

# Han Emperors' Policy of Oppressing Kingdoms

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## Introduction

Kao-tsu 高祖 of Han unified the country (B. C. 202) and enforced the *chün-kuo* 郡國 system, a mixture of the feudal and the *chün-hsien* 郡縣 (province and county) systems. He appointed men of other families to be the *chu-hou-wang* 諸侯王 (vassal kings) of these *wang-kuo* 王國 (kingdoms) at first, but later he did not appoint them but blood relatives. Territories belonged to these vassal kings were vast, therefore only about a third of the whole land of Han belonged to the court. The Han court, for fear of the increasing tendency of the vassal kings to drift apart from the emperor as their blood relationship became more distant, and of expanding of the territory of kingdoms, tried to centralize the powers of the kingdoms and attempted to lessen their territories. This policy of oppressing kingdoms is written in the forward of the *Chu-hou-wang-piao*, II, 諸侯王表第二, in the *Han-shu* 漢書, chap. 14, as follows: "Wên-ti 文帝 took Chia I's 賈誼 advice and divided Ch'i 齊 and Chao 趙; Ching-ti 景帝 decided on the plan by Ch'ao Ts'ò 晁錯 and reduced Wu 吳 and Ch'u 楚. Wu-ti 武帝, in accordance with Chu-fu Yen's 主父偃 opinion, issued the *T'ui-ên-ling* 推恩令, which granted the vassal kings to subdivide their fiefs for their sons. Thus the kingdoms were divided not as punishment". It is clear that according to these passages the policy of dividing kingdoms of Wên-ti and Chia I, the policy of reducing territories of Ching-ti and Ch'ao T'so, and the *T'ui-ên-ling* of Wu-ti were of great importance as the policy of oppressing kingdoms. In this article I study about this series of the Han emperor's policies of oppressing kingdoms.

## I. Kao-tsu's policy towards kingdoms

Kao-tsu deprived non-agnate vassal kings of their titles and granted fiefs to those of his kin. In this way he tried not to follow the example that the court of Ch'in 秦 stood isolated when the empire was overthrown. This feudal system being made solid by the band of blood relationship, however, was weakened as blood relationship grew distant and the band loosened; and it was an inevitable fate that the kingdoms showed the tendency of disobeying the emperor, as they made their material foundation secure. We know that a similar

instance had been met with already by the feudal system of the Chou 周 dynasty.

Kao-tsu placed restrictions to some extent upon the governmental organization of kingdoms in order to prevent their alienation from the emperor caused by loosening of the band of blood relationship. Although I have discussed this matter in my previous article<sup>(1)</sup>, here I would like to repeat some essential points of it.

At the beginning of the Han dynasty, the system of the official government of kingdoms was similar to that of the imperial court. Among the officials of the kingdoms were the *t'ai-fu* 太傅 (Grand Guardian) to give counsel to the vassal kings, the *nei-shih* 內史 to rule over the people, the *chung-wei* 中尉 to administer military affairs, the *ch'êng-hsiang* 丞相 (Lieutenant Chancellor) to lead common officials, were the members of the executive board of the kingdom. Kao-tsu also appointed the *hsiang-kuo* 相國 (Chancellor of State) above these four members of the executive board, and placed kingdoms under the superintendence of the *hsiang-kuo*. Moreover, Chancellor of State and Grand Guardian were appointed by the central government of Han, and even appointment of officials below the *nei-shih* by the kingdom governments was effective only by permission of the Han court. In the reign of the next emperor Hui-ti 惠帝, the Chancellor of State of kingdoms was abolished; and the Han government assumed the power of appointing Lieutenant Chancellors as well, for a better control of the kingdoms. In the reign of Ching-ti, after the Wu-Ch'u-ch'i-kuo Rebellion 吳楚七國亂, the Han government further took up the power of appointing all the officials except subordinate ones, deprived the vassal kings of the power to rule over their people. The vassal kings came to support themselves by taxes from people, and thus the Han government attained practically its object of reducing kingdoms to provinces and counties.

At the beginning of the Han dynasty, mobilization of troops in not only provinces but also kingdoms was under strict restrictions of the Han court. When any prince or governor of the province should mobilize troops, he had to get court permit, which was used to be given by cumbersome procedure; the king or governor of the province, who had been given five half pieces of tiger-shaped copper checks, was permitted to mobilize troops after a messenger bearing the other halves sent by the court came to him and the both five halves were checked. The above mentioned system was established in the reign of Wên-ti, (a system of checking tiger-shaped copper checks can be traced back to the reign of Shih-huang-ti 始皇帝 of Ch'in). In the reign of Kao-tsu, the kingdoms were forbidden to send troops beyond their border without a permit

(1) The present author, *Zenkan Ōkoku no Kansei* 前漢王國の官制, (compiled by Tokyo Kyōiku Daigaku Tōyōshi Kenkyū-shitsu 東京教育大學東洋史研究室, *Tōyōshigaku Ronshū* 東洋史學論集, 3)

of the court, and the provisions became even more strict in the reign of Wên-ti, when the checking system was established.

On the other hand, according to Dr. Tatsumi Makino's 牧野巽 "*Seikan Hōken Sōzoku-hō* 西漢封建相續法"<sup>(2)</sup> (the Laws of Feudal Heritage in the Former Han Dynasty)," there were two kinds of succession, the *ssŭ-fêng* 嗣封 and the *shao-fêng* 紹封, among the feudal lords in the Han dynasty, and the *ssŭ-fêng* meant succession by the eldest son, and *shao-fêng* meant succession by the other son; the *shao-fêng* was an exceptional case of imperial favor, and the *ssŭ-fêng* was a regular one. Such system of succession which had first appeared in Ch'in time, was not applied to the emperor nor officials and people at large, but peculiar to the feudal lords.

It has been believed so far that in the reign of Kao-tsu, the vassal kings were granted vast territories and people, having the palaces and governments like those of the Emperor, used their own calendars, and were on the equal footing to the Han court with freedom as independent nations, except for their blood relationship to the Han court; but, as mentioned above, kingdoms were under restrictions of the Han court, in organizing their governments, in mobilizing their troops, and in succeeding their thrones. They can by no means be said to have enjoyed complete freedom as independent nations. Kao-tsu's restrictive policy for kingdoms, taken with fear of the loosening of the band of blood relationship, was made more strict as reigns passed, and kingdoms were to be gradually reduced to provinces and counties.

