

DE GRUYTER  
MOUTON

*Adam Craig Schwartz*  
**THE ORACLE BONE  
INSCRIPTIONS  
FROM HUAYUAN-  
ZHUANG EAST**

TRANSLATED WITH AN INTRODUCTION  
AND COMMENTARY



香港浸會大學  
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Adam Craig Schwartz

**The Oracle Bone Inscriptions from Huayuanzhuang East**

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## **Volume 3**

Adam Craig Schwartz

**The Oracle Bone Inscriptions  
from Huayuanzhuang East**



Translated with an Introduction and Commentary

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# **Introduction to the Huayuanzhuang East Oracle Bone Inscriptions**



# Part I: The Basics

## 1.1 The nature and importance of the inscriptions

The Huayuanzhuang East oracle bone inscriptions, first discovered in 1991 and completely published in six folio volumes in 2003, are a synchronically compact and unified late Shang (ca. 1250-1045 BC) corpus of several thousand individual divination accounts inscribed on hundreds of still intact turtle shells and cattle scapulae. Produced under the patronage of a prince of the royal family during the reign of the 27<sup>th</sup> Shang king, Wu Ding, these “princely communications” are undeniably one of the more important epigraphic finds in the history of Chinese archaeology. The collection as a scientifically excavated type has now become a model for corpus-based and statistically driven approaches to oracle bone study, particularly as it concerns the complex process of decision-making and how it was documented. Due to the limited discovery of oracle bones produced for people other than the kings, our understanding of Shang civilization has remained partial and incomplete. What the field of early China and ancient world studies has needed for quite some time is more intact oracle bone discoveries that provide detailed information about a continuous period of time, engage with multiple perspectives from a broader dimension of society, and attest to the operational methods and technical expertise of the diviners and scribes who worked collectively to produce these material documents.

Since 1899 more than 73,000 pieces of inscribed divination shell and bone have been found inside the moated enclosure of the Anyang-core at the former capital of the late Shang state.<sup>1</sup> Nearly all of these were divinations produced on behalf of or by Shang kings. This type of oracle record (in Chinese the dataset is called *Wang buci* 王卜辭) has been aptly characterized as the “descriptions of experiences and priorities of the Shang kings...how they imagined and created their world both human and natural.”<sup>2</sup> There is however a much smaller and relatively understudied type of divination record that represents less than five percent of extant Shang oracle bone inscriptions. These were produced on behalf of or personally by members of the royal family and elite persons, that is, for people other

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<sup>1</sup> This count is from Wang Yunzhi 2010: 142.

<sup>2</sup> David Keightley 2000.

than the Shang kings (in Chinese the dataset is called *fei Wang buci* 非王卜辭).<sup>3</sup> The largest subtype amongst divinations of this kind were those made by and for the royal family, particularly for ladies and princes, and this is the group to which the Huayuanzhuang East oracle bone inscriptions belong. Scholars in the early 1930's first recognized that there were divinations made for people other than kings,<sup>4</sup> and to date nine subtypes, almost all of which seemingly date to Wu Ding's reign or slightly thereafter, have been identified (Table 1).<sup>5</sup> Each subtype has distinctive characteristics that when separated into independent datasets reveals differences with divination made for and by the kings. These two coexisting but independent types of oracle bone inscriptions—divination for the kings and divination for people other than the kings—were often complementary, but at times, could also be contradictory.

Divination made for royal family members presents an entirely fresh perspective from the one more commonly encountered in the kingly purview. Divination about topics such as royal institutions, ritual activities, kinship and social interaction, health and well-being, dreams, communication between the living with the living and the living with the dead, economics, work and service, personal emotions and feelings, and many other aspects of daily life reveal preoccupations and motivations that divination made for or by the Shang kings either never addressed or only mildly hinted at.

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3 Of these 73,000+ inscribed pieces, Wang Yunzhi (2010: 142, 409) calculates that 2015 pieces were made either on behalf of or by people other than the kings.

4 Ye Yusen ([1934] 2001.7:241-485) and his student Jin Zutong ([1935] 2001.35: 1-44) were the first to recognize something different about divination inscriptions of this kind. Dong Zuobin ([1936] 2001.24: 196-199) isolated the diviners responsible for them, called attention the individuality of their script, and concluded that the main figure “Zi 子” was a prince of the royal family who made some divinations on his own but was not a specialist. Kaizuka Shigeki (1938, 1946) coined the term “Divination statements of the Many Princely Lineages” (*duo Zi zu buci* 多子族卜辭) and dated them to Wu Ding's reign; for the dates of Wu Ding's reign as 1238-1180 BC, see Chen Mengjia 1955: 73-74 and David Keightley 1978: Table 37. Li Xueqin (2016: 18-24) first proposed a broad classification of oracle bone inscriptions into two major types: divinations made for or by the Shang kings and divinations made for or by other people. Takashima (2010: I.6) has a summary.

5 The doctoral dissertation of Jiang Yubin (2006) extracted additional divination sets made for or by people other than the kings, most of which, but not all, were also produced during Wu Ding's reign.

**Table 1:** Subtypes of oracle bone divinations produced for people other than the kings.

Chen Mengjia	Li Xueqin	Lin Yun	Heji <sup>6</sup>	Peng Yushang	Huang Tianshu	Jiang Yubin	Writer		
Palace ladies	Ladies	A type	3.2	Group of Nameless diviners; for people not the king	Ladies	A type	Ladies		
Wu 午 group	ji 𠄎 oracles	B type	3.1	Wu 午 group	Wu 午 group	B type	Wu 午 group	Set I Set II CZCN	
Zi 子 group	Zi 子 oracles	C type	2.1	Zi 子 group	Zi 子 group	C type	Zi 子 group	Set I Set II HYZ-east type	
Affiliated with Zi group	Set I	Affiliated with Zi group	Type II	C type a	Affiliated with Zi group	Round script type	Round script type	Affiliated with Zi group	Type I
	Set II		Type I	C type b		Inferior script type	Inferior script type		Type II

\* Based on Jiang Yubin 2006. Divinations conventionally called by the heading “Ladies” (婦女卜辭) were made on behalf of a prince of the royal lineage (Zi 子) about ladies in his house. The word 午 in the heading “Wu 午 group” (午組卜辭) is not the name of a person but rather an abbreviated spelling of the word 禦 “exorcise”.

The Huayuanzhuang East [HYZ] oracle bone inscriptions are a remarkably coherent and unified archive of 2452 individual divination accounts recorded on 529 pieces of shell and bone.<sup>7</sup> The majority of these pieces are intact (345) or mostly intact turtle shells and cattle scapulae. Only several dislocated fragments cannot be rejoined to others. This archive comprises the largest and most complete corpus of royal family divination records encountered to date. Its number of

<sup>6</sup> Heji and HJ are abbreviations for the multivolume oracle bone catalogue Jiaguwen heji (1979-1982). Because this catalogue is cited so often hereafter, the abbreviations are not italicized.

<sup>7</sup> This count is from Adam D. Smith (2008: 288), “It includes plastron receipt records and so slightly overestimates the number of actual divination records.”



inscribed pieces increases the total number of inscribed pieces made for people other than the kings by nearly thirty percent. The archive provides new first-hand information about Shang history and civilization during the reign of king Wu Ding. It presents a hitherto unknown group of professional diviners and scribes and attests to their expertise and collaborative practice over a sustained period of time, and offers a meticulous portrayal of the intimate relationship between a father (the king) and a mother (the queen) with their adult son (the main character), from the subjective viewpoint and advantage of the son.

Stated here in brief, this new corpus of oracle bones is particularly important for its preservation and intactness, the coherent and unified nature of the inscriptions and the fact that many of the records can be synchronized into integral divination sets and timelines that span periods of weeks and months. These inscriptions record communications that testify to the motivations and preoccupations of an important junior member of the Shang royal family. When we meet the protagonist in these material documents, he was working tirelessly for the benefit and blessings of his own household, while at the same time seeking the prolonged favor and happiness of his father the king, his mother the queen, and selected near ancestors who resided in his personal memory.

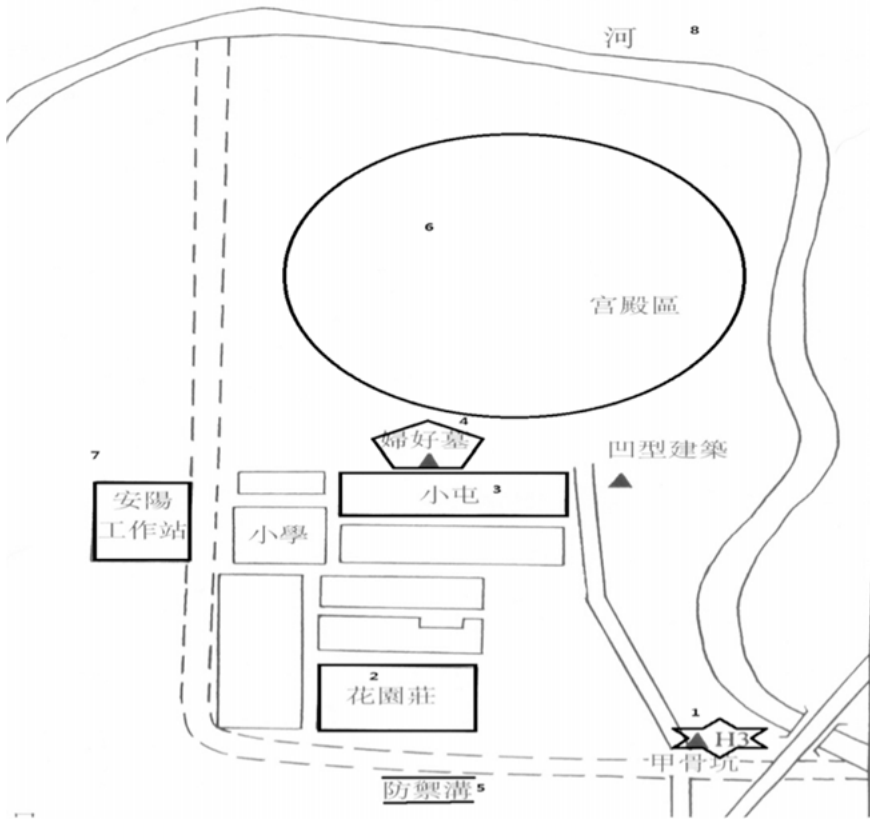
## 1.2 The discovery and its contents

In 1991, archaeologists working in advance of the construction of a road leading to the Museum and Park of the Yin Ruins (Yin 殷 is another name for the Shang dynasty) in Anyang, Henan province uncovered a pit of divination bones (H3) in the eastern crop fields of Huayuanzhuang village. This site is in the southeast corner and within the confines of the moated enclosure of Xiaotun, which is the core of a Shang dynasty palace and temple cluster (Figure 1).

H3 was a 1 x 2 meter rectangular pit discovered 1.2 meters below the surface. It was 2.15-2.5 meters deep and had foot-holes dug into both eastern and western walls for entry and exit (Figure 2). The lower one-third of the pit (0.8m) contained 1583 turtle shells and cattle bones and was covered with three layers of fill. Shortly after the discovery, and in order to meet the demands of the road construction project, the entire pit was boxed and taken to the local workstation for preservation and analysis.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> See ZSKY Anyang gongzuodui 1993; ZSKY 2003; Liu Yiman 1991, 1993, 1998, 2002; Cao Dingyun 2006.



**Fig. 1:** Site map of H3

Key: (1) Pit H3; (2) Huayuanzhuang village; (3) Xiaotun; (4) Tomb of Lady Hao; (5) Moat; (6) Temple-Palace district; (7) Anyang workstation; (8) Huan River

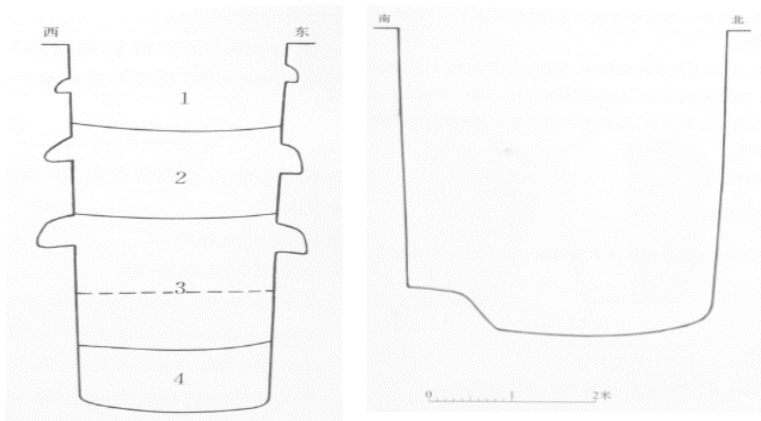


Fig. 2: Pit H3

The shells and bones in the pit had been carefully deposited and were neatly arranged in layers. The top of the oracle bone heap, 1.7m from the mouth of the pit, was higher on four sides and lower in the middle and mostly consisted of small pieces, while the larger and more complete pieces were packed tightly in layers below (1.9m to the bottom). Most of the bones were laid flat and stacked one on top of the other. The inscribed ones seem to have been consciously placed with their verso and non-inscribed sides facing upward in order to protect the writing on their recto sides. Shells were also arranged vertically and placed upright on one side in order to wall-in the others. The shells used to create this boundary were non-inscribed.

A total of 689 inscribed pieces were collected from the pit. The large majority were turtle plastrons (659); turtle carapaces (25) and a few cattle scapulae (5) comprised the remainder. After rejoins, the 2003 official publication included color photographs, enlarged sectional photographs, and rubbings and facsimiles of 561 inscribed surfaces. After the extraction of reduplications,<sup>9</sup> further rejoins,<sup>10</sup> and the subtraction of inscriptions on verso sides (30), the number of inscribed bones totals 529: 511 turtle plastrons, 13 turtle carapaces, and 5 cattle scapulae.

In addition to the bones found inside Pit H3, eight inscribed pieces (=11 fragments with 3 rejoins) of what is now recognized as “Huayuanzhuang East type”

<sup>9</sup> HYZ 397B (=553), HYZ 397A (=561), HYZ 477.

<sup>10</sup> These are 428+561, 275+517 and 521+531 (from Jiang Yubin 蔣玉斌); 395+548 and 434+433+529 (from Fang Zhisong 方稚松); 207+210 and 302+344 (from Lin Hongming 林宏明); and 432+553 (from Yao Xuan 姚萱).

writing have been discovered outside of it and in pits mixed with king Wu Ding's divination records. Adding these pieces into the count and the total number of inscribed oracle bones of the “Huayuanzhuang East type” is 537.<sup>11</sup> Exactly how and under what context these eight pieces found a way outside of Pit H3 is unclear. It is conceivable that they were brought to a northern Xiaotun location for consultation and to be tested by the king and his diviners.

The oracle bone inscriptions from Huayuanzhuang East are generally considered to be the third most important collection of Shang oracle bones archaeologically unearthed to date, following the 1936 discovery of Pit YH 127 in Xiaotun North that yielded 17,096 inscribed pieces, and the 1973 discoveries at multiple locations in Xiaotun South that yielded a total of 7,150 pieces, 4805 inscribed. A numerical comparison between the largest, Pit YH 127, and the newest one, Pit H3, places the two on a quantitative par.<sup>12</sup> The 345 complete pieces from H3 is 88 more than the 257 complete pieces (after rejoins) from Pit YH 127. Including pieces that are half-shells or larger, the ratio is slightly weighted the other way, 514(YH 127): 430(H3).<sup>13</sup>

The ideal Shang oracle bones are those that have come to us unbroken and with their full context of other shells and pieces. Prior to this discovery, such conditions have been rare. Although they had become disjointed and separated during their disposal, the majority of the cracked bones from H3 and the inscribed divination accounts on them can be linked together in integral divination sets that lead to reconstructed timelines spanning periods of weeks and months. These reorganized material documents produce what is essentially the most unified and diachronically succinct “week-at-a-glance” account of daily life in early China.

### 1.3 The shells and bones

The plastron (belly) and carapace (back) shells used to make the majority of Huayuanzhuang East divination came from two species of turtles, *Ocadia sinensis* (*Zhongguo huagui* 中國花龜) and *Chinemys reevesii* (*wugui* 烏龜). Both are freshwater turtles extensively dispersed in China, with the latter indigenous to areas

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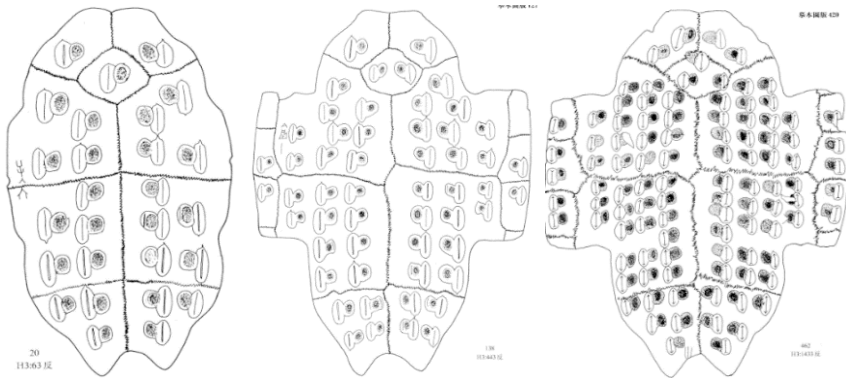
<sup>11</sup> Sun Yabing 2014: 20-21.

<sup>12</sup> A direct statistical comparison cannot be made with the Xiaotun South pieces since those were mostly cattle scapulae.

<sup>13</sup> Liu Yiman 2008.

in the north including Henan province. A non-Henan origin for the former suggests that it was tribute or a trade item entered into Shang from outlying areas.<sup>14</sup>

In preparation for divination, hollows were bored into a bone's verso side. The number and configuration of these hollows varied depending on the size and shape of the bone. There were nine different hollow configurations in the turtle shells used to make Huayuanzhuang East divination, and Figure 3 illustrates the three most commonly occurring ones. An easy and simple way to distinguish hollow configurations is to first look at the number and configuration of hollows in the entoplastron (*zhongjia* 中甲), which is the organic space located in the upper part of the shell that intersects the central dividing line.<sup>15</sup> Examples in the Figure below show configurations of one, two and three hollows.



**Fig. 3:** Examples of hollow configurations

Writing was made on both verso and recto sides of the shells. As a general rule of Huayuanzhuang scribal practice, inscriptions on recto sides were divination records, and inscriptions on the verso sides were administrative receipts (that is, who or what place delivered how many shells/bones),<sup>16</sup> although there

<sup>14</sup> A biological study and identification of species, made by Ye Xiangkui, is included ZSKY 2003, volume 6.

<sup>15</sup> Sun Yabing 2014: 71-75. A classification of hollow and bridge (*jiaqiao* 甲橋) types is found in ZSKY 2003, volume 6.

<sup>16</sup> For a discussion of Huayuanzhuang East receipt records, see Liu Yiman and Cao Dingyun 2004, and Adam D. Smith 2008: 262-273. Smith offers two possible calculations that both come close to the total number of inscribed plastrons used by the divination practice. He concludes, “the contents of the pit of H3 represent a complete snapshot of workshop productivity over a

are exceptions in both cases. There are instances of administrative receipts and other information written on a recto side but set apart from divination records, and there are instances of divination judgments recorded on a verso side. When a judgment was recorded on a verso side it was commonly placed nearest the hollow(s) burned to make the divination, and intended to correspond to the divination crack and its recorded utterance on the recto side. The recording of a divination utterance on a recto side next to its corresponding divination crack(s), and a judgment on a verso side next to its corresponding burnt hollow(s), shows how professional scribes creatively used the divination medium to create symmetrically balanced “double-sided” documents. Huayuanzhuang divination records, and especially the preface to a divination and the divination utterance, are always found on recto sides in proximity to and usually written wrapping around a corresponding numbered crack or multiple cracks in a set. A crack with a number or a sequence of cracks with numbers plus a record of the divination constitutes a complete divination account.

The obliteration of some administrative receipts by hollow boring proves that the writing came first. This implies that shells were sent in without hollows, and that specialists attached to or affiliated with the divination workshop made hollows in various configurations thereafter. The two receipts in Figure 4 (a-b) were delivered from the same point of origin, but the name on the left one (a) has been partially destroyed by multiple hollows. Other instances are less apparent, as in the illustration on the right (c) where the upper left tip of the word “thirty” as a delivery count has been nicked off. Evidence suggests that it was the sender, deliverer, or possibly a receiver who wrote this information on the shells and bones contributed for divination. This interpretation is supported by the variety of different handwriting styles and “signatures” that can be detected in these administrative receipts.

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period of time.” Thirteen shells are marked with the notation “30”. Adding these 390 shells to five shells each marked “Kan 𠄎, ten” and to three shells each marked “Liu 𠄎, ten” gives a total of 470. Adding the remainder of quantified delivery notations to this number gives a total of 536. Six delivery notations include only names and are without numbers.



**Fig. 4:** HYZ 79 (a) and HYZ 483 (b); HYZ 497 (c)

Divination cracks were often engraved. It is thought that this was done so that the cracks would not lose their visibility in the days following the divination.<sup>17</sup> No analysis has yet to be done on the selection of carved cracks vis-à-vis non-carved ones. Divination accounts (including cracks) were regularly filled with red or black pigment, and it is conceivable that select content and certain designated areas of the shell was color coded.<sup>18</sup> One divination account (HYZ 450.2-3) in particular about a provision to the prince while abroad of two turtles and one piece of cinnabar suggests that the turtles were for divination and the cinnabar was to color in the cracks and the writing. Since Huayuanzhuang East diviners routinely performed divination by simultaneously using two shells as a set and used red pigment to color in cracks and words, there is every reason to believe that this provision was a small travel package of divination supplies.

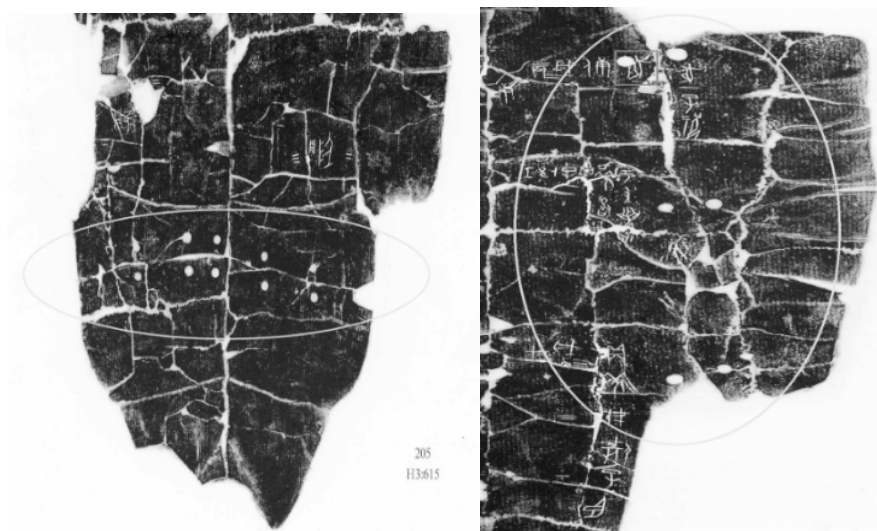
Two kinds of perforations appear on shells. The first were repairs to rejoin broken pieces made by drilling small round holes on both sides of a break and stitching it together with thread. These were the more common of the two and could occur anywhere on the shell surface that required it (Figure 5a-b).<sup>19</sup> Most fractures appear to have been initiated by repeated stress cracks that must have weakened the shell over time. The obliteration of a graph by a repair perforation (Figure 5b) means the bone had been cracked and accounts inscribed beforehand. Repairs presumably were made when the surface became fractured, and the rationale behind making repairs was to keep the documents orderly and intact.<sup>20</sup> There are no instances of repaired shells or bones outside of the ones found in Pit H3.

<sup>17</sup> David Keightley 1978: 21-22, n. 93.

<sup>18</sup> David Keightley (1978: 55) states, "Chemical analysis on one red and black specimen taken from carved graphs in the Chalfant collection at Princeton showed that the red was cinnabar (mercuric sulfide)."

<sup>19</sup> Adam D. Smith 2008: 284-285, Figs. 3.6, 3.14. Liu Yiman 2002: 156.

<sup>20</sup> Adam D. Smith 2008: 285.



**Fig. 5a-b:** Repair perforations: (l) stitching up a fractured lower body (HYZ 205); (r) reattaching a fractured bridge and obliterating a graph (top left; outlined) (HYZ 215)

A second kind of perforation was made with two holes punched symmetrically into the right and left sides of the shell. This apparently was intended to bind bundles of shells together (Figure 6), and could have been done for delivery, carry and travel, storage, and to keep groups and sets of shells together. Imagining sets of inscribed plastrons bound together naturally leads to a connection with the word for a book or document, *ce* 册 (册), which is a pictograph of writing slips (the uneven vertical strokes) tied together with string (the circle). Evidence confirms that Shang diviners routinely made divinations about a single topic in three-crack multiples and simultaneously used multiple shells or bones in sets. Sets were often formed with shells and bones of the same size and in some cases were still kept together at storage.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Li Xueqin (2008: 296-297) cites an oracle bone deposit at Xiaotun (XH 127) where a bundle of nine oracle bones in three sets of three carried the notation *san ce ce fan san* 三册册凡三 “Three *ce*; *ce* all three”.





Fig. 6: Binding punches on HYZ 34

Finally, there are a relatively high number of erasures (129 surfaces). In several cases, large areas of inscribed surfaces were scraped clean. On others, some content or at least a vestige of writing is often still visible. There are instances where only a divination statement was erased but other parts of the record like the preface or a judgment remained (see for example, HYZ 1, 54, 68, 88, and 202). It certainly seems like keywords were intentionally preserved from erasure. While this apparently was the case, I would not readily agree with the conclusion that it was a result of intrigue in the palace.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Zhu Qixiang 2008: 29-44. Specifically, the words for the family head “Zi 子” (HYZ 41, 42, 64, 74, 89, 202, 269, 273), his father the king, “Ding 丁” (HYZ 72, 77, 90, 189, 203, 256, 301), and his deceased grandmother, “*bi Geng* 妣庚” (HYZ 69, 88, 92, 106, 120, 128, 238, 257, 268, 273), seem to have been intentionally preserved. Counter evidence is the preservation of grammatical words.

## 1.4 The script

The paleography of the Huayuanzhuang East oracle bone inscriptions consists of 624 graphs written with 141 classifiers.<sup>23</sup> More than 70 of these graphs occur for the first time in Shang script.<sup>24</sup> The script shares general characteristics with Wu Ding-Zu Jia period scripts (that is, period I-period IIb oracle bone inscriptions), but there is a clear and distinctive style that recommends classifying it as an independent “type”. (For this reason, specialists now refer to it as “HuaDong 花東-type” script.<sup>25</sup>) This classification is important because as I mentioned earlier eight pieces written in what appears to be Huayuanzhuang-style handwriting have been discovered outside of Pit H3. The script is perhaps best described as one that combined archaic influence with innovation.<sup>26</sup> The Huayuanzhuang East scribes contributed to the early development of the Shang writing system, particularly as writing was applied to working in collaboration with professional diviners and recording divination on shell and bone.

The writing of several high-frequency words in forms once assumed to be centuries younger has implications for a current theory that an orthographic typology should be the main criteria for periodization.<sup>27</sup> Huayuanzhuang East paleography reemphasizes the need to use multiple criteria for dating an inscription. In fact, the absolute and relative dating of these oracle bone inscriptions to the reign of Wu Ding only uses orthography as tertiary criteria.<sup>28</sup>

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**23** Based on Qi Hangfu and Zhang Xiuxia 2011. Wang Yunzhi (2010: 456-457) counts 572 individual graphs inclusive of allographs. Minus 141 graphs that he cannot decipher, he puts the total number of decipherable graphs at 431.

**24** Wang Yunzhi (2010: 457) counts 72.

**25** The two seminal studies of orthographic types are Huang Tianshu [1991] 2007 and Li Xueqin and Peng Yushang 1996.

**26** Zhu Qixiang 2006: 279-293; Wang Yunzhi 2010: 456.



**27** Dong Zuobin (1933) proposed that orthography and diviner’s names were two equal criteria (amongst eight others) to periodize divinations. Chen Mengjia (1956) considered diviner’s names to be primary criteria, while orthography (in addition to vocabulary and syntax) was secondary criteria; see Li and Peng 1996: 4-12. Li Xueqin (2016: 18-24) first proposed to distinguish between (orthographic) typology and (oracle bone) periodization, and emphasized that multiple writing styles could be in use at the same time. Lin Yun (1984) proposed that orthography should be the sole criteria used to create typologies. While there is enough scribal data in the calligraphy and design layout of the divination records to establish the Huayuanzhuang East script as its own “type”, the point I am making here is that, in this case, scribal typology is problematic as sole criteria to date the corpus. The Huayuanzhuang East oracle bone divinations do not usually name the diviners responsible for making the divinations.

**28** Prior to this discovery, graphs used to write the words *zhan* 占 (占) “predict” (twenty-seven instances), *zhen* 𠄎 (鼎) “test” (one instance, 446.8), *gui* 𠄎 (癸) “day 10/10” (see for instance 416.11) and *wang* 王 (王) “king” (one instance, 420.4) were all once considered to be post-Wu Ding period inventions. Amongst these four examples, only the writing of “king” can be somewhat reconciled because

Comparisons and associations can certainly be made with scripts from other Shang scribal organizations, but the Huayuanzhuang East script as a “type” does not neatly fit into a north-south theory of script development at Anyang originating from the so-called Shi 師 diviner group scribes.<sup>29</sup> Disparity between Huayuanzhuang East script and scripts used concurrently by other scribes at Anyang perhaps had less to do with the pedigree of the patron and more to do with scribal diversity. The possibility of regional influences cannot be discounted.

There are two different types of writing on the Huayuanzhuang East oracle bones. The first are divination accounts, and the second are non-divination notations. As I previously illustrated, instances where hollow boring on the verso side of a shell cut into and damaged words implies that some writing was made prior to divination. Notations had an administrative function and usually recorded the quantity and sender (or place of origin) of the shells and bones. Analysis reveals several different handwritings. This implies that notations, which includes “signatures” (see for instance HYZ 447 and 226.1), were written either at the point of origin, in transit, or upon delivery. Either way, the handwriting of notations is dissimilar from the several handwriting styles used to write the divination accounts. Handwriting analysis of the divination accounts reveals the presence of multiple scribes. I extract four handwriting styles, and there might have been more. Stated here in brief, detecting scribal identity is not just a rote study of graphic forms. It takes style and scribal habits like orientation (design and layout, boundary lines, etc.) into account, and combines these criteria to evaluate degrees of proficiency, and as a method to extract identity.<sup>30</sup>

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of the close proximity in time between the creation of the Huayuanzhuang East divinations and the first occurrence of this graphic form in the years immediately following Wu Ding’s death. The other three examples are more difficult to account for since all were once assumed to be “standard” forms from scribes who wrote more than two hundred years later, at the end of the Anyang period. The word *zhan* occurs twenty-nine times in the Huayuanzhuang East divination records. A variant spelling, , which writes “mouth” and not a curved deictic stroke under the base image “ox scapula” (*jian* 肩), occurs twice on one shell (173.2-3). The word *wang* “king” occurs twice in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations (420.4, 480.3) and is also written in two different ways. Written  on 480.3, this form, which does not have a horizontal stroke at the top, was once considered to be the only way scribes wrote “king” in Wu Ding period script. Furthermore, the handwriting on 420.4 and 480.3 is clearly written in two different styles and this implies that different scribes wrote them.

<sup>29</sup> Li Xueqin 1992.

<sup>30</sup> Schwartz, forthcoming in the *Bulletin of the Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology* 7 (2020), provides a discussion of scribal identity, handwriting styles, orientation and design layout, and other distinctive habits in the writing of the Huayuanzhuang East oracle bone inscriptions; see Sakikawa Takashi (2011) for a discussion of scribal identity in the Bin 賓 diviner group inscriptions (period I OBI).

## 1.5 Divination sets, synchronies, and timelines

A fundamental task of working with the Huayuanzhuang East divination accounts is to reorganize the shells and bones by reconstructing sets, and to create timelines by linking together dates and interrelated content. The goal is to read the records in the chronological order in which they were produced, and as an alternative to the order in which they were found deposited in the pit.<sup>31</sup> Although there were instances where only a single crack and its associated charge statement was made on an issue, the divination records reveal that a more regular practice, and one that depended on the importance of the event, was to make a sequence of multiple cracks and lexically nuanced statements either on a single shell or simultaneously over a series of them in a set.

Shell sets made by multiple diviners on behalf of the Shang kings are a common feature of divination at this time.<sup>32</sup> That the Huayuanzhuang East diviners consistently utilized shell sets to make divination for a person other than a king corroborates that Shang divination was indeed a complex and technical practice performed by specialists; there were levels to it. It was not at all like flipping a coin one time and choosing heads or tails. One charge statement (HYZ 183) about animal sacrifice explicitly proposed to “use a second divination” (*yong er bu* 用二卜).<sup>33</sup> HYZ 61-62 (H3: 212rv) has a sequence of two divinations where a diviner tested the contradictory results of an earlier divination by another diviner.

Early divination practice favored making divination in sets of three (retroactively called *san bu zhi* 三卜制 “divination in threes”). This could be done in one of two ways: either by cracking a single shell or bone three times for one inquiry, or by making a single crack on each shell or bone over a set of three.<sup>34</sup> A corpus-based

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31 Dong Zuobin’s *Yinlipu* (1945) was the first attempt to synchronize hundreds of oracles from Wu Ding’s reign (period I) into timelines arranged by topics such as “daytime”, “evening”, “weekly”, “monthly”, and “yearly”. He did the same thing for the major cyclical rites (*zhou ji* 周祭) of the late Shang kings (period V OBI). Major military events such as Wu Ding and Zu Geng’s (periods I-IIa) war against the Shao territory and Di Xin’s (period V) war against the Ren territory, as well as royal cyclical rites and other events have also been collated into synchronies; see Xu Jinxiong 2001.27: 97-104, Chang Yuzhi 1987, Wang Yunzhi 2010: 367-370, Wang Yunzhi and Men Yi 2008, and Wang Yunzhi and Zhang Yi 2010: 97-105. Geographic studies have also routinely used synchronies as a guiding principle; see Guo Moruo 1933, Chen Mengjia 1956, Shima Kunio [1958] 2006, Zhong Bosheng 1989, and Zheng Jiexiang 1994.

32 Jao Tsung-I [1959] 2009: 2.65-68.

33 Song Zhenhao (2010: 635-644) understands this phrase as to use a second shell to divine. The commentary to HYZ 183 discusses this in more detail.

34 The most famous instance is the line in the “Jinteng” 金滕 chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 that reads, 卜三龜一習吉 “[The duke of Zhou] cracked three turtles (and) one (divination) after another

approach suggests that three-shell sets, which are the highest sustained combination in this organization's practice, were reserved for important events.<sup>35</sup> Shells in sets had a tendency to be matched by shape and size.<sup>36</sup> A series of Huayuanzhuang East divinations made over five shells on the topic of the prince's "ear ringing" (*er ming* 耳鳴) or tinnitus must have then been considered of paramount importance.<sup>37</sup> I focus on this particular set of inscriptions in Part II of the Introduction when discussing the identity of the main character.

Divinations with dates and parallel and corresponding content make it possible to link accounts extracted from single and multiple shells into chained timelines. There is not just a couple of these, but dozens,<sup>38</sup> some long and some short. Yao Xuan's longest and most complex synchrony (Appendix III), for instance, which she collated from nearly 400 accounts on 65 intact or largely intact plastrons, spans just over two months.<sup>39</sup> Synchronies are a unique facet of working with a complete and unified corpus that likely did not span more than a couple of years.<sup>40</sup> Before now, simply nothing like this has ever been available.

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was auspicious." See Song Zhenhao 1989, 2010: 635-644 and Wang Yunzhi 2010: 118-123. While sets of three shells and bones were commonly used in the Shang king's divinations, more important or urgent events necessitated larger odd-multiple sets of five, seven and nine. Shi Yadang (Adam Schwartz) (2018) discusses divination made on behalf of the Shang kings in sets of nine.

**35** A few examples are: (1) HYZ 37.20-23↔63.1-3↔195.1-4; (2) 150.3-4↔336.1↔487.1-2; and (3) 86.1↔150.5↔382. Examples (2) and (3) are three-shell sets pertaining to the same event—entertainment in the presence of the king, can be linked together through HYZ 150, and lead to the reconstruction of a five-shell synchrony. "HYZ 37.20" refers to surface #37, divination account (20) in the ZSKY 2003 publication. The symbol ↔ is a convention I use to express "A synchronized with B".

**36** Wei Cide 2006: 154. Whether or not this holds true for other multiple shell sets can easily be tested with the measurements (Appendix I), bridge shapes and hollow configurations in ZSKY 2003; see Sun Yabing 2014: 308. Takashima (2010: I.13) discusses a five-shell set in *Bingbian* (34-38+385) with plastrons of about the same size.

**37** See too the five-shell set HYZ 6 ↔ 333 ↔ 342 ↔ 481 ↔ HJ 21853. The *Bingbian* collection contains nine five-shell sets; see Takashima 2010: I.13.

**38** A preliminary study in Wei Cide (2006: 135-154) has reconstructed twenty-two sets from fifty-three shells: he lists thirteen two-shell sets and nine three-shell sets.

**39** Yao Xuan 2006: Appendix 2, 405-427. For other smaller chains of synchronies, see Li Xueqin 2004a, Yao Xuan 2006: Appendix 2, 383-405. Wei Cide 2006: 135-153, Han Jiangsu 2008, Song Zhenhao 2004, 2006a, and Adam D. Smith 2008. Adam D. Smith (pp. 287-300) provides the most critical evaluation of Yao's table of synchronies and believes that the longest chain of divination records cited above "have been packed a little too densely within a span of 61 days."

**40** Song Zhenhao (2006b: 2) suggests 5-6 years. Based on the numerous records of illness to the main character, Huang Tianshu (2006: 149-156) believes the entire corpus could not have spanned only 1-2 years. In contrast, the oracle bone inscriptions from Pit YH 127 are believed to span no shorter than a decade and a half (Song Zhenhao 2006b: 1).

What the word synchrony really means within the context of the Huayuanzhuang divination records starts by taking related divinatory content from multiple shells and stringing them together diachronically into timelines. An initial step isolates identical content appearing on multiple shells. A principle of coherency, which is a term that I use to refer to the frequency of events in both context and word and phrase regularity, also has to be taken into account. For example, synchronizations chaining divination records about rites made for the ancestor cult has to be done with a degree of caution since they were highly repetitive. Conversely, the occurrence on multiple pieces of low frequency or rare words and phrases increases the likelihood that there was a relationship between them and increases the chances that a secure synchronization can be made. Once a series has been securely identified, the remainder of the divination accounts on those shells can be synchronized into a timeline. The greater density of the inscriptions on the shells naturally increases the probability of making further synchronies with more shells. Even though it is probably packed too densely, Yao Xuan's "Big Synchrony" (Appendix III) is an apex of this methodology. But there are dozens of smaller synchronies from which more complex timelines can be reconstructed. Starting with Table 2 in the following subsection, numerous examples of sets and synchronies in varying degrees of complexity will be presented throughout the remainder of this Introduction.

While reading the inscriptions, consulting Appendices II and III offers the option to read divination accounts diachronically and by topic. Since diviners and scribes often abbreviated content that was previously stated more completely, reading divinations in the order they were produced and locating antecedents not only helps to clarify context and meaning,<sup>41</sup> but it also leads to a more nuanced sense of how this group of diviners applied certain words and phrases.<sup>42</sup> This, in turn, provides unrestricted access into the craft of early Chinese divination practice and allows for a more

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41 Takashima (2010: I.13-17) uses the term "contextual hierarchies". I give two examples here. HYZ 9 and HYZ 234 originally were a two-shell set but the two plastrons were found disconnected in Pit H3. HYZ 9.3-4 is a sequence of two antithetical divinations dated to "the evening of Bingyin" that say, "[Unhappy] and upset with our lord" and "Happy and not upset with our lord." HYZ 234.1-2 are two divinations dated to this same day and time and the first divination in the sequence has a background statement that "Our lord will have words in the ancestral temple". Without locating the antecedent HYZ 234 the divinatory intent and contextual hierarchy of HYZ 9.2-3 is puzzling and can only be related to previous divinations (HYZ 9.1-2) on the topic of offering meat viands. A three-shell set example is HYZ 480.1↔286.18-19↔363.4. HYZ 286.18-19 needs to be connected to and read after the antecedent 480.1 in order to know the divination's subject (the prince) and the context (why and where) behind making divinations about what types of jades would be presented to the king.

42 The technical term *zhen* 貞 "test" and the divination codas *kan* 衍 (侃) "happy" and *ruo* 若 "favorable" are perhaps the most important. See the commentaries to HYZ 2.2-3, 3.10, 5.7, and 6.1. The commentary to 6.1, in particular, notes how HYZ diviners applied and bundled *ruo* 若 + *kan* 侃 as a binary

refined understanding about how a group of diviners collectively and systematically worked through the planning and procedural stages of future events, and how they determined the viability of future action and predicted its outcomes.

## 1.6 Periodization

Ceramics recovered from Pit H3 and its surrounding three rubbish pits (H2, H4, and H9),<sup>43</sup> in addition to numerous divination accounts about a living Lady Hao 婦好, confirm that the divinations were made and recorded during the reign of king Wu Ding. Lady Hao was one of Wu Ding's three spouses and the discovery of her tomb in 1976 makes her one of only two people whose inscriptional identity can be verified by archaeology.<sup>44</sup> Oracle bone inscriptions made during Wu Ding's reign confirm that she predeceased her husband.

The issue is to determine which period of Wu Ding's reign the corpus belongs. Although traditional histories give this king a 59-year reign,<sup>45</sup> there is nothing within the oracle bone inscriptions to independently confirm or deny it. While most scholars in China follow the traditional dates, there are Sinologists who have drastically reduced his reign to less than two decades (1200-1181 BC).<sup>46</sup> Even though the positions and sequence of the former kings in the royal ritual cycle has been basically settled by internal evidence,<sup>47</sup> absolute dates and reign lengths for the Shang kings remain still very much inexact and unresolved. Lady Hao's death, which occurred at some point during the second half of Wu Ding's

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coda that was highly effective (an 80% success rate (16/20 instances)). "Test divinations" occur much less frequently in this corpus than they do for instance in Wu Ding's divination records, and their pattern of usage and systematic application is clear and easily discernible. The HYZ OBI confirm that: 1) divination was a multiple step process; and there were complexities and levels to it; and 2) there was a difference between divinations marked with the word *zhen* 貞 and those without it. As a way to distinguish between the two at a high-level, I refer to divinations introduced by the word *zhen* as "test divinations" (in Chinese I coin the term *zhen buci* 貞卜辭) and to those without it as "non-test divinations (in Chinese I coin the term *fei zhen buci* 非貞卜辭).

**43** Adam D. Smith 2008: 177, "Their contents were reported as including sherds of utilitarian pottery for the cooking, storage and consumption of food, bone artifacts, animal bones (including a number used for divination, but without inscription) and charcoal; see *Kaogu* 93.6: 488-490, ZSKY 2003: 14-17.

**44** ZSKY 1980.

**45** *Shangshu* "Wuyi" 尚書無逸 (Sun Xingyan 1936: 21.103). Chen Mengjia ([1956] 2004) cites the "Lu shijia" chapter of the *Shiji* that gives him 55 years.

**46** David Keightley 1978: Table 38; Keightley states that his evidence for this absolute date is "based on the period I lunar eclipse inscriptions and on estimates of average reign length."

**47** Chang Yuzhi 2010.

reign, only provides an end constraint.<sup>48</sup> The Huayuanzhuang East oracle bone accounts could have been produced any time prior to that event.

Assuming the traditional interpretation is followed and Wu Ding did reign for 59 years, then this number is conveniently dividable into both halves and thirds. The excavators of H3 date the pit and its contents based on ceramics to an archaeological-termed phase called Dasikong 大司空 I-late Yinxu 殷墟 I that is equivalent to the early period of Wu Ding's reign (years 1-20). Historians and paleographers have pushed the date constraints back to his latter half (years 30-59) based on orthography,<sup>49</sup> people,<sup>50</sup> and war records.<sup>51</sup>

Divinations about war with Shao (召/郟; also written Dao 刀), a territorial group located to the west of Shang, first appear in the latter part of Wu Ding's reign and continue after his death during the reign of his son and successor Zu Geng. Thereafter divinations about Shao cease entirely. A three-shell set of Huayuanzhuang East divinations can be synchronized with a three-shell set of divinations made by one of Wu Ding's divination organizations called the Li 歷 diviner group, and Table 2 shows how dates, people, and the subject of the divinations correspond.<sup>52</sup> Since it is generally accepted that the earliest group of Li diviner records, called "Li diviner type I" or "Father Yi type" 父乙類,<sup>53</sup> belong to Wu Ding's late period, the more convincing interpretation at present is that the Huayuanzhuang East divinations were likely produced during the middle-late to late period of his reign.

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**48** For an overview of Lady Hao in Shang oracle bone inscriptions, see Han Jiansu and Jiang Linchang 2010: 312-330.

**49** Zhang Shichao 2006.

**50** Huang Tianshu 2006, Zhao Peng 2007.

**51** Chen Jian 2004.

**52** In addition to the Huayuanzhuang East divination accounts cited in the table, I have located other records within the corpus that were related to war with Shao; see HYZ 429, HYZ 403.3, HYZ 247.8-9, and HYZ 262.2. For an attempt to synchronize divinations on the war against the Shao territory prior to the discovery of the Huayuanzhuang East oracle bones, see Xu Jinxiang 2001.27: 97-106.

**53** Li diviner group oracle records are divided into two main types called Li diviner I and II. Each main type has several subtypes: Li diviner I is separated into two subtypes, and Li diviner II into at least three subtypes; for a proponent of a fourth, see Zhou Zhongbing 2011: 222-229. The main criteria for distinguishing between Li diviner I and II divinations is whether king Wu Ding is alive (Li I) or dead (Li II). "Father Yi" in Li diviner I divinations refers to Wu Ding's deceased father, the 26th Shang king Xiao Yi. In Li diviner II inscriptions, Wu Ding has already died and is called "Father Ding" by his sons and successors Zu Geng and Zu Jia. Xiao Yi is then called "Ancestor (Grandfather) Yi". For periodization issues of the Li diviner group divination records, see Li Xueqin 2016: 18-24, Qiu Xigui 2012: 1.92-139, Huang Tianshu [1991] 2007, and Li Xueqin and Peng Yushang 1996. See Wang Yunzhi (2010: 243-277) for an overview and reading selection.



**Table 2:** Synchronization of Huayuanzhuang East-Li diviner group I divinations on war with the Shao territory.

Dates	Divination Texts	Catalog #
Day 04/60	丁卯貞：王比沚[或]伐召方，受[又(祐)。在]祖乙宗卜。五月。 Tested on Dingmao: <b>His Majesty</b> , allying with Zhi [Ge] to attack the Shao territory, will receive [aid]. Divined [at] Ancestor Yi's temple. Fifth month.	TN 81
Day 08/60	辛未貞：王比沚或伐召方。 Tested on Xinwei: <b>His Majesty</b> will ally with Zhi Ge to attack the Shao territory. 辛未貞：王比[沚]或[ ] Tested on Xinwei: <b>His Majesty</b> will ally with [Zhi] Ge... 辛未卜：伯或禹(稱)册。唯丁自正(征)部。 辛未卜：丁弗其比伯或伐部。 Divined on Xinwei: Bo Ge has raised a document. It will be <b>His Highness</b> himself who rectifies Shao. Divined on Xinwei: <b>His Highness</b> is not likely to ally with Bo Ge to attack Shao. 辛未卜：丁唯好令比[伯]或伐部。 Divined on Xinwei: It will be Hao whom <b>His Highness</b> commands to ally with [Bo] Ge to attack Shao. 辛未卜：丁唯子令比伯或伐部。 辛未卜：丁唯多[孝(介)臣]令比伯或伐部。 Divined on Xinwei: It will be our lord whom <b>His Highness</b> commands to ally with Bo Ge to attack Shao. Divined on Xinwei: It will be the Many [Great Wardens] whom <b>His Highness</b> [commands] to ally with Bo Ge to attack Shao.	TN 81 TN 2605 HYZ 449 HYZ 237 HYZ 275
Day 10/60	癸酉貞：王比沚或伐召方，受[又(祐)。]在大乙宗卜。 Tested on Guiyou: <b>His Majesty</b> , allying with Zhi Ge to attack the Shao territory, will receive [aid]. [Divined] at Da Yi's temple.	Heji 33058
Day 14/60	丁丑貞：王比沚或伐召[方]。 Tested on Dingchou: <b>His Majesty</b> will ally with Zhi Ge to attack the Shao [territory].	TN 81

\* Huayuanzhuang East divinations are marked HYZ in the column “Catalog #”; Xiaotun South divinations from the Li diviner group are marked either TN (Xiaotun nandi jiagu) or Heji (Jiaguwen heji). Interchange of appellations for the king, Wang 王 and Ding 丁, are in bold. “Ancestor Yi” refers to the 18th Shang king. He was king Wu Ding’s great-great-grandfather.

## Part II: People

### 2.1 Preface

Divinations produced on behalf of an adult son of Wu Ding and Lady Hao naturally revolved around members of the royal family, members of the prince's own household, and people who served and dealt with both. More than forty people simultaneously occur in these divinations and in those made on behalf of or by Wu Ding and other royal family members between the middle to late period of this king's reign.<sup>54</sup> Matching the people whose names occur across the records of multiple divination groups can be a useful albeit indirect method to help with dating an inscription.<sup>55</sup>

There are approximately seventy living people and twenty-five ancestors in the Huayuanzhuang East records.<sup>56</sup> The main character, his parents the king and queen, family members including children, brothers, cousins, aunts, and colleagues, servants, workers and trusted associates occur frequently, while others appear sporadically or rarely. The divinations were performed and recorded by what was essentially a nameless professional group of diviners and scribes. However, the prince himself, along with family members and colleagues occasionally made their own divinations.<sup>57</sup>

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**54** Zi Hua 子晝, Trader Zhu 賈壹, and Wei 韋 are the best examples. Zi Hua was a member of the royal family during the reigns of Wu Ding and Zu Geng, a major provider of goods, and an active participant in the war against the Shao territory. (Zi Hua in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations has a “friend” called Shao (416.1).) Divinations about the death and burial of Wei in these divinations and synchronizing them with divinations about him in late Wu Ding period divinations is a possible linchpin for dating the corpus; see Wei Cide 2006: 39-98. Trader Zhu was a trader for both the Huayuanzhuang East prince (102.1, 264.2) and Wu Ding (Heji 9650, TN 2438); see Han Jiangsu and Jiang Linchang 2010: 462-465.

**55** For an excellent display of how this is done in Shang inscriptions, see Zhao Peng 2007: 198-209, and Huang Tianshu 2006: 149-156. In Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, see Edward Shaughnessy 1991, 2012: 206-233.

**56** Different totals adduced by scholars rest on interpretation. All scholars agree that there are at least seventy living people and more than 20+ ancestors. See Wei Cide 2006: 61-86, Zhao Peng 2007, 2010, Lin Yun 2007, Gu Yu'an 2009, and Wang Yunzhi 2010: 455. Zhao Peng only calculates names, and does not include appellations, titles, or ranks.

**57** There is a prevalent misconception that the Huayuanzhuang divination workshop consisted of approximately twenty diviners (ZSKY 2003, Wang Yunzhi 2010: 453). This miscalculation has led to the formulation of historical inaccuracies concerning the status of its patron and his resources, and the false identity of a named “diviner-group”, when the daily divinatory staff was in effect a nameless group of specialists. The patron and head of the family did make his own divinations (count still to be calculated), and Jin 金 (four certain instances on four shells), Pou 剖 (two instances), Ya Dian 亞奠 (two instances on

The ancestors that received the most ritual attention and worship were those in the prince's personal memory: his grandparents, uncles and aunts, great-grandparents, and one juvenile. This last "ancestor", referred to as "Child (of day) Gui", was perhaps a deceased child of his.

Individuals and groups of people, including deceased ancestors, can be classified as:

- 1) The royal family
  - a) The main character and patron of the divination and scribal workshop—an adult male, son of the king and queen, and head of his own household.
  - b) The king and queen, the main character's parents.
  - c) Family members and relatives: his wife, children, brothers, cousins, aunts, uncles, etc.
  - d) Ancestors.
- 2) Staff and entourage, including diviners, scribes, servants, traders, artisans, builders, etc.
- 3) Performers, including dancers and musicians.
- 4) Military officials and personnel.
- 5) Business associates, including contributors of divination materials, animals, textiles, and other goods.
- 6) Captives and slaves.
- 7) Non-royal families, allies, and associates.
- 8) Territorial groups.
- 9) Others.

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one shell), You You 由友 (three instances on two shells), the Blind Music Master 瞽 (one instance), and others made guest appearances. The inflated number of twenty diviners comes mainly from what I consider a misreading of a series of interrelated and abbreviated divination accounts on the three-shell set 205-349-441. (Section 2.10 in the Introduction, about divinations made for Jin, explains how I understand this type of shorthand; many of the so-called "diviners" were actually the subjects of divination.) Another indication that the high number of professional "daily" diviners in the Huayuanzhuang East divination workshop was not this large can be deduced through a comparison with the number of professional diviners in the other workshops at this time. Based on a study of diviner groups by Chen Mengjia (1956: 156-205), the most prolific professional divination organization during Wu Ding's reign, the Bin diviner group, consisted of fifteen core-member diviners (not including the king), and the following nine members were the most productive: Bin 賓, Ke 穀, Zheng 爭, Gen 亘, Wei 韋, Gu 古, Pin 品, Yong 永, and Nei 內. (Chen notes that membership to this workshop could be understood to have consisted of as many as 20+ diviners if including non-core and occasional members.) As for divination made for royal family members other than Wu Ding, the total number of diviners in the workshop that produced the Zi-group I (= "C type"; see Table 1) oracle bone accounts appears to have been just two (not including the patron of the workshop and head of the family): Yan 衍 and Hui 禩(彘); see Shen Pei 2009: 111-113.

A list of people is provided at the end of the Introduction (Table 5).

Hitherto I have referred to the patron-main character of the divinations as a prince and the other two central characters as his parents the king and queen. This section provides the supporting evidence. The secure identification throughout these divination accounts of a living Lady Hao both as the main character's mother and as Wu Ding's spouse is a starting point to confirm the identities of the main character and the person called "Ding 丁". Table 2 has already demonstrated the interchange of two appellations for Wu Ding, "Ding" and "Wang 王" (king). A person called "Ding" occurs in other royal family divination records but prior to this discovery it was not clear that this word was another designation for the king. Huayuanzhuang diviners as a rule also only called their patron by an appellation, "Zi 子", which in addition to its primary meaning of "child", was also a designation for an eldest son and head of a family.<sup>58</sup> Lady Hao's identification is key because these two appellations, "Zi 子" and "Ding 丁", are ambiguous out of context and had a wider application. Divination records made for royal family members other than the kings also used these appellations, but prior to this discovery their identities were obscured by the absence of a person with a secure identity like what we now have with Lady Hao.

The appellation "Ding" was not restricted for royal use, although the majority of instances in oracle bone inscriptions occur in royal family group divinations in reference to the Head of the royal lineage, the Shang kings. This appellation however also occurs in oracle bone divinations made for the kings in reference to the Head of other lineages and groups of people, and this usage indicates a wider application. Additional names for a living Lady Hao like "Majestic Lady Hao", "Majestic Lady Mother", "Mother, His Majesty's Lady" and "His Highness' Majestic Lady" provide compelling evidence that she was the main character's mother and a wife of the king. There are instances of a female called solely "Lady", but an intact shell like HYZ 5 with its inter-related and coherent divination sequence confirms that it referred to Lady Hao as well. Once the identity of the main character is revealed to be an adult son of a living Lady Hao and Wu Ding, the next issue is to try and identify which of the king's children this prince might have been. Finally, I offer evidence to support my statement above about the meaning and usage of "Ding" as a designation.

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58 Lin Yun 1979, Zhu Fenghan 2004a: 39-60, Liu Yuan 2007, and Chen Guangyu 2009: 164-173.

## 2.2 Comparison between the organization of royal households in the Huayuanzhuang East and Zi-group divinations

Scholars have long known about divinations made for people other than the Shang kings. Amongst these types of divinations, those made for royal households are the largest and best understood. Table 1 lists other sets of divinations also called “Zi-group”, and this means that the main character, like the prince in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations, was also only referred to by the appellation “Zi 子”. One method to establish the identity of kings and patrons of other Shang divination practices is to use divination records about ancestor sacrifice to determine generations of ancestors and to reconstruct ancestor hierarchies. Since this has already been done efficiently for the Zi-group (Table 1: Lin Yun’s “C type”; hereafter “Zi-group I”) divinations, a basic understanding of the generation and identity of that main character is additional criteria to identify the generation of the main character in these divinations.

The amount of Zi-group I divinations is significantly less than the nearly 2500 individual Huayuanzhuang East accounts, and the inability to reconstruct divination sets and timelines makes contextualizing it difficult. The number of people in the two sets is approximately the same, but the absence of Lady Hao and important royal relatives, regional allies, high-ranking officials, and groups of specialized workers indicates that the Huayuanzhuang East main character had more power and authority, stronger networks, and a higher status.

Zi-group I divinations often mention nuclear and extended family members, and people in their employ. The family members and people who received the most concern were the head of the family “Zi 子”, his spouse, brothers and cousins, various females, and servants and workers.<sup>59</sup> Based on our knowledge of divinations of this kind we should expect to see similar divinations in the Huayuanzhuang East records. Family members and those who served the house can be partially reconstructed from a set of nineteen divinations made in a three-shell set (HYZ 205-349-441). Trusted servants like Da 大 and Fa 發, who handled the prince’s daily affairs, appear throughout the accounts and had a variety of responsibilities and tasks.

The Zi-group I ancestor list outnumbers the Huayuanzhuang East ancestor list by approximately ten members. Most importantly for our discussion here is how the “temple-day” names and generational tags of ancestors determine the generation and identity of the main character in both sets. A “temple-day” name was fixed at death through divination and refers to the particular day of each week that an ancestor, at a minimum, received worship and offerings.<sup>60</sup> New ancestors

<sup>59</sup> Jiang Yubin 2006: 48.

<sup>60</sup> Li Xueqin 2008: 60.

often required the living to update references to older ancestors by adding words and numbers to distinguish them as the number of deceased people expanded.<sup>61</sup>

The most frequently worshipped ancestors in Zi-group I divinations were called Fu 父 “Father”, which means that these ancestors were one generation ascending from the perspective of that main character. The four temple-day names that occur in combination with and after the word “Father”— Father Jia (day 1/10), Father Geng (day 7/10), Father Xin (day 8/10) and Father Yi (day 2/10)—match the temple-day names of ancestors of the Father-generation in Wu Ding’s divinations. This implies both that the king in Zi-group I divinations was Wu Ding, and that the main character was a brother or more likely a cousin (Table 3). Divination accounts made for this brother or cousin of Wu Ding further reveal that he was of adult age and had already established his own family.

Ancestor lists reveal that the age difference between the main characters of the Zi-group I divinations and Huayuanzhuang East Zi-group divinations was generational (Table 3). The main character of the Zi-group I divinations was one generation older. The method used to determine this is the same that was done above, that is with a focus on ancestor hierarchies, although as I mentioned earlier the Huayuanzhuang East records provide a more secure starting point by repeatedly divining about a living Lady Hao. The ancestors of the Father and Mother generation in the Zi-group I divinations equal the ancestors of the Grandfather and Grandmother generation in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations. This implies that the main character of the Huayuanzhuang East divinations was a son or nephew of the king, Wu Ding.

**Table 3:** Comparison of ancestor designations in Wu Ding’s and Zi-group divinations.

Divinations of	Ancestor designation					
<b>Wu Ding</b>	Ancestor Ding	Father Yi	Mother Geng	Father Geng	Father Jia	Father Xin
<b>Zi-group I</b>		Father Yi		Father Geng	Father Jia	Father Xin
<b>Huayuanzhuang East Zi-group II (HYZ)</b>	Ancestor Ding	Ancestor Yi	Ancestress Geng	Ancestor Geng	Ancestor Jia	Ancestor Xin
<b>Shang king/queen</b>	<b>Ancestor Ding (K 21)</b>	<b>Xiao Yi (K26)</b>	<b>Xiao Yi’s spouse</b>	<b>Pan Geng (K24)</b>	<b>Yang Jia (K23)</b>	<b>Xiao Xin (K25)</b>

<sup>61</sup> Adam D. Smith 2010: 3-5.

## 2.3 Zi 子 as the patron of the divination practice and the main subject in the divinations

Zi 子 is easily identified as the main character in the Huayuanzhuang East records because this person occurs as the subject of a divination statement far more than anyone else. This same person was also the only one with the authority to make formal predictions on divination cracks (text introduced by the word *zhan* 占 “read a crack > predict”), and the only person other than the king who issued commands (*ling* 令). The following instances show how the main character appears as the subject in divination statements on a variety of themes:

- (1) 壬申卜：子往于田从昔所。用。擒四鹿。 – 35.1  
Divined on Renshen: Zi (Our lord) will go to hunt from the old location. Used. Caught four deer. 1
- (2) 己卯卜：子見(獻)珣以瑛丁。用。 – 37.3  
Divined on Jimao: Zi (Our lord) will present large jade tablets brought from You to Ding (His Highness). Used. 1
- (3) 癸卜，貞：子耳鳴亡害。 – 53.25  
Divined on Gui, tested: Zi’s (Our lord’s) ear ringing is without harm. 1
- (4) 丁卯卜：雨其至于夕。子占曰：其至，亡翌戊。用。103.2  
Divined on Dingmao: Rain likely arrives by evening. Zi (Our lord) read the crack and said, “It should arrive; it will be gone tomorrow, day Wu.” Used.
- (5) 乙亥夕，歲祖乙黑牝一，子祝。 – 161.2  
On the evening of Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one black cow (and) Zi (our lord) will pray. 1
- (6) 庚戌卜：唯王令余呼齊(燕>宴)，若。 – 420.4  
Divined on Gengxu: It being the king’s command (that) I call to banquet, (it) will be favorable. 1
- (7) 乙巳卜：丁各，子[于庭]再(稱)。用。 – 34.11  
Divined on Yisi: Ding (His Highness) arrives; Zi (our lord), [in the courtyard], will raise (jades). Used. 1

Ancestor worship, sacrificial offerings, health and well-being, dreams, the weather, hunting, ritual performance, war, and the submission of goods and contributions are central themes of Shang divination as a practice. The syntax or word order of an oracle bone divination statement conveys who was the subject of the divination and language indicates whether a divination was for someone or about them. In four of the six examples above, “Zi” was the first word of the divination statement, and this is one of most common types of word-ordering in the corpus, with another being like (5)

on the topic of ancestor sacrifice, where the initial clause was without a defined subject and the diviner's patron governed the final clause about prayer. A third type of syntax, like (7), first stated background information as a circumstance, and then addressed specific information that the diviners wanted to decide. In these instances, the subject of the divination governed a later clause.

There are divinations, like in the following examples, where a person other than Zi was the divinatory subject.

(8) 辛卜：丁不涉。— 28.10-11

辛卜：丁涉，从東兆獸(狩)。—

Divined on Xin: Ding (His Highness) is not going to cross the river. <sub>1</sub>

Divined on Xin: Ding (His Highness) is going to cross the river and hunt from the eastern edge. <sub>1</sub>

(9) 辛亥卜：惠發見于婦好。不用。— 63.4

Divined on Xinhai: It should be Fa who has audience about/with Lady Hao. Not used. <sub>1</sub>

The use of negatives and other adverbs indicate whether a verb was considered to be controllable or uncontrollable,<sup>62</sup> and whether the topic being divined about was a subjective preference or an objective impartiality (to a degree). Although Ding was the subject in (8), the use of the stative, non-modal negative *bu* 不 “will not/is not going to” (and elsewhere non-stative, non-modal *fu* 弗), and not the modals *wu* 勿 “should not” or *wu* 毋 “must not”, means that divination was being done *about the king* and not *for him*. When divination was done on behalf of someone (a “client”), diviners used negatives and other adverbs that denoted control and preference like *wu* 勿 and *hui* 惠 “it should be”. Divination (9) was about Fa, one of the prince's servants, but it was still made on behalf of Zi and something that he could control and ultimately decide. This particular divination indicates a preference for Fa to do something and was part of a longer sequence that suggested alternatives.

The occurrence of the first person singular pronoun (*yu* 余) in (6) means that Zi made the divination, and confirms that he took orders from the king. In the same logic, the repeated occurrence in other divination utterances of the designation “Zi”, and not a first person pronoun, implies he was not the diviner of those divinations, for if he was, and as a rule, he would not have referred to himself in this way. In divinations without a defined subject or in divinations where the designation “Zi” is absent, it is uncertain who the diviner was. Perhaps Zi was the diviner or perhaps he was not the diviner but the implied subject; perhaps he

<sup>62</sup> Takashima 2010: II.28.



was both the diviner and the implied subject, or perhaps he was the diviner and the implied subject was collective (“we”).

As in example (4), Zi was the only person with the status and authority to make formal predictions. This was directly related to his position as head of his household and attests to the fact that he judged and determined the course of action for himself, those in his household, and for those who served him.

The Huayuanzhuang East divination records need to be read with foreknowledge that all of the divinations about Zi were for him, and the divinations concerning Ding, Lady Hao and others were about them but for Zi. Ultimately Zi endorsed all the results of his divination practice. This is the reason I refer to Zi as the patron of the divination practice and the protagonist in these divination accounts. The diviners who made divinations on his behalf entirely represented his interests. Divinations were based on the patron’s motivations and preoccupations, and constantly pursued his benefit and advantage.

## 2.4 The appellation “Zi”, his identity as a member of the royal family, and the probability that he was the son or nephew of Wu Ding and Lady Hao

As I mentioned earlier, “zi” is a word that in addition to having a root meaning of “child” was also used in a social context at this time to denote the head of a family.<sup>63</sup> From the perspective of the prince’s staff and family members with lower status “zi” meant “lord” or “master”.<sup>64</sup> From the perspective of his father and mother it meant “son”. Diviners, scribes, and family members of lower status did not call their patron and the head of household “child” or “son”, just like the king and queen did not call their son “lord” or “master”. Perspective is key to understanding how appellations were applied in different linguistic and social contexts. I show how this works later in a discussion about a five-shell set on the subject of “ear ringing” (tinnitus). (Example (3) cited in the previous section belongs to this set.) “Zi” as an honorific appellation for males continued after the Shang period and its usage is well attested in Pre-Qin sources in reference to one’s teacher, one’s master or lord, and as a term of respect to address men in general.

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<sup>63</sup> Lin Yun 1979, Zhu Fenghan 2004a.

<sup>64</sup> Compare the interchange of the terms Zi 子/Jun 君 “lord” in the Shang period bronze inscription *Xiaozi Sheng you* 小子省卣 (JC 5394).

In Shang divination records approximately 120 people had names that were preceded by the designation “Zi”.<sup>65</sup> “Zi” meant “child” or “prince” from the perspective of the kings, and in reference to royal children. The reason a bare “Zi” without any name following it was never employed as a regular practice in divinations for or by the kings about their children is because they had many of them. When referred to individually, royal children were usually called “child X”. The title *duo zi* 多子 “Many Children” was how children were referred to as a group, and this designation presumably continued to be used once they had established their own households.<sup>66</sup> The term *duo zi* 多子 occurs once in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations, and seemingly referred at least to the twelve “Zi” that appear in the accounts: the main character (Zi Rong), Zi Jin, Zi Xing, Zi Pou, Zi Hua, Zi Zeng, Zi Yu, Zi Guo, Zi Hu, Zi Bi, Zi Sheng, and Zi Mei. There was also a group of people called “Yong *duo zi* 雒多子” (HYZ 409.32) that once met with Lady Hao. They were likely a coalition of family heads from this place, but it is uncertain what their relationship was to the royal family.

The main character and patron of the Huayuanzhuang East divinations was the only person diviners called “Zi” without a proper name following it. Other family members called “Zi + name”, like the eleven “Zi” mentioned above, were probably brothers and cousins that in some cases had already established families and households of their own. Within their respective households these men would have also presumably been called “Zi” by their staff and lower status, and not “Zi” plus their name as they are referred to in these divination records. The same logic implies that the main character of the Huayuanzhuang East divinations would presumably have been called “Zi” plus one of his names in divinations for or by the king and for or by the heads of other royal family households. A method to extract the identity of the Huayuanzhuang East main character is therefore to look for evidence in the king’s divination records and see what connections can be made.

Several interpretations on the identity of the main character have been put forth to date. While the majority opinion now appears to accept that he was a member of the royal family and either a son or nephew of Wu Ding and Lady Hao, skeptics somewhat defensibly point to the inability to match all of the Huayuanzhuang ancestors to ancestors in Wu Ding’s divinations as an indication that a royal affiliation is incorrect. But the majority of ancestors do in fact correspond to previously known royal ancestors, and they also line up rather well with the “near” ancestors in Zi-group Set I divinations.

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65 Liu Yuan (2007: 307) calculates 124.

66 Zhu Fenghan 2004a.

There are scholars who propose the protagonist was a male of the same generation as Wu Ding, which means he would have been of the same generation as the protagonist in the Zi-group I divinations.<sup>67</sup> This interpretation suggests that he traced his ancestry back to a former king but was no longer in the direct line of rulership. Others have proposed he was a high-ranking official with an uncertain blood relationship to the king.<sup>68</sup>

There is enough evidence amongst Huayuanzhuang East divinations on ancestor worship to trust that the main character was in fact a generation younger than both king Wu Ding and the main character of the Zi-group I divinations. The ancestors who received the most ritual attention are called “Ancestor”—“Ancestor Yi”, “Ancestress Geng”, “Ancestor Jia”, “Ancestor Geng” and “Ancestor Xin”—and these temple-days plus kin-generation designations perfectly match the same five ancestors called “Father” and “Mother” in Wu Ding’s divinations and in Zi-group I divinations. Ancestor Yi and Ancestress Geng were worshipped and sacrificed to jointly in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations, and this implies they were husband and wife and that they were Wu Ding’s parents, the 26<sup>th</sup> Shang king Xiao Yi and his spouse, “Mother” (Mu) Geng. In the Huayuanzhuang East divinations Ancestor Yi is also called “Near Ancestor” in a prayer text to be spoken by the main character (HYZ 161). This reference makes it clear that he was of the prince’s grandfather-generation and not an older more distant ancestor. The prince’s blood grandparents received the most ritual attention. Nearly half of all divinations on ancestor worship and sacrifice concern his grandmother Ancestress Geng. The ancestors that occur the most after his grandparents were the prince’s uncles, who were kings before his grandfather, and his great grandfather.

The striking absence of ancestors from the father-generation in Huayuanzhuang East worship suggests that the main character’s father was still alive. Coupling this with fact that Lady Hao was alive and called “mother” and repeated accounts of the intense and intimate relationship between “Zi”, Ding and Lady Hao naturally leads towards the assumption that Lady Hao and Ding were his parents. A possible single reference to a “Father Bing” and sporadic sacrifice to a “Mother Wu” (one of Wu Ding’s other spouses) and a “Mother Bing” indicate that neither

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<sup>67</sup> Zhu Fenghan 2004b. Zhu’s starting point is the occurrence in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations of an ancestor called “Elder Brother Ding” 兄丁 (236.3-7). An ancestor called by this designation also occurs in Wu Ding’s divinations and for Zhu this implies the main character of the Huayuanzhuang East divinations and Wu Ding belonged to the same generation; he proposes they were cousins.

<sup>68</sup> Li Xueqin 1998a; Han Jianguo 2008.

of these ancestors one generation ascending were his parents.<sup>69</sup> Assuming the main character was the son of Wu Ding, the absence of an ancestor called Father Ding or Mother Xin, which was Lady Hao’s temple-day designation, means that Wu Ding and Lady Hao were both still alive. The divination accounts make it certain that they were.

A divination account like the following from HYZ 331 illustrates what I mean when I say that there was an intense and familiar relationship between the protagonist, Ding, and Lady Hao.

(10) 辛卜：王婦母曰子，丁曰子其有疾。允其有。 一三 331.1-2  
其寤(寐)，若。

Divined on Xin: The Majestic Lady Mother said, “Son, His Highness said ‘Our son will likely have sickness.’” (Our lord/I) really might have (sickness).<sup>12</sup>  
(Our lord/I) should sleep, (for it) will be favorable.

Divinations for and by Shang kings often tried to predict the health and well-being of themselves and others,<sup>70</sup> but the complexity of embedded communication between three people in this divination is unique. A straightforward way to explain

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69 Yao Xuan (2005: 40, note 1) questions the reading of “Father Bing”. If this reading were invalidated then there would be no instances of ancestors from the father-generation in these divination accounts.

70 See, for instance, the test divination (Heji 20975) by Wu Ding about the state of his own health in Figure 11. An example of a royal divination about the health of a non-royal person can be seen in the following divination by one of Wu Ding’s trusted diviners (Heji 3946rv) about a man called San Feng. The king’s prediction was complex in that he forecasted a date of departure, but also forecasted that if San Feng did not come it was because he had sickness and had not recovered.

戊寅卜， 設貞： 覘其來。  
貞： 覘不其來。

王占曰： 鳳其出， 惠丁。 丁不出， 鳳其有疾。 弗其凡(興)。

At wuyin [15/60] day divination, Gu tested: San is expected to come.

(He) tested: San is not expected to come.

The king prognosticating says: As to Feng [of San], anticipating he will go out, make it be a ding day. If on day ding he does not go out, (then) Feng [of San] is anticipated to have sickness, [which] one shall not anticipate he will remove [i.e., from which he will not recover]. (Translation after Serruys 2010: 1.135-136)

The prognostication sentence *Feng qi you ji* 鳳其有疾 in this divination account is parallel with Wu Ding’s utterance *Zi qi you ji* 子其有疾 in HYZ 331.1. Predictive statements introduced solely by the word *yue* 曰 “said”, in the form “Name + *yue*” and without the technical term *zhan* 占 preceding it, are not infrequent in the Huayuanzhuang East divination records; see 60.7, 108.6, 125.1, 157.7-8, 267.2, 271.1, 490.9.

the relationship between them is that Zi 子 was the son of 王婦母 (Majestic Lady Mother) and Ding 丁 (His Highness). The king's statement, transmitted to the prince via his mother,<sup>71</sup> is quite likely to have originally been a kingly divination and prognostication. What happened as a result and what makes divinations made by people other than the Shang kings exceptional is that the prince's diviner, or perhaps the prince himself, then applied the king's prediction and made a series of divinations based on it. The first, 331.1, tried to determine its validity, while the following one, 331.2, proposed a remedy to avoid it. This second divination reveals that the prince took the king's communication very seriously and with caution.<sup>72</sup> The sense of the word "Zi" in this particular divination is what I meant above when I spoke about the importance of perspective. Another way to understand the two instances of "Zi" is "our lord", with the nuance being that the prince's diviners took the queen's speech and "translated" its content for use in their own divinations.<sup>73</sup> As I alluded to earlier, based on the form of Wu Ding's divination records it is almost certain that "Zi" in the king's utterance above would have been called by another name when the king's diviners did their divinations. The next section provides a clear example of this.

In addition to divinations that read like those of the "family kind", the main character was often concerned about the effects of his actions on the king. He seems consistently preoccupied with the king's mood towards him, and anxious about the king's safety and well-being while away from him.

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71 A sequence of similar communications is portrayed in the Zhou period literary text *Cheng wu* 程寤 (Awaking in Cheng) (*Qinghua* 1, strips 1-2; Li Xueqin 2017: 10). The story opens with King Wen's queen, Tai Si, having a dream about their son, Fa (i.e., the future king Wu). Waking up startled, she immediately tells the king about it. The king "did not dare to predict" what the dream meant, and called for their son. Specialists then performed a complex series of rites designed to protect them and to ensure that the dream was auspicious.

72 Let us assume that word of Wu Ding's prediction once reached San Feng in Heji 3946. Based on the divinatory form of Huayuanzhuang East 331, Feng's diviner, or perhaps Feng himself, would have also divined to determine its truth. Assuming the divination first stated the context, it would have been to the effect of: "X [the king's dispatch] said to Feng, 'His Majesty said that you, Feng, will likely have sickness, and if so, be prepared not to recover immediately.'" The divination statement itself, made in response, could plausibly have been something like the prince's. A notable feature of Huayuanzhuang divination practice was making divinations to test previous divination results and to validate the truth of other people's statements and forecasts; see 410.2, 351.5, 257.20, and 59.2.

73 This would then be construed as: The Majestic Lady Mother said to our lord, His Highness said that our lord would likely have sickness. (Our lord/I) might really have (sickness).

- (11) 甲寅卜：乙卯子其學《商》，丁侃。用。— 487.1-2  
甲寅卜：乙卯子其學《商》，丁侃。子占曰：有咎。用。子髀。二三  
Divined on Jiayin: On Yimao, if our lord practices “Shang”, His Highness will be happy. Used. 1  
Divined on Jiayin: On Yimao, if our lord practices “Shang”, His Highness will be happy. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “There is fault.” Used. Lord Bi. 23
- (12) 往于舞，若，丁侃。 183.7  
Going to dance will be favorable; His Highness will be happy.
- (13) 丙午卜，在巽：子其呼多尹入璧，丁侃。 196.1  
Divined on Bingwu, at Lu: If our lord calls the Many Commanders to contribute jade circlets, His Highness will be happy.
- (14) 戊寅卜：舟囁告眚，丁弗楹(虞)，侃。— 255.7  
Divined on Wuyin: Zhou Long reports You’s (jade delivery). His Highness is not going to be upset, (but) happy about it. 12
- (15) 甲子，丁各宿。— 60.2  
On Jiazi, His Highness will arrive and spend the night. 1
- (16) 壬卜：子其入薦、牛于丁。— 38.4-5  
壬卜：丁聞子呼[視]戎，弗作楹(虞)。—  
Divined on Ren: Our lord should contribute antelope (and) cattle to His Highness. 1  
Divined on Ren: His Highness, hearing that our lord has called to [inspect] the (enemy) warriors, is not going to become upset. 1

Numerous divinations are about if and when the king would arrive to the prince’s location, spend the evening, and participate in ritual activities. Long sequences of divinations prepared and planned for how the king would be received. The prince also stayed with Ding for periods of time and divinations made during these stays were concerned about whether the prince’s departure would upset him.

Comparable to the circumstances surrounding example (10) above, the prince had divinations made about Ding’s well-being as well.

- (17) 丁小艱亡口。— 155.5  
His Highness’ minor affliction will not have... 1
- (18) 子有鬼夢，亡戾。— 349.19-20  
子夢，丁亡戾。—  
Our lord had a demon dream; there will be no misfortune. 1  
Our lord dreamt. His Highness will have no misfortune. 1  
(Or: Our lord dreamt of His Highness. There will be no misfortune.)

(17) indicates that Ding was already having trouble of some kind. Although the inscription is not complete and it is missing a fuller context, the prince seems to have been aware of Ding's distress and made his own divination in response and in order to determine if it would escalate and persist, or whether there was no need to worry about it further.<sup>74</sup> Divinations were also made by the prince's diviners about whether Ding would continue to worry about their master's health.

(19) 己卜：丁終<sub>榦</sub>(虞)于子疾。— 69.6-7

己卜：丁終不<sub>榦</sub>(虞)于子疾。—

Divined on Ji: His Highness, until its end, will be upset about our lord's illness. 1

Divined on Ji: His Highness, until its end, is not going to be upset about our lord's illness. 1

This divination sequence suggests that Ding was simultaneously making his own divinations about his son's sickness. Divinations like (17) and (19) have led to my understanding of the king's utterance in example (10) as the result of an earlier divination prediction.

In the chained sequence in example (18), the prince had a nightmare and Ding was implicated in it. Divinations followed to ensure that neither the dreamer nor those in or implicated by the dream would be negatively affected. (See the three-shell set 349-441-205 for the other people involved.) Although there are no judgments attached to these records, hypothetically speaking a negative judgment might have been cause to report it to Ding, just like how Lady Hao informed him that Ding predicted he would get sick.

Examples like those adduced above attest to the complexity of Shang divination. Divination by the kings about family members and subjects, and divination by royal family members about the king and queen added a special dimension to communication and social interaction. It reveals the importance of divination culture and suggests a preoccupation with chance and prediction at the highest levels of Shang society. The next section, on the identity of the prince, builds off this discussion.

In summary, the divination accounts confirm that the person called only by the designation "Zi" was the patron of the divination practice and a member of

<sup>74</sup> See the translation and commentary of HYZ 155 and 156 (=155 verso) for more details. One HYZ divination account (HYZ 56) states that the prince was planning to make an exorcism rite for Ding to ancestors of the prince's grandfather generation. These "grandfathers" were almost certainly the former kings Pan Geng and Xiao Xin. See Table 3.

the Shang royal family who was one generation younger than king Wu Ding. He was almost certainly the son of Wu Ding and Lady Hao. What the divinations do not make explicit is which son he was. Wu Ding's diviners made divinations about childbirth, and there are records of Lady Hao's pregnancy. How many children Wu Ding fathered and how many children he had with Lady Hao are unknown. The more sons he had means the less of a chance we have to make a secure identification. There seems to be, however, enough information in these divination records to endorse that he was Zi Rong 子猷(戎) in the king's divinations.<sup>75</sup>

## 2.5 The hypothesis that the prince was Zi Rong 子戎 in the divination records of Wu Ding

The Huayuanzhuang East divinations contain a five-shell set with a total of five divinations in seven cracks on the problem of “our lord's ear ringing” (*Zi er ming* 子耳鳴).<sup>76</sup> The number of shells or bones used to make divination about a single issue in Shang oracle bone divination reveals its degree of importance or urgency. In the Huayuanzhuang divination practice five shells was the highest count used to form one set, and this implies the prince's tinnitus was one of the most serious issues that these diviners encountered. Oracle bone divination about ear problems was rare, but one well-known Wu Ding period divination account confirms that it was taken seriously and could warrant large-scale sacrificial measures.<sup>77</sup> Dates in the prefaces to this set of Huayuanzhuang East divinations make it relatively clear that all five shells were in use at the same time and that the entire event spanned no shorter than what must have been an intense twelve-day period.

Based on the formula by which scribes recorded prefaces in these divination accounts, the records can be divided into two subsets. One group records prefaces in a sixty-day count in the form *ganzhi bu* 干支卜 “Divined on day X/60”, and the other in a weekly ten-day count in the forms of *gan bu* 干卜 “Divined on day X/10” and *gan bu zhen* 干卜貞 “Divined on day X/10, tested”.

<sup>75</sup> Yao Xuan (2006: 40-55) first proposed the theory that the main character was Zi Rong in Wu Ding's divinations. The following sections provide additional support and endorse this interpretation.

<sup>76</sup> HYZ 39.21↔53.25-26↔ 450.1↔275.5↔501; Heji 21384 is a “Huayuanzhuang East type” oracle inscription found outside of Pit H3 and it can be synchronized into this set. Ban Gu's *Hanshu yiwenzhi* lists a divination manual on sneezing and ear ringing called *Various Predictions about Sneezing and Ear Ringing* 嚏耳鳴雜占; see Li Ling 2013: 192.

<sup>77</sup> Heji 22099 [Wu 午-diviner group] records an exorcism for ear ringing and the sacrifice of 158 sheep; see Yu Xingwu 2009:220.



## Subset A:

(20) 壬戌卜，在口[子]利(剖)：子耳鳴唯有訶(辭)，亡至艱。— 450.1

Divined on Renxu (day 59/60), at...Lord Pou: Our lord's ear ringing means (or: is a sign that) there is blame, (but) there will be no (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction. <sup>12</sup>

(21) 癸酉卜：子耳鳴唯癸子害。— 275.5

Divined on Guiyou (day 10/60): Our lord's ear ringing means Gui-day child<sup>78</sup> is doing harm. <sup>1</sup>

## Subset B:

(22) 丁卜：子耳鳴亡害。— 501.1

Divined on Ding: Our lord's ear ringing is without harm. <sup>1</sup>

(23) 庚卜：弔(勿)禘(禳)子耳鳴，亡小艱。— 39.21

Divined on Geng: Do not make rite to dispel our lord's ear ringing, (for) there will be no minor affliction. <sup>1</sup>

(24) 癸卜，貞：子耳鳴亡害。— 53.25-26

癸卜，貞：子耳鳴亡害。—

Divined on Gui, tested: Our lord's ear ringing is without harm. <sup>1</sup>

Divined on Gui, tested: Our lord's ear ringing is without harm. <sup>2</sup>

An interconnection undoubtedly exists between these divination accounts regardless of how the ones with partial dates in Subset B are positioned within the synchrony. No other records of tinnitus in this corpus make it certain that the divinations made over these five shells originally formed a set. Example (21) is from HYZ 275, which was part of another divination set (a three-shell set) about war with Shao discussed earlier and arranged in Table 2. (Day Xinwei 8/60 was two days earlier than Guiyou 10/60.) Example (24) is a type of divination that I call a “test divination”. When a divination utterance was preceded by the word *zhen* 貞 “test” it represented an advanced decision-making stage of the divination process and served to make a definitive test or final check of an antecedent. (24) seems to have tested divinations (20) and (21), neither of which produced a result when made earlier the same day and the day before. But as far as the records show neither did the two test-divination cracks. The following divinations made

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<sup>78</sup> The spirit Guizi is more commonly called Zi Gui 子癸. The appellation “Zi” means that this person died while still a juvenile. Gui, the last day of the ten-day week, was this ancestor's temple-day. Child Gui was the only juvenile spirit in the HYZ ancestral cult (twelve instance in total; four instances on HYZ 409 and four instances on HYZ 181). I propose that he was a deceased child of the main character. Wei Cide (2006: 79-80) comes to the same conclusion. Section 2.10.

by Wu Ding's diviners at a separate location, and on what appears to be the same matter, did in fact get a positive result.

(25) 丁卜，設貞：勿禦子𤑔(戎)[耳]𠄎。王占曰：吉。𤑔(戎)亡𠄎。Heji 3187r

貞：裸于母庚，羸(羸)。

于妣己裸，子𤑔(戎)羸(羸)。

Divined on Ding,<sup>79</sup> Ke tested: Do not make an exorcism rite for Zi Rong's [ear]<sup>80</sup>...The king read the crack and said, "Lucky. Rong will not have..."

Tested: Make an ale libation to Mother Geng, (and he) will profit (> improve).<sup>81</sup>

(Tested): To Ancestress Ji make an ale libation, (and) lord Rong will profit (> improve).

This sequence of divinations comes from a nearly intact plastron (Heji 3187r=*GuoBo* 28; Figure 7). The divination account with the king's prognostication was written along the left side of the shell in two columns of large calligraphy and colored in with cinnabar. Based on the smaller calligraphy on the right hand side of the shell, the account in large calligraphy was written for display purposes.<sup>82</sup> The style of handwriting is what scholars refer to as "Bin 賓 [diviner] type I", and this means that it was produced during the middle to early-late period of Wu Ding's reign and likely at a location in the north of Xiaotun.<sup>83</sup> The test divinations

<sup>79</sup> I follow the transcriptions in *Yinxu jiagu keci moshi zongji*, p. 91 and *Yinxu jiagu keci leizuan*, p. 109, and not the transcription in *Zhongguo Guojia bowuguan guancang wenwu yanjiu congshu Jiagu juan* 2007: 145 (the same as *Jiaguwen heji shiwen*) which reads one missing graph in between Ding (day 4/10) and the verb *bu* 卜 "divined". The color photograph in *Zhongguo Guojia bowuguan guancang wenwu yanjiu congshu Jiagu juan* (2007: 16) makes it clear that no graph was missing.

<sup>80</sup> I agree with Liu Yuan (2007) who reads this graph as 耳 "ear". The top of the graph is visible in Figure 7.

<sup>81</sup> The graph transcribed here 羸 is written 𤑔 in oracle bone script. Liu Yuan (2007) tentatively reads it as the ancestral form of *yin* 蟬 'earthworm'(?); he thinks it means to worsen. I follow the reading of Wang Yunzhi (2010: 555) as *luo* 羸, which apparently was a type of reptile. (Traditional definitions say "dragon".) This graph ought to be a simplified form of the more pictographic 𤑔 (Heji 35255 [Li-diviner type]) and 𤑔 (Western Zhou *Geng Ying you* 庚羸卣). In the *Geng Ying you* 庚羸卣 bronze inscription this graph plus "cowrie" writes the word *ying* 羸 "profit, win"; see definitions in Axel Schuessler 2007: 575.

<sup>82</sup> See David Keightley 1978: 41, fig. 12; 46, n. 90.

<sup>83</sup> Sakikawa Takashi (2011: 292) refers to this more specifically as (Bin) "Transition 2 type 過濾 2 類". The orthographic type of handwriting referred to as "Bin" derives from the name Diviner Bin, who based on statistics was Wu Ding's most prolific diviner. Oracle bone scholars refer to orthographies by diviner name because of the absence of named scribes. A "Bin type" inscription means the handwriting of a divination account either where Bin or another diviner in his "group 組" was the diviner.

were made by a known and trusted diviner of the king named Ke.<sup>84</sup> Earlier I said that the king and his diviners would not have referred to one of the king's children solely by the appellation "Zi", and here is good evidence to support that interpretation. Diviner Ke calls the king's son "master/prince Rong", whereas the king calls him "Rong" without "Zi" in front of it. A further comparison between these two sets reveals a correspondence in both form and content.

As is somewhat expected concerning an emergency about their master's own person, the prince's diviners appear to have been considerably more active and cautious than the king's diviner. The king, on the other hand, and presumably once he learned what was happening, wanted to remedy the situation and to see instant improvement. The use of a specific divination coda by the king's diviner conveys this quite directly.<sup>85</sup>

What we have here is another episode where divination was used to try and predict the fortunes of others. Missing in the scenario presented earlier about Lady Hao passing on a divination judgment to her son was the king's actual divination about it. Read against the five-shell set cited above, I propose that this was precisely the circumstance that led to the divinations about Rong on Heji 3187.

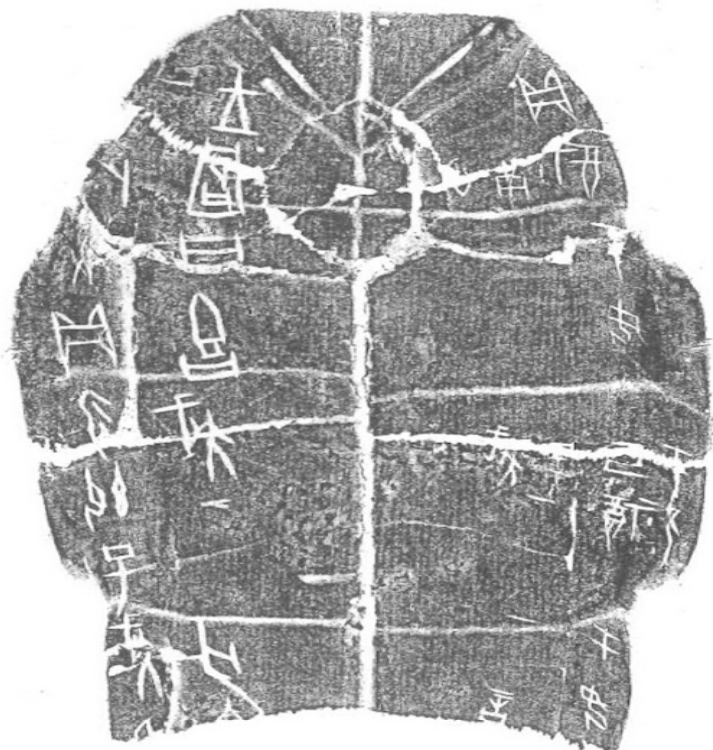
There are several starting points to make a connection between the two sets. The first is the correspondence between the names Zi Rong and Rong in the king's divinations and the toponym Rong in the Huayuanzhuang East accounts. Rong was one of two toponyms in the Huayuanzhuang East divination accounts that occurred the most. Second, is how the dates in the preface are recorded in a ten-day count and not in a sixty-day one. The Huayuanzhuang East divinations regularly used both ten-day and sixty day counts, but the ten-day count was rare in Bin I scribal practice.<sup>86</sup> Third, is the parallel language between the divination statements "弔(勿) 齏(襪)子耳鳴" and "勿禦子欸(戎)[耳]□". The first two graphs were variants that wrote the same word (an adverbial negative), and the predicate verbs that followed them were synonymous. Both diviners posed their utterances in a negative mode, and this implies that neither desired to resort to exorcism. The prince's diviners appear to have not gotten an answer, but the king got the answer he wanted, and subsequently had his scribe display it in large, bold calligraphy.

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**84** This is the same diviner who made the divination about San Feng cited in footnotes 70 and 72. Diviner Ke was a diviner in the Diviner Bin 賓 group. (Serruys calls him "Gu".)

**85** The word *yīng* 贏 does not occur in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations. These diviners did not use it in their divination practice.

**86** For example, none of the examples of Bin I divinations collected in Huang Tianshu [1991] 2007 or Wang Yunzhi 2010: 166 include it. The mode of gradual abbreviation in the preface however is an attested habit of the Bin-group scribes.



**Fig. 7:** Wu Ding period “display inscription” of divination about Rong’s ear (illness); Heji 3187 [Bin I type].

The other two divinations by Ke on behalf of the king focused on which female ancestor to direct ale libations in order for the afflicted to recover. The first proposition was to direct it to the king’s Mother Geng 母庚, and the second proposition was to make it to the king’s Ancestress (Grandmother) Ji 妣己. Divinations about making ale libations to these same recipients occur in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations. Ale libation (*guan* 裸) was an integral part of daily worship events and the platform to make ritual announcements and reports (*gao* 告). Reports covered a variety of issues but most commonly concerned urgent matters like sickness and dreams, when exorcism as a remedy had either been postponed or abandoned. When announcements like this were made in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations, it was usually by the prince to his Grandmother Geng (i.e., the king’s Mother Geng); and when exorcism was required, joint rites were performed to the prince’s Grandmother Geng together

with Geng's mother-in-law, Ancestress Ji, who was the prince's great grandmother (i.e., the king's Grandmother Ji).

A fourth starting point is that both Zi Rong in Wu Ding's divinations and the Huayuanzhuang East prince were often sick and injured. In fact, amongst the royal children Zi Rong is perhaps best characterized by his illnesses.<sup>87</sup> Illness and death comprised the majority of divinations made on behalf of or by the king about Zi Rong (10/19 instances). Two divinations (Heji 13874r) specifically inquired into whether "Zi Rong will recover from this illness", while most of the others were like Heji 3187, on whether exorcism was needed for him to heal. The only illness ever mentioned was to the ear.

In addition to the king's divinations for Zi Rong about directing exorcism rituals to Mother Geng and Ancestress Ji on Heji 3187, Father Yi, Ancestor Ding, Mother Bing, and Elder Brother Ding were surveyed as alternative recipients (or targets).<sup>88</sup> Father Yi and Ancestor Ding, Wu Ding's father and grandfather, were the Huayuanzhuang East prince's grandfather and great grandfather. The correspondence of ancestor names across the two groups of divination accounts further lowers the odds in favor of Zi Rong in the king's divinations and "Zi" in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations being the same person.

The Huayuanzhuang East prince suffered from a variety of illnesses and injuries to his head, ear, mouth, tooth, stomach, and shoulder. As I mentioned earlier, the simultaneous use of a set of five-shells to make divinations on a single topic implies that the issue was of maximum concern. Ear ringing and ear illness rarely occurred in Shang oracle bone divinations and two of the three people that had it were Zi Rong and the Huayuanzhuang East prince. Since both were one generation younger than Wu Ding, members of the royal family, and either one of his children or nephews, the odds that Zi Rong was the Huayuanzhuang East prince seems the lowest amongst the possible choices.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Liu Yuan 2007.

<sup>88</sup> Liu Yuan 2007.

<sup>89</sup> Dong Zuobin (1933) once made the conceivable assertion that Zi Rong was a son of the direct line and the future king (K29) posthumously called Zu Jia 祖甲 "Ancestor Jia". In the same vein, there is no reason not to at least entertain the possibility that Zi Rong could have been the future king (K28) posthumously called Zu Geng 祖庚 "Ancestor Geng" (Liu Yuan 2018: 96). Zu Geng and Zu Jia were two of Wu Ding's sons.

## 2.6 The prince and the place Rong

The toponym Rong 夔(戎) occurs thirty-five times on twenty shells and was a place of concentrated activity for the main character. The divination accounts suggest that the prince, under the king's command and along with other members of their clan, sieged and subdued Rong. After doing so he settled there and took it as a stronghold. I propose that the name Zi Rong in Wu Ding's divinations was related to and a result of this victory. Oracle bone records firmly attest to an association between names and places, and especially names that occur in the formula "Zi 子 + name". Nearly 50% of the 185 examples of "Zi + name" in Shang oracle bone and bronze inscriptions correspond to places.<sup>90</sup>

Divinations about the toponym Rong can be divided into five categories:

- 1) The submission of Rong (157, 294)
- 2) Construction works (294, 416.12↔286.11, 419)
- 3) Visits by family members (37, 63, 195, 294) and an important ally (108)
- 4) Ritual activity (81, 195, 248, 286, 474, 490, 491, 493, 421)
- 5) Weather (103)

The synchronies 157↔294 and 37.20-23↔63.1-3↔195.1-4 (↔81.1↔248) are particularly significant. The first divination sequence details events related to the prince taking control of Rong along with a brother or cousin and other members of "His Highness' clan-based military unit". An announcement was then sent to the king that reported the state of affairs, the group's well-being, taking up residence, and plans to build constructions in his name. The second sequence tells of plans and preparations made in advance of a visit by Lady Hao, sacrificial and worship events for the prince's grandmother, and the death of Wei 韋 mentioned earlier. The dates in the list above all correspond and the divinatory content is interrelated. Table 4 attempts to collate and reconstruct a unified timeline of events.

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<sup>90</sup> Zhang Bingquan (1988: 301-350) has made the most comprehensive study of the correspondence between people's names and place names. These statistics are from Song Zhenhao 2010: 442.

Table 4: The “Rong” synchrony

Date of divination	Divination record	HYZ #
Day 36/60	己亥卜：子于𡗗(戎)宿，夙殺牢妣庚。用。— Divined on Jihai: Our lord, staying overnight in Rong, at dawn will kill some pen-raised cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. Used. <sup>1</sup> 庚子，歲妣庚在𡗗(戎)牢。子曰：卜未(妹)。子𡗗(孚)。— On Gengzi (day 37/60), sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some pen-raised cattle that are at Rong. Our lord said, “(This) crack, still not yet [said of the proposed sacrifice].” Our lord trusted (it). <sup>1</sup>	267
Day 38/60	辛丑卜：翌壬子其以[中]周于𡗗(戎)。子曰：不其口[孚]。— Divined on Xinchou: Tomorrow, Ren (day 39/60), <sup>91</sup> our lord should lead [Zhong] Zhou into Rong. Our lord said, “Is not likely....” [Trusted]. <sup>1</sup>	108
Day 45/60	戊申卜：其將妣庚于𡗗(戎)東官(館)。用。— Divined on Wushen: Should carry in offerings (to) Ancestress Geng in Rong’s eastern guesthouse. Used. <sup>1</sup> 癸丑，將妣庚，其歲妣庚牢。在𡗗(戎)。— <sup>三</sup> On Guichou (day 50/60), carrying in offerings (to) Ancestress Geng, should sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some pen-raised cattle. At Rong. <sup>123</sup>	248
Day 48/60	辛亥卜：子以婦好入于𡗗(戎)。用。— Divined on Xinhai: Our lord will lead Lady Hao to enter into Rong. Used. <sup>1</sup> 辛亥卜：子肇婦好瓊。往饗(縣)，在𡗗(戎)。— <sup>三</sup> Divined on Xinhai: Our lord will dispense Lady Hao some large jade tablets. Going to Xuan, at Rong. <sup>12</sup> 辛亥卜：呼微面見于婦好。在𡗗(戎)。用— Divined on Xinhai: Call Wei to face and have audience about/with Lady Hao. At Rong. Used. <sup>1</sup> 辛亥卜：惠入人。用。— Divined on Xinhai: It should be Ru men. Used. <sup>1</sup>	195

<sup>91</sup> It is possible that the graph 子 in this inscription was intended to be read as two words: read up in combination with Ren 壬 as Renzi 壬子, day 49/60; and read down as the subject, “our lord”. As such, yi Renzi 翌壬子 would then be, “upcoming Renzi (day 49/60).”

