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Change and Standardization in Anyang: Writing and Culture in Bronze Age China

Abstract

This dissertation is particularly concerned with various changes that occurred over roughly the last two centuries of the Shang period, that is, during the Anyang period, which stretches from approximately 1250 BCE to approximately 1050 BCE. This period, which begins just before the earliest evidence for writing in what is now China and stretches until the fall of the last Shang king, contains the entirety of the recorded history of the Shang dynasty. After discussing the dating of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, I first address changes in Shang writing, demonstrating that it becomes increasingly regularized over the period. The earliest examples of Shang writing, especially those dating from the reign of king Wu Ding, show high levels of graphic and linguistic variation—that is, graphs/words are written differently from one inscription to the next, syntax is sometimes inconsistent, and aspects like text direction vary wildly; additionally, the semantic content of these inscriptions is far more diverse than is the case toward the end of the period. Using this apparent regularization as a backdrop, I address the Shang's changing relationships with certain non-Shang peoples, especially those known as the fang-countries. Palaeographical materials are primarily drawn from the Shang, but later periods also provide useful examples of the kinds of processes at work, and I pay special attention to early examples of Chinese writing found outside Anyang. I focus on the newest collection of scientifically excavated Shang inscriptions, Yinxu Xiaotun cun zhong cun nan jiagu (Oracle bones from the center and south of Xiaotun village in the Wastes of Yin), published in 2012. Compared to other collections, relatively little work has been done on this one, and it happens to contain many inscriptions especially relevant to some of the questions under discussion, from issues of dating to the Shang's relationships with other peoples. While other corpora of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions are also essential to this project, this newest collection is its foundation. The second part of this dissertation presents a transcription of the entire collection, together with a full English translation, its first ever into another language.

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CHANGE AND STANDARDIZATION
IN ANYANG:
WRITING AND CULTURE IN
BRONZE AGE CHINA

Matthew McCutchen Anderson

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT
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Matthew McCutchen Anderson
Victor H. Mair

This dissertation is particularly concerned with various changes that occurred over roughly the last two centuries of the Shang period, that is, during the Anyang period, which stretches from approximately 1250 BCE to approximately 1050 BCE. This period, which begins just before the earliest evidence for writing in what is now China and stretches until the fall of the last Shang king, contains the entirety of the recorded history of the Shang dynasty. After discussing the dating of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, I first address changes in Shang writing, demonstrating that it becomes increasingly regularized over the period. The earliest examples of Shang writing, especially those dating from the reign of king Wu Ding, show high levels of graphic and linguistic variation—that is, graphs/words are written differently from one inscription to the next, syntax is sometimes inconsistent, and aspects like text direction vary wildly; additionally, the semantic content of these inscriptions is far more diverse than is the case toward the end of the period. Using this apparent regularization as a backdrop, I address the Shang’s changing relationships with certain non-Shang peoples, especially those known as the *fang*-countries. Palaeographical materials are primarily drawn from the Shang, but later periods also provide useful examples of the kinds of processes at work, and I pay special attention to early examples of Chinese writing found outside Anyang. I focus on the newest collection of scientifically excavated Shang inscriptions, *Yinxu Xiaotun cun zhong cun nan jiagu* (Oracle bones from the center and south of Xiaotun village in the Wastes of Yin), published in 2012. Compared to other collections, relatively little work has been done on this one, and it happens to contain many inscriptions especially relevant to some of the questions under discussion, from issues of dating to the Shang’s relationships with other peoples. While other corpora of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions are also essential to this project, this newest collection is its foundation. The second part of this dissertation presents a transcription of the entire collection, together with a full English translation, its first ever into another language.

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Introduction

This dissertation is particularly concerned with various changes that occurred over roughly the last two centuries of the Shang period, that is, during the Anyang period. The earliest appearances of the term ‘Shāng’ 商, in late second millennium BCE inscriptions on shell and bone, refer to the name of a particular settlement, which is identified with the site discovered in Xiǎotún 小屯, Anyang, Henan, settled in approximately 1250 BCE.¹ As such, it may or may not be appropriate to extend the term to earlier periods, but it is traditional to refer to the period stretching from approximately the sixteenth century BCE until about the end of the second millennium as ‘Shang’. Following this tradition, I will refer to the larger period as the Shang, and to the period stretching from approximately 1250 BCE to approximately 1050 BCE as the Anyang period.² I will treat Wǔ Dīng 武丁 as the first king of the period; there is some disagreement about whether or not he was the

¹ This site is often referred to as Yīnxū 殷墟, “the Wastes of Yīn”; in both modern and traditional scholarship, Yīn is a word commonly used as a synonym of Shang, though its meaning is sometimes more restricted and there is no evidence of its being used by the Shang themselves. It does seem to appear in Western Zhou inscriptions, however—see the Western Zhou inscription discussed in the section about *héwén* in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

² A slightly earlier Shang settlement, which was settled in approximately 1350 BCE and destroyed by fire immediately prior to the move to the Xiǎotún site, was also located in the Anyang area, to the north on the other side of the Huán 洹 River (see Wang 2015 pp. 134–136 for a brief and accessible discussion of this site). While this site is also in the vicinity of Anyang, I will refer to its period as the Huánběi 洹北 period, not the Anyang period.

king who moved the Shang to the Xiǎotún site, but the preponderance of evidence suggests that he did so.³

The Anyang period, which begins just before the earliest definitive evidence for writing in what is now China and stretches until the fall of the last Shang king, contains the entirety of the recorded history of the Shang dynasty. The bulk of Shang writing is in the form of divinatory records inscribed on shell and bone⁴; while similar forms of pyromancy⁵ were practiced in earlier periods, clear evidence of inscribed shell and bone does not exist before the Anyang period. The earliest evidence of this form of writing dates to very shortly after the settlement and cult center were moved to the Xiǎotún site.

In this dissertation, I will first address changes in Shang writing, demonstrating that it becomes increasingly regularized over the period; this argument will have further implications that will be discussed towards the end of this study. The earliest examples of Shang writing, especially those dating from the reign of king Wǔ Dīng, show high levels of graphic and linguistic variation—that is, graphs/words are written differently from one inscription to the next, syntax is sometimes inconsistent, and aspects like text direction vary wildly; additionally, the semantic content of these inscriptions is far more diverse than is the case toward the end of the period. Using this apparent regularization as a backdrop, I address the Shang’s changing relationships with certain non-Shang peoples, especially those known as the *fāng*-countries.

³ Following the *Shǐ jì* 史記, written two millennia ago, some scholars argue that the king who moved the Shang to Anyang (Yīnxū) was Pán Gēng 盤庚, one generation (and two kings) earlier than Wǔ Dīng, but this is probably incorrect; see, for example, Bagley 1999, p. 181.

⁴ Other surviving evidence of writing from the period can be found, most importantly in the form of inscriptions on bronze and pottery.

⁵ Which left evidence in the form of uninscribed shell and bone.

The content, context, and written appearance of the inscriptions are all central to this dissertation. Palaeographical materials will primarily be drawn from the Shang, but later periods will also provide useful examples of the kinds of processes at work. When possible, I focus on the newest collection of scientifically excavated Shang inscriptions, *Yīnxū Xiǎotún cūn zhōng cūn nán jiǎgǔ* 殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨 (Cunzhongnan/CZN; the title can be translated as “Oracle bones from the center and south of Xiǎotún village in the Wastes of Yīn”), published in 2012. Compared to other collections, relatively little work has been done on this one, and it contains many inscriptions especially relevant to some of the questions under discussion, from issues of dating to the Shang’s relationship with other peoples. The second part of this dissertation presents a modern-character transcription of the entire collection, together with its first ever full translation into another language. While other corpora of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions are also essential to this dissertation, Cunzhongnan is its foundation.

This collection consists of 514 inscribed pieces,⁶ including pieces of both shell and bone, excavated from the central and southern areas of the Xiaotun site, together with an appendix of 17 additional inscriptions from other locations. The pieces from the central site were excavated between 1986 and 1989, and those from the southern site between 2002 and 2004. Among the most interesting aspects of this corpus are the appearance of new proper names, including those of ancestors, other people and place

⁶ This is not the total number of fragments excavated, but rather the number of joined pieces as published in the original publication. A number of new joins are possible, which would slightly reduce the total number—see the transcription and translation at the end of this dissertation for details.

names; a variety of brush-written graphs; and over 40 previously unknown characters.⁷

Because the collection was published with more detailed information about archaeological context than was included in previous collections of Shang inscriptions, it is also especially useful in addressing controversies of dating.

For the purposes of this dissertation, “writing” will be defined as a system capable of visually representing spoken language.⁸ In the case of the two oldest of the world’s writing systems, the Egyptian and Mesopotamian scripts, both of which have their earliest origins in the late fourth millennium BCE, it took roughly half a millennium for symbolic systems that were not capable of fully representing language to develop into fully linguistic writing⁹; as John Baines has argued, “unless those who originated several scripts were rather inefficient, language cannot have been what they principally aimed to record, because their inventions existed for centuries before they were modified to notate it effectively.”¹⁰ The collection of symbols that formed the basis of these writing systems were not originally a full writing system but had to develop into one. While the stages in the earliest evolution of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian writing systems are not as well attested as scholars in those fields might prefer, the evidence is much more complete than that for the earliest beginnings of the Chinese writing system. The Shang writing system first appears as a full writing system, capable of recording connected discourse, complete with grammatical particles. Earlier stages in its evolution are currently unknown, though

⁷ The editors give the number of new characters as 45, but the exact number is subject to interpretation.

⁸ This is a commonly used definition of writing, but it is not the only one; some scholars advocate for a definition of writing that would encompass some forms of nonlinguistic signs. See, for example, Baines 2004, p. 151, and Boone 2004, pp. 313 ff.

⁹ Baines 2004, p. 150.

¹⁰ Baines 2004, p. 150.

the existence of earlier scattered symbols with a similar iconographic style have led to a variety of different theories describing the earliest stages of the evolution of the system, none of which are generally accepted.

When Mesopotamian cuneiform first appeared in Uruk, in south Babylonia, circa 3200 BCE, it was not yet capable of recording spoken language.¹¹ The first appearance of cuneiform occurs during a time of great transition, the Late Uruk period, which lasted from the 34th to 32nd centuries BCE and was marked by a number of significant societal and cultural changes.¹² By 2700 BCE, during the Early Dynastic period, cuneiform was able to record Sumerian sentences; two structural changes to the system, the regular use of syllabic signs and the creation of an obligatory sign order, occurred during the third millennium and made possible the writing of extended texts.¹³ The use of purely syllabic signs allowed, among other things, for the writing of morphology. Prior to the development of a regularized sign order, texts were divided into columns, with each column consisting of a sequence of cases, each generally enclosing a word, with the elements that made up each word written freely; this was regularized, such that words written after about the middle of the third millennium were written following the linguistic order of the word itself.¹⁴ These processes were gradual, with later texts

¹¹ Veldhuis 2012, p. 4. At this point the symbols could have been read in any language, but it is most likely that the language used by those who created them was Sumerian. The date of 3200 BCE is not universally accepted, with other scholars providing slightly different dates, such as circa 3300 BCE; see, for example, Nissen 2015, p. 113.

¹² As Hans J. Nissen has written, these included “Reorganization of foreign relations; Large-scale art... abandonment of most outposts, [and] loosening ties with Susiana”, in addition to the earliest beginnings of cuneiform (Nissen 2015, p. 115).

¹³ Veldhuis 2012, pp. 5–6.

¹⁴ Veldhuis 2012, p. 6.

recording more details of the spoken language than earlier ones. Niek Veldhuis provides an example of this process:

gan₂ kaskal na-ĝa₂-ĝa₂ (Adab, about 2500 BCE)

gan₂ kaskal-la nam-bi₂-ib-ĝa₂-ĝa₂ (about 1800 BCE)

“Do not cultivate a field on the road.”¹⁵

From circa 2600 BCE, when a number of cities were rebuilt in Upper Mesopotamia, scribes in these cities adapted cuneiform to write Akkadian, a Semitic language.¹⁶

In the earliest period for which Egyptian signs ancestral to the later full hieroglyphic writing system are attested, roughly contemporary to the period of the earliest cuneiform signs,¹⁷ only several dozen individual signs are known to have been in use, and there is no evidence to suggest that there were many more than this.¹⁸ These signs, found in the area of Abydos and written on small rectangular bone tags, coexisted with pottery inscriptions that may also be ancestral to the Egyptian writing system; John Baines argues that these may be a different “cursive” form, visually different but part of the same system, with each system convertible to the other.¹⁹ By the middle of the third millennium during the later Early Dynastic period, the system had developed into one capable of recording connected speech, but the use of writing remained limited through

¹⁵ This example, from the Instructions of Šuruppak, is taken from Veldhuis 2012, p. 5; as Veldhuis notes, it is also provided in Civil and Biggs 1966, p. 3.

¹⁶ Emberling 2015, p. 257.

¹⁷ The exact dating of these signs is controversial; see Baines 2004, p. 154.

¹⁸ Baines 2004, p. 157–158.

¹⁹ Baines 2004, p. 158–160.

the Old Kingdom period, which lasted until approximately 2150 BCE.²⁰ “Complex content” during this period, John Baines writes, “was often conveyed through tables and other features of layout and composition...rather than through script alone.”²¹ These changes, which led to the script being used for more purposes and to the lessening of reliance on nonlinguistic means of visual communication, were not gradual and continuous; rather they were a sequence of relatively sudden changes, each of which corresponded to major changes in Egyptian society.²²

This is also true of the major changes to the structure of the Chinese writing system. A more minor change that can be observed in writing systems is the use of different forms to write the same linguistic units; in this dissertation I will refer to this phenomenon as graphic variance. Following Françoise Bottéro, I define graphic variants simply as characters that are written differently but which represent the same morpheme, linguistic unit, or word.²³ Some, but not all, graphic variants can be considered entirely different characters which write the same linguistic unit. Imre Galambos writes that he considers “two character forms to be different if they differ in at least one component.... If the part that graphically distinguishes two forms is not an entire component”, he

²⁰ Baines 2012, p. 27.

²¹ Baines 2012, p. 27.

²² Baines 2012, p. 27.

²³ Bottéro writes, “les variantes graphiques sont des caractères écrits avec des modifications graphiques plus ou moins importantes, mais qui représentent tous le même morphème ou la même unité linguistique (ou mot).” (Bottéro 2001, p. 180.) This is an elaboration of Qiu Xigui’s definition of what *yìtǐzì* 異體字, which Jerry Norman translates as “allographs”: “Allographs are characters which have the same pronunciation and meaning but have different outward forms. Strictly speaking, only characters which are used in completely the same way, that is, alternate forms of a single graph, can be called allographs.” (Qiu 2000, p. 297; cf. Qiu Xigui 1988, p. 205.)

considers “the two forms to be structurally identical.”²⁴ That is, if the full graph or a single component of the graph is written in a way which is visually different but which represents the same element, or if the same elements are simply arranged in a different order, these graphs may be variants, but they are not structurally different. For example, the Shang graphs 𠄎 and 𠄎 are both ancestral to the modern graph 來, both writing the word *lái* ‘to come’ (Old Chinese *mə.rʰək or *rʰək/?). Each is structurally identical, a phonetic borrowing originally derived from a graph designed to write the word *mài* 麥 ‘wheat’ (Old Chinese *m-rʰək or *mrʰək),²⁵ and so can be considered the same character, but the two forms still display a kind graphic variance, the second written with the addition of an extra stroke. The word *mài* itself can be written with several different, but structurally identical forms, including 𠄎, 𠄎, and 𠄎, all of which can be considered to be different variants of the same graph. However, the graphs 𠄎 and 𠄎, both of which write the word *yì* 翌 ‘the next day’ (Old Chinese *k.rəp or *lək/jək), are structurally different, as the second form contains an extra component, *lì* 立 𠄎 (Old Chinese *ɣʷrəp or *rəp), added for its phonetic value. Note that, in the examples given here, the 𠄎 components themselves, while structurally identical, also display some variance, as they contain differing numbers of horizontal strokes. Both of these kinds of variance will be discussed in this dissertation. I will argue that there are certain trends towards regularization throughout the course of the Shang period, but this is not to say that there were ever, at that time, standard characters in the sense that modern Chinese or English

²⁴ Galambos 2006, p. 115.

²⁵ This first transcription in each pair is taken from Baxter and Sagart 2014 and the second from Schuessler 2009.

orthography has been standardized. Writing about the later Warring States period (480–221 BCE), Galambos argues that the “structural variability of character forms in excavated texts implies that in Warring States times the concept of a standard form did not exist.”²⁶ The situation during the Anyang period certainly was not identical to that of the Warring States, but it is fair to say that in neither period was there such a concept.

It does not seem to be an accident that the earliest oracle-bone inscriptions date to immediately after the beginning of the Anyang period. As pointed out by Wang Haicheng, king Wǔ Dīng was responsible for a variety of significant changes to Shang society; in order of confidence that this reign was indeed responsible for the change, these include: the relocation of the royal cemetery to a site outside the city; sudden and significant changes in the style of bronze vessels; the practice of inscribing oracle bones; the addition of emblems and short inscribed phrases to bronze vessels; the earliest evidence for the use of horses and chariots; and an increase in marble carving.²⁷ Additionally, the city was constructed along the riverside, as opposed to being completely contained within city walls, another significant change.²⁸ The Anyang period, which started with the movement of the Shang capital and cult center and with these drastic changes, was much more stable from that point on until its downfall in the mid-eleventh century BCE. The changes over these two centuries would be more gradual, but would remain significant.

²⁶ Galambos 2006, p. 90.

²⁷ Wang 2015, p. 136.

²⁸ Wang 2015, p. 136.

Chapter 1. An overview of the periodization of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions

As this dissertation focuses on changes that took place over the course of the Anyang period, and as the bulk of this evidence comes from Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, it is first necessary to establish a chronology for these inscriptions. The earliest common method of periodization was based upon Dong Zuobin's 董作賓 system of five periods.¹ The most common method in current use is to categorize different groups of inscriptions as belonging to different "oracle-bone groups" (*jiǎgǔ zǔ* 甲骨組). These groups, which will be explained below, are generally (though with some exceptions) given the name of a particular diviner associated with the group.² Because of this, these groups are often known as "diviner groups" in English, but this terminology, which does not reflect the Chinese term it is used to translate, is imprecise, as some groups are not particular associated with particular diviners and some consist of many diviners, and as there is no reason to think that the defining characteristics of these groups are in fact the diviners with which they are associated. Many factors go into assigning a particular inscription to a particular oracle-bone group, including, among others, epigraphic style, vocabulary usage, excavation site, and proper names mentioned (including but not limited to the names of diviners). Diviner groups are generally dated with reference either to specific kings or to Dong Zuobin's five periods, but the groups

¹ Dong Zuobin 1933.

² Many oracle-bone inscriptions are prefaced by a formula along the lines of "X *zhēn*" X 貞 'X divined' (which appears in this form and a number of other variants). A number of oracle-bone groups contain multiple diviners (and some contain none or almost none); the name which occurs with the highest frequency is generally assigned to the group.

did not start or stop with the reign of a particular king; they could and did stretch from one reign or period into another.

The only full overview of this topic in English or another European language of which I am aware can be found in Keightley 1978 (pp. 91–133 and throughout). This is a good and reasonably thorough description of the state of the field at that time, but much has changed in the 37 years since that work's publication. More recent general overviews, all quite brief, have appeared in Fan 1989 (pp. 533–5), Keightley 1997 (pp. 17–30, but most of these pages contain tables and figures; the relevant section of the text is approximately 3 pages long), Keightley 1999 (pp. 247–9), Smith 2008 (pp. 152–4 and throughout), Eno 2009 (p. 53), and Keightley 2012 (pp. xviii–xix). Wang 1993 (pp. 47a–56) provides a useful overview of dating practices, concentrating on one version of the now generally-accepted diviner-group theory, but it is somewhat circumscribed in nature and was produced 20 years ago. Shaughnessy 1982–1983 (pp. 1–13) provides a good discussion of the then new ideas which led to the still ongoing controversy to be discussed in the next section; Shaughnessy 1987 (pp. 500–501), Keightley 1990 (pp. 56–9), and Keightley 2012 also briefly discuss these issues.

This section is based on an overview of the major theories of oracle-bone periodization, from Dong Zuobin's still influential but significantly outdated five-period system (see Dong Zuobin 1933) through the differing systems proposed by more recent scholars (cf. Lin Yun 1989, Fang Shuxin 1992, Huang Tianshu 1991/2007, Li Xueqin & Peng Yushang 1996, Chen Jian 2007, Yao Zhihao 2007, Sakikawa Takashi 2011, and a number of other works included in the bibliography). The school of thought represented by Huang Tianshu 黃天樹, Li Xueqin 李學勤, Peng Yushang 彭裕商, Chen Jian 陳劍,

and others (their theories are not identical but agree in their broad outlines) is most convincing but still not universally accepted. This school of thought is the basis for the overview presented below.

Dong Zuobin’s five period system was the first systematic attempt to date all inscriptions; while systems in current use differ to greater or larger extent from his original system, none would exist in their current form without it, and all basically derive from it.³ In Dong Zuobin’s system, inscriptions are separated out into the following categories:

Period I.		Pán Gēng 盤庚 (K18) ⁴
		Xiǎo Xīn 小辛 (K19)
		Xiǎo Yì 小乙 (K20)
	(Ia, Ib)	Wǔ Dīng 武丁 (K21)
Period II.	(IIa)	Zǔ Gēng 祖庚 (K22)
	(IIb)	Zǔ Jiǎ 祖甲 (K23)
Period III.	(IIIa)	Lǐn Xīn 廩辛 (K23A)
	(IIIb)	Gēng Dīng 庚丁 (K24)
Period IV	(IVa)	Wǔ Yì 武乙 (K25)
	(IVb)	Wén Wǔ Dīng 文武丁 (K26)
Period V	(Va)	Dì Yì 帝乙 (K27)
	(Vb)	Dì Xīn 帝辛 (K28)

Table 1. List of Shang kings

³ See Keightley 1978, p. 92–93 for a discussion of the importance of this system to the systems that had developed by that point. While Keightley was writing almost four decades ago, his observations about Dong’s system remain completely relevant.

⁴ In this table, I use the system of numbering kings used in Keightley 1978 (Keightley provides a table of Dong Zuobin’s five periods on p. 203). The exact chronology of Shang kings is somewhat complicated, but Keightley’s numbering will suffice for the purpose at hand.

Later scholars generally only include Wǔ Dīng in Period I, treating the earliest known inscriptions as dating to his reign, but some scholars continue to assign certain inscriptions to the kings who preceded him. Otherwise, the system is mostly preserved, though a controversy remains about many of the inscriptions Dong assigned to Period IV; this issue will be the focus of the next chapter.

I. “Royal Inscriptions”

As grouped and dated by Huang Tianshu,⁵ the royal inscriptions can be dated as follows. Other than the Nameless group and the Lì group⁶, all of the below groups are named after a diviner associated with the group.

A. Northern Royal Inscriptions

Due to the archaeological context in which they are found, Shang inscriptions can be divided into two groups, north and south. The northern inscriptions follow.

⁵ See Huang Tianshu 1991.

⁶ Lì group inscriptions are in fact named after a supposed diviner named Lì, but it is unclear whether this association is accurate. In any case, Lì has become the conventional name for the group.

Shī⁷ group 自組 inscriptions

These inscriptions date to the reign of Wǔ Dīng (Period I). They can be subdivided into Shī large script 自肥筆, the earliest group, Shī small script 自小字, which starts slightly later and extends to the end of Wǔ Dīng's reign. The Shī-Bīn intermediate group 自賓間 dates to the middle of the period and is a transition between the two groups. The Shī-Lì intermediate group 自歷間 dates to mid- to late Wǔ Dīng, and marks part of the transition to the southern group of royal inscriptions.

X group 𠄎組 inscriptions

These inscriptions are named after the unpronounceable name of a diviner, and date to the middle part of the Wǔ Dīng period (Period I). They can be considered a subgroup of Bīn group 賓組 inscriptions.

X group 𠄎組 inscriptions

This group, like the above is also named after an unpronounceable character (though the name can perhaps be read Yòu). They can be dated to mid- to late Wǔ Dīng (Period I), and are part of the transition to the southern royal group.

⁷ The name of this group is sometimes pronounced Duī, but it is generally read as 師, that is to say, as Shī.

Bīn group 賓組 inscriptions

These groups date to Dong Zuobin's Periods I and II. They can be subdivided into Bīn I group 賓一組, which date to the mid- to late part of Wǔ Dīng's reign, the Dian Bīn group 典賓, which stretch from the middle part of Wǔ Dīng's reign into Zǔ Gēng's reign. The Bīn-Chū group 賓出 (also known as Chū I 出一) is intermediate between these two groups and can be assigned to the period from late Wǔ Dīng through Zǔ Jiǎ.

Chū group 出組 inscriptions

Chū II group 出二 inscriptions can be dated to the period from late Zǔ Gēng into early Lǐn Xīn (Periods II through III).

Hé group 何組 inscriptions

Hé group inscriptions date from the Wǔ Dīng/Zǔ Gēng transition through to the Wǔ Yǐ/Wén Wú Dīng transition, but the bulk of these inscriptions date to Periods III and IV. They can be subdivided into Shī Hé type 事何類 inscriptions, which date from the Wǔ Dīng/Zǔ Gēng transition through the end of Period II, Hé I 何一 inscriptions, which date from Zǔ Jiǎ to the beginning of Wǔ Yǐ's reign, and Hé II 何二 inscriptions, which date to from Lǐn Xīn through early Wén Wú Dīng.

B. Southern Royal Inscriptions

Lì group 歷組 inscriptions

The dating of the Lì group is the most controversial issue in Shang dating. The rationale behind its dating here will be described in chapter 2 of this dissertation; Huang Tianshu dates it to Periods I and II, which I follow here. It can be subdivided into two groups; these are variously known as the Father Dīng 父丁 and Father Yǐ 父乙 groups, making reference to the names of fathers sometimes mentioned in these inscriptions, or simply as groups I and II. Lì I 歷一 can be assigned to the period stretching from late Wǔ Dīng into early Zǔ Gēng, and Lì II 歷二 can be assigned to the period stretching to the end of Zǔ Jiǎ's reign. Lì draft script 歷草 dates to the period between late Wǔ Dīng to late Zǔ Jiǎ. Lì-Nameless intermediate 歷無名間 dates to the period from Zǔ Jiǎ through the end of Gēng Dīng's reign.

Nameless group 無名組 inscriptions

These inscriptions date to Periods III and IV, from the Zǔ Jiǎ/Lǐn Xīn transition into the early Wén Wǔ Dīng period. The Nameless-Huang intermediate group dates from the Period III/IV transition through the beginning of Period V.

C. Huáng Type 黃類 inscriptions

These inscriptions are the most regular of all Shang inscriptions, in both epigraphy and content. They are primarily associated with Period V, but the earliest inscriptions in the group stretch back to Gēng Dīng's reign, in late Period III.

II. “Non-royal Inscriptions”

A number of inscriptions were not produced directly under royal patronage, but were produced by other households associated with the Shang king. All of them can be assigned to Dong Zuobin's Period I. Under Huang Tianshu's system, non-royal inscriptions can be broken up into the following groups:

Zǐ group 子組 inscriptions

These inscriptions are associated with a figure or figures known as Zǐ, a son of the Shang king. Note that the designation with which the group is associated is that of the patron of the divination workshop, not that of a particular diviner associated with the group. These can be associated to Dong's Period I.⁸

Yuántǐ (or round-form) group 圓體 inscriptions

These inscriptions are classified according to some particularities of their form. The graph *dīng* 丁 ‘a heavenly stem’ is written with a round form reminiscent of its

⁸ See Huang Tianshu 2006, p. 82.

standard bronze inscription form, and the graph *zhēn* 貞 ‘to divine’ is written with its elaborated form.⁹ These inscriptions can be dated to the middle period of Wǔ Dīng’s reign (Period I).¹⁰

Wǔ group 午組 inscriptions

This group of inscriptions was named by Chen Mengjia 陳夢家,¹¹ who determined that they could be removed from Dong Zuobin’s Period IV and instead be dated to Period I.¹²

Fùnǚ (or women’s) group 婦女 inscriptions

This group of inscriptions was produced under the patronage of a royal consort.¹³ They can be dated to the middle period of Wǔ Dīng’s reign.¹⁴

Lièti¹⁵ 劣體 inscriptions

These inscriptions, which are written in a somewhat shaky and delicate hand, were first grouped by Chen Mengjia.¹⁶ They can be dated to the middle period of Wǔ Dīng’s reign.

⁹ See Huang Tianshu 2006, p. 99.

¹⁰ Huang Tianshu 2006, p. 111.

¹¹ See, for example, Chen Mengjia 1956.

¹² Huang Tianshu 2006, p. 133.

¹³ Huang Tianshu 2006, p. 118.

¹⁴ Huang Tianshu 2006, p. 132.

¹⁵ This group name is sometimes translated as “cacoforn”, as in Takashima 2012, p. 148.

¹⁶ Huang Tianshu 2006, p. 112.

Over the past three quarters of a century, since Dong Zuobin established the basic template for all future oracle-bone periodization, most of the disagreements between scholars about the proper assignment of particular groups have been resolved. The main dispute which remains, the question of the so-called Li-group inscriptions, will be taken up in more detail in the following chapter.

Chapter 2. The question of the so-called Lì group (Lì zǔ 歷組) inscriptions

There are two camps on the issue of the dating of Lì 歷 group inscriptions, the group of inscriptions associated with the diviner Lì 歷 (though his name appears only very seldom in the inscriptions)—one assigns them to the sixth and seventh kings of the nine kings of the Anyang oracle-bone-inscription-era (Wǔ Yì 武乙, K26 in the total count, and Wén Wǔ Dīng 文武丁, K27), and one to the first and second kings (Wǔ Dīng, K21, and Zǔ Gēng 祖庚, K22).¹ They clearly belong to one of these two eras, as they make frequent reference to Father Yì (Fù Yì 父乙) and Father Dīng (Fù Dīng 父丁), something that could only have happened at these two points.

Dong Zuobin 董作賓 placed these inscriptions in his Period IV (kings Wǔ Yì and Wén Wǔ Dīng), which led to the conclusion that Period IV kings returned to the ritual system practiced in Period I; with the beginning of Period V, the kings again took up the system used in Period III. With the inscriptions instead placed in the earlier period, this strange reversion does not need to be explained away, leaving a radically different understanding of the development of the Anyang-era Shang. The accurate dating of these inscriptions is thus very important to the understanding of many aspects of Shang life, and is especially relevant to the fields of linguistics, palaeography, and ritual and religion, not to mention history.

¹ The second of these two theories could also plausibly be extended to include Zǔ Jiǎ 祖甲 (K23), Zǔ Gēng's brother.

Dong's periodization was generally accepted (with some modifications) until 1977, when Li Xueqin 李學勤² first proposed that these inscriptions actually belonged to the earlier period.³ Li Xueqin's paper was soon followed by a number of others which further developed his argument, and this work continues to the present.⁴ Another group of scholars, well-represented by the works of Cao Dingyun 曹定雲, Liu Yiman 劉一曼, and Xiao Nan 蕭楠 (a pseudonym for a group comprising Cao, Liu, and others), continue to support Dong Zuobin's argument.

After Li Xueqin's 1977 paper, one of the first responses came from Xiao Nan, in 1980, which strongly supported the later dating for these inscriptions.⁵ The same issue of *Guwenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究 contained another article, by Zhang Yongshan 張永山 and Luo Kun 羅琨, which was perhaps more measured, but which also supported the later dating.⁶ From this point on, this journal has continued to be one of the main outlets for this debate. The following year saw an important article by Qiu Xigui supporting the earlier dating⁷; and a single 1984 issue contained one article arguing for the earlier side⁸

² See Li Xueqin 1977.

³ Though, as Li Xueqin 2008 and other recent sources point out, the Canadian scholar James Menzies had made a similar argument, largely ignored, as early as 1928.

⁴ See, among others, Qiu Xigui 1981, Li Xueqin 1981, and Lin Yun 1984.

⁵ Xiao Nan 1980. This article was the first in a series of three published over a period of 31 years; Xiao Nan 1980 is titled "A Discussion of Wǔ Yǐ and Wén Dīng Divination Inscriptions" (論武乙、文丁卜辭), Xiao Nan 1984 is "Another Discussion of Wǔ Yǐ and Wén Dīng Divination Inscriptions" (再論武乙、文丁卜辭), and Liu Yiman & Cao Dingyun 2011 is "A Third Discussion of Wǔ Yǐ and Wén Dīng Divination Inscriptions" (三次論武乙、文丁卜辭).

⁶ Zhang Yongshan and Luo Kun 1980.

⁷ Qiu Xigui 1980.

⁸ Lin Yun 1984.

and another supporting the later.⁹ Articles in *Guwenzi yanjiu* have continued to return to the issue, with important articles continuing to appear, notably including articles published in 1986, 2004, and 2012.¹⁰

Palaeographic and Historical Evidence

Taken by itself, the palaeographic evidence clearly supports a Period I/II dating. In fact, the two camps can be divided relatively neatly by their various affiliations. Almost all palaeographers¹¹ and many historians support the earlier dating, while archaeologists associated with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences overwhelmingly assign these inscriptions to Period IV,¹² as do a number of Taiwanese scholars.¹³ Since these archaeologists generally supervise the publication of newly excavated finds, their works, like the most recently published collection, *Yinxu Xiaotun cun zhong cun nan jiagu*,¹⁴ assign Lì group inscriptions to Period IV.

The palaeographic data clearly places these inscriptions in the earlier period, as the script forms used by the Lì group form a natural transition between the Shī group and the Nameless group. Rituals described in Lì group inscriptions also support the earlier dating; arguing that the group belongs to the later period requires positing that the Shang

⁹ Xiao Nan 1984.

¹⁰ See Lin Xiao'ao 1986, Lin Hongming 2004b, and Qiu Xigui 2012.

¹¹ Lin Yun 林澐, Huang Tianshu 黃天樹, Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, and Chen Jian 陳劍, to name four prominent examples.

¹² For an archaeological perspective on periodization from three scholars from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, see Liu Yiman, Guo Zhenlu, and Wen Mingrong 1986.

¹³ For one example, see Yan Yiping 1983.

¹⁴ Henceforth Cunzhongnan or “CZN”.

returned to earlier ritual forms during the reigns of kings Wǔ Yǐ and Wén Wǔ Dīng.¹⁵ Many names, such as Fù Hǎo 婦好, an important consort of Wǔ Dīng's, that appear in Lì group inscriptions also appear in other inscriptions that can be dated to Period I. In order to argue for the later dating, it is necessary to argue that these names are generic clan designations in Lì group inscriptions, and do not refer to the same individuals who are mentioned in Period I and II inscriptions.¹⁶ Similarly, the same events sometimes seem to be recorded in both Lì and Period I and II inscriptions, adding support to the earlier identification.¹⁷

Evidence from Interactions with *fāng* Groups

The distribution of the names of *fāng* 方 groups in Lì group inscriptions also suggests that these inscriptions should be assigned to Periods I and II.¹⁸ The names of 13 or 14 *fāng* countries appear in Lì group inscriptions: Qiāngfāng 羌方 (twice); Shào fāng 召方 (53 times); Gèn fāng 亘方 (once); Jǐng fāng 井方 (once); Tǔ fāng 土方 (three times);

¹⁵ See Dong Zuobin 1933.

¹⁶ See below for more on this issue.

¹⁷ For one example, see Lin Hongming 2004a.

¹⁸ For more about the *fāng*, see Chapter 4. The methodology behind this survey of *fāng* names is explained in detail in Chapter 4. Names are only counted if they actually appear combined with the suffix *fāng*, not if they appear alone. This survey is based on a group of over 2,000 inscriptions including the character *fāng* that I was able to collect from the collections *Jiaguwen heji* 甲骨文合集 (henceforth “Heji”), *Jiaguwen heji bubian* 甲骨文合集補編 (“Bubian”), *Yinxu Xiaotun cunzhong cunnan jiagu* 殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨, *Xiaotun nandi jiagu* 小屯南地甲骨 (“Tunnan”), *Yinxu Huayuanzhuang dongdi jiagu* 殷墟花園莊東地甲骨 (“Huadong”), *Yingguo suocang jiagu ji* 英國所藏甲骨集 (“Yingcang”), and *Tenri Daigaku fuzoku sankōkan kōkotsu moji* 天理大學附屬參考館甲骨文字 (“Tenri”).

Rénfāng 人方 (four times); Wēifāng 危方 (seven times); Pángfāng 旁方 (once); Zhǐfāng 沚方 (once); Dào fāng 洎方 (three times); X-fāng 𠄎方 (once); X-fāng 洎方 (once); X-fāng 𠄎方 (perhaps once); and X-fāng 旌方 (once). Of these, the Zhǐfāng, X-fāng 𠄎方, X-fāng 洎方, X-fāng 𠄎方, and X-fāng 旌方 only appear in Lì group inscriptions. The Qiāngfāng, Rénfāng, and Dào fāng appear in all periods, and the Wēifāng appear in all periods but Period V.¹⁹ The remaining five groups (Shào fāng, Gèn fāng, Jǐng fāng, Tǔ fāng, and Páng fāng) only appear in Lì group inscriptions and in Period I inscriptions. This alone is certainly not enough to demonstrate that Lì group inscriptions belong to the earlier period, but it does show that they much more strongly correlate with Period I inscriptions than with ones from Periods IV/V.

Names of People and Ancestors

For the most part, the names of people and ancestors mentioned in the inscriptions do not cause significant problems for either interpretation. Most importantly, the designations Father Yǐ (Fù Yǐ 父乙) and Father Dīng (Fù Dīng 父丁) both appear in Lì group inscriptions. If the inscriptions are taken to belong to Period IV, Father Yǐ would refer to Wén Wǔ Dīng’s father Wǔ Yǐ (K26), and Father Dīng would refer to Wǔ Yǐ’s father Gēng Dīng 庚丁 (K25); if they belong to Period I/II, Father Yǐ would refer to Wǔ Dīng’s father Xiǎo Yǐ 小乙 (K20), and Father Dīng would refer to Zǔ Jiǎ and Zǔ Gēng’s

¹⁹ Discounting Lì group inscriptions, there are only 2 inscriptions from Period II which mention an X-fang, and there are essentially none that can be dated precisely to Period IV (instead of, e.g., Period III/IV), so “all periods” here denotes Periods I, III/IV, and V; that is, all the periods for which there is sufficient data.

father, Wǔ Dīng (K21). Other names, such as the names of deceased ancestresses like Bì Xīn 匕辛, can likewise be expected to appear in both periods.²⁰ Evidence from Cunzhongnan can also be read both ways. The following examples include the relevant names of close family members appearing in the collection’s Lì group inscriptions:

CZN202:

(1) 己卯貞：又𠄎大甲、且（祖）乙、父丁𠄎。

(2) □□貞：□酉彳□□汎。

(1) On *jǐmǎo* (day 16), divined: Offer... Dà Jiǎ, Zǔ Yǐ, Father Dīng...

(2) ..., divined: ... offer the *yǒu* and X sacrifices... the *jī* bloodletting sacrifice.²¹

This inscription mentions both Father Dīng and two earlier ancestors; as such it fits perfectly in either period.

²⁰ One of Wǔ Dīng’s consorts, the famous Fu Hao 婦好, was posthumously known as Bì Xīn, or, more immediately, as Mother Xīn (Mu Xīn 母辛), as was one of Gēng Dīng’s consorts. The name Fu Hao also appears in Lì group inscriptions, another piece of evidence in support of a Period I/II date for them, but Liu Yiman and Cao Dingyun argue that “Fu Hao” in these inscriptions does not refer to Wǔ Dīng’s consort, but serves as a generic designation for a woman (*fu* 婦) of the Hao clan (see Xiao Nan 1984, p. 109–10). This is not an unreasonable assertion, though Fu Hao does not seem otherwise to be mentioned except in Period I/II inscriptions.

²¹ The name “Father Dīng” also appears in CZN 12 and CZN 46, and it probably appears in CZN 203 (the name in this inscription is actually written *fu ri* 父日 ‘father day/sun’ but this is almost certainly a scribal error for Father Dīng—written 𠄎 instead of 日; the phrase “Father Day” appears nowhere else in the oracle-bone corpus.).

CZN427:

(1) 𠄎𠄎。

(2) [癸]丑貞：𠄎 (疇) , 翌日[𠄎 (將)]兄丁。

(3) 𠄎辰貞：又𠄎辛二𠄎, 卯三[𠄎]。

(1) ... Gòu.

(2) [On *guǐ*] -*chǒu* (day 50), divined: Perform the *chóu* sacrifice; on the next day [present an offering] (to) Brother Dīng.

(3) ... -*chén*, divined: Offer... Xīn two X-victims, splitting three [penned cattle].

The Brother Dīng mentioned in this inscription is not easily identifiable, and the appearance of this name does not directly support either argument. It is notable, though, that the other appearance of “Brother Dīng” in this corpus appears in CZN 400, which is a Shī 自 group, and thus Period I, inscription.

CZN158:

(1) 甲午𠄎：品𠄎九十牽。

(2) 己亥貞：王日佳丁，若。²²

(1) On *jiǎwǔ* (day 31)... the sacrificial offering... ninety *qiān* (bound cattle).²³

²² This transcription follows Sun Yabing’s emendations—see Sun Yabing 2012c.

²³ On *qian*, see Yu Xingwu 1996, p. 3212 (*Gulin* 3185), Song Zhenhao 1983 and 1986, Shan Yuchen 2009, and Wu Junde 2005, p. 134.

(2) On *jìhài* (day 36), divined: The king's day will be *dīng*, (which will be) approved.

