

ledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), pp. 19–22, 118, 207; Kathleen Gough, "Nuer Kinship: A Re-examination," in *The Translation of Culture*, ed. T. L. Beidelman (London: Tavistock, 1972), pp. 85–88, 98, 116.

4. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, trans. James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961), pp. 59–62.

5. René Girard, *La violence et le sacré* (Paris: Grasset, 1972); *Des choses cachées depuis la fondation du monde* (Paris: Grasset, 1978); *Le bouc émissaire* (Paris: Grasset, 1982); *La route antique des hommes pervers* (Paris: Grasset, 1985). For criticisms see Paul Dumouchel, ed., *Violence et vérité* (Paris: Grasset, 1985); Michel Deguy and Jean-Pierre Dupuy, eds., *René Girard et le problème du mal* (Paris: Grasset, 1982); *Berkshire Review* 14 (1979); *Diacritics* 8 (March, 1978); Marcel Detienne, "Pratiques culinaires et esprit de sacrifice," in *La Cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, ed. Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant (Paris: Gallimard, 1979), pp. 25–35; Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii*, trans. Paula Wissing (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1985), pp. 67–70; Luc de Heusch, *Le sacrifice dans les religions africaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), pp. 35–37.

6. Sallustius: *Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, trans. Arthur Darby Nock (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1926), "Text and Translation," p. 29. On the role of sacrifices in the "substantiation" or "animation" of words and ceremonies, see Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice*, pp. 52–55, 313.

7. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University, 1985), ch. 2, esp. pp. 91–108, 115–17, 121, 127, 132–33. For an extended study of how wars begin and end through changes in perception, see Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War* (New York: Free Press, 1973).

8. *Mengzi zhengyi*, annotated by Jiao Xun, in *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Shijie, 1974), ch. 11, pp. 461–62.

9. Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. George Schwab (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University, 1976).

10. The manner in which Greek myths defined social norms through meditation on the fundamental oppositions which defined civilization, and the relation of these myths to the tragic theater have been elaborated in the numerous works of Jean-Pierre Vernant, Marcel Detienne, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, and the scholars inspired by their results. For a brief sketch in English see Charles Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization: An Interpretation of Sophocles* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University, 1981), chs. 1–3.

11. Richard Slotkin, *Redemption Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University, 1973); Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800–1890* (New York: Atheneum, 1985).

12. On the relation of Hobbes's social philosophy to his vision of nature, see T. A. Spragens, Jr., *The Politics of Motion: the World of Thomas Hobbes* (London: Croom Helm, 1973), esp. ch. 6; M. M. Goldsmith, *Hobbes's Science of Politics* (New York: Columbia University, 1966). On the relation of Newtonian science to the social philosophy of the latitudinarians, see Margaret C. Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution, 1689–1720* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1976).

13. Yang Kuan, *Zhanguo shi*, 2nd ed. rev. (Shanghai: Renmin, 1980).

14. Cho-yun Hsu, *Ancient China in Transition: An Analysis of Social Mobility, 722–222 B.C.* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1965), esp. pp. 1–2, 175–80.

Chapter One

1. Ronald Egan, "Narratives in *Tso Chuan*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 37.2 (1977), pp. 350–52.

2. *Chun qiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, annotated by Yang Bojun (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981), Lord Cheng year 13, p. 861.

3. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 5, pp. 41–44. I have translated *wu* (物) when linked to "vessels" as "animals." See K. C. Chang, *Art, Myth, and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University, 1983), pp. 63–65; Wang Guowei, *Guantang jilin* (Taipei: Heluo, 1975), ch. 6, p. 13; Yang Shuda, *Jiweiju xiaoxue shulin* (Beijing: Kaogu Yanjiusuo, 1959), pp. 62–63. *Wu* in the sense of animal offerings and *qi* are linked as the emblems of sacrifice in the *Guo yu*, just as they are here. See *Guo yu*, annotated by Shanghai Shifan Daxue Guji Zhengli Xiaozu (Shanghai: Guji, 1978), ch. 18, pp. 559–60.

For a study of the interlinked roles of hunting, sacrifice, and warfare based on an analysis of this passage, see Yang Ximei, "Chun qiu Yin Gong she yu yu Tang shuo boyi," in *Wen shi* 26 (March, 1986), pp. 13–33.

4. Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, trans. Peter Bing (Berkeley: University of California, 1983), p. 47. On the close ties of hunting and warfare in archaic Greece, see also Emily Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California, 1979), pp. 84–94.

5. For theoretical descriptions of the hunt as a form of military ritual or training, see *Li ji jijie*, annotated by Sun Xidan (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1935), ch. 5, p. 39; ch. 12, pp. 99–100; *Zhou li zhengyi*, annotated by Sun Yirang (Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1934), ch. 55, pp. 10a–19b; ch. 34, pp. 7a–b; ch. 56, pp. 1a–17a; *Chun qiu Guliang zhuan zhushu*, annotated by Yang Shixun, in *Shisan jing zhushu*, vol. 7 (Taipei: Yiwen, 1976), Lord Zhao year 8, ch. 17, pp. 7a–b; *Guo yu*, ch. 6, p. 232; *Sima fa zhijie*, annotated by Liu Yin, in *Mingben wujing*

qi shu zhijie, vol. 1 (Taipei: Shi Di Jiaoyu, 1972), ch. 1, pp. 5b–6b; *Guanzi jiaozheng*, annotated by Dai Wang, in *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 5 (Taipei: Shijie, 1974), ch. 8, p. 123; *Wuzi zhijie*, annotated by Liu Yin, in *Mingben wujing qi shu*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Shi Di Jiaoyu, 1972), ch. 1, p. 1b. For historical examples of hunts as training or elements of campaigns, see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Huan year 4, p. 101; year 6, p. 114; Lord Xi year 27, pp. 445, 447; year 28, pp. 450, 472–73; year 31, p. 478; Lord Wen year 6, pp. 544–45; year 8, p. 568; year 10, p. 577; Lord Xuan year 12, pp. 735–36; Lord Xiang year 13, p. 999; Lord Zhao year 8, p. 1302; year 11, p. 1324; year 12, p. 1338; Lord Ding year 13, p. 1589; Lord Ai year 11, pp. 1658–59; year 14, p. 1682.

6. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Wen year 17, p. 626; Lord Xiang year 14, p. 1006.

7. On the linguistic equivalences see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 4, pp. 936–39; Lord Xi year 22, p. 399; *Wuzi zhijie*, ch. 1, p. 18a; *Tai Gong liu tao zhijie*, annotated by Liu Yin, in *Mingben wujing qi shu zhijie*, vol. 2 (Taipei: Shi Di Jiaoyu, 1972), ch. 6, p. 64b; *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 6, p. 49; Lord Xi year 33, pp. 498–500; Lord Zhao year 5, p. 1271; year 10, p. 1318; year 11, p. 1327; Lord Ai year 7, p. 1643; *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 8, pp. 14b–16a; *Li ji jijie*, ch. 3, p. 83; Gu Jiegang, “*Yi Zhou shu* ‘Shi fu pian’ jiaozhu xieding yu ping-lun,” in *Wen shi* 2 (April, 1963), pp. 14–17.

On the oaths see the passages from the *Zhou li zhengyi* cited in note 5 above. See also *Li ji jijie*, ch. 7, p. 38. On the use of military law during the hunt see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Wen year 10, pp. 1577–78; *Mao shi zhengyi*, annotated by Kong Yingda, in *Shisan jing zhushu*, vol. 2 (Taipei: Yiwen, 1976), ch. 3.1, p. 17b. The Song dynasty scholar Wang Yinlin (1223–1296 A.D.) first analyzed the evidence pertaining to law contained in this poem. See Wang Yinlin, *Kun xue ji wen* (Taipei: Zhonghua, 1966), vol. 2, ch. 3, p. 10a.

8. *Lun yu zhengyi*, annotated by Liu Baonan and Liu Gongmian, in *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Shijie, 1974), ch. 16, p. 354. In the same text it is stated that the matters in which Confucius was most conscientious and careful were purification for sacrifice, warfare, and guarding against disease. See *Lun yu zhengyi*, ch. 8, p. 141.