辛亥卜：子其以婦好入于𡗗(戎)，子呼多御(禦)正(征)見于婦好，肇新 63  
十。往鑿(縣)。—

Divined on Xinhai: When our lord leads Lady Hao into Rong, our lord will call the Many Defense Regulators to have audience about/with Lady Hao, (and) dispense (to her) ten tapestries. Going to Xuan. 1

辛亥卜：發肇婦好新三，微肇婦好新二。用。往鑿(縣)。—

Divined on Xinhai: Fa will dispense Lady Hao three tapestries, (and) Wei will dispense Lady Hao two tapestries. Used. Going to Xuan. 1

辛亥卜：惠發見于婦好。不用。—

Divined on Xinhai: It should be Fa who has audience about/with Lady Hao. Not used. 1

Day 49/60 壬子卜：子其告𡗗(戎)既壘(率)丁。子曾告曰：丁族監(宓)孰(塾)宅。子 294  
其作丁子(序)于𡗗(戎)。—

Divined on Renzi: Our lord should report that Rong is already under control (to) His Highness. Lord Zeng reported (it), saying, “His Highness’ clan-based military unit is safe and residing (in) stations next to the main gate. Your son (or: Our lord) shall (< expects to) build His Highness’ school in Rong.” 1

壬子卜：子戡(待)，弼(勿)告𡗗(戎)既壘(率)于[丁]，若。—

Divined on Renzi: Our lord will wait; do not report that Rong is already under control to [His Highness], (for it) will be favorable. 1

壬子卜：子寢于𡗗(戎)，弼(勿)告于丁。—

Divined on Renzi: Our lord houses in Rong; do not report it to His Highness. 1

壬子卜：子丙其作丁子(序)于𡗗(戎)。—

Divined on Renzi: Our lord, on a Bing day, should build His Highness’ school in Rong. 1

壬子卜：子以婦好入于𡗗(戎)，肇琬三。往鑿(縣) —= 37

Divined on Renzi: Our lord will lead Lady Hao into Rong. Dispense (to her) three large jade tablets. Going to Xuan. 12

壬子卜：子以婦好入于𡗗(戎)。子呼多賈見于婦好，肇新八。—

Divined on Renzi: Our lord will lead Lady Hao to enter into Rong. Our lord will call the Many Traders to have audience about/with Lady Hao, (and) dispense (to her) eight tapestries. 1

壬子卜：子以婦好入于𡗗(戎)，子呼多御(禦)正(征)見于婦好，肇新十。往鑿(縣)。 —二三四五

Divined on Renzi: Our lord will lead Lady Hao to enter into Rong. Our lord will call the Many Defense Regulators to have audience about/with Lady Hao, (and) dispense (to her) ten tapestries. Going to Xuan. 12345

壬子卜：其將「妣庚」示，工(貢)于東官(館)。用。— 81

Divined on Renzi: When carrying in (offerings) (to) [Ancestress Geng’s] altar, bestow them in the eastern guesthouse. Used. 1

壬子卜：其將妣庚示，工(貢)于東官(館)。用。— 490

Divined on Renzi: When carrying in offerings (to) Ancestress Geng’s altar, bestow them in the eastern guesthouse. Used. 1



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- Day 50/60 癸丑卜：其將妣庚[示]于𡗗(戎)東官(館)。用。 三 195  
 Divined on Guichou: Should carry in offerings (to) Ancestress Geng's [altar] in Rong's eastern guesthouse. Used. 2  
 乙卯，歲豮，祝鬯祖乙。用。 一三三  
 On Yimao [day 52/60], sacrifice boars (and) offer aromatic ale (to) Ancestor Yi. Used. 123
- 癸丑卜：歲食牝于祖甲。用。 三 37  
 Divined on Guichou: Sacrifice feed cows to Ancestor Jia. Used. 2  
 乙卯，歲且(祖)乙豮，祝鬯一。 一  
 On Yimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some boars (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. 1
- Day 51/60 甲寅卜：子逆外母正(子)于帚(婦)好，若。 一三三 294  
 Divined on Jiayin: Our lord will meet (his) Aunt's children at Lady Hao's (location), (for it) will be favorable. 123
- Day 52/60 乙卯卜：子丙速。不用。 一三 294  
 Divined Yimao: Our lord, on a Bing day, will invite (others). Not used. 12  
 乙卯卜：歲祖乙牢，子其自，弼(勿)速。用。 一三  
 Divined on Yimao: In sacrificing (to) Ancestor Yi some pen-raised cattle, our lord should do it himself; (he) ought not invite (anyone else). Used. 12
- 乙卯卜：惠白豕祖乙。不用。 一 37  
 Divined on Yimao: It should be white pigs (to) Ancestor Yi. Not used. 1
- Day 57/60 庚申卜，貞：執死。 一三 294  
 Divined on Gengshen, tested: Shackled (prisoners) will die. 12
- Day 59/60 壬戌卜：在𡗗(戎)囿(葬)韋。用。 一 195  
 Divined on Renxu: At Rong, bury Wei. Used. 1  
 于襄囿(葬)韋。不用。 一  
 In Xiang, bury Wei. Not used. 1
- Day 06/60 己巳卜：[子]其告[𡗗(戎)]既[率(率)]丁，若。 一 157  
 Divined on Jisi: [Our lord] should report (that) [Rong] [is] already [under control] (to) His Highness, (for it) will be favorable. 1  
 讖(待)，弼(勿)告。 一  
 Wait, do not report (it). 1
- 己巳卜：在𡗗(戎)，庚不雨。子占曰：其雨。亡司(嗣)夕雨。用。 一 103  
 Divined on Jisi, at Rong: Geng day is not going to rain. Our lord read the crack and said, "It should rain; rain will not carry on into the evening."  
 Used. 1  
 己巳卜：在𡗗(戎)，其雨。子占曰：今夕其雨，若。己雨其于翌庚亡司(嗣)。用。 一  
 Divined on Jisi, at Rong: It is likely to rain. Our lord read the crack and said, "If it rains this evening, (consider it) favorable. Ji day rain is not likely to carry on into the next day, Geng." Used. 1
-

This synchrony has been reconstructed with divinations from twelve shells and centers around the event of “leading Lady Hao into Rong”. Divination records are arranged chronologically and span thirty-one days, from day 36/60 through day 6/60. Alternative reconstructions are possible, and it is also possible that more divination accounts can be included. A review of all the divination records including Rong and Fu\*,<sup>92</sup> which are the two places that occur with the most frequency, reveals that diviners had a tendency to make divinations about Rong during the latter half of the week (days 6-10), and divinations about Fu\* during the earlier half of the week (days 1-5).<sup>93</sup>

Events and plans that occur in the collated set of “Rong divinations” contrast quite drastically from events and plans that happened at other locations. Interpretations will surely vary, but I propose that the following events took place. Rong was taken by military force under the prince’s command and along with other royal family members and clansmen. There were prisoners and deaths. An ally of the prince, Wei 韋, appears to have died in action and his burial was planned. Once under control, the prince started to stay overnight in Rong. He made sacrificial offerings to his ancestors, and with an emphasis on offering rites for his deceased grandmother. A member of the royal family was sent by the prince to report to the king about the status and safety of clan members who participated, and about the construction of a school to be made in the king’s name. The prince took residence in Rong. Lady Hao, other family members, and an important ally (Zhong Zhou) were accompanied into Rong and received with an audience and ceremonial gifts by the prince, military personnel, and select members of the Many Servitors and the prince’s entourage. Ancestral spirit tablets were arranged in new places of worship and sacrificial offerings were made both with local and imported stock. Additional construction works were undertaken, and these included building and repairing guest residences, a tower, and an ancestral temple.<sup>94</sup>

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92 This place is written in several different ways, including 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, and 𠄎. The symbol \* after “Fu” means the reading is uncertain. In transcription I use 𠄎.

93 Divinations about Rong and Fu\* occur on the same plastron (437), and although dates are missing it is still suggestive that these two locations were not far from one another. Fu\* occurs with You (柚 = Xun 邠) on another plastron (363), and Xun’s probable location in the vicinity of Wenxian, Henan provides a hint as to the location of Fu\*. Wu Ding’s divination records imply that Fu\* was no more than a three day journey to Gu 雇 (滄) (Heji 24347), and based on Eastern Zhou sources oracle bone scholars often propose that Gu was located in the area of Xingyang, Henan 滎陽 (northwest of Zhengzhou). The section below on the location of Rong discusses Huayuanzhuang East geography in more detail.

94 Although missing locative clauses, I am assuming here that verb phrases in other divinations about construction work like “build ancestral temple 作宗” (292) and “build guesthouse

Furthermore, a series of weather divinations (HYZ 103; Figure 8) was made at Rong and recorded in large calligraphy. This type of “display inscription” is uncommon in the Huayuanzhuang East divination records, although there was a tendency for scribes to write locative clauses—“at Place”, in handwriting that was larger than the other words in the same account. All of the divinations on the intact HYZ 103 were made on one day and the form in which the inscriptions were written reveal the importance of this location to the prince.

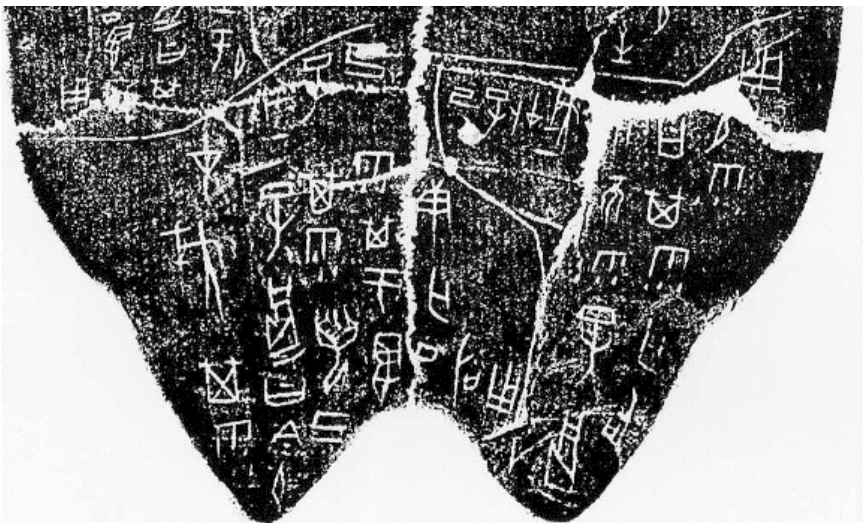


Fig. 8: Divinations about the weather in Rong (HYZ 103)

作官(館)” (113) were also related to the relocation and building program in Rong. 292, for example, mentions using the same item (紵) given to Lady Hao as a gift upon her arrival in Rong (37↔63↔195),

其乍(作)宗惠大紵 二

When building the ancestral temple, it should be a large number of tapestries. 二

437 also mentions “continuing to completion” and “tapestries” and is dated Gengshen (day 47/60). It is likely that this record should be synchronized into the timeline. 416.12, dated Jiawu (day 31/60), is a divination about completing the construction of “Rong’s guesthouse”.

## 2.7 The location of Rong

Late Shang and early Western Zhou bronze vessels inscribed with the name “Rong” are well attested,<sup>95</sup> and a cluster has been discovered near Mt. Cang 蒼山 in southern Shandong.<sup>96</sup> This does not mean that Rong in the Huayuanzhuang East divination accounts was here, but it does provide a conceivable starting point. The divinations about where to bury Wei in Table 4 (HYZ 195) suggest that Xiang 襄 was not far from Rong, and based on Eastern Zhou geography Xiang might have been located in the area of modern day Puyang, Shandong.<sup>97</sup> Ge 割 (葛) is another place with a possible southwest Shandong connection.<sup>98</sup> Bronzes inscribed with this name were discovered in a late Shang-early Western Zhou cemetery in Yanzhou, Shandong.<sup>99</sup>

Even though the evidence presented above suggests that Rong and a couple other places might have been located in the east, that is, east of Anyang in Shandong province, there is just as much evidence, if not more, that Rong was in fact in Henan province, to the west of Anyang, and in the area of Wenxian 溫縣, Qinyang 沁陽, and Xiuyu 修武. A starting point is the place called Qin 沁, which almost certainly is to be associated with the Qin River 沁水.<sup>100</sup> Secondly, are the numerous divinations and notations concerning war with Shao 召.<sup>101</sup> The Shao territory was located west of Shang and in the area between Jiyuan, Henan 河南濟源 and Yuanqu, Shanxi 山西垣曲.<sup>102</sup> Thirdly, there are many references to the main character at a place called You 柚 (=Xun 邠), which according to Eastern

<sup>95</sup> *Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng shiwen* 4: 380.

<sup>96</sup> Li Xueqin 1999. The bronzes Li refers to are inscribed 𠄎 (Rong 戎) and not 𠄎, which is the only way this place in the Huayuanzhuang East records was ever written. Li suggests the two graphs were variants and I agree with him, although both graphs do occur in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations. 𠄎 occurs once and means “warrior” (HYZ 38); 𠄎 most frequently occurs as a place name, but it also occurs once as a verb and presumably meant to strike or battle (HYZ 116). Obviously we have to allow for the possibility that these two graphs wrote different words, and this would then mean that bronzes inscribed 𠄎 are not related at all to the place 𠄎, and that 𠄎 did not write the word *rong* 戎. We also have to allow for the possibility that 𠄎 inscribed on bronzes was not, in every instance, a name but meant something else, like “warrior”.

<sup>97</sup> Yu Xingwu 1979: 133.

<sup>98</sup> See *GuLin bubian* #3182: 783-785 and the commentary to HYZ 252 for the reading of Ge.

<sup>99</sup> Li Xueqin 1998: 91.

<sup>100</sup> The area spans between Qinyang city 沁陽市 in northwestern Henan, and Qinyang county 沁陽縣 in southwestern Shanxi. HYZ 85 records a divination about plans to build a tower here.

<sup>101</sup> See Table 2; HYZ 429, HYZ 403.3, HYZ 247.8-9, and HYZ 262.2.

<sup>102</sup> Shirakawa Shizuka 1955; Lin and Sun 2010: 93.

Zhou sources was located not far from Wenxian,<sup>103</sup> in addition to him being at several other places in southwestern Shanxi, most notably Tang 唐.<sup>104</sup> HYZ 36 records “entering Shang” and “being at You 柚”, and this not only implies the two places were close in distance, but also suggests that a western border of Shang was in the vicinity of Wenxian.<sup>105</sup> Although a more detailed study is needed, I take the position here that Rong was to the west of Anyang and in this general area.

## 2.8 The prince’s age

There are two competing theories about the prince’s age. The first takes account of his repeated illnesses and proposes that he had already reached middle age. The second focuses on the habitual rate of divinations about “practicing/training” (*xue* 學) and suggests that he was between the ages of 15 and 20. Nevertheless “practicing” in advance of a performance does not imply age, and besides, *xue* 學 also meant to instruct.<sup>106</sup> The prince had several children, played a lead role in ancestor worship,<sup>107</sup> issued commands to other royal family members and to military personnel, had strong relationships with elite lineages, and his access to abundant imports, commodities, and large numbers of livestock and horses. These all suggest he was older than a teenager.

## 2.9 Ding 丁

A man called Ding, with his name written 丁 (丁), was the person who interacted the most intensely with the prince. Occurring over 200 times, this figure possessed entitlements that hitherto have only been associated with Shang kings. He was said to be in the royal domain, decided who would take part in a military expedition against Shao, issued commands to the prince, and was the only one

**103** See the commentary to HYZ 36.

**104** See the commentary to HYZ 312, 53 and 26.

**105** “Shang”, meaning the Shang territory (royal domain), occurs four times in the Huayuanzhuang East accounts. Two of these instances mention to “enter Shang 入商”. Aside from HYZ 36, the other occurrence is 176, which has a postface that the prince was at 鹿. I read 鹿 as Lu 鹿 and agree with Li Ling (*ShangBo* 2 commentary (2002: 286)) that it was northeast of Mt. Song 嵩山.

**106** Both Serruys (1986: 213) and Takashima (2010: I.124) (for *Bingbian* 22.5-6) give “instruct”. Yang Shengnan (1982: 381) defines it as “to train”. Keightley (2012: 348) translates it “instruct, learn”. HYZ 473.1 has the phrase *xue* *Qiang* 學羌 “instruct Qiang”.

**107** Specifically as the invocator at sacrificial rites to near ancestors and in performing exorcism rites (most notably for his father the king (HYZ 56)).

with the status to host (*bin* 賓) the most important ritual events for the high Shang ancestors. He allocated to the prince control items like prisoners from different camps and special grain reserved for ancestor worship. Conversely, Ding was the main outlet for the prince's upward flow of export tribute and the main recipient of his contributions, the person to whom the prince reported, and the recipient of repeated invitations to feast and drink and to watch music and dance performances.

Two points emphasized earlier clinch the fact that Ding was the king:

- 1) Ding was often paired with Lady Hao, who was one of Wu Ding's spouses. Lady Hao was specifically referred to as his wife.
- 2) The synchronization of a series of war divinations against Shao (Table 2).

### 2.9.1 The meaning of the appellation Ding 𠄎 (丁)

A man named Ding occurs in royal family divinations and in Wu Ding's divinations in reference to men from other lineages, but prior to this discovery its meaning and context was unclear. The interchange of the appellations Ding 丁 “His Highness” and *Wang* 王 “king” in Table 2 confirms that, in this case, both referred to Wu Ding. (An interchange of “His Highness” and “king” also occurs in the same divination account (HYZ 480).) The word “king” 王 occurs twice as an independent word in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations. It also appears in a ligature fused with “Lady 婦” as a designation for the “Majestic Lady” Hao 王婦好, who was also called “His Highness' Lady” (Ding *fu* 丁婦). Here I address what 𠄎 meant as the designation for a living man and what word the graph wrote. To date there are four interpretations and none have garnered a general acceptance.

- 1) Ding was a birth day.
- 2) The “Yi-Ding system” hypothesis.
- 3) 𠄎 wrote the word *bi* 璧 “disc, circlet”, used as rebus for *pi* 辟 “lord”.
- 4) Ding was phonetic loan and substitution for *di* 帝 “g-d; eldest son of the direct line of the royal lineage”.

### 2.9.2 Ding as a birth day and the “Yi-Ding” hypothesis

The simplest yet most deceptive interpretation is that 𠄎 was the same word as day four of the ten-day week.<sup>108</sup> The graph 𠄎 occurs most frequently in the Huayuanzhuang East accounts in the following usages: 1) as day four of the ten-day week; 2) as day four of the ten-day week and in combination with a kin designation to form a temple or day name (*miaohao* 廟號/*riming* 日名) for ancestors; 3) as the name of a living man.

Shang ancestor names usually consist of two parts: a kin designation such as ancestor, father, mother, elder brother, plus a *tiangan*, which was one of the ten celestial signs that formed the “trunk” of the calendrical system.<sup>109</sup> Prior to the discovery and study of Shang oracle bones at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a popular interpretation followed Ban Gu’s (32-92 AD) statement that Shang people were given posthumous day-names corresponding to the *tiangan* day of the week on which they were born.<sup>110</sup> Dong Zuobin (1895-1963), who was one of the first scholars with access to these primary sources, suggested the converse, namely that these designations were days that corresponded with death days rather than birth days.<sup>111</sup>

K.C. Chang (1931-2001), unconvinced with either the birth or death day interpretation, proposed a new interpretation based on the uneven distribution and apparent popularity of certain days in ancestor names versus others. His statistical analysis of Shang period bronze inscriptions strikingly revealed that 86% were even-numbered. Because of its sheer originality, it is worthwhile to cite here Chang’s “Yi-Ding system” (乙丁制) hypothesis,

All of these hypotheses are based on the principle that association of an individual with a day-sign was an accident—the accident of birth, death, or other life event...The fact of the matter is that this association cannot have been based on such accidental associations. If it had been, the occurrence of the ten day-signs in a population would show a statistical randomness. But in fact it is anything but random...It is clear that from the above that the naming of the Shang kings (and heir spouses and their subjects) was not based on such accidental events as the birth day, the death day, or the order of ascension. My hypothesis is that the royal lineages were organized into ten ritual units, named after the ten *gan*-signs (day-signs). Kings were selected from various units and were named posthumously according to their day-sign units, which also regulated the rituals performed to them.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Zhu Qixiang 2006, Cao Dingyun 2006.

<sup>109</sup> K.C. Chang 1980: 168.

<sup>110</sup> Ban Gu, *Baihutong* 白虎通 (Discussions at the White Tiger Pavilion), “Xing ming 姓名”: “The Yin people named children according to their birth days”; cited in K.C. Chang 1980:169, n. 30.

<sup>111</sup> Dong Zuobin 1945.

<sup>112</sup> K.C. Chang 1980: 165-189.

Explaining the king as a “ding” unit male seemed plausible and it was an appealing alternative to the birth/death day interpretation in its time. There are however recognizable problems with it and it is simply no longer viable.<sup>113</sup> First, the organization of Shang royal society into ten ritual units regulated by the ten *gan*-signs and overseen by a group of elders is completely without supporting evidence. Second, if kings were selected from various units that alternated with each successor to the throne, then our knowledge of the Shang king list as it is recorded in traditional historiographical works like the “Annals of Yin” in the *Shiji* would be much harder to understand. For example, it would be impossible to know what the relationship was, if there was any at all, between kings and their heirs. Thirdly, Shang period bronze inscriptions record a husband and wife as having the same day-name.<sup>114</sup> This upsets one of the basic foundations in Chang’s theory, namely that “ritually recognized spouses did not have the same *gan*-signs as their husbands.”<sup>115</sup>

K.C. Chang’s conclusion is nevertheless useful to invalidate the birth/death day interpretation. The disproportionate balance that 8.6 out of 10 of the ancestor designations on Shang bronze inscriptions are even-numbered days makes either statistically unbelievable.

The most convincing explanation of Shang day-names is Li Xueqin’s theory that the Shang divined their temple-names at death (or just before).<sup>116</sup> Li proved this beyond the question of a doubt in his 1957 review of Chen Mengjia’s *Yinxu buci zongshu* by collating and reconstructing a set of funerary divinations about the death of king Zu Geng’s queen. The synchrony reveals that upon her death the queen was given a day-name (*gui* 癸), which corresponded to the day she began to receive sacrificial worship.<sup>117</sup> Divination decided temple days and selection was subjectively motivated by preference.

### 2.9.3 Ding 丁 as substitution for *di* 帝 “g-d; heir of the direct line of the royal lineage”

Qiu Xigui, based on earlier work by Shima Kunio, suggests “there was a good chance” that the graph *ding* 丁 was used as a substitute to write the word *di* 帝.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>113</sup> For critical reviews of Chang’s theory, see Zhao Cheng 2006 and Qiu Xigui 2013.

<sup>114</sup> See the *Father Ding Mother Ding dagger* 父丁母丁戈 in the Shouyangzhai collection (Li Xueqin 2010: 13-16).

<sup>115</sup> K.C. Chang 1980: 177.

<sup>116</sup> Li Xueqin 2008:60.

<sup>117</sup> See Heji 23712, 23718, 23719, 22559.

<sup>118</sup> Qiu Xigui [2005] 2012: 1.516-523; Shima Kunio [1958] 2006.



(帝 is the ancestral form of *di* 蒂 “base and receptacle of a plant or flower”.<sup>119</sup>) In the oracle bone inscriptions *di* 帝 has three generally accepted meanings: 1) as the name for the highest power in the Shang pantheon of deities; 2) as an honorific and posthumous designation for deceased kings of the trunk lineage used in combination with a *tiangan* (like *Di Jia* 帝甲 and *Fu Yi di* 父乙帝); and 3) as a verb, read *di* 禘, which according to later ritual literature was performed in the summer once every five years and only to the supreme progenitor of the royal line.<sup>120</sup> Against this, Qiu suggests *di* 帝 was also a designation for the living and proposes that *ding* 丁 was used as a phonetic substitution in order to prevent confusion with its meaning as a deity and as a posthumous title. Qiu then associates *di* 帝 to its cognate *di* 嫡 “heir”. Even though the graph *di* 嫡 does not occur in Shang script, Qiu cites one oracle bone divination (Heji 30390) to support that it was originally written with the graph *di* 帝.<sup>121</sup>

Several notable scholars have since accepted this interpretation,<sup>122</sup> but there are reasons to question it. The first is the uncertain assumption that *di* 帝 could refer to the living, since it conflicts with traditional definitions:<sup>123</sup>

天子崩...卒葬曰帝。

When the Son of Heaven dies...finished burial (he) is called *di*.<sup>124</sup>

君天下曰天子...措之廟立之主曰帝。

When (the king) is lord over the sub-celestial realm (he) is called the Son of Heaven...having erected his temple and set up his spirit altar (or: spirit tablet), (he) is called *di* 帝.<sup>125</sup>

The term *wang di* 王帝 occurs in Shang oracle bone inscriptions and Hu Houxuan and others, including Qiu himself, explain it as meaning the deceased father of the reigning king.<sup>126</sup> *Di* 帝 also occurs in isolation and in reference to the king's deceased father.<sup>127</sup> In Western Zhou bronze inscriptions *di* 帝 and its variants 啻 and 敵 occur in ancestor designations like *chi/di kao* 啻/帝考 and *di mu* 帝母,<sup>128</sup> and in

119 Luo Kun 2010: 67-72.

120 The parameters of which recipients could receive *di*-sacrifice in oracle bone inscriptions are not clearly defined. In Western Zhou bronze inscriptions recipients could be multiple near ancestors of the trunk lineage (father and grandfather).

121 Qiu Xigui 2012: 1.126, and Song Zhenhao 2010: 450.

122 Chen Jian 2004, Yao Xuan 2005: 21, Zhang Yongshan 2006, and Song Huaqiang 2009.

123 Qiu Xigui 2012: 1.521.

124 *Da Dai Liji* 大戴禮記, “Gao zhi” 誥志 (Wang Pinzhen 1983: 183).

125 *Liji* 禮記, “Qu li xia” 曲禮下 (Ruan Yuan 1980: 1260).

126 Qiu Xigui 2012: 1.521.

127 Heji 35931.

128 *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 4129: “皇祖啻考”; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 4038; *Wenwu* 1997.12: 31.

each case, these terms referred to a deceased ancestor but never to a living person.<sup>129</sup> In addition, the fact that the graph *di* 帝 was used to write compounds severely weakens the notion that it was restricted in any sense and needed to be substituted.<sup>130</sup>

Two oracle bone divinations from the He 何-diviner group contain both the graphs *ding* 𠩺 and *di* 帝. This straightforward evidence seems to prove that these two graphs wrote different words and were not interchangeable.

(26) 丁丑卜，嘏貞：其示(?) 𠩺宗門，告帝甲暨帝丁，受左。 *Jiyi* 548

Divined on Dingchou, Fu tested: When handing over (unstated object) (at) the gate of 𠩺 Ancestral Temple, making announcement to Di Jia together with Di Ding will receive disapproval.

(27) 卜，嘏貞：帝于 𠩺，其牢。 *Xubian* 2.18.9

Divined, Fu tested: *Di*-sacrificing at 𠩺, should make it pen-raised cattle.

Di Jia and Di Ding were posthumous designations used by king Kang Ding (K31) for his father Zu Jia (K29) and his grandfather Wu Ding (K27). Example (26) makes it clear that *di* 帝 was an appellation for deceased kings of the trunk line and that 𠩺 meant something else. In example (27), both *di* 帝 and 𠩺 occur again together. *Di* 帝 is clearly a verb and 𠩺 is either a place or the name of the recipient. I return to discuss the phrase “𠩺宗” in (26) later, and all I will say here is that there is no reason to read it as a substitution for *Di zong* 帝/嫡宗 “ancestral temple of the heir of the trunk line”.<sup>131</sup>

The graph Shima reads as “*ding* 丁” in example (27) and suggests was a loan for *di* 帝 “G-d” is almost certainly incorrect. In fact, of the thirty-six examples adduced by Shima there is not one that does not make sense read either as the day of the week “Ding”, and as a reference to the deceased Wu Ding or to another Ding-day ancestor, or not as *ding* 丁 at all, but as the ancestral form of another word, *beng* 禘 “temple” (from *fang* 方 “square”).<sup>132</sup> (Later definitions of *beng* as a verb say that it means to make ritual offerings at a temple or just outside of its gate.)

<sup>129</sup> A recently discovered early Western Zhou bronze inscription called *Yingong ding* 應公鼎 contains the ancestor designation *Wu di ri ding* 武帝日丁 and refers to King Wu, heir of the trunk line, day name Ding; see Li Xueqin 2010.

<sup>130</sup> Adam D. Smith 2008: 208-209. See *Jiagu wenzi gulin* #1132-1135 and #1070 (an allograph of #1135).

<sup>131</sup> Song Huaqiang 2009: 134.

<sup>132</sup> Liu Yuan 2009: 131-160.

The verb-noun phrase “即𠄎” in the following divination sequence is a proposed alternative to “即宗” (approach the ancestral temple), and proves beyond the reason of a doubt that 𠄎 also wrote the word *beng* 禘:

(28) 禘(禱), 即宗。

Heji 34372 [Li II]

禘(禱), 即𠄎于上甲。

禘(禱), 一牛。

禘(禱), 二牛。

禘(禱), 三牛。

Praying, approach the ancestral temple.

Praying, approach the 𠄎, coming to Shang Jia.

Praying, (make it) one head of cattle.

Praying, (make it) two head of cattle.

Praying, (make it) three head of cattle.

The recipient of the prayer is clearly stated to be Shang Jia (K1), and this invalidates that 𠄎 should be read *di* 帝 “G-d”. While there is still debate about when to read 𠄎 as *beng* 禘 and when to read it as *ding* 丁, there is a lack of compelling evidence to read it as a loan and graphic substitute for *di* 帝.

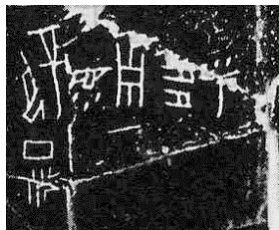
In summary, Qiu’s hypothesis rests predominantly on dubious examples once adduced by Shima Kunio to argue that the graph *ding* 丁 was used as a phonetic loan and graphic substitute for *di* 帝 (both as a noun and as a verb). (Shima’s argument was that the Shang used 丁 to write 帝 “G-d” and that Ding was the precursor to the Zhou’s *tian* 天 “G-d in Heaven”.) The problem with reading *ding* 丁 as *di* 帝 is establishing a starting point to demonstrate this exchange. It remains possible that the Shang used the graph *di* 帝 to write the word *di* 嫡 “heir”, but there is no proof that the graph *ding* 丁 was a loan to write the word *di* 帝, nor any that the graph *di* 帝 was somehow restricted for use. Qiu’s hypothesis is conceivable but unconvincing due to a lack of evidence to support it.

#### 2.9.4 𠄎 is the ancestral form of *bi* 璧 “jade cirlet”, read as a phonetic loan for the word *pi* 辟 “ruler”

Li Xueqin has proposed that as the name of a living person 𠄎 was not the graph 丁 but rather the ancestral form of *bi* 璧 “jade cirlet”, and suggests to read it as a phonetic loan for the word *pi* 辟 “ruler”.<sup>133</sup> This interpretation can easily be tested as both

133 Li Xueqin 2004b.

the words *bi* 璧 and *pi* 辟 occur in the Huayuanzhuang East lexicon. The following divinations from HYZ 275 (Figure 9) and HYZ 490 (Figure 10) confirm this interpretation is incorrect.



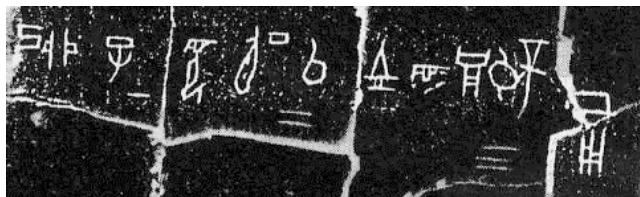
乙亥卜：其呼多賈見 丁 (丁)，侃。—

呼多賈眾 丁 (辟)， 丁 (丁)侃。— [pictured]

Divined on Yihai: If calling the Many Traders to see Ding (His Highness), (it) will bring happiness. 1

Calling the Many Traders together with subordinates, Ding (His Highness) will be happy. 1

Fig. 9: HYZ 275



己卯，子見(獻) 以圭眾厚璧 丁 (丁)。用。—

On Jimao, Zi (Our lord) will present pointed jade tablets brought in by You together with thick serrated jade circlets (to) Ding (His Highness). Used. 123

Fig. 10: HYZ 490

Divinations on HYZ 275 were made in preparation for Ding’s arrival to the prince’s location and were propositions about who would participate and what items would be presented to him. The conjunction *ta* 眾 in the second divination connects nouns and this means that both the “Many Traders” and “*pi* 辟” served the prince. The occurrence of *pi* 辟 in this context confirms that the word had yet to acquire its later meaning of “rule, ruler” and therefore invalidates Li’s argument. Huayuanzhuang East scribes wrote *pi* 辟 with the components 卩 and 辛 but without 〇 “non-serrated jade circlet”. Immediately under *pi* 辟 in Figure 9 is 丁, and these graphs next to each other is the best evidence to illustrate that 丁 wrote a different word.

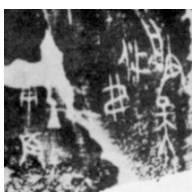
Divinations on HYZ 490 concern what jades to contribute to the king, with some being from a recent delivery. 璧 “jade circlet” is written in this instance with the pictograph 卩 and its shape illustrates that it was of the serrated kind. The other type of jade circlet in the prince’s stock was a non-serrated circlet. “Serrated

jade circlet” was written elsewhere as a pure pictograph (HYZ 180.3) and does not include the element 辛 like it does here. Immediately to right of *bi* 璧 is 匚, and this further proves that the latter wrote a different word altogether.

### 2.9.5 A new interpretation: Ding 丁 as “crown of the head”, “Head”

*Ding* 丁 is a pictograph of a nail(head) (*dīng* 釘).<sup>134</sup> The earliest graphic forms, like 𠄎 (oracle bone (*Jiabian* 2329)) and 𠄏 (oracle bone (*Yibian* 9083)), depict a top profile, while later forms, like 𠄐 (Warring States brush and ink (*Baoshan*, strip 4)) and 𠄑 (Warring States seal from the state of Yan 燕), evolved to depict a side profile. Graphic semblance and phonetic congruity led to it being used to represent the “forehead” (*dīng* 定(>顛)) and “crown/top of the head” (*dīng* 頂/*dian* 顛), since a top profile of the nailhead resembled the shape of a person’s head and a side profile of the nail resembled the shape of a person’s head and neck.<sup>135</sup>

*Ding* 丁 is phono-semantic in *tian* 天 “crown of the head”, which in Shang-Western Zhou script was written 𠄒 (oracle bone (Heji 17985)) and 𠄓 (Early Western Zhou bronze (*Tianwang gui* 天亡簋)),<sup>136</sup> and both words are etymologically related to other words that mean forehead/crown of the head, and by extension, the top. *Tian* 天 in its primary sense first occurs in illness divinations from the Shi diviner group 師組 (in the so-called large or “fat” script), who were the earliest organization of Shang oracle bone divination specialists at Anyang.<sup>137</sup> In the following example (Figure 11), king Wu Ding himself made a divination about illness to the crown of his head,



庚辰[卜], 王: 弗疾朕天。

[Divined] on Gengyin, His Majesty: The crown of my head will not be sickened.<sup>138</sup>

Fig. 11: Heji 20975

134 Tang Lan 1981.

135 Ye Yusen 1934. For *dīng* 定/顛, see the *Shijing* (Book of Odes) poem “Feet of the Unicorn” (Lin zhi zhi 麟之趾; Mao #11): 麟之定, 振振公姓。“The forehead of the lin! You majestic kinsmen of the prince!” (Karlgrén 1950: 7).

136 Peter Boodberg (1937): “The dot on top of 大 in the old graphs for 天...is, in our belief, ‘phonetic-etymonic’ and stands for the archaic word now represented by *dian* 顛 ‘forehead,’ ‘top,’ the -ng variant of which is reflected in *dīng* 頂 ‘top or crown of the head’ < tieng 丁.”




137 Wang Yunzhi 2012: 140-147.

138 Yu Xingwu [1979] 2009: 439-441.

Perhaps the most cited instance of *tian* meaning “forehead” in Classical Chinese occurs in the line statements of hexagram *Kui* 睽 “Cross-eyed” in the *Yijing*,




六三：其人天且鼻(劓)。

Six in the Third: Its man with a (branded) forehead and a clipped nose.



*Ding* 𠄎 (丁) as representing the crown of the head also occurs in an early spelling of the word *mian* 媿 “give birth”, which in Shang script was written in two ways:  and . The second form adds 丁 and depicts the crown of the child’s head.<sup>139</sup> Another example is 子 “child”, written in early script as . The shape of the child’s head in the writing of *zi* and *ding* in the writing of *mian* match.

As an appellation for a living person, the etymological relationship between *ding* 丁(頂), *ding* 顛, *dian* 顛, and *tian* 天 suggests it meant crown of the head, and by extension, Head and top male. Warring States and Han script continued to use both *ding* 丁 and 釘 to write *ding* 頂 “crown of the head”,<sup>140</sup> and lexical wordbooks from this period like the *Erya* 爾雅 contain definitions for fish anatomy like “The fish’s pillow, call it ‘ding’” 魚枕謂之丁, which is a evident play on image archetypes. The *tiangan* designations *Ding* (day 4/10), *Yi* 乙 (day 2/10), and *Bing* 丙 (day 3/10) used to define parts of a fish—the tail, intestines, and head—appear to have derived by matching the shape of the graph to the part of the fish it resembled.<sup>141</sup> The bone of a fish’s head was called “ding” because the same sound also meant top of the head, and because the graph’s “image” resembled it.

In translation, I use “His Highness” when 丁 referred to the Shang king, and “Head” or “Chief” when it referred to leaders of other lineages or groups of men. The advantage of this new reading is that it can be applied to the top male of a group irrespective of pedigree. Reading *ding* 丁 as *di* 帝 and explaining it as the eldest son of the direct line of the royal lineage (嫡) implies that it was restricted for use by anyone

**139** Zhang Yachu 2001: 11. The first form is composed of two hands, depicting an opening motion, plus pen/womb; the second form adds 丁 inside of the womb. *Mian* 媿 in Warring States script was written , , and . By this time in the evolution of the script the head of the child evolved into the entire child 子, the “womb” was abbreviated or changed in shape, and the two hands were omitted.

**140** For instance, 釘 was used to write *ding* 頂 as late as the Western Han; see the *Yijing*’s hexagram text *Da guo* 大過 “Great Surpassing” from Mawangdui. Wen Yiduo (2016: 495) notes that the graph *ding* 丁 was used to write the word *tian* 天 in the Han period *Yijing* weft text *Qian Kun zao du* 乾坤鑿度 (Boring the degrees of Qian and Kun). Wen ingeniously proposed that *ding* was not a phonetic loan for *tian* but rather an abbreviated and simplified way of spelling it.

**141** The *Erya* associates a fish’s intestines to Yi and a fish’s tail to Bing. In ancient script Yi 乙 was written  and resembles the shape of the intestines, while Bing 丙 was written  and resembles the shape of the tail.

other than the kings. Yet *ding* 丁 also occurred in oracle bone divinations made on behalf of the kings in reference to the Head of other lineages and groups of people.

Below are eight instances where 丁 occurs in combination with *ren* 人 “person”, and after a lineage name or the name of a group of people:

Huang Yin ding ren 黄尹丁人	(Heji 3096-3099)
Huang ding ren 黄丁人	(Heji 22)
Yi ding ren 伊丁人	(Heji 32803rv, <i>Minghou</i> 明後 B2442)
Shan ding ren 單丁人	(Heji 137)
Meng ding ren 夢丁人	(Heji 32212, <i>Yingcang</i> 2428)
Qi ding ren 祈丁人	(Heji 13720)
Zhi ding ren 斃丁人	( <i>Yibian</i> 8893)
Yi ding ren 夷丁人	(Heji 6476)

In each of these instances the word preceding 丁 is the name of a lineage or a collective term for a territorial group. The names Huang Yin/Huang/Yi referred to a single lineage.<sup>142</sup> Reading 丁 as “Head” or the top male of X-lineage/X-coalition is suitable in every instance. 人 “person” either meant a person or people of the Head of X-lineage, or it was a measure word for 丁. (Heji 6476 writes it as a ligature 𠄎.)

Perhaps the most informative example of 丁 with this meaning occurs on *Heji* 3096 (Figure 12):



Fig. 12: Heji 3096

丙午卜，貞：黃尹丁人媼不盪(婚)，在丁家又(有)子。Heji 3096 [Bin III]

Divined on Bingwu, tested: Yu, a female of the Huang-Yin chief, is not going to die suddenly; at the Head's house there will be a child.

The word 丁 in this divination undoubtedly had the same meaning as it does in isolation and in reference to a living person in the Huayuanzhuang East divination records. The reason Ding occurs in isolation in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations is because the patron and Ding were family; a lineage name in front of it would have

<sup>142</sup> Qiu Xigui [1983] 2012: 1.196. This lineage name originated with the Shang minister Huang Yi, also called Yi Yin.

been redundant and unnecessary. Hypothetically speaking, when other lineages referred to Wu Ding they probably referred to him as *wang* “king” if they were under his mandate, but conceivably could also have called him “Royal lineage name/name of territory (Shang 商) + Ding 丁”. As with the appellation Zi 子, 丁 was clearly not restricted for use amongst the Shang royal family. Oracle bone inscriptions mention a group of the Huang lineage called “黃多子” (Huang’s Many Sons > Family Heads (Heji 3255)), and this corresponds with “黃丁” (Huang’s “Head”) and “黃尹丁” (Huang-Yin’s “Head”) in the list above.<sup>143</sup> The lineage structure of Huang with a top male as “Head” and many adult children as family heads 子 is precisely the situation that we see in the Huayuanzhuang East divination records—the main subject in the divinations was a family head and one of Shang’s “Many Children” 多子, and “Ding” 丁 was the designation for the head male.

The phrase “Ding’s house” 丁家在 Figure 12 was apparently an abbreviation of “Huang-Yin Head’s house” 黃尹丁家, and it is parallel with the phrase “□ ancestral temple” mentioned earlier. In addition, the noun phrases “Ding’s school” 丁序 (HYZ 294.1) and “Ding’s guesthouse” 丁館 (HYZ 384) occur in the Huayuanzhuang East divination records and undoubtedly were named after the living Shang king Wu Ding. A comparison with these terms suggests that “□ ancestral temple” meant the ancestral temple of the lineage’s top male. In *Jiyi* 548 this would have been the Shang king Kang Ding 康丁 (K31), Wu Ding’s grandson.<sup>144</sup>

In summary, *Ding* 丁 meant “Head”, or as I translate it in these royal family divinations “His Highness”, when it was used as an appellation for a living person. Wen Yiduo’s proposal to read *ding* as an abbreviated spelling of *tian* 天 is an appealing interpretation. *Tian* in the Shang language of Wu Ding’s period was used in its primary sense, as a noun meaning “crown of the head” or “forehead”, and this usage is attested in received Classical literature. It first occurred as a modifier, synonymous with *da* 大 “big”, for deceased ancestors in royal family inscriptions that also date to Wu Ding’s period. Later descriptions of the great settlement at Anyang from accounts that date towards the end of the Shang continued to use it in this way. It was not until the Western Zhou period that *tian* 天

**143** Heji 3255r reads, 貞：呼黃多子出牛，有于黃尹 “Tested: Call Huang’s Many Family Heads to let out cattle, to have for (or: to make offerings to) Huang Yin.” I already mentioned that there was a collective group of people called Yong *duo zi* 雝多子 “Yong’s Many Family Heads” in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations.

**144** The issue is more complicated than this. Oracle bone inscriptions also mention “Ding gate 丁門” (Heji 13602), “Yi gate 乙門” (Heji 13598-13600) and “Jia (gate) 甲(門)” (Heji 13598, 13602), and this implies that these *tiangan* words were either the temple days of ancestors or functioned like numbers (1, 2, 3, etc). Yet another alternative interpretation is that □ wrote *beng* 禘.



took on a derivative meaning of the “sky” (< what is at the top) and became deified (Heaven). However, Western Zhou language did continue to use a word written with the graph *ding* 丁 to designate the Head of a lineage or a group of people.<sup>145</sup> It was not a word confined or restricted for use solely by the royal family in reference to the kings. As for the exchange of *ding* 丁 and *wang* 王 that appears in HYZ 480, it is comparable to the substitution between *tianzi* 天子 “Son of Heaven” and *wang* 王 “King” that occurs throughout Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.<sup>146</sup>

## 2.10 Other people: family members and staff

### 2.10.1 Lady Hao 婦好

As I stated earlier, naming conventions alone underscore that Lady Hao was the king’s spouse and the main character’s mother. Throughout these divination accounts she was alive and well.

While contact and communication between the prince and his mother the queen appears to have been less frequent than it was between the prince and his father the king, the divination records attest to them having a close and caring relationship. Hao often spoke directly with her son, and on occasion relayed messages, some of the personal kind, between him and her husband (331, 290, 286). The prince, in turn, made announcements on specific topics to her (211, 3, 220, 371). He personally led Hao into his new stronghold at Rong and welcomed her with a large-scale gift offering and ceremony that included attendance and presentations by military officers, personnel, and staff. He also accompanied her, at the king’s command, to plant wheat (475), and met with guests who came to see her (294, 409, 492). These examples indicate a concern for her well-being and security.

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<sup>145</sup> For a usage designating the Head of a group of field workers during the Western Zhou period, see the inscription *Ji Ji fangzun* 季姬方尊 (*Wenwu* 2003.9), and the comments of Li Xueqin 2003. It is only starting with Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and in literature that putatively dates to this historical period that a word spelled with the graph *zheng* 正 had the meaning of “leader, director”. *Zheng* 正 is the ancestral form of *zheng* 征 “march to regulate, march to correct > correct; appropriate”. Shang language in the period after Wu Ding’s reign (i.e., period II OBI) first used *zheng* in the phrase *zheng yue* 正月, the “regulating month,” which was another name for the “first month” (*yi yue* 一月); see Keightley 2012: 360-361, and *GuLin*, no. 0821.

<sup>146</sup> Edward L. Shaughnessy 2007: 845-877.

Gifts and tribute from the prince to Lady Hao differ from what the prince gave the king. Whereas the prince presented the latter with aromatic ale, salt, a variety of colored jades (for instance thick and serrated circlets, and tablets of various shapes and sizes) and gems (beads), ear ornaments, cowries, meat and fish, sanctified meat, and sent in livestock, tools, and weapons, Hao was given textiles like imported patterned belts (451), tapestries, and dagger-axe tassels (288). The prince only ever presented her with one kind of jade (*chu* 琚 “large jade tablet”).

Hao, at least on one occasion, was responsible for overseeing the importation of Qiang 羌 people (220, 265, 215). Of these three instances, the information on HYZ 215 is the most valuable, for it confirms that the process was documented.

### 2.10.2 Zi Rong’s family and household

The divination records mention the prince’s spouse and children. His spouse was referred to both as “our lord’s spouse” (*Zi pei* 子配(妃)) and “spouse” (配(妃)), but she rarely occurred in the divinations (six instances on three shells).<sup>147</sup> As far as the divination records show, her main responsibility was to meet with Lady Hao, her mother-in-law. One sequence of divinations proposed to dispatch and task her, in substitution for her husband, with requesting millet for sacrificial rites (379); on another occasion, she reported an affair related to textile production (220.6).

The prince appears to have had four children. They were referred to as “big son” (*da zi* 大子) (480.3), “middle son” (*zhong zi* 中(仲)子) (349.10), “small son” (*xiao zi* 小子) (353.2), and “third small son” (*san xiao zi* 三小子) (205.5). Each was mentioned just once. Both the eldest and youngest sons took part in ritual activities (480.3, 353.2). The existence of four children produces a question. Where was the second small son? The hypothesis proposed here is that he was dead and the juvenile spirit called Child Gui (*zi Gui* 子癸).

<sup>147</sup> Of these six instances, three are recorded on the same shell surface (HYZ 5.2, 4-5). The other instances are 220.6, 379.1 and 441.2. The phrase *Ge pei* 或配(妃) occurs on HYZ 41.1, and as I understand it, it referred to Ge’s spouse; for Ge, or Zhi Bo Ge 沚伯或, see Table 2. For the meaning of the word 配(妃) in Shang oracle bone inscriptions as “spouse”, see Zhao Lin 2018: 129-130, and the commentaries to HYZ 5 and HYZ 139.1.

### 2.10.3 The “Many Princes”: Brothers and Cousins

It is difficult to determine whether the people called by the formula “zi 子 + name” were the prince’s brothers (and in one case (290.10) perhaps a sister), cousins, or conceivably even children and nephews. Zi Hua 畫, Zi Pou 剖, Zi Yu 予, Zi Zeng 曾, Zi Guo 臧, Zi Bi 髀, Zi Mei 媚, Zi Sheng 升, Zi Hu 昊, Zi Xing 興, and Zi Jin 金, in addition to the main character, Zi Rong, form the group referred to in these divination accounts as the “Many Princes” (*duo zi* 多子) (430.1). Jin and Xing appear to have been younger than the main character,<sup>148</sup> while Pou, Hua, and Yu seem to have been of the same generation as him. There is not enough information about the others to make an evaluation. The issuing of directives and warnings to the others and taking a lead role in communal ritual action (invocations) for ancestor worship suggest that Zi Rong had the highest status amongst the group.

The roles and circumstances of the “Many Princes” in Zi Rong’s divinations can be summarized as:

Hua was mostly concerned with business and procuring horses (288.5↔493.1), and he had a relationship with people from the (enemy) Shao territory (as suggested from the name of his aide). He was the only person whom Zi Rong chose to substitute him in ritual activities (ale libation; 416.6), and this suggests that his status was the highest amongst the other royal males of his generation.

Hua (449.3), Pou (449.4), and Yu (237.12-13) participated in sacrificial and offering rites to near Ancestors as part of Zi Rong’s ancestor worship. The context of these divinations suggests that the four men were cousins.

Pou was present for Zi Rong’s divinations about his tinnitus (450.1), and he had the authority to handle affairs in the absence of Zi Rong (370.1).

Zeng accompanied Zi Rong in battle and was entrusted by him to report about it to the king (294).

Hu was associated with music and zither performances (130), and Bi with dance (380, 336.1).

Xing (illness) and Guo (injury) were only ever mentioned because Zi Rong needed to perform exorcism rites for their recovery.

There is not enough information to say anything substantial about Zi Mei and Zi Sheng.

Statistics indicate that, amongst the group of the “Many Princes”, Jin (39 instances) had the closest relationship with Zi Rong. At the very least, he received

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<sup>148</sup> Lin Yin 2007.

more divinatory attention than the others. Based on the frequency by which Jin occurred both as a diviner and as the subject of divinations, he seems to have been either living in the prince's household or nearby to him. Zi Rong was often concerned about his well-being, and from time to time Jin made guest appearances as a diviner. Like Zi Rong's spouse, Jin also went to request millet from Lady Hao (218.1-2), and this perhaps implies that he was also a son of Lady Hao and Wu Ding. At the same time, he was conspicuously never present for ancestor worship, or for ceremonies that involved high-level gift giving and feasting. His role appears to have been mostly confined to family and household tasks.

A noteworthy feature of divination records where Jin was the subject is that charge statements appear to either have been intentionally omitted or abbreviated (2.3-4, 75.7, 80.2, 90.8, 140.2, etc.). There is one instance, however, where corresponding dates from a reconstructed multiple-shell sequence provides an important clue about the information which the diviners and scribes usually left out,

丁亥卜：子𠄎(金)其生(往)，亡𠄎(災)。 –	247.14 [plastron]
丁亥卜：子𠄎(金)。 –	55.1 [carapace]
Divined on Dinghai: If lord Jin goes off, there will be no calamity. 1	
Divined on Dinghai: Lord Jin. 1	

Rejoining these two records suggests that 247 was used before 55. This is because the former divination account contains a grammatically coherent charge statement and the latter does not.<sup>149</sup> An example like this demonstrates how diviners and scribes abbreviated or omitted subsequent divinations in a set where a complete or more contextualized “antecedent” account had already been stated (and recorded). Diviners and the scribes who worked collaboratively with them must have known exactly what abbreviated charge statements like these meant. Linking these two accounts together further recommends that the other accounts about Jin in this abridged formula also concerned his well-being.

**149** As listed in Appendix I, 55 and 247 were also in use for divinations about other issues. These two shells, which formed a small two-shell set for divinations about Jin, were also part of a larger four-shell set including 255 and 352 for divinations made on day Jichou, two days after Dinghai, about sacrifice and an exorcism performed by the riverside.

#### 2.10.4 Staff

A difference between the Huayuanzhuang East divination accounts and those made by and for other members of the royal family aside from the kings was the size of Zi Rong's staff. Staff and attendants who reported to and took orders from the main character can be divided into groups of people whose titles were preceded and modified by the word *duo* 多 “many”: *duo chen* 多臣 “Many Servitors” were staff and attendants who handled daily affairs; *duo gu* 多賈 “Many Traders” handled stock, appraisals, and the supply of goods; *duo yu* 多御(禦)正(征) “Many Defense Regulators” were military personnel (37.22, 63.2; two instances); *duo yin* 多尹 “Many Commanders” were administrators, but also participated in hunting and sent in goods (113, 355; six instances); *duo wan* 多万 “Many Dancers” were associated with music and dance (206, 226; two instances); and *duo gong* 多工 “Many Artisans” (*duo gong* 多工) were skilled workers (324; one instance).

These groups were not under the sole authority of the Huayuanzhuang East prince, but rather appear to have been specialists and staff who served the royal family and were under the command of the king and family heads. The “Many Servitors” (401), for instance, was comprised of the prince's servitors—“(Our) lord's servitors” 子臣 (290), and the king's servitors—“(His) Highness' servitors” 丁臣 (75). A group associated with the Many Servitors, called the *duo jie chen* 多介臣 “Many Great Servitors” (275 + 517), might be understood as a select group of the best ones. On one occasion, for which diviners used a three-shell set, Zi Rong performed an exorcism rite to ensure the protection of the group as a collective whole (53.21↔181.8↔488.3).

The most trusted members of the prince's staff were Fa 發, Da 大, You You 由友, and Ji Nai 疾乃, but also included Suo\* 索, Xi\* 劓, Dao 盜, Zhi 旨 and others. Staff were called on to undertake tasks related to divination, preparing and providing food and drinks (139, 178↔376), feasting and banquet preparation and service, procuring commodities and human capital, delivering animals (85, 113), killing animals, ritual presentation and gift-giving to the king and Lady Hao (63, 475, 480), the hunt (416), the prince's transportation, and entertainment. On one occasion, Da fell ill and the prince performed an exorcism for his recovery (299, 76↔478).

Wei 微 is a rather unique figure in the divinations. The prince once dispatched him west on a mission, and he had a personal audience with Lady Hao. One particular divination account (290) implies that Wei was appointed by the king to safeguard his son, and indicates he was not considered one of the prince's servitors. Like he did for Da's sickness, Zi Rong performed exorcism rites for ailments to Wei's eye(s) and shoulder.

The word *gu* 賈, which is cognate with *jia* 價, means “trade”, “appraise”, and “price”. The graph is spelled with a cowrie and this suggests an association with currency and exchange. Later sources state that specialist *gu* 賈 were present for ritual events and official visits, especially for the exchange of gifts, in order to oversee the items to be given and to inspect the value of the goods in return.<sup>150</sup> Traders in the Huayuanzhuang East oracle bone inscriptions had a comparable role (37, 275, 290), although the most important services that they rendered to the prince concerned the supply of goods and the horse trade. The only traders mentioned by name were Zhu 亓 and Bing 並 (249.19). Trader Zhu is known from Wu Ding’s divination records and was mentioned earlier.

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**150** See the “Pin li 聘禮” chapter of the *Yili* 儀禮 and Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄(127-200) commentary; see also Wei Cide 2006: 157.

**Table 5:** People in the Huayuanzhuang East oracle bone inscriptions (selection)<sup>151</sup>

Living people	The main characters	Zi Zi “(Our) lord” — the protagonist, family head, and patron of the divination organization; a prince of the royal family, who most likely was Zi Rong 子炆 (戎) in Wu Ding’s divination accounts.	
		Ding 丁 “His Highness” — Wu Ding 武丁, the 27th Shang king; the protagonist’s father.	
		Lady Hao 婦好, spouse of Wu Ding; the protagonist’s mother.	
	The Many Princes <i>duo Zi</i> 多子— brothers and cousins	Zi Hua 子婁 (婁); has an aide, Shao 劓. Zi Pou 子剖 (剖); has a spouse (275.1) and a child, Qu 曲 (351.3). Zi Yu 子予; has an aide Mu 𠄎 (21.1). Zi Mei 子媚 Zi Bi 子𠄎 Zi Sheng 子陔 (陔) Zi Hu 子昊 Zi Guo 子𠄎 Zi Zeng 子曾 Zi Xing 子興 Zi Jin 子金	
	The protagonist’s family members	His spouse, called “our lord’s spouse” 子配 (妃). Big son 大子 Middle son 中 (仲) 子 Small son 小子 Third small son 三小子	
The Many Servitors <i>duo chen</i> 多臣	The protagonist’s servitors ( <i>Zi chen</i> 子臣)	Da 大 Fa 發 Ji Nai 秩乃 You You 由友 Dao 盜 Zhi 旨 Suo* 索 Xi* 𠄎	
	Wu Ding’s servitors ( <i>Ding chen</i> 丁臣)	Wei 𠄎 (微), assigned to Zi Rong. Ao 敖	

<sup>151</sup> Based on Lin Yun 2007 and Zhao Peng 2007. This list does not include names on administrative receipts (except for Liu) and does not include lineage or place names that modified commodities (for instance “Xun’s cattle 旬牛” (474.9), “Mang’s pigs 亡豕” (313.2, 324.3) and “Bing’s bows 丙弓” (37.16-17)). For a listing and discussion of Huayuanzhuang East administrative receipts, see Liu Yiman and Cao Dingyun 2004, and Sun Yabing 2014: 273-276.

The Many Traders <i>duo gu</i> 多賈	(mainly associated with the horse trade, but also with keeping and inspecting stock and making appraisals) Trader Zhu 賈壹 Trader Bing 賈並
People associated with the horse trade <sup>152</sup>	Dun 敦 Geng* 虢 Shao 刀 Huo 火
The Many Artisans <i>duo gong</i> 多工	Lapidary Qiang 羌瑒, builders
The Many Commanders <i>duo yin</i> 多尹	
The Many Defense Regulators <i>duo yu zheng</i> 多禦正(征)	
The Many Dancers <i>duo wan</i> 多万	Dancer Jia 万家
Musicians	Blind Music Master 瞽 Zither players 瑟 Chime players (females) 磬妾
Military officers	Ya Dian 亞奠 Archer-lord Dian 侯奠 <sup>153</sup> Ya-generals 亞 Lesser Servitor 小臣 Archers 射 Officers 史
Friends, allies, enemies	Zhong Zhou 中周, <sup>154</sup> a close associate of the protagonist; has consort named Si 妃.
	Zhi Bo Ge 訖伯戔, ally of the royal family in war against the Shao territory; has spouse (“Ge’s spouse”).
	Zhou Long 舟隴, associated with jade deliveries to the king.
	Liu 劉 / 劉, producer and exporter of textiles (belts); also contributed turtle shells.
	Yin 引, an ally of the protagonist held abroad in captivity.

**152** It is uncertain if these four names were lineage or personal names. It is also uncertain if they were part of Zi Rong’s daily staff and entourage, if they were traders/appraisers, or if they were business associates who dealt in the horse trade. Shao, for one, might be the same person who was called “Lord Hua’s aide”, and might have been from the (enemy) Shao territory. Huo appears elsewhere reporting about the prince losing his eyesight.

**153** Lin Yun (2007) suggests that Ya Dian and Archer-lord Dian referred to the same person who held different administrative positions over time. The alternative of course is that it was two different people from the same lineage or place.

**154** 75.9 implies Zhong Zhou became one of the protagonist’s servitors during the period of time these divinations were made.



		Zhang 璋, visited Lady Hao, and had an exorcism performed by Zi Rong.	
		He 何, enemy.	
		Shao 郟 / 郟, enemy territory.	
The Ancestors	Male	Shang Jia 上甲, Shang king 1	
		Da Yi 大乙, Shang king 7	
		Da Jia 大甲, Shang king 9	
		Da Geng 大庚, Shang king 11	
		Xiao Jia 小甲, Shang king 12	
		Ancestor Ding 祖丁, the protagonist's great grandfather, Shang king 21	
		Ancestor Jia 祖甲, the protagonist's uncle, Shang king 23, Yang Jia 陽甲	
		Ancestor Geng 祖庚, the protagonist's uncle, Shang king 24, Pan Geng 盤庚	
		Ancestor Xin 祖辛, the protagonist's, Shang king 25, Xiao Xin 小辛	
		Ancestor Yi 祖乙, the protagonist's grandfather, Shang king 26, Xiao Yi 小乙	
		Child Gui 子癸, the protagonist's second youngest child.	
		Geng 更, a Captain 師 during Wu Ding's early to early-middle years; referred to posthumously as "Geng, Father Ren 更父壬" in Wu Ding's divination accounts.	
		Unclassified male ancestors	Ancestor Bing 祖丙
			Ancestor Wu 祖戊
			Elder Brother Ding 兄丁
		Female	Ancestress Bing 妣丙, spouse of Da Yi.
			Ancestress Gui 妣癸, spouse of Zhong Ding, Shang king 15(?)
	Ancestress Jia 妣甲, spouse of Ancestor Xin, Shang king 19(?)		
	Ancestress Ji 妣甲, spouse of Ancestor Ding; the protagonist's great grandmother.		
	Ancestress Geng 妣庚, spouse of Ancestor Yi; the protagonist's grandmother.		
	Mother Wu 母戊, spouse of Wu Ding, Shang king 27; the protagonist's aunt.		
	Unclassified female ancestors		Elder Sister Ancestress Ding 妣丁
			Elder Sister Geng 妣庚
			Ancestress Ding 妣丁
			Second Ancestress Bing 二妣丙
		Mother Bing 母丙	

—

## **Translation**



## Conventions and Symbols

Transcription of the Huayuanzhuang East inscriptions is based primarily on ZSKY 2003 and Yao Xuan 2005 (2006), with corrections by Sun Yabing 2014.

Text and translation for each inscribed oracle bone piece is arranged consecutively, and the numbers for each piece and each divination account follow their listing in the six-volume ZSKY 2003 publication. Any reordering of divination accounts continues to use the ZSKY 2003 sequence numbers. The abbreviation HYZ before each piece number stands for HuaYuanZhuang 花園莊. A single piece with writing on both the recto and verso sides is listed sequentially but with two different catalog numbers in ZSKY 2003. (The excavation numbers for instances like these however are the same and differentiated by the letters r (recto) and v (verso); see Appendix I.) My edition arranges instances like these together and uses a hyphen in between the catalog numbers in order to indicate that two individual catalog numbers are the recto and verso sides of a single piece. The first occurrence in the translation is HYZ 19-20.

Each individual inscription is first provided in modern Chinese transcription and then followed by an English translation:

Chinese transcription: 甲卜丁令 –

English translation: Divined on Jia: His Highness will issue a command. <sup>1</sup>

Chinese transcription: 壬申卜既乎(呼)食子其(往)田用 –<sub>2</sub>

English translation: Divined on Ren Shen: After calling to eat, our lord should go hunt. Used. <sub>12</sub>

Only text in translation is punctuated, and the punctuation used in the translation informs the reader about I understand the language of the primary text. Citations of inscriptions and excavated texts in the commentary, however, are punctuated and presented in a loose transcription style, which means that loans and modern equivalents are usually left unmarked. In both the transcription and translation, numbers in subscript usually refer to the number of a crack; no commas are placed in between these numbers. In the second example above, the numbers <sub>12</sub> in subscript mean that two cracks were made for this single divination statement. Although “crack numbers” were engraved next to their associated crack on the shell/bone, it is standard transcription practice to render these numbers at the end of a divination account.

Dates in the translation are not marked with corresponding numerical equivalents; for instance, the day “Jiazi” 甲子 is not marked with [1/60] after it. A sixty-day calendar is provided for reference.

Graphs, words, and phrases are explained in the commentary at their first occurrence.

Appendix I lists raw data for each inscribed piece. Appendix II lists synchronies, parallel content, and links between individual pieces.

## SYMBOLS

- ☐ more than one graph missing (in transcription)
- one graph missing (in transcription)
- ... text missing (in translation)
- [ ] reconstructed
- ( ) read as
- = equals
- ≈ glossed
- / or
- > yields
- < derived from
- <> error for
- || separating divination accounts on the same bone
- \* tentative reading
- ↔ synchronized with

**Table 6:** Sixty-day *ganzhi* cycle

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Jiazi	Yichou	Bingyin	Dingmao	Wuchen	Jisi	Gengwu	Xinwei	Renshen	Guiyou
甲子	乙丑	丙寅	丁卯	戊辰	己巳	庚午	辛未	壬申	癸酉
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Jiaxu	Yihai	Bingzi	Dingchou	Wuyin	Jimao	Gengchen	Xinsi	Renwu	Guiwei
甲戌	乙亥	丙子	丁丑	戊寅	己卯	庚辰	辛巳	壬午	癸未
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Jiashen	Yiyou	Bingxu	Dinghai	Wuzi	Jichou	Gengyin	Xinmao	Renchen	Guisi
甲申	乙酉	丙戌	丁亥	戊子	己丑	庚寅	辛卯	壬辰	癸巳
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
Jiawu	Yiwei	Bingshen	Dingyou	Wuxu	Jihai	Gengzi	Xinchou	Renyin	Guimao
甲午	乙未	丙申	丁酉	戊戌	己亥	庚子	辛丑	壬寅	癸卯
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
Jiachen	Yisi	Bingwu	Dingwei	Wushen	Jiyou	Gengxu	Xinhai	Renzi	Guichou
甲辰	乙巳	丙午	丁未	戊申	己酉	庚戌	辛亥	壬子	癸丑
51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
Jiayin	Yimao	Bingchen	Dingsi	Wuwu	Jiwei	Gengshen	Xinyou	Renxu	Guihai
甲寅	乙卯	丙辰	丁巳	戊午	己未	庚申	辛酉	壬戌	癸亥

# HYZ 1

## 1.1 壬卜 冊

Divined on Ren ...

## 1.2 癸卜 冊又(有) 冊 –

Divined on Gui...have... 1

## 1.3 癸卜 冊 –

Divined on Gui...1

## 1.4 癸卜 冊 一

Divined on Gui...1

## 1.5 癸卜 冊 冊 –

Divined on Gui: Announce by written record<sup>1</sup>...1

## 1.6 癸卜 冊 冊

Divined on Gui...2

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1 冊 is written *ce/shan* 册 “bound writing slips” over *kou* 口 “mouth”. “Mouth” either signifies a container or pit (then as a combined meaning), or it is a symbol indicating the word is different from but a characteristic of 册, that is, what writing slips were used for: to write on, and by extension, to record information and to make announcements. This word usually occurs in divinations about performing exorcism/protection rites. Jao Tsung-I (1959: 139) defines it, 謂記牲數於册, 獻告於神也 “It means to record the quantity of sacrificial animals on writing slips as an offering announcement to the spirits.” Yu Xingwu (1979), on the other hand, reads it as a phonetic loan for *kan* 砍 “to chop”. In English translation, Serruys (1974: 55 and [1982] 2001: 18.198c) translates “to announce by written record [sacrifices of X to Y]” and “to put (something) on record; a promise of sacrifices to be offered”, and Keightley (2000: 29-30, note 44) translates it as “pledge”. The “registering” of Qiang captives on HYZ 215 confirms that one function was to register a quantity of animate things. 215 further confirms: 1) this word occurs outside of the context of exorcism rites; 2) it is unnecessary to read it as a phonetic loan for another word. The meaning of this word on 215 and its meaning in exorcism/protection rites were unquestionably the same. The highest count of animals recorded in the HYZ OBI is 105 cattle (HYZ 32). The *Shuowen jiezi* lists a word spelled 册 over 曰 and defines it as *gao* 告 “announce; report”; while this is basically correct, it can be further refined. 149.4 contains both the words 告 and 册, and this implies that they were two different kinds of announcements: the first oral and the latter written. The phrase *ce meng* 册夢 “announce a dream by written record” occurs on 29.1 and 289.6. This implies 册 included more than just a list of sacrifices to be offered. It could also include information about why an exorcism was needed.

## 1.7 甲卜丁令 —

Divined on Jia: His Highness will issue a command. <sup>1</sup>

## 1.8 甲卜其𠄎匕(妣)庚 —

Divined on Jia: Should?...Ancestress Geng. <sup>1</sup>

## 1.9 𠄎子□立□行 —

...our lord...takes a position<sup>3</sup>...road.<sup>4</sup> <sup>2</sup>

## 1.10 弼(勿)立𠄎 —

Do not<sup>5</sup> take a position...<sup>2</sup>

## 1.11 —

1

---

**2** *Qi* 其 is a pictograph of a “basket” and the ancestral form of *qi* 箕. Shang scribes used this graph as a rebus to write a modal adverb. Classical commentary often glosses it as *jiang* 將, which is an adverb marking anticipated future action; see Zhang Yujin 2002: 51. Keightley (1999) explains it: “The modal particle *qi* 其, which appears in a large number of oracle bone inscriptions, expressed uncertain expectancy; its precise meaning—which was related to the core meaning of expectation (*qi* 期) in its senses of volition, future hope, and future uncertainty—varied with the divination environment.” Serruys (1974) discovered that in two contrastive sentences (an antithetical pair) of which one is affirmative and the other is negative, the one with *qi* marked the undesirable event or action. Serruys (1982; cited in Takashima 2010: II.13) summarized his understanding as, “to reconcile the use of *qi* marking the undesirable event or action, and the later use of *qi* for an optative (‘the hoped for and desired’), one can only assume a stage or context where *qi* expresses a more ambiguous and uncommitted outlook as far as the future outcome is concerned, expressed in verbs such as f.i. ‘to anticipate’, which according to circumstance can be shifted to a pejorative aspect: ‘be prepared for, be ready for’ (something undesirable and dreaded), but also in the course of the development of the language into the other direction, ‘anticipate’ in the sense of ‘hope for’...*qi* in certain conditions seems to denote a sense or uncertainty, unconcern or equal possibility, or even implying a marked probability.”

**3** Yu Xingwu (2009: 276) reads the verb *li* 立 as the ancestral form of *li* 蒞, and defines it as *linli* 臨蒞 “supervise; attend”. I read it as the ancestral form of *wei* 位 “to take position, stand” (see *Tunnan* 341). Oracle bone inscriptions have the grammatical construction “以...立...” (Lead A and position (them) at B). See HYZ 50.1-2 and 312.3.

**4** See Song Zhenhao (2010: 309-347) for a discussion of Shang roads. It is also possible to read 行 as a verb, “to march”; see 211.1-2: 告行 “report the march” and 401.12: 呼行 “call out to march”.

**5** 弼 is an adverbial negative equal to *wu* 勿 (Serruys 1974: 37).

1.12 𠄎子其𠄎  
...our lord should...

1.13 𠄎卯三𠄎  
...butcher<sup>6</sup> three...

1.14 –

1

1.15 –

1

## HYZ 2

2.1 戊子卜才(在)麓子其射若 –

Divined on Wuzi, at Lu:<sup>7</sup> If our lord shoots with bow and arrow, (it) will be favorable.<sup>8</sup> 1

**6** Mao 卯 most commonly occurs in divinations about sacrificial rites for ancestor worship. Its graphic form appears to depict two pieces of meat on the bone separated into two equal halves (Schuessler 2006: 362). Wang Guowei ([1917], cited in *Jishi* 14.4343) reads it as a phonetic loan for *liu* 劉 “kill”. It occurs, in a divination that is unrelated to sacrifice (it is about working with jade), as a compound verb in combination with *fen* 分 “to divide” (HYZ 391), and this confirms once and for all that the meaning of 卯 in a sacrificial context also meant to divide and cut apart. In these types of divinations I translate it as “butcher”, which in English has a derived meaning of to cut apart (< to halve and quarter). For Mao/Liu as a lineage name, see HYZ 23 and commentary.

**7** 麓: This place was an important and strategic location. HYZ scribes wrote it in three ways: 1) with three “mouth” elements + whole deer with antlers *lu* 鹿; 2) in the abbreviated form 𠄎 (176), which reduced the whole deer to just the eye with antlers; 3) whole deer with antlers and without any “mouth” elements (196.6). Wu Ding’s scribes wrote it as deer head with antlers and only two mouths 𠄎 (HJ 32979 [Li 歷]), and deer head with antlers and without any “mouths” 𠄎 (HJ 8219 [Bin 賓]); see *Xin Jiaguwen bian* 544, 547, 548, and HJ 5129, HJ 8219, HJ 8229, HJ 32979, HJ 33053, and HJ 33103. I propose to read all of these allographs as being equivalent to Lu 麓 (鹿) “Deer”, which was the site of a royal settlement built during Wu Ding’s reign (HJ 13505 [Bin 賓]) and likely located southwest of the Shang capital (Anyang, Henan)—an eight day journey at the most; see Li Xueqin 1985-1992: 161-166, and HJ 7814rv. Zheng Jiexiang (1994: 73-75) locates it in the area of modern day Xiuwu, Henan 河南修武. A place called “Deer” 麓 (鹿) occurs in the Warring States manuscript *Rongcheng shi* 容成氏 (*ShangBo* 2) as one of the Nine Kingdoms (strips 45-47) appeased by the future Zhou king Wen 文王, who at that time was still serving the last Shang ruler. Li Ling (*ShangBo* 2 commentary 2002: 286) locates it to the northeast of Mt. Song, Henan. HYZ 176



## 2.2 戊子卜才(在)麤子弼(勿)射于之若一

Divined on Wuzi, at Lu: Our lord ought not shoot with bow and arrow, (for) in that will be favorable.<sup>9</sup> 1

## 2.3 友貞子炆(金)一

You<sup>10</sup> tested:<sup>11</sup> (about) Lord Jin.<sup>12</sup> 1

provides evidence that 𠄎 was close to Shang 商, but it is unclear whether this “Shang” refers to the temple-palace complex at Anyang or to the Shang royal domain as a whole. Activities at this place included sacrificial ancestor rites, archery, commands to high-ranking officials and servitors concerning contributions to the king and the procurement of goods. It also seems to have been a depot for the prince’s horse trade.

8 *Ruo* 𠄎 (若) depicts a kneeling figure with both hands raised in the air by his head. It commonly occurs as a divination coda, and when it does I follow the *Erya*’s 爾雅 definition as “favorable” (*shun* 順; synonymous with *hui* 惠) or “good” (*shan* 善; synonymous with *ling* 令 (= *ling* 靈, *jia* 嘉, and *cang* 臧). Sun Yirang ([1917], cited in *Jishi* 6.2056) understands this usage as being synonymous with *ji* 吉 “auspicious, favorable, good”; see HYZ 3.2 commentary. (The *Erya*, “*Shi gu* 釋詁”, also lists *xiang* 祥 “auspicious” and *ruo* 若 as synonyms.)

若 was the most frequently used divination coda in HYZ divinations, the coda being the answer that diviners wanted to get. There are 124 instances on 74 pieces, and the phrase “*wang bu ruo* 亡不若” in divination statements like 子亡不若 “Our lord will not have anything unfavorable” (113.23) and 季母亡不若 “Jimu will not have anything unfavorable” (139.1) implies that it meant “good”. Rain is judged to be 若 (103.6), and this presumably meant that it was a good thing. A divination (331.2) made in response to whether the prince would fall ill wanted to know if sleeping as a remedy would be *ruo*, “good”. Reading the coda 若 in a divination like 331 as meaning anything other than “good” or “favorable” (for the subject) seems inaccurate; see Qiu Xigui [1973] 2012: 5.8. Occasionally, however, and like it does in divinations for the Shang kings, this word has the sense of “agreeable” or “approve”; it occurs in 401.12 about whether or not a group of people would comply with a kingly command. It is also used as a noun (*you ruo* 有若) and opposite the verb *zuo* 左 “contrary” in a divination about the effect of a prayer (361.1). See the commentary to 6.1.

9 于之若 is comparable in form to the coda *yu zhi li* 于之力 (*jia* 嘉) “in that will be excellent/auspicious” (196.2-3). (*Ruo* 若 and 力 are the only two words ever used in this formula.) As it does in this divination, the phrase often occurs as the alternative second option in an antithetical pair and was expressed in the negative mode. “That” is a demonstrative pronoun that indexes the alternative of “not shooting”. An alternative reading is reflected in the transcriptions of the ZSKY Editors and Zhu Qixiang (2006) who take 之 as an object pronoun that refers to the toponym recorded in the preface, and parse it 子勿射于之, 若 “Our lord ought not shoot in that (place), (for it) will be favorable”. Statistics are against this interpretation, as only 2/11 instances in which this phrase occurs contain a place name in a previous clause.

10 *You* 𠄎 (友) is a pictograph of two right hands, and its combined meaning is “assist” (verb) and “friend” or “aide” (noun); see 21.1 and 416.1. Here the word likely refers to the person otherwise called by the name You You 由友. The name 由友 is also written 由又. (又 (single

## 2.4 友貞子爻(金) –

You tested: (about) Lord Jin.<sup>13</sup> 1

## HYZ 3

## 3.1 丙卜婁又(有)由(袖)女子其告于帚(婦)好若 –

Divined on Bing: Wu\*<sup>14</sup> has unhappy women.<sup>15</sup> If our lord reports (it) to Lady Hao, (it) will be favorable. 1

## 3.2 [丙]卜丁不祉(延)懌(虞) –

Divined on [Bing]: His Highness will not continue to be upset.<sup>16</sup> 1

right hand) and 友 (doubled right hand) were interchangeable in early script.) See 300. This divination account includes the name of the diviner, the verb *zhen* “test”, and the subject of the divination. The divination utterance has been omitted; see Section 2.10 in the Introduction for a fuller explanation. You You and Jin occur together elsewhere (455.3).

**11** *Zhen* 貞 is etymologically related to words that mean “right course of action, correct” *zheng* 正, “to fix in place” *ding* 定, “directly facing” *dang* 當, and “authenticate” *zheng* 證 (Serruys 1974, Jao Tsung-I 1959: 70-71). In Shang divination records and in non-divinatory documents, the word *zhen* carried with it a seal of authority (Schwartz 2016, David Nivison 2018: 17-21). For the definition of this word as “test”, see Paul Serruys 1974 and David Nivison 1989. Footnote 20 summarizes how the HYZ diviners used “test divinations” in their practice.

**12** 𠄎 is a phonograph composed with the classifier fire 火 + the phonetic *jin* 今. Huang Tianshu (2006: 452) reads it as a variant spelling of *jin* 金 “metal”; see 314 and HJ 23573.

**13** This same four-word divination account occurs again on 152. Perhaps these two pieces were originally a set. This type of abbreviated divination account occurs elsewhere and most notably in the form “test 貞 + subject’s name”; see the three-shell set 441-349-205. What differs here is the addition of a diviner’s name before 貞. Based on the two-shell set 78-464, which reads: 貞 兂 “Tested: Xian” (78) | 貞 兂 不死 “Tested: Xian is not going to die” (464), I propose that abbreviated divination accounts like the two above about Zi Jin likely concerned whether or not something bad would happen to him. For some reason Huayuanzhuang East scribes often abbreviated divinations about Zi Jin. 55.1-2 is another instance, and placing it back into a set with 247 reveals the kind of language that was likely omitted. This seemingly apotropaic and elliptical form for divinations that concerned the well-being of family members occurs elsewhere in Shang oracle bone scribal practice; see HJ 22258 and Jiang Yubin 2006:48. See too footnote 20.

**14** The reading of this graph and what word it intended to write are uncertain; see Zhao Peng 2007: 295.

**15** Reading this graph as *you* 由 follows Chen Jian 2010. Huayuanzhuang East diviners used this word opposite *kan* 衍(侃) “happy”; see 9.3-4. I follow Yao Xuan (2006: 177) who reads it here a loan for *chou* 袖 or *zhou* 媯 “sad”. The verb phrase 有由(袖)女 is comparable to 告人亡由(袖)于丁 “Report to His Highness that men are not unhappy” (494). It is significant that reports about women were made to Lady Hao, and reports about men were made to the king.

## 3.3 丁𠄎(延)𣎵(虞) –

His Highness will continue to be upset. <sub>1</sub>

## 3.4 丁不𠄎(延)𣎵(虞) –

His Highness will not continue to be upset. <sub>1</sub>

## 3.5 歲匕(妣)庚牡 –

Sacrifice<sup>17</sup> (to) Ancestress Geng (some) bulls. <sub>1</sub>

## 3.6 己卜夷(惠)豕于匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Ji: It should be pigs to Ancestress Geng. <sub>2</sub>

## 3.7 己卜夷(惠)牝于匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Ji: It should be cows to Ancestress Geng. <sub>3</sub>

## 3.8 庚卜五日子馘彘(瘳) –

Divined on Geng: In five days, lord Guo<sup>18</sup> will recover.<sup>19</sup> <sub>1</sub>

**16** 𣎵(𣎵) is an early writing of *yu* 虞 (Yao Xuan 2006: 171-181). It occurs twenty one times on thirteen plastrons. The *Xici zhuan* 系辭傳 defines it in combination with *you* 憂 “worry, upset” as “regret and distress”, and says 悔吝者，憂虞之象 “Regret and distress are images of (being) worried and upset”. In 255.8, it occurs opposite the word *kan* 衍(侃) “happy”: 戊寅卜：舟囁告𣎵，丁弗𣎵(虞)，衍(侃) “Zhou Long reports You’s (jade delivery). His Highness is not going to be upset, (but) happy about it”. In 300.1-2, it occurs opposite the more general term *ji* 吉 “auspicious; good”. The Warring States literary manuscript *Yin zhi* 尹至 (Yin’s Arrival) has a later example of 吉 as meaning “good” 善: 湯曰: “格，汝其有吉志” (Tang said (to Yi Yin), “Come forth! You ought to have good intentions (or: a good report)” (*Qinghua* 1, strip 1).

**17** *Sui* 𠄎(歲) is the ancestral form of *gui* 劓 “stab, cut”; see *Jishi* 2.490, citing Tang Lan. Wu Qichang ([1938] 2008: 23-34) explains that *sui* is a pictograph of an axe, makes a connection with its cognate *yue* 鉞 “axe”, and proposes its verbal usage meant to cut or kill with an axe. Yu Xingwu (2009: 67-68) provides examples of the model-image behind the graph’s pictographic form. David Keightley (2012: 339) translates this word into English as “cut” and concludes, “In ritual contexts, the Shang word refers to the cutting or chopping up of sacrificial victims.” That this word was a kind of cutting procedure can now be verified by the verb + direct object clause *sui/gui zhen* 歲(劓)振(賑) “chop-cut raw meat” (HYZ 496.1). In Huayuanzhuang East sacrificial rites *gui* is paired with *guan* 裸 “libate ale” (HYZ 318), and these two procedures appear to have formed the basic composition of weekly ancestor worship. In summary, a minimal definition of 歲 word means “chop-cut”, but it within the language of performing sacrificial rites for ancestor worship it seems to have referred specifically to the “ritual cut” or “sacrificial cut”. As a procedure it followed *sha* 殺 “kill”, which was likely the cut that stunned or rendered the sacrificial animal lifeless and unable to move.

## 3.9 庚卜弔(勿)𠄎(禦)子臧臧(瘳) –

Divined on Geng: Do not make an exorcism, lord Guo will recover. 1

## 3.10 辛卜貞生(往)鳶(玄鳥)疾不死 –

Divined on Xin, tested:<sup>20</sup> Going<sup>21</sup> to Dark Bird,<sup>22</sup> the sick are not going to die. 1

**18** *Guo* 𠄎 (臧) is a pictograph of the “scalp” (Lin Yun 1998: 148). The identification is mainly based on the early Western Zhou bronze inscription *Da Yu ding* 大盂鼎 which spells the adverb *huo* 或 as 𠄎 + 或 (=臧). In the HYZ OBI it is a person’s name. Guo occurs on a total of four shells: here, 181, 273, and on 409. A rule of coherency recommends they all originally formed a set. 273 reveals the ailment was an injury suffered from a fall.

**19** 𠄎 (紕) is a compound pictograph that either writes the word *miu* 繆 “twist, wring” or *niu* 扭 / 紐 “twist, tie”. HYZ script uses it as a phonetic loan to write the word *chou* 瘳 “recover, heal, be cured”; see Yao Xuan 2012, cited in *GuLin bubian*, 852-855. A variant spelling (44.1) adds the phonetic *zhou* 帚; yet another Shang scribal variant adds the phonetic *you* 𠄎 (HJ 9019v, HJ 9284) and not 帚. On 241.11, it occurs opposite of “die” (*si* 死). Outside of divinations about illness and injury, this same graph was also used as an adjective modifying jade tablets (286.18); in this instance, it was used as a phonetic loan to write the word *jiao* 皎 “shiny and white”.

**20** It is immediately striking that only 125/2452 individual divination accounts (5%) on seventy-six surfaces (15%) either directly record or can be “covered by” the technical term *zhen* 貞 “test, certify”. The stark minimalism of these hard statistics indicates an enormous disparity with divinations produced by Anyang-based diviner groups working for the Shang kings where it is recorded with a mesmerizing regularity. The regulated and limited usage of divinations introduced by this word in the HYZ OBI indicates a fundamental difference between divination for the Shang kings and divinations for other people, including members of the royal family. A corpus-based approach to these divination accounts detects a refined and complex multi-step divinatory practice at work; there were levels to it. There was a difference between divinations introduced by the word *zhen* and those without it. I reject the hypothesis that a divination account without the word *zhen* in the preface should be understood and read as though it were there (Jao Tsung-I 1959: 70). It is also inaccurate to refer to all divination statements in the HYZ corpus as *zhenci* 貞辭 “test statements” (Li Xueqin 2006: 198), since statistically such a low percentage actually were.

Introducing a divination statement in HYZ divination practice with *zhen* “test” had two main applications: 1) to verify the results of an earlier divination (446.15-21, 181.31-35, 123 + *Jiyi* 561, 446.8, and 61); and 2) to find out the right course of action as it concerned mortality, health, and well-being. 56/125 (45%) instances of “test” divinations were of this second type, and amongst these, 44/56 (79%) of divinations specifically inquired into whether or not an animate subject (human/animal) would die or have something bad or calamitous happen (examples are 53.25, 241.11, and 321.5). 64/125 (51%) of test divinations were in an abbreviated shorthand and only recorded the word *zhen* and the name of a person. There is debate about the orientation of this set of inscriptions and whether they should be read “*zhen* + name”, or in the reverse as “name + *zhen*”. Test divinations about the person called Xian 兪 in the two-shell set 78.2-3 and 464.1-2 strongly suggest that “*zhen* + name” is the more accurate reading, at least

## 3.11 辛卜子弗𧀮(艱) –

Divined on Xin: Our lord will not be afflicted by it.<sup>23</sup> 1

## 3.12 壬卜于乙征(延)休丁 –

Divined on Ren: By day Yi continue to rest (with) His Highness.<sup>24</sup> 1

## 3.13 壬卜子其征(延)休 –

Divined on Ren: Our lord should continue to rest. 2

## 3.14 壬卜子其生(往)田丁不𧀮(虞) –

Divined on Ren: If our lord goes to hunt, His Highness will not be upset. 1

## 3.15 壬卜于既乎(呼)簋&lt;食&gt;迺 –

Divined on Ren: Upon finishing the call to eat,<sup>25</sup> then. 1

## 3.16 壬卜子令

Divined on Ren: Our lord will issue a command.

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for those names that occur in the three-shell set 441-349-205 (previously mentioned in footnote 13).

**21** Jao Tsung-I (2005: 21) reads *wang* 往 as “to direct” (≈向), as in direct a prayer to the deity Dark Bird so that Er (he reads *guo* 𧀮 as *er* 而) would not die.

**22** 𧀮: I follow Jao Tsung-I (2005: 21) who reads this graph as a ligature that writes *xuan niao* 玄鳥 “Dark Bird”. An alternative reading is that it is a phonograph with either *xuan* (from 玄) or *zi/ci* (from 絲) as the phonetic component. Dark Bird 玄鳥 was the anthropomorphic progenitor of the Shang people. The *Shijing* (*Mao* 303) poem “Dark Bird” 玄鳥 says, 天命玄鳥降而生商, 宅殷土芒芒 “Heaven commanded Dark Bird to descend and engender Shang, to reside in Yin land vast and far-reaching”. Jao suggests the dark bird was a swallow (*yanzi* 燕子) and that the central area of its cult following was in southwest Shanxi (modern day Anyi, Shanxi 山西安邑). This localization accords with the numerous Huayuanzhuang East divination account which appear to record the prince just east of this area, in and around modern day Qinyang, Henan 河南沁陽.

**23** Considering the fact that this divination was made on the same day as the one preceding it, it seems likely that 弗艱 refers to 疾 “sickness”; Yao Xuan’s commentary to this inscription suggests to read it in the context of 446: 子弗艱目疾 “Our lord will not be afflicted (with) eye sickness”.

**24** I read *xiu Ding* 休丁 as though the preposition *yu* 于 has been omitted; the phrase *xiu yu Ding* 休于丁 occurs on 53.8; 409.29-31 and 181.1-2 are parallel divinations and these three shells originally formed a set.

**25** 𧀮: Based on a comparison with the parallel phrase *hu shi* 呼食 “call to eat” on 35 and 286, the graph *gui* 簋 “tureen” here and on 14 and 16 should be read *shi* 食 (Shen Pei 2006a).HYZ scribes wrote the phrase 呼食 as a ligature. *Yu ji hu shi* 于既呼食 “Upon finishing the call to eat” has a lexical converse *yu zuo hu shi* 于作呼食 “Upon starting the call to eat...” (16).

## 3.17 其宅北室亡菑(疾身) –

If residing in the northern room(s),<sup>26</sup> there will be no body sickness.<sup>27</sup> 1

## HYZ 4

## 4.1 甲寅歲且(祖)甲白豕一𩰫鬯一𩰫(登)自西祭 –

On Jiayin,<sup>28</sup> sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one white boar, offer one bowl of aromatic ale,<sup>29</sup> (and) raise<sup>30</sup> sacrificial items originating from the west.<sup>31</sup> 1

**26** *Shi* 室 is variously defined as a room, house, residence, and hall. It was likely a multifunctional space that was used to dwell, handle affairs (as an “office”), eat, and perform ritual and sacrificial events. Oracle bone inscriptions add directional modifiers such as 南室 “southern” (HJ 806), 中室 “central” (HJ 27884), and 東室 “eastern” (HJ 13556v); see Song Zhenhao 2010: 36-37.

**27** 𩰫: I suspect this graph is a ligature that spells *ji shen* 疾身 “sick body”; Qiu Xigui ([1972] 2012: 1.11) cites HJ 13668r: 貞禦疾身于父乙 “Tested: Perform exorcism rite for the sick body to Father Yi.” *Xin Jiaguwen bian* 431 lists it as a variant form of *han* 寒 “cold” (see *GuLin bubian*, 755-757). If applied here, the divination would be translated, “If residing in the northern room, there will be no coldness (or: no one will be cold).”

**28** As I understand it, Jiayin was the day of the sacrifice and not the day of the divination, although the two need not have been mutually exclusive. Divinations that start in the forms “date + *sui* 歲” and “date + *yi* 宜”, with *sui/yi* as predicate verbs, rarely included the word *bu* “divined” in between the date and the verb. See 132.1-3. Divinations in this complex form, that is with multiple independent clauses, are common, and it is important to note that modal *qi* 其 never occurs, unlike as it does in front of the word *yu* 禦 “exorcise, defend”, in divinations about performing sacrifice. This implies that there was no subordination or dependency in the initial clause and that the clauses were equal. These types of divinations were proposing a ritual package.

**29** *You chang* 𩰫鬯: The verb 𩰫, composed of an altar classifier and right hand, only ever takes 鬯 as its object. The verb phrase *you chang* 又鬯 also occurs, but it does not occur in the same divination formula that 𩰫 usually occurs in, that is, in a ritual package with sacrifice, and often including prayer or announcements and a cereal offering; compare 392.1; see too 276.2,4, 354.3-4 and 149.10 for a clear distinction between the two. In a majority of the instances, I read 又鬯 either as verb + object “add (> have 有) aromatic ale”, or as conjunction + object “and aromatic ale”. *Chang* 鬯 is usually quantified but never occurs with a measure word, whereas in divinations for the Shang kings, bronze inscriptions, and in received literature it is commonly measured with *you* 卣 “bucket” and *sheng* 升. It appears that 鬯 measured itself; Karlgren (GSR 719a) says “the graph is a drawing of a bowl”.

**30** Parallel syntax (416) recommends that the graph 簋 “tureen” is an abbreviated writing of *deng* 登 “to raise” (Shen Pei 2006a). Other Shang scribal practices wrote 登 with two hands underneath 簋 which depicts a “raising” (> offering) action. Chen Mengjia (rpt. 2004: 529) suggests that the offering of grain referred to taking newly harvested grain and first presenting it to the ancestors in the temple for them to try; Zhu Fenghan (2002: 89-94) agrees.

## 4.2 甲寅歲且(祖)甲白豨一 一三

On Jiayin, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one white sow. 12

## 4.3 乙卯歲且(祖)乙白豨一(登)自西祭且(祖)甲祉(延) 一

On Yimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one white boar (and) raise sacrificial items originating from the west. Continuing from Ancestor Jia.<sup>32</sup> 1

## 4.4 乙卯歲且(祖)乙白豨一(登)自西祭且(祖)甲祉(延) 三

On Yimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one white boar (and) raise sacrificial items originating from the west. Continuing from Ancestor Jia. 2

## HYZ 5

## 5.1 乙亥卜戡(待)于之若 一三

Divined on Yihai: Wait,<sup>33</sup> (for) in that (it) will be favorable. 12

31 The prepositional phrase *zi xi ji* [登]自西祭 is parallel to [登]自丁黍 “glutinous millet from His Highness” (48 and 416). This makes it clear that 祭 is a noun and that the directional word 西 is where the sacrificial items originated. The reading of 祭 as referring to “sacrificial items” broadly defined, is after Chen Jian 2004. An alternative reading is to take 祭 as the ancestral form of *ji* 稯 “a kind of millet” (*Panicum miliaceum*, not glutinous). The reason is because in this corpus the direct object of *deng* 登, aside from 祭, is always a grain type, with the most common being *shu* 黍 “glutinous millet”. The *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳, Chapter 2, has the following passage: “On Xinsi (day 18), we entered into the Caonu people’s games, and they feasted the Son of Heaven on the bank of the Yang River (洋水), and then contributed 900 feed horses (*shi ma* 食馬), 7000 cattle and sheep, and 100 cartloads of grain (*ji mi* 稯米).” Wei Cide (2006: 154-155) makes the connection between divinations in this formula with a grain-offering rite (*zi* 粢) recorded in Pre-Qin received literature.

32 Zhang Shichao (2008a) determines that the word *yan* 延 is related to the offering list, because the items offered to Ancestor Jia on his fixed day of worship in divination account (1) are the same as those offered to Ancestor Yi a day later. That no ancestor ever was ever recorded “continuing 延” on Ancestor Jia’s day presumably had to do both with the fact that his cult day was the first day of the week, and that he was the most senior amongst his brothers. In Zhang’s interpretation this notation means that what was offered for one ancestor was continued exactly the same way for another later in and during the same week. Based mainly on 363.3, Sun Yabing (2014: 115-16) suggests reading these sentences as notations about what actually took place. Either way, this sentence does not seem to be the focus of the divination. Rather it appears to be documenting ritual procedures. I see a comparison in this HYZ divination formula with *Tunnan* 738: 陽甲事其延般庚、小辛，王受又(佑)。吉。 | 弼(勿)延 “If Yang Jia’s service (=what we did and offered him) is continued (for) Pan Geng (and) Xiao Xin, His Majesty will receive blessings. Auspicious. | Do not continue (it).” See too 311 and 237.11: 歲延祖乙 “Sacrifices will continue (for) Ancestor Yi”.

- 5.2 乙亥卜夷(惠)子配(妃)史(使)于彙(王婦)好 一三  
 Divined on Yihai: It should be our lord's spouse<sup>34</sup> who is dispatched to His Majesty's Lady<sup>35</sup> Hao. 12
- 5.3 乙亥卜夷(惠)☐ 一  
 Divined on Yihai: It should be... 1
- 5.4 夷(惠)配(妃)史(使)曰彙(王婦)  
 It should be (our lord's) spouse who is dispatched to address His Majesty's Lady.
- 5.5 夷(惠)配(妃)史(使)☐ 一  
 It should be (our lord's) spouse who is dispatched... 1
- 5.7 乙亥卜彙(王婦)衍(侃) 一  
 Divined on Yihai: His Majesty's Lady will be happy.<sup>36</sup> 1
- 5.6 乙亥卜衍(侃) 一  
 Divined on Yihai: Will be happy. 1

**33** Reading 戩 as a phonetic loan for *dai* 待 follows Qiu Xigui 2012: 1.160-166. This word commonly occurs as the first word in the second divination of a paired statement and in the one phrased in the negative mode (26.3-4 and 157.1-2).

**34** Lin Yun (2007) and Zhao Peng (2007: 295) both think Pei 配 is a person's name, and this is certainly possible. I propose to read it as a loan for *fei* 妃 "wife"; Gao Heng's (2010: 338) *Yijing* commentary to the initial line statement of hexagram *Feng* 豐 "Abundant": "yu qi peizhu 遇其配主", says, 配讀為妃, 妃猶妻 "Pei 配 should be read as *fei* 妃; *fei* 妃 is just like *qi* 妻 'wife'". 配 occurs in Shang OBI meaning "wife", for instance *Yingcang* 1864: 庚寅卜, 王: 余燎于其配 "Crack making on the gengyin day [27], His Majesty [tested]: I will make a burnt offering to his consort." (Translated by Takashima 2010: II.53.) The compound noun "zi Pei" is comparable to *Ge pei* 或配(妃) "Ge's spouse" on 41.1. See too 139.1 commentary.

**35** 彙: I follow Wei Cide (2006: 130-131) who reads this graph as a ligature composed of *zhou* 帚 "broom" (= *fu* 婦 "Lady") over *wang* 王 "His Majesty". This type of ligature writing in reference to a wife of Wu Ding occurs elsewhere in the OBI; see HJ 32764 [Li I diviner type], which writes the name Lady Jing 婦井 as a ligature.

**36** Huayuanzhuang East scribes use the graph 衍 (*yan* 衍) to write the word *kan* 侃 "happy". At an early stage in the development of the Chinese writing system the graph 衍, which depicted the image of a channel (*hang* 行) full of water, was used to write both the words *yong* 永 "full of water; eternal" and *yan* 衍 "full of water; extensive"; see Qiu Xigui [1993] 2012: 1.378-386. Reading this graph as 侃 throughout these inscriptions is confirmed by its appearance opposite the words *chou* 由(恟/媿) "sad, unhappy" and *yu* 楸(虞) "upset" on HYZ 9.3-4.



## 5.8 乙亥衍(侃) –

Yihai,<sup>37</sup> will be happy. 1

## 5.9 乙亥卜至旬☱ –

Divined on Yihai: Will arrive in a week...1

## 5.10 乙亥卜𠄎(王婦)好又(有)史(事)子佳(唯)妹(休)于丁曰𠄎(王婦)好 –

Divined on Yihai: His Majesty's Lady Hao will have service.<sup>38</sup> Our lord, it being when he (or: she) rests with His Highness, will address His Majesty's Lady Hao. 12

## 5.11 ☱今日曰𠄎(王婦)好 –

...today address His Majesty's Lady Hao. 2

## 5.12 ☱子曰𠄎(王婦)好

...Our lord will address His Majesty's Lady Hao.

## 5.13 夷(惠)子曰𠄎(王婦) –

It should be our lord who addresses His Majesty's Lady. 1

## 5.14 夷(惠)子曰𠄎(王婦) –

It should be our lord who addresses His Majesty's Lady. 1

## 5.15 丙子卜才(在)𠄎曰其奏 –

Divined on Bingzi, at Fu:<sup>39</sup> Say (I/our lord) shall perform (music). 1

**37** Based on divinations before and after it in this sequence, the word 卜 “divined” appears to have been omitted after the date in the preface.

**38** In Shang oracle bone inscriptions the phrase “you shi 有事” is associated with ritual activities for ancestor worship, in addition to providing services to the king and being charged by mandate to do so. See 288.12.

**39** 𠄎 (𠄎): The reading of this graph as Fu\* is uncertain; the transcription follows Li Xueqin (2008: 208-210) and is based mainly on Bin scribal types which write it 𠄎 (HJ 24347). Shang scribes write it in several different variations (*Zongbiao* 2786) and the toponym is well attested in the OBI. Some scholars suggest to read it *Duan* 斷, but David Keightley (1978:81, note 94) has called this into question. Zhu Fenghan (2004b: 216), on the basis of HJ 24347 [Chu 出 diviner type], locates it north of modern day Xingyang, Henan 河南滎陽.




## 5.16 癸巳卜子夢𠄎(射)告非𠄎(艱)–

Divined on Guisi: Our lord dreamt of shooting with bow and arrow; <sup>40</sup> reporting it, it will not (spell) affliction. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 6

## 6.1 甲辰夕歲且(祖)乙黑牡一夷(惠)子祝若且(祖)乙衍(侃)用翌日舌(刮)–

On the evening of Jiachen, in sacrificing (to) Ancestor Yi one black bull, it should be our lord who prays, (for it) will be favorable (and) Ancestor Yi will be happy.<sup>41</sup> Used.<sup>42</sup> Carved (one black bull)<sup>43</sup> (for) the Yi-day rite.<sup>44</sup> <sub>1</sub>

**40** 𠄎: This graph is written with two hands underneath a bow and without an arrow. I read it as a variant of *she* 射 “shoot with bow and arrow (verb); archer (noun)”. Huayuanzhuang East scribes wrote 射 in several other variations:  two hands under a bow with arrow;  right hand under bow with arrow; and  only bow and arrow, without hands. See 264.4.

