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**Shang Dynasty Wu 巫 Culture in a Third Century BCE
Manuscript: The Shaman Yi Yin in Chi jiu zhi ji Tang zhi
wu 赤鳩之集湯之屋 [The Red Pigeons that Settled on
Tang's House]**

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Shang Dynasty Wu 巫 Culture in a Third Century BCE Manuscript: The Shaman Yi Yin in *Chi jiu zhi ji Tang zhi wu* 赤鳩之集湯之屋 (*The Red Pigeons That Settled on Tang's House*)

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BOOKS HAVE THE power to influence many aspects of society, among others the development of cultures, philosophies, and politics. In China this is particularly visible in those rising between the middle and the lower regions of the Yellow River, known as the Central Plain. In ancient times, during the Shang dynasty (商朝, ca. 1766–1046 BCE), written recordings were already produced in the form of divination tools.¹ Many are the discoveries of carved oracle bones and tortoise shells through which Shang ancient culture is shared.² These written artefacts enable the reader to accompany the society of the Shang dynasty through their past lives, learn about their cultural heritage, and discover their legends and myths. Later, between the Zhou (周朝, ca. 1100–221 BCE) and the Han (漢朝, 206 BCE–220 CE) dynasties, many of the most renowned Chinese texts were written. Among these extant texts, we find an attempt to historicise the myths of the earlier era.³ In fact, ‘although the texts do not contain mythical narratives, the accounts of ancient history and the dynastic ancestors do contain events

1 Although, according to historiography, the first Chinese dynasty is the Xia (夏) dynasty, it is not supported by archaeological finds. Concerning the historicity of Xia and Shang dynasty, see the works about the archaeological sites of the late bronze age of the Erlitou and the Erligang cultures in Allan (2007); Duan (2014); Bagley (1999).

2 In ancient China, divination was a well-established and articulated practice. The divination questions and responses were usually written on animal's bones or tortoise's shells. These are usually referred to as oracle-bone inscriptions. For a better understanding of this wide topic, see Andreini (2013); Keightley (1988); Fracasso (2013).

3 Sarah Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art and Cosmos in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 20.

which breach the confines of reality'.⁴ Thus, according to Sarah Allan, what once constituted the myths and the folklore of ancient China has gone through a process of historicisation.⁵ In other words, the texts that record ancient history are imbued with mythological nuances.

It is in these accounts that we find concrete references to a supposed shaman culture of ancient times. 'Shaman' translates from the Chinese term *wu* (巫), which is defined as follows: 'a title that refers to a very unusual type of person found throughout Chinese history and represents one of the earliest envisioned religious figures present from the very beginnings of Chinese civilization'.⁶ This broad category can encompass every hero of the past, as well as those who are said to be able to communicate with spirits.⁷ According to the Zhou dynasty's literature, among these particular group of people, Yi Yin (伊尹) is of great importance. We find countless references about his life as the minister who aided the first dynastic king of the Shang, Cheng Tang (成湯, Tang the Victorious), in establishing his reign. Tang, thanks to Yi Yin's aid, could defeat Xia dynasty's tyrant, Xia Jie (夏桀, Jie of Xia).

Using a Warring States-era bamboo manuscript – the *Chi jiu zhi ji Tang zhi wu* (赤鳩之集湯之屋 [*The Red Pigeons that settled on Tang's House*]), henceforth *Chujiu*, of Qinghua University's manuscripts collection – this article will discuss the topic of *wu* as depicted in early Chinese literature.⁸ The topic will be viewed from the lens of the theory of totemism, as it can give additional insights on Shang's myths and culture. The text will be analysed in English translation and will answer the following questions: how was the Shang's *wu* culture depicted by the pre-Qin literature? Can the figure of Yi Yin, as described in the said manuscript, be considered an archetype of *wu*? What does this text tell about the *wu* culture?⁹ To answer these questions, I will point out the importance of the leitmotiv of *wu* in the literature of the time, using the manuscript in question as a case study.