This inscription is particularly interesting, as it seems to refer to the selection of the name *Dīng* for the king (presumably either *Wǔ Dīng* or *Gēng Dīng*). It can, however, thus be assigned to either era.

Most of the arguments along these lines given by Liu Yiman and Cao Dingyun simply demonstrate that it is possible that *Lì* group inscriptions belong to the later period (and they do so convincingly, as far as these particular arguments are concerned). They state that one of these points in particular, however, proves that these inscriptions belong to the later period. For that reason, it is worth discussing at length. The phrase *sān zǔ* 三祖 ‘three ancestors’ appears in a small number of oracle bone inscriptions.²⁴ They argue that it is one of the most important designations which appear during the *Wǔ Yǐ* period,²⁵ though it must be noted that, aside from three *Lì* group inscriptions, it only appears in three other inscriptions, only two of which are very likely to belong to the *Wǔ Yǐ* era.²⁶

This inscription appears parallel to Heji 34674, which reads, in part: “On *wùzǐ* (day 25) divined: The sacrificial offering should perhaps be ninety bound cattle” (戊子貞品其九十牽), and also belongs to the group variously known as *Lì-II* or *Lì* (Father *Dīng*).

²⁴ The phrase appears in six inscriptions included in the *Heji* corpus; no examples appear in *Cunzhongnan*.

²⁵ Liu Yiman & Cao Dingyun 2011, p.481: “這是武乙卜辭中最為重要的稱謂”.

²⁶ Heji 27179 and 27181 both belong to the *Hé* group, though Yang Yuyan 2005 places 27179 in *Hé I*, which would suggest it is slightly earlier than *Wǔ Yǐ*, though Cao and Liu would perhaps contest this. The hand used in 27179 clearly matches the *Hé I* style in general, but the form of the graph *sui* 歲 most closely matches Li Xueqin and Peng Yushang’s *Hé IIIA* group, which should probably be viewed as a subgroup of Huang Tianshu’s group *Hé II*; so it is possible that it could be a *Wǔ Yǐ* inscription, but it is more likely that it belongs to the earlier *Hé I* group (for handwriting styles, see Li

Of the three Lì group inscriptions which mention *sān zǔ*, Liu and Cao suggest that two of them discuss contemporaneous events and can be combined together:

- (1) 甲辰貞□歲于小乙
- (2) 弜又
- (3) 二牢
- (4) 三牢 二
- (5) 弜至于三且（祖） 二
- (6) 弜至三且（祖） □
- (7) 丙子貞父丁多
- (8) 不葺雨²⁷

- (1) On *jiǎchén* (day 41): divined: ... perform the *sui* sacrifice to Xiǎo Yǐ (K20).
- (2) Do not offer sacrifice.
- (3) (Sacrifice) two penned cattle.
- (4) (Sacrifice) three penned cattle. #2
- (5) Do not (sacrifice) reaching to the Three Ancestors. #2
- (6) Do not (sacrifice) reaching the Three Ancestors...
- (7) On *bǐngzǐ* (day 13), divined: (To) Father Dīng perform the *róng* sacrifice.
- (8) (We) will not encounter rain.

Xueqin and Peng Yushang 1996, pp. 140, 144, and 148 and Huang Tianshu 1991, pp. 218–241). Heji 27182 is a Nameless group inscription, and thus could have been produced under Wǔ Yǐ.

²⁷ Heji 32617+Heji 32690; see Liu Yiman & Cao Dingyun 2011, p. 481–82. Lines 1–5 are Heji 32617; 6–8 are 32690.

If Cao Dingyun and Liu Yiman are correct in placing these inscriptions together and in ordering them in this manner, then, as they point out, the Three Ancestors in question should chronologically come between Xiǎo Yǐ 小乙 (K20) and Father Dīng. Following Chen Mengjia 陳夢家 and others, they propose that these ancestors can be identified as Zǔ Jiǎ (K23), Zǔ Gēng (K22), and Zǔ Jǐ, who does not appear to have ever taken the throne, but who was of the same generation as Zǔ Jiǎ and Zǔ Gēng.²⁸ If this were the case, the question would, as they suggest, be settled—the inscription could only have been written during the reign of the Period IV king Wǔ Yǐ. This, however, is not the only possible interpretation of the Three Ancestors in question. And it is not obvious that these inscriptions belong together at all, or if they are in fact properly sequenced.

The other three *Heji* inscriptions which contain the phrase *sān zǔ* do not provide clear evidence for the above interpretation.

Heji 27179:

庚子卜其又歲于三且（祖）□茲用歲

Crack-making on *gēngzǐ* (day 37): (We) should perhaps offer the *sui* sacrifice to the Three Ancestors... This (should be) used; perform the *sui* sacrifice.

²⁸ See Liu Yiman & Cao Dingyun 2011, p. 482; cf. Chen Mengjia 1956, p. 494 and Keightley 1978, p. 208, note ad. Note that the scholars who identified the *sān zǔ* as these three ancestors support the dating of this group of inscriptions to the later period.

This inscription should probably be assigned to the reign of either king Lǐn Xīn 廩辛 (K24) or Gēng Dīng (K25).²⁹ If that identification is correct, “Three Ancestors” here could not refer to Zǔ Jiǎ, Zǔ Gēng, and Zǔ Jǐ, as they would belong to the paternal generation, and should be identified as “Fathers”, not “Ancestors”. It is conceivable that the inscription was produced slightly later, during the reign of Wǔ Yǐ (K26), in which case it would be possible that the term refers to Cao and Liu’s suggested ancestors. The missing character after *zǔ*, however, also works against this, when taken together with both other examples found in *Heji* of the term “Three Ancestors”.

Heji 27181:

丙午卜口貞三且（祖）丁眾祖丁酉王受又又

Crack-making on *bǐngwǔ* (day 43), ... divined: (To) the Three Ancestors Dīng together with Ancestor Dīng (Zǔ Dīng) perform the *yǒu* sacrifice. The king will receive abundant blessings.

Heji 27182:

(1) 弔又

(2) 𠄎己又三且（祖）[丁]

(1) Do not offer sacrifice.

(2) ... *-jǐ* day, offer sacrifice (to) the Three Ancestors [Dīng].

²⁹ See footnote 26, above.

Both of these inscriptions could have been produced during either Period III or Period IV, so it is entirely possible that they could have been produced during the reign of Wǔ Yǐ. However, the fact that both describe sacrifices made not simply to the “Three Ancestors”, but instead to the “Three Ancestors Dīng”, combined with the fact that a graph is missing after “Three Ancestors” in the roughly contemporaneous Heji 27179, suggesting that that inscription may also refer to the “Three Ancestors Dīng” suggests that the ancestors in question could not have been Zǔ Jiǎ, Zǔ Gēng, and Zǔ Jǐ. I would suggest that a more likely identification of these ancestors would be the three deceased royal ancestors named Dīng, that is, Zhōng Dīng 中丁 (K9), Zu Dīng 祖丁 (K15), and Wǔ Dīng (K21).³⁰ If this interpretation is correct, then the “Three Ancestors Dīng” of the Period III/IV Hé group and Nameless (*wúmíng* 無名) group inscriptions would be a different group than the “Three Ancestors” named in the contested Lì group inscriptions—and even if it is not correct, there is still no reason to think that these two groups of Three Ancestors were composed of the same three figures.

Additionally, aside from the Lì group examples discussed by Cao and Liu in Heji 32617 and 32690, there is one additional instance from the Lì group:

Heji 32658:

(1) 辛亥卜其又歲于三且（祖）辛

(2) [弜又]

³⁰ The king Gēng Dīng (K25) may or may not have been deceased during the time these inscriptions were made (it is also possible that they come from his reign or before), but, even if they were made during the reign of Wǔ Yǐ (K26), Gēng Dīng could not have been referred to as Ancestor, as he was Wǔ Yǐ’s father.

(1) Crack-making on *xīnhài* (day 48): (We) should perhaps offer the *sui* sacrifice to the Three Ancestors Xīn.

(2) [Do not offer sacrifice].

This instance does not appear to refer to Zǔ Jiǎ, Zǔ Gēng, and Zǔ Jǐ either. It is also relevant that there is a missing graph following *zu* ‘ancestor’ in the aforementioned Heji 32690—this means that there is only one clear example of a bare “Three Ancestors” in the entire corpus.

This evidence alone does not prove that these Lì group inscriptions belong to the earlier period. However, I think it does establish that the use of the term “Three Ancestors” cannot be said to form incontrovertible evidence that Lì group inscriptions belong to Period IV, and it also suggests that the evidence produced in favor of the later identification seems to have been somewhat selectively chosen.

Archaeological Evidence

Liu Yiman and Cao Dingyun consider another of their arguments to be the single most important evidence for a Period IV dating for these inscriptions,³¹ and it is to my mind the other major piece of their argument that has yet to be satisfactorily refuted. Stated simply, archaeologically excavated Lì group inscriptions have only been found in contexts belonging to later periods, never to Period I.

³¹ See Liu Yiman & Cao Dingyun 2011, p. 475 ff. for the best formulation of this argument; cf. Cunzhongnan, p. 50.

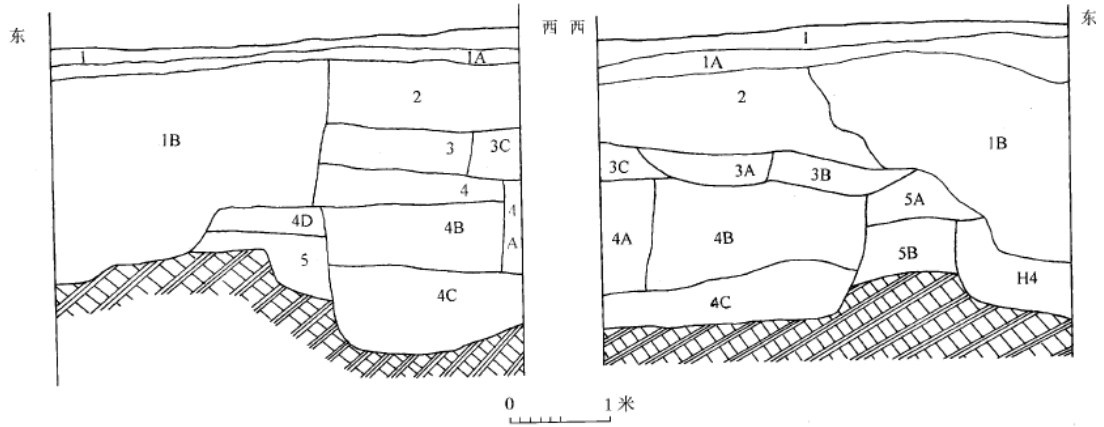
In the Cunzhongnan corpus, inscriptions from the Period I groups Wǔ 午 and Shī, together with the ungrouped inscriptions which can be assigned to that period, have been found in strata dating to Periods I, II, III, and IV, but Huáng 黃 inscriptions (belonging to Period IV and V) are only found in Period IV strata, Nameless group inscriptions (dating to Periods III and IV) are only found in Period IV ash pits, and Lì group inscriptions are only found in strata assigned to Periods III and IV.³² Less comprehensive information is available about earlier excavations, but Liu and Cao state that no Lì group inscriptions were found in contexts dating earlier than Period III in the excavations from 1928–1937, and that Li inscriptions were only found during “middle” and “late” period contexts in the 1973 excavations.³³ This is the foundation for their key argument in favor of a later date.

It is true that Lì group inscriptions are not found in Period I or II contexts, but it is also true that the distribution of all early oracle-bone group inscriptions in the corpus is quite haphazard, with many early inscribed pieces found in later strata and in later pits. The irregular arrangement of some of the strata can easily be seen from plans of the excavation³⁴:

³² Cunzhongnan archaeological data are taken from the introduction to the book; the “*cūn zhōng*” (central) section is pp. 1–14, and “*cūn nán*” (southern) is pp. 14–50.

³³ Liu Yiman & Cao Dingyun 2011, p. 475.

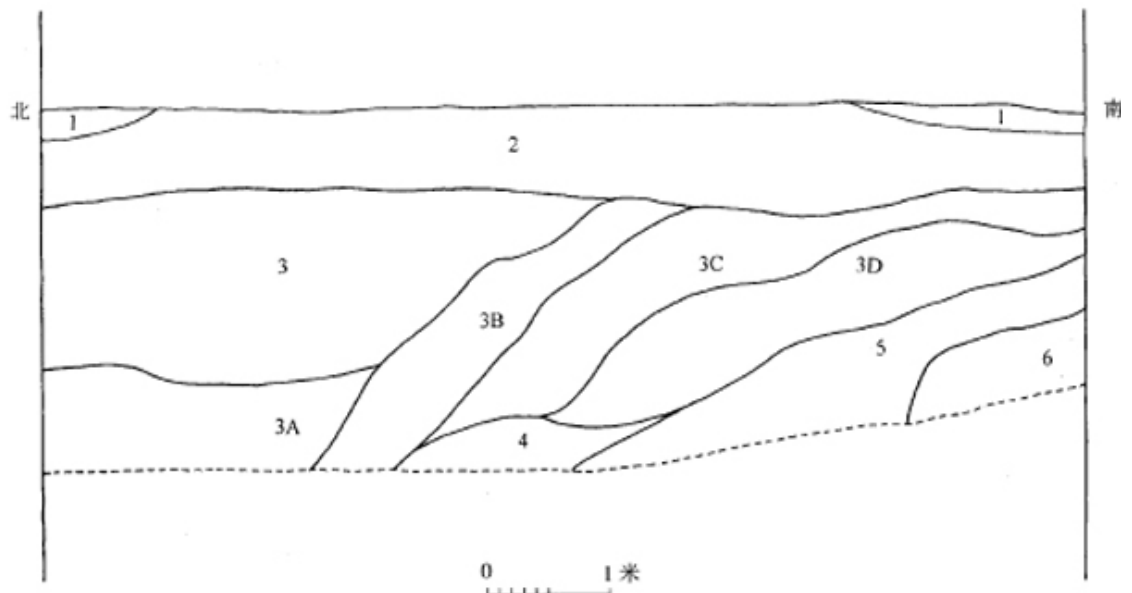
³⁴ Cunzhongnan, p. 3, 8, and 10, respectively.



圖三 86AXTT2 南壁剖面圖

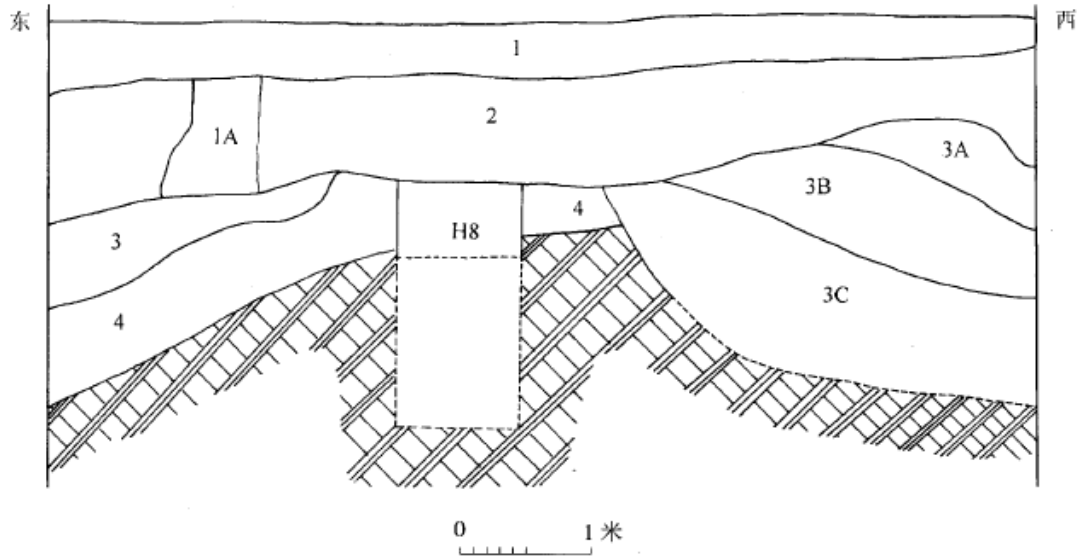
圖四 86AXTT2 北壁剖面圖

Illustration 1. Plans of pit 86AXTT2



圖一〇 89AXTT6 東壁剖面圖(虛線以下未發掘)

Illustration 2. Plan of pit 89AXTT6



圖一二 89AXTT8 南壁剖面圖(虛線以下未發掘)

Illustration 3. Plan of pit 89ZXTT8

The editors of Cunzhongnan provide charts in support of the later dating³⁵:

遺迹單位	殷墟文化分期	甲骨卜辭的組別
89T4(4)	三期	無名組
89T6(3B)	四期早段	歷組
89T6(3C)	四期早段	歷組
89T6(3D)	四期早段	無名組、歷組
89H7	四期早段	無名組、歷組
89T7(3A)	四期早段	無名組
89T8(3)	三期(或三期晚段)	無名組、歷組
89T8(3A)	三期(或三期晚段)	無名組、歷組、自組

Illustration 4. Chart from CZN p. 14

³⁵ Cunzhongnan, p. 14 and 50, respectively.

遺迹單位	殷墟文化分期	甲骨卜辭的組別或期別
02H4	一期	午組、自組和一期卜辭
02H6 下	二期早段	自組和一期卜辭
02H57	三	午組、賓組、一期、歷組
02H6 上	三晚	午組、自組、一期、歷組
02F1	三晚	歷組
02H9	四	午組、自組、一期、歷組
02H55	四	午組、無名組、歷組、黃組
02G1	四	歷組
02H24	四	無名組
02H47	四	一期、無名組、歷組
02H54	四	午組
02H23	四	午組、無名組
02T4A (3)	四	午組、無名組、歷組
04T5(10)	四	無名組

Illustration 5. Chart from CZN p. 50

Each inscription in the Cunzhongnan collection is categorized according to pit and to oracle-bone group, if possible. This information is all included in the designations given in the leftmost column in the chart above. That is, “02H4” refers to the excavations carried out in pit H4 during 2002; “89T6(3B)” refers to layer 3B of pit T6 as excavated in 1989; and “02H6 下” refers to the lower (*xià* 下) level of pit H6 as excavated in 2002. Working from the second chart above, I was able to determine the underlying numbers represented by the chart’s simple categorization. Each group represented in these 14 pits located in the south of Xiǎotún is presented here, followed by the percentage of inscribed pieces of that group excavated from strata belonging to each time period.

Inscribed pieces from Cūnnán, percentage found in each strata
(using data provided in *Cūnzhōngnán*)

Ungrouped Period I (14 relevant inscriptions)

I: 21% III: 29% Late III: 14% IV: 36%

Shī Group (Period I) (24 relevant)

I: 21% Late II: 25% Late III: 29% IV: 25%

Wǔ Group (Period I) (49 relevant)

I: 10% III: 43% Late III: 16% IV: 31%

Wúmíng Group (Period III/IV) (17 relevant)

IV: 100%

Lì Group (37 relevant)

III: 22% Late III: 16% IV: 62%

Table 2. Percentages per strata of pieces from CZN

Note that, if the editors' classifications are correct, the bulk of these Lì group inscriptions, if they are assigned to the earlier period, would have been inscribed in Period II, not I.³⁶ Only six Shī group inscriptions were found in Period II strata; all others were found in strata assigned to Period I or Period III or higher. Additionally, the editors argue that the Nameless group should be assigned to an earlier period than the Lì group, which seems unlikely, if you, as they do, take the distribution here to be strong evidence. None of the Nameless group inscriptions are from Period III strata, despite the fact that some presumably date to that period; on the other hand, 22% of the Lì group inscriptions

³⁶ Most can be assigned to what the editors call the “Father Dīng” category, meaning that, if they are assigned to the earlier time period, they were produced under Zǔ Gēng.

were found in Period III strata, even though the editors assign this group to Period IV. If, instead of using the numbers from the Cunzhongnan chart, I instead select some of the largest pits which contain a variety of inscriptions from relevant diviner groups, and look at each pit individually, the results are much more randomly distributed. It is important to note that here, the higher the layer number, the further back in time we go within the same pit.

89T6 (Cūnzhōng)	89T8 (Cūnzhōng)
Layer 2 (7 total)	Layer 2 (109 total)
Nameless (III/IV): 29%	Nameless (III/IV): 52%
Lì: 71%	Lì: 47%
Layer 3 (31 total)	Layer 3 (81 total)
Nameless (III/IV): 58%	Shī (I): 1%
Lì: 42%	Nameless (III/IV): 41%
	Lì: 58%

Table 3. Oracle-bone groups by layer for pits 89T6 and 89T8

	02H9 (Cūnmán)
02H57 (Cūnmán)	Layer 1, 2 (1 total) Wǔ (I): 100%
Layer 1 (1 total) Wǔ (I): 100%	Layer 3 (3 total) Ungrouped Period I: 33% Shī (I): 33% Lì: 33%
Layer II (5 total) Ungrouped Period I: 20% Wǔ (I): 20% Bīn (I/II): 40% Lì: 20%	Layer 4 (10 total) Wǔ (I): 50% Lì: 50%
Layer III (25 total) Ungrouped Period I: 12% Wǔ (I): 60% Lì: 28%	Layer 5 (9 total) Ungrouped Period I: 11% Wǔ (I): 11% Lì: 78%
	Layer 6 (2 total) Shī (I): 50% Wǔ (I): 50%

Table 4. Oracle-bone groups by layer for pits 02H57 and 02H9

It is still the case that Lì group inscriptions never appear in the earliest strata, but the entire arrangement is too random to draw any significant conclusions from it, most especially from the pieces recovered from ash pits. It is also clear that in some pits, including 02H57 and 02H9, Lì group inscriptions appear in significant numbers in relatively early strata. Discounting Lì group inscriptions, these two pits in particular only contain pieces dating to Period I and Period II.

As with my response to the “Three Ancestors” argument, the data I have presented about pit stratigraphy do not directly provide evidence for assigning these

inscriptions to the earlier period. What they do establish, however, is that pit stratigraphy also does not provide strong evidence for a later assignment. No scholars have presented clear evidence that Lì group inscriptions should belong to the reigns of kings Wǔ Yǐ and Wén Wǔ Dīng.

The rest of the evidence, whether palaeographic, historical, or ritual, strongly points to an earlier date for Lì group inscriptions. Moreover, these two points, while they do not directly provide support for the earlier date, do not provide the conclusive evidence that their proponents suggest they do. Throughout this dissertation, then, Lì group inscriptions will all be assigned to either Period I or Period II, that is, to the reigns of Wǔ Dīng and Zǔ Gēng. I will not explicitly return to this topic, but the story told in the following chapters will continue to reinforce this conclusion.

Chapter 3. Orthographic change over the Anyang period

Many aspects of Shang writing, both graphological and linguistic, steadily become more regularized over the course of the dynasty. A significant body of work has been dedicated to analyzing differences between the different oracle-bone groups and periods of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, but this has mostly been done for the purposes of periodization, that is for the purpose of assigning an accurate relative dating to each piece to the extent that this is possible.¹

Nonstandard orthography in *Yinxu cunzhong cunnan jiagu*

From the *Yinxu cunzhong cunnan jiagu* corpus, I have compiled a list of all the instances I could find of what could be considered nonstandard orthography. These include unusual alternate forms,² irregular *héwén* 合文 (“ligatures” or combined graphs),³ passages written with atypical or nonstandard text direction,⁴ cases of characters written

¹ See chapters one and two of this dissertation for a discussion of this work.

² Many Shang words can be written with more than one graph, and many Shang graphs can be written with differing forms (known as *yìtǐzì* 異體字). For the purposes of this study, I compiled only very unusual or unique forms, not forms that may have been preferred in general during a particular period of by a particular group of scribes, or forms that could be seen as competing with a more commonly-used form (not to mention those in which a variety of forms seem to have been used with equal frequency).

³ To oversimplify, I excluded the most standardized kinds of *héwén* forms, especially those which combine the graphs of multisyllabic proper names or which combine numbers with the noun they modify. For a more detailed explanation of what can be considered a “nonstandard” *héwén* graph, see later in this chapter.

⁴ For a discussion of the emergence of more standardized text direction, see Smith 2008, pp. 83–85.

in reversed order,⁵ characters written upside down,⁶ and miswritten characters.⁷ Some examples may be practice inscriptions,⁸ which I did not attempt to segregate, as in many (though certainly not all) cases this classification is subjective. I identified 80 examples of these kinds of variant orthography. Of these, 29 could be assigned to Period I,⁹ 22 could be assigned to either Period I or Period II,¹⁰ 9 could be assigned to Period III/IV,¹¹ and 20 could not be assigned to a particular period. That is, 63.75% date to either Period I or II, 25% could not be assigned, and only 11.25% date to Period III or IV.¹² This skews substantially lower than the corpus as a whole, which includes 48.68% Period I/II inscriptions, 24.15% inscriptions that could not be assigned, and 26.6% inscriptions from

⁵ One example is CZN 355 (Wǔ group), in which the name of the ancestor Dà Jiǎ 大甲 is written Jiǎ Dà 甲大; CZN 481 (Wǔ group), which reads in part “Bù lái Dà” 不來大 instead of the expected “Dà bù lái” 大不來 ‘Dà will not come’; and CZN 128 (Nameless group), which has “yōu wáng” 囧亡 instead of “wáng yōu” 亡囧 ‘there will be no disaster’. These are most likely simple mistakes, though other explanations are possible.

⁶ These cases, known as *dàoshū* 倒書, include examples of a single character or phrase written upside down compared to the text surrounding it, as well as cases in which all text on one side of a plastron or carapace is written from the direction of the xiphiplastron towards the entoplastron, or from the direction of the glenoid cavity towards the cranial angle and caudal angle, rather than the other way around, as would normally be expected. For a fuller discussion of this phenomenon, see later in this chapter.

⁷ An example can be found in CZN 203 (Lì II group), in which the name Fù Dīng 父丁 is miswritten 父日, with the character *rì* 日 ‘day’ (Shang 日) replacing the heavenly stem *dīng* 丁 (Shang 丁).

⁸ On *xíkè* 習刻 or practice inscriptions, see Smith 2008, p. 311 ff.

⁹ These include 17 Wǔ group inscriptions, 7 Shī group inscriptions, and 5 which could not be grouped more specifically than “Period I”.

¹⁰ These include 7 Lì I inscriptions, 13 Lì II inscriptions, and 2 which could not be grouped more specifically than “Lì group”.

¹¹ These are all Nameless group inscriptions.

¹² None date to Period V, which is unsurprising as only 3 inscriptions in the corpus are so dated.

Period III/IV.¹³ The earliest inscriptions, those from Period I, make up 17.92% of all inscriptions but account for 36.25% of instances of nonstandard orthography, and the latest significant group of inscriptions, those from Period III/IV, make up 27.17% of inscriptions but 11.25% of instances of nonstandard orthography.

These numbers suggest a trend towards a more regular orthography, but, without more details, they do not comprise a strong argument in and of themselves. The next step of this study is to look at several particular kinds of early Chinese orthographic variance in more detail.

***Héwén* (“ligatures”/combined graphs)**

Multiple characters written together as a single character are known as *héwén* 合文 (“ligatures”, or combined graphs).¹⁴ Most examples of *héwén* in Shang inscriptions are numbers written with what they modify, proper names written together as a single graph, and other similar instances of tightly bound syllables being written together as a single graph made of the two (or more) parts combined. Sometimes, however, characters which write syllables which are not so closely connected can also be written together as a single graph. The motivations for this are not clear, but it seems to be simply graphical, a different writing convention, with no linguistic motivation. These forms are used much more freely in the earlier part of the dynasty, with semantically unconnected words

¹³ An additional 0.57% date to Period V. This breaks down to 95 Period I inscriptions, 163 Period I/II inscriptions, 141 Period III/IV inscriptions, 3 Period V inscriptions, and 128 undated inscriptions.

¹⁴ Qiu Xigui 1980 contains an excellent overview of *héwén* inscriptions.

written together seemingly at random, while later examples of *hégén* are, from what I have found, more likely to be tightly bound semantically, e.g., the graph for a modifier combined with the one for the word it modifies. This kind of *hégén* naturally occurs in the early part of the period as well, but not so overwhelmingly as it does towards the period's end. Another kind of combined character, known as *chóngwén* 重文, also exists. It appears later in the Anyang period and becomes much more common during the Zhou. A sign that looks something like =, which is likely derived from the numeral two (二) is appended to a graph, which alerts the reader that it should be read twice.

Several different kinds of *hégén* can be identified in Shang inscriptions. Some of the most common types include presumably polysyllabic numbers written with single graphs, numbers combined with the objects they modify (most typically sacrificial victims or groups of ancestors), the proper names of people, both living and dead, and place names. As these forms are common throughout the entire Anyang period, I will more or less ignore these combined graphs for the purposes of this study. Certain other, less ubiquitous, kinds of combined graphs can also be found in oracle-bone inscriptions. Some of these are set phrases, and others could even be interpreted as polysyllabic words; others are not set phrases at all, but two words, which may or may not be common in that sequence, written together. The following examples will show some of the kinds of *hégén* in use during different periods:

Example 1:



Illustration 6.

Heji 32841 (Period I—Li I group) *wáng yōu* 亡𠄎 ‘there will be no disaster’

□□卜𠄎雀。亡𠄎。

Crack-making on ... Què. There will be no disaster.

The two graphs 亡 and 𠄎 are written beneath the graph 雀, each taking up half the space of the graph above them. Because of this context, I classify it, like the following two examples, as a *hévén* graph, as the two combined graphs are not physically connected to each other, making their connection not otherwise evident.¹⁵

¹⁵ It would be reasonable to consider examples of this kind, where the graphs do not touch or blend with each other, to be a different phenomenon that *hévén* in its narrowest sense (though examples like this are generally classified as *hévén* in standard collections of character forms); this distinction could be important in discussions of how *hévén* came to exist at all, but, as these combinations of graphs would still be irregular, whether classified as *hévén* or not, the specific classification does not affect the discussion in this dissertation.

Example 2:



33180



Illustration 7.

Heji 33180 (Period I—Shī-Li A group) *wáng yōu* 亡囧 ‘there will be no disaster’

癸酉卜，貞：旬亡囧。又甲大。

Crack-making on *guǐyǒu* (10), divined: In the (coming) ten-day week there will be no disaster. Make an offering to Jiǎ Dà (=Dà Jiǎ?).

Example 3:



Illustration 8.

Heji 33148 (Period I/II—Lì II group) *yǒu tā* 又𠄎 ‘there will be affliction’

又（有）𠄎。
There will be affliction.

The use of this set of very common set phrases (there will or will not be some kind of disaster) remains quite consistent throughout the Anyang period. As with number phrases and common names, these particular *hévén* reveal little about the development of the writing system. The above selections are clearly phrases, not words; other examples exist that are much more tightly bound semantically, and should probably be treated as polysyllabic words. Wang Tao, discussing color terms used in Shang writing, goes further, to suggest that some graphs, like the one typically transcribed *wù* 物 ‘multicolored ox’ would have originally been treated as *hévén* and read in two syllables, equivalent to *wù niú* 勿牛 ‘multicolored ox.’¹⁶ This is certainly possible, as, as Wang

¹⁶ Wang Tao 1996. See, for example, p. 67 and p. 83. Wang is elaborating on an argument originally made by Jin Xiangheng 金祥恆.

points out, the elements 勿 and 牛 are sometimes written separately in Shang inscriptions. More commonly, though, they seem to be written together, which is not the case for most *héwén* graphs. Accordingly, I take the evidence to be inconclusive. For the purposes of this dissertation, I do not include graphs like 物, but that does not imply that I reject Wang's position, just that I do not feel that it has been shown beyond doubt.

Example 4:



Illustration 9.

Heji 20966 (Period I—Shī II group)

xiǎocǎi 小采 ‘dusk’

癸巳卜，王旬四日丙申昃雨自東，小采既。丁酉少，至東雨，允。二月。
Crack-making on *guǐsì* (day 30), the king (divined): In the (coming) ten-day week, on the fourth day, *bǐngshēn* (day 33) in the afternoon, it will rain from the east and will finish at *xiǎocǎi* (dusk). On *dīngyǒu* (day 34) it lessened (?) and arriving in the east was rain indeed (?). Second month.

The term *xiǎocǎi* 小采 ‘dusk’ is probably best treated as a single two-syllable word.

Other examples could be treated either as individual words or as tightly connect phrases.

Example 5:

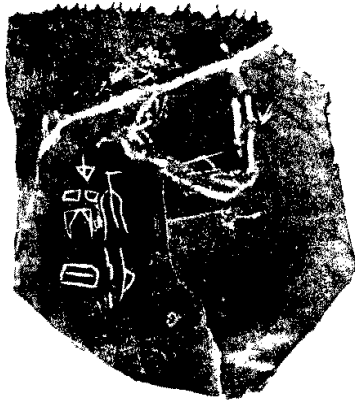


Illustration 10.

Heji 21944 (Period I—non-royal)

yi ri 易日 ‘change the date’

才（在）𠄎，不易日。

At Bǐng. Do not change the date (for a planned event) (?).

I interpret the term *yi ri* in this inscription as ‘change the date’ but it could just as easily be interpreted as ‘change the weather,’ or, in this case, ‘the weather will not change’ – not enough context exists to disambiguate it, and both senses are attested. This example is particularly illustrative regarding the trickiness of determining whether a particular example is a combined graph, as it does not at first glance appear to be a *hévén*, but rather two separate graphs.

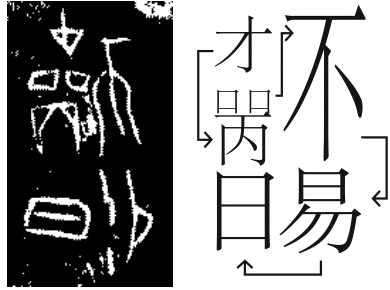


Illustration 11. Necessary text direction if read as individual graphs

It must be the case that it is a combined graph, however. The phrase **rì bù yì* 日不易 is unknown in Shang inscriptions, while the phrase *bù yì rì* 不易日 ‘do not change the date/the weather will not change’ is quite idiomatic.¹⁷ If *yì rì* were not a *héwén* graph, this inscription would need to be read in the convoluted manner depicted in the diagram above in order to be parsable; it is much more likely that *yì rì* here was intended to be read as a *héwén*. Despite the fact that the reading direction of this inscription is clear, it’s relatively chaotic arrangement is much more characteristic of Period I inscriptions, and of early non-royal inscriptions in particular, than of those of later periods.

¹⁷ It is easy to find over 100 instances of *bù yì rì* in Heji alone.

Example 6:

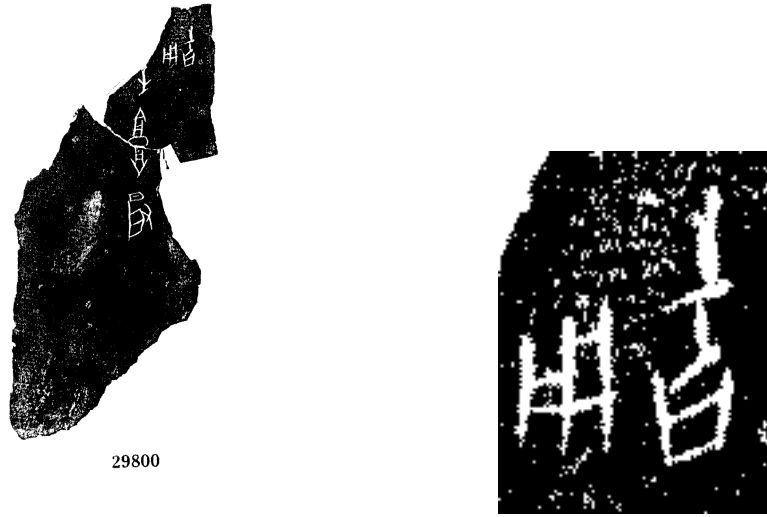


Illustration 12.

Heji 29800 (Period III/IV—Nameless group) *jí yòng* 吉用 ‘auspicious, use (this)’

☐ (至) 章啓 (啟) 。 吉用

... when it comes to late afternoon¹⁸ it will open (the clouds will break).
Auspicious, use (this).

Note that, again, text direction is one of the main indications that this is a *héwén* graph. *Jí yòng* ‘auspicious, use (this)’ is clearly two separate words, but two separate words that very commonly appear together in response to the results of a divination.

¹⁸ I read *guō* 章 here as an abbreviation for *guōxī* 章兮 ‘late afternoon.’

Example 7:

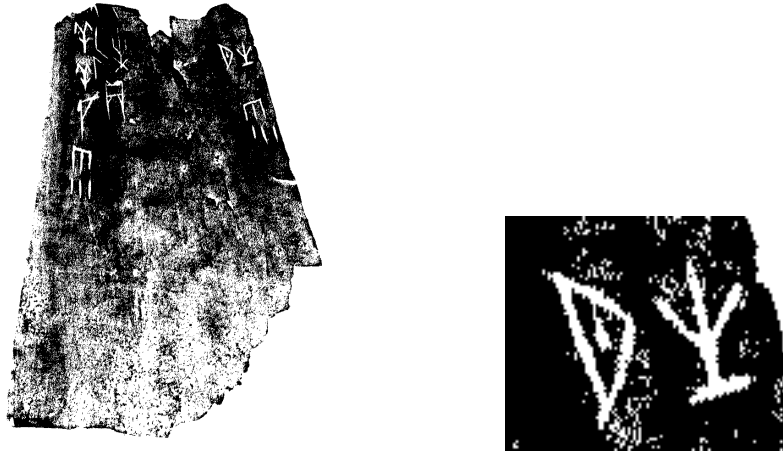


Illustration 13.

Heji 33916 (Period I—Lì I group) *shēngyuè* 生月 ‘growing month (next month)’

生月雨。

In the growing month (next month), it will rain.

Shēngyuè is not as clearly a single word as the similar time phrases *jīnrì* 今日 ‘today’ and *xiǎocǎi* 小采 ‘dusk,’ but it would be reasonable to treat it as such.

Example 8:

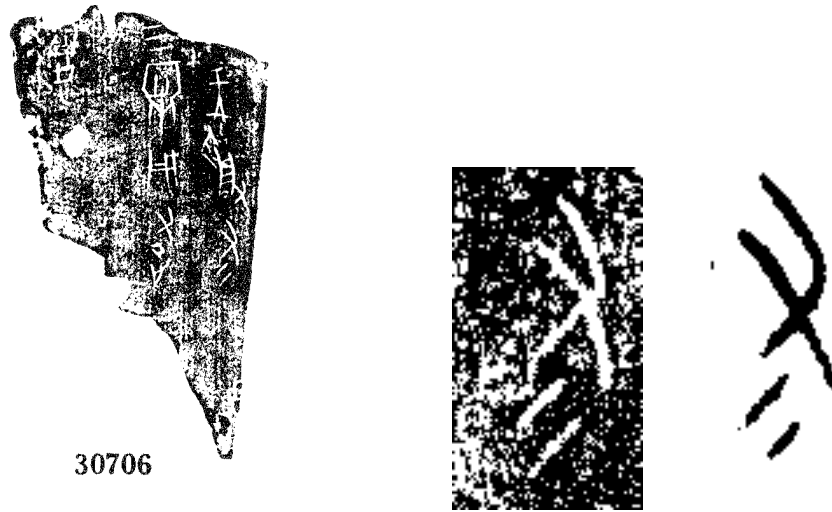


Illustration 14.

Heji 30706 (Period III/IV—Nameless group) *yòu yòu* 又又 ‘abundant blessings’¹⁹

☐三牢用，又正，王受又=（又又=又祐））。吉

... three penned bovines to be used. The sacrifice will be correct. The king will receive abundant blessings. Auspicious.

Note that the repeating symbol (the parallel lines, perhaps writing the numeral *èr* 二 ‘two’, underneath the *yòu* element) is the same mark used through at least the Warring States period.²⁰ I am only aware of this method being used for this particular formulation (*yòu yòu*) in Shang inscriptions, but it certainly became the standard during the Western Zhou.

¹⁹ The second close-up image is taken from the hand copy in *Jiaguwen bian* (1965 edition), as the parallel lines are not especially evident in the rubbing.

²⁰ In a discussion of Tang-era ligature and duplication marks, but speaking of Western Zhou through Warring States *héwén*, Imre Galambos writes, “*Hewen* was relatively common in pre-Qin times but almost completely disappeared in later periods” (Galambos 2010, p. 5).

Example 9:



Illustration 15.

Heji 36123 (Period V—Huáng group) *yòu yòu* 又又 ‘abundant blessings’

癸酉卜，貞：翌日乙亥王其又升于武必（祕）。正，王受又=(又又)。
Cracking-making on *guǐyǒu* (day 10), divined: The next day (here, = the day after tomorrow), *yìhài* (day 12) the king may perform the *shēng* ceremony to the spirit of Wǔ Yǐ. It will be correct, and the king will receive abundant blessings.²¹

²¹ I follow (a modified version of) Takashima’s interpretations of *mì* 必（祕） and *shēng* 升 here; see Itō & Takashima 1996, vol. 2, p. 66; on the graph I have transcribed *mì*, see also Yu Xingwu 1979, p. 38-40.)

Example 10:



Illustration 16.

Heji 20772 (Period I—Shī II group)

yǔn bù 允不 ‘indeed not’²²

guǐ rì 鬼日 ‘ghost day (unpropitious day)’

wǎng tù 網兔 ‘net rabbits’

丁丑卜，今日令罔（？）𧈧。不条（遭？）𧈧，允不。兔十四。一二三
Crack-making on *dīngchǒu* (day 14): Today, order X to net rabbits. (We) will not encounter a ghost day (an unpropitious day). Indeed, (we) did not. Fourteen rabbits (were caught).

