from barbarians (the Jung and Ti) the Chou people were led by T’an-fu (豈父, T’ai-wang 太王 later) and settled down at the south of Mount Ch’i (丘), starting a way of life called chia-shih (家室, the houses for the family and the hall for the clan), as seen in the descriptions in the mien section of the Shih Ching. As presented in the previous chapter, the Chou people were only for a while allies of the Shang, and this relationship did not last very long. The geographical location of the settlements of these three groups of people, shown in Fig 5.7, indicates that the remnant of the Hsia people must have lived in the area between the settlements of the Chou and the Shang when the Chou had settled down at the foot of Mount Ch’i.

In general, the common view of the East Chou dynasty was that the cultures of these three groups of people shared the same pattern and were only different from one another in matters of detail. The li-chi (禮器) section of the Li Chi states: "the regulations of the Three Dynasties are the same, and all the people followed them", and the wei-cheng (為政) section of the Lun Yu (論語, Confucius Analects) also states: "the Yin dynasty followed the regulations of the Hsia: wherein it took from or added to them may be known. The Chou dynasty has followed the regulations of the Yin: wherein it took from or added to them may be known". (these translations adopted from (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.352) & (Legge: 1892, p.153)) The statements which describe the relationships between these
Fig 5.7: The general pattern of migration of the three clans in three stages
three cultures not only suggest the transformation of the Shang or the Chou from the barbarian to the civilised, but also indicate that the Chou culture was mainly derived from the Shang culture. Is this true? Let us examine other evidence about their relationships, corresponding to their geographical locations shown in Fig 5.7.

First, although the Shang system of royal succession which has been discussed in Chapters Three and Four has a strong resemblance to the so-called chao-mu (昭穆) system of the Western Chou, we cannot be sure that the system of the Western Chou was derived from the Shang. The supposition that the Hsia very possibly also had a similar system for the posthumous names of their own kings based on the use of the ten celestial stems (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.353) prompts us to suggest that this system of succession could have originated from the Hsia. Secondly, from the paragraph in the piao-chi (表記, the record of example) of the Li Chi, the comparisons of the cultures of the Three Dynasties made by Confucius suggest that the cultural similarities were stronger between the Hsia and the Chou than between the Shang and the Chou. Thirdly, based on many ancient texts and records, declarations that the Chou was the descendant of the Hsia and therefore had the right to rule the Central Plain shows the intimate relation between the two groups. (Li Ming: CKSYC(2), 1982,pp.128-34) Fourthly, from the geographical locations of the settlements of these three groups during the time when the Chou settled down at the south of Mount Ch'i (Fig 5.7), it is possible that the culture of the Chou was at first strongly and mainly influenced by the remnant of the Hsia rather than by that of the Shang, because only later was the leader of the Chou given the title of the Shang archer lord. Fifthly, if the culture of the Chou was first derived mainly from that of the Shang, the Shang concept of the worship of deceased kings as ancestors would most likely have been adopted by T'an-fu, the leader of the Chou.

But there is no evidence to support this last point. Not only because the ancient texts since the West Chou period fail to give any, but also because the practice of worshipping
the deceased kings as ancestors (tsu, 服) which was applied by the West Chou Dynasty, can only be traced back as far as T'ai-wang (太王, the honoured name given later to T'an-fu) and not to T'an-fu's own father. This suggests that T'an-fu himself did not follow this practice.

Under these circumstances, does the fact that the Shang practice of worshipping deceased kings as ancestors did not appear in the reign of T'an-fu of the Chou suggest that there must be no similar practice among the remnant of the Hsia people either? And is it possible to further deduce that there must have been no similar belief held by the Hsia during the dynastic time? From the myths connected with the founder of the Hsia dynasty (Yu, 堯), his father (K'un, 堯), his son (Ch'i, 禹), the founder of the Shang clan (Hsieh, 俁), and the founder of the Chou clan (Hou-chi, 母樛) (see Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, pp.10-15), it is reasonable to consider that the initial idea of ancestral worship may have focused on the mythical or legendary heros or sages of the clan, and that not every deceased leader of a clan was worshipped after he died.

These legendary ancestors were always honoured with some specific relationship with the Supreme God in the relevant myths or legends passed through their descendants. They were worshipped by the leader on behalf of their descendants mainly because they had performed meritorious deeds for their people. The paragraph recorded in the chi-fa (法) section of the Li Chi emphasises the merits and talents of the deceased leaders as the main qualifications for them to be worshipped:

According to the institutes of the sage kings about sacrifices, sacrifice should be offered to him who had given (good) laws to the people; to him who had laboured to the death in the discharge of his duties; to him who had strengthened the state by his laborious toil; to him who had boldly and successfully met great calamities; and to him who had warded off great evils. (follows a lot of examples with regards to different clans) --- All these rendered distinguished services to the people. As to the sun and moon, the stars and constellations, the people look up to them, while mountains, forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mountains supply them with the materials for use which they require. Only men and things of this character were admitted into the sacrificial canon. (translated by Legge: 1895, pp.207-208)
That this practice prevailed during the East Chou dynasty at least shows that the ancient practice of worshipping the deceased leaders did in fact resemble the idea of worshipping the legendary ancestors in respect of the criteria of merit and talent. So it is likely that the Shang people adopted this concept of worshipping legendary ancestors from the Hsia to claim that they were the Shang clan and were derived from the legendary ancestor Hsieh (契), and only later applied it to all deceased kings and elevated them into the world of Shang gods.

Similarly the Chou people seemed to adopt the same practice of worshipping the legendary ancestor from the Hsia to claim that they were the Chou clan and derived from their legendary ancestor Hou-chi. Based on one of the earliest existing ritual bronzes, ta-feng-tui (大豈商), said to be the one cast before king Wu (founder of the dynasty) who defeated the Shang clan, King Wu sacrificed in the "great hall" (ta-shih, 大室) to pray to King Wen (文王, the former king) to help him to defeat the Shang clan. From those inscriptions which are considered as the prayers to King Wen (Sun: 1966, p.59), three interesting points arise which are worth discussing.

First, the eminent position of King Wen, placed between King Wu and Shang Ti (the Supreme God) as the intermediary, shows that they believed him to be a deity who could intercede with Shang Ti. It seems to be reasonable that this idea of worshipping the deceased king (King Wen), practised by the Chou clan during the reign of King Wu, was an imitation of the idea of the Shang clan (i-ssu, 衣紽). According to the ta-chuan section of the Li Chi only from that time was the concept of worshipping the deceased kings as ancestors applied (as the Shang clan) to every deceased leader, but these ancestors were only traced back to T'ai-wang (T'an-fu). (the translations of this section can be found in Legge: 1885(2), p.60)

Secondly, the promotion of King Wen as a guest of the Supreme God was mainly due
to his virtue (te, 德, merit and talent) as appreciated by the Supreme God. The evidence that this model which once applied only to the legendary ancestors, but now applied to the deceased king, shows that King Wu tried his best to combine the original concept derived from the Hsia clan with that of the Shang clan. When the character t’ien (天, Heaven) was used by the Chou people to emphasise the relationship between the king and Heaven, the organisation of the world of gods and the living world of the Chou clan was then constructed by way of combining the ideas of the Hsia and the Shang. The relationships between these three conceptual structures of religious beliefs is shown in Fig 5.8.

Thirdly, although King Wu adopted the Shang practice of worshipping the deceased kings, he did not erect another building for those ceremonies as the Shang people had erected the tzung (宗, temple), but only used the great hall. This means that the great hall began to be used as a multi-purpose space, not only for the original functions of the earlier hall but also for an additional purpose, as an ancestral temple to sacrifice to the deceased kings as collective ancestors (shih, 室).

Under these circumstances, when the Chou people, led by T’an-fu, settled down at the south of Mount Ch’i, the shih (室) erected for the clan was not for the worship of the deceased leader, T’an-fu’s father. In other words, there was not only no ancestral temple (tzung, 宗), like the one erected by the Shang people, but nor was there one for the Supreme God or gods. What about the possibility that the legendary ancestor Hou-chi was worshipped in this primary hall? It seems not, because according to the Treatise on the Feng and Shan sacrifices (封禪書) section of the Shih Chi (史記), Hou-chi was worshipped only in the "southern border" (nan-chiao, 南郊)^2:

^2 The interpretation of this "southern border" during the traditional time indicated that this border was located to the south of the south gate of the capital city. But, in fact, no one knew where it was located during the Chou dynasty.
Fig 5.8: Comparisons of the conceptual structures of the religious beliefs of the Three Dynasties
After the Duke of Chou became minister to King Ch'eng, the third ruler of the Chou Dynasty, he sacrificed to his distant ancestor Hou-chi, the Lord of Grain, who was associated with Heaven, in the southern border; and in the Bright Hall he sacrificed to the founder of the dynasty, King Wen, who was associated with the Supreme God. (translated by Watson: 1961, vol.2, p.16)

Therefore, the initial shih was erected only as a place for celestial observations, counselling (or assembling) and divining.

But why, then, did the ancient legends about this sacred building always indicate that it had a ceremonial function? The most likely reason is that the place where this shih was erected was a courtyard or an open space for the worship of legendary ancestors and their God, and the name designated to this compound was equivalent to that of this shih. This is why this open space was always located at the south of the shih. This was so on the southern border during the Chou dynasty, at the south of the central complex at Hsiao-tun (the tan and the shan) during the Shang dynasty, and in the courtyard at the south of the shih within the compound during the Hsia dynasty.

What were the characters used by the Hsia people to describe their own Supreme God and legendary ancestors who were deified? Were they the same as those used by the Shang, the ti (†) for the Supreme God, the shih (††) for the collective ancestors and tsu (‡) for the individual ancestor? In other words, were these characters used by the Shang copied from the Hsia?

The character shih (†† or †) has been widely studied as a symbol of the celestial god, the earthly god, or even the ancestors. It has been connected with the pictographic form of the phallus by Kuo Mo-jo, of the flag-pole by Tin Shan, of the stone where the deity resides by Ch'en Meng-chia (these three interpretations can be found in Li Hsiao-ting: 1965, vol.1, pp.37-49), of an ancestral pole or stick by Ling Shun-sheng (BIE(8), 1959, p.40), and of a menhir by Kang Yin (1979, p.572).
The most important question here is whether the original meaning of the character shih ( \( \bar{\text{f}} \) ) was equivalent to that of the character tsu ( \( \bar{\text{h}} \) ) used in the Hsia Dynasty, only in a different form of writing. From one case presented by Ling Shun-sheng about the sacred poles of the Goldi tribe which lives in present Manchuria (the northeastern area of China) there is a marked distinction between the symbols of the god and of male and female ancestors. (Fig 5.9) (Ling Shun-sheng: BIE(8), 1959, p.40) Perhaps from this comparison, it is possible to connect the sacred tree or pole of the Hsia clan with the character shih ( \( \bar{\text{f}} \) ), regarding it as the symbol of their Supreme God; and the character tsu ( \( \bar{\text{h}} \) ) then can be considered as the symbol of their ancestors, Yu, K'un, and Ch'i, who were elevated to association with the Supreme God. If so, it is possible that these two characters, shih and tsu, were two variants of the character she ( \( \bar{\text{l}} \) or \( \bar{\text{a}} \) ), a sacred place during neolithic times, which we will discuss in the next chapter. The latter character tsu ( \( \bar{\text{h}} \) ) was also connected with the pictographic form of the male phallus which symbolised the legendary male heroes or leaders of the clan who were legendary ancestors.

The character she ( \( \bar{\text{l}} \) ) used by the Hsia people then must mark a sacred place, where the sacred symbols, the shih ( \( \bar{\text{f}} \) ) and the tsu ( \( \bar{\text{h}} \) ), were erected in the centre, mainly for communicating with the world of the gods. Correlating this information with the plan of a walled compound shown by the two remains of walled compounds, we propose that the courtyard formed by the buildings within the wall must be the sacred space, called she, by the Hsia people.

The building erected at the north of the compound during the middle of the Hsia Dynasty (Fig 5.1) was therefore not for their God ( \( \bar{\text{f}} \) or \( \bar{\text{T}} \) ) nor the legendary ancestors ( \( \bar{\text{h}} \) ), because in the first place, the character for this building was not written in the form of "\( \bar{\text{f}} \) " (tzung) or "\( \bar{\text{h}} \) " , and in the second place, the location of this building was not at the centre of the compound (the location presumed for the symbols of the Supreme God and legendary ancestors). It was rather the hall (shih, \( \bar{\text{f}} \) ) which was closely related to the
Fig 5.9: Poles of God and of male and female ancestors of the Goldi tribe
(Ling Shun-sheng: BIE(8), 1959, p.40)
dominant role of the leader within a clan.

It seems likely that the leader occupied this northern building facing the south while any meeting or ceremony was held in the compound. This is why the character for "north" in Chinese was written as "亖" (pei) expressing the pictographic form of "two men back to back" (Ronan: 1978, p.132), in other words, the back of the chief was the direction of north; and "south" was written as "戃" (nan) expressing the pictographic form of "a musical instrument of some kind, perhaps a bell" (Ibid.), in other words, the front of the chief was the south area where music was played in the ceremonies.

The characters "east" (tung, 築) and "west" (hsi, 交) are interpreted by Hsu Chung-shu, thus: "the custom still existing in colloquial speech of calling 'things' in general tung-hsi (筑, and this ancient nang (廮, bundle or sack) - the heavens and earth and all that is therein". (Ibid.) In this sense, the things put on the east and west sides of the leader were probably connected with the essential ceremonies of sacrifices or with the festivals when the leader redistributed these things to others in this compound. However, the creation of this arrangement was mainly based on the orientation of the leader who faced south. (Fig 5.10)

Although it is not yet understood why the leader must face south, it is interesting to note the meanings given to the four orientations by the Egyptians:

The Egyptian took his orientation from the Nile River, the source of his life. He faced to the south, from which the stream came. One of the terms for 'south' is also a term for 'face'; the usual word for 'north' is probably related to a word which means the 'back of the head'. On his left was the east and on his right the west. The word for 'east' and 'left' is the same, and the word for 'west' and 'right' is the same. (Sack: 1980, p.153)
Fig 5.10: Chinese orientations on the basis of the orientation of the leader who faced south
5.3. THE SYMBOLISM OF THE "GREAT ALTAR" (TA-SHE) DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD FROM THE LUNG-SHAN PERIOD TO THE HSIA DYNASTY

Having described the walled compound with a form of "[図]" called shih-shih during the Hsia dynasty, in this section we will trace its form before that time mainly based on the remains of two walled compounds at Wang-ch'eng-kang and P'ing-liang-t'ai. Simply comparing the archaeological evidence of these two remains with that of the two at Erh-li-t'ou, the most significant and common feature among them is the enclosing walls erected by the hang-t'u (秀土) process around the four sides in a square or rectangular form. A comparison between the south gate with a pair of guardhouses in the no.2 walled remains at Erh-li-t'ou and the one with a pair of guardhouses found at P'ing-liang-t'ai, although constructed differently, strongly suggests that the significant south orientation had been applied to the erection of a walled compound before the Hsia dynasty. Although there is uncertainty about whether there was a rectangular building erected on the north of the courtyard within these two compounds, as in the two walled compounds at Erh-li-t'ou, we assume that the four directions expressed by the four hang-t'u walls in these two cases is related rather to the orientation of the leader than to the orientation of the northern rectangular building. In other words, the northern building might have been an element added later into the courtyard enclosed by four walls.

But why were there some rectangular adobe buildings within the enclosure at P'ing-liang-t'ai and probably none found at Wang-ch'eng-kang? And why were there two compounds connected together at Wang-ch'eng-kang? The case at P'ing-liang-t'ai has been proposed as a walled village where the walls were used mainly for protection. As Chang Kwang-chih suggests the "appearance of hang-t'u village walls and weapons indicates necessity for fortification and means for offensive action", mainly on the basis of archaeological evidence of this kind of wall found at Ch'eng-tzu-yai. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978,
pp.152 & 179) Comparing this with the ditch which enclosed a residential area at Chiang-chai site, Yang Hung-hsun also considers that the idea of using *hang-t'u* walls as an enclosure for defence during the Three Dynasties was similar to that of digging a ditch as an enclosure and the former was actually derived from the latter, because, to one standing in the bottom of a ditch, the side of the ditch forms, in effect, a wall. (Yang Hung-hsun: *KCSWC*, 1977, p.122)

Even if this popular view is correct, it is apparent that during the Three Dynasties the *hang-t'u* walls were not used for the defence of the people and their houses, as Chang Kwang-chih points out, but only for the defence of "the palaces and ancestral temple". (Chang Kwang-chih: *WW*, 1985(2), p.63) The main reason for the transition from the Lung-shan period to the beginning of the Three Dynasties has been proposed by Chang to be the political need for obtaining and maintaining the authority of the ruler. In Chapter Four, we presented different arguments as to what was the real force behind this transition. If our conclusions are correct, then the socio-cultural need, rather than a political one, was the main factor which required the creation of a symbolic Centre mainly for the practice of communicating between the world of gods and the living world.

Therefore, the most important element enclosed by a ditch or a *hang-t'u* wall at Chiang-chai site or P'ing-liang-t'ai site must be the central open space in which the people who resided within the area demarcated by this ditch or wall could communicate with the gods through their shaman (later leader). Although we are far from understanding all the changes which this kind of space underwent from the Lung-shan period to the Three Dynasties on the basis of the archaeological evidence found so far, one thing we can be sure of is that the *hang-t'u* walls were used to enclose the central open space during this transitional period. We have called it the "Great Altar", the collective Centre for some groups of people which had incorporated in the Central Plain. It was a *hang-t'u* earth floor surrounded by *hang-t'u* walls. The walled remains at Wang-ch'eng-kang are probably an example of this
kind of space, although so far we cannot explain why there were two adjacent compounds, in this case, connected together.

In addition to the archaeological evidence which has just been discussed, we can put forward evidence from other fields to explain why, during the transitional period from the Lung-shan period to the Three Dynasties, a collective central space called the "Great Altar" was needed for the collective leader to perform his shamanistic role (as a head wu) in communications between the world of the gods and the living world of his people.

5.3.1. The socio-cultural need for a prime leader

The most ancient and common legend which indicated the existence of a collective prime leader (kung-chu, 共主) was the one describing the transfer of power from the archaic emperor Yao to emperor Yu under the system called shan-jang (禪讓, succession by invitation, translated by Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.120). A number of ancient texts compiled within the period of the fifth to the first century B.C., including the philosophical texts, Lun Yu (論語), Mo Tzu (墨子), Chuan Tzu (莊子), Meng Tzu (孟子), Hsun Tzu (荀子), and Han Fei Tzu (韓非子), the anthologies Kuo Yu (國語), Tso Chuan (左傳), Chang Kuo Tse (戰國策), Lu Shih Chun Chiu (呂氏春秋), and Huai Nan Tzu (淮南子), the historical texts Ku Pen Chu Shu Chi Nien (古癖竹素紀年) and Shih Chi (史記), and the tien-wen (天問) and li-sao (離騷) sections of the Ch’u Tzu (楚辭), refer to these transfers of power repeatedly in a similar form. (Allan: 1981, p.7) Based on the studies of five sets of legends (Yao:Shun :: Shun:Yu :: Yu:Ch’i :: Chieh:T’ang :: Chou:Wu Wang) described in these texts, Allan considers these transfers as a model showing that:

the contradiction between rule by hereditary right and rule by virtue represented an inherent structural conflict, repeatedly expressed and mediated by the legends which surround these crucial periods of Chinese "history". The conflict appears in the texts in various transformations between such figures as heir and sage, king and minister, minister and recluse, regent and rebel; and between such concepts as aristocratic privilege and appointed by merit, and obligation to king and responsibility to the state.
The ruler, who usually achieved his power by heredity, shared it with a prime minister and other officials who were increasingly appointed by merit during this period. (Allan: 1981, p.9)

If, as Allan suggests, the "ancient Chinese philosophers were at least intuitively aware of the (deep) structure and deliberately manipulated the system as a means of expressing political and philosophical ideas" (Ibid., p.123), parts of the accounts of the legends provided by these texts may not be an accurate account of the original systems applied during that time. According to Allan, it is the "changing social patterns in the Warring States period" which made these texts "continually poise and counterpoise these principles of heredity and worth in an attempted resolution of this conflict". (Ibid., p.10)

The key point we need to discuss is whether it is possible to accept Allan's conclusions, "the opposition between heredity and virtue -- 'the heir' versus 'the sage' -- is the key theme of ancient Chinese dynastic legends", as characterising early Chinese history and culture. In other words, whether there was a conflict between the concept of heredity and that of virtue in the selection of an archaic prime leader. It seems not, as we have proposed, in Chapters Three and Four (the appointment of the Shang king and his heir had to correspond to their virtues and talents) and the previous section of this chapter (the similarity amongst the socio-cultural concepts of three main clans). The central idea of these legends seems to be that merit and talent were the only criteria for selecting a leader. Therefore, the difference between the transfer from Shun to Yao and that from Yu to Ch'i which has been interpreted by Allan as having "the conflict between 'virtue and talent' (sage) and heredity (heir)" is basically inadequate.

How could we interpret this change properly? Cooper considers that this change was only within a group of people, the Hsia (Yao, Shun, Yu, and Ch'i were four legendary kings of the Hsia dynasty) (Cooper: BIE 1981(51), p.171), but his views of the transfer from Yu to Ch'i is still similar to Allan's interpretations. Both are the same as the ones recorded in the ancient texts above. Chang Kwang-chih suggests this was a political process

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to rearrange the relationship among the villages: "the vestiges of an ancient system of rotary succession to high office, a system I have reconstructed for the Shang dynasty". (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.122) It is this basic concept, derived from this change, which allows Chang to work out the I-Ting system of the Shang dynasty (Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, pp.176-183) which was similar to the chao-mu system of the Chou dynasty. The core of this reconstruction is that "the Shang society was ruled by a hereditary ruling class, of a single consanguineal origin (the Tzu clan)" (the royal descent group or dynastic descent group, based on Goody's classifications: Succession to High Office, p.26). (Ibid., p.180) This view is very different from Allan's and Cooper's in the distinction between "the hereditary ruling class (a descent group in which the rulership was succeeded by the rotary system through different units of this group)" and "the heredity ruling family (passing the rulership to the leader's physical son)".

As shown in Chapter Four, the ruling class within the Shang clan. This makes it necessary for us to propose a different interpretation of this change. We consider that it represents a shift between two distinct periods of early Chinese history and society: the first period, from Yao to Shun, was a time when some independent groups of people incorporated under a powerful collective prime leader of merit and talent; the second period, from Yu to Ch'i, was a time when these groups were amalgamated into a single group, perhaps largely through inter-marriage, but still under a collective leader of merit and talent. Later, this group of people proclaimed itself as the Hsia clan in which all of the members believed that they were derived from their legendary ancestor, Yu. We believe that this initial model was imitated later by T'ang and T'an-fu to proclaim their peoples as the Shang and Chou clans, respectively.

Therefore, the rotary system applied by these three clans must be derived from the one invented during the period from Yao to Yu. Although the picture remains unclear, we can point out three main features of this form of succession from our interpretations of the
relevant legends: first, the need for a collective prime leader of these united groups, who must be meritorious, virtuous, and capable; second, the process of selecting this leader must be more peaceful than violent and more voluntary than mandatory; third, the selection of the heir was through the system of "trial and error" and the position of the leader was passed to the heir before the death of the leader. According to the legends, when Yao passed his leadership to Shun and Shun passed his leadership to Yu, they were not dead; but only when Yu died was his leadership passed to Ch'i. These three features were the central characteristics of this initial system of succession which gave this system the name shan-jang (shan translated by Allan (1981, p.28) as "abdicate" and jang as "yield or virtually decline").

If we now compare five sets of legends from the ancient texts mentioned previously, there emerge three distinctive patterns for the succession of the collective leader from the Lung-shan period to the beginning of the West Chou dynasty: (1) Yao:Shun :: Shun:Yu; (2) Yu:Ch'i; (3) Chieh:T'ang :: Chou: Wu Wang. The first is one where a collective prime leader, whose position was not for life, who was selected from among different independent groups of people by means of a peaceful process. The second is one where a collective leader, whose position was for life, was selected from a larger group of people by means of a peaceful process which was imitated from the previous system. The third pattern shows the transfer of power from one dynasty to a new dynasty through violent conflict.

This third transfer represents how the exterior alien peoples were amalgamated into a larger group of people, as the Hsia were, by a peaceful process to become a new civilised group of people, and then rose up to defeat the original group of people who dominated the Central Plain so as to become the new dominant people there. The outcome of this kind of violent defeat was ordinarily to disintegrate the original group of people by destroying its centres, its collective leader and their "Great Settlement". Without these centres, the solidarity of a people was weakened, because the force which maintained their ideology had
5.3.2. The role of a prime leader was a head wu (shaman)

In Chapter Three we discussed briefly some issues regarding the role of the Shang king. In this sub-section, we trace in detail the relationship between the ancient king, leader, and the wu (shaman) from the Three Dynasties backwards to demonstrate that the crucial role of an archaic collective prime leader during the transition from the Lung-shan period to the Hsia dynasty was the head wu. The role of a wu, as described below, was related to the duties, such as dances, offerings, and divinations, for communication with the world of gods. Based on this connection, we can realise that the historical background of the need for a central place for the fulfillment of these duties by the head wu can be traced back to a time long before the Three Dynasties.

In ancient China, a wu (ㄨ) was an intermediary used in spirit worship and is described in old texts as expert "in exorcism, prophecy, fortune-telling, rain-making and interpretation of dreams". (Waley: 1950, p.9) Waley connects the Chinese wu with the Siberian and Tunguz shaman: "indeed the functions of Chinese wu were so like those of Siberian and Tunguz shamans that it is convenient (as has indeed been done by Far Eastern and European writers) to use shaman as a translation of wu." (Ibid.) Similarly, according to Eliade, although the wu was not exactly the same as a shaman, the wu still possessed almost all the constituent elements of shamanism: "ascent to heaven, summoning and searching for the soul, incarnation of 'spirits', mastery over fire and other fakiristic exploits, and so on". (Eliade: 1964, p.457) Therefore, the wu could be called the shaman in Western terms.

According to the myth recorded in the ch’u-yu ( 우리의) section of the Kuo Yu (volume 18), the hsi (حياشmans) or wu (ㄨ,shamanesses) ³ in the legends were described as

³ During the East Chou dynasty, the wu was generally a woman.
"those who were refined and without wiles --- moreover, capable of being equable, respectful, sincere and upright; their knowledge, both in its upper and lower ranges, was capable of conforming to righteousness; their wisdom could illumine what was distant with its all-pervading brilliance; their perspicacity could illumine everything" , so "the illustrious spirits (shen, 神) would descend in them". (Fung: 1937, p.23) It continues:

It was through such persons that the regulation of the dwelling places of the spirits, their positions (at the sacrifices), and their order of precedence were effected; it was through them that their sacrifices, sacrificial vessels and seasonal clothing were arranged. --- Thereupon there were officials for Heaven, Earth, spirits, people, and the various creatures, who were called the Five Officials. They had charge over the orderly arrangement of things, so that they should not be mutually confused. This made it possible for the people to be true to themselves and sincere to others, and for the spirits to have illustrious virtue. The people, having their duties differentiated from those of the spirits, were respectful and not unduly familiar. Therefore the spirits conferred prosperous harvest upon them and the people offered things up out of gratitude. Natural calamities did not arrive, and there was an inexhaustible supply of what would be useful. (Ibid., p.24)

From these descriptions, shamans were the wise and skilful persons who possessed powers as intermediaries to communicate between the divine world and the world of the living for the blessings to protect the world of the living, and then establish the order of everything. It was these special powers which allowed the wu to play "a crucial part of every state court", and "as scholars of ancient China agree, the king himself was actually head shaman" during the Three Dynasties. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.45)

This is the reason why the kings and the ancestors of the clan during Three Dynasties were always believed to possess some special powers, the "wise men". For example, "the Great Yu (the founder of Hsia dynasty) was powerful enough to stem the flood in the legend, and T'ang (the founder of the Shang dynasty) made rain through a ceremony". (Ibid.) Similarly, Hou-chi (the legendary ancestor of the Chou dynasty) "had a special ability to make his crops grow fatter and faster than those of other farmers". (Ibid.) An outstanding example was the Yellow Emperor (the ancestor of the Chinese in legend) who "was credited with the invention of the carriage and boat, the bronze mirror, housing, the
cooking pot and the steamer, the crossbow, and a kind of football". (Ibid., p.42)

In addition, the legendary kings who reigned before the Three Dynasties were always the culture heroes. The descriptions in the legends not only, as Chang concludes, provide the crucial clue to understanding the central role of shamanism in ancient Chinese politics (Ibid., p.45), but mainly shows the intimate relationship between the leader and his shamanistic role in archaic society before the Three Dynasties.

The another noteworthy point is that animals played very significant roles in these legends. These included:

being instrumental in the birth of clan ancestors, such as the relationship between the bird and the Shang's clan; being agents and/or messengers of the deities, such as the Phoenix; being divine guardians or protectors of clan ancestors, such as the cattle, sheep, and birds in the poem Sheng Min (生民) in the Book of Odes (詩經), where the birth of Hou-chi, ancestor of Chou, was described; and being companions of ancestors in their ascent to the world of gods, such as the two dragons on which Ch'í (蚩) or Kai rode to meet the Supreme God in person. (Chang Kwang-chih: BIE(16), 1963, p.136)

In the Nine Songs the typical form is this: "first the shaman sees the Spirit descending and goes out to meet it, riding in an equipage sometimes drawn by strange or mythical creatures." (Waley: 1950, p.14) And "Shan Hai Ching, in which references to lung-dragons appear frequently, has been characterised as a book for shamans in the ancient time". (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.65)

Eliade considers this mythical animal to be a common form of the helping spirits who assist the shamans in communicating with the world of spirits. (Eliade: 1964, pp.88-89) In his study "the relations between the shaman and animals and the contribution of animal mythologies to the elaboration of Chinese shamanism" in fact expresses the relation between cosmology and initiation (animal = mythical ancestor = initiator) rather than "the totemism in the mythology and ritual that bound man and animal together". (Ibid., p.459)
Even from these diverse views, it is clear that the role of an early Chinese leader must have been equivalent to the role of a shaman who was the most important and, in fact, only person within a certain group of people who could communicate with the world of spirits and gods. In the following paragraphs, we relate the initial forms of three main shamanistic tools, which remained as main rituals of the Three Dynasties, to the major role of an early Chinese leader for efficiently making this communication, to show that this early leader was actually a shamanistic leader, the head shaman.

(A) Dance (wu, 舞)

In the Nine Songs the wu are described thus: "male and female shamans, having first purified and perfumed themselves and dressed up in gorgeous costumes, sing and dance to the accompaniment of music, driving the gods down from heaven in a sort of divine courtship". (Hawkes: 1959, p.35) Although, as Waley states, "dancing was not invariably a part of their technique" (Waley: 1950, p.9), the above description in the Nine Songs still indicates that in ancient China dance and music were two important ways of inducing the spirits to descend. During the Shang dynasty, according to the oracle bone inscriptions, dance was the most important shamanistic technique in the ceremony of rain-making. It was written as "戈戈" or "戈戈" in the oracle bone inscriptions, which is generally considered as a pictograph to describe a human being waving his or her two sleeves. Ch'en Men-chia suggests that the character of "戈戈" (wu, 舞, shaman) was derived from the character of "戈戈" ( 舞, dance), and concludes that the function of a shaman during the Shang dynasty was mainly to dance in order to induce the spirit to descent to bestow rain; therefore, the dancer could be named wu ( 舞, shaman), the movement of dancer could be called wu ( 舞, dance), and the ceremony of asking for rain could be written as yu ( 雨, rain-making). (Ch'en Meng-chia: 1956, p.600) This description not only indicates that the shaman was a ritual dancer but mainly expresses that the most important role of the shaman was to dance
But this character was written as "" in the bronze inscriptions of the Chou dynasty, which was quite different from the character in the oracle bone inscriptions. What was the meaning of this kind of inscription? If we trace back to some similar, but more pictorial, characters written as "" in the early period of the Chou dynasty (Fig 5.11), they seem to indicate that there was one human with three animals. Thus, from the connection of these characters with the descriptions of the shaman and the dance, it is likely that the earliest form of a dance was of a person with his/her animals during the beginning of the Shang or Chou period. This could be the evidence needed to show the role of animals in assisting the shamans, and also a crucial clue to Eliade’s theories about the relation between the Chinese shaman and the animals. In these bronze inscriptions of the character wu, as above, the symbols of "" and "" were actually the same as the characters ta (大, great) and t’ien (天, heaven) also found in the Chou bronze inscriptions. A comparison of the characters ta and t’ien has been shown in Chapter Three in Table 3.3, which indicates that the pictograph of the central person probably indicates an important person, a shaman, during or before the early period of Shang and Chou dynasties.