**41** The pairing of the words *ruo* 若 and *kan* 侃 as a coda in the formula “*ruo*, *kan*” is a characteristic feature of the Huayuanzhuang East divination practice and statistics show that it was highly effective. Divination statements using in this formula produced a positive and desired answer in sixteen out of twenty instances (including HJ 21853+*Jingjin* 京津 2993); it was the most accurate divination formula in the entire corpus (80%). Moreover, it does not occur in divination records from any other Shang divination practices. Together “*ruo*, *kan*” meant that the topic/action of the divination would be favorable and cause happiness for the doer (the subject, and here expressly stated to be Ancestor Jia). When no expressed subject is recorded, I understand it to be the main character and patron of the divination practice, “(our) lord”, who governed it.

**42** Li Xueqin (2006: 198) and Qiu Xigui ([2003] 2012: 1.457) read *yong* 用 “Used” and *bu yong* 不用 “Not used” as judgments. Hu Houxuan (1940) first proposed that 用/不用 was an abbreviation of 兹用/兹不用 “This was applied”/ “This was not applied”, and coined the term “statement of application” (*yong ci* 用辭; see too Qiu Xigui [1988] 2012: 1.321-322). Hu determined, based on the fact that these words were commonly found written along the side of a divination crack and apart from the divination statement, that they were judgments about whether or not to use that particular divination crack, and as an extension it meant whether or not to use the proposed divination. Keightley (2012: 366) states, “It served as a reading of the crack”, and classifies it as a “notation”. In addition to *yong/bu yong* occurring immediately next to the divination crack in the bone and apart from the rest of the divination account, this notation also occurs at the end of a divination account. When it does, and when there is no formal prediction (in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations introduced by *Zi zhan yue* 子占曰 “Our lord read the crack and said”), then *yong/bu yong* immediately follows the divination statement. When there is a formal prediction, then with one exception, it is recorded after it and before a verification, if there is one. Huang Tianshu ([1991] 2007: 340) explains that in these instances *yong/bu yong* marked whether or not the divination statement was actually carried out. He points out that if it were a judgment then the controllable verb *yong* should be negated by *wu* 勿 and not by *bu* 不. This point is correct, but in order to have carried out something proposed in a divination statement the crack would have first needed

6.2 乙丑卜又(有)吉𠄎(刈)子具𠄎(有)其以入若衍(侃)又(有)鬻值用 一二三四

Divined on Yichou: (As for) the best<sup>45</sup> sickles,<sup>46</sup> our lord should bring and contribute (them) all altogether,<sup>47</sup> (for it) will be favorable (and) bring happiness. There will be a Piao<sup>48</sup> visitation.<sup>49</sup> Used.<sup>50</sup> 1234

to have been judged usable, and by extension, also judged to have been auspicious or favorable. *Bu yong* has to be read in the past tense, but must have originally referred to a judgment or evaluation. (The occurrence of “Used” after the divination statement and before a formal prediction on 259.1 provides strong evidence to support it.) Qiu proposes that these notations ([2003] 2012: 1.457) were written on the bone after the divination statement but before the verification, and before the issue mentioned in the divination charge was put into effect and carried out. That it was a judgment on a divination crack can be supported by an example like what occurs with the three cracksequence on HYZ 80: 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎. The divination account only recorded crack numbers and the word *yong*, and *yong* occurs directly over the vertical crack numbered crack three. This type of inscription implies that scribes first recorded crack numbers and a crack judgment before the rest of the divination account. As for the judgment “Used” above crack three on 80, either crack three was the one evaluated as being fit for use, or the scribe estimated how long the divination account including the preface and the diviner’s utterance would be and wrote the crack judgment above the vertical crack of crack three as an end point.

43 Reading this graph as a phonetic loan for *gua* 刮 “carve” follows Zhao Ping’an 2017. Previously the reading most oracle bone scholars followed was *zhe* 磔 “to rip apart, dismember”, first proposed by Yu Xingwu (2009: 167-172).

44 The Yi-day rite was one of three regulated ritual cycles (*Yi ri* 翌日/鬲, *Ji* 祭 and *Rong* 彤) performed over the course of one calendar year. Two additional rites, *Xie* 協 and *Zai* 鬻, were incorporated into the *Ji* 祭 cycle for total of five major sacrificial rites. These three main cycles formed the foundation of the Shang king’s ancestral worship activities and effectively led to the codification of an event-based royal calendar that was basically equivalent to one calendar year; for a discussion and reconstructed calendar of the Yi-day rite from the king’s divinations, see Dong Zuobin 1945 and Chang Yuzhi 2010. Here 翌日刮 is an event notation; compare 428 + 561 which records *Rong gua* 彤刮 as an event notation.

45 𠄎 is written *gui* 圭 (“jade tablet” over “mouth” (another interpretation is that the mouth depicts a “container” (Tang Lan 唐蘭, rpt. 2016)). As a modifier for items like tools, jades, bows, and sacrificial animals, *ji* 吉 means “hard, solid” or “strong”, and by extension, “top-quality”; it does not mean “auspicious” (Qiu Xigui [1988] 2012: 3.416-418). Qiu Xigui reads adj. *ji* 吉 as the ancestral form of *ji* 佺 “solid, strong”, the sense of which derived from being one of the characteristic features of this type of jade tablet. (Qiu thinks the “mouth” component in this compound graph functions the same way it does, for instance, in the spelling of 𠄎; see HYZ 1.5 commentary.) Wang Guowei (1959: 2.8b-10a) first proposed a connection between 吉 and *jia* 甲 “first”, and this is why I translate it “best”. The idea is that the superior hardness or strength of the material was considered to be of top-quality.

46 𠄎: The reading of this graph as the ancestral form of *yi* 刈 “sickle” (= *lian* 鎌) follows Qiu Xigui 2012: 1.72-76.



## 6.3 乙丑卜☱






Divined on Yichou...

6.4 乙丑卜用<sub>五</sub>Divined on Yichou. Used. <sub>5</sub>6.5 子爻(金)貞<sub>一</sub>Lord Jin tested. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 7

7.1 丁酉歲且(祖)甲<sub>兕</sub>一鬯一子祝才(在)巽<sub>一</sub>On Dingyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one ewe, (offer) one bowl of aromatic ale, (and) our lord will pray. At Lu. <sub>1</sub>7.2 夷(惠)一羊于二且(祖)用入自巽<sub>一</sub>It should be one sheep for two Ancestors.<sup>51</sup> Used. Entered in from Lu.<sup>52</sup> <sub>1</sub>

47 : This graph occurs in Wu Ding period divinations, and based on syntax it appears to have the same meaning as *you* 又/有; see *GuLin* 3350. I propose to read  as a compound adverb, *juyou* 具有 “altogether”.

48 The graph transcribed as  (鬯, image taken from 333) is likely a variant of  (鬯, image taken from 267). The addition here of *zhou* 帚 “broom” in the person’s hand is a phonetic indicator. The reading follows Lin Yun ([1994; 1998], cited in *GuLin bubian*, 16-18) who explains the image as a man with his hair blowing back in the wind, and interprets it as the protoform of 飄 “heavy wind”. OBI records “there will be heavy winds” *you piao* 有飄; see HJ 7571, 11446, and 4557. I read *Piao*  as a place/lineage name and 值 as a verb. (Although I read it as a verb, it is also possible to take 又(有) before  as a noun prefix, “the”.) Lin Yun (1998: 174-183) locates it in the area of Tangshan, Hebei 河北唐山 and western Liaoning. Wu Ding’s divination accounts record a Piao Bo  (HJ 6987), and the king being at Piao (HJ 767v); see too Lin Huan and Sun Yabing 2010: 463-465.

49 David Nivison (1996: 274) reads 值 as *de* 德 (=德) and defines it as a “show of force”. Paul Serruys ([1982] 2001.18: 197d) reads it the same way and explains it as, “Latin *visere*, to go and see— an official visit to dispense awards or punishments.” The word occurs again on 123.5, and from that divination we can deduce meanings of examine or check on. See too *GuLin* 2250-2256, and *Sōran* 199.

50 Five turtle plastrons were used simultaneously about this issue: HYZ 6↔333↔342↔481 and HJ 21853; the last one was discovered outside of pit H3. The crack notations <sub>1234</sub> on this shell are continued <sub>5678</sub> on 333.

51 The identity of these “two Ancestors” is not stated, but a comparison with 196.4 implies that it referred to Ancestor Jia and Ancestor Yi.

## 7.8 牝 二

Cow. 2

## 7.3 己亥卜才(在)涓(離)☲ 二

Divined on Jihai, at Yong<sup>53</sup>... 2

## 7.4 弭(勿)射于之若 二

Do not shoot with bow and arrow, (for) in that will be favorable. 2

## 7.5 庚子卜才(在)我[且(祖)]☱ 一

Divined on Gengzi, at Wo:<sup>54</sup> [Ancestor]<sup>55</sup>...1

## 7.6 丁未卜新馬其于賈視又(右)用 一

Divined on Dingwei: If new<sup>56</sup> horses are inspected by the Trader, <sup>57</sup> the one on the right will be used. 1

52 *Ru zi Lu* 入自𨾏 also occurs as a verification on 196, 428+561 and 490. See Sun Yabing 2014: 113-114. “Entered in” referred either to the place from where the sacrificial animal came from, or to the movement of the diviner’s patron.

53 𨾏: This compound graph is comprised of two squares (=enclosures) surrounded on all four sides by water. Song Zhenhao (2006a: 81) reads it *yong* 濶, but 𨾏(離), which already has a water (> river) signifier in its composition, seems perhaps more accurate. The *zhouwen* 籀文 form of 𨾏 in the *Shuowen jiezi* is 𨾏, which resembles the HYZ form; the *Shuowen jiezi* defines it as a “moat” (*si fang you shui* 四方有水). The divination sequence on this shell confirms that this place was not more than three days (inclusive) from Lu 𨾏. Other divination sequences connect it to Ning 濶, which according to later sources was west of Xiuwu, Henan; see 467.2. This divination can perhaps be reconstructed on the basis of 467.4.

54 A receipt notation (470) records a delivery of five shells from this place. On 467 the HYZ prince was at three locations on three consecutive days and the last of them was this place. If the localization of Ning 濶 west of Xiuwu, Henan can be accepted, then Wo must have been nearby.

55 For a possible reconstruction, see 467.6.

56 I read *xin* 新 here as meaning “new”, mainly based on 259 where it modifies “filly” and is used as opposite *jiu* 舊 “old”. 新 occurs however as a toponym on 11 and 168, and is a location for horse trading—for instance 168.1: 其有賈馬于新 “Likely will have tradeable horses in Xin.”

57 I follow Li Xueqin (1984) in reading this graph as *jia/gu* 賈. In Zhou bronze inscriptions this word has several usages: 1) read as the ancestral form of *jia* 價, noun: “price, appraisal”; 2) as a verb, “trade, exchange”; 3) as a noun: “trader, appraiser”; 4) as a place/lineage name. An alternate reading is *zhu* 貯 “to store, stock” (see *Jishi* 6.2141). In Pre-Qin literature, like the “Pin li” 聘禮 chapter of the *Yili* 儀禮, traders or appraisers (賈人) accompanied their patrons on official visits

7.7 丁未卜新馬于賈視又(右)不用 –

Divined on Dingwei: As for new horses to be inspected by the Trader(s), the one on the right will not be used.<sup>58</sup> 1

7.9 二

2

7.10 乙卯夕卜子弼(勿)生(往)田用 –

Divined on the evening of Yimao: Our lord ought not go to hunt. Used. 1

7.11 乙卯夕卜子弼(勿)餽(飲)用

Divined on the evening of Yimao: Our lord ought not drink (or: provide drinks).<sup>59</sup> Used.

## HYZ 8

8.1  [子]祝

...[our lord] will pray.

## HYZ 9

9.1 丙寅夕宜才(在)新束牝一 一 二三四

On the evening of Bingyin, make (or: provide) meat viands<sup>60</sup> from one cow that is at the new house.<sup>61</sup> 1234

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and were present for gift-giving and gift-receiving ceremonies. Their main role and responsibility was to oversee and appraise the value of goods.

**58** In this antithetical pair the word *qi* 其 occurs in the first divination statement and not in the second. Paul Serruys' "rule of *qi* 其" (see commentary to 1.8) proposes that the use of *qi* in one statement of an antithetical pair marked the undesired result. David Nivison (1996: 270-271) refutes this saying, "It should be noted that Serruys' observation works only in paired statements just one of which contains *qi*; in many such pairs, *qi* is used in both, or in neither; and the rule that marks something disfavored fails completely in other contexts." Following Serruys' rule, the diviner did not want the horse on the right to be used; see 367.4-5. On the other hand, if *qi* 其 marks anticipation, then the first statement would be what the diviner was expecting to happen, and not necessarily the undesired result. The coda *bu yong* 不用 (and not 勿用) implies that the decision was out of the diviner's control. This divination pair, dated day 44/60, can likely be synchronized with all seven statements on 367, which is dated to day 60/60 of the following week.

**59** Paul Serruys (1986: 219) reads *yǐn* 飲 "to drink (wine)" or *yìn* "to give drink".

## 9.2 丙寅夕宜才(在)新束牝一 一三三

On the evening of Bingyin, make (or: provide) meat viands from one cow that is at the new house. 123

## 9.3 丙寅夕卜[由(恟)]楸(虞)于子 一

Divined on the evening of Bingyin: [Unhappy] (and) upset with our lord. 1

## 9.4 丙寅夕卜衍(侃)不楸(虞)于子 一

Divined on the evening of Bingyin: Happy (and) not upset with our lord. 1

**60** The *Erya* defines it as *yi yao ye* 宜, 肴也 “It is viands”; see Karlgren, GSR 21; Paul Serruys ([1982] 2001: 37.419d) explains that *yi* 宜 “graphically shows ‘sliced meat’ displayed in two layers on ‘a sacrificial stand’”, and defines it both as “sacrificial meat viands” (noun), and “put/killed/displayed (?) on ancestral stone tablet” (verb). A noun usage on 34 means “viand tray”; as a verb, I translate it “to make (or: provide) viands”; see the late Shang bronze inscription *Zuoce Ban yan* 作册般鬯 (JC 944). The recipients of viand offerings could be either living or deceased; for the former, see 34.4, 480.3 and the Western Zhou bronze inscription *Ling gui* 令簋 (JC 4300-4301).

**61** A Wu Ding period receipt (HJ 9445) records a delivery of oracle bones from this place; see too HJ 40578. Modifying the noun *ci* 束, I read *xin* 新 like I do when it modifies “horses” (HYZ 7)—“new”, and not as a toponym, although this reading cannot be ruled out. “New” constructions were commonly referred to as such in Shang-Western Zhou inscriptions and in early received literature, for instance “new settlement” 新邑 and “new great settlement” 新大邑 in the “Shao gao” 召誥, “Luo gao” 雒誥, and “Kang gao” 康誥 chapters of the *Shangshu* in reference to the new eastern capital at Luoyang. Shang inscriptions record “new temple” 新宗 (HJ 13547; *Zuoce Feng ding* 作册豐鼎 (JC 2711)), “new room” 新室 (HJ 13563), “new sleeping chamber” 新寢 (HJ 24951; *Leizuan* 973a), and “Que’s new homes” 雀新家 (HJ 28001). The occurrence of a “new 束” recommends the existence of an older one; compare “new/old fillies” on 259.

*Ci* 束 is the early writing of *ci* 刺 “to stab”. Yao Xuan (2006: 149-152) suggests that the word here is a type of construction (she guesses it is a temple or a similar building), and I agree. This view is supported by a variant in Shang script adding “roof” 宀 (*Tunnan* 662). The variant spelling matches the word *ci*/*zi* 廡 “house, lower/side room” listed in the *Guangyun*.

The syntax “宜在新束牝” is comparable with 267: 歲妣庚在欸(戎)牢 “Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng pen-raised cattle that are at Rong”, but different from 282: 辛丑宜牝在(?) “Make viands from ewe(s). At Fu\*.” In the word order and grammar of the first two sentences the locative phrase acts as an adjective modifying the sacrificial animal type, which is the direct object of the verbs *yi* and *sui*. In the last example “ewes” is the direct object of “make viands”, and the locative clause is a postface that records either the location of the divination or the location where the rite was carried out.

9.5 辛未卜从壘生(往)田用 一

Divined on Xinwei: From Wei,<sup>62</sup> go to hunt. Used. 1

9.9 辛未卜壘生(往)田用 二

Divined on Xinwei: Wei, go... 2

9.6 辛未卜从壘生(往)田用 三

Divined on Xinwei: From Wei, go to hunt. Used. 3

9.7 辛未卜壘(擒)用 一

Divined on Xinwei: Will make a catch. Used. 1

9.8 辛未卜壘(擒)田三田[鹿]二 二

Divined on Xinwei: Will make a catch. Three...[deer] two. 2

## HYZ 10

10.1 乙未卜子廼(宿)才(在)訓夕(終)夕口口自口子占曰不[壘(擒)] 一

Divined on Yiwei: Our lord spends the night at Fu\*. The entire evening...from...Our lord read the crack and said, “Will not [catch] (anything).” 1

10.2 乙未卜才(在)訓丙[不雨]子占曰不其雨[孚]

Divined on Yiwei, at Fu\*: [Day] Bing [is not going to rain]. Our lord read the crack and said, “It should not rain.” Trusted.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The graph is composed of *zhi* 止 “foot” on top of *tu* 土 “earth”. It is not seen elsewhere in Shang-Western Zhou writing, but the Houma covenant texts (*HMMS* 16:3 [宗盟类]) has a similar graph written 𠄎 that Zhang Jie (2006: 32) reads *wei* 違 “contrary”.

<sup>63</sup> 𠄎 writes the word 孚 “trust”; see Qiu Xigui 2012: 1.449-460. I further agree with Qiu that *fu* 孚 and *bu fu* 不孚 “not trusted” were judgments. (He calls them *fu ci* 孚辭 “statements of truth”.) The HYZ OBI also have the prognostications *wu you fu* 毋有孚 “must not be trusted” (252.3) and *ci fu* 茲孚 “trust this” (173.3). Scholars previously read this graph as spelling the word *yu* 御 “defend” or “lustrate”, but in HYZ script there is a clear distinction between the two:

𠄎(孚): 𠄎 (87; carapace); 𠄎 (252); 𠄎 (259); 𠄎 (173)

御(禦): 𠄎 (114); 𠄎 (21); 𠄎 (29)

Exactly what word 𠄎 wrote is still unknown, but there is a graph written 𠄎 in the Shanghai Museum copy of *Black Jacket* 緇衣 (*ShangBo* 1) that resembles it. 𠄎 occurs in a phrase that in the received *Liji* 禮記 version of the text has *fu* 孚. Several different graphs are used in Han and



## 10.3 其雨不用

It might rain. Not used.

## HYZ 11

## 11.1 [疾]乃弼(勿)生(往)[又(有)蹠若用]

[Ji] Nai<sup>64</sup> ought not go, [having (a problem) with the sole of his foot\*,<sup>65</sup> (for it) will be favorable. Used.]

## 11.2 樁壹彭 一三

[Meaning unclear] posts\*, will sound the drums\*. 12

## 11.3 獸(狩)夷(惠)新止用 一三

As for the hunt, it should be Xin where it stops.<sup>66</sup> Used. 12

## HYZ 12

## 12.1 子貞 一

Our lord tested. 1

Pre-Han literature to write the word 孚 “trust”. 孚 occurs as a judgment term in the *Book of Changes*, and commentators routinely gloss it *xin* 信 “trust”. (孚 is written with the loan 復 “return” in the Mawangdui *Yijing*.) The Warring States manuscript called *Divination Story*\* 卜書 (*ShangBo* 7) uses 表 as a phonetic loan for 孚, and 孚 is written with the phonetic loan 褒 (the sound element is 廌) in the Warring States manuscript *Great King Jian Stops the Drought* 東大王泊旱 (*ShangBo* 4). See 267.2 and commentary.

64 𠄎: This graph is a compound formed with 子 “child” and 矢 “arrow”. A variant in Shang script wrote it with “adult man” 大 and not with “child”. Yu Xingwu (cited in 2009: 319-321) says that this word is synonymous with but different from 疾 “sickness; make ill”. Paul Serruys (1974: 91, n. 5) says, “this is a case [concerning these two graphic forms] of originally two different graphs for two different usages, merging into one graph for both (probably related) words: ‘to have sickness, be sick,’ and ‘to inflict pain’”. Elsewhere (16.1) Ji Nai is just called Nai 乃; see too 391.8-9: “Nai’s horses”.

65 The text in brackets has been reconstructed based on 473.2; see the commentary to that divination account for the reading of 蹠.

66 Reconstructed maps of Henan province during the Shang-Western Zhou periods (see *Zhongguo wenwu ditu ji, Henan fen ce* 中國文物地圖集河南分冊, p. 10) locate Xin in the vicinity of a place named after the Yellow River (He 河) and Han 函/函, which was near Qinyang 沁陽 and Jiyuan 濟源, Henan. The evidence comes from records of a military expedition by Wu Ding (HJ 16242). A man called Han Huangfu 函皇父 is well known from a set of Western Zhou bronze vessels, see Chen Mengjia 2004: 250-254 (#177).

## HYZ 13

13.1 甲午歲且(祖)甲豶一子祝才(在)𩇑 —

On Jiawu, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one boar, (and) our lord will pray. At Fu\*.<sub>1</sub>

13.2 乙未歲且(祖)乙豶子祝才(在)𩇑 —

On Yiwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some boars, (and) our lord will pray. At Fu\*.<sub>12</sub>

13.3 弼(勿)巳祝夷(惠)之用于且(祖)乙用 —

Do not stop from praying,<sup>67</sup> should it be that<sup>68</sup> which is used for Ancestor Yi. Used.<sub>1</sub>

13.4 夷(惠)子祝歲且(祖)乙豶一用 —

It should be our lord who prays, to sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one sow. Used.<sub>12</sub>

13.5 丁酉歲匕(妣)丁豶一才(在)𩇑 —

On Dingyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding one sow. At Fu\*.<sub>1</sub>

**67** *Si* 巳 is etymologically related to *yi* 已 “to stop”. Edwin Pulleyblank (1995: 115) says, “as a verb *yi* 已 means ‘stop, finish (≈停)’...It also has various uses as a grammatical particle. Its earliest use as a preverbal particle seems to be as an intensive adverb before adjectives in the sense of ‘very,’ ‘excessively,’ ‘too,’ a usage that is already found in the pre-classical language.” Although there are instances in OBI where 巳 spells *si* 祀 “sacrificial rites, ritual year”, this reading does not work in these divinations. Qiu Xigui (2012: 1.225-228; [2010] 2012: 1.553) reads 巳 as a particle when it occurs in combination with and after the negative 弼(勿). Following Qiu, the initial clause would be proposing not to pray. Although there are instances, like HYZ 391, where 弼(勿)巳 appears to be the negative proposition of an antithetical pair (“do/not do”), there has to be a lexical difference between 子弼(勿)巳祝 and 子弼(勿)祝 “Our lord should not pray” (214). Li Xueqin (2005) takes it as a full verb, “to stop”. 弼(勿)巳 regularly occurs in Huang 黃 diviner (Period IVb-V) records in isolation and this seems good evidence that 巳 is a verb and not a particle. Furthermore, 弼(勿)巳 on 324.2 is followed by a noun, “mares”: 己亥卜: 弼(勿)巳𩇑累送黑. The phrase “弼(勿)若巳” on 286.11, if the word order is correct, also suggests it is a verb.

**68** The demonstrative pronoun *zhi* 之 “that/those” occurs eighteen times. Here it ought to refer back to the boar mentioned in the preceding divination. This seems certain from a comparison of other instances where *zhi* indexes an antecedent noun, as in 299.2: 有吉牛, 惠之蚊(殺) “(As for) the prime cattle, it should be those which are killed”, and 475: 乙巳卜: 有圭, 夷(惠)之畀丁, 緝五 “(As for) the pointed jade tablets, it should be those which are given to His Highness, (along with) five ear ornaments.”

- 13.6 乙巳歲且(祖)乙羝子祝才(在)鞫 一三  
On Yisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi (one) ewe (and) our lord will pray. At Fu\*. 12
- 13.7 乙巳歲且(祖)乙羝一子祝才(在)鞫 三  
On Yisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one ewe (and) our lord will pray. At Fu\*. 3
- 13.8 𠄎歲𠄎  
... sacrifice...

## HYZ 14

- 14.1 乙酉卜子又(有)之阡南小丘其絜(單豕)隻(獲) 一三三四五  
Divined on Yiyou: Our lord has an outing to Qin's<sup>69</sup> southern hills. If using a net to trap pigs,<sup>70</sup> there will be capture. 12345
- 14.2 乙酉卜弗其隻(獲) 一三三四五  
Divined on Yiyou: Not likely to capture any. 12345
- 14.3 乙酉卜子于嘽丙求阡南丘豕韝(遘) 一三三四  
Divined on Yiyou: Our lord, by the following day Bing, searches Qin's southern hills for pigs and will make an encounter. 1234
- 14.4 𠄎(以)人韝(遘)豕 一三  
Taking men, (our lord) will encounter pigs. 12
- 14.5 乙酉卜既乎(呼)簋(食)生(往)虺(虺)韝(遘)豕 一三  
Divined on Yiyou: Will go after the call to eat. Hunting strong-armed, (our lord) will encounter pigs.<sup>71</sup> 12

**69** This toponym is almost certainly associated with the Qin River 沁河, which is one of the main tributaries of the Yellow River and flows north to south from southern Shanxi into north-west Henan. Said to originate in between Qinyuan 沁源 and Wuxiang 武鄉 counties in Shanxi province, it passes through places like Qinshui 沁水 County (Shanxi) and Qinyang 沁陽 (Henan) before pouring into the Yellow River at Wuzhi 武陟 (Henan). Oracle bone divinations record fishing at the Qin river 沁, and crossing it to hunt. A variant form writes it phonetically as Xin 心, without a classifier; see Yu Xingwu 2009: 361-367, and Sun and Lin 2010: 102-103.

**70** Chen Jian (2009: 135-159) reads this graph, which depicts two hands netting a pig, either as the verb *zhao* 單, or as a ligature writing two words, *zhao shi* 單豕. The latter reading seems better here on the basis of divinations later in the sequence, like (3) and (4).

## 14.6 弔(勿)𪔐(𪔐) 一三

Do not hunt strong-armed. 12

## 14.7 菁(邁)𪔐鹿子𪔐(占)曰其菁(邁) 一三

Will encounter Qin deer. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “Likely will encounter some.” 12

## 14.8 一三

12

## 14.9 一三

12

## HYZ 15

## 15.1 𪔐丁 一

...His Highness. 1

## 15.2 庚卜 𪔐

Divined on Geng ...

## 15.3 𪔐在入

...at Ru.<sup>72</sup>

## 15.4 子𪔐(金) 𪔐

lord Jin...

71 Yao Xuan (2005: 77-78) reads 𪔐, a compound composed of a hand holding a stick 𪔐 next to a tiger 虎 (phono-semantic), as a variant form of *bao* 𪔐; see Qiu Xigui 2012: 3.3-5. *Bao* 𪔐 is an early form of *bao* 暴. An early meaning of 𪔐 seems to have been to fight a tiger with one's hands (>strong-armed), as it the *Lunyu*'s “暴虎馮河” (fight a tiger with one's hands and cross a river without a boat). Here, however, the object of the hunt appears to be pigs and not tigers.

72 In Pre-Qin script the graphs *ru* 入 “to enter” and *nei* 內 “inside” (*na* 納 “place into, take in”) were interchangeable. As a lineage name and toponym, perhaps 入 should be read *Nei* 內. The origin of the place/lineage name 入 also perhaps derived from the confluences of water “entering” the Yellow River from both the Wei and Luo rivers. In the Huayuanzhuang East divination accounts, Ru/Nei is at most a two-day journey from Lu 鹿. A person called *Nei* 內 was an important diviner during Wu Ding's reign; see Jao Tsung-I 1959: 484-504. Notable divinations made by *Nei* are the “Names of the Four Directions and Winds” 四方風 inscription (HJ 14295), and settlement building (HJ 13505, *Yibian* 3212).

15.5 𠄎子𠄎(金) –  
...lord Jin. 1

15.6 用 –  
Used. 1

15.7 用 –  
Used. 1

15.8 用 –  
Used. 1

15.9 用 二  
Used. 2

## HYZ 16

16.1 丙卜子其𠄎(往)汨(離)𠄎(殺)乃齋(飲)于乍(作)乎(呼)簋(食)𠄎來 –  
Divined on Bing: When our lord goes to Yong to make the killing,<sup>73</sup> Nai will offer drinks; at the start of the call to eat, then (our lord) will return.<sup>74</sup> 1

16.2 丙卜子𠄎(往)汨(離)曰又(有)求曰𠄎(往)汨(離) –  
Day Bing divined: Our lord, going to Yong,<sup>75</sup> will say there is a request (or: need);<sup>76</sup> will say (our lord) goes to Yong. 1

<sup>73</sup> Reading 𠄎 as *sha* 殺 follows Chen Jian 2012, cited in *GuLin bubian*, 459-464; see too Qiu Xigui [1973] 2012: 5.8. Yu Xingwu (2009: 161-167) reads it as the archaic form of *chi* 脍 “to disembowel”, and Paul Serruys (2010: I.106-107) follows him, translating it as “to dismember”. In terms of procedures and preparation for ancestor worship and sacrifice, the fact that *sha* precedes the “sacrificial cut” (歲(剝)-sacrifice) provides additional support for Chen’s reading; see 265.7 and 401.15. As in other traditions, the size and weight of the sacrificial animal usually required killing it, often by stabbing, before sacrificially cutting it (see Scurlock 2006: 30-31). Other cutting procedures such as butchering and carving followed it; see 286, 241, and 316. For allographs, see 76.1 and 226.7.

<sup>74</sup> The grammatical construction 于作... 𠄎 “upon starting...then” is parallel to 于既... 𠄎 “upon finishing...then” (3, 241, 286), and 于来自... 𠄎 “upon returning from...then” (149). Pulleyblank (1995: 78) calls 𠄎 the “old form” of the particle 乃. 𠄎 is also used in a grammatical construction with the adverb *xian* 先 “first”, 先... 𠄎 “first...then” (154). Huayuanzhuang East scribes delineate between 𠄎 and 乃. The former only occurs as a particle and the latter only occurs to write the name of a person, Ji Nai.

## HYZ 17

17.1 甲辰歲且(祖)甲一牢子祝 –

On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one pen-raised cow (and) our lord will pray.<sup>1</sup>

17.2 乙巳歲且(祖)乙一牢~~各~~祝 –

On Yisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one pen-raised cow (and) [uncertain name]<sup>77</sup> will pray.<sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 18

18.1 東

East

18.2 西

West

18.3 南

South

18.4 𠄎

[Unclear meaning]<sup>78</sup>

**75** A parallel divination occurs on 53.1, but in that divination account the adverb *qi* 其 occurs in between the subject, Zi, and the verb *wang* “go”.

**76** The syntax “subject + *you qiu* 有求 + *yue* 曰”, with the word *yue* as an integral part of the divination utterance can be supported by 286 and 384.1. *Qiu* 求 is glossed in Classical commentary as *suo wu* 索物 “search for things”, *de* 得 “obtain”, *qu* 取 “obtain”, and *wu* 務 “to focus on”; see the citations listed in *GXHZ*, 1221. The request here was presumably either related to killing the animals for the feast (16.2) or procuring viands.

**77** It is uncertain how to read this graph and what word it intended to write. *Xin Jiaguwen bian* 724-725 lists it under *gui* 龜 “turtle”, and *Xin Zongbiao* 3966 lists it as an allograph of *zi* 子. Neither of these interpretations is supported with any evidence. As the alternative choice to “our lord praying”, it seems that this person was a ritual specialist.

**78** Perhaps this is a variant spelling of “north” *bei* 北.

## HYZ 19–HYZ 20

19.1 𠄎不𠄎 –  
...will not...<sup>1</sup>

19.2 用  
Used.

19.3 用  
Used.

19.4 乙庚  
Yi, Geng<sup>79</sup>

20.1 𠄎(逆)入六  
Ni<sup>80</sup> contributes six.

## HYZ 21

21.1 乙亥卜貞子予友𠄎(牧)又(有)復弗死 –  
Divined on Yihai, tested: Lord Yu's<sup>81</sup> aide Mu, having a return, is not going to die.<sup>82</sup><sub>1</sub>

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**79** These two days of the week are written along the edge of the upper left hand side of the shell. There are divination cracks near it. ZSKY 2003 reads 𠄎匕(妣)庚𠄎, confusing what is obviously Yi 乙 “day 2/10” for the graph *bi* 匕(妣) “Ancestress”. Zhu Qixiang and Yao Xuan both read 乙𠄎庚𠄎. All of these transcriptions add symbols that indicate missing words, but this is unnecessary, since it quite straightforward that no content is missing or has been erased; the scribe only recorded 乙庚. Yi and Geng, days 2 and 7 of the ten-day week, should either be read as dates, or as shorthand in reference to Ancestor Yi and his spouse Ancestress Geng.

**80** Wu Ding period divinations record Ni as a marriage partner of the royal house (*Yibian* 8896).

**81** 𠄎: Yu Xingwu (2009: 180-181) identifies it as the ancestral form of *yong* 𠄎, but Huayuanzhuang East scribes write that word with a different graph 𠄎 (see HYZ 16 commentary), and this suggests it wrote a different word altogether. For the reading of *yu* 予, see HYZ 294.1 commentary. On 237.12-13 this person presents sacrifice to Ancestor Jia (Yang Jia), and the absence of him presenting anything to other ancestors might imply that he was a grandchild of Yang Jia and a cousin of the Huayuanzhuang prince.

21.2 丁丑卜其𠄎(禦)子𠄎(往)田于小示用 –

Divined on Dingchou: Should make an exorcism rite (for) our lord's going to hunt to the Lesser Altars.<sup>83</sup> Used. 1

21.3 乙巳歲且(祖)乙白[𧣾]又貞(登) –二

On Yisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi (some) white [wild boars]<sup>84</sup> and have (> add) a (cereal) raising. 12.

## HYZ 22

22.1 利(剖)貞 –

Pou tested.<sup>85</sup> 1

## HYZ 23

23.1 卯

Mao<sup>86</sup>

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**82** Compare this syntax with 321.3.

**83** The “lesser altars” (*xiao shi* 小示) refers to collateral ancestors not of the direct line; see Chang Yuzhi 2010: 360-375. The grammar of this sentence is “verb + direct object + dative preposition + indirect object”, and the direct object is a nominalized verb phrase: “Our lord’s going to hunt”; it refers to an event yet to happen. This inscription is important for it confirms that least one application of making a *yu* 禦-rite was as protection or defense aimed at future events taking place outside of the house, and not solely to extract and dispel illness or injury. 29.1 records a protection rite for horses stemming from a dream.

**84** *Zhi* 𧣾 “wild boar” is reconstructed on the basis of 29.5 and 296.7.

**85** Yu Xingwu (2009: 394-396) identifies this graph as an early form of *pou* 剖 “to dissect, split open”. Pou here ought to be the same person otherwise called “lord Pou” (449); see too 450. The orientation of this inscription so as to correspond to a divination crack that has transgressed the central dividing line appears to confirm reading it in this direction, with Pou as diviner, and not 貞剖, with Pou as the subject of the divination.

**86** ZSKY 2003 understands this word as a lineage name, and suggests it was a receipt notation. This same word occurs in the exact same position on four other shells: 60, 146, 318, and 396. I agree that this word is a name, and not a verb or another grammatical word, but the fact that it was written on the left bridge of the recto side and not on the verso side, in addition to there not being any other receipt information, opens up the possibility that it might have had a different meaning. Shells were commonly arranged in sets and diviners regularly used multiple shells for a single divination sequence. The higher the shell set the more important the event, and five was the highest count in this corpus. Mao’s name was recorded on precisely five sepa-



## 23.2 己巳卜子齊(燕&gt;宴)田(上甲)馭(擊)用

Divined on Jisi: Our lord will banquet,<sup>87</sup> (and) carry in Shang Jia's<sup>88</sup> (meat offering).<sup>89</sup> Used.

## HYZ 24

## 24.1 用 –

Used. 1

## 24.2 用 –

Used. 1

rate shells and this leads to the hypothesis that either these originally formed a set, or that each shell “signed” with this name could have been the top shell of a bundle or additional multiple-shell sets. Aside from the occurrence of the name Mao here, the other names appearing in a similar manner were Ding 鼎 (one instance, 249) and Zhen 朕 (three instances, 119, 173, 367). The existence of multiple scribes (I count at least four) leads to the tentative hypothesis that these words might have been the names of scribes.

**87** 𠄎: The graph appears to depict a man holding a component that resembles the graph used to write the word *bing* 丙 “base, stand” (But this same graph also can be used to represent a hunting trap; see *Xinbian*, p. 195). Jao Tsung-I (1959) reads it *na* 納 “enter in, take in”. Shima Kunio (2006: 615-616), based on variants like 𠄎 (HJ 27840), which resembles the graph used to write the word *wu* 舞 “dance”, defines it as a type of rain-dance, and the ZKSY 2003 editors and most recently Sun Yabing ([2014] cited in *GuLin bubian*, 51-52) follow it. Zhang Yujin ([2010] cited in *GuLin bubian*, 49-51) focuses on the combined sense of a man holding a table/stand and reads it as an early form of *feng* 奉 “carry in > offer” (>捧), with 丙 functioning as a phono-semantic component. Other scribal schools wrote it in various ways: 𠄎 (HJ5281) 𠄎 (HJ5250) 𠄎 (HJ12743) 𠄎 (HJ27834) and 𠄎 (HJ27830). (Another graph, 𠄎 (HJ 12505), has the same components but a different orientation than the others, and it is unclear whether it is an allograph or whether it wrote a different word.) The conventional reading is that it wrote the word *yan* 燕 “swallow”, to be read as a phonetic loan for *yan* 宴 “feast, banquet”. Yao Xuan’s transcription has “\*燕”, which means the reading is uncertain. There are fifteen occurrences of this word in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations.

**88** Yao Xuan reads 田 here and on 338 not as *tian* 田 “field > hunt”, but as the graphically similar Shang Jia 上甲 (Shang king 1). 338 records: 甲辰卜, 子往宜, 田(上甲)擊。用。鑊 “Divined on Jiachen: Our lord will go the viand-offering service, (and) carry in Shang Jia’s (meat). Used. Cooked”; see too 487.3.

**89** 𠄎: Chen Jian (2007:1-7) identifies this graph and its variant 𠄎 as the protoform of *qian* 𠄎 (擊>牽) “to drag, lead forward” (*Shuowen jiezi*: 引前). Warring States forms 𠄎 add the phonetic *chen* 臣. Ritual texts like the *Yili* 儀禮 use this word in specific reference to leading in sacrificial animals with a rope (usually cattle).

24.3 用 二  
Used. 2

24.4 告 告  
...announce...

## HYZ 25

25.1 癸卜口令 見 子  
Divined on Gui ...command...see...lord...

25.2 己(妣)己  
...Ancestress Ji...

25.3 歲且(祖)乙小宰豶又(有)登 二  
...[sacrifice] (to) Ancestor Yi some small pen-raised sheep, some boars, and have (>add) (or: there will be) a (cereal) raising. 12

## HYZ 26

26.1 自賈[气(乞)]  
[Requested] from Jia...<sup>90</sup>

26.2 子其出宜不用 一  
Our lord should exit to make (or: provide) meat viands. Not used. 1

26.3 待(勿)勿  
Wait, do not...

26.4 甲戌卜子其出宜不用 二  
Divined on Jiayu: Our lord should exit to make (or: provide) meat viands.  
Not used. 2

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<sup>90</sup> Reconstructing *qi* 气 after the toponym Jia 賈 is based on HYZ 63. In receipt notations, the graph *qi* 气 is a loan for *qi* 乞 “requested” (or perhaps *qi* 訖 “received”). Shen Jianhua (2008:80-82) locates Jia east of Linfen, Shanxi 山西臨汾市.

## 26.5 馘(待)弼(勿)出宜用 二

Wait, do not exit to make (or: provide) meat viands. Used. 2

## 26.6 丙歲匕(妣)庚社祫鬯告夢 一

On Bing, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some rams, offer aromatic ale, (and) report the dream. 1

## 26.7 丙歲匕(妣)庚社祫鬯[告]夢 二

On Bing, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some rams, offer aromatic ale, (and) [report] the dream.<sup>91</sup> 2

## 26.8 甲申卜子其見(獻)帚(婦)好 一

Divined on Jiashen: Our lord should present<sup>92</sup> Lady Hao...1

## 26.9 甲申卜子夷(惠)豕歿眾魚見(獻)丁用 一

Divined on Jiashen: It it should be minced pork together with fish that our lord presents to His Highness. Used. 1

**91** Synchronizing this divination with 314.4-6 confirms day Bing 丙 was an abbreviation of Bingzi 丙子 (day 13/60), two days after Jiayu (day 11/60). I have reordered the sequence of these divinations based on this reconstructed timeline.

**92** *Jian/xian* 見 “see, appear, have audience (about/with)” occurs thirty-nine times on twenty-four shells. Outside of the HYZ OBI, scribes used the graph 見 both in its primary sense (as in, *Fou qi lai jian wang* 缶其來見王 “Fou will likely come to see His Majesty” (HJ 301)), and as a phonetic loan for *xian* 獻 “present” (as in, *Bi jian bai niu* 畢見百牛 “Bi presented one hundred head of cattle” (*Qianbian* 7.32.4)); for a summary, see Yao Xiaosui, *Gulin* 625: 609 and Qiu Xigui [1998] 2012: 1.444. 見 in the HYZ OBI appears to have also been used in both ways. It is to be read as it is written and in its primary sense, for instance on 37.4: 以一鬯見丁 “Bring one bowl of aromatic ale to see His Highness”, 102.3: 二卜有咎, 唯見 “The second divination crack has fault, it has been seen (or: it has appeared)”, and 202.7-8: 子其見丁, 鹵以 “When our lord sees His Highness, bring salt”. Reading it as a phonetic loan for 獻 makes more sense when it takes a commodity as its direct object. In the divination 26.9, and in 92.2, 453.2 and 249.20, the direct objects are food and drink; in 37.3 and 490.1-4 the direct objects are jade, and on 451.3 its subject (or prepositioned direct object) is a type of textile (belts). 226.1 records the receipt 万家見(獻)一 “Dancer Jia presents one”, and the number “one” refers to the turtle shell that the inscription was written on. Reading 見 in these cases as “see”, “show”, or “appear” (> make appear) seems inaccurate. 見 also occurs in a syntax followed by the preposition *yu* 于, in the grammatical construction “*jian yu* 見于+ person”— as in *Zi hu Duo Jia jian yu Fu Hao* 子呼多賈見于婦好 (37.21); in this case, I read it as “have audience about/with [person]”. (I use “about” not in the sense of “on the subject of” or “concerning”, but rather to indicate movement in a particular space.)

26.10 戊子卜子胥(隳)宜一于之若一

Divined on Wuzi: Our lord will set out one tray of meat viands, (for) in that will be favorable. <sup>1</sup>

26.11 戊子卜子胥(隳)宜二于之若一

Divined on Wuzi: Our lord will set out two trays of meat viands, (for) in that will be favorable. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 27

27.1 庚卜才(在)齏歲匕(妣)庚三牲又鬯二至卣(禦)鬻百牛又五 <sup>三四</sup>

Divined on Geng, at Lai: Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng three rams and have (> add) two bowls of aromatic ale to deliver the exorcism;<sup>93</sup> announce by written record (sacrifice of) one hundred and five head of cattle.<sup>94</sup> <sup>34</sup>

## HYZ 28

28.1 丙卜佳(唯)亞奠乍(作)子齒

Divined on Bing: It will be Ya Dian<sup>95</sup> who makes (an exorcism for) our lord's tooth.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> I read *zhi* 至, not in the temporal sense of “arrive”, but as *zhi* 致 “deliver, send off”. HYZ 56 uses it + direct object in the phrases: “*zhi* 至+ ram one” and “*zhi* 至+ ram one + recipient.” *Zhi yu* 至禦 also occurs again on 409. Wu Ding’s and Wu Ding period royal family divination accounts insert the name of the person who was exorcised in between the words *zhi* 至 and *yu* 禦, for instance HJ 22046: 戊子卜: 至子禦兄庚羌、牢 || 戊子卜: 至子禦父丁白豕 “Divined on Wuzi: Deliver, for our lord’s exorcism (to) Elder Brother Geng, Qiang, pen-raised cattle || Divined on Wuzi: Deliver, for our lord’s exorcism (to) Father Ding, white pigs” ; HJ 22049: 戊午卜: 至妻禦束父戊, 良有瘳 “Divined on Wuwu: Deliver, for the consort’s exorcism, cloth to Father Wu; (her illness) will get better and she will recover”; and HJ 13740 [Bin 賓-diviner]: 于婦至吳禦 “To (deceased) Lady (Hao), deliver Wu’s exorcism.”

<sup>94</sup> This divination can be synchronized with 32 and 320.6. These two cracks numbered <sup>34</sup> imply the existence of <sup>12</sup>, yet none of the inscribed shells or bones from Pit H3 can be linked with it.

<sup>95</sup> Ya 亞 was one of the most powerful Shang military ranks; see David Keightley 2012: 348-349. Dian 奠 is the early writing of Zheng 鄭. As a lineage and place name it almost certainly is to be associated with modern day Zhengzhou, Henan (Shirakawa Shizuka 1957). 284.3-4 records a person called Hou Dian 侯奠. Lin Yun (2007) thinks Hou Dian and Ya Dian refer to one person who over time held two different official positions.

## 28.2 丙卜佳(唯)小臣乍(作)子齒 –

Divined on Bing: It will be a Lesser Servitor<sup>97</sup> who makes (an exorcism for) our lord's tooth. <sub>1</sub>

## 28.3 丙卜佳(唯)帚(婦)好乍(作)子齒 –

Divined on Bing: It will be Lady Hao who makes (an exorcism for) our lord's tooth. <sub>1</sub>

## 28.4 丙卜丁𣪠(虞)于子佳(唯)亲(亲)齒 –


Divined on Bing: His Highness will be upset about our lord, (and this means (he) himself will (make an exorcism for our lord's) tooth.<sup>98</sup> <sub>1</sub>

## 28.5 丙卜丁𣪠(虞)于子由(迪)从中 –

Divined on Bing: His Highness will be upset about our lord's advancing from the middle.<sup>99</sup> <sub>1</sub>

## 28.6 戊卜六&lt;今&gt;其酏(酒)子興匕(妣)庚告于丁用

Divined on Wu: If making ale libation today (for) lord Xing (to) Ancestress Geng,<sup>100</sup> report (it) to His Highness. Used.<sup>101</sup>

**96**  (*chi* 齒): depicts an open mouth with teeth, and the word's primary meaning is “tooth, teeth”. I read *chi* 齒 in its original meaning. This sequence of divinations appears to be about whom amongst the king's most trusted people, and perhaps the king himself, would ritually exorcise the prince's sick tooth. An alternative is to follow Yu Xingwu (2009: 221-222) who first noted that 齒 has a derived sense of “friction” (相錯相磨...會發生某事故或禍崇之義) and a general sense of “difficulty”. Paul Serruys (2010: 1.171, 1.278-279) follows this and translates both as “friction” and as “difficulties”: 其有來齒 “Anticipate that there will be [a case of] someone bringing difficulties” (*Bingbian* 47.7); and 佳父乙降齒 “It is Father Yi sends down (or: It is that Father Yi will send down) friction” (*Bingbian* 114.3); see too *Yingcang* 886. If read this way then 作子齒 “cause our lord friction” is a causative construction comparable to the phrase *zuo Zi jian* 作子艱 “cause our lord distress/affliction” (75.1-2).

**97** For a discussion of the rank and duties of *xiao chen* 小臣, see Yu Xingwu 2009: 308-311.

**98** The graph fuses *xin* 辛 and *mu* 木 and writes *zhen* 𣪠. 𣪠 is an alternate form used to write the day Xin 辛 (see HJ 32572v: “Ancestor Xin”). Yao Xuan's transcription reads it as *qin* 亲.

**99** *You cong zhong* 由从中: I read 由 as a verb and as writing the word *di* 迪 “to advance; to walk” (see Axel Schuessler 2007: 579). 从 is a preposition, “from”. 中 in this instance ought to be the directional “middle”, and likely refers to a military formation, although elsewhere it occurs in the name Zhong Zhou 中周; see 102, 321. 丁虞于子由從中 is grammatically equivalent with 丁衍(侃)于子學商 “His Highness will be happy about our lord practicing “Shang”” (150.4). An alternative is to read 由从 as a compound preposition.

## 28.7 戊卜𩚑(待)弼(勿)𩚑(酒)子興匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Wu: Wait, do not make ale libation (for) lord Xing (to) Ancestress Geng. 1

## 28.8 戊卜子其告于𩚑 –

Divined on Wu: Our lord should report to...

## 28.9 戊卜𩚑 –

Divined on Wu ...1

## 28.10 辛卜丁不涉 –

Divined on Xin: His Highness is not going to cross the river. 1

**100** 𩚑 is composed of you 酉 “ale vessel” + 彡 (=liquid). There are instances outside of the Huayuanzhuang East inscriptions where scribes write it 酉 and without 彡 (see HJ 19838 [Shi 師 diviner], *Yingcang* 2443 [Li 歷 diviner], *Tunnan* 2626 [Li 歷 diviner] and HJ 37840 [Huang 黃 diviner]). Zhu Fenghan (2002: 87-94) concludes the word that this graph writes rhymed with 酉, and its combined meaning (會意) was pouring out ale. He also studies the syntax “𩚑 + animal-type” and concludes it was an abbreviation of: to make an ale libation and to kill (or offer) a sacrifice. Jao Tsung-I (1959: 152) reads 𩚑 directly as writing the word *jiu* 酒, and says that its verbal sense is to present ale. The graph you 𩚑 now occurs frequently as a variant spelling of 酉 on Warring States bamboo manuscripts and this confirms that they are phonetically compatible; see *Xincai Geling* A3.34, A2.14-13, 0.542, and A3.304. Since scribes in early China show the tendency to exchange “酉” and “𩚑”, and since “酉” is a commonly used loan in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and Warring States bamboo manuscripts for *jiu* 酒 (e.g., *Yu gui* 通篇: “王鄉(饗)酉(酒), 通御亡遣(愆)” (The king feasted and drank ale. Yu provided service without error); and *Xincai Geling* A3.148 + A3.86: “酉(酒)食” (ale and food)), it seems rather direct to read “𩚑” as “酒” with the following meanings 1) as a noun, “ale”; 2) as a verb, “to make libation with ale”. However, at least one spelling of “酒” in Huayuanzhuang East script is written with the “liquid” inside of the 酉-vessel and not outside of it. 酒: 𩚑 (HYZ 53) and “𩚑”: 𩚑 occur on the same shell, and this implies either that they wrote two different words, or that the noun usage was written with the first form and the verb usage with the second form. In summary, 𩚑 depicts pouring liquid (ale); you 酉 functions both as a signifier and as the phonetic value. 226.6 records *guan* 裸 “ale libation” and you 酉 together (往裸𩚑), and this confirms these two ritual procedures were alike. As I understand it, both words meant libation, but their application was different. Qiu Xigui ([2000] 2012: 1.471-472) points out that 𩚑 was performed as an initiation to a larger ritual event or ritual cycle. Takashima (2010: II.176) has determined that it was done outside (this differs from 裸 which appears to have been made inside; a variant spelling adds ROOF 宀) and before the sacrifice and its disposal. Liu Yuan (2004: 110, note 1) proposes that while 𩚑 originally depicted pouring out ale as an offering, in oracle bone inscriptions it already had a derived meaning of to make offerings in a general sense. Liu suggests it has a similar meaning to you 有(侑) “offer”. See 226 and 286.21-26.

**101** Shen Pei (2006b) notes that *liu* 六 is a scribal error for the graphically similar *jin* 今.

## 28.11 辛卜丁涉从東兆獸(狩) –

Divined on Xin: His Highness is going to cross the river and hunt from the eastern edge. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 29

## 29.1 丙寅卜其仰(禦)佳(唯)賈視馬于癸子夷(惠)一伐一牛一鬯罍夢用 –

Divined on Bingyin: When making an exorcism rite, it being for the trader-inspected horses to Gui Child,<sup>102</sup> it should be one human beheading, one head of cattle, (and) one bowl of aromatic ale that are announced by written record (as sacrificial offerings along with) the dream.<sup>103</sup> Used. <sup>12</sup>

29.2 庚寅歲且(祖)口牝一~~豕~~祝 –

On Gengyin, sacrifice (to) Ancestor...one cow (and) [name] will pray. <sup>12</sup>

## 29.3 庚寅卜夷(惠)子祝不用 –

Divined on Gengyin: It should be our lord who prays. Not used. <sup>12</sup>

## 29.4 己亥卜于宮(庭)再(稱)琫(璋)用 –

Divined on Jihai: In the courtyard, hold up<sup>104</sup> large jade tablets<sup>105</sup> (and) arc-ended jade tablets.<sup>106</sup> Used. <sup>2</sup>

**102** 癸子 seems to be another way to refer to the juvenile spirit 子癸; see 214 for another occurrence of 癸子. This inverted writing is similar to Zu Jia 祖甲 “Ancestor Jia” also being called Jia zu 甲祖 “Jia-day Ancestor”.

**103** This divination account is proposing to make an exorcism/protection ritual over a certain set of the protagonist’s horses because of a dream that he had. Both the dream and future sacrificial offerings (as a pledge) are to be announced in writing to the juvenile spirit Guizi in the hope that no calamity would befall the horses or the dreamer. See the parallel divination at 289.6.

**104** Takashima (2010: 1.35-46) says *cheng* 再(=稱) depicts a hand (爪) picking up an object (再), perhaps a weight. It occurs meaning “raise, lifted” for example in the Western Zhou period bronze inscription *Zha Bo gui* 柞伯簋: 柞伯十再(稱)弓無廢矢 “Zha Bo ten times raised the bow without wasting an arrow” (=he hit the target each time). Schuessler (2007: 185) makes a connection with its cognate *cheng* 承 “to lift up, hold up, set forth, present”.

**105** 琫 is the ancestral form of *chu* 琫 (Chen Jian 2007). A variant form 𠄎 adds *you* 又 as the sound value. The *Shuowen jiezi* defines it as 玉 “jade”, and the *Erya* as 璋大八寸 “a jade tablet as large as eight *cun*”; see 195.1 and 198.12.

29.5 乙巳歲且(祖)乙白彘一又貞(登)且(祖)乙衍(侃) –

On Yisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one white wild boar (and) have (>add) a (cereal) raising; Ancestor Yi will be happy. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 30

30.1 𠄎[匕(妣)]己豨一才(在)𠄎 –

...[Ancestress] Ji one sow, at Fu. <sup>2</sup>

## HYZ 31–32

31.1 午卜𠄎

Divined on Wu ...

31.2 𠄎歲𠄎豨一𠄎

...sacrifice...one ewe...

31.3 𠄎卯𠄎匕(妣)庚𠄎

...butcher ...Ancestress Geng...

32.1 庚卜才(在)𠄎歲匕(妣)庚三豨又鬯二至𠄎(饗)𠄎百牛又五 –

Divined on Geng, at Lai: Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng three rams and add (> have) two bowls of aromatic ale to deliver the exorcism; announce by written record (sacrifice of) one hundred and five head of cattle. <sup>1</sup>

32.2 庚卜才(在)𠄎夷(惠)五豨又鬯二用至𠄎(饗)匕(妣)庚 –<sub>三三</sub>

Divined on Geng, at Lai: It should be five rams and two bowls of aromatic ale that are used to deliver the exorcism (to) Ancestress Geng. <sup>123</sup>

32.3 庚卜才(在)𠄎夷(惠)七豨[用至]𠄎(饗)匕(妣)庚 –<sub>三三</sub>

Divined on Geng, at Lai: It should be seven rams [that are used to deliver] to the exorcism (to) Ancestress Geng. <sup>123</sup>

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**106** Tentatively following Yang Zhou (2009a) who reads this graph as *zhang* 章(璋) “jade tablet”. I use “arc-ended jade tablet” as a translation for 璋, and as a way to differentiate it from 圭 “pointed jade tablet”.



32.4 庚卜才(在)齏夷(惠)五羴用至𠄎(禦)匕(妣)庚 一三

Divined on Geng, at Lai: It should be five rams that are used to deliver the exorcism (to) Ancestress Geng. 12

## HYZ 33

33.1 貞子阝(陞) 一

Tested: (for) Lord Sheng.<sup>107</sup> 1

## HYZ 34

34.1 辛卯卜子臚宜夷(惠)幽廌用 一

Divined on Xinmao: When our lord sets out meat viand trays, it should be dark red antelope. Used. 1

34.2 辛卯卜子臚宜夷(惠)口不用 一

Divined on Xinmao: When our lord sets out meat viand trays, it should be...Not used. 1

34.3 甲辰歲且(祖)甲牢𠄎一鬯 一三

On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia some pen-raised cattle (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. 12

34.4 甲辰宜丁牝一丁各矢(臯)于我翌[日]于大甲用 一三

On Jiachen, make (or: provide) (for) His Highness meat viands (from) one cow. His Highness arrives in the late afternoon to us, the Yi-rite [day] for Da Jia.<sup>108</sup> Used. 12

34.5 甲辰卜于麥(來)乙又(有)于且(祖)乙宰用 一三

Divined on Jiachen: By a coming Yi day,<sup>109</sup> have for (or: offer to) Ancestor Yi some pen-raised sheep. Used. 12

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**107** For the reading of this graph as *sheng* 陞 see Peng Bangjiong (cited in *GuLin bubian*, 936). This person's name also occurs in the three-shell divination set 349↔441↔205.

**108** This divination has parallels at 169, 335.2 and 420.2. See David Keightley (1978: Appendix 1, note e) for an explanation of the ascension of Da Jia (K9).

**109** The next Yi day would have been Yimao 乙卯, day 52/60.

- 34.6 乙巳卜歲且(祖)乙牢𠄎鬯一且(祖)甲徯(延)丁各 一三  
Divined on Yisi: Sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some pen-raised cattle (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. Continuing from Ancestor Jia.<sup>110</sup> His Highness arrived. <sub>12</sub>
- 34.8 乙巳卜丁各子甬(稱)小用 一  
Divined on Yisi: His Highness arrives; our lord will hold up a small amount. Used. <sub>1</sub>
- 34.7 乙巳卜子大甬(稱)不用 一  
Divined on Yisi: Our lord will hold up a large amount.<sup>111</sup> Not used. <sub>1</sub>
- 34.9 乙巳卜丁各子甬(稱)用 一三  
Divined on Yisi: His Highness arrives; our lord will (be the one who) holds up (jades). Used. <sub>12</sub>
- 34.10 乙巳卜丁[各]子弼(勿)巳甬(稱)不用 一三  
Divined on Yisi: His Highness [arrives]; our lord should not stop from holding up (jades). Not used. <sub>12</sub>
- 34.11 乙巳卜丁各子[于宮(庭)]甬(稱)用 一  
Divined on Yisi: His Highness arrives; our lord, [in the courtyard], will hold up (jades). Used. <sub>1</sub>
- 34.12 乙巳卜子于[寤(寢)]甬(稱)不用 一  
Divined on Yisi: Our lord, in the [chamber], will hold up (jades). Not used. <sub>1</sub>
- 34.13 戊申卜歲且(祖)甲豕一𠄎一 一  
Divined on Wushen: Sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one pig, one ewe. <sub>1</sub>
- 34.14 己酉卜翌日庚[戌]子乎(呼)多臣𠄎(燕>宴)見丁用不率 一  
Divined on Jiyou: On the next day, Geng[xu], our lord will call the Many Servitors to banquet and see (or: have audience about/with) His Highness. Used. Not all.<sup>112</sup> <sub>1</sub>

**110** Sun Yabing (2011a: 111, n.6) emends 延 after 祖甲.

**111** 大 here is an adverb. The same usage occurs in *da sui* 大歲(劇)/*xiao sui* 小歲(劇) at 228.2-3. 282.3 confirms that 大 refers to the amount of jades to be gifted and means more than one.

## HYZ 35

35.1 壬申卜子生(往)于田从昔听(所)用𠄎(擒)四鹿 —

Divined on Renshen: Our lord will proceed to the fields from the old location.<sup>113</sup> Used. Caught four deer. 1

35.2 壬申卜既乎(呼)食子其生(往)田用 —

Divined on Renshen: After calling to eat, our lord should go hunt. Used. 12

## HYZ 36

36.1 丁卜才(在)柚其東𠄎(狩) —

Divined on Ding, at You:<sup>114</sup> Likely hunts to the east. 1

36.2 丁卜其二 —

Divined on Ding: Likely two (people). 1

36.3 不其𠄎(狩)入商才(在)柚 —

Is not likely to hunt entering Shang.<sup>115</sup> At You.<sup>116</sup> 1

**112** 率 here is an adverb, “all”. It means that not all of the prince’s servitors were called.

**113** For the reading of *suo* 所, see *GuLin bubian*, 957 (citing He Jingcheng 2008).

**114** 𠄎 (柚) is composed with tree (classifier) + you 由 (phonetic): “pomelo/grapefruit tree”. On 88 it is written with *jing* 京 “high mound; elevated structure.” Shang scribes write it in several variations, and scribes working with the Nameless-diviner and Huang-diviner groups add the sound element *xun* 尋: 𠄎 (HJ 30526) 𠄎 (HJ 28941). The graph in Warring States script omits the tree classifier and writes it with the double phonetic 尋 + 由 as 𠄎 (*ShangBo* 1, *Kongzi Shi lun* 孔子詩論, strip 16). The *Zuozhuan* (Duke Zhao, year 23) records a place called Xun 邨 that Du Yu’s commentary says was in Gong county, Henan 河南鞏縣. See *GuLin bubian*, 365-368 (citing Wang Ziyang 2013); for a paleographic study of the graph you 由 and associated words written with it, see Chen Jian 2010: 1-89.

**115** The identification of 𠄎 as You 柚(邨) implies that the phrase “enter Shang” 入商 refers to the Shang territory (or royal domain) and not the temple-palace complex at Anyang. See HYZ 2 commentary on the toponym Lu 鹿. “Entering Shang. At You” further suggests that the western border of the Shang was at or near Wenxian, Henan. The area along this border was a main area of activity for the HYZ prince.

**116** That a person outside of the direct control of the prince is the subject of these divinations is implied by the use of the adverbial negative *bu* 不, which expresses a stative-eventive uncontrollable action from the diviners perspective. When a divination takes the main character or

36.4 丁卜其涉河獸(狩) 一三  
Divined on Ding: Might cross the river to hunt. 12

36.5 丁卜不獸(狩) 一三  
Divined on Ding: Will not hunt. 12

36.6 其涿(溯)河獸(狩)至于糞 一  
Might go up river to hunt arriving in Fen. 1

36.7 不其獸(狩) 一  
Might not hunt. 1

## HYZ 37

37.1 癸酉卜夷(惠)勿(物)牡歲甲且(祖)用 一  
Divined on Guiyou: It should be variegated bulls that are sacrificed (to) Jiaday Ancestor(s). Used. 1

37.2 癸酉卜夷(惠)勿(物)牡歲甲且(祖)用 三  
Divined on Guiyou: It should be variegated bulls that are sacrificed (to) Jiaday Ancestor(s). Used. 2

37.3 己卯卜子見(獻)𠄎(以)琚丁用 一  
Divined on Jimao: Our lord will present large jade tablets brought by You\*<sup>117</sup> (to) His Highness. Used. 1

37.4 𠄎(以)一鬯見丁用 一  
Take one bowl of aromatic ale to see His Highness. Used. 1

37.5 癸巳卜子饗(餉)夷(惠)白璧攷(肇)丁用  
Divined on Guisi: When our lord has the meal delivered,<sup>118</sup> it should be white jade circlets that are dispensed<sup>119</sup> (to) His Highness. Used. 1

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someone under his control as the subject, then as a rule, diviners use the controllable adverbial negatives 勿 and 毋.

**117** This name occurs also on 255 and 490; all the divinations about this jade delivery can be synchronized.

37.6 甲午卜才(在)巽子其射若一

Divined on Jiawu, at Lu: If our lord shoots with bow and arrow, (it) will be favorable. <sub>1</sub>

37.7 甲午弔(勿)射于之若一

On Jiawu, do not shoot with bow and arrow, (for) in that will be favorable. <sub>1</sub>

37.8 丁酉歲且(祖)甲牝一𦍋鬯一才(在)巽一

On Dingyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one ewe (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. At Lu. <sub>1</sub>

37.9 丁酉歲且(祖)甲牝一𦍋鬯一才(在)巽二

On Dingyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one ewe (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. At Lu. <sub>2</sub>

37.11 夷(惠)牝又鬯且(祖)甲一

It should be cows and aromatic ale (for) Ancestor Jia. <sub>1</sub>

37.10 己亥卜才(在)汨(離)子其射若不用

Divined on Jihai, at Yong: If our lord shoots with bow and arrow, (it) will be favorable. Not used.

37.12 甲辰歲匕(妣)庚牝一𦍋鬯才(在)巽二

On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ewe (and) offer aromatic ale. At Lu. <sub>2</sub>

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**118** A variant spelling of this graph in Shang and Western Zhou script substitutes the ale vessel for a food vessel and adds the sound value *wang* 往 (see HJ 30956, HJ 34573, HJ 36525 and JC 5985). I read it 餉, which the *Shuowen jiezi* says is a variant of *xiang* 饗, and the *Erya* defines as “to deliver food to the fields”/“offer food”. For a discussion of the phonetic relationship and loaning between 往 and 襄, see Yu Xingwu 1979: 154-156 and Zhou Zhongbing 2018: 68-74.

**119** Ding Shan (1989: 126-127) identifies this graph as the ancestral form of *zhao* 肇 “to start (≈始), initiate (≈啟動)”. This high-frequency word commonly occurs in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations as a transitive verb that only takes commodities (including meat) as its object. In Wu Ding’s divinations it usually occurs in receipt notations, and based on that usage, Fang Zhisong (2007: 37-53) explains it as meaning *zhisong* 致送 “to deliver”. Like with the verb *cheng* 甞(稱) “raise, lift up”, *zhao* 肇 usually occurs in contexts where the main character presents items in the immediate presence of the king. I use “dispense” as meaning to take goods from the prince’s stock and hand over or deliver to someone else.

- 37.13 甲辰歲且(祖)甲牡一牝一才(在)巽 三  
On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one bull, one ram. At Lu. 3
- 37.14 乙巳卜才(在)巽子其射若不用 一三三  
Divined on Yisi, at Lu: If our lord shoots with bow and arrow, (it) will be favorable. Not used. 123
- 37.15 乙巳卜才(在)巽子弜(勿)禛(遲)弁(承)弓出日 一  
Divined on Yisi, at Lu: Our lord should not be slow to receive bows (at) sunrise.<sup>120</sup> 1
- 37.16 夷(惠)丙(丙)弓用射 一  
It should be Bing's bow<sup>121</sup> that is used to shoot. 1
- 37.17 夷(惠)丙(丙)弓用不用  
It should be Bing's bow that is used. Not used. 1
- 37.18 丙午卜子其射疾弓于之若 一  
Divined on Bingwu: Our lord should shoot Ji's bow,<sup>122</sup> (for) in that will be favorable. 1
- 37.19 戊申卜夷(惠)疾弓用射 彖(佳)用 一  
Divined on Wushen: It should be Ji's bow that is used to shoot birds. Used. 1
- 37.20 壬子卜子曰(以)帚(婦)好入于 夔(戎)攸(肇)琫三生(往)鑿(縣\*) 一三  
Divined on Renzi: Our lord will lead Lady Hao into Rong.<sup>123</sup> Dispense (to her) three large jade tablets. Going to Xuan.<sup>124</sup> 12

**120** Huang Tianshu (2006: 449) understands *chu ri* 出日 as being equivalent in meaning to *ri chu* 日出 “sunrise” (HYZ 426). The alternative is to read *chu* as a verb, “exit”, and *ri* as “day-time”.

**121** *Bing* 丙 modifies “bow” and means the bow was either produced in a place called Bing or submitted by Bing. Inscribed bronzes with this name have been discovered in Shilou-Lingshi, Shanxi 山西石樓靈石 (*Kaogu* 1990.7). Song Zhenhao (2010: 468-477) offers an alternative interpretation, and takes Bing, which appears to depict a stand or base, to mean a crossbow.

**122** There are two possible readings here for the compound *ji gong* 疾弓: 1/) like Bing in the previous divination, it is the name of the manufacturer or place the bow came from; 2) it refers to a type of bow. Song Zhenhao (2010: 468-477), following his interpretation of crossbow, explains it as a fast bow. See HYZ 40.

37.21 壬子卜子曰(以)帚(婦)好入于𠄎(戎)子乎(呼)多賈見于帚(婦)好攷(肇)新八 –  
Divined on Renzi: Our lord will lead Lady Hao into Rong. Our lord will call  
the Many Traders to have audience about/with Lady Hao, and dispense (to  
her) eight tapestries.<sup>125</sup> 1

37.22 壬子卜子曰(以)帚(婦)好入于𠄎(戎)子乎(呼)多𠄎(禦)正(征)見于帚(婦)好攷  
(肇)新十圭(往)𠄎(縣\*) 一二三四五  
Divined on Renzi: Our lord will lead Lady Hao into Rong. Our lord will call  
the Many Defense Regulators to have audience about/with Lady Hao, (and)  
dispense (to her) ten tapestries. Going to Xuan.<sup>12345</sup>

37.26 𠄎(惠)三人 –  
It should be three people.<sup>126</sup> 1

**123** 𠄎 depicts a man holding a dagger-axe or halberd, *ge* 戈. Li Xueqin (1999) reads it *rong* 戎. The more commonly occurring form of *rong* 𠄎 depicts a man (大) holding a dagger-axe in one hand and a shield in the other; this graph occurs on HYZ 38. The form collected in the *Shuowen* omits the “man” and keeps the weapons, which were the characteristic feature of the word’s meaning as “warrior”. 𠄎 on HYZ 116 is used as a verb “to strike, attack, battle”: “Ji (Nai) ought not strike.” The question is whether 𠄎 is a “shieldless” variant of 𠄎 and whether or not it should be read 戎. In discussing the meaning of *ge* 戈 as a verb, Keightley (2012: 188, n. 52) says, “K.C. Chang (1980:196) describes the five chariot pits found south of building Yi 乙 7 in sector C: each pit with one chariot; three men to each chariot; the middle man was a ‘driver, carrying a whip,’ the one on the left was a ‘striker, carrying a *ge*-halberd,’ and the one on the right was an archer, ‘carrying bow and arrows.’”

**124** 𠄎: ZSKY 2003 editors transcribe this graph as 𠄎 and read it as the word *nao* 𠄎. However *nao* in Huayuanzhuang East script was written differently (at least by one of the scribes); see the commentary to the word *rao* 擾 on 161. This graph ought to refer to the same place that other Shang scribes write as 𠄎 (HJ 18918), 𠄎 (HJ 3286r), and 𠄎 (Tunnan 857). I agree with Zhan Yinxin (2006: 272-281) who reads it *xian/xuan* 懸 “to hang”. (懸 is written 𠄎 with head “hanging” down in Western Zhou script (and in the Zhouyuan OBI it also occurs as a toponym)). *GuLin bubian*, 295-296, cites the interpretations of Xu Baogui 2010 and Shan Yuchen 2012. Xu focuses on the “rope” (= *fu* 弗) binding what he says is a monkey’s head to a post, suggests to read it 狒 “baboon”, and believes it is a spirit; Shan on the other hand reads it as the ancestral form of *xiao* 梟 “owl”.

**125** Han Jiansu ([2006], cited in *GuLin bubian*, 615-617) reads 新 as *fu* 斧 “axe”, and then explains 斧 as a phonetic loan for *fu* 𠄎 “screen, curtain, tapestry”. Twenty-three of these items are being proposed to be gifted to Hao: ten from military personnel, eight from the prince’s traders, and five from the prince’s servants Fa and Wei. The same item occurs again in divinations about building an ancestral temple (292 and 437).

37.23 癸丑卜歲食牝于且(祖)甲用 三

Divined on Guichou: Sacrifice some feed cows<sup>127</sup> to Ancestor Jia. Used. <sub>2</sub>

37.25 乙卯歲且(祖)乙覈叔鬯一 一

On Yimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some boars (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. <sub>1</sub>

37.24 乙卯卜夷(惠)白豕且(祖)乙不用 一

Divined on Yimao: It should be white pigs (for) Ancestor Yi. Not used. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 38

38.1 乙卜其卬(禦)[子疾]肩匕(妣)庚鬯三十 一

Divined on Yi: If making an exorcism rite (for) [our lord's sick] shoulder (to) Ancestress Geng, announce by written record (sacrifice of) thirty... <sub>1</sub>

38.2 壬卜其卬(禦)子[疾]肩匕(妣)庚鬯三豕

Divined on Ren: If making an exorcism rite (for) our lord's [sick] shoulder (to) Ancestress Gen, announce by written record (sacrifice of) three pigs.

38.3 壬卜其卬(禦)子疾肩匕(妣)庚鬯三豕 一

Divined on Ren: If making an exorcism rite (for) our lord's sick shoulder (to) Ancestress Geng, announce by written record (sacrifice of) three pigs.<sup>128</sup> <sub>1</sub>

**126** I have reordered the sequence based on other divinations in this set (including HYZ 63) that are clearly deciding who to call on to see Lady Hao. Both Fa and Wei are mentioned (63) but diviners want to know if another person should be added.

**127** For *shi* 食 as “feed”, see Qiu Xigui 2012: 4.390 and HYZ 4.1 commentary: “feed horses” *shi ma* 食馬. “Feed cow” ought to refer to the cow’s nutrition, but the alternative is to take 食 as a verb and in coordination with *sui* “sacrifice”, “Sacrifice and feed cow(s) to...”. The “Pin Li” 聘禮 chapter of the *Yi Li* 儀禮 distinguishes between 食 and *xiang* 饗 “feast”. The former was a strict beef cattle offering with no ale, whereas the latter included offerings of both meat and ale; see Yang Tianyu 2007: 248, and compare what is included in a feast 饗 for a different ancestor on 321.4.

**128** In the divination sequence (1)-(3), there is a decrease in the quantity of the sacrificial animals “pledged” as the week progresses, and this seems to have to do with the daily condition of the ailing shoulder. As the shoulder continues to heal on its own the urgency of making an exorcism with a high number of sacrifices lessens. David Keightley (2012: 282) calls the



## 38.4 壬卜子其入麇牛于丁 –

Divined on Ren: Our lord should contribute antelope (and) cattle to His Highness. 1

## 38.5 壬卜丁聞子乎(呼)[視]戎弗乍(作)楸(虞) –

Divined on Ren: His Highness, hearing that our lord has called [to inspect] the (enemy) warriors,<sup>129</sup> is not going to become upset. 1

## 38.6 南弗死 二三

Nan is not going to die (on inspection).<sup>130</sup> 23

## 38.7 死 一二三四

Will die. 1234

## HYZ 39

## 39.1 夷(惠)豨于匕(妣)己 –

It should be sows to Ancestress Ji. 1

## 39.2 登(登)匕(妣)己友彘 –

Raise (cereal) (to) Ancestress Ji,<sup>131</sup> and pair wild boar with it.<sup>132</sup> 1

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sacrifices associated with these types of Shang charges a “bargaining, wait-and-see posture”. It is equally possible to read the Ren day divinations before the Yi day divination, that is, first day 9 and then day 2 of the following week. This would then mean that the daily condition of the protagonist’s ailing shoulder has worsened since the number of sacrifices increases; compare, for example, the divinatory sequence of HYZ 1 which appears to start on a Ren day (9/10) and continues through Jia (Day 1/10) of the following week.

**129** Oracle bone inscriptions have the phrases *wang rong* 望戎 “watch warriors from afar”, and *hu wang* 呼望某方 / *hu mu* 呼目某方 “call to watch from afar/keep an eye on X-territory”; Western Zhou bronze inscriptions frequently use the word *rong* 戎 in reference to an enemy. See Yao Xuan 2006: 178-179.

**130** I read Nan 南 here as a person’s name (Lin Yun 2007); see 270. 南 more commonly occurs in these divinations as a direction word, and not a person’s name; examples are 144.2: 南三日又(有)至 “South, in three days there will be arrival”, 290.4: 自今三旬又(有)至南 “From today, in three weeks (thirty days) there will be arrival south” and others (47.1, 159.1-2, 264, 290.5, 455). The divination here was presumably related to divination before it.

**131** This is the only occurrence of the syntax “verb-*deng* 登 + ancestor name”. In the HYZ OBI the verb *deng* is usually takes a cereal type as its direct object.

- 39.3 登(登)匕(妣)己友彘 三  
Raise (cereal) (to) Ancestress Ji, and pair wild boar with it. 2
- 39.4 乙歲匕(妣)庚牡又鬯 一  
On Yi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some bulls and add (> have) aromatic ale. 1
- 39.12 乙歲匕(妣)庚牡又鬯 三  
On Yi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some bulls and add (> have) aromatic ale. 2
- 39.5 乙歲匕(妣)庚牡 一  
On Yi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some bulls. 1
- 39.6 夷(惠)羝匕(妣)庚 一  
It should be ewes (to) Ancestress Geng. 1
- 39.20 夷(惠)羝匕(妣)庚 三  
It should be ewes (to) Ancestress Geng. 2
- 39.7 夷(惠)宰 一  
It should be pen-raised sheep. 1
- 39.8 夷(惠)牛 一  
It should be cattle. 1
- 39.9 卯宰 一  
Butcher some pen-raised sheep. 1
- 39.10 乙 𠄎 一  
On Yi...1

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**132** Zhang Bingquan (1957: 2.1.348) explains *you* 友 as a pair 雙; it functions here as a verb, “to pair”; see 267.4-6, 10: “友羝一”. Shen Pei (2006a) reads it as a phonetic loan for *hui/hai* 醢 “meat sauce” > *caus*. “to make something into a meat sauce” (*Shuowen jiezi*: 肉醬). Fang Zhi-song (2007: 18-37), based on receipt notations, determines that one meaning of 友 as a verb is to “submit, hand over”. On HYZ 316 the phrase *you ruo* 友若 is another way of writing *you ruo* 又(有)若: 壬子卜其殺剪友若用 “Divined on Renzi: If killing and cutting apart (sacrifice), there will be favor.” See 179.2 and 338.1-3.

39.11 乙 𠄎 –

On Yi...<sub>1</sub>

39.13 丙卜夷(惠)豮匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Bing: It should be longhaired pigs (for) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

39.14 歲匕(妣)庚 –

Make sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

39.15 夷(惠)豮于匕(妣)丁 –

It should be boars for Ancestress Ding. <sub>1</sub>

39.16 丙卜夷(惠)豮于匕(妣)丁 三

Divined on Bing: It should be boars for Ancestress Ding. <sub>2</sub>

39.17 戊卜子其取吳于夙(夙)丁弗乍(作) –

Divined on Wu: If our lord gets Hu<sup>133</sup> by dawn, it will not cause His Highness to be (upset?).<sup>134</sup> <sub>1</sub>

39.18 己卜其醑(酒)子興匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Ji: Should make the ale libation (for) lord Xing (to) Ancestress Geng.<sup>135</sup> <sub>1</sub>

39.19 夕歲小宰豮匕(妣)庚 –

Make evening sacrifice of some small sheep tomorrow (to) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

**133** 夙 depicts an adult man 大 with his mouth facing upward. Zhang Yachu (2001: 542) interprets it as the ancestral form of *hua* 嘩 “make noise”. (Hereafter I call this person “Hu” in order to avoid confusion with another person named Hua 畫.) This person ought to be the same person called lord Hu 夙 elsewhere (113). On 130 Hu is associated with music and zither playing. As such, perhaps “getting Hu by dawn” in this divination concerns an upcoming musical performance.

**134** It appears that a word is missing after *zuo* 作. In causative verb constructions, Huayuanzhuang East diviners use 作 in the phrases *zuo jian* 作艱 “will cause affliction/trouble” and *zuo yu* 作虞 “will cause (to be) upset”.

**135** This divination can be synchronized with five other plastrons: 28↔53↔113↔181↔409. It is associated with Heji 3187 [Bin I].

39.21 庚卜弼(勿)輦(禳)子耳鳴亡小艱(艱) —

Divined on Geng: Do not make rite to dispel our lord's ear ringing,<sup>136</sup> (for) there will no minor affliction. 1

## HYZ 40

40.1 疾入 —

Ji will make a contribution.<sup>137</sup> 1

## HYZ 41

41.1 庚卜☱衰(庇)于或配(妃)☱

Divined on Geng...take shelter<sup>138</sup> with Ge's spouse...<sup>139</sup>

41.2 —

1

41.3 庚卜☱

Divined on Geng...

41.4 ☱于☱

...to...

41.5 ☱告子口☳

...report that our lord... 3

**136** Both *rang* 禳 and *yu* 禦 were sacrificial rites designed eradicate misfortune (除殃祭). It is uncertain, however, if 禳, like 禦, could also be made for protection; see the commentaries to 21.2 and 53.19. For “ear ringing” 耳鳴 or tinnitus as an illness (or as symptom of an underlying condition), see Yu Xingwu 2009:220.

**137** Ji is either to be read here as a name, or less likely as “the sick” (HYZ 4). “Ji’s bow” 疾弓 on HYZ 37 (see 37.18 commentary) means that the bow came from 疾. Perhaps the divination is about whether or not Ji’s bows will come in or be contributed.

**138** Following Yao Xuan (2006: 134-155) who reads this graph as a phonetic loan for *bi* 庇.

**139** Ge 或 is the name of Zhi Bo 沚伯; see 237, 275, and 449. A corpus-based approach to implies that this divination record was related to war against the Shao territory. Yao Xuan reads 或配 as two people, Ge and Pei, and says this divination is inquiring about whether Zi 子 will take shelter *with either* Huo or Pei. Since I read 配 as 妃 “spouse” and 子配 as “Zi’s spouse”, this leads me to read 或配 here as “Ge’s spouse”.

41.6 𠄎 二  
...2

41.7 𠄎子𠄎  
...our lord...

41.8 一 二  
12

41.9 一  
1

## HYZ 42

42.1 己卜子𠄎  
Divined on Ji: Our lord...

42.2 𠄎卜𠄎 二  
...divined...2

42.3 一  
1

42.4 𠄎女  
...women.

42.5 𠄎子𠄎  
...our lord...

42.6 己卜子出自𠄎  
Divined on Ji: Our lord will exit from...

42.7 𠄎亞𠄎告𠄎子 一  
...Ya-officer(s)...report...our lord. 1

## HYZ 43

43.1 庚卜子韃(艱)及☱ –

Divined on Geng: Our lord's affliction will reach...<sup>140</sup> 1

## HYZ 44

44.1 子不祉(延)又(有)彘(瘳) –

Our lord's (illness) is not going to persist; (he) will have recovery.<sup>141</sup> 1

44.2 妹又(有) –

Still will not have (recovery). 1

## HYZ 45

45.1 丙☱羊

Day Bing...sheep.

45.2 庚☱歲☱

Day Geng...sacrifice...

45.3 歲十小宰又鬯 三

Sacrifice ten small pen-raised sheep and add (> have) aromatic ale. 3

45.4 用 三

Used. 3

45.5 用 四

Used. 4

45.6 –

1

**140** Compare with 155.5: 丁小艱亡☱ “His Highness' minor affliction will not have...”.

**141** The word *chou* 瘳 in HYZ script is usually spelled 𠄎, but here it is spelled 𠄎, adding the phonetic *zhou* 𠄎 (帚); see HYZ 3.2 and commentary.

## HYZ 46

46.1 乎(呼)用馬 –

Call to use horse(s).<sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 47

47.1 南

South

47.2 癸亥宜牝一才(在)𠄎 –

On Guihai, make (or: provide) meat viands (from) one cow. At...<sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 48

48.1 癸亥歲子癸牝一臯(登)自丁糝(黍) –<sub>二三</sub>

On Guihai, sacrifice (to) Child Gui one ewe (and) offer the millet from His Highness.<sup>123</sup>

## HYZ 49

49.1 丁[丑]歲𠄎(妣)庚豶一卯胴(臠) –<sub>二三</sub>

On Ding[chou], sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one boar (and) split open the cranium.<sup>142 123</sup>

49.2 丁丑歲𠄎(妣)庚豶一卯胴(臠) –<sub>二三</sub>

On Dingchou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one boar (and) split open the cranium.<sup>123</sup>

49.3 丁丑歲且(祖)乙黑牝一卯胴(臠) –<sub>三</sub>

On Dingchou, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one black cow (and) split open the cranium.<sup>2</sup>

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**142** The *Shuowen jiezi* lists *xin* 囟 “skull” and *xin* 臠 “cranium” as variants. The Liang 梁 dynasty (543 AD) dictionary *Yupian* 玉篇 lists *xin* 臠 and 胴 as variants; see *GuLin bubian* 958 (citing Shi Bing 時兵).

49.4 丁丑歲且(祖)乙黑牝一卯脔(臠)二于且(祖)丁 一三

On Dingchou, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one black cow (and) split open the cranium, two (pieces for) Ancestor Ding. <sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 50

50.1 丁亥卜子立于右 一三

Divined on Dinghai: Our lord will position on the right. <sup>12</sup>

50.2 丁亥卜子立于左(左) 一三

Divined on Dinghai: Our lord will position on the left. <sup>12</sup>

50.5 乙未卜子其往(往)田若用 一

Divined on Yiwei: If our lord goes to hunt, (it) will be favorable. Used. <sup>1</sup>

50.3 乙未卜子其田从圭求豕(豕)用不豕 一三三

Divined on Yiwei: If our lord hunts from (or: following) Wei to search for pigs, (he) will make an encounter. Used. Did not (encounter) pigs. <sup>143 123</sup>

50.4 乙未卜子其田夷(惠)豕求(豕)子(占)曰其(豕)不用 一

Divined on Yiwei: If our lord hunts, it should be pigs that (he) seeks, (and he) will make an encounter. Our lord read the crack and said, “Should make an encounter.” Not used. <sup>1</sup>

50.6 乙未卜子其往(往)田夷(惠)鹿求(豕)用 一

Divined on Yiwei: When our lord goes to hunt, should it be deer that (he) seeks, (he) will make an encounter. Used. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 51

51.1 罍 一

Small ale cup. <sup>144 1</sup>

**143** The verification *bu shi* 不豕 has omitted the verb *gou* 遘, which occurs in the divination statement. HYZ 289.5 has a comparable syntax.

**144** This intact shell contains only this single-word inscription. See the commentary to 312 for an illustration of the graphic difference between 罍 and *shang* 觶 “an ale vessel; cup”.



## HYZ 52

52.1 𠄎卜𠄎  
...divined...

52.2 甲𠄎  
On Jia...

52.3 乙卜𠄎  
Divined on Yi...

## HYZ 53

53.1 丙卜子其生(往)汨(離)曰又(有)求曰生(往)汨(離) –  
Divined on Bing: When our lord goes to Yong, say there is a request (or: need); say (he) goes to Yong. 1

53.2 戊卜𠄎𠄎(妣)庚湏(瀕)于𠄎(拔) –  
Divined on Wu: Make an announcement by written record (of sacrifices) (to) Ancestress Geng along the riverside<sup>145</sup> in Ba.<sup>146</sup> 1

53.3 戊卜𠄎𠄎(妣)庚湏(瀕)于𠄎(拔) 二  
Divined on Wu: Make an announcement by written record (of sacrifices) (to) Ancestress Geng along the riverside in Ba. 2

**145** 𠄎 (湏) is composed with 頁 “head” under 水 “water”. In front of the preposition, *yu* 于, the word it writes has to be functioning as a verb. The graph’s composition looks similar in form to *pin* 瀕, which in Western Zhou bronze script was written 𠄎. 瀕 means “along the water; water-side” > “near” (≈近).

**146** 𠄎 is composed with 不 (phono-semantic) + 又 right hand, depicts pulling up roots, and writes the word *ba* 拔 “uproot”. This word is also the name of a song and dance (181, 293, 474). A place written with the variants 𠄎 and 不 occurs in a series of Wu Ding period war inscriptions (HJ 6834r); see translation and commentary of Takashima and Serruys 2010: I.92-96; 2.34. The war-divination accounts imply that Ba was close to the places Fou 缶, Zhou 冑, Xian 先, and Que 雀, which all seem to have been located in the area of northwest Henan and southwest Shanxi. Chen Mengjia (1956: 294) reads Fou as a phonetic loan for Tao 陶 and locates it in modern day Yongji, Shanxi 山西永濟; Shirakawa (1957) locates Que in the vicinity of Wenxian, Henan 河南溫縣. The lineage name Xian frequently occurs in Eastern Zhou period covenant texts from Houma, Shanxi 山西侯馬.

- 53.4 戊卜𠄎匕(妣)庚才(在)引自𠄎(拔) –  
Divined on Wu: Make an announcement by written record (of sacrifices)  
(to) Ancestress Geng at Yin from Ba. 1
- 53.5 戊卜𠄎匕(妣)庚才(在)引自𠄎(拔) 二  
Divined on Wu: Make an announcement by written record (of sacrifices)  
(to) Ancestress Geng at Yin from Ba. 2
- 53.6 戊卜子其溢(佾)妾[舞]𠄎☐ –  
Divined on Wu: Our lord should line up <sup>147</sup> female [dancers] in rows and  
make announcement by written record (of sacrifices)... 1
- 53.7 戊卜子其溢(佾)妾舞𠄎二牛匕(妣)庚 –  
Divined on Wu: Our lord should line up female dancers in rows and make  
announcement by written record (of sacrifices), two head of cattle, (to) An-  
cestress Geng. 1
- 53.8 戊卜于翌日己[徯(延)]休于丁 –  
Divined on Wu: By (some point) tomorrow, day Ji, [continue] to rest with  
with His Highness. 1
- 53.9 戊卜以酉(酒)櫛(爵)柁 –  
Divined on Wu: Take ale<sup>148</sup> to have cups\*<sup>149</sup> (at) Deadwood\*. <sup>150</sup> 1

**147** The graph spelled here 𠄎 appears on 87 and 247 written 𠄎 and without the water classifier. Both are variant forms of 𠄎 and write the words 溢 “overflow”/益 “increase” respectively (Yao Xuan 2006: 176-184). This word occurs as a verb in Shang oracle bone divinations taking the name of a song and dance or a musical instrument as its direct object. Examples from outside of the Huayuanzhuang East divinations are 益祁 (HJ18801, 26789-90) and 益鞀 (HJ 15805, 18824, 23717, 26763-69, *White* 1267-68); Qi 祁 “pray, abundant” is the name of a song and dance, and *tao* 鞀 is a type of drum. Furthermore, a comparison can be made with the phrases “*xue* 學 ‘practice’ song/dance” (487, 33, 150) and “*zou* 奏 ‘perform’ song/dance” (150, 86, 382) in this corpus. In Classical literature 溢 is an attested phonetic loan for *yi* 佾 “row, line up in/form a row”; see *Guxun huizuan*, p. 114 (and entry 18), citing *Lunyu* “八佾/溢舞於廳” (Eight rows of dancers in the courtyard), and He Jingcheng (2019: 1-9).

**148** 酉 depicts liquid inside a vessel *you* 酉 (phono-semantic) and writes the word *jiu* 酒 “ale” (as a noun).

**149** 爵 is composed of two “trees” 林 written on the inside of *jue* 爵 “ale vessel”. The most comparable HYZ syntax is 以人遘豕 (V<sub>1</sub> + N<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>2</sub> + N<sub>2</sub>) (14.4), and a comparison recommends to read it as a verb and the word that follows as its object. In the next divination it comes after the

53.10 戊卜其櫛(爵)桢 –

Divined on Wu divined: Should have cups\* (at) Deadwood\*. 1

53.11 戊卜罍匕(妣)庚才(在)竝 –

Divined on Wu: Make an announcement by written record (of sacrifices) (to) Ancestress Geng at Bing.<sup>151</sup> 1

53.12 己卜夷(惠)豕于匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Ji: It should be pigs for Ancestress Geng. 1

53.13 己卜夷(惠)彘匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Ji: It should be wild boars (for) Ancestress Geng. 1

53.14 己卜夷(惠)牝于匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Ji: It should be cows for Ancestress Geng. 1

53.15 己卜夷(惠)牝于匕(妣)庚 二

Divined on Ji: It should be cows for Ancestress Geng. 2

53.16 己卜夷(惠)宰于匕(妣)庚

Divined on Ji: It should be pen-raised sheep for Ancestress Geng.

53.17 己卜其酌(酒)卣(饗)匕(妣)庚

Divined on Ji: Should libate ale and make an exorcism rite (to) Ancestress Geng.

53.18 己卜夷(惠)丁[乍(作)]子興尋丁 –

Divined on Ji: It should be His Highness who [does] (it); lord Xing will seek (or: go to) His Highness. 1

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modal adverb *qi* 其, and this supports it be read as a verb here. I read it as a variant of *jue* 爵; see 449.4.

150 𣎵: In early script the determinative “tree” can be written with one tree or reduplicated with multiple ones. The graph in the middle is *shen* 申, and it is likely the sound element. The *Shuowen* lists *shen* 桢 and defines it as “deadwood” 木自斃.

151 Peng Bangjiong (1981) locates Bing 竝 near modern day Jinzhong, Shanxi 山西晉中.

53.19 己卜夷(惠)子興往(往)匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Ji: It should be lord Xing who directs (offerings to) Ancestress Geng.<sup>152</sup> 1

53.20 己卜于官(館)虻(殺) –

Divined on Ji: In the guesthouse, make the killing(s). 1

53.21 己卜夷(惠)多臣𠄎(禦)往(往)匕(妣)庚

Divined on Ji: It should be the Many Servitors' exorcism that is directed (to) Ancestress Geng.

53.22 己卜吉又(有)匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Ji: It will be auspicious to have (something for) (or: to make offerings to) Ancestress Geng. 1

53.23 歲匕(妣)庚白𪚩 –

Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some white wild boars. 1

53.24 癸[卜]子夢子于吉[爰] –

[Divined] on Gui: Our lord dreamt. Our lord, in matters of good fortune, has [delay\*].<sup>153</sup> 1

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**152** The verb *wang* 往 in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations has two usages: 1) it most commonly occurs in its primary meaning, as a verb “to go”, as in 子往田 “Our lord will go to hunt”; 2) in divinations about ancestor worship and rites, and particularly in combination with the word 禦 “exorcise, protect”, it appears to mean “to direct (to)” or “send off (to)”, as in 惠奠禦往妣己 “It should be Dian’s exorcism that is directed (to/at) Ancestor Ji” (162), and 歲妣庚牝一, 子髀禦往 “Sacrifice (to) Ancestor Geng one cow; lord Bi’s exorcism will be sent off” (209); see too 302 + 344. Jao Tsung-I (2005: 21, cited previously in the commentary to HYZ 3.10) glosses 往 as *xiang* 向 “direct towards”. Yu Xingwu (2009: 154-160) reads 往 in divinations like these as a phonetic loan for *rang* 禳 “exorcise, dispel”, and says it is a synonym of 禦. Huang Tianshu (2010: 100-107) reads *yu wang* 禦往 as a verb compound meaning “exorcise”. The problem with Huang’s interpretation is an example like 427 which separates the words: 往微禦癸子 “Send off/Direct Wei’s exorcism (to) Guizi”. 往 in this example takes a double object; the direct object ought to be the noun phrase “Wei’s exorcism”, and the indirect object is recipient of the exorcism, Guizi. (The alternative reading, “Go to Wei (i.e. his current location) and perform exorcism (to) Guizi” is also possible.) One of the prescriptive goals of divinations on the topic of performing exorcisms is trying to determine whether it is necessary to even do so, and assuming it is, to next determine which ancestor was thought to be causing harm or which ancestor could help aid the recovery of an illness or provide protection.

53.25 癸卜貞子耳鳴亡蚩(害) 一

Divined on Gui, tested: Our lord's ear ringing is without harm. 1

53.26 癸卜貞子耳鳴亡蚩(害) 二

Divined on Gui, tested: Our lord's ear ringing is without harm. 2

## HYZ 54

54.1 辛☱用 一

Day Xin...Used. 1

54.2 三

3

54.3 己卜☱

Divined on Ji...

54.4 用

Used.

## HYZ 55

55.1 丁亥卜子炅(金) 一

Divined on Dinghai: (about) Lord Jin. 1

55.2 丁亥卜子炅(金) 一

Divined on Dinghai: (about) Lord Jin.<sup>154</sup> 1

55.3 ☱往(往)溝(往) 一

...go to the Wan River and make the exorcism.<sup>155</sup> 1

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**153** Schuessler (2007: 594) defines *yuan* 爰 as “slow, delay” (related to *huan* 緩).

**154** Divinations (1)-(2), dated Dinghai, are almost certainly abbreviated accounts of 247.14: 丁亥卜: 子金其往, 亡災 “Divined on Dinghai: If lord Jin goes, there will be no calamity.” If this synchronization is indeed correct, and the matching dates strongly imply that it is, then all of the other instances of divination records in the simple form of “preface + 子金” should be read as though they were abbreviations of divinations about whether or not lord Jin would encounter any harm while abroad.

55.4 己丑歲匕(妣)庚牝一子𠄎(往)溝𠄎(禦) 四

On Jichou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one cow; our lord will go to the Wan River and make the exorcism.<sup>156</sup> 4

## HYZ 56

56.1 辛丑卜𠄎(禦)丁于且(祖)庚至[𠄎]一𠄎羌一人二牢至𠄎一旦(祖)辛𠄎(禦)丁𠄎羌一人二牢

Divined on Xinchou: Make an exorcism rite (for) His Highness to Ancestor Geng, (and) deliver one [ram] and announce (sacrifices of) Qiang, one person, (and) two head of pen-raised cattle by written record; deliver one ram (to) Ancestor Xin to make an exorcism rite (for) His His Highness, (and) announce (sacrifices of) Qiang, one person, (and) two head of pen-raised cattle by written record.

## HYZ 57

57.1 貞夫 —

Tested: (about) Fu.<sup>157</sup> 1

**155** Zhan Yinxin (2006: 207-208) equates this river with the Yu 澗. The *Shuowen* says it comes out from the west of Zhao 趙 (southwest Shanxi).

**156** Divinations (3)-(4) form a four-shell set along with 247↔255↔352. 255 records the recipient of the exorcism as being Xing 興. The process of ritual action described here is not two detached and unrelated events, a sacrifice and an exorcism, but rather that a sacrifice with ale is to be incorporated as the offering for the exorcism performed thereafter. This can be supported by a divination like 302 + 344: 乙亥歲祖乙牢又鬯一，唯狩禦往， which uses the topic marker *wei* 唯 to introduce an explanatory sentence putting focus on and emphasizing that the offering proposed in the initial clause was for an exorcism ritual performed to protect a hunt led the king; see 27, 32, 214 and 113.

**157** It is also possible that the direction of this inscription be read 夫貞 “Fu tested”. Wu Ding’s son Xiao Ji 孝己 once hunted at a place called by this name; see HJ 21546 and *Yingcang* 1822. *Yibian* 2267 records the delivery of divination materials by Fu at Lu 鹿鹿 (written with two deer but equal to 鹿), and this suggests that this lineage was active in the vicinity of this place; for other variant spellings of Lu 鹿, see HYZ 2.1 commentary.

## HYZ 58

58.1 用 一

Used. 1

58.2 用 二

Used. 2

58.3 用 二

Used. 2

## HYZ 59

59.1 辛未卜子其亦原生(往)田若用 一

Divined on Xinwei: If our lord, also on highland, goes to hunt, (it) will be favorable. Used. 1

59.2 壬申卜目喪火言曰其水(永/愆)允其水(永/愆) 一

Divined on Renshen: Losing eye(sight). Huo's words said, "It might perpetuate." It really might perpetuate.<sup>158</sup> 1

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158 Yao Xuan interprets *mu* 目 in its primary sense of "eye" and suggests that a word like "brightness" 明 (=目明 "eyesight") has been omitted after *sang* 喪 "lose/losing, cease to have". Her transcription is 目喪口<明>. She suggests "water" refers to a therapy to prevent the loss of eyesight; see *Qianbian* 2.4.3 and 4.12.7, and the comment of Takashima 2010: II.585. However, if it was indeed a therapy (ablutions), then it would have been a controllable action. Yet the negative used in divination (3) suggests it was uncontrollable. Sun Yabing (2014: 164, note 3) reads 水 as *qian* 愆 "mistake, fault, protract/perpetuate (said of illness)". Evidence is adduced from a connection between 水 here and the graphically similar *chuan* 川 "river" in the following antithetical (yes/no) royal family group divination about illness: 丁亥卜: 汝有疾, 于今二月弗川 || 丁亥卜, 貞: 汝有疾, 其川 "Divined on Dinghai: Ru has illness. In the present second month (it) will not protract; Divined on Dinghai, tested: Ru has illness. It might protract" (HJ 22098 [Wu diviner group]). Variant forms of *yong* 永 "perpetual, perpetuate" and 衍 "overflow" were written with both 川 (川) and 水 (水) in Shang and Western Zhou script, and 衍 is the ancestral form of and an attested phonetic loan for 愆. Huo is the name of a person (HJ 20245; *White* 449; Jao Tsung-I 1959: 25), and *yan yue* 言曰 introduces his direct speech; compare 351.5: 敷言曰翌其于舊官宜。允其。用。In both instances a diviner is trying to determine the truth of a statement (likely the result of an earlier divination) by someone else.

