

DAVID NOEL KEIGHTLEY (1932–2017),
PUBLICATIONS AND UNPUBLISHED
WRITINGS: A COMPREHENSIVE
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND RESEARCH GUIDE

Frank Joseph Shulman*

Compiled, selectively annotated and edited by Frank Joseph Shulman, this comprehensive bibliography and research guide is based upon the six-page “Bibliography of the Writings of David N. Keightley” that appeared in David N. Keightley, *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China* (edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014). In its present, significantly expanded and updated version, it is designed as a classified as well as chronologically organized record and guide that can enable its users to have a better idea not only of Keightley’s many contributions to our current knowledge about early China through his research and writings but also of the evolution – the trajectory – of his scholarship between the 1960s and the early 2010s. It frequently indicates, for example, the relationship between a conference paper or a guest lecture that he delivered and a journal article/chapter in an edited volume that he subsequently published. The tables of contents or their counterparts are provided for Keightley’s English-language monographs, for many of his articles and book chapters, and for his doctoral dissertation and B.A. thesis; brief descriptive annotations appear within a substantial number of the entries; and translations are included for nearly all non-English language titles. While this work has sought to be as comprehensive as possible in its bibliographical coverage of printed publications, published and unpublished conference papers, and the scholarly reviews of his books, with a few exceptions their existence in electronic format is not explicitly indicated.

Wen-Yi Huang (Ph.D. candidate in Chinese history, Department of History and Classical Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada) participated in various stages of the preparation of this work, and she assisted especially in the editing of the information that appears for Chinese-language publications. The other particularly notable contributors were the members of the staff of Resource Sharing & Reserves at the University of Maryland at College Park Libraries, who

* Frank Joseph Shulman 蘇文, Bibliographer, Editor and Consultant for Reference Publications in Asian Studies; email: fshulman@umd.edu.

Note: In Chinese language publications, David N. Keightley is known as Ji Dewei 吉德偉.

arranged for the interlibrary loan of many of David Keightley's publications in either print or electronic format, and Monique Abud (École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Centre d'études sur la Chine moderne et contemporaine, Paris, France), who researched several databases and identified works that might otherwise have been overlooked. Assistance was also provided by Sarah Allan (Editor, *Early China*), Christina E. Barber (Deputy Archivist, Amherst College), Janet M. Bunde (Curator, New York University Archives), Yegor Grebnev (Oxford University), "OskiCat" (the online catalog of the Libraries of the University of California, Berkeley), Andras Mark Szekeres (Budapest, Hungary), Tong Weimin 仝韋敏 (Associate Librarian, Beijing Normal University), and Hartmut Walravens (Berlin, Germany).

The impetus for the preparation of this bibliography and research guide was the desire to pay tribute to the late David N. Keightley. Not only was he a renowned historian, Sinologist and recipient of a MacArthur Fellowship, but he was also a particularly active participant during the 1970s in the international efforts to assist the Soviet Jewish "refusednik" and Sinologist, Vitaly A. Rubin (1923–1981), in his struggle to secure an exit visa to Israel. It is hoped that the publication of the present work in *Early China* will help keep David N. Keightley's memory alive by constituting a valuable resource which scholars, students and library and information specialists around the world will consult for years to come.

This comprehensive bibliography and research guide is organized into ten major sections as follows:

- Monographs
- Editorships and Edited Volumes
- Dissertations and Theses
- Articles and Book Chapters
- Review Articles and Reviews
- Translations
- Conference Papers, Seminar Papers, Guest Lectures, and Selected Unpublished Manuscripts
- Reviews of David N. Keightley's Publications
- Other Publications
- Publications and Information about David N. Keightley

Within each section (except for the reviews of Keightley's five books), all of the bibliographical entries are arranged in chronological order without any regard to the languages in which they are written.

MONOGRAPHS

Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1978. xvii, 281p. 15 leaves of plates. ISBN 0-520-02969-0 (hardcover). Second edition, 1985. xvii, 281p. ISBN 0-520-05455-5 (paperback). The 1985 edition, the first printing in paperback, contains "corrections to the more egregious typographical errors" in the first edition as well as a new preface.

"Defines the nature of oracle-bone inscriptions, shows how they may be deciphered and dated, and suggests how they may be used as sources" for studying the "historical period"—the era of the eight or nine kings from Wu Ding to Di Xin (ca.1200–1050 B.C.)—for which contemporary Shang inscriptions exist.

Contents: Preface. Preamble. 1. Shang Divination Procedures. 2. The Divination Inscriptions. 3. Deciphering the Inscriptions. 4. Dating the Inscriptions: Relative Chronology. 5. The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions as Historical Sources. Appendix 1: Identification of the Inscribed Turtle Shells of Shang, by James F. Berry. Appendix 2: The Ratio of Scapulas to Plastrons. Appendix 3: The Size of the Sample. 4. Absolute Chronology: A Brief Note. 5. Relative Chronology: The Periodicity of Divination Topics and Idioms. 33 figures (following page 182). 38 tables on pages 183–228. Bibliography A: Oracle-Bones Collections Cited and Their Abbreviations: pp.229–231. Bibliography B: Other Works Cited: pp.232–256. Finding List of Inscriptions and Oracle Bones Cited: pp.257–266. Index: pp.267–281.

The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China (ca. 1200–1045 B.C.). Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2000. xiv, 209p. (China research monograph, 53). ISBN 1-55729-070-9 (paperback).

"Primarily a study in retrospective cultural anthropology" that is based on oracle-bone inscriptions which "provide numerous insights into the experiences and priorities of the Shang kings." It includes translations, in context, of over 150 of the inscriptions.

Contents: Preface. Citation and Transcription Conventions. 1. Climate. 2. Agriculture. 3. Time: Days, Nights, and Suns. 4. Time: Calendrical Structures. 5. Space: Center and Periphery. 6. Space and Orientation. 7. Community: The Land and Its Inhabitants. 8. Cosmologies and Legacies: The "Winds" of Shang. 9 figures. 3 tables. Key to the Inscriptions Translated, by Reference Number: pp.147–151. Index to the Inscriptions Translated: pp.153–157. Bibliography A: Abbreviations for the Oracle-Bone Collections and Reference Works Cited: pp.159–162. Bibliography B: Other Works Cited: pp.163–200. Index: pp.201–209.

Published in Korean as *Kapkol ūi segye: Sangdae Chungguk ūi sigan, konggan, kongdongch'e*, by Teibidū N. K'at'ulli; translated by Min Hu-gi. *갑골의 세계: 상대 (商代) 중국의 시간, 공간, 공동체 / 데이비드 N. 카틀리 지음; 민 후기 옮김*. Söul-si: Hagyon Munhwasa, 2008. 295p.

Working for His Majesty: Research Notes on Labor Mobilization in Late Shang China (ca.1200–1045 B.C.), as Seen in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions, with Particular Attention to Handicraft Industries, Agriculture, Warfare, Hunting, Construction, and the Shang's Legacies. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2012. xxiv, 507p. (China research monograph, 67). ISBN 978-1-55729-102-8 (paperback).

"Focuses on what the oracle-bone inscriptions can tell us about the ideological assumptions and administrative practices that permitted the Late Shang rulers to create a dynamic state and its legacy." Builds upon the first half of Keightley's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (1969), "Public Work in Ancient China: A Study of Forced Labor in the Shang and Western Chou."

Contents: Preface. Notes about the Sources, Citation, and the Transcription Conventions. 1. Introduction: The Setting. 2. The Work and the Workshops. 3. The Artisan Corps. 4. The Zhong and the Ren. 5. Punishments, Human Sacrifice, and Accompanying-in-Death. 6. Labor Mobilization. 7. Who Was Mobilized. 8. The Occupational Lineages. 9. Numbers. 10. Work Schedule of the Diviners. 11. Leadership. 12. The Work: Agriculture. 13. The Work: Warfare. 14. The Work: Hunting. 15. The Work: Construction. 16. Some Elements of Ritual Concern. 17. The Role of Geopolitics and Culture. 18. The Legacies. 1 figure. 3 tables. Appendix 1: Inscription Glosses: pp.250–274. Appendix 2: Glossary of Shang Terms and Phrases: pp.275–367. Bibliography A: Abbreviations for the Oracle-Bone Collections and Other Reference Works: pp.368–372. Bibliography B: Other Works Cited: pp.373–482. Key to the Transcriptions Translated: pp.483–487. Index: pp.488–507.

These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China. Edited and with an Introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014. xviii, 340p. (SUNY series in Chinese philosophy and culture). ISBN 978-1-4384-4747-6 (hardcover); ISBN 978-1-4384-4746-9 (paperback).

Brings together many of Keightley's seminal essays on the origins of early Chinese civilization written over a period of three decades. Each of the twelve essays appears as an individual entry within the section of this bibliography that is entitled "Articles and Book Chapters."

Contents: Photograph of David N. Keightley. Preface. Introduction. Part One: What Makes China Chinese? 1. Archaeology and Mentality:

The Making of China. 2. Early Civilization in China: Reflections on How It Became Chinese. 3. What Did Make the Chinese “Chinese”? Some Geographical Perspectives. Part Two: Religion, Metaphysics, and Theology. 4. The Religious Commitment: Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture. 5. Late Shang Divination: The Magico-Religious Legacy. 6. Shang Divination and Metaphysics. 7. The Making of the Ancestors: Late Shang Religion and Its Legacy. Part Three: On Writing and Inscriptions. 8. Theology and the Writing of History: Truth and the Ancestors in the Wu Ding Divination Records. 9. Marks and Labels: Early Writing in Neolithic and Shang China. Part Four: Early China/Early Greece. 10. Clean Hands and Shining Helmets: Heroic Action in Early Chinese and Greek Culture. 11. Epistemology in Cultural Context: Disguise and Deception in Early China and Early Greece. Part Five: A Lighter Touch. 12. Notes and Comments: “There Was an Old Man of Chang’an...”: Limericks and the Teaching of Early Chinese History. Bibliography of the Writings of David N. Keightley: pp.315–320. Index: pp.321–340.

EDITORSHIPS AND EDITED VOLUMES

Newsletter of the Society for the Study of Pre-Han China. Berkeley, California: Department of History, University of California, February 1969–September 1974. 4 issues: no.1 (1969), no.2 (1970), no.3 (1972), no.4 (1974).

Keightley served as an editor of the newsletter during his earliest years as a faculty member in the History Department.

Early China (Berkeley, California). Volume 1- , Fall 1975- . Annual. The Journal of the Society for the Study of Early China.

First published “as a newsletter devoted to the dissemination of information and the testing of new ideas in the fields of pre-historic Shang, Chou, and Han China” by the Society for the Study of Early China and then, as it evolved into a journal, jointly published by the Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley. Published solely by Cambridge University Press beginning with volume 37 (2014). Includes articles, review articles, book reviews, research notes and communications, translations, columns of dissertation abstracts, annual bibliographies of recent publications, topical bibliographies, and news of the field. Keightley, one of the founders of the journal, served as the editor of volumes 1–13 (1975–1988), as an associate editor of volumes 14–15 (1989–1990), and as a member of the editorial board for volumes 16–17 (1991–1992).

The Origins of Chinese Civilization, edited by David N. Keightley. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983. xxix, 617p. (Studies on China, 1). ISBN 0-520-04229-8 (cloth); ISBN 0-520-04230-1 (paperback).

Essays by specialists in archaeology, art history, botany, climatology, cultural anthropology, epigraphy, ethnography, linguistics, metallurgy, physical anthropology, and political and social history that were presented at the Conference on the Origins of Chinese Civilization, University of California, Berkeley, June 26–30, 1978.