The most significant example showing the relationship between the shaman’s dance and animals is the gait of the Great Yu described in the myth, a kind of special dance which was later adopted as a special gait used by shamans. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.45) According to the myth about the relationship between the Great Yu and the bear (熊, hsiung), Eliade considers the gait of Yu as the performance of Yu in the ceremony: "'Yu dressed up as a bear and , in some measure, incarnated the Bear Spirit’; and then connects this with the famous "bear ceremonialism", which is documented in North Asia as well as in North America. (Eliade: 1964, p.458) But in fact, the character of bear (熊) was originally written as "" (neng), which is now generally considered as the erroneous form of the original character "" (lung, dragon) by many Chinese scholars. (Lo Hsiang-lin:
Fig 5.11: Pictographs related to the character wu (dance) in the bronze inscriptions (KKHCK: 1959(1), p.844)
Traditionally, the dragon was the animal which dominated the ancient Chinese myths, and was usually believed to be derived from the character for a snake (蛇, she). Comparing these two characters, it is possible to consider the dragon (龙) as a snake having horns. By this connection, the gait of the Great Yu could be proposed as a form of "snake or dragon dance", which was one of the main rites performed in rain-making, and a principle feature of the religion of the ancient Chinese. (Lou Wing-sou: BIE(4), 1957, p.33) It is no wonder that the dragon had such an important position among the traditional Chinese, "being regarded not only as a mysterious kind of rain-producing animal, but also as a symbol of prosperity and honour". (Ibid., p.34)

Another piece of evidence, which is concerned with the original meaning of the character Hsia (夏, the name of Hsia people), shows that there was a close relationship between the imitation of mythical animals (snake or dragon) and the shaman's dance in the ceremony held by the Hsia. Lo Hsiang-lin proposes that the character of hsia can be considered to be a pictograph describing a shaman who wore a mask to imitate the creeping movement of the mythical animal (the snake or dragon) in order to please the spirits or ancestors in the ceremonies. (Lo Hsiang-lin: CCHP(6), 1973, p.13)

Although the above evidence is mainly based on myths which were written down after the Chou dynasty, the imitation of mythical animals by the shaman must have existed at some time before the Three Dynasties as an essential rite. In Eliade's footnote about "the animal with which the shaman identified himself was already charged with a mythology", there is a lot of evidence to indicate a relationship between the Chinese shamans and the imitative rites. (Eliade: 1964, p.460) This is why Eliade regards this animal not only as a simple mythical animal, but also as the Ancestor or the Demiurge (Initiator).

The reason that the shaman imitated the gait of the mythical animal was also to ensure "an abundance of game and the good luck of the hunters." (Ibid., p.459) To the archaic
society which relied on animal husbandry, hunting, and fishing to supply the protein diet during neolithic times, the imitative rites for success in these pursuits might well have played a crucial role in their ceremonies. Viewed from this angle, the shaman must be a crucial person, a natural leader, in a certain socio-cultural unit, and his imitative ritual dance must be the initial form of the "dragon dance" which was used later in praying for rain.

This imitative dance and its connection with the mythical animal seems very similar to the dance in "Bear Ceremonialism" and its connection with the magic and mythology of the hunt. Therefore, the typical model of this kind of rite seems that the shaman imitated the choreographic steps of the mythical animal, whether wearing the animal skin as a costume or a mask, as if he could be helped by this animal to ascend into the world of gods or to allure the "descent" of the gods into himself, so that he could bring down blessings on the people of this socio-cultural unit. Of course, this imitative dance would be performed with a musical accompaniment.

(B) Offerings

In the myth recorded in Kuo Yu which we mentioned above, it is said that the spirits not only sent down blessings on the people through the shamans, but also accepted the offerings (物, wu) from the people. The sacrificial animals (牲, sheng), the ritual vessels (礼, ch'ü), and the costume (服, fu) were the essential paraphernalia for the shamans' performance in the rites which enabled the people to communicate with the world of gods. We have already seen how the costume worn by the shamans is linked to the dances which they performed, that is, how the wearing of skin was linked to the movements imitating mythical animals. Here, we will try to interpret the relationships between the offerings, the sacrificial animals, and the ritual vessels.

Based on the records in the Tso Chuan and Kuo Yu, Chang Kwang-chih considers that
the meaning of wu (勿) was not "objects" but "animal offerings", or "animal help in heaven-earth crossings", or "animals with power", or even equivalent with "the sacrificial animals (騭, sheng) which had the power to help the shamans and shamanesses in their communication task." (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, pp.64-65) Why did this animal play such a powerful part in the sacrifices? Because, according to Chang, "one of the common ways of summoning the shaman's animal familiar is to offer such animals for sacrifice, from those bodies the animal spirits are released and undertake their ascent". (Ibid., p.69) The basis of his view is mainly derived from Eliade's statements about the relation between sacrifices and the invoking of spirits:

The shaman invokes them, and the gods, demigods, and spirits arrive—just as the Vedic divinities descend and attend the priest when he invokes them during the sacrifice. The shamans also have divinities peculiar to them, unknown to the rest of the people, and to whom they alone offer sacrifices. (Eliade: 1964, p.88)

From this, we can see that the initial purpose of sacrificing the animal as the sheng in the ceremonies was to assist the shaman in his communication between the two worlds. Later, this performance was changed into only a part of the main offerings presented to gods. The powerful mythical animal was then inscribed on the surface of the ritual bronzes as if it could still help the leader (the shaman) to achieve communication.

As mentioned above, the vessel was another instrument for the shamanistic performances in the ceremonies, but during the Three Dynasties this kind of vessel was usually made from bronze. According to Jung Keng, these vessels can be classified into four types: food vessels, wine vessels, water vessels and miscellaneous containers, and musical instruments. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.101) (Fig 5.12) Chang believes that they were clear and powerful symbols during their time:

They were symbols of wealth because they were wealth and possessed the aura of wealth; they were symbols of the all-important ritual that gave their owner access to the ancestors; and they were symbols of the control of metal, which meant control of exclusive access to the ancestors and to political authority. (Ibid., p.97)
Fig 5.12: The principal varieties of ancient Chinese bronze ritual vessels for food and drink (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.102)
Despite the functions of politics and wealth which we have discussed in Chapter Four, the most significant meaning of these ritual bronzes concerns communications with ancestral spirits (though we would consider it to have been the world of gods) as shown by the animal motifs and the inscriptions decorated on the outside and inside of the vessels.

The animal motif was the representation of the animal assistant and the inscription was the representation of the divinations which will be discussed later. The animal motifs for the ritual bronzes were generally classified into two groups: the common animals which the ancient Chinese knew in everyday life, such as deer, ox, buffalo, goat, etc., and the mythical animals, such as tao-t’ieh (饕餮), fei-yi, kuei (夔), and lung (龍). (Fig 5.13) (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983,pp.57-9) According to Li Chi, the animals of the latter group were apparently derived from the transformation of naturalistic prototypes in the former group, which were ordinarily used for sacrificial purposes in the rites. (Ibid.,pp.70-72) Wen Yi-to even declares that the lung (dragon) was the common pattern of the mythical creatures, because the form of the lung was so flexible and varied. (Ibid., p.59)

Could the presence of pottery bearing animal motifs during neolithic times be connected with the significance of the ritual bronzes bearing animal motifs? From the pottery discovered all over the Yang-shao sites, it is obvious that there were two distinct groups of pottery used in daily life: painted and unpainted. The decorated pattern on the outside or insider of the painted pottery was, according to the evidence, generally dominated by animal motifs and the geometric figurations of their mutations. For instance, the figures found on the painted pots of Pan-p’o type were predominantly fish motifs and their mutations, but some of them were connected with other animal motifs, such as deer; and those of Miao-ti-kou type predominantly featured bird and plant motifs and the combined patterns of their mutations. (Fig 5.14)

As for the use of ceramic material and their decorations, the pots of Ma-chia-yao type
Fig 5.13: Mythical animals in Shang bronze decorative designs
(Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.58)
Fig 5.14: The stylistic evolution from the zoomorphic bird and plant to its mutations in Miao-ti-ko pottery
from the Lung-shan period were also divided into two kinds: the *chia-sha* (茭砂) pottery which was used for general utensils, and the *hsi-hung* (細紅) painted pottery for ritual vessels. Among these, the most interesting one is a painted bowl (Fig 5.15, 2(9)), which shows the figures of some dancers, probably indicating the collective dance in the ceremonies. Following these interpretations, Sato Masahiko rejects the assumption that some abstract patterns are to be regarded as the symbols of funeral rites, but considers them rather to have some special ritual meaning. (Sato: 1981, p.5) Chang Kwang-chih even connects some of them to the female symbol, possibly indicating the symbolism of fishing and hunting fertility rites. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978, p.110)

Under these circumstances, the special pottery might have been used as the ritual vessels for offerings in the ceremonies for communication between the two worlds. The extraordinary one, showing two human faces with the fish design at each ear and two other fishes, could be considered as a special ritual vessel, pointing out the presence of shamans and their familiar or helping animals. (Fig 5.16)

(C) Divination

As argued in Chapter Three, divinations were the central interest of the Shang clan, because the act of divining itself was the main outcome of the basic need to communicate with the world of gods. This act involved a series of many different tasks, such as the initial inquiry, the act of divining with bones and shells, the reading of the cracks and prognosticating, and the engraving of the inscriptions. Many different specialists were, therefore, involved in this act and the Shang king was the head of these persons. If these specialists were equivalent to the ancient *wu* before the Shang dynasty, the Shang king was, then, naturally the head of those shamans.

According to the *i-wen-chih* (*the catalogue of the Imperial Han dynasty library*,
Fig 5.15: Stylistic motifs and their evolution from the zoomorphic bird to its mutations, the counter-clockwise spiral in Ma-chia-yao pottery
Fig 5.16: Zoomorphic figures of fish and their evolutionary stages in major Pan-p'o designs (KKHCK: 1963, pp.168, 180 & 183)
(祭文) in the Chien Han Shu (前漢書), the arts of divination (shu-shu, 祭數) were described to be initiated by the archaic sages and then predominated during the East Chou dynasty. (Fung: 1937, p.26) These ancient arts of divination were classified during the Han dynasty into six types: Astrology (t'ien-wen), Almanacs (li-p'u), Five Elements (wu-hsing), Divination by Plant and Tortoise Shell (shih-kuei), Miscellaneous Divinations (tsa-chan), and System of Forms (hsing-fa), and originally "all supervised by the historian-diviners, Hsi and Ho, of the Ming T'ang palace". (Ibid.) Connecting these descriptions with the divinations shown in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions, the root of the act of divining was closely related to the role of the ancient shaman.

But how can we be sure that divination was practised before the Three Dynasties? Except for the myths about archaic wu during the East Chou dynasty, only two types of archaeological evidence are available which can indirectly demonstrate that the act of divining existed before the Three Dynasties: bones and shells used for divining and the records in writing. Why indirectly? Because there is no direct evidence, like the Shang oracle bone inscriptions, showing the records of divinations written on the bones or shells. Evidence has been found dating from the Lung-shan period showing a strong indication that scapulimancy was one of the characteristic features of daily life in the village during that time, suggesting "the appearance of specialised groups of diviners and of a pyromantic theology associated, in all possibility, with ancestor worship". (Keightley: 1978, p.3) We consider rather that this pyromantic theology was associated with the communications between the world of gods and the living world. As Fung Yu-lan states: "the belief was common among the ancient Chinese that a close mutual influence existed between things in the physical universe and human affairs; therefore, all sorts of divination methods were used, through which, by observing noteworthy natural phenomena, future misfortune or prosperity could be predicted". (Fung: 1937, p.26) From a sacred or religious view, this mutual influence was rather that between the world of gods and the living world. The scapulimantic remains
in the neolithic sites in China have been used to suggest that the act of divining "was first practiced by the Neolithic inhabitants of North China on the bones of deer, sheep, pigs, and cattle". (Keightley: 1978, p.3)

The second type of evidence, the record-writing, has been shown by the earlier forms of Chinese characters in the form of "pottery inscriptions, graphs, or marks", examples of which have been found to date from a wide range of points in time throughout the whole neolithic period. (Keightley: 1983, pp.323-391) Chang Kwang-chih considers some or most of these inscriptions as marks or emblems of "kin groups invested with political and religious power", from which the writing (or at least some of the writing) of ancient China was possibly derived. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.86) The reason that Chang considers that the writing was so powerful is that "the power of the written word came from its association with knowledge -- knowledge from the ancestors, with whom the living communicated through writing; which is to say, knowledge from the past, whose wisdom was revealed through its medium". (Ibid., p.88)

Based on this, we consider that writing was used as an important medium of knowledge passed on by the ancestors but only for communications between the gods and the living. The only person who could obtain this knowledge was the leader (or shaman) from the deceased leader (or shaman) of a certain group of people. Although this does not prove Chang's suggestions regarding the origin of Chinese writing, it is certain that there must have been a long period during which writing was applied to the recording of the divination records before the Shang dynasty.
5.4. CONCLUSIONS

The studies in Chapters Three and Four provided us with an indication of the need for the construction of a collective centre which corresponded to the organising of different tsu (族, sub-clan) into a clan from which the king was collectively selected. The present Chapter has traced the origins of this need: the symbolism of the shih-shih (社稷) of the Hsia people and its origins during the transitional period from the Lung-shan period to the Hsia dynasty.

It has been suggested that the earliest sacred building was the symbolic Centre whose architectural form was a building without walls called shih (社), an idea shared by three peoples each proclaiming itself as a different clan. According to two walled compounds found during the Hsia dynasty, the form and plan of this symbolic Centre might be not only a building, but a walled compound, having a south gate with a pair of gatehouses, in which a rectangular freestanding building without walls was erected at the north of the courtyard. As suggested in Chapter Three, this shih (社) was a hall for divination, observing celestial phenomena, and counselling.

In order to trace the socio-cultural meaning behind the idea of planning this walled compound, we correlated its orientation with the orientation of the leader who faced south, and then with the socio-cultural need for a prime leader according to the legends about the selection of this leader (kung-chu, 主) by the system of rotary succession (shan-jang, 禪讓, succession by invitation) when a number of groups of people who settled down in the Central Plain incorporated together. Based on these correlations, we suggested that this symbolic Centre might have been erected as a walled open space with a south gate which was planned on the basis of the orientation of the leader who occupied the north position within the walled compound. This indicated that this Centre was laid out as a terrestrial image of the cosmos, an orderly plan involving cardinal axially and orientation, and as a
In any case, the fact that the northern freestanding rectangular building was added later by the Hsia people in the position originally occupied by the leader suggests that this building without walls was only a subordinate space within the Centre while the central open space was for communications with the world of gods through the leader. This leader has been shown to have been a head wu ( Âu, shaman) who employed his shamanistic skills within the central open space, using dances, offerings, and divination.

Perhaps because of the pre-eminent position of the leader within the Hsia clan, who was the only person able to fulfil the duty of communications with the Supreme God and other aspects of managing the affairs of the clan, once a residence was built for him it would have been possible to simply copy the same idea as in constructing a walled compound, except for its northern building which had rooms partitioned by wattle-and-daub walls.

This Chapter is very important in tracing the origins of Chinese traditional architecture, because it provides evidence of how and why the earliest walled compound was erected as a typical built form during the Hsia dynasty: (1) this compound was built as a collective effort by the Hsia people; (2) it was built for communications with the God or gods; (3) it was built as a walled compound with a south gate and in which a freestanding rectangular building was erected at the north as a subordinate space, because this building was not for the people's God or gods, unlike the temples of other ancient civilisations.

In reviewing the arguments presented in this Chapter, we should acknowledge a number of criticisms which could be made of some of the interpretations:

(1) There are no remains which can directly show that a walled open space with a south gate ("Great Altar") was collectively built as a Centre for a number of groups of people who
incorporated together. The significant south gate with a pair of gatehouses found in P'ing-liang-t'ai site is the only piece of direct evidence for our speculations of the possible ways of constructing a Centre from the Lung-shan period to the beginning of the Hsia dynasty. The other evidence is indirect, including correlations between the four Chinese terms of the orientation and the orientation of the leader who faced south, between the legends about the selection of the collective leader by the system of rotary succession and the need for this leader, and between the role of this leader and the skills required of an archaic shaman as portrayed in the legends. In addition, we do not know why the leader must have occupied the north position within the walled Centre and faced south. Of course, the arguments for the existence of such walled open spaces will be strengthened by the discussion in the next Chapter of the open space, the initial form of a neolithic Centre.

(2) The remains of two Hsia walled compounds which might share a similar idea led to speculations about the intentions behind constructing a Centre during that time. It is not necessary to believe that this Centre must have been built only at a fixed place, but rather that it might have been based on a strong archetypal principle repeatedly manifested in different buildings. The correlation between the location of the rectangular building, the position of the leader and his orientation, and the function and built form of the earliest sacred building in the legends is the only indirect evidence for our reconstruction of the possible development of the walled open space ("Great Altar"). Although this reconstruction must remain as speculation, the possibility of the connection which we have outlined must be seriously considered.

Although different interpretations may be possible on the basis of existing evidence, and new evidence might have a significant effect on any interpretation, the need remains to fit any conclusions about the nature and use of the central buildings and spaces in this period into the whole picture of development from the Lung-shan period to the Hsia dynasty. In terms of the present proposals, this is attempted in Chapter Eight.
In the next Chapter, we will demonstrate that the open space, which was the initial form of a neolithic Centre, was the original form of what came to be the Centre of a territory during the Three Dynasties.
CHAPTER SIX: THE INITIAL FORMS OF A NEOLITHIC CENTRE

If, as we suggested in Chapter Five, the open space was the original form of the Centre of a territory during the Three Dynasties, why is it that the written forms of the character she ( " or " ) used during that time do not actually reflect this open space (or altar) at all? Is it possible that these written forms were derived from symbols for the Supreme God and the mythological ancestors, which were supposedly erected at the centre of this space? This Chapter, then, traces the initial form of a neolithic Centre in order to find out why the need for a Centre was so great to the neolithic Chinese settlement.

First, we examine the meaning of the character she ( " or " ) used by the people of the Three Dynasties and then trace its original forms. Second, connecting the symbolism of the character she with the symbol ( " or " ) within the character i ( " or " ), we suggest that the she actually indicated a Centre, the dominant space in the formation of an early Chinese neolithic settlement. Then, based on the archaeological remains of three neolithic settlements, we connect the significance of the symbol " with the spatial pattern of these settlements, as indicated by their remains, to show that the initial form of a Centre was an enclosed circle.

There is no fundamental difference between an open space marked by the central symbol(s) and an open space enclosed by many individual houses: both formed a centralised circular space, a Centre for communication with the world of the gods.

6.1. THE MEANING OF THE CHARACTER SHE AND ITS ORIGINAL ARCHITECTURAL FORMS

The character she in the oracle bone inscriptions has been given many interpretations, each of which falls into one of three meanings in normal use during the Shang period: (a) the god of land or soil, (b) the altar, and (c) the name of a place, district, or territory.
(Ch'en Meng-chia: 1956, pp.582-4) It was written in different ways in different times: △ or △, but occasionally 丅 and △, in Shang times; △ or △ in Chou times; and 丅 after the Han dynasty. According to the Shuo Wen Chieh Tzu (說文解字, a dictionary edited in the Han dynasty), it was interpreted as a character indicating the land in which everything grows (吐生萬物者): 丅 symbolises the place under or in the ground and | symbolises the thing which grows. In fact, according to the Chou Li, it had been linked with the land during East Chou times.

Wang Kuo-wei was the first to interpret the pictographic meaning of this character on the basis of the sentences recorded in the oracle bone inscriptions. His interpretations, @ as a bulk of soil and — as the ground, are influenced by the traditional meaning connected with the "land". Ch'en Meng-chia has a similar interpretation: @ symbolises the shape of the soil. (Ch'en Meng-chia: 1956, p.583) But Kuo Mo-jo and Karlgren connect it with phallicism, regarding this character as the symbol of the male genital organ in the same way as in the symbol of tsu (亜, ancestor). (Kuo: 1919, pp.9-10 & Karlgren: 1930, pp.19-20.) Based on this idea, Ling Shun-sheng considers that the characters 亜 and 亜 for ancestor were in fact derived from the characters △ and △ for t'u or she, by comparing the pictographic forms of these characters, and that the forms of △ and △ were symbols of the male organ, and those of △ and △ were symbols of the female organ. (Ling: BIE(7), 1959, pp.147-9) ¹

Ling's views on she were based on the archaeological evidence with the interpretation that the "female and male monolith type" and the "dolmen and menhir type", were the symbols for male and female organs respectively. (Ling: BIE(8), 1959, pp.33-5) This kind of interpretation has been regarded as "picturesque obscenities of the old allegories, the phallic attributes of the standing stone, the dolmen with its hidden chamber as emblematic of the

¹ In other traditions - e.g. India - the triangle representing the female organ is always with the point down △.
womb". (Michell: 1974, p.19) But they are widely considered to be two symbols of the sacred union which is relevant to the relation between the earth and sky, bride and bridegroom in the mythological sacred marriage, metaphysically similar to the concept of Yin and Yang in China, especially in Taoism. ²

From a study of megaliths found around the world, structures built of large stones (usually set upright in the earth) have so far been classified into three types:

(1) the menhir (from Breton men- set vertically into the ground; (2) the cromlech (from crom- 'circle, curve', and lech- 'place'), which designates a group of menhirs, set in circle or half-circle (the most monumental is the cromlech of Stonehenge, near Salisbury); sometimes the menhirs are aligned in several parallel rows, as at Carnac in Brittany; (3) the dolmen (dol- 'table' and men- 'stone') is made up of an immense capstone supported by several upright stones arranged to form a sort of enclosure or chamber. Originally the dolmen was covered by a mound. (Eliade: 1978 vol.1, pp.114-5)

In China, this kind of structure has been found at sites in the northeastern area, such as the peninsula of Shan-tung and Liao-tung, and in the southeastern area, for instance in Taiwan. (Ling: BIE(8), 1959, p.34) One recently found at Ch'iui-wan in the north of Chiang-su province is most significant, because the relationship between the megalith and the ceremonies held there is very clear. This area, where there are four natural stones (the biggest one is 0.22 x 0.23 x 1.0 metre), is located just south of the residential area. It is said that this space was a ceremonial place used by one of the I (夷) people during the Late Shang era, because these four natural stones were surrounded by many graves in which the remains of sacrificial victims were found -- the bones of humans and dogs. The centrality of this place is obvious from the orientation of each burial as shown in Fig 6.1. (KK: 1973(2), pp.71-9) The area of this site is estimated at around 75 square metres. Because the surface of its floor is constructed with yellow soil and is quite firm, it has been supposed that this floor must have been deliberately pounded.

² In other traditions, such as Tantric Hinduism or Tibetan Buddhism, there are also similarly elevated philosophies and explicit images.
Fig 6.1: The archaeological remains of a *she* in Ch’iu-wan during the Shang dynasty. (KK: 1973(2), p.77)
According to the excavation report, these central stones were the central sacred symbols erected by the people who settled down in the surrounding area. Bringing this archaeological evidence together with the historical records, this custom seemed to strongly prevail around the area where the I (憙) people settled down on the east of the Central Plain. It was argued in Chapter Five that the Shang people could be one group of this I people before it defeated the Hsia clan and migrated from the north-east to the Central Plain. If so, the character she used by the Shang people seems to symbolise a stone symbol erected in the pounded ground.

But this was not the only way that the archaic Chinese marked their central place, she. According to the ch'i-su-hsun (禮俗訓) section in the Huai Nan Tzu (淮南子), the myth about the she indicates three different ways of marking this central place:

In the sacrificial rite under the rule of Yu Yu (禹, the clan name of mythological leader Shun, 宋), the she was made with earth (t'u she, 社); under the reign of Hsia Hou (夏后, Lords of Hsia), the she was formed by planting a pine tree; the stone she was used by the Yin people (Shang people); and the she of Chou was formed by planting a chestnut tree. (Ling: BIE(17), 1964, p.40)

It is impossible to understand the origin of this she simply from this description, but two important points can be discussed here. First, connecting the evidence for the she of the Hsia and Chou dynasties with the character she recorded in the bronze inscriptions of the Chou, the statement seems to indicate that the pictograph of this character (ôtel) was intended to resemble a tree rather than a stone. The symbolic significance of the sacred tree to the Hsia and Chou clans was similar to that of the sacred stone to the Shang clan. This is why it was said that the sacred tree, or sometimes a wood, was always the necessary setting for the construction of a she (or an altar) during the Three Dynasties. It can, therefore, be understood how the pictograph of the character she (窪 or ） was not equivalent to the architectural form of the she (a multi-stepped platform) erected during the Three Dynasties. The pictograph (窪 or ） which represented a central stone or tree can be regarded as the more original, or more primitive, architectural form of a she.
Second, the archaeological evidence, showing that these two kinds of she existed simultaneously during the Late Shang era, not only shows the difference in construction between the stepped platform erected on the central area (more developed) and the central stone erected on its surrounding area (less developed), but also displays the changes of the spatial form of the she from its original form (נים or 亃) to an earth stepped platform.

The description from the Huai Nan Tzu which was quoted above shows that the Hsia, Shang, and Chou clans must have shared the same idea of erecting a Centre which was marked by a central symbol. But what was the form of this Centre made by earth during the reign of Shun, based on the description in the same myth? Is it possible that this area of pounded earth was a stepped platform, like the one erected during the Three Dynasties? According to the traditional myths in the Shan Hai Ching (山海经), this kind of setting is described as the t'ai (壇) or the ch'i'u (丘) designated for the archaic Chinese legendary emperors:

(a) The stone on the ti-t'ai was used in praying to the hundred gods, and ti-t'ai therefore served for offering wine to the hundred gods. (Chung-shan-ching 中山经 section) (b) The ti-yao-t'ai (帝尧台, Emperor Yao t'ai), ti-ku-t'ai (帝喾台, Emperor Ku t'ai), ti-tan-chu-t'ai (帝顓啓台, Emperor Tan-chu t'ai), and ti-shun-t'ai (帝舜台, Emperor Shun t'ai) each consisted of two t'ai, square in shape, located northeast of the Kun-lun (崑崙). (Hai-nei-pei-ching 海内北經 section) (c) The t'ai dedicated to many Ti was located to the north of the Kun-lun. The t'ai of Kung-kung (3.5m) was located to its east and square in form. (Hai-wai-pei-ching 海外北經 section) (d) Many Ti (emperors) thus built t'ai structure there to the north of Kun-lun. (Ta-huang-pei-ching 大荒北經 section) (e) the ch'i'u of Hsuan Yuan was square in shape. (Hai-wai-hsi-ching 海外西經 section) (f) the t'ai of Hsuan Yuan. (Ta-huang-hsi-ching 大荒西經 section) (Ling: BIE(19), 1965, pp.40-1)

It is hard to know what was its exact form simply from these descriptions, but we consider that this setting was a kind of mound (chung 堆) rather than an artificial platform, simply according to the synonymity between the meanings of the characters chung and ch'i'u.

There are two main questions which still need to be answered: (a) What was the function and meaning of "erecting a stone or a tree in the ground" or "erecting a mound on the ground"? (b) How was the idea of "erecting a platform on the ground" generated and why
was this form used predominantly for the worship of the gods of heaven and earth by the ancient Chinese from the Chou dynasty onwards?

Western research devoted to the study of the megalith has attributed a variety of functions and meanings to these stone monuments. Some examples have been connected with astronomical functions, for example Stonehenge which has been widely considered as a solar observatory. (Renfrew: 1984, p.222) Some have been excavated by archaeologists and human remains have frequently been found; then one, the dolmen or mound, is usually considered as the burial place, connected with "a very important cult of the dead" (Eliade: 1979,vol.1, p.115) or "an ancestral resting place" (Renfrew: 1984, p.176). The monoliths have also been discussed by "students of sacred geometry, and ancient science concerned with the mathematical relationship and harmonics which underlie the whole universe, and which express the laws of its function, from the largest scale, the macrocosms - to the smallest, the microcosm." (Service: 1979, p.31) In addition, they have been linked with a worldwide form of geomancy, regarded as "the centre of magnetism and underground water, presumably of therapeutic value in the past". (Michell: 1974, p.26) Further, they have sometimes been linked with the legends of the magical character, "as giving health and fertility, as marking scenes of mythological events, the abodes of heroes and local deities, the haunts of spirits." (Ibid, p.19) 3 Apart from these, as Renfrew concludes, although "their function and meaning could have been entirely different in different areas", they all commonly "functioned as territorial markers for segmentary societies":

Whether or not its use is linked with the disposal of the dead, or with communal feasting, or with ceremonial gift exchange or with any of the other rituals and symbolic acts of many communities, the prime territorial marker in many human societies has a significance by virtue of its symbolism which is not a feature of territorial markers of the territories of other species. In some societies the central focus is a special natural feature of the territory which has a particular significance - a spring, perhaps,

3 Although efforts have been made to demonstrate these two kinds of links, there seems to be little sound evidence for these views.
or a grove. But in other segmentary societies the central place is given added significance by marking it in some special way. A clearing may be kept clear of vegetation, or enclosed. Wooden posts or other striking symbols may be created. And in some cases stones are heaped together to form a cairn. In societies whose membership is defined by kinship, the ancestors have a special significance, and they may in fact be buried at this special place. (Renfrew: 1984, pp.178-180)

Based on the comparisons of these kinds of settings between China and the West during neolithic times, the similarity in the construction of a Centre, in spite of differences, suggests a similar symbolic need. Tracing backwards from the functions of the shih-shih (世室) of the Hsia dynasty, this need must have been strongly felt. But what was the initial function of this central space? In the archaic Chinese case, we consider that this central place, whichever way it was constructed, was erected not only as a strong symbol of territorial identity, in the way Renfrew suggests, but mainly as a pre- eminent place for the communication between a group of people and their god(s). Through this communication, they were convinced that they could obtain help from their god(s) to maintain, or improve, their life. In order to achieve a successful communication and obtain signs from the god(s), many devices and rituals were then applied and developed within this symbolic Centre by this group of people.

In some societies, the people used the symbol within this Centre, as some European neolithic people used their gigantic and well-organised stones, for observing the celestial signs. Later, the knowledge gleaned from these observations was the basis on which many scholars concluded that the main function of the Centre was an astronomical one. In fact, the ancient Chinese lunar calendar had been developed in the Central Plain where no large or organised arrangement of stones have been discovered. This suggests that astronomical observations were not the initial reason for the archaic Chinese people to erect the central symbol within the central space, although evidence about the most ancient Chinese astronomical instrument (a wooden pole) ⁴ still suggests the possibility that this symbol is

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⁴ The most ancient of all astronomical instruments, at least in China, was the simple vertical pole. With this one could measure the length of the sun’s shadow by day to determine the solstices (called chih, 季, from
connected with a post used by the people before the Shang dynasty.

In some societies, the people buried important members (probably their leaders or chiefs) in this kind of central place, to bind "the ancestral spirits (the deceased chiefs) and gods of the kindred to the land, putting it under their eternal guardianship". (Emory: 1947, p.20) But the neolithic archaeological site where stones were erected on the north of Chiang-su province in China indicate that this Centre was not a cemetery but rather a ceremonial place. The separation between the cemetery and the ceremonial place can be traced back to the middle of Yang-shao times, a point which we will discuss later in this chapter. Even during the Shang dynasty, this separation can be clearly shown by the different archaeological sites for the royal cemeteries of the deceased kings (the male ancestors) at Hsi-pei-kang and for the ancestral temple within the central complex at Hsiao-t'ün. The stones erected in the ground which marked a central place had more to do with the need to communicate with the world of gods than with the world of the dead in archaic China.

The function and meaning of the symbol " chá " in relation to fertility are clearly indicated by its use in Shang times as the god of land or soil who could transmit people's prayers to the Supreme God, whose blessings would ensure a good harvest year. For the archaic Chinese who did not yet have an ancestral temple or multi-stepped platform, the place marked by the central symbol must have been the only place for them to ask the gods to make their land fertile and abundant in production of crops and livestock and to assure that their own race multiplied. This is why, as Eliade states, "the fertility of the earth is bound up with feminine fecundity; hence women become responsible for the abundance of harvests, for they know the 'mystery' of creation". (Eliade: 1979, p.40) The emphasis on

Shang times until now), and the transits of stars by night to observe the revolution of the sidereal year. It was called pei (青) or piao (缥), the meaning of the former being essentially a post or pillar, and the later an indicator." (Needham: 1959, p.284)
women and the land (or earth, soil) was not because they were regarded as god(s), but because of their analogous fertility. Since the cyclical phenomena of sun, moon, and stars were considered to be ensured by gods, the central mystery of the cosmic religion of the agrarian culture, "the periodical renewal of the world", seems to be connected closely to the periodical events controlled by the gods. This influenced "the mystery of birth, death, and rebirth identified in the rhythm of vegetation" (Eliade: 1979, p.40), because the fecundity of women and the fertility of land were concerned with the cycle of "birth, death, and rebirth", the continuity of reproduction or recreation.