59.3 壬申卜不允水(永/愆)子弓(占)曰不其水(永/愆) –

Divined on Renshen: It will not really perpetuate. Our lord read the crack and said, “It will likely not perpetuate.” 1

## HYZ 60

60.1 卯

Mao.<sup>159</sup>

60.2 甲子丁丑(各)宿(宿) –

On Jiazi, His Highness will arrive and spend the night. 1

60.3 乙丑自賈馬又(有)剝(剝) –

On Yichou, a horse from the trader has a cut (> is damaged).<sup>160</sup> 1

60.4 亡其剝(剝)賈馬 –

Likely without (any) cuts (> damages), the trader’s horses. 1

60.5 隹(唯)左(左)馬其又(有)剝(剝) –

It will be the left horse that likely has a cut (> is damaged). 1

60.6 又(右)馬其又(有)剝(剝) –

The right horse likely has a cut (> is damaged). 1

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**159** See HYZ 23 and commentary.

**160** 自賈馬 is grammatically equivalent to *zi Ding shu* 自丁黍 “millet from His Highness” and *zi xi ji* 自西祭 “sacrificial items from the west”.

剝(剝) is written with right hand + knife + pig. A Huayuanzhuang East variant written 𠄎 omits the right hand. The reading of *bao/bo* 剝 “peel, cut, injure” follows Chen Jian 2007. 剝 “Peeling” is the name and main theme of Hexagram 23 in the received version of the *Yijing*. Although similar in form, this graph appears to be different from 剝 “to castrate, geld”; for a study of the latter, see Qiu Xigui 2012: 1.1-6. 剝 means “pare” on HYZ 228. 81.2, 239.3-5 and 358 are also related to this divination sequence. Based on these three shells with interrelated content, the following timeline can be reconstructed: Yichou is day 2/10; 81.2 is dated day 4/10 and the divination utterance is identical to (6) in this sequence; 239.3 is a divination made on day 10/10 of this same week, and the divination inquires into whether or not to behead a new black horse that has been injured. Additional divinations, at 29.1 and 289.6, perhaps also belong to this set. Those parallel divinations are dated day 3/10 and concern performing an exorcism rite for horses.



## 60.7 自賈馬其又(有)死子曰其又(有)死 —

It is likely that a horse from the trader will die. Our lord said, “Likely have a death (or: deaths).”<sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 61-HYZ 62

## 61.1 癸卯卜亞奠貞子𠂔(占)曰𠂔(服)用 —

Divined on Guimao, Ya Dian tested: Use our lord’s prognostication that said to obey [the divination].<sup>161</sup><sub>1</sub>

## 61.2 癸卯卜亞奠貞子𠂔(占)曰終卜用

Divined on Guimao, Ya Dian tested: Use our lord’s prognostication that said to end the divination.<sup>162</sup>

## 61.3 甲辰歲匕(妣)庚家一 —

On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one pen-raised pig.<sub>1</sub>

## 62.1 𠂔(服)

Obey [it].<sup>163</sup>

## HYZ 63

## 63.1 自賈气(乞)

Requested from Jia.

**161** The graph transcribed here as *zhou* 舟 “boat”+ *ren* 人 “person” also occurs on 380 and 490. The graph’s composition matches a *guwen* 古文 form “𠂔” of *fu* 服(服) listed in the *Shuowen jiezi* and defined there as 用 “use”; Shi Bing (2010, cited in *GuLin bubian*, N034: 909-910) reads 服 as a phonetic loan for *fu* 復 “repeat”. Zhu Qixiang (2006: 972) reads it *qian* 前 “initial, proceed”, and Sun Yabing (2014: 125-130) reads it 同(興) “arise” (but meaning something like not good or inauspicious). *Fu* 服 is the alternative choice to *zhong bu* 終卜; this verbal use of *zhong* has the same meaning it does for instance in HJ 14209r: 帝弗終茲邑 “G-d is not going to put an end to this settlement”.

**162** This divination made by Ya Dian is testing which of the two contradictory prognostications should be followed. The inscription on the verso side is the judgment. For a comparable divination outside of the Huayuanzhuang East corpus, see HJ 94. Yao Xuan (2006: 54-55) has a discussion.

**163** Both 380 and 490 write 𠂔(服)卜 “obey the divination (/divination crack)”.

63.2 辛亥卜子其以帚(婦)好入于𤑔(戎)子乎(呼)多𨔵(禦)正(征)見于帚(婦)好𤑔(肇)新十圭(往)鑿(縣) –

Divined on Xinhai: When our lord leads Lady Hao into Rong, our lord will call the Many Defense Regulators to have audience about/with Lady Hao, (and) dispense (to her) ten tapestries. Going to Xuan. <sup>1</sup>

63.3 辛亥卜發𤑔(肇)帚(婦)好新三𨔵(微)𤑔(肇)帚(婦)好新二用圭(往)鑿(縣) –

Divined on Xinhai: Fa will dispense (to) Lady Hao three tapestries, (and) Wei will dispense (to) Lady Hao two tapestries. Used. Going to Xuan. <sup>1</sup>

63.4 辛亥卜𤑔(惠)發見于帚(婦)好不用 –

Divined on Xinhai: It should be Fa who has audience about/with Lady Hao. Not used. <sup>1</sup>

63.5 癸丑卜歲食牝于且(祖)甲用

Divined on Guihai: Sacrifice feed cows to Ancestor Jia. Used.

63.6 乙卯卜𤑔(惠)白豕且(祖)甲<乙>不用 –<sub>二</sub>

Divined on Yimao: It should it be white pigs (to) Ancestor Jia <Yi>. <sup>164</sup> Not used. <sup>12</sup>

63.7 乙卯歲且(祖)乙豨一𨔵鬯一 –<sub>二</sub>

On Yimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one boar (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. <sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 64

64.1 𠄎其𠄎 –

...should... <sup>1</sup>

64.2 𠄎子𠄎

...our lord...

64.3 壬卜𠄎𠄎

Divined on Ren....Gu...

<sup>164</sup> “Ancestor Jia” is almost certainly a scribal error for “Ancestor Yi”; see 37.24-25.

64.4 癸卜☱

Divined on Gui...

## HYZ 65

65.1 乙 –

Day Yi. <sup>1</sup>

65.2 丙 –

Day Bing.<sup>165</sup> <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 66

66.1 –

<sup>1</sup>

66.2 ☳

<sup>3</sup>

66.3 甲卜其☱

Divined on Jia...

66.4 用 –

Used. <sup>1</sup>

66.5 癸☱其☱

On Gui...should...

66.6 ☱亡入☱其☱

... not having contribution...should...

66.7 ☱牛一☱

...one head of cattle...

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**165** It is significant that the crack with the even-numbered day of the week Yi, day 2/10, is on the right side of the shell, whereas the crack with the odd-numbered day of the week Bing, day 3/10, is on the left side of the shell.

## HYZ 67

67.1 乙亥夕歲且(祖)乙黑牝一子祝 一三

On the evening of Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one black cow (and) our lord will pray. 12

67.2 乙亥夕歲且(祖)乙黑牝一子祝 三四

On the evening of Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one black cow (and) our lord will pray. 34

67.3 己丑歲匕(妣)己彘一 一三三

On Jichou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji one wild boar. 123

67.4 一三三

123

## HYZ 68

68.1 用 一

Used. 1

68.2 用 二

Used. 2

68.3 用

Used.

68.4 用

Used.

## HYZ 69

69.1 戊卜 𠄎(妣)庚 𠄎牝 𠄎

Divined on Wu...Ancestress Geng...cow...

69.2 戊卜子 𠄎

Divined on Wu...our lord...

69.3 戊卜其☱匕(妣)庚☱

Divined on Wu: Should...Ancestress Geng...

69.4 己☱鬯☱

On Ji....aromatic ale...

69.5 二

2

69.6 己卜丁冬(終)榘(虞)于子疾 –

Divined on Ji: His Highness, until its end, will be upset about our lord's illness. 1

69.7 己卜丁冬(終)不榘(虞)于子疾 –

Divined on Ji: His Highness, until its end, will not be upset about our lord's illness. 1

69.8 辛卜子☱牛☱ –

Divined on Xin: Our lord...cattle...1

69.9 子其☱牛黑☱

Our lord should...cattle black...

69.10 癸卜☱

Divined on Gui...

## HYZ 70-HYZ 71

70.1 三牢 一三

Three head of pen-raised cattle. 12

70.2 三小宰 一三

Three small pen-raised sheep. 12

70.3 三牢

Three head of pen-raised cattle.

70.4 五小宰 一三三

Five small pen-raised sheep. 123

70.5 子貞 —

Our lord tested (it).<sup>166</sup> 1

71.1 封

Feng<sup>167</sup>

## HYZ 72

72.1 丁

His Highness

72.2 ☐丁☐

...His Highness...

72.3 —

1

72.4 二

2

72.5 丁

His Highness

72.6 ☐丁☐

...His Highness...

## HYZ 73

73.1 行 —

March. 1

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**166** As I understand it, and following the ZSKY Editor's sequence, divination (5), "Our lord tested", is a test on the previously unsuccessful divinations before it. None of the previous four divinations produced a judgment (> result), and the sense here is that the patron of the divination organization stepped in making a test divination to try and settle it; see HYZ 191 for another instance. A less compelling and alternative interpretation is that this single divination was unrelated to the others on the shell.

**167** Zheng Jiexiang (1994: appendix 5) locates Feng in modern day Fengqiu, Henan 河南封丘; see also 172 (=171v) for a second delivery receipt from this place.

73.2 行 —

March.<sup>168</sup> 1**HYZ 74**

74.1 𠄎子𠄎 —

...our lord. 1

74.2 𠄎卜貞子𠄎 —

Divined on..., tested: Our lord... 1

**HYZ 75**

75.1 戊卜子乍(作)丁臣旡(偃)其乍(作)子𠄎(艱) —

Divined on Wu: Our lord making His Highness' servitors lay down (or: stay down) is likely to cause our lord trouble.<sup>169</sup> 1

75.2 戊卜子乍(作)丁臣旡(偃)弗乍(作)子𠄎(艱) —

Divined on Wu: Our lord making His Highness' servitors lay down (or: stay down) is not going to cause our lord trouble. 1

75.3 戊卜子令 —

Divined on Wu: Our lord will issue a command. 1

75.4 戊卜子[乍(作)] 𠄎

Divined on Wu: Our lord [will do] (it). 2

75.5 戊卜子乍(作) 𠄎

Divined on Wu: Our lord will do (it). 2

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168 Compare 211: *gao hang* 告行 “report marching”, and 401: *hu hang* 呼行 “call to march”.

169 *Yan* 𠄎 (旡): The graph is composed of *yan* 𠄎 (𠄎) “flag” + *kou* 口. The “mouth” element 口 likely indicates that the graph should not be read as “flag” but as a characteristic of it (see HYZ 1.5 commentary). The *Shuowen jiezi* says 𠄎 should be read *yan* 偃 “lay down”. Divinations (1)-(5) in this sequence appear to concern military action. See 28.

- 75.6 戊卜夷(惠)五宰卯伐匕(妣)庚子卣(禦) —  
Divined on Wu: It should be five pen-raised sheep that are butchered to make beheadings (to) Ancestress Geng; our lord makes the exorcism. <sub>1</sub>
- 75.7 己卜子炆(金) —  
Divined on Ji: Lord Jin. <sub>1</sub>
- 75.8 癸卜中口休又(有)畀子  
Divined on Gui: Zhong...rests, something will be given<sup>170</sup> (to) our lord.
- 75.9 癸卜子[臣]中 —  
Divined on Gui: Our lord [will make] Zhong [his servitor].<sup>171</sup> <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 76

- 76.1 乙卯歲且(祖)乙殺(殺豕)夷(惠)子祝用 —  
On Yimao, when sacrificing (to) Ancestor Yi some pigs that have been killed,<sup>172</sup> it should be our lord who prays. Used. <sub>2</sub>
- 76.2 乙卯卜其卣(禦)大于癸子鬻豕一又鬯用又(有)疾 —<sub>三</sub>  
Divined on Yimao: If making an exorcism rite (for) Da<sup>173</sup> to Gui child, announce by written record (the sacrificial offerings of) one boar and aromatic ale. Used. Has sickness.<sup>174</sup> <sub>123</sub>

**170** 畀 is written upside down.

**171** Zhong 中 likely refers to the person elsewhere called Zhong Zhou 中周 (102), although conceivably it might also refer more broadly to the Zhong lineage. This divination account implies that Zhong Zhou became a member of the group called *Zi chen* 子臣 “our lord’s servitors”. During Wu Ding’s late period, and concurrent with the date of the HYZ OBI, members of the Zhong lineage served the royal family as diviner, Lesser Servitor (*xiao chen* 小臣) and hunting guide (*quan* 犬, literally “dog”); see Jao Tsung-I 1959: 783-786 and HYZ 28.

**172** For 殺 (殺) as a variant of *sha* 殺 (“kill”, see Chen Jian 2012, cited in *GuLin bubian* 459-464; see too 16.1 and commentary. HJ 28398 writes it with reduplicated pigs 豕; see the comments of Zhu Qixiang (2008: 291). In this instance, 殺 is the direct object of *sui* 歲 “sacrifice”. The same word is written at 226.7 with water buffalo 豕 substituting pig/reptile.

**173** Li Xueqin (2008: 186) locates Da in the vicinity of Qinyang, Henan 河南沁陽. Da was one of Zu Jia’s diviners (period IIb OBI); see Jao Tsung-I 1959: 811-841.

**174** Yimao is day 52/60. This divination has a parallel on 478, and is related to 299.5: 戊辰卜: 大[有]病, 亡延 “Divined on Wuchen (day 5/60): Da [has] sickness. It will not prolong.”



## HYZ 77

77.1 丙子 ☱

On Bing, our lord...

77.2 ☱ 宿(宿) ☱

...spend the night...

77.3 ☱ 丁 ☱

...His Highness...

77.4 己 ☱

On Ji...

## HYZ 78-HYZ 79

78.1 貞 ☱

Tested...

78.2 貞 兌 不死 一

Tested: Xian<sup>175</sup> is not going to die. 1

78.3 貞 兌

Tested: (about) Xian.<sup>176</sup>

79.1 蔞(榛)气(乞)

Requested (from) Zhen.<sup>177</sup>

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**175** Jao Tsung-I (1959: 565) transcribes this graph as *xian/xuan* 佺. This shell together with 464 forms a two-shell set. A person with this same name was one of Wu Ding's diviners, and this raises the possibility that he was also one of the HYZ diviners; see Jao Tsung-I 1959: 565-571.

**176** The rest of this divination utterance has been omitted. See commentary to 55.4 for a fuller explanation. What has been omitted was either the same divination statement as the previous one, or its converse, something like "Xian might die".

**177** This delivery receipt ought to be equivalent in meaning to 自賈气(乞) "Requested from Jia" (26). 蔞 is composed of *mu* 木 + *xin* 辛 + an element that resembles the graph *ding* 丁. *Mu* 木 (classifier) + *xin* 辛 (phonetic) spells either *zi* 梓 "catalpa" or *zhen* 榛/業 (榛) "hazelnut". 440, 444, and 483 are all receipts from this place.

## HYZ 80

80.1 癸卜子告官(館)于丁其取田 –

Divined on Gui: Our lord, reporting (progress of) the guesthouse to His Highness, should take fields.<sup>178</sup> 1

80.2 甲卜子炆(金) –

Divined on Jia: (about) Lord Jin. 1

80.3 己亥歲𠄎 –

On Jihai, sacrifice... 1

80.4 用 一三三

Used. 123

## HYZ 81

81.1 壬子卜其𠄎(將)[匕(妣)庚]示𠄎(工(貢))于東官(館)用

Divined on Renzi: When carrying in (offerings)<sup>179</sup> (to) [Ancestress Geng's]<sup>180</sup> altar, bestow them in the eastern guesthouse.<sup>181</sup> Used.

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**178** *Gao guan yu ding* 告館于丁 has a parallel grammar with the phrases 告行于丁 and 告行于婦 on 211. 113.28 records the building of what is presumably this guesthouse. 82.1 records making offerings in (Rong's) eastern guesthouse.

**179** 𠄎 depicts two hands holding a portable table (for viands). Seal script 𠄎 adds “meat” and omits one of the hands. In the *Shijing* the word *jiang* 將 has the specific meaning of to carry and bring forward sacrificial offerings; see the poems “*Wo jiang*” 我將 (*Mao* 272) and “*Chu ci*” 楚茨 (*Mao* 209). Jao Tsung-I (1959: 670) says that *jiang* 將 means to carry in the carcass of the sacrificial animal on a serving table. An alternate interpretation for the verb phrase 將妣庚示 is “carry in (and set down) Ancestress Geng’s spirit tablet”. This divination record is part of the “Rong” synchrony reconstructed in the introduction (Table 4).

**180** Reconstructed from 490.12.

**181** Both Zhu Qixiang (2006: 974) and Song Zhenhao (2010: 36) read this graph as a variant of *gong* 宮 “palace”, and take 妣庚示宮 as a noun phrase. This seems incorrect. First, there are no instances of a noun phrase “ancestor name + 示 ‘altar/spirit tablet’ + 宮 ‘palace’”. Secondly, the graph itself does not at all resemble any known variants of *gong* 宮, which depicts a roof + two enclosures (one on top of the other). Followed by the preposition “in, at” and taking the object “eastern guesthouse” implies it is a verb. This divination contains two clauses, the first starts with *jiang* 將, and the second starts with this word. I suggest the graph is *gong* 工 (writ-

81.2 丁卯又(有)馬又(有)[剝(剝)] –

On Dingmao, there will be a horse (or: horses) that is/are [cut (> damaged)]. 1

81.3 壬申歲匕(妣)庚豕一才(在)畎(戎) –

On Renshen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one sow. At Rong. 1

81.4 癸酉其又(有)羈于賈視 –

On Guiyou, there will likely be black horses with light brown manes inspected by the trader. 1

81.5 丙子卜或駟于賈視 –

Divined on Bingzi: Ge's foals will be inspected by the trader. 1

81.6 羊 –

Sheep. 1

81.7+8 一三

12

## HYZ 82-HYZ 83

82.1 𠄎 –

... 1

82.2 𠄎 –

...1

82.3 𠄎亦[雨] –

...also [rain]. 1

82.4 𠄎不亦𠄎 –

...also is not... 1

82.5 𠄎 –

... 1

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ten 𠄎 on HYZ 324), to be read here as a phonetic loan for *gong* 貢; see Guo Moruo [1933] 1983: 340 and Wang Ziyang 2013: 286.

82.6 辛卜𠄎 –

Divined on Xin ...<sub>1</sub>

83.1 夨入六

Ni contributes six.

## HYZ 84

84.1 羌入夷(惠)𠄎(春)妍用若衍(侃)用 –

When Qiang are entered, it should be females who will hull grain<sup>182</sup> that are used, (for) it will be favorable (and) bring happiness. Used. <sub>1</sub>

84.2 +3 𠄎 –

[meaning unclear] <sub>12</sub><sup>183</sup>

84.4 乃 –

Nai. <sub>1</sub><sup>184</sup>

## HYZ 85

85.1 其乎(呼)乍(作)𠄎(沁臺)北 –

Should call to build Qin's tower<sup>185</sup> (in) the north. <sub>1</sub>

85.2 子𠄎

Our lord...

85.3 終小甲日子乎(呼)𠄎(狩) –

To end Xiao Jia's day (of worship service),<sup>186</sup> our lord will call to hunt. <sub>1</sub>

**182** The reading of this graph as *chong* 春 follows Huang Tianshu 2006: 403. Axel Schuessler (2007: 189) defines it as “to hull grain”, but its meaning here is uncertain; perhaps it should be read *chong* 搥 “smash”. *Yan* 妍 depicts a female with hairpins and is the ancestral form of *zan* 簪 “hairpin”; the *Shuowen jiezi* defines it as *ji* 技 “skilled”. See HYZ 458.

**183** Combined by Sun Yabing 2011a: 230, note 4.

**184** Sun Yabing 2011a: 230, note 4.

**185** 𠄎: Yao Xuan (2006: 96-97) reads this as a ligature combining the toponym 沁 (=沁) “Qin” and 臺 (= 臺) “tower”. Reconstructing the dative preposition *yu* 于 is based on 502: 臺于南 “Tower in the south” || 于北 “In the north”.

85.4 歲[二]羊于庚[告][發][來] –

Sacrificing [two] sheep by day Geng, [report] (that) [Fa] [will come] (with them).<sup>1</sup>

85.5 歲二羊于庚告發來 –

Sacrificing two sheep by day Geng, report (that) Fa comes (with them).<sup>2</sup>

## HYZ 86

86.1 丙辰卜祉(延)奏商若用 一二三四五

Divined on Bingchen: Continue to perform “Shang”,<sup>187</sup> (for it) will be favorable. Used. <sup>12345</sup>

86.2 己巳卜其宜[羊]□用 –

Divined on Jisi: Should make (or: provide) meat viands of [ewe]...Used. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 87

87.1 丁巳卜子益(侑)妫(嘉)若衍(侃)用

Divined on Dingsi: Our lord will line up (to dance to)<sup>188</sup> “Joyful”,<sup>189</sup> (for it) will be favorable (and) bring happiness. Used.

87.2 庚申卜子益(侑)商日不雨[孚]

Divined on Gengshen: Our lord will line up (to dance to) “Shang”; during the day it will not rain. Trusted.

**186** Xiao Jia was the 12<sup>th</sup> Shang king. The appellation *xiao* 小 before his day-name is because he is younger than Da Jia 大甲, the 9<sup>th</sup> Shang king.

**187** Shang 商 is here the name of a song and dance or a suite of songs and dances; see Song Zhenhao 2010: 477-500, and Yao Xuan 2006: 146-148. 130 has 舞商 “Danced (to) “Shang””.

**188** The parallel between *yi Lai* 益妫 and *yi Shang* 益商 in this divination sequence recommends that 妫 was also the name of a song and dance. See the commentary to HYZ 53.6-7 for the reading of *yi* 益 as a loan for *yi* 侑 “row, line up in/form a row”.

**189** 妫 commonly occurs in divinations for the Shang kings on the topic of childbirth, and seems to indicate the birth of boys; see HJ 21071. In these instances Dong Zuobin ([1948], cited in *Sōran* #1610) reads it *jia* 嘉 and defines it as “lucky”. See 288.2-3 and 480.5 for 嘉 as a verb. Zhang Shichao (2008b) suggests a ceremonial performance of song and dance called by this name was related to Lady Hao’s childbirth, but this cannot be substantiated with any evidence from other divinations found in Pit H3.

87.4 其雨不<sub>レ</sub><sub>レ</sub>孚) –  
It might rain. Not trusted. <sub>1</sub>

87.3 庚申卜<sub>レ</sub>夷(惠)今庚益(侑)商若衍(侃)用  
Divined on Gengshen: It should be the present day Geng to line up (to dance to) “Shang”, (for it) will be favorable (and) bring happiness. Used.

## HYZ 88

88.1 甲寅卜<sub>レ</sub>  
Divined on Jiayin ...

88.2 乙卜子入<sub>レ</sub><sub>レ</sub>丁才(在)<sub>レ</sub>  
Divined on Yi: Our lord will contribute...(to) His Highness. At...

88.3 乙卜<sub>レ</sub>  
Divined on Yi...

88.4 丙卜<sub>レ</sub>  
Divined on Bing...

88.5 丙卜其<sub>レ</sub><sub>レ</sub> –  
Divined on Bing: Should...<sub>1</sub>

88.6 丙卜[夷(惠)]三牛虻(殺)匕(妣)庚 –  
Divined on Bing: [It should be] three head of cattle that are killed (for) Ancestress Geng. <sub>2</sub>

88.7 丙卜<sub>レ</sub>丁其<sub>レ</sub>庚  
Divined on Bing...Ding, should...Geng.

88.8 丁卜<sub>レ</sub>日虻(殺)<sub>レ</sub>牛<sub>レ</sub> –  
Divined on Ding...day kill...cattle...<sub>2</sub>

88.9 己卜夷(惠)<sub>レ</sub>匕(妣)庚  
Divined on Ji: It should be...Ancestress Geng.

88.10 甲子歲匕(妣)甲𠄎一𠄎三小宰又(有)𠄎(置)一

On Jiazi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Jia one ram, announce by written record (the sacrificial offerings of) three small pen-raised sheep and one stand.<sup>190</sup> 1

88.11 甲卜夷(惠)盜𠄎甲𠄎

Divined on Jia: It should be Dao's<sup>191</sup> exorcism<sup>192</sup> ...Jia<sup>193</sup> ...

88.12 甲卜𠄎旨𠄎𠄎

Divined on Jia...Zhi<sup>194</sup> ...exorcism...

88.13 甲卜𠄎

Divined on Jia...

88.14 乙丑卜才(在)𠄎(柚)[子]又(有)鬼心其方馮戍(戍)

Divined on Yichou, at You: [Our lord], having a demon heart (> a bad feeling in his heart), should rush<sup>195</sup> at once<sup>196</sup> to the border.<sup>197</sup>

**190** 𠄎: Qiu Xigui ([1980] 2012: 1.38-39) identifies this graph as writing the word *zhi* 置 “to set, place, arrange”. He explains that the bottom part of the graph is a “stand” and the top part is the phonetic *zhi* 之 or 止. Variant forms include 𠄎 (HJ 30693, etc.), which adds left and right hands above the phonetic (止), and a simplified form 𠄎 (HJ 23603), which omits the “stand”. In Shang oracle bone and bronze inscriptions (see JC 9894) this word regularly occurs as a verb that takes drum or bell as its object, for instance HJ 30693: 其置庸(鑄)𠄎(鼓)于既卯 “Should set bell(s) and drum(s) after cutting apart (the sacrifices).” Here it is a noun followed by a quantifier. 置 likely refers to a music performance and means to set a drum or bell to be played at or after the sacrifice. This divination can be synchronized with 455.1; see also 409.

**191** *Dao* 盜: See Yu Xingwu (2009: 382-387) for the identification of this word. Dao is the name of a person, and the person who will be exorcised. The same person occurs again on 92.1, which is a divination also dated to a Jia day. Dao is likely one of the prince's servitors, and on this particular occasion will to take an active role in preparing for and providing service during the king's visit and banquet. Perhaps the context of this divination was to first exorcise him in advance of his coming into contact with the king, and to make sure his service was without any errors; for a possible comparison, and one recorded post-factum, see HYZ 28.6 and 290.7 commentaries citing the Western Zhou bronze inscription *Yu gui* 逯簋.

**192** I follow Zhu Qixiang (2006: 976) who reads this graph as a variant of *yu* 禦.

**193** The graph 甲 is still visible in the rubbing and photograph and refers to Ancestress Jia mentioned in the preceding divination.

**194** Zhi appears only in this fragmented divination account. Based on the divination about Dao just before it in the sequence, the context seems to be that an exorcism is also planned for Zhi; it further suggests that, like Dao, he is another member of the protagonist's servitors.

88.15 戊卜弼(勿)[虻(殺)]羊一☐  
 Divined on Wu: Do not [kill] one sheep...

88.16 ☐丁☐匕(妣)丁☐  
 ...day Ding...Ancestress Ding...

88.17 ☐卜☐丁用  
 Divined...Ding. Used.

## HYZ 89

89.1 ☐子☐  
 ...our lord...

89.2 ☐五小宰☐ –  
 ...five small pen-raised sheep...<sup>1</sup>

89.3 ☐攸(肇)丁☐ –☐  
 ...dispense (to) His Highness...<sup>12</sup>

89.4 ☐  
 2

89.5 –  
 1

89.6 ☐  
 2

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**195** 邁: Following the adverb *fang* 方 this word has to be a verb. Although it is unclear what word the graph writes, the movement classifier + “horse” as either phonetic or phono-semantic suggests a general sense of moving swiftly.

**196** The adverb *fang* 方 is synonymous with the classical use of *dang* 當, which is equivalent to *xian zai* 現在 “now, at present” in modern Chinese (Yu Xingwu 2009: 217-219).

**197** I follow Wei Cide (2006) in reading *xu* 戌 as a scribal error for the orthographically similar graph *shu* 戍 “frontier”; see also 249.



## HYZ 90-HYZ 91

90.1 –

1

90.2 其又(有)匕(妣)庚𠄎 三

Should have (for) (or: offer to) Ancestress Geng...<sub>3</sub>

90.3 甲卜弜(勿)又(有)𠄎 –

Do not have (or: offer)...<sub>1</sub>

90.4 𠄎歲𠄎

...sacrifice...

90.5 乙卜𠄎(速)丁𠄎(以)琚 –

Divined on Yi: Inviting<sup>198</sup> His Highness, bring large jade tablets. <sub>1</sub>

90.6 琚其入于丁若 –

If large jade tablets and [noun (unclear meaning)] are contributed to His Highness, (it) will be favorable. <sub>1</sub>

90.7 𠄎𠄎(𠄎)小宰匕(妣)庚𠄎

...exorcism, some small pen-raised sheep (to) Ancestress Geng...



90.8 子𠄎(金)

Lord Jin.

90.9 癸卜子其𠄎 –

Divined on Gui: Our lord should...<sub>1</sub>


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**198** The graph is composed of *zhi* 止+ *mu* 木, with *shu* 東, written sideways, as the sound element. In HYZ script it is written in two variant forms:  (topped with 木) and  (topped with 中), and the latter is likely a simplification of the former; see Chen Jian 2004. It is used both transitively and intransitively; as a transitive verb, the only object it takes is the king, Ding 丁. This word occurs in the early Western Zhou bronze inscription *Rongzhong fangding* 榮仲方鼎 (*Wenwu* 2005.9: 64): 榮仲𠄎芮伯胡侯子 “Rongzhong invited the sons of Rui Bo (and) Hu Hou.”

90.10 𠄎丁  
...His Highness.

91.1 𧈧入十  
Liu contributes ten.<sup>199</sup>

## HYZ 92

92.1 甲卜夷(惠)盜具丁用 –  
Divined on Jia: It should be Dao who makes preparations (for) His Highness. Used. 1

92.2 甲卜乎(呼)多臣見(獻)𧈧丁用 –  
Divined on Jia: Call the Many Servitors to present sanctified meat from the Yi-day rite (to) His Highness.<sup>200</sup> Used. 1

92.3 𠄎匕(妣)庚 𠄎 –  
...Ancestress Geng...<sup>1</sup>

92.4 –  
1

**199** Sun Yirang (1904: 1.17) and Ye Yusen (1934: 1.62-63) read 𧈧 as *gao* 皋/*hao* 皞 > *hao* 昊. Tang Lan (1939: 44-45) says it is a pictograph of a lizard, but Zhang Bingquan (cited in Ken-ichi Takashima 2010: II. 363-364, n. 5) refutes it. HYZ 252, 450, and 451 write what is definitely the same word but in a more elaborated and pictographic form 𧈧. It also occurs in Shang and Western Zhou bronze inscriptions written 𧈧. Ding Shan (1988) interprets it as a dragonfly (蜻) and reads it as the original form of 央, given the pronunciation *liu* in the *Shuowen jiezi*. (The evolution of the spelling of the hind part of this insect from something resembling “丙” to “liu 六” is perhaps a phoneticization.) Although it is uncertain which word this graph is meant to represent, there is a lot of information about this lineage/place in oracle bone inscriptions. Numerous shell deliveries come from here, the highest count being fifty; see HJ 1076v, HJ 3979v, HJ 9220v and HJ 13338v. HYZ 399 and 436 record deliveries from here. The prince acquires embroidered belts made here (451), and on 252 the prince gathered at this place with men for an event that included archery and music. See also 450.

**200** This divination is the same as 453.2; the latter has the dative preposition *yu* 于 “to” before “His Highness”. 𧈧 is the object of the verb 見(獻), and this recommends that is a noun and refers to the Yi-day rite. The phrase 獻𧈧 means to present the king with sanctified meat from the animals that were recently sacrificed and carved for this ritual. See the discussion of Yao Xuan 2005: 372, note 1. This type of redistribution of sanctified meat ought to have been different from “contributing meat” 入肉 (113, 237, 490).

92.5 甲卜才(在)其

Divined on Jia: At...should...

92.6 壬卜其乎(呼)

Divined on Ren: Should call...

92.7 壬卜

Divined on Ren...

## HYZ 93

93.1 用

Used. <sub>1</sub>

93.2 爵子癸

Will offer ale in *jue*-cup to Child Gui.<sup>201</sup> <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 94

94.1 三十

Thirty<sup>202</sup>

## HYZ 95

95.1 壬申卜才(在)籥其卣(禦)于匕(妣)庚𠄎十宰[又]十鬯用才(在)麓

Divined on Renshen, at Yang:<sup>203</sup> If making an exorcism rite to Ancestress Geng, announce by written record (the sacrificial offerings of) ten pen-raised sheep [and] ten bowls of aromatic ale. Used. At Lai.<sup>204</sup> <sub>123</sub>


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**201** ZSKY 2003, Zhu Qixiang, and Yao Xuan all read 癸巳爵 “Day Guisi: Will offer ale in *jue*-cup.”

**202** The receipt notation “Thirty” (shells) is also recorded on 158, 225, 250, 287, 348, 357, 360, 389, 438, 462, and 497; 12 sets of 30 shells equals 360. None of these receipt notations are marked with a point of origin or any other delivery information.

**203** Lin Huan and Sun Yabing (2010: 122) locate Yang near Pang 龐, which they locate around Hancheng, Shaanxi 陝西韓城一帶, but there is scant evidence in support. In Wu Ding’s divina-

## HYZ 96

96.1 㒼令㒼  
...command...

96.2 –  
1

96.3 –  
1

## HYZ 97

97.1 乙卯夕宜羝一才(在)入 –  
On the evening of Yimao, make (or: provide) meat viands (of) one ewe. At Ru. 1

## HYZ 98

98.1 其買夷(惠)又(有)駝  
If making a purchase, it should be the stallion(s).<sup>205</sup>

98.2 夷(惠)又(有)駝  
It should be the mare(s).

## HYZ 99

99.1 三十㒼 –  
Thirty...1

---

tions this place was the location chosen as a meeting point for Lady Hao 婦好 and the *duo fu* 多婦 “Many Ladies” (HJ 2658); for other records of Lady Hao at Yang, see HJ 5111 and HJ 39562.

**204** This verification means that the exorcism was made at Lai. The divination about it was made at Yang.

**205** Yao Xuan’s transcription reads 又 as 右 “right”.

99.2 入于丁 —

...contribute to His Highness. 1

99.3 —

1

99.4 —

1

99.5 —

1

## HYZ 100

100.1 妫(嘉) —

Joyful.<sup>206</sup> 1

## HYZ 101

101.1 —三四

1234

## HYZ 102

102.1 乙卜貞賣壹又(有)口弗死 —

Divined on Yi, tested: Trader Zhu,<sup>207</sup> having mouth (sickness),<sup>208</sup> is not going to die from it. 1

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**206** Perhaps to be associated with 480.5. But see 87 too.

**207** Trader Zhu occurs in Wu Ding's divinations from both the Bin and Li diviner groups; see HJ 9650, *Tunnan* 2438 and *Tunnan* 1047. As the name of a lineage, Jao Tsung-I (2010: 11) reads it Peng 彭 (in Warring States script 壹 writes the word 彭 (*Baoshan*, strip 1)) and suggests it was west-northwest of Shang and close to Zhou 周 (sw Shanxi) and the Horse Territory 馬方 (central west Shanxi); see *Yingcang* 2425, HJ 6 and Zhouyuan OBI H11:20 and H11:117. See too Han Jiangsu and Jiang Linchang 2010: 463-465.

**208** I read the phrase *you kou* 有口 as an abbreviation of *you kou ji* 有口疾 “there is/have mouth sickness”; see 149.8, 220.2 and 247.6. In the HYZ OBI the word “illness” is often omitted but im-

102.2 乙卜貞中周又(有)口弗死 –

Divined on Yi, tested: Zhong Zhou, having mouth (sickness), is not going to die from it. 1

102.3 乙卜貞二卜又(有)求(咎)隹(唯)見今又(有)心敷(鬼)亡囧(戾) –

Divined on Yi, tested: The second divination crack has fault,<sup>209</sup> it has appeared (or: been seen).<sup>210</sup> Presently, having a heart that is terrified,<sup>211</sup> there will be no misfortune.<sup>212</sup> 1

## HYZ 103

103.1 丁卯卜雨不至于夕 –

Divined on Dingmao: Rain is not going to arrive by evening. 1

103.2 丁卯卜雨其至于夕子囧(占)曰其至亡囧戊用

Divined on Dingmao: Rain likely arrives by evening. Our lord read the crack and said, “It should arrive; it will be gone tomorrow, day Wu.” Used.

103.3 己巳卜雨不祉(延)

Divined on Jisi: Rain will not continue.


103.4 己巳卜雨其祉(延)子子<sup>213</sup>囧(占)曰其祉(延)夕(終)日用 –

Divined on Jisi: Rain will likely continue. Our lord read the crack and said, “It should continue to end the day.” Used. 1

plied; for instance, the phrase *Zi shou ji* 子首疾 “Our lord’s head illness” on 446.5, is written 子疾首 “Our lord’s sickened head” on 304, but is abbreviated 子首 “Our lord’s head” and without the word “sick 疾” on 446.6. For an alternative explanation that it means misfortune caused by speaking inaccurately or saying something that one should not have said, see Li Xueqin 2009: 1-4.

**209** Qiu 求 is a pictograph of an earthworm and the ancestral form of *qiu* 隹 (Qiu Xigui 2012: 1.274-284). Shang scribes use it as phonetic loan for *jiu* 咎 “fault, error”.

**210** For *jian* 見 as a technical term referring to the “appearance” of a divination crack, see Shen Pei 2008: 66-74.

**211** 敷 also occurs on 114 and 156v. Western Zhou scribes use this same graph, , as an alternative form to write the word *gui* 鬼 “demon” (in the noun compound “Demon territory” Guifang 鬼方 on the *Liang bo ge* 梁伯戈 (JC 11346)), and this confirms that *gui* is the sound value in the OBI form. “有心敷” ought to be equivalent in meaning to “有鬼心” on 88.14.

**212** For the reading of 囧 as an early form of *li* 戾, see Song Huaqiang, cited in *GuLin bubian*, 545-550. Qiu Xigui (cited in *GuLin bubian*, 539-540) reads it as a loan for *you* 憂 “grief, sorrow”.

**213** The double 子 here is a scribal error.

103.5 己巳卜才(在)𠄎(戎)庚不雨子马(占)曰其雨亡司(嗣)夕雨用 –

Divined on Jisi, at Rong: Geng day is not going to rain. Our lord read the crack and said, “It should rain; rain will not carry on into the evening.”<sup>214</sup>  
Used. 1

103.6 己巳卜才(在)𠄎(戎)其雨子马(占)曰今夕其雨若己雨其于翌庚亡司(嗣)用 –

Divined on Jisi, at Rong: It is likely to rain. Our lord read the crack and said, “If it rains this evening, (consider it) favorable. Ji day rain is not likely to carry on into into the next day, Geng.” Used. 1

## HYZ 104

104.1 庚☱ 二

Day Geng...2

104.2 二

2

## HYZ 105

105.1 壬卜☱ –

Divined on Ren ...1

105.2 壬卜☱

Divined on Ren ...

105.3 二

12

105.4 用

Used.

105.5 用

Used.

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<sup>214</sup> Si 司 is a phonetic loan for si 嗣 “inherit, carry on” (Yao Xuan 2006: 119-124).

105.6 壬卜☱土☱

Divined on Ren ...(male animal?) ...

105.7 ☱蚊(殺)☱

...kill ...

105.8 –

1

105.9 癸卜☱ –

Divined on Gui...<sub>1</sub>

105.10 用 –

Used. <sub>1</sub>

105.11 –

1

105.12 用

Used.

## HYZ 106

106.1 乙卜☱匕(妣)庚☱ –

Divined on Yi...Ancestress Geng...<sub>1</sub>

106.2 丁☱卣(禦)于史☱伐☱罍☱子 –

...day Ding...make an exorcism rite for Officer<sup>215</sup>...behead...announce by written record...Child.<sup>216</sup> <sub>1</sub>

106.3 丁卜☱ –

Divined on Ding...<sub>1</sub>

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**215** I read *yu* 于 as a dative preposition and *Shi* 史 as a rank; see HYZ 114. An alternative reading is that it is a place name and the preposition was locative. The name *Shi* occurs on receipts (133, 231); see 150 as well.

**216** The words “behead” and “announce by written record”, which often occur in exorcism divinations, suggest to read 卣 as 禦 “exorcise”. Although content is missing before 子, based on other exorcism divinations the recipient might be the deceased spirit *Guizi* 癸子.



106.4 𠄎 𠄎

...ram...

106.5 用 —

Used. 1

106.6 𠄎 匕(妣)庚 𠄎 —

...Ancestress Geng...<sup>1</sup>

106.7 𠄎 匕(妣)庚 𠄎

...Ancestress Geng...

106.8 壬卜于日雩(稱)𠄎(殺)𠄎匕(妣)庚入又(有)函于丁用 —

Divined on Ren: By sunrise, kill some cows (for) Ancestress Geng (and) contribute the tongues<sup>217</sup> to His Highness. Used. 1

## HYZ 107

107.1 弼(勿)示 —

Do not submit (anything). 1

## HYZ 108

108.1 辛丑卜子妹其隻(獲)狼 𠄎(孚) —


Divined on Xinchou: Our lord is still not likely to catch wolves. Trusted. 1

108.2 辛丑卜夷(惠)今逐狼 一 二

Divined on Xinchou: It should be today to pursue wolves. 12

108.3 辛丑卜于翌逐狼 一 二

Divined on Xinchou: By tomorrow pursue wolves. 12

**217**  composed of “arrow” *shi* 矢 inside a case, and writes the word *han* 函 “tongue; (arrow) case”. (函 is a cognate of *han* 含 “what is inside the mouth” > “to contain”.) 函 in its primary sense of “arrow case” occurs on the *Xiaochen Qiang* 小臣牆 bone document (HJ 36481rv). Here, as the object of *ru* “to contribute” and in the context of killing cows, it should be read “tongue” (Yao Xuan 2016: 106-110); *Shuowen jiezi*: 函, 舌也。象形…𠄎, 俗函从肉、今 “*Han* means the tongue. It is a pictograph...the graph *han* 𠄎 is a common form of *han* 函; it is spelled with 肉 (meat/flesh classifier) and 今.”

108.4 辛丑卜其逐狼隻(獲) –

Divined on Xinchou: If pursuing wolves, (we) will make a catch. 1

108.5 辛丑卜其逐狼弗其隻(獲) –

Divined on Xinchou: If pursuing wolves, (we) are not likely to make a catch. 1

108.6 辛丑卜翌壬子其以[中]周于𡗗(戎)子曰不其口[孚](孚) –

Divined on Xinchou: Tomorrow, Ren, our lord should lead [Zhong] Zhou into Rong. Our lord said, “Is not likely ....” [Trusted]. 1

## HYZ 109

109.1 卜子乎(呼)又口先于𡗗用 –

...divined: Our lord will call the right...go first to Fu. Used. 1

## HYZ 110

110.1 戊申卜其𡗗 二

Divined on Wushen: Should...2

110.2 庚申卜引其死 一三

Divined on Gengshen: Yin will likely die.<sup>218</sup> 12

110.3 庚申卜貞𡗗 一

Divined on Gengshen, tested...1

## HYZ 111

111.1 子貞 一

Our lord tested. 1

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**218** Yin occurs as a place name on 53 in association with several place that were likely located in southwestern Shanxi. This divination can be synchronized with 118, which takes place 23 days later. A person with the name Xi Bo Yin 息伯引 (HJ 20086 [Zi 子-diviner]) occurs in Wu Ding period royal family group divinations.

## HYZ 112

### 112.1 五旬

Five weeks.

## HYZ 113

### 113.1 子斂隻(獲)嶄 –

Lord Hu's<sup>219</sup> catch will be sent.<sup>220</sup> 1

### 113.2 子斂隻(獲)弗嶄 –

Lord Hu's catch is not going to be sent. 1

### 113.3 子斂隻(獲)弗嶄 二

Lord Hu's catch is not going to be sent. 2

### 113.4 子斂隻(獲)弗嶄 三

Lord Hu's catch is not going to be sent. 3

### 113.5 𡗗(速)丁 –

Invite His Highness. 1

### 113.6 𡗗(勿)𡗗(速)丁 –

Do not invite His Highness. 1

### 113.7 𡗗(殺)宰迺𡗗(速)丁 –

Kill pen-raised sheep, (and) then invite His Highness. 1

### 113.8 𡗗(速)丁 二

Invite His Highness. 2

**219** 斂 and 吳 are almost certainly variants writing the same name; for the latter, see 39.17. 斂 occurs again on HYZ 130 as a contributor of zithers (/zither players) for a musical performance hosted by the prince and attended by Ding.

**220** 𡗗: The graph's form reduplicates *chen* 臣 (禪 initial 真-rime) and adds a grass classifier protruding out from the top. Perhaps it is a variant of 𡗗 (416). As a verb, Yu Xingwu (2009: 27-28) reads 𡗗 as *zeng* 贈 “send, gift”. The negative *fu* 弗 in front of it means it is functioning as a verb and is the result of “capture”. It also indicates that the issue being divined about is out of the prince's control.

## 113.9 弼(勿)夔(速)丁 二

Do not invite His Highness. 2

## 113.10 乙卜丁又(有)鬼夢亡𠄎(戾) –

Divined on Yi: His Highness had a demon dream; there will be no misfortune. 1

## 113.11 丁又(有)鬼夢變才(在)田 –

His Highness had a demon dream; (there will be an) attack<sup>221</sup> in the fields. 1

## 113.14 多𠄎(左)才(在)田肩若 –

(There will be) much opposition in the fields;<sup>222</sup> (we/they) can do well.<sup>223</sup> 1

## 113.12 丙卜貞多尹亡𠄎(戾) –

Divined on Bing, tested: The Many Commanders<sup>224</sup> will have no misfortune. 1

**221** 𠄎 depicts a right hand holding a type of weapon, and there is a fire element at the top. I take it as a variant form of 𠄎 (HJ 26631), which is written with a right hand holding an element that resembles the graph *xin* 辛 and triples “fire”. As for the difference in what is in the right hand, a comparison can be drawn with variants of *long* 龍 “dragon” written both as 𠄎 (HJ 4654) and 𠄎 (HJ 27021). In early script, writing a signifier once and reduplicating it can have the same meaning. Yu Xingwu (2009: 88-89) first identified 𠄎 as the ancestral form of *xie* 變, and 變 is synonymous with *fa* 伐 “to attack”, as in the *Shijing*, “Da ming” 大明 (Mao 236): 變伐大商 “attack Great Shang”, and *Cao Bo fu* 曹伯篚 (JC 4631-32): 𠄎(變)伐繁陽 “Attack Fan-yang”. Ma Ruichen’s (1777-1853) *Tongshi* 通釋 commentary to the *Shijing* line says that 變 should be read as a phonetic loan for *xi* 襲 “attack.”

**222** 𠄎(左) is a pictograph of the left hand. I read it here in its derived sense, “contrary”; *duo zuo* 多左 is a noun phrase, “much opposition”; for 左 as “contrary”, see 361.1 and *GuLin bubian* 249-253. Zhouyuan OBI use the coda 𠄎(思)正亡左 “Would that it be correct and without opposition” (H11:82).

**223** 𠄎(肩) is a pictograph of a cattle scapula; “shoulder” is the word’s primary meaning. In Old Chinese it is used as a rebus to write a word that means “can” or “be able” (*Shuowen jiezi*: 克, 肩也). Oracle bone inscriptions use the verb phrase *jian xing* 肩同(興)/*ke xing* 克興, as in 婦好肩同(興)有疾 “Lady Hao will be able to recover from this illness” (HJ 709r) and 亞克興有疾 “Ya-officials can recover from this illness” (HJ 13754); see Qiu Xigui 2012.1: 473-484. Here “肩若” is comparable to “肩興/克興”. As it does elsewhere in the corpus, *ruo* 若 means *shan* 善 “good” or *jili* 吉利 “favorable”.

**224** *Duo Yin* 多尹 are administrators. Dong Zuobin (1936:122) explains 尹 as being equivalent in meaning to *jun* 君 “leader, ruler”; see too Li Xueqin 1983. The group of people referred to as the Many Commanders occur several times in the HYZ OBI: once they were summoned by the protagonist to contribute jades to the king (196); and another time, they were summoned to

## 113.13 貞多尹亡彘(害) –

Tested: The Many Commanders will have no harm. 1

## 113.17 𠄎四十牛匕(妣)庚凶(思)[𠄎(禱)]其于獸(狩)若

Announce by written record (sacrifice of) forty head of cattle (to) Ancestress Geng; would that<sup>225</sup> prayers about the hunt be favorable.<sup>226</sup>

## 113.15 面多尹四十牛匕(妣)庚 三

(Our lord/I) will be in person<sup>227</sup> (for the registration rite of the) Many Commanders' forty head of cattle (to) Ancestress Geng.<sup>228</sup> 3

hunt for pigs. Both instances take place abroad. The activity being spoken about here is a royal hunt including the king.

**225** 𠄎 (凶), a pictograph of the cranium, is used in its original sense on 125. When this graph occurs as a sentence-initial I agree with Edward L. Shaughnessy (Xia Hanyi) (1989, 2012) who reads it as a phonetic loan for *si* 思 “to hope, (optative) would that”. Shaughnessy notes that one of its distinguishing features is to introduce the final proposition of a compound divination charge; for other instances, see 395+548.10, 401.12 and 409.12. It occurs frequently in Zhouyuan OBI, for instance: 凶(思)有正 (H11:1), 凶(思)正亡左 (H11:82) and 凶(思)亡咎 (H31:3). It is important to emphasize here that divinations with this sentence-initial were not questions. (Shaughnessy says they were wishes.)

**226** 𠄎 is listed in the *Shuowen jiezi*: 音忽，拜從此 “Pronounced *hu*. (The graph) *bai* is from this”. This graph occurs in compounds used to write the words *zou* 奏, *bai* 拜 and *bi* 賁. (賁 occurs in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions as a phonetic loan for *bai* 百.) Ji Xiaojun (1991) suggests it is the ancestral form of 𠄎, which the *Shuowen jiezi* says is “read like *tao* 滔”; since 滔 and 𠄎 “pray” had the same pronunciation, and since the word usually occurs in divinations about the harvest, hunting and rain, Ji proposes to read it as 禱. (The *Shuowen jiezi* defines 禱 as 告事求福 “Announce matters (to the spirits) to seek good fortune”.) See 409.9.

**227** 𠄎 (= *mian* 面) is a deictic pictograph graph that uses 首 “head” as its base image and adds a curved stroke running from the forehead down to the nose to indicate the “face”, *mian* 面; see Yao Xuan 2005: 132. The word appears two more times in the corpus: at 195.2: 呼微面見于婦好; and at 226.7: 歲妣庚牡一。子占曰：面口自來，多臣毀(殺). In the former, and before the verb *jian/xian* 見, I read it as a verb, “to face”, although alternatives are to take it as a compound verb with 見, “see, have audience (with)”, or even as an adverb, “in person”; in the latter, the ZSKY editors read the graph after 面 as *Qiang* 羌 (noun), and if this can be trusted, it recommends that it was functioning as a verb. (面羌 would then be parallel with 面多尹 here.) The phrase “*mian bu sheng* 面不升” occurs in the “Pinli” 聘禮 chapter of the *Yili* 儀禮, and Yang Tianyu’s commentary (2007: 256) says, “面 is just like *di* 覲”. The “Pinyi” 聘義 chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 also has the sentence “*Bin simian sidi* 賓私面私覲”, and Lu Deming’s *Shiwen* commentary glosses 覲 as *jian* 見 “to see, be admitted to (private) audience”.

The sequence of divinations above stem from (10)-(11). The king had a nightmare about potential misfortune on an upcoming hunt and it implicated the Many Commanders. The

113.16 五十牛入于丁 –

Fifty head of cattle will be contributed to His Highness. 1

113.18 三十牛入 –

Thirty head of cattle will be contributed. 1

113.19 三十豕入 –

Thirty pigs will be contributed. 1

113.20 𠂔(𠂔)人𠂔(𠂔)于若 –

The Cutters<sup>229</sup> will hunt strong-armed,<sup>230</sup> (for) in (that) will be favorable. 1

113.21 丙入肉 –

On Bing, contribute meat. 1

113.22 弔(勿)入肉 –

Do not contribute meat. 1

113.23 己卜貞子亡不若 –

Divined on Ji, tested: Our lord will not have anything that is not favorable. 1

113.24 庚卜子興又(有)疾子口夷(惠)自丙 三

Divined on Geng: Lord Xing has illness.<sup>231</sup> Our lord will...it should be from Bing (or: starting at day Bing). 3<sup>232</sup>

prince, as as result, is trying to determine is how to lower the odds that the hunt would go smoothly and that no participants would have calamity or injury. Here he pledges a forty count of cattle and will say a prayer; divinations (16), (18) and (19) propose different quantities and different animal categories.

**228** The meaning of this divination account is not entirely clear but the sense is that the prince proposes to putting forty head of cattle on account on behalf of and for the protection of the Many Commanders. Ancestress Geng is the identified recipient, cattle are the objects to be offered, and the Many Commanders are the people identified as potential victims on the upcoming hunt.

**229** 𠂔 is a phonogram composed of a right hand + *quan* 泉 “spring” (phonetic). It is almost certainly a variant of 𠂔 (*Tunnan* 1111). Huang Tianshu (cited in *GuLin bubian*, 518) reads it *duan* 𠂔 “cut”. 𠂔 is an ancient form of *tuan/zhuan* 𠂔 “cut, dismember”. An alternative reading is that it is the name of a tribe.

**230** 𠂔: For the reading of *bao* 𠂔, see the commentary to 14. This graph replaces “tiger 虎” with “pig 豕”. On 363 it occurs as transitive verb with 大獸 “large wild animal” as its object.

113.25 夕用五羊辛迺用五豕 一

In the evening use five sheep, (and) on day Xin then use five pigs. 1

113.27 夷(惠)三牛于匕(妣)庚 二

It should be three head of cattle to Ancestress Geng. 2

113.26 傳五牛酌(酒)發曰(以)[生]于庚 四

Transferring five head of cattle, make ale libation, (and) Fa will take [newborns]<sup>233</sup> by day Geng. 4

113.28 其乍(作)官(館)鰓(罾魚)東 三

Should build a guest residence east of the fishing area. 3

## HYZ 114

114.1 丙卜子其敷(畏)于歲卽(禦)史 一

Divined on Bing: Our lord should strike fear into defense officers<sup>234</sup> in Sui.<sup>235</sup> 1

114.2 丙卜子弼(勿)敷(畏)于歲卽(禦)史 一

Divined on Bing: Our lord ought not strike fear into defense officers in Sui. 1

**231** An alternate reading is “Our lord has recovered from this illness.”

**232** The transcription follows Sun Yabing 2011a: 36, note 2. “Starting from Bing” perhaps should be explained as starting (a ritual action like exorcism rites) from Bing-day ancestors. The problem is the missing graphs after 子 and before 惠.

**233** As a modifier for livestock “sheng 生” means newborns, just as the oracle bone phrase *sheng yue* 生月 means “new moon (/month)”. The phrase *yi sheng* 以生 “take newborns” occurs on 488.2.

**234** 御史 is often read 御事, and explained as officers or servicemen who handled various sorts of affairs “左右用事的臣子”. (Xu Jinxiang (2001: 12, 212-218) defines it “御事為天子治事之臣”.) People called 御事 occur frequently in the *Shangshu*, and Yang Junru (2005: 237) explains the term as, “officers who handle affairs for regional lords 諸侯執政用事之臣”. In the *Shijing* (for instance “*Song gao*” 崧高 (Mao 259)), the Mao commentary glosses 御 as 治事之官 “an officer who handles affairs”. The graph 卽(御) is most frequently used write the word 禦 “defend, exorcise, protect” in divinations about exorcism rites and sending troops to “defend the border” *yu fang* 御(禦)方. Since officers called 御史 were clearly associated with military affairs (see for instance HJ 28089r, HJ 1075rv, HJ 1078, and HJ 4203), I propose to read 御史 as “defense officers” 御(禦)史.

**235** As the object of the preposition *yu* 于 and before the compound noun 御史, 歲 is a modifier and a place name. The phrase “*yu Sui yushi* 于歲御史” (prep. + place name + title) is grammatically parallel with *zai Qiao mu* 在巧牧 “Herdsman at Qiao” (HJ 32616, HJ 35240).

114.3 己卯卜才(在)𠄎(柚)子其入則若

Divined on Jimao, at You: If our lord enters Jiu\*,<sup>236</sup> (it) will be favorable.

114.4 二

2

## HYZ 115

115.1 乙未卜𠄎 –

Divined on Yiwei...<sub>1</sub>

115.2 乙巳歲且(祖)乙宰牝𦍋(刳)于匕(妣)庚小宰 –

On Yisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi pen-raised pen-raised cows; smear the blood<sup>237</sup> (of) small pen-raised sheep to Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

115.3 甲寅歲且(祖)甲牝歲且(祖)乙宰白豕歲匕(妣)庚宰且(祖)甲𦍋(刳)𠄎(剝)卯 三

On Jiayin, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia some cows; sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some pen-raised sheep, (and) white pigs; and sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some pen-raised sheep. (To) Ancestor Jia, (we) smeared (cow's) blood, chopped,<sup>238</sup> and butchered (them). <sub>2</sub>

115.4 夷(惠)𠄎 三

It should be...<sub>3</sub>

## HYZ 116

116.1 狄弼(勿)𦍋(戎) –

Ji ought not strike.<sup>239</sup> <sub>1</sub>

**236** *Tunnan* 866 calls this place a “territory” (*fang* 方), which means an area outside of the Shang royal domain.

**237** For this reading, see Yu Xingwu 2009: 23-25.

**238** Wang Tao (2007: 547) reads this verb as *pi* 劈 and translates it as “stripping up” (= to flay). See also 493.7-8.

**239** Ji refers to Ji Nai 狄乃; see 11.1. 𦍋 here is a verb. I follow Li Xueqin (1999) in reading it as a variant of *rong* 戎.



## HYZ 117

117.1 其征(延)疾 —

Might continue to be sick. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 118

118.1 壬午卜引其死才(在)𠄎(圉)亡其史(使) 二

Divined on Renwu: If Yin dies while being in imprisonment,<sup>240</sup> there is not likely to be a dispatch. <sup>2</sup>

## HYZ 119

119.1 朕

Zhen<sup>241</sup>

## HYZ 120

120.1 𠄎牛𠄎 —

...cattle... <sup>1</sup>

120.2 乙卜𠄎匕(妣)庚

Divined on Yi...Ancestress Geng.

120.3 丙卜𠄎 二

Divined on Bing... <sup>2</sup>

120.4 丁𠄎入𠄎

On Ding...enter...

**240** Compare *Qianbian* 7.19.2: 在敦圉羌 “Qiang at Dun’s prison”.


**241** There is no divination crack near this word, and this suggests it was a notation of some kind. ZSKY 2003 reads it as a name, and explains it as a delivery receipt. The same notations occur on 173 and 367. There are similar examples with the names Mao 卯 (23, 60, 146, 318, 396) and Ding 鼎 (249; on the verso side is the notation “30”). These three words only occur on the recto sides of turtle plastrons and are not written close to any divination cracks. Perhaps they referred to people—scribes or diviners, who were associated with the divination workshop; see 23.1 and commentary.

120.5 𠂇牛𠂇 –  
...cattle... 1

120.6 𠂇子𠂇  
...our lord...

120.7 𠂇二十黑𠂇  
...twenty black...


## HYZ 121

121.1   
[reading uncertain]<sup>242</sup>




## HYZ 122

122.1 丁𠂇子亦佳(唯)衍(佩)于寔 [气(乞)]丁𠂇(王婦)  
On Ding...our lord, also, will be happy about builders<sup>243</sup> [requested]<sup>244</sup>  
(from) His Highness' Majestic Lady.<sup>245</sup>

122.2 𠂇(金)子貞其又(有)𠂇(艱) –  
Jin, our lord,<sup>246</sup> tested: Will likely have affliction. 1

<sup>242</sup> This graph resembles later spellings of *shang* 上 “above”. A word with a similar graphic form occurs on a Zhou period dagger-axe (*ge* 戈): “邯鄲 (JC 10996). Here it is most likely to be interpreted as a delivery receipt. It is the name of the person or place that sent the shell in.

<sup>243</sup> *Sōran* 4174 lists various readings put forth by scholars over the past hundred years: *kou* 寇, *zai* 宰, *sou* 叟(搜) and *pu* 僕. David Keightley (2012: 64-65) suggests 僕 and translates it as “servant, follower, groom”. He says that a group of men called by this name formed a branch of the military. I follow the interpretations of Wang Entian and Shi Bing (cited in *GuLin bubian*, 498-500) that this word refers to a type of worker, and more specifically that they are associated with construction work; see 286 and commentary.

<sup>244</sup> : Both the ZSKY 2003 transcription and Yao Xuan's transcription have a symbol here indicating one missing graph. Nearly all of the graph's form remains in both the rubbing and photograph, and it seems rather straightforward to read it *qi* 气(乞) “request”. Delivery receipts write *qi* 气 as  (444) and  (483).

<sup>245</sup> Another interpretation is to read 丁王婦 separately as “His Highness (and) the Majestic Lady”.

<sup>246</sup> Another interpretation is to read 金子 as a reverse writing of 子金 “lord Jin”.

## HYZ 123 + Jiyi 561<sup>247</sup>

123.1 庚申卜，曰己其至艱，貞：其允。—

Divining on Gengshen, (it) was uttered, “Day Ji is likely to (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction.” Tested: It is really likely to. 1

123.2 不允至。—

It is not really going to reach (this point). 1

123.3 辛酉昃歲匕(妣)庚黑牝一子祝 一一三

In the late afternoon of Xinyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one black cow (and) our lord will pray. 123

123.4 辛酉昃歲匕(妣)庚黑牝一子祝 一一三

In the late afternoon of Xinyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one black cow (and) our lord will pray. 123

123.5 辛酉卜子其蚘(殺)黑牝隹(唯)徂生(往)不雨用匕(妣)庚 一一三

Divined on Xinyou: Our lord shall kill some black cows. It being for an examination (or: site visit) that he goes, it will not rain. Used. Ancestress Geng...<sup>248</sup> 123

## HYZ 124

124.1 戊卜丙(丙)又(有)二羊 —

Divined on Wu: On Bing, add (or: have) two sheep. 1

124.2 丙(丙)又(有) —

On Bing, add (or: have) (something). 1

124.3 賁(惠)小豨一 —

It should be one small boar. 1

<sup>247</sup> Rejoined by Mo Bofeng 2009.

<sup>248</sup> Compare this to HJ 299: 戊寅卜，爭貞：殺，王徂，于之若 “Divining on Wuyin, Zheng tested: Making killings, the king will examine (them), (for) in that will be favorable.”

124.4 戊卜弼(勿)[又(有)] –

Divined on Wu: Do not [add (or: have)] (anything).<sup>1</sup>

124.5 弼(勿)又(有) 三

Do not add (or: have) (anything).<sup>2</sup>

124.7 戊卜子入二弓 –

Divined on Wu: Our lord will contribute two bows.<sup>1</sup>

124.8 戊卜二弓以子田若 –

Divined on Wu: Two bows brought for our lord to hunt will be favorable.<sup>1</sup>

124.9 戊卜子夢狀亡𪛗(艱) –

Divined on Wu: Our lord has dreamt of his image; there will be no affliction.<sup>249 1</sup>

124.10 子夢狀𪛗 –

Our lord has dreamt of his image...<sup>1</sup>

124.11 子夢狀用牡告又(有)鬯匕(妣)庚 –

Our lord has dreamt of his image. Use bulls, announce it, (and) have aromatic ale (for) Ancestress Geng.<sup>1</sup>

124.6 戊卜[于]多母興其𪛗

Divined on Wu: [To] the Many Mothers, Xing should...

124.12 匕(妣)庚求(咎)

Ancestress Geng's fault.

124.13 –

1

**249** 𪛗 is composed of *ye* 頁 “head”, an element on top of the head that appears to be a feather, and *qiang* 𠂔 “bed”. Song Zhenhao (2006: 12, cited in *GuLin Bubian*, NO33: 907) interprets the “feather” as an abbreviated spelling of *hui* 彗 and reads the graph as a variant form of *hui* 瘡 “recover” (said of illness). (瘡 is written 𪛗 (HJ 13861) by other Wu Ding period scribes.) Shi Bing (2010, cited in *GuLin bubian*, NO33: 908) interprets the “feather” as a decorative element and proposes the graph is *zhuang* 狀 “shape, image”, which in Warring States script is written with 首 and 𠂔 as 𪛗 (*Guodian*, *Laozi*, strip 21). The classifiers 首 and 頁 were interchangeable in early script; for instance, the *Shuowen jiezi* lists 𪛗 as the *zhouwen* form of 頤 “jaws”.

124.14 辛卜其𠄎(速)丁 一三

Divined on Xin: Should invite His Highness. 12

124.15 弼(勿)𠄎(速)丁 一三

Do not invite His Highness. 12

124.16 甲卜翌日乙其𠄎(厚)丁衍(侃) 一三

Divined on Ji: Tomorrow, if (contributing) thick (jade circlets), His Highness will be happy.<sup>250</sup> 12

## HYZ 125

125.1 丁卜子令庚又(有)又(有)女(母)乎(呼)求凶𠄎子人子曰不于戊其于壬人 一

Divined on Ding: Our lord commanding, (on) day Geng, to make offerings to the Mothers,<sup>251</sup> will call to search for skulls (from amongst) the lord of Suo's men.<sup>252</sup> Our lord said, "It will not be by day Wu, (but) it will likely be by day Ren (that) men (are found)."<sup>1</sup>

**250** 𠄎 is likely a graphic variant of 𠄎, which on 178 occurs in combination with and before *lang* 琅 "beads"; on 490.2 a graph written 𠄎 occurs in combination with and before *bi* 璧 "jade circlet". I read all three graphs as writing the same word. The syntax here seems to be missing a verb after the adverb/modal particle *qi*. The element 𠄎 in Western Zhou script is used as the sound element to write *hou* 厚 "thick". Reading 厚 makes sense as an adjective on 178 and 490, "thick jade", and a rule of coherency recommends to read it the same way here.

**251** ZSKY 2003 reads 庚 as a personal name, and as the object of *ling* 令 "to command": "command Geng, calling (him)..." This is possible, as the name Geng does occur on a delivery receipt (362). However, it seems straightforward that the judgment is concerned with days of the week and the days mentioned there appear to be responding to day Geng in the charge statement; this syntax can be compared with *Jiabian* 243 (= HJ 20462): 戊申卜: 王令庚追方 "Divined on Wushen: The king commands, on day Geng, to pursue (men from the) Territory"; Qu Wanli's commentary says that 庚 in this divination refers to day Geng.

**252** Perhaps this word is related to the oracle bone graph 𠄎, which is usually explained as a variant of *yin* 尹 "commander, lord" (Jao Tsung-I 1959: 307). Oracle bone inscriptions record a group of people called "Many 多𠄎", and Jao Tsung-I interprets it as another way of writing "Many Yin 多尹"; Takashima (2010: II.241) says it is an official title. Wu Ding's divination accounts record a person called Elder 伯𠄎; see Sun Yabing and Lin Huan 2010: 438-49. The use of skulls/heads ancestor worship (for instance HJ 28092: 用危方𠄎于妣庚, 王賓 "using skulls of the Wei territory to Ancestress Geng, the king will host") is almost certainly associated with beheading ceremonies (see *Yibian* 5395).

125.2 子貞 —  
Our lord tested. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 126

126.1 貞又馬其死 —  
Tested: The horse (or: These horses) might die. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 127

127.1 衍(侃) —<sub>二</sub>  
Happy. <sub>12</sub>

127.2 不 —  
Not. <sub>1</sub>

127.4+6 衍(侃) —<sub>三四</sub>  
Happy. <sub>34</sub>

127.3+5 不衍(侃) —<sub>三</sub>  
Not happy.<sup>253</sup> <sub>23</sub>

## HYZ 128

128.1 𠄎匕(妣)庚𠄎用 —  
...Ancestress Geng...Used. <sub>1</sub>

128.2 𠄎二牛  
...two head of cattle.

128.3 壬卜𠄎又(有)𠄎  
Divined on Ren...have...

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253 The transcription and reordering of this sequence follows Sun Yabing 2011a: 149.

## HYZ 129

129.1 子貞 —

Our lord tested. 1

## HYZ 130

130.1 己卯卜子用我瑟若弼(勿)屯(純)歿用衍(侃)舞商 —

Divined on Jimao: Our lord using our zither players<sup>254</sup> will be favorable; not solely using Hu's will bring happiness. Danced to “Shang”. 1

130.2 屯(純)歿瑟不用 —

Only Hu's zither players. Not used. 1

## HYZ 131

131.1 子貞 —

Our lord tested. 1

## HYZ 132

132.1 庚戌卜辛亥歲匕(妣)庚薦牝一匕(妣)庚衍(侃)用 —

Divined on Gengxu: On Xinhai, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some antelope (and) one cow; Ancestress Geng will be happy. Used. 1

132.2 辛亥歲匕(妣)庚薦牝一齒卬(禦)歸 —

On Xinhai, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some antelope (and) one cow (for our lord's) tooth exorcism,<sup>255</sup> and return.<sup>256</sup> 1

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**254** For the identification of 瑟 as 瑟 “zither”, see Xu Baogui 2006: 155-172, cited in *GuLin Bujian*, NO35: 910-911. The writing of it with 大 “adult man” suggests that it actually means zither players; see 374.4. The phrase “er se 二瑟” in the “Yan li” 燕禮 chapter of the *Yili* 儀禮 means two zither players and not two zithers.

**255** The HYZ prince was almost certainly the recipient of this tooth exorcism, since he was the only person in the HYZ OBI who is ever recorded having had a toothache; this divination is associated with 163 and 395.7, and perhaps also 28 and 284.4. On 163, an exorcism rite for a

132.3 辛亥歲匕(妣)庚廌牝一齒卣(禦)歸 二

On Xinhai, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some antelope (and) one cow (for our lord's) tooth exorcism, and return. 2

## HYZ 133

133.1 史入

Shi contributes.<sup>257</sup>

## HYZ 134

134.1 乍匚 一

Make... 1

134.2 乍匚入 一 二

Make...Ru. 12

## HYZ 135

135.1 用

Used.

135.2 己卜匚匕(妣)庚匚

Divined on Ji...Ancestress Geng...

135.3 用 一

Used. 1

135.4 匚卜匚

...divined...

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toothache was also directed at Ancestress Geng. 395.7 announced the prince's toothache as part of a sacrificial rite to another female ancestor, Ancestress Wu 妣戊.

**256** For the meaning of *gui* 歸 as “return”, see “call men to return” 呼人歸 (249) and “return the horses” 歸馬 (412).

**257** A late Shang-early Western Zhou period cemetery belonging to members of the Shi 史 lineage was discovered near Tengzhou, Shandong 山東滕州; see He Jingcheng 2007: 149-155; A009: 346-348.



135.5 辛卜子其☱

Divined on Xin: Our lord should...

135.6 ☱于子☱

...to Child...

135.7 ☱ –

...<sup>1</sup>

135.8 ☱舌(刮)☱ –

...carve...<sup>1</sup>

135.9 壬卜☱

Divined on Ren...

135.10 壬☱

Day Ren...

135.11 ☱入告☱

...enter (and) announce...

## **HYZ 136**

136.1 丁未歲匕(妣)丁歲一 –

On Dingwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding one wild boar. <sup>1</sup>

136.2 ☱立若☱ –

...position, (for it) will be favorable...<sup>1</sup>

## **HYZ 137-HYZ 138**

137.1 丙生(往)屎☱ –

On Bing, go [unclear meaning]. <sup>1</sup>

137.2 弼(勿)生(往)屎

Do not go [unclear meaning].

137.3 夷(惠)𠄎(州)口用𠄎<sub>1</sub> –

Let it be the mouth of the islet that is used to [unclear meaning].<sub>1</sub>

137.4 羌入狄乃夷(惠)入坏用 –

When Qiang are entered, it should be Ru's that Ji Nai [uncertain meaning].

Used.<sub>1</sub>

138.1 𠄎十

Kan, ten.<sup>258</sup>

## HYZ 139

139.1 乙卜季母亡不若<sub>12</sub>

Divined on Yi: Jimu<sup>259</sup> will not have anything unfavorable (happen to her).<sub>12</sub>

139.2 乙夕卜丙不雨 –

Divined on evening of Yi: Day Bing is not going to rain.<sub>1</sub>

139.3 丁卜日雨 –

Divined on Ding: It is going to rain during the day.<sub>1</sub>

139.4 丁卜不雨 –

Divined on Ding: It is not going to rain.<sub>1</sub>

139.5 己卜夷(惠)二牡<sub>1</sub>

Divined on Ji: It should be two bulls.<sub>1</sub>

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**258** This same receipt occurs on 242, 417 and 447. Forty shells in all were delivered from this place/lineage.

**259** The word *mu* 母 in Shang-Western Zhou vocabulary has the following meanings and usages: 1a) mother (349.17, 290.1, 320.2, etc.); 1b) aunt, as in *waimu* 外母 (294.5); 2) spouse (Zhao Lin 2018: 129; and 3) an appellation for females after a personal name. (For males, the word was *fu* 父/甫; see Wang Guowei 1959: 3.164.) People whose names occurred in the divination formula “person’s name (subject) + coda *wang bu ruo* 亡不若” were living; see Song Huaqiang 2009: 133 and Song Zhenhao 2010: 448. The name Jimu 季母 occurs only here, but the name Ji 季 occurs four times on 249. A correspondence between these two names and the fact that 139.7 and multiple divinations on 249 were made at the same location, Dun (see following note), recommends these two shells formed set (or part of a larger set) and Jimu and Ji were the same person.

139.6 己卜夷(惠)麇牛匕(妣)庚 三

Divined on Ji: It should be antelope, cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. 3

139.7 庚卜才(在)羴(敦)夷(惠)牛匕(妣)庚 三

Divined on Geng, at Dun:<sup>260</sup> It should be some cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. 2

139.8 辛卜其宜夷(惠)豕 一

Divined on Xin: When making (or: providing) viands, it should be pig. 1

139.9 辛卜其宜夷(惠)大豕

Divined on Xin: If making (or: providing) viands, it should be pigs contributed by Da.<sup>261</sup>

139.10 辛宜羴匕(妣)庚 一

On Xin, make (or: provide) ewe viands (for) Ancestress Geng. 1

139.11 歲匕(妣)庚豨 一

Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some sows. 1

139.12 歲匕(妣)庚豨 三

Sacrifice (to) Ancestor Geng some sows. 2

## HYZ 140

140.1 夷(惠)口蚊(殺) 一

It should be...that are killed. 1

140.2 乙卜子爰(金) 三

Divined on Yi: Lord Jin. 2

140.3 丁卜豕宜用 一

Divined on Ding: Pig viands. Used. 1

<sup>260</sup> Li Xueqin (2008: 182) locates Dun on the western banks of the Qin River 沁河. See 249. On 467, Dun is the name of a person.

<sup>261</sup> For Da, see 76.2 and commentary.

140.4 丁卜子炆(金)☱ –  
Divined on Ding: Lord Jin...<sub>1</sub>

140.5 ☱丁☱  
...Ding...

140.6 丁卜☱  
Divined on Ding...

140.7 卜子炆(金)☱  
Divined...: Lord Jin...

## HYZ 141

141.1 用 –  
Used. <sub>1</sub>

141.2 用 –  
Used. <sub>1</sub>

141.3 用 –  
Used. <sub>1</sub>

141.4 二  
<sub>2</sub>

## HYZ 142

142.1 甲戌其[祝]夷(惠)豕用  
On Jiayu, When [praying], it should be (about) castrated pigs. Used.

142.2 –  
<sub>1</sub>

142.3 祝于白一牛用升歲且(祖)乙用子祝 一三三

Pray about the white single head of cattle that will be used, ascending to sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi.<sup>262</sup> Used. Our lord prayed. 123

142.4 祝于二牢用升歲且(祖)乙用子祝 一三三

Pray about the two head of pen-raised cattle that will be used, ascending to sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi. Used. Our lord prayed. 123

142.5 乙亥升歲且(祖)乙二牢勿(物)牛白豝叔鬯一子祝 二三

On Yihai, ascend and sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi two head of pen-raised cattle, some variegated cattle, and some white boars, offer one bowl of aromatic ale, (and) our lord will pray. 23

142.6 戊子歲匕(妣)庚一犬 一三

On Wuzi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one dog.<sup>263</sup> 12

142.7 辛卯宜豕一才(在)入 一三

On Xinmao, make viands (from) one pig. At Ru. 12

142.8 𠄎丁壬午丁各用 二三四

...His Highness. On day Renwu, His Highness will arrive. Used. 234

142.9 𠄎[子]祝

...[our lord] will pray.

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**262** On 178 the graph used to write “ascend” is *zhi* 陟. The *Erya* lists the following words as synonyms: *zhi* 鷲, *jia* 假, *ge* 格, *zhi* 陟, *ji* 躋, *deng* 登, and *sheng* 陞也. I read *sheng* 升 here as 陞. The phrase *sheng sui* 升歲 occurs frequently in the divination accounts of Wu Ding, Zu Geng, and Zu Jia (period I-IIab), but only occurs in the HYZ OBI on this one shell. This suggests that the HYZ prince was not regularly tasked with performing this ritual action. The identification of 升 follows Jao Tsung-I (1959: 377), who calls attention to a parallel with the OBI phrase 陟歲. I read both 升歲 and 陟歲 literally as [subject] ascends [to higher place] to make sacrifice; the alternative is that “sacrifice” is the object of these verbs read in the causative mode, “cause sacrifice to go up [to spirit recipient]”.

**263** Ancestress Geng (451), Ancestor Wu (316↔355.5) and Child Gui (459.8) are the only ancestors who received dog sacrifices in the Huayuanzhuang East divinations.

**HYZ 143**

143.1 子貞 –  
Our lord tested. <sub>1</sub>

143.2 子貞 三  
Our lord tested. <sub>2</sub>

**HYZ 144**

144.1 毋(毋) –  
Must not. <sub>1</sub><sup>264</sup>

144.2 己未南三日又(有)至 –  
On Jiwei, in three days there will be an arrival (in/from) the south. <sub>1</sub>

144.3 三伐  
Three beheadings.

144.4 五伐  
Five beheadings.<sup>265</sup>

144.5 西  
West.

144.6 西  
West.

**HYZ 145**

145.1 子貞 –  
Our lord tested. <sub>1</sub>

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<sup>264</sup> The transcription follows Sun Yabing 2011a: 160, note 3.

<sup>265</sup> Song Zhenhao (2010: 465-66) suggests that the word 伐 refers to a military formation, and the numbers in front of it refer to the amount of men.

## HYZ 146

146.1 卯

Mao

146.2 己酉卜今月丁生(往)𨔵 –

Divined on Jiyou: This month His Highness will go to Fu\*. 1

146.3 今月丁不生(往)𨔵 –

This month His Highness will not go to Fu\*. 1

146.4 庚戌卜其句禾馬(駢)賈 –

Divined on Gengxu: Should request piebald horses to trade.<sup>266</sup> 1

146.5 庚戌卜弼(勿)句禾馬(駢) –

Divined on Gengxu: Do not request piebald horses. 1

146.6 庚戌卜其句禾馬(駢)賈 二

Divined on Gengxu: Should request piebald horses to trade. 2

## HYZ 147

147.1 丙卜貞𨔵(瞿) –

Divining on Bing, tested: (about) lances.<sup>267</sup> 1

**266** 禾馬: A comparison with 𨔵 (179) and 𨔵 (386.4) confirms that, although in this particular instance 禾馬 are written separately and in a vertical orientation taking up the space of two graphs, they should in fact be read as spelling one word. The classifier is “horse” and the component on the left of the horse in 179 and 386 is the sound value. The sound value is *ji* 禾 and not *he* 禾. 禾 is written with a protrusion off the stem of the plant, represented by a deictic circle, and depicts a malignant growth or “tumour” 瘤. Under the listing of the word *hui* 癩 “diseased (plant/tree)”, the *Shuowen jiezi* cites a line from the *Shijing* poem “Xiao bian” 小弁 (Small cap) that reads 譬彼癩木 “I am like that diseased tree”, and adds that its meaning is a growth protruding from the side. The corresponding line in the received version of the *Shijing* has *huai* 壞 “bad, rotten” in place of 癩. On 386 this word occurs opposite “black horses”, and is modified by “small”. I read this graph as writing the word *zhui* 騮 “piebald”; see the *Shijing* poem “Jiong” 駒 (Stallions).

**267** The composition of the graph is *qu* 𨔵 (phonetic) over *chu* 琫 “large jade tablet”. Yang Zhou (2007) reads it *qu* 瞿 “lance”. The graph *qu* 瞿 occurs in the phrase *zhi qu* 執瞿 “grasping a

147.2 用 二  
Used. 2

147.3 一  
1

## HYZ 148

148.1 甲卜夷(惠)☐  
Divined on Jia: It should be...

148.2 甲卜☐  
Divined on Jia...

148.3 甲卜☐  
Divined on Jia...

148.4 甲卜☐匕(妣)庚☐  
Divined on Jia...Ancestress Geng...

148.5 甲卜☐ 一  
Divined on Jia... 1

148.6 ☐𠄎(既令)☐  
...after commanding...

148.7 一  
1

148.8 丙卜又(有)☐子☐ 一  
Divined on Bing: Have...Child... 1

148.9 ☐卜☐ 一  
Divined... 1

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lance” in the “Gu ming” 顧命 chapter of the *Shangshu*. In that text *qu* 瞿 is occurs in conjunction with the other weapon types *yue* 鉞 “axe” *kui* 戣 “lance” and *liu* 劉. See 289.1.



148.10 入豕  
...contribute pigs...

## HYZ 149

149.1 甲午歲且(祖)甲牝一祱鬯一□祝大牝一 一一三  
On Jiawu, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one cow, offer one bowl of aromatic ale... prays. One large cow. 123

149.2 己亥卜夷(惠)今夕甬(稱)琚(璋)若衍(侃)用 一  
Divined on Jihai: It should be this evening that some large jade tablets and arc-ended jade tablets are held up, (for it) will be favorable (and) bring happiness. Used. 1

149.3 己亥卜子夢[夕]見子琚[亡]至黹(艱) 一  
Divined on Jihai: Our lord dreamt that [in the evening]<sup>268</sup> appeared our lord's large jade tablets. It [will not have] (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction. 1

149.4 丁未卜其𠄎(禦)自且(祖)甲且(祖)乙至匕(妣)庚𠄎二牢麥(來)自皮(彼)鼎酌(酒)興用 一一三  
Divined on Dingwei: If making an exorcism rite from Ancestor Jia (and) Ancestor Yi down to Ancestress Geng, announce by written record (sacrifice of) two head of pen-raised cattle; returning from that,<sup>269</sup> make caldron offering and an ale libation, (for) Xing. Used. 123

149.5 于麥(來)自伐迺蚊(殺)牝于且(祖)甲用 一  
Upon returning from making beheading(s), then kill some cows (for) Ancestor Jia. Used. 1

149.6 庚戌卜[雨]𠄎(禦)宜翬壬子祉(延)酌(酒)若用 一  
Divined on Gengxu: Make a [rain] exorcism rite and a viand offering, (and) on upcoming Renzi continue to make the ale libation, (for it) will be favorable. Used. 1

<sup>268</sup> The reading here of “evening” follows Sun Yabing 2011a: 156, note 4.

<sup>269</sup> Huang Tianshu (2006: 405) reads *pi* 皮 “skin” as a phonetic loan for the demonstrative pronoun *bi* 彼 “that, there”.

149.7 庚戌卜子于辛亥告亞休若用 —

Divined on Gengxu: Our lord, by Xinhai, will report that Ya-officers rest, (for it) will be favorable. Used. <sup>1</sup>

149.8 辛亥卜子告又(有)口疾匕(妣)庚亡罍 —<sub>三</sub>

Divined on Xinhai: Our lord will report there is mouth sickness to Ancestress Geng, (but) will not announce anything by written record. <sup>12</sup>

149.9 甲寅歲白豕 —

On Jiayin, sacrifice some white sows. <sup>1</sup>

149.10 甲寅歲且(祖)甲白豕鬯一又(有)鬯(登) —

On Jiayin, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia some white boars, offer one bowl of aromatic ale, (and) have (>add) a (cereal) raising. <sup>1</sup>

149.11 癸亥卜子甗(迄)用丙(丙)吉弓射若 —

Divined on Guihai: Our lord finally<sup>270</sup> uses Bing's best bow(s) to shoot, (for it) will be favorable. <sup>1</sup>

149.12 甲戌歲且(祖)甲牢幽廌且(祖)甲衍(侃)子用 —<sub>三</sub>

On Jiaxu, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia pen-raised cattle (and) dark-red antelope; Ancestor Jia will be happy (with) our lord. Used. <sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 150

150.1 甲辰夕歲𠄎 —

On the evening of Jiachen, sacrifice...<sup>1</sup>

150.2 己酉夕翌日𠄎(刮)匕(妣)庚黑牡一 —<sub>一 二 三 四 五</sub>

On the evening of Jiyou, carve one black bull for the Yi-day rite (to) Ancestress Geng. <sup>12345</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> The force of the adverb “finally”, here on a divination dated day 60/60, responds to previous unsuccessful divinations about using this bow on 37.14-19, dated day 42/60 the week before.

150.3 甲寅卜乙卯子其學商丁衍(侃)用子髀 –

Divined on Jiayin: On Yimao, if our lord practices “Shang”, His Highness will be happy. Used. Lord Bi.<sup>271</sup> 1

150.4 甲寅卜丁衍(侃)于子學商用 –

Divined on Jiayin: His Highness will be happy about our lord’s practicing “Shang”. Used. 1

150.5 丙辰卜祉(延)奏商用 –

Divined on Bingchen: Continue to perform “Shang”. Used.<sup>272</sup> 1

## HYZ 151

151.1 庚☱ –

On Geng...1

## HYZ 152

152.1 友貞子炆(金) –

You tested: (about) Lord Jin. 1

## HYZ 153

153.1 ☱其☱ 三

...should...3

153.2 ☱其☱

...should...

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**271** Divinations (3)-(5) can be synchronized with 86↔87↔209↔247↔336↔487. 487.2 and 336.1 record the exact same divination statement but add two separate and complementary formal prognostications that predicted affliction for a participant during the practice session; this turned out to be lord Bi. A total of ten divination cracks over three shells (487, 336, 150) were made on day Jiayin about this issue. 209↔336 record divinations made later the same week about whether or not to announce lord Bi’s ailment during sacrificial offerings or to just directly perform an exorcism for him.

**272** Like the Jiayin divination set earlier the same week, on day Bingchen diviners also made a total of ten cracks over three shells (150, 86.1, 382) about this related issue.

153.3 癸□其□于□  
Gui...should...to...

153.4 □鼎□  
...caldron...

## HYZ 154

154.1 辛酉卜丁先獸(狩)迺又(有)伐 —  
Divined on Xinyou: His Highness first hunts, then has a beheading. <sup>1</sup>

154.2 辛酉卜丁其先又(有)伐迺出獸(狩) —  
Divined on Xinyou: His Highness is likely to first have a beheading, and then exit to hunt. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 155-HYZ 156

155.1 —  
<sup>1</sup>

155.2 □至□于又□  
...arriving...to...

155.3 □宰□ —  
...pen-raised sheep...<sup>2</sup>

155.4 □ —  
...<sup>2</sup>

155.5 丁小艱(艱)亡□ —  
His Highness' minor affliction will not have... <sup>273</sup> <sup>1</sup>

155.6 □ —  
...<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> *Ding xiao jian* 丁小艱 can be compared with *Zi jian* 子艱 “Our lord’s affliction” on HYZ 43.

- 156.1 𠄎(禦)[敷(鬼)]  
Exorcise [the demon].<sup>274</sup>

## HYZ 157

- 157.1 己巳卜[子]其告[𠄎(戎)]既[率(率)]丁若 –  
Divined on Jisi: [Our lord] should report (that) [Rong] [is] already [under control] (to) His Highness,<sup>275</sup> (for it) will be favorable. 1
- 157.2 𠄎(待)弼(勿)告 –  
Wait, do not report (it). 1
- 157.3 甲戌卜𠄎(鬯)甲且(祖)一用  
Divined on Jiayu: Offer aromatic ale (to) Jia-day Ancestor, one bowl.<sup>276</sup>  
Used.
- 157.4 甲戌卜𠄎(鬯)且(祖)甲二用  
Divined on Jiayu: Offer aromatic ale to Ancestor Jia, two bowls. Used.
- 157.5 丁丑歲匕(妣)丁小宰 一三  
On Dingchou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding some small pen-raised sheep. 12
- 157.6 丁丑歲匕(妣)丁小宰 一三三  
On Dingchou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding some small pen-raised sheep. 123
- 157.7 己卯卜貞龜不死子曰其死 –  
Divined on Jimao, tested: Qiu is not going to die. Our lord said, “Likely dies.” 1

<sup>274</sup> It is a common in oracle bone scribal practice to record divination utterances on the recto side of a shell and a corresponding prognostication or verification on the verso side. Most of the content on the recto side of 155 has been erased, and the only inscription that remains is the first part of (5). The inscription on the verso side is on the same side of the shell as divination (5), and this suggests that the content on the verso was a judgment.

<sup>275</sup> 𠄎(率): This graph also occurs on 294. The inner component is *shuai* 率, which the *Shuowen jiezi* defines as a net for capturing birds. The outside component might be 𠄎, which the *Shuowen jiezi* defines as a container. (The alternative is that it is the frame of the net.) Elsewhere in these inscriptions the writing of *shuai* without 𠄎 functions as an adverb, “all” (237.15).

<sup>276</sup> Jia Zu 甲祖 is likely a reverse spelling of Zu Jia 祖甲 “Ancestor Jia” in divination (4).

157.9 貞其死—

Tested: Might die. 1

157.8 己卯卜貞龜不死子曰其死

Divining on Jimao, tested: Qiu is not going to die. Our lord said, “Likely dies.”

157.10 貞其死 —

Tested: Might die. 1

157.11 辛巳卜我<sub>王</sub>□丁蚊(殺)用 —

Divined on Xinsi: We [unclear meaning]...His Highness will kill (it). Used. 1

## HYZ 158

158.1 三十

Thirty

## HYZ 159

159.1 癸未卜今月六日□于生月又(有)至南子<sub>王</sub>(占)曰其又(有)至<sub>翌</sub>月<sub>爻</sub>(亂(攣)) —

Divined on Guiwei: From the sixth day of this month...until the growing (> new) month, there will be an arrival south. Our lord read the crack and said, “Should have an arrival (at) the intersection of the months;<sup>277</sup> (there will be captives) linked and bound up.<sup>278</sup> 1

159.2 癸未卜亡其至南 —

Divined on Guiwei: Not likely to have arrival south (by this time). 1

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<sup>277</sup> Yao Xuan’s commentary to 262 reads <sub>翌</sub>月 as the name of a month, but she does not offer further explanation. Non-numerical month names are poorly understood in the oracle bone inscriptions and there are no other occurrences of this term elsewhere. The divination utterance creates time constraints, from the sixth day of the current month until the following month, and this leads me to suggest that <sub>爻</sub> (𠄎), which is the ancestral form of *chou* 疇 (定-initial 幽-rime) “a bank between fields > to separate from”, refers to time.

<sup>278</sup> This word also occurs in a divination account about Qiang captives on 215.1.

## HYZ 160

160.1 𠄎佳(唯)𠄎

...it is...

160.2 子亡蚩(害) –

Our lord will have no harm. 1

160.3 用

Used.

160.4 –

1

## HYZ 161

161.1 辛未歲且(祖)乙黑牡一𠄎鬯一子祝曰毓且(祖)非曰云兕正且(祖)佳(唯)曰泉  
𠄎(血)不又(有)醜(擾) –

On Xinwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one black bull, offer one bowl of aromatic ale (and) our lord will pray, saying, “Near Ancestor! (I) am not saying (I) Cloud Buffalo rectify (my) Ancestor. (I) am saying, (in) the evening be calm! Disturb (me) no more!”<sup>279</sup> 1

**279** For an annotated reading and discussion of this divination account, see Schwartz 2013. In that paper I proposed to read *yun si* 云兕 as the personal name of the protagonist, Zi “our lord”, and confirmed *yu zu* 毓祖 “Near Ancestor” and *zu* 祖 “Ancestor” both referred to his grandfather, Ancestor Yi 祖乙. I noted *rao* 醜 meant “drunk and unruly”, and explained that the prayer-maker was imploring the ancestral spirit not to disturb the living. While I still think this reading is reasonable, it is worth it here to explore an alternative interpretation, namely that 云兕 was a type of sacrificial animal, and the prayer was being spoken to two recipients, Ancestor Yi (called here “Near Ancestor”) and Ancestor Jia (called here only “Ancestor”). Shang oracle bone inscriptions record a place called Yun 云 “Cloud”, and “Yun’s buffalo” would then correspond with “black bull” mentioned earlier. Ancestor Yi undoubtedly corresponded to the “Near Ancestor” in the prayer (the prince’s grandfather). In my 2013 paper I parsed the prayer text as, 子祝曰毓且(祖), 非曰云兕正且(祖)。佳(唯)曰泉血不有擾。Ancestor Yi and Ancestor Jia are referred to in other Huayuanzhuang East divination records as the “Two Ancestors” (*er zu* 二祖; see 162 immediately below, HYZ 7 and 411), and they were often sacrificed to jointly. As such, the sacrifice, offerings, and prayer could be referring to a prayer directed at both ancestors. “Ancestor” could be referring to Ancestor Jia. The plea for this ancestor to remain calm

161.2 乙亥夕歲且(祖)乙黑牝一子祝 –

On the evening of Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one black cow (and) our lord will pray. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 162

162.1 戊卜夷(惠)奠卣(禦)圭(往)匕(妣)己 –

Divined on Wu: It should be Dian's exorcism that is directed (to) Ancestress Ji. <sup>1</sup>

162.2 [戊]卜夷(惠)奠卣(禦)圭(往)匕(妣)己 二

Divined on [Wu]: It should be Dian's exorcism that is directed (to) Ancestress Ji. <sup>2</sup>

162.3 歲匕(妣)庚豕 三

Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some sows. <sup>3</sup>

162.4 己卜自又(有)二且(祖)卣(禦)[雨] –

Divined on Ji: Starting from these two Ancestors,<sup>280</sup> make a [rain] exorcism. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 163 + 506

163+506.1 庚午卜才(在)訓卣(禦)子齒于匕(妣)庚[鬯]牢勿(物)牝白豕用 二

Divined on Gengwu, at Fu: Make an exorcism (for) our lord's tooth to Ancestress Geng, (and) [announce by written record] (sacrifice of) pen-raised cattle, variegated cows, and white pigs. Used. <sup>12</sup>

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and to not create a disturbance could correspond to the offering of aromatic ale. If this reading is pursued, the prayer would be parsed and translated, 子祝曰毓且(祖), 非曰云兕正。且(祖), 佳(唯)曰泉餼不有擾 “Our lord will pray saying, Near Ancestor! It is not to be said, (sacrificing) a buffalo from Yun is correct. Ancestor (Jia)! It is to be said, in the evening be calm! There is to be no drunkenness!” Zhu Qixiang (2006: 987) first proposed these correspondences between Ancestor Yi/Near Ancestor, Yun Buffalo/black bull, and aromatic ale 鬯/醴 (he says this graph wrote a word that meant a type of aromatic liquor); regrettably I neglected to cite his work earlier.

**280** “Two Ancestors” refers to Ancestor Jia and Ancestor Yi; see 7.2 and 411.



163+506.2 庚午卜才(在)鬲子其又(有)齒于匕(妣)庚誓牢勿(物)牝白豕至豨一用 一三  
 Divined on Gengwu, at Fu: If our lord makes offerings (for) the tooth to Ancestress Geng, announce by written record (sacrifice of) pen-raised cattle, variegated cows, and white pigs down to one sow. Used. 12

## HYZ 164

164.1 子貞 一  
 Our lord tested. 1

## HYZ 165

165.1 子又(有)夢佳(唯)口吉 一  
 Our lord having a dream means (> spells)...good luck. 1

165.2 貞 二  
 Tested. 2

165.3 貞咎(陷)亡艱(艱) 一  
 Tested: Will fall into danger, <sup>281</sup> (but) there will be no affliction. 1

165.4 亡艱(艱) 二  
 There will be no affliction. 2

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**281** *Xian* 陷 (>陷) is etymologically related to *kan* 坎 “pit”, *xian* 險 “fall into; dangerous”, and *han* 函 “to contain, tongue”; Axel Schuessler (2007: 530) defines it: “small pit” (as a trap), “get trapped”, “fall into (a pitfall)”. HJ 22278 [Zi I] has a similar syntax: 丁丑卜: 子啟咎亡戾 “Divined on Dingchou: Zi Qi will fall into danger, (but) there will be no misfortune.” Western Zhou bronze inscriptions have the phrase 陷(/險/函)于難(/艱) “fall into danger”, for instance the *Buqi gui* 不其簋 (JC 4328): 戎大同從追汝, 汝及戎大敦搏, 汝休, 弗以我車陷于難 “Enemy warriors came together in a large group, followed and pursued you. You reached the enemy, greatly attacking and battling (them). You did well, not causing our chariots to fall into any danger”; *Shi Xun gui* 師詢簋: 欲汝弗以乃辟函于艱 “(I) hope you will not cause your ruler to fall into any danger.”

**HYZ 166**

166.1 丁☐  
Day Ding...

166.2 貞☐  
die\*...

166.3 二  
2

166.4 夷(惠)三☐ 一三  
It should be three...<sup>12</sup>

166.5 戊☐癸☐  
Day Wu...Gui...

166.6 一三三四  
1234

166.7 一  
1

**HYZ 167**

167.1 丁未歲匕(妣)丁豕一 一三三  
On Dingwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding one sow. <sup>123</sup>

**HYZ 168**

168.1 其又(有)賈馬[于]新 一  
Will likely have tradeable horses [in] Xin. <sup>1</sup>

168.2 其又(有)羈于賈視 一  
Will likely have black horses with light-brown manes to be inspected by the trader. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 169

169.1 甲辰卜丁各矢(昊)于我[翌日]于大甲 —

Divined on Jiachen: His Highness will arrive in the late afternoon to us, [Yi rite day] for Da Jia. 1

169.2 甲辰卜歲且(祖)乙牢夷(惠)牡 —

Divined on Jiachen: Sacrificing (to) Ancestor Yi some pen-raised cattle, it should be bulls. 12

## HYZ 170

170.1 癸丑宜鹿才(在)入 —

On Guichou, make (or: provide) deer viands. At Ru. 1

170.2 甲寅歲且(祖)甲白豶𤝮一𤝮(登)自西祭 —

On Jiayin, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia some white boars, offer one bowl of aromatic ale, (and) raise sacrificial items originating from the west. 1

170.3 甲寅才(在)入𤝮(登)用

On Jiayin, at Ru, raise (sacrificial items originating from the west). Used.

170.4 甲寅歲且(祖)甲白豶一 —

On Jiayin, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one white sow. 1

170.5 子貞 —

Our lord tested. 1

## HYZ 171

171.1 [乙]巳𤝮(刮)且(祖)乙口牝一才(在)𤝮由 —

On [Yi]si, carve Ancestor Yi...one cow. At Fu. From...1

171.2 乙巳歲且(祖)乙三[豕]子祝𤝮(登) [糝(黍)]才(在)口 —

On Yisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi three [pigs], our lord will pray, (and) raise [millet]. At...2

## HYZ 172

172.1 封十  
Feng, ten

## HYZ 173

173.1 朕  
Zhen

173.2 丙申卜[丁]𠄎𠄎子母(占)曰其寔(賓)𠄎(孚)  
Divined on Bingshen: [His Highness]...Yi rite. Our lord read the crack and said, “Will likely host. Trust (it).”

173.3 丙申卜子母(占)曰亦夷(惠)茲(茲)𠄎(孚)亡寔(賓)  
Divined on Bingshen.<sup>282</sup> Our lord read the crack and said, “Also, it should be this that is trusted. There will not be a hosting.”

173.4 丙申卜子其生(往)𠄎𠄎(殺)匕(妣)庚用羊 一三  
Divined on Bingshen: When our lord goes to Fu to make a killing (for) Ancestress Geng, use sheep. <sup>12</sup>

173.5 丙申卜子生(往)𠄎𠄎(歲)匕(妣)庚羊一才(在)𠄎 一三  
Divined on Bingshen: Our lord will go to Fu and sacrifice one sheep (to) Ancestress Geng. At Fu. <sup>12</sup>

173.6 丙申卜子其生(往)于𠄎衍(侃)用 一  
Divined on Bingshen: If our lord goes to Fu, (it) will bring happiness. Used. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 174

174.1 貞𠄎 一  
Tested: (about) Suo. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>282</sup> The charge has been omitted. It was almost certainly the same divination statement as (2), that the king would host/would not host an upcoming Yi rite.

## 174.2 貞發 —

Tested: (about) Fa. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 175

## 175.1 辛酉昃歲匕(妣)庚黑牝一子祝 —

In the late afternoon of Xinyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one cow (and) our lord will pray. <sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 176

## 176.1 丁丑卜子卣(禦)于匕(妣)甲卣牛一又鬯一口𠄎(災)入商酏(酒)才(在)巛

一二三四五六七八九十

Divined on Dingchou: Our lord will make an exorcism to Ancestress Jia, (and) announce by written record (the sacrificial offerings of) one head of cattle and one bowl of aromatic ale;...calamity to enter Shang and make the ale libation. At Lu. <sup>283</sup> 12345678910

## 176.2 丁丑卜子卣(禦)匕(妣)甲卣牛一鬯一用 —

Divined on Dingchou: Our lord will make an exorcism (to) Ancestress Jia, (and) announce by written record (the sacrificial offerings of) one head of cattle (and) one bowl of aromatic ale. Used. <sup>1</sup>

## 176.3 乙酉歲𠄎

On Yiyou, sacrifice...