Contents: Preface. Part One: Environment and Agriculture. 1. The Evolution of the Chinese Environment, by Robert Orr Whyte. 2. The Domestication of Plants in China: Ecogeographical Considerations, by Hui-lin Li. 3. The Origins and Early Cultures of the Cereal Grains and Food Legumes, by Te-tzu Chang. 4. Swidden Cultivation of Foxtail Millet by Taiwan Aborigines: A Cultural Analogue of the Domestication of *Setaria italica* in China, by Wayne H. Fogg. Part Two: Cultures and Peoples. 5. The Ch'ing-lien-kang Culture and the Chinese Neolithic, by Richard Pearson with the Assistance of Shyh-Charng Lo. 6. Origins and Development of the Yüeh Coastal Neolithic: A Microcosm of Culture Change on the Mainland of East Asia, by William Meacham. 7. The Relationship of the Painted Pottery and Lung-shan Cultures, by Louisa G. Fitzgerald Huber. 8. The Origins of Chinese Civilization: Soviet Views, by Karl Jettmar. 9. Further Evidence to Support the Hypothesis of Indigenous Origins of Metallurgy in Ancient China, by Noel Barnard. 10. On Bronze and Other Metals in Early China, by Ursula Martius Franklin. 11. Origins of the Chinese People: Interpretations of the Recent Evidence, by W. W. Howells. Part Three: Language and Writing. 12. Recent Archaeological Evidence Relating to the Origin of Chinese Characters, by Cheung Kwong-Yue. 13. Archaic Chinese, by Fang Kuei Li. Part Four: Tribe and State. 14. The Chinese and Their Neighbors in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times, by E. G. Pulleyblank. 15. Tribe to State or State to Tribe in Ancient China?, by Morton H. Fried. 16. Sandai Archaeology and the Formation of States in Ancient China: Processual Aspects of the Origins of Chinese Civilization, by K. C. Chang. 17. The Late Shang State: When, Where, and What?, by David N. Keightley. Concluding Remarks, by K. C. Chang. Finding List of Carbon-14 Dates Cited: pp.583–585. Index and Glossary: pp.587–617.

International Conference on Shang Civilization: Abstracts of the Papers Presented and a Summary of the Discussions, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, 7–11 September 1982. Prepared by Lothar von Falkenhausen; edited by Nancy T. Price and David N. Keightley. Berkeley, California:

Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1986. iv, 68p. (Early China, Supplement 1 (1986)).

Abstracts of thirty-one papers presented in the following nine sessions: "Shang beyond Anyang", "Archaeology at Anyang", "Tomb Number Five at Anyang and Fu Zi", "Shang Divination", "Nature and Cosmology", "Language and Epigraphy of the Shang Inscriptions", "Periodization", "State and Society: I", and "State and Society: II".

DISSERTATION AND THESES

Written by David N. Keightley

"The 'Conjuror Laureat': The Artistic Significance of Marlowe's Renaissance Position." B.A. Thesis. Bachelor of Arts with honors [magna cum laude] in English, Amherst College (Amherst, Massachusetts), 1953. [2], 81p. Faculty Supervisor: name not known. Available at Amherst College Archives & Special Collections, call number: THESIS Keightley.

On Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593), an eminent English playwright, poet and translator of the Elizabethan era.

Contents: Note on the Text. 1. Introduction: The Middle Ages. 2. Le Miracle de Théophile. 3. The Renaissance. 4. Marlowe's Tragic Boundaries. 5. The Tragic and Intellectual Paradoxes Leading to Faustus' Damnation. 6. Faustus' Logic. 7. Damnation and the Nature of Hell. 8. Marlowe the Renaissance Artist. Appendix: "Homo Fuge!". Bibliography: pp.79–81.

"Montoire: An Account and Evaluation." Master's Thesis. M.A. in Modern European History, New York University, 1956. Pagination not known. Faculty Supervisor: name not known. Not available at the library or archives of New York University as of May 2017.

On a diplomatic meeting between Adolf Hitler and General Franco of Spain in October 1940.

"Public Work in Ancient China: A Study of Forced Labor in the Shang and Western Chou." Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, 1969. ©1972. 3, xi, 411p. 3 figures. 12 tables. Written under the direction of Hans Bielenstein. Abstract: *Dissertation Abstracts International* (Ann Arbor, Michigan) 32, no.12 (June 1972): 6870A-6871A. University Microfilms International (Ann Arbor, Michigan) order number 72-15,577.

Examines the Shang and Zhou states' control of labor resources, namely the "comprehensive system of labor mobilization in which the same conscripts were sent to fight, clear and farm the land, build city

walls and buildings, and work at the sundry tasks of production and manufacture required by the ruling class." Relies primarily on the oracle-bone inscriptions of the Shang period, on Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, and on the early sections of the *Shangshu* (also known as the *Shujing*) and the *Shijing*.

Contents: Abstract. Preface. Introduction. Part One: Public Work in the Shang Dynasty. 1. State Labor in the Shang Dynasty. 2. Public Work in the Shang Dynasty. Part Two: Public Work in the Western Chou. 3. State Labor in the Western Chou. 4. Public Work in the Western Chou. 5. Conclusions. Appendixes: I. Slavery in the Shang Dynasty. II. The Chronology of Shang and Western Chou. III. The Reproduction and Translation of Inscriptions. 3 figures. 12 tables. Bibliography: pp.388–411.

Directed by David N. Keightley

Keegan, David Joseph. "The 'Huang-ti nei-ching': The Structure of the Compilation; The Significance of the Structure." Ph.D. Dissertation, Ph.D. in History, University of California, Berkeley, 1988. xxiii, 370p. On the *Huangdi nei jing*.

Brown, Miranda Dymyna. "Men in Mourning: Ritual, Human Nature, and Politics in Warring States and Han China, 453 BC–AD 220." Ph.D. Dissertation, Ph.D. in History, University of California, Berkeley, 2002. v, 315p.

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

"Archaeology and History in Chinese Society." In *Paleoanthropology in the People's Republic of China: A Trip Report of the American Paleoanthropology Delegation: Submitted to the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China* [May 15–June 14, 1975], edited by W. W. Howells and Patricia Jones Tsuchitani (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1977): 123–129. (CSCPRC Report no.4).

Based on visits to three university history departments, six major historical museums, and numerous sites in Beijing, Xi'an, Anyang, Zhengzhou, Nanjing, Shanghai and elsewhere throughout China.

Contents: [1] History in the University. [2] History in the Museum. [3] Evaluation.

"Editorial." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 1 (Fall 1975): i–ii; 2 (Fall 1976): i; 3 (Fall 1977): i; 4 (1978–79): i; 5 (1979–80): i; 6 (1980–81): i; 7 (1981–82): i–ii; 8 (1982–83): i.

All of the editorials were written in Keightley's role as the editor of *Early China*.

"Bookstores in China." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 1 (Fall 1975): 4–6.

Based on a visit in 1975 to several cities including Beijing and Shanghai as a member of a U.S. delegation to China formed by the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China.

"On the Misuse of Ancient Chinese Inscriptions: An Astronomical Fantasy." *History of Science* (Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks, England) 15, pt.4 (1977): 267–272.

Refutes P. M. Muller and S. A. Stephenson's assertion that Ku fang 209 refers to a great eclipse of the sun on cyclical day 35 in the month of June.

"Space Travel in Bronze Age China?" *The Skeptical Inquirer* 3, no.2 (Winter 1978): 58–63. Published in Chinese as "Zhongguo qingtong shidai you yuzhou luxing ma 中國青銅時代有宇宙旅行嗎?", translated by Liu Xueshun 劉學順. *Yindu xuekan 殷都學刊* (Anyang, Henan) 3 (2001): 31–33.

Criticizes a news story in the *Chicago Daily News* (April 24, 1974) in which a Bronze Age record of an ominous celestial event became an account of space travel.

"The Religious Commitment: Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture." *History of Religions* (Chicago, Ill.) 17, no.3/4 (February–May 1978): 211–225. A preliminary version, entitled "The Origins of Chinese Political Culture: The Religious Catalyst," was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, New York City, March 1972. Reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 87–99.

"Suggests that a positive relationship existed between Shang religious belief and later bureaucratic conceptions" in traditional Chinese culture and that the form which political authority and the civil theology supporting it eventually took "continued to manifest a commitment to the hierarchical, authoritarian, quasimagical, bureaucratic features" that existed in the "characteristic generationalism and contractual logic of Shang ancestor worship."

Contents: [1] Religion and the Shang State. [2] The Bureaucratic Logic of Shang Religion. [3] Generationalism. [4] The Religious Commitment.

"The *Bamboo Annals* and Shang-Chou Chronology." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.) 38, no.2 (December 1978): 423–438.

Asserts that it is "probably mistaken" to use the *Zhushu Jinian*, a set of early Chinese court records written on bamboo slips that is known to

Western historians as the *Bamboo Annals*, as a source of Shang-Zhou chronology.

Contents: [1] [Introduction]. [2] The Bamboo Annals as a Shang Source. [3] The Bamboo Annals as a Western Chou Source. [4] Conclusions.

"Improving Student Writing Skills in a History Lecture Course." *The History Teacher* (Long Beach, Calif.) 12, no.2 (February 1979): 171-179.

On a project conducted at the University of California, Berkeley, in a lecture course about the origins of Chinese civilization during winter 1977.

Contents: [1] The Project. [2] The Project in Operation. [3] Student Reactions. [4] Reactions of the Graduate Student Readers. [5] Independent Evaluation by Outside Reader. [6] Reactions of the Professor: Conclusions and Future Plans.

"The Shang State as Seen in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 5 (1979-80): 25-34. First prepared as a documentary appendix to "The Late Shang State: When, Where, and What?" (1983).

Contents: [1] Sovereignty. [2] Territoriality. [3] Religion and Kinship. [4] Alliances and Military. [5] Exchange: Trade and Tribute(?). [6] Conclusions.

"The Shang Dynasty (c. 1480-1050 BC): The State; Divination; Religion; The Economy; Bronze Working." In *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of China*, edited by Brian Hook (general editor); consultant editor: Denis Twitchett (Cambridge, England, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982): 163-165. 2nd edition: "Shang: The First Historical Dynasty (c.1554-1045 BC): The State; Divination; Religion; Economy; Bronze Working" (Cambridge, England, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 142-145.

Keightley was one of sixty-nine international contributors to this major encyclopedia on the land, resources, economy, inhabitants, society, history, politics, philosophy, religion, language, literature, music, art, architecture, science and technology of China.

"The Late Shang State: When, Where, and What?" In *The Origins of Chinese Civilization*, edited by David N. Keightley (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983): 523-564. Published in Chinese as "Wan Shang de fangyu ji qi dili guannian 晚商的方輿及其地理觀念," translated by Ma Baochun 馬保春. In *Jiuzhou 九州* Volume 4, edited by Tang Xiaofeng 唐曉峰 (Beijing: Beijing shangwu chubanshe, 2007): 133-175. First presented as a paper at the Conference on the Origins of Chinese Civilization, University of California, Berkeley, June 26-30, 1978.

Concludes that “the origin of the Chinese state involved a slow and gradual evolution, from the ‘general kin-based patterns of social interaction that characterize smaller-scale societies’ to ‘professionalized and institutionally-differentiated’ political activities.”

Contents: [1] The Shang State: When. [2] The Shang State: Where. [3] Mapping the Shang State. [4] The Geography of the Shang State. [5] The Shang State: What. [6] Conclusions: The Incipient Dynastic State.

“Late Shang Divination: The Magico-Religious Legacy.” In *Explorations in Early Chinese Cosmology*, edited by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984): 11–34. (*Journal of the American Academy of Religion Studies. JAAR Thematic Studies* 50/2). First presented at the Workshop on Classical Chinese Thought, Harvard University, August 2–13, 1976. Reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 101–121.

Characterizes significant aspects of Shang divination—including the “rationality and clarity of the divination charges”, the order and “categorical unambiguosness” of those charges, the “prophetic and transcendental worldview” of Shang prophecy, and the “flexibility” which the Shang diviners obtained by means of the “strong emphasis they placed upon timeliness”—and considers their possible Zhou legacies. Published as the first of seven essays in a volume dedicated to the memory of Vitaly A. Rubin, a Soviet Jewish refusednik on whose behalf Keightley vigorously campaigned during the early 1970s.

Contents: [1] Introduction. [2] Late Shang Divination. [3] The Legacies, Metaphysical and Ethical. [4] Conclusions.

“Reports from the Shang: A Corroboration [i.e., Correction] and Some Speculations.” *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 9–10 (1983–1985): 20–54. Abstracts in English and in Chinese appear on two unnumbered pages at the beginning of the volume.

