

The Yin, Basic Annals 3

[3:91] As for Hsieh 契¹ of Yin 殷,² his mother was called Chien-ti 簡狄.³ She was a daughter of the Yu-Sung 有娥 Clan⁴ and the secondary wife of Emperor K'u 帝嚳.⁵

[One day when] she and two other women went out to bathe, she saw a black bird⁶ lay an egg. Chien-ti took it and swallowed it. For this reason she became pregnant and gave birth to Hsieh.⁷ After Hsieh had grown up, he won merit assisting Yü 禹 in regulating the waters. Emperor Shun then appointed Hsieh: "The families of the hundred cognomens are not close to each other and the five relations are not harmonious.⁸ You be Minister of the Foot⁹ and attentively preach the teachings of the five relations.¹⁰ The essence of these five teachings lies in tolerance."¹¹ He enfeoffed him at Shang 商¹² and gave him the *cognomen* Tzu 子.¹³ Hsieh arose in the time of T'ang 唐 [i.e., Yao], Yü 虞 [i.e., Shun], and Ta Yü 大禹 (The Great Yü) and his meritorious enterprises were well known among the families of the hundred cognomens. And because of him the families of the hundred cognomens were at peace.

[92] When Hsieh died, his son Chao-ming 昭明 was installed. When Chao-ming died, his son Hsiang-t'u 相土¹⁴ was installed. When Hsiang-t'u died, his son Ch'ang-jo 昌若 was installed. When Ch'ang-jo died, his son Ts'ao Yü 曹圉¹⁵ was installed. When Ts'ao Yü died, his son Ming 冥¹⁶ was installed. When Ming died, his son Chen 振¹⁷ was installed. When

¹ We read the first two characters here as introducing the topic of this chapter (or perhaps even a section heading?) rather than as the subject of the first sentence.

² There is a great confusion as to the distinction between Yin and Shang, both as dynastic names and as place names. Ssu-ma Ch'ien in general uses Yin to refer to the dynasty, and Shang to refer to their capital. For a recent discussion of this problem, see Wang Yü-che 王玉哲, "Shang-tzu te lai-yüan ti-wang shih-t'an" 商族的來源地望試探, *Li-shih yen-chiu*, 1984.1, 61-77.

³ Aside from the complete translations listed in the Bibliography at the end of this chapter, there is a translation of portions of the opening section and that on Emperor Chow 紂 by Chang, *Shang* (pp. 3 and 13-15, respectively).

⁴ Sung was located near modern Yung-chi 永濟 County in Shansi (*Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 41, n. 2).

⁵ Two of Emperor K'u's wives are noted above (*Shih chi*, 1:14); Chavannes cites the other two (1:40-1, n. 4).

⁶ Ch'ü Wan-li, p. 41, n. 2, identifies this bird as a swallow, but this seems to be a late tradition. On the black bird and this birth motif in general see Chow Tse-tsung, "The Childbirth Myth and Ancient Chinese Medicine," in *Ancient China*, pp. 56-59; for a more thorough discussion of the connotations of this bird, see Chang, *Early Chinese Civilization*, p. 167, and Allan, *Turtle*, pp. 38-41.

⁷ "Hsüan niao" 玄鳥 (*Book of Odes*, Mao #303; Legge, 4:636-8) says only that a "black bird" gave birth to the Yin people. An early reference to the black bird giving eggs to Chien-ti appears in the "T'ien wen" 天問 (*Ch'u Tz'u pu-chu* 楚辭補注, 3:16b, *SPPY*).

⁸ Shun admonishes Hsieh similarly in *Shih chi*, 1:38-9.

⁹ Ssu-t'u 司徒; see our n. 150 to Chapter 1 above.

On what David Keightley has called the "Shang proto-bureaucracy" in general (a concept which Ssu-ma Ch'ien may not have shared), see Keightley, "The Religious Commitment: Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture," *History of Religions*, 17(1978), p. 221 and n. 43.

¹⁰ Those of father, mother, elder brother, younger brother, and children.

¹¹ See *Shang shu*, 2:2a, *SPPY*. See also Hsu Dau-lin, "The Myth of the 'Five Human Relations' of Confucius," *MS*, 29(1970-71), 27-37.

¹² From this context it is clear that Shang is a place name here. It is not clear, however, whether Ssu-ma Ch'ien identified this Shang with the later capital of the Yin dynasty. For additional remarks, see Wang Yü-che, *op. cit.* (n. 2 above) and Chang, *Shang*, pp. 69-70.

¹³ Actually this was his *nomen* 氏, but Ssu-ma Ch'ien (and most Han scholars) often assumed ancient *nomens* were *cognomens* (see also the translation by Chang, *Shang*, p. 4).

¹⁴ Chang, *Shang* (p. 9) provides information on Hsiang-t'u and other pre-dynastic Shang lords. See also Wang Kuo-wei, "Yin p'u-tz'u chung so chien hsien-kung hsien-wang k'ao" 殷卜辭中所見先公先王考, *Hsüeh-t'ang ts'ung-k'o* 雪堂叢刻, v. 11, 1917.

¹⁵ On variations in his name see Chang, *Shang*, p. 4.

Chen died, his son Wei 微¹⁸ was installed. When Wei died, his son Pao-ting 報丁 was installed. When Pao-ting died, his son Pao-yi 報乙 was installed. When Pao-yi died, his son Pao-ping 報丙 was installed. When Pao-ping died, his son Chu-jen 主壬 was installed. When Chu-jen died, his son Chu-kuei 主癸 was installed. When Chu-kuei died, his son T'ien-yi 天乙 was installed.¹⁹ This was Ch'eng T'ang 成湯.

[93] As for Ch'eng T'ang,²⁰ from Hsieh to T'ang [the capital] moved eight times. [Ch'eng] T'ang first lived at Po 亳,²¹ [in order to] take up the residence of the former king.²² At this time he wrote "Ti-kao" 帝誥 (The Admonition of the Emperor).²³

T'ang moved to reprimand the feudal lords.²⁴ When the Lord of Ko 葛²⁵ did not offer sacrifices [to the ancestors], T'ang chastised him first. T'ang said, "I have said before when people look into the water, they see their reflections, when they look at the common people, they know if the country is well regulated." Yi Yin 伊尹 (Rectifier Yi)²⁶ said, "How brilliant! When one can listen to the words of others, his way [of governing] then can be improved. He will be the lord of the country, coddle his common people, and let those who do good things all serve in office. Work hard, work hard!" T'ang said, "If you [Lord of Ko] cannot [*94*]

¹⁸ On a variant for this name see Chang, *Shang*, p. 4.

¹⁹ On a variant for this name see Chang, *Shang*, p. 4.

²⁰ According to *Kuo yü* (4:7a, *SPPY*) his name was Shang-chia 上甲. All subsequent Shang kings have names which contain one of the ten "celestial stems" (*chia* 甲, *yi* 乙, *ping* 丙, etc.). The traditional explanation for this practice was that Shang children were named according to the day on which they were born for the day they died (see Li Shou-lin 李壽林, *Shih chi 'Yin pen-chi' shu-cheng* 史記殷本紀疏證 [Taipei: Ting-wen Shu-chü, 1964], pp. 12-13). Since Ch'eng-t'ang also had a "celestial-stem" name (T'ien-yi), it is possible each of these kings had two names.

