

OLGIERD WOJTASIEWICZ

The Origin of Chinese Clan Names

The problem of Chinese clan names has not, generally speaking, been the subject of many studies. Short but sober reference notes on this subject have been written by Chavannes¹ and Tscheppe², and a more extensive paper by Haloun³ who, however, regretfully enough, first, based his studies on legendary chronology⁴ and, secondly, shifted the main point of the problem to enquiries into the Chinese technique of myth-making⁵ as a result of which the value of his work was considerably diminished. More recent researches are dealing rather with fragmentary problems, but are not providing any synthesis or even an attempt of it.

This feature is rather comprehensible. The etymology of clan and tribal names does not, as a rule, stand on solid ground, because, in general, it is not known with what realities these names are connected.

Dealing with Chinese subjects, the student, especially the European one, is confronted with additional complications which multiply these difficulties. The complete strangeness of the tradition practically excludes or at least considerably limits the possibility to let oneself be guided by "intuition": to use — even for the purpose of starting researches with the proviso of a later check — such or other associations which are apparently unfounded or founded not solidly or almost irrelevant. The peculiar technique (in the broadest meaning of the word) of the Chinese writing and the phonetic and even typological changes⁶ of the Chinese language make it imperative that all etymologizing which in this matter is anyway rather uncertain, must take into account the different origin of the graph-

¹ E. Chavannes, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Paris 1896, p. 3, foot-note 3.

² A. Tscheppe, *Histoire du Royaume de Tch'ou*, Shanghai 1903, pp. 387—394.

³ G. Haloun, *Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte Chinesischer Clans*, Asia Major, Hirth Anniversary Volume, pp. 165—181, and *Contributions to the History of Clan Settlement in Ancient China*, Asia Major 1924, pp. 76—111 and 587—623.

⁴ Haloun, *Contributions*, p. 78 and p. 81 foot-note 1.

⁵ Haloun, *Contributions*, pp. 90—111 and pp. 587—597.

⁶ For phonetic changes see B. Karlgren, *varia op.*, for typological changes see J. Chmielewski, *The Typological Evolution of the Chinese Language*, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, vol. XV, 1949, pp. 371—429.

ical and phonetical forms of the names under research. These two potential aspects of etymology call upon the student to consider which form, the graphical or phonetical, is the primary and which is the secondary one. This problem will be referred to later on.

These two basic difficulties are increased by other ones, also serious, although not exclusively affecting Chinese linguistic and historical materials, for they also occur in research into family names in areas of other cultures. Namely, the data are scattered over a great number of texts which entails the necessity to use some early compilations and studies and therefore implies the risk of succumbing to bias. Indeed the authors of these early studies or compilations could have made errors in good faith, or they might have wished to distort the actual state of things and to mislead deliberately their readers, which often is probable in so far as the question of clans and families is closely linked with genealogy and this is affecting in turn such very practical problems as kinship, inheritance rights, social or class standing, etc.

This paper is solely concerned with an attempt to establish a certain typology of clan names, that has so far received less attention than it deserved.

The paper takes into consideration mainly two works, viz.:

- 1) B. Karlgren's *Grammata Serica*⁷,
- 2) Cheng Ch'iao, Chapter on names, forming a part of the encyclopaedia *T'ung-chih* by the same author⁸.

⁷ Ed. Stockholm 1940; hereafter referred to as GS.

⁸ The chapter on surnames 氏族略 in the *T'ung-chih* 通志 encyclopaedia compiled by Cheng Ch'iao 鄭樵 (1104—1162), is one of the five sections of this encyclopaedia, which in Chinese literature are the first writings on problems dealt with in them (see foot-note 9).

Although *shih-tsu* 氏族 is often translated as 'family, lineage, genealogy', it is clear from the context that the main purpose of the author of the encyclopaedia was to present the various ways in which the Chinese names had originated, the gradually evolving principles of their making, and their belonging to certain etiological and typological groups.

The problem of connections between individual families having the same name, and of the connection between families having different names, that is what could, according to usage accepted in Europe, be called genealogy, is treated incidentally. Hence the acceptance of the translation of the title *Shih-tsu-lüeh* as 'Section on surnames'.

The present paper is based on the text published by The Shanghai Commercial Press in 1935, fifth edition. *Shih-tsu-lüeh* takes up pages 439 to 485 inclusive and is divided into six *chüan* 卷, from 25 to 30 inclusive. The first *chüan* (pp. 439—446) contains introductory remarks by the author of the encyclopaedia, which are something of a synthesis, as well as a list of names dealt with in the section; the rest of the text discusses individual names grouped according to etiological types. Each name is followed always by a note on the details of the origin

This choice was prompted by the following reasons: *Grammata Serica* is among the works accessible in Poland without any doubt the fullest and most modern study of archaic Chinese writing, i.e. the writing from the Shang and Chou periods. The chapter on names of the encyclopaedia *T'ung-chih* is the earliest detailed and independent Chinese work on families. Its author, who probably had at his disposal many sources now nonexistent, has the opinion of a thorough and sober historian⁹.

of the name or the way it was created, often with reference to historical texts or sources, and sometimes by the author's comment especially in those cases where the results of his investigations disagree with earlier data or tradition, or else if there are discrepancies between the sources used by the author. The list of names is, unfortunately, of little use as it is compiled not according to some principle of the structure of the characters of which the name is composed, but to the same order in which the names are discussed in the text, so that in order to find a particular name in the index one must read it from the beginning until the name is found.

Each page is divided into three horizontal columns; all quotations in this paper, which do not mention a definite source, refer to the text of *Shih-tsu-lieh* and follow the pagination of the Shanghai Commercial Press edition: the figure means the page, and the letter the column, e.g. 455c means the third column of page 455.

In the section dealing with a detailed analysis of names the author gives a considerable number of variants and doublets, and it is often difficult to find out when it is just a doublet and when a variant which to a certain extent is independent.

It may be inferred from the attitude of the author towards various incidental forms that he wanted above all to record the mere fact of the existence of such forms without classification into forms entirely and partly interchangeable. This is why those quantitative data given in this paper which are based on *T'ung-chih* are often just approximate figures.

