SOME ASPECTS OF ROYAL AND PRINCELY ADMINISTRATIVE INTERRELATIONSHIP IN WESTERN CHOU - A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION BASED UPON THE EVIDENCE AS RECORDED IN INSCRIBED BRONZES OF THE PERIOD

by

YEUNG CHING-KONG

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

Unless otherwise stated, this study is my original work.
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ABSTRACT

The present survey is an attempt to investigate two institutions in Western Chou, namely the Royal investiture ceremony and the practice of subinfeudation, based upon records in bronze inscriptions. Inscriptions on bronzes have the merit of being contemporaneous with the period and the events they record; therefore, investigations based upon such materials can be regarded as appropriate and reliable.

According to the bronze inscriptions, the Royal investiture ceremony was conducted by the King mainly to formalize the granting of awards for services rendered, to define the duties required of the investee, and to confirm the investee's tenure of office or his promotion to a new office. The ceremony was usually held in Spring and Winter, in the first half of a month, and generally on the chia-days, the ting-days and the keng-days. Before granting the Royal Decree, the King would reside in a particular place such as Chou, Tsung-Chou, Fang or in a particular palace such as the K'ang Kung, the K'ang Mu Kung, the Chao Kung, etc. On the actual day of the ceremony, the King arrived generally at the Grand Hall of Audience at dawn, facing south. An assistant-on-the-right would then enter the Central Courtyard to supervise the whole course of the ceremony. The investee entered the Courtyard later, facing north to the King and waited for the granting of the decree. The King then passed the document of the decree onto a first historiographer, and called forth a second historiographer to read out the decree to the investee. The decree was usually accompanied by various awards. After this the investee bowed his head low, extolled the King's grace, and received the document containing the decree from the second historiographer, tied it to his girdle and retreated from the Central Courtyard. After a
short period of time the investee returned to the Courtyard, and presented a chin-chang-sceptre to the King expressing respect and loyalty to him. The whole course of the Royal investiture ceremony was then complete.

Earlier studies on the Royal investiture ceremony have been conducted by scholars such as Ch'en Meng-chia, Ch'i Ssu-ho, Wong Yin-wai, Cheung Kwong-yue, Musha Akira, etc.; the present survey is, in effect, an updating (in terms of materials) and where the occasion requires it, a reappraisal of the earlier research. In addition, particular attention has also been made on the attenuated nature of the bronze inscriptions which earlier scholars have not fully appreciated. The study of attenuation of inscriptions can thus be regarded as a new line of approach.

In Part Two, attention has been paid to the practice of subinfeudation in Western Chou. Altogether 97 inscriptions of the redivision of land and transaction of gifts are collected for study. Such a survey has not hitherto been carried out in this systematic manner, and therefore may be claimed to be a contribution to research in this area.

The practice of subinfeudation was generally held in Spring and Autumn, in the first half of a month, and on the ting-days and the keng-days. This practice was mainly conducted between a Prince of State and his officers, or between a Royal officer and his subordinates or household-attendants. The investees received their awards usually because of their participation in Royal or Princely services, and the awards were granted in places such as Tsung-Chou, Ch'eng-Chou, the military garrisons and the residences of the seigneur/feoffers or investees. The items of award did not vary much from those granted by the King during a Royal investiture ceremony,
except that the granting of ming-fu by the King is rarely found in the practice of subinfeudation and as such can be regarded as a perogative enjoyed by the Chou Sovereigns. Awards made by a seigneur/feoffer other than the King were usually accompanied by a ceremony similar to that of a Royal investiture ceremony. However, there were no formal acceptance of the document of the decree and no presentation of a chin-chang-sceptre to the seigneur/feoffer by the investee during a subinfeudation investiture ceremony.

Apart from introducing the above two institutions in Western Chou, the present survey is also designed to provide a deeper understanding of the nature and function of the bronze inscriptions and their value as historical documents of the period. It is hoped that this study based upon bronze inscriptions will lead to further critical sifting of the traditional literary sources in order to achieve a more extensive understanding of the Western Chou period in terms of institution, economy, society, etc.
中文提要

甲 小引

前人研究西周史者，大部份是以文献资料为主，而以金文为副。这由于当时金文研究尚未臻成熟，而且出土佐证的铭文资料尚少，本不足怪。近五十年来，经国内外学者不断的努力，金文研究已渐形系统化，而有详细出土记录的铭文资料亦逐渐丰富，利用金文来研究西周史，已渐渐达到成熟的阶段。由于金文是西周时代的第一手资料，通过金文来研究西周政治、经济、社会诸方面，比通过春秋、战国人间的著作，自然来得有价值和可靠，本文的写作目的，即在通过铭文资料的整理，探讨西周时王室册命制度及王室外成员分封制度的实况、为求行文方便，整篇讨论主要分成两大部份进行。第一部份关于西周王室的册命，固然前人如郑思和、陈夢家、董作宾、张光裕、武者章等也曾对这课题作出一定的研究和贡献，但他们研究的时期较早，很多新出土的铭文资料未能一一加以采用，本文因故出之便，在资料上得以稍补前修之未备。同时，在整个西周册命仪节的了解上，本文也能够作出一定程度的补充。其次对于铭文资料的认识上，本文强调由于铜器本身的特性，很多时候不能够容纳一篇完整的铭文，而往往须要作出适量的省略。前人对于铭文上种种的成见、误解和争论，有时即因为不明瞭铭文曾经高度省略的缘故。本文特别注意到43件经过省略的有关册命制度的铭文资料，与其他具有详细记录的铭文比较，在这方面，是一个比较崭新的尝试。通过比较，读者可以领略一般铭文省略
的場合,並進一步認識到整個西周冊命制度,在早期、中期,晚期基本上是一致的。第二部份是探討西周王室外成員間的分封情況,經搜集排比整理的銘文資料共97件。對西周政治制度史的研究上說,這是一個全新的課題,同類型的研究,在從前並不曾出現過。通過這97件資料的整理,讀者可以進一步瞭解西周時天子、諸侯、大夫間的政治關係與及權力結構,為以後西周政治制度及封建關係的研究,奠下一定的基礎。

二. 第一部份: 冊命制度

所謂冊命制度,是指天子任命某人為官,或使某人從軍職位升遷至另一職位的制度,通常是某種特定儀式出之,而在整個冊命過程中,又常伴之以酌量的賞錫及適當的訓誡。在西周一代中,冊命是其中一項極重要的政治活動,而被大量地保存在銘文資料中。本文搜集有關天子封錫中央官吏的冊命銘文共73件,其中早期的共2件,中期的43件,晚期的28件。根據銘文內容,其冊命過程可細分為時期、地點、使者、冊命方式、冊命內容、賞錫項目,對錫儀式等七小節。整部份即根據此七小節進行討論。除此73器外,另有銘文經省略的有關冊命資料共43件,亦經搜集排比,其討論將見於第八節中。

(1) 冊命時期: 本文對此73件銘文排比研究,本文發現冊命以春、冬兩季為最為常見,而除冬季首月(二月孟冬)外,王室冊命多見於每季首月,即三月孟春,六月孟夏,九月孟秋舉行。一年之中,又以上半年(十二月至五月)為期為多。在每月中,則以初吉,既初吉為冊命之月,並於每月初一至十日舉行之。

在日期方面來說,以甲日,丁日,庚日舉行冊命之為多。而其中又以丁亥日,甲戌日,庚寅日所見為大宗。因此在每年三月、六月,
九月初一至十五的甲日、丁日,庚日是举行册命的最理想时间。

(2) 册命地點：在册命地點方面，根據銘文的記載，天子會先期住在某地，到正式册命的當日，便會由住處移駐於某特定地點舉行册命。由這73件冊命銘文所見，王先期所住的地點包括：

a. 周,宗周及葬宅等,但確實住處銘文並未表示
b. 王畿內宮苑如康宮,康穆宮,昭宮,康宮新宮等
c. 中央官吏私邸如師妾宮,師妾宮,鄭土逆宮之類
d. 藩侯封國,但確實住處銘文並未表示
e. 王的離宮別苑,如華宮,射日宮,雉丘,滅丘等

至於王所移駐以舉行冊命的地點包括：

a. 王室宗廟如周廟,康廟,穆廟之類
b. 侯國宗廟如英大廟
c. 大室。除13件銘文失載外，一般而言此大室乃附屬於以上王畿內宮苑,中央官吏私邸,或王的離宮別苑內的建築
d. 特別建築如圖室,宣室之類，其具體性質未詳

(3) 佐者：在舉行冊命的時候，王室會先期委任一位類似後代司禮官的佐者來輔助整個冊命的進行。由于銘文記錄的簡潔，佐者全盤的輔助情況未能一一重現。可知的是，由武王至昭王並沒有佐者的記載，這可能由於早期銘文篇幅比較短少，有關佐者的記錄被銘文作者加以省略所致。昭王以後，佐者職責一
一般只由少数官吏擔任，這包括一、二位的公（公、丞公……）、
一、二位的叔（叔，密叔……）、一、二位的伯（賢伯，毛伯……)
宰，參有嗣：嗣土、嗣馬、嗣工等。此次是佑耆職責可以
世襲，例如僕伯在恭王，憲王時曾擔任佑耆，到厲王
宣王時其子輩，孫輩的僕伯亦可以世襲任佑耆職責。
其三是，經過佑耆身份的整理，本文發現，佑耆可由諸侯
兼任，或由中央官吏或公族大夫出任。整體來說，佑耆
一般喜以王室成員出任，中央官吏則以嗣土、軍出任為多，
嗣土、嗣工出任佑耆的僅佔少数。

(4) 刊命方式：當王會明來到刊命場所舉行刊命時，通常是王室官吏擔任宣讀王命的工作。
這些官吏包括史，內史、尹氏，作册尹，內史尹，作册內史，作
命內史，命尹，內史尹氏等。由於宣讀王命是整個刊命
儀節中最重要的一環，通常只由少數有經驗的史官擔
任，而這些史官職位也是可以世襲的。我們只知道
一篇命辭的具體寫作過程，但從上述「作册尹，作册
內史，作命內史」諸名目看來，命辭的寫作也是由史官
負責的。至是由王口述，史官筆錄，抑或由王述其大意，
再由史官草擬，則不得而知。肯定的是，命辭草擬完
畢，須由王過目同意，才能正式頒佈。經過對73件
刊命銘文中刊命句子的整理，本文發現一個完整的刊
命句子應包括四部份：「史A受王命書，王手史B冊命
C，王若曰」；換句話說，整個王命的頒佈會牽涉及四
位成員，即王，史官A，史官B及受命者C。其頒佈過程
是史官A自王手中接過命書，王再命史官B擔任宣讀命書
的工作，受命者則須肅立恭聽。一般來說，這樣完
整的刊命句子在刊命銘文中並不常見，因為銘文作者為
了照顧篇幅，往往會將刊命句子加以省略。最常見是省
略「史A受王命書」部分。故現在所見，大部分刊命句
子型式是：「王乎史B册命C，王若曰」。嚴重的句子省略可變成「史B册命」、「史册命」等。句子雖有省略，整個册命過程須由四成員參予，卻是不變的。

(5) 册命內容：在冊命典禮由史官所宣讀的王命，其內容不外是委任受命者為官。由于職位性质並不一致，分頒的立場各自不同，也就有種種不同的王命。有時所頒佈的是一全新任命，受命者可受命為某部門的副手，協助主理所牽涉的政務；或被委任為某行政單位主管，獨立處理與人事、農工、百業等有關的工作。
有時所頒布的僅僅是今王對前一命的確認，受命者早在前命時已被委派擔任某種實際的行政工作，又或是新王繼位，對在前朝任職的官吏，會重新加以冊命，使得以繼續在前朝已擔任的職責。有時則是受命者繼任亡父或祖先的職位，今王須重新加以冊命，以示認許。在偶然情形下，天子可頒佈命令，使受命者在諸侯封國內擔任實際的行政工作。

(6) 賞錦物：王室冊命，常伴之以適當的賞錦物，其中以命服、車馬、器物的賞錦為大宗，此外所賞的還有兵器、禮器、臣僕、田地等。命服包括衣、巾、黃冕四種。命服的賞錦，表現了受命者作為周王官吏的地位。在73件冊命銘文中，賞錦全套命服的，僅出現2次，餘下的是各種不同命服的配搭，如玄衣纓衣、赤巾、朱黃同見；赤巾、幽黃同見；赤巾、朱黃同見；戴巾、同黃同見等。這種不同組合的賞錦，和受命者官位的同異及職務的性質無關。除了命服本身有不同組合外，各種賞錦物之間亦有數種組合，如命服、賞錦同見；命服、賞錦、執勤同見；命服、執勤同見等。但這種不同組合的賞錦，亦和受命者官位的同
異及職務的性質無關。然而從實錫物數量多寡的角度上看，則似乎職責愈重的，實錫物的數量愈多。另外這73件冊命錫文間有「錫 × ×，用事」的記載，似乎實錫物與受命者所服事性質有若干關係，就命服來說，可能是受命者擔任職務或參予冊命典禮時實際穿著的；至於其他的實錫項目，其使用場合如何，則不得而知。

(7) 禦揚式：冊命錫文一般都以拜額首對揚王或天子休作結。「拜額首，其實是「拜手顫首」的省稱，包括了兩個動作：一是以頭下拜至手；其次是以手著地，手背向上，指尖互指，以顫俯拜至手於地。在73件冊命錫文中，8件錫文以「拜手顫首」出之，43件用「拜額首」，2件只說「顫首」，但也應該理解為顫至手，顫至手於地兩個動作的省略。至於「對揚王休」在錫文中常常隨「拜額首」出，是最簡短的對揚形式。複雜的可以「對揚天子不顯休」，「對揚天子不顯顫休」，「敢對揚天子不顯顫休命」，「敢對揚天子不顯顫休命」，出之。除了拜額首，稱揚天子外，有部分錫文在拜額首對揚之間，還有受命者接受冊命書，捧佩在衣帶中，退出冊命場所，再回來奉獻冊章子天子的記載，表明了受命者對天子的臣屬關係。有部份錫文則使用了「萬年眉壽」或「萬年無疆，與臣天子，雲終」的語句，進一步說明天子大夫間封建關係的永久性。

(8) 錫文經省略的有關冊命資料：在衆多有關冊命的錫文資料中，有部份只記載了整個冊命過程的若干環節，對於錫文作者認為無傷大雅的部分則加以省略。輕微的省略如冊命地點，受命者位向，入右者及進入冊章諸節，嚴重的甚至連時期，冊命內容，
稱揚句子亦加省略，只餘下賞錫者，受命者及賞錫物
諸項。本文搜集這類經省略的冊命銘文共43件，
時間則包括西周早（14件），中（18件），晚（11件）三期。
經對此43件銘文中冊命時間的整理，本文發現其模
式與上述73件內容較詳的冊命銘文無殊。結合兩
種資料觀察，春、冬二季，每季首月（孟春、孟夏、孟秋、孟冬）
每年十二月至五月，每月初吉、既生霸（即初一至十五），甲日、
丁日、庚日，仍然是冊命最多的日子。其次，經對此43件
銘文分期排比研究，特別是對早期14件資料內容的
整理，本文發現這類早期資料可細分為三種模式：
(a) 只記錄賞錫者，受命者，賞錫物；(b) 只記錄賞錫者，
受命者，賞錫物，稱揚句子；(c) 只記錄賞錫者，受命者，
王命內容，賞錫物，稱揚句子。由三項互證，本文認
為此類早期冊命銘文是曾經省略。再與康王前期小孟
鼎比較，本文發現早期冊命典禮與中晚期基本一致。
至於中、晚期29件資料與以上73件銘文互校，這29
件資料，純粹是經銘文作者省略，冊命典禮到中晚期
已達高峯，省略的原因是由于受銅器本身構造所限，
例如一般銅器的表面積較細小，與及帶有極大弧度，所
以往往不能容納較大篇幅的銘文。此外，在銘文的寫
作過程中，很多細節的地方如時期，地點，王世等對
當時的銘文讀者來說，早已心裡有數，所以無須特別
加以記錄等。

丙．第二部分：分封制度

當諸侯從天子處接受過土地的封錫，有時候
會把部分的土地轉封給他的下屬大夫，這種土地的
轉錫，傳統上即稱之為分封。在同時期的銘文及文
獻資料中，這類典型的分封土地的例子並不多見。在
家多的銅鍊銘文中，僅見於早期的黃鼎，中期的卣鼎及
晚期的不鏽鼎等。但由第一部分的研究所見，王室
的冊命封錫，除土地外，還包括其他種種不同的項目，
則諸侯的封錫大夫，除土地外，其他種種不同的項目，
也可視為廣義的分封。本文第二部分即在搜集
王室以外一切廣義，狹義的分封銘文共97件，通過排
比研究，以探討整個西周分封制度的面相，並藉此
提供比較太子王室外成員特別是諸侯間權力分配
狀況的基礎。整部份的討論乃根據賞錫者身份;
受賞者身份；服事性質；賞錫地點，賞錫物，稱揚對
像，分封儀式，分封時間八點進行。

（1）賞錫者身份：經對比97件銘文排比
整理，本文發現主持「分封」的王室外成員包括有：
（a）諸侯，如見於虞簋的勾公伯；見於作冊尊鼎的康
侯等。（b）中央官吏，如見於尹卣簋，史獸鼎的尹；見於
🆙鼎的宗公，厚應鼎的趨叔等。（c）身份為諸侯而
在中央兼任職務者，如見於旅鼎的公大保即召公；見
於召尊，御正獸簋，小臣宅簋的伯懋父等。召公本封
於鄘地，但留相王室，成為西周早期的中央重臣。伯
懋父一般學者以為即康叔封之子康伯髦，為衛國封
君而留相王室的一時顯要。

（2）受賞者身份：接受「分封」的成員經統計
主要包括兩大類：（a）侯國大夫，如麥民四器（麥鼎，麥
盈，麥鼎，麥尊）的作冊麥，他在井國任官，而受到長上井
侯的封錫。 （b）下級中央官吏或家臣，如小臣寧醜的小臣
單，御正良爵的御正良，史獸鼎的史獸，他們在中央
政府任官，而受到上級周王公侯，召公奭及尹的封錫。至
於中盤的中，耳音的耳，不隸屬養的不隸，由於史以個人姓名出現，則有可能是家臣身份而受到其主子叔富，
寧史，伯氏的分封。除此以外，有個別例子如採穀，採穀自則是諸侯而在朝廷任事者受到中央大史的封錫。
經對此97件分封銘文賞錫者，受賞者身份的整理，本文發現四時分封關係可發生於：

a. 諸侯及侯國大夫間，如夢森、夢益是
b. 中央大史及其下級大夫或家臣間，如小臣單解、
御正良爵、不隸穀益是
c. 中央大史及侯國大史間，如小臣樸敘、夢顧是
d. 中央大史及宮廷的下屬或家臣間，如小
臣宅穀、遺穀是
e. 諸侯及中央官吏間，如達穀、夢自是
f. 中央大史及諸侯而在朝廷任事者間，如取穀、
採穀、夢穀自是
g. 父及子間，如效穀是

3) 服事性質：在97件有關分封的銘文資料中，11件沒有記載在何種服務下受賞者獲得上級的
封錫。除此以外，有7件銘文由於賞錫者、受賞者間關係不夠清楚，我們並不能從二者的身份關係推論出分封
的原因。例如在夢中，夢受到中央官吏夢史的賞錫，但
我們並不知道夢的身分，假如他是中央的下級官吏的話，
他可能是因在朝廷提供某種政治服務而受到上級夢
史的賞錫；假如他是夢史的家臣，則最有可能是他為夢
史提供私人服務而受賞賜。幸運的是，像這樣身份欠
清楚的銘文為數極少，大部分銘文賞錫者、受賞者身份
都能確定，同時受賞者所提供的服務性質，在銘文中
也獲得交代。綜合來說，受賞者所提供的服務外
的两大项：(a) 奉天子或王室命令提供與中央政府有關的政治服務，這包括附從於中央大吏下提供適當的服務（如叔變、守時），出使侯國（如荅府，大殺兩），參與對異族的戰爭（如塞方鼎，競自，屬或自，政解）等。 (b) 奉諸侯命令提供與侯國政府有關的政治服務，這包括管理侯國的僕、駁、百工、牧、臣妾（如師兼殿，公篡）；追隨上級諸侯到中央政府為諸侯提供適當的服務（如獻棄）等。除此两大项外，偶然侯國大夫會受諸侯命令到中央政府提供服務，但這種情形畢竟少見，卯殿、董鼎是這97件分封銘文中僅見的兩個例子。

(4) 賞錫地點：在97件分封銘文中，48件記載賞錫地點，其中11件行於宗周，6件行於成周。在宗周、成周舉行的分封，一般是發生於中央官吏或諸侯而在中央政府任職者與下級大夫之間。至於諸侯（或在中央政府任職的諸侯）封賞其侯國大夫則通常在侯國或大夫私邸進行，如見於器囊、麥盈的麥盈；耳尊的耳銎等。此外，因參與戰役而受到王室外成員封錫的則多在師旅屯駐地舉行，這類屯駐地的銘文多稱為「自」。由於年代久遠，很多「自」的確實地望已無法徵証；不過有時候相關連的銅器銘文互證，我們或略可推敲出有關的師旅駐紮地的歷史地望。本文即以小臣單解、競自、屬或自、鷺鼎、屬殿、政解、逃廟、奮自諸銘文相聯繫，推論出小臣單解的成自應在河南成鼎，競自的襲應在河南河坎，鷺鼎、屬殿的胺應指河南上蔡或新蔡，政解、逃廟、奮自、奮自的胺自則可能在上蔡或新蔡附近。
(5) 賞錫物：經對分封銘文賞錫項目的排比整理，本文發現幾個和賞錫物有關的有趣現象：

(a) 分封田地的例子甚少，在97件銘文中僅出現三次，即盃鼎、卯錫、不韋錢蓋。3件銘文所錫田地數目均屬有限，而且分散於各地，受封者似乎不能藉此攫取強大的經濟力量以致提高個人的政治地位。

(b) 早期賞錫物以金、玉、爵為大宗，中期以金、玉為大宗，晚期則以金、玉、兵器為大宗。早期的遂毛，中期的罩礴，罩礴，鼎等；晚期的七鼎、鐘不見於其他時期，是否含有某種的時代意義，還不敢妄下定論。

(c) 當天子冊封中央官吏任職時有命服之封錫，當諸侯冊命鴻國大夫時則罕見命服之封賞。唯一例外的是復尊，作器者復受冊侯錫以口衣，但內容和冊命任職無關，只是普通封錫。復尊一般認為屬康王期，當時由周政治剛趨穩定，諸侯賞下屬大夫以命服，仍有可能。

(d) 賞錫項目似乎並非隨賞錫者任意選擇，如小臣戈錫有Chance先生小臣戈韋戈，易金束，馬兩，賞錫物內容和宅的官位（屬武官性質）相稱。又如不韋錢蓋，不韋命戮伐、獵彌的入侵而受伯氏錫以弓矢，則是賞錫物內容和服事性質相配的反映。

(e) 在部份分封銘文中，賞錫項目記載完畢後，即接以「用事，或用……事」的語句，說明若干賞錫物的封贈，是希望受賞者應用於某種特別的服務上。如參氏四器記載參受到井侯「金」的賞錫，參即利用它
來鎭器，鑄成的器則用來享宴侯臣出入，享宴多寳友以及隨從侯征事等。

(6) 當不同受賞者為王室外成員提供類似的服務，他們所受賞錫物數量，彼此間差異不大。如盧三、黃鼎、董鼎、叔薛鼎記載簋、盝、董、叔分別服事于字符、異伯及太保，他們分別獲得具、布、車馬（周）；馬、車乘（豺）；貝（董）；白金、鬱鬯、盎牛（叔）的封錫。又如廟鍾、字毀、易毁記載馬、牛、羊分別出使於夷、夷、曾，他們分別獲贈璋、馬雨、帛束（夷）；馬兩、金十鈞（牛）；在數量上相差並不遠。

(6) 稱揚對像：半數以上（52件）的分封鉬文記載有受賞者受賞後的稱揚對像，一般來說以稱揚賞錫者為常例。換言之，假如中央政府的下級官吏受到上級的封錫，則稱揚這種中央大吏；侯國大夫受到諸侯的封錫，則稱揚諸侯。在這種常例以外，本文發現，52件分封鉬文中有5件受賞者所稱揚的對像並非賞錫者而是天子或其他王室成員如后妃之類。其理由是因為受賞者乃受到天子或后妃的命令服事於賞錫者而受到封賞，為了表示對王室恩寵的感謝，與及對天子、后妃的慎服，所以受賞者便以稱揚天子或后妃作結。雖然如此，我們還不能進一步肯定這種稱揚王室而非賞錫者的方式已經成為一種制度，因為據叔薛鼎的銘文表示，叔受后妃王姜的命令服事于大保而受到後者的封錫，叔卻以稱揚賞錫者大保而非王姜作結。此外，據小臣宅毀記載，小臣宅受同公命服事于伯懋父而受到後者賞錫，小臣宅即以同時稱揚同公及賞錫者伯懋父作結，也是常例以外的一種特例。

(7) 分封儀式：在97件分封鉬文中，中期的
卵殻，晚期的逆鐘同時記載了諸侯封錫其下屬大夫時，都經由某種特定儀式出之。經與第一部分73件王室冊命銘文比較，本文發現分封儀式與王室冊命儀式間，並無大別。例如逆鐘記載的分封儀式是：諸侯先期來到大廟，命史官宣召受賞者逆，然後有史官代叔氏宣讀命令，冊命逆往職，並加略加訓誡。最後賜予適量的賞錫物，受賞後拜手顧行首，稱揚叔氏作結。卵殻所記載的分封儀式則是：諸侯春秋入右受命者卯立中廷，并諸侯癸伯召史官宣讀冊命，冊命卯往職，並賜以適量賞錫物，最後卯拜手顧行首，稱揚癸伯作結。綜合王室冊命銘文及逆鐘，卵殻的記載，一個完整的分封儀式應該是：

a. 在分封前一段時間內，諸侯（或王室外成員？）會先期住在某一特定地點，準備分封。

b. 到舉行分封的那一天，登明的時候，諸侯會從住處經由至「分封」現場如大廟，或宮室之類，即位於大堂，南面。

c. 分封禮的佐助者入右，受命者進入分封現場，即位中廷，北向，準備接受冊命。

d. 諸侯把冊命書交給第一位史官，再使喚第二位史官代為宣讀命令。

e. 史官宣讀冊命書，委任受命者職務，並賜予適量的賞錫物。

f. 受命者接受命令及賞賜，拜手顧行首，稱揚賞錫者諸侯，退出冊命現場，分封禮亦因此而完結。

由逆鐘、卵殻的記載為基礎，我們可以進一步推斷如
雲鼎：「姓氏命義事保，家……。」對揚姓氏，師殿殿：「伯俞恭若曰……余命汝死（尸）我，顓頊，我前隔束隔僕，駿，百工，牧，臣，妻，董，範內外，毋敢不善……殿殿拜頭首，敢對揚君休，等，作器者雲。師殿殿都是在分封典禮中接受諸侯的任命。前者是諸侯姓氏親自委任；後者則由史官代諸侯宣讀冊命。

(8) 分封時間：經對此97件分封銘文的排比整理，本文發現，分封每於每季首月（即孟春、孟夏、孟秋、孟冬）及最後一月（即季春、季夏、季秋、季冬）舉行。以季節來說，早期每於春、秋二季行之，中期則以夏、冬二季舉行為多，晚期又回復在春、秋二季行之。以月份來說，早期幾乎每月份都有分封舉行，其中以四月、八月，九月所見為多；中期以六月、正月較為常見；晚期則以正月、五月所見為多。整體來說，分封每於春、秋二季舉行，由四月至十一月為常見。至此以每月來算，分封禮在年初、既望舉行者為多；換言之，即多在每月初一至十五舉行。最後，以節日來說，則以丁日、庚日、乙日、辛日為常見。

丁、小結

通過以上的研究討論，讀者一方面固然可以對西周時期王室冊命制度及王室外成員間的分封制度有一定的認識；另一方面亦可對銘文的一般性質，及其中作為西周時期研究資料的價值性有若干的了解。以銘文記載為標準，進一步從學者們的文獻資料中披沙揀金，通過兩種資料的結合，庶幾可以對西周時代政治、社會、經濟諸面相有更深入的認識。這將是筆者今
後工作的目標所在，王室冊命制度及王室外臣員間分封制度的介紹，只不過是為日後的工作，奠下初步的基礎而已。
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* There continues to be a great controversy among scholars regarding the date of the Chou conquest of the Shang and the exact chronology of the Western Chou Dynasty (e.g., Traditional 1122 B.C.; Shinjō Shinzō 1066 B.C.; Tung Tso-pin 1111 B.C.; Ch'en Meng-chia 1027 B.C.; Chou Fa-kao 1018 B.C., etc.). The problem is far from resolved. Solely as a matter of convenience the traditional (1122 B.C.) chronology is adopted in the present survey.
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ARTICLE

"Tuan-tai"  "Hsi-Chou t'ung-ch'i tuan-tai"

"西周銅器斷代"
Primarily, the aim in writing this survey is to explore as fully as one may the potential of the bronze inscription as an historical document in its own right. Inscriptions on bronzes have the merit of being practically contemporaneous with the events they record and for the period with which we are particularly concerned they constitute the largest body of textual data that has come to light as a result of archaeological discovery over the last five or six decades, and of chance discoveries and tomb robbery of which we have record over the last nine centuries. As these archaeological documents incorporate numerous references to administrative matters in the Royal Court and in the Princely Courts and are replete with details of the investiture ceremony, the services expected of the investees, the awards granted to them, and other such relevant information, they may be regarded as repositories of historical data of greater importance and reliability in regard to such matters than may be expected in the case of such traditional literary sources as the Shang-shu 尚書, Shih-ching 詩經, Tso-chuan 左傳, etc. It should be appreciated, of course, that our understanding of the primary archaeological documents relies much upon studies and commentaries of the traditional literature that have come down to us over the last two millenia, as well as the content of the traditional texts themselves. Nevertheless, if we wish to establish a reasonably accurate reconstruction of the administrative organisation and procedures that flourished in Western Chou times, it is essential that we devote our attention almost solely to the archaeological literature and allow the truly contemporary records to speak for themselves. An exercise of this kind may be expected to provide a secure basis upon which a more extensive
appraisal might be attempted at some later stage in which data from
the essentially secondary sources would be incorporated. This later
exercise would naturally involve very careful and critical sifting of
the secondary source information - a process that would be controlled,
as it were, by the content of the primary documents and their
processing as conducted in the present survey.

I have chosen to limit this study to archaeological textual
sources therefore as a preliminary step towards our understanding of
Western Chou institutions. At the same time, however, I have
attempted to demonstrate on occasion why I believe the student of
these sources is advised to apply such strict disciplinary measures in
his research and writing. Many are the instances where commentators
have unduly enforced meanings on to characters and phrases, proposed
identifications of proper names, and have even sought to parallel
inscription event records with details in traditional sources which
upon careful review are found to be very much open to question.
Examples are demonstrated from time to time throughout the survey;
ocasionally it has been possible to offer a more acceptable
interpretation or to select one of several earlier commentaries with
reliable supporting evidence and employ it in preference to those of
lesser value. Often, however, after detailed scrutiny of the evidence
and argument provided, one can only conclude that the character or
phrase studied is simply not possible of definitive interpretation in
the present state of our knowledge of the ancient written language; I
have made a point of drawing attention to such cases in some detail
rather than to adopt the most persuasive of them, let alone to proceed
further into the realm of sheer speculation. If a commentator has
achieved little other than a form of guess-work in his interpretation,
the matter should be aired, and we should admit the true nature of our
limits of interpretation - speculation, no matter how authoritative-appearing it may be in its presentation, does not constitute evidence.

As stated above, the inscription texts are permitted "to speak for themselves". There is no better way to achieve this aim, I believe, than to present the full text of the inscription wherever it is practical to do so. Cited phrases, sentences, or even longer passages when read out of the inscription context may sometimes suggest to the reader (or, even to the writer!) some significance, or shade of significance which is not really acceptable. It would not be incorrect to claim, I suggest, that most earlier writers in our field have not fully appreciated the extent to which the inscription texts comprise highly attenuated writing, simply because of the age-long practice of citing brief sections of text without due investigation as to the import of omitted characters, phrases, or sentences - the nature of which omissions may vary from one inscription to another in stereo-typed sections of text which are otherwise practically identical in their actual, or in their intended, content. Tabulations such as those presented in Tables 6, 10, 14, and 18 show at a glance that difficulties in the interpretation of certain sections of text are simply due to the ancient practice of abbreviating phrases or sections of text in accordance with the convenience of the compiler, or perhaps, as a result of certain technical problems facing the foundry artizans when preparing the inscription area for inclusion in the mould-assembly prior to casting. It becomes evident, too, when the data are methodically tabulated that some textual problems are, in all probability, the result of scribal error or carelessness. As a result of this aspect of the research approaches followed in the writing of the present survey it has been found possible to identify
the nature of omitted characters, phrases, and sentences in many inscriptions and so obtain a far better (and, I trust, more dependable) understanding of the original meaning of the compilation. The usual acceptance, by many earlier writers, of attenuated inscription text as being an essentially complete record in itself and the resultant anomalies being regarded as forms of literary style can no longer be uncritically viewed or unhesitatingly accepted as is so often the case. At the same time, I hasten to observe, it would be far from my intention to claim that anything approaching the last word on the nature and extent of textual attentuation in the inscription literature is to be found in the following study. I merely suggest that we have here a useful key to unlock some of the textual problems that so frequently arise in the inscription literature - it obviously requires yet a great deal more turning before its full potential in revealing hidden truths may be better appreciated.

A further avenue of research attempted in this survey which may likewise be claimed to be somewhat innovative is the division of the inscription text into two general groups: the Royal investiture ceremony inscriptions, and those recording investiture ceremonies conducted by parties other than the King - the subinfeudation investiture ceremony inscriptions. The nature and extent of the latter has not hitherto been systematically researched, thus the significance of the 97 inscriptions in this group as documents which serve to throw valuable light on certain aspects of Western Chou administrative institutions and procedures has not been fully realized. In order to deal effectively with the subinfeudation inscriptions it has been found necessary to review at some length the currently available total of 116 Royal investiture ceremony inscriptions. Others have explored this group of inscriptions earlier
but with appreciably smaller totals of documents to work on; so far as possible I have attempted to review the group on somewhat different lines while taking into account, of course, the results of the earlier surveys. My re-examination of the Royal investiture ceremony inscriptions accordingly results in some variant conclusions; this is due partly to the appreciable increase in relevant archaeological documents over the last decade or so, and partly to the above-mentioned research procedure which has demonstrated something of the significance of textual attenuation throughout the documents.

In a survey of this scope limitations of time and space do not allow the comprehensive level of investigation one might wish to achieve. I have not, for instance, dealt in any detail with the various official ranks in the Royal and Princely Courts. This is a line of enquiry that might now be profitably studied in view of many recently excavated inscribed bronzes not available to earlier scholars. No doubt, there is also a great deal of material evidence throughout the archaeological reports which might be brought to bear upon one facet or another of the subject under survey. What I have attempted to do, therefore, is simply to review the more general aspects of Western Chou administrative machinery as recorded in the relevant archaeological documents as a necessary prelude to further and more extensive study of the subject.

CONVENTIONS

1. General:

The romanization system employed is Wade-Giles with slight emendations. Certain inscription terms are romanized "literally", e.g. 大室 ta-shih, 大保 ta-pao, etc. when discussed in terms of
the inscription texts; when referring to traditional text, parallel terms the romanization t'ai-shih (太室), t'ai-pao (太保), etc. is followed. The reconstruction of the archaic sounds followed here is that of Chou Fa-kao 周法高 in his Han-tzu ku-chin yin-hui 漢字古今音義. Characters are written in fan-t'i-tzu 繁體字 because they accord better with their archaic precursors and do so far more conveniently than the currently favoured chien-t'i-tzu 簡體字 of Mainland China. Generally, bibliographical data are presented fairly fully on first citation in the annotations only; full details are readily available in the Bibliography. Group authorship in many Mainland Chinese publications is allocated to the "anonymous" section of the Bibliography and is arranged in chronological order for rapid reference when needed.

2. **Inscription Reference Numbers:**

Inscription reference numbers (see Barnard and Cheung, 1979.1:11-12) are employed extensively throughout the survey. This system of inscription reference numbers is particularly useful in informing the reader instantly certain useful and necessary items of information regarding each inscription:

Prefix "A" means the inscription is provenanced:

A/1: = Scientifically excavated - full provenanced details recorded

A/2: = Excavation background is sparse but of acceptable reliability

A/3: = Excavation background vague but acceptable

A/4: = Strong tradition of having been excavated by chance - background details not so acceptable as A/3

Prefix "S" indicates that the inscription was first known and published in Northern Sung times and appears in one of the six Sung
Catalogues (i.e. K'ao-ku 考古, Po-ku 博古, Li-tai 歷代, Hsü-k'ao-ku 續考古, Hsiao-t'ang 鳴堂 [see Bibliography] and Wang Hou-chih's 王厚之 Chung-ting k'uan-chih 鐘鼎款識).

Prefix "T" indicates that the inscription was first known in the Ch'ing period up to circa 1900 A.D. Many are published in catalogues printed from 1752-1900± (see list in Barnard and Cheung, op. cit. pp. 46-47) and mainly in wood-block reproductions in these catalogues. Most lack provenance details.

Lack of a prefix letter indicates that the inscribed artifacts first appear in publication (or is otherwise datable) from 1900± to the present. Generally provenance details are unknown, or are too unreliable for research use.

The number of characters, in terms of character-spaces, is indicated in the first number unit: 100.3 means the inscription has 100 character-spaces (i.e. 子 孫 子; 乞; etc. are counted each as one character-space); the second unit number simply differentiates one 100 character-space inscription from others of the same count.

3. Tables:

Most tabulated data concerning inscription content is presented in Chinese characters only. The discussion covering each such Table is directly concerned with the original text of the inscription; to render the Table content into English as well serves no good purpose not merely because the survey is directed to a limited group of specialist Western readers outside China, Japan, Taiwan, etc. but also because of the technical problems involved in the greater space and size of paper required for English renderings. Similarly, the Appendices are presented in Chinese characters only but with brief English introductory notes. The large Tables (A and B) are placed in
an envelope in the rear cover.

4. **Inscription Texts and Translations:**

For reasons outlined above the full text of each inscription is presented. Transliterations into modern character form, sometimes accompanied by notes on individual characters and phrases, have been prepared for concurrent consultation with the English translations; these are placed in a separate volume so as to facilitate comparative reading of both the Chinese and the English versions. Annotations in English dealing with some of the more important problems of interpretation are incorporated where appropriate. Presentation of the English translation is effected in accordance with the transcription which follows faithfully the layout of the original archaic text (except that it is written horizontally), thus it coincides line by line with the original. Any interpretation offered in the transliteration and in the translation which involves some degree of "manipulation" of the "usual" meanings associated with certain characters is clearly indicated, e.g. "[You] must not dare to be [not expert =] inefficient. [I] award you ....", so also, as demonstrated here, the understood subject of a sentence, or other understood subject matter: "[Shan] then returned to [the Courtyard for further] audience [and offered] a chang-sceptre [to the King]."

Where characters are not acceptably understood, or missing as a result of corrosion or damage, they are indicated by: "....." (four dots being equivalent to one character).
After the conquest of Shang, the Chou Kings instituted a policy of expansion to the east which resulted in ever-increasing occurrences of military expeditions against the recalcitrant peoples there and the gradual establishment of Princely States subservient to Chou throughout the region. Along with this policy of expansion the Chou Kings sought also to consolidate their personal power in the Royal Domain and over the Princely States long owing allegiance to them by exercising a tighter degree of control over the Princes (chu-hou 諸侯), as well as the officers and ministers attached to the Royal Court. This was effected through the practice of rites and ceremonies presided over by the King.

Of paramount importance was the investiture ceremony details of which appear in the inscription records available to us from Chou times. The ceremony, which seems to have been an innovation dating from the early post-conquest years, was conducted by the King mainly to formalize the granting of awards for services rendered, to define the duties required of the investee, to confirm the investee's tenure of office or his promotion to a new office, and the occasion was often used both to praise and to admonish the investee so as to instill in him a proper attitude in his duties and responsibilities to the "royal person". Records of the investiture ceremony date back to the early reigns of the Dynasty and are well documented in the archaeological literature; some have even suggested that the origin of the investiture ceremony might be earlier still and thus see it as an inheritance from the Shang. However, evidence in support of this view is not to be seen in archaeological literature of Shang or Chou.
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Table 1. The numbers of Royal investiture ceremony inscriptions datable in each of the reigns of the Kings of Western Chou (see Appendix A for details of variant chronological assessments of the individual inscriptions, and the periodization of each followed in this survey).
In this part of the study, we attempt to survey the general procedures of the Royal investiture ceremony with reference to a selection of 73 inscriptions. These inscriptions culled from a total of 116 relevant items comprise those with comparatively more detailed information. The 43 inscriptions to which reference is not directly made at this stage of the survey include 16 items which are too succinct and consequently lacking in most of the ceremonial details; the remaining 27 are those which we term "Royal Decree" inscriptions. The latter likewise present very little information on the investiture ceremony but offer most valuable light on the content of the Royal Decrees and other matters (see Section 8 below).

In Table A the 73 inscriptions are listed and grouped in a reasonably acceptable chronological order. It is most important to observe at the outset the numbers of these archaeological documents which may be allocated to the reigns of individual Kings. Obviously, interpretations offered must be considered in relation to the number of inscriptions available in each reign-group. For convenience, a simple tabulation is presented opposite.

It will be observed that our data for the reigns of Mu, Kung, Yi and Hsiao - Middle Western Chou - comprise well over 50% of the documentation. This situation is balanced appreciably, however, by Late Western Chou inscriptions which comprise one third of the total. It is thus in Early Western Chou that we lack comparable quantity of inscription data. The reason is simply that inscriptions of the early reigns are either too brief or not duly concerned with ceremonial record to the same extent as those of later times, hence, we are unable to work effectively from them. Therefore, it is essential in the first place that we form a picture of the Royal investiture ceremony at its zenith, i.e. in Middle Western Chou times.
when the Kingdom had reached a level of stability wherein the Royal investiture ceremony had become a straightforward process involving little other than the conventional appointment of an officer to a specified post or the confirmation of his inheritance of a title and all that went with it. From this point we shall be in a better position to view the available archaeological documentary evidence relating to the early reigns. At the same time it will be appreciated that this exercise in assessing the nature of the Royal investiture ceremony is no more than a necessary prelude to the major theme of the survey - the institution of a similar administrative technique by the Princes of States in their own courts, and as we shall see, too, the practice went even further than this both in the Royal Domain and in the Princely Courts.

There are several earlier studies on the nature of the Chou administrative system in terms of the investiture ceremony and each one has emphasised the role of the Royal Court. A few scholars have concentrated their studies almost exclusively on the inscription literature. The numbers of inscriptions surveyed by each may be noted here (observe also the published date of each survey):

1. Ch'en Meng-chia, KKHP 1956a.1:98-114 58 inscriptions
   陈梦家 "西周金器国代 (三)"

2. Wong Yin-wai, 1978 36 inscriptions
   黄然伟 "殷周青铜器赏赐铭文研究"

   张光裕 "金文中册命之典"

   武者章 "西周册命金文分類の試み"

Amongst the 116 inscription texts surveyed in the present study are
included 12 recently excavated inscriptions, along with approximately nine published inscriptions which do not appear to have been used, or consulted by, the above authorities. Accordingly, this section of our survey is in effect, an updating (and where the occasion requires it, a reappraisal) of the earlier researches.

Before we proceed towards a detailed discussion on the procedures of a formal Royal investiture ceremony, it will be found helpful at this stage to review a small selection of the inscriptions in their full context so that a general impression both of the document-type and of the formal investiture ceremony described therein may be obtained. As already observed above, it was in Middle and Late Western Chou that the ceremony had attained its most elaborate expression; accordingly, the information supplied by the following three inscriptions, which have been selected from these two periods, may be regarded as being amongst the more complete and detailed examples, and so better representative of the ceremonial procedure. The first, the Shan-fu Shan Ting of Late Western Chou, records the investment of the Shan-fu-officer, Shan, with a post involving the administration of "drinking-affairs" and of the Hsien-jen-officers at a place called K'o (cf. Anon. WW 1965a.7:18-19):

1. (67) 1. It was in the thirty-seventh year, the first month, the first quarter of the month, on the day, keng-

2. hsu [47], the King was in Chou, and arrived [in] the T'u-shih. Nan Kung Fu

3. entered and assisted on the right [,]4 the Shan-fu-officer, Shan, entered the doorway and stood in the centre of the Courtyard,
4. facing the north. The King called forth the Shih-historiographer, Pen, [to read out] the decree of investiture [to] Shan: "the King
5. states: Shan, [I] command you to govern and administer the "drinking-affairs" [and] the Hsien-jen-officers at
6. K'o [and] to employ [them] in the administration of the granaries. [You] must not dare to be (not expert =) inefficient. [I]
7. award you a black coat with embroidered edges, a red apron, a red jade-pendant, and
8. a banner with bells." Shan bowed low his head, received the document containing the decree, inserted it in his belt, and
9. retreated [from the Courtyard]. [Shan] then returned to [the Courtyard for further] audience [and offered] a chang-sceptre [to the King]. Shan presumed to respond and extol the Son of
10. Heaven's graceful command, therefore [has he] made for his August father, Shu-shuo-
11. fu, [this] honoured Ting-cauldron, to be employed in prayers for an old age without limit, .... ....,
12. eternal commands until life's peaceful end. May sons and grandsons forever cherish [it].
Shan-fu Shan Ting 善夫山亭 [ins. A/3:119.1]
On occasions, the investee was simply instructed by the King to
continue the duties of his deceased father, or forbears, and so was confirmed in his inheritance of the associated post in the Royal Court. In the Shih Yu Kuei, the Shih-officer, Yu, received from the King in the course of an investiture ceremony the written decree which confirmed his inheritance of his forbear's office - one concerned with the administration of the Tiger-janissaries and a number of barbarian tribes which had earlier submitted to the Chou suzerainty:

2. (46) 1. It was in the first year, in the first month, the King was in Wu; [he] arrived

2. [at] the Grand Temple of Wu. Kung (?) Li of the Royal Clan entered and assisted on the right[,] 

3. the Shih-officer, Yu, stood in the centre of the Courtyard. The King summoned the Shih-historiographer, Ch'iang, to read out the document [containing]

4. the decree to the Shih-officer, Yu: "The King said,]: Take charge of your forbears' chief office (?) [administering] the [captive] people of the towns [in the Royal Domain],

5. the Tiger-janissaries, the Hsi-men Yi-barbarians, the Ch'uan Yi-barbarians, the Ch'in (?) Yi-barbarians, the

6. Ching Yi-barbarians, [and] the .... Shen Yi-barbarians. [I] newly award you a red apron,

7. a red jade-pendant, .... ...., metal-ornamented harness; reverently, day and night,

8. [endeavour] not to disregard my commands." The Shih-officer, Yu, bowed low his head,
9. responded and extolled the Son of Heaven's great, illustrious and graceful command. Therefore [has he] made for

10. his accomplished deceased father, Yi Po and Chiu Chi, [this] honoured Kuei-tureen.

11. Yu, may for a myriad of years, sons and grandsons eternally cherish [it].

Shih Yu Kuei 師酉殿 [ins. T.104.2]

Royal commands might, on occasions, bestow upon an investee to serve as an assistant to a Prince of State who held concurrent appointment in the Royal Court. In the Mi Shu Kuei (cf. Kuo Mo-jo, 1960:347-348), Mi Shu was commanded by the King in the course of an investiture ceremony to assist the Earl of Mi, who, according to the Mi Po Kuei 米圃殿 [ins. A/1:71.5], served concurrently as a Shih-officer in the Royal administration:

3. (61) 1. It was in the fifth month, the first quarter of the month, on the day, chia-hsü [11], the King was in Fang,

2. and arrived in the Grand Hall of Audience [took up his position in the centre of the Courtyard]* Hsing Shu

3. entered on the right [,] the Shih-officer, Ts'ai, [took up his position in the centre of the Courtyard]. The King called forth the Yin-shih-historiographer to read out the document containing the decree [to]

* phrase misplaced in original text; should appear in line 3.
4. the Shih-officer, Ts'ai. ["The King said: I] awarded you red shoes and metal-ornamented harness. Use [these when you] render assistance to

5. the Earl of Mi." [I], the Shih-officer, Ts'ai, bow low the head, and presume to respond and extol

6. the Son of Heaven's grace. Therefore [have I] made for my accomplished forbears [this] valuable Kuei-tureen.

7. Mi Shu, may for a myriad of years sons and grandsons eternally cherish [it].

Mi Shu Kuei [ins. A/2:70.2]

With these three examples of the investiture ceremony inscriptions selected by way of introduction to the document-type with which we are concerned, we shall proceed now to review the general nature of these documents. This may conveniently be effected with reference to the following subject divisions which are more or less common to each inscription text:

1. Date Formulae p. 20
2. Locale of the Investiture Ceremony p. 31
3. The Status of Entrants-on-the-right p. 45
4. Granting of a Royal Decree p. 57
5. The King's Command As Incorporated in the Royal Decree p. 67
6. Items of Award p. 76
7. The "Extol Phraseology" and the "Obeisance Phraseology" p. 92
An analytical approach of this kind helps considerably towards a reliable reconstruction of the nature of the Royal investiture ceremony. Throughout the present section of this survey I have aimed to deal with the subject on somewhat different lines to those of Ch'en, Wong, Cheung, and Musha, and to investigate aspects of the subject which they have not covered so fully. Thus the following exercise should not only result in some degree of updating of the earlier surveys but also serve to supplement aspects of their valuable contributions.
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Table 2 A comparative chronology of the Hsia, Shang, and Chou calendar systems. The divisions of the seasons in terms of the months differs according to the calendar system one follows (after Tseng Hsien-t'ung; see note 5).
1. DATE FORMULAE

Dates recorded in the inscriptions may generally be regarded as the time when particular investiture ceremonies were held (or other recorded events took place). As the number of dated inscriptions has increased markedly over the last few decades, it is now possible to determine patterns of particular significance where present. A question which immediately comes to mind concerns the season and month: were some seasons and months considered more favourable than others for conducting the ceremony? According to the Chou calendar, Spring commenced in the third month and continued to the fifth month; and these three months were termed: 孟春 meng-ch'un, 仲春 chung-ch'un, and 季春 chi-ch'un. Similarly, the characters meng, chung and chi were applied to the three months of Summer, Autumn and Winter; Summer commenced in the sixth month, Autumn in the ninth month, and Winter in the twelfth month (see Table 2).