It seems, then, that the meaning contained in the character she (.tencent) used during the Shang dynasty suggests that its original form was a central place which was specially firmly pounded and then marked by central stone(s). It is natural to apply this interpretation to the character " standing", "erecting a tree in the ground", used by the Hsia and Chou people. The symbolism of this sacred tree has been interpreted by Eliade to connect with the symbolism of the central axis, such as a pillar, post, or pole etc., of the world. This axis mundi symbolises the connection of the three cosmic zones, sky, earth, and underworld:

this axis, of course, passes through an 'opening', a 'hole'; it is through this hole that the gods descend to earth and the dead to the subterranean regions; it is through the same hole that the soul of the shaman in ecstasy can fly up or down in the course of his celestial or infernal journeys. (Eliade: 1964, p.259)

In addition, as Eliade also suggests, this axis mundi represents "the universe in continual regeneration, the inexhaustible spring of cosmic life, the paramount reservoir of the sacred" and expresses "the sacrality of the world, its fertility and perenniality, related to the idea of creation, fecundity, and initiation, and finally to the ideas of absolute reality and immortality". (Ibid., p.271)

From these, we can see how symbolic the axis mundi was related to shamanism, especially in Central and North Asia. We presented the main evidence about the Chinese pre-traditional shamanism in the previous chapter, sub-section 5.3.2., but there is no conclusion
that this symbolic tree played an important role in archaic Chinese shamanism. In interpreting the meaning of China's most ancient pottery patterns (Fig 6.2), Bulling provides us with abundant evidence for this connection from neolithic times to the Han dynasty, although he only connects the symbolism of the tree with the anthropomorphic figures. This tree has also been connected with a cosmic tree: a kind of "hollow tree" (kung-mu 茂木), "mulberry tree" (fu-sang 扶桑), "Jewel trees or Jo tree of Jade" (jo-mu 若木), "Phoenix tree" (wu-tung 植桐), and "Calendar tree" (li-mu 朁木). (Bulling: 1952, pp.99-102) The anthropomorphic figure has been interpreted as "a masked dancer with the squatting position" (Fig 6.3b) and "mythical birds accompanied poets (shamans) on their cosmic journey" (Fig 6.3c-e). (Ibid., pp.94, 96-8) If, correlating these with Eliade's connections between the sacred tree and the shaman's journey quoted above, we can interpret these as evidence for the symbolic connection between the pre-traditional Chinese central tree and their shamanistic figure in the course of his celestial journeys, like a Phoenix flying in the sky.

Therefore, the archaic Chinese seem to have placed more emphasis upon the relationship between their living world and their celestial gods than between themselves and the world of the dead in this central place where a stone or tree was erected. The stone or tree marked the axis of communication between the world of their gods and themselves. Correlating tree-rites to constellation-myths and god-conceptions in China, Bulling gives us "a short general survey of the relationship of constellation to trees and pillars and to gods and goddesses", which outlines the range of ideas connected with trees, constellations, and gods, and then shows the foundation on which god-conceptions were based in China. (Ibid., p.109)

Based on this, it is likely that early Chinese ideas of their gods and of their cosmos must have been developed from the those behind the symbolism of the axis mundi and its socio-cultural meaning. These concepts must have been fully established before the Three Dynasties and then developed later into different concepts during the Three Dynasties: the
Fig 6.2: Tree and anthropomorphic patterns on the neolithic pottery
(Bulling: 1952, pp.90-3)
Fig. 6.3: Tree and anthropomorphic patterns on pottery, bronzes and sculptured stones during the Shang period and the Han period (Bulling: 1952, pp. 94, 96-8)
Supreme God (shih, 上) and the legendary ancestors (tsu, 祖) of the Hsia dynasty; the Supreme God (ti, 天), the inferior gods, the mythological ancestors, and ancestors (the deceased chiefs or kings) (tsu, 祖 for individual ancestor and shih, 上 for a group of ancestors) of the Shang dynasty; and the gods of Heaven (t'ien, 天) (including the Supreme God, shang-ti, 上帝, and inferior gods, pai-shen, 百神) and Earth (ti, 地) and the ancestors (tsu, 祖) of the Chou dynasty, and even the concept of Yang (陽) and Yin (陰) of the East Chou dynasty. From the viewpoint of etymology, it is quite possible that the character shih (上 or 上) for the god (later for a group of ancestors) was derived from the pictograph of stone or tree (⊙, 木, or 木) within the character she (亝, 祀, or 上).

The one-stepped form of the altar has been traced by Pierre Amiet as the forerunner of the multi-stepped altar, and then of the so-called artificial mountain- the ziggurat in Mesopotamia, the pyramid in Egypt, the temple mountain in India, and also in Mesoamerica. (Giedion: 1964, p.217) The urge toward the vertical was connected with the concept of the Cosmic Mountain which was deeply rooted in the religious beliefs of these peoples. There is no evidence to connect the expression of the shaman's journey and the cosmic tree with the image of the sacred mountain. In the Chinese case, at least from the evidence we have of China before the Han dynasty, the form of the multi-stepped platform (altar) was not based on this urge to imitate the mountain in order to reach the summit of the world. Although it is evident in records that the urge toward the vertical was expressed in the construction of the high and wide platform for the palace or temple after the end of Chou dynasty, especially during the Han dynasty (Ling: BIE(19), 1965, pp.30-2), it is hard to compare the scale of this kind of construction with that of the artificial mountain formed by other ancient civilisations.

Compared to the erection of the "Great Altar" in the Central Plain during the Lungshan period, the initial form of the Chinese altar was only an open space enclosed by
hang-t'u walls, and later whose floor was pounded into a hard surface. It is possible that this was the first form of the ancient Chinese one-stepped altar where the symbol was probably still erected. The construction of a mound or erection of a sacred stone or tree in or on an open pounded ground were the different ways the various archaic Chinese groups constructed their own sacred place. They were each the sacred place where a group of people presented their offerings to their celestial gods by way of various performances of their shaman (the leader later) in order to obtain blessings. All of these efforts were made mainly for the welfare of the world of the living rather than of the dead. Without this place, the passage of communications between the two worlds would be broken, and then the continuity of the living world would be destroyed.

6.2. THE SYMBOLISM OF THE CENTRAL PLACE, SHE, WITHIN THE CHARACTER I ( 如, A SETTLEMENT)

From our discussions of the original meaning of the character she used during the Shang period, the original form of a she was only a central open space for the communication with the gods which was so important to the settlement. By connecting this with the character i ( 如 ) used to indicate a basic unit of the Shang territory (a village or a hamlet), we conclude that the pictograph ( 上 or 下 ) within the character i must indicate a kind of central place similar to that marked by the symbol ( 上 or 下 ) of the character she.

In the Tso Chuan, it is said that the character i used during the Spring and Autumn period expressed a village (hamlet) which included the hall of every family (chia-shih, 家室 ), the cultivated field (t'ien, 田 ), even the rural area (pi, 部 ). (Hou: 1979, pp.70-1) The common terms which used this character at that time were ch'eng-i ( 成色 ) and tu-i ( 部色 ), indicating a city and the capital of a state respectively. This connection not only indicates that the city or the capital was the centre dominating the territorial areas, including many small i which surrounded it, but also shows the intimate relationship between the i
and the formation of a city or capital of a state. The contents of  in that time in fact were very different from the contents this same character was given during the Shang dynasty. In some bronzes of the West Chou period, it was referred to as a village (a kind of settlement) which controlled the surrounding cultivated field. (Hsu Cho-yun: 1982, p.117) However, no matter how many different meanings were given to this character, the one feature common to them all is this:  was a common term used to designate a settlement. But, as we have shown in Chapter Four, based on the oracle bone inscriptions, this character had a more limited meaning during the Shang dynasty, and indicated only the settlements where the people of their own clan had settled. They called their main settlement  (大邑，the "Great Settlement"of the Shang) and the ordinary settlements  . But they called the territory of the alien people  (方，district, direction, or quarter). In this sense,  was the character used by the Shang to distinguish their own settlement from those of others.

I was written as or during the Shang and Chou dynasties, according to the oracle bone and bronze inscriptions. What are the meanings of these two symbols, the (or ) and the ? The latter is usually interpreted as "a kneeling man". Despite the fact that some mainland Chinese scholars interpret it as "a slave", this symbol presumably had a common meaning, the people who settle down or dwelt, because it is said that the ancient Chinese always "sat" on the floor in this kneeling posture, not on a chair. (Li Chi: 1977a, vol.2, p.563) The interpretation of the symbols, or , is still arguable. It has been translated as an enclosed city, a house, a piece of land, or an enclosed place. Besides the meaning of house, others (an enclosed city, a piece of land, and an enclosed place) indicate a specific space as indicated by the pictograph or . Perhaps this pictograph or indicated a fixed settlement rather than a temporary resting place, such as a nomadic people would have.
Wilhelm and Chang both connect this character with a "walled city", regarding the □ or ○ as the walled enclosure which existed during the Shang and Chou dynasties. (Wilhelm: 1977, p.93 & Chang Kwang-chih: 1980, p.134) Although there are many different views on when the ancient Chinese city was originated (which we will discuss in the next chapter), we consider that if this symbolised a walled space, it must be a walled central space rather than a walled settlement. It is likely, therefore, that this pictograph must have originally symbolised a Centre, as Wheatley suggests. (Wheatley: 1971, p.100) By connecting this symbol with the place marked by the she ( △ or ▴ ), it is obvious that we can consider the pictograph of □ or ○ as this central place, and the pictograph of △ as the settled human being who worshipped their god or gods within this central place. No matter how this central place was constructed, the she which was marked by the symbol ( � UNSIGNED ) shared the symbolism denoted by the pictograph of □ or ○ which was expressed in the character i ( 

Based on three settlement remains, we connect this essential component of a settlement, the central place denoted by the pictograph of ○ or □, with the open space enclosed by many individual small houses. These three remains are:

(1) The Pei-shou-ling site (4515 - 3175 B.C.) is located at the second terrace on the northern bank of the Wei River at Pao-chi in central Shan-hsi. Excavation began in 1953, but the first information was published in 1959 and the final report was not published until the end of 1983. (Fig 6.4)

(2) The Pan-p'ō site (4115 - 3540 B.C.) is on a terrace on the east bank of the Chan River, lying at a distance of six kilometers to the east of the city of Sian. It was excavated from 1954 to 1957. A detailed report was published in 1963 under the famous title of Sian Pan-p'o. (Fig 6.5)
Fig 6.4: The archaeological remains of Pei-shou-ling site (KKHCK: 1984(1),pp.4,5,& 7)
Fig 6.5: The archaeological remains of Pan-p'o site
(Kyōkai, 1963: p.8-9)
(3) The Chiang-chai site (3885 - 3795 B.C.) is located at only 15 kilometers east of Pan-p’o in Ling-tung county. It was excavated from 1973 to 1979, and at that time provided the most precise indication yet of the habitation of a settlement. (Fig 6.6)

The plan of these settlements was centralised, although only the Chiang-chai site obviously indicates this pattern, because the centrality of this plan can be shown by the orientation of each individual house facing, to a certain degree, towards a central open space. From the archaeological evidence within the Pan-p’o site, the centre of this settlement was once attributed to the so-called large house, the communal house. (Wheatley: 1971, p.24 & Chang Kwang-chih: 1977, p.103) Many scholars seem to accept this conclusion and then regard this pattern (facing the large house) as the typical model of a Yang-shao settlement. Even after the Chiang-chai site was excavated, indicating that there was nothing to be found within the centre of this settlement, some archaeologists still tried to fit that pattern onto this site. Eventually, the report on the excavation of the Pei-shou-ling site at Pao-chi shows clearly that the centre of this settlement was an open space which was pounded to form a hard floor. In addition, several burnt animal skeletons and some holes for the bases of poles irregularly placed were found within this central open space. This seems to suggest that there were central poles erected in the centre of this open space.

The individual houses surrounding this open space were usually square, oblong, or round, with hard floors. Most of them were semisubterranean, and only a few were built on ground level. In general, they were constructed by large or small independent wooden posts and wattle-and-daub walls. Fig 6.7 shows the reconstructions made by archaeologists. According to the plans of these individual house remains, their wooden structural system can be classified into four types (Fig 6.8): (a) there were only one or two posts in the centre of the house, but many small posts set closely together around the house walls; (b) only the central post or posts supported the house roof; (c) only a few posts, or many small posts close together, surrounded the house walls to support the roof; (d) there were a few posts
Fig 6.7: Reconstructed house types at the Yang-shao site at Pan-p’o-t’sun (KKHCK: 1963, pp. 15, 19, 24, 27, 31)

Fig 6.8: Types of the plans of individual house during the Yang-shao period (Lin Hui-ch'eng: 1984, p. 41)
erected in the centre of the house as well as around the walls, but they were not so close as in the types a and c. (Lin Hui-ch’eng: 1984, pp.38-42) It is possible to deduce five steps in their construction based on these reconstructions: the first was to dig the floor for the semi-subterranean house; the second was to dig the holes for posts and/or the wall foundations; the third was to erect each wooden post within its corresponding post hole, then to fill the hole with soil and pound it down firmly to fix the post, and then connect these posts with many horizontal twigs or weeds to construct a wattled wall; the fourth step was to daub mud on the walls; the final step was the finishing of the surface of the floor, the walls, and the doorway. (Ibid., pp.43-44)

Each house was equipped with a fireplace (a burnt surface in the earlier occupations and a ground-shaped pit in the later ones) (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978, p.103), which, it is supposed, was for cooking as well as for heating. It was usually set nearly at the centre of the house, but sometimes close to the doorway. It is usually said that there were two kinds of house: one was the small house for the couple’s residence, whose area was about 10-20 square metres, but sometimes up to 30-40 square metres; the other type was the large house for the communal council or the communal residence, whose area was about 70-120 square metres. Reconstructions of these two kinds of house are shown in Fig 6.7. Chang believes that the people who lived in them were the members of unilinear kin groups, clans or lineages, based on his cross-cultural study of village layout and social composition. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.112) Some scholars claim that this clan was based on the matrilineal couple unit in which women had higher status than men. On the whole, it has been shown that there was little change in the constructional methods and the size of the house during the middle of the Yang-shao period.

Around these houses, there were many pits used for storage. The contents of this kind of pit appear to fall into two groups: the remains of food, such as animal bones, fish bones, shells, and kernels of fruit and millet; and the remains of implements and pottery, such as
hoses, spades, knives, axes, bows, arrows, adzes, chisels, needles, awls, and pottery, both painted and unpainted. (KKHCK: 1963, pp.309-316) Within the west side of the central open space in Chiang-chai settlement, there are the remains of two circular pens apparently for domestic animals. It is said that "the most important domestic animals were dogs and pigs in this stage, whose bones have been unearthed from countless sites; much less common were cattle, and sheep and goats." (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978, p.95)

There seems to be some evidence for the cultivation of Chinese millet (su, 宋, *Setaria italica*, and shu, 粱, and chi, 稹, *P. miliaceum*), as well as wild-grain collecting, hunting, fishing, and animal husbandry. As Chang states:

> The hunters must have used bow and arrow and spear, for remains of stone and bone points and arrowheads are numerous; some round headed arrowheads were probably employed for shooting birds; stone balls have been found occasionally, perhaps slings-stones for the hunt; the importance of fishing is indicated by the abundance of bone fish spears, harpoons, and fish hooks as well as grooved pottery and stone net sinkers, fish designs on pottery, and the bones of fish. (Ibid., p.97)

The area, including the central open space, individual houses, storage pits, and pens for the domestic animals, can be considered as the residential area. Usually, this was enclosed by a ditch, which has been generally regarded as for defence; though some have regarded it as a boundary setting. (KKHCK: 1984(2), p.55) In the case of Chiang-chai site, the area enclosed by this ditch is estimated at about 18000-19000 square metres (150m x 160m). The pottery-making area and burial ground were both located outside the enclosure but close to it. The relative positions of these areas were different in each of the settlements, but the pattern of including these three components (the residential area, the pottery-making area, and the burial ground) might have been the original form of a Shang settlement (i, 宙) which we discussed in Chapter Four. The location of cultivated fields is still unknown.

Based on the reports of the excavations of these sites, it is generally believed that this kind of Yang-shao settlement was a large, sedentary community. But Chang Kwang-chih
rejects this view pointing out two sources of error: firstly it does not recognise the evidence of discontinuous occupations; secondly it wrongly assumes that the measured site represents one component of a settlement - that is, "a single-occupation village". (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978, p.98) Based on the evidence which he provides, "the shifting and repetitive settlement pattern probably resulted from the slash-and-burn technique of cultivation". (Ibid., p.97) From this view, it seems possible to consider the people who lived within this settlement as "shifting cultivators". The settlement can therefore be regarded as a temporary one, but relative to the nomadic way of life it had some degree of permanence, lasting for at least a few years.

The population of the Chiang-chai settlement has been estimated by Kung Ch'i-ming and Yen Wen-ming as a large community having around 450-600 persons. (Kung: KKWW, 1981(1),p.68-9) They consider that any house remains and any fireplace remains were of all the houses erected at the same time and these houses were classified into three types of building: the large one for about 20 persons, the middle for more than 15 persons, and the small for 3-4 persons. This estimate suffers from the two errors which have been pointed out by Chang (that is, this site could contain more than one occupation), therefore, the number of this population is rather over-estimated. A similar system of shifting cultivation described by Soudsky and then applied by Renfrew suggests that this kind of settlement during European neolithic times only included a very small group of people -- only around 20 to 125 persons, perhaps only lasting for about 15 years. (Renfrew: 1984, p.233) Although we are not sure whether this estimation can be applied to the Chinese case, it is likely that the population of the Chiang-chai settlement estimated above is too high.

On the whole, each settlement was a compact, self-contained, economically autonomous and arranged on a centralised plan in which an open space was enclosed by individual houses and large communal houses. Although only three sites have shown fully the planning of this kind of settlement, hundreds of similar remains of so-called Yang-shao
sites found in many parts of the Yellow River basin have suggested that this layout must have been a prevailing pattern of a Chinese archaic settlement where a group of people, bound by ties of kinship which probably passed through the maternal line, settled down during the Yang-shao period. In general, there is no evidence of marked "social or political divisions, or of institutionalised violence" within this group of people during this period. (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.112)

From these descriptions, we can realise that a Chinese archaic settlement was a societ al space that was manifested and asserted by an organisation of a collective socio-cultural group as a whole. It was formed mainly by way of occupying and territorialising a specific, fixed, and circumscribed place under its control and served to identify the group and its members. This identity was interpreted socio-spatially in creating a settlement; and the settlement converted their socio-cultural unity or substance into its corresponding collective territory. This conversion created a territory with order and distinctions as their microcosm and, in the most fundamental sense, as their home.

This order is obviously shown by a concentrical pattern of a Chinese neolithic territory drawn in Fig 6.9, on the basis of the archaeological evidence above. The most significant space in it was the central open space formed by many individual small houses facing towards it. Whether or not any central symbol (e.g. the central wooden poles) was actually erected at the centre of this space, this space was the starting point for constructing their own world. The territory consisted of three concentrical spatial zones which surrounded the central open space: (1) the residential zone where the individual houses were located, surrounded by a ditch; (2) the accessory zone where the cemetery, pottery, and the cultivated fields were located, to support the residential zone; (3) the interface zone comprising the hills, rivers, semi-arid steppe, or forests which was the natural boundary of their own world where they hunted and fished. In addition, this order also established the distinction between themselves and other peoples and between their territory and other
Fig 6.9: The spatial organisation of a Chinese neolithic settlement
territories. The territory marked by the settlement they created was their own world. Thus the community could not only have been concerned with the existence of its own world, but also must have recognised the existence of others in the world outside.

It is hard to think of a way of constructing order (spatially or metaphysically) without a boundary and difficult to imagine a boundary which does not suggest a Centre. Therefore, from the structure of this spatial pattern, we can realise that it is this central open space by which the space of their own world was organised and ordered, for this central space was the only passage of communication with the gods. It was this communication which made the people believe that their own world was created by their god(s), because everything concerning these people must be under the gods' influence. This is why Eliade considers that "ultimately, for the man of archaic society, the very fact of living in the world has a religious value; for he lives in a world which has been created by supernatural beings and where his village or house is an image of the cosmos". (Eliade: 1976 vol.1, p.21) Sack also gives many examples from the creation myths to interpret this view and states: "A constant and intimate knowledge of place enveloped by a mythical view of the land fuses the society to place. Place is often inhabited by the spirits of the ancestors and a specific place may have been given to a people by their gods." (Sack: 1980, p.175)

The idea of connecting the sacred world (originally their gods only) with their own world within this Centre in fact occasions a powerful communal sense of partaking in the spiritual history of the group. The settlement, then, could be regarded as a mythical-magical space, because the act of creating a settlement is regarded as equivalent to a réenactment of the mythical creation of their own world once performed by their gods and then imitated by ancestors: "the cosmicisation of unknown territories is always a consecration; to organise a space is to repeat the paradigmatic work of the gods". (Eliade: 1959, p.32)

But of what significance was the use of a ditch to enclose the residential area, and
why was the distinction made between this space and the burial ground and pottery-making? Often a ditch, like a wall, a bank, or a barrier, is "blindly assumed by most archaeologists to be a defensive fortification". (Tringham: 1972, p.464) But Tringham prefers to regard it as a kind of method of demarcating the habitation area, the "home base" or "core" of prehistorical settlements. (Ibid.) He mentions that there are two methods of demarcation: one is by physical barriers, such as visible structure (e.g. walls, fences, banks) and modifications of the earth (ditches and moats); the second is by invisible, non-physical barriers, generally known only to the inhabitants of the house or settlement concerned and including imaginary lines between natural features such as trees and rivers, and also between houses or artificial mounds. (Ibid., p.465) Eliade goes further than this by interpreting it as a magical defence to prevent the incursions of evil spirits rather than a realistic defence. (Eliade: 1961, p.39) Under both these circumstances, a ditch set around this early Chinese settlement must at least suggest this kind of demarcation and symbolism, whether or not it was also for defensive purposes against other people or wild animals.

But why was this central open space created as a circular form and obviously planned such that the individual houses formed a circle around it? Were these individual houses necessary elements? In other words, without the planning of these individual houses in a circular form, could this central open space have been formed? Although it does not seem very easy to answer these questions satisfactorily from the archaeological evidence found so far, one thing we can be sure of is that the enclosure by these individual houses was one of the primitive acts of creating a space which as Heinz Werner states, "exhibits egocentric or anthropomorphic characteristics and is physiognomic-dynamic, rooted in the concrete and substantial". (Werner: 1948, p.167) Based on a global view of similar needs for the symbol of a circle, in the following paragraphs, we present some views held by other scholars and some concepts found among other nations to argue that the archaic Chinese also needed this kind of circular Centre. In other words, we present some theories about the original
symbolism of the circle.

Geometrically, the circle is the most compact two-dimensional figure, and it is the shape which encloses the greatest area with the smallest perimeter. Sack considers this characteristic as the essential property which makes a circular settlement form efficient, both allowing accessibility to the centre and creating effective defensive perimeters. (Sack: 1980, p.19) This shape can be considered on grounds other than its compactness, for example, as a symbol possessing magical power. Sack emphasises this in his mythical-magical view: "the use of (this) space is very different from its use in most realms of science; and things from afar can affect one another without intervening substances; that is, action can occur at-a-distance." (Sack: 1980, p.19) Based on this, he argues that "settlements having circular shapes may be the best design because they would tap the cosmic forces and be in sympathy with the heavens". (Ibid.) So, creating a circular settlement to settle within a territory should not only symbolise their collective cosmos, but in effect reproduce it in micro-cosm under this divine model which was once created by their gods and repeated by their ancestors.

The most extraordinary example of connecting this mythical-magical power with the symbol of a circle can be found in the beliefs of the North American Plains Indians. The configuration of the circle had a fundamental place in Indian life, because they believed that "the power of the world always works in circles, and everything tries to be round". (Black Elk, quoted in Mcluhum: 1971, p.42) This belief in the power of the circle can be seen precisely in the autobiography of Black Elk, who belonged to the Oglala division of the Teton Dakota, one of the most powerful branches of the Sionan family:

You have noticed that everything an Indian does is in a circle, and that is because the Power of the World always works in circles, and everything tries to be round. In the old days when we were a strong and happy people, all our power came to us from the sacred hoop of the nation and so long as the hoop was unbroken the people flourished. The flowering tree was the living centre of the hoop, and the circle of the four quarters nourished it. The east gave peace and light, the south gave warmth, the west gave
rain, and the north with its cold and mighty wind gave strength and endurance. This knowledge came to us from the outer world with our religion. Everything the Power of the World does is done in a circle. The Sky is round and I have heard that the earth is round like a ball and so are all the stars. The Wind, in its greatest power, whirls. Birds make their nests in circles, for theirs is the same religion as ours. The sun comes forth and goes down again in a circle. The moon does the same, and both are round. Even the seasons form a great circle in their changing, and always come back again to where they were. The life of a man is a circle from childhood to childhood and so it is in everything where power moves. Our tipsi were round like the nests of birds and these were always set in a circle, the nation’s hoop, a nest of many nests where the Great Spirit meant for us to hatch our children. (Ibid., p.42)

In addition, the song of the Seer is sung and told by Tatanka-Ptecila as follows:

The tribe always camped in a circle and in the middle of the circle was a place called Hocoka, the centre. Before the people set out to war, the prophet, or holy man, made a tipi for himself and sat in it alone, looking into the future and seeing in vision all that would befall. The people brought him offerings of gifts, and he made holy emblems and charms to protect them in battle. Then, before sending out the scouts, the warriors assembled in the centre of the camp and sat in a circle awaiting the prophet. He came forth, singing a holy song, and bestowed upon the warriors the charms that he had made, and told to every man his fate. There is the song of prophecy that he sang. In the last part of the song, where now there are only the sounds of no meaning, he sang words which foretold to each warrior the fate that would befall him in the strife. This song is sung when the tribe is going to war, just before the scouts set out to find the enemy.

SONG OF THE SEER
In this circle
O ye warriors
Lo, I tell you
Each his future.
All shall be
As I now reveal it
In this circle;
Here ye!
(Tatanka-Ptecila, quoted in Mcluham: 1971, p.43)

Their tribe always camped in a circle, which was often a 1/4 mile or more in diameter. Although sometimes the opening of the whole encampment was toward the east and sometimes toward the northeast, the whole circular camp resembled a great tent, symbolising the tribal unity that was reaffirmed annually by the Sun Dance and other ceremonies, rites that marked the moment of most effective tribal cohesion, bringing together thousands of separate units. Each segment within this circle expressed the relative position of kinship groups and their interdependence. (Fig 6.10) As Guidoni states:
Fig 6.10: The pattern of the ancient Chyenne Camp circle
(Guidoni: 1978, p.66)
The theme of the Sun Dance of the Cheyenne was the re-creation of the world in successive phases during which the void and infertile earth became filled in turn by water and plants and trees, and then populated by the buffalo, and, finally, the Cheyenne; other ceremonies, such as that of the Medicine Arrows, alternated with the great hunts and had as their object the renewal of the community. (Guidoni: 1978, p.62)

The connection between the dance in the archaic rites and the symbol of a circle can be traced back to the oldest form of dance called the Reigen, or circle dance, as Sachs states:

The origins of human dancing — are not revealed to us either in ethnology or prehistory. We must rather infer them from the dance of the apes: the gay, lively dance about some tall, firmly fixed object must have come down to man from his animal ancestors. We may therefore assume that the circle dance was already a permanent possession of the Paleolithic culture, the first perceptible stage of human civilization. (Sachs: 1965, p.208)

It is not necessary to fully accept Sachs’ view about the origin of human dancing, but the circle dance must have been the dominant dance in neolithic rites, because it has not only been correlated with the mystic magic force it expressed, but also with the holy office it fulfilled or the stage it created during neolithic times:

The Reigen as a dance form has nothing to do with spontaneous prancing; it fulfills a holy office, perhaps the first holy office of dance — it divides the sphere of holiness from that of profane existence. In this way it creates the stage of the dance, which centres naturally in the altar or its equivalent — the totem, the priest, the fire — or perhaps the slain bear, or the head chieftain to be consecrated. (Langer: 1953, p.191)

Correlating these with the means of achieving the communications with the world of gods (the shaman and his skills, such as dances, offerings, and divinations) in archaic China which we have discussed in Chapter Five, it is possible to speculate that a close relationship existed between the circular form of the central open space, and the initial circle dance, in that the former was a stage for the latter. In this sense, it is possible that the circle dance, probably the collective dance, may have been an archaic Chinese way of achieving communication with the world of gods (see the painting on a pot shown in Fig 5.15(2.9)). If so, it could have been the primary factor showing a connection with the formation of the circular central place by the the enclosure formed by the individual houses. But this connection
is not strong enough to use without further archaeological evidence.

6.3. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, it has been proposed that the typical initial forms of a neolithic Centre in archaic China must have had an essentially similar form, a centralised open space, though expressed in different ways. Although the settlement remains which have so far been excavated cannot sufficiently support this view, they at least do not contradict it, and it is consistent with the connection between the remains and the interpretations on the meanings of the characters she and i and the ancient legends about the archaic forms of a she.

It is relevant to ask, at this point, what the possibility may be for the chronology of the two socio-spatial concepts: one formed by the surrounding individual houses, the other marked by the symbols (trees or stones). Without the possibility of such a chronology, the picture we present in Fig 6.11 would be little more than a guess, plausible enough, perhaps, but difficult to examine constructively, especially in terms of the corresponding changes of the socio-cultural organisation in different periods. The change from diagram A to diagram B indicates that no matter whether the spatial form of the individual house was changed from a circle to a square the spatial form of the home base (of course including the central open space) still maintained its circular form. The change from diagram B to diagram C thus indicates that when the original circular settlement was not suitable for the size of the group, then, how important the central axis was, which marked a central open space still in a centralised circular form. Probably this axis was only one of many means to identify this central open space (axis mundi), but it at least expressed the gradual increasing importance of the intermediary (e.g. a shaman) within a group of people, for this central axis (stone or tree) was an important symbol in shamanism. The evidence provided by Bulling gives us a strong connection between the Chinese pre-traditional cosmic tree and their shamanistic figure in the course of his spiritual journey which indicates the place of shamanism and the
Legend

- pottery-making
- grave yard
- cultivated field
- circular house
- ditch
- central pole (e.g., stones)
- square house
- central open space
- multi-roomed house

Fig 6.11: The changes in the spatial organisation of a Chinese neolithic settlement
pre-traditional Chinese society and culture.

On the whole, our attention has focused on the importance of a central place to any socio-cultural group during neolithic times in China. The need to form a central open space was not so much to express the rise of a central person (a shaman, or later a chief or leader, or even a king), but rather to provide a place for communications between the people and their gods which, in turn, organised the socio-spatial life of the community.

After tracing the original built form of the Centre, the following chapter deals with how the prototype of this Centre generated during the Hsia dynasty (a walled compound with a rectangular building at the north) was imitated during the Chou dynasty. This reveals how Chinese pre-traditional architecture was gradually developed into a model which was applicable to any type of building during the traditional period.
CHAPTER SEVEN: THE APPLICATION OF THE PROTOTYPE OF THE CENTRAL SPACES THROUGHOUT THE CHOU DYNASTY

In Chapters Five and Six, we saw how the prototype of the central spaces was generated during the Hsia dynasty, and in Chapters Three and Four we also saw how it was applied during the Shang dynasty. In this chapter, we trace how the idea of constructing central spaces initiated by the Hsia and then followed by the Shang was then applied by the Chou.

First, we trace how the early Chou people constructed their settlement at the south of Mount Ch’i, and from there expanded eastwards to be confronted by the Shang people, and finally erected a walled Centre called Ch’eng-chou at Lo settlement. Second, we describe how the initial form of this walled Centre was used in the construction of a number of military bases which were disposed by the Chou king for the protection of Chou state (chou-pang, 周邦), and was then developed in a hierarchy of walled cities to form a territorial state (kuo, 郡) throughout the East Chou period. Third, we study how the walled Centre of a group of people led by their lord was gradually applied to each family as a result of social mobility throughout the East Chou period.

7.1. APPLICATIONS OF THE PROTOTYPE WITHIN THREE MAIN SETTLEMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WEST CHOU DYNASTY

Not only because of the close geographical relationship between the settlement of the early Chou people and that of the remnant of the Hsia clan, but also because of the intimate relationship between the two cultures (as mentioned in Chapter Five), the establishment of the settlement at the foot of Mount Ch’i must have been deeply influenced by ideas initiated by the remnant of the Hsia people. Historically, this settlement was the landmark for the early Chou people representing the change of their life when they became permanently
sedentary. The section mien (殿) of the Shih Ching is the main source of this information. It describes the transformation of the early Chou people under the leadership of T'an-fu (T'ai-wang later) from living in the "kiln-like huts and caves" (陶復陶穴) without any chia-shih (家室) to the establishment of the chia-shih. The idea of establishing the chia-shih not only indicates the erection of the house and the hall, but also manifests the change in their socio-cultural organisation, perhaps adopting from the Hsia people their ideas of the family and the chao-mu system of the succession of the leadership.

It seems quite obvious that the erection of the hall (shih, 室) was very significant for this people and therefore became the first priority. The evidence not only comes from our interpretation of the sentence (ch u-shih-yu-tsu, 築室于兹) in the section mien (殿) -- preferring "erecting the hall here" to the usual translation as "building houses here", but also from the discovery of the significant term, ta-shih (大室, great hall) inscribed on the surface of many early Chou ritual bronzes.

But what was the meaning of the character miao (廟) which also appears in the mien section of the Shih Ching? Did it mean the same as "the ancestral temple" later used by the Chou people? It is certain that this character was the invention of the Chou people, because it did not exist in the oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang Dynasty. From an etymological viewpoint, it directly expresses a "roof" (roof) covering the chao (朝). In the oracle bone inscriptions, this character chao had been used to indicate the "morning". What is the meaning of "a building for the morning"? Perhaps the most likely explanation is "a building for the affairs of the people related to the morning". This means that the original possible function of a miao (廟) was closely related to the function of a shih (室), managing the related affairs in the morning in order to regulate their life within this settlement. Another possible interpretation will be discussed later, referring to a building for a type of formal meeting (chao, 朝) in the morning.
If the character *miao* was used to replace the character *tzung* (㊧) of the Shang period as the ancestral temple for the Chou people, who would be the ancestors to be worshipped within this temple? From the fact that the deceased Chou kings, worshipping only back to T'ai-wang (originally T'an-fu), were regarded as the ancestors and were worshipped in the ancestral temple, it is impossible that this *miao* used during the reign of T'ai-wang could have been the ancestral temple equivalent to the *tzung* of the Shang people. In addition, the *mien* section of the *Shih Ching* is supposed to be the song written by the Chou people at the end of the West Chou Dynasty as the prayers for their ancestors, so, it is quite possible that the rhetoric used in this song was more or less exaggerated, using the character *miao* which had been popularly used for "the temple" during that time.