⁹ "An equally critical and comprehensive historian of the next century was Cheng Ch'iao (1104—1162), an amateur natural scientist. His *T'ung-chih* included monographs on such diverse subjects as the family and clan, philology, phonetics, political subdivisions, flowers and insects, library cataloguing, and archeology. Perhaps because he expressed such scorn of traditional views of scholars who failed to make first-hand investigations of the subjects, his book was long neglected, but these sections of it are highly esteemed today". — (L. C. Goodrich, *A Short History of the Chinese People*, London 1948, p. 152). "The compiler of the *T'ung-chih* was a great critical historian of the Sung period who looked upon history as a continuous stream, and felt that it was a mistake arbitrarily to divide it into periods corresponding to the dynasties. He modeled the *T'ung-chih* after the *Shih-chi*, and classified his material according to four categories: *chi* 紀 (annals), *p'u* 譜 (chronological, of which there is only one section), *lieh* 略 (monographic studies), and *chuan* 傳 (biographies). The period covered extends from the earliest historical times down to the end of the Sui dynasty in the *chi* and *chuan* sections, and down to the end of the T'ang dynasty in the *lieh* and *p'u* sections. Most of the material was derived from dynastic histories, although not infrequently other sources which are no longer available were made

In the research into the clan names, *Grammata Serica* plays the basic role while *T'ung-chih* is only an auxiliary reference book.

Moreover, in its attempt at typological classification of clan and family names I have made use of certain ideas and terms used by Krzywicki¹⁰ and Bystron¹¹, but, of course, the responsibility for the way I have made use of them is entirely mine.

The question of clan names is connected with a series of problems which can, generally speaking, be classified into three groups:

- a) the division of the ancient Chinese society into estates, and the abolition of the estate system,
- b) exogamy,
- c) matriarchy.

In the earliest historical period, i.e. from 8th century B.C., the Chinese society was clearly an estate society and was divided into the nobility and the people. The nobility had the monopoly of filling the posts of feudal lords and their officials, was governed according to the rules of etiquette, and fought in battles mounted on war chariots. The people tilled the land and to a limited extent was engaged in crafts; it was subject to a penal code (administered by the nobility), and fought as infantry¹². The degree in which the division into these two estates was connected with the Chou conquest is too complicated a matter to be discussed here, but it seems that the connection between these two facts is rather evident. Besides, the above outline is rather theoretical and certainly static. Actually, about 770 B. C. a serious check came to the feudal-estate system (invasion by the barbarians, transfer of the capital eastwards) and breaches in the system date at least from this period: many feudal lords have been undoubtedly deprived of their small vassal states as a result of the military and political defeat which thus lowered their social standing and often pushed them into the plebeian class; the internal upheaval opened certainly the possibility for many abler or smarter individuals to slip into the ranks of the nobility. Later, as bigger states were absorbing smaller ones, and the economic system was evolving from self-supporting farms to exchange of

use of. They are the most important part of the work, representing as they do, an attempt to summarize all that was known at that time about the subjects treated. The other three categories are of comparatively little value. The topics of five of the *lueh*, those on family and clan, philology, phonetics, political subdivisions and flora and insects, were original with Cheng, none of them having been dealt with as independent subjects before". (Ssu-yu Teng and Knight Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works*, Yenching Monograph No. 11, Peiping 1936, p. 130).

¹⁰ L. Krzywicki, *Social and Economic Systems in Savage and Barbaric Times*, Warsaw, 1914 (in Polish): notes on tribal names derived from nicknames or autoappellativa.

¹¹ J. Bystron, *Polish surnames*, 1927 (in Polish), typology of surnames.

¹² Cf. H. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, Paris 1927, *passim*.

goods, development of crafts and the beginnings of market economy, so the process of social degradation and of social promotion continued to reduce the scope of the old theoretical system until finally two shocks, which followed rapidly one upon another, i.e. the victory and downfall of Ch'in, put in principle an end to the division into estates. From the times of the Han dynasty onward the Chinese society, although very strongly and clearly divided into social classes, had no division into estates having a different legal status¹³.

The problem of division into estates has its importance from the point of view of the problem of clan names, because such names were first the privilege of the aristocracy¹⁴. As the static division was giving way to the increasing mixing and mutual infiltration of the two estates, the aristocracy whose social standing was lowering was, sooner or later, losing its tradition of belonging to a clan, while the socially climbing plebeians had to pretend to belong to some clan. As family names existed already in the feudal period (in the case of the aristocracy linked always with belonging to a certain clan), from the social upheaval in the time of Ch'in onwards the disappearance of the formal division into estates has resulted in the disappearance of the differentiation between the clan and family names. The notions 氏 and 姓 have become synonymous¹⁵ and have remained so, although there are certain customary differences in the use of those terms (姓名 'name and surname', 貴姓 'what is your name', but 某姓 'Mr X').

The intermingling of the two categories of names did not entail, however, a decline of the tradition which family names were once clan names, but in some concrete cases it seems to have led to a confusion of notions¹⁶. This question will be discussed later in the analysis of individual clan names.

The allotting of individual surnames to clan names, which took place as a result of the above mentioned upheaval in the social organisation, had gone on, it

¹³ In spite of several attempts at the reinstalment of the feudal system of the vassal type which existed in the times of the Chou dynasty, there was in principle no formal legal division into estates: the discriminating regulations concerning certain trades considered as shameful had such little practical significance that they cannot be treated as an exception to that rule.

¹⁴ Cf. Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, Haloun, *Contributions*, p. 76, Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

¹⁵ 439a, 441b.

¹⁶ This confusion of ideas must have originated earlier, because it can be noted in *Feng-su Tung-i I-wen* 風俗通義佚文, ed. Peking, 1943, by the Centre Franco-Chinois d'études sinologiques. According to the *Tz'u-yuan* encyclopaedia this text is supposed to date from the Han period; it was lost in the times of the Sung dynasty, but fragments have been preserved in the *Yung-lo Ta-tzu-tien*. The confusion of the terms 姓 and 氏 appears already in this text, inter alia p. 117 line 2, p. 141 sub 董, p. 145 sub 瞞, p. 149 sub 變.

seems, for a considerable time, and its details are not well known. Although in the second half of the first millennium A. D.¹⁷ some order was introduced into the question of names. Yet it seems that even after this period a difference was felt between clan names connected for ages with given families and clan names "allotted" in one way or another. Only this would explain the fact that *T'ung-chih* which has been compiled after the process of settling the surnames and clan names (or at least in the final stage of this process) mentions clan names only with reference to about 25 per cent of names (exactly 27.6 per cent — 634 cases for a total of 2296). Taking into consideration that *T'ung-chih* enumerates many names of a population ethnically not Chinese, names which have been changed into others having a more Chinese form already before *T'ung-chih* was compiled, and many other names which though of Chinese origins are known only by tradition, the percentage could perhaps be raised to 50 per cent, but even so the actual or fictitious (established ex post) clan connections must have been not quite clearly established in many cases.