In another passage Confucius criticized Lord Ling of Wei as unworthy. When he was asked why Lord Ling did not perish, Confucius replied that he had capable men to handle the reception of foreign emissaries, the service of the ancestral temple, and the army. This list reproduces the pairing of sacrifice and warfare, but it also adds the field of court ritual. See *Lun yu zhengyi*, ch. 17, p. 116.

9. *Li ji jijie*, ch. 7, p. 2.

10. *Mao shi zhengyi*, ch. 20.2, pp. 1a–16b. For the evidence that the taxes of the territorial states were derived from earlier levies used to provide offerings to the ancestors and men for military service, see Miyazaki Ichisada, “*Kodai Chūgoku fusei seido*,” in *Ajia shi kenkyū*, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Dōshōsha, 1957), pp. 67–74.

11. *Li ji jijie*, ch. 2, p. 12. I have here translated the word *ku* (庫) as storehouses for chariots. For this definition see *Shuo wen jie zi zhu*, annotated Duan Yucui (Taipei: Yiwen, 1974), ch. 9b, p. 13b; Katō Jōken, *Kanji no kigen* (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 1972), p. 390. Although by Warring States times it had developed a broader meaning, it also retained the narrower, original sense of a storehouse for chariots and weapons. See *Li ji jijie*, ch. 10, p. 64; *Jing fa*, annotated by Mawangdui Han Mu Boshu Zhengli Xiaozu (Beijing: Wenwu, 1976), p. 78. The immediate linkage with stables in this context shows that here it is to be read in the narrow sense.

12. Chang, *Art, Myth, and Ritual*, p. 108.

13. Yang, *Zhanguo shi*, p. 70.

14. Chang, *Art, Myth, and Ritual*, pp. 95–100.

15. *Guo yu*, ch. 1, pp. 18–20; *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Huan year 14, p. 140; Lord Zhao year 4, pp. 1248–49.

16. Ikeda Suetoshi, *Chūgoku kodai shūkyō shi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōkai Daigaku, 1983), pp. 411–18; Guo Moruo, *Jiagu wenzi yanjiu* (Shanghai: Dadong, 1931), vol. 2, “*Shi shi*,” pp. 2–3; Guo Moruo, *Buci tongzuan* (Tokyo: Bunkyo, 1933), p. 87; Tang Lan, *Guwenzixue daolun*, 2nd ed. enlarged (Ji’nan: Qilu, 1981), p. 169; Tang Lan, *Yinxu wenzi ji* (n.p., n.d. [1974?]), pp. 30–32. The reconstructed pronunciation of *ji* is *tsad, that of *sha* is *sad.

17. *Shang shu zhengyi*, annotated by Kong Yingda, in *Shisan jing zhushu*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Yiwen, 1976), ch. 15, p. 27b; *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 33, p. 9b.

18. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 29, p. 477; Lord Zhao year 22, p. 1434.

19. *Mengzi zhengyi*, ch. 1, pp. 47–48.

20. *Zhuangzi jijie*, annotated by Wang Xianqian, in *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 4 (Taipei: Shijie, 1974), ch. 4, pp. 81–82; ch. 19, p. 285; ch. 17, pp. 266–67; ch. 32, p. 460. This text’s recurring equation of serving a king with being the victim of a sacrifice is also suggestive of the identification of political authority with bloodletting. This same equation appears in *Shizi* (Zhejiang Shuju, Huhailou edition, 1877), ch. 2, pp. 29a–30b.

21. *Mao shi zhengyi*, ch. 9.3, pp. 9a–11b; ch. 20.2, pp. 5b–6b; *Shang shu zhengyi*, ch. 15, pp. 17a–b, 21a–22a, 25a–26a; *Li ji jijie*, ch. 2, p. 45; ch. 3, pp. 83–84; ch. 7, pp. 42–44; ch. 9, pp. 25, 28–29; *Bohutong de lun*, compiled by Ban Gu et al., in *Han Wei congshu*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Xinxing, 1977), appendix, pp. 1a–3b.

22. *Mao shi zhengyi*, ch. 13.3, pp. 4b–16b, esp. pp. 7b, 12a, 14a, pp. 20a–21b; *Li ji jijie*, ch. 9, pp. 23, 26, 28–29; ch. 12, p. 47; *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 10, p. 334; year 31, p. 487; *Lun yu zhengyi*, ch. 3, p. 41; Sanaka Sō, *Sengoku Sōsho kan shinkō to gijūsu no kankei* (Kyoto: Kogakukan Daigaku, 1977), pp. 6–17.

23. For evidence from oracle bones, see Luo Zhenyu, *Zengding Yinxu shuqi kaoshi*, in *Luo Xuetao Xiansheng quanji sanbian*, vol. 2 (Taipei: Wenhua, 1968), ch. 3, pp. 58a–b; Shang Chengzuo, *Yinqi yicun* (Nanjing: Jinling Daxue, 1933), figure 656; Dong Zuobin et al., *Xiaotun dierben: Yinxu wenzi: yibian*, part 2 (Nanjing: Academia Sinica, 1949), figure 6751. For bronze inscriptions, see Luo Zhenyu, *Sandai ji jinwen cun*, in *Luo Xuetao Xiansheng quanji qibian*, vols. 17–18 (Taipei: Wenhua, 1968), ch. 4, p. 13b, figure 1; ch. 8, p. 52b; Chen Mengjia, “Xi Zhou tongqi duan dai,” *Kaogu xuebao* (1956) 3: 120–21, figure 69. For poetry see *Mao shi zhengyi*, ch. 9.4, pp. 7b–10b; ch. 10.1, pp. 1a–3a; ch. 10.3, pp. 1a–10a; ch. 15.1, pp. 1a–2a; ch. 16.2, p. 22b; ch. 19.3, pp. 7b–8b; Akatsuka Kiyoshi, “A New Study of the *Shih-ku Wen*: the Ancient Letters Carved in Ten Drum-Type Stones,” *Acta Asiatica* 4 (1963): 80–96; Gilbert Mattos, “The Stone Drums of Ch’in” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1973). For the ritual texts see *Li ji jijie*, ch. 4, p. 87; ch. 7, p. 38; *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 7, pp. 14b, 16a; ch. 8, pp. 1b, 4a, 5b, 7a, 14b, 16a, 17b, 19a, 20a, 21a; ch. 55, p. 15b; ch. 56, pp. 3b, 15a.

24. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Ding year 9, p. 1572. The chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* analyzed by Gu Jiegang in the article cited in note 7 also lists examples of animals taken in the hunt as objects of sacrifice.

25. Yi Xuezhong, “Jinning Shizhaishan shier hao mu zhu bei qi shang renwu diaoxiang kaoshi,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1987 (4): 426–27.

26. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhao year 18, pp. 1398–99.

27. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhuang year 23, pp. 225–26; Lord Xiang year 24, p. 1090; Akatsuka, “A New Study of the *Shih-ku Wen*,” pp. 83–85, 90–91. On the links of the *she* altar to warfare and punishments, see Utsugi Akira, “‘Sha ni korosu’ ni tsuite—*Shū ri no sha no seido ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu*,” in *Chūgoku kodai shi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbun, 1962), pp. 161–88.

28. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 18, p. 1041.

29. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 16, p. 882; Lord Zhao year 3, p. 1236.

30. *Li ji jijie*, ch. 3, p. 83; ch. 5, pp. 78–79; *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 36, pp. 13b–15a; *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 16, p. 884.

31. *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 45, p. 11a; *Tai Gong liu tao zhijie*, ch. 1, pp. 63b–67a.

32. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 11, pp. 72–73; Lord Zhuang year 4, p. 163; Lord Min year 2, p. 265; Lord Xiang year 10, pp. 979–80.

