ERRATA

p.iii, 1.20, for 'nver' read 'never'
p.xiii, 1.12, after '1936' insert ')'
p. 5, 1.23, after '(' insert 'pp.xvii-xix'
p.31 1.5, for 'To-Ch'iang 多羌' read '多羌 To-Ch'iang'
p.57, between 1.9 and 10, insert the following Chinese text:

癸亥卜贞:子急弗甘(疾)?
(侯在?几), 三月)
p.64, 1.14, after 'Ceremony' insert 'to the Ancestors'
p.78, 1.16, after 'ill?' insert 'It was the 3rd month.'
p.80, 1.11, for 'P.118(4)' read 'P.119(4)'
p.101, 1.9, for 'Chen' read 'Chung'
p.110, 1.1 and 2, before 'On' and after 'enquired:' insert a pair of square brackets. (Again in 1.7 and 8)
p.112, 1.9 and 10, before 'in' and after 'enqué Yi-fang', insert a pair of square brackets

p.130, 1.3 and 7, between 'the' and 'day', insert 'next'
p.132, 1.11, before 'enquired' insert an open square bracket
p.132, 1.12, before 'Will' insert 'On the next yi-hai(12) day'
p.160, 1.31, after 'D.086(2)' insert 'D.093(1,3?)' and 'D.131(?)
p.171, 1.23, delete 'antithetic pair of' and for 'enquiries' read 'enquiry'
p.172, 1.2, between 'forms' and 'title-name' insert 'of'
p.187, 1.17, for '(p.128)' read '(p.153)'
p.189, between 1.18 and 19 insert the following Chinese text:

庚子卜贞:告仇受斧?
(苗在?三, 三月?)
p.199, 1.2, after '866' insert '. Period One.'
p.199, 1.12, after 'attack' delete '...

p.213, 1.10, for 'One' read 'Four'
p.266, 1.4, for 'Ch'iang' read 'Yang'
p.317, 1.4, for 'liang'.san (太) read 'ting-san(s)'
p.348, 1.12, after 'award' insert 'to-nf--many ladies'
p.360, Item 64, replace: 'Non-royal Oracle Bones of Emperor I' with 'Ti-Yi shih-tai shih fei-wang pu-tz'u'
p.363, Item 86, after 'tsui-chin' insert 'chih'
SOME ASPECTS OF SHANG ADMINISTRATION

A survey based solely on the evidence available in the oracle bone texts

by

CHOU HUNG-HSIANG

This thesis was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Australian National University

January 1968
STATEMENT OF ORIGINAL WORK

This thesis comprises the first work in English - or in any other Western language so far as I am aware - concerned with a major item of research in the field of Chia-ku-hsüeh 'Oracle bone studies'. The subject under survey is one that has, of course, been covered in several of the general works cited frequently hereafter but it has not hitherto been reviewed so fully or in such detail as I have attempted here. The approach to the primary documents involving their sole use and the almost entire shelving of the traditional literature comprises the first application of this long needed discipline in historical research in this field.

Research conducted throughout the nearly 100,000 individual 'documents' has been done directly per media of the original archaic script; the Tables placed at the conclusion of each section of the Thesis are the fruits of the time-consuming labour involved and provide the basic data upon the basis of which each section is compiled. This compilation of data makes its first appearance in this survey.

Much of the writing was compiled in Chinese in the first instance and translated later into English -
considerable assistance has been given me in 'tidying-up' my translation and also the several sections of the Thesis which I wrote directly in English.
Frontispiece  This ox scapula in the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh, comprises 5 fragments which the author assembled together during a visit to the Museum early in 1966. There are 10 divinations - 7 of which are complete. Amongst them 8 concern the use in sacrifice of certain items of tribute submitted by a certain Marquis; the other two are enquiries about the weather.
SOME ASPECTS OF SHANG ADMINISTRATION

A survey based solely on the evidence available in the oracle bone texts

by

CHOU HUNG-HSIANG

January 1968
PREFACE

From the archaeological point of view, Shang is the first dynasty of Chinese history. To carry out research in this period involves the writing of the first pages of the history of China. Since the discovery of oracle bones in 1899 scholars - both Oriental and Western - have been looking forward to the appearance of a detailed and complete story of the formative period of China's history. However, as will be observed in the Concluding Remarks of this thesis such a long-hoped for result has not yet materialised because except for a very small number of 'incised memoranda' (cf. p.37), most oracular records comprise merely texts of antithetical pairs of divinations which are too simple in content to allow the building up of a comprehensive Shang history. Yet, to a certain extent, they do help considerably in the study of several aspects of the dynasty as it will be shown in the main body of this work.

In this survey I have attempted to view the nature of the Shang administration at greater length than it has hitherto been studied and with particular emphasis on the primary archaeological documents - the traditional literature is placed aside. The discipline is even more
severe than this in its approach for I have concentrated as much as possible upon the data furnished by the scientifically excavated oracular texts from Hsiao-t'ung. This group of documents is intended to act thus as a major source of control. By this rather strict historical approach, we are able to observe more clearly just what the primary texts - and in particular the most reliable of them - have to say for themselves.

This and other aspects of my study are detailed in the Introduction. Here, the reader is forewarned that the survey is, in some respects, unusual in its aim but from the point-of-view of historical research methodology it is simply an attempt to apply up-to-date techniques.

During the writing of this survey Li Hsiao-ting's Chia-ku wen-tzu chi-shih was published. Because of its fairly comprehensive listing of the discussions and conclusions of the major schools on the interpretations of individual graphs and phrases, it has helped me considerably. Rather than to quote at length the details of all earlier surveys in respect of matters of interpretation, it is now simply a matter of referring directly to Li's conveniently compiled citations and abstracts.

Just as the final touches were being made to this survey news of Shima Kunio's publication of an extensive
concordance to the oracle bone texts reached me. From
the descriptions received it may well duplicate some of
the research work conducted in this survey - it is,
however, apparently a straightforward listing of
characters together with the phrases and sentences in
which they appear. There are no interpretations.
Accordingly Shima's publication should serve as a check
against possible omissions of data in my own work - for
future research projects it may be expected to save a
considerable amount of active research amongst these
difficult documents.

I wish to acknowledge the kind help of the following
people at various stages of my course:

Dr. Noel Barnard, my supervisor, for his valuable
suggestions regarding research techniques such as the use
of the Hsiao-t'un materials as a form of control, the
methods of tabulation, the objective attitude towards the
traditional sources and earlier in oracle bone studies,
etc. Regarding English language problems too, without
his help, this thesis would not be presented so well.

I wish to acknowledge, especially, the kindness of
the Curators of the following Museums and Institutes who
permitted me full access to their valuable collections of
relevant materials:
Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan
The National Central Library, Taipei
Tōyō bunka Kenkyū-jo, Kyoto, Japan
Department of Literature, Kyōto University, Kyoto
Archaeological Seminary, The University of Tokyō, Tokyo
Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo
National Tokyō Museum, Tokyo
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, U.S.A.
Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago
Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington
Library of Congress, Washington
Columbia University Library, New York
Sackler Collection, New York
Princeton University Library, New Jersey, Princeton
Museum of Art, Yale University, New Haven
Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Boston
Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada
British Museum, London, England
Gulbenkind Museum of Oriental Art, Durham
Institut Des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, Paris, France
Musée Cernuschi, Paris
Musée Guimet, Paris
Mariemont Museum, Brussels, Belgium
National Museum of Ethology, Leiden, Holland
Ostasiatiska Museet, Stockholm, Sweden
Museum für Völkerkunde, West Berlin, Germany
Anthropologica Museum, Basel, Switzerland

I desire to record my grateful appreciation for the generous assistance that I have received from the Australian National University during the course of my scholarship and for the provision of a field-trip which enabled me to study directly all major collections of oracle bones outside of Mainland China. I am indebted also to Mrs. C. Davidson for assistance in 'cleaning-up'
sections of my English text; to Mrs. N. Moy, departmental secretary, and Mrs. D. Craft, departmental clerk, for their typing of the draft and Mrs. Ballestrin for the final typing.
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Conventions:  
(a) Romanization  
(b) Illustrations of Archaic Graphs

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The Wade Giles system is generally followed but without the circumflex 'ê' or the marked 'û'; the letters 'e' and 'u' only are employed. All sounds 'i' are represented by 'yi'. These three modifications have been made for typographical reasons.

There are difficulties in transcribing proper names - both personal names and place-names - in the oracular texts into modern forms; in many such cases, the sound of a prominent and recognizable element of a character is chosen to represent the sound of the whole character - this is done only to avoid frequent use of 'x' s and 'y' s. There is no scientific basis underlying the choice of element - it is purely a matter of convenience.
ILLUSTRATIONS AND ARCHAIC CHARACTERS

In all the Chinese versions of quoted passages as well as individual cases in the text shapes of archaic characters written in by hand may often vary in respect of the originals; however, structures are carefully and accurately maintained. Hand-drawn illustrations of original script or of the shapes of an animal bone or of a tortoise shell in the Figures are either copies made by eye or by tracing. In the former case, every effort has been made to maintain an accurate representation of the original. Through a technical mishap some of the characters in the text have not reproduced as clearly as they should have.
Although this survey is particularly concerned with aspects of administration in Shang times and is essentially historical in scope, it has nevertheless become considerably involved with problems of presentation, not the least of which is the rendering in English both the content of the oracular texts and notes on individual characters and phrases. It is the first attempt in English or in any other Western language substantial number of oracle bone texts in translation. Accordingly, the first problem - which has been found an especially difficult one - concerns the transcription of the archaic graph into a modern character equivalent or into a modern character form. To the Chinese or Japanese reader this is not regarded as a particularly important matter, but once it becomes necessary to render archaic text into an entirely different language, transcription becomes an unexpectedly significant matter - of this there will be more to discuss shortly. Secondly, meanings must be carefully investigated and especial care taken when they are to be expressed in an alien language - when writing in his own language a Chinese and also a Japanese, can
sometimes side-step a problem because there exists an intrinsic element of a partial understanding - an emotional assessment - but one which perhaps does not always really amount to an actual understanding. Only when the precision required in translation arises do we come to appreciate that the problem has unconsciously been side-stepped. For one who has, at one stage or another during the compilation of this survey, had to reconsider various long accepted viewpoints then to revise a long-cherished understanding of them, it has necessitated considerable readjustment in interpretation.

To present the results of all this experience in English has been difficult for the very good reason that there exists very little foundation of research and translation in this particular field. There is, of course, the early work of L.C. Hopkins, F.H. Chalfont, J.M. Menzies, S. Couling, etc. which, however, suffers the disadvantages attending truly pioneer effort - unfortunately a large part of their writings now requires more revision than one nowadays can afford to engage in. The marked lack of critical evaluation current at that time led practically all of those earlier Western scholars - and even some of their oriental colleagues - naively to accept many inscribed items whose lack of
authenticity can be seen at a glance by present-day specialists. This is a perfectly normal situation as may be expected after 50 or 60 years of such intense study as has been conducted in our field.

This brings us to the next aspect of the problems attending the present survey— it is necessary to discuss many trivial matters in the passages which have been cited more particularly for historical assessment. Support for the renderings given must somehow appear, but yet there does not exist room enough in a work of this scope to present really detailed commentaries on all points in the quoted passages. Accordingly, some form of compromise has been attempted. This survey is made partly a work of historical investigation and partly one of annotated translation. So far as the historical aspects are concerned, there are no particular problems to note at this stage, but the matter of presentation of translation notes in conjunction with the presentation of historical documentation in the course of the survey has been a never-ending source of concern.

I have kept in mind the fact that other than Professor B. Kargren's 'Grammata Serica' there is no really useful dictionary of Archaic Chinese in English that might be consulted. Even this invaluable compendium
has its limitations in broader aspects of oracle bone studies. My aim thus is to keep the reader alert to the numerous problems of definition of character meanings and to observe how very often the best authorities of recent decades fail to agree on some crucial points. As a result, certain aspects of Chia-ku hsüeh 甲骨學 appear vague and uncertain. Indeed, this is sometimes a major difficulty facing the research worker in this field.

Perhaps the most effective manner of presentation is that comprising a selected grouping of primary texts accompanied by relevant commentaries. In the course of the latter various details attending individual characters and phrases are discussed at the same time as the general theme of the Chapter progresses. The reader is thus kept constantly aware of enigmatic details which if left untouched might often create in his mind a rather inaccurate view of the significance of the primary texts. Thus a considerable amount of attention to details attending the transcriptions and interpretations must be covered in the course of reading this survey.

A great deal of care has gone into the matter of transcription and particularly careful thought underlies the English renderings of the oracular passage cited. It must be remembered that there exists no survey in English
upon the basis of which one might seek to establish appropriate standards in regard to transcription procedure. Even in Chinese and Japanese writings it has not always been customary to transcribe the archaic graphs so literally into 'modern character form' as is done in this survey. Often we may find such archaic graphs as: 直 directly transcribed as 古 ku 'ancient'; 直 as 正:征 cheng 'invade', 矢 as 狒 shou 'to trap' or as 獵 tan 'to hunt', etc. But if we examine thoroughly the structure of the archaic forms, it is evident that 直 cannot be rendered as 直 [cf. the archaic bronze inscription forms: 直, 直, etc.] but rather it should be taken as a combination of 直: 中 chung 'middle' and 直:口 k'ao 'month (cf. CKWTCS, pp.0409-0411). Two quite different meanings are given by one authority or another for the graph 直 namely, 直 tsu 'enough' and 直 cheng 'invade'. In a final analysis it comprises the element 直:口 k'ao and two 'feet': 直 with the 'big toe' to the left and 直 with the 'big toe' to the right. It would seem thus difficult to make a definite case for the modern character cheng but possibly some argument for the character tsu can be allowed. Actually, of course, the proposed transcriptions are, to an appreciable extent, based on the context as interpreted by the authority
concerned. This is evident too, in the third example where the context is unmistakably concerned with hunting of one kind or another (see p. 144). Only in their attempts to be more precise do the opposing authorities disagree - both the modern characters 狩 and 撮 are close in meaning.

A further example of the value attending the application of this method of direct transcription may be noted in respect of the graph 亖：亖 shih the name of a Subject State in the combinations: 國 灰 [侯]... and 國 灰 虎 ... This graph Kuo Mo-jo has taken to be equivalent to the place name 國：牕 ch'iang, his observation reads: 國 灰當即它辭習見之國灰 ... [T'ung-ts'üan, Pieh 2.6b] but it is immediately evident to any reader that one must force the situation to make the element 亖：亖 shih be equivalent to the element 亖：亖 ch'iang - both structurally and phonetically they are quite different. With this anomaly clearly recognised, the remainder of Kuo's reasoning just cannot be accepted. Corrections of such instances in this survey are often made without comment - the direct form of transcription must accordingly always be compared first with the original archaic graphs in rubbings or in photos, then the structure must be considered with care in respect of
careless theorizing such as this example of Kuo's. It would be unnecessarily tedious to discuss the pros and cons of every such case but wherever possible, correction has been effected in the transcriptions. Thus where the reader may recollect interpretations differing from those given in the survey, he should check the variant renderings in other Commentaries upon the basis of the transcription structures as given in the present survey and take into account the purpose underlying this discipline.

In the application of this discipline - involving at all times direct study of rubbings or of their reproductions - there has resulted a more stringent degree of examination of inscriptions which have already been transcribed. Corrections of one kind or another have been effected from time to time. For the fragment Hsiao-t'ung A, 1603, for example, Chü Wan-li presents the reading:

a. 丁酉卜，狄貞: 王田，于西立卒，吉. (p.213)

and takes the character 立 li to be equivalent to 位 wei 'place', Jao Tsung-yi has the reading:


He regards 立 li to be a proper name. The crux of the problem is the graph transcribed as 于 yu 'in', 'at'. As
may be observed in Figure 1 there may be claimed to be question as to whether it is indeed 于 yū! Furthermore, the archaic form 是 actually 相 [ 相 : 相 wei, a particle] and not 西 hsi 'west' whose archaic forms are mostly 甲 , 乙 , 丙 , etc. (cf. CKWP, 12.36). In another fragment Hsiao-t'un A, 2258 Chü has the reading: c. 贞: 甲幸令 界 ？

However, there is sufficient remaining of what is actually the character 相 : 相 shou 'hunt' at the line of fracture following the character 良 to indicate the subject of the enquiry (Figure 2). Representative archaic forms of this character are: 相 , 釒 , 彳 , etc. (CKWP, 14.9). The transcription of 界 is surely unacceptable.

Instances of this kind can be multiplied indefinitely. I have not attempted to record any appreciable proportion of them in this survey. Surface it to say, however, that all inscriptions cited have each been checked against the original rubbings, or reproductions of them. In many cases of variant transcriptions I may not myself be aware of the details in all other authorities' transcriptions simply because I have worked directly from rubbings for a large proportion of my research. The very practice of this discipline has resulted in the recognition of a number of omissions, errors, and anomalies of one kind or
another - it is too tedious a matter to hold forth on each and every instance. It is far simpler that both writer and reader should constantly engage in the task of direct examination of each document in its original form - the inscribed bone, an original rubbing or photograph, or a good reproduction of one or the other - or preferably both. An immediate corollary of this discipline in observation is the practice of direct transcription of the archaic graphs.

It will be convenient now to demonstrate the method of direct transcription with reference to an actual text:

(i) 賦: 王曰(侯)昔(告)从(従)(王)夷(方), 六月.
(ii) 賦: 王勿從(乘=維)夷告人.

(毛丙55-屯乙 1859 + 2871 + 7246; 第一期; 參考編 187)

d. (i) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:

   Should the King join forces with Hou-Kao, [Marquis Kao] to attack Yi-fang?

(ii) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:

   Should not the King join forces with Hou-Kao [to attack Yi-fang]?

(Hsiao-t'un C, 55 - Hsiao-t'un B, 1859 + 2871 + 7246. Period One; cf. also Ts'ui-pien, 1187).
In this passage the characters 雉：韭，蜃：蜃，
蜃：蜃， etc. are directly transcribed upon the basis
of their original archaic structures - these are what we
may define as transcriptions into 'modern character forms'.
From the context, or from other sources, however, we know
that 雉 is equivalent to the post-Ch'in character 維
(or 唯) wei 'when', 'in', 'on', etc. both in meaning and
in function - this association we may define as a 'modern
character equivalent' but it will be obvious that there
does not exist a structural connection between the archaic
graph and the modern character equivalent. Such instances
are graphically indicated in the transcription as
illustrated above by an = sign preceding the modern
character equivalent within parentheses. In the cases of
the graphs 雉，蜃，从，正， etc., however, the
modern character forms are practically direct descendants
of the original archaic graphs. There are naturally
slight variations, e.g. 雉 has evolved into 侯
(maintaining the original 雉); 雉 into 告 (also only a
minor mechanical variation); 从 into 从 (or the usual
complex version: 彼); 正 into 徵 (like 侯 an
additional element has been added). In instances of this
kind the modern character form in parentheses is preceded
by a colon.
It is far beyond the purpose of this survey to consider every such archaic graph and its later development in detail. Accordingly, I have simply presented a transcription in modern character form - which as may be observed above is practically identical to the archaic structure. In parentheses the modern character equivalent is presented - only occasionally is any further comment made. The reader may thus observe at a glance in each of the transcriptions the extent of structural connections between the archaic graphs and their post-Ch'in descendants (or successors).

Concurrent with the application of this discipline in transcription it has been necessary to note whether the archaic graph in its modernised form is recorded in any earlier 'dictionary' such as the Erh-ya, Shuo-wen chieh-tzu, or other such early repositories of archaic (pre-Ch'in) graphs. All graphs not so recorded are denoted by asterisks as in the case of * above. It will be appreciated, thus, that these descendantless graphs became obsolete in pre-Ch'in times. Accordingly, meanings followed or suggested in my translation covering such characters are, for the most part, essentially derived from context - a procedure fairly frequently applied in the more reliable studies. Sometimes, however,
the meanings proposed by earlier scholars are rather hurriedly formulated and have not actually been derived from the context but rather from superficial similarities which they have seen with other characters.

Following each transcribed passage cited in the survey a reference source is given, e.g. 殷鉬 301 — 小屯 5157 + 5227 + 5393 — it will be realized that a string of reference numbers such as this refers to individual fragments reconstructed into their original places - then is presented the 'period-date' of the passage. These data are repeated under the translations and in both cases are in parentheses. For general convenience each passage is numbered consecutively - in the body of the work the numbering commences from the first cited passage which appears on p. 3.¹ Altogether 245 passages are quoted fully or in part throughout the survey (in the Introduction there are 10 passages: [a] - [j].)

As already evident the translations of the rather stereo-typed formulae used in the oracular text are made literally. Discussion on the conventions employed does not seem to require very detailed exposition. The

¹ On the few occasions when an earlier passage is cited a second time the original reference number is repeated in square brackets.
Figure 3. The 六十支 liu-shih kan-chih '60 cyclical characters'.

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<th>(21)chia-shen</th>
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<th>(41)chia-ch'en</th>
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<td>(12)yi-hai</td>
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<td>(32)yi-wei</td>
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<td>(52)yi-mao</td>
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<td>(53)ping-ch'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(14)ting-ch'ou</td>
<td>(24)ting-hai</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(15)mou-yin</td>
<td>(25)mou-tzu</td>
<td>(35)mou-hsü</td>
<td>(45)mou-shen</td>
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<td>(26)chi-ch'ou</td>
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</tr>
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<td>(7)keng-wu</td>
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<td>(47)keng-hsü</td>
<td>(57)keng-shen</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(20)kuei-wei</td>
<td>(30)kuei-ssu</td>
<td>(40)kuei-mao</td>
<td>(50)kuei-ch'ou</td>
<td>(50)kuei-hai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
following points should, however, be noted: the cyclical
day-dates are given numerically after the romanization,
e.g. 甲子 chia-tzu [1], 丑丑 yi-chou [2], etc. (see
Figure 3 opposite); interpolations of missing text and
supplementary meanings are enclosed in square brackets;
missing characters such as names of Diviners, place-names,
etc. are denoted by 3 dots for one character and 6 dots for
an unknown number more than one, e.g. 'On the day, ping-yin
[3, the Diviner ...] enquired: ... ...'.

So far as romanization is concerned - the Wade-Giles
system is that employed in the Shina kokuin
jiten (Bunkyūdō, Tokyo, 1936)- there are several
conventions established or followed for the purpose of
this survey:

1. Titles such as 王 wang 'King', 子 tzu 'son' in sense
   of 'Prince' (royal offspring), 侯 hou
   'Marquis', 伯 po 'Earl', etc are always
capitalised when used in place of an English form of
title and titles are hyphenated when presented in
romanization only.

2. Proper names are always capitalised except when the
   name of a living person is preceded by a feminine
title, e.g. 禦好：婦好 fu-hao is rendered as Fu-
hao 'the Lady Hao'. In this way, it will be
### Title-name combinations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Romanization</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>武丁</td>
<td>wu-ting</td>
<td>Wu Ting (12th sovereign of Shang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>且乙</td>
<td>tzu-yi</td>
<td>Tsu-Yi (deceased ancestor Yi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>国庚虎</td>
<td>ch'iang-hou-hu</td>
<td>Ch'iang-Hou-Hu 'Marquis Hu of Ch'iang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>子商</td>
<td>tzu-shang</td>
<td>Tzu-Shang 'Royal-son Shang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>白木</td>
<td>po-mu</td>
<td>Po-Mu 'Earl Mu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>帝喜</td>
<td>fu-hsi</td>
<td>Fu-hsi 'Fu-lady, Hsi'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Proper names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Romanization</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>汝曼</td>
<td>chih-chih</td>
<td>Chih-Chih (a general)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>夷方</td>
<td>yi-fang</td>
<td>Yi-fang (barbarian territory)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>五方</td>
<td>yu-fang</td>
<td>Yü-fang (&quot;       &quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大邑商</td>
<td>ta-yi-shang</td>
<td>Ta-yi-Shang 'Great City Shang'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Figure 4

Examples of romanization conventions used in the present survey.
immediately evident whether a male or female person is referred to and also it conveniently prevents confusion with the posthumour titles: 父 fù-chia, 母 mǔ fu-yi, etc. which are written as Fu-Chia, Fu-Yi, etc. All posthumous titles are capitalised without regard to sex: 母 mǔ mu-chia, 母 mǔ mu-yi, etc. are given as Mu-Chia, Mu-yi, etc.

The combinations listed in the Figure opposite are representative and indicate the forms generally used throughout the survey.

In the case of characters that become obsolete sometime before Han and whose sounds we either do not know or cannot reconstruct with any certainty, an arbitrary reading is given based upon a section of the character which in some cases might have functioned as the phonetic. This procedure is certainly not scientific, nor is it intended to be, it is simply a matter of convenience. Instead of employing X's, Y's, Z's, etc. we simply allocate a sound to the graph concerned, e.g.:

- 莖: 紞 chih - 止 chih is taken to be phonetic.
- 靈: 會 chui - 佳 chui is taken to be phonetic.
- 翟: 比 pei - 購 pei is taken to be phonetic.
- 吳: 各 chung - 中 chung is taken to be phonetic.
- 山: 萬 wu - 午 wu is taken to be phonetic.
Some characters, however, cannot be treated in this manner at all - they just cannot be transcribed into a modern character version and we know little more about them other than their grammatical function in the context in which they appear, e.g. 亝, 逊, ｿ, uvo, etc. Here we have no choice but to leave romanization aside - the character only is given in its archaic form and appears thus both in the modern character form transcription and in the translation. Fortunately, instances of this kind amongst the cited passages have not occurred so frequently as to be a matter of inconvenience.

Certain problems of translation require some comment. The matter of singular and plural cases is dealt with in an arbitrary but probably acceptable manner. All things listed in the oracular texts and recorded as comprising 2 or more items are naturally plural. Where no number is given it is assumed that, unless the context gives reasons to the contrary, only one item is involved.

The problem of translating the ever-recurring pu...chen has also been dealt with somewhat summarily: pu 'fissures': the "T"-shaped cracks induced in the outside surface of a plastron or of a bone, is treated as a title of office - Diviner - while chen 'a form of cauldron' ( = ting 'Ting-cauldron') is taken to be a
verb 'to enquire', 'to divine', etc. It will be noted, of course, that there is no example at all of \( \text{pu} \) in a title-name combination in any context other than in the above commencing section of the oracular divination formula. Thus we are completely at a loss to know definitely whether \( \text{pu} \) is a verb or a title of office. The point is discussed at length later (p.128).

Problems concerning translation also concern interpretation. In Chia-ku-hsüeh the student of Shang history is confronted almost at the outset by the enigma of names: do identical names indicate the same person and do characters used as place names when combined with a title e.g. X-Hou, Y-Po, Z-Tsu, etc. always indicate the same person in each case and at all times? If there was actually more than one person involved there does not exist a means for us to distinguish say, Ch'iang-Hou 'Marquis of Ch'iang' - the father, from Ch'iang-Hou - the son, his successor. We do know of a Ch'iang-Hou named Hu 虎 who was also simply referred to as Ch'iang-Hou. But we cannot prove all cases of Ch'iang-Hou (lacking the name Hu - or any other name) to be the same Ch'iang-Hou-Hu or another Ch'iang-Hou of another name. We have, therefore, no choice but to assume that all cases of Ch'iang-Hou refer to the one person. We must assume
therefore that a character can function both as a name of a certain place and as the name of the Subject Ruler of that place (or, a representative or a group of representatives from that place acting on his behalf). Take the name-title 禄 (or hsing), for instance, in the following passage:

... 出พระ: ... 禄 (續編 4.25.1, 第一期)

[On the day, ... ... ], the Diviner Chen enquired:

Will Fu-ching have an easy delivery when she gives birth to the child?

(Hsü-pien, 4.25.1. Period One).

It is perfectly clear here that Fu-ching is a person's name. However, in Passage 59 cited later the function of the name-title is not so precise although it may, of course, be interpreted as the name of a Subject Ruler (or of his consort?); it is equally possible, however, that it is intended to function rather more as the name of the State. In Passage 60, there is in addition to these possibilities in interpretation of the name-title that it may here refer to a special representative or, a group of representatives, arriving at Court from the State of Ching. In the next passage we may observe the same difficulty attending a simple character proper-name: ...
(i) 貞: 西土受年?
(ii) 貞: 西土不其受年?
(iii) (貞: 令*受年?
(iv) (貞: 令) 不其受年?
(屯乙7009, 第一期.)

f. (i) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ...] enquired:
   Will the western territory have a good harvest?

(ii) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ...] enquired:
   Will not the western territory have a good harvest?

(iii) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:
   Will Pi have a good harvest?

(iv) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:
   Will not [Pi] have a good harvest:
   (Hsiao-t'un B, 7009. Period One).

壬子卜貞: 貞,癸丑大雨: 允雨;
(粹編735, 一期或晚-期.)

g. On the day, jen-tzu [49], the Diviner Pi enquired:
   On the next day, the day kuei-ch'ou [50], will it be raining? Will it be sure to rain?
   (Ts'ui-pien, 735. Period One or late Period One).

In these two passages the connection between Pi, the 'State' and Pi 'the Diviner' is, to say the least, a rather uncertain one. We are powerless to make a decision in one direction or another, i.e. that only the one person is involved, or the name Pi refers to a State (and its
Figure 5 The character style of the different periods can be seen from the examples starting from (A) to (E). They represent respectively Period One to Period Five (after T'ung Tso-pin's 'Chia-ku-wen tuan-tai yen chiu-li').

From (a) to (e) is another set of examples illustrating the principle of periodization. According to T'ung's criteria of periodization (cf. pp. 136-37), we know that the Diviner Ku of (a) belongs to Period One and respectively the Diviner Lü of (b) to Period Two, the Diviner K'ou of (c) to Period Three, the Diviner Yü of (d) to Period Four and the Diviner Huang of (e) to Period Five. Again according to T'ung's theory, the Diviner P'ing of (a), the Diviner Kuo of (b), the Diviner P'eng of (c), the Diviner Tzu of (d) and the Diviner Yü of (e) can therefore be dated individually in the same periods as the Diviners Ku, Lü, K'ou, Yü and Huang.
ruler) and also to another person, the Diviner. This is the basic problem of 'periodization' and naturally it must appear to any critical reader to be a major weakness underlying this field of study. In a very simple form the principle of periodization of the oracle bone texts in this connection is illustrated in Figure 5. It may be argued, however, that the often highly complex interrelationships of names and events in approximate chronological groupings goes far towards supporting the conclusion that in the majority of cases only one individual per name is involved. In this survey no attempt is made to find a solution to this awkward situation. It is my view that we must accept, tentatively at least, the general opinion that only in a few instances are there cases of two or more persons of the same name amongst the general corpus of oracle bone texts.

One further characteristic of the oracle bone texts should receive our attention - the practice of abbreviation of text and this in regard to the often fragmentary nature of the documents. The latter has important bearing upon our interpretations. The bulk of the oracular records comprise antithetical pairs of divinations - the same question is repeated twice, once in a positive form and once in the negative form. For the
sake of convenience or perhaps of economy either one of the antithetical pair of divinations is always abbreviated. The normal method of abbreviation is to omit the date and the name of the Diviner, i.e. 'On the day, ... the Diviner x enquired'. Many of such cases will be seen throughout all the quoted passages in this survey. As for the main text of the divination, there are many ways in which abbreviation is effected:

(i) 丙子卜内貳:羽丁丑王歩于壹;
(ii) 丙子卜內貳:羽丁丑王勿歩?

(Hsiao-t’un B, 5355, Period One).

The two characters 'to Ku' in the negative sentence are ommitted.

(i) 丙寅卜内貳:羽丁卯歩于丁?
(ii) 壹:勿歩于丁?

(Hsiao-t’un B, 5355, Period One).
i. (i) On the day, ping-yin [3], the Diviner Pin enquired:
On the next day, the day ting-mao [4], should [the King] conduct the Yu Ceremony in honour of Ting?

(ii) Enquired:
Should not [the King] conduct the Yu Ceremony in honour of Ting?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 2124. Period One).

In the negative sentence, the whole part concerning the date and the name of the Diviner, i.e. 'On the day, ping-yin, the Diviner Pin' as well as the phrase 'On the next day, the day ting-mao' are omitted. Omission may also take part in the positive sentence:

(i) 乙巳卜.unsqueeze[2]|福于父乙?
(ii) 乙巳卜.unsqueeze[2]|勿衣福于父乙?

(j. (i) On the day, yi-ssu [42], the Diviner Pin enquired:
Should [the King] conduct the Fu Ceremony in honour of Fu-Yi?

(ii) On the day, yi-ssu, the Diviner Pin enquired:
Should not [the King] conduct the Yi Ceremony and the Fu Ceremony in honour of Fu-Yi?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 6927. Period One).
The character 福 'Fu Ceremony' is omitted in the positive sentence.

Abbreviations of one kind or another are very common in oracular texts and sometimes may cause the unwary student to misinterpret the record. Where a fragmentary inscribed bone or plastron has missing the more comprehensive section of the antithetical record we are, of course, that much the poorer in respect of really useful information. A large proportion of the oracle bones which are highly fragmented is accordingly of very little use for research because of this situation. Amongst the complete texts cited in this survey the reader may note the various other examples of abbreviation methods amongst such Passages as: (d), 2, 7, 13, 14, 19, 20, 31, 66, 68, 71, 79, 80, 86, 93, 98, 129, 140, 146, 154, 162, 176, 178, 198, 206, 231 and 240.¹

Having discussed so far some of the problems concerning technical aspects of the research we may now turn our attention to those of historical scope. Let us

¹ This problem of abbreviation is extensively examined in an unpublished survey (in Chinese) 人辭對負述例 Pu-tzu tui-chen shu-li (manuscript pagination pp.1-320; Figures 62) which I plan to publish in the near future.
therefore consider first the nature of the Shang government as described by earlier scholars.

Unlike the situation of literary evidence relating to the Chou period, details concerning Shang administration in the traditional sources are both rare and of debatable validity. Since the discovery of oracle bones in 1899,
therefore, scholars have been trying hard to obtain a general view of the Shang Court. The first person to investigate the problem upon the basis of these archaeological documents was Wang Kuo-wei 王國維. He published several well known articles between 1917 and 1927: 'Yin pu-tz'u chung so-chien hsien-kung hsien-wang k'ao' 般卜辭中所見先公先王考, 'Yin pu-tz'u chung so-chien hsien-kung hsien-wang hsü-k'ao' 般卜辭中所見先公先王續考, 'Yin-chou chih-tu lun' 殷周制度論 and 'Yin-li cheng-wen' 殷禮徵文 (see Kuan-t'ang chi-ling, pp.409-451 and Wang-chung-ku-kung yi-shu, II, vol. L). These have been followed by many other scholars in the field and similar studies have been put forward from time to time such as: Ch'en Pang-huai 陳邦槐 'Hsü Yin-li cheng-wen' 續殷禮徵文 (Wu-hsi kuo-hsüeh chuan-k'o hsüeh-hsiao hsiao-yu-huf chi-k'an 無錫國學專科學校校友會集刊 vol. L, 1930), Tung Tso-pin's 董作賓 'Wu-teng-chüeh tsai Yin-Shang' 五等爵在殷商 (Li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an, vol. V, Part III, 1936), Li Te-hsien's 李得賢 'Yin-Chou chih-tu hsin-lun' 殷周制度新論 (Ch'eng-tu ch'i-ku ta-hsüeh shih-shüeh hsüeh ts'ung-k'an, vol. 1, 1944. 成都齊魯大學史學叢刊), Hu Hou-hsüan's 胡厚宣 'Yin-t'ai feng-chien chih-tu-k'ao' 殷代封建制度考 (Chia-ku-hsüeh-Shang-shih lun-ts'ung, I, pp.1a-41a,
Figure 6 The general outline of Shang officialdom as reconstructed by Ch'en meng-chia in diagrammatic form.
1944-46), etc. However, so far as the character of Shang government is concerned most of them deal mainly with the genealogy of the royal family and the assumed existence of feudalism in the Shang Kingdom rather than the structure of the administration.

In 1956, Ch'en Meng-chia 陈梦家 published his extensive survey Yin-hsü pu-tz'u tsung-shu 殷墟卜辞综述 in which he has devoted a whole chapter (the 15th chapter, pp.503-522) to the study of the 百官 po-kuan 'Hundred Officials'. Within the framework of the traditional 内服 nei-fu 'Inner Domain' he divides Shang officialdom into three groups: 府正 ch'en-cheng 'Court Officials', 武官 wu-kuan 'Military Officers' and 史官 shih-kuan 'Civil Officials' (see Figure 6 opposite). In addition, Ch'en also discusses the 侯 Hou-Marquises, the 伯 Po-Earls and the 卜人 pu-jen 'Diviners'. But he rather thinks the first two were feudal lords enfeoffed with different regions outside the Royal Domain (外服 wei-fu). As for the Diviners, Ch'en includes them in the two chapters on 'Periodization' (the 4th and the 5th chapters, pp.135-206).

Two years later, Shima Kunio published his Inkyo bokujii kenkyü 殷墟卜辞研究. Two chapters (the 3rd and the 4th chapters of Part II, pp.424-474) have been devoted to an investigation of the feudal ranks and the various
officials. The 3rd chapter ('In no hōken Yin Feudalism') deals with the Hou-Marquises, the Po-Earls, the Tzu-Viscounts and the Fu-ladies. The 4th chapter ('In no kanryo Yin Officialdom') is concerned with the overall administrative structure of the Shang Government. In the following year, 1959, Jao Tsung-yi published his voluminous work "Yin-tai chen-pu jen-wu t'ung-k'ao" which is the first study to deal solely with a particular section of Shang officialdom - the Diviners.

Up to the present the above three works comprise the only surveys concerning appreciable aspects of the field which is the subject of investigation in this thesis. Although Jao's book is by far the most exhaustive work concerning a special group of officials, he has not attempted to make use of the abundant information he has derived from the 100,000 or more oracle bones relating to the 137 Diviners to formulate a more secure criterion of 'Periodization' upon the basis of the valuable and highly relevant data he has assembled. Furthermore, he does not pay much attention to the relations between the Diviners and other members of the Court and their significance in the Administration.
Ch'en's book is, to a certain extent, successful in terms of his general appraisal of the whole field of Chia-ku-hsüeh. But, owing to his classical background, his mind is too often pre-occupied with traditional ideas and consequently he seeks to apply various aspects of the Chou feudal system to the Shang Court. Based on the Shu-ching, Ch'en divides the Shang administration system into two parts the nei-fu 'Inner Domain' and the wei-fu 'Outer Domain'. He considers Hou-Marquises and Po-Earls to be feudal lords and allocates them to the Outer Domain while allocating the three groups of the 'Hundred Officials' to the Inner Domain (i.e. the Royal Court). He further claims that the feoffs of the Hou were immediately outside the Inner Domain while the feoffs of the Po were beyond those of the Hou. Whether or not Ch'en may be correct in ascribing something of a feudal character to the Hou and the Po his distinction between those two posts and the various officials of the Court is valid as we shall note later in respect of the oracle bone records. However, there is no information preserved in the oracle records which may be considered significant enough to support his contention of the existence of the Shu-ching concept of Inner and Outer Domains in the Shang period. Furthermore the Hou and the
Po cannot be regarded solely as Subject Rulers in view of their administrative connection with the Royal Court. The Diviners have been separated from both nei-fu and wei-fu groupings and have been specially examined in the two chapters concerning 'Periodization'. Grounds for this form of classification do not, however, exist in oracular texts. Ch'en obviously does not consider the Diviners to be officials of the Inner Domain or to be associated with the Outer Domain. As we shall note later there was no clear limitation on duties between the Diviners and other officials, or even the Hou and the Po. The Diviners, the Hou and the Po also took part in many of the same activities such as military campaigns, hunting expeditions, ceremonies, etc. as did other officials. Even within his grouping of the po-kuan 百官 'Hundred Officials' there are inconsistencies. For example the chih-ch'en which is an agricultural official should be distinguished from the ordinary ch'en 'Ch'en-official' in his first division ch'en-cheng. The shih 'Diplomatic Delegate', ta-shih 'Grand Delegate', shang-shih 'Higher Delegate', etc. too, should not be placed in the shih-kuan division. Further details regarding such points are elaborated upon in later pages.
As regards Shima Kunio, his work is to some extent based on Ch'en's survey. He not only follows Ch'en's practice of using a term such as 官僚 kanryo for the Shang officials but also applies concepts relating to the Chou feudal system to the data in the oracular texts. Shima devotes a whole chapter (pp.424-461) to the subject of feudalism in Shang (殷の封建) and complicates further Ch'en's wei-fu and nei-fu theory. He ranks the Hou at the highest level, the Po next and then adds the tzu 'Viscount' and finally the fu: 'Fu-ladies'. The first three titles are proposed upon the basis of the 五等爵 wu-teng-chüeh the 'Five Ranks' of Chou feudalism and Tung Tso-pin's survey on the subject (五等爵在殷商 'wu-teng-chüeh tsai Yin-Shang', BAS, vol. 6, Part 3). Leaving aside the question as to whether the Shang Hou and Po were actually equal to the Chou Marquises and Earls, and whether the Shang rank of Hou was higher than that of Po, the association of 子 tzu with the Chou period feudal

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1 The five ranks are 公 kung, 侯 hou, 伯 po, 子 tzu and 爵 nan. They have been translated into English as Duke, Marquise, Earl, Viscount and Baron. However, such a translation is only a matter of convenience, they should not be taken too literally.
rank of Viscount is quite unacceptable. Tung Tso-pin, however, was first to propose such an association in his article referred to above. He later revised his theory and claimed that tzu has the meaning of 'royal son' or 'Prince'. This is maintained in his last book Chia-ku-hsüeh liu-shih-nien (pp.91-92) published in 1966. Shima, however, has apparently ignored Tung's revision.

As for the Fu-ladies he simply follows Hu Hou-hsüan's theory that 'presumably some of the Fu-ladies were favourites of Wu Ting and some were not. Consequently those in favour stayed at the Palace and those not in favour were enfeoffed in certain regions (outside the Royal Domain)' (Lun-tsun, I, p.4). Hu does not go into detail on this point. Probably his assumption is based upon the name-equivalents between the Fu-x ladies and the Subject Rulers. Accordingly, such a hypothesis should

1 Long before this Kuo Mo-jo had demonstrated quite clearly that the concept of the 'Five Ranks' could not have arisen much earlier than late Eastern Chou times (Chung-kuo ku-tai she-hui yen-chiu, p.309) and in greater detail in his Chin-wen ts'ung-k'ao (pp.39a-47a). Both Tung in his article above and Shima in his large survey seem unaware of this research.

2 The term 'Fu-x ladies' denotes here the interpretations proposed later in this present survey (see p.91-7) and is to be regarded as distinct from the rather indefinite interpretations of Shima and other earlier scholars to which brief reference is made above.
not be taken too seriously. The inclusion of Fu-x ladies in the assumed Shang period feudal system is therefore debatable. The 4th chapter of Part II of Shima's book is devoted to a study of various official titles. He divides the Shang officials into five groups: groups one, four, and part of five are of a military nature, while groups two, three and the remainder of five are civil posts. Such a grouping is rather loose and confusing. Moreover, in addition to mixing up military officers and civil officials in group five, he mistakenly incorporates the phrases  to-chiang,  to-x and  to-y as though they were official titles.¹

Upon the basis of Ch'en's concept of the Inner and Outer Domains in the Shang period Shima has drawn up a Table (Figure 7 opp.) to show the structure of the Shang Court. In addition to the ambiguities attending his arrangement of the officials in the five groups, there have been incorporated several other titles (or terms rather)

¹ According to the contexts of the oracle records themselves,  to-chiang means 'the many Chiang-tribesmen'. It refers to a certain number of captured Chiang-tribesmen who were employed as labourers or as human sacrifices. As for  and , though scholars are still arguing about their transcriptions, they are clearly used as the names of ceremonies and these two terms  and  mean 'the many ceremonies' and 'the many ceremonies' (cf. CKWTCB, pp.0677-0682).
which are not mentioned in the text. Exactly what these are intended to represent is difficult to assess.

As a result of my own study of the problem I have found it necessary to revise several aspects of the preceding and other similar assessments of the general nature of the Shang administration system as well as many lesser points of detail. This is mainly due to the discipline of research applied in the present survey - the evidence available in the oracular texts only is drawn up. Traditional views have not been permitted to cloud the issue. What we are concerned with here is the nature of Shang government so far as it can be understood from truly contemporaneous records. With this as a basis one might then proceed further and test the validity of transmitted accounts of the Shang government - this, however, I do not attempt to do in this thesis. There is the more urgent need to investigate the oracle bone records as documents in their own right and to let them speak for themselves. Accordingly, I have severely limited reference to the 'classics' and the 'philosophers' and have assembled together the results of the extensive search in which I have been engaged amongst archaeological documents for the relevant information. There are no startling discoveries nor momentous conclusions - the reader will find merely a
simple straightforward account which has only the merit of being fully documented. It leaves open many questions which purposely are left unanswered - the primary documents are of insufficient scope to provide all the answers.

The next step is naturally that of seeking reliable supplementary information from the transmitted literature. However, the student who may attempt to continue the investigation in this manner will find the task a most unrewarding one for so little dependable data relating to the subject has been preserved. The tendency of most earlier scholars has been to draw upon data pertaining too largely to Chou period institutions and hence the picture has become very confused. As we shall note in the body of this survey several titles of office in the Shang administration system are identical to those employed in Chou feudal kingdom, for example: 侯 Hou-Marquis, 伯 Po-Earl, 卜人 pu[-jen] 'Diviner', 使 shih (= 行人 hsing-jen) 'Diplomatic Delegate', 臣 'Ch'en-official', 亞 'Ya-officer', 牲 (牲人 ch'üan-jen) 'Chüan-officer', 巳 'Yin-official' and 巫 'Wu-official'. However, the administrative structures of the government of the two dynasties were quite different and even the status and functions attending identical or similar official titles of
Figure 8  A diagrammatic rendering of the administrative structure of the Shang kingdom as propose in this survey. The implication of other rulers with the title of 'King' as above is based on the contents of Passage 231 (p.318, cf. also p.343).
Shang and Chou sometimes varied. The Diviners in the Chou Court, for instance, possessed no significant position; they were only concerned with the divination ceremonies. But the Diviners of Shang were not only responsible for divinations - they also took part in military campaigns, hunting expeditions, the supervision of agricultural work, and were also responsible for confirming receipt of tribute payments from the Subject States. The Ch'üan-jen of Chou were civil officials responsible for looking after the dogs to be sacrificed in various ceremonies as well as those employed in hunting activities. The Ch'üan-officers of Shang, however, in addition to their association with hunting activities, also participated in punitive military campaigns. As for Hou and Po, they were practically independent lords in Chou times who had little to do with administration in the Royal Domain and owed only a loose form of allegiance to the King. The Hou and the Po of Shang, however, were important officials in the Royal Court in addition to their functions as rulers of border regions.

Owing to the conciseness of the oracular records, only a rather general outline of the Shang Government can be reconstructed (Figure 8 opposite). The King was, of course, superior to all the civil officials and military
officers at the Court and exercised a firm measure of control over the Subject Rulers at the same time. The latter occasionally came to the Court to render service while officials or officers were despatched abroad on Royal services. Only to a very remote degree does the situation appear reminiscent of the later idealised, wei-fu and nei-fu system.

