"NEW" EVIDENCE ON THE ZHOU CONQUEST

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The inscription on the Li gui 利簋, a vessel unearthed in 1976 in Qishan 岐山 county of Shaanxi province, by substantiating certain key assertions of traditional Chinese historiography, has once again focused attention on King Wu’s conquest of the Shang and his consequent establishment of the Zhou dynasty. It is the expectation, and ever increasing reality, of discovering ancient records, usually in the form of bone or bronze inscriptions, that makes the study of early China so vibrant and open to new interpretations.

Unfortunately, however, in the excitement over these new inscriptional discoveries, some scholars have rejected, or at least neglected, other written records of the period that have come to us by way of the more circuitous route of historical transmission. This is not exclusively due to the prejudices of the modern “scientific” historian. In the case of at least one document, the "Shifu" 世俘 chapter of the Yizhoushu 逸周書, the fullest account of the Zhou conquest was rejected outright as early as 2,300 years ago by one of the first known historians of ancient China—Mencius 孟子 (-371–289). (The text was known to Mencius as the "Wucheng" 武成; see below, Pt. II, Sec. 1.) And with the prestige accruing to his thought from other considerations, Mencius’s rejection of the account of the conquest given by the "Shifu" and the idealized history he proposed in its place have continued as more or less orthodox until the present.

But the modern historian has a responsibility to consider objectively all of the evidence at hand. The "Shifu" is, I believe, worthy of such careful consideration. Therefore, I offer here a translation of the text and a discussion of its authenticity, in the belief that ancient records are discoverable in places other than the soil of north China.

Part I: Translation and Critical Text

The Great Capture

I
It was the fourth month, day yi-wei (day 32); King Wu achieved rule over the four directions and went through the countries that Yin had commanded.

II
It was the first month, ren-chen (day 29), the (day of) expanded dying brightness. On the next day, gui-si (day 30), the king then in the morning set out from Zhou and went on campaign to attack the Shang king Zhou. On jia-zi (day 1), five days after (the day) “after the dying brightness” of the following second month, (they) arrived in the morning and defeated the Shang, thence entirely decapitating the Shang king Zhou and shackling (his) one hundred evil ministers.

III
Grand Duke Wang was ordered to secure the area. On the coming day, ding-mao (day 4), Wang arrived and reported about ears taken and captives.

《周書》《世俘》寫定本

I　維四月乙未日，武王成辟四方，通殷命有國。

II　維一月壬辰方死霸，若翌日癸己，王乃朝步自周，于征伐（商王）紂，越若來二月既死霸越五日甲子，朝至于商，則咸劉商王紂，執夫惡臣百人。

III　太公望命瑕方，來丁卯，望至告以畿俘。
On wu-chen (day 5), the king then performed a yu-exorcism and an inspection tour, and (then) made a commemorative sacrifice to King Wen. On this day the king established (his) government.

IV Lü Ta was ordered to attack Yue and Xifang. Hou Lai was ordered to attack Miji and Chen. On xin-si (day 18), he arrived and reported about ears-taken and captives.

On jia-shen (day 21), Bai Ta was ordered to address the Tiger Vanguard, being ordered to attack Wei. He reported about ears-taken and captives.

V On xin-hai (day 48), presentation of the captured caldrons of the Yin king. King Wu then reverently displayed the jade tablet and the codex, making an announcement to the heavenly ancestor, Shangdi. Without changing his robes, the king entered into the temple. Holding the yellow axe, he spoke and regulated the many states. The flutists (played) nine refrains. The king's honored ancestors from Taiwang, Taibo, Wang Ji, Yugong, and King Wen to Yi Kao were arrayed and elevated, in order to report the crimes of Yin. The flutists entered. The king, holding the yellow axe, confirmed the elders of the countries.

On ren-zi (day 49), the king, wearing the royal attire and displaying the yan-tablet, entered the temple. The flutists entered. The king, holding the yellow axe, confirmed the rulers of the states.

On gui-chou (day 50), presentation of the 100 captured nobles of the Yin king. The flutists entered. The king was displaying the yan-tablet, holding the yellow axe, and grasping a halberd. The king entered; the bell was struck; the “Great Sacrifice,” one refrain. The king folded his hands and touched his head to the floor. The king (lit. settled =) sat; the bell was struck; the “Great Sacrifice,” three refrains.

On jia-yin (day 51), inspection of the military Yin at Muye. The king suspended red and white pendants (from his sash). The flutists played “Wu.” The king sat.

VI On geng-zi (day 37), Chen Ben was ordered to attack Mo, Bai Wei was ordered to attack Xuanfang; and Huang Xin was ordered to attack Shu.

On yi-si (day 42), Chen Ben and Huang Xin arrived (from) Shu and Mo and reported the netting of the Archer-Lord of Huo, the capture of the Lord of Ai, the Lord of Yi and minor ministers, and the netting of 803 chariots, reporting about ears taken and captives. Bai Wei arrived and reported about the netting of Xuanfang and the netting of 30 chariots, reporting about ears-taken and captives. Bai Wei was ordered to attack Li: he reported about ears-taken and captives.
VII King Wu hunted and netted 22 tigers, 2 panthers, 5,235 stags, 12 rhinoceri, 721 yaks, 151 bears, 118 yellow-bears, 353 boars, 18 badgers, 16 king-stags, 50 musk-deer, 30 tailed-deer, and 3,508 deer.

VIII King Wu had pursued and campaigned in the four directions. In all, there were 99 recalcitrant countries, 177,779 ears-taken registered, and 310,230 captured men. In all, there were 652 countries that willingly submitted.

IX It was the fourth month, six days after (the day) after the expanded growing brightness, geng-xu (day 47). King Wu arrived in the morning and performed a burnt-offering sacrifice in the Zhou temple, intending that "I, the small one, bring peace to the glorious ancestors."30

On the next day, xin-hai (day 48), he performed a sacrifice in his position (as king), therewith making a yue-offering37 to heaven.

Five days later on yi-mao (day 52), King Wu then sacrificed in the Zhou temple the ears-taken of the many countries, (declaring), "Reverently, I, the young son, slaughter six oxen and slaughter two sheep. The many states are now at an end." (He)reported in the Zhou temple, saying, "Of old I have heard that (my) glorious ancestors emulated the standards of the men of the Shang; in all, there were 99 recalcitrant countries, 177,779 ears-taken registered, and 310,230 captured men. In all, there were 652 countries that willingly submitted.

X The Shang king Zhou was in the suburb of Shang on that jia-zi (day 1) evening. Shang king Zhou took the "Heaven's Wisdom" jade and jewels and, wrapping them thickly around his body, immolated himself. In all, four thousand (pieces of) jade were reported to have been fired. On the fifth day, King Wu then caused one thousand men to seek them. The four thousand pieces of jade were burnt (but) the "Heaven's Wisdom" jade and jewels were unburnt in the fire. King Wu then treasured...
and shared all of the "Heaven's Wisdom" jade (pieces). In all, King Wu captured 180,000 pieces of old, Shang jade.

Part II: The Authenticity of the Text

The significance of a text such as this would, of course, be enormous if it could be demonstrated to be a genuine product of the early Western Zhou period. In attempting to determine the authenticity of a transmitted document, three factors must be considered: the history of the text's transmission, its linguistic usage, and whether the content displays internal consistency. In the following, each of these factors will be considered in turn, and all three will, I believe, demonstrate beyond any doubt that the "Shifu" is indeed a document contemporary with the events it describes.

