“Fu Zi 婦子（好）: The Shang 商 Woman Warrior”

Fu Zi, or Noble Daughter surnamed Child, is the most distinguished and powerful woman known in Shang history of ca. 1600-1100 BCE. She was also the most prominent of three queens betrothed to King Wu Ding 武丁 of the Late Shang period. Wu Ding allegedly ruled for fifty-nine years during the 13th c. BCE from ancient Yinxu (modern Anyang), located according to Shang bone inscriptions near Da Yi Shang 大邑商, Great City Shang, or Zhong Shang 中商, Shang of the Center in northern Henan province. Noble Daughter Zi was posthumously revered as Hou Xin 后辛 or Queen Xin, as Mu Xin 母辛 or Mother Xin, and as Bi Xin 妃辛 or Ancestress Xin. Xin 辛 is one of ten days in the Shang week that signified the sun of a Shang king’s or queen’s spirit worshipped in an annual cult lasting over thirty-six to thirty-seven ten-day cycles. Fu Zi was awarded the status of queen after giving birth to son and heir apparent, Zu Ji 祖乙, the first male offspring in line to succeed Wu Ding as 22nd Shang King. Consort and Noble Daughter Zi apparently died prematurely, before her husband and his two other consorts, Hou Gui 后癸 and Hou Wu 后戊, queen mothers of Zu Geng 祖庚 and Zu Jia 祖甲, who succeeded Zu Ji. Fu Zi lived a full life not only as a prominent queen mother and favorite consort but as a heroic military leader, land owner, and administrator.

Archaeological data and written sources in the form of oracle bone and bronze inscriptions provide a wealth of material to assess the historic significance of Noble Daughter and Consort Zi in Late Shang society (CASS, 1980, 1984). Her burial, No. 5 was excavated in the fall of 1975 and 1976 at Xiaotun 小屯, south of the Late Shang royal cemetery at Xibeigang 西北岡 in modern Anyang 安陽 or ancient Yin 瑭. Although only 5.6m. long, 4m. wide and 5.7m. deep by comparison to M1001, her husband’s (Soper, 5-38) at 38.6m. in overall length and 9m. in overall depth (Cheng, 72), Fu Zi’s tomb was undisturbed and intact. Remains of a
rectangular columned hall at ground level above her tomb indicate that a memorial structure was built and used by royal kin to honor Hou Xin's spirit (Yang, 62-6,87). Of the 1600 odd burial objects uncovered from her tomb, 460 were bronzes, and 160 were inscribed Fu Zi, two graphs signifying her name and title, and her signature of ownership while alive. Other bronzes and art works were inscribed with her posthumous title, Queen Xin (sometimes translated Queen Mother Xin), by her son and heir apparent, Zu Ji. Still other bronzes were inscribed Queen Qiao/Tu (?), Gai 吉 (兔 + 示) 疋, the posthumous title and name of a former royal consort, possibly a wife of Zu Ding 祖丁, the 13th Shang King, and a queen from the maternal side of Fu Zi. Other names inscribed on ritual bronzes, stones, jades and weapons from her tomb identify a variety of different royal house members and friendly fang 方 states who paid tribute to Fu Zi.

The family and state name inscribed on her bronzes should be transcribed Zi 子 (好) rather than Hao 好 (Good), as clarified by Zhang Zhenglang (1983;1986) and others (Chung, 1985, 113; Chang Ping-ch’uan, 136; Feng, 432; Zhao, 99-101). The graph is composed of the phonetic zi 子 and is often combined with the female radical 女, particularly when used with Fu 妇. Surnames belonging to females in Shang bone inscriptions are frequently distinguished from those of males by the addition of the female radical, 女. As with other Fu or daughters of the aristocracy during the Wu Ding era, Fu Zi’s name Zi could be written with or without the female radical (see e.g., Heji 15117-15120; Cao, 81 and Zhong, 113). Although frequent, the nu morpheme in a female surname, such as Zi, does not act phonetically or semantically. The nu radical neither changes the reading nor meaning of the surname; rather it functions as a heraldic and gender classifier.

Zi is a state and family name. Four of its uses in bone and bronze inscriptions, primarily of Period I, are as follows: Zi is the name of a fang state, Zi Fang 子方 (FN2); the name of a yi city, Yi Zi 城子; the name of a bo 伯 earl, Zi Bo 子伯, an aristocratic title granted by the Shang; and a clan emblem, Zi 子, in bronze vessel inscriptions (Zhong, 113; Cao, 82). Representative inscriptions that help locate Zi in southwestern Shanxi are as follows:

No.1 Will Xiao Horseman 小馬, Zi Bo (Earl of Zi), Bi Bo 伯 (Earl of Bi)…? (Heji 3411-3412) Period I

No.2 Crack-making on the dinghai day [the king] … Zi Bo (Earl of Zi) Gui... offspring Bi Bo (Earl of Bi)? (Heji 3410; Leizuan 384AB) Period I
No.3 Crack-making on the gengzi (day 37) Que divined: Should we harm the Gong Fang 方 at Zi [and] Bi? (Heji 6153) Period I

No.4 ...will reach Zi Fang (Zi State) ... ? (Jingjin 3098) Period I

No.5 ... should Zi Fang (Zi State) serve the King in his affairs (gu wang shi 王事)? (Qianbian 7.1.4) Period I

No.6 ...it was divined: On the next (day) should [the King] order [General] Fou [and?] Zi Fang (Zi State) to serve the king in his affairs. (Heji 5622; Leizuan 200CD) Period I

No.7 On the day xinchou it was divined: Should the King order [General] Fou to lead Zi Fang (Zi State) to resettle in Bing? (Heji 32107; Heji 32832 and Heji 32833; Leizuan 200CD) Period I

No.8 On the xinhai day it was divined: Should the King order Fou to lead Zi Fang (Zi State) to resettle at Bing? Should a bound victim be sacrificed in Fu (Father) Ding's 父丁 temple? (Tun 4366 and 3723 abbrev.; Leizuan 200CD) Period I

No.9 Crack-making on the xx-zi day: Perhaps ... (sacrifice type?)... Should it be at the altar of Yi Zi (Garrison Zi)? (Tun 2510; Leizuan 188AB) Period I

No.10 [Crack-making] on the yiwei day Que 革 divined:... should ox... Yi Zi (Garrison Zi) and Fu Zi (Noble Daughter Zi)...? (Leizuan1152AB, Heji 3279)

No.11 It was divined: Should it be Yi Zi (Garrison Yi) who is summoned to carry out the xiang 饌 feast rite [and offer] fermented beverage/liquor 酒? (Heji 3280; Leizuan 118AB) Period I

No.12 Crack-making on the gengzi (day 37) Que divined: Should we harm the Gong Fang at Zi [and] Bi? (Heji 6153)

The state name and title, Earl of Zi, also appears inscribed on several other bone fragments of the Wu Ding era (FN3) (Tun 2650, 3723, 4366). Zi evidently had a close relationship to the Shang, as indicated not only by the Shang entitlement of a Zi Bo (Earl of Zi), by the fact Zi Fang rendered administrative (gu wang shi) and
military service directly to Shang King Wu Ding (Nos.5-6), by the fact a Yi city-state was located at Zi, but, above all, because Fu Zi was a preeminent female in Shang history. Furthermore, Wu Ding ordered his well-known General Fou to lead Zi Fang to resettle the Zi state, theoretically to a much more secure position outside the reach of the Gong Fang at Bing, yet within the Shang nation (Nos.7-8). Zi was evidently a friendly fang state located in southwestern Shanxi (see Leizhuan 86CD no.32275; CASS 1980, 100), a location determined on the basis that the Gong Fang were known to have been one of the strongest enemies of Shang during Wu Ding’s era in the Fen River 汾河 valley (Chen, 273, 293-294).