The linking of each family with some particular clan is of fundamental significance because of the principle of clan exgamy; both marriage partners, apart from the fact that there could be no close relationship between them pursuant to the prohibition of incest, could not belong to the same clan even if no relationship between them could be established¹⁸. Chinese tradition relates rather vaguely that the principle of clan exgamy was introduced by Chou Kung in order to strengthen the solidarity among the families of the Chou conquerors who after the conquest were surrounded by a hostile or at least unfriendly environment¹⁹. In the ancient period there was however, in practice, quite a number of exceptions from this rule and its strict application dates only since the second half of the first millennium A. D. in connection with the settlement of the question of names²⁰.

The problem of the surviving traditions of matriarchy in China has not been sufficiently elucidated²¹. It has been attempted to explain the assertion that Chi-

¹⁷ Feng Han-yi, *The Chinese Kinship System*, HJAS 1937, pp. 173 and 175; 439a.

¹⁸ Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Feng, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁹ Feng (*op. cit.*, p. 175) is wrong when he says of the rather legendary fact of the introduction of clan exgamy by Chou Kung that its purpose was to strengthen the clan solidarity; or he used here a wrong expression: he should have said "inter-clan solidarity" or "solidarity of clans". The clan exgamy was probably supposed to weaken the isolation of individual clans and to increase their solidarity, as a whole of the Chou clans, in relation to the whole of the conquered population.

²⁰ Feng, *op. cit.*, p. 175 and foot-note 15.

²¹ It should be stressed that the question is not to doubt the matriarchy as a phase in the evolution of a society [M. O. Kosv'yen gives a collation of views on this problem in his *Matriarchy*, Moscow-Leningrad 1948 (in Russian)], but to deal with the living traditions of matriarchy preserved in various degrees by various societies.

nese society preserved a strong tradition of matriarchy, among others by the fact that the character *sing* 姓 — 'clan name' — has as components the elements 女 'woman' and 生 'to bear'. Thus the structure of this character was to prove matrilinealism and matriarchy²².

This argument does not look very convincing. First, Karlgren gives the form of the character with the radical 亻, and it should be borne in mind that he is always quoting the earliest forms found in the inscriptions mentioned by him²³. Secondly, handing down of clan names was in the historic period always strictly patrilineal²⁴. Thirdly, the author of *T'ung-chih* (although he accepts the interpretation formulated above) himself quotes purely legendary examples of brothers founding various clans²⁵. The legendary character of these tales cannot alter the fact that the author did not consider the foundation of clans by men to be something extraordinary. Furthermore, the author refers several times to the tradition that the clan names were conferred by various legendary rulers as a kind of privilege²⁶.

In view of the conflicting and imprecise traditions and theories it seems necessary to analyse:

- a) the individual clan names, and
- b) the full set of the clan names from the angle of possible typological categories of these names.

The analysis of the individual clan names will deal, above all, with:

- 1) the structure of the ideograph, its meaning, origin, time of appearance etc.,
- 2) the number of family names allotted to the given clan names, if necessary taking into account their geographical distribution,
- 3) possible data concerning the origin and history of the clan.

The meaning and the archaic as well as the modern pronunciation are given according to GS or, if the character is not mentioned in the GS, according to Couvreur's *Dictionnaire classique de la Langue Chinoise*, Ho Kien Fou, 1911, but in Wade's transcription.

All attempts at etymologizing or references to the original meaning are based on the early forms of the characters, as given by the GS. The actual state of research does not permit to attempt to etymologize on the basis of ancient (reconstructed) pronunciation of clan names (cf. the two directions of etymological research in sinology, as mentioned above). In few cases only the identity or marked

²² This view is usually mentioned by those who discuss the problem of clans. It would hardly be possible to give an exhaustive bibliography.

²³ GS, p. 2, and Series 812.

²⁴ Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 123, Feng, *op. cit.*, pp. 174—5.

²⁵ 450ab.

²⁶ 439c and 450c.

coincidence of the archaic pronunciation (as reconstructed by Karlgren) is quoted as an additional proof for the interchangeability of clan names.

The following analysis deals only with these clans which have been recognised as the most ancient and primary ones by Tschepe, Fu Ssu-nien and Haloun²⁷. (Fu Ssu-nien does not use the term "primary", but his work implies that he means such clans.) The lists of primary clans given by these three investigators are not identical, the divergencies are, however, insignificant because together they enumerate 26 names, 20 of which are to be found on all three lists. These names are as follows (letters symbolise the three authors):

No	1	姬	T F H	No	14	祁	T F H
"	2	姒	T F H	"	15	熊	T F H
"	3	姜	T F H	"	16	曹	T F H
"	4	嬴	T F H	"	17	風	T F H
"	5	姚	T F H	"	18	曼 蔓	T F H
"	6	嬀	T F H	"	19	隗	T F H
"	7	姁	T F H	"	20	歸	T F
"	8	女云	T F H	"	21	彭	F H
"	9	偃	T F H	"	22	董	T F H
"	10	任	T F	"	23	允	T F
"	11	子	T F H	"	24	禿	H
"	12	己	T F H	"	25	漆	T F H
"	13	莘	T F H	"	26	斟	H

1) 姬 *kjag-ki* — 'family name; a fine lady'. That was the clan name of the Chou dynasty. The meaning 'lady' seems to be secondary, because in the Ch'un-ch'iu period women of ruling families were indicated by the names of their clans. Naming a woman by her clan implied her aristocratic origin, and as this clan was at that time the most powerful one, the term used to denote a woman of this clan might have easily become the synonym of a lady of the aristocracy. This is all the more probable because the almost identical meaning 'lady' has been connected also with the character denoting another powerful clan (姜; Karlgren does not give this meaning, but it is mentioned by Couvreur). The character 姬 appears in the period 950—770 B. C.²⁸. The greatest number of family names has been allotted to this clan name by *T'ung-chih*. The superiority

²⁷ Tschepe, *op. cit.*, pp. 387—389; Haloun, *Contributions*, pp. 84—89; Fu Ssu-nien 傅斯年, 論所謂五等爵, *Academia Sinica II* (1930), pp. 112—120.