Section 1. Textual Transmission

The occurrence in the text of three full-date notations (i.e., month, lunar phase, and cyclical day; see sections II and IX in the text), while constituting a source of confusion for later commentators (see below, Sec. 3), has proven to be a happy coincidence; the paucity of such dates in the transmitted literature has made each of them extremely valuable to scholars of ancient China's chronology. The first of these scholars, Liu Xin (c. -46—+23), quoted these three dates verbatim and at rather considerable length in his Shijing 世經 (as quoted in Han shu, "Lüli zhi"),42 all the while identifying the source of the dates as the "Wucheng" 武成 chapter of the Shangshu 尚書. Comparing the two texts (see fig. 1) their virtual identity leaves no doubt that they represent one and the same text. Except for two or three minor inversions of word order, the only difference of note lies in the first full-date notation.43 But the fact that the cyclical day specified in the "Shifu" date (惟一月丙辰旁生魄, 若翼日丁巳 ... "It was the first month, bing-chen (day 53), the (day of) "expanded growing brightness." On the next day, ding-si (day 54), ...) is incompatible with the date given for the battle at Muye, while the date given in the "Wucheng" is both compatible and independently verifiable (see n. 3), leads to the conclusion that the "Shifu" text is here corrupt, and not a separate text, and should be emended in light of the "Wucheng" text.

The coincidence of this quotation is by no means the only evidence that the present "Shifu" text does in fact represent the original text of the "Wu cheng" chapter. The "Preface to the Documents" (Shuxu 書序) states with regard to the "Wucheng": "King Wu attacked Shang; he went out and attacked, returned and hunted; he made known the affairs of government and composed the 'Wucheng'..." While this description is inconsistent with the contents of the guwen 古文 "Wucheng" text now extant, it corresponds perfectly with the "Shifu" text. Especially noteworthy is the mention of hunting, which figures so prominently in the text of the "Shifu" (Sec. VII), but which in the guwen "Wucheng" has been transposed into a pasturing of the war animals, symbolizing King Wu's pacificist nature.

Another early reference to the "Wucheng" is also illustrative of the content of the "Shifu," and not the "Wucheng" now existing. Mencius, for whom ancient history was a vital philosophical topic, apparently was unable to reconcile his view of a moral imperative manifesting itself through the Zhou conquest with the narrative given in the "Wucheng" text available to him. He voiced his opinion in a well-known passage.

Mencius said, "If one were to believe everything in the Book of History (Shu), it would have been better for the Book of History not to have existed at all. In the "Wucheng" chapter, I accept only two or three strips. A benevolent man has no match in the Empire. How could it be that the blood flowed with pestles (xue zhi liu chu), when the most benevolent waged war against the most cruel?"46

By the time of the Han dynasty, Mencius's view of history (and the attendant selection of historical sources) seems to have prevailed along with the Confucian school. Even the generally conscientious Sima Qian 司馬遷 (-145—86) made no use of the "Wucheng" qua "Shifu" in his account of the Zhou victory, relying instead on the "Taishi" 泰誓 chapter of the Shangshu and especially the "Ke Yin" 克殷 chapter of the Yizhoushu, both of which contain linguistic features demonstrably anachronistic to the Shang–early Western Zhou period.47 Apparently only the skeptical pragmatist Wang Chong 王充 (+27—97) was not seduced by the Mencian view of history.
Now there are those who say that, when King Wu defeated Zhou, the blades of his weapons were not stained with blood. When a man with such strength (as Zhou) that he could twist iron and straighten out hooks, with such supporters as Fei Lian and E Lai tried issues with the army of Zhou (the people), King Wu, however virtuous he may have been, could not have deprived him of his natural abilities, and Zhou, wicked though he was, would not have lost the sympathy of his associates...

King Wu succeeded King Zhou, and Gao Zu took over the inheritance of Ershi Huandi of the house of Qin, which was much worse than that of King Zhou. The whole empire rebelled against Qin, with much more violence than under the Yin dynasty. When Gao Zu had defeated the Qin, he still had to destroy Xiang Yu. The battle field was soaked with blood, and many thousands of dead bodies lay strewn about. The losses of the defeated army were enormous. People had, as it were, to die again and again, before the Empire was won. The insurgents were exterminated by force of arms with the utmost severity. Therefore it cannot be true that the troops of Zhou (the people) did not even stain their swords with blood. One may say that the conquest was easy, but to say that the blades were not stained with blood is an exaggeration.

... According to the “Wu cheng,” the battle in the plain of Mu was so sanguinary that the flow of blood floated pestles (xue zhi liu chu) and over a thousand li the earth was red. According to this account the overthrow of the Yin by the Zhou must have been very much like the war between the Han and Qin dynasties.

The statement that the conquest of the Yin territory was so easy that the swords were not stained with blood is meant as a compliment to the virtue of King Wu, but it exaggerates the truth.

In addition to its general approbation of the “Wucheng”—“Shifu” text, Wang’s statement also throws light on another feature of the identification problem; that is, Mencius’s description of the “Wucheng” as “the blood flowed with pestles” (xue zhi liu chu) and over a thousand li the earth was red. According to this account the overthrow of the Yin by the Zhou must have been very much like the war between the Han and Qin dynasties. The statement that the conquest of the Yin territory was so easy that the swords were not stained with blood is meant as a compliment to the virtue of King Wu, but it exaggerates the truth.

In summary then, at least the following four points about the “Wucheng” leave little doubt that the “Shifu” text in front of us is a work of the Shang period: a title could either characterize the general import or contents of the text, or it could be based on the first words or the most significant words of the first line. In the case of the “Shifu” text, both of these methods seem to have been employed. “Shifu,” the “great capture,” evokes the main theme of the text—the capture of the Shang domain, the Shang and their allies’ subjects, of the Shang treasures, and also the capture of the animals in the victory hunt; in all, an extremely appropriate title. But the germ of the title “Wucheng” is also to be seen in the first line of the text, “Wuwang chengbi sifang, tong Yin mingyouququ.”

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Section 2: Linguistic Usage

While the identification of the “Shifu” with the “Wucheng,” and especially its attested existence as such as early as the time of Mencius, suggests the authenticity of the text, the most reliable criterion of its antiquity lies in its linguistic usage. Not only is the text free of the sort of tell-tale linguistic anachronisms that frequently mar forgeries, but language similar to that in the early western Zhou chapters of the Shangshu has long attracted the attention of commentators. More important, features of the text apparently anomalous within the context of the transmitted
literature have appeared also in the inscriptions on oracle bones and bronze vessels. In the following, I will discuss some of these idiomatic constructions that seem to me to verify the text’s contemporaneity with the events it describes.

The significance of the full date notations is discussed elsewhere in this chapter with respect to other considerations (see Part II, Sec. 1 and Sec. 3), but let us again examine the date for the battle at Muye, this time from the standpoint of linguistic usage. The line reads:

越若来二月既死霸越五日
甲子
朝至接于商
则咸刘商王周
"On jia-zi (day 1), five days after (the day) "after the dying brightness" of the following second month, (they) arrived in the morning and defeated the Shang, thence entirely decapitating the Shang king Zhou." Compare this with a line in the "Shao gao" chapter of the Shangshu:

越若来三月惟丙午朏
越三日戊申
太保朝至洛卜宅
厥既卜
则经营
"In the following third month, on bing-wu (day 43), the day of the moon’s appearance; three days later on wu-shen (day 45), the Taibao arrived in the morning at Luo and divined about establishing residence; after he had obtained the divination, he thence laid out the encampment." Not only are the general structures of the two sentences similar, but such idiomatic features as yuerolai 越若来, yue X ri 越 X 日, zhao zhi yu 朝至于, and the usage of ze 则, "thence," are identical. Moreover, in the "Junshi" chapter of the Shangshu, the compound xianliu 咸刘, "entirely decapitate," occurs in a similar context: 咸刘厥敌, "Entirely decapitated his enemies" (said of King Wu and his subordinates). When it is considered that the date notation ji siba 既死霸 is standard in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions (but, significantly, never appears after that period), virtually every segment of this "Shifu" sentence represents attested early Western Zhou usage.