It has been suggested on the basis of certain “non-Shang” artifacts placed in Fu Zi’s tomb that Fu Zi came from a non-Shang background in the northwest of ancient China (Linduff, 17-20). The latter author also states that aristocratic Shang women were not by profession warriors. As discussed below, Fu Zi was a powerful woman warrior who spent much of her time defending the Shang’s northwest frontier from Qiang but also from other invasive and unfriendly, tribal groups elsewhere along Shang’s northeastern and southern borders. Booty and prisoners of war were commonly taken after victorious battles (FN4). Thus, the assumption that the “frontier-style” bronze mirrors, socketed adzes and ring-handled bronze knives found in Fu Zi’s tomb identify her origins in the northwest instead of booty or trade items is interesting yet unconvincing. The northwest was too constant a source of threat to and conquest by the Shang during Wu Ding’s era to consider a selection of northwestern paraphernalia as typifying a female’s origins. Furthermore, although Fu Zi was the most heroic of Shang female generals, Fu Jing and other females were also militarily active in defending the Shang frontiers from invading unfriendly fang states and foreign groups (FN5). Fu Zi’s royal origins may be traceable to the earliest of Shang times, as suggested by standard ritual bronze vessel types inscribed Queen Qiao/Tu(?) Gui from her tomb, and by the traditional classical reference to the genesis of the Shang clan, the Yin Ben Ji 殷本紀 of the Han Shi Ji 史記:

Yin Xie [Qi]’s 殷契【契】 mother Jian Di 简狄, a daughter of You Song Shi 有娀氏 and second consort of Di Ku 帝喾…. Di Shun 帝舜… enfeoffed Xie [Qi] at Shang, and gave him the clan name Zi [Child] 姓子氏(FN6)

Whether or not this late Han reference in the Shi Ji and related ones followed in other classical texts refers to the genesis of the Shang clan or to Fu Zi’s Zi clan must await future corroborative archaeological and written data of Shang date.
FU ZI 女子 (好) THE SHANG 商 WOMAN WARRIOR

Hou, which may be translated Queen (Royal Consort), is sometimes read Si司 in Chinese texts, depending on whether the historical period of reference is Shang (read Hou) or later (read Si) (see Zhu, 422-429). Hou is occasionally used to address a living Shang royal consort in bone inscriptions, indicating that “Hou” is used specifically to refer to a female, whether alive or dead who produced a male heir to the throne. “Fu,” on the other hand is a generational title of respect, referring to “Noble Daughter” as “Zi” refers to “Noble Son,” although as other scholars have noted fu 妇 and zi 子 are also official titles (FN7). Fu Zi is addressed as Hou Fu Zi 后婦子 (好) or Queen Fu Zi in several bone inscriptions by her husband King Wu Ding (see e.g., Heji 2672; CASS, IA,1977, fig.3:5; 12; Cao,107). In later inscriptions when Fu Zi is posthumously honored in ritual sacrifice she is addressed as Hou Xin [Queen Xin] and as Mu Xin [Mother Xin] by her son Zu Ji, and by Zu Geng and Zu Jia, also of Zu Ji’s generation:

No.13 Crack-making on the renchen day it was divined: Should [I, Xiao Wang] carry out exorcism of Mother Xin’s spirit with the sacrifice of boar to Ancestress Yi 妻乙? (Heji 22077; Leizuan 1467CD) Period I

No.14 It was divined: If on the next xinmao day offering is made to Mother Xin… will [I, Zu Jia/ Zu Geng] be without [danger]…? (Heji 23411; Leizuan, 1467CD). Period II

No.15 Crack-making on the xx-yin day it was divined: Should [I, Zu Jia/ Zu Geng] at the time of the Yong 衿 rite offer ji 體-blood in a vessel,肉 meat hacked with the yue-broad ax, and the yi 衣-robe rite (FN8), beginning with Mother Xin …? (Heji 23429; Leizuan 1467CD) Period II

No.16 Crack-making on the xinsi day … divined: Will King (Zu Jia/ Zu Geng) bin 獻-spiritually identify with and host Mother Xin if he offers [her] penned sheep in the meat hacking sacrifice using the yue-broad ax? (Heji 23422; Leizuan 1467CD) Period II

Fu Zi is addressed as Ancestress Xin or Bi Xin in ancestral rites by the generation of kings succeeding Wu Ding’s sons. Fu Zi was the first of the first generation queens to receive ongoing royal ancestor cult sacrifices, frequently labelled Zhou Ji 周祭(Cyclical Rites) and mistakenly labelled Wuzhong Jisi 五種祭祀 (Five Sacrifices, Three Rites) (FN9), celebrated during the Late Shang period from the era of King Wu Ding’s successor sons, Zu Geng and Zu Jia through the last Shang King Di Xin 帝辛 (Hsu, 1968; Chang Yuzhi, 1987; P’an, 1976; Ito,
Inscriptions cited in Nos. 14-16 represent cyclical rites of ancestor worship to Mother Xin taking place during Oracle Bone Period II (Kings Zu Geng and Zu Jia) whereas No. 13 is a divination of her son Zu Ji made during Oracle Bone Period I of King Wu Ding’s reign. The large-scale pair of tetrapod ding 鼎-meat vessels (80.1cm. tall x 64cm. and 48cm. wide), the pair of tetrapod gong 鼎-wine tureens (36cm. tall), and small marble ox inscribed Hou Xin [Queen Xin] (FN10) from her tomb (CASS, 1980, pls.3, 25, 174) were most likely vessels commissioned and inscribed by Zu Ji, since as the oldest heir to the throne Zu Ji could address his biological mother posthumously as Queen or Mother Xin (FN11). The pair of ding tetrapod meat offering vessels, inscribed Hou Xin, are the largest vessels in Fu Zi’s tomb, signifying, as known from inscriptional evidence, that they were consigned by one with the position of king, in this case her son Xiao Wang 小王, the Small King, known in history as Xiao Ji 孝己 or Filial Ji (FN12). Large-scale tetrapod ding were limited in ownership and use to kings and heirs apparent yet used in sacrificial rites addressed to both dead kings and queens (FN13).

Fu Zi’s son and royal heir is addressed in bone inscriptions as Elder Brother Ji (Xiong Ji 兄己) by Wu Ding’s two other sons, who became Kings Zu Jia and Zu Geng; as Small King (Xiao Wang 小王), Wang Jie 王 and Small King Jie 小王 and Royal Son Jie (Zi Jie 子己) by Wu Ding’s brothers of the Zi 子 Group diviners (Huang, 30-31; Ito, vol.I, 126-128); as Father Ji (Fu Ji 父己) and Small King Father Ji (Xiao Wang Fu Ji 小王父己) by the next generation or nephew generation of kings; and as Ancestor Ji (Zu Ji) by all later generations of royal ancestors. He is also addressed as Royal Son Ji (Zi Ji 子己) by his father Wu Ding (Chen, 431). In addition to Shang inscriptional names of Elder Brother Ji, Father Ji, Small King, Small King Jie, Small King Father Ji, Royal Son Ji, and Ancestor Ji, Fu Zi’s son is eulogized as Filial Ji (Xiao Ji) in later Warring States, Han and other classical texts (see above FN11). As initially stated by Chen Mengjia, Filial Ji as royal heir was worshipped in the royal Shang spirit cult that operated cyclically, just as were his generational brothers, Kings Zu Jia and Zu Geng, although he, unlike the latter two, never succeeded to the throne. The commentary in Chapter 83 of the Taiping Yulan 太平御覽 states what probably occurred in Shang times: that Xiao Ji was a meritorious heir whose queen mother died prematurely and for this reason he was banished. In the Bamboo Annals (Zhu Shu Jian 竹書紀年) it is recorded that “During Wu Ding’s 25th year, Royal Son Xiao Ji 子小己 died in the wild (Huang, 31).” If Wu Ding ruled for 59 years, Xiao Ji died before the end of the first half of Wu Ding’s reign. The early death of Zu Ji is corroborated in Shang inscriptions, as is the early death of his mother. As identified on the basis of bone inscriptional data
and the dating of the Zi (Royal Son) group diviners to the early phase of the Wu Ding era, the death of the Small King, Zu Ji was early in Wu Ding’s era, before the middle of his reign (Huang, 31). In Shang divination texts Ancestor Ji [Zu Ji], is addressed as Small King and Small King Zu Ji, evidently a mode of nomenclature that refers to his eligibility but inability to ascend the throne as king, due, as noted, to his and his mother’s premature deaths (FN14).

