

those in later written sources. Jung said he had not used any sources later than Shuijing zhu. Lastly, archaeological evidence should be taken into account, ideally producing a comprehensive map of Shang and Zhou place names correlated with archaeological sites. Jung regretted not to have had access to archaeological materials, so that he had forcibly fallen short of his goal.

Jao Tsung-yi began his comments by reviewing previous literature on Shang place names, such as the article by Wang Guowei and a very inspiring one by Gu Jiegang (卜辞中地名的扩展). It had been Gu's thesis that with the expanding geographical area of the Shang empire, names of central places were repeated in the outlying regions, so that whereas in the earlier period, all place names had to be located in the vicinity of Yinxu, this was no longer true in the later periods. The principle previously employed to always choose the possibility closest to Yinxu when there was a disagreement about the location of a place should be reconsidered, Jao suggested. In fact, the archaeological finds of the last three decades had abundantly shown how far the central power of the Shang royal house extended, at least in the later period. There was a need for a comprehensive survey and reconsideration of oracle-bone geography. Jung Bor-sheng said he very much agreed with this. He was himself not satisfied with his result of having virtually all the agricultural place names of Shang located within the central parts of the heartlands; even less so with Matsumaru's locating over 100 hunting grounds within a 12-20 km. radius around Anyang.

Virginia Kane pointed out that Jung had failed to periodize his material. Jung replied he had periodized all evidence about fangguo 方国, asserting that due to the nature of the material, it was hardly feasible to periodize the rest. As to areas of agricultural activity, they would not probably have moved a lot. Kane said she was convinced that periodization could reveal many interesting developments of Shang history, e.g., changes in geographical emphasis, and especially the circumstances surrounding the conquest of Yin by the Zhou.

31. DAVID N. KEIGHTLEY (University of California, Berkeley)
KINGSHIP AND KINSHIP: THE ROYAL LINEAGES OF LATE SHANG

ABSTRACT:

On the basis of inscriptional evidence, it is proposed that the following principles governed the system of succession and inheritance among the lineages forming the Shang dynasty:

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(1) The great Royal Lineage consisted of certain kings (Great Ancestors) and their consorts, selected from a federation of ten patrilineages, named by the ten kan 干 stems; these patrilineages were linked by ties of marriage and consanguinity.

(2) Kan names were inherited through the male line; sons and daughters both inherited the kan name of their biological father.

(3) Marriage was exogamous; a male could not marry a female bearing the same kan name as his own; nor could he, in general, marry a female who bore the same kan name as his mother.

(4) When kingship remained in the same generation it passed from one classificatory "brother" to another. When kingship descended a generation, it passed not from the king to his son, but from the king to his consort's sister's son. Only a king who was the son of a king's consort's sister and whose consort's sister was the mother of a king was eligible for Great Ancestor status.

(5) Kings of the same generation had to be of different kan; when a kan lineage had occupied the kingship in one generation, it could not do so again in the generation immediately succeeding.

(6) Towards the end of the dynasty, the two strongest lineages, Ting 丁 and Yi 乙, dominated the kingship in alternate generations.

(7) There is some evidence for the existence of two moieties which were, ideally, to pass the kingship between them in alternate generations.

The paper focuses on principles (1), (2), and -- the crux of the argument -- (4). Four appendixes deal with genealogical case studies, kan lineages, sororal identifications, and traditional kin terms.

DISCUSSION:

ON THE SOURCES OF KEIGHTLEY'S ANALYSIS:

K. C. Chang said that he had no general objections to David Keightley's hypothesis. One of his questions of detail was, however, whether it was feasible to utilize Er ya, which is a Han compilation, to explain the use of kinship terms in Shang. Keightley replied that this was a very forceful point; but he had not first read Er ya and then looked at the oracle-bone inscriptions, but had only found in Er ya evidence that seemed to match the epigraphic evidence fairly well. He did not wish to press his point on Fu Zi, however, Keightley continued. He frankly admitted not to know who he or she was, and had only wanted to offer a suggestion.

Noel Barnard asked whether the system of kinship relations Keightley had arrived at was derived from the oracle inscriptions themselves. Keightley answered that he relied on Shi ji for some of the evidence for generational succession; but when further pressed, he asserted he could work it out without the help of the Shi ji, and noted that he was in disagreement with the Shi ji on a number of points, as might also be seen in his paper. Keightley had to concede a large part of his model was conjecture, and he wished he had more stars in his charts to show genealogical relationships attested by the inscriptions.

ON GENEALOGY

Ken-ichi Takashima, who admitted that Shang family relationships were even harder to figure out than grammatical ones, inquired about the origin of the da shi 大示 and the meaning of the term in Shang. Keightley said it was unknown when exactly the term appeared for the first time, and he confessed not to be sure about the exact meaning of da shi and xiao shi 小示 in the oracle-bone inscriptions.

Paul Serruys turned the discussion to the genealogy in the inscriptions of the Shi Qiang pan 史墙盘. Its patron obviously considered himself to be descended from a major Shang family, ending his pedigree with one Yazu Zu Xin 亚祖祖辛. If we knew who this was, Serruys said, then we should be able to test Keightley's hypothesis. Kane asked Keightley to comment in general on the genealogy documented on the Shi Qiang pan, where, if Keightley's hypothesis were correct, all male ancestors would have had the same cyclical designation, which obviously was not the case in this inscription. Keightley said it might be quite possible not to name one's biological ancestors in this kind of a pedigree, but to follow lines of institutionalized succession. Serruys repeated that at any rate the pan's patron did claim descent from the Shang, and the inscription contained both Shang and Zhou linguistic elements.

ON POLITICS

David Nivison tried to compare the Shang political system to that of 16th Century Turkey, where the prince who emerged victorious from the struggle ended up having to kill all his brothers and half-brothers as a necessary security device. Keightley responded that the Shang system as reconstructed by him was not at all like that. The aim of such a complicated system of succession was to provide stability by giving each one of the ten central lineages a share of royal power. By the same token, the institutionalized worship of both deceased kings and queens was an extension of the secular power system designed to appease the lineages excluded from royal power. This system made it possible to worship every lineage in turn, particularly when it was not holding secular power. The system

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suffered a decline, however, when at the close of the Yin-xu period the Yi and Ding lineages monopolized royal power. This may have triggered dissatisfaction among the other lineages and eventually the conquest of Shang by Zhou, who abolished the already ineffective system. Interestingly, the royal marriage system of the Zhou was designed purposely to avoid the sharing of royal power, which was achieved by the king marrying all his consort's sisters (thereby reducing the number of male in-laws).

Hsü Chin-hsiung wondered if the complicated system of power sharing had never caused any conflict; Keightley replied that of course it had, which was the reason for Zu Jia's reforms. Chang Tsung-tung asked whether the absence of Jia lineage members from the throne after Zu Jia was to be explained by assuming that all Jias had been sacrificed; Keightley suggested his system of Jia demotion as a more probable alternative of what might have occurred.