Concludes that “erh kao” rather than “shang chi” is the correct reading of a specific oracle-bone crack notation, and considers “the possible meaning of various ‘kao’ crack notations, how certain strategic period II inscriptions might be punctuated and translated, and how we can explain the disappearance of ‘kao’ and the appearance of ‘chi’ as a crack notation in period III.” Accompanied by comments from Sarah Allan, David S. Nivison, Edward Shaughnessy, Ken-ichi Takashima and Léon Vandermeersch and a reply from David Keightley.

Contents: [1] Chi or Kao? [2] The Evolution of the Crack Notations: A Hypothesis. [3] Counterproposals. [4] The Meaning of the Kao Crack Notations. [5] Conclusion.

“La civiltà cinese antica”. *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 9–10 (1983–1985): 384–386.

Brief report in English about an international conference on early Chinese civilization that was held at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice, Italy, on April 1–5, 1985. It includes a full listing of the papers that were presented by both Western and Chinese scholars, among them David N. Keightley.

“Main Trends in American Studies of Chinese History: Neolithic to Imperial Times.” *The History Teacher* (Long Beach, Calif.) 19, no.4 (August 1986): 527–543.

Contents: [1] The Rise of the Specialist. [2] Major Studies and Aids. [3] Translation: Past and Present. [4] New Texts and Their Contributions. [5] Concluding Remarks.

“Zhongguo zhengshi zhi yuanyuan: Shangwang zhanbu shifou yiguan zhengque 中國正史之淵源：商王占卜是否一貫正確？ (The Origins of Orthodox Historiography in China: Were the Shang Kings Always Right?).” *Guwenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究 (Beijing) 13 (1986): 117–128.

“Archaeology and Mentality: The Making of China.” *Representations* (Berkeley, Calif.) 18 (Spring 1987): 91–128. First presented at La civiltà cinese antica, an International Study Conference on Early Chinese Civilization, Venezia, Italy, April 1–5, 1985. Reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 1–36. Published in Chinese as “Cong kaogu qiwu kan Zhongguo siwei shijie de xingcheng 從考古器物看中國思維世界的形成。” In *Zhongguo wenhua yu Zhongguo zhexue* 中國文化與中國哲學 (Chinese Culture and Chinese Philosophy) (1988), edited by Tang Yijie 湯一介 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1990): 466–500. A second Chinese version was published as “Kaoguxue yu sixiang zhuangtai: Zhongguo de chuangjian 考古學與思想狀態—中國的創建,” translated by Chen Xingcan 陳星燦. *Huaxia kaogu* 華夏考古 (Zhengzhou, Henan) 1 (1993): 97–108. A third Chinese version was published as “Wenhua xintai kaoju: Zhongguo zaoxing xinli tanyuan (jieyi) 文化心態考據—中國造型心理探源 (節譯),” translated by Li Ronghua 李榮華. *Nanfang wenwu* 南方文物 (Nanchang, Jiangxi) 1 (1993): 118–125.

“Suggests new ways of approaching the pre-Shang archaeological evidence” by “attempting to identify the particular features that revealed prehistoric habits of thought and behavior that were to play a strategic role in the genesis of Shang culture”; and asks “historical and

cultural questions of the archaeological data, directed to particular events and the meaning that they had for their participants.”

Contents: [1] Two Cultural Complexes. [2] Pottery Manufacture. [3] Model Emulation. [4] Upward and Onward. [5] Pottery Use. [6] Channels of Constraint. [7] Fit and Mensuration. [8] The Mentality of the East.

“Prehistory.” In *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia*, Volume 16, edited by the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. 15th edition (Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1987): 62–65.

“The First Historical Dynasty: The Shang.” In *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia*, Volume 16, edited by the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. 15th edition (Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1987): 65–67.

“Astrology and Cosmology in the Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions.” *Cosmos: The Yearbook of the Traditional Cosmology Society* (Edinburgh, Scotland) 3 (1987): 36–40. First presented as a paper at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, San Francisco, April 1980.

“Shang Dynasty.” In *Encyclopedia of Asian History*, Volume 3, edited by Ainslee T. Embree (editor-in-chief); prepared under the auspices of the Asia Society (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons; London: Collier Macmillan, 1988): 426–429.

Discusses the nature, extent and personalized character of the Shang kings, the tombs of the last eight kings of Xibeigang, Shang burial sacrifices, the ritual bronze vessels found in royal tombs, the oracle-bone inscriptions and what they reveal, and Keightley’s belief that the “Late Shang state is best understood as a patrimonial polity.”

“Shang Divination and Metaphysics.” *Philosophy East and West* (Honolulu, Hawaii) 38, no.4 (October 1988): 367–397. A considerably revised version of a paper entitled “Shang Divination and Shang Metaphysics (with an Excursion into the Neolithic)” that was presented under the title “Shang Metaphysics” at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, Illinois, March 30, 1973. Reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 123–153.

Sought to “derive metaphysical concepts” from Shang divination—a “core institution of the Shang elite” that was used as a “method to obtain consensus at the royal court” and to “contact the ultrahuman powers of the universe”—in order to achieve a better understanding of the Shang world view.

Contents: [1] Shang Divination in the Reign of Wu Ting. [2] The Magic of the Charges. [3] Legitimizing Function. [4] Complementary Charges and Their Metaphysical Implications. [5] Binary Opposition and Complementarity. [6] The Evolution of Shang Divinatory Practice and Belief. [7] Metaphysics and Bureaucratic Procedure. [8] Concluding Speculations.

“The Origins of Writing in China: Scripts and Cultural Contexts.” In *The Origins of Writing*, edited by Wayne M. Senner (Lincoln, Neb., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989): 171–202.

Contents: [1] The Significance of the Topic. [2] The Evolution of Chinese Writing. [3] The Origins of Writing in China.

“Comment.” *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 14 (1989): 138–146.

Comment presented as a part of the Early China Forum on Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, “An Examination of Whether the Charges in Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions Are Questions.” Accompanied by comments from Fan Yuzhou, Jao Tsung-i, Jean A. Lefevre, Li Xueqin, David S. Nivison, Edward L. Shaughnessy, and Wang Yuxin.

Contents: [1] Regarding Yi and Zhi. [2] The Stopper Hypothesis. [3] The Evolution and Anthropology of Divination Practices.

“There Was an Old Man of Changan...’: Limericks and the Teaching of Early Chinese History.” *The History Teacher* (Long Beach, Calif.) 22, no. 3 (May 1989): 325–328. Reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 311–313.

Reproduces a small sample of the limericks written by students in some of Keightley’s lecture courses at Berkeley about “the events and persons of early China” whom they encountered.

“Craft and Culture: Metaphors of Governance in Early China.” In *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan di er jie guoji hanxue huiyi lunwenji: lishi yu kaogu zu* 中央研究院第 2 屆國際漢學會議論文集: 歷史與考古組 (Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Sinology: Section on History and Archaeology), edited by Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1989): 31–70.

“Zhongguo gudai de jiri yu miaohao 中國古代的吉日與廟號 (Lucky Days and Temple Names in Ancient China).” *Yinxu bowuyuan yuankan* (*chuangkan hao*) 殷墟博物苑苑刊 (創刊號) 1 (1989): 20–32.

"Early Civilization in China: Reflections on How It Became Chinese." In *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization*, edited by Paul S. Ropp (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, England: University of California Press, 1990): 15–94. An earlier version of this essay was presented at Stanford University, Stanford, California, on November 18, 1986. Reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 37–73. Published in Italian as "L'antica civiltà della Cina: riflessioni su come divenne 'cinese.'" In *L'eredità della cina*, edited by Paul S. Ropp (Torino: Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 1994): 33–68. Published in Chinese as "Fansi zaoqi Zhongguo wenhua zhi chengyin 反思早期中國文化之成因." In *Meiguo xuezhe lun Zhongguo wenhua 美國學者論中國文化* (American Scholars on Chinese Civilization), edited by Luo Puluo 羅溥洛 (Paul Ropp) (Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi chubanshe, 1994): 17–52.

Suggests some significant and characteristic features of early Chinese culture including "hierarchical social distinctions", the "massive mobilization of labor", the "emphasis on the group rather than the individual and on ritual in all dimensions of life", an "emphasis on formal boundaries and models", an "ethic of service, obligation and emulation", and "little sense of tragedy or irony."

Contents: [1] The Hero and Society. [2] The Neolithic to Bronze Age Transition. [3] Death and the Birth of Civilization. [4] Aesthetics and Style. [5] Religion, Lineage, City, and Trade. [6] The Ultimate Question. [7] Conclusion.

"Ancient Chinese Art: Contexts, Constraints, and Pleasures." *Asian Art* (New York) 3, no.2 (Spring 1990): 2–6.

Briefly discusses the cultural meaning and significance of such excavated artifacts as an Eastern Zhou hu wine vase.

"Zhongguoren shi zenyang chengwei zhongguoren de: Zhongguo gudai wenhua yishu yu gu Xila wenhua yishu zhong de yingxiang chuyi 中國人是怎樣成為中國人的: 中國古代文化藝術與古希臘文化藝術中的英雄芻議 (How Chinese Became Chinese: A Preliminary Study of Heroes in Early Chinese and Greek Culture and Art)." In *Zhongguo wenhua yu Zhongguo zhexue 中國文化與中國哲學* (1989), edited by Tang Yijie 湯一介 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1991): 339–365.

"The Quest for Eternity in Ancient China: The Dead, Their Gifts, Their Names." In *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China: Papers on Chinese Ceramic Funerary Sculptures*, edited by George Kuwayama (Los Angeles:

Far Eastern Art Council, Los Angeles County Museum of Art; distributed by the University of Hawaii Press, 1991): 12–24.

The first of five papers presented during a symposium at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, December 5–6, 1987, that was held in conjunction with a comprehensive exhibition of Chinese funerary figures dating from the Neolithic period to the Ming dynasty. It addresses such questions as “what eternity meant to the ancient Chinese, whether there was something particularly ‘Chinese’ about their artistic expression of eternity, and whether they conceived of eternity in terms of ‘endless duration’.”

Contents: [1] Eternity, Art, and the Individual. [2] Eternity and Death. [3] Death in the Neolithic. [4] Death in the Bronze Age. [5] Death as Continuity. [6] The Quest for Endurance: Limited and Human.

“Clean Hands and Shining Helmets: Heroic Action in Early Chinese and Greek Culture.” In *Religion and the Authority of the Past*, edited by Tobin Siebers (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993): 13–51. Reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 253–281.

Analyzes the Greek epic traditions represented by Homer’s *Iliad*, Homer’s *Odyssey* and Hesiod’s *Theogony* and their closest equivalents in early China: the *Book of Songs (Shi)*, the “pronouncements of the *Book of Documents (Shu)*”, and the “extensive historical anecdotes recorded in *Zuozhuan*.”

Contents: [1] Representations of the Hero. [2] Heroic Types: A Choice. [3] Hands: Dirty and Clean. [4] Representations of Death. [5] Shining Helmets. [6] Homeric and Chou Passages Compared. [7] Points of View. [8] Death, Morality, and the Absence of Theodicy. [9] Art and Ancestor Worship. [10] The Chinese Hero.

“Sacred Characters.” In *China: Ancient Culture, Modern Land*, edited by Robert E. Murowchick (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994): 70–79.

An account accompanied by several full color illustrations of oracle-bone inscriptions and divinatory practices of the late Shang dynasty.

“A Late Shang Divination Record.” In *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, edited by Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994): 3–4.

“A Measure of Man in Early China: In Search of the Neolithic Inch.” *Chinese Science* (Philadelphia) no.12 (1994–95): 18–40. First presented at

the symposium on “Chinese ‘Identities’”, Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley, February 25–26, 1994.

Shows how the “concern with correct placement, order and fit” — a concern with mensuration, or the “units of standardized measurement by which certain artifacts were constructed” — “can be detected in the Neolithic cultures of Southeast China in the third millennium B.C.”

Contents: [1] The Neolithic Inch. [2] The Inch and the Hand. [3] Jades and Mensuration. [4] Shang Evidence. [5] The Inch of Zhou and Han. [6] Conclusions. [7] Addendum.

“Early Jades in China: Some Cultural Contexts, Social Implications.” In *Collecting Chinese Jade*, edited by Sam Bernstein (San Francisco: S. Bernstein & Co., 1995): 16–19.