This inscription features up to three *héwén* graphs – *yǔn bù* 允不 ‘indeed not,’ *guǐ rì* 鬼日 ‘ghost day (unpropitious day),’ and, most likely, 𧈧, which is best read as *wǎng* 網 ‘catch in a net’ combined with *tù* 兔 ‘rabbit.’²³ The two elements *yǔn bù* are not tightly connected semantically, but they do often appear together; *guǐ rì* can reasonably be treated

²² The second close-up image is taken from the hand copy in *Jiaguwen bian* (1965 edition), as its structure is not especially evident in the rubbing.

²³ See Yu Xingwu 1996, vol. 4, p. 2834.

as a word, or at least as a common set phrase; and *wǎng tù* is likely a phrase. It is possible, though, that the graph I read as *wǎng tù* is actually a single monosyllabic word; perhaps just a graphically elaborated version of the word *wǎng* ‘to catch with a net.’

Example 11:



21052



Illustration 17.

Heji 21052 (Period I—Shī II group)

yǔn bù 允不 ‘indeed not’

自今至丁丑不其雨。允不。 一 二

From now until *dīngchǒu* (day 14), it may not rain. Indeed it did not.

Example 12:



12909 正



Illustration 18.

Heji 12909a (Pd I—Shī/Bīn A) *bù yù* 不雨 ‘it did not rain’ *yǔn yù* 允雨 ‘it indeed rained’

(1)

乙卯卜，丙辰雨。不雨。

Crack-making on *yǐmǎo* (day 52): It will rain on *bǐngchén* (53). It did not rain.²⁴

(2)

丁巳雨。允雨。

It will rain on *dīngsì* (day 54). It indeed rained.

(3)

庚申卜，辛酉雨。允雨。

Crack-making on *gēngshēn* (day 57): It will rain on *xīnyǒu* (day 58). It indeed rained.

(4)

壬戌雨，不。二告

On *rénxū* (day 59) it will rain. It did not. Second trial (of this divination charge).

(5)

癸亥雨。不允雨。

On *guǐhài* (day 60), it will rain. It did not indeed rain.²⁵

²⁴ *Jiaguwen heji shiwen* transcribes line (1) as 乙卯卜，丙辰雨。允（雨）， which I would translate “Crack-making on *yǐmǎo* (day 52): It will rain on *bǐngchén* (53). It indeed [rained].” The original rubbing, however, clearly seems to read as I have transcribed it above (Hu Houxuan 1999a).

(6)

□戌允雨。

On [rén-] xū (day 59), it indeed rained.

Note that *yǔn yù* ‘it indeed rained’ is written as a *hévén* in line (3) but not in the other lines.

Example 13:



Illustration 19.

Heji 20975 (Period I—Shī I group)

yǔn yù 允雨 ‘it indeed rained’

²⁵ Takashima reads (5) as 癸亥雨。允雨，小。 (“On the *guǐhài* day [60], it will rain. Indeed it rained, (but) it was little”) (Takashima 2010, vol. 1, p. 49), but the final graph is clearly *bù* 不 ‘not’ not *xiǎo* 小 ‘small.’ *Jiaguwen heji shiwen* punctuates this inscription 癸亥雨不。允雨。 which would call for the translation “On *guǐhài*, will it rain or not? It indeed rained.” This would fit somewhat better with this particular inscription (though the “indeed” would be awkward, as it also is in my version), but, if applied consistently throughout this scapula, would require some even more awkward translations. As a result, I translate it as I do above, but this interpretation is by no means definitive.

己丑卜，舞〔羊〕，庚从雨，允雨。

Crack-making on *jǐchǒu* (day 26): Dance to [Yáng]. On *gēng* day (*gēngyín* 庚寅, day 27), rain will follow (?). It indeed rained.

Example 14:



33857



Illustration 20.

Heji 33857 (Period I/II—Li II group)

yǐ yù 乙雨 ‘it will rain on an *yi* day’

乙雨。

On *yǐ* day it will rain.

This Period II inscription combines two elements, *yǐ* 乙 ‘a date’ and *yù* 雨 ‘to rain,’ that are only loosely connected semantically, though they do very often appear together in this phrase.

Example 15:



28146



Illustration 21.

Heji 28146 (Period III/IV—He II group) *bǐ* X 比 𠄎 ‘ally with X’

甲子（卜）， 貞： 夷 比 𠄎， 亡災。

Crack-making on *jiǎzǐ* (day 1), ... divined: It should be that ... allies with X (a spirit). There will be no disaster.²⁶

The two elements of this *héwén* are as loosely connected as the last, but it dates to a later period; judging from the pieces selected for this study, this seems an uncommon occurrence this late into the Shang period.

²⁶ On X 𠄎 here, I follow Yu Xingwu 1996, vol. 1, p. 363.

Example 16:



18912



Illustration 22.

Heji 18912 (Period I—Bīn I group)

xīnhài zhēn 辛亥貞 ‘divined on *xīnhài*’

(1)

辛亥貞：亡囿。

On *xīnhài* (day 48), divined: There will be no disaster.

(2)

大戊于。

Dà Wù to (?).

This example is especially interesting. As noted in the *Jiaguwen heji shiwen*, it is clearly a practice inscription. Line (2) does not feature any graphic innovation, but it is syntactically nonsensical; the scribe must either have been intending to write *yú* Dà Wù 于大戊 ‘to Dà Wù (the seventh Shang king)’ a common phrase in inscriptions detailing sacrifices to ancestors, or perhaps have copied from two different sections of a different inscription. Line (1) features a trisyllabic *héwén* unlike any other I have found in Heji, with the word or phrase *xīnhài* 辛亥, a date, combined with the following word *zhēn* 貞 ‘to divine’. While these three characters often appear together in sequence, there is no

particular motivation for all three of them to be combined into one. Not only is this an inscription from early in the Anyang period, but it was written by someone not yet fully capable.

The content of Period I inscriptions is clearly, generally speaking, less formulaic than the content of later inscriptions, and the writing style appears to be so as well, with a much more seemingly random usage of *hévén* graphs. With this in mind, it is interesting to compare the complete array of Period I inscriptions used in this study, selected from the earliest extant Shang inscriptions, with some of the earliest Zhou inscriptions. These inscriptions were written at roughly the same time as the Shang Period V inscriptions, but they are among the earliest writing produced by that community.

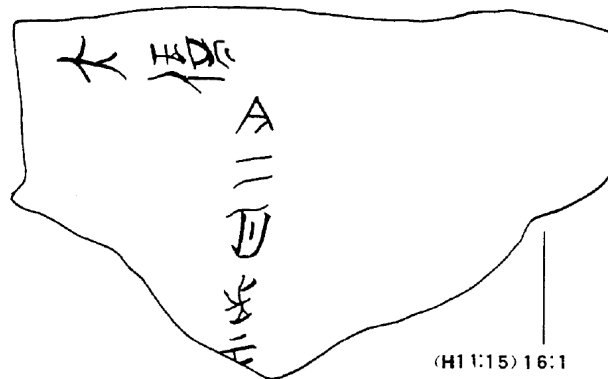


Illustration 23. Zhōuyuán (H11:15) 16:1²⁷

²⁷ This hand copy and the other copies of Zhou oracle bones which follow are reproduced from ZJY (Chu Ki-cheung 1997); they originally appeared in ZYWH (Chen Quanfang's *Zhuoyuan yu Zhou wenhua*). I only provide hand copies and do not transcribe and translate the first two examples as these pieces are only being provided for comparison.

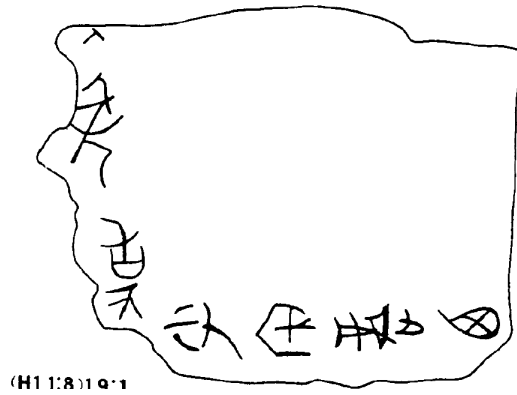
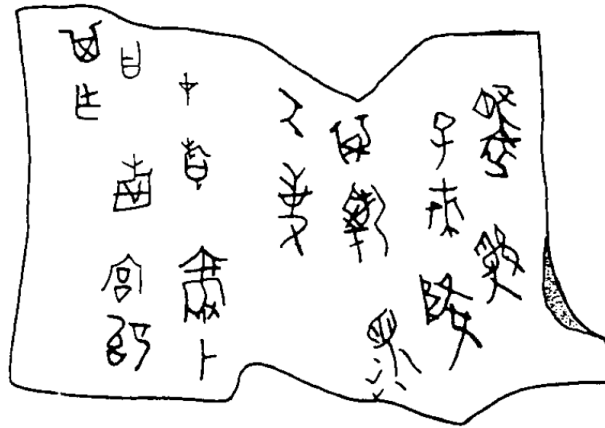


Illustration 24. Zhōuyuán (H:11:8) 19:1

Note that the Zhou oracle bones in illustrations 23 and 24 both display a radical change of writing direction. This kind of right-angle turn is seldom or never seen in Shang royal inscriptions, or in any inscriptions from later in the Anyang period. While not exactly typical in Zhou inscriptions, it appears a not insignificant amount. It seems to provide evidence either of a significantly different style of inscription or of the work of a less well-practiced divination workshop.

Example 17:



(H31:2) 9:1

Illustration 25.

Zhōuyuán (H31:2) 9:1

wéi Yī 唯衣 ‘it was when Yī’

(1)

唯衣雞子來降，其執眾畢（厥）吏。

It was when Jī Zǐ (=Jī Zǐ 箕子, the uncle of Zhòu 紂, the last Shang ruler) of Yī (=Yīn 殷) came to Jiang (or came down?) that he was then taken together with his attendants.

(2)

才（在）旃，爾卜曰：南宮辭（治）其乍（胙）。

At Zhān, Ěr divined, saying: Nángōng (or the official of the Southern Palace?) will determine his (Jī Zǐ’s) position (=his fate).²⁸

²⁸ I follow a modified version of Chen Quanli et al.’s interpretation of this inscription in my translation (see XZZ (Chen Quanli et al. 2003), pp, 34-36). It is not certain that the inscription actually discusses these events which would have happened roughly at the same time as the fall of the Shang, but the identification of Yī 衣 with Yīn 殷 and Jī Zǐ 雞子 with Jī Zǐ 箕子 is at least phonologically conceivable, if not a perfect match. Yī and Yīn are *ʔəi and *ʔən, respectively, and Jī 雞 and Jī 箕 are *kê and *kə, respectively, in Axel Schuessler’s Minimal Old Chinese reconstructions (Schuessler 2009).

The *hewén* that begins this inscription contains the most seemingly randomly selected elements of any encountered in this study. The first word, *wéi* 唯 ‘it was when’ is combined with the modifier preceding Jī Zǐ’s 雞子 name, Yī 衣, with the modifier separated from the name that follows it. There is no evident motivation for this combination – no space considerations, no possible semantic or syntactic connection (at least not one stronger than the connection between Yī 衣 and Jī Zǐ 雞子, the graphs which immediately follow it) – other than, perhaps, a graphic connection. As in the case of the (by Shang standards) idiosyncratic text direction in the previous two examples, the orthography in evidence in this inscription is much less regular than Shang orthography.

If early Zhou orthography has room for more variation than Shang orthography, Period IV and V Shang writing are significantly more regularized than the writing of Period I, and the topics discussed in later periods are also less diverse than in earlier periods.

In an attempt to quantify changes in the use of time over the course of the Anyang period, I selected every *hewén* graph I could find that met the criteria discussed above,²⁹ assigned them to either Period I/II or Period III/IV/V. To find examples of *hewén*, I looked at every example given in four standard collections of oracle-bone script forms³⁰ and combined these with all cases that I have found in the course of reading Shang inscriptions. The following chart, which continues onto the next page, will help to

²⁹ That is, not a number combined with the noun it modifies, not the name of an ancestor, etc. I also skipped the limited number of *hewén* graphs which seemed to be repeated scores of times, as that would have been outside the scope of this project.

³⁰ These are *Jiaguwen bian* (Sun Haibo 1934 / Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1965), *Xu jiaguwen bian* (Jin Xiangheng 1993), *Xin jiaguwen bian* (Liu Zhao et al. 2009), and *Jiagu wenzi bian* (Li Zongkun 2012).

illustrate the changing variety of *héwén* graphs in use over time, supplementing the above discussion.

Period I/II	occurrences		Period III/IV/V	occurrences
1 不告龜	26		1 湄日	6
2 不雨	10		2 馘牛	6
3 今夕	7		3 黃牛	5
4 雨疾	6		4 小雨	4
5 之日	6		5 今日	2
6 中子	6		6 小山	2
7 不告	5		7 幽牛	2
8 今日	5		8 小配	1
9 允雨	5		9 十小山	1
10 小王	5		10 小子	1
11 小臧	5		11 比𠄎	1
12 允不	4		12 沈玉	1
13 義京	4		13 父庚庸	1
14 茲用	4		14 生月	1
15 保丘	3		15 至吉	1
16 小采	3		16 黑牛	1
17 生月	3		17 今日	1
18 磬京	3		18 小衷	1
19 小子	2		19 小淮	1
20 小方	2			
21 小示	2			
22 尸方	2			
23 鬼日	2			
24 上下害	2			
25 其雨	2			
26 刀方	2			
27 小工	2			
28 磬京	2			
29 中行	1			
30 之夕	1			
31 多妣	1			
32 多子	1			
33 多母	1			
34 奔馬	1			
35 小亦	1			

36	小妾	1	
37	小艱	1	
38	小豕	1	
39	小風	1	
40	小皂	1	
41	小彘	1	
42	延雨	1	
43	戎我	1	
44	易日	1	
45	沈小辛	1	
46	牝牡	1	
47	盧豕	1	
48	羽疾	1	
49	辛亥貞	1	
50	乙一牛	1	
51	乙雨	1	
52	入日	1	
53	小帝	1	
54	小雨	1	
55	立中	1	
56	茲雨	1	

Table 5. Occurrences of *hévén* by period

As can be seen from this chart, a much wider variety of *hévén* were in use earlier in the Anyang period than later.

***Dàoshū* (upside-down writing)**

I will discuss one final feature of Shang writing in this context. In the Cunzhongnan corpus, this feature, known as *dàoshū* 倒書, or “upside-down writing”, is represented in the following forms: examples of a single character or phrase written upside down compared to the text surrounding it, as well as cases in which all text on one side of a plastron or carapace is written from the direction of the xiphiplastron towards

the entoplastron, or from the direction of the glenoid cavity towards the cranial angle and caudal angle, rather than the other way around, as would normally be expected (either of these can be either inscribed or brush-written); characters in which one element of the graph is written upside down from the perspective of the rest of the character and that of the graphs that surround it; and characters in which a single stroke is written upside down.

Nine inscriptions in the corpus include entire characters or phrases written with vertically reversed orientation. A number of these inscriptions are atypical in one way or another, so I will discuss each individually.

CZN 436

戊申卜：𠄎。

Crack-making on *wùshēn* (day 45):...
(Period I)

This inscription is written in the coracoid process, at the edge of the reverse side of the scapula. Other than that, and the fact that it is written upside down, it appears to be of normal content.

CZN 380

庚戌癸乞骨六，賄。

On *gēngxū* (day 47), (we) processed (?) and received six scapulae, (from) Gòu.
(Lì I)

CZN 380, like the following several, deals with processing and receiving scapulae.

CZN 289

(1) 戊午乞骨一。

(2) 𠄎从東亡戔。

(1) On *wùwǔ* (day 55), received one scapula.

(2) ... follow *Dōng*, there will be no harm.

(Lì II)

Only (1) above, the inscription dealing with receiving scapulae, is written upside down.

CZN 427

(1) 𠄎𠄎。

(2) [癸]丑貞：𠄎（疇），翌日[將]兄丁。

(3) □辰貞：又𠄎辛二𠄎，卯三[宰]。

(1) ... *Gòu*.

(2) [On *guī*] -*chǒu* (day 50), divined: Perform the *chóu* sacrifice; on the next day [perform the *jiàng* sacrifice] (to) Brother *Dīng*.

(3) ... -*chén*, divined: Offer... *Xīn* two X-victims, splitting three [penned cattle].

(Lì I)

Only the graph in line (1) is written upside down—*Gòu* here is most likely part of a longer inscription detailing scapulae which arrived from *Gòu*.

CZN 391

辛未乞骨𠄎。

On *xīnwèi* (day 8), (we) received scapulae...

(Lì group)

This inscription, like those above, deals with receiving scapulae; in this case, however, only the single graph *wèi* is written upside down. The motivation for this is unclear, but there is likely a connection between this and the previous ones.

CZN 471

𠄎灌庠。

???

(Unassigned)

These graphs are clearly written upside down, and they are brush written, not inscribed; beyond that, they are uninterpretable.

CZN 488

且（祖）辛。

Zǔ Xīn.

(Unassigned)

This ancestral title, which is written with a brush using cinnabar ink, is upside down and otherwise alone on this fragment.

CZN 17

癸𠄎。

On *guǐ*...

(Unassigned)

This single graph, otherwise without context, is written upside down on the reverse side of CZN 18.

CZN Appendix 2-2

辛𠄎。

On *xīn*...

(Unassigned)

This inscription consists only of a single graph, which is clumsily written.

Of these inscriptions, then, one (dating to Period I) is otherwise normal. Three have some connection to the bringing in and preparation of scapulae; in CZN 380 and 289, only the portion of the text dealing with scapulae is written upside down, and in 391, only one graph of the equivalent portion is. CZN 427 also likely is related to the acquisition of scapulae, and only the potentially relevant word is written with reverse orientation. All four definitely or potentially scapulae-related inscriptions are Li group inscriptions, dating to either Period I or Period II. The remaining four inscriptions are all undateable, and are each odd in one way or another; two are brush written, two (including one of the brush-written characters) consist of only one character each, and one is written quite clumsily. These, then, are generally not typical inscriptions, and there is an evident pattern—brush written texts and notations about receiving scapulae are most likely, in this sample to appear upside down. And, in one case, only one graph from a scapulae-related notation is reversed.

It is not clear that all inscriptions dealing with receiving scapulae are written upside down. Cunzhongnan includes the following:

370

☐乞駒骨三。

... received from Gòu (?) three scapulae.

(Li II)

and

499

☐[𠄎]乞骨三。

... [processed (?)] and received four scapulae.

(Li I)

These two inscriptions do not appear to be written upside-down, though they are both fragmentary, making it difficult to tell for certain. They do suggest, however, that it may not have been an absolute rule to write these kinds of notation vertically reversed. It seems likely that these notations, as well as the brush-written graphs, were not written by the regular inscriber (or, at least were not written simultaneously with divination inscriptions—the fact that in one case only one graph is atypically vertically reversed suggests to me that a different scribe was responsible).

Moving beyond the Cunzhongnan corpus, it will be useful to look at a wider selection of vertically reversed graphs. Liu Zhao provides such a list, broken out into several different categories.³¹ Of the 64 examples he supplies of graphs that are completely turned 180°, ³² 61% belong to Period I/II, 34% to Period III/IV, and 5% to Period V. And of the 22 graphs containing a single component that has been reversed, ³³ 73% belong to Period I/II and 27% to Period III/IV. The 33 graphs which contain one or more single strokes that have been reversed form a special case.³⁴ It is not always clear from the context, but most of these examples appear actually to be different graphs; that is, there seems to be a semantic motivation for these changes. Compared to the previous examples, this form of *dàoshū* skews later; 52% belong to Period I/II, 42% to Period III/IV, and 6% to Period V. While completely vertically reversed characters and

³¹ See Liu Zhao 2011, pp. 9–22. On pp. 9–10, he discusses graphs which are turned 90°; these include 5 instances of the graph *jǐ* 己, 4 of which are associated with Period III/IV Hé group inscriptions, and 8 other examples, of which approximately 78% can be assigned to Period I or II. I will not discuss these further, however, as this section focuses on graphs which have been turned a full 180°.

³² Liu Zhao 2011, p. 11 ff.

³³ Liu Zhao 2011, p. 15 ff.

³⁴ Liu Zhao 2011, p. 16 ff.

characters which contain vertically reversed components decrease in frequency over time, this form, which perhaps developed as a method of creating new characters, does not show such a trend.

The most common kinds of *héwén* forms, then, appear consistently throughout all periods of Shang writing, but ad hoc forms are much more likely to appear in earlier inscriptions. This also holds true for other forms of what could be called irregular orthography—there is more freedom to experiment, and, at the same time, a lack of strong standards in earlier inscriptions when compared to later ones. Most interestingly, early Zhou inscriptions, some of which are contemporary with late Shang inscriptions and some of which last after the fall of the Shang, show strong similarities to the earliest Shang inscriptions in the freedom of their orthography. That is, early Shang inscriptions share similarities with the inscriptions made by the Zhou shortly after their community was introduced to writing.

Chapter 4. Shang and Zhou-era writing and symbols from beyond Anyang

Early oracle-bone inscriptions from beyond Anyang

Evidence of pyromancy in the area that is now China dates back to the Late Neolithic; fourth millennium BCE examples of sheep or deer scapulae used for divination have been found in China's Northern Zone (in Inner Mongolia and Gansu), as has one late Yangshao-period sheep scapula from the Xiawanggan site in Xichuan, Henan, but pyromancy only seems to become common in the region in the second half of the third millennium.¹ Neolithic oracle bones that have been excavated thus far have scorch marks distributed irregularly across their surfaces²; starting in the early Bronze Age, as seen in examples excavated from Lower Xiajiadian (c. 2000–1500 BCE) sites in Liaoning and Inner Mongolia, there is evidence of pre-treated scapulae, with pre-drilled hollows and other features further organizing and elaborating the divination process.³ Central Plains oracle bones continue to have been used without pretreatment; even as late as the Lower Èrlǐgǎng 二里崗 period (c. 1510–1425 BCE), also commonly referred to as Early Shang,⁴ at Èrlǐtóu 二里頭, scapulae were used unsystematically and without pretreatment.⁵

¹ See Flad 2008, pp. 407–409 for a discussion of Neolithic pyromancy in China.

² Flad 2008, pp. 408–409.

³ Flad 2008, pp. 409–410.

⁴ Early Shang as opposed to early Anyang period.

⁵ Flad 2008, p. 410.

The slightly later Baijiazhuang culture (c. 1400–1250 BCE) Xiǎoshuāngqiáo⁶ 小雙橋 site 20 km northwest of Zhengzhou, Henan, continued to use mostly unprepared oracle-bones, though at least one bone from the site seems to have been pretreated, and there was at this point in time significant diversity throughout the region in divination technique and use of prepared/unprepared bones.⁷ Among the discoveries at this site are ceramic sherds which bear symbols very reminiscent of Anyang oracle-bone and bronze script, though they are painted on with cinnabar, not inscribed.⁸ These symbols are often described as the oldest known Shang writing,⁹ but, like the Jiǎhú symbols, they are isolated and without context, and there is no way to associate them with any linguistic content. Accordingly, I do not treat them as writing.

Outside of Anyang, and apart from the Zhou oracle-bones which date to the very end of the Anyang period and to shortly thereafter, true writing, designed for fluent reading, which dates to the time period under discussion here, has only been discovered at two sites— at Zhengzhou, Henan, and at Dàxīnzhūāng 大辛莊 in Jinan, Shandong.¹⁰

Three inscribed bones have been discovered at the Zhengzhou site. These include a cattle rib (Bubian 310) excavated in April 1953, with no archaeological context, the

⁶ Much earlier marks have been found on turtle shells in China, with examples of isolated marks on shell from the Neolithic Jiǎhú 賈湖 site in Wǔyáng 舞陽, Henan, dating to c. 5000 BCE at the latest, but these shells do not seem to have been prepared or used for divination, so they are not “oracle bones” (See Henan Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1989). While some have argued that these individual symbols, which superficially resemble oracle-bone graphs, constitute writing, without context there is no way to determine whether they may or may not have represented language; I do not treat them as writing for the purpose of this study. Dematté 2010 argues that the symbols may have been inscribed later, not dating to the Neolithic at all (Dematté 2010, p. 214).

⁷ Flad 2008, p. 411.

⁸ See Song Guoding 2004.

⁹ See, for example, Lu and Yan 2005, p. 153.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the implications of this, see Smith 2008, p. 144.

original of which is now lost. It consists of six or 10 graphs,¹¹ and it has been variously dated to the Anyang period¹² and to the earlier Erligang period.¹³ Ken-ichi Takashima convincingly argues that its script forms and lexicon resemble forms used in Anyang periods ranging from I to IV, but that they most closely resemble Period I inscriptions.¹⁴ The other inscriptions include Bubian 311 and 312, which were excavated in 1989 and 1990, and a single graph inscribed on a bovine elbow joint. All generally resemble Period I script forms.¹⁵ Takashima tentatively dates all of the Zhengzhou pieces to the early Anyang period, equivalent to Period I/II.¹⁶ This is conceivable, and is justified based on the palaeography alone, but it is difficult to conclusively date them without more context.

¹¹ Only six graphs are visible in the tracing presented in BB 310, but apparently four others were visible at one point or another, but it is unclear to me if the tracing given in BB 310, with only six graphs, was made before or after the bone was “repaired”. See Takashima 2011, p. 145 and Chen Xu & Xu Zhaofeng 2006, pp. 58–59.

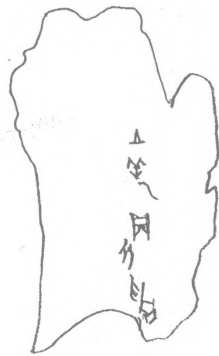
¹² By Chen Mengjia, who called described it as a practice inscription and tentatively dated it to “late Yin”. (Takashima 2011, p. 144).

¹³ By Pei Mingxiang and Li Xueqin. (Takashima 2011, p. 144).

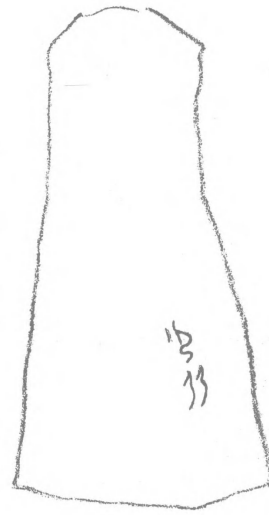
¹⁴ Takashima 2011, p. 148, 154.

¹⁵ Takashima 2011, pp. 156–158.

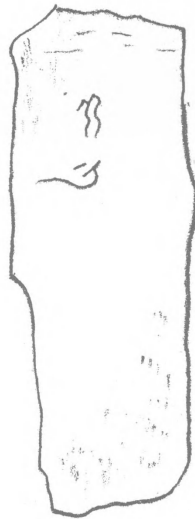
¹⁶ Takashima 2011, p. 160.



310



311



312

Illustration 26. Zhengzhou oracle-bone inscriptions (from Bubian)

Bubian 310

土羊乙貞从受

Earth Sheep. Divined on *yǐ* day. Follow Shòu.¹⁷

Bubian 311

午𠄎

Perform an exorcism. Do not (perform one).

Bubian 312

𠄎午

Do not perform an exorcism.

The script forms used in these inscriptions are clearly legible to anyone who can read Anyang inscriptions, but some of the graph forms are quite unusual. Bubian 311 and 312 as copied in Bubian are very simple and easy to comprehend, but it is not clear whether

¹⁷ This transcription follows the rubbing given in BB 310. Takashima transcribes and translates the ten-character inscription as:

(1) 乙丑貞及孚.七月.

On the *yǐchǒu* day, tested [the following proposition to gain sapience from the numen of the bone]: (We will) get captives. Seventh month.

(2) 𠄎又土羊.

(We should) make an offering of sheep (to) the spirit of the soil (土 = 社).

(Takashima 2011, p. 146)

This transcription and translation is very different that the one that I present, but the differences between it and my transcription can only be seen clearly in Takashima's reconstruction based on the combination of an unclear rubbing and an unclear photograph, so I chosen to transcribe it more minimally, following the contemporary tracing reproduced in Bubian.

they are in fact inscribed at all, but instead accidental scratches; 310, which is more clearly purposefully inscribed, is harder to understand. The graph *yù* 𠄎 ‘exorcism’ in particular is strangely written, and almost all of the graphs appear clumsily written.

The only other example of an Shang-era plastron inscribed with Shang-style script was excavated from the Dàxīnzhuāng 大辛莊 site in Jinan 濟南, Shandong in March 2003.¹⁸ This site is over 300 km east of Anyang. There is some disagreement about specific details of the periodization of the settlement at Dàxīnzhuāng, but archaeologists generally agree that the broad outlines of the settlement stretch from Upper Èrlǐgǎng through the Anyang period.¹⁹ Primarily based on character forms, the editors of the original report date this inscription to Anyang Period II/III.²⁰ The inscription reads as follows:

¹⁸ See Shandong Daxue Dongfang Kaogu Yanjiu Zhongxin et al. 2003 and Fang Hui 2003. See also Li 2008, p. 68 ff.

¹⁹ Li 2008, p. 74–75. Changes in divination ritual (many oracle bones were found at the site; other than the one discussed here, however, all are uninscribed) over time at Dàxīnzhuāng are discussed in the following pages and in Chapter 7 of Li’s dissertation and could form a starting point for further research.

²⁰ Shandong Daxue Dongfang Kaogu Yanjiu Zhongxin et al. 2003, p. 6. This date is within, but more specific than, the possible date range that can be determined from the archaeological context.

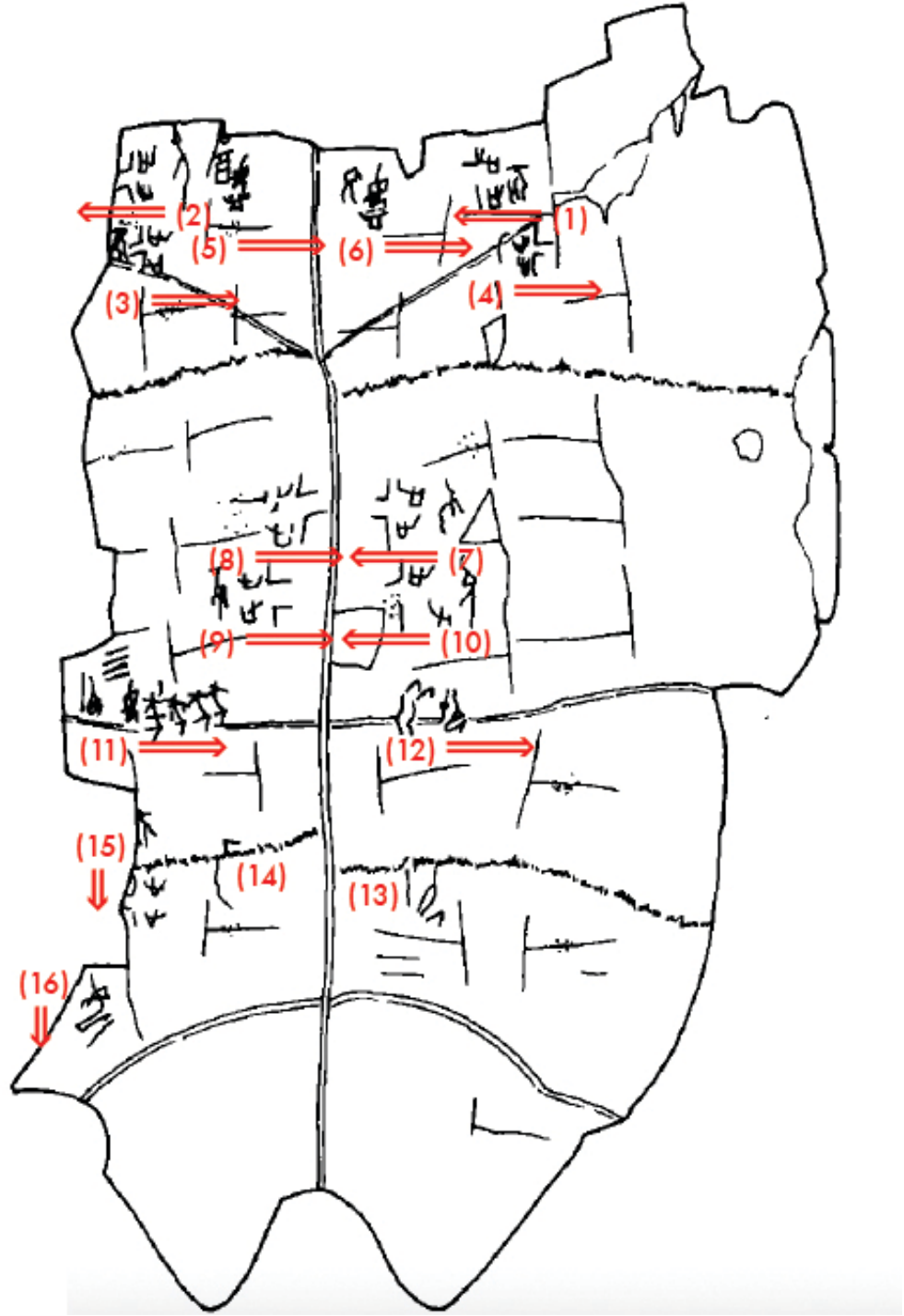


Illustration 27. Dàxīnzhuāng inscription (tracing from Sun Yabing & Song Zhenhao 2004), with added numbering and arrows showing text direction

Dàxīnzhuāng inscription.²¹

- (1) 不徙。
- (2) 允徙。
- (3) 不徙。
- (4) [允]徙。
- (5) □酉𠄎。
- (6) 弔𠄎。
- (7) 不徙。
- (8) [允]徙。
- (9) 不徙。
- (10) 允徙。
- (11) 𠄎四母彘豕'豕豕。
- (12) 弔𠄎。
- (13) 𠄎。 一 二
- (14) 弔。
- (15) 不徙。
- (16) □母一。

- (1) (We) will not move (the ancestral tablets of the Four Mothers).²²
- (2) (We) will indeed move (the tablets).
- (3) (We) will not move (the tablets).
- (4) [(We) will indeed] move (the tablets).
- (5) ...-yǒu day, perform the X ritual.²³
- (6) (We) will not perform the X ritual.
- (7) (We) will not move (the tablets).
- (8) [(We) will indeed] move (the tablets).
- (9) (We) will not move (the tablets)
- (10) (We) will indeed move (the tablets).
- (11) (We) will perform the exorcism ritual to the Four Mothers (sacrificing) a *zhì* pig, a neutered pig, a decapitated pig, and a regular pig.²⁴

²¹ Ken-ichi Takashima 2011 p. 160–161 provides a slightly different transcription and translation into English of this inscription.

²² Sun Yabing and Song Zhenhao suggest that *xǐ* 徙 here could mean ‘to go out’, ‘to move’, or ‘to move (ancestral tablets)’. I tentatively follow the last interpretation here, as moving the ancestral tablets of the Four Mothers could be related to the ritual described in line (11) (Sun & Song 2004, p. 72). See also Takashima 2011, p. 165–167 and Li 2008, p. 196 ff.

²³ The graph for this ritual is written with the ‘woman’ component (𠄎) instead of the ‘man’ component (𠄎), with which it is transcribed here, but these are often interchangeable in Shang inscriptions (see Sun Yabing & Song Zhenhao 2004, p. 73). Takashima, among others, tentatively identifies the word written with this graph as *wēn* 溫 ‘warm; heat up’ (Takashima 2011, p. 170).

- (12) (We) will not perform an exorcism.
 (13) (We) will perform an exorcism. #1 #2
 (14) (We) will not.
 (15) (We) will not move (the tablets).
 (16) ... mothers (sacrificing) one.²⁵

Ken-ichi Takashima convincingly argues that the graphic forms used in this inscription have much in common with early Anyang-period forms, particularly those associated with the Bīn, Shī, Lì, and Fùnǚ oracle-bone groups.²⁶

There are a number of notable distinctions between this inscription and all other known Shang-era inscriptions. Takashima discusses some interesting aspects of the lexicon used in the inscription²⁷; the sample size of one seems too small to draw strong conclusions from the absence, drawn attention to by Takashima, of certain lexical items, but it is interesting that the word²⁸ *xǐ* 徙 ‘to move’ appears nine times on this one plastron but only four times, all in fragmentary contexts, in the entire Anyang corpus.²⁹ In all, seven out of the 13 individual graphs used in this inscription are distinctive when compared to those from Anyang.³⁰

²⁴ I tentatively follow Sun Yabing & Song Zhenhao 2004 (p. 70) on the specific identification of these swine; they are, in any case, four different varieties (or preparations) of swine.

²⁵ This line is incomplete, so my translation here is speculative.

²⁶ Takashima 2011, pp. 161–164. Based on this, Takashima writes that the “graphs all belong to Period I” (p. 161). Note that this does not necessarily mean that this inscription, produced far from Anyang, necessarily dates to this exact period, just that the forms used are in styles used during that period.

²⁷ Takashima 2011, pp. 164–171.

²⁸ Or, at least, the graph ancestral to the graph which later wrote that word; while this graph is too rare in Shang-era inscriptions to definitively tie it down to the ancestor of the word *xǐ*, it does seem to be the most likely option.

²⁹ Takashima 2011, p. 167.

³⁰ Takashima 2011, p. 161. I follow Takashima here, though with modification, as he counts six distinctive forms out of 11 graphs total, ignoring the (nondistinctive) graph

Another significant difference is the very unusual text direction displayed in this inscription. While new or newly adopted scripts often show variant text direction, writing systems ultimately develop a standard text direction.³¹ The writing direction of Anyang script was far from standardized, but it tended to fall into certain groups. Sun Yabing and Song Zhenhao provide a simplified version of the common text directions used on plastrons³²: in royal inscriptions, those that follow the central longitudinal dentate suture tend to move from inside to outside, with those that are on the left side moving towards the left, and those on the right to the right, while those that are written at the top or the bottom of the plastron move in the reverse direction; in Wǔ group inscriptions, most follow the system of royal inscriptions, with some inscriptions along the longitudinal dentate suture moving towards the inside; in Zǐ group inscriptions, most inscriptions on an entire plastron move towards the same direction, especially towards the left; and in inscription from Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì 花園莊東地, inscriptions along the longitudinal dentate suture tend to move towards the outside, with many single column inscriptions (with no discernable text direction other than top-to-bottom), as well as examples which initially run vertically before turning horizontally.³³

In contrast to all of these standards, on the Dàxīnzhuāng plastron displays a quite different system. It is described by Sun and Song as being basically orderly, with each member of a pair of charges facing the same direction as its opposite, with some pairs

sì 四 ‘four’ and treating the last two of the four “pig” graphs (X 豕 and shǐ 豕) as two iterations of shǐ rather than as two different graphs, as I do here.

³¹ See Smith 2008, p. 83–84 for a discussion of this phenomenon.

³² Individual inscriptions, of course, do not all follow these particular directions; I present them here only because the direction of the Dàxīnzhuāng inscription deviates starkly from any of the predominant standards.

³³ Sun Yabing & Song Zhenhao 2004, pp. 68–69.

facing right, one on each side of the spine, and other pairs facing left.³⁴ This would certainly be notable, but as I read the inscription, the situation appears somewhat more complicated. On Illustration 27, above, I have numbered each charge and provided an arrow showing the direction of that portion of the text. The pair consisting of (1) and (2) both run to the left, and the pairs (3) and (4), (5) and (6), and (11) and (12) all run to the right. (13) and (14) are both single characters, with no evident text direction, and (15) and (16) both apparently run from top to bottom, with no evidence of their lateral text direction. The members of the pairs (7) and (8) and (9) and (10), however, seem each to run from the outside towards the longitudinal dentate suture, breaking the pattern of each member of the pair running in the same direction. This layout, to me, suggests not so much order as a grasping for order. The scribe may be attempting to create an orderly inscription, especially as each of every pair of inscriptions matches up well with its opposite, but the total picture does not match together neatly. One pair runs run direction, three pairs run another direction, and two more pairs run towards each other. It is worth noting that the pairs (7) and (8) and (9) and (10) are both located in the center of the plastron, which could be relevant here, but the overall impression given by the placement of these inscriptions is somewhat haphazard.

³⁴ Sun Yabing & Song Zhenhao 2004, p. 69.

Shang and Western Zhou era *táowén* (pottery inscriptions)

So-called *táowén* 陶文, or pottery inscriptions, are sometimes said to date back to the Neolithic period, but it is only during the Anyang period that any connected text that can be connected to the Shang writing system first appears. *Táofú* 陶符 (“pottery symbols”) is a more precise term for symbols on pottery which do not clearly carry linguistic content, whether these symbols date to the Neolithic or to Shang times or beyond.³⁵ Pre-Shang *táofú* are beyond the scope of this study, but these kinds of symbols continue to appear in the Shang and Western Zhou, coexisting with other inscriptions which clearly represent language, and others of which the linguistic status is unclear.

