The Ancestral Landscape

Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China

(ca. 1200–1045 B.C.)

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Preface

The Shang dynasty is important because it was the first Chinese dynasty to have left written records and because, as those records reveal, its cultural choices were to provide a significant legacy for the Zhou and Han dynasties that followed.[1] The symbolic order that the Late Shang elites created for themselves and for their world is, accordingly, of considerable historical interest. "Late Shang," the span of time covered in this book, refers to the period for which we have inscriptions (ca. 1200–1045 B.C.), from the reign of Wu Ding 武丁 (the twenty-first Shang king; see figure 1) to the reign of Di Xin 帝辛 (the twenty-ninth).

The first two chapters are introductory; they address the climate and agriculture of the Anyang 安陽 region, in the northern Henan panhandle, in the last few centuries of the second millennium B.C. I do not claim that the environmental base determined the Late Shang superstructure, that "geography is destiny," but I do urge that any attempt to understand the genesis of the Shang world order needs to consider the influence of the biological and climatological building blocks with which the Shang elites, and peasantry too, worked as they constructed an incipient Chinese cosmology on the North China plain.[2]

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1. For the nature of the Shang legacy, which can be discerned in many areas of the later political culture, see, e.g., Creel 1937:254; Tang Yingya 1975; Keightley 1978a, 1984, 1988, 1999b:289–91; Allan 1979; Schwartz 1985:16–39; Pankenier 1995; see too chapter 8.

2. By "cosmology" I mean a theory or model of the physical universe considered as a totality of phenomena in time and space. For recent accounts of early Chinese cosmology, see Allan 1991:74–111; Pankenier 1995; Hwang Ming-chorng 1996; Wang Aihe, in press.

The next five chapters address Shang notions of time, space, and community. With regard to time, much of my concern is with the ways in which the Shang understood and gave structure to the passage of the hours, days, and months. With regard to space, I follow other scholars in treating landscapes as "constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock" (Schama 1995:61). Landscape, in other words, as opposed to terrain or topography, is "a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable" (Mitchell 1994:2). My interest is in how the Late Shang construed and mediated their external world, in the culture they built upon that external world, and in how that external world shaped that culture. I am interested, moreover, in what Yi-fu Tuan (1974:4, 113) has termed "topophilia," "the affective bond between people and place or setting" that "couples sentiment with place." And I refer to the Shang landscape as ancestral, not only because it was inhabited by ancestral (and other) Powers, but also because the landscape, both real and symbolic, played a generative and religious role in the culture that the Shang created and transmitted. As to communities, they are, as Benedict Anderson (1991:6) has noted, always imagined, and they are "to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined." I am interested in the style, as we see it primarily in their divination inscriptions, with which the Shang imagined and created their world, both human and natural. The book is thus primarily a study in retrospective cultural anthropology rather than, say, a study of Shang politics or economics.[3] And given the theoretical difficulties involved in isolating and ranking the factors that played a role in the genesis of a sense of order and identity some three thousand years ago, my treatment favors a "thick description" that others, perhaps, may use to question some of my conclusions.

That description, as I have indicated, is based primarily upon the oracle-bone inscriptions of the Late Shang dynasty, divination records that provide us with numerous insights into the experiences and priorities of the Shang kings.[4] These records, the earliest body of writing yet found in East Asia, were produced in the following way. The diviner, sometimes the king, but often an officer at the Shang court, presided over the divinatory ritual. The diviner announced the subject of the divination, termed a "charge" (*mingci* 命辭) by modern scholars, and applied an

3. For an introduction to those aspects of Shang experience, see, e.g., K. C. Chang 1980:210–59; Keightley 1983, 1999b:269–89.