²⁸ GS, Series 960 f-h.

of this clan with relation to other ones in this respect is clearly evident: out of 634 names with defined clan membership, 263, i.e. about 40 per cent, belong to this clan. The names connected with this clan are to be found mostly in the principalities whose ruling families were linked with the imperial family Chou: *Lu* 魯, *Chin* 晉, *Wei* 衛, *Cheng* 鄭, *Wu* 吳. This can be easily understood, because the name in question was the clan name of the imperial family. The name itself is supposed to originate from *Ki-shui* 姬水²⁹. It seems that this clan had some links with the barbarians which may be in connection with the supposedly not purely Chinese origin of the Chou³⁰ e.g., the daughter of the chief of the *Li-jung* 麗戎 tribe is called 麗姬³¹, although in this case there may be some doubt whether 姬 means clan membership or has the meaning of 'lady'.

2) 姒 *dziag-si* — 'family name; the wife of elder brother'. This is a clan name traditionally allotted to the dynasty of Hsia, the existence of which has not been proved. This character appears in the period 950 — 770 B. C.³². Twenty two family names are allotted by *T'ung-chih* to this clan name, without a precise indication of their territorial distribution. As family name this character assumes later in some cases the form 似³³.

3) 姜 *kiang-kiang* — 'family name'. This character appears in the period 1122 — 770³⁴ and probably alternates with 羌 'name of the western barbaric tribes' *k'iang-k'iang*³⁵ which is to be found in bone inscriptions from the Shang period. The question whether these characters were used to denote the same clan has not been finally solved, but there are serious arguments in favour of such an interpretation³⁶. This clan had family links with the clan 姬: Wu-wang's grandmother came from the clan *Kiang*³⁷, and also probably with the barbarians: cf. the name of the barbaric tribe *Kiang-jung* 姜戎³⁸. This clan name is supposed to have originated from *Kiang-shui* 姜水³⁹. *T'ung-chih* connects with this clan 57 names, out of which 26 occur in the principality of *Ch'i* 齊.

²⁹ 459c.

³⁰ Cf. Haloun, *Contributions*, p. 88.

³¹ *Tso-chuan*, ed. Couvreur I/194.

³² GS, Series 976 i-j.

³³ 459c.

³⁴ GS, Series 711 a-b.

³⁵ GS, Series 712 a-d.

³⁶ Cf. foot-note 111.

³⁷ Creel, *Birth of China*, 1935, p. 215.

³⁸ *Tso-chuan*, ed. Couvreur, I/74.

³⁹ 459b.

⁴⁰ GS, Series 816 a-d, Cf. the wrong, because based on later forms, interpretation by Granet in *Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*, Paris 1926, p. 367.

4) 嬴 *djēng-ying* — 'place name and family name'. This was the clan name of the family of the rulers of the principality of *Ch'in* 秦. The character appears in the period 1122 — 950 B. C., and its primary form was 'woman and bear'⁴⁰. (This is an unexpected and certainly accidental analogy with the Polish coat-of-arms „Rawicz”, showing a young woman riding on a bear). Forty three names are allotted by *T'ung-chih* to this clan name, 5 of which occur in *Ch'in*.

5) 姚 *djog-yao* — 'a family name, beautiful'. This character appears in the period 950 — 450 B. C.⁴¹ This name, to which *T'ung-chih* allots 2 family names, is supposed to be connected with *Yao-chü* 姚墟, the place where — according to the tradition — the emperors *Yü* 虞 and *Shun* 舜 were born⁴². *T'ung-chih* says that the name alternated later with 嬀 (see below), but it would be unjustified to consider both forms as parallel variants right from their origin, because 嬀 as a clan is supposed to have originated in the Chou period, and 姚 at a considerably earlier period (allegedly Hsia)⁴³.

6) 嬀 *kwiä-kuei* — 'place and family name'. This character appears in the period 1122 — 950 B. C.⁴⁴ The structure of the character invites certain remarks: it is composed of the elements 女 and 爲, the second element consisting in turn of the elements 'hand' and 'elephant'⁴⁵; it is possible that this character in its archaic form was analogous to the clan name 嬴: 'woman and bear' — 'woman and elephant', although this symmetry is being spoilt by the presence of the additional element 'hand' in the second character. According to *T'ung-chih* this name was supposed to originate from *Kuei-jui* 嬀汭, the alleged residence (place of birth?) of the legendary emperor *Shun*, but the clan itself was supposed to have been founded later, in the Chou period⁴⁶. The tradition of the existence of links between the clans *Yao* 姚 and *Kuei* 嬀 is confirmed by *Haloun*⁴⁷, but the time of the appearance of both characters (see above) and the fact of considering both clans as primary ones, invalidates the assertion of the author of *T'ung-chih* that the *Kuei* clan was founded very late. Twenty five names — 10 of which in the principality of *Ch'en* 陳, are allotted by *T'ung-chih* to this clan name.

7) 姁 *g'jēt-ki* — 'a family name'. This character appears in the period 1122 — 950 B. C.⁴⁸ *T'ung-chih* allots to this clan 2 family names and mentions⁴⁹ that the

⁴¹ GS, Series 1145 d-f.

⁴² 459b.

⁴³ 459b.

⁴⁴ GS, Series 27 g-j.

⁴⁵ GS, Series 27 a-e.

⁴⁶ 450c and 459b.

⁴⁷ *Haloun*, *Contributions* p. 84.

⁴⁸ GS, Series 393 l-m.

⁴⁹ 459c.

family name deriving from this clan name has been later changed into 吉 (*kjēt-ki* — 'good augury') which appears already in the Shang period in inscriptions on bones⁵⁰.

8) 女 *yün* — 'a clan name'. Karlgren gives the 女 form 'family name', *giwən-yün*⁵¹, appearing in the period 1122 — 750 B. C., other sources (*T'ung-chih*, Haloun, Tschepe) give only the form 女. Only one family name is allotted by *T'ung-chih* to this clan name and no details of the origin of the clan are given.