33. This ritual is prescribed for use in the regular hunts in the ritual texts cited in note 5. For performances before battle see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhuang year 8, p. 173; Lord Xi year 23, p. 409; year 27, p. 444 (2); Lord Xuan year 15, p. 763; Lord Xiang year 13, p. 999; year 19, p. 1041; Lord Zhao year 5, p. 1271; year 13, pp. 1353, 1356; *Guliang zhuan zhushu*, Lord Zhuang year 8,

ch. 5, pp. 11a–b. There are also two references to the ceremony under the name *zhi rong* (治戎). See *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 3, p. 813; year 16, p. 889. Chu called the ceremony *jing shi* (井師). See *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhuang year 4, p. 163; Lord Xuan year 12, p. 722. On setting out from the altar see *Mao shi zhengyi*, ch. 16.2, p. 20a.

34. Lester Bilsky, *The State Religion of Ancient China* (Taipei: The Chinese Association for Folklore, 1976), p. 177.

35. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Wen year 7, p. 560; Lord Cheng year 16, p. 889; Lord Xiang year 26, p. 1121.

36. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 2, p. 791. The term *ru shi* also appears as the name of a special pre-battle meal in the *Hou Han shu*. The commentator, writing in the seventh century A.D., glosses *ru* (餼) as *ru* (褥) “bedding,” and he says that it meant a meal eaten by the army amidst their bedding before dawn. See Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1965), ch. 31, p. 1103.

37. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 16, p. 884.

38. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 15, pp. 363–65; Lord Xuan year 13, pp. 726–28; Lord Ai year 2, p. 1613; year 9, pp. 1652–54. In Lord Huan year 11, p. 131 a general rejects a proposal to divine, but this shows that the practice was common. On the battle prayer see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 16, p. 889. For a discussion see Frank A. Kierman, Jr., “Phases and Modes of Combat in Early China,” in *Chinese Ways in Warfare*, ed. Frank A. Kierman, Jr. (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University, 1974), pp. 32–34.

39. On the destruction of the camp see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 16, p. 883; Lord Xiang year 14, p. 1009; year 26, pp. 1121, 1122. On the resolution on death or “integrity to the death” as the hallmark of the warrior, see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 2, p. 791; Lord Xiang year 3, p. 929; Lord Ding year 4, p. 1544; year 14, p. 1595; Lord Ai year 16, p. 1700; *Shi ji*, ch. 70, p. 2289; *Tai Gong liu tao zhijie*, ch. 3, p. 65b; *Jing fa*, p. 12; *Guanzi jiaozheng*, ch. 3, p. 40; *Wuzi zhijie*, ch. 2, p. 20a; *Wei Liaozhi zhijie*, annotated by Liu Yin, in *Mingben wujing qi shu zhijie*, vol. 2 (Taipei: Shi Di Jiaoyu, 1972), ch. 2, p. 40b; ch. 5, pp. 14a, 17a; *Lü Shi chun qiu jishi*, annotated by Chen Qiyou (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1984), ch. 8, p. 441; ch. 15, p. 917; *Zhanguo ce*, compiled by Liu Xiang (Shanghai: Guji, 1978), ch. 3, p. 81. In his commentary on a passage in the *Sima fa*, Liu Yin (1302–1355 A.D.) refers to the practice of destroying the camp and explains that it demonstrated the army’s resolve on death. See *Sima fa zhijie*, ch. 5, p. 56a. At one point in his campaigns against Liu Bang, Xiang Yu (232–202 B.C.) also sank his boats, destroyed his utensils, and burned his camp “in order to demonstrate that the soldiers must die and should have no thought of returning.” See *Shi ji*, ch. 7, p. 307. This idea was also written into the Qin law code. If a man died in battle any ranks and honors he had earned were given to his descendants, but if he returned alive from a defeat he would be punished. See *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1978), p. 146.

40. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Ai year 2, pp. 1613–15. Other references to the use of these “oaths” in the army appear in *Sima fa zhijie*, ch. 2, pp. 19b–20a; ch. 4, p. 51a.

41. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 33, p. 499; Lord Xuan year 14, p. 752; Lord Cheng year 3, pp. 813–14; *Wei Liaozi zhijie*, ch. 3, p. 62b; ch. 5, pp. 11a–12a.

42. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 2, p. 804; year 3, p. 813.

43. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xuan year 12, p. 744.

44. *Lü Shih chun qiu jishi*, ch. 7, p. 402; ch. 15, pp. 917–918. Although the practice apparently died out in imperial China, it continued among various peoples at the borders of China. Thus the barbarian ruler Helianpogo (381–425 A.D.) built a *jing guan* from the skulls of the tens of thousands he had slain and called it the “Skull Tower.” See *Taiping yulan*, compiled by Li Fang et al. (Taipei: Shangwu, 1935), ch. 335, p. 8a. The bodies of the soldiers of the Chinese army that unsuccessfully invaded Korea during the Sui dynasty were also gathered into a great collective tomb. See Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tang shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975), ch. 3, p. 41; ch. 149a, p. 5321.

45. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 5, p. 42; Lord Huan year 2, p. 91; year 16, p. 145; Lord Xi year 28, p. 471; Lord Cheng year 7, p. 832—here the phrase “not call the army to order” indicates that they were beaten; Lord Xiang year 3, p. 925; *Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, annotated by Xu Yan, in *Shisan jing zhushu*, vol. 7 (Taipei: Yiwen, 1976), Lord Zhuang year 8, ch. 7, p. 1b; *Guliang zhuan zhushu*, Lord Zhuang year 8, ch. 5, p. 11a.

46. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 19, p. 381; year 28, pp. 471–72; year 33, p. 503; Lord Cheng year 2, p. 794—here some prisoners were “presented” to be killed, but apparently not at the ancestral temple; Lord Xiang year 8, p. 958; year 10, pp. 977–78—in this passage the commentator quotes several Zhou bronzes that mention the presentation of prisoners; Lord Zhao year 10, p. 1318; year 17, p. 1390; Lord Ai year 7, p. 1643; *Mao shi zhengyi*, ch. 16.4, p. 15a. The presentation of prisoners is also depicted on a bronze cowrie shell container cover from Shizhaishan. See Yi Xuezhong, “Qi shang renwu diaoshang kaoshi,” pp. 433–34.

47. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhuang year 31, p. 249—this passage asserts that presentations of the spoils were to go only to the Zhou king and only if they were taken in battle with non-Chinese, but this rule was regularly violated; Lord Xi year 21, p. 389; year 28, pp. 463, 471; Lord Xuan year 15, p. 765; year 16, p. 768; Lord Cheng year 2, pp. 809–10; year 3, p. 813; year 9, p. 844; year 16, p. 894; Lord Xiang year 25, p. 1104; Lord Zhao year 10, p. 1318—in this case the prisoners presented were sacrificed; year 17, p. 1390; Lord Ding year 6, p. 1557; Lord Ai year 7, p. 1643.

48. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 10, p. 979; Lord Ai year 14, p. 1682.

49. *Yi Zhou shu*, annotated by Kong Chao, in *Han Wei congshu*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Xinxing, 1977), ch. 4, pp. 2a–3a, 9a–11b; *Di wang shiji*, quoted in *Taiping yulan*, ch. 84, pp. 8a–b; *Tian wen shuzheng*, annotated by Wen Yiduo (Beijing: Sanlian, 1980), pp. 94, 109—for the argument that this second passage pertains to the “sacrifice” of King Zhou by King Wu, see Jiang Liangfu, *Qu Yuan fu jiaozhu* (Beijing: Renmin Wenxue, 1957) pp. 360–61; Guo Moruo, *Qu Yuan fu jin yi* (Beijing: Renmin Wenxue, 1981), p. 104; *Xunzi jijie*, annotated by Wang Xianqian, in *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 2 (Taipei: Shijie, 1974), ch. 12, p. 219; ch. 15, p. 260; *Mozi jiangou*, annotated by Sun Yirang, in *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 6 (Taipei: Shijie, 1974), ch. 8, p. 153; *Shi ji*, ch. 3, p. 108; ch. 4, p. 124; ch. 32, p. 1480; ch. 128, p. 3234; *Shizi*, ch. 2, p. 13a.

50. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 19, pp. 380, 381–82; Lord Cheng year 2, pp. 801–02; Lord Zhao year 10, p. 1318; year 11, p. 1327; *Mozi jiangou*, ch. 6, p. 107.