Despite these parallels with the Shangshu, it is now recognized that a more valid authenticating methodology is to compare usage with oracle bone and bronze inscriptions, materials presumably unavailable to the aspiring forger. With this in mind, let us then consider the passage which immediately follows in the text. It reads:

太公命禦方来丁卯望
至告以馘俘
"The Great Duke Wang ordered the Yufang to come. On ding-mao ..." 56 Three features demonstrate the fallacy of this interpretation.

The word ming 命 occurs throughout the "Shifu" in a passive mode: e.g., "Chen Ben was ordered to attack Mo" (Sec. VI). Although this usage has no parallels in the Shangshu or Shijing, it does occur in the contemporary inscriptive literature. Consider, for example, the following pair of oracle bone inscriptions:

乙 8898 甲申卜: 命啄宅正
Crack on jia-shen (day 21): "Order Shi to make a residence at Zheng."

乙 8893 甲申卜: 啄命宅正
Crack on jia-shen (day 21): "Shi is ordered to make a residence at Zheng."

This inversion clearly shows the possibility of ming being used as a passive. A perhaps more substantive example occurs in a later Western Zhou bronze inscription, that of the Jing you 竞卣. 57

The first line of this inscription reads: "It was when Boxin fu took the Cheng troops and proceeded to the east, being ordered to attack the Southern Yi." In this line, ming must be construed as a passive. 58 It is also interesting to note that it occurs in the same construction as throughout the "Shifu" text: i.e., ming fa 命伐 ("ordered to attack").

Bringing this information to bear on the sentence under discussion, another oracle-bone inscriptive idiom, yu fang 禰方, appears. Although yu is regularly defined as "to defend," because of its combination here with fang 方, ("country") it has been interpreted as a place-name by several renowned oracle bone scholars. 59 Analyzing the following examples, however
This inscription is related to that on the Guoji Bo pan 虢季子白盤, which provides the setting for the action described here. The Guoji Bo pan has a full date placing it in the 12th year of King Xuan, and narrates the court ritual marking a victory by Guoji Bo. It appears that this victory, though conclusive, was not quite final, for while the Bugui gui inscription lacks a year notation, the otherwise complete date corresponds exactly with the 11th year of King Xuan. The content of the inscription shows this date to be correct. It begins with a reference to Bo's (i.e., Guoji Bo) recent victory, which is followed by an order to his lieutenant Buqi to complete the pacification of the area. This order, first mentioned in the opening, prefatory paragraph, is further elaborated by the phrase "yu zhui yu Luo" 御追于洛, where yu combines with zhui to give the sense "to defend against by chasing after," which is to say, to conduct a sort of "mopping-up" operation.

This is also the meaning of the context of the "Shifu" calls for. Significantly, it is also the meaning that Kong Zhao 孔晁 (c. +265), the earliest commentator of the text, apparently intended by his gloss: "太公受命追紂於洛, 未克, "The Grand Duke received an order to chase after and yu (the Shang king) Zhou's allies, the Fanglai." But because Kong, writing in the late 4th century, was unfamiliar with the language of Shang Chinese, he was led to make one minor mistake in his comment.

Two words, yi 翌 and lai 来, are used in oracle bone inscriptions to describe future time. 63 The following examples show the distinction between them:

乙 6385 甲寅卜臣貞, 翌乙卯易日.
Crack on jia-yin (day 51), Que divining: "On the next yi-mao (day 52), it will be a clear day."

乙 7258 癸卯卜臣, 翌甲辰酒大甲.
Crack on gui-mao (day 40), Que divining: "On the next jia-chen (day 41), perform a wine libation to Da Jia."

粹 605 乙酉卜賓貞, 翌丁亥不其易日.
Crack on yi-you (day 22), Bin divining: "On the next ding-hai (day 24), it will not be a clear day."

前 7.27.2 戊辰卜爭貞, 來乙亥不雨
Crack on wu-chen (day 5), Zheng divining: "On the next yi-hai (day 12), it will not rain."

繆 3.15.1 丁酉殤貞, 來乙王入于京.
Crack on ding-you (day 34), Que divining: "On the following yi-si (day 42), the king will enter at."
From this xin (day) all the way to the coming xin (day), there will be a great rain.

Yi is used for either the next day (as it is also used elsewhere in the "Shifu" [Sec. II] and in the early portions of the Shangshu), or occasionally two days hence, but never more. Lai, on the other hand, always indicates a day separated by a longer interval. This is also the case with the construction in the "Shifu," lai ding-mao, where ding-mao (day 4), the day of the Grand Duke’s return, is four days distant from jia-zi (day 1), the day on which he received his orders. This correspondence with Shang usage demonstrates that lai here is neither a verb meaning "to come" (as so many oracle bone scholars have assumed) nor part of a compound place-name (Fanglai, as interpreted by Kong Zhao). Rather, it is a marker of future action, which, when combined with the other idiomatic usages discussed above (ming, yu, fang), shows that the sentence should be translated, “The Grand Duke Wang was ordered to secure the area. On the following ding-mao, Wang arrived and reported about ears-taken and captives.”

The above two examples both demonstrate clusters of Shang-Western Zhou idioms. The text also abounds with individual vocabulary items with characteristics dating from that linguistic period. I will briefly illustrate just three or four of these.

The word fu, of course, occurs often in the text. Although in later usage it is generally nominal, it is used in three distinct ways: as a noun meaning "captive" (gao yi guo fu 告以襲俘; Sec. III, IV, VI), as a verb for the capture of humans (fu Aihou, Yihou 傅艾侯侯; sec. VI), and as a verb for the capture of inanimate objects (fu Yinwang ding 傅殷王鼎; Sec. V; Wuwang fu Shang jiu yu 武王俘商舊玉; Sec. X). The latter two uses were common in the language of the Shang-early Western Zhou, as the following examples (first a Shang notational inscription, and then two bronze inscriptions) demonstrate.

Xiao Yu ding 小盂鼎: 批款二人, 姬八百□

I took prisoner two of their chiefs, obtained 4,8X2 scalps, captured 13,081 men, captured... horses, 30 chariots of war, 355 oxen, and 38 sheep.

Shi Yuan gui 師願鼎: 威俘士女羊牛, 存吉金

We routed and captured men, women, sheep and oxen; we captured auspicious metal.

As significant as the record of the captures is in the text, it is clear that for the Zhou composer of the narrative, the sacrifices, particularly the human offerings, which followed the captures held much greater symbolic significance. It goes without saying that the parallel between the liao 燔 burnt-offering sacrifice here with that in the Xiao Yu ding inscription is striking. (See above, n. 34.) More subtle, perhaps, but equally characteristic of contemporary usage are the other terms used in the "Shifu" for sacrifice. Fa 伐, which mid-way through the Western Zhou period came to be used exclusively to indicate military attacks, was the most commonly used specific human-sacrifice term in Shang oracle bone inscriptions. As the character graphically depicts, it indicated the decapitation of a prisoner. The use of fa in the "Shifu," as for example 伐厥四十家君帝師 "(He) beheaded their forty family, masters of the caldron" (Sec. IX), certainly indicates the same type ritual.