Within the Administration, the Princes, the Fu-x ladies, the Diviners, the Hou-Marquises and the Po-Earls seem to belong to one group forming a sort of noble class. This impression arises, no doubt, because of their background: the Princes and some of the Fu-x ladies were members of the royal family; the Diviners were very often responsible for the interpretations of divinations which had so important a bearing upon internal and external affairs - in this respect they may possibly have wielded indirectly almost as much power as the King himself. The Hou and the Po by virtue of their rôle as rulers of 'buffer' States - hence in effect protectors of the Shang Kingdom against the frequent barbarian incursions - had a status at the Royal Court far above that of the general body of officials. So far as procedure within this heirarchy of administrators is concerned it seems that the Princes were foremost, thence the Fu-x ladies. The
Diviners were, no doubt, the most influential personnel in respect of policy making; the Hou received more attention and better treatment from the King than did the Po.

Below this hierarchy may be found scattered records of as many as a dozen titles of office which are obviously lesser grade:

(1) Shih 'Diplomatic Delegates'
(2) Ch'en-officials
(3) Officials in Charge of Agricultural Work
(4) Shih-archery-officers
(5) Ya-officers
(6) Ch'üan-officers and Ma-officers
(7) Shu-officers
(8) Yin-officials and To-yin-officials
(9) Kung-officials and To-kung-officials
(10) To-yin Military Officers
(11) and 
(12) Wu-officials

According to the records concerned, their functions allow a general division into 'Civil' and 'Military' posts; items (1), (2), (3), (8), (9) and (12) comprise 'Civil Officials' and (4), (5), (6), (7), (10) and (11) comprise 'Military Officers'. However, the last five - (8), (9), (10), (11) and (12) - do not seem to be especially
important posts and there is only a small number of records concerning them; accordingly they will be discussed only briefly.
CHAPTER ONE

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THE KING
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1. **Royal Authority and Attendances at Court**

One of the most important elements in the later Chou feudal system was the obligation imposed upon the Rulers of States to attend Court from time to time. In traditional sources of Chan-kuo and Han date the custom is described as a regular matter\(^1\) but amongst contemporaneous bronze inscriptions there is no real evidence that audiences were so idealistically regular. Yet audiences with the Chou King were obviously a feature of especial significance and one by which the Kings of Chou sought to maintain their power over the feudal princes. In time of need, the Chou King would summon the **Chu-hou 諸侯** to the Royal Court and, in theory, his order would be

\(^1\) Cf. Mencius: 'If a prince once omitted his attendance at court, he was punished by degradation of rank; if he did so a second time, he was deprived of a portion of his territory; if he did so a third time, the imperial forces were set in motion, and he was removed from his government'. *Legge*, p.312.
obeyed. Although no formal feudal system existed in the Shang dynasty, certain feudal practices had already emerged, amongst which was the attendance of Subject Rulers at the Court. Evidence for this is seen in the following examples:

(i) 乙未卜殽貞: 吳(~亜)其(~介)來見王,
(ii) 乙未卜殽貞: 王不其來見王;

(殷墟301-屯乙5157+5227+5393, 第一期.)

001. (i) On the day chi-wei [56] the Diviner Ku enquired:
Will [the Subject Ruler of] Fou come to have audience with the King?

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Bronze inscriptions of Western Chou depict details of the ceremonial aspects of such court attendances normally conducted in the Grand Hall 大堂 of the Royal Ancestral Temple and sometimes the reasons for the vassal princes' attendances on occasions other than investiture ceremonies are recorded. Only occasionally, however, is there record of summons issued to assist the seigneur King in military matters yet it is evident that the vassal princes were under a certain degree of obligation to the King of Chou. The bronze inscriptions not only record instances of obedience to the Royal Commands but also illustrate the close connection between the Audience and the issue of the Royal Command. (Cf. Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家 'Hsi-chou t'ung-ch'i tuan-tai' 西周銅器斷代, KKHP (1955), vols.9-14 (1956.4); Chi Ssu-ho 齊思和 'Chou-tai-hsi-ming-li k'ao' 周代銘命禮考, YCHP (1900), 32, pp.197-226).
(ii) On the day, *chi-wei*, the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will not [the Subject Ruler of] Fou come to have audience with the King?


This is a typical record of court attendance and one which brings us immediately to a number of points regarding interpretation. The shape of the graph ▲: ꔨ fou has a few variations, namely: ▲ ▲ ▲ ▲ etc. (cf. *HCKWP*, 5.23b). Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若 was first to offer the transcription of ꔨ (Ts'ui-pien, 122a) and Ch'en Meng-chia has recently suggested that the State of Fou was situated near present-day Yung-chi-hsien 永濟縣, in south Shansi 陝西 (Tsung-shu, p.294). It is perfectly evident that Fou is employed as a geographical name in several other contexts¹ but nowhere is the character used as a person's name. In the above record, therefore, ꔨ fou is assumed to imply the ruler of the State of Fou - similar examples may be noted in later quotations. It is, of course, possible that this special use of a State-name

¹ *Hsiao-t'un B*, 2108, 5765, 5795, etc. wherein Fou is mentioned along with other States; *Hsiao-t'un B*, 2000, 7795; *Yi-shu*, 463, etc. where punitive expeditions were conducted against Fou; *Hsiao-t'un B*, 6423 where divininations regarding the success of the harvests of Fou were made.
as a person's name may be merely indicative of an officer of the State concerned and not necessarily is it the ruler - this aspect of the problem cannot unfortunately be solved.¹

The vocabulary employed in respect of the court attendances of subject rulers comprises the characters

来自 ('come') 归 (帰 = 归) 'return', 至 (至) 'arrive' and 入 (入) 'enter'. With the exception of 归 which also appears as the name of a State (Ts'ui-pien, 152a), the four words function only as verbs: 来见王 'come to have an audience with the King' 归见王 'return to have an audience with the King' 至见王 'arrive to have an audience with the King' and 入见王 'enter to have an audience with the King'. Generally, only one of the four verbs would be used in the one 'document' and usually the two characters 見王 chien-wang were omitted. The characters 入 and 来 were also used in contexts concerning the payment of tribute. For instance 来龟 'come to pay a tribute of tortoise' and 入齿

¹ The possible significance of geographical names in contexts of this kind has already been considered in detail (p. above); attention will, however, be drawn to instances of particular import from time to time to supplement the earlier discussion.
ju-ch'ih 'enter to pay a tribute of ivory'. In each case
the subject is a proper noun which we generally take to be
geographical name used in reference to the ruler or
possibly his representative; when the verbs lai and ju
appear on their own it is understood that a certain person
representing the State has 'come', or is 'to enter' for
audience; when followed by an enumeration of articles then
the matter concerns the payment of tribute.\(^1\) Exactly who
it is who attends the Court or who brings tribute is not
precisely recorded. It is not known whether court
audiences in Shang times may have comprised both regular
and irregular attendances as described in the traditional
literature of the Chou dynasty. However, attendances
which were effected by order of the Shang King naturally
would be classified as irregular and will be discussed
below. The significant point in the present group, of
course, is the fact that the arrival of the Subject Ruler
was expected:

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\(^1\) These terms have been carefully analysed on the basis of
comprehensive examples assembled together by Hu Hou-hsüan
胡厚宣: 'Wu-ting-shih wu-chung chi-shih k'o-tz'u k'ao
武丁時五種記事刻辭', in his Chia-ku-hsüeh Shang-
shih lun-ts'ung, vol.3, note especially pp.22a-24a, 26b-29a,
34a-35a, 50a-55b and 66b-68b.
On the day, jen-ch'en [29], the Diviner Nei enquired:

[In this] fifth month, will Shih arrive [to have audience with the King]? 

(ii) [On the day, jen-chien, the Diviner Nei enquired]:

In this fifth month, will not Shih arrive [to have audience with the King]?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 5302. Period One).

003. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ] enquired:

In the coming fifth month, will Yi arrive [to have audience with the King]?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 3468. Period One).

The graph 史 shih has three possible variations in meaning here. In passage 002 it is a proper noun and accordingly may be the name of a certain place with the specific meaning: 'the Subject Ruler of Shih' as already noted. It could be also a clan-name, and the person who arrived for
audience would probably be the head of the clan. It might simply be a personal name of the ruler of a certain State. In examples of this kind some such uncertainty attending the interpretation is unavoidable when we lack examples of the graphs concerned illustrating their usage also as State-names. But there are sufficient instances of known State-names in this same context which would seem to indicate the general significance of character usage here. The State of Yi in Passage 003 above is one such example but its ancient location cannot be determined. In both examples the expected dates of arrival for audience are recorded in particular months of the year; similarly in the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[On the day, ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:} \\
\text{In this thirteenth month, will Pei arrive [to have audience with the King]?} \\
\text{(Hsü-pien, 5.19.5. Period One).}
\end{align*}
\]

004. The graph \( \text{pei} (?) \) occurs as the name of a Diviner of Period One in one inscription only (Hsiao-t'un A, 3585) and in all of its other sixteen occurrences (see T'ung-k'ao, pp.641-2) it functions as a normal State-name (or,
the implication of the ruler/representative thereof) and
is associated with such matters as payment of tribute,
court service, hunting, etc. The orthodox approach is to
accept all these records of Pei as pertaining to the one
person.

The preceding three examples cited each record
divinations enquiring about the expected attendance at
Court of certain Subject Rulers. Because particular
months are incorporated in the oracle it is clear that
such attendances must have been arranged beforehand. This
is further very well confirmed in the following passage:

005. On the day, chia-shen [21], the Diviner ... enquired:

[When the Subject Ruler of] Hsing-fang
comes to have audience, will I [still] be
sick and indisposed?¹

¹ For the interpretation of 因 (erves) mi,
see T'ung-k'ao, pp.132-3. The exact nature of the illness
cannot, of course, be assessed but it would hardly have
been really serious. The graph 因 (erves) hou
'unlucky', 'calamity' etc., is here connected in meaning
with 因 - the idea of 'indisposed' is probably intended.
The geographical location of Hsing-fang has not been identified. It is, however, representative of several quite unambiguous examples of geographical names used in the sense of the ruler/representative of the State; in other documents we find Hsing-fang ordered by the King to invade other territories (cf. Hsiao-t'un C, p.79). Although this record does not indicate the date of arrival, the fact that the divination preceded the attendance and the King's query regarding the probable state of his health when the audience was due shows not only had the audience already been arranged but also it must have been arranged to take place close after the day chia-shen.

The four passages cited here comprise the most complete and informative of a small number of relevant records concerning attendances at Court which were, in all probability, fixed in advance and were not, so far as we can judge, the result of ad hoc royal command. Unlike the next group, the present examples are usually queried in terms of dates and the dates are no more specific than
such-and-such a month - it would not seem to be unreasonable, therefore, to suggest in these circumstances that the rulers (or ruler/representatives) of some States, at least, made periodic attendances at Court.

Unfortunately, however, there is no example of time intervals between a series of audience by the one State.

Irregular attendances, we may assume, would be those characterised by a special summons to appear before the Royal presence. Though there is not a single record indicating whether the Subject Ruler obeyed such Royal commands, it is clear, at least, that the King frequently issued such summonses - subject, of course, to the approval of the gods - and expected obedience:

[On the day ... ... , the Diviner ... ]

enquired:

Should [the King] command Ch'uang-hou to return [and appear again in audience]?

(Prosecution B, 7586. Period One).

\footnote{Note in Passage 007 in the next group the phrase \textit{pa-yüeh} '8th month' placed after the divinatory sentence does not refer to the matter divined but to the divination as such. This is a common feature in the oracle bones.}
007. (i) On the day, kuei-wei [20] the Diviner Pin enquired:

Should [the King] command [the Subject Ruler of] Ming and [the Subject Ruler of] Fang [to return and appear again in audience]? It was the 8th month.

(ii) [On the day, kuei-wei, the Diviner Pin] enquired:

Should not [the King] command [the Subject Ruler of Ming and the Subject Ruler of] Fang to return [and appear again in audience]?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 2814. Period One).¹

¹ The query, in its negative form, is to be read as an abbreviation of the full sentence (i). Attention has already been drawn to this peculiar feature in the oracle bone texts and a few examples cited in illustration. In cases such as the present where at first reading of the original text it would appear that the meaning is: 'Should not [the King] command [the Subject Ruler of] Fang to return [and appear again in audience]?' and accordingly seem to imply that reference to the Subject Ruler of Ming is omitted purposely, a note seems necessary.
008. [On the day, ......., the Diviner ...] enquired:

Should [the King] command [the Subject Ruler of] Jo to return [and appear again in audience]?

(Hsiao-t'un C, 51. Period One).

(i) 貞: 令勿 (假=若) 當歸.

(ii) 貞: 未令望董歸.

(殷紂260-屯2 4531+4820+4893+5744, 一期.)

009. (i) [On the day, ......., the Diviner ...] enquired:

Should [the King] command [the Subject Ruler of] Wang-yang to return [and appear again in audience]?

(ii) [On the day, ......., the Diviner ...] enquired:

Should not [the King] command [the Subject Ruler of] Wang-yang to return [and appear again in audience]?

(Yin-chui, 260 - Hsiao-t'un B, 4531 + 4820 + 4893 + 5744. 一期).

The locations of the geographical names Ming, Jo, and Wang-yang mentioned amongst the preceding passages have
not been determined; Fang in Passage 007 is probably equivalent to Fang-yi 方夷 (see Tsung-shu, pp.270-2, where Ch'en suggests this barbarian territory was located in the southern part of modern Shansi and thus ancienly in the western area of Shang). Such records of ad hoc measures proposed by the King to summon Subject Rulers to audience are plentiful in the oracle bones. They outnumber the handful of examples of 'regular' audience by more than fifty items. No doubt special summons were issued at a time of emergency. Although oracle records show no indication of their purpose, we may take into account the numerous records concerning warfare and the Royal Commands to Subject Rulers to undertake punitive and military expeditions against other States - it would seem feasible in the circumstances to assume that they were largely connected with military affairs.

The 'irregular' audiences illustrate the effectiveness of the Royal authority once 'divine approval' had been obtained per media of the oracle but more so is the King's power manifested in the 'regular' audience as a truly coercive element. Even if the latter type of audience cannot be decisively classified as 'regular' it is nevertheless evident as a customary practice of later times which in its inception and in its
successful continuation must be viewed as a manifestation of the King's authority. Moreover, such expected attendances at the Court were not dependant upon divinatory omens and portents.

One other aspect of Court attendance may be noted the record of a Subject Ruler appealing for audience:

\[\text{...} \text{王入,} \text{介绍入, 王曰入, 全入.} \]

(Wen-lu, 519. Period Two).

On the day, ... ..., the Diviner Yi enquired: Should [the King approve the Subject Ruler of] သ's [appeal] to enter [for audience]? [After studying the omen], the King said: 'Let him] enter, certainly [let him] enter'.

(Wen-lu, 519. Period Two).

This is the only instance of such a record — on an unattested item, it may be noted — in the entire oracle bone literature. Jao Tsung-yi equates သ with သ kou a Diviner in the central government.¹ Here the Subject

¹ T'ung-k'ao, pp. 910-21. Other variant forms of the archaic graphs သ and သ are discussed; note, however, both CKWP (fu-lu, 18a, 19b) and HCKWP (2.13b, fu-lu 1.29b) distinguish the two forms as different characters. Structurally it is somewhat difficult to equate these graphs thus I tentatively regard them as different.
Ruler has asked for audience of his own will, presumably to seek assistance in some matter or other.

2. Tribute Payment to the Royal Court

The payment of tribute is a particularly important ingredient of the Utopian scheme of feudalism ascribed in traditional sources to the Western Chou period - as in the case of court audiences the Vassal Princes were required to make both regular and irregular payments of tribute and the exactions were instrumented in accordance with the size of the State and its distance from the Royal Domain.¹

¹ For a detailed account see Ch'ü T'ung-tsu 鄭同祖 Chung-kuo feng-chien she-hui 中國封建社會, pp.82-9. Ch'ü discounts the more obvious Han period inspired compilations in his assessments and concentrates largely upon the Tso-chuan and occasionally seeks confirmation from bronze inscription sources. Even so, his reconstructions of various aspects of Western Chou feudalism lean much upon traditional views. Thus in dealing with the subject of tribute he is, in effect, simply ascribing to the Chou period - as did the Han period Confucian literatii - an institution perhaps vaguely remembered from Shang times. In fact, however, it was one then only recently resurrected and certainly one most effectively applied first in Han times. Ch'i Ssu-ho whose classic study of European and Chinese feudalism (YJSS vol.IV, no.1, pp.1-13) still provides the most reliable appraisal of the Chinese form of feudalism, is silent on this matter. He shows, however, as the inscriptions illustrate only too well, the contractual relationship between the Chou King and the Vassal Princes involving gifts of goods, titles and land on the one hand and the expected reciprocation of service - especially of a military nature - on the other. (Cf. also Barnard, MS (1958), vol. XVII, pp.30-3).
Bronze inscriptions of the period present practically no information on the point and although they are a form of document in which direct record of details of tribute payment would hardly be expected to occur, they nevertheless present a firm impression that 'tribute' was almost entirely in the form of service. In this respect the situation in Shang times seems to have been somewhat closer to Han than it was to Western Chou.

Tribute was a matter of some concern to the Kings of Shang and accordingly we find in the oracular records numerous references to the subject. These records take two different forms: one shows that the tribute was paid upon command of the King, the other is merely record of the ruler/representatives of certain places arriving at Court to render specified items of tribute. The former naturally fit in to the category of irregular payment of tribute; it is, however, difficult to determine whether the latter might possibly have comprised regular arrangements established between the King and the Subject Rulers. The character \(\text{ling}\) 'command' which frequently appears in such records might have been omitted for purposes of brevity and accordingly all relevant passages in the oracle bone inscriptions are to be read as demands
for tribute decreed by the Kings. Notwithstanding this elusive point in interpretation it is nevertheless clear that tribute payments - whether made at regular or irregular intervals - are in a final analysis a reflection of the effective power of the King.

Two of the characters employed in the sense of bringing tribute to the Shang Court have already been noted: 来 lai 'to come' and 入 ju 'to enter'; a third graph now requires introduction - it is normally transcribed as 氏 shih. The graph appears as or as 甸 in oracle records. There are seven interpretations to be found amongst the various commentaries: (1) Sun Yi-jang 孫誰讓 transcribes it as 巳 and reads it as 日 yi suggesting it to be equivalent to the character 已 yi 'already' (Chi-wen chü-li, vol.2, p.33); (2) Wang Hsiang 王襄 transcribes it as 氏 ti and regards it as a 'loan for 地 ti 'earth' (Fu-shih, p.56); (3) Kuo Mo-jo interprets it as 挂 ch'i and suggests such loan meanings as 'leading an army', 'destroying the enemy' and 'red

\[1\]

In Western Chou bronze inscriptions the character 令 ling and 命 ming do not seem to have been differentiated in meaning in ancient times. In oracle bone inscriptions, however, only the former 金 was used (Cf. Lo Chenchü's Tseng-ting yin-hsü shu-chi k'ao-shih, p.54).
Wu Ch'í-chang observes that it has many variations in meaning, it can be a verb and also appears as a personal or a geographical name (Yin-hsü shu-chi chieh-ku, item no. 80); (5) T'ang Lan interprets it as 氏 shih but gives it the sound 提 t'i and the meaning of 聿 ch'ieh 'to carry' (T'ien-jang, p.36); (6) Hu Hou-hsüan considers that T'ang's interpretation is the most acceptable, but regards the graph as a chia-chieh for 致 chih 'to send', 'to despatch' - thus the idea of paying tribute (Lun-ts'ung, 14, pp.54-55); (7) Jao Tsung-yi accepts Hu's theory and further observes that it could accordingly be interpreted as 至 chih 'to arrive' (T'ung-k'ao, p.181). In none of these cases, however, is the actual structure of the archaic graph properly considered. It is not identical with the character 氏, for instance (archaic 阜, 阜, etc., cf. CWP, 1597) which is the only one with anything approaching even a remote resemblance in structure to 阜 or 阜. Our graph is simply an ideograph - a 'man' (the normal graph 人 jen or 人 with an object in his 'hand'). From the context of dozens of examples of oracular records incorporating the graph 阜 it is nevertheless clear that...
the meaning is 'to bring tribute' - what we do not know is the modern character equivalent.

Articles offered as tribute are recorded in some detail:

(i) [貢令革氏三百射],
(ii) [勿令革氏三百射],

(登錄1661.第一期.)

011. (i) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired:]

Should the King command the Subject Ruler of Ch'in to submit [a tribute of] three hundred archers?

(ii) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired:]

Should not [the King] command [the Subject Ruler of] Ch'in to submit [a tribute of] three hundred archers?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 7661. Period One).

The graph ch'in appears in oracle records with a number of shape variations and in two general structural groups: (a)  and (b) . Shirakawa Shizuka

* 芦: asterisks in cases like this will be employed to indicate that the modern character form is probably not correct but is the one normally used. The modern character equivalent of the graph is unknown and the structure difficult to transpose into a modern character form. Simply as a matter of convenience in transcription the graph is thus continued to be employed.
follows Chu Fang-pu (see CKWTKS, p.5445) and transcribes this graph as $\pi$, but suggests it to be used in reference to the Hsiung clan who were descendants of the Shang Royal family. Accordingly its chief is found recorded as Tzu-ch'in (王子 'Prince Ch'in' (Ts'ang-kuei, 241.3). He also suggests that the Ch'in territory was close to the State of Cheng (i.e. in the proximity of modern Cheng-hsien, Honan). ¹

The character 射 shih is considered to have three meanings in oracle bone inscriptions: (a) 'to shoot'; (b) 'archer'; and (c) an office, i.e. the officer in command of the archers. Here the second meaning 'archers' is appropriate. This record is specifically concerned with the question as to whether the Subject Ruler of Ch'in should or should not be commanded to submit a tribute of three hundred archers - the payment of tribute was clearly not a regular arrangement here.

¹ See his study 'Indai Yūzoku Kō (3) 丘 $\pi$', Kokotsu Kimbungaku Ronsō, vol. 6, p.112.
On the day, chia-ch'en [41], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will [the Subject Ruler of] Hsi come [to render a tribute of] white horses? [After studying the omens], the King announced: [It is] auspicious, [he] will come [to render the tribute].

(Hsiao-t'un B, 3449. Period One).

The Hsi region according to Jao Tsung-yi (T'ung-k'ao, p.205) was probably somewhere near modern Hsüeh-hsien, Shangtung. It appears reasonably certain in view of this context that the King had earlier demanded the Subject Ruler of Hsi to supply a certain number of white horses, but now was uncertain as to his intentions to obey, therefore he consulted the oracle. The result of the enquiry according to the King's interpretation - was auspicious; the tribute, no doubt, would be forthcoming.

(i) (貞): 旨其來馬，
(ii) (貞: 非)不其來馬，
(iii) (貞): 旨來犬，
(iv) (貞): 旨弗其來犬，

(屯乙 5305. 第一期.)
013. (i) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:
   Will [the Subject Ruler of] Chung come [to submit a tribute of] horses?

(ii) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:
   Will not [the Subject Ruler of Chung] come [to submit a tribute of] horses?

(iii) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:
   Will [the Subject Ruler of] Chung come [to submit a tribute of] dogs?

(iv) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:
   Will not [the Subject Ruler of] Chung come [to submit a tribute of] dogs?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 5305. Period One).

The graph  has been transcribed as  by T'ang Lan (T'ien-jang, p.40; cf. also CKWP, 0271) but structurally this transcription is impossible, the archaic forms of  are as follows:  (CWP, 0256). The element chung is tentatively taken to indicate the sound of this place-name.¹ There are numerous accounts amongst the

¹ The character is usually written as  in oracle bone inscriptions (CKWP, 0038), but it appears occasionally in the simplified form  such as  (Hsiao-t'un B, 4626) and  (Hsiao-t'un A, 1581, note also other entries in CKWP under 0038) thus, my arbitrary adoption of the element (continued)
oracle records concerning a Diviner Chung (T'ung-k'ao, pp. 505-39). Of a Prince Chung 子, there is apparently only a single record (Ching-chin, 2097) and of a State (?) named Chung occasionally notice concerning tribute payment occurs (e.g. Hsiao-t'un B, 5305). It is perhaps possible that Prince Chung had occupied the post of a Diviner in the Royal Government and had then been sent out to the State of Chung to be its Subject Ruler. But for the most part we really know him only as the Diviner. In this particular record the payment of tribute seems clearly to have been expected and accordingly some prior arrangement may be surmised but interestingly there seems to be some anxiety not so much as to whether the tribute would be forthcoming but rather as to what form it would take.

014. (i) On the day, kuei-wei [20], the Diviner Ku enquired:
Will [the Subject Ruler of] Chi [come] to pay [a tribute of] Ch'iang captives?

1 (continued)

chung as the sound of this proper-name. The transcription of ku is definitely wrong - cf. also Chü Wan-li's observation: HTCPKS, p.192.
(ii) [On the day, kuei-wei, the Diviner Ku] enquired:
   Will not [the Subject Ruler of] Chi [come to pay a tribute of Ch'iang captives]?

(iii) [On the day, ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:
   Will [the Subject Ruler of] X [come] to pay [a tribute of] Ch'iang captives?

(iv) [On the day, ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:
   Will not [the Subject Ruler of X come] to pay [a tribute of] Ch'iang captives?

(Yin-chui, 241 – Hsiao-t'un B, 3793 + 3795. Period One).

On the day, yi-chou [2], the Diviner Pin enquired:
   Will [the Subject Ruler of] Shao come [to pay a tribute of] six Ch'iang captives for sacrifice?

(Ching-chin, 1095. Period One).

In the inside surface of the tortoise shell of Passage 014 is a further record: 王曰：其 'After studying the omens] the King said: [They will come] to pay [the tribute]'. It confirms that the divinations in Passage
were, in the first instance, prognostications made on behalf of the King by the Diviner Ku to see if these two Subject Rulers would come to offer Ch'iang captives as tribute. The King himself, however, read and interpreted the omens as being auspicious.\(^1\)

On the day, \textit{wu-hsū} [35], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will [the Subject Ruler of] Liu come [with a tribute payment of] three tortoises for the Grand Sacrifice?\(^2\)

\footnotesize{(Hsiao-t'un A, 3353, cf. Yi-ts'un, 991 an identical text, Period One).}

\footnotesize{(员: 又[(有)来自南人(氏)]事(龺),

(佐3470·第一期·)}

\footnotesize{^1 In the majority of cases where the matter is specifically recorded, it is the King who interprets the omens (146 cases). In only 8 examples do we find this responsibility - from which must issue the actual power of sovereignty - invested in the Diviners (Hsiao-t'un B, 6385, Ching-chin, 1599, 1601, etc.). This does not, of course, imply that all interpretation of omens was made by the King (see pp.141-42).}
017. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... , enquired]:

Will there be tribute offerings of tortoises coming from the Southern [States]?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 6670. Period One).

The character 六 liu 'six' is here employed as a place-name. Evidence for this can be seen in other records where the term 在六 tsai-liu 'in (at) Liu' appears (cf. Ning-hu, 2.26 and Hsü-pien, 3.29.2). The territory of Liu was probably located to the south of Shang, in the proximity of present liu-an-hsin 六安縣, An-hui (T'ung-k'ao, p.39). As most records of tribute payments in the form of tortoises indicate southern origins as in Passage 017 above this speculation seems well founded. In this period, apparently, tortoises were not bred in Shang or its nearby territories.

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Other records concerning the paying of tortoises as tribute coming from the south appear in Ch'ien-pien, 4.54.4 and 4.54.5 (the latter text is repeated in Lin, 2.18.8).
018. (i) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ]
enquired:
   Will [the Subject Ruler of] Hua come [to pay
   a tribute of] cattle?

(ii) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ]
enquired:
   Will not [the Subject Ruler of] Hua come [to
   pay a tribute of] cattle?

(Hsiao-t'ung B, 6964. Period One).

Wang Kuo-wei has interpreted the graph .MEDIA as 華 hua
('Yin pu-tz'u-chung so-chien ti-ming k'ao' 殷卜辞中
所見地名考, Kuan-t'ang chi-lin, p.1154) which view is
supported by Ting Shan 脩山 (Yin-Shang shih-tsu fang-kuo
chih 殷商氏族方國志 , pp.77-80). It was
probably located about 30 里 north-west of modern Lin-tzu-
hsin 臨淄縣 , Shangtung (see Hu Hou-hsüan: Lun
ts'ung, vol.1, p.6). Attention should be drawn to a Shang
Prince called Hua 于 華 (Ch'ien-pien, 2.5.4), who may
have had some connection with the State of this name.

(i)己亥卜殷曰: 尼戈 (氏) 于 (畜) (于)王:

(ii) 勿曰: 戈于 (于)王,
   (組合編144一林1.6) (遺珠1430重) + 林1.6.2 (遺
   珠1432及魚卜129重)
019. (i) On the day, chi-hai [36], the Diviner Ku enquired:
Should [the King] command that [the Subject Ruler of] Ko [come] to pay [a tribute of] ivory?

(ii) On the day, chi-hai, the Diviner Ku enquired:
Should not [the King] command that [the Subject Ruler of] Ko [come] to pay [a tribute of ivory]?

(Chui-ho-pien, 144 - Lin, 1.6.3 (appears again in Yi-chu, 1430) + Lin, 1.6.2 (appears again in Yi-chu, 1432 and Kuei-pu, 124).

020. (i) On the day, hsin-ssu [18], the Diviner Chen enquired:
Will there be a tribute of ivory?

(ii) On the day, hsin-ssu, the Diviner Chen enquired:
Will there not be a tribute of ivory?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 3379. Period One).

The territory of Ko in Passage 019 probably extended from modern Shang-ch'iu-hsien 商丘縣 , Honan, to Hua-hsien 华縣 , Shensi (T'ung-k'ao, p.192). Other than the
payment of tribute in ivory, this State is also recorded as having supplied the King with numbers of agricultural labourers (Ch'ien-pien, 7.34.2, also Hsü-ts'un, 47). This record, it may be observed, does not employ the character ling, instead yüeh 'to state' implies the King's order. In Passage 020 there is no indication of the name of the State which paid the tribute, but there seems to be little doubt that it is indeed a record of tribute offered by a State un-named - a case of abbreviation or perhaps simply a form of reference to an area in general terms, as in the previous example concerning tribute of tortoises from the Southern States.\(^1\)

As illustrated in the preceding examples, it may be noted that tribute comprised archers, captives, horses, dogs, cattle, tortoises and ivory. Archers and horses were primarily for military use although horses were also

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\(^1\) On the inner surface of this plastraon several sets of brush-written characters appear. One set is directly relevant to the record just noted and reads: 王回曰：吉，亡來齒。'The King examined the omens and stated: It is auspicious'. [But?] there will not be a tribute of ivory'. The exact meaning is not clear and a sort of contradiction results - if the omens were auspicious surely tribute would be forthcoming!
required for sacrificial purpose. Captured tribesmen from the various Fang-regions, too, were used for sacrificial purposes as well as for labour. The majority of the captives recorded in Shang time appear to have come from Ch'iang region (sometimes termed To-Ch'iang ).

The King frequently employed them in hunting expeditions - probably as beaters - and for the rearing and care of horses. For example:

On the day, ......., the Diviner ... enquired:
Should the King order the To-Ch'iang tribesmen to beat [the hunting ground for] deer?

(Ch'ien-pien, 4.48.1. Period uncertain).

1 The exact place of the horse in Shang and Chou times is not entirely clear. The following points may, however, be noted: (1) it was employed for drawing chariots but no other use was made of it as a draught animal - the chariot being, too, the only form of wheeled vehicle known in this period; (2) there is no evidence of the riding of horses; (3) as just noted, the horse was often used as a sacrificial victim.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>凳</th>
<th>Ox</th>
<th>羊</th>
<th>sheep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>犬</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>猪</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>馬</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>麋</td>
<td>deer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>麂</td>
<td>baby deer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鼠</td>
<td>mouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>象</td>
<td>rhinoceros</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>虎</td>
<td>tiger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>象</td>
<td>elephant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9. Pictographic representations of animals frequently recorded in the oracle bones. The majority of these are taken from Hsiao-t'un examples. (After CKWP and HCKWP, cf. also Ting Su, Chung kuo wen-tzu, vols 21 & 22).
022. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired:

Should the King] order the To-Ch'i-ang tribesmen to beat [the hunting ground for] the young deer, will we be successful?¹

(Hsü-pien, 4.29.2. Period uncertain).

023. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:

Should [the King] order the To-Ch'i-ang tribesmen to take care of the horses?

(Lin, 2.15.15. Period uncertain).

Evidence relating to human sacrifice in Shang time is strikingly provided by the large number of remains of

¹ It will be observed that two slightly different graphs appear in Passages 021 and 022 for 'deer' - one with antlers, one without. For a detailed study on animals and the varieties known to the Shang and as recorded in pictographs in the oracular script see Ting Su's series of studies Chung-kuo wen-tzu, vols. 21 and 22. For convenient reference a brief list may be consulted in Figure 9.
human skeletons unearthed from tombs which situation coincides with relevant records in oracle bone texts of human sacrifices made in connection with the worship of the Royal Ancestors and homage to the gods. According to Shih Chang-ju 什璋如 human sacrifice was characteristic not only of Royal burials, but also was associated on a large scale with the completion of large building constructions such as palaces. The number of sacrificial victims despatched in the latter cases was usually greater than that involved in Royal burials. For instance, the large building in area 6 of Hsiao-t'un involved human sacrifices amounting to at least 585 persons. The medium size Royal tomb HPKM 1500 excavated at Hsi-pei-kang 西北岡 contained of a total number of 111 human skeletons comprising mainly males aged about 20 years and some females and young children. In 1950, the Academy of Science excavated a large tomb at Wu-kuan-ts'un 武官村 in Anyang, where in a dozen or so female sacrificial victims were found in a pit to the west of the tomb. In the same year, skeletons of several young children were also discovered at Ssu-p'an-mo-ts'un
Although the identity of these sacrificial victims cannot be established from associated remains, it is noteworthy that the majority of those recorded in the oracle bones were captives from the Ch'iang region. Accordingly, the sacrificial victims found in the tombs may be assumed to have originated also from the Ch'iang territory:

024. On the day, ping tzu [13], the Diviner Ku enquired:

The Ch'iang tribesmen [received as] tribute today - must they not be offered in the sacrifices?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 7201. Period One).

1 Detailed reports on the above-mentioned excavations can be found in Hsin-chung-kuo ti k'ao-ku shou-huo 新中国的考古收获, pp.49-50. For further details about the human sacrifice in Shang times, see Wu ch'i-ch'ang's 吳其昌 'Yin-tai jen-chi-k'ao' (Ch'ing-hua chou-k'an 清華周刊, vol.37, 9 and 10).

2 In addition to the general term yung: 用牲 yung-sheng 'to offer in sacrifice' human sacrifices were also offered in the 須 Yü Ceremony (Hsiao-t'un A, 2491), the 伐 Fa Ceremony (Hsiao-t'un A, 795), the Ku Ceremony (Fu-sui, 24), the 釵 Pin Ceremony (Chih-hsü, 47), the 聿 Hsieh Ceremony (Kuei-pu, 13) and the 長 Cheng Ceremony (Fu-ti, 143). In most of these examples the victims comprised Ch'iang people.
Furthermore, there is specific record of female Ch'iang captives in oracle bones (e.g. Hsiao-t'un B, 1763 but the final text of the divination is not complete).

An interesting problem arises however: the Shang fought with many States and Regions other than the Ch'iang, as a consequence records of captives should list a greater variety of peoples. That this is not the case is possibly due to the Ch'iang being an extremely warlike nomadic tribe, who frequently raided the Shang territories. Accordingly they provided an ample and convenient source of sacrificial victims by drawing upon themselves punitive expeditions from many of the Subject States. Amongst the oracular records a considerable number of Ch'iang captives used in sacrifice may be noted: 300 (Yi-ts'un, 570), 100 (Ts'ui-pien, 190), 50 (Hsiao-t'un B, 918) and many other records ranging from 30 to a mere handful of captured tribesmen and of each there are several different records comprising the same totals, e.g. there are 4 records of totals of 300 Ch'iang tribesmen (Yi-ts'un, 570; Hsü-pien, 2.16.3; Yen-ta, 245; and Menzies, 908). Over and above these, there are almost 50 items recording sacrifices of Ch'iang tribesmen without specifying the exact number. Noting therefore that as many as 300 Ch'iang tribesmen were sacrificed in religious and ancestral ceremonies it
would not be surprising to find totals of 500 or more in appropriate cases such as those resulting from excavations as cited above. There seems to be little reason to doubt that the Ch'iang territory was regarded as a source of supply of sacrificial victims by the Subject Rulers who sent them as tribute to City Shang.

Tortoise shells were an indispensable item in the process of divination. Tortoises were not, however, bred in Shang territories or in the immediate surrounding areas. Consequently the main source of supply was in the form of tribute from the Subject States. Both oracle records and classical sources reveal that tortoises came mainly from the south and according to the latter a small portion of them came from the west. Hu Hou-hsüan has discussed this subject at length (Lun-ts'ung, 15, pp.1-23). Oxen and dogs were used in sacrifices and the latter frequently in connection with human burials. Furthermore, the bones of the ox also played an important part in the practice of divination. Thus these animals, too, appear as articles of tribute supplied to the City Shang. Ivory which figures prominently in the relevant records was probably
Figure 10. A representation of an elephant on an ox scapula excavated at Hsiao-t'un, Third Excavation (1930), by Academia Sinica. (After Hsiao-t'un A).
used chiefly for ornaments, and thus was simply a luxury commodity.¹

In addition to the above records of tribute incorporated in the oracular texts, there are other forms of relevant records wherein are registered the quantities of tribute from various places and the endorsements of certain recipients. These are termed Chih-shih k'o-tz'u 'incised memoranda' and appear on tusks and finely carved ivory have been several times unearthed during the scientific excavations conducted by Academia Sinica. Details concerning such discoveries have been reported in Anyang fa-chüeh pao-kao, (see Li Chi: 'Anyang tsui-chin fa-chüeh pao-kao chi-liu-tz'u kung-tso-chih ts'ung-ku-chi 安陽最近發掘報告六次工作之總估計, vol.4, pp.565, 567). The largest item, amongst those excavated, is now on exhibition at the Academia Sinica Museum in Nankang. Another decoratively engraved ivory (unprovenanced) is in the British Museum. It is conveniently illustrated in William Watson's Early Civilization in China (p.55). Not only ivory, but also an elephant jaw-bone has been unearthed (cf. Li's article above, pp.567-8). In oracle bone inscriptions, the character 'elephant' appears as a pictograph written in the following shapes: 

Furthermore, there is an interesting picture drawn on an ox bone unearthed during the Third Excavation at Anyang by the Academia Sinica (see Figure 10). Though the drawing is very primitive, there is no doubt that it is a picture of an elephant. Accordingly, it seems reasonable to assume that there were elephants in the vicinity of Anyang in Shang times, or if they were not actually indigenous to Anyang, they may have been brought to the Shang capital from far afield, otherwise we must assume that the tusks and even the jaw-bone may merely have been imported as a result of trade or tribute. Whatever the case it is obvious that the bone carver of the ox scapular in Figure 10 really knew what an elephant looked like.
Figure 11. The locations of 'incised memoranda' comprising records of receipt of tribute payments with the place of origin noted (1) and the signature of the official who received the tribute (2). (After Hu Hou-hsüan's 'Wu-Tingshih wu-chung ch'i-shih k'o-tzu').
tortoise shell and bones. They were usually carved on special places in the carapace (see Figure 11) and on the edges of bones. The itemization is represented by the graph \(|\) or \(|\) (sometimes abbreviated to: \(|\)). Sometimes the graph is omitted, and only the amount is recorded. At other times, even the amount is not stated, but only a note of the arrival of tribute from a certain place. There are five interpretations of this graph and the associated records:

(1) In an early study T'ung Tso-pin proposed the meaning of mou: 'mou-spearhead', and that the records concerned the distribution of these bronze weapons to the various outposts and garrisons (see his 'Chou-mao-shuo', Anyang Report, vol.4); (2) Kuo Mo-jo considers it to mean pao 'a parcel' - whenever two bones had been utilized, they were parcelled together and were then inspected by the King or a Minister and later stored (Ts'ui-pien k'ao-shih, p.203). (3) T'ang Lan considers that it is the inverted form of the graph (和) and thus they are records concerning sacrifice (Yi-ts'un Preface, p.3). (4) Yü Hsing-wu suggests that this graph means a piece of silk or cloth and the records are about the bestowal of silk or cloth (Shuang-chien, pp.1a-4b). (5) Hu Hou-hsüan
Table I  A: The Subject Rulers recorded in the oracular texts who rendered tribute to the Kings of Shang.

B: The officers who signed records of receipt of tribute payments – these were mainly Diviners. See Table II for explanation of code letters and reference numbers; the characters below each of the above groups are proper-names but unaccompanied by title of rank in the records.
has collected all such records which total: 273 entries incised in the bridge section of the plastrons (甲橋刻辭), 37 in the tail sections (甲尾刻辭), 13 in carapaces (背甲刻辭), 177 in the sockets (glenoid cavities) of scapulae (肩臼刻辭) and 25 along the edge and immediate surface of scapulae (骨面刻辭). This comprehensive survey 'Wu-Ting-shih wu-chung ch'i-shih k'o-tz'u' (Lun—ts'ung, 14.) is particularly important in providing us with useful data for assessing the significance of this graph. Hu is of the opinion that the graph  is a pictographic form of the tortoise and that the records concern the tribute of tortoises from various regions in the Wu Ting Period. In my own view, I am inclined to think that Hu's interpretation is the most acceptable but it is difficult to concur with his interpretation of  as a tortoise. If anything, the graph may simply mean 'an item' and thus refer to the shells upon which it is written. According to Hu's estimate there were 105 Subject States with such records of their tribute (those endorsement#ed by Court Officials on receipt of the tribute amount to 16 cases). These together with the records incorporated in oracular texts, amount to a total number of about 115 tribute paying areas (Table I). Many of these areas were
probably only small districts, or even small villages, nevertheless, the Table does present, in terms of the multitudinous geographical names above, interesting light on the extent of the Shang King's authority. So numerous were the tribute-paying areas that one cannot but presuppose a complex system of supervision and a strong central power holding practically uncontested sway over the States subject to it.

3. Royal Power in the Military Sphere

Surrounding the Shang States were a number of barbarian tribal territories usually termed Fang (方). These together with certain recalcitrant Subject States constituted a considerable threat to the stability of Shang. According to classical sources, since the time of the Distant Ancestors up to the reign of Ch'eng-t'ang, Shang had changed the location of its capital

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1 This term embraces the earliest recorded rulers of Shang who appear in literary sources from Chi 契 first of the Shang sovereigns up to T'ien-yi 夷 the 14th. The first seven do not appear at all in oracle bone texts but from Wei 微 (上甲 Shang-chia) onwards records appear in our archaeological sources. For full treatment of this subject see Table 6 in my survey Shang-Yin ti-wang pen-chi, pp.18-19 and also pp.30-42.
eight times (each of which involved large scale movements). After Ch'eng-t'ang ascended the throne, another five changes of location were made. When P'an-keng finally moved his capital to the site of present-day Anyang, no further movements occurred over the remainder of the dynastic period. Possibly these moves were sometimes necessitated by natural calamities. However, the major factor was in all probability the result of external pressure. Oracle records reveal that the largest threat to Shang territories lay mainly in the west, north and east. To the south there was no really strong opponent (Kuo Mo-jo: T'ung-tsuan, p.549). The chief danger came from Chou  and the Fang Yi, Ch'i-fang and T'u-fang in the north-west, Pu (?) in the north (or north-west), Kuei-fang in the north-east and the Tung Yi in the east. References to these Regions occur both in the

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1 Details concerning the movements of Shang capital may be studied in Wang Kuo-wei's 'Shuo tzu-chi chih-yü Ch'eng-t'ang pa-ch'ien', 'Shuo-Shang', 'Shuo-po', 'Shuo-keng' and 'Shuo-Yin' (cf. Kuan-t'ang chi-lin pp.515-525) and H.G. Creel's Studies in Early Chinese Culture (p.138) which offers a particularly valuable appraisal covering the preceding and other sources of comparable calibre.
classics and oracular records. Amongst these, Chou was in time to become the conqueror of Shang and the Tung Yi was the target of invasion of the last monarch of the Shang Dynasty, Chou Wang 紂王. Records concerning the latter are numerous in the oracle bone texts. The same sources also reveal that Chi-fang, T'u-fang, Pu, Kuei-fang, etc. were constantly at variance with Shang. Under such pressing circumstances, and with the threat of war ever-present on three sides, the Shang King often was engaged in leading attacks against these danger spots, and frequently ordered the Subject Rulers to accompany him, or even to take his place, on such expeditions. There are more than a hundred of such records in the oracle bones. The following examples are representative:

(a) Royal Commands Requiring the Subject Rulers to go on Military Expeditions:

辛亥卜吉員今 菨(壽)又(氏)至(之)女(女)命(即)御

(屯甲3539,第一期)

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1 For details concerning each of these Regions see: Tsung-shu, pp.270-2 [周方,方象]; T'ang Lan: T'ien-jang p.54 [方象]; Tsung-shu, pp.272-3 [土方]; T'ung-tsuan, p.152b [東方]; Kuan-t'ang, pp.583-606 [鬼方]; T'ung-tsuan, p.569 and Li Ya-nung 李亞農 Yin-jen-chai shih-lun-chi, p.408 [東夷].
On the day, *hsin-hai* [48], the Diviner Chung enquired:

Should [the King] command the [Subject Ruler of] Kou, to despatch Chüeh to withstand the Fang (forces) at Chih?

(*Hsiao-t'\un A, 3539. Period One*).

The interpretation of the graph as 致 'to send' 'to despatch' has already been observed above (cf. also Passage 027 below); it might also function in contexts of this kind as a geographical name. Chüeh and Chih are names of distant locations, the latter being an area situated within the former. The original location of these three areas is not exactly known, but judging from the above record and the fact that the Fang (Fang Yi) was a western opponent of Shang it would appear that the three places were situated in this general direction.

On the day, *chi-ch'ou* [50], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Should [the King] command [the Subject Ruler of] Yüeh to make a surprise attack against the Ch'i-fang? It was the tenth month.

(*Hopkins, 525; cf. Chien-pien, 6.30.2. Period One*).
According to Shirakawa Shizuka, Yüeh was probably situated between north Honan and south-east Shan-tung (KKR, 8.84). The phrase 撲伐 pu-fa 'a surprise attack' would appear to indicate a very close relationship between the Subject Ruler of Yüeh and the Royal Court - the King's role as the major military commander is well suggested here.

027. On the day, hsin-ch'ou [38], the Diviner Pin enquired:
   Should [the King] tomorrow command [the Subject Ruler of] Ko to despatch troops to attack the Ch'i-fang, will it be harmful? It was the 13th month.
   (Hopkins, 522. Period One).