51. For a statistical analysis of the distribution of human sacrifice in archeological sites, see Huang Zhanyue, “Wo guo de gudai renxun he rensheng,” *Kaogu* 1974 (3): 153–63. Various examples are discussed in Cheng Tek'un, *Archeology in China*, vol. 3, *Chou China* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1963), pp. 46–47, 58–59, 72–73, 77, 79, 132; K. C. Chang, *The Archeology of Ancient China*, 3rd ed. rev. (New Haven, Yale University, 1977), pp. 299–300; Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations*, trans. K. C. Chang (New Haven: Yale University, 1985), pp. 475–76; Yang, *Zhanguo shi*, pp. 168–69; Gu Derong, “Zhongguo gudai de renxun renshengzhe de shenfen tanxi,” *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 1982 (2): 112–23; Shanxisheng Wenwu Gongzuo Weiyuanhui, “Houma Zhanguo nuli xunzang mu de fajue,” *Wenwu* 1972 (1): 63–67.

52. Yi, “Qi shang renwu diaoxiang,” pp. 413–37; Yi Xuezhong, “Jinning Shizhaishan shier hao mu zhu bei qi shang renwu diaoxiang kaoshi,” *Kaogu Xuebao* 1988 (1): 37–49.

53. The character *huo*, which meant “beings captured for sacrifice” and was applied to prisoners, was also homophonous with the word that referred to the heads or ears of slain enemies presented in the temples (*huo* 馘), and the two words were used as mutual glosses by commentators. See Gu Jiegang, “Yi Zhou shu ‘Shi fu pian,’” p. 6, note 3.

54. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 33, pp. 499–500; Lord Cheng year 3, p. 813; Lord Zhao year 5, p. 1271; Lord Ding year 4, p. 1535.

55. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhuang year 12, p. 192; Lord Xiang year 15, p. 1023; year 19, p. 1051; *Li ji jijie*, ch. 9, p. 3; *Tian wen shuzheng*, pp. 101–02, 107; *Di wang shiji*, quoted in *Taiping yulan*, ch. 381, p. 3b; *Beitang shu chao*, compiled by Yu Shinan, (Taipei: Xinxing, 1971), ch. 41, pp. 5b–6a; *Jing fa*, p. 61; *Shi ji*, ch. 83, p. 2463.

56. For a Warring States passage that identifies sacrifice with capital punishment, see *Shizi*, ch. 1, p. 21b. On the manner in which certain forms

of capital punishment can take on the form of a religious sacrifice, see Louis Gernet, "Some Connections between Punishment and Religion in Ancient Greece," and "Capital Punishment," in *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece*, trans. John Hamilton, S.J. and Blaise Nagy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1981), pp. 240–76.

57. *Lun yu zhengyi*, ch. 19, pp. 354–56. On this passage as the organizing principle of the *Chun qiu*, see Gu Donggao, *Chun qiu da shi biao*, "Du *Chun qiu* ou bi," in *Huang Qing jingjie xubian*, ed. Wang Xianqian (Nanqing Shuyuan, 1888), ce 67, p. 4; Shu Shicheng, "Kongzi 'Chun qiu,'" in *Zhongguo shixue shi lunwen ji*, vol. 1, ed. Wu Ze (Shanghai: Renmin, 1980), p. 39.

58. The model of the "segmented state" derives from Aidan Southall's classic study of the Alur society in East Central Africa. These states are characterized by: 1) territorial sovereignty which is limited and relative, forming a series of zones in which authority is greatest near the center and recedes towards the periphery, 2) a central government with numerous peripheral foci of authority over which the center exercises limited control, 3) an administrative staff at the center which is repeated on a reduced scale at the peripheral foci, 4) a central authority which "monopolizes" force only in its own vicinity, while the peripheral foci also wield legitimate force on a reduced scale, 5) peripheral foci arranged into a multi-level hierarchy in which intermediate authorities stand in the same relation to lower ones as the central state does to the intermediate, so that structures and powers are repeated at each level in a reduced form. See Aidan Southall, *Alur Society* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1956), pp. 248–49.

59. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhao year 16, pp. 1378–79. On the ritual exchange of meat from sacrifices at the various temples and its relation to combat, see Yu Yueh, *Chaxiangshi jing shuo*, in *Biji siban*, vols. 4–5 (Taipei: Guangwen, 1971), ch. 15, pp. 16a–17a.

60. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhuang year 10, p. 182; Lord Zhao year 4, p. 1249; Lord Ai year 13, p. 1677.

61. *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 34, pp. 10a–11a; *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 24, p. 427; Lord Ding year 14, p. 1593.

62. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 9, p. 326; Lord Cheng year 13, p. 860; *Shi ji*, ch. 4, p. 160; ch. 5, pp. 203–04; ch. 68, p. 2232; ch. 69, p. 2250; *Guanzi jiaozheng*, ch. 8, p. 126. On the institution of the hegemony see Sidney Rosen, "Changing Conceptions of the Hegemon in Pre-Ch'in China," in *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization*, ed. David Roy and Tsuen-hsuin Tsien (Hong Kong: Chinese University, 1978), pp. 99–114; Lü Simian, *Xian Qin shi* (Shanghai: Kaimeing, 1941), pp. 165–83.

63. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Min year 2, p. 271.

64. *Mengzi zhengyi*, ch. 12, p. 492.

65. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 13, p. 861.

66. Tong Shuye, *Chun qiu Zuo zhuan yanjiu* (Shanghai: Renmin, 1980), pp. 310–12, 345–46.

67. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 5, p. 46; Lord Huan year 2, p. 94; Lord Xiang year 14, p. 1016; *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 44, p. 14b; *Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, Lord Yin year 3, ch. 3, p. 7b; *Xunzi jijie*, ch. 13, pp. 233, 239–40, 249; *Zhuangzi jishi*, annotated by Guo Qingfan (Taipei: Shijie, 1974), ch. 33, p. 465; *Guo yu*, ch. 18, pp. 564–65, 567; *Shizi*, ch. 2, p. 31b. The *Guo yu*, unlike all the other texts, grants commoners the right to sacrifice to their ancestors and thus to participate in the lowest level of ritual. The "Ou li" chapter of the *Li ji* contains many additional examples of such lists. Moreover, the *Zuo zhuan* describes a hierarchy of the permissible length of city walls based on the level of the lord of the town, but it is unlikely that the *shi* had towns of their own. See *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 1, p. 11. Finally, the same book also distinguishes nobles from commoners by the type of armor they are allowed to wear, but it gives no gradations within the nobility. See *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 3, p. 925.

68. Yu Weichao and Gao Ming, "Zhoudai yong ding zhidu yanjiu," *Beijing Daxue xuebao, zhexue shehui kexue ban* 1978 (1): 84–98; 1978 (2): 84–97; [Zou Heng], *Shang Zhou kaogu* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1979), pp. 203–13, 262–69; Chen Gongrou, "Shisang li, Jixi li zhong suo jizai de sangzang zhidu," *Kaogu xuebao* 1956 (4): 67–84; Shen Wenzhuo, "Dui 'Shisang li, Jixi li zhong suo jizai de sangzang zhidu' jidian yanjiu," *Kaogu xuebao* 1958 (2): 29–38; Guo Baojun, *Shanbiaozhen yu Liulige* (Beijing: Kexue, 1959), pt. 1, sec. 2; Du Naisong, "Cong lieding zhidu kan ke ji fu li de fandong xing," *Kaogu* 1976 (1): 17–21; Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations*, pp. 460–64.

69. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Huan year 2, p. 94; Lord Min year 2, p. 273; Lord Xuan year 12, p. 722; Lord Xiang year 9, p. 966; year 14, p. 1016; Lord Ding year 8, p. 1567; Lord Ai year 2, p. 1614; *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 2, p. 11a; ch. 25, pp. 1a–2b. One passage in the *Zuo zhuan* explicitly identifies the "petty people" as those who labor at agriculture to support their superiors. See *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 13, p. 1000.

70. *Li ji jijie*, ch. 2, p. 131.