4. The rubbings of more than 46,000 inscribed oracle bones have now been published (for these figures, see Keightley 1990b:40, 53). For an introduction to the Shang oracle-bone inscriptions and their use as sources, see Keightley 1978, 1990b, 1997, 1997b, 1999c.

intense heat source to the hollow that had been previously carved into the back of a cattle scapula or turtle plastron; having been thinned in this way, the bone or shell cracked as a result of the heat stress, producing a *bu-* 卜 shaped crack (visible in figures 7 and 8) on the front surface. The king then interpreted the crack as a response, "lucky" or "unlucky" in varying degrees, to the charge that had been proposed. He pronounced his forecast. Some or all of this information, which had probably been written down in some form of "diviner's notebook" at the time the ritual was performed, was eventually carved as a record into the surface of the bone or shell, together with, on occasion, a "verification" that recorded what had actually happened.[5] Most divinations were not recorded so completely, but a full divinatory record would have consisted of a *preface* (the date of the divination and the name of the diviner, which I have generally omitted in the inscriptions below; see p. xiv), a *charge* (the subject matter, which, in my translations, I place in double quotation marks), a *prognostication* (the king's forecast, as in inscriptions [23], [54AB], [58] below), and a *verification* (the results, as in [3A], [18], [19]). An occasional *postface* provided more information about the date and place of divination and the circumstances under which it had been performed (as in [54AB], [58], [108]).[6] The inscribed bones were probably kept above ground for a period of time and were then placed in storage pits in the area of the temple-palace complex at Xiaotun 小屯, three kilometers northwest of modern Anyang. They lay in the ground, unknown to scholars until the start of the twentieth century.[7]

By presenting a relatively large number of inscriptions, I hope, in some small way, to give readers an almost tactile sense, not only of what it was to be a Late Shang king and a Late Shang diviner, but also of what it is to be a scholar who works with these materials. My reaction to *Jiaguwen heji* 甲骨文合集, the recently published compendium of almost 42,000 oracle bones, is worth quoting here:

> I would . . . stress the sense of immediate contact with the inscriptions that *Heji* provides. It is instructive, even moving, for example, to read through some 1,300 rubbings from the reign of Wu Ding (*Heji* 11750–13048), all concerned with rainfall; the cracking and engraving of this vast quantity of event-specific bones and shells reminds one afresh of the effort involved in performing and recording these divinations so

5. For a fuller introduction to Shang divination, see Keightley 1978:6–56. On the existence of the putative "diviners' notebooks," see Keightley 1999c:218–19.

6. For a further account of these divisions and terms, see Keightley 1978:28–30, 33–35, 40–45. For an inscription with four of these parts marked, see [51].

7. For the discovery and early scholarly investigation of the oracle-bone inscriptions, see Lefeuvre 1975; Wang Yuxin 1981:3–25; Wu Haokun and Pan You 1985:1–18.

> vital to the well-being of the dynasty. . . . Indeed, the experience of leafing through page after page of rubbings devoted . . . to a particular topic is quite unlike that involved in consulting the standardized, "sanitized," transcriptions. . . . *Heji,* if it does nothing else, encourages one to respond to the historical context of the bones in all their profusion and variety. . . . No oracle-bone scholar can fail to be stimulated to new thoughts and reflections as he or she leafs through this repository of Shang writing, almost overwhelming in its size.[8]

And by translating, in context, more than a hundred and fifty of the inscriptions that the Shang inscribed on their oracle-bones I also hope to introduce readers to the ways in which the earliest written documents yet found in China may be studied.

It has been proposed that the oracle-bone inscriptions permit the Late Shang to be characterized only as "protohistoric," on the grounds that writing was not yet "fully developed and in common use for recording history" (Barnes 1993:19; see too Bagley 1999:130). The Shang writing system was, in fact, well developed, and it is entirely likely that the Shang kept other kinds of records that have not been preserved.[9] It is, indeed, the presence of their writing system that distinguishes the Shang from the contemporary Bronze Age cultures that flourished in China (Bagley 1999:181). Nevertheless, the records that we have are certainly limited in nature, and the inscriptions themselves permit the reconstruction only of certain aspects of Late Shang history. Divination was an important Shang institution, but there is no reason to assume that it expresses the full range and variability of the culture (see too p. 112 below). As I have earlier noted (Keightley 1978:212), the oracle-bone inscriptions tell us "more of the notes of Shang cult than of the music of Shang belief"; those notes, however, placed in context, can at least give us a sense of what the music would have sounded like and what its structure was.