²¹ We translate li here as "installed" rather than "enthroned," since in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's view Hsia still held the mandate at this time. See also the very detailed comments by Li Shou-lin, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-17, on the names of these kings in various sources (including oracle-bone inscriptions), and K. C. Chang's "T'ien kan: A Key to the History of the Shang," in *Ancient China*, pp. 13-42.

²² As with Yin Hsieh above, "Ch'eng T'ang" here is either a topic or a heading indicating the following passage will focus on the events of his reign. Yoshida (p. 116n.), following Takigawa, argues that "Ch'eng T'ang" is an interpolation.

²³ Wang Kuo-wei has attempted to identify these capitals (see his "Shuo tzu Hsieh chih Ch'eng T'ang pa ch'ien" 說自契至成湯八遷, *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* 觀堂集林, 12[1921]). T'ang Ch'ih-hsiang (1:14) locates 7 of them. See also the map by Chang (*Shang*, p. 8), Keightley, "Late Shang State," p. 553, and Louisa G. Fitzgerald Huber, "The Bo Capital and Questions concerning Xia and Early Shang," *EC*, 13(1988), 46-77. As Huber points out (p. 46), according to the *Chu-shu chi-nien* 竹書紀年 (Bamboo Annals) the capital or royal residence moved only 5 or 6 times. Keightley ("Public Work," p. 347, n.1) believes the Shang kings moved because of religious reasons and wonders (p. 553) whether their peripatetic nature allowed any paramount, central capital.

²⁴ See *Shang shu*, 3:12a, *SPPY*.

²⁵ A no longer extant chapter of the *Shang shu*. This and similar comments in this chapter and the following one derive from the "Pai-p'ien *Shang shu* hsiu" 百篇尚書序, a collection of prefaces to a 100-chapter version of the *Shang shu*, probably dating from the late Warring States era (see Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里, *Shang shu shih-yi* 尚書釋義 [Taipei: Chung-kuo Wen-hua Ta-hsüeh, 1980], pp. 3-6).

²⁶ There are parallels in the *Book of Documents* to several sentences in this paragraph (*Shang shu*, 3:12a, *SPPY*).

²⁷ Located about 20 miles northwest of modern Shang-ch'iu in Honan (T'ang Ch'ih-hsiang, 1:14).

²⁸ "So-yin" notes that other sources given Yi's *praenomen* as Chih 摯. O-heng 阿衡 (see below) is then read as an official title. But "So-yin" also argues that Yin has the idea of *cheng* 正 "to rectify," and that Yi was meant to rectify T'ang's government.

²⁹ *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (14:3a-3b, *SPPY*) says Yi was found as a baby in the hollow of a mulberry tree by a woman of the Yu-Shen 有阮 Clan who lived near the Yi 伊 River (which flows for about 100 miles northeast to join the Lo 洛 just east of Loyang [T'ang Ch'ih-hsiang, 1:17]) and named him after that stream (see also Chow Tse-tsung, "The Childbirth Myth and Ancient Chinese Medicine," in *Ancient China*, p. 87).

respect this order, I am going to greatly punish and condemn you. There can be no reason for pardon." So he wrote the "T'ang cheng" 湯征 (The Reprimand of T'ang).²⁷

Yi Yin's *praenomen* was O-heng 阿衡.²⁸ O-heng wanted to seek out T'ang but had no way to do so. Therefore, he made himself a betrothal servant from the Yu-Shen 有阮 Clan,²⁹ carrying a three-legged pot and a cutting-board stand; by means of gastronomy he persuaded T'ang to realize the kingly way. Some sources said that Yi Yin was a untried scholar.³⁰ T'ang sent someone to welcome him with presents. After five trips, he agreed to go serve T'ang.³¹ He talked to T'ang concerning the matters of "the simple king" and "the nine rulers."³² T'ang brought him into service and let him shoulder government affairs. Yi Yin left T'ang and went to Hsia.³³ After he grew to dislike the Hsia, he returned to Po. He entered the capital from the north gate and encountered Nü-chiu 女鳩 and Nü-fang 女房,³⁴ so he wrote "Nü-chiu" and "Nü-fang."³⁵

[95] Once T'ang went out of the city and saw someone who had set nets on all four sides in a field praying, "From all four sides under heaven may [birds] fall into my nets." T'ang said, "Hey! This would exhaust them!" Then he took the nets away from three sides and prayed, "If you want to go to the left, go to the left. If you want to go to the right, go to the right! If you don't listen to this order, you will fall into my net!"³⁶ The feudal lords heard of this and said, "T'ang's virtue is the highest. It even extends to the birds and beasts!"

During this time Chieh 桀 of Hsia 夏 practiced tyrannical government and acted licentiously. The K'un-wu 昆吾,³⁷ one of the feudal lords, was causing disorder. T'ang then raised troops and led out the feudal lords. Yi Yin followed him. T'ang himself took up his great battle-ax³⁸ and chastised K'un-wu. He then chastised Chieh. T'ang said,³⁹ "I call upon you people to come. Listen to everything that I say! It is not that I, this young man, dare to cause disorder, but that The Yu-Hsia committed many crimes. Even though I have heard all you people complain that The Hsia has committed crimes, I am in awe of the supreme deity and must chastise him. Now The Hsia has committed many crimes and Heaven has ordered me to condemn him. Now you people, you say, 'Our lord'⁴⁰ doesn't care about us. He makes

²⁷ A no longer extant chapter of *Shang shu*.

²⁸ See n. 26 above.

²⁹ When noble women married in ancient times and moved to their husbands residence they took along servants from their own families. Since T'ang married a woman from the Yu-Shen Clan, Yi Yin arranged to have himself become one of these "betrothal servants."

Shen was located southeast of modern Kaifeng in Honan (Wang Li-ch'ü, 3:42n.)

³⁰ *Ch'u-shih* 處士. We translate this term as "untried scholar" (gentleman who had not yet left home to take up employment or position) with the parallel of *ch'u-nü* 處女 "untried women" (those who had not yet left home to marry) in mind. Both were still at home preparing for their careers as government servant and wife, respectively. The translation "retired scholar" suggests these men had already served which is, in many instances, not the case. Chavannes renders it "un simple particulier" (1:178).

³¹ See *Meng Tzu*, 6B/6 (see also Legge, 2:432-33).

³² There are two interpretations of "the nine rulers"---"Chi-chieh" believes this indicates nine types of kings, while "So-yin" interprets it as nine kings of antiquity.

³³ This sentence and the rest of the paragraph parallel the *Shang shu* (3:12a-12b, *SPPY*).

³⁴ Two of T'ang's ministers (see Wang Li-ch'ü, 3:42n.).

³⁵ These pieces, originally in *Shang shu*, have been lost.

³⁶ Chavannes (1:180, n. 2) notes that T'ang was reviving an ancient custom here (see also Li Shou-lin, *op. cit.*, p. 24).