The Wu (Shamanic) culture

From the study of oracle-bone inscriptions, scholars gained the insight that the practice of divination was one of the key institutions in Shang society.¹⁰ The divination usually consisted in a question, expressed 'in either alternative (A or B) or in positive and negative (A not A) modes'.¹¹ This means, for instance, that a plausible divinatory question could sound like 'will it rain or will the sun shine?' or 'will it rain or not?'. Keightley points out that these questions should be understood as spells applied to the future, which have a magical nature and had the goal to ward off any kind of issue that could affect the society.¹²

Moreover, in Shang society the *wu* had different and diverse roles and duties beyond being a diviner. As pointed out by Hopkins, the definition of the term *wu* in the *Shuowen Jiezi* dictionary (說文

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 First, the term *wu* (巫) appears on Shang's oracles bones only to be concretely referred to in later texts; see Michael (2015), p. 649. The term shamanism, as well as totemism, has been used to describe the folklore and popular cults described in these texts. However, the term could be misleading as it has various meanings and connotations depending on time and place. In the rest of the paper, I will mainly use the Chinese term *wu* to avoid misunderstandings. See Michael (2015) for an in-depth discussion on this debate.

7 Fulin Chao 晁福林, 'Shangdai de wu yu wushu 商代的巫與巫術' [Shang Dynasty's Shamans and Shamanesim], *Xueshu Yuekan*, 10 (1996), pp. 81–87 (p. 81).

8 Qinghua University's Manuscripts Collection from the Warring State Period (*Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian san*, 清華大學藏戰國竹簡三). See Xueqin (2012).

9 As the manuscript text was produced around the third century BCE, I believe that comparing it with the received literature of the same period – namely, the one written before the Qin unification in 221 BCE – could give more answers about how the concept of *wu* was depicted in said literature.

10 David N. Keightley, 'Shang Divination and Metaphysics', *Philosophy East & West*, 38 (1988), pp. 367–397 (p. 367).

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., p. 372. For a more detailed description of the role of divination, see Keightley (1988).

解字) states that it should be interpreted as 'invoker' or 'imprecator'.¹³ The dictionary further provides details of what the powers of wu were in ancient times: they could influence supernatural beings.¹⁴ The role of the imprecator was, on the one hand, to summon evil and cast curses, and on the other hand, to pray and request divinations to divine entities.¹⁵ Their role can be certainly related to the diviner, who, presumably, used the aforementioned charges in their divinations to get in touch with spiritual beings.

But who or what were these spiritual and invisible beings? If approached from the perspective of the theory of totemism, different insights on Shang's culture can be gained.¹⁶ Chen Zhi remarks that a great deal of historical records show that the Shang people identified themselves with a particular bird.¹⁷ Initially, historians and palaeographers labelled the Shang culture as swallow totemism. However, eventually it has been demonstrated that they worshipped a divine bird, which is tightly linked to the term *xuanniao* (玄鳥, black or mystical bird).¹⁸ *Xuanniao*, according to historical and mythological narratives, is the divine bird that gave birth to the founder of Shang dynasty.¹⁹ This legendary bird can be interpreted as a phoenix or crow. Noteworthy is that the term *xuan* (black, 玄), in contrast with bright or yellow (*huang*, 黃), is part of a 'natural primitive colour system and they are the colours used for the animal sacrificed in the oracle bone inscriptions'.²⁰ Thus, the term refers to the magical/ritualistic sphere of the Shang, which can be read about in the manuscript. However, it is unclear whether it developed during the Shang or in a later period, when the myths underwent the process of historicisation mentioned above.

From an archaeological point of view, there is evidence of shamanic and totemic culture. A conspicuous number of anthropomorphic representations, called *taotie* (饕餮, devourer monster), can be found which, as Fracasso states, is the dominant symbolic and decorative motif of Shang iconography.²¹ Additionally, numerous Shang jades show specific references to the supposed bird-cult through portraying figures that are part-man and part-bird.²² The theory of totemism discussed by Chen Zhi and elaborated in this paper is essential to understand the reading of the manuscript *Chujiu*.²³

The Manuscript and the Figure of Yi Yin

A modern version of the *Chujiu* was edited in 2012 by Li Xueqin, a leading scholar of the field who is associated with the Qinghua University. The manuscript, composed of fifteen bamboo slips,

13 *The Shuowe Jiezi* is the first comprehensive dictionary of Chinese characters, compiled by Xu Shen and his son Xu Chong. The dictionary was compiled during the late first century and presented to the court of Emperor An of the Han (*Han Andi*, 漢安帝) in 121. See L.C. Hopkins, 'The Shaman or Chinese Wu: His Inspired Dancing and Versatile Character', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 77 (1945), pp. 3–16.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

15 Michael James Winkelman, 'Chinese Wu, Ritualists and Shamans: An Ethnological Analysis', *Religions*, 14 (2023), pp. 1–34 (p. 9).