Discusses the meaning and use of the jades that were produced in the eastern part of Neolithic China during the fourth and third millennia B.C.

Contents: [1] Axes. [2] Bi Discs and Cong Tubes. [3] Cong and Mensuration.

“Bibliography”. In *The American Historical Association’s Guide to Historical Literature*, edited by Mary Beth Norton (general editor) and Pamela Gerardi (associate editor). 3rd edition. New York and Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1995.

“China to 1644” by Patricia Buckley Ebrey (in volume one, section 10) contains the contributions by David N. Keightley for English-language monographs, journal articles and chapters in edited volumes within the following sub-sections: “Pre-Han Thought” (pp.290–291), “Ancient Period: General Studies” (pp.295–296), “Ancient Period: Neolithic and Shang Dynasty” (p.296), “Chou Dynasty” (pp.296–297), and “The Classics” (p.297).

“Chinese Religions: The State of the Field. Part I, Early Religious Traditions: The Neolithic Period through the Han Dynasty (ca. 4000 B.C.E.–220 C.E.): Neolithic and Shang Periods.” *Journal of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 54, no.1 (February 1995): 128–145.

A review of the work of many Chinese, Japanese and Western scholars including Sarah Allan, Kwang-Chih Chang, Hayashi Minao and Yang Hsi-Chang, followed by a ten-page long list of bibliographical references. Keightley’s contribution is accompanied (on pages 124–128 and 145–160) by Daniel L. Overmeyer’s Introduction and three other essays entitled “Western Chou Period” by Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Spring and Autumn Period” by Constance A. Cook, and “Warring States, Ch’in, and Han Periods” by Donald Harper.

"Art, Ancestors, and the Origins of Writing in China." *Representations* (Berkeley, Calif.) no.56 (Autumn 1996): 68–95 ["Special Issue: The New Erudition"]. First presented as "In Clear and In Code: Pre-Classical Roots of the Great Tradition in China" (annual meeting of the College Art Association, New York City, February 16, 1990) and subsequently, in considerably revised versions, as "'Reding' and 'Riting': The Endurance of the Sacred in Neolithic and Bronze-Age China" (Walter Y. Evans-Wentz Lecture, Stanford University, February 23, 1995) and as "Art and the Ancestors" (Herrlee G. Creel Memorial Lecture, University of Chicago, May 23, 1996).

Considers the "origins of Chinese writing, the stylistic choices that influenced the creation of the early script, and the ways these choices may help explain why Chinese writing remained, in its mature stage, logographic in nature."

Contents: [1] [Introduction]. [2] The Cult of the Dead. [3] Communication with the Dead. [4] The Nature of Ancestors. [5] Early Iconography. [6] Two Dialects: The Naturalistic and Schematic. [7] Art and Early Writing.

"Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions." In *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts*, edited by Edward L. Shaughnessy (Berkeley, Calif.: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1997): 15–55. (Early China special monograph series, no.3). Published in Chinese as "Shangdai jiaguwen 商代甲骨文." In *Zhongguo guwenzi xue daolun 中國古文字學導論* (Introduction to Chinese Palaeography), edited by Xia Hanyi 夏含夷 (Edward L. Shaughnessy) (Beijing: Zhongxi shuju, 2013): 17–63.

Contents: [1] Shang Divination Procedures. [2] Periodization. [3] The Range of Inscription Topics. [4] Deciphering the Inscriptions. [5] Conclusions: *Jiaguwen* and the Writing of History.

"Wan Shang de juehui niandai 晚商的絕對年代 (The Absolute Dates of the Late Shang)." In *Wuwang ke Shang zhi nian yanjiu 武王克商之年研究* (Research on the Date of King Wu's Conquest of Shang), edited by Beijing shifan daxue guoxue yanjiusuo 北京師範大學國學研究所 (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 1997): 507–512.

"Shamanism, Death, and the Ancestors: Religious Mediation in Neolithic and Shang China (ca. 5000–1000 B.C.)." *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde = Études asiatiques: Revue de la Société Suisse d'études asiatiques* (Bern, Switzerland) 52, no.3 (1998): 763–831. First presented at the Kunsthaus Zürich, Zürich, Switzerland, June 5, 1996, in connection with the exhibition "Das alte China:

Menschen und Götter im Reich der Mitte, 5000 v. Chr.-220 n. Chr. (Ancient China: Men and Gods in the Middle Kingdom, 5000 B.C.-220 A.D.)."

Concludes that shamanism, "whose mediations formed part of the non-ecstatic, ordered and statist operations of the Shang court," was "relegated to a role of secondary importance because the Shang kings devoted their primary energy to, and placed their trust in, the regular mediations upon which the strength of their dynasty depended."

Contents: [1] [Introduction]. [2] Shamanism: The Problem of Definition. [3] The Neolithic. [4] The Late Shang. [5] Final Considerations.

"The Environment of Ancient China." In *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge, England, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 30-36.

Discusses the historical evolution of China's coastline as a result of fluctuations in the sea level, the flow of the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers and the "riverine transfer of eolian loess from the northwest regions," changes in China's climate from about 6000 B.C. to the Bronze Age, and the impact of climate change on fauna, flora, and human settlement patterns.

Contents: [1] Geography. [2] Climate and Environment.

"The Shang: China's First Historical Dynasty." In *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge, England, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 232-291.

Includes discussions of the oracle-bone inscriptions as the major historical source, the role of the ancestors and the treatment of the dead in royal Shang religion, and such features of the "dynastic state" as the royal and non-royal lineages, the succession to the throne, agriculture, tribute offerings and service, mobilization and warfare, and slave society.

Contents: [1] Sources. [2] Chronology. [3] Time and the Calendar. [4] Royal Shang Religion. [5] The Dynastic State. [6] Political and Military Developments. [7] The Legacy of Shang.

"At the Beginning: The Status of Women in Neolithic and Shang China." *Nan Nü: Men, Women and Gender in Early and Imperial China* (Leiden, The Netherlands) 1, no.1 (March 1999): 1-63. An earlier version was presented at the panel on "Women in Early China through Epigraphic Sources", annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii, April 11, 1996.

Discusses the inferior “political and economic status of most women, as represented in burial practices and recorded religious beliefs”, and explores “how the status distinction between women and men came about and functioned.”

Contents: [1] Written Characters. [2] Mortuary Evidence: Neolithic (ca.5000–2000 BCE). [3] Paleodemography, Sex Ratios, and Female Infanticide. [4] Secondary Burial and Following-in-Death. [5] Marriage and Social Identity. [6] Grave Goods, Labor, and Status. [7] “Venus” Figures. [8] Bronze-Age Continuities. [9] Inscriptional Evidence: Late Shang (ca.1200–1045 BCE). [10] The Role of the Royal Consorts, Alive and Dead. [11] The Significance of the Xing. [12] Conclusions. [13] Appendix: On the Sexing and Aging of Skeletons.

“The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of the Late Shang Dynasty.” In *Sources of Chinese Tradition. Volume 1: From Earliest Times to 1600*. 2nd edition. Compiled by Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom (New York and Chichester, West Sussex, England: Columbia University Press, 1999): 3–23. (Introduction to Asian Civilizations).

Discusses such elements as the “Shang conceptions of time”, the “power of the dead”, the “high god (Di) and other powers”, “divination and the ancestors”, “divination and legitimation”, “fallibility and accuracy in the Shang divination records”, “divinatory ‘failure’ and the origins of history”, the “role of the king”, and the “evolution of Shang divination.”

Contents: [1] The Shang Dynasty. [2] The Oracle Bone Inscriptions. [3] The Legacy of Shang.

“Theology and the Writing of History: Truth and the Ancestors in the Wu Ding Divination Records.” *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* (Leiden, The Netherlands) 1, nos.1–4 (1999): 207–230. A preliminary version was presented at the Pre-Modern China Seminar, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard University, October 17, 1994. Reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 207–227.

Argues that while most of Wu Ding’s forecasts were accurate, an analysis of the divination records “reveals the modest and fallible nature of his abilities as a seer”. They “must be understood not simply in terms of secular historiography but also in terms of a Shang ancestral theology in which it was important to record the particular days of certain events and—by implication, the ancestors associated with those particular days—that the king’s forecast had invoked.”

Contents: [1] Divination Records under Wu Ding. [2] Theology and History.

“Lun taiyang zai Yindai de zongjiao yiyi 論太陽在殷代的宗教意義” (The Religious Significance of the Sun in Shang Times), translated by Liu Xue-shun 劉學順. *Yindu xuekan* 殷都學刊 (Anyang, Henan) 1 (1999): 16–21.

“Shang Oracle Bone Inscriptions from Anyang, Henan Province.” In *The Golden Age of Chinese Archaeology: Celebrated Discoveries from the People’s Republic of China*, edited by Xiaoneng Yang (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; Kansas City, Missouri: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art; and New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1999): 182–186.

Highlights an inscribed bovid scapula and an inscribed turtle plastron.

“Die chinesischen Orakelnochen” (German: The Chinese Oracle-Bones), translated by Alexandra von Przychowski. In *Orakel: Der Blick in die Zukunft* (Oracles: Looking into the Future), edited by Axel Langer and Albert Lutz (Zürich, Switzerland: Museum Rietberg, 1999): 18–32.

An abridged, German-language version of chapters 1 (“Shang Divination Procedures”) and 2 (“The Divination Inscriptions”) of *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (1978).

“What Did Make the Chinese ‘Chinese’? Musings of a Would-Be Geographical Determinist.” *Lotus Leaves* (San Francisco, Calif.) 3, no.2 (Summer 2000): 1–3. Revised version published under the title “What Did Make the Chinese ‘Chinese’? Some Geographical Perspectives.” *Education about Asia* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 9, no.2 (Fall 2004): 17–23. Reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 75–86.

Discusses such factors as the influence of climate patterns on “mourning, burial practices, and the invention of the ancestor”; the usefulness of paleobotany for “explaining the cultural distinction between North and South China in the prehistoric and early imperial periods”; and the role of China’s geographical isolation in the “genesis of early Chinese culture.”

Contents: [1] [Introduction]. [2] The Impact of Geography. [3] Conclusions.

“Divining the Future, Reading the Past.” In *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations. Volume I: From Antiquity to the Tang Dynasty*, edited by John Minford and Joseph S. M. Lau (New York: Columbia University Press; Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2000): 12–15.

A reprint, accompanied by illustrations, of the preamble on pages 1–2 of *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (1978).

“The Diviners’ Notebooks: Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions as Secondary Sources.” In *Actes du Colloque International Commémorant le Centenaire de la Découverte des Inscriptions sur Os et Carapaces; Proceedings of the International Symposium in Commemoration of the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions Discovery*, edited by Yau Shun-chiu and Chrystelle Maréchal (Paris: Éditions Langages Croisés, 2001): 11–25. Published in Chinese as “Zhenren biji: lun Shangdai jiagu keci shuyu ercixing ziliao 真人筆記：論商代甲骨刻辭屬於二次性資料。” In *Shang Chengzuo jiaoshou bainian danchen jinian wenji 商承祚教授百年誕辰紀念文集* (Centennial Memorial Collected Works of Professor Shang Chengzuo), by Zhongguo wenwu xuehui 中國文物學會, Zhongguo Yin Shang wenhua xuehui 中國殷商文化學會, Zhongshan daxue 中山大學 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003): 239–252.

“Kwang-chih Chang (1931–2001).” *Journal of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 60, no.2 (May 2001): 619–621.

Obituary of a “distinguished archaeologist and anthropologist of early China.”

“The ‘Science’ of the Ancestors: Divination, Curing, and Bronze-Casting in Late Shang China.” *Asia Major* (Taipei) 3rd series, 14, pt.2 (2001): 143–187. A contribution to a “Special Volume in Honour of the Eightieth Birthday of Michael Loewe.” Earlier versions were presented at conferences on Chinese science at the University of California, Berkeley, on February 28, 1978, and in absentia at the University of Chicago on May 10–12, 2002.

“Demonstrates how the theological assumptions of Shang divination, operating within a context of ancestor worship and dealing with such matters as illness and prediction of the weather, intersected with, and served to reinforce many of the cultural traits that also made the technology of Late Shang bronze-casting so remarkably successful.”