The sentences concerning architectural affairs in this song mainly describe activities connected with the erection of the houses, the great hall, and the *she* (*chung-t'u* or *chungh-she*) in this Ch'i settlement. The great hall and the *she*, the Centre of this settlement, must have been very significant to the early Chou people just as the *shih-shih* had been to the Hsia people. According to the *Shih Chi*, it seems that this *she* was erected separately, just as the *chiao* for the worship of Heaven and the legendary ancestor Hou-chi at the border of the capital (or Centre).

So far, there are only two archaeological remains of the West Chou Dynasty found in this Ch'i area, which could possibly be related to this great hall. One, located at the present Feng-ch'u village, was a walled compound (45.2m north-south and 32.5m east-west) almost the same as the typical traditional walled compound called *ssu-ho-yuan* (四合院). (Fig 7.1) It contains almost every important feature of the typical traditional walled compound: the spirit screen or wall ¹, the main (south) gate with a pair of gatehouses, the central

¹ This is the translation from a term *chao-p'i* (棚壁), a wall located in the front of or behind the main south gate for preventing the invasion of ghosts or evils into the homestead in the minds of traditional Chinese.
Fig 7.1: Plan of the remains of the walled compound at Feng-ch’u
(WW: 1979(10), p.29)
courtyard, the central hall, the pair of small rear courtyards, and the rear hall (all arranged from the south to the north on the central north-south axis). In addition, two rows of side halls with nine rooms in each were located parallel with the central axis, and those spaces and halls were connected by means of open galleries (lang, 飛廊). (WW: 1979(10), pp.27-35)

It is suggested in the excavation report (Ibid.), mainly based on the inscriptions on oracle bones found at this site, that this compound functioned as an ancestral temple within a group of walled compounds, erected before the establishment of the West Chou Dynasty, and was then used until the end of the West Chou Dynasty (its estimated date is around 1095±90 B.C.). (Ibid.) This suggestion has been questioned by some scholars, such as Fu Hsi-nien (WW: 1981(1), p.74), Wang En-t'ien (Ibid., p.79) and Yang Hung-hsun (WW: 1981(3), p.27). There is no conclusion so far, but Yang suggests that the remains of this walled compound at least show strong evidence of the historical root of the traditional walled compound, because its form looks very much like the typical style of a traditional walled compound named i-k'o-yin ({-印印}). (Ibid., p.23) Fig 7.2 shows different reconstructions of its plan and form made by Fu and Yang. (WW: 1981(1), p.72 & 1981(3), pp.24-5)

The other remains, located at Chao-ch'en, a village 2 km east of Feng-ch'u village, is of a group consisting of three large rectangular buildings (F3, F5, F8), a row of long buildings (F6, F10, F12, F13), and some others. (Fig 7.3) They are scattered over a large site, but the long side of every rectangular plan was still placed at right angles to the north-south axis just as for the typical unit of a traditional building. It has been suggested that they were the palaces for the king erected during the middle of the West Chou Dynasty and ruined when the West dynasty came to an end (at around 980±95 B.C.). (WW: 1981(3), pp.10-22) This suggestion as to its function has been questioned by Yang (Ibid., pp.29-30) who considers this group of buildings to be the houses of nobles, and by Fu (Ibid., p.45) who considers that its function cannot be certain until more evidence is found. Both have
Fig 7.2(a): Reconstruction of the plan of the walled compound at Feng-ch'u by Fu Hsi-nien
(WW: 1981(1), p.72)

Fig 7.2(b): Reconstruction of the plan of the walled compound at Feng-ch'u by Yang Hung-hsun
Fig 7.3: Plan of the remains of a group of buildings at Chao-ch' en

Fig 7.4(a): Reconstruction of the plans of rectangular buildings F3, F5 and F8 at Chao-ch' en by Yang
Hung-hsun
(WW: 1981(3), pp.30-2)
Fig. 7.1(b): Reconstruction of the plans of rectangular buildings F3, F5 and F8 at Chao-ch’en by Fu Hsin-nien
(1972; 1972/3, pp. 35-41)
reconstructed this group of buildings as shown in Fig 7.4.

Correlating the location of these two groups of remains with the estimated dates of their erection, the study of their possible functions seems to require a discussion of the changes from the time before the establishment of the Chou dynasty (the reign of T'an-fu) to the end of the West Chou Dynasty. The only way to settle the controversy appears to be to re-examine the information about these buildings recorded in the bronze inscriptions throughout the West Chou Dynasty. But disagreement about the accurate dating of the casting of the Chou bronzes found so far makes it difficult to trace chronologically the changes of the functions of the central spaces named on these bronzes. In addition, insufficient bronzes inscribed with characters relating to the central spaces have been dated. Both disabilities make it impossible to put a chronology upon these changes. Nevertheless, we shall argue later that the remains at Feng-ch'ü represent only a walled compound, called kung, a Centre of a group of people and also the residence of its leader who was appointed by the Chou king to a specific position called lord, and that the remains at Chao-ch'en represent the central spaces of the Chou dynasty where the Chou king resided. Before we present the case for this, we draw attention to a chart of the chronology of the West Chou times provided by Nivison (Kawayama: 1983, p.47) so that the reader can follow our arguments with reference to it. (Table 7.1)

(1) There were three major settlements with central spaces (or a Centre) established sequentially by the Chou people throughout the time before the East Chou Dynasty: the first was located at the foot of Mount Ch'i during the reign of T'ai-wang; the second at the present Feng river during the reigns of King Wen and King Wu; and the third at the present Loyang by Duke Chou during the reign of King Ch'eng. (Fig 7.5) The first two settlements were created before the establishment of the dynasty, and the last was built at the beginning of the West Chou era. The significance of the establishment of these three settlements sequentially from the west to the east is that the Chou people extended their territory
## Western Chou: Chronologies

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<td>Wen (claims kingship)</td>
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<td>1038</td>
<td>1070</td>
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<td>Mu</td>
<td></td>
<td>1001 (55)</td>
<td>939 (34)</td>
<td>962 (53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kung</td>
<td></td>
<td>946 (12)</td>
<td>907 (12)</td>
<td>922/0 (2 + 17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yih</td>
<td></td>
<td>934 (25)</td>
<td>895 (25)</td>
<td>903/1 (2 + 25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiao (regnacy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>882 (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiao (as king)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>870 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>867/5 (2 + 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>859/7 (2 + 30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li, majority</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li, exiled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Kung Ho” period</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>827/5 (2 + 44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>781/79 (2 + 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu killed (end of Western Chou)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1122 through 842: 281 years)</td>
<td>(1027 through 771: 257 years)</td>
<td>(1051 through 771: 281 years)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The “current” Bamboo Annals gives both dates.
(b) P’ei Yin, fifth century, quotes the (original) Annals as saying that from the destruction of Yin to Yu Wang was 257 years.
(c) Shu Shih is quoted in the Ts‘in Shu as saying that from the “receiving (of the Mandate)” to Mu Wang was one hundred years, according to the (original) Annals.
(d) The “current” Annals, comment under Mu’s first year, says that from Wu Wang to Mu Wang was one hundred years.

Table 7.1: Chronologies of the West Chou dynasty
drawn by Nivison (Kawayama: 1983, p.47)
Fig 7.5: Expansions of the Chou clan from the western Ch’i settlement to the eastern Lo settlement
eastwards before entering into the Central Plain and defeating the Shang clan. After establishing their dynasty, the Lo settlement was built by Duke Chou as an important base from which to control the huge eastern and southern areas where the original Shang and I (夷) people lived. Based on the bronze inscriptions of the West Chou Dynasty, these three settlements were apparently given the following names respectively: Chou (周 or Tzung-chou (宗周)), Kao-ching or Feng-ching (鎬京, 鳩京 or 龍冀), and Ch’eng-chou (成周). (see the inscriptions on the tso-ts’ë-ling-i (作周令彝) and the ch’en-ch’en-fu-kuei-ch’en (臣辰父癸卣)) According to the bronze inscriptions regarding these settlements, various affairs must have been conducted in different places within these settlements, but most were connected with the settlement Chou or Tzung-chou where the king usually stayed. Therefore, the two groups of archaeological remains found in the area of the Ch’i settlement (the Chou or Tzung-chou) must be very significant in helping us correlate these remains to the different names of places within this settlement mentioned in the bronze inscriptions.

(2) The ta-shih or t’ien-shih (天室 or 大室, great hall) was a term often used in these bronze inscriptions. It can be connected with the first hall which was erected by T’an-fu for the early Chou people as an important Centre during the creation of the Ch’i settlement and then used throughout the whole of the early Chou period before King Wu defeated the Shang King at Mu-yeh. As presented in Chapter Five, one of the earliest existing Chou ritual bronzes, ta-feng-tui (大蕃{textual content: 幽}) dated by Sun Tso-yun as having been cast before King Wu (founder of the Chou dynasty) defeated the Shang king, shows that the great hall was the place for King Wu to sacrifice to King Wen (the former king) for help in defeating the Shang king. We know then that King Wu did not erect another building, like the tsung of the Shang clan, to the worship of King Wen, but only used the great hall which must have been originally derived from the hall used by T’an-fu. This hall, however, was not originally used by T’an-fu to worship his father.
(3) From many examples in those bronze inscriptions, the ta-shih used during the West Chou time indicated only a hall within a group of buildings called kung (宮). According to its etymology, this character kung indicates "two separated spaces or rooms under a roof". This suggests that the Chou were influenced by the idea of the Shang, combining the "temple and hall" complex and the residence with the altar to form the central spaces within the "Great Settlement", and that they used this character, kung, to indicate their own central buildings which included the great hall (ta-shih). The earliest kung, based on current dates for these West Chou bronzes, was called kang-kung where the "great hall" was located.

(7.2(a)) From the contents of the inscriptions, the name of this kung continued to be used throughout the West Chou times, and sometimes another new kung was built or a new great hall was built within this kung. The coexistence of two names, kang-kung and kang-ch‘in, indicates that the residence of the king was another building or group of buildings, although these two groups of buildings shared the same name kang. T’ang Lan suggests that this kang-kung was the kung of King Kang. (T’ang Lan: KWTYC(2), 1981, p.132) In any case, the name of this kang-kung was the common name for a group of buildings in this Chou (Ch‘i) settlement and; it was even used for the names of different kung, such as kang-chao-kung (康昭宮), kang-shao-kung (康邵宮), kang-mu-kung (康穆宮), and kang-lieh-kung (康烈宮). (7.2(b) & (c)) In addition, there were other kung erected within this Chou settlement, such as shih-lu-kung (師流宮), shih-pao-fu-kung (師保父宮), pan-kung (潘宮), and hsi-kung (西宮). (Table 7.2(d)) Under these circumstances, it is likely that these various kung were built by different kings of the West Chou Dynasty on different occasions. Connecting these records with the archaeological evidence that the remains of earlier buildings have been found under the first remains at Chao-ch‘en site, the buildings scattered within this site (see Fig 7.3) can be considered to consist of the different kung erected by different kings. From the excavations, the idea of disposing these buildings in such a way was probably simply a duplication of the plan and form of the great hall, which then became a group of rectangular buildings occupied by a king. This idea in fact can be

considered to be derived from the practice of the Shang clan as indicated in the disposition of the central buildings at the P’an-lung-ch’eng site and the complex at the Hsiao-t’un site. Later, throughout the Chou period, it became one of the main ways of constructing the compounds of kung (palaces) and ch’in (residences) for the king, perhaps like the reconstructions drawn by the traditional scholars, for instance Nieh Ch’ung-i (聶崇義, Sung dynasty), and drawn in the Yung-le Ta-tien (AD 1407), as shown in Fig 7.6.

(4) In the inscriptions on the Tso-ts’e-ling-i (作冊令彝), three kinds of kung were mentioned simultaneously: the kung-kung (倉宮), the ching-kung (成宮), and the chou-kung-kung (周公宮). Based on the meanings of these inscriptions, these kung can be connected with three major settlements of the West Chou Dynasty: the kung-kung erected at the Chou settlement (Ch’i settlement), the ching-kung at Kao-ching (考成), and the chou-kung-kung around Ch’eng-chou. It is apparent that the first two kung were closely related to the central buildings used by the king when he had his residence there. It is therefore possible to deduce that there was probably a similar kung erected within Ch’eng-chou. According to the wu-hu (武孚), the ch’eng-kung (成宮) must be the name of this kung.

(5) The fact that there was a kung dedicated solely to Duke Chou at the place where his descendant (probably his grandson, Duke Ming) lived around Ch’eng-chou during the reign of King Chao (based on T’ang Lan’s date (T’ang Lan: KWYTC(2), 1981, p.115)) shows two essential points relating to our argument. First, that the name used for the place which was dedicated solely to Duke Chou was the same as the one used for the kung of the Chou king indicates not only the eminent position of Duke Chou within the Chou clan, but also perhaps the similarity of the plan and form between these two kinds of kung. In other words, the kung for Duke Chou is likely to have been imitated from the one dedicated solely to the king. Secondly, that the kung of Duke Chou continued to be used by his descendant (Duke Ming) indicates that both the official title and the kung were inherited. Based on the bronze inscriptions, Tu Ch’eng-sheng finds that there were other similar positions
Fig 7.6: Reconstructions of the plan of Wang-ch'eng (the city of the Chou king) by Nieh Ch'ung-i (宋, Sung dynasty) and in the Yung-le Ta-tien (AD 1407)

inherited, not only including members of the Chou people, such as Duke Chao (召公), Duke Lung (榮公) and Marquis Hsing (邢侯), but also members of other peoples, such as Nan-kung (南宮) and other Shang descendants, namely Historiographer Wei (微史), Count Lu (耈伯) and Ling-nien (令尹). (Tu: BIHP(50c), 1979, p.572) This means that there was no discrimination between the Chou people and other people who lived within the Chou (Ch'i) settlement. In addition, the most significant feature of the inherited position which was passed through the descendants of these particular persons was the distinguishing of their lineage (chia-tsü, 家族) within the sub-clan (kung-tsü, 公族) they led. This established the order of the kinship within a sub-clan. These particular persons were called hsiao-tsüng (孝宗, the head or leader of the branch) compared with the Chou King called ta-tsüng (大宗, the head or leader of the trunk line). And these positions of leadership, both the king and others, were passed through the lineage of the contemporary leader. This system was called tsün-fa (分封) or ta-hsiao-tsüng (大宗) (大, a kind of relative of a son). According to the Li Chi, it was initiated by King Wu:

Thus he regulated the services to be rendered to his father and grandfather before him; -- giving honour to the most honourable. He regulated the places to be given to his sons and grandsons below him; -- showing his affection to his kindred. He regulated (also) the observances for the collateral branches of his cousins: -- associating all their members in the feasting. He defined their places according to their order of descent; and his every distinction was in harmony with what was proper and right. In this way the procedure of human duty was made complete. (the ta-chuan section, translated by Legge: 1885(vol.2), p.61)

The difference between this ta-hsiao-tsüng system and the original chao-mu system (see Chapter Five) was that the leadership was no longer open to every member of this sub-clan, but limited to the lineage of the leader. But according to Tu Ch'eng-sheng, it did not necessarily pass to the first son of the leader, but rather to that member of the direct line who was most meritorious and talented. (Tu: BIHP(50c), 1979, pp.579-83) This means that the fundamental characteristic of the chao-mu system still remained in this new system. Therefore, this kung, once occupied by Duke Chou not only as a Centre of this sub-clan, which was in accord with the duties of the leader, but also as a residence for him and his
family, can be considered the model for those others who had an official position appointed by the Chou king, and their families. It is quite possible that this kung consisted of both the hall (shih, 室) and the residence (ch' in, 寫). This hall must be called tsung-shih (宗室, the hall of the branch), based on the inscriptions in the chung-hsi-fu-tui (仲獻父敘), shu-ko-tui (叔武敘), shih-chi-fu-ting (師器父敘), and li-ting (禮鼎). This must also be the place where the members of this sub-clan worshipped their deceased leaders as collective ancestors.

(6) The character miao (廟), as mentioned previously, was another important character used to indicate an ancestral temple within the central spaces. We do not know why the Chou king used this character. One of the possible connections is the character chao (朝), a type of formal meeting, symbolising the relative positions of the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords during this consultation. According to the ch'u-li (曲禮) section of the Li Chi, two types of formal consultation were very clearly defined:

When the Son of Heaven stands facing the south with his back to the screen with axe-head figures on it, and the feudal lords present themselves before him facing the north, this is called chin (覲, the audience). When he stands facing the south at the middle of the central door, and the feudal Dukes facing the east and the feudal Lords facing the west, this is called chao (朝). (Based on the translations of Legge, 1885, vol.1, p.111)

This suggests that there was no link with the worship of ancestors in the etymology of the character miao. But based on the inscriptions on a ting (壝) whose name is unknown (Table 7.2(b)), a miao was built or created (tso, 作) for the worship of the deceased kings (huang-kao, 皇考). According to the use of the character tso, such as tso-i (作邑, creating a new settlement), it is possible that this miao was a new building, purpose-built for the worship of the deceased kings. The term hsiang-miao (享廟, the sacrificial temple) inscribed on the shih-chin-kung-ting (師秦宮鼎) obviously indicates that this miao had a sacrificial function. The kang-miao inscribed on the shih-tui-tui (師兌敘) could be the temple dedicated to King Kang, but we do not know whether every deceased king had his own
temple or not. In addition, the inscriptions of the *wu-i* (囲), showing that the great hall (*ta-shih*) and the temple (*miao*) were two different buildings, also indicates that this *miao* must have been erected for a particular purpose.

(7) Based on the inscriptions on two *tui* (廕) which shared the same name *shih-tui, kang-miao* and *ta-miao* used at the same time indicate that they were two different buildings. What was the function of this *ta-miao*? According to the *ming-t'ang-wei* section in the *Li Chi, ta-miao* was the name of the centre of the Lu state during the Spring and Autumn period which corresponded to the *ming-t'ang* (Hall of Brightness) of the Son of Heaven. (Legge: 1885(vol.2), p.34) Therefore, the function of this *ta-miao* was closer to the function of *ta-shih* rather than to that of the *miao* (ancestral temple). It is probable that the Chou people later substituted this *ta-miao* for the original *ta-shih* as their great hall. From the inscriptions on some other bronzes, this *ta-miao* was erected not only at the Chou (Ch'i or Tzung-chou) settlement (see Table 7.2(d)&(e)), but also at the Ch'eng-chou settlement (see the inscriptions on *wu-tui*, 囲).

From these interpretations, we can see that as time passed, more buildings were built at Chou (or Tzung-chou). We consider that the archaeological remains found at Chao-ch'en may certainly be a group of rectangular buildings erected as the Centre of the Chou throughout the whole West Chou period. Although these buildings were given different names, *kung, ch'in, ta-miao* and *miao*, they were in fact all derived from the great hall (*ta-shih*) erected before the establishment of the Chou dynasty; in other words, they were strongly influenced by the *shih-shih* of the Hsia at first, and then by the *tzung-shih* of the Shang. It is therefore probable that the initial *shih* (hall) erected by T'an-fu at the Ch'i settlement must have been imitated from the northern building in the *shih-shih* of the Hsia people. Probably starting from the reigns of King Ch'eng and King Kang, the place was extended and many new buildings were added under different names. Although we do not know what the actual plan and form of those buildings were within this Centre, the
correspondence between the archaeological remains (Fig 7.3) and the reconstructions drawn in traditional times (Fig 7.6) suggests that this group of buildings consisted of many individual rectangular buildings without walls. Comparing the plan of F5 remains on this site with the plan of the northern building in the no.1 walled compound at Erh-li-t’ou (Fig 5.1) and of the hall in the D4 walled compound at Yen-shih (Fig 4.8), the difference between them is that many columns had been added to support the roof. (Fig 7.7)

The differences between the plan of F5 remains and the plans of F3 and F8 remains at this site are clearly shown by the larger hole for the base of the columns and two hang-t’u walls which divided the rectangular plan into three parts. The two transformations shown in Fig 7.7 clearly indicate the heavier load of the roof which the columns were required to support. The evidence for the use of roof tiles at the Chao-ch‘en site supports this view. The most significant feature of these transitions is the establishment of the bay system (chien, 房) which marked out the spaces enclosed by parallel timber frames during the traditional period.

On the whole, it appears that this group of buildings must have been the Centre of the Chou dynasty throughout the West Chou period. The archaeological remains at Feng-ch‘u can be considered as the walled compound occupied only by the leader of a sub-clan and his family and which was the symbolic Centre of this sub-clan. Because the leadership was only passed down through the lineage of the leader, this compound must be also the Centre of this lineage. Later control of some other groups of people captured in war was conferred upon the leader by the Chou king, and so this compound also became the administrative centre for governing other groups whose socio-cultural organisation based on kinship was, we believe, unchanged. (see the inscriptions on ta-yu-ting (大豐房)) And because of the outstanding service of other capable persons in battle, there were many new leaders of this kind appointed by the Chou kings. This leader not only governed part of his original sub-clan but also some other groups of people as conferred on him by the Chou king. This
Fig 7.7: Comparisons of plans of the rectangular buildings from the Hsia dynasty to the West Chou dynasty
means that a new lineage was established by this new leader within this group of people in
the Chou territory.

An example of this would be the rise of the lineage : Li (李) and the relationship
between its descendants, Wu (吳) and Ke (杞), described by Tu Ch'eng-sheng
(BIHP(50c), 1979, p.581-2) as shown in Table 7.3. Wu was the primary commander who
controlled over eight armies at Ch'eng-chou, but his position was succeeded by Ke. This
shows that there was no guarantee that Wu's position would be passed on only to his direct
descendants, and therefore the nature of the Chinese system of succession during that time
was very flexible. The direct descendants of Wu became members of only the sub-clan led
by Ke. It is possible that the walled compound where the tzung-shih of this sub-clan was
located was occupied by the new leader, Ke, and his family, not by the descendants of Wu.
In any case, it is certain that a walled compound was occupied by a leader and his family
when he was appointed by the Chou king to govern his sub-clan and the other groups men-
tioned above.

According to the mai-fang-i (裁判若干), the inferior official (Mai, 賴) under his
leader (Hsing Hou, 正候) also had his own kung called mai-kung (裁判於). (T'ang Lan:
KWTC(2), 1981, p.64) Because this character kung (譙) and the character kung (倉)
written in the bronze inscriptions are different, we do not yet know whether or not these
two kung shared a similar form and plan to the one found at Feng-ch'u, nor whether the
former kung (倉) was only a walled compound of this inferior official and his family or
also the Centre of the sub-tsu (a unit of the sub-clan) governed by this official. On the
whole, though, the building or group of buildings called kung (倉 or 舞) must at least
have been the place where some specific person appointed by the Chou king or the lord
with a position within the bureaucratic system of the Chou dynasty would govern the peo-
ple under his administration, and reside with his family for a period of time.
Table 7.3: The genealogy of the lineage Li during the West Chou dynasty
(Tu: BIHP(50c), 1979, p:582)
If we consider the remains of the walled compound at Feng-ch’u as an example of a kung for the purpose we have just described, how can we explain the finding of oracle bones in this compound which indicate the function of this walled compound as an ancestral temple? The most likely explanation is that this kung belonged to the sub-clan of a leader who was a descendant of the Shang people, but served the Chou king after the establishment of the Chou dynasty. One such event has been inscribed on the ch’iang-pan (疆磐) which described when Lieh-tzu (烈祖) came to have an audience (chin, 觀) with King Wu, King Wu then ordered Duke Chou to provide the residence at Chou for him (Tu Ch’eng-sheng considers that Lieh-tzu and Wei-tzu (徵子-) were the same person, but Wu Shih-ch’ien considers him to have been Wei’s son, (Tu: BIHP(50c), 1979, pp.573-4) & (KWTYC(5), 1981, p.102)). His descendants were described as possessing different titles bestowed on them by the Chou kings throughout the West Chou period. Another event is that when Lu-tzu-ting (祿子耿) surrendered to Duke Chao (桓公), parts of his sub-clan moved to the Chou settlement. Two of his descendants, Lu-tung (祿達) and Po-tung (伯報) (father and son), were famous military officials in the Chou court, participating in battles. (Tu: BIHP(50c), 1979, pp.575-9)

We consider that the oracle bones found in the walled remains at Feng-ch’u might belong to these descendants of the Shang people, for the following reasons:

(1) If Lieh-tzu and Wei-tzu were the same person, then he and Lu-tzu-ting must once have been candidates for the heirship (the title of tzu (子)) within the Great Settlement of the Shang, therefore, they must have been familiar with the acts of divining. When they and their sub-clan moved to the Chou settlement, they might have taken some oracle bones from the Great Settlement. Their motives are unknown, but they may have been anxious to preserve evidence that the Chou leader was once only one of the po (伯) honoured by the Shang king.
(2) Inscriptions on a piece of oracle bone (H 11:84) have been interpreted to indicate that King Wen prayed to Ta Chia (Shang ancestor) for a good harvest year. (WW: 1979(10), p.40) But we consider this inadequate, because it is impossible that the title used for King Wen was on the one hand wang (king), and on the other, chou-fang-po (勲方伯, Count of Chou fang). We suggest that the king (wang) mentioned in these inscriptions must be the Shang king who prayed for his ancestor, Ta Chia, to help him to be able to ts’e (冊, command) chou-fang-po (Count of Chou fang) to do something.

(3) When Lieh-tzu (or Lu-tzu-ting) and the members of his sub-clan settled at the Chou settlement, they may well have continued to apply their original skills in scapulimancy in only recording certain important events, but it is unlikely that they still practiced divination there. Because there was no Shang dynasty any more, they would have had to use the Chou terminology for the calendar in the preface (and postface) of the oracle bone inscriptions.

If these three arguments are acceptable, the walled compound at Feng-ch’u was very likely a kung which belonged to the descendants of the Shang people. The plan of this walled compound can be considered as the typical plan of a kung in which the main hall (tzung-shih, 廟, 宙) was erected as the administrative centre of the people governed by the leader who occupied this kung, and as the sacred Centre of the sub-clan (kung-ts’u, 公族) which had the same tzung (族, the head of a branch).

But from where was this plan derived? Comparing it with the plans of no.1 and no.2 walled compounds at Erh-li-t’ou and the plan of D4 walled compound at Yen-shih, this one combines the characteristics of the three others (Fig 7.8a-c) to form a walled compound with three courtyards (the large one in the front and two other small ones at the rear), and a main hall located in the centre of this compound. (Fig 7.8d) From these comparisons, we can see how the plan of the shih-shih of the Hsia people was developed into the walled compound at Yen-shih and then into the one at Feng-ch’u. We do not agree with the
reconstruction drawn by the excavators which shows this main hall to have had *hang-t'u* walls on all four sides, but rather reconstruct it as a rectangular plan with only two *hang-t'u* walls on the east and west ends. This is derived from the idea of erecting two *hang-t'u* walls to divide a rectangular space into three parts (as the plans of F3 and F8 buildings at Chao-ch'ên in Fig 7.7). The plan of this main hall had apparently consisted of six orderly bays (*chien*, 閣).

But how did the Chou people organise the spatial structure of the territory they exploited throughout the period from the reign of T'an-fu to the end of the West Chou dynasty? Because there were three main settlements created during that time, we describe this whole picture on the basis of the above interpretations dividing it into three stages of expanding their territory eastwards: (A) from T'an-fu to King Wen, (B) from King Wen to King Wu, (C) from King Ch'eng to the end of West Chou dynasty.

(A) Establishment of the Ch'i (later Chou) settlement

When the Chou people led by T'an-fu settled down at the south of Mount Ch'i, they established their main hall (*shih*) and *chung-t'u* (or *chung-she*) as the Centre and claimed themselves as the Chou (周) clan derived from their legendary ancestor Hou-chi (后稷). The pictograph of the character *chou* (周) and Hou-chi's legendary ability in arable farming indicate the importance of their agricultural activities to their settling at Ch'i. We consider that the establishment of their hall (*shih*) and their skill in cultivation were derived from those of the remnant of the Hsia people: in other words, the Chou people was acculturated by the remnant of the Hsia people when they moved to the south of Mount Ch'i.

The establishment of a hall (*shih*) derived from that of the Hsia people symbolised their settling down at Ch'i. The *chung-t'u* (translated as a mound) must be derived from their original *she* (an open space) where they communicated with their gods. Although we
do not yet know the spatial organisation of this Ch'i settlement, we suggest that it might have been similar to that of the Hsia at Erh-li-t'ou. This spatial pattern can be tentatively drawn into a dispersed form as shown in Fig 7.9 where the hall (shih) and chung-t'u as the Centre were surrounded by many settlements (villages). The territory formed by this pattern was called by the Shang people a fang (fang, one of the alien people). The leader of the Chou clan was sometimes honoured by the Shang king as a Count (po, 162), but the relationship between the two peoples was so dynamic (hostile or friendly) that the identity of the Chou must have been very strong. (The details of this argument were given in subsection (4.3.2)) Generally, the relationship between the Chou people and the people of other fangs around them was friendly: for example, the Chiang (66) people were permanent allies. On the whole, it appears that the territory controlled by the Chou was very small, compared with the Shang territory on the east plain.

(B) Exploitation of the Feng-Kao settlement

During the reign of King Wen, the Chou people created a new settlement called Feng (36) at the west area of the present Feng river (see the wen-wang-yu-sheng section of the Shih Ching). Of course, there were many wars during this expansion, and finally the Chou defeated some groups who had originally settled in the area between the Ch'i settlement and this new Feng settlement. We do not know how these groups of people were absorbed into the clan. It is generally considered that this new settlement was the new capital of the Chou (Hsu Cho-yun: 1982, p.73), but our interpretations above based on the bronze inscriptions do not support this view, unless the place called Chou in these inscriptions actually indicates this new settlement. Perhaps because King Wen frequently stayed at this settlement to prepare the expansion eastwards, this settlement was then considered as the Centre of the Chou. However, this new settlement was undoubtedly the base of their eastward expansion. It is possible that a shih was also erected here, the initial form of ching-kung (36, 26).
Legend

- central place (shih and chung)
- sub-Centre
- village
- cultivated field

Fig 7.9: The possible spatial organisation of the Chi settlement during the Chou pre-dynastic period
After passing the leadership from King Wen to King Wu, this settlement was expanded to the east area of the present Feng river which was called Kao (考, 考). 

During this time, the Chou not only claimed that the area where these two settlements were located was the homeland of Yu (the first leader of the Hsia people) but also claimed that they were the descendants of the Hsia people. It is generally considered, following Fu Ssu-nien, that these claims were political propaganda (Ibid., p.74), but we consider that they were due to the close relationship between the Chou people and Hsia people when the Chou settled down at Ch’i.

Finally, King Wu united eight groups of people and then defeated the Shang king at Mu (牧). According to the Shu Ching, the speech of encouragement made by King Wu before the war indicates that the Mandate of Heaven was transferred from the Shang to the Chou. This speech was reiterated later by Duke Chou in his own way to address the conquered Shang people, telling them of the transmission of this Mandate from Hsia to Yin to Chou. (Creel: 1970, p.83-4)

(C) Establishment of the Ch’eng-chou (Lo) settlement

According to the Shih Ching, after King Wu defeated the Shang, because they had not been crushed, King Wu could only appoint the son of the last Shang king (Lu-fu) to continue to rule the Shang people, but he also appointed two of his brothers to act as "Inspectors" over them. (Ibid.,pp.70-1) Later, after King Wu died, Ch’eng succeeded as the king, but was supervised by his uncle Duke Chou (at first as regent and then as dominant court official), because Ch’eng was still a minor. Almost immediately after his succession, the "Inspectors" united with Lu-fu to revolt against Duke Chou’s regency. After three years, Duke Chou successfully put down this revolt. In order to prevent this happening again, King Ch’eng ordered Marquis K’ang (康侯) to lead eight armies (shih 旆 ) called yin-pa-
shih stationed at Wei near An-yang. (see the inscriptions on i-tui (遂 數) and hsiao-ch'en-shu-tui (小臣遂 數)) According to the Tso-chuan, seven sub-clans of the Shang people were under the government of Marquis K'ang, but they still maintained their own social organisation and customs (see the records in the fourth year of Ting Kung). Two years later, Ch'eng-chou was completed.

According to the Shu Ching, the construction of Ch'eng-chou started from the third of March, and according to the inscriptions on the ko-tsun (殺 墙), it must have been completed before April, therefore, this construction only took a few weeks to complete. (Tu: BIHP(51d), 1980, pp.652-3) It would have been impossible to establish a large city within this period of time; in other words, as Tu considers, this Ch'eng-chou must have been similar only to an inner walled compound of a walled city during the East Chou dynasty. (Ibid.) The main function of this inner compound, according to Tu, were political, religious and ceremonial, therefore, the main buildings erected were residences, ancestral temples, altars, and storehouses. (Ibid., p.625) The character chai (柴, 篱), used as residence later) used in the inscriptions on the ko-tsun to indicate that the Chou king would dwell in this Ch'eng-chou shows that this Ch'eng-chou was also a walled Centre of the Chou king.