16 These theories hypothesise the existence in archaic China of tribal entities distinguished by the veneration of different totemic entities.

17 Chen Zhi 'A Study of the Bird Cult of the Shang People', *Monumenta Serica*, 47 (1999), pp. 127–147 (p. 128).

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Ibid.*, p. 129. For more about this myth, refer to Chen (1999).

20 Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, p. 30.

21 Riccardo Fracasso, 'Divinazione e Religione nel tardo Periodo Shang' [Divination and Religion of Late Shang], *La Cina 1.2: Dall'età Del Bronzo All'impero Han* [China 1.2: From the Bronze Age to the Han Empire], ed. by Tiziana Lippiello and Maurizio Scarpari (Torino: Einaudi, 2013), pp. 547–572 (p. 571).

22 Sarah Allan, "'When Red Pigeons Gathered on Tang's House": A Warring States Period Tale of Shamanic Possession and Building Construction Set at the Turn of the Xia and Shang Dynasties', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 25 (2015), pp. 419–438 (p. 432).

23 Zhi, 'A Study of the Bird Cult', n.p.

appears in the third edited volume of Qinghua's manuscripts series. It was buried around 300 BCE.²⁴ Unfortunately, the text was not unearthed by scholars, but by graverobbers in a time and place unknown. The University of Qinghua came across this manuscript in June 2008 in a Hong Kong antiquaries market, alongside the other texts in the corpus.²⁵ From there, they were transported to Beijing, where they went through the editing process.²⁶

Each bamboo strip is circa forty-five centimetres long and, originally, was supposedly tied with the other slips by three cords: at the top, in the middle and at the bottom. Although the first and second strips have broken parts at the bottom, thereby creating textual lacunae, the overall state of preservation is good. Meanwhile, the text itself is *adespota*, which means that the text does not give information about the author, but it does provide the title, which is written in the on the *verso* of the fifteenth and last strip. The original order of the strips is easily grasped, since the numbering is written on the *verso* of every strip, from 1 to 15. The text is written with the graphs of Chu (楚).²⁷

Noteworthy is that, even though the text refers to a story that supposedly happened during the seventeenth century BCE, its language is clearly of the Warring State period, which makes us suppose that its origin could not be earlier.²⁸ Thus, the question about the manuscript's origins still needs to be addressed. However, since this question does not fall into the scope of this research, the following passages will take a close look at the characters and at the plot of the text.

To understand the figure of Yi Yin it is necessary to rely on the texts written during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, since texts from a previous era, such as oracle-bone inscriptions, do not provide enough information about the legendary *persona* of this minister of the Shang dynasty. However, since he does appear in some of the Shang's bone inscriptions, we can suppose that the idea of this character is ancient.²⁹ As Chen Hong pointed out in his essay about Yi Yin, his figure was probably popularised, mythicised, and deified starting from the establishment of the Zhou dynasty and thus, it must have already been present since the eleventh century BCE.³⁰ In these references, Yi Yin is depicted as the legendary archetype of the wise minister: his moral greatness has been highlighted by the many magical events that characterise his life, starting with his birth – it is said that Yi Yin was born from a hollowed mulberry tree.³¹

However, his relationship with the divinatory-magical sphere can be found in one of the earliest texts in which he is addressed. One of the ways in which Yi Yin's surname (Yi, 伊) is written on the oracle-bones is 𠂔, which represents a hand holding a presumably magical staff.³²

24 Allan, 'When Red Pigeons Gathered on Tang's House', p. 420.

25 Liu Guozhong discusses the process of the acquisition of all of Qinghua's manuscripts in detail. Considering provenance, he also discusses the question of fake manuscripts flooding the antiquaries markets. See Guozhong (2016), pp. 51–54.

26 The editing process (in Mandarin *zhengli* 整理) refers to the work done by the palaeographers and philologists in the recomposing the original arrangement of the bamboo slips. Usually found buried in tombs, these textual supports have lost their physical consistency and are covered in mud. The editors give the slips their original physical form and then try to rearrange their order. Furthermore, the editing process also entails codicological analysis, during which the text is read and a first understanding of it is given. For further clarification, see Andreini (2013).

27 The independent state of Chu was in the south (in nowadays Zhijiang) had regular communication with the Shang, which can suggest a strong cultural exchange. See Allan (1991), p. 26.