With these considerations in mind, it is my hope that the book will serve as an introduction, as an informed stroll through the landscape of the bone inscriptions, suggesting some of the connections that may be discerned beneath their surface content and encouraging further exploration. It offers at least a partial account of the Late Shang elites and their daily lives, based upon contemporary sources. Given the challenging nature of the inscriptions, however, and the technical disagreements that challenge some modern interpretations, a simple "introduction" would, on occasion, prove inadequate and even misleading. For some

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8. Keightley 1990b:49, with romanization, as in all passages quoted below, translated into pinyin. For *Jiaguwen heji,* see bibliography A, under *Heji.*

9. Creel 1937:171–73; Keightley 1969:349–50, 1999b:285, 287; Bagley 1999.182, Boltz 1999:107–8.

issues, indeed, there are no simple introductions, and in those cases I have done my best to indicate where further research is needed and the interpretive problems involved. Our understanding of the Late Shang inscriptions and of the culture that produced them is still evolving.

An earlier version of this study was presented to the Annual Symposium in Chinese Studies, "Empire, Nation, and Region: The Chinese World Order Reconsidered," at the Center for Chinese Studies, University of California at Berkeley, on 3–4 March 1995. I am grateful for the comments of Judith Boltz, Bruce Brooks, Magnus Fiskesjö, Donald Harper, Liu Xueshun, David Pankenier, Michael Puett, Jeffrey Riegel, Edward Shaughnessy, Ken-ichi Takashima, Lothar von Falkenhausen, and Robin Yates, which have done much to improve its accuracy and delineate its scope with more precision; and I am particularly grateful to the faculty and student members of a two-week oracle-bone seminar I attended at the University of Washington in spring 1999 that used a final version of this study as its text: William G. Boltz, Matt Carter, Zev Handel, Gong Hang, Stevan Harrell, Robin McNeal, Newell Ann Van Auken, Suhjen Yang, Anne O. Yue, and Xiaorong Zheng. I should also like to thank Imre Galambos for checking my inscription references and Seung-joon Lee for his research assistance. Any mistakes, of course, remain my own. I am grateful, finally, to Joanne Sandstrom for copy-editing the final manuscript with clarity and efficiency.

Citation and Transcription Conventions

In providing a key (on pp. 147–51) to the oracle-bone inscriptions translated in this book I include references to two major concordances, abbreviated as Y and S, to give readers access to (1) the oracle-bone forms of the inscriptions cited (which I generally transcribe in modern graph form) and (2) other inscriptions that may bear on the same topic. Y is an abbreviation for Yao Xiaosui 姚孝遂 and Xiao Ding 肖丁, eds., *Yinxu jiagu keci leizuan* 殷墟甲骨刻辭類纂 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1989); for an introduction to this transcribed corpus of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, see Keightley 1997. S is an abbreviation for Shima Kunio 島邦男, *Inkyo bokui sōrui* 殷墟卜辭綜類 (2d rev. ed., Tokyo: Kyūko, 1971); for a review of the 1967 edition, see Keightley 1969a. Both works are listed in Bibliography A.

The Y citations provide access to the *Heji* rubbings of the oracle-bone inscriptions (chapter 1, n. 5), the most comprehensive corpus available; the S citations record the original works in which the rubbings were first published and thus provide access to the earlier scholarship. It should also be noted that the Y and S transcriptions do not always agree. In those cases when I was unable to find a transcription in Y, the *Heji* transcription may be found in Yao Xiaosui and Xiao Ding, eds., *Yinxu jiagu keci moshi zongji* 殷墟甲骨刻辭摹釋總集 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1988) (also reviewed in Keightley 1997), a work that, by transcribing all the inscriptions on a particular bone, provides a context for the study of their meaning.

An index to the inscriptions translated in this book (pp. 153–57), given according to their publication data in both *Heji* and earlier collections of

inscriptions (listed in bibliography A), will permit readers to determine which inscriptions are treated in the body of the book.