71. *Yi li zhengyi*, annotated by Hu Peihui (Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1934), ch. 1, pp. 18–19; *Li ji jijie*, ch. 7, pp. 55–56.

72. *Kongzi jia yu*, annotated by Wang Su, in *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 2 (Taipei: Shijie, 1974), ch. 8, pp. 78–79; Ban Gu, *Han shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), ch. 30, p. 1710.

73. *Mao shi zhengyi*, ch. 12.2, pp. 6a–b; ch. 20.4, p. 8b; *Shang shu zhengyi*, ch. 12, p. 17a—in this passage the "minister-nobles" are explicitly contrasted with the "common people"; ch. 18, p. 25b; *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 3, p.

26; year 8, p. 58; Lord Xi year 5, p. 308; Lord Xiang year 25, p. 1106; Lord Ding year 1, p. 1526; year 4, p. 1540; Lord Ai year 16, p. 1701.

74. Li Xiaoding, ed., *Jiagu wenzi jishi* (Nanyang: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 159–61; Kang Yin, *Wenzi yuanliu qianshuo* (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1979), pp. 412–14; Tōdō Akiyasu, *Kanji gogen jiten* (Tokyo: Gakutōsha, 1967), pp. 105–06; Katō, *Kanji no kigen*, pp. 451–52. Alternative explanations appear in Zhou Fagao et al., eds., *Jinwen gulin* (Hong Kong: Chinese University, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 300–10.

75. See the works cited in the preceding note for examples. Also *Lü Shi chun qiu jishi*, ch. 21, p. 1462; *Shi ji*, ch. 30, p. 1442; *Mengzi zhengyi*, ch. 6, p. 256; *Xunzi jijie*, ch. 3, p. 48.

76. On the tension in ancient China between affiliation based on cult and that based on biological descent, see Marcel Granet, *The Religion of the Chinese People*, trans. Maurice Freedman (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 80–90.

77. *Shang shu zhengyi*, ch. 11, pp. 12a–b; *Xunzi jijie*, ch. 15, p. 259; *Shi ji*, ch. 3, pp. 105, 107–08; ch. 4, pp. 121, 122.

78. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 33, p. 499; Lord Huan year 2, p. 128; *Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, Lord Zhuang year 12, ch. 7, pp. 13b–14a; *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhuang years 11–12, pp. 189–91; Lord Xuan year 4, pp. 677–78; Lord Xiang year 14, pp. 1010–11.

79. Itō Michiharu, *Chūgoku kodai ōchō no keisei* (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1975), pp. 172–246; Zhao Guangxian, *Zhou dai shehui bianxi* (Beijing: Renmin, 1980), pp. 99–122; Sun Yao, *Chun qiu shidai zhi shizu*, 2nd ed. (Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1936), pp. 1–45.

80. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 11, p. 986.

81. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xuan years 17–18, pp. 771–77.

82. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Wen year 6, pp. 544–45, 552–53.

83. In 594 B.C. the chief minister of Jin executed the ruler's elder sister, and the ruler sought to lead an attack against him, but the rest of the court refused to participate—*Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xuan year 15, pp. 762–65. In 563 B.C. Zi Si, the chief minister of Zheng, controlled the issuing of weapons at the ancestral temple, and he personally stripped a warrior of the prisoners he had won in battle for violations of ritual—Lord Xiang year 10, pp. 980–81. In 555 B.C. the king of Chu sought to launch an expedition, but the chief minister overruled him—Lord Xiang year 18, p. 1041. In 554 B.C. Zi Kang, the chief minister of Zheng, controlled the court and commanded the army—Lord Xiang year 18, p. 1050. In 546 B.C. Ning Jia, the chief minister of Wei, controlled all the affairs of government until assassinated by the titular ruler—Lord Xiang year 27, p. 1127. In 545 B.C. all the business of the court of Qi was conducted at

the residence of the chief minister Qing Feng—Lord Xiang year 28, p. 1145. In 506 B.C. the ruler of Wei ordered the official in charge of the state altars to lead an armed expedition intended to seal a covenant, but the official refused because he held his office as a hereditary trust and could not leave the capital—Lord Ding year 4, p. 1535.

84. On records in bronzes of nobles leading their own detachments in the royal Zhou army, see Shanxisheng Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui, *Qingtong qi tushi* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1960), p. 24 and plate #78. On the *fu* as an allotment of troops from the lineage to the state and other references to “private armies” of the nobility, see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 4, p. 36; Lord Xi year 28, p. 457; Lord Wen year 2, p. 521; year 12, p. 591; Lord Cheng year 2, p. 789; year 7, p. 834; year 16, p. 885; Lord Xiang year 4, p. 935; year 22, p. 1065; year 25, pp. 1104, 1106–07; year 27, p. 1137; year 28, p. 1148; year 30, pp. 1175, 1176; Lord Zhao year 5, pp. 1261, 1269—this passage refers to the size of the *fu* of a lineage to show its power; year 12, p. 1340; year 16, pp. 1375–79; year 24, p. 1451; year 26, p. 1475; Lord Ding year 4, p. 1544; Lord Ai year 6, p. 1634; year 7, p. 1644 (2); year 13, p. 1676.

85. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 28, pp. 456–59; Lord Wen year 2, p. 521; year 12, pp. 589–91; Lord Xuan year 12, pp. 722–37; Lord Cheng year 16, pp. 882–84; Lord Xiang year 3, p. 929; year 10, p. 982; year 14, p. 1009.

86. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Ding year 4, p. 1542 states, “From the accession of King Zhao [of Chu in 515 B.C.] the army of Wu invaded every year.” But the text contains no mention of any invasion by Wu in the years 514, 513, or 509 B.C. As for the frequency of campaigns, the states of Zheng, Chu, Jin, Qi, Lu, and Song each figure in more than one hundred campaigns, while the powerful but more distant Qin, Wu, and Yue appear relatively infrequently. This clearly reflects not the actual number of campaigns but the limits of knowledge or interest on the part of the compilers.

87. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 7, p. 445.

88. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xuan year 12, p. 726.

89. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 16, p. 882.

90. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 3, p. 929. At two later points in the text men of Jin justify raising armies by the need to maintain their exalted position among the states. See Lord Zhao year 13, pp. 1353, 1356.

91. Rebecca Zerby Byrne, “Harmony and Violence in Classical China: A Study of the Battles in the ‘Tso-chuan’” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), pp. 216–22. This study regrettably covers only the period up to 606 B.C., but my own examination of the subsequent text suggests that her conclusions are valid for the work as a whole.

92. Marcel Granet, *Chinese Civilization*, trans. K. E. Innes and M. R. Brailsford (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1930), pp. 263–70.

93. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhao year 5, p. 1267.
94. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhao year 22, p. 1433; Lord Huan year 11, p. 131—in this passage a commander refused to wait for reinforcements before attacking because it would be dishonorable; Lord Xi year 33, p. 504; Lord Wen year 12, p. 591; Lord Cheng year 2, pp. 786–87; year 16, p. 882; Lord Xiang year 10, p. 982; year 23, p. 1084—this passage concerns two men who went out on their own to issue a challenge, encountered the entire enemy army, but decided that honor impelled them to fight.
95. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 8, p. 322; year 22, p. 398.
96. See notes 88 and 94. For the execution see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 33, p. 504.
97. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Huan year 8, p. 122. See also *Mao shi zhengyi*, ch. 16.4, p. 11a. The commentary quotes a fragment of the *Di wang shiji* saying: “Tai Gong said, ‘I have heard that the former kings attacked those who rebelled, not those who obeyed; they attacked the difficult and not the easy.’”
98. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 26, p. 439; year 33, p. 495; Lord Wen year 10, p. 577; Lord Xuan year 12, pp. 735, 736; Lord Zhao year 5, p. 1271.
99. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhuang year 11, pp. 186–87; Lord Xi year 15, p. 356; year 28, pp. 459–60; year 33, p. 504; Lord Wen year 12, p. 592; Lord Cheng year 2, pp. 790–91; Lord Xiang year 23, p. 1084; year 28, p. 1149—this last occurs in a civil war; *Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, Lord Xuan year 12, ch. 16, p. 8b.
100. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 26, p. 439; Lord Wen year 7, p. 560; Lord Xuan year 12, p. 718—here faked mourning persuaded an invading army to withdraw; Lord Xiang year 4, p. 932; year 19, p. 1049; *Sima fa zhijie*, ch. 1, p. 5a. It is significant that just as mourning and warfare were mutually exclusive, so were mourning and sacrifice. See *Li ji jijie*, ch. 1, p. 68; ch. 2, p. 10; ch. 7, pp. 41–42; *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 70, pp. 6a–7b.
101. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhuang year 28, pp. 241–42; Lord Xi year 26, p. 439; Lord Wen year 14, p. 604; Lord Ai year 7, p. 1643. The last example is a case in which this stricture was ignored over strenuous objections.
102. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 22, pp. 397–98; Lord Cheng year 12, p. 592; Lord Ding year 4, p. 1547. In these last two cases men explicitly argue that to attack an enemy in straits is cowardly. On the principle of not beginning until both sides have given a signal, see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhuang year 10, p. 183.
103. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 33, p. 499; Lord Xuan year 14, p. 752; Lord Cheng year 3, pp. 813–14; *Wei Liaozi zhijie*, ch. 2, p. 27a.
104. For a sampling of these wars in English see Henri Maspero, *China in*