28 Allan, 'When Red Pigeons Gathered on Tang's House', p. 420.

29 See Chapter 3 of Marubio's (2000) PhD dissertation concerning Yi Yin. On the one hand, we can say that Yi Yin was seen by early Chinese literature as the Shang dynasty's founding minister, as well as a man of great knowledge and virtue; on the other hand, we are not sure whether this person actually existed. In fact, trying to answer this question might be a fool's errand given that a figure that supposedly lived around the seventeenth century BCE.

30 Chen Hong 陳洪, 'Shengqihua yu shengxianhua – cong Yi Yin gushi kan xian Qin shengxian xushi moshi 神奇化與聖賢化——從伊尹故事看先秦聖賢敘事模式' [Spiritualisation and Sanctification: A Look at the Narrative Model of the Essay in Pre-Qin Literature], *Jiangsu Shifan Daxue Xuebao, Zhe Xue She Hui Ke Xue Ban*, 46 (2020), pp. 1–12 (p. 12).

31 This event is mentioned in many passages of these texts. The most complete can be found in a *Lishi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 [Annals of Lü Buwei] chapter called 'Benwei 本味' [Fundamental Tastes]. See Buwei (2000), pp. 307–311.

32 Mayvis Lavonne Marubio, *Yi Yin, Pious Rebel: A Study of the Founding Minister of the Shang in Early Chinese Texts* (Chicago: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), p. 47.

The Text of the Chiji

The story takes place in a period before Tang defeats Xia Jie and establishes the Shang dynasty, and can be divided into three parts: the first part at Tang's palace, the second on the road, and the third at Xia Jie's palace.³³ Across these three parts, Tang and his wife Ren Huang, Xia Jie, and Yi Yin are presented as main characters. The story starts with red pigeons gathering on Tang's house. Tang shoots with a bow and arrows and hits one of them. He then commands Yi Yin to make a soup with the dead pigeon. However, it is not Tang who drinks the soup, but his wife Ren Huan and Yi Yin instead. They both acquire supernatural perception after they drink the soup: 'in a flash, there was nothing she could not see [as far as] beyond the four wildernesses. When Yi Yin received what she had left over and tasted it, in a flash, there was nothing he could not see [as far as] beyond the four seas'.³⁴

When Tang finds out about their newly gained powers, he becomes angry and Yi Yin, frightened, flees to Xia. While asleep on the road, however, a flock of raven plots to eat him. Luckily for Yi Yin, they are stopped by a spirit raven, here interestingly called *wuniao* 巫鳥, who recognises the man and tells the other ravens that he should go to Xia, where the ruler Xia Jie has been suffering from an illness beyond cure. The spirit raven then explains that the Xia lord's illness is caused directly by the Thearch, who ordered two snakes and two white rabbits to hide in the beam of the lord's bedroom.³⁵ Furthermore, the Thearch ordered the earth to create two mounds beneath the bedroom. Afterward, the ravens fly away, leaving Yi Yin alone with the spirit raven, which then enters Yi Yin's throat and occupies his digestive tract.

When Yi Yin reaches the lord of Xia, he introduces himself as a celestial spirit medium (or *tianwu*, 天巫 in Chinese). To prove his shamanic identity, Yi Yin then explains the causes of Jie's illness and suggests how to cure it, namely, to demolish the room, to kill the snakes as well as the rabbits, and to raze the mounds. The lord of Xia does what he is told, but the text gives no information whether his illness was cured by taking the measures.

Yi Yin as a shaman

Yi Yin shows his magical or shamanic power three times. At the beginning of the story, he makes a soup that allows him to expand his perception to see everything happening in the world. The second time, he interacts with the spirit raven in his sleep and learns about the causes of Xia Jie's illness afterwards. Lastly, Yi Yin embodies the qualities of a *wu* when he meets Xia Jie and instructs him on how to cure his illness.

As Sarah Allan argues, the birds can convey either the meaning of 'immortality' or 'longevity'.³⁶ Moreover, the colour of the birds, red, might be also significant, which Sarah Allan suggests to be an omen that foretells the fall of the Xia dynasty and establishment of the Shang.³⁷

According to the received literature, in the context of the establishment of the new dynasty, Yi Yin played an essential role. He is described in numerous passages as a skilful yet humble cook, who

33 Allan, 'When Red Pigeons Gathered on Tang's House', pp. 423–426. The following paraphrase follows Allan's translation.
34 Ibid., p. 424.