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**283** The ten cracks made about this divination statement is the highest count in the entire corpus. (HYZ 310, a 9 cm x 7 cm scapula fragment, has a divination account with two cracks numbered 9 and 10.) The shell has a small hole-shaped fracture in between the words 一 “one” and 𠄎 “calamity”, and part of 𠄎 has been nicked off. The ZSKY editors suggest that only a single graph is missing, and based on context the missing graph would likely have been the negative *wang* 亡 “not have”.

## HYZ 177

177.1 鳥

Bird<sup>284</sup>

## HYZ 178

178.1 庚子卜子𠄎(餉)夷(惠)异(厚)累良(琅)攷(肇)用 —

Divined on Gengzi: When our lord has the meal delivered, it should be thick circlets\*<sup>285</sup> together with beads<sup>286</sup> that are dispensed.<sup>287</sup> Used. 1

178.2 庚子卜子𠄎(餉)夷(惠)异(厚)累良(琅)攷(肇)用 —

Divined on Gengzi: When our lord has the meal delivered, it should be thick circlets\* together with stone beads that are dispensed. Used. 1

178.3 庚子卜子𠄎(餉)夷(惠)异(厚)累良(琅)攷(肇)用 二三

Divined on Gengzi: When our lord has the meal delivered, it should be thick circlets\* together with stone beads that are dispensed. Used. 23

**284** This single word is the only writing on this intact shell. It occurs in the right section of the entoplastron (*zhong jia* 中甲) and along the central dividing line. The lack of a corresponding divination crack implies that it is either a type of receipt notation (Sun Yabing 2011a: 255) or graphitti. The phrase 自鳥 “from Niao” occurs outside of the HYZ OBI and is recorded on HJ 9438 and HJ 8241v; HJ 8240v [Model Bin scribal type] mentions the place “Niao” and the person 由友 “You You”: 取由友于鳥 “Get You You in Niao”. This “You You” is almost certainly the same person who features prominently in this corpus.

**285** 𠄎: This graph resembles the inside of the graph used to write the word *hou* 厚 (厚) “thick”. Tang Lan (1981: 32) explains the graph’s image as a container with a large mouth and slender neck. Here the word looks like a noun since it is followed by the noun connector 累 and a second noun, beads. It occurs again on 490.2 in front of “serrated jade circlet (牙)璧”, and packaged as a gift to the king together with pointed jade tablets (*gui* 圭). There I read it as a modifier “thick 厚”. I propose to read it here in this same way, as a modifier, and suggest that the word *bi* 璧 has been omitted, but is implied.

**286** I read this graph as *liang* 良, which is ancestral form of *lang* 琅(瑯). It is defined in the *Shuowen jiezi* as a stone resembling a pearl.

**287** Based on HYZ 37.5, the recipient of the gifts mentioned in 178.1-3 is the king.

178.4 癸卯夕歲匕(妣)庚黑牝一才(在)入陟盥 一三三四五六<sup>288</sup>

In the evening of Guimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Geng one black cow. At Ru. Ascended and offered (its) blood.<sup>289</sup> 123456

178.5 陟盥用 —

Will ascend and offer (its) blood. Used. 1

178.6 乙巳卜 —

Divined on Yisi. 1

178.7 乙巳卜 —

Divined on Yisi. 1

178.8 己酉夕伐羌一才(在)入庚戌宜一牢發 —

On the evening of Jiyou, behead one Qiang. At Ru. On Gengxu, made (or: provided) meat viands from one head of pen-raised cattle, and shot.<sup>290</sup> 1

178.9 己酉夕伐羌一才(在)入 —

On the evening Jiyou, behead one Qiang. At Ru. 1

178.10 庚戌歲匕(妣)庚牝一 —

On Gengxu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ewe.<sup>291</sup> 1

178.11 庚戌宜一牢才(在)入發 一三

On Gengxu, make (or: provide) viands from one head of pen-raised cattle. At Ru. Shot. 12

**288** Sun Yabing (2011a: 108) emends the crack notation “6”.

**289** For a discussion of *huang* 盥 “blood; blood offering rite”, see Yao Xuan 2005: 124-126. Yao explains *zhi* 陟 as “to offer” and 盥 as its noun object, “blood”. This is certainly possible, and if so, 陟 could be translated in the causative mode, “to make ascend” > “send up”. I read both words as procedural verbs, and understand 陟 as literally ascending to a higher place to offer the blood. See the commentary to the phrase *sheng sui* 升歲 on 142.

**290** I read *fa* 發 here as a verb, “to shoot”; this usage occurs on HYZ 252: 其發(發)于射 “Should shoot in Liu\*”, and HJ 20040: 子其發(發)于射 “Our lord should shoot in...”. Qiu Xigui (2012: 1.140-154) says 發 is synonymous with *she* 射 “to shoot [with bow and arrow]”; see too Schuessler 2007: 228. The alternative reading is that it refers to Fa, one of the prince’s servitors.

**291** The reading of “ewe” follows Sun Yabing 2011a: 174, note 3.

178.12 庚戌宜一牢才(在)入發 –

On Gengxu, make (or: provide) viands from one head of pen-raised cattle.  
At Ru. Shot. 1

178.13 庚戌卜其畀旻尹酉(酒)若 –

Divined on Gengxu: If giving Suo's\* Commander<sup>292</sup> ale, (it) will be favorable. 1

## HYZ 179

179.1 己亥卜其又(有)至莫(艱) –

Divined on Jihai: Might have (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction. 1

179.2 甲辰卜歲莫友彘且(祖)甲夷(惠)子祝用 –

Divined on Jiachen: When sacrificing some mountain rams<sup>293</sup> (and) pairing them with some wild boars (to) Ancestor Jia, it should be our lord who prays. Used. 1

179.3 丙午卜其敕火句賈𩇑(騅)用 –

Divined on Bingwu: Should order Huo to request to trade piebald horses.  
Used. 1

179.4 弼(勿)句 –

Do not make (this) request. 1

179.5 丁未卜夷(惠)加乎(呼)句賈𩇑(騅)

Divined on Dingwei: It should be Shao who is called to request to trade piebald horses.

179.6 夷(惠)𩇑乎(呼)句賈𩇑(騅) –


It should be Geng\* who is called to request to trade piebald horses. 1

179.7 弼(勿)句黑馬用 –

Do not request black horses. Used. 1

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<sup>292</sup> Perhaps this is the same person that appears on 125.1, and perhaps this person was a member of the *duo yin* 多尹 “Many Commanders”; see 113, 196 and 352; see Wei Cide 2006: 88.

<sup>293</sup>  is read *wan/huan* 莫. The *Shuowen jiezi* lists and defines it as, “A mountain ram with thin horns. (The graph’s composition) is from rabbit’s feet; the phonetic is 苜...read like *wan* 丸.” The horns over the eye are ram horns; see 338.



## HYZ 180

180.1 甲子丁[各]子禹(稱)𠄎 –

On Jiazi, His Highness [arrives]; our lord will hold up...<sup>1</sup>

180.2 甲子卜乙子𠄎(肇)丁璧累琚 –

Divined on Jiazi: On an Yi day, our lord will dispense (to) His Highness jade circlets together with large jade tablets.<sup>1</sup>

180.3 夷(惠)黃璧累𠄎 –

It should be earthen-colored jade circlets together with serrated jade circlets.<sup>1</sup>

180.4 乙丑卜子弼(勿)𠄎(速)丁用 –

Divined on Yichou: Our lord should not invite His Highness. Used.<sup>12</sup>

180.5 𠄎蚊(殺)𠄎(刮)且(祖)乙牢牝 –

...kill (and) carve for Ancestor Yi one pen-raised cow.<sup>1</sup>

180.6 庚午歲匕(妣)庚牝一 –

On Gengwu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one cow.<sup>1</sup>

180.7 辛未歲且(祖)甲黑牡一日雨 –

On Xinwei, (we) will sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one black bull; it will rain during the day.<sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 181

181.1 甲卜子其𠄎(延)休𠄎乙若 –

Divined on Jia: If our lord continues to rest, tomorrow day Yi will be favorable.<sup>294</sup><sup>1</sup>

181.2 甲卜子其𠄎(延)休𠄎乙若 –

Divined on Jia: If our lord continues to rest, tomorrow day Yi will be favorable.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>294</sup> An alternative reading is: “If our lord continues to rest tomorrow, day Yi, (it) will be favorable.”

- 181.3 甲卜子其生(往)田曰又(有)求非𣎵(虞) 一三  
 Divined on Jia: If our lord goes to hunt, saying there is a need, (it) is not cause to be upset.<sup>295</sup> 12
- 181.4 甲卜𣎵(待)口 一  
 Divined on Jia: Wait... 1
- 181.5 甲卜弜(勿)𣎵(待)𣎵(待)裸子其生(往)田 一三  
 Divined on Jia: Do not wait. Wait for the ale libation. Our lord should go hunt.<sup>296</sup> 12
- 181.6 己卜其又(有)匕(妣)庚 一  
 Divined on Ji: Should have offerings to Ancestress Geng. 1
- 181.7 己卜弜(勿)又(有)于匕(妣)庚其𣎵(𣎵)𣎵(拔) 一  
 Divined on Ji: Not having offerings to Ancestress Geng, (we) should change<sup>297</sup> (from performing) “Uproot”.<sup>298</sup> 1
- 181.8 己卜𣎵(惠)多臣𣎵(禦)生(往)于匕(妣)庚 一  
 Divined on Ji: It should be the exorcism for the Many Servitors that is directed to Ancestress Geng. 1

**295** Yao Xuan interprets what follows the word *yue* 曰 as a judgment, and reads *qiu* 求 as a phonetic loan for *jiu* 咎 “fault”—曰: 有求(咎)非虞 “There is fault, (but) it does not mean [one] will be upset.” See 53, 286 and 384. I understand 曰有求 as part of the charge; the subject will hunt for a reason. *Fei yu* 非虞 is the coda, and the anticipated result of 子其往田曰有求. The coda is grammatically equivalent with codas used in other divinations, for instance *fei kan* 非侃 (234) and *fei jian* 非艱 (5); it is the converse of the coda *wei yu* 唯虞 (300). Divinations (1)-(5) in this sequence can likely be synchronized with 3↔409 to form a three-shell set. The background is that Zi 子 will rest with the king on day Yi and the prince’s diviners want to ensure that their lord going off to hunt will not cause the king to be upset. “There is a need” is the explanation to be stated.

**296** The charge is undoubtedly the converse of the previous divination (181.4). What follows “Do not wait” appears to be an unmarked judgment. It was decided that the prince would hunt after the libation was over.

**297** The graph is a compound written with *ge* 戈 “dagger axe” + *xin* 心 “heart”. Tang Lan (1999: 120) reads it *te* 忒, which *Shuowen jiezi* defines as to change (*geng* 更).

**298** 𣎵 is composed with a right hand 又 and *bu* 不 written upside down. 不 is a pictograph of “roots”, and in this compound it has both a phonetic and semantic value. Combining the right hand with the phono-semantic 不 writes the word *ba* 拔 “uproot”. In the HYZ OBI it is the name of a song and dance; see divinations (23)-(27) on this shell.

- 181.9 己卜夷(惠)白豕于匕(妣)庚又鬯 —  
Divined on Ji: It should be white pigs for Ancestress Geng, in addition to aromatic ale. <sup>1</sup>
- 181.10 夷(惠)牝于匕(妣)庚 —  
It should be cows for Ancestress Geng. <sup>1</sup>
- 181.11 歲牡于匕(妣)庚又鬯 —  
Sacrifice some bulls to Ancestress Geng (and) add (or: have) aromatic ale. <sup>1</sup>
- 181.12 歲牡于匕(妣)庚又鬯 三 —  
Sacrifice some bulls to Ancestress Geng (and) add (or: have) aromatic ale. <sup>2</sup>
- 181.13 歲牡于匕(妣)庚[又]鬯 三 —  
Sacrifice some bulls to Ancestress Geng (and) [add (or: have)] aromatic ale. <sup>3</sup>
- 181.14 己卜子其疫弱(勿)坐(往)學 —  
Divined on Ji: If our lord is sick (or: fatigued), (he) ought not go practice. <sup>1</sup>
- 181.15 己卜丁各夷(惠)斲(新)口舞丁衍(侃) —  
Divined on Ji: When His Highness arrives, it should be the new...danced; His Highness will be happy. <sup>1</sup>
- 181.16 己卜夷(惠)三羝于匕(妣)庚 —  
Divined on Ji: It should be three rams to Ancestress Geng. <sup>1</sup>
- 181.17 己卜丁懋(虞)不鬮(陷\*) 一三 —  
Divined on Ji: His Highness will be upset that there will not be a sacrificial burial\*. <sup>12</sup>
- 181.18 己卜夷(惠)臠(餼) —  
Divined on Ji: It should be stew.<sup>299</sup> <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> This word also occurs on 183 and there it takes Ancestress Ding as its object. Wang Guowei (cited in *Gulin* #3209) reads it *shu* 餼. Takashima (2010: I.786) translates it as “(food) offering”. Gao Heng’s commentary (2010: 315) to the *Yijing* line statement *fu gong shu* 覆公餼 “Overturn the duke’s stew” (Hexagram “Ding” 鼎) says “vegetables in broth and porridge can all be called 餼.”

181.19 庚卜子心疾亡征(延) –

Divined on Geng: Our lord's heart illness will not persist. <sub>1</sub>

181.20 辛卜其卣(禦)子馘于匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Xin: Should make the exorcism (for) lord Guo to Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

181.21 夷(惠)反(服)卣(禦)子馘匕(妣)庚 –

It should be prisoners (that are used) when making the exorcism (for) lord Guo (to) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

181.22 辛卜其卣(禦)子馘于匕(妣)己累匕(妣)丁 –

Divined on Xin: Should make the exorcism (for) lord Guo to Ancestress Ji together with Ancestress Ding. <sub>1</sub>

181.23 辛卜子其舞夔(拔)丁衍(侃) –

Divined on Xin: If our lord dances “Uproot”, His Highness will be happy. <sub>1</sub>

181.24 辛卜卣(禦)子舞夔(拔)虻(殺)一牛匕(妣)庚卽宰又鬯 –

Divined on Xin: Making the exorcism, our lord will dance “Uproot” (and) kill one head of cattle (for) Ancestress Geng, (and) announce by written record (the sacrificial offerings of) pen-raised sheep and aromatic ale. <sub>1</sub>

181.25 辛卜卣(禦)子舞夔(拔)虻(殺)一牛匕(妣)庚卽宰又鬯 二三

Divined on Xin: Making the exorcism, our lord will dance “Uproot” (and) kill one head of cattle (for) Ancestress Geng, (and) announce by written record (the sacrificial offerings of) pen-raised sheep and aromatic ale. <sub>23</sub>

181.26 壬卜子舞夔(拔)亡言丁衍(侃) –

Divined on Ren: Our lord will dance “Uproot” without words;<sup>300</sup> His Highness will be happy. <sub>1</sub>

181.27 壬卜子舞夔(拔)亡言丁衍(侃) –

Divined on Ren: Our lord will dance “Uproot” without words; His Highness will be happy. <sub>1</sub>

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**300** *Wang yan* 亡言 “not have/without words” is the opposite of *you yan* 有言 “have words”: 丙寅夕卜: 子有言在宗 “Divined in the evening of Bingyin: Our lord will have words in the ancestral temple” (234.1); 有言妣庚 “will have words (to/for) Ancestress Geng” (490.6).

181.28 壬卜子令 —

Divined on Ren: Our lord will issue a command. <sub>1</sub>

181.29 壬卜子令 —

Divined on Ren: Our lord will issue a command. <sub>1</sub>

181.30 壬卜子令 —

Divined on Ren: Our lord will issue a command. <sub>1</sub>

181.31 壬卜夷(惠)子興圭(往)于子癸 —

Divined on Ren: It should be lord Xing who is directed to Child Gui. <sub>12</sub>

181.34 夷(惠)豕于子癸 —

It should be pigs to Child Gui. <sub>1</sub>

181.32 歲子癸小宰 —

Sacrifice (to) Child Gui some small pen-raised sheep. <sub>1</sub>

181.33 歲子癸小宰 —

Sacrifice (to) Child Gui some small pen-raised sheep. <sub>2</sub>

181.35 小宰卜不吉貞亡困(庚)匕(妣)庚用 —

Divinations about the small pen-raised sheep are inauspicious. Tested:  
There will be no misfortune (from) Ancestress Geng. Used. <sup>301</sup> <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 182

182.1 —

12

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**301** The preface in this divination account is 小宰卜不吉，貞。 The text before the word *zhen* 貞 “tested” is the result of the previous divinations (32)-(33). The diviner is testing why the previous divinations about sacrificing some small pen-raised sheep to Child Gui were unlucky. Prefaces in this format are rare (see HYZ 123 + Jiyi 561), and in this particular case the reason it was recorded might have had to do with orientation and the layout of the inscriptions, since the location of (35) is far removed from the divinations it intended to test on this densely inscribed bone.

182.2 二三四

234

## HYZ 183-HYZ 184

183.1 丙卜丁來視子舞 –

Divined on Bing: His Highness will come to watch our lord dance. 1

183.2 丙卜用二卜𦍋五宰匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Bing: Use a second divination (about) making an announcement by written record (of) five pen-raised sheep (sacrifices) (to) Ancestress Geng.<sup>302</sup> 1

183.3 丙卜子令 –

Divined on Bing: Our lord will issue a command. 1

183.4 丙卜臠(餽)匕(妣)丁 一三

Divined on Bing: Stew (for) Ancestress Ding. 12

183.5 丙言子興 –

On Bing, have words (with/about) lord Xing. <sup>303</sup> 1

183.6 歲匕(妣)丁小宰 三

Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding some small pen-raised sheep. 2

183.7 生(往)于舞若丁衍(侃)

Going to dance will be favorable; His Highness will be happy.

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**302** *Er bu* 二卜: I read this phrase in the same way I do when it occurs on 102: 二卜有求(咎), 唯見 “The second divination [crack] has fault; it has appeared.” Song Zhenhao (2010: 635-639) thinks phrases in the formula “number + *bu* 卜” refer to the number of shells or bones used to make the divination; Jao Tsung-I (1959: 65-70) lists examples of this formula that go up to six. Following Song’s interpretation the divination utterance would read, “Use two [shells] to divine (about)...” Shang diviners repeated divinations that were unsuccessful or required recertification, and one of the divination formulas for doing so was “*xi* 習 + number + *bu* 卜” (Jao Tsung-I 1959: 66, Qiu Xigui 2012: I.425-426); in this formula, 二卜 also meant “second divination”, and referred to a second divination crack in an earlier divination sequence.

**303** 言子興 is parallel with 言利 “have words with/about Pou” (285).

183.8 壬卜丁𣪠(虞)祉(延) —

Divined on Ren: His Highness will be upset to prolong (it).<sup>1</sup>

183.9 壬卜丁不𣪠(虞)

Divined on Ren: His Highness will not be upset.

183.10 壬卜子炅(金) —

Divined on Ren: (about) Lord Jin.<sup>1</sup>

183.11 癸卜不𣪠(及)旬日雨 —

Divined on Gui: Within a ten-day week,<sup>304</sup> it will rain.<sup>1</sup>

183.12 癸歲匕(妣)庚牡 —

On Gui, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some bulls.<sup>1</sup>

183.13 歲匕(妣)庚豕 —

Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some pigs.<sup>1</sup>

183.14 翌甲其乎(呼)多臣同 —

Tomorrow, day Jia, should call the Many Servitors to assemble.<sup>305</sup><sup>1</sup>

183.15 翌甲其乎(呼)多臣同 —

Tomorrow, day Jia, should call the Many Servitors to assemble.<sup>2</sup>

**304** For the reading of 𣪠 as a variant of 及 “reach”, see Yao Xuan 2005: 89-93. A second variant 𣪠 occurs on 290 written with “rain” 雨 and not *he* 禾. Warring States script writes it with hand grasping a rice stalk and omitting the man’s body: 𣪠 (*Guodian, Tang Yu zhidao* 唐虞之道, strip 24). Other variant spellings from this period abbreviated the stalk to a barely recognizable minimum, for instance 𣪠 in *Guodian, Chengzhi* 成之 (strip 27). Huayuanzhuang East scribes only use this variant when talking about time.

**305** ZSKY 2003 and Yao Xuan both read 舟 as *zhou* 舟 “boat” (see too *Xin Jiaguwen bian*, 486). 舟 in HYZ script is written different than this, as 舟 (255). Shang scribes did write “boat” in a vertical orientation (for instance: HJ 11461 [Bin 賓-type] and *Tunnan* 4052 [Li 歷-type]), but a more distinguishing feature is that the left and right “sideboards” of the boat were written in the same direction, whereas the sides of *tong* 同 “a tube-shaped container” (> *tong* 筒) usually move away from each other in the shape of 八 (see *Xin Jiaguwen bian*, 728). The *Yijing* has a hexagram (13/64 in the received version) named *Tong ren* 同人 “Assemble Men”. A theme of its line statements is about going to war. See HYZ 300 and commentary, and the commentary to 165.3 citing a passage on the Western Zhou bronze *Buqi gui* 不其簋.

183.16 癸卜其同般我人 一

Divined on Gui: Should assemble Chuan, our men.<sup>306</sup> 1

183.17 癸卜我人其同咎

Divined on Gui: Our men should assemble Ge.<sup>307</sup>

183.18 癸卜我人其同咎 二

Divined on Gui: Our men should assemble Ge. 2

184.1 大示五

Da submits five.

## HYZ 185

185.1 𠄎于𠄎母用

...to...mother. Used.

185.2 𠄎其𠄎己

...should...Ji.

185.3 𠄎其𠄎求𠄎

...should...seek...

## HYZ 186

186.1 貞奠不死 一

Tested: Dian is not going to die. 1

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**306** 般 is unidentified, but the phonetic presumably is *chuan* 川 “river”. Based on the context of this divination it is either the name of a place or the name of a group of people. Reading it as a place name then we have to assume that a preposition is missing in front of it. Oracle bone inscriptions do mention a place called Chuan 川, as well as “Chuan people 川人”; see citations in Jao Tsung-I 1959: 739.

**307** 咎 is perhaps it is an allograph of Ge 或; see 275 and 449.



## HYZ 187-HYZ 188

187.1 𠄎庚  
...Geng.

187.2 𠄎庚𠄎  
...Geng...

187.3 𠄎𠄎(腹)𠄎(禱)𠄎(妣)庚 𠄎  
...stomach,<sup>308</sup> pray (to) Ancestress Geng. 2

187.4 𠄎丁 𠄎子 𠄎弼 𠄎  
...Ding...our lord...should not...

187.5 𠄎癸 𠄎  
...Gui...

188.1 𠄎  
...

## HYZ 189

189.1 用 𠄎  
Used. 1

189.2 𠄎[夢]𠄎(殺)𠄎  
...[dreamt]; kill...

189.3 𠄎丁 𠄎 𠄎  
...Ding...1

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**308** In oracle bone script the word *fu* 腹 “stomach” was written pictographically with the addition of a deictic symbol “pointing” to the stomach, or like here, as a phonograph phonetized with *bi* 𠄎 “a type of container for liquids”. See 416.10 and commentary for an instance where the graph *bi* 𠄎 was used a phonetic loan to write the word *fu* 复 “return”. 𠄎, 腹 and 复 were all *yu* 魚-group rhymes (-a).

189.4 癸卜☱ –

Divined on Gui...<sub>1</sub>

189.5 –

1

189.6 ☱小宰☱ =

...small pen-raised sheep...<sub>2</sub>

189.7 丙

Bing

189.8 ☱丁☱

...Ding...

189.9 用 –

Used. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 190

190.1 庚入二

Geng contributes two.

190.2 庚入五

Geng contributes five.<sup>309</sup>


## HYZ 191


191.2 戊卜其日用騄不𨔵(躓) –

Divined on Wu: If used during the daytime, a light black horse<sup>310</sup> will not stumble.<sup>311</sup> <sub>1</sub>


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<sup>309</sup> These two delivery-receipt notations are written on the verso of H3:567.

<sup>310</sup>  is written with the classifier 馬 “horse” + the phonetic 鬼 鬼; it is listed in the *Shuowen jiezi*: 騄, 馬淺黑色, 從馬鬼聲.

<sup>311</sup>  is written in two orientations. There are three elements: hand (either right or left), foot (止 止) and a graph that resembles the word for “divine (< divination crack)” 卜 卜. Re-

## 191.3 弱(勿)日用不𨔵(躓) —

Do not use during the daytime, (and) will not stumble. <sub>1</sub>

## 191.4 騷其𨔵(躓) —

A light black horse might stumble. <sub>1</sub>

## 191.5 騷不𨔵(躓) =

A light black horse will not stumble. <sub>2</sub>

## 191.6 其𨔵(躓) —

Might stumble. <sub>1</sub>

## 191.7 不𨔵(躓) —

Will not stumble. <sub>1</sub>

## 191.1 受貞 —

Shou tested (it).<sup>312</sup> <sub>1</sub>**HYZ 192**

## 192.1 [大][示]□

[Da] [submits]...

regardless of whether it is written on the left or right of the shell the transverse stroke of “卜” runs towards the “hand”, and in all but one instance (divination (7)), the “foot” is angled at the “hand.” Since a characteristic feature of Huayuanzhuang scribal practice is to always write the word *bu* 卜 with the transverse line pointing toward the center-divining line (or suture) (Yao Xuan 2006: 93-94), that only two of the six instances write “卜” in this way implies that this component is not 卜 but a different element. I interpret it as an abbreviated spelling of 𨔵, the phonetic value in *zhi* 質 (in Western Zhou script written 𨔵<sub>𨔵</sub> (JC 109)). I take “foot” *zhi* 止 as a classifier and the abbreviated *zhi* 𨔵 as the phonetic, and read the graph as writing the word *zhi* 躓 “stumble, trip” (≈跌/顛).

**312** Six divination cracks were made on the topic of whether or not a light black colored horse would stumble if ridden during the daytime. Not one of the divination cracks produced a judgment (*yong* 用). As I understand it, a diviner called Shou then made a test divination to determine the right course of action. For this reason, I have moved it to the end of the sequence. See HYZ 70 for a similar instance.

## HYZ 193

193.1 乙亥子夷(惠)白△(圭)禹(稱)用佳(唯)子見 –

On Yihai, it should be white pointed jade tablets that our lord holds up.  
Used. It was our lord who had audience.<sup>313</sup> 1

## HYZ 194

194.1 用 –

Used. 1

## HYZ 195

195.3 辛亥卜子目(以)帚(婦)好入于欸(戎)用 –

Divined on Xinhai: Our lord will lead Lady Hao to enter into Rong. Used. 1

195.1 辛亥卜子攸(肇)帚(婦)好珣(往)鑿才(在)欸(戎) – 二

Divined on Xinhai: Our lord will dispense (to) Lady Hao some large jade tablets. Going to Xuan, at Rong. 12

195.2 辛亥卜乎(呼)崐(微)面見于帚(婦)好才(在)欸(戎)用 –

Divined on Xinhai: Call Wei to face and have audience about/with Lady Hao.<sup>314</sup> At Rong. Used. 1

195.4 辛亥卜夷(惠)入人用 –

Divined on Xinhai: It should be Ru men.<sup>315</sup> Used. 1

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**313** “Had audience” presumably meant with the king. An alternative is to read *jian* 見 as *xian* 獻 “present”, i.e., “Our lord presented (the jades)”, with the sense being that in addition to holding up jades for the king to see, the prince also personally presented them (and did not have someone else do it on his behalf). See 237.12.

**314** Huang Tianshu (2006: 452-453) reads *mian* 面 as an adverb, “in person” (*dangmian* 當面), and Yao Xuan (2005: 132-133) reads 見 as phonetic loan for *xian* 獻 “to present”. Following these interpretations, the phrase 面見(獻) means to present in person. See 113.15 and commentary.

**315** It is possible that *ru* 入 should be read *nei* 內, and that the noun phrase *nei ren* 內人 refers to members of the prince’s household and perhaps also including his entourage. Wei 微 was not part of the organization called “Our lord’s servitors”, and he appears to have been ordered

195.5 癸丑卜其賚(將)匕(妣)庚[示]于妣(戎)東官(館)用 二

Divined on Guichou: Should carry in (offerings to) Ancestress Geng's [altar] in Rong's eastern guesthouse. Used. 2

195.6 乙卯歲猷叔鬯且(祖)乙用 一三三

On Yimao, sacrifice some boars (and) offer aromatic ale (to) Ancestor Yi. Used. 123

195.7 壬戌卜才(在)妣(戎)罔(葬)韋用 一

Divined on Renxu: At Rong, bury Wei.<sup>316</sup> Used. 1

195.8 于襄罔(葬)韋不用 一

In Xiang,<sup>317</sup> bury Wei. Not used. 1

## HYZ 196

196.1 丙午卜才(在)鬻子其乎(呼)肉(多)尹入考(刈)衍(侃) 一

Divined on Bingwu, at Lu: If our lord calls the Many Commanders to contribute sickles,<sup>318</sup> it will cause happiness.<sup>319</sup> 1

196.2 戊申卜日用馬于之力(嘉) 一三

Divined on Wushen: Use horses during the day, (for) in that will be auspicious.<sup>320</sup> 12

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by the king and queen to safeguard their son the prince. This is likely the reason a divination is being made proposing for Wei to “face and have audience about Lady Hao”. No other servitors were ever spoken about in this manner.

**316** For a discussion of the person Wei 韋, see Jao Tsung-I 1959: 540-552.

**317** The commentary to HYZ 39 offers a possible location for Xiang.

**318** For the reading of sickle, see Qiu Xigui 1992: 38 and Sun Yabing 2011a: 176, note 2.

**319** ZSKY 2003 has the graph 丁 “His Highness” before 侃 “happy”, but as Sun Yabing notes (2014: 190, note 1), it is not visible in the photograph. As such, it ought to be “our lord” 子, the subject of the initial clause, who the diviner anticipates being happy as a result of the contribution.

**320** The coda 于之力 is grammatically parallel with *yu zhi ruo* 于之若. I read 力 “force, power” as *jia* 嘉 “excellent, auspicious”. (The *Erya* lists 若 and 嘉 as synonyms; see footnote 8.) Oracle bone divinations about childbirth often are phrased in the antithetical form, “Lady [personal name] will give birth. It will be auspicious [*jia* (嘉)]/it is not likely to be auspicious.” In royal family divination records performed on behalf of palace ladies (see Table 1 in the

- 196.3 戊申卜弼(勿)日用馬于之力(嘉) 一三  
Divined on Wushen: Do not use horses during the day, (for) in that will be power. 12
- 196.4 己酉歲且(祖)甲牝一歲[且(祖)乙]牝一入自鹿麕 一  
On Jiyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one ewe (and) sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one ewe. Entered from Lu. 321 1
- 196.5 弼(勿)又(有)鬯用 一  
Do not add (or: have) aromatic ale. Used. 1
- 196.6 庚戌歲匕(妣)庚牝一入自鹿 一  
On Gengxu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ewe. Entered from Lu. 1

## HYZ 197

- 197.1 甲卜☱ 一三  
Divined on Jia...12
- 197.2 甲卜庚☱  
Divined on Jia: Geng...
- 197.3 辛卜子𠄎(禦)𠄎(璋)匕(妣)庚又(有)鄉(饗) 一  
Divined on Xin: Our lord will make an exorcism rite (for) Zhang (to) Ancestress Geng; 322 there will be a feast. 323 1

Introduction), scribes wrote the word *jia* 嘉 as *li* 力 (HJ 2815+22370; HJ40868). This is perhaps the most compelling evidence that the graph 力 could be used to write the word 嘉. See HYZ 87.1 and commentary for another oracle bone graph used to write the word 嘉.

321 ZSKY 2003 has 鹿, but it is clear from the photograph that the graph is spelled 鹿, without any 口 “mouth” elements (Sun Yabing 2014: 190, note 5).

322 This divination is likely to be synchronized with 492.1, dated Renyin (39/60); if so, then day Xin 辛 in the preface was either Xinchou 辛丑 (38/60) or Xinhai 辛亥 (48/60). Combining the two accounts, Zi planned to meet Zhang at Lady Hao’s and to perform an exorcism for him there.

323 See the commentary to 37.23 for what type of food was covered by the word *xiang* 饗 according to later ritual texts. Kang Ding’s divination accounts (period III OBI) record feasting as part of an exorcism rite to Xiao Yi’s (=Ancestor Yi in the HYZ OBI) spouse Ancestress Geng: 丁未卜, 何貞: 禦于小乙爽妣庚, 其實鄉(饗) “Divining on Dingwei, He tested: Performing an

197.4 壬卜 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 (禦) 𠄎

Divined on Ren...exorcise...

197.5 壬卜 𠄎 —

Divined on Ren...<sub>1</sub>

197.6 𠄎 𠄎 (刈) 才 (在) 入

...sickle. At Ru.

197.7 [再(稱)] 丁 𠄎 其 𠄎 三

[Hold up] (to) His Highness...should...<sub>2</sub>

197.8 𠄎 𠄎 于 匕 (妣) 庚

...boar to Ancestress Geng.

197.9 三

3

## HYZ 198

198.1 乙亥歲且(祖)乙 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 一 三

On Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi..., offer one bowl of aromatic ale. <sub>2</sub>

198.2 辛卯卜子 𠄎 宜至二日用 —

Divined on Xinmao: Our lord will set out viand trays for two days. Used. <sub>1</sub>

198.3 辛卯卜子 𠄎 宜至三日不用 —

Divined on Xinmao: Our lord will set out viand trays for three days. Not used. <sub>1</sub>

198.4 辛卯卜 𠄎 (惠) 𠄎 (肉) 宜 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 亦 𠄎 (惠) 𠄎 用 —

Divined on Xinmao: It should be meat viands...female antelope and cow; furthermore, it should be bull that is used. <sub>1</sub>


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exorcism rite to Xiao Yi's spouse Ancestress Geng, [the king] should host a feast" (HJ 27456/HJ27221).

198.5 辛卯卜子罇宜夷(惠)幽鳥用 –

Divined on Xinmao: When our lord sets out the viand trays, it should be dark red antelope that is used. <sub>1</sub>

198.6 壬辰卜子罇宜又(右)𠂇(左)夷(惠)鳥用中夷(惠)𠂇用

Divined on Renchen: When our lord sets out the viand trays, right and left, it should antelope that is used; for the middle, it should be male antelope that is used.

198.7 壬辰卜子亦罇宜夷(惠)𠂇于𠂇(左)又(右)用 –

Divined on Renchen: Furthermore, when our lord sets out the viand trays, it should be male antelope on the left and right that is used. <sub>1</sub>

198.8 壬辰卜子罇宜夷(惠)隹口用 –

Divined on Renchen: When our lord sets out the viand trays, it should be short-tailed bird...that is used. <sub>1</sub>

198.9 癸巳夷(惠)琿斂(肇)丁不用 –

On Guisi, it should be large jade tablets that are dispensed (to) His Highness. Not used. <sub>1</sub>

198.10 癸巳卜夷(惠)璧斂(肇)丁 –

Divined on Guisi: It should be jade circlets that are dispensed (to) His Highness. <sub>1</sub>

198.11 子斂(肇)丁璧一用 二

Our lord will dispense (to) His Highness one jade circlet. Used. <sub>2</sub>

## HYZ 199

199.1 𠂇𠂇(瘳) –

...heal. <sub>1</sub>

199.2 𠂇卜宰 𠂇首 𠂇 –

...divined: Pen-raised sheep...head... <sub>1</sub>

199.3 二



199.4 三  
3

## HYZ 200

200.1 𠄎乎𠄎用 一三  
...call... Used. 12

## HYZ 201

201.1 𠄎  
Zhu.

## HYZ 202

202.1 丁卜𠄎  
Divined on Ding...

202.2 丁卜子又(有)𠄎 一  
Divined on Ding: Our lord will have...1

202.3 丁卜𠄎 一  
Divined on Ding...1

202.4 丁卜𠄎 一  
Divined on Ding...1

202.5 丁卜𠄎 三  
Divined on Ding...2

202.6 己𠄎  
Ji...

202.7 庚卜子其見丁𠄎𠄎(以)用  
Divined on Geng: When our lord sees His Highness,...will be taken... Used.

202.8 庚卜子其見丁鹵𠄎(以) 三  
On Geng divined: When our lord sees His Highness, salt will be taken. 2.

202.9 庚☱ –

On Geng...<sub>1</sub>

202.10 癸卜子☱

Divined on Gui: Our lord...

202.11 癸卜子☱ ☳

Divined on Gui: Our lord...<sub>2</sub>

202.12 ☱子☱癸☱ –

...Our lord...Gui...<sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 203

203.1 丙卜☱癸☱

Divined on Bing...Gui...

203.2 ☱二☱ ---

...two...<sub>1,1</sub>

203.3 ☱丁☱用 ☳

...Ding...Used. <sub>2</sub>

203.4 [丙]卜𡗗(惠)三十牛𡗗(肇)丁 ☳

Divined on [Bing]: It should be thirty head of cattle that are dispensed (to) His Highness. <sub>2</sub>

203.5 丙卜𡗗(惠)三十牛𡗗(肇)丁 ☳

Divined on Bing: It should be thirty head of cattle that are dispensed (to) His Highness. <sub>3</sub>

203.7 丙卜𡗗(惠)十牛𡗗(肇)丁用 –

Divined on Bing: It should be ten head of cattle that are dispensed (to) His Highness. Used. <sub>1</sub>

203.8 丙卜𡗗(惠)十牛𡗗(肇)丁用 ☳

Divined on Bing: It should be ten head of cattle that are dispensed (to) His Highness. Used. <sub>2</sub>

203.6 丙卜夷(惠)十牛𠄎(肇)丁

Divined on Bing: It should be ten head of cattle that are dispensed (to) His Highness.

203.9 一一三

123

203.10 丙卜𠄎翌丁𠄎

Divined on Bing...tomorrow day Ding...

203.11 丙卜夷(惠)子𠄎(面見(視))𠄎(圭)用眾緝禹(稱)丁用 —

Divined on Bing: It should be pointed jade tablets personally inspected by our lord that are used together with ear ornaments, when holding up (jades) (to) His Highness.<sup>324</sup> Used. 1

## HYZ 204

204.1 又(有)歲牛于匕(妣)己 —

Have a sacrifice (of) cattle to Ancestress Ji. 1

204.2 𠄎乃𠄎

...Nai...

204.3 𠄎又(有) [歲牛于]匕(妣)己

...have [sacrifice (of) cattle] Ancestress Ji.

## HYZ 205

205.1 筒 二

Tong. 2

205.2 貞陞(陞) 二二三

Tested: (for) Sheng. 23

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**324** 𠄎 is composed of a standing man with an emphasized eye (= *shi* 視) + 首 “head”. The graph does not occur elsewhere in Shang oracle bone inscriptions. The phrase *mian jian* 面見 however does occur elsewhere in this corpus (195), and this leads me to suggest that it should be read as a ligature, either writing 面見 or 面視.

## 205.3 貞女(母) 二

Tested: (for) Mother.<sup>325</sup> 2

## 205.4 貞祉(延) 二

Tested: Continue.<sup>326</sup> 2

## 205.5 貞三小子 三

Tested: (for) Third small child. 3

## HYZ 206

## 206.1 丁丑卜才(在)𠄎(柚)子其𠄎(𠄎&gt;助)舞戍若不用

Divined on Dingchou, at Xun: If our lord assists<sup>327</sup> dancing (with) axes, (it) will be favorable. Not used.

## 206.2 子弼(勿)𠄎(𠄎&gt;助)舞戍于之若用多万又(有)𠄎(災)引棘(戟)

Our lord ought not assist dancing with axes, for (in) that will be favorable. Used. The Many Dancers had a calamity drawing in a trident.<sup>328</sup>

**325** An alternative is to read 女 as it is written, but in the plural—“women”, and meaning “women” of the house. For the graph 女 as writing the word 母—and then as a rebus for the negative 毋, see 208.3.

**326** Perhaps meaning “continue” to make test divinations about other people; see 339 and 441. A less likely alternative is to read the word as the name of a person.

**327** 𠄎 is likely the ancestral form of *zhuan* 轉 “whorl”, to be read here as a phonetic loan for *zhu* 助 “assist” (Li Xueqin 2011: 2). It is an elaborated form of the modal copula *hui* 𠄎. This same graph occurs parallel with *you* 右 “assist” in the Western Zhou bronze inscription *Lu Bo Dong gui* 录伯冬簋 (JC 4302): 右鬪四方, 𠄎(助) 鬪大命 “Aided in opening up the four quarters; assisted in extending the great command.”

**328** I read *ji* 棘 “thorns” as a phonetic loan for *ji* 戟 “trident”. The choice of 棘 as a loan for 戟 was precisely because both had multiple branch protrusions that could stab (*ci* 刺). The definition for 戟 in the *Shuowen jiezi* says: 戟, 有枝兵也...《周禮》: 戟, 長丈六尺。讀若棘 “*Ji* is a branched weapon...The *Zhou Li*: ‘*Ji*, a long stick of six feet.’ Read like *ji* 棘”. This Eastern Han definition reveals an image association between 戟 “trident”, 枝 “branches” and 棘 “thorns”. According to the *Da Dai Liji* 大戴禮記 (“*Xia Xiaozheng*” 夏小正), performers called “*Wan*” 万 danced with weapons: 万也者, 干戚舞也 “*Wan* dance with shield and axe”; see 450.4 commentary.

## HYZ 207+210

207+210.1 甲卜☱  
Divined on Jia...

207+210.2 甲卜☱ –  
Divined on Jia ...<sub>1</sub>

207+210.3 己卜☱ ☳  
Divined on Ji ...<sub>3</sub>

207+210.4 用 五  
Used. <sub>5</sub>

207+210.5 ☱ 己☱  
...Ji...

207+210.6 庚☱其☱卸☱ –  
On Geng...should...approach<sup>329</sup> ...<sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 208

208.1 戊卜貞崙(微)亡至𨾏(艱) –  
Divined on Wu, tested: Wei will not have (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction. <sub>1</sub>

208.2 庚卜西五六日至 –  
Divined on Geng: In five or six days will arrive west. <sup>330</sup> <sub>1</sub>

208.3 庚卜女(母>毋)至 –  
Divined on Geng: Must not arrive (then). <sub>1</sub>

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<sup>329</sup> Reading 卸 as *ji* 即 “to approach”.

<sup>330</sup> I read 卜“west” as the prepositioned object of the verb *zhi* 至 “to arrive”; compare with 亡其至南 “Not likely have arrival south” (159.2). 至 is written upside down in these two divinations, and perhaps sportively to convey arriving at a place that is not where the diviner and his patron are located. It is written right side up in the divination immediately before it about whether affliction would befall Wei.

## HYZ 209

209.1 庚申卜歲匕(妣)庚牝一子髀卣(禦)生(往) —二三四五六

Divined on Gengshen: Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one cow; lord Bi's exorcism will be sent off. <sup>123456</sup>

## HYZ 210+207 (see HYZ 207)

## HYZ 211

211.1 辛巳子其告行于帚(婦)弼(勿)目(以) —

On Xinsi, when our lord reports marching to our Lady, (he) should not bring anything. <sup>1</sup>

211.2 弼(勿)告行于丁 —

Do not report marching to His Highness. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 212

212.1 —

<sup>1</sup>

212.2 𠄎匕(妣)庚𠄎

...Ancestress Geng...

212.3 己卜𠄎 二

Divined on Ji...<sup>2</sup>

212.4 己卜𠄎

Divined on Ji...

212.5 二

<sup>2</sup>

212.6 —

<sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 213

213.1 𠄎庚𠄎  
...Geng...

213.2 𠄎乍𠄎  
...make ...

213.3 𠄎丙(丙)𠄎  
...Bing...

213.4 三  
2

## HYZ 214

214.1 辛未卜子弼(勿)祝用 一  
Divined on Xinwei: Our lord ought not pray. Used. 1

214.2 辛未卜子弼(勿)祝用 一  
Divined on Xinwei: Our lord ought not pray. Used. 1

214.3 癸酉歲癸子𠄎(微)目𠄎(禦) 一  
On Guiyou, sacrifice (to) Gui Child some ewes; Wei's eye (sickness) will be exorcised. 1

214.4 其生(往)𠄎(微)𠄎(禦) 一  
Should send off Wei's exorcism.<sup>331</sup> 1

214.5 戊寅卜歲且(祖)甲小宰且(祖)乙小宰𠄎(登)自西祭子祝 一三  
Divined on Wuyin: Sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia some small pen-raised sheep (and) (to) Ancestor Yi some small pen-raised sheep, raise sacrificial items originating from the west, (and) our lord will pray. 12

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**331** These two divinations both concern preparations for an exorcism over Wei's eye to be directed at the deceased spirit Guizi; it can be synchronized with 226 and 427.

## HYZ 215

215.1 壬申卜子其眚(以)羌噉(亂(攣))誓于呈(王婦)若衍(侃) —

Divined on Renshen: When our lord takes Qiang, linked and bound up,<sup>332</sup> and registers (them over) to His Majesty's Lady, (it) will be favorable (and) bring happiness. 1

215.2 甲戌卜貞羌弗死子臣 — 二三

Divining on Jiayu, tested: Qiang will not cause any of our lord's servitors to die. 123

215.3 庚辰歲匕(妣)庚豕一豨一子祝 — 二三

On Gengchen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one boar, one sow, (and) our lord will pray. 123

## HYZ 216

216.1 子貞 —

Our lord tested. 1

## HYZ 217

217.1 丁未歲匕(妣)丁彘一才(在)鬲 —

On Dingwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding one wild boar. At Fu. 1

217.2 丁未歲匕(妣)丁彘一才(在)鬲 —

On Dingwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding one wild boar. At Fu. 2.

217.3 己卜其☱ —

Divined on Ji: Should...1

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<sup>332</sup> I read this graph as a variant of *luan* 亂 (see 159), to be read here as a loan for *luan* 攣 “entwined > linked and bound up” (連在一起). The *Shuowen* defines it as 系 “link, bound up, connected”. The meaning of 羌攣 is similar to *you fu luan ru* 有孚攣如 “There will be capture entwined-like” in the line statements of the *Yijing* hexagrams 中孚 “Zhongfu” (Captured in the Middle) and 小畜 “Xiao chu” (Small storage).



217.4 –  
1

217.5 二  
2

## HYZ 218

218.1 丙辰卜子炆(金)夷(惠)今日响(丐)糝(黍)于呈(王婦)若用 –

Divined on Bingchen: It should be today that lord Jin requests glutinous millet from His Majesty's Lady, (for it) will be favorable. Used. 1

218.2 丙辰卜子炆(金)其响(丐)糝(黍)于呈(王婦)若衍(侃)用 –

Divined on Bingchen: If lord Jin requests glutinous millet from His Majesty's Lady, (it) will be favorable (and) bring happiness. Used. 1

## HYZ 219

219.1 –  
1

219.2 二  
2

## HYZ 220

220.1 丁丑歲且(祖)乙黑牝一卯脔(臠)子弓(占)曰未其又(有)至莫(艱)其戊用

On Dingchou, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one black cow (and) cut apart the cranium. Our lord read the crack and said, “Not yet, (or) there might be (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction. Should (do it) on an Wu day.” Used.<sup>333</sup>

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333 This divination account can be synchronized with 49 and concerns worship and sacrificial offerings to Ancestor Ding, Ancestor Yi's father and the protagonist's great-grandfather. Worship and offerings to Ancestor Ding were fixed to take place weekly on day Ding, but the prognostication predicted affliction for the prince should rites be carried out on the proposed Ding-

220.2 戊寅卜子[卬(禦)]又(有)[口]疾于[匕(妣)庚]咎牝 —

Divined on Wuyin: Our lord [will make an exorcism rite] for those with mouth illness to [Ancestress Geng], (and) announce (it along with the sacrifice of) cows by written record. 1

220.4 甲申歲且(祖)甲豶一 —

On Jiashen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one boar. 1

220.5 弔(勿)又鬯用 —

Do not add (or: have) aromatic ale. Used. 1

220.3 甲申歲且(祖)甲豶一夷(惠)𠄎祝用 —

On Jiashen, when sacrificing (to) Ancestor Jia one boar, it should be [name] who prays. Used. 1

220.6 甲申卜夷(惠)配(妃)乎(呼)曰帚(婦)好告白屯(純)用 —

Divined on Jiashen: It should be (our lord's) spouse who is called to address Lady Hao, reporting the white textiles.<sup>334</sup> Used.<sup>335</sup> 1

220.7 □卜子其入白屯(純)若 —

...divined: If our lord contributes white textiles, (it) will be favorable. 1

220.8 乙酉卜乎(呼)嵬(微)𦉳(鑊)若用 —

Divined on Yiyou: Calling Wei to cook<sup>336</sup> will be favorable. Used. 1

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chou (day 14/60). It was instead to be delayed until an Wu day, the closest one being the following day, Wuyin (day 15/60).

**334** There are multiple interpretations of *bai tun* 白屯. The first is to read 白 as it is, as the color term “white”, and 屯 as a rebus for and as ancestral form of 純 “hem”. 純 often occurs in the gift registries of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, as in: 玄衣漚屯(純) (*Hu gui gai* 虎簋蓋) “black jacket with white hem” (Edward Shaughnessy 2001-2002: 73-98); Wang Tao (2007: 548) translates it “white textiles.” See other instances at *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng yinde* 3892: 1106-1109. A second reading, proposed by Cai Zhema0 2007, is to read 白 as a misspelling of 百 “hundred” and 屯 as the name of a people—“one hundred Tun”. I disagree with reading 白 as though it wrote 百 “hundred”. If 屯 did in fact refer to a tribal or ethnic group, then it is comparable with *bai Qiang* 白羌 “White Qiang” (HJ 3410), which meant Qiang people with white skin (Qiu Xigui 2012: 1.307).

**335** Divinations on HYZ 5, dated Yihai (day 12/60), concern whether or not the protagonist's spouse should be dispatched to report to Lady Hao. Perhaps this Jiashen (day 21/60) day divination referred to the same dispatch.

220.9 乙酉卜乎(呼)隗(微)鼎(鑊)若用 一三

Divined on Yiyou: Calling Wei to cook will be favorable. Used. 12

## HYZ 221

221.1 乙出 一

On Yi will depart. 1

221.2 丙☐

On Bing.... 1

221.3 丁庚其出 一

His Highness, on Geng, might depart. 1

221.4 弗[其]庚出 一

Is not [likely] to depart on Geng. 1

221.5 各☐

[Uncertain meaning]...

221.6 戊 一

On Wu. 1

221.7 己 一

On Ji. <sup>337</sup> 1

## HYZ 222

222.1 用 一

Used. 1

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336 Tang Lan (1999:31-32) identifies this graph as *huo* 鑊: n. “a type of cauldron” > v. “cook”; *Erya*: “煮之”; see also 324.1, 338.4 and 372.

337 All of the divinations in this sequence are trying to predict the date of a departure. From divinations (3)-(4) it can be deduced that the subject is the king. (The use of the negative 弗 in divination (4) means it was an uncontrollable action from the perspective of the diviner.) See also 303.

## HYZ 223

223.1 戊卜于己入黃𠄎(貝)于丁 –

Divined on Wu: By day Ji, contribute earthen-colored cowries<sup>338</sup> to His Highness. <sub>1</sub>

223.2 戊卜子弼(勿)入黃𠄎(貝) –

Divined on Wu: Our lord ought not contribute earthen-colored cowries. <sub>1</sub>

223.3 戊卜子其入黃𠄎(貝) 三

Divined on Wu: Our lord should contribute earthen-colored cowries. <sub>2</sub>

223.4 戊卜子其入黃𠄎(貝)丁衍(侃) 三

Divined on Wu: If our lord contributes earthen-colored cowries, His Highness will be happy. <sub>3</sub>

223.5 戊卜子其入黃□于丁衍(侃)

Divined on Wu: If our lord contributes earthen-colored...to His Highness, (it) will bring happiness.

223.6 □卜其𧈧(殺)卯五牛 –

Divined on...: Should kill and butcher five head of cattle. <sub>1</sub>

223.7 戊卜其宜卯牛 三

Divined on Wu: When preparing viands, butcher cattle. <sub>2</sub>

223.8 戊卜歲牡用 三

Divined on Wu: Sacrifice some bulls. Used. <sub>3</sub>

223.9 己卜歲牛匕(妣)己用 –

Divined on Ji: Sacrifice some cattle (to) Ancestress Ji. Used. <sub>1</sub>

223.10 己卜歲牡匕(妣)己用 –

Divined on Ji: Sacrifice some bulls (to) Ancestress Ji. Used. <sub>1</sub>

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**338** Parallel syntax makes it clear that 𠄎(貝) and 𠄎(貝) are variants writing the same word. I read both as *bei* 貝 “cowrie”; the latter form appears to add *bi* 匕 as a phonetic complement. The same word occurs again on 229. These two shells were buried close to each other in Pit H3 and originally formed a set.

223.11 己卜歲牡匕(妣)己用 三

Divined on Ji: Sacrifice some bulls (to) Ancestress Ji. Used. 2

223.12 己卜夷(惠)牝蚊(殺)匕(妣)己 一

Divined on Ji: It should be cows that are killed (for) Ancestress Ji. 1

223.13 夷(惠)牡于匕(妣)己 一

It should be bulls for Ancestress Ji. 1

223.14 夷(惠)牝于匕(妣)己 一

It should be cows for Ancestress Ji. 1

223.15 卜弼(勿)卬(禦)于匕(妣)己 一

Divined...Do not make an exorcism...to Ancestress Ji. 1

223.16 庚卜于翌日杙(夙)蚊(殺)伐 三

Divined on Geng: By tomorrow before dawn, make the killings (and) beheadings. 2

223.17 庚卜 三

Divined on Geng...

## HYZ 224

224.1 子貞 一

Our lord tested. 1

224.2 子貞 一

Our lord tested. 1

224.3 子貞 三

Our lord tested. 2

224.4 子貞 三

Our lord tested. 2

## HYZ 225

225.1 三十

Thirty.

## HYZ 226

226.1 万家見(獻) 一

Dancer Jia<sup>339</sup> presents one.<sup>340</sup>

226.2 丁酉歲匕(妣)丁牝一 一

On Dingyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding one ewe. 1

226.3 丁酉歲匕(妣)丁牝一 二

On Dingyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding one ewe. 2

226.4 丁酉歲匕(妣)丁牝一 三

On Dingyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding one ewe. 3

226.5 丁巳歲且(祖)乙牲一舌(刮)且(祖)丁彡(彤) 三

On Dingsi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one ram, (and) carve (it for) Ancestor Ding's *Rong*-rite.<sup>341</sup> 3

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**339** Dancer Jia 万家 is also called Jia 家; see 236.16-19.

**340** "One" refers to the shell that this inscription was written on. The inscription is a receipt notation placed on the upper right bridge of the shell and away from the divinatory content (cracks and divination accounts). The handwriting is rather crude in comparison with the more fluent handwriting of the divination accounts. This leads to the assumption that Dancer Jia wrote it.

**341** This divination can be synchronized with 237.3. The date of the event, Dingsi, was a day to worship Ancestor Ding, the protagonist's great-grandfather. Ancestor Yi was Ancestor Ding's son, Ancestor Jia's younger brother, Ancestress Geng's husband, and the protagonist's grandfather. 刮祖丁彤 "Carving [the sanctified meat] for Ancestor Ding's *Rong*-rite" was the main sacrificial event of the day. The topic of inquiry is how to incorporate the junior Ancestor Yi into the senior Ancestor Ding's *Rong*-rite. HYZ 310.1 provides another example of this type of contributory sacrifice, this time incorporating the junior Ancestor Yi into the senior Ancestor Jia's *Rong*-rite: 甲戌夕, 歲牝一祖乙, 刮彤[祖甲]. The same syntax occurs in a divination for another of the cyclical (or seasonal) rites, the Yi-rite 翌日: 乙巳, 歲妣庚豕, 刮祖乙 (274). In

226.6 戊生(往)酉(裸)酃(酒)伐且(祖)乙卯牡一祝鬯一口(曰)又(有)伐 –

On Wu,<sup>342</sup> going to the libation grounds to make ale libation and a beheading sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi,<sup>343</sup> (our lord) will butcher one bull, offer one bowl of aromatic ale,<sup>344</sup> and say, “There will be a beheading.”<sup>345</sup> 1

226.7 庚申歲匕(妣)庚牡一子𠄎(占)曰面口自來多臣毳(殺) –

On Gengshen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one bull. Our lord read the crack and said, “Watch in person...<sup>346</sup> and return on my own.<sup>347</sup> The Many Servitors will kill (it).<sup>348</sup> 1

this instance, the wife of Ancestor Yi, who had a lower ritual status than her husband, is incorporated into her husband’s Yi-rite.

The form of these divinations are identical. Each contains two clauses that start with the date of the ritual event and continue as:

Sacrifice + ancestor name + animal type and quantity (initial clause)

Carve + ancestor name + name of event (final clause)


The days of the ritual carving event match the day names of the ancestors in the second clause, whereas the names of the ancestors mentioned in the initial clause, and for whom the sacrifices were made, do not match the date. The ram, cow, and sow were contributory sacrifices made in the name of one ancestor to another who was intimately related and senior to him/her. See Schwartz 2019.

**342** Based on dates in divinations before and after this one, Wu 戊 is shorthand for Wuwu 戊午, day 55/60.

**343** I read this graph as a variant form of *guan* 裸 “ale libation”. The ritual combination of an ale libation and a beheading occurs elsewhere in this corpus and regularly in divinations for the Shang kings. See 236.

**344** 酃伐祖乙卯牡一祝鬯一 is parallel with 酃伐兄丁卯宰又(有)鬯 (236). This comparison suggests that the verb phrase 祝鬯 could be written in shorthand (minus the “altar” classifier) as 又鬯.

**345** *Kou you fa* 口有伐 also occurs on 255 in a divination dated Jiayin, day 51/60. The rarity of this word-ordering and the fact that both shells were found close to one another in Pit H3 implies they originally formed a set. I read 口 as the graphically similar *yue* 曰 “utter, say, declare”. There are numerous instances in Shang oracle bone and bronze inscriptions of this interchange; for instance, the sentence *Wang kou si* 王口司(祀), which occurs on period V oracle bone inscriptions, is read by Qiu Xigui ([1999] 2012: 467-472) as though it wrote 王曰司(祀) “The king said, ‘Offer sacrifice’”. The subject of the declaration was likely the patron of the divination practice, “our lord”. I understand it as part of the divination charge, but it is also possible to interpret it as a judgment (i.e., “Said, ‘There will be/Have a beheading’”), since it comes at the end of the account.

**346** The missing graph in the prognostication is still partially visible: . The top part (the “horns”) resembles “sheep” *yang* 羊 or *Qiang* 羌, and the lower part looks like 儿. The ZSKY Editors read it 羌. Yao Xuan’s transcription leaves it blank □.

226.8 庚申𠄎(禦)𠄎(微)目癸子𠄎伐一人卯宰 —

On Gengshen, making an exorcism rite (for) Wei's eye<sup>349</sup> (to) Gui Child, announce it by written record (with a sacrifice of) beheading one human, and butcher some pen-raised sheep. 1

226.10 辛酉宜𠄎𠄎(微)𠄎 —

On Xinyou, make (or: provide) viands (using) Suo's cow(s) together with Wei's boar(s). 1

226.9 辛酉宜𠄎𠄎(微)𠄎(殺) —

On Xinyou, making (or: providing) viands (using) Suo's cow(s) together with Wei's boar(s), make the killings in the late afternoon.<sup>350</sup> 12

226.11 庚辰卜𠄎(刮)𠄎(彤)𠄎(妣)庚用牢又(有)𠄎(妣)庚衍(侃)用 —

Divined on Gengchen: Carving Rong-rite (sacrificial offerings) (to) Ancestress Geng, use pen-raised cattle, and add (or: have) cows; Ancestress Geng will be happy. Used. 1

## HYZ 227

227.1 癸亥夕卜日𠄎(延)雨子𠄎(占)曰其𠄎(延)雨用

Divined on the evening of Guihai: It will continue raining during the daytime.<sup>351</sup> Our lord read the crack and said, “It should continue raining.” Used.

**347** The phrase *zi lai* 自來 occurs only this one time. It is different in meaning from 來自 “return from” (149, 255, etc.). I read *zi* here as an adverb, and *lai* as a verb, “come, return”; for adverbial 自, compare 294.8: 乙卯卜: 歲祖乙牢, 子其自, 弼速。用 “Divined on Yimao: Sacrificing (to) Ancestor Yi pen-raised cattle, our lord should (sacrifice) on his own; do not invite others. Used”, 449.1: 丁自征 “His Highness will attack on his own”, and 454.3: 子其自飲 “Our lord should drink by himself.”

**348** This compound graph depicts two hands holding a hammer (*chui* 錘) striking a water buffalo 兕. I read it as a variant spelling of 𠄎 (殺) “kill”; see the commentary to 16.1.

**349** See 214.3-4.

**350** 𠄎 mostly functions as a conjunction in between nouns. There is also a verbal usage (372.4, 474.6), “join”. “Suo's cow” and “Wei's boar” is comparable with “Cha's blacks (=black horses)” (324.2) and “Nai's horses” (391.9).



## HYZ 228

228.1 辛巳卜吉牛于宜 —

Divined on Xinsi: Prime cattle on the viand trays. <sub>1</sub>

228.3 甲申卜夷(惠)小歲虺(殺)于且(祖)甲用一羊 —<sub>二</sub>

Divined on Jiashen: It should be a small number of sacrifices that are killed for Ancestor Jia. Used. One sheep. <sub>12</sub>

228.2 甲申[卜]夷(惠)大歲又(有)于且(祖)甲不用 —<sub>二</sub>

[Divined] on Jiashen: It should be a large number of sacrifices that are offered to Ancestor Jia. Not used. <sub>12</sub>

228.4 甲申卜歲且(祖)甲牝一用 —

Divined on Jiashen: Sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one ewe. Used. <sub>1</sub>

228.5 乙酉歲且(祖)乙牝一 —

On Yiyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one ewe. <sub>1</sub>

228.6 乙酉歲且(祖)乙牝一 —<sub>三四</sub>

On Yiyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one ewe. <sub>24</sub>

228.7 丁亥卜歲(待)弼(勿)酌(酒)羊又(有)鬯癸子用 —

Divined on Dinghai: Wait, do not make ale libation rite (to sacrifice) sheep,<sup>352</sup> having (or: offering) aromatic ale (for) Gui Child. Used. <sub>1</sub>

228.8 丁亥卜吉牛棗于宜 —

Divined on Dinghai: Prime cattle, a portion<sup>353</sup> on the viand trays. <sub>1</sub>

**351** The word *ri* 日 can mean both daytime (白天) and an entire day (一整天). The absence of Jiazi 甲子 (day 1/60) before 日 implies that “daytime” refers to day Guihai (60/60). “Evening of Guihai” means the time period after day Renxu (59/60) became day Guihai. See 271.2.

**352** Zhu Fenghan (2002) determines that the syntax “酌 + animal” means to make an ale libation before sacrificing an animal; the animal is not the object of 酌.

**353** This graph occurs in Shang oracle bone inscriptions as the name of the western wind (𠄎 HJ 14295), and this name corresponds to the name of the wind called “*wei feng* 韋風” in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經. Variant spellings in oracle bone inscriptions (HJ 30392-93) write it 韋, adding the phonetic *wei* 韋. The word is functioning here as an adverb, and from the next

- 228.9 丁亥卜吉牛[𠄎(皆)]于宜 –  
 Divined on Dinghai: Prime cattle [all] on the viand trays. <sub>1</sub>
- 228.10 吉牛于宜 –  
 Prime cattle on the viand trays. <sub>1</sub>
- 228.11 吉牛其于宜子弗莫(艱) –  
 (As for) prime cattle, if on the viand trays, our lord will not be afflicted because of it.<sup>354</sup> <sub>1</sub>
- 228.12 丁亥卜吉牛于宜 –  
 Divined on Dinghai: Prime cattle on the viand trays. <sub>1</sub>
- 228.13 吉牛于宜 –  
 Prime cattle on the viand trays. <sub>1</sub>
- 228.14 丁亥卜吉牛于宜 三  
 Divined on Dinghai: Prime cattle on the viand trays. <sub>2</sub>
- 228.15 戊子卜吉牛于示又(有)剝(剝)來又(有)𠄎(曲\*) –  
 Divined on Wuzi: (As for) prime cattle on altar, pare what has come from [uncertain meaning].<sup>355</sup> <sub>1</sub>
- 228.16 戊子卜吉牛其于示亡其剝(剝)于宜若 –  
 Divined on Wuzi: Should prime cattle go on altar, (and) if nothing is pared to go on the viand trays, it will be favorable. <sub>1</sub>
- 228.17 戊子卜吉牛于示 –  
 Divined on Wuzi: Prime cattle on the altar. <sub>1</sub>

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divination it can be deduced that its meaning is opposite *jie* 皆 “all”. Its semantic range has to mean “a portion of” or only/“just”, as opposed to both or all (viand trays and the altar). See 474.

**354** The coda 子弗莫 is the anticipated outcome of going ahead with offering prime cattle on viand trays and not on the altar.

**355** You 又(有) is likely a noun prefix (translated as the definite article or a demonstrative pronoun). Reading 𠄎 as *qu* 曲 is uncertain. Perhaps it is related to the person called Bu zi Qu 不子𠄎(曲) (351).

228.18 吉牛亦示 —

Prime cattle also (on) the altar. 1

228.19 戊子卜又(有)吉牛弼(勿) 𠄎(𠄎)于宜 —

Divined on Wuzi: Have (or: Offer) prime cattle, (but) do not set out (its meat) on viand trays. 1

## HYZ 229

229.1 壬卜☱

Divined on Ren...

229.2 壬卜子其入□[貝]丁衍(侃) —

Divined on Ren: If our lord contributes...[cowries],<sup>356</sup> His Highness will be happy. 1

229.3 甲卜☱

Divined on Jia ...

229.4 卜于☱

Divined...in...

229.5 ☱至壬☱ —

...reaching day Ren...1

229.6 ☱牛☱其☱

...cattle...should...

229.7 —

1

229.8 —

1

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356 See 223 and commentary.

## HYZ 230-HYZ 231

230.1 于☐  
By...

230.2 –  
1

230.3 癸☐啟(肇)☐ ☐  
Gui...dispense...2

230.4 ☐庚☐  
...Geng...

231.1 史入  
Shi's contribution.

## HYZ 232

232.1 子貞 –  
Our lord tested. 1

## HYZ 233

233.1 ☐  
2

233.2 ☐登(登)☐  
...raise...

## HYZ 234

234.1 丙寅夕卜子又(有)言才(在)宗佳(唯)衍(侃) –  
Divined on evening of Bingyin: Our lord having words (> speaking) at the temple is a happy thing. 1

234.2 丙寅夕卜非衍(侃) —

Divined on the evening of Bingyin: Is not a happy thing. 1

234.3 辛未卜𠄎(擒)子𠄎(占)曰其𠄎(擒)用三麋 —

Divined on Xinwei: Will make a catch. Our lord read the crack and said, “Should make a catch.” Used. Three musk deer. 12

## HYZ 235

235.1 庚卜子𠄎(金) —

Divined on Geng: (about) Lord Jin. 1

235.2 其弋(代)桡若 —

If replacing [unclear meaning], (it) will be favorable. 1

## HYZ 236

236.1 丙卜其𠄎(酒)匕(妣)庚若 —

Divined on Bing: If making ale libations (for) Ancestress Geng, (it) will be favorable. 1

236.2 丙[卜]子𠄎(夙)興又(有)𠄎(妣)庚 —

Divined on Bing: Our lord, rising before dawn, will have some rams (for) Ancestress Geng. 1

236.3 丁卜𠄎(酒)伐兄丁卯宰又(有)𠄎 —

Divined on Ding: Libating ale and making beheadings to (deceased) Elder Brother Ding, (our lord) will butcher some pen-raised sheep and add (> have) aromatic ale. 12

236.4 𠄎(酒)伐兄丁告匕(妣)庚又(有)裸 —

Libating ale and making beheadings (to) (deceased) Elder Brother Ding, make an announcement (to) Ancestress Geng (and) [have] an ale libation. 1

236.5 𠄎(酒)伐兄丁告匕(妣)庚又(有)歲 —

Libating ale and making beheadings (to) (deceased) Elder Brother Ding, make an announcement (to) Ancestress Geng (and) have a sacrifice. 1

- 236.6 鬯(酒)伐兄丁告虺(殺)一牛匕(妣)庚 –  
 Libating ale and making beheadings (to) (deceased) Elder Brother Ding,  
 make an announcement and kill one head of cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>
- 236.7 鬯(酒)伐兄丁告匕(妣)庚又(有)伐匕(妣)庚 –  
 Libating ale and making beheadings (to) (deceased) Elder Brother Ding,  
 make announcement (to) Ancestress Geng; have a beheading (for) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>
- 236.8 丁卜虺(殺)二牛𠂔(禦)伐乍(作)𠂔匕(妣)庚 –  
 Divined on Ding: To kill two head of cattle, (and) for the exorcism and beheading sacrifice, (our lord) will erect a bethel (for) Ancestress Geng. <sup>357</sup> <sub>1</sub>
- 236.9 丁卜虺(殺)宰匕(妣)庚若 –  
 Divined on Ding: Killing pen-raised sheep (for) Ancestress Geng will be favorable. <sub>1</sub>
- 236.10 丁卜虺(殺)宰匕(妣)庚若 二  
 Divined on Ding: Killing pen-raised sheep (for) Ancestress Geng will be favorable. <sub>2</sub>
- 236.11 丁卜虺(殺)宰□□[若] 三  
 Divined on Ding: Killing pen-raised sheep... [will be favorable]. <sub>3</sub>
- 236.12 丁卜歲匕(妣)庚牡又二𧔉 –  
 Divined on Ding: Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng bulls and add (or: have) two wild boars. <sub>1</sub>
- 236.13 丁卜歲匕(妣)庚牡又二𧔉 二三  
 Divined on Ding: Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng bulls and add (or: have) two wild boars. <sub>23</sub>

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357 *Bin* 𠂔 in HYZ script is differentiated from the graphically similar (verb) *bin* 寘 “to host”. It is a noun and the object of *zuo* 作 “erect, build”. Ken-ichi Takashima (2010: II.122, note 9) comments, “The word 𠂔 also appears as a noun, apparently meaning some sort of shelter, referred to as a “*bin*-bethel” or “*bin*-shrine”. I use the term “bethel” which, though perhaps somewhat archaic, is to distinguish it from “guest house” because *bin* seems to have been created for paying homage to ancestral spirits when the Shang were engaged in battle...Quite possibly such shelter was a temporary rather than permanent construction like *zong* 宗 ‘temple’.”

236.14 戊卜子其生(往) —

Divined on Wu: Our lord should go. <sub>1</sub>

236.15 戊卜弼(勿)子生(往) —

Divined on Wu: Do not (have) our lord go. <sub>1</sub>

236.16 己卜家其又(有)魚其𩺰(逆)丁衍(侃) —

Divined on Ji: Assuming Jia has fish, if (he) welcomes His Highness (with some), (it) will bring happiness. <sub>1</sub>

236.17 己卜家其又(有)魚其𩺰(逆)丁衍(侃) 三

Divined on Ji: Assuming Jia has fish, if (he) welcomes His Highness (with some), (it) will bring happiness.<sub>2</sub>

236.18 己卜家其又(有)魚其𩺰(逆)丁衍(侃) 三

Divined on Ji: Assuming Jia has fish, if (he) welcomes His Highness (with some), (it) will bring happiness. <sub>3</sub>

236.19 己卜家弼(勿)𩺰(逆)丁 —

Divined on Ji: Jia ought not (be one to) welcome His Highness. <sub>1</sub>

236.21 己卜其生(往)𠄎(禦)匕(妣)庚 一三

Divined on Ji: Should go and make the exorcism (to) Ancestress Geng. <sub>12</sub>

236.20 己卜𩺰(待)弼(勿)生(往)𠄎(禦)匕(妣)庚 —

Divined on Ji: Wait, do not go and make the exorcism (to) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

236.22 歲匕(妣)己牝 —

Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji some cows. <sub>1</sub>

236.23 歲匕(妣)己牝 三

Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji some cows. <sub>2</sub>

236.24 庚卜丁鄉(饗)鼎(肆) 一三

Divined on Geng: His Highness will feast on what has been set out.<sup>358</sup> <sub>12</sub>


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358 鼎 occurs in Shang inscriptions written in numerous variations, with the most complex being composed of the elements “knife” or “ladle” + “meat” + “viand table/tray” over a “cal-

236.25 庚卜丁弗鄉(饗)鼎(肆) 一三  
 Divined on Geng: His Highness will not feast on what has been set out. 12

236.26 壬[卜]盪于室卜(外) 一  
 [Divined] on Ren: Make the blood offering by the outside of the room. 359 1

236.27 壬卜子弗其又(有)𠄎(戾) 一  
 Divined on: Our lord will likely not have any misfortune (by doing so). 2

236.28 歲子癸牝 一  
 Sacrifice (to) Child Gui some cows. 1

236.29 魚𠄎(以)  
 Fish will be taken. 360

## HYZ 237

237.1 甲寅歲且(祖)甲𠄎 一  
 On Jiayin, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia... 1

237.2 乙卯卜夷(惠)[白]豕不用 一三  
 Divined on Yimao: It should be [white] pigs. Not used. 12

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dron". Wu Qichang ([1938] 2008: 261) explains how these elements were combined to mean "scooping meat from a caldron and placing it on a table/tray". Chen Jian (2007) reads it as the ancestral form of *si* 肆 "arrange, display", as in to set out meat for a special type of sacrificial rite called by this name. The phrase "*xiang si* 饗肆" occurs in the OBI and Chen explains it as 爲肆祭而舉行饗禮 "having a ritual feast for a *si*-sacrifice"; see also the comments of Jao Tsung-I 1959: 670. The phrases "*xiang si* 享肆"/*si xiang* 肆享" also occurs in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, for instance, *Lu Hou Yi li* 魯侯猷鬲(JC 648): 魯侯猷作彝, 用享鬲(肆) 厥文考魯公 "Lu Hou Yi makes (this) vessel herewith to feast his accomplished deceased father Lu Gong"; and *Li fangding* 曆方鼎(JC 2614): 作寶尊彝, 其用夙夕鬲(肆)享 "Making (this) treasured ritual vessel, would that it be used morning and evening to feast (or: to set out a feast)."

359 See the commentary to 3.17 for definitions of *shi* 室. OBI record a *xue shi* 血室 "house/room of blood" (HJ 13562).

360 "Proposed object 魚 + verb *yi* 以 'take'" is a passive construction; it can be compared with *lu yi* 鹵𠄎(以) "salt will be taken" (202.8).



- 237.3 丁巳歲且(祖)乙羝一舌(刮)且(祖)丁彡(彤) —  
On Dingsi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one ram, and carve (it for) Ancestor Ding's *Rong*-rite. <sup>1</sup>
- 237.4 甲子歲且(祖)甲白豶祫鬯一 —<sub>二</sub>  
On Jiazi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia some white boars (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. <sup>12</sup>.
- 237.5 夷(惠)白豶[用]且(祖)甲  
It should be white boars [that are used] (for) Ancestor Jia.
- 237.6 辛未卜丁佳(唯)好令比白(伯)或伐邵 —  
Divined on Xinwei: It will be Hao whom His Highness commands to ally with Bo Ge to attack Shao. <sup>361</sup> <sub>1</sub>
- 237.7 甲戌歲且(祖)甲牢幽廌白豶祫一鬯 —  
On Jiaxu, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia some pen-raised cattle, darkish red antelope, white boars, (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. <sup>1</sup>
- 237.8 甲戌歲且(祖)甲牢幽廌白豶祫二鬯 —<sub>二三</sub>  
On Jiaxu, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia some pen-raised cattle, darkish red antelope, white boars, (and) offer two bowls of aromatic ale. <sup>123</sup>
- 237.9 乙亥歲且(祖)乙牢幽廌白豶祫二鬯 —<sub>二三</sub>  
On Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some pen-raised cattle, darkish red antelope, white boars, (and) offer two bowls of aromatic ale. <sup>123</sup>
- 237.10 乙亥歲且(祖)乙牢幽廌白豶祫鬯二 —<sub>四</sub>  
On Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some pen-raised cattle, darkish red antelope, white boars, (and) offer two bowls of aromatic ale. <sup>4</sup>

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**361** Bo Ge 白(伯) or is the same person called Ge 或 (41.1); see also 81.5. *Bo* 伯 is either a generational marker, “eldest/elder” or official rank; see Takashima 2010: II.210 (*Bingbian* 55r). This same person is called Zhi Ge 祫 or (Ge of Zhi) in kingly divinations, and frequently appears in connection with a war against the Shao Territory; Zhi 祫 is the name of a territory (“Zhi fang 祫方” (*Tunnan* 4090)). For more on the identity of Zhi Ge in the OBI, see Han Jiangsu and Jiang Linchang 2010: 296-299, and Sun Yabing and Lin Huan 2010: 263-267. For other HYZ records associated with this war, see 247, 262, 275 + 517, 403, 429 and 449.

- 237.11 乙歲祉(延)且(祖)乙用 一三  
 Yi day sacrifices will continue (for) Ancestor Yi. Used. <sup>12</sup>
- 237.12 庚寅歲且(祖)甲牝一子予見 一三三四  
 On Gengyin, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one cow (and) lord Yu will be present. <sup>362 1234</sup>
- 237.13 庚寅歲且(祖)甲牝一子予見 一  
 On Gengyin, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one cow (and) lord Yu will be present. <sup>1</sup>
- 237.14 弼(勿)告丁肉弼(勿)入[丁]用 一  
 Do not report (to) His Highness; (and as for) meat, do not contribute any (to) [His Highness]. Used. <sup>1</sup>
- 237.15 入肉丁用不率 一  
 Contribute meat (to) His Highness. Used. Not all. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 238

- 238.1 丁卜☐ 一  
 Divined on Ding... <sup>1</sup>
- 238.2 己卜☐丁衍(侃)用 一  
 Divined on Ji...His Highness will be happy. Used. <sup>1</sup>
- 238.3 己卜☐  
 Divined on Ji ...
- 238.4 壬☐  
 Divined on Ren...
- 238.5 壬卜夷(惠)白豕☐ 一  
 Divined on Ren: It should be white pigs...<sup>1</sup>

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**362** An alternative is to read *jian* 見 as *xian* 獻 “present”, with the meaning being that Zi Yu would be the one to present the sacrificed cow to Ancestor Jia in place of the protagonist 子.

238.6 壬卜歲 ☱ ☳

Divined on Ren: Sacrifice...<sub>2</sub>

238.7 壬卜 ☱ 豕 ☱ ☳

Divined on Ren ...pigs...<sub>1</sub>

238.8 壬卜 夷(惠)小宰 ☱ ☳

Divined on Ren: It should be some small pen-raised sheep...<sub>1</sub>

238.9 ☱ 其告 ☱ 匕(妣)庚 ☱ 人

...should announce...Ancestress Geng...men.

238.10 ☱ 又 ☱

...in addition...

238.11 ☱ 又 ☱

...in addition...

238.12 ☱ 卜 ☱ 匕(妣)庚用

Divined... Ancestress Geng. Used.

238.13 ☳

1

238.14 ☳

2

## HYZ 239

239.1 丁巳卜子弼(勿)生(往)𤑔(戎)用 ☳

Divined on Dingsi: Our lord ought not go to Rong. Used. <sub>1</sub>

239.2 丁巳卜子弼(勿)生(往)𤑔(戎)用 ☳

Divined on Dingsi: Our lord ought not go to Rong. Used. <sub>2</sub>

239.3 癸酉卜弼(勿)勿(刎)新黑馬又(有)剝(剝) ☳

Divined on Guiyou: Do not slit the throat of the new black horse that has damage. <sub>1</sub>

239.4 癸酉卜弼(勿)勿(勿)新黑𠄎 二

Divined on Guiyou: Do not slit the throat of the new black horse...<sub>2</sub>

239.5 癸酉卜衷(惠)召[乎(呼)]勿(勿)馬 一

Divined on Guiyou: It should be Shao [who is called] to slit the throat of the horse. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 240

240.1 癸亥宜牝才(在)入 一

On Guihai, make (or: provide) viands (of) cow. At Ru. <sub>1</sub>

240.2 癸亥宜牝一才(在)入 一

On Guihai, make (or: provide) viands (from) one cow. At Ru. <sub>1</sub>

240.3 戊辰歲匕(妣)庚羝一 一

On Wuchen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ewe. <sub>1</sub>

240.4 戊辰歲匕(妣)庚羝一 二

On Wuchen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ewe. <sub>12</sub>

240.5 戊辰宜[匕(妣)庚]羔用才(在)入 二

On Wuchen, make viands for (or: provide viands (to)) [Ancestress Geng] (of) roast lamb. Used. At Ru. <sub>12</sub>

240.6 于匕(妣)庚宜羝不用 二

To Ancestress Geng, offer viands of ewe. Not used. <sub>12</sub>

240.7 子芻(腹)疾弼(勿)𠄎(禦)𠄎 一

Our lord's stomach is sick; do not make an exorcism...<sub>1</sub>

240.8 己巳利(剖)亡英(艱) 一

On Jisi, Pou will not have any affliction. <sub>1</sub>

240.9 庚午歲匕(妣)庚豨一叔鬯一 二

On Gengwu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one boar, (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. <sub>12</sub>

240.10 庚午歲匕(妣)庚豶一祱鬯一

On Gengwu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one boar, (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale.

## HYZ 241

241.1 壬寅卜子又(有)𠄎(擒)子𠄎(占)曰其又(有)𠄎(擒)一

Divined on Renyin: Our lord will have capture. Our lord read the crack and said, “Should have capture.”<sup>1</sup>

241.2 其又(有)

Likely have.

241.3 亡 一

Will not have.<sup>1</sup>

241.4 其又(有) 二

Likely have.<sup>2</sup>

241.5 亡 二

Will not have.<sup>2</sup>

241.6 乙巳卜于既𦍋(殺)𦍋(刮)迺𦍋(殺)𦍋(祖)乙用 一三

Divined on Yisi: After killing what is to be carved,<sup>363</sup> then kill one ewe (for) Ancestor Yi. Used.<sup>12</sup>

241.7 丁未卜子其𦍋(焚)用若 一三三四

Divined on Dingwei: Our lord should smoke (and) use (the killed ewe),<sup>364</sup> (for it) will be favorable.<sup>1234</sup>

**363** The context of this divination concerns the preparations for one of the major cyclical or “seasonal” rites to Ancestor Yi. I base this assumption on the fact that 刮 is the main cutting activity performed for both *Rong* and *Yi* day rites; see 274. While I take “carved” as a nominalized verb and as the object of sha 殺, it is also possible to read them as coordinate verbs.

**364** This compound graph is composed of “female” 女 (determinative) + *jiang* 𠄎 “table” (phono-semantic) and spells *zhuang* 𦍋, which the *Shuowen jiezi* defines as to decorate. An allograph is written + “fire” 火 on HJ 22483, and this implies that 𦍋 is the phonetic spelling of a word associated with burning; see Qiu Xigui 2012: 194-205. I read it *zhuang* 𦍋 “smoke”. “Use” means to con-

241.8 勿妝(焚)用 一三三四

Do not smoke and use (it).<sup>1234</sup>

241.9 佳(唯)之疾子鬲(腹) 一三

It will be that which sickens our lord's stomach.<sup>365</sup><sub>12</sub>

241.10 非佳(唯) 一三

It will not be (that).<sub>12</sub>

241.11 辛亥卜貞瓊羌又(有)疾不死子弓(占)曰羌其死佳(唯)今其羸(瘳)亦佳(唯)  
今 一三

Divining on Xinhai, tested: Lapidary Qiang, having illness, is not going to die. Our lord read the crack and said, "If the Qiang dies, it will be today. If (the Qiang) recovers, it will also be today."<sub>12</sub>

241.12 辛亥卜其死 一三

Divined on Xinhai: Might die.<sub>12</sub>

241.13 辛亥歲匕(妣)庚靴一 一

On Xinhai, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ewe.<sub>1</sub>

241.14 癸丑歲癸子豕一 一

On Guichou, sacrifice (to) Gui Child one sow.<sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 242

242.1 兪十

Kan, ten.

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sume. Based on the two divinations that follow in the sequence, it seems that the prince's diviners were concerned that eating meat prepared in this way would cause him to have stomach problems.

**365** The indexical pronoun "that" seems to refer to the sacrifices mentioned in the previous divination (5). 240.7 says the protagonist has a stomach illness.

## HYZ 243

- 243.1 乙亥夕酌(酒)伐一[于]且(祖)乙卯牲五羝五叔一鬯子肩仰(禦)牲(往) —二三四五六  
 On the evening of Yihai, Libating ale and beheading one (person) (to) Ancestor Yi, butcher five rams, five ewes, (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. Our lord's shoulder exorcism will be sent off. 123456

## HYZ 244

- 244.1 丁卯卜既雨子其牲(往)于田若[𠄎](孚)–  
 Divined on Dingmao: After the rain, if our lord goes to the fields, (it) will be favorable. Trusted. 1

244.2 –

1

## HYZ 245

- 245.1 甲卜[𠄎]牢  
 Divined on Jia...pen-raised cattle.

245.2 甲卜[𠄎]  
 Divined on Jia...

245.3 [𠄎]丁  
 ...Ding.

245.4 [𠄎]庚[𠄎]  
 ...Geng...

## HYZ 246

246.1 辛卜[𠄎]  
 Divined on Xin...

246.2 [𠄎]于賈[𠄎]  
 ...to the trader...

## HYZ 247

247.1 戊申卜子口

Divined on Wushen: Our lord...

247.2 己酉卜𠄎(禦)口才(在)𠄎又(有)伐若衍(侃) –

Divined on Jiyou: To exorcise...at Fu, having a beheading will be favorable (and) bring happiness. 1

247.3 癸丑卜大馭(肆)𠄎(勿)𠄎(禦)子口疾于匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Guichou: (Sacrificial offerings will be) greatly displayed, but (we) ought not make an exorcism (for) our lord's mouth sickness to Ancestress Geng.<sup>366</sup> 1




247.4 甲寅卜子𠄎(金) –

Divined on Jiayin: (about) Lord Jin. 1

247.5 庚申卜子益(侑)商衍(侃) –

Divined on Gengshen: Our lord lining up (to dance to) “Shang” will bring happiness.<sup>367</sup> 1

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**366** The graph  depicts a right hand grasping the leg of a person whose mouth faces backward. Tang Lan (1999: 70) transcribes it as 馭 and suggests to read it either as *gai* 概(?) or *fu* 付(?) (the question marks are his). This graph is clearly related to *ji* 及 “reach, extend”, and the man with mouth facing backward resembles one of the main elements in the graph writing the word *yi* 疑 “lost” (+ *hang* “road”). Yu Xingwu (2009: 49-51) reads it *yi* 肆 or *si* 肆 and defines it as “display” or “extend”. Western Zhou script adds *jin* 巾 under the right hand (for instance  (*Ke ding* 克鼎, JC 2836)), and this evolves to become *yu* 肆. It occurs in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions mainly as a sentence-initial adverb (or particle). (It also occurs as a preposition synonymous with *yu* 于.) Aside from the two instances on this shell, 肆/肆 appears once more in the HYZ OBI, on 449: 乙亥弜巳𠄎于室 “On Yihai, do not stop from displaying (or: arranging) the soft-shell turtles in the room”, and from this example we can deduce a meaning of “set out” or “arrange”. I read *da* 大 in “大肆” as an adverb, “large-scale”, and adverb 大 + nominalized verb as a noun phrase; it is comparable to the noun phrases *da cheng* 大稱 (34.7) and *da sui* 大歲 (228.2). Divination (6), made one week later, is also against performing an exorcism for the protagonist's mouth illness. By this time the illness appears to have healed, or was in the process of healing naturally.

**367** For an explanation of the phrase “*yi* 益 + name of music/dance”, see the commentary to 87.1.



247.6 癸亥卜弔(勿)𠄎(禦)子口疾告匕(妣)庚曰𧇗(瘳)告 —

Divined on Guihai: Do not exorcise our lord's mouth sickness; make an-  
nouncement of it to Ancestress Geng. Said, "It will heal." Announced (it).<sup>1</sup>

247.7 乙丑卜𧇗(肆)弔子弗臣 —

Divined on Yichou: Arrange the bound ones<sup>368</sup> that our lord is not going to  
make his servitors.<sup>1</sup>

247.8 乙丑卜乎弔𧇗若 —

Divined on Yichou: Calling to tie up Shao<sup>369</sup> will be favorable.<sup>1</sup>

247.9 乙丑卜乎弔𧇗若 三

Divined on Yichou: Calling to tie up Shao will be favorable.<sup>2</sup>

247.10 乙丑卜乎𧇗(畫)告子弗莫(艱) —

Divined on Yichou: Calling Hua<sup>370</sup> to report to our lord will not cause him  
any affliction.<sup>1</sup>

247.11 乙丑卜子𠄎 —

Divined on Yichou: Our lord...<sup>1</sup>

247.12 弗莫(艱) —

Will not be afflicted (by it).<sup>1</sup>

247.16 子貞 三


Our lord tested.<sup>12</sup>

247.13 丁丑卜子其生(往)田亡蚩(害) 三

On Dingchou divined: If our lord hunts, there will be no harm.<sup>12</sup>

247.14 丁亥卜子𧇗(金)其生(往)亡𧇗(災) —

Divined on Dinghai: If lord Jin goes, there will be no calamities.<sup>1</sup>

**368**  depicts a person 人 bound with rope. I take it in its original sense and read it as the noun, the object of the verb 𧇗; it is a verb that takes men of the enemy Shao territory as its object in divinations (8-9) later in this sequence. An alternative reading is to take it as a verb and in coordination with 肆.

**369** "Shao" refers to men from the enemy Shao territory.

**370** Hua is the same person called lord Hua 子𧇗(畫) (288.5, 449.2).

247.15 己丑歲匕(妣)庚牝一子生(往)溝仰(禦)

On Jichou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one cow; our lord will go to the Wan River and make the exorcism.

247.17 庚寅歲匕(妣)庚豨一

On Gengyin, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one boar. 1

## HYZ 248

248.5 戊申卜其賸(將)匕(妣)庚于[夙(戎)]東官(館)用 一三

Divined on Wushen: Should carry in offerings (to) Ancestress Geng in [Rong's]<sup>371</sup> eastern guesthouse. Used. <sup>372</sup> 12

248.1 癸丑賸(將)匕(妣)庚[其]歲匕(妣)庚牢才(在)夙(戎) 一三三

On Guichou, carrying in offerings (to) Ancestress Geng, should sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some pen-raised cattle. At Rong. 123

248.2 癸丑卜子裸新鬯于且(祖)甲用 一

Divined on Guichou: Our lord will libate new aromatic ale to Ancestor Jia. Used. 1

248.3 癸丑卜子裸 三

Divined on Guichou: Our lord will perform the ale libation. 2

248.4 [甲]寅卜弼(勿)夔(速)丁用 一

Divined on [Jia]yin: Do not invite His Highness. Used. 1

## HYZ 249-HYZ 250

249.1 才(在)臺(敦)卜乎(呼)歸戍(戍)束 一

Divined at Dun: Call...to return to the frontier houses. <sup>373</sup> 1

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<sup>371</sup> The toponym Rong can be reconstructed based on 195.5.

<sup>372</sup> I disagree with the sequence proposed by ZSKY 2003 that arranges the divination dated Wushen (day 45) after divinations dated Jiayin (day 51), and which would make it fifty-five days later. It seems straightforward that divination (5) ought to be placed first. Read in this way, the dates are Wushen (day 45) → Guichou (day 50) → Jiayin (day 51), a total of seven days (count inclusive).

- 249.2 才(在)臺(敦)卜乎(呼)[人]歸戍(戍)束 二  
Divined at Dun: Call [men] to return to the frontier houses. 2
- 249.3 [才(在)]臺(敦)[卜]乎(呼)人歸 一  
Divined [at] Dun: Call men to return. 1
- 249.4 才(在)臺(敦)卜弼(勿)乎(呼)人歸 一  
Divined at Dun: Do not call men to return. 1
- 249.5 [才(在)臺]卜弼(勿)乎(呼)人歸[𠄎(逆)]丁若 一  
Divined [at Dun]: Do not call men to return (and) [welcome] His Highness,<sup>374</sup>  
(for it) will be favorable. 1
- 249.6 己卜弼(勿)告季于今日 一  
Divined on Ji: Do not report Ji at (some point) today.<sup>375</sup> 1
- 249.7 己卜弼(勿)告季今日 二  
Divined on Ji: Do not report Ji today. 2
- 249.8 夷(惠)牛歲匕(妣)庚 一  
It should be cattle that are sacrificed (to) Ancestress Geng. 1
- 249.9 匕(妣)庚宰才(在)臺(敦) 二  
(To) Ancestress Geng, some pen-raised sheep. At Dun. 2
- 249.10 歲匕(妣)庚宰才(在)[臺(敦)] 三  
Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some pen-raised sheep. At [Dun]. 3
- 249.11 𠄎于丁匕(妣)庚  
...by day Ding (for) Ancestress Geng.

**373** I take *xu* 戍 as an orthographic error for *shu* 戍; see 88.14 and commentary.

**374** The single graph 𠄎 occurs in between 歸 and 丁, but neither ZSKY 2003 nor Yao Xuan identify it. I suggest to read it as an incomplete writing of *ni* 𠄎(逆) “meet, welcome”. In HYZ script 𠄎 is written 𠄎, and enough of the graph is visible to make an identification. The phrase *ni Ding* 𠄎(逆)丁 occurs elsewhere, for instance on 236.16-19, and the grammatical construction “*ni* 𠄎 + name of person” is even more common; see 294.5, 409.32 and 492.

**375** The person called Ji here is likely the same person called Jimu 季母 on 139. The appellation *mu* 母 in the name implies she was female.

- 249.12 才(在)辜(敦)卜夷(惠)牝歲匕(妣)庚 一三  
 At Dun divined: It should be cows that are sacrificed (to) Ancestress Geng. 12
- 249.13 己卜其告季于丁衍(侃) 一  
 Divined on Ji: If reporting Ji to His Highness, (it) will bring happiness. 1
- 249.14 己卜其[告]季[于]丁衍(侃) 三  
 Divined on Ji: If [reporting] Ji [to] His Highness, (it) will bring happiness. 2
- 249.15 甲卜才(在)辜(敦)鬯(皆)見(獻)鬯于丁 三  
 Divined on Jia, at Dun: All will present aromatic ale to His Highness. 2
- 249.16 鬯[牝]  
 Aromatic ale...[cows].
- 249.17 [見(獻)丁匕(妣)庚]  
 ...present (to) His Highness. Ancestress Geng...
- 249.18 才(在)辜(敦)卜祭(燎)[匕(妣)庚]  
 Divined at Dun: Make burnt offerings<sup>376</sup> (for) [Ancestress Geng]... 1
- 249.19 甲卜才(在)辜(敦)賈[并][子]見(獻)丁 一三  
 Divined on Jia, at Dun: Trader [Bing] ...our lord... present (to) His Highness. 12
- 249.20 甲卜才(在)辜(敦)鬯見(獻)于丁 一三  
 Divined on Jia, at Dun: Aromatic ale will be presented to His Highness. 12
- 249.21 乙卜鬯匕(妣)庚  
 Divined on Yi ...aromatic ale (to) Ancestress Geng.
- 249.22 乙卜夷(惠)牝歲[匕(妣)庚] 一  
 Divined on Yi: It should be cows that are sacrificed (to) [Ancestress Geng]. 1

376 The *liao*-rite 祭(燎) was a burning or fumigating ritual, see Chen Mengjia 1936 and comments by David Keightley 2000: 114-115.

249.23 戊卜子其生(往)夙(愛)曰又(有)求非𣎵(虞) —

Divined on Wu: If our lord goes to Man,<sup>377</sup> stating that there is a need (or: request), it is not cause to be upset. 1

249.24 鼎

Ding<sup>378</sup>

250.1 三十

Thirty

## HYZ 251

251.1 己未歲匕(妣)己豕一 —

On Jiwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji one sow. 1

## HYZ 252

252.1 乙亥歲且(祖)乙黑牡一又羝[又(有)]𣎵(登)子祝 —

On Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one black bull and (one) ewe, [have] a (cereal) raising, (and) our lord will pray. 1

252.2 乙亥歲且(祖)乙黑牡一又羝一[又(有)]𣎵(登)子祝 二三

On Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one black bull and (one) ewe, [have] a (cereal) raising, (and) our lord will pray. 23

252.3 丁丑卜其發于𣎵(惠)入人若用子𣎵(占)曰女(毋)又(有)𣎵(孚)雨 一二三四五六七八

Divined on Dingchou: When shooting at Liu\*, letting it be men of Ru (who shoot) will be favorable. Used. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “Must not have (> place) trust (in it). Rain.”<sup>12345678</sup>

<sup>377</sup> This place name is also recorded on 286 and 475. Lin Huan and Sun Yabing (2010: 107-109) locate it in the Linfen basin in southwest Shanxi 山西临汾盆地.

<sup>378</sup> This is another instance where a single word was recorded on the recto side of a plastron, in an isolated location, and without a divination crack in its proximity (Sun Yabing 2014: 273-280). ZSKY 2003 interprets it as a delivery receipt notation. I make the suggestion in the commentaries to HYZ 23 and 119 that this type of scribal notation might have had a different administrative function.

- 252.4 夷(惠)割(葛)人乎(呼)先奏入人迺生(往)用 一  
It should be men of Ge<sup>379</sup> who are called to first perform music; men of Ru will then proceed. Used. 1
- 252.5 夷(惠)割(葛)人乎(呼)先奏入人迺生(往)用 一三  
It should be men of Ge who are called to first perform music; men of Ru men will then proceed. Used. 12
- 252.6 夷(惠)入人乎(呼)用 一  
It should be men of Ru who are called. Used. 1
- 252.8 戊寅夕宜牝一才(在)[入] 一  
On the evening of Wuyin, make (or: provide) viands of one ewe. At [Ru]. 1
- 252.7 戊寅夕宜牝一才(在)入 一三  
On the evening of Wuyin, make (or: provide) viands of one ewe. At Ru. 2

## HYZ 253

- 253.1 辛未卜𠄎媿 一  
Divined on Guiwei: ...Tuo\*.<sup>380</sup> 1
- 253.2 癸巳歲癸子牝一 一  
On Guisi, sacrifice (to) Gui Child one ewe. 1
- 253.3 癸巳歲癸子牝一 一三  
On Guisi, sacrifice (to) Gui Child one ewe. 2

## HYZ 254

- 254.1 壬戌𠄎 一三  
On Renxu...2

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**379** For the reading of Ge, see *GuLin bubian* #3184: 783-785 (citing Guo Yongbing and Wu Kejing). Guo and Wu locate this place in eastern Henan, just west of Shangqiu 商丘. Late Shang-Western Zhou bronzes inscribed with this lineage name were discovered in Yanzhou, Shandong 山東兗州 in 1973; see Li Xueqin 1998b.

**380** For a discussion of this word, see 280 and commentary.

254.2 𠄎庚 一三  
...Geng...<sup>123</sup>

254.3 二五  
25

## HYZ 255

255.1 甲寅卜弜(勿)宜丁 一

Divined on Jiayin: Do not make (or: provide) viands (for) His Highness. 1

255.2 甲寅卜弜(勿)言來自西且(祖)乙口(曰)又(有)伐 二

Divined on Jiayin: Do not tell<sup>381</sup> Ancestor Yi what has been brought back from the west.<sup>382</sup> Say, “There will be a beheading.”<sup>383</sup> 2

255.5 乙亥卜弜(勿)乎(呼)崐(微)齊(燕>宴)用

Divined on Yihai: Do not call Wei to banquet. Used.<sup>384</sup>

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**381** I suggest to read *yan* 言, which is being used as a verb here, in its primary sense of “words” (n.) > “cause to have words > tell, state”. This usage occurs elsewhere in HYZ vocabulary (183.5, 474.6), although it is more commonly used as a noun, as in the phrases *wang yan* 亡言 “not have words” (181.26-27) and *you yan* 有言 “have words” (234.1). This divination was made the day prior to weekly worship and sacrificial offerings to Ancestor Yi. The divination proposes not to include information about items brought back from the west when making announcements made during the ritual event. An alternative reading is to take 言 as spelling the word 音, and then to take 音 as a phonetic loan for the word *xin* 歆 “to feast”. In Shang bone and Western Zhou bronze script the same graph was used to write the words *yan* 言 “words” and *yin* 音 “sound”. *Yin* 音, in turn, was used as a phonetic loan to write the word *xin* 歆 “to feast” (Yu Xingwu 2009: 87-88; Jao Tsung-I 1959: 657). The most compelling evidence comes from a passage in the early Western Zhou bronze inscription called the *Bo Ju ding* 伯矩鼎 (JC 2456) which says: 伯矩作寶彝, 用音(歆)王出入使人 “Bo Ju makes this treasured vessel, to be used to feast the king’s dispatches coming in and going out.” The last sentence is parallel with the more commonly used phrase 饗出入使人 “feast (the king’s) dispatches coming in and going out” (*Xiao Sheng zun* 小生尊, JC 6001; late Shang period) and “feast the king’s dispatches coming in and going out along with (my) many friends” (*Wei ding* 衛鼎, JC 2733).