In Table 3, it will be observed that the Royal investiture ceremonies in the early period fall in the eighth and ninth months only - but with only two inscriptions presently available little significance can be read into the evidence. In the middle period, with 42 examples, however, it may be noted that with the apparent exception of Winter, the Royal investiture ceremonies tend to have been held mainly in the first month of each season: 孟春 meng-ch'un, 孟夏 meng-hsia and 孟秋 meng-ch'iu. Possibly, this feature had become a systematic practice as a result of the degree of stability attained throughout the Kingdom in Middle Western Chou times. And in the traditional literature there would appear to have been some recollection of this situation, e.g. in the "Yüeh-ling" (Li-chi 禮記 chüan 14-17), it is recorded that in all four seasons, awards
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<th>季春</th>
<th>孟夏</th>
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<th>季夏</th>
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<th>仲秋</th>
<th>季秋</th>
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<td>十二月</td>
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<td>閏月</td>
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Table 3  Months favoured for the holding of Royal investiture ceremonies (according to the inscriptions under survey) in Early, Middle and Late Western Chou.
(presumably with ceremonies) were made. This addition of *meng-tung* in the "Yüeh-ling" account may have been due to Chan-kuo scholars' desire to systematize their conception of the Western Chou practice as fully and ideally as possible.\(^6\)

In the middle period, Winter (15 + one [intercalary] cases) would appear to have been the most favoured season followed closely by Spring (12 cases), and Summer (10 cases); Autumn with only four cases was clearly the least preferred.\(^7\)

In the late period, there is no distinct pattern; this is, no doubt, due partly to the political instability of the Kingdom which situation is often described in terms of a general slackening of institutional procedures in traditional sources but less specifically in the inscription literature. Spring appears as the most favoured season (11 cases) for the Royal investiture ceremony in this period, closely followed by Winter (nine cases). Autumn (five cases) and Summer (one case) were obviously less favoured. In both the middle and late periods the Table shows an emphasis towards Spring (23 cases) and Winter (24 + one [intercalary] cases). The incidence in Summer (12 cases) and Autumn (10 cases) is appreciably less.

When viewed in terms of months there appears to be a distinct cluster (47 cases) from the twelfth to the fifth months - well over half the data; the cluster in the eighth and ninth months (11 cases) interestingly matches the only two examples available in the early period. Whether any significance can be claimed for this latter cluster is, of course, uncertain at present.

In the date formulae there often appear four terms which follow the month; they denote a particular time within the month when the Royal investiture ceremony (or other events) took place:
Numerous studies have been devoted to the four terms and there are many investigations into the meaning of pa, some of which date back as early as the Han Dynasty. Not unexpectedly, controversies rage amongst scholars as to their significance in the date formulae. A representative study is that by Tung Tso-pin (1977a:1:1-21; 1977b:1:23-27) who has suggested that the four terms individually denote fixed days of the month: chi-ssu-pa - the 1st day; chi-sheng-pa - the 15th; chi-wang - either the 16th, 17th or 18th; while ch'u-chi was virtually an auspicious term and one which replaced chi-ssu-pa, both thus denoted the 1st day of the month. The earlier interpretation is that by Wang Kuo-wei (1973e:19-26) who concluded that the four terms were applied to the four quarters of a month:

1. ch'u-chi, from 1st to 7th/8th
2. chi-sheng-pa, from 8th/9th to 14th/15th
3. chi-wang, from 15th/16th to 22nd/23rd
4. chi-ssu-pa, from 23rd to 29th/30th

Wang's interpretation is the more reliable one and is widely accepted by scholars who have delved into the problems of Chou chronology.

A study of the four terms in the date formulae of the Royal investiture inscriptions (see Table 4) seems to indicate the selection of particular month-quarters for the holding of an investiture ceremony. There is, unfortunately, only the one Early Western Chou
Table 4  Month-quarters favoured for the holding of Royal investiture ceremonies (according to the inscriptions under survey) in Early, Middle, and Late Western Chou.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>月相期</th>
<th>初吉</th>
<th>既生霸</th>
<th>既望</th>
<th>既死霸</th>
<th>合計</th>
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<tr>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
example, viz. the Hsiao Yu Ting [ins. T. 405.1] wherein the ceremony was held in the chi-wang month-quarter. In Middle Western Chou, the ceremonies occurred mostly in the ch'u-chi month-quarter (24 cases), while the chi-sheng-pa (nine cases), and the chi-wang (five cases) were less favoured. No ceremony is recorded to date in the chi-ssu-pa month-quarter.

In Late Western Chou, the ch'u-chi month-quarter continued to be preferred (nine cases) but a marked proportional increase is to be noted in the chi-sheng-pa (five cases) and chi-wang month-quarters (seven cases) together with three instances of the chi-ssu-pa month-quarter. Despite the smaller number of samples, the increase in the second to fourth month-quarters may be significant. This situation may perhaps be claimed to demonstrate one further aspect of the breakdown of stability in Late Western Chou as contrasted with the early and middle periods where there was a marked tendency to hold investiture ceremonies in the first quarter of the month.10

In more general terms, however, it may be noted that it was in the first half of a month that most occurrences of the Royal investiture ceremony are recorded, while within the first half, the ch'u-chi month-quarter is the most favoured.11

Altogether there are 62 cases in this group of inscriptions which record a kan-chih 天干 day-date. It would be expected that the record of an exact day within a month might result in a more precise pattern attending the choice of times for the ceremonies. However, the data are not sufficiently devoid of ambiguities to allow so straightforward a result. There is, first of all, the problem of periodization: we cannot be sure which Royal reign (and sometimes even the year of reign) with which the individual inscriptions are affiliated. Secondly, we do not have a really reliable reign-list of


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<th>五</th>
<th>六</th>
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</table>

Table 5 The cyclical days (kan-chih) and the kan-days on which Royal investiture ceremonies were generally held.
A: The full set of 60 kan-chih days for reference; throughout inscription translations the kan-chih term for each day is accompanied by the corresponding number in square brackets.
<table>
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<th>早中晚</th>
<th>早中晚</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5

B: Kan-chih days on which the Royal investiture ceremonies were conducted arranged in decades (kan-days) and in general chronological groups - Early, Middle, and Late Western Chou.
the Chou Kings let alone exact information as to the lengths of reign of each - even the date of the Chou conquest of Shang is far from being resolved - therefore it is wellnigh impossible to reconstruct the relation between the kan-chih days and the actual (i.e. astronomical) days of each reign. So far, as we have observed, the data can only indicate in which quarter of the month a kan-chih day belonged. The problem will remain thus until a generally acceptable calendar can be constructed and a more exact chronology of the inscriptions is achieved. Nevertheless, the kan-chih days in this group of inscriptions seem to fall into patterns that might indicate the practice of selecting particular days for the investiture ceremonies. In Early Western Chou there is only the Hsiao Yü Ting [ins. T.405.1] wherein it is recorded that the ceremony was carried out on the chia-shen day [21] 甲申 of the eighth month. In Middle Western Chou, the investiture ceremonies tend largely to occur on the day ting-hai [24] 丁亥 (10 cases), next favoured is the day keng-yin [27] 庚寅 (six cases), and then chia-hsü [11] 甲戌, wu-yin [15] 戊寅 and wu-hsü [35] 戊戌 (each with four examples). In Late Western Chou the day chia-hsü [11] (six cases) is the most favoured, this is followed closely by the days ting-hai [24] (five cases), keng-yin [27] (three cases), and chia-yin [51] 甲寅 (three cases). Thus may we observe a distinct tendency for both the middle and late periods kan-chih day-dates to favour particular days of the 60 day cycle - the days preferred total perhaps no more than eight (see Table 5a and b) and no less than six.

Now, if we review this situation in terms of the kan-days 千 (i.e. in groups of 10) it may be observed that the ting 丁 combinations (11 cases), wu 戊 combinations (eight cases), keng 庚 combinations (seven cases), and chia 甲 combinations (six cases) were
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<th>戊寅</th>
<th>戊戌</th>
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Table 5
C: Month-quarters and the seven most favoured kan-chih days in Middle and Late Western Chou. Data for the early period are too sparse to indicate a possible pattern tendency.
most preferred in the middle period; while in the late period only
the chia combinations (nine cases), keng combinations (six cases), and
ting combinations (five cases) were largely favoured.

The same data viewed throughout the Western Chou period suggest
that the Royal investiture ceremonies tended to fall mainly on the
days ting-hai (15 cases), chia-hsü (10 cases) and keng-yin (nine
cases), while the most favoured kan combinations were the chia (16
cases), ting (15 cases) and keng (13 cases). It is recorded in the
Yi-ching 周易 (2:12a,b; 6:6a) that the three days before and the
three days after chia combinations, and the three days before and the
three days after keng combinations (i.e. hsin 信, ting and kuei) were
the most propitious days for attending to the various affairs;
according to the relevant data we have just observed in the bronze
inscriptions, there would seem to be some support for the Yi-ching
statements. Furthermore, as demonstrated in Table 5c the greatest
proportion of the most favoured days falls in the ch'u-chi
month-quarter (23 cases), which would thus appear to be the most
auspicious of the four quarters of the month and when these special
days were within the ch'u-chi period, they would no doubt, have been
regarded as the most suitable occasions for the holding of the Royal
investiture ceremonies. However, when such auspicious days failed to
coincide with the ch'u-chi month-quarter, the ceremony would still be
held on these special days, regardless of the month-quarter in which
they fell.
2. THE LOCALE OF THE ROYAL INVESTITURE CEREMONY

For the most part the ceremonies were conducted in buildings variously termed 宮 kung and 廟 miao, and in the 大室 ta-shih (t'ai-shih). Before we proceed to discuss in detail the actual places where the King came to reside and in due course to conduct the ceremony, it is, essential to appreciate the usages of the term kung in the bronze inscriptions and in classical texts, as well as the relation between kung, miao and ta-shih during Western Chou.

According to several traditional sources, kung is a term for a residence. For example, in the "Hsi-ts'u" commentary of the Yi-ching (8:4), it is recorded that "in primitive times people dwelt in caves and lived in forests. The holy men of a later time made the change to buildings" (上古穴居而野處，後世聖人易之以宮室 trans. Wilhelm, 1968:334). In the Shuo-wen 說文 (7B:7) and the Erh-ya 羚雅 (4:1a), kung is defined as "residence" (宮, 室也; 宮謂之室, 室謂之宮). In the Tso-chuan 左傳 (Ch'eng, 18th year), it is recorded: "The Marquis of Ch'i made the judge Hua Mien kill Kuo Tso with a spear, at an audience which he gave him in the inner palace, there being soldiers concealed in the palace of the marchioness." (齊侯使士華免以戈殺國佐于內宮之朝, 師逃于夫人之宮 trans. Legge, 5.1:409). The term kung is obviously a residence (or, palace). On the other hand, kung was also used in the sense of "temple", e.g. in the Nieh Ling Fang-Yi 矢令方彝 inscription [ins. 179.1], two sacrifices were made by Duke Ming 明公 at Ch'eng-Chou 成周 on the days chia-shen [21] and yi-yu [22] 乙酉, respectively in the Ching-kung 京宮, and in the K'ang-kung 康宮; clearly, kung in this context was a temple rather than a residence. In traditional sources there are such examples as a
line in the "Ts'ai-fan" poem of the Shih-ching which reads: 順侯之宮. Legge (4.1:22) has followed the Mao commentary and translates it as "In the temple of our prince". In the "Tso-lo" Chapter of the Yi-chou-shu (5:8b), it is stated that the wu-kung 室 in ancient times comprised the t'ai-miao 太廟, the tsung-kung 宗宮, the k'ao-kung 考宮, the lu-ch'in 路寝, and the ming-t'ang 明堂. These were temples, although the nature and purpose of each might have differed. This confusion attending the usage of the term kung may be appreciated with reference to the Tso-chuan passage (Hsiang, 28th year): "In the 11th month, on yi-hai, was the autumnal sacrifice in the temple of T'ai Kung, under the superintendence of Ch'ing She .... and the men at arms of the Ch'ing surrounded the palace" (11-月，乙亥(慶舍)普于太公之廟 單元以其甲廬公宮 Legge, 5.2:542). Judging by the context, the temple was part of the kung, hence Tu Yu 杜預 of the Chin period states in his commentary that the temple was within the kung-palace ( 廟在宮內). Upon his survey of such records, T'ang Lan 唐蘭 (KKHP 1962.1:27) came up with the idea that kung was a term for an edifice which included the residential section as well as the miao-temple. Accordingly, the term miao on its own was employed only for the temple section. However, the term kung was ambiguous — it could mean the entire structure, or just part of it (the residential section) unless it was made clear in the context which was meant. As to the t'ai-shih, according to a description in the Yi-li 儀禮 (16: 15b), it was a small room in the residential section and there was also one in the temple section of the kung. 12

Numerous studies have been attempted since Han times regarding the structure of the kung. It is generally believed that the residence and the temple sections were virtually identical, except
Figure 1  A reconstruction of the Chou period kung + miao complex after the study of Cheng Liang-shu. This demonstrates the nature of the ediface as recorded in traditional sources.
that the temple had in addition the tung-hsi-hsiang "east and west chambers" (cf. Note 13 below). Among these studies, that of Cheng Liang-shu (1968.7:48-96) may be regarded as one of the most complete and systematic in the approach to this problem, although he did not follow the Erh-ya gloss, he concluded that the kung and the miao (hereafter: kung+miao) structures were totally identical.

Until recently, reconstructions of the kung+miao of ancient China could only be made on the basis of textual records - especially the relevant descriptions of the Yi-li. In Cheng's study, it is observed that the ancient kung+miao was composed of four main units:

(1) The shu( ): according to Cheng Hsuan's commentary, the shu was located symmetrically on either side of the gateway and extended inwards and outwards of the wall (see Figure 1). The western shu was said to have been employed for the practice of divination and for the preparation of food, while the eastern shu was the place where a ceremonial assistant stood after retiring from the courtyard.

(2) The t'ing (or chung-t'ing ): the courtyard, or central courtyard where envoys were received in audience during diplomatic visits. Approximately one third of the length of the courtyard from the north was located a stone stele used for telling time by its shadow from the sun.

(3) The t'ang( ): a hall located at the north of the courtyard. Here the King stood when holding audience. Behind the t'ang were the fang and the shih rooms which were used for resting, banqueting, storing clothes as well as cooking-utensils, and for the washing of utensils.

(4) The pei-t'ang( ): the "northern hall" where maids waited in readiness to serve at banquets, to wash utensils, etc.
Figure 2  Site plan of the pre-Conquest Chou kung/miao structure excavated at Feng-ch'u-ts'un, Ch'i-shan-hsien, Shensi (after Shang-Chou k'a-o-ku, Fig. 155, p.182). Upon the basis of this a re-appraisal of the reliability of the traditional texts' descriptions (cf. preceding Figure) is possible.
In 1976, for the first time, the foundation of a Western Chou temple (or palace) was unearthed in Feng-ch'u village, Ch'i-shan-hsien, Shensi. The excavation has, in the first place, resulted in questions being raised as to the reliability of the traditional belief that there were two buildings, kung and miao, within the single (kung+miao) complex in Western Chou. Secondly, the reconstructed plan of this ancient building also sheds new light on the nature of the kung/miao complex. Such basic features as the shu, chung-t'ing, t'ang, fang, shih, and pei-t'ang - recorded in the traditional literature - are identifiable. Nevertheless, variations do exist between the two kinds of data, especially in the case of structures not clearly recorded in literary sources but which can be recognised in the archaeological data. Comparison of the reconstructions which appear in Figures 1 and 2 results in the following variations:

1. The structure termed pei (pei) recorded in textual materials does not appear in the sites; there was found, however, a p'ing-wall built four metres before the front entrance - a structure still found located in front of old buildings in China.

2. The east and west shu are located inside the front entrance; each comprises three small rooms. There is no evidence, however, of an extension of the shu outside the front entrance as suggested by Cheng Hsüan and followed by later scholars.

3. There are three stairs, namely the eastern, middle and western stairs, located at the northern end of the central courtyard (chung-t'ing) leading to the Grand Hall of Audience (ta-shih), thus differing from the two stairs as recorded in textual materials. Also there are two sets of stairs on either side of the central courtyard; there is no definite reference to these in the transmitted literature.
(4) The Grand Hall of Audience coincides with the t'ang, fang, shih
and pei-t'ang areas in literary sources and, moreover, there is no
division into four parts. Also, it may be observed, the pei-chieh
北階, "northern stairs" of the literary sources, does not appear in
the site.

(5) To the north of the Grand Hall of Audience are located the
tung-hsi-t'ing 東西庭, "the eastern and the western courtyards",
regarding which features the traditional texts are silent.

(6) Behind the tung-hsi-t'ing are situated the three ch'in-rooms
寝 and the two wei-doors 間. The former, according to the Cheng
Hsüan commentary on the Chou-li 周禮 ("Li-p'u" 雳僖 31:25a-26a) and
the K'ung Ying-ta commentary on the Li-chi ("Yüeh-ling" 15:20a-20b)
were used for the sacrificing of new crops (chien-hsin 菘新) and the
storage of clothes; the latter according to Cheng Hsüan (Yi-li,
"Shih-kuan-li" 圖冠禮 2:5b) were the rear doors used by females.
However, their actual locations lack definition.

(7) The series of eight rooms on each side of the building are termed
廂 hsiang-chambers. They were waiting areas allocated to officers
before they were called forth to receive commands relating to their
services. In such traditional sources as the Tso-chuan and the Yi-li
they are referred to as hsiang or ko 蓆, but their actual locations in
the kung/miao complex, as in the case of the ch'in-chambers and the
wei-doors, are not recorded in any detail.

According to the excavation report (Anon., WW 1979e.10:27-34),
the site had been in use since Late Shang and continued until Late
Chou; this was evident in the light of chronological data provided by
the oracle bones and pottery unearthed in the site area. Accordingly,
general aspects of the structure of this building may be regarded as a
model of the kung/miao which should be valid for the whole period, and
Table 6  Locale, time, and venues of the Royal investiture ceremonies as recorded in archaeological documents of the period. The degree of attenuation of inscription content becomes evident when it is tabulated in this manner (cf. Tables 10, 14, and 18; and Section 8, below).
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one which in some details coincides with traditional records, but in most others, however, it requires that significant adjustments and additional clarification be effected.

Returning now to the Royal investiture ceremony, it will be noticed that in most of the inscriptions it is first of all recorded that the King was in residence (tsai 在) in a particular place just prior to the ceremony (see Table 6), and on the actual day of the ceremony he proceeded (ko 了) to the venue where the investiture and presentation of benefices were to take place. According to the inscription data, there were five general locations where the King is recorded to have been in residence in connection with investiture ceremonies:

1. In places under Royal suzerainty such as Chou 周, Tsung-Chou 宗周 and Fang 房, 14 etc. However, the nature of the buildings in which the King was in residence in these localities is not indicated in the inscriptions.

2. In the Royal kung complexes ("palaces") in the Royal Domain (周), e.g. the K'ang Kung, K'ang Mu Kung 康穆宮, Chao Kung 昭宮, K'ang Kung Hsin Kung 康宮新宮, K'ang Kung Yi Kung 康宮儀宮 etc. all of which are recorded to have been located in Chou. 15

3. In the kung complexes of Royal officers, e.g. the Shih Ssu-ma Kung 師司馬宮 the Shih Lu Kung 師務宮, the Shih Liang Kung 師量宮, the Ssu-t'u Hu Kung 萬土淵宮, etc., all of which were situated in the Royal Domain.

4. In the Princely States, but the exact places within the States are not mentioned. Thus we find record of the ceremonies being conducted simply as "in Wu", etc.

5. In buildings variously termed Hua Kung 華宮, She Jih Kung
According to T'ang Lan (KKHP 1962.1:31), these were hsing-kung "Royal pavilions", i.e. residences for Royal use in various localities.

As to the buildings in which the ceremony was to be held, there are five general venues recorded amongst the inscriptions wherein the ceremonies took place:

1. The Royal Temples (miao): The Chou Miao 周廟, the K'ang Miao 康廟, the Mu Miao 穆廟, the Ta Miao 太廟 and the Miao 鎮 (unnamed), all of which were located in the Royal Domain. That investiture ceremonies might take place in temples (miao) was realized by the compilers of the Li-chi: "Anciently the intelligent rulers conferred rank on the virtuous, and emoluments on the meritorious; and the rule was that this should take place in the Grand Temple, to show that they did not dare to do it on their private motion" (Legge, 1966:247). But that the ceremonies were exclusively conducted in temples is not necessarily borne out by the inscriptions (15 cases only).

2. The Princely Temple (miao): only one case is recorded in the inscription texts: the Shih Yu Kuei (see 2(46) above).

3. The Grand Hall of Audience (ta-shih) which in 13 cases is not qualified by the names of the buildings wherein the ta-shih were incorporated. We cannot thus be certain whether they belong to one of the Royal kung-complexes, or that of a Royal officer, or even one in a Princely State. As already observed, it has been surmised that both the residence and the temple section of a kung+miao complex contained a t'ai-shih (cf. Cheng, op. cit.:49-51). However, there is nothing to indicate in these 13 inscriptions whether the ta-shih are part of a kung or of a miao, or even of a kung/miao complex as earlier
envisaged. So far as there being a ta-shih in a miao complex is concerned, in only one inscription, the Wu Yi [ins. T.101.3], is there any suggestion that a temple (miao) had a ta-shih, and even here the context is not really in this direction - Ch'eng-ta-shih may well refer to a Ch'eng-kung.

4. The Kung-complexes: in all but eight cases the investiture ceremonies are recorded to have taken place in the ta-shih of such-and-such a kung. In these eight "incomplete" cases (items 4, 34, 47?, 52, 54, 55?, 56 and 57), two ([47], [55]) are uncertain as the inscription text in this section is rather condensed while three ([52], [54], [56]) of the remaining six are referred to elsewhere in Table 6 (items 17-20, 45) with a ta-shih. It would seem thus clear enough that all kung contained a ta-shih, in which investiture ceremonies were conducted.

5. Occasionally, though rarely, it is recorded in the inscriptions that the King arrived in venues other than the preceding wherein the ceremony was conducted, e.g. the t'u-shih in Shan-fu Shan Ting (see 1(67) above), which, as recorded in the Wu Hui Ting [ins. T.92.4] (王格于周廟) was a building within the Chou Temple. However, the exact meaning of the term is not known at the present stage of our understanding of the inscriptions. In the Chiu Kuei [ins. S.104.1], the award was made in the hsüan-she (宣尉) which term is also recorded in the Kuo Chi Tzu Po P'an [ins. T.104.4]. Both Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若 (Ta-hsi, 105a-105b) and Shirakawa Shizuka 川崎静 (Tsushaku, 185:736, 792; 192:805-806) have followed Sun Yi-yang's interpretation in reading it as the name of a kung - that of the 11th King of the Dynasty.
In as many as 19 of the inscriptions under survey the time of the ceremony is recorded (Table 6), namely, at dawn (เขา) at which time the King would have taken up his position in the Grand Hall of Audience in which place the majority of the recorded investiture ceremonies were conducted (43 cases and presumably all located in kung-complexes). The time for the same ceremony when conducted in temples (miao) was probably the same - but only two inscriptions actually records the time (רא) amongst 15 relevant examples.
3. THE STATUS OF "ENTRANTS-ON-THE-RIGHT"

On the day of the award, after the King had taken up his position facing the south, the "entrant-on-the-right" - a kind of master of ceremony - figures prominently in the investiture ceremony inscription texts. Presumably he was versed in the details of the ceremony. Unfortunately the succinctness of the inscription texts does not allow us to appreciate his role fully, however, it is evident that there is a close affinity between the entrant-on-the-right and the investee. As already observed (see Note 4) the traditional interpretation of the graph 艮 yu is 艮 yu "to assist" and the investee is taken to be the object of this verb. Although some reconsideration seems necessary in view of the recent discovery of the Ch'i-shan Feng-ch'u-ts'un kung/miao-complex, the sense of "assist" would still appear to be appropriate; accordingly, the term "assistant-on-the-right" is employed on occasions where it seems in order to accentuate this aspect of the role in the investiture ceremony. To regard the entrant(assistant)-on-the-right thus as the "patron" of the investee would appear to be acceptable.

The role was generally assigned to personages of high status and prestige in the Royal Court. Hence, it may be observed amongst this group of inscriptions that only a few people in any one period apparently had the honour to serve as the entrant-on-the-right. In Table 7 they are listed under their titles and in chronological order in terms of Royal reigns. Upon examination of the data so arranged we may observe, first of all, the lack of entrants-on-the-right recorded from the reigns of Wu Wang to Chao Wang. However, as there are presently only two directly relevant inscriptions datable within these four periods, it is difficult to determine whether it is due to the
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<th>叔</th>
<th>宰</th>
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<td>毛叔</td>
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| 晚期  | ——| ——| ——| 宰彌| ——| —— | —— | 約894-771B.C.| 3 |

Table 7: "Entrants-on-the-right" as recorded in the Royal investiture ceremony inscriptions arranged chronologically and according to titles (where recorded). From Wu Wang to Chao Wang no data are available at present. Symbols "△", "★", and "•" placed alongside identical name-title combinations are to draw attention to the probable hereditary nature of the position.
succinctness of the early inscriptions generally that records of entrants-on-the-right do not appear, or whether there were virtually no entrants-on-the-right during the early reigns, i.e. had the investiture ceremony not yet evolved into its full manifestation? In all probability, as will be observed later, this phenomenon is a reflection of the fashion, or custom, of the time in regard to the lengths of inscription texts and the contents that might be recorded in this form of document (see Section 8).

Secondly, personages who served as entrants-on-the-right held one or other of the five major titles: 公 kung, 伯 po, 叔 shu, 卒 tsai and 參有嗣 ts' an-yu-su (嗣馬 ssu-ma, 嗣土 ssu-t'u and 嗣土 ssu-kung). Over and above these which form the majority, there is a small miscellaneous group amongst which some entrants-on-the-right are recorded by their personal names only.

Thirdly, not only do we find the role assigned to a comparatively few prestigious personages, but also it would seem to have been an hereditary one. This is especially evident amongst the clan-names Yi 益, Hsing 胤, and Jung 載.

(a) The Yi Clan: The earliest record of Yi Kung 益公 is to be seen in Hsiao Wang's reign. However, 80 years or so later in the reign of Hsüan Wang the title-name combination appears once more; this Yi Kung would obviously be a descendant of two, or three generations later.

(b) The Hsing Clan of the States of Cheng-Hsing 胤 : In Yi Wang's reign there appears a Hsing Shu 胤叔, and in the next reign (Hsiao Wang) there appear two title-name combinations Hsing Kung 胤公 and Hsien Hsing Shu 胤叔; whether these are all the one person, or two or more persons of the Hsing Clan is uncertain. As the two reigns total only 40 years it might well be the case that they comprise one person recorded at different stages of his career. However, about 60
years later in Hsüan Wang's reign there comes upon the scene a further Hsing Shu. He would have been a second or third generation descendant of the earlier Hsing Clan entrants-on-the-right. Presumably the posts held in the Royal Court by the Hsing Clan entrants-on-the-right would have been concurrent with the offices they held in the States of Hsing (possibly one or other may even have been the ruler of the State). Similarly, in the case of the Jung Clan entrants-on-the-right:

(c) The Jung Clan of the State of Jung: representatives of this Clan are to be noted in the reign of no less than four Chou sovereigns covering a total period of 165 years. The Jung Po of Kung Wang and Yi Wang's time (37 years) would probably have been the one and same person; then follows the reigns of Hsiao Wang and Yih Wang (31 years) wherein there is no record of a Jung Po in this role. During Li Wang's reign, the Kung-ho Regency, and Hsüan Wang's reign (97 years) there are two Jung Po - one in Li Wang's reign and the other in Hsüan Wang's reign. Probably two generations are involved here and the Li Wang Jung Po might be a generation removed from the Yi Wang Jung Po.

The entrants-on-the-right may be divided into three general groups in accordance with their status or function in the Chou administration:

(1) Officers in the Royal Court. These are distinctive because of their titles of office, and some of them (e.g. Hu, P'eng Fu, Tiao Sheng, Ch'en) appear in the inscription records other than as entrants-on-the-right. Two main titles of office are to be noted:

(a) Those recorded under the title, tsai (six individuals):

Tsai-officer, Ch'u

Wu Yi

ins. T.101.3 (Kung)
(b) Those recorded under one of the three titles, ssu-ma, ssu-t'u and ssu-kung (three individuals):

ssu-ma Kung  Hsing Hsiü  ins. A/1:60.6  (Hsiao)

ssu-ma Kung  Shih Ch'en Ting  ins. T.100.3  (Hsiao)

ssu-ma Kung  Shih Yü Kuei  ins. 99.1  (Hsiao)

ssu-ma Kung  Chien Kuei  ins. A/1:67.4  (Hsiao)

ssu-t'u Nan Chung  Wu Hui Ting  ins. T.92.4  (Hsüan)

ssu-kung Yi Po  Shih Mou Kuei  ins. 110.3  (Yih)

(c) Those recorded under the title of shih (one individual):

shih Ch'en  Ta Shih Cha Kuei  ins. 70.3  (Hsiao)
(2) Princes of States. These comprise certain chu-hou who concurrently held appointments in the Royal Court. The families of some may be traced back to the Duke of Chou and were amongst the most prestigious personages of the period; some were members of the Chou Royal Family. Let us consider each in brief detail:

(a) Hsing Po (the Earl of Hsing), who served as an entrant-on-the-right during Kung Wang's reign, is recorded in the following inscriptions:

- Ch'ueh Ts'ao Ting (1) (趙曹鼎) ins. 56.4 (Kung)
- Ku Kuei (lid) (鼓鼎) ins. 66.6 (Mu-Kung)
- Shih Hu Kuei (師虎鼎) ins. T.121.2 (Kung)
- Tou Pi Kuei (豆辟鼎) ins. 92.1 (Kung)
- Shih Yu Fu Ting (師城鼎) ins. T.92.1 (Kung)
- Tsou Kuei (走鼎) ins. T.72.2 (Kung)
- Shih Yuan Kuei (lid) (師彌鼎) ins. 101.4 (Mu-Kung)
- Li Ting (剱鼎) ins. 70.5 (Kung)
- Shih Mao Fu Kuei (師毛父鼎) ins. S.46.3 (Kung)

According to traditional sources, the rulers of the State of Hsing were of the Chou family; the State was originally enfeoffed to a son of the Duke of Chou, and was situated in the vicinity of present-day Hsing-t'ai-hsien, Hopei (see Note 67 below). In the Shih Yu Fu Ting, the Tsou Kuei, and the Shih Yuan Kuei (lid), the Earl of Hsing is recorded with the concurrent appointment: ssu-ma.

(b) Hsing Shu of Cheng-Hsing is recorded in the following inscriptions:

- Mien Kuei (莒鼎) ins. T.64.3 (Yi)
- Mien Yu (莒卣) ins. T.49.2 (v.b) (Yi)
According to Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1956d.4:107-111), the Hsing Shu above derive from the same State as Shu K'ang of Cheng-Hsing 鄭康叔康 recorded in the K'ang 康鼎 [ins. T.60.1]. Cheng-Hsing was apparently established by a member of the Chou Royal Family and was possibly located in Shensi.

(c) Jung Po (the Earls of Jung) who appear in several different reigns are recorded in the following inscriptions:

- **Ying Hou Chung 雁侯鐘** ins. A/3:69.3 (Kung)
- **K'ang Ting 康鼎** ins. T.60.1 (Yi)
- **T'ung Kuei 同隗** ins. T.87.2 (Yi)
- **Wei Kuei 從隗** ins. A/1:71.6 (Yi)
- **Fu Shih Li Kuei 輔師黎隗** ins. A/1:100.8 (Li)
- **Mi Po Kuei 彌伯隗** ins. A/1:71.5 (Hsüan)
- **Shih Hsün Kuei 師勝隗** ins. S.209.1 (Hsüan)

The aforegoing Earls of Jung have been regarded as rulers of the same State as that of the Earl of Jung mentioned in the "Preface" to the Shang-shu (尚書序) who had likewise long before served in the Royal Court: "When Ch'eng Wang had smitten the wild tribes of the east, Shu Shen came to congratulate him. The King made the Chief of Jung make the charge to Shu Shen, and gave him presents also". (成王既伐東夷，肅慎來賀。王俾榮伯作賜肅慎之命。) Similarly, the Duke Yi (夷) of Jung recorded in the Kuo-yü 國語 is also believed to have been a ruler of the same State. He had served in Li Wang's court but was notorious because of
his fondness of monopolizing the profits from trading ventures in his State in the later years of the Dynasty. According to the Han scholar, Ma Jung, the State of Jung was originally enfeoffed to a member of the Chou family within the Royal Domain (cf. Ch'ü Wan-li 1973:202).

(d) The Earls of Mao 毛伯 (毛叔?) are probably two persons and are recorded as entrants-on-the-right in three inscriptions:

- Tz'u Ting 比鸚 ins. A/1:110.2 (v.a) (Li or Hsüan)
- Tz'u Kuei 比鸚 ins. A/1:110.2 (v.d) (Li or Hsüan)
- Chiu Kuei 齊鸚 ins. S.104.1 (Yu)

According to traditional sources, the State of Mao was enfeoffed to Shu Cheng 程賜, a son of Wen Wang. The State was apparently located near present-day Yi-yang-hsien 宜陽縣, Honan (cf. Ch'en P'an 1969.4:322b-323b). According to the two Tz'u inscriptions, the Earls of Mao concurrently held the post of ssu-t'u in the Royal Court.

(e) The Earl of Shan 樓伯 recorded in the Yang Kuei [ins. T.104.5] of Hsiao Wang's time: Shan was a State considered by Ch'en P'an to have been established by a son of Ch'eng Wang (1970.1:61b-63a). According to the inscription text, the Earl held concurrently the post of ssu-t'u in the Royal establishment.

(f) Kuo Chung 誠伯 recorded in the Ho Kuei [ins. S.51.5] of Li Wang's time: Kuo Chung was a member of the Royal Family and according to Ch'eng Fa-jen 程發軒 (1967:334), was enfeoffed with the State of Western Kuo 西號 which was located about 60 li east of Pao-chi 寶鶴, Shensi.

(g) Yi Kung appears as entrant-on-the-right in three inscriptions:
Wang Ch'en Kuei  王臣啟  ins. A/1:84.5 (Hsiao)
Hsin Kuei  詢啟  ins. A/1:131.1 (Hsiian)
Hsiu P'an  休盤  ins. 88.5 (Hsuan)

Yi Kung might possibly be the Prince of Pi, in the light of the information supplied by the Pi Hsien Kuei [ins. 24.7]: "Hsien of the Pi State has made for his August forbear, Yi Kung, [this] honoured Kuei-tureen" (cf. Ch'en Pang-huai WW 1972.11:57). There were two states named Pi in Chou times. One was enfeoffed to Kao 高, a son of Wen Wang, while another was ruled by the Wai Clan (cf. Ch'en P'an, 1969.4:328b-330b). It is not possible at this stage to determine with which state Yi Kung was affiliated.

(h) T'ung Chung (仲) is entrant-on-the-right in the Shih Tui Kuei (1) 師弟啟 (−) [ins. 89.2 (v.a) (l.a)] of Yu Wang's time. In the Chi Fu Hu 幾父壇 [ins. A/1:55.3], T'ung Chung is referred to by his subordinate, Chi Fu, as "August Lord" (皇君) and is thus shown to be a Ruler of a State. His situation was comparable to that of the Earl of Hsing, the Earl of Jung, etc., - a Prince of State who concurrently held a post in the Royal Court. However, there is no information as to what State he was affiliated.

(i) Wu Kung (武公) (Duke Wu) is recorded as entrant-on-the-right in two inscriptions:

Wu Kuei  武啟  ins. S.132.1 (Yih)
Nan Kung Liu Ting 南宮柳鼎  ins. 77.3 (Yih)

Duke Wu is also recorded in the Yu Ting 玉鼎 [ins. A/4:203.1], where he received an order to repel the incursions of the Marquis Yu Fang of E 靈 and the Southern Huai Yi-barbarians. Ch'en Chin-yi
(quoted in Hsu Chung-shu's article, KKHP 1959.3:57) has taken him to be the Duke Wu of Wei. However, as the latter was a personage of Yu Wang's reign (over 90 years later) Ch'en's identification is not feasible (cf. op. cit., 55-59). Duke Wu is mentioned also in the newly excavated To Yu Ting, wherein he was commanded to despatch his forces to counter the incursions of the Hsien-yün-barbarians. In this long inscription text (see pp.225-228 below) he appears as a Prince of State with concurrent duties in the Royal Court, but no indication of the name of his State is given; however, the context suggests it was fairly close to the Royal Domain.

(3) Members of the Royal Clan: there are two records of personages who served as assistant-on-the-right bearing the title of office, "Royal clan", associated with the Royal establishment:

Mu Kuei 魏牧
Shih Yu Kuei 嬴御牧

The two Kung-tsu-officers are named 白 and 後 and do not appear in other inscription texts.

Apart from these three groups, some other entrants-on-the-right like Mu Kung 穆公, K'ang Kung 廬公, Nan Po 濁伯 and Tung Chi 濁季 are recorded by their personal names only; no other details are known.

As a result of this investigation into the background of the entrants-on-the-right it would appear clearer than hitherto that the personages who were concerned with this aspect of the Royal investiture ceremonies comprised mainly members of the Royal Family (28 cases). To a lesser extent the role was entrusted to officers in
the Royal Court who do not seem to have been related to the Royal Family (15 cases). We may observe also that a comparatively large number of Ssu-ma-officers (13 cases) served as entrants-on-the-right, while other Ts'an-yu-ssu officers appear less frequently: ssu-t'u (five cases) and ssu-kung (one case). Only one other office, tsai (nine cases) approaches the frequency of occurrence of the Ssu-ma-officers.
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*考王朝太師虞毀載有宰司冊錫，因屬特例，故未列入表內

Table 8  Titles of Royal Officers who read out the Royal Decree arranged according to numbers of recorded cases and the reigns in which the inscriptions containing them appear. The exceptional case of the Tsai-officer Hu in ins. 70.3 is not included in this Table.
4. GRANTING OF A ROYAL DECREE

The promulgation of a Royal Decree constituted the most important and solemn part of the ceremony. We have already devoted attention to the entrant (assistant)-on-the-right who is first amongst the officers recorded in the majority of the 73 inscriptions under survey. As noted in regard to the recently excavated remains of the kung/miao-complex at Ch'i-shan-hsien, Shensi, he took up his position at the right of the King in readiness to "assist" (i.e. sponsor) the investee. The latter entered the doorway of the kung/miao-complex, stood in the centre of the Courtyard, facing northwards (i.e. towards the King and the entrant-on-the-right). The King who had earlier taken up his position in the ta-shih was facing towards the south. From this stage, the announcement of the Royal Decree would be made, and it was generally read out by an officer of the Royal Court. In 47 of the Royal investiture inscriptions the title of office and sometimes the name of each officer entrusted with this duty is recorded; the titles of office are shown in Table 8.

The significance of the titles is self-evident, but the inscription texts are not sufficient to indicate possible gradation of rank. Wang Kuo-wei (1973b:270-274; 1973d:1122-1124) has suggested that shih 史 "Historiographer", nei-shih 内史 "Historiographer of the Interior", tso-ts'e-nei-shih 作册内史 "Historiographer of the Interior who made the document [of decree]", tso-ming-nei-shih 作命内史 "Historiographer of the Interior who made the decree" were merely different titles of the same office, while those officers with the titles: 尹 yin (i.e. 尹氏 yin-shih, 作册 尹 tso-ts'e-yin, 命 尹 ming-yin, 内史 尹 nei-shih-yin-shih and 尹 nei-shih-yin) were in charge of the historiographers. His
## Table 9

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*Table 9*  Titles and names (where recorded) of the Royal Officers entrusted with the reading out of the Royal Decree arranged chronologically.
interpretation should appear to be acceptable. Names of these "historiographers" are given in Table 9.

It will be observed that only 21 of the 47 inscriptions in Table 8 have the names of the historiographers recorded; of these there are no more than 14 different personages involved (Table 9). Of the remaining 26 inscriptions wherein the titles only are recorded, we cannot be sure as to the overall situation. However, the available evidence would seem to suggest that the role of the historiographer was entrusted to a somewhat limited number of people in the Royal Court. For example, in Kung Wang's reign, with its total of 16 comparatively informative inscriptions of the Royal investiture ceremony 13 record the presence of the historiographer but of these six only have the names of the historiographers as well. Nevertheless, it may be significant that amongst these six cases, the Nei-shih-officer, Wu 受史吏, is recorded three times. Another such example is the Nei-shih (or Shih)-officer, X 先, who is recorded in the inscriptions as serving in this office during the reign of Hsiao - a period of 15 years. As records of his services appear in six of the 14 inscriptions dated in Hsiao Wang's reign in Table 1, the percentage of records of his appearance is about 43% - well over that of Wu (19%); his prominent service in the reign of Hsiao is therefore the more significant feature.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the office of historiographer was, in all probability, hereditary. The Nei-shih-officer, Wu, who is recorded as the historiographer in the Shih Yuan Kuei (lid) 師塲欽 [ins. 101.4], the Shih Hu Kuei 師虎欽 [ins. T.121.2], and the Mu Kuei 牧欽 [ins. S.223.1], also had made a vessel in his own right: the Wu Yi 姬 [ins. T.101.3].
Here it is recorded that Wu was commanded by the King to administer the 皮 and the shu-chin 杜金 (cf. Note 37 below), and was duly awarded a black coat embroidered with a curled dragon design (hsüan-kun-yi 衆衰衣), red shoes (ch'ih-hsi 赤易), a set of chariot equipment - nine items (ch'e-ma-chü 車馬具), and aromatic spirits (chü-ch'ang 香鬯) - one flask. At the conclusion of the inscription, Wu dedicates the vessel to his forbear, a certain Yin-officer. It is thus evident that Wu's office as a nei-shih was a hereditary one. Similarly, the Shih-officer, Ch'iang who appears in the Shih Yu Kuei (see 2(46) above) of Yih Wang's reign had a vessel made in his own right: the Shih Ch'iang P'an 史掌盤 [ins. A/1:275.1] (see Note 20 above). In this long inscription we learn that Ch'iang had actually come from a family which for generations had provided historiographers in the Royal Court: his great great grandfather ("the 2nd generation") was a Shih-officer, his grandfather ("the 4th generation") was a Tso-ts'e-officer. Ch'iang's immediate descendant ("the 7th generation") also inherited the office of historiographer after Ch'iang, just as Ch'iang himself ("the 6th generation") had inherited the office from his forbears.

In all probability the historiographers played a major part in the preparation of the Royal Decrees. Their actual role and function is not, however, recorded in detail in the archaeological documents. We may only speculate on the basis of the characters forming the titles of office, the wording of the more complete inscription records, and take into account the long period of time during which the various historiographers, reign after reign, performed their duties in the investiture ceremonies. As may be observed in the data tabulated in Table 10, the duties of the historiographers varied little during the Western Chou period. Accordingly we may assume that
<p>| Table 10 | The &quot;bestowal of decree&quot; and wang-jo-yüeh phraseology throughout the Royal investiture ceremony inscriptions and the extent and nature of attenuation present in individual documents. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>编号</th>
<th>姓名</th>
<th>刊命句子形式</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>公鼎</td>
<td>王手受王命書</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>王愛</td>
<td>王受(授)作冊勿書</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| c    | 王手史韓生冊命
 傑 | 王手史韓生冊命 |
| d    | 王手史周册命
 牧 | 王手史周册命 |
| e    | 王手史元册命
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| o    | 王手史周册命
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| q    | 王手史周册命
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| r    | 王手史周册命
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| s    | 王手史周册命
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| u    | 王手史周册命
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| o    | 王手史周册命
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| p    | 王手史周册命
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| q    | 王手史周册命
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| r    | 王手史周册命
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| s    | 王手史周册命
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| t    | 王手史周册命
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| u    | 王手史周册命
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| v    | 王手史周册命
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| w    | 王手史周册命
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| x    | 王手史周册命
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those holding the office would have established and maintained a practically stereotyped method of formulating the Royal Decree. Those succeeding them continued to use much the same vocabulary, stock phrases, and general methods of compilation. This much is reasonably well verified in the "Royal Decree" inscriptions studied in Section 8 below.

As to the original compilation of the text of a Royal Decree there is little to indicate whether the King dictated, or wrote out, the whole document, or whether he merely informed the historiographer of the main points he required recorded, and then left it to him to fill out and phrase in the correct manner. Royal approval of the final version would naturally have to be obtained prior to its formal promulgation.

The inscriptions do, however, inform us of the method of presentation in some detail in the case of those which are more complete in their level of recording. Some are obviously attenuated and only by tabulating the phraseology in a systematic way do we gain a better understanding of what constitutes a complete text and what is a severely abbreviated version of the same (see Table 10).

Abbreviation is certainly very much a feature of the "bestowal of decree" phraseology tabulated above. Only three inscriptions (Table 10, a, b, j') contain the full record of the first historiographer's receiving the document containing the Royal Decree (presumably from the King) - the text of the second of these (Table 10, b) is probably somewhat corrupt (see Note 21 below). Amongst the 40 inscriptions which form the major bulk of the Table there may be noted the basic pattern: "The King called forth the historiographer, A, to read out the decree to the investee, B." (王呼史 A 册命 B). This basic pattern which is practically consistent throughout 29 inscriptions
varies only in the presence or lack of the name of the historiographer, and the presence or lack of the title of the investee. More drastic attenuation, however, is to be observed in five items: b, f', g', h', i' over and above the ts'e-hsi group. In the latter it is evident that hsi on its own (o', p', q') must be equivalent to the ts'e-hsi combination of the first five inscriptions, this in turn is equivalent to a long stretch of text which extends into the wording of the Royal Decree following the omitted wang-jo-yüeh 王若曰 phrase.

Amongst 45 examples in Table 10 there are six with the complete wang-jo-yüeh phrase (one with a redundant yüeh 王 preceding it), the slightly attenuated version, wang-yüeh 王曰, occurs in these inscriptions, while nine inscriptions reduce the phrase to a simple yüeh.

It is evident from item a, b of the ts'e-ming group, and j' of the ts'e-hsi group that two steps were involved in the process of bestowing the decree. First, an historiographer would receive the document containing the Royal Decree from the King. The King would call forth a second historiographer; then follows the combination ts'e-ming which is translated as "read out the Decree to ....". In the more complete wording, the characters wang-jo-yüeh "the King has spoken [i.e. committed to record in the Royal Decree] to this effect:" appear; then follows the actual content of the Royal Decree which as we shall note in the next section is often very severely attenuated too.

It is interesting to observe something of the effect of textual abbreviation in two of the longer inscriptions, namely, the Lai Fang-Yi 王方彝 [ins. A/3:106.2] and the Ch'u Kuei 楚箴 [ins. A/1:69.4]. In the Lai Fang-Yi the following wording may be observed:
The first sentence, which is placed before the passage incorporating the Royal Decree text conferring a post on the investee, Lai, may be regarded partly as abbreviation of the normal and complete wording: 王子尹 [X] 册命宣。王若曰; and partly as a form of textual aberration where the phrase "ts'e-ming" has been misplaced. As to the latter sentence: 王命宣曰, which is placed much later in the text of the Royal Decree and prior to the King's conferring on the investee a concurrent office 見嗣, Shirakawa (Tsūshaku, 101:307) has taken it to be a redundant sentence, in view of a similar instance in the Shih Chiu Kuei 師殿殿 [ins. S.109.1]: 命女死我家, 見嗣我西隔 東隔僕駁百工牧臣妾。 Actually, the Shih Chiu Kuei is only one of several examples that might be cited in this connection (cf. Shih Tui Kuei (2) 師克殿 (二)[ins. 89.2 (v.b) (l.b)], Chiu Kuei 鄭殿 [ins. S.104.1]); Shirakawa's observation is surely acceptable. Whereas in the Ch'u Kuei, the usual wording of wang-hu 王乎 as well as wang-jo-yüeh are omitted. It is more interesting to note that even the sentence order is reversed: the phrase incorporating the Royal Decree is placed after the items of award (instead of before the award as shown in the greater majority of cases). This order, of course, may indicate that "advance payment" was made for the required service (see note 32 below).

From the above study, it is evident that the granting of the Royal Decree would have been carried out in the following way: an historiographer would receive the document containing the Royal Decree from the King, the King would then call forth a second historiographer to read out the Decree to the investee. Four parties were thus directly involved in this stage of the ceremony: the King, two historiographers, and the investee. The full wording of this section...
of inscription texts may be reconstructed with reference to Table 10 as:

史 A 受命書；王呼史 B 賜命 C；王若曰：

.... The Shih-officer A received the Document containing the Royal Decree [from the King]; the King called forth the Shih-officer B to read out the Decree to C: "The King has spoken to this effect: ...."

Then continues the text of the Decree which is generally presented only in part because of space considerations in the inscription area.