That Zu Ji did not physically succeed to the throne as successor to Wu Ding may explain why Queen Fu Zi’s tomb is modest in size by comparison to that of her queen generational sister, Queen [Hou] Wu, (the third consort of King Wu Ding and mother of King Zu Jia). Hou Wu was buried in a large-scale tomb with northern and southern axes in the royal cemetery of Xibeigang (Cheng, fig.17, 73). Fu Zi’s burial is located south of Xibeigang at Xiaotun and approximates in size M18, the burial of Royal Son Fish, Zi Yu 子魚, located 20 meters east of Fu Zi’s burial (CASS, 1979, 233). Although a famous and loved queen mother, her early death and son’s banishment must have precipitated a demotion that affected her mode of burial.

Fu Zi’s royal status is amplified by one title, Hou Qiao/Tu(?) Gui or Queen Qiao/Tu(?) Gui, frequently abbreviated Queen Qiao/Tu(?) [Hou Qiao/Tu(?)] in inscriptions on 28 ritual bronze fermented beverage/liquor vessels from her tomb. The latter are found on a set of 9 jue libation cups, all but one of 12 gu goblets, a pair of square hu, a pair of jia, a pair of square zun, and a pair of round zun—all fermented beverage/liquor vessels and all large in scale (see e.g., CASS, 1980, pls.3,20-21, 23:2, 35-36,48-49, 56). Queen Qiao/Tu(?) Gui, or Queen personal name Qiao/Tu(?) and sacrificial day name Gui is a posthumous form of reference, thus, it is clear that she was the object of worship rather than the subject or maker of the vessels. It is likely that these ritual bronzes were commissioned and used by Fu Zi in sacrifices addressing her maternal ancestress, who as queen had the clan/state name Qiao/Tu(?) (FN15) and the temple and day name gui, which represented the cyclical day on which she was worshipped in the rites of royal ancestor worship (FN16). It is probable that Queen Qiao/Tu(?) was the former queen of either the 15th or 21st Shang King, Zhong Ding 中丁 or Zu Ding 祖丁, called Ancestress Gui (Bi Gui) in other bone inscriptions (see charts in Shima, p.93; Takashima, inner book cover). Fu Zi is known to have sacrificed to a Bi Gui 儋癸, and a Hou Gui 后癸 is an object of Wu Ding period royal sacrifices, as illustrated below:

No.17 Crack-making on the yimao day Bin 資 divined: Should [I] summonz Fu Zi to make a human sacrifice to Bi Gui (Ancestress Gui)? (Heji 2613)
No.18 ...should I use fragrant millet fermented beverage/liquor as an offering to Hou Gui? (*Heji* 15390)

The latter identification, that Queen Qiao/Tu(?) Gui is the object of Fu Zi’s worship rather than as previously proposed (e.g., Zhao, 92-95), is also based on the fact that this group of large-scale and extremely refined bronzes are stylistically the earliest in date among the tomb’s bronzes and are comparable with those vessels inscribed Fu Zi (Childs-Johnson, 1978, 1-37). The latter compatibility suggests that this group of bronzes was cast during Fu Zi’s lifetime for her use in worshipping her maternal relative of royal power, former Queen Qiao/Tu(?) Gui. As Queen, Fu Zi was entitled to use those vessels inscribed Queen Qiao/Tu(?) Gui on a specific gui day in the cyclical rites of the Shang royal ancestor cult. Vessels inscribed Fu Zi were also used by Fu Zi in rites but were not limited in worship to one royal spirit. As discussed below, Fu Zi was in charge of a variety of ritual sacrifices to royal kin. It is also noteworthy that there are no vessels inscribed with male royal titles, such as Fu [Father] or Zu [Ancestor] Day-Name in Fu Zi’s burial. Thus, on the basis of current data Fu Zi had royal pedigree, tied to a former queen named Queen Qiao/Tu(?) Gui as well as to a clan and state, Zi, intimately allied with the Shang royal house.

In addition to her preeminent social status as first Queen of King Wu Ding, Fu Zi had an illustrious military and administrative career. She ranked as second in command to the King, as exemplified by a series of inscriptions recording battle against various unfriendly fang border states. She led successful campaigns against the unfriendly fang states of Ba 巴 in the southwest, Hu 虎 in the south, Tu 土 and Gong in the north, Qiang 羲 in the northwest, and Yi 夷 in the northeast (Wang, 1979,2-5). This skill in military leadership is unequalled by any other ranking military leader in Shang bone inscriptions. Representative inscriptions are as follows:

No.19 Crack-making on the xinsi day Zheng 穰 divined: If this spring of the 5th month the King raises men and summons Fu Zi to attack the Tu Fang would [she, Fu Zi] receive spirit assistance? (*Heji* 6412 abbrev.)

No.20 Crack-making on the renshen day Zheng divined: If today Fu Zi joins and leads (Wang,1979,2) Zhi Fa 招 to attack the Ba Fang will she receive spirit assistance? (*Heji* 6479; *Leizuan* 185AB).

No.21 ... it was divined: Should the King command Fu Zi to join and lead Hou (Lord) Gao 侯 to attack the Yi [Fang]? It was divined: Should the
King not order Fu Zi to join and lead Hou [Gao to attack the Yi Fang]? (Heji 6480; Leizuan 185AB; Wang, 1977,3)

No.22 Crack-making on the renwu day Bin divined: Should the King command Fu Zi to attack the Yi [Fang]. Crack-making on the guiwei day Bin divined: Should the King [command] Fu Zi to surround [the Yi Fang]? Will the King this spring not surround the Yi [Fang] (Heji 6459; Leizuan185AB).

In other comparable divinations Fu Zi is called upon to lead the well-known Shang general Zhi Fa and meet King Wu Ding in ambushing the southern Ba Fang, as illustrated in the inscription cited and translated by Wang Yuxin:

No.23 Crack-making on xinwei day Zheng divined: If Fu Zi joins and leads Zhi Fa to attack the Ba Fang should the King from the East attack in trapping [the enemy] in sunken pits (FN17) at the flank (position) of Fu Zi? [It was divined:] If Fu Zi joins and leads Zhi Fa to attack the Ba Fang should the King not from the East attack in trapping [the enemy] in sunken pits at the flank of Fu Zi? (Heji 6480; also see Heji 6459; Leizuan 183AB; Wang, 1979,1-5)

As noted by Wang and others, Fu Zi was a general of first rank: she lead Wu Ding's most famous generals, Zhi Fa and Lord Gao, and cooperated in battle with her husband, King Wu Ding. Her outstanding responsibilities as a military leader are also attested by the fact she was capable of raising enormous numbers of warriors, particularly in attacks against the troublesome Qiang of the northwest. It is divined and queried by King Wu Ding that if Fu Zi raises 13,000 soldiers at Xi 墨 should she be summoned to attack the Qiang. 13,000 warriors is a record number to assemble in Shang bone inscriptions and for any military member of Shang society:

No.24 Crack-making on the xinsi day it was divined: If Fu Zi raises 13,000 men [in the northwest at Xi] should we summon her to attack the [Qiang]? (Ying 150; Leizuan185CD; Ku 130; Wang, 1977,2 no.9; also see Heji 7318-7329)

No.25 Crack-making on the yiyou day, Zheng divined: Should [the King] not call upon Fu Zi to go out and raise men at Xi? (Heji 7284 and also Heji 7283-7287;7288-7293) Period I
No.26 …Que divined: Will Royal Emissary (wang shi) Fu Zi raise troops at Xi…? (Tun 6568)

Many Oracle-Bone Period I inscriptions relate to the event of raising troops in the friendly northwest border state of Xi in order to attack the Qiang (see Leizuan 182CD, 183AB). The fact that this large-scale attack was successful is suggested in an inscription that divines about Fu Zi’s capture of Qiang as prisoners of war:

No.27 It was divined: Will on [this] wu day [I/we] obtain Qiang, Will [I/we] not obtain Qiang? It was divined: Will on [this] wu day [I/we] not obtain Qiang? It was divined: Will on [this] wu day [we] not obtain Qiang? Should [we] not summon [Fu Zi] to nab them? Should [I/we] summon [Fu Zi] to nab [them]? Should [I/we] summon [Fu Zi] to nab [them]? It was divined: Should [I/we] summon Fu [Zi] to nab [them]? It was divined: Should [I/we] summon Fu Zi to nab [them]? ….. Fu [Zi] to nab [them]? (Tie 244.1;Wang,1977,3-4) Period I

As recorded in bone inscriptions, the Shang frequently sacrificed large numbers of Qiang to ancestor and other spirits by various methods, whether through cooking, beheading or burning. Since the Qiang were one of the Shang’s most feared enemies and constant source of worry, Fu Zi played a pivotal role in heroically raising a huge number of men to defend the Shang domain against them. Her husband King revered her ability as military leader, and possibly in part for this reason supported her position as second in command.