9) 偃 *ian-yen* — 'bend down, lie down; loan for id. arrogant.' Karlgren⁵² quotes only the contemporary form and remarks that this character was partly interchangeable with the 𡗗 (having the same archaic and contemporary pronunciation) which appeared as a proper name as early as the period 1122 — 950 B. C. (as well as later in the period 950 — 770 B. C.⁵³). This remark by Karlgren coincides with the fact that the text referred to says that the family names deriving from this clan name show also the secondary forms 有偃 and 𡗗⁵⁴. *T'ung-chih* allots to this clan name 8 family names.

10) 任 *niəm-jen* — 'carry, support, sustain, endure, strong, reliable, burden, charge, office, entrust, have confidence in'. This character appears in the period 1122 — 950 B. C.⁵⁵ *T'ung-chih*, which allots to the clan name one family name, explains its origin either by a geographical name (the alleged fief of one of the descendants of Huang-ti) or as alternative form of the character 妊 'pregnancy, pregnant' (the archaic and contemporary pronunciations of the two characters are identical) following obviously the idea applied by the author of *T'ung-chih* explain the form of the character 姓⁵⁶. The conflicting interpretation which sometimes is to be found seems to indicate clearly fluctuations of the tradition without the author having the possibility to make a clear-cut decision in favour of either opinion. It should be mentioned that Karlgren⁵⁷ does not indicate the interchangeability of the forms 任 and 妊, but only the interchangeability of the forms 妊 and 姪; 姪 is to be found only in texts of the Han period, the form 妊, however, (the meaning of which is given by *Shuowen* as 'pregnant') appears already in the period 1122 — 950 B. C., but then as a proper name.

⁵⁰ 393 a-h.

⁵¹ GS, Series 227 j-k.

⁵² GS, Series 253g.

⁵³ GS, Series 253 d-f.

⁵⁴ 459c and 442b.

⁵⁵ GS, Series 667 f-h.

⁵⁶ 451b and 469b.

⁵⁷ GS, Series 667 i-k.

11) 子 *tsiag-tsi* — 'son, daughter, child'. According to tradition this was the clan name of the Shang dynasty. This character appears already in the Shang period in bone inscriptions⁵⁸. *T'ung-chih* allots to this clan name 50 family names, out of which 21 in the principality of *Sung* 宋, which according to tradition was the demesne of the descendants of the Shang dynasty after the Chou conquest.

12) 已 *käg-ki* — 'cyclical character; self'. This character appears already in the times of Shang in bone inscriptions⁵⁹; in the period 1122 — 950 B. C. there appears the character 𠂔 (the archaic and contemporary pronunciations are identical) as a 'woman's name'⁶⁰, but it is not clear whether these two forms were interchangeable or identical. The theory that the radicals were added later does not bear examination, for the same phenomenon can be observed in the times of Shang in conjunction with other radicals⁶¹, whereas the character 𠂔 has so far not been found in pre-Chou inscriptions. *T'ung-chih* gives eleven surnames to this clan name, without any information as to the origin of the latter.

13) 𦍋 *ziang-yang* — 'sheep'; also 𦍋 *mi* — 'to bleat'. Karlgren does not give the 𦍋 form at all, but 𦍋 can be found in inscriptions from the Shang period⁶². According to tradition, it was the name of the clan of the *Ch'u* 楚 rulers; *T'ung-chih* ascribes to it 71 surnames, out of which 39 are located in *Ch'u*.

14) 𡗗 *g'ir-ki* — 'place name; loan for great, large, numerous'. Karlgren⁶³ gives only the non-archaic form; the two elements of this character are to be found in the inscriptions of the Shang period⁶⁴. *T'ung-chih* allots 24 surnames to this name, but about 50% of them are doubtful: the author either did not know himself for certain whether the given surname belonged to a particular clan or to another one (such hesitation in defining the allocation of individual names, that is families, to individual clans is not uncommon), or else he gave variants of the same name, such as: 𡗗, which appears sporadically⁶⁵ and can after Karlgren⁶⁶ and *K'ang-hsi Tzu-tien* (sub 𡗗) be recognised as an alternative form of 𡗗.

15) 熊 *giun-hiung* — 'a bear'. Karlgren⁶⁷ gives the form found in the period 770 — 450 B. C. as the earliest form of this character, but in the series 816

⁵⁸ GS, Series 964 a-j, details concerning the differentiation of archaic forms according to meaning.

⁵⁹ GS, Series 953 a-e.

⁶⁰ GS, Series 953 f-h.

⁶¹ GS, Series 953 *passim*.

⁶² GS, Series 732.

⁶³ GS, Series 553 i.

⁶⁴ GS, Series 553 and 683 *passim*.

⁶⁵ E. g. 473a.

⁶⁶ GS, Series 443o.

⁶⁷ GS, Series 674 a-b.

(*op. cit.*) he gives the original form of the character 羸, containing (cf. above) the element 'bear' and dating from 1122 — 950 B. C. In view of the meaning of this character it must be supposed that it had been used in inscriptions from the Shang period, which have either been destroyed or not yet discovered. *T'ung-chih* allots one surname to it⁶⁸, but gives no information as to the origin of the clan name.

16) 曹 *dz'ſg-ts'ao* — 'two parties, a pair; come together'. This character appears in the Shang period in bone inscriptions as a proper name⁶⁹. *T'ung-chih* allots eleven surnames to this name.

17) 風 *pium-feng* — 'wind; influence, manners, customs; to be on heat, loan for criticize'⁷⁰. The form of this character, which includes its present formative elements, is not archaic, the more ancient forms, which probably were pictograms of 'sail', were originally used also as meaning 'wind' (the original forms of the present character 鳳 'phoenix' were also used in this meaning in the Shang period, but these forms have nothing in common with those forms which have finally led to the formation of 風 — cf. GS *ut supra*). Karlgren's data agree partially, though not, perhaps, in details, with the assertion of *T'ung-chih*⁷¹ that the old form of the character 風 was 𩇛. The text allots to this clan nine family names.