- Antiquity*, trans. Frank A. Kierman, Jr. (n.p.: University of Massachusetts, 1978), pp. 190–91, 203–08, 212–17, 225–36, 243–46.
105. On vengeance in ritualist theory and imperial law, see Michael Dalby, “Revenge and Law in Traditional China,” *The American Journal of Legal History* 25 (1981): 267–307; Makino Tatsumi, *Chūgoku kazoku kenkyū*, in *Makino Tatsumi chosaku zenshū*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Ochanomizu, 1980), pp. 3–59; Nishida Taiichirō, “Fukushū to keibatsu,” in *Chūgoku keihō shi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1974), pp. 95–120.
106. *Mozi jiangou*, ch. 12, p. 265. On the translation of this passage see A. C. Graham, “The Background of the Mencian Theory of Human Nature,” in *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature* (Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies, 1986), p. 36. On the origins of the Confucian stress on ritual out of fear of vengeance or feuds, see note 93.
107. *Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, Lord Zhuang year 12, ch. 7, pp. 13b–14b; *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhuang years 11–12, pp. 189–92. I have followed the more detailed and colorful account from the *Gongyang*.
108. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xuan year 4, pp. 677–78; Lord Xiang year 12, pp. 1010–12. For another case of a ruler murdered for a perceived insult, see Lord Xuan year 10, pp. 707–08.
109. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang years 7–8, pp. 953–55.
110. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Wen year 1, pp. 513–15; Lord Xiang year 26, p. 1111.
111. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Wen year 2, pp. 519–21.
112. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 27, p. 1127.
113. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Ding year 13, pp. 1589–90.
114. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 28, pp. 1145–49. This story is particularly interesting in that it depicts the chief minister’s lineage surrounding their temple with armed troops while holding a sacrifice even before they knew of the imminent civil war. This suggests that in this society the noble lineages lived constantly surrounded by their armed bands, like the warring families of a late medieval Italian city-state. For further evidence of this see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhao year 17, pp. 1389–90.
115. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Wen year 6, pp. 552–53; Lord Zhao year 26, p. 1472.
116. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 11, pp. 72–73; Lord Xuan year 2, p. 652; Lord Xiang year 26, p. 1115; Lord Wen year 2, pp. 519–21.
117. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Wen year 18, pp. 629–30.
118. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Wen year 6, pp. 544–45, 552–53. For another

example of disdaining to exact revenge upon the descendants of an enemy, see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Ding year 4, pp. 1546–47; Lord Zhao year 4, p. 1366.

119. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhao year 1, pp. 1211–12. Leaping on and off a chariot in full armor was a considerable feat and formed a major element in the training of warriors. See Lan Yongwei, *Chun qiu shiqi de bubing* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979), p. 219.

120. *Mao shi zhengyi*, ch. 5.2, pp. 7b–8b; pp. 13a–16b; ch. 5.3, pp. 9b–11b; ch. 6.3, pp. 6a–14b; ch. 9.3, pp. 14a–15a; ch. 10.2; ch. 10.3; ch. 16.2, pp. 1a–10a; ch. 18.3, pp. 1a–10b; ch. 18.5, pp. 1a–6b; Akatsuka, “A New Study of the *Shih-ku Wen*,” pp. 85–87.

121. Takeuchi Teruo, “A Study of the Meaning of *Jen* Advocated by Confucius,” *Acta Asiatica* 9 (1965): 57–77.

122. William Hung et al., eds., *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series Supplement #11: Combined Concordances to Ch'un-Ch'iu, Kung-yang, Ku-liang, and Tso-chuan* (Taipei: Chengwen, 1966 reprint), pp. 1545–53.

123. *Lü Shih chun qiu jishi*, ch. 12, pp. 633–34.

124. *Huainanzi*, compiled under the auspices of Liu An, in *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 7 (Taipei: Shijie, 1974), ch. 13, p. 215.

125. Huan Tan, *Xin lun*, quoted in *Shi ji*, ch. 5, p. 204.

126. *Xunzi jijie*, ch. 19, pp. 333, 340; *Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, Lord Huan year 3, ch. 4, p. 9b; *Guliang zhuan zhushu*, Lord Yin year 8, ch. 2, pp. 9a–b. The Qing scholar Jiang Yong (1681–1762 A.D.) argued that the institution of blood covenants began with Chi You, the mythic creator of weapons and warfare. This will be discussed in Chapter Five.

127. For evidence of related practices during the Shang dynasty, see Lin Yun, “Jiaguwen zhong de Shangdai fangguo lianmeng,” in *Guwenzi yanjiu*, no. 6 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981), pp. 67–92. On their use in the Western Zhou, see *Mao shi zhengyi*, ch. 12.3, p. 11b; *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 5, p. 308; year 9, p. 327; year 26, p. 440.

128. *Guliang zhuan zhushu*, Lord Zhuang year 29, ch. 6, p. 1a. One passage in the *Zuo zhuan* describes the covenants as one of the “great services” of the state. See Lord Ai year 13, p. 1677. The Han Confucian Dong Zhongshu (179–104 B.C.) argued, “It is better to have no covenants than to have a covenant, but there are covenants which can be called good. It is better to have no wars than to have a war, but there are wars which can be called righteous.” This passage linked covenants to wars, expressed disapproval of both, but acknowledged they could play a positive social role. *Chun qiu fan lu yizheng*, annotated by Su Yu (Taipei: Heluo, 1975), ch. 2, p. 4a.

129. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 9, pp. 968–69, 971; *Li ji jijie*, ch. 2, p. 33—“When they bind trust it is called an ‘oath,’ and in the presence of a

sacrifice it is called a ‘covenant.’” *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 69, p. 1a; *Shuo wen jie zhi zhu*, ch. 7a, p. 27a; *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 25, p. 435; Lord Xiang year 26, p. 1118. On simple oaths, see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 1, p. 14; Lord Xuan year 17, p. 772; Lord Cheng year 11, p. 853; Lord Zhao year 6, p. 1279. On the gods as enforcers of covenants, see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 9, p. 843; Lord Ai year 12, p. 1671.

130. For the argument that blood covenants began only after Lord Huan, see *Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, Lord Huan year 3, ch. 4, p. 9b; *Guliang zhuan zhushu*, Lord Yin year 8, ch. 2, pp. 9a–b; *Mengzi zhengyi*, ch. 12, p. 497. For references to covenants under the Western Zhou and Lord Huan see note 127.

131. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhao year 1, p. 1202.

132. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhao year 6, pp. 1278–79; Lord Xiang year 26, p. 1118.