**382** 來自西 “What has been brought back (or: what has come) from the west” is a nominalized verb phrase and the object of the verb 言. It seems related to the object phrase *zi xi ji* 自西祭 “sacrificial items from the west” (HYZ 4, 214, 355).

**383** *Kou you fa* 口有伐 also occurs on 226 in a divination dated Wuwu, day 55/60. As stated in the commentary to that piece, I read *kou* 口 as though it wrote the word *yue* 曰 “say”.

255.3 弼(勿)乎(呼)發齋(燕>宴) –

Do not call Fa to banquet. <sub>1</sub>

255.4 乎(呼)崑(微)齋(燕>宴)不用 –

Call Wei to banquet. Not used. <sub>1</sub>

255.6 乙亥卜弼(勿)乎(呼)多賈見用 三

Divined on Yihai: Do not call the Many Traders to appear. Used. <sub>2</sub>

255.7 戊寅卜舟囁告喃丁弗懋(虞)衍(侃) 一三

Divined on Wuyin: Zhou Long reports You's (jade delivery);<sup>385</sup> His Highness is not going to be upset, (but) happy about it. <sub>12</sub>

255.8 己丑歲匕(妣)庚一牝子圭(往)溝仰(禦)[興] 一三三

On Jichou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one cow; our lord will go to the Wan River and make the exorcism. (For) [Xing].<sup>386</sup> <sub>123</sub>

## HYZ 256

256.1 壬卜☐

Divined on Ren...

256.2 壬卜三日雨至 一三

Divined on Ren: In three days rain will arrive. <sub>12</sub>

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**384** I have moved (5) ahead of (3)-(4) in this sequence because it contains a date and the other two do not. It is clear that (3)-(6) were chained divinations part of a single sequence, and that they were all made on the same day, Yihai 乙亥 (day 12/60). Placing the undated divinations (3)-(4) after (2) and before (5)-(6) implies they were made on Jiayin 甲寅 (day 51/60), 22 days earlier; this is highly unlikely.

**385** Zhou Long (written 舟龍) occurs in Wu Ding's divination records (HJ 4928-29 [Bin 1]). On the Warring States bamboo manuscript *Rongcheng shi* 容成氏 (*ShangBo* 2, strips 45-46), Zhou (spelled 邶) was one of the nine kingdoms appeased by the future King Wen on behalf of the reigning Shang king, Di Xin. Eastern Zhou pottery marked with this name was discovered in Wenxian, Henan 河南濰縣 (Qiu Xigui 2012: 3.425-427). 288.8 mentions "large jade tablets from Zhou 邶". 邶 and 舟 were graphic variants. "You 喃" is the object of the verb *gao* 告 "report". It is shorthand for jades delivered or sent in by/from You; divination accounts on 37 and 490 provide a description of the goods from this delivery.

**386** This divination forms a set with 55.3-4↔247.15↔352.1. Only this divination record includes the name Xing 興 at the end. It means the exorcism was made for him.



256.3 壬卜五日雨至 一三

Divined on Ren: In five days rain will arrive. 12

256.4 己[卜]☐牛羊☐庚☐ 一

[Divined] on Ji...cattle, sheep...Geng...1

256.5 [己卜]☐小宰☐匕(妣)庚 一

[Divined on Ji]...small pen-raised sheep...Ancestress Geng. 1

256.6 ☐丁☐其☐ 一

...Ding...should...1

256.7 乙卜☐

Divined on Yi...

256.8 ☐于庚☐ 一三

...on Geng...12

256.9 己卜弼(勿)☐乍(作)丁☐ 一

Divined on Ji: Do not....will cause His Highness... 1

256.10 己卜☐日☐

Divined on Ji...day...

## HYZ 257

257.1 丙卜☐史(使)于丁☐ 一三

Divined on Bing...dispatch to His Highness...12

257.2 卜其☐

...divined...should...

257.3 卜☐告戍(戍)卬(禦)☐于卬(州\*)\☐(口\*) 一三

...divined...report the border guards defend...by the mouth of the islet\*. 12

257.4 ☐ 一

...1

- 257.5 甲卜歲匕(妣)庚𠄎仰(禦)由其□于丁𠄎 一三  
 Divined on Jia: Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng...exorcism rite (for) You;  
 should...to His Highness...<sup>12</sup>
- 257.6 壬卜𠄎  
 Divined on Ren ...
- 257.7 壬𠄎子[令]𠄎  
 Ren...Our lord [will command]...
- 257.8 𠄎告𠄎  
 ...announce...
- 257.9 庚𠄎  
 Geng...
- 257.10 𠄎匕(妣)庚陟告亡𠄎(虞) 三  
 ...Ancestress Geng. (As for) Yi<sup>387</sup> making an announcement, there will not  
 be (any reason to be) upset. <sup>2</sup>
- 257.11 己卜𠄎匕(妣)庚𠄎  
 Divined on Ji...Ancestress Geng...
- 257.12 庚卜丁[入]告 三  
 Divined on Geng: His Highness [will enter] to make an announcement. <sup>2</sup>
- 257.13 癸𠄎  
 On Gui...
- 257.14 [用] 一  
 [Used]. <sup>1</sup>

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**387** The graph is composed of *fu* 阜 “hill” (classifier) + *yi* 矢 “arrow” (phonetic?). The reading of this graph is uncertain and I am not sure if it should be read as the name of a person or as a grammatical word in combination with 告 “announce”. A person with this name is recorded in period I OBI, and HJ 926r records a person called Zi Yi 子阝 “lord Yi”. See Jao Tsung-I 1959: 529, 658, 678, 680, 778.

257.15 𠄎匕(妣)庚才(在)涓(離) 二三  
 ...Ancestress Geng. At Yong. 23

257.16 乙夕卜其𠄎 一  
 Divined on the evening of Yi: Should...1

257.17 𠄎且(祖)𠄎  
 ...Ancestor...

257.18 辛卜子其又(有)攸(肇)臣自𠄎 一三  
 Divined on Xin: Our lord will likely have servitors that are dispensed from...12

257.19 辛卜佳(唯)疢畀子 一  
 Divined on Xin: It will be You's<sup>388</sup> that are given to our lord. 1

257.20 辛卜丁曰其攸(肇)子臣允 一  
 Divined on Xin: His Highness said, “[I] shall dispense servitors (to) my son.” (It) is really true.<sup>389</sup> 1  
 [Or: His Highness said (that he) shall dispense servitors to our lord”. (It) is really true.]<sup>390</sup>

257.21 辛卜子其又(有)[攸(肇)]臣自[𠄎]寮 一  
 Divined on Xin: Our lord will likely have servitors [that are dispensed] from the [Gui\*] organization. 1

**388** You is a place/lineage name. Wu Ding's divinations record a prison at this place that held Qiang captives (HJ 522v) and Zhou providing Qiang captives: 疢不其以羌 “You might not bring Qiang” (HJ 274r). “疢” is shorthand for “servitors from You”. This divination is trying to predict where a delivery of servitors, promised to the prince by the king, would come from.

**389** The reconstruction of the first person pronoun *yu* 余 in the king's statement is based on the parallel 丁曰余其肇子臣. 允 (410.2). *Yun* 允 is part of the divination statement; it is not a verification statement recorded after the fact. It is important to note here that there is not one instance in the HYZ OBI where 允 is recorded as a verification. For other instances, see 123+Jiyi 561, 62, 331, and 351. The purpose of this divination is to determine the truth of the king's statement.

**390** The sense here is that a scribe “translated” the king's direct speech to avoid using his master's personal name. HYZ 331 presents a similar example. Section 2.4 of the Introduction has a more detailed discussion.

257.22 丙卜☱亡☱

Divined on Bing...there will not be...

257.23 用 –

Used. 1

257.24 用 ☳

Used. 2

257.25 己卜☳庚☱弼(勿)☱ –

Divined on Ji: Tomorrow, day Geng...ought not...1

257.26 己卜☱ –

Divined on Ji ...1

## HYZ 258

258.1 –☳☳

123

258.2 用 ☳

Used. 2

258.3 庚辰歲匕(妣)庚豕 –

On Gengchen, sacrifice Ancestress Geng some sows. 1

258.4 于日雨入

Enter by the day it rains.<sup>391</sup>

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**391** The statement 雨至 “rain will arrive” occurs frequently in OBI but there are no instances of 雨入 “rain entering”; the closest connection is 水入 “water (> flood) entering” (HJ 33347). For this reason, I understand the verb *ru* “enter” either as referring to the sacrificial animals mentioned in the previous divination, or to the protagonist’s movements.

## HYZ 259

259.1 辛巳卜新駝于呂(以)崔(舊)才(在)巖入用子馬(占)曰未莫(艱)卬(孚) —

Divined on Xinsi: The new mares are being brought, (and) the old (ones) will be entered at Lu. Used. Our lord read the crack and said, “Not yet. Affliction.”<sup>392</sup> Trusted. 1

259.2 辛巳卜子夷(惠)賈視用逐用隻(獲)一鹿 —

Divined on Xinsi: It should be trader-inspected (horses) that our lord uses to pursue. Used. Caught one deer. 1

259.3 乙亥卜☐ —

Divined on Yihai...1

259.4 —

1

## HYZ 260

260.1 戊戌夷(惠)亞[奠]誡(待)弼(勿)告 三

On Wuxu, it should be Ya [Dian]; wait, do not report (anything). 3

## HYZ 261

261.1 甲午歲匕(妣)甲豨一又(有)貞(登) 一一三

On Jiawu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Jia one sow (and) add (> have) a cereal offering. 123

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**392** ZSKY 2003 and Yao Xuan both read this graph as *zou* 奏, but recently Sun Yabing (2011a: 56, note 3/2014: 199, note 5) emends it *wei* 未. The language of this prognostication can compared with 220.1: “未。其有至艱。其戊。” “Used” is a judgment on the divination crack, and was likely made by the same diviner who made the divination. A formal prediction made by the head of the family disagreed with the judgment and overruled it. An example like this negates the argument (Huang Tianshu [1991] 2007) that the technical term 用 was a type of verification, and that it meant the divination statement was “applied” and actually carried out; see the commentary to HYZ 6.1 for a fuller discussion.

261.2 乙未歲匕(妣)庚豕一又(有)鼠(登) 一三

On Yiwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Jia one sow (and) add (> have) a cereal offering.<sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 262

262.1 母(毋)其步 一

Must not march. 1

262.2 癸卜丁步[今]戍加月才(在)𠂔(柚) 一

Divined on Gui: His Highness will march (in) [this present] month to destroy Shao.<sup>393</sup> At You.<sup>394</sup> 1

262.3 癸卜子弼(勿)癩(擇)齊(燕>宴)受丁裸 一

Divined on Gui: Our lord ought not select<sup>395</sup> the banqueters\* to receive<sup>396</sup> His Highness' libation ale. 1

## HYZ 263

263.1 丁☐日雨

Ding... daytime will rain.

**393** Yao Xuan says that the phrase “*jin xu* 今戍” means 最近的“戍”日 “the nearest “Xu” day”; this implies the diviner was calculating days by *dizhi* “earthly branches” and not by *tiangan* “heavenly stems”. Sun Yabing (2011a: 160, note 2) emends “我” for the graphically similar “戍”. Noting a correspondence between the phrases “置月” (159) and the terms “繫(被)月” and “秉月” in royal family group divination records (Yu Xingwu 2009: 26), Yao Xuan suggests to read 加月 as the name of a month. While this reading is possible, I read 戍 in its derived verbal sense, “destroy” (< from noun “axe”), and Shao as its object; Shao refers to the Shao territory. Adding a “mouth” component to 戍 spells *xian* 咸. 咸 occurs as a verb in Classical Chinese with the meaning of “kill, destroy”. 今 is an adverb and 戍(咸)邵 is a nominalized verb clause modifying “month”. The two month notations discussed by Yu Xingwu and cited by Yao Xuan are really just verb + noun (月) event notations, “the month to do X or Y.” For other inscriptions mentioning the war against the Shao, see 237, 275+517 and 449.

**394** The locative notation at the end of this account is the current location of the protagonist and the place where the divination is being made; it is not the location of the king.

**395** For the identification of 癩 as an early form of 擇 “choose, select”, see Sun Yirang [1904] 1993: 114.

**396** It is also possible that the word *shou* 受, read here as “receive”, should be read *shou* 授 “give”.

## 263.2 制示

Zhi submitted.<sup>397</sup>

## HYZ 264

## 264.1 乙巳歲且(祖)乙牝一子祝才(在)口 —

On Yisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one ewe (and) our lord will pray. At...<sub>1</sub>

## 264.2 己未卜貞賈壹又(有)疾亡[徯(延)] —

Divining on Jiwei, tested: Trader Zhu has sickness,<sup>398</sup> it is not going [to continue].<sub>1</sub>

## 264.3 己未卜才(在)劓其徯(延)又(有)疾 —

Divined on Jiwei, at Fu: (He) might continue having sickness.<sub>1</sub>

## 264.4 己未卜才(在)劓子其乎(呼)射告眾我南正(征)隹(唯)矢(戾)若 —

Divined on Jiwei, at Fu: If our lord calls for the Archers, and announces (for them) to join us on the southern military expedition, it is the late afternoon that will be favorable.<sub>12</sub>

## 264.5 弼(勿)乎(呼)眾南于若 —

Do not call (them) to join the south(ern military expedition), (for) in [that] will be favorable.<sub>12</sub>

## HYZ 265

## 265.1 戊辰卜子其目(以)殷(磬)妾于呈(王婦)好若 一二三四五

Divined on Wuchen: If our lord takes female servants who will play chime stones<sup>399</sup> to His Majesty's Lady Hao, (it) will be favorable.<sub>12345</sub>

**397** This delivery receipt is written on the lower left bridge of the recto side. The handwriting is crude, just like the notation “Dancer Jia presents one” on 226. Comparisons can also be made with the handwriting of the receipts on 502r and 226r. Sun Yabing (2011a: 253, note 7) locates Zhi 制 in Xingyang county, Henan 河南省滎陽縣.

**398** HYZ 102 records Trader Zhu having mouth sickness.

**399** I read “chime stones” as a musical instrument and “female servants” as the musicians who will play them for Lady Hao. 磬妾 is comparable to 琚羌 “Lapidary Qiang” (241.11); see 53.6-7 and 490.11 for accounts that associate female servants with music and dance. There are

265.2 𦉳(待)用 一<sub>二</sub>三<sub>四</sub>五

Wait. Used. 12345

265.3 庚午卜子其𦉳(以)𦉳(磬)妾于𦉳(王婦)好若 一<sub>二</sub>三

Divined on Gengwu: If our lord takes female servants who will play chime stones to His Majesty's Lady Hao, (it) will be favorable. 123

265.4 𦉳(待)用 一<sub>二</sub>三

Wait. Used. 123

265.5 辛未歲匕(妣)庚宰又(有)𦉳(登)用 二

On Xinwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some pen-raised sheep, and have (> add) a (cereal) raising. Used. 2

265.6 辛未歲匕(妣)庚小宰告又(有)𦉳(肇)鬯子祝𦉳(登)祭 一<sub>二</sub>三<sub>四</sub>五

On Xinwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some small pen-raised sheep, make announcements, have (> offer) the dispensed aromatic ale,<sup>400</sup> our lord will pray, (and) raise (other) sacrificial items.<sup>401</sup> 12345

265.10 辛未歲匕(妣)庚小宰告又(有)𦉳(肇)鬯子祝𦉳(登)祭 一

On Xinwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some small pen-raised sheep, make announcements, have (> offer) the dispensed aromatic ale, our lord will pray, (and) raise (other) sacrificial items. 1

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alternative readings. It is possible to take chime stones and female servants as two separate things; the prince will bring both to Lady Hao. A second possible reading is that Qing is the name of a place, and here modifies female servants; Li Xueqin (2008: 171-174) locates Qing 磬 in the vicinity of Qinyang, Henan 河南沁陽.

**400** The phrase “*you zhao chang* 又(有)肇鬯” is different from *you chang* 又(有)鬯 “have/add aromatic ale”. It only occurs in divinations on this shell. It is comparable to *you zhao chen* 有肇臣 in the divination statement 辛卜: 子其又(有)肇臣自𦉳 “Divined on Xin: Our lord will likely have servitors that are dispensed from....” (257.18). The aromatic ale would presumably have been dispensed to the protagonist from either the king or the queen. Other accounts mention him requesting and using millet from them for ritual events like this one (363.3, 379.1).

**401** This is the most complete list of activities for an ancestor's weekly worship in the entire corpus. In all, five activities are listed: animal sacrifice, reporting, offering drink, praying, and the offering of other “sacrificial items” that likely included a grain-type staple food (millet). I am not sure how exactly these activities were coordinated, and so I translate them one by one in order.



265.7 辛未歲匕(妣)庚先暮牛虻(殺)迺虻(殺)小宰用

On Xinwei, in sacrificing (to) Ancestress Geng, first Mu's cattle<sup>402</sup> will be killed, and then kill the small pen-raised sheep. Used.

265.8 辛未宜靴一才(在)入卯又(有)斂(肇)鬯 一三三

On Xinwei, prepare (or: provide) viands from one ewe. At Ru. Butchered (it) and added (> had) the dispensed aromatic ale. <sup>123</sup>

265.9 辛未歲匕(妣)庚小宰 𠄎用 一

On Xinwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some small pen-raised sheep...Used..<sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 266

266.1 其(及)五旬 𠄎

Might reach five weeks...

266.2 三旬

Three weeks.

266.3 弗及五旬

Will not reach five weeks...

## HYZ 267

267.1 己亥卜子于𠄎(戎)𠄎(宿)𠄎(夙)虻(殺)宰匕(妣)庚用 一

Divined on Jihai: Our lord, staying overnight in Rong, at dawn will kill some pen-raised cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. Used.<sup>403</sup> <sub>1</sub>

**402** *Mu* 暮 is spelled differently than the time word *mu* 暮 “evening”. Here it is a place name and modifies the word “cattle”. It is comparable to “Xun’s cattle 甸牛” in the sentence *yu Gui sha Xun niu* 于癸殺甸牛 “By day Gui kill Xun’s cattle” (474.9).

**403** The appearance of the preposition *yu* 于, and not *zai* 在, in the locative clause 于𠄎 means that at the time of the divination the protagonist was not yet in Rong. He planned to be there later and to spend the night. Before dawn on the following day, Gengzi, the protagonist sacrificed pen-raised cattle for his grandmother’s day of worship.

## 267.2 庚子歲匕(妣)庚才(在)𤝵(戎)牢子曰卜未子𦉑(孚\*) –

On Gengzi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some pen-raised cattle that are at Rong.<sup>404</sup> Our lord said, “(This) crack, still not yet [said of the proposed sacrifice].” Our lord trusted (it).<sup>405</sup> 1

## 267.3 甲辰卜𤝵(早)祭且(祖)甲𠄎(惠)子祝 –

Divined on Jiachen: In making the morning meat-sacrifice<sup>406</sup> (to) Ancestor Jia, it should be our lord who prays. 1

## 267.4 甲辰𤝵(早)祭且(祖)甲友𠄎一 –


On Jiachen, make the morning sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia and pair one ewe. 1

## 267.5 甲辰𤝵(早)祭且(祖)甲友𠄎一 二

On Jiachen, make the morning sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia and pair one ewe. 2

**404** The object of *sui* 歲 is *lao* 牢, modified by the locative clause *zai Rong* 在戎. The divination was not made at Rong. The preposition *zai* 在 was used because the pen-raised cattle were located there.

**405** Yao Xuan reads *bu wei zi piao* 卜未子𦉑 as a prognostication, but she does not offer an explanation of its meaning. I separate the four words into two parts; “卜未” is a prognostication and “子𦉑” a verification statement or notation. This is mainly because the sentence 卜未子𦉑 makes no sense grammatically. 卜 has to be referring to the divination or the divination crack. The adverb 未 (/妹) occurs elsewhere (for instance 220) in prognostications, and when it does the verb or verb phrase it negates has been omitted because it was previously stated in the divination statement proper. In this divination account 未 “not yet” refers to not making the sacrifice with cattle that are at Rong. This leaves 子𦉑. A place/lineage called 𦉑 occurs in the HYZ OBI (see HYZ 6.2), but there are no instances of a person called 子𦉑 “lord Biao”. I read 子 as referring to the protagonist, “our lord”, and *biao/piao* 𦉑 as a phonetic loan for *fu* 孚 “trust”; the sentence 子𦉑 means, “Our lord trusted (it = his prognostication).” Several different graphs were used to write the word *fu* “trust” in early epigraphic sources. Shang scribes used 𠄎. The received version of the *Yijing* uses 孚, and a Western Han period copy of the *Yijing* (Mawangdui) writes it with the loan *fu* 復 “return”. The Warring States bamboo manuscript *Great King Jian Stops the Drought* 東大王泊旱 (*ShangBo* 4) uses the graph *biao* 𦉑 (表) as a loan for 孚, for instance in the passage 尚詔而卜之於大夏。如𦉑(表>孚), 將祭之 “Would that (we) set our will and divine about it by the Great Xia (=type of turtle). If it is trusted, (then) we will sacrifice to it [said about the cause of a drought]”; see Shen Pei 2007.

**406** : Takashima (2010: II.345, note 8) comments, “The graph is a drawing of meat with a hand and sometimes gesturing to put the meat on the sacrificial stand (示).” This explanation is based on it being the ancestral form of 祭 (written 𦉑 in Zhou period script). Paul Serruys (2010: I.319; *Bingbian* 139.5) translates it as a “meat sacrifice.” *Ji* 祭 was one of the three cyclical or “seasonal” rites (翌—祭—𦉑), the rotation of which took approximately one calendar year.

267.6 乙巳爻(早)祭且(祖)乙友牝一 —

On Yisi, make the morning sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi and pair one ewe. 1

267.10 庚戌爻(早)祭匕(妣)庚友白牝一 —

On Gengxu, make the morning sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng and pair one white ewe. 1

267.7 乙巳卜出子亡斃(肇)用 —

Divined on Yisi: Exiting, our lord will not have anything to dispense (or: dispensed to him). Used. 1

267.8 戊申卜叀(惠)子祝用 —

Divined on Wushen: It should be our lord who prays. Used. 1

267.9 戊申卜叀(惠)子祝用 二

Divined on Wushen: It should be our lord who prays. Used. 2

## HYZ 268

268.1 𠄎匕(妣)庚𠄎

...Ancestress Geng...

268.2 子貞

Our lord tested.

268.3 丙卜貞其𠄎乙亥𠄎庚𠄎

Divining on Bing, tested: Should...Yihai...Geng...

268.4 𠄎子𠄎

...our lord...

268.5 丙卜𠄎

Divined on Bing...

268.6 𠄎鬯印匕(妣)庚𠄎 五

...aromatic ale, captives (to) Ancestress Geng...5

268.7 癸𠄎丙且(祖)𠄎步于子𠄎

Gui...Bing (day) Ancestors...walk, to Child...

268.8 用 —  
Used. 1

268.9 𠄎弱(勿)𠄎  
...ought not...

268.10 癸𠄎丁𠄎  
Gui...Ding...

268.11 甲卜子令 —  
Divined on Jia: Our lord will issue a command. 1

## HYZ 269

269.1 癸卜才(在)兹(兹)入𠄎  
Divined on Gui: At this (place > Here), contribute...

269.2 乙卜子𠄎  
Divined on Yi: Our lord...

269.3 𠄎歲用 —  
... sacrifice. Used. 1

269.4 乙卜兹(兹)𠄎子𠄎歲𠄎牛一 —四  
Divined on Yi: This...our lord... sacrifice...one head of cattle. 14

269.5 𠄎牛于匕(妣)庚 二三  
...cattle to Ancestress Geng. 23

269.6 癸卜其宜又(有)牛 —  
Divined on Gui: If making (or: providing) viands, have cattle (> beef). 1

269.7 癸𠄎 —  
On Gui...1

269.8 [乙亥]卜子其入白一于丁 —

Divined on [Yihai]: Our lord should contribute one white<sup>407</sup> to His Highness. 1

269.9 一三

12

## HYZ 270

270.1 己巳宜牝一于南 一三三四

On Jisi, make (or: provide) viands (from) one ewe in (/to) the south. 1234

270.2 己巳宜牝一于南 五

On Jisi, make (or: provide) viands (from) one ewe in (/to) the south. 5

## HYZ 271

271.1 甲夕卜日雨子曰其雨小用 —

Divined on the evening of Jia: It will rain during the daytime.<sup>408</sup> Our lord said, “It should rain a little.” Used. 1

271.2 甲夕卜日不雨 —

Divined on the evening of Jia: It is not going to rain during the daytime. 1

## HYZ 272 (=271v)

272.1 兪十

Kan, ten.

**407** Based on other divinations in this sequence “one white” likely refers to an animal; compare 142.3: “one white pig”, and 299.3: “one head of white cattle”.

**408** The absence of day Yi 乙 (2/10) or the word 翌 “tomorrow” before 日 implies that it means the “daytime” of day Jia (1/10).

## HYZ 273

273.1 [于]媯(妣)丁羣(禳)子馘顛 一三

[To] (deceased) Elder Sister Ding,<sup>409</sup> make a rite to dispel<sup>410</sup> (the injury from) lord Guo's fall.<sup>411</sup> 12

273.2 子馘顛其羣(禳)匕(妣)己累匕(妣)丁



(As for the injury from) lord Guo's fall, make a rite to dispel (it) (to) Ancestress Ji together with Ancestress Ding.

273.3 其𦊔(禦)子馘匕(妣)己累匕(妣)丁



Should make an exorcism (for) lord Guo (to) Ancestress Ji together with Ancestress Ding.<sup>412</sup>

273.4 𦊔羊匕(妣)庚

...sheep (to) Ancestress Geng.

**409** The words I read 媯(妣)丁 are written . Yao Xuan's transcription has “母由(?)”. The graph at the top is “woman 女/母”, and below it is . It seems rather straightforward however that the element at the bottom is not *you* 由, and my reasons are: 1) “女/母 + name” is clearly the object of the ritual proposed in this divination, and there is no ancestor called by the name *Mu You* 母由 “Mother You” or “Lady You” anywhere in the OBI; 2) The rectangular element under “woman” looks like *ding* 丁; 3) the vertical stroke to the right of 丁 and what opens up under it is not “mouth”, which would be expected if writing 由. Knowing that this graph writes the name of an ancestor, I read the three graphic elements as a ligature, “*si ding* 媯丁”; 司 is written upside down. Qiu Xigui (2012: 1.523-526) reads 媯 as *si* 媯 “wife of elder brother”; see too JC 1906. The only “elder brother” in the HYZ OBI is the deceased “Elder brother Ding 兄丁” (236). HYZ 441 mentions another ancestress called *Si Geng* 司(妣)庚. The deceased Lady Hao was called both as *Si Xin* 司辛 and as *Si Mu Xin* 司母辛; see Li Xueqin 2016: 18-24 and Song Zhenhao 2011: 410-412.

**410** The commentary to 39.21 provides the definition of this verb and how it may differ in application from 禦.

**411** : The graph read here as the word *dian* 顛 “fall” (Tang Lan 1999: 60) is composed of three elements: hill 阜 + kneeling man 卩 + sun 日; the kneeling man and the sun elements face downwards and the combined meaning of this compound pictograph is a man “falling” down “hill” or “steps”. This word occurs outside of the HYZ OBI and allographs from other scribal groups write it , with “child” 子 and not 卩, and with *ding* 丁 and not 日. The motive behind replacing 日 with the similar shaped 丁 in the variant form was to add a phonetic speller.

**412** Although there are no prefatory dates, I suspect this sequence of three divinations can be synchronized with 3.8-9↔181.20-21↔409. 273 states lord Guo's ailment.

273.5 子子  
...Our lord...

273.6 匕(妣)庚  
...Ancestress Geng...

## HYZ 274

274.1 乙巳歲匕(妣)庚一舌(刮)且(祖)乙  
On Yisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one sow, (and) carve (it for) Ancestor Yi's Yi-rite.<sup>413</sup> 123

## HYZ 275+517

275.1 己巳卜貞子利[女]不死 –  
Divined on Jisi, tested: Lord Pou's [woman] is not going to die. 1

275.2 其死 –  
Might die. 1

275.3 辛未卜丁[佳(唯)]子令比白(伯)或伐邵 –  
Divined on Xinwei: [It will be] our lord who His Highness commands to ally with Bo Ge to attack Shao. 1

275.4 辛未卜丁佳(唯)多𠄎(介)臣令比白(伯)或伐邵 –  
Divined on Xinwei: It will be the Many Great<sup>414</sup> Servitors who His Highness commands to ally with Bo Ge to attack Shao. 1

275.5 癸酉卜子耳鳴佳(唯)癸子蚩(害) –  
Divined on Guiyou: Our lord's ear(s) ringing means Gui Child is causing harm. 1

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**413** See 226.5 and commentary.

**414** *Jie* 𠄎 is an attested phonetic loan for *jie* 介; *Shuowen jiezi*: 𠄎, 讀若介. Classical commentaries gloss 介 as 大 “great”, 近 “close to”, and 副/輔 “to assist”; see *GXHZ*, p. 79. OBI also record groups called “*duo jie zi* 多介子”, “*duo jie fu* 多介父” and “*duo jie xiong* 多介兄”. Jao Tsung-I (1959) reads 介 as meaning either as *shu* 庶 “multitude” or “great”.

275.6 乙亥歲匕(妣)庚二豕 三

On Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng two sows. 2

275.7 乙亥卜舌(刮)且(祖)乙彡(彤)宰(牢)一牝子亡攸(肇)丁 一

Divined on Yihai: Will carve one pen-raised sheep (for) Ancestor Yi's Rong-rite, (but) our lord will not have any (sanctified meat) to dispense (to) His Highness. 1

275.8 乙亥卜舌(刮)且(祖)乙彡(彤)牢一牝子亡攸(肇)丁 三

Divined on Yihai: Will carve pen-raised cattle (and) one cow (for) Ancestor Yi's Rong-rite, (but) our lord will not have any (sanctified meat) to dispense (to) His Highness. 2

275.9 乙亥卜其乎(呼)多賈見丁衍(侃) 一

Divined on Yihai: If calling the Many Traders to see His Highness, (it) will bring happiness. 1

275.10 乎(呼)多賈眾辟丁衍(侃) 一

Calling the Many Traders together with Subordinates, His Highness will be happy. 1

275.11 丙子卜丁不各 一

Divined on Bingzi: His Highness is not going to arrive. 1

## HYZ 276

276.1 乙卜其又(有)伐于汨(雒)乍(作)匕(妣)庚翌(各) 一

Divined on Yi: If having a beheading in Yong, (it) will cause Ancestress Geng to arrive. 1

276.3 乙卜其又(有)伐于汨(雒)乍(作)匕(妣)庚翌(各) 三

Divined on Yi: If having a beheading in Yong, (it) will cause Ancestress Geng to arrive. 2

276.2 乙卜其又(有)十鬯匕(妣)庚 一

Divined on Yi: Should have ten bowls of aromatic ale (for) Ancestress Geng. 1



- 276.4 乙夕卜歲十牛匕(妣)庚祝鬯五用才(在)汨(雝) —  
 Divined on the evening of Yi: Sacrifice ten head of cattle (to) Ancestress Geng (and) offer five bowls of aromatic ale. Used. At Yong. 1
- 276.5 乙夕卜夷(惠)今蚊(殺)匕(妣)庚 —  
 Divined on the evening of Yi: It should be today to make killings (for) Ancestress Geng. 1
- 276.6 乙夕卜于翌蚊(殺)匕(妣)庚用 三  
 Divined on the evening of Yi: By tomorrow, make killings (for) Ancestress Geng. Used. 3
- 276.8 戊卜其蚊(殺)牛匕(妣)己 一三  
 Divined on Wu: Should kill some cattle (for) Ancestress Ji. 12
- 276.9 戊卜于翌蚊(殺)牛匕(妣)己 一三  
 Divined on Wu: By tomorrow, kill some cattle (for) Ancestress Ji. 12
- 276.10 戊卜歲牛子癸用 一三  
 Divined on Wu: Sacrifice some cattle (to) Child Gui. Used. 12
- 276.7 己卜歲牛匕(妣)庚用 —  
 Divined on Ji: Sacrifice some cattle (to) Ancestress Geng. Used. 1

## HYZ 277

- 277.1 丁  
 Ding.
- 277.2 一旬  
 One week.
- 277.3 二旬  
 Two weeks.
- 277.4 其(及)五旬  
 Might reach in five weeks.

277.5 弗及(及)五旬  
Will not reach in five weeks.

## HYZ 278

278.1 二牛 –  
Two head of cattle. 1

278.2 馘(待)弔(勿)又(有)匕(妣)庚 –<sub>二</sub>  
Wait, do not have anything for (or: offer anything to) Ancestress Geng. 12

278.3 三牛 –  
Three head of cattle. 1

278.4 夷(惠)小宰白豨 –<sub>二</sub>  
It should be small pen-raised sheep, white sows. 12

278.5 二牢白豕 –<sub>二</sub>  
Two head of pen-raised cattle, white pigs. 12

278.6 五豕 –  
Five pigs. 1

278.7 夷(惠)二黑牛 –  
It should be two head of black cattle. 1

278.8 二黑牛 –<sub>二</sub>  
Two head of black cattle. 12

278.9 白一豕又鬯 –  
One white pig and aromatic ale. 1

278.10 夕白豕羴釂(酒)二牢 –  
In the evening, white pigs, rams, ale libation, two head of pen-raised cattle. 1

278.11 夷(惠)二勿(物)牢口白豕匕(妣)庚 –  
It should be two head of variegated cattle...white pigs (to) Ancestress Geng. 1

278.12 三羊 一三三

Three sheep. 123

278.13 先豉(殺)白豕宜黑二牛 一

First kill the white sows, (then) make viands (from) two head of black cattle. 1

278.14 衷(惠)一白豕又鬯 一

It should be one white pig and aromatic ale. 1

## HYZ 279

279.1 𠄎子又(有)[鬼][夢]亡𠄎(戾) 一

...Our lord had a [demon dream]. There will be no misfortune. 1

279.2 𠄎丁𠄎 一

...His Highness...1

279.3 一

2

## HYZ 280

280.1 丁亥子其學媻夙用 一

On Dinghai, our lord should instruct Tuo\*<sup>415</sup> [uncertain meaning].<sup>416</sup> Used. 1

280.2 癸巳歲匕(妣)癸一牢𠄎祝 一三三

On Guisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Gui one head of pen-raised cattle (and) [unknown name] will pray. 123

**415** As the object of the verb *xue* 學 this word appears to be a name. It occurs on the fragmented 253 and at 293.1: 惠[媻]舞 “it should be Tuo\* who dances”. The divination that immediately follows it on that shell, 292.2, says: 衷(惠)叔(拔)先舞 “it should be “Uproot” that is danced first”, and from this we can deduce that 媻 is either the name of a dance or the name of a female person who will dance it.

**416** The reading here is uncertain but the graph appears to depict two people in motion and the context recommends that it was related to dance. It occurs again on 380 as a verb: 庚戌卜: 子于辛亥夙. Song Zhenhao (2010: 462) suggests it means to dance.

## HYZ 281

281.1 𦍋𦍋卯𦍋庚𦍋

...ram, butcher...Geng...

281.2 𦍋歲𦍋(妣)𦍋

... sacrifice (to) Ancestress...

281.3 [歲][又]𦍋

[sacrifice], [have]...

## HYZ 282

282.1 庚子歲𦍋(妣)庚豶 –

On Gengzi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some boars. 1

282.2 辛丑宜𦍋一才(在)𦍋 –二

On Xinchou, make (or: provide) viands (from) one ewe. At Fu. 12

282.3 癸𦍋十羊 –

Gui...ten sheep. 1

## HYZ 283

283.1 𦍋己𦍋不用

Ji...Not used.

283.2 牢

Pen-raised cattle.

283.3 用

Used.

283.4 己卜𦍋才(在) 𦍋其𦍋 –二

Divined on Ji ...at...should...12

283.5 弼(勿)𦍋

Do not...

## HYZ 284

284.1 戊卜歲十豕[匕(妣)庚]才(在)涓(離) –

Divined on Wu: Sacrifice ten pigs (to) [Ancestress Geng]. At Yong. 1

284.2 戊卜其乎(呼)蚊(殺)十豕于涓(離) –

Divined on Wu: Should call to kill ten pigs in Yong.<sup>417</sup> 12

284.3 戊卜戾(侯)奠其乍(作)子齒 –

Divined on Wu: Archer-Lord Dian should make (an exorcism for) our lord's tooth. 12

284.4 戊卜戾(侯)奠不乍(作)子齒 –

Divined on Wu: Archer-Lord Dian is not going to make (exorcism for) our lord's tooth.<sup>418</sup> 12

## HYZ 285

285.1 子祉(延)女(安)言利(剖)若 –






Our lord will continue to sit<sup>419</sup> and have words (with) Pou, (for it) is favorable. 1

285.2 勿言利(剖) –

Do not have words (with) Pou. 1

<sup>417</sup> Emended by Sun Yabing 2011a: 43, note 4.

<sup>418</sup> Divinations (3)-(4) appear to be connected with HYZ 28.1-3. However, the use of ten-day counts in the prefaces to all of these divinations, and not a fuller sixty-day count, make a confirmation uncertain. If they did form a set, then “Archer-Lord Dian” here and “Ya-officer Dian” there (28.1) would have to have been two people from the same place/lineage. If they did not form a set and were made at different times, then this leaves open the possibility that they referred to the same person who held these two positions in service to the Shang king at different times (Lin Yun 2007).

<sup>419</sup> : This compound pictograph depicts a seated man  + a single stroke that signifies a cushion or mat. I read it as a variant spelling of *an* 安/女; compare  (Daxingzhuang 大辛莊 T2302[5]B:1),  (HJ 5373), and  (HJ 37568). I translate the word in its primary sense, but an alternative is that it meant to stop and take rest or to take safety.

285.3 子衿(延)女(安)利(剖)若 –

Our lord will continue to sit (with) Pou, (for it) is favorable. 1

285.4 勿言利(剖) –

Do not have words (with) Pou. 1

## HYZ 286

286.1 辛卜歷入牡宜 –

Divined on Xin: Make viands from bull contributed by Zhen. 1

286.3 辛卜夷(惠)牝宜 –

Divined on Xin: It should be cow to make into viands. 1

286.4 辛卜其宜夷(惠)牝 –

Divined on Xin: If making viands, it should be cow. 1

286.2 其宜夷(惠)牝 –

If making viands, it should be cow. 2

286.5 壬卜子又(有)求曰口賈 –

Divined on Ren: Our lord will have a request saying to...trade. 1

286.6 壬卜子又(有)求曰取紵夏(受) –

Divined on Ren: Our lord will have a request saying to pick up tapestries (in) Man.<sup>420</sup> 12

286.7 壬卜子又(有)求曰視剡(葛)官(館) –

Divined on Ren: Our lord will have a request saying to inspect Ge's<sup>421</sup> guest residence. 1

286.8 壬卜子又(有)求曰鬻(置) –

Divined on Ren: Our lord will have a request saying...net rabbits. 1

**420** This is the place where Lady Hao and the HYZ prince, at the command of the king, plant wheat (475.9). Lin and Sun (2010: 52-54) locate it in the Linfen basin of southwestern Shanxi.

**421** The commentary to HYZ 252 proposes the location of Ge.

- 286.9 壬卜其祭(燎)匕(妣)庚于兹(茲)束告又(有)泉(麓)亡祉(延)宛(完) –  
 Divined on Ren: When making a (sacrificial) burning rite (to) Ancestress Geng, at this house announce that, having foothills,<sup>422</sup> there will be no prolonging to complete construction.<sup>423</sup> 1
- 286.10 壬卜束亡祉(延)宛(完) –  
 Divined on Ren: (As for) the house, there will be no prolonging to complete construction. 1
- 286.11 壬卜束泉(麓)弼(勿)若已佳(唯)又(有)辭 –  
 Divined on Ren: (As for) the house and foothills, not stopping, compliantly, means there will be blame. 1
- 286.12 夷(惠)三羊祭(燎)匕(妣)庚 一三  
 It should be three sheep that are burnt (to) Ancestress Geng. 12
- 286.13 夷(惠)五羊祭(燎)匕(妣)庚 –  
 It should be five sheep that are burnt (to) Ancestress Geng. 1
- 286.14 夷(惠)七羊祭(燎)匕(妣)庚 –  
 It should be seven sheep that are burnt (to) Ancestress Geng. 1
- 286.15 癸卜甲其祭(燎)十羊匕(妣)庚 一三  
 Divined on Gui: Day Jia, should burn ten sheep (to) Ancestress Geng. 12
- 286.16 癸卜戢(待)弼(勿)祭(燎)于匕(妣)庚 一三  
 Divined on Gui: Wait, do not make (sacrificial) burning rite for Ancestress Geng. 12
- 286.17 癸卜其祭(燎)羊匕(妣)庚 三  
 Divined on Gui: Should burn sheep (to) Ancestress Geng. 3

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422 For the reading here of “foothills”, see 312.3.

423 The graph is composed of 宀 over 夊 and spells 宛. It is the ancestral form of *wan* 完 “complete”, used in reference to construction work. (This is the difference between 宛 and another word that means “complete”, *cheng* 成.)

- 286.18 丙卜夷(惠)𩇑(皎)吉(圭)𠄎(稱)丁 —  
Divined on Bing: It should be shiny white, top-quality pointed jade tablets that are held up (to) His Highness. <sup>1</sup>
- 286.19 丙卜夷(惠)玄(圭)𠄎(稱)丁亡糾 —  
Divined on Bing: It should dark black pointed jade tablets that are held up (to) His Highness, without there being ear ornaments. <sup>1</sup>
- 286.20 己卜于日𠄎(羞)中𧈧(殺)三牛匕(妣)庚 —  
Divined on Ji: By noontime,<sup>424</sup> kill three head of cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. <sup>1</sup>
- 286.21 己卜其𩇑(酒)三牛乍(作)祝夷(惠)之用匕(妣)庚用 —  
Divined on Ji: (We) shall (< plan to) libate ale, (use) three head of cattle, and make prayer; it should be that which is used (for) Ancestress Geng. Used. <sup>12</sup>
- 286.22 己卜其𩇑(酒)三牛乍(作)祝夷(惠)之用匕(妣)庚用 三  
Divined on Ji: (We) shall (< plan to) libate ale, (use) three head of cattle, and make prayer; it should be that which is used (for) Ancestress Geng. Used. <sup>3</sup>
- 286.23 己卜其三牛匕(妣)庚 —  
Divined on Ji: Should (use) three head of cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. <sup>12</sup>
- 286.24 己卜其才(在)用卯三牛匕(妣)庚 —  
Divined on Ji: Should use what is here and butcher three head of cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. <sup>12</sup>
- 286.25 己卜𦉳(暮)𧈧(殺)卯三牛匕(妣)庚 —  
Divined on Ji: At twilight,<sup>425</sup> kill (and) butcher three head of cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>424</sup> Huang Tianshu 2006: 368-373.

<sup>425</sup> 𦉳 depicts the sun below trees with a bird 隹 in between; it also occurs on 314, 340 and 451. HYZ scribes differentiate “twilight” and the place name Mu 暮 by writing the latter with only two “trees” and without the “bird”: 𦉳 (265). For the meaning of this time word as “twilight”, see Chen Mengjia 2004: 304.



286.26 己卜暮(暮)蚊(殺)卯三牛匕(妣)庚 二

Divined on Ji: At twilight, kill (and) butcher three head of cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. 2

286.27 庚卜子弼(勿)猷其[躬] [父\*]丙 一

Divined on Geng: Our lord ought not (formulate a) plan.<sup>426</sup> Should [unclear sense]...[Father\*] Bing.<sup>427</sup> 1

286.28 辛[卜]于既乎(呼)食迺宜 一

[Divined] on Xin: After calling to eat, then make (or: provide) the viands. 1

286.29 壬卜卜宜不吉子弗彘(遭)又(有)黓(艱) 一

Divined on Ren: Divining about viands is inauspicious. Our lord will not encounter and have any affliction. 1

286.30 壬卜帚(婦)好告子于丁弗 一

Divined on Ren: Lady Hao will report our lord (to) His Highness. (His Highness) will not [unclear meaning] about it. 1

286.31 癸卜子其告人亡由(恤)于丁亡 一

Divined on Gui: If our lord reports that there is no despair amongst the men to His Highness, (he) will not take (anything). 1

## HYZ 287

287.1 三十

Thirty.

## HYZ 288

288.1 癸巳[歲]癸子牝一 一

On Guisi, [sacrifice] (to) Gui Child one ewe. 1

426 猷 (猷 > you 猶) “plan” in Western Zhou literature occurs in combination with *mou* 謀: for instance, *Shangshu*, “Jun chen” 君陳: 爾有嘉謀嘉猷 “You have excellent plans and ideas”; and *Hu zhong* 欽鐘 (JC 260): 惟上帝百神保余小子, 朕猷有成亡競 “It is G-d and the hundred spirits who protect me, the young child; my plans have success without contention.”

427 The reading of this graph as “father” is uncertain.

- 288.2 乙酉卜妣(嘉)帚(婦)好六綏若衍(侃)用 —  
 Divined on Yiyou: Commend<sup>428</sup> Lady Hao (with) six tassels,<sup>429</sup> (for it) will be favorable (and) bring happiness. Used. <sub>1</sub>
- 288.3 乙酉卜[妣(嘉)帚(婦)好] —  
 Divined on Yiyou ...[commend] Lady Hao...
- 288.4 [戊]子卜迺[眾]嵬(微)  
 Divined on [Wu]zi: Then...together with Wei.
- 288.5 戊子卜其乎(呼)子婁(畫)甸[馬]不死用 —  
 Divined on Wuzi: If calling lord Hua to request [horses], (horses) are not going to die. Used. <sub>1</sub>
- 288.6 戊子卜其甸馬又(有)力(嘉)引 —  
 Divined on Wuzi: If requesting horses, there will be joy; (they) will be led in. <sub>1</sub>
- 288.7 甲午卜子夔(速)不其各子[占]曰不其各乎(呼)鄉(饗)用舌(刮)且(祖)甲[彤] —  
 Divined on Jiawu: Our lord will invite (His Highness), (but he) likely will not arrive. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “If (he) does not come, (I) will call to feast.” Used. Carved (meat used for) Ancestor Jia’s *Rong*-rite. <sub>12</sub>
- 288.8 甲午卜丁其各子夷(惠)徯琫斨(肇)丁不用舌(刮)且(祖)甲[彤] —  
 Divined on Jiawu: If His Highness arrives, it should be Zhou’s<sup>430</sup> large jade tablets that are dispensed (to) His Highness. Not used. Carved (meat used for) Ancestor Jia’s *Rong*-rite. <sub>1</sub>

**428** 𠄎 is a variant spelling of *jia* 嘉 “excellent, joy, auspicious.” Both here and at 480.5 it is being used as a verb, “praise, commend.” It ought to be equivalent in meaning with the verbal usage of *jia* 加 on the early Western Zhou bronze inscription *Rongzhong fangding* 榮仲方鼎 (*Xinshou* 1567): 子加榮仲口瓚 — “(The king’s) son commended Rongzhong with...one ladle.”

**429** 𠄎 is composed of *shi* 尸 + *shao* 少. It is written in Western Zhou script as *wei* 尾 “tail” over 少 (Qiu Xigui 2012: 3.167-171). This item commonly occurs in Western Zhou bronze documents in gift lists modified by the color term 彤 “red” and as an accessory for a dagger. I read it *rui* 綏 “tassel”.

288.9 乙未卜子其生(往)𠄎隻(獲)不龜隻(獲)三鹿 —

Divined on Yiwei: If our lord goes (to) Qin, (he) will make captures (and) take (them) alive.<sup>431</sup> Captured three deer. <sub>1</sub>

288.10 乙未卜子其生(往)于𠄎隻(獲)子弓(占)曰其隻(獲)用隻(獲)三鹿 —

Divined on Yiwei: If our lord goes to Qin, (he) will make captures. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “Likely make captures.” Used. Captured three deer. <sub>12</sub>

288.11 乙未卜子其入三弓若衍(侃)用 —

Divined on Yiwei: If our lord contributes three bows, (it) will be favorable and bring happiness. Used. <sub>1</sub>

288.12 己亥卜母(毋)生(往)于田其又(有)史(事)子弓(占)曰其又(有)史(事)用又(有)宜 —

Divined on Jihai: (Our lord) must not go to the fields, (for) there is likely to be service. Our lord read the crack and said, “Will likely have service.” Used. There was viand (service). <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 289

289.1 夷(惠)崑(微)𠄎又(有)璽(瞿)若 —

It should be Wei...have lances\*, (for) will be favorable. <sub>1</sub>

289.2 癸亥歲癸子 —

On Guihai, sacrifice (to) Gui Child. <sub>2</sub>

289.3 癸亥歲癸子𦍋一 —

On Guihai, sacrifice (to) Gui Child one ewe. <sub>1</sub>

**430** 𦍋 modifies “large jade tablets” and refers to their point of origin. The graph is an alternative form to write the name of the Zhou 舟 lineage, and undoubtedly is to be associated with Zhou Long 舟隴, who reported a jade delivery to the king on 255.

**431** 𦍋 is a pictograph of a spider (=zhu 蛛) (Li Yanong [1950] 2001: 3. 283c). As a verb, it writes the word *shu* 殊 “cut off > to kill”/zhu 誅 “kill, punish” (Jin Xiangheng 金祥恆 [1970] 2001: 6. 161d-162a). Variant spellings in Shang script add the phonetic *shu* 束 (HJ 36417, *White* 1381) and the classifier *si* 死 “die” (*White* 959). The toponym Zhu 邾 (located in southern Shandong during the Western Zhou period) is written with “spider” + the phonetic *zhu* 朱 in Western Zhou script.

289.4 丙卜子其生(往)于田弼(勿)由裸若用 一三

Divined on Bing: If our lord goes to the fields, (he) ought not (go) from the ale libation,<sup>432</sup> (for) it will be favorable. Used. 12

289.5 丙寅卜賈馬[異]弗馬 一

Divined on Bingyin: (As for) trading horses, [perhaps]<sup>433</sup> no horses will be traded for.<sup>434</sup> 1

289.6 丙寅其𠄎(禦)佳(唯)賈視馬于癸子夷(惠)一伐一牛一鬯𦉳夢用 一三

On Bingyin, when making an exorcism rite, it being for the trader-inspected horses to Gui Child,<sup>435</sup> it should be one human beheading, one head of cattle, (and) one bowl of aromatic ale that are announced by written record (as sacrificial offerings along with) the dream.<sup>436</sup> Used. 12

289.7 丁卯卜子其生(往)田从阝西𦉳(遘)獸(獸)子𠄎(占)曰不三一(孚) 一三三

Divined on Dingmao: If our lord goes to hunt from Qin's western trails, (he) will encounter wild animals. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, "Not going to be three. One." Trusted.<sup>437</sup> 123

## HYZ 290

290.1 辛卯卜貞𦉳(王婦)母又(有)言子从𦉳(微)不从子臣 一

Divined on Xinmao, testing: The Majestic Lady Mother will have words (that) our lord follows Wei, (and) is not to follow our lord's servitors.<sup>438</sup> 1

432 ZSKY 2003 (facsimile) has 𦉳 and Yao Xuan's transcription renders it 𦉳. I read it as a variant of *guan* 裸 "ale libation" based on a comparison between this divination and 395+ 548: 辛未卜: 子其往于田, 弼(勿)𦉳(待)𦉳(裸)。用 "Divined on Xinwei: If our lord goes to the fields, (he) ought not wait for the ale libation. Used."

433 For the reading of *yi* 異 as a modal adverb, see Qiu Xigui 1992: 122-140.

434 The negative *fu* 弗 + noun *ma* 馬 implies that the verb "trade" was elided. It is comparable to *bu shi* 不豕 (50.3), which elided the verb *gou* 遘 "encounter": *bu [gou 遘] shi* "Did not encounter pigs."

435 癸子 ought to refer to the juvenile spirit usually called *zi Gui* 子癸; see too 214: 癸酉歲癸子𦉳 "On Guiyou, sacrifice (to) Guizi some ewes."

436 The ZSKY 2003 transcription has 册, not 𦉳. In the color photograph however there is clearly something under 册 and a comparison with the parallel divination on 29 implies the graph wrote 𦉳.

437 For the prediction "不三其一", see 378 and 381. A comparison between the three accounts suggests that the scribe forgot to write the adverb *qi* 其 before the number "one", and elided the words "encounter" and "wild animal". See too 295.4.

290.2 壬辰卜乎(呼)[崐(微)]𠄎(禦)于又(有)示

Divined on Renchen: Call for [Wei] to be exorcised about the altars (/spirit tablets).

290.3 壬辰卜子裸鬯(更) 一一三

Divined on Renchen: Our lord will libate ale (to) Geng.<sup>439</sup> 123

290.4 癸巳卜自今三旬又(有)至南弗鬯(及)三旬二旬又三日至 一

Divined on Guisi: Three weeks from today there will be an arrival south. It is not going to reach three weeks; will arrive in two weeks and three days.<sup>440</sup>

290.5 亡其至南

There might not (by this time) be an arrival south.

290.6 出自三旬迺至 一

Exit (and) three weeks from (today) then will arrive. 1

290.7 甲午卜其𠄎(禦)宜矢(晡)乙未矢(晡)𠄎(酒)大乙用 一

Divined on Jiawu: (We) should make an exorcism rite and provide viands<sup>441</sup> in the afternoon; in the afternoon of Yiwei there will be an Yi-rite and ale libation to Da Yi. Used. 1

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**438** This divination account implies that Wei was not a member of the group called “our lord’s servitors” *Zi chen* 子臣. Lady Hao’s order for the protagonist to follow Wei and not to follow one of his own servitors further suggests that Wei belonged to the *duo chen* 多臣 “Many Servitors”, that he primarily served the king and queen, and that he was ordered by them to safeguard their son.

**439** The graph is spelled by reduplicating *bing* 丙 and is an early form of *geng* 更. I read it as a name and as the recipient of the ale libation. The syntax 子裸更 is the same as 子裸妣庚 “Our lord will libate ale (to) Ancestress Geng” (490.6) and 子裸小示 “Our lord will libate ale (to) the Lesser Altars” (459.9). A man called Geng, Elder 伯 Geng, and Captain 師 Geng appears in Wu Ding’s divination accounts dating from his early to early-middle period. After death this person was referred to in Wu Ding’s divinations as Geng Father Ren 更父壬 (HJ 1823); see Lin Huan and Sun Yabing 2010: 328-330. Jao Tsung-I (1959: 368) associates Geng with the Spring and Autumn period toponym Geng 鄆, and locates in the area of modern Linshui county, Shandong 山東沂水縣.

**440** Sun Yabing 2011a: 148, note 3.

**441** Yao Xuan (2005: 27) reads 御 as it is written *yu* 御 “present, attend”, and not as the ancestral form of 禦 “exorcise, protect”. 御 does have a verbal meaning of “attend” in Western Zhou language, as in *Yu gui* 通簋: 王饗酒, 通御亡遣 “The king feasted and drank ale. Yu provided service without error.” As I understand it, the focus of this divination is the clause headed by

290.8 乙未卜乎(呼)多賈(服)西鄉(饗)用矢(晨) –

Divined on Yiwei: Call the slaves of the Many Traders to make a west feast.<sup>442</sup> Used. Afternoon. 1

290.9 乙未卜乎(呼)多賈(服)西鄉(饗)用矢(晨) –

Divined on Yiwei: Call the slaves of the Many Traders to make a west feast. Used. Afternoon. 2

290.10 乙未卜乎(呼)隤(微)齊(燕>宴)見用 –

Divined on Yiwei: Call Wei to banquet and have audience.<sup>443</sup> Used. 2

290.11 乙未卜乎(呼)隤(微)齊(燕>宴)見用 –

Divined on Yiwei: Call Wei to banquet and have audience. Used. 2

290.12 乙未卜子其史(使)隤(往)西哭(悖)子媚若 –

Divined on Yiwei: If our lord dispatches Wei to go west and warn<sup>444</sup> lord Mei,<sup>445</sup> (it) will be favorable. 1

290.13 戊戌卜又(有)至莫(艱) –

Divined on Wuxu: There will be (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction. 1

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the modal adverb *qi* 其. This presumably is what the HYZ prince was going to undertake for rites to Da Yi on Yiwei. Divinations (8)-(11) below concern preparations for the feast and resonate with him being responsible for providing the viands mentioned here.

**442** David Keightley (2000: 89) translates *xi xiang* 西鄉(饗) as “making a west feast”. “West” is an adverb; “feast” is a verb. Orientating the feast to the west was because the recipient was deceased.

**443** “Have audience” presumably means to see the king. An alternative reading is “to appear while banqueting”.

**444** Yao Xuan (2005: 116-118) identifies this graph as a simplified form of *bi* 悖, and suggests to read it *bi* 悖 “warn, caution” (Yang Junru 2005: 277). No reason is given for why a warning was needed.

**445** This is the only occurrence in the HYZ corpus of the person *zi* Mei, who appears in Wu Ding’s divination records. A divination about childbirth (HJ 14035) and spelling the name with the woman 女 classifier both suggest this person was a female.

## HYZ 291

291.1 庚辰歲匕(妣)庚小宰子祝才(在)麇 一

On Gengchen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some small pen-raised sheep (and) our lord will pray. At Lu. <sup>1</sup>

291.2 甲申歲且(祖)甲小宰祝鬯一子祝才(在)麇 一三

On Jiashen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia some small pen-raised sheep, offer one bowl of aromatic ale, (and) our lord will pray. At Lu. <sup>12</sup>

291.3 乙酉歲且(祖)乙小宰豶祝鬯一 一三

On Yiyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some small pen-raised sheep, boars, (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. <sup>12</sup>

291.4 乙酉歲且(祖)乙小宰豶祝鬯一~~鬯~~祝才(在)麇 二三四

On Yiyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some small pen-raised sheep, boars, offer one bowl of aromatic ale, (and) [uncertain name] will pray. At Lu. <sup>234</sup>

## HYZ 292

292.1 其乍(作)宗夷(惠)大紃 三

When building the ancestral temple, it should be a large number of tapestries. <sup>2</sup>

292.2 夷(惠)小紃 三

It should be a small number of tapestries. <sup>2</sup>

292.3 𠄎卜𠄎

Divined...

292.4 𠄎歲宰𠄎

... sacrifice some pen-raised sheep...

## HYZ 293

293.1 夷(惠)[媯]舞 三

It should be [Tuo\*] who dances. <sup>2</sup>

293.2 庚午卜夷(惠)収(拔)先舞用 –

Divined on Gengwu: It should be “Uproot” which is first danced. Used. 1

293.3 辛未卜子其告舞用 –

Divined on Xinwei: Our lord should announce the dances. Used. 1

293.4 辛未卜子弼(勿)告奏不用 –

Divined on Xinwei: Our lord ought not announce the songs. Not Used. 1

## HYZ 294

294.1 壬子卜子其告𤑔(戎)既𠄎(率)丁子曾告曰丁族𡗗(宀)𡗗(塾)宅子其乍(作)丁子(序)于𤑔(戎) –

Divined on Renzi: Our lord should report that Rong is already under control (to) His Highness. Lord Zeng reported (it), saying, “His Highness’ clan-based military unit<sup>446</sup> is safe<sup>447</sup> and residing (in) stations next to the main gate,<sup>448</sup> Your son (or: Our lord) shall (< expects to) build His Highness’ school<sup>449</sup> in Rong.” 1

446 K.C. Chang (1980:164-165), says, “The oracle bone character for *zu* 族 has two elements, a flag above and an arrow below. Ding Shan’s interpretation, that it originally signified a military unit, is generally accepted. In ancient China the association of flags with military units is well known, and in oracle bone inscriptions *zu* are shown to be action units in military campaigns. ...But military action was only one of the functions of the *zu*..., and composition was apparently based on kinship.”

447 For the reading of this graph as a loan for *bi* 𡗗, see Qiu Xigui 1992: 24-25. The graph *bi* 𡗗 on 290 is a phonetic loan for 𡗗, and this leads to me to read 𡗗 here as *mi* 宀, which the *Shuowen jiezi* defines as *an* 安 “safe; rest”, and the *Guangyun* defines as *ning* 寧 “calm”.

448 For the identification of *shu* 孰 as writing the word *shu* 塾, see Qiu Xigui 1992: 190-195; the *Erya* defines it as 門側之堂謂之塾 “A hall next to the gate is called *shu* 塾”. Song Zhenhao (2010: 42) explains it as a guard station located to the side of the gate of a residence complex or to the main gate of a settlement.

449 𡗗 is composed of two interlocked squares or circles. (The squares depict the image of two enclosures.) Yu Xingwu (2009: 180-181) reads it as writing the word *yong* 隄 “marsh, pool”. However, HYZ script writes 隄 as 𡗗, with two circles (=enclosures) arranged one on top of the other, with a space in between them, and with water around it. This same word occurs in the Western Zhou bronze inscription *Rongzhong fangding* 榮仲方鼎 (*Xinshou* 1567) with a roof + walls classifier: 王作榮仲𡗗 “The king built Rongzhong’s X”. Li Xueqin (2016: 337-339, 341-344) identifies the element on the inside of 𡗗 as *yu* 予 and reads the graph as writing the word *xu* 序 “school”. “子其作丁序” in this HYZ divination and “王作榮仲序” in the bronze inscription have



294.2 壬子卜子戠(待)弼(勿)告𤑔(戎)既𠄎(率)于[丁]若—

Divined on Renzi: Our lord will wait; do not report that Rong is already under control to [His Highness], (for it) will be favorable. 1

294.3 壬子卜子寤(寢)于𤑔(戎)弼(勿)告于丁—

Divined on Renzi: Our lord houses in Rong; do not report (it) to His Highness. 1

294.4 壬子卜子丙其乍(作)丁予(序)于𤑔(戎)—

Divined on Renzi: Our lord, on a Bing day, should build His Highness' school in Rong. 1

294.5 甲寅卜子𠄎(逆)卜(外)母𠄎(子)于帚(婦)好若—<sub>二三</sub>




Divined on Jiayin: Our lord will welcome (his) Aunt's children<sup>450</sup> at Lady Hao's (location), (for it) will be favorable. 123



294.6 —<sub>二三</sub>

...123

294.7 乙卯卜子丙𠄎(速)不用—<sub>二</sub>

Divined on Yimao: Our lord, on a Bing day, will invite (others). Not used. 12

a near identical syntax. The difference between the two is that the divination has the modal adverb *qi*, which indicates future action, whereas the sentence in the bronze inscription is post-factum. There are a series of period V OBI (HJ 36540-36547; *Yingcang* 2529) dating to end of the Anyang period that mention two different kinds of schools located at a place called Yi 𤑔. The schools are both referred to as being of or located in the Great Settlement Shang: one school is called the Great Settlement Shang School for *Gong* (Adults?) 天邑商公序, and the other school is called the Great Settlement Shang School for *Meng* (Eldest Sons?) 天邑商孟(孟)序. HJ 36542 writes “school”  and HJ 36543 writes it   (HYZ 21) writes the name of the protagonist's relative, Zi Yu.

450  is composed of *zi* 子 “child” over *zhi* 止 “foot”. A territory called by this name is recorded in Wu Ding's divination records (HJ 456r, HJ 7244; see Jao Tsung-I 1959: 596). Although it is certainly possible to interpret this word as the name of the protagonist's aunt, I understand it in association with the divinations before it about the construction of a school, and read it as a variant spelling of *zi* 子 “child, children”. In Shang script “child” + *ce* “document, book”  writes the word *zhi* 智 “know, knowledge”. A variant adds the phonetic “foot” under “child”. I take 止 the same way here.

294.8 乙卯卜歲且(祖)乙牢子其自弼(勿)𠄎(速)用 一三

Divined on Yimao: In sacrificing (to) Ancestor Yi some pen-raised cattle, our lord should do it himself; (he) ought not invite (anyone else). Used. 12

294.9 庚申卜貞執死 一三

Divined on Gengshen, tested: Shackled (prisoners) will die. 12

## HYZ 295

295.1 戊午卜子又(有)乎(呼)逐鹿不𠄎(奔)馬用 一三三

Divined on Wuwu: Our lord has a call to pursue deer. There will be no racing horses.<sup>451</sup> 123

295.2 庚申卜于既乎(呼)𠄎用 一三三四

Divined on Gengshen: Upon finishing the call...Used. 1234

295.3 辛酉卜从曰昔𠄎(擒)子𠄎(占)曰其𠄎(擒)用三鹿 一三

Divined on Xinyou: Following, declare (to hunt at) the previous location (and) there will be captures.<sup>452</sup> Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “There will likely be capture.” Used. Three deer. 12

295.4 壬戌一臣𠄎(擒)子𠄎(占)曰其一鹿用 一三

On Renxu, one of the servitors<sup>453</sup> will make a capture. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “Likely one deer.”<sup>454</sup> Used. 12

## HYZ 296

296.1 戊戌卜[駢]口于[馬] 一

Divined on Wuxu: [Foals]...for [horses]. 1

<sup>451</sup> For the identification of this graph as *ben* 奔, see Yao Xuan 2005: 75-88. The sense here is that none of the horses used on the hunt would be scared by something and run wild and uncontrollable.

<sup>452</sup> This uncommon word order, with *cong* 从 fronting the verb *yue* 曰, is unattested elsewhere. Perhaps it should be read as though it wrote 曰从昔所 “Declare to follow (or: go from) the old location.”

<sup>453</sup> Following the reading of Sun Yabing 2011a: 101/2014: 108.

<sup>454</sup> The verb “capture” was elided; see 289, 378 and 381.

## 296.2 庚子歲匕(妣)庚豕 —

On Gengzi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some sows. <sup>1</sup>

296.3 癸卯卜其入瑯(琺)衍(侃)用 —<sub>二三</sub>

Divined on Guimao: If contributing large jade tablets, (it) will bring happiness. Used. <sup>123</sup>

## 296.4 癸卯卜子弼(勿)告帚(婦)好若用 —

Divined on Guimao: Our lord ought not report (them to) Lady Hao, (for it) will be favorable. <sup>1</sup>

## 296.5 癸卯卜弼(勿)告帚(婦)好用 —

Divined on Guimao: (Our lord) ought not report (them to) Lady Hao. Used. <sup>1</sup>

296.6 甲辰歲且(祖)甲牝一 —<sub>二三四</sub>

On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one ewe. <sup>1234</sup>

296.7 乙巳歲且(祖)乙白彘又(有)𧄸(登) —<sub>二</sub>

On Yisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some white wild boars, (and) there will be (> add) a cereal offering. <sup>12</sup>

296.8 丁未歲匕(妣)庚豕一𧄸(登)佳 —<sub>二三</sub>

On Dingwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one sow, raise (cereal), (and offer some) birds. <sup>455 123</sup>

## HYZ 297

297.1 己未卜子其尋宜夷(惠)生(往)于日用生(往)𧄸 —<sub>二三</sub>

Divined on Jiwei: If our lord seeks viands, it should be during the daytime that he goes. Used. Went to Fu. <sup>123</sup>

<sup>455</sup> The ZSKY 2003 transcription ends the account with *deng* 登 “raise”. Sun Yabing (2011a: 191, note 7) emends it *deng zhui* 登佳 “raise > offer birds”. 佳 “bird” is indeed visible in the rubbing near crack three, but there is separation between it and 登. Although Sun’s reading is of course possible, I disagree with it for the following reasons: 1) there are no other instances of verb *deng* + object “bird”; 2) 佳 is recorded elsewhere cut into viands (198.9), but there are no other instances where it is occurs in an offering formula like this one (that is, with “sacrifice” as the initial clause); 3) there are no instances of birds paired with pigs as sacrificial items; and perhaps more importantly, 4) in the HYZ OBI the direct object of *deng* is usually a grain.

## HYZ 298

298.1 己☐用 ☐☐☐

On Ji...Used. 3

298.2 辛☐予☐其☐己☐ ☐☐☐

On Xin...Yu...should...Ji...12

298.3 ☐于☐其☐ ☐☐☐☐

...to...should...123

298.4 ☐子(巳)卜☐

Divined on...si<sup>456</sup> ...

298.5 ☐夷(惠)☐

...it should be...

298.6 戊午☐

On Wuwu...

298.7 ☐ ☐☐☐

...11

298.8 癸酉其☐

On Guiyou, if...

298.9 ☐丁☐

...Ding...

298.10 ☐

...

## HYZ 299

299.1 丁卯卜乙亥夷(惠)𠄎(禦)圭(往)☐

Divined on Dingmao: On Yihai, it should be an exorcism rite that is sent off. 1

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456 On the basis of (6) the date of this divination was likely Dingsi 丁巳.

299.2 又(有)吉(佶)牛衷(惠)之蚊(殺) –

(As for) the prime cattle, it should be these that are killed. 1

299.3 衷(惠)白一牛 –

It should be one head of white cattle. 1

299.4 二

2

299.5 戊辰卜大[又(有)]疾亡祉(延) –

Divined on Wuchen: The illness that Da has will not persist. 1

299.6 其祉(延) –






It might persist. 1

## HYZ 300

300.1 丙寅卜才(在)𠄎(柚)由友又(有)同住(唯)其又(有)吉 –

Divined on Bingyin, at You: You You<sup>457</sup> has an assembly;<sup>458</sup> it means there will likely be good fortune. 1

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457  is composed of *zhen* 針 “needle” over *kou* 口 “mouth/container” and writes the word *you* 由. On HYZ 171 it is written , with the needle piercing the container. 針 in Warring States script was still written pictographically and had yet to add a “metal” classifier:  (*Guodian*, *Ziyi* 繻衣, strip 17)/ (*ShangBo* 8, *Yong yue* 用曰, strip 3); see Qiu Xigui [2003] 2012: 2.389-394. ZSKY 2003 reads it *zai* 𠄎. HYZ scribes write this word with the variant  when it functions as an adjective or preposition (Chen Jian 2010, cited in *GuLin bubian*, 196-213). Zhao Peng (2007: 90) reads 友 as a rank or status, “aide, friend”, and 由友 as “You’s friend”. Shang language uses *you* 友 in this way, but always in the form “name 1 + 友 + name 2”, as in 子畫友加 “Zi Hua’s friend/aide Shao” (416). The problem with Zhao’s interpretation is that there is no “name 2” following 友 in “由友”; for this reason I take 友 as part of this person’s name. Other divination records just call him You 由 (297, 354), and not by the fuller You You 由友. This same person also appears in the set of abbreviated inscriptions in the form: 友貞: 子金 (2, 152). In the preface of a Shang oracle bone inscription the word immediately before the word *zhen* 貞 “test” is usually the name of the diviner. It seems highly unlikely that a scribe would refer to a diviner simply as “aide”. (Both Zi Hua and Zi Yu are mentioned having “aides”.) “Zi Hua’s aide, Shao” mentioned above is referred to in the HYZ OBI either by this full title or simply as Shao, never only as “zi Hua’s aide 子畫友” or “aide”. These are additional reasons why I interpret You You as being a compound name. Finally, a person with this same name also occurs in Wu

300.2 佳(唯)𡗗(虞)

It means (reason to be) upset.

## HYZ 301

301.1 𠄎丁𠄎

...Ding...

301.2 子: 其雨

Our lord: It might rain.

## HYZ 302+344

302+344.1 乙亥歲且(祖)乙牢[祝]鬯一[佳(唯)]𡗗(狩)𠄎(禦)生(往) –

On Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some pen-raised cattle (and) [offer] one bowl of aromatic ale, [it being] directed to protect the hunt. 1

## HYZ 303

303.1 癸酉夕卜乙丁出子𠄎(占)曰丙其 –

Divined on the evening of Guiyou: On day Yi, His Highness will leave. Our lord read the crack and said, “On day Bing, (His Highness) should (leave).” 1

## HYZ 304

304.1 甲卜子疾首亡征(延) –

Divined on Jia: Our lord’s sick head (> headache(s))<sup>459</sup> will not persist. 1

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Ding’s divination accounts (HJ 8339). Gu Yu’an (2009: 288-290) provides a summary of You You in the HYZ OBI.

**458** This divination can be synchronized with 375.2 and 455.2 (dated Yichou). Bingyin is the day after Yichou. The handwriting on this plastron and the handwriting on 375 and 455 are different. ZSKY 2003 reads the graph that I read *tong* 同 as *fan* 凡; see HYZ 183. Zhu Qixiang (2006: 1020), following the ZSKY 2003 reading, says 凡 is a phonetic loan for *pan* 盤 “circle”, and takes it to mean to patrol on inspection.

**459** Defining *ji shou* 疾首 as “headache” is based on Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄(127-200) comment in the “Ji yi” 疾醫 chapter of the *Zhou Li* 周禮: “首疾, 头痛也”. Divinations (1)-(2) can be synchro-

304.2 子疾首亡徃(延) 三

Our lord's sick head (> headache(s)) will not persist. 2

304.3 乙卜弔(勿)又(有)于庚 一

Divined on Yi: Do not add anything (> offer anything) on day Geng (or: for (Ancestress) Geng). 1

304.4 乙歲于匕(妣)庚[歲] 一

On Yi, sacrifice to Ancestress Geng some [wild boars]. 1

304.5 乙歲于匕(妣)庚歲 三

On Yi, sacrifice to Ancestress Geng some wild boars.<sup>460</sup> 2

304.6 丙宜羊 一

On Bing, make (or: provide) lamb viands. 1

304.7 丙弔(勿)宜 一

On Bing, do not make (or: provide) viands. 1

304.8 戊卜將(將)匕(妣)已示眾匕(妣)丁若 一

Divined on Wu: Carry in (sacrificial offerings) (to) Ancestress Ji's altar together with Ancestress Ding's [altar], (for it) will be favorable. 1

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nized with 446.5: 甲卜子首疾亡延 “Divined on Jia: Our lord's headache will not persist”. 子疾首 “Our lord's sick head” is another way of saying 子首疾 “Our lord's head sickness (> headache)”. Wu Ding's divinations also record such ailments, for instance HJ 13613: 王疾首中日彗 “Our lord's sick head (> headache) will be gone by midday”; Song Zhenhao (2010: 513-514) has a discussion.

**460** A comparison with HYZ 446.1-2: 甲卜: 乙歲牡妣庚 “Divined on Jia: On day Yi sacrifice some bulls (to) Ancestress Geng” makes it certain that the divinations (4)-(5) in this sequence were done on day Jia, and that day “Yi” before the predicate verb “sacrifice” meant the day of the ritual event. For this reason, it is likely that these two divinations should be moved up in the sequence, arranged under the divinations made on day Jia, and be renumbered (3)-(4). Making offerings to Ancestress Geng on day Yi was presumably to include her in the temple-day worship activities of her husband, Ancestor Yi. This is yet another instance (see HYZ 132) where a date in front of the word *sui* 歲 meant the day of the sacrifice and not the day of the divination, although there were instances where the day of the sacrifice and the day of the divination were the same.

## HYZ 305

305.1 甲子卜子其舞衍(侃)不用 一三

Divined on Jiazi: If our lord dances, (it) will bring happiness. Not used. 12

305.2 甲子卜子𩇑(待)弼(勿)舞用 一三

Divined on Jiazi: Our lord will wait; do not dance. Used. 12

## HYZ 306

306.1 子貞 一

Our lord tested. 1

## HYZ 307

307.1 貞大 一

Tested: (about) Da. 1

307.2 𠄎 一

... 1

## HYZ 308

308.1 一三

12

308.2 一三

12

308.3 一

1

308.4 二

2

308.5 三四

34



## HYZ 309

309.1 辛亥卜才(在)亞于商 二

Divined on Xinhai: At...ancestor temple shrine in Shang. 2

309.2 壬子歲且(祖)甲于亞 一

On Renzi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia...in...ancestor temple's shrine.<sup>461</sup> 1

309.3 二

2

309.4 且(祖)甲白豕一且(祖)乙白豕一匕(妣)庚白豕一 二

...Ancestor Jia one white sow, Ancestor Yi one white sow, (and) Ancestress Geng one white sow. 2

309.5 己未又豕一 一

On Jiwei, there will be (> add) ...one sow. 1

309.6 乙卜又(有)祭且(祖)乙

Divined on Yi: ...there will be (> add) a meat-sacrifice...Ancestor Yi.

309.7 大瑀 二

...large jade tablet...2

## HYZ 310

310.1 甲戌夕歲牝一且(祖)乙舌(刮)彤 一 二 三

On the evening of Jiaxu, sacrifice one cow (to) Ancestor Yi and carve it (for) Rong-rite (offerings)...<sup>462</sup> 123

**461** The ZSKY 2003 facsimile has *rou* 肉 (=duo 多 “many”) before 亞, but it is not visible in either the rubbing or photograph. The term “*duo ya* 多亞” frequently occurs in the king’s divinations and 亞, in addition to it being used as a rank, seems to also mean either an ancestor’s shrine (Huang Tianshu 2006: 84) or a niche for worship in an enclosed ritual space (=阿); see HJ 30297. This is the reason I translate 亞 the way I do in 309.1.

**462** Based on the Jia-day date before 歲 at the beginning of the divination account, in addition to a comparable syntax with 226.5 and 237.3, which record making a sacrifice in the name of the junior Ancestor Yi and carving it for the senior Ancestor Ding’s Rong 彤-rite, Yao Xuan’s com-

310.2 甲戌夕𩚑(酒)伐一且(祖)乙卯𠄎 九+

On the evening of Jiaxu, make an ale libation, behead one (human) (to) Ancestor Yi and butcher...<sup>910</sup><sup>463</sup>

## HYZ 311

311.1 庚午歲匕(妣)庚牢牝且(祖)乙征(延)虺(殺)才(在)𩚑(戎) 一三三

On Gengwu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some pen-raised cattle— cows, and (to) Ancestor Yi, continue to make killings. At Rong. <sup>123</sup>

## HYZ 312

312.1 戊午卜我人𠄎(擒)子𠄎(占)曰其𠄎(擒)用才(在)觶(唐) 一

Divined on Wuwu: Our men will make captures. Our lord read the crack and said, “Should make captures.” Used. At Tang.<sup>464</sup> <sub>1</sub>

mentary suggests that the words missing after 彡 were Ancestor Jia 祖甲. As such, the junior Ancestor Yi was to be incorporated into the offerings of his brother Ancestor Jia's *Rong*-rite. See Schwartz 2019, and the commentary to 226.5 for a fuller explanation of divinations in this form. **463** Along with 176, this is the highest count of divination cracks for an individual divination statement in the HYZ OBI. Shang diviners routinely made divination in multiples of three cracks and stopped at ten. In general, the importance of an issue was indicated by how many cracks the diviner made and how many shells and bones were used about it. The two divinations left on this fragment concern cyclical sacrifices (*zhouji* 周祭). In addition to weekly ancestor worship, dead kings and their main spouses also received larger and more elaborate “periodic” or “seasonal” worship events. (There were three main cycles *Yi* 翌—*Rong* 彤—*Ji* 祭, and with the inclusion of two additional sub-cycles within the *Ji* 祭-cycle totalled five rites altogether.) The limited number of these major rites performed over a year implies the importance of divinations about them (Schwartz 2019). Only cracks 9 and 10 remain on this fragment. The first eight cracks are not found on any other shell or bone discovered in Pit H3.

**464** 𠄎(312.1) 𠄎(312.3) 𠄎(480.1) 𠄎(51): ZSKY 2003 and Yao Xuan 2006 identify all four graphs as *jia* 𠄎 “small ale cup”; The graph on HYZ 51 is indeed 𠄎, but the first three write the word *shang* 觶 “ale cup”; see Li Chuntao 2018: 83-89. Western Zhou bronze forms add the sound value *yang* 易. HYZ script spells it with a 𠄎 classifier + the phonetic 𠄎, which is the sound value in the spelling of 易. In early script the classifiers 𠄎 and *jue* 爵 “ale cup with a spout” were interchangeable. (In Warring States script 觶 was written with the classifier *gu* 角, another type of ale cup.) Early Western Zhou bronze script wrote the toponymn Tang 唐 with the graph 觶. Tang 唐 was located in southwest Shanxi province. 觶(唐) occurs seven times on three shells in the HYZ OBI: 312, 363 and 480. All three shells can be synchronized into a timeline spanning from day 55/60 through day 14/60. On 312 and 363, the protagonist made divinations,

## 312.2 戊午卜敖𠄎(擒) –

Divined on Wuwu: Ao<sup>465</sup> will make captures. <sub>1</sub>

## 312.3 戊午卜才(在)觴(唐)子立于泉(麓)中𠄎(脊\*)子𠄎(占)曰企𠄎(敗) –

Divined on Wuwu, at Tang: Our lord will take a position by the middle ridge\* of the foothills. Our lord read the crack and said, “The plan\* fails.”<sup>466</sup> <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 313

## 313.1 戊戌卜夷(惠)羊歲匕(妣)己用 –

Divined on Wuxu: It should be sheep that are sacrificed (to) Ancestress Ji. Used. <sub>1</sub>

## 313.2 己亥卜于匕(妣)庚𠄎(𠄎)亡豕用 –

Divined on Jihai: To Ancestress Geng, [make a requital offering]<sup>467</sup> (with) Mang’s<sup>468</sup> pigs.<sup>469</sup> Used. <sub>12</sub>

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hunted, and sacrificed to his ancestors at Tang. Divinations on 363 and 480 stated that he had returned to Fu\* 𠄎(𠄎) from hunting at Tang and awaited the king’s arrival there.

**465** The name written here as 𠄎 is likely a variant of 𠄎 (Ao 敖); see 351. 敖 occurs as a place in the *Shijing* poem “*Che gong*” 車攻 (Our chariots attacked): 建旛設旆、搏獸于敖 “They set up the banners, with ox-tails displayed, and struck wild animals in Ao.” Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄 comment to this line says Ao was in the vicinity of Xingyang, Henan 河南滎陽. In this divination, members of the Ao lineage participated in a royal hunt at Tang along with the protagonist and his men.

**466** The first graph is *Qi* 企, meaning “stand on tiptoes” > “extend, plan (a project)”. The graph below it is 𠄎, which is a variant spelling of 𠄎, writes the word *bai* 敗 “fail, lose” (Yu Xingwu 2009: 53-54).

**467** This same graph occurs on the early Western Zhou bronze inscription *Ran fangding* 冉方鼎 (JC 2739). The Duke of Zhou, Dan, performs this sacrificial rite upon returning from a military campaign in the east. In the OBI, one of the characteristics of this sacrificial rite is the use of exotic animal sacrifices such as *si* 兕 “wild buffalo” and 虎 “tiger”. It also occurs on HYZ 395 and 480 to conclude a successful hunt. Zhan Yinxin (2006) suggests it was equivalent to the *ma* 禡-sacrifice. This sacrificial rite is mentioned in the *Zhou Li* as a military ritual performed on enemy soil (as a means to appease foreign spirits). It also occurs in the *Shijing* poem “Huang yi” 皇矣; the Mao commentary defines it as a sacrificial rite performed in the wilderness.

**468** 𠄎: The graph writes *wang* 亡 but differs slightly from how Huayuanzhuang East scribes write the negative 亡. The graph is a deictic pictograph that uses a short vertical stroke to indicate the sharp point of the knife—it is the ancestral form of *mang* 𠄎/芒 “blade”. Here,

313.3 己亥歲匕(妣)己[羊]用 –

On Jihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji [some sheep]. Used. 1

## HYZ 314

314.1 甲戌卜蠶(暮)蚊(殺)且(祖)乙歲用 –

Divined on Jiaxu: At dusk, kill Ancestor Yi's sacrifice. Used. 1

314.2 乙亥卜夷(惠)賈視眾匕(比)用 –

Divined on Yihai: It should be the trader-inspected [horses] that are joined and aligned.<sup>470</sup> Used. 1

314.3 賈爨(金) –

Trade metal. 1

314.4 丙子歲匕(妣)庚牲告夢 –

On Bingzi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some rams (and) announce the dream. 1

314.5 丙子卜子夢裸告匕(妣)庚用 –

Divined on Bingzi: (As for) our lord's dream, libate ale and announce (it) to Ancestress Geng. Used. 1

314.6 子从蚊(殺)牲又(有)鬯匕(妣)庚夢用 –

Our lord, from killing rams, will have aromatic ale (for) Ancestress Geng (and) [announce] the dream.<sup>471</sup> Used. 1

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modifying pig, it is a place/lineage name. Perhaps it should be associated with Mt. Mang 邙山 just north of Luoyang, Henan 河南洛陽.

**469** The noun phrase “Mang’s pigs” occurs once more on 324.5: 己亥卜: 子惠今用, 唯亡豕 “Divined on Jihai: It should be today that our lord...uses, it being Mang’s pigs”. Corresponding dates and these two instances as being the only appearances of “Mang’s pigs” makes it relatively certain that these two divinations should be synchronized.

**470** This divination can be synchronized with the parallel divination 391.7 dated six days later (on Gengchen 庚辰). The divination sequence 391.7-9 confirms that this divination was about what horses to pair and align.

**471** The verb *gao* 告 “announce” seems to have been omitted before the noun *meng* 夢.

314.7 己卯歲匕(妣)己豕一 一

On Jimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji one sow. 1

314.8 己卯歲匕(妣)己豕一 一三三

On Jimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji one sow. 123

## HYZ 315

315.1 十

Ten.

## HYZ 316

316.1 戊申歲且(祖)戊犬一 一三

On Wushen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Wu one dog. 12

316.2+5 壬子卜其蚊(殺)剪(有)友(有)若用 一三四

Divined on Renzi: If killing (and) cutting (unstated sacrificial animals),<sup>472</sup> there will be favor.<sup>473</sup> Used. 124

316.3 癸丑卜翌日甲寅生(往)田子馬(占)曰其生(往)用从西 一三

Divined on Guichou: Tomorrow, Jiayin, go to hunt. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “Should go.” Used. From the west. 12

316.4 癸丑[卜] ☐

[Divined] on Guichou...

## HYZ 317

317.1 子貞 一

Our lord tested. 1

<sup>472</sup> I read “kill” and “cut” as coordinate verbs; the word-order and grammar is parallel with *qi sha mao* 其殺卯 “should kill and butcher” (223).

<sup>473</sup> *You ruo* 友若 ought to be equivalent to 又(有)若 on 361. Exchange between 友 and 又 occurs in OBI; see HJ 10196. The person called You You is written both as 由友 and as 由又.

## HYZ 318

318.1 卯

Mao.

318.2 甲子卜二鬯裸且(祖)甲于歲鬯三 –

Divined on Jiazi: Two bowls of aromatic ale to make libations (to) Ancestor Jia; at the sacrifice, three bowls of aromatic ale.<sup>474</sup> 1

318.3 甲子卜二鬯裸且(祖)甲用 –

Divined on Jiazi: Two bowls of aromatic ale to make libations (to) Ancestor Jia. Used. 1

318.5 甲子卜二鬯裸且(祖)甲用 三

Divined on Jiazi: Two bowls of aromatic ale to make libations (to) Ancestor Jia. Used. 2

318.4 甲子卜裸咸鬯且(祖)甲用 –

Divined on Jiazi: To make libations, all of the aromatic ale (to) Ancestor Jia. Used. 1

318.6 戊辰卜丁生(往)田用 –

Divined on Wuchen: His Highness will go to hunt. Used. 1

## HYZ 319

319.1 乙丑歲且(祖)乙黑牡一子祝肩𠄎(禦)暘(微)才(在)𦉳 –

On Yichou, sacrifice Ancestor Yi one black cow (and) our lord will pray (about) the shoulder exorcism (for) Wei.<sup>475</sup> At Fu. 1

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**474** Sun Yabing (2014: 208) thinks the graph I transcribe *yu* 于 is the graphically similar *shi* 示 “altar, spirit tablet”; she reads “Ancestor Jia’s altar” and her transcription has a full stop after it. Her interpretation of this divination statement is: “Two bowls of aromatic ale to make libations (to) Ancestor Jia’s altar. To make sacrifice, three bowls of aromatic ale.” This divination account indicates that a *guan* 裸-ale libation + sacrifice were the basic ritual activities held for an ancestor’s regular weekly worship.

**475** Compare *Zi jian yu wang* 子肩禦往 “Our lord’s shoulder exorcism will be sent off” (243).

319.2 乙丑歲且(祖)乙黑牡一子祝肩卣(禦)崑(微)才(在)鞫 一

On Yichou, sacrifice Ancestor Yi one black cow (and) our lord will pray  
(about) the shoulder exorcism (for) Wei. At Fu. <sup>476</sup> 12

## HYZ 320

320.1 何于丁弝(逆) 一

He<sup>477</sup> will be met by His Highness. 1

320.2 于母婦 一

By our Mother Lady. <sup>478</sup> 1

320.3 其𩇑(艱) 一

There might be affliction. 1

320.4 其𩇑(圉)何

(They) might confine He.

320.5 丁卜弗其夷何其𩇑(艱) 一

Divined on Ding: Assuming (they) are not going to pacify He, there might  
be affliction. <sup>479</sup> 1

**476** This divination account can be synchronized with HJ 22172 + 22351. The only difference between the two shells is the addition of the postface “At Fu” in the HYZ account.

**477** A man named He 何 served as one of king Kang Ding’s diviners (period III OBI). Period I-III inscriptions record a “He Territory” (HJ 7001). Men from this lineage also held the positions of “bowman” (*White* 962) and “border guard” (HJ 26879); see Jao Tsung-I 1959: 1075-1097 and Han Jiangsu and Jiang Linchang 2010: 570-572.

**478** The grammar of 何于丁逆: N<sub>1</sub> + preposition + N<sub>2</sub> + V, is parallel with 新馬于賈視 “new horses will be inspected by the trader” (HYZ 7). Here *ni* 逆 means to meet in opposition. It suggests that, at this time, He was an enemy of Wu Ding.

**479** 𩇑: The reading of this graph as writing the word *yi* 夷 is after Lin Yun 2007. A recently discovered early Western Zhou bronze inscription from the reign of King Cheng 成王 called the *He gui* 何簋 (*Wenwu* 2009.2) writes the graph as *yi* 隤, plus “hill”: 唯八月公隤殷年 “It was the 8<sup>th</sup> month, the year that the Duke pacified Yin”. The phrase 隤何 “Pacified He” occurs in Wu Ding’s divinations (HJ 17027v [Model Bin-diviner type]).

- 320.6 庚卜才(在)麓歲匕(妣)庚三牲又(有)鬯二至卣(禦)罍百牛又五  
Divined on Geng, at Lai: Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng three rams (and) have two bowls of aromatic ale to deliver the exorcism; announce by written record (sacrifice of) one hundred and five head of cattle.
- 320.7 庚寅子入三(四)鬲(璋\*)于丁才(在)麓  
On Gengyin, our lord will contribute four arc-ended jade tablets\* to His Highness. At Lai.

## HYZ 321

- 321.1 甲辰歲癸子牡一 一  
On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Gui Child one bull. 1
- 321.2 甲辰歲癸子牡一 二  
On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Gui Child one bull. 2
- 321.3 丙辰卜嬖又(有)取弗死 一  
Divined on Bingchen: Jin,<sup>480</sup> having a pick up,<sup>481</sup> is not going to die. 1
- 321.4 庚申歲匕(妣)庚小宰祔鬯一旦(祖)乙沚(延)子鄉(饗) 一  
On Gengshen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some small pen-raised sheep (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. Continued from Ancestor Yi. Our lord feasted. 1
- 321.5 甲子卜貞妃中周姜不死 一  
Divined on Jiazi, testing: Si,<sup>482</sup> Zhong Zhou's consort, is not going to die.<sup>483</sup> 12

**480** ZSKY 2003 reads 妙; Sun Yabing (2011a: 193, note 1) emends 嬖.

**481** 取 functions as a noun here. This word occurs eight times in the HYZ OBI, and its objects are living people, land and materials. Examples are: 取吳 (39.17) “procure Hu (name),” 取田 (80.1) “procure fields,” 取紵 (286.6) “procure tapestries,” and 取有車 (416.10) “procure the chariot(s)”. Compare *Bingbian* 557.3: 翹以有取, which Kenichi-Takashima (2010: 1.749) translates “Hua will bring what (he) took”.

**482** This name is also seen on royal inscriptions; see HJ 6197, 2866 and HJ 2869r.

**483** A comparison between the syntax of this divination with divination (3) above suggests that *si* 死 after the negative *fu* 弗 is to be read transitively, and that its object was the prepositional verb phrase “having a pick up”.



321.6 甲子卜妃其死 一<sub>二</sub>Divined on Jiazi: Si is likely to die. <sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 322

322.1 甲卜弼(勿)蚊(殺)于匕(妣)庚 一

Divined on Jia: Do not make a killing (to) Ancestress Geng. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 323

323.1 子□□匕(妣)庚小宰~~𠄎~~祝才(在)𠄎(戎) 一...zi...Ancestress Geng small pen-raised sheep (and) X will pray. At Rong. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 324

324.1 戊戌卜其宜子~~鼎~~[𠄎](丙)用 一Divined on Wuwu: If making (or: providing) viands, our lord will cook Bing's (or: cook on a Bing day).<sup>484</sup> Used. <sup>1</sup>

324.2 己亥卜弼(勿)巳[𠄎]眾[𠄎(送)]黑 一

Divined on Jihai: Do not stop (or: change) [mares] being joined with [Song's]<sup>485</sup> blacks.<sup>486</sup> <sup>1</sup>

324.3 己亥卜子夷(惠)今□用隹(唯)亡豕 一

Divined on Jihai: It should be today that our lord...Used. It was Mang's pigs. <sup>1</sup>


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**484** The graph is composed of 隹 “bird” on top of 鼎 “caldron”. Reading it as the word *huo* 鑊 is after Tang Lan (1999: 31-32). As a noun it means “a type of caldron”, and as a verb “to cook”. A variant spelling (377.1) puts the bird inside of cooking vessel.

**485** This compound graph is composed from two hands at the bottom in a raising motion holding a “needle” *zhen* 針 (the phonetic value) + *ba* 八 (indicating a separation). Other Shang period scribes added *hang* 行 “road”. It writes the word *song* 送 “send off”. The word frequently occurs in Wu Ding's war divinations in the phrase *song fa* 送伐. Here it is a place/lineage name, and where the black horses came from; see 352.5. Han Jianguo and Jiang Linchang (2010: 299-307) locate it southeast of Taiyuan, Shanxi.

**486** See commentary to 13.3 for the proposed reading of *wu si* 弼(勿)巳 as a negative (adverb) + verb. The focus here is whether or not to join mares with Song's black horses.

324.4 己巳歲匕(妣)己豕 –

On Jisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji some sows. <sub>1</sub>

324.5 弼(勿)食多[工]用 –

Do not feed the Many [Artisans].<sup>487</sup> Used. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 325

325.1 用 –

Used. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 326

326.1 子貞 –

Our lord tested. <sub>1</sub>

326.2 子貞 =

Our lord tested. <sub>2</sub>

## HYZ 327

327.1 周入三

Zhou<sup>488</sup> contributes four.

## HYZ 328

328.1 –

<sub>1</sub>

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**487** For the translation of *duo gong* 多工 as “Many Artisans”, and for a study of this organization in the OBI see David Keightley 2012: 34-37, 299-305.

**488** During the reign of Wu Ding, Zhou was based in between the Yellow and Fen 汾 rivers in southwest Shanxi; for a summary of Zhou in Shang OBI, see Sun Yabing and Lin Huan 2010: 296-301. It is unclear if there was an association between 周 and the person Zhong Zhou 中周 (102, 321).

## HYZ 329

329.1 疋

Xu<sup>489</sup>

## HYZ 330

330.1 甲子歲且(祖)甲𪚩子祝才(在)𪚩 一三

On Jiazi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia some male wild boars (and) our lord will pray. At Fu. 12

## HYZ 331

331.1 辛卜𪚩(王婦)女(母)曰子丁曰子其又(有)疾允其又(有) 一三

Divined on Xin: The Majestic Lady Mother said, “Son, His Highness said ‘Our son will likely have sickness.’” (Our lord/I) really might have (sickness). 12

[Or: The Majestic Lady Mother has told our lord (that) our Highness has said (that) our lord might get sick. (Our lord/I) really might have (sickness).]

331.2 其𪚩(寐)若 一

If he sleeps (or: If I sleep), it will be favorable. 1

## HYZ 332 + 534

332.1 辛未卜西鄉(向)散用 一三

Divined on Xinwei: Scatter (the herd/hunted animals) in a western direction.<sup>490</sup> Used. 2

**489** This inscription is a receipt notation. It is either a lineage or place name. Xu often occurs in Bin 賓-diviner group (*Leizuan* #829) divinations in association with the capturing of Qiang. Its location is unidentified.

**490** A rejoin with HYZ 534 confirms the graph here is “hand holding a stick hitting a tiger” (=𪚩; see 14.5-6) + “three trees 森”. It ought to be an allograph of 𪚩 (𪚩) (HJ 41349), which is the ancestral form of *san* 散 “to scatter; cause to be separated”.

## HYZ 333

333.1 乙丑卜又(有)吉考子具<sub>𠄎</sub>其[目(以)]入若衍(侃)又(有)鬻值(值)用<sub>五六七八</sub>

Divined on Yichou: (As for) the best sickles, our lord should bring and contribute (them) all altogether, (for it) will be favorable (and) bring happiness. There will be a Piao visitation. Used.<sup>5678</sup>

## HYZ 334

334.1 二

2

## HYZ 335

335.1 丁酉卜今夕丁生(往)𨔵<sub>一</sub>

Divined on Dingyou: This evening His Highness will go to Fu. 1

335.2 甲辰宜[丁]牝一[丁]各矢(昃)于我翌日于大甲<sub>一三三</sub>

On Jiachen, make (or: provide) (for) His Highness meat viands (from) one cow. His Highness arrives in the late afternoon to us, the Yi-rite [day] for Da Jia. Used.<sup>123</sup>

## HYZ 336

336.1 甲寅卜乙卯子其學商丁衍(侃)子<sub>𠄎</sub>(占)曰其又(有)𨔵(禱)𨔵(艱)用子髀<sub>一三三四五</sub>

Divined on Jiayin: On Yimao if our lord practices “Shang”, His Highness will be happy. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “Should have prayer. Affliction.”<sup>491</sup> Used. Lord Bi.<sup>492</sup><sub>12345</sub>

**491** The graph is actually spelled *chou* 疇 + the phonetic *zhou* 肘. I read it as a variant of *dao* 禱 “pray”. An alternative is to read it 疇 (=shui 誰 “who, someone”; the *Erya* lists 疇, 孰, and 誰 as synonyms): *Someone* would likely be afflicted. HYZ 487.2, which is part of this divination set, records the exact same divination statement and has a complementary but different prediction, namely that the prince saw fault in one of the divination cracks.

**492** This verification means that lord Bi was the one actually afflicted. This divination account was part of a three-shell set along with 487.1-2 and 150.1-3. This exact same verification also occurs on 487.2 and 150.3 with the same meaning that it has here. Reading the divinations as a

336.2 丙辰歲匕(妣)己豕一告髀 –

On Bingchen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji one sow (and) report Bi. <sup>1</sup>

336.4 丙辰歲匕(妣)己豕一告子髀 二三四

On Bingchen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji one sow (and) report lord Bi. <sup>234</sup>

336.3 丙辰卜于匕(妣)己卣(禦)子髀用 一三

Divined on Bingchen: To Ancestress Ji, make an exorcism rite (for) lord Bi.  
Used. <sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 337

337.1 乙歲羊匕(妣)庚 一三

On Yi, sacrifice sheep (to) Ancestress Geng. <sup>12</sup>

337.2 己卜子炆(金) –

Divined on Ji: Lord Jin. <sup>1</sup>

337.3 𠄎己 一三

...Ji. <sup>12</sup>

337.4 庚卜子炆(金) 一三

Divined on Geng: Lord Jin. <sup>12</sup>

337.5 十月丁出獸(狩) –

In the tenth month, His Highness will exit to hunt. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 338

338.1 甲辰歲覓且(祖)甲又(有)友用 –

On Jiachen, sacrificing some mountain rams (to) Ancestor Jia, have (another) offering (> pair it with something else). Used. <sup>1</sup>

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set reveals Bi must have been injured on day Yimao (52/60) at practice for an upcoming music and dance performance later the same week. Divinations made on Bingchen (53/60), the next day, as well as on Gengshen (57/60), several days later (see HYZ 209), confirm it.

338.2 甲辰歲且(祖)甲覓一友[甕] –

On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one mountain ram (and) pair [wild boar] with it. <sub>1</sub>

338.3 甲辰歲且(祖)甲覓一友甕 二三

On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one mountain ram (and) pair wild boar with it. <sup>493</sup> <sub>23</sub>

338.4 甲辰卜子生(往)宜田(上甲)擊用肅(鑊)

Divined on Jiachen: Our lord will go to the viand-offering service, (and) carry in Shang Jia's (meat). Used. Cooked.

## HYZ 339

339.1 子貞 –

Our lord tested. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 340

340.1 癸巳宜牝一才(在)入 二三

On Guisi, make (or: provide) viands (from) one cow. At Ru. <sub>12</sub>

340.2 甲午宜一宰伐一人才(在) [入] 𠄎 二三

On Jiawu, make viands (from) one head of pen-raised cattle (and) behead one human. At [Ru]...<sub>123</sub>

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**493** The phrase *you you* 又友 (verb + nominalized verb) in the initial divination in this series attempted to determine whether or not to add something else to the sacrifice of mountain rams. The subsequent divinations, based on a positive judgment, continued and proposed the animal type, “wild boar”. A comparable divination morphology occurs with *you deng* 又(有)登 (also verb + nominalized verb) > *deng ji* 登祭(/稌) (verb + direct object) (265.5-6): “On Xinwei, sacrificing (to) Ancestress Geng, have (> add) a (cereal) raising. Used” || “On Xinwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng, make an announcement, have (> add) the dispensed aromatic ale, our lord will pray, and raise sacrificial items (/millet).” The initial divination in this sequence proposed to pair another offering with the sacrifice; the subsequent divination then identified a specific object.