In addition to specific sacrifice terms such as liao and fa, oracle bone usage also included a pair of general sacrifice terms, you 俎, 又 (i.e., 常) and yong 用. Let us consider here just the case of yong.

續 1.44.1 丁卯卜: 用艮于兄已

Let us yong men and oxen, 15."

This sacrificial sense of yong is also evident in such early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions as that on the Ling yi 令彝: 用牲于康宮 "On yi-you, yong offering in the Kang Pavilion." To these examples compare the sentence of the "Shifu, "用牛于于彳五百有四 "He used 504 oxen to heaven and to Ji," where yong is equally unmistakable as a sacrifice term.

Added to the features discussed above in the notes to the translation, such as the general and
specific similarities with the Xiao Yu ding inscription (see n. 36), the parallels with Shang hunting records (see n. 27), and the place-names mentioned in the text (and especially their attested locations; see notes 9 and 22), such linguistic features as these strongly suggest that the text was indeed composed at or about the time of the events it describes.

Section III: Content and Textual Integrity

The final criteria to be considered in judging the historical worth of any document are appropriate content and textual integrity. In the preceding discussion, specific points of linguistic usage have been shown to be appropriate to the Shang-Zhou transition era, but in general favor as well, it seems self-evident, as Wang Chong noted during the Han period (see above, p. 61), that the “Shifu” is a realistic account of the events surrounding the conquest of one dynastic power and the investiture of a new people with that power. Granted, the observation of Wang Chong was based in large part on a common-sensical comparison with contemporary events, but such common-sense generally makes for better historiography than the idealism characteristic of Mencius, for example.

It is within the sphere of textual integrity, however, that most scholars have presumed difficulties with the text. These difficulties revolve around the three full date notations. Disregarding for the moment the problems with the first of these dates which has been discussed at some length above (p. 3), the correlation between the second and third dates and the events that could have occurred within their interval is the crux of a perceived textual disorder. The second date, that for the battle at Muye, corresponds to the 28th day of the second month, while the third date, that for the burnt-offering sacrifice in Zhou, corresponds to the 16th day of the fourth month. If the interval between these two dates is generally consistent, allowing one minor modification, with the interval of 47 days indicated by the cyclical days mentioned, jia-zi (day 1) and geng-xu (day 47). If these two dates were the only evidence available, as they are in the Hanshu quotation of the “Wucheng,” it would be a simple matter to make the minor calendrical modification required. But the blessing, and to some the bane, of the “Shifu” is that, to a great extent, it fills in the events that occurred during the interval (unfortunately not with full-date notations, but always with cyclical days), and this chronicle demonstrates that such a simple 47 day interval is impossible.

The impossibility of this simple calendrical sequence is shown most clearly by the dual occurrence of the cyclical date xin-hai (day 48), the first time marking the presentation to King Wu of the captured Yin caldrons in the Shang capital (Sec. IV);74 and the second time, when King Wu ritually assumed his throne in the Zhou capital (Sec. IX). It is naturally inconceivable that a person 3,000 years ago could have performed actions in two places separated by some 550 km. on the same day. The inescapable conclusion is that these two xin-hai day notations must have been separated by a full sixty-day cycle, which is both consistent with the sequence given in the text, and compatible with the logistical requirements of moving an army from the environs of Anyang to Xi’an.76

Allowing for this extra 60 days between the battle at Muye and the victory ceremonies at Zhou, the interval is not 47 days but 107 days. When the cyclical days indicated for these events (i.e., jia-zi and geng-xu are inserted into a lunation chart covering this 107-day interval (see the appended “Calendar of Events”), it can be seen that the lunar-phase notations for the two dates coincide exactly with their standard definitions. Such a calendar also brings to light another interesting feature: both the victory celebration at Zhou and the parallel ceremonies in the Shang capital begin on the 16th day of their respective lunar months. This is not coincidental, for the 16th day of a lunation marks the day after the full-moon, and evidence from Western Zhou bronze inscriptions confirms that it was during the pre-dawn hours of this day (i.e., still during the 15th night, when the moon is at its fullest) that ceremonies were commonly held.77

But as appropriate as this correspondence between the lunar-phase notations and the cyclical days looks, there is one major problem: the sacrifice in the Zhou capital is stipulated as taking place in the fourth month, while this interval of 107 days beginning from the 28th day of a second month satisfies the requirements for a sixth month. Stymied by this, Gu Jiegang 郭鈞剛 (1893–1980), the most thorough modern commentator of the “Shifu,” despaired of being able to make sense of the text’s calendrical system.78 But I believe that, as is so often the case, a very simple proposal resolves the problem. On wu-chen (day 5; and corresponding to the 3rd day of the third month), five days after the climactic victory at Muye and the day after the Grand Duke Wang reported his success in eliminating the last enemy resistance in the capital area, the text states tersely that King Wu “established his government” (Sec. III). I propose that at this time, he also promulgated a new calendar, declaring the beginning of a new year. Thus, what according to the calendar in effect before the conquest would have been designated as the third month, was thence designated the first month. In like fashion, what would have been the sixth month became the fourth month in the new Zhou calendar. In this way, both the arrangement of the text and the two full-date notations are mutually corroborating, and combine to confirm the integrity of the text.

In addition to being logically required by the text, there is also support for this calendar revision in later tradition. Since at least the development of the san-tong 三統 theory by Liu Xin, it has been believed that the custom in antiquity was to promulgate a new calendar upon the establishment of a new dynasty. The most explicit statement of this tradition is found in the “Zhou yue” 周月 chapter of the Yizhou shu, a chapter which dates from very late in the Warring States period.79

The ten-thousand things are born in spring and grow in summer, are collected in autumn and stored in winter: this is the correctness...
of heaven and earth, the epitome of the four seasons, and the unchanging Way. The numeration of the Xia dynasty accorded with heaven, and the hundred kings have shared in it. With Tang of the Shang dynasty, troops were used against the Xia: he dispelled the misfortunes of the people, and in accord with Heaven overturned the mandate; he revised the first month, changed the clothing and distinguished the titles. One refined (the Shang) and one substantial (the Xia), the sacrifices were incompatible, and the chou month (i.e. that after the month containing the winter solstice) was taken as the first month.

Changing the views of the people, like the great changes in the heavenly time, is also the affair of a single dynasty. Coming then to our Zhou kings, they were brought to attack the Shang. They revised the beginning of the year (gai zheng 改正) and differentiated the standards, leaving to posterity the santong (the three systems).

As for respectfully granting timeliness to the people and maintaining the sacrifices, it is still the Xia (calendar) that is the best. That which is called the Zhou months is used in government annals (yi ji yu zheng 以紀于政).

From this passage it is clear that there was indeed a tradition concerning a change of calendar at the time of the Zhou conquest, but it would seem that the original simple declaration of a new year by King Wu had been later elaborated into a systematic change, consistent with the philosophical systematizing of the period. 80

Finally, the calendrical reconstructions of Dong Zuobin 丁作賓 (1895-1963) also offer a striking confirmation of this calendar of the "Shifu." The calendar required by the "Shifu," with lunar months beginning on cyclical days ding-mao (day 4), ding-you (day 34), bing-yin (day 3), bing-shen (day 33), yi-chou (day 2), and yi-wei (day 32), respectively (see the appended "Calendar of Events"), coincides precisely with that of the year 14/15, -1045. 81 The year which Professor David S. Nivison has, on the basis of several independent factors, determined to be the year of the Zhou conquest. 82 This firmly establishes that the "Shifu" can be nothing other than an authentic account of the events immediately following that conquest.