Given the relatively large number of inscriptions that I have translated below, and given my desire to introduce the inscriptions to a nonspecialist audience, I have generally not taken the space to provide detailed glosses or to translate the full record (I usually exclude, for example, the preface containing the day-date and the diviner's name); nor, because of my synoptic approach, and because of the technical distinctions that are often involved, have I usually periodized the inscriptions I cite (see chapter 1, n. 13). When I indicate that a particular topic was of interest to a particular king, such as Wu Ding, however, this may be taken to mean that all or most of the inscriptions dealing with that topic may be assigned to the reign of that king.

The letters "f" and "b" after an inscription number indicate "front" (*zheng* 正) and "back" (*fan* 反); "s" (as in the case of *Heji* 7287s = [141]) indicates a socket notation. The use of A, B, C, etc. in my reference numbers, as in [12A] and [12B], indicates that the inscription units appear in sequence on the same bone or shell. The letters A, B, etc., attached to the *Heji* inscription number (as in the case of *Heji* 12870AB = [125A–E]) refer to the fragments, *jia* 甲, *yi* 乙, etc. of an "exploded" rejoining.

Ellipses in a transcription or translation indicate that I have omitted some of an inscription's characters, either because they are not relevant to the point being made or because I do not understand them; the symbol □ indicates that one graph is missing in the original inscription, and the symbol ☒ indicates that one or more graphs may be missing. A "(?)" after a character indicates that the modern transcription I have provided is uncertain. Parentheses in a translation indicate that I supply the meaning; square brackets mean that I restore a character or word that is now missing but that would, in my view, have been present in the original, undamaged inscription.

1

Climate

In the period from ca. 4000 to 3000 B.C. the climate in the region of Anyang 安陽 (36.0 N, 114.3 E), in accord with a global trend, had gradually turned cooler and drier, following the warmest and wettest stage of the Post-glacial Climatic Optimum. During the Longshan 龍山 period (ca. 3000–2000 B.C.), many of the tropical, subtropical, and aquatic flora and fauna that had thrived in the region disappeared, but abundant water, grass, and dense forests were still present, and the temperature was still warmer than today's, probably by some two to four degrees Celsius. By the closing centuries of the second millennium B.C., the time of the Late Shang, the increasing displacement of subtropical fauna by temperate-zone animals like horse and cattle provides further evidence of continued gradual cooling in the region. Nevertheless, studies of the paleo-flora and -fauna indicate that the climate of North China was still rather wetter and warmer toward the end of the first millennium B.C. than it is today.[1] The rainfall inscriptions of Late Shang, for example, confirm that, by comparison with the present, rain was likely to be more prolonged and was likely to fall in months that are now virtually free of rain.[2]

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1. For the general evolution of the Holocene environment in China, see Shi Yafeng et al. 1993; Winkler and Wang 1993; Keightley 1999a:33–36. Kwang-chih Chang (1980:136–41, 145) summarizes the scholarship on Shang climate; see too Man Zhimin 1991:266–69. For the situation in Henan, the core of Late Shang culture, see Zhou Feng 1995:112–14.

2. Hu Houxuan 1944:38; Keightley 1992. Hu cites Zhou and Han evidence which suggests that in the post-Shang period North China continued to be rainier than it has been in more recent times (see too chapter 4, n. 13 below). For an example of rain that fell

2

Agriculture

The basic Shang staple, the staff of the dynastic state and the elites who supported it, is thought to have been millet, recorded in the oracle-bone inscriptions as *shu* 黍 or *he* 禾.[1] Few if any finds of millet have been reported from Shang sites (K. C. Chang 1980:146), but millets have been found in numerous Neolithic sites in North China.[2] The great number