028. On the day, ping-yin [38], the Diviner Cheng enquired:
   Should [the King] command [the Subject Ruler of] Lung-[fang] and Hsien and the Marquise of Chuan to invade Pu[?]
   (Hsiao-t'un B, 2000. Period One).
In Passage 028, apart from Pu which Kuo Mo-jo suggests was located to the north of Shang, (\textit{T'ung-tsuan}, p.112), nothing is known about the others. However, there seems to be a connection between Lung-fang and the Hsiung-nu (this term being of course the name applied to certain Turki tribes only since the Han dynasty.)

Accordingly, the domains of Hsien and of the Marquis Chuan might be also in the north of Shang.

On the day, \textit{ping}-hsü [23], the Diviner Cheng enquired:

\textbf{Should [the King] command the San-tsu [to follow=] join forces with Chih-chih [in the invasion of] T'eu-fang, will the venture be successful?}

\textit{(Hsiao-t'un A, 948. Period One).}

The \textit{San-tsu} 'the Three Clans' is one of a series of terms (\textit{e.g. Wu-\textit{tsu} 五族, the 'Five Clans'; Wang-\textit{tsu} 王族, the 'Royal Clans'; the To-\textit{tzu-\textit{tsu} 多子族, the 'Clans of the Princes'\textit{)}) whose exact definition is difficult to
assess, \(^1\) Chü Wan-li following Ch'en Meng-chia (cf. Tsung-shu, p.497) accepts the thesis that they are clans (see HTCPKS, p.145). As such it would appear reasonable to regard them as plural terms embracing two or more Subject Rulers. The point is discussed in further detail later (pp.319-20). Chih-chih ㄓ lector was the famous general in Wu Ting Period, who took part in expeditions against the T'u-fang, the Pa-fang (卭 = 阿方) and the Ch'i-fang, and held the title of 伯 po 'Earl'. The high esteem in which he was held by the King is amply illustrated by Chang Ping-ch'uan (Hsiao-t'un C, pp.30-34). The King here divines in respect to the outcome of a military expedition in a context that illustrates very clearly indeed his authority, not only over the forces of the San-tsu, but also he could, in effect, freely nominate the leader of the expedition. This would appear to indicate, too, a significant delegation of authority — in the field Chih-chih being supreme commander would actually be practically equal in authority to the King himself.

\(^1\) Upon the basis of the 'Yin-pen-chi' of the Shih-chi and other traditional sources, Jao Tsung-yi considers the character tzu to be the surname of the Shang Royal Family and suggests that the term to-tzu-tsu means 'the many clans of the Tzu Family — i.e. the Royal Family' (T'ung-k'ao, p.569).
On the day hsin-ssu [18], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Should [the King] command [the Subject Ruler of] Ch'iao to invade Sang?

On the day, hsin-ssu, the Diviner Ku enquired:

Should [the King] command [the Subject Ruler of] Ch'iao to invade Ku?

(Yin-chui, 249 - Hsiao-t'un B, 4380 + 4919 + 5163 + 5177 + 5193. Period One).

Ch'iao was one of the most important Subject States in the period. There are approximately 500 oracular records concerning it. Ting Shan takes its location as being near to present Ying-tse-hsien in north-east Honan (Yin-shang shih-ssu fang-kuo-chih, p.125). Its ruler frequently served in expeditions under the King and had been granted the title of Marquis (Ch'ien-pien, 5.9.3). He is also recorded as being present at Royal sacrificial ceremonies. Wu Ting even gave him blessing and enquired about his health (Hsiao-t'un B, 5347). Sang was probably located to the east of modern Wen-hsiang-hsien in the very west of Honan (T'ung-k'ao, p.193). The
location of Ku has not been determined. It is, however, believed that it was in the same general area as Sang but appreciably distant from Sang, otherwise Ch'iao could have attacked both states at the same time and it would not have been necessary to consult the oracle as to which State should be dealt with first.

(b) Commands Issued to Subject Rulers to Accompany the King on Military Expeditions:

Examples of these are fairly rare and they often omit the character ling and refer to the Subject Rulers concerned as 'following', i.e. 'joining forces with' the King, or in some contexts simply that the King 'accompany' the Subject Rulers or vice versa.

031. (i) On the day, ...-hai, the Diviner Ku enquired: Should the King and Shih, Earl of Yang, join forces in the invasion of the Yi-[fang]?

(ii) [On the day, ...-hai, the Diviner Ku] enquired: Should the King and the Marquis Kao join forces in the invasion of the Yi[-fang]?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 2871. Period One).
032. (i) On the day, *kuei-ch'ou* [50] the Diviner Heng enquired:

Should the King accompany [the Subject Ruler of] Hsi to invade Pa [-fang]?

(ii) On the day, *kuei-ch'ou*, the Diviner Heng enquired:

Should [the King] accompany Wang-ch'eng to invade Hsia-wei?

(*Hsiao-t'ung B*, 7741. Period One).

In these two passages the contexts lack the character 阳 but the meaning is implied. It is evident that the regions Yi-fang, Pa-fang and Hsia-wei were causing disturbances along the Shang border and Wu Ting was preparing to lead forces personally to subdue them. In Passage 031 he wished to decide which of two Subject Princes should accompany him with their forces in an attack against the one general area. In Passage 032 two areas of trouble required his attention but he could not attend to both at once. The question tabled for divination was which of two courses of action should be given priority. The locations of the Regions Pa-fang and Hsia-wei and the States Hsi and Wang would appear to be in
the same general area. Wang-ch'eng was a Subject Ruler who repeatedly undertook punitive expeditions against the Hsia-wei on behalf of the Shang King (Hsiao-t'un C, p.30). That the Shang King was unable to subdue the two Regions at the same time seems to indicate they were fairly far apart. Accordingly the two States were probably similarly disposed, Wang in the vicinity of the Hsiao-wei Region and Hsi close to the Pa-fang.

Upon perusal of the oracular records cited in this Chapter one gains the impression that the Kings of Shang were generally in a position to exercise firm control over the Subject States. The Rulers of the Subject States came to City Shang to attend Court from time to time, they paid tribute, they were obliged to conduct punitive expeditions against disobedient States, and to render various services at the Court. We do not, however, know whether the relevant divinations finally turned out in favour of the Royal enquiries thus the full extent of the Royal authority cannot really be assessed. Other aspects of the probable extent of Royal authority will be noted amongst later cited oracle bone passages - these simply confirm the main observation here: it was a form of autocracy apparently dependant upon supernatural guidance to a certain degree per media of the divination ceremony.
CHAPTER TWO

I  THE PRINCES

II  THE FU-X LADIES

Table II : 79-90
Table III : 117-126
I. THE PRINCES

The character  Tử tzu which exhibits a few slight variations in shape, namely 莊, 莊, 莊, 莊, 莊, 莊, is employed with either one of two meanings: (a) as the sixth branch of the ti-chi duo-decimal series (now written as 歲 ssu:¹ (b) as 'son' apparently in the sense of a Royal off-spring. The latter meaning is the main point of discussion in this section and although some degree of uncertainty may attend aspects of this interpretation of tzu, the term is rendered hereafter as 'Prince' or simply as 'Tzu'. In the oracular records, tzu followed by a proper name (sometimes the order is reversed) is frequently found:

贞: 子 瑄 (商) 其出 (疾),
(毛 4938, 一期.)

¹ It should, however, be noted that the modern form of the Twelve branches which is 子 tzu was actually written as (cf. HCKWP, 14.17).
033. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired:
   Is] Tsu-Shang (the Prince Shang) getting ill?
   (Hsiao-t'un B, 4938. Period One).

034. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired:
   Should the King] command Tzu-Hsiao (the Prince Hsiao) [to go to the] west?
   (Hsiao-t'un B, 5323. Period One).

035. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ]
   enquired:
   On the next day yi-ch'ou [2, Should the King] command Tzu-Ch'un (the Prince Ch'un) [to conduct] the Yu Ceremony in [honour of] Fu-Yi?
   (Hsü-pien, 1.30.4. Period One).
036.  (i) On the day, *jen-wu* [19, the Diviner ...] enquired:

Will Wu-Tzu (the Prince Wu) be in favour?

(ii) On the day, *jen-wu* [19, the Diviner ...] enquired:

Will not Wu-Tzu be in favour?  [After studying the omen, the King announced]: He will surely not be in favour.

(Hsiao-t'ʻun A, 3000. Period One).

The combinations Tzu-Shang, Tzu-Hsiao, Tzu-Ch'un and the reversed Wu-Tzu, are generally taken to be the names of Princes of the Royal Family. Tung Tso-pin was the first to draw attention to such title-name combinations and his theory has been accepted by all oracle bone scholars. When he wrote his 'Chia-ku-wen tuan-tai yen-chiu-li' in 1932, the number of names of Princes he determined totalled 22.¹ Twenty of them, he suggested, were sons of

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¹ Tung observed that in the same way as references to the deceased ancestors and grandparents ( 祖 tsu and 父 pi) and to the deceased parents ( 父 fu and 母 mu) were made, in effect, from the King himself at the time of the divination record, so too, must have been the references to 妻 fu 'wife' and 子 tzu 'son'.

(continued)
Wu Ting (items 1-20 in Table II). While as to the remaining two, the Princes Mei and Tzu ( Meadow ) he was unable to allocate them to any particular period. Hu Hou-hsüan regards them all to have been sons of Wu Ting (Lun-ts'ung, 2. pp.8b-9a). Shima Kunio has since doubled the number (Inkyo, pp.442-51) and lists 126 Princes. He has apportioned them amongst the Four Periods: 83 in Period One, 10 in Period Two, 2 in Period Three, and 43 in Period Four. With the exception of the combinations 周, 孫, 子, 子 and 北子 which are not acceptable, 子 and Tzu-Ta which is merely the equivalent of 大 Tzu-Ta, and 及子 Chi-Tzu which is the equivalent of 及 Tzu-Chi, the exact number in Shima's

1 (continued)
These naturally must have been the King's living relatives (p.378). We may note amongst the examples Tung cites, furthermore, the frequent association of the Princes with sacrificial ceremonies devoted to the Royal Forebears, one of several circumstances which do, indeed, seem to support his theory.

1 In each period, however, it may be noted that he has duplicated the names of Princes appearing in later or earlier periods: one Period Two Prince is located also in Period One together with nine from Period Four, in Period Two are two Period Four names, in Period Three nine names from Period One and two from Period Two appear. The numbers given above are corrected totals.
listing is actually 117. A rather unusual anomaly

These nine names are individually unique. The first combination comprises the only two characters to appear on a small fragment and they occur, moreover, in horizontal line (Hsiao-t'un B, 1056. Period uncertain). In oracular records, practically all the texts are engraved vertically (only a very few exceptions are completely incised horizontally, e.g. Hsiao-t'un B, 6385 and 6425). Since there is a lack of context on this fragment, the possibility that these two isolated characters are a combination forming a title-name is very doubtful. The second combination appears in Fu-cha, 69 (Period One); the character 穆 mu, is used, in oracle bone inscriptions, only as the noun 'Mother' (in the sense of 'deceased mother' only) and as the negative particle 'do not'. Furthermore, the preceding character which Shima takes to be 子 tzu is obscure, it is not certain whether it is actually tzu. As regards the third title-name, the whole content of the original record is:

丙辰卜吉: 由羊子伐?
(屯甲3047, 期未明.)

On the day, ping-ch'en [53], the Diviner Shih enquired:
[Should the King command] Yang-Tzu to attack...?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 3047. Period uncertain).

According to normal word-usage in oracle bone inscriptions, the character fa in this record can only be a verb 'to attack' and it would be followed by the name of a State or a place. Shima has obviously made a slip here. Similar errors are also made in respect of the combinations 子 and 子子. The original text of the former is:

(continued)
attends Shima's chronological allocations. He suggests that the Princes Yü, Yang, Shang, Ta, Hua, Hsiao, Sung, and lived through Period One to Period Four. The interval between these two periods is, however, no less than two hundred years - rather too long a span of life even for man of antiquity. On the other hand, it is hardly possible that all the Princes were the off-spring of the one Shang sovereign, Wu Ting, as Hu Hou-hsüan has

(continued)

On the day, kuei-hai [60], the Diviner Chü enquired:
Is not Tzu-Kung getting ill?
(Yi-ts'un, 921. Period Two).

and that of the latter is as follows:

On the day, wu-ch'en [5], the Diviner Wei enquired:
Should Tzu-Ch'in conduct the Chüeh Ceremony?
(Ts'ang-kuei, 241.3. Period One).

are respectively misreadings of: (Hsiao-t'un B, 3094), (Hsiao-t'un B, 6273) and (Ts'ung-kuei, 164.1). As regards , it is a misreading of which Shima has listed earlier! Since 1958 when Shima's survey was published in book-form new instances of names of Tzu have appeared - I have collected now a total of 134 such names to date (see Table II).
suggested. Until a complete and fully acceptable chronological system can be established for Shang, it is wiser to leave such aspects of the problem open and avoid fruitless speculation. I will therefore discuss only the status and duties of the Princes in connection with the Royal Government.

1. As Rulers of Subject States: Several scholars have suggested that Shang was a feudal society upon the assumption that there is evidence in the oracle records indicating that the Princes were appointed, or enfeoffed, as Subject Rulers. Hu Hou-hsüan uses it as a major argument in his Chapter on the subject (Lun-ts'ung, 1. pp. 1-41). However, as I have demonstrated in the Concluding Remarks there is little evidence of a feudal organisation in Shang times, although some precursors of the later form of Chou feudalism might occasionally be postulated. There are certainly no records of the enfeoffment of Princes as Subject Rulers by the Kings. But, amongst the names of States and Regions there are some which are identical with the names of Princes such as Ta-fang 大方 (Hsiao-t'un B, 121 + 229) Pang-fang 彭 (Hsiao-t'un A, 2902), Hsüan-fang 順方 (Ts'ui-pien, 193) etc. which accord with the Princely
names Tzu-Ta, Tzu-Pang, Tzu-Hsüan etc. It might perhaps seem feasible that the latter were concurrently the Subject Rulers of these States and accordingly it could be assumed that in the divinatory records Kings employed such State-names in reference to these particular Princes. It is not known, however, whether such appointments - if indeed they were appointments - had anything in common with the later feudal organisation of Western Chou. There is no indication of length of tenure, whether it was hereditary, or was it merely a temporary appointment - we do not know even if the Kings had the power to terminate the tenureship of the Subject Rulers to their titles and territory at any time.

Amongst a total of 134 Princes we may simply observe that there are records of 25 cases of identity with the names of States and Regions (see Table II). The possibility that some administrative or political connection existed seems reasonable but the nature of any such connection cannot be reconstructed. If we take into consideration the possible significance of negative evidence, it must be deemed remarkable that on no occasion amongst the oracular texts presently available does there appear record of the Kings seeking guidance from the Gods and the Ancestors in regard to such essential matters as appointments to Royal rank or to official posts.
2. **As Diviners:** There are numerous instances amongst the oracular records of both Princes and Diviners with identical names. It would seem logical to assume that a close connection existed between the two and that the Princes would have been amongst those appointed to this position. In the Royal Court, the post of Diviner was apparently superior to all others and certainly one of the most important, accordingly, it would not be unexpected to find the Princes figuring prominently as Diviners. There is, furthermore, good reason to believe that they might have been a major source from which new Diviners were chosen. Such celebrated and extensively recorded Diviners as Pin, Chung, Hsüan, Wei, Chung, Ta, Hsiung, K'uo, Yin, Ho, etc. appear also with the title Tzu which they probably held prior to their becoming Diviners and possibly concurrently thereafter. A total of 20 Princes whose names may be paralleled with Diviners are known - although only 15 per cent of the whole Diviner group, the fact that the bulk of these comprise names which are identical with those of the best known Diviners is, no doubt, a significant situation.

3. **As Marquises and Earls:** Amongst the Princes, there are several cases of parallel names with the titles of
Marquis and of Earl. These will be discussed in detail in the later sections dealing especially with the two titles. For the moment we may simply note that there are 7 instances of identity in the case of Marquis and 1 for Earls.

4. **As Officials placed in charge of Sacrificial Ceremonies:** The Ceremonies to the Ancestors were amongst the more important of the royal activities in Shang times. Their significance is evident from the large number of records concerning them and the variety of forms they took; also from the great number of animals as well as of human beings used in sacrifice. The Ceremonies were mostly conducted by the Kings themselves; normally, the Princes and the various officials were only spectators. In some cases, however, they were placed in charge of the Ceremonies at the King's order, and most of those so directed were the Princes.
On the day, ān-ch'èn [29], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Should [the King] command the Prince ān, to conduct the Yü and the Yu Ceremonies to [our] late Mother and to Fu-Yi, with sheep to be slaughtered [in sacrifice] and to read out the sacrificial items [namely]: a slave, 3 sheep and 5 Ritual Dances?

On the day, yi-ssu [42], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Should [the King] command the Prince An, to conduct the Yu Ceremony to the Ancestors [with sacrifices of] sheep?

(Hsiao-t'ūn B, 6732. Period One).

The two graphs 衽: 衽: 侮 yu and 衽: 衽: 侮 yū refer to two different kinds of Ceremonies the nature of which is not exactly understood.¹ According to

¹ The graph 衽 yu is suggested by Sun Yi-jang to be 衽 'go' with the special meaning of 'proceeding to the Ancestral Temple to make sacrifices' and by Hu Hsiao-shih 衽小石 as 衽 (:id) 'to communicate' i.e. 'communicating with the Ancestors per media of prayers during the process of the ceremony' (cf. CKWTCS, pp.2259-63). As regards the graph 衽 yū, interpretations have been given by nearly a score of scholars including Sun Yi-jang, Wen Yu 萬 , Yang Shu-ta, Ch'en Meng-chia, etc. The interpretations themselves, too, are equally numerous and various, such as: 'sacrifice with wine', 'welcome to the one who impersonates the deceased Ancestor', 'prayers for good health', 'prayers relating to child birth', etc. (cf. CKWTCS, pp.0584-92). It would seem sufficiently evident thus that the original meaning of such Ceremonies as these is beyond our resources to define with any degree of certainty.
Li Hsiao-ting the graph 耷:篭:½ kao or ts'e has the two meanings 'ceremony' and 'to read out [from a ritual programme]' (CKWTCS, pp.1605-06). In the divination in Passage 037 (i), the context supports this interpretation particularly well. Yu Hsing-wu has explained the graph 象 as 象 = 斬 cho, with the meaning of 'slaughter' or 'cut' (Shuang-chien, 3, pp.27-30). The graph 象:篭 lao depicts one (or more) sheep in a pen—probably held in readiness for sacrificial purposes (?)(cf. CKWTCS, 313-16 and 1347-48). The graph 舞:舞 wu 'to dance' may be employed here either as a verb or as a noun 'dancer' thus 舞 五 might be taken to mean that either five dancers were offered in sacrifice or five Ritual Dances were performed in honour of the Forebears mentioned. The latter meaning seems to be the more appropriate one in the present context. The various details recorded in the above text present us thus with some vague though interesting insight into the general character of the ceremonies and associated ritual.
038. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ] enquired:
Should [the King] command the Prince Ta to conduct the Chu Ceremony [in honour] of Fu-Chia with [the sacrifice of] an ox?

(Hsiao-t'un C, 117 - Hsiao-t'un B, 2452 + 2508 + 2631 + 3094 + 3357 + 3064 + 7258 + 8064 + 8479. Period One).

(頁)：乎子商府(爵)出(有)且，
(屯內133, 第一期.)

039. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired:
Should the King] command the Prince Shang to conduct the Chüeh Ceremony?

(Hsiao-t'un C, 33 - Hsiao-t'un B, 4835 + 5473 + 6401 + 4825 + 4940 + 5474 + 5636 + 13.0.10943. Period One).

(頁)：羽(翌)乙酉，乎子商數伐于父乙，
(續編1.28.9. 第一期.)

040. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:
On the next day, yi-yu [22, Should the King] command the Prince Shang to conduct the Yung and the Fa Ceremony [in honour of] Fu-Yi?

(Hsü-pien, 1.28.9. Period One).
The graph is sometimes written as 諧 (祝) chu, it is a pictograph with the meaning, suggested by both Kuo Mo-jo and Wang Heng-yü, of 'kneeling down [in prayer] in front of a sacrificial table' (cf. CKWTCS, pp.0083-84).

The graph 祈 (禱) chüeh, is also a pictograph showing a hand holding a chüeh-wine-cup; accordingly, it would appear to have the meaning 'to sacrifice with wine' (cf. CKWTCS, pp.1757-58). The graph (伐) fa, too, is also a pictograph depicting a ko -dagger-axe lodged in a human body. It is usually employed in the sense of 'attack' in records concerning warfare. When it is employed in association with ceremonies, it then is considered to have the meaning of 'military dancing' (cf. CKWTCS, pp.2657-62).

As regards to the graph 酒 or 酒, it is suggested by both Lo Chen-yü and Sun Yi-jang to be 酒 chiu, and by Yeh Yu-shen to be 酒 yung. Both characters have the same meaning: 'to sacrifice with wine' (cf. CKWTCS, pp.4396-4400). It would be evident in view of the notes presented in these pages on the nature or identification of the Ceremonies that a rather large degree of speculation is involved. There is little else that can be done - the normal procedure of seeking parallel terms and phrases in the traditional literature must be accepted or at least placed on record until such
time as further more relevant archaeological evidence is discovered.

There are altogether 47 Princes recorded in connection with ceremonial functions such as those cited above. So far as it is possible to ascertain the periods in which they belong, twelve of this group seem later than Period One.

5. As Military Commanders: Several of the Princes had duties which involved their participation in warfare. Of the Princes concerned it is Tzu-Shang who has the largest number of relevant records. The following are representative:

(i) 先未卜内貞：子商伐山(糾基)方岳，

(ii) 先未卜內貞：子商弗其伐基方岳。

(殷録178-毛乙2065+2108，第一期.)

041. (i) On the day, kuei-wei [20], the Diviner Nei enquired:
Should Tzu-Shang attack Chi-fang and Fou?

(ii) On the day, kuei-wei, the Diviner Nei enquired:
Should not Tzu-Shang attack Chi-fang and Fou?

( Yin-chui, 178 - Hsiao-t'un B, 2065 + 2108, Period One).
On the day, chia-hsü [11], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will Ch'iao and Tzu-Shang succeed in suppressing Chi-fang?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 5582. Period One).

On the day, yi-chou [2], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will not Tzu-Shang capture the [Subject Ruler] Hsien?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 7795. Period One).

The graph 甲 or 乙 (乙) ts'ai 'attack' is representative of an appreciable proportion of Shang period characters constructed on the hsing-sheng principle; it comprises 甲 or 乙 ts'ai and 丙, the former functions as the phonetic. This same graph appears in the Shuo-wen and with the meaning of...
'wound', 'harm' (cf. CKWTCS, 3777-78). The character which is employed in Passage 042 in similar context has also been interpreted with similar meaning, e.g. 'kill' by Yu Hsing-wu (Shuang-chien, 3, pp.22b-23a) and 'suppress' by Jao Tsung-yi (T'ung-k'ao, p.177). Chi-fang was located probably near present-day Chieh-hsien, Shansi (cf. T'ung-k'ao, 175). The Subject Ruler of Hsien in Passage 043 is elsewhere recorded to have held the rank of Marquis in a Period One text (Ch'ien-pien, 2.28.2). The reason for the omission of the title here is obscure and there is no way to discover whether he was so titled before, during or after this campaign. In Passages 041 and 043, Tzu-Shang was apparently to be in sole charge of the campaigns, however, in Passage 042 it seems that he was to share the command with Ch'iao. In a complete plastron excavated by Academia Sinica (Hsiao-t'un B, 6692) are nine entries all concerning Tzu-Shang's invasion of Chi-fang. Other Princes who are

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1. It will, no doubt, have caught the reader's attention that already a considerable number of characters constructed upon the sophisticated hsing-sheng principle have appeared in the cited passages. Even in the earliest 'datable' examples of oracle bone inscriptions the existence of this phonetic aspect of Chinese writing is to be remarked upon. With the Period One documents dating from say, 1400 B.C., the highly advanced nature of the characters indicate that the beginnings of writing must have been at least a couple of centuries earlier.
recorded to have taken part in military campaigns comprise Tzu-Hua 子華 and Tzu-Kung 子貢 in a joint attack on Chi-fang (Shih-to, 2. 185) and the expeditions of Tzu-Chi 晋 and Tzu-Mei 之美 'to the north' (Ching-hua, 5 and Yin-chui, 225 - Hsiao-t'un B, 4502 + 4842 + 4969) - the actual objectives of the last two are not recorded.

An interesting problem arises from the entries concerning Tzu-Shang. With the exception of one text (Ts'ui-pien, 1239) wherein the character 商 is written as 王 (the authenticity of the fragment is, perhaps, not beyond question) the characters shang are all written as 商 and thus differ from the normal structure 商 which is the name of the Shang State. This variation in structure between the two graphs has not as yet been accounted for. A plausible explanation, however, is that Tzu-Shang may have been the eldest prince and thus heir to the throne, accordingly, the State-name may have been employed in reference to him. To avoid confusion with the normal structure 商, however, the form 王 was created. That Tzu-Shang was invested with considerable military authority would certainly seem to indicate that he was occupying a particularly important position in the Royal Court.
The following inscription although unattested and unique in its contents, presents interesting light on the incursions from hostile territories into the areas under jurisdiction of the Prince Chi; and also seems to illustrate a further aspect of the military duties in which the Princes were engaged:

044. .... Three days later, on the day, keng-shen [57], there was bad news from the northern frontier, Tzu-Chi reported: On the day, chia-shen [41], the [Yi]-fang invaded Yu capturing 15 people (or soldiers). Five days later, on the day, wu-shen [45], the [Yi]-fang attacked again, capturing 16 people (or soldiers). It was the 6th month. At the place ....

(Ching-hua, 5. Period One).

Fang is equivalent to [Yi]-fang, the hostile State to the West which frequently invaded the Shang territories. The place under attack was Yu 右 which was apparently located somewhere to the north, or north-west, of City
Shang. From the context of this record, there are two assessments possible regarding the nature of Tzu-Chi's duties: (a) he had been sent out to take up command of the garrison of Yu and being attacked by Yi-fang, he immediately despatched a report to the King and, no doubt, may have asked for assistance; (b) he may have held the rank of Diviner and, as in the case of other Diviners, had been sent out to the frontiers for tidings regarding the military situation. If the former case which seems to be

1 Attention should be drawn to the dates which are mentioned in this record and accordingly to the possible geographical location of Yu. The report apparently arrived at City Shang 12 days after the second attack by the Yi-fang. The first and the last days probably should not be counted in the journey, thus we may assume that it took 11 days for the message to reach the capital. If the messenger could have averaged, say, 30 miles a day, it would appear that Yu would have been located about 320 miles distant from Shang. We must of course, calculate such distance on the basis of the messenger travelling by foot and at the same time keep in mind the fact that a whole cycle of 60 days may sometimes fall between any two such dates - there is no definite way of determining whether an interval of time such as the above is 12 days or 72 days although it would be reasonable to expect additional record of the month in cases of time intervals in excess of the length of a complete cycle of 60 days where ambiguity might arise.

2 There is no actual record of the name Chi amongst the Diviners thus the suggestion here cannot be considered to be particularly well founded but the content of the record above would seem to be the type of report that would have been sent back to City Shang by a Diviner on such a tour of duty. (Cf. cases quoted later pp. 152—56).
the more likely it would appear that the Princes might be despatched, sometimes as far as the frontiers, in their military duties. Altogether about 40 records exist of a total of 8 different Princes concerned with military campaigns.

6. **Association with Hunting Expeditions**: Several Princes are recorded in connection with hunting expeditions but records of this aspect of their activities are few and sparse in detail. The following is a representative example:

> [On the day, ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:
> Will not Tzu-Hua capture pigs?
> (Ching-Chin, 1461. Period One).

Tzu-Hua had also participated in an attack against Chi-fang (Shih-to, 2.185). Other Princes who had taken part in hunting expeditions (Table II) are simply recorded in association with the expected results of the hunt.
7. **Supervision of the 'Multitudes':** In oracle bone inscriptions, the character 寸 chung: 是, 是, 是 comprising three persons apparently working or marching in unison under the sun (sometimes abbreviated to ) is employed with two meanings. Normally it appears as 'multitude' or 'crowd', e.g. 疣 chung-ch' a 'the multitudes of Ch'a (Ts'ui-pien, 1124) or, as the adjective 'many' in the term 疣人 chung-jen 'the many people' (Hsiao-t'un A, 3510). As observed earlier the King on occasion demanded from the Subject Rulers supplies of labourers for farming activities. Other than the possible implication in the following inscribed bone which is the sole record available on the subject in respect of the Tzu there is, however, no record as to who actually supervised the labourers:

[肯]: 由子 8(火) (钅以) 台;
(扉方1745, 期未明.)

046. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:

Should Tzu-Yi take [in charge] the 'multitudes'?

*(Couling, 1745. Period uncertain).*
Although this record does not specify the nature of the work in which the 'multitudes' under Tzu-Yi were engaged, it would seem reasonable to assume that it was concerned with agriculture judging by the fact that the 'multitudes' which the Subject Rulers were obliged to supply to the King were mainly employed in farming.  

8. The General Status of the Princes: Throughout Chinese history, primogeniture has been the traditional rule in royal succession. The eldest son is the natural heir to the throne was known as the T'ai-tzu 太子, and his brothers as Wang 王, Wang-tzu 王子, or Huang-tzu 皇子: 'the Royal Sons'. The latter rarely occupied

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1 The association of the graph 甲 : 兎 : 以 yi 'employ' with the graph chung in several oracle bone texts led Hsü Chung-shu to propose the theory that it depicts a ssu 'hoe', this is, however, disputed as being without foundation by Li Hsiao-ting (CKWTCS, pp.437) but his opinion is advanced without recourse to the extensive studies conducted by Sekino Takeshi ('Shin "Lei-su-k'ao"' 新来報考, Tōyō bunkakenkyūjo-Kiyō 東洋文化研究所 紀要, 19. pp.1-77) wherein the evidence of archaeological finds and coin-types is exhaustively surveyed. It would seem reasonable in the above passage to take the graph yi not merely as a verb with the general sense of 'use', 'employ' but also as one with the special implications of agricultural work. With these thoughts in mind it seems difficult to find any more appropriate interpretation of the above text than that proffered here.
significant positions in the Court and thus had little to do with active administration. Prior to Shang legend tells us of the idealistic method of abdication (禪讓 shen-jung) as practised by the mythical Yao in favour of the equally mythical Shun but even in legend this appears as a rather unique occurrence. In the Shang Dynasty, according to the Shih-chi, the inheritance of the throne was through 'fraternal succession' as well as through primogeniture. Wang Kuo-wei claims that fraternal succession was the usual way - the son succeeded only when there was no brother remaining to succeed the Father (Kuan-t'ang, pp.453-462). Wang's theory is built up on the basis of traditional sources; oracle records, however, present no evidence at all concerning the method of royal succession. Nevertheless, the responsible position of the Princes in the Royal Court seems fairly obvious. Not only the actual heir apparent (e.g. Tzu-Shang above) - if we assume primogeniture to have been the general rule - but also the Princes were allocated important tasks by the King after due investigation of the oracle.

Since Chou times, it was not, however, customary for the 'Royal-sons' to undertake what came to be almost exclusively the duties of officials. Accordingly, the function of the Princes of the Shang period appears to
have been one more concerned with an active and responsible part in the administration - the 'Royal Sons' were essentially officials. Because of their special position in terms of their birth-right it would not be unexpected to find them amongst the upper hierarchy of officials. It was, no doubt, owing to this situation that we find the King was naturally very concerned about their health and safety. Frequently he divined about the well-being of the Princes when they were engaged in military expeditions or were away on hunting trips.

047. On the day, hsin-mao [28], the Diviner Pin enquired:

......Tzu-Shu will not be killed during his absence abroad [on military duty]?

(Hsiao-t’un A, 3510. Period One).
048. On the day, kuei-wei [20], the Diviner Ku enquired:

There will be nothing untoward during the coming ten-day week? [After studying the omen], the King announced: [Tzu-Kung has already] departed, something bad will come of this. Six days later, on the day, wu-tzu [25], Tzu-Kung died.

(Ching-hua, 1. Period One).

On the same plastron wherein Passage 047 is incised there are records concerning military expeditions while the immediate sections following Passage 047 (dated 2 days later) are concerned with the despatch of the 'many people' (衆人) to the Ch'iang-fang - an undertaking involving risk. To what extent Tzu-Shu was involved in these matters is not clear but duties of such kind would, no doubt, have led to Wu Ting's divination concerning his safety. ¹ Similarly on the scapula containing Passage 048, there is a separate record concerning hunting. Other examples of like significance may be studied in Ching-hua, 4; Ch'ien-pien, 4.29.4; etc.

¹ It may be observed that the reference to the chung-jen 'many people' in the above plastron seems to have some connection with agricultural matters but crucial characters in the latter part of the sentence are obscure and the meaning uncertain (cf. Chü Wan-li, HTCPKS, p.445).
Not only were divinations concerning the Princes' safety during military and hunting expeditions made by the King, but also, in time of peace, their health received his attention:

On the day, *yi-mao* [52], the Diviner ... enquired:

Is not Tzu-Chi getting ill?

*(Hsiao-t' un B, 8728. Period uncertain, but later than Period One).*

On the day, *kuei-wei* [20], the Diviner Chen enquired:

Is Tzu-Yang getting ill?

*(Hsiao-t' un A, 3512. Period One).*

About 30 such examples exist amongst which the most complete comprise: Hsiao-t' un B, 2871, 4074; Ch'ien-pien, 4.32.2; Yi-ts'un, 920; Hsu-ts'un, 111; Ching-chin, 1659; etc.
In the present Table and in succeeding tabulations of the basic data with which this survey is concerned two forms of presentation appear: first, a summary of the main Table which is constructed so as to show at a glance quantitative aspects of the data and this in relation to the chronology of the documents. Then follows the main Table comprising listings of all oracular texts containing the title-name combinations of the official title under survey. Each of the later Tables is compiled in the same manner as Table II thus with the exception of item (6) aspects of the following explanatory notes which are common to succeeding Tables are not repeated later:

1. The 20 Princes as originally observed by Tung Tso-pin appear first (items P.001-P.020).

2. In each section of this Table Tzu-X combinations are placed first, the X-Tzu combinations then follow at the end of each section.

3. Similarly graphs with recognisable phonetic elements (or elements which are arbitrarily taken to be phonetics) are presented in the earlier half of each section while those which are too obscure in this respect are placed in the latter half of each section.

4. Passages cited in the notes (Column 6) comprise complete or sufficiently complete texts suitable for the required research purpose - identical passages in different bones are not quoted but otherwise there is recorded in each Table practically all examples of the data concerned.

5. Periodization in the present Table is generally in accordance with Shima Kunio's assessments but with certain revisions. The grouping in Period divisions in the Tables is, however, generally that which seems to me to be valid from my overall study of the various authorities' researches on this question. It is, of course, tentative in scope.

6. Code references to the title-name combinations in Columns 1 and 5 comprise a letter denoting the title of office and a reference number to the proper name graph indicating its position in the main Table concerned. The code letters are as follows:

- P: 'Prince'
- F: 'Fu-x Lady'
- D: 'Diviner'
- H: 'Hou-Marquis'
- E: 'Po-Earl'
- Ch: 'Ch'en-official'

- HC: 'Hsiao-ch'en-official'
- A: 'Shih-archery-officer'
- Y: 'Ya-officer'
- C: 'Ch'uan-officer'
- S: 'Shu-officer'
- W: 'Wu-official'

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SUMMARY

Periodization is indicated in parentheses for Periods Two-Five only. Where there is no entry - this affects the majority of cases - the dating is to be read as Period One.

(1) Princes as Rulers of Subject States:
- P.003, P.008 (1,27) P.016 (1,47) P.019
- P.021, P.024 P.034 P.039 (1,47)
- P.043 P.045 P.050 P.053
- P.054, P.059 (1,47) P.062 P.070 (1,47)
- P.086 P.092 P.093 P.094 (1,47)
- P.095 P.114 (4) P.115 (4) P.118 (4)
Period One: 15, Period Four: 4, Uncertain [mainly 47?]. Total: 25.

(2) Princes as Diviners:
- P.028 P.033 P.036 (17) P.044
- P.052, P.055 P.056 P.058
- P.060 (1,47) P.063 (1-2) P.065 (17) P.067 (1,47)
- P.068 P.074 P.077 P.081
- P.103 (2,47) P.111 (37) P.114 (4) P.115 (4)

(3) Princes as Marquises:
- P.040 P.062 P.063 (1-2) P.072 (1,37)
- P.077 P.080 P.111 (37) P.115 (4)
Period One: 4, Uncertain [mainly 37?]. Total: 7.

(4) Princes as Earls:
- P.059 (1,47)

(5) Princes with Other Titles of Office:
- P.020 (HC) P.028 (HC,Y) P.035 (so)
- P.044 (HC) P.047 (HC) P.055 (HC)
- P.060 (Chj 1,4?) P.064 (HC)
Period One: 6, Period Four: 1, Uncertain [mainly 47?]. Total: 9.

(6) Princes and Fu-X Ladies with Identical Names:
- P.005 P.006 P.013 P.022
- P.023 P.044 P.056 P.064
Period One: 8, Period Four: 1, Uncertain: 1. Total: 10.

(7) Princes Rendering Tribute:
- P.001 (1,47) P.002 P.039 (1,47) P.051
- P.112 (37) P.118 (4)
Period One: 2, Period Four: 1, Uncertain [mainly 47?]. Total: 6.

(8) Princes Associated with Sacrificial Ceremonies:
- P.001 (1,47) P.002 P.003 P.008 (1,27)
- P.009 (1,47) P.010 P.012 P.013 (1,47)
- P.016 (1,47) P.018 P.019 P.022
- P.028 P.032 P.034 P.035
- P.037 P.038 P.045 P.047
- P.054, P.059 (1,47) P.060 (1,47) P.063 (1-2)
- P.068 P.075 P.076 P.078
- P.089 P.090 P.091 (1,47) P.092
- P.094 (1,47) P.095 P.096 (1,47) P.103 (2,47)
- P.104 (2,47) P.106 (27) P.107 (27) P.109 (27)
- P.110 (37) P.113 (4) P.115 (4) P.119 (4)
- P.124 (4) P.131 (1,47) P.132 (4)
Period One: 24, Period Two: 1, Period Four: 5, Uncertain [mainly 47?]. Total: 47.

(9) Princes as Military Commanders:
- P.009 (1,47) P.013 (1,47) P.039 (1,47) P.053
- P.060 (1,47) P.133 (47) P.137 (47)
Period One: 1, Uncertain [mainly 47?]. Total: 6.

(10) Princes Associated with Hunting Expeditions:
- P.002, P.009 (1,47) P.038 P.040
- P.060 (1,47) P.088 P.089

(11) Princes and the 'Multitudes':
- P.039 (1,47) Total: 1.

(12) Royal Divinations Concerning the Well-being of Princes:
- P.001 (1,47) P.002 P.003 P.007
- P.010 P.011 P.013 (1,47) P.019
- P.020 P.024 P.027 (1,37) P.029 (1,47)
- P.039 (1,47) P.042 P.044 P.047
- P.049 P.052 P.055 P.058
- P.061, P.064 P.068 P.077
- P.087 P.114 (4) P.127 (4)
Period One: 20, Period Four: 2, Uncertain [mainly 47?]. Total: 27.
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- 僅見: 只见一次。
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</tbody>
</table>
In the oracular records, there is a special group of compound terms comprising the character 甲 f[u] followed by various proper names. This character exhibits variations such as 甲 , 甲 , 甲 , 甲 , 甲 , 甲 , 甲 (the horizontal stroke sometimes omitted, cf. CKWP, p.335), and 甲 (the graph being inverted, cf. HCKWP, 7.30).\(^1\) Lo Chen-yü, in 1914, interpreted this graph as 甲 fu with the meaning of 甲 kuei 'return' (Tseng-k'ao, p.47). No further study of the graph was conducted until 1933, when Kuo Mo-jo accepting Lo's transcription on the one hand suggested, however, that it was the abbreviated form of 甲 fu 'wife', 'woman' and accordingly the term denoted women's names (T'ung-tsuan, 307). In the following year, he claimed that they were all consorts of

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\(^1\) The variations noted here are, for the most part, due to the original engraver's omission to incise the stroke, or strokes, concerned. It was the usual practice to incise vertical and sloping strokes first for a series of characters then to turn the bone or shell, into appropriate position and commence then to incise the horizontal strokes. Naturally omissions occurred. Tung Tso-pin has devoted some attention to this subject but otherwise it has not been exhaustively explored (An-yang Report, vol. I, pp. 125-6).
Wu Ting (*Ming-k'o*, pp. 6b-8a). As a working hypothesis his arguments seemed quite acceptable and have been generally followed. However, I am of the opinion that although the compounds certainly indicate feminine names Kuo's suggestion that they were all Wu Ting's spouses is rather open to question.

The feminine connotation of the Fu-x terms is unambiguously demonstrated in a number of records concerning pregnancy or birth:

051. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ...] enquired:

Is Fu-keng pregnant? It was the 6th-month.

(*Hsiao-t'yun B, 817. Period uncertain*).

052. On the day, *keng-tzu* [37], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Is Fu-hao pregnant?

(*Ts'ang-kuei, 127.1. Period One*).
On the day, yi-ssu [42, the Diviner ...] enquired:
Is Fu-jih pregnant?
(Ch'ien-pien, 8.2.1. Period Four or Five).

On the day, wu-tzu [25, the Diviner ...] enquired:
Is Fu- pregnant?

(ii) On the day, wu-tzu [the Diviner ...] enquired:
Is Fu-ku pregnant?

(iii) On the day, wu-tzu [the Diviner ...] enquired:
Is Fu-ch'uan pregnant?
(Hsiao-t'un B, 4504; a complete tortoise plastron probably Period Four or Five).

Passages 053 and 054 on account of chronological assessments seem to disprove Kuo's thesis that all the Fu-ladies were espoused to Wu Ting. The Period-dating of these two records is reliably based upon the character-style.
On the day, yi-hai [12], the Diviner Shih enquired:

[Will Fu-... be alright during her pregnant period? After studying the omen], the King said: She will be alright. Also said: She will be alright.

(Yi-ts'ün, 586. Late Period One).

The graph is a pictograph showing the foetus inside the mother's body, a perfectly appropriate means of indicating pregnancy. As the text is not complete we lack the title-name combination of the pregnant lady.

On the day, jen-yin [39], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will Fu-hao have an easy delivery when she gives birth to the child? [After studying the omen], the King announced: If she gives birth on the day, [wu]-shen [45], it will be auspicious and the delivery will be easy,
[but] if she gives birth on the day, chia-yin [51], then it will be unlucky, she will give birth to a girl.

(ii) On the day, jen-yin [39], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will not Fu-hao have an easy delivery when she gives birth to the child? [After studying the omen], the King announced: ... unfavourable? Auspicious? Unlucky? In..., this..., die?

(Hsiao-t'ūn B, 4729. Period One).

Kuo Mo-jo claims that the graph is the archaic form of mien but should be read with the sound of p'an ('to pull'? ) but gives no further comment (Ming-k'o, pp. 7a-b). T'ang Lan transcribes it as ming and suggests it should be read and interpreted as mien 'to give birth to'. In the above antithetical pair of divinations both the positive and the negative forms of divination are followed by the King's assessments but unfortunately the results of the divinations are not entirely clear. In (i) however, the King's interpretation is quite straightforward - if the birth should occur on the day, wu-shen (six days after the divination), it will be auspicious. If on the day, chia-yin (12 days after the divination), it will be unlucky, in which case the lady, Fu-hao, will give birth to a girl; accordingly, we know that the first date
implies the birth of a boy and being considered lucky, it provides an interesting and early illustration of the traditional Chinese idea of 'male-supremacy' (重男轻女).

In (ii) there are several characters which cannot be interpreted. Nevertheless, the meaning is partly understandable. The King was obviously preoccupied - in fact he was quite anxious - as to the well-being of Fu-hao during the last 6-12 days of her pregnancy.

[On the day, ... ... ...] the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will Fu-nü have an easy delivery when she gives birth to the child? [After studying the omen], the King announced: If the birth takes place on the keng [7th] day, the delivery will be easy. It was the 3rd month.

(Hsiao-t'un B, 496. Period One).

□辰王卜于[才=在]占(弗)(贞):[臣=呼=女],[.clone]克[克](辛)[臣=呼=女]，

(王)[□][□](□)于[才][三]月。

(前编2.11.5, 第五期)
On the day, ...-chen, at the place Hsi, the King enquired:

Will [Fu]-jung have an easy delivery when she gives birth to her child? [After studying the omen, the King] announced: It is auspicious. It was the 3rd month.

(Ch'ien-pien, 2.11.3. Probably Period Five).

The graph is a combination of five elements: 女 "women", 子 "child" - the graph is inverted, [?], 手 "hand" and small dots representing blood, no doubt. It is a striking example of the type of character classified from Han time as 意 "Suggestive Compound". Kuo Mo-jo accordingly considers it to be equivalent to the modern graph "to give birth to a child" (Ming-k'o, p.76; cf. also CKWTCS, pp.4325-33). There are numerous records similar to the 8 examples cited above. It is, of course, abundantly clear that the Fu-x terms refer to females and it would seem that the King himself had reason to take an active part in interpreting the omens. This is remarkably evident in respect of other records. In addition, there are other records comprising fertility prayers offered to the Female Ancestors by various ladies with the Fu-x title-name combinations (see Kuo Mo-jo's article op. cit; also Lun-ts'ung, 1. pp.1-35 and Inkyo, pp.454-6).
As regards Kuo's thesis that these women were all Wu Ting's consorts, however, as already observed serious doubts may be entertained:

1. In the oracular records there is a lack of reference to actual consorts either of Wu Ting or, of other Kings of Shang during the rulers' life times. Furthermore, there is no specific indication that the women bearing the Fu-x name-titles were espoused to the King. \(^1\)

2. Although there is no reason to doubt that in Shang times polygamy flourished, it nevertheless seems incredible that the total of a hundred or more female names scattered amongst the oracle bone inscriptions were all Wu Ting's consorts; even if this were the case, it would not seem plausible that so considerable a number of his consorts should have possessed important position in the Royal government.

3. The most direct and possibly decisive evidence is that of the oracular records themselves, passages 053, 054, and 058 cited above are generally considered to belong to Periods Four and Five - certainly they are later than

\(^1\) This observation does, of course, bring to the fore the problem of identification a female forebear's posthumous appellation and her possible Fu-x name-title when she was alive. Evidence allowing such a degree of identification does not appear to exist.
Period One. These women, at least, would not have been espoused to Wu Ting - several other specific instances might be cited while the often indeterminable significance of marginally datable inscriptions has always to be borne in mind.