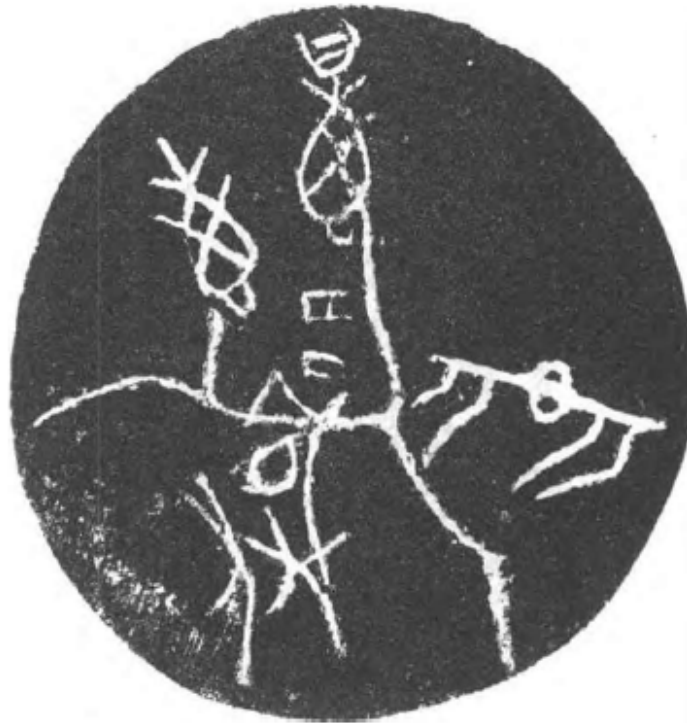
Gao Ming’s *Gu taowen huibian* 古陶文彙編 (“Taohui”) collects 114 examples of Shang era pottery inscriptions. Of these 114 examples, 99 are only one character in length³⁶; without context, it is difficult to determine whether these inscriptions, as well as the six which are each two graphs in length, truly represent language or not, so I will ignore them in this study. Of the 46 Western Zhou pottery inscriptions included in the collection, approximately 32 are made up of one graph.³⁷ Even only looking at inscriptions of at least three characters in length, it is not simple to discern whether or not these inscriptions are linguistic in nature. Nine inscriptions dating to the Shang are made up of three or more graphs. Of these, four come from Anyang, one is unprovenanced, and four come from Wúchéng 吳城, in Zhāngshù 樟樹, Jiangxi, a site roughly contemporary

³⁵ Taohui (Gao Ming 1990), postface, p.10.

³⁶ Of these 99 one-character inscriptions, 23 are marked with what appears to be a Shang number; many of the rest appear to be clan insignia or similar.

³⁷ Fourteen of these appear to be numbers, and eight are simple symbols, clearly nonlinguistic in nature, of a kind not seen in Shang inscriptions.

with the Anyang Shang, located approximately 1000 km to its south.³⁸ None of these nine inscriptions is fully decipherable. Of the four that were found at Anyang, however, a number of the characters are individually decipherable, and it seems clear that at least one, Taohui 1.46 is at least an attempt to work with the existing Shang writing system.



1 · 46

Illustration 28. Taohui 1.46 (from *Gu taowen huibian*)

The graphs used in this inscription, all of which existed in the standard Shang character set, can be transcribed into modern graphs as:

³⁸ See Peng Minghan 2010 for an overview of this culture.

中 曰 夷 多 咸 友 夷

But this transcription seems completely meaningless and is wholly lacking in order. It is possible that it represents an attempt at writing by someone who was not fully literate; it is also possible that it was simply an attempt to make use of the characters for their esthetic value, or that the characters were being used for their sound value alone in a way that is completely unknown from other Shang inscriptions.

Other multi-character Shang inscriptions include 1.75 and 1.78:

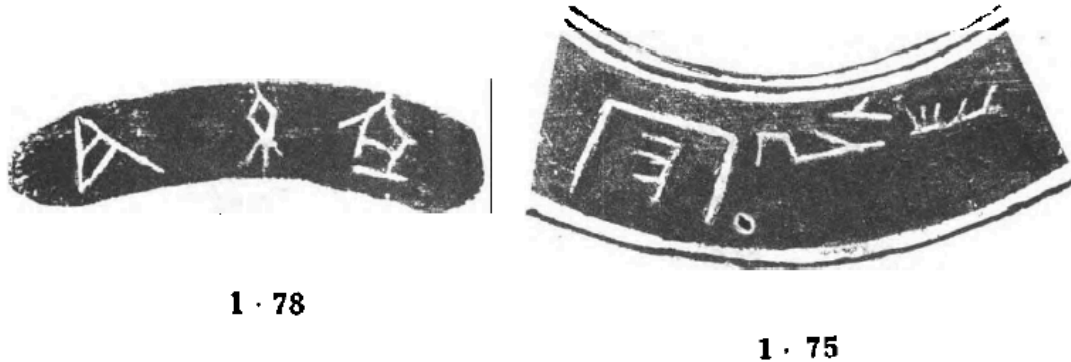


Illustration 29. Taohui 1.78 and 1.75 (from *Gu taowen huibian*)

It is impossible to say conclusively whether these inscriptions of what at least resembles connected text represent language or not, but, if they do, they do not appear to be using the system used on oracle bones and bronze inscriptions. These markings also appear different from the single symbols that occur on pottery from the Neolithic period through the Bronze Age. I would argue that, though they most likely are not true writing, they do seem at least to be inspired by true writing. The artisans who engraved these symbols must have at least been aware of the idea of literacy, whether they themselves

were literate or not. The situation in Wúchéng is similar, with forms clearly reminiscent of standard Shang forms but which appear to be completely indecipherable:

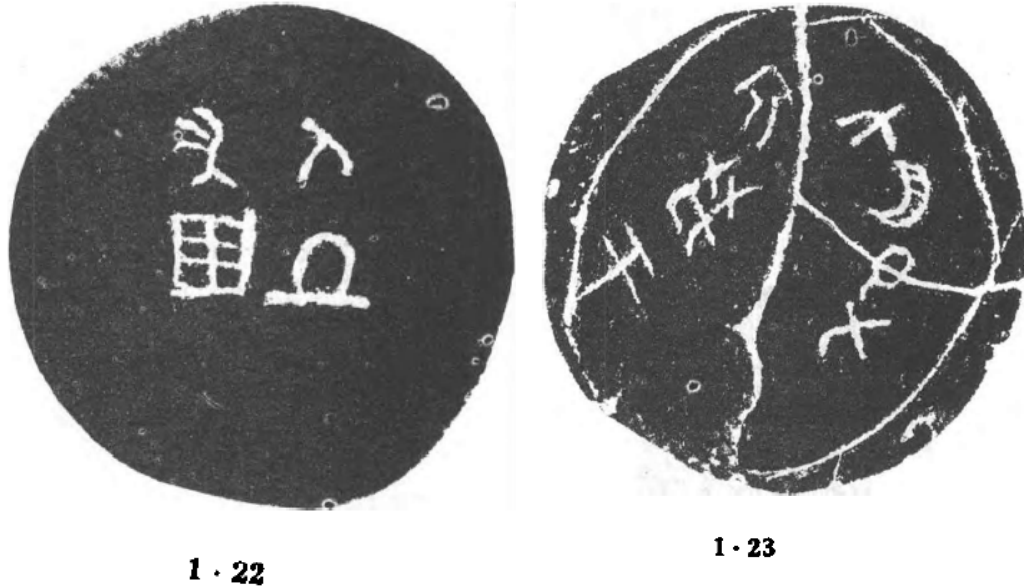


Illustration 30. Taohui 1.22 and 1.23 (from *Gu taowen huibian*)

It has sometimes been argued that bronzes found in Wúchéng, together with those from the nearby site of Xīngān 新干, also in northern Jiangxi, must have been imported from Anyang; or if not imports, then simply imitations of Anyang bronzes. But this cannot be the case, as Anyang-era bronzes from this region display a mastery of and further elaboration on Erligang techniques.³⁹ It is clearly not the case that Wúchéng bronzes were not simply derivative of those from the north, but the case is not as clear in regards to these pottery markings.

³⁹ Bagley 1999, p. 174 provides elaborate and well-justified support for considering these sites to have been local powers in their own right, and not merely derivative of cultures from the Central Plains.

This pattern becomes even more evident during the Western Zhou. *Táowén* from the Zhou heartland is clearly being used as an actual form of writing:

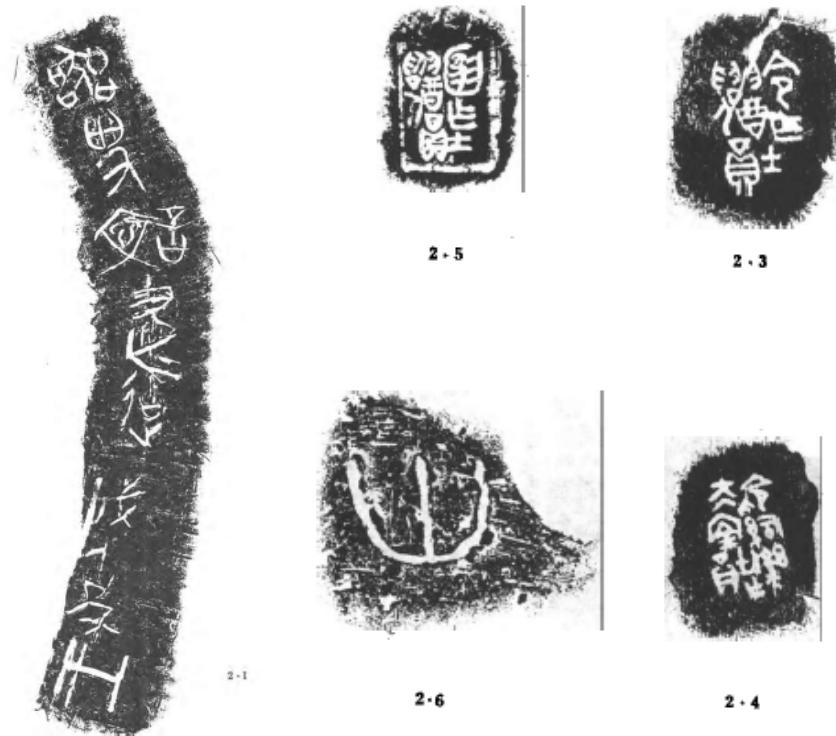


Illustration 31. Taohui 2.1, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6 (from *Gu taowen huibian*)

These inscriptions are jumbled together rather chaotically and the language appears to be highly stylized; figure 2.1 in particular is difficult to read. Some individual graphs are well-written and clearly legible, but others are not, such as *wáng* 王 ‘king’, the bottommost character in 2.1, are turned 90° from the rest with no evident reason. That said, with the possible exception of 2.6, it is clear to me that a writing system is in use, though not necessarily if the scribes have completely mastered it. Taohui 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 are inscriptions carved into clay ocarinas. They are legible but quite jumbled. 2.3 reads:

令乍召埴

Order (an official) to make a harmonious ocarina.

And 2.4 reads:

令司樂乍太室埴

Order the Music Official to make an ocarina (to be used in) the great chamber.

In 2.4, for example, the graph *zuò* 乍 ‘to make’ is shunted off to the side, and almost seems to be placed under the final graph of the sequence (*xūn* 埴 ‘ocarina’).

Connected pottery markings can also be found far to the east, such as the following inscription from Láiyáng 萊陽, Shandong, which was discovered in 1981:



Illustration 32. Taohui 2.2 (from *Gu taowen huibian*)

There have been attempts to transcribe this inscription as if it were written in Shang script,⁴⁰ but they have been completely unsuccessful. It has also been argued that this is written in a form of Yí 夷 script. This is harder to dismiss out of hand, as there is no solid evidence that this form of writing ever existed,⁴¹ which means that there is nothing to compare it against to determine whether it is or is not written in such a system. I will disregard this issue for the time being.

Shang pottery inscriptions from the Shang heartland show at least some link to the Shang script. The artisans who carved the inscriptions were presumably of a lower status than those who carved oracle-bone inscriptions, and were either completely ignorant of

⁴⁰ See, for example, Li Buqing & Wu Yunjin 1987.

⁴¹ Though many have argued that the famous Dīng Gōng táopiàn 丁公陶片 represents an earlier example of Yí writing.

the script, other than of its general appearance, or they adapted it in ways that were not fully competent. It does not appear, in any case, to be the fully functioning writing system used by Shang oracle-bone scribes. Further afield, the marks made on pottery in Wúchéng show a much weaker connection to the fully functioning Shang writing system. By the time of the Western Zhou, artisans in the Zhou heartland inscribing marks on pottery still may or may not have been fully competent in the writing system, but they at least, in some cases, actually produce something that can be called “writing”. As with distant Wúchéng during the Shang, however, the artisans working in Láiyáng do not seem to have a solid grasp on what we could now call the Zhou writing system.

Western Zhou oracle-bone inscriptions

In many ways, predynastic and early Western Zhou oracle-bone inscriptions are quite similar to the earliest Shang inscriptions, while remaining quite distinct from the latest Shang inscriptions, which were contemporary with the Zhou inscriptional corpus. This is reflected in many aspects of these inscriptions, from the substantial amount of graphic variation and less consistent text direction to the wider variety of topics covered (this is not to say that the Zhou inscriptions particularly resemble, e.g., Wǔ Dīng inscriptions, just that they show a similar level of variation). It is also arguable that Zhou bronze inscriptions show a similar trend over time (extant Zhou divination inscriptions date from too limited a period of time, preventing a direct comparison). That is, these Zhou inscriptions, created when writing was new to the community, show many similarities to the earliest known Shang writing (it must be said, though, that Zhou

inscriptions display even more variation than the earliest extant Shang inscriptions⁴²).

This certainly does not establish that writing was thus new to the Shang at the time of Wǔ Dīng, but the parallels are interesting.

These distinctions are similar to those seen between Shang and Western Zhou pottery inscriptions. Western Zhou pottery inscriptions perhaps date to a wider range of time than do Western Zhou oracle bones; a number of the pottery inscriptions are unprovenanced, and others can perhaps be dated to the later part of the period,⁴³ while known inscribed oracle bones associated with the Western Zhou all date either to the early part of the Western Zhou or to the late Shang.⁴⁴

⁴² See, for example, the Western Zhou inscriptions discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation, toward the end of the discussion of *hévén*).

⁴³ The Western Zhou ended in 771.

For an overview of known Western Zhou pottery inscriptions, including provenance but not specific dates, see Gao Ming 1990, pp. 6–7.

⁴⁴ See ZYWH (Chen Quanfang 1988), p. 124, and ZJY (Chu Ki-Cheung/Zhu Qixiang) 1997, p. 2.

Chapter 5. The relationship between the Shang state and surrounding rival polities

The word *fāng* 方 is used with several different meanings in Shang inscriptions—one of the most notable is to designate general regions (the four *fāng* 四方, which sometimes are divined about as nearby regions with which the Shang are concerned, and sometimes treated as the origin of Wind Powers).¹ The word was something like *paŋ in Old Chinese.² Axel Schuessler proposes that *fāng* is probably related to *páng* 旁傍 (Old Chinese *bâŋ), and connects these words etymologically with Proto-Tibeto-Burman *paŋ, which is reflected in Lushai *paŋ* ‘side of body, side, flank’; with Proto Lolo-Burmese *paŋ, reflected in Laha *phô* ‘side, region’; and with several other words, all with ‘side’ as a primary element of their meaning,³ which suggests that the primary meaning of the word in Shang Chinese may also have been ‘side’.

One of the more prominent uses of this graph designates the *fāng* 方 countries or statelets, those that are to the side of the Shang.⁴ This chapter will specifically deal with those *-fāng* countries (or tribes, or polities) which are explicitly named by the Shang “X-

¹ As David Keightley points out, these uses “refer both to cosmological conceptions and real political entities” which “occasionally makes it difficult to triangulate certain references to *fāng* with certainty.” Keightley 2012, p. 294.

² This is the form given in Schuessler 2007, p. 231; Baxter & Sagart 2014 propose an initial preconsonant, giving the form *C-paŋ, which is essentially consistent with Schuessler’s rendering.

³ Schuessler 2007.

⁴ For in-depth analysis of the historical nature of these polities, see Campbell 2009; Keightley 2012 on Shang military history; Keightley 1983 on state criteria (pp. 528 ff; taking into account Campbell 2009, p. 123ff); Li Feng 2013; and Chen Mengjia 1956.

fāng” (e.g., the Rénfāng 人方⁵ or the Tǔfāng 土方).⁶ *Fāng* in this sense has been variously understood, but a common translation would be something along the lines of “border region.”⁷ The entities thus named are overwhelmingly unfriendly to the Shang (or vice versa), but it remains to be established whether or not the suffix denoted hostility by its very presence. This chapter will attempt to answer the question of exactly what this usage of *fāng* meant to the Shang, as well as to come to terms with changes in the Shang’s interaction with the various *fāng* over time.

As a first step, I consulted seven major collections of oracle-bone inscriptions and gathered every inscription which contained the graph 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 *fāng*.⁸ Narrowing this

⁵ Following general practice, I refer to this group as the Rénfāng, but see below for a discussion of this designation.

⁶ Modern scholarship regularly uses the term *fāng* in a broader meaning, to include all the non-Shang states and groups with which the Shang interacted. Many of these groups never appear in the inscriptional record with the *-fāng* suffix, and I am limiting the discussion here to only include those groups whose names are at least sometimes written with the suffix.

⁷ See the discussion in Keightley 2012, p. 293. Keightley points out that “country” is an especially apt translation, since, as William Boltz suggested to Keightley, “country” derives from Latin *contra*, ‘against, opposite’, and thus has undergone a similar extension of meaning as *fāng*.

⁸ I collected well over 2,000 inscriptions from the collections *Jiaguwen heji* 甲骨文合集 (henceforth “Heji”), *Jiaguwen heji bubian* 甲骨文合集補編 (“Bubian”), *Yinxu Xiaotun cunzhong cunnan jiagu* 殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨 (“CZN”), *Xiaotun nandi jiagu* 小屯南地甲骨 (“Tunnan”), *Yinxu Huayuanzhuang dongdi jiagu* 殷墟花園莊東地甲骨 (“Huadong”), *Yingguo suocang jiagu ji* 英國所藏甲骨集 (“Yingcang”), and *Tenri Daigaku fuzoku sankōkan kōkotsu moji* 天理大學附屬參考館甲骨文字 (“Tenri”). It is inevitable that I missed some inscriptions and perhaps miscategorized others (especially as databases like CHANT regularly mistranscribe the graph used to write the word *bēng* 𠄎 with the one used to write *fāng* 方—this word is generally written with a graph that is neither the direct ancestor of its modern form nor the same as the forms used to write the word *fāng*), but a number in the range of 2,150 should be approximately accurate for the occurrence of this graph in these seven collections. I have grouped all of these inscriptions into oracle-bone groups (*jiǎgǔzǔ* 甲骨組), for the most part following Yang Yuyan 2005 for the inscriptions in Heji, following the editors of the collection for CZN,

down to only the inscriptions which explicitly refer to statelets written in the form of proper name + *-fāng* suffix results in this list, with the name of each statelet followed by the approximate number of times it is mentioned in each period⁹:

Name	I	I/II	II	III	III/IV	IV	V
Gōngfāng 𠄎方	583		1				
X-fāng 𠄎方	2						
Qiāngfāng 羌方	1	2		2	23		1
Xiāngfāng 𠄎方	1				2		
Shàofāng 召方	5	53					
Bāfāng 巴方	22						
Lóngfāng 龍方	11						
X-fāng 𠄎方	several						
Guǐfāng 鬼方	3						
Zhōufāng 周方	2						
Mǎfāng 馬方	8						
Gèn fāng 亘方	2	1					
Jīfāng 基方	38						
Jǐngfāng 井方	1	1					
Jìfāng 祭方	1?						
Jiānfāng 湣方	several						
Gēfāng 戈方	1						
Tǔfāng 土方	141	3					
Rénfāng 人方	4	4			2		64
Wēifāng 危方	3	7		1	3		
Yúfāng 孟方	1					1?	15
Pángfāng 旁方	1	1					
X-fāng 𠄎方	17						
X-fāng 𠄎方	1						

assigning Huadong to the Zǐ 子 group, and following the CHANT database for the other collections, and then assigned each group to one of the five periods following the methodology described in chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation.

⁹ For the name of each statelet, I generally follow the standardized graphs used in Sun Yabing & Lin Huan 2010, provisionally assigning romanizations when possible. Despite the seemingly precise figures given, all numbers are approximate, as it is sometimes difficult to determine whether or not a *-fāng* country is mentioned.

Hǔfāng 虎方	5						
Máofāng 鬲方	16						
X-fāng 𠄎方	8						
X-fāng 𠄎方	2						
Yùfāng 鬱方	2						
Xīngfāng 興方	6				1?		
X-fāng 𠄎方	5						
X-fāng 𠄎方	2						
X-fāng 𠄎方	1						
Shǐfāng 矢方	1						
X-fāng 𠄎方	2						
X-fāng 𠄎方	1						
X-fāng 𠄎方	1						
Fāng-X 方罍	2						
Zhǐfāng 沚方		1					
Dào fāng 沚方		3					
X-fāng 𠄎方		1					
X-fāng 𠄎方		1					
X-fāng 𠄎方		1?					
X-fāng 𠄎方		1					
Yàfāng 亞方			1				
X-fāng 𠄎方				1			
Pèifāng (?) 饗方					2		1
Zhāfāng 戲方					12		3
Shāngfāng 商方					1		
Xifāng 𠄎方					2		
X-fāng 𠄎方					1		
Xuānfāng 宣方					1		
Xiūfāng 羞方							1
Línfāng 林方							3

Table 6. Appearances of each *fāng* group by period

If the table is restricted to only those *-fāng* that appear at least four times within a given period, the list becomes more manageable, and more comprehensible:

Name	I	I/II	II	III	III/IV	IV	V
Gōngfāng 𠄎方	583		1				
Qiāngfāng 羌方	1	2		2	23		1
Shàofāng 召方	5	53					
Bāfāng 巴方	22						
Lóngfāng 龍方	11						
X-fāng 𠄎方	several						
Mǎfāng 馬方	8						
Jīfāng 基方	38						
Jiānfāng 湳方	several						
Tǔfāng 土方	141	3					
Rénfāng 人方	4	4			2		64
Wēifāng 危方	3	7		1	3		
Yúfāng 盂方	1					1?	15
X-fāng 𠄎方	17						
Hǔfāng 虎方	5						
Máofāng 鬲方	16						
X-fāng 𠄎方	8						
Xīngfāng 興方	6				1?		
X-fāng 𠄎方	5						
Zhāfāng 戲方					12		3

Table 7. Appearances of each *fāng* by period (minimum four appearances)

In Periods I and II (combined), 17 different *-fāng* names appear more than three times, in Periods III and IV, there are three names, and in Period V, two. Counting all inscriptions which include the graph *fāng*, over 1800 date to Periods I and II, approximately 200 from Periods III and IV, and approximately 150 to Period V. When adjusted for relative corpus size, these numbers are remarkably consistent with each other, suggesting that the Shang interacted with different *fāng* groups to a similar extent throughout the Anyang period.¹⁰ That being the case, one might expect the content of

¹⁰ In each case, approximately one *fāng* group is named at least four times for every 100 inscriptions in the corpus. With the fragmentary nature of the inscripational record, it

inscriptions to show the same level of diversity over the five periods, since the Shang constantly struggled against the *fāng*, undoubtedly in many different kinds of situations. This, however, is not what the inscriptional record shows.

By looking only a portion of Period I inscriptions, those from the Bīn 賓 group,¹¹ it becomes clear the Shang king Wǔ Dīng divined about a wide range of topics involving the *-fāng*. An incomplete list of the verbs and phrases used with *fāng* countries as their objects include: *jiǎn* 戡 (翦) ‘to exterminate’; *jiàn* 見 ‘to observe’; *X rù X kū tián* 聃入 X 畷 (圣) 田 ‘(do some action) and enter (the territory of) X to open up fields’; *zhí* 執 ‘to capture’; *fá* 伐 ‘to attack’; *bǐ* 比 ‘to ally with’; *X 𠄎* ‘to bring disaster upon’; *jí* 及 ‘to reach’; *gòu* 蒞 ‘to encounter’; *lìng X guī* 令 X 歸 ‘to order X to return’; *zhēng* 征 ‘to campaign against’; *wàng* 望 ‘to observe’; and *gào* 告 ‘to ritually report about’. Ones used with *fāng* as their subjects include *huà* 翽 ‘to surrender’; *dà chū* 大出 ‘to greatly come out’; *jiǎn* 戡 (翦) ‘to exterminate’; *fá* 伐 ‘to attack’; *zhēng* 征 ‘to campaign against’; *qīn* 侵 ‘to invade’; and *yǒu yōu* 出 (有) 困 (優) ‘to experience misfortune’. Dozens of other terms are also used, in the Bīn-group inscriptions alone. No particular word or phrase overwhelms the others. A hint of this diversity can be seen in the following selected examples:

is impossible to demonstrate conclusively that the Shang’s level of engagement with different *fāng* remained consistent throughout the Anyang period, but this evidence strongly suggests that it did, at least as reflected in writing.

¹¹ Including the closely related Diǎn Bīn 典賓 group, this is about 1,300 inscriptions.

Heji 6570: 貞子商戠基方

Divined: Zǐ Shāng will *exterminate* the Jīfāng.

Heji 6167: 貞癸人五千乎見吉方

Divined: Raise five thousand men and call upon (them) to *observe* the Gōngfāng.

Heji 6: 貞令眾人聃入絳方墾田。

Divined: Order the *zhòngrén* to (*do some action*) and enter the (territory of the) *Xiángfāng* to open up fields.

Heji 6530a: [貞]王比興方[伐]下危

[Divined]: The king will ally with the Xīngfāng [to attack] the Xiàwēi.

Heji 8445: 貞基方不其翏

Divined: The Jīfāng may not *surrender*.

Heji 8492: 貞危方其虫困

Divined: The Wēifāng may *experience misfortune*.

Heji 39906a: 方不大出

The *fāng* will not *greatly come out*.

In Periods III and IV, the language of inscriptions dealing with the *fāng* has become much more limited, and is largely restricted to verbs like *jiǎn* 戠 (翦) ‘to exterminate’, *gòu* 遘 ‘to encounter’, *jí* 及 ‘to reach’, *zhēng* 征 ‘to campaign against’, and X 𠄎 (𠄎) ‘to attack’, among a few others. By Period V, inscriptions concerning the *fāng* are even more regularized and ritualized. In an overwhelming plurality of cases (68 out of approximately 150, a number of which are too fragmentary to even include a verb), the king *zhēng* 正/征 ‘campaigns against’ the *fāng*, something the *fāng* never do to the Shang (though this was not unheard of in Period I). The king also *fá* 伐 ‘attacks’ the *fāng*, X 𠄎 (𠄎) ‘attacks’ the *fāng*, *jí* 及 ‘reaches’ the *fāng*, and *cè* 冊 ‘registers’ the *fāng*. The *fāng lái* 來 ‘come’ and *dà chū* ‘greatly come out’. Where the earlier inscriptions gave

vivid descriptions of clearly delineated potential circumstances (and in some cases of events that had recently occurred), Period V inscriptions generally simply state the fact that conflict was likely to occur: “The king will campaign against the Rénfāng” (王正人方).¹²

The meaning of *fāng*

The general consensus is that *-fāng* countries were primarily enemies of the Shang, but that they were not necessarily enemies by their very nature.¹³ A thorough review of the evidence, however, suggests that groups referred to with the suffix *-fāng* were never tributary polities or groups otherwise friendly to the Shang, and that the *-fāng* suffix only applies to polities which were enemies of (or at least considered potentially hostile to) the Shang. For one thing, there seem to be no cases of the Shang divining about a *-fāng* country (that is, a country referred to in that inscription as X-*fāng*—many of these same groups were, earlier or later in the inscriptional record, consistently referred to without the *-fāng* suffix and not treated as hostile) receiving harvest (or receiving—*shòu* 受—anything at all—the only apparent exceptions, two inscriptions that appear to be about the *-fāng* receiving *yòu* 又 (佑) ‘assistance, blessing’, turn out to concern whether the

¹² Heji 36485 is one of at least ten inscriptions featuring exactly these four words in the same order (allowing for graphic variants of *zhēng* 正/征 and Rénfāng 人方/尸方); a number of others include very similar language, such as “the king will come to attack the Rénfāng” (王來正人方) or “(the king) may attack the Rénfāng” (隹正人方).

¹³ A representative version of this can be found throughout Sun Yabing & Lin Huan 2010.

Shang will receive *yòu* in situations which involve the *-fāng* in question), and there are many inscriptions about attacking or being attacked by *-fāng* countries.

A number of possible counterexamples to the theory that the *fāng* countries were by definition hostile to the Shang comprise perhaps the most important factor which has given rise to the widespread opinion that *-fāng* can be applied to non-hostile groups. Some of these possible exceptions include:

Heji 27982 (also Cuibian 144), which seems to refer to the Shāngfāng¹⁴:

夷商方步，立于大乙，𠄎羌方。

This inscription is very difficult to translate. It is not only the sole occurrence of the sequence Shāngfāng 商方, but also (unless I am missing something) the only one of *fāng bù* 方步 and *bù lì* 步立. If one takes Shāngfāng as a unit here (Shāng + the *-fāng* suffix), it could perhaps be rendered “It should be that the Shāngfāng travel, establish (?) up to Dà Yǐ, and attack the Qiāngfāng.”

Assuming Shāng here refers to the Shang (and this is a word used in the inscriptions to refer to the Shang themselves or at least to their cult center), then this would certainly suggest that *-fāng* does not necessarily refer to enemies of the Shang. It is not at all clear that Shāngfāng needs to be read as a unit here. *Fāngbù* 方步 could potentially be a compound verb or sequence of two.¹⁵ However it is read, the meaning

¹⁴ This inscription also refers to the Qiāngfāng, but it unambiguously treats them as an enemy.

¹⁵ *Fāng* here could potentially be understood as a grammatical particle, but this is unlikely. This kind of usage is attested in slightly later texts, but not, to my knowledge, during the Shang.

remains somewhat obscure. Guo Moruo 郭沫若 suggests that the graph 方 here is being used to write *bēng* 禘 (which is usually written with a graph in the form of a square; it resembles the Shang graph for *dīng* 丁).¹⁶ Guo’s argument certainly works phonologically, but I am not sure it works semantically, and it also does not follow general Shang epigraphic practice; in any case, it is likely this phrase does not actually mean Shāngfāng.

Heji 6530 contains divinations about allying with a *-fāng* country, which suggests that they were not enemies of the Shang, but in the larger context, this is not entirely clear. It states, “[Divined:] The king will ally with the Xīngfāng [to fight] the Xiàwēi” ([貞：] 王比興方[伐]下危) and “Divined: [The King will not] ally with the Xīngfāng to attack the Xiàwēi” (貞： [王弗]比興方伐下危), but the first series of divinations on the piece consist of “Divined: If the Xīngfāng come, it may be disastrous to me. (Divined) at Yōu” (貞： 興方來佳 𠄎 余。才 (在) 𠄎) and “[Divined: If the Xīngfāng] come, it may not be disastrous to me. (Divined) at Yōu” ([貞： 興]方來不佳 𠄎 余。才 (在) 𠄎), suggesting that the Shang are not at all sure that allying with the Xīngfāng is a good idea. I take this inscription as one about a polity which has been an enemy of the Shang, who they are considering reconciling with, at least temporarily, in the interest of fighting a group that may have been a mutual enemy (note too that these inscriptions were not made at the

¹⁶ See his comments to *Yinqi cuibian* 144. He writes, “*Fāng* is borrowed to write *bēng*, and *lì* should be read *wèi*” (方假為禘，立讀為位).

Shang center, but at a more-or-less distant location, suggesting that they may have been far from home and perhaps desperately in need of assistance).

Heji 270a also deals with the Xīngfāng, writing, “Què divined: The Xīngfāng brought Qiāng; use (them in sacrifice to the ancestors) from Shàng Jiǎ through Xià Yǐ.” (設貞：興方以羌，用自上甲至下乙). This would be a significant exception, but I think it can be taken together with the above, more or less contemporaneous inscription, with the understanding that the Shang and the Xīngfāng had a complicated, but not friendly, relationship. It must be noted though, that this could be interpreted as a tributary relationship.

The evidence presented above strongly suggests that the *-fāng* suffix cannot be applied to friendly polities, but many scholars, as stated above, suggest that this is not inherently true. Sun Yabing and Lin Huan’s *Shang dai dili yu fāngguo* presents three relevant lists: one of all the *-fāng* countries that the editors consider to always be enemies of the Shang, one of the *-fāng* countries that are sometimes enemies and sometimes friendly, and one of *-fāng* which they consider to always be friendly to the Shang.¹⁷ They are using the term *fāng* country (the modern term *fāngguó* 方國) in what they explain is its broad meaning—some of the countries they include, for example, do not include the *-fāng* element in their names. Here I only consider not just countries which are associated with the *-fāng* element, but only the inscriptions in which those countries’ names contain the *-fāng* element.¹⁸ I was able to distill the list down to ten polities, which I will go

¹⁷ Sun Yabing & Lin Huan 2010, 257-8.

¹⁸ That is, some polities are sometimes referred to as *X-fāng* and sometimes just as *X*—I only considered inscriptions which included the phrase *X-fāng*.

through below (including in each case every inscription I know of which includes the particular *X-fāng*):

1. The Guǐfāng 鬼方:

This term is used in three Period I inscriptions:

Heji 8591

己酉卜，賓貞：鬼方易亡囿。五月。

Crack-making on *jǐyǒu* (day 46), Bīn divined: Guǐfāng Tāng will have no disaster. Fifth month.

Heji 8592

己酉卜，內：鬼方易[亡]囿。五月。

Crack-making on *jǐyǒu* (day 46), Nèi (divined): Guǐfāng Tāng [will have no] disaster. Fifth month.

Heji 8593

□□卜，設貞：鬼方[易]...

Crack-making on..., Que divined: Guǐfāng [Tāng]...

Heji 8593 is incomplete, but the other two inscriptions seem to be divining about whether Guǐfāng Tāng 鬼方易 will experience misfortune. The most natural interpretation of this phrase is that Tāng 易 is an important member of the Guǐfāng, and the divination concerns whether he will experience misfortune. There is also a state named Tāng, and another line of argument states that this inscription is not asking about a leader of the Guǐfāng named Tāng, but is instead divining about the wellbeing of two different states, the Tāng and the Guǐfāng.¹⁹ This inscription is a possible counterexample, as, if the Shang were really divining about whether the Guǐfāng (or

¹⁹ Sun & Lin 2010, p. 294.

Tāng of the Guǐfāng) were to experience misfortune, they would not be an enemy state.
But the context is too limited and incomplete for this to serve as solid evidence.

2. The Jǐngfāng 井方

Heji 1339

癸卯卜，賓貞：井方于唐宗龕。

Crack-making on *guǐmǎo*, Bīn divined: (sacrifice the) Jǐngfāng to Táng's (Dà Yǐ 大乙) ancestral temple (with) swine.

Heji 6796

戊辰卜，賓貞：方卒井方。一

Crack-making on *wùchén*, Bīn divined: A *fāng* country will catch the Jǐngfāng.

Heji 33044

(1) 己巳，貞：執井方。

(2) 弗卒。

(1) (Crack-making on) *jǐsì*, divined: (We [or a *fāng* country?]) will catch the Jǐngfāng.

(2) (We) will not catch (the Jǐngfāng).

Sun and Lin argue that Heji 1339 is divining about whether the Jǐngfāng will sacrifice to Dà Yǐ, the very first Shang king. It is exceedingly unlikely that a border polity, friendly or not, would sacrifice in Dà Yǐ's ancestral temple. The more straight-forward interpretation, and one that is paralleled by such inscriptions as “(sacrifice) Qiāng to Huáng Yǐn” (羌于黃尹) or “(sacrifice) Qiāng to Zǔ Dīng” (羌于祖丁), among quite a few other examples, is that the Shang are instead sacrificing members of the Jǐngfāng.²⁰ The editors also argue that the second and third inscriptions are expressing worry that the Jǐngfāng may be caught by other enemy *fāng* peoples—this interpretation is certainly

²⁰ As Campbell notes, once captive, members of enemy groups are generally referred to by generic terms, not by the name of their group (Campbell 2014, p. 99), but it is much more likely that they are being referred to here by their national name than that they are sacrificing in Dà Yǐ's temple, which would be unprecedented.

possible, but it seems no more likely than the opposite interpretation, that the Shang wish to catch the Jǐngfāng (or have them caught by others).

3. The Gēfāng 戈方

Heji 8397

貞夷黃令戈方...月。

Divined: It should be that Huáng leads the Gēfāng... (in the)... month.

At first glance, this inscription does appear to perhaps be talking about a group allied with the Shang, but it is very fragmentary and there are no other inscriptions about the Gēfāng to provide further context. There are, however, inscriptions which use similar language in discussing *fāng* who are clearly enemies of the Shang:

Heji 8473

貞令孟方歸

Divined: Order the Yúfāng to return.

This suggests that, in parallel, the Shang may be ordering the Gēfāng to retreat.

4. The X-fāng 沚方

Heji 32103

其戡[𠄎]沚方。

(We) may attack ([and do some other action]) to the X-fāng.

This country seems to have been accidentally included in Sun and Lin's "friendly" list; their individual entry for this country simply states "an enemy state of the Shang."²¹

²¹ “為商敵國”; Sun Yabing & Lin Huan 2010, p. 455.

5. The Yùfāng 鬱方

Heji 20624

(1) 乙丑，王𠄎鬱方。一

(2) 乙丑，王方𠄎鬱。一

(1) (Crack-making on) *yǐchǒu*: The king will clear forest in Yùfāng. #1

(2) (Crack-making on) *yǐchǒu*: The king will *fāng* (?) farm (the land of) Yù. #1

The above inscription is quite difficult to translate. Sun and Lin follow Qiu Xigui in taking the untypeable graph on the first line to be equivalent to *zuò* 柞, with the meaning ‘to clear forest’. Note also that the *-fāng* 方 graph is in an unexpected place in the second line—the editors assume this is an error for 王𠄎鬱方 (the king will farm Yùfāng). In any case, even following this interpretation, there is no reason to think that the Yùfāng are a friendly group; it is possible that the Shang have just conquered their (presumably wooded) territory and are converting it to Shang-style farmland.

Heji 11253

[甲]戌卜，[貞]...𠄎鬱[方]𠄎。

Crack-making on [*jiǎ-*] *xū*, [divined]: ... the Yù [-*fāng*] will be (or have been?) harmed.

This inscription is quite fragmentary. The editors take it to mean that the Shang are concerned about the well-being of the Yùfāng, but this is not the standard form of that kind of divinations (and the graph 𠄎 writes a word which specifically refers to killing, not natural disasters, or anything along those lines)—it seems more likely that the Shang are looking for confirmation that they will kill the Yùfāng. These are both Wǔ Dīng-period inscriptions; it seems conceivable that the Shang intend to wipe out a hunter-gatherer group and clear their forest, expanding their arable land.

6. The X-fāng 𠄎方

Heji 6662

□□[卜], [允]貞曰：戊出𠄎方，[允]...弗其伐。

...X divined, saying: Yuè should *yòu* the X-fāng. [Indeed], ... (we) may not fight.

The editors argue that *yòu* 出 here is being used to write 侑, meaning something like “toast ceremonially” in this context. If this is right, then it does appear to be a case of treating a -fāng country as a friend. However, at the end of this fragmentary inscription (the only one that refers to this particular X-fāng), it states, “(we) may not fight.” It seems possible that this inscription might refer to the end of hostilities between these two groups, as this -fāng country perhaps transitions out of being a “-fāng”. Alternatively, *yòu* could be writing the word *yòu* ‘to offer in sacrifice’, making this an inscription about sacrificing, not toasting, the X-fāng.

7. The Xuānfāng 宣方

Heji 28003

(1) 出于卜賁。

(2) 弼宣方賁。

This inscription is particularly hard to understand. In fact, the editors provide 3 entirely different possible readings. In addition to the above, they suggest, “宣方出于卜, 賁” and “弼宣賁。方出于.....卜賁”. They understand (2) above to mean something like, “Do not (at) the Xuānfāng perform the *liǎo* ritual.” This is possible, but as can be seen by its three completely different readings, this inscription is too obscure to base a strong argument on.

8. The Yàfāng 亞方

Heji 27148 (Also Jiabian 2813)

貞又于室亞方。

This inscription comes from a practically illegible section in the middle of a piece which contains many short inscriptions. This can be seen by the differing transcriptions given in the following four sources:

Heji shiwen: 貞又于室亞方。

Jiabian kaoshi: 其又于室亞方? (室、謂廟中之室。亞方、義未詳。)

CHANT: 其出于室、亞、方。

Shang dai dili yu fangguo: 其侑于室……亞方。

These sources cannot agree on whether the first graph is *qí* 其 ‘a grammatical particle’ or *zhēn* 貞 ‘to divine’, on how it should be punctuated, or on whether there are illegible graphs between *shì* 室 ‘chamber’ and Yà 亞 (the differences between the transcriptions of the second graph are simply transcription choices—that actual graph is definitely *yòu* 又). I consulted both the Heji and Jiabian rubbings, and in both could barely make out the graphs from this inscription.

Following the editors of *Shang dai dili yu fangguo*, it could be translated “(We) may perform the *yòu* ceremony in the chamber... Yàfāng.” This could refer to a friendly group called the Yàfāng, but it is impossible to tell. Note that the transcription given in Jiabian states that the meaning of Yàfāng “is not yet understood,” and that the editors of CHANT take Shì, Yà, and Fāng as three different nouns. Once again, the meaning of this inscription is too obscure to base a strong argument on. It is not even clear to me that there is such a thing as Yàfāng.

9. The Hǔfāng 虎方

Heji 6667

- (1) □□[卜], □[貞令望眾]𠄎其𠄎虎方, 告于祖乙。十一月。
- (2) □□[卜, □貞令望乘眾]𠄎其𠄎虎方, 告于丁。十一月。
- (3) □□[卜, □貞令望乘眾]𠄎𠄎]虎方。十一月。
- (4) □□[卜, □貞令望乘眾]𠄎其𠄎虎方, 告于大甲。十一月。
- (5) □□[卜], □貞令望乘眾]𠄎𠄎虎方。十一月。
- (6) □□[卜], 爭貞 𠄎 伐衣, 于□𠄎王。十一月。

A basic reconstruction of a line from this piece would read something like:

貞令望乘眾與其𠄎虎方, 告于丁。

Divined: Order Wàng Chéng together with Yú to perhaps slaughter the Hǔfāng. Ritually report to Dīng.