1. For a paleographic analysis of the various kinds of Shang crops and for the divinations about them, see K. C. Chang 1980:146–48; Wen Shaofeng and Yuan Tingdong 1983: 166–81; Suetsugu 1991:281–86. Other discussions may be found at *Sōran*, no. 0889. According to Qiu Xigui (1985:12), *he* 禾 in ancient texts appears to have had both a narrow meaning (millet) and broad meaning (millet-type crops in general); for that reason—and to distinguish it from *shu*, 黍—I translate *he* in the inscriptions below as "grain," with the understanding that millet was probably involved. Qiu also notes that in the various "receive harvest" (*shou nian* 受年 or *shou he* 受禾) formulas, the Li 歷-group diviners (Period I–II) used *he* where the Bin 賓-group diviners (Period I) used *nian*; similarly, where the Li-group diviners used the phrase "*dao he* 禱禾," to "pray for grain (harvest)," the Bin- and Chu 出-group diviners (Period II) used "*dao nian* 禱年" (see too, Xie Ji 1982:100; Hu Houxuan 1986:60; Ji Xiaojun 1991:35). In such contexts, accordingly, I translate *he* as "grain (harvest)." The interchangeability of *nian* and *he* in these formulas lends support to Boltz's proposal (1999:121) that the oracle-bone character that we read as *he* 禾 could have stood "equally well either for the word *he* 'growing grain' or for the semantically akin but phonetically distinct word *nian* 'harvest' (> 'year')," which was written 𠂤 (年), "with the graph 𠂉 (人 *ren* . . .) added underneath to specify the pronuncation *nian* . . . unambiguously" (he provides the archaic pronunciations). The choice of *nian* or *he* may have involved dialect differences among diviner-groups or scribes (on dialects in the oracle-bone inscriptions, see Takashima and Yue [in press]).

2. See, e.g., Liu Muling 1998:846, 847; Ren Shinan 1995:39; K. C. Chang 1999:44–46. Cohen (1999:22) notes the great preponderance of *Setaria italica* (foxtail millet) finds (some

3

Time: Days, Nights, and Suns

The chronological and temporal concerns of the Late Shang diviners, as they attempted to construct patterns that would resolve, or render more manageable, the dilemmas that faced both king and commoner, were inseparably linked to cosmic rhythms and thus to peasant notions of time. In a world without clocks, the rising and setting sun and the waxing and waning moon were the great tellers of time; they marked the passing of the days and weeks of the lunar month and the accumulating months of the solar year.[1] To the Shang diviner, time was as portentous as place and direction (see chapters 5 and 6); observed, shaped, and regulated, time was, like space, an indispensable dimension of religious cosmology, an integral part of all religious observance and divinatory prognostication. Human time—concerned with the divisions of the day, the agricultural cycles of the year, the birth dates of royal children, the timing of royal hunts, the mobilization schedules of conscripts for fighting, agriculture, or other public work–was conceived in terms of a religious time that was concerned with the schedule of rituals and sacrifices, the luck of a particular day or week, and the portentous significance of unexpected events. The regular scheduling of the rituals—reserved for particular times and places, and increasingly predictable and stereotyped[2]—conferred order

1. See Goody, 1968:31, 40–41, on human and cosmic cycles, the repetitive nature of peasant production, and future activity envisaged as a continuation of present activity. Zhang Peiyu 1986 provides a useful summary of recent studies of the Shang calendar.

2. For the way in which scheduled rituals transform the "complex world of experience" into "an orderly world of symbols," see Wallace 1966:239 (quoted by Bourguignon 1979: 243).

4

Time: Calendrical Structures

The Sixty-Day Cycle

The Shang formed the sixty-day cycle, as we have seen, by combining the two independent series of counters, later known as the stems and the branches, until the sixty acceptable combinations had been completed and the full cycle started once more.[1] The ability to perform calendrical calculations based upon such a cycle would have required some training, involving both memorization of the cycle and practice at moving easily within it.[2] The diviners, assisted, no doubt, by the varying quality of the day-dates involved (see chapter 3, n. 55 above), appear to have handled the system with ease,[3] counting the days as in the following example—

1. By "acceptable" I mean the combinations that appear in table 1. Given the dominance of the ten *gan* (p. 40) and the need to keep the two cycles in strict sequence, the Shang never used "unacceptable" *ganzhi* combinations like *jiachou* 甲丑, *yiyin* 乙寅, *bingmao* 丙卯, and so on (i.e., the blank spaces in table 1). Numerous speculations about the origins of the *ganzhi* system have led to no generally accepted conclusions; see, e.g., Norman 1984; Akatsuka 1989; Chen Jiujin and Zhang Jingguo 1989:17; Whittaker 1990; Pulleyblank 1991, 1996:9–11.