Part III: The Conquest Campaign

Being thus satisfied of the authenticity of the "Shifu" text, it is possible to use it as the basis for the following chronicle of the Zhou conquest campaign.

Although the text of the "Shifu" begins with King Wu's departure from Zhou on gui-si (day 30), the 27th day of the first month (pre-conquest calendar; Dec. 15, -1046), there is reason to believe that this did not mark the beginning of the campaign. The "Taishi" 泰誓 chapter of the Shangshu includes the curious statement, "It was on bing-wu (day 43; correlated with the "Shifu" calendar, the 10th day of the second month [pre-conquest calendar]; Dec. 28 -1046) that the king reached the troops." Combined with the specificity of the "Shifu" that King Wu, and presumably only King Wu, departed on gui-si, this shows that the Zhou army must have departed at an earlier date (as the logistics of the campaign would dictate; see above, n. 3). When did the army depart? A well-known tradition in the "Zhouyu" 周語 chapter of the Guo yu 國語 gives a precise astronomical date. The passage reads: 昔武王伐殷，歲在鶉火，月在天驥，日在析木之津，辰在斗柄，星在天倉，而有翻译为 by Prof. Nivison as, "Long ago, when King Wu attacked Yin, the Year Star was in Quail Fire, the moon was in the Ford at Split Wood, the (next) conjunction (of sun and moon) was in the Handle of the Dipper, and the Star was in the Sky Turtle." 83 According to Prof. Nivison, the combination of locations for Jupiter, the sun, moon, and the lunisolar conjunction given here, is satisfied by only one day during the years -1046-45; that day is Nov. 16, 1046. Correlating this date with the dates required by the "Shifu," it corresponds to the 27th day of the twelfth month (pre-conquest calendar). Computing then the cyclical day for this date, one finds that it is, certainly not by coincidence, a jia-zi day. Deeply concerned with temporal portents TE 15 is to be expected that the Zhou would select a particularly auspicious day on which to begin their conquest campaign. As the decisive battle at Muye, which the Zhou apparently timed to occur on a jia-zi day, shows, there could be no day more appropriate for this than jia-zi, the first of the cycle.

This concern for timely actions conceivably also dictated the departure date of King Wu. It is well known that the governmental custom during the late Shang (particularly period V) was for the king to divine on gui days, the last day of the ten-day week, as a means of ensuring good fortune in the coming ten days. It is plausible that the Zhou shared this divination tradition, in which case one might assume that on the morning of gui-si (Dec. 15, -1046), one month after the departure of the army, King Wu performed the formal divination in the Zhou temple. Having thus ensured that future actions would be fortuitous, he set out to join his troops. Whether in chariot or on horseback, there is no doubt that the king and his entourage would have moved far more rapidly than the large Zhou army. That he overtook the troops on bing-wu (day 43; Dec. 28, -1046) adds a practical verification of the date Nov. 16 for the departure of the army, for this shows that King Wu in 14 days covered the same distance that it took the army 43 days to traverse, a ratio which practical experience might indeed suggest.

The next mention of the conquest army's movements has them crossing the Yellow River at Mengjin 孟津 on wu-wu (day 53; Jan. 9, -1045). 84 From there, a march of six days brought them on gui-hai (day 60; Jan. 14 -1045) to Muye, where they deployed in anticipation of the battle which would take place the next morning. Everyone now knows that the battle resulted in an over-
whelming triumph for the Zhou army; but as the "Shifu" shows, and as common sense should lead us to expect, it was by no means the end of all hostilities. Still to come would be a series of "mopping-up" operations before the Zhou could be secure in their victory. The first of these operations was initiated as soon as the victory at Muye had been won; the Grand Duke Wang, the commanding general of the Zhou forces, was ordered to secure the area of the Shang capital, Wang accomplished his mission in four days, and on the following day, wu-chen (day 5; Jan. 19), King Wu formally declared the "establishment of government."

It is one thing to establish a government; it is quite another thing to ensure that it is a lasting one. The next section of the "Shifu" mentions campaigns, beginning on ren-shen (day 9; Jan. 23), against a number of Shang vassal states located to the north and east of the former capital. But immediately before these campaigns began, King Wu presided over a sort of victory ceremony in an important cult center near the Shang capital. The Li gui, the vessel discovered in 1976 which has excited so much interest because of its verification of the jia-zi date for the battle of Muye, was cast after the presentation of metal to Youshi Li, its maker, by the king. This presentation took place on xin-wei (day 8; Jan. 22) at Jian, which inscriptions on late Shang bronze vessels show to have been a powerful Shang ally situated near the Shang capital, and where a "great temple" (taishi 太室) was located. When correlated with the narrative of the "Shifu," this ceremony appears to have been intended to reward the soldiers after one great victory and to encourage them in the battles to come.

The "mopping-up" campaign against the states Yue, Xifang, Chen, and Wei then lasted until jia-shen (day 21; Feb. 4; for a full discussion of the location of these place-names and the possible ramifications, see above, n. 9) After the report of the successful conclusion of this campaign, the "Shifu" record is blank for nearly a month. We can only conjecture that this time must have been filled attending to the routine duties of an occupation army. But on the first full moon after having thus put the former capital firmly under its control, the Zhou celebrated their victory in the Shang capital. The events of days xin-hai (day 48; March 2) to yi-mao (day 52; March 6) are sufficiently well described in the text that they need no amplification here. Suffice it to make one general remark: these ceremonies display a certain diplomatic and psychological intuition on the part of King Wu. They seem to have been designed to invoke in the conquered Shang people awe and respect for the somewhat barbarian Zhou conquerors, while at the same time attempting to minimize any feelings of enmity. It is undoubtedly for this reason that although King Wu was there presented with the captured Shang officials, he did not execute and sacrifice them immediately, but preferred instead to transport them back to the Zhou homeland. Although Sec. IX shows that he did indeed execute and sacrifice them there, this was exclusively a Zhou affair, well out of sight of the Shang people. It was perhaps in part because of this seeming policy of clemency that the Shang army was willing to submit to Zhou command, as the events of jia-yin (day 51; March 5) seem to suggest they did.

With the conquest now complete, not only in military terms but just as importantly politically (note the "confirmation" of the heads of states on days xin-hai [day 48] and ren-zi [day 49]) and psychologically, King Wu and the Zhou army (or at least that portion of the army that was not to be garrisoned in the former Shang domain) were free to return to Zhou. Considering the logistics of the march, the departure must have taken place very soon after the end of these ceremonies. But, even though the Zhou were now masters of the Shang and their subjects, that was no longer sufficient to content the people who considered themselves the recipients of Heaven's mandate to rule all of China. It was now incumbent upon King Wu to bring even those states in the west, hitherto enemies of both the Shang and the Zhou, under his control. This was effected by means of a final "mopping-up" operation, conducted against the states of Mo, Xuanfang, Shu, and Li, while the Zhou army was making its return to the Zhou homeland.

With this western campaign successfully concluded (on yi-si [day 42; April 25]) and all recalcitrant states now submissive, King Wu, once again in the Zhou capital, was then free to celebrate his victory at home. The celebrations again began on the first full moon after this occasion (geng-xu [day 47; April 30]), and this time were marked by a rather liberal shedding of human blood. Despite the protestations of later Confucians that the founding fathers of the Zhou were too virtuous to engage in such violence, the "Shifu" leaves no doubt that they engaged in the practice with all the vigor for which the Shang, their more "civilized" predecessors, were noted. Whether or not the victims' blood propitiated the Zhou ancestors, it must certainly have demonstrated to the Zhou people that they were indeed now the rulers of China.