Although we do not yet know the architectural form of this walled Centre, it undoubtedly included at least the ch'eng-kung (成 宮) (see wu-hu, 舊 宮) and the ta-miao (大廟, Grand·Temple) (see wu-tui, 舊 數) throughout the West Chou times. But this Ch'eng-chou was originally planned by King Wu, according to the inscriptions on the ko-tsun (殺 墙), in this central ho ( 或, area) to govern the people (ming, 民). Throughout West Chou times, Ch'eng-chou was a Centre (an eastern capital, generally) to fa (伐, attack) the eastern area (tung-ho, 東或) and the southern area (nan-ho, 南或) (see the inscriptions on the yu-ting, 原 塔). It was so important that there were eight armies stationed around it which were called ch'eng-chou-pa-shih (成 周八師) and the Chou king and other important officials frequently went there to plan war against other groups living in the eastern and southern
areas. According to Fu Ssu-nien, besides Wei, there were three other important military bases (Ch'i 齊, Lu 魯 and Yen 晉) disposed around Ch'eng-chou in order to control the area called hsiao-tung (小東, near eastern area). Later they were moved further eastwards into the area called ta-tung (大東, far eastern area), finally to become three famous states during the East Chou dynasty. This will be discussed further in the next section.

The territories which surrounded these three main settlements were ordinarily called the royal domain of the chou-pang (周邦). The pictograph of this character pang (邦) shows that planting trees was the way of demarcating the territory of a settlement. This character was not only used to indicate the territory of the Chou, but also the territories where other groups lived, such as the twenty-six pang (廿六邦). Therefore, besides the chou-pang, there were a number of other pang which existed during the West Chou dynasty, such as hsiao-ta-pang (小大邦, small and big pang) and wan-pang (萬邦, ten thousand pang). It is possible that the important military bases that the Chou king disposed at the eastern and southern areas were included in the territory called chou-pang during the West Chou dynasty. The area we call the royal domain of this chou-pang is mainly based on Ch'i Ssu-ho's account which suggests that this area was directly controlled by the Chou king, only "a belt of territory extending from west of modern Sian to Loyang on the east, and presumably including their environs". (Creel: 1970, p.364) It seems that the Chou (later Tzung-chou) settlement was always the Centre of the Chou dynasty where the king usually stayed to conduct the many affairs which have been inscribed on the bronzes; and when Ch'eng-chou was positioned as the eastern Centre for managing the battles in the eastern and southern areas, the original importance of the Feng-Kao settlement declined and then became the least of the three Great Settlements.

Among the great number of settlement names inscribed on the bronzes, the frequency of the name of Chou indicates its importance within this royal domain. As we have mentioned above, not only the Chou, but also a number of other groups of people who moved
from the east area settled down within this territory, starting from the reign of King Wu when he defeated the Shang king. Based on the inscriptions, these groups maintained their own social organisation (sub-clan) and were allowed to worship their deceased leaders as their collective ancestors. The adoption of the *tsa-hsiao-tzun* system must have gradually distinguished the lineage of the first leader within the original sub-clan, because the leadership appointed by the Chou king with a specific position (e.g. lord) within the Chou court was only passed through this lineage. And sometimes a new lineage was established within this original lineage or sub-clan, if a member was also appointed by the lord (or even the King) to a special position.

It is very difficult to trace exactly how these situations evolved, but the relationship between the Chou king, a lord, and the groups of people this lord governed can be classified into six possible types. (Fig 7.10) The first three indicate that the king and the lord were derived from the same clan. Type A is purely based on the same clan. Type B indicates that some different groups of people led by their leader were governed by a lord, but their leader was appointed by this lord to an honourable position. Type C then shows that their leader was the member of the same lineage to which this lord belonged. The second three types indicate that the king and the lord were derived from different clans. The differences between these three types are the same as between types A, B, and C. On the whole, there is doubt that the Chou people dominated other peoples. The *tsa-hsiao-tzun* system rather only established the order within any group of people (a sub-clan led by a leader who was appointed by the king to a specific position) with reference to the intimacy of the relationship between every member and the leader (called *tzung*, ☵). There were two criteria applied in choosing the heir of this *tzung*: first was how close the kinship was between the member and the *tzung*; second was that this member had to be meritorious and talented. Throughout the West Chou dynasty, it was not necessary for the first son of the *tzung* to become his heir. The lineages of these leaders have been generally regarded as the nobility
Fig 7.10: Six possibilities of the relationship between the king, lord, official and members
in the social hierarchy of the Chou times.

The basic social unit at the bottom of each type was a group of people who lived in a village (i, 彼) and who were a part or a unit of their sub-clan. According to the inscriptions on the san-shih-p’an (散氏盤) and the records of the Lun Yu, Hsu Cho-yu suggests that the population within a village was usually around fifty to eighty persons during the West Chou period. (Hsu Cho-yu: 1982, pp.117-8) Under these circumstances, the spatial organisation of the territory of the Chou (or Tzung-chou) settlement can be drawn as Fig 7.11 in which the remains of Chao-ch’én are at the centre.

This Centre must have been a walled compound in which many rectangular buildings were erected. Around the outside were more walled compounds, like the one found at Feng-ch’u, as indicated by the abundant bronzes of different lineages found here. The area of these environs could have had a diameter of four thousand meters or more. Outside these environs, there were many villages (i, 彼) and their cultivated fields governed by lords who occupied the inner walled compounds surrounding the central compound. It is quite possible that the villages and their surrounding cultivated fields governed by the lord were divided into several groups governed by his officials who also had a kung, e.g. mai-kung (麥宮). According to the inscriptions on the wu-ssu-wei-ting (五祀緇鼎), the "four directions" of a village called hua (華) consisted of many cultivated fields; the northern part belonging to Li (里), the eastern part to Shan (散), the southern part to Shan and Ch’en-fu (趁父), and the western part to Li, and there was a house (yu 余) built in this village for Ssu (蘇司) who was ordered to survey the cultivated fields surrounding the village. (Ting I: KK, 1982(4), p.400) Sometimes, a lord’s walled compound was located outside the central environs to form its own sub-territory.

Comparing this pattern with that of the Great Settlement of the Shang territory, the connection between the central spaces of the king and the surrounding sub-territories had
Legend

- walled compound of the Chou king
- walled compound of lord
- sub-Centre
- village
- cultivated field

Fig 7.11: The possible spatial organisation of the settlement at Chou
changed from that of the settlements of the sub-\textit{tsu} (\textit{tsu-\textit{tsu}}, 子族) to the walled compound of lords. But we do not know whether some members of the sub-clan (or subordinates) led by the lord also lived around the walled compound of the lord, as in the settlement of the sub- \textit{tsu} during the Shang dynasty.

The Shang ideological bond based on kinship and the worship of deceased kings as collective ancestors, which relied on the Shang king to communicate with the world of gods, are very different from the identity of the Chou king as the Son of Heaven, which was based on the king's worthiness to receive the Mandate of Heaven. The principle which strengthened this identity had been proclaimed by Duke Chou (see \textit{Shu Ching}): "But our king of Chou \textit{treated well the multitudes of the people}, was able to practice virtue, and fulfilled his duties to the spirits and to Heaven. Heaven instructed us, favoured us, selected us, and gave us the Mandate of Yi, to rule over your numerous regions". (Creel: 1970, p.84) (our italics) It was this principle which allowed the Chou king to govern different groups of people peacefully and equitably, although the succession to the throne could only be passed on through the lineage of the king. This is why many positions with rewards (including goods, cultivated fields, groups of people and bronzes etc.) were conferred by the Chou king on those persons who had merit (especially in warfare) or on the leaders of some groups of people who had yielded to the Chou, whether or not they were members of the same lineage as the Chou king or the lord.

We believe that this principle must also have been applied by the lords to those worthies within the groups of people they governed, and not only to the members of the same lineage or sub-clan to which they belonged. The relationship between the king and the lords who lived around the central environs of the king's walled compound was more or less political, because it was based on interdependence through their differences rather than integration through the similarity of their belief and group structure. We suggest that the spatial pattern of this Chou settlement can be also applied to those of the Feng-Kao
settlement and the Ch'eng-chou settlement. But only Ch'eng-chou was constructed in the same way as the one found at P'an-lung-ch'eng, a walled central space as a ho (宏) to protect their territory at the border.

7.2. THE INITIAL FORM AND PLAN OF THE CENTRAL SPACES CONSTRUCTED AS A HO (宏) AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT INTO A WALLED CITY WITHIN A STATE (PANG-KUO, 鄉貳)

In the last section, it was argued that Ch'eng-chou was erected as a walled Centre from which to gradually set up a number of important military bases to protect the royal domain within the large eastern and southern areas throughout the West Chou dynasty. Fig 7.12, drawn by Hsu Cho-yun, shows the early Chou expansion. (Hsu Cho-yun: 1965, p.4) According to the Tso Chuan (28th year of Duke Chao, 514 B.C.), it was said that there were fifty-five bases (later called kuo, 鄉) established by the descendants of the Chou who were appointed as lords by the Chou king. But as well as these, there were others established by the descendants of other groups of people who had been appointed as lords by the Chou king, such as Ch'i (齊) by the Chiang people, Sung (宋) by the Shang people, and Ssu (荀) by the Hsia people, etc.. Except for those like Ch'i which was established by the Chou king purposely to protect the royal domain, the others can be considered rather as independent territories occupied by different groups of people just like the fang during the Shang dynasty, although, from time to time the Chou king honoured the leaders by giving them the title of lord during the West Chou period, showing their recognition of the leadership of the Chou king as the Son of Heaven. According to the wang-chih (王子) section of the Li Chi, there were seventeen hundred and seventy three territories of this kind, called kuo (鄉), within the nine provinces of China (Legge: 1885 (vol.1), p.212); and according to Ku Tsu-yu (1624-1680), "at the beginning of the East Chou (772 B.C.), twelve hundred kuo were left, and at the end of the Spring-and-Autumn period (481 B.C.) that number
1. Chou homeland
2. Chou western capital
3. Chou eastern capital
4. Ju
5. Yu
6. Ts’o
7. Fan
8. Wey
9. Ping
10. Hsing
11. T’ang (Chin)
12. Lu
13. Ch’i
14. Sheng
15. Lu
16. Lu
17. Hsu
18. Yen
19. Yen
20. Ts’i
21. Ch’en
22. Ts’ai
23. Chiang
24. Sung
25. Mao
26. Ts’ao

Line of arrows: Route of Chou conquest.
Dotted line: Bond between Chou capitals.
Solid lines: States encoffed by Chou.
Solid lines with arrowheads: Transfers of states.

Fig 7.12: The early Chou expansion
(Hsu Cho-yu: 1965, p.4)
decreased to just over a hundred, of which only fourteen were considered major states".  
(Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.27)

Although we do not know how many bases of this kind were set up, we suggest that  
there were two kinds: one called ho ( хр ) (tentatively because there is no evidence so far of  
it having this meaning) which was purposely disposed by the Chou king, like Ch'eng-chou,  
to protect the royal domain; the other called pang ( пр ), like the fang ( פו , alien people) in  
the Shang dynasty. Of course, both had their own territory, but that of the former was only  
a part of chou-pang while that of the latter was rather more independent. According to the  
inscriptions on the East Chou bronzes, such as chin-chiang-ting (valuator) and kuo-ch'ai-  
chan ( .borderColor= #555555  ), the fact that the character pang was connected with the names of Ch'i  
( 씨 ) and Chin ( 천 ) which were the original important bases set up by the Chou king  
symbolise the independence of these two territories, separated from the original chou-pang.  
This in fact is supported by the records in the Tso Chuan which indicated that the real terri-  
torial directly controlled by the Chou king since the East Chou period had only been the terri-  
torial around the original Ch'eng-chou.

On this basis, we will describe the developments of this ho and its sub-territory from  
the West Chou period to the end of the East Chou period through the following three  
stages, so as to trace how a Chinese state evolved, replacing the original blood bonds by  
territorial bonds.

7.2.1. From a ho ( хр ) to a kuo ( 国 )

During the Spring-and-Autumn period, according to the Tso Chuan, the character kuo  
( 国 ) was used to indicate the capital city of a state. (see 1st and 5th years of Ying Kung,  
隱公, 772 B.C.) It was a central city of a state which was enclosed by city walls. Why  
was the character kuo ( 国 ) also used to indicate a state of which this city called kuo was
the centre? What was the architectural form of this capital? And was its form similar to that of a traditional walled city, containing the people inside? Some scholars, notably Hou Wai-lu and Hsu Cho-yun, have considered that establishing a state (kuo) was equivalent to constructing a city (ch'eng, 住). (Hou: 1954, p.180 and Hsu Cho-yun: 1982, p.355) Hou further indicates the similarity between the characters kuo (岶), ho (方), and ch'eng (住, 住). (Hou: 1954, p.180) Although they have pointed out these connections, they simply correlate the formation of the initial walled city during that time to the need for a fortified setting for the reclamation of land (Hsu) or a political setting for the ruling class (Hou).

We consider it more likely that the character kuo was used to indicate the capital city before it was used to indicate a state, and this capital city was actually derived from the initial ho (方) deliberately established by the Chou king. In other words, the sequence of this evolution was from a ho (a walled Centre) to a kuo (a walled central city), and then from a central city called kuo to a territory also called kuo controlled by this central city. The former transition shows how the initial Chinese city was generated and the latter shows the symbolic importance of this city to the territory it controlled.

There is no evidence for the use of the character ho to indicate the name of the initial important base set up by the Chou king, because this character as far as we know was only used generally to indicate an area. The base itself was known only by the name of the group occupying it. Therefore, it is only tentatively that we can call this initial base a ho of chou-pang to protect the royal domain, mainly based on the similarity between the character ho and the character kuo. The spatial pattern of this initial ho, we suggest, must have been derived from that of Ch'eng-chou which was imitated from that of the Chou or Tzung-chou as shown in Fig 7.11. The main reason for believing this is our analysis of who were the members called kuo-jen (岶人) who settled around this ho.

According to the Tso Chuan, kuo-jen often meant the important people with whom the
lord of a state consulted on important matters, such as Marquis Chin (晉侯) (see the 15th year of Hsi Kung, 僕公, 645 B.C.), Marquis Wei (衛候) (the 18th year of Hsi Kung, 648 B.C.), Duke Ling of Wei state (衛靈公) (the 8th year of Ting Kung, 定公, 502 B.C.), and Duke Huai of Ch'en state (陳懷公) (the 7th year of Ai Kung, 季公, 488 B.C.), etc.

The hsiao-shih-ko (小司寇) section of the Chou Li describes three important issues which required consultation with the kuo-jen: some great danger to a kuo, the movement of a kuo, and the establishment of chun (君, the lord of a state) and this indicates how important kuo-jen were. Is it possible that only the descendants of the Chou people formed this kuo-jen within a state? It seems not, because according to the Tso Chuan (the 6th year of Ting Kung, 504 B.C.), kuo-jen convened at po-she (社) which was the she established for the descendants of the Shang people, and there was another she within the capital of Lu state called chou-she for the Chou people. Therefore, kuo-jen of the Lu state probably consisted of many descendants of the Shang people.

Hsu Hsi-ch'en argues that the reason for this situation was that other groups of people were absorbed into this kuo-jen during the Spring-and-Autumn period onwards, whilst originally the members of this kuo-jen only consisted of the descendants of the Chou people. (Hsu Hsi-ch'en: 1984, p.109) In order to answer this argument, let us point out the fact that different lords appointed by the Chou king still applied King Wu's principle — treating the multitudes well — to organising the different groups they led or governed when they established their initial ho within the eastern and southern areas. The evidence to support this is based on the analysis made by Tu Ch'eng-sheng of the co-operative relationship between the Chou and others within some important bases (later called states). Tu considers that the Chou people followed King Wu's principle because: (1) they wanted to divide the Shang people so that they could not regain power, and so many small groups of the Shang people followed different lords and were moved to different places; (2) they pacified the Shang people in order to use them to control the eastern and southern areas, and so they gave the
leaders of the Shang specific positions of authority and allowed them to have their own land and maintain their own social organisation and customs. (Tu: BIHP(50c), 1979, pp.510-33)

But not only the Shang were absorbed (such as the six sub-clans of the Shang in Lu state and the seven sub-clans of the Shang in Wei state), but also other native peoples, such as the nine clans with the family name Huai (懷) in Chin state. Although there were different ways of absorbing different groups of people to become kuo-jen in different states, when the initial ho (the walled Centre) was just established, they ensured that the spatial pattern around this walled centre was organised by way of interdependence based upon differences rather than through the integration based upon similarity of belief and group structure. In this sense, there is no difference between this spatial pattern and that around Chao-ch’en. It is this interdependence which gradually increased the density of residences around the walled Centre. These residences were the central compounds of those sub-territories, where many villages were located, for the lineages of the leaders (the officials under the lord) and their subordinates. The connection between the villages in the sub-territories and their central compound around the ho was still based on kinship between the members and their leader.

It seems likely that at the beginning of the establishment of this territory, the area occupied by these people was not very extensive and they must have always been confronted by alien peoples who had occupied the surrounding areas. Their military force must have been insufficient at first to expand or even to survive within this alien area, because many inscriptions on bronzes show aid being sought from the royal domain, particularly from Ch’eng-chou and Wei. For example, Duke Ming was ordered by the Chou king to send three sub-clans (tsu, 殽) to attack the eastern area to help the Lord Lu (魯) (see the inscriptions on the ming-kung-tui, 明公數).

It is inevitable that walls must have been needed to enclose the original ho and its
surrounding walled compounds to become the walled Centre of this territory called kuo (国). This is why, from the etymology, the character kuo (国) is simply the outcome of adding an enclosure (口) to the ho (國). It is because these central compounds were so important to the members within the villages that walls were built to defend the walled compounds and of course the central compound of the lord. There is no difference between the symbolism of building walls at P'an-lung-ch'eng site and of building walls in this case, for both protected their Centre. But the ideological bond which held together the Centre at P'an-lung-ch'eng and its surrounding villages was very different from the bond between this kuo and its surrounding villages.

If we accept Hillier and Hanson's definition of a state as "a global formation which projects both a unified ideology and a unified politics over a specific territory; and the more it acts to realise this aim, then the more the exterior is dominated by the system of ideologically defined structures and the more the interior is dominated by controlled transactions" (Hillier: 1984, p.21), we can interpret the above facts to mean that the relationship between this kuo and its surrounding villages was dominated by "a system of ideologically defined structures", and the relationship between the central compound of the lord and other compounds within this kuo was dominated by "controlled transactions". This was the initial form of an ancient Chinese city-state, in which: walled city = state = walled central compounds. The reason why the walls were built not to enclose the residences of all kuo-jen is because most kuo-jen lived in the villages (里, 里) where their livelihood relied heavily on the produce from the surrounding cultivated fields; in other words, without the villages this city-state could not survive, and the villages were essential to it.

In general terms, the transition of the spatial pattern from a ho to a kuo can be shown in Fig 7.13. Comparing the characteristics of this ancient city-state with those of a traditional walled city or town as described by Needham (1971, p.71), we find the following similarities:
Fig 7.13: The transition of the spatial organisation from a *ho* to a *kuo*

Legend
- **☒** walled compound of the Lord
- **☐** walled compound of lord's subordinate
- **☆** sub-centre
- **●** village
- **○** cultivated field
(1) They were not a spontaneous accumulation of population, nor of capital or facilities of production, nor were only or essentially a market-centre; they were both above all a political nucleus, a node in the network disposed by the Son of Heaven (the Chou king or the Emperor later).

(2) Both could serve as a place of protection and refuge, as well as as the administrative centre of the surrounding countryside.

(3) They were not the creation of burghers (unlike the Western burghers who created their city) and they existed for the sake of the country (the chou-pang or the traditional dynasty) and not vice versa; they were planned strategically as rational fortified patterns imposed from above after carefully planning.

(4) Their population was merely a sum total of individuals and their families, each of whom was closely linked with the village from which the family had originated.

7.2.2. The formation of the tu (frm) and the ch'eng-i (fo)

When the Tzung-chou and the Feng-Kao settlement were invaded by barbarians in 770 B.C., the Chou king and his subordinates were forced to move to Ch'eng-chou. From that time, based on the Tso Chuan, the Chou king was no longer a universal ruler and finally had sunk to the level of his former lords, though nominally he still ruled over all China. (Hsu Cho-yun: 1965, p.5) Therefore, every kuo originally disposed by the Chou king became an independent state like the original pang (tC). We call both a state. Of course, the kuo where the lord stayed was the capital of a state, the only Centre of its territory. By way of annexing the territory or part of the territory of other states, and the application of the ta-hsiao-tzung system, there were also sub-Centres disposed by the lord. They were called tu. According to the Tso Chuan (the 1st year of Ying Kung, 722 B.C.), records were written stating that Chuang Kung of the Cheng state (fs) was asked by his mother,
Wu Chiang (武叔), to confer on his brother Kung-shu-tuan (光叔段) a place called Ching (成) in which to reside; this Ching was a city (ch'eng, 成) which, as suggested by Chichung (鉏公, a Great Official), was not a suitable city to give to his brother as a *tu*, because:

Any metropolitan city (*tu*), whose wall is more than 3000 cubits round, is dangerous to the state. According to the regulation of the former kings, such a city of the 1st order can have its wall only a third as long as that of the capital (*kuo*); one of the 2nd order, only a fifth as long; and one of the last order, only a ninth. Now King (昌, 成) is not in accordance with these measures and regulations. As ruler, you will not be able to endure Twa (Tuan, 佗) in such a place. — After this, T'a-shen (大叔, 太叔) ordered the places on the western and northern borders of the state to render to himself —. Then Kung-tsze Leu (公子出) said to the duke, 'a state cannot sustain the burden of two services' — Tae-shun went on to take as his own the places from which he had required their divided contributions, as far as Lin-yu. ("the first year of Ying Kung" in the Tso Chuan, translated by Legge: 1872 (vol.1), pp.5-6)

There are several interesting points here. First, the *tu* must have existed before 772 B.C. and was a walled city disposed within the territory of the Cheng state. Based on Chichung's account, there were three kinds of *tu* under the *kuo* (capital) and they were constituted in accordance with certain orderly proportions of the size of the *kuo*. Second, the city Ching (成) could not have been one of these *tu*, therefore, it must have been a specific walled city directly controlled by the Chuang Kung of the Cheng state; because it was a simple matter for Chuang Kung to give it to his brother. In other words, there must have been several important walled cities or villages, such as this Ching and Chih (制), a strategic *i* (邑), directly controlled by the lord of a state. Third, we know that there was no fixed requirement that Chuang Kung should confer on his brother any walled city or *tu*, because it was given only after his mother's insistence. Fourth, given that it was inevitable that Chuang Kung had to confer a walled city upon his brother, he was only qualified to be given a *tu*, not an important city like Ching. Therefore, a *tu* must have ordinarily been conferred on one of the lord's ministers. 2 If this *tu* was bigger than the *kuo*, it would have

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2 It has been generally considered that the social stratification under the ruler within a state during that time was composed of minister (chung 君 and ta-fu 太夫), knight (shih 士), commoner (shu-jen 什人) and worker and trader (kung-shang 工商). (the 2nd year of Huan Kung in the Tso Chuan)
been very dangerous to divide the state into two parts. The worry expressed by Kung-tzu Lu (公孫闕) in fact became a sign of the ascendance of powerful ministers.

The tendency of the power of the ministers within a state to increase during the Spring-and-Autumn has been studied by Hsu Cho-yun, based on the records of active ministers in the Tso Chuan. (Hsu Cho-yun: 1965, pp. 30-4) By applying the ta-hsiao-tzung system, the continuous passing of the power of these ministers (whether to the ruler's son or not) through their descendants brought about the rise of powerful lineages whose members shared a new family name, shih (氏). These famous lineages have been listed by Hsu Cho-yun, as Table 7.4, who considers: "if that power shift was part of a process of separa-
tion of family relationships from politics, perhaps ministers, in contrast to sons of rulers, obtained their positions by ability as well as by birth, being better able to move with the times". (Ibid., p.34) In any case, this rising power must have changed the position of a tu within a state, especially by building in the tu an ancestral temple of this lineage, which distin-
guished it from the ordinary village called i. This is clearly shown by the Tso Chuan (the 28th year of Chuang Kung, 664 B.C.):

The enclosing of a settlement at Mei (梅) was not a tu. All i (邑) having ancestral temples providing a lodging for their former rulers were designated tu, those without such a temple were termed i. A i is said to be enclosed (chu, 城), a tu is said to be fortified (ch'eng, 成). (translated by Wheatley: 1971, p.174)

According to the chao-t'ei-sheng (朝庭生) section in the Li Chi, this kind of ancestral temple originated from the Three Huan (three famous lineages of the Lu state whose first heads were three sons of Huan Kung (桓公), Chi-sun, Meng-sun and Shu-sun, see Table 7.4). It is clear that a tu was the Centre of a sub-territory within a state controlled by the powerful lineage of a minister, and must have been a walled city containing the ancestral temple of this lineage. It is worth mentioning a paragraph in the Shih Chi which has been considered by Wheatley as representing an evolutionary sequence:
name of state powerful lineages
Chou: Chao, Shan, Kan, and Liu;
Lu: Chi, Meng-sun, and Shu-sun;
Chin: Chao, Han, Wei, Fan (or Shih), Chung-hang, Chih (or Hsun), Luan, and Hsi;
Wey: Shih, Ning, Sun, and K‘ung;
Cheng: Hang, Su, Feng, Yü, Ying, Kuo, and Liang;
Ch‘i: Kao, Kuo, Ts‘ui, Ch‘ing, and Ch‘en (or T‘ien);
Sung: Hua, Lo, Huang, Yü, Lin, Tang, and Hsiang;
Ch‘u: Tou, Wei, and Ch‘u;
Ch‘en: Hsia.

Table 7.4: Some important lineages of various states during the Spring-and-Autumn period
(Hsu Cho-yun: 1965, p.33)
On the first occasion when Shun (桀, one of the legendary model emperors) migrated he built a i; on the second occasion he founded a tu; and on the third occasion he established a kuo (＝ city-state), to which he attracted nobles from the four directions. (translated by Wheatley: 1971, p.174)

We consider these three types of settlement during the Spring-and-Autumn period as only three elementary territorial nodes within a state which dominated the spatial organisation of this territory. Although we have shown how a tu was transformed from a i to become a sub-Centre (walled city) within a territory, this transformation was based on the same idea of constructing walls enclosing a ho to form a kuo. The significance of city walls in both cases was both symbolic and defensive. But wars (which were harder fought and more frequent) not only occurred between states but also between the different sub-territories in a state each controlled by its own powerful lineage, so that the defensive function of the wall became more predominant and so became a common feature in constructing an ancient Chinese city. That is why even an ordinary i, such as Mei mentioned above, was enclosed (chu, dbe) by a simple wall which signalled the transformation from a i finally to a walled city (we call it ch'eng-i).

Although the walls were used to fortify a tu or a special i in order to defend it from invasion by other states, once the capital (kuo) could not control these walled cities, their fortification would have become an embarrassment to the state. In the Tso Chuan, there were many cases which reflected the danger to a state of constructing this kind of walled city, for instance, sometimes walled cities were allowed to become independent (especially those at the borders). This tendency toward independence bore out the concern expressed by Kung-tzu Lu in the Tso Chuan, as we mentioned earlier. A possible representation of the spatial organisation of the territory of a state can be drawn as in Fig 7.14, consisting of the elements, kuo, tu, ch'eng-i, (big) i, small i and t'ien (cultivated field).

Another significant aspect of constructing a walled city during the East Chou period is the formation of kuo ( 政 ) which was added to a kuo ( 政 ) or a tu or even a ch'eng-i. The
Legend
- kuo(✉), the capital of the state
- tu(✈), the main city of the territory of Great Official
- ch'eng-i(✈✈), the ordinary walled city
- i(✈✈✈), the large settlement or village
- small i(✈✈), the small settlement or village
- --- the boundary of the territory of Great Official
- --- the boundary of the territory of a state
- ††en, the cultivated field

Fig 7.14: A possible representation of the spatial organisation of the territory of a state
remains of several Chinese ancient cities (Fig 7.15) show different ways of erecting this *kuo* (宮), the additional city walls, during that time. It is unquestioned that the purpose of erecting this *kuo* was to contain and defend the increasing population around the original *kuo*, *tu*, or *ch’eng-i*. (Tu: BIHP(51d), 1980, pp.672-80) The reasons for the increase in population which have been studied by Tu can be summarised into two important elements: (1) the planned movement of the population from one place to another to help with erecting the *kuo* (additional walls) of the appointed city for military defence; (2) the natural attraction to those outside, including those people who lost their original state in warfare or who escaped from it, and those people who moved from another part of this or another state to make a living. (Ibid.) But new activities generated within this *kuo* (additional walls), such as commerce and service, existed only for the sake of the original *kuo*, *tu*, or *ch’eng-i*, because once its importance was removed, especially as a result of wars, these activities would disappear and be transferred to the new planned centre. Therefore, from the end of the Spring-and-Autumn period the function of the walled city was not only political and military, but also commercial.

7.2.3. The genesis of regional planning: the *chun-hsien* (州) system

The *chun-hsien* system was the first traditional system of planning the regions within the Chinese territory in accordance with its administrative system of centralised government. It was established during the Ch’in and Han dynasties. According to this system, China was divided into thirty six *chun* (郡) and every *chun* consisted of many *hsien* (縣, prefecture) where the *hsien* city was planned as the administrative centre of the territory it governed. It has been widely agreed that this system was generated during the East Chou dynasty. We study the formation of this system, because it will show the role played by the walled city within the system of regional planning and so helps to trace how the walled city started to play its territorial role within a state.
(a) city of An-i, state of Wei, near Hsia Hsien, Shan-si (WW: 1962(4/5), p.61)

(b) city of Wo-Kuo, state of Chin, near Chu-wo, Shan-si (WW: 1960(8/9), p.15)

(c) city of Han-tan, state of Chao, near Han-tan, (g) city of Lin-tzu, state of Ch'i, near Lin-tzu, Hopei (KK: 1980(2), p.142)

(d) city of Chiang, state of Chin, near Hsiang-fen (KK: 1963(10), p.544)

(e) city of Hsia-tu, state of Yen, near I Hsien, Hopei (KKHP: 1965(1), p.84)

(f) city of Shang-tung (KK: 1961(6), p.289)

Fig 7.15: Six archaeological remains of walled cities during the East Chou dynasty
Many scholars, both Chinese and Western, have contributed to this study, such as Ku Chieh-kang (YK: 1937(6/7), Bodde (1938, pp.135-9 and Appendix, pp.238-43), Chang Sendou (AAAG: 1961(1), p.25), Creel (JAS: 1964(2), pp.155-83), Wheatley (1971, pp.179-82), Hsu Cho-yun (1982, pp.407-13), and Tu Cheng-sheng (BLHP(51d): 1980, pp.714-22). They all agree that, as Wheatley concluded: "It has long been recognised that the creation of the hsien was a response to the need for a degree of impersonality and categorisation in the developing bureaucracies of the States of Chou China" (Wheatley: 1971, p.179), but they have disagreed about when the hsien and chun system was generated. Here, we can only summarise some important conclusions of their studies:

(1) The character hsien (縣) was generally interpreted during traditional times as meaning "to suspend" or "attach" (附). As Wheatley points out, it was "composed of a pictograph of a severed human head, together with the post and cord with which to display it in a public place". (Wheatley: 1971, p.179) Therefore, a new territory annexed from other states, or a walled city erected in this new territory which was not adjacent to the territory directly controlled by the lord (also by the kuo, the capital city), was generally named hsien to signify its attachment to the central government. There are three views about when this hsien was initiated: the first proposed by Ku and Bodde who consider that it was first used in the Ch'in (秦) state at least from 688 B.C.; the second proposed by Creel who considers it began in the Ch'ú (楚) state from 689 B.C.; the third proposed by Tu who considers that the other two proposals were only based on the records where the character hsien was used and then argues that the purely administrative function of a hsien was actually generated in the Chin (晉) state, around 514 B.C.. It is not necessary to know accurately which is correct, because this system was only applied to part of the territory of a state where its ruler was so powerful that he was able to exercise direct and full control. At any rate, this initial hsien was a response to the need for a degree of impersonality within a state.
(2) The meaning of the character chun was interpreted during traditional times as a place where a group of people lived together (chu, izona). According to Tu, the initial chun was planned only at the border of a state as a special military walled city which accommodated the armies which protected the surrounding small walled cities and their territories, and it was not popularly applied within different states throughout the East Chou dynasty. (Tu: BIHP(51d), 1980, p.718) Therefore, it seems that no system in which the chun really controlled the hsien was popularly set up throughout that time to divide the territory of a state.