Contents: [1] The Predictive Sciences. [2] Weather. [3] Medicine. [4] Enumeration and Regularity. [5] Divinatory Metaphysics. [6] Bronze Casting. [7] Conclusions.

“Epistemology in Cultural Context: Disguise and Deception in Early China and Early Greece.” In *Early China/Ancient Greece: Thinking Through Comparisons*, edited by Steven Shankman and Stephen W. Durrant (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2002): 119–153. (SUNY series in Chinese philosophy and culture). Reprinted in *These*

Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 283–310.

“Examines the prevalence of the theme of disguise in early Greece, particularly in Homer, and its relative absence in Chinese narratives of the Zhou and Han, among them *Zuozhuan*, *Zhuangzi* and *Han Fei Zi*.”

Contents: [1] Disguise in Homer. [2] Epistemological Optimism and Pessimism: Greece and China. [3] Modes of Representation. [4] Magical Disguise in Art. [5] Conclusions.

“Comment on Cecelia F. Klein, et al., ‘The Role of Shamanism in Mesoamerican Art.’” *Current Anthropology* (Chicago, Ill.) 43, no.3 (June 2002): 408–409.

One of several published comments immediately following the article.

“Wo he Zhang Zhenglang xiansheng de wuci huimian 我和張政烺先生的五次會面 (Five Meetings Between Me and Mr. Zhang Zhenglang),” translated by Li Ling 李零. In *Yifen ji: Zhang Zhenglang xiansheng jiushi huadan jinian wenji* 揖芬集: 張政烺先生九十華誕紀念文集 (Festschrift on the Occasion of Mr. Zhang Zhenglang’s Ninetieth Birthday), edited by Zhang Zhenglang xiansheng jiushi huadan jinian wenji bianweihui 張政烺先生九十華誕紀念文集編委會 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2002): 25–26.

“Si er bu wang: Zhang Guangzhi de gongxian 死而不亡: 張光直的貢獻 (Dead But Not Gone: Kwang-Chih Chang’s Contributions),” translated by He Yuming 何予明. In *Sihai wei jia: zhuinian kaoguxuejia Zhang Guangzhi* 四海為家: 追念考古學家張光直 (Remembering Kwang-Chih Chang, Archaeologist and Anthropologist), edited by Sanlian shudian 三聯書店 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2002): 195–198.

Obituary of Kwang-Chih Chang (1931–2001), a distinguished scholar of early China who was a close friend of David Keightley.

“The Making of the Ancestors: Late Shang Religion and Its Legacy.” In *Chinese Religion and Society: The Transformation of a Field. Volume 1: Ancient and Medieval China*, edited by John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press; Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 2004): 3–63. Revised version of the Walker-Ames Lecture presented at the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, on February 23, 1999. Reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 155–206.

Published in Chinese as “Zuxian de chuangzao: wan Shang zongjiao ji qi yichan 祖先的創造: 晚商宗教及其遺產,” translated by Zhou Zhao-duan 周昭端. In *Dangdai xifang hanxue yanjiu jicui: shanggushi juan* 當代西方漢學研究集萃: 上古史卷 (Western Research on China: Ancient History), edited by Yi Peixia 伊沛霞 (Patricia Buckley Ebrey) and Yao Ping 姚平 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012): 19–80.

A study of the way in which the “Shang imagined the dead and the consequences of their imaginings.” Argues that the “dynastic elites of the Late Shang *made* their ancestors and that they made them in a way that had a significant impact on the making of early Chinese culture in general.”

Contents: [1] Ancestor Worship Defined. [2] The Neolithic Background. [3] The Shang Pantheon. [4] Shang Ancestor Worship: Theology and Structure. [5] Temple Names. [6] Ancestral Clusters. [7] The Five-Ritual Cycle. [8] Impersonalization of the Dead. [9] The Impact of Ritual. [10] The Roles of Zu Jia 祖甲 and Wu Ding 武丁. [11] The Ancestors and Their Legacy. [12] Legacies and Cultural Consequences.

“Marks and Labels: Early Writing in Neolithic and Shang China.” In *Archaeology of Asia*, edited by Miriam T. Stark (Oxford, England, and Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006): 177–201. Reprinted in *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, by David N. Keightley; edited and with an introduction by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014): 229–252.

Asserts that the “origins and functions of the first Chinese script, as they may be discerned in the continually expanding archaeological record, are well worth studying” in light of the fact that the “basic principles and the character forms which the Shang employed were to endure over the next three-plus millennia.”

Contents: [1] The Neolithic Background. [2] The Bronze Age: Shang and Western Zhou. [3] The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions: Who Read Them? [4] Readers and Reading. [5] An Archive? For Posterity? [6] Conclusion.

“Sacred Waste: Theirs or Ours?” In *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture: Festschrift in Honour of Christoph Harbsmeier on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, edited by Christoph Anderl and Halvor Eifring (Oslo, Norway: Hermes Academic Publishing, 2006): 3–12.

On the oracle-bone inscriptions that were sacred as one-time religious documents to the Shang kings and that were not intended to be read after they were buried.

“Gosudarstvo Shan v nadpisiakh na gadatel’nykh kostiakh” (Russian: The Shang State as Seen in Oracle-Bone Inscriptions). In *Istoriia Kitaia: materialy kitaevvedcheskoi konferentsii ISAA pri MGU: mai 2005 g., mai*

2006 g. (The History of China: Proceedings of Sinological Conferences Held at the Institute of Asian and African Studies of Moscow State University, May 2005, May 2006), edited by M. IU. Ulianov (Moskva: Gumanitarii, 2007): 237–272.

A translation into Russian of some of Keightley's writings that is accompanied by a preface and a bibliography of his works.

"What the King Heard: A Hypothesis." In *Pang Pu jiaoshou bashi shouchen jinian wenji* 龐樸教授八十壽辰紀念文集 (Festschrift in Honor of Professor Pang Pu on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday), edited by Wang Shouchang 王守常 and Yu Jin 余瑾 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008): 272–277.

In addition to the cracks that appeared in oracle-bone inscriptions, the "sound of an oracle-bone cracking played a role" in Late Shang divination. The diviners responded to and interpreted such sounds, at times the "sounds were thought to come from the ancestors", and the king would "listen for and hear the bone's response."

"Comment on Rowan K. Flad, 'Divination and Power: A Multiregional View of the Development of Oracle Bone Divination in Early China'." *Current Anthropology* (Chicago, Ill.) 49, no. 3 (June 2008): 425–426.

"Huiyi Hu Houxuan xiansheng 回憶胡厚宣先生." In *Xiangnian Hu Houxuan* 想念胡厚宣 (Remembering Hu Houxuan), edited by Zhang Shilin 張世林 (Beijing: Xinshijie chubanshe, 2012): 151–152.

"The Period V Ritual Postface: Prospective or Retrospective?" *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 35–36 (2012–2013): 57–68. Abstract: *Early China* 35–36 (2012–2013): v.

On the five-ritual cycle in oracle-bone inscriptions.

Contents: [1] Qi Usage in Period V. [2] The gong dian postfaces.

REVIEW ARTICLES AND REVIEWS

"Shima Kunio 島邦男. Inkyo bokuji sōrui 殷墟卜辭綜類." *Monumenta Serica* (Sankt Augustin, Germany) 28 (1969): 467–471.

Review of *Inkyo bokuji sōrui* (Concordance of Oracle Writings from the Ruins of Yin), by Shima Kunio. Tōkyō: Daian, 1967. 18, 590p.

"Chang Hsüan 張瑄. Chung-wen ch'ang-yung san-ch'ien tzu hsingyi shih 中文常用三千字形義釋." *Monumenta Serica* (Sankt Augustin, Germany) 29 (1970–1971): 770–773.

Review of *Zhongwen changyong sanqian zi xingyi shi* (The Etymologies of 3000 Chinese Characters in Common Usage), by Zhang Xuan. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1968. 960p.

"Herrlee G. Creel. The Origins of Statecraft in China: Volume One: The Western Chou Empire." *Journal of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 30, no.3 (May 1971): 655–658.

Review of *The Origins of Statecraft in China: Volume One: The Western Chou Empire*, by Herrlee G. Creel. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970. xiv, 559p.

"'Benefit of Water': The Approach of Joseph Needham." *Journal of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 31, no.2 (February 1972): 367–371.

Review article of *Science and Civilization in China. Volume IV, Part 3: Civil Engineering and Nautics*, by Joseph Needham, with the collaboration of Wang Ling and Lu Gwei-Djen. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1971. 931p.

"Religion and the Rise of Urbanism." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, Conn.) 93, no.4 (October–December 1973): 527–538.

Review of *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City*, by Paul Wheatley. Chicago, Ill.: Aldine; Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 1971. xix, 602p.

"Itō Michiharu 伊藤道治. *Chūgoku kodai ōchō no keisei: shutsudo shiryō o chūshin to suru Inshūshi no kenkyū* 中國古代王朝の形成 – 出土資料を中心とする殷周史の研究 (The Formation of the Ancient Chinese State: Studies in the History of the Shang and Zhou Periods on the Basis of Archaeological Materials)." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 1 (Fall 1975): 8–9.

Review of *Chūgoku kodai ōchō no keisei: shutsudo shiryō o chūshin to suru Inshūshi no kenkyū*, by Itō Michiharu. Tōkyō: Sōbunsha, 1975. 370, 16p. (Tōyōgaku sōsho, no.10).

"The Origin of the Ancient Chinese City: A Comment." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 1 (Fall 1975): 63–65.

Comments on Léon Vandermeersch's critical review of Paul Wheatley's *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City* (1971) that was published in *T'oung Pao* (Leiden, The Netherlands) 59 (1973).

"Where Have All the Swords Gone? Reflections on the Unification of China." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 2 (Fall 1976): 31–34.

Review of *Metallurgical Remains of Ancient China*, by Noel Barnard and Satō Tomotsu. Tōkyō: Nichiōsha, 1975. xxx, 343p. Response by William Trousdale entitled "Where Have All the Swords Gone: Reflections on Some Questions Raised by Professor Keightley." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 3 (Fall 1977): 65–66. Reprinted in *Warfare in China to 1600*, edited by Peter Lorge (Aldershot, Hants, England, and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2003): 71–74 (response on pages 75–76).

"Hsiao Nan 蕭楠. 'An-yang Hsiao-t'un nan-ti fa-hsien ti 'Tui-tsu pu-chia'—Chien-lun 'Tui-tsu pu-tz'u' ti shih-tai chi ch'i hsiang-kuan wen-t'i 安陽小屯南地發現的自組卜甲—兼論 '自組卜辭'的時代及其相關問題 (The Tui Diviner-Group Turtle Plastrons Discovered at Anyang Hsiao-t'un Nan-ti—With Concomitant Discussion of the Problem of the Date of the Tui-Diviner Group Inscriptions and Related Issues).' *K'ao-ku* 考古 (Beijing) 1976.4: 234–241." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 2 (Fall 1976): 68.

"Akatsuka Kiyoshi 赤塚忠. *Chūgoku kodai no shūkyō to bunka* 中国古代の宗教と文化 (Religion and Culture in Ancient China). Tōkyō: Kadokawa shoten, 1977. 2, 869p." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 3 (1977): 93–94.

Review of a work in Japanese on the religion and culture of early China.

"Chung Po-sheng 鍾柏生. *Pu-tz'u chung so-chien Yin-Wang t'ien-yu ti-ming k'ao: chien-lun t'ien-yu ti-ming yen-chiu fang-fa* 卜辭中所見殷王田游地名考：兼論田游地名研究方法 (An Investigation into the Place Names of the Yin Royal Hunting Grounds Found in Oracle Bone Inscriptions: With A Concomitant Discussion of Methodology for Researching the Names of Royal Hunting Grounds). Taipei, 1961." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 3 (1977): 94.

"Yin-hsü k'ao-ku fa-chüeh ti yu-yi-chung-yao hsin shou-huo: Hsiao-t'un fa-hsien yi-tso pao-ts'un wan-cheng ti Yin-tai wang-shih mu-tsang 殷墟考古發掘的又一重要新收獲：小屯發現一座保存完整的殷代王室墓葬 (Another Important New Result from the Archaeological Excavations at Yin-hsu).' *K'ao-ku* 考古 (Beijing) 1977.3: 151–153." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 3 (1977): 95.