## II. Wên-ti and Chia I's policy to divide kingdoms

### A. Wên-ti's policy towards vassal kings

When Hui-ti acceded to the throne after the death of Kao-tsu, the Queen Dowager Lü-t'ai-hou 呂太后 came to have actual power; and after Hui-ti's death, Lü-t'ai-hou wished all vassal kings were of Lü 呂 family and tried to exterminate the vassal kings of Liu 劉 family (the family of Kao-tsu=Liu Pang 劉邦). Among the kingdoms of the Liu family, Ch'i 齊 had the greatest territory. Ch'i was the fief of Liu Fei 劉肥 who was a child of Kao-tsu's second wife and was her eldest son. This greatest fief of Ch'i having been the object number one of Lü-t'ai-hou, was reduced and divided<sup>(3)</sup>.

No sooner had Lü-t'ai-hou died a natural death than Hsiang 襄, the king of Ch'i (a son of Liu Fei) rose in arms with his brothers, Liu Chang 劉章 and Liu Hsing-chü 劉興居. He rose in arms because of his grudge against the Queen Dowager by whom the vassal kings of the Liu family were destroyed

(2) Included in his *Shina Kazoku Kenkyū* 支那家族研究.

(3) *Shih-chi*, chap. Lü-hou pên-chi 史記呂后本紀.

one after another, and his own fief was divided and reduced. Thus the army under the king of Ch'i overthrew the Lü family, and Liu family was in power again; but there was a conflict of views concerning the successor to Hui-ti. There was a question—which one should be the successor to the imperial throne out of Hsiang, the king of Ch'i, Hêng 恆, the king of Tai 代 (Hui-ti's half-brother), and Ch'ang 長, the king of Huai-nan 淮南 (Hui-ti's half-brother, also Hêng's half-brother). There was an opinion, "Liu Fei, the king of Ch'i was the eldest son of Kao-tsu, and Hsiang is his heir; therefore, looking back on the past, Hsiang is the eldest grandson of Kao-tsu, and he should be the successor"; but another was against it, "Lü family is related on mother's side and did wrong, so desecrated the Imperial ancestral mausoleum. For mother's family of Hsiang is also bad; provided that Hsiang succeeded to the emperor, it would repeat the example of the Lü family. Nevertheless, mother's family of Ch'ang is also bad." Consequently for the reason "the king of Tai is a son of Kao-tsu and the eldest of the three, and he is dutiful, gentle and tolerant; and his mother's family is modest and good", Hêng, the king of Tai, acceded the throne. This was Wên-ti<sup>(4)</sup>.

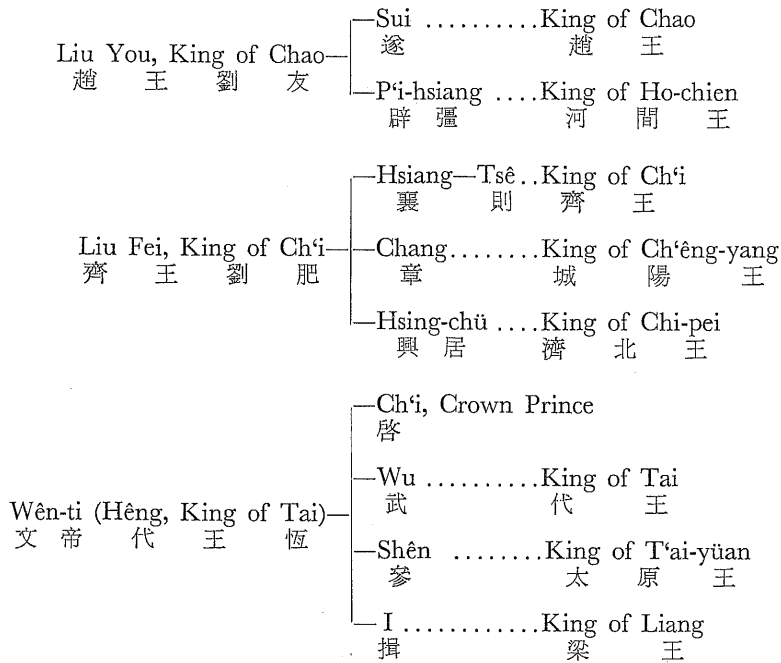
In the first year of Wên-ti (B. C. 179), the territory which had been reduced by Lü-t'ai-hou was given back to Ch'i, and Ch'i came to be the fief as before. Liu Chang and Liu Hsing-chü who served to make Wên-ti the emperor were only given two thousand households (the ones from which they could collect taxes) more<sup>(5)</sup>. As Liu Chang and Liu Hsing-chü were the most distinguished figures in support of Wên-ti, high officials in the court advised the emperor to make Liu Chang the king of Chao and Liu Hsing-chü, the king of Liang 梁; but Wên-ti, who had heard of the fact that Liu Chang and Liu Hsing-chü had plotted to make their elder brother Hsing ascend the throne, closed his eyes to their distinguished services, and did not make them vassal kings but only increased the number of households from which they were granted to collect taxes<sup>(6)</sup>. Wên-ti, however, in the next year (B. C. 178) of accession to the throne, at the request of government officials to nominate princes to be vassal kings, appointed Sui 遂, who was the eldest son of You 友 (a son of Kao-tsu), king of Chao; P'i-hsiang 辟疆, Sui's younger brother, king of Ho-chien 河間; and then Liu Chang, king of Ch'êng-yang 城陽, Liu Hsing-chü, king of Chi-pei 濟北; Wu 武, a prince of Wên-ti, king of Tai; and another prince I 揖, king of Liang<sup>(7)</sup>.

(4) *Shih-chi*, chap. 52, Ch'i Tao-hui-wang shih-chia 齊悼惠王世家.

(5) *Shih-chi*, chap. 52, Ch'i Tao-hui-wang shih-chia.

(6) *Han-shu*, chap. 35, Kao-wu-wang-chuan 高五王傳, Ch'i Tao-hui-wang-tzu-chuan 齊悼惠王子傳.

(7) *Shih-chi*, chap. Hsiao-wên pên-chi 史記孝文本紀.