(3) The transition from the Spring-and-Autumn period to the Warring States period, which gradually destroyed the large ministerial lineages and strengthened the ruler’s power, allowed the ruler of a state to establish a bureaucratic system in which officials were selected and promoted only from competent men. (Hsu Cho-yun: 1965, pp.105-6) This change was the key factor which established a system of regional planning to fit the hierarchy of the administrative system. The outstanding example was the hsien system of the Ch'in state which was established by Shang Yang (南面) who in fact borrowed the same system from the Chin state to apply it to the whole territory of the Ch'in state. In 350 B.C., the basic administrative and territorial unit, called hsien, was established within the territory to govern the surrounding villages (hsiang, i, and chu). But there was no chun established to govern the hsien. The only similar system initiated by the Ch'i state was that a tu was planned to control many hsien. During the time when different states were being conquered by the Ch'in state, new chun were continuously set up as required by the lord of the Ch'in state to control the whole or part of the territory of different states they conquered.

The result was that the territory of China (a unified China) was then divided into thirty six chun under which many hsien were established as the basic territorial units. From that time, a traditional walled city was a purely political node within the network of the administration and was a centre of the surrounding area where many small walled cities and
villages were located. Through this regional planning, the original blood bonds were replaced by territorial bonds in the state organisation, but the blood bonds (the kinship) still existed between the people who lived in a walled city and their ancestral temple which was located at the village, called *chia-hsiang* (家鄉, home-village) from which they came.

### 7.3. THE FORMATION OF THE TYPICAL FORM AND PLAN OF A WALLED COMPOUND (*SSU-HO-YUAN*) CONSTRUCTED FOR A FAMILY (*CHIA*)

It has generally been considered that the form and plan of a traditional Chinese house (a walled compound usually called *ssu-ho-yuan*, 四合院) are of the best design to suit the order of a basic unit -- the family (*chia*, 家). As Wu puts it:

> The house is the basic cell in the organism of Chinese architecture, just as the family it houses is the microcosm of the monolithic Chinese society. --- The dual quality of the house, as a setting for ceremony and as a home, is the most important characteristics of the house as an image of human relationship. (Wu: 1963, pp.31 & 34)

And Dillingham:

> It is a house whose design had little basis in physical function, but took its sources from traditional ideas of family, religion and society, all of which hinged on a hierarchy of human relationship -- man to elders, man to ancestors, man to family. (Dillingham: 1971, p.107)

It was the basic unit of a traditional village, town and even city which were the elements in the formation of the whole territory of a traditional dynasty. A village, as Needham points out, always "possessed a great deal of unofficial self-government, and formed integrated community groups, dominated by one or more homogeneous clans". (Needham: 1971, p.71) Similarly, as Willetts suggests: A town or city "in its turn is an aggregation of private homesteads. Structurally and functionally, the town can be regarded as one enormous homestead. Conversely, the private homestead can be thought of as a little town". (Willetts: 1958, p.659)

This similarity clearly shows the possibility that the creation of a walled compound
and of a walled town or city could share the same idea. In section 7.1., we showed how a walled city was generated from a walled Centre (called ho) which was derived from the prototype of a walled compound called shih-shih which was initiated during the Hsia dynasty. In section 7.2., we also showed that the form and plan of the walled compound at Feng-ch’u, which we proposed as the administrative centre of a group of people, the sacred Centre of a sub-clan and the residence of their leader and his family, was also derived from the same prototype. Comparing the plan and reconstructed form of the walled compound at Feng-ch’u with the plan and form of a typical traditional house in Peking (constructed during the Ch’ing dynasty) (Fig 7.16), we see that there is no essential difference between them at all, although the former consists of two courtyards and the latter of three.

Fig 7.17, which shows a collection of plans of traditional houses erected during the Ch’ing dynasty in Taiwan (Kwan: BIE(49), 1980, p.191), shows that no matter what size the house was, the main hall was the only focus of the traditional house. It is the importance of this main hall which allows Willetts, Wu, and Kwan to consider the intimate relationship between the man (as head of a social unit or administrative unit, or the ancestors) and the hall (receiving hall and/or ancestral hall). It is from this Centre (the man within the hall) that the spaces around him are organised, in an image of man’s society. (Willetts: 1958, p.659, Wu: 1963, p.30, & Kwan: BIE(49), 1980, p.191) But from the archaeological remains found so far, the transition from the prototype of the Hsia walled compound to three other typical plans of walled compounds throughout the Three Dynasties (Fig 7.18) indicates that only when the function of the courtyard, which was originally used to communicate with the world of gods through the leader (the wu), was dissociated from the function of the walled compound, that the centre of the walled compound was inevitably replaced by the main hall in accordance with the increasing importance of the role of the leader.
Fig 7.16: A typical compound of Ming and Ch'ing dynasties
(Liu Tung-chen: 1982, p.325)
Fig 7.17: A collection of plans of traditional houses in Taiwan (Kwan: BIE(49), 1980, p.191)
These four plans can be regarded as the basic types of the traditional walled compound which were applied to the plan of a complicated house by multiplying and enlarging, or of a simple house by deducting (Fig 7.17). The basic unit of a house was still the rectangular building which originated from the northern building located at the north of the shih-shih during the Hsia dynasty. The initial type of the walled compound (Fig 7.18(a)), having a freestanding building erected within the courtyard, as Wu points out, was frequently applied in the T'ang dynasty (see the building form on the mural painting in Fig 7.19(a)) (Wu: 1963, p.32), and was also applied to the typical plan of a traditional Confucian temple (see the traditional temples existing in Taiwan, Fig 7.19(b), which were erected during the Ch'ing dynasty). Other types (Fig 7.18(b)-(d)) can be compared with those mentioned by Needham (Fig 7.20).

From these comparisons, we can see that the form and plan of a typical traditional Chinese house had already existed since the Hsia dynasty, but how did this original walled Centre (see the four types in Fig 7.18) come to be widely applied to every family as a typical house during the traditional period? In order to trace this development, we need to compare the form and plan of the walled compound at Feng-ch'u with that of other walled compounds erected during the East Chou dynasty, but unfortunately, we do not have any archaeological evidence at all of this kind from that time. The problem which now remains, then, is to trace this development without the archaeological remains.

The only material available is the descriptions of two types of compound called ch'ın (Wa) and miao (M) in the I Li (儀禮, Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial). According to Creel, this book "sets forth in great detail the intricate ceremonies that are supposed to have pertained to the class shih (十)" and "was probably elaborated into its present form chiefly during the Warring States period". (Creel: 1970, p.331) Therefore, the two types of compound, ch'ın and miao, described in this book must have been those erected during the Warring states period. But to whom did these two types of compound belong? According to
Fig 7.18: Four types of walled compounds during the Three Dynasties before the East Chou period

(a) Erh-li-t'ou
(b) P'an-lung-ch'eng Chao-ch'en
(c) Yen-shih
(d) Feng-ch' u

Fig 7.20: Typical ground-plans of Chinese buildings
(Needham: 1971, p.62)
Fig 7.19(a): Walled-in courtyard. Mural from Tun-huang caves, eight century
(Wu: 1963, Fig 91)

(1) Taipei  (2) Hsin-chu  (3) Chang-hua

(a) plans of three Confucian temples

(b) Isometric of the Confucian temple at Chang-hua

Fig 7.19(b): Three existing Confucian temples in Taiwan
(Echo: 1981(10), pp.95 & 102)
the descriptions of different ceremonies in this book, *miao* could be the public place (the ancestral temple) and *ch’ìn* could be the residence of a *shih*, a *ta-fu*, a *chun* (君, lord), or a *chun-tzu* (nobleman). From the elementary components of these two types of compound described in the book, both seem to share a similar plan with almost the same components, and there is no difference between the residence of a *shih*, of a *ta-fu*, and of a *chun*, or of a *chun-tzu*. In other words, they were built on the basis of the same prototype.

This similarity has been agreed by traditional scholars since the Han dynasty, Cheng Hsuan (程玄, Han dynasty), Chang Hui-yen (張惠言, Ch’ing dynasty), and Tai Chen (戴震, Ch’ing dynasty). The plan of this prototype was reconstructed by them as in Fig 7.21. This shows it to have been a walled compound in which a rectangular building was located at the north of the courtyard. In fact, there is little difference between this plan and the plan of the prototype generated in the Hsia dynasty at Erh-li-t’ou. The only difference is that these traditional scholars tried their best to partition the plan of the northern rectangular building into many rooms in order to fit the functions of these components which have been described in the *I Li*. From the existing evidence of traditional buildings, there was no such complicated partitioning within the main hall. Therefore, a reconstructed plan of this walled compound has since been attempted as in Fig 7.22 by Le Chia-tsao (黎嘉藻).

Based on this work, we would rather follow the plan of the walled compound found at Feng-ch’u and then reconstruct two plans with three courtyards for these two types of compound, the *ch’ìn* and the *miao*. (Fig 7.23) The main information for these reconstructions is listed in Table 7.5 which is based on the study of Cheng Liang-shu (成良叔) (1971, p.2). Unfortunately, the descriptions in the *I Li* do not provide enough material to reconstruct the form of these two compounds.

According to the *Tso Chuan* (the 12th year of Duke Hsiang, 562 B.C.), there were three levels of ancestral temples, *tzung* (祏), *tsu* (壝), and *mi* (祧), which were erected
Fig 7.21: Four reconstructions of the ch'in and miao recorded in the I Li
(a, b and c from (Lin Hui-ch'eng: 1984, p.130))
(d from (Tso Heng: 1980, p.167))

Fig 7.22: Reconstruction of the kung-shih recorded in the I Li by Le Chia-tsao
(Lin Hui-ch'eng: 1984, p.130)
Fig 7.23: Reconstructions of two walled compounds for the *ch’ in* and the *miao*.
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Table 7.5: Some terms for describing the components of the walled compounds (ch'in and miao) which appear in the I Li
(Cheng Liang-shu: 1971, pp.7-8)
respectively for those people who had the same surname (hsing, 生) (the clan), the people who had the same first head of branch (tzung, 赵) (a sub-clan); and the people who belonged to the same lineage (tsu, 族, here we regard it as shih-tsu, 氏族, in that the members of a same lineage shared the same lineage name, shih, 氏). But according to the ta-chuan (大傳) section of the Li Chi, there were rules restricting the kind of ancestor who could be offered sacrifices:

According to li (ceremonies), only the king could offer the ti (祀) ceremony. The king offered the ti ceremony to the person from whom his ancestors were derived and to his ancestors who associated with this person. The lord of a state only could offer the sacrifices to reach the highest ancestor (ta-tsu, 太祖, the first lord who were appointed by the Chou king to govern this state). Ta-fu and shih, only when they were confronted with the serious problems (ta-shih, 太嘗) and then were approved by the lord, could gather their members to offer the sacrifices only to reach to their high ancestor (kao-tsu, 高祖, the ancestor of four generations above the person, ta-fu or shih, who performed the sacrifices). (translated by author, Legge's translations can be found in (Legge: 1885 (vol.2), p.60))

From this paragraph, we can see that originally there cannot have been an ancestral temple erected for the ta-fu or the shih. So where could they offer sacrifices to the high ancestor? We consider that this must have been done in the main hall of the house of the ta-fu or the shih, just as King Wu sacrificed to King Wen in the great hall (ta-shih). This house was probably the same as the ch'in described in the I Li. Only after the rise of the powerful lineage of the same ta-fu, such as the Three Huan in Lu state, was a public temple erected solely for this lineage to offer sacrifices to the ancestors who not only consisted of the first ta-fu, but also of the deceased lord from whom the lineage was derived, such as Duke Huan who was offered sacrifices by the descendants of three lineages. This disobedience to the rule described in the ta-chuan section above is clearly shown in the chiao-t'ie-sheng (孝弟_shuffle_悌_旌) section:

It was not lawful for the princes to sacrifice to the king to whom they traced their ancestry, nor for the Great Officials to do so to rulers from whom they sprang. The practice of having a temple to such rulers in their private families, was contrary to propriety. It originated with the three Huan. (translated by Legge: 1885 (vol.1), p.422)
This temple must have been the *mi* described in the *Tso Chuan*. Comparing this with the traditional ancestral hall (*tsung-tsu-t'ang*; 宗祠堂) of a clan (*tsung-tsu*; 宗族 or *shih-tsu*; 氏族) where the members of a clan expressed their gratitude to all the ancestors except for those of the nearest generations, three or five, who were already worshipped in the main hall (or ancestral hall) of their homestead, this *mi* temple and the main hall of the *ch'in* of the *ta-fu* or the *shih* must have been the places where the worship of ancestors took place initially during the Spring-and-Autumn period. But is it possible that every family during that time had its own place to offer sacrifices to its ancestors up to five preceding generations (reaching to the "high ancestor") based on the rules described in the *ta-chuan* section of the *Li Chi*? The key to answering this question would be to know who were the *shih*. There have been many translations of this character *shih* used in the ancient texts describing the events during the West Chou dynasty:

In one passage in the *Poetry* Karlgren renders it as 'gentleman', where both Waley and Legge translate it as 'man'. Karlgren -- perhaps under the influence of the traditional belief that *shih* was the name of an aristocratic class -- has a tendency to translate it as 'gentleman' even where this is clearly out of place, as in one poem where the person in question is depicted as a peddler and specifically called a 'man of people'. In the Western Chou sources *shih* can often be rendered as 'gentleman' only if we understand the term in the contemporary American sense, in which any man is assumed to be a gentleman until proved otherwise. Very often *shih* means simply 'a male (as distinguished from a female) person'. One poem refers to agriculture laborers as *shih*. A bronze inscription lists, among the booty captured in an expedition against the Huai barbarians, 'shih [that is, man], woman, sheep, and cattle'. (Creel: 1970, p.332)

After careful examination, Creel concludes that "certainly there was a definite and flourishing aristocratic class in the latter period, but whether there ever existed a distinct aristocratic class known as "shih", which practiced the elaborate rituals described in the *Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*, remains a question". (Ibid.,pp.332-3, Creel's italics) This question provides us with an opportunity to look into the increasing importance within a state of a group of people called *shih* at the end of the Spring-and-Autumn period, whether or not they were originally the members of an aristocracy. We consider that they were derived from the basic members of a initial state, called *kuo-jen*. 

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The trend of the increasing importance of the shih has been studied by Hsu Cho-yun on the basis of the discovery that the frequency of mentioning the role of shih has "a remarkable change, from no mention at all to mention in somewhat active roles". (Hsu Cho-yun: 1965, p.37) Although the actual changes in social mobility between the Spring-and-Autumn period and the Warring States period are not clear, the fact that any competent person could be selected and promoted by the ruler in the bureaucratic system of any state during the Warring States period (Ibid., pp.77 & 106) strongly supports the trend whereby the plan and form of the ch'in and the miao described in the I Li was applied by every family for its homestead and by its lineage for the collective ancestral temple.

7.4. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, an account has been given of how the Chou people applied to its own socio-culture the Hsia and the Shang ideas of constructing the walled Centre and its surrounding settlements in making their own Centres and settlements. From the processes of its evolution during the whole Chou dynasty, we can clearly see how the walled compound prototype which was created in the Hsia dynasty dominated ancient Chinese ideas of how to relate their state (kuo) and family (chia) within an orderly spatial organisation. The most important discovery is the understanding of how this gradual transition came to convert a dominant Centre which was surrounded by a dispersed settlement to a dominant Centre surrounded by a concentrated one. This conversion, indeed, corresponds to the change from a socio-cultural organisation based on the integration of its sub-clans through the similarity of their beliefs and social structure to one based on the interdependence of different groups through their differences.

The result is the creation of the ancient Chinese city which during the Warring States period became a purely political or administrative node of the state. The morphology of this ancient city was not very different from that of a walled city during traditional times which,
as Willetts points out, was only "an aggregation of private homesteads", and in which the political or administrative walled compound was given a dominant position as the centre of the territory which it governed.

The arguments presented in this chapter have been mainly concerned with showing how traditional Chinese architecture was embedded in this society as a model which was applicable to any type of Chinese building in the tradition, something very different from western architecture which has always distinguished between buildings belonging to the grand design tradition and those of the folk tradition.

In reviewing these arguments, we should acknowledge the criticisms which might be made of some of the interpretations:

(1) Although there are only two groups of remains found in the area where the Chou people originally settled down, and their functions are arguable, Tu's analyses of the nature of the social groups who settled there on the basis of the West Chou bronze inscriptions found there provide us with an important clue which leads us to reconstruct a denser settlement surrounding the walled Centre. The existence of this walled Centre (correlating it with the remains at Chao-ch'en) and its components and their functions all depends on whether the place called Chou in the bronze inscriptions is in fact this area. The reconstruction of the function of the walled compound at Feng-ch'u then depends on how to refute the currently accepted view that its function was as an ancestral temple. Our correlation between the inscriptions on various bronzes, which certainly belonged to lords who were not only the descendants of the Chou people but also those of other peoples, and their being found in at this area provides supplementary support for our theoretical reconstruction of the spatial organisation of this area.

(2) The transition from a ho to a kuo is not certain, because of the lack of evidence from the end of the West Chou dynasty: whether of archaeological remains or bronze
inscriptions. However, our efforts to trace this are not only based on the relationship between their etymology, but also on the possible connection between the walled Centre erected during the Three Dynasties and the capital city called kuo during the Spring-and-Autumn period. Although it must remain speculation, the possibility of the connection which we have outlined must be considered.

(3) The application of the plan and form of the walled Centre to the homestead of every family during the East Chou period which we have presented also suffers from a lack of archaeological evidence. But we are quite convinced of this application not only on the basis of the descriptions about two types of compounds in the I Li, but also on the basis of the increase in social mobility and the right to ancestor worship which gradually spread to every family during that time, especially during the Warring States period.

In spite of the necessarily uncertain nature of these conclusions, the general picture is quite clear, because the most critical points within these progressive transitions are supportable and they certainly point to the formation of the nature and characteristics of traditional Chinese architecture.
CHAPTER EIGHT: CHINA'S WAYS OF CREATING HER TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE

The symbolism of Chinese architecture in traditional times, particularly that of the walled compound and the walled city, is a topic which has been dealt with by both Chinese and Western scholars (e.g. Willetts (1958), Wu (1963), and Wheatley (1971)), but their works have never supplied a full-scale exposure of its origins. The present study, in Chapters Three to Seven, has attempted that task, and in this chapter attention is drawn especially to those symbolic forces which link the genesis of early Chinese "grand" architecture to the general, more or less global idea of creating a symbolic Centre.

This idea has been discussed at length by Eliade using many examples "drawn primarily from the architecture, epigraphy, and literature of the ancient Near East and India, and numerous others could be adduced from Southern Asia and Nuclear America". (Wheatley: 1971, p.417) As Wheatley points out, the basic modes of this symbolism have been systematised by Eliade as follows:

1. Reality is a function of the Imitation of a Celestial Archetype.
2. The Parallelism between the Macrocosmos and the Microcosmos necessitates the practice of ritual ceremonies to maintain harmony between the world of the gods and the world of men.
3. Reality is achieved through participation in the Symbolism of the Centre as expressed by some form of axis mundi.
4. The techniques of orientation necessary to define sacred territory within the continuum of profane space involve an emphasis on the cardinal compass directions. (Ibid., p.418)

In terms of architectural space, these basic modes can be translated into three questions which reflect a local response to the general idea: (1) why was it necessary to construct a Centre and what symbolism did it have for the builders? (2) how was this Centre constructed? (3) how and why was the prototype of the Centre continuously imitated?

The account of the evolution of Chinese pre-traditional architecture which has been presented in the previous chapters has clearly indicated how these three considerations
generated the prototype of the Chinese walled compound and then how this prototype was imitated to become a model applicable to any type of building.

Some of the theories about the creation of a symbolic Centre are summarised in detail in Appendix (3). It seems very likely that before modern times the creation of a symbolic Centre in some form or another was necessary and important for any society, no matter where and when it existed. This universal idea produces a convenient means for us to link together the ways in which China created her traditional architecture. Furthermore, the evolution of Chinese pre-traditional architecture, which can be clearly understood on the basis of our interpretations of the archaeological evidence, provides an opportunity to see how the idea of a Centre really worked in the Chinese case, and to see why it was unnecessary for the Chinese to construct a temple for the gods within their Centre, while the need for the Centre still remained. The creation of "grand" buildings within a Centre, such as shih-shih, chung-wu, and ming-t'ang during the Three Dynasties, was not in honour of a Supreme God. This is why Chinese architecture was not monumental and which allows Ito and Needham to consider that it was secular. The key factors in the whole evolution are then how and why the first building was located within a central walled compound and what was its function, and also why this building and its compound were imitated as a model applicable to other types of building and their compounds.

It is impossible, on this basis, to trace the whole evolution of Chinese pre-traditional architecture without being concerned with how the earlier Chinese constructed their Centre in the preceding periods. Based on the archaeological evidence and the analyses and interpretations presented in Chapters Three to Seven, the whole process of evolution can be divided into four stages of transition which show the forces which led to the changes of the architectural forms. In what follows, these four stages are discussed.
8.1. THE CIRCULAR CENTRAL OPEN SPACE WAS THE CENTRE

Around the middle of the neolithic period (the Yang-shao period), the most archaic Chinese settlement was constructed almost in the form of a circle. This circular form was reinforced by the enclosure of many individual houses and then by a ditch. Although only two out of the three settlements which have been discovered clearly show this form, they all show how necessary the individual houses were to the formation of the central open space. (see Figs 6.4-6)

These two inseparable component spaces, the house and the central space, formed the centre (the home base) of their "own world" for a certain socio-cultural unit. This unit consisted of the members of a unilinear, probably matrilineal, kin group, in which women had higher status than men. Only the Chiang-chai settlement is sufficiently complete for an estimate to be made of its population. Although it has been set at around 450-600 persons by Kung Ch'i-ming and Yen Wen-ming (KKWW: 1981(1), pp.68-9), this estimate in fact still suffers from the error of considering that this site represents only one archaeological site -- "that is, a single-occupation village" (Chang Kwang-chih: 1977, p.98). This kind of neolithic settlement had rather a shifting and repetitive settlement pattern which probably resulted from the slash-and-burn techniques of cultivation (see section 6.2.).

The hierarchy of the spatial pattern of this settlement (the group's "world") which we have analysed (Fig 6.7) clearly indicates how the central open space was the determining factor in its formation. Its circular form can be connected with the symbol, ○, in the character 亖 (廬) which was generally used during the East Chou dynasty to indicate a village. By studying the etymology of this character 亖 (廬 or 亖), we have argued that the pictograph ○ or □ signifies this central place and 亖 signifies the settled human being who worshipped his god or gods. From this connection, we can see why this central open space was the sacred Centre which was to do both with social organisation and socio-spatial
expression, and also with the religious focus of the society. Therefore, we can see how important this central place was to the consecration of a settlement and that the circular form of this place can be traced back as early as the middle of the neolithic age.

The theories on the functional or symbolic aspects of the circle, such as its compactness, its possession of mythical-magical power, and the Reigen, are merely indicative of how and why the form of this initial central open space was created by the neolithic Chinese. We consider that this was the initial form of a place or stage (an axis mundi, as suggested by Eliade) for the neolithic Chinese to communicate with the world of the gods to maintain, improve or even recreate their "own world". It is probable that this circular form was derived from the collective dance (see the painting on a pot shown in Fig 5.15(2.9)) which indicates the possibility that expressing a sense of collectivity or community in a circular form was the earliest socio-spatial conversion of a group of people into a spatial organisation in archaic China. Later, during the Lung-shan period, the shaman, as intermediary between the mundane world and the realm of the gods, was very evident in the practice of his skills on this stage, with dances, offerings, and divinations (see section 5.3.2.). The earliest picture of this shamanistic activity may be the one painted in a bowl found at the Pan-p’o site. (see Fig 5.16) The circular form of this central open space was unchanged, no matter how the surrounding individual houses were built (either in a circular form or a square one). What we do not know is whether any central pole or pillar was actually erected in the centre of this stage.

When the original circular settlement was no longer suitable for the size of the group, the spatial form of the central space was no longer constructed by the enclosure of the individual houses in a circle. There are two possible causes: one is that because of the growth of its population it came to occupy more than one village; the other may be connected with the advent of the multi-roomed houses (as in some remains found at Ta-ho-ts’un) which appear to have shared a common orientation. From the remains found at Ch’iu-wan, the
erection of a central stone or stones was one of the ways to mark the Centre. The space
defined by the central stone was, we consider, one of the original forms of a shē which was
later erected as a stepped platform during the Three Dynasties, because etymologically the
central stone can be connected with the symbol  in the character shē ．

According to the myth recorded in the Hui Nan Tzu (edited in the Han dynasty), there
were three kinds of shē: the earth shē, the stone shē, and the tree shē (see section 6.1.). The
central space constructed by pounded earth could have been the circular open space
which we have described above or the one mythologically called t'ai or ch'iu (the mound)
dedicated to the legendary emperors. The central space in which stones were erected was
the shē used by the Shang, identified by the Shang character shē ( 在 ）。The space where
central trees or wooden poles were erected was the shē used by the Hsia (pine trees) or by
the Chou (chestnut trees), identified by the character shē ( 材 ） used by them. The spatial
form of this place marked by stones or trees ( 在  or 材 ） in fact was not different from the
one enclosed by individual houses, because each was an open space centralised in a circular
form.

Although western research has attributed a variety of functions and meanings to stone
monuments, they all commonly, as Renfrew concludes, "functioned as territorial markers
for segmentary societies". (Renfrew: 1984, p.196) But above all, both in Chinese and
Western cases, the most important function of this place, whether marked by stones or
trees, was communication with the world of the gods. Eliade has connected the sacred tree
with the symbolism of the central axis, as "a pillar, post, pole, or ladder etc., of the world
through which the gods could descend down and the soul of the shaman in ecstasy could
fly up in the course of his celestial journey". (Eliade: 1964, p.259) By interpreting the
anthropomormic patterns on the most ancient Chinese pottery, Bulling discovers the mean-
ing of the combination of a tree and a human figure: the hollow tree symbolised "the
correct signs for the pillars of Heaven", "the cosmic trees" and "calendar-trees", and then

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was connected with the "tree-rites"; the human figure on the tree was "the squatting position of a masked dancer" or "mythical bird called Phoenix". (Bulling: 1952, p.90-108)

From this, we can see the close relationship between the sacred tree and the shamanistic figure in archaic China: from the tree, the shaman could fly up in the course of his journey like a Phoenix. More than this, from the connections Bulling makes between tree-rites, constellation-myths, and gods (Ibid., pp.109-131), we can catch a glimpse of how the concepts of the gods were generated on the basis of the symbolism of the sacred tree and the power of the shaman. The dominant role of the shaman (wu, GINE) can be traced from the Three Dynasties back to neolithic times to show its historical root in archaic China. This role has been found to be closely connected with the power of the legendary ancestors of the Three Dynasties and legendary emperors. On the whole, there is no doubt that in China shamanistic practices were in evidence around the transitional time from the Yang-shao period to the Lung-shan period. (see sections 5.3.1. and 5.3.2.) The open place marked by the central symbols ( ⚫ stones or ⚫ trees) was the Centre for the shamanistic practices of any group of archaic Chinese. In other words, shamanistic practices were crystallised within fixed spatial forms as they became a more settled people.

In Chapter Six, we argued that all the initial forms of the neolithic Centre in archaic China might have had an essentially similar form, a centralised open space, though expressed in different ways. The possible changes in the spatial organisation of a Chinese neolithic settlement are shown in Fig 8.1 (Fig 6.11). Although the few known settlement remains do not show sufficient evidence to prove this interpretation, their evidence at least does not contradict it. It is based on the connection between the archaeological evidence and the interpretation of the characters she and i and the ancient myths about the archaic forms of a she.
Fig 8.1: The change in the spatial organisation of a Chinese neolithic settlement

(Fig 6.11)
8.2. THE GENESIS OF THE INITIAL WALLED COMPOUND AND ITS ORIGIN
-- the transition of the form of a Centre from
the circular open space to the square walled compound

During the Lung-shan period, a number of independent groups of people settled down
on the Central Plain in North China. Each group was a socio-cultural unit which settled as a
village or villages (居, 縣), possibly self-sufficient, which had a central place, probably
marked by symbols (stones or trees), where the group communicated with their gods
through an intermediary (their leader) using his shamanistic skills. The bond which consoli-
dated this organisation must have been ideological, mainly based on the kinship of the
members of the group. The hang-t'u walls found at Ch'eng-tzu-yai site and P'ing-liang-t'ai
which enclosed some house remains have been seen by some as strong evidence that the
walls were used for defence. It is hard to generalise from this that the usual way of con-
structing a settlement during the Lung-shan period must have been to build hang-t'u walls
to enclose and so defend the whole population. By comparing the settlement enclosed by
hang-t'u walls with the circular settlement found at Chiang-chai, we consider that the pri-
mary purpose of constructing this kind of wall might have been to mark out and protect its
Centre, the central open space.

The ideological bond which led to a certain spatial organisation and the erection of a
Centre was not only based on the kinship of the members of the group but also on the
"worship" of their common God or gods. The evidence which supports this comes from
not only the archaeological evidence of oracle bones and shells and the patterns found on
pottery, but also from the connection between the role of a wu (shaman) and that of legen-
dary emperors (or sages), legendary ancestors, and archaic leaders described in the myths or
legends. (see sections 5.3.1. and 5.3.2.)

Based on the legends about the changes in archaic leadership from Yao to Yu under
the rotary system called shan-jang (succession by invitation), it is very likely that some
social units in the Central Plain joined together, although the reason is unknown, and they
selected a prime leader by rotation between different units according to his merit. Although we do not know the process of this selection, one thing we can be sure of is that it was peaceful rather than violent, and that the candidates nominated as suitable heirs to the prime leader were tested in the process. This prime leader, of course, was the chief of the leaders of different units. Because the leader of each unit was originally a *wu* (shaman), it is natural that the prime leader would have been the head *wu* and so the only intermediary for communicating with their collective God (the Supreme God). Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to consider that there might have been a central place erected for the members of this newly incorporated group to communicate with their Supreme God through the performances of their prime leader. The original gods worshipped by different units might then have been localised to become the gods of each locality. We called this central place *ta-she* (Great Altar) \(^1\) as distinct from the *she* (centre) of the individual units. This *ta-she* might have been built with *hang-t'u* walls on four sides and a pounded earth floor inside, to form a square walled compound having a south gate with a pair of guardhouses.

From the interpretations of the characters of the four orientations found in the oracle bone inscriptions, it is possible that the southward orientation of this compound was decided by the orientation of the leader who occupied a position at the north of the compound and faced south during the ceremonies. The central position within this compound was the place for the Supreme God, probably represented by the central symbol (*shih*, \(\overline{T}\) or \(\bar{T}\), which might have been derived from the central tree or stone). The genesis of the cardinal orientation and axiality of this walled centre according to the position and orientation of the prime leader shows the rising power of the leader within this united group. It is this which led to a different way of constructing a new Centre: a walled square instead of a circular open space.

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\(^1\) The translation of the character *she* as "altar" is not very exact, but from the viewpoint of offering sacrifices, this translation seems to bear the closest meaning.
Why was the original circular open space cosmicised and orientated into a square one? It may be for the following reason. The early shaman was a tool of the gods and of the people, therefore, he was subservient to his role and to the tree (or stone) within the Centre which was circular and centralised. Once the shaman's earthly power became more important and had to be expressed more visibly, there must have been two centres: (1) the leader (the centre of the society) and (2) the original Centre, axis mundi and tree (or stone). Once having two centres, it was natural to have a direction to fix, because both were important elements in the people's way of life. This led to the cosmicisation and orientation of the originally circular Centre into a square or rectangular form where the position of the leader was fixed.

Because this collective Centre was so important to these incorporated units, the hang-r'u walls which enclosed some houses at Ch'eng-tzu-yai and P'ing-liang-t'ai were also, of course, used to enclose and then protect the open space in a square form which had been cosmicised according to the position and orientation of the prime leader. The walls on its four sides symbolised the protection of the four directions. The ideology which bound the social units together was not established purely on the basis of the kinship of the members of this united group, but mainly on the worship of their Supreme God. This was because the kinship within each unit was still stronger than the kinship between the units; in other words, the identity of each unit was very strong although there was probably a system of intermarriage between the units. On the whole, the incorporation of different units was a voluntary one through the common worship of the Supreme God.

The difference between the myths about the changes in leadership from Yao to Yu and those about the succession from Yu to Ch'i is significant in that it identifies two distinct periods: the former was a time of dynamic relationship between the incorporated units as we have pointed out above, because of the strong identity of each unit; the latter was a time of more stable relationship between them, because the relationship between the first
leader (Yu) and the second leader (Ch'i) is described as the relationship between a father and son. (the detail can be seen in section 5.3.1.) It is unnecessary to consider whether Ch'i was in fact the physical son of Yu, because during the Shang dynasty, according to the oracle bone inscriptions, the term to-fu to-mu (many fathers and mothers) was still used. Therefore, during the period from Yao to Yu the ideology which bound every unit together relied mainly on communications with the Supreme God through their prime leader's performances on the "Great Altar". If a unit believed that these communications were not powerful and effective enough for its own interests, it was easy for it to break away from the incorporated group. This is why the relationship between the units was so dynamic.

As time passed, the members of a more stable group of people once led by Yu and Ch'i believed, according to the legends, that Yu and Ch'i were their earliest leaders who were so meritorious that they had been associated with the Supreme God, and that they themselves were descended from them through a paternal line. The proclamation of the formation of a clan called Hsia provided all members of this group with a strong ideological bond derived from the collective worship of their legendary ancestors.