133. On the evidence from Houma, see Shanxisheng Wenwu Gongzuodui Weiyuanhui, eds., *Houma mengshu* (Shanghai: Wenwu, 1976); Shanxisheng Wenwu Gongzuodui Weiyuanhui, “‘Houma mengshu’ de faxian, fajue yu zhengli qingkuang,” *Wenwu* 1975 (5): 7–11; Shanxisheng Wenwu Gongzuodui Weiyuanhui, “‘Houma mengshu’ zhushi si zhong,” *Wenwu* 1975 (5): 20–26; Zhang Han, “Houma Dongzhou yizhi faxian Jinguo zhu shu wenzi,” *Wenwu* 1966 (2): 1–3; Zhang Han, “Houma mengshu congkao,” *Wenwu* 1975 (5): 12–19; Zhang Han, “Houma mengshu congkao xu,” in *Guwenzi yanjiu*, no. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979), pp. 78–102; Guo Moruo, “Houma mengshu shitan,” *Wenwu* 1966 (2): 4–6; Guo Moruo, “Chutu wenwu er san shi ‘Xin chu Houma mengshu shiwen,’” *Wenwu* 1972 (3): 4–7; Guo Moruo, “Taodu, Nuwa, Jialing,” *Wenwu* 1973 (1): 5–6; Chen Mengjia, “Dongzhou mengshi yu chutu zaishu,” *Kaogu* 1966 (5): 271–79; Tao Zhenggang and Wang Kelin, “Houma Dongzhou mengshi yizhi,” *Wenwu* 1972 (3): 27–37, 71; Tang Lan, “Houma chutu Jinguo Zhao Jia zhi meng zaishu xin shi,” *Wenwu* 1972 (8): 31–35, 58; Zhu Dexi and Qiu Xigui, “Guanyu Houma mengshu de jidian bushi,” *Wenwu* 1972 (8): 36–38, 48; Li Yumin, “Wo dui Houma mengshu de kanfa,” *Kaogu* 1973 (3): 185–91; Gao Ming, “Houma zaimeng zhu kao,” in *Guwenzi yanjiu*, no. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979), pp. 103–15; Huang Shengzhang, “Guanyu Houma mengshu de zhuyao wenti,” *Zhongyuan wenwu* 1981 (2): 27–33; Wei Jin and Jin Wen, “‘Houma mengshu’ he Chun qiu houqi Jinguo de jieji douzheng,” *Wenwu* 1975 (5): 1–6, 94; Takahashi Yasuichirō, “Chūgoku kodai no seibun to meibun,” *Kōnan kokubun* 19 (1982): 169–82.

134. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Cheng year 11, p. 854; Lord Zhao year 1, p. 1204; *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 11, pp. 7a–9a; ch. 72, p. 8b; *Houma mengshu*, pp. 13–21.

135. The digging of the pit and its use, as well as the smearing of the blood, are described in the cases cited previously, and the layout of the pits has been reconstructed at Houma. Additional references to the smearing of blood are *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 9, p. 971; Lord Zhuang year 32, p. 253;

Lord Ding year 4, p. 1547—these last two used human blood; *Guanzi jiaozheng*, ch. 8, p. 126. On the cursing of violators, see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 11, p. 990. On the left ear of the animal, see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Ding year 27, p. 1566; Lord Ai year 17, p. 1711.

136. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 5, p. 308; year 26, p. 440; Lord Xiang year 11, p. 993. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 10, p. 984 and *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 51, pp. 11a–b indicate that lineages as well as states had some form of archives for preserving the texts of old covenants.

137. See the passages cited in note 135.

138. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 11, p. 76; Lord Xuan year 2, p. 663; Lord Xiang year 11, p. 990; Lord Ding year 6, p. 1559. The malediction is also mentioned in the *Shi jing*. See *Mao shi zhengyi*, ch. 12.3, pp. 17a–18b.

139. For an interesting presentation of the social uses of the covenant, see W. A. C. H. Dobson, "Some Legal Instruments of Ancient China: *Ming* and *Meng*," in *Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities*, ed. Chow Tse-tung (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin, 1968), pp. 269–82. Professor Dobson's theory that the covenant originated among the common people, however, is completely unsubstantiated.

140. For secondary works on the role of covenants in international relations, see the various titles listed in the editor's note on Dobson, "Legal Instruments," p. 270. See also Liu Baiji, *Chun qiu huimeng zhengzhi* (Taipei: Zhonghua Congshu, 1963).

141. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Wen year 6, p. 547; Lord Cheng year 2, p. 798; year 3, p. 815; year 8, p. 837; Lord Xiang year 9, p. 969; year 23, p. 1077 (2); year 26, pp. 1117, 1125; year 27, pp. 1129, 1133; year 31, pp. 1186, 1187; Lord Zhao year 1, pp. 1201, 1207; year 2, p. 1231; year 4, p. 1247; year 5, p. 1270; year 7, p. 1290; year 11, p. 1325; year 13, p. 1362; year 23, p. 1442 (2); year 24, p. 1450; year 25, p. 1459; year 29, p. 1504; year 32, p. 1517; Lord Ai year 1, p. 1607; *Shi ji*, ch. 14, p. 509.

142. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Yin year 8, p. 59; Lord Xi year 28, p. 452; Lord Zhao year 1, pp. 1206–07.

143. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xiang year 11, pp. 989–90.

144. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Huan year 11, p. 132; Lord Xiang year 13, p. 1012; year 19, p. 1048; year 24, p. 1084; year 26, p. 1118; year 27, p. 1128; year 28, p. 1146; year 29, p. 1168; year 30, pp. 1173, 1176, 1177; Lord Zhao year 1, p. 1215; year 4, pp. 1253, 1257–58; year 20, p. 1412; year 26, p. 1475; Lord Ding year 5, p. 1553; year 6, p. 1559; year 14, p. 1595; Lord Ai year 2, p. 1610; year 26, pp. 1730–31.

145. *Zhou li zhengyi*, ch. 51, pp. 2a–b; ch. 69, pp. 1a–3b; *Mozi jiangou*, ch. 8, pp. 144–45.

146. These city-states are not to be confused with the Greek *poleis*. The term refers simply to the geographic range of the political unit and does not imply democratic or popular rule. On the character of the Eastern Zhou states, see Tong Shuye, *Chun qiu shi* (Shanghai: Kaiming, 1946), pp. 82–84; Tong Shuye, *Chun qiu Zuo zhuan yanjiu*, pp. 177–84, 366–68; Du Zhengsheng, *Zhou dai chengbang* (Taipei: Lianjing, 1979); Miyazaki Ichisada, "Chūgoku jōdai wa hōkensei ka toshi kokka ka," in *Ajia shi kenkyū*, vol. 3 (Kyoto: Dōshōsha, 1957), pp. 63–86; Miyazaki Ichisada, "Chūgoku ni okeru shuraku keitai no hensen ni tsuite," in *Ajia shi ronkō*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun, 1978), pp. 3–30; Miyazaki Ichisada, "Chūgoku jōdai no toshi kokka to sono bōchi," in *Ajia shi ronkō*, vol. 2, pp. 31–55; Kaizuka Shigeki, *Chūgoku no kodai kokka*, in *Kaizuka Shigeki chosaku shū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 1978), pp. 255–382; Kaizuka Shigeki, "Chūgoku kodai toshi kokka no seikaku," in *Kaizuka Shigeki chosaku shū*, vol. 2, pp. 119–32; Kimura Masao, *Chūgoku kodai teikoku no keisai—toku ni sono seiritsu no kiso jōken* (Tokyo: Fumeitō, 1967), pp. 60–81; Nemoto Makoto, *Chūgoku dentō shakai to sono hō shisō* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Tetsugaku Kenkyūsho, 1980), pp. 117–72; Masubuchi Tatsuo, *Chūgoku kodai no shakai to kokka* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1962), pp. 421–35; Itō Michiharu, *Chūgoku kodai ōchō no keisei*, pp. 172–224.

Mainland Chinese scholars have also examined the question of city-states in ancient China, but they have been too obsessed with the Greek model to come to terms with the Chinese case. See Lin Zhichun, "Kong Meng shu zhong fanying de gudai Zhongguo chengshi guojia zhidu," *Lishi yanjiu* 1980 (3): 123–32; Ri Zhi, "Cong Chun qiu cheng ren zhi li zailun Yazhou gudai minzhu zhengzhi," *Lishi yanjiu* 1981 (1): 3–17; Lü Shaowang, "Zhongguo gudai bu cunzai chengbang zhidu," *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 1983 (4): 91–105.