In conclusion then, modern scholars are justifiably excited whenever a bronze vessel bearing an inscription is unearthed. But earth is not the only thing that can bury authentic records. In the case of this "Shifu" text, Confucian idealism has been nearly as obscuring. Let us not succumb to our own prejudices against "unattested" evidence, but instead examine this text just as we would a newly discovered bronze inscription. Whether in terms of chronology, military affairs, or court ritual, it has much to tell us about the very early Zhou.

NOTES

1. Due to a loan possibility of "shi" 世 for "da" 大 in archaic Chinese, commentators of the text generally interpret the title to mean "da fu," i.e., "The Great Capture." (See e.g., Gw Jeong, 1963:2.) In terms of modification, this reading seems preferable to "world's capture," and is here

(Notes continue on p. 70)
Calendar of Events

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(Oct. 16, -1046)

1. King Wu reaches Zhou army.
2. Army fords Yellow River at Mengjin.
3. Zhou army departs. (Nov. 16, -1046)
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<td>壬申</td>
<td>壬子</td>
<td>壬子</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>壬子</td>
<td>壬子</td>
<td>壬子</td>
<td>壬子</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
adopted.

The recension and these textual notes are based on the Sibu congkan 四部叢刊 text, Yizhoushu (the "Shifu" comprises chapter 40, 4.9a-12a), which in turn is a photo-reprint of a Ming Jiajing era edition (printed in 1543), the oldest extant text. (In these notes it is this text that is intended when I refer to the "original text.") I have also extensively consulted the critical recension by Gu Jiegang (1963), which not only presents Gu's original research but also synthesizes the various Qing editions and scholarship.

2. It would seem that this summation is a later addition to the basic text, akin to the "Preface to the Documents " (Shuxu 書序). The record, however, does seem reliable when correlated with the remainder of the chapter. According to my chronologica reconstruction of the events, yi-wei marks the first day of the fourth month, a time at which King Wu and the Zhou army were returning through former Shang territory to the Zhou homeland. (See below, p. 67, and especially the appended "Calendar of Events.")

3. The original text reads 終一月丙辰旁生魄若翼日丁巳王乃步自于周征伐商王紂 shu, the emendation is based on the quotation in Han shu texts, to determine the correctness of the "Wucheng" date. The occurrence here of a "Wucheng" date, Hanshu "Wucheng" date here, Qu Wanli (1965: 317-19) has argued that it is also suspect because the interval of 31 days thus afforded between the departure from Zhou and the battle at Muye would be insufficient time to move an army the roughly 550 km. between the Xi'an area and Chaoge. (Qu mentions 700 km., relying on Liu Xin's estimation of the distance instead of a map.) Qu's suspicions with regard to the logistical problems are well-taken, yet a correct reading of this line resolves the difficulty. The date does not mark the departure of the Zhou army; rather, it is explicit in mentioning only King Wu's departure. Other sources indicate that the Zhou army began its march 30 days earlier, and that it was only 14 days after the date given here that King Wu joined his troops en route to the battle. (For a full discussion, see below, p. 66)

The marching time of 60 days thus afforded is quite consistent with the speed of troop movements in ancient times.

Having said this, it is necessary to digress slightly and consider more fully this problem of logistics. Included with the passages from the "Wucheng" in the Hanshu quotation is a remark by Liu Xin that troops moved 30 li per day, or roughly 15 km. per day. This figure seems to have been widely accepted in ancient sources, being cited by Du Yu 杜預 (+228-284) in his commentary to the Zuozhuan (Chunjiu jingzhuan jijie, 7.5a), and in the Baihu tong (p. 628). Moreover, Mao Chang 毛萇 (-2 c.) gives the same gloss, interpreting the poem "Liu yue" 六月 (Mao, 177) of the Shijing as testifying to this same tradition at a much earlier time: 我服既成, 于三十里 "Our clothes being ready, we marched 30 li" (Maoshi, 10.6b-7a).

According to this tradition, the marching time between Xi'an and Chaoge would have been about 35 days. But this type of tradition must be authenti-
cated by actual campaign records. Surprisingly, there exists a nearly day-by-day account of a 10-month campaign virtually contemporary with that of King Wu’s against the Shang (and it is even more temporally comparable in that it was also conducted during the inclement winter months.) This campaign was led by Di Xin, the final Shang king, against the Renfang, a campaign which though successful is credited by the Zuozhuan (Zhao II; Legge, CC V: 633-4) as having so weakened the Shang state that it prepared the way for the Zhou conquest. During this campaign, Di Xin routinely performed divinations, and a corpus of 150 of the divination inscriptions has been compiled by Dong Zuobin (1945: Xia 9.48a-63b). Because nearly all of the inscriptions record the date (giving month and cyclical day) and location, it is possible to plot the course of the campaign rather precisely. (See e.g., Chen Mengjia, 1956: 301-9 and esp. the appended map, pl. 10.) Analyzing the most reliable segments of the march, the following table of troop movements can be compiled. (See fig. 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Depart</th>
<th>Arrival</th>
<th>Depart</th>
<th>Arrival</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>km/day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 雷</td>
<td>雷</td>
<td>4-9</td>
<td>27-28</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>6.25-8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 伐</td>
<td>伐</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>17-21</td>
<td>5.24-6.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 伐</td>
<td>伐</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 伐</td>
<td>伐</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2

The table divides naturally into two sections, 1, 2, and 4 showing an average speed of 7-8 km/day, and 3 showing a revised (discounting three days spent in one encampment) speed of 18 km/day. There is a simple explanation for this divergence. The march described in 3 was in enemy territory, presumably in pursuit of the enemy. With the exception of the three day encampment, it can be assumed that the army was on the march every day. 1, 2, and 4 on the other hand, represent segments of the march to and from the battle area, and the inscriptional record shows that they were not sustained marches. In general, the practice seems to have been to march a day and camp a day. To account for this 50% of the campaign time spent encamped, the average rate of troop movement/day for 1, 2, and 4 should thus be approximately doubled, giving an average marching speed of about 15-16 km/day, corresponding exactly with the later tradition.

This is just as we should expect. A large army on the move cannot sustain over a long period the pace it can keep for one day. Applying the logistical information from this record to the campaign described in the "Shifu," we should likewise not expect the Zhou army to have covered the 550 km distance in the 36 days a daily march of 15 km would permit, but should rather expect something closer to the 60 days re-constructed here for the march on Shang, or the 55 days for the return to Zhou.

4. As outlined above (n. 3), this date corresponds to the 28th day of the month.

5. The Jingdian shiwen (2.14b) glosses an occurrence of jie 接 in the Zhouyi 周易 as a loan for 捷 (“to defeat”). For other examples of this loan in classical texts, see Gao Heng, 1947: 120; and for a phonological discussion of a "jī-jī" word family meaning “to attack, to conquer,” see Ping Xin, 1979: 55-60.