During the second period of the Hsia dynasty, a rectangular colonnaded building without walls was erected on the north of the courtyard, although the exact time is not known. It was a main hall named shih (☑), a building for chih, (十八), simply from the correlation of the names of this earlier sacred building called shih-shih, chung-wu, or ming-t'ang during the Three Dynasties and its form (a thatched building with no walls) as described in the ancient legends. (see section 5.2.1.) But was this rectangular building built for the worship of their Supreme God (or gods) or the legendary ancestors? Based on our understanding of the religious beliefs and related architectural spaces during the Three Dynasties, this hall was erected neither for their Supreme God (oleon) nor for the legendary ancestors (十八), because on the one hand, the character for this building was not written in the form of "[十八]" or "[十八]", and on the other hand, the location of this building
was not at the centre of the compound (the locations for the symbols of the Supreme Gods and legendary ancestors). (see section 5.2.2.)

Based on interpretations of the meaning of the character chih (_WEAPON>, an arrow stuck in the ground, the new season was coming or had come, and something had been pinned or fixed), this building was mainly used as the place for observing the celestial signs of the planets and seasons which were the basis of the Chinese lunar calendar used in ancient agriculture, and also as the counselling or assembling space for dealing with any matter of common interest to the clan, especially concerning warfare, and finally as the place for divining. (see section 3.1.2.)

Therefore, this hall originally functioned as a subordinate place for the leader to establish the order of things through his divinations. Of course, this depended fully on the communications between the leader and the Supreme God to obtain the signs. These communications were made through ceremonies by dances, offerings, and divinations, performed within the courtyard by the leader (the head wu, later called chief or king). (see section 5.3.2.) If we combine this with the myths about the tree she of the Hsia people described above, it is probable that the sacred tree continued to be erected in the centre of the walled compound as the symbol of the Supreme God (shih, \(\text{T} \)) or (\(\text{T} \)), and, associated with it, the symbol of the legendary ancestors (tsu, \(\text{A} \)). Therefore, the central open space was still the focus of this Centre, and not the hall (shih) to the north of it.

Let us now try to reconstruct the various forms which may indicate the transformations of the socio-spatial ideas from the erection of the "Great Altar" to the shih-shih of the Hsia clan. In Fig 8.2, we present five processes to show that different constructional methods appear to have been used for developing different elements of various walled compounds: the outer enclosing wall, the south gate, the colonnades, the building without walls, and the building with partitioned rooms.
Transformation of plans from the "Great Altar" to the 6th-5th (Hall of Generations) during the transitional period from the Long-shan period to the Shang dynasty.
(1) The wall of the compound was built first by the hang-t'u process, then later the south wall came to be constructed of "wattle-and-daub", and finally the whole wall was built of "wattle-and-daub". These changes (from Fig 8.2c to Fig 8.2e) show that the form of various walled compounds, erected at first simply as a fortress-like compound, gradually developed into a complex with more delicate architectural details.

(2) Although the constructional method applied to the south wall and its gatehouses in different compounds changed, the persistent location of this gate and the gatehouses in the middle of the south wall shows the significance of this gate to the whole walled compound and gives the compound a southward orientation.

(3) Because the ground for erecting a she was usually tamped firmly, it is likely that the "Great Altar" enclosed by the hang-t'u wall should be treated in the same way; in other words, because the whole compound was tamped firmly it can be considered as one large stepped altar erected higher than the level of the ground outside and then enclosed by the hang-t'u wall.

(4) Because of the role of the leader (chief or king) within the Hsia clan, a building without walls was erected later on the north of the compound. It had two main components: the platform completed by applying the same method used to tamp the ground of the compound, but made slightly higher than the level of the compound; and the posts erected around four sides of the platform to support the roof, but without walls, to form a semi-open space within the compound. The fundamental idea behind the construction of this building was similar to that of constructing an ordinary house by using "wattle-and-daub" walls to enclose an interior space, but here without the walls. "Wattle-and-daub" walls were the most common method used to enclose an interior space by the archaic Chinese who lived in the Central Plain throughout neolithic times. (Fig 8.3A &B) And the idea that this semi-open space should be rectangular followed the tendency to extend the square
Fig 8.3: Transformation of plans from a square house to a rectangular house
house into a rectangular one as shown in the neolithic multi-roomed house remains in Ta-
ho-ts'un (its development can be seen in Fig 8.3). Later, when another walled compound
was built (either on the same site or not) the same semi-open space was imitated along the
east, south and west enclosed walls to become the colonnades. It is likely that these colo-
nades were used mainly during meetings or feasts, rather than just as passages. As all of the
hang-t'u foundations for these colonnades along the walls were almost the same width, it is
probable that they were constructed first, and the walls were then erected on them, whether
these walls were of the "wattle-and-daub" or the hang-t'u type. It is also quite possible that
the colonnades were created within the fortress-like walled compound along the hang-t'u
walls excluding the north wall (Fig 8.2c) before they were built for another kind of walled
compound with "wattle-and-daub" walls, because although the south wall was converted
into a "wattle-and-daub" wall and built along the middle of this colonnade (Fig 8.2d), the
width of its hang-t'u foundation was not extended.

(5) Later, it seems, there was a special compound (ch'in) built for the leader as the
residence for him and his family. (Fig 8.2f and g) It is likely that this building was a dupli-
cation of the prototype of the shih-shih, with the addition of "wattle-and-daub" walls to
partition some rooms within the northern rectangular semi-open space or pavilion (see the
change from Fig 8.3d (or f) to Fig 8.3e (or g)). Probably in order to keep the appearance of
this residential building as similar as possible to the prototype, the colonnades were
preserved on all four sides. The obvious difference between the form of this ch'in and of
the shih shows that the shih was not for the residence of the prime leader, but for the
fulfillment of his shamanistic duties to the Hsia clan.

If these transformations are correct, we can see clearly how the elements of the tradi-
tional Chinese architecture evolved. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to neglect the
increased importance of the role of the clan leader while discussing how and why the north-
ern colonnaded semi-open space or pavilion was created and located according to the
position of the prime leader (the great man). He was the only intermediary of his clan who could communicate with the Supreme God. The belief in the legend about the most remote ancestors who were associated with the Supreme God was another very important means of maintaining the order of the socio-cultural organisation of this Hsia clan, over and above the communications between the gods and the people through their prime leader (king or chief). The result was that a central walled compound was built, combining the "Great Altar" with a main hall (shih, 神). Within a walled compound, the main hall without walls was located at the north of the courtyard. The whole compound was the Centre of the Hsia clan, therefore both the main hall and the whole walled compound shared the same sacred name shih-shih (世室, the Hall of Generations).

8.3. THE IMITATION OF THE PROTOTYPE DURING THE SHANG DYNASTY
--- the various architectural forms and their functions
differentiated within the Centre and its sub-Centres

Sharing with one another the same model of belief, a group of people arose during the second period of the Hsia dynasty, calling itself the Shang clan, whose members traced their descent from the same legendary ancestor Chieh. According to the Shang myth, Chieh's mother (Chien Ti) bore him as a result of devouring an egg dropped by a dark bird who was sent down from Heaven (the Supreme God). (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.12) The relationship between the birth of the legendary ancestor and the will of Heaven (the Supreme God) is obvious in this kind of myth. But based on the oracle bone inscriptions, Chieh was only one of the Shang legendary ancestors (from Ku 祭 to Wang Hai 王亥). Why did the Shang people have a horde of mythological ancestors? According to Akatsuka's studies (Keightley: HJAS, 1982(1/2), p.297), it is likely that the Shang people was made up of groups of people who traced back to their own ancestors because they shared the Hsia clan's model of belief. In this sense, it is probable, as Chang Kwang-chih suggests, that "in early China there were many hundreds of such clans". (Chang Kwang-chih: 1983, p.9) Basically, this formation was no different from the joining of peoples
which occurred during the transitional period from the Lung-shan period to the Hsia dynasty to form the Hsia clan, because both were based on an ideology derived from the same socio-cultural need for these collective symbols: the leader (the prime leader or local leader) as a secular symbol, the legendary ancestors as the collective originator of these people, and the Supreme God or the god of locality as a sacred symbol.

Under these circumstances, it is probable that there was a collective Centre erected by the Shang people when they were led by T'ang into the area around the Central Plain. According to Tso Heng's studies, Cheng-chou could be the site of this Centre. Simply from the viewpoint of its spatial form, the Cheng-chou remains appear to be what is left of a huge walled compound (1700m x 1870m) derived from the small compound of the Hsia people called shih-shih (108m x 100m).

Why did the Shang people erect this very large walled compound; was it mainly a residential compound where the people lived? Although we do not yet know anything about the archaeological contents of the Cheng-chou compound, from the excavations so far within the Yen-shih compound, the P'an-lung-ch'eng compound, and around the architectural remains at Hsiao-t'un, it seems unlikely that there were many residences erected within the compound or close to the main architectural remains. If so, the hang-t'u walls might principally have been to contain the central spaces, and not the walls of a city for the residence of the members of the Shang people. According to the archaeological excavation within Yen-shih walled compound (1700m x 1240m), the organisation of the main architectural remains (the walled compound J1, 200m x 180m) can be presented in a conceptual diagram (Fig. 4.9) as containing three walled compounds (two D4 and one D1) and the south main gate. The comparisons shown in Fig. 8.4 indicate how the initial Hsia idea of constructing a Centre was applied. The remains of D4 (Fig. 4.8) within the walled compound J1 can be considered as a variant of walled compound no.2 at Erh-li-t'ou. The walled compound J1 itself is only an enlargement of that compound no.2 at Erh-li-t'ou, but it
Fig 8.4: Transformations of plans of the central spaces from the Hsia dynasty to the Shang dynasty
contains three small walled compounds. This is a more complex application of the prototype. The most simple one is that erected at P' an-lung-ch'eng, a walled compound (260m x 290m) in which three rectangular buildings were erected on a large platform (60m x 100m) at the north-east of its courtyard. We consider that two architectural forms, the independent rectangular building, "□", and the walled compound in the form of "[ ]" (such as the remains of D4 at Yen-shih site) are two basic elements applied by the Shang people to construct the central architectural complex at Hsiao-t'un as their Centre during the Late Shang period. The comparisons of these architectural remains and their reconstructions which indicate different applications of the two walled compounds at Erh-li-t'ou are shown in Fig 8.4.

The function and planning represented by the remains at Hsiao-t'un have been studied in a symmetrical plan with three distinctive areas: a group of residences on the north, a complex of "ancestral temple and hall" in the middle, and the altar(s) on the south. (see section 3.1.) Unlike the Hsia people who planned the shih-shih and the king's residence in separate compounds, the Shang had already placed the king's residence behind or to the north of the dominant spaces (the "ancestral temple and hall" complex and the altar(s)), because of the relationship between the king's duties and these dominant spaces.

This same idea was also applied to the walled compound at P' an-lung-ch'eng, but the difference was that there was no ancestral temple and altar within this compound, perhaps because the Shang king was the only intermediary who could communicate with the Supreme God through the male and female ancestors in the ancestral temple, and through legendary ancestors and some inferior gods, on the altar(s). The worship of the male and female ancestors here was the extension of the worship of legendary ancestors to apply to all deceased kings and their consorts. Although we are not sure when it began (probably after T'ang - the founder of the Shang dynasty), this worship was crucial in strengthening the ideology which bound the settlements of the Shang territory together. On the one hand,
it reduced the sacred power of the living king, for he could no longer communicate directly with the Supreme God; and on the other hand, the belief that it guaranteed the king a position as an ancestor who would live in the world of gods after his death in fact strengthened the secular authority of the Shang king while he was still alive.

The increasing emphasis on the worship of the deceased kings as the collective ancestors, through whom the living king could communicate with the Supreme God, promoted the position of the "ancestral temple and hall" complex within the central architectural spaces. Because the living king could not directly communicate with the Supreme God, the original open space within the walled compound used by the Hsia people for the worship of the Supreme God was no longer needed. It was changed into a small three stepped platform only, located on the south, on which the living king worshipped various inferior gods also to communicate with the Supreme God. But during the reigns of some of the Shang kings who belonged to the so-called New School of the Shang dynasty, the worship of these inferior gods was neglected and the worship of ancestors only was emphasised. This was the beginning of strengthening the "ancestral temple and hall" complex as the focus of the communication with the Supreme God.

The spatial pattern of the settlement remains around An-yang (see section 3.2.) shows that the central complex at Hsiao-t'un was the dominant space not only of the surrounding settlements within the An-yang core, but also of those outside it. This An-yang core, we believe, was actually the "Great Settlement" of the Shang dynasty, named ta-i-shang or t'ien-i-shang (see section 3.3.1.), the only centre of the Shang territory where the Shang king always lived and played his pre-eminent role in communications with the world of gods and in the daily affairs of the Shang clan through his divinations. This explains why it was the main site for storing the oracle bone inscriptions and was the main place which the Chou king intended to destroy. Therefore, the place called ta-i-shang or t'ien-i-shang was the so-called capital of the Shang clan wherever it was located.
The Shang clan, in the establishment of its "capital", shared the same aim as the Hsia people when they constructed their central area: every sub-clan (tsu, 亖) contributed a certain group of its people (tsu-tsu, sub-tsu, 屬) as the basic components of wang-tsu (王) to establish a central "Great Settlement" for the king (see section 4.3.3.) where he could manage the sacred and secular affairs of the whole clan. But the basic need was fundamentally theocratic: the king was the only intermediary for communication with the world of gods, and the central space (the "ancestral temple and hall" complex) was the only place where that communication could be performed. From this standpoint, a patrimonial proto-bureaucracy was then gradually developed as a centralised means of governing the whole clan.

Except for the central dominant space erected in the capital, it is probable that two other types of dominant space were constructed as the ideological nodes in the organisation of the spatial pattern of the "Great Settlement" and its surrounding interior territory: the Centres of the sub-clans (sub-Centres such as the P'an-lung-ch'eng walled compound) and of small settlements (villages or hamlets) (see sections 4.3.4. and 4.4.). They were also the socio-cultural means of organising the exterior territory of the Shang people created by the expansion of the Shang territory by the migration of members of the Shang people from the interior territory and the participation of other alien people in the Shang theocratic proto-bureaucracy in the "Great Settlement" (see section 4.3.4.).

However, the erection of the architectural spaces of a Centre was the most important socio-cultural expression of the ideological bond between the Centre and the settlements around it, and between the Centres of different sub-territories (sub-Centres) and the Centre of the "Great Settlement". In the exterior territory, a sub-Centre was sometimes enclosed by a hang-t'u wall (such as the P'an-lung-ch'eng walled compound) mainly because of the importance of its location on the borders (see section 4.2.), following the concept of "protecting the four directions", and therefore was of symbolic importance to the "Great
Settlement" itself. It is possible that the original walls which symbolically enclosed the central spaces as the Centre of the great settlement (such as the Erh-li-t'ou and Cheng-chou walled compounds) were transposed to the sub-Centres located at strategic positions on the borders, as if to symbolically protect the four directions of the whole territory. (Fig 8.5) (Fig 4.14)

8.4. THE IMITATION OF THE PROTOTYPE DURING THE CHOU DYNASTY
-- from a dominant Centre of power
   to a dominant Centre of power and control

According to the legend of the formation of the Chou clan, when the Chou people, led by T'an-fu, settled down at the south of Mount Ch'i, they established their main hall (shih) and chung-t'u (or chung-she, 祭社 translated as the 'mound' she) as the Centre and proclaimed themselves as the Chou ( Rencontre) clan, descended from their legendary ancestor Hou-chi.

The pictograph of the character chou ( Rencontre) and Hou-chi's legendary ability in arable farming indicate the importance of their agricultural activities to their settling at Ch'i. Based on the analysis of the relationship between the Hsia, Shang, and Chou peoples in accordance with their geographical locations during different periods (see section 5.2.2.), we consider that the establishment of their hall (shih) and their agricultural skills were both derived from the practices of the remnant of the Hsia people. In any case, the establishment of a hall (shih) symbolised their settling down at this Ch'i. The chung-t'u must have been their original she (the central open space) where they communicated with their gods.

Although we do not yet know the spatial organisation of this Ch'i settlement, we suggest that it must have been similar to that of the Hsia at Erh-li-t'ou, a dispersed form where the main hall (shih) and chung-t'u were surrounded by many settlements (villages). It is unclear how this Centre was planned, but it seems that the form and plan of the northern rectangular building (shih) of the Hsia at Erh-li-t'ou might have been imitated by the Chou.
The idea of protecting four directions of the Centre is applied to protect four directions of the territory by way of enclosing the walls around some sub-Centres at the borders.
Based on the *Li Chi* and *Shih Chi*, this *chung-t'u* might have been located at the south of the Centre where the *shih* was erected and was the place for the Chou king to worship Heaven and their legendary ancestor Hou-chi who was associated with Heaven.

During the Shang dynasty, the territory occupied by the Chou clan was called by the Shang people a *fang* (方, one of the alien people) (see section 4.3.1.). The leader of the Chou clan was sometimes honoured by the Shang king with a position of a lord, but the relationship between the two peoples was so dynamic (hostile or friendly) that the identity of the Chou must have been very strong and clear (see section 4.3.2.). Generally, the relationship between the Chou and the people of other *fang* around them was very friendly. The Chiang people, for example, were permanent allies. On the whole, we consider that the territory controlled by the Chou was very small, compared with the Shang territory on the east plain.

During the reign of King Wen, the Chou created a new settlement called Feng at the west area of the present Feng river. (see the *wen-wang-yu-sheng* section of the *Shih Ching*) There were many wars during this expansion, and finally they defeated some of the groups of people who had originally settled in the area between the Ch'i settlement and this new Feng settlement. Although we do not know how, it seems that these groups might have been absorbed into the Chou clan. After the passing of the leadership from King Wen to King Wu, this settlement was extended to the east area of the present Feng river which was called Kao (考). This combined settlement then became a new base for preparing war against the Shang king. Finally, King Wu united eight other groups and defeated the Shang king at Mu.

It is generally considered that this new settlement was the new capital of the Chou clan (Hsu Cho-yun: 1982, p.73), but our interpretations based on the bronze inscriptions do not support this view, unless this new settlement (including Feng and Kao) can actually be
shown to be the same place as the place called Chou in the inscriptions. Perhaps because King Wen or King Wu frequently resided at this settlement to prepare for the expansion eastwards, this settlement was considered as the new Centre of the Chou. On the whole, this settlement (Feng and Kao) was undoubtedly the base for this expansion. For the purposes of our study we have called this base Feng-Kao settlement.

Based on the inscriptions on the ta-feng-tui (大豊欏), the great hall (ta-shih) was the place for King Wu to sacrifice to King Wen for help in defeating the Shang king. Therefore, we know that King Wu did not erect another building, like the tzung of the Shang clan, for the worship of King Wen, but used the great hall. This great hall must have been derived from the shih originally erected by T'an-fu, but in which T'an-fu had not worshipped his father. Although we do not know where this great hall was located, it is certain that it must have been the Centre of the Chou territory before King Wu defeated the Shang, a dominant place of power. This place might be very similar to the Centre of the "Great Settlement" of the Shang territory (such as the central complex at Hsiao-t'un), because both dominated the surrounding villages and cultivated fields within their territory on the basis of the integration of their members through a similarity of belief and social structure within the same clan.

A distinction between the function of the dominant space of power and that of the dominant space of control within a specific territory was described in Chapter One: between domination over a dispersed territory based on the integration of a social unit through the similarity of beliefs and structure, and domination over a dense territory based on the interdependence between different groups through their differences. We can consider that, after King Wu defeated the Shang, the role of this great hall was changed from the dominant place of power alone to the dominant place of power and of control, because it was not only the Centre of the Chou people, but also of the other peoples governed by King Wu, in particular, the Shang. The proclamation that the Mandate of Heaven was transferred from
Shang to Chou, because "our king of Chou treated well the multitudes of the people; was able to practice virtue, and fulfilled his duties to the spirits and to Heaven" (Creel: 1970, p.83-4), indicated that the Centre where the great hall was located was the dominant place (of power and of control) of the Son of Heaven (the king).

After King Wu died, Ch'eng succeeded as the king, but was supervised by his uncle Duke Chou (at first as regent and then as dominant court official), because Ch'eng was still a minor. Almost immediately after his succession, the "Inspectors" originally appointed by King Wu to inspect the Shang remnant united some groups of the Shang remnant to revolt against Duke Chou's regency. After three years, Duke Chou successfully put down this revolt. In order to prevent it happening again, Ch'eng-chou was deliberately erected as a new eastern Centre to control the eastern and southern areas.

It is likely that the spatial organisation of these three settlements, Ch'i (Chou or Tzung-chou later), Feng-kao, and Ch'eng-chou, would share the same pattern containing a concentric series of spaces: the central walled compound of the Chou King innermost, then various walled compounds of the lords, and finally the common villages with their cultivated fields. The usual form and plan of the central compound of the king were a walled compound in which a number of rectangular buildings were erected at different times with different names (such as the remains at Chao-ch'en and the one shown by the reconstruction of the plan of wang-ch'eng (the city of Chou king) drawn during the traditional period, Fig 8.6).

The possible differences between the three compounds of this kind within the three settlements are that there were ancestral temples (miao), altars (she), and chao (chung-t'u) erected at Ch'i only (Chou or Tzung-chou later), and that Ch'eng-chou was more heavily fortified than the other two. The usual form and plan of the walled compound of a lord seem to have been a walled compound as at Feng-ch'u (Fig 7.1), called kung. The main
Fig 8.6: The comparison of the archaeological remains at Chao-ch'en and the reconstruction of the central compound within the wang-ch'eng (king’s city) drawn during the traditional China.
hall (tzung-shih, 廟, 廟) was erected as the administrative centre of the people governed by
the lord who occupied it, and as the sacred Centre of his sub-clan (kung-tsu, 公族) who
had the same tzung (宗, the head of branch, the lord). The two small rear courtyards
enclosed by three rows of buildings and the main hall must have been the residence of this
lord and his family.

In Fig 8.7, the comparison of different plans represented by different remains of the
Three Dynasties clearly shows how the prototype of the Hsia Centre (the shih-shih) was
imitated to develop these two kinds of walled compound during the West Chou period. In
Fig 8.8 (Fig 7.7), the comparison of different plans of the rectangular main halls
represented by the same remains also clearly shows how the bay system (chien, 廂) was
developed to mark out the spaces enclosed by parallel timber frames during the West Chou
period, although we do not know what structural system was employed. The additional
columns and hang-t'u walls which marked this bay system, must have been required to sup-
port the heavier load of the roof due to the use of roof tiles. Tiles have been found amongst
the remains.

Throughout the West Chou period, although different ancestral temples (miao) were
erected occasionally for the king to worship different deceased kings, and the open space
(chiao) and stepped platform (she-tan) were erected for the king to make sacrifices to the
Supreme God and to the spirits within the central compound of the king at Ch'i (Chou and
Tzung-chou later), they were no longer like the ancestral temple within the "ancestral tem-
ple and hall" complex (tzung-shih) of the Shang, nor the central open space within the
walled compound (shih-shih) of the Hsia — the sole focus of their Centre.

The main focus of the walled compound of the Chou king was his kung (with
different names) in which the great hall (ta-shih) was placed to govern "all the people
under Heaven". The original sacredness borne by the central open space of the Hsia and

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Fig 8.7: Transitions of the plan of a walled compound from the Hsia dynasty to the Shang dynasty

(a) No.1 remains at Erh-li-t'ou

(b) No.2 remains at Erh-li-t'ou

(c) D4 remains at Yen-shih

(e) remains at Chao-ch'en

(d) remains at Feng-ch'u
Fig 8.8: Comparisons of plans of the rectangular buildings from the Hsia dynasty to the West Chou dynasty

(Fig 7.7)
later by the "ancestral temple and hall" of the Shang, because they were the place for these two peoples to communicate with their Supreme God, was not only carried by these miao, chiao and she-tan, but mainly by the ta-shih of the Son of Heaven. This great hall was later called ming-t'ang (Hall of Brightness) during the East Chou dynasty. This is why during the traditional era the royal palace of the Emperor which was derived from the ming-t'ang was the most sacred place, as Wheatley points out:

in the imperial capitals the symbolism of the centre was more strongly developed, for it was at this quintessentially sacred spot that was raised the royal palace, which corresponded to the Pole star (Pei-Ch'en), the residence (at the axis of the universe, be it noted) whence T'ai-i watched over the southerly world of men. (Wheatley: 1971, p.428)

From this, we can see how the symbolism of the Centre remained in the traditional royal palace within the capital city where the Emperor resided.

The various important military bases gradually set up by the Chou king throughout the West Chou dynasty at the eastern and southern areas must have also shared the same model as Ch'eng-chou and its surrounding settlements. We have called the centre of every base ho, although so far we can only be sure that this character ho used in the bronze inscriptions meant some areas outside the royal domain. We tentatively suggest this name, because the comparison of the characters ho and kuo allow us to guess that the character kuo was the combination of the character ho and the "□ " shape enclosing it (see section 7.2.1.). In addition, the character kuo used in the first year of the Spring-and-Autumn period, according to the Tso Chuan, indicated a capital city of a state whose plan might have been similar to the plan of wang-ch'eng (王城, the walled city of Chou king), represented by the archaeological remains found at Lo-yang. This must have had walls constructed to enclose the original Ch'eng-chou walled Centre, when the Chou king removed his Centre from Tzung-chou to here during the end of the West Chou period because of the invasion of barbarians.
Fig 8.9 shows how this *ho* and some of its surrounding villages (*i*, ) were gradually transformed during the Chou period into the walled cities of a state. The change from a *ho* to a *kuo* symbolises the transformation from a walled centre to a walled city (*ch'eng*, 筑, , this pictograph denotes that a *kao* is added to the *ch'eng*, the name of the walled centre Ch'eng-chou). This initial walled city did not contain the whole population (*kuo-jen*), the majority of whom lived in the surrounding villages, but only the walled compounds of the officials (the leaders of each group of *kuo-jen*) and their subordinates, and other supplementary places, such as the area for the production of pottery and bronzes. Basically, this walled city was only a larger walled Centre, because it was the outcome of containing the many walled compounds of the various officials into a compact spatial form on the basis of their interdependence. In other words, it was formed on the basis of the differences between the groups. It is these forces which made the symbolic Centre (the walled compound of the lord) of a state into a dominant Centre of power and of control -- with a unified ideology and unified politics over a particular territory. This transformation was not identified by Wheatley:

The forces which brought about the transformation from dispersion to compaction of city form are almost wholly obscure. The information relating to this process as it occurred in Chou China is so exiguous that there is little hope of its elucidation in the near future, -- (Wheatley: 1971, p.479)

When more people were attracted from outside or were needed for defence, additional walls (*kuo*) were built for the extra population and for other activities, such as commerce and service. In this sense, the population within these additional walls existed for the sake of the walled Centre (*kuo*) and not *vice versa*. At the same time, the way of enclosing a *ho* was copied to change the ordinary *i* into a *tu* or a *ch'eng-i* (see section 7.7.2.), according to the role of this *i* within the state. The increasing importance of a *tu* where an ancestral temple was located symbolised the rise of strong ministers whose descendants formed a powerful lineage and shared the same family name (*shih*). The intra-state conflicts which arose between these powerful *shih* caused some states to be divided,
Fig 8.9: The process of the changes from the forms of a ho and a i to the forms of a kuo, a tu and a ch'eng-i.
for example the Chin state became three new states, Han, Chao, and Wei. It also caused the transformation of the lordship into a powerful ministry, such as in the Sung and Ch'i states. This is why in some cases a tu was given additional walls (kuo 𥳑) and became the capital of a new state. As Hsu Cho-yun points out, "at the start of the chen-kuo period a new type of state appeared -- a state in which the ruler wielded despotic power and ministers could be brought into and discharged from a bureaucratic system that selected and promoted competent men and rejected the unqualified" (Hsu Cho-yun: 1965, p.109-110). Therefore, the role of the walled cities within a state was gradually changed so that they became purely political and bureaucratic nodes which corresponded to the administrative system of the central government.

Naturally, the system of regional planning, called chun-hsien, was gradually developed until it encompassed the whole country when the Ch'in state unified China. (see section 7.2.3) From the developments throughout the whole Chou period, we can see how the walled compound dominated the genesis of the ancient Chinese walled city mainly by enclosing a symbolic Centre, as a single dominant Centre of control.

But why is it that a traditional house (ordinarily called ssu-ho-yuan), can, as Willetts points out, be thought of as a little walled town? In other words, why does the creation of both seem to share the same idea which expressed the order of a traditional family in the spatial form of a walled compound. After comparing the plan and form of some different traditional houses with those of different walled centres from the Hsia dynasty to the West Chou dynasty, it is apparent that there is no basic difference between them, and it seems that the former must have been derived from the latter. Therefore, the key point in tracing this development must concentrate on how the walled centre model was gradually applied to every family homestead during the East Chou dynasty (see section 7.3.).

Unfortunately, however, there are no archaeological remains, dating from that time, of
this kind of walled compound which can be used to compare with the one found at Feng-ch'u. The only material available is some descriptions about two types of walled compound, ch'in and miao, in the I Li. According to the date of the compilation of this book, these compounds must have been built at the latest during the Warring States period. Based on the I Li, the walled compound called ch'in could be the residence of a shih (knight), ta-fu (Great Official), chun (lord), or chun-tzu (nobleman); the walled compound called miao could be the public ancestral temple; and the form and plan of these two compounds could be built on the basis of the same idea, because they all shared similar terminology describing the components of the walled compound. Although this plan has been reconstructed by traditional scholars based on the descriptions in the book (Fig 8.10a-e), we prefer to use the reconstruction of Le Chia-tsao (Fig 8.10e) and the plan of the remains at Feng-ch'u (Fig 8.10f) to derive the plans of these two compounds as the conceptual diagrams given in Fig 8.10g-h. This is because there is no evidence of such complicated partitioning of the main hall.

Because of the increased social mobility throughout the East Chou dynasty, the model of the walled compound ch'in was gradually applied to every traditional family homestead in which the main hall was used for the worship of the family's ancestors (three or five generations), and also as the receiving room. The model of the walled compound miao was applied to the ancestral temple of every traditional clan (in fact similar to an ancient lineage), in which the main hall was the place for the worship of all the ancestors except for those of the nearest generations (three or five) who were already worshipped in the main hall of the family homestead.
Fig 8.10: Comparisons of the plans of walled compound, both reconstructions and remains
8.5. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we have considered how and why the Chinese pre-traditional architecture evolved by looking into the interrelationship between the ways it developed and the different constructions of the symbolic Centre during pre-traditional times. The factors which have determined our interpretations of this evolution have focussed mainly on the role of the "grand" building within the Centre of the territory during the different periods. It is this which gradually brought about a specific architectural form with so many distinctive features. These features were later developed to become the typical characteristics of traditional Chinese architecture. It was the symbolism of the Centre, expressing the collectivity of a group of people, which allowed the form and plan of the "grand" architecture which evolved during the Three Dynasties to become a model which was persistently embedded in Chinese architecture from generation to generation and was widely applicable to any type of building in the society and culture called "traditional China".

In Fig 8.11, we present in summary the whole evolution of early Chinese architecture during the pre-traditional period showing the correlations between the dates, the plans of walled compounds, the plans of rectangular buildings, the conceptual spatial pattern of settlements, and the characteristics of early architectural form which evolved and its corresponding socio-cultural changes. As described in Chapter One, we unfortunately cannot trace the origins of some of the more superficial characteristics, such as the bracket system (tou-kung), the curved roof, and the structural system, because of the lack of archaeological evidence from the pre-traditional period. From this figure, however, we can see when, how, and why some of the characteristics of traditional Chinese architecture evolved, and see how far we have come towards finding their origins.
CHAPTER NINE: DISCUSSIONS

Throughout this thesis, we have attempted to make a coherent story of the evolution of Chinese pre-traditional architecture from neolithic times by looking into the dialectic of the formation of the early "grand" architecture and the changes of its corresponding socio-culture. This dialectic is based on an interpretation of the archaeological evidence discovered so far, by correlation with other evidence and interpretations from different fields. It also depends on some theoretical and sometimes speculative reconstructions of pre-traditional Chinese socio-culture which fill the gaps made by the lack of a full understanding of the spatial patterns of settlements and their territory. This is because we cannot interpret the socio-cultural function of an individual space or building only through a knowledge of its archaeological contents. We must also try to understand its socio-cultural background in order to define its role within the settlement and territory where it was built. Without these reconstructions it would be impossible to fit the story together.

It is because of the speculative nature of our reconstructions of society that there is a need to examine further the interactions between Chinese pre-traditional socio-cultural organisation and the spatial organisation of their settlements and territories. This further examination might or might not provide stronger support for our outline of the evolution of Chinese traditional architecture, but it would certainly promote more understanding of the nature and structure of Chinese pre-traditional socio-culture. Although new evidence might certainly require changes of details, we do not believe that it could contradict the pivotal point of the present study, namely the relationship between the process of the production of Chinese traditional architecture and the need to construct a symbolic Centre.

In the following paragraphs, we criticise briefly some of the more speculative parts of the thesis and then outline some further possible studies.
In discovering the initial form of a neolithic Centre (Chapter Six) which was based on limited archaeological sites only, we have not fully discussed the spatial organisation of neolithic settlements during different periods in comparison with the spatial components of a settlement represented by different neolithic sites. This, and the lack of complete information from many sites, makes it very difficult to reconstruct the transitions of the spatial pattern from a Yang-shao settlement to a Lung-shan settlement and to a Hsia settlement (i.e., 宋), and then to understand the settlement systems during a certain period (especially the interactions between different settlements or between different territories). Under these circumstances, although we have proposed a common spatial pattern for neolithic settlements by emphasising the common need for a central open space, it would be worth extending the investigation to analyse in depth the evidence from different neolithic archaeological sites in order to reconstruct more precisely the usual settlement patterns and systems and their changes throughout the neolithic times in China.