These points do not, of course, disprove Kuo's hypothesis to the extent that some of the Fu-x women were possibly Royal consorts - that some may have been consorts of Wu Ting while others were consorts of succeeding Kings seems to be a more realistic interpretation of the evidence. Whether we are correct in assuming these women to have been Royal consorts is, of course, a moot point. The evidence is somewhat indirect but nevertheless suggestive. Fu-hao of Period One, for instance, took part in military campaigns and participated in the Ancestral Ceremonies and accordingly appears as an important associate of Wu Ting. The King, as we have noted, took a special interest in her pregnancy and the expected off-spring - it would seem reasonable to propose both an intimate and a high-ranking relationship - it is quite possible that she was his consort, or was one of several.¹

¹ Amongst the total of 217 records concerning a variety of approximately 30 Fu-x title-name combinations on the subject of pregnancy and birth, only 7 instances mention direct examination of the oracle by the Shang King himself (continued)
One other Fu-x lady is extensively recorded in the inscriptions amongst which several contain data comparable to that of Fu-hao, namely, the lady Fu-ching (or hsing). However, she does not seem to have been espoused to Wu Ting but rather she appears as either the wife or a daughter, of the Subject Ruler of Ching (or Hsing), or perhaps was herself the Subject Ruler. This opens up other possible avenues of interpretation attending the Fu-x term:

1. As just observed the Fu-x ladies may in some cases have been female relatives of Subject Rulers. There are several relevant title-name combinations which correspond with the names of Subject Rulers. Co-existence of both forms of data would seem to indicate that the Fu-x terms concerned were applied to wives, daughters etc. of the Subject Rulers. Attention may be drawn to such instances in Table III as Fu-chou 出 (Hsiao-t'un B, 8894), Fu- 敷 (Hsiao-t'un B, 1424), Fu-k'o 果 (Ch'ien-pien, 4.41.5), Fu-po 白 (Hsü-pien, 1.8.8), Fu-an 構 (Menzies, 788), etc.

(continued)

(王圆曰), of these 4 relate to Fu-hao, one to Fu-nü 帝姬, one to Fu-e 帝城 and one is un-named. This situation may possibly indicate a plurality of consorts - but the number involved is very small - and Fu-hao accordingly would appear to have been the 'First Consort'.


2. Female Subject Rulers - in some cases, the identity of the Fu-x ladies' names and the names of States may indicate their function as actual rulers of States. Following are two significant texts that would appear to support this possibility:

甲寅卜吉夢，夢得（樹，姸）受祭（沒霧）年，
(後記上31.10，第一期。與此相類者尚有屯甲3001，蟾蜍4.25.4，又4.26.1，合總445等。)

059. On the day, chia-yin [51], the Diviner Chen enquired:
Will Fu-ching (or hsin) have a good harvest?

(Hou-pien, A 31.10, Period One. Cf. also Hsiao-t'un A, 3001, Hsü-pien, 4.25.4 and 4.26.1, Hopkins, 645, etc.).

060. On the day, chia-wu [31], Fu-ching [came] to pay [a tribute of] three items of . [It was signed by] Yo.

(Hsiao-t'un A, 3341. Period One).

Amongst the various records concerning Fu-ching's pregnancy and pre-natal divinations both the graphs 媛 and are employed for the State-name. The former
structure appears in the record mentioned by Kuo Mo-jo (Ming-k'ao, p.56). It is a large scapula which Kuo more completely reconstructed from two broken pieces reproduced in other repositories - one appears in Hsü-pien (4.25.1) and the other in Yen-ta (284). The latter form is incised on a broken tortoise shell (Yi-ts'ung, 967 and appears again in Hsü-pien, 4.26.6). It is generally accepted that and are merely two different versions of the same proper name.¹ Thus, and are possibly the one and same person.

According to the two records cited above which are representative of several other similar examples concerning Fu-ching the possibility of her being a female Subject Ruler would appear to be rather high. As to other Fu-x ladies, however, there is a dearth of relevant evidence upon which we can seek to build up a like hypothesis - records similar to Passage 060 in respect of other Fu-x ladies, however, are numerous. These other ladies who also came to pay tribute might have been actual Subject Rulers of the States mentioned in some cases, or

¹ The graph in the Fu-x title-name combination is considered as the simplified form of the by some scholars e.g. Kuo Mo-jo (T'ung-ts'ung, 446 and 447) and Li Hsiao-ting (CKWTCS, p.3655).
they simply came to Court on behalf of the Subject Rulers concerned. The important point to be observed is this: the term 帝 feq is clearly one which embraces both the Fu-x ladies at the Royal Court and Fu-x ladies who were associated with the Subject Rulers - their wives, or daughters. This situation was obviously not realized by Kuo when he assumed that the Fu-x ladies were associated only with the Royal Court.

3. Female relatives of the Princes. There are instances of Fu-x names which can be paralleled with the names of Princes. As such the ladies may have been wives or daughters of the Princes. However, the examples are not many: Tzu-Keng 子庚 (Hsiao-t'un B, 192) and Fu-keng (Hsiao-t'un B, 817), Tzu-Shu 子鼠 (Hsiao-t'un B, 371) and Fu-shu (Couling, 469), Tzu-Shih 子尙 (Hsü-ts'un B, 229) and Fu-shih (Hsiao-t'un B, 1248, Shih is also the name of a Diviner) and Tzu-Pu 子不 (Ch'ien-pien, 4.32.2) and Fu-pu (Hsü-pien, 5.19.15, Pu is also recorded as a place-name and as the name of a Diviner).

4. Female relatives of Diviners: There are several Fu-x names which can be paralleled with those of Diviners: Diviner Hsi 西 (Hsiao-t'un A, 930) and Fu-hsi (Nan-pei-ming, 2.1), Diviner Ch'üan 川 (Hsiao-t'un B, 5123) and Fu-ch'üan (Hsiao-t'un B, 4504), Diviner Yin 墨
(Ts'ui-pien, 1295) and Fu-yin (Hsü-pien, 5.22.2), Diviner Kuo (Hsiao-t'ung A, 2603) and Fu-kuo (Hsiao-t'ung B, 7345), Diviner Shih (Hsiao-t'ung A, 3052) and Fu-shih (cited above) and Diviner Pu (Hsü-pien, 5.33.6) and Fu-pu (also cited above).

5. Female Relatives of Marquises and Hsiao Ch'en. There are recorded several Fu-x ladies bearing the same names as persons of these ranks: Hou-Ch'uan (Hsiao-t'ung B, 2000) and Fu-ch'uan (Couling, 1583), Hou-Hsi (Ch'ien-pien, 3.27.6 + 3.18.1) and Fu-hsi (Hsiao-t'ung A, 3149), Chi-Hou (Hou-pien B, 37.5) and Fu-chi (Hsiao-t'ung B, 2510), Chou-Hou (Hsiao-t'ung A, 436) and Fu-chou (Hsiao-t'ung B, 8894); Hsiao-ch'en-Hsi (Hsiao-t'ung A, 39194) and Fu-hsi (cited above) and Hsiao-ch'en-Kuo (Hsiao-t'ung A, 2622 + 2647) and Fu-kuo (cited above).

Amongst the five groups of parallel data above, item 2 is perhaps the most instructive containing as it does supplementary evidence of appropriate significance. The remaining groups are merely suggestive because of the existence of parallel proper-names in other contexts. However, owing to the fact that these ladies are thus all mentioned in documents of no lesser status than that of the Royal Archives of Shang and some of the ladies had
actually been entrusted with important posts in the Royal Government, there seems little question that the greater proportion of the Fu-x ladies were of aristocratic rank or, at least were consorts of high ranking officials.

When Kuo Mo-jo first drew attention to the Fu-x title-name combinations in 1933, he was aware of only Fu-ching 妃, Fu-ching 妃 (in all probability the one and same person), Fu-hao 好, Fu-shih 嫔, and Fu-shu 鼠, a total of only 4 cases. In the following year, the number increased to 26 following the investigations of other scholars. Since then new names have been continually discovered. In 1944, when Hu Hou-hsüan published Lun-ts'ung he devoted the space of 3 chapters (of the total of 20) to studies of women in Shang times - 65 different Fu-x ladies are mentioned. In 1958, Shima Kunio assembled together 80 examples in his chapter entitled 'Fu 婦' (Inkyo, pp.451-461). During the course of the present study, I have found further cases - the total of 86 Fu-x name-titles has now resulted and is recorded in Table III. In addition, there are more than 40 proper names containing the 女 nü radical which might also indicate female names (cf. CKWP, pp.469-486, HCKWP, 12, pp.7a-16b and CKWTCS, pp.3587-3713). Amongst the 100,000 pieces of inscribed oracle bones there would
The above group of 74 graphs comprise combinations with the element nü: 'Woman' which in the majority of cases appear to have functioned as proper-names.
appear to total thus approximately 130 female names recorded. Over and above such matters of purely feminine concern as pregnancy and birth we have already observed briefly some aspects of the Fu-x ladies' participation in military operations, and the presentation of tribute. These and other such activities will now be explored in somewhat greater detail. Those recording the presentation of tribute usually appear in texts with the following formula which it may be observed comprises records of entries and is not a divination matter. Could it have been, therefore, customary for the Rulers of Subject States to have sent in tribute under the aegis of their womenfolk? In the majority of cases it may be noted, too, that receipt of the tribute is signed:

061. On the day, mao-hsü [35], Fu-hsi [came] to submit [a tribute of] one [It was signed by] Yo.

(Hsiao-t'un A, 3331. Period One).
On the day, Chia-yin [51], Fu-chien [and Fu-]
ching [came] to submit [a tribute of] seven
♀. [It was signed by] 六.

(Hsiao-t’ung A, 2815. Period One).

On the day, Keng-wu [7], Fu-pao [came] to
submit [a tribute of] three ♂. [It was
signed by].

(Hou-pien, B, 18.3. Period One).

As observed earlier (pp. 38 and 39) there are difficulties
attending interpretation of the graph ♂ and the materials
which had been used for tribute. Altogether 29 different
Fu-x ladies, apparently in the role of ruler/
representatives, are recorded in connection with tribute
payment of this type (see Table III).

There is a limited number of oracular records
concerning the duties of the Fu-x ladies at the Royal
Court. So far as the sources allow us to ascertain it
appears that their tasks involved only the following three
activities:

1. Supervision of the Ceremonies to the Ancestors and
Associated Rites. As already mentioned the most important
Ceremonies were conducted by the Kings themselves. But
the Shang sovereigns occasionally commanded either the Princes (p.62) or the Fu-x ladies to take charge of the same Ceremonies—after due divination:

己卯卜殺貞：卯（勅）好于父乙。羊、豕豕，十軍，

(屯乙3383，第一期)

064. On the day, chi-mao [16], the Diviner Ku enquired:

[Should the King command] Fu-hao [to conduct] the Yü Ceremony [in honour of] Fu-Yi with [the sacrifice of] slaughtered sheep and pigs and to read out the sacrificial list: ten sheep?

(Hsiao-t’un B, 3383, Period One).

The graph  may be a slightly more complex version of  'to kill', 'to slaughter' (cf. examples discussed earlier, p.63 in connection with similar contexts involving the Princes).

甲戌卜殺貞：甲事好于父乙，整良，

(康方1701，第一期)

065. On the day, chia-hsü [11], the Diviner Hsüan enquired:

[Should the King command] Fu-hao [to conduct] the Yü Ceremony [in honour of] Fu-Yi and to read out the sacrificial list of slaves?
Of the Fu-x ladies recorded in connection with the Ceremonies those concerning Fu-hao are in the majority, approximately 10 further examples concerning her and in much the same strain exist. Of other Fu-x ladies the following two passages are representative:

戊寅卜文: 鄭帝姫于母庚,
(南北師1.21, ◎篇6重·第一期)

066. On the day, *wu-yin* [15], the Diviner Pin enquired:

Should [the King command] Fu-ching [to conduct] the Yü Ceremony [in honour of] Mu-Keng?

*(Nan-pei-shih, 1.21, appears again in Wai-pien, 6. Period One).*

(i) 甲申卜: 鄭帝姫 (鼠) 姬已 RaycastHit (北),
(ii) 卯妃己帝鼠 - 牛 - 羊,
(iii) - 羊帝帝鼠妃己;

(首篇1.33.7, 輯本無.)

067. (i) On the day, *chia-shen* [21], the Diviner ... enquired:

Should [the King command] Fu-shu [to conduct] the Yü Ceremony [in honour of] Pi-Chi [with the sacrifice of] an ox?
(ii) On the day, chia-shen, the Diviner ... enquired:
   Should [the King command] Fu-shu [to conduct] the Yü Ceremony [in honour of] Pi-Chi [with the sacrifice of] an ox and a sheep?

(iii) On the day, chia-shen, the Diviner ... enquired:
   Should [the King command] Fu-shu [to conduct] the Yü Ceremony [in honour of] Pi-Chi [with the sacrifice of] a sheep?

(Ch'ien-pien, 1.33.7. Period uncertain).

Amongst the records in this group it may be observed that certain characteristics of content and word order prevail: The name of the Ceremony (used as a verb) always precedes the Fu-x title-name combination. There are, however, no instances of the clause 'the King commanded' although this meaning is implicit (and sometimes actually written) throughout the oracular texts; unlike the group of divinations dealing with birth and pregnancy, there are furthermore, no records of the King himself interpreting the oracle ( ). There appear to be recorded no more than 10 different Fu-x ladies who had participated in the Ceremonies.

2. Services in Military Operations: In nearly every country, history gives prominence to the rôle of womenfolk
on the rare occasions when they took a leading part in warfare. It is not surprising therefore to find reference to such activities in Shang documents and, in keeping with the general trend in world history they are not plentiful:

068. (i) On the day, hsin-wei [8], the Diviner Chen enquired:

Should [the King conduct the military campaign in the following way: ] Fu-hao to join forces with Chih-chih, in the invasion of Pa-fang, the King (himself) to attack ... ... from Tung-x, (then) to meet Fu-hao [in the Pa-fang territories]?

(ii) [On the day, hsin-wei, the Diviner Chen] enquired:

Should [the King conduct a military campaign in the following way: ] Fu-hao to join forces with Chih-chih in the invasion of Pa-fang, [but] the King (himself) should not attack ... ... from Tung-x, (then) to meet Fu-hao [in the Pa-fang territories]?
(iii) [On the day, hsin-wei, the Diviner Chen] enquired:
Should the King command Fu-hao to join
forces with Hou-Kao in the attack against
the Yi-fang?

(iv) [On the day, hsin-wei, the Diviner Chen] enquired:
Should not the King command Fu-hao to join
forces with Hou-Kao in the attack against
the Yi-fang?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 2948. Period One).

Yi-fang was an aggressive nomadic tribe situated
beyond Shang's eastern frontiers. According to various
traditional sources, the downfall of Shang was in a final
measure due to Chou Wang's despatch of his armies
to attack Yi-fang thus leaving the western frontier open
to attack by the rising power of Chou. The locations of
Pa-fang, Tung-x, and 阯 are unknown but the
present document is valuable in its illustration of there
being a close geographical identity. It is obvious in the
above record that these places were sources of trouble at
the same time and their association with Yi-fang indicates
in a general way where they were situated. Divination was
made to determine whether the King should order Fu-hao,
accompanied by Chih-chih, to attack Pa-fang on the one
hand and whether he himself should, or should not, attack
the place 亠走  from Tung-x on the other; or should he just command Fu-hao, accompanied by Hou-Kao, to invade Yi-fang? The two-prong strategic approach evident in this record is interesting as a further clue to the geographical situation of the places mentioned. As is so often the case the outcome of the prognostication is not recorded but it is perfectly clear that amongst various Fu-x ladies, Fu-hao whom we see otherwise closely associated with the Royal Court if not the King himself, was no doubt considered to be well-endowed with military ability. There are several further records similar to the two above concerning Fu-hao's associations with military expeditions against other places - about 20 all told.

069. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ] enquired:
[Should] not [the King] command Fu-ching to attack Lung-fang?

(Hsü-pien, 4.26.3. Period One).

Fu-ching is the only other Fu-x lady recorded to have been associated with military activities. No more than 3 divinations concerning Fu-ching in this connection have
come to my notice (the other two records appear in Hsü-pien, 4.26.2 and Ching-tou, 2004).

3. 'Assistance in Royal Affairs'. There was another task for which the Fu-x ladies might be called upon, namely, the service written as: 协臣 'to assist' (cf. T'ung-k'ao, p. 74), 聘: 臣 'my' is sometimes replaced by the graph 王: 王: 女王事, the meanings: 'assist in our affairs', 'assist in the Royal affairs' are clear although their exact nature cannot be determined. Moreover, there appears to be recorded only one lady: chiao-Fu, who was engaged in this occupation:

070. On the day, chia-hsü [11], the King enquired: Should I command chiao-Fu to assist in our affairs?

(Yi-ts'un, 15. Period uncertain).

Owing to the fact that other personnel in the Royal Court - such as the Diviners Ku and Kuo, Chüan-Hou and Sung-Po are also recorded in this same context, it would indicate that the service must have been one of considerable importance.
It is clear now that duties expected of the Fu-x ladies over and above the natural and social functions of their sex were not as extensive or as onerous as those of the Princes and the Diviners. No doubt this would reflect physiological reasons more so than any appreciable degree of a paucity of data. Nevertheless, if we accept the hypothesis that these ladies were consorts of the Kings in some cases, of the aristocracy and of the officials in others, there would be little reason, on this basis alone, to doubt that they possessed a prominent social position. Their health and well-being during pregnancy and when giving birth were considered to be sufficiently important matters to receive the attention of the King and the Diviners in the Divinatory Ceremonies. Just the simple matter of their well-being (probably in some other connection) was frequently enquired about:

071. On the day, chi-ssu [6], [the Diviner ...] enquired:
[Will] Fu-ṣṣ be safe?
(Hsiao-t'ūn B, 8888. Period uncertain).
There are, however, only a few of the Fu-x ladies who are actually recorded in connection with such activities as warfare, ritual, 'assistance in the Royal affairs', etc. as demonstrated in this section. Accordingly, it would appear that their rôle in Shang institutions has been overstressed by earlier authorities. There is little that may be considered unusual in the occasional rise to power of influence of womenfolk in government and its administration - in Shang times the appearance of a Fu-hao or a Fu-ching is no less unexpected than a Lü-hou or a Mu-lan in Han times or later.

Altogether there are some 800 fragments containing references to the Fu-x ladies amongst which about 300 are sufficiently complete to indicate the matters with which they were associated. In Table III the assembly of the evidence from these documents may be summarised as follows:
For general explanatory notes regarding the structure of the main Table see Table Two (p. 79).

For convenience the definitions of the letters in the code references to the title-name combinations are listed hereunder:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P: 'Prince'</th>
<th>HC: 'Hsiao-ch'en-official'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F: 'Fu-x Lady'</td>
<td>A: 'Shih-archery-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D: 'Diviner'</td>
<td>Y: 'Ya-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: 'Hou-Marquis'</td>
<td>C: 'Ch'Uan-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E: 'Po-Earl'</td>
<td>S: 'Shu-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch: 'Ch'en-official'</td>
<td>W: 'Wu-official'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUMMARY

Periodization is indicated in parentheses for Periods Two-Five only. Where there is no entry - this affects the majority of cases - the dating is to be read as Period One.

(1) Fu-x Ladies as Rulers of Subject States:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F.001</th>
<th>F.006</th>
<th>F.010 (1,4?)</th>
<th>F.014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.018</td>
<td>F.019</td>
<td>F.031</td>
<td>F.040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.042</td>
<td>F.055 (1?)</td>
<td>F.058 (1?)</td>
<td>F.068 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.072 (4)</td>
<td>F.073 (4?)</td>
<td>F.075 (4?)</td>
<td>F.078 (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Period One: 8, Period Two: 3, Uncertain [mainly 1? and 4?]: 3. Total: 16.

(2) Fu-x Ladies and Princes with Identical Names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F.001</th>
<th>F.002</th>
<th>F.003</th>
<th>F.026</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.029</td>
<td>F.049 (1,4?)</td>
<td>F.051 (1,4?)</td>
<td>F.055 (1?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.075 (4?)</td>
<td>F.076 (4)</td>
<td>F.077 (4?)</td>
<td>F.078 (4?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Period One: 5, Period Two: 1, Uncertain [mainly 1?] & 4?: 1. Total: 10.

(3) Fu-x Ladies and Diviners with Identical Names:

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<th>F.014</th>
<th>F.018</th>
<th>F.019</th>
<th>F.026</th>
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<tr>
<td>F.047 (1?)</td>
<td>F.057 (1?)</td>
<td>F.069 (4?)</td>
<td>F.073 (4?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.076 (4)</td>
<td>F.077 (4)</td>
<td>F.078 (4)</td>
<td>F.079 (4)</td>
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(4) Fu-x Ladies and Hou-Marquises with Identical Names:

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<tr>
<th>F.004</th>
<th>F.014</th>
<th>F.018</th>
<th>F.019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.068 (4)</td>
<td>F.069 (4)</td>
<td>F.070 (4)</td>
<td>F.071 (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Period One: 4, Period Two: 1. Total: 5.

(5) Fu-x Ladies and Po-Earls with Identical Names:

| F.075 (4?) | F.076 (4?) | F.077 (4?) | F.078 (4?) |

Total: 1.

(6) Fu-x Ladies and Other Officials with Identical Names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F.018 (4)</th>
<th>F.019 (W)</th>
<th>F.026 (HC)</th>
<th>F.032 (W)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.051 (HC 1,4?)</td>
<td>F.069 (Ch 4?)</td>
<td>F.070 (4?)</td>
<td>F.071 (4?)</td>
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(7) Fu-x Ladies and Divinations Concerned with Pregnancy and Birth:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F.011</th>
<th>F.012 (1,4?)</th>
<th>F.016</th>
<th>F.021 (17)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.025</td>
<td>F.027</td>
<td>F.028</td>
<td>F.031</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.032</td>
<td>F.035 (1,4?)</td>
<td>F.036</td>
<td>F.045 (1?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.046 (1,4?)</td>
<td>F.048 (1?)</td>
<td>F.049 (1,4?)</td>
<td>F.051 (1,4?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.063 (1,4?)</td>
<td>F.064 (1,3)</td>
<td>F.066 (1,4?)</td>
<td>F.067 (4?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.069 (4?)</td>
<td>F.072 (4)</td>
<td>F.073 (4)</td>
<td>F.074 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.076 (4)</td>
<td>F.078 (4)</td>
<td>F.079 (4)</td>
<td>F.081 (4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.082 (4)</td>
<td>F.083 (4)</td>
<td>F.084 (4)</td>
<td>F.085 (4)</td>
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Period One: 8, Period Three: 1, Period Four: 8, Uncertain [mainly 17 and 4?): 13. Total: 30.

(8) Fu-x Ladies Rendering Tributes:

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<th>F.002</th>
<th>F.004</th>
<th>F.006</th>
<th>F.010 (1,4?)</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>F.011</td>
<td>F.012 (1,4?)</td>
<td>F.013 (1?)</td>
<td>F.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.018</td>
<td>F.020 (17)</td>
<td>F.022 (1,4?)</td>
<td>F.029</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.030</td>
<td>F.031</td>
<td>F.032</td>
<td>F.033</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.037</td>
<td>F.038 (1?)</td>
<td>F.039 (1?)</td>
<td>F.040</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.041</td>
<td>F.042</td>
<td>F.043</td>
<td>F.052 (1?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.054</td>
<td>F.055 (1?)</td>
<td>F.058 (1?)</td>
<td>F.069 (4?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.073 (4?)</td>
<td>F.074 (4?)</td>
<td>F.075 (4?)</td>
<td>F.076 (4?)</td>
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</tbody>
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(9) Fu-x Ladies Associated with Sacrificial Ceremonies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F.010 (1,4?)</th>
<th>F.011</th>
<th>F.016</th>
<th>F.028</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.031</td>
<td>F.032</td>
<td>F.049 (1,4?)</td>
<td>F.050</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.064 (2,4?)</td>
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<td>F.075 (4?)</td>
<td>F.076 (4?)</td>
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(10) Fu-x Ladies Associated with Military Campaigns:

| F.011  | F.016  |

Total: 2.

(11) Fu-x Ladies 'Assisting in Royal Affairs':

| F.062 (1,4?) | F.063 (4?) |

Total: 1.

(12) Royal Divinations Concerning the Well-being of Fu-x Ladies:

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<th>F.010 (1,4?)</th>
<th>F.016</th>
<th>F.022 (1,4?)</th>
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Period One: 1, Period Two: 1, Uncertain [mainly 4?]: 2. Total: 4.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Modern Character Form</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Other Titles</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F001</td>
<td>Fu-an</td>
<td>明 788</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>子室 P022</td>
<td>&quot;金&quot;秀地名 (全譜 477)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F002</td>
<td>Fu-shu</td>
<td>南北師 2.22</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>子室 P023</td>
<td>曾表入籍 (南北師 2.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F003</td>
<td>Fu-ch'eng</td>
<td>明 2349</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>李侯 P006</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F004</td>
<td>Fu-ch'i</td>
<td>後編下 33.10</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>唯有 H01</td>
<td>曾表入籍 (後編下 65)</td>
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<tr>
<td>F005</td>
<td>Fu-ch'i</td>
<td>繼有下 28</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>唯有 H01</td>
<td>唯有 H01 (後編下 28)</td>
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<tr>
<td>F006</td>
<td>Fu-ch'ien</td>
<td>屯甲 2815</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>&quot;錢&quot;有地名 (後編 6.10.4) 曾表入籍 (屯甲 2815)</td>
<td>唯有 H01 (屯甲 6716)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F007</td>
<td>Fu-ch'i</td>
<td>屯甲 6716</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>唯有 H01</td>
<td>唯有 H01 (屯甲 38)</td>
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<td>F008</td>
<td>Fu-ch'ing</td>
<td>屯甲 3146</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>唯有 H01</td>
<td>唯有 H01 (屯甲 3146)</td>
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<tr>
<td>F009</td>
<td>Fu-ch'i</td>
<td>屯甲 6686</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>有 &quot;井方&quot; (後編上 18.5) 曾表入籍 (文錄 82) 曾表入籍 &quot;番台&quot; (後編下 6.9) 曾表入籍 &quot;番台&quot; (後編下 6.9)</td>
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<td>Fu-ching</td>
<td>屯甲 4786</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>唯有 H01</td>
<td>曾表入籍 (後編 1491) 曾表入籍 &quot;番台&quot; (屯甲 105)</td>
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<td>F011</td>
<td>Fu-ching (hsing)</td>
<td>屯甲 105</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>唯有 H01</td>
<td>曾表入籍 (後編 1491) 曾表入籍 &quot;番台&quot; (屯甲 105)</td>
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<td>Other Titles</td>
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<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-chu</td>
<td>1583</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>人尊 D019 帝尊 H05</td>
<td>“尊”為地名（屯乙811）</td>
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<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-chuan</td>
<td>2344</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<td>Fu-ch'u</td>
<td>4729</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<td>曾見“……”（保存5.27）</td>
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<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-hao</td>
<td></td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾見“……”（保存5.27）</td>
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<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-ho</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾見“……”（保存5.27）</td>
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<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-hsi</td>
<td>3331</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>仆表 D086 仆表 H42 仆表 Y7</td>
<td>曾見“……”（保存5.27）</td>
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<td>第一期</td>
<td>仆表 D022 仆表 H06 仆表 W3</td>
<td>“先”為地名（前編2.15.2）</td>
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<td>帝</td>
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<td>6375</td>
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<td>5825</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Fu-ko</td>
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<td>Period</td>
<td>Other Titles</td>
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<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-kung</td>
<td>21.1043</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>Pu-kuo D081&lt;br&gt;P044&lt;br&gt;小臣HC11</td>
<td>曾入其主生 (续表1043)</td>
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<tr>
<td>帝</td>
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<td>21.7345</td>
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</tr>
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<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-kuo</td>
<td>21.2081</td>
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<td>曾入其主生 (前表3359) 曾入其主生 (前表1222)</td>
</tr>
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<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-11</td>
<td>南北师1.22</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>子表 P005</td>
<td>曾入其主生 (南北师1.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-11</td>
<td>6.35.5</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾入其主生 (前表 1.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-11</td>
<td>2510</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;良&quot;为地名 (前表 2.21.3) 曾入其主生 (前表 5.205) 曾参加祭祀 (前表 2.22) 曾入其主生 (前表 2.2510)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-mei</td>
<td>戎戈35.8</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>服妹 W1</td>
<td>曾入其主生 (前表 35.8) 曾入其主生 (前表 237) 曾入其 &quot;娥&quot; (前表 3177)</td>
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<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-mien</td>
<td>南北师2.20</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-mu</td>
<td>階址29</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>仅见 (階址 89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-niing</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>第一期?</td>
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<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-ni</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<td>曾入其主生 (前表 496)</td>
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<td>Fu-ni</td>
<td>1480</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>帝</td>
<td>Fu-ni</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>第一期?</td>
<td></td>
<td>生氏卒文作 &quot;娥&quot; 曾入其主生 (续表 997)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Original Graph</td>
<td>Modern Character Form</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Other Titles</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>P039 萃</td>
<td>Fu-pa</td>
<td>般编414</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<td>曾未入编，续编下42。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P040 厮</td>
<td>Fu-p'ang</td>
<td>般编488</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<td>&quot;厮&quot;亦地名（续编5.34.5）</td>
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<tr>
<td>P041 奉</td>
<td>Fu-pao</td>
<td>金甲3330</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<td>曾未入编（续编1489）</td>
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<td>P042 奉</td>
<td>Fu-ping</td>
<td>金乙7114</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<td>&quot;赐&quot;为地名（拾遗2.160）</td>
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<tr>
<td>P043 奉</td>
<td>Fu-ping</td>
<td>金乙2684</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<td>曾未入编 （金乙2684）</td>
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<tr>
<td>P044 奉</td>
<td>Fu-shih</td>
<td>金乙6716</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>唯一例（金乙6716）</td>
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<tr>
<td>P045 奉</td>
<td>Fu-shih</td>
<td>金乙5286</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾卜其“出子”（金乙5286）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P046 奉</td>
<td>Fu-shih</td>
<td>前编4.1.6</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾卜其生育事（续编下34.4）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P047 奉</td>
<td>Fu-shih</td>
<td>金甲2691</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<td>曾卜其“兵”事（金甲2691）</td>
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<tr>
<td>P048 奉</td>
<td>Fu-shu</td>
<td>佚存752</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<td>曾卜其“子”事（拾遗9.4）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P049 奉</td>
<td>Fu-shu</td>
<td>京师3016</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>子鼠 P120</td>
<td>曾卜其生育（前编8.12.3）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P050 奉</td>
<td>Fu-tien</td>
<td>素帝202</td>
<td>第一期</td>
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<td>曾参加徐礼（前编1.33.7）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P051 奉</td>
<td>Fu-t'uo</td>
<td>金乙4856</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>子安 P064</td>
<td>曾卜其子事（续编1240）</td>
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<td>第一期</td>
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<td>曾未入编（般编6.9.4）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P053 奉</td>
<td>Fu-wu</td>
<td>金乙2586</td>
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CHAPTER THREE

THE DIVINERS

\[ 1 : 1 \]

Table IV ; 159-67e
In oracle bone inscriptions, there are two characters concerning divinations, namely: \( \text{pu} \) and \( \text{chen} \), both are pictographs. The former is a representation of the cracks resulting from the reverse heating which appear on the outer surface of a plastron or a shoulder blade. The modern character transcription still effectively represents the feature and has the meaning of 'divining' (CKWTCS, pp.1093-8). The graph \( \text{chen} \) is a slightly simplified form of \( \text{Hsiao-t'un B, 4810} \), a rendering of a Ting-cauldron. In Shang times, Ting-cauldrons were apparently used for sacrificial purposes and also during the process of divination, accordingly, this graph is transcribed into the modern character: \( \text{enquire by divination} \) (CKWTCS, pp.1103-8). These two characters usually occur in combination and with various graphs placed between them. It was Tung Tso-pin who first recognised the significance of these graphs. In 1931, he compiled the 'Ta-kuei shih-pan kao-shih' suggesting that they were names of the persons who were concerned with divinational ritual - he termed them: \( \text{人} \).
chen-jen 'Diviners'. His theory was new and attractive; it has since then gained considerable attention amongst oracle bone scholars, both as an important criterion in establishing a chronology of the oracular records and as a subject in its own right.

So far as terminology is concerned we know in the traditional literature of four terms applied to Diviners in Chou and Han times: Pu-jen 卜人, Tsung-jen 宗人, Chan-jen 占人 (these three appear in the 'Shih-sang-li' 土喪禮 of the Yi-li 儀禮) and the Shih-kuan 史官 (which term appears in the 'T'ien-kuan' 天官 of the Chou-li 周禮). In the oracular records, however, there is actually no special name for the Diviners. Records concerning their part in the ceremony of divination simply form the pattern which has already become familiar to the reader: on a certain day, a certain person made (usually on behalf of the King) a divination, i.e. Date + 卜 pu + person + 亜 chen + matter to be divined. This basic formula was employed throughout the Five Periods:

丙子卜內(内)(貞):羽丁丑其雨，
(屯乙5355，又見殷墟309，第一期)
072. (i) On the day, ping-tzu [13], the Diviner Nai enquired:
On the day, ting-ch'ou [14], will it be raining?

(ii) [On the day, ping-tzu, the Diviner Nai enquired]:
On the day, ting-ch'ou, will it not be raining?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 5355, appears again in Yin-t'sui, 309. Period One).

073. On the day, jen-tzu [49], the Diviner Hsing enquired:
Will the King fare well during his hunting expedition? It was the 2nd month.

(Hsiao-t'un A, 2828. Period Two).

074. (i) On the day, chia-wu [31], the Diviner Chu enquired:
Will the northern territories have a good harvest?
(ii) On the day, chia-wu, the Diviner Chu enquired:

Will not the northern territories have a good harvest?

(Hsiao-t'ung B, 3925. Period Three).

己未卜出(叶)貞: 北方豈有好穫。
(續編 3.43.2, 第四期.)

075. On the day, chi-wei [56], the Diviner Hsieh enquired:

Will Lin capture Chiang tribesmen?

(Hsü-pien, 3.43.2. Period Four).

癸丑卜出貞: 王司亡旂。
(林 1.29.4, 又 1.39.5. 今同, 第五期.)

076. On the day, kuei-chou [20], the Diviner Ch'ih enquired:

Will the King fare well in the [coming] ten-day week?

(Lin, 1.29.4 and 1.29.5. Period Five).

The five names Nai, Hsing, Chu, Hsieh and Ch'ih are each followed by the character 貞 chen, accordingly, Tung coined the term chen-jen (op. cit., pp.437-440). But the combination does not exist in traditional sources, hence there is a lack of agreement in respect of his interpretation. As they are preceded by the character
pu, Ch'en Meng-chia has suggested that it is the preceding character which should be taken into account particularly since the title Pu-jen does indeed exist in the traditional sources (KKHP, vol. 6, p.17, 1953). However, taken all in all, not every record incorporates both the characters pu and chen, frequently one only is employed. For instance:

壬申卜燧(鍚-爻):羽乙亥子又其來;
(屯乙7751.第一期.)

077. On the day, jen-shen [9], the Diviner Ku enquired:
Will Tzu-Ta come [to have audience with the King]?
(Hsiao-t'yun B, 7751. Period One).

甲午卜贞(造):卝于妣□至妣辛;
(屯丙92-屯乙5328+5455.殷盤305重,第三期.)

078. (i) On the day, chia-wu [31], the Diviner Fei enquired:
Should the King conduct] the Yü Ceremony [in honour of] Pi-... downward to Pi-Hsin?
(ii) On the day, *chia-wu*, the Diviner Fei enquired:
Should the King conduct [the Yi Ceremony] in honour of Hsia-Yi downward to Fu-Wu [with the sacrifice of] an ox?

(Hsiao-t'un C, 92 - Hsiao-t'un B, 5328 + 5455, appears again in Yin-ts'ui, 305. Period Three).

(i) 壬寅吉貳:(*永)幸ِ(鬳),
(ii) 貳:永弗其幸,
(酈卯7040.第一期.)

079. (i) On the day, *jen-yin*, [39, the Diviner] Chung enquired:
Will Yung attack Yin?\(^1\)

(ii) [On the day, *jen-yin*, the Diviner Chung] enquired:
Will not Yung attack [Yin]?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 7040. Period One).

In 077 and 078, *chen* is omitted; accordingly, the title *Chen-jen* is not suitable in respect of these two records. In 079, *pu* is dropped and accordingly the term *Pu-jen* does not fit. Jao Tsung-yi therefore claims that,

\(^{1}\) The graph ✡ is suggested by scholars to have the meanings of 'assault', 'attack', etc. For further information see p.246.
in order to get an accurate rendering of the meaning, both pu and chen should be combined in the one term: chen-pu jen-wu 贞卜人物 (T'ung-k'ao, pp. 43-71). Hence, there are three different title-terms for the Diviners: Chen-jen, Pu-jen and Chen-pu jen-wu which are currently used by scholars. However, as the two characters in question simply indicate aspects of divination these three title-names are, in fact, practically identical. Therefore, this kind of argument is merely of academic interest and does not hold a particularly important place in oracle bone studies.¹ However, as regards chronological

¹ In translating the oracle bone texts into English, it will have been observed that the two characters have been given rather precise definitions: pu has necessarily become a title of Office 'The Diviner' in the same way as the titles Tzu, Fu, Hou, Po, etc. which also generally precede proper-names; chen is given a verbal function 'to divine'. The English rendering is thus quite clearly to be regarded as a mode of interpretation. As such I believe it may be claimed that there is sufficient support upon the basis of comparable word usage throughout the oracular texts to permit more precise definition of the two graphs in terms of pu being a title of office, and chen a verb. However, some scholars consider the former to be a verb; the following translations from the small number of English language surveys touching upon the problem serve to illustrate the point:

(1) 'Day keng-tzu, oracle taken, Chen (augur's name) asking, tomorrow hsin-ch'ou will .... ....'
   (Watson: China, p.103)

(2) 'Divine on the day, Wu-wu, Ku made the enquiry: we are going to .... ....'
   (Li Chi, The Beginning of Chinese Civilization, p.23)
relationships of the Diviners we are really confronted
with a problem. Amongst the extent 100,000 pieces of
oracle bones ranging from complete scapulas and tortoise
shells to tiny inscribed fragments, more than 10,000 bear
the names of Diviners in connection with the matters
divined. The chronological arrangement of the Diviners is
a fundamental aspect of the general problem of
periodization of the extensive corpus of oracular records.
Unless it is firmly established and fully accepted many
aspects of the fabric of Chia-ku-hsüeh may be found open
to question. Unfortunately, as remarked upon earlier in
this survey, there still remain many loose ends to be
tied; the level of agreement in matters of periodization
which one would like to see is not yet established.

When Tung first came to explore the terms pu and chen
in 1931, he recognised only 11 Diviners' names and
suggested that they belonged to Periods One and Two (later

1 (continued)
(3) 'On the day ting-yu (the 34th day) a prognostication
was made; Pin divined: "Will . . . . . ."'
(Barnard, Review Article. MS, vol. XXII. 1, 219)

Note however:
(4) 'Divination on Ping-wu day, diviner Cheng making
the enquiry as to whether . . . . . .'
(Fifty Years of Studies in Oracle Bone Inscriptions,
p.95)

This formula is also close to that used by Hopkins.
he claimed that they all belonged to Period One). Two years later in his famous article 'Chia-ku-wen tuan-tai yen-chiu-li' he proposed his ten criteria for determining the oracle bone periods.¹ That concerning the

¹ The ten criteria Tung advanced fall under the titles: (1) 世系 shih-hsi 'Royal Genealogy', (2) 稱謂 ching-wei 'Relationship Terminology', (3) 貞人 chen-jen 'Contemporaneous Diviners', (4) 坑位 keng-wei 'Burial Pit Affiliation', (5) 方國 fang-kuo 'the Subject States' (6) 人物 jen-wu 'Personages', (7) 事類 shih-lei 'Various Matters Divined', (8) 文法 wen-fa 'Grammar' (9) 字形 tzu-hsing 'Character Structures' and (10) 書法 shu-fa 'Calligraphy'. Careful consideration of each of these results in the unhappy conclusion that only items (1) and (2) are wholly acceptable as chronological criteria. Of the remainder there are serious anomalies and contradictions which invalidate them. Take (4) 'Burial Pit Affiliations' and (5) 'the Subject States' for instance, according to his criteria No. (2), (3), (9), and (10), Tung concluded that all the oracle bones found in Pit El6 belonged to the Period One and Two (pp.360-1). Fourteen years later, in the preface of Hsiao-t'un B, (p.12), Tung classified the Diviner Shih in Period Four. But, amongst the oracle bones unearthed from Pit El6 there are several concerning this same person, Shih (see Hsiao-t'un A, 3013, 3045-7, 3281 and 3304): As regards the 'Subject States', when first proposed Tung listed only 10 Subject States in Period One and one in Period Five. At present, we know of approximately 40 on Period One bones, 9 on bones of Period Two to Four and 3 on Period Five bones. The number known on datable bones has thus increased five-fold but there is not the slightest suggestion that the occurrences can indicate a chronological situation. Because of the enduring historical existence of a geographical name - unlike the limited longevity of human life - the names of the Subject States appear in several Periods. Examples of this are Ch'iang-fang ( 光方 ) which is frequently recorded through Period One, Three, Four and Five and Chao-fang ( 尾方 ) in Period One, Three and Four (see Tsung-shu, p.298). Non-appearance in earlier, middle, or later
chronological significance of the Diviners appears as one of the most important. A total of 34 Diviners' names is listed and these are divided into 4 periods. In Period One are grouped together: Pin, Chung, Chen, Hsüan, Ku, Wei, Yung, Fu, 允, 易 and 易. In Period Two appear: Ta, Lü, Tsi, Hsing, K'ou, and Hsiung; in Period Three: Chüan, P'eng, Ho, Hsün, Chu, Ni and 尼; in Period Five: Huang and Yung. The Diviners Chu, Chui, Chuan, Hsi, Yin, Hsien, Chiao and Yi remained unclassified. As regards Period Four and most of Period Five, Tung declared that they were periods wherein the divinations were made by the Kings themselves (a few such records have, however, appeared in Period One) and by Diviners whose names were not recorded.

Since the publication of Tung's pioneer survey on this subject most oracle bone scholars have turned their attention at one time or another to the study of the Diviners. New names of Diviners have been discovered and new theories about them have been proposed by scores of scholars. But unfortunately, the studies are so varied in quality and often mutually contradictory that it is

1 (continued)

Periods may, of course, be due merely to an insufficiency of documents - unless there is definite record of the establishment, or of the extinction, of a Subject State, it cannot be assumed that lack of record has any special significance.
impossible to review the field of study in full detail here. Accordingly, I shall limit the following brief observations to the more important surveys of the major authorities: Tung Tso-pin, Chen Meng-chia and Jao Tsung-yi. In a later publication, Chia-ku-hsun liu-shih-nien, Tung has presented further notes on the Diviners the number therein totalling 77 and the periodization somewhat revised (cf. pp.79-86). He has allocated 25 Diviners to Period One, 18 to Period Two, 12 to Period Three, 17 to Period Four and 4 to Period Five (op. cit., pp.79-86).

Chen Meng-chia's assessments first appeared in an article 'Yin-tai pu-jen-pien - chia-ku-hsun tuan-tai pin-pien' which later, after a number of modifications was organized into two chapters (4 and 5) in Tsung-shu. He not only discovered names of many more Diviners but also proposed a further and more detailed method of periodization. He divides the 120 Diviners he lists into Seven Periods and Thirteen Groups. The Seven Periods are: (1) Wu Ting, (2) Late Wu Ting, (3) Tsu Keng, (4) Tsu Chia, (5) Lin Hsin, (6) Wu Yi and (7) Ti Yi + Ti Hsin. The Thirteen Groups comprise firstly the six major ones, namely; 'Pin Group', 'Wu Group', 'Shih Group', 'Tzu Group', 'Ch'u Group' and 'Ho Group'. Then there are four which he
Figure 12  The Periodization and Grouping of the Diviners as reconstructed by Ch'en Meng-chia in diagrammatic forms.
terms the 'Attached Groups' and three the 'Unattached Groups' (see Figure opposite).

Jao Tsung-yi compiled his exhaustive survey (T'ung-k'ao) in 1959, and succeeded in increasing the number of Diviners to 137 (amongst which are 20 cases requiring further investigation); he has actually assembled together every single published record concerning Diviners and has organized the materials comprehensively under the names of the individual Diviners which are arranged in a form of chronological order. He finally comes to the conclusion, after demonstrating the numerous contradictions between the various theories and facts pertaining to the Diviners and their chronological order, that the Diviners' names cannot function as a fool-proof criterion. Accordingly, it is well high impossible to establish all 137 of the Diviners into period groups. Some clarification was, however, attempted on the basis of Period One Diviners such as Ku, Pin, Chen, etc. whose chronological situation is generally understood and accepted (see Table IV).

Since we lack a comprehensive and systematic method for establishing the chronological order of many of the Diviners even as the result of Jao's extensive labours no attempt is made to attack a problem of such scope in this survey - I shall simply seek to illustrate something of their rôle in the Shang administrative sphere.
1. **Divination Matters.** Naturally enough these form their most important activity and because of the very nature of the oracular records we see the Diviners engaged in divination in almost every document. As to the details of their duties as Diviners we do not really know much. Recourse may be made to the data recorded in the *San-li* in respect of the terms quoted earlier - Tsung-jen, Pu-jen, Chan-jen and Shih-kuan - but at the best such definitions as may be found will reflect Han Period editing of fairly late Chou data. Nevertheless it is interesting to observe the variation of functions ascribed to the four terms in respect of their rôles in divination ceremonies. The Tsung-jen reads out the text of the matter to be divined to the Ancestors or Deities, the Pu-jen takes part in the act of divination, Chan-jen studies the omens and makes the announcement and the Shih-kuan is in charge of the writing and recording both before and after the prognostication. There is not, however, a single oracle bone bearing any record concerning such duties, thus we do not know whether the divination duties of Shang Diviners might have been similar to those described in the

\[1\]

For a general appraisal of relevant data in traditional sources (mainly the *Chou-li* and *Yi-li*) see *T'ung k'ao*, pp.14-41.
traditional sources. So far as Chou period archaeological evidence is concerned there is practically a complete silence on the subject. Upon the basis of the oracle bones, however, we may establish a few facts and some reasonably acceptable hypotheses. On occasions the Kings themselves conducted the divinations and made interpretations but other than these the vast majority of the divinations were the responsibility of the Diviners. In all probability they supervised the writing of the matter enquired, the application of the heated divining rod to the rear of the plastron or bone and made the interpretation of the resulting fractures. However, the incising of the written records in the bone or plastron would doubtless have been attended to by artisans; so, too, naturally the preparation of the bones and plastrons prior to the ceremony. The traditional accounts may thus have preserved a certain degree of reliability in their idealist descriptions, namely the existence of a division of duty amongst those engaged in the ceremony.

So far as the oracular records permit an overall reconstruction of the rôle and of the duties of the Diviners in the Shang administration one comes to the conclusion that the Diviners comprised a special group of officials in the Shang Court. In so far as the Shang
administration partakes of the character of a theocracy we may observe in the continual practice of making enquiries upon all manner of problems to the Ancestors and the Gods, the Diviner functioning as a bridge between the Ancestors and the Gods, and mankind. The subjects of enquiry ranged as we have often observed, from such important activities as the supervision of rites and ceremonies, leadership and strategy in military expeditions, prayers for good harvest, the issuance of Royal decrees, etc. to such minor and often merely personal matters as toothache, the common cold, etc. - in effect the Diviners not only carried out the divination but also the interpretation of the oracle was mainly the responsibility of these mediator-Diviners. It is not difficult to imagine thus how significant must have been the influence of the Diviners upon practically every aspect of administration.