6. For a detailed discussion of this sentence, see below, pp. 62-64.

7. According to tradition, the left ear of a slain enemy was severed to prove the kill; the Shuowen definition reads: 賤軍戰斬耳也 ... 賤或从首 "Guo, the severing of ears by troops in battle.... It may also be written with 首 ('head') signific." (Shuowen jiezi qulin: 536a)

8. Emending 自祀 to 追祀 with Kong Zhao’s commentary. Both yu 祀 and xun 循 occur commonly in oracle bone inscriptions, meaning an exorcistic ritual (see Xu Jinxiong, 1963: 3b) and a kingly inspection tour (see Li Xiaoding’s comments in Li Xiaoding, 1965: 567-9) respectively. Previous commentators have apparently not been aware of these usages, stating, for instance, only that yu is the name of a sacrifice (Kong Zhao), or worse, have misinterpreted the nature of the ritual, with such suggestions as a sacrifice to the chariot god (Chen Pengheng 陳逢衡, Yi-zhoushu buzhu) or a variant for zhai 築, a form of burnt-offering sacrifice (Gu Jiegang; for all of these interpretations, see Gu Jiegang, 1963: 6, n. 5.)

Interpreted correctly, these ritual actions on the part of King Wu can be seen to constitute an integral part of this section. It is not coincidental that yu is used twice in the section, once in its temporal usage of “driving out” enemies, describing the Grand Duke Wang’s military actions, and once in its spiritual usage of “driving out” auspicious influences, the ritual responsibility of the king. Having thus spiritually purified the area, the king would naturally set off to inspect the new territory.

9. The place-names indicated by the "Shifu" are Yue 越, Xifang 戏方 (perhaps Miji 美集), Chen 陳, and Wei 衛. Qu Wanli (1965: 329-330) has identified these places with the following Chunqiu period locales: Yue, the southwestern part of the state of Wei 衛; Xi, in northeastern Zheng 鄭; Chen, the state by the same name to the west of Song 宋, and Wei, the state of the same name to the northeast of the former Shang capital. While I have been unable to correlate these identifications with evidence from oracle bone inscriptions, as would be preferable, they seem generally reliable.
The case of Wei, however, calls for some elaboration. Historical sources record that Feng 封, the youngest brother of King Wu, was, at the time of the conquest, enfeoffed at Kang 康, and hence was known in early Zhou texts as Kang hou, the Archer-Lord of Kang. After quelling the rebellion of the Shang scion Wueng 武庚 and his two Zhou overlords, Guan shu 管叔 and Cai shu 蔡叔, both of whom were also brothers of King Wu, King Cheng 成 ordered the Archer-Lord of Kang to oversee the Yin area, appointing him the Lord of Wei 卫. This appointment is clearly recorded in the inscription of the Kang hou gui 康侯簋: 王東伐商邑, 征令康侯, 養于衛. "It was when the king (i.e., King Cheng) attacked the city Shang; he ordered the Archer-Lord of Kang to be enfeoffed at Wei." (See Chen Mengjia, 1955: 25; Sherrickawa Shizuka, 1964: 4.144-152.)

There are however two traditions regarding the location of Wei. The Hanshu, "Dili zhi" identifies it with Chaoge, the capital of the last Shang king, Di Xin: "Chaoge was the capital of Zhou (Xin), and the location of Wei. The Hanshu, "Dili zhi" identifies it with the Kang hou gui 康侯簋: 王東伐商邑, 征令康侯, 養于衛. "It was when the king (i.e., King Cheng) attacked the city Shang; he ordered the Archer-Lord of Kang to be enfeoffed at Wei." (See Chen Mengjia, 1955: 25; Sherrickawa Shizuka, 1964: 4.144-152.)

This passage of the "Shifu" further substantiates that identification. Chaoge having been captured immediately after the battle at Muye, it would be redundant to now, twenty days later, make it the target of a campaign. The passage makes perfect sense however, when Wei is seen as the former capital, and presumably still an important cult center, at Anyang, approximately 100 km to the north. The importance of such an objective would explain why the "Tiger Van-}

10. Emending ge格 to ge革 on the basis of Kong Zhao’s commentary: 不改祭天之服 “He did not change his clothes for sacrificing to heaven.”

11. Following Zhu Youceng 朱右曾 (Yizhoushu jixun jiaoshi 逸周書集訓校釋) and Gu Jiegang in adding huang yue 黃钺 on the basis of parallel examples in the following text; see Gu Jiegang, 1963: 9, n. 6.

12. Tai Wang, great-grandfather of King Wu, was the illustrious Gugong Danfu 古公亶父, the ruler who moved the Zhou people to the Qishan 崤山 area. Taibo was his eldest son and Yuqong (i.e., Yuzhong 庶仲) his second son, both of whom acceded to Kangji (i.e., jili 季歷), their younger half-brother and the father of the future King Wen, when Taiwang made known his wishes that Wen one day be king. Yiqiao was the eldest son of King Wen who pre-deceased his father, thus enabling King Wu, the next eldest son, to be the next king. (For this account, see Shiji: 112-5.)

Gu Jiegang has pointed out that this form of collateral ancestor sacrifice, including not only the kingly ancestors but also other members of the royal family in a given generation, is akin to the Shang ancestor sacrifices displayed in the oracle bone inscriptions. He regards this as evidence of the authenticity of the "Shifu." (Gu Jiegang, 1963:9, n. 9: 29.)

13. The original text here reads gui-you 稟酉 (day 10), which, from the sequence of cyclical days, is obviously corrupt, and should read gui-chou 稟丑.

14. Following Gu Jiegang in adding ru入 after wang王, as in similar constructions below; 1963: II, n. 20.

15. Following Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (Yizhoushu) and Gu Jiegang in reading yong庸 (i.e., yong鑪) for qi其; ibid. 11, n. 23.

16. Following Lu Wenchao in reading rong戎 for wo我. The usage of ye 謂 here is somewhat of a problem; with most commentators glossing it as: 謂也 "to report." While a "report" is certainly a part of what ye means, it is a formal reporting given in person, usually to one's superior. I believe that the line should be interpreted to mean that the defeated Shang troops were drawn up
on the former battlefield of Muye, and that King Wu, their new sovereign and commander, there received a report of their condition, i.e., "inspected" them. (For further remarks on this line, see below, n. 74.)

17. Zuozhuan (Xuan 12; Legge, CC V: 320) states 武王克商...作武 "when King Wu had subdued Shang,... he composed ' Wu' (Shijing, Mao 285)." The identification of this poem seems relatively firm, but it is my feeling that any attempt to identify the other poems mentioned in the text would be mere conjecture.

18. Gu Jiegang interprets this line quite differently, marshalling considerable evidence to show that wan was the name of a dance. (Gu Jiegang, 1963: 32, n. 29) He may be correct but I provisionally interpret the word in its typical sense.

19. Deleting zhong 鍾. With the reign of Han Jingdi 漢景帝 (-156–141), the word qi 起 became taboo and this line must have been changed to read kai 開 at that time. Qi, of course, was the son of Yu the Great, the progenitor of the Xia dynasty.

20. To be identified with Bai Ta in Sec. IV, as noted above; see n. 8.

21. The original text here reads xin huang 新荒; I reverse the order on the basis of the reading in Sec. IV. It is of course possible that Xin Huang is the correct reading, in which case the first occurrence should be emended.

22. I here retain the original sequence of the text. Gu Jiegang (1963: 14, n. 13), however, rearranges the text, thinking with previous commentators that this campaign occurs in the same locale as that chronicled in Sec. IV. To the contrary, the states here enumerated lie far to the west, in the vicinity of the Zhou capital, and on the basis of the cyclical dates given, this campaign would have to have taken place in the fourth month, just days before the victory celebration in the Zhou capital.