The tracing of the origins of the earliest walled compounds during the Hsia dynasty (Chapter Five) only gave suggestions as to how and why these compounds were constructed on the basis of the same idea of creating a square walled Centre. But in fact, the lack of key archaeological remains required that the links in the evolution of this compound during the transitional period from the end of Lung-shan period to the middle of the Hsia dynasty should be based mainly on some theoretical deductions to fill the gaps.

In addition to this shortcoming, there is also insufficient information, either archaeological or socio-cultural, concerning the Hsia dynasty for us to understand precisely the transformation of the spatial patterns of the settlement during this transitional period. We have relied heavily on the historical records and myths which describe how the first Chinese Dynasty was constituted and defined the function of the first and most important building generated during that time. This is also based on the correlation between the general idea of creating a collective Centre and the need for a collective leader.
These gaps are the central points which need further exploration to understand the processes of forming a special dynastic socio-culture (Hsia clan) and the settlement and territorial pattern where it was established. The information in relation to these, at this moment, is still so scarce that there is little hope of their full elucidation in the near future. Nevertheless, it would be possible to explore the formation of the socio-culture of this first dynasty, if only by deduction from the relevant information about the Late Shang socio-culture and comparisons between them; and it would perhaps be profitable to search for more clues in the transformation of the spatial form of a Centre from a circular open space to a square walled compound, that is, the process of cosmicising and orientating a Centre.

In exploring the structure of the settlements around An-yang and the role of the Hsiao-t’un complex (represented by its remains) within this site (Chapter Three), and analysing how the Shang territory was constituted (Chapter Four), the main argument was about how to properly interpret the formation of the Shang society and its nature, because different interpretations lead to diverse understanding of how the Shang territory was constituted. Although we have tried to present four theories of the formation and structure of Shang society in relation to evidence from the many archaeological sites which have been found so far, we were only able to work out the conceptual diagram about the spatial organisation of the Late Shang territory where the "Great Settlement" was the centre. When we connected Chapter Five with these two chapters to discuss chronologically the transition of the settlement and architectural form from the Hsia dynasty to the Shang dynasty in parts of Chapter Eight, we were able to fill out the reconstructions only roughly.

This connection, which is more or less workable, in fact also strengthens our interpretations outlined in these two chapters. For example, the adoption by the Shang of the Hsia concept of worshipping their legendary ancestors, to develop their own practice of worshipping their deceased kings and their consorts as ancestors indicated the inevitable need to have a central person (the chief or king) and a central place (the Centre) where the king
could communicate with the Supreme God through their ancestors or various inferior gods. A greater understanding of the spatial organisation of the Shang territory would be strengthened by further study of the oracle bones and bronze in sacrifices and of new archaeological sites as they are discovered. Because the information we have so far from etymology is mostly concerned with events during the Late Shang period (after the reign of King Wu Ting), any clear data arising from these two sets of evidence to help us to understand the events during the early Shang period is unlikely to be found in the near future. The only way we can achieve this in the meantime is to hypothesise a continuum of change between the Hsia and the Shang dynasties on the assumption that the overall picture of the nature of the Hsia socio-culture can be deduced from the information of the Late Shang period.

In exposing the origins of the Chou settlement and its architectural form and its development throughout the Chou dynasty (Chapter Seven), we saw how the Chou gradually applied to its own socio-culture the Hsia and Shang ideas of constructing the walled Centre and its surrounding settlements. From the whole evolution, we saw the correspondence very clearly between the ideas of constructing a city (ch'eng, 城), a settlement (i, 城), a territory (pang, 邦 and kuo, 国) and a courtyard house (ssu-ho-yuan, 四合院), and the socio-cultural ideas of constructing a state (pang, 邦 and kuo, 国), a clan or lineage (tsu, 桌) and a family (chia, 家). However, we suffered from a lack of concrete evidence from archaeology and bronze inscriptions in determining the functions of the walled compounds (at Chao-ch' en and Feng-ch'u) and the spatial organisation of their settlement, the transition from a ho (域, a walled Centre) to a kuo (國, a capital city of a state), and the application of the plan and form of the walled Centre to the homestead of every family and the ancestral temple of every clan.

This has introduced some unfortunate haziness into the picture we have drawn which could be cleared away to strengthen the continuum of the development of the Chou
settlement and architectural form only if we had more evidence and information, both from archaeology and from etymology. It would also be interesting to study the changes in the architectural details from the Warring States period to the Ch'în and Han Dynasties, based on the pictures of buildings drawn on murals during these periods.

On the whole, it is impossible, at this stage, to gain anything like as complete and clear a picture of the history of early Chinese architecture as we have of traditional architecture. But, at least, we have marked out a coherent story of the genesis of Chinese traditional architecture by pointing out critical architectural and planning changes in relation to sociocultural changes. With each new discovery of archaeological remains the picture may change as the new evidence is studied alongside the old, and so the story of the origins of Chinese traditional architecture may yet take many years to complete.
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APPENDIX (2): DIFFERENT METHODS OF CONSTRUCTING THE NEOLITHIC WALLS AND PLATFORMS

(A) Wattle-and-daub

This was the common method of constructing a wall during neolithic times in North China, which consists of interwoven twigs or weeds plastered with a mixture of mud and sometimes chopped straw. Fig Appendix 2.1 shows some reconstructions of neolithic houses built by this method. The processes of this construction can be listed as follows: the first was to dig the holes for posts and/or the wall foundations; the second was to erect each wooden post within its corresponding post hole, then to fill the hole with soil and tamp it down firmly to fix the post; the third was to connect these posts with many horizontal twigs or weeds to construct a walled wall; the forth was to daub mud (sometimes mixed with chopped straw) on the walls; the final was to finish the surface of the wall.

(B) Adobe

"Adobe -- a word of Arab origin later adopted in Spain and then in the Americas -- is the name of a technique in which earth mixed with water and finely chopped straw is manually rammed into wooden brick-moulds". (The Centre Georges Pompidou: 1981, p.57) In China, this kind of brick is called "sun-dried mud" (ni-pei, 泥坯, or t'u-pei, 土坯) which was the original form of the baked brick (chuan, 砖) used popularly during the Han dynasty. (Needham: 1971, p.40) Based on the archaeological evidence, the "sun-dried" mud might have been commonly used during the Chou period, such as those found at Feng-ch'u site, but during neolithic times, they have been only found at P'ing-liang-t'ai site.

(C) Pisé (hang-t'u)

"Pisé, or 'rammed earth', first appeared in France in 1562 and consists of earth compressed between parallel wooden plates that are removed to reveal a section of completed wall, generally 50 cm thick. The wooden boards are then set up further along so that work can begin on another section of wall. Traditionally the earth was compressed manually with heavy wooden hammers". (The Centre Georges Pompidou: 1981, p.57) A similar method popularly used to construct "the most ancient form of walling in China, both for houses and un-roofed enclosures," was called t'ien-t'u (填土, tamped earth) where "removable elongated boxes or forms (pan 版 or kan 幹) without tops or bottoms are used, dry earth
being rammed within them at successively high levels as the wall rises". (Fig Appendix 2.2) (Needham: 1971, p.38) Though probably without plates, the rammed earth (ta-hang or hang-t'u), which was the only method of constructing the platform foundations of ancient buildings, can be also translated as "pisé" (Li Chi: 1977, pp.152-3) or "terre-pisé" (Needham: 1971, pp.38-9). Based on the archaeological evidence, hang-t'u was the primary method of constructing the platform of a building or a walled compound and walls of un-roofed enclosure during neolithic times, but not the walls of a building.

Fig Appendix 2.1: Some reconstructions of neolithic houses built by the wattle-and-daub method (Chang Kwang-chih: 1978, p.192)

Fig Appendix 2.2: The traditional method of constructing a wall for the house (Needham: 1971, p.39)
APPENDIX (3): SOME THEORIES ABOUT THE CREATION OF A SYMBOLIC CENTRE

(A) Eliade's theories

The premise of his theories is that: "For the man of archaic society, the very fact of living in the world has a religious value. For he lives in a world which has been created by supernatural beings and where his village or house is an image of the cosmos." (1976, p.21)

This world is only "one's own world", an inhabited and organised - hence cosmicised - territory (1959, p.29), in contrast to the world which surrounds it, the unknown, indeterminate, foreign, chaotic space, peopled by ghosts, demons, and foreigners. (Ibid.) In short, "one's own world" is a microcosm. (1961, p.37) The image of this inhabited microcosm has survived even in highly evolved civilisations such as those of China, Mesopotamia and Egypt. (Ibid., p.38) "Establishment in a particular place, organising it, inhabiting it, are acts that presuppose an existential choice - the choice of the universe that one is prepared to assume by 'creating' it." (1959, p.34)

(a) the need for a Centre and its symbolism

"Every microcosm, every inhabited region, has what may be called a 'Centre'; that is to say, a place that is sacred above all. It is there, in that Centre, that the sacred manifests itself in its totality, either in the form of elementary hierophanies -- as it does among the "primitives" -- or else in the more evolved form of the direct epiphanies of the gods, as in the traditional civilisations." (1961, p.39)

"In mythical geography, sacred space is the essentially real space. It tells of manifestations of the only indubitable reality -- the sacred. It is in such places that one has direct contact with the sacred." (Ibid., p.40)

"The revelation of a sacred space possessed existential value for religious man; for nothing can begin, nothing can be done, without a previous orientation -- and any orientation implies acquiring a fixed point. It is for this reason that religious man has sought to fix his abode at the 'centre of the world'. If the world is to be lived in, it must be founded -- and no world can be born in the chaos of the homogeneity and relativity of profane space. The discovery or projection a fixed point - the centre - is equivalent to the creation of the world." (1976, p.2)
"The reality of the site is secured through consecration of the ground, i.e., through its transformation into a centre." (1954, p.20)

"Based on a sequence of religious conceptions and cosmological images, the symbolism of a centre, in fact, connects with the 'system of the world'." (1961, p.37)

"A centre, therefore, constitutes a break in the homogeneity of space, which is symbolised by an opening by which passage from one cosmic region to another is made possible (from heaven to earth and vice versa; from earth to the underworld). But communication with heaven is expressed by one or another of certain images, all of which refer to the axis mundi; around this cosmic axis lies the world (one's own world), hence the axis is located in 'the middle', at the 'navel of the earth'. It is the centre of the world." (Ibid.)

(b) the construction of a Centre

"Because in a centre one has direct contact with the sacred, a centre will be constructed into a materialised object or the hiero-cosmic symbol." (1961, p.40)

"The most widely distributed variant of the symbols is the sacred tree, situated in the middle of the world, and upholding the three worlds as upon one axis. It is consecrated before or during any religious ceremony so as to magically project into the centre of the world." (Ibid., p.44)

The same image can be expressed in the form of post, stake, pillar, or column, (1957, p.33) which "at once connects and supports heaven and earth, and whose base is fixed in the world below (the infernal regions)" (Ibid., p.36), in addition, "it opens the road to the world of the gods at the same time" (Ibid., p.34).

"A good many of the myths speak of a creeper, a cord, a thread of spider-web, or a ladder as well." (1961, p.48)

The most significant one of these is the ladder, sometimes the bridge, "which symbolises the way of ascending into Heaven". (Ibid., p.45 & 58) That is similar to the symbolism that the Tatar or Siberian shaman climbs a tree. (Ibid.)

"It gives plastic expression to the break through the planes necessitated by the passage from one mode of being to another, by placing us at the cosmological point where communication between Heaven, Earth and Hell becomes possible." (Ibid., p.50) The act of
climbing or ascending symbolises the way towards the absolute reality. (Ibid., p.51)

Similarly, the sacred mountain in a sense touches heaven and hence marks the highest point in the world. (1959, p.38) "It is the place nearest to heaven, and from here, from our abode, it is possible to reach heaven." (Ibid., p.39) Hence the sacred mountain - where heaven and earth meet - is situated at the centre of the world. (1954, p.12) Inversely, "the centre of Rome was a hole, mundus, the point of communication between the terrestrial world and the lower regions". (1976, p.22)

The ziggurat was literally an artificial sacred mountain (cosmic mountain); "the seven stories represented the seven planetary heavens; by ascending them, the priest reached the summit of the universe." (1959, p.40) "Ascending it is equivalent to an ecstatic journey to the centre of the world; reaching the highest terrace, the pilgrim experiences a break-through from plane to plane; he enters a 'pure region' transcending the profane world." (Ibid., p.41)

Similarly, "the construction of the Vedic fire altar reproduced the creation of the world, the altar itself was a microcosm, an imago mundi." (1961, p.52) Furthermore, "every temple or palace- and, by extension, every sacred city or royal residence - is a sacred mountain, thus becoming a centre". (1954, p.12)

All of these represent the same symbolism of the 'centre', but distinguished from the materialised objects or the hiero-cosmic symbols, the ziggurat, altar, temple, palace, and city are the architectonic symbols of the centre. (Ibid.)

(c) archetype and repetition (prototype and imitation)

"Every construction or fabrication has the cosmogony as paradigmatic model. The creation of the world becomes the archetype of every creative human gesture, whatever its plane of reference may be." (1959, p.45)

"To settle somewhere, to inhabit a space, is equivalent to repeating the cosmogony and hence to imitating the work of the gods." (Ibid., p.55) Therefore, man constructs according to an archetype.

"Not only do his city or his temple have celestial models; the same is true of the entire region that he inhabits, with the river that waters it, the field that gives him his food etc." (1954, p.10)
"The innumerable gestures of consecration - of tracts and territories, of objects, of men, etc.- reveal the primitive's obsession with the real, his thirst for being." (Ibid., p.11)

"To assure the reality and the enduringness of a construction, there is a repetition of the divine act of perfect construction: the creation of worlds and of man." (Ibid., p.20)

"But the creation itself took place from a centre." (Ibid., p.18) "Every human establishment repeats the creation of the world from a central point (the navel)." (1959, p.45)

"It will suffice to distinguish two methods of ritually transforming the dwelling place (whether the territory or the house) into cosmos, that is, to give it the value of an imago mundi: (a) assimilating it to the cosmos by the projection of the four horizons from a central point (in the case of a village) or by the symbolic installation of the axis mundi (in the case of a house); (b) repeating, through a ritual of construction, the paradigmatic acts of the gods by virtue of which the world came to birth from the body of a marine dragon or of a primordial giant." (Ibid., p.33)

"Thus religious architecture simply took over and developed the cosmological symbolism already present in the structure of primitive habitations. This is as much as to say that all symbols and rituals having to do with temples, cities, and houses are finally derived from the primary experience of sacred space." (Ibid., p.58)

(B) Other theories

From a strictly metaphysical viewpoint, Frithjof Schuon has also emphasised the significance of the idea of the Centre:

"The whole existence of the peoples of antiquity and of traditional peoples in general, is dominated by two presiding ideas, the idea of Centre and the idea of Origin." "To conform to tradition is to keep faith with the Origin, and for what very reason it is also to be situated at the Centre; it is to dwell in the primordial Purity and in the universal Norm. Everything in the behaviour of ancient and traditional peoples can be explained, directly or indirectly, by reference to these two ideas, which are like landmarks in the measureless and perilous world of forms and of change." (Schuon: 1965, p.7)

Professor Wilson considers that the need for a Centre is mainly for communities and individuals of traditional peoples to remember their original unity and to try to recover it:
"The world is the ordered sacred world of the people (‘my’ people, ‘my’ world) and the Centre and axis are also symbolic both of ‘Original’ Creation (as a descent from the One to the many) and of the way of return from fragmentation to Unity." (Wilson: EAR(11), 1984, pp.51-2)

"The Centre is not only a symbol and a sacred reality, it is also an ‘instrument’ for ‘self-centering’; a means by which, with appropriate outer and inner acts, individuals can recollect their original unity, or at least turn towards it." (Ibid., p.53)

"--- a traditional building will have been conditioned from within, or above, by higher level determinations and ultimately by the Origin and the Centre as revealed in the society in question. Without an equivalent ‘centering’ of the interpretation, the problems posed by traditional buildings will continue to be avoided." (Ibid., pp.56-7)
Appendix (4): GLOSSARY OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR PROPER NAMES AND TECHNICAL TERMS

Chinese terms and names in this thesis are romanised in Wade system. Chinese and Japanese names are printed in traditional fashion with the family name preceding the given name without a comma.

Ai Kung 始公
An Chin-huai 安金槐
An-yang 安陽
ang 昂
Ao 敖
cha 蜇
cha-shou 章子
Chang 漢
Chang Hui-yen 張惠言
Chang Kuo Tse 戰國策
Chang Kwang-chih 張光直
Chang-shuo 長勺
chao 朝

chao-mu 昭穆
Chao 昭
Chao 名
Chao-ch' en 名陳
Chao-ko 郭歌
chen-jen 貞人
cheng 正
Cheng 鄭
Cheng Chieh-hsiang 鄭杰祥
Cheng-chou 鄭州
Cheng Hsuan 鄭玄
Cheng Liang-shu 鄭良樹
cheng-shih 正室
cheng-t' ang 正堂
Chi 支
chi 支

chi 羌
chi 慢
Chi Chung 希仲
chi-fa 祥法
chi-t' ien 寄田
chia-hsiang 家鄉
Chia-ku-wen-pien 甲骨文篇
chia-liang 神理
chia-sha 交砂
chia-shih 家室
chia-tsu 家族
Chiang 喜
Chiang-chai 喜裁
Chiang-su 江蘇
chiao 烬
chiao 郅
chiao-t'e-sheng 郅特牲
Chieh 拆
chien 聞
Chien Han Shu 前漢書
chih 池
chih 至
Chih 制
chih-ho 池或
chih-sheng 池盛
chin 慶
Chin 睿
chin-chiang-ting 晉姜鼎
Chin-wen-pien 金文篇
Chin-yang 汝陽
Ch'ing-chou 成周
ch'ing-chou-pa-shih 成周八師
ch'ing-i 城邑
ch'ing-kung 城邑
Ch'ing-tzu-yai 城子崖
Ch'i 崔
Ch'i 淑
Ch'i 旗
Ch'i 齊
ch'i 齊
Ch'i Su-ho 齊思和
ch'i-su-hsun 齊俗訓
Ch'i Wu-fou (Ch'i-ch'eng) 計無管理和計
ch'iang-pan 増盟
ch'in 密
Ch'in 秦
Ch'ing 清
ch'iu 養
Ch'iu-shang (ch'iu-shang) 丘商
Ch'iu-wang 丘商
Ch'u 楚
Ch'u Tzu 楚子
ch'u-yu 楚語
Eh-li-kang 亜里崗
Eh-li-t'ou 亜里頭
fa 伐
Fan 爛
Fan 浦
fang 方
fang-kuo 方國
Fei Hsiao-tung 趙孝通
Feng 福 (豐)
Feng-ching 養京

- 276 -
Feng-ch'u 鳳雏
feng-shui 凤水
fu 妇
fu 服
Fu Hao 妇好
Fu Hsi-nien 傅嘉年
Fu Ssu-nien 傅斯年
fu-mou 妇茂
fu-sang 抚桑
Fung Yu-lang 馮友蘭
hai-nei-pei-ching 海內北經
hai-wai-pei-ching 海外北經
Han 漢
Han Fei Tzu 韓非子
Han-shu Ti-li-chih 漢書地理誌
hang-t' u 奮土
ho 或
ho-kung 合宮
Honan 河南
Ho Ping-ti 何炳棣
ho-hsi 河西
hou 侯
Hou Chi 后稷
Hou Wei-lu 侯外盧
hsi 鼻
hsi-hung 侈紅
hsi-kung 侈宮
Hsi Kung 倪公
Hsi-pei-kang 倪北康
hsi-po 侈亳
hsi-tzung 侈宗
Hsia 夏
Hsia Ho Shih 夏后氏
hsiang 章
hsiang-fang 康房
Hsiang-miao 槳廟
hsiang-yin-chiu 邕飲酒
Hsiao 邕
hsiao-shih-ko 小司寇
hsiao-ch'en-shu-tui 小臣 pérd 敷
hsiao-ta-pang 小大邦
hsiao-tung 小東
hsiao-tzun 小宗
Hsiao-t'un 小屯
Hsieh 契
hsieh-shih 血室
hsien 縣
hsien 聚
hsin-tzung 新宗
Hsien-wu 咸戊
hsing 姓
Hsing 邢
hsing-fa 宗法
Hsing-hou 行侯
hsiung 熊
hsu 戎
Hsu Cho-yun 許倬雲
Hsu Chung-shu 徐中舒
Hsu Hsi-ch'en 徐喜辰
hsun 殽
hsun 可
Hsun Tzu 蘇子
hu 呼
Hu Hou-hsun 胡厚堃
Hu-pei 湖北
Hu Shih 胡適
hua 华
hua-kung 华拱
Huai 懷
Huaı Nan Tzu 准南子
Huai-yang 准陽
Huan 暖
Huan Kung 祖公
huang-kao 皇考
Huang-p'i 荒陂
Huang Ti 黄帝
i 色
i-k'ao 毅
i Li 威禮
i-men 乙門
i-ssu 衣祀
i-tsu 敎祖
i-tui 追致
jang 讓
jen 人
jen-tzu-kung 人字拱
Jen Fang 人方
jo-mu 若木
Jung 戎
Kang 郡
kang-chao-kung 郡昭宮
kang-k'ueh-kung 郡烈宮
kang-mu-kung 郡穆宮
kang-shao-kung 郡韶宮
kang-ch'in 郡寍
kang-kung 郡拱
Kao-ch'eng 染城
Kao-ching 鈞京
Kao Chu-hsun 高子尊
kao-kung-chi 考工記
Kao Ta-lun 高大倫
kao-to 高度
kao-tzu 高祖
ko 戈
Ko 葛
ko-tsun 稼尊
Ke 克
Ku 鏡
Ku 罠
Ku Chieh-kang 顧頴剛
Ku Pen Chu Shu Chi Nien 古本竹書紀年
kuang 暴
Kuei 變
kung 宮
kung 拱
Kung Ch'i-ming 聲啟明
Kung-kung 竣工
kung-mu 穀木
kung-shang 工商
Kung-shu-tuan 竣叔段
kung-tzu 公族
Kung-tzu-lu 公子呂
kung-t'ien 宮殿
kuo 國
kuo 郭
kuo-ch'ai-chan 國差端
kuo-jen 國人
Kuo Mo-jo 郭若沫
Kuo Yun 國語
Kwan Hwa-shan 關華山
K'un 維
K'un-lun 崑崙
K'un-wu 昆吾
lang 廊
Le Chia-tao 魯嘉藻
li 立
li 里
li 禮
nan-t'u 南土
nang 蕃
neng 能
Nieh Ch'ung-i 聶崇義
Nieh-k'ou 聶口
pai-shen 百神
pan-kung 篇宮
Pan-p'o 半坡
pang 邦
pang-kuo 邦國
Pao-chi 寶雞
pei 北
pei 碑
pei-ch'en 北辰
Pei-shou-ling 北首嶺
pei-tzung 北京
pi 鄕
piao 表
piao-chi 表記
po 伯
po-she 朝社
Po 壽
Po-tung 伯雍
P'an-lung-ch'eng 盤龍城
P'an Keng 盤庚
p'ien 偏
P'ing-liang-t'ai 平糧台
p'u-jen 卜人
shan 壘
shan 禪
Shan 散
Shan Hai Ching 山海經
Shan-hsi 陝西
shan-jang 禪讓
shan-shih-p'an 散氏盤
Shan-tung 山東
Shang 商
shang-ch'iu 商丘
shang-hsu 商墟
shang-i 商邑
shang-shou-nien 商受年
shang-sung 商頌
Shang Ti 上帝
Shang Yang 商鞅
Shao Nan 肖楠
she 社
she 射
she-i 射義
she-tan 社壇
shen 神
shen-jen 聖人
sheng 牲
Sheng 盛
sheng-ming 生民
shih 室
shih 室
shih 史
shih 矢
shih 師
shih 氏
shih 士
Shih 施
Shih Chi 史記
Shih Chang-ju 石璋如
shih-chi-fu-ting 師器父鼎
shih-ch'in-kung-ting 師恭宮鼎
Shih Ching 詩經
Shih Hsing-pang 石興邦
shih-kuei 著閔
shih-lu-kung 師甫宮

- 280 -
shih-pao-fu-kung 師保父宮
Shih Pen 世本
shih-shih 世室
shih-tsu 氏族
shih-tai-tai 師說數
shu 序
shu 集
Shu Ching 書經
shu-jen 僑人
shu-ko-tai 叔妣敦
shu-shu 服敏
Shun 賽
Shuo Wen Chieh Tsu 說文解字
shuo-wo-wang 說墳
Sian 西安
Soo 條
ssu 轄
ssu-fang 四方
ssu-ho-yuan 四合院
ssu-ko 世可
Ssu-Ma Chien 司馬遷
su 祕
Sun Tso-yun 孫作雲
Sung 宋
Szechwan 四川
ta 太
ta-chuan 太傳
ta-feng-tai 太豐敦
ta-fu 太夫
ta-hsiao-pang 大小邦
ta-hsiao-tung 大小宗
ta-ho-ts'un 太河村
Ta-huang-pei-ching 太荒北經
ta-i 太邑
ta-i-shang (ta-yi-shang) 大邑商
ta-i-tzeng 大乙宗
ta-miao 大廟
ta-shih 大室
ta-shih 大事
Ta Tai Li (Ta-tai-li) 大載禮
ta-tung 大東
ta-tzu 大祖
ta-tzung 大宗
ta-yu-tung 大禹extrême
Ta Wu 大戊
Tai Chen 戴震
Taiwan 台灣
tan 塘
Tao 陶
tao-t'ieh 蒼鬰
tao-t's'o 倒座
te 德
Teng-feng 登封
ti 稀
ti 地
Ti 帝
Ti 狄
Ti Hsin 帝辛
Ti Ku tai 帝瞿台
Ti Shun 帝舜
Ti Shun tai 帝舜台
Ti Tan-chu tai 帝郯朱台
Ti Yao tai 帝癸台
tien 模
ting 廟
Ting I 丁乙
Ting Kung 定公
ting-men 丁門
to-fu 多父
wei-cheng 为政
Wei-shuo 尾勺
Wei-tzu 妮子
Wen Wang 文王
wen-tsu 文祖
wu 戍
wu 徵
wu 舞
wu 物
Wu 寂
Wu Chiang 试姜
wu-fu 五府
wu-hsing 五行
wu-hu عضو
wu-i 吴彝
Wu I 武乙
Wu Shih-ch'ien 伍仕谦
wu-ssu-wei-ting 五祀衛鼎
Wu Ting 武丁
wu-tui 始敏
Wu Wang 武王
ya-men 衛門
Yang 陽
Yang-chia-wan 楊家湾
Yang hung-hsun 楊鴻勋
Yang Kuan 楊覇
yang-kuan 陽館
Yang-shao 仰韶
Yang Shu-ta 楊樹達
Yao 戎
yen 杲
Yen 燕
Yen-shih 儀師
Yen Wen-ming 嚴文明
Yin 殷
Ying 陰
Yin-hsu 殷墟
yin-li-p'u 殷曆譜
yin-pen-chi 殷本記
Ying Kung 隱公
yu 雲
yu 獃
Yu 屏
Yu-hsien 甬縣
yu-i-jen 余一人
yu-ting 甬鼎
Yu Yu 有虞
yueh 戍
yueh-ling 月令
yung 營
Yunnan 雲南
BIBLIOGRAPHY

(A) Abbreviation of Periodicals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAAG</td>
<td>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAS</td>
<td>Annals of the Academia Sinica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAAT</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, Taiwan University (台灣大學考古人類學刊)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIE</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica (中央研究院民族所集刊)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIHP</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica (中央研究院歷史及語言研究所集刊)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCHP</td>
<td>Chu-chiang Hsueh-pao (鎮江學報)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHKK</td>
<td>Chiang-han kao-ku (江漢考古)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYWW</td>
<td>Chung-yuan wen-wu (中原文物)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAR</td>
<td>Edinburgh Architecture Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER</td>
<td>Early China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FD</td>
<td>Fu-dan hsueh-pao (復旦學報)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDSB</td>
<td>Harvard Divinity School Bulletin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HJAS</td>
<td>Harvard of Journal of Asian Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCSWCK</td>
<td>o-chi-shih wen-chi (科技史文集)</td>
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<td>KK</td>
<td>Kao-ku (考古)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KKHCKK</td>
<td>Kao-ku-hsueh chuan-kan (考古學專刊)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KKHP</td>
<td>Kao-ku hsueh pao (考古學報)</td>
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<tr>
<td>KKWW</td>
<td>Kao-ku yu wen-wu (考古與文物)</td>
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<tr>
<td>KWTYCK</td>
<td>Ku-wen-tzu yen-chiu (古文字研究)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSYC</td>
<td>Li-shih yen-chiu (歷史研究)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCYC</td>
<td>Shih-chien yen-chiu (史前研究)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHKSC</td>
<td>She-hui ko-hsueh chan-hsien (社會科學戰略)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WW</td>
<td>Wen-wu (文物), wen-wu tsan-kao tsu-liao (文物參考資料)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
YCHP  Yen-ching hsueh-pao (燕京學報)

YK  Yu-kung (禹貢, Chinese Historical Geography)

(B) Chinese traditional texts

Chou Li (周禮)
Record of the Rites of (the) Chou (Dynasty) [descriptions of all government official posts and their duties.] C/Han, perhaps containing some material from late Han. Compilers unknown. Tr. E. Biot.

Ch’u Tzu (楚辭)
Elegies of Ch’u (state) Chou, c. -300 (with Han addition). Chu Yuan (屈原) (& Chia I, 高憶, Yen Chi, 楚起, Sung Yu, 宋玉, Huinan Hsiao-shan, 淮南小山, etc.). Partial tr. Waley.

Huai Nan Tzu (淮南子) [= Huai Nan Huang Lieh Chieh]
The Book of (the prince of ) Huai Nan [compendium of natural philosophy]. C/Han, c. -120. Written by the group of scholars gathered by Liu An (劉安, prince of Huai Nan).

I Li (儀禮)
Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial, Chou and C/Han additions. Compilers unknown. Tr. Steele.

Kao Kung Chi (考工記)
The Artificer’s Record [ a section of the Chou Li ]. Chou and Han, perhaps originally an official document of Ch’i (齊) state, incorporated c. -140. Compilers unknown. Tr. E. Biot.

Kuo Yu (國語)
Discourses on the [ancient feudals] states. Late Chou, Chin and C/Han, containing early material from ancient written records. Writers unknown.

Li Chi (禮記) [= Hsia Tai Li Chi, 小戴禮記]
Record of Rites [compiled by Tai the Younger] Ascr. C/Han; c. -70/-50, but really H/Han, between +80 and +105, though the earliest pieces included may date from the time of the Analects (c. -465 to -450). Attrib. ed. Tai Sheng (戴聖). Actual ed. Tsao Pao (漕沱). Tr. Legge

Lun Yu (論語)
Conversation and Discourses (of Confucius). [Perhaps Discussed Sayings, Normative Sayings, or Selected Sayings]; Analects. Chou (Lu), c. -465 to -450. Compiled by disciples of Confucius. (chs. 16, 17, 18, and 20 are later interpolations. Tr. Legge.

Meng Tzu (孟子)

Mo Tzu (墨子) [including Mo Ching]
Mu T'ien Tzu Chuan (穆天子傳)
Account of the Travels of the Emperor Mu. Chou, before -245. (Found in the tomb of An Li Wang, a prince of the Wei state, r. -276 to -245; in +281. Writer unknown.

Shan Hai Ching (山海經)
Classic of the Mountains and Rivers. Chou and C/Han. Writers unknown.

Shih Chi (史記)
Historical Records [or perhaps better; Memoirs of the Historiographer (-Royal); down to -99]. C/Han, c. -90 [first pr.c. +100]. Ssuma Chien (司馬遷), and his father Ssuma Tan (司馬談).

Shih Ching (詩經)
Book of Odes (or Songs) [ancient folk songs]. Chou, -9th to -5th centuries. Writers and compilers unknown. Tr. Legge; Waley.

Shu Ching (書經)
Historical Classic [Book of Documents]. Writers unknown. Tr. Legge.

Shuo Wen Chieh Tzu (說文解字)
Analytical Dictionary of Characters. H/Han, +121. Hsu Shen (許慎).

Ta Tai Li Chi (大戴禮記)
Record of Rites (compiled by Tai the Elder). Ascr. C/Han, c. -70/-50 but really H/Han, between +80 and +105. Attrib. ed, Tai Te (戴德); in fact probably ed. Tsao Pao (曾國). Tr. R. Wilhelm.

T'ien Wen (天問)

Tso Chuan (左傳)
Master Tsochui's Enlargement of the Chun Chiu (Spring and Autumn Annals) [dealing with the period -722 to -453]. Late Chou, compiled between -430 and -250, but with additions and changes by Confucian Scholars of the Chin and Han, especially Liu Hsin (劉歆). Greatest of the three commentaries on the Chun Chiu, the others being the Kungyang Chuan and the kuliang Chuan but, unlike them, probably originally itself an independent book of history. Attrib. Tsochui Ming (左丘明). Tr. Legge.

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