"Shen-hsi Chou-yüan fa-hsien chen-kuei chia-ku' 陝西周原發現珍貴甲骨 (Valuable Oracle Bones Unearthed in Zhouyuan, Shaanxi Province).

Ta Kung Pao 大公報 (Beijing) (October 17, 1977): 1." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 3 (1977): 97.

"T'ang Lan 唐蘭. 'Hsi-Chou shih-tai tsui-tsoo ti yi-chien t'ung-ch'i Li kuei ming-wen chieh-shih. 西周時代最早的一件銅器利簋銘文解釋 (An Explanation of the Inscription on the Earliest Western Chou Bronze Vessel, the Li gui).' *Wenwu* (Beijing) 1977.8: 8–9." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 3 (1977): 98.

"Yü Hsing-wu 于省吾. 'Li kuei ming-wen k'ao-shih. 利簋銘文考釋 (An Examination of the Li gui Inscription)' *Wenwu* (Beijing) 1977.8: 10–12." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 3 (1977): 98.

"Chang Ch'un-shu 張春樹. *Han-tai pien-chiang shih-lun chi* 漢代邊疆史論集 (Collected Essays on the History of the Han Frontier). Taipei: Shih-huo shih-hsüeh ts'ung shu, 1977." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 3 (1977): 105.

"Ping-ti Ho and the Origins of Chinese Civilization." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.), 37, no.2 (December 1977): 381–411.

Review of *The Cradle of the East: An Inquiry into the Indigenous Origins of Techniques and Ideas of Neolithic and Early Historic China, 5000–1000 B.C.*, by Ping-ti Ho. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong; Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1975. xxi, 440p.

"The Cradle of the East: Supplementary Comments." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 3 (1977): 55–61.

"Li Hsiao-ting 李孝定. Chia-ku wen-tzu chi-shih. 甲骨文字集釋 (Collected Decipherings of Oracle Bone Characters)". *Revue bibliographique de sinologie = Review of Bibliography in Sinology* (Paris, France) 11 (1977): no.450.

A critical abstract.

"Li Chi. Anyang." *Journal of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 38, no.1 (November 1978): 171–173.

Review of *Anyang*, by Li Chi 李濟 [Li Ji]. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977. xviii, 304p.

"K. C. Chang. Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, Conn.) 99, no.2 (April-June 1979): 316–317.

Review of *Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives*, by K. C. Chang [i.e., Kwang-chih Chang]. Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1976. xv, 229p. (Harvard-Yenching Institute monograph series, vol.23).

"Henri Maspero. China in Antiquity." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* (London, England) 112, no.1 (January 1980): 109.

Review of *China in Antiquity*, by Henri Maspero; translated from French by Frank A. Kierman, Jr. Folkestone, Kent, England: Dawson; Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978. xxxii, 527p.

"Hsü Chin-hsiung. Ming Yi-shih shou-ts'ang chia-ku shih-wen pien. The Menzies Collection of Shang Dynasty Oracle Bones. Volume II: The Text." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, Conn.) 100, no.1 (January–March 1980): 96–97.

Review of *The Menzies Collection of Shang Dynasty Oracle Bones. Volume Two: The Text*, compiled by Chin-hsiung Hsü [Xu Jinxiong]. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum in cooperation with the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1977. xxxvi, 250p.

"Wang Yü-hsin 王宇信. Chien-kuo yi-lai chia-ku-wen yen-chiu 建國以來甲骨文研究." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.), 42, no.1 (June 1982): 331–334. Published in Chinese as "Ping Jianguo yilai jiaguwen yanjiu 評建國以來甲骨文研究," translated by Zhao Gongmin 趙功民. *Lishi jiaoxue 歷史教學* (Tianjin) 11 (1981): 62–64.

Review of *Jianguo yilai jiaguwen yanjiu* (The Study of Inscriptions on Turtle Shell and Bone since the Founding of the State), by Wang Yuxin. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe; Beijing: Xinhua shudian faxing, 1981. 266p.

"Akatsuka Kiyoshi and the Culture of Early China: A Study in Historical Method." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.) 42, no.1 (June 1982): 267–320.

Review article of *Chūgoku kodai no shūkyō to bunka: In ōchō no saishi 中國古代の宗教と文化: 殷王朝の祭祀* (Japanese: Religion and Culture in Ancient China: A Study of the Rituals of the Yin Dynasty), by Akatsuka Kiyoshi 赤塚忠. Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1977. 869p.

"Shang China is Coming of Age: A Review Article." *Journal of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 41, no.3 (May 1982): 549–557.

Review of *Shang Civilization*, by Kwang-chih Chang. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980. xvii, 417p.

"Barnard Noel and Kwong-Yue Cheung. *Studies in Chinese Archaeology, 1980–1982: Reports on Visits to Mainland China, Taiwan, and the USA; Participation in Conferences in These Countries, and Some Notes and Impressions.*" *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 9–10 (1983): 258–259.

Review of Noel Barnard and Kwong-Yue Cheung. *Studies in Chinese Archaeology, 1980–1982*. Hong Kong: Wen-hsüeh-she, 1983. xxii, 502p.

"Hsieh Yen-P'ing 謝燕萍 and Yu Hsüeh-hua 游學華. *Chung-kuo chiu-shih-ch'i shih-tai wen-hua yi-chih* 中國舊石器時代文化遺址 (Paleolithic Sites in China)." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 9–10 (1983–1985): 259–260.

Review of *Zhongguo jiushiqi shidai wenhua yizhi* (Paleolithic Sites in China), by Xie Yanping and You Xuehua. Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe [Hong Kong: Chinese University Press], 1984. xxi, 165p.

"Jean A. Lefevre. Fa-kuo so-ts' ang chia-ku lu 法國所藏甲骨錄 (Collections d'inscriptions oraculaires en France; Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in France)." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 109, no.3 (July–September 1989): 482–484. Published in Chinese as "Ping Faguo suocang jiagu lu 評《法國所藏甲骨錄》." *Zhongguo shi yanjiu dongtai* 中國史研究動態 (Beijing) 1990.11: 16–21.

Review of *Faguo suocang jiagu lu*=*Collections d'inscriptions oraculaires en France*=*Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in France*, by Jean A. Lefevre (Lei Huanzhang 雷煥章). Taipei: Guangqi chubanshe; Taipei: Ricci Institute, 1985. xvii, 402p. (Variétés sinologiques, n.s. 70).

"Oracle-Bone Collections in Great Britain: A Review Article." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 14 (1989): 173–182. Published in Chinese as "Ping Yingguo suocang jiaguji 評《英國所藏甲骨集》." In *Yuanfang de shixi: Gudai Zhongguo jingxuan ji* 遠方的時習:《古代中國》精選集 (Timely Practices from Distant Past: Selections from *Early China*), edited by Xia Hanyi 夏含夷 (Edward L. Shaughnessy) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2013): 284–293.

Review article of *Yingguo suo cang jiaguji*=*Oracle Bone Collections in Great Britain: Volume 1, Parts 1 and 2*, by Li Xueqin 李學勤, Qi Wenxin 齊文心, and Ai Lan 艾蘭 (Sarah Allan). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju: Xinhua shudian Beijing faxingsuo faxing, 1985. 524, 15p.

"Itō Michiharu 伊藤道治. *Kōkotsu moji* 甲骨文字." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.) 50, no.1 (June 1990): 378–383.

Review of *Kōkotsu moji* (Japanese: Oracle-Bone Inscriptions), edited by Itō Michiharu 伊藤道治 et al. Tenri: Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1987. 190p.

“Sources of Shang History: Two Major Oracle-Bone Collections Published in the People’s Republic of China.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 110, no.1 (January–March 1990): 39–59.

Review of *Jiaguwen heji* 甲骨文合集 (A Combined Collection of Oracle Bone Inscriptions), by Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院歷史研究所, Guo Moruo 郭沫若, and Hu Houxuan 胡厚宣; *Shang Zhou jiaguwen zongji* 商周甲骨文總集 (A Complete Collection of Shang and Zhou Oracle Bone Inscriptions), by Yan Yiping 嚴一萍; and *Xiaotun nandi jiagu* 小屯南地甲骨 (Oracle Bones of Xiaotun South), by Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所.

Contents: For the review of *Jiaguwen heji*: [1] Principles of Selection. [2] Quality of Rubbings and Drawings. [3] Rejoinings and Duplications. [4] Periodization. [5] Classification by Subject. [6] Advice about Finding Inscriptions. [7] Addenda and Supplements. [8] Amount of New Material. [9] Worth of the Project. For the review of *Xiaotun nandi jiagu*: [1] Contents. [2] The Editors’ Periodization. [3] Challenges to the Editors’ Periodization.

“Michael Loewe. Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide.” *Journal of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 53, no.4 (November 1994): 1246–1247.

Review of *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, edited by Michael Loewe. Berkeley, Calif.: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993. xiv, 546p. (Early China special monograph series, no.2).

“The Influence of Clouds, Wind and Reign,” *Times Higher Education*, June 2, 1995, <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/books/the-influence-of-clouds-wind-and-reign/161618.article>

Review of *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China*, by Michael Loewe. Cambridge, England, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. xvii, 353p. (University of Cambridge Oriental publications, no.48).

“Interactions, Weak and Strong (Commentary on Pulleyblank, ‘Early Contacts between Indo-Europeans and Chinese’).” *International Review of Chinese Linguistics* = *Guoji Zhongguo yuyanxue pinglun* 國際中國語言學評論 (Amsterdam, The Netherlands) 1, no.1 (January 1996): 27–29.

Commentary on “Early Contacts between Indo-Europeans and Chinese,” by Edwin G. Pulleyblank. *International Review of Chinese Linguistics* 1, no.1 (1996): 1–25.

“Graphs, Words, and Meanings: Three Reference Works for Shang Oracle-Bone Studies, With an Excursus into the Religious Role of the Day or

Sun." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 117, no.3 (July–September 1997): 507–524.

Review Article of: *Kōkotsu moji jishaku sōran* 甲骨文字字釋綜覽 (A Comprehensive Guide of Interpretations to Oracle-Bone Graphs), by Matsumaru Michio 松丸道雄 and Takashima Ken-ichi 高嶋謙一; *Yinxu jiagu keci moshi zongji* 殷墟甲骨刻辭摹釋總集 (Comprehensive Collection of Copies and Interpretations of Graphs Inscribed on the Oracle Bones from Yinxu), edited by Yao Xiaosui 姚孝遂 and Xiao Ding 肖丁; and *Yinxu jiagu keci leizuan* 殷墟甲骨刻辭類纂 (A Concordance of Graphs Inscribed on the Oracle Bones from Yinxu), edited by Yao Xiaosui and Xiao Ding. Published in Chinese as “Wenzi, cihui he hanyi—Shangdai jiagu yanjiu de sanbu cankao zhuzuo 文字、詞滙和涵義—商代甲骨研究的三部參考著作,” translated by Liu Yifeng 劉義峰. *Yindu xuekan* 殷都學刊 (Anyang, Henan) 3 (2007): 15–23.

“Ken-ichi Takashima. Studies of Fascicle Three of Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins, Volume I: General Notes, Text, and Translations/Studies of Fascicle Three of Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins, Volume II: New Palaeographical and Philological Commentaries.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 132, no.2 (April–June 2012): 340–341.

Review of *Studies of Fascicle Three of Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins*, by Ken-ichi Takashima. Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 2010. 2 volumes (1551p.).

TRANSLATIONS

Wang Ningsheng 汪寧生. “Yangshao Burial Customs and Social Organization: A Comment on the Theory of Yangshao Matrilineal Society and Its Methodology.” *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 11–12 (1985–1987): 6–32.

Translation of the revised version of the paper that Wang presented in Chinese at the Conference on Ancient China and Social Science Generalizations held at Airlie House, Airlie, Virginia, June 21–27, 1986.

Toyoda Hidashi 豊田久 and Inoo Hideyuki 飯尾秀幸. “Shigaku zasshi 史學雜誌: Summary of Japanese Scholarship.” *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 13 (1988): 297–327.