18) 曼 *miwǎn-wan* — 'extended, long; slender, delicate'. This character appears in 950 — 450 B. C. as a personal name⁷². In the same period the character 嫵 *man-man* makes its appearance as a proper name (later meaning 'cheeky, to insult'), but there are no data which would warrant the supposition that the characters 曼 and 嫵 were interchangeable, especially as their archaic pronunciation, according to Karlgren's reconstruction, differed considerably from one another⁷³.

Tschepe and Haloun give the form 蔓 *miwǎn-man*, 'spreading plants, to spread, to crawl'⁷⁴. *T'ung-chih* knows only of the form 曼, which is mentioned once⁷⁵; Fu Ssu-nien gives the 曼 form which, I think, should be accepted as the primary one, and this for the following reasons: first, this form appears earlier as a proper name, whereas there is no proof that the other form had ever been used in that sense; secondly, although radicals are

⁶⁸ 452a.

⁶⁹ GS, Series 1053 a-c.

⁷⁰ GS, Series 625 *passim*.

⁷¹ 459c.

⁷² GS, Series 266 a-c.

⁷³ GS, Series 266 e-f.

⁷⁴ GS, Series 266d, only contemporary forms.

⁷⁵ 451b.

not at all uncommon in archaic inscriptions, it seems that the simpler form (without the radical) is earlier, and so nearer to those remote times when clan names were originating or getting fixed in writing.

19) 隗 *wei*—'high'. Karlgren does not give this character whose two elements appear in the Shang period in bone inscriptions⁷⁶. In the period 950 — 450 B. C., the character 媿 makes its appearance as a proper name (present meaning: 'ashamed', present form: 愧⁷⁷). The text allots to 隗 four family names, and connects the clan name itself⁷⁸ with the *Ch'ih-ti* tribes 赤狄 or 赤翟⁷⁹. As both these characters appear in inscriptions from the pre-Han period⁸⁰, it may seem that also 隗 which tradition links with these 'barbaric' tribes as their clan name is a character of ancient origin.

20) 歸 *kizwər-kuei* — 'return, go to, bring to, go as a bride to the new home'. This character appears already in the Shang period in bone inscriptions⁸¹. *T'ung-chih* gives it one family name (a dubious case, according to another source quoted by the same text this name — *Feng* 馮 — belongs to the *Ki* 姬 clan⁸²), and a name made out of itself (*i sing wei shih* 以姓爲氏), explaining⁸³ that the clan name in question is probably of a topografic origin.

21) 彭 *b'äng-p'eng* — 'place name', *b'äng-p'ang* — 'forceful, overbearing', *päng-pang*—'vigorous, untiring, running without stopping, numerous, in crowds'. This character can be seen in the Shang inscriptions as a proper name⁸⁴. *T'ung-chih* allots it two family names.

22) 董 *tung-tung* — 'manage, regulate'. Karlgren does not give the archaic form; the element *chung* 重 appears in 950 — 770 B. C.⁸⁵ *T'ung-chih*, without indicating its origin, allots it one family name⁸⁶.

23) 允 *zizwən-yün* — 'sincere, true, promise'. This character appears in the bone inscriptions from the Shang period, and already at that time it has a variant

⁷⁶ GS, Series 1108 and 569 *passim*.

⁷⁷ GS, Series 569 1-p.

⁷⁸ 459c and 466a.

⁷⁹ 狄 and 翟 are interchangeable; cf. GS, Series 856 a-c and 1124 a-b.

⁸⁰ GS, *ut supra*.

⁸¹ GS, Series 570 a-f.

⁸² 456c.

⁸³ 459b.

⁸⁴ GS, Series 750 a-d.

⁸⁵ GS, Series 1188 *passim*.

⁸⁶ 464a.

因允⁸⁷. *T'ung-chih* allots it one family name made from itself⁸⁸, informing at the same time that it is the clan name of the *Jung* 戎 people. This agrees fairly accurately with the characters 狁 and 女允 (two variations), of which the latter appears in 950 — 770 B. C., meaning (in a compound) one of the northern tribes (the archaic pronunciation of all the four characters was, according to Karlgren's reconstruction — *ut supra* — identical).

24) 秃 *t'uk-t'u* — 'bald'. Karlgren gives the contemporary form only⁸⁹. *T'ung-chih*, without explaining its origin, allots it one name made from itself⁹⁰. Haloun⁹¹ gives the form 秀, but as he connects with it the pronunciation *t'u*, not *siu*, which is the proper one for the character 秀 it seems that we have here a printer's error, especially as both *T'ung-chih* and T'schepe give 秃.

25) 漆 *ts'iet-ts'i* — 'varnish tree; black'. Karlgren⁹² gives the contemporary form only. *T'ung-chih* allots it only one name made of itself, and connects it with the *Ch'ang-ti* 長狄 tribe⁹³.

26) 斟 *təm-chen* — 'to ladle out, serve; to deliberate'. Karlgren⁹⁴ gives the contemporary form only, but indicates that the element 甚 appears in other characters already in the period 1122 — 770 B. C.⁹⁵, whereas for the element 斗 only the contemporary forms are given⁹⁶. Moreover, in the period 1122 — 770 B. C. there appears the character 婁 in the sense of a proper name, with a later meaning of 'pleasure', *təm-tan*⁹⁷. *T'ung-chih* gives only the first form without allotting it any family name, and mentions it only when discussing the clan name *T'u* 秃⁹⁸.

The next thing to be done after the examination of clan names separately, is an analysis of the whole set of clan names, within which there are various sub-sets, which may partially coincide with one another. Smaller sub-sets will be discussed

⁸⁷ GS, Series 468 a-i.

⁸⁸ 459c.

⁸⁹ GS, Series 1205a.

⁹⁰ 459c.

⁹¹ *Contributions*, p. 84.

⁹² GS, Series 401b.

⁹³ 459c.

⁹⁴ GS, Series 658h.

⁹⁵ GS, Series 658.

⁹⁶ GS, Series 116 *passim*.

⁹⁷ GS, Series 658.

⁹⁸ 459c.

first, and the question of a possible general dichotomic division will be dealt with later.