The editors note that the graph *tú* 𠄎 here is likely being used for *tú* 途 (Old Chinese *lâ), which is often a loan for *tú* 屠 (Old Chinese *dâ) ‘to slaughter, butcher’. This would seem to be the obvious meaning here, as it is well attested in similar contexts (which I assume is why they specifically note it), but instead they take it to mean travel (as in *tújīng* 途經—this is certainly a conceivable meaning for this graph, but it does not make as much sense in this context). They would thus translate it “Divined: Order Wàng Chéng together with Yú to perhaps travel to (or with?) the Hǔfāng. Ritually report to Dīng.” This is certainly conceivable, but an understanding which treats the Hǔfāng as an enemy is more plausible.

10. The X-fāng 𠄎方

Heji 28002

(1) 癸酉卜，貴貞其歸 𠄎方于 𠄎示。

(2) 貞其冠，才（在）不射。

(3) ...二卜... 𠄎。

The editors of *Shang dai dili yu fangguo* do not discuss the meaning of this very obscure inscription, other than to note that this particular X-fāng was a tributary state of the Shang. The graph *guī* 歸 ‘return’ in this inscription is written upside down, either making this inscription even harder to understand, or suggesting that it is not the most reliable inscription (depending on how you treat *guī*, this inscription contains one or two characters which only appear in this one inscription, one character which only appears in one other inscription (the other being in Heji 33056a), and one which only appears in two others (Heji 3450 and Heji 24261)—at the very least, this inscription is especially different to understand. This is another case of an inscription which is too obscure in meaning to be of much use in proving this particular argument.

The above seems to be the best evidence that can be assembled in an attempt to demonstrate that the *-fāng* suffix did not necessarily denote a hostile group. It remains conceivable that *-fāng* could be appended to a tributary statelet, but the preponderance of evidence suggests that it most likely could not.

Studies of the Qiāngfāng 羌方 and the Rénfāng 人方

This chapter will conclude with case studies of two particular *fāng* groups, one of which will help clarify under which circumstances the Shang appended the *-fāng* suffix to the name of an enemy, and the other attempts to understand some of the ways in which the Shang viewed the various *fāng*.

The Qiāngfāng²²

The fact that a place/tribe/statelet is not combined with the *-fāng* suffix does not mean that this group was not treated as an enemy of the Shang. The Qiāng were the most common sacrificial victims of the Shang, and were certainly enemies, but they are only rarely referred to with the suffix *-fāng* (though this does occur). *Fāng* seems to have had some connotation of an organized enemy group, and the Qiāng, for the most part, do not seem to have fought wars against the Shang as an organized enemy, as the Rénfāng and Gōngfāng did.²³

²² There is a substantial body of literature on the Qiāng. See, especially, Wang Shenxing 1992, p. 276; Sun & Lin 2010, p. 262, 268, 270; Chen Mengjia 1956, pp. 269–31; also see Keightley 2000, p. 106 on the ostensibly mysterious fact that a Shang king was named Qiāng Jiǎ 羌甲.

²³ The Shang, of course, do seem to have fought an organized war against the Qiāng, but this does not imply a reciprocal relationship.

The Rénfāng

The name of the group conventionally transcribed as the Rénfāng 人方 appears in two distinct, but visually very similar forms. It can be written either as *rén* 𠤎 (人) or as *shī* 𠤎 (尸). In their canonical forms, as presented here, these two graphs are quite visually similar but reasonably distinct, but in many actual inscriptions the distinction is very subtle, which, combined with damage to surfaces, can make it very difficult to determine whether or not a particular graph is one form or the other. It is clear, though, that each form is frequently used to write the first half of the name in question.

David Keightley defines *rén* in the oracle-bone inscriptions as simply “man, men, persons”.²⁴ It is the most commonplace and least marked word for ‘persons’, and it is frequently used to designate a variety of Shang subjects. As far as I can determine, however, the word *rén* is never used with this meaning to describe members of *fāng* statelets. That is, the only time this graph is used to designate a *fāng* is when it is used to write the name Rénfāng.²⁵ If *rén* is only being used for its phonetic value, then, this is explicable, but it would be quite strange if “Rénfāng” were a Shang name which meant “people-*fāng*”). On the other hand, if *rén* (Old Chinese *ni[ŋ]), is being used simply as a phonological borrowing, it is strange that the syllable in question can also be written with the quite phonologically-different *shī* (Old Chinese *l̥əj).²⁶ William Baxter and Laurent

²⁴ Keightley 2012, p. 331.

²⁵ Though this has been suggested; see, e.g., Cohen 2001, p. 249. He writes that this name having the meaning “the people” is “a possibility well-known ethnographically”, which is true as phrased, though I have been unable to find words for ‘people’ (in the language of the namers) used as exonymns, as opposed to such words being used as endonyms, or names taken from the language of the people in question being used as exonyms.

²⁶ These Old Chinese readings are from Baxter & Sagart 2014.

Sagart, citing Ji Xusheng, argue that *shī* 尸 ‘corpse’ here is being used to write the very phonologically-similar *yí* 夷 (Old Chinese *lǝj) among the meanings of which is ‘foreigner’.²⁷ It is clear that the later word *yí* ‘foreigner’ must be related to this usage of the graph originally used to write *shī* ‘corpse’. It may be the case that, instead of being a simple phonetic borrowing, the meaning “corpse” is relevant here. Members of *fāng* groups were not only often treated identically to animals in the Shang inscriptions,²⁸ but they were simply “nameless sacrificial capital”.²⁹ That is to say, they were not viewed as human beings, but were simply bodies used for sacrifice; this is not too different than to say that they were “corpses” already in the eyes of the Shang.

This being the case, whether *shī* 尸 was being used to write a distinct word *yí* ‘foreigner’ or not, it is unsurprising that this group, who were consistently throughout the entire Anyang period a major enemy of the Shang, might have been referred to as the corpse-*fāng*. This would fit in well with the fact that, in at least two instances, fragments of the skulls of *fāng* leaders were inscribed with records of their sacrifices, much as was done with cattle scapula and tortoise plastrons.³⁰

²⁷ This is very plausible, all the more as they go on to convincingly demonstrate that the graph for *shī* 屎 ‘excrement’ must be a pictogram, not a phonetic compound deriving from *shī* 尸. Baxter & Sagart 2014, p. 285–6.

²⁸ See Fiskesjö 2001, p. 61.

²⁹ See Campbell 2014, p. 99.

³⁰ These include Heji 38758 and 38759; see Campbell 2014, p. 99–100.

Conclusion

It is important to reiterate that consistency, in writing and otherwise, increased over the course of the Anyang period; it is a point that has implications that have not fully been explored. Though already mature, writing in the early Anyang period had yet to solidify its conventions. As the writing system became more and more regularized, so too did the Shang's interactions with foreign peoples, and their ritual calendar, among other aspects of Shang society.

When the Western Zhou adopted (or adapted) the Shang writing system for their own use, late in the Anyang period, their usage in many ways was more reminiscent of early Anyang writing, the writing of the thirteenth millennium BCE than of the Anyang writing contemporaneous with their earliest inscriptions, that of the eleventh millennium. Text direction, variant forms, and free use of *héwén* ligatures were all largely standardized by the late Anyang period, at least by the standards of the Bronze Age.¹ But this was not at all the case with early Western Zhou writing.

Similarly, the few other passages of connected writing that have been found outside of the vicinity of Anyang during the Anyang area also show hints of a higher level of inconsistency than that found in Anyang.² And when writing was adapted to new media, such as engravings on pottery, the earliest examples were far from having a

¹ These aspects of Chinese writing would eventually all become far more regularized, but not before going through different successive stages.

² Though it is important to note that these cases are so few that new discoveries have the potential to drastically change our understanding of these modes of writing.

regular orthography (disregarding for the moment the fact that many of what appear to be the earliest examples likely are not writing at all).

To summarize: when the system or systems of writing used in China in the late Bronze Age were introduced to new communities, the communities in question generally used that system in a way that was less regular than that of the communities from which it was learned.³ This community could be a different, though related people, as the Zhou were to the Shang, and it could be a different group of specialists within the same community, as with artisans who make pottery, who likely either learned from or were inspired by those who wrote on oracle-bones or inscribed bronze, or some other similar community.

This is exactly what the writing system of the early Anyang period looks like. Working only from this observation, a number of possibilities present themselves. It is possible that this was a natural stage in the development of this writing system, a system which could have been developed relatively recently by divination technicians of earlier generations. It may be that a different, already literate community within the Shang court had recently taught the diviners or scribes their writing system. While it seems clear that some iconographic (though not linguistic) elements of the system date back centuries across a wide swath of what is now China, it could be that the system of recording linguistic content was newly created. And it is possible that the system was borrowed from a different, non-Shang community, much as the Zhou would later borrow the

³ This statement is not true for all the writing systems of the world. For example, this does not seem to have occurred when cuneiform was adapted for Akkadian or Hittite, or when the Chinese writing system was adapted to write Japanese. It is, however, consistent with the record in what would become China during the Bronze Age.

Shang's writing system and continue to spread it throughout what we now call China. The current archaeological record does not provide enough information to select among these possibilities; the necessary data has not arisen from the earth. This dissertation seeks to establish that this writing technology was recently transmitted or established, leaving the question of whence it came for future research.

These particular observations, about the particular status of the Shang writing system at the exact moment from which our earliest evidence of it derives, should demonstrate that, regardless of the age of the Shang writing system or whence it came, it was still new to the people who first carved divination records onto shell and bone for the Shang court at Anyang.

The next and final section of this dissertation, the transcription and translation of Cunzhongnan, follows. As much as is possible, I have worked to convey the original meaning of the texts; in more difficult passages I have noted the source of difficulty and possible competing explanations. It has sometimes been possible to join inscriptions which were not joined in the original collection, or to join inscriptions from Cunzhongnan with inscriptions from previously published collections. For ease of citation, I have transcribed and translated each piece following the numbering provided in the original collection, but I have also provided a combined transcription and translation of the joined inscription, following the inscription as originally published.

Appendix
Full transcription and translation of *Yīnxū Xiǎotún cūnzhōng cūnnán jiǎgǔ*

1

☐門☐[每]。

... Mén... [regret].

(Nameless group)

2

(1) 庚☐。

(2) 弼蕤，其每（悔）。

(3) ☐[雨]。

(1) On *gēng*...

(2) (If we) will not perform the *yì* sacrifice, there may be regret.

(3) ... [rain].

(Nameless group)

3

(1) [夷]☐酉☐。

(2) 夷庚酉☐雨。

(3) 夷辛酉☐雨。

(4) 夷壬酉☐雨。

(5) ☐[癸]☐☐。

(1) [(We) should]... perform the *yǒu* sacrifice...

(2) (We) should on a *gēng* day perform the *yǒu* sacrifice for rain.

(3) (We) should on a *xīn* day perform the *yǒu* sacrifice for rain.

(4) (We) should on a *rén* day perform the *yǒu* sacrifice for rain.

(5) ... [a *guǐ* day]...

(Li II)

4

[夷]☐。

[It should be that]...

(Unassigned)

5

(1) ☐。

(2) 十又五。

(1) ...

(2) Fifteen.

(Nameless group)

6

至又日☐。允雨。吉。

When it comes to the day of the offering... It indeed rained. Auspicious.
(Nameless group)

7

引吉。

Extremely auspicious.
(Nameless group)

8

☐[盪]祭衷牛☐。大吉。

...[huāng bloodletting sacrifice and liǎo burning sacrifice, (we) should (use) cattle...
Greatly auspicious.
(Nameless group)

9

☐射☐。

... archer...
(Unassigned)

10

☐卜：田☐。

Crack-making on ...: Hunt...
(Unassigned)

11

☐[不]☐。

... [not]...
(Unassigned)

12

(1) 庚戌[卜]：剛于王牵。

(2) 庚戌卜：剛卅犬。

(3) 庚戌卜：午于父丁。

(4) 于大甲[午]。

(1) [Crack-making] on *gēngxū* (day 47): Perform the *gāng* sacrifice to Wáng Niè.

(2) [Crack-making] on *gēngxū* (day 47): Perform the *gāng* sacrifice with thirty dogs.

(3) [Crack-making] on *gēngxū* (day 47): Perform the exorcism ritual to Father Dīng.

(4) To Dà Jiǎ [perform the exorcism ritual].

(Lì II)

13

☐南旱（擒）。

... Nán will catch.

(Nameless group)

14

(1) 翌日[壬]☐。

(2) 于宫。

(3) [不]雨。

(1) The next day, [a *rén* day]...

(2) (Offer sacrifice) to Gōng.

(3) [It will not] rain.

(Nameless group)

[Joined inscriptions: Shangbo 17647.113+695 (Heji 29857 + Lita 9562 + Xu 4.21.1+4.13.3) + CZN 14]¹

(1) 于☐亡☐。引吉

(2) 不雨。兹用。不雨。吉

(3) 其雨。吉

(4) 翌日壬☐。

(5) 于宫。

(6) 不雨。

(7) 其雨。

(1) To... there will be no... Extremely auspicious.

(2) It will not rain. Use this. It will not rain. Auspicious.

(3) It may rain. Auspicious.

(4) The next day, [a *rén* day]...

(5) (Offer sacrifice) to Gōng.

(6) It will not rain.

(7) It may rain.

(Nameless group)

15

☐未☐[攀]生[于高]匕（妣）☐。 二

... -*wèi* day... [pray for] fertility [to the high] ancestresses... #2

(Li II)

¹ I follow the joining of these inscriptions proposed in Li Aihui 2012a and 2012d.

16

(1) 夷田田田。

(2) 夷田田田。

(3) 夷田田田。

(1) (If we) should... hunt...

(2) (If we) should (at) X hunt there will be no harm.

(3) (If we) should (at) X hunt there will be no harm.

(Nameless group)

17

癸田。

On *guǐ*...

(Unassigned)

18

(1) 乙田。

(2) 田[三牢]。

(1) On *yǐ*...

(2) ... [three penned cattle].

(Unassigned)

19

大吉。

Greatly auspicious.

(Nameless group)

20

田牛。二

... cattle. #2

(Li II)

21

(1) 夷丁丑步。

(2) 甲子卜：帝其陟，其又祭于亳。

(3) 田又。

(1) (We) should on *dīngchǒu* (day 14) walk (=set out).

(2) Crack-making on *jiǎzǐ* (day 1): (If) Dì is to be elevated, (should we) perhaps offer the *liǎo* burning sacrifice at Bó.

(3) ... offer.

(Nameless group)

22

☐。 一

... #1

(Unassigned)

23

其雨。

It may rain.

(Nameless group)

24

其雨。

It may rain.

(Li II)

25

☐[牢]。

... [penned cattle].

(Unassigned)

26

☐戌卜：父[戌]☐。

Crack-making on ...-xū day: Father [Wù]...

(Unassigned)

27

戌[寅]☐。

Wù [-yín (day 15)]...

(Unassigned)

28

癸酉貞：旬亡困。 一

On *guǐchǒu* (day 50), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster. #1

(Li II)

29

吉。

Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

30

癸丑貞：夷丁巳稔禾。

On *guǐchǒu* (day 50), divined: It should be on *dīngsì* (day 54) that (we) pray for the grain (harvest).

(Li II)

31

戊寅貞：又☐。

On *wùyín* (day 15), divined: offer...

(Li II)

32

(1) 癸未貞：旬亡困。

(2) 癸未卜：又（有）困。允又（有）困。

(3) 癸巳貞：旬亡困。

(4) [癸]巳卜：又（有）困。

(1) On *guǐwèi* (day 20), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(2) Crack-making on *guǐwèi*: There will be disaster. Indeed, there was disaster.

(3) On *guǐsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(4) Crack-making on [*guǐ-*] *sì*: There will be disaster.

(Li I)

33

(1) 辛☐貞☐。三

(2) 三

(3) 三

(1) On *xīn*... divined: ... #3

(2) #3

(3) #3

(Li II)

34

—

#1

(Unassigned)

35

(1) 癸丑[貞]：旬亡[困]。三

(2) ☐☐貞：旬[亡]困。

(1) On *guǐchǒu* (day 50), [divined]: In the next ten days there will be no [disaster]. #3

(2) ... divined: In the next ten days [there will be no] disaster.

(Li II)

36

- (1) [辛]☐。
- (2) 廿牛。
- (3) 小乙伐五人。 一
- (4) 十人。 一
- (5) 廿人。 一
- (6) 卅人。 一
- (7) 五十人。 一
- (8) 夷今☐。 一
- (9) 于☐。 一
- (10) 一
- (1) [*xīn* day]...
- (2) Twenty cattle.
- (3) (To) Xiǎo Yǐ, dismember five people. #1
- (4) Ten people. #1
- (5) Twenty people. #1
- (6) Thirty people. #1
- (7) Fifty people. #1
- (8) Today we should... #1
- (9) To... #1
- (10) #1
- (Nameless group)

37

- (1) 翌日壬不雨。
- (2) 癸不雨。
- (1) The next day, a *rén* day, it will not rain.
- (2) On *guǐ* day it will not rain.
- (Nameless group)

38

- ☐攀。
- ... pray.
- (Unassigned)

39

(1) 乙巳卜貞：王[其]𠄎。

(2) 戊申卜貞：王其亡戕。

(3) 辛亥卜貞：王其田亡戕。

(4) 壬子卜貞：王其田亡戕。

(5) 乙卯卜貞：王其田亡戕。

(6) 丁巳卜貞：王其[田亡]戕。

(1) On *yǐsì* (day 42), divined: [If] the king...

(2) On *wùshēn* (day 45), divined: If the king (hunts), there will be no harm.

(3) On *xīnhài* (day 48), divined: If the king hunts, there will be no harm.

(4) On *rénzǐ* (day 49), divined: If the king hunts, there will be no harm.

(5) On *yǐmǎo* (day 52), divined: If the king hunts, there will be no harm.

(6) On *dīngsì* (day 54), divined: If the king [hunts, there will be no] harm.

(Nameless group)

40

不𠄎。

Do not...

(Nameless group)

41

王𠄎。大吉。

The king... Greatly auspicious.

(Nameless group)

42

(1) □□卜：其蕞（𦉳）新黍，夷翌𠄎。

(2) 𠄎[新]黍二，[𦉳]𠄎。

(1) Crack-making on ...: (If we) should perform the X ceremony (for) new millet, it should be on the next...

(2) ... [new] millet twice (?), [perform the X ceremony]...

(Nameless group)

43

𠄎王受又。

... the king will receive blessings.

(Nameless group)

44

(1) 牢，[王]受又。大吉。茲用。

(2) 夷羊（駢）。吉。

(3) 夷物。大吉。茲用。

(1) (If we sacrifice) a penned bovine, [the king] will receive blessings. Greatly auspicious. Use this.

(2) It should be a reddish bovine. Auspicious.

(3) It should be a mottled bovine. Greatly auspicious. Use this.

(Nameless group)

45

(1) 辛不[雨]。吉。

(2) 吉。

(1) On *xīn* day it will not [rain]. Auspicious.

(2) Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

46

丙寅貞：父丁歲一[牢]。不用。

On *bǐngyīn* (day 3), divined: (To) Father Dīng perform the *sui* cutting sacrifice, (using) one [penned bovine]. Do not use.

(Lì II)

47

☐京☐雪雨。

... Jīng... snow and rain.

(Lì group)

48

(1) 壬☐。

(2) 至日庚寅酉。

(1) On *rén* day...

(2) When it comes to the day *gēngyīn* (day 27), perform the *yǒu* sacrifice.

(Nameless group)

49

庚☐☐王貞：征（延）亡囹。三

(2) 貞：王☐。三

On *gēng*... the king divined: There will unceasingly be no disaster. #3

(2) Divined: The king... #3

(Lì I)

50

甲午貞：其令多尹乍（作）王寤（寢）。 一

On *jiǎwǔ* (day 31), divined: (We) should perhaps order the Many Ministers to erect royal sleeping quarters.²

(Li II)

51

(1) [辛]田[田]田。

(2) 壬申卜貞：王其田向亡戕。

(3) 乙亥卜貞：王其田向亡戕。

(4) 戊寅卜貞：王其田亡戕。

(5) 辛巳卜貞：王其田喪亡戕。

(6) 壬午卜貞：王其田向亡戕。

(7) 乙酉卜貞：王其田亡戕。

(8) 戊子卜貞：王其田智亡戕。

(1) ... [on *xīn*-]... [hunts]...

(2) Crack-making on *rénshēn* (day 9), divined: If the king hunts in Xiàng, there will be no harm.

(3) Crack-making on *yǐhài* (day 12), divined: If the king hunts at Xiàng, there will be no harm.

(4) Crack-making on *wùyín* (day 15), divined: If the king hunts at X, there will be no harm.

(5) Crack-making on *xīnsì* (day 18), divined: If the king hunts at Sāng, there will be no harm.

(6) Crack-making on *rénwǔ* (day 19), divined: If the king hunts at Xiàng, there will be no harm.

(7) Crack-making on *yǐyǒu* (day 22), divined: If the king hunts at X, there will be no harm.

(8) Crack-making on *wùzǐ* (day 25), divined: If the king hunts at Yuān, there will be no harm.

(Nameless group)

52

癸田貞：田亡田。

On *guǐ*... divined: ... there will be no...

(Li II)

² This inscription contains the same text as Heji 32980. For *qīn* 寢, see Song Zhenhao 2013, pp. 17–18; also see Han Jianguo 2013.

53

(1) 癸巳[貞]: 𠄎。 一

(2) 一

(1) On *guǐsì* (day 30), [divined]: ... #1

(2) #1

(Li II)

54

从[喪]亡[戕]。

(If we) follow [Sāng], there will be no [harm].

(Nameless group)

55

(1) 𠄎田𠄎遘[雨]。

(2) [其]遘[雨]。

(1) ... hunts... meet with [rain].

(2) (We) [may] meet with [rain].

(Nameless group)

56

(1) 丁酉卜: 入𠄎。

(2) 夷盩田亡戕。

(1) Crack-making on *dīngyǒu* (day 34): Entering...

(2) (If we) should at X hunt, there will be no harm.

(Nameless group)

57

(1) 𠄎及。

(2) 往田, 其乎𠄎。 一

(3) 𠄎寂其𠄎速。 二

(4) 上癸。 一

(1) ... reach.

(2) Going to hunt, we should perhaps call on X. #1

(3) ... Y perhaps ... Z.³ #2

(4) Shàng Guǐ. #1

(Unassigned)

³ The graphs Y and Z are unknown from previous Shang inscriptions, and there meaning here is obscure.

[Joined inscriptions: CZN 57 + CZN 69]⁴

- (1) 及。
 - (2) 往田，其乎徇。 一
 - (3) 寂其速。 二
 - (4) 弗。
 - (5) 上癸。 一
 - (6) 乙。
 - (7) 令。
 - (8) 戌雷。
- (1) ... reach.
 - (2) Going to hunt, we should perhaps call on X. #1
 - (3) ... Y perhaps ... Z. #2
 - (4) Do not... #2
 - (5) Shàng Guǐ. #1
 - (6) On yǐ... #1
 - (7) Order X.
 - (8) Guard... Léi...
- (Unassigned)

58

- (1) 庚戌貞：攀禾于。
 - (2) 癸丑貞：尋攀禾于河。
 - (3) 癸丑貞：尋攀禾于高。
 - (4) 癸丑貞：攀禾于河，祭三羊，沈三牛，宜牛。
 - (5) 癸丑貞：攀禾于高，祭五牛。
 - (6) 丑其。
- (1) On *gēngxū* (day 47), divined: Pray for the grain (harvest) to...
 - (2) On *guǐchǒu* (day 50), divined: Perform the *xún* sacrifice and pray for the grain (harvest) to Hé.
 - (3) On *guǐchǒu* (day 50), divined: Perform the *xún* sacrifice and pray for the grain (harvest) to Gāo.
 - (4) On *guǐchǒu* (day 50), divined: Pray for the grain (harvest) to Hé, performing the *liǎo* burning sacrifice with three penned ovicaprids, drowning three cattle, and performing the *yí* sacrifice with a head of cattle.
 - (5) On *guǐchǒu* (day 50), divined: Pray for the grain (harvest) to Gāo, performing the *liǎo* burning sacrifice with five cattle.
 - (6) ... [-*chǒu*]... may...
- (Lì II)

⁴ I follow Li Aihui 2012c on the joining of these inscriptions.

59

☐羌。

... Qiāng.

(Li II)

60

于戌旱往。

At Xū go to catch.

(Nameless group)

61

(1) 不雨。

(2) 其雨。

(1) It will not rain.

(2) It may rain.

(Li II)

62

(1) 癸巳貞：旬亡困。

(2) 癸卯貞：旬亡困。

(3) 二 二 二

(1) On *guīsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(2) Crack-making on *guīmǎo* (day 40), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(3) #2 #2 #2

(Li II)

63

(1) 丁酉卜：翌[日]戌，王其比𪚩犬亡戔。

(2) 𪚩𪚩。

(3) 不雨。

(1) Crack-making on *dīngyǒu* (day 34): On the next [day], a *wù* day, if the king allies with the Quǎn official of X, there will be no harm.

(2) (There will be) unceasing good fortune.

(3) It will not rain.

(Nameless group)

64

- (1) 戊子☐𦍋☐。
(2) 二牛，又雨。
(3) 夷^大至，又雨。
(4) ☐至，又雨。
(1) On *wùzǐ* (day 25)... X...
(2) (If we sacrifice) two cattle, there will be rain.
(3) If Y should arrive, there will be rain.
(4) ... arrive, there will be rain.
(Nameless group)

65

- (1) 乙亥貞：其𦍋☐。
(2) 于大乙𦍋祭。
(3) ☐[亥]☐[不]其☐𦍋。
(1) On *yǐhài* (day 12), divined: (we) may perform the X ceremony...
(2) To Dà Yǐ perform the X and *jì* ceremonies.
(3) ... [-*hài*]... [not] perhaps... Hàn.
(Lì II)

66

- (1) 辛丑☐：三千☐令☐。
(2) 辛丑卜：王正（征）刀（召）方。
(3) ☐☐卜：☐☐令☐召☐[受]又。
(1) ... on *xīnchǒu* (day 38): Three thousand... order...
(2) Crack-making on *xīnchǒu* (day 38): The king will campaign against the Shàofāng.
(3) Crack-making on...: ... order... the Shào- ... [receive] blessings.
(Lì group)

67

- (1) ☐莫☐[宰]，王受又。
(2) 夷且（祖）丁☐。
(1) ... perform the *mù* dusk sacrifice... [penned cattle], the king will receive blessings.
(2) It should be Zǔ Dīng...
(Nameless group)

68

(1) 丙[王]。

(2) [戊]午卜：王獸（狩）率录牛，𠄎。

(3) 戊午卜：王獸（狩）率[录]牛，𠄎。 二

(1) ... on *bǐng*... [the king]...

(2) Crack-making on [wù] -wǔ (day 55): The king will hunt at the foothills of Hū for cattle and catch (some).

(3) Crack-making on wùwǔ: The king will hunt at [the foothills of] Hū for cattle and catch (some). #2

(Nameless group)

[Joined inscriptions: Heji 33384 (Anming 2658) + CZN 68]⁵

(1) 甲寅[𠄎]十[允]。

(2) 丙辰卜：王獸（狩）率𠄎，不。允不𠄎。

(3) 丙辰卜：王獸（狩）率，弗𠄎。

(4) [戊]午卜：王獸（狩）率录牛，𠄎。

(5) 戊午卜：王獸（狩）率[录]牛，𠄎。 二

(1) ...on *jiǎyín* (day 51)... catch ten... indeed...

(2) Crack-making on *bǐngchén* (day 53): The king will hunt at Hè to catch (game) but will not. Indeed he did not catch (any).

(3) Crack-making on *bǐngchén* (day 53): The king will hunt at Hè and not catch (any game).

(4) Crack-making on [wù] -wǔ (day 55): The king will hunt at the foothills of Hū for cattle and catch (some).

(5) Crack-making on wùwǔ: The king will hunt at [the foothills of] Hū for cattle and catch (some). #2

(Nameless group)

69

(1) 乙[]。 一

(2) 令[]。

(3) 弗[]。 二

(4) 戌[]雷[]。

(1) On *yǐ*... #1

(2) Order X.

(3) Do not... #2

(4) Guard... Léi...

(Unassigned)

[For joined inscriptions CZN 57 + CZN 69, see 57]

⁵ I follow the joining of these inscriptions given in Wang Ziyang 2012b.

70

(1) 且 (祖) 亥。

(2) 且。

(3) 且[奉禾]自上甲。

(1) ... Zǔ Hài.

(2) ...

(3) [Pray for the grain (harvest)] (to the ancestors starting) from Shàng Jiǎ.
(Lì II)

71

(1) 癸[丑]且：王且。 一

(2) 癸丑貞：王告于鬪。

(3) 比佳困。

(1) On *guǐ* [-*chǒu*] (day 50)...: The king... #1

(2) On *guǐchǒu*, divined: The king will report to Jiū.

(3) (If the king) makes an alliance, there may be disaster.

(Lì II)

72

夷庚。

It should be on a *gēng* day.

(Nameless group)

73

其且。

It may...

(Unassigned)

74

(1) 癸巳貞：旬亡困。

(2) 癸卯貞：旬亡困。

(3) [癸]丑[貞]：旬亡困。

(1) On *guǐsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(2) On *guǐmǎo* (day 40), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(3) [On *guǐ*-] *chǒu* (day 50), [divined]: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(Lì II)

75

(1) 癸亥卜：乙丑雨。

(2) 甲[子]不雨。

(1) Crack-making on *guǐhài* (day 60): On *yǐchǒu* (day 2), it will rain.

(2) On *jiǎ* [-*zǐ*] (day 1), it will not rain.

(Unassigned)

76

☐其☐。大吉。

... may... Greatly auspicious.
(Nameless group)

77

☐牛。

... cattle.
(Li II)

78

(1) 癸☐。三

(2) ☐。

(1) On *guǐ*... #3

(2) ...

(Unassigned)

79⁶

(1) 癸酉貞：旬亡困。

(2) 癸未貞：旬亡困。

(3) 癸卯貞：旬亡困。

(1) On *guǐyǒu* (day 10), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(2) On *guǐwèi* (day 20), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(3) On *guǐmǎo* (day 40), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(Li I)

80

☐止戊歲又[鬯]☐。

... Zhǐ on wù perform the *sui* sacrifice and offer [sacrificial ale]...
(Nameless group)

81

☐比入商。

... ally⁷ to enter Shang.
(Nameless group)

⁶ This inscription can perhaps be joined with CZN 101; see Li Yanyan 2012a.

⁷ The Cunzhongnan editors transcribe this graph as *cóng* 从 ‘to follow’, not as *bǐ* 比 ‘to ally’. These graphs are sometimes interchangeable, but the graph used here does not to be the same form as the one used in CZN 54, also a Nameless group inscription, which I have transcribed as *cóng*. See also Lin Yun 1982, p. 75.

82

(1) 于翌日。

(2) 攀于辛。

(1) On the next day.

(2) Pray to Xīn.

(Unassigned)

83

(1) 辛□□：翌日□。

(2) 壬，王其田麥，旱，亡戕，衍（侃）王。

(1) On *xīn*...: The next day...

(2) On *rén* day, if the king hunts at Mài, he will catch (game); there will be no harm, and this will please the king.

(Nameless group)

84

癸酉貞：旬亡困。 三

On *guǐyǒu* (day 10), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster. #3

(Lì II)

85

甲申□。

Jiǎshēn (day 21)...

(Unassigned)

86

(1) 夷□田[省亡戕]。

(2) 夷隄田省亡戕。

(3) □翌[日]壬□不雨。

(1) If it should be that... hunts [and inspects, there will be no harm].

(2) If it should be that (the king) at X hunts and inspects, there will be no harm.

(3) ... the next [day], a *rén* day... it will not rain.

(Nameless group)

87

癸丑貞：旬亡困。

On *guǐchǒu* (day 50), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(Lì II)

88

(1) 癸□□貞：□亡□。

(2) 癸卯卜貞：[旬]亡困。

(1) On *guǐ*..., divined: ... there will be no...

(2) On *guǐmǎo* (day 40), divined: [In the next ten days] there will be no disaster.

(Nameless group)

89

翌辛其弑[喪]☐。

On the next day, *xīn*, (we) may make an expedition to [Sāng]...
(Nameless group)

90

召[其]☐。

The Shào [may]...
(Unassigned)

91

(1) 不雨。吉。

(2) 吉。

(3) 大吉。

(1) It will not rain. Auspicious.

(2) Auspicious.

(3) Greatly auspicious.

(Nameless group)

92

☐☐[貞]: 今來☐。

..., divined: This coming...

(Lì II)

93

吉。

Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

94

☐于[夙]☐。

... at [X]...

(Lì II)

95

(1) 丁[不]☐。

(2) 戊不☐。

(3) 己不☐。

(1) On *dīng* day, [do not]...

(2) On *wù* day, do not...

(3) On *jǐ* day, do not...

(Lì II)

96

(1) 夷[黑羊]𠄎。

(2) 𠄎[于]孟雩，今夕𠄎。

(1) It should be that [a black ovicaprid]...

(2) ... [at] Yú perform the *xī* ceremony, tonight...

(Nameless group)

97

𠄎佳𠄎。

... may...

(Unassigned)

98

𠄎田𠄎。

... hunt...

(Nameless group)

99

丁酉貞：其𠄎。

On *dīngyǒu* (day 34), divined: If...

(Lì II)

100

(1) 辛未卜：己雨。

(2) 𠄎[未]卜：𠄎[雨]。

(1) Crack-making on *xīnwèi* (day 8): It will rain on *jǐ* day.

(2) Crack-making on ... [-wèi]: [It will rain]...

(Lì I)

101⁸

癸亥貞：旬亡𠄎。

On *guǐhài* (day 60), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(Lì I)

102

𠄎田𠄎。

... hunt...

(Lì II)

⁸ This inscription can perhaps be joined with CZN 79; see Li Yanyan 2012a.

103

癸卯[貞]: 旬亡[困]。

On *guīmǎo* (day 40), [divined]: In the next ten days there will be no [disaster].
(Nameless group)

104

癸巳貞: 旬[亡困]。

On *guīsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days [there will be no disaster].
(Nameless group)

105

(1) 𠄎。

(2) 𠄎。

(1) Catch...

(2) ...

(Li II)

106

于既𠄎升, 莫(暮)歲𠄎。

Once the offering of the X sacrifice is complete, at dusk perform the *sui* sacrifice.
(Nameless group)

107

不雨。吉。一

It will not rain. Auspicious. #1

(Nameless group)

108

(1) 辛[丑]𠄎。茲用。一

(2) 乙巳貞: 王其往田, 亡𠄎。茲用。一

(3) 其雨。

(4) 不雨。

(5) 一

(6) 一

(1) On *xīn* [-*chǒu*] (day 38)... Use this. #1

(2) On *yǐsì* (day 42), divined: If the king travels to go hunting, there will be no harm. Use this. #1

(3) It may rain.

(4) It will not rain.

(5) #1

(6) #1

(Li II)

109

(1) 癸☐。

(2) 癸巳貞：旬☐。

(1) On *guǐ*...

(2) On *guǐsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days...

(Li II)

110

(1) 壬雨。

(2) 不雨。

(1) It will rain on *rén* day.

(2) It will not rain.

(Nameless group)

111

(1) 夷羊（駢）。

(2) 夷物。

(1) It should be a reddish bovine.

(2) It should be a mottled bovine.

(Nameless group)

112

辛酉卜：不卒。

Crack-making on *xīnyǒu* (day 58): (We) will not capture (prisoners).

(Unassigned)

113

莫（暮）小雨。吉。茲用。

At dusk there will be light rain. Auspicious. Use this.

(Nameless group)

114

其雨。[茲]☐。一

It may rain. ... this. #1

(Li II)

115

(1) 癸巳卜：今日癸雨。

(2) 雨。

(1) Crack-making on *guǐsì* (day 30): Today, *guǐ*, it will rain.

(2) It will rain.

(Nameless group)

116

[辛]酉卜：翌[]。

Crack-making on [xīn-] yǒu (day 58): The next...
(Nameless group)

[Joined inscriptions: CZN 116 + CZN 122]⁹

[辛]酉卜：翌日壬，王其田[]。

Crack-making on [xīn-] yǒu (day 58): The next day, a *rén* day, if the king hunts...
(Nameless group)

117

[] 迭于[]。

... go on an expedition to...
(Nameless group)

118

吉。

Auspicious.
(Nameless group)

119

吉。

Auspicious.
(Nameless group)

120

(1) [癸酉]貞：旬亡[]。

(2) 癸[未]貞：[旬]亡[]。

(3) 癸巳貞：旬亡[]。

(4) [癸卯]貞：旬[亡][]。

(1) [On *guǐyǒu* (day 10)], divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(2) On *guǐ* [-wèi] (day 20), divined: [In the next ten days] there will be no disaster.

(3) On *guǐsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(4) [On *guǐ*-] *mǎo* (day 40), [divined]: In the next ten days [there will be no] disaster.

(Li II)

⁹ I follow Liu Ying 2012c for this joining.

121

(1) 于喪亡戕。

(2) 于孟亡戕。

(3) 于宮亡戕。

(4) 翌日壬，王其迭于囂，亡戕。

(5) 于楮亡戕。

(1) (If we offer sacrifice) to Sāng, there will be no harm.

(2) (If we offer sacrifice) to Yú, there will be no harm.

(3) (If we offer sacrifice) to Gōng, there will be no harm.

(4) The next day, a *rén* day, if the king makes an expedition to X, there will be no harm.

(5) (If we offer sacrifice) to Tú, there will be no harm.

(Nameless group)

122

𠄎[翌]日壬，王其田𠄎。

... [the next] day, a *rén* day, if the king hunts...

(Nameless group)

[For joined inscriptions CZN 116 + CZN 122, see 116]

123

(1) 于既𠄎且（祖）𠄎。吉。用。

(2) 𠄎先𠄎。

(1) Once the X sacrifice to Zǔ... is complete... Auspicious. (To be) used.

(2) ... former...

(Nameless group)

124

(1) 不𠄎。

(2) 戊大啓，王兌（銳）田。

(3) [不]大啓。

(1) Do not...

(2) On *wù* day it will greatly open (=the sky will clear), and the king should hurry to hunt.

(3) [It will not] greatly open.

(Nameless group)

125

[大]吉。

[Greatly] auspicious.

(Nameless group)

126

□□[卜]: 其征 (延) □鬯于且 (祖) □。

[Crack-making on]... If (we) unceasingly... sacrificial ale to Zǔ...
(Nameless group)

[Joined inscriptions: CZN 126 + CZN 215]¹⁰

(1) 甲辰卜: 其鬯□[高]□。

(2) 二卣。

(3) 三卣。兹用。

(4) □□[卜]: 其征 (延) □鬯于且 (祖) □。

(1) Crack-making on *jiǎchén* (day 41): If (we) perform the *tuō* dismemberment sacrifice... [receive in sacrifice]...

(2) Two pots.

(3) Three pots. Use this.

(4) [Crack-making on]... If (we) unceasingly... sacrificial ale to Zǔ...
(Nameless group)

127

(1) 吉。

(2) 吉。

(3) 一

(1) Auspicious.

(2) Auspicious.

(3) #1

(Nameless group)

128

□□□[旬]困亡 (亡困)。

... [In the next ten days] disaster there will be no (=there will be no disaster).

(Nameless group)

129

癸卯貞: 旬亡困。

On *guǐmǎo* (day 40), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(Nameless group)

130

(1) □□[貞]: 旬亡困。

(2) □□□: □亡困。

(1) ... [divined]: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(2) ... there will be no disaster.

(Nameless group)

¹⁰ I follow Liu Ying 2012a on this joined inscription.

131

庚辰☐。

Gēngchén (day 17)...

(Li II)

132

(1) 𠄎𠄎。

(2) ☐牛。

(1) (There will be) unceasing good fortune.

(2) ... cattle.

(Nameless group)

133

(1) 祭七小𦍋，沈七牛。

(2) ☐[廿]𦍋，沈九牛。

(1) Perform the *liǎo* burning ritual (with) seven small penned ovicaprids, and drown seven cattle.

(2) ... twenty penned ovicaprids, and drown nine cattle.

(Li II)

134

(1) 于[宮]亡[戕]。

(2) 不雨。

(3) 其雨。

(1) (If we offer sacrifice) to [Gōng], there will be no [harm].

(2) It will not rain.

(3) It may rain.

(Nameless group)

135

壬，王其☐。

On *rén* day, if the king...

(Nameless group)

136¹¹

癸巳貞：旬亡困。二

On *guīsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster. #2

(Nameless group)

¹¹ This piece can perhaps be joined with Heji 34934; see Ma Zhizhong 2015.

137

辛卯卜𠄎

Crack-making on *xīnmǎo* (day 28)...

(Lì II)

[Joined inscriptions CZN 137 + CZN 163]¹²

辛卯卜：又彳[伐]𠄎。

Crack-making on *xīnmǎo* (day 28): offer the X and [*fá*] sacrifices...

(Lì II)

138

(1) 𠄎牛。

(2) 一

(1) ... cattle.

(2) #1

(Unassigned)

139

𠄎𠄎貞：𠄎𠄎[令]束（刺）三𠄎。

... divined: ... [order] to kill three...

(Lì II)

140

吉。

Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

141

乙酉[卜]：𠄎。

[Crack-making on] *yǐyǒu* (day 22): ...

(Unassigned)

142

甲𠄎。

Jiǎ...