Fu Zi’s military heroics may also be corroborated by her participation on royal hunts, as suggested by reference to an accident she had on the hunting fields of Dui 敦, southwest of Da Yi Shang and by a bone fragment referring to her catch at Lu 鹿:

No.28 It was divined: Should [I, Wu Ding] ku- 哭 –mourn through wailing to [Fu] Zi at Dui-hunting ground? Crack-making on [xx-Jchou day Zheng divined: Will it (mourning) be approved (by the spirits/Di)? (Heji 2668; Leizuan 184AB) Period I

No.29 ….Fu Zi on ji-xx day….[caught] 50 [deer?] at Lu. (Heji 10794, Leizuan 185AB) Period I

In another hunting related inscription King Wu Ding calls upon diviner Wei 韋 to query if Fu Zi should make an offering. The King then responds with a
prognostication: “Auspicious! [I/We] were rewarded. The catch by net was recorded.” (Heji 2606). For the Shang king the royal hunt was key demonstration of his singular power over the animal and spirit world (Childs-Johnson, 1998, 5-171; Hsu, 1972, II, xxxiii-xxxvi). This religio-political power symbol evidently also extended to royal family participating on the hunt, particularly Queen Fu Zi.

The large number of weapons buried with Fu Zi are testimony to her military prowess (CASS, 1980, 105-110). Of the four yue 鬧 broad axes, two are small memorial gifts sent in and inscribed Ya Qi 亞啓. The other two are heraldically inscribed with two female graphs framing the Zi graph just below another heraldic image in relief, a human face framed by open mouths of two profile tigers (CASS, 1980, fig.66,106). The latter image is the well-honed royal Shang symbol of metamorphic power—the human power to identify with and dominate the spirit realm of the hunted animal (Childs-Johnson, 1998). These bronze yue are royal in size, over twice the size of Ya Qi’s, suggesting that in size and inscription this pair of yue halberds distinguishes Fu Zi with the royal status of queen, as it characterizes her as woman warrior, par excellence. The large number of 91 bronze ge 戈 dagger axes in her tomb (CASS, 1980, 239-240) belong to four different types. The excavators maintain that two of the types, the group of bronze ge with inlaid turquoise handles and decorated blades (nos.772,1157, 740,741) and the second group with inlaid turquoise bronze handles and jade blades (no.23, 438) functioned as insignia, status symbols that were not used. The remaining three groups, 36 ge of the standard type with hooked handle, eight ge of another standard type with straight handle, and two ge with open socket handles in most cases show use and remains of wooden staffs. The use and ownership of so many ge daggers, 46 in all, again underscores Fu Zi ‘s military prowess in action.

In life Queen Fu Zi ranked second-in-command to King Wu Ding. Nonetheless, as with other royal house members Fu Zi paid tribute to the King in providing tortoise plastrons cleaned and prepared for use in divination, and in providing harvest crops, theoretically from her estate of Zi but also from several tributary states. The following inscriptions are explanatory:

No.30 Crack-making on gengwu day, will Fu Zi bring in tribute of 10 tortoise plastrons? (Recorded by) Bin. (Heji 2631; Leizuans 184AB) Period I

No.31 Will Fu Zi bring in fifty [tortoise plastrons]? (Yi 7782).Period I

No.32 Fu Zi prepared for divination 10 tortoise plastrons. (Recorded by) Bin
No. 33 Will Fu Zi ... receive harvest? (Heji 9848; Leizuan 185AB) Period I

No. 34 [XX] should [we] summon Fu Zi.... to receive our harvest [of] Yin 尹? (Heji 2651; also see 795; Leizuan 184AB) Period I

Fu Zi received tribute and gifts from various Shang and distant state elite, as documented by seven different groups of inscribed vessels and by non-metropolitan burial artifacts. The elite included clan members of distant and nearby states, some of whom were intimately associated politically as immediate family. As noted above, the uninscribed bronze knives, adzes and mirrors of the type produced by or for northwest peoples in Fu Zi’s tomb most likely represent booty collected by Fu Zi on her northwestern campaigns. The calligraphically lyrical feng 鳳-shaped jade, no.350 in her tomb, the thick jade stick-pin of a bird with folded wings and tail feathers, no.942, and the jade disk fragment with notches, no.562, derive from the Shandong and Shijiahe Longshan 石家河龍山 period, and thus represent imports or booty from either northeast Shandong or south Hubei province (CASS, 1980, colorpl.32:3 (350); pls.162:2 (942);162:1 (562)). A variety of small reworked late Neolithic period Hongshan 紅山 jades, including no.948, a suspended ornament in oval shape with two fangs; no.964, a comma-shaped handle; and no.939, a small horned animal mask, are in turn either trade items and heirlooms, or booty from the far north in Liaoning or southeastern Inner Mongolia province (CASS, 1980, pls.162:1; 164:1; 165:2). In addition, a small black jade human head no.374 (CASS, 1980, pl.131:3) is similar in type to the recently published examples from the southwestern site of Shang period Jinsha 金沙 in Sichuan (Chengdu, nos.51-54), suggesting acquisition at the time of her campaign against the southwestern Ba Fang.

In addition to these small-scale art works illustrating contact with border cultures along the Shang domain are the numerous inscribed vessels that were either tribute or gifts proffered to Fu Zi by others at some point before or at the time of her funeral. One piece of tribute is a large jade ge dagger blade, no.580, inscribed “Lu Fang Jie (Gua?) 懿 方皆(劃)sends in as tribute five ge dagger axes” (CASS, 1977, fig.19:2,p.89; Cao, pp.30-43; CASS, 1980, figs.75:3, p.136;74:1, p.134;pl.17:2). Ru 入 signifies “to send in as tribute such-and-such product.” The four other dagger axes that Lu Fang Jie (Gua?) records may not have been inscribed, and therefore may be represented by similar types in Fu Zi’s tomb (see nos.922, 581, 444 and 441 in CASS, 1980, 139). All of the latter daggers are jade insignia, probably delivered in recognition of Fu Zi’s military leadership along Shang’s northwestern borders.
The Lu Fang had a long history of on and off relations with late Shang and early Western Zhou kings (Cao, 30-43). Cao suggests that Lu Fang was a state in northwest Gansu, in the county of Pingliang平凉, that in turn may be identified with the later name for the same area, the early Western Zhou state of Hei黑in Baicaobo白草坡, Lintai靈臺, on the tributary Hei黑 of the upper Jing River涇河(see Gansu, 1977, map p.128). The close tributary relationship of Lu Fang with Shang royalty is not only witnessed by a Lu Fang Bo慮方伯(Earl of the Lu State) in Wu Ding period inscriptions but by the set of jade ge daggers from Lu Fang Gua given to Fu Zi.