³⁷ This tribe lived near modern P'u-yang 濮陽 County in Honan (Wang Li-ch'ü, 3:42n.). See also *Shih chi*, 40:1690 and the traditional commentaries there.

³⁸ The *yüeh* 鉞 or "great battle-ax" was a symbol of sovereignty; see also Hsü Chia-lu, p. 495.

³⁹ The following harangue is Ssu-ma Ch'ien's version of the "Tang shih" 湯誓 in the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu*, 4:1a, *SPPY*).

us neglect our farmwork and does harm to the administration of the government.⁴¹ You say, '[Hsia] has committed offenses, but what can we do about it?' The King of Hsia had completely pulled together people's strength [to serve him] and taken away [the entire wealth of] Hsia. The masses all became idle and were not in harmony with him. They say, 'That sun [Chieh], when will it vanish? We will die together with you [Chieh]!' ⁴² [The King of] Hsia's character being like this, now I must [go to chastise him]. You had better follow me, this single man, to carry out Heaven's punishment. I will reward you grandly. Don't doubt me, I won't eat my words. If you do not obey this vow, then I will enslave you and your family. There will be no reason for pardon." He told this to his officer in charge of issuing orders, who [then] wrote the "T'ang shih" 湯誓 (The Vow of T'ang).⁴³ At this point T'ang said, "I am very militant. I can be called Wu Wang 武王 (The Militant King)."⁴⁴

[96] Chieh was defeated at the Ruins of the Yu-Sung Clan⁴⁵ and Chieh fled to Ming-t'iao 鳴條.⁴⁶ Hsia's troops were routed.⁴⁷ T'ang subsequently chastised San-tsung 三叟⁴⁸ and captured its treasures. The Lord of Yi 義 and the Lord of Chung 仲 wrote the "Tien-pao" 典寶 (The Permanent Treasure).⁴⁹ After T'ang had triumphed over Hsia, he intended to move Hsia's altar of the soil,⁵⁰ [but] this was not appropriate, so he wrote the "Hsia-she" 夏社 (Hsia's Altar of the Soil).⁵¹ Yi Yin announced the [new] administration.⁵² After this, the feudal lords all submitted and T'ang assumed the position of the Son of Heaven. He pacified the land within the seas.

[97] When T'ang on his return⁵³ [to his capital] arrived at T'ai-chüan-t'ao 泰卷陶,⁵⁴ Chung Lei 中雷⁵⁵ wrote his "Admonition."⁵⁶ After he had removed Hsia's mandate, he returned to Po and wrote the "T'ang kao" 湯誥 (T'ang's Admonition).⁵⁷ It reads: "In the third month the king personally came to the eastern suburbs [of the capital]. He admonished the feudal lords and the assembled chiefs: 'If you do not do good deeds for people and are not diligent in your tasks, I am going to heavily punish and condemn you. Do not harbor resentment against me!' He said, 'In ancient times Yü and Kao-yao toiled for a long time outside

⁴⁰ As Wang Li-ch'i points out (3:42n.), some scholars believe "our lord" refers to Chieh, some think it is T'ang.

⁴¹ The *Book of Documents* reads *ko-cheng Hsia* 割正夏 here (*Shang shu*, 4:1a, *SPPY*).

⁴² There are several interpretations of these lines, see Chavannes (1:182, n. 2).

⁴³ A chapter of the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu*, 4:1a-2a, *SPPY*).

⁴⁴ The *Chung-hua* editors did not include this last sentence as part of T'ang's speech.

⁴⁵ Here Ssu-ma Ch'ien refers anachronistically to a place that was in ruins in his time (reading *hsü* 墟 for *hsü* 虛; cf. *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 44, n. 48). Chavannes (1:184) reads "hill [colline]" for *hsü* 虛.

⁴⁶ On Chieh's defeat see also *Shih chi*, 2:88; on Ming-t'iao see n. 152 of our translation of *Shih chi* Chapter 2.

⁴⁷ This and the following three sentences parallel the *Shang shu* (4:2a, *SPPY*).

⁴⁸ San-tsung was north of modern Ting-t'ao 定陶 in western Shantung, about 30 miles north of Po, the Shang capital (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:14).

⁴⁹ A no longer extant section of the *Book of Documents*.

⁵⁰ See the long note by Chavannes (1:184-5, n. 6).

⁵¹ A lost section of the *Book of Documents*.

⁵² Following the variant in "Chi-chieh."

⁵³ This sentence and the next parallel the *Shang shu*, 4:4a, *SPPY*.

⁵⁴ The *Chung-hua* editors do not include t'ao 陶 as part of this place name. But they do not delete it as an interpolation (as both "Chi-chieh" and "So-yin" suggest--*Shang shu* does not have it). T'an Ch'i-hsiang (1:14) locates it south of San-tsung (see n. 48 above) near modern Ting-t'ao in western Shantung, a mere twenty miles north of T'ang's capital.

⁵⁵ I.e., Chung Hui 仲虺 (see *Shang shu*, 4:2a, *SPPY*).

⁵⁶ This appears in the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu*, 4:2a-4a, *SPPY*; Legge, 3:177-83), but is probably a late forgery.

⁵⁷ *Shang shu*, 4:4a-5b, *SPPY*.

[of the capital]. [Because] they did good deeds for their people, their people knew peace. In the east Yü regulated the Chiang 江,⁵⁸ in the north he regulated the Chi 濟, in the west he regulated the Ho 河, and in the south he regulated the Huai 淮. After these four streams had been restored, the myriad people all had places to live. The Hou Chi handed down the technique of sowing and the farmers were then able to produce the hundred grains. These three gentlemen all have done good deeds for the people. For this reason among their descendants some were enthroned. In the past Ch'ih Yu and his grand masters caused disorder among the families of the hundred cognomens. The Supreme Deity didn't give him [the world] because [his crimes] were obvious. You must strive to follow the words of the former kings!" T'ang said, "If one doesn't follow the Way, I won't place him [in charge of] a state. Do not harbor resentment against me!" With this he presented his orders to the feudal lords. Yi Yin [then] wrote the "Hsien yu yi te" 咸有一德 (Unity in Virtue)⁵⁹ and Chiu Tan 咎單⁶⁰ wrote the "Ming chü" 明居 (Clarifying Service).⁶¹

[98] T'ang then revised the first month of the year, changed the first day of the month,⁶² and altered the colors of the vestments.⁶³ He exalted white and held court in the daytime.