35 The term translates the Chinese concept of *Di* (帝), that here can be interpreted as the Heaven's will. Xia Jie's illness is a clear sign that he has lost the Mandate of Heaven (*Tianming*, 天命), meaning that he Heaven has revoked his right to rule. For further details, see Allan (2007); Chen (2002); Pankenier (1995).

36 Allan, 'When Red Pigeons Gathered on Tang's House', p. 434.

37 Ibid.

was elevated to the position of minister thanks to his moral integrity.³⁸ This quality helped Tang to end Xia Jie's tyranny. Furthermore, Yi Yin was a cook (*pao* 庖), as well as a master of ceremonies (*zai* 宰).³⁹ According to Roel Sterckx, these two roles were often held by the same person. He states that '[c]hief ministers sometimes acted symbolically as chief cooks during feasts and banquets and, vice versa, cooks or stewards performed roles as ritual specialists'.⁴⁰ This gives insight to how the figure of Yi Yin might have been perceived during the Zhou dynasty. As part of the historicisation of ancient myths, he might have gone through a process of spiritualisation (to borrow Chen Hong's word) that turned him into the cook minister that we know from the received literature.⁴¹

The passage about the red soup is a reference to the chapter of *Lüshi Chuqiu*, Fundamental Tastes (*Benwei* 本味). In this chapter, we see Yi Yin engaged in an extensive monologue concerning the greatest tastes that a cook can harmonise in the kitchen. As Marubbio describes, Yi Yin takes Tang on a veritable 'spirit journey' to mythical lands in search of herbs which will ensure immortality, water which flows from the mountains where the gods dwell, or fish which fly from pole to pole. ... It is clear that this account is not a manual for use in the royal kitchens, but rather a pattern for ritual communication with the spirits.⁴² It is precisely here that the role of the cook and that of the master of ceremonies, if not that of the shaman (*wu* 巫), collimate. We might then suppose that the red bird used by Yi Yin fell into one of these mystical ingredients; thus, confirming the narrative that describes Yi Yin as a *wu*.

In the second scene, when Yi Yin falls asleep on the road and has a fateful encounter with the spirit raven, there is a correlation with an ode called *Wuniao* in the *Shijing* (詩經) collection of poems.⁴³ The first line of this poem refers to the *wuniao* as a spiritual creature, who receives the command of Heaven to descend into the world and give birth to the first ancestor of the Shang.⁴⁴ According to the myth, the mystical bird descended into the world and caused the miraculous pregnancy of Jian Di, who gave birth to Xie, the first Shang ancestor.⁴⁵ Jian Di becomes pregnant after swallowing a mystical bird's egg. We might assume that Jian Di's interaction with the *xuanniao* is a reflection of her shamanic nature. Interestingly, she was the mythical Emperor Diku's (帝嚳) consort. In fact, in early Chinese literature, 'wu are at times shown to have vital positions in the royal courts next to the supreme rulers, charged with responsibilities vital to the well-being of the court and the country'.⁴⁶ We might think that the myth is implicitly saying that she served in the role of *wu* for her ruler Diku. If this is what the myth is actually referring to, we can draw a parallel between this story and Yi Yin's encounter with the *wuniao*. Yi Yin is reached by the mystical bird, which enters his body through the throat, similarly to Jian Di who swallows the bird's egg.

The allusion to the act of swallowing can be seen as a reference to the anthropomorphic figure of the *taotie* (devourer monster) on some Shang tripods. *Taotie* are animal mask-like beings without a body that devour humans can be considered as the Chinese representation of the initiation theme of the

38 Marubbio, *Yi Yin, Pious Rebel*, p. 93.

39 In antiquity, those known as *zai* were not only governmental officials, but also often held the role of butcher/cook in their ruler's court. This figure used to be pivotal also during sacrificial ceremonies and rituals. See Sterckx (2005) for more information.

40 Roel Sterckx, 'Food and Philosophy in Early China', *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 34–61 (p. 42).

41 Hong, 'Shengqihua yu shengxianhua', n.p.

42 Marubbio, *Yi Yin, Pious Rebel*, p. 98.

43 The Book of Odes is the oldest collection of Chinese poems, dating from the eleventh to the seventh century BCE. Here, the Ode is in fact called *Wuniao* and can be found in the collection of poems entitled *Sacrificial Odes of Shang* (*Shang song* 商頌).