(Unassigned)

143

祝[至]𠄎且（祖）丁。

Invoke [towards]... Zǔ Dīng.

(Nameless group)

¹² For these joined inscriptions, I follow Lin Hongming 2012.

144

□□貞：□□[凶]。

... divined: ... [disaster].

(Li II)

145

壬子□：夷乙□𠄎。

On *rénzǐ* (day 49)...: It should be *yǐ*... perform the X ceremony.

(Li II)

146

☐[禱]年上甲,☐又雨。

... [pray for] harvest (to) Shàng Jiǎ... there will be rain.

(Nameless group)

147

(1) 壬子卜：又于 𠄎 (?)。 三

(2) 壬子卜：又于岳。

(3) [王]子卜：又于伊尹。

(1) Crack-making on *rénzǐ* (day 49): Make an offering to X. #3

(2) Crack-making on *rénzǐ* (day 49): Make an offering to Yuè.

(3) Crack-making on [*rén-*] *zǐ* (day 49): Make an offering to Yī Yǐn.

(Li II)

148

[大]吉。

[Greatly] auspicious.

(Nameless group)

149

一牛。

One head of cattle.

(Nameless group)

150

(1) 兹用。

(2) 一

(3) 一 二

(1) Use this.

(2) #1

(3) #1 #2

(Li II)

151

吉。

Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

152

☐。

...

(Unassigned)

153

☐貞☐。

... divined...

(Unassigned)

154

(1) 庚子貞：☐三小宰[卯]☐。

(2) ☐。

(1) On *gēngzǐ* (day 37), divined: ... three small penned ovicaprids, [splitting]...

(2) ...

(Li II)

155

(1) 癸[亥]貞：[旬]亡[困]。

(2) 癸酉貞：旬亡困。

(3) 癸未貞：旬亡困。

(4) 癸巳貞：旬亡困。

(1) On *guǐ [-hài]* (day 60), divined: [In the next ten days] there will be no [disaster].

(2) On *guǐyǒu* (day 10), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(3) On *guǐwèi* (day 20), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(4) On *guǐsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(Li II)

156

(1) 引吉。

(2) 吉。

(1) Extremely auspicious.

(2) Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

157

☐[稔禾]☐。

... [pray for the grain (harvest)]...

(Li II)

158

(1) 甲午□：品□九十[牽]。

(2) 己亥貞：王日佳丁，若。

(1) On *jiǎwǔ* (day 31)... the sacrificial offering... ninety *qiān* (bound cattle).¹³

(2) On *jǐhài* (day 36), divined: The king's day will be *dīng*, (which will be) approved.¹⁴
(Lì II)

159

(1) 戊，王其獸（狩）亡戕。

(2) 夷[田]省□每。

(1) On *wù* day, if the king hunts, there will be no harm.

(2) It should be that (if the king) [hunts and] inspects... regret.

(Nameless group)

160

☐上甲。

... Shàng Jiǎ.

(Lì II)

161

(1) [癸]□貞：[旬]亡[困]。

(2) 癸巳貞：旬亡困。

(3) 癸卯貞：旬亡困。

(4) 癸丑貞：旬亡困。

(5) [癸]亥[貞]：旬[亡]困。

(1) [On *guǐ*-]..., divined: [In the next ten days] there will be no [disaster].

(2) On *guǐsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(3) On *guǐmǎo* (day 40), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(4) On *guǐchǒu* (day 50), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(5) [On *guǐ*-] *hài* (day 60), [divined]: In the next ten days [there will be no] disaster.

(Lì II)

162

(1) □□貞：[旬]亡[困]。

(2) □□[貞]：旬亡困。

(1) ... divined: [In the next ten days] there will be no [disaster].

(2) ... [divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster].

(Lì II)

¹³ See *Jiaguwenzi gulin* 3185 (p. 3212); Song Zhenhao 1983 and 1986; Shan Yuchen 2009, Wu Junde 2005, p. 134, for further discussions of this graph.

¹⁴ I follow Sun Yabing 2012c on the transcription of this inscription.

163

𠄎[又]彳[伐]𠄎。

... [offer] the X and [fá] sacrifice...

(Li II)

[For joined inscriptions CZN 137 + CZN 163, see 137]

164

(1) 夷戍𠄎。

(2) 𠄎王𠄎。

(1) It should be that on *wù*...

(2) ... the king...

(Nameless group)

165

(1) 丙寅𠄎。 二

(2) 二

(1) On *bǐngyín* (day 3)... #2

(2) #2

(Li II)

166

(1) 癸𠄎。

(2) 夷牝。

(1) On *guǐ*...

(2) It should be a cow.

(Nameless group)

167

吉。

Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

168

(1) 己𠄎。 一

(2) 兹用。 一

(1) On *jǐ*... #1

(2) Use this. #1

(Li II)

169

(1) 于雨☱。

(2) 丁酉卜：其攀雨于[十小山]，夷豚三。

(3) ☱羊。

(1) To rain...

(2) Crack-making on *dīngyǒu* (day 34): If (we) pray for rain to [the ten lesser mountains¹⁵], (we) should (sacrifice) three suckling pigs.

(3) ... penned ovicaprids.

(Nameless group)

170

(1) ☱亡困。

(2) ☱亡困。

(1) ... there will be no disaster.

(2) ... there will be no disaster.

(Li I)

171

☱夷眾。

... it should be together.

(Nameless group)

172

(1) ☱。

(2) 岳祭三牛。二

(1) ...

(2) (To) Yuè perform the *liǎo* burning sacrifice (with) three cattle. #2

(Li II)

173

(1) 引吉。

(2) 吉。

(3) [吉]。

(1) Extremely auspicious.

(2) Auspicious.

(3) [Auspicious].

(Nameless group)

¹⁵ This is the first appearance of this group of nature powers in the inscriptional record.

174

癸未[貞]: 旬亡咎。三

On *guǐwèi* (day 20), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster. #3
(Li II)

175

甲辰卜: 今日啟(啓)。

Crack-making on *jiǎchén* (day 41): Today it will open (=the sky will clear).
(Li I)

176

(1) 壬[戌步]。

(2) 甲子卜: 乙丑步。

(3) [不雨]。

(1) On *rén* [-*xū* (day 59), (we should) walk (=set out)].

(2) Crack-making on *jiǎzǐ* (day 1): On *yǐchǒu* (day 2), (we should) walk (=set out).

(3) [It will not rain].

(Li II)

177

𠄎。

Catch.

(Nameless group)

178

(1) [癸]□[貞]: 旬亡咎]。

(2) 癸亥貞: 旬亡咎]。

(3) [癸酉貞: 旬亡咎]。

(1) On *guǐ*- ..., [divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster].

(2) On *guǐhài* (day 60), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(3) [On *guǐyǒu* (day 10), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster].

(Li II)

179

吉。

Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

180

吉。

Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

181

(1) 其庸。

(2) 庚[戌貞]: 歲卅牛。

(3) 弔庸。

(1) (We) may ring the bells.

(2) On *gēng* [-*xū* (day 47), divined]: Perform the *sui* sacrifice with thirty cattle.

(3) (We) will not ring the bells.

(Lì II)

182

☐于☐丁又☐。

... to... Dīng offer...

(Lì II)

183

(1) ☐[于]☐。

(2) ☐卜☐。

(1) ... [to]...

(2) Crack-making on...

(Unassigned)

184

☐歲[于]☐。

... perform the *sui* sacrifice [to]...

(Lì II)

185

(1) 羌☐。

(2) ☐。

(1) Qiāng...

(2) ...

(Lì II)

186

☐[亡]戕。

... [there will be no] harm.

(Lì II)

187
(1) 三
(2) 三
(1) #3
(2) #3
(Unassigned)

188
又。
Blessings.
(Li II)

189
大吉。
Greatly auspicious.
(Nameless group)

190
(1) ☐。
(2) 三
(1) ...
(2) #3
(Unassigned)

191
☐[牢]又☐。
... [penned cattle] in offering...
(Unassigned)

192
(1) 一
(2) 一
(1) #1
(2) #1
(Unassigned)

193
(1) ☐。
(2) ☐若。
(1) ...
(2) ... approve.
(Li II)

194

☐[高]☐。

... [receive in sacrifice]...

(Unassigned)

195

二

#2

(Unassigned)

196

(1) [王]☐。

(2) ☐[生]☐。

(1) [The king]...

(2) ... [growth]...

(Nameless group)

197

三

#3

(Unassigned)

198

二

#2

(Unassigned)

199

二

#2

(Unassigned)

200

(1) 丁[亥]☐。 一

(2) ☐☐貞： ☐令☐斐☐丁卯。

(1) On *dīng* [-*hài*] (day 24)... #1

(2) ..., divined: ... order... Huà... *dīngmǎo* (day 4).

(Lì II)

201

☐申卜： 萃雨☐。

Crack-making on... -*shēn*: Pray (for) rain...

(Lì I)

202

(1) 己卯貞：又𠄎大甲、且（祖）乙、父丁𠄎。

(2) □□貞：□酉彳□□汎。

(1) On *jǐmǎo* (day 16), divined: Offer... Dà Jiǎ, Zǔ Yǐ, Father Dīng...

(2) ..., divined: ... offer the X sacrifice... the *jī*.¹⁶

(Li II)

203

(1) 自大乙至于父日（丁）。

(2) 先汎伐。

(3) 𠄎卯用牛。

(1) (Sacrifice to the ancestors) from Dà Yǐ down to Father Sun (Dīng).

(2) First perform the *jī* and *fá* sacrifices.

(3) ... -*mǎo*, use cattle.

(Li II)

204

乙卯貞：眾往𠄎于河。

On *yǐmǎo* (day 52), divined: Join to go to make a register for Hé.

(Li II)

205

(1) 辛亥：咸酉又十牢，[于]辛酉酉十𠄎羊、十豚。

(2) 弼。

(1) On *xīnhài* (day 48): Completely perform the *yǒu* sacrifice, offering ten penned cattle, [and on] *xīnyǒu* (day 58), perform the *yǒu* sacrifice (with) ten... ovicaprids and ten suckling pigs.

(2) (We) will not.

(Nameless group)

206

□□□。

...

(Unassigned)

207

𠄎寅𠄎羊卯𠄎。

... -*yín*... ovicaprids, splitting...

(Unassigned)

¹⁶ See Jiang Yubin 2015, p. 87–92, for further discussion of this word and graph (also for CZN 203 & 250).

208

(1) 壬寅卜：[夷]𠄎。

(2) 𠄎。

(1) Crack-making on *rényín* (day 39), [it should be that]...

(2) ...

(Li II)

209

(1) 己未貞：其𠄎[𠄎(关)]𠄎。三

(2) 𠄎。

(1) On *jǐwèi* (day 56), divined: It may be that... [X]... #3

(2) ...

(Li II)

210

(1) 𠄎王口(曰)祀，[𠄎]𠄎。

(2) 𠄎其𠄎，其𠄎又𠄎，王受又=(有祐)。

(1) ... the king commanded (that there be) a sacrifice, [performing the *guàn* sacrifice]...

(2) ... if (we) perform the *guàn* sacrifice, (we) may meet with blessings¹⁷... the king will receive abundant blessings.

(Nameless group)

211

乙未卜：丙申易(暘)日。允易(暘)日，允。

Crack-making on *yǐwèi* (day 32): On *bǐngshēn* (day 33), clouds will cover the sun.

Indeed, clouds covered the sun, indeed.

(Li I)

212

(1) 𠄎才(在)衣，十月卜。

(2) 丁酉貞：王乍(作)三自(師)，又(右)中又(左)。二

(3) 辛亥貞：王攀。才(在)且(祖)乙宗卜。

(4) 辛未卜：又于出日。二

(1) ... at Yī, crack-making in the tenth month.

(2) On *dīngyǒu* (day 34), divined: The king will establish three armies—(armies of the right, center, and right (=left)). #2

(3) On *xīnhài* (day 48), divined: The king will pray. Crack-making at the tablet of Zǔ Yǐ.

(4) Crack-making on *xīnwèi* (day 8): Make an offering to the setting sun. #2

(Li I)

¹⁷ See Sun Yabing 2010.

213

(1) 壬申[貞]: 𠄎𠄎。

(2) 于河奉雨，奉三宰，沈五牛。

(1) On *rénshēn* (day 9), divined: ... X¹⁸...

(2) Pray for rain to Hé, praying (with the sacrifice of) three penned ovicaprids and the drowning of five cattle.

(Li II)

214

□□卜：王其[宜]𠄎。

Crack-making on... The king may [perform the *yí* ritual]...

(Nameless group)

215

(1) 甲辰卜：其𠄎[高]𠄎。

(2) 二𠄎。

(3) 三𠄎。茲用。

(4) 𠄎。

[See 126] (1) Crack-making on *jiǎchén* (day 41): If (we) perform the *tuō* dismemberment sacrifice... [receive in sacrifice]...

(2) Two pots.

(3) Three pots. Use this.

(4)...

(Nameless group)

[For joined inscriptions CZN 126 + CZN 215, see 126]

216

[癸巳]卜貞：[旬]亡𠄎。

Crack-making on [*guǐsì*] (day 30), divined: [In the next ten days] there will be no disaster.

(Nameless group)

217

𠄎其往𠄎。

... may go...

(Nameless group)

¹⁸ Wang Ziyang argues that this graph writes *Yuè* 岳, which is normally written with forms closer to 𠄎; see Wang Ziyang 2012a.

218

癸 ¹⁹ 甲酉。

As *guī* day meets with *jiǎ* day, perform the *yǒu* sacrifice.

(Nameless group)

219

☐甲☐。

... *jiǎ*...

(Unassigned)

220

☐甲子☐。

... *jiǎzǐ* (day 1)...

(Unassigned)

221

(1) 于宮亡戕。

(2) 不雨。

(3) 其雨。

(1) (If we offer sacrifice to) Gōng, there will be no harm.

(2) It will not rain.

(3) It may rain.

(Nameless group)

222

(1) 己[酉]☐。 一

(2) ☐其奉禾☐。 一

(3) 三

(1) On *jǐ* [-*yǒu*] (day 46)... #1

(2) ... may pray for the grain (harvest)... #1

(3) #3

(Li II)

223

☐其[夷]鄉（饗）。

... if (the spirits) [should] receive (their) sacrifices).

(Li II)

¹⁹ The standardized graph presented here is notably different from the graph presented here; the top of the graph used in the original has only one dot, rather than two, per side, and, as far as I can determine, is not otherwise attested in this form.

224

(1) 小示其羊。 三

(2) 𠄎其羊。

(1) (Sacrifice to) the Lesser Ancestors perhaps an ovicaprid. #3

(2) ... perhaps an ovicaprid.

(Unassigned)

225

(1) 戊寅貞：王往𠄎。 一

(2) 貞：王往田亡[戕]。

(3) 一

(1) On *wùyín* (day 15), divined: (If) the king goes... #1

(2) Divined: (If) the king goes hunting, there will be no [harm].

(3) #1

(Li II)

226

(1) [癸]□[貞：旬亡𠄎]。

(2) 癸卯貞：旬亡𠄎。

(1) [On *guǐ*-]... [divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster].

(2) On *guǐmǎo* (day 40), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(Nameless group)

227

其彝。

(We) may perform the *yí* ceremony.

(Li II)

228

(1) 己酉□：召[方]𠄎。

(2) 己酉卜：其𠄎人𠄎[召]𠄎。 三

(3) 𠄎𠄎人。

(4) 丙辰貞：于□告𠄎役（疫）。

(1) ... on *jǐyǒu* (day 46): The Shào [-fāng]...

(2) Crack-making on *jǐyǒu* (day 46): (We) may raise (=conscript) people... [the Shào-]... #3

(3) (We) will not raise (=conscript) people.

(4) On *bǐngchén* (day 53), divined: To... report... plague.²⁰

(Li II)

229

(1) □□[貞]：岳𠄎。 三

(1) Divined on...: Yuè...

(Li II)

[Joined inscriptions: CZN 229 + Heji 33289]²¹

(1) □酉貞：攀禾于岳。

(2) □□[貞]：岳𠄎。 三

(1) Divined on ... -*yǒu*: Pray for grain to Yuè.

(2) Divined on...: Yuè...

(Li II)

230

𠄎[王]受又 = (有祐)。

... [the king] will receive abundant blessings.

(Nameless group)

231

辛酉卜：其𠄎。

Crack-making on *xīnyǒu* (day 58): Perhaps...

(Nameless group)

²⁰ The editors of *Cunzhong cunnan* transcribe the last graph of (4) as a graph consisting of the component 永 above the component 𠄎, without giving any discussion of its meaning (CZN p. 672). I follow Liu Zhao here in instead transcribing it as the graph 𠄎 役, understood as being used to write the word 𠄎 疫 ‘plague’ (Liu Zhao 2015, p. 55–56). The structure of the graph above is [彳+人+𠄎], and Liu Zhao makes a convincing argument that it is a variant of the graph used in CZN 363 written with the structure [彳+人+又], each of which, along with a variety of other instances from other corpora, can be reasonably transcribed 役 (Liu Zhao 2015, p. 33–38).

²¹ I follow Liu Ying 2012b on this joining.

232

(1) 田，夷翌日。

(2) [雨]。

(1) ... hunting, it should be the next day...

(2) ... [rain].

(Nameless group)

233

(1) 辛卯卜：今夕。三四

(2) 卯（婦）好。

(1) Crack-making on *xīnmǎo* (day 28): Tonight... #3 #4

(2) ... -*mǎo*... Fù Hǎo.

(Lì I)

234

(1) 河祭[二]。

(2) 河祭五。

(3) 河[祭]十五。

(1) (To) Hé, perform the *liǎo* burning sacrifice [(with) two (victims)].

(2) (To) Hé, perform the *liǎo* burning sacrifice (with) five (victims).

(3) (To) Hé, [perform the *liǎo* burning sacrifice] (with) fifteen (victims).

(Lì II)

235

其又大。二

There may be a great... #2

(Lì II)

236

(1) 癸：祭[宰]。一

(2) [癸]未卜：卯夷。

(1) ... on *guǐ*-...: Perform the *liǎo* burning sacrifice... [penned cattle]. #1

(2) Crack-making on [*guǐ*-] *wèi* (day 20): (For) the splitting sacrifice, swine should be (used).

(Lì I)

237

(1) 夷函录焚^旱。永王。

(2) 夷旃田^旱。永王。

(3) 夷大录焚^旱。□□。

(4) 于乙。

(5) 壬辰卜：王其田，不^葍（^遘）雨。吉。

(6) 其^葍（^遘）□。

(7) 兹允雨。

(8) 吉。

(1) (We) should set fire to the foothills of Hán (in order to) catch (game). This will please the king.

(2) (We) should hunt at Yóu (in order to) catch (game). This will please the king.

(3) (We) should set fire to the foothills of Dà (in order to) [catch (game)]...

(4) To Yǐ.

(5) Crack-making on *rénchén* (day 29): If the king hunts, he will not meet with rain. Auspicious.

(6) (He) may [meet with]...

(7) (As for) this, it indeed rained.

(8) Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

238

(1) 庚申卜：其又杏于兄辛。

(2) 庚申卜：兄辛杏一牛。兹用。

(3) 牢。

(4) 壬午卜：其又歲于匕（妣）癸，夷小宰。

(5) 于^𠄎又卯^𠄎。

(6) 戊子卜：其酉，^隳、^鼃吕爵^𠄎。兹用。允雨。

(7) 弔吕爵^𠄎。

(1) Crack-making on *gēngshēn* (day 57): We may offer the *mù* sacrifice to Brother Xīn.

(2) Crack-making on *gēngshēn* (day 57): (To) Brother Xīn perform the *mù* sacrifice (with) one head of cattle. Use this.

(3) Pinned bovine.

(4) Crack-making on *rénwǔ* (day 19): If we offer the *sui* sacrifice to Ancestress Guǐ (we) should (use) small penned ovicaprids.

(5) ... to X offer the splitting and *yì* sacrifices.

(6) Crack-making on *wùzǐ* (day 37): (We) may perform the *yǒu* sacrifice to Zhǐ Y and Zhū, using a ewer to Z. Use this. It indeed rained.

(7) (We) will not use a ewer to Z.

(Nameless group)

239

(1) 戊申□：王[令]□収□□。

(2) 戊申貞：王令臺呂族旗涉河東泮。

(3) □□[貞]：夷多馬令。

(4) □。

(1) On *wùshēn* (day 45)... The king [will order]... to assemble...

(2) On *wùshēn* (day 45), divined: The king will order Dūn to take the clan (of) Yīn²² to cross the river (to its) east bank.

(3) ... [divined]: It should be that the (Minister of) the Many Horses is commanded.

(4) ...

(Li II)

240

(1) 弼先其每。

(2) 王兌戍，不[雨。永]王。

(3) 吉。

(1) (We) will not first perhaps regret.

(2) The king will hurriedly garrison (his troops at the capital), and it will not [rain. This will please] the king.

(3) Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

241

(1) 乙未：于上甲□。

(2) 乙未：其弅[孚龜]□。

(3) □雨。

(1) *Yǐwèi* (day 32): To Shàng Jiǎ...

(2) *Yǐwèi* (day 32): (We) may perform the *nì* ceremony to pacify the floods...

(3) ... rain.

(Li II)

242

□[酉]貞□。

On ... [-yǒu], divined: ...

(Li II)

²² On the identification of this graph wity Yīn 尹, see Sun Yabing 2012d.

243

(1) 乙亥卜：王𠄎。一

(2) 一一

(1) Crack-making on *yǐhài* (day 12): The king... #1

(2) #1 #1

(Li II)

244

戊戌卜：王其逐兕，𠄎，弗𠄎。

Crack-making on *wùxū* (day 47): If the king pursues a rhinoceros, he will catch it; he did not catch it.

(Li I)

245²³

(1) 庚𠄎。

(2) 夷沚或(𠄎)攷(啓)。用，若。

(3) 辛卯卜：告于丁方。

(4) 于大示方。

(5) 辛卯貞：□令□甾□正。

(1) *Gēng*...

(2) It should be that Zhǐ Guó opens (begins the attack). (To be) used, (this was) approved.

(3) Crack-making on *xīnmǎo* (day 28): Report (about) the *fāng* to Dīng.

(4) To the Great Ancestors (report about) the *fāng*.

(5) On *xīnmǎo* (day 28), divined:... order... to undertake... to campaign.

(Li I)

246

(1) 癸丑貞：旬王𠄎。

(2) 癸亥貞：旬王𠄎。

(3) 癸酉貞：旬王𠄎。

(4) [癸]□[貞：旬王𠄎]。

(1) On *guǐchǒu* (day 50), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(2) On *guǐhài* (day 60), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(3) On *guǐyǒu* (day 10), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(4) On [guǐ-] ..., [divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster].

(Li II)

²³ Heji 33098 could perhaps be joined with this piece (see Sun Yabing 2012b).

247

- (1) 一牢。
 - (2) 二牢。
 - (3) 三牢。
 - (4) 甲戌貞：又伐于小乙。
 - (5) ☐。
- (1) One penned bovine.
(2) Two penned cattle.
(3) Three penned cattle.
(4) On *jiǎshēn* (day 21), divined: Offer the *fá* sacrifice to Xiǎo Yǐ.
(5) ...
(Lì II)

248

- (1) [夷]多。
 - (2) 壬戌：大乙獸（狩）。
 - (3) 弔獸（狩）上甲。
 - (4) [其]☐。
- (1) (We) should perform the *róng* sacrifice.
(2) *Rénxū* (day 59): (To) Dà Yǐ perform the hunting ritual.
(3) (We) will not perform the hunting ritual to Shàng Jiǎ.
(4) (We) may...
(Lì II)

249

☐☐[卜]：今日辛，王其田，[湄]日☐。
[Crack-making on] ...: Today, a *xīn* day, if the king hunts, [for the entire] day...
(Nameless group)

250

- (1) 弔窳。
 - (2) 甲午卜貞：其汎又歲自上甲。
 - (3) 弔巳（祀）又。
- (1) (We) will not perform the hosting ritual.
(2) Crack-making on *jiǎwǔ* (day 31), divined: (We) may perform the *jī* sacrifice²⁴ and offer the *sui* sacrifice (to the ancestors starting) from Shàng Jiǎ.
(3) (We) will not make a sacrifice in offering.
(Lì II)

²⁴ See note under CZN 202.

251

(1) 𠄎[用]。一

(2) 辛巳卜：攀雨。不。

(3) 用。一

(1). ... [(to be) used]. #1

(2) Crack-making on *xīnsì* (day 18): Pray for rain. Do not (pray for rain).

(3) (To be) used. #1

(Li I)

252

(1) 𠄎[令]𠄎。

(2) 三

(1) ... [order]...

(2) #3

(Unassigned)

253

其[牢]𠄎。

Perhaps (sacrifice) a penned bovine.

(Unassigned)

254

吉。

Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

255

弼勿。一

Do not (use) a mottled (sacrificial animal). #1

(Nameless group)

256

[丙寅]𠄎。

[On *bǐngyín* (day 3)]...

(Li II)

257

𠄎又歲𠄎[牢]，易（暘）日。茲不用。

... offer the *sui* sacrifice... [penned bovine]; clouds will cover the sun. Do not use this.

(Li I)

258

☐牛。

... cattle.

(Li II)

259

(1) 其☐。 二

(2) 壬午卜：其☐（裸）龜于上甲，卯牛。 二

(3) 乙酉卜：其蓺孚龜。 一

(4) 一

(1) (We) may... #2

(2) Crack-making on *rénwǔ* (day 19): (We) may perform the *guàn* sacrifice (to pacify) the flooding, to Shàng Jiǎ, splitting a head of cattle. #2

(3) Crack-making on *yǐyǒu* (day 22): (We) may perform the *yì* sacrifice to pacify the flooding, #1

(4) #1

(Li II)

260

(1) 又牝，夷羊（駢）。

(2) 夷物。

(1) In offering a cow, it should be a reddish bovine.

(2) It should be a mottled bovine.

(Nameless group)

261

(1) 丙☐。 一

(2) 弼目。

(1) On *bǐng*... #1

(2) Do not use.

(Nameless group)

262

吉。

Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

263

☐☐貞：𠄎[伐]☐于北土。

..., divined: Qín [will attack]... in the northern lands.

(Li II)

264

(1) 庚辰卜：六[示]☱。 三

(2) ☱廿示一[牛]☱。

(1) Crack-making on *gēngchén* (day 17): The six [ancestors]... #3

(2) ... the Twenty Ancestors (sacrifice) one [head of cattle]...

(Unassigned)

265

隹阜☱。 二

It should be Qin... #2

(Li II)

266

☱[亥]貞：又☱。

On... [-hài], divined: Offer...

(Li II)

267

壬子卜：☱才（在）股☱。 一

Crack-making on *rénzǐ* (day 49):... at X... #1

(Li II)

268

(1) 癸酉貞：旬亡困。 三

(2) 癸未貞：旬亡困。 三

(3) [癸]☱貞：：旬亡困。

(4) 三

(1) On *guǐyǒu* (day 10), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster. #3

(2) On *guǐwèi* (day 20), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster. #3

(3) On [guǐ-]..., divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(4) #3

(Li II)

269

(1) ☱[未卜]：☱日。

(2) 乙未卜：王步丁酉易（暘）日。 三

(3) 丙申☱：不雨。

(1) [Crack-making on]... [-wèi]:... sun.

(2) Crack-making on *yǐwèi* (day 32): The king will walk (=set out) on *dīngyǒu* (day 34) and clouds will cover the sun. #3

(3) ... on *bǐngshēn* (day 33): It will not rain.

(Li I)

270

(1) 牢☐。吉。

(2) 王壺。

Penned cattle... Auspicious.

(2) The king will perform the hosting ritual.

(Nameless group)

271

(1) 卯一☐。

(2) 二牛。

(3) 三牛。

(4) ☐[五牛]。

(1) Split one...

(2) Two cattle.

(3) Three cattle.

(4) ... [five cattle].

(Nameless group)

272

(1) 弔田其每。

(2) ☐[王]夷宮[田]省亡戔。

(1) (We) should not hunt; there may be regret.

(2) ... (if) [the king] should (at) Gōng [hunt] and inspect, there will be no harm.

(Nameless group)

273

☐卯卜：習龜☐。

Crack-making on... [-mǎo]: Return to the X-tortoise...

(Nameless group)

274

(1) 于來[日]☐。

(2) ☐[來]日己。

(1) On the coming [day]...

(2) ... [the coming] day *jǐ*.

(Nameless group)

275

(1) 丁[未]☐。

(2) ☐三小宰。

(1) On *dīng* [-wèi] (day 44)...

(2) ... three small penned ovicaprids.

(Nameless group)

276

(1) 己☱。 一

(2) 己丑卜：不雨。 一

(3) 其雨。

(4) 一

(5) 一

(1) *Jǐ*... #1

(2) Crack-making on *jǐchǒu* (day 26): It will not rain. #1

(3) It may rain.

(4) #1

(5) #1

(Li I)

277

(1) ☱父[辛]于來日辛卯酉，又正。

(2) 吉。

(1) ...Father [Xīn] on the coming day *xīnmǎo* (day 28) perform the *yǒu* sacrifice; which will be correct.

(2) Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

278

(1) 雨。 一

(2) 雨。 一

(1) It will rain. #1

(2) It will rain. #1

(Nameless group)

279

(1) 癸☱[貞：旬亡困]。

(2) 癸亥貞：旬亡困。

(3) 癸酉貞：旬亡困。

(4) 癸未貞：旬亡困。

(5) [癸巳]貞：旬亡困。

(1) On *guǐ*..., [divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster].

(2) On *guǐhài* (day 60), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(3) On *guǐyǒu* (day 10), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(4) On *guǐwèi* (day 20), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(5) [On *guǐsì*] (day 30), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(Li group)

280

(1) 弼[每]。

(2) □其田于宫，□[日]亡戕，衍（侃）王。

(1) (We) will not [regret].

(2) If... hunts at Gōng, ... day there will be no harm. This will please the king.

(Nameless group)

281

☐。二

... #2

(Unassigned)

282

(1) ☐[木]☐。

(2) 丁酉卜：祭目，小雨。

(3) 丁[酉]☐：[祭 𠄎]小☐。

(1) ... [Mù]...

(2) Crack-making on *dīngyǒu* (day 34): Perform the *liǎo* ritual to Mù; there will be light rain.

(3) ... on *dīng* [-yǒu] (day 34): [Perform the *liǎo* ritual to X; there will be light...

(Lì I)

283

于己宗。

At the tablet of Jǐ.

(Lì II)

284

(1) 癸☐貞：[旬]亡[困]。

(2) 癸亥貞：旬亡困。

(1) On *guǐ*-..., divined: [In the next ten days] there will be no [disaster].

(2) On *guǐhài* (day 60), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(Nameless group)

285

吉。

Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

286

☐田亡[戕]。

... hunts, there will be no [harm].

(Lì II)

287

丁丑☱。 二

On *dīngchǒu* (day 14)... #2
(Lì II)

288

乙未卜：伐☱。

Crack-making on *yǐwèi* (day 32): Attack...
(Shī group)

289

(1) 戊午乞骨一。

(2) ☱从東亡戔。

(1) On *wùwǔ* (day 55), received one scapula.

(2) ... follow Dōng, there will be no harm.

(Lì II)

290

☱其祝其興☱。

... may invoke and may perform the *xīng* ritual...

(Lì II)

291

其☱。

If...

(Unassigned)

292

(1) ☱變戔。

(2) ☱王弼令☱。

(1) ... Náo will exterminate (or "perform the *jiǎn* ritual"?).

(2) ... the king will not order...

(Nameless group)

293

(1) 己[丑]☱亞[豕]☱。

(2) [貞]：令☱。

(1) On *jǐ* [-*chǒu*] (day 26)... secondary [pig]...

(2) [Divined]: Order...

(Lì II)

294²⁵

(1) 壬寅卜：歲饗于匕（妣）癸。用艮。

(2) 𠄎（？）虫禾。

(1) Crack-making on *rényín* (day 39), *Sui*-sacrifice swine to Ancestress Guǐ. Use a prisoner (in sacrifice).

(2) X will have grain.

(Wǔ group)

295

(1) 戊戌卜：雍受牛。不允。 一

(2) 二

(1) Crack-making on *wùxū* (day 35): Yōng will receive cattle (=will successfully raise a year's worth of cattle). (This was) not indeed (the case). #1

(2) #2

(Wǔ group)

296

(1) 丁未卜貞：𠄎監饗。允饗。

(2) 丁未卜貞：我亡𠄎。

(3) [丁]未卜貞：[金]注饗。十二月。

(4) 庚申貞：𠄎。

(1) Crack-making on *dīngwèi* (day 44), divined: X will perform the *jiān* sacrifice (with) swine. Indeed (he used) swine.

(2) Crack-making on *dīngwèi* (day 44), divined: We will not have...

(3) Crack-making on [*dīng-*] *wèi* (day 44), divined: Jīn will perform the *zhù* sacrifice (with) swine. Twelfth month.

(4) On *gēngshēn* (day 57), divined:...

(Shī group)

297

(1) 匕（妣）辛、入乙。

(2) 匕（妣）戊、入乙。

(3) 关己、匕（妣）丁。

(4) 二 三

(5) 二 二

(1) Ancestress Xīn and Rù Yǐ.

(2) Ancestress Wù and Rù Yǐ.

(3) X Jǐ²⁶ and Ancestress Dīng.

(4) #2 #3

(5) #2 #2

(Wǔ group)

²⁵ CZN 486 could perhaps be added to this inscription; see Zhao Peng 2012.

²⁶ This is the first appearance of this ancestral title in the inscriptional record.

298

(1) 二

(2) 三

(1) #2

(2) #3

(Period I)

299

(1) 戊午卜：祭日奉雨。三

(2) 己☐奉☐。一

(3) 庚申卜：𠄎☐。三

(4) 一 三 三

(5) 三

(1) Crack-making on *wùwǔ* (day 55): Offer the *liǎo* sacrifice to Mù to pray for rain. #3

(2) ... *jǐ*... pray... #1

(3) Crack-making on *gēngshēn* (day 57): X... #3

(4) #1 #3 #3

(5) #3

(Wǔ group)

300

丁☐。一

On *dīng*... #1

(Unassigned)

301

庚☐。一

On *gēng*... #1

(Unassigned)

302

(1) [丁亥]卜：戊子雨。

(2) 戊申卜：不采（=悉=失？）眾。

(1) Crack-making on [*dīnghài*] (day 24): On *wùzǐ* (day 25), it will rain.

(2) Crack-making on *wùshēn* (day 15): (We) will not lose²⁷ the *zhòng* (masses).

(Shī group)

²⁷ This is a difficult character to interpret. Following Chen Jian 2007 (pp. 372–378), I tentatively interpret this graph as 采, which is used as the graph *xī* 悉 (Old Chinese *sit) which is used to write the word *shī* 失 ‘to lose’ (Old Chinese *lit). This seems to be the best solution, and it is the only one of which I am aware that fits the phonological evidence. A variety of other suggestions have also been suggested; see, among others, Fu Qiang 2014 and Yu Xingwu 1996, pp. 1837–1838.

303

☐。一

... #1

(Unassigned)

304

☐旬亡囧。

... in the next ten days there will be no disaster.

(Shī group)

305

(1) ☐寅☐啟（啓）。

(2) 癸巳卜：乙未不雨。

(1) ... *yín*... will open.

(2) Crack-making on *guǐsì* (day 30): On *yǐwèi* (day 32), it will not rain.

(Shī group)

306

(1) ☐巫三羌。不。

(2) 二

(1) ... (to) the *wū* (sacrifice) three Qiāng. Do not.

(2) #2

(Shī group)

307

☐戍卜：☐伐☐。

Crack-making on *-xū*: ... attack/dismember...

(Period I)

308

(1) 庚申卜：束目，步于且（祖）庚牢。一二

(2) ☐卜：☐。

Crack-making on *gēngshēn* (day 57): Perform the *cì* ceremony to Mù and the stepping ceremony to Zǔ Gēng, (sacrificing) a penned bovine. #1 #2

(2) Crack-making...

(Wǔ group)

309

夷☐。四

It should be that... #4

(Period I)

310

(1) 甲辰卜：𠄎 𠄎 余，王受又。

(2) 𠄎 余 𠄎 𠄎 [又] 𠄎。

(1) Crack-making on *jiǎchén* (day 41): If ??? me, the king will receive blessings.

(2) ... me ??? ... [blessings]...

(Period I)

311

己卯卜：□□于比（妣）戊，虫三牛。

Crack-making on *jǐmǎo* (day 16): ... to Ancestress Wù offer three cattle.

(Wǔ group)

312

癸巳旬□才（在）𠄎。一

On *guǐsì* (day 30): In the next ten days... at... #1

(Lì I)

313

壬午卜：医不 𠄎。一

Crack-making on *rénwǔ* (day 19): Yi will not become ill. #1

(Lì I)

314

(1) 己卯卜：𠄎。

(2) [卯]。

(3) 糸。

(1) Crack-making on *jǐmǎo* (day 16): ...

(2) [*mǎo*].

(3) Mì.

(Unassigned)

315

(1) 己卯卜：舞雨。三

(2) 一

(1) Crack-making on *jǐmǎo* (day 16): Dance for rain. #3

(2) #1

(Lì I)

316

(1) 己未卜，扶：虫子己豕。一 二

(2) 壬戌[𠄎]

(3) 甲子卜，扶：夕酒魯甲宰。一

(4) □[子]卜，[扶]：三卜。𠄎用[𠄎]。一²⁸

(1) Crack-making on *jǐwèi* (day 56), Fú (divined): Make an offering to Zǐ Jǐ²⁹ (=Xiào Jǐ 孝己?) of a pig. #1 #2

(2) ... *rén* [-*xū*] (day 59)...

(3) Crack-making on *jiǎzǐ* (day 1), Fú (divined): In the evening perform the *yǒu* sacrifice to Yáng Jiǎ (sacrificing) a penned ovicaprid. #1

(4) Crack-making on... [-*zǐ*], [Fú] (divined): (Use) the third crack. ??? use... #1 (Shī group)

[Joined inscriptions CZN 316 + CZN 353]³⁰

(1) 己未卜，扶：虫子己豕。一 二

(2) 壬戌卜，扶：令𠄎（祀）□子[𠄎]。二

(3) 甲子卜，扶：夕醕魯甲宰。一

(4) □[子]卜，[扶]：三卜。𠄎用[𠄎]。一

(1) Crack-making on *jǐwèi* (day 56), Fú (divined): Make an offering to Zǐ Jǐ (=Xiào Jǐ 孝己?) of a pig. #1 #2

(2) Crack-making on *rénxū* (day 59), Fú (divined): (The king) orders that a sacrifice... Zǐ... #2

(3) Crack-making on *jiǎzǐ* (day 1), Fú (divined): In the evening perform the *yǒu* sacrifice to Yáng Jiǎ (sacrificing) a penned ovicaprid. #1

(4) Crack-making on... [-*zǐ*], [Fú] (divined): (Use) the third crack. ??? use... #1 (Shī group)

²⁸ This transcription is informed by the discussion in Zhao Peng 2011.

²⁹ This is the first appearance of this title in the inscriptional record.

³⁰ For these joined inscriptions, I follow Li Aihui 2013a.

317

- (1) [乙]亥[易(暘)]日。 一
 - (2) 甲□卜：□人□𠄎(餗/蕪)□。 一
 - (3) 乙酉□。
 - (4) 戊戌貞：□𠄎(𠄎?) 𠄎。 一
 - (5) □□卜：丁□。 一
 - (6) □□卜：癸卯□□且(祖)乙，虫□。
 - (7) 辛□。
 - (8) 乙□卜：木□。
 - (9) □亥□。
- (1) On [yǐ] -hài (day 12), [clouds will cover] the sun. #1
 - (2) Crack-making on jiǎ- ...: ... people... vegetables... #1
 - (3) On yǐyǒu (day 22)...
 - (4) On wùxū (day 35), divined: ... X will encounter disaster. #1
 - (5) Crack-making on...: dīng... #1
 - (6) Crack-making on...: guǐmǎo (day 40)... Zǔ Yǐ, offer...
 - (7) On xīn-...
 - (8) Crack-making on yǐ-...: Mù...
 - (9) ... -hài...
- (Shī group)

318

- (1) [癸]卯卜：爨☐。 一
- (2) 己未卜：☐南☐二牛。 二
- (3) 又南庚牢。 三
- (4) 癸亥卜：又☐止七☐牢。 三
- (5) 己巳卜：又☐。
- (6) [己]巳☐大☐二牢。 三
- (7) 又☐七☐一牛☐。

Crack-making on [guǐ] -mǎo (day 40): Perform the huáng sacrifice... #1

- (2) Crack-making on jǐwèi (day 56):... Nán... two cattle. #2
- (3) Make an offering to Nán Gēng of a penned bovine. #3
- (4) Crack-making on guǐhài (day 60): Make an offering... Zhǐ (with) seven... penned cattle. #3
- (5) Crack-making on jǐsì (day 6): Make an offering...
- (6) ... on [jǐ] -sì (day 6):... great... two penned cattle. #3
- (7) Make an offering... seven... one head of cattle... (Shī group)

319

- (1) 戊辰卜：彝，³¹、行竟入。己巳：甘來³⁰。三月。 三
 - (2) 弔竟☐。 三
 - (3) 戊辰：攸（啓）☐。
 - (4) 不攸（啓）。 一
 - (5) 辛未卜：辛³²屯。不。
 - (6) 辛[未]卜：今日辛³²屯。
 - (7) 于壬³²屯。不。 三
 - (8) 辛未卜：于癸。 一
 - (9) 辛未[卜]：³²屯☐上甲、大乙、大丁、大甲、且（祖）乙。 三
 - (10) 辛未卜：于九示³²屯。不。 三
 - (11) 癸酉卜：即禘上甲³²屯。用，甲戌。𠄎（关）上甲、³²大乙、光大丁、爭大甲、☐且（祖）乙。 三
 - (12) 癸酉卜：即宗³²屯。
 - (13) 乙亥卜：☐五廿五，五示卅六，四示七☐，三示[三]，四示二九☐。³³
- (1) Crack-making on wùchén (day 5): Perform the yí ceremony,³⁴ completely (???)