Fu Zi also received tribute of a stone chime (no.316) that was inscribed "Ren Zhu sent in a qing chime 妇 (任) 竹入聲(CASS, 1980, 198-199, fig.75:1,p.136, pl.170:1-2) Ren 妇 is an official title for a female of lesser status than fu and the more common tian天, ya亞, hou候 and bo伯, used to designate male entitlements in bone and bronze inscriptions (Ding, 46). Zhu 竹(Bamboo) is the name of a royal clan and state, a diviner active in Wu Ding through Zu Jia Period bone inscriptions (Jao, 1959, 773-74) and a Royal Daughter [Fu Zhu 婦竹] (Heji 7384, Leizuan1150AB). It is probable that Ren Zhu is the same person as Fu Zhu (Royal Daughter Ju), who became Fu Zhu after marriage, later in Wu Ding's reign. By analyzing bone and bronze insciptional evidence, the excavators of Fu Zi's burial and Cao deftly demonstrate the extensive clan and state connections of Zhu with Gu Zhu孤竹 and Ya Yi 亞邑侯, and that Zhu was a state located north in the Chaoyang 朝陽 area of southern Liaoning and northern Hebei, where vessels with these inscribed names have been excavated (Cao, 44-58; Akatsuka, 646-648). Although the stone chime is a modest piece of tribute, it is clear from bone inscriptions that members of the Zhu clan and Zhu state were intimately tied with the Shang royal house, providing prepared tortoise plastrons as tribute and serving as King Wu Ding’s Royal Emissary (see inscriptions in Leizuan1192AB; Lefevre, 1997, no.GSNB S5,17,324).

Two other bronzes, possibly also tribute but with inscriptions abbreviated to clan emblems on one vessel each, include the modest jue爵・no.670, inscribed with two graphs 爰 (CASS, 1980, 89, 100, pl.58:4) and the dragon legged tripod ding no.1173 inscribed with the hewen 合文: or combining clan names, Ge戈 and Dui 戴(CASS, 1980, fig.26:2; pl.13:1, p.44, fig.37:4, p.p.57). Dui was a royal diviner during the early phase of the Wu Ding era and Ge is the name of a well-known state and chieftain that was friendly with the Shang and probably originated during the Xia 夏 period (Cao, 59-76; Lefevre, 1997 GSNB S36,337)
By far the most important gifts in Fu Zi’s tomb derive from two elite royal house members, one probably a family member of Fu Zi’s mother state and clan, Zi Shu Quan 子束泉 and the other, Ya Qi1 亚其. Twenty-two fermented beverage/liquor vessels (CASS, 1980, 237-238), including a pair of round zun 尊, a jia 傢, and a set of 10 gu 鼎 and 9 jue were inscribed Zi Shu Quan. Shu Quan is the personal name and Zi the state name (Cao, 134-136). The 21 fermented beverage/liquor vessels inscribed Ya Qi1 (CASS, 1980,236) include similar types: a pair of large round jia, and a set of 10 gu (3 are fragmentary) and 9 jue. Zi Shu Quan and Ya Qi1 were evidently similar in rank in providing Fu Zi with the same number and types of fermented beverage/liquor vessels.

It is also significant that the vessels cast by Fu Zi to Hou Qiao/Tu(?) Gui total 26 and were also all liquor vessels, although larger in scale, and more numerous and varied in including a pair of large square hu 壺 and more gu, 11 in number yet the same 9 jue. Evidently there were rules for use and gift-giving that identified status and position in the royal household.

It is significant that vessels commissioned by Fu Zi were not limited to fermented beverage/liquor but include all sacrificial types-- meat, grain and fermented beverage/liquor, and number 111 and those bronzes inscribed with Hou Xin by heir apparent Zu Ji include the largest vessels, as represented by the pair of tetrapod ding meat offering vessels. The latter variation of ritual vessel types and number documents ritual distinction in gift giving and in type of sacrifice offered to deceased royal spirits. It is clear that large tetrapod meat-offering bronze ding were reserved for use in sacrifice by male heirs to the spirits of dead queens and kings and for the purpose of celebrating royal inheritance and prerogative, and thus the continuity of the Shang house.

Cao has extensively analyzed the relations of the highest ranking military general and royal son, Ya Qi1 in the post Wu Ding era, showing how this royal family branched out to include Ya Yi 亚矣, Yi Hou 乙侯, Yi 己 the diviner, with the suggestion that Qi1 and Yi related states were probably once located in Shandong, to the northeast of the Shang’s metropolitan center (Cao, 5-10). The 21 Ya Qi1 vessels in Fu Zi’s tomb thus were gifts from one of the major royal families of the Wu Ding period.

Cao has identified a bone inscription citing that another Ya Qi2 亚啓 inscribed on one bronze tetrapod yi 鼂 (no.823) and on two bronze yue broad axes (nos.840, 1156) was the fourth son of Wu Ding (Cao,25; Yi ,8815). This Ya Qi2 is
distinguished in bone inscriptions as the King’s Royal Emissary (gu wang shi), one who serves in the royal household and as one who has the prerogative to sacrifice to spirits of royal kings and queens, thus corroborating his rank as royal son of Wu Ding. Ya 亞 is the highest military and official title honored royal house members (FN16).

Tribute gifts also come from another high-ranking male elite general named Ya Bi 羽. He fought side by side with Fu Zi against the Qiang tribesmen, as illustrated by early Wu Ding Period oracle-bone inscriptions below:

No.35 It was divined: ... Should [Fu] Zi not .... with Bi... (Heji 2714; also see Heji 2715; Leizuan 184CD), Period I

No.36 Crack-making on the xinchou day the King divined:...Bi ... should attack the Qiang. (Heji 20402; Leizuan 1021AB) Period I

Because Bi fought against the Qiang it is suggested that Ya Bi also came from the northwest part of the Shang domain (Gansu, 1977, map p.128). Vessels in Fu Zi’s tomb inscribed Ya Bi include a large-scale round tripod ding and a set of 5 nao 鼠 bells. The latter vessels, as with the above mentioned bronzes inscribed Ya Qi1, Ya Qi2, and Zi Shu Quan 齊 were previously used, indicating that they functioned as memorial gifts rather than as tribute, and in this respect signify Fu Zi’s intimate connections with high-powered military personnel and royal family.

At present there is no intact excavated Shang tomb that may be used to compare with Fu Zi’s in clarifying her special status as queen and military heroine. Nonetheless, on the basis of bone inscriptive evidence it is clear that she was revered as queen and militarily ranked second-in-command to Wu Ding. The latter power is also well illustrated by her burial goods, including tribute items from the Lu Fang Jie (Gua?) in northwest Gansu on the border of the Shang domain and from Ren Zhu in northeast Shandong within the Shang domain, and by memorial gifts from rulers of states in the northern domain of Shang: Ya Bi based in the northwest, probably Shaanxi province; Ya Qi1 in the northeast in Hebei; the military general Ya Qi2 in northeast Shandong; Zi Shu Quan, whose whereabouts, although unclear, are most likely northern and very near Shang at Zi; and ShiDui, probably north in Shanxi province. The latter represent the highest ranking members of the Shang elite and major clans who had been assigned titles in recognition of their ruling power over independent states within the Shang domain. Since all of the latter appear to be based in the northern part of the Shang “nation”—from the furthest east and north in Shandong and Hebei to the furthest west and north in Gansu, Shaanxi and Shanxi, it
is evident that Fu Zi’s influence was extensive in the northern Shang realm.

In addition to the enormous number of inscribed offerings in Fu Zi’s tomb, are others, including sixteen sacrificial victims, mostly servants and guards, and five guardian dogs (CASS, 1980,9,fig.6.13). These sacrificed victims are small in number by comparison to those hundreds sacrificed in Shang king burials. This enigmatic balance of rich ritual paraphernalia and tribute yet modest burial pit and number of sacrificial humans again is probably due to the fact her son and heir, Zu Ji, did not physically occupy the Shang throne nor survive the time of his mother’s burial.