Curtailment of textual content is no less a characteristic in the present part of the investiture ceremony inscription text than it is elsewhere amongst this group of comparatively detailed inscriptions. As we shall observe later (Section 8), sentences were even more severely pruned in the group of 43 highly abbreviated inscriptions. Sometimes, even the entire sentence describing the procedures of the granting of the award might have been omitted!
5. THE KING'S COMMANDS AS INCORPORATED IN THE ROYAL DECREE

Royal commands issued to the investees during the course of the ceremony and read out to the investee by the Royal historiographer on behalf of the King (or on rare occasions by the King) were of two kinds: (a) Those concerned with Royal affairs, and such decrees formed the majority of which we presently have recorded; and (b) occasional instances of Royal commands requiring the investees to undertake duties in the Princely States. Of the former we may note here the following features:

(1) Appointment to Cooperative Posts:

An officer of the Royal Court might on occasions be required by the King to serve as an assistant to another officer: in the third year of Hsiao Wang's reign, as recorded in the Shih Ch'en Ting [ins. T.100.3], the Shih-officer, Ch'en, was commanded to assist the Shih-officer, Su, in the administration of various personnel, the hsiao-ch'ên, the shan-fu, the shou-. , and the kuan-ch'üan along with the Cheng people and their shan-fu, and kuan-shou-yu (足師(谷朝邑人)佳小臣,善夫, 守□, 官□, 官□, 罕□人,善夫,官守友). This Shih-officer, Su, continued to serve in the Royal Court during Yih Wang's reign, when he was transferred to a new office as the Minister of Law, as recorded in the Nan Chi Ting [ins. 53.3]. The Ting inscription records that an officer, Nan Chi, received an order from the King to assist Su (in this inscription he is referred to as Po Su Fu) in his new post (用左右□向(谷朝閬寇)). Nan Chi was duly awarded an orange coloured fu-apron, a black coat with embroidered edging, and a banner with bells.
An investee who at an early stage was ordered to serve as an assistant in a particular office in the Royal Court, might later on, be promoted by the King to take full charge of that office. On both occasions, an investiture ceremony would be held to formalize the matter. For example, the Shih-officer, Tui, was commanded by the King to assist Shih Ho Fu in the administration of the Tsou-ma-officers of the left and the right, and those of the Five Towns of the Royal Domain, as recorded in the Shih Tui Kuei (1) [ins. 89.2 (v.a) (1.a)] (足師懈父貳左右走馬, 五邑走馬).

The decree was promulgated in the course of an investiture ceremony held in the K'ang Temple in Chou in the first year of the reign. In the Shih Tui Kuei (2) [ins. 89.2 (v.b) (1.b)], the former duties of the Shih-officer, Tui, as an assistant to Shih Ho Fu are mentioned, then follows the text of the Royal Decree (dated in the King's third year of reign) which states: "Now, I confirm [you in] your [appointment by Royal] Decree, and command that you administer concurrently the Tsou-ma-officers [of the left and the right] (余既命汝足師懈父貳左右走馬, 今余隹懈絮乃命, 命汝懈貳走馬). This is in effect, a promotion from the former post of "assistant". Similarly, Mien, who was ordered to assist Chou Shih in the administration of the Royal forests as recorded in the Mien Kuei [ins. T.64.3]; 命汝足周師懈林 was later promoted to the post of ssu-t'yu, as recorded in the Mien Fu (Hu) [ins. T.44.3]24 and was commanded "to administer the forest, ponds and pastures of the Royal Cheng territory" (命免作郡土, 郡鄭還賢 (林) 羽吴 (虞) 羽牧).25 Ssu-t'yu was not the only post Mien had received during his career in the Royal administration; later he was given the post of ssu-kung, which event is recorded in the Mien Yu.
On each occasion, an investiture ceremony was held to formalize the Royal Decree. Such promotions or transferences of office took place sometimes during the course of two different reigns. In the Mu Kuei牧敭 [ins. S.223.1] of Kung Wang's time it is recorded that Mu was given the post of ssu-shih by a former King and now, the present King had occasion to change the appointment and decreed that Mu be placed in charge of the pai-liao "the hundred fellow officers"; the title of the new post is not, however, recorded.

(2) Appointment to Independent Posts:

In most cases, however, the investees were independently appointed to specific posts either in the two capitals of Western Chou or in the territories directly under Royal suzerainty. In the Shih Shih Kuei (1)師敭 (¬) [ins. A/1:97.2], the office of ta-tso was bestowed on the Shih-officer, Shih, by the King; Shih was commanded to govern and administer the Shih-shih-officers of the left and the right of the Feng territory (備于大支). Similarly, the investee might be put in charge of captive peoples quartered in towns (邑人) in the Royal Domain such as those enumerated in the Hsün Kuei 詢敭 [ins. A/1:131.1]: "Now I command you to govern and administer the yi-jen: firstly the Tiger-janissaries and lastly the Yung menials; the Hsi-men Yi-barbarians, the Ch'in Yi-barbarians, the Ching Yi-barbarians, the Ch'üan Yi-barbarians, the shih-ling-ts'e-hsin, the ....-hua Yi-barbarians, the Yu-. Yi-barbarians, the Yü Yi-barbarians, the ch'eng-chou-tsou-ya and the Shu(?)-ch'in people - the people who have submitted and the Yi-barbarians who have been subjugated (今余命...
Administrative duties concerned with the supervision of menials on a much smaller scale might be required of the investee: in the Yi Kuei [ins. 101.1], Yi was commanded to administer concurrently the Royal ch'en-servants, ch'ieh-maids and the hundred craftsmen (attached to) the K'ang Kung Palace.

Apart from the above posts concerned with the administration of personnel, the investee might be commanded by the King to undertake duties relating to agriculture, land and public works. In a basically agricultural economy it would be expected to find that considerable attention was devoted to such matters as the cultivation of land, the harvesting of crops, and the storage of grain. Accordingly, in the Sung Hu [ins. T.149.1], appears record of the investee, Sung, being commanded by the King "to govern and administer the twenty granaries of the Ch'eng-Chou area, and to supervise and administer the granaries newly constructed for Royal use" (公,命汝官嗣成周實家,監新舊貯藏,用宮御). Investees are several times recorded in connection with an agricultural rite termed chi-t'ien. In the Yen Kuei [ins. S.71.1] the investee, Yen, was appointed by the King to the post of ssu-t'u "Minister of Land", in connection with which he was required "to govern and administer the Chi-t'ien [rites]" (武,命汝作嗣土,官嗣籍田). It might be expected that there would be a strong tie between agriculture and land. However, while the administration of agricultural affairs mainly rested on the Ssu-t'u-officer, other aspects of the administration of land were under the jurisdiction of the Ssu-kung-officer "Minister of Works". In the Yang Kuei [ins. 101.1] the investee, Yang, was commanded to administer concurrently the Royal ch'en-servants, ch'ieh-maids and the hundred craftsmen (attached to) the K'ang Kung Palace.
[ins. T.104.5], the investee, Yang, was appointed by the King to the
post of ssu-kung. His duties were not only concerned with the
administration of the the Royal fields at Tung, but he was also
required "to administer the Royal pavilions, and to administer the
...., and to administer penal affairs, and to administer public works"
(揚. 作祠工, 官祠埀田向, 術祠祠, 穆祠甲, 穆祠冠, 穆祠工事). 29

(3) Confirmation of the Investee's Tenureship of a Post

The investiture ceremony was not necessarily held to formalize a
new appointment; there are several examples wherein the investee is
simply confirmed in his tenure of an office already bestowed on an
earlier occasion during the reign of the same King. The Ta K'o Ting
大克鼎 [ins. 280.1] is a good example of this kind: "K'o, long ago
I commanded you to issue within [the Royal Domain] my Decrees; now, I
confirm [you in] your [appointment by Royal] Decree" (克. 命汝
既命汝出納朕命, 今命在職命). Confirmation by the
succeeding King of an investee in the post he held under Royal Decree
in the previous reign is to be observed in several inscriptions too:
the Shih Yuan Kuei (lid) 齐域 [ins. 101.4] records that the
Shih-officer, Yüan, who was commanded by the previous King to govern
and administer the [captive] people of the towns [in the Royal Domain]
and the Shih-shih-officers [therein], was confirmed again in his post
by the present King (先王既命汝, 今命在職先王命, 命汝
官祠邑人, 師氏). Similarly in the Chien Kuei 謝讚
[ins. A/1:67.4], Chien, who was granted a concurrent post as
administrator of the Royal parks by the previous King was enjoined in
the wording of the cited passage from the original document containing
the Royal Decree: "You must be energetic; and dare not to be
inefficient. Now, I simply pass on (lit. bequeath) the [former King's] Decree to you" (先王既命汝作宰翩王家, 汝靡否又昏, 毋敢不善, 今余佳有翩(嗣)命汝). When confirming the investee in his tenure of post, a quite elaborate statement might occasionally be incorporated in the text of the Royal Decree. In the Ts'ai Kuei [ins. S.156.1], for instance, Ts'ai, who was appointed Ts'ai-officer in the former reign and so was to faithfully administer [the affairs] of the Royal Family, is confirmed in this post by the present King. However, the nature of his appointment is considerably elaborated in the wording of the new Decree: "Now, I confirm [you in] your [appointment by Royal] Decree, and command that you together with Hu jointly assist Tui and Ko to (death service=) serve faithfully the Royal Family [in its affairs] at home and abroad. Do not dare to be inattentive [to the complaints of the people]. Supervise the hundred craftsmen, despatch and [receive] reports upon the Decrees of Chiang-shih (the Lady, Chiang). Those who come to pay homage or to receive orders, should they not report in the first instance to Ts'ai, they may not [then] presume to (enter=) seek entry to the Royal Presence to submit their reports. You must efficiently train the menials of the Lady Chiang so that they will not dare to indulge in illicit affairs" (蔡, 鳃王既命汝作宰翩王家, 今余佳翩耄乃命, 命汝眾習備定對, 各, 死翩王家外內, 毋敢有不聞, 高名工, 出納善民命, 勤有見, 有即命, 卑非先告蔡, 毋敢大有入告, 汝母敢弗善效善民人, 勿使敢有大止, 縱獄). Such examples of confirmation of the same investee in his earlier acquired post at a later stage by the same King, or by his successor, may be regarded as a means of strengthening the Royal authority over the individual investee - a kind of re-emphasis of the "feudal bond" between the
seigneur King" and his "vassal". It was also a useful ploy used by the King to define more succinctly the nature of the services that were still expected of the investee. The Ts'ai Kuei inscription is, in this respect, a most valuable record.

(4) Hereditary Nature of the Royal Appointments

Not only might the same investee be thus confirmed in his post but the hereditary nature of many of the Royal appointments becomes evident in the frequently occurring references to the investee's forbears' occupancy of the same posts. This is especially to be noted when the investees have just succeeded to the office(s) held by their forbears. For example, in the Shih Hu Kuei 師虎碑 [ins. T.121.2] it is recorded in the wording of the original Royal Decree: "Hu, (tsai=previously) the former King(s) have decreed [the nature of] your forbears' service, [namely, the appointment to the post of] ti-kuan 壇官 "chief officer" to administer the hsi-fan-ching of the left and the right.31 Now, I take as a model the former King's [or Kings'] Decree; [I] command that you continue your forbears' appointment as ti-kuan to administer the hsi-fan-ching of the left and the right, fail not to disregard my Decrees" (虎,載先王既命乃祖考事,壇官左右戲簿記,今余更帥并先王命,命汝襲乃且(祖)考壇官左右戲簿記,敬夙垣勿廢朕命). In cases where an investee's forbears held more than one office, Royal confirmation of each of these posts might occur at different times accompanied by an investiture ceremony on each occasion. In the Hu Ting 鬧 [ins. T.395.1], Hu was confirmed by the King in his inheritance of the office held by his forbears and late father, a post which was concerned with the administration of divination matters:
In the Hu Hu 賀壺 [ins. 100.7], is recorded a further investiture ceremony to confirm his taking up another office held by his forbears and late father: chung-ssu-t'u "Grand Minister of Land" of the Eight Divisions of the Armies in the Ch'eng-Chou area (更乃祖考作冢卿土于成周八自).

This development of the Chou period Royal (and Princely) administration establishment towards a number of hereditary held posts amongst the administration personnel is a characteristic feature of the period and is not so evident in comparable establishments of Han and later dynasties. Amongst the 73 Western Chou inscriptions listed in Table A, there are 11 examples of hereditary appointments as may be inferred from the wording of this section of the inscription compilation (i.e. nos. 5, 11, 15, 16, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 57, 62). Each of these, in effect, refers to the past situation. However, interestingly in the T'ung Kuei inscription [司殼 [ins. T.87.2], where the investee, T'ung, was commanded to "assist Wu Ta Fu in the administration of the Royal gardens, forests, ponds and pastures [extending] eastwards from the River Hu as far as the River (Huang?) and thence to the River Hsüan", the text continues with the concluding statement: "For generations [may] grandsons and sons assist Wu Ta Fu" (同,左右吳大父,司殼林吳(虞)牧,自溪東至于泥河(河,黃河?)華溯至于玄水, 世孫=子=左右吳大父 ). This last sentence would appear to imply expectation upon the investee's part that his post would continue to be filled by his descendants.

(b) Royal Commands to Serve in a Princely State

Occasionally, an officer (presumably of the Royal Court) might receive orders to serve in the court of one of the chu-hou, Princes of States. The general nature of the Royal Decrees in these cases
differed little from those concerned with affairs pertaining to the Royal Court. In the Tou Pi Kuei 竹闕器 [ins. 92.1], for instance, Tou Pi, is confirmed in his inheritance of his forbears' and late father's office which was concerned with the administration of the Ssu-ma-officers of the Ruler of the Yüeh-yü State (用傷乃祖考事, 翦突馹邦君嗣馬). Such practices seem to reflect an endeavour on the part of the Kings of Chou to maintain a hold over the activities of the State rulers by effecting appointments of this kind in the Princely Courts.
Amongst the 73 Royal Investiture Ceremony inscriptions, 70 record details of the benefices granted by the King to the investees. Furthermore, 54 of these 70 inscriptions also record, in part or at appreciable length, the content of the Royal Decrees, thus allowing us to attempt an appraisal of the possible significance of the items awarded in relation to the services exacted, or expected. The items of award received range through a variety of benefices: ming-fu "official robes", ch' e-ma 車馬 "chariots and horses", luan-ch' in 龍旗 "banners with jingles", chü-ch' ang 鼎 "sacrificial spirits", ping-ch' i 兵器 "weapons", kuei-li 王器 "ritual vessels", ch'en-p'u 臣僕 "menials and servants", t' ien-ti 田地 "land and fields" etc., and some which are of uncertain identity (e.g. chung-chiung, 參商, san-chiung-chung-ts' ung, 笏髡, pen-ch' in, 麗姐, li-pan, etc.). In Table 11 these are demonstrated methodically and the numbers of each recorded throughout the archaeological documents under survey are noted. Some of these items such as cowries and sacrificial spirits are also recorded in Shang oracle bones and bronze inscription texts where they simply appear as gifts presented by the Shang King to his subjects; there is, however, no indication that these Royal gifts had the same connotation as the Western Chou awards made in the course of formal investiture ceremonies. Wong Yin-wai (1978:166-207) has made a comparatively complete study of the nature of most of the individual items listed in Table 11. Over and above these there are a few benefices not covered in his survey. Some studies have been conducted on these items and the results are rather scattered. However, there is a considerable lack of agreement as to the meaning, or identification, of each item and little purpose is
Table 11  Articles of benefices awarded in the course of Royal investiture ceremonies and their numbers of occurrence in inscriptions containing record of them arranged under the general headings: ming-fu, chariot and equine equipment, banners, aromatic spirits, weapons, menials, ceremonial objects, land and fields, etc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>甲命服</th>
<th>賞錦次數</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>衣: 玄衣 1, 玄衣冕 17, 玄衣衣 3, 戴衣 4, 戴玄衣 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>市: 市 2, 市市 25, 市市 7, 市市 10, 市市 1, 市市 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>素市 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>皮黃: 極充 3, 朱黃 16, 同黃 5, 極黃 4, 同兼黃 1, 五黃 1, 金銖 1, 朱亢 1, 金黃 1, 素黃 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>燦: 朱亢 8, 燦 1</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>乙. 車馬之屬 賞錦次數</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>車馬 1, 馬 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>金車, 垂車, 朱革勒, 鎮車, 糧車, 糧軸, 書軸, 書軸, 書軸, 書軸, 書軸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>金車, 馬四匹等</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>做勒</td>
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<tr>
<td>画勒</td>
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<tr>
<td>潘勒</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>丙. 養牲之屬 賞錦次數</th>
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<tr>
<td>養牲</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>統</td>
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<tr>
<td>牛</td>
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<tr>
<td>総</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>丁. 藥物之屬 賞錦次數</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>藥木 1, 形弓形矢 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>戈画箴厚九形厚</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>戊. 兵器之屬 賞錦次數</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>弓矢 1, 矛弓矢矢 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>戈画箴厚九形厚</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>己. 隸僕之屬 賞錦次數</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>邦國四伯?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>人高</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>封車三臣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>井退勒, 李恭, 井人奉于表</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>上圖</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>臣姜</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>甲命服</th>
<th>乙. 車馬之屬</th>
<th>丙. 養牲之屬</th>
<th>丁. 藥物之屬</th>
<th>戊. 兵器之屬</th>
<th>己. 隸僕之屬</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>頭</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>肩</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>臂</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>腕</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>手</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
served in pursuing the problems involved here. 34

It may be observed in Table 11 that ming-fu, luan-ch' in, and ch'e-ma comprised the benefices most commonly granted to the investees. Ming-fu appears as the most frequent (59 cases), followed by luan-ch' in (37) and ch'e-ma (28). The remaining benefices occur much less frequently.

Ming-fu comprises four articles of apparel bestowed upon the investees by the King after they had received the Royal command to take up office or to engage in specified duties. Most of these inscriptions are datable in Middle and Late Western Chou. 35 Amongst the 59 records of ming-fu, the award of fu "aprons" is the most common (49 cases). The fu, according to Kuo Mo-jo (WW 1962b.6:10), was an apron used to cover the knees (probably like the hakama still used in old style Japanese formal dress), and was made from cloths of different colours. In the inscriptions may be noted record of: ch'ih-fu "red apron", shu-fu "light-coloured apron", tzu-fu "black apron", kuo-fu "leather apron", yün-fu "yellow apron", ch'ih-yün-fu "red yellowish (orange) apron" (see Chou Fa-kao, 1972d: 119-124). Among these, the award of ch'ih-fu was the most common (25 cases).

Of the four items of ming-fu, the award of huang may be noted as next in importance (34 cases). Huang was a type of jade pendant which was usually tied to the girdle or hung on the chest (Kuo Mo-jo, 1932b: 180-192, WW 1962b.6:10-13; Kuo Pao-chün, BHHP 1948.20.2: 11-21). The inscriptions record variations in the colours of the huang-jade-pendants: chu-huang "red jade-pendant", yu-huang "black jade-pendant", chin-huang "golden jade-pendant", chiung-huang "white jade-pendant", chiung-ch'i-huang "pale white jade-pendant" and wu-huang "green-white
jade-pendant" (Kuo Mo-jo, WW 1962b.6:11; Wong Yin-wai, 1978:172).
The award of chu-huang was the most common (16 cases).

Next amongst the ming-fu are the yi-coats (26 cases). Yi-coats according to the writing of the graph yi in the bronze inscription 且, 今, 今, etc. (CWKL 8:5210-5211), and the oracle bones 今, 今, etc. (CKWTCS 8:2721), as well as sculptured representations in several Shang stone figurines excavated from tombs Nos. 1004 and 1217 at Hou-chia-chuang 候家莊 (K'ao Ch'ü-hsun 等 eds., 1970.5:40-42, 1968.6:29) can be fairly reliably reconstructed. The yi was a short coat tied in place by a girdle, with the left lapel overlapping the right lapel, viz. the old adage: 交領右衽 (cf. Liang Ssu-yung 梁思永, 1959:153; Kuo Pao-chün, 1963:121-122). In the inscriptions, five types of yi-coats are recorded as awards: the hsüan-kun-yi 玄衮衣 - a black coat embroidered with a curled dragon design; chih-yi 戴衣 - a coat made from silks of different colours; chih-hsüan-yi 戴玄衣 - a black silk coat; hsüan-yi-fu-ch'un 玄衣褝衣 - a black coat with the edge embroidered with the 回回 motif; and the chung-yi 冲衣 - a hempen coat. The award of hsüan-yi-fu-ch'un (17 cases) is the most common among these five types of yi.

Finally the hsi - a type of double-soled shoes usually made of leather. In the inscriptions ch'ih-hsi 赤舄 "red shoes" only are to be observed amongst the ming-fu awards, whereas in traditional texts appear also: pai-hsi 白舄 "white shoes" and hei-hsi 黑舄 "black shoes" (cf. Kuo Pao-chün, 1963:129-130; Wong Yin-wai, 1978:172-173).

Record of the award of a complete set of ming-fu: yi, fu, huang and hsi is rare in the Western Chou inscriptions; only two instances are presently known: (1) The Hu Hu 翦 [ins. 100.7] of Hsiao Wang's reign wherein the investee, Hu, was confirmed in his inheritance of his forbears' and father's office as a Chung-ssu-t'u-officer 宗廟土
Table 12  Awards of ming-fu and the nature of services (where recorded) associated with the various combinations of ming-fu bestowed, arranged chronologically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(7) 赤烏</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) 師虎殿: 虎, 載先王既命乃祖考事, 爲官者將右戲繁荆, 今余欠師型先王命, 命汝饗乃祖考, 爲官者將左戲繁荆, 敬夙夜勿廢朕命</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 十三年殷弊:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) 師宣殿: 八師俗霑等(邑)人佳小臣, 善夫, 守口, 官夫, 稱善人, 善夫, 官守友</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) 而叔殿: 用楚弭伯</td>
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<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>赤，朱黃</td>
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<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>師餘般：亟履韓化</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>師禫般：師禫，在先王既命汝作韓土，官韓，族關，今余肇革韓乃命</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>何般 ：</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>師公般：韓及祖亙官邑人虎臣，西門夷，韓夷，散夷，京夷，夷身夷</td>
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<tr>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>軍，向黃</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>趙曹鼎一：</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>師奎父鼎：用韓乃父官友</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>詢般：今余命汝營官韓邑邑人，先虎臣，後簡，西門夷，秦夷，京夷，韓夷，師公秦，新，口華夷，有口夷，屬于夷，成周走，亞，成秦人，降人，服夷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>使尊：更華祖考服</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>赤，白市</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>走般：徤定盈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>陸鼎：</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>免般：命汝尺周師韓於林</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>揚般：作韓工，官韓景田甸，眾韓立，眾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>楚般：師韓鄙官內師舟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>曹鼎：命汝更乃祖考韓卜事</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>望般：死韓畢王家</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) 全套命服</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) 留壶：更乃祖考作家嗣土于成周八台</td>
<td>孝宣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 弛伯簋：</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) 玄衣箝衣，赤衣，朱黄</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) 即簋：嗣王琯命，庚申旅同事</td>
<td>萃属</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 寰簋：</td>
<td>厚宣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) 賽師爰 Był：更乃祖考同輔，載</td>
<td>宣宣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) 此鼎：旅邑入善夫</td>
<td>宣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) 贏金山鼎：官嗣斈功，屬六人于冕，用作惠司賈</td>
<td>宣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) 樂簋：</td>
<td>宣宣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) 公鬣鼎：官嗣成周貞廿家，監嗣司造貞，用宮御</td>
<td>晚期</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) 赤衣，緁黃</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) 趙鼎：作敬台家嗣馬，雲官僕射士蟋小大右階</td>
<td>穆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 盤方尊：用嗣六臣，王行，參有嗣，嗣同土，嗣同馬，嗣同工，葬司六臣眾八日隸</td>
<td>萱</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) 南宮柳鼎：嗣同六臣，牧陽，屬義夷陽田史</td>
<td>衛屬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) 崔簋：田官嗣康宮王臣妾石工</td>
<td>萃屬</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of the Eight Divisions of the army stationed at Ch'eng-Chou, he was duly awarded with a complete set of ming-fu. (2) The Mi Po Kuei [ins. A/1:71.5] of Hsüan Wang's reign. The investee, Mi Po, who for unspecified reasons, was awarded a complete set of ming-fu. Amongst the remaining inscriptions, however, there may be noted incomplete combinations of two or three ming-fu items awarded and instances of one ming-fu only, for example:

(1) hsüan-yi-fu-ch'un "a black coat with embroidered edge", ch'ih-fu "red aprons", and chu-huang "red jade-pendants" of which combination there are seven cases. These appear almost exclusively in inscriptions datable in Late Western Chou (six cases; one only in Middle Western Chou).

(2) ch'ih-fu "red aprons" and yu-huang "black jade-pendants"; there are four examples of this combination recorded, two of which appear in inscriptions of Middle Western Chou, and two of Late Western Chou date.

(3) ch'ih-fu "red aprons" and chu-huang "red jade-pendants"; there are four of this combination of which three appear in inscriptions datable in Late Western Chou and one in an inscription of Middle Western Chou date.

(4) tzu-fu "black aprons" and chiung-huang "white jade-pendants" are usually found awarded together: four cases amongst which two have in addition: hsüan-yi-fu-ch'un and one with chih-yi "a coat made from silks of different colours". The inscriptions recording these are datable in Middle Western Chou (three cases) and Late Western Chou (one case).

(5) The ch'ih-yün-fu "red yellowish (orange) apron" (seven cases) mostly does not appear in combination with other ming-fu items; there are, however, six instances where ch'ih-yün-fu are combined with
luan-ch'in "a banner with jingles". All are recorded in inscriptions datable in Middle Western Chou.

(6) ch'ih-hsi "red shoes" also appear mostly on their own (four cases). Three of them in inscriptions datable in Middle Western Chou, and one in Late Western Chou (see Table 12).

Further study of the inscriptions containing the ming-fu items so analysed leads us to the conclusion that there was apparently no set rule followed by the King when bestowing the different colours or combinations of ming-fu. This is evident where we may observe instances of investees of the same official rank receiving different ming-fu in return for their services: for example, Yü [ins. 99.1], Yu [ins. T.104.2] and Yü Fu [ins. T.92.2] were all Shih-officers, however, the first two were awarded ch'ih-fu "red aprons" and chu-huang "red jade-pendants"; while Yü Fu received a tsu-fu "black apron" and a chiung-huang "white jade-pendant". Also, investees who were required to engage in different duties might be awarded the same ming-fu. In the Yang Kuei [ins. T.104.5], Yang was commanded to take up the office of ssu-kung, and thence administer and govern the Royal fields at Tung, the royal pavilions, the penal affairs and the public works, he was duly awarded a ch'ih-yün-fu "red yellowish (orange) apron". In the Hu Ting [ins. T.395.1], Hu was awarded a ch'ih-yün-fu too, however, he was simply confirmed in his inheritance of his forbears' and deceased father's office concerned with the administration of divinational matters. Furthermore, investees ordered by the King to attend to similar duties received different ming-fu items. For example, in the Shih Mou Kuei [ins. 110.3], the Shih-officer, Mou, was confirmed by the new King as a Ssu-t'ü-officer, and was awarded a ch'ih-fu "red apron" and a chu-huang, "red jade-pendant". In the Ch'ia Yuän Kuei
[ins. 48.7], Ch'ia Yuan was similarly confirmed by Royal Decree in his inheritance of his forbears' and deceased father's office of ssu-t'u, but he received a chih-yi "coat made from silks of different colours" and a ch'hü-yün-fu "red yellowish (orange) apron". The Shih-officer, Yu, was confirmed by Royal Decree in his inheritance of his forbears' post as a chief officer (ti-kuan 官) which involved the administration of the [captive] people of the towns [in the Royal Domain] and various tribes of barbarians subservient to Chou, and so was awarded three ming-fu: a ch'ih-fu "red apron", and a chu-huang "red jade-pendant", along with a chung-chiung, as recorded in the Shih Yu Kuei [ins. T.104.2]. However, in the Hsün Kuei [ins. A/1:131.1], the investee, Hsün, who was likewise commanded to govern and administer the [captive] people of the towns [in the Royal Domain] and the various barbarian tribes, received the following three ming-fu: a tzu-fu "black apron", a chiung-huang "white jade-pendant", and a hsuan-yi-fu-ch'un "a black coat with embroidered edges". It would appear evident, therefore, that we cannot regard the different colours and the various combinations of ming-fu as having particular significance either to the ranks of the investees or to the duties required of them (see Table 12).

Not only are there the varying combinations of ming-fu which we have just noted so often recorded amongst the benefices awarded to individual investees, but also it may be observed, that there are a number of combinations of ming-fu and certain other items which frequently appear. Amongst these 73 inscriptions, for instance, there are 19 awards of certain ming-fu together with luan-ch'in, eight awards of certain ming-fu along with luan-ch'in and yu-le "metal ornamented harness"; and seven awards of certain ming-fu together with yu-le (see Table 13). It is also interesting to note
Table 13  Combinations of ming-fu with luan-ch'in "banners with jingles", with luan-ch'in and yu-le "metal-ornamented harness", and with yu-le only. The general nature of the service rendered or required is noted briefly. "**" suggests combination with weapons as well.
that five records of the granting of weapons coincide with combination A in Table 13, and a further four recorded with combination B in the same Table. There would thus seem to be some tie-up between luan-ch'in and weapons. Interesting as these combinations may appear to be, their significance eludes us. They do not seem to be related either to the different official ranks of the investees or to the nature of the Royal command the investees received (note the relevant column in Table 13).36

Not all benefices were so apparently randomly chosen, however. It seems that the quantity and quality of certain benefices had a definite relationship with particular services required of the investees. Observe, for instances, the five cases of awards of chü-ch'ang "sacrificial spirits". This commodity had a special role in both religious and profane aspects of Western Chou administration. And following the conquest of Shang, its general consumption was severely restricted as evidenced in both the inscription and the traditional literature (cf. Ta Yü Ting [ins. T.285.1] and the "Chiu-kao" Chapter of the Shang-shu). Accordingly, awards of "sacrificial spirits" were not only of prestigious value but also they were apparently directly related to the status of the duties that were required of the investee: (1) In the Ta Yü Ting of K'ang Wang's reign, Yü was required to "administer the barbarians subservient to Chou, and especially to assist the King in the administration of the four quarters of the Kingdom. (2) Similar duties of high prestige were exacted upon Tung, the Earl of Lu, in Mu Wang's time (Lu Po Tung Kuei [ins. T.109.2]). He was to continue [in his inheritance of] his forbears' post which was designed to assist the King in the extension of the Kingdom to the four quarters, and so to propagate Heaven's Mandate to Chou. Both Yü
and Tung were awarded sacrificial spirits. In addition to this, Yü also received from the King his forbears' banner, pang-ssu-menials 邦嗣 - four persons, various menials graded from jen-li to shu-jen 庸人 - 659 persons, yi-ssu-wang-ch'en 戶同王臣 "barbarian menials" - 13 persons, and jen-li-menials - 1050 persons. Tung likewise received an appreciably large number of benefices viz. horse and chariot equipment - 11 items. (3) In the Shih Hsün Kuei 師詢殿 [ins. S.209.1] of Hsüan Wang's time the investee, Shih Hsün, was required to formulate both minor and major State programmes, and along with his colleagues he was to protect the Royal Person and to prevent the King from falling into difficulties; accordingly he was awarded: sacrificial spirits - one flask, a kuei-li-ritual-vessel, and barbarian prisoners - 300 persons. (4) In the Mu Kuei 牧殿 [ins. S.223.1] of Kung Wang's time, the investee Mu, was transferred from the ssu-shih 遜士 office to administer the pai-liao "hundred colleagues" and so was awarded sacrificial spirits - one flask, chariot and equine equipment - six items, a banner, and cheng(?) 遊 silk(?). (5) In the Wu Yi 戎亂 [ins. T.101.3] of Mu Wang's reign the investee, Wu, was commanded to administer the po 彈 and the shu-chin 手金. 37 He was awarded sacrificial spirits - one flask, a hsüan-kun-yi, a ch'ih-hsi, and chariot and equine equipment - nine items.

Furthermore, the choice of benefices awarded were, on occasions, in harmony with the nature of the duties required of the investees: the Ta Yu Ting, the Tou Pi Kuei 豆間殿 [ins. 92.1], and the Wu Hui Ting 無會鼎 [ins. T.92.4], we may note respectively the award of yi-ssu-wang-ch'en "barbarian menials" to Yü corresponding thus to one of the duties required of him, namely, to administer the yung-barbarians. Tou Pi was [confirmed by Royal] Decree in his inheritance
of his forbears' and deceased father's office which was concerned with
the administration of the Ssu-ma-officers of the State of Yüeh-yü
and accordingly was awarded a bow and arrows. Wu Hui was
required to govern and administer the Royal Tiger-janissaries of the
left and the right at Kung(?) (cf. Shirakawa, Tsushaku,
153:352-354); for this he received a ko-dagger-axe with carved shaft
and red tassels. The military connotations attending this and the
previous inscription resulted in appropriate awards.

In some inscriptions in the present group may be noted the
combination: yung-shih "employ [these in my] service". It is
placed immediately after the list of items awarded. The wording
suggests that there was a close relationship between the award and the
nature of the particular, or general, service expected of the
investee. Note also the following examples:

1. The King said, "Yen, [I] command you to take up [the post of]
   Ssu-t'u-officer, [and so] to govern and administer the Chi-t'ien
   [-rites]. [I] award you a black silk coat, a red yellowish
   (orange) apron, a banner with jingles, a Ch'u-officer (?) and a
   Tsou-ma-officer [to be under your command]; [you may also] take
   cheng(?) silk(?) - five lieh. Employ [these in my] service."

   王曰：「汝,命汝作御土, 官嗣, 藉田, 易汝剏玄衣, 赤
   服, 簪管, 楚, 走馬, 取饕五子, 用事。」

   Yen Kuei (ins. S.71.1) Kung Wang

2. The King called forth the Yin-shih-historiographer to [read out
   the Royal] Decree to Hu: "[The King] states [to this effect]:
   'Hu, [I] command you to continue [in your inheritance of] your
   forbears' and deceased father's [post concerned with] divination
   affairs. [I] award you a red yellowish (orange) apron [and] a
The King called forth the **Ming-yin**-historiographer, Feng, to [read out the Royal] Decree to Yi: "[The King states to this effect: 'I command you] to govern and administer concurrently the Royal ch'en-menials, ch'ieh-maids, and the hundred craftsmen of the K'ang Kung. [I] award you a red apron, a black jade-pendant, a banner with jingles, and metal ornamented harness. Employ [these in my] service.' "

3. The King called forth the **Ming-yin**-historiographer, Feng, to [read out the Royal] Decree to Yi: "[The King states to this effect: 'I command you] to govern and administer concurrently the Royal ch'en-menials, ch'ieh-maids, and the hundred craftsmen of the K'ang Kung. [I] award you a red apron, a black jade-pendant, a banner with jingles, and metal ornamented harness. Employ [these in my] service.' "

4. The King said, "Chiu, previously the former King(s) commanded you [to take charge of] the construction(? of Towns, and to hold concurrently [the post of] Chu-officer of the Five Towns. Now, I confirm [you] in your [appointment by Royal] Decree, and award you a red apron, a pale white jade-pendant, [and] a banner with jingles. Employ [these in my] service."

The **ming-fu**, which appear in each, were probably actually worn by the various officers in the course of their duties, or when attending royal ceremonial functions. As for the other items, they might also be employed where appropriate in actual service.
7. THE "EXTOL PHRASEOLOGY" AND THE "OBEISANCE PHRASEOLOGY"

Frequently recorded amongst the Investiture Ceremony inscriptions is the "extol phraseology" - an expression of gratitude and loyalty by the investee to the seigneur-King - which record usually follows the listing of the benefices and so appears towards the end of the inscription texts. In its simplest form it comprises the characters 對揚 王 tui-yang-wang[t'ien-tzu]-hsiu "to respond and extol the King's [Son of Heaven's] grace". More complex forms of the extol phraseology such as the following are to be noted in one inscription or another:

對揚天子不顯休 "to respond and extol the Son of Heaven's great and illustrious grace"

對揚天子不顯賓休 "to respond and extol the Son of Heaven's great and illustrious and admirable grace"

敢對揚天子不顯假休命 "to presume to respond and extol the Son of Heaven's great, illustrious and blessed grace and command"

敢對揚天子不顯賓休命 "to presume to respond and extol the Son of Heaven's great, illustrious and admirable grace and command"

Preceding the extol phraseology in each inscription is recorded the "obeisance phraseology" - which comprises the characters 拜頌首 pai-ch'i-shou or 拜手頌首 pai-shou-ch'i-shou. The character 拜 pai does not occur in oracle bone inscriptions. In bronze inscriptions, it is written in a variety of forms: 拜 拜 拜.
In the Shuo-wen chieh-tzu (12A:10) appears the entry: "to bow low the head to the ground"; the Small Seal version of the graph is probably based on the archaic forms etc. above. Tuan Yu-ts'ai in his commentary on the Shuo-wen (1973.12A: 23-24) suggests that the character had the meaning of "bow the head to the hand" (首至手也). He observes that it was merely the term which bore the meaning of "bow low the head to the ground". In the Kung-yang-chuan (17A:18), pai is glossed as 拜手, and in the Chou-li, it is glossed as 空首. In both the Ho Hsiu and Cheng Hsüan commentaries pai-shou and k'ung-shou are explained as a ritual practice involving the bowing to the hand.

Kuo Mo-jo (1932c:17), basing his study on the forms and the Shuo-wen gloss, suggested that these archaic forms were originally equivalent to the modern character "to pick". The right hand element is a pictograph of a hand, while the left is a representation of a clump of grass with roots. Accordingly the combination may be regarded as an ideograph depicting a hand picking up clumps of grass. As the gesture of bowing low the head to the ground is similar to that of a person bending down to pluck grass, the character (originally employed in the sense of ) was later extended to incorporate the sense of the character 拜. Since the extended meaning became more generally associated with the graph, a new combination which became modern "to pick" was later constructed. Kuo's idea was later followed up by Lung Yu-ch'un 龍字純 (1963.34.2:405-433), who suggested that the element 萬 was the original form of "grass-root".
Cheung Kwong-yue (1968.28:3-4), on the other hand, has based his study of the problem on Tuan Yü-ts'ai's commentary and the archaic forms 蹴 and 蹴 and believes that 蹴 was in fact the original character for pai. The right hand element depicts a human body with special emphasis on the head, while the left is a hand; thus supporting the idea of "bowing the head to the hand" favoured by Tuan.

It is interesting to review the preceding variant interpretations of the character pai with reference to actual inscription usage. The combination pai-shou-ch'i-chou and its shorter version pai-ch'i-shou clearly denote two procedures in the investee's expression of loyalty and respect to the King: pai-shou (or pai) "to make obeisance with the hands" then ch'i-shou "to bow low the head (to the ground)". Tuan's commentary is well supported thus, since pai may be equated with the combination pai-shou, the action preceding the bowing of the head to the ground (ch'i-shou). In this respect, Cheung's study of the character pai, wherein he proposes that the form 蹴 was the original character for pai, indicating as it does the idea of bowing the head to the hand is the more persuasive. As to how the transition from the proposed early form to the more usually found 蹴 occurred no concrete answer can be given as yet. The interpretations of Kuo Mo-jo and Lung Yü-ch'un lack conviction as their studies are based on a rather questionable identification of the element 蹴 as it occurs in the later forms , 蹴, 蹴, etc. along with the debatable validity of Hsü Shen's Shuo-wen gloss.

We may obtain further understanding of the act of obeisance upon study of relevant passages in the Yi-li ("Chin-li" 聊, chuan 21) which interestingly tie-up closely with the inscription data. Firstly, the investee would kneel down to the ground, bow his head to the hand. This is recorded in the Yi-li and in the inscriptions as
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) 拜首</th>
<th>43器</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>中期</td>
<td>24器</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>趙鼎，裘衛鼎，善鼎，趙曹鼎，師殹鼎蓋</td>
<td>殯殹蓋，師虎鼎，吳凝，牧殹，豆開殹，師石父鼎，走殹，利鼎，蓋方鼎，蓋方鼎，載殹，康鼎，師震鼎，大師虞殹，師餘殹，諫殹，望殹，十三年贈壺，題尊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚期</td>
<td>19器</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>師酉殹，師亻殹殹，南季鼎，師頑殹</td>
<td>南宮夎鼎，大克鼎，裘盤，館鼎，何殹，輔師殹殹，弭叔殹，休殹，善夫山鼎，師克殹一，師克殹二，鄭殹，公頑鼎，頑殹，頑殹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2) 拜手顒首</th>
<th>8器</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>中期</td>
<td>6器</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>袁伯殹殹，蔡殹，揚殹，王臣殹（拜字，漏鑄），楚殹，曾壺</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚期</td>
<td>2器</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>伊殹，師殹殹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3) 頷首</th>
<th>2器</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>晚期</td>
<td>2器</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>謝殹，師謝殹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14  Obeisance phraseology and its variant versions as appearing in individual inscriptions of Middle and Late Western Chou.
pai-shou or pai. Then he would place his hands on the ground, with the backs of the hands facing upward, and the fingers of both hands pointing inwards to one another and touch the backs of his hands with his forehead. This is recorded in the Yi-li and inscriptions as ch'i-shou (cf. Cheung Kwong-yue, 1971:6, figs. 4, 5, 6, and 7).

Amongst the 73 Royal Investiture Ceremony inscriptions, 53 record the act of obeisance; 43 of these use the shorter phrase pai-ch'i-shou, of which 24 are datable in the middle period and the remaining 19 in the late period. There are only eight inscriptions which employ the full phrase, pai-shou-ch'i-shou, six of these are of the middle period, and two in the late period. Only two inscriptions lack the first section of the obeisance phraseology and thus have only the characters ch'i-shou (Hsün Kuei 訝 [ins. A/1:131.1] and Shih Hsün Kuei 師 [ins. S.209.1]). No doubt, however, the two stages of the act of obeisance were followed; the omission of the first characters being simply a case of abbreviation (see Table 14).

Although the extol phraseology and the obeisance phraseology frequently appear in this section of the Investiture Ceremony inscription texts following the record of the award of benefices from the King, it is evident that a further procedure was practised whereby the investee demonstrated more specifically his gratitude and loyalty to the seigneur-King. Records in the inscription literature are unfortunately rare but they do offer appreciable detail: the investee following the reading out of the Royal Decree and his making obeisance to the King received the document containing the decree from the historiographer, fastened it to his girdle, then retreated from the Central Courtyard. After a short period of time, the investee returned to the Central Courtyard and offered a chang-jade-sceptre to the King (see the Shan Fu Shan 薰山 [ins. A/3:119.1]...
above, and the Sung Ting 公記文 [ins. T.149.1]). In the inscriptions the first stage is worded as: 受命冊 shou-ming-ts'e or 受冊 shou-ts'e. The Document of the Decree was written on a series of bamboo or wooden tablets of identical size strung together; these were rolled into scroll form after completion of the reading. It was in this form that the Document would have been handed to the investee who later would extol the King's grace. It was a simple matter for the investee to fasten the scroll to his girdle and make his exit. The inscription wording is 佩服以出 p'ei-yi-ch'u. Further ceremonial details, no doubt, were involved here; one might seek clarification in various traditional sources but these do not always appear to be entirely reliable.38

The procedure of the investee's offering a chang-jade-sceptre to the King is worded in the inscriptions as 反入董章 fan-ju-chin-chang. Kuo Mo-jo, in his commentary on the Sung Tíng inscription (Ta-hsi:73a), attempts to read the graphs chin-chang as 瑾璋 and explain them as two types of jade artifacts and that these were used as gifts to Royal officers officiating at the ceremony. His argument is based upon apparently relevant data in the Shao Po Hu Kuei (2) 及伯虎殲 (=) [ins. 103.1], namely, the wording: 業屬伯氏,則報璧璋生 "the Document of the Decree was presented to Po Shih, Po Shih then returned a pi-jade-ring to [the Royal officer] Tiao Sheng". However, as Shirakawa (Tsushaku, 195:860-883) has correctly observed, the Shao Po Hu Kuei (2) is actually a record of the settlement of a law-suit between two parties: Shao Po Hu and Tiao Sheng. Accordingly, one cannot employ the Shao Po Hu Kuei (2) context in regard to the dissimilar situation in the Sung Tíng inscription in this manner.
The investee's retreat from the Central Courtyard with the document containing the decree is recorded in the *Tso-chuan* (Hsi, 28th year). The wording therein is: 受冊以出, 出入三覲, which Legge (5.1:211) renders as: "With this he received the tablet, and went out. At this meeting, from first till last, thrice he had audience of the King." Upon the basis of this and other traditional text usage Cheung Kwong-yue (JICS 1979.X.2:265-266) considers that chin must have a verbal function and a meaning in line with that in the *Tso-chuan* (chin-chien "to have audience with a superior").

The Chin Ceremony is described in the "Chin-li" chapter of *Yi-li* (chian 21) where it is stated that the ceremony was held at dawn (脳明) thus in keeping with the inscription data. According to the *Shuo-wen* (1A:9), the size of a chang was half that of a kuei.

In other words, it was semi-circular in shape. According to the "Chin-li" chapter, an officer who was granted audience by the King would enter from the right hand side of the door, sit on the floor, and place a kuei-jade-ring on the floor, with its tassel underneath the ring. Although the artifact differs thus in the traditional account it would be possible, as Cheung suggests, that much the same practice held for Western Chou in connection with the presentation of a chang-jade-sceptre to the King.39

It is a pity that we have only the two inscription records to consider here for an impression arises to the effect that the chin-chang procedure might be compared within reasonable limits to that of the joining of hands of the seigneur and vassel in Western feudalism - a kind of oath of allegiance, or act of homage. The fact that the Document of the Decree was not only read out to the investee on behalf of the King but also the Document itself was handed to the investee for his keeping would seem to indicate that a stronger bond
was established between the two parties. This impression is intensified by the briefly worded record of the second stage of this part of the investiture ceremony where the investee offers (?) a chang-jade-sceptre to the King.

Following the "dedicatory phraseology" (which is common to the majority of inscriptions) it may be observed in the present group that several record in addition such enjoinders as:

"Sung, may [he] for a myriad of years [achieving] a ripe old age without limit, sincerely serve the Son of Heaven to [his = Sung's] life's end"

(Tsing Ting ins. T.149.1)

"Tz'u, may [he] for a myriad of years without limit, sincerely serve the Son of Heaven to [his = Tz'u's] life's end."

(Tz'u Ting ins. A/1:110.2 (v.a))

Wording of this kind, too, suggests that a formal bond of allegiance was established or confirmed in the course of the investiture ceremony. That it is not found invariably recorded in all its detail is not necessarily a matter of especial significance - as we have had occasion to observe on several earlier occasions the propensity of the inscription compilers to condense the content of the record in Middle and Late Western Chou times was often quite severe. The problem which confronts us now is that of determining the extent to which abbreviation of content may have been applied in Early Western Chou inscriptions, or, to decide whether the inscriptions concerned may be sufficiently complete in their content and so indicate that the Royal Investiture Ceremony had not developed to its full extent at that time.
8. "ABBREVIATED" INSCRIPTIONS CONCERNED WITH THE RECORDING OF INVESTITURE CEREMONIES

Attenuation of textual content is a major characteristic of the inscription literature and one that has not always been fully appreciated by scholars working on these texts. The very nature of the medium in which the records are preserved is such that both the compiler and the calligrapher (or, more precisely, the "engraver" in the foundry) had little choice but to seek the utmost economy of expression; considerations such as the size of the vessels (hence the area available for the incorporation of an inscription), the curvature of the area and the attendant problems of inserting an inscribed clay block in the core (see Barnard, 1961:157-160, Figs. 50 and 51), etc. had an obvious bearing on the potential length of an inscription. Not all inscriptions, however, take advantage of their inscription areas - often we find small inscriptions in quite large vessels. Accordingly, attenuation of text may be regarded as a feature governed by a number of factors other than the physical medium of expression; foremost, perhaps, was the fact that most people capable of reading the documents in question were so well informed on the background details of the matters recorded that the scribes simply wrote down salient points which were more generally meaningful at the time. Matters to be recorded were little other than slight variations along a common theme - everyone knew, for instance, the procedures followed in the investiture ceremonies, why repeat the obvious on every occasion when an inscription was made? All knew which King was reigning, why incorporated his name (it may even have been pi-wei "tabooed")? Even his year of reign may have been considered superfluous in terms of the importance (or, lack of importance) of the matter to be
recorded. Fortunately, there was apparently no set rule amongst scribes as to what details should be deleted and what might be preserved. Thus, as observed earlier, a study of the more "complete" records should assist greatly towards our understanding of the abbreviated inscriptions; yet, at the same time, it is essential to keep in mind the possibility that the earlier "attenuated" texts may actually reflect an earlier stage in the development of the matters recorded, i.e. the investiture ceremony procedure during the early reigns of the Western Chou Kings may not have been so sophisticated as in Middle and Late Western Chou. Here we shall review the situation at some length.

There are quite a number of Western Chou inscriptions which record the benefices made by the King to his subjects, but do so with little or no detail relating to the ceremonial procedures let alone the nature of the services involved. For example, the Shu Te Kuei of Ch'eng Wang's reign reads as follows:

1. (1) 1. The King awarded Shu Te ch'en-menials and
   chiang-maids -
   2. ten persons, cowries - ten strings, sheep -
      one hundred;
   3. therefore, [has Shu Te] made [this] valuable
      and honoured Yi-vessel.

   Shu Te Kuei [ins. 17.21]

This inscription is so succinct that there is only the barest reference to the King, the investee, and the items of award; there is no date, no details of an investiture ceremony, no account of the service required of the investee, etc., and even the dedication of the vessel to a forbear is omitted. Comparable Early Western Chou
examples such as the Ts'ai Tsun 蔡尊 [ins. T.15.9], the Yu Kuei 友毁 [ins. T.44.1], the Shih Ch'ing Tsun 士卿尊 [ins. 21.7] are likewise lacking in record of most of these details.