340.3 暮(暮)酌(酒)宜一牢伐一人用 一三

At dusk libate ale, (then) make viands (from) one head of pen-raised cattle  
(and) behead one human. Used. 12

## HYZ 341

341.1 一[𠄎(千)]

One [thousand\*]

## HYZ 342

342.1 乙丑[卜]又(有)吉𠄎(刈)子具𠄎 一

[Divined] on Yichou: As for the best sickles, our lord...all together<sup>494</sup> ...1

## HYZ 343

343.1 甲戌卜其夕[又(有)]伐且(祖)乙卯[薦] 一

Divined on Jiayu: (We) should, in the evening, [have] a beheading (for)  
Ancestor Jia (and) butcher some [antelope]. 1

343.2 甲戌卜其又(有)𠄎伐且(祖)乙不用 一三

Divined on Jiayu: (We) should have...beheading (for) Ancestor Yi. Not used. 12

## HYZ 344 + 302 (See 302)

## HYZ 345

345.1 又(有)羌 一

Have (> Add) Qiang. 1

345.2 弼(勿)又(有)羌 一

Do not have (> Add) Qiang. 1

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494 Part of a five-shell set; see 6.2.

345.3 夷(惠)一牛 –

It should be one head of cattle. <sub>1</sub>

345.4 弼(勿)

Do not.

345.5 弗正

It will not be correct.

345.6 夷(惠)牝 –

It should be cows. <sub>1</sub>

345.7 夷(惠)二牛 –

It should be two head of cattle. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 346

346.1 子

Our lord.

346.2 𡗗 –

Female servants. <sub>2</sub>

346.3 三成 –

Complete in threes. <sup>495</sup> <sub>1</sub>

346.4 四成 –

Complete in fours. <sub>2</sub>

346.5 衍(侃) –

Will bring happiness. <sub>1</sub>

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**495** *Cheng* 成 occurs elsewhere as a verb, “to complete” (437.1). The numbers “3” and “4” here are adverbs; compare “*san fa* 三伐” and “*wu fa* 五伐” (144).



## HYZ 347-348

347.1 至□

Will arrive...

347.2 其

Should.

348.1 三十

Thirty

## HYZ 349

349.1 □

.....

349.2 □弼(勿) [卯]于□ –

...do not [butcher] (anything) for...<sub>1</sub>

349.3 子亡□

Our lord will not have...

349.4 □于□弼(勿)□于□乙□其丁又(有)疾

...to...ought not...to...Yi...; if day Ding, there will be illness.

349.5 □丁□ –

...His Highness...<sub>1</sub>

349.6 □亞□

...Ya...

349.7 □子□

...our lord...

349.20 子又(有)鬼夢亡[困](戾) –

Our lord had a demon dream; there will be no misfortune. <sub>1</sub>

349.19 子夢丁亡𠄎(戾) –

Our lord dreamt. His Highness will have no misfortune. <sub>1</sub>

349.16 子貞 –

Tested: (for) Our lord. <sub>1</sub>

349.10 貞𠄎(中(仲)子) 二

Tested: (for) Middle son.<sup>496</sup> <sub>2</sub>

349.14 子亡𠄎(戾) 二

Our lord will have no misfortune. <sub>2</sub>

349.17 貞母 –

Tested: (for) Mother. <sub>1</sub>

349.8 貞陞(陸) –

Tested: (for) Sheng. <sub>1</sub>

349.18 貞陞(陸) 二

Tested: (for) Sheng. <sub>2</sub>

349.9 貞筒 –

Tested: (for) Tong. <sub>1</sub>

349.11 二

...<sub>2</sub>

349.12 勿(勿)馬

Slit a horse's throat.

349.13 勿(勿)馬 二

Slit a horse's throat. <sub>2</sub>

349.15 𠄎 二二

...<sub>12</sub>

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**496** 𠄎: I read this graph as a ligature that writes 中(仲)子 “middle son”. HYZ OBI records the prince's other children: 大子 “big son” (480), 小子 “small son” (353), and 三小子 “third small son” (205).

## HYZ 350

350.1 甲辰夕歲且(祖)乙黑牡一子祝翌日昏(刮) –

On the evening of Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one black bull (and) our lord will pray. Carved (one black bull) for Yi-rite. 1

## HYZ 351

351.1 一一三

123

351.2 一一三

123

351.3 戊子卜才(在)𪚩貞不子𪚩(曲)又(有)疾亡征(延)不死 一一三

Divined on Wuzi, at Fu, tested: Pou's child Qu<sup>497</sup> has illness. It will not persist; (he) is not going to die. 123

351.4 戊子卜才(在)𪚩貞其死 一一三

Divined on Wuzi, at Fu, tested: (He) might die. 123

351.5 戊子卜才(在)𪚩(敖)言曰翌日其于萑(舊)官(館)宜允其用 –

Divined on Wuzi, at Fu: Ao's words said that tomorrow viand service should be held in the old guesthouse.<sup>498</sup> It really should. Used. 1

**497** Lin Yun (2007) reads this name as Qu, family head of Bu 不 (lineage). While this is certainly possible, I read Bu here as a phonetic spelling of Pou 剖, who was one of the protagonist's brothers or cousins. I read *zi* 子 in its primary sense of "child", and Qu\* (reading uncertain) as the child's name. HYZ 275+517 is a divination about whether Pou's "woman" would die. For the graph read *qu* 曲, see 228.15.

**498** See the commentary to 312.2 for the location of Ao. This divination suggests that a member of the Ao lineage served the royal family and knew about plans in preparation for a ritual activity. The HYZ prince was often responsible with overseeing viand service for ritual activities performed collectively; see HYZ 495.1. Ao transmitting a message here to the prince, presumably from the king (Yao Xuan 2005: 60), suggests that the content of the message was the result of a previous divination done by someone else. The prince's divination, which was made either by the prince himself or on behalf of him by one of his diviners, determined that the statement was indeed accurate.

## HYZ 352

352.1 己丑歲匕(妣)庚牝一子生(往)于溝卬(禦) –

On Jichou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one cow; our lord will go to the Wan River and make the exorcism. 1

352.2 壬辰卜子夕乎(呼)多尹口阝南豕弗菁(遘)子弓(占)曰弗其菁(遘)用 –

Divined on Renchen: Our lord, in the evening, will call the Many Commanders...southern Qin pigs;<sup>499</sup> (they) will not encounter any. Our lord read the crack and said, “Will likely not encounter any.” Used. 1

352.3 于賈視 –

To be inspected by the Trader(s). 1

352.4 于賈視 –

To be inspected by the Trader(s). 1

352.5 于送(送)黑𠂔(左)口 –

Among Song’s black (horses), the left...1

352.6 丙申夕卜子又(有)鬼夢裸告于匕(妣)庚用 –

Divined on the evening of Bingshen: Our lord had a demon dream. Make an ale libation and announce (it) to Ancestress Geng. Used. 1.

## HYZ 353

353.1 己酉歲匕(妣)己牝一 –

On Jiyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji one ewe. 1

353.2 庚戌卜小子舌(刮)匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Gengxu: (My/Our lord’s) small son will carve (sacrificial meat) (for) Ancestress Geng. 1

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499 The missing word here was probably something like pursue or seek.

## HYZ 354

354.1 乙亥歲且(祖)乙小牲子祝才(在)巽 –

On Yihai, sacrifice Ancestor Yi small pen-raised rams (and) our lord will pray. At Lu. <sup>1</sup>

□

354.2 –

<sup>1</sup>

354.3 甲申又(有)鬯用 –

On Jiashen, have (> add) aromatic ale. Used. <sup>1</sup>

354.4 甲申歲且(祖)[甲]小宰祝鬯一子祝才(在)巽 –

On Jiashen, sacrifice Ancestor [Jia] some small pen-raised sheep, offer one (bowl of) aromatic ale, (and) our lord will pray. At Lu. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 355

355.1 乙巳卜子其[夷(惠)]多尹令畬(飲)若用 –

Divined on Yisi: When our lord orders (someone) to drink (or: to provide the drinks), [it should be] the Many Commanders, (for it) will be favorable. Used. <sup>1</sup>

355.2 乙巳卜于□畬(飲)若用 一三三四五

Divined on Yisi: By...drink, (for it) will be favorable. Used. <sup>12345</sup>

355.3 乙巳卜于入畬(飲)用 一三

Divined on Yisi: (Coming to >) In Ru, drink (or: provide drinks). Used. <sup>12</sup>

355.4 丙午卜其入自西祭若于己酉用 一三

Divined on Bingwu: When contributing sacrificial items from the west, (it) will be favorable (to do so) by Jiyou. Used. <sup>12</sup>

355.5 戊申歲且(祖)戊犬一 –

On Wushen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Wu one dog. <sup>1</sup>

**HYZ 356-357**

356.1 己卜子其☱于之若 –

Divined on Ji: Our lord should..., (for) in that will be favorable. 1

356.2 ☱[庚]☱

...[Geng]...

356.3 甲卜翌日乙☱

Divined on Jia: Tomorrow, day Yi...

356.4 甲[卜]翌日乙弼(勿)☱丁

[Divined] on Jia: Tomorrow, day Yi, do not...His Highness.

356.5 ☱[隹(唯)]☱示☱卯☱ –

...[being]...altar...butcher...1

357.1 三十

Thirty

**HYZ 358**

358.1 ☱大(左)剝(剝)

... (on the) left will be cut (&gt; damaged).

**HYZ 359-360**

359.1 丙卜夷(惠)小白☱(圭)[見(獻)]丁 –

Divined on Bing: It should be small, white pointed jade tablets [that are presented] (to) His Highness. 1

359.2 丙卜夷(惠)小白△(圭)見(獻)丁 二

Divined on Bing: It should be small, white pointed jade tablets [that are presented] (to) His Highness. <sup>500</sup> 2

360.1 三十

Thirty.

## HYZ 361-362

361.1 丙卜子既祝又(有)若弗(左)匕(妣)庚 一

Divined on Bing: Our lord has already prayed. There is favor; Ancestress Geng does not oppose it. 1

361.2 丁

His Highness.

362.1 庚入五

Geng contributes five.

## HYZ 363

363.1 □卜才(在)𠄎京(柚)氤(迄)戮(𦏧)大獸(獸)□ [用]

Divined on..., at You: (The time has come to) finally hunt large animals strong-armed...[Used.]

363.2 □[氤(迄)]戮(𦏧)大獸(獸)□

...[finally] hunt large animals strong-armed...

363.3 [辛][卜]歲且(祖)[辛]𦏧(登)自丁[糝(黍)]才(在)觴(唐)且(祖)甲[祉(延)]-

[Divined] [on Xin]: Sacrifice (to) Ancestor [Xin]<sup>501</sup> some ewes (and) offer [shu-millet] from His Highness. At Tang. [Continued] (from) Ancestor Jia. 1

**500** This inscription is not included in ZSKY 2003 and was discovered by Sun Yabing 2011a: 229, note 1.

**501** For the reconstructed reading of *xin* 辛, see Song Zhenhao 2010: 397.

363.4 丁卯卜子勞丁禹(稱)滌△(圭)一糾九才(在)鞫獸(狩)自觶(唐) —  
 Divined on Dingmao: Our lord will comfort His Highness.<sup>502</sup> (Our lord) will hold up one multicolored pointed jade tablet (and) nine ear ornaments. At Fu. Hunt. From Tang.<sup>503</sup> 1

363.5 丁卯卜禹(稱)于丁郟(卮)才(在)寤(庭)迺禹(稱)若用才(在)鞫 —  
 Divined on Dingmao: To hold up (jades) to His Highness, kneeling in the courtyard (and) then holding (them) up will be favorable. Used. At Fu. 12

## HYZ 364

364.1 貞子亡[𠄎](庚) —  
 Tested: Our lord will have no misfortune. 1

364.2 又(有)[𠄎](庚)子 —  
 There will be misfortune for our lord. 2

364.3 用 —  
 Used. 1

## HYZ 365

365.1 [至][三]  
 ...[arrive]...three...

365.2 [牛]  
 ...[cattle]...

**502** The meaning of the verb *lao* 勞 is clearly associated with gifts presented to the king acknowledging and “rewarding” him for his “toil” upon his return from hunting in Tang. This divination can be synchronized with 312 and 480; (perhaps also 34.) Reading the divination accounts on the two shells together, the HYZ prince returned to Fu ahead of the king and prepared to “comfort” him upon his return (on Dingchou [14/60] (480.3)). Numerous activities were planned, and included gift-giving (both to the king and Lady Hao (480.5)), feasting (480.3), and a requital sacrifice for a successful hunt (480.4).

**503** 480.1, dated the day before Dingmao, records the postface 來狩自唐 “Return of the hunt from Tang”.



365.3 一又(有)告  
...one...have an announcement...

365.4 乎(呼)  
...call...

365.5 耕(勿)口蚊(殺)若  
(As for) the plowing rite\*, do not...kill, (for it) will be favorable.

## HYZ 366

366.1 乙丑卜[貞(登)]宗丁(及)乙亥不出獸(狩) 一三  
Divined on Yichou: [Will raise\*]...ancestral temple. His Highness will not exit to hunt before Yihai. 13

366.2 乙丑卜丁弗(及)乙亥其出子(占)曰庚辛出 一三三  
Divined on Yichou: His Highness might exit before reaching day Yihai. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, "On a Geng (or) Xin day (he) will exit."<sup>504</sup> 123

## HYZ 367

367.1 朕  
Zhen

367.2 癸亥卜新馬于賈視 一三  
Divined on Guihai: New horses will be inspected by the Trader(s). 12

367.3 于賈視 一三  
Will be inspected by the Trader(s). 12

367.4 新馬子用又(右) 一  
(As for) the new horses, our lord will use the one on the right. 1

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**504** Yichou is day 2/60 and Yihai is 12/60. The divination anticipates that the king would exit at some point between Yichou and Yihai. The prediction states that it would be either be Geng (=Gengwu, 7/60) or Xin (=Xinwei, 8/60). It suggests of a more wide-spread hemerology about the topic of travel.

367.5 新馬子用ナ(左) –

(As for) the new horses, our lord will use the one on the left. 1

367.6 賈視子用又(右) –

(As for) the trader-inspected (horses), our lord will use the one on the right. 1

367.7 賈視子用又(右) –

(As for) the trader-inspected (horses), our lord will use the one on the right. 1

## HYZ 368

368.1 𠄎ヒ(妣)庚𠄎至于𠄎

...Ancestress Geng...arriving to...

368.2 𠄎至于𠄎

...arriving to...

368.3 𠄎[既]𠄎于𠄎

...[after]...to...

368.4 𠄎卜𠄎其𠄎羊𠄎 –

...divined...ought...sheep...1

368.5 𠄎 –

...1

368.6 𠄎

2

## HYZ 369

369.1 壬辰卜貞又(有)駢[弗]安又(有)趕非廌□子𠄎(占)曰三日不死不其死—

Divined on Renchen, tested: There is a mare that [will not] be calmed; (she) is stirred up,<sup>505</sup> (and) it is not the antelopes...Our lord read the crack and said, “Not dying in three days, (the mare) is not likely to die.”<sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 370

370.1 辛未卜子生(往)[鬲]子利(剖)□子□于覃

Divined on Xinwei: Our lord will go off; [Suo] (and) lord Pou...lord...in Qin.<sup>506</sup>

370.2 丁丑卜其合發眾鬲—

Divined on Dingchou: Should match Fa together with Suo.<sub>1</sub>

370.3 丁丑卜弼(勿)合[發]眾[鬲]—

Divined on Dingchou: Do not match [Fa] together with [Suo].<sub>1</sub>

370.4 丁丑卜弼(勿)合□—

Divined on Dingchou: Do not match...<sub>2</sub>

370.5 丁亥卜□出入口用—

Divined on Dinghai...exiting and entering...Used.<sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 371

371.1 己亥卜甲其夔(速)丁生(往)—

Divined on Jihai: On Jia, if making an invitation, His Highness will go.<sub>1</sub>

**505** 趕 is composed of *zou* 走 (semantic) + *zha* 乍 (phono-semantic). It has the opposite meaning of 安 “calm”. The root meaning of *zha* 乍 is to “rise, sprout up” (*Shuowen jiezi*: 起也), and when the verb 作 takes an animal as its object it means “to stir up” or “excite” (興): 《周禮·大司樂》: “以六律、六同、六聲、八音、六舞大和樂, 以鬼神示、以和邦國、以諧萬民、以安賓客、以悅遠人、以作動物”; 《詩經·魯頌·駟》: “思馬斯作”; 朱熹集傳, “作, 奪起。”

**506** Shima Kunio (2006: 711-713, 716, 735) locates Qin in southern Shandong.

371.2 己亥卜丁不其翌(各) –

Divined on Jihai: His Highness is not likely to arrive (by then).<sup>1</sup>

371.3 庚子卜子告其秉于帚(婦) –

Divined on Gengzi: Our lord will announce to our Lady that the millet should be harvested.<sup>507</sup><sup>1</sup>

371.4 子弼(勿)告其秉

Our lord ought not announce that the millet should be harvested.

## HYZ 372

372.1 乙酉卜夷(惠)[嵬(微)]靠(鑊)用 –

Divined on Yiyou: It should be [Wei] who cooks. Used.<sup>1</sup>

372.2 乙酉卜夷(惠)子[靠(鑊)]不用

Divined on Yiyou: It should be our lord [who cooks].<sup>508</sup> Not used.

372.3 乙酉卜 –

Divined on Yiyou.<sup>1</sup>

372.4 丙戌卜子夷(惠)辛瑟用子罌 [-]=[-]

Divined on Bingxu: Should it be on a Xin day that our lord plays the zither (or: has zithers played). Used. Our lord joined in.<sup>12[3]</sup>

372.5 丙戌卜子罌瑟用 [-]=[-]

Divined on Bingxu: Our lord...zither. Used.<sup>[1][2][3]</sup>

372.6 甲午卜歲且(祖)甲牛夷(惠)祝 –

Divined on Jiawu: When sacrificing (to) Ancestor Jia some cattle, there should be prayer.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>507</sup> Tang Lan (1999:17; cited in *Jishi* 7.2375) identifies this graph as *fu* 秬 “a kind of millet” (Schuessler (2007: 299) says “*Panicum miliaceum*, not glutinous”), and defines its verbal usage as *huo he* 穫禾 “to harvest grain still on stalk”.

<sup>508</sup> 220 is a parallel divination.

372.7 甲午卜夷(惠)子祝曰非[𠄎(孽)]佳(唯)疒

Divined on Jiawu: It should be our lord who prays, saying “It is not [evil], only sickness.”<sup>509</sup>

372.8 甲午卜子乍(作)璠分卯[告]于丁亡[𠄎(以)]用

Divined on Jiawu: Our lord is cutting stone to make large jade tablets. (Our lord) [will report] (this) to His Highness, (but) without taking (any). Used.<sup>510</sup>

372.9 己酉卜子寤(寢)齊(燕>宴)用

Divined on Jiyou: Our lord, in his chamber, will banquet. Used.

372.10 [夷(惠)][帚(婦)]好口乎(呼)見[丁]用 –

[It should be] [Lady] Hao<sup>511</sup> ...who calls (people) to have audience about/with [His Highness]. Used. 1

372.11 口申卜夷(惠)子 –

Divined on...shen: It should be our lord. 1

## HYZ 373

373.1 癸卯卜貞口吉又(有)史死 –

Divined on Guimao, tested...auspicious, there will be officers who die. 1

373.2 不其吉又(有)史其死 –

If it is inauspicious, there will be officers who might die. 1

**509** In the grammatical form “Is not 非...is 唯 (> only)”, the meaning of 𠄎 is worse than 疒 “sickness”. A comparison can be made with 鼎(貞): 非𠄎(孽)佳(唯)疾 “Tested: It is not evil, only sickness” (HJ 13845), and allows us to deduce that 疒 is either a variant form of 疾 or that the two words were synonyms; see Huang Tianshu [1991] 2007: 26-27, and the divination accounts on *White* 1518 and HJ 21054. 𠄎 is a phonetic loan for *nie* 孽 “evil”; see 286.11.

**510** This divination can be synchronized with 391.10-11 (also dated Jiawu). Reading this microset of three divinations together reinforces that the technical term 用 “Used” referred to a judgment on the divination crack, and not to whether or not the divination statement was applied and actually carried out. This is because 372.8 proposes to report about stone cutting, and 391.11 proposes not report about it. Both divination statements, although they differ slightly and are not purely antithetical, are followed by “Used”, “Using” both, in the sense that both divination statements were applied and actually carried out is obviously a contradiction. This issue is discussed in the commentaries to HYZ 6.1 and 252.3.

**511** Reconstructed by Zhu Qixiang 2006: 1028.

## HYZ 374

374.1 入一四用

...contribute one...four...Used.

374.2 見

[unclear meaning]

374.3 二子于丁

...two...our lord...to His Highness...

374.4 辛

...Xin...

374.5 壬卜于三[史]庚告

Divined on Ren...to...three [officers]; on day Geng, announce...

374.6 壬卜三豕

Divined on Ren...three sows.

374.7 癸曰告

...Gui... say to report...

374.8 壬卜夷(惠)三牛

Divined on Ren: It should be three head of cattle.

374.9 子生(往)妣庚

...our lord...directed (to) Ancestress Geng.

374.10 辛卜弔(勿)蚊(殺)妣庚

Divined on Xin: Do not make killings (for) Ancestress Geng.

374.11 用

Used. 1

374.12 辛卜蚊(殺)其妣庚若

Divined on Xin: (As for) making killings, should (our lord do it for) Ancestress Geng, it will be favorable.

374.13 壬卜歲匕(妣)庚☱

Divined on Ren: Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng...

374.14 壬卜子☱𠄎☱三☱

Divined on Ren: Our lord...ram...three.

## HYZ 375

375.1 戊卜才(在)𠄎𠄎又(有)𠄎(遣\*)曰☱ —

Divined on Wu, at Lai: (As for) the foals, having (or: there being) a delivery, say... 1

375.2 乙丑卜由又其𠄎(延)又(有)[同]其英(艱) —

Divined on Yichou: If You You continues to have [an assembly], (there) might be affliction (for someone). 2

## HYZ 376

376.1 戊申卜子[裸]于匕(妣)丁用 —

Divined on Wushen: Our lord [will libate ale] to Ancestress Ding. Used. 1

376.2 子☱ —

Our lord...1

376.3 己酉夕伐羌一才(在)入庚戌宜一牢發 —

On the evening of Jiyou, behead one Qiang. At Ru. On Gengxu, made (or: provided) meat viands from one head of pen-raised cattle, and shot. 1

## HYZ 377

377.1 新𠄎(鑊)乃𠄎 —

Xin will cook for Nai Ji.<sup>512</sup> 11

377.2 乃𠄎 —

Nai [unclear meaning]. 11

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512 “Nai Ji” is a reverse spelling of the person otherwise called Ji Nai 𠄎乃 or Nai.

## HYZ 378

378.1 戊戌夕卜𤮑[己]子[求]豕菁(遯)𤮑(擒)子𤮑(占)曰不三其一用 —二三四

Divined on the evening of Wuxu: Tomorrow, [day Ji], our lord [searching] (for) pigs, will encounter (some) and make a capture. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “Not going to be three; should be (at least) one.”<sup>513</sup> Used.

1234

378.2 弗其𤮑(擒) —二三四

Might not capture any. 1234

378.3 𤮑(擒)豕子𤮑(占)曰其𤮑(擒)用 —二

Will capture some pigs. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “Should make a capture.”<sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 379

379.1 丙辰卜子其𤮑(甸)糝(黍)于𤮑(王婦)夷(惠)配乎(呼)用 —

Divined on Bingchen: When our lord requests *shu*-millet from His Majesty’s Lady, it should be (our lord’s) spouse who is called upon. Used. <sup>1</sup>

379.2 丙辰卜子𤮑(金)丁生(往)于黍 —

Divined on Bingchen, lord Jin: His Highness will go to the millet (fields). <sup>1</sup>

379.3 不其生(往) —

Not likely to go. <sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 380

380.1 庚戌卜子于辛亥𤮑子占曰𤮑(服)卜子𤮑用 —二三

Divined on Gengxu: Our lord, by day Xinhai, will dance\*. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “Obey (this) divination.”<sup>514</sup> Used (for) lord Bi. 123

**513** 381.1 has an explanation of this prediction formula.

**514** HYZ 61-HYZ 62 discusses the meaning of *fu bu* 服卜.



## HYZ 381

381.1 戊戌夕卜噬己子其[逐]从壘北鄉(向)敷(馘)葍(遘)子马(占)曰不三其一其二其又(有)迹(奔馬)用 一

Divined on the evening of Wuxu: Tomorrow, day Ji, if our lord [pursues] from the north side of Wei and hunts strong-armed, (he) will make an encounter. Our lord read the crack and said, “There will not be three, but should be at least one or two. There will likely be racing horses.”<sup>515</sup> Used. 1

381.2 于既乎(呼)用 二

After finishing the call.<sup>516</sup> Used. 23

## HYZ 382

382.1 丙辰卜征(延)奏商若用 一三四

Divined on Bingchen: Continuing to perform “Shang” will be favorable. Used. 1234

## HYZ 383

383.1 豕

...SOW...

383.2 一

...2

**515** Yao Xuan (2005: 87) parses after 其一, and reads “其二, 其又奔馬” together. She explains the entire prognostication as “There will not be three pigs but should be at least one. If we encounter two pigs then there will be horses that run out of control.” I read 不三其一其二 as prognostication one, and 其又奔馬 as prognostication two. The sense of “not three but one or two” as referring to animal counts can be deduced from 294.4 which adds the word “deer” after “likely one”: 壬戌, 一臣擒。子占曰: 其一鹿。用。一二 “On Renxu, one of the servitors is going to make a capture. Our lord read the crack and said, “Should (capture) one deer”. Used.” I interpret these counts literally, but it is also possible that “three” meant any number more than two.

**516** *Yu ji hu* 于既呼 is likely an abbreviation of *yu ji hu gui* 于既呼簋(饋) “After the call to eat”. It means the protagonist will go hunt after the meal. See HYZ 3.15..

383.3 𠄎 二

...2

**HYZ 384**

384.1 壬卜子又(有)求曰生(往)[𠄎] –

Divined on Ren: Our lord will have a request saying to go [and deliver meals].<sup>517</sup> 1

384.2 壬卜子又(有)求曰視丁官(館) –

Divined on Ren: Our lord will have a request saying to inspect His Highness' guesthouse. 1

384.3 壬卜子𠄎(金) –

Divined on Ren: (about) Lord Jin. 1

384.4 壬卜子𠄎(金) –

Divined on Ren: (about) Lord Jin. 1

384.5 壬卜其𧈧(殺)牛匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Ren: Should kill some cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. 1

384.6 壬卜𧈧(惠)宰𧈧(殺)匕(妣)庚 –

Divined on Ren: It should be pen-raised sheep that are killed (for) Ancestress Geng. 1

384.7 壬卜子又(有)求曰生(往)焚 –

Divined on Ren: Our lord will have a request saying go set fire to the bush.<sup>518</sup> 1**HYZ 385**

385.1 𠄎 一

...11

517 ZSKY 2003 reads 兮簋; Sun Yabing (2011a: 121) emends 𠄎, and points out that this graph occurs outside of the HYZ OBI, on HJ 2783-2784. I read it as a ligature 至(致)簋(食) “send food/meal”.

518 The transcription follows Sun Yabing 2011a: 121, note 5.

385.2 𠄎 =

...2

## HYZ 386

386.1 𠄎黑馬 一三三

Request black horses. 123

386.2 𠄎百 一

...hundred. 1

386.3 宰

Pen-raised sheep.

386.4 于小𠄎(騷)

Among small piebald horses.

## HYZ 387

387.1 戊卜其𠄎

Divined on Wu: Should...

387.2 𠄎卜𠄎

Divined...

387.3 𠄎奠[用]𠄎[己]𠄎

...Dian [will use]...[ji]...

387.4 𠄎 一

...1

387.5 𠄎其又(有)疾 一

...might have illness. 1

## HYZ 388

388.1 𠄎告𠄎

...announce...

## HYZ 389

389.1 三十  
Thirty.

## HYZ 390

390.1 𠄎 –  
...1

390.2 𠄎 二  
...2

390.3 𠄎 –  
...1

## HYZ 391

391.1 己巳卜子𠄎(修)𠄎(燕>宴)用庚 –  
Divined on Jisi: Our lord will cleanse (the space)<sup>519</sup> for the banquet. Used.  
Geng. 1

391.2 弜(勿)巳𠄎(修)𠄎(燕>宴) –  
Do not stop (from) cleansing (the space) for the banquet. 1

391.3 辛未卜𠄎(修)𠄎(燕>宴)不用 –  
Divined on Xinwei: Cleanse (the space) for the banquet. Not used. 1

391.4 弜(勿)巳𠄎(修)𠄎(燕>宴)用 –  
Do not stop (from) cleansing (the space) for the banquet. Used. 1

391.5 丁丑卜𠄎(惠)子舞不用 一三三  
Divined on Dingchou: It should be our lord who dances. Not used. 123

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519 𠄎: Qiu Xigui (2012: 1.552-565) explains the combined meaning of this graph as cleansing an enclosure with broom (mop) and water, and reads it *you* 攸/*xiu* 修 “cleanse, wash”; see 372.9.

391.6 弼(勿)子舞用 一三三

Do not (have) our lord's dancing. Used. <sup>123</sup>

391.7 庚辰卜夷(惠)賈視眾匕(比)用 一

Divined on Gengchen: It should be the trader-inspected (horses) that are joined and aligned. Used. <sub>1</sub>

391.8 庚辰卜夷(惠)乃馬不用

Divined on Gengchen: It should be Nai's horses. Not used.

391.9 夷(惠)乃馬眾賈視[不]用 一

It should be Nai's horses joined together with the trader-inspected ones. [Not] used. <sup>520</sup> <sub>1</sub>

391.10 甲午卜子乍(作)璠分卯其告丁若 一

Divined on Jiawu: Our lord cuts apart jade to make tablets. If (he) reports to His Highness, it will be favorable. <sub>1</sub>

391.11 甲午卜子乍(作)璠分卯子弼(勿)告丁用若 一

On Jiawu divined: Our lord cuts apart jade to make targetablets. Do not report to His Highness. Used. Favorable. <sup>521</sup> <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 392

392.1 辛未歲且(祖)乙黑牡禴鬯一子祝 三

On Xinwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some black bulls, offer one bowl of aromatic ale, (and) our lord will pray. <sub>2</sub>

392.2 三三三 三

...three...<sub>2</sub>

<sup>520</sup> Reading *bu yong* 不用 after Sun Yabing 2011a: 131, note 3.

<sup>521</sup> *Ruo* 若 is either a verification, meaning it was indeed favorable not to report it to the king; or an scribal emendation to the coda, “Do not report to His Highness, (for it) will be favorable.”

## HYZ 393

393.1 𥝌(黍)  
...millet.

## HYZ 394

394.1 𡗗[妣]庚𡗗  
...[Ancestress Geng]...

394.2 乙卯歲且(祖)乙豨一 –  
On Yimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one sow. 1

394.3 庚申酌(酒)由宜用 –  
On Gengshen, make the ale libation following the viand offering. Used. 1

## HYZ 395+548

395+548.1 辛未卜其征(延)𡗗麋 –  
Divined on Xinwei: (Our lord/We) should continue to sacrifice musk deer as a requital.<sup>522</sup> 1

395+548.2 辛未卜𡗗隻(獲)入用 –  
Divined on Xinwei: On an upcoming day, capture will be contributed. Used. 1

395+548.3 辛未卜弜(勿)入麋其𡗗用 一三  
Divined on Xinwei: Do not contribute musk deer, (for our lord) should make a requital sacrifice (with them). Used. 12

395+548.4 辛未卜子其生(往)于田弜(勿)𡗗(待)𡗗(裸)用 一三三  
Divined on Xinwei: If our lord goes to the fields, do not wait for the ale libation.<sup>523</sup> Used. 123

**522** Appears to be associated with HYZ 480.4, and then by extension, with 312 and 363.

**523** I suspect that 𡗗 writes the word *guan* 裸 “libate ale”. Compare the syntax here to 181.5: 甲卜弜𡗗(待)。𡗗(待)裸，子其往田 “Divined on Jia: Do not wait. Waiting for the ale libation, our lord should go and hunt.” See also 289.4.

395+548.5 壬申卜子其生(往)于田从昔𠄎(所)用 一三

Divined on Renshen: Our lord should go to the fields from the old location. Used. <sup>12</sup>

395+548.6 壬申卜母戊祫 一

Divined on Renshen: (As for) Mother Wu, offer meat on altar\* .<sup>524</sup> <sub>1</sub>

395+548.7 壬申卜裸于母戊告子齒[疾][用]

Divined on Renshen: Make an ale libation to Mother Wu and announce our lord's [sick] tooth. [Used].

395+548.8 癸酉卜子其生(往)于田从割(葛)𠄎(擒)用 一

Divined on Guiyou: If our lord goes to the fields from Ge, (he) will capture (something). Used. <sub>1</sub>

395+548.9 癸酉卜子其𠄎(擒)子𠄎(占)曰其𠄎(擒)用四麋六兔(兔)

Divined on Guiyou: Our lord is likely to make a capture. Our lord read the crack and said, "Should capture (something)." Used. Four musk deer, six rabbits.

395+548.10 癸酉卜既乎(呼)子其生(往)于田凶(思)亡史(事)用

Divined on Guiyou: After the call (to eat), if our lord goes to the fields,<sup>525</sup> would that there not be any service. Used.

## HYZ 396

396.1 卯

Mao

<sup>524</sup> The graph is a compound depicting two pieces of meat on an altar. "Mother Wu" was a deceased spouse of Wu Ding. Presumably, this divination is trying to forecast what to offer "Mother Wu" on day Wuyin (15/60) of the following week.

<sup>525</sup> This divination forms a set with 35.2, and that account has the phrase *ji hu gui (kui)* 既呼簋(饋) "After calling to eat..."

**HYZ 397 (1263A + 1263B)526****HYZ 398-399**

398.1 用 —  
Used. 1

398.2 戊用于三  
On Wu...use...for...three.

398.3 甲戌 —  
On Jiayu...1

398.4 甲午既  
On Jiawu, after...

398.5 用  
...use...

398.6 [亡]  
...[will not have]...

398.7 其于 —  
...should about...1

399.1 入十  
Liu contributes ten.

**HYZ 400**

400.1 乙亥夕卜丁不雨 —  
Divined on the evening of Yihai: Day Ding is not going to rain. 1

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526 1263A is a duplicate of 561 (H3: 1640) and it can be rejoined with 428. 1263B is a duplicate of 553 and it can be rejoined with 432.



400.2 乙亥夕卜其雨子𠄎(占)曰𠄎(占)曰<sup>527</sup>今夕雪其于𠄎(于)丙雨其多日用 —

Divined on the evening of Yihai: It might rain. Our lord read the crack and said, “This evening it snows. Should it rain by day Bing, (then) rain is likely for several days.” Used. <sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 401

401.1 乙卜夷(惠)羊于母匕(妣)丙 —

Divined on Yi: It should be sheep for Mother (and) Ancestress Bing. <sub>1</sub>

401.2 乙卜夷(惠)小宰于母且(祖)丙 三

Divined on Yi: It should be small pen-raised sheep for Mother (and) Ancestor Bing. <sub>2</sub>

401.3 乙卜𧠎(皆)彘母二匕(妣)丙 —

Divined on Yi: All wild boars (for) Mother (and) Second Ancestress Bing. <sub>1</sub>

401.6 乙卜其蚊(殺)三牛匕(妣)庚 —

Divined on Yi: Should kill three head of cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

401.4 乙卜其蚊(殺)五牛匕(妣)庚 —

Divined on Yi: Should kill five head of cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

401.7 乙卜其蚊(殺)七牛匕(妣)庚 —

Divined on Yi: Should kill seven head of cattle (for) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

401.10 乙卜夷(惠)今蚊(殺)匕(妣)庚 —

Divined on Yi: It should be today to make killings (for) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

401.8 乙卜夷(惠)今蚊(殺)匕(妣)庚 三

Divined on Yi: It should be today to make killings (for) Ancestress Geng. <sub>2</sub>

401.11 乙卜于翌蚊(殺)匕(妣)庚用才(在)沿(讎) —

Divined on Yi: By tomorrow make killings (for) Ancestress Geng. Used. At Yong. <sub>1</sub>

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527 This second *zhan yue* 占曰 is a reduplication error.

401.9 乙卜于𤔪[𤔪(殺)]匕(妣)庚用才(在)𤔪(離) 二  
 Divined on Yi: By tomorrow [make killings] (for) Ancestress Geng. Used. At Yong. 2

401.5 乙夕卜歲十牛匕(妣)庚于𤔪(離)用 一  
 Divined on the evening of Yi: Sacrifice ten head of cattle (to) Ancestress Geng in Yong. Used. 1

401.12 丙卜丁乎(呼)多臣復(復)凶(思)非心于不若佳(唯)吉乎(呼)行 一  
 Divined on Bing: His Highness calls (or: has called) the Many Servitors to return. It is desired that no hearts be in disagreement (and) it will be auspicious to call to march. 1

401.13 丙卜子其生(往)𤔪(罽兔)[曰]又(有)求非𤔪(虞)  
 Divined on Bing: If our lord goes to net rabbits, [saying] there is a request (or: need), it will not (be cause to be) upset.

401.15 戊卜其先𤔪(殺)歲匕(妣)庚 一  
 Divined on Wu: Should first kill the sacrifices (for) Ancestress Geng. 1

401.16 戊卜其宜牛 一  
 Divined on Wu: Should make (or: provide) viands from cattle. 1

401.14 戊卜其宜牛 二  
 Divined on Wu: Should make (or: provide) viands from cattle. 2

401.17 戊卜其𤔪(殺)豕肉入于丁 一  
 Divined on Wu: When killing boars, meat will be contributed to His Highness. 1

## HYZ 402

402.1 𤔪用  
 ...Used.

402.2 𤔪母(毋)𤔪余于𤔪匕(妣)庚𤔪  
 ...must not...I, to...Ancestress Geng...

402.3 𠄎匕(妣)庚[于]𠄎  
 ...Ancestress Geng...[to]...

## HYZ 403

403.1 己卜子夢𠄎(𠄎)裸亡至莫(艱) –

Divined on Ji: Our lord dreamt of playing a hand-drum<sup>528</sup> and making an ale libation; it will not have (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction. 1

403.2 己卜又(有)至莫(艱) –

Divined on Ji: It will have (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction. 1

403.3 庚咸𠄎(邵)

(On) Geng destroyed Shao.<sup>529</sup>

## HYZ 404

404.1 𠄎 –

...1

404.2 𠄎 二

...2

**528** The graph is composed of *geng* 庚 + 又 “right hand”. It occurs outside of the HYZ OBI in a divination sequence about music and in combination with flutes (*yue* 籥) and another type of drum (HJ 30693). The “Yi Ji” 益稷 chapter of the *Shangshu* says, 下管鼗鼓 “Below, there are flutes and hand-drums.” Lin Yun (2018: 12-16) says 庚 is a pictograph of a hand-drum.

**529** This three-graph inscription is written on the lower edge of the right bridge on the shell’s recto side. It is not near any divination crack. Inscriptions like these are usually event notations. I understand Geng 庚 as a date, and *xian* (read *jian*) 咸 + *shao* 邵 as a verb + object construction. The base image in the composition of the graph 咸 is an axe. (It is related etymologically to *xu* 戍, *yue* 戍 “axe”, and *sui* 歲/*gui* 剗 “stab, cut”.) The “mouth” 口 component under 戍 in 咸 indicates not to read it as a noun, “axe”, but in this case as a verb with a meaning that is related to a main characteristic of it, namely, to use the axe > to harm/kill. (A more common adverbial usage of 咸, “finish”, is a derivative.) 咸 meaning “kill” occurs in the “Shi fu” 世俘 chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 in the phrase 咸劉商王紂 “killed the Shang king Zhou”; Zhu Youzeng’s 朱右曾 commentary says 咸 means *jue* 絕 “to cut off > put an end to”. “Shao” refers to the enemy Shao recorded elsewhere; see 237, 262, 275+517 and 449.

404.3 ☐ 三  
...3

404.4 ☐ 四  
...4

404.5 ☐ 一  
...1

## HYZ 405

405.1 ☐ 午歲 ☐ 一  
...wu, sacrifice...1

405.2 ☐ 一  
...1

## HYZ 406-407

406.1 ☐ 一  
...1

406.2 ☐ 丁 ☐  
...Ding...

406.3 羊 ☐  
Sheep...

406.4 ☐ 二  
...2

406.5 丙 ☐  
Bing...

407.1 ☐ 三  
...4

## HYZ 408

408.1 癸 ☱ –  
...Gui...<sub>1</sub>

408.2 己 ☱ =  
Ji...<sub>2</sub>

408.3 癸 ☱  
Gui...

408.4 告 ☱ –  
Announce...<sub>1</sub>

408.5 又(有) ☱  
...have...

408.6 二母 ☱ –  
...two (for) Mother...<sub>1</sub>

408.7 ☱ ☱ –  
...<sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 409

409.1 丙卜其𠄎(禦)子馘[于]比(妣)庚 –  
Divined on Bing: Should make an exorcism rite (for) lord Guo [to] Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>

409.2 丙卜其𠄎(禦)子馘于子癸 –  
Divined on Bing: Should make an exorcism rite (for) lord Guo to Child Gui. <sub>2</sub>

409.3 丙卜夷(惠)羊又鬯𠄎(禦)子馘于子癸 –  
Divined on Bing: It should be sheep and aromatic ale to make the exorcism rite (for) lord Guo to Child Gui. <sub>1</sub>

- 409.4 丙卜夷(惠)牛又鬯卣(禦)子馘于子癸 –  
 Divined on Bing: It should be cattle and aromatic ale to make the exorcism (for) lord Guo to Child Gui. <sub>1</sub>
- 409.5 丙卜其卣(禦)子馘匕(妣)丁牛 –<sub>二</sub>  
 Divined on Bing: Should make an exorcism rite (for) lord Guo (to) Ancestress Ding (using) cattle. <sub>12</sub>
- 409.6 丙卜其卣(禦)子馘匕(妣)丁牛 –<sub>三</sub>  
 Divined on Bing: Should make an exorcism rite (for) lord Guo (to) Ancestress Ding (using) cattle. <sub>3</sub>
- 409.7 丙卜弼(勿)卣(禦)子馘 –  
 Divined on Bing: Do not make an exorcism rite (for) lord Guo. <sub>1</sub>
- 409.8 丙卜夷(惠)小宰又反(服)妾卣(禦)子馘匕(妣)丁 –  
 Divined on Bing: It should be small pen-raised sheep in addition to captive females (that are used) to make the exorcism rite (for) lord Guo (to) Ancestress Ding. <sub>1</sub>
- 409.9 丙[卜]子其禘(禱)匕(妣)庚亡咎 –  
 [Divined] on Bing: If our lord prays<sup>530</sup> (to) Ancestress Geng, there will not be anything announced by written record. <sub>1</sub>
- 409.10 丙卜吉虻(殺)于匕(妣)丁 –  
 Divined on Bing: It is auspicious to make killings for Ancestress Ding. <sub>1</sub>
- 409.11 丙卜夷(惠)子興生(往)于匕(妣)丁 –  
 Divined on Bing: It should be lord Xing who directs (offerings) to Ancestress Ding. <sub>2</sub>
- 409.12 丙卜夷(惠)羊于匕(妣)丁 –  
 Divined on Bing: It should be sheep for Ancestress Ding. <sub>1</sub>

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**530** The transcription of this graph follows ZSKY 2003, but the element on the right, which is the sound element, is actually *zhou* 肘 “elbow” and not *gong* 肱 “forearm” (Zhu Qixiang 2006: 1032). Yao Xuan’s commentary reads it *you* 祝 “offer”. In early script 肘 (abbreviated 寸) is used as a phonetic speller in *shou* 壽 “long life”. For this reason, I propose to read this graph a variant spelling of *dao* 禱 “pray”.

409.13 丙卜夷(惠)子興生(往)于匕(妣)丁 三

Divined on Bing: It should be lord Xing who directs (offerings) to Ancestress Ding. 1

409.14 歲匕(妣)丁豕 一

Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding some pigs. 1

409.15 丙卜夷(惠)五羊又鬯卣(禦)子馘于子癸 三

Divined on Bing: It should be five sheep and aromatic ale (that is used) to make the exorcism rite (for) lord Guo to Child Gui. 2

409.16 丁卜子令 一

Divined on Ding: Our lord will issue a command. 1

409.17 丁卜子令 一

Divined on Ding: Our lord will issue a command. 1

409.18 丁卜子令凶(思)心 一

Divined on Ding: Our lord will issue a command; would that hearts (be in agreement).<sup>531</sup> 1

409.19 丁卜子令 一三

Divined on Ding: Our lord will issue a command. 12

409.20 己卜夷(惠) [丁]乍(作)子興尋丁 三

Divined on Ji: It should be [His Highness] who does (it); lord Xing will seek His Highness. 2

409.21 己卜又(有)三鬯 一

Divined on Ji: Have (> Add) three bowls of aromatic ale. 1

409.22 己卜至(致)卣(禦)子馘卣匕(妣)庚 一

Divined on Ji: Deliver the exorcism rite (for) lord Guo (with) ewes (to) Ancestress Geng. 1

<sup>531</sup>I read the word *xin* “heart” in *si xin* 凶(思)心 as shorthand or as an abbreviation, in the affirmative mode, of a phrase like 凶(思)非心于不若 “Would that no hearts be in disagreement” (401.12).

- 409.23 己卜夷(惠)三牛𠂔(禦)子馘匕(妣)庚 一  
Divined on Ji: It should be three head of cattle (that are used) to make the exorcism rite (for) lord Guo (to) Ancestress Geng. 1
- 409.24 己卜夷(惠)子興生(往)匕(妣)庚 三  
Divined on Ji: It should be lord Xing who directs (offerings) (to) Ancestress Geng. 2
- 409.25 己卜又(有)鬯又(有)五帑(置)𠂔(禦)子而匕(妣)庚 一  
Divined on Ji: Have (> Add) aromatic ale and have (> add) five stands to make the exorcism rite (for) lord Guo (to) Ancestress Geng. 1
- 409.26 己卜吉又(有)匕(妣)庚 三  
Divined on Ji: It is auspicious to have offerings (for) Ancestress Geng. 2
- 409.27 己卜夷(惠)辰(服)臣又(有)妾𠂔(禦)子而匕(妣)庚 一  
Divined on Ji: It should be captive servitors, having females,<sup>532</sup> to make the exorcism rite (for) lord Guo (to) Ancestress Geng. 1
- 409.28 壬卜子其弟(逆)辰丁 一  
Divined on Ren: Our lord should welcome Chen at His Highness' (location).<sup>533</sup> 1
- 409.29 壬卜于乙征(延)休丁 一  
Divined on Ren: By day Yi continue to rest with His Highness. 1
- 409.30 [甲]卜子其征(延)休翌乙若 三  
Divined on [Jia]: If our lord continues to rest, tomorrow day Yi will be favorable. 3
- 409.33 甲[卜子其]征(延)[休] 四  
[Divined] on Jia: [Our lord should] continue [to rest]. 4

<sup>532</sup> An alternative reading is that *you* 又 be read here as a conjunction between two nouns, “and”; this would render it: “captive (male) servitors and (captive) females”.

<sup>533</sup> Period I OBI (*Leizuan* #652) record a lineage/place with this name, and mention “Chen’s Archer-Lord 侯” (HJ 19852). The HYZ OBI frequently record divinations about the protagonist meeting or receiving people coming to see Lady Hao and Ding; divination (32) in this sequence is another such instance; see also 294 and 492. Based on a comparison with other divinations in this form, the preposition *yu* 于 has likely been omitted.



409.31 甲卜子其祉(延)休<sub>五</sub>Divined on Jia: Our lord should continue to rest. <sub>5</sub>409.32 乙卜其夆(逆)沿(雛)徇(多子)于帚(婦)好<sub>一</sub>Divined on Yi: (Our lord) should welcome Yong's Many Lords (< Family Heads) at Lady Hao's (location). <sub>2</sub>

## HYZ 410

410.1 壬卜才(在)麓丁畀子囿臣<sub>一</sub>Divined on Ren, at Lai: His Highness will give our lord imprisoned servitors. <sub>1</sub>410.2 壬卜才(在)麓丁曰余其攸(肇)子臣允<sub>三</sub>Divined on Ren, at Lai: His Highness said, "I shall dispense servitors (to) my son." It is really true.<sup>534</sup> <sub>2</sub>

[Or: His Highness said, "I shall dispense servitors to your lord". It is really true.]

## HYZ 411

411.1 𠄎卜告子𠄎曰𠄎己歲𠄎于𠄎二且(祖)

...divined: Announce that our lord...saying... Ji sacrifice...to...Two Ancestors.

411.3 𠄎于乙𠄎

...on Yi...

411.4 𠄎禘(商)𠄎

...Shang...

411.5 夕

Evening.

---

534 257.20 is a parallel divination that omits the first person pronoun *yu* 余 in the king's speech. See the commentary to that divination account and section 2.4 of the Introduction for an explanation that the word 子 can mean both "(my) son" and "(our) lord".

411.6 且(祖)乙 鼎尋 且(祖) 告  
 ...Ancestor Yi...cauldron, seek...Ancestor...announce...

## HYZ 412

412.1 乙卜弼(勿)歸馬 –  
 Divined on Yi: Do not return horses. 1

412.2 歸 –  
 Return (them). 1

412.3 己卜不吉佳(唯)其又(有)𧇧(艱) –  
 Divined on Ji: (If the crack is) inauspicious, it means there is likely to be affliction (of some kind). 1

## HYZ 413

413.1 [甲]寅卜丙[又(有)]且(祖)甲用 –  
 Divined on Jiayin: On Bing, [have offerings] (for) Ancestor Jia. Used. 1

413.2 乙 且(祖)乙告 且(祖)甲  
 On Yi...ewe (to) Ancestor Yi, announce...(to) Ancestor Jia.

413.3 丁 榘(虞)于子  
 His Highness will be upset about our lord.

413.4 其夕虻牝于匕(妣)庚不用 –  
 ...should kill some cows in the evening for Ancestress Geng. Not used. 1

413.5 虻牝于[匕(妣)]庚用  
 ...kill some cows to [Ancestress] Geng. Used.

## HYZ 414

414.1 子貞 –  
 Our lord tested. 1

## HYZ 415

415.1 [又] 一四  
[Have] <sup>14</sup>

415.2 [丄] 一四  
[incomplete writing] <sup>14</sup>

## HYZ 416

416.1 己丑卜 鬲(贈) 妻(畫) 友加(邵) 口妻(畫) 口<sup>535</sup> 子弼(勿) 示若—  
Divined on Jichou: Send Hua's aide Shao away (with)...Hua...our lord ought not (be the one who) hands it/them over, (for it) will be favorable. <sup>1</sup>

416.2 己丑卜子妻(畫)示—  
Divined on Jichou: Lord Hua (will be the one who) hands it/them over. <sup>1</sup>

416.3 庚寅卜子生(往)于舞衍(侃)若用 一三  
Divined on Gengyin: Our lord will go to dance, (for) it will bring happiness (and) be favorable. Used. <sup>12</sup>

416.4 庚寅歲 匕(妣) 庚小宰 豷(登) 自丁黍—  
On Gengyin, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some small pen-raised sheep (and) raise millet from His Highness. <sup>1</sup>

416.5 庚寅歲 匕(妣) 庚小宰 豷(登) 自丁黍 三  
On Gengyin, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some small pen-raised sheep (and) raise millet from His Highness. <sup>2</sup>

416.6 庚寅卜子弼(勿) [生(往)] 裸夷(惠) 子妻(畫) 用  
Divined on Gengyin: If our lord does not [go to] the ale libation, it should be lord Hua. Used.

416.7 壬辰卜子心不(丕) 吉衍(侃)—  
Divined on Renchen: Our lord's heart will feel very good and happy.<sup>536</sup> <sup>1</sup>

<sup>535</sup> Sun Yabing (2011a: 198) suggests reading this single-graph lacuna as *zhi* 執 “grasp, captured prisoner”.

- 416.8 壬辰卜子乎(呼)比射發旋(駕)若 –  
 Divined on Renchen: Our lord will call to align the archers (and) Fa will drive, (for it) will be favorable. <sub>1</sub>
- 416.9 弼(勿)比旋(駕)不用 –  
 Do not align and drive. Not used. <sub>1</sub>
- 416.10 壬辰卜子乎(呼)射發𠄎(畱>复)取又(有)車若 –  
 Divined on Renchen: Our lord will call the archers (and) Fa will to return and get the chariot, (for) will be favorable.<sup>537</sup> <sub>1</sub>
- 416.11 癸巳卜子夷(惠)大令(命)乎(呼)比發取又(有)車若  
 Divined on Guisi: It should be Da who our lord commands, calling him to align with Fa to get the chariot(s), (for it) will be favorable.
- 416.12 甲午𠄎(延)𠄎(宛>完)𠄎(戎)官(館)用 一三  
 On Jiawu, continue to complete construction (of) Rong's guesthouse. Used. <sub>12</sub>
- 416.13 庚子卜子炅(金) –  
 Divined on Gengzi: (for) lord Jin. <sub>1</sub>
- 416.14 庚子卜子利(割)其[又(有)]至莫(艱) –  
 Divined on Gengzi: Lord Pou might have (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction. <sub>1</sub>

536 *Zi xin bu ji kan* 子心不(丕)吉侃 is comparable to divinations for the Shang kings that say *Wang xin ruo* 王心若 “The King’s heart will be favorable/in agreement” and *Wang xin wang jian* 王心亡艱 “The king’s heart will have no affliction/distress”; see Yu Xingwu 2009: 362. The *Shijing* poem “He ren si” 何人斯 has a similar line that says, *Wo xin kong jian* 我心孔艱 “My heart has great pains”. The sense of *ji* 吉 in this sentence is good (*shan* 善).

537 *Fu* 𠄎 (畱) is a pictograph of a container for liquids. It is likely the graphic form of a type of container discovered in Lady Hao’s tomb: 𠄎 (Xiaotun M5: 830). The main characteristic is its protruding “belly,” and the *Shuowen jiezi* definition as 滿 “full” is a derivative meaning. Here it is a phonetic spelling of *fu* 复 “return”. The more standard HYZ form to write this word (HYZ 21) adds the classifier “downward facing foot” under it.

## HYZ 417

417.1 𪚩十  
Kan, ten.

## HYZ 418

418.1 子貞 –  
Our lord tested. 1

## HYZ 419

419.1 戊卜子炆(金)  
Divined on Wu: (about) Lord Jin.

419.2 用 –  
Used. 1

419.3 其乍(作)予(序)東  
Should build a school to the east.

419.4 用 –  
Used. 1

419.5 一牛  
One head of cattle.

## HYZ 420

420.1 甲辰卜丁各矢(昃)于我用 –  
Divined on Jiachen: His Highness will arrive in the afternoon to us. Used. 1

420.2 甲辰宜丁牝一丁各矢(昃)于我翌日于大甲 –<sub>二</sub>  
On Jiachen, make (or: provide) viands (for) His Highness (from) one cow;  
His Highness arrives in the afternoon to us, the day of the Yī-rite to Da Jia. 12

420.3 甲辰卜于且(祖)乙歲牢又(有)一牛衷(惠)□ —

Divined on Jiachen: To Ancestor Yi, sacrificing some pen-raised cattle (and) having one head of cattle (that is not pen-raised), it should be...<sup>1</sup>

420.4 庚戌卜佳(唯)王令余乎(呼)齋(燕>宴)若 —

Divined on Gengxu: It being the king's command (that) I call to banquet, (it) will be favorable. <sup>1</sup>

420.5 壬子卜子丙夔(速)用[丁]各乎(呼)奮(飲) —

Divined on Renzi: Our lord, on a Bing day, will make invitations. Used. [His Highness] arrived. Called to drink (or: Provided the drinks). <sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 421

421.1 壬辰夕卜其宜牝一于𤝱(戎)若用 —

Divined on the evening of Renchen: If making (or: providing) viands (from) one ewe in Rong, it will be favorable. Used. <sup>1</sup>

421.2 壬辰夕卜其宜牝一于𤝱(戎)若用 —

Divined on the evening of Renchen: If making (or: providing) viands (from) one ewe in Rong, it will be favorable. Used. <sup>23</sup>

## HYZ 422

422.1 □于□

...to...

## HYZ 423

423.1 —

<sup>1</sup>

423.2 己[未] —

Ji[wei] <sup>2</sup>

423.3 —

<sup>1</sup>

423.4 二

2

## HYZ 424-425

424.1 一

1

424.2 二

2

424.3 一

1

424.4 己口 二

Ji... 2

425.1 入五

[Name] contributes five.

## HYZ 426

426.1 癸巳卜 翌甲歲且(祖)甲牡一 祝鬯一于日出用 一

Divined on Guisi: Tomorrow, day Jia, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one bull (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale by sunrise. Used. 1

426.2 甲午歲且(祖)甲牡一 祝鬯一 一

On Jiawu, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one bull (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. 1

426.3 甲午卜 歲且(祖)乙牝一于日出 虻(殺)用 一 二

Divined on Jiawu: Sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one cow, (and) kill (it) by sunrise. Used. 12

426.4 甲午卜 歲且(祖)乙牝一于日出 虻(殺)用 三

Divined on Jiawu: Sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one cow, (and) kill (it) by sunrise. Used. 3

426.5 乙未歲且(祖)乙牝一祝鬯一 一三

On Yiwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one cow (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. <sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 427

427.1 丁丑卜才(在)茲(茲)生(往)崑(微)卬(禦)癸子弔于欸(戎)用 一

Divined on Dingchou: At this place (> Here), send off (or: direct) Wei's exorcism (to) Gui Child; do not (send it off) in Rong. <sup>538</sup> Used. <sup>539</sup> <sub>1</sub>

427.2 戊寅卜翌己子其見(獻)琫于丁衍(侃)用 一

Divined on Wuyin: Tomorrow, Jisi, if our lord presents large jade tablets to His Highness, (it) will bring happiness. Used. <sub>1</sub>

427.3 己卯卜庚辰香(刮)彡(彤)匕(妣)庚先虻(殺)牢彡(後)虻(殺)牝一用 一三三

Divined on Jimao: (As for) carving *Rong*-rite (meat offerings) (to) Ancestress Geng on Gengchen, first kill pen-raised cattle (and) then kill one cow. Used. <sup>123</sup>

427.4 己卯卜庚辰香(刮)彡(彤)匕(妣)庚[虻(殺)]牢彡(後)虻(殺)牝用 四

Divined on Jimao: (As for) carving *Rong*-rite (meat offerings) (to) Ancestress Geng on Gengchen, first kill pen-raised cattle (and) then kill one cow. Used. <sub>4</sub>

427.5 庚辰歲匕(妣)庚牢牝彡(彤)香(刮) 一

On Gengchen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some pen-raised cattle (and) cows (and) carve them for the *Rong*-rite. <sub>1</sub>

427.6 丁亥歲匕(妣)丁豕一 一

On Dinghai, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ding one sow. <sub>1</sub>

427.7 己丑歲匕(妣)己豕一

On Jichou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji one sow. <sub>1</sub>

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**538** The topic of this divination is sending off Wei's exorcism to Guizi. The divination proposes to perform it at the protagonist's current location and not somewhere else (in Rong 于欸(戎)). These two locative phrases are used in opposition; *zai* 在 is used when referring to the place closest to the protagonist, whereas *yu* 于 is used when referring to a place further away from the his current location.

**539** See the commentary to 214.3-4 for the context of this divination in a reconstructed timeline of events.



## HYZ 428+561

428+561.1 庚辰卜于[既]□宰豷(殺)牝一鬯匕(妣)庚用彡(彤)香(刮) –

Divined on Gengchen: [After]...pen-raised sheep, kill one cow, (and) (offer) [one bowl] of aromatic ale<sup>540</sup> (to) Ancestress Geng. Used. Carved (the sacrifices) for the *Rong*-rite. 1

428+561.2 丙戌歲且(祖)甲羊一歲且(祖)乙羴一才(在)甘子祝

On Bingxu, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one sheep (and) sacrifice to Ancestor Yi one ram. At Gan.<sup>541</sup> Our lord prayed.

428+561.4 丙戌歲且(祖)甲羴一歲且(祖)乙羊一才(在)甘子祝 三

On Bingxu, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one ram (and) sacrifice to Ancestor Yi one sheep. At Gan. Our lord prayed. 2

428+561.3 □馬用

horses...Used.

428+561.5 庚戌歲匕(妣)庚牝一入自巖 –

On Gengxu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ewe. Entered from Lu. 1

428+561.6 庚申卜弼(勿)□[鹿]□用–

Divined on Gengshen: Do not...[deer]...Used. 1

## HYZ 429

429.1 丙戌卜彳(遲)涉邗(邵)鞅(虜) –

Divined on Bingxu: Slowly cross Shao prisoners across the river.<sup>542</sup> 1

**540** It appears that the number “one” written in between “cow” and “aromatic ale” should be read twice, and as the quantity for each noun.

**541** The toponym Gan is perhaps best known from the *Shangshu* chapter “*Gan shi*” 甘誓 (Promise at Gan). Wang Guowei (cited in Yang Junru 2005: 131) locates it between Luoyang and Zhengzhou, Henan.

**542** Shao refers to men from the enemy Shao territory. David Keightley (2012: 122) explains verb *she* 涉 + object as “cross the river (to catch) X”. An example is HJ 3049: 惠馬亞涉兕, which he translates, “It should be the *Ya* of the Horse(-chariot officers) who cross(es) the river (to

## HYZ 430

430.1 旬貞亡多子困(庚) –

Weekly test (or: Tested for the upcoming week):<sup>543</sup> There will be no misfortune for the Many Princes. 1

430.2 旬□亡□□ 二

Weekly...will be no...2

430.3 □□ 三

...3

## HYZ 431

431.1 子貞 –

Our lord tested. 1

431.2 貞又(右)馬不死 –

Tested: The horse on the right will not die. 1

431.3 其死 –

Might die. 1

## HYZ 432+553

432+553.1 庚子歲匕(妣)庚豕一 –

On Gengzi, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one sow. 1

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catch) wild buffalo.” Following Keightley, this divination statement would be translated “Slowly cross the river (to catch/take) Shao prisoners.”

**543** The phrase *xun zhen* 旬貞 in the preface is formed of the “time word 旬 ‘ten-day week’ + *zhen* 貞 ‘test’” and is comparable with *sui zhen* 歲貞 “Yearly test divination”, *qiu zhen* 秋貞 “Autumn test divination”, and *yue zhen* 月貞 “Monthly test divination” in Warring States divination records. The more conventional form for Shang divinations on this topic is to put 旬 in the divination statement and not in the preface.

## HYZ 433+434+529

433+434+529.1 辛酉晡歲匕(妣)庚☱-

On the afternoon of Xinyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng...

## HYZ 435-436

435.1 不用 ☱

Not used. <sup>1</sup>

436.1 爻入十

Liu\* contributes ten.

## HYZ 437-438

437.1+3 庚申卜弜(勿)取才(在)欸(戎)新征(延)成 --☱☱

Divined on Gengshen: Do not pick up tapestries that are at Rong; prolong completion. <sup>123</sup>

437.2+4+6 庚申卜取才(在)欸(戎)新弜(勿)征(延) --☱☱

Divined on Gengshen: Pick up tapestries that are at Rong; do not prolong (it). <sup>123</sup><sup>544</sup>

437.5 庚申夕卜子其乎(呼)剛鬲于鬲若用 ☱

Divined on the evening of Gengshen: If our lord calls Yi (and) Suo to Fu\*, (it) will be favorable. (To be) used. <sup>3</sup>

437.7 辛酉晡歲匕(妣)庚黑牝一子祝 ☱

On the afternoon of Xinyou, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one black cow (and) our lord will pray. <sup>2</sup>

438.1 三十

Thirty

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<sup>544</sup> Divination sequence rearranged according to Sun Yabing 2011a: 146.

## HYZ 439-440

439.1 [癸]子且(祖)𠄎𠄎(牛)丁 二

On [Gui]si, Ancestor...cattle...Ding. 2

439.2 己亥八十于 一

On Jihai, eighty to [incomplete record] 1

439.3 于 一 二

To [incomplete record] 12

439.4 大庚𠄎于夕[其] 二 三

Da Geng,<sup>545</sup> [verb—uncertain meaning] by evening; [should] [incomplete record] 23

440.1 [𦉳(榛)]气(乞)

Requested from [Zhen].

## HYZ 441

441.1 貞陞(陞) 一

Tested: (for) Sheng. 1

441.2 貞陞(陞) 二

Tested: (for) Sheng. 2

441.3 貞配(妃) 一

Tested: (for) (Our lord's) spouse. 1

441.4 貞肉

Tested: (for) Rou.

441.5 貞通 一

Tested: (for) Tong. 1

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545 Shang King 11.

441.6 貞丙(商) —  
Tested: (for) Shang. 1

441.7 貞又(有)辰(服)司(姒)庚 三  
Tested: Have captives (for) (deceased) Elder Sister Geng. 2

441.8 貞筒 —  
Tested: (for) Tong. 1

## HYZ 442

442.1 用 —  
Used. 1

442.2 用 三  
Used. 2

## HYZ 443-444

443.1 𠄎歲 𠄎牛 𠄎 四  
... sacrifice...cattle ...4

443.2 𠄎余 𠄎示 𠄎壬 𠄎  
...I...submit ...Ren...

443.3 貞 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎(咎) 𠄎  
Tested...fault...

443.4 𠄎丁 𠄎 三  
...His Highness...2

443.5 𠄎  
...

443.6 𠄎甲于[子] 𠄎 𠄎  
...Jia, for [our lord]...

443.7 入人于牛歲又(有) ---  
 ...men of Ru...to...cattle sacrifice, there will be...<sup>11</sup>

443.8 其賈馬  
 Should trade horses.

443.9 貞 -  
 Tested...<sup>1</sup>

444.1 [禱(榛)]气(乞)  
 Requested from [Zhen].

## HYZ 445

445.1 -  
 ...<sup>1</sup>

445.2 于丁  
 ...to...His Highness.

445.3 [庚][牛][子]沿(雛)  
 ...[Geng]...[cattle]...[lord], Yong...

## HYZ 446

446.1 甲卜乙歲牡匕(妣)庚 -  
 Divined on Jia: On Yi, sacrifice some bulls (to) Ancestress Geng. <sup>1</sup>

446.2 甲卜乙歲牡匕(妣)庚 =  
 Divined on Jia: On Yi, sacrifice some bulls (to) Ancestress Geng. <sup>2</sup>

446.3 甲卜子又(有)心虺(殺)匕(妣)庚  
 Divined on Jia: Our lord will have the heart,<sup>546</sup> making a killing (for) Ancestress Geng.

<sup>546</sup> You xin 有心 literally means “have the heart”. Chen Jian (2010) reads 心 as a simplified form of 𠄎, which is a graph that occurs in Wu Ding’s divinations and appears to have pejora-

446.4 甲卜子疾 –

Divined on Jia: Our lord will get sick. <sup>1</sup>446.5 甲卜子首疾亡祉(延) –<sub>二</sub>Divined on Jia: Our lord's headache will not persist. <sup>12</sup>

446.6 甲卜子其生(往)口子首亡祉(延) –

Divined on Jia: If our lord goes..., our lord's head(ache) will not persist. <sup>1</sup>446.7 乙卜弼(勿)巳夬(速)丁 –<sub>二</sub>Divined on Yi: Do not stop (from) inviting His Highness. <sup>2</sup>

446.8 乙卜入脰丁鼎又(有)肉 –

Divined on Yi (about) contributing the (bull's) stomach<sup>547</sup> (to) His Highness.<sup>548</sup> Tested: There will be (> Add) meat too. <sup>1</sup>

446.9 乙卜其歲牡母且(祖)丙 –

Divined on Yi: Should sacrifice some bulls (to) Mother (and) Ancestor Bing. <sup>1</sup>

446.10 丙[卜]卯牛于翌日[用]

[Divined] on Bing: Butcher cattle by the following day. [Used.]

446.11 丙卜夕又(有)伐匕(妣)庚

Divined on Bing: In the evening have a beheading (for) Ancestress Geng.

446.12 丙卜五日子目既疾 –

Divined on Bing: In five days our lord's eye(s) will finish being sick. <sup>1</sup>

\_\_\_\_\_

tive meaning. Reading 心 as something ominous makes sense here but elsewhere in the HYZ OBI 心 is used in its original sense. Divination (8) below in the sequence says in the preface that the bull's stomach will be contributed to the king. This suggests that participants took parts of the sacrifice and contributed other parts to the king. For this reason, I read this divination as proposing that the protagonist gets the heart when sacrificing a bull to Ancestress Geng on the following day.

**547** For the reading of this word, see Sun Yabing 2014: 109-112. HYZ 113, 237, 401 and 490 record divinations about whether or not to contribute meat to the king.

**548** 入脰丁 is the result of a previous divination. The “test” divination that follows it is trying to determine whether adding meat along with the sacrificed bull's stomach is the right course of action.

- 446.13 丙卜三日子目[既][疾] –  
 Divined on Bing: In three days our lord's eyes [will finish] [being sick]. 1
- 446.14 子弗黷(艱)目疾 –  
 Our lord will not be afflicted (by this) eye sickness. 1
- 446.18 己卜☱牝 –  
 Divined on Ji...cow. 1
- 446.15 己卜夷(惠)牝匕(妣)庚 二  
 Divined on Ji: It should be cows (for) Ancestress Geng. 2
- 446.16 豶一用 三  
 One boar. Used. 3
- 446.17 歲匕(妣)庚豶一 –  
 Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one boar. 1
- 446.19 歲匕(妣)庚豶一 二  
 Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one boar. 2
- 446.21 歲匕(妣)庚豶一 三  
 Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one boar. 3
- 446.20 己卜貞歲卜亡吉亡[凶](庚) –  
 Divined on Ji, tested: The sacrifice divinations are without luck (but) without misfortune.<sup>549</sup> 1
- 446.22 庚卜丁各衍(侃) –  
 Divined on Geng: His Highness will arrive and be happy. 1
- 446.23 壬卜弼(勿)巳[夔](速)丁 –  
 Divined on Ren: Do not stop from inviting His Highness. 1
- 446.24 壬卜丙(丙)[夔](速)丁 –  
 Divined on Ren: On a Bing day invite His Highness. 1

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549 “Sacrifice divinations” means divinations (17), (19) and (21).



446.25 子令 –

Our lord will issue a command. 1

446.26 子令 –

Our lord will issue a command. 1

446.27 子令 –

Our lord will issue a command. 1

446.28 弼(勿)牛虻(殺)夷(惠)□

Do not (make) a cattle killing; it should be...

## HYZ 447

447.1 兪十

Kan, ten.

## HYZ 448

448.1 戌☐ –

Xu...1

448.2 ☐一☐

...one...

448.3 ☐丁

...His Highness.

## HYZ 449

449.1 辛未卜白(伯)或甬(稱)册隹(唯)丁自正(征)邵 –

Divined on Xinwei: Bo Ge has raised a document.<sup>550</sup> It will be His Highness himself who rectifies Shao. 1

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550 Yu Xingwu ([1941], cited in *Jishi* 4.1406-07) reads 甬 in “甬册” as the protoform of *cheng* 稱 “proclaim, state” and defines the phrase as “to state an affair by means of a document.”

449.2 辛未卜丁弗其比白(伯)戎伐邵 –

Divined on Xinwei: His Highness is not likely to ally with Bo Ge to attack Shao.<sup>551</sup> 1

449.4 癸酉卜貞子利(剖)爵且(祖)辛亡英(艱) –

Divined on Guiyou, tested: Lord Pou will offer Ancestor Xin a cup of ale; there will not be any affliction (for him to do so).<sup>552</sup> 1

449.3 貞子婁(畫)爵且(祖)庚亡英(艱) –

Tested: Lord Hua will offer Ancestor Geng a cup of ale; there will not be any affliction (for him to do so). 1

449.5 癸酉卜且(祖)甲衍(侃)子 –

Divined on Guiyou: Ancestor Jia will be happy with our lord. 1

449.6 甲戌歲且(祖)甲牝(𠄎) –

On Jiayu, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia some ewes (and) offer aromatic ale. 2

449.7 乙亥弼(勿)巳𠄎(肆)𠄎(𠄎)龜于室用 –

On Yihai, do not stop from arranging<sup>553</sup> the soft-shelled turtles<sup>554</sup> in the room. Used. 1

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Takashima (2010: 1.42) adds, “to refer to a ceremonial ritual of swearing in before going on to a military campaign”; Schuessler (1987: 70) gives “to swear an oath”. The verb 再 regularly occurs in the HYZ lexicon taking various types of jades as its direct object (29.5, 34, 480.1) and only ever means “to lift/hold up”. A comparison between 再 + direct object (types of jade) and 再 + 册 confirms 再 means to raise and 册 means a document. In instances like these the raising of documents by people from territorial regions to the Shang kings presumably were reports of enemy incursions and loss of land and people. See HJ 6405 and 6162.

**551** The use of the verb *zheng* 正(征) in the previous divination and *fa* 伐 expresses a lexical disparity between the two. 正(征) has a strong moral sense of “correct, rectify” and is a kingly action. Keightley (2012: 360) concludes, “With a few exceptions, the word (=征) was reserved for campaigns in which the king was the protagonist. He and his dependents, for example might *fa* “attack”...but only the king could *zheng* them. To convey the sense of moral and political rectification that was reserved for the king’s military expeditions, I translate *zheng* as ‘march to regulate’.”

**552** Since Hua and Pou are not recorded elsewhere as participating in the protagonist’s ancestor worship, these two divinations appear to suggest that Hua was Ancestor Geng’s grandson and Pou was Ancestor Xin’s grandson. Ancestor Geng was the 24<sup>th</sup> Shang king Pan Geng 盤庚 and Ancestor Xin was the 25<sup>th</sup> Shang king Xiao Xin 小辛; see Han Jianguo and Jiang Linchang 2010: 342-343. This interpretation further suggests that Hua, Pou, and the HYZ prince were cousins.

449.8 乙亥歲且(祖)乙[兩]卣(禦)音(刮)彡(彤)牢牝一

On Yihai, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi, make an exorcism rite (to ward off) the rain, and carve *Rong*-rite offerings—pen-raised cattle and one cow. 1

## HYZ 450

450.1 壬戌卜才(在)口[子]利(剖)子耳鳴佳(唯)又(有)紉(辭)亡至黠(艱) 一三

Divined on Renxu, at...Lord Pou: Our lord's ear ringing means (or: is a sign that) there is blame, (but) there will be no (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction.<sup>555</sup> 12

450.2-3 壬戌卜子弼(勿)𠄎(隱)用癸亥子生(往)𠄎(于)𠄎(肇)子丹一盞(繫)龜二 一

Divined on Renxu: Our lord ought not stay concealed.<sup>556</sup> Used. On Guihai our lord went to Liu\*.<sup>557</sup> (Liu) dispensed (to) our lord one (piece/measure of) cinnabar, two soft-shelled turtles. 1<sup>558</sup>

450.4 丁卯卜子其入學若衍(侃)用 一三三

Divined on Dingmao: If our lord enters the school,<sup>559</sup> (it) will be favorable (and) bring happiness. Used. 123

553 See the commentary to 247 for the meaning of this word.

554 The inscription reads 盞龜, but I take it to be a detached spelling of the same word occurring outside of the HYZ OBI and written from top-to-bottom as 𠄎 (HJ 8996). A comparison between the two strongly implies that 盞 is the sound element. Detached spellings of *xingsheng* 形聲 phonographs are a characteristic of the HYZ script. “Cow” 牝 is one of the more obvious examples.

555 唯有紉 ought to be equivalent to 唯有辭 (286.11). This means 紉 is another way of writing *ci* 辭.

556 This graph depicts a wall + kneeling man. The *Shuowen jiezi* lists a graph that resembles the “wall”, and says to read it *yin* 隱 “hide”: 𠄎, 匿也。象迟曲隱蔽形。凡𠄎之屬皆从𠄎。讀若隱。The combined meaning of the HYZ form ought to be an early spelling of 隱; the 𠄎-shaped component also appears to function phonetically.

557 𠄎 is an elaborated form of the linearized 𠄎; for the reading of Liu, see the commentary to HYZ 91.

558 The information after the judgment “Used” is a verification. The entire inscription is written around a single divination crack and undoubtedly is to be read as a unified divination account (Sun Yabing 2011a: 201).

559 As the object of the verb *ru* 入, *xue* 學 perhaps is better read as a noun, “school”, although its verbal function—“instruct, practice”, cannot be ruled out. As a noun, Song Zhenhao (2010: 464) defines it as “practice or training grounds” 學習場所. Examples of 學 as “school” occur

450.5 丁卯卜子其入學若衍(侃)用 四五六

Divined on Dingmao: If our lord enters the school, (it) will be favorable (and) bring happiness. Used. 456

## HYZ 451

451.1 己巳卜翌庚歲匕(妣)庚黑牡又羊暮虻(殺)用 一二三四五

Divined on Jisi: On the following day Geng, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some black bulls in addition to some sheep (and) make the killings at dusk. Used. 12345

451.2 庚午歲匕(妣)庚黑牡又羊子祝 一二三四五六

On Gengwu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng some black bulls in addition to some sheep (and) our lord will pray. 123456

451.3 戊寅卜自帶其見(獻)于呈(王婦)好用 二

Divined on Wuyin: (As for) belts from Liu\*, (our lord) should present some to His Majesty's Lady Hao. Used.<sup>560</sup> 2

451.4 庚辰歲匕(妣)庚豕一 一二

On Gengchen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one sow. 12

451.5 一二三

123

451.6 壬午夕歲犬一匕(妣)庚 一二三

On the evening of Renwu, sacrifice one dog (to) Ancestress Geng. 123

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outside of the HYZ OBI, for instance *Tunnan* 60: 于祖丁旦(壇)尋 || 于庭壇尋 || 于大學尋 “Repeat at Ancestor Ding’s mound; repeat at the mound in the courtyard; repeat at the Great School”, and HJ 16406: 作學于入 “Erect a school in Ru.” The phrase *ru xue* 入學 also occurs in the “Xia xiaozheng” 夏小正 chapter of the *Da Dai Liji* 大戴禮記: (二月)丁亥, 万用入學。丁亥者, 吉日也。万也者, 干戚舞也; 入學也者, 大學也 “On Dinghai [day] of second month, the wan-dancers herewith enter the school. Dinghai is an auspicious day. Wan-dancers are those who dance with shield and axe. Entering the school refers to the school of great learning”.

560 “Belts from Liu” is almost certainly related to the protagonist’s visit there (450). These two plastrons were buried next to one another in Pit H3 and the dates recorded on them match: 450 ends on Dingmao [4/60] while 451 begins on Jisi [6/60], three days later. The divination accounts are written in the same handwriting style.

451.7 壬午夕歲犬一匕(妣)庚 四

On the evening of Renwu, sacrifice one dog (to) Ancestress Geng. 4

451.8 丙戌卜子其生(往)于鞫若用子不栖(宿)雨 一

Divined on Bingxu: If our lord goes to Fu\*, (it) will be favorable. Used. Our lord did not stay the night. It rained. 1

## HYZ 452

452.1 [庚]戌歲匕(妣)庚牝一子祝才(在)齏 一

On [Geng]xu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ewe (and) our lord will pray. At Lai. 1

## HYZ 453

453.1 𠄎甲𠄎羊一𠄎羊二𠄎一余𠄎

...Jia...one sheep...two sheep...one, I...

453.2 甲卜乎(呼)多臣見(獻)𠄎于丁用 三

Divined on Jia: Call the Many Servitors to present (sanctified meat from) the Yi-day rite (to) His Highness. Used. 2

453.3 𠄎羊𠄎

...sheep...

453.4 戊卜𠄎其𠄎一𠄎𠄎

Divined on Wu: ...should...one...boar...

453.5 𠄎用 一

...Used. 1

453.6 𠄎甲𠄎丁𠄎于𠄎

...Jia...Ding...to...

453.7 壬𠄎

On Ren...

453.8 口子口  
...our lord...

453.9 己口其口余口宰口  
On Ji, should...I...pen-raised sheep...

453.10 乙卜子爻(金) –  
Divined on Yi: (about) Lord Jin. 1

## HYZ 454

454.1 庚戌卜子乎(呼)多臣齊(燕>宴)見用不率 –  
Divined on Gengxu: Our lord will call the Many Servitors to banquet and have audience. Used. Not all (of them were called). 1

454.2 庚戌卜弼(勿)乎(呼)多臣齊(燕>宴) –  
Divined on Gengxu: Do not call the Many Servitors to banquet. 1

454.3 乙卯卜子其自畚(飲)弼(勿)齊(速)用 一  
Divined on Yimao: Our lord should drink (or: provide the drinks) himself, (and) ought not invite (anyone else).<sup>561</sup> Used. 12

454.4 乙卯卜子其[自]畚(飲)弼(勿)齊(速)用 三  
Divined on Yimao: Our lord should drink (or: provide the drinks) [himself], (and) ought not invite (anyone else). Used. 3

## HYZ 455

455.1 甲子卜歲匕(妣)甲羴一豷三小宰又帀(置)一才(在)爻(袖) –  
Divined on Jiazi: Sacrifice (to) Ancestress Jia one ram (and) announce by written record (the sacrificial offerings of) three small pen-raised sheep and one stand. At You. 1

455.2 [乙丑卜]祉(延)又(有)同由又其黹(艱) –  
[Divined on Yichou]: Continuing to have assembly, You You might have an affliction. 1

561 If reading 飲 as “provide drinks”, then 速 would mean to invite/ask someone else to do so.

455.3 乙丑卜我人舌&lt;由&gt;友子炆(金) –

Divined on Yichou: (about) Our men, You You,<sup>562</sup> (and) lord Jin. 1

455.4 子炆(金)南 –

Lord Jin, south. 1

## HYZ 456

456.1 [甲]卜𠄎 –

Divined [on Jia]...

## HYZ 457

457.1 己酉夕翌日舌(刮)歲匕(妣)庚黑牡一庚戌酌(酒)牝一<sub>一二三四</sub>

On the evening of Jiyou, (for) the Yi-day rite's meat carvings, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one black bull; on Gengxu, make the ale libation, (and then sacrifice) one cow. 1234

## HYZ 458

458.1 秩[乃]先𦍋(春)妍迺入杯用 –



Ji [Nai] will first beat\* the skilled females and then enter (them) [uncertain meaning]. Used. 1

## HYZ 459

459.1 癸丑卜夷(惠)二牢于且(祖)甲不用 –

Divined on Guichou: It should be two head of pen-raised cattle for Ancestor Jia. Not used. 1

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**562** Yao Xuan's commentary points out that the graph written here as  is different than the graph written as  in the previous inscription, and suggests to read it *gua* 舌(刮). While there is no doubt that she is right, the collocation with 友 does not seem a coincidence and makes it more likely that it should be read as a misspelling of “You You”, who is the topic of the previous divination. A potential problem with my reading is that, on the surface, it leaves the divination statement as a string of three nouns without a verb. As I understand it, however, the verb “assemble” has been elided because it was mentioned in the divination immediately before it.

- 459.2 癸丑卜夷(惠)一牢又(有)牝于且(祖)甲不用 –  
Divined on Guichou: It should be one head of pen-raised cattle, having (> offering) a cow, for Ancestor Jia.<sup>563</sup> Not used. <sub>1</sub>
- 459.3 癸丑卜子裸新鬯于且(祖)甲用 三  
Divined on Guichou: Our lord will libate new aromatic ale to Ancestor Jia. Used. <sub>3</sub>
- 459.4 甲寅夷(惠)牝一且(祖)乙不用 –  
On Jiayin, it should be one cow (for) Ancestor Yi. Not used. <sub>1</sub>
- 459.5 乙卯歲且(祖)乙豕一鬯一 –  
On Yimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one boar (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. <sub>1</sub>
- 459.6 甲子歲且(祖)甲白豕一鬯一 一 二 三 四 五  
On Jiazi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one white boar (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. <sub>12345</sub>
- 459.7 夷(惠)黑豕且(祖)甲不用  
It should be black pigs (for) Ancestor Jia. Not used.
- 459.8 癸酉卜歲子癸犬用 –  
Divined on Guiyou: Sacrifice (to) Child Gui some dogs.<sup>564</sup> Used. <sub>1</sub>
- 459.9 戊寅卜子裸小示鬯(禦)牲(往)田 –  
Divined on Wuyin: Our lord will libate ale (to) the Lesser Altars (and) announce by written record (sacrifice of) boars (as part of) making an exorcism rite (for) going to hunt.<sup>565</sup> <sub>1</sub>

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**563** In response to the previous divination which proposed a package of two head of pen-raised cattle, the present divination changes it to one pen-raised head cattle, and adds that it would be a cow. An alternative reading is to take 又 a conjunction, “and”; the sense would then be that, in contrast to the two head of pen-raised cattle proposed in the previous divination, the offering was changed to one head of pen-raised cattle and a cow that was not pen-raised.

**564** Sun Yabing (2011: 112, note 1) emends “犬” for “豕.”

**565** This divination can be synchronized with 21.2 dated one day earlier: 丁丑卜：其禦子往田于小示。用 “Divined on Dingchou: Should make an exorcism rite for our lord’s going to hunt



459.10 己卯歲匕(妣)己𩚑一 一

On Jimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji one wild boar. 1

459.11 己卯歲匕(妣)己𩚑一 二

On Jimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Ji one wild boar. 1

## HYZ 460

460.1 𠄎用 二

...Used. 2

460.2 𠄎丁𠄎

...Ding...

## HYZ 461

461.1 𠄎四

...4

461.2 𠄎壬𠄎 二

...Ren...2

## HYZ 462

462.1 三十

Thirty

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to the Lesser Altars. Used.” Considering these two divination records together, the process of these two divinations can be summarized as: 1) An exorcism to ward off harm and for the protagonist’s protection is to be performed in advance of his going off to hunt; 2) It is proposed to direct the exorcism to the ancestors referred to collectively as “Lesser Altars”; and 3) The exorcism, at a minimum, is to include the protagonist himself libating ale and announcing the hunt by written record along with a pledge to sacrifice boars. “Going to hunt 往田” is the reason for making the exorcism rite 禦, and *guan* 裸 and *ce* 𦉳 rites are two procedural components of it.

## HYZ 463

- 463.1 癸卯歲且(祖)乙牝一祝鬯一才(在)巽子祝 一三三  
 On Guimao, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one ewe (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. At Lu. Our lord prayed. 123
- 463.2 甲辰歲匕(妣)庚牝一祝鬯一才(在)巽 一  
 On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ewe (and) offer one bowl of aromatic ale. At Lu. 1
- 463.3 甲辰歲且(祖)甲牡一羴一才(在)巽 一三  
 On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one bull (and) one ram. At Lu. 12
- 463.4 子令 一  
 Our lord will issue a command. 1
- 463.5 甲辰歲且(祖)甲牡一羴一才(在)巽 一  
 On Jiachen, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one bull (and) one ram. At Lu. 1
- 463.6 乙巳歲且(祖)乙三豕才(在)巽 三  
 On Yisi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi three sows. At Lu. 2

## HYZ 464

- 464.1 貞兌 一  
 Tested: (about) Xian. 1
- 464.2 貞兌 一  
 Tested: (about) Xian. 1

## HYZ 465-HYZ 466

- 465.1 甲卜乙 告子 于匕(妣)庚  
 Divined on Jia: On Yi...report lord...to Ancestress Geng...
- 465.2 豕告子 一  
 ...pig, report lord...1

465.3 𠄎弱(勿)𠄎  
...ought not...

465.4 乙𠄎服𠄎  
On Yi...[unclear meaning]...

465.5 戊卜于𠄎  
Divined on Wu: To...

466.1 歷入  
Contributed by Zhen.

## HYZ 467

467.1 子肩未(妹)其𦉳(瘳) –  
Our lord's shoulder still might not heal. 1

467.2 戊戌卜才(在)𠄎(寧)子射若不用 –  
Divined on Wuxu, at Ning:<sup>566</sup> Our lord will shoot, (for it) will be favorable.  
Not used. 1

467.3 戊戌卜才(在)𠄎(寧)子弱(勿)射于之若 –  
Divined on Wuxu, at Ning: Our lord ought not shoot, (for) in that will be favorable. 1

467.4 己亥卜才(在)𠄎(離)子其射若不用 –  
Divined on Jihai, at Yong: If our lord shoots, (it) will be favorable. Not used. 1

467.5 弱(勿)射于之若 –  
Do not shoot, (for) in that will be favorable. 1

467.6 庚子卜才(在)[我]且(祖)𠄎其𦉳(送)鷹 –  
Divined on Gengzi, at [Wo]:<sup>567</sup> (As for sacrifices to) Ancestor...should join in  
(> include) Song's antelopes. 1

566 Zheng Jiexiang ([1994] 2001.27: 71-73) locates Ning in Xiuwu, Henan.

567 Reconstructed from the parallel divination HYZ 7.5.

467.7 隴(唯)兕(送)廌子不用 —

It will be Song's antelopes.<sup>568</sup> Our lord did not use it (> this divination).<sub>1</sub>

467.9 戊申卜夷(惠)虢乎(呼)句[馬]用才(在)巽 二二

Divined on Wushen: It should be Geng\* who is called upon to request [horses].<sup>569</sup> Used. At Lu.<sub>22</sub><sup>570</sup>

467.8 戊卜夷(惠)邵乎(呼)句不用 二

Divined on Wushen: It should be Shao who is called upon to request (them). Not used.<sub>2</sub>

467.10 夷(惠)臺(敦)乎(呼)句不用 —

It should be Dun<sup>571</sup> who is called upon to request (them). Not used.<sub>1</sub>

467.11 夷(惠)臺(敦)乎(呼)句不用 二

It should be Dun who is called upon to request (them). Not used.<sub>2</sub>

## HYZ 468

468.1 西葍(邁)☱

Will make an encounter to the west...

468.2 歲歲匕(妣)丁用 —

Sacrifice some wild boars (to) Ancestress Ding. Used.<sub>1</sub>

468.3 戊卜其☱卸(禦)☱ —

Divined on Wu: Should...exorcism rite...<sub>1</sub>

**568** Yao Xuan suggests to read this 子隴(唯)兕廌。不用。—。Doing so not only makes the statement awkward grammatically, but the orientation of how the account is written speaks against it. There are two columns of symmetrically parallel text: 唯兕廌 is written in one column, and 子不用 in the next column.

**569** I have placed (9) ahead of (8) because it is the more complete divination charge. The word 馬 is elided in the divinations that follow.

**570** Sun Yabing (2011: 130, note 2) emends the crack notations “二二” for ZSKY 2003 “一二三”. Following this emendation presents an issue. What does <sub>22</sub> mean? Perhaps it meant crack 2 on bone 2; bone 2 being the second shell of a multi-piece set.

**571** For Dun as a toponym/lineage name, see the commentary to 139.7.

468.4 –

1

## HYZ 469

469.1 甲卜子炆(金) –

Divined on Jia: (about) Lord Jin. 1

469.2 庚卜子炆(金) –

Divined on Geng: (about) Lord Jin. 1

## HYZ 470

470.1 我五

Wo, five.<sup>572</sup>

## HYZ 471

471.1 乙子牛又

...Yi...lord...cattle...and...

471.2 一二

...12

## HYZ 472

472.1 一三三

123

472.2 乙又(有)羊 –

On Yi,<sup>573</sup> have (or: offer) sheep. 1

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572 The meaning is that Wo contributed five shells. For Wo as a toponym/lineage name, see the commentary to 7.5.

573 The date Xinhai (48/60) in divination (5) implies that day “Yi” is Yisi (42/60).

472.3 弼(勿)又(有)羊 –

Do not have (or: offer) sheep. 1

472.4 于庚夕酹(酒) –

By the evening of day Geng,<sup>574</sup> make an ale libation. 1

472.5 于辛亥酹(酒) –

By Xinhai, make an ale libation. 1

472.6 三羊 –

Three sheep. 1

472.7 一羊 –

One sheep. 1

472.8 弼(勿)又(有)羊

Do not have (or: offer) sheep.

472.9 [戢(待)]弼(勿)又(有)

[Wait]; do not have (or: offer) (anything).

472.10 夷(惠)豕☐ –

It should be pigs...1

472.11 夷(惠)一豕 –

It should be one pig. 1

## HYZ 473

473.1 甲申子其學羌若衍(侃)用 –

On Jiashen, if our lord instructs Qiang,<sup>575</sup> (it) will be favorable (and) bring happiness. Used. 1

<sup>574</sup> The date Xinhai (48/60) in divination (5) implies that the day “Geng” is Gengxu (47/60).

<sup>575</sup> *Xue Qiang* 學羌: Song Zhenhao (2010: 462) proposes “Qiang” in this instance referred to a dance called by this name, and the protagonist planned to practice dancing it. His reason is that 學羌 is grammatically parallel with 學商 “practice Shang” (150↔336↔487), and “Shang” in the HYZ OBI is either the name for a single song and dance or for a musical suite and dances.

473.2 疾乃弼(勿)圭(往)又(有)蹠若用 二

Ji Nai ought not go, having (a problem) with the sole of his foot\*,<sup>576</sup> (for it) will be favorable. Used. 2

## HYZ 474

474.1 甲子卜子爨(金) 一

Divined on Jiazi: (about) Lord Jin. 1

474.2 甲子卜夕歲且(祖)乙裸告匕(妣)庚用 二

Divined on Jiazi: Make an evening sacrifice (for) Ancestor Yi; libate ale and make announcements (to) Ancestress Geng.<sup>577</sup> 2

474.3 乙丑卜子學 一

Divined on Yichou: Our lord will practice. 1

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“Qiang”, however, is not an attested song and dance, and for this reason I interpret it as referring to Qiang people. Divinations (1)-(2) are likely related. Since Ji Nai is a person in the HYZ OBI who is directly related to the handling and processing of Qiang (11, 137), it seems likely that the verb 學 in (1) is an action directed at living people (137), and not something more abstract. I suggest to read 學 either as “instruct” or “practice”/ “train”. 241.11 mentions a Qiang stone cutter.

**576** This compound graph is written with rock 石 over foot 止. ZSKY 2003 transcribes it 趾; I transcribe it zhi 跣 “sole (of the foot)”. The graphs 跣 and zhi 蹠 “(v.) step on, jump; (n.) sole” are later variants spelling the same word (see *Guxun huizuan*, 2213). An alternative reading is to take 又(有)跣 as a toponym and as the object of 往 wang; in that case 又 would be a prefix “the”.

**577** This day 1/10 divination concerns planning for upcoming rites for both the protagonist’s grandfather and grandmother. The sacrifice for Ancestor Yi was to take place on the next day, 2/10, day Yichou. *Sui* 歲-sacrifice and *guan* 裸-ale libation were the two main activities for an ancestor’s weekly worship (see HYZ 318). This seems to be an instance of joint offerings (Schwartz 2019: 30-32). Ancestor Yi is to receive the sacrifice and his spouse, Ancestress Geng, is to receive the 裸-ale libation. In the HYZ OBI, 裸 were usually the occasion to make announcements. (It is notable that the HYZ OBI never record the protagonist performing a *guan*-ale libation for Ancestor Yi.) An alternative interpretation is that this divination is proposing what the protagonist himself wants to do for these two ancestors on their respective temple-days of the present week. If ancestor worship was a cooperative royal family activity (see for instance 495.1), then other family members would have been responsible for other tasks and for performing other rites.

- 474.4 己巳卜子裸告其東革于匕(妣)庚 一三  
Divined on Jisi: Our lord will libate ale and make announcements; (he) should skin a portion of (the sacrificial animals) for Ancestress Geng. 12
- 474.5 率酏(酒)革不用 一  
Both an ale libation and an animal skinning. Not used. 1
- 474.6 子夷(惠)妣(戎)田言匕(妣)庚眾一宰酏(酒)于妣(戎)用 一  
It should be in the fields of Rong that our lord speaks (about what) is to be joined with one pen-raised sheep and an ale libation (for) Ancestress Geng in Rong. Used.<sup>578</sup> 1
- 474.7 庚午卜子其裸于癸子 一三  
Divined on Gengwu: Our lord should libate ale to Gui-day Child. 12
- 474.8 辛未歲且(祖)乙龔子舞叔(拔) 一  
On Xinwei, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi some wild boars, (and) our lord will dance “Uproot”. 1
- 474.9 辛巳卜于癸蚊(殺)甸(荀)牛不用于甲蚊(殺) 一  
Divined on Xinsi: By day Gui, kill Xun’s cattle.<sup>579</sup> Not used. By day Jia (they) were killed. 1

## HYZ 475

- 475.1 癸卯卜嚳裸于昃用 一  
Divined on Guimao: Tomorrow, libate ale in the afternoon. 1

<sup>578</sup> The divination sequence, dated Jisi, is preparing to make offerings in Rong for Ancestress Geng on the following day, Gengwu. The preposition 于 “in” reveals that the prince was not yet in Rong but expected to be there by the following day. “The fields of Rong” had to have then been considered outside of “Rong”. 474 can be synchronized with 491 and the latter, in a postface, states that rites were performed for Ancestress Geng at Rong on day Gengwu having returned from a hunt.

<sup>579</sup> Xun 甸, in this instance modifying “cattle”, is a place/lineage name and the cattle’s point of origin. Later sources write 甸 both as both 荀 and 郇. Records in the *Zuozhuan* (Duke Xi, year 24; Duke Huan, year 9) indicate that during the Spring and Autumn period it was located in southwest Shanxi. (Yang Bojun’s *Zuozhuan* commentary locates it just northeast of Xinjiang, Shanxi 山西新絳.) Western Zhou bronzes of the Jia 賈 and 郇 lineages were found together during a 1970’s excavation in Wenxi, Shanxi 山西聞喜; see the commentary to the delivery receipt notation 26.1.



475.2 乙巳卜夷(惠)璧用 —

Divined on Yisi: It should be jade circlets. Used. <sub>1</sub>

475.3 乙巳卜夷(惠)良(琅) —

Divined on Yisi: It should be jade beads. <sub>1</sub>

475.4 乙巳卜又(有)𠄎(圭)夷(惠)之畀丁緝五用 —

Divined on Yisi: (As for) the pointed jade tablets (or: Having pointed jade tablets), it should be those that are given to His Highness, (along with) five ear ornaments. Used. <sub>2</sub>

475.5 庚戌卜子夷(惠)發乎(呼)見丁眾大亦齊(燕>宴)用晨 —

Divined on Gengxu: It should be Fa who our lord calls upon to have audience about/with His Highness, (and) to join Da to also banquet. Used. Afternoon. <sub>1</sub>

475.6 庚戌卜丁各用夕 —

Divined on Gengxu: His Highness will arrive. Used. Evening. <sub>1</sub>

475.7 庚戌卜丁各用夕 三三

Divined on Gengxu: His Highness will arrive. Used. Evening. <sub>23</sub>

475.8 辛亥卜丁曰余不其生(往)母(毋)𠄎(速) —

Divined on Xinhai: His Highness said, “I shall not go”. Must not invite (him). <sub>1</sub>

475.9 辛亥卜子曰余丙𠄎(速)丁令(命)子曰生(往)眾帚(婦)好于夏(愛)麥子𠄎(速)𠄎(孚) —

Divined on Xinhai: Our lord said, “I, on a Bing day, will invite His Highness.” His Highness commanded our lord, saying, “Go together with Lady Hao to plant wheat in Man.” Our lord will invite (him). Trusted.<sup>580</sup> <sub>1</sub>

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**580** What the diviner wants an answer to in this pair of divination statements (8-9) is whether or not his lord should invite the king to drink ale some time before day Bing of the following week (perhaps day Renzi). The diviner uses an antithetical pair, first posing the proposition a negative mode and then following it with a proposition in the positive mode. The direct speech utterances preceding the focus of the charge statements provide a context. Originally the protagonist planned to invite the king to drink on day Bingchen (53/60). The king however had said that he would not be going to plant wheat in Man, and commanded him to accompany

475.10 壬子卜子弼(勿)𠄎(速)乎(呼)𠄎(飲)用 –

Divined on Renzi: Our lord should not invite (others) and call to drink.  
Used. 1

## HYZ 476

476.1 用 –

Used. 1

476.2 用 –

Used. 1

## HYZ 477A-477B

477A.1 [庚]𠄎𠄎(妣)庚𠄎

On [Geng]...Ancestress Geng

477A.2 𠄎丁𠄎二𠄎册𠄎 ---

...Ding...two...written record...<sup>11</sup>

477A.3 𠄎丁𠄎

...Ding...

477B.1 三十

Thirty

---

Lady Hao on this task. Since this activity abroad now overlapped with the day the he was planning to invite the king to drink, the protagonist's diviners were charged with determining whether or not to invite him another day before day 3 of the following week. Reading 孚 “trusted” after 子速 follows Sun Yabing (2011: 128, note 4/2014: 143).