T'ang passed away but his Heir T'ai-ting 太丁 died before he was enthroned.⁶⁴ At this point T'ai-ting's younger brother, Wai-ping 外丙, was then enthroned. This was Emperor Wai-ping. Three⁶⁵ years after Emperor Wai-ping was enthroned he passed away and Wai-ping's younger brother, Chung-jen 中壬 was enthroned. This was Emperor Chung-jen. Four years after ascending the throne, Emperor Chung-jen passed away. Yi Yin then enthroned T'ai-ting's son, T'ai-chia 太甲. T'ai-chia was Ch'eng T'ang's eldest grandson in the line of succession. This was Emperor T'ai-chia. In the first year of Emperor T'ai-chia, Yi Yin wrote "Yi hsün" 伊訓 (Lessons of Yi), "Ssu ming" 肆命 (Setting Out the Commands), and "Tsu hou" 祖后 (The Deceased Chief).⁶⁶

[99] Three years after Emperor T'ai-chia was enthroned, he became dull and tyrannical. He did not follow T'ang's precepts and discredited T'ang's prestige. At this point Yi Yin exiled him to the T'ung kung 桐宮 (Pauwlonia Palace).⁶⁷ For three years Yi Yin was in charge of the administration on the emperor's behalf and in doing so received the feudal lords. After Emperor T'ai-chia lived in the T'ung kung for three years, he repented his errors, accepted the blame himself, and returned to good behavior. At this point Yi Yin then welcomed Emperor T'ai-chia and handed over the administration to him. Emperor T'ai-chia cultivated

⁵⁸ *Shih chi chin-chu* (p. 46, n. 61) notes that several commentators have suggested Ssu-ma Ch'ien meant "in the east he regulated the Huai, . . . in the south he regulated the Chiang."

⁵⁹ "Chi-chieh" says "Lord and subject are of one mind."

⁶⁰ The "Chi-chieh" says he was T'ang's *Ssu-k'ung* 司空 (Minister of Work; on this title see Keightley, "Public Work," pp. 179-90 and our n. 148 to Chapter 1 above).

⁶¹ A lost section of the *Book of Documents*; on the intent of its title see "Chi-chieh."

⁶² The Hsia had begun the year with the Yin 寅 month; Shang changed to the Ch'ou 丑 month.

⁶³ *Fu* 服, here "vestments," includes vehicles as well as rites and sacrifices in addition to official garb.

⁶⁴ See also "The Royal Genealogy Recorded in the Sacrifice Inscriptions" in Keightley, *Sources*, pp. 185-6.

⁶⁵ A variant reading is "two years" (see Chavannes, 1:187-8, n. 6 and *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 46) which fits with the description in *Meng Tzu*, 5.1:6, (Legge, 2:360).

⁶⁶ "Yi hsün" is in the *ku-wen Shang shu* (4:5a-7a, *SPPY*); "Ssu ming" and "Tsu hou" have been lost. The last sentence in this paragraph has a parallel in the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu*, 4:5a, *SPPY*).

⁶⁷ A detached palace located near where T'ang was buried according to "Chi-chieh." T'an Ch'i-hsiang places T'ung about 25 miles east of Po, the Shang capital (1:14), but Wang Li-ch'i (3:44n.) locates this palace a few miles southwest of Yen-shih 偃師 County in Honan. Keightley ("Public Work," p. 164, n. 5) argues that these early *kung* were all "temple-palaces."

his virtue so that the feudal lords all returned to Yin and the families of the hundred cognomens could live peacefully. Yi Yin thought him to be excellent and wrote the "T'ai-chia hsün" 太甲訓 (The Lessons of T'ai-chia) in three scrolls.⁶⁸ He extolled Emperor T'ai-chia and called him T'ai-tsung 太宗.

When T'ai-tsung passed away, his son Wo-ting 沃丁 was enthroned. In the time of Emperor Wo-ting, Yi Yin died. After he had been buried at Po, Chiu Tan explicated the stories about Yi Yin and wrote "Wo-ting."⁶⁹

When Wo-ting passed away, his younger brother T'ai-keng 太庚 was enthroned. This was Emperor T'ai-keng. When Emperor T'ai-keng passed away, his son Emperor Hsiao-chia 小甲 was enthroned. When Emperor Hsiao-chia passed away, his younger brother Yung-chi 雍己 was enthroned. This [*100*] was Emperor Yung-chi. [During Emperor Yung-chi's reign] Yin's way [of government] declined and some of the feudal lords would not come [to pay homage].

When Emperor Yung-chi passed away, his younger brother T'ai-wu 太戊⁷⁰ was enthroned. This was Emperor T'ai-wu. When Emperor T'ai-wu was enthroned, Yi Chih 伊陟⁷¹ served as prime minister. In Po there was a portent, and two kinds of mulberry trees⁷² grew together in the courtyard [of the palace]. Within one night they grew as large as a man could reach around with both arms. Emperor T'ai-wu was frightened and questioned Yi Chih. Yi Chih said, "I have heard that a portent can not overpower virtue. Does Your Majesty's government have some deficiencies? Cultivate your virtue, My Emperor!" T'ai-wu followed [his advice] and the portentous mulberry tree dried up and disappeared. Yi Chih spoke of this in exalted terms to Wu Hsien 巫咸 (Shaman Hsien).⁷³ Wu Hsien took care of the imperial household with achievement and wrote "Hsien yi" 咸艾 (Government by Hsien) and "T'ai-wu."⁷⁴ Emperor T'ai-wu praised Yi Chih in the ancestral temples and said T'ai-wu himself would not treat him [simply] as a vassal. Yi Chih dismissed [his own excellence] and wrote the "Yüan-ming" 原命 (The Command Given to Yüan).⁷⁵ Yin again became prosperous and the feudal lords all returned to it. For this reason he [T'ai-wu] was called Chung-tsung 中宗.⁷⁶

When Chung-tsung passed away, his son Emperor Chung-ting 中丁 was enthroned. Emperor Chung-ting moved [the capital] to Ao 隰. (Ho-tan-chia 河盪甲 took up residence at Hsiang and Tsu-yi 祖乙 had moved to Hsing 邢.⁷⁷) When Emperor Chung-ting passed away, [*101*], his younger brother Wai-jen 外壬 was enthroned. This was Emperor Wai-jen. The

⁶⁸ There are three pieces called "T'ai-chia" in the *Chin-pen Shang shu* (4:7a-10b, *SPPY*), but they are not considered to predate the Warring States and are therefore not authentic (see *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 47, n. 76).

⁶⁹ A section of the *Book of Documents* which is no longer extant.

⁷⁰ Chavannes reads T'ai-mou (1:190, n. 1).

⁷¹ Yi Yin's son ("Chi-chieh").

⁷² This story is also told in the "Feng-shan shu" 封禪書 (*Shih chi*, 28:1366) where *ku* 穀 is glossed as a *kou-shu* 枸樹, a type of mulberry.

⁷³ According to "Cheng-yi" he was probably from the area later belonging to the state of Wu.

⁷⁴ Both sections originally in the *Book of Documents* have been lost. On the pronunciation "Hsien yi" see Wang Li-ch'i (3:44n.). On the meaning of *yi* 艾, see "Chi-chieh."

⁷⁵ Another lost section of the *Book of Documents*. "Chi-chieh" identifies Yüan as the name of a vassal.

⁷⁶ Ssu-ma Ch'ien errs here; other texts and scholars support the identification of Tsu-yi as Chung-tsung (Chang, *Shang*, pp. 10-11).

⁷⁷ These two sentences have been interpolated here and do not have any chronological relation to their context—Ho-tan-chia and Tsu-yi were later kings. They were perhaps inserted here because the subject is moving the Shang capital. Ao (also known as Ch'i 器) was located over 100 miles west-northwest of Po a few miles northwest of modern Chengchow and Hsiang about 100 miles northeast of Ao and just south of the modern town of Nei-huang 內黃 in extreme northeastern Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:14). See also Keightley, *Sources*, p. 186.