2. Participation in Military Expeditions - On account of the high proportion of divinations concerning warfare recorded in the oracular texts, one has little difficulty in visualizing the incessant nature of this activity in Shang times. Most military campaigns were led by the Kings themselves, but as we have already noted the command was occasionally given to the Princes, certain great generals, military officers and, very rarely, to the Fu-x
ladies. It is upon the basis of the identity of names that certain of the Diviners appear to have taken part in expeditions but such records are rather rare:

(i) On the day, ting-chou [14], the Diviner Pin enquired:

Will Chih capture Chiang tribesmen? It was the 9th month.

(ii) [On the day, ting-chou 14, the Diviner Pin] enquired:

Will not Chih capture Chiang tribesmen?

(Yin-ts'ui, 205 - Hsiao-t'ung B, 2728 + 4509 + 4858. Period One).

Chih is otherwise known to be a Diviner of Period One. Although, in this record, there is no direct mention of warfare, it is, nevertheless, one that must have been concerned with a military expedition to the Ch'iang Region and consequently the expected capture of Chiang tribesmen (cf. Passages 075, 127, 132, etc. for further clarification on the military character of these 'slaving expeditions'). A similar record appears in Ts'ui-pien (196):
On the day, ting-wei [44], [the Diviner ...] enquired:
Should the King command Mao to attack Wei-fang?

(Yi-ts'un 913 has an identical text. Period One).

Kuo Mo-jo suggests that the graph is a variant form of 正:正:正:正 cheng, 'to attack'. It is by no means certain that his suggestion is correct; however, since no other transcription and interpretation has been attempted, the suggestion is accepted here both upon the basis of structural aspects of the graph itself as well as the context. Mao is a Diviner of early Period One. Details concerning Wei-fang have been noted earlier (pp.49,50). Besides the two passages cited above, there is another item which unfortunately is incomplete recording a Period One Diviner Shih setting out on a military campaign (Yin-ts'ui, 255 - Hsiao-t'un B, 4502 + 4842).

3. Participation in the Hunt. In oracle bone inscriptions, there are several characters concerning aspects of the hunt: or 射 (: 鈞: 狩: 狩) shou,
'to hunt with dogs', 網 (wǎng) 'trap with net', 獵 (huò) 'capture by hand', 獵 (huò) 'to trap', 畋 (tiěn) 'to hunt', 獵 (jiān) 'to go [to hunt on foot]', 逐 (zhú) 'pursue game', 炎 (shì) 'hunt with bow and arrow', and 炎 (shì) 'use of fire to beat game'. Like ceremonial functions and warfare, hunting was also an important Royal activity and records concerning it are numerous.¹ In some cases, however, officials also took charge when so commanded by the King; amongst these are Diviners:

082. [On the day, ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:

Should [the King] command Wei to hunt at Pi and at Chang [?]

(Hsiao-t'un A, 2258. Period One).

¹ For further details concerning hunting activities in Shang times see Matsumaru Michio 'Inkyo bokuji chú no denryō chi ni tsuite' 殷卜辞中の田獵地について 東洋文化研究所紀要第三十一巻, Tokyo, 1963) and Wong Yin-wei's 'Yin-wang t'ien-la-k'ao 殷王田獵考 ', Chung-kuo wen-tzu 中國文字 , vols. 15 and 16, Taipei, 1965).
On the day, *jen-hsü* [59], the Diviner Ku enquired:
Should [the King command] Chü and Shih to trap deer with net at Nung?
(*Hsiao-t'un B, 5329. Later Period One*).

[On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ] enquired:
Will Kou and Yung be successful in their hunt for deer?
(*Yin-ts'ui, 284 - Hsiao-t'un B, 5470 + 5607. Period One*).

Wei is otherwise known as a Diviner of Period One while Chü, Shih and Yung are also Diviners in the later part of Period One. Kou is a Subject Ruler. Although the character LING in its usual sense of 'Royal command' is not employed in Passages 083 and 084, it is to be understood as in the case of Passage 082 (cf. also pp.17,18 above). The joint occurrence of the two names Kou and Yung in the above context may perhaps be assumed to
indicate that the location of the hunting-ground was somewhere near both the Subject State of Kuo and the Shang capital where Yung would naturally be stationed.

085. On the day, ting-yu [34], the Diviner enquired:

[If] the King hunts ... ... [should] Li trap game?

[After studying the omen, the King announced:
It is] auspicious.

(Hsiao-t'un A, 1603. Periods Four and Five).

Both and Li are elsewhere recorded in the rôle of Diviners.

In addition to the preceding four examples, there are further records concerning hunts in which Diviners took part such as Hsiao-t'un B, 5347, Yin-ts'ui 224 (Hsiao-t'un B, 3174 + 3910), Yi-ts'un 930, etc. The total number is about 15.

4. On Service as Emissaries. As so many States existed in Shang times, there was established the post of Shih 'Diplomatic Delegate' - an emissary directly responsible to the King whose duties are discussed at length later.
There is limited evidence that Diviners were occasionally commissioned to carry out similar duties. However, as only one record of this is known in respect of Diviners it would appear that it may have involved a very important and confidential duty.

(i) On the day, chi-ssu [6], the Diviner Wo enquired:
Should [the King] despatch Shih to be an emissary to Chu?

(ii) [On the day, yi-wei 32, the Diviner Yu enquired:
In the 9th month, should [the King] send out an emissary?

(iii) On the day, yi-wei, the Diviner Yu enquired:
In the 9th month, should [the king] send out an emissary?

(iv) On the day, yi—..., the Diviner Tzu enquired:
[If we despatch] an emissary to the Yi-barbarians will he fare well?

(Hsiao-t'\un B, 4949. Late Period One).
There are three Diviners recorded in this plastron. According to Tung, they all belong to Period Four (Liu-shih-nien, pp.84-85). However, both Ch'en and Jao are of the opinion that they are Diviners of the latter part of Period One. The researches of these two authorities seem to be the more reliable on this point (cf. Tsung-shu, pp.158-59; T'ung-k'ao, pp.705, 714, 736 and 737). Presumably, at the time of this record, there were difficulties between Shang and the Yi-barbarians, a hostile people living beyond the eastern frontiers. Accordingly the Diviner Shih was under consideration as the appropriate person to despatch to seek negotiations with the Yi-barbarians. There appears, however, to have been some uncertainty as to whether an emissary ought be sent at all and if one were despatched would he complete the task safely.

5. Their Association with Tribute payments: As earlier observed articles of tribute included tortoise shells. Many of these contain brief notices incised such as '帝并下四十, 力', 'Fu-ching (or hsing) [come] to pay [a tribute of] forty [unknown items, it was signed by the Diviner] Pin' (Hsiao-t'un B, 6967), '帝好入五十, 争' 'Fu-hao enter [to pay a tribute payment of] fifty [unknown items, it was signed by the Diviner] Chen' (Hsiao-t'un B,
7782), which apparently are a form of itemization and which are generally assumed to be a list of unspecified items of contribution made by the Subject States. These records are signed by Shang officials. According to Hu Hou-hsüan's investigation, there are 24 such signatures (cf. Lun-t'ung, 14, pp.15b-20b) and amongst these, 15 comprise the names of Diviners, namely: Ku, Pin, Chen, Hsüan, Chung, Chung, Yung, Nei, Pi, Wei, Yo, Chin, and Pei. So high a proportion would seem to demonstrate a particularly noteworthy aspect of their duties - the materials concerned being items of fundamental importance in the divinatory ceremonies. It is unfortunate, however, that our archaeological texts do not furnish us with more details on this matter.

6. Supervision of Agriculture: There is some indication that the Diviners, like the Princes were placed in charge of agricultural work. However, so far as we know, there is only one Diviner recorded who takes part in such supervision, and this is Yung:

乙丑卜令(于)午(于)午[于]午于(于)午于于(于)午于于于于，
(林1.38.5,第-期.)
On the day, yi-ch'ou [2], the Diviner Pin enquired:

Should [the King] command [Yung] to supervise [agricultural work at Yang]?

(Lin, 1.28.5. Period One).

On the day, wu-chen [5], the Diviner Pin enquired:

Should [the King] command Yung to supervise agricultural work at Yang?

(Chien-pien, 2.37.6. Period One).

…令，泳至田于[高]，

(前编 4.10.3, 第一期.)

On the day, … … …, the Diviner … enquired:

Should the King command Yung to supervise agricultural work at [Yang]?

(Chien-pien, 4.10.3. Period One).

Although there is still an element of doubt about both transcription and interpretation of the graph, yet, with the elements 'two hands' and 'earth', it is reasonable to give it an approximate meaning.

Consequently the term is presumed to mean 'to till'
or 'to plant' or some other such farming activities (cf. CKWTCS, pp. 4001-6). Yung is taken by Tung Tso-pin and Ch'en Meng-chia to be a Period Five Diviner (Ch'en transcribes the graph 派 as 派 pei) whereas Jao Tsung-yi assigns him to Period One. Since the names of Diviner Pin and Diviner Yung appear on the same bone, they must be contemporaries. Since Pin is a Diviner of Period One, Yung must, as Jao maintains, belong to the same period. The preceding passages are the only three records relevant to this subject and, as noted above, Yung is the only one who seems to have taken part.

7. Despatch of Military Reports: Except in the south, the area dominated by Shang was surrounded by strong and hostile tribes and for this reason there is occasionally found record of urgent messages from the frontiers concerning military affairs brought directly to the King:

癸巳卜穫:句亡因, 亡因:出帝,其來娃
三(其)至五日日面允有來娃自西, 汝戛
告曰:土方正于我東方(於-郭)我二邑,
邑方炎(於-亦)外(於-郭)我西畞田,
(考華2.1,第一期.)

090. On the day, kuei-ssu [30], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will there be nothing untoward during the coming ten-day week?
[After studying the omen], the King announced: There are ill omens. Trouble will come. [The record is that]: Five days later, on the day, ting-ssu [34], bad news arrived from the western frontier; Chih-chih sent in a report: 'the T'u-fang tribes have attacked our eastern frontier [the frontier under Chih-chih's control], damaging two villages; the Chi-fang tribes have also occupied our western territory and are grazing their stock in our fields.'

(Ching-hua, 2.1. Period One).

This passage illustrates well the King's anxiety in respect of tidings of such content issuing from the eastern and western reaches of the Kingdom. To the south, however, there were apparently few such troubles and no strong enemy to contend with. All messages of trouble along the southern frontiers - four cases only are known (Hsü-pien, 5.4.3. [repeated in Fu-jen, 55]; Hsiao-t'un B, 3212; Ning-hu, 3.122; and Hsiao-t'un A, 2902) - were borne by the Diviner Kuo. None of these seems to have been brought directly to the King's attention in the same urgent manner as the above passage. The most complete of the four records reads:
091. (i) On the day, *wu-[wu] [55, the Diviner ...]* enquired:

Will not Pi be defeated in the southern territories? Will Kuo report upon the situation?

(ii) On the day, *wu-wu [the Diviner ...]* enquired:

Will Pi gain a victory [over the area] from the P'ang-fang - south of the Huai River - [outward]?

(iii) On the day, *chi-wei [56, the Diviner ...]* enquired:

Will [the enemy] Yu-fang gain a victory over Pi in the southern [territories]?

(iv) On the day, *chi-wei, [the Diviner ...]* enquired:
Will [our] army be safe in the southern territories? Will Kuo report on the situation?

(v) On the day, chi-wei, [the Diviner ...] enquired:
Will [our] army be safe in the southern territories? Will Kuo report on the situation?

(vi) On the day, keng-shen [57, the Diviner ...] enquired:
Will Chiao be safe in the southern territories? Will Kuo report on the situation?

(vii) On the day, hsin-yu [58, the Diviner ...] enquired:
Will Chiao be safe in the southern territories? Will Kuo report on the situation?

(viii) On the day, jen-hsü [59, the Diviner ...] enquired:
Will [our] army be safe in the southern territories? Will Kuo report on the situation?

(Hsiao-t'ūn A, 2902. Period One).
The preceding 8 sections (there are five more similar but incomplete) comprise divinations made on five consecutive days: wu-wu [55], chi-wei [56], keng-shen [57], hsin-yu [58] and jen-hsü [59]. They indicate that there was
trouble in the southern territories and that Pi and Chiao had been despatched in command of the armies (to-shou 'many heads') to attend to the matter. The person, Kuo was in charge of the compilation and despatch of reports on progress. He otherwise appears as a Diviner in Period One. During the period this record of the consecutive divinations was made it is evident that he was absent from the capital and had accompanied the two military commanders and their forces. At the time reports expected from him must have been somewhat overdue thus the anxiety leading to divinations being made on the subject.

Attention should be drawn to the term 淮南 huai-nan 'south of Huai River'; the source of the Huai River is T'ung-po-shan 桐柏山 located at the south most boundary and slightly westward of present Honan; accordingly, ancient P'ang-fang should be somewhere beyond this mountain. Yu-fang, too, should be in the same vicinity.

8. Origins of the Diviners. There is no mention at all as to what sections of Shang society the Diviners were derived. Traditional literature, too, is silent on the point and the limitation of the oracular texts themselves is such that information of this kind would not be specifically recorded. However, identity of names of
Diviners with those recorded in other official capacities offers some form of clue.

We have already observed the presence of names of Subject States amongst those of the Diviners. There are 7 all told: Huan-fang, chung, Wei, Yung, Chih, Hsing and Pei. As may be noted in Table IV each of these occurs elsewhere in reference to, or in terms of, subject Rulers of the States concerned. It is interesting to note in the case of the Huan-fang, a territory earlier hostile to Shang, that its ruler following defeat and submission to the King should be entrusted with the high office of Diviner. This places him on the same level of trust and responsibility, for instance, as the ruler of Wei, one of several States which throughout all the oracular texts have no records suggesting them to have taken up arms against the Royal Court. The Subject Ruler of Wei served as a Diviner of extensive mention in Period One (T'ung-k'ao, pp. 540-552 lists no fewer than 100 enquiries conducted by him).

Amongst the Princes there is a total of 20 names which may be paralleled with those of Diviners as observed earlier (p. 60). This is a fairly high proportion of the total of 137 Diviners and it may well indicate one of the
major sections of Shang society from which appointments were effected.

In the following pages attention will be drawn to name-parallels amongst Marquises (12 cases), Earls (only 1 case) and the various other Official Ranks. They are also listed for convenient reference in Table IV. On the basis of this data we may assume that the Diviners were derived from the various ranks of Shang officialdom and were either appointed to the post (as a matter of promotion from a lower rank?), or as a result of faithful and efficient service, they were entrusted with the tasks of divinational enquiry concurrently with the rank (or ranks) they already held. Exactly how this aspect of the situation depicted in Table IV may be interpreted in terms of time will remain an enigma until further, and more specific, evidence is unearthed.
For general explanatory notes regarding the structure of the main Table see Table Two (p. 79).

In the present Table, the periodization is generally in accordance with Jao Tsung-yi's assessments. The grouping in Period divisions, too, is also based on Jao's work, though it is, of course, tentative in scope.

For convenience the definitions of the letters in the code references to the title-name combinations are listed hereunder:

- **P**: 'Prince'
- **F**: 'Fu-x Lady'
- **D**: 'Diviner'
- **H**: 'Hou-Marquis'
- **E**: 'Po-Earl'
- **Ch**: 'Ch'en-official'
- **HC**: 'Hsiao-ch'en-official'
- **A**: 'Shih-archery-officer'
- **Y**: 'Ya-officer'
- **C**: 'Ch'uan-officer'
- **S**: 'Shu-officer'
- **W**: 'Wu-official'
(1) Diviners as Ruler of Subject States:
D.001 (1-early 2) D.004 D.006 D.007
D.013 (1,2) D.015 (1,5?) D.015 (1,5?)
D.016 (1,2,4?) D.020 D.021
D.023 (2,3) D.025 (late 1?) D.027 (late 1?)
D.028 (1,4?, late 1-2) D.038 (1,2,4?)
D.039 (2) D.063 D.066 (2)
D.072 (1,2-4?) D.073 (1,3?) D.075
D.076 (1,2-4?) D.079 (1,3,4?) D.081 (1-2)
D.088 (1,2,5, late 1-2) D.093 (1,3,4?)
D.103 (1,3?) D.119 (1) D.122 (2)
D.127 D.127
Period One: 18, Period Two: 6, Uncertain (mainly 37 and 47) 25.
Total: 31.

(2) Diviners and Princesses with Identical Names:
D.002 (1-2, late 2) D.006 D.008 D.009
D.009 (2) D.032 D.055 D.036 (late 1-2)
D.065 D.066 (3) D.070 (1,2,4?) D.073 (1,3,7)
D.074 D.081 (1,2) D.085 (1-2) D.126 (1,73)
Period One: 18, Period Two: 5, Uncertain (mainly 17, 27 and 37) 7.
Total: 20.

(3) Diviners and Fu-x Ladies with Identical Names:
D.012 (1?) D.019 D.022 D.013 (1,2)
D.079 (1,2,7) D.081 (1-2) D.086 (1,2,7)
Period One: 2, Period Two: 1, Period Three: 1, Uncertain (mainly 17 and 37) 6.
Total: 10.

(4) Diviners and Marquises with Identical Names:
D.001 (1-2) D.022 D.024 D.038 (1,4,2)
D.041 D.045 (1,37) D.064 (1,3,7) D.122
D.086 (3) D.096 (4) D.105 (1,3,7) D.123
Period One: 6, Period Two: 1, Uncertain (mainly 37 and 47) 3.
Period Three: 1, Period Four: 1.
Total: 12.

(5) Diviners and Earl with Identical Names:
D.028 (1,2,4,7)
Total: 1.

(6) Diviners and Other Officials with Identical Names:
D.022 (w) D.023 (60) D.025 (60) D.031 (Oh 17)
D.038 (60, 1,2,4,7) D.039 (6) D.049 (7) D.052 (6)
D.056 (1-2, 1-2) D.066 (6) D.073 (5, 1,3,7) D.053 (60; 1-2)
D.086 (1,2) D.088 (5,1,2,7) D.096 (60; 37) D.105 (1) 1,3,7)
D.125 (60, 1,3,1,4)
Period One: 9, Period Two: 1, Period Two: 1, Period Three: 1, Uncertain (mainly 17 and 37) 6.
Total: 18.

(7) Diviners Rendering Tributes:
D.001 (1-early 2) D.006 D.007 D.012 (1?)
D.014 (1,2) D.018 (1,3,7) D.018 (1,3,7)
D.022 D.025 D.029 (1,4,7) D.037 (1,4,7)
D.039 D.040 D.051 (1,2) D.051 (1,2)
D.060 (late 1-2) D.067 (1,2,3) D.067 (1,2,3)
D.070 (1,2,4,7) D.073 (1,2) D.079 (1,3,7) D.081 (1-2)
D.092 (1-2) D.122 D.127 D.133 (3)
Period One: 13, Period Two: 4, Period Two: 2, Period Three: 1, Uncertain (mainly 1-2, 7) 2.
Total: 35.

(8) Diviners Signing Receipt of Tributes:
D.001 (1-early 2) D.002 (1-early 2) D.003 D.004
D.005 D.007 D.009 D.013 (1,2-7)
D.014 (1,4,7) D.020 D.021 (1,2) D.022 (1,2-7)
D.024 D.025 (1,7) D.027 (1,4,7)
D.038 (1,2,4,7) D.040 D.041 (1,2,4,7)
D.042 D.045 (1,2,4,7) D.055 D.056 (1,2-7)
D.057 (1,3,7) D.070 (1,3,7) D.080 (1,2,4,7)
D.081 (1-2) D.105 (1,3,7) D.122 (1,2)
Period One: 8, Period Two: 5, Period Three: 1, Period Four: 1, Period Five: 4, Period Six: 2, Uncertain (mainly 1-2, 7) 2.
Total: 16.

(9) Diviners Associated with Sacrificial Ceremonies:
D.021 D.033 (1,4,7) D.034 (1,4,7) D.039
D.046 D.055 D.071 (1,2-4) D.084 (1-2)
Period One: 4, Period Two: 4, Period Three: 5, Period Four: 5, Period Five: 5, Period Six: 5, Uncertain (mainly 47) 2.
Total: 10.

(10) Diviners Associated with Military Campaigns:
D.006 D.019 D.022 D.024
D.038 (1,4,7) D.042 D.044 D.046
D.050 D.051 (1,2) D.052 D.053
D.055 (1,2,4,7) D.057 (1,3,7) D.070 (1,2,4,7)
D.072 (1,5,7) D.079 (1,3,7) D.080 (1,2,4,7)
D.081 (1-2) D.105 (1,3,7) D.122 (1,2)
Period One: 10, Period Two: 4, Period Three: 2, Uncertain (mainly 34 and 47) 7.
Total: 21.

(11) Diviners Associated with Hunting Expeditions:
D.018 (1,2) D.027 D.039 D.040
D.073 (1,2,4,7) D.075 (1,3,7) D.078 (1,2-4)
D.081 (1-2) D.082 (1-2) D.083 (1-2)
Period One: 5, Period Two: 2, Uncertain (mainly 37 and 47) 7.
Total: 19.

(12) Diviners 'Assisting in Royal Affairs':
D.001 (1-early 2) D.003 (1,4,7) D.037 (1,3,7) D.057 (1,3,7)
D.087 (1-2) D.093 (1-2)
Period One: 3, Uncertain (mainly 34 and 47) 2.
Total: 5.

(13) Royal Divinations Concerning the Well-being of Diviners:
D.012 (1) D.015 (1,5?) D.019 D.020
D.022 (1,4,7) D.029 (1,4,7) D.037 (1,4,7)
Period One: 3, Uncertain (mainly 47 and 57) 3.
Total: 10.
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**Notes:**
- 曾與“同”同義“去”（屯乙6702）
- 曾未入貢（詳見1506）
- 發未其疾病（屯甲5301）
- 《漢書》686
- 曾與“事”同出約（見消284）
- 曾同發收贓品之載（郭文升6例31）
- 曾未入貢（存存下267）
- 曾“田于”“書”（詳見2376）
- 曾未入貢（外編147）
- 曾卜其疾（存存下391）
- 曾卜（屯甲1603）
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- 曾卜其疾（屯甲1706）
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- 曾與“龍”“同”同義“去”（屯丙1）
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| 士 | Hsien | 早编9.19 | 第一期 | 先侯 | 曾入貢(殷編137) 
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| 沐 | Mu | 佚存52 | 第一期 | | 曾出獵(屯2493)
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| 木 | Ts'ung | 安陽遺寶4 | 第一期 | | 曾入貢(屯3000) |
| 凡 | 銀 | 殷編65 | 第一期 | | 曾征羌(殷編65) 
曾告先荒(屯26410) 
曾卜其"朕"(屯2574) |
| 芬 | Fu | 范236 | 晚一期 | | 曾與"蘭"同出獵(屯25347) 
曾入貢(屯25313) |
| 烏 | Shih | 范928 | 第一期 | | 曾入貢(屯449) 
曾卜其疾病(佚存743) |
| 于 | Shao | 范488 | 第一期 | 第四期 | 曾與"蘭"同出獵(屯25347) 
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曾卜其生亡囝(屯24047) |
<p>| 侯 | Ch'i | 范7600 | 第一期 | 子取 | 曾出獵(前編8.5.5) |
| 侯 | Ch'uan | 范4171 | 第一期 | 帝侯 | |</p>
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CHAPTER FOUR

I  HOU-MARQUISES

Table V: 193-7

II  PO-EARLS

Table VI: 221-5
I. THE HOU MARQUISES

Amongst the Shang official terms, there are only two which appear to accord with the Five Ranks (五等爵 wu-teng-chüeh) of the Chou feudal organization: 候 hou: Marquis and 伯 po: Earl. In oracle bone inscriptions, records concerning the former total about 200 items including fragments. Following are examples of some of the more complete records which will serve to demonstrate variations in the title-name combinations as well as to introduce some aspects of the rôle of the Marquis:

丙戌卜乙貳(吳:侯)乙(虎)其午，
(肆存甲午58,第一期.)

---

According to traditional sources, amongst the so-called Five Ranks 五等爵 wu-teng-chüeh, Hou 候 and Po 伯 are the second and the third ranks respectively. As we cannot find the exact equivalents of these two Chinese ranks in the European feudal system, we use the western terms 'Marquis' and 'Po' in this and the following chapters only a matter of convenience in translation - which should not be taken too literally.
092. On the day, ping-hsü [23], the Diviner Hsüan enquired:
    Should [the King command] Ch'iang-Hou-Hu to conduct the Yü Ceremony [in honour of...]?  

093. (i) On the day, kuei-hai [60], the Diviner Pin enquired:
    Should [the King] command Ch'iang-Hou to attack Ku?  
(ii) [On the day, kuei-hai, the Diviner Pin] enquired:
    Should not [the King] command Ch'iang-Hou [to attack Ku]? It was the 7th month.  
    (Hsiao-t'un A, 3510 + Ching-chin, 1681. Period One).

094. (i) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner] enquired:
    Should [the King] join forces with Hou-Hu?
On the day, ting-yu [34], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will not Chi-Hou-Yi become ill-fated and indisposed?

(Hou-pien, B. 37.5. Period One).

On the same bone, there is another antithetic pair of enquiries:

(i) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ] enquired:  
Should [the King] join forces with Chih-chih?

(ii) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ] enquired:  
Should not [the King] join forces with Chih-chih?

Chih-chih, as earlier noted, is a general of the same Period. Accordingly, the antithetic pair of enquiries in Passage 029 above must likewise comprise a record concerning military affairs.
According to the representative passages cited above, it is evident that there were three forms title-name combinations for Marquises: (1) X-Hou-Y, (2) X-Hou and (3) Hou-Y, - X denoting a place-name and Y a personal name. There are similarities with bronze inscriptions and traditional sources. In bronze inscriptions, X-Hou-Y is generally used and occasionally X-Hou is also employed, e.g. Yi-Hou-Nieh 圍父 ; 'Nieh, Marquis of Yi' (Wen-wu, 1955, 5.), Ts'ai-Hou-Tsuan 蒲父聲 (+: 韌 ) 'Tsuan, Marquis of Ts'ai' (Shou-hsien Ts'ai-hou-mu ch'u-t'u yi-wu, pp.19-21); Ts'ai-Hou, 'the Marquis of Ts'ai' (op. cit.) and Sun-Hou 筇父 'the Marquis of Sun' (Ch'ang-an Chang-chia-p'o Hsi-Chou T'ung-ch'i-ch'üan, Plate 31). The third combination, Hou-Y, does not appear in bronze inscriptions. As regards traditional sources the situation is the same - the third combination is unknown.

Commentators are of the opinion that certain conditions attended use of the appellation X-Hou-Y: Hung Liang-chi 洪亮吉 believes that it was employed after the death of the Marquis (Ch'un-ch'iu tso-chuan-ku, Yin, 8th year). While Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 in his commentary on the Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan (Hsüan, 7th year) suggests that it was especially used in respect of Marquises whose
feoffs were small and whose status was unimportant. These are, however, merely the theories of Han and post-Han scholars; it is not otherwise known outside of literary sources whether such usages prevailed in pre-Ch'in times. Inscription evidence seems decidedly against these two views as the rulers of States so titled are referred to as living people, while important as well as lesser States and Rulers appear to be recorded in the same manner.

All scholars agree that in both bronze inscriptions and traditional sources, the character in front of the title Hou is a place-name - the State or Territory under the Marquis's jurisdiction. The character following the title is the personal name of the Marquis concerned. In the case of oracular records, scholars also concur in this interpretation; it is self-evident in the content of the records themselves as well as in the writings of the various commentators. Take, for instance, the combinations Ch'iang-Hou-Hu and Chi-Hou-Yi above. Ch'iang and Chi are place names while Hu and Yi are names of persons. The graph ch'iang which is found only in records concerning Marquis Hu is suggested by both Sun Yi-jang (Chü-li A, p.36) and Wang Kuo-wei (Chien-shou k'ao-shih, pp.26b-27a) to be the graph yung, a simplified form of ancient Ｙｕｎｇ, which is
thought to have been located somewhere near present Chi-hsien in north-east Honan. Ting Shan who transcribes ch'iang as 蒙 meng considers its ancient location to have been somewhere near present Shang-ch'iu in south-east Honan ( 'Shih Meng' 釋國 , BAS, 1.2, pp.247-9). Kuo Mo-jo inclines to the opinion that it is the archaic form of 他們 kuang, name of an ancient place situated somewhere between Fu-kuo-hsien, Chü-hsien, and Ch'ang-yüan-hsien in north-east Honan. (T'ung-ts'uan, pp.113b-114a). Finally, it may be observed that Tang Lan transcribes it as 譲 ch'iang and takes it to be the equivalent of 蒋 ch'iang, an ancient State located somewhat close to the present Ku-shih-hsien in north-east Honan (T'ien-jang, pp.62a-b). Though the preceding theories vary widely, all hold the opinion that Ch'iang is a place-name. The character chi is more definitely evident as a place-name as may be demonstrated in such phrases as 王歩於杞 wang-pu-yü-chi 'the King travelled to Chi' (Ch'ien-pien, 2.8.7) and 王歩自杞 wang-pu-chih-chi 'the King travelled from Chi' (Hou-pien, A, 13.1).

As regards the characters Hu and Yi which function as the names of persons it may be noted that they also occur as clan-names - the distinction is not always clear as to
which is involved. Some clarification of this problem may be sought in the following examples:

On the day, kuei-mao [40], the Diviner Huang enquired:

Will the King fare well [during the coming] ten-day week? It was the 1st month [when] the King came to invade the Yi-fang. It was at Yung [on the] frontier of Yu-Hou-Hsi.

(Nan-pei-ming, 786. Period Five? Similar records can be seen in Hsiao-t'un A, 3355 and 3356. Ch'ien-pien, 2.5.3 and 2.15.5, Hopkins, 728 etc.).

On the day, chia-wu [31], the King enquired:

... Should I conduct a ceremony [in honour of the ancestors to invoke blessings upon this military expedition] at the Great
City Shang and have my infantry forces join with Hou-Hsi to invade Yi-fang?

[After studying the omen], the King said:

It is auspicious: In the 9th month, conduct the ceremony to Shang-Chia. It was the 10th year.

(T'ung-tsuan, 592 - Ch'ien-pien, 3.27.6 + 4.18.1. Probably Period Five. The original text is fairly long and some parts are not readable, so the above version is rendered in free translation).

098. (i) On the day, wu-hsü [35, the Diviner ...] enquired:

Yu-yang at P'ien - the frontiers of Yi-Hou-Hsieh?

(ii) [On the day, wu-hsü, the Diviner ... enquired]:

Chung-yang at Yi - the frontiers of Yi-Hou-Hsieh?

(Shih-to, 2.132. Period uncertain).

The meaning of the graph 阳 yang in the combinations yu-yang and chung-yang is uncertain. However, it functions as a verb and is, no doubt, conditioned in
meaning by the characters *yu* and *chung*. In these passages the two names Hsi and Hsieh occur elsewhere as the names of Diviners. Ch'en Meng-chia observes furthermore that: 'there are no instances of the same Marquis by name appearing on inscribed bones of different periods - we may tentatively regard the characters

As early as Shang, the directions: .*, *left'; .*, *yu* 'right' and  or *chung* 'central' were already established and apparently employed in a manner reminiscent of later usage. Records bearing the combination of all the three aspects may be cited:

[203]. On the day, ping-shen [33, the Diviner ...] enquired:

... horses; left, right and centre [each with] troops - three hundred? It was the 6th month:

(Ch'ien-pien, 3.31.2; appears again in T'ung-tsuan, 25).

[202]. On the day, ting-yu [34, the Diviner ...] enquired:

Should the King establish three divisions [in the army]: the right, the centre and the left?

(Ts'ui-pien, 597. Period uncertain).

(continued)
following the title Hou as personal names 亥臘.' (Tsung-shu, p.331) - the interpretation seems thus to be reasonably well founded.

At this stage we may conclude that the two formulae X-Hou-Y and X-Hou amongst oracle bone inscriptions do not appear to differ from the comparable formulae in bronze inscriptions and in traditional sources to any marked extent except perhaps in the significance of the terms as assessed by post-Han scholars as noted above. The third formula, Hou-Y, however, while representative of the greater number of Shang usages of the title Hou, is unknown in the traditional literature and does not appear amongst Chou period inscriptions.

It seems to be almost a general rule in the oracular texts that both place-names and personal names should comprise single characters. Only one fragment, unfortunately incomplete, provides an apparent exception:

1 (continued)
The text of Passage 098 above when viewed in relation to these passages would appear to be an enquiry about the appropriateness of military movements in respect of the army's approach to the frontiers of Yi.
On the day, **wu-tzu** [25], the Diviner Fu enquired:

Should the King decree: I command the **to-yin** and the two Marquises: **Shang-ssu** and **Chiang-Hou** ... Chou?

(*T'ung-ts'uan-pieh, 5.2. Period One*).

The combination **Shang-ssu** seems to be employed here as the name of a marquis (it also appears in **Hou-pien**, B, 8.6 and 7 but without title). However, we do not know whether it is to be read as his personal name or as the name of the territory under his rule (or a clan-name). If it were the former, the title-name should be **Hou-Shang-ssu** 史上繆: Marquis Shang-ssu. If the latter, the combination should be **Shang-ssu-Hou** 上繆成, Marquis of Shang-ssu. In either case the combination would be similar to those existing in both bronze inscriptions and traditional sources.

The following two passages are of particular importance in regard to the preceding discussion:

(*Cii-pii-tsehu, 子二三*).

**Notes:**
- **Shang-ssu** also appears in **Hou-pien**, B, 8.6 and 7 without title.
- The combination **Shang-ssu-Hou** can be interpreted as Marquis of Shang-ssu.
100. On the day, **kuei-mao** [40], the Diviner Chung enquired:

Should the King [offer prayers] for a good harvest in Ho-Hou's (the Marquis of Ho's) [territory]? It was the 13th month.

(**Hsiao-t'un B**, 4055. Period One).

101. On the day, **jen-hsü** [59], the Diviner Cheng enquired:

Should [the King] command Ching [to conduct] agricultural work in Hsien-Hou's (the Marquis of Hsien's) [territory]? It was the 10th month.

(Ch *ien-pien*, 2.28.2. Period One).

Although these appear to be the only examples amongst records of royal prayers for successful harvests wherein the title Hou is formed in combination with graphs known otherwise to be geographical names, attention may be drawn to such place-names as Chih 張, Chen, Ch'ang, Ch'üan and Hu in similar contexts but without any title. The same graphs, however, do occur in other inscriptions with the addition of the title Hou (cf. Table V).

With the preceding observations in mind it may be concluded that the Marquises of Shang times were indeed
rulers of territories and, of course, subject to the Royal Court at Anyang. Ch'en Meng-chia claims that the territories ruled by Marquises were mainly situated beyond the Shang Kingdom (Tsung-shu, p.328). This is only an assumption. However, an extensive examination of the data assembled together in commentaries by the various scholars who have sought to define the geographical locations of places which were ruled by Marquises, shows that his claim may nevertheless be valid. Furthermore, it would seem to gain strong additional support in view of the nature of military records sent by Marquises from the frontiers (e.g. Ch'ien-pien, 4.45.1, see Passage 107 later). It is reasonable, therefore, to see the Marquises as rulers of 'buffet' territories with the function of protecting Shang proper from outsider incursions. Such an establishment has parallels in the later Chou feudal kingdom and naturally raises certain questions. Were the Marquises enfeoffed as in the well-attested early Western Chou inscription 宜屨大彝 (cf. Wen-wu, 1955 5/63-4 and K'ao-ku, 9/165) or were they actually the rulers of their own territories before the establishment of the Shang kingdom and then were created Marquises and continued hereditary rule over their territories? Is their rank higher than that of Po, Earl? None of these questions can
be conclusively answered from the available oracle records. It is also not entirely clear whether they rendered the same services for the Kings as did the Princes, the Fu-x ladies and the Diviners. However, there are several records concerning the activity: *hsieh-wang-shih* 叶王事 'assist in the Royal affairs' (see p. 114 above) involving Marquises (e.g. *Ch'ien-pien*, 6.51.6, *Hsü-pien*, 5.2.2, etc.) which, together with their administrative duties surveyed below would seem to indicate that they may be regarded as a form of official with somewhat similar status and duties as the Princes, Fu-x ladies, and Diviners.

1. **The Marquis in the Rôle of Diviner:** There are several names of Marquises which occur also as the names of Diviners: Yu-Hou-Hsi, Hsi, Marquis of Yu 彼庚喜 (see Passage 96 and 97 cited above): Hou-Ch'üan, Marquis Ch'üan 庚專 (Hsiao-t'un B, 2000); Hou-Kao, Marquis Kao 庚告 (Hsiao-t'un B, 2871); Hou-Kuang, Marquis Kuang 庚光 (Ch'ien-pien, 4.41.1); Hou-Hu, Marquis Hu 庚虎 (see Passage 94 cited above); Ting-Hou, Marquis of Ting 丁庚 (Yeh-chung, 1.38.3): Hsien-Hou, Marquis of Hsien 先庚 (Ch'ien-pien, 2.28.2) and Ho-Hou, Marquis of Ho 壬庚 (Hou-pien, B, 8.6). The records present no details, however, as to how it should come to pass that these
Marquises apparently conducted divination enquiries. The duties must have been carried out in the Shang capital and thus imply attendance at Court. If, however, the correspondence of personal names has the significance we normally accept then it is clear that the rôle of Diviner at Court in the case of Marquises, at least, would have been one adopted (or assigned to them) when they were actually present at Court.

2. Their Associations with Military Matters: Records of Marquises in connection with military expeditions are not numerous; about 30 items have come to my attention. The following three passages are selected to supplement earlier cited examples:

102. (i) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:
Should the King join forces with Hou-Kao, (Marquis Kao) to invade Yi-fang?

(ii) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:
Should not the King join forces with Hou-Kao, [to invade Yi-fang]?
On the day, kuei-hai [60], the King enquired:
Should I join forces with Hou-Chüan (Marquis Chüan)? It was the 8th month.

(Ch'ien-pien, 5.9.2. Period uncertain).

On the day, keng-tzu [37, the Diviner ...] enquired:
Should the King command Hou-To to come (withdraw?) from [Yi]-fang?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 948. Probably Period One).

In addition to the earlier cited expeditions of Hou-Kao, Hou-Ch'üan and Hou-To, there is Marquis Yu ( ), who may also have been engaged in such campaigns against Yi-fang:
On the day, **wu-shen** [45, the Diviner ...] enquired:

Will Hou-Yu [come] to pay a tribute of Yi tribesmen?

*(Hsiao-t'un A, 3332. Period One?)*

Here he is recorded in respect of tribute payments of captives resulting no doubt from his military activities at the Frontiers. It was evidently part of the Marquises' obligations to supply captured tribesmen to the Royal Court. Like the Ch'iang captives, the Yi, too, were often sacrificed in particular ceremonies or in burials.

Records concerning such human sacrifice of Yi captives can be studied in *Hsiao-t'un A*, 690; *Hsiao-t'un B*, 1006, 5325; *Fu-sui*, 24 (appears again in *Hsü-pien*, 1.47.2); etc.

The four passages quoted in this section illustrate adequately enough the rôle of the Marquises in the conduct of distant military duties. It is also evident in the wording of the entries that their status in the administration scheme was one subservient to the Shang sovereigns. Royal commands, extending as they clearly do in Passage 104 above to an expedition already advanced into the Yi-barbarian territories, would seem to indicate the existence of a quite efficient and certainly effective means of communication. That the King should contemplate issuing a command to Hou-To to withdraw his forces from
the barbarian territories would hardly suggest that the expedition was proceeding successfully.

3. **Connection with Agricultural Activities:** In addition to Princes and Diviners, Marquises also took part in agricultural activities. However, records of this kind are rare; the following is a comparatively complete one:

106. On the day, *wu-yin* [15, the Diviner ...] enquired:

Should [the King] command Hou-P'u (the Marquis P'u) [to attend to the] agricultural [tasks]?

*(Ch'ien-pien, 6.11.1. Period One?)*

The full title of this Marquis is Lung-Hou-P'u as illustrated in an attested fragment *(Hsiao-t'un A, 3483. Period One)*, the first character being the name of his State.

Although there are no means available to assess the exact nature of the connection of 'Marquis P'u' as an official in the Royal Court and 'Marquis P'u of Lung' in the rôle of Subject Ruler, it is nevertheless evident that the presence of the character 'hu' 'command' in the
above passage must indicate not only that obedience was expected but also the Royal commands extended to Marquises to carry out supervisory duties in agricultural work.

3. **As Reporters on Military Situations:** Another task allotted to the Marquises was that of conveying military reports from the frontiers. Such records are few - no more than ten - one of these is as follows:

...寇虎允來營出史(事)查,五月。
(舊編4.45.1,第一期.)

107. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:
Will Hou-Hu (Marquis Hu) come to report upon the state of affairs [at] Ku? It was the 5th month.

(Ch'ien-pien, 4.45.1. Period One).

It has been noted earlier (p.128) that communications pertaining to military expeditions, disorders, barbarian incursions etc. from the southern frontier were sometimes handled by Divinners apparently because there was no strong enemy in that direction. The present example may be taken to represent the greater degree of responsibility in such matters given to the Marquises and on much the same level as with Subject Rulers and Generals (see pp.71,153 above).
The location of Ku in the western part of the Shang Kingdom is discussed on p. 48. As the territories of the Marquises were mainly along the frontiers this aspect of their duties to the Royal Court needs little comment.

No doubt it was because of the Marquises' military responsibilities along the frontiers, their being an important source of tribute and, from time to time, they rendered valuable services to the Royal Court that the Kings endeavoured to maintain good relations with them. Thus as in the cases of the Princes and the Fu-x ladies, royal concern for their health and the success of their harvests is sometimes the subject of divination. However, such records are rare, the following are the only two available examples with enquiries as to their health:

108. On the day, keng-chen [17], the Diviner Nei enquired:

Will Hou-Chüan be particularly ill-fated and indisposed?

(Ching-chin, 1667: repeated in Yi-ts'un, 8. Period One).
On the day, ting-yu [34], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will not Chi-Hou-Yi (Marquis Yi of Chi) become ill-fated and indisposed?

(Hou-pien, B. 37.5. Period One).

As regards divinations concerning harvests, there are about ten records. The following two examples are representative:

On the day, kuei-mao [40], the Diviner Chung enquired:

Should the King [offer prayers] for a good harvest in Ho-Hou's [territory]? It was the 13th month.

(Hsiao-t'un B, 4055. Period One).

On the day, Keng-tzu [37], the Diviner ... enquired:

Will Chüeh-Hou receive a good harvest?

(Ch'ien-pien, 3.1.2. Period Three?)

Although such records as these indicate the existence of close and amicable relations between the Marquises and the
Kings, there are nevertheless a small number of records of royal commands to other personages to invade the territories of Marquises. There are even divinations which seem to concern the sacrificing of Marquises:

110. On the day, jen—... [the Diviner ... enquired: Should the King] command Ch'üeh to attack Hou (Marquis of )?
(Hsiao-t'un A, 183. Period Four. A similar record also appears in Yi-ts'un, 604).

111. On the day, jen-hsü [59, the Diviner ... ] enquired: Should Hou- (Marquis of ) be slaughtered for sacrifice [at the ceremony in honour of] the ten ancestors from Pao-Chia onward?
(Couling, 1132. Period uncertain). ¹

¹ The bone is now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada. I made a careful study of it when I visited the Museum in 1965; it appears to be genuine. Hsiao-t'un A, 433 has an almost identical but incomplet text (cf. Chü Wan-li, HTCPKS, p.67, note also the elaboration of the term shih-tsung 'the Ten Ancestors' in No. 2282, op. cit., p.288).
As we shall note later the number of recalcitrant Marquises in no way compares with that of the Po, Earls, to be discussed next. As regards the sacrificing of the Marquis one would not, of course, wish to infer that this one example represents a general custom.

It will be observed in Table V that the names of several Marquises have parallels amongst both Princes (7 cases) and Diviners (12 cases). Although it is normally assumed that the same persons are involved in practically all such parallel cases, there is no evidence amongst the oracle bone texts that might indicate whether the occupant of a particular post has been transferred (or promoted) to another, or whether the posts were held concurrently. As in the cases of all Shang administrative posts - except that of the King - there is no indication of hereditary tenure. Nor for that matter, are there grounds to suppose that such posts were not handed down from father to son.

As a result of my own investigation I have found a total of 44 names of Marquises. There are problems as to the periods they belong but as the majority of them were Rulers of Subject States it would seem unlikely that they would all have been co-existant. Oracle bone scholars have, on occasions, sought to apportion the Marquises amongst the Five Periods. Shima Kunio, for instance, has
divided his total of 35 names of Marquises as follows: 17 in Period One, 4 in Period Two, 1 in Period Three, 18 in Period Four and 5 in Period Five (amongst these several are repeated throughout two or more periods). Apart from a few minor mistakes such as Yu-Hou in Period Five instead of Period Two, and Hou-Kuan in Period One rather than Period Four, etc. his arrangement is largely acceptable (see Table V).
For general explanatory notes regarding the structure of the main Table see Table Two (p. 79).

For convenience the definitions of the letters in the code references to the title-name combinations are listed hereunder:

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<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
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<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>'Fu-x Lady'</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>'Diviner'</td>
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<td>H</td>
<td>'Hou-Marquis'</td>
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<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>'Po-Earl'</td>
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<td>Ch</td>
<td>'Ch'en-official'</td>
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<td>HC</td>
<td>'Hsiao-ch'en-official'</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>'Shih-archery-officer'</td>
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<td>Y</td>
<td>'Ya-officer'</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>'Ch'Uan-officer'</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>'Shu-officer'</td>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>'Wu-official'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
SUMMARY

Periodization is indicated in parentheses for Periods Two-Five only. Where there is no entry - this affects the majority of cases - the dating is to be read as Period One.

(1) Hou-Marquises as Rulers of Subject States:
   A.05 (1,4?) H.23 (1,4?)

(2) Hou-Marquises and Princes with Identical Names:
   H.08 H.09 H.14 (1?) H.15 (1?)
   H.18 (1?) H.29 (4) H.41 (5)
   Period One: 2, Period Four: 1, Period Five: 1,
   Uncertain [mainly 1?]; 3.

(3) Hou-Marquises and Fu-x Ladies with Identical Names:
   H.01 H.05 (1,4?) H.06
   H.42 (5)
   Period One: 2, Period Four: 1, Period Five: 1

(4) Hou-Marquises and Diviners with Identical Names:
   H.02 (1,4?) H.05 (1,4?) H.06
   H.09
   H.18 (1?) H.19 (1,4?) H.32 (4)
   Period One: 5, Period Four: 1, Period Five: 1,
   Uncertain [mainly 17 and 4?]; 5.

(5) Hou-Marquises and Po-Earls with Identical Names:
   H.19 (1,4?)