2. Consider, for example, the difficulty experienced by the participants attending a feast in the state of Jin 晉 (said to have taken place on the day *guiwei* in the second month of the year 543 B.C.) when they attempted to figure out the birth date of the old man who had couched his answer in terms of 445.3 *jiazi* cycles (*Zuozhuan*, Xiang 30; Legge, tr., 1872:556; Yang Bojun, ed., 1981:1170–71); Ding Shan (1961:269–70) uses this Eastern Zhou story to argue that there had once been a system of record keeping by ten-day periods, not by month or year. For the errors involved in the *ganzhi* day counts recorded in Han bamboo strips, see Li Zhenhong 1989, nos. 1, 23, 32.

3. I know of only a few "wrong" *ganzhi* dates. One appears in the preface to *Heji* 35901, which reads "甲卯卜貞," "Crack-making on *jiamao*, divined." There is, as various scholars

5

Space: Center and Periphery

Many inhabitants of Shang China would have had little notion of the land that lay beyond their daily horizon. Travelling no further than their local fields and woods, many peasants would have felt themselves at the center of a small, familiar world that was intermittently and unpredictably invaded by external forces—like the king on hunt or campaign, marauding beasts, enemy raiders, voracious birds and insects, and, above all, the onslaughts of wind, rain, drought, and flood—that entered, often abruptly and unpredictably, from one horizon, left their mark on a settlement, and then passed out of its ken.

The frequent peregrinations of the king and his entourage, by contrast, combined with the reports, tribute payments, court visits, marriage alliances, and so on made by his dependents, officers, and allies, indicate that the Shang court's knowledge of a wider geography must have been extensive. The well over five hundred place-names that appear in the inscriptions (Song Zhenhao 1991:101) reveal Shang knowledge of a far-flung series of settlements and their human and spiritual inhabitants. But the basic peasant perception, that of the parochial inhabitant anxiously scrutinizing the surrounding borders, attempting to understand and control the irruptions of benevolent or hostile Powers that lurked beyond, may still be discerned in the diviner's cosmological conceptions.

6

Space: Cosmos and Orientation

In political terms, the domain of the Shang state and its allies was, as we have seen, honeycombed with non-Shang or enemy groups, but in cosmological terms the Shang conceived of a square world, oriented to the cardinal points, and surrounding the central core area known (in the Shi 𠂤-diviner group inscriptions of Period I) as Zhong Shang 中商 "Central Shang" (p. 84).[1]

The squareness of the Shang cosmos is suggested by the fact that there were four sides to the Shang world (see the discussion of *fang* at p. 66), by the emphasis on the four cardinal directions (passim, below), by the generally square layout of the Shang-style city walls found at sites such as Zhengzhou 鄭州 and Panlong cheng 盤龍城, and by the square or oblong perimeter depicted by the top half of the oracle-bone graph  (*yi* 邑, "settlement").[2] The relative monotony of the North China alluvial plain may help explain the cultic attention that the Shang paid to

1. E.g., *Heji* 20650 = *Qianbian* 8.10.3; *Heji* 20453 = *Yicun* 348 (both at Y778.2, S280.3; see too S279.3). For an archaeological account of the core area, see Kwang-chih Chang 1980:69–73. See too, Lu Liancheng (1993:236), who lists the various settlements found in a 20–30 sq. kilometer area around the temples and palaces at Xiaotun, arguing that the populations clustered in these settlements were linked by lineage ties. Peng Bangjiong (1990:42) reaches a similar conclusion about the *zhong* dependent laborers (chapter 3, n. 23 above) and other groups who served the Shang rulers.

2. Keightley 1973:531; and p. 531, n. 15, for the squareness of the oracle-bone graph  (Y740.1; S265.4), which is read as *guo* 郭 or *yong* 墉, a settlement wall (*Sōran*, no. 0684). For an introduction to the Zhengzhou and Panlong cheng sites, see Kwang-chih Chang 1980:263–88, 297–306; Bagley 1999:165–71.