The province of Ho-chien had formerly belonged to Chao, both the provinces of Ch'êng-yang and Chi-pei, to Ch'i, and the province of T'ai-yüan, to Tai. Therefore Ho-chien was separated from Chao, Ch'êng-yang and Chi-pei from Ch'i, and T'ai-yüan from Tai. In such way Chao was split into two kingdoms (Chao and Ho-chien), Ch'i into three (Ch'i, Ch'êng-yang and Chi-pei), and Tai into two (Tai and T'ai-yüan). Liu Chang and Liu Hsing-chü were promised by officials in the court to be the kings of Chao and Liang respectively, owing to their services in overthrowing the Lü family; nevertheless Wên-ti, having heard, after his succession, of the intention of these two to support Hsiang, the king of Ch'i, did not make them the vassal kings; and two years later, as first steps of making his own sons the vassal kings, he appointed at first Sui king of Chao and P'i-hsiang king of Ho-chien; and then Chang king of Ch'êng-yang, Hsing-chü king of Chi-pei. Thus having fairly gratified them, he made his sons vassal kings. Appointments of Sui to the king of Chao and P'i-hsiang to the king of Ho-chien were exceptional favours of Wên-ti who felt pity for the death of You, the king of Chao, their father (You had been starved to death in confinement at the capital by Lü-t'ai-hou); so this case might be said a *shao-fêng*. Yet Wên-ti's real aim was to block Liu Chang's hope to be the king of Chao, lest Ch'i should become too powerful, Liu Chang being an uncle of Tsê, king of Ch'i. He also appointed his son, I, king of Liang for the same purpose. By this he blocked Liu Hsing-chü's hope to be the king of Liang and at the same time prevented possible

rise of Ch'i. Furthermore, he divided his own land of Tai into two kingdoms of Tai and T'ai-yüan, and appointed Wu, his own son, king of Tai, and his another son, Shên, king of T'ai-yüan. This was a measure to make Chao and Ch'i to be content with division of the former into two kingdoms and of the latter into three. Wên-ti made his sons the vassal kings of Tai, T'ai-yüan and Liang to cope with the kingdoms which had been growing remoter and remoter from the imperial court, by strengthening the blood relationship among the kingdoms. The division of Tai, Wên-ti's own land, and appointment of his sons were never his principal objects, but only a temporary measure to keep Liu Chang and Liu Hsing-chü in the kingdoms of Ch'i as vassal kings. We can understand the true fact of the case when in the *Han-shu* 漢書, chap. 48, *Chia I Chuan* 賈誼傳, we read:

初文帝以代王入即位，後分代爲兩國，立皇子武爲代王，參爲太原王，小子勝(揖)則梁王矣，後又徙代王武爲淮陽王，而太原王參爲代王，盡得故地。

"Wên-ti ascended the imperial throne when he was the king of Tai. After that he divided his old kingdom into two, appointing his sons Wu king of Tai, Shên king of T'ai-yüan, and Shêng 勝 (I) king of Liang. Later he transferred Wu from Tai to be the king of Huai-yang 淮陽, and Shên from T'ai-yüan to Tai. Thus all Wên-ti's sons became to have kingdoms in their father's land."

"Later 後" in this paragraph means the 4th year of Wên-ti (B. C. 176), according to the *Han-hsing i-lai chu-hou-wang nien-piao* 漢興以來諸侯王年表 (the chronological table of the vassal kings since the beginning of the Han dynasty) in the *Shih-chi*, chap. 17. In that year, Wu, the king of Tai, became the king of Huai-yang,, and Shên, the king of T'ai-yüan, became the king of Tai; in consequence, they "all became to have kingdoms in their father's land". It was the second year since Wên-ti divided Tai into two kingdoms (B. C. 178) and was the next to the year when Liu Hsing-chü, the king of Chi-pei, rose in revolt, but was punished with death.

It was a policy to weaken Ch'i by dividing her into three, so that Liu Chang could not get Chao; but he was appointed king of the province of Ch'êng-yang in his father's (Fei, the king of Ch'i) land of Ch'i; nor Liu Hsing-chü could get Liang but he shared land in Ch'i with his father and became the king of Chi-pei. Chang, the king of Ch'êng-yang, and Hsing-chü, the king of Chi-pei, could be vassal kings. Being aware of Wên-ti's real purpose, however, they could not help feeling uneasy; therefore they feared that "they might be removed from the throne, or deprived of reward for their services"<sup>(8)</sup>. Chang, the king of Ch'êng-yang, died after the reign of two years, and his son, Hsi 喜, succeeded him. Hsing-chü, the king of Chi-pei, had risen in arms

(8) *Han-shu*, chap. 38, Kao-wu-wang-chuan.

after all, in the 3rd year of Wên-ti (B.C. 177), but he was captured and he killed himself.

Since Hsing-chü, the king of Chi-pei, revolted and committed suicide, his kingdom came to be a province under the direct control of the Han court; but the royal family of Ch'i, above all Hsi (the son of Liu Chang), the king of Ch'êng-yang, was considerably discontented with this<sup>(9)</sup>. Then Wên-ti, to relieve Ch'i family's dissatisfaction, in the next year (B.C. 176) to Hsing-chü's revolt and suicide, appointed ten sons of Liu Fei, the king of Ch'i (Hsing-chü's father), to be the *lieh-hou* 列侯 (full marquises). In the Han dynasty there were two kinds of feudal marquises. They were the *chu-hou-wang* (vassal kings) and the *lieh-hou*; the former, before the reign of Ching-ti, had been given vast fiefs, and granted to rule over the people of the fiefs and to collect taxes from them; but the full marquises had been given a fief with about two thousand houses and granted only the power of collecting taxes, but not ruling the people, and should be under the control of the kingdom or the province to which their fief belonged<sup>(10)</sup>. The fiefs of these ten full marquises were all in the territory of Hsing-chü, the king of Chi-pei. The names of provinces to which the marquises of these ten full marquises belonged, according to the *Han-shu Ti-li-chih* 漢書地理志 and Ch'üan Tsu-wang's 全祖望 *Han-shu Ti-li-chih chi-i* 漢書地理志稽疑, might be judged as follows.

(the name of <i>wang-tzu-hou</i> 王子侯)	(the name of provinces)
1. 管共侯 罷軍	濟南
2. 氏丘共侯 寧國	?
3. 營平侯 信都	濟南
4. 楊丘共侯 安	濟南
5. 楊虛侯 將閭	平原
6. 朮侯 辟光	平原
7. 安都侯 志	?
8. 平昌侯 邛	平原
9. 武成侯 賢	平原
10. 白石侯 雄渠	平原

(白石 is the name of a *hsiang* 鄉 (district), the others are the names of *hsien* 縣 (counties). Most full marquises in the earlier period of the Han dynasty were appointed in counties.)