44 The Chinese verse reads 'Tian ming wuniao jiang er sheng Shang 天命巫鳥降而生商' [The Heaven commanded the mystical bird to descend [into the world] and give birth to the Shang].

45 Fracasso, 'Divinazione e Religione', in *La Cina 1.2*, ed. by Lippiello and Scarpari, p. 571.

46 Michael, Thomas, 'Shamanism Theory and the Early Chinese "Wu"', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 83 (2015), pp. 649–696 (p. 650).

swallowing by a protective animal.⁴⁷ In the case of the text of *Chijiu*, however, it is Yi Yin who swallows the bird and not vice versa. As highlighted by Sarah Allan, the story presents a case of possession of Yi Yin by a spirit, which is an occurrence closely tied to *wu*.⁴⁸ What we learn from the manuscript 'is consistent with what we already know about Chu culture'.⁴⁹ The act of spirit possession symbolises the power of the imprecator, of the invoker, who can summon spirits and communicate with them. Thus, we might suppose that whoever composed the story in the manuscript in the third century BCE wanted to label Yi Yin as someone with imprecator's powers.

Furthermore, in the last scene Yi Yin is described as a healer, who, thanks to the possession of the *wuniao*, knows perfectly how to cure Xia Jie's illness. Medical and anatomical knowledge is another feature of *wu* described in pre-Qin literature.⁵⁰ For instance, in the *Shan Hai Jing* (山海經), there is a list of different types of *wu*.⁵¹ What is important for this conversation is that the commentary clearly states that all these different *wu* are spiritual healers (*shen yi* 神醫).⁵² Moreover, the commentary of the Liji (禮記) explains that *wu* used to raise their hands over sick people to cure their illness, thus confirming their medical skills.⁵³

Conclusions

In this paper the Qinghua bamboo manuscript *Chijiu* has been analysed to study the *wu* culture as perceived by Pre-Qin culture. In the text, I identified three passages containing elements that can be traced back to the *wu* culture: a) the moment when Yi Yin prepares a soup that allows people to perceive every happening in the world; b) the moment of the spirit possession by a Shang totemic figure, the *wuniao* (the mystical spirit raven); and c) the moment Yi Yin turns out to be a celestial spirit medium and helps the tyrant Jie to cure his illness. Thus, the figure of Yi Yin, as described in this manuscript, corresponds to the archetype of *wu*. His description follows the patterns that we find in the literature of the time, such as being the right hand of the ruler, with moral integrity, and humbleness. Furthermore, this is also close to what we already know about the Chu culture's shamanic tradition.

Overall, the founding minister of Shang dynasty Yi Yin as depicted in this text collimates with the idea of *wu* conveyed in pre-Qin literature. In early China, shamans had two main duties: summon supernatural spirits and act as their mediums, and be the healers of society and, hence, to know human's body.⁵⁴ In the passages of supernatural happenings summarised above the description of Yi Yin's figure correlates with the one of shaman. This enriches the already flourishing literary tradition of pre-Qin texts concerning the Shang minister. He is not only depicted as a person of great unselfishness, but also respectful and wise.⁵⁵ These, according to Chao Fulin, are the three main qualities of many shamans in pre-Qin literature.⁵⁶ Therefore, it can be concluded that Yi Yin was seen as a shaman in pre-Qin literature, even though his figure is still wrapped in mystery.

47 Lü Buwei, *The Annals of Lü Buwei: Lǐshǐ Chūnqiū*, transl. by John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 376; Fracasso, 'Divinazione e Religione', in La Cina 1.2, ed. by Lippiello and Scarpari, p. 571.

48 Allan, 'When Red Pigeons Gathered on Tang's House', p. 432. See also footnote 11.

49 Ibid., p. 433.

50 Shaoming Lian 連勳名, 'Wu Zhu kao 巫祝考' [Discussion on Shamans and Ritual Officiators], *Yindu Xuekan*, 37 (2016), pp. 19–22 (p. 22).

51 *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* is a classical text of which neither the author nor the time in which it was written are known to us. The text presents the mythical geography of China and the beasts that can be found in each region.

52 Lian, 'Wu Zhu kao', p. 22.

53 One of the thirteen Confucian classics, the Classics of Rites presents the ritual practice in Pre-Qin China.

54 Lian, 'Wu Zhu kao', p. 22.

55 See Marubbio (2005) for an in-depth analysis on Yi Yin.

56 Fulin, 'Shangdai de wu yu wushu', pp. 81–82.

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