An adapted translation, prepared together with Igarashi Yoshikuni, of the section on ancient China in the journal *Shigaku zasshi* (Tokyo) 94, no.5 (May 1985): 192–198, 198–204. Covers “Yin, Zhou, and Chunqiu” by Toyoda Hidashi and “Zhan Guo and Qin-Han” by Inoo Hideyuki.

**CONFERENCE PAPERS, SEMINAR PAPERS,
GUEST LECTURES, AND SELECTED
UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS**

The following is an extensive but nonetheless incomplete listing of the papers and guest lectures that Keightley presented in the course of his career. Their availability in one format or another is indicated whenever known.

"The Long Wall of Ch'i: A Preliminary Study." 1965.

Paper prepared at Columbia University for Chinese G9010y, Professor Hans Bielenstein, April 14, 1965. 22, ix, 6p. A photocopy of the typescript is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension DS793.S4 K45 1965.

"The Temple Artisans of Ancient China. Part One: The *Kung* and *To-Kung* of Shang." 1970.

Presented at the Modern Chinese History Project Colloquium, University of Washington, Seattle, December 17, 1970. 4, 58p. A photocopy of the typescript is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension HD2346.C6 K45 1970.

"The Origins of Chinese Political Culture: The Religious Catalyst." 1972.

Presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, New York City, March 1972.

Revised version published as "The Religious Commitment: Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture." *History of Religions* (Chicago, Ill.), 1978.

"Shih Cheng 釋貞: A New Hypothesis About the Nature of Shang Divination." 1972.

Presented at the annual conference of Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast (ASPAC), Monterey, California, June 17, 1972. vi, 91p. A mimeograph copy is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension BF1770.C5 K4545 1972.

"Shang Metaphysics." 1973.

Presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, Illinois, March 30, 1973.

Published as "Shang Divination and Metaphysics". *Philosophy East and West* (Honolulu, Hawaii), 1988.

"The Date of the Shang Historical Period: A Problem in the Chronology of Bronze Age China." 1975.

Presented at the Joint Stanford–Berkeley Seminar on Chinese Culture, San Francisco, California, February 18, 1975. Mimeographed.

"The Date of the Shang Historical Period: A Progress Report." 1975.

Presented at the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, San Francisco, California, March 24, 1975.

"The Historicity of the *Ku-pen chu-shu chi-nien*." 1975.

Presented at the meeting of the Western Branch of the American Oriental Society, Stanford, California, March 23, 1975.

"Legitimation in Shang China." 1975.

Presented at the Conference on Legitimation of Chinese Imperial Regimes, sponsored by the Committee on the Study of Chinese Civilization of the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), Asilomar, California, June 15–24, 1975. iii, 71p. Abstract: *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 2 (Fall 1976): 56. A photocopy of the typescript is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian 2452.2085 v.8.

"Late Shang Divination: The Magico-Religious Legacy." 1976.

Presented at the Workshop on Classical Chinese Thought, Harvard University, August 2–13, 1976.

Published as "Late Shang Divination: The Magico-Religious Legacy" in *Explorations in Early Chinese Cosmology*, edited by Henry Rosemont Jr. (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984).

"Peasant Migration, Politics, and Philosophical Response in Chou and Ch'in China." 1977.

Presented at the Berkeley Regional Seminar in Confucian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, November 11, 1977. Abstract: *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 3 (Fall 1977): 121–122.

"How the Cracks Were Read: The Existence of the Subcharge." 1978.

Presented at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, April 12, 1978. Abstract: *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 4 (1978–79): 100–101.

"The Late Shang State: When, Where, and What?" and "The Late Shang State: Its Weaknesses and Strengths." 1978.

Two papers that were presented at the Conference on the Origins of Chinese Civilization, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Berkeley, California, June 26–30, 1978. Abstract: *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 4 (1978–79): 93–94.

Published in part as “The Late Shang State: When, Where, and What?” In *The Origins of Chinese Civilization*, edited by David N. Keightley (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983): 523–564.

“Astrology and Cosmology in Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions.” 1980.

Presented at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, San Francisco, California, April 1980. Abstract: *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 5 (1979–80): 127.

Published as “Astrology and Cosmology in Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions.” *Cosmos* (Edinburgh, Scotland) 3 (1987): 36–40.

“Oracle-Bone Inscriptions from the Homeland of the Chou.” 1980.

Presented at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, San Francisco, California, April 16, 1980. Abstract: *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 5 (1979–80): 128.

“The Giver and the Gift: The Western Chou State as Social Polity.” 1981.

“Yellow Log.” 1982.

1 notebook (196p.) A spiral-bound notebook containing hand written manuscript notes, 1981–1982, with 2 loose inserts. The notes deal in part with archaeological excavations in China and with Chinese inscriptions. Available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension DS715.K45 1982.

“Some Dualistic Phenomena in Shang Society: Problems and Possibilities.” 1982.

Presented at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., February 18, 1982.

“Was the *Chou Yi* a Legacy of Shang?” 1982.

Presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, Illinois, April 3, 1982.

“The Western Chou as Social Polity: Vassalage Without Feudalism.” 1982.

Presented at the annual conference of Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast (ASPAC), University of California, Santa Cruz, June 27, 1982.

"Kingship and Kinship: The Royal Lineages of Late Shang." 1982.

Presented at the International Conference on Shang Civilization, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, September 7–11, 1982. iii, 71p. A photocopy of the typescript is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension CS1164 K45 1982. Abstract and Discussion: *Early China*, Supplement 1 (Berkeley, Calif.) (1986): 65–68.

"Shang Divination: An Auspicious Report." 1983.

"Royal Shamanism in the Shang: Archaic Vestige or Central Reality?" 1983.

Presented at the Workshop on Divination and Portent Interpretation in Ancient China, University of California, Berkeley, June 20–July 1, 1983. 51p. A photocopy of the typescript is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension BL1812.S45 K45 1983.

"The Origins of Legitimizing Historiography in China: Were the Shang Kings Always Right?" 1984.

Published as "Zhongguo zhengshi zhi yuanyuan: Shangwang zhanbu shifou yiguan zhengque?" *Guwenzi yanjiu* (Beijing), 1986.

"Dead But Not Gone: The Role of Mortuary Practices in the Formation of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Chinese Culture, ca. 8000–1000 B.C." 1985.

Presented at the Conference on Ritual and the Social Significance of Death in Chinese Society, The Sun Space Ranch Conference Center, Oracle, Arizona, January 2–7, 1985. ii, 88p.

A photocopy of the print-out is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension GT3283.A2 K45 1985.

"Archaeology and Mentality: The Making of China." 1985.

Presented at La civiltà cinese antica, an International Study Conference on Early Chinese Civilization, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venezia, Italy, April 1–5, 1985.

Published as "Archaeology and Mentality: The Making of China." *Representations* (Berkeley, Calif.), 1987.

"Pot Makers and Users in the Central Plains: Cultural Interaction in the Chinese Neolithic." 1985.

Presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, New York City, December 28, 1985.

"The Eastern Yi: Archaeological and Textual Evidence." 1986.

Presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, Illinois, March 21, 1986. 29p. A photocopy of the print-out is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension DS741.65 K45 1986.

"Truth is in Details: Archaeological Methods and Historical Questions in the Chinese Neolithic." 1986.

Presented at the Conference on Ancient China and Social Science Generalizations, Airlie House, Airlie, Virginia, June 21–27, 1986.

"The Hero, Art, and Culture: Early China and Early Greece." 1987.

Presented at the Regional Seminar, Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley, March 21, 1987.

"Lucky Days, Temple Names, and the Ritual Calendar in Ancient China: An Alternative Hypothesis." 1987.

Presented at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, April 19, 1987. The updated version of August 3, 1987, is entitled "Lucky Days, Temple Names and Social Aspiration in Ancient China." 94p. A photocopy of the August 1987 print-out is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension CE61.C6 K45 1987.

"A Deliberately Untitled Paper on Bingbian 96/97." 1987.

An examination of the inscriptions on the back of a Wu Ding period plastron.

"In Clear and In Code: Pre-Classical Roots of the Great Tradition in China." 1990.

Presented at the panel "The Formation of the Great Traditions," 78th annual meeting of the College Art Association, New York City, February 16, 1990.

Revised version published as "Art, Ancestors, and the Origins of Writing in China." *Representations* (Berkeley, Calif.), 1996.

"Why Did the Shang Inscribe Their Oracle-Bone Inscriptions." 1990.

Presented at the conference on Ritual and Text in Early China, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, October 20–22, 1990.

"Divination and Kingship in Late Shang China." 1991. "Version of November 1991." xxxvi, 648p.

A photocopy of the print-out, with handwritten notations, is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension BF1770.C5 K45 1991.

"A Measure of Man in Early China: In Search of the Neolithic Inch." 1994.

Presented at the symposium on "Chinese Identities", Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley, February 25–26, 1994.

Published as "A Measure of Man in Early China: In Search of the Neolithic Inch." *Chinese Science* (Philadelphia), 1994–95.

"In the Bone: Divination, Theology, and Political Culture in Late Shang China." 1994.

Presented at the Pre-Modern China Seminar, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. October 17, 1994.

Revised version published as "Theology and the Writing of History: Truth and Ancestors in Wu Ding's Divination Records." *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* (Leiden, The Netherlands), 1999.

"'Reding' and 'Riting': The Endurance of the Sacred in Neolithic and Bronze-Age China." 1995.

Presented as the Walter Y. Evans-Wentz Lecture, Stanford University, Stanford, California, February 23, 1995.

Revised version published as "Art, Ancestors, and the Origins of Writing in China." *Representations* (Berkeley, Calif.), 1996.

"Time, Space, and Community: The Imposition of World Order in Late Shang Divination." 1995.

"Divinatory Conventions in Late Shang China: A Diachronic and Contextual Analysis of Oracle-Bone Qi (其) and Related Issues." 1995.

Unpublished manuscript. iii, 236p. A photocopy of the print-out, with handwritten notations, is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension BF1770.C5 K454 1995.

"At the Beginning: The Status of Women in Neolithic and Shang China." 1996.

Presented at the panel on "Women in Early China through Epigraphic Sources", annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii, April 11, 1996.

Published as "At the Beginning: The Status of Women in Neolithic and Shang China." *Nan Nü: Men, Women and Gender in Early and Imperial China* (Leiden, The Netherlands), 1999.

"Art and the Ancestors." 1996.

Presented as the Herrlee G. Creel Memorial Lecture, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, May 23, 1996.

Published as "Art, Ancestors, and the Origins of Writing in China." *Representations* (Berkeley, Calif.), 1996.

"Divination Counts." 1996.

Unpublished manuscript. 1 page. A print-out is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension BF1770.C5 K455 1996.

"The Shang Lunar Months: Entering into Shang at the Waxing Moon." 1997.

Unpublished manuscript, August 2, 1997. 10p. A print-out is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension CE61.C6 K4544 1997.

"Lunar Eclipse Inscriptions and the Start of the Shang Year: A Preliminary Discussion." 1997.

Unpublished manuscript. 12p. A print-out, with handwritten notations, is available at the library of the University of California, Berkeley, call number: East Asian Rare Extension CE61.C6 K454 1997.

"The Science of the Ancestors: Divination, Curing, and Bronze-Casting in Late Shang China (ca. 1200–1050 B.C.)." 1998.

Presented at the conference "Intersecting Areas and Disciplines: Cultural Studies of Chinese Science, Technology, and Medicine", University of California, Berkeley, February 28, 1998. A revised version was also presented under the same title at the conference "The Disunity of Chinese Science", University of Chicago, May 10–12, 2002.

Published as "The 'Science' of the Ancestors: Divination, Curing, and Bronze-Casting in Late Shang China." *Asia Major* (Taipei), 2001.

"The Making of the Ancestors: Late Shang Religion and Its Legacy." 1999.

Presented as the Walker-Ames Lecture, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, February 23, 1999.

Published as "The Making of the Ancestors: Late Shang Religion and Its Legacy." In *Chinese Religion and Society: The Transformation of a Field*.

Volume 1: Ancient and Medieval China, edited by John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press; Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004).

"Early China: The Early History." 2002.