³¹ Lin Yun transcribes this graph as 彝.

³² Wang Ziyang transcribes this graph (𠄎), as well as the graph composed of 𠄎 (see below) as 𠄎 (Wang Ziyang 2011); see also Wang Ning 2010 and Wang Jiajin 2010a and 2010b.

³³ I follow Sun Yabing 2012a in the order of this transcription.

³⁴ See Song Zhenhao 2013, p. 13.

- bringing in Guó and Xíng. On *jìsì* (day 6), Gān came and ???.³⁵ Third month. #3
- (2) (We) will not completely (???)... #3
- (3) On *wùchén* (day 5): Open...
- (4) It will not open. #1
- (5) Crack-making on *xīnwèi* (day 8): On *xīn* (today), decapitate (?) *tún*-victims. Do not.
- (6) Crack-making on *xīn- [wèi]* (day 8): Today, *xīn*, decapitate *tún*-victims.
- (7) On *rén* (day 9), decapitate *tún*-victims. Do not. #3
- (8) Crack-making on *xīnwèi* (day 8): On *guǐ* (day 10). #1
- (9) [Crack-making on] *xīnwèi* (day 8): Decapitate *tún*-victims... (to) Shàng Jiǎ, Dà Yǐ, Dà Dīng, Dà Jiǎ, and Zǔ Yǐ. #3
- (10) Crack-making on *xīnwèi* (day 8): To the Nine Ancestors, decapitate *tún*-victims. Do not. #3
- (11) Crack-making on *guǐyǒu* (day 10): (We will) go to³⁶ the temple of Shàng Jiǎ to decapitate *tún*-victims. (To be) used, on *jiǎxū* (day 11). Perform the X sacrifice (to) Shàng Jiǎ, the Y sacrifice (to) Dà Yǐ, the *guāng* sacrifice to Dà Dīng, the *zhēng* sacrifice to Dà Jiǎ, and the... to Zǔ Yǐ. #3
- (12) Crack-making on *guǐyǒu* (day 10): (We will) go to the tablet (of Shàng Jiǎ) to decapitate *tún*-victims.
- (13) Crack-making on *yǐhài* (day 12):... five twenty-five, five Ancestors twenty-six, four Ancestors ... three Ancestors [three], four Ancestors two nine... (???)
(Shī group)

320

壬戌卜：彖牵（執）☱。二月。旬又九日庚辰，☱告昌虜十七☱。

Crack-making on *rénxū* (day 59): X will attack... Second month. On the nineteenth day, *gēngchén* (day 17), ... reported (that we) took seventeen Y prisoners.

(Wǔ group)

321

弼又伐。

(We) will not offer the *fá* sacrifice.

(Lì II)

322

☱巳：子宋祐龍。一

On -*sì*: (for) Zǐ Sòng perform the *zuǒ* and X (???) ceremonies.

(Shī group)

323

二

#2

(Unassigned)

³⁵ See Shi Bing 2013 for a discussion of this graph.

³⁶ See Liu Yuan 2012, p. 91–92; cf. Song Zhenhao 2013, pp. 14 and 16.

324

丁未卜：[雨]。翌庚[]。一

Crack-making on *dīngwèi* (day 44): [It will rain]. The next *gēng* day (day 47)... #1 (Period I)

325

(1) — — — — —

(2) 二

(1) #1 #1 #1 #1 #1

(2) #2

(Unassigned)

326

(1) 丁未卜：又于岳攀禾。

(2) 丁未卜：及夕雨。

(3) 庚戌卜：又于岳攀禾。

(4) 庚戌卜：巫帝一羊、一犬。

(5) 辛亥卜：壬雨至[癸]。

(1) Crack-making on *dīngwèi* (day 44): Make an offering to Yuè to pray for the grain (harvest).

(2) Crack-making on *dīngwèi* (day 44): When it comes to the evening it will rain.

(3) Crack-making on *gēngxū* (day 47): Make an offering to Yuè to pray for the grain (harvest).

(4) Crack-making on *gēngxū* (day 47): Perform the *wū* sacrifice to Dì with one ovicaprid and one dog.

(5) Crack-making on *xīnhài* (day 48): (From) *rén* (day 49) until *guǐ* (day 50) it will rain. (Lì I)

327

(1) 乙卯卜貞：余疒[] [穉]。

(2) 乙卯卜：卣(禦)帚(婦)姪于匕(妣) []。一 二

(1) Crack-making on *yǐmǎo* (day 52), divined: My illness... [X (a person's name)].

(2) Crack-making on *yǐmǎo* (day 52): Perform the exorcism ritual for Fù Yù³⁷ to Ancestress... #1 #2

(Wǔ group)

³⁷ This is the first appearance of this name in the inscriptional record.

328

(1) 乙卯卜貞：又，其用三牛。

(2) 己。

(3) 乙酉。

(4) 未貞𠄎。

(1) Crack-making on *yīmǎo* (day 52), divined: In making an offering, (we) should perhaps use three cattle.

(2) *Jǐ*.

(3) *Yǐyǒu* (day 22).

(4) On *wèi*, divined: ???

(Shī group)

329

四 五 六

#4 #5 #6

(Unassigned)

330

其于甲申[𠄎]白豕。

On *jiǎshēn* (day 21), (we) should perhaps perform the *shī* sacrifice with a white pig.

(Shī group)

331

甲

*Jiǎ*³⁸

(Unassigned)

332³⁹

二

#2

(Unassigned)

³⁸ This may instead be the crack number *qi* 七 ‘#7’ (For this interpretation, see CZN p. 697).

³⁹ This inscription can perhaps be joined with CZN 454; see Jiang Yubin 2012.

333

(1) □□卜：一 二

(2) 丁巳卜：一 二 三

(3) 丁巳卜：一 二 三

(4) 丁巳卜：一 二

(5) 丁巳卜：一 二 三

(1) Crack-making on...: #1 #2

(2) Crack-making on *dīngsì* (day 54): #1 #2 #3

(3) Crack-making on *dīngsì* (day 54): #1 #2 #3

(4) Crack-making on *dīngsì* (day 54): #1 #2

(5) Crack-making on *dīngsì* (day 54): #1 #2 #3

(Wǔ group)

334

(1) □[禾]于宗自（阜）。用。丁亥。

(2) □自（阜）□。

(1) ... [grain (harvest)] at the platform of the ancestral tablet. (To be) used. *Dīnghài* (day 24).

(2) ... platform...

(Unassigned)

335

辛未貞：亡壬小牢千豕四爵。 一

On *xīnwèi* (day 8), divined: (To) the gone (???) *rén*⁴⁰ (sacrifice) a small penned bovine, one thousand boars, and four ewers (or: 1000 small penned cattle, four boars, and (?) a ewer). #1

(Wǔ group)

336

(1) 庚辰卜：□。 三

(2) □歲□。

(1) Crack-making on *gēngchén* (day 17):... #3

(2) ... the *sui* sacrifice...

(Wǔ group)

⁴⁰ The phrase 亡+stem appears only to appear in HJ19811, in the phrase 戊寅卜，亡壬困.

337

(1) 乙卯卜：𠄎子匿于父丙羊。

(2) □□卜貞𠄎

(1) Crack-making on *yǐmǎo* (day 52): Perform the exorcism ritual for Zǐ Nì⁴¹ to Father Bǐng with an ovicaprid.

(2) Crack-making... divined...

[Joined inscriptions CZN 337 + CZN 389]⁴²

(1) 乙卯卜：𠄎子匿于父丙羊。

(2) 乙卯卜貞：帚（婦）𠄎又，弗媿（艱）。 一

(3) 𠄎佻𠄎又𠄎。

(1) Crack-making on *yǐmǎo* (day 52): Perform the exorcism ritual for Zǐ Nì to Father Bǐng with an ovicaprid.

(2) Crack-making on *yǐmǎo* (day 52), divined: (If we to) Fù X make an offering, there will be no calamity. #1

(3) ...Rǎn... make an offering...

(Wǔ group)

338

(1) 癸丑卜：于匕（妣）癸。

(2) 丁卯卜：夷𠄎。五

(3) 甲戌卜：至于丁。用。 一 二

(4) 一

(5) 二

(6) 三

(1) Crack-making on *guǐchǒu* (day 50): To Ancestress Guǐ.

(2) Crack-making on *dīngmǎo* (day 4): It should be that... #5

(3) Crack-making on *jiǎxū* (day 11): Up until *dīng*. (To be) used. #1 #2

(4) #1

(5) #2

(6) #3

(Wǔ group)

⁴¹ This is the first appearance of this personal name in the inscriptional record.

⁴² I follow Liu Yiman 2011b, p. 11–12 on this joining.

339

(1) 一

(2) 一

(3) 一

(1) #1

(2) #1

(3) #1

(Unassigned)

340

(1) 甲午卜：庚子十牢。用。昃雨，妹盍日啟（啓）。 一

(2) 甲午卜：十筭。 一 二

(3) 辛丑卜：井（井）勺母，夙畀。 一

(4) 不其畀。 一

(5) 辛丑☱。 一

(6) [辛]☱。 一

(7) 一 二

(8) 一 二

(1) Crack-making on *jiǎwǔ* (day 31): On *gēngzǐ* (day 37), (sacrifice) ten penned cattle. (To be) used. In the afternoon it rained; in the late afternoon it did not open (the sky did not clear). #1

(2) Crack-making on *jiǎwǔ* (day 31): (Sacrifice) ten penned ovicaprids. #1 #2

(3) Crack-making on *xīnchǒu* (day 38): (When we) request a consort from Jǐng, (they) will offer (her to us) before dawn. #1

(4) (They) will not offer (her). #1

(5) ... on *xīnchǒu* (day 38)... #1

(6) ... [on *xīn-*]... #1

(7) #1 #2

(8) #1 #2

(Shī group)

341

- (1) 戊辰卜貞：夫亡困。七月。
- (2) 甲申卜：卣雀父乙一牛。用。 一
- (3) 甲申卜貞：雀[不]囚。七月。允不。 五
- (4) 丁亥卜：虫大乙五牢。庚寅。 六
- (5) 丙申卜鼎（貞）：虫且（祖）丁五牢。用。丁酉。
- (6) 鼎（貞）：虫且（祖）丁三牢。不。 二
- (7) 丙辰鼎（貞）：虫大丁五牢。用。丁巳。 一
- (8) 己未卜：虫大庚三牢。不。 五
- (9) 己未鼎（貞）：弱虫大庚。用。 六
- (10) 辛酉鼎（貞）：子邈（通）☐。 一
- (11) 辛酉卜：于十一月立人。 二
- (12) 辛酉卜：☐于☐[曰]一月立[人]。 一 二
- (13) 辛酉卜：于二月立人。 一
- (14) [辛]☐☐：☐王出，若。九月。 二 三
- (15) 一 二
- (16) 三

- (1) Crack-making on *wùchén* (day 5), divined: In Fū there will be no disasters. Seventh month.
 - (2) Crack-making on *jiǎshēn* (day 21): Perform the exorcism ritual (for) Què to Father Yǐ (sacrificing) one head of cattle. (To be) used. #1
 - (3) Crack-making on *jiǎshēn* (day 21), divined: Què [will not] die. Seventh month. Indeed (he) did not. #5
 - (4) Crack-making on *dīnghài* (day 24): Make an offering to Dà Yǐ of five penned cattle. On *gēngyín* (day 27). #6
 - (5) Crack-making on *bīngshēn* (day 33), divined: Make an offering to Zǔ Dīng of five penned cattle. (To be) used. On *dīngyǒu* (day 34).
 - (6) Make an offering to Zǔ Dīng of three penned cattle. Do not.
 - (7) On *bīngchén* (day 53), divined: Make an offering to Dà Dīng of five penned cattle. (To be) used. On *dīngsì* (day 54). #1
 - (8) Crack-making on *jǐwèi* (day 56): Make an offering to Dà Gēng of three penned cattle. Do not. #5
 - (9) On *jǐwèi* (day 56), divined: (We) should not make an offering to Dà Gēng. (To be) used. #6
 - (10) On *xīnyǒu* (day 58), divined: Zǐ Tōng... #1
 - (11) Crack-making on *xīnyǒu* (day 58): In the eleventh month assemble people. #2
 - (12) Crack-making on *xīnyǒu* (day 58): ...on... [call?] in the first month assemble [people]. #1 #2
 - (13) Crack-making on *xīnyǒu* (day 58): In the second month assemble people. #1
 - (14) ... on *xīn*-... The king will go out, (which will be) approved. Ninth month. #2 #3
 - (15) #1 #2
 - (16) #3
- (Shī group)

342

(1) 甲申卜貞：雀不囚。允不。 一

(2) 甲申卜貞：雀其囚。不。

(3) 丙戌卜：又彳大丁五牢。 六

(4) 庚寅卜鼎（貞）：且（祖）辛五牢。用。辛[卯]。 一

(5) 庚[]甲[]。

(6) [丙申]卜鼎（貞）：且（祖）丁五牢。丁酉。

(7) 鼎（貞）：三牢且（祖）丁。不。 三

(8) 己未卜鼎（貞）：叔（督）弼虫大庚。用。 五

(1) Crack-making on *jiǎshēn* (day 21), divined: Què will not die. Indeed he did not. #1

(2) Crack-making on *jiǎshēn* (day 21), divined: Què may die. He did not.

(3) Crack-making on *bǐngxū* (day 23): Offer the X sacrifice to Dà Dīng with five penned cattle. #6

(4) Crack-making on *gēngyín* (day 27), divined: Make an offering to Zǔ Xīn of five penned cattle. (To be) used. On *xīn-* [*mǎo*] (day 28). #1

(5) *Gēng... jiǎ...*

(6) Crack-making on [*bǐngshēn* (day 33)], divined: (To) Zǔ Dīng (sacrifice) five penned cattle. On *dīngyǒu* (day 34).

(7) Divined: (Sacrifice) three penned cattle (to) Zǔ Dīng. Do not. #3

(8) Crack-making on *jǐwèi* (day 32), divined: At (some period of time),⁴³ (we) should not make an offering to Dà Gēng. (To be) used. #5

(Shī group)

343

癸亥卜：令雀伐羌、戛，雀留王史（事），不采？ (=悉=失？) 眾。 五

Crack-making on *guìhài* (day 60): Order Què to attack the Qiāng and the X; Què will manage the king's affairs and not lose the *zhòng* (masses). #5

(Shī group)

344

(1) □卯鼎（貞）：亡囚。 十月。

(2) [] [大]虎， [] 。

(1) On... *-mǎo*, divined: There will be no disaster. Tenth month.

(2) ... [large] tiger, (we will) catch it in a net.

(Shī group)

345

[] 。

...

(Unassigned)

⁴³ See Song Zhenhao 1991.

346

(1) 泪。

(2) 𠄎岳𠄎𠄎 (泪)。

(1) (Received from) X.

(2) ... Yuè... X

(Shī group)

347

二

#2

(Unassigned)

348

(1) 二

(2) 三

(1) #2

(2) #3

(Unassigned)

349

(1) 丁酉卜：步。一

(2) 庚午贞。二二

(3) 三

(4) 一

(5) 一

(1) Crack-making on *dīngyǒu* (day 34): (We will) walk (=set out). #1

(2) On *gēngwǔ* (day 7), divined. #2 #2

(3) #3

(4) #1

(5) #1

(Period I)

350

(1) 己酉卜：爇𤑔。二月。庚用。之夕雨。一 二

(2) 夷翌庚[爇]𤑔。之夕雨。一 四

(3) 庚戌卜：𤑔勿爇。二告。用。

(4) 丙辰卜：雨。今日𠄎。一

(1) Crack-making on *jǐyǒu* (day 46): Perform the *jiǎo* sacrifice with a *jī*-victim. Second month. On *gēng* (day 47), used. When it came to evening it rained. #1 #2

(2) It should be that next *geng* (day 47) (we) [perform the *jiǎo* sacrifice] with a *jī*-victim. When it came to evening it rained. #1 #4

(3) Crack-making on *gēngxū* (day 47): Wait; we should not (yet) perform the *jiǎo* sacrifice. Second report. (To be) used.

(4) Crack-making on *bǐngchén* (day 53): It will rain. Today... #1
(Wǔ group)

351

(1) 己酉卜：今日步。二

(2) 于翌日庚戌步。二

(3) 二

(1) Crack-making on *jǐyǒu* (day 46): Today (we should) walk (=set out). #2

(2) On the next day, *gēngxū* (day 47), (we should) walk (=set out). #2

(3) #2

(Li II)

[Joined inscriptions: CZN 351 + CZN 501]⁴⁴

(1) 丙午貞：丁未𠄎。二

(2) 弗步，雨。二

(3) 丁未貞：于𠄎。

(4) 二

(5) 二

(6) 己酉卜：今日步。二

(7) 于翌日庚戌步。二

(8) 二

(1) On *bǐngwǔ* (day 43), divined: On *dīngwèi* (day 44)... #2

(2) (We) should not walk (=set out); it will rain. #2

(3) On *dīngwèi* (day 44), divined: On...

(4) #2

(5) #2

(6) Crack-making on *jǐyǒu* (day 46): Today (we should) walk (=set out). #2

(7) On the next day, *gēngxū* (day 47), (we should) walk (=set out). #2

(8) #2

(Li II)

⁴⁴ For this joined inscription, I follow Mo Bofeng 2012a.

352

甲戌卜：其[午]于父己至[]。

Crack-making on *jiǎxū* (day 11): (We) should perhaps perform the exorcism ritual to from Father Jǐ to...

(Wǔ group)

[Joined inscriptions CZN 352 + CZN 364]⁴⁵

(1) 甲戌卜：其[午]于父己至[]。

(2) 甲戌卜：其來于[]羊百、辛（[]）牛百、黃璧五。四 五

(3) 壬午：來，其入[]直。六

(4) 二 三

(1) Crack-making on *jiǎxū* (day 11): (We) should perhaps perform the exorcism ritual to from Father Jǐ to...

(2) Crack-making on *jiǎxū* (day 11): We should perhaps bring from Zhū 100 ovicaprids, 100 reddish oxen, and five yellow jade discs.⁴⁶ #4 #5

(3) On *rénwǔ* (day 19): In bringing (them in) [cont'd from above?], (we) should perhaps put them directly (?) into the tower (?). #6

(4) #2 #3

(Wǔ group)

353

[]卜，扶：[令] []（[]）[]子[]。 二

Crack-making on..., Fú (divined): (The king) [orders] that a sacrifice... Zǐ... #2

(Shī group)

[For joined inscriptions CZN 316 + CZN 353, see 316]

354

壬午卜：[]。

Crack-making on *rénwǔ* (day 19): Perform the *jiǎo* sacrifice...

(Period I)

⁴⁵ I follow Jiang Yubin 2012 on the joining of these inscriptions.

⁴⁶ Liu Yuan interprets [] here as '進獻、貢納' and rearranges the sentence to 于其來，[]羊百、牛百、黃[]、璧五"; 釋文 interpretes [] and 辛 both as placenames (Liu Yuan 2012).

355

(1) 戊卜：雨。二

(2) 戊：雨。一

(3) 戊[卜]：雨。己酉雨。三

(4) 庚戌[卜]：祭東，牛三。三

(5) 攀禾甲大。一

(6) 𠄎。三

(7) 二三

(8) 三

(1) Crack-making on wù (-shēn, day 45): It will rain. #2

(2) On wù: It will rain. #1

(3) [Crack-making] on wù: It will rain. On jǐyǒu (day 46), it rained. #3

(4) [Crack-making] on gēngxū (day 47): Perform the liǎo burning sacrifice to the East, (sacrificing) three cattle. #3

(5) Pray for the grain (harvest) to Jiǎ Dà (=Dà Jiǎ). #1

(6) X. #3

(7) #2 #3

(8) #3

(Wǔ group)

356

(1) 辛亥[卜]：𠄎老佳若。三

(2) 𠄎佳若。三

(3) 癸丑卜：勿宏。三

(4) [弇]𠄎。三

(1) [Crack-making] on xīnhài (day 48): X-lǎo will be approved. #3

(2) (He) will not be approved. #3

(3) Crack-making on guǐchǒu (day 50): (We) should not attack. #3

(4) [Do not]... #3

(Lì II)

357

- (1) 丙申卜：𠄎倅于母戊。 二
- (2) 丙申卜：□倅于𠄎。 二
- (3) 丙申卜：𠄎倅于匕（妣）辛。 二
- (4) 𠄎廬豕。
- (5) 二 三

(1) Crack-making on *bǐngshēn* (day 33): Perform the exorcism ritual for Xīn to Mother Wù. #2

(2) Crack-making on *bǐngshēn* (day 33) ... Xīn to... #2

(3) Crack-making on *bǐngshēn* (day 33): Perform the exorcism ritual for Xīn to Ancestress Xīn. #2

(4) ... dismember a pig.

(5) #2 #3

(Wǔ group)

358

壬貞：子𠄎川𠄎。

On *rén*, divined: Zǐ... flow (???)...

(Unassigned)

359

- (1) [癸]□貞：[旬]亡𠄎。
- (2) 癸未貞：旬亡𠄎。 [三]
- (3) 癸巳貞：旬亡𠄎。 三
- (4) 癸巳貞：旬亡𠄎。 三
- (5) 癸□。 三

(1) On [*guǐ*-]..., divined: [In the next ten days] there will be no disaster.

(2) On *guǐwèi* (day 20), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster. [#3]

(3) Crack-making on *guǐsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster. #3

(4) On *guǐsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster. #3

(5) On *guǐ*-... #3

(Lì I)

360

(1) [辛]☱率☱。

(2) 辛丑卜：夷壬爇雨。二

(3) 辛丑卜：夷癸爇雨。二

(4) 乙巳卜：受禾。二

(5) 丙☱。一

(1) ... [on *xīn*-]... entirely (or rope?)...

(2) Crack-making on *xīnchǒu* (day 38): It should be on *rén* (-*yín*, day 39) that (we) perform the *jiǎo* sacrifice for rain. #2

(3) Crack-making on *xīnchǒu* (day 38): It should be on *guǐ* (-*mǎo*, day 40) that (we) perform the *jiǎo* sacrifice for rain. #2

(4) Crack-making on *yǐsì* (day 42): (We) will receive the grain (harvest). #2

(5) ...*bǐng*-... #1

(Lì I)

361

(1) 乙☱☱：卣☱[姪]☱。

(2) 乙卯卜：卣帚（婦）姪于☱。二 三

(3) 乙卯卜：夷豕羊。

(1) ... on *yǐ*-... Perform the exorcism ritual for... [Yù]...

(2) Crack-making on *yǐmǎo* (day 52): Perform the exorcism ritual for Fù Yù to... #2 #3

(3) Crack-making on *yǐmǎo* (day 52): (The sacrifice) should be done with a pig and an ovicaprid.

(Wǔ group)

362

(1) 丁卯癸☱。

(2) 丁卯[癸]☱。

(3) 𦉳（網）☱。一

(4) 𦉳（弓）☱。一

(1) On *dīngmǎo* (day 4), processed (?)...

(2) On *dīngmǎo* (day 4), [processed]...

(3) Net... #1

(4) Bow... #1

(Lì group)

363

(1) 丁巳貞：其𠄎役（疫）于四方，其三犬。 三

(2) 其𠄎役（疫），其五十犬。 三

(3) 甲子貞：王令先嗥父𠄎（关）工。 三

(4) [其]𠄎。

(1) On *dīngsì* (day 54), divined: If we pacify the plague⁴⁷ (by sacrificing) to the Four Directions, we should perhaps (sacrifice) three dogs. #3

(2) In pacifying the plague, we should perhaps (sacrifice) fifty dogs. #3

(3) On *jiǎzǐ* (day 1), divined: The king will order Xiān Zào Fù to pursue and attack the Gōng. #3

(4) [If]...

(Li II)

364

(1) 甲戌卜：其來于龜羊百、辛（駢）牛百、黃璧五。 四五

(2) 壬午：來，其入[臺]直。 六

(3) 二 三

(1) Crack-making on *jiǎxū* (day 11): We should perhaps bring from Zhū 100 ovicaprids, 100 reddish oxen, and five yellow jade discs.⁴⁸ #4 #5

(2) On *rénwǔ* (day 19): In bringing (them in) [cont'd from above?], (we) should perhaps put them directly (?) into the tower (?). #6

(3) #2 #3

(Wǔ group)

[For joined inscriptions CZN 352 + CZN 364, see 352]

365

(1) 毛（舌）且（祖）庚夷羊。不。 一二四

(2) 自𠄎（示）毛（舌）于咸𠄎。 二

(3) 己卯卜：𠄎入乙𠄎。 一四

(1) In performing the *tuō* dismemberment sacrifice (to) Zǔ Gēng, (the victim) should be an ovicaprid. (It should) not. #1 #2 #4

(2) From the altar perform the *tuō* dismemberment sacrifice to all ?? (???). #2

(3) Crack-making on *jǐmǎo* (day 16): ... Rù Yǐ... #1 #4

(Wǔ group)

⁴⁷ See footnote to CZN 228, above, for an explanation of the transcription and interpretation of the graph transcribed here as *yì* 役（疫）‘plague’. The editors of CZN originally transcribed it as *jí* 徭, suggesting that it may be the name of a kind of disaster (*zāihài* 災害; see CZN p. 707).

⁴⁸ See Han Jianguo 2013, p. 120.

366

(1) 己亥卜：庚子朔祭羊一、豕，咸才（在）木，卯于[禱]。

(2) 夷甲辰歲豕于石午。 三

(3) 歲于匕（妣）乙。

(1) Crack-making on *jǐhài* (day 36): On *gēngzǐ* (day 37), before dusk, perform the *liǎo* burning sacrifice with one ovicaprid and a pig, completely (performing the ceremony) at Mù, and perform the *mǎo* splitting sacrifice to [X].

(2) It should be on *jiǎchén* (day 41) that (we) *sui*-sacrifice a pig to Shí in exorcism.⁴⁹ #3

(3) (Sacrifice) swine to Ancestress Yǐ.

(Wǔ group)

[Joined inscriptions CZN 366 + CZN 459]⁵⁰

(1) 己亥卜：庚子朔祭羊一、豕，咸才（在）木，卯于[禱]。

(2) 己亥卜：庚子朔祭于門，羊、白豕。

(3) 雨。𠄎[𠄎]𠄎。

(4) 夷甲辰歲豕于石午。 三

(5) 歲于匕（妣）乙。

(6) 𠄎[石]𠄎[𠄎]𠄎[𠄎]𠄎。

(1) Crack-making on *jǐhài* (day 36): On *gēngzǐ* (day 37), before dusk, perform the *liǎo* burning sacrifice with one ovicaprid and a pig, completely (performing the ceremony) at Mù, and perform the *mǎo* splitting sacrifice to [X].

(2) Crack-making on *jǐhài* (day 36): On *gēngzǐ* (day 37), before dusk, perform the *liǎo* burning sacrifice at the gate with an ovicaprid and a white pig.

(3) It will rain. Y [Z]...

(4) It should be on *jiǎchén* (day 41) that (we) *sui*-sacrifice a pig to Shí in exorcism. #3

(5) (Sacrifice) swine to Ancestress Yǐ.

(6) ... [Shí]... A... [B]...

(Wǔ group)

367

二

#2

(Unassigned)

⁴⁹ I fill in the graph *yù* 午] ‘exorcism’ here following Zhao Peng 2012, but I do not follow Zhao in understanding the particle *huì* 夷 that I have placed on this line as being the first graph of my line (3), not line (2).

⁵⁰ I follow Liu Yiman 2011a on the joining of these inscriptions; cf Zhao Peng 2012.

368

(1) 不雨。一

(2) 一

(1) It will not rain. #1

(2) #1

(Li II)

369

☐。

...

(Unassigned)

370

☐乞胸骨三。

... received from Gòu (?) three scapulae.

(Li II)

371

(1) 一 二 三 四 五

(2) ☐。 一 二 三

(3) 一 二 三

(1) #1 #2 #3 #4 #5

(2) ... #1 #2 #3

(3) #1 #2 #3

(Unassigned)

372

(1) ☐于☐。

(2) ☐[匕(妣)辛]☐。

(1) ... to...

(2) ... [Ancestress Xīn]...

(Unassigned)

373

(1) [丁]☐。 三

(2) 戊子卜：至壬辰雨。不雨。 三

(3) 戊[子]☐：今夕☐雨。 一

(1) ... [on *dīng*]... #3

(2) Crack-making on *wùzǐ* (day 25): When it comes to *rénchén* (day 29), it will rain. It will not rain. #3

(3) ... on *wù- -zǐ* (day 25): This evening... rain. #1

(Li II)

374

丙申卜：王步，丁酉易（暘）日。二月。三

Crack-making on *bǐngshēn* (day 33): If the king walks (=sets out), on *dīngyǒu* (day 34), clouds will cover the sun. Second month. #3

(Lì I)

375

(1) 庚☱受☱。 一

(2) 王令束人于虫[圣]☱。 一

(3) 王令疢人圣田于酉⁵¹（裸？）。 一

(1) On *gēng*... X... #1

(2) The king will order people of Cì to Yòu [to open up (the fields)]... #1

(3) The king will order people of Yòu to open up the fields⁵¹ at Guàn (?). #1

(Lì II)

376

(1) 丙☱。 一

(2) 暮。 一

(1) On *bǐng*... #1

(2) At dusk. #1

(Unassigned)

377

(1) 己雨。 二

(2) 庚雨。 二

(3) 二

(4) 二

(1) On *jǐ* it will rain. #2

(2) On *gēng* it will rain. #2

(3) #2

(4) #2

(Lì I)

378

丁酉東門☱。

On *dīngyǒu* (day 34), (at) the east gate...

(Period I)

⁵¹ For *kūtián* 圣田 ‘open up fields’, see Keightley 2012, p. 322.

379

□申卜：□𠄎。

Crack-making on... -*shēn*:... swine
(Wǔ group)

380

庚戌𠄎乞骨六，𠄎。

On *gēngxū* (day 47), (we) processed (?) and received six scapulae, (from) Gòu.
(Lì I)

381

□翌毛（舌）辛亥。二

... carved for the *yì* ritual⁵² on *xīnhài* (day 48). #2
(Lì I)

382

(1) 丙辰卜：戊羊，𠄎 豕。 三

(2) 己𠄎。 一

(3) 一

(4) 一

(1) Crack-making on *bǐngchén* (day 53): On *wù* (-*wǔ*, day 55), (sacrifice) an ovicaprid, and to X perform the *liǎo* sacrifice with a pig. #3

(2) ... *jǐ*... #1

(3) #1

(4) #1

(Period I?)

383

壬卜：辰來方。

Crack-making on *rén*: On *chén*-day will arrive the *fang*.
(Period I?)

384⁵³

□工□旬□。

... offer... ten days...

(Bīn group)⁵⁴

⁵² See Schwartz 2013, p. 210, n. 51.

⁵³ This piece could perhaps be combined with CZN 455; see Jiang Yubin 2012.

⁵⁴ This piece is perhaps too small to be conclusively identified with a particular group, but I have tentatively assigned it to the Bīn group as it seems to match CZN 455, a Bīn group inscription.

385

(1) 己亥[卜]: 虫歲[羊]二。

(2) [羊]虫[乙] [馬]二 [豕]二 [羊]二。

(1) [Crack-making] on *jǐhài* (day 36): Offer the *sui* sacrifice... two ovicaprids.

(2) ... offer... *yǐ*, two [horses]... two boars and two rams.

(Wǔ group)

386

[X] [妣] [X]。

... X (?) Ancestress Y...

(Unassigned)

387

(1) [易 (暘)] 日。 一

(2) [卯]。

(3) 一

(1) ... [clouds will cover] the sun. #1

(2) ... *mǎo*...

(3) #1

(Unassigned)

388

[X]。

...

(Unassigned)

389

(1) 乙卯[卜]: 帚 (婦) 又, 弗媿 (艱)。 一

(2) [媿] 又 [媿]。

(1) ... on *yǐmǎo* (day 52... (If we to) Fù X make an offering, there will be no calamity. #1

(2) ... Rǎn... make an offering...

(Wǔ group)

[For joined inscriptions CZN 337 + CZN 389, see 337]

390

(1) 癸 [啓] 卜: 甲申啟 (啓)。 三

(2) 不易 (暘) 日。 三

(1) Crack-making on *guǐwèi* (day 20): On *jiǎshēn* (day 21), (the clouds will) open (=break). #3

(2) Clouds will not cover the sun. #3

(Shī group)

391

辛未乞骨☱。

On *xīnwèi* (day 8), (we) received scapulae...
(Lì group)

392

—

#1

(Unassigned)

393

(1) 甲辰☱[舞雨]☱。三

(2) ☱。

(1) On *jiǎchén* (day 41)... [dance for rain]... #3

(2) ...

(Shī group)

394

(1) 三

(2) 三

(1) #3

(2) #3

(Unassigned)

395

乙丑卜：又且（祖）乙。三

Crack-making on *yǐchǒu* (day 2): Make an offering to Zǔ Yǐ. #3
(Shī group)

396

弼依☱。四

(We) wil not *yī* (?)... #4

(Unassigned)

397

[壬]辰三☱。

[On *rén*] -*chén* (day 29), three...

(Unassigned)

398

☱[匕（妣）]☱[四月]。

... [Ancestress]... [Fourth month].

(Unassigned)

399

[辛]丑卜：壬雨。允雨。

Crack-making on [xīn] -chǒu (day 38): On rén (-yín, day 39), it will rain. Indeed it rained.
(Lì I)

400

☱兄丁☱。

... Brother Dīng...

(Shī group)

401

(1) 吉。

(2) 大吉。

(1) Auspicious.

(2) Greatly auspicious.

(Nameless group)

402

(1) 庚戌才（在）夫田，旅☱。

(2) ☱王☱。

(3) 大吉。

(1) On gēngxū (day 47), hunting at Fū, the army...

(2) ... the king...

(3) Greatly auspicious.

(Nameless group)

403

(1) 今來辛☱稔禾[于]☱。

(2) 于來辛巳酉，受禾。

(1) This coming xīn-... pray for the grain (harvest) [to]...

(2) On the coming xīnsì (day 18), perform the yǒu sacrifice; (we) will receive the grain (harvest).

(Nameless group)

404

(1) 癸丑卜：☱日亞，五十。

(2) ☱卜：旬，攸。

(1) Crack-making on guǐchǒu (day 50): ... day fifty yà officials...

(2) Crack-making on...: In the next ten days at Yōu.

(Wǔ group)

405

貞：☱六月。

Divined: ... sixth month.

(Wǔ group)

406

(1) 庚午卜：王其田，夷翌日辛☱。

(2) ☱。

(3) ☱王其田，夷[翌]☱。

(1) Crack-making on *gēngwǔ* (day 7): If the king hunts, it should be on the next day, *xīn-*

...

(2) ...

(3) ... if the king hunts, it should be on [the next]...

(Nameless group)

407

(1) 牢☱。

(2) 牢又☱。

(1) Pinned cattle...

(2) Pinned cattle, offer...

(Nameless group)

408

(1) ☱即宗☱。 一

(2) ☱。

(1) ... go to the ancestral tablet... #1

(2) ...

(Lì II)

409

乙酉卜：二豝☱☱。

Crack-making on *yǐyǒu* (day 22): Two boars, X (??)...

(Shī group)

410

(1) 辛丑卜貞：王其田亡災（災）。 一

(2) 壬寅卜貞：王其田亡災（災）。 一

(1) Crack-making on *xīnchǒu* (day 38), divined: If the king hunts there will be no harm.

#1

(2) Crack-making on *rényín* (day 39), divined: If the king hunts there will be no harm. #1

(Nameless group)

411

(1) 口申貞：又彳口于口（報）乙。不用。

(2) 口彳歲于口（報）乙，翌乙酉覓。

(1) On... -*shēn*, divined: Offer the X sacrifice... to Bào Yǐ. Do not use.

(2) ... the X and *suì* sacrifices to Bào Yǐ, and on the next *yǐyǒu* (day 22), perform the Mi sacrifice.

(Lì II)

412

(1) 敕卣凡（興）不口。 二

(2) 口死。

(1) (For) X, perform the exorcism ritual; he will rise (=recover) and not... #2

(2) ... die.

(Wǔ group?)

413

口于口。

... to...

(Unassigned)

414

(1) 口戌卜：口于父戌。 三

(2) 壬子卜：余午（卣）于且（祖）十口。

(1) Crack-making on... -*xū*: Offer... to Father Wù. #3

(2) Crack-making on *rénzǐ* (day 49): (For) me, perform the exorcism ritual to the ancestors, ten...

(Wǔ group)

415

(1) 癸酉。

(2) 甲。

(3) 乙未。

(1) *Guǐyǒu* (day 10).

(2) *Jiǎ*.

(3) *Yǐwèi* (day 32).

(Unassigned)

416

(1) 于山孚。

(2) 才（在）西元，史祝[龜]。

(1) To the Mountain, perform the pacification ceremony.

(2) ... at Western Yuán, the *shǐ* will invoke [(in order to pacify) the floods]...

(Nameless group)

417

(1) 庚。二

(2) 弔酉（裸）。二

(3) [其]祭。

(4) 。

(1) On *gēng*... #2

(2) (We) will not perform the *guàn* sacrifice. #2

(3) [(We) may] perform the *liǎo* sacrifice.

(4) ...

(Lì II)

418

吉。

Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

419

(1) 二

(2) 二

(3) 一

(1) #2

(2) #2

(3) #1

(Unassigned)

420

(1) [若]。

(2) 戊家。

(1) ... [will be approved].

(2) ... the house of Wù.

(Nameless group)

421

[孚][龜]。

... [pacify the floods]...

(Unassigned)

422

(1) 己未卜：其左（又）于[孫]☱。

(2) 其又于孫，夷☱。

(1) Crack-making on *jǐwèi* (day 56): If (we) make an offering to [Sūn]...

(2) If (we) make an offering to Sūn, it should be...

(Nameless group)

423

☱ 繫 ☱。

... X...

(Unassigned)

424

[吉]。一

[Auspicious]. #1

(Unassigned)

425

(1) [癸]☱[貞：旬亡]☱。 一

(2) 癸酉貞：旬亡☱。 一

(3) 癸未貞：旬亡☱。 一

(4) [癸巳貞：旬亡]☱。

(1) [On *guǐ*-]... [divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster]. #1

(2) On *guǐyǒu* (day 10), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster. #1

(3) On *guǐwèi* (day 20), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster. #1

(4) [On *guǐsì* (day 30), divined: In the next ten days there will be no disaster].

(Nameless group)

426

丙子卜：☱風京☱。

Crack-making on *bǐngzǐ* (day 13):... wind in Jīng...

(Lì I)

427⁵⁵

(1) 𠄎𠄎。

(2) [癸]丑貞：𠄎（疇），翌日[將]兄丁。

(3) 𠄎辰貞：又𠄎辛二𠄎，卯三[牢]。

(1) ... Gòu.

(2) [On *gui*] -*chǒu* (day 50), divined: Perform the *chóu* sacrifice; on the next day [perform the *jiàng* sacrifice] (to) Brother Dīng.

(3) ... -*chén*, divined: Offer... Xīn two X-victims, splitting three [penned cattle].

(Lì I)

428

(1) 𠄎。

(2) 𠄎巳卜𠄎。

(1) ...

(2) Crack-making on... -*sì*...

(Unassigned)

429

𠄎。一

... #1

(Unassigned)

430

(1) 夷犬自（師）𠄎𠄎每，亡戕。

(2) 弔比𠄎。

(1) It should be that the Quǎn troops... regret, there will be no harm.

(2) (We) will not ally with...

(Nameless group)

431

(1) 小乙歲，夷羊（駢）。

(2) 小乙，王夷幽牛。

(3) 小乙歲，夷黃牛。

(1) (For) Xiǎo Yǐ, in performing the *sui* sacrifice, (the king) should (use) reddish cattle.

(2) For Xiǎo Yǐ, the king should (use) black cattle.

(3) (For) Xiǎo Yǐ, in performing the *sui* sacrifice, (the king) should (use) yellow cattle.

(Nameless group)

⁵⁵ It has been proposed that this piece can be joined with CZN 499, but this does not seem to be the case (see Liu Fenghua 2012; especially the comment by Sun Yabing 孫亞冰 made on September 15, 2012).

432

(1) 庚寅卜：小乙歲，競于且（祖）乙。

(2) 弔競。茲用。

(1) Crack-making on *gēngyín* (day 27): (For) Xiǎo Yǐ perform the *sui* sacrifice, and perform the *jìng* sacrifice to Zǔ Yǐ.

(2) (We) will not perform the *jìng* sacrifice. Use this.

(Nameless group)

433

☐午[于]☐。

...wǔ [to]...

(Unassigned)

434

☐辰卜：其☐。

Crack-making on... -*chén*: (We) should perhaps...

(Unassigned)

435

貞。

Divined.

(Unassigned)

436

戊申卜：☐。

Crack-making on *wùshēn* (day 45):...

(Period I)

437

(1) 丁巳卜：其[𠄎]父己、帝[己]𠄎。

(2) 其[𠄎]☐。

(3) 其[𠄎]父己、帝己𠄎。

(1) Crack-making on *dīngsì* (day 54): (We) should perhaps [perform the X sacrifice] to Father Jǐ, and to Dì [Jǐ] the Y sacrifice.