(9) *Han-shu*, chap. 51, Chou-Yang-chuan 鄒陽傳: 「城陽, 顧於盧·博」 As we read about this in Wang Hsien-chien 王先謙, *Han-shu pu-chu* 漢書補注, 「地理志, 盧縣濟北王都, 博縣則濟北屬縣耳, 按謂城陽王喜, 顧念濟北王興居誅死事, 而怨天子」; Ch'êng-yang King Hsi, bore a grudge against the emperor for placing Chi-pei under the direct control of the Han court, having punished Hsing-chü, the prince of Chi-pei to death.

(10) Nunome Chōfū 布目潮風, *Zen-kan Kōkoku kō* 前漢侯國考, (*Tōyōshi kenkyū*; Vol. 13, No. 5.)

In the list above, the names of provinces to which the counties of Shih-chiu 氏丘 and An-tu 安都 belonged are uncertain; probably the former would belong to Chi-nan 濟南, and the latter to P'ing-yüan 平原. If it was so, the sons of Fei, the king of Ch'i (brother of Liu-Hsing-chü), were appointed full marquises in the provinces of Chi-nan and P'ing-yüan.

Since these Chi-nan and P'ing-yüan are the names of provinces found in the *Han-shu Ti-li-chih*, they must have existed in the P'ing-ti's 平帝 reign at the end of the Former Han dynasty. To which kingdoms did these provinces of Chi-nan and P'ing-yüan belong in Wên-ti's reign in the early period of the Former Han dynasty?

According to Wang Kuo-wei's 王國維 work<sup>(11)</sup>, directly before the unification of the country by Kao-tsu, the name of Chi-pei province included three provinces, of P'ing-yüan, Chi-nan and T'ai-shan 泰山, as written in the *Han-shu Ti-li-chih*; but in the *Han-shu Kao-ti-chi* 漢書高帝紀, under the 6th year (B.C. 201) (Kao-tsu unified the country in 5th of that reign), we read: "Kao-tsu appointed his son Fei king of Ch'i, granting him the fief of seventy-three counties of Chiao-tung 膠東, Chiao-hsi 膠西, Chi-pei, Po-yang 博陽 and Ch'êng-yang Provinces": and among these provinces, Po-yang was later changed the name to T'ai-shan, consequently Chi-pei in 6th year of Kao-tsu should include two provinces of P'ing-yüan and Chi-nan as written in the *Han-shu Ti-li-chih*. In the *Han-shu Kao-wu-wang-chuan* we read: "In the first year of Wên-ti's reign, Ch'êng-yang, Lang-yeh 琅邪 and Chi-nan Provinces, which had been divided from Ch'i at the time of Lü-t'ai-hou, were given back to Ch'i"; if that be so, the Province of Chi-pei at the time of Wên-ti should be the same as P'ing-yüan in the *Han-shu Ti-li-chih*. Provinces, however, often changed their locations or were abolished since the beginning until the end of the Former Han dynasty, and Chi-pei and P'ing-yüan cannot definitely be said to be exactly the same; Chi-pei in the Wên-ti's reign may have covered most of P'ing-yüan. Anyhow the fief of Hsing-chü, the king of Chi-pei, in the second year of Wên-ti, included not only P'ing-yüan, but also T'ai-shan, because in the *Han-shu*, chap. 51, *Chou-yang chuan* 鄒陽傳 it is said, "Hsi, the king of Ch'êng-yang, desired for the Counties of Lu 盧 and Po 博." Both Lu and Po belonged to the Province of T'ai-shan according to the *Han-shu Ti-li-chih*; and besides Lu was the capital of Chi-pei which included P'ing-yüan, and T'ai-shan ought to include Chi-nan; for the Province of Chi-nan was located at the south of the Province of P'ing-yüan, and the Province of T'ai-shan was located at the south of the Province of Chi-nan, if the Kingdom of Chi-pei included P'ing-yüan and T'ai-shan, it should also include Chi-nan located between them.

(11) Wang Kuo-wei, *Han-chün-k'ao*, I, 漢郡考上 (*Kuan-t'ang-chi-lin* 觀堂集林 Chap. 12)



On these grounds we have learned that the fief of Hsing-chü, the king of Chi-pei, consisted of three provinces, of P'ing-yüan Chi-nan and T'ai-shan in the *Han-shu Ti-li-chih*. When we regard this fact comparing with the location of the fiefs (included in P'ing-yüan or Chi-nan) of ten sons (brothers of Hsing-chü, the king of Chi-pei) of Fei, the king of Ch'i, we can know that these princes were appointed to full marquises in Hsing-chü's territory, after his revolt and suicide. It is clear that Wên-ti granted ten sons of Fei, the king of Ch'i, the fiefs within the territory of Chi-pei kingdom, in order to relieve the dissatisfaction of the Ch'i family headed by the king of Ch'êng-yang, caused by the death of Hsing-chü. The kingdom of Chi-pei became a province under the direct control of the Han government since then. Wên-ti's measure to appoint the ten sons of Fei, the king of Ch'i, within the directly controlled province to full marquises made the impression upon the Ch'i family that the Han court was not greedy for the fief of the king of Chi-pei, furthermore the territory of Fei, and at the same time brought ten sons of the king into the province-and-county system of the Han Government. Ten sons of Fei, the king of Chi, became to have full *hou-kuo* 侯國 (marquisates) within the territory of the late Chi-pei king, which was under the direct control of the Han court but out of the control of their mother country, Ch'i. As for the territory of the late Chi-pei king, it became a province directly controlled by the emperor, and the fiefs of the sons of Fei, the king of Ch'i, they were limited to P'ing-yüan and Chi-nan; the Province of T'ai-shan was thoroughly possessed by Han and no fief of Ch'i family was there. This fact dissatisfied Hsi, the king of Ch'êng-yang.

Rivals against Wên-ti at the time of his succession to the throne were Hsiang (the son of Fei), the king of Ch'i, and Chang 長 (Wên-ti's younger brother), the king of Huai-nan 淮南. The last-mentioned also revolted and killed himself in the 6th year of Wên-ti (B.C. 174). Two years later, as Wên-ti felt pity for his brother, the king of Huai-nan's suicide, he appointed four sons of the king of Huai-nan full marquises. The fiefs of these four sons were all within the territory of Huai-nan. The case of appointment of four sons of the king of Huai-nan to the full marquises in their father's land was Wên-ti's favours (that is *shao-fêng*); but Huai-nan came under the direct control of the Han government after the king of Huai-nan had revolted and had been punished to death, consequently the fiefs of these four sons of the king were placed under the direct control of the Han government as well as the sons of Fei, the king of Ch'i.