Unpublished and undated 5 page memorandum addressed to Don Harper and Nancy T. Price regarding the genesis of the Society for the Study of Early China in the late 1960s and the origins and early history of both the society's newsletter (1969–1974) and the journal *Early China* during the 1970s and 1980s. Keightley called this memo his "latest attempt" at recording some important facts about their founding, growth and development, and importance for scholars in the field.

To be posted on the earlychina.org website.

REVIEWS OF DAVID N. KEIGHTLEY'S PUBLICATIONS

The following is a partial listing of the reviews to date that have appeared in print.

Reviews of Books

- Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1978.
- Allan, Sarah. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London (London, England) 44, pt.1 (1981): 195–196.
 - Bilsky, Lester J. *American Historical Review* (Washington, D.C.) 84, no.5 (December 1979): 1448–1449.
 - Boltz, William. *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (Bloomington, Indiana) 3, no.1 (January 1981): 159–163.
 - Candlin, Enid Saunders. *Asian Affairs* (London, England) 12, no.2 (June 1981): 194–196.
 - Chang, K. C. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.) 41, no.2 (December 1981): 633–640.
 - Lefevre, Jean A. *Journal of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 40, no.3 (May 1981): 588–590.
 - Loewe, Michael. *The Antiquaries Journal* (London, England) 60, no.2 (September 1980): 364–365.
 - Mathieu, Rémi. *T'oung Pao* (Leiden, The Netherlands) 67, nos.1–2 (1981): 116–118.
 - Mickel, Stanley L. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, Conn.) 102, no.3 (July–September 1982): 572–573.
 - P., T. [Pokora, Timoteus]. *Archív Orientální* (Praha, Czech Republic) 51, no.3 (1983): 282–283.

- Pulleyblank, Edwin G. *History of Religions* (Chicago, Ill.) 20, no.3 (February 1981): 287–289.
- Rosemont, Henry Jr. *Philosophy East and West* (Honolulu, Hawaii) 30, no.2 (April 1980): 277–278.
- Takashima, Ken-ichi. "Some Philological Notes to Sources of Shang History." [Review article] *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 5 (1979–80): 48–55.
- Fan Yuzhou 范毓周. "Daiwei. N. Kaiteli de Shangshi shiliao 戴維·N·凱特利的《商史史料》." In *Jiagu wenxian jicheng* 甲骨文獻集成 (Bibliography of Study of Oracle Bone Inscriptions) vol. 40, ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiusuo xianqinshi shi 中國社會科學院歷史研究所先秦史室, 327. Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2001.
- Jin Yang 金洋. "Ji Dewei Shangdai shiliao: Zhongguo chuban de liangbu zhuyao jiagu ji shuping 吉德煒《商代史料：中國出版的兩部主要甲骨集》述評." *Yuwen xueke* (gaojiao ban) 語文學科（高教版）3 (2013), 59–60.

The Origins of Chinese Civilization. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983.

- Boltz, William G. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, Conn.) 105, no.4 (October–December 1985): 762–763.
- Buck, David D. *Library Journal* (New York) 107, no.21 (December 1, 1982): 2256.
- Goodrich, David. *Asian Perspectives* (Honolulu) 27, no.1 (January 1986): 151.
- Ho, Ping-ti. *Journal of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor, Mich.) 43, no.4 (August 1984): 723–733.
- Liščák, Vladim. *Archív Orientální* (Praha, Czech Republic) 55, no. 2 (1987): 198–200.
- Peiros, I. I. [Ilia Iosifovich]. *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Moskva, Russia) 3 (1986): 183–190.
- Rawson, Jessica. *Asian Affairs* (London, England) 16, pt.2 (old series vol.72) (June 1985): 211–212.
- Takashima, Ken-ichi. *Pacific Affairs* (Vancouver, British Columbia) 57, no.1 (Spring 1984): 100–101.
- Wegner, Irene. *Monumenta Serica* (Sankt Augustin, Germany) 38 (1988–1989): 311–316.

The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China (ca.1200–1045 B.C.). Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2000.

- Cook, Constance A. *Journal of Chinese Religions* (Bloomington, Indiana) no.29 (2001): 311–313.

- Fiskesjö, Magnus. "Hail to the King: A Review of Two Books by David N. Keightley." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 37 (2014): 567–573.
- Major, John S. *China Review International* (Honolulu, Hawaii) 9, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 460–464.
- Richter, Matthias. *Revue bibliographique de sinologie = Review of Bibliography in Sinology* (Paris, France) (2001): 117–118.

Working for His Majesty: Labor Mobilization in Late Shang China (ca.1200–1045 B.C.), as Seen in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2012.

- Fiskesjö, Magnus. "Hail to the King: A Review of Two Books by David N. Keightley." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 37 (2014): 567–573.
- Takashima, Ken-ichi. "Working for His Majesty." [Review article] *T'oung Pao* (Leiden, The Netherlands) 100, nos.1–3 (2014): 237–263.

These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2014.

- Sou, Daniel Sungbing. *Religious Studies Review* (Houston, Texas) 43, no.1 (March 2017): 79.
- Vogt, Nicholas. *Monumenta Serica* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire, England) 64, no.1 (2016): 209–213.

Reviews of Other Publications (including book chapters)

Chang, Kwang-Chih. Review of *Early China*, volume 1 (Fall 1975). *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, Conn.) 97, no.1 (January–March 1977): 105.

Diény, Jean-Pierre. [Review of a review]. "Akatsuka Kiyoshi and the Culture of Early China: A Study in Historical Method." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.) 42, no.1 (June 1982): 267–320.

Brief summary in *Revue bibliographique de sinologie = Review of Bibliography in Sinology* (Paris, France) 1 (1983): 176–177.

Diény, Jean-Pierre. [Review of] "Archaeology and Mentality: The Making of China." *Representations* (Berkeley, Calif.) 18 (Spring 1987): 91–128.

Brief summary in *Revue bibliographique de sinologie = Review of Bibliography in Sinology* (Paris, France) 6 (1988): 105–106.

Köhn, Livia. [Review of] "Shang Divination and Metaphysics." *Philosophy East and West* (Honolulu, Hawaii) 38, no.4 (October 1988): 367–397.

Brief summary in *Revue bibliographique de sinologie = Review of Bibliography in Sinology* (Paris, France) 7 (1989): 257–258.

Köhn, Livia. [Review of] "A Measure of Man in Early China: In Search of the Neolithic Inch." *Chinese Science* (Philadelphia) no.12 (1995): 16–38.

Brief summary in *Revue bibliographique de sinologie = Review of Bibliography in Sinology* (Paris, France) 14 (1996): 475.

Köhn, Livia. [Review of] "Shamanism, Death, and the Ancestors: Religious Mediation in Neolithic and Shang China (ca. 5000–1000 B.C.)." *Asiatische Studien* (Bern, Switzerland) 52, no.3 (1998): 763–831.

Brief summary in *Revue bibliographique de sinologie = Review of Bibliography in Sinology* (Paris, France) 14 (1996): 400.

Djamouri, Redouane. "Écriture et divination sous les Shang." (French: Writing and Divination during the Shang Dynasty). *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* (Saint Denis, France) no.21 (1999): 11–35. [Includes a discussion of Keightley's writings] www.persee.fr/doc/oroc_0754-5010_1999_num_21_21_1098

Defoort, C. "The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C." *China Review International* (Honolulu, Hawaii) 7, no.2 (Fall 2000): 496–507.

Includes Keightley's contribution to this volume of *the Cambridge History* that was edited by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (1999).

Thote, Alain. "Le renouveau des études sur la Chine pré-impériale." (French: The Renewal of Studies of Pre-imperial China). *Arts asiatiques* (Paris, France) 56, no.1 (2001): 154–162.

Review of *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (1999). Pages 155–156 are about Keightley's "The Shang: China's First Historical Dynasty."

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Jin Yang 金洋. "Cong jiagu shuping kan Ji Dewei de jiaguxue yanjiu 從甲骨書評看吉德煒的甲骨學研究 (David Keightley's Research on Oracle Bones: A Perspective from His Book Reviews of Publications of Oracle-Bone Inscriptions)." *Xuexingtang wenshi jikan 學行堂文史集刊* 2 (2013), 4–13.

Szekeres, Andras Mark. "A kínai asztrológiai szemlélet gyökerei a Shang-kori Divel kapcsolatos teológiai hiedelmekben". (Hungarian: The

Roots of Chinese Astrological Thinking in the Shang Beliefs Concerning Di). *Távol-Keleti Tanulmányok* (Far-Eastern Studies) (Budapest) 4, nos.1–2 (2012) (published in 2014): 193–214.

Includes 8 translations into Hungarian of oracle bone inscriptions from Keightley's *The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China* (ca.1200–1045 B.C.) (2000). Note: This article is a revised version of Szekeres' "Early Roots of Chinese Astrological Thinking in the Theology of Di" in *Studia Orientalia Slovaca* (Bratislava, Slovakia) 12, no.2 (2013): 207–226.

PUBLICATIONS AND INFORMATION ABOUT DAVID N. KEIGHTLEY

David N. Keightley files as chairman of the Department of History, University of California, Berkeley, 1992–1994. Available at the University of California Archives (NRLF), call number CU-492. Boxes 1–8. Restricted item: Use only by permission of the appropriate curator. Inquiries concerning this item should be directed, in writing, to the Head of Public Services, The Bancroft Library. The collection is stored off-site: Advance notice required for use.

Johnson, David. "DNK: Some Recollections, in Celebration." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 20 (1995): vii–x.

This is the introduction to *Early China* 20 (1995)—a volume that was "dedicated to David N. Keightley." It is accompanied by a black and white photograph on page vi.

"The Works of David Noel Keightley." *Early China* (Berkeley, Calif.) 20 (1995): xi–xviii.

Bibliography of books, articles, book chapters, review articles and reviews, translations and miscellaneous papers dating from the years 1969–1995.

Keightley, David N. "Historian of Early China, University of California, Berkeley, 1969–1998." Transcript of an oral history conducted in five interviews on July 16, July 18, July 25, July 27 and August 29, 2001 by Frances Starn, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, as part of the "University History Series: Department of History at Berkeley." Introduction by David Johnson. 6, ix, 163p. Available at the Bancroft Library, call number: Bancroft MSS 004/138 BANC. An audio tape recording of the interviews is also available at the Bancroft Library (Bancroft Phonotape 3642 C:1–8), and the

full text is available online (<http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/rohoia/ucb/text/earlychinaunicaliookeigrich.pdf>).

Contents: Introduction, by David Johnson. Interview History. Biographical Information. 1. Personal Background and Education. 2. Amherst College, 1949–53, and a Fulbright Year in France, 1953–54. 3. An Early Career in Publishing and Writing, 1954–62. 4. Graduate Work at Columbia and Taiwan, 1963–1969. 5. Life and Work in Berkeley, with Time in China. 6. Chair of the History Department: 1992–1994. 7. Reflections on Genius, Chance, and Origins. 8. Academic Contributions, Institutional and Individual. 9. Afterthoughts about Taiwan, Berkeley, War, and Life. Tape Guide. Index. Appendix: Curriculum Vitae [pp.141–148]. University History Series List.

Jin Yang 金洋. "David N. Keightley, the Pioneer of Oracle-Bone Inscription Studies in North America." *Journal of Sino-Western Communications* (Fremont, Calif.) 6, no.1 (July 2014): 190–191.

Consists of abstracts in both Chinese and English.

Jin Yang 金洋. "Ji Dewei de jiaguxue yanjiu" 吉德燁的甲骨學研究 (David Keightley's Research into Oracle-Bones). Master's thesis, Xi'an Daxue (Southwest University), Chongqing, 2015.

"David Noel Keightley, 1932–2017." Discussion published by Ryan Dunch. H-Net: Humanities & Social Sciences Online: H-Asia, March 7, 2017. <https://networks.h-net.org/node/170323/pdf>

"David Noel Keightley." Obituary. *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), March 19, 2017. <http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/sfgate/obituary.aspx?pid=184541026>

"David Keightley." Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Keightley. Note: "This page was last edited on 4 August 2017."

"David N. Keightley." Department of History, University of California, Berkeley. <http://history.berkeley.edu/people/david-n-keightley> [August 4, 2017].