As in military status, Fu also ranked second to the King as administrator (FN18). Various supervisory roles corroborate this rank. As with a few other generals and officials of Ya and Hou rank she was commanded by King Wu Ding to send out royal emissaries, to hold royal audiences, and to supervise tributary harvests of border lands. Unlike others, she was also summoned to hold audience with the Many Royal Daughters (Duo Fu 多婦) and blind seers, but above all was required to carry out sacrifices to dead ruling spirits:

No.37 Crack-making on xx-shu day Zheng [divined]: Should Fu Zi hold audience with the King? (Wang, 1977, 2; Jin 35.31) Period I

No.38 …Que divined: Should Fu Zi send a royal emissary to Mei 瑳…? (Heji 6568 abbrev.; Leizuan 185AB) Period I

No.39 [It was divined:] Should [we] call upon Fu Zi to go out to -place? (Heji 8044; Leizuan 185AB). Period I

No.40 It was divined: Should [I] call upon Fu Zi to hold audience with the Duo Fu (Many Royal Daughters) at Yang(?) ? (Heji 2658; Leizuan 184AB) Period I

No.41 ….on xx-shen day… Should [I] call upon Fu Zi to go out to Yang(?) ? (Ying 153-154; Leizuan 185CD) Period I

No.42 [Crack-making] on xx-wu day, it was divined: Since Fu Zi indeed held audience shall there be offering …? The [King] prognosticated [saying]… (Heji 2655) Period I
No.43 Crack-making on xx-xu day Zheng divined: ...Should Fu Zi hold audience? (Heji 2657; Leizuan 185AB) Period I

No.44 ...Should Fu Zi be summoned to hold audience at -place? First month. (Heji 8043) Period I

No.45 It was divined: Should on the next day dingzi Fu Zi be summoned to go out to ...? (Heji 2642; Leizuan184AB) Period I

No.46 Crack-making on the renxu day Zheng divined: Should Fu Zi not go out [to sacrifice] to Bi Geng 妹庚? (Heji 2643; Leizuan 184AB) Period I

No.47 It was divined: This 13th month will Fu Zi not come back? Crack-making on the guiyou day Huan divined: This 13th month will Fu Zi come back? (Heji 2653; Leizuan 184AB) Period I

No.48 It was divined: Should Fu Zi not be called upon to go out to make liao 祭 cult burning? (Heji 2641; Leizuan 184AB) Period I

The most common places mentioned in connection with her administrative functions are written with the element on top of the jing 京 radical (Nos. 39, 44,53) and are written with one, two or three sheep graphs (Nos.40-41). These sites appear to be located to the northwest of the Shang domain.

There is a tendency amongst Sinologists in China to classify Fu Zi as a shi fu 世婦, which according to the Han classical text, Zhou Li 周禮, was a royal house female in charge of royal house sacrifices (Jao,1985, 306; Cao, 84-86,140; Zhang Zhenglang, 539-540 and1986,110-112). Fu Zi's administrative responsibilities were broad in range and in part on par with certain immediate royal family members. She was not the primary person in charge of sacrifices. The King presided over royal house sacrifices. Fu Zi's power base was distributed over military, ritual and administrative realms (FN19). As Queen and Royal Daughter she had the right to sacrifice to near and distant, male and female spirits, within the royal house. All of Fu Zi's sacrifices, nonetheless were carried out as a result of the determination of divinations by King Wu Ding and his retinue of diviners. For example:

No.49 ...Zheng divined:.....Should Fu Zi offer sacrifice to Father Yi 父乙 (20th king, Wu Ding's father)? The King prognosticated saying: "Auspicious!" (Heji 2614; Leizuan 184AB) Period I
No.50 It was divined: Should Fu Zi offer prayer sacrifice to Father Yi? The King prognosticated saying: “It will be a prayer offering!” (Heji 2633; Leizuan 183AB) Period I

No.51 Crack-making on jinmao day Que divined: Should Fu Zi carry out exorcism to Father Yi [by] offering sheep prepared by -method, presenting a pig, [and] promising in writing 10 penned sheep? (Heji 271) Period I

No.52 [Crack-making] on the xx-xu day it was divined:....should [Fu] Zi on a wu day offer a human victim at the liao burning rite [in seeking] rain? (Tun 4191; Leizuan 185CD) Period I

No.53 [Crack-making] on the guiwei day: Should [at] -place [Fu] Zi burn [at the stake for the purpose of bringing] rain? (Heji 34205; Leizuan 185CD) Period I

No.54 Crack-making on xx-xx day, Que divined: Should Fu [Zi] undergo exorcism to Qiang Jia 穰甲[and] call out for an offering of a female slave? (Heji 656; Leizuan 183AB) Period I

As represented by the inscriptions cited above, the majority of extant divinations concerning sacrifices offered by Fu Zi are addressed to a limited number of royal spirits. These royal spirits include Father Yi, King Wu Ding’s father and occasionally the spirits of Wu Ding’s grandfather, Zu Ding 祖丁 and Zu Ding’s queen wives, Bi Jia 妹甲 and Bi Geng. The most frequent type of ceremony carried out by Fu Zi is exorcism, the rite of Oracle Bone Period I that preceded and led to organized royal ancestor cult sacrifices of Oracle Bone Periods IIIB-V. Although references in divinations are abbreviated and references to specific ritual vessel sacrifices are few, that Fu Zi used her vessels inscribed Fu Zi in meat, fermented beverage/liquor and grain sacrifices is corroborated by the fact the vessels show evidence of use and by several bone inscriptions that are specific in referring to Fu Zi and sacrifices, such as the fermented beverage/liquor libation offered with the jue bronze vessel (Childs-Johnson, 1987), and the flesh offering with the ding vessels (Childs-Johnson, 1995, 82; see Leizuan nos.32757,185CD, no.2710,184CD;no.2673,184AB).

Finally, it is a misnomer to identify Fu Zi with the shi fu, the royal house female in charge of sacrifices in ritual literature of the Warring States through Han eras, although her participatory role may have given rise to this position in later
FU ZI 婦子（好） THE SHANG 女 WOMAN WARRIOR

history. King Wu Ding was in charge of royal rites to ancestor spirits and Fu Zi responded to this charge by carrying out comparable sacrifices and rites, but always under the eye and command of King Wu Ding. As with the ancient Egyptians and Sumerians, the royal house was run by a group of powerful clans that operated under the authority of a King who was supreme religious and military head.

King Wu Ding’s concern for every aspect of Fu Zi’s life: health, child-birth, return from near and distant lands, military activities, harvests, royal audiences, death, and afterlife testify to the overwhelming affection Wu Ding had for his first queen. As suggested by Wang Yuxin (1979,18) Fu Zi must have had a death threatening accident while hunting in Dui (Dun?) 敦, a favorite hunting ground of King Wu Ding, after which she died (FN20). Her death and burial are both mentioned in early Wu Ding period inscriptions:

No.55 …should I bury (hold a funeral for) Fu Zi… should not…? (Heji 2674; Leizuan 184AB).

No.56 It was divined: Should [I Wu Ding] bin-host and identify with, and ku-mourn through wailing the spirit of Fu Zi? Crack-making on [xin/]chou day Zheng [divined]: Will (the spirits/Di) approve? (Heji 2664) Period I

No.57 Crack-making on the xx-yin day Wei divined: Should [I Wu Ding] bin-host and identify with the spirit of Fu Zi? It was divined: Should [I Wu Ding] bin-host the spirit of Fu Zi? (Heji 2638; Leizuan 183CD) Period I

No.58 Should [I] bury (carry out a funeral rite for) (FN20) [Fu] Zi? Should I bury [Fu] Zi? (Heji 17159) Period I

The bin rite of hosting and identifying with a spirit was reserved for spirits of deceased kings and queens that the King alone, as chief in charge of spirit communication, could undertake (Childs-Johnson, 1995, 85). I translate bin, not in its later more secular post-Shang use, “to entertain,” but according to its Shang period use, “to come into contact with a spirit through invocation.”