In Middle Western Chou, similar succinct inscription texts still continued to be compiled, for example, the Shih Fu Chai/Ting which merely records:

2. (26) 1. The gracious King awarded Shih Fu cowries. Therefore [has he] made
2. his (= for his deceased forbears?), [this] valuable and honoured Yi-vessel.

Shih Fu Chai/Ting 詢父鼎 [ins. T.12.1]

Some, such as the Shih Chü Kuei, are a little more detailed and offer more information. In addition to a reference to the King, the investee, and the items of award, record is also made of the date of the ceremony and the locale in which it took place and, most significantly, there is mention of the officer who was called forth by the King to read out the Royal Decree to the investee:

3. (21) 1. It was in the King's third year, the fourth month, the second quarter
2. of the month, on the day, hsin-yu [58], the King was in Chou, [he] arrived in the Hsin Kung-palace.
3. The King reviewed the Shih-shih-officers,
   the King called forth the Shih-officer,
4. Chen, to award the Shih-officer, Chü cowries - ten strings. Chü bowed
5. low his head, presumed to respond and extol
the Son of Heaven's great and

6. illustrious grace, therefore [has he] made
[for his] accomplished father, Mao Shu,

7. [this] honoured Kuei-tureen, for generations
may grandsons and sons eternally cherish
[it].

Shih Chü Kuei 師遂毁 [ins. T.56.1]

In Late Western Chou, as well as in the early and middle periods,
there are to be noted two further groups of inscription texts which,
although lacking in the procedural data in which we are interested,
are obviously connected with the investiture ceremony. One comprises
those which record little relevant information other than the
benefices awarded and instead, concentrate most informatively on the
content of the Royal Decree (26 items). These we generally term the
"Royal Decree" inscriptions: the Ta Yu Ting 太盂鼎 [ins. T.285.1],
the Mao Kung Ting 毛公鼎 [ins. T.500.1], the Shih K'o Hsü (lid)
師克盉 [ins. 144.1], the Lu Po Tung Kuei 录伯或頌
[ins. T.109.2], the Shih Tsai Ting 師簋鼎 [ins. A/2:190.1], etc.
Let us take as an example, the Shih Tsai Ting inscription:

4. (18) 1. It was in the King's eighth year, in the first
month, the ch'en-phenomenon occurred on the
day, ting-mao [4],

2. the King stated, "Shih-officer, Tsai, you [have
been] able ([to the extent of] harming your
body =) without heed of your personal well-
being render service to

3. my august deceased father, Mu Wang. (Employ =)
Apply your grand virtue and tremendous
4. purity, hence (employ [your] heart =) diligently
to expand and keep upright your Sovereign's
peaceful virtue

5. [and so] benefit I, the Small Child, [in my
attempts] to assiduously emulate the virtue of
the Former Kings. [I] award you:

6. a black coat with a dragon design and embroi-
dered edge, a red apron, a red jade-pendant,
a banner with jingles,

7. a metal ornamented harness attachment [befit-
ting(?)] of a Ta-shih-officer, [and] metal
ornamented harness. Employ [these and] take
as a model your sacred

8. forbears and deceased father's sagaciously
rendered services to the previous Kings,
[and so] serve me,

9. the One Man." Tsai made obeisance and bowed
low his head: "The gracious Po Ta Shih has

10. transmitted to Tsai [the long tradition of our
family] to serve the August Sovereign; the
Son of Heaven has furthermore not forgotten

11. the .... virtue of Kung Shang Fu." Tsai's
merits have been reviewed. Po Ta Shih

12. (not =) never himself (acted =) usurped the
title of "the Small Child" [but] day and
night propagated and displayed [his emulation
of]

13. the solemn virtue of [his] Former ancestors,
[and so], served the August Kings. Po [Ta
Shih] was furthermore able to ....

14. .... [= ensure that ?] the descendants of [his] former ancestors would continue to inherit [the duty to uphold] the August Sovereign's fine

15. virtue, and so to protect the Royal Person.

Tsai presumes to assist the King,

16. thus the Son of Heaven for a myriad of years .... .... Po Ta Shih (military =) with his army

17. gave service and protected the Son of Heaven, using the .... virtue of his solemn forbears.

18. Tsai [accordingly] presumes to extol the King's grace and thus to pacify and to [act =] emulate [his deceased forbear], Kung Shang Fu, and

19. give honour to my deceased father, Yung Chi Yi Fu, proclaiming [the above] in the [Ancestral Temple.

Shih Tsai Ting [ins. A/2:190.1]

In this long inscription (which is not without appreciable difficulty in matters of interpretation, hence the long detailed notes accompanying the Chinese modern character transcription) there is a complete lack of record of the ceremonial procedure up to the reading of the Royal Decree to the investee. After the date, the compiler has simply cited directly the wording of the Decree which continues until line 9 from which commences a particularly interesting statement relating to the forbears of the investee, Tsai, and the continued services they have rendered to the Former Sovereigns. The rendering
given above may be found to be little different in some respects to the interpretations of the authorities cited; in general, however, the inherited nature of the vessel-maker's position in the Royal Court seems fairly definite. That a ceremony was in progress is accordingly usefully indicated here, more so than, for instance, in such lengthy inscriptions as the Mao Kung Ting, the Ta Yü Ting, the Lu Po Tung Kuei, etc.* The other group comprises inscriptions which record the date of the ceremony, the place where it was held, the reading out of the Royal Decree, the content of the Decree, and occasionally the items of award; more or less representative of the group is the K'o Chung:

5. (33) 1. It was in the 16th year, in the ninth month, the first quarter of the month, on the day, keng-yin [27], the King was in the K'ang La Kung of Chou, the King called forth the Shih-officer, T'ao, to summon K'o. "The King personally commands K'o to inspect the eastern bank of the Ching River up to the Ching Shih-garrison. [The King] awards K'o: a chariot suitable for hunting, [and] horses - one team." K'o dares not to be remiss, and will protect and secure the Royal command. K'o presumes to respond and extol the Son of Heaven's grace. Therefore [has he] made

* By mischance the last two inscriptions have been incorporated in Table A (# 1 and 5) instead of Table 18 where they should follow items 6 and 17 respectively.
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<th>时期 月份 月份</th>
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Table 15  The divisions of seasons and the months in which the investiture ceremonies in the attenuated inscriptions were held.
8. for his august forbears and deceased father,

Po, this valuable and grand Chung-bell, to be

used in

9. prayers for pure blessings and eternal

10. commands. K'o, may for a myriad of

11. years, sons and grandsons forever value [it].

K'o Chung 克鐘 [ins. A/3:79.1]

Such, then are the main features of the 43 inscriptions with which we are now concerned. Included in this group are several from recent excavations. Early Western Chou examples total 14 inscriptions, there are 18 of Middle Western Chou times, and the remaining 11 are of Late Western Chou date. We shall review these documents now in two ways: (a) Attention will be given to the date formulae and comparisons will be made with the results of the similar approach followed earlier (Section 1). (b) The general nature of the contents of the 43 inscriptions will be considered on a chronological basis.

(a) Date Formulae in the Attenuated Inscriptions

It will be observed in Table 15 that Royal awards in Early Western Chou times were made mainly in Spring (five cases), while Winter (one + two [intercalary] cases) and Autumn (two cases) were comparatively less favoured. In Middle Western Chou, Spring remains the main season for Royal awards (five cases). Summer (four cases) and Winter (three cases) were less favoured. In Late Western Chou, Autumn (four cases) appears as the main season, then Winter (two cases).

When viewed in terms of months, it may be noted that in both the early and middle periods, Royal awards were granted between the
Table 16  Occurrences of the month-quarters in which the investiture ceremonies recorded in the attenuated inscriptions were held.

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<th>时期</th>
<th>初吉</th>
<th>既生霸</th>
<th>既望</th>
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</table>
twelfth and the fifth months (six cases in early; seven cases in middle period). In the late period, however, all six cases fall between the ninth month and the first month inclusive, i.e. during the later half of the year.

For the entire period, Spring (10 cases) and Winter (five + three [intercalary] cases) appear as the two major seasons when awards were made by the King, Autumn (seven cases) and Summer (four cases) were less favoured. While in terms of months, there appears to be a small emphasis (15 cases) from the twelfth to fifth months – slightly over half of the data; but the eighth and ninth months were also appreciably favoured (seven cases).

Upon comparison with the results from the 73 inscriptions studied earlier, it may be observed that in general terms, the pattern does not differ markedly between these two groups of data. Although there appears to have been fewer awards in meng-ch’un and meng-hsia amongst the attenuated inscriptions, meng-ch’iu and meng-tung are still the most favoured seasonal divisions. There is, however, an increase in the number of 13th [intercalary] months favoured for the granting of awards (one + three). Nevertheless, Spring (23+10) and Winter (25 + eight cases) still remain the most favoured among the four seasons. Similarly the pattern has remained unchanged in terms of months: the twelfth to the fifth months inclusive (47+15) being the most favoured.

So far as the four month-quarters are concerned, although there are only 17 inscriptions in this group that can be utilized in our study, it may be noted in Table 16 the totals for the whole period are practically in line with those of the earlier survey (cf. Table 4). It is in the first half of a month that Royal awards are mainly recorded, and within this first half, the ch’u-chi month-quarter is dominant. The combined totals: the ch’u-chi month-quarter (33 +
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Table 17
A: The complete cycle of kan-chih days appended for convenience of reference.
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<td>24</td>
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</table>

Table 17
B: Occurrences of kan-chih days amongst the attenuated investiture ceremony inscriptions arranged also in kan-day decades.
nine), the chi-sheng-pa and chi-wang month-quarters (respectively 14 +
three and 13 + three), and the chi-sau-pa month-quarter (three + two)
demonstrate interestingly the probable validity of the general pattern
attending the two individual sets of data despite the paucity of
examples in each - just as we have observed in the case of the months
and seasons.

When viewed in terms of kan-chih days (Tables 17a, b), it may be
noted that the awards were granted on a greater variety of kan-chih
days than in the earlier survey (cf. Table 5b) and no particular one
is favoured more than the others. However, if we view the situation
in terms of the kan-days (i.e. in groups of 10) it may be observed
that the most favoured kan-combinations remained the same: ting (15 +
five cases), chia (16 + three cases) and keng (13 + four cases). The
data are insufficient to allow a more precise assessment than this.

Systematic study of inscriptions date formulae results thus in
the discovery of often meaningful patterns of the kind noted in both
the present group of attenuated inscriptions and the earlier surveyed
investiture ceremony inscriptions. However, when it comes to an
assessment of the nature and the degree of textual attenuation in the
inscriptions, the dates recorded in each offer a particularly
straightforward and valuable line of enquiry: the frequent and
varying omissions of years of reign, months, month-quarters, and
cyclical days are so self-evident as incompletely recorded data that
further elaboration on the point is unnecessary.

(b) Implications Attending the Inscription Content

Although it would seem quite clear upon even a cursory study of
the date formulae that severe pruning in the inscription content did
indeed, take place during the compilation of these sections of both
groups of inscription texts under survey, the question may still remain as to how it may be acceptably demonstrated that other sections of the 43 attenuated inscription texts likewise exhibit varying degrees of abbreviated content. It is vital for our understanding of the development of the investiture ceremony in Early Western Chou to be able to ascertain within reasonable limits the validity of the present hypothesis when applied to the shorter inscriptions of that period. There would appear to be three possible conclusions that might result: (1) The inscriptions are not necessarily condensed versions of possibly longer forms of record thus the lack of reference to ceremonial procedures simply means that Royal awards were effected without such formalities. (2) the inscription texts are abbreviated compilations and, indeed, the descriptions of the investiture ceremony suffer condensation no less than has any other section of the compilation. Thus the ceremony differed little than in the middle and late periods. (3) The inscription texts are, indeed, abbreviated compilations, however, the recorded data relevant to the investiture ceremony are comparatively complete, i.e. the procedures involved required little description as they were very simple. Early Western Chou might then appear to have been a transitional period during which the administrative system which we take to be at its zenith in the middle and late periods came into being.

In order to view this problem in more detail, it is useful to categorize the Early Western Chou inscriptions in this group (14 items) in regard to the ceremonial details they record:

(a) Inscription which record the items awarded only:

Shu Te Kuei [ins. 17.21]
Shih Ch'ing Tsun [ins. 21.7]
(b) Inscriptions which record the items awarded and are followed by the extol phraseology:

- Ts'ai Tsun
- Yu Kuei
- Ch'ien Tsun
- Keng Ying Ting
- Keng Ying Yu

(c) Inscriptions which record the Royal command, the items awarded, and in some cases also the extol phraseology:

- X Kuei
- Ch'en Ch'en Ho
- Tso-ts'e Che Kuang
- Chung Chai/Ting (1)
- Ming Kuei
- Yü Tsu Ting Yu
- Chou Kung Kuei

If the situation was such that judgement would have to be made solely upon the two inscriptions in (a) above, it would be rather difficult to ascertain whether they were highly condensed records of a formal ceremony, or were merely records of Royal largesse unaccompanied by a formal ceremony. However, when we turn our attention to the five other contemporary examples in (b), it will be noted that the extol phraseology appears in each. This immediately suggests that the granting of the award was a more involved procedure than might be implied in the now obviously condensed versions in (a). Then in (c) appears the additional wang-ming or wang ...... hu phrases (accompanied in three cases by the extol phraseology) which demonstrates further the incomplete nature of the inscriptions lacking
### Table 18: The attenuated inscriptions of Western Chou

The extent and nature of attenuation become readily apparent when the content of each is tabulated as above. Amongst the entries are included the Royal Decree inscriptions which exhibit the most marked amount of textual omission of the investiture ceremony details in order to emphasise more the content of the decree and the long list of benefices received.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>属</th>
<th>員</th>
<th>34.師克盛盈</th>
<th>35.克增</th>
<th>36.番生殷</th>
<th>37.郭友殷</th>
<th>38.師旋殷</th>
<th>39.多友鼎</th>
<th>40.微醇鼎</th>
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in these details. Accordingly, we may hypothesize that a formal procedure involving the granting of a Royal Decree is to be understood throughout the 14 inscriptions.

In the same manner the remaining 29 attenuated inscriptions of Middle and Late Western Chou date may be categorized into comparable groups and a similar conclusion offered (Table 18). And contemporary with them, of course, is the majority of the 73 investiture ceremony inscriptions yet they, too, are no less prone to varying degrees of abbreviation or deletion of phrases as earlier demonstrated, for instance, in Tables 6 and 10. The attenuated inscriptions thus may be regarded as highly condensed descriptions of practically the same ceremonial procedures. The 14 Early Western Chou attenuated inscriptions are, unfortunately, not matched by a similar group of "complete" texts except perhaps the Hsiao Yü Ting of K'ang Wang's time, but this highly corroded inscription is not fully readable. Some decipherable sections of the text do, nevertheless, appear to indicate a quite sophisticated level of ceremonial procedures. In these circumstances it may be considered reasonable to hypothesize that the ceremonial procedures in the early period - at least from Kang Wang's time - would have differed little from the fuller accounts in the middle and late periods.

Investiture ceremonies were not only practised in the Royal Court wherein the King bestowed offices and granted awards but also were conducted by Princes of States in their own establishments. Lower in the scale of rank we find also officers in the Royal Court bestowing largesse to others of even lower rank. This feature of Western Chou "feudalism" is in some respects reminiscent of comparable practices in Western feudalism, accordingly I have applied the term "subinfeudation" to the Western Chou "parallel" with, of course, due definition (see Note 43 below).
FOOTNOTES

1. For example, in his article "Chin-wen chung ts'e-ming chih tien" (Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of The Chinese University of Hong Kong [hereafter JICS] 1979.X.2:241), Cheung Kwong-yue has suggested that the practice of Royal investiture ceremony in Western Chou might be an inheritance from Shang, however, he does not substantiate his statement. Tung Tso-pin, in his article "Wang-jo-yueh ku-yi" (Shuo-wen yueh-k'an [hereafter SWYK] 1944.4:332-333) has suggested that the phrase ch'eng-ts'ei in the oracle bones denotes the reading of a written decree by a central officer to his colleague and so is similar to the practice in the Western Chou investiture ceremony. His interpretation of the phrase is not, however, generally accepted; ch'eng-ts'ei, is now understood to be a special ceremony conducted during military expeditions which involved the cursing of the enemy in order to avert misfortune from the King. The ceremony was always carried out by a person named Chih-mei.

2. Generally speaking, I have followed the assessments in Liang-Chou chin-wen-tzu ta-hsi (hereafter Ta-hsi), "Hsi-Chou t'ung-ch'i tuan-tai" (hereafter Tuan-tai), and Kimbun tsushaku (hereafter Tsushaku) in the dating of these inscriptions. However, there exists a certain amount of controversy as to the periodization of a number of inscriptions; the problem is considered in more detail in Appendix 1A.
3. As early as 1947, Ch'i Ssu-ho's article "Chou-tai hsi-ming li k'ao" (Chen-ching hsüeh-pao, 1947: 197-226; recently republished in his collected papers, Chung-kuo-shih t' an-yen Peking 1981) appeared. In his survey, the general procedure of the investiture ceremony, the content of the decree, the procedures of the investiture ceremonies for officials and for Princes who succeeded to the rule of States are investigated upon the basis of both traditional literature and the inscriptions. Shirakawa Shizuka has also reviewed this subject in his Kimbun no Sekai (1971b: 133-138) and again, in his Tsushaku (Part 47: 81-91). Neither scholar has, however, effectively pursued the study in the direction of the Princely Courts.

4. Regarding the punctuation proposed in this section of the inscription in particular the [,] after "assisted on the right[,]", see detailed discussion in Section 3 below.

5. The "Yüeh-ling" chapter in the Li-chi of presumed Eastern Chou date has given us valuable light on this matter. The "Yüeh-ling" (which was generally regarded by Han and T'ang scholars to be originally a chapter of the Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu Lü-shih 昌秋) discusses activities in each month which could or could not be undertaken, and the months were classified by seasons. According to the commentaries of Cheng Hsüan 建玄 and K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達 it was the Hsia Calendar that the "Yueh-ling" had adopted as the basis of its classification of the seasons. The calendar commenced two months ahead of the Chou Calendar. Accordingly, meng-ch'un in the "Yüeh-ling" (i.e. the first month in the Hsia Calendar) was equivalent to the third month in the Chou Calendar, and the second month of the Shang Calendar (cf. Ch'ung-k' an sung-pen li-chi chu-shu 重刊宋本禮記註疏, chüan 14-17). In addition to this it may be noted that the Tso-chuan (Chao, 17th year) states: "It was in the fourth month of Hsia, which is called the first month of summer" (Legge, 5.2:667); similarly, the 14th year of Duke Hsiang states that: "Hence in one of the books of Hsia it is said ....... In the
first month, at the beginning of Spring, this was done”  
(故夏書四……正月孟春  Legge, 5.2:467). With two  
months’ difference between the Hsia and Chou calendars, the  
meng-ch’un and meng-hsia (i.e. the first month and the fourth  
month) of the Hsia were equivalent to the third month and sixth  
month of the Chou. Of course, the lack of archaeological texts  
from mythical (?) Hsia and the lack of relevant data in Shang  
and Western Chou inscriptions allow no positive support for such  
a relationship between the three calendars; one may suspect,  
however, that some such tradition may have existed in Chou times  
and may have acted as a basis for the above accounts. Table 2  
follows that of Tseng Hsien-t’ung’s 曾憲通 “Ch’u yüeh-ming  
ch’u-t’an” 楚月名初探 (in Chung-shan ta-hsueh hsueh-pao  

6. There is a curious anomoly to be observed in the "Yüeh-ling"  
which states that in meng-ch’iu 孟秋 the investiture of office  
in the Royal Court was not allowed (Li-chi 16:19a, 19b).  
However, such idealization is not supported by Western Chou  
inscription records, e.g. in both the Fu Shih Li Kuei  
輔師楚毁 [ins. A/1:100.8] and the Wi Hui Ting 無惠鼎  
[ins. T.92.4] appointments to office are recorded and the  
associated ceremonies of investiture were held in each case in  
the 9th month (i.e. meng-ch’iu)!

7. Winter in Western Chou included the twelfth month, the first  
month and the second month. The thirteen month recorded here in  
Winter in the middle period was the so-called jun-yüeh 閏月  
"intercalary month". Seven intercalary months were inserted in  
a period of nineteen years to make up for the deficiency between  
the solar and lunar years, and according to Ma Ch'eng-yuan  
,馬承源, the sequence in Western Chou was: 3, 3, 3, 2, 3,  
3, 2. Every intercalary month was inserted at the end of a  
year; this differed from the Shang practice which, on some  
occasions, had the intercalary months inserted in the middle of  
the year (see Ma’s paper read at the T'ai-yüan Conference,  
"Chin-wen chung yüeh-hsiang ti yen-chiu" 金文中月相的  
研究 1981:14-17).
8. See his "Ssu-fen-yi-yüeh-shuo pien-cheng" 四分一月説辨正 and "Chou chin-wen chung sheng-pa ssu-pa k‘ao" 周金文中生霸死霸考 in Tung Tso-pin hsien-sheng ch‘uan-chi chia-pien 董作賓先生全集甲編 1977a.1:1-21; 1977b.1:23-37. Tung's theory has been followed by Ch'en Meng-chia (cf. "Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955b.2:112-115) and Liu Ch‘i-yi 劉啟益 (LSCH 1979.6:21-26), but with some variations as to the days of the month represented by these four terms. Both Tung and Liu's arguments are supported by meticulous-appearing reconstructions of the Western Chou Calendar based on records in the bronze inscriptions and the Shang-shu 尚書. However, one must question the validity of their contention that ch‘u-chi 初吉 was an auspicious term for chi- ssu-pa 既死霸 and that both denoted the same day: why should both terms so appear in the bronze inscriptions? While the continuing coincidental occurrence of events on three specified days of each month would hardly occur in reality.

9. See his article "Sheng-pa ssu-pa k‘ao" 生霸死霸考 (Kuan-t'ang chi-lin 觀堂集林 [hereafter KTCL] 1973e:19-26). Wang's theory has been widely followed although sometimes with slight variations of the number of days in each quarter (see Shinjō Shinzō 新城新藏 Shinagaku 1928.4.4:27-29; Wu Ch'i-ch'ang 吳其昌, 1936:4-15; Orient Lee (Li Tung-fang) 黎東方, 1975:5; Chou Fa-kao 周法高, JICS 1971.4.1:173-205; Ch‘i Kuei-yen 姜桂宴, WW 1981.11:77-82, note especially his new interpretation on the character ssu-pa 萬, and P'ang Huai-ching 彭懷靖, WW 1981.12:74-78). Ma Ch‘eng-yüän has recently reviewed both Tung and Wang's arguments and concluded that Wang's is more reliable (see his T'ai-yüän Conference paper, op. cit. pp.1-25).

10. Reference to Wong Yin-wai (1978:59-69) will conveniently demonstrate the fact that the ch‘u-chi month-quarter was similarly preferred amongst the shorter inscriptions (not included in our 73 texts). Amongst new materials not available to Wong, the same tendency to favour the first month-quarter is to be noted (12 out of 22 cases).
11. This tradition continued into Eastern Chou times when many records of sacrifices and of the casting of bronze artifacts conducted in the ch'u-chi month-quarter are to be noted. The tradition was so firmly entrenched that even in later dynasties (when the term ch'u-chi was no longer employed), the first ten days of a month continued as the preferred period for official sacrifices and for many everyday activities such as bathing, hair-washing, epidemic prevention, etc. (see Huang Sheng-chang 黃盛璋, "Shih Ch'u-chi" 釋初吉, Li-shih yen-chiu 歷史研究 1958.4:71-86).

12. It may be observed amongst the inscription data that miao 廟 and ta-shih 庙 do not occur together, thus it would appear that the miao did not contain a ta-shih as the literary sources would seem to indicate (e.g. "Yüeh-ling": "天子居大廟大室", Cheng Hsüan's commentary: "大廟大室, 中央室也" [Li-chi 16:15b]). However, in the La Ting inscription 剛鼎 [ins. 48.4], it is stated that a sacrifice was made in the ta-shih to Chao Wang: 王雩(禘), 用牲于大室, 禭(禘)昭王. Such a procedure would suggest that the ta-shih here would have been in a miao-temple - sacrifices being conducted in a temple rather than in a palace. Nevertheless, we are not in a position to suggest that temples generally would have a ta-shih in Western Chou as the single occurrence in La Ting may be anomalous.

13. For the report of the excavation, see Anon., WW 1979e.10:27-34. Further studies of the site have been conducted by Wang En-t'ien 王恩田, WW 1981.1:75-80; Yin Sheng-p'ing 尹盛平, WW 1981.9:13-17; see also Shang Chou k'ao-ku 商周考古 1979c: 180-185. Both the excavation report, Wang and Yin's studies have followed the Erh-ya 齊雅 gloss: "A hall which has chambers on the east and west is called a temple, when there are no chambers on the east and west and just the hall, it is called a residence" 室有東西廂曰廟, 無東西廂有室曰寢, and thus take the present site to be that of a temple complex. However, the authors of the Shang Chou k'ao-ku have cautiously noted that no concrete evidence exists to allow the complex to be classified either as a temple or as a residence (palace),
however, they are of the opinion that it is more likely to be a residence.

According to the excavation report and Yin's article, apparently there is a further structure nearby yet to be excavated; this hopefully will shed more light on this problem. Meantime, the rendering kung/miao is used in the present survey in reference to the currently available data and reconstruction of the Feng-ch'u building remains.

14. There is considerable disagreement in regard to the identification of the place Fang in the bronze inscriptions of Western Chou (see Huang Sheng-chang, 1981.4:183-198). According to Huang, Fang was an old capital of Chou located close to the Feng capital of Wen Wang's time in the present day Shensi. Even after Wu Wang had moved his capital to Hao, Fang still remained as an important spot where a number of royal activities such as the investiture ceremony were carried out.

15. The Nan Kung Liu Ting 南宮柳鼎 [ins. 77.3] interestingly records that the King was residing in (tsai) the K'ang-miao 康廟, before actually conducting the investiture ceremony. According to Note 79 in the Ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i t'u shih 青銅器圖釋 (1960:24), the Ting-cauldron was unearthed in Pao-chi, Shensi and was incorporated in the Shensi Provincial Museum Collection in 1952, its authenticity would accordingly seem to be beyond suspicion. The anomaly of the King "residing in a temple" may be due to such factors as: (a) carelessness on the part of the artizan/scribes in the foundry who may have incised K'ang-Miao instead of K'ang-Kung 康宮? (b) A form of abbreviation of text, i.e. the complete sentence: 王在 X,各康廟 being attenuated to: 在康廟? (c) Or, are we being too pedantic in reading tsai as "reside in" and in some cases such as in the present example we should simply interpret it as "in"?

16. Both Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若 and Shirakawa Shizuka have quoted the Yi Hou Nieh Kuei 宜侯矢鼎 [ins. A/1:118.1]: □□□□□□□□□□□ in their studies of the 圖室
Kuo (KKHP 1956.1:8) suggests that \( t'u \) in the Yi Hou Nieh Kuei denoted the two historical frescos of Wu Wang and Ch'eng Wang's time painted in the Chou Temple. Therefore, \( t'u-shih \) could have been a room in the Chou Temple with frescos. Shirakawa (Tsushaku, 153:351), on the other hand, has taken the graph \( t'u \) as originally denoting a sketch-map of the cultivated land, and later the meaning has extended to denote the territory itself. Therefore, according to Shirakawa, \( t'u-shih \) could have been a room in the Chou Temple containing a sketch-map of cultivated land. However, it is later observed that \( t'u \) in the Nieh Kuei was actually the ancient form of \( p'i \) "frontier", "territory" etc., and so did not suggest the meaning of a fresco or sketch-map. The whole sentence is in fact a record of Ch'eng Wang's expedition to the Shang territory and the Eastern States. Furthermore, the Nieh Kuei sentence is followed by "王立于眾土，南嚮，王令慶熙大曰：". It is therefore evident that the ceremony was held in the Yi 國 Ancestral Ground, and had no relation with \( t'u-shih \) in the Chou Temple. (Cf. Ch'en Meng-chia, "Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955a.1:165-167; Noel Barnard, MS 1958.17:16-21). The equation of "王登于周廟，遂于圖室" with "成王伐商圖，遂書（省）東國圖" would seem to be unacceptable. Cheung Kwong-yue (JICS 1979.X.2: 252-254) has followed the interpretation that \( t'u \) is to be read as \( p'i \). The character \( p'i \) could have the same meaning as kuo 國 "kingdom", therefore, \( t'u-shih \) were interchangeable with 國室 p'i-shih, and 國室 kuo-shih. Since the \( t'u-shih \) (or the kuo-shih) represented an important room of the Kingdom 國重室, it was employed for conducting investiture ceremony and discussions of administrative plans between the Chou King and his officers. However, as the character kuo appears in the inscriptions written as or 翟 etc. together with \( p'i \) phonetically loaned as kuo, the hypothesis that such interchange of \( p'i \) and kuo does not seem to be convincing.

17. Traditional scholars have generally taken for granted that the characters \( A \) \( \rightarrow \) \( B \) \( \rightarrow \) \( yu \) \( \rightarrow \) "to assist" and the subject of \( ju \) \( \rightarrow \) "to enter". The
validity of this interpretation has not hitherto been fully
considered. However, following the excavation of the kung/miao
remains at Ch'i-shan, a review of the earlier interpretation now
seems necessary. According to the excavation report, there was
only one entrance whereby the entrant-on-the-right, A, and the
investee, B, would enter the central courtyard (cf. Figure 2
above). To read the sentence as above, it would require that
the entrant-on-the-right, A, enters the courtyard first, then
retires to assist the investee, B, to enter the courtyard i.e.
make two entrances! If, however, the sense is broken at yu:
A \( \rightarrow \) B \( \rightarrow \) and so read as two sentences, a perfectly
straightforward interpretation results; the entrant-on-the-
right enters the courtyard and takes up his position "to assist"
(i.e. act as patron of the investee) throughout the ensuing
ceremony. Next the investee enters through the same doorway and
takes up his position in the central courtyard.

18. Ssu-kung Yi Po served as a Ssu-kung-officer in the Royal Court,
as recorded in this inscription and at the same time he held the
title of Po. This title might either indicate his Princely
status, Earl, in which case he would in effect be holding a
concurrent appointment in the Royal Court, or Po might simply be
a courtesy title and so he might be merely an ordinary officer
in the Royal Court. I take Po in this latter sense here.

19. In the Mu Kuei and the Shih Yu Kuei alone, it is not entirely
clear whether the term kung-tsu is actually an official rank.
It is, however, quite evidently so in the two following passages
in the Mao Kung Ting 毛公鼎 [ins. T.500.1]: 命汝覲
公族宗 (5) 參有司, 小子師氏虎臣與朕orious 事
and the Fan Sheng Kuei (lid) 番生殷苞 [ins. 138.1]: 王命覲箋
公族卿事大史蔡 where the term kung-tsu is entered along
with the ts' an- yu-ssu, hsiao-tzu, shih-shih, ch'ing-shih-[liao],
t'ai-shih-[liao], etc. - all characteristic titles of office in
the Royal establishment. In the Tso-chuan, it is recorded that
kung-tsu-ta-fu 公族大夫 was one of the major ranks in the
State of Chin, a State established by a member of the Chou
family. Accordingly it would appear that kung-tsu was
originally a Royal office established during Western Chou. The title itself would furthermore appear to indicate that the post was one generally held by a member of the Royal clan.

20. In 1976, a group of 103 bronze vessels was unearthed in Fu-feng, Shensi (see Anon., WW 1978.3:1-18), amongst them is the Tso-ts'e Che Kuang 作冊折觥 [ins. A/1:40.13], the Shih Ch'iang P'an 史墳盤 [ins. A/1:275.1], and the Hsing Chung (Series A) 甲組鼎鈴 [ins. A/1:100.9] which were made by members of the same family over a period of four generations. The fourth generation, Che, had served in the office of tso-ch'e during the reigns of Chao and Mu, as recorded in the Tso-ts'e Che Kuang. The sixth generation, Ch'iang, served during the reigns of Kung, Yi and Hsiao as a Shih-officer, as recorded in the Shih Ch'iang P'an. Whereas the Hsing Chung of Series A records that the seventh generation, Hsing, had inherited the office of his forbear and father, namely that of a Tso-ts'e or Shih-officer in the Royal Court, and would "day and night serve as an assistant to the yin-shih: 燕不敢弗敬且(祖)考秉明德, 雳風 夕左尹. The terms shih and tso-ts'e were thus very likely different titles pertaining to the same office, while the subordinate status of the tso-ts'e and shih to the yin-shih would seem obvious.

21. The character shou was written as 勝, etc. in the bronze inscriptions (cf. CWKL 5:2536-2538). It comprises a combination of the phonetic chou 舟 "a boat" held between two hands thus representing the action of "giving" or "receiving" which is still customary in China today. In Table 10, there are only the two examples a and j': 尹氏受王命書; 史篤受 王命書 thus it is difficult to judge with reference to these sentences alone whether shou is used in the sense of "receive" or "give". However, if we take into account also the sentences immediately following which may be reconstructed in full as: 王乎史 A 冊命 B, it is evident that the document containing the Royal Decree would have to be passed from the first to the second historiographer, who has been called forth by the King to read out the Decree. He would [受] the
document from the first historiographer who likewise had [受] the document earlier from the King: the recording is surely in the passive.

In the Mien Kuei 免毁 [ins. T.64.3] (Table 10, b), it is apparently recorded that the King had personally given (授) the Decree to the second historiographer, who then read it out to the investee: 王受(授)作册尹書, 俾册命免. However, in view of the majority of the cases as already discussed above, it is likely that the inscription text is at fault in some way. Similarly, too, the related vessel, the Mien Yu 免卣 [ins. T.49.2 (v.b)] (Table 10, p'), is open to question as to the reliability of the wording.

22. For further discussion on the combinations 王若 回 wang-jo-yüeh and 王 回 wang-yüeh with reference to the studies of Tung Tso-pin and Ch'en Meng-chia, see Note 82 below.

23. Scholars have rendered the character 青 in this inscription either as tsu "to continue", or read it as hsü "to assist". The graph 青 is a radical in the archaic forms: 赤, 城, 嶂 (楚 ch'u), and accordingly is to be transcribed as 青 hsü. Ch'u sometimes is used in the sense of assist, e.g. the Mi Shu Kuei 羲叔毁 [ins. A/2:70.2]: 言楚诽伯. According to the Erh-ya gloss, hsü also has the meaning of "assist". Hsü is found, furthermore, in the compound verb: 左, in the Shan Ting 善鼎 [ins. T.110.1]. The meaning of tso-hsü would be equivalent to that of tso-yu 左右. Thus the single graph 青 should be transcribed as 青 in the sense of "assist".

24. This vessel made by Mien is traditionally referred to as Mien Fu 免卣. However, according to Kao Ming 高明 (WW 1982:70-73, 85) the Fu vessel which has for a long time been referred to by scholars as "casket" should actually be rendered as or 舛 hu. Fu on the other hand, represents vessels of tall rounded body similar to that of a tou-pedestal-bowl. The photograph of the present vessel is not recorded in the various catalogues and the inscription merely refers to the vessel as lù-shang-yi
"a series of cooking Yi-vessel", therefore, it is difficult to define whether the vessel is a fu or a hu-casket. Nevertheless, it seems that the chance for the vessel to be a hu-casket is greater.

25. There is some measure of disagreement among scholars as to the meaning of the character 還 huan (*grwan) in this sentence. The character is also recorded in the Shih Shih Kuei (1) 師虎瑰 (-) [ins. A/1:97.2]: "備于大左, 官銘備還左右師氏". Both Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1956d:4:111) and Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 90a, 91b) have taken it to be a phonetic loan for 范 yuan (*jwan); Ch'en, however, reads it in the sense of 范 -lin "garden", while Kuo interprets it as 范 -yuan 宮苑 "palace". As there were already characters in use such as 范 "garden" (e.g. Yü Tsun [ins. 16.45]; 王在圓譙京), kung 宮 "palace" (e.g. Chun Fu Kuei 君夫瑰 [ins. 42.1]: 王在慶宮大室), wei 座: 空 "Royal pavilion" (e.g. Shih Hu Kuei 師虎瑰 [ins. T.121.2]: 王在杜空), etc., ancient use of a phonetic loan here would seem to have been unnecessary. Further, it would be unlikely that military officers (i.e. the shih-shih) would have administrative duties in a Royal garden, as Ch'en Meng-chia seems to imply in this section of the inscription text. Shirakawa (Tsūshaku, 115:460-462; 140:233) has interpreted the character huan as "Royal territory", but fails to substantiate his interpretation. Nevertheless, this character could have been employed as a phonetic loan for 還 huan (*grwan), which character was used in the sense of 王 -chi 王畿 "Royal territory", "Royal domain", in ancient times (cf. Juan Yuan 阮元, 1974:217).

26. It is rather difficult at this stage to work out an absolute dating for the Mu Kuei 牧瑰 [ins. S.223.1]. The design and decoration of the vessel as given in Ming and later editions of the K'ao-ku-t'u 考古圖 of Northern Sung times would suggest a Late Western Chou date (3:24a). However, as the Nei-shih-officer, Wu 内史養 recorded in this vessel is also found in the Shih Hu Kuei 師虎瑰 [ins. T.121.2], which is tied up with the Ch'üeh Ts'ao Ting (1) 趙曹鼎 (-) [ins. 56.4] of Kung
Wang's reign because of the record of Hsing Po in each inscription, a Kung Wang dating is accepted here thus following Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 76a).

27. Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 72b-73a) has followed Wang Kuo-wei's interpretation and "punctuates" this sentence as "he has, furthermore, quoted the sentence: 謹王在周新宫 in the Ch'ueh Ts'ao Ting (2) 趙曹鼎 (2) [ins. 57.1] and another: 周康宮新宮 in the Wang Kuei 貢毁 [ins. T.87.1]; on the basis of these he suggests that the Sung Hu was a vessel of Kung Wang's reign on the basis of the phrase 新宮 hsin-tsao which he considers to denote the construction of a new residential section to the K'ang Kung ("palace") at that time. However, there is no basis to equate hsin-tsao (which might be applied to any building) with hsin-kung (which was surely not the only new edifice erected at that time!). The style of the inscription and the decoration of the vessel and of the others in the Sung Series are characteristically Late Western Chou. Shirakawa (Tsushaku 137:158-161) and Kao Hung-chin 高洪信 "Sung Ch'i k'ao" 公全器考 (Shih-ta hsueh-pao 師大學報 1959.4:37-91) both read the phrase 新造貯 hsin-tsao-ch'u as "the newly constructed granaries".

28. The Chi-t'ien ceremony was performed annually by the King, according to traditional sources, so as to encourage and teach the common people to work diligently in the fields. During the course of the ceremony, the King was accompanied by such officers as the shan-fu 膳夫 "Royal Chef", the t'ai-shih 太史 "Grand Historiographer", the nung-cheng 廟正 "Chief of Agriculture", the nung-ta-fu "Agricultural Officer", etc. The King would personally plough the land once, then his officers would plough the land three times, illustrating thus the care and attention on agriculture (see Kuo-yü 1975:66-76). Some details of the ceremony may be noted also in the Ling Ting [ins. T.70.4].

29. The character  in this inscription appears also in the Ta Tso
Ta Chung Kuei 大作大中殿 [ins. T.40.7] in the sense of an item of award; and in the Kuai Po Kuei 師伯殿 [ins. 149.2] as a personal name:歸青敢對揚天子不
不曽休。Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 118a) reads it as shih誓 "oath", "covenant", etc., while Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHPI 1956d.4:121) and Shirakawa (Tsüshaku, 131:84) both interpret it as ts'u 蒲 "tents", "temporary dwellings", etc. Neither of these interpretations has acceptable support, nor do they take fully into account the structure of the graph. The ancient meaning is still to be determined (cf. Li Hsiao-ting, CWKLFL, 1780-1782).

30. The phrase 髹等 tung-ching is commonly seen in bronze inscriptions, especially in those documents containing decrees from the reigning King for the confirmation of offices that the investees had held since the previous reigns (cf. Ts'ai Kuei 蔡殿 [ins. S.156.1], Shih Li Kuei 師殿 [ins. 138.2], Chiu Kuei 鄭殿 [ins. S.104.1] etc). The first character of the phrase is generally regarded by scholars as a variation of 蕃 tung. According to Shuo-wen, tung has the meaning of tung-yī 繼 "to add to". The second character, written as 虛, etc., is regarded as a symbol of a double-storied building. The graph accordingly may also have had the meaning of "adding to", "overlapping" etc. Yang Shu-ta 楊樹達 (Chih-wei-chü chìn-wen-shuo, 1952:91) has taken the character to be a phonetic loan for keng "continue", his interpretation is also feasible. For a more complete discussion of the phrase, see Shirakawa (Tsūskaku, 104:367, 167:500-501).

31. Different interpretations have been offered as to the meaning of the phrase 繫等 fan-ching in this inscription. Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 74a) takes the character 繫 fan to mean "tassels for the decoration of horses' harness", and ching as a variation of ching "banners". Thus he explains the whole sentence 繫等fan-ching in terms of the administration of the calvary of the left and right sections of the army, forgetful, however, the horse riding was not practised in China until a much later date! Shirakawa (Tsūskaku, 104:358) reads
fan as a variation of fan, and ching as a variation of hsing. He believes the whole sentence has to do with the administration of the regulation relating to the left and right sections of the army. Interesting as these ideas may appear, they can only be regarded as conjectures.

32. It is interesting to observe that amongst these 54 inscriptions which record both the Royal Decree and the award, benefices were usually granted after service had been given, altogether 43 cases are to be noted and these for the most part are recorded in inscriptions datable in the middle and late periods. Occasionally "payment was made in advance" of the required service; there are 11 instances of awards made prior to the commencement of duties by the investees and these are also datable in the middle and late periods.

33. The Shang King was often concerned about his presentation of cowries which problem was made a subject of divination:

On the day, keng-hsü [47], .... divined: [Should we] award the many females (have =) with strings of cowries?

庚戊囝貞,易多女土見朋？(後下8.5)

.... Chih(?) not dead, awarded cowries - two strings, in the first month.

囝显不囝,易貝二朋,一月 (南方3.81)

Gifts of sacrificial spirits were also made, sometimes the quantity might reach as high as twenty flasks, as recorded in the Wu Ch'en Yi 戊辰彝 [ins. 34.4]:

[On the day], Wu-ch'en, the Shih-officer, Kung, awarded Yi sacrificial spirits - twenty flasks; .... cowries, therefore [has he] made [for his deceased] father, Fu-yi, [this] valuable Yi-vessel. [It was] in the tenth month, in the King's twentieth year, on the day of the Hsieh-sacrifice, [the] sacrifice [was made] to Pi Wu, [and his spouse], Wu-yi, [with] one swine.

戊辰,弱師易鮮邑癸字,壹貞,用作父乙寶彝,才十月,隹王世釀庶日,儒戈乙戌,武乙夷,豕一

34. These include such items as hsin chang p'u jen, hsin jen pen yu tung [Ta K'o Ting 大克鼎]
Although these items have been studied to greater or lesser extents by scholars such as Wang Kuo-wei, Shirakawa Shizuka, Kuo Mo-jo, Li Hsiao-ting and Ting Shan etc., their researches are inconveniently scattered amongst numerous publications.

35. In the Ch'un-ch'iu period despite the growing ineffectiveness of the Royal power, the investiture ceremony seems still to have been practised and in traditional sources may be noted the granting of ming-fu by the King to the Princes of States, e.g. the Tso-chuan account of the ceremony carried out when Ch'ung Erh, the Duke Wen of Chin, was invested by the King with his Princely title, and was granted ming-fu (Hsi 28th year, Legge, 5.1:210-211). It is interesting to note that as the period was highlighted by wars between the states and the barbarian tribes and among the various states, the ming-fu had been transformed from a civilian nature to a military one.

36. For example, Yu, Mou and Li all held the post of Shih-officer, as recorded in the Shih Yu Kuei [ins. 99.1], Shih Mou Kuei and the Shih Li Kuei [ins. 138.2]. However, each of them was granted different combinations of awards, Yu with ming-fu "official robes", luan-ch'in "banners with jingles", Mou with ming-fu, luan-ch'in and yu-le "metal-ornamented harness", Li with ming-fu and yu-le. While in relation to nature of services, officers of different duties could also be invested with the same combination of awards. In the Yi Kuei [ins. 101.1], Yi was commanded to administer the Royal ch'en-menials, ch'iehmaids and the hundred craftsmen of the K'ang Kung-complex. In the Sung Ting [ins. T.149.1], Sung received an order to govern and administer twenty granaries in Ch'eng-Chou, and to
supervise and administer the newly constructed granaries. Both of them were granted with ming-fu, luan-ch'in and yu-le. On the other hand, officers who were required to undertake similar duties might receive awards of different kinds. Both Hsün and the Shih-officer Yu, were commanded to administer the barbarians subservient to Chou, yet the former was awarded with ming-fu, luan-ch'in and yu-le, the latter only with ming-fu and yu-le (cf. Hsün Kuei [ins. A/1:131.1] and Shih Yu Kuei 師酉毁 [ins. T.104.2]).

37. The duties required of Wu concerned the administration of po and shu-ch'in. According to Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 75a), po was a kind of banner and shu-ch'in was equivalent to shu-ch'in 素錦, a kind of white silk used for encircling the shaft. However, Shirakawa (Tsūshaku, 105:374-375) has observed that if Kuo's interpretation is feasible, po and shu-ch'in would necessarily have been one article and not two; in such case the use of the conjunction ta 而 "and" in this sentence would seem to be unnecessary. He continues then to define po as a banner and reads shu-ch'in as huo-ling 和鈴 "jingles" which are usually associated with banners. However, it is debatable that shu-ch'in can be read as huo-ling, and even so, the use of the conjunction ta would still seem to be unnecessary! The meaning of shu-ch'in is thus still uncertain, yet there seems to be no controversy in taking po as banner. In fact, Sun Yi-yang 孫詒讓 (Ku-chou she-yi 古籍拾遺, 1971 Reprint, B:18b) had earlier explained po as banner, i.e. the ta-po-chi-ch'i 大白之旗 "the great white banner" employed by Wu Wang in the battle in which he defeated Chou Wang 累王 of the Shang as described in the "K'o-yin" 克殷 Chapter of Yi-chou-shu. Thus an officer commanded to take charge of so important a symbol of Royal power had, in fact, received great honour.

38. In the "Chi-t'ung" 祭統 Chapter of Li-chi, for instance, the King would descend from the eastern stairs of the t'ang 堂 "hall" and face the south when granting the document of the decree to the investee. However, according to the "Chin-li" 章-lí Chapter of Yi-li and the Cheng Hsüan commentary on "Ta-tsung-po"
of the Chou-li, the investee received the document containing the decree in the t'ang-hall after ascending from the western stairs. The two textual data are not only contradictory but also neither version has support in the inscription literature. Nevertheless, their record of the granting of the document of the decree by the Shih-historiographer on behalf of the King corresponds with the inscription data. When receiving the document containing the decree, the investee would be facing the north; this is also correct (cf. Cheung Kwong-yue, JICS 1979.X.2:256, 264-265).

39. It might be noted here, of course, that despite the detailed research into the significance of the inscription phrase chin-chang, the real meaning of the term is elusive. Literally it may be rendered as "have audience. Chang-jade-sceptre"; only by consulting traditional sources can one proceed further than the inscription context allows and propose a more amenable interpretation. Cheung's survey is most useful in this respect. The possibility that these two characters might be an abbreviated version of a procedure similar to those cited on p.268 (op. cit.) might well be entertained (note especially the Po-hu-t'ung-yi 白虎通義 passage: "...諸侯執圭以覲天子也 ... "A Prince of State holding a kuei-jade-ring had audience with the King"). For this reason I have translated the phrase 及入董章 as "returned to [the Courtyard for further] audience [and offered] a chang-jade-sceptre [to the King]."

40. Attention might further be drawn to the obligation of the seigneur-King, too, as recorded at the close of the Lai Fang-Yi 凌方義 [ins. A/3:106.2]: "[I], Lai, declare: 'The Son of Heaven, may it never ... (= happen?) that he will not for (a myriad =) many years protect our (myriad =) many territories.' [I], Lai, presume to make obeisance and bow low the head and declare: 'Make majestic and imposing my person by confirming [me in my inheritance of] my (former =) predecessor's valued office.'" Here, it is very tempting, indeed, to seek parallels with Western feudalism, for it would seem obvious that a form of mutual obligation may be read into this passage.
41. There are several inscriptions such as the Li Kuei 剌叚 [ins. A/1:32.10], Ching Kuei 靜箴 [ins. T.88.1], Shih Chü Fang-Yi 師遂方案 [ins. 66.1], La Ting 剌鼎 [ins. 48.4], Chung Chih 中鼎 [ins. 35.6], Hsing Ting 鼎 [ins. 30.12] etc., which also deal with Royal awards but are omitted here. These awards were made in special situations which seem to imply in most cases that the ceremonies were conducted in locales other than the Grand Hall of Audience in a Kung-complex, e.g. on the battle field, during archery contests, after banquets and sacrifices, following inspections and review of merits of Kung-tsu-officers 公族, on garrison duty, fishing, etc. In all probability, a formal investiture ceremony with all its complexities could not have been effectively conducted on such occasions.