7

Community: The Land and Its Inhabitants

The Shang kings, their close supporters, and their more distant allies lived in a variety of communities, most of which would have been intensely rural, that were distributed in settlements (*yi* 邑, as in [82]) across the North China Plain.[1] It was within these settlements that local communities and their local lords would have formed and articulated the distinctive moral and cognitive standards, obligations, and authority structures that characterized a variety of social and political arrangements. The degree to which religious and secular conceptions of power would not have been distinct in these communities is indicated by the vocabulary of command recorded in the oracle-bone inscriptions of the Shang. Just as Di, the High God, ordered (*ling* 令) rain ([45AB], [90AB]), snow, hail, wind, thunder ([7AB], [49]), and disasters ([64], [65B]),[2] so did the king order his officers ([74]) and labor gangs ([77]) to carry out his various affairs.[3] The king modelled his authority on that of Di, just as, no doubt, the authority of Di had also been conceived in terms of earthly models. The dynastic realm and the religious community shared many values and assumptions (cf. Anderson 1991:12–19).

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1. On the nature of the early *yi*, see, e.g., Jin Zhaozi 1956:82, 87; K. C. Chang 1976c:61–63; Tang Jiahong 1988:1 (which examines shared names, consanguinity, and shared places of origin).

2. For all these topics see Y418.2–20.2; S157.1–3; for Di ordering rain, see too *Heji* 10976f (translated in chapter 4, n. 4).

3. For numerous other cases see Y127.2–28.1; S46.3–4. Pankenier (1995:163–65) discusses the category analogues in the Shang (and Zhou) religious and secular traditions.

8

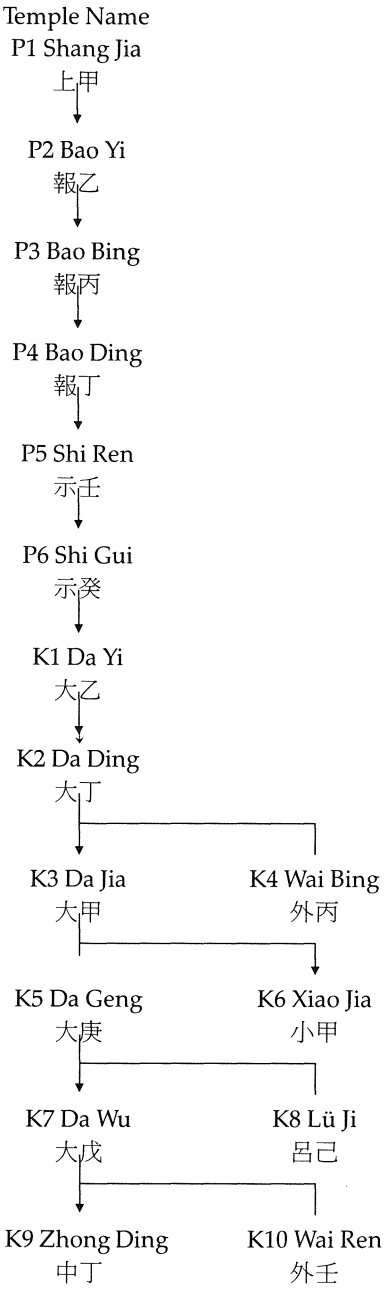
Cosmologies and Legacies: The "Winds" of Shang

The Shang king lived at the center of a world in which the directions—of the land; of his travels; of the winds, rains, and clouds; and of the Powers that controlled, or were manifested in, those phenomena—were symbolically significant. The cult center at Xiaotun—where most of the king's divinations and rituals recorded on the oracle bones presumably took place—was the site of numerous activities that expressed and reinforced the royal claims to knowledge and authority. Here were the burials of the recently dead kings, whose spiritual assistance the living king solicited with cult and the cracking of bones and shells. Here was the impressive bronze-founding industry of the royal Shang that produced the shining ritual vessels employed by the king on earth in his communications with the ancestors and other Powers who came to receive cult and that also produced the gleaming weapons and chariot fittings to enhance the king's majesty as he made his personal tours through the land.[1] And here was his entourage of diviners, engravers, and record keepers, whose mastery of a written script demonstrated, as it documented, the historical depth and superiority of Late Shang culture. The king looked out upon the North China plain, from the core of his enduring lineage, from the center of the settlement, from the center of the *tu*-lands and *fang*-regions, observing, forecasting, and recording the numerous directional phenomena, mundane and spiritual, on the