(6) Hou-Marquises and Other Officials with Identical Names:
   H.6 (W) H.07 (W) H.10 (HC)
   H.19 (HC; 1,4?) H.41 (HC; 5) H.42 (Y; 5)
   Period One: 3, Period Five: 2, Uncertain [mainly
   17 and 4?]; 2.

(7) Hou-Marquises Rendering Tribute:
   H.31 (4) H.34 (4)

(8) Hou-Marquises Associated with Sacrificial Ceremonies:
   H.13 (1?) H.19 (1,4?) H.21 (1,2,3?)

(9) Hou-Marquises Associated with Military Campaigns:
   H.02 (1,4?) H.04 H.05 (1,4?) H.06
   H.09 H.21 (1,2,3?) H.26 (2)
   Period One: 3, Period Two: 1, Period Four: 1,
   Uncertain [mainly 37 and 47]; 3.

(10) Hou-Marquises Associated with Hunting Expeditions:
   H.20

(11) Royal Divinations Concerning the Well-being of Hou-Marquises:
   H.01 H.05 (1,4?)

(12) Hou-Marquises Slaughtered in Sacrifices:
   H.36 (4)
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<th>Other Titles</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hou-T'ang</td>
<td>侯唐</td>
<td>侯方^{300}</td>
<td>第三期</td>
<td></td>
<td>僅見（侯方^{300}）</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chang-Hou</td>
<td>侯長</td>
<td>侯方^{1670}</td>
<td>第四期</td>
<td>長子 P072</td>
<td>僅見（侯方^{1670}）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chou-Hou</td>
<td>侯周</td>
<td>侯甲^{436}</td>
<td>第四期</td>
<td>帝周 P068</td>
<td>僅見（侯甲^{436}） 望上“帝周”</td>
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<tr>
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<td>侯加</td>
<td>傳編^{5.5.6}</td>
<td>第四期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾未入貢（傳編^{5.5.6}）</td>
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<tr>
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<td>傳編^{4.41.6}</td>
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<td>卜光 D045</td>
<td>商王曾卜其“若”（傳編^{4.41.6}）</td>
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<td>第四期</td>
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<td>僅見（南北明^{253}）</td>
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<td>侯甲^{333.2}</td>
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<td>曾未入貢（侯甲^{333.2}）</td>
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<td>僅見（侯甲^{2.3.16}）</td>
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<td>真侯</td>
<td>傳編^{3.2.6}</td>
<td>第五期</td>
<td></td>
<td>僅見（傳編^{3.2.6}）</td>
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<td>第五期</td>
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<td>侯白</td>
<td>南北明^{786}</td>
<td>第五期</td>
<td>子 D080 HC21</td>
<td>商王曾立其地“人方” （繙合縁^{184}）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hou-Siang *</td>
<td>攝侯</td>
<td>傳編^{4.37.5}</td>
<td>第五期</td>
<td>卜義 D086 Y7</td>
<td>僅見（傳編^{4.37.5}）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hou-83</td>
<td>候白</td>
<td>外編^{83}</td>
<td>第五期</td>
<td></td>
<td>僅見（外編^{83}）</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. THE PO EARLS

The character  \( \theta \) in oracle bone script exhibits a few slight variations in shape:  \( \theta , \theta , \theta , \theta , \) (CKWTCS, 2595). It is employed with three meanings: 'white', as a place-name, and as an official rank ( \( \theta = \theta \) ) Po 'Earl'. When it is used as the adjective 'white', it is invariably found modifying graphs depicting different kinds of animals:

甲骨卜文: 昊來自馬, 王問曰: 吉, 其來。
(屯乙3449, 第一期)

[012]. On the day, chia-ch'en [41], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will [the Subject Ruler of] Hsi come [to render a tribute of] 'white' horses? [After studying the omen], the King announced: [It is] auspicious, [he] will come [to render the tribute].

(Hsiao-t'ung, 3449. Period One).

... 五 \( \theta \) (白)牛...
(屯乙866, 第一期)
112.  

... five 'white' oxen ...

(Hsiao-t'un B, 866).¹

113.  

... On the mountain slope of , [we] captured a 'white' rhinoceros [we slaughtered it for sacrifice in] the Yü Ceremony [in honour of]... It was the 2nd month of the 10th year. [The King conducted] the Yung Ceremony. The King came to attack ..., the Yü-fang-po ...

(Hsiao-t'un A, 3939, Period Five).²

¹ This is a record carved on the reverse of a Period One plastron. The rest of the original text is obscure and cannot be completely read. However, the three characters cited above are quite distinct. Usually records appearing on the reverse of bones or shells are not divinations, they are simply records of a certain event or of a tribute payment. The above passage is presumably a record concerning the sacrifice of the five white oxen.

² This record is carved on a rhinoceros skull. Commentaries have been given by Kuo Mo-jo, Shang Ch'eng- tsu and Chu Wan-li, see HTCPKS, p.498. The term युंग, yung-jih is to be read as 'the day for the Yung Ceremony'. Yung was suggested by Tung Tso-pin and agreed by Li Hsiao-ting to be 'a ceremony of drum beating' (CKWTCS, pp.2760-64) and further has been claimed by Chen Meng-chia to be one of the three cyclical Ceremonies which were mostly practised in the later period (Tsung-shu, pp.386-99).
114. On the day, yi-chou [2], the Diviner ... enquired:

Should the 'white' pig(s) be slaughtered for the Liao Ceremony?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 733. Period uncertain).

115. On the day, wu-tzu [25, the Diviner ... ] enquired:

Should Chih-tzu [conduct the] Yü Ceremony [in honour of] Fu-Ting [with the sacrifice of] 'white' pig(s)?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 5399. Period uncertain).

116. [With the sacrifice of] 'white' dog(s)?

(Ching-chin, 4200, Period uncertain).

Apart from horses, oxen, rhinoceros, pigs and dogs as cited above, there are also references to 'white sheep' (Hsü-pien, 2.20.7), 'white mi-deer' (Ts'ui-pien, 958) and
'white wolves' (Ts'ui-pien, 956). In the majority of cases these white animals appear in records concerning ceremonies and it seems that white animals were most frequently used for sacrifice. In all probability they were painted with a white pigment beforehand. According to tradition, each dynasty had its own symbolic colour, it is interesting to recall that the Shih-chi records the colour of the Shang dynasty as 'white'.

Where the character is preceded by 在 таi or 于 yü, it naturally functions as a place name:

(117) On the day, kuei-wei [20], at Po, [the Diviner ...] enquired:

[In respect to] the King [during the coming ten-day week] there will be nothing untoward?

(Hou-pien, A, 10.1. Period Four or Five).

(118) On the day, kuei-wei [20, the Diviner ...] enquired:

Should the King go hunting in Po?

(Chih-hsü, 122. Period Four or Five).
119. On the day, keng-tzu [37, the Diviner ...] enquired:
Should the King go hunting in Po?
(Nan-pei-ming, 534. Period Four or Five).

120. (i) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired:
Will the King] be successful if traps are set to the east of Po?

(ii) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired:
Will the King] be successful if traps are set to the west of Po?
(Hsiao-t'un A, 816. Period uncertain).¹

These are the only examples in which the character po appears used as a place name. The enquiries were

¹ These two passages are incised on the top part of a scapula. Usually when divinations concerning directions were made, two more records, one concerning the south and the other the north, were made on the lower part of the same bone.
conducted prior to the departure of the King concerned to this late Shang period hunting ground, the geographical location of which is unknown.

When this character precedes or follows a proper name, then it functions as the official title Po, Earl.

121. (i) On the day, ... -hai, the Diviner Ku enquired:
Should the King join forces with Yang-Po-Chih (Earl Chih of Yang)?

(ii) On the day, ... -hai, the Diviner Ku enquired:
Should not the King join forces with Yang-Po-Chih?

(Hsiao-t'un C, 55 - Hsiao-t'un B, 1859 + 2871 + 7246. Period One).

122. (i) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:
Should the King join forces with Erh-Po-Kuei, (Earl Kuei of Erh)?
(ii) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... ]
enquired:

Should not the King join forces with Erh-Po-Kuei?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 2948. Period One).

123. (i) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... ]
enquired:

[Should the King] command 春-Po (Earl of 春 ) [to proceed] to 夏 .

(ii) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... ]
enquired:

[Should the King] command 春-Po, [to proceed] to 夏 .

(Hsiao-t'un B, 4538. Period One?)

It might appear here that the graph 于 yü functions as in certain classical instances (e.g. 于 彦 yü-yi, 于 犯 yü-ssu and 于 偉 yü-kuei of Shih-ching) in the sense of 'to go to' but this is not the case. It is simply a form of abbreviation. The point is proved in the following passage incised on the same shell; the character 往 wang has thus been omitted in Passage 124 also:

(continued )
124. [On the day, ... ... ..., the Diviner ... ]
  enquired:
  [Should the King] command Hsieh-Po (Earl of Hsieh) to go (?) to Tung?
  
  (Couling, 1551. Period One. The original is now in the British Museum).

125. (i) [On the day, ... ... ..., the Diviner ... ]
  enquired:
  Should the King] command ... to join forces with Tan-Po (Earl of Tan)?

  (ii) [On the day, ... ... ..., the Diviner ... ]
  enquired:
  Should] not [the King] command ... to join forces with Tan-Po?
  
  (Hsiao-t'un B, 3387. Period One?)

1 (continued)

  (i) [On the day, ... ... ..., the Diviner ... ]
  enquired:
  Should the King proceed to the agricultural land...?

  (ii) [On the day, ... ... ..., the Diviner ...]
  enquired:
  Should not the King proceed to the agricultural land...?
On the day, jen-tzu [49, the Diviner ...] enquired:

Will Po-Keng (Earl Keng) [come] to make an official report ...?

(Ch'ien-pien, 3.1.1. Period One).

All the above graphs Po function in the same manner as in bronze inscriptions, e.g. Ch'ang-Po-Kuo 'Earl Kuo of Ch'ang' (Kao-ku, 1965, 7. 371-2), Mi-Po 'Earl of Mi' (Wen-wu, 1966, 1. 4-6), Ching [: Hsing]-Po 'Earl of Ching' (Shensi, p.25), Po-Hsi 'Earl Hsi' (Chang-an Chang-chia-po Hsi-Chou t'ung-chi-ch'un, t'u-pan, 31), etc. Traditional literature also has its examples cf. Ku-po, Sui (Tso-chuan, Huan, 7th year), Tsao-po, Hsiang (Tso-chuan, Wen, 9th year), Cheng-po 鄭伯 (Tso-chuan, Yin, 1st year), Hsüeh-po 薛伯 (Tso-chuan, Chuang, 31st year), etc.

With but one apparent exception the title-name combinations comprising: place-name + title + personal name are similar to those of Marquises as detailed earlier
Amongst 40 names of Earls and throughout 160 or so inscriptions concerning them it seems clearly evident that the characters preceding the title Po are place-names. In the cases of Yang-Po-Chih and Erh-Po-Kuei cited above it is particularly well attested that the graph Yang and Erh are place-names:

甲戌卜贞：才易牧隻羌
(遺周719，第一期)

127. On the day, chia-hsü [11], the Diviner Pin enquired:

Will [the King] capture Ch'iang tribesmen on the outskirts of Yang?

(Yi-chu, 759. Period One).

…貞：易不其受年？
(佚存509，期未知)

128. [On the day, … … …, the Diviner … …] enquired:

Will Yang have a good harvest?

(Yi-ts'un, 509. Period uncertain).

1 The combination po-mu appears in Yi-ts'un (195). As recorded in Hsiao-t'un A, 600, Fu-yin, 90 and Nan-pei-fang, 2.116 indicate, however, the character mu functions as a place-name rather than a personal name. Chü Wan-li's interpretation of mu is a geographical name in this instance would, accordingly, seem thus to require some reconsideration.
129. (i) On the day, chi-wei [56, the Diviner ... ] enquired:
Will Ch'üeh capture tiger(s)?

(ii) [On the day, chi-wei, the Diviner ... ] enquired:
Will not [Ch'üeh] capture [tiger(s)] at Erh?  
(Tien-jang, 80. Period uncertain).

Such examples might be cited at considerable length. In addition to the X-Po-Y, X-Po and Po-Y forms there is another combination which interestingly does not appear in the case of Marquises: Hu-fang-Po Lu (Hsiao-t'un A, 1978. Period Three?), Yu-fang-Po Yen (Hsiao-t'un A, 2416 and 2398. Period Five), Yi-fang-Po (carved on human skull, see Plate 13 of Tsung-hsu, Period Five), etc. Examples such as these further indicate that the graphs preceding the title po are geographical names. Thus, unlike Marquises, the Po were not only rulers of States but also of Regions on the peripherary of the Shang Kingdom. Ch'en Meng-chia (Tsung-shu, pp.325-8) according to data in the Shu-ching chapters: Chao-kao 鬱詔, Chiu-kao 酒詔 and Chün-shih
Map. The distribution of the territories of the Hou and the Po after Shima Kunio (op. cit. p. 209). Above: Numbers indicate periodization, rectangular frames indicate recalcitrant Po territories which have been attacked by the King. Below: Rectangular frames indicate recalcitrant Hou and Po territories which have been under Royal attack; circles represent Regions which have been invaded by Royal forces.
divides the territories under the jurisdiction of Marquises and Earls (he considers that Shang period Hou and Po were 'enfeoffed' by the Kings) into two kinds. He suggests that feoffs of the former were located at the outskirts of the Royal Domain (京畿) while the holdings of the Earls were beyond the territories of the Marquises. Schematically the situation was: (1) the Royal Domain in the centre, (2) the Hou feoffs surrounding it and (3) the Po feoffs further afield. Territories beyond the Po were those of the enemies of Shang. As several times observed earlier there was not, in Shang times, a political system similar to that of Chou feudalism. Ch'en's theory is based rather uncritically on literary materials of much later origin. Furthermore, the evidence adduced by several oracle bone scholars shows that the locations of the territories of the Po often overlapped those of the Hou or were even surrounded by Hou territories. The two maps opposite after Shima Kunio (Inkyo, p.441) illustrate this. As to the status of rank of the Hou and Po and the sizes of their territories, evidence is not available from the oracular records.

However, it is interesting to note that the Kings were particularly severe in their treatment of the Po - much more so than in the case of the Hou. There are at
least 10 entries recording the slaughter of Po in sacrifice as against only 2 examples of Hou:

130. On the day, ting-mao [4, the Diviner ...] enquired:

Should Yang-Po be bound (= strangled?) and sacrificed [in honour of] Ting?

(Hou-pien, B, 33.9. Period One).\(^1\)

131. (i) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:

If the Ch'iang-fang-[Po be slaughtered] in sacrifice in the Ancestral Temple will the King receive the favour [of the Gods or Ancestors]?

---

\(^1\) The single occurrence of the graph Ting is, of course, an abbreviation of one of such Royal Ancestors as Tsu-Ting, Fu-Ting, Pi-Ting, or Mu-Ting. Only if the antithetical passage is preserved can we usually discover which one is actually referred to. Note such examples as in Passage 007 and 014.
[On the day, ... ... ... the Diviner ... enquired]:

The Ch'iang-fang-Po, should be [slaughtered] in sacrifice in the Ancestral Temple will the King receive the favour [of the Gods or the Ancestors]?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 507. Period Three).

... 玄卜: 篹 二方伯用于且丁父甲;

(楚津4034, 第三期.)

132. [On the day, ... ... ] - hai, the Diviner [... enquired]:

Should Ch'iang tribesmen and the two Fang-po [be slaughtered] in sacrifice [in honour of] Tsu-Yi and Fu-Chia?

(Ching-chin, 4034. Period Three). ¹

It may be assumed here that the characters 二方伯 should be read as: 'the Po of the two Regions [un-named]', these would naturally be two different Regions - one of which might be Ch'iang. The association here of the term Region together with the Ch'iang indicates the distant location towards the limits of the Shang Kingdom.
133. (i) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:

(ii) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:
   Should Pei-Po-Yin [be slaughtered] in sacrifice [in honour of] ...?


As to the character \( \overline{\mu} \) in Passage 131 Ch'en Ming-chia suggests that it is a pictograph of a human skull and claims that when defeated by the Kings, the Earls were beheaded in the course of various sacrificial ceremonies and record of the battle or of the ceremony was incised on each individual skull (Tsung-shu, p.327). On the other hand, Chü Wan-li considers that the character is simply the name of the chief of Ch'iang-fang (HTCPKS, p.77). Since some pieces of inscribed human skulls have been found (for rubbings and photographs see Tsung-shu, Plate 13), Ch'en's suggestion seems somewhat the more acceptable. Amongst such inscribed human skull fragments may be noted incomplete texts containing the terms '...-fang-Po...' and yung 'slaughter in sacrifice'.

Not only are records concerning sacrifices of Po in greater number than those of Hou, but also the number of
Po slaughtered in a single ceremony sometimes comprised two or more individuals. This is evident in Passage 132 cited above and in the following passage:

134. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:
Should the three Pang-Po [be sacrificed in] the Pao Ceremony in [honour of] Fu-Ting?
(Nan-pei-ming, 621. Period One).¹

Upon investigating the records concerning the Po further, reasons for their prominent place amongst the higher ranking sacrificial victims are soon found:

¹ I examined the original rubbing at the Royal Ontario Museum and believe it to be genuine. The combination, pang-po, may perhaps be regarded as one similar to the fang-po discussed in the previous note. Ch'en Meng-chia who also does not regard these to be actual terms of office does, however, note the similarity with the Shu-ching and Li-chi usages where they are explained as being references to rulers of States outside the Royal Domain (Tsung-shu, pp.326,332).
135. On the day, chia-wu [31], the Diviner Hsüan enquired:
   Will it be a fine day on the next day, yi-wei [32]? [After studying the omen], the King announced: It is not favourable. [On the day], ping-[shen, 33] trouble will come. Indeed three days later, on the day, ping-shen [33], news of trouble came from the east: Hua sent in a report: Erh-[Po invaded ...]

(Ch'ien-pien, 7.40.2. Period One).

136. (i) On the day, wu-shen [45, the Diviner ...] enquired:
   Will Po-Keng bring trouble [upon us]?
(ii) On the day, wu-shen, [the Diviner ...] enquired:
   Will not Po-Keng bring trouble [upon us]?

(Wei-pien, 350. Period uncertain).

...(E)伐正伯受又,
(释篇1180.期未明.)
137. [On the day, ... ...], the Diviner ... enquired:

Will the King fare well during the attack against Kuei-Po?

(*Tsui-pien, 1180. Period uncertain*).

138. [On the day, ... ...], the Diviner ... enquired:

Will Po-Chih be captured? It was the 4th month.

(*Tien-jang, 90. Period uncertain*).

Though the original text of Passage 135 is not complete, it is obvious with reference to other records, that it concerns one of Erh-Po's invasions of Shang. The territory of Erh-Po was located somewhere to the east of Shang. Other records concerning his encroachment on Shang territories and, conversely, Royal attacks on him appear in *Hsü-pien* (3.34.1), *Nan-pei-wu* (175), *Ching-chin* (1325), etc. Kuei (歸) is suggested by Kuo Mo-jo to be equivalent to the State of Kuei (廬國) which appeared after the downfall of Shang. This State was located somewhere near present Tzu-kuei-hsien, western Hupei (see *Ts'ui-pien*, pp.152a-b). As regards
Po-Chih, it would seem unlikely that this personage would have any connection with the famous General Chih-chih of Wu Ting's time.

In addition to the four passages cited above, there are at least ten other records of similar content. Accordingly, instances of friction between the Kings and the Earls notably outnumber those of Marquises (3 cases only). Thus it would seem clear that the Po tended often towards insurrection and constituted a continual threat to the stability of the borders - especially in the case of Yi-fang-Po. According to traditional accounts it will be recollected that the Yi Region had been under serious attack by Chou Hsin, the last King of Shang, and indirectly was a cause of the downfall of Shang.

Altogether, there are 40 names of Earls scattered amongst the oracular records. However, like Marquises, their status and origin are not entirely clear. Again like the Marquis, the Earl may be apportioned amongst each of the Five Periods as demonstrated in Table VI. Although they were so often at loggerheads with the King there are, nevertheless, records of Earls who had rendered services to the Royal Court. Their tasks follow the usual pattern. We find only one name-equivalent amongst Diviners as against 12 cases amongst a similar total of Hou (44 names).
This lower proportion no doubt indicates discrimination against their employment in so important an activity.

They participated in military campaigns but only about 10 cases are recorded. The three following examples are representative:

(i) On the day, ...-hai, the Diviner Ku enquired: Should the King join forces with Yang-Po-Chih?

(ii) On the day, ...-hai, the Diviner Ku enquired: Should not the King join forces with Yang-Po-Chih?

(Chi-hai 36, at Chang, the Diviner enquired:
Will there be no disaster should the King command the To-ya-officer to join forces
with Yu-Po in the invasion of the Southern Regions? It was in the ... month.

(Ch'ien-pien, 2.8.5. Period Five?)

140. (i) On the day, [hsin]-hai (48), the Diviner Ku enquired:

Should the King command Yüan-Po to supply oxen for a military expedition [and he himself conduct the expedition]?

(ii) [On the day, hsin-hai, the Diviner Ku] enquired:

Should the King command Yüan-Po to supply oxen for a military expedition and should not [the King himself conduct the expedition]?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 3328. Period One).

The exact meaning of the term '不為我' in Passage 139 is obscure. However, according to the usage of this term in various records and the fact that it contains the character tsai 'to hurt', 'mishap', etc., it may be regarded as being similar to 不為我 pu-ch'i-tsai 'there will be no harm?' A point of particular interest in this passage is, of course, the joint attack of a Po together
with a Royal military officer against the Southern Region - the latter presumably also under the jurisdiction of a Po. That the King had misgivings about the advisability of issuing his command for such joint action is clear in the wording of this divination. In Passage 140 the purpose of the oxen in a military campaign is not clear - it would hardly be for transport.

There is a single record of a Po in connection with agricultural activities:

141. On the day, ...,...hai, the King enquired:
Should Po- act as cultivation-inspector?
Will it be favourable?
(Yi-ts' un, 966. Period Four).

It is now sufficiently clear that, compared with Marquises, the paucity of posts they held, and the small numbers of 'appointments' to each post, is a situation which implies well the generally unpleasant relationships between the King and the Po. It is perhaps further significant in respect of the general uncertainty attending the matter of paralleling names from one post to another, that in a case such as the present there should be so distinct a difference in proportions. Possibly it
may indicate that this aspect of the overall approach in the field of oracle bone studies is reasonably valid - the same name, but with different titles of office may refer in the majority of cases to the same individuals?
TABLE VI
- THE PO-EARLS -

For general explanatory notes regarding the structure of the main Table see Table II (p.79).

For convenience the definitions of the letters in the code references to the title-name combinations are listed hereunder:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter (P, F, D, H, E, Ch)</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>'Prince'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>'Fu-x Lady'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>'Diviner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>'Hou-Marquis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>'Po-Earl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>'Ch'en-official'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HC</td>
<td>'Hsiao-ch'en-official'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>'Shih-archery-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>'Ya-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>'Ch'üan-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>'Shu-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>'Wu-official'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Periodization is indicated in parentheses for Periods Two-Five only. Where there is no entry - this affects the majority of cases - the dating is to be read as Period One.

1. Po-Earls as Rulers of Subject States:
   - E.02 E.06 (1,2?) E.07 E.33 (4)
   - Period One: 3, Period Two: 1, Period Four: 2, Uncertain: 1.
   - Total: 7.

2. Po-Earls and Princes with Identical Names:
   - E.29 (4)
   - Total: 1.

3. Po-Earls and Fu-x Ladies with Identical Names:
   - Nil.

4. Po-Earls and Diviners with Identical Names:
   - E.19 (1,4?)
   - Total: 1.

5. Po-Earls and Hou-Marquises with Identical Names:
   - E.19 (1,4?)
   - Total: 1.

6. Po-Earls and Other Officials with Identical Names:
   - E.19 (1,4?)
   - Total: 1.

7. Po-Earls Rendering Tribute:
   - E.19 (1,4?)
   - Total: 1.

8. Po-Earls Associated with Sacrificial Ceremonies:
   - E.21 (2) E.26 (3)
   - Total: 2.

9. Po-Earls Associated with Military Campaigns:
   - E.02 E.04 E.07 E.12
   - Period One: 4, Period Three: 1, Period Five: 1.
   - Total: 6.

10. Po-Earls Associated with Hunting Expeditions:
    - Nil.

11. Royal Divinations Concerning the Well-being of Po-Earls:
    - Nil.

12. Po-Earls 'Assisting in Royal Affairs':
    - E.29 (4) E.35 (4)
    - Total: 2.

13. Po-Earls Slaughtered in Sacrifices:
    - E.11 E.22 (3)
    - Total: 2.
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| 未 | 末方伯章* | 元甲2416 | 第五期 |  | 曾為商系所代(元甲2416 末後編18.6) (原氏釋文不作“章”)}
CHAPTER FIVE

I SHIH 'DIPLOMATIC DELEGATES'

II CH'EN AND HSIAO-CH'EN-OFFICIALS

III CHIEH-CH'EN 'AGRICULTURAL-OFFICIALS'

Table VII : 244

Table VIII : 261-64
I. SHIH 'DIPLOMATIC DELEGATES'

In oracle bone inscriptions, there are the two similar characters: and . Several scholars have distinguished them one from the other and have transcribed as well as interpreted them differently: the former as , an official rank with the meaning of 'secretary', 'archivist', 'chronicler', etc. and the latter as , 'event', 'affairs' etc. and furthermore with a loan meaning of , , 'to send on a mission' (see CKWTCS, pp.0953-72, 2653). In addition, the two graphs function also as names of Diviners. Tung Tso-pin was first to observe this. He transcribed as - name of a Diviner of Period One, and as - name of a Diviner of Period Four (see Table IV). However, his transcription does not suit all the oracular records concerned. Jao Tsung-yi therefore countered his suggestion with the claim that these two graphs are simply shape variants and are the name of the one Diviner (T'ung-k'ao, p.575). After a careful study, I agree with Jao's claim for there is very good reason to believe that
they are indeed simply cases of complete and incomplete versions of the one graph ꜩ. Evidence in support of this may be noted amongst some of the illustrative passages cited in this section.

Though the first meaning - an official rank viz. 'archivist or secretary' - is probably the original one and has been widely used by oracle bone scholars to transcribe and interpret this graph, it is, however, the result of emphasis on the usage in bronze inscriptions and in traditional sources; oracular records do not manifest such a meaning. As regards the second meaning - 'event' or 'affairs', it appears in such terms as hsieh-wang-shih 叶主事 and hsieh-ch'en-shih 叶使事 which have been discussed earlier (p.114). There are more than 25 such records. Amongst these as well as those cited above the character shih is written either as 圭 or as 圭.

This character is employed as a term of office the function of which seems to allow the translation of 'diplomatic delegate'. It functions both as a noun and as

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1 Tung's transcriptions first appeared in his article 'Chia-ku-wen tuan-tai yen-chui-li' (p.359) and again in his book Chia-ku-hsueh liu-shih-nien (pp.80 and 84). However, he does not elaborate as to what basis his interpretations are made. Presumably it is a matter of shape-differences.
a verb; as a noun, it is qualified either by an adjective or by a numeral. When it is used as a verb, it is usually followed by the character 人 jen forming the compound term 使 人 shih-chen 'to send someone on a mission' or by a person's name:

142. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner] Chun enquired:

Will Yin-yin protect our Diplomatic Delegate?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 1189. Period One). 1

143. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ...] enquired:

Should not the King despatch someone on mission to Chih?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 7575. Period One).

1 Several scholars including Lo Chen-yü, Wang Kuo-wei, Kuo Mo-jo, Ch'en Meng-chia, etc. have paid considerable attention to the name-title 伊尹 Yin-yin. According to Ch'en's comprehensive study (Tsung-shu, pp.361-6), it is the equivalent of 伊尹 Yi-yin who was the famous minister of Tien-Yi (Tang 汤). This mythical personage was highly venerated by the Shang people.
On the day, yi-mao [52, the Diviner ...] enquired:

[Should the King] send someone on mission [to] Chu?

(Hsiao-t’un B, 1706. Possibly Period Four or later).

On the day, ping-tzu [13], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Should not [the King] command Ming, joined by Yüeh, to proceed on mission [to] Shou?

(Ping-chin-yüan, 106, appears again in Hsü-ts’un, A. 616. Ching-chin 2220 has an identical text which appears again in Yeh-chung, A. 33.5. Period One).

Sometimes shih is employed both as a noun and as a verb in the same sentence:

(屯乙 1706，四期或以後)
146. (i) On the day, chi-wei [56], the Diviner Chun enquired:
Should our San-shih 'Three Delegates' be sent on mission to Yi-[fang]?

(ii) [On the day, chi-wei, the Diviner Chun] enquired:
Should not our San-shih 'Three Delegates' be sent on mission to Yi-[fang]?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 7797. Period One).

The first shih, in the term San-shih, functions as a noun and the second one as a verb. Again it may be noted that in the above passages, both  and  appear.

There is little information concerning the status and the ranking of the Shih. Such combinations as: 上使 shang-shih 'Higher Delegate', 大使 ta-shih 'Grand Delegate' and 郡 (御) 使 yu-shih 'Royal Delegate' must

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1 It is not absolutely certain that the combination San-shih in this passage is to be equated with the Western Chou terms 三史, 三公, 三事, 三有事, 参有副, etc. in traditional or archaeological sources. But the possibility should be kept in mind. There is only this one instance in the entire corpus of oracle bone texts (cf. CKWTCS, 0961).

2 The upper horizontal stroke of the latter graph is omitted. Such kind of omission happens occasionally in oracular texts. For instance, 贞 is written as 贞 (Hsiao-t'un A, 1222),  is written as  (see p.91 earlier),  is written as  (Hsiao-t'un A, 381), etc. See also note at p.91.
naturally imply gradation of rank but in context their rôle in the Shang administrative structure is obscure so far as variations in duties and responsibilities are concerned:

147. [On the day, ....... , the Diviner .......] enquired:
Should [the King] command Hung to join with the Higher Delegates?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 4695. Period One).

148. [On the day, ....... , the Diviner .......] enquired:
Should [the King] command the Grand Delegate 王? It was the 7th month.

(Hsiao-t'un A, 3536. Period One).

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1 The word order here is a little strange, Chü Wan-li's interpretation is followed (HTCPKS, p.449-50). This and the following passage are the only two with the term Ta-shih amongst the oracular texts.
149. On the day, *yi-chou* [2], the Diviner Chu enquired:

Should the Grand Delegate  上 and Hsien conduct the Yung, Yu and  命 Ceremonies with the sacrifice of 30 cattle [in honour of] Ting. It was the 7th month.

(*Ch'ien-pien*, 4.34.1. Late Period One - Period Two).

150. [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:

... ... *ch'u* (?) command the Royal Delegate?

(*Hsiao-t'un B*, 7360. Period One).

The character 取 *ch'u* is normally employed either as a personal name of a Period One Diviner or as the name of a Ceremony. However, in the above passage, it does not accord with these two interpretations - the meaning is uncertain here.
151. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:

... on the day, ... ... , will [reports of] trouble arrive and so [should we] ... [send out?] the Royal Delegate(s) ... ?

(Ch'ien-pien, 7.31.3. Period One?)

Owing to the fragmentary nature of the original text in this passage the full significance of the record is unfortunately lost; similarly in two other relevant but incomplete inscriptions (Ch'ien-pien, 4.28.3 and Fu-jen, 83). However, the term Yü-shih is distinct and it seems clear that this office was concerned with missions abroad and on account of the occurrence of the graph yü it may well indicate a special ambassadorial function. Somewhat lower in rank and each possibly equal in status were the Shang-shih and the Ta-shih. These we may assume were of higher station than the Shih.

In the terminology concerning the Shih we may observe use of the cardinal directions i.e. 'Eastern Delegate', 'Western Delegate' and 'Northern Delegate'. There are, however, no examples of a 'Southern Delegate' probably on
account of the notably lesser incidence of troubles in this direction as remarked upon earlier (pp.153-56). The passages cited hereafter comprise all available examples:

The Eastern Delegates:

......卜亘贞: 木 (束) 来,
(木 3730. 一期 )

152. [On the day, ... ... ... ,] the Diviner Hsüan enquired:
   Will [our] Eastern Delegate(s) come [back]?
   (Hsiao-t'ún B, 3730. Period One. Another similar record also appears on Hsiao-t'ún B, 3950. They seem to be two fragments of the same plastron).

The Western Delegates:

丁已卜方貞: 今 貞易光貞(食)乃 令西喫(使)三月.
(甲申 2121. 第一期 )

153. On the day, ting-ssu [54], the Diviner Pin enquired:
   Should [the King] command 許 to give 會 a banquet then command him [會, to be] Western Delegate? It was the 3rd month.
   (Hsiao-t'ún A, 2121. Period One).
The graph  and  are names of persons;  also appears on Hsiao-t'un A, 1098 wherein he is commanded by the King to invade a certain place. The status of  is not known, presumably he was an important person at the Court. In this passage occurs an unusual and possibly significant use of the graph  which usually appears in enquiries regarding the weather: 'When the King goes forth will it be a clear day?' Here, however, it is equivalent to the Western Chou and later usage of  =  (= 賜 ),  (tz'u) 'award', 'bestow' - an important term in connection with feudal practices of seigneurial granting of benefices to vassals for services rendered. Although here it means simply the 'giving of a banquet in honour of ...' attention should be drawn to two further examples of the graph  in the sense of  where a more precise suggestion of the meaning 'award' seems evident (Yi-ts'un, 518 and Hou-pien B, 8.5). These are the only three instances in the oracle bone literature. Both this paucity of examples and the idea of 'giving a banquet' above seem to indicate the rarity of feudal practices relevant to the term  as so well known in Western Chou times.¹ However, the remainder of the above

¹ Note further discussion on these points in the Concluding Remarks and the significance of other awards employing the graph  shang 'bestow'.

passage does seem to be concerned with appointment - if it can be so read, it may be regarded as the sole example in the oracle bone literature.

154. (i) On the day, keng-tzu [37], the Diviner Chen enquired:
   Will the Western Delegate [to] Chih be without harm? Hsieh.

(ii) On the day, keng-tzu, the Diviner Chen enquired:
   Will the Western Delegate [to] Chih have mishap?

(iii) On the day, keng-tzu, the Diviner Chen enquired:
   Will the Western Delegate [to] Chih be without harm? Hsieh.

(iv) On the day, keng-tzu 37, the Diviner Chen enquired:
   Will the Western Delegate [to] Chih have mishap?

(Hsiao-t'un C, 5 - Hsiao-t'un B, 4506 + 4536. Period One).
In this passage there are altogether ten records divided into five pairs of antithetical divinations (the first four only translated above) which are carved along both sides of a large plastron. The graph is a place-name, it has been transcribed as chih by Lo Chen-yü (see Yin-hsü shu-chi k'ao-shih, p.256 but note Chu Wan-li's discussion, HTCPKS, p.810). If we accept it as a place name its location should be to the east of City Shang. However, the graph might also function as a person's name in the above context.

As regards the graph : it has been transcribed by Sun Yi-jang as Xu (Ch'i-wen chü-li, B, p.34), by Kuo Mo-jo as ku (Chia-ku wen-tzu yen-chiu, p.2) and by Yang Shu-ta as hsüeh (Pu-tzu ch'iu-yi, p.58a); this is followed by Jao Tsung-yi (T'ung-k'ao, p.747-50). As a result of his comprehensive study the last interpretation seems best suited to the majority of the records concerned. Besides its verbal function in the phrases and (see p.114 above) it is also the name of a Diviner. In the above passage the meaning is not clear.

The Northern Delegate:

癸己卜: 其乎北御(御)申(使)?
(專甲1636五月)
On the day, kuei-ssu [30, the Diviner ...] enquired:
Should [the King] command the Northern Royal Delegate?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 1636. Period Three?)

With the exception of this passage, with the term Yü-shih, we do not know which other ranks of the Shih - Shang-shih, Ta-shih and others - were appointed 'Directional Delegates'. However, it would appear that specific use of the term Yü-shih may indicate that the preceding Eastern and Western Delegates were simply Shih 'Diplomatic Delegates' - if the Ta-shih or Shang-shih were similarly appointed, we would reasonably expect to find such combinations such as 東大使 tung-ta-shih, 西大使 hsi-ta-shih, etc.

As observed earlier in this section, place-names follow 使 shih and 使人 [于] shih-jen [yü]. There are all together 8 such place-names:

Hua ( 灰 - 灰 ) -

[On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ] enquired:
Should [the King] send someone on a mission to Hua?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 4550. Period One).
Chin (]]; -

157. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ]
enquired:
Should [the King] send out [Diplomatic Delegate(s)] to Chin?
(Hsiao-t'\un B, 6469. Period One).

Wo (\f:我) -

丁丑卜策貢: 使人于我;
(續編 5.14.7, 一期)

158. On the day, ting-chou [14], the Diviner Wei
enquired:
Should [the King] send someone on a mission
to Wo?
(Hsű-pien, 5.16.7. Period One).

由 (§) –

癸丑卜殼貢: 使人于我(翁)其出……;
(佚書 41, 續編 5.17.8, 一期)

159. On the day, kuei-ssu [30], the Diviner Ku
enquired:
If [the King] sends someone on a mission to
, will there be ... ?
(Yi-ts'un, 41. Appears again in Hsü-pien, 5.17.8. Period One).

- See Hsü-pien, 5.2.4. Period One. Owing to its fragmentary nature and the fact that there are too many obscure characters, the original text is not translatable. However, the two characters 'to send on a mission to' are quite clear.

Yi (亜 [or: 亜 Jen?]) - see Passage 146.
Chih (址) - see Passage 143.
Chu (寸) - see Passage 144.

No doubt there were many other places to which the Shih were despatched on missions. The reasons for sending such envoys are seldom clear. The maintenance of good relationships between City Shang and its allies would probably be a general one. Because of the incessant internecine warfare the Diplomatic Delegates may have acted as mediators at some stage or other during the hostilities. It is tempting therefore to seek possible parallels amongst traditional texts in respect of similar official posts but this leads us many centuries later into Eastern Chou times. One aspect, however, seems particularly relevant. It was customary in Ch'un-chiu and Chan-kuo times for protection to be given to the 'Travelling Envoys' - the official post that seems closest
to the Shih of Shang - in the course of their duties between States. Yet, on occasions, envoys were killed while abroad (for a comprehensive assembly of examples see Huang Pao-shih 黄寶實 Chung-kuo li-tai hsing-jen-k'ao 中国歷代行人考, pp.35-42). In Shang times, however, there does not seem to have been any understanding or agreement between States as to the protection of the Shih. Consequently we find several records involving enquiries as to their well-being while abroad. Such records are quite common and often as in the following example indicate, too, something of the route or destination of the Shih:

甲辰卜王:羌弗戎(杖)畏(使),二月。 (前陽 4.1.7,期未定)

160. On the day, chia-ch'en [41], the King enquired:

The Ch'iang-[fang] will not harm our Diplomatic Delegates? It was the 2nd month. 

(Ch'ien-pien, 4.4.7. Period uncertain).

Prior to such missions to distant places the Shih themselves on occasions engaged in rites which we may perhaps assume were in the form of prayers for protection:
On the day, yi-yu 22, the Diviner Hsiung enquired:

[On the day, ting-hai 24], should the Diplomatic Delegate(s) conduct the Yung Ceremony and address [the Ancestors in] the 'Southern Hall'?

(Hsü-pien, 2.6.3. Late Period One or Period Two).

Only one other example of this kind of record is extant (see Passage 149 above).

In the Shang administration system the Shih no doubt played an important rôle. However, information about them is sparse. In only three cases of some 50 records concerning the Shih are they mentioned by name and these, it is probably significant to note, are amongst the senior ranking Diplomatic Delegates (see Table VII).
TABLE VII

- THE SHIH 'DIPLOMATIC DELEGATES' -

For general explanatory notes regarding the structure of the main Table see Table II (p. 73).

For convenience the definitions of the letters in the code references to the title-name combinations are listed hereunder:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>'Prince'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>'Fu-x Lady'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>'Diviner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>'Hou-Marquis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>'Po-Earl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>'Ch'en-official'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HC</td>
<td>'Hsiao-ch'en-official'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>'Shih-archery-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>'Ya-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>'Ch'uan-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>'Shu-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>'Wu-official'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Graph</th>
<th>Modern Character Form</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Other Titles</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>大使太</td>
<td>大使太</td>
<td>屯甲3536</td>
<td>晚-期 至 二期</td>
<td>僅-見 (屯甲3536)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大使 £</td>
<td>大使 £</td>
<td>前編4.34.1</td>
<td>晚-期 至 二期</td>
<td>曾參加祭祀 (前編4.34.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大使亞</td>
<td>大使亞</td>
<td>零拾57</td>
<td>第三期</td>
<td>曾參加祭祀 (零拾57)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大使太</td>
<td>大使太</td>
<td>屯甲3536</td>
<td>晚-期 至 二期</td>
<td>僅-見 (屯甲3536)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大使 £</td>
<td>大使 £</td>
<td>前編4.34.1</td>
<td>晚-期 至 二期</td>
<td>曾參加祭祀 (前編4.34.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大使亞</td>
<td>大使亞</td>
<td>零拾57</td>
<td>第三期</td>
<td>曾參加祭祀 (零拾57)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- SUMMARY -

Shih-Ya appears also with the following titles:

Prince, Diviner, and Marquis.
II. CH'EN AND HSIAO CH'EN OFFICIALS

To Chinese familiar with their traditional literature the character臣 chen symbolizes concepts of officialdom, majesty, respect, as well as obedience, loyalty and modesty. According to Kuo Mo-jo's investigation, both in oracle bone and bronze inscriptions, it functions with the meaning of 'slavery'. He claims that the different shapes of this graph such as臣,臣,臣,臣,臣 and臣 (cf. HCKWP, pp.24a-24b) are the pictures of a 'blind eye' (see 'Shih-ch'en-tsai', CKWTYC, pp.31a-37b). This theory has been widely accepted. Yet, in the actual usage of oracular texts, it is not necessarily to be found in this sense. In the following records Kuo's interpretation may be valid:

(1) 癸巳卜方貳曳（臣）不其徒，王曰：其笞
占曰：丁亥既吉金。

(2) 貳（臣）不其徒，
	(모문, 1993, 1期)
162. (i) On the day, kuei-ssu [30], the Diviner Pin enquired:

Have the Ch'en made the assault?
[After studying the omen], the King announced: It is auspicious; [the Ch'en] have already made the assault - seven days ago, on the day, ting-hai, [24].

(ii) [On the day, kuei-ssu, the Diviner Pin] enquired:

Have not the Ch'en made the assault?

(Hsiao-t'ung B, 2093. Period One).

The graph  has been interpreted by Kuo Mo-jo as 攻 kung 'to attack', 'to assault'; by Tung Tso-pin and Hu Hou-hsüan as 祕 kung 'two hands in fetters'; and by Li Hsiao-ting as 鬱 hsing 'to frighten one' (see CKWTCS, pp.3223-30), these interpretations are by no means fully acceptable. However, amongst the several records employing this character, Kuo's idea seems to be the most suitable. The graph  of (i) is unique and its meaning is not known, so far no scholars have attempted to decipher it. According to the context, however, it would appear to have a meaning such as 'before', 'earlier', etc., and thus functions as antonym of the frequently occurring character 翼 : 翼 yi 'tomorrow', 'next', 'later', etc.
The compound term 多臣 to-ch'en 'the many slaves(?)' is also to be noted in this same general sense and again in connection with military affairs thus adding support to the preceding note on the graph 亨:

(i) 春亥卜殷貞：羽乙丑臣伐方；
(ii) ……弗其伐方；

(Hsiao-t'un B, 2000. Period One).

163. (i) On the day, kuei-hai [60], the Diviner Ku enquired:
On the next yi-ch'ou day [2], should the To-ch'en assail Fou?

(ii) [On the day, kuei-hai, the Diviner Ku enquired:
On the next yi-chou day, ] should not [the To-Ch'en] assail Fou?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 2000. Period One).
164. (i) [On the day, ......., the Diviner ...] enquired:
    Should [the King] command the To-ch'en to attack Chi-fang?

(ii) [On the day, ......., the Diviner ...] enquired:
    Should the King attack Chi-fang?

(iii) [On the day, ......., the Diviner ...] enquired:
    Should the King attack Chi-fang?

(iv) [On the day, ......., the Diviner ...] enquired:
    Should not the King attack Chi-fang?

(v) [On the day, ......., the Diviner ... enquired):
    Should [the King] command the To-ch'en to attack Chi-fang?

    (Chui-ho-pien, 114. Period One).¹

If we follow Kuo's interpretation of 'slaves' in examples such as the preceding, the interesting anomaly arises that the 'slaves' were either trustworthy enough to be employed in warfare, or they were used as a sort of 'shock' troops placed in the vanguard of the army with

¹ Two similar records may further be noted: Ch'ien-pien, 4.31.3 and Couling, 1574. On the upper section of the latter are three passages which are later incisions and spurious.
thus no choice but to attack. Furthermore, to note divinations being directed towards such problems as whether the King should make the attack, or the To-ch'en should make the attack, one gains the impression that the status of Ch'en and To-ch'en might not be quite so low as that of mere slaves. With the recent subservience of Mainland Chinese scholarship to antiquated aspects of Marxist historical theorising, interpretation of this kind tend to become rather forced. Unfortunately, however, the primary materials at our disposal allow very little argument one way or the other. In the circumstances it seems advisable to regard the Ch'en and Hsiao-ch'en in such contexts as the preceding as a lowly class in Shang society but we should not be too specific in applying such terms as 'slaves', 'serfs', etc. In the following passages the sense of 'slavery' would appear to be quite inappropriate:

165. [On the day, ...... the Diviner ...... ]
  enquired:
  Should Ch'en-Shih command Ko to capture ...... ?
  (Ch'ien-pien, 6.9.2. Period uncertain).
166. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ]

enquired:

Should [the King] command Ch'en-Chin ... ?


The character ch'en here and in the various combinations and records to be cited later does not suit the sense of 'slavery' at all. On the contrary, it is employed as a term of office. If Kuo's claim that the graph itself was originally a pictograph of a 'blind eye' and hence the idea of 'slavery' were correct, then it might be in order to regard the Ch'en-official as a kind of foreman in control of the slaves.