Chung-ting Documents⁷⁸ had lacunae and were not complete. When Emperor Wai-jen passed away, his younger brother Ho-tan-chia was enthroned. This was Emperor Ho-tan-chia. In the time of Ho-tan-chia, Yin again declined.

When Ho-tan-chia passed away, his son Emperor Tsu-yi was enthroned. After Emperor Tsu-yi was enthroned, Yin again prospered. Wu Hsien 巫賢 (Shaman Hsien)⁷⁹ held office.

When Tsu-yi passed away, his son Emperor Tsu-hsin 祖辛 was enthroned. When Tsu-hsin passed away, his son Emperor Wo-chia 沃甲 was enthroned. This was Emperor Wo-chia. When Emperor Wo-chia passed away, they enthroned Tsu-ting 祖丁, the son of Wo-chia's elder brother, Tsu-hsin. This was Emperor Tsu-ting. When Emperor Tsu-ting passed away, they enthroned his younger cousin, Nan-keng 南庚, the son of Wo-chia. This was Emperor Nan-keng. When Emperor Nan-keng passed away, they enthroned Yang-chia 陽甲, the son of Emperor Tsu-ting. This was Emperor Yang-chia. In the time of Yang-chia, Yin declined.

Since the time of Chung-ting, the eldest in line was neglected and younger brothers or sons [of the rulers] were enthroned. Among the younger brothers and their sons, some competed [with each other] to succeed to the throne. This chaos lasted for nine generations. During this time none of the feudal lords would come to court [to pay homage].

[102] When Emperor Yang-chia passed away, his younger brother P'an-keng 盤庚 was enthroned. This was Emperor P'an-keng. By the time of Emperor P'an-keng, Yin had already made its capital north of the Ho. P'an-keng crossed the Ho to the south, and again went to live in the old residence of Ch'eng T'ang.⁸⁰ So [Yin] had moved the capital five times⁸¹ [between T'ang and P'an-keng] without fixing its location. [Before P'an-keng moved the capital] the people of Yin sighed and all bore resentment, not wanting to move. P'an-keng then announced to the feudal lords and great vassals, "Long ago our Exalted Ruler, Ch'eng T'ang, and your ancestors together pacified the world. Their constitution and the regulations are suitable for us to follow. If we forsake them and do not exert ourselves, how can we achieve virtue?" Then he crossed the Ho to the south and ruled from Po. He carried out T'ang's policies and afterwards the families of the hundred cognomens enjoyed peace. The Yin way of government again prospered and all the feudal lords came to court [to pay homage], for he had followed Ch'eng T'ang's virtuous conduct.

When Emperor P'an-keng passed away, his younger brother Hsiao-hsin 小辛 was enthroned. This was Emperor Hsiao-hsin. After Emperor Hsiao-hsin was enthroned, Yin again declined. The families of the hundred cognomens longed for P'an-keng; they wrote the three "P'ang-keng."⁸² When Emperor Hsiao-hsin passed away, his younger brother Hsiao-yi 小乙 was enthroned. This was Emperor Hsiao-yi.

⁷⁸ This refers, according to *Shih chi chin-chu* (p. 49, n. 92) to the "Chung-ting" section of the *Book of Documents*. The section is now lost and may well have been in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's time.

⁷⁹ The son of Wu Hsien 巫咸, see n. 73 above.

⁸⁰ P'an-keng moved the capital from Hsing 邢 (near modern Hsing-t'ai 邢台 City in Hopei [T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:14]) to what was formerly called Po, which he renamed Yin 殷, leading to the change in the dynastic designation from Shang to Yin.

⁸¹ *Shih chi chin-chu* (p. 50, n. 102) summarizes these moves: (1) Chung-ting moved from Po to Ao, (2) Ho-tan-chia moved from Ao to Hsiang (on the north side of the Yellow River), (3) Tsu-yi moved from Hsiang to Hsing, and (4 and 5) P'an-keng moved to Yen 奄 (near Ch'ü-fu 曲阜 in modern Shantung [T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:14]) and then to Yin. See also n. 21 above.

⁸² See *Shang shu* (5:1a, *SPPY*).

When Emperor Hsiao-yi passed away, his son Wu-ting 武丁 was enthroned⁸³. After Emperor Wu-ting acceded to the throne, he wished to make it prosperous again, but he was not able to find an assistant. For three years he did not say a word.⁸⁴ The administrative affairs were all decided by the prime minister. By this means he looked into the customs of the country. One night Wu-ting dreamed of obtaining a sage by the name of Yüeh 說. With [the visage] he had seen in the dream in mind, he examined his assembled vassals and hundred functionaries, [but] none of them were the man. After this he then made the hundred functionaries seek [the man] outside the city,⁸⁵ and they obtained Yüeh from Fu-hsien 傅險.⁸⁶ At that time Yüeh had been sentenced to hard labor as a pisé builder working at Fu-hsien. When he was shown to Wu-ting, Wu-ting said, "This is he!" After he obtained him, he talked with him and found he was indeed a sage. So he brought him into his service as prime minister and the state of Yin was greatly ordered. For this reason the emperor used [the place] Fu-hsien to confer a *cognomen* on him, and called him Fu Yüeh.

[103] Emperor Wu-ting offered sacrifices to Ch'eng T'ang.⁸⁷ The next day, a pheasant alighted on the handles of the tripod and cried out;⁸⁸ Wu-ting was frightened. Tsu-chi 祖己⁸⁹ said,⁹⁰ "Your Majesty, don't be worried. First improve your government." Tsu-chi then instructed the king, "When Heaven oversees the people below, it takes righteousness as the constant measure. The [span of] years it bestows on them in some cases is longer, in other cases shorter. It is not that Heaven makes people die early or cuts short their lives. Among the people there are those who do not comply with virtuous conduct and do not accept their punishments. After Heaven had given its order to correct their conduct, they even say, 'What can Heaven do to me?'⁹¹ Alas! If a king in his supervision is sincerely diligent,⁹² then he will be a heavenly [approved] successor. In ordinary worship [of Ch'eng T'ang] you should not pay [more] homage to [him than to those who] deserted the Way."⁹³ Wu-ting improved his administration and practiced virtuous deeds; the whole world rejoiced and Yin's way of government again prospered.

[104] When Emperor Wu-ting passed away, his son Emperor Tsu-keng 祖庚 was enthroned. Tsu-chi praised Wu-ting's cultivating his virtues because of the portentous pheasant. He established his [father's] temple as "the Kao-tsung 高宗 [Temple]," subsequently he wrote "Kao-tsung yung-jih" 高宗彤日 (The Day of Kao-tsung's Yung Sacrifice)⁹⁴ and the "[Kao-tsung chih] Hsün" 高宗之訓 (The Lessons of Kao-tsung).⁹⁵

⁸³ On Wu-ting see Chang Tsung-tung, "A New View of King Wuding," *MS*, 37(1986-7), 1-12.

⁸⁴ There are two theories regarding his silence: one that he was in mourning and did not speak, the other than he was extremely careful in his speech (cf. *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 51, n. 111).