In 174 B.C., Chang, the king of Huai-nan, revolted and killed himself, and his kingdom was placed under the direct control of the Han government; and two years later his four sons were appointed full marquises in their father's land, but in 168 B.C. the land came to be a kingdom again. In 168 B.C., the

prince I, the king of Liang, died by a fall from his horse. Because he had no child, Liang was to be a province under the direct control of the Han government. This was the case to which the Han feudal succession laws were applied. Chia I, the Grand Guardian of the king of Liang addressed to the emperor in his grief:

Your Majesty have not decidedly settled the system; if the situation were left as it is, the rule of Your Majesty's descendants would not be longer than for a generation or two. The vassal kings have great powers and do not observe the law provided by the Han government. They can never be the bulwarks of the throne nor worthy of the crown prince's trust, except Huai-yang of prince Wu and Tai of prince Shên. Tai Kingdom, being on the north borders and facing Hsiung-nu 匈奴, our greatest enemy, she barely maintains herself; Huai-yang Kingdom, on the other hand, is a mole on the face compared with great kingdoms; and it is possible for her to fall a prey to a greater kingdom. Now, the territory of Huai-nan is thousands of *li* 里 away from the capital, and belongs to the Han court beyond two kingdoms of Liang and Huai-yang; therefore officials and the people worry themselves to come and go to Chang-an 長安 for their duties. Consequently they do not want to belong directly to the Han court, but greatly hope to be independent; meantime considerable numbers of them have fled and yielded to vassal kings. Thereupon I, Your Majesty's humble servant, am going to tell you my plan to add the whole territory of Huai-nan to Huai-yang, to appoint someone to the throne of Liang, and to add two or three counties on the north borders and the eastern province to Liang. If this plan is impossible to be realized, I think it would be better to transfer the capital of Tai to Huai-yang within the Han territory and increase the fief and add more lands to Liang as well as Huai-yang, thus to make these three kingdoms keep off hostile design or revolt against the Han court by other greater kingdoms; Liang would defend against Ch'i and Chao; Huai-yang against Wu and Ch'u. Then Your Majesty may be peaceful at heart.

Wên-ti accepted Chia I's view and in 168 B.C. transferred Wu from Huai-yang to Liang and granted him to possess more than forty large counties from T'ai-shan in the north to Kao-yang 高陽 (province Ch'ên-liu 陳留) in the west; and also transferred Hsi from Ch'êng-yang to Huai-nan to appease the people of Huai-nan<sup>(12)</sup>. Chia I advised to enlarge and strengthen the kingdom of Huai-yang and Tai and to reestablish Liang Kingdom again and strengthen her, with a view to making them the bulwarks of the Han court. Wên-ti,

(12) *Han-shu*, Chap. 44, Huai-nan Li-wang chuan 淮南厲王傳.

(13) *Han-shu*, Chap. 48, Chia I chuan 賈誼傳.

however, changed Chia I's plan a little; he transferred Wu from Huai-yang to Liang, and placed Huai-yang under the direct control of the Han court, and he reestablished Huai-nan as a kingdom and transferred Hsi from Ch'êng-yang to there. Though Chia I intended to make Huai-nan belong to the kingdom of Huai-yang as the people of Huai-nan wished, Wên-ti reestablished Huai-nan herself to be a kingdom. Wên-ti, after his brother Chang, the king of Huai-nan, revolted and committed suicide, had placed Huai-nan under the direct control of the Han court, and this policy had been criticized adversely by the people of Huai-nan. Wên-ti appeased the people of Huai-nan in return, by making Huai-nan to be a kingdom again and transferred King Hsi from Ch'êng-yang to Huai-nan, but did not grant fiefs there to his sons to prove that he was not greedy for the land of Huai-nan<sup>(14)</sup>. It should be discussed, however, that the king of Ch'êng-yang, Hsi, king who was one of the Ch'í family was transferred to Huai-nan. Wên-ti had intention of promoting four sons of Chang, the king of Huai-nan, from the full marquises to the vassal kings. When Wên-ti acceded to the throne, his nearest relative existed was only his younger brother Chang, the king of Huai-nan. Though the king of Huai-nan would often disobey the laws of the Han government, being proud of the nearest relationship to the throne, Wên-ti used to be tolerant of his brother because of their blood relationship. Even when the king of Huai-nan's plot to rise in revolt was detected, Wên-ti could not bear to enforce the law, so he exempted the king from execution but exiled him to Shu 蜀; the king, however, died of disease on the way. Wên-ti had such a sentiment of blood relationship; therefore, he appointed four sons of the king of Huai-nan full marquises, and furthermore he intended to raise them to the kings; but thereupon Chia I addressed to the throne advising:

Your Majesty would like to make the sons of the king of Huai-nan to be kings, but everyone knows of the rebellion of the king of Huai-nan. Your Majesty excused him and sent him to Shu, but he died of disease on the way; and no one doubted whether the death of the king was a natural consequence. If you honour the sons of the offender, you would be censured by the public. Four sons, remembering their father, would plot to revenge themselves when they will grow up into manhood. Huai-nan is not a great kingdom, but under the reign of Kao-tsu, Ching Pu 黥布 once revolted on that land. Even if you would divide Huai-nan into four, the four sons would remain one in spirit; and to give them the people or grant them to store up their fortune is as if to arm a thief or give a tiger wings. Your Majesty, I pray, give the matter more careful

(14) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 118, Huai-nan Hêng-shan lieh-chuan 淮南衡山列傳.

consideration<sup>(15)</sup>.

Wên-ti, according to Chia I's advice, did not make four sons the kings in Huai-nan, but transferred Hsi, the king of Ch'êng-yang, to Huai-nan.