It is interesting to note, however, that this graph does not appear on its own very often - there are less than ten cases of which we can be certain. It is, on the contrary, widely used in terms such as:

王臣 wang-ch'en  小王臣 hsiao-wang-ch'en 'Minor Wang-ch'en'

臣 chieh-ch'en  小臣 hsiao-chieh-ch'en 'Minor Chieh-ch'en'

辟臣 p'i-ch'en  -------------------- ------------------------
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hsiao-ch'iu-ch'en 'Minor Ch'iu-ch'en'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chou-ch'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan-ch'en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To these, of course, would be added Ch'en and Hsiao-ch'en. It would appear that the combinations on the left should generally be matched by the addition of the diminutive as in the right hand column, and vice-versa. But this is a matter of speculation. The three following combinations are found used in reference to deceased persons:

- 舊臣 chiu-ch'en 'Former Ch'en'
- 舊老臣 chiu-lao-ch'en 'Former old Ch'en'
- 帝臣 ti-ch'en 'Imperial Ch'en'

The title Hsiao-ch'en appears not only in oracle bone but also in bronze inscriptions as well as in traditional sources. In the latter, the status of this term differs markedly: 'Junior Officer' *(Shu-ching, vol. 14, p.23; Tso-chuan, Duke Ch'eng, 10th)*, 'Privy Councillor' *(Chou-li, vol. 31, pp.4-5)*, and 'Eunuch' *(Tso-chuan, Duke Hsi, 4th)*. There is thus a considerable choice available but no acceptable means of connection between the traditional and archaeological documents. However, since there are 24 name-equivalents between the Hsiao-ch'en and the Royal-
sons, Diviners and other officials, and since, as we shall observe, the Hsiao-ch'en took part in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in military activities, it would seem reasonable to keep in mind the versions in the Shu and the Chou-li. In the bronze inscriptions we find a number of the Hsiao-ch'en in receipt of royal commands and benefices but most of these seem to be officers from the Courts of the feudal princes. Ch'en Meng-chia regards such late Shang bronze inscriptions as: 小臣鴻尊, 小臣鴻自, 小臣告晨, etc. as being in reference to fairly high ranking officials at the Royal Court. In middle Western Chou times and later, he observes, both Ch'en and Hsiao-ch'en appear as lowly ranks and those who held these ranks were sometimes given as gifts to the feudal princes (Tsung-shu, p. 505).

A total of 21 names of Hsiao-ch'en are recorded (see Table VIII). However, records concerning them individually are not many. The total number is about 100 items and most are in fragmentary condition. Some selected examples of the more complete texts which indicate further aspects of their rôle in Shang administration follow:
167. (i) On the day, ... -shü, the Diviner Peng enquired:

Should [the King] conduct a Chi Ceremony [in honour of] Fu-Hsin?

(ii) On the day, ... ... ... the Diviner ... enquired:

Should the Hsiao-ch'en Kuo participate in the [Ceremony in honour of] the River and Shang-Chia? It was the 12th month.

(iii) On the day, kuei-hai [60], the Diviner Peng enquired:

Should the Hsiao-ch'en Kuo participate in the Yu Ceremony [in honour of] Pi-Chi? It was the 12th month.

(Chui-ho-pien 384 - Hsiao-t'un A, 2622 + 2647. Period One).
On the day, *keng-shen* [57], the Diviner Fu [enquired]:

Should [the King] command the Hsiao-ch'en Ch'ü to conduct the Fang Ceremony [in honour of] the 'Lucky Bird'?

(*Hsiao-t'un A, 2904. Late Period One*).

The last three graphs in the above passage were first transcribed by Chen Meng-chia as 福羊(祥)鳥 *fang-hsiang-niao* without any meaning given (*Tsung-shu*, p.505). His transcriptions are followed by Jao Tsung-yi with the suggestion that *fang* is name of a ceremony and *hsiang-niao* means "lucky bird", a common symbol in ancient Chinese superstition (*Paris*, pp.27-31). Chü Wan-li disagrees but omits to put forth any alternative interpretation (*HTCPKS*, p.375). Since records concerning some sort of "lucky bird" do, indeed, exist in oracular records (see *Paris*, loc. cit.), Jao's interpretation is followed here.
On the day, kuei-ssu [30], the Diviner Ku enquired:

In the coming ten-day week there will be nothing untoward?

[After studying the omen], the King announced: ... ... ... there will be misfortune ... ... 1

[The record was]:

On the day, chia-wu [31], the King went to hunt rhinoceros, the chariot which the Hsiao-ch'en Hsieh was riding collided with mountain rocks; the Royal chariot was consequently covered with dust and wreckage]. [That of the] Prince Yang, also came to grief.

(Ching-hua, 3. Period One).

The graph  is interpreted by Tung Tso-pin as 駕 yü 'to drive a chariot' (YLP, B.9, 376). Jao Tsung-yi, on the basis of the following record:

1 The usual practice is simply to write 及 chi 'lucky' or 無 wang huo 'without mishap' when the omen was favourable and 生平 (然 = 然) yu sha 'there will be misfortune' when unfavourable. Here, however, a rather 'long-minded' combination of characters appears. In Hsiao-t'un there are 4 or 5 similar examples (cf. Passage 237 later) and about as many again in other Catalogues. The character-by-character meaning is practically impossible to understand but the general meaning can be sensed. If the omen was decisively understood by the King we would expect one or other of the above phrases to be employed - as this long sentence appears, however, such precise meaning is probably modified in some way.
170. On the day, *wu-hsü* [55], the Diviner Chen enquired:

Will the flood overflow [into] this town?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 3162. Period One).

is of the opinion that it has the meaning of 'cover with dust' (*T'ung-k'ao*, p.100). According to Tung (loc. cit.) this record (Passage 169) was made when Wu Ting was hunting at 萬 - a place near to present-day T'än-ch'êng 鄭城 located on the border of Shantung and Kiangsu.

171. [On the day, ..., the Diviner ... enquired:

Should the King command] the Hsiao-ch'en Ch'iang to accompany [him] in the attack?

(Shuang-chien, 212. Also quoted in Tsung-shu, p.506. Period uncertain).
172. On the day, keng-wu [7], the King enquired:
Should [we] command the Hsiao-ch'en La to accompany [us] in ... ?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 2830. Period uncertain).

In view of the contexts of Passages 167, 168, 169 and 171 above it may be claimed that the term hsiao-ch'en must denote a comparatively high office in the Royal Court.

The association with such Ceremonies as the Chi, Yu and Fang is also noteworthy as the only other participants we know recorded comprise: the King himself (for Chi Ceremony, see Hsiao-t'un B, 7799) and the Prince Chung (for Yu ceremony, see Ching-chin, 3023). These indicate, too, the high status of the Hsiao-ch'en.

Other combinations may be noted but there is little evidence concerning the actual nature and function of these terms in the oracular records: 王臣 wang-ch'en (Ts'ang-kuei, 1.1 and Ning-hu, 3.71) and 小王臣 hsiao-wang-ch'en (Ching-chin, 2099) which two are considered by Shima Kunio respectively as 'Close Attendants' to the King (originating from nearby areas) and as officers in the States and Regions with a status similar to the Po (諸伯) and to 'Army Commanders' (將帥, Inkyo, p.467); the office of 小籍臣 hsiao-chieh-ch'en 'Minor Agricultural Official' (see p.250 above); the
combination 畫臣 pi-ch'en (Tsüi-pien, 1280) which is claimed by Kuo Mo-jo to mean 'Courtier' (TPKS, p.117); the 小臣 hsiao-chiu-ch'en (Yi-ts'ün, 733, which appears again in Liu-lu-ch'ing, 57 and Wei-pien, 356) is transcribed thus by Shang Ch'eng-tso but without any comment (Yi-ts'ün k'ao-shih, p.86), Jao Tsung-yi is of the opinion that it is similar to the 州臣 chou-ch'en 'District Ch'en-official' (T'ung-k'ao, p.265).

As regards the three combinations: 帝臣 ti-ch'en, 舊臣 chiu-ch'en and 舊臣 chiu-lao-ch'en, one can realize from the nature of the combinations themselves as well as from the inscription contexts that they must be posthumous titles referring to earlier Ch'en officials who came to be worshipped as gods:

(簡): 于帝臣又雨;
(屯甲779. 隱末增)

173. [On the day, ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:
Should [the King] pray for rainfall to Ti-ch'en?
(Hsiao-t'un A, 779. Period uncertain).

Ti-ch'en is suggested by Ch'en Meng-chia (Tsung-shu, p.572) and accepted by Chü Wan-li (HTCPKS, p.122) to be an official of Shang-ti (上帝 'The Supreme God').
[On the day, ..., the Diviner] Chen enquired:

... Should [the King conduct] the Hsi Ceremony [in honour of] our Chiu-ch'en - 'deceased Ch'en-official'?

(Couling, 1516. Period One).

[On the day, ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:

Will not the Chiu-lao-ch'en of our Royal House harm [us]?

(Chien-pien, 4.15.4. Period One).

The graph in this passage is taken to be a pictograph showing an old man with long hair on his head lying on a bed. It has been interpreted as 老 lao 'old' by Lo Chen-yü.

---

1 This was originally a long record carved on an animal bone. Unfortunately, it is broken and consequently the whole original text is unreadable. The bone itself is now kept in the British Museum. I studied it carefully when I visited the Museum in 1966. The grooves are filled with red pigment, it appeared to be genuine.
Without entering upon a detailed investigation of Shang religious practices in connection with these terms and in respect of their significance - subjects which have been extensively studied by Ch'en Meng-chia and Shima Kunio - it is perhaps significant to add to our earlier observation that the use of the graph *ch'en* in these three phrases must give particularly important support to the high status of most terms of office employing this graph in the title of office.
For general explanatory notes regarding the structure of the main Table see Table II (p. 79).

At the conclusion of this Table are listed occurrences of Ch'en-officials of which there are only two title-name examples. There are eight other examples apparently of the title of office only but the texts are too incomplete to be used.

For convenience the definitions of the letters in the code references to the title-name combinations are listed hereunder:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>'Prince'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>'Fu-x Lady'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>'Diviner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>'Hou-Marquis'</td>
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<td>'Po-Earl'</td>
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<td>'Ch'en-official'</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>'Chüan-officer'</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>'Shu-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>'Wu-official'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUMMARY

Periodization is indicated in parentheses for Periods Two-Five only. Where there is no entry - this affects the majority of cases - the dating is to be read as Period One.

(1) Hsiao-ch'en as Ruler of Subject States:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HC.01</th>
<th>HC.02</th>
<th>HC.05</th>
<th>HC.08 (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Period One: 3, Period Three: 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total: 4.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(2) Hsiao-ch'en and Princes with Identical Names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HC.01</th>
<th>HC.02</th>
<th>HC.07</th>
<th>HC.10 (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Period One: 3, Period Three: 3, Period Five: 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total: 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Hsiao-ch'en and Fu-x Ladies with Identical Names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HC.01</th>
<th>HC.14 (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Period One: 3, Period Three: 3, Period Five: 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total: 2.</td>
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</table>

(4) Hsiao-ch'en and Diviners with Identical Names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HC.01</th>
<th>HC.02</th>
<th>HC.03</th>
<th>HC.07</th>
<th>HC.12 (3)</th>
<th>HC.05</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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(5) Hsiao-ch'en and Hou-Marquises with Identical Names:

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(6) Hsiao-ch'en and Po-Earl with Identical Names:

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(7) Hsiao-ch'en and Other Officials with Identical Names:

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<th>HC.02 (C)</th>
<th>HC.15 (S; 3)</th>
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(8) Hsiao-ch'en Rendering Tribute:

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(9) Hsiao-ch'en Associated with Sacrificial Ceremonies:

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(10) Hsiao-ch'en Associated with Military Campaigns:

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(11) Hsiao-ch'en Associated with Hunting Expeditions:

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(12) Hsiao-ch'en 'Assisting in Royal Affairs':

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<td>Original Character Form</td>
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| HCO1                    | 虚   | 棋   | 第一期 | 子革 P028  | "小臣革"之訣跡，倖此見某但見爾信寺所見書之訣跡 (r. 1~5) 讀自川所 "殷代雄族"
<p>|                         | Hsiao-ch'en-Ch'in    | 華    |        |              |      |
| HCO2                    | 虚   | 虚   | 第一期 | 中 f P103  | 曾未入錄 (前編 7.7.2) |
|                         | Hsiao-ch'en-Chung    | 緣    |        |              |      |
| HCO3                    | 虚   | 革   | 第一期 | 小采 D038  | 曾未入錄 (南北師 2.29) |
|                         | Hsiao-ch'en-Hsieh    |        |        |              |      |
| HCO5                    | 虚   | 采   | 第一期 | 小采 D038  | 曾未入錄 (南北師 2.29) |
|                         | Hsiao-ch'en-Chung    |        |        |              |      |
| HCO6                    | 虚   | 采   | 第一期 | 小采 D038  | 曾未入錄 (南北師 2.29) |
|                         | Hsiao-ch'en-Wen      | 緣    |        |              |      |
| HCO7                    | 虚   | 采   | 第一期 | 小采 D038  | 曾未入錄 (南北師 2.29) |
|                         | Hsiao-ch'en-Ch'ü      | 緣    |        |              |      |
| HCO8                    | 虚   | 采   | 第一期 | 小采 D038  | 曾未入錄 (南北師 2.29) |
|                         | Hsiao-ch'en-Cha      | 緣    |        |              |      |
| HCO9                    | 虚   | 采   | 第一期 | 小采 D038  | 曾未入錄 (南北師 2.29) |
|                         | Hsiao-ch'en-Chiang    | 緣    |        |              |      |
| HCO10                   | 虚   | 虚   | 第一期 | 子革 P020  | &quot;小臣革&quot; (又甲 807) |
|                         | Hsiao-ch'en-Kan      |        |        |              |      |
| HCO11                   | 虚   | 虚   | 第一期 | 子革 P020  | &quot;小臣革&quot; (又甲 807) |
|                         | Hsiao-ch'en-Kuo      |        |        |              |      |</p>
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<td>曾卜其亡象（屯甲1267）</td>
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| 大              | 重车 Ta              | 屯甲5473| 第一期 | 郭大 P060    | 有“大方”（屯甲11.23.9） |
|                 |                       |        |        | 重D D073     | 曾未入及（屯甲5473） |
|                 |                       |        |        |              | 僅一见（屯甲5473） |

| Ch'en-ch'uan    | 重车                  | 填在下5 | 第一期 | 土 重车 F069 | 商王曾食之（填在下5） |
|                 |                       |        |        | 钦车 D031    | 僅一见（填在下5） |
III. CHIEN-CH'EN 'AGRICULTURAL OFFICIALS'

As several of our earlier cited passages show, high ranking officials such as Diviners, Marquises and Earls and even Princes and the Fu-ladies received royal command to undertake agricultural work. This not only indicates something of the important place of agriculture in the Shang economy but also it provides a clear indication of the concern of the King in such matters. The actual nature of the duties undertaken by the officials concerned is not entirely clear but we may take into account orders from the King issued in respect of the 'multitudes' - a term that seems in the relevant contexts to mean 'agricultural labourers'. One gains the impression that the activities of the latter were menial while the rôle of officials was supervisory:

176. (i) On the day, kuei-ssu [30], the Diviner Pin enquired:
Should [the King] command the 'multitudes' to enter Yang-fang to hoe the fields?
(ii) [On the day, kuei-ssu, the Diviner Pin] enquired:

Should not [the King] command the multitudes [to enter Ch'iang-fang to hoe the fields]?
It was the 6th month.

(Hsiao-t'ün A, 3510 + Ching-chin, 1861. Period One).

......大令眾人曰：盎（盎）田其受年；十一月。
(續編 2.28.5，一期•天啟編 7.30.2及萃編 866文同。)

177. [On the day, ... ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:

Should [the King] issue a grand ordinance for the 'multitudes' to coordinate their labour in the fields, will there be [a good] harvest? It was the 11th month.

(Hsü-pien, 2, 28.5. Period One. Ch'ien-pien, 7. 30.2 and Tsui-pien, 866 have similar texts).

In the above passage, the graph 凜 省 = 協 hsieh, 'united' is sometimes written as 凜 省 in the early Periods and as 凜 省 in the middle Periods. The term 協田 hsieh-t'ien 'cultivation in unison' seems to indicate a large scale application of the labour force during a particular stage of the proceedings. The graph in Passage 176 is interpreted by both Chen Meng-chia and Jao Tsung-yi as 省 = 省 yung 'to bank up soil' (i.e.}
ridging and linear sowing), a method of cultivation still practised in Yellow River Plain. The association of the 'multitudes' with such manual work is well attested but never do we find any such activity engaged in by officials.

As may be observed in Ch'en's detailed study, the 6th month of the Shang calendar (equivalent to the 7th or 8th lunar month) was the time for tilling the fields and banking up the soil. In the 11th month (equivalent to the 12th lunar month or the 1st lunar month of the new year), the wheat seed was sown and the crop would be harvested in the 3rd month (equivalent to the 4th or 5th lunar month). His reconstruction of the Shang agricultural calendar seems to be well supported by oracular records such as the above two passages. The scheme also accords with climatic conditions and agricultural practices of the same area even today (cf. Tsung-shu, pp.537-41 and T'ung-k'ao, p.258).

Royal interest in agriculture is frequently manifested in the enquiries as to the outcome of the harvests. These enquiries it may be recollected from several passages cited earlier in connection with other aspects of Shang period administration are addressed to various Subject States. Probably the Kings had in mind future tribute payments. Relating to areas probably
nearer to City Shang, however, are a number of records similar to the following:

(i) 己已王卜貳(今)歲，商受(年)，王左日：吉。
(ii) 甲申王卜，東下(士)受年；
(iii) 甲申王卜，南下(士)受年，吉。
(iv) 甲申王卜，西下(士)受年，吉。
(v) 甲申王卜，北下(士)受年，吉。（《釋繋207·二詩或釋繋》）

178. (i) On the day, chi-ssu [6], the King enquired:
In this year, will Shang receive [a good] harvest?
[After studying the omen], the King announced: It is auspicious.

(ii) [on the day, chi-ssu, the King enquired]:
Will the land to the east receive [a good] harvest?

(iii) [On the day, chi-ssu, the King enquired]:
Will the land to the south receive [a good] harvest?
[After studying the omen the King announced]: It is auspicious.

(iv) [On the day, chi-ssu, the King enquired]:
Will the land to the west receive [a good] harvest?
[After studying the omen, the King announced]: It is auspicious.
(v) [On the day, chi-ssu, the King enquired]:
Will the land to the north receive [a good]
harvest?
[After studying the omen, the King announced]: It is auspicious.
(Ts'ui pien, 907. Period Two or later).  

In these areas probably were located the fields to which
the 'multitudes' were sent to labour and to which the
various officials proceeded on what we assume to have been
supervisory duties.  

There was apparently a further title of office
concerned with agricultural matters. It was called 豬臣
chieh-ch'en 'Agricultural Official' or 小赭臣 hsiao-

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1 In this passage and in similar records in Hsiao-t'un B,
3287, 3425 and 2009, the character 卜 t'u is written as 1o in the early period and as 1 in the later period.
However, in the term 南 t' u 'southern region' of
Hsiao-t'un A, 2902 of the middle period, it is written as 
A. The evolution of this graph, from complex to simple, is distinct.

2 Sekino Takeshi has observed: 'In Yin-hsü a large number
of stone sickles in groups of hundreds and thousands were
excavated together with various treasures. This fact may
be taken to show that the monarchs themselves had
manufactured and supervised farming implements which they
rented to the slaves who cultivated the ground' (Chūgoku
kōkogaku kenkyū, p.6 (English résumé). The implications
of such archaeological evidence would appear to confirm
the point suggested above - the status of the 'multitudes'
and the close proximity of the agricultural fields.
chieh-ch'en 'minor Agricultural Official'. Only one record of each term exists:

179. On the day, chi-hai [36, the Diviner ... enquired]:
    Should [the King] appoint X (䖐) to the post of Chieh-ch'en?
    (Ch'ien-pien, 6.17.5. Period One?)

180. On the day, chi-hai [36, the Diviner ... enquired:
    Should [the King] appoint X (𧡢) to the post of Hsiao-chieh-ch'en?
    (Ch'ien-pien, 6.17.6. Period One).

The character казалось is usually written as 鬚 (HCKWP, 4.188) and as 鬚 in Passages 179 and 180 above. It depicts a man holding a hoe or a hand-plough. It was first

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1 The section of the bone immediately under the graph 䖐 in this fragment is broken in appearance; it is possible that in fact the present text was originally identical to Passage 180 following and accordingly the present title Chieh-ch'en should also be read as Hsiao-chieh-ch'en as in Passage 180.
transcribed and interpreted by Lo Chen-yü as 候 sao 'a man holding a broom' (Yin-hsü shu-chi k'ao-shih, B, p.48) but this has been rejected by both Kuo Mo-jo and Yü Yung-liang. Both claim that it is the archaic form of 耕 chieh 'to hoe', 'to plough', 'to cultivate', etc. (cf. Kuo's CKWTYC, 'Shih-chieh', also the several studies of Sekino Takeshi on 稻 lei and 糧 ssu). This graph normally functions as a verb in the oracle bone inscriptions.

Ch'en Meng-chia offers a tentative transcription of the graph 王 as 吴. He then argues that the combination 王 吴 which appears on Hopkins, 78 was the name of Tsu Keng used during his life time (Tsung-shu, pp.503-04). This suggestion is both confused and unacceptable. There is no connection at all between this graph and Tsu Keng while the reproduction appearing in Hopkins is a tracing, thus the accuracy of the hand-drawing is yet to be established. This point is important because the Hopkins piece is the only one in which this graph combines with 王. According to all the other records containing it, the graph 吴 appears as the name of a Subject Ruler:

己丑卜争贞:吴叶王事,
(屯甲3338,一期·)
On the day, chi-ch'ou [26], the Diviner Chen enquired:

Will he [come to] assist in the King's affairs?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 3338. Period One).

[On the day, ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:

On the next day ting-hai [24], should [the King] command he ....

(Ching-chin, 2183. Period One).

[On the day, ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:

Will he [come] to pay a tribute of archers?

(Ching-chin, 1524. Period One).

He came and paid a tribute of five ...

(Hsiao-t'un B, 2597. Period One?)
It is certain enough that in the above passages is the name of a Subject Ruler. Whether he was the same person as the official is, of course, uncertain. Thus arrives again the often recurring problem of separate or concurrent appointments of individuals to two or more posts. In this connection, nevertheless, the two passages cited above may be particularly valuable as further instances of actual appointment.

An interesting point arises in view of the data in this section: why did Kings maintain a class of agricultural officials on the one hand and issue decrees to the Princes, the Fu-ladies, Diviners, Marquises, and Earls to participate in agricultural work on the other? It would appear that not only does this situation indicate differences in rank, but also it may further be granted to support my contention that the Royal and superior ranks of administrators so commanded to participate in agricultural work clearly did so in a supervisory capacity. The Chieh-ch'en and Hsiao-chieh-ch'en officials are probably representative of a lower-ranking group of full-time supervisors of the 'multitudes' of field workers and were responsible to whoever was appointed by royal command over them for presumably comparatively brief periods of duty. The extreme paucity of record in oracular texts of such an
intermediate class of 'foremen officials' in a largely agricultural society may well serve to indicate that our present data is far more incomplete than we have hitherto supposed. We see only the 'cream' of officialdom.
CHAPTER SIX

I SHIH-ARCHERY-OFFICERS

II YA-OFFICERS

III CH'ÜAN-OFFICERS AND MA-OFFICERS

IV SHU-OFFICERS

Table IX : 290
Table X : 298
Table XI : 311
Table XII : 321
The ideograph comprises the two elements: shih, 'arrow' and kung, 'bow'. Wang Hsiang has suggested that the combination depicts the arrow drawn in readiness for shooting (Chia-ku-hsüeh wen-tzu-pien, 5.96). Lo Chen-yü is of the same opinion and further claims that it is the original form of the character shih 'to shoot' (Tseng-k'ao, 436). Since then, it has been accepted in this sense by all scholars. Yet when this graph is considered in the oracular texts, various interpretations have been proposed: Yang Shu-ta considers it an official rank similar to the shih-jen of the Chou-li 'the official who conducts the Shih Ceremony' (chi-wei-chü chia-wen-shuo, p.63). Kuo Mo-jo agrees with Yang's idea and further suggests that it has a loan meaning shih 'to express gratitude' and in oracular texts thus: 'a ceremony of Thanksgiving to the Gods or Ancestors' (Ts'iu-pien, 81-130). Ch'en Meng-chia claims that it is used both for a military rank and an official post concerned with fishing (Tsung-shu, 511-14). Shima Kunio
is in agreement with Ch'en's first idea and similarly considers it to be a military officer (Inkyo, 473). Jao Tsung-yi (T'ung-k'ao, 365-66) also agrees that it is an official rank. Although he does not attempt to define it, he incorporates all the records containing the character 奧 shih in the 'Section on Hunting' - it would thus appear obvious that he thinks that the office must be concerned in some way with hunting activities.

Amongst the various commentaries there may be noted thus six different meanings. However, in actual usage only two of these, 'to shoot' and 'a military office', actually appear. There is a further possible interpretation which I have earlier advanced (p.20) in view of the fact that the 奧 shih are recorded in large numbers and also as items of tribute, this is the meaning 'archers'.

To begin with, the sense of 'to shoot (with bow and arrow)' is, no doubt, the original meaning of this graph and as such is employed in the following examples:

185. Shoot deer?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 2471 + 2491 + 2501. Period Three).
186. On the day, keng-hsü [47], the Diviner Chü enquired:
   Tomorrow, [should the King] go on foot to shoot pigs at X?
   
   (Hsiao-t'ün A, 3003. Late Period One to Period Two).

187. On the day, ting-ch'ou [14], the Diviner ... enquired:
   Will the King bag game [during] the shoot?
   
   (Hsiao-t'ün A, 3919. Period Three).

188. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ] enquired:
   If there is a deer shoot will [the King] bag game?
   
   (Ch'ien-pien, 3.32.4. Period One).

[頁]:王其射又豕溝日亡伐,
   (粹編1007,期未明.)
189. [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:
Will the King fare well for the whole day long during the pig shoot?
(Ts'ui-pien, 1007. Period uncertain).

(貞:王其射蒙亡哉?
(字譯1.388.晚-期)

190. [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:
Will the King fare well during the rhinoceros shoot?
(Ning-hu, 1.3.88. Late Period One).
Secondly we find the graph 射 shih clearly employed in the sense of 'archer' in such contexts as the following. Here it should not be confused with the military office which will be elaborated upon shortly:

(貞:勿令宇氏射,
(甲3656.一-期)

191. [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ...] enquired:
Should not [the King] command Chu to pay a tribute of archers?
(Hsiao-t'un A, 3656. Period One).
192. On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ]
enquired:
Will not [... come] to pay a tribute of archers? It was the 8th month.
(Hsü-pien, 3.46.4. Period One).

193. On the day, kuei-mao [40], the Diviner Chen
enquired:
Should the King command the three hundred archers ... ... ?
(Hsiao-t'un B, 4615. Period One).

194. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ]
enquired:
... ... archers - three hundred?
(Hsiao-t'un B, 4475. Period One).
[On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:
Should [our] garrisons and archers [go on] a punitive expedition?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 910. Period Three).

On the day, chi-ch'ou [26], the Diviner Pin enquired:
Should [the King] command the archers to go on guard?

(Hsü-pien, 3.47.1. Period One).

On the day, kuei-yu [10], the Diviner Chen enquired:
Should [the King] command To-shih ('the many archers') to go on [guard]?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 1167. Period One).

The graph 衛 is interpreted as 衛 wei 'to guard' by Lo Chen-yü and Yeh Yü-shen (CKWTCS, pp.615-16) and as 防 fang 'to protect' by Kuo Mo-jo (T'ung-tsuAn, p.103). The number of archers when recorded is 300 and the term To-shih 'the many Archers', too, may be taken to indicate that we are dealing with a class of military personnel and not
with officers. That the archers were brought to the Royal Court as tribute while royal ordinances were issued to Subject Rulers to pay tribute in the form of archers, would seem to illustrate the point even more decisively (cf. Passages 011, 191, 192, above).

We find, too, the archers being placed under the jurisdiction of certain persons:

198. (i) On the day, kuei-ssu [30], the Diviner Ku enquired: Should [the King] command Ch'in to drill (?) the archers?

(ii) On the day, kuei-ssu, the Diviner Ku enquired: Should [the King command] to drill the archers?

(iii) [On the day, kuei-ssu, the Diviner Ku] enquired: Should [the King command] to drill the archers?
(iv) [On the day, kuei-ssu, the Diviner Ku] enquired:
Should not [the King] command \( \) to drill the archers?

(v) [On the day, kuei-ssu, the Diviner Ku] enquired:
Should [the King] command Ch'in to drill the three hundred archers?

(vi) [On the day, kuei-ssu, the Diviner Ku] enquired:
Should not [the King] command Ch'in to drill the three hundred archers?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 4299. Period One).

The graph \( \) has been transcribed as \( \) by Ch'en Meng-chia. On the basis of a quotation from Mencius, he claims that it is equivalent to \( \) yang 'school' with a loan meaning of 'to teach' (Tsung-shü, 513). Although his suggestion is not entirely acceptable, there seems to be some merit in it. The graph comprises 'sheep' confined in what is apparently a 'pen' - possibly this may indicate some meaning as 'muster', 'corral', etc. It would be reasonable to propose the interpretation tentatively of 'take charge' possibly in the sense of 'to drill'. The graph \( \) is interpreted by Chin Hsiang-heng as \( \) vi 'to doubt' (HCKWP, 14.18b) but no one seems to have accepted it. In other contexts we know it to be the name
of a Subject Ruler who on occasions had been commanded to appear at Court (Ch'ien-pien, 6.21.6), who had joined forces with the Chi-fang, in incursions into Shang territories (Ch'ien-pien, 7.2.1) and who also had come to pay tribute to the King (Hsiao-t'un B, 7661). We may perhaps assume that it was the same person in the above passage who was to be placed in charge of the archers. It may possibly be significant that the term 'archers' only appears in respect to this somewhat recalcitrant Subject Ruler while in the case of Ch'in the archers are numbered - three hundred. Ch'in we know from another record had come to render a tribute payment of three hundred archers (Passage 011 above). We do not know, however, whether these two records are closely connected. If they are, then Ch'in would appear to have stayed in City Shang and continued as the officer in charge of the 300 archers he had brought with him in the first instance as tribute. Several records refer to his bringing the 'multitudes' as tribute for an attack against the Region.

The character shih is used in respect of one person only as a title of office.
199. On the day, yi-yu [22], the Diviner enquired:

Will Shih capture Ch'iang tribesmen?

(Hsü-pien, 3.43.3. Period One).

200. On the day, kuei-mao [40], the Diviner enquired:

Will Shih supply Ch'iang tribesmen?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 555. Period One?)

201. On the day, kuei-yu [10], the Diviner enquired:

Chü Wan-li dates this (and Hsiao-t'un A, 868 which also refers to Shih) in Period Four apparently on the basis of calligraphic nuances, however, if his assessment is correct this must indicate that we have here definite evidence of the same title-name combination referring to two different people. The interval of time being more than one century. But we know is contemporary with Diviner Pin (Hsiao-t'un B, 3993), Ku (Hsü-pien, 3.1.3) and Chen (Hsiao-t'un C, 76) who are all of Period One. (For further detail about see Chang Ping-chüan's 'Pu-tz'u hua shuo' BAS, 29. pp.775-92).
On the day, chia-shen [21], will Shih supply Ch'iang tribesmen for the sacrifices to the Ancestors starting from Shang-Chia? (Ts'ui-pien, 81. Period One).

In the above passages the title of Shih ('archery officer') would indicate the close attachment of Shih to the Court and his connection with the archery sections of the Armies. His relations with the Court were most amicable. On occasions the King despatched Diplomatic Delegates to visit his territories (Yi-chu, 179) and enquired per media of the oracle as to his health (Hsiao-t'un B, 8260).

The three names mentioned in the preceding passages: Ch'in and Shih comprise the only examples of individuals placed in some form of supervisory capacity over the archers. The number of archers they led is noted as totalling 300 in several instances (8 cases, 15 cases). It appears that an army of Shang times comprised Three Divisions:

丁酉貳: 王佚(乍)三自右中左;
(釋經 577, 58)

202. On the day, ting-yu [34, the Diviner ...] enquired:
Should the King create (=establish?) three divisions [in the army] - the right, the centre and the left?¹

(Ts'ui-pien, 597. Period uncertain).

The graph 亝 is transcribed as 乍: 作 tso, 'to make', 'to create', etc. and this transcription has been generally accepted (CKWTCS, pp. 2637-41 and 3807-10).

On the day, ping-shen [33, the Diviner ...] enquired:

... horses; left, right and centre, [each with] troops - three hundred? It was the 6th month.


¹ Bronze inscriptions of Western Chou refer to a total of fourteen divisions of the army. Those comprising Chou forces were called the 西六師 (hsí-lu-shih) 'the Six Western Shih-divisions' and were garrisoned in the western part of the Kingdom. What were apparently the remains of the original Shang forces, the 八師 (yin-pa-shih) 'the Eight Shih-divisions of Yin' were stationed in the former Shang capital under Chou domination (K'ao-ku, 3. pp. 152-55, 1964 and 3. pp. 131-33, 1965). According to traditional sources, a Shih-division comprised 2500 men (Chou-li, vol. 11, p. 13). It would appear that a marked difference in military organization existed between the two factions.
The graph  has been interpreted as chao, 'vanguard', 'to begin', etc. (CKWTCS, pp.3757-58), but the exact sense here is uncertain. However, there does appear to be a connection between the number of 300 soldiers and the terms 'left', 'right', and 'centre' - each such division apparently comprising 100 soldiers.

204. On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... enquired: Should [the King] command the troops of the central [division]? It was the 7th month.

(Hou-pien, B, 8.6. Period One).  

This seems evidently a divination concerned with military matters on account of a further record in the upper part of the same fragment detailing a royal command to a Ho-Hou. In this connection we should, however, observe that apparently similar divisions were made for hunting expeditions; the following example seems, however, to be the only one available:

On the day, ting-yu [34], at Hsi, the Diviner Chung-lu enquired:
If the King places the men of [as the team of the] right in the hunt at ..., will they be without mishap?

(Hsiao-t'yun A, 2562. Period Five).
In most cases it is the King who is recorded as being in command of the army divisions, or even as above, in command of a particular division. We may observe also in the earlier cited passages frequent instances of records concerning royal command of 'the archers' (cf. Passages 193, 196, 197, etc.). Accordingly it must appear that the post of Shih-archery-officer may not have been one of particularly high status. In all probability it was a fairly permanent appointment and in the nature of a 'non-commission' rank - if we could be sure of Chü Wan-li's dating of Passage 200 above in Period Four, then this suggestion might carry considerable weight.
For general explanatory notes regarding the structure of the main Table see Table II (p. 79).

For convenience the definitions of the letters in the code references to the title-name combinations are listed hereunder:

- **P**: 'Prince'
- **F**: 'Fu-x Lady'
- **D**: 'Diviner'
- **H**: 'Hou-Marquis'
- **E**: 'Po-Earl'
- **Ch**: 'Ch'en-official'
- **HC**: 'Hsiao-ch'en-official'
- **A**: 'Shih-archery-officer'
- **Y**: 'Ya-officer'
- **C**: 'Ch'üan-officer'
- **S**: 'Shu-officer'
- **W**: 'Wu-official'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Graph</th>
<th>Modern Character Form</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Other Titles</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 射翁 | Shih-Ch'in | 山甲555 | 第一期 | | 曾出征（續編3.43.3）參加祭祀（續編81）
按當時稱“射翁”者唯一人也又甲骨中未見“翁”之紀錄不少但“翁”與“射翁”是否為同一人不得而知詳可參張秉權“人爵的變化說”。
| 射翁 | Shih-Ch'in | 山甲4299 | 第一期 | | 按此紀錄（山甲4299）僅載其教三百射而無“射翁”之名，其為射官想可無疑。
| 射翁 | Shih-Ch'in | 山甲4299 | 第一期 | | 情形與上項相同 |

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**SUMMARY**

(Shih) - Ch'in appears also with the following titles:
Prince, Diviner, Hsiao-ch'en-official and Ya-officer.
II. YA-OFFICERS

The shape and the associated ya-hsing graph seem to have been quite common in ancient China. In Shang times, the royal tombs were constructed in this shape while the graph occurs in both oracle bone and bronze inscriptions as well as in traditional sources. As to the meaning of this graph, however, commentators on both archaeological and traditional texts lack agreement. Interpretations are various: 'an official rank', 'hump-backed', 'the second class', etc. (see CKWTCS, pp.4165-72, Liang-Chou chin-wen-tz'u ta-hsi, p.119b, and Chung-wen ta-tz'u-tien, p.227). In both oracular records and bronze inscriptions it is normally used as a term for an office which, it is generally agreed, is military in character. However, in the oracle bone records it also functions with other meanings. Shirakawa Shizuka has made a comprehensive study and notes the following: (1) a military office, (2) the name of a Diviner (Period One or Three), (3) the name of a Marquis, (4) a place-name, (5) the name of a Sacrificial Ceremony and (6) the name of an Ancestral
Temple (see KKR, 6. pp.1-5). Although scholars have mainly dwelt upon the military nature of this term of office, records concerning it are not many. All those which are reasonably complete are assembled here-under:

205. (i) On the day, jen-hsü [59], the Diviner 矛 enquired:
Should [the King] command the Ma-officer(s) and the Ya-officer(s) to capture [Pang people]?

(ii) On the day, jen-hsü, the Diviner 矛 enquired:
Should [the King] command the Shu-officer(s) to capture [Pang people]?

(Hsiao-t'üan A, 3913. Period Three).

There are altogether sixteen records on this large tortoise shell, five of which concern the Ya-officer. Amongst these four have recorded the personal name of this Officer: 矛. Although the characters in these four records are either damaged or obscure they indicate that the divinations are concerned with an expedition to capture people of the place 矛 = 旁 pang? (cf. Chü Wan-li HTCPKS, pp. 488-89).
(i) 貝:由馬卒(亞)涉敧(渾),
(ii) 貝:由裏涉敧,

(乙甲3916, 三類)

206.  (i) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner 狄] enquired:
Should the Ma-officer(s) and the Ya-officer(s) cross [the river] at Chih?

(ii) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner 狄] enquired:
Should the 'multitudes' cross [the river] at Chih?

(Hsiao-t' un A, 3916. Period Three).

The above are two of a total of seventeen records carved on a further large tortoise shell. Though there are no names of Diviners mentioned in the above two records, and since 狄 is the only Diviner by name to appear in this shell and furthermore since he is the only Diviner recorded throughout the seven large tortoise shells grouped together in Hsiao-t'un A (Nos. 3913, 3914, 3915, 3916, 3917, 3918 and 3919), all of which bear very similar texts and character-style, it would seem obvious that the two passages cited above and the others lacking a Diviner's name were all divined by him. The graph is transcribed by Ch'en Meng-chia as 奇 chih, a place-name
Chü Wan-li, however, holds a different view. He considers it to be a representation of a rhinoceros (象 shih) and accordingly interprets this passage as a record of a rhinoceros hunt. The character 涉 she 'to cross [a river]' is, however, usually followed by a geographical name, and naturally it must function as the name of a river: 涉河 she-ho 'to cross the [Yellow] river' (Yi-ts'un, 107), 涉于東渕 she-yü-tung-pei 'to cross at the eastern [reaches of the] Pei' (Yi-ts'un, 647), etc. I am therefore inclined to follow Ch'en. Chih must have been located on one or both banks of a river the identification of which is uncertain.

207. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ] enquired:
Should [the King] command the Ya-officer(s), ... ... , Ma-officer(s)?
(Hsiao-t'un A, 2810. Period Three).¹

¹ Chü Wan-li, in his HTCPKS (p.361), has confusedly read three unconnected characters as part of this record. His interpretation is, as a result, at fault. The meaning of the graph 象 is uncertain.
On the day, **ting-yu** [34], the Diviner ... enquired:

Will all go well if Ya-officer Ch'in leads the 'multitude' across [the river] at \( \mathcal{D} \) ?

(*Ts'ui-pien*, 1178. Period uncertain).

On the day, **chi-hai** [36], at Chang, the Diviner ... enquired:

Will there be no disaster should the King command the To-ya-officer to join forces with Yu-Po in the invasion of the southern Regions? It was in the ...... month.

(*Chien-pien*, 2.8.5. Period Five?)

Different interpretations for the term **pu---tsai**, have been proposed by various scholars but none of them is entirely acceptable. However, the idea that it is a phrase of enquiry as to the outcome of an event is generally agreed. The incomplete phrase **才十脽又 ... tsai-shih-yüeh-yu-...** would, of course, be used as 11th, 12th, or 13th month. This form is widely used in records of the later periods.
These then are the more complete examples concerning the Ya-officer. The term of office is employed either on its own or as a title preceding a person's name: it is frequently associated with the Ma-officer and both are concerned with slaving (?) expeditions, in charge of the multitudes, and may be ordered to take part in attacks against the Fang-regions. On rare occasions we find them recorded in connection with hunting activities:

209. On the day, .... the Diviner enquired:
Should [the King] command the Ma-officer(s) and the Ya-officer(s) to shoot deer?
(Hsiao-t’un A, 2695. Period Three).

As in the cases of several other official terms there is to be observed also the combination the 'many Ya-officers'

210. On the day, yi-ssu [42], the Diviner enquired:
... the To-ya-officer(s) .... supply ...
... ?
(Hsiao-t’un B, 1848. Period Five?)
Though this is a tiny fragment and the original text is very incomplete, it would appear to be a divination concerned with the 'multitudes' and the To-ya-officer(s). Other records containing the term such as Hsiao-t'ün A, 3098, 3370, Ts'ui-pien, 51. 3, etc. are similarly highly fragmentary and of little value.

The oracular inscriptions thus do not reveal very clearly the nature of the military activities in which the Ya-officers were engaged. Only seven persons are named as Ya-officers (see Table X). Because of the associations, several times noted above, with the Ma-officers it would appear that they were not only somewhat close in rank but also were employed in much the same tasks. The records available show in each instance that their orders would have come directly from the King. This may indicate a fairly high standing at the Court - an impression heightened by the contents of Passage 139 above wherein the Ya-officer is to be attached to a military expedition in charge of a Po. This circumstance may indicate the greater degree of trust invested in the Ya-officer.
TABLE X

- THE YA-OFFICERS -

For general explanatory notes regarding the structure of the main Table see Table II (p. 79).

For convenience the definition of the letters in the code references to the title-name combinations are listed hereunder:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>'Prince'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>'Fu-x Lady'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>'Diviner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>'Hou-Marquis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>'Po-Earl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>'Ch'en-official'</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HC</th>
<th>'Hsiao-ch'en-official'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>'Shih-archery-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>'Ya-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>'Ch'üan-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>'Shu-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>'Wu-official'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Modern Character</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Other Titles</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y1</td>
<td>Ya-Ch'in</td>
<td>齊編1178</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>小臣革</td>
<td>曾以泰涉河 (齊編1178) 參上 &quot;小臣革&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>程革</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y2</td>
<td>Ya-Chüeh</td>
<td>園山 3478</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>按與 &quot;革&quot; 有關之紀録甚多， 其中包括重要之事如師政 (園山 5317)，出獵 (藏書 194.4) 入賈 (林 14.12) 以及商王卜問其性命 (園山 5347) 但不能確是否此 &quot;革&quot; 即 &quot;亞雀&quot;，故不列此。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y3</td>
<td>Ya-Ni</td>
<td>齊編 588</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>小臣 D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>程革</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y4</td>
<td>Ya-K'o</td>
<td>北都師 2.131</td>
<td>第二期</td>
<td></td>
<td>齊卜某疾病 (北都師 2.131)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y5</td>
<td>Ya-P'ang</td>
<td>園甲 2464</td>
<td>第二期</td>
<td></td>
<td>齊參加祭祀 (園甲 2464)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y6</td>
<td>Ya-P'ang</td>
<td>園甲 3443</td>
<td>第二期</td>
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<td>唯一見 (園甲 3443)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y7</td>
<td>Ya-Hai</td>
<td>園山 1671</td>
<td>第三期</td>
<td>小臣革</td>
<td>唯一見 (園山 1671)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- SUMMARY -

Ya-Ch'in appears also with the titles: Prince, Diviners, Hsiao-ch'en-official, and Shih-archery-officer.

Ya-Ni also as a Diviner.

Ya-Hai also as a Diviner, a Fu-x Lady, and a Marquise.
III. CH'ÜAN-OFFICERS AND MA-OFFICERS

There are 20 or so graphs which depict animals (cf. Kaizuka Shigeki ed. Kodai Inteikoku, Fig. 15). Apart from two exceptions, all of them were used in the sense of the individual animals only. Those two exceptions are 大: chüan, 'dog' and 馬: ma 'horse'. Like the other animal pictographs, these two characters were, of course, also used in their original meanings and usually in connection with hunting (Hsiao-t'un B, 4858), tribute (Passages 012 and 013) and sacrifice:

乙亥卜鼓: 今日來三豕三羊三犬,
(屯 4156. 一期.)

211. On the day, yi-hai [12], the Diviner Ku enquired:

To-day, should [the King sacrifice] 3 pigs, 3 sheep and 3 dogs in the Liao Ceremony?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 4156. Period One).

庚午卜鼓: 丑羊八犬八,
(屯 4176. 一期.)
212. On the day, *keng-wu* [7], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Should [the King sacrifice] 8 sheep and 8 dogs in the Cheng Ceremony?

(*Hsiao-t'un B*, 4516. Period One).

213. On the day, *ping-ch'en* [53], the Diviner Ta enquired:

Should [the King] conduct a Ting-sacrificial Ceremony [offering] three horses?

(*Hsiao-t'un A*, 1633. Period Two).¹

However, in records of the following kind the contexts illustrate the fact that the graphs *ch'üan* and *ma* functioned also as terms of office:

…

1 The character 亭, no doubt, represents a form of sacrificial ceremony. A similar record in *Ning-hu* (1.193) reads: *亭且丁用鼎？其鼎馬且丁？其二馬？* illustrates the point quite decisively. In quoting Passage 213 above both Jao Tsung-yi and Chu Wan-li render this graph as probably with the *Ning-hu* record in mind. The upper element 亭 is not, however, present. There is merely an accidental mark on the bone. Chu reads 马 as 马 'rhinoceros'.

214. On the day, ... ch'ou, the Diviner Yin [enquired]:

Will the Ch'üan-officer [send in] a report stating ... pig(s) ...?


215. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:

... at Yü, the Ch'üan-officer reported [that there are] young pigs in the foot-hills of Fang, should the King follow this up?

(Nan-pei-shih, 2.207. Period uncertain).

The association of Ch'üan-officers in Passage 214 and 215 with hunting matters is clear. Kuo Mo-jo was first to suggest that the term denoted an official rank and was
identical with the 犬人 ch'üan-jen of the Chou-li (vol. 36, p.14) itself and according to the commentary of K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達 this official was responsible for the packs of hunting dogs employed in tracking the prey. The correspondence of both the traditional text entry and the oracular record is thus a matter of some interest. Other records cited below further indicate the Ch'üan-officer's associations with hunting affairs. The graph itself is employed as the term of office and is followed by the name of the officer:

......字貞:周卑犬徒...;
(屯七四六一, 一期)

216. On the day, ... ... , the Diviner Pin enquired: Chou. trap animals. Ch'üan-officer, Yen...?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 7461. Period One).

This is the only example to be found in the Hsiao-t'un documents and it is somewhat obscure in meaning - it probably refers to a hunt to trap animals near Chou. The last character being a combination of 'fawn' and 'water' (?) is possibly the name of a river or of a ford. Amongst unattested oracular texts, however, Ch'üan-officer Yen appears on several occasions and once in connection with hunting:
217. On the day, *kuei-ssu* [30], the Diviner... enquired:

Will the Ch'üan-officer, Yen, be successful in his hunting expedition?