Some clan names can be derived from geographical or rather topographical names, but various reservations must be made with regard to that point: for instance *T'ung-chih* gives among others the following names as derived from place names: 姬, 姜, 姚, 媯, (nos. 1, 3, 5, 6), but it seems that such an explanation is inadmissible. Although it is possible that these four clan names have come from topographic names mentioned in *T'ung-chih*, yet these topographic names, having the element 女, must have come originally from some personal names, individual or tribal. Anyway, it does not seem possible that these names should owe their origin to some features or elements purely topographic in character. On the other hand, such origin can be probably claimed by the names: 祁, 隗, 歸, perhaps 漆 (nos. 14, 19, 20, possibly 25). No. 14 has retained the meaning of a geographical name, and the element 邑 (邑) might indicate that it had as its source a name of human habitation. More connection with definitely topographic elements is shown by no. 19 in view of the element 阜 (阜), originally meaning perhaps a 'mountain of demons, hill haunted by demons', but even here the present meaning 'high' points to the possibility that this name may belong to the group of tribal auto-appeallatives. Tradition attributes a geographic origin (國名) to the clan name 歸. Although there are no obvious reasons to reject such an interpretation, yet it would be difficult to corroborate it. One might perhaps speculate about such associations as: 'to return'—'the place to which one returns'—'permanent residence', but in view of the uncertain interpretation of the archaic form of this character⁹⁹ even this assumption is of doubtful value. 漆 (no. 25) might have had the meaning of 'region where trees are growing which supply black dye', but likewise it may be a name deriving from a tribal nickname: 'black people' (painting themselves black?). The clan name 風 (no. 17), rather unusual for a clan or a tribal name, seems at first glance to be nearest to geographical notions, but even in this respect there are very serious reservations to be made. The primary forms of this character¹⁰⁰ were probably pictograms of a sail, used possibly also to denote the wind. Thus the clan name may have originally meant 'sailors' or 'tribe of sailors' (especially as the seat of this clan was in the eastern part of China, that is in the vicinity of the sea or close to the navigable reaches of rivers¹⁰¹), and so the name would belong to the type of nickname derivatives.

The group of names deriving from totems includes 羸, 媯, 熊, 芊 and possibly 姜 (nos. 4, 6, 15, 13 and no. 3). Karlgren considers no. 4 to be of totemic

⁹⁹ GS, Series 570 *passim*.

¹⁰⁰ GS, Series 625 *passim*.

¹⁰¹ Haloun, *Beiträge*, p. 179, *Contributions*, p. 85 (but see Maspero's reservations as to the localisation of clans in general, *op. cit.*, p. 120).

origin (see above no. 4); by analogy, no. 6, too, may be classed in the same category, although this character besides 'woman' and 'elephant' contains also the element 'hand'; no. 15 is one of the most typical totems of various nations¹⁰². No. 13 is not clear and jointly with the previous one is connected rather with the southern parts of China¹⁰³. This could be a nickname derivative as well: 'people bleating like sheep' in the sense of 'speaking a foreign language having a funny sound'. A possible corroboration might be found in the fact that the principality of *Ch'u*, the demesne and the seat of that clan, was situated on the perimeter of Chinese culture and still in the historical times (the Ch'un-ch'iu period) displayed some linguistic peculiarities, mainly in personal names and official titles. The clan name 姜 creates some difficulties. Even assuming that it is merely a graphical variation of 羌¹⁰⁴, the question remains open whether it was of totemic origin or a nickname: 'people dealing with sheep, shepherds'. The use of the 羌 form by the Shangs would rather point to the second alternative. Assuming that both names are identical one would have to consider them as nicknames. If they are taken as not mutually connected, which alternative does not seem very probably in view of Fu Ssu-nien's paper (see foot-note 104), then 羌 is a nickname, but 姜, having an analogous structure to 羴 and in a considerable degree to 嫪, may be a totemic name. The association of both these names with 羊, in spite of their common element 羊, seems doubtful in view of the localisation of 羊 in the south and of 羌 and of 姜 in the west¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰² According to legends the Emperor *Shun* had among his ministers 熊 'a bear' and 虎 'a tiger', but it is difficult to decide — in case this legend is considered as a reflection of certain authentic traditions — whether these descriptions should be treated as totemic or as nicknames (describing the individual features of persons so called).

¹⁰³ Haloun, *Contributions*, p. 85.

¹⁰⁴ For the identity of both these names see e.g. H. G. Creel: "There is, I think, good evidence that 姜 and 羌 are two forms of the same early characters. In early Chou times men of aristocracy were usually called by the names of their fiefs, so that surnames were commonly used, I believe, only in writing about women; for this reason we find a very large number of surnames which embody the element 女. However it appears that when these same characters were used of men they were sometimes written with the 人 element. Thus a bronze cast by a man belonging to the ruling family of *Ch'i* gives his name as 羌." (letters of March 4, 1949 and November 14, 1949). Cf. also Creel, *Birth of China*, 1935, p. 215, and Fu Ssu-nien (姜原 in *Academia Sinica*, 1930, pp. 130—135). 姜 appears already in the period 1122—950 (GS, Series 711 and 712), but the Shang people may have written the name of this tribe 羌, and after the Chou conquest and possible consolidation or imposition of the clan system the same name may have been written 姜.

¹⁰⁵ Haloun, *Contributions*, pp. 84—85.

It seems that an attempt to single out a small group of clan names that are cyclical characters — 子, 己 (nos. 11, 12) — should be considered a failure, because the cyclical characters are too abstract notions to be used as clan names which are always connected with some very concrete features characterising the individual clans.

The question of separating a group of clan names the meaning of which is connected with the notions of progeny and procreation, is rather vague. This group would include: 子 and 任 (assuming its interchangeability with 妊) i.e. nos. 11 and 10. Even if 任 be considered as belonging to this group, the recognition such a bi-elemental group as a separate class would be poorly grounded since the coincidence of meanings between the two clan names in question may be purely accidental. On the other hand, the separation of two other groups, viz. the clan names originating from nicknames, and the clan names of auto-appellative origin, does not seem to be unfounded.

The first group includes: 禿 (no. 24) 'the baldheads' (those who shave their heads?); 漆 (no. 25) 'the black ones' (painting themselves black?), unless this is a name formed from a place name; 斟 (no. 26) 'using ladles' (?) (from special objects of this type or perhaps from other features associated with these objects?); 風 (no. 17) 'sailors' (see above the comment concerning this name in the group of geographical names); 偃 (no. 9) 'those who lie down' (in ambush?), unless this name originally had the form 𢇛 and another meaning, which cannot be ruled out, but is very difficult to decide¹⁰⁶; 𦍋 (no. 13) 'making a sound like sheep' (unless this is a totemic name).