When Hsi, the king of Ch'êng-yang, was sent to Huai-nan, the land of Ch'êng-yang became a province under the control of Ch'í<sup>(16)</sup>. Hsi was the son of Liu Chang, and the person who cared for the Counties of Lu and Po in the Province of T'ai-shan when Liu Hsing-chü, the king of Chi-pei, revolted and killed himself. Wên-ti appointed his own son Wu, the king of Huai-yang, to be the king of Liang, and granted him more than forty large counties bordering on T'ai-shan in the north and spreading to Kao-yang (in the Province of Ch'en-liu) in the west; therefore the Province of T'ai-shan ought to be included in the kingdom of Liang. So Hsi who had cared for Lu and Po might be dissatisfied with the fact that those land had now been include in the fief of the prince Wu. Dissatisfaction of Hsi was nothing but dissatisfaction among the family of Ch'í. Thereupon Wên-ti transferred Hsi to Huai-nan and placed Ch'êng-yang under the control of Ch'í; thus he took the measures to accomplish three purposes of granting wish of the people of Huai-nan, easing dissatisfaction of Ch'í family, and making the prince Wu a strong bulwark of the court. The fact that the fief of Wu, the king of Liang, was spread from the Province of T'ai-shan to the Province Ch'en-liu meant that Liang could be the bulwark against Ch'í and Huai-nan, furthermore, Wu and Ch'u.

In 15th year of Wên-ti (B.C. 165) Tsé, the king of Ch'í, died, and since he had no child, the kingdom of Ch'í was abolished, and the land belonged to the Han court temporarily. It was the case to which the Han laws of feudal succession was applied. In the next year, Wên-ti appointed living six among ten who had been the full marquises and were sons of Fei, the king of Ch'í (the grandfather of Tsé), kings of six kingdoms which were made by dividing Ch'í. Chiang-lü 將閼, one of those six sons, succeeded as the king of Ch'í (*shao-fêng*). In such way, Ch'í Kingdom was divided into seven kingdoms including Ch'êng-yang. Huai-nan was also divided into three kingdoms among three living of four. Dividing policy as regard to Ch'í and Huai-nan was taken by Wên-ti according to Chia I's idea (mentioned in the following chapter).

Though the reign of Wên-ti lasted for twenty-three years (B.C. 179-157), Wên-ti's policy as regard to the vassal kings was settled in 164 B.C. when he divided Ch'í and Huai-nan; and from this time till the emperor's death, there had been no change in his policy, as regard to the vassal kings. Wên-ti's

(15) *Han-shu*, Chap. 48, Chia I chuan.

(16) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 17, Han-hsing i-lai chu-hou nien-piao 漢興以來諸侯年表。「(Wên-ti 11, Ch'êng-yang-wang Hsi 城陽王喜) 徙淮南, 爲郡, 屬齊」.

(17) *Han-shu*, Chap. 48, Chia I chuan.

policy as regard to the vassal kings has many complications, and after the greater part of his reign, he adopted the policy recommended by Chia I, and divided Ch'i and Huai-nan at the end. In Wên-ti's policy as regard to the vassal kings taken for those sixteen years, the following points should be noticed:

- (1) Wên-ti's policy as regard to the vassal kings developed always centering on Ch'i.
- (2) This policy had a connection with *shao-fêng*, one of the Han laws of feudal succession.
- (3) Wên-ti attempted to strengthen blood relationship.

As to (2), Kikuo Fujioka 藤岡喜久男 has expressed his distinguished view in his article "*Suion no Rei* 推恩の令"<sup>(18)</sup>. He says, "The case that sons of Fei, the king of Ch'i, inherited the lands of Ch'i divided, or sons of Chang, the king of Huai-nan, inherited the lands of Huai-nan divided, means spreading of the *shao-fêng*, a law of succession according to which a fief would be inherited by a child, not the heir, receiving emperor's favours". It is worthy of notice that Wên-ti's dividing policy which meant spreading of the *shao-fêng* had its origin in his strong determination against Ch'i and Huai-nan, particularly against Ch'i, founded on the circumstances at his succession to the throne. Ch'i and Huai-nan, the rivals of Wên-ti for the throne, particularly Ch'i, was the greatest in the kingdoms; and Hsiang, the king of Ch'i, and his brothers Liu Chang and Liu Hsing-chü were nephews of Wên-ti, and they were related to Wên-ti more distantly than Chang, the king of Huai-nan (the emperor's brother). Ch'i had blood relationship to the emperor rather distant, and had the greatest fief among the kingdoms, a powerful rival of Wên-ti for the throne. It was natural that Wên-ti had a strong feeling against Ch'i. Therefore Wên-ti used to push his policy as regard to the vassal kings attaching great importance to Ch'i, taking the measures to suppress Ch'i, appeasing dissatisfaction of Ch'i at all times, till Tsé, the king of Ch'i, died, and Wên-ti faced the fact that Tsé had no child. At that time Wên-ti divided Ch'i thoroughly into seven kingdoms, and he could decrease the power of Ch'i at length. Wên-ti also pushed his policy as regard to Huai-nan in connection with Ch'i at all times. As regard to the fact that Wên-ti always pushed his policy taking the measures of appeasing dissatisfaction of the Ch'i family, it was not always true that the Han court was absolutely superior to the others, after Wu-Ch'ü ch'i-kuo Rebellion, which broke out a little after Wên-ti divided the kingdoms.

Wên-ti, in the 2nd year of his reign, appointed his sons Wu king of Tai, Shên king of T'ai-yüan, I king of Liang; and in the 4th year, he transferred Wu from Tai to Huai-yang, Shên from T'ai-yüan to Tai, and in the 12th

(18) *Hokudai Shigaku* 北大史學, No. 2.

year, after I had died, Wu from Huai-yang to Liang granting him more than forty great counties from T'ai-shan in the north to Kao-yang in the west; this series of appointments of princes were for the purpose of strengthening the bulwark against Ch'i and other kingdoms which were becoming more distant relatives, by reinforcing the band of blood relationship. To establish the feudal system with the band of blood-relationship had been the measures since Kao-tsu, and was often expressed by the word "*ch'in ch'in* 親親," which meant "to be intimate with a close relative". The core of the union of blood-relatives, the head of a family, treated his relative of the same family with "*ch'in ch'in*", and this "*ch'in ch'in*" was the other side of the word "to respect one's superior", that is "*tsun tsun* 尊尊". When Kao-tsu granted his sons and brothers fiefs, "The closest relatives," he said, "are father and son. Therefore if a father possessed the land, he should leave it to his son; if the son possessed the land, he should be respectful of his father. This is the ideal of human morals." His saying defined father's moral toward son as *ch'in-ch'in*, and son's moral toward his father as *tsun-tsun*, and *ch'in-ch'in* and *tsun-tsun* are both sides of one thing. These *ch'in-ch'in* and *tsun-tsun* were the principles of the centralization of the Han government. The case of Wên-ti's appointment of his sons was an application of this principle of *ch'in-ch'in*, aiming at checking the vassal kings who did not comply with the principle of *ch'in-ch'in tsun-tsun*. The kingdoms that were granted to the sons of the emperor according to the principle of *ch'in-ch'in*, had to apply newly the principle of *ch'in-ch'in*, when the emperor and the princes were succeeded by their sons. The division of a great kingdom is one of the inevitable consequences of new application of the principle of *ch'in-ch'in*. We see an example of division of the great kingdom of Wu, the king of Liang and the son of Wên-ti, into five kingdoms of Liang, Chi-ch'uan 濟川, Chi-tung 濟東, Shan-yang 山陽 and Chi-yin 濟陰, in the reign of Ching-ti, the next emperor to Wên-ti<sup>(19)</sup>.