(*T'ien-jang*, 84. Period One).

218. On the day, *wu-ch'en* [5], at Hua, the Diviner [...enquired]:

The Ch'üan-officer, Chung, has reported that there are fawns. Should the King shoot he will not come to harm? Will he be successful?

(*Ts'ui-pien*, 935. Period Three).

In addition, there are two more names of Ch'üan-officers recorded, i.e. the Ch'üan-officer *Ch'ung* 炳 (Fu-shih, 8) and the Ch'üan-officer *X* 穀 (Wen-lu, 608). Both records are unfortunately incomplete.

There is also the term 多犬 to-ch'üan:

(毛玉 5329,一期.)
219. On the day, *jen-hsü* [59], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Should [the King] command the To-ch'üan-officer to trap with nets at Nung?

*(Hsiao-t'un B, 5329. Period One).*

This term appears in other texts (*Hsü-pien*, 2.24.1 and *Fu-tsa*, 118, etc.) but the context of each is rather obscure. We may assume, however, that as in earlier instances of the graph to being prefixed to other terms of rank and office, a similar significance holds here (cf. Table XI).

Although records concerning the Ch'üan-officers show that their main activity was hunting, occasionally, they also took part in military campaigns. However, there appears to be only one such record:

![Image](https://example.com/image.png)

220. On the day, *keng-hsü* [47, the Diviner ... enquired]:

Should the Ch'üan-officer Yen, ..., invade Li-fang?

*(Nan-pei-ming, 617. Period Four?)*

Amongst the records of the Ch'üan-officer Yen, those concerned with hunting (apart from those fragments which
cannot be dated) belong mainly to Period Three (e.g. Hopkins, 569) or earlier (Passages 216 and 217 above).  
Accordingly it would appear that as Ch'en Meng-chia suggests, the name Yen is not necessarily a personal name but rather the name of a clan and thus different persons are involved (Tsung-shu, p.514).

The particular meaning of ma - a term of office - had long been neglected by previous scholars until it was proposed by Ch'en Meng-chia (pp.508-09) that it was the title of officers in charge of horses and was of a military character. He further suggested its possible connection with the Ya-officers because of the fact that these two titles are often combined together (cf. Passages 206 and 222). Again we may also observe the prefix to employed:

\[\text{1} \]

The inscribed scapula in Hopkins (569) just noted is cited also by Ch'en Meng-chia (Tsung-shu, p.514) clearly in the sense of 'hunting' for the graphs 田于问 (田). It should be recollected, however, that the graph 天ien may also be employed in the sense of '[supervision of] agricultural work' (cf. Passage 177 cited earlier). In the Hopkins text there is no definite evidence as to which of these two possible meanings is involved. We should keep in mind, therefore, that the Ch'üan-officers may have had some duties to undertake in the agricultural sphere.
221. [on the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ]
enquired:

Should [the King] command the To-ma-officers to set up garrison in the Northern Territories?

(Hsiao-t'ung A, 3473. Period One).

222. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... ]
enquired:

Will the To-ma-officers and Ya-officers come to harm?

(Ch'ien-pien, 5.6.5. Period One. Appears again in Ts'ui-pien, 1290 and Ching-chin, 1617).

Ch'en argues that the three characters 多馬亞 to-ma-ya are to be read as a simplification of 多馬多亞 to-ma-to-ya (Tsung-shu, p.508). Since both terms 多馬 and 多亞 are well established individually it is quite possible that when they were combined the second to might have been omitted as a form of abbreviation.
The Ma-officers were involved not only in military affairs but also took part in hunting expeditions wherein they played a leading part:

223. On the day, keng-wu [7], the Diviner ... enquired:
   Tomorrow, the day, hsin-[wei 8], should the King go hunting, will the Ma-officers be despatched first? It will not rain?
   (Ching-chin, 4471. Period Three).

224. [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... ] enquired:
   Should not the Ma-officers be despatched first? Will it be raining?
   (Hsiao-t'un A, 1992. Period Three. Cf. also no. 2233 which has an almost identical text).

It would appear that the Ma-officers were placed in charge of certain preparatory aspects of hunting expeditions thus requiring their prior presence in the hunting areas. The exact nature of their duties is not clear but the pairing
with enquiries as to whether it would rain or not may be a point of some significance.

At this stage some further consideration of the importance of the horse in Shang times is called for. On an earlier occasion it was noted that horses were not used for riding thus their connection with the Ma-officers and the hunt must be in some way to do with the chariot. They would not, however, have been employed as draught animals. Thus it is with the chariot that we are concerned. According to classical sources, the chariot in ancient China was used both as a military and as a hunting vehicle. However, the exact nature of these functions requires further investigation. The main problem is whether the charioteer was driving in a standing or in a sitting position. If the vehicle was driven by a standing charioteer with the other 2 or 3 suitably armed occupants also in standing positions, it then could have been employed as a military vehicle; otherwise, it would only have been used in a restricted manner on the battle field or during the hunt. It is accordingly obvious that the height of the front wall (or railing) of the chariot box may provide a key towards the solution of our problem:

(1) Western Chou chariots: 45 cms; 20 cms; 25 cms and 20 cms. (Feng-hsi fa-chüeh pao-kao, pp.143-46).
(2) Late Western Chou chariots: 55 cms; 54 cms; 50 cms. (Shang-ts'un-ling Kuo-kuo mu-ti, pp. 44-45).

(3) Chan-kuo chariots: 36 cms; 30 cms; and 40 cms. (Hui-hsien fa-chüeh pao-kao, pp. 47-48).

It is evident that during active engagement with enemy troops, not only would so low a railing offer little protection but also the low range of height of 20 cms (8 ins) to 55 cms (22 ins) indicates clearly that the rider had little choice but to maintain a sitting or kneeling position while the vehicle was in rapid and, no doubt, very bumpy motion. Because of their lightness and economy of structure the chariots may have been used as a means of communication between the commander and his Generals. The 'peace-time' use of chariots is not easily assessed - we know it was used in burials thus its part in religious or other ceremonial activities may be assumed. ¹

¹ Attention should be drawn to two earlier studies: (a) Shih Chang-ju (Chung-kuo k'ao-ku hsüeh-pao, vol. 2, pp. 15-21) and (b) Hayashi Minao's 'Chügoku senshin jidai no basha' 中国先秦時代の馬車. In the former Shih expresses the opinion that the chariot he describes in detail is a 'war chariot' but the structure of the vehicle is insufficiently preserved to allow an assessment of height of the carriage-box rails. Hayashi discusses the (continued)
The character ma is also the name of a Region: Ma-fang (Ch'ien-pien, 4.46.3) which, it has been recorded was at one stage under attack by the Shang King (Hsiao-t'un B, 5305). In addition, there is the term 马小臣 ma-hsiao-ch'en (Ts'ui-pien, 1152 and 1156). Kuo Mo-jo considers it to read as the Hsiao-ch'en of Ma-fang. However, this is unlikely owing to the fact that all the available oracular records were originally royal archives compiled in the Shang Court, thus the names of officials of individual Subject States, let alone Regions, would seldom find a place amongst them. This term may refer to a special kind of Hsiao-ch'en-official. In both cases in Ts'ui-pien the sentences are incomplete through fracture thus little further comment can be made.

1 (continued) posture of the charioteer with special reference to two decorated Hu-vases, one in the Freer Gallery of Art, the other in the Pittsburg Collection. Neither are scientifically excavated materials - if genuine and if datable as early as the Chan-kuo period - they may be taken to indicate an adaption of the chariot by southern and probably 'non-Chinese' culture. The style of the décor would suggest this. None of the authorities present discussion on the possible significance of the carriage-box railing height.
For general explanatory notes regarding the structure of the main Table see Table II (p. 79).

For convenience the definitions of the letters in the code references to the title-name combinations are listed hereunder:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>'Prince'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>'Fu-x Lady'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>'Diviner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>'Hou-Marquis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>'Po-Earl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>'Ch'en-official'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HC</td>
<td>'Hsiao-ch'en-official'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>'Shih-archery-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>'Ya-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>'Chüan-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>'Shu-officer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>'Wu-official'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE XI

- THE CH'UAN-OFFICERS -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Graph</th>
<th>Modern Character Form</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Other Titles</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>夾征</td>
<td>占山461</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>太征 D121</td>
<td>曾出征 (南北明617) 曾“出征” (金铭569) 曾参加祭祀 (双剑187) 曾卜英之国 (粹编934)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>夔中</td>
<td>粹编935</td>
<td>第三期</td>
<td>中子 P103</td>
<td>曾末“苦麾” (粹编935) 僅一見 (粹编935)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>夔埈</td>
<td>福氏8</td>
<td>第三期</td>
<td>小仲 HC02</td>
<td>僅一見 (福氏8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td>夔召</td>
<td>裔述 p.5143</td>
<td>第五期</td>
<td></td>
<td>僅一見 (職述 p.5143)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**SUMMARY**

Ch'üan-Yen also appears with the titles: Diviner and Shu-officer.

Ch'üan-Chung also appears with the title: Prince, Diviner, and Hsiao-ch'en-official.
There are two similar ideographs which upon rapid inspection may be mistaken as identical characters: \( \text{ŋ} \) and \( \text{ŋ} \). Scholars previously treated them as variant shapes of the character \( \text{ŋ} \): \( \text{ŋ} \) 'to attack' and the name of a 'sacrificial-ceremony'. Kuo Mo-jo was the first to notice the dissimilarity between them. He observed that although they were sometimes confused even by the Shang and the Chou people there is nevertheless a distinct difference in structure in the archaic form: the graph \( \text{ŋ} \) depicts a ko-dagger-axe lodged in a human body thus 'attack' while the graph \( \text{ŋ} \): \( \text{ŋ} \) represents a soldier standing at attention, or on guard, with his ko-dagger-axe held upright (Ts'ui-pien, 184). These two interpretations have been widely accepted. The original meaning of the character \( \text{ŋ} \), with which we are now particularly concerned, was thus probably 'to guard'. However, amongst the 30 or so records employing this graph only in the following passages does the verbal function of its meaning hold:
225. (i) On the day, kuei-ssu [30], the Diviner ... enquired:

Should [we] guard X?

(ii) [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:

Will not ...-fang set out to invade Chang?

(Ts'ui-pien, 1155. Period Three).

226. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:

Should not [the King] call up the garrisons (戍) to guard Shou?

(Ts'ui-pien, 1198. Period Three. Yeh-chung C, 43.6 and 46.7 have similar texts).

However, it is mostly used as a noun apparently in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a garrison':

壬戌卜征: 由戍乎執 (邦);
(Ts'ui-pien, 3783. Period.)
On the day, jen-hsü [59], the Diviner enquired:

Should [the King] command the Shu-officer(s) to go on a slaving expedition [amongst the Pang people]?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 3913. Period Three).

In this plastron there are 16 entries one of which (the next entry which follows Passage 205 above), has already been cited (after Passage 215) which likewise is concerned with a similar record of a slaving expedition amongst the Pang people regarding whom divinations have been recorded also in the immediately preceding entries on the plastron. It is of interest to observe in both passages the apparently close identity of status of Shu-officers and Ma- and Ya-officers - this suggested by the identity in content of the royal commands and all divined on the same day. The remainder of the plastron contains entries largely concerned with the Ya-officer X ( ) while one entry on the bridge of the plastron concerns a Hsiao-ch' en-officer but the connection, if any, is not clear.

(考)：由莊 (或) 封父正?

(毛甲910, 三期-).
228. [On the day, ... ..., The Diviner ... enquired]:
   Should [our] Shu-officer(s) and Shih-officer(s) [go on a] punitive expedition?
   (Hsiao-t'un A, 910. Period Three).

The connection of Shu-officers and Shih-officers here is possibly also supported by the fragment Hsiao-t'un A, 1554 which seems to be connected with a hunting expedition. In the above record the object of the punitive expedition is not stated.

229. (i) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:
   Will not [our] Shu-officer(s) reach Cha-fang?

(ii) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:
   Will [our] Shu-officer(s) reach Cha-fang?
   Will they come to harm?

(iii) [On the day, ... ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:
   Should [our] Shu-officer(s) [on the day] chia- ..., invade Cha-fang and Chiao?
(iv) [On the day, ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:

Will [our] Shu-officer(s) reach the place X (盤) in Chiao?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 807. Period Three).

Presumably there was trouble in the frontiers in the proximity of Cha-fang and Chiao. After the despatch of the Shu-officers, the King made these divinations to enquire as to the progress of the garrison troops involved. According to Yang Shu-ta (Chi-wei-chü, p.46) who transcribes 獭 as 盤 tsu, this place is the same Tsu which appears in the Shih-ching (Ode, 241). But no other information is available regarding Tsu. The original form 反 : cha is followed here, however, for want of a more acceptable interpretation. As regard Chiao, Chü Wan-li takes it as a personal name and suggests that it is the name of the ruler of Cha-fang. But according to oracular text usage characters following 及 chi 'to reach' must be either a place name or concerned with time; e.g. 及今二月 chi-chin - erh-yüeh 'now that it is the 2nd month' (Hsiao-t'un B, 529), 环其及受 fu-ch'i-chi-shou 'will (he) not reach Shou' (Hsiao-t'un B, 4816), 及方 chi-fang 'reach the Fang-region' (Hsiao-t'un B, 3913), etc. The context of Passage 229 indicates clearly enough that it is a place name rather than a personal name. It is either located
within the Cha-fang or in close proximity to Cha-fang.

Chü considers the character chia following shu to be the personal name of Shu-officer. So far as we know, however, the characters of the decimal and duo-decimal series were used only in date formulation and in the posthumous titles of Kings and of Ancestors (both male and female) especially so with the latter.¹ There was probably a form of tabu involved regarding their use by living persons let alone mere officers - something like the pi-hui 避諱 customary from Han times. As the use of two character combinations is not essential in date formulation, one character only is sometimes employed; the decimal series only is employed in such cases:

permitting

As we notice in the Tables, the character  the graph is always written as □:□ (?) kou 'month'. Yet, scholars have been using the transcription ting. In Tables II, IV and V, this transcription is used only as a matter of convenience.
230. (i) On the day, chi-mao [16], the Diviner Ku enquired:
Will it be raining?

(ii) On the day, chi-mao, the Diviner Ku enquired:
Will it not be raining?
[After studying the omen], the King announced: It will be raining on a 'jen' day
[thus] indeed it will be raining on the day, jen-wu [19].

(Hsiao-t'un B, 4524. Period One).

It would appear thus that the cyclical graph chia above is being used in the same way.

The personal names of Shu-officers do, nevertheless, appear:

(写甲)310. 一期。

231. (i) On the day, ting-yu [34], the Diviner Pin enquired:
Should [the King] command the Shu-officer, Chih, to join forces with Pi Wang?

(ii) [On the day, ting-yu, the Diviner Pin] enquired:
Should [the King] command the Shu-officer, Yen, to join forces with Pi Wang?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 3510. Period One).
232. [On the day, ..., the Diviner ... enquired]:
Should [the King command] the Shu-officer, Tan, to parade the 'multitude' at Ning?
(Ning-hu, 1.509 + 1.511. Period Three?)

Various interpretations for the character 雛 chih have been proposed. Amongst them, the meaning of 'to parade (the army)' or 'to line up (the divisions of the army)' suggested by Ch'en Meng-chia is perhaps to be the best and has been generally accepted (cf. CKWTCS, pp.1257-63). As regards the term 'multitudes' here, it probably refers to the rank and file of the army or a division thereof.

Including the three names cited above, there is a total of 11 Shu-officers recorded by name (see Table XII).

Attention should be drawn to the related term 五族戍 wu-tsu-shu in Yeh-chung C, 39.10 and 38.2, in the latter fragment five names of the Wu-tsu-shu are recorded. Ch'en Meng-chia argues that the term refers to these five names and that they were the names of clans (Tsung-shu, p.516). This interpretation is perhaps correct, but we should not lose sight of the fact that three of the five names, Ni,
Ku and Ho also appear amongst the names of Diviners, thus they may actually be names of individual people and the term Wu-tsu-shu is not to be taken too literally. In fact, Ch'en observes that the title shu is not restricted to 'five clans'.

Records concerning Shu-officers are comparatively rare. As shown in the passages presented above their duties were clearly of a military character and apparently largely concerned with garrison posts on the outskirts of the Shang Kingdom. There is some suggestion of hereditary tenureship in the term 六şi shu-ssu-tzu as it appears in an inscribed Ting-cauldron excavated at An-yang (KKHP, vol. 1, 1960, pp.1-5). In an inscribed vessel of early Western Chou date (perhaps datable even as early as late Shang?) which was excavated near Ling Yüan 凌源 , Jehol, is recorded in its 6 characters the term shih-shu which clearly is a title (or title-name) combination. Again geographical distance - even if the inscription is datable in early Western Chou - further supports the idea of a garrison officer.
TABLE XII
- THE SHU-OFFICERS -

For general explanatory notes regarding the structure of the main Table see Table II (p. 179).

For convenience the definitions of the letters in the code references to the title-name are listed hereunder:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>&quot;Prince&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>&quot;Fu-x Lady&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>&quot;Shih-archery-officer&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>&quot;Diviner&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>&quot;Hou-Marquis&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>&quot;Po-Earl&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>&quot;Ch'ian-officer&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>&quot;Shu-officer&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH</td>
<td>&quot;Ch'en-official&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>&quot;Ya-officer&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>&quot;Wu-official&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Graph</th>
<th>Modern Character Form</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Other Titles</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S01</td>
<td>Shu-Mu</td>
<td>屯甲3510</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾&quot;斂王&quot;(屯甲3510)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S02</td>
<td>Shu-Yen</td>
<td>屯甲3510</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>犬徒 D121</td>
<td>曾&quot;斂王&quot;(屯甲3510)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S03</td>
<td>Shu-Ho</td>
<td>郄下38.2</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>胖主 P035</td>
<td>曾&quot;斂王象&quot;(郄下38.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S04</td>
<td>Shu-Jan</td>
<td>郄下1509</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>胖主 D052</td>
<td>僅見(郄下38.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S05</td>
<td>Shu-Ni</td>
<td>郄下38.2</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾&quot;斂王象&quot;(郄下38.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S06</td>
<td>Shu-Shu</td>
<td>郄下38.2</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾&quot;斂王象&quot;(郄下38.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S07</td>
<td>Shu-Sui</td>
<td>郄下38.2</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾&quot;斂王象&quot;(郄下38.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S08</td>
<td>Shu-Yi</td>
<td>後絁下13.5</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾&quot;斂 arterial&quot;(後絁下13.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S09</td>
<td>Shu-Yung</td>
<td>屯甲522</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td>小臣脊 HC15</td>
<td>曾&quot;斂脊&quot;(屯甲522)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S10</td>
<td>Shu-Yung</td>
<td>郄下1508</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾&quot;斂脊&quot;(郄下13.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S11</td>
<td>Shu-Wo</td>
<td>郄下38.2</td>
<td>第一期</td>
<td></td>
<td>曾&quot;斂脊&quot;(郄下38.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- SUMMARY -

Shu-Yen, Shu-Ho, Shu-Jan and Shu-Ni also appear with the title: Diviner.

Shu-Ho also as: Prince, Shu-Yen as Ch'uan-officer, and Shu-Yung as Hsiao-ch'en-official.
CHAPTER SEVEN

MISCELLANEOUS OFFICIALS

Table XIII : 332
MISCELLANEOUS OFFICERS

In addition to the foregoing terms of office, there are several more terms which have been taken as official titles by scholars. However, as the full significance of some of these cannot be assessed while others have sometimes been misread, they will be discussed only briefly in the following pages. There are five relatively important terms, three somewhat insignificant ones, and a few resulting from misreading to which attention will be drawn:

1. ¹ ¹ yin 'Yin-officials' and ² ² to-yin 'To-yin-officials'.

There are about 20 records concerning the Yin-officials and To-yin-officials. Following are three representative examples:

(1) 负: 令尹乍大田?
(2) 负: 别令尹乍大田?
(3) (屯山 1155 + 2044, -期.)
233. (i) [On the day, . . . . , the Diviner . . . . ]
enquired:
    Should [the King] command the Yin-official
to make (= to prepare?) the large fields?

(ii) [On the day, . . . . , the Diviner . . . . ]
enquired:
    Should not [the King] command the Yin-
official to make (= to prepare?) the large
fields?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 1155 + 2044. Period One).

234. On the day, chia-wu [31] the Diviner . . .
enquired:
    Should the To-yin-official be commanded to
make (= to prepare?) the royal chamber?

(Hsü-pien, 6.17.1. Period Four).

1 The graph 宮 has been generally agreed to be the
equivalent of ch'in 'to sleep', 'a bed' or 'a
bedroom' (CKWTCS, pp.2465-67). However, in this passage,
owing to the fact that it is combined with the character 王
wang 'Royal', a further meaning 'chamber' is probably
involved. Instances of such use occur in Western Chou
bronze inscriptions (Kuo Mo-jo: Liang-Chou chin-wen-tz'u
uta-hsi, k'ao-shih, 兩周金文辭大系考釋 p.84a).
235. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:
   Should [the King] command the To-yin-official to go to X?
   (Hou-pien, A, 22.5. Period Four).

According to Ch'en Meng-chia's study (Tsung-shu, p.515), the tasks of the Yin-officials and the To-yin-officials included: agricultural work (cf. Passage 233), domestic duties in the palace (cf. Passage 234) and the preparing of food (Hsiao-t'un A, 752. Period Three). It seems thus that they were palace officials who sometimes took part in farming. On some occasions they were sent out on a mission, although the purpose of such mission is not mentioned (Passage 235. See also Shih-yi, 3.4. Period Four). In the oracular records there has not been recorded a single name of individual Yin—officials or To-yin-officials.

2. $\mathcal{H} : \mathcal{I}^\ast$ kung 'Kung-official' and $\mathcal{H} : \mathcal{I}^\ast$ to-kung 'To-kung-official'.

There are about 50 records concerning Kung-officials and To-kung officials. Most of them are either

---

Yeh Yü-shen was the first to transcribe the graph $\mathcal{H}$ (it is sometimes inverted as $\mathcal{I}$, see Hou-pien, B, 20.7) as kung and proposed the meaning of 'an official'. This has been further supported by Yü Hsing-wu (CKWTCS, pp.1589-90) and is followed by Ch'en Meng-chia (Tsung-shu, p.519).
fragmentary or only partly readable. Three of the reasonably complete ones are translated as below:

236. On the day, kuei-ssu [30], the Diviner Ku enquired:

Will there be mishaps in the coming ten-day week? There will not be harm [occasioned] upon [our] Kung-officials?

(Hsiao-t'ung A, 1161. Period One).

237. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:

Will the Kung-officials have mishaps?

(Shih-yi, 14.8. Period uncertain).

(拾遺 14.8, 期末明.)
On the day, chia-yin [51], the Diviner Shih enquired:

[In respect of] the To-kung-officials there will not be anything untoward?

(Tsui-pien, 1248. Period One).

The above passage tell us nothing about the status of the Kung-officials and To-kung-officials. Ch'en Meng-chia argues that, since the Kung and To-kung occasionally appear in records concerning the Yung Ceremony, they may therefore have been in charge of the music performed in the Yung Ceremony (Tsung-shu, p.519). We do not, however, know upon what basis Ch'en assumes that the Yung Ceremony was one concerned with music. The nature of this Ceremony is otherwise generally agreed to have been a wine-offering ceremony (cf. CKWTC, pp.4395-4400). There is no record containing a combination of the title of office and a personal name. In the following passage there seems to be evidence that the rank of Kung-official may be classed at much the same level as the Hsiao-ch'en, Ch'üan, Ma, and other such posts:

(香己面真: 王 enamel 何事?)

(香己面真: 山怎王事?)

(拾撰1,431,一期.)
239. (i) On the day, chi-yu [46], the Diviner ... enquired:

Should the King command Shan to take charge of our Kung-officials?

(ii) On the day, chi-yu, the Diviner ... enquired:

Will Shan assist in the Royal affairs?

(Shih-to, 1.431. Period One).

It will be recollected that only the higher ranking officials such as the Fu-x ladies, the Diviners, the Hou and the Po were associated with the term 'assist in the Royal affairs'. Accordingly, Shan may be expected to have held a similar grade of office thus indicating the approximate level of the Kung-officials under his supervision.

3. 三影: حساس to-yin 'To-yin-officer'

Shang Ch'eng-tso is the only person to comment upon the character 三影 but gives no interpretation. He simply transcribes it as 三影 yin and observes that it does not occur in the Shou-wen chieh-tzu (CKWTCS, p.3898). As for the term 三影 to-yin, Jao Tsung-yi takes it to be the equivalent of 三影 (T'ung-k'ao, p.307), a civil official which has already been discussed in the beginning of this chapter. According to the evidence in the following passages, it would appear that Jao's interpretation is unacceptable in view of the fact that the title 三影 is a
military one. There appears to be only 5 records bearing the combination to-yin amongst the oracle bone texts. Some aspects of the military duties attending this post may be sensed from the following examples:

(i) 知事入内臣: 往西多, 王伐?
(ii) 素: 往西多, 不其王伐?
(屯 5395, 一期.)

240. (i) On the day, kuei-yu [10], the Diviner Nei enquired:
If [the army] proceeds to the west should the To-yin-officers ... (= lead?) the Royal assault?

(ii) [On the day, kuei-yu, the Diviner Nei] enquired:
If [the army] proceeds to the west should not the To-yin-officers lead (?) the Royal assault?

(Hsiao-t'un B, 5395. Period One). 1

1 The archaic graph 禘: 氏 shih 'tribute', 'to pay tribute' has been discussed at length earlier (pp.18-20). In the present context it seems obvious that some other meaning is intended. Kuo Mo-jo's suggestion of 昏 ch'i with such loan meanings 'to lead an army' and 'to destroy the enemy' is a little difficult to accept particularly because of the phrase 'Royal assault' which would seem to imply that the King himself was to lead the assault.
On the day, hsin-ch'ou [38], the Diviner Pin enquired:

[If the King should] command the To-yin-officers to accompany Wan-chen in the attack on Hsia-wei, will the To-yin-officers fare well?


The other fragmentary texts (ʻHou-pien, 29.11, Ching-chin 1872 and ʻHsiao-t'un B, 867) are so incomplete that no further comment can be attempted.

4.  and  to-x

About 10 records bearing these two terms are in existence. According to the following example, they may also be military officers. As with the previous items, there are no examples with personal names recorded.
242. [On the day, ... ... ] the Diviner Ku enquired:
[If the King should] command the To-officers to attack Chi-fang, will they fare well?
(Hsü-pien. 3.2.3. Period One. Ch'ien-pien, 7.35.1 and Hsü-ts'un, B, 291 have similar texts).

5. **\[\] wu 'Wu-official'

The graph **\[\] was first transcribed as 安:宗 tsung 'Ancestral Altar' by Wang Kuo-wei and followed by Shang Ch'eng-tso. T'ang Lan later proposed the transcription of wu and this has been generally accepted. Accordingly it has been considered to be the equivalent of the title 安 wu 'shaman' which appears both in the traditional literature and in the Shih-chi. The exact nature and status of the post as it appears in the oracle bone contexts is not clear. However, the majority of scholars regard it as an official post similar in function to that of a priest or a wizard (CKWTCS, pp.1595-1600). In his latest article 'Chūgoku kodai no shinfu' 中国古代の神巫 , Hayashi Minao points out that in addition to the previous meaning, the character wu functions, in oracular texts, as a kind of divinity as well. Since this is beyond our present discussion, it will not be dealt with in detail here. There are altogether about 40 records bearing this graph.
TABLE XIII

- THE WU-OFFICERS -

For general explanatory notes regarding the structure of the main Table see Table II (p. 79).

For convenience the definition of the letters in the code references to the title-name combinations are listed hereunder:

- P : 'Prince'
- F : 'Fu-x Lady'
- D : 'Diviner'
- H : 'Hou-Marquis'
- E : 'Po-Earl'
- Ch : 'Ch'en-official'
- HC : 'Hsiao-ch'en-official'
- A : 'Shih-archery-officer'
- Y : 'Ya-officer'
- C : 'Ch'üan-officer'
- S : 'Shu-officer'
- W : 'Wu-official'

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- SUMMARY -

Wu-Ho and Wu-Hsing appear also with the titles: Diviners and Marquises.

Wu-Mei and Wu-Hsing also as Fu-x ladies.
Unfortunately, as is so often the case, most of them are fragmentary and even amongst the complete ones, there are many graphs still indecipherable. Accordingly, only a few of the texts can be wholly translated. However, there are four instances of the names of the Wu-officials recorded amongst the available oracular data (see Table XIII).

6. Terms of Uncertain Significance.

The three terms listed hereunder are considered by several scholars to be titles of office but their status is not clear in the context of the oracular records:

(a) 至: 多距 to-chün 'To-chün-official'

Shima Kunio was the first person to place the to-chün and the 多距 to-yin into the same official group (Inkyo, p.469). Jao Tsung-yi further claimed that they are equivalent (T'ung-k'ao, p.969). According to the context of the five passages quoted by both Shima and Jao (Hou-pien, B, 13.2 and 27.3; Yen-ta, 28; Seven Collections, Princeton, 108; and Hsü-tsun, A, 1507), their association of the two terms in the one group of officials seems to be correct. Although this combination may be taken to be a kind of official-title, Jao's claim that it is actually equivalent to 多距 to-yin lacks acceptable evidence.

(b) 至: 多距 to-fu 'To-fu-official'.

Both Ch'en Meng-chia and Shima have taken this term to be a title of office. Ch'en holds the opinion that it
was a military office (Tsung-shu, p.511) while Shima thinks that it is to be read as a loan for \textit{to-fu} 'the many Fu-x ladies' (Inkyo, pp.472-3). Amongst the available oracular texts, only two bearing this combination can be found. These are \textit{Hsiao-t'un B, 4208} and \textit{4212}. On the former bone there are only three characters preserved (two of which comprise the present combination); while on the latter, only two (the very combination) are carved. It is therefore obvious that the arguments proposed by both Ch'en and Shima have no contextual basis at all.

(c) \textit{衛} : \textit{衛} = \textit{衛} \textit{wei}

This graph often follows either the graph \textit{shih} 'Shih-archery-officer' or \textit{to-shih} 'the many archers' (cf. Passage 196 and 197). Ch'en Meng-chia therefore takes it to be a military title. As earlier observed he claims that the combination \textit{射衛 shih-wei} in Passage 196 is the simplified form of \textit{多射多衛 to-shih-to-wei} and that \textit{令多射衛 ling-to-shih-wei} in Passage 197 (also appears in Hou-pien, B, 25.8 and 26.1 and Lin, 2.30.2) is the simplified form of \textit{令多射多衛 ling-to-shih-to-wei}. He further thinks that they were connected with the \textit{外諸侯 wei-chu-hou} 'the Outer Chu-Hou' who held fiefs along the borders of the Shang Kingdom (Tsung-shu, p.512). There are, however, two reasons to doubt the
validity of this argument: Firstly, according to all the records concerned, the graph wei normally functions as the verb 'to guard' rather than as a noun in the combination wei-chu-hou. Secondly, Shih is a title of a military officer whose status is much lower than that of the Chu-hou. It is therefore not logical for them to be combined in this manner with the higher status (Chu-hou) following a term of lower status (shih).

7. Misinterpretations

There are several combinations misread or mistaken by scholars to be titles of office. For instance:

wu-ch'en 'Ch'en-official in Charge of Ceremonial Dancing'.

Shima (Inkyo, p.467) quotes two instances which appear in Hsiao-t'un B, 2373 and 3108 and claims that the combination wu-ch'en is a title of office which refers to the Ch'en-official who was in charge of ceremonial dancing. This is, however, clearly a matter of careless reading. In the former text neither the graph wu nor the graph ch'en are distinct. This is especially the case with ch'en in which half of the graph is obscured in its central area by surface damage. It is therefore very hard to judge whether it is indeed the graph 鬳 as suggested by Shima. In the latter record the graph 鬳 is
'armpit', also has been mistaken by Shima to be the graph wu 'dance'. In the combination 田 to-t'ien, Shima mistakes the graph 田 to be 田 : 田 t'ien and proposes the combination of these two graphs which appear in Ts'ui-pien (1545) to be an official title concerned with agricultural work (Inkyo, p.462). From the point-of-view of the character structure there is no basis at all to read 田 as 田 . As regards the term 乍册 tso-ts'e Ch'en Meng-chia argues that it is an official title. He quotes the two records appearing in Ch'ien-pien (4.27.3) and in Ching-chin (703) and claims that the combination therein is a title of office which is equivalent to the 乍册 tso-ts'e of bronze inscriptions which term in traditional sources is a civil office similar to a secretary or archivist (Tsung-shu, p.518). One may notice that all the characters appearing on the former shell (Ch'ien-pien, 4.27.3) are very small and that the printing is so poor that the shapes or structures of the characters can hardly be distinguished - particularly the two characters which Ch'en proposes to read as tso-ts'e. And on the latter shell (Ching-chin, 703) there are only two graphs: one is 乍 which Ch'en transcribes as 乍 tso while the other is damaged. Only half of the latter graph can be seen. Accordingly, it may or may not be the graph 乍 :
ts'e as suggested by Ch'en. Because of this uncertainty there remains no ground to press the view that they are actually the two characters tso-ts'e, and, of course, there is no context to indicate anything of the function of the two graphs. In regard to the graphs and shih which have been discussed earlier Ch'en Mengchia is occasionally inconsistent (Tsung-shu, pp.519-520). He sometimes considers the graph to be shih and suggests that they were court officials such as those widely recorded in classics. On the other hand he sometimes takes the graphs to be shih in the sense of 'diplomatic delegates'.
CONCLUDING REMARKS
CONCLUDING REMARKS

When the inscribed oracle bones and tortoise shells first came to light, scholars' attitudes toward them were somewhat divided. The majority overestimated the historical value of these documents. They were optimistic in believing that many unsolved questions relating to legendary aspects of the earliest phases of Chinese history would be answered by the discovery and that a detailed and complete Shang history would be produced. Others, however, belittled the usefulness of the oracular texts. They claimed that the documents being records of only simple and repetitive antithetical pairs of divinations would present little information of significance towards the understanding of Shang history.¹

¹ The most active person to declaim against oracle bone studies was Chang Ping-lin (張丙琳), a prominent etymologist with an excellent knowledge of the Shuo-wen. He wrote an article entitled 'Li-huo-lun' condemning Lo Chen-yū who was devoting himself to oracle bone studies at that time. Chang claimed that all the oracle bones were faked and that Lo was an untrustworthy person. Lo kept silent. A young student of the same field, Chin Tsu-tung emerged and challenged Chang to debate the issue. Chin met Chang face to face in debate and afterwards wrote him many letters but Chang persisted in his doubt of the authenticity of the oracular texts until his death in 1936 (see Tung Tso-pin, Chia-ku-hsüeh liu-shih-nien, pp.47, 56-60).
Both attitudes are correct to a certain extent but neither are without fault. The oracular texts do, indeed, help us considerably in verifying aspects of the history of Shang. It is well known, for instance, that the Royal genealogy recorded in the 'Yin-pen-chi' tallies very closely with the several genealogical tables in the oracular records (e.g. Yi-ts'\un, 986 and Ts'ui-pien, 112). The general structure of the Shang Court, too, can be roughly reconstructed as demonstrated in earlier surveys and somewhat more fully in this thesis. Numerous vistas of everyday affairs in Shang society are clarified in the contents of the divinations as illustrated in many studies devoted to such subjects as the Ceremonies, the hunt, agricultural practices, warfare, etc. Yet it must be admitted that the great deal of new information which we have gained from these discoveries does not permit a great deal of depth in historical investigation - only a rough outline of each subject under examination can be expected. Furthermore, these archaeological documents are full of ambiguities and uncertainties such as we have already observed from time to time throughout this work.

As many of the cited passages show, most of the oracular records comprise antithetical pairs of divinations which except for a small number of 'incised
It has been necessary, to allow a somewhat greater degree of significance to 'negative evidence' than one might normally be disposed to do. It may be noted, for instance, that receipt of the tribute payments from Subject Rulers was generally signed by Diviners (only 4 persons whose status is unknown are otherwise found amongst the signatures, see Table I). This marked absence of other officials recorded in connection with the receipt payment seems fairly definitely to indicate that the Diviners, in addition to the making and interpreting of divinations, were amongst the most important officials in the Administration.

A major problem, however, is that concerned with the more acceptable situation of the chronology of the oracular texts. The greater proportion of them are
records only of the early periods - especially Period One. Consequently, the more definitely evident aspects of the Administration which have been demonstrated in this survey are mostly of Wu Ting's time. Wherever possible, therefore, examples of later instances (where they exist) are incorporated in the appropriate Tables. The paucity of data will not, however, allow us to speak authoritatively for the whole period of 273 years - from Wu Ting to Ti Hsin. Here it would, indeed, be incautious to assume that a lack of evidence can be interpreted merely upon the basis of what we know to be characteristic of the earlier periods. It is my belief that the tabulated data in this survey does in some small measure illustrate to what extent Period One institutions continued apparently unchanged until the end of Shang. Where the Tables do not illustrate such a situation it is either because the data shows that there were indeed changes (cf. Tables V and VI) or - as is so often the case there are no relevant archaeological data of any kind available at all.

Very often the student is confronted with single texts of somewhat limited context which present information of special importance and of sometimes very exciting implication - such texts are often unique and thus no other means of control exist to permit
authoritative assessments. One such example which I have purposely omitted to discuss in the section of this survey where it is cited (Passage 231) will now be considered.

This inscribed tortoise shell contains the characters, $\text{傲王}$, 'King of X' (Hsiao-t'\text{un} A, 3510).

Upon the basis of this divination entry it appears that the Shang King was not the only person to be entitled \textit{wang}. However, this record has to be considered in respect of the nature of the general corpus of Hsiao-t'\text{un} oracular texts which we normally assume to be a section the Royal Archives of Shang - this being so it might seem unusual that reference might be made to another ruler who apparently had assumed the title of 'King'. Yet against this point-of-view we know well enough the interpretations of Kuo Mo-jo and others regarding the 26 character inscribed Ting-cauldron excavated from the round burial which shows clearly that inscriptions pertaining to recalcitrant subjects did, indeed, find their way to City Shang. Accordingly, one cannot dismiss the probable significance of the record of an 'X-wang', King of X, in the above passage. None of the commentators to date have attempted to consider the importance of this entry.

This brings us to the major question which has been touched upon several times earlier - was the Shang Kingdom
a feudal organization? The topic has been discussed by a
number of scholars with particular reference to the
Western and Eastern Chou periods. As noted in Introduction, Wang Kuo-wei's 'Yin-Chou chih-tu-lun' was the first survey
to discuss changes apparent in the political and social
systems of Shang and Chou. However, he does not touch
upon the existence of feudalism in Shang times, but when
he comes to the 'Tsung-fa Hereditary System', he demonstrates that the
Tsung-fa Hereditary System of these two dynasties
differed in respect of the practice of fraternal
succession in Shang as against primogeniture in Chou
(Kuan-t'ang, pp.454-62). Kuo Mo-jo, in 1930, first
discussed the significance of the wu-teng-chüeh 'Five
Feudal Ranks' of Chou in terms of the similar data
deriving from oracular records (Chung-kuo ku-tai she-hui
yen-chiu, p.309). He concluded that the Shang titles were
quite different. Tung Tso-pin's 'Wu-teng-chüeh tsai Yin-
Shang' appeared in 1936, wherein he stressed the contrary
opinion that the five Chou feudal ranks were already
extant in Shang thus implying that there was feudalism in
Shang times. Because of his remarkable works on oracle
bone studies this article has had important influence on
historians notwithstanding the fact that only two of the
five feudal ranks in question, Hou and Po, can in fact be accepted as extant in Shang times. Hu Hou-hsüan, published his study: 'Yin-t'ai feng-chien chih-tu-k'ao' in 1944 wherein he assembled evidence from oracular records, in an attempt to prove that the Shang was a feudal State. This study is not only concerned with those 'enfeoffed' with territories and the feudal titles bestowed upon them, but also it deals with the obligations of the 'Vassal Princes' to the King which included the following items:

1. To undertake garrison duties upon Royal command.
2. To conduct punitive expeditions against disobedient rulers on behalf of the King.
3. To render tribute to the Royal Court.
4. To pay taxes to the King.
5. To send their own subjects to cultivate the Royal fields and to work for the King.

Upon due investigation it will be noted that Hu's study fails first in an appreciation of the meaning of the term 'feudalism' from a Western point-of-view and secondly in his assumption that evidence exists in the oracular texts to the effect that lands were granted and associated titles were bestowed. There is not, however, a single record of the granting of land or of titles to subjects in return for services - one of the essential procedures in a
feudal society. Hu is, of course, correct in noting the various duties which Subject Rulers were required to undertake upon Royal Command (with the obvious exception of item (4) above - there being no such record amongst oracle bone texts at all). These obligations do not necessarily denote a feudal society, of course.

Only one Chinese scholar has really understood the concept of 'feudalism' in the application of this term to Shang and Chou period institutions - Ch'i Ssu-ho, who in 1948 published his excellent appraisal: 'A Comparison Between Chinese and European Feudal Institutions' (YJSS, vol. IV, no. 1). His study is concerned only with the Chou Period. He refers to Hu's survey but does not seek to elaborate upon the matter so far as the asserted origins in the Shang period are concerned. Very shrewdly he observes that the Chinese term feng-chien which has come to possess a much wider and more general meaning was originally but one aspect of its present extension of

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1 As may be observed in Passages 11-20, 24, 60-63, 183, 184, 191 and 192 various kinds of articles were despatched to the Kings by the Subject Rulers. However, the sense of 'taxation' is quite absent in those records - the character 稅 shui 'tax' which is used by Hu in his study does not, of course, exist in oracle bone inscriptions. There is no reason to assume that taxation in the sense of the term as it functioned in Han and later times was a practice in Shang times.
meaning, just as in the West 'feudalism' originally meant
only one aspect of the present sense of the term (op. cit.,
p.1, note 2). Other writers have simply taken the Chinese
term feng-chien and added to it the compound chih-tu
'system' and then apply the 4 character compound in a very
limited way. They are apparently only vaguely aware of
the Western term 'feudalism' and the fact that the
situation in countries other than China must be understood,
too. Surveys such as Chü Tung-tsu's Chung-kuo feng-chien she-hui are useful
in demonstrating how far the author's concept of the
Chinese term feng-chien is applicable to the Shang and
Chou periods; this is not, however, relevant to the
problem of 'feudalism' in its generally understood sense
in modern historical research.

In the Shang period, the essential ingredient of
feudalism - the gift of land for services - is nowhere
recorded in the oracular texts. Associated with this
feudal practice was the investiture ceremony wherein,
amongst other things, a feudal lord was confirmed in his
inheritance of his State - again there is no sign of such
a practice which because of the general nature of
divinations would surely have been subject to oracle
enquiry. Indeed, the very terms used in the Western Chou
period are conspicuously rare in the oracle bone texts - where they appear they are employed only in respect of gifts. The two characters are \( \text{易} \) 錫 (hsì) 'bestow' and \( \text{赏} \) shàng 'award'. The former graph \( \text{易} \) is employed mostly in the divinations about weather (cf. p. 214) and only in a few cases does it correspond in meaning to the Western Chou term \( \text{錫} \) hsi 'to bestow:

\[ \text{庚戌} \ldots \text{貞:} \text{易} \text{易} \text{貞} \text{易} \text{貞} \text{易} \text{貞} \text{易} \]

(後編下8.5, 第一期.)

243. On the day, keng-hsü [47], the Diviner ... enquired:

Should [the King] award strings of cowrie shells?

(Hou-pien, B, 8.5. Period One).

\[ \ldots \text{正不囲易易易易?} \]

(南北坊, 81, 期未明.)

244. [On the day, ... ... , the Diviner ... enquired]:

... ... ... not ... award strings of cowrie shells? It was the 1st month.

(Nan-pei-fang, 81. Period uncertain).

As to the graph \( \text{賞} \) shang there are only four records wherein this character is used in the same sense; the following passage is representative:
(i) 儘已卜員：商（賞）尊（冊）？
(ii) 儘：勿賞辭尊。

245. (i) On the day kuei-ssu [30], the Diviner ... enquired:

Should [the King] bestow a brevet upon [Yin and Ch'in]?

(ii) [On the day, kuei-ssu, the Diviner ...] enquired:

Should not [the King] bestow a brevet upon Yin and Ch'in?

(Hsiao-t'un A, 2123. Period One).¹

It is quite evident amongst the relevant passages that the two characters hsi and shang do not include the meaning of 'enfeoff', they are concerned only with ordinary awards or gifts. Other than these examples there is essentially a complete lack of record of any kind of award that would indicate a form of 'feudalism' such as

¹ The term 尊 賜 ching-ts'ie is considered to have one of two meanings: 'to read out a Royal decree' and 'to hold up one's hands to receive the document containing the Royal decree' (CKWTCS, pp.1405-08). This is essentially based upon a Sung period reading of the graph '&&' as chü 'to raise'. If this is acceptable there may be some possibility that the translation attempted above 'to bestow a brevet upon' may, indeed, indicate the grant of a title. However, the context in this and in other examples is insufficient to allow a clear understanding of this term.
both archaeological and literary sources attest so well in the Western Chou period.

With these observations in mind we may conclude, with some degree of certainty, that Shang institutions as we may reconstruct them upon the basis of oracle bone texts cannot be classified as 'feudal'. It is equally clear from our study of the Ch'en and Hsiao-ch'en-officials that it is unwise to speak too definitely in terms of a 'slave society' in respect of the Shang Kingdom as do most Mainland Chinese scholars who because of political reasons have little choice but to "Marxify" their views wherever possible. It would seem from the data presented in this survey that comparisons might be fruitfully attempted, so far as it is valid to do so, with certain of the institutions amongst the cultured States of the West long before the advent of 'feudalism' there. However, this task I leave to others better qualified. In this survey I have merely attempted to organise the basis oracular data into a systematic form which enable us now to see an 'archaeological documentary view' of Shang - this I propose may be regarded as being somewhat more dependable than are the majority of earlier assessments wherein the historical data tend to be confusedly employed and the views of the authors are often essentially of a preconceived character.
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**Author Alphabetical**

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128. Yü Hsing-wu

127. *Nai-lin-ch'ing chia-wen-shuo*
   (and Pu-tz'u ch'iu-yi)
   耐林麐甲文說，
   (卜辭求義)，
   聯群出版社，
   Shanghai, 1955.

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128. Yeh Yü-shen

129. Yü Hsing-wu

128. *T'ieh-yün ts'ang-kuei shih-yi*
   (Shih-yi)
   鐵雲藏龜拾遺，
   自印本，
   Shanghai, 1925.

129. Yü Hsing-wu

128. *T'ieh-yün ts'ang-kuei shih-yi*
   (Shih-yi)
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129. Yü Hsing-wu

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   雙劍殷契麟枝，
   自印本，
   Peking, vol. 1, 1940.
   vol. 2, 1941.
   vol. 3, 1943.
## Section Two

- Abbreviated Titles -

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