⁸⁵ Inferring that the person was not in a position.

⁸⁶ Located east of P'ing-lu 平陸 County in Shansi (Wang Li-ch'i, 3:45n.).

⁸⁷ *Shih chi chin-chu* has a long footnote (p. 51, n. 114) which shows that according to oracle-bone inscriptions this must be some later individual sacrificing to Wu-ting, not Wu-ting sacrificing to Ch'eng T'ang.

⁸⁸ The preceding part of this sentence occurs in the preface to the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu*, 5:11a, *SPPY*).

⁸⁹ Wang Kuo-wei has argued that this was Hsiao-chi 孝己, Wu-ting's son (cf. *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 51, n. 116); on Hsiao-chi see Keightley, *Sources*, p. 206.

⁹⁰ All but the end of Tsu-yi's speech is found in the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu* "Kao-tsung yung-jih" 高宗彤日 5:11b-12a *SPPY*).

⁹¹ We read this as direct speech.

⁹² Following the reading suggested in *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 51, n. 122.

⁹³ Ssu-ma Ch'ien's interpretation of the *Shang-shu* passage of Tsu-chi's attempt to compare the pheasants crying out to Wu-ting's indiscriminate sacrificing meaning is obscured in comparison to the original (see *Shang shu*, 5:12a, *SPPY*).

⁹⁴ A section of the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu*, 5:11b-12a, *SPPY*).

When Emperor Tsu-keng passed away, his younger brother Tsu-chia 祖甲 was enthroned. This was Emperor Chia. Emperor Chia was licentious and Yin again declined.

When Emperor Chia passed away, his son Emperor Lin-hsin 廩辛 was enthroned. When Emperor Lin-hsin passed away, his younger brother Keng-ting 庚丁 was enthroned. This was Emperor Keng-ting. When Emperor Keng-ting passed away, his son Emperor Wu-yi 武乙 was enthroned. Yin again left Po and moved [the capital] north of the Ho.⁹⁶

Emperor Wu-yi did not follow [the proper] way of government, made idols, and called them heavenly gods. He gambled with them, ordering people to act on their behalf. When the heavenly gods did not win, he would humiliate them. He made a leather pouch, filled it with blood, looked up, and shot at it, declaring he was "Shooting at Heaven." Wu-yi went to hunt between the Ho and the Wei.⁹⁷ There was thunder and lightning and Wu-yi was struck and died. His son Emperor T'ai-ting 太丁 was enthroned. When Emperor T'ai-ting passed away, his son Emperor Yi 乙 was enthroned. After Emperor Yi was enthroned, Yin declined even more.

[105] Emperor Yi's eldest son was called Ch'i 啟, the Viscount of Wei 微.⁹⁸ Ch'i's mother was lowly, so he was not able to become Heir. Emperor Yi's younger son was Hsin 辛.⁹⁹ Hsin's mother was the ruler's primary consort,¹⁰⁰ so Hsin became the Heir. When Emperor Yi passed away, his son Hsin was enthroned. This was Emperor Hsin.¹⁰¹ The world called him Chow 紂.¹⁰²

Emperor Chow's disposition was sharp,¹⁰³ his discernment was keen, his perception was swift, and his physical strength excelled that of other people. He fought ferocious animals with his bare hands. His knowledge was sufficient to resist remonstrance and his speech was adequate to cover up his wrong doing. He was haughty toward his subjects because of his abilities and he raised himself above the whole world by means of his reputation. He considered everyone beneath him. He was fond of wine, licentious in pleasure and doted on women. He loved Ta Chi 妲己¹⁰⁴ and would only listen to her words. He then ordered Shih Chüan 師涓 (Music Master Chüan)¹⁰⁵ to compose new licentious music, northern-district dances,¹⁰⁶ and depraved songs. He raised taxes to fill his Lu-t'ai 鹿臺 (Deer Terrace)¹⁰⁷ with money and

⁹⁵ This section of the *Book of Documents* has been lost.

⁹⁶ Although some scholars (see *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 52, n. 129) disagree completely with Ssu-ma Ch'ien's understanding of the movements of the Shang capital, this move, in the Grand Scribe's interpretation, was from Po to Chao-ko 朝歌 in modern Ch'i 淇 County in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 3:46n.). *Shih chi*, 13:499 says this took place under Keng-ting, the preceding king.

⁹⁷ I.e., the southeastern portion of modern Shensi.

⁹⁸ According to "So-yin," Wei was the name of a small state located just north of modern Liang-shan 梁山 in Shantung (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:14), Tzu his rank, and Ch'i his *praenomen*.

⁹⁹ Hsin was probably the part of the title conferred on Chou after his death based on the day he was born (as with the other Shang rulers). His *praenomen* was Shou 受 or Shou-te 受德 (cf. *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 53, n. 137). See also K. C. Chang, "T'ien kan: A Key to the History of Shang," in *Ancient China*, pp. 13-42.

¹⁰⁰ "So-yin" argues that Ch'i and Hsin had the same mother, but that she had only been elevated to royal consort after Hsin's birth, thus only he was eligible to succeed his father.

¹⁰¹ According to *Shih chi*, 13:500, Chow ruled 29 generations after T'ang and 46 after The Huang-ti.

¹⁰² We use the romanization Chow (and Chou) to distinguish this ruler from the Chou dynasty which succeeded him.

¹⁰³ There is a slightly abridged translation of the end of this chapter in Chang, *Shang*, pp. 13-15.

¹⁰⁴ "Chi-chieh" says she was a beauty of the Yu-Su 有蘇 Clan; "So-yin" adds that Ta was her *agnomen* and Chi her *cognomen*.

¹⁰⁵ According to *Shih chi*, 24:1235 this was Music Master Yen 延, not Chüan.

¹⁰⁶ Courtesans traditionally lived in the northern districts.

¹⁰⁷ "Chi-chieh" describes a massive building located in Ch'ao-ko, the capital.

to stock his Chü-ch'iao 鉅橋 (Great Bridge [Granary])¹⁰⁸ with grain. He further collected dogs, horses,¹⁰⁹ and rare things to fill his palace, expanded his pastures and terraces at Sha-ch'iu 沙丘¹¹⁰ and gathered many wild beasts and birds to put in them. He showed contempt to the spirits and gods and gathered a troupe to take pleasure at Sha-ch'iu. By a pool filled with wine, through meat hanging like a forest, he made naked men and women chase one another and engage in drinking long into the night.