#### B. Chia I's advocacy of dividing kingdoms

Wên-ti divided Ch'i and Huai-nan according to Chia I's opinion which is described in the *Han-shu*, chap. 48, *Chia I chuan*. He advocated dividing of the fiefs of vassal kings to decrease their power, and he expounded how to divide kingdoms as follows:

The means of dividing the lands of the kings should be as follows. Ch'i, Chao and Ch'u must be divided into some kingdoms at first, and the sons of the kings shall inherit portions of their fathers' land. When all the portions run out, enfiefment must be discontinued. As regard to Yen 燕, Liang and other kingdoms, same means must be taken. When the

(19) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 22, Han-hsing i-lai chu-hou nien-piao.

number of the divided lands are more than the number of the sons to inherit them, surplus land shall not be possessed by anyone till more sons will be born and be granted the fief. When a vassal king is found guilty and the most part of his fief is placed under the control of the Han court, all his sons cannot inherit the lands because the rest is too small; in this case, marquisate in that kingdom shall be moved out, or the son who cannot get fief in the kingdom shall be granted fief outside the kingdom. Thus the Han court will redeem such lands as she confiscated. In this way the emperor can accomplish his purpose to divided kingdoms without unjustifiably gaining a single land or person, and can rule over the country in peace.

The intention of Chia I was to decrease the powers of kingdoms by dividing them, and it was clearly "dividing lands" and not for the purpose of "reducing lands". He intended to accomplish the purpose of dividing kingdoms; if a vassal king was found guilty and his land was reduced, the same numbers of fiefs would be redeemed and given to his sons. Wên-ti, after the revolt and suicide of Hsing-chü, the king of Chi-pei, appointed ten sons of Fei, the king of Ch'i, full marquises in the land of Chi-pei, and later he established six kingdoms by combining the old land of the kings of Chi-pei and Ch'i, and appointed surviving six sons of Fei kings of these six kingdoms, and after that he transferred Hsi, the king of Huai-nan, to Ch'êng-yang; as a result, all surviving descendants of Fei got their ancestral lands, and this agrees with Chia I's arguments. In the case of Huai-nan, three surviving sons of Chang, the king of Huai-nan, were granted three kingdoms in their ancestral lands of Huai-nan; therefore it was along the line of Chia I's opinion. Chia I, however, did not agree to appoint the princes of Huai-nan vassal kings, as I mentioned in the former chapter, and it seems to conflict with his theory of dividing kingdoms. According to his theory, in the case that the land of a vassal king was reduced because of his guiltiness, the Han court would redeem the land and would appoint the sons of the king kings of the lands divided; from this point of view, it would be reasonable that the sons of the kings of Huai-nan were appointed the kings of their father's land, after the king of Huai-nan revolted and died. Chia I, as a matter of fact, objected to the appointment; because he thought that the rebellion of Chang, the king of Huai-nan, was the most serious offence against the emperor and that it would be censured by the public to appoint the sons of the king of Huai-nan kings, respecting the sons of an offender, when the people regarded the death of the king of Huai-nan as a deserving result; and he was afraid that the sons would band together and avenge their father's death when they would have grown up. In case of Huai-nan, after the rebellion and death of King Chang, the land of Huai-nan was placed under the control

of the Han court; this was a kind of reducing the land of a guilty vassal king. It is clear that the case, that the reduced land was not redeemed and the princes of Huai-nan were not granted the divided lands, was in conflict with his theory of dividing kingdoms. This conflict is a proof of limitation of Chia I's theory of dividing kingdoms. Chia I's theory as a policy towards the vassal kings should inevitably develop to the reducing of land. It was reasonable that Wên-ti, after Chia I's death, according to the dividing theory of Chia I, divided Ch'i and Huai-nan; Ching-ti, the next emperor to Wên-ti proceeded with reducing lands.

### III. The policy of reducing and weakening of kingdoms adopted by Ching-ti and Ch'ao Ts'ao

Wên-ti, during the first sixteen years of his twenty-three years' reign, had been taking the policy towards the vassal kings attaching great importance to Ch'i, till in 164 B.C., according to Chia I's theory of dividing kingdoms, divided Ch'i into seven kingdoms of Ch'i, Chêng-yang, Ch'i-pei, Tzŭ-ch'uan 菑川, Chi-nan, Chiao-hsi and Chiao-tung; and Huai-nan into three kingdoms of Huai-nan, Hêng-shan 衡山 and Lu-chiang 廬江. It was Ch'ao Ts'ao who, given an important position in the court since Chia I died, advised Wên-ti on the policy towards the vassal kings. But his advice was not accepted by Wên-ti; the crown prince Ch'i 啓 (later Ching-ti), instead, supported his policy. Ching-ti, on his succession to the throne, gave Ch'ao Ts'ao an important position and began to reduce fiefs of the vassal kings whom he found guilty<sup>(20)</sup>. Seven kingdoms of Wu, Ch'ü, Chao, Chiao-hsi, Chiao-tung, Tzŭ-ch'uan and Chi-nan (Chiao-hsi and the following were of the Ch'i family), being dissatisfied and uneasy, revolted at last (B.C. 154). This was the *Wu-Ch'ü ch'i-kuo* Rebellion. This rebellion had its origin in the policy of Ch'ao Ts'ao, and was based on the dissatisfaction as regard to situations under which Wên-ti succeeded the throne, and continual suppression on Ch'i by Wên-ti.

It was Wu, the king of Liang, elder brother of Ching-ti, who fought heroically in face of the seven kingdoms in the *Wu-Ch'ü ch'i-kuo*. Thereupon the fruits of seeds, which Wên-ti had sowed when he granted the crown prince Wu the vast fief as the king of Liang and had made Wu the bulwark of the Han court, were reaped. The rebellion lasted for three months, and soon Liang was divided into five kingdoms, and those were given to the five sons of Wu, the king of Liang. Wên-ti was succeeded by his descendants.

