In analyzing the inscription Si (Hou E) Tu Mu Gui, one possible interpretation is that Tu Mu was the cognomen (Zi 🕏) of Fu Hao; another, is that it referred to a person close to Fu Hao in position. The inscription can be explained as Tu Mu, whose day name was Gui, or Mu Gui, whose name was Tu. She may have been another queen of Wu Ding, perhaps the Mu Gui sacrificed to in the Zu Geng and Zu Jia inscriptions, i.e., the Bi Gui who was the legitimate consort of Wu Ding in the Di Yi and Di Xin cyclical sacrifice records. Assuming this hypothesis is correct, then objects belonging to consorts Bi Xin and Bi Gui of Wu Ding have already been discovered. Since the discovery of the Fu Hao tomb, some scholars have put forth the theory that Mu Wu 毌戌 mentioned on the large inscribed Si Mu Wu ding-tripod may be Wu Ding's consort, Bi Wu. If the conclusions reached above can be established, then ritual bronze vessels belonging to all three of Wu Ding's consorts have been discovered. This fact is significant both for the study of the Shang ritual system and of the ritual bronzes.

<u>Zheng Zhenxiang</u> in introducing her paper used some slides showing the inscriptions from M5. Some of the bronzes had only recently been repaired and had not been included in the official report. It is worth noting that <u>Zheng</u> pronounced the character $\frac{4}{5}$ as <u>qiao</u>, not <u>tu</u> as did the majority of the participants.

*11. ZHANG ZHENGLANG (Institute of History, Peking) A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON FU HAO

ABSTRACT:

(N.B. A version of this paper has now been published in <u>Kaogu</u> 1983.6:537-41.)

Fu Hao 弟 好 (or Fu Zi 弟字) appears in the oracle-bone inscriptions from Anyang. The name is often seen in Period I inscriptions (from the time of Wu Ding) and occasionally in Period IV inscriptions (from the time of Wu Yi and Wen Ding). The two are separated by four kings (Zu Geng, Zu Jia, Lin Xin, and Kang Ding), perhaps by as much as one hundred years. Does the Fu Hao in both periods refer to the same person? How can we explain this phenomenon?

In the oracle-bone records of people and their activities there are cases where one figure is active in different periods. These names are often also place names, and these figures possess a populace and products. These names are probably what is termed "Clan-Territory titles" 國民土地之号 (a term found in the <u>Gu shi</u> <u>kao</u>, as quoted in the "Zheng yi" 正義 commentary to the <u>Zuo zhuan</u>

左傳). Based on their clan name they served hereditarily as officials. These clan names occur in historical literature, as in "In the past, our former kings were for generations Lords of Millet (Hou Ji 后稷), serving under the Yü 盧 and Xia 夏 "(Guo yü 國語, "Zhou Yü" 周語); or "The Zhong重 and Li 黎 clans generation after generation ordered heaven and earth,... the Sima clan for generation after generation was in charge of the history of Zhou" (Shi ji 史記, "Taishigong zixu" 太史公自序). In the Zhou li 周禮 one can find forty examples, such as the Feng Xiang clan 馮相氏, Yi Qi clan 伊耆氏, etc. In the <u>Shi ben</u> we read that "Peng Zu" 彭祖 was the 'Clerk Guarding the Storehouse' during the Shang, and the 'Clerk Below the Pillar' during the Zhou; he was 800 years old." Some sources say that he was 767 years old. Not only was the clan name inherited, even the years of the lifespan were cumulative. In the oracle-bone inscriptions such names as Shi Ban 師般,Quan Yan 犬征 ,Que 崔 ,and Cha 邰 ,are found in several periods. The position of diviner is even clearer, e.g., Yung 永 occurs in Periods I ands V; Huang 黄 in Periods II and IV. Obviously this is a case of hereditary succession. The female official positions of the Shang dynasty must also have been like this, with certain clans filling them hereditarily whenever a vacancy arose. In the <u>Zhou li</u> and the <u>Li ji</u> 禮記 there are Shi Fu 世佛, totalling no less than 27. They were primarily in charge of sacrifice, and their subsidiary officials included Nei Zong 内宗 and Wai Zong 外宗 , all being daughters of the Zhou King, of the same or different surname. I propose that the Duo Fu 炎女帝 in the oracle-bone inscriptions were the Shi Fu, and that their primary responsibility was the sacrifices in the temple to former kings. They lived in the outer palace and if they received the favor of the Shang King they became one of his consorts. Fu Hao was just such a person. The military authority of the Period I Fu Hao was the result of the special favor Wu Ding accorded her, and was not shared by any of the other fu, nor by the Shi Fu as recorded in the Zhou li.

In 1976 a large number of bronzes was discovered in the Fu Hao tomb at Yinxu. Among them over 100 were inscribed "Fu Hao." On the basis of the structure of the graphs and of the shape and decoration of the vessels some are earlier and others later. It may have been impossible to make them all in one generation. If, indeed, the theory that Fu Hao was one of the Shi Fu of the Shang dynasty is plausible, then it was not Wu Ding alone among the Shang kings who had a Fu Hao, and many questions about the date of the vessels and the tomb can thus be resolved.