42. The 43 inscriptions in the present section were, in the first instance, based on relevant items in Wong Yin-wai's survey (1978). Altogether Wong has collected 285 inscriptions for study. This group of inscriptions includes those recorded in traditional catalogues as well as newly excavated materials available up to 1972. Amongst these 285 inscriptions are: (a) records of awards made by Royal concubines, (b) records of investiture ceremonies in detail, (c) records of general awards made by the King to his subjects in Western Chou on the occasion of which investiture ceremonies would presumably have been employed, (d) records of general awards made by the King on specific occasions during which investiture ceremonies complete in all their procedures might not have been possible, and (e) records of Shang and Ch'un-ch'iu times. So far as item (c) is concerned, Wong has 37 inscriptions. (Included amongst these is a K'ao Kuei 考箴 [ins. 20.28] which appears only as a transcription in Wu Kai-sheng's 王簡生 Wen-lu 文錄 and Yu Hsing-wu's 于省吾 Wen-hsüan 文選. Without a rubbing it is difficult to determine its periodization or its authenticity. Thus I have not included it in this study.) In the present section, seven inscriptions are thus added to this group, four of which comprise recently excavated examples.
After the Princes of States had been enfeoffed with their territories by the King, they in turn found it expedient on occasions to grant part of the land in their possession, and the people settled on it, to their followers. This, too, has been traditionally referred to, in terms of land grants, as fen-feng 分封 but for the purpose of this present part, the western term, "subinfeudation" is applied. There are, however, only a few instances of the granting of land by Princes of States to their followers recorded in the bronze inscriptions; for example, in the Po Ting 普亭 [ins. 22.4], we may note that the Kung Hou 公侯 (Prince) awarded his officer, Po, the territories Ch'i and X 頃 and X 頃 ; in the lid text of the Pu Ch'i Kuei 不墟enaries [ins. T.148.1] which may be dated in Late Western Chou on the basis of the inscription content and its decor, it is recorded that Pu Ch'i, together with the Marquis of E, Yü Fang 體侯駭方, received an order from his lord/superior, Po Shih 伯氏, to repel the incursions of the Hsien-yün-barbarians 厮貌, and as a result he was awarded an area of land of 10 t'ien; while in the Mao Kuei 卵殉 [ins. T.147.1] it may be observed that the investee Mao was ordered by the Earl of Jung 蠊伯 to administer his household and the Fang 彭 Palace, and accordingly Mao received an award of four t'ien of land for his services.

The tradition that fen-feng was concerned with the enfeoffment of land and people for services rendered is strong. However, as we have already observed, awards for services on behalf of the King usually comprised benefices of many other kinds. In the practice of subinfeudation the same feature is evident: e.g., we read in the Hsiao Yu 效卣 [ins. T.62.1]: "The King awarded the Duke
cowries - 50 strings, [thus, in turn], the Duke awarded his faithful son, Hsiao, [of] the King's graciously [given] cowries - 20 strings", such transactions including gifts other than land are for the purposes of this survey regarded as a characteristic of subinfeudation. Records of this kind in the bronze inscriptions are more numerous than those which record the redivision of land for services rendered. In the present section of this survey we shall be concerned solely with data which relate to the practice of subinfeudation as recorded in inscriptions, in order to obtain a deeper appreciation of the interrelationships amongst members of the Royal Family, the Princes of States, and the officers associated with each in the Western Chou period.

The accompanying large table in Chinese text (Table B) incorporates the relevant passages from each inscription and the inscription contents are arranged methodically under the headings:

1. The Feudal Rank of the Seigneur/Feoffer p.142
2. The Status of the Investee p.153
3. The Nature of Services Rendered p.167
4. Where the Award was Made p.183
5. The Items Awarded p.198
6. The Extol Phraseology p.216
7. The Investiture Ceremony as Recorded in the Subinfeudation Inscriptions p.220
8. Date Formulae in the Subinfeudation Inscriptions p.232

Appropriate sub-divisions are made in each column. In order to interpret these data to best effect, let us now proceed to examine the contents of each column of the Table in turn. Foremost amongst, the problems of interpretation attending these data, is the need to define
as clearly as the records permit the status and the function of the seigneur/feoffer - the person granting the award - in the feudal establishment.46
1. **THE SEIGNEUR/FEOFFER**

a. **Princes of States Functioning as Seigneur/feoffers**

The seigneur/feoffers recorded among the 97 inscriptions comprising Table B, fall into two major categories: those who are Princes of States and those who may be demonstrated to be affiliated with the Royal Court. Examples of the former category are sometimes quite precisely indicated:47

1. (8) 1. Chü made obeisance, bowed low his head, beneficient is my Lord of T'ao, the Kung Po,48 who has
   awarded his (servant =) minister, Younger Brother Chü:49 Wells - 5 items (?),...; [also] awarded [him]: a set of armour and a helmet,
   a shield, and a ko-dagger-axe. Chü dared not to forget the Kung Po's grace. [Chü] responded and extolled the (Po =) Earl's grace, therefore [has he] made [for his] forbears and deceased father [this] valuable and honoured Yi-vessel.

   Chü Yi [ins. T.41.3]

2. (76) 1. [When] the Marquis of K'ang was in the Mu Garrison,50 [he] awarded the Tso-ts'e X: cowries,
   therefore [has he] made [this] valuable Yi-vessel.

   Tso-ts'e X Ting [ins. 14.15]

3. (24) 1. It was in the ninth month, the second quarter of the month, on the day, hsin-
   2. yu [58], in [the State of] Yen, the Marquis awarded
Hsien: cowries, and metal. [Hsien]

3. extolled the Marquis' grace; therefore [has he]
   made [for his deceased father],

4. Fu Hsin, the Earl of Shao, this valuable and
   honoured Yi-vessel.

5. Hsien, for a myriad of years, may sons and grand-
sons

6. cherish and employ [it] with enlightenment.

Ta-pao

Hsien Ting [ins. 37.6]

4. (3) 1. The Duke awarded Tz'u,

2. therefore, [has he] made [for his deceased father],
   Fu

3. Hsin, [to commemorate the event] in [this] Yi-
vessel.

Tz'u Chih [ins. 9.1]

The seigneur/feoffers of these inscriptions, particularly the Marquis of K'ang, and the Lord of T'ao, are Princes of States, as the full titles indicate; princely titles without associated place-names as in 3 and 4 above may generally be regarded as a form of abbreviation.

Apart from such clear-cut cases as these, there are other forms of reference to rulers of territories to which attention should be drawn, e.g., the Man Ting [ins. A/4:44.4] which records that Man was commanded by Jen Shih to serve and protect his family and was accordingly awarded tsu-p'u, "ancestral servants". The status of the seigneur/feoffer, Jen Shih, is particularly well illustrated in the later part of the inscription "Gracious [is] my
August Lord (皇君) [who] does not forget his valued subordinates”. Here Jen Shih is referred to by Man as chun 君 "Lord", "ruler", etc., while Man designates himself as ch'en 臣 "servant", "subordinates", etc., demonstrating thus the Princely role of the Jen Shih in Western Chou times.  

b. Royal Officers Functioning as Seigneur/feoffers

The seigneur/feoffers who were affiliated with the Royal Court may be noted in such inscriptions as the Yin Yu (lid) 尹自益 [ins. S.60.3] and the Shih Shou Ting 史獸鼎 [ins. 50.2], where they appear with the title 尹 Yin-officer. As they were stationed respectively in Chou (Tsung-Chou) and Ch'eng-Chou they are accordingly evidenced as officers of the Royal Court. Similarly, connections of titled persons with the Royal Court like Lien Kung 濂公 and Ch'ien Shu 趙叔, who appear respectively in the Ssu Ting 酒頤鼎 [ins. 28.7], the Hou Chuo Chai/Ting 厚趙纂 [ins. S.31.7] and the Hsiao-ch'en Yi 小臣 размер [ins. 25.8] while not precisely indicated in the inscription texts, their affiliation with the Royal Court may otherwise be inferred. Apart from references to him in the Ssu Ting and in the Hou Chuo Chai/Ting, Lien Kung is also recorded briefly as a seigneur/feoffer in the Hsüeh Ting 淠鼎 [ins. 35.3]. He is, furthermore, referred to as Lien Chung 濂仲 in the Ling Ting 鬲鼎 [ins. T.70.4]. Two of these four inscriptions illustrate aspects of his affiliation with the Royal Court. In the Hsüeh Ting which is largely concerned with the military expeditions of the Chou against the Eastern Yi-barbarians in the early decades of the Dynasty, we may observe in the juxtaposition of the event-date sentence and the associated records which follow a reasonably clear indication of Lien Kung's connection with the Royal Court:
5. ( - ) 1. It was when the King attacked the Eastern Yi-
barbarians; Lien Kung commanded Hsüeh

2. and the Shih-officer, Ch'e, saying: "attack Yü along with the shih-shih and yu-
3. ssu-hou-kuo". Hsüeh captured cowries;


Hsüeh Ting [ins. 35.3]

The Ling Ting, however, demonstrates a more precise connection in its recording of the award made to Lien Chung (viz. Lien Kung) for his service as Royal charioteer:

6. ( - ) 1. It was when the King conducted the Chi-nung agricultural ceremony in the fields of Ch'i, [they] banqueted. [Then] the King

2. engaged in an archery contest. The Yu-ssu-officers, the Shih-shih-officers and the Hsiao-tzu-officers

3. shot alongside [the King]. The King returning from the fields of Ch'i, was attended by the Royal charioteer,

4. Lien Chung; Ling and Fen (ran before the horse =) guiding and protecting the Royal procession.

The King

5. said, "Ling and Fen, should you [continue thus until we] reach [our] destination, I shall

6. awarded you: menials, thirty families". The King arrived at

7. Lien's residence. [The King] (.... =) bestowed the promised benefices. Ling bowed low his head,
Figure 3 Interrelationships of the eight inscribed vessels recording aspects of the conflicts with the Southern Huai Yi barbarians as demonstrable by personages recorded in each.
saying: "[I],

8. a young man, am open to instruction". Ling responded and extolled the King's grace.

The Hsiao-ch'en Yi [ins. 25.8] states that: "Ch'ien Shu awarded the Hsiao-ch'en-officer: cowries - three strings and menials - three families...". It may be dated in Early Western Chou by the style of its inscription and it appears to be contemporary with the T'i Ting [ins. T.31.6], another Early Western Chou vessel. Thus Ch'ien Shu in the Hsiao-ch'en Yi is, in all probability, the same person as Ch'ien in the T'i Ting. In the latter case we see him as an officer of the Royal Court who is recorded to have been commanded by the King (along with T'i, the vessel-maker, and others) to subjugate the rebellious Eastern Yi-barbarians.

A particularly instructive example of Royal officers functioning as seigneur/feoffers may be studied in the following series of interrelated inscribed vessels: Ching Yu 端卣 [ins. 51.4], Ching Kuei 端卣 [ins. 32.2], Yü Ting 窶 Bernardino [ins. 31.2], Yü Hsien 窶 Bernardino [ins. 37.1], Ssu Yu 窶 Bernardino [ins. S.40.3], Lu Tung Yu 窶 Bernardino [ins. 48.1], Lu Kuei 窶 Bernardino [ins. 30.4], and the Chien Chili 窶 Bernardino [ins. T.50.3] which are generally accepted to be contemporary documents because of their similar decoration and the tie up of the personages recorded in each. The diagram in Figure 3 demonstrates the nature of the interrelationships. Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1956c:110, 112) has suggested that this set of inscriptions belongs to Early Western Chou and possibly is datable in the reign of K'ang Wang; Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 59b-62a, 66a-66b), however, places them slightly later in the reign of Mu Wang. All
eight inscribed vessels are concerned with an outburst of conflicts between the Chou States and the Southern Huai Yi-barbarians. The King had despatched Royal troops to take up their station at strategic points so as to guard the realm against incursions from the troublesome Southern Huai Yi-barbarians:

7. (52) 1. It was [the year when] Po Ch'ih Fu [proceed] towards the east with the Ch'eng Armies,
   2. being ordered [to establish] a garrison [against the incursions of the Inner States by] the Southern Yi-barbarians. In the first month, the second quarter of the month, on the day, hsiao-ch'ou [38], at
   4. P'i, Po Ch'ih Fu glorified Ching and promoted him to office. Ching's merits were reviewed. [Po Ch'ih Fu] awarded Ching:
   6. a chang-sceptre of jade. [Ching] responded and extolled Po's grace, therefore [has he] made [for his deceased father],
   7. Fu Yi, [this] valuable and honoured Yi-vessel,
   8. eternally-cherish [it].

Ching Yu 竞匜 [ins. 51.4]

8. (50) 1. The King commanded Tung, saying: "Alas, the Huai Yi-barbarians have dared to
   2. attack our Inner States, you (are required to take =) to lead the Ch'eng-Chou division of
   3. armies, and set up guard at the Ku garrison. Po Yung
4. Fu reviewed Lu's merits; awarded [him]: cowries - ten strings. Lu

5. bowed low his head, responded and extolled Po's grace, therefore [has he]

6. made [for his] accomplished deceased father, Yi Kung, [this] valuable and honoured Yi-vessel.

Lu Tung Yu 李唐余 [ins. 48.1]

9. (54) 1. In the 13th month, the second quarter of the month, on the day, ting-mao [4], in the year that Chien

2. (followed =) was under the command of Shih Yung Fu and set up guard at the Ku garrison. 63

3. Chien's merits were reviewed. Chung Ching Fu awarded [Chien]

4. (red metal =) copper. Chien bowed low his head, responded and extolled Ching Fu's grace. Therefore [has he] made [for his deceased father], Fu Yi, [this] valuable travelling Yi-vessel. May sons and grandsons eternally use [it].

Chien Chih 趙 velit [ins. T.50.3]

Here Po Ch'ih Fu 伯渠父, Shih (Po) Yung Fu 師(伯)雍父, and Chung Ching Fu 仲競父 were individually placed in command of Royal troops despatched on various occasions to undertake garrison duties along the borders of the Southern Huai Yi-barbarian territories. It is evident from the inscription contexts that all three commanders were directly under Royal control and accordingly they may be regarded as Royal officers.
c. Personages with Concurrent Appointments Functioning as Seigneur/feoffers

There are, beside these inscription personages, some who appear to have had concurrent appointments reminiscent of such traditional historical figures in Early Western Chou as the Duke of Shao—who according to the traditional literature had the title, t'ai-pao. He had been enfeoffed with the State of Yen by Wu Wang following the Chou conquest of Shang. However, like the Duke of Chou, Shao did not apparently take up his enfeoffment actively but remained mainly at the Royal Court and became a prominent minister in the early days of the Dynasty. This would appear to be verified in the Lü Ting [ins. 31.1], where the seigneur/feoff er (presumably Shao) is thus referred to by the combination of his Princely title and that of the Royal ministerial post, ta-pao (= t'ai-pao) "Grand Guardian". Such examples as the Duke of Chou and the Duke of Shao who each were enfeoffed with a state and its Princely title are known in greater detail in terms of their services to the King rather than in their role as Princes of States. Po Mao Fu, who has been identified by several scholars to be the Earl Mao of K'ang, son of Prince Shu Feng, functions accordingly as a seigneur/feoffer in the Shao Tsun, the Yü-cheng Wei Kuei, and the Hsiao-ch'en Chai Kuei. These inscription texts read as follows:

10. (79) 1. It was in the ninth month, in the Yen Garrison, on the day, chia-
2. wu [31], Po Mao Fu awarded Shao: a white
3. horse with yellow hoofs and striped mane, to be em-
ployed (.... =) in sacrifice to his forbears (?).
4. (Great=) the sacrifice was most auspicious. Shao therefore abundantly compensated [his filial piety to his forbears by means of]

5. the award received from Po Mao Fu at [the] Yen [Garrison].

6. Shao, for a myriad of years will eternally glorify [Po Mao Fu's grace?];

7. therefore [has he] made [this] series of Yi-vessels for the T'uan Palace.

Shao Tsun [ins. 46.4]

11. (77) 1. It was in the fifth month, the first quarter of the month, on the day, chia-shen [21],

2. [Po] Mao Fu awarded Wei, the charioteer,

3. a horse, (from the King =) from the Royal Stables(?).

Therefore [has Wei] made [for his deceased father],

4. Fu Wu, this valuable and honoured Yi-vessel.

Yü Cheng Wei Kuei [ins. 23.1]

12. (78) 1. It was in the fifth month, on the day, jen-ch'en [29], Duke T'ung was at Feng,

2. [he] commanded Chai to render service to Po Mao Fu,

3. the Hsiao-ch'en-officer, Chai: a carved shield, ko-dagger-axes - nine,

4. (a bronze chariot =) a chariot decorated with bronze fittings, horses - two. [Chai] extolled the Duke and the Earl's grace,

5. therefore [has he] made [for his deceased father],

Yi Kung, [this] honoured Yi-vessel. May sons
and grandsons

6. eternally cherish [it], for a myriad of years to be used in banqueting the King (in and out =) when receiving him and farewelling him on official visits.

Hsiao-ch'en Chai Kuei 小臣宅毁 [ins. 51.3]

Po Mao Fu is furthermore recorded in the Hsiao-ch'en Su Kuei 小臣謹毁 [ins. 63.1], the Lü Hsing Hu 呂行壺 [ins. 20.4] and the Shih Ch'i Ting 師抑鼎 [ins. 78.3] wherein he appears to have been a Royal minister leading several military expeditions to various States. The role of Po Mao Fu is thus similar to that of the Duke of Shao and the Duke of Chou; although he was enfeoffed as a ruler of a State, he likewise apparently remained with the Royal Court and emerged as a prominent Royal officer.

Another personage in this group of inscriptions who also held dual appointments was Duke Ch'ien Chung of Mao 毛公遣仲 . In the Meng Kuei 孟毁 [ins. A/1:40.12] it is recorded that the Duke had led a military expedition against the Wu Yu (a tribe whose settlement location is not known to us). Meng's father participated in the expedition but died as the inscription context: 毛公易(錫)朕文考臣.... 對朕考易休 shows, at some stage during the expedition. Meng, therefore, on behalf of his deceased father, received the award after the expedition and extolled the Duke's beneficence (Kuo Mo-jo, KKHP 1962a.1:2). As the role of such personages with dual appointments so often appears to be more prominent in terms of the Royal office and less so in terms of their feudal appointment, they are entered under the heading of Royal Officer ( 中央官史 ) in the Table.
2. THE ROYAL OR PRINCELY STATUS OF THE INVESTEES

There are, among these 97 inscriptions, altogether 20 vessels in which the various titles of office of the investees (or, "vessel-makers") are recorded. However, as it has been pointed out, titles of office (and duties associated with some of the posts) in the Royal Court and in the Princely Courts were often identical, hence we are not always in a concrete position to determine merely by the recorded titles of office in a particular inscription whether the investee was connected with either the Royal or the Princely Courts. The recorded titles of the seigneur/feoffers can nevertheless be utilized simply and effectively in the determination of the relative official status of the investees whether or not their titles of office are recorded in the inscriptions, because it is reasonable to assume that the seigneur/feoffer and the investee in a particular inscription have a specific interrelationship. In other words, if the seigneur/feoffer recorded in the inscription text appears as a Royal officer (including those with concurrent appointments), the investee is, in all probability, either a Royal officer subordinate to him, or he may be a household-attendant in the service of the Royal officer. Where the seigneur/feoffer is a Prince of State the investee would probably be an officer, or household-attendant, in his establishment. As to our determining whether the investee was a household-attendant, or a lesser officer, in the service of the seigneur/feoffer - the latter known to have been a Royal officer - no definite appraisal can be proposed. Tentatively, however, it is assumed that such investees recorded in the inscriptions by both their names and their titles are more likely to have been the subordinates of higher officers in the Royal Court; while those recorded by names and without titles may
either have been the subordinates of such higher officers, or they may have held a post in their households.

a. **Princes of States and Officers of the Princely Courts**

In several inscription texts we gain fairly precise insight into the relationships between Princes of States and their subordinates. The Mai Yi states:

13. (16) 1. [It was] in the eighth month, on the day, *yi-hai*  

2. Hsing, has glorified [me], his *Cheng-li*-officer,  
   and has banqueted in the  
3. Mai Palace. [He has] awarded [me, Mai] metal.  
   Therefore [have I] made [this] honoured  
4. *Yi*-vessel, to be used in banqueting the Marquis of  
   Hsing (in and out =) when receiving him and fare-welling him on official visits [and] to extol  
5. [the Marquis'] command. May grandsons and sons  
   eternally cherish [it].  

   Mai Yi  [ins. 35.2]

In the Mai Ho we read:

14. (17) 1. The Marquis of Hsing  
2. has glorified [me], his  
3. *Li*-officer, Mai and  
4. has banqueted in the  
5. Mai Palace.  
6. The Marquis awarded  
7. Mai: metal
8. [therefore, have I] made [this] Ho-vessel,
9. to be used in following
10. the Marquis of Hsing
11. in military affairs,
12. to be used (running rapidly =) assiduously
13. day and
14. night in banqueting [the Marquis]
15. (in and out =) when receiving him and farewelling
   him on official visits.

Mai Ho 麥度 [ins. T.30.5]

These two inscriptions are of Early Western Chou date, and the State
of Hsing, said to have been enfeoffed to one of the sons of the Duke
of Chou, was anciently located in the area of present day Hopei. It
is quite clear from the context in these two inscriptions that Mai
held official post in the Princely Court of the State of Hsing. In
two further inscriptions we find record of Mai receiving awards from
the Marquis for services rendered, and, as in the Yi and Ho
inscriptions above, Mai is recorded to have followed the Prince of
Hsing in military expeditions, to have given banquets to his fellow
officers (Mai Ting 麥鼎 [ins. 28.1]) and was involved in various
ceremonial affairs (Mai Tsun 麥尊 [ins. T.167.1]). His relationship
with the Marquis of Hsing is thus clear.

In the Kung Ch'en Kuei 公臣鼎 [ins. A/1:43.6], one of the
numerous inscriptions associated with the State of Kuo, Kung
Ch'en is commanded by Kuo Chung 輔仲 to administer his fellow
craftsmen (附朕百工) for which assumption of duties Kuo Chung
presented him with: a horse, five chung-bells, and metal "to be used
in his service". Kung Ch'en, like Mai in the previously cited
inscriptions, clearly appears here as an officer in a Princely Court, and we obtain some light on the nature of the duties required of him by the seigneur/feoffee, Kuo Chung. In the text of the Erh Tsun appears the following record:

15. (21) 1. It was in the sixth month, the first quarter of the month, the Ch'en-phenomenon (occurring) on the day, hsin-

2. mao [28], the Marquis arrived at Erh's Palace, the Marquis bestowed grace

3. upon Erh, awarded [him]: menials - ten families. The Chang-shih-officer,

4. Erh, responded and extolled the Marquis' grace, made [for his deceased forbear] Ching

5. Kung [this] valuable and honoured Yi-vessel. May grandsons and sons of Ching Kung

6. cherish [it]. [May] the Marquis, for a myriad of years enjoy longevity and have the yellow

7. hair of hoary old age; [may] Erh daily receive [the Marquis'] grace.

Erh Tsun 耳尊 [ins. 52.4]

Erh holds the title of 長師 chang-shih in the court of the Marquis, but as to the latter there is no indication as to the State of which he was ruler. Otherwise, the record is comparable to the two preceding inscriptions.
b. Ministers and High Officers of the Royal Court and Royal Officers subordinate to Them

Instances of subinfeudation in terms of awards to subordinate officers, household-attendants, etc., granted for services rendered, by ministers and high officers of the Royal Court may be noted in several inscription texts. For example, the Hsiao-ch'en Tan Chih considered by Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955a.1:160-161) to date in Ch'eng Wang's reign reads:

16. (62) 1. It was after the King suppressed the uprising of the [subjugated] Shang [people, and was]
   2. in the Ch'eng Garrison; the Duke of Chou awarded
   3. the Hsiao-ch'en-officer, Tan: cowries - ten strings; therefore [has he]
   4. made this valuable and honoured Yi-vessel

      Hsiao-ch'en Tan Chih [ins. 20.2]

Two other inscriptions of the same period, the Yü-cheng Wei Kuei (item 11(77) above) and the Yü-cheng Liang Chüeh, record similar inter­relationships amongst members of the Royal Court; the latter reads:

17. (72) 1. In the fourth month,
   2. the third quarter of the month, on the day, ting-hai [24], the present [holder of the title?]
      ta-pao
   3. awarded
   4. the Yü-cheng-officer, Liang: cowries, therefore [has he] made [for his deceased father],
   5. Fu-Hsin, [this] honoured Yi-vessel.

      Yü-cheng Liang Chüeh [ins. 20.27]
Here the Hsiao-ch'en-officer, Tan, the Yu-cheng-officers Liang and Wei of the same rank in ins. 23.1 appear as Royal officers because of their affiliations respectively with the Duke of Chou, the Duke of Shao (the Ta-pao = T'ai-pao "Grand Guardian"), and Po Mao Fu (a high military officer in the Royal Court).

c. Lesser Royal Officers and Minor Officers of the Royal Court

Instances of Royal officers of appreciably lesser rank granting awards to officers of even lesser rank in the Royal Court are to be noted as in the Shih Shou Ting inscription which states:

18. (39) 1. The Yin-officer commanded the Shih-officer, Shou, to undertake service

2. in Ch'eng-Chou. In the twelfth month, on the day,

3. kuei-wei [20], the Shih-officer, Shou reported

upon his service

4. to the Yin-officer, after [he had] reported upon

his service, the Yin-officer

5. awarded the Shih-officer, Shou: ....(?), and

awarded [him] a

6. Ting-cauldron for sacrificing swine, and a Chüeh-

wine-cup. [Shou] responded and extolled the

August Yin-officer's

7. great and illustrious grace; therefore [has he]

made [for his deceased father], Fu

8. Keng, [this] eternally valuable and honoured Yi-

vessel.

Shih Shou Ting [ins. 50.2]

Shou held the post of Shih, "historiographer", and having received
orders concerning duties in the Royal Domain from the Yin-officer it
is not only evident that he was the latter's subordinate but also,
because it is explicitly stated that the service was to take place in
Ch'eng-Chou, the association of both officers with the Royal Court may
be inferred. A close interconnection of the two officers may further
be proposed upon the basis of the titles of office, yin (equivalent to
tso-ts'e-yin 作冊尹 , see Wang Kuo-wei 1973b:263-274) and Shih,
being in both cases concerned with the keeping of records. In the
same manner, Shou Kung 守宮 , in the inscribed P'an of the same name
appears as an investee who received an award from the Shih-officer,
Chou 周師 . The inscription reads:

19. (42) 1. It was in the first month, the second quarter of
   the month, on the day, yi-wei [32], the King was
   in Chou. The Shih-officer, Chou (glorified =)
   highly commended Shou Kung's service, [Shou Kung]
   banqueted the

3. Shih-officer, Chou (without reprimand =) faultless. [The Shih-officer, Chou] awarded Shou
   Kung: a bundle of silk, hempen

4. curtains - five, hempen tents - two, a horse, fur
   rugs -

5. three, hui-ch'ih (?) - three, and a string of
   jade-lai (?). Shou Kung responded

6. and extolled the Shih-officer, Chou's award,
   therefore, [has he] made [for his deceased
   forbear], Tsu Yi, [this] honoured [P'an-basin].

7. For generations may sons and grandsons eternally
   cherish [it], do not damage it.

Shou Kung P'an 守宮盤 [ins. 63.2]
The Shih-officer, Chou is also recorded in the Mien Kuei:

20. (-) 1. It was in the twelfth month, the first quarter of the month, the King was in Chou, at dawn, the king arrived at the great temple. Hsing Shu [entered and] assisted on the right, Mien took up [his position]. The King called forth the Tso-ts'e-yin-officer to read out the decree to Mien [which] stated: "[I] command you to assist the Shih-officer, Chou in the administration of the [Royal] forests. [I] award you: a red apron. Use [it in my] service."

Mien responded and extolled the King's grace, therefore [has he] made [this] honoured Kuei-vessel. Mien, may he for a myriad of years eternally cherish [it].

Mien Kuei [ins. T.64.3]

The nature of the Shih-officer, Chou's duties in the Royal Court is evident here while Shou Kung in the P'an inscription, was in all probability, a Royal forester as suggested by Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 92b-93a) upon the basis of the awards he received from the Shih-officer, Chou.

Numbers of inscriptions, however, record the investees only by their personal names; the Pu Ch'i Kuei (lid) is one such example: Pu Ch'i is ordered by Po Shih of the Royal Court to take defensive measures against the attacks of the Hsien-yün-barbarians. However,
whether he was a lesser officer in the Royal Court, or a household-attendant of Po Shih cannot be determined from the context. A similar situation may be noted in the two following inscriptions:

21. (56) 1. Shu Wang Fu awarded Chung
   2. cowries, Chung extolled Shu's grace.
   3. Therefore, [has he] made [for his deceased father], Fu-Ting, [this] valuable and
   4. honoured Yi-vessel. May grandsons and sons
   5. eternally cherish [it], for a myriad of
   6. years never forget Shu's grace. ........

Chung P' an 中盤 [ins. T.30.24]

22. (43) 1. The Shih-officer, Ning awarded Erh. Erh [responded extolling Ning's] grace
   2. [He] dares not to be careless, therefore [has he] made [for his deceased father], Fu
   3. Yi, [this] valuable and honoured Yi-vessel.

Clan-sign

Erh Yu 右雚 [ins. 17.5]

Chung and Erh, like Pu Ch'i may be, either minor officers in the Royal Court or merely household-attendants in the service of their respective seigneur/feoffers.

d. Plurality of Services

Although the interrelationships between seigneur/feoffer and investee as recorded in the foregoing examples were characteristic amongst members of the Princely Courts on the one hand, and amongst members of the Royal Court on the other, there are, nevertheless,
several instances among inscriptions of the subinfeudation type where more complex situations arise, resulting in plurality of services; in these cases, the seigneur/feoffers and the investees were naturally not directly associated with each other. Note, the two following inscriptions:

23. (68) 1. When the Duke of Shao .... (= verb) Yen, $^69$ [he]

awarded the

2. Hsiao-ch'en-officer, Cha, cowries—five strings.

3. Therefore [Cha] has made [this] valuable and honoured Yi-vessel.

Hsiao-ch'en Cha Ting 小臣操鼎 [ins. 15.7]

24. (69) 1. The Marquis of Yen commanded Chin to banquet

2. Ta Pao at Tsung-Chou. On the day, keng-shen [57],

3. Ta Pao awarded Chin: cowries. Therefore, [has he] made [for]

4. Ta-tzu, Kuei, [this] valuable and honoured Li-vessel.

Clan-sign

Chin Ting 進鼎 [ins. A/2:26.14]

As the Hsiao-ch'en-officer, Cha, received benefices from the Duke of Shao while the Duke was visiting the State of Yen, his affiliation with the Princely Court would be comparable to that of Chin who was commanded by the Marquis of Yen to render honour to Ta Pao. The two investees were officers of Princely Courts; and, accordingly, were only temporarily in service to the Royal functionary, Ta Pao, from whom they received benefice for services rendered to him.
There are two examples to be noted among the 97 inscriptions where an officer (or household-attendant) of one Royal officer received award (for services rendered) from another officer in the Royal Court: One is the Hsiao-ch'en Chai Kuei (see 12(78) above), wherein the investee, Chai, appears in the service of Duke T'ung 同公. The latter is known to have a concurrent appointment at the Royal Court (see Shen Tzu kuei 沈子殷 [ins. 152.1]), and was commanded by him to undertake duties with Po Mao Fu, another Royal officer (who is recorded also in ins. 46.4, 23.1, 51.3, 63.1, T.20.4, and 78.3). Upon Chai's fulfillment of his duties it was Po Mao Fu, not Duke T'ung, who made the award. The other example is the Chien Chih (see 9(54) above), wherein it may be noted clearly enough that the investee, Chien, was in the service of Shih Yung Fu; however, the inscription text is somewhat condensed, and thus no reference to Chien's being actually ordered by Shih Yung Fu to render service to Chung Ching Fu appears. Nevertheless, it is evident that Chien received an award from the latter who was an officer of the Royal Court.

Amongst the subinfeudation inscriptions we may observe several examples wherein lesser officers in the Royal Court received awards from a Prince of State for services they rendered to him. In the Yu Hsien 邁禽 [ins. 37.1], the investee, Yü, was despatched by the Royal officer, Shih Yung Fu, to serve under the Marquis of Hu 隻侯, and was in due course awarded by the latter. This Yü is in all probability the same person, Yü (rendered 達) in the Yü Ting 達鼎 [ins. 31.2]; with his name, written as 達, he appears also in the Yü Ting 達鼎 [ins. 29.5] and in the Yü Yü 達卣 [ins. T.16.44]. In the Yü Ting 達鼎 he has the title tso-ts'e, which would appear to be the post he held under Shih Yung Fu. Similarly, in the Huan Yu
[ins. T.33.1], the investee, the Tso-ts'e-officer, Huan, was commanded by Wang Chiang 王姜, a Royal consort, to console the Earl of Yi 伯, and was awarded cowries and cloth by the latter; in this case the context of the inscription show Huan to be a Royal officer.

We find also among the subinfeudation type of inscriptions investees holding concurrent appointments. That is, they were enfeoffed with land and became Princes of State but were summoned by the King to hold office in the Royal Court. Because of different services rendered that they are found awarded by different Royal officers. For example, Shao who was awarded by Po Mao Fu in the Shao Tsun (see 10(79) above) is also to be found in the Shao Huan Ch'i where he is recorded to have rendered service to the King and thus received enfeoffment of territory:

25. ( - ) 1. It was in the twelfth month, the first quarter of the month, on the day, ting-mao [4],
2. Shao commenced his duties, and (hurriedly running=)
3. assiduously served the August Ruler. Gracious [is] the King [returning]
4. from Ku [who has] effected the award to [Shao] of the territory of Pi-
5. 50 square li. Shao will not dare to forget
6. the King's grace and protection, therefore [has he] made [for the] Ch'u Palace [this]
7. series of Yi-vessels.

Shao Huan Ch'i [ins. 43.1]

Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955b.2:79,105) has argued that the two Shao were in fact the one person, and according to him, Shao was
possibly the Duke Kao of Pi 頡公高, one of the sons of Wen Wang. Similarly, Lu and Lu Tung who were awarded by the Royal officer, Po Yung Fu (who also appears as Shih Yung Fu in the inscriptions), may be regarded as the one person. Lu is also found in the Lu Po Tung Kuei 乘伯威毁 [ins. T.109.2] where he is referred to as the Earl Tung of Lu. Lu was a State in the present day Anhwei and according to the Ta Pao Kuei 大保毁 [ins. T.34.3], one of the seven vessels unearthed in Liang-shan, this State had rebelled in Ch'eng Wang's reign and was suppressed by Ta Pao. After the subjugation, it showed its loyalty to the Royal Family and was even recruited to lead a military expedition to the Southern Huai Yi-barbarians, apart from information in the same strain but in more detail as supplied by the Lu Tung Yu quoted earlier (see 8(50) above), the Lu Kuei demonstrates further the appreciable extent of Lu's service under the Royal officer Po Yung Fu.

26. (49) 1. Po Yung Fu came from Hu
2. reviewed Lu's merit, awarded [Lu] (red metal =) copper.
3. [Lu] responded and extolled (Po =) the Earl's grace therefore [has he] made [for his]
4. accomplished forbear, Hsin Kung, [this] valuable cooking
5. Kuei-vessel. May sons and grandsons eternally cherish [it].

Lu Kuei 篤毁 [ins. 30.4]

As a result of the aforegoing study we may summarize the varying interrelationships between seigneur/feoffers (other than the King) and the investees subordinate to them as follows:
(1) Princes of States made awards to officers in their Princely Courts, as recorded in the Mai Yi, Mai ho, Erh Tsun, Kung Ch'en Kuei, etc.

(2) Royal officers made awards to their subordinates or household-attendant, as in the Hsiao-ch'en Tan Chih, Yü-cheng Wei Kuei, and the Pu Ch'i Kuei (lid).

(3) Royal officers made awards to their counterparts in the Princely Courts, as in the Hsiao-ch'en Cha Ting and the Chin Ting.

(4) Royal officers made awards to the subordinate officers or household-attendants of another colleague, as in the Hsiao-ch'en Chai Kuei and the Chien Chih.

(5) Princes of States made awards to Royal officers, as in the Yü Hsien and the Huan Yu.

(6) Royal officers made awards to the Princes of States who held concurrent appointments in the Royal Court, as in the Shao Tsun, Lu Tung Yu and the Lu Kuei.

(7) Awards were made between father and the sons, as in the Hsiao Yu.
3. NATURE OF SERVICES RENDERED

a. Problematic Records

There are 11 cases among the subinfeudation type of inscriptions wherein the vessel-makers have failed to record the circumstances under which they, as investees, received their awards. In addition to this, there is a group of seven inscriptions wherein the relationship between the seigneur/feoffers and the investees is uncertain. Because of such uncertainty, we lack acceptable bases to speculate as to the nature of the services rendered. For example, the reason for Erh's receiving an award from the Shih-officer, Ning, of the Royal Court is not recorded in the Erh Yu inscription (see 22(43) above); and only if the status of Erh could be identified would we be in a position to ascertain something of the nature of the service rendered. For instance, if Erh were a lesser officer in the Royal Court, it would be on account of his attention to unspecified Royal affairs that he received beneficence. Possibly, of course, Erh may have been merely a household-attendant of the Shih-officer, Ning, in which case it would have been simply because of his attention to duties in Ning's establishment that he received the award. Much the same situation is to be observed in both the Chung P'an (see 21(56) above) and the Shih Yu; the latter inscription reads:

27. (37) 1. [On the day], yi-hai [12], the Yin-officer arrived at the palace,

2. awarded Shih. [He] awarded [him]: brushes - two(?).

Shih

3. therefore has made for [his deceased father], Fu Ting, [this] honoured Yi-vessel.

Shih Yu [ins. T.16.10]
The nature of services which Chung and Shih have rendered cannot be assessed. However, in many other cases where the relationships between the seigneur/feoffers and the investees are clear, something of the nature of duties in which they were involved can be ascertained, even though details of their services are not specifically mentioned in the inscription texts. For instance, in the Yu Fang-Ting #方鼎 [ins. 32.5], it is recorded that Cha Chung 柴仲, who is thought to have been the son of Duke Kao of Pi and who held a concurrent appointment in the Royal Court (Ch'en Meng-chia, "Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955b.2:2,198), while in Tsung-Chou awarded his subordinate, Yu, a horse and two banners [made of feathers]. Apart from the superior/subordinate officer relationship of Cha Chung and Yu, the fact that the award was held in Tsung-Chou, one of the capitals of the Western Chou, serves to deepen our belief that it is very likely due to Yu's involvement in unspecified duties in the Royal Domain that the award would have taken place in Tsung-Chou.

In the following two inscriptions similar circumstances allow comparable interpretation:

28. (64) 1. The Duke (of Chou?) [after a tour of] inspection [returned] from the East; [he was] in the New Walled City, the Ch'en-officer

2. Ch'ing was awarded [by the Duke]: metal; therefore has he made [for his deceased father], Fu Yi [this] valuable Yi-vessel.

Ch'en Ch'ing Ting 臣卿鼎 [ins. 17.4]

29. (82) 1. The Hsiao-ch'en-officer, Pu, had been engaged in
duties in the West,
2. beneficent is Chung who has awarded Pu: a cauldron. [Pu]
3. extolled Chung's grace, [therefore has he] made [this] valuable [vessel].71

Hsiao-ch'en Pu Ting [ins. 17.9]

The term hsin-yi "New Walled City" is mostly found in the inscriptions of the early period. According to Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955b.2:120), the combination, denoted the new capital, Lo-yi 洛邑 (i.e. Ch'eng-Chou 成周), which had been established in Ch'eng Wang's reign. Furthermore, "west" in the Pu Ting, has, interestingly, been suggested by Ch'en again (op. cit., 110) to refer to Tsung-Chou.

In the case of awards made in the Princely Courts, there is likewise an occasional lack of record as to the nature of the investees' services. Apart from the Po Ting which records gifts of land and harvests, there are other examples with awards of much lesser value:

30. (7) 1. (Kung Hou =) The Prince awarded Po: the land of Ch'i and
2. X, and the grain [harvested from the crop-growing land] of Y and
3. Z.72 po
4. has presumed to respond to Kung Chung's grace,
5. therefore [has he] made this honoured Ting-cauldron.

Po Ting [ins. 22.4]
31. (20) 1. The Marquis awarded Chung: cowries –
   2. three strings, therefore [has he] made
   3. [for his deceased forbear], Tsu Kuei, [this]
      valuable Ting-cauldron.
      Chung Tsu Kuei Ting  中且父  [ins. 12.7]

32. (14) 1. [On the day], wu-ch'ên [5], the Marquis of Yen
   2. awarded Po Chü:
   3. cowries, therefore [has he] made [for his deceased father], Fu
      Po Chü Li  伯矩鼎  [ins. A/2:15.29]

Although the reasons for these awards have not been mentioned in the
inscription texts, the contexts are just sufficient to indicate that
the services were performed by officers of the States under the aegis
of their Princely seigneur/feoffers. Such undisclosed services may
well have been of considerable importance as may be inferred from the
Po Ting above, wherein the granting of territory and grain harvested
from arable land is recorded.

b. Services Conducted upon Royal Command

Fortunately, an appreciable number of the subinfeudation
inscriptions have contexts of greater detail which not only enable us
to form a clearer picture of the nature of the Royal and the Princely
services in which the investees concerned have been engaged, but also
these inscriptions to which we shall now refer, together with others
to be discussed later in this section, serve to indicate the general
validity of the observations offered above in respect to less precise
records.
Occasionally in the inscriptions, it is stated that the investee carried out particular duties under a certain seigneur/feoffee as the result of a Royal command:

33. (70) 1. When the King conducted the Pen-sacrificial ceremony at Tsung-Chou,
   2. the Royal [consort] Chiang (caused =) commanded Shu to engage in service under Ta Pao. [Ta Pao] awarded Shu ceremonial spirits, white metal, and an ox from X. Shu responded to Ta Pao's grace. Therefore [has he] made [this] valuable and honoured Yi-vessel.

   Shu Sui Ch'i [ins. 32.3]

In these two straight-forward examples (cf. also the Huan Yu, p.164 above) the investees individually carried out duties under a Royal
minister, or a Prince of State, as a result of Royal command and apparently their duties concerned matters relevant to the Royal Court. There are, however, more complex instances of such activities involving Royal directives issued concurrently to two officers and the matter is found recorded by one of the two concerned in a single inscription:

35. (34) 1. In the sixth month, the second quarter of the month, on the day, hsin-ssu [18], the King commanded Man and Shu SSu Fu to (return =) present to the Lady, Wu,  
2. a food vessel (?). The Shih-officer, Huang, awarded Man a chang-sceptre of jade [and] horses -  
4. two. The Lady, Wu, awarded [Man] a roll of silk cloth. Man responded and extolled the Son of Heaven's Grace, therefore [has he] made this honoured Kuei-vessel. Chi Chiang 73

Man Kuei 募毁 [ins. 45.3]

It is quite obvious from the context that because of his role in conveying the Royal favour to the Lady Wu 娑, Man both indirectly and directly received largesse for his services from the recipient. 74 For some reason, however, his colleague, Shu Ssu Fu 叔蘄父, receives no further mention let alone record of his receiving an award.

Royal commands requiring the investees to undertake such services on behalf of other notables sometimes became the subject of very complex inscription record:
36. (36) 1. It was in the twelfth year, in the third month, the second

2. quarter of the month, on the day, ting-hai [24],
the King was in the Kuei-ch'en Palace. The King

3. called forth the Shih-officer, Wu, to summon Ta, and awarded [Ta] with the li-territory of Chih Kuei. The King commanded

4. the Shan-fu-officer, Shih, to (say =) announce to Chih Kuei, saying: "I have already awarded Ta with

5. Your li-territory". Kuei presented Shih: a chang-sceptre of jade and a roll of silk cloth. Kuei commanded Shih to (say =) report to

6. the Son of Heaven, [saying:] "I dare not be covetous". Shih and Kuei then arrived at Ta's [place and] awarded him with the

7. li-territory [of Kuei]. Ta presented Shih: a shu-chang-sceptre of jade and two horses; and presented Kuei a shu-

8. chang-sceptre of jade and a roll of silk cloth. Ta bowed low his head, dared to respond and extol the Son

9. of Heaven's grace and illustrious beneficence, therefore [has he] made [for] his August deceased father, (La

10. Po =) the Earl La, [this] honoured Kuei-vessel.

May sons and grandsons eternally cherish [it].

Ta Kuei (lid) 大寶盈 [ins. T.105.1 (1.a)]
Notwithstanding the complexities and ambiguities in the original text, the Ta Kuei (lid) evidently records the presentation of gifts by Chih Kuei to the Shan-fu-officer, Shih, who conveyed the Royal command to him regarding the disposition of his territorial holdings (and with which adjustments he was in agreement); then the presentations by Ta, upon formal receipt of the li-territories from Chih Kuei, (a) to the Shan-fu-officer, Shih, for his part in the transaction; and (b) to Chih Kuei apparently because of his readiness to conform with the Royal injunction.

Sometimes, the services in which the investees were engaged, while not explicitly recorded in the inscriptions as being the result of Royal commands, yet may still be understood to have been carried out as the result of Royal commands. Particularly such examples as those concerned with military affairs. Where punitive and military expeditions are directed against the Southern Huai Yi-barbarians as recorded in the group of interrelated inscriptions: (nos. 7(52), 8(50), 9(54) above), the very fact that the vessel-makers in each case have specifically recorded their involvement in these expeditions together with details of the resultant awards, demonstrates in itself that the vessel-makers were either directly or indirectly acting under Royal directives. Similarly, we may observe in the following example that even during the traditionally recorded regency period of the Duke of Chou, orders were issued from the Royal Court requiring military services:

37. (63) 1. It was when the Duke of Chou went on a military expedition and attacked the Eastern

2. Yi-barbarians, (Feng Po =) the Earl of Feng and the P'u-ku tribe, all [of them were] humiliated.
The Duke

3. returned and conducted the Chui-sacrifice in the Chou Temple. On the day, wu-

4. ch'en [5], [they] drank spirits made of the Ch'in-grain. The Duke awarded Yen:

5. cowries - one hundred strings. Therefore, [has he] made [this] valuable Ting-vessel.

Jan Fang-Ting \[\text{[ins. 35.4]}\]

The event-date formula alone contains the information upon the basis of which we may assess the significance of Jan's award - one of the largest amounts of cowries recorded (cf. CWKL, 8:4079-4083, 4092). As observed earlier (Note 56) the content of the event-date has a dual function. It would appear reasonable, therefore, to regard Jan's award as being the result of duties of a military nature and naturally he would have been acting under Royal command as issued by the Duke of Chou. 75

Other inscription records concerned with warfare such as those in the Lü Ting [ins. 31.1], Shao Tsun (see 10(79) above), and the Tso-ts'e X Ting (see 2(76) above) wherein the awards were made in the precincts of military garrisons (Chou, Yen, and Mu garrisons respectively), the same inferences may be allowed. Apart from such inscriptions of military nature, we may also observe comparable instances in respect of "civil" duties:

38. (89) 1. It was in the 10th month [when they] undertook service in

2. Tseng; and the Earl of Yi [returned] to Ch'eng-

3. Chou [and received] grace. [He] awarded the Hsiao-ch'en-officer, [Yang],
4. metal. [Yang] dares not (lose =) fail in his duties. Yang

5. therefore has made [this] valuable Ting cauldron.

As the award to Yang took place in Ch'eng-Chou after they had returned from Tseng, we may reasonably assume that the service in question was undertaken by Royal command.

39. (44) 1. It was the year when Ming Pao conducted the Yin-ceremony in

2. Ch'eng-Chou, the Duke awarded

3. the Tso-ts'e-officer, Hsi: sacrificial spirits [and] cowries. Hsi

4. extolled the Duke's grace; therefore [has he] made [for his deceased father], Fu Yi, [this]

5. valuable and honoured Yi-vessel.

Ming Pao was also known as Ming Kung "Duke Ming" in the Nieh Ling Fang-Yi and hence also referred to as "Duke" in the present inscription. In the Nieh Ling Fang-Yi, Duke Ming was commanded to head the office of the general administration in Ch'eng-Chou; and in the present inscription, it would appear that he was commanded by the King to conduct the Yin-ceremony. The ceremony was apparently one which was held in alternate years when the Princes of various States had sent their envoys to pay homage to the Royal Court and was celebrated with banquets and probably sacrifices (cf. Shirakawa, Tsushaku, 26:312-313). Therefore, it may seem
plausible to assume that due to his assistance to Duke Ming in the ceremony, Hsi was duly awarded.

c. Services Conducted upon Princely Commands

Details of the services exacted in the Princely Courts are also to be found recorded in bronze inscriptions:

40. (30) 1. It was in the third month, the first quarter of the month. Man came

2. and paid homage to Jen Shih. Jen Shih commanded Man to administer

3. and protect his family, therefore (presented =) awarded [Man] (his ancestral =) loyal servants - two families. Man bowed low his head,

4. servants - two families. Man bowed low his head,

5. said: "Beneficent is my August Lord who does not forget his valued

6. subordinates". [Man] responded and extolled [Jen Shih's grace], therefore [has he] made this valuable Tsun-vessel.

Man Ting [ins. A/4:44.4]

41. (29) 1. Kuo Chung commanded Kung Ch'en: "Administer my

2. craftsmen. [I] award you: horses - [a team of] four, Chung-bells -

3. five, [and] metal. Employ [these] in [my] service." Kung Ch'en bowed

4. low his head, and presumed to extol the Heavenly Lord's great and

5. illustrious beneficence. Therefore [has he] made [this] valuable Kuei-vessel. May Kung
6. Ch'en for a myriad of years cherish this beneficence.

Kung Ch'en Kuei 公臣啟 [ins. A/1:43.6]

42. (88) 1. It was in the King's first year, in the first month, on the day, ting-hai [24],

2. Po Ho Fu made a statement to this effect: "Shih Chiu, your forbears and your deceased father

3. have given meritorious service to my family, although you are still in your youth,

4. I command you (death =) unto your life's end [to administer] my (family =) Princely establishment: take charge of

5. the foot-soldiers and charioteers, the workmen, the herdmans and the male and female menials of the Eastern and Western Divisions of my army;

6. and control and regulate the internal and external [affairs of my State]. Do not dare to be remiss. [I] award you:

7. carved Ko-dagger-axes with bamboo shafts and red tassels - fifteen items;

8. a Chung-bell; Ch'ing-chimes - five; and metal.