[106] The families of the hundred cognomens were filled with resentment and hatred and among the feudal lords there were those who were against him. Chow then increased the severity of his punishments and had a method of roasting [people] on a rack.¹¹¹ He made Ch'ang 昌, the Lord of the West 西,¹¹² the Marquis of Chiu 九,¹¹³ and the Marquis of O 鄂¹¹⁴ his Three Masters.¹¹⁵ The Marquis of Chiu had a fit daughter¹¹⁶ whom he offered to Chow. The Marquis of Chiu's daughter was not interested in debauchery. Chow became angry and killed her. He made the Marquis of Chiu into mincemeat. The Marquis of O remonstrated strongly and argued forcefully so Chow also had him made into dried-meat strips. The Lord of the West, Ch'ang, upon hearing this, sighed in secret. Hu 虎, the Marquis of Ch'ung 崇, heard of it and reported to Chow. So Chow imprisoned the Lord of the West at Yu-li 姜里.¹¹⁷ The Lord of the West's vassal Hung-yao 閼天 and his fellow men sought beautiful girls, rare objects and fine horses to offer to Chow. Chow then pardoned the Lord of the West. After the Lord of the West was released, he presented [to Chow] the land west of the Lo 洛 [River]¹¹⁸ and requested the punishment of roasting on a rack be abolished. Chow agreed and bestowed upon him bows,¹¹⁹ arrows, axes, and battle-axes, enabling him to chastise [rebels], and made him Lord of the West. Chow used Fei Chung 費中 to administer the government. Fei Chung was skilled at flattery and fond of profit. The people of Yin were alienated from Chow, so Chow also employed O Lai 惡來.¹²⁰ O Lai was skilled at defamation so the feudal lords were even more alienated from Chow.

[107] After the Lord of the West returned to his own state, he secretly cultivated his virtue and practiced good. Many of the feudal lords rebelled against Chow and turned to the Lord of the West. The Lord of the West's influence grew greater. This was how Chow

¹⁰⁸ Located about 50 miles northeast of modern Han-tan 邯鄲 in Hopei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:14).

¹⁰⁹ On horses in the Shang see Shih Chang-ju 石璋如, "Yin-tai te kung yü ma" 殷代的弓與馬, *BIHP*, 35(1964), 321-42.

¹¹⁰ Located about 65 miles northeast of modern Han-tan 邯鄲 in Hopei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:14).

¹¹¹ A bronze pillar was laid across a pit and an open fire built beneath it; then those who had committed offenses were made to walk across the pillar until they fell into the fire (see "Chi-chieh," "So-yin," and Takigawa, 3:28).

¹¹² He later became King Wen 文 of Chou. The meaning of Po 伯 here is nearly synonymous with Pa 霸 and could also be translated as Hegemon; Chavannes has "le Chef de l'ouest" (1:202). See also Sydney Rosen, "Changing Conceptions of the Hegemon in Pre-Ch'in China," in *Ancient China*, pp. 99-114.

¹¹³ Some editions give Kuei Hou 鬼侯 (Marquis of Kuei). Chiu-hou City (also known as Kuei-hou City) was in Tz'u 磁 County in Hopei (*Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 54, n. 150).

¹¹⁴ O was located in modern Ch'in-yang 沁陽 County in Honan (*ibid.*).

¹¹⁵ *San kung* 三公, as Chavannes (1:201, n. 2) observes, were the three highest officers next to the ruler himself. He translates "les ducs du palais." See also n. 39 to our translation of Chapter 1 above.

¹¹⁶ *Hao* 好 here suggests both physical as well as moral fitness.

¹¹⁷ Just north of modern T'ang-yin 湯陰 County and a few miles south of An-yang 安陽 in Honan (*Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 54, n. 153; see also T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:14).

¹¹⁸ This refers to the Lo River in modern Shensi which flows south to join the Wei, not to the Lo River near Lo-yang in Honan (see *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 54, n. 154 and T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:13-14).

¹¹⁹ On bows in the Shang see Shih Chang-ju 石璋如, "Yin-tai te kung yü ma" 殷代的弓與馬, *BIHP*, 35(1964), 321-42.

¹²⁰ He was one of the early ancestors of the state of Ch'in (see Wang Li-ch'i, 3:47n. and *Shih chi*, 5:174-5).

gradually lost power. Prince Pi-kan 比干¹²¹ remonstrated, but Chow would not listen to him. Shang Jung 商容¹²² was a worthy man and the families of the hundred cognomens loved him, but Chow dismissed him. When the Lord of the West chastised the state of Chi 饒¹²³ and destroyed it, Chow's vassal Tsu-yi 祖伊¹²⁴ heard of it and hated Chou [the Lord of the West]. In fear¹²⁵ he fled to report to Chow, "Heaven has terminated Yin's mandate and has given others the divine turtle and there is nothing [on earth] which we can learn that will be auspicious. It is not that the former kings did not assist us, their offspring, but that Your Majesty was licentious and tyrannical so as to have severed the ties [with Heaven] yourself. For this reason Heaven deserted us and will not let us enjoy peace and nourishment, will not let us fathom the intentions of Heaven, and will not let us follow its constants. Now there is not one of our common people who does not harbor the thought of your destruction. They say, 'Why doesn't Heaven display its awesome power and why doesn't the [one with the] great mandate emerge?' Now, Your Majesty, what are you going to do about it?" Chow said, "Wasn't I born with the mandate of Heaven!" Tsu-yi [*108*] went back to his home and said, "Chow is beyond remonstrance." After the Lord of the West passed away, King Wu 武 of Chou 周 (r. c. 1049-1043 B.C.)¹²⁶ went east to subjugate [Chow] as far as Meng-chin 盟津.¹²⁷ Of the feudal lords, those who rebelled against Yin and gathered to Chou [at Meng-chin] numbered eight hundred. The feudal lords all said, "Chow can be subjugated!" King Wu said, "You don't know the mandate of Heaven yet." Thus they all returned to their own countries.

Chow's licentiousness worsened until it knew no limit. The Viscount of Wei remonstrated several times, but he would not listen. So he consulted with the Grand Tutor¹²⁸ and the Lesser Tutor¹²⁹ and then left. Pi-kan said, "As a [loyal] vassal, one has to struggle even at the risk of death." So he strongly remonstrated with Chow. Chow became angry and said, "I have heard that a sage's heart has seven apertures." So he opened up Pi-kan to examine his heart. The Viscount of Chi 箕¹³⁰ was frightened, so he pretended to be crazy and made himself a slave, and Chow then imprisoned him. The Grand Maestro and the Lesser Maestro¹³¹ of Yin then brought along with them the sacrificial vessels and musical instruments and fled to Chou. King Wu of Chou at this point then led the feudal lords to subjugate Chow. Chow also sent out troops to resist them at Mu-yeh 牧野.¹³² On the *chia-su* 甲子 day, Chow's troops

¹²¹ The paternal uncle of Chow and the son of Emperor T'ai-ting (see *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 54, n. 158 and *Meng Tzu*, 6A:6, Legge, 2:277).

¹²² See Wang Li-ch'i, *Jen-piao*, p. 235.

¹²³ Wang Li-ch'i (3:47n.) equates this with the state of Li 黎 for which he gives two possible locations in modern Shensi. But *Shih chi chin-chu* (p. 55, n. 160) argues that Ssu-ma Ch'ien was mistaken in thinking that Chi and Li were the same state and that two different campaigns were involved here.

¹²⁴ Wang Li-ch'i (3:47n.) argues he was a descendant of Tsu-chi.

¹²⁵ Beginning here and running through Tsu-yi's warning that "Chow is beyond remonstrance!" is a passage derived from the "Hsi-po k'an Li" 西伯戡黎 (The Lord of the West Subdues Li) section of the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu*, 5:12a-13a, *SPPY*).