1. For the industrial scale of Shang bronze production, see Franklin 1983:285–89. For the bronze fittings on the Shang chariot and its use in the hunt and as an instrument of ritual display, see Barbieri-Low 1997:28–29, 32–34.

Figures

Figure 1.
The Royal Genealogy Recorded in Late Shang Sacrifice Inscriptions



Tables

Table 1:
The Ganzh i 干支 *Cycle*

	jia 甲	*yi* 乙	*bing* 丙	*ding* 丁	*wu* 戊	*ji* 己	*geng* 庚	*xin* 辛	*ren* 壬	*gui* 癸
zi 子	1		13		25		37		49	
chou 丑		2		14		26		38		50
yin 寅	51		3		15		27		39	
mao 卯		52		4		16		28		40
chen 辰	41		53		5		17		29	
si 巳		42		54		6		18		30
wu 午	31		43		55		7		19	
wei 未		32		44		56		8		20
shen 申	21		33		45		57		9	
you 酉		22		34		46		58		10
xu 戌	11		23		35		47		59	
hai 亥		12		24		36		48		60

Note: The day-number of any *ganzhi* combination may be obtained by finding the *gan*-stem in the horizontal row at the top of the table and matching it with the desired *zhi* branch, listed in the vertical column on the left. Thus, *jiazi* is day 1, *dingwei* is day 44, and *renxu* is day 59. (I am grateful to David S. Nivison for suggesting this tabular arrangement of the stems and branches.)

Key to the Inscriptions Translated

by Reference Number

[1] = *Heji* 28491 (Y1199.2) = *Jiabian* 1604 (S456.2)
[2] = *Heji* 34137 (Y1032.1) = *Xubian* 2.15.3 (S388.1)
[3AB] = *Heji* 672f (Y659.1) = *Yibian* 2452 = *Bingbian* 117.20–21 (S46.3)
[4] = *Heji* 14225 (Y419.2) = *Yizhu* 935 (S421.2)
[5] = *Heji* 14226 (Y419.2)
[6AB] = *Heji* 14227 = *Xubian* 2.4.11 (S164.4)
[7AB] = *Heji* 14127f (Y460.1)
[8] = *Heji* 9500 (Y74.2) = *Houbian* 2.28.16 (S27.1)
[9] = *Heji* 12 (Y226.2) = *Qianbian* 4.30.2 (S109.2)
[10AB] = *Heji* 34229 (Y467.1) = *Jimbun* 2370 (S83.2)
[11AB] = *Heji* 10124f (Y421.1) = *Yibian* 7456 (S83.2)
[12AB] = *Heji* 33337 (Y683.2) = *Cuibian* 11 (S83.2, 181.3)
[13] = *Heji* 24225 (Y695.2) = *Wenlu* 687 (S246.4)
[14] = *Heji* 9627 (Y695.2) = *Yicun* 525 (S246.3)
[15] = *Heji* 29236 (Y215.1) = *Jiabian* 615 (S104.4)
[16] = *Heji* 28520 (Y215.1) = *Xucun* 1.1737 (S104.4)
[17] = *Heji* 28509 (Y215.2) = *Ninghu* 1.358 (S105.2)
[18] = *Heji* 20966 (Y510.2)
[19] = *Yingcang* 886b (Y1079.2) = *Kufang* 1595 (S402.4) = *Heji* 40610b
[20A–D] = *Tunnan* 42 (Y1067.1, partial)
[21] = *Tunnan* 624 (Y1067.1)
[22AB] = *Tunnan* 2666 (Y1067.1, partial)

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