On the nature and status of the inhabitants of the capital, see Tong Shuye, *Chun qiu Zuo zhuan yanjiu*, pp. 36–38, 132–46, 371–72; Kaizuka Shigeki, "Chūgoku kodai toshi ni okeru minkai no seido," in *Kaizuka Shigeki chosaku shū*, vol. 2, pp. 95–118; Masubuchi Tatsuo, "Shunjū Sengoku jidai no shakai to kokka," in *Iwanami kōza sekai rekishi*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1970), pp. 139–79.

147. On the role of the capital's inhabitants in the army, see, for example, *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Min year 2, p. 265; Lord Xiang year 30, p. 1176; Lord Ding year 12, p. 1587. On the expulsion or murder of princes or unpopular ministers, see Lord Xi year 28, p. 452; Lord Wen year 7, p. 558; year 16, p. 622; year 18, p. 633; Lord Xiang year 19, p. 1050; year 31, p. 1189; Lord Zhao year 23, p. 1444; Lord Ai year 11, p. 1661; year 16, p. 1704; year 26, p. 1731. On the rulers' fear of the wrath of the people, see Lord Xiang year 10, p. 981; Lord Zhao year 13, p. 1347; year 26, p. 1472; Lord Ai year 25, p. 1726. On actions performed to quiet the populace, see Lord Wen year 18, p. 643; Lord Cheng year 15, p. 876; Lord Xiang year 15, p. 1022; Lord Zhao year 13, p. 1348; year 22, p. 1434.

148. On the urban populace in civil wars, see the citations in the preceding note and Lord Zhuang year 20, p. 220; Lord Cheng year 13, pp. 866–67;

year 15, p. 875; Lord Xiang year 10, pp. 979–81; year 17, p. 1032; year 26, p. 1113; Lord Zhao year 5, p. 1262; year 10, pp. 1316–17; Lord Ding year 12, pp. 1586–87; year 13, pp. 1590–91; Lord Ai year 6, p. 1634. On playing a role in deciding the succession to the throne, see Lord Wen year 18, p. 633; Lord Xiang year 31, p. 1189; Lord Zhao year 14, p. 1365. On trying to win the support of the capital populace through displays of generosity, see Lord Wen year 16, p. 620; Lord Xiang year 29, p. 1157; Lord Zhao year 3, p. 1235; year 25, p. 1463.

149. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 15, pp. 359–61; Lord Ding year 8, p. 1567; Lord Ai year 6, p. 1607. Because they could be assembled at court the urban populace was also called the “court populace.” See Lord Xi year 19, p. 378.

150. For example, *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 28, pp. 469–70; Lord Cheng year 13, p. 866; Lord Xiang year 25, p. 1099; year 30, p. 1176; Lord Zhao year 20, p. 1412; Lord Ding year 6, p. 1559; Lord Ai year 6, p. 1637. On the basis of several passages in the *Zhou li* and the texts cited in the preceding notes, Kaizuka Shigeki argued that the city-states of ancient China had a “popular assembly” reminiscent of the one in democratic Athens. This assembly, known as the “outer court,” was gathered when the state faced a crisis, when a new ruler was installed, or when the ruler desired to move the capital. See Kaizuka, “Chūgoku kodai toshi ni okeru minkai no seido,” pp. 98–110. There is no evidence for such an assembly as a regular practice in any reliable early text, and it is likely that the authors of the *Zhou li* had mistaken an ad hoc, emergency procedure for a normative institution. Nevertheless, this mistake reflects the historical fact that the capital’s populace played an important and sometimes decisive role in pre-imperial China’s political order, and their support was regularly sought by anyone who wished to rule.

151. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xuan year 4, pp. 679–82, 684; year 13, p. 752; Lord Cheng year 7, pp. 833–34; Lord Zhao year 28, pp. 1491–93. On the use of the term *mie zu* in the *Zuo zhuan*, see Ogura Yoshihiko, *Chūgoku kodai seiji shisō kenkyū* (Tokyo: Aoki, 1970), pp. 189–94. See also *Houma mengshu*, pp. 73–74.

Chapter Two

1. The term “warring state” was applied in pre-imperial texts to each of the seven great, territorial states that had divided the Chinese world between them by the late fifth century B.C. The use of the term “Warring States” to describe the period was coined in the Han. See Yang, *Zhanguo shi*, pp. 1–4.

2. Professor Robin Yates has done considerable work on this topic and will be discussing it in some detail in a major monograph.

3. On the changing relation of chariots and infantry in the Spring and Autumn armies, see Lan, *Chun qiu shiqi de bubing*.

4. The Qing dynasty commentator Jiang Yong (1681–1762 A.D.) collected passages from the *Zuo zhuan* and other texts to demonstrate that in the early Eastern Zhou farmers outside the capital did not give military service. See *Qun jing bu yi* (Shuyetang edition, 1792), ch. 2, pp. 7a–9b. For modern studies of the separation of the capital and its hinterland, and the exclusion of the latter from military service, see Yang Kuan, *Gu shi xin tan* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1965), pp. 135–65; He Ziquan, “Zhou dai tudi zhidu he ta de yanbian,” *Lishi yanjiu* 1964 (3): 156–59; Kaizuka, *Chūgoku no kodai kokka*, pp. 162–253; Du, *Zhou dai chengbang*, pp. 21–122; Li Ling, “Zhongguo gudai jumin zuzhi de liang da leixing ji qi bu tong lai yuan—Chun qiu Zhanguo shiqi Qiguo jumin zuzhi shi-tan,” *Wen shi* 28 (March, 1987), pp. 59–75; Ying Yongchen, “Lun Chun qiu shidai Luguo he Jinguo de shehui tedian jian ji rujia he fajia chansheng de lishi beijing,” *Lishi yanjiu* 1964 (1): 156–62.

One passage in the *Zuo zhuan* refers to an army that built dwellings and planted crops in order to maintain a protracted siege, which suggests that the army included some peasants and artisans who probably served as porters and laborers. The fact that the seasonal hunts were timed to avoid interfering with the agricultural season also suggests that farmers participated in these as well. See *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xuan year 15, p. 761; Lord Yin year 5, pp. 42–43. However, since an army could safely remain in the field over a growing season, the percentage of peasants accompanying the army could not have been great, and it is likely that most of them were *guo ren* or *shi* who worked fields in the vicinity of the capital. The solemn declaration cited in Chapter One also included farmers, artisans, merchants, and even slaves in the army, but this speech is attributed to 493 B.C. and hence postdates the reforms that extended service to new elements of the population.

5. Jiang, *Qun jing bu yi*, ch. 2, p. 7b; Okazaki Fumio, “‘San goku go hi’ no sei ni tsuite,” in *Haneda Hakushi shōju kinen tōyōshi ronsō* (Kyoto: Tōyōshi Kenkyūkai, 1950), pp. 211–23.

6. *Guanzi jiaozheng*, ch. 8, pp. 123–24. A similar but less detailed account of Guan Zhong’s reforms appears in *Guo yu*, ch. 6, pp. 224–32. This passage also stipulates that the units of five families which formed the military squads of five men should sacrifice and mourn their dead together. Less systematic discussions of the identification of civil government and military organization in the *Guanzi* appear in ch. 1, p. 10; ch. 2, p. 28; ch. 3, p. 39; ch. 8, p. 125; ch. 9, p. 143.

7. Du Zhengsheng, “Zhou dai fengjian jieti hou de junzheng xin zhixu: bianhu qimin de yanjiu zhi er,” *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Yuyan Lishi Yanjiusuo jikan* 55:1 (1984): 78–79.

8. *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 15, pp. 360–63. A virtually identical account appears in *Guo yu*, ch. 9, p. 330.

9. For the relevant characters and the passage from the *Zhou li*, see *Shuo wen jie zi zhu*, ch. 2a, pp. 37a–b.