After the rebellion, Ch'ü was pardoned and Li 禮, uncle of Wu 戊, the king succeeded to the fiefs (*shao-fêng*), and the other six kingdoms were rear-

(20) *Han-shu*, Chap. 49, Ch'ao Ts'ao chuan 晁錯傳.



ranged and one after another granted to the princes of Ching-ti. Moreover, since the rebellion, the kingdoms were deprived of the power of ruling the people, and the kings only lived on the taxes from their kingdoms<sup>(21)</sup>.

#### IV. Wu-ti's *T'ui-en-ling* and *Ch'ou-chin-lü*

The crown prince of Ching-ti succeeded to the throne and was called Wu-ti. Wu-ti, in the fourteenth year of his reign (127 B.C.), enforced the *T'ui-ên-ling* adopting the advice of Chu-fu Yen. This law was provided, "when vassal kings asked to share their fief with their sons and make them full marquises, the court would grant them the names of full marquises, and their marquisates except that of the heir would belong to the direct controlled province of the Han court anew."<sup>(22)</sup> According to this law, sons of a king, including who is not the heir, came to be able to get fiefs; furthermore it was written and regulated as a law; and the laws of feudal succession of Han was widened and the system of the *shao-fêng* was extended. On the other hand, fiefs of the princes were regulated to belong to the province under the direct control of Han; it was an advancement of the province-and-county system of the Han court: this law, because it divided kingdoms and weakened them, was also one of the policy towards the vassal kings connected with Wên-ti's dividing policy.

In 127 B.C. the *T'ui-ên-ling* was issued, and fifteen years later, in 112 B.C., the *Ch'ou-chin-lü* 酎金律 was executed. The *Chou-chin-lü* was a law regulating that the full marquises should offer gold according to population and the number of houses of their fiefs to the imperial ancestral mausoleum, instead of presenting liquor which is begun to distil on the first morning of the first month had finished in the eighth month; and in that occasion, because of its short weight or its inferior colour, the full marquises might be deprived of their fiefs. It was as many as one hundred and six full marquises whose fiefs were removed by enforcement of this law<sup>(23)</sup>. The total number of the *wang-tzu-hou* 王子侯 (the full marquises who were the sons of kings) in Wu-ti's reign was one hundred and seventy-eight, and among them whose fiefs were revoked for having no child or being guilty were forty-eight, but the total of their fiefs by the *Ch'ou-chin-lü* was sixty-four<sup>(24)</sup>. Accordig to the *Han-shu*, chap. 6, *Wu-ti chi* 武帝紀, the number of the full marquises deprived of their fiefs by the *Ch'ou-chin-lü* was one hundred and six; so sixty-four of the *wang-tzu-hou* were more than half

(21) *Han-shu*, Chap. 14, *chu-hou-wang-piao* 諸侯王表.

(22) *Han-shu*, Chap. 6, *Wu-ti chi* 武帝紀, *Han-shu* 14, *chu-hou-wang-piao*. *Han-shu*, Chap. 15, *Chu-hou-wang-piao*, 諸侯王表. *Han-shu*, Chap. 53, *Ching-shih-san-wang chuan* 景十三王傳. *Han-shu*, Chap. 64: 1, *Chu-fu Yen chuan* 主父偃傳.

(23) *Han-shu*, Chap. 6, *Wu-ti chi*.

(24) *Han-shu*, Chap. 15, *wang-tzu-hou-piao* 王子侯表.

of this number. These *wang-tzu-hou* who were once deprived of titles by the *Ch'ou-chin-lü*, would never be restored. Other full marquises, who were not *wang-tzu-hou*, in some cases, became full marquises again, though once deprived of their titles by the *Ch'ou-chin-lü*<sup>(25)</sup>. We can know, having viewed thus, that the chief object of the *Ch'ou-chin-lü* was the *wang-tzu-hou*. Wu-ti granted vassal kings to share their fiefs with their sons; making those fiefs of the *wang-tzu-hou* belong to the Han court, he carried over those *wang-tzu-hou* into the province and county system; and then made most of the *wang-tzu-hou-kuo* 王子侯國 counties entirely; thus he advanced centralization of the *wang-tzu-hou-kuo*.

The *T'ui-ên-ling* by Wu-ti had something in common, in respect of dividing the kingdoms, with the dividing by Wên-ti and, in respect of taking the fiefs of princes into the provinces under the direct control of Han, with the depriving policy by Ching-ti. The *Ch'ou-chin-lü* was further to promote the province-and-county system, which had already been the purpose of the *T'ui-ên-ling*.

### Conclusion

The kingdoms were based on blood-relationship, but early in the reign of Kao-tsu, the court had placed some restrictions upon the kingdoms, providing against loosening of the blood-relative band. The kingdom of Ch'í, the greatest of all the kingdoms, after the death of Kao-tsu, was regarded by the Han court as the most important object of the policy of suppressing the kingdoms. Ch'í was reduced and weakened at the time of Lü-t'ai-hou, and in the reign of Wên-ti as well. Particularly Wên-ti carried out various means of oppression on Ch'í, which had been the rival of the accession to the throne, and at last he intended to reduce her power by dividing Ch'í and Huai-nan, according to the theory of dividing kingdoms of Chia I. The dividing policy of Wên-ti and Chia I took a step forward to the reducing policy of the next emperor Ching-ti and Chao Ts'ó; *Wu-Ch'ü ch'i-kuo* Rebellion broke out due to the reducing of kingdoms. Since the rebellion, the kingdoms were deprived of their power to rule people, and the Han court advanced the province-and-county system and realized the centralization of power. In the reign of Wu-ti, the dividing policy of Wên-ti and the reducing policy of Ching-ti were developed to the issue of the *T'ui-ên-ling*, and by this law, the sons of kings became possible to be the *wang-tzu-hou*, thus the *shao-fêng* system of the Han laws of feudal succession was expanded. The fiefs of the *wang-tzu-hou* were included in the provinces under the direct control of the Han court, and soon were made complete counties by the *Ch'ou-chin-lü*, and were carried into the centralization system of Han.

(25) *Han-shu*, Chap. 15, *wang-tzu-hou-piao*, Chap. 17, Ching-wu-chao-hsüan-yüan-ch'êng-kung-ch'ên-piao 景武昭宣元成功臣表.

Genealogical Table of the Han Royal Family