Wu Ding addressed his wife in death as Fu Zi, as he addressed her in life. He dreamt that Fu Zi’s spirit might be in danger (see e.g., The 113.4. Wang, 1977, Heji 17391, 32756, 32762, Leizuan 183CD; Heji 682, 709, 795, 7252, 2716, 2652, 32762, 13646; Leizuan 183AB). In addition, there are numerous bone inscriptions referring to Wu Ding’s concern for Fu Zi’s health and child-bearing, and a singular concern for
her happiness in the hereafter (Wang, 1979,10-21). The profound belief of the Shang Chinese in the existence of the spirit after death is documented not only by the ritual paraphernalia buried with Fu Zi but by King Wu Ding’s hope that her spirit be wed with the Shang’s highest god, Di 帝, translated God, or with spirits of distant Kings, also Gods in death, including the first Shang King Da Yi 大乙, the 3rd Shang King Da Jia 大甲, the 12th Shang King Zu Yi 祖乙, and Wu Ding’s father, Xiao Yi 小乙, the 20th Shang King:

No.59 Crack-making on the jimao day Bin divined: Will Di God wed (literally, get) Fu Zi?  (Heji 2637)

No.60 It was divined: Will Tang 唐 (Da Yi, 1st Shang King) wed Fu Zi? It was divined: Will it be Da Jia (3rd Shang King)? It was divined: Will it be Zu Yi (12th Shang King)? It was divined: Will Tang (Da Yi) wed Fu Zi? It was divined: Will Da Jia wed Fu? It was divined: Will Fu Zi make an offering and wed or not? It was divined: Will Zu Yi wed Fu?  (Heji 2636)

No.61  It was divined: Will Zu Yi wed Fu [Zi]? It was divined: Will Da Jia wed Fu [Zi]? Will it be Zu Yi? Will it be Da Jia? It was divined: Fu Zi will have [and] wed? Will it not be? It was divined: Fu Zi will have [and] wed Shang (On High)? It was divined: Will it be Tang who weds Fu Zi? [It was divined:] Will it be [Tang] who weds [Fu] Zi? (Heji 2636)

On the reverse of the same bone, King Wu Ding as master of invocation and spirit identification prognosticated:

Crack-making on the jimao day Bin [divined]: The King prognosticated saying: “On High it is Jia” (or “It is Shang Jia that Fu Zi weds!”). (Heji 2636; Leizuan 184AB) Period I

As revealed through her husband’s, Wu Ding’s divinations, and through her extensive collection of burial paraphernalia Fu Zi was a great woman warrior and a great human being, unparalleled in Shang or later Chinese history.

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FN1: The transcription of Fu Zi's surname as Hao rather than Zi is unfortunately common in received literature (see e.g., the 1980 and 1984 site reports by CASS, IA Yin Xu Fu Hao Mu). Two in depth studies of bone evidence for Fu Zi also do not question the transcription (Wang Yuxin, 1979 and Cao Dingyun, 1993). The latter author, in fact, cites oracle bone inscriptions, similar to those cited in the present manuscript which show that the female radical is not used in Zi of Fu Zi's name and that a Zi Fang exists, yet he quixotically maintains use of Hao (pp.81-84).

FN2: Zhang Zhenglang and others make the point that fang are guo states and that zhuhou or references to landed titles, such as hou and bo represent independent Yin states (1986, 103-119).


FN4: Examples of prisoners of war are abundantly represented in bone inscriptions and amidst excavated data, although the latter two are difficult to compare. Qiang tribesmen from northwest of the Shang domain, for example, were common human sacrifices, as noted by various paleographers, such as Jean Lefevre: "The Ch’iang were quite numerous, living in the north-west (present day Shensi), on the west bank of the Yellow River. On all but a few occasions they were hostile and the king frequently sent military expeditions against them or organized raids to bring back Ch’iang prisoners to be used as human victims (1997,343)." Kwang-chih Chang places Qiang captives at the bottom of the Shang economic class (1980, 231, 249). For examples of Qiang (Ch’iang) victims of sacrifice by various means, including beheading, cooking, etc., to ancestor and nature spirits see, e.g. Chang Tsung-t’ung, 1970, inscriptions nos.4.23,4.24, 5.20,5.24, etc. and pp.73-75. In discussing the physical and morphological identity of human skulls from sacrificial pits excavated at Xiaotun, Li Chi (Li Ji) refers to five subgroups, including Classic Mongoloid, Oceanic Negroid, Caucasoid, Eskimoid, and the last of which was indeterminate (1977, 257-264; K.C.Chang, 1980,329-335). Human sacrifice was customary in Shang times, as represented archaeologically by their presence in aristocratic burials, royal building foundations, and in sacrificial pits, the latter of which are probably related to bone inscription sacrifices to various spirits, natural and human (Li, 105, 78-84). War booty is difficult to distinguish from items of trade or import. For example, Ordos type weapons and chariot paraphernalia appear commonly in Late
Shang tombs from Anyang and elsewhere, as discussed by Max Loehr (1956). The bronze mirrors from Fu Zi's tomb that compare with the northwest culture of Qijia of ca.2000BCE (see Linduff, 1996, 18) may have come from the northwest but precisely how is difficult to pinpoint.


FN6: As frequently quoted, for example, by Chang Kwang-chih, 1986, 3-4; Ding, 1956, 56; Chang Ping-ch’uan, 1986, 130.

FN7: See Zhao, 99-106. As reviewed by Zhao, many authors have questioned the meaning of 『fu』 with different conclusions. Chen Mengjia, for example considered 『fu』 to be a signifier of personal status (shenfen) and Shima Kunio a signifier of official status (zhi guan). Guo Muoro and Tang Lan considered all 20-30 『fu』 of Wu Ding’s era to be Wu Ding’s consorts. Hung-hsiang Chou doubted that the latter was probable but had no further explanation (1970/71). Chang Ping-ch’uan considered 『fu』 to refer to wife (1986,137). It is evident that 『fu』 and 『zi』 were not awarded titles, as were hou lord, bo earl, tian, etc, but rather were inherited, familial generational titles of respect. 『Fu』, as were mu mother, fu father, xiong brother, bi ancestress, zu ancestor, and zi son were used by clans of the ruling elite. As Zhao emphasized, 『fu』 were females, for the obvious reason they became pregnant (huaiyun) and gave birth (sheng zi; mian), Zhao has also demonstrated that 『fu』 was both a generational and an official title in referring to a Shang king’s sisters (jiemei), a Shang king’s brother’s (gedi) wives and to a Shang king’s daughters (101-104). Evidently intermarriage amidst royal clans secured power for the ruling Shang elite.

FN8: I follow Chang Tsung-tung’s identification of the yi-robe rite (p.145).

FN9: See Wu-su P’an for the proper identification of the cyclical rites as three rites and five sacrifices (pp.21-22).

FN10: I follow Zhu Fenghan’s differentiation between bone graphs for mother 『mu』 and female 『nu』: the former is characterized by a kneeling figure with dots for breasts and the latter by simply a kneeling female stick figure (1989, 435). Thus, the use of the female radical 『nu』 alongside most 『fu』 names in Shang times was an indicator of gender rather than an original form of the name (see note 1). The former graph 『mu』 is used to refer to mothers and royal females of the same generation in cult sacrifices whereas the latter 『nu』 is used to represent a female or the female gender, whether
independent or added to another graph to distinguish gender. Thus, instead of reading Hou Mu Xin, Zhao would read Hou Xin. Mu Xin references are distinguished from Hou Xin by the use of the *mu* radical, the kneeling female with two dots marking breasts. Although Zhao has not made a statistical chart, a quick survey of the *mu* and *nu* graphs in Yao Xiaosui’s *Yinxu Jiagu Keci Leizuan* (172, 167CD-171) indicates that although there appear to be examples of mother without the two dots, the graph for *nu* is not characterized by two dots. It is also worth noting that the *nu* signific is employed for aesthetic reasons in the bronze inscriptions of Fu Zi: the *nu* radical more often than not doubles as a pair flanking the Zi graph in heraldic display (see CASS, IA, figs.27,29, 32,34,47,52,60,62,66pp.). The *nu* radical clearly has multiple functions in Shang culture, varying from a signific of gender to a heraldic aesthetic.