## HYZ 478

478.1 乙卯卜其𠄎(禦)大于癸子𠄎豮一又(有)鬯用又(有)疾子𠄎(金) — 二 三

Divined on Yimao: If making an exorcism rite for Da to Gui-day Child, announce by written record (the sacrificial offerings of) one boar and aromatic ale. Used. There is sickness. Lord Jin.<sup>581</sup> 123

## HYZ 479

479.1 □ — 二

...<sup>12</sup>

## HYZ 480

480.1 丙寅卜丁卯子勞丁再(稱)滸(圭)一緝九才(在)𠄎來獸(狩)自𠄎(唐) — 二 三 四 五

Divined on Bingyin: On Dingmao, our lord, comforting His Highness, will hold up one multicolored pointed jade tablet (and) nine ear ornaments. At Fu. Return of the hunt from Tang.<sup>12345</sup>

480.2 癸酉卜才(在)𠄎丁弗宐(賓)且(祖)乙多(彤)子𠄎(占)曰弗其宐(賓)用 — 二

Divined on Guiyou, at Fu: His Highness will not host Ancestor Yi's Rong-rite. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, "Is not likely to host it." Used.<sup>12</sup>

480.3 癸酉子𠄎(金)才(在)𠄎子乎(呼)大于𠄎(御)丁宜丁丑王入用來獸(狩)自𠄎(唐) —

Divined on Guiyou, lord Jin, at Fu: Our lord will call upon (his) eldest son to take charge of His Highness' viand service; on Dingchou, His Majesty will enter.<sup>582</sup> Used. Return of the hunt from Tang.<sup>1</sup>

**581** *You ji* 又(有)疾 "There is/Has sickness" after the judgment "Used" provides the context for why an exorcism over Da might be needed. It is also possible that the reason for making the exorcism rite was part of the announcement by written record, in addition to a future-offering list; see the commentaries to 29.1 and 289.6. I read 子金 "Zi Jin" at the end of this account as a postface; it means he was the diviner.

**582** Ding 丁 and wang 王 are two appellations for the Shang king. It is comparable to the interchange between wang 王 and tianzi 天子 "Son of Heaven" on Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.

480.4 甲戌卜才(在)鞫子又(有)令[𠄎]丁告于鞫用子𠄎(𠄎) —

Divined on Jiayu, at Fu: Our lord has a command (or: will have a command) to perform [the requital sacrifice]; His Highness will announce it in Fu.<sup>583</sup> Used. Our lord acted as substitute.<sup>584</sup> 12

480.5 甲戌卜子乎(呼)𠄎(嘉)帚(婦)好用才(在)鞫 —

Divined on Jiayu: Our lord will call Suo to commend Lady Hao. Used. At Fu. 1

480.6 丙子歲且(祖)甲一牢歲且(祖)乙一牢歲匕(妣)庚一牢才(在)割(葛)來自觶(唐) —

On Bingzi, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one head of pen-raised cattle, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one head of pen-raised cattle, (and) sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one head of pen-raised cattle.<sup>585</sup> At Ge. Returned from Tang. 1

## HYZ 481

481.1 乙丑卜又(有)吉𠄎(刈)子具𠄎其𠄎(以)入若衍(侃)又(有)鬻(用) —

Divined on Yichou: (As for) the best sickles, our lord should bring in and contribute (them) altogether, (for in) it will be favorable (and) bring happiness. There will be a Piao visitation. Used. 1

**583** The use of the preposition *yu* 于 “in” in the locative phrase “in Fu”, and not *zai* 在 “at”, indicates that the subject of the clause, Ding, was not at this place and was a relative distance away vis-à-vis the diviner and his patron, both of whom, according to the preface, were already there. Reading the divination accounts on this shell together with those on 312 and 363, we can deduce that the protagonist returned to Fu before the king from hunting in Tang.

**584** I read this graph as *she* 攝. 𠄎 In Warring States script 𠄎 is used as a phonetic loan to write the word *she* 攝. 𠄎 occurs (strip 23) in the Shanghai Museum Warring States copy of the *Ziyi* 緇衣 (Black Jacket) in a quotation of a line from the *Shijing* poem “Ji zui” 既醉 (Already Drunk) and it corresponds to the graph 𠄎 in the Guodian Warring States copy of the same text. The corresponding character in both the received version of the *Shijing* and the received version of the “Ziyi” 緇衣 in the *Liji* is *she* 攝 “take in, act as substitute”.

**585** It is uncertain whether Bingzi was the day of the divination or whether it was the day of the sacrifices. If it was the former, then the divinations all concern future ritual action, since this day of the week does not match any of these ancestor’s temple days. If it is the latter, then the postface about being at Ge and having returned from Tang (on a hunt) perhaps suggests that the protagonist was proposing to make sacrifices all at once as a means to make up for having missed temple days. The ancestors are listed according to seniority and the divination proposes to give them all exactly the same sacrificial offering.

481.2 乙亥歲且(祖)乙黑牡一又牝一衷(惠)子祝用又(有)且(登) 一一

On Yihai, when sacrificing (to) Ancestor Yi one black bull and one ewe, it should be our lord who prays. Used. Added (or: Had) a (cereal) offering. 12

## HYZ 482-483

482.1 𠄎乎(呼)𠄎

...call...

482.2 癸丁𠄎 一一三四

Day Gui, His Highness...1234

482.3 𠄎 一一

...12

482.4 一

1

483.1 𠄎(榛)气(乞)

Requested from Zhen.

## HYZ 484

484.1 𠄎(酒) 一

Make an ale libation. 1

484.2 𠄎(勿)𠄎(酒)母(毋)正且(祖)乙 一

Do not make an ale libation, (for our lord) must not be acting to rectify Ancestor Yi. 1

484.3 𠄎(酒) 二

Make an ale libation. 2

484.4 母(毋)正 二

Must not be acting to be rectify (this ancestor). 2

484.5 良泉

Liang spring.\*

484.6 ☐ —  
...1

484.7 ☐ —  
...1

484.8 壬卜其菁(邁)雨 —  
Divined on Ren: Will likely meet with rain. 1

## HYZ 485

485.1 子 —  
Our lord. 1

485.2 二  
2

## HYZ 486

486.1 其至[令] 二  
Should arrive [to command]. 2

486.2 ☐ —  
...1

486.3 ☐ —  
...1

486.4 ☐ 二  
...2

## HYZ 487

487.1 甲寅卜乙卯子其學商丁衍(侃)用 —  
Divined on Jiayin: If our lord practices “Shang,” His Highness will be happy. Used. 1

- 487.2 甲寅卜乙卯子其學商丁衍(侃)子马(占)曰又(有)求(咎)用子髀<sub>一一三</sub>  
 Divined on Jiayin: If our lord practices “Shang,” His Highness will be happy. Our lord read the crack(s) and said, “There is fault.” Used. Lord Bi. <sup>123</sup>
- 487.3 甲戌酌(酒)上甲旬歲且(祖)甲牝一歲且(祖)乙牝一歲匕(妣)庚歲一<sub>一二三四五六</sub>  
 On Jiaxu, will make ale libations for Shang Jia’s week;<sup>586</sup> will sacrifice (to) Ancestor Jia one ewe, sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi one ewe, (and) sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one wild boar. <sup>123456</sup>

## HYZ 488

- 488.1 𠄎甲𠄎一宰𠄎<sub>一</sub>  
 ...Jia...one pen-raised sheep. <sup>1</sup>
- 488.2 己[卜]𠄎[以][生]𠄎  
 [Divined] on Ji:...bring [newborns]<sup>587</sup>...
- 488.3 𠄎多臣𠄎(禦)于匕(妣)庚𠄎<sub>二</sub>  
 ...Many Servitors to be exorcised about Ancestress Geng...<sup>2</sup>
- 488.4 歲三𠄎[來]<sub>一</sub>  
 Sacrifice three...[will return].<sup>588</sup> <sup>1</sup>
- 488.5 𠄎用<sub>二</sub>  
 ...Used. <sup>2</sup>
- 488.6 甲午匕(妣)庚告𠄎  
 On Jiawu, (to) Ancestress Geng, announce...

**586** 上甲旬 “Shang Jia’s week” is comparable with 小甲日 “Xiao Jia’s day” (85.3). The meaning of this clause is that the protagonist planned to make ale libations for Shang Jia throughout the week. On the particular days 1/10, 2/10 and 7/10 of the present week, the he also planned to offer sacrifice to these three ancestors. The proposition here is to offer Ancestors Jia and Yi the same sacrificial animal, while offering Ancestress Geng a sacrificial animal that appears to have been a grade lower.

**587** This divination can likely be synchronized with 113.26.

**588** This divination can likely be reconstructed on the basis of 85.5.

- 488.7 𠄎三十豕𠄎匕(妣)丁 𠄎  
 ...thirty pigs will be announced (as sacrifices) by written record (to) Ancestress Ding...<sub>2</sub>
- 488.8 𠄎 —  
 ...<sub>1</sub>
- 488.9 𠄎夷(惠)豕匕(妣)庚  
 ...it should be boars (for) Ancestress Geng.
- 488.10 𠄎[𠄎(禦)]匕(妣)庚 —  
 ...[exorcism rite] (to) Ancestress Geng. <sub>1</sub>
- 488.11 𠄎生 𠄎[匕(妣)庚] 𠄎  
 ...newborns ...[Ancestress Geng]...
- 488.12 𠄎癸夷(惠) 𠄎子 𠄎 —<sub>2</sub>  
 ...Gui, it should be...our lord...<sub>12</sub>
- 488.13 𠄎其 𠄎 —<sub>2</sub>  
 ...should...<sub>12</sub>
- 488.14 甲午夷(惠) 𠄎 —  
 On Jiawu, it should be...<sub>1</sub>

## HYZ 489

- 489.1 一 𠄎 —<sub>2</sub>  
 One...<sub>12</sub>
- 489.2 𠄎一 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎  
 ...one...<sub>3</sub>

## HYZ 490

- 490.1 己卯子見(獻)𠄎(以)牙璧琄于丁用 —  
 On Jimao, our lord will present serrated jade circlets (and) large tablets brought by You to His Highness. Used. <sub>1</sub>



490.2 己卯子見(獻)𠄎(以)𠄎(圭)累(厚)牙璧丁用 一三三

On Jimao, our lord will present pointed jade tablets brought by You together with thick<sup>589</sup> serrated jade circlets (to) His Highness. Used. 123

490.3 己卯子見(獻)𠄎(以)𠄎(圭)于丁用 一

On Jimao, Our lord will present pointed jade tablets brought by You to His Highness. Used. 1

490.4 己卯子見(獻)𠄎(以)琿(衍)用 一

On Jimao, our lord will present large jade tablets brought by You; His Highness will be happy. Used. 1

490.5 己卯卜丁衍(侃)子(孚) 一

Divined on Jimao: His Highness will be happy (with) our lord. Trusted. 1

490.6 庚辰子裸(妣)庚又(有)言(妣)庚若 一

On Gengchen, our lord will make an ale libation (to) Ancestress Geng; having words (for) Ancestress Geng will be favorable. 1

490.7 庚辰歲(妣)庚宰(刮)多(彤)牝(後)蚊(殺) 一三三

On Gengchen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng pen-raised cattle, and carve (them) for the *Rong*-rite; the cows, thereafter, will be killed.<sup>590</sup> 123

490.8 乙酉卜入肉 一

Divined on Yiyou: Contribute meat. 1

**589** This graph resembles the inside (the sound element) of *hou* 𠄎 (厚) “thick”. Tang Lan (1981: 32) explains its shape as a container with a large mouth and slender neck; see too Lin Yun 2010: 99-107. I read this graph here as though it wrote the word 厚 and as an adjective modifying “serrated jade circlet”.

**590** Divinations (6)-(7) can be synchronized with 427.(3),(5): 己卯卜: 庚辰刮彤妣庚, 先殺宰, 後殺牝一。用。一三三 “Divined on Jimao: On Gengchen, to carve *Rong*-rite offerings (for) Ancestress Geng, first kill the pen-raised cattle, and then kill cow one. Used. 123”; and 庚辰歲妣庚宰牝彤刮 一 “On Gengchen, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng pen-raised cattle and cows (and), for *Rong*-rite offerings, carve (them).” Reading these divinations together makes it clear that the divinations were performed on Jimao, and not on Jimao and Gengchen; Gengchen was the day of the ritual event. This synchrony further recommends that the date Xinhai on 132.2-3 should be interpreted in the same way.

490.9 乙酉卜入肉子曰𠄎(服)卜—

Divined on Yiyou: Contribute meat. Our lord said, “Obey (this) divination.”<sup>1</sup>

490.10 庚戌歲匕(妣)庚𠄎一入自麓—

On Gengxu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ewe. Entered from Lu.<sup>1</sup>

490.11 辛亥瞽卜家其勺又(有)妾又(有)畀—

On Xinhai, the blind musician<sup>591</sup> divined: If Jia<sup>592</sup> requests to have female servants, some will be given.<sup>1</sup>

490.12 壬子卜其𠄎(將)匕(妣)庚示𠄎(工>貢)于東官(館)用—

Divined on Renzi: When carrying in offerings (to) Ancestress Geng’s altar, bestow them in the eastern guesthouse. Used.<sup>1</sup>

## HYZ 491


491.1 庚午酌(酒)革匕(妣)庚二小宰𠄎鬯一才(在)𠄎(戎)來自獸(狩)—

On Gengwu, will make an ale libation. Skin two small pen-raised sheep (to) Ancestress Geng, and offer one bowl of aromatic ale. At Rong. Returned from the hunt.<sup>593 12</sup>

## HYZ 492

492.1 壬寅卜子炅(金)子其𠄎(逆)𠄎(璋)于星(王婦)若用—

Divined on Renyin, lord Jin: If our lord welcomes Zhang at the Majestic Lady’s (location), (it) will be favorable. Used.<sup>1</sup>

**591**  is a pictograph of a blind old man and writes the word *gu* 瞽 “blind” (Qiu Xigui 2012: 1.510-515). Lin Yun (2007) says it refers to a music master (e.g., the *Shijing*’s “There are blind musicians” 有瞽 (*Mao* 280)), and suggests that 妾 were female performers. For 妾 related to music, see 265.1-4.

**592** Jia is Dancer Jia; see 226.1.

**593** This divination can be synchronized with 474.4-7; reading the sequence together recommends that the date of this divination was Jisi, the day before Gengwu. Gengwu in this divination account is part of the divination statement and it is the day that sacrificial rites are planned for Ancestress Geng; it is not the date that the divination was made. 474.6 states that the protagonist was on a hunt and not in Rong on day Jisi, but planned to be there the following day.

## HYZ 493

493.1 戊子卜夷(惠)子婁(畫)乎(呼)句馬用 一三

Divined on Wuzi: It should be lord Hua who is called to request horses.  
Used.<sup>594</sup> 12

493.2 戊子宜牝一匕(妣)庚才(在)入 一

On Wuzi, make (or: provide) viands (of) one ewe (to) Ancestress Geng. At Ru. 1

493.3 庚寅歲匕(妣)庚牲一 一

On Gengyin, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ram. 1

493.5 庚寅歲匕(妣)庚牲一 三

On Gengyin, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one ram. 3<sup>595</sup>

493.4 庚寅歲匕(妣)庚牝一才(在)𤑔(戎) 一

On Gengyin, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one cow. At Rong. 1

493.6 壬辰卜𤑔(向)癸巳<子>夢丁裸子用瓚亡至𤑔(艱) 一

Divined on Renchen: Towards<sup>596</sup> Guisi, <our lord><sup>597</sup> dreamt that His Highness made an ale libation and our lord used the ladle. It will not have (risk) reaching (the point of) affliction. 1

594 This divination can be synchronized with 288.5.

595 The two divinations (3)-(5) have the crack numbers 1 and 3, and the sequence is missing a divination account with a crack number 2. Perhaps this can be synchronized with the small fragment HYZ 526. 493, however, is intact, and this implies that 526 originally belonged to a different shell.

596 In Shang OBI this graph commonly occurs in between two consecutive days. While the sense is clear, it is still uncertain what word the graph wrote. Qiu Xigui (2012: 1.391-403) reads it *xiang* 向 “towards”, but doing so does not make sense when it is used as a verb of sacrifice, unless it is read as *xiang* 饗, but there is a perfectly good character for that word (Edward Shaughnessy, personal communication). Ken-ichi Takashima (2010: 2.31-32 [*Bingbian* 1]) has a lengthy comment suggesting to read it *zhuo* 𠄎(斲) “chop”: “(when) Day X ‘cleaved/cut’ Day Y”.

597 𤑔: I read the graph in between *gui* 癸 and *meng* 夢 as though it wrote two words; the first writes *si* 巳, i.e., day Guisi (30/30), and the second writes *zi* 子, the subject of the verb “dream”. Day Renchen is 29/30.

493.7 甲午歲且(祖)甲豨一隹(唯)𧈧 –

On Jiawu, sacrificing (to) Ancestor Jia one boar means there will be blessings. <sup>598</sup> 1

493.8 甲午歲且(祖)甲豨一隹(唯)𧈧 二三四

On Jiawu, sacrificing (to) Ancestor Jia one boar means there will be blessings. <sup>234</sup>

## HYZ 494

494.1 戊卜才(在)麓其告人亡由(恟)于丁若 一三

Divined on Wu, at Lai: If reporting that none of the men are unhappy to His Highness, (it) will be favorable. <sup>12</sup>

494.2 戊卜才(在)麓于商告人亡由(恟)于丁若 一三

Divined on Wu, at Lai: In Shang, reporting that none of the men are unhappy to His Highness will be favorable. <sup>12</sup>

494.3 己卜才(在)麓其告人亡由(恟)于丁若 三四

Divined on Ji, at Lai: If reporting that none of the men are unhappy to His Highness, (it) will be favorable. <sup>34</sup>

494.4 己卜才(在)麓于商告人亡由(恟)于丁若 三四

Divined on Ji, at Lai: In Shang, reporting that none of the men are unhappy to His Highness will be favorable. <sup>34</sup>

## HYZ 495

495.1 丁未卜宜𦍋且(祖)乙丁𦍋(飲)用 –

Divined on Dingwei: Make (or: Provide) viands (of) ewe (to) Ancestor Yi; His Highness will drink (or: will provide the drinks). Used. <sup>1</sup>

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**598** 𧈧: I read this as a ligature writing 有佑 “there will be blessings”. It occurs elsewhere in the HYZ OBI as a kind of cutting procedure to dispose of a sacrificial animal (115.3).

## HYZ 496-497

496.1 丙卜其𦉑(將)匕(妣)庚示歲振(脈) –

Divined on Bing: Should carry in offerings (to) Ancestress Geng's altar.  
Chopped raw meat.<sup>599</sup> 1

496.2 丙卜其𦉑(將)匕(妣)庚示 三

Divined on Bing: Should carry in offerings (to) Ancestress Geng's altar. 2

496.3 丙卜其𦉑(將)匕(妣)庚示 三

Divined on Bing: Should carry in offerings (to) Ancestress Geng's altar. 3

497.1 三十

Thirty

## HYZ 498

498.1 癸卯卜才(在)糞發𠄎(以)馬子𠄎(占)曰其𠄎(以)用 三

Divined on Guimao, at Fen: Fa will bring horses. Our lord read the crack and said, "Should bring them." Used. 2

## HYZ 499

499.1 子貞 –

Our lord tested. 1

## HYZ 500

500.1 亞

Ya.

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<sup>599</sup> As the direct object of 歲 “chop-cut > sacrifice”, I follow Yao Xuan (2005: 112) in reading this graph, spelled with the classifier 衣 “clothing” + the phonetic *chen* 辰, as a loan for *shen* 脈 “raw meat”.

**HYZ 501**

501.1 丁卜子耳鳴亡蚩(害) –

Divined on Ding: Our lord's ear ringing is without harm. <sup>1</sup>

501.2 丁卜今庚其乍(作)豐(速)丁(飲)若 –<sub>三</sub>

Divined on Ding: On day Geng of this week, if erecting drums and inviting His Highness to drink, it will be favorable. <sup>12</sup>

501.3 丁卜今庚其乍(作)豐(速)丁(飲)若 –<sub>三</sub>

Divined on Ding: On day Geng of this week, if erecting drums and inviting His Highness to drink, it will be favorable. <sup>3</sup>

**HYZ 502**

502.1 宮(堂) –

Hall. <sup>1</sup>

502.2 臺(臺) –

Tower. <sup>1</sup>

502.3 臺(臺)于南

Tower, in the south.

502.4 于北

In the north.

502.5 戊歲匕(妣)庚牡一才(在)口 –

On Wu, sacrifice (to) Ancestress Geng one bull. At...<sup>1</sup>

502.6 口見(獻)一

...presents one.

**HYZ 503**

503.1 癸卜

Divined on Gui.

**HYZ 504**

504.1 用

Used.

**HYZ 505**

505.1-2 子貞 ☱ 豐 亡 至 困 (戾)

Our lord tested...drums. There will be no (risk) reaching (the point of) misfortune.

505.3 貞 妻 (畫) 亡 其 黷 (艱) –

Tested: Hua will not likely have any affliction. 1

505.4 ☱ 又 貞 目 𠄎 亡 其 又 (有) 甘

...again tested: Eye [uncertain meaning]; will not likely have this [uncertain meaning].

**HYZ 506**

506.1 庚午 卜 才 (在) 鞫 子 ☱ ☳

Divined on Gengwu, at Fu: Our lord...3

**HYZ 507**

507.1 乙亥 卜 暈 (王婦) 衍 (侃)

Divined on Yihai: His Majesty's Lady will be happy.

507.2 乙亥 卜 夷 (惠) ☱ – ☳

Divined on Yihai: It should be... 12

**HYZ 508**

508.1 丙子 卜 ☱ –

Divined on Bingzi... 1

508.2 不用  
...Not used.

## HYZ 509

509.1 呈(王婦) 一三  
His Majesty's Lady. 12

## HYZ 510

510.1 不奏  
Will not perform.

## HYZ 511

511.1 𠄎  
Tested: [uncertain reading]

## HYZ 512

512.1 興 二  
Xing. 2

## HYZ 513

513.1 [子]  
[Our lord].

## HYZ 514

514.1 子貞 一  
Our lord tested. 1



## HYZ 515

515.1 口才(在)龍<sub>三</sub>  
...at Lu.<sub>2</sub>

## HYZ 516

516.1 卜丁卯自賈口<sub>三</sub>  
Divined: On Dingmao, from Trader...<sub>3</sub>

## HYZ 517+275 (See HYZ 275)

## HYZ 518

518.1 口于子亡困(庚)<sub>三</sub>  
...to our lord; there will be no misfortune.<sub>2</sub>

## HYZ 519

519.1 貞商困(庚)  
Tested: (about) Shang misfortune.

## HYZ 520

520.1 貞  
Tested.

## HYZ 521+531

521+531.1 辛酉辰歲口<sub>一</sub>  
On Xinyou afternoon, sacrifice...<sub>1</sub>

**HYZ 522**

522.1 賈馬其東 □ 三

horses [from] the trader, a portion should... 2

**HYZ 523**

523.1 匕(妣)庚一歲

Ancestress Geng, one wild boar.

**HYZ 524**

524.1 馬 □

...horses...

524.2 丁卯[自] □

Dingmao, [from]...

**HYZ 525**

525.1 □ 東 □ 自賈馬 □

...portion...horses from the trader...

**HYZ 526**

526.1 庚寅歲 □ 三

On Gengyin, sacrifice ...2

**HYZ 527**

527.1 □ 子

...lord.

## **HYZ 528**

528.1 □一子□

...one..., lord...

## **HYZ 529+433+434**

## **HYZ 530**

530.1 香(刮)且(祖) □

Carve (for) Ancestor...

## **HYZ 531+521**

## **HYZ 532**

532.1 用

Used.

## **HYZ 533**

533.1 戊卜夕□

Divined on Wu: Evening...

## **HYZ 534 + 332**

## **HYZ 535**

535.1 子

Our Lord.

## **HYZ 536**

536.1 [祝]

[Pray]

## HYZ 537

537.1 –

1

## HYZ 538

538.1 –

1

## HYZ 539

539.1 三旬

Three weeks.

## HYZ 540

540.1 [衷(惠)] –

[It should be] 1

## HYZ 541

541.1 子

Our Lord

## HYZ 542

542.1 □午

...wu

## HYZ 543

543.1 ㄣㄨ

(graffiti)

## HYZ 544

544.1 ☐

...

## HYZ 545

545.1 璋(璋)

Zhang

## HYZ 546

546.1 𠄎(戾)

Misfortune

## HYZ 547

547.1 ☐

...

## HYZ 548+395

## HYZ 549

549.1 戊申子于己 ☐

Divined on Wushen: Our lord, by day Ji, ...

## HYZ 550

550.1 ☐ 麥(來)自皮(彼)鼎𩚑(酒) ☐

...coming from there (or: that), make a caldron offering and an ale libation...

550.2 ☐ 𠄎 ☐

...announce by written record...

**HYZ 551**

551.1 [黑]牝  
[Black] cow.

**HYZ 552**

552.1 丁卜戠(待)于☐  
Divined on Ding: Wait until...

**HYZ 553+432****HYZ 554**

554.1 戊卜☐  
Divined on Wu...

**HYZ 555**

555.1 𠄎(爾\*)  
Er\*<sup>600</sup>

**HYZ 556**

556.1 丙卜☐ –  
Divined on Bing:… 1

**HYZ 557**

557.1 用 –  
Used. 1

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**600** This graph also occurs on *Yibian* 7746; Jao Tsung-I (1959: 60) reads it as a name.

## **HYZ 558**

558.1 卜于□

Divined: By...

## **HYZ 559**

559.1 句黑二☐

Request two black...

## **HYZ 560**

560.1 庚卜子炆(金)

Divined on Geng: (about) Lord Jin.

## **HYZ 561+428**

## Appendix I: Raw Data

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
1	H3:1	基本完整	23.3	14			Yes		
2	H3:2	基本完整	27	20.2	Yes	Black			
3	H3:7+34+94+269+1559	缺左尾甲	23.9	14.2	Yes				
4	H3:9	完整	24.7	18.7	Yes	Black			
5	H3:11+283+468+1519+1521+1522+1531+1537+1543	缺左前甲及部分後甲	25	12	partial				
6	H3:19	缺首甲、中甲及部分前甲、甲橋	20.4	17.6					
7	H3:22+1515+1575	缺尾甲及右橋	20.2	17.7	Yes	Black			
8	H3:23	存左半部，右半部自首甲以下殘缺	29.2	10.5					
9	H3:24+50	甲橋部分殘缺	26	16.4	Yes				



Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
10	H3:30	存首甲、左前甲	10	9	Yes	Black			
11	H3:54	缺尾甲，殘部分後甲、甲橋	16	14.1	Yes				
12	H3:42	缺左尾甲，左首甲、中甲、左橋略殘	22.5	14.3					
13	H3:47+984	基本完整	25.5	17.4	partial	Black			
14	H3:52	完整	19.2	12	Yes				
15	H3:53	缺右橋及右後甲外緣	31.3	19.5	partial		Yes		
16	H3:55	存半甲，缺甲尾及部分後甲	14.6	18.5					
17	H3:60	基本完整	23.3	15.1	Yes				
18	H3:61	基本完整	27.6	19.8		Black	Yes		
19	H3:63	完整	19	10.4			Yes		
20	H3:63verso							verso	
21	H3:67	缺尾甲及後甲下段	18.5	18.9					
22	H3:68	右半部缺尾甲	18	10					

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
23	H3:71	完整	20.9	12.8	partial				
24	H3:73	完整	29.9	16.6			Yes		
25	H3:81	缺甲首、中甲、前甲與右橋略殘	21.6	20.5			Yes		
26	H3:86	缺甲尾及部分後甲	17.2	16	Yes				
27	H3:89	基本完整	25.1	16.7	partial	Black			
28	H3:101+168+1549	缺尾甲，後甲下部及左甲橋外緣略殘	19	16.1		Black			
29	H3:105	完整	25	20					
30	H3:109+1511	缺左前甲	27	13.7					
31	H3:111	基本完整	26.5	17.3			Yes		
32	H3:113+1518	基本完整	28.1	20.7	Yes				
33	H3:114	存上半甲	18.7	18.2	Yes				
34	H3:115+241+246	基本完整	24.6	18.2	Yes	Black			
35	H3:119	存尾甲及後甲之下段	9.5	11.4			Yes		
36	H3:126+1547	存龜背甲之左半部上端	11.4	15.4	Yes	Black		carapace	

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
37	H3:123+373	缺右首甲	25.2	19.7	Yes	Black			
38	H3:127	缺左尾甲, 左後甲下段及甲橋邊緣亦有殘缺	28.9	21.1		Black, faded			
39	H3:130+1123	基本完整	26.8	16.6			Yes		
40	H3:131	缺中甲、首甲及前甲上部	23.4	22					
41	H3:143+392	缺後甲及尾甲	23.3	16.6	Yes		Yes		
42	H3:150+440+1513	缺右尾甲	21.2	12.5	Yes		Yes		
43	H3:146	基本完整	9.2	3.8		Black		carapace	
44	H3:151	缺後甲及尾甲	7.7	10.7	Yes	Black			
45	H3:161+332	完整	28.7	17.5			Yes		
46	H3:163	完整	28	16.4					
47	H3:166+167	存中甲、右首甲、右前甲及部分右甲橋							
48	H3:179	完整	14.2	9.6	Yes				
49	H3:182	完整	28.8	21.8		Black, partial			

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
50	H3:189+217+284+ 1529+1542	存右半，頭尾略殘	24.6	10.6				carapace	
51	H3:190	完整	20.2	11.7	Yes	Black			
52	H3:192	基本完整	24.5	13.8			Yes		
53	H3:196+197+871	完整	27.9	16.4	Yes				
54	H3:198	完整	22.9	15.9	Yes		Yes		
55	H3:199+201+1614	背甲右半部之下部	20.3	13.3				carapace	
56	H3:200	缺左半首甲及部分前甲	27.4	19.7					
57	H3:202	左後甲殘缺	31.3	23.1					
58	H3:203	完整	24.3	14.1					
59	H3:207	殘右甲橋下段	29.3	22.1					
60	H3:208	基本完整	17.5	10.9					
61	H3:212	完整	27.2	19.8	Yes	Black			
62	H3:212verso							verso	
63	H3:215	完整	22.6	18	Yes				
64	H3:219	完整	24.4	15.6			Yes		
65	H3:220	完整	20.9	12.3	Yes				

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
66	H3:222	基本完整	28.7	17.7			Yes		
67	H3:224	基本完整	24.2	18.1	Yes				
68	H3:227	缺後甲下部及尾甲	18.8	14.1			Yes		
69	H3:232+233+569+572+595	首甲大部殘缺	25.8	17.1			Yes		
70	H3:237	基本完整	28.2	21.7	Yes				
71	H3:237verso							verso	
72	H3:238+700+1393	存大半甲，缺首甲、中甲及前甲上部	20	14.2			Yes		
73	H3:242	存上半甲，缺後甲、尾甲及架橋下段	12.6	14.9					
74	H3:239	存左後甲及左尾甲之上端	10.3	9.4			Yes		
75	H3:243verso	基本完整	26.2	17				verso	
76	H3:255	存大半甲，缺尾甲下部及右甲橋	23.1	15.2	Yes	Black			
77	H3:256	完整	17.7	9.9			Yes		

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
78	H3:259	完整, 有孔	30.8	18.5					
79	H3:259verso							verso	
80	H3:264	缺右前甲下部、右後甲大部	29.5	16.2		Black			
81	H3:266	缺尾甲、右後甲及右橋	19.1	17.3	Yes	Black			
82	H3:274	完整, 有孔	17.5	11			Yes		
83	H3:274verso							verso	
84	H3:276	基本完整	20.6	13.7			Yes		
85	H3:279	基本完整	28.4	18.1			Yes		
86	H3:281	缺左橋及與之相鄰的部分前、後甲	16.5	9.8	Yes	Red			
87	H3:287+394+1511	存左半	28.4	11.1		Black			
88	H3:288+1615	左橋部分殘缺	28.2	17.3		Black	Yes		
89	H3:291	基本完整	25.7	17.8			Yes		
90	H3:299	缺部分右前甲及右橋	25.1	14.5			Yes		
91	H3:299verso							verso	

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
92	H3:304	基本完整	28.6	17.6			Yes		
93	H3:305	完整	28.1	19.6	Yes				
94	H3:306	完整	27.6	20.5					
95	H3:313	基本完整	28.2	20.1					
96	H3:316	存上半部，缺後甲與尾甲	10.5	12.7			Yes		
97	H3:331	完整	15.7	9.7	Yes	Red			
98	H3:317	存大半，缺甲尾及後甲下部	21.9	19.2					
99	H3:318	基本完整	27.3	16.8	Yes		Yes		
100	H3:320	缺尾甲及後甲之下部	19.6	20.5					
101	H3:323	完整	25.5	18.9					
102	H3:330	完整	29.2	21.2	Yes	Black			
103	H3:333	完整	17.8	10.5	Yes	Black			
104	H3:334	基本完整	22	13.6			Yes		
105	H3:225	完整，有孔	27.9	20.3			Yes		
106	H3:352	缺中甲及前甲上部	27.3	17.5			Yes		

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
107	H3:353	基本完整	31	18.1					
108	H3:356+917+947+1565	右前甲上部及左後甲之邊緣略殘	23.2	14.8		Black			
109	H3:359	尾甲	6.1	9	Yes	Black			
110	H3:366+369+1560	存尾甲、左後甲及右後甲之一小部	17.4	11.8	Yes	Black			
111	H3:361	基本完整	27	18.7					
112	H3:365	基本完整	22.4	16.9	Yes				
113	H3:368+430	缺左甲尾下端	34.3	22.1	Yes	Black			
114	H3:372	基本完整	28.6	21	Yes				
115	H3:374	左牛肩胛骨的中下部，缺骨白及右側邊緣	24	18.5	Yes	Red, faded		scapula	
116	H3:378	缺尾甲及後甲之下段	16.8	19.6					
117	H3:380	完整	26.2	19.8	Yes				
118	H3:387	背甲之右上半部	碎裂		Yes	Black		carapace	
119	H3:386	存下半甲	11	11	Yes	Black			



Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
120	H3:391	基本完整	27.8	17.4	Yes		Yes		
121	H3:397	完整, 有孔	29.2	22.3				verso	
122	H3:400	缺尾甲、右後甲	22	15.9					
123	H3:401	缺首甲、中甲、右橋	27.4	19	Yes	Red			Jiyi 561
124	H3:404+1380	完整	26.9	15.7					
125	H3:405	完整	30.7	22.3	Yes	Black			
126	H3:411	存後甲、尾甲、前甲之下部及部分甲橋	19.9	16					
127	H3:412+1254	基本完整	27.1	17.4	Yes				
128	H3:424	缺首甲及前甲上部	18.2	14.1	Yes		Yes		
129	H3:428	基本完整	29.5	21.3					
130	H3:431+433	缺尾甲及後甲之下段	21.5	20.9	Yes				
131	H3:432	存上半甲	22.1	16.3	Yes				
132	H3:435	完整	23.1	15	Yes	Black			
133	H3:437	缺尾甲	25.1	16.9				verso	



Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
150	H3:479	存首甲、中甲、前甲及後甲上部	19.6	20.7	Yes				
151	H3:480	存中上部，缺尾甲及後甲下段	21.5	21.9	Yes		Yes		
152	H3:501	存甲首、中甲及前甲上部	7.7	11.1	Yes				
153	H3:482	存後甲上部與前甲下部	11.9	13.5	Yes		Yes		
154	H3:484	完整	17.8	10.8	Yes				
155	H3:485	右半缺後甲下段及尾甲	28.4	18.2			Yes		
156	H3:485verso							verso	
157	H3:486	基本完整	30.4	21.7					
158	H3:489	基本完整	22.3	12.3					
159	H3:490	完整	26.5	19.5					
160	H3:496	存右半甲	24.9	12			Yes		
161	H3:485502	完整	24	17.5	Yes	Black			
162	H3:515	小片	7.1	5.8	Yes	Black			

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
163	H3:505+520+1546	小半甲	13.4	10.4	Yes				
164	H3:508	完整	28.8	20.7	Yes	Black			
165	H3:510+735	大半甲	20.8	22	Yes	Black, faded			
166	H3:516	大半甲, 缺尾甲	22	15.2			Yes		
167	H3:517	基本完整	21.5	16.1					
168	H3:526	基本完整	26.6	20	Yes				
169	H3:529	基本完整	22.6	14.5	Yes				
170	H3:532	基本完整	25.7	20	Yes				
171	H3:533	大半甲, 缺尾甲	18.7	16.4					
172	H3:535	完整	24	16.8					
173	H3:537	基本完整	19.9	13.7	Yes	Black			
174	H3:539	完整	28.5	19.8					
175	H3:540	完整	32.2	23.9		Red			
176	H3:541	基本完整	26.1	14	Yes				
177	H3:542	完整	27.5	18.1					
178	H3:546+1517	基本完整	27.3	17.8	Yes	Red, faded			
179	H3:547	完整	20.3	13	Yes	Black			

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
180	H3:550	大半甲	20.4	20.6					
181	H3:553	基本完整	30.2	16.8	Yes				
182	H3:557	完整	18.9	12.9	Yes				
183	H3:560	基本完整	30.7	18.2	Yes				
184	H3:560							verso	
185	H3:561	完整	26.6	15.2			Yes		
186	H3:563	基本完整	28	17.2	Yes				
187	H3:565	大半甲, 缺尾甲	22.4	18			Yes		
188	H3:565verso							verso	
189	H3:566	完整	27.5	15.7	Yes		Yes		
190	H3:567	下半甲	15.5	16				verso	
191	H3:571	基本完整	26.2	15.5					
192	H3:573	基本完整	26.2	19				verso	
193	H3:583	小半甲	17.2	14.7	Yes				
194	H3:584	完整	28	20.4	Yes				
195	H3:586+1006+1537	基本完整	25.5	18.3	Yes	Black			
196	H3:590	基本完整	29.4	22.8	Yes	Black			

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
197	H3:596	下半甲	17.5	14.7			Yes		
198	H3:599	完整	23.1	15					
199	H3:600	完整	20.1	12			Yes		
200	H3:601	基本完整	24.4	15.3			Yes		
201	H3:601verso							verso	
202	H3:609	大半甲, 缺尾甲	23	19.4			Yes		
203	H3:610+713	完整	28.7	18.4	Yes		Yes		
204	H3:613	基本完整	21.7	12.5	Yes		Yes		
205	H3:615	基本完整	28.5	14.5	Yes	Black			
206	H3:616	大半甲, 缺尾甲	20.8	23.5	Yes	Black			
207	H3:617	大半甲, 缺尾甲	19.4	17.5			Yes		210
208	H3:619+1346	完整	29.4	20.5	Yes	Black			
209	H3:620	完整	17	10.6					
210	H3:623	小片	9.6	8.9			Yes		207
211	H3:624	基本完整	25.8	19.5		Black			
212	H3:626	基本完整	26	16.2			Yes		
213	H3:627	基本完整	23.2	13.2			Yes		

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
214	H3:631	完整	28.4	21.3		Black			
215	H3:632	完整	28.6	20.8	Yes	Red			
216	H3:639	完整	21.5	13.1	Yes	Black			
217	H3:641	基本完整	24.9	14.9	Yes	Black			
218	H3:642	完整	15.8	9.8		Red			
219	H3:667	小片	10.1	9.1					
220	H3:645	基本完整	29.5	21.5	Yes	Black			
221	H3:648+1548	基本完整	22.4	15.4	Yes				
222	H3:649	基本完整	26.6	13.7	Yes		Yes		
223	H3:654	完整	27.6	17.6			Yes		
224	H3:655	完整	30.2	21.7	Yes	Black, faded			
225	H3:657	完整	24.6	15					
226	H3:659	完整	31.8	23.2	Yes	Black			
227	H3:661	完整	18.4	11.7					
228	H3:662	基本完整	29.9	22.1	Yes	Black			
229	H3:663	完整	28.5	17.3	Yes		Yes		
230	H3:668	完整	30.6	18.3			Yes		

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
231	H3:668	verso							
232	H3:669	基本完整	29.4	20.9					
233	H3:672	基本完整	24.5	14.4			Yes		
234	H3:674+848	基本完整	25.8	18.8	Yes	Black			
235	H3:680	完整	28.2	20.4		Black			
236	H3:684+1152	完整	28.9	17.5	Yes	Black			
237	H3:685	缺後甲下段及左橋	24.4	19.5	Yes	Black			
238	H3:720+736	基本完整	20	11.5			Yes		
239	H3:696+1539	大半甲，缺尾甲及後甲下段	12.6	11		Black			
240	H3:701	大半甲，缺尾甲及後甲下段	19.7	21.2					
241	H3:713	完整	26.2	19.5	Yes				
242	H3:714	基本完整	24.9	16.2					
243	H3:716+727	大半甲，缺尾甲及後甲下部			Yes	Black, faded			
244	H3:723+990+1512	背甲左半部	29.5	12.2	Yes			carapace	



Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
245	H3:728	大半甲，缺尾甲及後甲下段	18.7	14.9			Yes		
246	H3:729	基本完整	25.6	13.3			Yes		
247	H3:733+911	缺右甲橋	22.5	13.5					
248	H3:737	左甲橋殘，缺尾甲	18.5	17	Yes				
249	H3:738	基本完整	28.3	17			Yes		
250	H3:738verso							verso	
251	H3:744	基本完整	24.5	18.2					
252	H3:750+763	基本完整	26.5	18.5	Yes				
253	H3:751+1001	基本完整	30.5	22.3	Yes				
254	H3:753	基本完整	27.5	16.8			Yes		
255	H3:754	完整	23	17.2	Yes				
256	H3:757	完整	21	14.5	Yes		Yes		
257	H3:758	基本完整	30	22.5	Yes	Black			
258	H3:759+1157	缺甲首，殘前甲尾甲	18	15.8	Yes		Yes		
259	H3:760	基本完整	20.6	13.9	Yes				
260	H3:762	完整	24.9	18.8	Yes				

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
261	H3:767	基本完整	24.9	18.8	Yes				
262	H3:768	基本完整	25.5	11.2	Yes	Red		carapace	
263	H3:770	完整	31	20			Yes		
264	H3:772	完整	20.7	16.5	Yes	Black			
265	H3:775	完整	28	20.5	Yes	Black			
266	H3:784	基本完整	29	21.3	Yes		Yes		
267	H3:789	完整	28.4	20.8	Yes				
268	H3:790	殘右甲、右甲橋、甲尾	23.8	17.3			Yes		
269	H3:791	缺甲尾和左橋下部	15	11.5			Yes		
270	H3:820	缺甲尾	10.5	8.3		Black			
271	H3:793	甲首、中甲缺失	21	19.9	Yes	Black		verso	
272	H3:793verso								
273	H3:801	完整	20.2	11.8	Yes	Black	Yes		
274	H3:808	殘左甲橋及甲尾	23	16	Yes	Red			
275	H3:816+1221	殘後甲中部、左右甲橋	27.6	20.9	Yes	Red			517
276	H3:822	基本完整	23	13.2	Yes	Black			

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
277	H3:823+824+922+995	存大半甲，無尾甲	17	18.5	Yes				
278	H3:829	完整	27	19.8	Yes	Black			
279	H3:836	殘左甲橋、甲尾	19.5	14.5	與		Yes		
280	H3:840+859	基本完整	23.2	16.5	Yes	Black			
281	H3:844	完整	28.7	22.5	Yes		Yes		
282	H3:845	基本完整，缺損較多	26.4	16.7		Black	Yes		
283	H3:849	基本完整	27.5	15.7	Yes		Yes		
284	H3:855+1612	基本完整	26.8	17.4					
285	H3:862	基本完整	25.7	20.7	Yes	Black			
286	H3:864	完整	29.8	22.8	Yes	Red		verso	
287	H3:864verso								
288	H3:865	基本完整	26.2	20.1	Yes	Left side— Red Right side— Black			
289	H3:873	卜甲殘，後甲以下均缺失	15.1	16.6	Yes	Black			

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
290	H3:876	完整	23.3	17.5	Yes	Red			
291	H3:877	基本完整	21	15.5	Yes	Red			
292	H3:896	後甲以下殘缺	19.5	17.8	Yes	Black	Yes		
293	H3:879	僅剩甲尾	7.5	10.3					
294	H3:880	完整	22.6	15.9	Yes	Left side— Red	Yes		
295	H3:882	缺左甲橋	25.1	13.4	Yes	Red			
296	H3:884	基本完整	28.7	22	Yes	Black			
297	H3:886	完整	23.8	11.4	Yes	Black			
298	H3:891	完整	28	17	Yes		Yes		
299	H3:895	完整	28.5	21.7	Yes	Black			
300	H3:897	完整	26.7	20.5	Yes				
301	H3:902	缺尾甲	24.7	16.9	Yes		Yes		
302	H3:903	甲首、中甲、右甲橋、甲尾均殘	22.5	22.3	Yes				344
303	H3:905	基本完整	22.9	15.2	Yes	Red			

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
304	H3:906	基本完整	23	14.7	Yes				
305	H3:914	文章	20.4	14	Yes	Black	Yes		
306	H3:920	基本完整	28.4	17	Yes				
307	H3:924	殘甲尾、右甲橋	19.8	16	Yes				
308	H3:925	基本完整	23	16.8	Yes				
309	H3:939	殘左右甲橋、後甲下部	19	21	Yes		Yes		
310	H3:940	左胛骨，只保存骨白和肩胛岡上部，骨面碎裂，腐蝕嚴重	9	7.5				scapula	
311	H3:974	左胛骨，只保存骨白和肩胛岡上部，質地較好	9	6.7		Red		scapula	
312	H3:985	右胛骨，只保存骨白和肩胛岡上部，胛岡骨面碎裂	11.5	6.8		Black		scapula	
313	H3:948	缺尾甲、殘左右甲橋	22.3	21	Yes	Black			

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
314	H3:957	基本完整	25.1	19	Yes				
315	H3:958	完整	27.7	18.7	Yes				
316	H3:963	殘甲首、左前甲上部、右後甲外側	20	11.8					
317	H3:969	只剩甲首、中甲和前甲	12.8	14.5	Yes				
318	H3:972	完整	18.6	11.5	Yes				
319	H3:975	基本完整	29.4	22.2	Yes	Left side— Red Right side— Black			
320	H3:976	甲尾、左甲橋殘缺	22.5	19.5	Yes	Black			
321	H3:977	基本完整	27.7	21.2	Yes	Black			
322	H3:981	缺右甲橋	27.4	18.7	Yes	Red			
323	H3:986	基本完整	20.8	15					
324	H3:994	基本完整	26.8	19.8	Yes				
325	H3:1005	基本完整	20.5	20.8					
326	H3:1008	基本完整	28.8	19	Yes				

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
327	H3:1009	基本完整	26.6	18.8				verso	
328	H3:1010	大部殘缺	11	11.3					
329	H3:1021	只存甲尾	5.3	6.9				verso	
330	H3:1023	完整	22	17.5	Yes				
331	H3:1028	殘左右甲橋、甲尾	25.4	15.2		Black			
332	H3:1030	基本完整	24.6	8.8	Yes			carapace	534
333	H3:1032	基本完整	14.8	9.7	Yes	Red			
334	H3:1034	殘片	5	4.8	Yes			carapace	
335	H3:1038+1457+1579	完整	25	19					
336	H3:1039	完整	17	11.5	Yes	Red			
337	H3:1041	基本完整	17.8	9.8	Yes				
338	H3:1042	完整	22.4	15.3	Yes				
339	H3:1046	基本完整	26.5	19.5	Yes				
340	H3:1047	基本完整	27.4	20.2	Yes				
341	H3:1057verso	只剩右甲橋	15.8	4.9				verso	
342	H3:1070	殘甲橋、後甲和甲尾	15.5	10.5					

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
343	H3:1066	只剩甲首、前甲和上半部甲橋	16	21					
344	H3:1087	只存甲尾	6.5	10.7					302
345	H3:1069	只剩部分後甲和甲尾	13.4	12.5	Yes				
346	H3:1078	缺左後甲與甲尾，殘左右甲橋	26	20	Yes				
347	H3:1085	殘右後甲和甲尾	23.5	16.5					
348	H3:1085verso							verso	
349	H3:1106	完整	32.5	22	Yes				
350	H3:1109	完整	22.5	17	Yes				
351	H3:1111	基本完整	21.7	16.1	Yes				
352	H3:1113	基本完整	29.7	21.4	Yes				
353	H3:1122	基本完整	22	15.2	Yes				
354	H3:1125+1126+1317+1574	殘左右甲橋，前甲後甲有缺損	21.8	13.4	Yes				
355	H3:1128	基本完整	202	14.2	Yes				
356	H3:1131	基本完整	29.4	17.2	Yes				



Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
357	H3:1131verso							verso	
358	H3:1138	碎片	3.5	1.4					
359	H3:1148	僅存卜甲下半部	20.5	17	Yes				
360	H3:1148verso							verso	
361	H3:1149	殘甲尾	22.5	18	Yes				
362	H3:1149verso							verso	
363	H3:1155	基本完整	23.2	18.5	Yes	Black			
364	H3:1158	殘左右甲橋和甲尾	27.2	16.2	Yes				
365	H3:1159	基本完整	29.4	18.5	Yes				
366	H3:1162	基本完整	14.6	8.7	Yes				
367	H3:1180	完整	18.7	11.5	Yes	Black			
368	H3:1163	基本完整	23.1	13.2	Yes		Yes		
369	H3:1164	基本完整	22.6	15.2	Yes	Red			
370	H3:1165	只剩後甲大部和左甲橋	18.5	13.5	Yes				
371	H3:1166	僅存甲尾	8	9.7	Yes	Black			
372	H3:1177	基本完整	21.3	14.4	Yes	Black			
373	H3:1182	基本完整	22.2	16.7	Yes	Red			



Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
390	H3:1245	基本完整	21.2	13	Yes		Yes		
391	H3:1246	基本完整	21.5	13.6	Yes	Left side—Red Right side—Black			
392	H3:1251	基本完整	25	19	Yes		Yes		
393	H3:1253	完整	29.8	22	Yes		Yes		
394	H3:1257	保存大部	20	16	Yes		Yes		
395	H3:1258	保存大部	27.5	16.5	Yes				548
396	H3:1262	基本完整	19.1	13.5	Yes		Yes		
397	H3:1263A、B	兩個小片							1263A is duplicate of 561; 1263B is duplicate of 553.
398	H3:1270	缺右甲橋和甲尾	21.5	14.5	Yes		Yes		
399	H3:1270verso							verso	
400	H3:1271	基本完整	28.6	21.8	Yes				
401	H3:1275	完整	24.1	15	Yes	Left side—Red			

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
402	H3:1278	完整	28.5	18.5	Yes		Yes		
403	H3:1279	完整	23.2	17.2	Yes				
404	H3:1282	基本完整	25.6	14.7	Yes		Yes		
405	H3:1284	完整	19.4	12.4	Yes		Yes		
406	H3:1285	基本完整	26.2	15.3	Yes		Yes		
407	H3:1285verso					Right side— Black		verso	
408	H3:1286	完整	19.2	11.7	Yes		Yes		
409	H3:1287	完整	29.2	17.5	Yes	Black			
410	H3:1290	只剩甲首、中甲	8.4	12					
411	H3:1291	存甲首、中甲及部分前甲	13	11.8	Yes		Yes		
412	H3:1295	完整	26.6	20	Yes	Black			
413	H3:1298	残左右甲桥、左后甲、甲尾	29	18.7	Yes				
414	H3:1304	只剩甲首、中甲	8.2	10.5					

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
415	H3:1330	缺左右甲橋、殘甲首、前後甲	17	12.4	Yes				
416	H3:1307	完整	21.9	14.5	Yes	Black			
417	H3:1308	基本完整	26.2	18.5	Yes			verso	
418	H3:1311	殘甲首、左右甲橋、後甲右側	28	15.5	Yes				
419	H3:1312	基本完整	28.8	22.1	Yes				
420	H3:1314	完整	20.6	14.4	Yes	Black			
421	H3:1325	基本完整	21.6	15.1	Yes				
422	H3:1337	骨白及胛岡上部完整，骨扇大部殘缺	21.5	5.7				scapula	
423	H3:1342	完整	22.3	14.7	Yes				
424	H3:1343	基本完整	25.3	19.5	Yes				
425	H3:1343verso							verso	
426	H3:1347	完整	21.5	23.9	Yes	Black			
427	H3:1348	基本完整	30.5	23	Yes	Red			
428	H3:1349+1350+1368	甲首、前甲、左右甲橋均部分殘缺	29.9	19.5	Yes				561

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
429	H3:1351	缺左甲橋，左前甲、後甲、甲尾均有殘缺	27	15	Yes				
430	H3:1358+1557	背甲頭、尾及中部邊緣均有殘缺	28	13.5				carapace	
431	H3:1359	缺甲尾，殘左右甲橋	27	20.8	Yes				
432	H3:1362A	碎片	1.9	1.5					553
433	H3:1362B	碎片	2.3	1.2					434+529
434	H3:1362C	碎片	1.5	1.7					433+529
435	H3:1360	殘後甲、甲橋，缺甲尾	19.8	16.5	Yes				
436	H3:1360verso							verso	
437	H3:1364	完整	27.1	17	Yes	Black			
438	H3:1364verso							verso	
439	H3:1365	完整	29.7	18.1	Yes				
440	H3:1365verso							verso	
441	H3:1366	完整	29	17.7	Yes				

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
442	H3:1373	基本完整	29.7	17.5	Yes				
443	H3:1376	基本完整	31.6	18.1	Yes		Yes		
444	H3:1376verso							verso	
445	H3:1377	基本完整	28.5	18			Yes		
446	H3:1379	基本完整	30.3	18.9	Yes	Red			
447	H3:1383	缺右甲橋及右後甲外	25.8	14.5	Yes			verso	
448	H3:1385	後甲中部以下殘缺	21.3	21.3	Yes		Yes		
449	H3:1387	完整	29.5	20.5	Yes				
450	H3:1388	完整	27.5	20.6	Yes	Red			
451	H3:1390	基本完整	27.9	20.4	Yes	Red			
452	H3:1396	完整	19.4	14	Yes	Black			
453	H3:1397	完整	25.4	15.5	Yes	Red	Yes		
454	H3:1404	完整	21	14.2	Yes	Red			
455	H3:1405	基本完整	27.5	18.5	Yes	Black			
456	H3:1420	僅存甲首和前甲上部	9	10			Yes		
457	H3:1406	基本完整	16.6	11	Yes				

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
458	H3:1409	基本完整	22.5	16.2	Yes				
459	H3:1417	完整	30.2	22.5	Yes	Black			
460	H3:1425	基本完整	27.1	21			Yes		
461	H3:1430	基本完整	19.8	11	Yes		Yes		
462	H3:1433	完整	27.9	21.2				verso	
463	H3:1434	基本完整	28.4	21.5	Yes				
464	H3:1455	完整	30.8	22	Yes				
465	H3:1436	完整	32.2	19.3	Yes		Yes		
466	H3:1436verso							verso	
467	H3:1441	基本完整	20.2	12	Yes				
468	H3:1450	完整	20.5	11.5	Yes		Yes		
469	H3:1452 + 1461	基本完整	30	18.5			Yes		
470	H3:1453	後甲以下殘缺	18.7	18.5				verso	
471	H3:1454	完整	27.2	16.2	Yes		Yes		
472	H3:1455	基本完整	30	21.5	Yes		Yes		
473	H3:1458	基本完整	21	15.6	Yes				
474	H3:1463	完整	28.4	20.9	Yes	Black			



Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
475	H3:1467	完整	21.9	15	Yes	Black			
476	H3:1468	基本完整	27.5	20.5			Yes		
477A	H3:1469	基本完整	28.6	19.8	Yes		Yes		
477B	H3:1469verso								
478	H3:1470	完整	25.6	19.4	Yes	Red			
479	H3:1471	基本完整	21.5	16	Yes		Yes		
480	H3:1472	基本完整	28	20.5	Yes	Black			
481	H3:1476	基本完整	28	21.3	Yes	Red			
482	H3:1477	完整	30.7	17.3	Yes		Yes		
483	H3:1477verso								
484	H3:1479	缺甲尾，殘甲首與右甲橋	22	22	Yes				
485	H3:1481	基本完整	20	14.8	Yes				
486	H3:1485	基本完整	27.6	17.8			Yes		
487	H3:1488	基本完整	22	16.5	Yes	Red	Yes		
488	H3:1489	完整	26	16.5	Yes		Yes		
489	H3:1490	完整	25	13.3	Yes		Yes		

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
490	H3:1492	基本完整	29.6	21	Yes	Left side— Black Right side— Red	Yes		
491	H3:1493	完整	30	22	Yes	Red			
492	H3:1495	完整	21	13.2	Yes	Black			
493	H3:1496	完整	26.2	19.7	Yes	Red			
494	H3:1497	完整	21	17	Yes	Black			
495	H3:1499	基本完整	21.6	13.8	Yes	Black			
496	H3:1501	完整	30.5	19.6	Yes	Black			
497	H3:1501verso								
498	H3:1502	完整	21.8	15.4	Yes	Black			
499	H3:1505								
500	H3:								
501	H3:1510	後右甲、右甲尾稍殘	26.6	19.2	Yes	Red			
502	H3:1510	後右甲、右甲尾稍殘	26.6	19.2	Yes	Red			

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
503	H3:1514	碎片	4	3	Yes				
504	H3:1516	小碎片	2.6	1					
505	H3:1520+1524+1525+1527+1553+1572	六小片綴合而成，為右甲橋殘片	8	3					
506	H3:1526+1528	小碎片	2	2.4					
507	H3:1530+1535+1538+1592	四小片綴合而成（此片可能與5為一甲之折，但因缺片，未能綴合）	3.5	3.7					
508	H3:1532	小碎片	1.8	1.7					
509	H3:1533+1585	兩小片綴合而成	2.1	3.3					
510	H3:1534	小碎片	1.6	1					
511	H3:1541	小碎片	1.8	1.9					
512	H3:1544	小碎片	1.5	1.1					
513	H3:1545	小碎片	1.8	1					
514	H3:1550	小碎片	1.6	1.6		Red			
515	H3:1551	小碎片	3.2	1.3					
516	H3:1552+1556	兩小片綴合而成	8	3.2					

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
517	H3:1554+1555	兩小片綴合而成	2.9	0.6					275
518	H3:1558+1561	兩小片綴合而成	1.9	4		Black			
519	H3:1562	小碎片	3.7	1.7					
520	H3:1563	小碎片	2.4	2.4					
521	H3:1564	小碎片	1.2	1.5					531
522	H3:1566	小碎片	1.5	1.6					
523	H3:1567	小碎片	1.6	1.5					
524	H3:1568	小碎片	1.5	1.5					
525	H3:1569	小碎片 (該片與522 內容相近)	1.9	1.5					
526	H3:1570	小碎片	1.5	1.5					
527	H3:1571	小碎片	1	0.6					
528	H3:1573	小碎片	1.1	1.2					
529	H3:1576	小碎片	1.2	1.1					433+434
530	H3:1577	小碎片	0.9	1					
531	H3:1578	小碎片	1.4	1.2					521
532	H3:1580	小碎片	1.7	2.6					
533	H3:1581	小碎片	1	1					

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in Inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
534	H3:1582	小碎片	1.2	1.9					332
535	H3:1583	小碎片	1	0.9					
536	H3:1584	小碎片	0.8	1.1					
537	H3:1586	小碎片	1.8	1.4					
538	H3:1587	小碎片	1.6	1.1					
539	H3:1588	小碎片	1.6	1.7					
540	H3:1589	小碎片, 甲面碎裂	2	1.9					
541	H3:1595	小碎片	1.6	0.9					
542	H3:1598	小碎片	1.6	0.9					
543	H3:1600	小碎片	1.6	1.7					
544	H3:1603	小碎片, 腐蝕嚴重	1	0.9					
545	H3:1604	小碎片	1.1	1.7					
546	H3:1606	小碎片	1.5	1.3					
547	H3:1609	小碎片	0.6	1.1					
548	H3:1611	小碎片	1.4	0.7					395
549	H3:1616	小碎片, 甲面碎裂	1.3	3.5					
550	H3:1619	小碎片	2.4	1.9					

Catalog No.	Excavation No.	State of Preservation (In Chinese)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Divination crack inscribed (Yes)	Color Used to Fill in inscription (Black/Red)	Erasures (Yes)	Material (unstated implies turtle plastron recto)	Rejoin with
551	H3:1620	小碎片	0.7	1.5					
552	H3:1623	小碎片	1.5	1.5					
553	H3:1625	小碎片, 腐蚀严重	1.8	1.8					
554	H3:1627	小碎片	1.5	1.5					
555	H3:1628	小碎片	1.7	0.9					
556	H3:1630	小碎片	2	2.1					
557	H3:1631	小碎片	2	2.2					
558	H3:1635	小碎片	1.6	1.5					
559	H3:1637	小碎片	1.7	3					
560	H3:1639	小碎片	1.7	1.5		Black			
561	H3:1640	小碎片	1.1	1.4					428

## Appendix II: Parallel content, related content, sets, and synchronies

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
2	<p>▲ 2、7、37、149、467 Shooting with bow and arrow at Lu 𤄎, Ning 寧, and Yong 雝, days Wuzi (25/60) through Guihai (60/60).</p> <p>▲ 2、152 Zi Jin 子金; test divinations made by You 友.</p>
3	<p>▲ 3、53、181、409 Zi hunting; and resting with Ding. Whether or not Ding will not continue to be upset with Zi; dates: Ren(shen) (9/60) until day Yi(hai) (12/60) of following week. (Dates reconstructed based upon ▲ 35、3、395+548.)</p> <p>▲ 3、75、181、183、268、409、446、463 Zi issuing a command. (Charge statement only records <i>Zi ling</i> 子令.)</p> <p>▲ 35、3、395+548 Hunting after the call to eat on day Renshen (9/60), from the “old location 昔所”, and on day Guiyou (10/60), from Ge 葛.</p> <p>▲ 3、181、273、409 Zi Guo’s 贓 injury, when he will heal, and whether or not to perform exorcism for him to select ancestors: Ancestress Geng, Ancestress Ji together with Ancestress Ding, or Child Gui. (All of the divinations in this microset are dated 1/10 and not 1/60.) See ▲ 181、273.</p>
4	<p>▲ 4、170、214、355 Ancestor worship and sacrifice that mention <i>zi xi ji</i> 自西祭 “sacrificial items originating from the west”.</p>
5	<p>▲ 5、220 Dispatch to Lady Hao.</p>
6	<p>▲ 6、333、342、481、Heji 21853 (Heji 21123) + Jingjin 京津 2993 Zi contributing top-quality sickles.</p> <p>▲ 6、350 Sacrificing and carving black bull for seasonal <i>Yi</i> 翌 rite to Ancestor Yi, on Yisi (42/60).</p>
7	<p>▲ 7、162、411 Sacrificing to “Two Ancestors 二祖” (Ancestors Jia and Yi).</p> <p>▲ 7、37、196、291、354、463、428+561、490 Sacrificing to Ancestors Jia, Yi, and Ancestress Geng at Lu 𤄎; with sacrificial animals entered from there.</p> <p>▲ 2、7、37、149、467</p>

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	Shooting with bow and arrow at Lu 鹿 Ning 濟, and Yong 雉, days Wuzi (25/60) through Guihai (60/60). ▲ 7、81、168、352、367 Trading and inspecting horses.
9	▲9、234 Evening of Bingyin (3/60) ritual event, including viand offerings and Zi having words in the ancestral temple. ▲50、378、381、(9) Zi hunting from Wei 圭.
11	▲11、473 Ji Nai 疾乃 travelling.
13	▲13、264 Sacrificing ewes to Ancestor Yi at Fu* 𠄎 on day Yisi (42/60), with Zi praying.
14	▲14、352 Hunting Qin's 阡 southern hills for pigs.
16	▲16、53 Zi going to Yong 雉 to kill a sacrifice.
21	▲21、459 Making protection rite and libation for Zi going to hunt to the Lesser Altars; divinations dated Dingchou (14/60) and Wuyin (15/60). ▲21、29、296 Sacrificing white wild boars and offering grain to Ancestor Yi, on day Yisi (42/60).
26	▲26、198、420 Zi setting out viand trays, and providing viands for Ding and Lady Hao's upcoming visit; divinations dated week of Jiashen (21/60). ▲ 26、314 Reporting a dream to Ancestress Geng with sacrificial offerings; week of Jiaxu (11/60).
27	▲27、32、320 Making exorcism and sacrificial offerings to Ancestress Geng, including registering 105 head of cattle; divinations made at Lai.
28	▲28、284 Certain people making an exorcism for the main character's tooth. ▲ 113、28、39、53、149、181、409、550 Zi Xing's illness, and exorcism rites for him; see ▲352、247、255、55. ▲28、36 Ding hunting.
29	▲29、60、81、289 Horse exorcism; divinations on days Yichou (2/60) to Dingmao (4/60).



Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	<p>▲29、149 Zi offering jade tablets to Lady Hao; divinations in the week of Jiawu (31/60). (Made the week before divinations about Ding's arrival and gift giving; see ▲34、420、475、454.)</p> <p>▲21、29、296 Sacrificing white wild boars and offering grain to Ancestor Yi on day Yisi (42/60).</p>
32	<p>▲27、32、320 Making exorcism and sacrificial offerings to Ancestress Geng, including registering 105 head of cattle; divinations made at Lai.</p>
34	<p>▲34、169、335、420 Preparations for Yi-day rite to Da Jia 大甲; on Jiachen (41/60) and Yisi (42/60).</p> <p>▲34、420、454、475 Ding's arrival and preparations for it.</p>
35	<p>▲35、3、395+548 Hunting after the call to eat on day Renshen (9/60), from the "old location 昔所", and on day Guiyou (10/60), from Ge 葛.</p> <p>▲295、35、234、395+548 Hunting deer; weeks Jiayin (51/60) and Jiazi (1/60).</p>
36	<p>▲36、28 Ding hunting.</p>
37	<p>▲37、63、195 Zi leading Lady Hao into Rong.</p> <p>▲2、7、37、149、467 Shooting with bow and arrow at Lu 鹿, Ning 寧, and Yong 雝, days Wuzi (25/60) through Guihai (60/60).</p> <p>▲37、198、288 Dispensing jades to Ding; divinations dated Guisi (30/60) and Jiawu (31/60).</p> <p>▲37、63、459、195 (Divinations on Guichou (50/60) about) sacrificing feed cows to Ancestor Jia; (divinations on Yimao (52/60) about) using pigs and aromatic ale to sacrifice to Ancestor Yi.</p> <p>▲37、178、475、196 The prince pouring out ale and dispensing jades to Ding.</p> <p>▲7、37、196、291、354、463、428+561、490 Sacrificing to Ancestors Jia, Yi, and Ancestress Geng at Lu 鹿; with sacrificial animals entered from there.</p>
39	<p>▲39、53、501、275+517、450 Zi's ear ringing.</p>

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	<p>▲ 113、28、39、53、149、181、409、550 Zi Xing's illness, and exorcism rites for him; see ▲352、247、255、55.</p> <p>▲ 39、130 Hu 吳/效 (one person's name spelled in two different ways); related to a musical performance; divinations dated Jimao (16/20) and day Wu (5/10) (&gt; Wuyin 15/60?). See ▲130、372.</p>
49	<p>▲49、220 Cutting apart a sacrificial cow's cranium, on Dingchou (14/60); related to rites for Ancestor Ding.</p>
50	<p>▲50、288 Zi hunting for deer and pigs, on day Yiwei (32/60).</p> <p>▲50、378、381、(9) Zi hunting from Wei 隗.</p>
53	<p>▲ 39、53、501、275+517、450 Zi's ear ringing.</p> <p>▲16、53 Zi going to Yong 雥 to kill sacrifice, on a Bing day.</p> <p>▲ 53、181、488 Exorcism rites for the Many Servitors 多臣.</p> <p>▲ 113、28、39、53、149、181、255、409、550 Zi Xing's illness, and exorcism rites for him.</p> <p>▲3、53、181、409 Zi hunting; and resting with Ding. Whether or not Ding will not continue to be upset with Zi; dates: Ren(shen) (9/60) until day Yi(hai) (12/60) of following week. (Dates reconstructed based upon ▲35、3、395+548.)</p> <p>▲53、87、247 Zi lining up and also lining up female dancers for music and dance performances; performance on Gengshen (57/60). Forms a series with ▲150、336、487 and ▲86、150、382.</p>
55	<p>▲352、247、255、55 Sacrificing to Ancestress Geng, and whether or not Zi will go to the Wan 溝 River to make exorcism (for Xing 興); see ▲ 113、28、39、53、149、181、409、550.</p> <p>▲ 55、247 Zi Jin; divination on day Dinghai (24/60).</p>
60	<p>▲29、60、81、289 Horse exorcism; divinations on Yichou (2/60) to Dingmao (4/60).</p> <p>▲126、431、60、81 The horse on the right.</p>
63	<p>▲ 37、63、195 Zi leading Lady Hao into Rong.</p>

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	▲37、63、459、195 (Divinations on Guichou (50/60) about) sacrificing feed cows to Ancestor Jia; (divinations on Yimao (52/60) about) using pigs and aromatic ale to sacrifice to Ancestor Yi.
	▲475、63 Calling upon Fa to present items to Ding and Lady Hao.
67	▲67、161、220、252、319、392、481、合集 22172+合集 22351 Sacrificing cattle to Ancestor Yi, between days Yichou (2/60) and Dingchou (14/60).
75	▲3、75、181、183、268、409、446、463 Zi issuing a command. (Charge statement only records <i>Zi ling</i> 子令.)
76	▲478、76、299 Da's sickness.
81	▲81、195、248、490、(496) Bringing offerings into Rong's Eastern Guesthouse for Ancestress Geng's altar/spirit tablet.
	▲7、81、168、352、367 Trading and inspecting horses.
	▲29、60、81、289 Horse exorcism; divinations on Yichou (2/60) to Dingmao (4/60).
	▲126、431、60、81 The horse on the right.
84	▲84、137、458 Newly entered Qiang and Ji Nai's handling of them.
86	▲86、150、382 Continuing to perform "Shang 商" music and dance; divinations on Bingchen (53/60). See ▲87、247 and ▲150、336、487.
87	▲87、247、(53) Zi lining up and also lining up female dancers for music and dance performances; performance on Gengshen (57/60). Forms a series with ▲150、336、487 and ▲86、150、382.
88	▲455、88 Sacrificing and making offerings to Ancestress Jia, at Youjing 柚京; divinations on Jiazi (1/60).
	▲88、102 Zi having fear in his heart; divinations on Yi(chou) (2/60).
92	▲92、453 Calling upon servitors to present sanctified meat to Ding.
102	▲88、102 Zi having fear in his heart; divinations on day Yi(chou) (2/60).

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
110	▲110、118 Whether or not Yin 引 will die.
112	▲112、266、277; see ▲144、159、264、290、455 Departure and arrival in three to five weeks. ▲112、266、277、159、290 Departure to the south and the expected date of arrival.
113	▲113、28、39、53、149、181、409、550 Zi Xing's illness, and exorcism rites for him; see ▲352、247、255、55.
118	▲110、118 Whether or not Yin will die.
123+Jiyi 輯佚 561	▲123+Jiyi 輯佚 561、175、433+434+529、437、521+531 Sacrificing to Ancestress Geng, on Xinyou (58/60). ▲288、124、113 Zi contributing bows.
124	▲124、165 Zi's dream reaching to the point of affliction. ▲124、178、490 Zi presenting thick jade circlets to Ding.
126	▲126、431、60、81 The horse on the right.
130	▲130、372 Zi using zither players; Zi joined in. ▲39、130 Hu 吳/敷 (one person's name spelled in two different ways); related to a musical performance; divinations dated Jimao (16/20) and day Wu (5/10) (> Wuyin 15/60?). See ▲130、372.
132	▲163 + 506、132、395 + 548 The prince's toothache and possible exorcism.
137	▲84、137、458 Newly entered Qiang and Ji Nai's handling of them.
144	▲144、159、264、290、455 Military action in the south.
146	▲179、146、386 Requesting to trade for piebald horses. ▲179、467、146、386 Who to call to request horses.
149	▲2、7、37、149、467 Shooting with bow and arrow at Lu 鹿, Ning 寧, and Yong 雝, days Wuzi (25/60) through Guihai (60/60). ▲29、149

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	Zi offering jade tablets to Lady Hao; divinations in the week of Jiawu (31/60). (Week before divinations about Ding's arrival and gifting him jades; see ▲420、34、475、454.) ▲149、247、220 Zi reporting mouth illness to Ancestress Geng; whether or not to exorcise Zi's mouth illness. ▲170、149、4 Sacrificing white boar or white sow + ale + sacrificial items from the west on days Jiayin (51/60) and Yimao (52/60) to Ancestors Jia and Yi, at Ru 入. ▲113、28、39、53、149、181、409、550 Zi Xing's illness, and exorcism rites for him; see ▲352、247、255、55.
150	▲86、150、382 Continuing to perform "Shang 商" music and dance; divinations on Bingchen (53/60). See ▲87、247 and ▲150、336、487. ▲150、336、487 Whether or not Ding will be happy with Zi practicing "Shang 商", on Yimao (52/60). See ▲87、247 and ▲86、150、382.
152	▲2、152 Zi Jin 子金; test divinations made by You 友.
154	▲337、154、366 Whether Ding would exit to hunt in the tenth month.
157	▲294、157 Zi reporting to Ding that Rong is under control.
159	▲144、159、264、290、455 Military action in the south. ▲159、290、112、266、277 Divinations about a departure to the south and the expected date of arrival.
161	▲67、161、220、252、319、392、481、合集 22172+合集 22351 Sacrificing cattle to Ancestor Yi, between days Yichou (2/60) and Dingchou (14/60).
162	▲186、162 Divinations about exorcism for Dian 奠; whether or not he will die. ▲7、162、411 Sacrificing to "Two Ancestors 二祖" (Ancestors Jia and Yi).
163 + 506	▲163 + 506、132、395 + 548 The prince's toothache and possible exorcism.
165	▲124、165 Zi's dream reaching to the point of affliction.
168	▲7、81、168、352、367 Trading and inspecting horses.

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
169	▲34、169、335、420 Preparations for Yi-day rite to Da Jia 大甲; on Jiachen (41/60) and Yisi (42/60).
170	▲4、170、214、355 Ancestor worship and sacrifice that mention <i>zi xi ji</i> 自西祭“sacrificial items originating from the west”.
175	▲123+Jiyi 輯佚 561、175、433+434+529、437、521+531 Sacrificing to Ancestress Geng on Xinyou (58/60).
178	▲355、196、178 Zi calling the Many Commanders to contribute jades to Ding, and Zi offering drinks to the Many Commanders; divinations made during week Jiachen (41/60). ▲178、376 Providing viands from one head of pen-raised cattle to Ancestress Geng, on Gengwu (7/60).
179	▲179、467、146、386 Who to call upon to request horses. ▲179、146、386 Requesting to trade for piebald horses. ▲179、290 Whether or not a situation would reach the point of affliction. (Phrased in the affirmative.) Divinations on Wuxu (35/60) and Jihai (36/60). ▲179、338 Sacrificing mountain rams paired with wild boars for Ancestor Jia, on Jiachen (41/60).
181	▲3、53、181、409 Zi hunting; and resting with Ding. Whether or not Ding will not continue to be upset with Zi; dates: Ren(shen) (9/60) until day Yi(hai) (12/60) of following week. (Dates reconstructed based upon ▲35、3、395+548.) ▲3、75、181、183、268、409、446、463 Zi issuing a command. (Charge statement only records <i>Zi ling</i> 子令.) ▲305、293、474、183、181、416 Ding watching Zi dance. ▲113、28、39、53、149、181、409、550 Zi Xing's illness, and exorcism rites for him; see ▲352、247、255、55. ▲53、181、488 Exorcism rites for the Many Servitors. ▲3、181、273、409 Zi Guo's 馘 injury, when he will heal, and whether or not to perform exorcism for him to select ancestors: Ancestress Geng, Ancestress Ji together

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	with Ancestress Ding, or Child Gui. (All of the divinations in this microset are dated 1/10 and not 1/60.) See ▲ 181、273. ▲ 181、273 Exorcism rite for Zi Guo to Ancestress Ji and Ancestress Ding.
183	▲ 3、181、183、409 Zi hunting; and resting with Ding. Whether or not Ding will not continue to be upset with Zi; dates: Ren(shen) (9/60) until day Yi(hai) (12/60) of following week. (Dates reconstructed based upon ▲ 35、3、395+548.) ▲ 3、75、181、183、268、409、446、463 Zi issuing a command. (Charge statement only records <i>Zi ling</i> 子令.) ▲ 305、293、474、183、181、416 Ding watching Zi dance.
186	▲ 186、162 Divinations about exorcism for Dian 奠; whether or not he will die.
187	▲ 187、240、(241) Zi's stomach sickness.
195	▲ 81、195、248、490、(496) Bringing offerings into Rong's Eastern Guesthouse for Ancestress Geng's altar/spirit tablet. ▲ 37、63、195 Zi leading Lady Hao into Rong. ▲ 37、63、459、195 (Divinations on Guichou (50/60) about) sacrificing feed cows to Ancestor Jia; (divinations on Yimao (52/60) about) using pigs and aromatic ale to sacrifice to Ancestor Yi.
196	▲ 7、37、196、291、354、463、428+561、490 Sacrificing to Ancestors Jia, Yi, and Ancestress Geng at Lu 廬; with sacrificial animals entered from there. ▲ 355、196、178 Zi calling the Many Commanders to contribute jades to Ding, and Zi offering drinks to the Many Commanders; divinations made during the week Jiachen (41/60).
197	▲ 197、492 Zi meeting Zhang 璋 at Lady Hao's and performing an exorcism ritual over him.
198	▲ 37、198、288 Dispensing jades to Ding; divinations dated Guisi (30/60) and Jiawu (31/60). ▲ 26、198、420 Zi setting out viand trays, and about providing viands for Ding and Lady Hao's upcoming visit; divinations made during the week Jiashen (21/60).

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
205	▲ 349、441、205 Family members and others because of Zi's ghost dream; test divinations.
209	▲336、209 Making announcement about Zi Bi and whether or not to perform exorcism/protection rite for him; divinations and rites made week of Jiayin (51/60). Related to upcoming music and dance performance; see ▲ 86、150、382, ▲87、247 and ▲ 150、336、487.
214	▲214、226、427 Exorcism for Wei's 微 eyes. ▲4、170、214、355 Ancestor worship and sacrifice that mention <i>zi xi ji</i> 自西祭“sacrificial items originating from the west”.
218	▲218、379 Requesting millet from Lady Hao; divinations on Bingchen (53/60).
220	▲149、247、220 Zi reporting mouth illness to Ancestress Geng; whether or not to exorcise Zi's mouth illness. ▲67、161、220、252、319、392、481、合集 22172+合集 22351 Sacrificing cattle to Ancestor Yi, between Yichou (2/60) and Dingchou (14/60). ▲49、220 Cutting apart a sacrificial cow's cranium, on Dingchou (14/60); related to rites for Ancestor Ding. ▲220、372 Calling Wei 微 to cook; divinations on Yiyou (22/60). ▲5、220 Dispatch to Lady Hao.
223	▲223、229 Zi contributing earthen-colored cowries to Ding.
226	▲226、214、427 Exorcism for Wei's 微 eyes. ▲237、226 Seasonal <i>Rong</i> 彤-rite for Ancestor Ding, on Dingsi (54/60). ▲ 226、255 Sacrificial offerings to Ancestor Yi, and including the sentence <i>yue you fa</i> 曰有伐“Say ‘There will be a beheading’”. ▲275+517、449、427、226、490 Seasonal <i>Rong</i> 彤-rites for Ancestor Yi and Ancestress Geng, on Yihai (12/60) and Gengchen (17/60).
228	▲ 228、299 Prime cattle.



Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
229	▲223、229 Zi contributing earthen-colored cowries to Ding.
234	▲295、35、234、395+548 Hunting deer; weeks Jiayin (51/60) and Jiazi (1/60). ▲9、234 Evening of Bingyin (3/60) ritual event, including viand offerings and Zi having words in the ancestral temple.
237	▲247、449、237、275+517 The Shao territory; divinations made during the week Jiazi (1/60). ▲237、226 Seasonal <i>Rong</i> 彤-rite for Ancestor Ding, on Dingsi (54/60). ▲237、459 Using boars and aromatic ale to sacrifice to Ancestor Jia, on Jiazi (1/60).
240	▲187、240、(241) Zi's stomach sickness.
241	▲187、240、241 Whether Zi will have stomach sickness.
243	▲243、310 Ale libation and beheading (one victim) to Ancestor Yi; exorcism for the prince's shoulder ailment. Dates: Jiayu evening (11/60) and Yihai (12/60).
247	▲247、449、237、275+517 The Shao territory; divinations made during the week Jiazi (1/60). ▲87、247、(53) Zi lining up and also lining up female dancers for music and dance performances; performance on Gengshen (57/60). Forms a series with ▲150、336、487 and ▲86、150、382. ▲149、247、220 Zi reporting mouth illness to Ancestress Geng; whether or not to exorcise Zi's mouth illness. ▲352、247、255、55 Sacrificing to Ancestress Geng and whether or not Zi will go to the Wan 溝 River to make exorcism (for Xing 興); see ▲113、28、39、53、149、181、409、550. ▲55、247 Zi Jin; divination on Dinghai (24/60).
248	▲475、420、(446)、248、294、454 Zi inviting Ding to come on Bingchen (53/60); divinations started on Xinhai (48/60) and continued until Yimao (52/60). Associated with "building Ding's school in Rong 作丁序于戎" (294); see ▲294、157. ▲81、195、248、490、(496)

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	Bringing offerings into Rong's Eastern Guesthouse for Ancestress Geng's altar/spirit tablet. ▲248、459 Zi libating with new aromatic ale to Ancestor Jia; divinations on Guichou (50/60) for ritual on Jiayin (51/60).
252	▲67、161、220、252、319、392、481、合集 22172+合集 22351 Sacrificing cattle to Ancestor Yi, between days Yichou (2/60) and Dingchou (14/60).
253	▲253、288 Sacrificing one ewe to Child Gui, on Guisi (30/60).
255	▲275+517、255 Calling upon the Many Traders to present Ding with gifts/contributions; divination on Yihai (12/60). ▲352、247、255、55 Sacrificing to Ancestress Geng and whether or not Zi will go to the Wan 溝 River to make an exorcism (for Xing 興); see ▲113、28、39、53、149、181、255、409、550. ▲255、290 Calling upon Wei 微 to banquet on days Yihai (12/60; not used) and Yiwei (32/60; used). ▲226、255 Sacrificial offerings to Ancestor Yi, and including the sentence <i>yue you fa</i> 曰有伐 “Say ‘There will be a beheading’”.
257	▲257、410 Ding giving Zi servitors.
258	▲451、258 Sacrificing one sow to Ancestress Geng, on Gengchen (17/60).
264	▲13、264 Sacrificing ewes to Ancestor Yi at Fu* 𠄎 on day Yisi (42/60), with Zi praying. ▲144、159、264、290、455 Military action in the south.
266	▲112、266、277; see ▲144、159、264、290、455. Departure and arrival. ▲112、266、277、159、290 Departure to the south and the expected date of arrival.
268	▲3、75、181、183、268、409、446、463 Zi issuing a command. (Charge statement only records <i>Zi ling</i> 子令.)
273	▲3、181、273、409 Zi Guo's 臧 injury, when he will heal, and whether or not to perform exorcism for him to select ancestors: Ancestress Geng, Ancestress Ji together

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	with Ancestress Ding, or Child Gui. (All of the divinations in this microset are dated 1/10 and not 1/60.) See ▲ 181、273. ▲ 181、273 Exorcism rite for Zi Guo to Ancestress Ji and Ancestress Ding.
275+517	▲ 39、53、501、275+517、450 Zi's ear ringing. ▲ 275+517、449、427、226、490 Seasonal <i>Rong</i> 彤 rites for Ancestor Yi and Ancestress Geng; on Yihai (12/60) and Gengchen (17/60). ▲ 247、449、237、275+517 The Shao territory; divinations made during the week starting Jiazi 1/60. ▲ 275+517、255 Calling the Many Traders to present Ding with gifts/contributions; divinations on Yihai (12/60).
276	▲ 276、401 Sacrificing ten head of cattle to Ancestress Geng; divinations made in the evening of day Yi (2/10).
277	▲ 112、266、277 ; see ▲ 144、159、264、290、455. Departure and arrival. ▲ 112、266、277、159、290 Departure to the south and the expected date of arrival.
279	▲ 279、349、352 Zi having a ghost dream.
284	▲ 28、284 Certain people making an exorcism for the main character's tooth.
286	▲ 286、384 Zi having various types of requests; divinations on Ren (9/10). ▲ 494、286 Zi reporting to Ding that the men are not unhappy.
288	▲ 480、288 Gift presentation to Lady Hao; divinations on Jiaxu (11/60) and Yiyou (22/60). ▲ 37、198、288 Dispensing jades to Ding; divinations dated Guisi (30/60) and Jiawu (31/60). ▲ 253、288 Sacrificing one ewe to Child Gui, on Guisi (30/60). ▲ 124、288 Contributing bows. ▲ 288、493

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	Calling upon Zi Hua to request horses; divinations on Wuzi (25/60). ▲50、288
	Hunting for deer and pigs; divinations on Yiwei (32/60).
289	▲29、60、81、289 Horse exorcism; divinations on Yichou (2/60) to Dingmao (4/60).
290	▲255、290 Calling Wei 微 to banquet, on Yihai (12/60; not used) and Yiwei (32/60; used). ▲290、493 Divinations on day Renchen (29/30) about an ale libation 裸; the prince has a dream about it. ▲290、179 Whether or not a situation would reach the point of affliction. (Phrased in the affirmative.) Divinations on Wuxu (35/60) and Jihai (36/60). ▲144、159、264、290、455 (▲112、266、277) Military expedition in the south. ▲7、37、196、291、354、463、428+561、490 Sacrificing to Ancestors Jia, Yi, and Ancestress Geng at Lu 鹿; with sacrificial animals entered from there.
293	▲305、293、474、183、181、416 Ding watching Zi dance.
294	▲475、420、446、248、294、454 Zi inviting Ding to come on Bingchen (53/60); divinations started on Xinhai (48/60) and continued until Yimao (52/60). Associated with “building Ding’s school in Rong 作丁序于戎” (294); see ▲294、157. ▲294、157 Zi reporting to Ding that Rong is under control.
295	▲295、35、234、395+548 Hunting deer; weeks Jiayin (51/60) and Jiazi (1/60).
296	▲21、296、29 Sacrificing white wild boars and offering grain to Ancestor Yi, on day Yisi (42/60).
299	▲478、76、299 Da’s sickness. ▲228、299 Prime cattle.
300	▲375、455、300 You You having a gathering (of men); divinations on Yichou (2/60) and Bingyin (3/60), at Youjing 柚京.
304	▲304、446

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	Zi's head illness (headache).
305	▲305、293、474、183、181、416 Ding watching Zi dance.
310	▲243、310 Ale libation and beheading (one victim) to Ancestor Yi; exorcism for the prince's shoulder ailment. Dates: Jiaxu evening (11/60) and Yihai (12/60).
312	▲312、363、480 Hunting and sacrificial activities at Tang 唐 on days Wuwu (55/60) and Xinyou (58/60). Return of the hunt from Tang, at Fu*; preparations for the arrival of Ding and Lady Hao to Fu* on Dingchou (14/60).
313	▲313、324 Performing a requital sacrifice with Mang's 亡 pigs; divination on Jihai (36/60).
314	▲314、391 Which of the trader-inspected horses should be paired together; divinations on Yihai (12/60) and Gengchen (17/60). ▲26、314 Reporting a dream to Ancestress Geng with sacrificial offerings; week of Jiaxu (11/60).
316	▲316、355 Sacrificing a dog to Ancestor Wu, on Wushen (45/60).
319	▲67、161、220、252、319、392、481、合集 22172+合集 22351 Sacrificing cattle to Ancestor Yi, between days Yichou (2/60) and Dingchou (14/60).
320	▲27、32、320 Making exorcism and sacrificial offerings to Ancestress Geng, including the registering of 105 head of cattle; divinations made at Lai.
324	▲313、324 Performing a requital sacrifice with Mang's 亡 pigs; divinations on Jihai (36/60).
333	▲6、333、342、481、Heji 21853 (Heji 21123) + Jingjin 京津 2993 Zi contributing top quality sickles.
335	▲34、169、335、420 Preparations for Yi-day rite to Da Jia 大甲; on Jiachen (41/60) and Yisi (42/60).
336	▲150、336、487 Whether or not Ding will be happy with Zi practicing "Shang 商", on Yimao (52/60). See ▲87、247 and ▲86、150、382. ▲336、209 Making announcement about Zi Bi and whether or not to perform exorcism/protection rite for him; divinations and rites made week of Jiayin

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	(51/60). Related to upcoming music and dance performance; see ▲ 86、150、382、▲87、247 and ▲ 150、336、487.
337	▲337、154、366 Whether Ding would exit to hunt in the tenth month.
338	▲179、338 Sacrificing mountain rams paired with wild boars for Ancestor Jia, on day Jiachen (41/60).
342	▲ 6、333、342、481、Heji 21853 (Heji 21123) + Jinglin 京津 2993 Zi contributing top quality sickles.
349	▲279、349、352 Zi having a ghost dream. ▲ 349、441、205 Family members and others because of Zi's ghost dream (test divinations).
350	▲6、350 Sacrificing and carving black bulls for Ancestor Yi's Yi-day rite, on Yisi (42/60).
352	▲ 7、81、168、352、367 Trading and inspecting horses. ▲352、247、255、55 Sacrificing to Ancestress Geng and whether or not Zi will go to the Wan 滿 River to make an exorcism (for Xing 興); see ▲ 113、28、39、53、149、181、255、409、550. ▲279、349、352 Zi having a ghost dream. ▲14、352 Hunting Qin's 隄 southern hills for pigs.
354	▲7、37、196、291、354、463、428+561、490 Sacrificing to Ancestors Jia, Yi, and Ancestress Geng at Lu 隄 with sacrificial animals entered from there.
355	▲355、196、178 Divinations in week of Jiachen about Zi calling the Many Commanders to contribute jades to Ding, and about Zi providing drinks to the Many Commanders. ▲316、355 Sacrificing a dog to Ancestor Wu, on Wushen (45/60). ▲4、170、214、355 Ancestor worship and sacrifice that mention <i>zi xi ji</i> 自西祭“sacrificial items originating from the west”.
363	▲312、363、480

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
366	Hunting and sacrificial activities at Tang 唐 on days Wuwu (55/60) and Xinyou (58/60). Return of the hunt from Tang, at Fu*; preparations for the arrival of Ding and Lady Hao to Fu* on Dingchou (14/60). ▲337、154、366 Whether Ding would exit to hunt in the tenth month.
367	▲7、81、168、352、367 Trading and inspecting horses.
372	▲372、391 Zi cutting and making jade tablets and whether or not to report it to Ding; divinations on Jiawu (31/60). ▲220、372 Calling Wei 微 to cook; divinations on Yiyou (22/60). ▲130、372 Zi using zither players; Zi joined in.
375	▲375、455、300 You You having a gathering (of men); divinations on Yichou (2/60) and Bingyin (3/60), at Youjing 柚京.
376	▲178、376 Providing viands from one head of pen-raised cattle to Ancestress Geng, on Gengwu (7/60).
378	▲50、378、381、(9) Zi hunting from Wei 隼.
379	▲218、379 Requesting millet from Lady Hao; divinations on day Bingchen (53/60).
381	▲50、378、381、(9) Zi hunting from Wei 隼.
382	▲86、150、382 Continuing to perform “Shang 商” music and dance; divinations on Bingchen (53/60). See ▲87、247 and ▲150、336、487.
384	▲286、384 Zi having various types of requests; divinations on Ren (9/10).
386	▲179、146、386 Requesting to trade for piebald horses.
391	▲372、391 Zi cutting and making jade tablets and whether or not to report it to Ding; divinations on Jiawu (31/60). ▲314、391 Which of the trader-inspected horses should be paired together; divinations on days Yihai (12/60) and Gengchen (17/60).
392	▲67、161、220、252、319、392、481、合集 22172+合集 22351

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	Sacrificing cattle to Ancestor Yi, between days Yichou (2/60) and Dingchou (14/60).
395+548	▲35、3、395+548 Hunting after the call to eat on day Renshen (9/60), from the “old location 昔所”, and on day Guiyou (10/60), from Ge 葛. ▲295、35、234、395+548 Hunting deer; weeks Jiayin (51/60) and Jiazi (1/60). ▲163+506、132、395+548 The prince’s toothache and possible exorcism.
401	▲276、401 Sacrificing ten head of cattle to Ancestress Geng; divination in the evening of day Yi (2/10).
409	▲3、53、181、409 Zi hunting; and resting with Ding. Whether or not Ding will not continue to be upset with Zi; dates: Ren(shen) (9/60) until day Yi(hai) (12/60) of following week. (Dates reconstructed based upon ▲35、3、395+548.) ▲3、75、181、183、268、409、446、463 Zi issuing a command. (Charge statement only records <i>Zi ling</i> 子令.) ▲28、39、53、113、149、181、409、550 Zi Xing’s illness, and exorcism rites for him; see ▲352、247、255、55.
410	▲257、410 Ding giving Zi servitors.
411	▲7、162、411 Sacrificing to “Two Ancestors 二祖” (Ancestors Jia and Yi).
416	▲305、293、474、183、181、416 Ding watching Zi dance.
420	▲26、198、420 Zi setting out viand trays, and about providing viands for Ding and Lady Hao’s upcoming visit; divinations dated week of Jiashen (21/60). ▲34、420、454、475 Ding’s arrival and preparations for it. ▲34、169、335、420 Preparations for Yi-day rite to Da Jia 大甲; on Jiachen (41/60) and Yisi (42/60). ▲475、420、(446)、248、294、454 Zi inviting Ding to come on Bingchen (53/60); divinations started on Xinhai (48/60) and continued until Yimao (52/60). Associated with “building Ding’s school in Rong 作丁序于戎” (294); see ▲294、157.
427	▲226、214、427 Exorcism rite for Wei’s 微 eye(s).



Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	▲275+517、449、427、226、490 Seasonal <i>Rong</i> 彤 rites for Ancestor Yi and Ancestress Geng, on days Yihai (12/60) and Gengchen (17/60).
428+561	▲7、37、196、291、354、463、428+561、490 Sacrificing to Ancestors Jia, Yi, and Ancestress Geng at Lu 雩; with sacrificial animals entered from there.
441	▲349、441、205 Family members and others because of Zi's ghost dream (test divinations).
446	▲475、420、446、248、294、454 Zi inviting Ding to come on Bingchen (53/60); divinations started on Xinhai (48/60) and continued until Yimao (52/60). Associated with "building Ding's school in Rong 作丁序于戎" (294); see ▲294、157. ▲304、446 Zi's head illness (headaches).
449	▲3、75、181、183、268、409、446、463 Zi issuing a command. (Charge statement only records <i>Zi ling</i> 子令.) ▲275+517、449、427、226、490 Seasonal <i>Rong</i> 彤 rites for Ancestor Yi and Ancestress Geng on Yihai (12/60) and Gengchen (17/60). ▲247、449、237、275+517 The Shao territory; divinations made during the week Jiazi 1/60.
450	▲39、53、501、275+517、450 Zi's ear ringing.
451	▲451、258 Sacrificing one sow to Ancestress Geng, on Gengchen (17/60).
453	▲92、453 Calling upon servitors to present sanctified meat to Ding.
454	▲475、420、446、248、294、454 Zi inviting Ding to come on Bingchen (53/60); divinations started on Xinhai (48/60) and continued until Yimao (52/60). Associated with "building Ding's school in Rong 作丁序于戎" (294); see ▲294、157. ▲34、420、454、475 Ding's arrival and preparations for it.
455	▲375、455、300 You You having a gathering (of men); divinations on Yichou (2/60) and Bingyin (3/60), at Youjing 柚京. ▲455、88 Sacrificing and making offerings to Ancestress Jia, at Youjing 柚京; divinations on Jiazi (1/60). ▲144、159、264、290、455 Military action in the south.

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
458	▲84、137、458 Newly entered Qiang and Ji Nai's handling of them.
459	▲248、459 Zi libating with new aromatic ale to Ancestor Jia; divinations on Guichou (50/60) for ritual on Jiayin (51/60). ▲37、63、459、195 (Divinations on Guichou (50/60) about) sacrificing feed cows to Ancestor Jia; (divinations on Yimao (52/60) about) using pigs and aromatic ale to sacrifice to Ancestor Yi. ▲237、459 Using boars and aromatic ale to sacrifice to Ancestor Jia, on Jiazi (1/60). ▲21、459 Making protection rite and libation for Zi going to hunt to the Lesser Altars; divinations dated Dingchou (14/60) and Wuyin (15/60).
463	▲7、37、196、291、354、463、428+561、490 Sacrificing to Ancestors Jia, Yi, and Ancestress Geng at Lu 魯 with sacrificial animals entered from there. ▲3、75、181、183、268、409、446、463 Zi issuing a command. (Charge statement only records <i>Zi ling</i> 子令.)
467	▲2、7、37、149、467 Shooting with bow and arrow at Lu 魯, Ning 寧, and Yong 雝, days Wuzi (25/60) through Guihai (60/60). ▲179、467、146、386 Requests to trade for grain and horses.
473	▲11、473 Ji Nai travelling.
474	▲305、293、474、183、181、416 Ding watching Zi dance. ▲474、491 Offering animals skins and other ritual activities for Ancestress Geng on day Gengwu, at Rong; divinations dated Jisi (6/60) and Gengwu (7/60).
475	▲475、420、(446)、248、294、454 Zi inviting Ding to come on Bingchen (53/60); divinations started on Xinhai (48/60) and continued until Yimao (52/60). Associated with "building Ding's school in Rong 作丁序于戎" (294); see ▲294、157. ▲34、420、454、475 Ding's arrival and preparations for it.
478	▲478、76、299 Da's sickness.
480	▲312、363、480

Catalog #	(Divinations about:)
	Hunting and sacrificial activities at Tang 唐 on days Wuwu (55/60) and Xinyou (58/60). Return of the hunt from Tang, at Fu*; preparations for the arrival of Ding and Lady Hao to Fu* on Dingchou (14/60). ▲ 480、288 Gift presentation to Lady Hao; divinations on Jiaxu (11/60) and Yiyou (22/60).
481	▲67、161、220、252、319、392、481、合集 22172+合集 22351 Sacrificing cattle to Ancestor Yi, between Yichou (2/60) and Dingchou (14/60). ▲342、481、Heji 21853 (Heji 21123) + JingJin 京津 2993、6、333 Zi contributing top-quality sickles.
487	▲ 150、336、487 Whether or not Ding will be happy with Zi practicing “Shang 商”, on Yimao (52/60). See ▲87、247 and ▲ 86、150、382.
488	▲ 53、181、488 Exorcism rites for the Many Servitors.
490	▲275+517、449、427、226、490 Seasonal Rong 彤 rites for Ancestor Yi and Ancestress Geng on Yihai (12/60) and Gengchen (17/60). ▲7、37、196、291、354、463、428+561、490 Sacrificing to Ancestors Jia, Yi, and Ancestress Geng at Lu 魯 with sacrificial animals entered from there. ▲ 81、195、248、490、(496) Bringing offerings into Rong’s Eastern Guesthouse for Ancestress Geng’s altar/spirit tablet.
491	▲474、491 Offering animals skins and other ritual activities for Ancestress Geng on day Gengwu, at Rong; divinations dated Jisi (6/60) and Gengwu (7/60).
492	▲197、492 Zi meeting Zhang 璋 at Lady Hao’s and performing an exorcism ritual over him.
493	▲288、493 Calling Zi Hua to request horses; divinations on Wuzi (25/60). ▲ 290、493 Divinations on day Renchen (29/30) about an ale libation 裸; the prince has a dream about it.
494	▲494、286 Zi reporting to Ding that the men are not unhappy.
496	▲ 81、195、248、490、496 Bringing offerings for Ancestress Geng’s altar/spirit tablet.
501	▲ 39、53、501、275+517、450

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<b>Catalog #</b>	<b>(Divinations about:)</b>
	Zi's ear ringing.
506 + 163	▲163 + 506、132、395 + 548 The prince's toothache and possible exorcism.
550	Fragment associated with ▲113、28、39、53、149、181、409. Zi Xing's illness, and exorcism rites for him; see ▲352、247、255、55.

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## Appendix III: The "Big Synchrony"

Catalog #	▲ = set/synchrony	
▲37	198	178
	▲178	376
▲198	34	
	▲34	169 335 420
	▲34	454 475 420
	▲454	475 420 7 90
	▲475	420 446 294
	▲294	157
	▲446	304
	▲446	401
	▲401	276
	▲401	284
	53	181 409 273 3
	▲3	9 28
	▲53	236
	▲53	39

Catalog #	▲ = set/synchrony									
▲37	7	463	354	291						
▲37	7	467								
	▲7	467								
		▲467	179	146						
			▲179	338						
			▲179	149	290					
				▲149	247					
				▲149	29					
				▲149	237	4			170	
				▲149	237	449				
					▲237	226				
						▲226			427	
						▲226			427	
									490	428
									▲490	428
									▲427	490
										37
▲29	289									
▲29	21	296								
		▲296	282							

Catalog #	▲= set/synchrony
▲21	459
▲459	237
▲237	275 449
▲275	255
▲255	247 55 352
▲247	87 150 86 336 487 (附 209)
▲150	457
▲459	248
▲248	81 195 490
▲195	37 63
▲37	63
▲81	60 (附 358)
▲81	168

\* From Yao Xuan 2006: 405-409

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