¹²⁶ Our dating for early Western Chou kings is based on Shaughnessy, *Sources*.

¹²⁷ About 10 miles northeast of modern Lo-yang on the southern shore of the Yellow River (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:19).

¹²⁸ *Ta shih* 大師. This was the Viscount of Chi (cf. *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 55, n. 169).

¹²⁹ *Hsiao shih* 少師. *Shih chi chin-chu* (p. 55, n. 169) says this was Pi Kan.

¹³⁰ Chi was about 50 miles south of modern T'ai-yüan 太原 in Shansi (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:13).

¹³¹ *Shih chi chin-chu* (p. 56, n. 172) observes that these tutors were musical officials, not the same positions of individuals (Pi-kan was, of course, dead by this time) as those mentioned just above (see also *Shih chi*, 4:121).

¹³² T'an Ch'i-hsiang (1:14) locates Mu-yeh about 60 miles south of An-yang 安陽, in northeast Honan. Wang Li-ch'i (3:48n.) says that the area immediately outside a city (here, Ch'ao-ko) was called *chia* 郊, the area outside the *chia* was *mu*, and that just beyond the *mu*, *yeh*. His reading would therefore be: "Chow also raised

were defeated and he fled to climb Lu-t'ai. He put on his jade suit,¹³³ jumped into a fire¹³⁴ and died. King Wu of Chou then cut off Chow's head and hung it on a [pole with a] large, white banner.¹³⁵ He killed Ta Chi. He released The Viscount of Chi from prison and raised a tumult over Pi-kan's grave. He placed an inscription over the gate to Shang Jung's village. He enfeoffed Chow's son, Wu-keng 武庚, Lu-fu 祿夫,¹³⁶ to continue Yin's ancestral worship and ordered him to cultivate and carry out P'an-keng's policies. The common people of Yin greatly rejoiced. At this point King Wu of Chou became the Son of Heaven. Later generations degraded the title "emperor" [*109*] and called him "king."¹³⁷ And he enfeoffed Yin's descendants to be feudal lords affiliated with Chou.

When King Wu of Chou passed away, Wu-keng, Prince Kuan 管叔 and Prince Ts'ai 蔡叔¹³⁸ rose in rebellion. King Ch'eng 成 of the Chou (r. c. 1042-1006 B.C.) ordered the Duke of Chou 周公¹³⁹ to put them to death and established the Viscount of Wei at Sung 宋,¹⁴⁰ to continue Yin's line there.

His Honor the Grand Scribe says: "I used the 'Sung' 頌 (Laudes) section of the *Book of Odes* to narrate Hsieh's story.¹⁴¹ As for the story after Ch'eng T'ang, I took my materials from the [Book of] Documents and the [Book of] Odes.¹⁴² Hsieh's cognomen was Tzu 子. His descendants were enfeoffed with different places, so they took the names of their states as their cognomens.¹⁴³ There were Yin, Lai 來, Sung 宋, K'ung-t'ung 空桐, Chih 稚, Pei-Yin 北殷, and Mu-yi 目夷.¹⁴⁴ Confucius said, "Yin's sedan chair was the best."¹⁴⁵ "For color they exalted white."¹⁴⁶

troops to resist them in the outskirts [of the capital]." As "Cheng-yin" notes, there would be defensive earthworks there.

¹³³ This may be similar to the jade suit found at Ma-wang Tui. At any rate, it was probably designed to preserve Chow's body in some manner. The "Cheng-yi" says Chow surrounded himself with five pieces of jade to protect himself from being burned alive and this tradition has influenced later popular accounts. On such suits see Timoteus Pokora, "'Living Corpses' in Early Mediaeval China--Sources and Opinions," in *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien, Festschrift für Hans Steininger*, Gert Naundorf et al., eds. (Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann, 1985), p. 344, and Needham, 5.2:303.

¹³⁴ The fire must have been started by the Chou troops.

¹³⁵ White was Yin's color.

¹³⁶ *Shih chi chin-chu* (p. 56, n. 175) argues that Wu-keng (on the analogy of Wu-ting 武丁, Wu-yi 武乙, etc.) is his posthumous title and Lu-fu his *praenomen*.

¹³⁷ This is Ssu-ma Ch'ien's explanation of why very early rulers are called "emperor," but those somewhat later "king."

¹³⁸ *Shu* 叔 literally means younger brother, but these were the "royal younger brothers" of King Wu, their *praenomens* Hsien 鮮 and Tu 度, respectively. Though they were King Ch'eng's uncles, they rose in support of preserving the Yin dynasty and supporting Wu-keng (see also *Shih chi*, 4:126 and 132 and Chapter 35).

¹³⁹ The younger brother of King Wu, see also "Lu Chou-kung shih-chia" 魯周公世家, *Shih chi* Chapter 33.

¹⁴⁰ *Shih chi chin-chu* (p. 56, n. 179) notes this took place under King Wu, not King Ch'eng (see also *Shih chi*, 4:132 and Chapter 38).

Sung was just south of the modern city of Shang-ch'iu 商丘 in Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:18).

¹⁴¹ In the extant version of the *Shih ching* there is only reference to Hsieh's birth (see n. 7 above).

¹⁴² For the materials from the Documents, see our scholarly apparatus above. The "Shang sung" 商頌 (Mao #301-305; Legge, 4:631-47) are related to the "story of Ch'eng T'ang."

¹⁴³ Again Ssu-ma Ch'ien confuses *shih* and *hsing*. These are *shih* 氏, clan names.

¹⁴⁴ These are rather obscure place names (only one is given in T'an Ch'i-hsiang) and, by mentioning them here in his comments rather than in the text, Ssu-ma Ch'ien may be further suggesting the difficulty in verifying data for this era.

¹⁴⁵ *Lun yü*, 15/11.

¹⁴⁶ *Li chi* (2:4a, SPPY).

TRANSLATORS' NOTE

The Grand Scribe's comments to this chapter can not be considered his most analytic. They are essentially a list of his sources. What he wants to indicate here, however, is that although some of the material presented in these annals may seem unreliable (such as the birth of Hsieh), it is based on what have today become two of "the Classics." By providing no further analysis, he may be suggesting his own misgivings with these sources.

Oracle-bone inscriptions have given rise to a substantial body of scholarship on this period which allow the most reliable descriptions of the Shang. Using these sources, the chronology and area of the Shang have been reconstructed and these reconstructions are consistently being revised (Keightley, "Public Work" and Shaughnessy, "Extent"). Nonetheless, modern scholars such as K. C. Chang (*Shang*, p. 3) can still acknowledge this annal as "the single most important traditional text pertaining to Shang" and some of the detail in this chapter has been verified by these inscriptions.

This chapter also provides a guide for righteous rebellion, since we have accounts of how Ch'eng T'ang and the Lord of the West each properly chastised and replaced tyrants. In the case of the Lord of the West and Chow, more detail can be found in *Shih chi* Chapter 4. Yet in this abbreviated account, the horrors of his rule and the irony of his death, by falling into a fire thereby mirroring his own most ingenious form of torture, are the more apparent.

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