FN11: Theoretically Zu Geng and Zu Jia could also address Fu Zi as Mu Xin or Hou Xin, however, at the time of Fu Zi’s funeral they were either not yet born or not yet recognized as heirs apparent since Zu Ji maintained that position. Theoretically Zu Ji was banished and died sometime just before or after his mother, thus the Hou Xin of all vessels, with or without the female signific were created by this heir apparent, Zu Ji. There is no evidence that King Wu Ding addressed his wife by her posthumous title of *mu*, Mu Xin or Hou Xin, rather there is evidence that he addressed her in life and death as Fu Zi or Hou Fu Zi (see the inscriptions cited in the text nos. 49-56 and p. 5 of the present manuscript). It is thus unlikely, as Cao proposes, that the marble ox inscribed Hou Xin and buried towards the top of Fu Zi’s burial was created by King Wu Ding (108-109) and not her son. Cao cites a single, what he says is a Wu Ding period inscription, as evidence for his argument, *Qianbian* 5.9-.6, reads: “It was divined: On the next xinmao day should an offering be made to Hou Xin? Should it be and 10 Qiang tribesmen?” From the style of the inscription it is clear that this form of address characterizes the Shi group, a group independent from court divinations but dating to the early Wu Ding Oracle Bone Period 1. From a perusal of other Hou inscriptions of the Shi group (see *Leizuan* nos.3205,15390, 18785, 19211, 19212, 20098, 20105, 10367, 31365, pp.846CD) and the original *Qianbian* citation it appears that this Hou Xin is the same as the other cited Hou’s, although the latter are written without Xin attached. This group of diviners may have been allied with Zu Ji, the Small King, as he is referred to in the Royal Sons group of divinations of Oracle Bone Period 1. It
is noteworthy that it is a precedent in Period I inscriptions to call deceased Queens by their title Queen or Hou Day Name. Wu Ding’s two other queens, Hou Gui and Hou Wu, for example, are also addressed by the same type of nomenclature, Queen or Hou Day Name by the Royal Sons group of diviners (see Leizuan nos.21805, 22044, pp.847AB). Although the latter appear less frequently, it is clear that these diviner groups, separate or semi-separate from Wu Ding’s group of diviners used different nomenclature. The fact that there are also no inscriptions of Wu Ding’s that employ the posthumous title of Mu Xin indicates that this nomenclature, naturally is used only by the son and son’s generation, by Zu Ji during Period I and by Zu Geng and Zu Jia during Period II (see Leizuan, pp.1467CD-1467AB Period II inscriptions). The two inquiries from one inscription in the thesaurus of Yao, Leizuan no.22077 (1467CD) cited as a Period I inscription are unusual in that one refers to an exorcistic rite of Mother Xin addressed to a Bi Yi, an ancestor unknown elsewhere in the royal family, thus again suggesting that this is an inscription of a group independent of Wu Ding, and probably allied with Zu Ji.

FN12: The name Xiao Ji is cited in the the Lushi Chunqiu, Bi Ji chapter and in Chapter 83 of the Taiping Yulan, as reviewed initially by Chen Mengjia, 430-431.

FN13: My identification of the tetrapod ding sacrifice as limited in use to kings is in part circumstantial, part archaeological and part inscriptive. As proposed in a paper, titled “The Meaning of the Graph “Yi” and Its Implications on Shang Belief and Art,” East Asia Journal, no.3 (2004), in press, there is a specialized term, yiding, that is used in bone inscriptions to refer to use of the large-scale tetrapod ding. I translate yiding nominally as “the spirit empowered ding ritual vessel” and verbally as “to use the spirit empowered ding bronze vessel in sacrifice.” Yi is a term used elsewhere in bozi inscriptions to refer to spirit empowerment, and is related to the modern graph usually translated “to be unusual, extraordinary or different.” Large-scale fangding only belong to the highest ranking Shang royalty, and, based on current archaeological finds, probably specifically kings and heirs apparent. Large-scale tetrapod ding have been excavated from Erligang Period sites but they are not inscribed nor have they been identified with royal burials. The pairs of large-scale tetrapod ding from late Shang royal tombs include M1004 belonging to King Zu Jia and the Wuguancun ya-shaped burial belonging to Hou (Queen) Wu, wife of King Wu Ding and mother of King Zu Jia. Because the large-scale pair of tetrapod ding belonging to Fu Zi were inscribed Queen Xin (Queen Mother Xin) they belong to her son, the heir apparent. For similar reasons the large tetrapod ding surviving from Wuguancun, inscribed Queen Wu (Queen Mother Wu) was also
FN14: Yang came to the same conclusion in his commentary on Xiao Ji in his Shi Ji Yinbenji, 62-65.

FN15: There is debate about the pronunciation and reading of the name, whether it is Qiao or Tu and who this inscribed name identifies, as reviewed most recently by Cao, 90-104,129. It is unclear whether there is a relationship of the gui of Hou Qiao/Tu Gui and the Mother Gui worshipped in Oracle-Bone Period I inscriptions, listed in Yao at Leizuan, no.1468CD. This Mother Gui of Oracle-Bone Period I did not continue as object of royal worship in the Cyclical Rites that became solidified in the next generation of Period II inscriptions.

FN16: As also pointed out by Zhu Fenghan, gui must be identified as the posthumous day on which this Queen was worshipped, on the basis that this characterizes the nomenclature of other queens in bone inscriptions (pp.435-436). Cao's attempt to identify Gui as a clan name and not a posthumous day name thus, although interesting is unconvincing (pp.97-100).

FN17: I follow Wang Yuxin's identification of cong when used verbally to indicate the king's or queen's cong, "to accompany in leading troops" or "to lead" (1979,2).

FN18: Zhao interprets this graph to refer to a pit dug and sunk to capture deer and thus to a hunt enjoyed together by King Wu Ding and Queen Fu Zi (p.103).

FN19: Ya is the probably the highest ranking military title, comparable in English to Commander in Chief, as suggested by references in Shang bone inscriptions to various royal clans and persons who are well-known Shang military leaders, such as Ya Que, Ya Xian, Ya Bi, etc. and by the major position this graph maintains in clan inscriptions (see Chen's analyses, 508-510 and Chang Tsung-tung (48, note 1, p.117, and no.7,p.19).

FN20: I follow Wang Yuxin's reading of jian as "to have royal audience" when used in the context of the king and queen (1979,2).

FN21: This assessment agrees with the evidence that the duo fu or many fu were officials with responsibilities comparable to the duo chen or male officials in the Shang royal hierarchy (Zhao, 104-105).

FN22: Zhao makes a similar point that the Zhou dynasty female official called shifu,
although possibly evolved from the Shang responsibilities of the duofu, is not comparable with the Zhou shifu of the Zhou Li. The latter were not officials and therefore the two, one Late Shang and the other Late Zhou are not comparable (pp.105-106).

FN23. For a different translation of this inscription see Wang, 1979 no.48.

FN24: As identified by Zhao, 1988, 365-366 and Xu, 1990,62. As noted by Lefeuvre there are three graphs usually read zi, to die (1985,372) but two are variations of cang, “to be buried” “to bury,” or “to hold a burial rite.”

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“1969-1977nian Yinxu Xichu Mucang Fajue Baogao,” *Kaogu*
婦子：商時代的婦女武士（提要）

Elizabeth Childs-Johnson

婦子，子姓的高貴女兒在殷商歷史上（公元前1600-1100左右）是最著名及最有權力的女子，且在商王武丁的三位妻室中最為突出。在十三世紀，武丁乃殷建都殷墟（今安陽，即大邑商或中商附近）後五十九年間的統治者，至於子姓貴族的女兒在死後被尊稱為后辛、母辛、妣辛等名號，而當其法定子裔「祖己」（武丁的第一男孫）繼承為商代第二十二任君王後，婦子遂肯定了其王妃或后的身份，而武丁另外兩位王妃（后）則分別誕下祖己的繼任者——祖庚和祖甲。婦子在歷史上不僅是一位出色的后母，也是武丁最喜愛的配偶，同時亦擔當英明的軍隊指揮者，又是當地的行政官和土地擁有者。本文打算利用考古及古文字材料介紹婦子在歷史上的意義。
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