(2) (We) should perhaps [perform the X sacrifice]...

(3) (We) should perhaps [perform the X sacrifice] to Father Jǐ, and to Dì Jǐ⁵⁶ the Y sacrifice.

(Nameless group)

⁵⁶ This is the first appearance of this ancestral title in the inscriptional record.

[Joined inscriptions CZN 437 + CZN 512]⁵⁷

(1) 丁巳卜：其[𠄎]父己、帝[己] 𠄎。

(2) 其[𠄎]𠄎。

(3) 其[𠄎]父己、帝己 𠄎。

(4) 匕（妣）己歲夷羊（駢）。

(5) 夷黑□。

(6) 歲夷牛。

(7) 庚□□：匕（妣）庚[歲]夷□。

(8) 夷小宰。

(9) 夷大宰。

(10) 夷牛。

(11) 其新（新）于宗。

(12) 其于宗。

(1) Crack-making on *dīngsì* (day 54): (We) should perhaps [perform the X sacrifice] to Father Jǐ, and to Dì [Jǐ] the Y sacrifice.

(2) (We) should perhaps [perform the X sacrifice]...

(3) (We) should perhaps [perform the X sacrifice] to Father Jǐ, and to Dì Jǐ the Y sacrifice.

(4) (For) Ancestress Jǐ, in performing the *sù* sacrifice, (the victims) should be reddish cattle.

(5) They should be black...

(6) (For) the *sù* sacrifice, (we) should use cattle.

(7) ... on *gēng*-... (For) Ancestress Gēng, [in performing the *sù* sacrifice], (the victims) should be...

(8) They should be small penned ovicaprids.

(9) They should be large penned cattle.

(10) They should be cattle.

(11) (We) should perhaps perform the *qīn* sacrifice at the ancestral tablet.

(12) It should perhaps be at the ancestral tablet.

(Nameless group)

438

[甲]𠄎酉[𠄎]丰（封）方𠄎于𠄎[余]𠄎。

[On *jiǎ*]... perform the *yǒu* sacrifice [to pray]... *fēngfāng*... to... [I]...

(Huáng group)

⁵⁷ For this joining, I follow Mo Bofeng 2012b.

439

(1) ☐。 二

(2) 己卯貞：王其中☐。 二

(3) 二

(1) ... #2

(2) On *jǐmǎo* (day 16), divined: the king may plant a flag⁵⁸ ... #2

(3) #2

(Unassigned)

440

(1) ☐。 二

(2) 二

(1) ... #2

(2) #2

(Unassigned)

441

三

#3

(Unassigned)

442

(1) ☐[辰]貞：☐。

(2) ☐☐卜：☐白母☐。 二月。

(1) ... *-chén*, divined: ...

(2) Crack-making on... White Mother... Second month.

(Period I)

443

(1) 丙子卜：祭[于]☐。 二

(2) 二

(1) Crack-making on *bǐngzǐ* (day 13): Perform the *liǎo* sacrifice [to]... #2

(2) #2

(Lǐ II)

⁵⁸ *Zhōng* 中 here is written with the graph that is usually used to write a title with a meaning along the line of “chief” or “elder”, not the graph that is usually used to write “flag” or “to plant a flag”. However, only the first of these meanings makes sense contextually here, so I have tentatively translated it in this way.

444
[貞]。
[Divined].
(Unassigned)

445
不☐。一
Do not... #1
(Period I)

446
三
#3
(Unassigned)

447
(1) 癸卯卜：余虫𠄎^𠄎直，余^𠄎。余用。 一
(2) 丁巳卜：虫于父己羊十。
(3) ☐☐卜：虫于☐。
(1) Crack-making on *guǐmǎo* (day 40): While I am offering X and Y, I will Z. I will use (this). #1
(2) Crack-making on *dīngsì* (day 54): Make an offering to Father Ji of ten ovicaprids.
(3) Crack-making on... Make an offering to...
(Wǔ group)

448
癸☐。
On *guǐ*...
(Unassigned)

449
(1) 癸酉：旬。三
(2) 癸未：旬。
(3) 癸巳：旬。三
(4) 癸巳：旬。三
(5) 癸卯：旬。二
(6) 癸丑：旬。一
(1) On *guǐyǒu* (day 10): The next ten days. #3
(2) On *guǐwèi* (day 20): The next ten days.
(3) On *guǐsì* (day 30): The next ten days. #3
(4) On *guǐsì* (day 30): The next ten days. #3
(5) On *guǐmǎo* (day 40): The next ten days. #2
(6) On *guǐchǒu* (day 50): The next ten days. #1
(Unassigned)

450

戊子卜：雨，壬、丁。 一

Crack-making on *wùzǐ* (day 25): It will rain on *rén* (-*chén*, day 29) and *dīng* (-*yǒu*, day 34). #1

(Unassigned)

451

(1) 癸亥：卣禾兮、河、岳。 二

(2) 癸亥卜：弔卣，受禾。 二

(3) 丙申卜：雨。 二

(4) 于巫帝（禘）犬、三豕、牛。夕雨。

(5) 上甲。 二

(6) 河。 二

(7) 上甲。 二

(8) 河。 二

(9) 卜：祭目（？）⁵⁹、羊。 二

(10) 戊：雨。 二

(11) 己卜：雨。 二

(12) 庚卜：雨。 二

(1) On *guīhài* (day 60): Perform the exorcism ritual (for) the grain (harvest) (to) Xī, Hé, and Yuè. #2

(2) Crack-making on *guīhài* (day 60): (Though we) will not perform the exorcism ritual, (we) will receive the grain (harvest). #2

(3) Crack-making on *bǐngshēn* (day 33): It will rain. #2

(4) Perform the *dì* sacrifice to Wū (with) a dog, three pigs, and a head of cattle. In the evening it will rain.

(5) (To) Shàng Jiǎ. #2

(6) (To) Hé. #2

(7) (To) Shàng Jiǎ. #2

(8) (To) Hé. #2

(9) Perform the *liǎo* sacrifice to Mù (?), X, and Yáng. #2

(10) On *wù*: It will rain. #2⁵⁹

(11) Crack-making on *jǐ*: It will rain. #2

(12) Crack-making on *gēng*: It will rain. #2

(Lì I)⁶⁰

⁵⁹ For lines (1), (2), (4), and (9), see Sun Yabing 2010, and for (9) and (10), see Liu Ying 2011b, p. 93–94.

⁶⁰ I follow Liu Ying in assigning this piece to the Lì I group (Liu Ying 2011b, p. 130).

452

- (1) 壬申卜：受禾。二
- (2) 壬申卜貞：文邑受禾。
- (3) 癸酉卜：受禾。二
- (4) 癸酉卜貞：文邑受禾。
- (5) 甲祭。二
- (6) 乙祭。二
- (7) 癸巳卜：丙祭，舞。二二
- (8) 癸祭。二
- (9) 祭。二
- (10) 二
- (1) Crack-making on *rénshēn* (day 9): (We) will receive the grain (harvest). #2
- (2) Crack-making on *rénshēn* (day 9), divined: The great settlement will receive the grain (harvest).
- (3) Crack-making on *guǐyǒu* (day 10): (We) will receive the grain (harvest). #2
- (4) Crack-making on *guǐyǒu* (day 10), divined: The great settlement will receive the grain (harvest).
- (5) On *jiǎ*, perform the *liǎo* sacrifice. #2
- (6) On *yǐ*, perform the *liǎo* sacrifice. #2
- (7) Crack-making on *guǐsì* (day 30): On *bǐng* (day 33), perform the *liǎo* sacrifice and a ritual dance. #2 #2
- (8) On *guǐ*, perform the *liǎo* sacrifice. #2
- (9) Perform the *liǎo* sacrifice. #2
- (10) #2
- (Unassigned)

453

- (1) 丙申卜：豨于父丁。
- (2) 丁酉卜：河𠄎于且（祖）戌牛，福□于天。
- (3) 辛丑卜：𠄎守告直于父戌羊。
- (4) 辛丑卜：𠄎守直𠄎尹。
- (5) 不𠄎（求＝咎）。
- (6) 于攻羊。
- (1) Crack-making on *bǐngshēn* (day 33): (Sacrifice) a boar to Father Dīng.
- (2) Crack-making on *dīngyǒu* (day 34): (For) Hé, perform the exorcism ritual to Zǔ Wù (with) a head of cattle, and perform the *fú* sacrifice... to Heaven.
- (3) Crack-making on *xīnchǒu* (day 38): Perform the exorcism ritual for Shǒu,⁶¹ simultaneously (?) reporting to Father Wù, (sacrificing) an ovicaprid.
- (4) Crack-making on *xīnchǒu* (day 38): (Do some action) (to/for) Shǒu while (doing some action) (to/for) Yǐn.
- (5) It will not be calamitous.
- (6) To Gōng (sacrifice) an ovicaprid.
- (Wǔ group)

⁶¹ This is the first appearance of this name in the inscriptional record.

454⁶²

(1) 翌乙巳相。 一

(2) 二告。 一一

(3) 一一一

(4) 一二

(1) The next *yǐsì* (day 42), make an inspection. #1

(2) Second report. #1 #1

(3) #1 #1 #1

(4) #1 #2

(Bīn group)

455⁶³

(1) 工（貢？）三，旬勿矢𠄎。

(2) 不佳𠄎。

Offer (?) the three *fǎ* sacrifice; in the next ten days, do not *cè* (a ritual motion??)...

(2) There is not...

(Bīn group)

456

(1) [乙]□[貞]□[禾]𠄎。

(2) 乙亥貞：奉禾于河，受禾。 三

(1) [On *yǐ*-] ..., [divined]: ... [the grain (harvest)]...

(2) On *yǐhài* (day 12), divined: Pray for the grain (harvest) to Hé; (we) will receive the grain (harvest). #3

(Lì II)

⁶² This piece could perhaps be joined with 332; see Jiang Yubin 2012.

⁶³ This piece could perhaps be joined with CZN 384; see Jiang Yubin 2012.

457

(1) 丁未卜：于兄己𠄎石，力（妀=嘉）。

(2) 丁未卜貞：𠄎石于且（祖）乙，力（妀=嘉）。十月。

(3) 戊申卜：于且（祖）庚𠄎石，力（妀=嘉）。

(4) 戊申卜：弱𠄎亡困。

(5) 戊申卜：尹其田，亡困。

(1) Crack-making on *dīngwèi* (day 44): To Brother Jǐ perform the exorcism ritual for Shí; (this will be) auspicious.

(2) Crack-making on *dīngwèi* (day 44), divined: Perform the exorcism ritual for Shí to Zǔ Yǐ; (this will be) auspicious. Tenth month.

(3) Crack-making on *wùshēn* (day 45): To Zǔ Gēng perform the exorcism ritual for Shí; (this will be) auspicious.

(4) Crack-making on *wùshēn* (day 45): (We) will not perform the exorcism ritual and there will be no disaster.

(5) Crack-making on *wùshēn* (day 45): If Yǐn hunts, there will be no disaster.

(Wǔ group)

458

(1) 丙申☱。 三

(2) 甲辰卜：☱。 二

(3) 壬子卜貞：𠄎其步。 一 二

(4) 一 二

(5) 一 二 三

(1) On *bǐngshēn* (day 33)... #3

(2) Crack-making on *jiǎchén* (day 41)... #2

(3) Crack-making on *rénzǐ* (day 49), divined: X should perhaps walk (=set out). #1 #2

(4) #1 #2

(5) #1 #2 #3

(Period I)

459

(1) 己亥卜：庚子𠄎祭于門，羊、白豕。

(2) 雨。𠄎[𠄎]☱。

(3) ☱[石]☱ 命☱[𠄎]。

(1) Crack-making on *jǐhài* (day 36): On *gēngzǐ* (day 37), before dusk, perform the *liǎo* burning sacrifice at the gate with an ovicaprid and a white pig.

(2) It will rain. Y [Z]...

(3) ... [Shí]... A... [B]...

(Wǔ group)

[For joined inscriptions CZN 366 + CZN 459, see 366]

460

己巳卜：示牛父庚舊司（祠）𠄎。三

Crack-making on *jǐsì* (day 6): Perform the *shì* sacrifice (with) a head of cattle to Father Gēng in the old ancestral hall... #3

(Period I)

461

(1) 甲申其率河。

(2) 祭五牛。

(3) 卯五牛河。

(4) 乙[酉]河沈五牛。

(5) 戊戌其率禾于岳。

(6) 戊戌其率禾于夔。

(7) 甲。

(8) 乙。

(9) 丙。

(10) 歲。

(1) On *jiǎshēn* (day 21) (we) should perhaps pray to Hé.

(2) Perform the *liǎo* sacrifice with five cattle.

(3) Perform the *mǎo* sacrifice with five cattle (to) Hé.

(4) On *yǐ* [-*yǒu*] (day 22) (to) Hé drown five cattle.

(5) On *wùxū* (day 35) we should perhaps pray for the grain (harvest) to Yuè.

(6) On *wùxū* (day 35) we should perhaps pray for the grain (harvest) to Náo.

(7) On *jiǎ*.

(8) On *yǐ*.

(9) On *bǐng*.

(10) Perform the *suì* sacrifice.

(Li group)

462

- (1) 丙辰卜：午（𠄎）于石甲甗。 四
- (2) 壬午卜：夷今日祭鬯上戊。用。 一
- (3) 壬午卜：祭鬯上戊示。
- (4) 壬午卜：十月。 四
- (5) 十月。 三
- (6) 二 三
- (7) 二 三

(1) Crack-making on *bǐngchén* (day 53): Perform the exorcism ritual to Shí Jiǎ with swine. #4

(2) Crack-making on *rénwǔ* (day 19): (We) should today perform the *liǎo* sacrifice and (offer) sacrificial ale (to) Shàng Wù.⁶⁴ (To be) used. #1

(3) Crack-making on *rénwǔ* (day 19): Perform the *liǎo* sacrifice and (offer) sacrificial ale (to) the ancestral tablet of Shàng Wù.

(4) Crack-making on *rénwǔ* (day 19): Tenth month. #4

(5) Tenth month. #3

(6) #2 #3

(7) #2 #3

(Wǔ group)

463

辛未卜：鼯（元）大示。

Crack-making on *xīnwèi* (day 8): The Primary Great Ancestors (?).
(Lì II)

464

庚申卜：令。

Crack-making on *gēngshēn* (day 57): Order.
(Wǔ group)

465

(1) 弼又。 二

(2) 二

(1) (We) will not make an offering. #2

(2) #2

(Lì II)

466

—

#1

(Unassigned)

⁶⁴ This is the first appearance of this ancestor in the inscriptional record. This is especially interesting, as this is a non-royal inscription.

467

(1) 己[亥]貞☱。

(2) [戊]午貞：受禾。三

(1) On *jǐ* [-*hài*] (day 36), divined...

(2) [On *wù*] -*wǔ* (day 55), divined: (We) will receive the grain (harvest). #3
(Unassigned)

468

(1) 己丑卜：夷爵。

(2) 己丑卜：卯用羊。

(3) 甲午卜：鼎鬲（婦）廿，[出]歲。

(4) 乙未卜：于庚正（各？ = 格）畀。三

(5) 乙未卜：正出日戊。一

(6) 一 二

(7) 二 三

(1) Crack-making on *jǐchǒu* (day 26): (We) should perform the *jué* ewer sacrifice.

(2) Crack-making on *jǐchǒu* (day 26): In the *mǎo* splitting sacrifice, use an ovicaprid.

(3) Crack-making on *jiǎwǔ* (day 31): Perform the *jí* (?) sacrifice (to) the Consorts Twenty (???) and [offer] the *sù* sacrifice.

(4) Crack-making on *yǐwèi* (day 32): On *gēng* day (we) will arrive at X. #3

(5) Crack-making on *yǐwèi* (day 32): (For) the campaign (?) make an offering on the day *wù* (??). #1

(6) #1 #2

(7) #2 #3

(Wǔ group)

[Joined inscriptions CZN 468 + Tunnan 2118]⁶⁵

(1) 己丑卜：夷爵。

(2) 己丑[卜]☐

(3) 己丑卜：卯用羊。

(4) 己丑卜：帚（婦）石祭爵于南庚。

(5) 甲午卜：罍帚（婦）廿，[出]歲。

(6) 甲午卜：[罍帚（婦）]十，出歲。

(7) 乙未卜：于庚正（各？ = 格）畀。三

(8) 夷庚罍畀。

(9) 乙未卜：正出日戊。一

(10) 一 二

(11) 二 三

(12) 二 三

(1) Crack-making on *jǐchǒu* (day 26): (We) should perform the *jué* ewer sacrifice.

(2) [Crack-making] on *jǐchǒu* (day 26)...

(3) Crack-making on *jǐchǒu* (day 26): In the *mǎo* splitting sacrifice, use an ovicaprid.

(4) Crack-making on *jǐchǒu* (day 26): Fù Shí will perform the *liǎo* burning sacrifice and the *jué* ewer sacrifice to Nán Gēng.

(5) Crack-making on *jiǎwǔ* (day 31): Perform the *ji* (?) sacrifice (to) the Consorts Twenty (???) and [offer] the *sui* sacrifice.

(6) Crack-making on *jiǎwǔ* (day 31): [Perform the *ji* (?) sacrifice (to) the Consorts Ten (???) and offer the *sui* sacrifice.

(7) Crack-making on *yǐwèi* (day 32): On *gēng* day (we) will arrive at X. #3

(8) (We) should on *gēng* day perform the *ji* (?) sacrifice (in order to gain assistance for the campaign against) X.

(9) Crack-making on *yǐwèi* (day 32): (For) the campaign (?) make an offering on the day *wù* (???) . #1

(10) #1 #2

(11) #2 #3

(12) #2 #3

(Wǔ group)

469

☐甲辰令阜☐受又。

... on *jiǎchén* (day 41) order Qín... receive blessings.

(Lì II)

⁶⁵ I follow Liu Yiman 2011a on this joining.

470

(1) 戊戌卜：𠄎父、母辛。

(2) 庚戌卜：雨。壬子雨。 二

(3) 己卯貞。

(1) Crack-making on *wùxū* (day 35): Perform the exorcism ritual to Father and Mother Xīn.

(2) Crack-making on *gēngxū* (day 47): It will rain. On *rénzǐ* (day 49), it rained. #2

(3) On *jǐmǎo*, divined.

(Wǔ group)

471

𠄎 淮 辱。

??⁶⁶

(Unassigned)

472

(1) 癸丑貞：今十月虫。 二

(2) 戊寅卜貞：虫 𠄎 (=來?)，午 (𠄎) 于見 (獻) 丁豨 (=𠄎于丁，獻豨?)。不用。 二

(1) On *guǐchǒu* (day 50), divined: This tenth month make an offering. #2

(2) Crack-making on *wùyín* (day 15), divined: Make an offering (to) Lái (?), and perform the exorcism ritual on *dīng*, offering a boar (?). Do not use. #2

(Wǔ group)

473⁶⁷

(1) 辛亥貞：☐。 一一

(2) 一

(3) 一

(1) On *xīnhài* (day 48), divined:... #1 #1

(2) #1

(3) #1

(Unassigned)

474

辛卜：母 (毋) 虫歲 𠄎 羊、四豕。

Crack-making on *xīn*: Do not offer the *sui* sacrifice (to) X (with) an ovicaprid and four pigs.

(Wǔ group)

⁶⁶ These brush-written graphs are otherwise unattested and without context; thus I have not attempted to translate them.

⁶⁷ CZN 487 could perhaps be added to this inscription; see Li Aihui 2012b.

475

庚午卜：亞雀弗戔（翦）方印（抑）？ 一 二 三 四

Crack-making on *gēngwǔ* (day 7): Will Yà Què not exterminate the *fāng*? #1 #2 #3 #4
(Wǔ group)

476

☐^𠄎☐正。用。

... X... correct. (To be) used.

(Unassigned)

477

(1) 丙[子卜]：祭[土]☐，于[上甲]☐卯☐。 一

(2) 祭九牢，卯十牛。 一

(3) 丙子卜：隹^𠄎𠄎（害）雨。 一

(4) 弗𠄎雨。 一

(5) 于示壬五小宰。

(1) [Crack-making] on *bǐng* [-zǐ] (day 13): Perform the *liǎo* sacrifice (to) the Earth..., to [Shàng Jiǎ]... split... #1

(2) Perform the *liǎo* sacrifice with nine penned cattle and split ten cattle. #1

(3) Crack-making on *bǐngzǐ* (day 13): It is X who is harming the rain. #1

(2) (He) is not harming the rain. #1

(5) To Shì Rén (sacrifice) five small penned ovicaprids.

(Lì II)

478

- (1) 壬戌卜，才（在）辰：卯于比（妣）乙。牢。不。用。 一 二
- (2) 癸亥卜：于且（祖）乙虫歲牛。 一
- (3) 癸亥卜：于且（祖）庚虫歲牛。 一
- (4) 癸亥卜，才（在）子：午辰于母乙，臣于且（祖）庚，卯羊二，豕二。
- (5) 癸亥卜：于兄己虫歲[牛]。 一
- (6) 癸亥卜：于司己虫歲牛。 三
- (7) 乙丑卜：攀姪生于龍。 一

(8) 二

(9) 二

(10) 三 四

(11) 二

(12) 二 三

(13) 一 二

- (1) Crack-making on *rénxū* (day 59), at Fú: Perform the *mǎo* sacrifice to Ancestress Yǐ. Penned bovine. Do not. (To be) used. (??) #1 #2
 - (2) Crack-making on *guǐhài* (day 60): To Zǔ Yǐ offer the *sui* sacrifice with a head of cattle. #1
 - (3) Crack-making on *guǐhài* (day 60): To Zǔ Gēng offer the *sui* sacrifice with a head of cattle. #1
 - (4) Crack-making on *guǐhài* (day 60), at Zǐ: Perform the exorcism ritual (for) Fú to Mother Yǐ and (for) Chén to Zǔ Gēng, splitting two ovicaprids and two boars.
 - (5) Crack-making on *guǐhài* (day 60): To Brother Jǐ offer the *sui* sacrifice [with a head of cattle]. #1
 - (6) Crack-making on *guǐhài* (day 60): To Sī Jǐ offer the *sui* sacrifice with a head of cattle. #3
 - (7): Crack-making on *yǐchǒu* (day 2): Pray to Lóng that Yù will give birth. #1
 - (8) #2
 - (9) #2
 - (10) #3 #4
 - (11) #2
 - (12) #2 #3
 - (13) #1 #2
- (Wǔ group)

479

- (1) 戌（戌）申。 一
 - (2) 一
 - (1) *Xū* (=wù) -*shēn* (day 45). #1
 - (2) #1
- (Unassigned)

480

癸。

Guǐ.

(Unassigned)

481

(1) 己巳卜貞：𠄎。

(2) 己巳卜：不來，大。四

(3) 庚午卜：匕（妣）辛夷羊豕。不。一

(4) 二三

(5) 五

(1) Crack-making on *jǐsì* (day 6), divined: X.

(2) Crack-making on *jǐsì* (day 6), divined: (He) will not come, Dà (=Dà will not come).

#4

(3) Crack-making on *gēngwǔ* (day 7): (To) Ancestress Xīn (we) should (offer) an ovicaprid and a pig. Do not. #1

(4) #2 #3

(5) #5

(Wǔ group)

482

(1) 𠄎元甸家𠄎。三

(2) 𠄎。

(1) ... primary request house... #3

(2) ...

(Wǔ group)

483

(1) 癸酉卜：侏豕。一

(2) 侏于父戊羊。

(3) 癸酉卜，子鼎（貞）。

(4) 癸。

(5) 寅。

(1) Crack-making on *guǐyǒu* (day 10): Perform the *sù* sacrifice with a netted pig (?). #1

(2) Perform the *sù* sacrifice to Father Wù with an ovicaprid.

(3) Crack-making on *guǐyǒu* (day 10), Zǐ divined.

(4) *Guǐ.*

(5) *Yīn.*

(Wǔ group)

484

(1) 𠄎。

(2) 口人 𠄎 (𠄎?)。用。

(3) 辛卯：乙伐，卯。

(4) 于丙，卯。一

(5) 辛卯：乙伐上甲，卯。一

(6) 于丙，卯。一

(1) ...

(2) ... people (at the hall (?). (To be) used.

(3) On *xīnmǎo* (day 28): (On) *yǐ* day, perform the *fá* and *mǎo* sacrifices.

(4) On *bǐng* day, perform the *mǎo* sacrifice. #1

(5) On *xīnmǎo* (day 28): (On) *yǐ* day, perform the *fá* sacrifice (to) Shàng Jiā, and the *mǎo* sacrifice. #1

(6) On *bǐng*, perform the *mǎo* sacrifice. #1

(Lì II)

485

(1) 乙酉卜： 𠄎 丁至牢。

(2) 一牢。

(3) 口弓亡困。

(4) 名。

(5) 𠄎。

(1) Crack-making on *yǐyǒu* (day 22): X *dīng* day arrives, (sacrifice) a penned bovine.

(2) One penned bovine.

(3) ... Gōng, there will be no disaster.

(4) Míng.

(5) Y.

(Wǔ group)

486⁶⁸

(1) 壬寅卜真： 𠄎 禾。

(2) 一 二 三

(1) Crack-making on *rényín* (day 39), divined: X will have grain.

(2) #1 #2 #3

(Wǔ group)

⁶⁸ CZN 294 could perhaps be added to this inscription; see Zhao Peng 2012.

487⁶⁹

(1) [乙]巳貞：☱。

(2) 辛亥卜：雨。

(3) 乙卯貞：𠄎。

(4) 丁丑貞：𠄎。

(1) [On yǐ] -sì (day 42), divined:...

(2) Crack-making on *xīnhài* (day 48): It will rain.

(3) On *yǐmǎo* (day 52), divined: Urinate. (???)

(4) On *dīngchǒu* (day 14), divined: Urinate. (???)

(Period I)

488

且（祖）辛。

Zǔ Xīn.

(Unassigned)

489

(1) 甲午卜：弜立中，夷𠄎𠄎（學），弜示伐。

(2) 甲午卜：其其𠄎𠄎。二

(3) 二

(1) Crack-making on *jiǎwǔ* (day 31): (We) will not plant a flag; it should be fluttering (while we) instruct (?). (We) will not perform the *shì* ceremony or *fǎ* sacrifice (?).

(2) Crack-making on *jiǎwǔ* (day 31): (We) may perhaps may perhaps [this is duplicated] perform the X sacrifice to Y. #2

(3) #2

(Li I)

490

丙☱。

On *bǐng*...

(Unassigned)

491

☱三[牢]☱。

... three [penned cattle]...

(Unassigned)

⁶⁹ CZN 473 could perhaps be added to this inscription; see Li Aihui 2012b.

492

(1) 丁巳卜：又𠄎今夕。 一

(2) 丁巳卜：良𠄎。 一

(3) 𠄎妻，千。 一

(4) 于家𠄎妻，千。 二

(5) 至于妻，千。 二

(6) 夷辛𠄎。 二

(7) 一

(8) 二 三

(9) 二 三

(10) 三

(11) 二 三

(12) 一

(1) Crack-making on *dīngsì* (day 54): There will be misfortune this evening. #1

(2) Crack-making on *dīngsì* (day 54): Liáng (will have) misfortune. #1

(3) Perform the exorcism ritual (for) Qī with one thousand (victims) (?). #1

(4) To Jiā perform the exorcism ritual (for) Qī with one thousand (victims) (?). #2

(5) Coming to Qī (?), with one thousand (?). #2

(6) It should be on *xīn* day that (we) make a register. #2

(7) #1

(8) #2 #3

(9) #2 #3

(10) #3

(11) #2 #3

(12) #1

(Wǔ group)

493

(1) 𠄎𠄎且 (祖) 𠄎。 三

(2) 𠄎三戊。

(3) 二

(4) 二

(1) ... make an offering (to) Zǔ... #3

(2) ... three wù.

(3) #2

(4) #2

(Wǔ group)

494

(1) 乙卜，子貞：受。一二

(2) 乙，子貞。二

(1) Crack-making on *yǐ*, *Zǐ* divined: (We) will receive. #1 #2

(2) On *yǐ*, *Zǐ* divined: #2

(Period I)

495

三

#3

(Unassigned)

496

甲子卜：𠄎量絜于父戊。

Crack-making on *jiǎzǐ* (day 1): Perform the exorcism ritual (for) Liàng, (sacrificing) a netted pig (?) to Father Wù.

(Wǔ group)

497

(1) 丙[寅]𠄎午（𠄎）𠄎豕。一

(2) 𠄎卯卜：𠄎于𠄎。

(3) 𠄎小𠄎。

(1) On *bǐng* [-*yín*] (day 3)... perform the exorcism ritual... boar. #1

(2) Crack-making on... -*mǎo*... to...

(3) ... small...

(Wǔ group)

498

𠄎不𠄎爵𠄎。一

... do not... ewer... #1

(Unassigned)

499⁷⁰

𠄎[𠄎]乞骨三。

... [processed (?)] and received four scapulae.

(Lì I)

⁷⁰ It has been proposed that this piece can be joined with CZN 427, but this does not seem to be the case (see Liu Fenghua 2012; especially the comment by Sun Yabing 孫亞冰 made on September 15, 2012).

500

☐[乙]☐癸司。

... [yǐ]... guǐ Sī.

(Unassigned)

501

(1) 丙午貞：丁未☐。 二

(2) 弗步，雨。 二

(3) 丁未貞：于☐。

(4) 二

(5) 二

(1) On *bǐngwǔ* (day 43), divined: On *dīngwèi* (day 44)... #2

(2) (We) should not walk (=set out); it will rain. #2

(3) On *dīngwèi* (day 44), divined: On...

(4) #2

(5) #2

(Li II)

[For joined inscriptions CZN 351 + CZN 501, see 351]

502

(1) ☐夷[𠄎]豕射，亡[戕]。 吉。

(2) 王夷[𠄎]麇射，亡[戕]。 ☐。

(3) ☐豕，亡戕。 一

(4) 一

(5) 吉。

(1) ... should (at) X shoot pigs; there will be no [disaster]. Auspicious.

(2) The king should [(at) X] shoot fawns; there will be no disaster...

(3) ... pigs; there will be no disaster. #1

(4) #1

(5) Auspicious.

(Nameless group)

503

(1) 丙☐。

(2) 用。 三

(1) *Bǐng*...

(2) (To be) used. #3

(Unassigned)

504
于𠄎。
To...
(Unassigned)

505
𠄎其𠄎。三
... may... #3
(Unassigned)

506
(1) 弼。
(2) 夷且（祖）丁升𠄎。用。
(1) (We) will not.
(2) It should be that Zǔ Dīng is raised... (To be) used.
(Nameless group)

507
(1) 丙午卜：𠄎午（𠄎）𠄎戌𠄎。三
(2) 己卜：𠄎亞午（𠄎）司己辰、牢。
(3) 𠄎[辰]卜：河𠄎[宗]。一
(1) Crack-making on *bǐngwǔ* (day 43): ... the exorcism ritual... Wù... #3
(2) Crack-making on *jǐ*... Yà the exorcism ritual (to) Sī Jǐ (with) a prisoner and a penned bovine.
(3) Crack-making on... [-*chén*]: Hé... [ancestral tablet]. #1
(Wǔ group)

508
(1) 乙𠄎。
(2) 奴𠄎。
(1) On *yǐ*...
(2) X...
(Period I)

509
(1) 夷𠄎省亡𠄎。
(2) 𠄎[王]其田，[涓]日不雨。一
(1) It should be... inspect, there will be no...
(2) ... if [the king] hunts, for the [entire] day it will not rain. #1
(Nameless group)

510

- (1) 癸亥：旬。二
 - (2) 癸酉：旬。一
 - (1) On *guǐhài* (day 60): The next ten days. #2
 - (2) On *guǐyǒu* (day 10): The next ten days. #1
- (Unassigned)

511

- (1) 壬☱癸☱。二
 - (2) 壬辰卜：甲雨。二
 - (3) ☱☱卜：乙雨。二
 - (4) 辛丑卜：子妥其困。三
- (1) ... *rén*... *guǐ*... #2
 - (2) Crack-making on *rénchén* (day 29): On *jiǎ* day it will rain. #2
 - (3) Crack-making on... On *yǐ* day it will rain. #2
 - (4) Crack-making on *xīnchǒu* (day 38): Zǐ Tuǒ may (encounter) disaster. #3
- (Unassigned)

512

- (1) 匕（妣）己歲夷羊（駢）。
 - (2) 夷黑☐。
 - (3) 歲夷牛。
 - (4) 庚☐☐：匕（妣）庚[歲]夷☐。
 - (5) 夷小羊。
 - (6) 夷大牢。
 - (7) 夷牛。
 - (8) 其新（新）于宗。
 - (9) 其于宗。
- (1) (For) Ancestress Jǐ, in performing the *sui* sacrifice, (the victims) should be reddish cattle.
 - (2) They should be black...
 - (3) (For) the *sui* sacrifice, (we) should use cattle.
 - (4) ... on *gēng*-... (For) Ancestress Gēng, [in performing the *sui* sacrifice], (the victims) should be...
 - (5) They should be small penned ovicaprids.
 - (6) They should be large penned cattle.
 - (7) They should be cattle.
 - (8) (We) should perhaps perform the *qīn* sacrifice at the ancestral tablet.
 - (9) It should perhaps be at the ancestral tablet.
- (Nameless group)

[For CZN 437 + CZN 512, see 437]

513

(1) [辛未]卜：[荔]𠄎。

(2) 辛未卜：荔日酉𠄎于𠄎。

(3) 辛未卜：荔日酉𠄎于上甲于𠄎。

(4) 𠄎王其𠄎。

(5) 𠄎上甲，王其𠄎。

(1) Crack-making on [xīnwèi (day 8)]: [xié ritual]...

(2) Crack-making on xīnwèi (day 8): Perform the xié day ritual with the yǒu sacrifice to...

(3) Crack-making on xīnwèi (day 8): Perform the xié day ritual with the yǒu sacrifice to Shang Jiā and to...

(4) ... The king may...

(5) ... Shàng Jiǎ, the king may...

(Unassigned)

514

(1) 辛𠄎。

(2) 辛未𠄎。

(3) 辛未卜𠄎。

(4) 辛未卜：荔日[酉]𠄎。

(5) 𠄎乙，王其田亡𠄎。

(6) 𠄎[王]其田亡𠄎。

(1) ... xīn...

(2) ... xīnwèi (day 8)...

(3) Crack-making on xīnwèi (day 8)...

(4) Crack-making on xīnwèi (day 8): Perform the xié day ritual [with the yǒu sacrifice]...

(5) ... yǐ, if the king hunts there will be no harm.

(6) ... if [the king] hunts there will be no harm.

(Unassigned)

Appendix 1-1

(1) 己𠄎虫𠄎。

(2) 辛丑卜：用犬子更、父𠄎。

(1) ... jǐ... make an offering...

(2) Crack-making on xīnchǒu (day 38): Use dogs (in sacrifice) to Zǐ Gēng and Father...

(Shī group)

Appendix 1-2

𠄎月(夕)𠄎。

... evening...

(Unassigned)

Appendix 1-3

一

#1

(Unassigned)

Appendix 1-4

☐告☐。

... report...

(Unassigned)

Appendix 1-5

不☐。

Do not...

(Unassigned)

Appendix 1-6

二

#2

(Unassigned)

Appendix 1-7

☐[子]☐。

... [Zi]...

(Unassigned)

Appendix 1-8

一

#1

(Unassigned)

Appendix 1-9

☐[冊]☐于☐丁☐。 二

... [make a register]... to... Dīng... #2

(Period I)

Appendix 1-10

☐☐。

...

(Unassigned)

Appendix 1-11

- (1) 夷小宰。
 - (2) 夷小宰。兹用。 二
 - (3) 夷小宰。
 - (4) 夷小宰。 二
 - (5) 其牢[又]一牛。
 - (6) 夷小宰。
 - (7) □物。
- (1) It should be a small penned ovicaprid.
 - (2) It should be a small penned ovicaprid. Use this. #2
 - (3) It should be a small penned ovicaprid.
 - (4) It should be a small penned ovicaprid. #2
 - (5) (We) should perhaps (use) a penned bovine and [make an offering of] one head of cattle.
 - (6) It should be a small penned ovicaprid.
 - (7) ... mottled bovine.
- (Huáng group)

Appendix 1-12

- (1) 其□又一□。 二
 - (2) 夷物。 二
 - (3) 夷□。 二
 - (4) 其牢又一牛。 二
 - (5) 夷□。兹□。
 - (6) 夷小宰。
- (1) (We) should perhaps... make an offering of one... #2
 - (2) It should be a mottled bovine. #2
 - (3) It should be... #2
 - (4) We should perhaps (use) a penned bovine and make an offering of one head of cattle. #2
 - (5) It should be... This...
 - (6) It should be a small penned ovicaprid.
- (Huáng group)

Appendix 2-1

(1) 卜貞：受來禾。一

(2) 貞：受禾。一

(3) 貞：宅𠄎。二

(4) 貞：宅𠄎。二

(5) 貞：𠄎[𠄎(嘉)]。二

(1) Crack-making, divined: (We) will receive the coming grain (harvest). #1

(2) Divined: (We) will receive the grain (harvest). #1

(3) Divined: Reside (at) X. #2

(4) Divined: Reside... #2

(5) Divined... [auspicious]. #2

(Unassigned)

Appendix 2-2

辛𠄎。

On *xīn*...

(Unassigned)

Appendix 2-3

(1) 甲戌卜，設貞：曰眾勿辜。一

(2) 貞：曰眾勿辜，弗其[伐]。二

(1) Crack-making on *jiǎxū* (day 11), Què divined: Call on the *zhòng* (masses) not to strike. #1

(2) Divined: If we call on the *zhòng* (masses) not to strike, there may not be [an attack]. #2

(Bīn group)

Appendix 3

(1) 己卯日貞：羊二、彘一，乍余往。

(2) 不[𠄎]力[𠄎]黑。

(3) 貞：魚亡若。

(4) 貞。

(5) 亡[𠄎]。

(6) 𠄎（孚）龠（和）。

(7) 母[𠄎]。

(1) On *jǐmǎo* day (day 52), divined: (Sacrifice) two ovicaprids and one swine, then I will go.

(2) Do not [X] *lì* ceremony [Y] black (???)

(3) Divined: Yú will not (receive) approval.

(4) Divined.

(5) Will not...

(6) (The results) can be trusted and will comply (with the prediction).

(7) Mother...

(Unassigned)

Appendix 4

(1) 甲子 乙丑 丙寅 丁卯 戊辰 己巳 [庚午] [辛未] 壬申 癸酉

(2) 甲戌 乙亥 丙子 丁丑 戊寅 己卯 [庚辰] [辛巳] 壬午 癸未

(3) 甲申 乙酉 丙戌 丁亥 戊子 己丑 庚寅 [辛卯] 壬辰 癸巳

(4) 甲午 乙未 丙申 丁酉 戊戌 [己亥] [庚子] [辛丑] 壬寅 癸卯

(5) 甲辰 乙巳 丙午 丁未 戊申 己酉 庚[戌] [辛亥] 壬子 癸丑

(6) [甲寅] [乙卯] 丙辰 丁巳 戊午 [己未] [庚申] 辛酉 壬戌 癸亥

(7) 丙寅 丁[卯] 戊辰 己巳 庚午

(8) 甲戌 乙亥 丙

(1) *Jiǎzǐ* (day 1), *yǐchǒu* (day 2), *bǐngyín* (day 3), *dīngmǎo* (day 4), *wùchén* (day 5), *jǐsì* (day 6), *[gēngwǔ]* (day 7), *[xīnmǎo]* (day 8), *rénshēn* (day 9), *guǐyǒu* (day 10).

(2) *Jiǎxū* (day 11), *yǐhài* (day 12), *bǐngzǐ* (day 13), *dīngchǒu* (day 14), *wùyín* (day 15), *jǐmǎo* (day 16), *[gēngchén]* (day 17), *[xīn]-sì* (day 18), *rénwǔ* (day 19), *guǐwèi* (day 20).

(3) *Jiǎshēn* (day 21), *yǐyǒu* (day 22), *bǐngxū* (day 23), *dīnghài* (day 24), *wùzǐ* (day 25), *jǐchǒu* (day 26), *gēngyín* (day 27), *[xīnmǎo]* (day 28), *rénchén* (day 29), *guǐsì* (day 30).

(4) *Jiǎwǔ* (day 31), *yǐwèi* (day 32), *bǐngshēn* (day 33), *dīngyǒu* (day 34), *wùxū* (day 35), *[jǐhài]* (day 36), *[gēngzǐ]* (day 37), *[xīn]-chǒu* (day 38), *rényín* (day 39), *guǐmǎo* (day 40).

(5) *Jiǎchén* (day 41), *yǐsì* (day 42), *bǐngwǔ* (day 43), *dīngwèi* (day 44), *wùshēn* (day 45), *jǐyǒu* (day 46), *gēng-[xū]* (day 47), *[xīn]-hài* (day 48), *rénzǐ* (day 49), *guǐchǒu* (day 50).

(6) *[Jiǎyín]* (day 51), *[yǐ]-mǎo* (day 52), *bǐngchén* (day 53), *dīngsì* (day 54), *wùwǔ* (day 55), *[jǐwèi]* (day 56), *[gēng]-shēn* (day 57), *xīnyǒu* (day 58), *rénxū* (day 59), *guǐhài* (day 60).

(7) *Bǐngyín* (day 3), *dīng-[mǎo]* (day 4), *wùchén* (day 5), *jǐsì* (day 6), *gēngwǔ* (day 7).

(8) *Jiǎxū* (day 11), *yǐhài* (day 12), *bǐng*.

(Period II)

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