Reverently from morning to evening employ [these] in my services."

9. [I], Chiu bowed low the head, and presumed to respond and extol [my] August Lord's grace, therefore [have I] made for my accomplished deceased father, Yi Chung, [this] Kuei-vessel.

10. Chiu, for a myriad of years may sons and grandsons
These three inscriptions, especially the Shih Chiu Kuei, demonstrate well the variety of the services in which an officer of a Princely State might be engaged. In the Shih Chiu Kuei the investee, Shih Chiu, already holds the post of a Shih-officer - one of a military nature - and was accordingly commanded by his seigneur Prince to take charge of the lower ranking units as detailed above in the two main sections of the State army (cf. Kuo Mo-jo, Ta-hsi, 114b). Following the investiture, Shih Chiu was awarded Ko-dagger-axes which items may be regarded as appropriate to his military post. Of especial interest, however, is the wording of the inscription (lines 2 and 3) which illustrates that Chiu's forbears were invested with similar responsibilities in the Princely establishments. This reference here, and in other inscriptions (cf. Hu Ting [ins. T.395.1], Hu Hu [ins. 100.7], Shih Hu Kuei [ins. T.121.2], etc) may be taken to indicate that the investees in each case were the scions of families with generations' long service in the Royal Court (see p.73 above) or, as in the present inscription, in the Princely Court. Unfortunately the text is not always sufficiently precise and we cannot claim that exactly the same responsibilities were inherited and official recognition given in investiture ceremonies such as the above. Craftsmen seemed to be one of the major working labourers in the Princely establishment, therefore we see also in the Kung Ch'en Kuei that Kung Ch'en was commanded to administer the craftsmen of his lord. In the Man Ting, although the detail of Man's service to his Prince is not clearly stated, it may seem reasonable to infer that his service may also have been concerned with the administration of
craftsmen and servants, or possibly even one of a military nature. This impression arises upon consideration of the details recorded in the Shih Chiu Kuei and the Kung Ch'en Kuei, in relation to the wording of the command he received from his seigneur/feoffer, Jen Shih, namely to administer and protect Jen Shih's family.

The other types of service which officers of Princely Courts were required of by their Princely seigneur/feoffers were commonly concerned with banquets and military expeditions. Examples of these we have already noted in the Mai Yi and Mai Ting (see p.155 above). Other forms of service relating to duties in the course of ceremonial visits to the Royal Court required by Rulers of States from those under their command may be observed in the following inscriptions:

43. (4) 1. The Duke (... =) conducted the X ceremony (?) in Tsung-chou,

2. Liu (followed =) took part in [the role assigned to him in the ceremony]. The Duke........

3. arrived at the residence, awarded Liu: cowries. Therefore [has he]

4. made [for his deceased father], Fu Yi, [this valuable and honoured Yi-vessel.

Liu Tsun [ins. A/1:23.9]

44. (26) 1. It was in the ninth month, the third quarter of the month, on the day, keng-yin [27], (Cha

2. Po =) the Earl of Cha went to pay homage to the King's grace. [The ceremony proceeded] without error [by Hsien in the presence of] my

3. Lord [and] the Son of Heaven. The Earl of Cha [accordingly] awarded his Ch'en-officer, Hsien:
4. a metal ornamented chariot. [I, Hsien] responded to my Lord, [the Earl of Cha's] beneficence.
[Thus have I] made for my accomplished deceased father, Fu Yi, [this vessel]. For ten generations forget not Hsien's service in the household of the Duke of Pi [when] he received grace from the Son of Heaven.

Hsien Yi 献祭 [ins. 51.2]

Such engagement in ceremonial functions by Rulers of States at the Royal Court was, of course, primarily an aspect of Royal and Princely interrelationships. However, those in attendance upon a Ruler of State conducted their part in such ceremonies essentially in subservience to their immediate overlord. Inscription 44(26) above show in its full context more explicitly than most other relevant examples the basic interrelationships between the Royal Court, the Princely Rulers, and the officers of the Princely Courts.

On occasions the Princely Rulers apparently gave orders to their officers to engage in duties in the Royal Court. In the Mao Kuei (see 54(25) below), the inscription records to the effect that the Earl of Jung 炎伯 confirmed the officer, Mao, in his inheritance of his forbears' and deceased father's administrative post in the Earl's household as well as in the Fang Palace. The place-name, Fang 方, is taken to be an old capital of Chou located close to the Feng capital 勲 of Wen Wang's time according to Huang Sheng-chang (1981.4: 183-198). In the Chin Ting (see 24(69) above), a similar command is recorded in more definite terms: "The Marquis of Yen commanded Chin to banquet Ta Pao at Tsung-Chou". However, instances of this kind are rare. The Mao Kuei and the Chin Ting are the only two records of this
kind of service which can be found among the subinfeudation inscriptions.
4. THE PLACE OF AWARD AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Among the 97 subinfeudation inscriptions there are 48 which record the places where the presentation of awards took place, or which indicate the localities where the investees' duties were conducted. In these 48 cases, 11 of the awards were granted in Tsung-Chou, while six others were presented in Ch'eng-Chou - the two Royal capitals during Western Chou; the inscription wording in each case is quite straightforward, e.g., the X Fu Hsin Yi of Early Western Chou date:

45. (83) 1. It was in the eighth month, on the day, chia-shen [21],
   2. Duke Chung was in Tsung-Chou, awarded
   3. X: cowries - five strings, therefore [has he]
      made [for his deceased father],
   4. Fu Hsin, [this] honoured Yi-vessel.

   Clan-sign.

   X Fu Hsin Yi [ins. 20.12]

And likewise in the Hou Cho Chai/Ting of the same period:

46. (45) 1. It was in the year when the King had come [from a certain place] and arrived at Ch'eng-Chou.
   2. Hou Cho [had =] received an award from
      accomplished [deceased] father, Fu Hsin, [this]
      valuable and honoured
   4. (Chai/Ting =) Ting-cauldron. May sons and
      grandsons eternally cherish [it].
Clan-sign.
Hou Cho Chai/Ting 厚趙齋 [ins. S.31.7]

Most of the presentation ceremonies carried out in Tsung-Chou and Ch'eng-Chou were conducted by Royal officers or personages who held concurrent appointments in the Royal Court, and the investees were their lesser officers. A possible exception, however, is to be noted in the Liu Tsun [ins. A/1:23.9], wherein it is recorded that the award was granted in Tsung-Chou by a certain Duke to an officer who had accompanied him from his Princely State (see 43(4) above). This vessel was unearthed in Chün-hsien 濟縣 which was anciently in the area of the State of Wei. Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1956a.1:80) has accordingly suggested that the Duke in this inscription was, in all probability, Duke K'ang of Wei 衛康公.

Leaving aside the exceptional case of ins. A/1:23.9 above, the usual localities where the presentation ceremonies took place when an award was granted by a Prince (or one who held concurrent appointment in the Royal Court) to an officer in his establishment was either in the Princely State e.g. ins. 37.6 (3(24)) cited in full above and ins. A/1:275.2 (55(67)) below; or, where the officer resided, and this took place when the Prince came to visit the officer's domicile - usually on some special occasions (four examples) and in most such cases was entertained with banquets (i.e. ins. 28.1 (R155, Mai Ting), ins. 35.2 (13(16)), and ins. T.30.5 (14(17)). These presentation ceremonies were conducted by the visiting seigneur/feoffers in buildings variously termed Kung 宮 "Palace" or "temple", shou 宅 "palace", "mansion", etc. (Ch'en Meng-chia, "Tuan-tai", KKHP 1956a.1:76, 82).
In the case of a number of inscriptions concerned with military expeditions, the presentation ceremonies were often carried out in the precincts of military garrisons, or in places where the armies were temporarily stationed while on campaign. However, the present locations of these ancient garrisons and other military posts cannot always be acceptably identified; in fact, despite the lack of further references in other bronze inscriptions or in the traditional texts, attempts have been made to establish modern geographical equivalents but often, one must conclude, upon rather flimsy or debatable grounds as we have several times already observed. There are, however, useful geographical interrelationships amongst the inscriptions in the group which, if studied in combination, will allow appreciable progress towards an understanding of the geographical situation as recorded in these archaeological documents. Let us explore the point with reference to such inscriptions as the Hsiao-ch'en Tan Chih (see 16(62) above), the Ching Yu (see 7(52) above) and the Lu Tung Yu, and attempt to ascertain the location of the Ch'eng Garrison 成亭.

The Hsiao-ch'en Tan Chih refers to the Ch'eng Garrison. Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 2b) takes Ch'eng to be equivalent to Ch'eng-kao 成皋, a place near Meng-chin 盟津, Honan. This was anciently a base for military operations during Wu Wang's subjugation of the Shang. Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955a.1:160-161) takes it to be the ancient State of Ch'eng 成, equivalent to modern P'u-hsien 濮縣 in northern Honan and bordering Shangtung Province. It was a military station in the east used by Ch'eng Wang when quelling the Wu Keng 武庚 uprising. Discrepancies attending these interpretations may be resolved by the study of other relevant bronze inscriptions which give reference to the same place. According to Shirakawa (Tsushaku, 9:94-97), the character 同 shih has two meanings. Other
than "garrison" as seen in the present inscription, it may also have the sense of "army". Armies were frequently stationed at Ch'eng, and accordingly such armies may also have been referred to as the Ch'eng Shih 成 尉, the "Armies of Ch'eng", as recorded in the Ching Yu inscription (Shirakawa, Tsuishaku, 9:96). The information supplied by the Ching Yu is valuable in attempts to determine the location of ancient Ch'eng. It records, it will be recalled, that in Middle Western Chou, Po Ch'ih Fu 伯厚父, a Royal officer, was commanded by the King to lead the Ch'eng Armies to the East and take up station against the incursion of the Southern Yi-barbarians. And the Lu Tung Yu datable in the same period records aspects of the same military expedition:

47. (50) 1. The King issued a decree [to] Tung [in which it was] stated: "Alas, the Huai Yi-barbarians dare to
   2. attack the Inner States. You [are required] along with the Ch'eng-Chou
   3. Shih-shih-officer [and the Ch'eng-Chou Armies] to take up station at the Ku Garrison. Po Yung
   4. Fu reviewed Lu's merit, awarded [Lu]: cowries - 10 strings. Lu
   5. bowed low his head, responded and extolled Po's grace; therefore
   6. [has he] made [for his] accomplished deceased father, Yi Kung, [this] valuable and honoured Yi-vessel.

Lu Tung Yu 束威自 [ins. 48.1]

The Huai Yi-barbarians 淮夷 are sometimes referred to as the
Southern Huai Yi-barbarians 南淮夷 as recorded in the Kuo Chung Hsü inscription:

48. (-) 1. Kuo Chung [led] a military expedition to the South with the King,
2. to attack the Southern Huai Yi-barbarians.
3. [Kuo Chung] was in Ch'eng-Chou, made [this] series of Hsü-tray. Altogether twelve Hsü-trays [were made].

Kuo Chung Hsü 魏仲盈 [ins. 22.2]

This inscribed vessel may be dated back to Late Western Chou in the light of its design and decoration, and thus is generally regarded to refer to an attack against the Huai Yi-barbarians during Li Wang's reign (Shirakawa, Tsushaku, 144:275, 279). It seems therefore plausible that the terms "Huai Yi-barbarians" and "Southern Yi-barbarians" in the Lu Tung Yu and the Ching Yu were merely variant forms of the full term "Southern Huai Yi-barbarians" (cf. Note 62 above). In the former inscription [ins. 48.1], they had made incursions into the area termed nei-kuo 内國, the "Inner States".

Nei-kuo is found in the Lu Tung Yu inscription and does not appear in the traditional texts. However, there were similar terms such as chung-kuo 中國 "Central State", tung-kuo 東國 "Eastern States", nan-kuo 南國 "Southern States", pei-kuo 北國 "Northern States", ssu-kuo 四國 "Four States", ssu-fang 四方 "Four Regions", to-fang 多方 "Numerous Regions", pu-t'ing-fang 不庭方 "Non-submissive Regions", which appear not only in Chou inscriptions, but also in other textual materials such as the Shang-shu 尚書 and the Shih-ching 詩經. Ch'en Meng-chia (1956e:319-321) has suggested that ssu-kuo is equivalent to ssu-fang, and each of the above terms
Figure 4  Schematic representations of the general divisions of the Shang and Chou Kingdoms as discussed in the accompanying text.
describe the various administrative divisions of the Western Chou Kingdom. In fact, this method of dividing the whole Kingdom into different administrative divisions in respect to different directions in the Western Chou can be traced back to the Shang.

In the Shang Kingdom, the area around the capital was regarded as the focal point of the Kingdom, and was referred to variously as chung-shang 中商 "Central Shang", tien-yi-shang 天邑商 "the Great City Shang". Then the territories under Shang suzerainty were divided into four sections (i.e. ssu-fang "the four regions") which were referred to as the eastern, southern, western, and northern regions. Another term, ssu-t'u, was employed in reference to these general divisions in Shang times (cf. Tung Tso-pin, 1945.B.9:62). Similarly, it would appear that the term chung-kuo in Western Chou was used to denote the Royal Domain: the area around the Royal Cities, Ch'eng-Chou, and Tsung-Chou, (cf. Shih 259, a Chou poem, where chung-kuo is used interchangeably with ching-shih 京師 "the capital"; Legge, 4.2:496), while the ssu-kuo or ssu-fang (tung-kuo, nan-kuo and pei-kuo) denoted the Chou territories outside the Royal Domain (chung-kuo) (see Fig. 4). After Wu Wang had subjugated Shang, he had attempted to establish a new capital at Ch'eng-Chou near present-day Lo-yang. However, the new (eastern) capital was not built until after Wu Wang's death and was eventually completed in Ch'eng Wang's reign. The Ho Tsun 何尊 [ins. A/1:122.1], an important inscribed vessel unearthed in Pao-chi 郭倉, Shensi in 1963, records that after Wu Wang had subjugated the Shang, he sacrificed and reported to Heaven, saying: "[Here] will I set up residence [in] this, [the] Central State (Chung-kuo), and from here shall [I] govern the common people" 余其宅兹中國,自兹人民. T'ang Lan (WW 1976a.1:60-63) and Ma Ch'eng-yüan (WW 1976.1:64-65, 93)
Map 1  The "Four Quarters" of the Chou Kingdom and the "Inner States" in Western Chou times.
are both of the opinion that this chung-kuo refers to the area around ancient Ch'eng-Chou, the projected new capital in the east, yet to be built. Therefore, with Ch'eng-Chou as the focal point, we may regard the ssu-fang divisions approximately as follows: tung-kuo - the area around present-day Kiangsu and Shantung, nan-kuo - the area around Hupei, and pei-kuo - the area north of the Honan Province. We may further proceed to define, tentatively, that nei-kuo would have covered an area around the border of Honan and Anhwei. In the opposite page these assessments are summarized diagrammatically and superimposed on a map for convenient reference. The combined information from the three inscriptions, the Hsiao-ch'en Tan Chih, the Ching Yu and the Lu Tung Yu would appear to demonstrate that Ch'en Meng-chia's identification of Ch'eng as P'u-hsien is not realistic; firstly, P'u-hsien is too far north; secondly, the Southern Huai Yi-barbarians had at that time already made incursions into the Inner States. Geographically speaking, if the Ch'eng Armies had in fact been stationed in P'u-hsien (in the north-eastern part of Honan), the route they would have had to follow would surely have been a southward rather than an eastward one and thus in conflict with the information supplied by the Ching Yu inscription: "[proceed] towards the east with the Ch'eng Armies, being ordered [to establish] a garrison [against the invasion to the Inner States from] the Southern Yi-barbarians" 且 (以)成自即東, 命成 (南)戶; thirdly, the Ching Yu was said to have been unearthed in Lo-yang (Ch'en Meng-chia, "Tuan-tai", 《KHP》1956.3:11), Ch'eng-kao is located close to it. Accordingly, Kuo Mo-jo's identification of Ch'eng as Ch'eng-kao seems the more reasonable, notwithstanding his questionable dating of the Hsiao-ch'en Tan Chih. 77
Figure 5
Geographical relationships of the place-names recorded in the Lu Tung Yu, Lu Kuei, Yu Ting, Ching Yu, Ching Kuei, Chien Chih, Ssu Yu, and Yü Hsien.
Attention may be drawn to the place called P'i which is also recorded in the Ching Yu. P'i is furthermore to be seen in the Mai Tsun [ins. T.167.1] where it is written as 咭, and it occurs, too, in the E Hou Ting [ins. S4.2] written as 咭. The Ting inscription records an expedition led by the Chou King to the south, to attack the Chiao and the Hu barbarians, and the return of the armies from P'i 咭. Wang Kuo-wei (1973a:1194-1195) has suggested that this place is actually Ta-p'i-shan 大伍山, Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 107b) notes, however, that there are two mountains called Ta-p'i-shan. One is in Ssu-shui-hsien 波水縣, and the other in Chun-hsien 濟縣, both in Honan. The ancient location of the place, P'i, in these inscriptions is, he believes, more likely to have been near modern Ssu-shui, for the E Hou Ting mentions a southward expedition (i.e. one proceeding to the Chiao and the Hu tribes of the Southern Huai Yi-barbarians along the upper and the lower reaches of the Huai River, Ma Ch'eng-yüan, KK 1979.1:60-61), while the itinerary detailed in the Ching Yu inscription was one involving eastward then southward movements from Ch'eng-kao to the Inner States. As Chun-hsien lies to the north of these two places, the ancient location of P'i would seem to have been near Ssu-shui-hsien.

The geographical interrelationship of the Ching Yu group of inscriptions may be demonstrated diagrammatically as in Figure 5. There is no record in the traditional texts regarding the location of the Ku 柵 garrison recorded in the Chien Chih 政祠 [ins. T.50.3], the Yu Hsien 避влечен [ins. 37.1], the Ssu Yu 福頌 [ins. S40.3], and the Lu Tung Yu [ins. 48.1]. This is unfortunate as it would be helpful in confirming the preceding assessment of the nei-kuo.
Because of phonetic similarities, the character 難 in the Yu Ting and the Lu Kuei has been accepted by some scholars as being equivalent to 舒 *shu* [*st'ja*] in the classics (Chou Fa-kao, 1972b:125-135). Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 59b-60a) has gone further and has suggested that it is used in these two inscriptions as a phonetic loan for 徐 Hsi (*rja*), the Hsü Jung-barbarians, who had anciently settled around the northern part of Kiangsu and in eastern Anhwei. However, Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1956c.3:109) and Shirakawa (Tsushaku, 89:181) have pointed out that in addition to the sound of shu, the character is generally read as hu. Furthermore, they point out that the character fu 篙, "Fu-tray", "casket" is originally written as 甫 hu with 莒 functioning as the phonetic, therefore, the character 甫 hu could also be read as 莒 fu. On the basis of this, Ch'en suggests that the graphs 莒 and 莖 may be interchangeable; the graph 莖 (*ga*[*l*]) may also be used as a phonetic loan for 吕 Lü (*lia*[*l*]). The places Fu 莖 and Lü 吕 are located respectively in Shang-ts'ai 上蔡 and Hsin-ts'ai 新蔡 in the present-day Honan.

The identification of 莖 as hu is acceptable based on data from bronze inscriptions and textual materials. For example, the vessel hu is referred to in the textual materials as 莖 hu (Kao Ming, op. cit, 70-72) while the personal name of Li Wang of Chou as recorded in Shih-chi 史記 is Hu 莖 but is written as 難 in the Hu Kuei 難毁 [ins. A/1:122.2], a vessel unearthed in Fu-feng 拦风, Shensi, 1978 (Anon., WW 1979a.4:89-90). However, it may seem rather difficult at the present time to take 莖 hu as the original character of 篙 fu for it is now understood that hu and fu are actually two independent names for two different types of vessels. Hu refers to vessels of rectangular shape which traditional scholars have for a long time render it as Fu-casket. Fu, on the other hand, should in fact, refer
to vessels of tall rounded body which is somewhat similar to the 
Tou-pedestal-bowl (Kao Ming, WW 1982.6:72-73). Bearing this in mind,

\[ \text{hu} \] (*ga\textsuperscript{1}) therefore could not be so straightforwardly taken as 
\[ \text{fu} \] (*pjwa\textsuperscript{1}), as Ch'en and Shirakawa would have believed.

Nevertheless, the phonetic similarity of the two characters could no
doubt, demonstrate that the elements, \[ \text{hu} \] and \[ \text{fu} \] could be interchangeabe.

With reference solely to such phonetic affiliations the
interpretations of either school would seem to be equally feasible.

However, by extending the enquiry further it may be observed that on
at least three counts, Kuo's interpretation appears to be the less
convincing one: it will be noted that in the bronze inscriptions the

Hsü Jung-barbarians are referred to on several occasions by the

graph \[ \text{hsii} \] (CWKL, 8:4128), accordingly it is unnecessary to
postulate a phonetic loan in the case of \[ \text{or} \] \[ \text{hsii} \] where there is
already an extensively used graph \[ \text{or} \]; even in the traditional texts
there is relevant evidence, e.g. the \[ \text{Ch'un-ch'iu} \] record:

徐人取舒 "a body of men from Hsü took Shu" (Hsi 3rd year, Legge,
5.1:137) clearly indicates that two different place-names 徐 and 舒
are involved; and as observed earlier, the southern Huai
Yi-barbarians had at that time already intruded into the Inner
States - the area around eastern Honan and western Anhwei - Hu\[ \text{er} \] is
therefore unlikely to have been located in eastern Anhwei.

Taking into account the preceding observations, it seems
reasonable to suggest that the Chou expeditions as recorded in the
Ching Yu group of inscriptions commenced operations from Ch'eng-kao,
passed through Ta-p'i-shan at Ssu-shui, then established garrisons at
Hsin-ts'ai or Shang-ts'ai to guard against incursions from the
Southern Huai Yi-barbarians into the area around eastern Honan and
Map 2  The probable route of the Western Chou expedition against the incursion of the Huai Yi-barbarian into the Nei-kuo "Inner States" as recorded in the Ching Yu group of inscriptions.
western Anhwei (see Map 2). Although there is no reference from the classical texts regarding the location of the Ku garrison, nevertheless, as we have already observed above (p.147), this group of inscriptions can be tied up by their historical personages and concerns with the same military expedition, it seems reasonable to assume that the military bases in these inscriptions would be geographically close to each other. Therefore, it may be inferred that the Ku garrison was also located somewhere in Honan, and perhaps near Hsin-ts'ai or Shang-ts'ai.
5. ITEMS OF AWARD

As already observed, land is not so commonly found as an item of award among the subinfeudation type of inscriptions, as traditional scholars seem to believe. On the contrary, there are no more than three inscriptions in which record is made of the granting of land, and these are datable in the early, middle and late periods of the Dynasty. The Po Ting of the early period (see 30(7) above) records that Po was granted by his Prince, for unspecified reasons, the territories of Ch'i and X • T. The Mao Kuei inscription of the middle period (see 54(25) below) records the awarding of fields in X $Y$, Y 安, Tui 階 and Liang 止 to the investee, Mao, when he received the Earl of Jung's command to administer permanently the Earl's household and the Fang Palace. And finally the lid text (and the recently excavated vessel text: [ins. A/1:148.1(v.b)], Wan Shu-ying, WW 1981.9:25-29) of the Pu Ch'i Kuei in which is recorded the granting of land in the form of t'ien "fields" and the reasons for the gifts are detailed at greater length than usual:

49. (90) 1. It was in the ninth month, the first quarter of the month, on the day, wu-shen [45], Po Shih said: "Pu Ch'i [and] Yü Fang, [when] the Hsien-yün[-barbarians] extensively attacked the western territory, the King commanded us to advance and pursue [the barbarians] to Hsi. I have returned [from the Royal Court where I] presented the captives [to the King]. [Now,] I commanded you to establish a garrison at Lo [and] to pursue [the invaders]. You (with =) have employed my chariots in
5. attacking the Hsien-yün[-barbarians] at Kao Ling.
   You have obtained many left ears (of slain prisoners) and many prisoners for interrogation.
   The Jung-barbarians [then]

6. gathered together in vast numbers [in order to]
   (.... and pursue =) retaliate against you. [But] you (attained =) stood up to the barbarians, and
   resoundingly defeated them. You were (gracious =) skillful in not

7. letting my chariots fall into difficulties. [Indeed] you have made many captives, obtained left
   ears [of the slain], and have taken many prisoners for interrogation.

8. Po Shih [then] said, "Pu Ch'i, [despite] your youth, you are diligent in the military affairs.
   [I]

9. award you: a bow, arrows - one quiver, menials - five families, [and] fields - ten areas. Use
   these gifts] in (.... =) attending to (?) your

10. duties." Pu Ch'i made obeisance bowing low with
    his hands in response to Po Shih's grace, therefore [has he] made for his

11. August forbears, Kung Po and Meng Chi, [this]
    honoured Kuei-tureen. To be employed in
    prayers for

12. numerous blessings and old age without limit,
    eternal perfection until

13. life's peaceful end. May sons and grandsons
    eternally cherish it in sacrifice [to their
Table 19  Articles of benefice as recorded in the subin-
feudation inscriptions of Early, Middle, and Late Western
Chou arranged in general order of occurrence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>車</th>
<th>魯大或小臣宅</th>
<th>麗鼎</th>
<th>1 器</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>燥</td>
<td>作冊鼎自</td>
<td>本鼎，令鼎</td>
<td>4 器</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>撲牛</td>
<td>片鼎，令鼎</td>
<td>卯鼎</td>
<td>2 器</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>遂毛</td>
<td>次男鼎</td>
<td>1 器</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>布帛 衣服</td>
<td>罌自，服尊，奈父鼎</td>
<td>茜鼎</td>
<td>1 器</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>南 (南?)</td>
<td>萊尊</td>
<td>1 器</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>習笛</td>
<td>蠻鼎</td>
<td>1 器</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>絲束、囊案、毛</td>
<td>守官盤</td>
<td>1 器</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>禮器</td>
<td>畫鳥,</td>
<td>卯 Modelo</td>
<td>多友鼎 Modelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2器</td>
<td>1器</td>
<td>1器</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>疇</th>
<th>作冊大鼎 Modelo,</th>
<th>卯 Modelo, 黃 Modelo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8器</td>
<td>3器</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>畫鳥</th>
<th>孟 Modelo, 龍 Modelo,</th>
<th>卯 Modelo, 黃 Modelo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6器</td>
<td>3器</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>萬 Mundo</th>
<th>廟 Modelo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1器</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>兵器</th>
<th>廟 Modelo, 小臣 Modelo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4器</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>木 Mundo</th>
<th>史 Modelo, 章 Modelo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2器</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>金 Mundo</th>
<th>章 Modelo, 黃 Modelo, 守 Modelo, 卯 Modelo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4器</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>玉 Mundo</th>
<th>大 Modelo, 史 Modelo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2器</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>銅錦物</td>
<td>早期（53器）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>金赤金錦</td>
<td>麥彝，簋鼎，獻彝，同卣，易鼎，麥鼎，麥鼓，叔陽鼎，乙卯尊，臣卿鼎，臣父丁彝，陶尊，金彝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>貝</td>
<td>龜彝，簋鼎，作冊仇臣卣，小臣彝，旅鼎，異卣，御彝，季受尊，孟卣，序父辛彝，小臣單鼎，中且癸鼎，大鼎，亞作父乙彝，御尊，康侯鼎，圍鼎，小臣擕鼎，伯矩高，瑠方鼎</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 金赤金錦 | 14器 | 5器 | 6器 |
| 貝 | 21器 | 6器 | 1器 |
forbears].

Pu Ch'i Kuei (lid) 不堪毁益 [ins. T.148.1]

It is interesting to observe in the two later inscriptions that the gift of land is but one of several items in each case and, if we interpret the character t'ien literally, the area of land bestowed on the investees Mao and Pu Ch'i would not have accounted to much. Moreover, the land was not contiguous but scattered amongst different districts(?), its value would be in terms of produce, no doubt, and perhaps we might further surmise that there would be little chance that the investees receiving such items of benefice would gain an increase of power. "Fields" in specified places were in all probability intended as a grant of "income" to the investee and not as an actual transfer of land.

As in the case of inscription records in general (Wong Yin-wai, 1978: Table 26), cowries and metal (bronze) comprise the more usual items of award amongst the subinfeudation inscriptions - especially insofar as those datable in the early period are concerned. There are, moreover, a greater variety of awards recorded in inscriptions of the early period than in the middle and the late periods. Apart from cowries (21 cases) and metal (14 cases), we may observe also the frequent grants of horses (eight cases) and menials (six cases), while ritual vessels (two cases), weapons (four cases), jade artifacts (two cases), chariots (three cases), sacrificial spirits (four cases), and cloth (three cases), represent items of award of fairly frequent occurrence (see Table 19). The most valuable items presented in the early period appear amongst the awards recorded in the Pei Kuei [ins. 37.5], the Shih Shou Ting (see 18(39) above), and the Jan Fang-Ting (see 37(63) above). In the first inscription it is recorded
that Pei rendered services to a certain Duke and accordingly was presented a set of ritual vessels, two *ting*-cauldrons, and five strings of cowries. In the second inscription, the investee, Shih-officer, Shou, on account of his services in Ch'eng-Chou, received a *jade-hsien*, a *ting*-cauldron (for sacrificing swine) and a *chüeh*-wine-cup. Ritual vessels are generally considered to be one of the most highly esteemed of all the items of award (Wong Yin-wai, 1978:195-196). The third inscription records an award of 100 strings of cowries to the investee, Jan, which is one of the largest award of cowries. However, the record may not be valid as the authenticity of the inscription is questionable (cf. Note 75 above).

In the middle period, the more frequently recorded benefices are metal (five cases), cowries (six cases), jade artifacts (four cases) and horses (three cases). In addition to these, we also find only one instance each of investees receiving awards of ritual vessels, rolls of silk and hempen curtains, weapons, chariots, bovines, and wearing apparel. The largest array of awards in this period is that recorded in the Mao Kuei. The investee, Mao, received three jade-*chang*-sceptres, a jade-*ku*, a ritual vessel, ten horses, ten bovines, an area of land at X, an area at Y, an area at Tui, and an area at Liang. In the late period, gifts of metal (six cases) and horses (four cases) are of major occurrence, while less frequently appear weaponry (three cases), menials (three cases), musical instruments (three cases), cowries (one cases), *ssu-huo* (?) (one case), and *shih-gen* (?) (one case). The largest list of beneficence awarded in this period appears in the Shih Chiu Kuei (see 42(88) above). Shih Chiu received from his seigneur/feoffer, Po Ho Fu 伯翁父, 15 ornamented Ko-dagger-axes, a *chung*-bell, five *ch'ing*-chimes and metal, when he was commanded to take charge of Po Ho
It seems that some variation attended the types of award in each general period. In the early period may be noted the sui-mao, listed amongst the awards in the Yu Fang-Ting [ins. 32.5]. The investee, Yu, in return for unspecified services from his superior, Cha Chung (considered by Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955b.2:108) to have been the son of the Duke Kao of Pi and who concurrently was a Tso-ts'e-officer in the Royal Court), received a horse along with two sui-mao. According to Ch'en Meng-chia (op. cit. 108-109), the sui-mao was a banner made of feathers, and used in a tao-ch'e 辭車 "an escort chariot". Awards comprising such items as cha-mu 輔幕, cha-mi(?) 輔幕, mao-chin 獨笠 as recorded in the Shou Kung P'an (see 19(41) above) do not appear in early and late period inscriptions and are somewhat unusual when compared with other items of award in the middle period. According to Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1956d.4:115), the cha-mu is a hempen curtain, the cha-mi is a hempen covering for a tent, while the mao-chin is a fur-rug used inside the tent. In the late period, the shih-pen(?), as recorded in the Chi Fu Hu [ins. A/1:55.3] is somewhat unusual amongst the general choice of benefices. Chi Fu, on account of unspecified services, was awarded by the seigneur/feoffer, T'ung Chung 司中, six shih-pen, in addition to menials: four families and metal: 10 chün. There are a number of interpretations regarding the nature of the shih-pen. Tuan Shao-chia 段紹嘉 identifies the term as kan-pen 千貫 "soldiers on a chariot carrying shields", however, his transcription of the first character is rather unconvincing (Anon., 1963:7). Kuo Mo-jo takes it to be shih-mao 計茅 "a variety of grain stalks used in sacrifices" (op. cit., 2), while Shirakawa (Tsushaku, 893-894) interprets it as shih-p'eng 計蓬 "a
variety of arrows used for shooting towards heaven, the earth, and the four directions upon the birth of a nobleman". Kuo and Shirakawa's interpretations may be regarded only as conjectures, thus the nature of the term of shih-pen(?) cannot as yet be defined.

Inscription data presently available to us are still insufficient to indicate just to what extent the preceding chronological variations may be regarded as really characteristic of each period. However, as new materials come to light the picture should come into better focus. The recently discovered To Yu Ting [ins. A/1:275.2], for instance, matches the presentation in the Kung Ch'en Kuei (see 41(29) above) and the Shih Chiu Kuei (see 42(88) above) of musical instruments confirming thus the apparent unique role of this form of benefice in the late period.

As already pointed out in Part One, ming-fu were apparently used as awards during the Royal investiture ceremony, when the officer was invested with office. It may be expected that ming-fu would also be granted during the Princely investiture ceremony, when the officers of the State were similarly invested with office by their seigneur/feoffers. Nevertheless, such inscription record is rare; four of the subinfeudation type of inscriptions only are sufficiently detailed in regard to the duties required of the investees within the Princely State which duties suggest that an appropriate office would have been concomitant with the duties: the Mao Kuei (see 54(25) below), the Shih Chiu Kuei (see 42(88) above), the Kung Ch'en Kuei (see 41(29) above) and the Man Ting (see 40(30) above). In none of these, however, do we find ming-fu listed in the benefices. Obviously it would seem thus that the King alone had the perogative to bestow ming-fu and accordingly ming-fu may be taken to represent a particular aspect of Royal suzerainty throughout the Western Chou Dynasty and it
may have continued even into Eastern Chou times (Note 35 above). There is, however, one exception amongst the subinfeudation inscriptions which records the award of ming-fu to the investee, namely, in the Fu Tsun 復尊 [ins. A/1:15.30] where under unspecified circumstances, the investee, Fu, was awarded by the Marquis of Yen with ming-fu. In spite of this, it is to be observed firstly that the Tsun may be dated in the reign of K'ang Wang (Yen Wan, KK 1975.5:274), when the Kingdom had only just entered a period of stability. Therefore, the award of ming-fu by a Prince of State might then have been possible, as the Chou Royal Family had yet to establish a tighter degree of control over the Princes. Secondly, the inscription may not actually refer to a formal investiture ceremony in its full manifestation (although some sort of ceremony was held) but simply records the granting of a gift - possibly for services rendered and not necessarily with the granting of an official post in the court of the Earl of Yen.

The circumstances attending the bestowal of particular items of award to the investees cannot be precisely ascertained from the contexts of the subinfeudation inscriptions for the most part. However, the awards do not appear to have been randomly chosen. In such examples as the Shou Kung P'an (see 19(42) above), the Hsiao-ch'en Chai Kuei (see 12 (78) above), the Shao Tsun (see 10(79) above) and the Pu Ch'i Kuei (lid) (see 49(90) above) it is clearly evident that the particular items of award which each of the investees received were directly related to the nature of duties each was required to undertake. In the Shou Kung P'an, we may observed amongst the items received by the Shou-kung-officer, comprised five hempen curtains, two hempen tents and three fur-rugs. These comprise materials required for portable pavilions used by rulers and officers
when on tours of duty, military expeditions, etc. The Shou-kung-officer would use such portable pavilions while attending to his duties as a Royal forester (Ch'en Meng-chia, "Tuan-tai", KKHP 1956d.4:115; Kuo Mo-jo, Ta-hsi, 93a). In the Hsiao-ch'en Chai Kuei, Chai received from Po Mao Fu (a Royal minister concerned with military affairs in the early period) a carved shield, nine ko-dagger-axes, a chariot with metal fittings, and two horses. The award thus corresponds with Chai's position as a Hsiao-ch'en-officer (a military post) in the Royal Court. Similarly, in the Pu Ch'i Kuei (lid), Pu Ch'i was commanded by Po Shih to repel the incursion from the Hsien-yün-barbarians, and was duly awarded with a bow and a quiver of arrows; while in the Shao Tsun, Shao was awarded a white horse while on duty in the Yen Garrison.

In the Nieh Ling Fang-Yi [ins. 179.13] both Tso-ts'e-officer, Nieh Ling and K'ang Shih received gifts "aromatic spirits, a chin, and an ox ... to be used in the X-sacrifices" from their seigneur/feoffer, the Duke Ming Pao, in connection with their services undertaken in his command. In the case of Nieh Ling only the service is recorded: to announce the Royal honour accorded Ming Pao in the Chou Kung Palace and probably duties in connection with the three sacrifices made by Ming Pao which are recorded immediately before the above presentations were made. The gifts match the nature of the services undertaken. In some cases, the expression yung-shih (or ...) "to be rendered in (...) service" is used immediately after the record of the items of award. The wording suggests that there was a close relationship between the award and the nature of the undefined service expected of the investee. For instance, in the Mai Ting (see p.155 above), Mai Yi (see 13(16) above), Mai Ho (see 14(17) above) and Mai Tsun (see p.155...
above), the investee Mai in each inscribed vessel received metal (bronze) from the Marquis of Hsing:

1. 作鼎, 用從井戻征事, 用旌徃風夕, 爾御 (逆) 吳 (逆)
   (Ho inscription)

2. 用作鬲畜, 用禹井戻出入
   (Yi inscription)

3. 用作鼎, 用從井戻征事, 用卿多察友
   (Ting inscription)

4. 用作鼎鬲畜, 用禹井戻逆進
   (Tsun inscription)

The wording placed after each record of benefice indicates that the gift of metal was especially to be used in casting the vessels. The vessels were then to be employed in specified services: the banqueting of the Marquis and his colleagues, and in attending to the Marquis' military affairs. In the Shih Chiu Kuei (see 42(88) above), Shih Chiu received from Po Ho Fu 15 ornamented ko-dagger-axes with bamboo shafts and red tassels, a chung-bell, five ch'ing-chimes, and metal, when commanded to take charge of the footsoldiers and charioteers, the workmen, etc. The statement following the enumeration of his required duties: "Reverently from morning to evening to be rendered in services" would seem to imply that the benefices had a close connection with Shih Chiu's administration work (cf. also Kung Ch'en Kuei, item 41(29) above).

It seems, too, that the quantity of items awarded may have had some significance. Generally speaking, in inscriptions which record services of similar nature, the investees receive benefices of more or less the same value (see Table 20). For example, in the Huan Yu (see 51(27) below), Pei Ting [ins. 30.10], the Chin Ting (see 24(69)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>姓氏</th>
<th>立功于成周</th>
<th>小臣通即事于周</th>
<th>大殷</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>史獻鼎</td>
<td>殷,家年一,爵一</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>史頌鼎</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>小臣通鼎</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大殷</td>
<td>王命,曽年召大殷</td>
<td></td>
<td>王命,曽年召大殷</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20 Articles of benefice and the services associated with them in the subinfeudation inscriptions.
| 雍殷 | 晋造公 | 宗彝 - 靜, 鼎二, 具 
五朋
| 王命棄眾弔師父歸
吳姬食器
王使小臣守使于夷
使于曾 |
| 守殷 | 翼幽 | 王章 - 馬雨, 幌束
馬雨, 金十釿
| 守官盤 | 光守宮事, 禹果
周師 |
| 竟卣 | 伯禽父皇竟格于官 |
| 卯殷 | 騎熿公室 ……今今僕 
命女死歸嵩宮葬人, 
女毋敢不義 |
| 師殷 | 與我始, 姑僕我西 
傍東陽僕駕百匹计 
臣妾, 董裁內外, 母 
敢不義 |
| 公侯殷 | 驕朕百工 |
| 蠖鼎 | 女氏命董事保華 
家 |
| 金 | 金 | 馬乘, 鐘五, 金
祖僕二家 |
<p>| 不敵殷 | 不敵,叛方,紛紛廣伐,西俞,王命我往進于西,今來歸獻禽,全命女將進于器,女臣我車容伐,紛紛于高隆,女多折首執訊,戎大同遂追女,女及戎大章戰,女休,弗臣我車陷于隹風,女多禽折首執訊。 | 乙一,矢束,臣五家,田十田。 |
| 封鼎 | 師雍父封于餘,街道。 | 金 |
| 橋豆 | 封從師雍父戍于古自 | 具也乎 |
| 泰威豆 | 室從師雍父戍于周國 | 周十朋 |
| 齊尊 | 齊從師雍父戍于戍佳之年 | 赤金 |
| 孟鼎 | 孟文考宗王公遺仲征致寳 | 臣 |
| 多友鼎 | 武公命多友差遂[原猶]于京師…… | 主高一,湯鐘一磬。鍾簧百鐘。 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>器名</th>
<th>服事内容</th>
<th>賞錫物</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>享舀鼎</td>
<td>王姜命作册舉安孫伯叔。</td>
<td>貝，布</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蒸鼎</td>
<td>茅延大保叔孫周。</td>
<td>馬，車乘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>汤鼎</td>
<td>王姜使叔事于大保事白懋父。</td>
<td>貝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>小臣宅避</td>
<td>師鍾父紀使避事于賜侯。</td>
<td>鬱鬯，白金，御牛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>通簋</td>
<td>用禹井侯出入遲舍。</td>
<td>画干戈九，易金車，黃兩金</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>麥簋</td>
<td>用禹井侯出入遲舍。</td>
<td>金</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>麥尊</td>
<td>用禹井侯出入遲舍。</td>
<td>金</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>麥鼎</td>
<td>用禹井侯出入遲舍。</td>
<td>金</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>黃簋</td>
<td>用禹井侯出入遲舍。</td>
<td>金</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>賢掛</td>
<td>用禹井侯出入遲舍。</td>
<td>金</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>墨尊</td>
<td>用禹井侯出入遲舍。</td>
<td>金</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>墨尊</td>
<td>用禹井侯出入遲舍。</td>
<td>金</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>墨尊</td>
<td>用禹井侯出入遲舍。</td>
<td>金</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>酒殼</td>
<td>用禹井侯出入遲舍。</td>
<td>金</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>酒殼</td>
<td>用禹井侯出入遲舍。</td>
<td>金</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
above) and the Shu Sui Ch'i (see 33(70) above), the investees Huan, Pei, Chin and Shu were commanded respectively to console (?) and render services to the Earl of Yi, the Earl of Ch'i and a Royal functionary, Ta Pao; they received respectively: cowries and cloth; a horse and chariot; cowries; and sacrificial spirits, an ox and white metal. The undefined nature of the quantities received would suggest that the amount of each was small and the general value in each case was not great. Similarly, in the Man Kuei (see 35(34) above), Shou Kuei (see 34(35) above) and the Yang Ting (see 38(89) above), the investees Man, Shou and Yang were each commanded to serve as Royal emissaries respectively to the States of Wu, Yi and Tseng; they received: a jade-chang, two horses and a roll of cloth (Man); two horses and ten chün of metal (Shou); and metal (Yang).

However, it would seem that the more esteemed or burdensome was his duty, the greater the amount of items of award would the investee receive. In the Mao Kuei, Mao was commanded to administer the Earl's household and the Fang Palace. This was a task of special honour as Fang was an old capital of Western Chou near Feng before the conquest of Shang and continued to be an important city in the later periods. Thus he received four jade-li-chang, a jade-ku, a ritual vessel, 10 horses, 10 bovines, and four areas of land, all in all one of the richest array of benefices recorded among the subinfeudation inscriptions (see 54 (25) below). Similarly, in the Shih Chiu Kuei, the investee, Shih Chiu was given a large quantity of benefices matching thus the weight of services required of him (see 42(88) above).
6. THE EXTOL PHRASEOLOGY

Upon their receipt of commands and associated benefices the investees extolled the generosity of their seigneur/feoffers in much the same way in this group of subinfeudation inscriptions as we have earlier observed in the records of investitures held in the Royal Court and emanating from the King. Over half of the inscriptions in this group (52 items) incorporate the extol phraseology and all but five of these are addressed to seigneur/feoffers, who were either the Princes of States or officers of the Royal Court:

50. (91) 1. It was in the fifth month, the first quarter of the month, on the day,
2. keng-wu [7], T'ung Chung had taken up residence in the Western Palace.
3. [He] awarded Chi Fu .... .... : - six,
4. menials - four families, metal - 10 chün.
5. Chi Fu bowed low his head, responded and extolled my August Lord's grace, therefore
6. [has he] made for his illustrious deceased father [this] honoured Hu-vase.
7. Chi Fu has thus pursued filial piety [back to his forbears]; for
8. a myriad of years may sons and grandsons eternally cherish [it].

Chi Fu Hu 几父 [ins. A/1:55.3]

The aforegoing example is representative of the feature. There are, however, five inscriptions wherein the Son of Heavens, or a Royal consort, is extolled by the investees in preference to the expected
seigneur/feoffers. We have already studied three cases in other connections: the Shou Kuei (see 34(35)), the Man Kuei (see 35(34)) and the Ta Kuei (see 36(36)). The two remaining examples may now be conveniently reviewed:

51. (27) 1. It was in the nineteenth year, when the King was at Kan.
   2. The Royal Consort, Chiang, commanded the Tso-’ts’e-officer, Huan, to console (?) the Earl of Yi, the Earl of Yi awarded Huan: cowries and cloth. [Huan] extolled the Royal Consort, Chiang's grace; therefore [has he] made for his accomplished deceased father, Kuei, [this] valuable and honoured Ch'i-vessel.

52. (33) 1. It was in the third year, the fifth month, on the day, ting-ssu [54], the King was at Tsung-Chou, the King commanded the Shih-officer, Sung, to inspect the State of Su [and its] administrative officers, the seigneurs of the li-territories, and the leaders of the hundred clans, and to arrange and direct them to finalize convenants in Ch'eng-Chou. [Sung] was (gracious =) competent and [his]
   4. Service was successful. [The Prince of] Su awarded [Sung]: a jade-chang-sceptre, horses - four, propitious metal; therefore
5. made [this] cooking Yi-vessel. Sung, for a myriad of years without limit, daily

6. behold the Son of Heaven's enlightened command, may sons and grandsons eternally cherish [it].

Shih Sung Kuei 史頌毁 [ins. 60.2]

Although it was not the King or the Royal Consort who personally granted the awards in these inscriptions, it was, nevertheless, essentially due to the investees each receiving a direct command from the Royal Court which resulted in their being awarded by the seigneur/feoffers with whom they were required to engage in services. It would seem that this custom constituted a special feature in the interrelationships of the King and the Princes of States. The latter received the services and had to pay for them, while the recipients were required to express their appreciation to the former. It is a little difficult to reconcile this custom with the two main versions with which we have been concerned particularly when we turn our attention to the anomaly attending the Shu Sui Ch'i (see 33(70) above) wherein it is recorded that the investee was commanded by a Royal consort to undertake service with a Royal officer and was awarded by the latter; unlike the preceding inscriptions he did not extol the Royal consort's beneficence. Attention should be drawn also to the Hsiao-ch'en Chai Kuei (see 12(78) above) wherein the investee, Chai, was commanded by T'ung Kung to render service to Po Mao Fu. He was duly awarded by Po Mao Fu and following the award he extolled the beneficence of both T'ung Kung and Po Mao Fu. Presumably an award should have been made during some sort of ceremony in most such cases; despite these slight deviations from the main body of subinfeudation
inscriptions in which the extol phraseology appears, it remains evident that this particular section of the inscription text constitutes records of ceremonial procedures conducted by seigneur/feoffers other than the Chou King. Accordingly we have made it a general rule to regard most instances of the extol phraseology as evidence of a ceremony having taken place. As to the nature of the ceremony in the case of subinfeudation inscriptions, however, there are problems.
7. THE INVESTITURE CEREMONY AS RECORDED IN THE SUBINFEUDATION INSCRIPTIONS

For the most part the subinfeudation inscription contexts offer little evidence as to the form of ceremonial attending an investiture conducted in a Princely Court. This may be due to their conciseness and the possibility that they are essentially highly abbreviated records as in the case of many inscriptions concerned with Royal investiture ceremonies as demonstrated in Part One. Fortunately, however, we have at least two relatively detailed inscriptions amongst those in the subinfeudation group which throw useful light on the problem, one is the Ni Chung inscription which was possibly cast in separate sections of text amongst six chung-bells of which four only were unearthed in Yung-shou, Shensi. The inscription has been published recently by the Managing Committee of Cultural Relics of the Hsien-yang District in K'ao-ku yu wen-wu and is believed by the reporter to be datable in Late Western Chou (Ts'ao Fa-chan 曹法辰 and Ch'en Kuo-ying 陳國英, 1981.1:8-11). The combined texts provide a more comprehensive picture of the ceremony than others in the group:

53. (31) 1. It was in the King's first year, the third month,
the second quarter of the month,

2. on the day, keng-shen [57], Shu Shih was in

3. the Grand Temple, Shu Shih commanded the Shih-
historiographer, Yin,

4. to summon Ni. Shu Shih made a Statement to this
effect, "Ni,

5. your grandfather and your father held adminis-
trative posts in the Ducal
6. Court, now I award you armour decorated with five round metal bosses, a ko-dagger-axe with red-tipped shaft; employ [these] in (....=) [your] administrative duties in

8. the Ducal Court [in regard to] the families of the p'u-yung-servants, the ch'en-menials, the ch'ieh-maids and the hsiao-tzu-minions.

9. Do not fail to heed wise advice;
10. reverently day and night (shelter =) protect my person; do not (abandon =) disregard my commands; do not fall
12. short in your services." Ni presumed to bow low his hand ..... Ni Chung [ins. A/1:84.6]

Upon the basis of this inscription alone, we may surmise that the Princely investiture ceremony was in no small number of respects identical to the Royal investiture ceremony. The second inscription, the Mao Kuei, adds further details:

54. (25) 1. It was in the King's eleventh month, the second quarter of the month,

2. on the day, ting-hai [24], Jung Chi entered on the right (and assisted)[,] Mao [took up his] position in the centre of the Courtyard.