A distinctive mark of the auto-appellative names is that they indicate, as a rule, some feature which the authors of the given name regard as positive and voluntarily ascribe to themselves. Here we have 彭 (no. 21) 'the strong'; 曼 (no. 18) 'the slim' (?) (obscure¹⁰⁷; the meaning is difficult to establish, it may be also a personal name of other origin, or interchangeable with 嬋); 允 (no. 23) 'the true ones, real men' (?) — interpretation obscure: the origin of the character is unexplained, perhaps a nickname connected with later variants 狁 and 女允; 隗 (no. 19) 'the tall ones' (unless it is a topographical name); 任 (no. 10) 'the strong ones', unless it is a topographical name or is interchangeable with 妊 'pregnancy'; 董 (no. 22) 'wielding the power' (?) (very obscure); 己 (no. 12) 'we, we ourselves' (as a primitive description of the own tribe as distinct from others) — the interpretation is obscure, the character appears as an element in many earlier characters which occur as personal names¹⁰⁸.

The foregoing considerations dealt with small groups, and the classification was made without special stress being laid upon dichotomy (e.g., upon the con-

¹⁰⁶ GS, Series 253.

¹⁰⁷ GS, Series 266.

¹⁰⁸ GS, Series 953.

trasting of clan names of geographical origin with those of non-geographical origin, upon contrasting names originating from nicknames with those not originating from nicknames, etc.). Now, we have to examine the question of a certain strictly dichotomic classification, embracing the whole set of clan names.

The point in question is namely to divide clan names into those including the element 女 'woman', and those which have no such element. As mentioned above, this question is connected with the problems of exogamy and matriarchy, which have been discussed earlier in this paper.

Out of twenty six names, nine (nos. 1—9) have the element 'woman'. It might be asserted that also five other names: 允, 任, 曼, 斟, 已 (nos. 23, 10, 18, 26, 12) have variations with the element 'woman' and that, therefore the ratio should not be 9 to 17, but 14 to 12. To this there is, however, the answer that 1) there are no proofs that the 'woman' variations of the above-mentioned five names were the original variations; 2) 姁 (no. 7) and 妣 (no. 2) in view of their variations 吉 and 似 could be included in the second group and thus the ratio would be 7 to 19. It seems that the basic forms specified above, and not the variations, should be accepted for classification purposes, and that consequently the ratio is 9 to 17.

In any case the names having the element 'woman' are in a minority. There are some data which make it possible to proceed with the research somewhat further than the mere questioning of the current notions on the subject.

Interesting conclusions are being namely suggested by the analysis of the time when the individual clan names made their appearance: no clan name having the element 'woman' (including the character 倃) appears in the pre-Chou period, i.e. in the Shang period, although in some cases their components (apart from 女, which of course also appears already in the Shang period, cf. GS, series 94) are to be found in inscriptions from the Shang period. And thus, 妣 dates from 950—770, although 以 dates from Shang¹⁰⁹; 姜 dates from 1122—950, although 羌 dates from Shang¹¹⁰; 嬀 dates from 1122—950 although 爲 dates from Shang¹¹¹; 姁 dates from 1122—950, although 吉 dates from Shang¹¹².

On the other hand, among clan names which do not contain the element 'woman' the nos.: 11, 12, 16 (as a proper name), 20, 21 (as a proper name), 23 and possibly 17 (if we accept the primary forms as equivalent to the contemporary one — and there are no basic reasons to object to this) are found in inscriptions from the Shang period. Even assuming that the nos. 11, 12, 17, 20 appear simply as generally accepted common names, there remain in any case at least two characters

¹⁰⁹ GS. Series 976.

¹¹⁰ GS, Series 711 and 712.

¹¹¹ GS, Series 27.

¹¹² GS, Series 393.

used definitely as proper names. The contrast with clan names which contain the element 'woman' is evident.

We can register analogous facts with regard to the question of the time of appearance of the variations or, generally speaking, of the forms containing the element 'woman', as compared with the time of appearance of respective clan names without that element. And thus 羌 dates from Shang, 姜 dates from Chou; 己 appears already at the Shang period, whereas 改 is to be found only in the Chou times, in the period 1122—950 (cf. above no. 12); similarly, 允 is known from Shang inscriptions, while the form 女允 appears in the Chou period 950—770 (see above no. 23). The forms 曼 and 嬖 appear in the same period, (see no. 18), as do also 斟 and 女甚 (see no. 26). (The name 隗 might also be recorded here; although not mentioned by GS, being a primary clan name it is most probably an old character; the form 嬖 appears as a proper name in the period 950—450 (cf. no. 19). Yet, in view of the difficulty in establishing the period of appearance of 隗 this is only a supposition).

It is a matter of only secondary importance in this case whether we have to deal here with basic forms, or with some variations or even with forms not mutually connected. There remains the typical fact that — as far as clan names are involved — the forms which may be their possible variations and which contain the element 'woman' appear later, in any case not earlier than the analogous forms without that element.

Moreover, *T'ung-chih* quoting *Kuo-yü* says¹¹³ that "Chou has destroyed eight clans" and enumerates the nos.: 12, 22, 21, 24, 8, 26, 16, 13). The expression used 滅 'to destroy' should be understood rather as 'to defeat, to conquer, to deprive of political independence', because at the least the 莘 clan (no. 13) is recorded as still existing and ruling in *Ch'u* in historical times. This would indicate that among the clans defeated by the Chous during their conquest there were no (or almost no) clans bearing names with the element 'woman'. (The name 女云, given not in its archaic but contemporary form (cf. GS, series 227), could have been included by a mistake or as a result of distorted tradition).

The state of affairs presented above leads to the formulation of certain conclusions — with one fundamental reservation — which is implied anyhow in the case of any scientific theory — viz. that these conclusions may become void in the future if new facts emerge, in our case, if there should be any discovery of inscriptions from the Shang period, including unambiguous clan names with the element 'woman'. Until this takes place, the formulation of the following conclusions seems to be both founded and useful at least as a starting point for further discussions.

Tradition credits Chou Kung with the introduction of the clan exogamy. This is not exact, because this principle began to be applied strictly much later, in the

¹¹³ 459c.