The Earl

3. of Jung called forth [the historiographer to read out] the decree [to] Mao, [wherein it was] stated: "[In =] Formerly your forbears and father until their deaths served
4. in the Ducal Court of [the Duke of] Jung; formerly your grandfather had, furthermore, ordered your father to

5. administer until his death the Fang people. It was unfortunate [that Heaven] has taken away (the pillars =) these able officers of our House, and so [have they] passed away. Now

6. I dare not (dream =) idly ponder upon the (advances and retreats =) performance of [our] Former Dukes. [Instead,] I earnestly (bring forth =) bestow [upon you our]

7. Former Dukes' offices [held by your forbears and deceased father onto you], now I command you to administer until death the Fang Palace

8. and the Fang people, you must not dare to be remiss. [I] award you: jade-li-chang - four; a jade-ku; a

9. sacrificial vessel. Cherish [these gifts]. [I also] award you; horses - ten; bovines - ten. [I] award

10. [you] at X - one field; [I] award [you] at Y - one field; [I] award [you] at Tui - one field; [I] award [you] at Liang - one field." Mao made obeisance with

11. his hands and bowed low his head, and presumed to respond and extol the Earl of Jung's grace; therefore [has he] made [this] valuable and honoured

12. Kuei-vessel. Mao, for a myriad of years may
As in the preceding inscription, for the sake of brevity, the time of the ceremony, the position taken by the ruler, and various other such details of procedure noted earlier concerning the Royal investiture ceremony have been omitted. But the entrance of the master of ceremonies - the assistant-on-the-right - and the investee taking up his position in the centre of the courtyard; the seigneur/feoffer calling forth [the historiographer to read out] the decree; the content of part of the decree being recorded; and after receipt of the awards, the investee making obeisance and extolling the seigneur/feoffer's grace; etc. are all closely reminiscent of the procedures in a Royal investiture ceremony. We may thus reasonably expect that the Princely investiture ceremony would generally have been modelled on that conducted in the Royal Court. And from the early years after the establishment of the Chou Kingdom we may find amongst the subinfeudation inscriptions stray pieces of isolated evidence scattered amongst the various inscriptions which appear to confirm various aspects of the Princely investiture ceremony.

The Man Ting (see 40(30) above) speaks of Man, the investee, arriving to pay homage to his seigneur/feoffer, Jen Shih, whereupon he was commanded to serve and protect the Prince's family, and was duly awarded benefices. The content of this inscription is so condensed that one might be inclined to speculate as to whether an investiture ceremony had really been held. However, it would seem evident that Man had been the recipient of such honour, first of all because of the statement "Jen Shih commanded Man to serve and protect his family" which may be taken to imply that
a document containing the text of the decree had been compiled and was read out personally by the Prince; and secondly, because of the extol phraseology recorded after the command and award had been made - a procedure normally associated with the investiture ceremony.

Possibly in the light of the information obtained from the Mao Kuei above, and with some degree of confidence that the ceremony recorded in the Man Ting (and in other inscriptions lacking the details) would have been held from dawn to early morning in the palace of Jen Shih. The seigneur/feoffer, Jen Shih, would have entered the courtyard first, taken up his position in the ta-shih "Grand Hall", facing the south. Then Man, the investee, would have entered on the right, assisted by his colleague, and have taken his position in the middle of the courtyard, facing the north. In the Royal investiture ceremony, we may visualize a first historiographer receiving the document containing the decree from the King, a second historiographer was then called forth by the King to read out the decree to the investee. However, in the present case it was apparently the seigneur/feoffer himself who read out the decree to Man. After the command and award was made, Man would have bowed low his head and extolled the Prince's grace, and then departed from the courtyard, the ceremony would be completed.

Similarly, in the Shih Chiu Kuei inscription (see 42(88) above) of Late Western Chou, it may be inferred that the seigneur/feoffer, Po Ho Fu, had conducted an investiture ceremony during which the allocation of specified duties and the award of benefices to his household-attendant, Shih Chiu, took place. In this case, there are three main indications that a ceremony was involved recorded in the inscription:

(1) The wording: "Po Ho Fu made a statement to this effect"
which indicates that there was a document containing the decree and, in all probability, was read out by a historiographer of Po Ho Fu's Court. B2

(2) The nature of the command issued by the seigneur/feoffee and the value of the award made to the investee Shih Chiu.

(3) The presence of the extol phraseology following Shih Chiu's receipt of the honour accorded him.

We likewise observe vestiges of evidence of the ceremony in the Pu Ch'i Kuei (lid) (see 49(90) above) and also in the Chi Fu Hu (see 50(91) above). In the latter inscription may be noted further, however, the record that the ceremony was carried out in T'ung Chung's hsi-kung "Western Palace". Mention of the building in which the ceremony took place is to be noted in only six other subinfeudation inscriptions, the Ni Chung [ins. A/1:84.6], the Mai Yi [ins. 35.2], the Mai Ho [ins. T.30.5], the Mai Ting [ins. 28.1], the Erh Tsun [ins. 52.4] and the recently discovered To Yu Ting.

It is opportune at this stage of our survey to view the recently discovered To Yu Ting in some detail because of the valuable light it throws on recording procedures of investiture ceremonies as well as the interrelationship between the Royal Court, a Princely Court, and a vassal of the Princely Court:

55. (67) 1. It was in the tenth month; as the Hsien-yün-barbarians had greatly risen up, and had extensively attacked the Ching Shih-garrison

2. [the officers of the Ching Shih-garrison came to] report [the incident] to the King. [The King] commanded Duke Wu: "Despatch your Yuan-
shih-warriors, to advance and pursue [the barbarians] (to =) as far as

3. the Ching Shih-garrison'. Duke Wu commanded
To Yu to lead the ducal chariots and advance
and pursue [the barbarians] (to =) as far as

4. the Ching Shih-garrison. On the day, kuei-wei
[20], the Jung-barbarians attacked Sun, and
took captives; To Yu [then] pursued [them]
to the

5. west. On the morning of the day, chia-shen
[21], [To Yu] struck against [the barbarians]
at Ch'i, To Yu obtained left ears (of slain troops)

6. and prisoners for interrogation; altogether,
by means of the ducal chariots, [he] obtained
left ears (of slain troops) - two hundred and
[.... tens]

7. and five persons; [he] obtained prisoners for
interrogation - twenty-three persons, [he]
captured Jung-barbarian chariots - one
hundred

8. and seventeen items, and recovered the Sun
people taken captive. Again [To Yu] struck
against [the barbarians] at

9. Kung, [he] obtained left ears (of the slain)
- thirty-six persons, and prisoners for inter-
rogation - two persons, captured chariots -

10. ten items. [The chariots] (followed and re-
turned =) were brought back [by To Yu to the
Duke]  [To Yu] pursued and struck against [the barbarians] at Shih. To Yu again obtained

11. left ears (of the slain) and prisoners for interrogation. Thence [To Yu] rushed forth in pursuit [of other barbarian troops] and arrived at Yang Chung. [By means of] the ducal chariots [To Yu] obtained

12. left ears (of the slain) - a hundred and fifteen persons, prisoners for interrogation - three persons. [However], the captured chariots [of the barbarians] were unable to be put to use and were destroyed by fire. Only the horses [were kept so as] to carry the wounded. [To Yu] recovered

13. the captives seized at Ching Shih-garrison.

To Yu then presented the left ears [of the slain] and the prisoners [taken for interrogation]

14. to the Duke. Duke Wu then presented [these spoils] to the King. Thereupon, [the King] made a statement to Duke Wu, saying "As you have

15. [restored] tranquility to the Ching Shih-garrison, [I] give you [gifts; I] award you land and fields". On the day, ting-yu [34], Duke Wu

16. was in [his State and residing in] the Hsien Palace, thereupon [he] commanded Hsiang Fu to summon To Yu [to audience]. [To Yu] thereupon (... =) proceeded
18. to the Hsien Palace. The Duke personally made a statement to To Yu, saying: "In the beginning I [required] service of you;

19. [you have been] (graceful =) dutiful, and (unresisting =) compliant. [You] have successfully completed the tasks and made many captures. [As] you have [restored] tranquility to the Ching Shih-garrison, [I] award you a li-basin with jade handle, yang-chung-bells - one set, ....

20. Shih-garrison, [I] award you a li-basin with jade handle, yang-chung-bells - one set, ....

21. and harness ornaments - one hundred chün. "To Yu presumed to respond and extol the Duke's grace, therefore [has he] made [this] honoured Ting-cauldron to be used [in entertaining] friends and companions. May sons and grandsons eternally cherish and employ [it].

To Yu Ting 多友朋 [ins. A/1:275.2]

Naturally, as the inscription record has been compiled by the vessel-maker - the investee, To Yu - it largely reflects his viewpoint. In less than three lines of texts (28 characters) he presents the date (partly an event-date) and associated events so that the whole section succinctly brings to the reader's attention the background attending the Royal command received by Duke Wu 武公: the large-scale uprising of the Hsien-yün-barbarians, their wide-spread attacks on the Ching Shih-garrison 京邑, the reports of this received at the Royal Court, and the King's directive to Duke Wu to despatch the elite of his warriors to the Ching Shih-garrison to deal with the uprising. All this took place in the 10th month. So, too, possibly Duke Wu's command to To Yu to lead the ducal chariots to
the Ching Shih-garrison. It is unfortunate, however, that day-dates were not recorded for these events. The first day-date appears in the next section where To Yu relates in considerable detail the events and victories with which he was associated. On this day, kuei-wei [20], To Yu sets off in a westerly direction in pursuit of the Jung-barbarians who had attacked the State of Sun 篁. On the morning of the following day, chia-shen [21], he commenced the first of a series of battles at Ch'i 竹, Kung 附属, Shih 世 and Yang-chung 楊象 - these events would appear to have been spread over a period of several days. The next (and final) day-date recorded is that on which To Yu was summoned to appear before Duke Wu in the Hsien Palace 廣宮 where a formal ceremony took place (ting-yu [34]); this was two weeks after he set off on his successful expedition.

Understanding of the time element is important. Despite the lack of day-dates attending the earlier events, however, we may reconstruct some aspects of Duke Wu's association with the Royal Court:

(1) His State was within easy reach of the Royal Domain and possibly like the Duke of Chou, the Duke of Shao, Po Mao Fu, etc. he spent much of his time on administrative duties in the Royal Court.

(2) Upon receipt of the Royal Command the Duke ordered To Yu to attend to the matter and, presumably, he remained in his State awaiting the outcome of the expedition.

(3) When the expedition was successfully concluded To Yu returned to the Ducal State handed over to Duke Wu the severed ears, the captives, and the freed prisoners (taken by the Jung-barbarians when they attacked the Ching Shih-garrison).

(4) The Duke proceeded to the Royal Court and presented these to the King and was awarded territory and fields.

(5) Upon his return to his State he summoned To Yu to an audience in
the Hsien Palace and awarded him gifts of appreciable value.

To Yu says little about the Royal favours received by his seigneur/feoffee and even less detail is recorded as to the Royal investiture ceremony. All this being so commonplace it need not be fully recorded. When it came to his turn a little more detailed account of his prowess in the series of attacks against the barbarians. It is in this respect that the To Yu Ting inscription is so very important - we know well enough from the representative Royal investiture inscriptions selected for appraisal in Part One just how much detail To Yu has omitted in the course of his compilation of line 15. Likewise we may appreciate how succinctly he has recorded procedural matters relating to his own investment at the Ducal Court with gifts: the graph shao 召: 召 "summon to audience"; the delegation of this ducal command to an appropriate officer, Hsiang Fu; and the somewhat curious phrasing: [王] 通曰武公曰 (line 15) in respect to the document containing the ducal decree issued by the King personally to Duke Wu, and the repetition of this phrasing in line 18 in respect to the document containing the Royal decree issued by the Duke personally to To Yu: 公覲曰多友曰- these all indicate that a formal ceremony was held and, we may assume, in accordance with the time-honoured procedures we know so well from the more detailed records in other inscriptions.
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Table 21 The divisions of seasons and the months in which investiture ceremonies recorded in the subinfeudation inscriptions were held.
8. DATE FORMULAE IN THE SUBINFEUDATION INSCRIPTIONS

At the commencement of Part One of this survey appreciable attention is given to the significance of the dates and their formulation in the inscriptions recording details of the Royal investiture ceremonies. It is appropriate now to review the date formulae in the subinfeudation inscriptions so as to follow up on the investiture ceremony procedures with which we have been concerned in the previous three sections. As many as 46 of the 97 subinfeudation inscriptions contain records of dates. Accordingly it is to be expected that the data may be almost sufficient to support the general theme of the preceding sections and further demonstrate practices in the Princely Courts that tie up closely with those in the Royal Court.

As shown in Table 21 the 46 dated inscriptions indicate a tendency to favour the first month of each season (i.e. meng-ch'un 孟春, meng-hsia 孟夏, meng-ch'iu 孟秋 and meng-tung 孟冬) as well as the last month of each season (chi-ch'un 季春, chi-hsia 季夏, chi-ch'iu 季秋 and chi-tung 季冬) for the granting of awards by seigneur/feoffers other than the Royal Family. From the point of view of the seasons it may be noted in Early Western Chou that Princely investiture ceremonies were mostly carried out in Spring (seven cases) and Autumn (seven cases); the two seasons Winter (five cases) and Summer (four cases) were apparently somewhat less favoured. In Middle Western Chou the situation has reversed in some respects: four cases recorded in both Winter and Summer with three cases for Autumn and only one for Spring. In Late Western Chou, the same pattern as in the early period is to be observed: five cases in Spring, three cases in Autumn but in Summer and Winter there is only one case in each.
Table 22 Occurrences of the month-quarters in which investiture ceremonies recorded in the subinfeudation inscriptions were held.
When viewed in terms of months, it will be noted that except for the seventh month, the investiture ceremonies were conducted throughout the whole year in Early Western Chou, with a slight emphasis in the fourth month (four cases), the eighth month (three cases) and the ninth month (three cases). In Middle Western Chou, the ceremonies were carried out more frequently in the sixth month (three cases) and the first month (three cases). While in the Late Western Chou, the fifth month (three cases) and the third (two cases) seem to have been the more favoured.

In more general terms, it may be summarized that investiture ceremonies involving subinfeudation were carried out throughout the whole year. However, there seems to have been a slight preference for Spring and Autumn (each 13 cases). While in terms of months, it may be observed that there is a greater emphasis on the fourth to the 11th month (32 cases), in contrast to the 13 cases + one intercalary case from the 12th to the third months.

As to the four month-quarters, there are altogether 31 inscriptions available for study (see Table 22). In Early Western Chou, ch'u-chi 初吉 (seven cases) was the most favoured month-quarter for awards granted by seigneur/feoffers other than the Royal Family. In this same period the decreasing incidence of awards made in chi-sheng-pa 既生霸 (three cases) and chi-wang 既望 (two cases) and none in chi-ssu-pa 既死霸 may not be without some degree of significance. In Middle Western Chou ch'u-chi and chi-sheng-pa were the most favoured month-quarters (five cases each); none in the third month-quarter but two in chi-ssu-pa.

In Late Western Chou, ch'u-chi (three cases) and chi-sheng-pa (four cases) continue to be the most favoured month-quarters. There are no records of investiture in the last two month-quarters.
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<th>三</th>
<th>四</th>
<th>五</th>
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Table 23
A: The complete cycle of kan-chih days appended for convenience of reference.
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| 合計 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 41 |

Table 23
B: Occurrences of kan-chih days amongst the subinfeudation inscriptions arranged also in kan-day decades.
Table 24 A general comparison of the date formulae in Royal investiture ceremony inscriptions and in subinfeudation investiture ceremony inscriptions.

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<td>3. 月份</td>
<td>八，九月頗佔多数，十二月—五月佔多数</td>
<td>八，九月頗佔多数，四月—七月佔多数</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 月相</td>
<td>上半月即吉，既生霸佔多数</td>
<td>上半月即吉，既生霸佔多数</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 肴取日</td>
<td>丁亥，庚寅，甲戌</td>
<td>丁亥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 干日</td>
<td>丁日，甲日，庚日</td>
<td>丁日，庚日</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We may thus further generalize to the effect that it was the first half of a month in which most occurrences of investiture ceremonies of the subinfeudation type are recorded. Within this first half, the ch'u-chi month-quarter (15 cases) was slightly more favoured than the chi-sheng-pa month-quarter (12 cases).

So far as the kan-chih 千支 days are concerned, the pattern is not distinctive (see Tables 23a, b), although the days ting-hai [24]丁亥 (five cases) and keng-yin [27]庚寅 (three cases) appear to be slightly more favoured than the other cyclical days throughout the whole period; they are closely followed by ting-mao [4]丁卯 and keng-wu [7]庚午 (three cases each). When reviewing the situation in terms of kan-days 千 (i.e. in groups of ten), it will be noted that the ting-days 丁 (nine cases) and the keng-days 庚 (eight cases) were especially favoured for the holding of investiture ceremonies of the subinfeudation type throughout Western Chou. These are closely followed by the yi-days 乙 and the hsin-days 辛 (five cases each).

We may conclude this section with reference to the rather generalized data in Table 24 which illustrates reasonably well the nature of date formulae as it appears throughout Western Chou times in the two main groups of inscriptions covered in the survey. Although highly summarized, it would seem evident that a distinct tendency towards a more or less identical choice of times for the ceremonies was characteristic throughout the Chou Kingdom during these periods. Naturally, it is to be expected that some variations should occur; major examples are to be noted in the divisions of the seasons, months, and in the variety of cyclical days and kan-days. However, the significance of these is uncertain as the number of inscriptions available is not sufficient to resolve the possible reasons for deviations. In the cases of the seasons and the month-quarters there is a clear correspondence between the two groups.
FOOTNOTES

43. "Alienation of the fief" (or rather of a fraction of the property) is possibly the more appropriate term that might be employed here (cf. Marc Bloch, 1961:208-210). However, as the nature of Western Chou feudalism becomes clearer in the present survey it will become evident that Western terminology cannot be employed too precisely in the Chinese scene. I have preferred to use the term "subinfeudation" here as it is somewhat reminiscent of the Chinese fen-feng, but neither term is suitable for all circumstances covered by the archaeological documents. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary definition: "The granting of lands by a feudatory to an inferior to be held of himself on the same terms as he held them of his superior"; the relation or tenure so established demonstrates the general suitability of the term when the gift for services rendered is land but not when the gift is another commodity and given often for practically identical services. I have purposely stretched the English term so that it should embrace products deriving from land as well as land itself, cf. Note 46 below.

44. Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 106a-107a) has suggested an association with the Kuo Chi Tzu Po P'an 績季子白盤 [ins. T.104.4] i.e. in Yih Wang's time, while Wang Kuo-wei believes it to be datable prior to the transfer of the Chou capital to the east in Ch'un-ch'iu time (cf. Shirakawa, Tsushaku, 193:815). The Late Western Chou dating is interestingly confirmed by the recent find at Hou-ching-kou 后刑溝, T'eng-hsien 滕縣 in Shantung (cf. Wan Shu-ying, WW 1981.9:25-29) of a Kuei vessel with an identical inscription [ins. A/1:148.1(v.b)]. The location of the find and the decor throughout the other vessels unearthed all point to a Late Western Chou date.

45. The first sentence in the present inscription is a little ambiguous: 不期, 駙方, 厥允廣伐西俞, 王命我盖追于西 Who is the invader and who is the defender? This may perhaps be clarified with reference to the locations of the State of E where Yü Fang was enfeoffed (anciently near present day
Hsin-yang in Honan, and thus was east of Tsung-Chou) and the Hsien-yün (a barbarian territory located to the north and northwest of Tsung-Chou). It is unlikely, therefore, that Yu Fang would be the invader because of the inscription wording: "to pursue to Hsi" (in the west), while their State was in the east (cf. detailed studies of Wang Kuo-wei, 1973c:583-605; Kuo Mo-jo, Ta-hsi, 107b-108a; and Shirakawa, Tsūshaku, 142:263, 266-267). Long after the writing of this note the To Yu Ting(ığ ins. A/1:275.2) came to light; it has much in common with the present inscription. The reader is referred to p.225 where this important new find is discussed in detail.

46. Seigneur/feoffer - a combination of two Western terms which in concert seem to suit the Chinese situation in this period better than they may individually. The idea of the seigneur (The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary): "A feudal lord; a noble taking his designation from the nature of his estate" and a feoffer: "One who makes a feoffment ["The action of investing with a fief or fee"] to another" (and note feoff "To confer (a heritable possession) upon.") succeed in covering many aspects of the relevant Western Chou feudal set-up. In particular the early sense of fief, fen, feos, etc. which embraced movable property: arms, clothing, horses, food, etc. should be recalled (see Marc Bloch, op. cit. pp.164ff). It is with such considerations in mind that my combining these two terms results in a concept which, if understood and accepted in this spirit, should be found usefully representative of the Western Chou "feudal" institution in many respects.

47. As the majority of the subinfeudation inscriptions are short and greatly attenuated in regard to the investiture ceremony as conducted in the Princely Courts I believe it advisable, and certainly convenient, to present the full text of the inscriptions. On occasions some additional notes are added (in Chinese) to the Chinese transcriptions as in the previous section. Generally these aim to support my renderings in English and are often concerned with interpretations of minor
importance to the general theme of the discussion. Where points of greater significance warrant elaboration thus is effected in the English text (or in the footnotes in English).

48. It is important to note here the problems attending the variant usages of the character hsiu (好, “good”, “benefit”, “blessing” in the present bronze inscription and also others with which we shall be concerned shortly:

a. as a verb:

Hsiang Hou Kuei 相侯敬 [ins. 33.12]
相侯敬于眾臣口錫帛金

"The Marquis of Hsiang [bestow] grace upon his officer..., and awarded [him] cloth and metal...."

b. as an adverb:

E Hou Ting 虛侯鼎 [ins. 84.2]
王侯敬,乃射,駒方領王射

"The King graciously banqueted, then [conducted] a shooting [ceremony], Yu Fang shot along with the King ...."

c. as a noun:

Lü Ting 呂鼎 [ins. 41.5]
...... 對揚王休

"... responded and extolled the King's grace"

d. as an adjective:

(i) Shih Fu Chai/Ting 鄭父鼎 [ins. T.12.1]
休王錫鄭父鼎

"Gracious [is] the King [who has] awarded Shih Fu cowries..."

(ii) Hsiao-ch'en Pu Ting 小臣通鼎 [ins. 17.9]
...... 休中錫通

"Gracious [is] Chung awarded Pu...."

(iii) Hsin Ting 巽鼎 [ins. A/2: 14.34]
休朕公君侯錫巽鼎

"Gracious [is] my lord, the Marquis of Yen, awarded Hsin cowries...."

Shirakawa (BIHP 1965.1:148-150; Tsūshaku, 45:475-479) takes 相侯敬 to be K'ang Wang, but it would seem evident from the usage in the Hsiao-ch'en Pu Ting and the Hsin Ting that his interpretation may be at fault. Kuo Mo-jo (1935:95a) long ago proposed that 相侯敬 might be the name of a King and could be
read as Hsiao Wang. Later he gave up the idea (Ta-hsi, 95a) because the style and decoration of the vessel in question was of earlier date (cf. also Ch'en Meng-chia, "Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955b.2:105-106). Ch'en Pang-huai (CKYW 1979.1:60-61) regards 休 when used at the beginning of a sentence to be an exclamatory particle which interpretation is interesting to keep in mind. The present inscription text reads: 休联匈君公伯錫鉌臣弟象 and the sentence structure is exactly the same as the Hsin Ting and similar to the Shih Fu Chai/Ting and the Hsiao-ch'en Pu Ting in (d) above; I have translated accordingly.

49. Wu K'ai-sheng (1971.2:19) has suggested that the character 弟 is not necessarily ti 弟 "younger brother" but may be a variation of shu "uncle" (see also Juan Yuan, 1970.5:33). However, the character shu appears often in the bronze inscriptions and is written as , , , etc., while the several instances of ti are rendered as , , , etc.. The distinction between the two characters is obvious.

50. Akatsuka Kiyoshi 赤塚忠 transcribes the character 杰 as 杰 hsiu and suggests that it was possibly a miswriting of 休 hsiu (cf. Shirakawa, Tsūshaku, 15:168). Thus the garrison in question might, he believes, have been located near modern Hsiu-ch'eng 休城, west of T'eng-hsien, Shantung. However, the character hsiu in the inscriptions is almost invariably written as 杰 (休) and occasionally as 杰 (休) (cf. CWKL, 8:3787-3790). The structure 杰 , has only the "tree" element in common. Numerous examples of loose, or forced identifications of this kind may be cited.

51. The Hsien Ting is one of the famous seven vessels from Liang-shan 梁山七器 unearthed in Shantung in the early 19th century amongst which interrelationships between personages in the State of Yen have been discussed at length by Kaizuka Shigeki 貝塚茂樹 (1950:375ff) and Shirakawa Shizuka (Tsūshaku, 40:425-432), and a tie up with the Tso-ts'e Ta Fang-Ting has also been proposed (see next note for details).
52. Shirakawa (Tsushaku, 4:70) believes that the investee Tz'u here is the same person as "the Duke Ts'u" with the title ta-pao in the Tso-ts'e Ta Fang-Ting作册大方鼎 [ins. 40.2]: "It was when the Duke Tz'u [caused to be] cast the sacrificial cauldron for Wu Wang and Ch'eng Wang ... Ta extolled the August Heavenly Yin-officer, Ta Pao's grace ...
Accordingly, he suggests that the Duke - the seigneur/feoffee in the present inscription - is most likely to be the Duke of Chou who would be in the exalted position to award so prominent an officer as Ta Pao (i.e. the Duke of Shao) in the Royal Court. However, the writing of the two graphs which he takes to be "Tz'u": 杜 and 杜, is structurally different. The graph 杜 in the Fang-Ting is also found in the K'ang Hou Kuei康侯簋 [ins. 24.12] "The King came and invaded City Shang ..." 王來伐商邑 ... and almost certainly is to be read as lai "come". Hence the first two characters in the Fang-Ting text should be read as Kung lai 公來 "the Duke came" not as Kung Tz'u as though the second graph was the personal name of Ta Pao. The proposed tie up of the present inscription with the Fang-Ting in the determination of the status of seigneur/feoffee by Shirakawa lacks foundation. For relevant discussion on the K'ang Hou Kuei please see also Chou Fa-kao "K'ang Hou Kuei k'ao-shih"康侯簋考釋, CWLS 1972a:1-37, and Chang Kuang-yüan "Hsi-Chou K'ang Hou Kuei k'ao-shih"西周康侯簋考釋, in Ku-kung chi-k'an 故宮季刊 1980.3:69-96.

53. Particularly good evidence of this may be noted amongst the group of inscribed vessels of the State of Yen unearthed in Liu-li-ho琉璃河, Peking in 1973-1974:
(i) Yu Kuei 俞簋 [ins. A/1:16.43]
侯賞攸癸三朋 ...... "The Marquis awarded Yu: cowries - three strings ...."
(ii) Fu Ting 復鼎 [ins. A/1:13.26]
侯賞復癸三朋 ...... "The Marquis awarded Fu: cowries - three strings ...."
(iii) Fu Tsun 復尊 [ins. A/1:15.30]
匡侯賞復 ......
"The Marquis of Yen awarded Fu: ...."

The "Marquis" recorded in the Ting and Kuei inscriptions is doubtless to be identified with the "Marquis of Yen" in the Tsun inscription (see Anon., KK 1974a:5:313).

54. According to Ku Tung-kao (1747.5:2b), only the State of Hsueh had a ruling family with the surname of Jen; they claimed to be descendants of Huang Ti. However, as the Man Ting was unearthed in Ch'ang-tzu, Shansi, while Hsueh was anciently situated near present day T'eng-hsien in Shantung; it would appear that the traditional account of this family by Ku is far from being complete. The story goes that Huang Ti had 25 sons, 12 of whom had surnames. Jen was one of the surnames and nine other branches of the Jen were established other than the Hsueh branch (see Lei Hsueh-ch'i, 1937:46). Possibly the Ch'ang-tzu find may thus be claimed to throw some light on the early history of this family (see Anon., WW 1979d:9:90).

55. The lid inscription which is enclosed by ya-hsing appears in the Sung catalogues (Li-tai 11:120; Hsiao-t'ang A:41; Po-ku 11:18; Hsu-k'ao-ku 2:17); rubbings of the inscription are no longer extant while the drawings of the lid in the two last-mentioned sources are not sufficiently reliable to allow assessment on the significance of the decor. Nevertheless, several aspects of the inscription text lead one to question its authenticity, especially in the later half of the inscription which reads:

If the Sung catalogue hand-copies are reliable, or nearly so, it would appear that the phraseology is somewhat different from that of the properly provenanced inscriptions; also the text is confused thus we cannot even be sure whether Yin or Kao is the maker of the vessel! Although no one has raised doubts in publication as to the authenticity of this inscription, doubtful
features of this kind should be kept in mind when referring to it.

56. The event-date sentences in inscriptions of this kind function not only as an indication of the date of the events recorded in the passages which follow but also the choice of an event-date seems usually to have been made in terms of a definite interconnection between the two. Thus the "King's attack against the Eastern Yi-barbarians" and Lien Kung's commanding Hsūeh and Shih Ch'e .... to attack Yü, are not to be regarded as isolated events which took place at the one time, but should be understood to be interrelated events. Accordingly, it may be inferred that Lien Kung was acting under the King's command.

57. The Hsūeh Ting is generally accepted to be a vessel of Ch'eng Wang's reign. Yü would appear to have been located in the Eastern Yi-barbarian area according to the inscription context. However, Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 6:28a,b) has suggested that it might have been a State in ancient Yü Chou (i.e. in present day Honan). Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955a.1:174) considered that the character may be a variation of neng: 豹, 象, 象, and thus can be read as hsiung. Accordingly he suggests the inscription concerns Ch'eng Wang's military expeditions against the Yen and Hsiung-ying barbarians in the east, and thus verifies the relevant record in the "Tso-lo" section of the Yi-chou-shu (5:7a,b). Careful examination of the archaic character structures show that Ch'en's interpretation is far from convincing. The Eastern Yi-barbarians were not necessarily only those tribes active along the coastal area of the Shantung peninsula; in both the traditional texts and the inscription data we know that in Ch'eng Wang's time, the Huai-hsü and other barbarians were also troublesome along the Huai River, i.e. in modern Chiangsu, Honan and Anhwei. This area was also referred to as "east" (Ch'en Meng-chia, "Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955a.1: 145,148,149).

58. Wu K'ai-sheng (1971.1:29a) has explained the term hou-kuo
as "those States which served only a supporting role in the military expedition [to Yü]" 從征在後之國, but this hardly suits the original context. Shirakawa (Tsūshaku, 19:220) takes hou-kuo to have to do with territories under the control of the Yu-su-chu-po 有毫諸伯 who thus lead their followers from these territories (together with the troops of the Shih-shih) into battle. But it is difficult to understand what he really means, and to see how this specifically fits the original context. In the above four character combination, the last two graphs, 諸伯, have no support in the original context. Itō Michiharu 伊藤道治 has quoted this inscription in his Chugoku Kodai Kōchō no Keisei (1975:140) and correctly observes there that the true meaning of this sentence cannot be established. Possibly like Shih-shih - a title of office - the phrase Yu-su-hou-kuo may likewise be a title of office; however, until further examples of it come to light, one can do little more than speculate.

59. Rubbings from three different versions of the Hsiao-ch'en Yi have been reproduced: Hsiao-chiao 小校 7:46a and San-tai 三代 6:51a; Hsiao-chiao 7:46b; Chi-Ku 積古 5:27 and Ch'i-ku 奇觚 17:14; and Hui-pien 彙編 276. The latter two are highly suspicious. The characters of the first inscription, however, (note especially  and  ) are executed in a script ductus very similar to that of such Early Western Chou inscriptions as the Ch'ien Yu 趙卣 [ins. 27.3], Ling Kuei 令缺 [ins. 106.1], Ch'en ch'en Yi 臣辰卣 [ins. 48.5] etc; there is no reason to question it.

60. Chung Ching Fu 仲鏡父 in this diagram is generally considered to be the same person as Ching in the Yu and Kuei of that name (Kuo Mo-jo, Ta-hsi, 66a; Ch'en Meng-chia, "Tuan-tai", KKHP 1956c:3:108-109, 111-112). However, Shirakawa (Tsūshaku, 87:159, 90:192) holds a different view and argues that Ching Fu and Ching were, in fact, two persons. He observes that there were at least seven vessels made by Ching and their names are each written as  and accordingly differ appreciably from the graph 趙 in the name Chung Ching Fu of the Chien Chih.
Shirakawa's interpretation is deserving of serious consideration, but we must also take into account the following facts:

(a) The records in the Ching Kuei and the Ching Yu are each concerned with the Chou military expedition against the Southern Yi-barbarians, while the group of vessels comprising the Chien Chih, the Lu Tung Yu, the Lu Kuei, etc. record Chou's conflict with the Huai Yi-barbarians. The Southern Yi and the Huai Yi in these inscriptions may well be the same tribe (see Note 62 below).

(b) The design and decoration of the Ching Yu and the Lu Tung Yu are very close, which point Shirakawa has also admitted.

(c) The Chung Ching Kuei inscription 仲競殷 [ins. 12.21] records a person, Chung Ching 仲競 who might be identified as Chung Ching Fu and with the graph 鈞 written as 鈞, very similar to those in the Ching series of vessels. However, Shirakawa argues that the Kuei was a manufacture of Late Western Chou, according to its design and decoration, but this would seem to be opened to serious question. Chung Ching might thus well be the same person as Chung Ching Fu.

61. In 1975, a group of vessels made by the same person Tung (or the Earl Tung of Lu; or Lu) was unearthed in Fu-feng County, Shensi. This group of vessels consists of a Tung Ting (1) 壟鼎 (-) [ins. A/1:63.4], Tung Ting (2) 壟鼎 (=) [ins. A/1:111.2], Tung Ting (3) 壟鼎 (三) [ins. A/1:5.99], Tung Kuei (1) 壟鐘 (-) [ins. A/1:132.3], Tung Hsien 壟甗 [ins. A/1:3.7], Tung Hu (1) 壟壺 (-) [ins. A/1:5.100], Tung Hu (2) 壟壺 (=) [ins. A/1:5.101] which comprise inscriptions from 134 characters to three characters. The decoration and design of these vessels allow them to be dated in Middle Western Chou (Lo Hsi-chang et al, WM 1976.6:51-60). Accordingly, the dating of Lu Tung Yu, Lu Kuei etc. by Kuo Mo-jo to be of Mu Wang's reign is more acceptable.

62. The term Huai Yi is found in the Lu Tung Yu, the Shih Yiian Kuei 節寅殷 [ins. T.115.1], the Tseng Po Lai Fu (Hu) 曾伯 爰釜 (區) [ins. T.88.2] (the vessel is traditionally
rendered as *fu* but should actually be rendered as *hu*, see Note 24 above), while the term *Nan Yi* appears in the *Ching Yu*, the *Wu Ch'i Kuei* [ins. T.58.3] and the *Tsung Chou Chung* [ins. T.111.1]. The combined term: *Nan Huai Yi* is to be noted in the *Yu Ting* [ins. 203.1], the *Wu Kuei* [ins. S.132.1], the *Hsi Chia P'an* [ins. T.129.1], the *Liao Sheng Hsü* [ins. 49.3], and the *Kuo Chung Hsü* [ins. 22.2]. The *Huai Yi* were settled along the Huai River Valley, i.e. present day Southern Honan, Anhwei and Northern Chiangsu, and according to the *Tseng Po Lai Fu* (Hu) and the *Liao Sheng Hsü*, comprised lesser tribes such as the *Chiao*, *Chin*, *T'ung* 桐, *Yu* יב, *Yin* 音, *Hsieh* 夔, *Fan* and *T'ang* 湯. Located thus south and southeast of Ch'eng-Chou, they were referred to collectively either as the *Southern Huai Yi* or more simply, the *Southern Yi*. The military expeditions against these *Yi*-barbarians were occasionally referred to as "Southern expeditions" (南征), e.g. the *Kuo Chung Hsü* and the *E Hou Ting* [ins. 84.2] (see Ma Ch'eng-yüan, *KK* 1979.1:60-63; also Chü Wan-li, 1969:383-411). Ch'u takes *Yin* and *Hsieh* as a combined verb which means "to pacify", and takes *Fan-t'ang* as *Fan-yang* 順陽, a place located in the northern reaches of the Huai River (i.e. in the present day Honan). His interpretation is also feasible.

63. The character 從 *ts'ung* cannot always be translated easily in context of this kind although the general sense is clear. It is found in many texts amongst which three major kinds of usage can be observed:

(a) As a clan-name such as *Yu-ts'ung* in the *P'an* of the same name [ins. 2.55], and as a personal name in the *Ts'ung Ting* 從鼎 [ins. 11.1]: "Po Chiang awarded *Ts'ung* cowries - thirty strings, *Ts'ung* therefore has made [this] valuable *Ting*-cauldron" 伯姜錫從鼎告朋, 從用作寶鼎

(b) As a verb (as in the present inscription) which means "to follow" (and engage in some kind of service). The service may include participation in a "fishing ceremony" as recorded in the *Hsing Ting* 井鼎 [ins. 30.12] and the *Mai Tsun* [ins. T.167.1]: "pay homage?" as in the *Chiao Ting* 交鼎 [ins. T.167.1]:
12.26] and the Hsien Kuei 賢殿 [ins. 27.5]. But in most of the cases, the services (as in the present inscription) are concerned with military affairs (CWKL, 10:5145-5148).

(c) As an adjective in the phrase 作從襄: tso-ts'ung-yi, 作從旅襄 tso-ts'ung-lü-yi, 作從宗襄 tso-ts'ung-tsung-yi as recorded in the Tso Ts'ung Yi Yu 作從襄 岳 [ins. 3.69], Tan Ting 羅鼎 [ins. 5.97] and the Ch'uan Tsun 傳尊 [ins. 6.146]. Fang Chün-yi (1976.13:18b) considers it to have the same meaning as 旅 lü in the 旅襄 lü-yi phrase, which phrase is generally interpreted as "travelling Yi-vessel", "sacrificial Yi-vessel", or, as a "series of vessels" (CWKL, 9:4235-4265; Karlgren, BMFEA 1940.12:146/77a-d). It seems that 從,旅 may well be interchangeable.

64. Note the "Shao-kao" 召諾 and "Ku-ming" 顧命 chapters of the Shang-shu and the Preface 尚書序 (see Legge, 3.2:420,545; 3.1:11).

65. See Kuo Mo-jo "Hsiao-ch'en Su Kuei ming k'ao-shih" 小臣謬殿 銘考釋, in Chin-wen ts'ung-k'ao 金文叢考 1932a:233; Wu Ch'i-ch'ang 金文疏解, 1936:340; Chou Fa-kao "Shih Ch'i Ting k'ao-shih" 翰札鼎考釋, CWLS 1972c:44-49.

66. The first sentence of Meng Kuei 作服考 as follows: 孟曰: 朕文考 罪毛公遺仲征無實. Kuo Mo-jo (KKHP 1962a.1:1-2) reads Ch'ien Chung 遺仲 as the name of the Duke of Mao. However, in a later article (WW 1972.9:2-10), he takes 毛公 and 遺仲 to refer to two different people. His first interpretation, however, I believe to be the more reliable in terms of character usage in the inscriptions. Were two people involved, the particle ta 當 "and" should appear here as a conjunction, e.g.: Nieh Ling Fang-Yi 矢令方鼎 [ins. 179.1] 徒(出)令(命)含三事令(命), 黑卿事肇, 黑服(諸)尹, 黑里 君, 黑百工, 黑諸侯; 侯, (田向), 男

Ling Ting 令鼎 [ins. T.70.4]
令眾奮先馬走, 王曰: "令眾奮, 乃(若)克至, 令(余)其舍 女(汝)臣+家."
67. There are two theories concerning the location of the ancient State of Hsing, one places it in the present day Hsing-t'ai 邢台, Hopei and the other in the east of Wen-hsien 温縣, Honan. However, in March, 1978, a group of 10 vessels was unearthed from Yuan-shih-hsien 元氏縣, Hopei. In Western Chou times, the locality was in the territory of the State of Chih軒; a State unrecorded either in the classics or in the inscriptions. Among the inscribed vessels there is one, the Ch'en Chien Kuei 靜殿 [ins. A/2:72.5], which bears an inscription of 72 characters. The inscription is partly concerned with the Marquis of Hsing's battles against the Jung-barbarians; Ch'en Chien along with his ya 黃旅 "forces" was commanded by the Marquis to take up station at Chih. The inscription thus helps to solve the problem of Hsing's locality, it would appear now to have been near present day Hsing-t'ai rather than in Honan. For the report of the excavation, see Anon., KK 1979b.1:23-26. For the discussion of the inscription and the locality for the State of Hsing, see Li Hsiieh-ch'in and T'ang Yün-ming 唐雲明, KK 1979.1:56-59, 88.

68. Ch'eng Fa-jen has quoted the record of "Han-shu ti-li-chih pu-chu" 漢書地理志補注 in his Ch'un-ch'iu tso-shih-chuan ti-ming t'u-k'ao 春秋左氏傳地名圖考 (1967:105-106) concerning the enfeoffment and locality of the three States of Kuo. He then suggests their locations as follows:

(a) The Eastern Kuo, a territory enfeoffed to the Kuo Shu 總叔 family, about 10 li east of Ssu-shui 斯水, Honan.

(b) The Western Kuo, a territory enfeoffed to the Kuo Chung 虎仲 family, about 60 li east of Pao-chi 寶鶻, Shensi.

(c) The Northern Kuo, a state established by the descendents of the Kuo Chung family following the move of the Royal Capital to the east by P'ing Wang 平王. The State was located on both banks of the Yellow River at Shen-hsien 陝縣 (or Shang-yang 上陽) and Ta-yang 太陽 (or Hsia-yang 下陽), Honan, and
was accordingly known also as Southern Kuo so far as the Hsia-yang part is concerned.

In 1956, a cemetery of the State of the Northern Kuo was discovered at Shang-ts' un-ling, Honan. The excavation, as Lin Shou-chin, one of the excavators, has suggested, helps to revise in two ways the traditional interpretation relating to the enfeoffment of the Northern Kuo: (a) It was established in the Western Chou; (b) the territory was enfeoffed to the Kuo Chi family, not to the descendants of Kuo Chung family (see Lin Shou-chin, JICS 1978.IX.1:1-14; also Anon., 1959:48-51).

69. The Cha Ting was first recorded in Lu-yi (1957:22, rubbing 85). Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKH 1955b.2:94-95) takes the third character to be a verb placed as it is between two nouns, and suggests that it may have the meaning of wang "to go to". However, we have the character wang in bronze inscriptions written as 鄰 (cf. Wu Wang Kuang Chien 王光鉄 [ins. A/1:52.3]), it would seem unlikely that another and so much more complex graph would have been employed in place of the character of wang. Shirakawa (Tsushaku, 44:462) has taken it to be a term denoting some kind of agricultural ceremony in which the Duke of Shao participated at Yen. However, were this the case we would expect to find a particle between the verb and the place-name in accordance with inscription usage, e.g.:
Ta Feng Kuei 大豐毁 [ins. T.78.1]: 王祀千室……
Ling Ting 令鼎 [ins. T.70.4]: 王大籍農于耕田……
There being no such particle between the characters and Shirakawa's interpretation, too, would seem to lack foundation. Although identification of the left-hand element is uncertain, the writing of the right part of the character is very similar to the character 鄰 in the sense of "to plough", "to develop" as seen in the Ling Ting 令鼎 [ins. T.70.4] and the Yen Kuei 裁毁 [ins. S.71.1], possibly it has a similar meaning?

70. A rubbing of the Yu Ting 虎鼎 inscription is reproduced in San-tai (3:51) and Chou-ts'un (2 pu). Shirakawa (Tsushaku,
Figure 6. The complete text of the Yu Ting inscription (after Cheung Kwong-yue, pers. comm.).
89:197) cites the inscription but with reservation on its authenticity; however, he fails to go into detail. Judging by the San-tai rubbing alone, suspect features such as the lack of a subject before tsai (在) "in", the lack of a cyclical day-date, the record of the investee's title of office towards the end of the text instead of on its first occurrence, are together sufficient to cause concern. However, fortunate enough, the original vessel was shown to Cheung Kwong-yue recently by the Shanghai Museum and it is now clear that the lower half of this inscription was corroded thus not able to be included in the previous catalogues. After the cleaning of the patina the lower half and the upper half of the inscription read so well together that its authenticity is beyond suspicion (see Fig. 6).

71. Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKH 1955b.2:110) has reproduced a photograph of the inscription and suggests that insofar as phraseology is concerned, the last character ting of the second line: 休中錫道 [鼎] should be taken as the last character of the 3rd line: 揚中皇作寶 [鼎]. The character is, he believes, misplaced due to a mishap in the casting procedure. There are several examples recorded in the inscriptions which similarly have one or two characters misplaced, e.g., the Yü Chüeh 孟爵 [ins. T.21.2], the Jui Kung Kuei 芮公鼎 [ins. T.9.6], the Po To Hu 伯多壺 [ins. T.11.31] and the T'ang Shu P'an 湯叔盤 [ins. 26.15] (cf. Jung Keng 容庚, 1973.A:93). However, Shirakawa (Tsūshaku, 55:575-576) has taken the character ting as it stands in the present inscription simply to be an item of award as generally recorded in the bronze inscriptions. Shirakawa's interpretation would seem to be the more acceptable. As to the third line: 揚中皇作寶, the same usage may also be found in other inscriptions; e.g.: Yü Jen shou [麗人字蜀] [ins. 5.98]: 離人字作寶; Chi Chu Kuei 季徹毁 [ins. T.10.43]: 季徹作旅毁, 作子孫作寶; note also Shih Hsiün Kuei 師訥毁 [ins. S.209.1], Po Tung Kuei 伯威毁 [ins. 29.3] and Ch'en Chüeh 匡爵 [ins. 4.72] etc.
72. Wu K'ai-sheng (1971.1:31) transcribes this character as 魂 lu, however, lu is found in the Shih Hai Kuei 師害殿 [ins. 70.7] where the archaic form is written as 魂. Li Hisao-ting (CWKLFL, 1977:2628) suspects that 魂 is to be read as 於 yu, and proposes it to be the archaic form of 魂 wu. But we have a number of examples of 魂 (leg) in the inscriptions which are written as 魂 (Mao Kung Ting 毛公鼎 [ins. T.500.1], 首 (Hsiao Yu 效卣 [ins. T.62.1]), 首 (Ch'i Po 齊鎣 [ins. T.172.1]) etc. Accordingly, the character should be regarded as one which we cannot identify in the present state of our knowledge of Chinese paleography.

73. The Man Kuei inscription has been recorded in the San-tai (8:50) and the Hsiao-chiao (8:45.3) catalogues. Both Wu K'ai-sheng (1971.3:4) and Jung Keng (1973.A:96) have suggested that the order of the wording of the last sentence is in reversed form. The last two characters 岁姜 chi-chiang should accordingly be read before 陳隗 tsun-kuei. A few other possible cases of reversal may be noted (cf. Shirakawa, Tsushaku, 176:584, 587; Jung Keng, 1973.A:92-93), but the feature is rare (cf. examples in CWKL, 13:7060-7108, 7112-7114). Such mishaps would probably due to carelessness in the preparation of the inscription in the foundries.

74. It seems reasonable to assume that Man and Shu Ssu Fu may also have served as emissaries from the Royal Court, apart from their conveying the award of a food vessel to Lady Wu on behalf of the King. If such were the case, it may help to explain the reason for two stages of awards - first, from the Shih-officer, Huang, to Man for his service as a Royal emissary; and then from Lady Wu to Man in return for his conveyance of the Royal favour and the accompanying gift. Like other noble ladies, the Lady Wu was, no doubt, involved in administration matters thus she received the Royal emissaries personally, and possibly, too, the award presented by the Shih-officer, Huang to the emissaries was carried out under her orders.

75. This vessel is said to have been unearthed in Feng-hsiang
鳳翔，Shensi，in 1924. It is of somewhat unusual design and aspects of the calligraphy and the characters have been questioned (see Barnard, MS 1965.24:339-348; and Shirakawa, Tsūshaku, 10:116, 120-121).

76. Yu Hsing-wu has suggested in his article "Ssu-kuo to-fang k'ao" 四國多方考 (KKS 1934.1:39-43) that ssu-kuo and ssu-fang comprise two different divisions of the Chou territories. He considers that Chung-kuo is equivalent to Ching-shih, while such terms as ssu-kuo, wang-kuo, chou-pang and yu-chou are employed in reference to the Royal Domain. The ssu-fang comprises the barbarian States located outside the ssu-kuo and these may be further divided into tung-kuo, nan-kuo, pei-kuo in accordance with their general direction from the Royal Domain. To-fang then refers to the numerous Princely States located in more or less the same area as the ssu-fang. Accordingly Yu's hypothesis may be diagrammatically illustrated thus:

However, Yu's interpretation would seem to be unconvincing in the light of the several Shih-ching passages which equate ssu-fang and ssu-kuo: "Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom, to secure the repose of the four quarters of it ......., let us cherish this capital, to secure the repose of the States in the four quarters" 惠此中國，以綏四方 ......., 惠此 京師，以綏四方(Legge, 4.2:495,496). chung-kuo is equated with
ching-shih, and similarly ssu-fang with ssu-kuo. See also "Screens to all the States, diffusing [their influence] over the four quarters of the Kingdom" 四國子瀋四方子宣 (Legge, 4.2:535); "What is most powerful is the being the man; - in all quarters [of the State] men are influenced by it. To an upright virtuous conduct, all in the four quarters of the State render obedient homage" 無競。維人，四方其訓之，有覺德行，四國順之 (Legge, 4.2:511).

77. Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hsi, 2b) has dated the Hsiao-ch'en Tan Chih in Wu Wang's reign. He takes the third character of the inscription, which is written as 砕，to be 坡 pan, and regards it as a phonetic loan of fan 反, to "rebel". Therefore, the whole sentence 王後反（坡=反）克商 as Kuo believes, denotes the second rebellion to the Shang by Wu Wang in the 11th year, at the place Mu-yeh 拯野, which resulted in Wu Wang's destruction of the Shang power. However, we have the character 反 in other inscriptions written as 同 (Sung Ting 風鼎 [ins. T.149.1]), 同 (Ta Pao Kuei 大利毁 [ins. T.34.3]) (CWKL, 4:1699). Hence it is not necessary to loan phonetically another character to denote the meaning of 反 here in the Chih inscription. Ch'en Meng-chia ("Tuan-tai", KKHP 1955a.1:160-161) has read the third character as 屮 k'u (*k'wət). It is used as a phonetic loan of ch'ü (*k'jwət) 居 "to suppress". The inscription therefore concerns about Ch'eng Wang's suppression of the uprising of the subjugated Shang people. Ch'en's interpretation and dating seems more convincing.

78. Tu Cheng-sheng 杜正勝 (BIHP 1979.50.3:576) takes the character 古 ku to be equivalent to the place-name 古 in the oracle bones; he follows thus Ting Shan's 丁山 idea (1971:146) that 古 is a variation of 古, and is located between Ku-ling 固陵 and K'u-hsien 苦縣 in Honan. The hypothesis that 古 equals 古 in the oracle bones was first posited by T'ang Lan (1935.B:40; CKWP 0271). However, in the oracle bone script, 古 is written as 古, 由, etc. (HCKWP 3.3) and it is either used as a personal name, or as a verb in the phrase ku-wang-shih 古王事 "to engage diligently in the royal
affairs"; there is no example of its use as a place-name (Shima, 1967:124-125). The graph 魚, on the other hand, was used as a personal name in the oracle bones of the first period (Shima, 1967:420, CKWP 0271). Li Hsiao-ting 李孝定 considers the two structures: 魚 and 魚 to be two different characters (see CKWTCS, 2:0409-0411, 3:0701-0710).

79. Apart from the Jan Fang-Ting which is somewhat questionable, the Jung Kuei 蘭毅 [ins. 30.15] in the collection of Palace Museum of mainland China has recorded that Jung, under unspecified circumstances, received an award of 100 strings of cowries from the King. The Kuei-tureen is generally regarded as a vessel of K'ang Wang's reign. See Tu Nai-sung 杜迺松, "Jung Kuei ming-wen k'ao-shih chi ch'i yi-yi" 蘭毅銘文考釋及其意義. Ku-kung po-wu-yüan yüan-k'an 故宮博物院院刊 1982.3:89-91.

80. The To Yu Ting was first published in Jen-wen tsa-chih 人文雜誌, No.4, 1981, and a valuable study on the inscription was read by Li Hsüeh-ch'in at the Chinese Palaeography Conference held at T'ai-yüan from 15th to 21st, September, 1981. Li kindly forwarded me a copy of his paper which arrived shortly after the main text of this section was completed. The inscription is one of especial value in assisting us to obtain a deeper understanding of the nature of subinfeudation in Western Chou times.

81. A Chan-kuo tomb was unearthed in Ch'ang-ch'ing 長清, Shantung, 1977, in which 27 pieces of bronze joinery were found. The reporters believe these to have been employed as fittings for a portable pavilion - a tent-like structure - used in tours of duty, hunting and military expeditions, etc. (see Anon., KK 1980a.4:329-332).

82. The phrase jo-yüeh 說 "said as follows" was generally seen in front of a decree in the Shang-shu and inscription records. According to Tung Tso-pin (SWYK 1944.4:327-333), it was an idiomatic phrase of the period indicating that the decree was in
written form, and would eventually be read out during the ceremony by a historiographer. As for the phrase wang-yüeh 王曰 "the King said", Tung has suggested that two usages may be observed:

(a) when used after the phrase wang-jo-yüeh 王若曰 "the King spoke to this effect:" in the same text, it functioned as an abbreviation of the phrase;

(b) when it appears on its own, it indicates that the decree (presumably in written form) was read out by the King personally. Tung's interpretation for the second usage is insufficiently attested. Occasionally it may be observed that wang-yüeh is used when the decree was read out by a historiographer and not by the King at all. In this sense, wang-yüeh may be regarded to share the same function as wang-jo-yüeh. For example, see the following inscriptions:

Tou Pi Kuei 豆闕毁 [ins. 92.1]
王乎內事冊命豆闕, 王曰: 閩……

Sung Ting 公鼎 [ins. T.149.1]
王乎史虢生冊命公鼎, 王曰: 頌……

For further discussion, see also Ch'en Meng-chia, "Wang-jo-yüeh k'ao" 王若曰考, SWYK 1944.4:335-340).
CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Altogether 213 inscriptions have been examined in some detail in the course of the preceding survey; so far as possible they have been accorded a much larger measure of freedom than is usual in surveys utilizing these primary archaeological documents to express the information they contain untrammelled by such conceptions of the period as appear in the essentially secondary traditional sources. The latter sources are, naturally, not to be deprecated unduly for they contain much that is to be valued. But the task of sifting out these data is by no means straightforward and it is beyond the aim of the present investigation to enter fully into what should be regarded as the second and logical step in our gradual progress towards a clearer understanding of the period, the people and, in particular, the nature of the administrative machinery they had established. When we come to consider in greater depth than we have up to now the real value of the inscription records as historical documents, it should become even more apparent why the historian must adhere very strictly to the tenets of his profession and seek to make advance slowly, establishing one firm foot-hold before proceeding to the next.

In the Introduction, attention has been drawn to the truly contemporary nature of the inscription texts and the fact that they constitute the largest available corpus of such written documentation. Purposely, however, I have avoided discussion at length on two major short-comings which sooner or later must enter our assessment of the reliability of the primary documents. It seemed to me at the outset that it would be advisable to let the reader "get the feel of" the documents first and see for himself something of their potential as historical sources when carefully studied and systematically surveyed.
Following that experience, he might then better judge the other side of the scale and so weigh more exactingly - or, should it be phrased: more sympathetically(?) - the degree of reliability attending the outcome of the research approach.

First, the problem of forgery and the extent to which spuriously contrived information may have distorted the picture of Western Chou administration. Needless to mention, every care has been taken to ensure that all known forgeries and inscriptions of appreciably doubtful authenticity have been discarded. I am particularly indebted to the specialist guidance referred to in the Acknowledgements. In this connection it may be appreciated that the fruits of archaeological discovery over the last 20 or 30 years has made it possible to assess now far more effectively than earlier, the overall reliability of many erstwhile suspected inscribed bronzes. There are one or two items I have employed regarding which I feel somewhat hesitant as to their authenticity - these are noted and the bases of my suspicions offered for consideration.

Secondly, there is the more crucial matter as to the degree of truth embodied in the inscription record; as the Li-chi continues later in the section cited earlier (p. 42): "The tripods (at the sacrifices) had inscriptions on them. The maker of an inscription named himself, and took occasion to praise and set forth the excellent qualities of his ancestors, and clearly exhibit them to future generations. Those ancestors must have had good qualities and also bad. But the idea of an inscription is to make mention of the good qualities and not of the bad: - such is the heart of a filial descendant; and it is only the man of ability and virtue who can attain it."

(夫鼎有銘，銘者，自名也。自名，以稱揚其先祖之美，而明著之後世者也，為先祖者，莫不有美焉，莫不有惡焉，銘之義，稱美而不稱惡，此孝子孝孫之心也。唯賢
The reader may concur with me in the belief that the compiler of this passage is not too far out in his understanding of the kind of selective recording which his ancestors seem to have favoured. It would appear evident in such inscriptions as the To Yu Ting (Part Two, 55(67) above), the Pu Ch'i Kuei (lid) (Part Two, 49(90) above), the Shih Sung Kuei (Part Two, 52(33) above) that posterity was required to learn only of the successes of the investee and the extent of the honours and awards bestowed on him. Never do we hear of mishaps or reverse - particularly in the military or administrative spheres. Yet when the Royal Decrees are cited at length, or in part, by the investees some indication of the frailer aspects of those to whom the Decrees were directed may be gauged from the frequent appearances of admonitory phrases: "[You] must not dare to be (not expert =) ineffective"; "Reverently, day and night, [endeavour] not to disregard my commands"; "Those who render service in administration, alas, should not dare to get drunk". Naturally, we may never learn of the possible military reverses of a To Yu; or details of the occasional lack of concern to the well-being of the "One Man" of a Mao Kung (Mao Kung Ting 毛公鼎 [ins. T.500.1]); the lack of heed of a Shih Yu to the Royal commands (Shih Yu Kuei 師尹簋 [ins. T.104.2]); the partiality to alcoholic beverages of a Yü (Ta Yü Ting 太盈 [ins. T.285.1]); etc.

A great deal of the understandings we arrive at are thus viewed through rather rozy-tinted lenses and, of course, it is almost exclusively the aristocracy - the Royal and Princely Courts and associated civil and military officers - with whom we are in close communication. The inscriptions tell us little about the common man; the study of peasants, artisans, slaves, shop-keepers, soldiers and so on requires a different approach and an emphasis on other forms of
archaeological data. When appraising the inscription evidence it is necessary to maintain these thoughts in mind for the archaeological documents are in many such respects individually limited in value.

Studied in groups, however, it is possible to discover a fair amount of "hidden" information and to obtain some light on the nature of certain unrecorded matters. Realization that the inscriptions are often highly attenuated compilations and that by a systematic tabulation of their contents it is possible to view them individually in a more extended form, is an important step towards our obtaining a clearer appreciation of the document-type and a better basis upon which we may achieve more reliable levels of interpretation than has been possible hitherto.

Another approach to these documents is that of seeking comparisons with similar governmental institutions in other cultures. By far the most rewarding-appearing avenue of study is that involving intercomparisons with Western feudalism. Ch'i Ssu-ho's classic study "A Comparison between Chinese and European Feudal Institutions" (see Bibliography) serves well to open up the subject. There is certainly some ground to allow a comparative study but to pursue this effectively it would be essential that the historian already versed in the Chinese documentation should also be not only familiar with the large body of literature on European feudalism (and hence armed with a reading knowledge of English, French, and German at least) but furthermore he should be able to study the primary sources in the original Latin! The very fact that comparable primary texts are written in the language of the Church - an institution of special significance in the European scene and one lacking a counterpart in ancient China - leads one to the conclusion that attempts to seek comparisons or parallel may become little other than academic
exercises. The very fact that a millennium or more in time separates the two general cultural spheres and the amount of transmitted long-preserved relevant primary documents from the numerous monasteries of the medieval West is so much greater than that resulting from the archaeological uncovering of comparable documentation originally in the Royal and Princely Courts of Chou, is even more significant. The historian is hard put with a wealth of primary data on the one hand and a scarcity on the other to prepare a balanced judgement. For reasons such as these I have purposely avoided the issue.

The result of this survey should be considered not so much in regard to the shedding of new light on Western Chou administrative procedures - the nature of "subinfeudation" as demonstrated in Part Two of the survey may perhaps be claimed to be a somewhat innovative in effect - but rather in respect to the more realistic approach to the inscriptions as historical documents which, I venture to suggest, is the more important aspect of this study, and one that may be expected to have an important potential in future work conducted on these documents and others yet to appear.
APPENDICES

Group 1

Appendix 1A
Appendix 1B
Appendix 1C

The 213 inscriptions upon which the present survey is based are listed in order of appearance in the main tables (Table A, Table 18, Table B) in which Table A, Table 18 are arranged in chronological order; while Table B is arranged in accordance with the feudal rank of seigneur/feoffee. Alongside each inscription reference to the authorities followed or counted in assessing the period of compilation of the inscription text is presented. Bibliographical details are necessarily brief for the oft-repeated sources such as Kuo Mo-jo's Liang-Chou chin-wen-ts'u ta-hsi (大系), Ch'en Meng-chia's "Hsi-Chou t'ung-ch'i tuan-tai" (新代), Shirakawa Shizuka's Kimbun tsūshaku (通譯) [see Bibliography]. Less frequently appearing sources are recorded fully.

Group 2

Appendix 2A
Appendix 2B
Appendix 2C

Sources in which the 213 inscriptions are reproduced - either as rubbings or as wood-block prints in the early catalogues - are listed here. Abbreviated titles only are presented. Full names, in order of appearance, are as follows:

從古 : Ts'ung-ku-t'ang k'uan-chih-hsüeh

奇觚：Ch'i-ku-shih chi-chin wen-shu

客齋：K'o-chai chi-ku-lu

周存：Chou chin-wen ts'un
綴遺：Chui-yi-chai yi-ch'i k'u'an-chih k'ao-shih
三代：San-tai chi-chin wen-ts'un
小校：Hsiao-chiao-ching-ko chin-shih wen-tzu
大系：Liang-Chou chin-wen-ts' u ta-hsi t'u-lu chi k'ao-shih
通行：Shang Chou yi-ch'i t'ung-k'ao
積古：Chi-ku-chai chung-ting yi-ch'i k'u'an-chih
歷代：Li-tai chung-ting yi-ch'i k'u'an-chih
筠清：Yün-ch'ing-kuan chin-wen
通釋：Kimbun tsūshaku
錄遺：Shang Chou chin-wen lu-yi
善齋：Shan-ch'ai chi-chin-lu
斷代："Hsi-Chou t'ung-ch'i tuan-tai"
麻朔：Chin-wen li-shuo shu-cheng
麟松：Cheng-sung-t'ang chi-ku yi-wen
西清：Hsi-Ch'ing ku-chien
貞補：Cheng-sung-t'ang chi-ku yi-wen pu-yi
文選：Shuang-chien-yi chi-chin wen-hsüan
嘯堂：Hsiao-t'ang chi-ku-lu
夢鄙：Meng-wei-ts'ao-t'ang chi-chin t'u
武英殿：Wu-ying-tien yi-ch'i t'u-lu
積微：Chi-wei-chü chin-wen shuo
古展：Chuka jinmin kyōwakoku kodai seidoki ten
青研：Yin Chou ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i ming-wen yen-chiu
西甲：Hsi-Ch'ing hsü-chien chia-pien
彙編：Chung Jih Ou Mei Ao Niu so-chien so-t'o so-mo chin-wen hui-pien
善圖：Shan-chai yi-ch'i t'u-lu
陶齋：T'ao-chai chi-chin-lu
1A. Dating of the 73 inscriptions of Royal investiture ceremony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>時期</th>
<th>器名</th>
<th>備註</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>早</td>
<td>大盂鼎</td>
<td>康王(「大系」,「斷代」)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>早</td>
<td>小盂鼎</td>
<td>康王(「大系」,「斷代」)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>趙鼎</td>
<td>穆王(「大系」)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>君夫簋</td>
<td>穆王(「大系」)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>楚伯 戮簋</td>
<td>穆王(「大系」)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>蓋衛簋</td>
<td>穆王(「大系」,李學勤&quot;西周中期銅器的重要標尺&quot;,見『中國歷史博物館館刊』1979.1:34,36,以下簡稱「李釋」)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>蓋衛簋</td>
<td>謝王(「李釋」1979.1:35,36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>穆王(WW1976.5:27-28)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>穆王(唐蘭 &quot;陝西省岐山縣董家村出土西周重要銅器銘文的譯文和註釋&quot;見WW1976.5:55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>錶鼎</td>
<td>慕王（“大系”）</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>造曹鼎</td>
<td>慕王（“大系”，“霸代”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>師承毁簋</td>
<td>慕宏間（WW 1964.7: 23-25）</td>
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<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>師毁簋</td>
<td>慕宏間（WW 1979.2: 93）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>造虎毁簋</td>
<td>慕王（“大系”，“霸代”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>高鼎</td>
<td>慕王（“大系”，“霸代”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>牝毁簋</td>
<td>慕王（“大系”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>師丕壿毀簋</td>
<td>慕王（“大系”，“霸代”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>豆毀簋</td>
<td>慕王（“大系”，“霸代”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>師奎父鼎</td>
<td>慕王（“大系”，“霸代”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>走毁簋</td>
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<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>勝鼎</td>
<td>慕王（“大系”，“霸代”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>象方尊</td>
<td>慕宏（郭沫若“鼎器銘考釋”，見KKHP 1957.2: 1-6）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>象方鼎</td>
<td>慕王（唐蘭“陝西青銅器圖釋序言”1960:5，以下簡稱“唐釋”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>象方彝</td>
<td>仝上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>蘅毁簋</td>
<td>宣王（“大系”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>唄豐鐘</td>
<td>慕王（WW 1975.10: 68-69）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>康 鼎</td>
<td>懿王 (《大系》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>同 殿</td>
<td>懿王 (《大系》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>衛 殿</td>
<td>中期 (KK 1974.1:2-4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>銘文有炎王，亦見以上康鼎，同殿，《大系》定為懿王時期</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>児 殿</td>
<td>懿王 (《大系》, 《斷代》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>児 readability (固)</td>
<td>全上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>児 白</td>
<td>全上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>児尊 (解)</td>
<td>全上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>師晉鼎</td>
<td>懿王 (《通譔》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>懿孝間 (《斷代》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>厲王 (《大系》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>銘文有司馬共，見懿孝鼎，並屬孝王朝期 (《李譔》1979.1:35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>大師晉殿</td>
<td>懿王 (《斷代》, 《通譔》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>夷王 (《董譔》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>銘文有師進，屬孝王朝期 (《李譔》1979.1:35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>師軸殿</td>
<td>懿王 (《斷代》, 《通譔》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>厲王 (《大系》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>銘文有司馬共，屬孝王朝期</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 中 | 諫 殿 | 象文王（“通釋”）
|    |      | 厲王（“大系”）
|    |      | 銘文有司馬共,史先,屬孝王期（“李釋”1979.1:35）
| 中 | 蔡 殿 | 象考問（“斷代”, “通釋”）
|    |      | 厲王（“大系”）
|    |      | 銘文有史先,屬孝王期（“李釋”1979.1:35）
| 中 | 揚 殿 | 象考問（“斷代”, “通釋”）
|    |      | 厲王（“大系”）
|    |      | 銘文有內史先,屬孝王期（“李釋”1979.1:35）
| 中 | 王臣殿 | 象文王（WW1980.5:63-66）
|    |      | 銘文有內史先,亦見諫殿,蔡殿,揚殿諸器,“李釋”定為孝王期1979.1:35
| 中 | 望 殿 | 象文王（“大系”）,象文王（“通釋”）
|    |      | 銘文有史先,亦見蔡殿,師鶴鼎,大師虞殿,師餘殿,諫殿,揚殿諸器,後數器“李釋”定為孝王期
| 中 | 楚 殿 | 象考問（KK1981.2:132）
|    |      | 銘文有中朋父,亦見望殿,稱宰朋父,定為考王期
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 中 | 癸盃 | 壬忽王（WW 1978.3:5）
癸盃与史(bin)盤同時出土，為同一家族之器，癸盃時為
了與奴隸，史(bin)盤為奴隸時人，
服事至孝王初年，其子癸作
癸盃可入孝王期（見《李釋》
1979.1:35）

### 十三年癸盤
| 中 | 十三年癸盤 | 壬忽王（WW 1978.3:6）
孝王（《李釋》1979.1:35-36）

### 十四鼎
| 中 | 十四鼎 | 孝王（《大系》）

### 十四壺
| 中 | 十四壺 | 邁上

### 十四尊
| 中 | 十四尊 | 孝王（《大系》, 《斷代》）

### 十三年癸盤
| 中 | 十三年癸盤 | 昭穆期（《通釋》）
西周中期（張光裕“金文中
册命之典”，見《香港中文大學
中國文化研究所學報》1979.
X. 1: 245）

### 傑酉鍰
| 晚 | 傑酉鍰 | 宣王（郭沫若“齊叔殼及癸
殼考釋”，見《文史論集》P.350）
孝夷厲（《李釋》1979.1:35）

### 傑酉鍰
| 晚 | 傑酉鍰 | 厲王（郭沫若“長安縣張家坡
銅器群銘文通釋”，見《JHP
1962.1:4）
夷王（《通釋》）
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>晚</th>
<th>南季鼎</th>
<th>夷王（《大系》）</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>师颜鼎</td>
<td>昭王（《麻徵》，《董誨》） 杀王前後（《通释》）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>南宫鼎</td>
<td>杀厲問（《通释》） 杀王</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>伊 鼎</td>
<td>杀王（《董誨》） 杀王（《大系》）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>大克鼎</td>
<td>杀王（《大系》）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>宸 盘</td>
<td>杀王（《大系》）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>宸 鼎</td>
<td>杀王（《大系》）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>何 鼎</td>
<td>杀王（《大系》）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>輔師 Baş 鼎</td>
<td>夷王（《通释》） 杀王（郭沫若“輔師 Baş 鼎考釋”，KKHP 1958.2:1-3）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>甄 鼎</td>
<td>杀王（《唐释》1960.3） 杀王（《通释》） 宣王（《郭释》，见《文史論集》p.348）</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 晚 | 師詢殷 | 屬王（《通釋》）
|    |        | 宣王（《邵釋》、《文史論集》p.348）
| 晚 | 張師殷 | 夷厲期（《通釋》）
|    |        | 宣王（WW1966.1:6）
| 晚 | 張叔殷 | 宣王（《邵釋》、《文史論集》p.350）
| 晚 | 師癸殷 | 宣王（《大系》）
| 晚 | 師癸鼎 | 宣王（《大系》）
| 晚 | 師癸盤 | 宣王（《大系》）
| 晚 | 比鼎 | 屬宣期（WW1976.5:29）
| 晚 | 此鼎 | 全上
| 晚 | 善夫山鼎 | 夷王（《通釋》）
|    |        | 宣王（WW1965.7:19）
| 晚 | 師兊殷- | 绝王（《大系》）
| 晚 | 師兊殷二 | 绝王（《大系》）
| 晚 | 鄭殷 | 绝王（《大系》）
| 晚 | 頌鼎 | 恭王（《大系》）、孝王（《通釋》）
|    |        | 宣王（《通考》、《釋例》）
|    |        | 绝王（高鴻緯“頌器考”，見《師大學報》1959.4）
|    |        | 以形制、花文考之，當以晚期為合
| 晚 | 頌鼎 | 全上
| 晚 | 頌壺 | 全上
1B. Dating of the 43 attenuated inscriptions of Royal investiture ceremony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>時期</th>
<th>器名</th>
<th>備 註</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 早   | 甲德殿 | 成王（《斷代》, 《通釋》）  
      |        | 成王（郭沫若“由周初四德器的考釋談到殷代已在進行文字簡化”見WW.1959.7） |
| 早   | 蔡尊   | 成王（《斷代》）                                                      |
| 早   | 臣辰盎 | 成王（《大系》, 《斷代》）                                            |
| 早   | 士卿尊 | 成王（《斷代》）                                                      |
| 早   | 康嬴鼎 | 康王（《大系》, 《斷代》）                                            |
| 早   | 康嬴卣 | 康王（《大系》, 《斷代》）                                            |
| 早   | 周公鼎 | 康王（《大系》）  
      |        | 成康期（《斷代》）  
      |        | 形制、字體均可定為西周早期 |


| 早 | 友毁 | 昭王（《斷代》） |
| 早 | 續毁 | 昭王（《斷代》） |
| 早 | 趨尊 | 成王（《大系》）  
昭王（唐蘭 "西周銅器斷代中的康宮問題"，見KKHP 1962. 1:47，以下簡稱《唐釋》）  
另有趨卣，《斷代》定為成王期 |
| 早 | 折觥 | 昭王（WW 1978. 3:3）  
昭王（李學勤 "西周中期青銅器的重要標尺" 見《中國歷史博物館館刊》1979. 1:32） |
| 早 | 中鼎一 | 成王（《大系》）  
昭王（《唐釋》KKHP 1962. 1:47） |
| 早 | 命毁 | 京兆字體觀之，大抵屬早期 |
| 早 | 愿且丁卣 | 京兆字體觀之，大抵屬西周早期 |
| 中 | 小臣賓彝 | 康頡期（《斷代》）  
穆王（《大系》） |
| 中 | 靜卣 | 全上 |
| 中 | 吕鞏 | 穆王（《大系》） |
| 中 | 師卷鼎 | 恭王（WW 1975. 8:57） |
| 中 | 師湯父鼎 | 恭王（《大系》，《斷代》） |
| 中  | 驥尊殘蓋 | 墙惠王（郭沫若 “簋器銘考釋” 見 KKH 1957.2:6）
|     |          | 慶王（唐蘭《陝西青銅器圖释序言》1960:4-5）
| 中  | 師遽毁蓋 | 墙惠王（“大系”）
|     |          | 慶王（“斷代”）
|     |          | 慶王（唐蘭《陝西青銅器圖释序言》1960:4-5）
| 中  | 齊伯毀 | 宣王（“大系”）
|     |          | 慶王（唐蘭《陝西青銅器圖释序言》1960:4-5）
| 中  | 恒毀蓋 | 慶王期（WW 1975.8:59）
| 中  | 史懋壺 | 銘文有史懋，亦見冕鼎，“大系”均定為慶王期
| 中  | 免盤 | 盤銘之免即免卣之免，屬慶王期
| 中  | 鄒父簟 | 孝王前（“大系”）
| 中  | 故父簋 | 孝王前（“大系”）
| 中  | 伯簋鼎 | 威王（“大系”）
|     |          | 就花紋，字體觀之，似可定為中、晚期
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>中</th>
<th>痾鼎</th>
<th>此器僅見《歷代》10.1,《嘯堂》下.98,《雙週》下1.8著錄,且字作且猶存古意,或可定為中期</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>高尊</td>
<td>京尤字體觀之,可入中期</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>夷毀</td>
<td>京尤字體觀之,可定為中期</td>
</tr>
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<td>中</td>
<td>大作大仲毁</td>
<td>京尤字體觀之,可定為中期</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>克鐘</td>
<td>夷王(《大系》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>師克盈蓋</td>
<td>厲王(郭沫若“師克盈銘文考釋”,見WW1962.6:10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>克盈</td>
<td>厲王(《大系》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>番生毁</td>
<td>厲王(《大系》)</td>
</tr>
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<td>晚</td>
<td>師處毁</td>
<td>厲王(《大系》)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>師族毁二</td>
<td>厲王(郭沫若“長安縣張家坡銅器群銘文彙釋”,見KKHP1962.1:6-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>多友鼎</td>
<td>銘文有「武公」,亦見南鼎唐蘭《陝西青銅器圖釋序言》1960:3定為厲王前期</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>徵糝鼎</td>
<td>厲王(《大系》)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 晚  | 毛公鼎  | 成王（“麻氏”）
    |       | 夷王（“莘氏”）
    |       | 厉王（《周禮・僕臣》）
    |       | 釋序言』1960:3）
    |       | 宣王（“大系”、“通考”）
| 晚  | 賀 盪  | 宣王（“大系”）
| 晚  | 鮭  鐘  | 西周晚期（《陝西青銅器圖
    |       | 釋》圖126）
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>時期</th>
<th>器名</th>
<th>備註</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>早</td>
<td>作冊鼎</td>
<td>1. 銘有康侯, 或以為即康叔封。 2. 武王（“通考”, 赤塚忠所定）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>早</td>
<td>小臣單鼎</td>
<td>武王（“大系”）, 成王（“斬代”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>早</td>
<td>繼方鼎</td>
<td>成王（“斬代”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>壨銘鼎</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>成王（“斬代”）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>早</td>
<td>申鼎</td>
<td>成王（“斬代”）</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1C. Dating of the 97 inscriptions of the subinfeudation type
| 早 | 小臣通鼎 | 1. 成王（“斷代”）
   |   |   | 2. “通釋”謂器具“故宮”下77器型制同，器鼎立耳，
   |   |   | 深腹，口沿下弦紋一道，腹
   |   |   | 略鼓，純素，三足，屬西周早期器
| 早 | 虢文鼎 | 1. 花紋，形制，銘文均可定為西周早期
   |   |   | 2. 成王（“斷代”），康王（“大系”、“麻克”、“通考”）
| 早 | 御正衛鼎 | 成王（“大系”，“斷代”，“麻克”，“通考”）
   |   |   | 康王（唐蘭“西周銅器斷
   |   |   | 代中的康宮問題”Kk4P
   |   |   | 1962.1:47-48，以下簡稱
   |   |   | “通釋”）
| 早 | 作冊夔自 | 成末康初（“斷代”）
   |   |   | 不晚于昭穆期（“通釋”）
| 早 | 施鼎一 | 1. 字體屬早期
   |   |   | 2. 銘文末綴以“析子孫”圖形
   |   |   | 款識，屬早期形式
   |   |   | 3. 施，或即師施鼎“師施”，後
   |   |   | 者“大系”定為成王期，“斷
   |   |   | 代”定為康王期
| 早 | 亙鼎 | 成康期（“斷代”） |
| 早 | 鋪鼎 | 成王（“易經稿”、“通考”）
|    | 成康期（“銘新代”） |
| 早 | 阪鼎 | 成王（“通考”），康王（“銘新代”）
|    | 昭王（“麻朔”） |
| 早 | 召尊 | 1. 字體屬西周早期
|    | 2. 尊分三節，腹略鼓，純素，
|    | 屬較早期形制
|    | 3. 成王（“銘新代”），康王（“通
|    | 釋”） |
| 早 | 御正良爵 | 銘文有今大保，或以為，即召
|    | 公奭，乃西周早期人物 |
| 早 | 小臣盧鼎 | 銘有召公，即召公奭 |
| 早 | 莫鼎 | 銘有大保，即召公奭 |
| 早 | 叔姬器 | 銘文有大保，即召公奭 |
| 早 | 懈父丁妻 | 銘文有大保，即召公奭 |
| 早 | 旅鼎 | 銘文有公大保，即召公奭 |
| 早 | 孟卣 | 与大、小盂鼎同時出土於陝西，
|    | 當為一人器，大、小盂鼎並鑄於
|    | 康王期 |
| 早 | 麥蕉 | 1. 作器者參考見麥尊
|    | 2. 麥尊花紋，字體，形制均屬
|    | 早期，“大系”，“通考”，“麻
|    | 朝”定為康王， “唐釋”定
<p>|    | 為昭王，見 KKHP 1962.1：49 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<th>早</th>
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<th>見上麥盈</th>
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<td>全上</td>
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<tr>
<td>早</td>
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<td>西周早期（KK1974.5:320；KK1975.5:274）</td>
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<tr>
<td>早</td>
<td>復 鼎</td>
<td>全上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>早</td>
<td>攸 殿</td>
<td>全上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>早</td>
<td>作册大盒</td>
<td>形制、花纹、字体均可定為西周早期</td>
</tr>
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</table>
| 早 | 同 盈 | 1.《通释》謂字迹与孟卣录 殿相近，行款整齐，屬昭、穆期字樣
  2. 又有同册花纹形制与上 海博物館藏封古方尊相 近，乃西周早期器 |
| 早 | 蜻 盈 | 1.字體屬西周早期，如保字 從「王」
  2.三足，深腹，三足，口沿下 飾弦纹一道，乃西周早期形制 |
| 早 | 易鼎 | 1. 見“通考”下圖52, 形制, 花紋與殷鼎（圖53, 穆王監）略同, 時代應相近。 2. 銘文未發以圖形文字，屬早期形式。 |
| 早 | 钵白 | 1. 形制,字體均屬早期。 2. 銘文未發以圖形文字，屬早期形式。 |
| 早 | 史獸鼎 | 形制，花紋，字體均可定為西周早期。 |
| 早 | 耳自 | 形制，字體屬西周早期。 |
| 早 | 小臣宅愷 | 形制，花紋，字體均可定為西周早期。 |
| 早 | 耳尊 | 形制，花紋，字體均屬西周早期。 |
| 早 | 季受尊 | 1. 尊分三節, 中節略鼓，上下各飾相對顧首夔龍紋。 2. 就字體觀之，亦可定為西周早期。 |
| 早 | 乙卯尊 | 1. 尊分三節，腹部、圈足飾饕餮紋，為早期花紋，形制。 2. 銘文未有「天龍」字樣，多見於西周早期器。 |
| 早 | 御尊 | 銘文字數較少，僅14字形制，花紋均可定為西周早期。 |
| 早 | 家族 | 1. 方彝主要出现在西周早期中期。  
|    |      | 2. 器盖、器腹主要纹饰为饕餮纹，口沿、圈足附以相对纹饰，为早期纹饰。  
|    |      | 3. 器形制方正，与陕西扶风出土方彝颇近。（cf. William Watson Style in the Arts of China, 图版(7)，属早期形制。） |
| 早 | 像彝 | 擬字體定為西周早期器。  
| 早 | 亞作父乙尊 | 字體纖細，屬西周早期器。  
| 早 | 竺父辛彝 | 字體謹嚴，字劃末端略呈纖銳，刀西周早期書法。  
| 早 | 盆自 | 字體屬西周早期。  
| 早 | 舍父鼎 | 就字體觀之，可定為西周早期。  
| 早 | 瓮鼎 | 字體屬早期，銘文銘以「天」字，圖形款識，亦為早期特色。  
| 早 | 圓鼎 | 就字體觀之，可定為早期。  
| 早 | 彥鼎 | 就字形觀之，如「亡」字，字字右捺成刀狀，「賞」字寫法不從見，作，字寫作「尤」，均表示此鼎為早期器。 |
| 早 | 中且癸鼎 | 京尤字體觀之，如「三朋」之「三」，字寫法，且癸之「且」字寫法，「寶鼎」之「寶」字寫法，均表示，此鼎為早期器。 |
| 早 | 伯口父司 | 鼎與穆王期長白盎同時出土，惟此銘字體稍早，可定為西周早期器。 |
| 早 | 隱尊 | 1. 就字體観之，屬西周早期。 
       2. 銘出于濟縣乃衛國封地。陳夢家《簠簋》以為銘文「公」或即衛康公即康侯。 |
| 早 | 小臣鼎 | 1. 字體屬西周早期。 
       2. 「趙叔」或即季受尊，趙尊之「趙」，後二者均屬西周早期。 |
| 早 | 伯矩鬲 | 銘文為燕侯為第一代燕侯，屬西周早期。 |
| 早 | 太鼎 | 黄然：《周朝青銅器實賜銘文研究》頁190言稱大臣為西周初期之器，中，晚期之銘文均稱賜田。今暫從其說。 |
| 中 | 窰鼎 | 1. 成王（《通考》）、康王（《舊書》），穆王（《大系》）。
       2. 字近屬昭，穆期（《通釋》）。 |
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<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>造雀</td>
<td>鎮所載人物亦見鐘鼎及諸器，屬西周中期</td>
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<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>造雀</td>
<td>鎮所載人物亦見鐘鼎及諸器，屬西周中期</td>
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<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>造雀</td>
<td>成王（“通考”）、康王（“三代”）、穆王（“大系”）</td>
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<td>中</td>
<td>造雀</td>
<td>与造雀、鐘鼎及諸器為相關器物，可定為西周中期</td>
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<td>全上</td>
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<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>敬鶴</td>
<td>鎮文所載歷史人物亦見以上造雀、鐘鼎及諸器等，屬西周中期</td>
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<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>敬雀</td>
<td>康王（“三代”）、孝王（“大系”）、“麻式”等</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中</td>
<td>敬雀</td>
<td>不晚于昭穆期（“通釋”）按敬雀形制、紋飾與靜雀相似，靜雀一般歸于西周中期又《陝西出土商周青銅器（三）》著錄扶風莊白出土鐘雀形制紋飾與敬雀同，定為穆王期</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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| 中 | 孟毁 | 1. 字體近西周早期
2. 圈足較短矮，腹略淺，傾口，下部略鼓，兩耳側首，屬方座毁中較晚形制，方座及器腹上鳥紋與青鶴，靜鶴極類，一般定為穆王朝期 |
| 中 | 望爵 | 1. 爵制出現於商代及西周早中期，晚期不見
2. 本器之望爵與毀，亦見師望鼎稱師望，後者《大系》定為恭王朝期。惟此器字體稍早 |
| 中 | 賢毁 | 1. 字體較早
2. 花紋與宜侯矢毁近，後者一般定為康王早期
3. 器耳形制與格伯毁近，後者《大系》定為康王早期 |
| 中 | 守宮盤 | 1. 豐懿王（《大系》、“簋（代）”）厲王（“瞹命”）、西周後期（“通考”）、恭懿期（“通釋”）
2. 圍足部較高，口沿下飾相對，頸首夔龍紋，屬較早期紋飾
3. 個別字如“且”，“作且”，“其”，“之作且”，“才”，“之作”中，猶保存較早期寫法 |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>中典</th>
<th>卵毁</th>
<th>豐帝（《大系》、“通考”）、孝王（《廓系》）、夷王（“通釋”）</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 中典 | 黃毁 | 1. 器為瓦紋毁，盛行於中期  
2. 「公」字作刀，「凡」字作命，乃較後期寫法 |
| 中典 | 罈毁 | 盔作圈足狀，盔頂飾瓦紋，盔沿飾卷相覆體，際以變相飾首，盔兩獸耳，短珥，口沿，紋飾與盔同，盔腹飾瓦紋。腹部外鼓，短圈足，附以三獸首小足，就形制，花紋類同，可定為西周中期 |
| 中典 | 餘鼎 | 1. 銘文較短少，近早期體制  
2. 字體、紋銳，個別字如「七」作「七」、「文」作「文」，「公」作刀，寫法較早  
3. 暫定為中期 |
| 中典 | 宴毁 | 字體圖畫流麗，個別字如「正」、「文」之寫法，均表示此毁可入中期 |
| 晚 | 仲犧父毁 | 1. 陳公柔“記幾父 vess, 杞鐘及其同出銅器”（見KX 1962.2，以下簡稱“陳釋”）以此書仲犧父或即幾父之幾父。後者段紹嘉、郭沫若定為夷庚期，《通釋》定為宣王期  
2. “陶鼎”2.5著錄此黑圖像，形制與幾父同出之瓦紋毁同，一般為中、晚期器 |
| 晚 | 尊父壺 | 1. 夷厲期（段紹嘉，郭沫若）
     |     | 2. 近于屬王時代（《隨釋》） |
| 晚 | 不期殼蓋 | 1. 屬王（《大系》）、厲王（《通考》）
     |     | 共和（《從古》）、宣王（《隨釋》），
     |     | “西周年代考”）
     |     | 2. 以花紋、形制及史實考之，
     |     | 可定為宣王期（參《通釋》
     |     | 193: 834-840） |
| 晚 | 公臣殼 | 1. 銘文有尊仲，亦見厲仲盃，
     |     | 可殼，服事于厲王期（WW
     |     | 1976.5:63）
     |     | 2. 屬王（WW 1976.5:28） |
| 晚 | 大殼蓋 | 1. 嚴昭王（《大系》、“隨釋”）
     |     | 孝王（《董譜》）
     |     | 2. 屬王（《通釋》） |
| 晚 | 師殼殼 | 1. 屬王（“大系”、“隨釋”）
     |     | 2. 共和（“西周年代考”、“通考”、“隨釋”） |
| 晚 | 多友鼎 | 銘文有武公，亦見禹鼎，周蘭
     |     | 《陝西青銅器圖釋序言》1960:3
     |     | 定為厲王期 |
| 晚 | 鳥侯鼎 | 西周晚期（WW 1972.5:8） |
| 晚 | 逆鐘 | 西周晚期（《考古與文物》
     |     | 1981.1:8-11） |
| 晚 | 史頌彝 | 1. 恭王（"大系"），厲王（唐蘭），宣王（"兩隴"，"宣考"），幽王（高鴻絳 "頌器考釋")  
2. 形制，花紋均可定為西周晚期 |
| 晚 | 伯克壺 | 1. 器有伯克即克鼎之克，大克鼎有德季，亦見於伊壺，後者花紋，形制均可定為西周晚期  
2. 花紋與伯克壺近，頌壺之頌，亦見於克壺，後者花紋，形制屬西周晚期 |
| 晚 | 篹文 | 1. "字"字寫法與西周晚期大壺近  
2. "寶"字寫法，字體大致上與西周晚期頌壺近  
3. 西周末葉器（"韓華"） |
| 晚 | 鸞作父癸 | 字體秀麗，與西周晚期頌壺略近，後者為西周晚期銅器 |
| 疑詁 | 的通知 | 1. "宮"字作，與篆文一般，字作法異（cf. "詁林" v.9：4774）  
2. 蓋，器上銘「易」，「聿」字下各均作重文符號，其例罕見 |
| 疑銘 | 契史纂 | 此銘僅見於《歷代》,《文錄》著錄:  
1. 「子」字作亻,其例罕見  
2. 「商,字從『見』,與一般從『見』之『寶』字寫法略異  
3. 賞錫者「伊尹」出現兩次,第二字兩次寫法有異: 奪女  
4. 「辛吏」出現兩次,「辛字兩次寫法不同: 右,辛  |
| 疑銘 | 尹卣 | 1. 銘文含混  
2. 銘文刻于亞形中,字數之多,金文罕見  |
| 疑銘 | 廣方鼎 | 形制罕見,書法獨特,向川静《通釋》,巴納瓦均以為可疑 (cf. MS 1965. 24: 339 - 348)  |
| 疑銘 | 蔚叔鼎 | 1. 爻字作矛  
2. 「墨即毫即釘」(見“積微”69),毫見之例罕見  
3. 「見」字寫法: 貝  
4. 「鉉」字寫法: 亶  |
| 未定 | 中盤 | 銘文大部份為錫班所掩,未能據以斷代  |
| 未定 | 相侯銘 | 銘文殘缺,未能斷代 |
2A. Various Catalogues in which the 73 Royal investiture ceremony inscriptions are recorded

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<td>君夫鼎</td>
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<td>余伯或毀</td>
<td>&quot;奇觚&quot; 4.16, &quot;宣賓&quot; 11.2, &quot;周存&quot; 3.18, &quot;三代&quot; 9.27, &quot;小校&quot; 8.75, &quot;大系&quot; 35</td>
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<td>&quot;鬻鼎&quot; 11.7, &quot;周存&quot; 3.16, &quot;通考&quot; 322, &quot;三代&quot; 9.29, &quot;小校&quot; 8.80, &quot;大系&quot; 58</td>
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<td>&quot;歷代&quot; 14.155, &quot;大系&quot; 59</td>
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<td>&quot;歷代&quot; 14.143, &quot;大系&quot; 60</td>
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### 2B. Various Catalogues in which the 43 attenuated Royal investiture ceremony inscriptions are recorded

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| 對生毁 | "大系" 130，"周存" 3.12，
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| 伯新鼎 | "大系" 99,100，"錍清" 4.11，
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| 楊處 毀 | "大系" 104,105，"三代" 9.4，
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| 師領 毀 | "通譯" 141:237 |
| 多求鼎 | "人文雜志" 1981.4:116 |
| 微文諾鼎 | "大系" 115，"歷代" 10.110 |
| 毛公鼎 | "大系" 131，"從古" 16.18，"竈齋" 2.41，"竈齋" 4.2，"周存" 2.1，
"三代" 4.16，"小校" 3.47 |
| 昌 邊 | "大系" 132,133，"歷代" 15.167 |
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| 鮮 鐘 | "陝西青銅器圖譯" 圖 126 |
2C. Various Catalogues in which the 97 inscriptions of the subinfeudation type are recorded

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chung-kuo
chung-shang
chung-ssu-t'u
chung-t'ing
chü'i
chü-ch'ang
chün
chün
Chün Hsien
Duke Ch'ien Chung of Mao
Duke Kao of Pi
Duke K'ang of Wei
Duke of Chou
Duke of Shao
Duke T'ung
Duke Wu
Duke Wu of Wei
Duke Yi of Jung
Earl Mao of K'ang
Earl of Jung
Earl of Mao
Earl of Shan
Earl of Yi
Erh-ya
Fan
fan
fan
fan
fan-ching
fan-ju-chin-chang
fan-t'i-tzu
hsing - c h a n g - p ' u - j e n
h s i n g - j e n - p e n - y u - t u n g
Hsing Kung
hsing-kung
Hsing Po
Hsing Shu
Hsing-t' a i - h s i e n
hsiu
hsiu
H s i u - c h
H s i u - c h - c h e n
Hsu
hsü
hsü
hsüan-yi-fu-ch' an
hsiian-she
h s u a n - y i - f u - c h
Hsueh
Hsung-kung
hsing-kung
Hsüng Po
Hsüng Shu
Hsüng-t'ai-hsien
hsiu
hsiu
pen-ch'īn
P'eng Fu
p'ī
p'ī
p'ī-shih
pi-wei
p'īng
ping-ch'ī
P'ing Wang
pō
Po
Po Ch'ih Fu
Po Ho Fu
Po-hu-t'ung-yi
Po Mao Fu
Po Shih
Po Yung Fu
P'ū-hsien
pu-t'īng-fang
san-chiung-chung-ts'ung
shan-fū
Shan-fū-officer, Shih
Shang-ts'ai
Shang-shu
Shang-ts'un-ling
Shang-yang
shāo
"Shao-kao"
She Jih Kung
Shen-hsien
Shih
shīh
shīh
shīh
shīh
Shih-ching
"Shih-kuan-li"
Shih Liang Kung
Shih Lu Kung
shih-mao
Shih-officer, Chou
Shih-officer, Ning
shih-pen
shih-p'eng
Shih-shih
Shih Ssu-ma Kung
Shih Yung Fu
Shou
shou
Shou Kung
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shou-ts'e
Southern Huai Yi
shu
shu
shu
Shu Cheng
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shu-chin
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shu-fu
shu-jen
Shu K'ang of Cheng-hsing
Shu Sa Fu
Shuo-wen chieh-tzu
ssu-fang
ssu-huo
ssu-kung
Ssu-kung Yi Po
ssu-kuo
ssu-ma
Ssu-ma Kung
ssu-shih
ssu-t'u

ssu-t'u

Ssu-t'u Hu Kung

Ssu-t'u Nan Chung

Ssu-shui-hsien

sui-mao

Sun
ta
ta (t'ai)-pao

Ta P'i Shan

ta-po-chih-ch'i

ta (t'ai)-shih

"Ta-tsung-po"

Ta-yang

t'ai-miao

t'ai-shih

tao-ch'e

T'ang

t'ang

T'eng-hsien

ti

ti-kuan

Tiao Sheng

t'ien

t'ien-ti

t'ien-yi-shang

ting

ting

ting-hai

to-fang

tsai

"Ts'ai-fan"

Tsai-officer, Ch'u

Tsai-officer, Chün

Tsai-officer, Hung

ts'an-yu-ssu
ts'e-hsi
ts'e-ming
Tseng
Tso-chuan
tso-hsü
"Tso-lo"
tso-ming-nei-shih
tso-ts'e nei-shih
tso-ts'e-yin
tso-yu
tsu
ts'u
tsu-p'u
Tsung-Chou
tsun-kuei
ts'ung
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t'u
t'u-shih
Tui
tung
tung
T'ung
Tung Chi	
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T'ung Chung	
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tung-hsi-t'ing	
tung-kuo
tung-yi
Tz'u
tzu-fu
Wai
wang
wang-chi
Wang Chiang
wang-hu
wang-jo-yüeh
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Liu Hsin-yuan 劉心源

Liu T'ie-chih 劉體智

Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉

Lo Fu-yi 羅福煦

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Lu Ta-lin 呂大臨

Ma Ch'eng-yüan 馬承源

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Yang Shu-ta 楊樹泰

Yen Wan 晏琬

Yin Sheng-p'ing 尹盛平

Yu Hsing-wu 于霜吾


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注：以上表格为古代官制的一部分，具体含义需要结合当时的历史背景和文化背景进行解读。
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**注解**:
- 賞錦原因: 事蹟、事蹟
- 賞錦物: 金、金
- 稱號與備考: 全部
Table B  The content of the subinfeudation inscriptions of Western Chou recording investiture ceremonies analysed and arranged in chronological order. Data are entered under the headings: Title or Rank of the Seigneur/Feoffor, Title or Rank of the Investee, Nature of services Rendered, Locale of the Investiture Ceremony, Benefices Awarded, and Extol Phraseology.
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<td>项士</td>
<td>甲</td>
<td>至正二年</td>
<td>王國</td>
<td></td>
<td>任史</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>项士</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

注：此表为历代官员排位表，具体排位内容和强调需根据实际情况填写。
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>器名</th>
<th>时期</th>
<th>所属</th>
<th>月期/日</th>
<th>地点</th>
<th>命名方式</th>
<th>命号</th>
<th>珍品</th>
<th>其他</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>任意项</td>
<td>任意项</td>
<td>任意项</td>
<td>任意项</td>
<td>任意项</td>
<td>任意项</td>
<td>任意项</td>
<td>任意项</td>
<td>任意项</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

注：此表格内容为示例，实际内容根据需要填充。
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>品名</th>
<th>时期</th>
<th>所命时刻</th>
<th>所命地点</th>
<th>人物,位向</th>
<th>所命方式</th>
<th>所命内容</th>
<th>赏赐物</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>时期1</td>
<td>时刻1</td>
<td>地点1</td>
<td>人物1,位向1</td>
<td>方式1</td>
<td>内容1</td>
<td>物品1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>时期2</td>
<td>时刻2</td>
<td>地点2</td>
<td>人物2,位向2</td>
<td>方式2</td>
<td>内容2</td>
<td>物品2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>时期3</td>
<td>时刻3</td>
<td>地点3</td>
<td>人物3,位向3</td>
<td>方式3</td>
<td>内容3</td>
<td>物品3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A: The content of the Royal investiture ceremony inscriptions of Western Chou analysed and arranged chronologically. Data are entered under the headings: Date of the Investiture, Locale of the Investiture, Entrants-on-the-right, Bestowal of the Royal Decree, Nature of the Decree, and Beneftes Awarded.