Of the place-names in this section, Mo 磨, Xuanfang 宣方, Shu 蜀 and Li 力, I have been unable to make any identification of Mo and Li. And despite its occurrence in Shang oracle bone inscriptions, I have also been unable to locate Xuanfang. (Qu Wanli (1965: 329–30) notes that the absence of this place-name in later literature makes its occurrence here strong evidence for the authenticity of the "Shifu.") But it is possible to determine that Xuanfang was an enemy of the Shang state; for example 綜圖 22.4: 甲申卜貞 犀及方 "Crack on jia-shen, divining: 'Capture the Xuanfang.'"; suggesting at least that it was located outside of the sphere of direct Shang influence.

This suggestion is confirmed by the final place-name, Shu. A state of this name also occurs in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions, but with evidence of having had a long-term vassalage relationship with the Shang; (e.g., in Per. I the Shang divided about Shu's harvest [乙 5280: 6422], and in Per. IV performed divinations in Shu [甲方 993; 983].)

This vassalage relationship notwithstanding, Shima Kunio (1958: 378) has located Shu far to the west of Shang, just to the south of the great bend in the Yellow River. Shima's placement, in addition to being firmly based on contemporary evidence, has recently received further verification from the Western Zhou oracle bones discovered in 1977 at Qishan, Shaanxi province. Inscription H11: 68 of that find reads 伐蜀 (Sui) "Attack Shu. (This)" (Wenwu 1979.10: 40; a photograph of the shell is on, p. 43, diagram 11. See also, Xu Xitai, 1979: 189.) If these oracle bones were in fact inscribed by the Zhou during the time of kings Wen and Wu, this inscription demonstrates two things: first, Shu was indeed in the general vicinity of Zhou, and second, a short time before the Zhou conquest of Shang it was an enemy of the Zhou. Judging from this passage in the "Shifu," the adversary relationship presumably continued and was resolved only after the Zhou conquest of Shang.

(N.B. It is true that Shu is listed in the "Mushi" 夏書 chapter of the Shangshu, as one of eight major allies in the Zhou conquest campaign. But the "Mushi" is a late composition, and when such evidence is contradicted by the "hard" inscrip-tional sources, it must be discounted. It is interesting however, that this tradition confirms the location of Shu in the west near the Zhou homeland.)

23. The original text is here corrupt, reading 鬱命新荒蜀磨至. I follow the emendation of Gu Jiegang, 1963: 13, n. 7.

24. In the oracle bone inscriptions, there is a Per. V Shang vassal state called 武, which is presumably the same as this Huo 霍; see Shima, 1971: 234.1.

25. Ai 艾 is possibly the 乂 of the oracle bone inscriptions (since both graphs are read ai and are defined as a type of mugwort, the later elaboration of the "grass" signfic would be natural), which 鬱 14 1.44.7: 賓王狩于乂. "Divining: 'The king will hunt in Ai!,'" shows to have been a territory under the control of the Shang king.

26. The number in the original text reads 八百有三百, an obvious corruption.

The anomalous usage here of 蒲 as "chariot" is dictated by the qualifier liang 兩. In later usage 蒲 commonly indicates "charioteer," which might suggest "pairs of charioteers" here,
especially in that this passage is otherwise an enumeration of human captives. However, there is no parallel for liang being used as a qualifier for humans, and I provisionally follow the Chinese commentators in reading "chariot."

27. The "Preface to the Documents" (Shuxu 註序) for the "Wucheng" chapter states: 武王伐商，往伐歸獸 "King Wu attacked Shang; he went out and attacked, returned and hunted," one of the reasons for identifying the "Shifu" with the "Wucheng"; see below, p. 60.

Moreover, Qu Wanli (1965: 330) cites this hunting record as one of the reasons he considers the text authentic. He points out that not only does the grammar resemble the hunting notations found on oracle bones, but what is more, the numbers of animals recorded as being caught is consistent, species by species, with the Shang records.

Finally, in an interesting analysis of oracle bone inscriptional evidence, Yu Xingwu (1979: 275-7) has observed that hunting expeditions played an important function after victorious battles. My own study of the inscriptions concerning the Shang Period V campaign against the Renfang confirms that hunts were both frequent and seemingly significant (they being the only specified activity recorded; i.e., non-routine divination) during the return march from the victorious battle. In all these ways, this hunt notation in the "Shifu" accords well with contemporary practice.

28. In the original text this number begins 億有十萬 with yi 億 being defined in antiquity as shi wan 十萬 (100,000), the shi wan following is obviously corrupt. It should probably read qi wan 七萬, the archaic form of qi 卜 easily giving rise to this sort of confusion.

29. On the basis of the lunar-phase notation, this date can be designated as the 16th day of the lunation, "pang shengba" (旁, meaning "expanded") would be two days later, or the 10th, "jipang shengba" would be the day after pang, or the 11th, and six days later, counting inclusively, would be the 16th. I should like to mention here that my understanding of these lunar-phase notations owes much to the work of my teacher, David S. Nivison, on Western Zhou chronology; for a preliminary report of his research, see Nivison, 1980.

For a discussion of the significance of this date, see below, p. 65.

30. Adding kao 考 after wen 文 on the basis of the parallel text below.

31. Scribe Yi also figures in the "Ke Yin" chapter's account of post-conquest activities; Yizhoushu, 4.3b.

32. Emending shi 夫 to fu 夫 on the basis of the parallel usage in Sec. II.

33. I here interpret fa 伐 in its normal Shang and early Western Zhou sense of "to behead" (being the pictograph of an axe cutting through a man's neck), and you 右 as oracle bone inscriptional 右, also a common Shang sacrifice term, which was later elaborated into you "to offer"; see further, K. Takashima, 1979-80: 52-3.

34. This reading was suggested by David Pankenier (1981: 19, n. 10). Shirakawa observes that the suburban sacrifice was originally a ceremony of initiation, either of a new reign or of a new city (1965: 6.299). Moreover, the Duke of Zhou's performance of the sacrifice in the "Shaogao" 召誥 chapter of the Shangshu shows that it was, in its earliest form, not necessarily presided over by the king himself.

35. Following Gu Jiegang in deleting 武王 (1963: 19, n. 9).

36. Parallels between the "Shifu" and the inscription attributed to the Xiao Yu ding 小盂鼎 (the vessel is no longer extant) have been noted by many scholars of bronze inscriptions. The Xiao Yu ding inscription also records a victory celebration of sorts, and the language is so consistent, both in general and in technical points, with that of the "Shifu" that it merits extensive quotation.

At dawn, the King entered the Ancestral Temple of the Chou House, ....... The Receiver of Guests waited upon the guests of the States (the feudal lords from outside metropolitan Chou). They laid aside their traveling clothes (for ceremonial robes) and stood facing east. I, Yu, with all the belted and beflagged (prisoners) of the Guifang ....... entered the South Gate. I reported "The King commanded me, Yu, together with ....... to attack the Guifang ....... I took prisoner two of their Chiefs, obtained 4,812 scalps, captured 13,081 men, seized ....... horses, 30 chariots of war, 355 oxen, and 38 sheep.

I, Yu, ....... say ....... called out "report our campaign." I took prisoner one of their Chiefs, obtained 237 scalps, captured ....... men, seized 104 horses and 100 (plus ....... chariots of war."

The king ....... said "We are pleased."

I, Yu, bowed deeply and saluted and, together with the captured Chiefs, came forward and took my place in the Great Court.

The King commanded Rong (one of the Chiefs of the Guifang) "... their ....... Chiefs, examine its cause." ... The Earl of Ge ....... Guifang, Guifang prior to this with the newly ....... followed Shang." 

The Chiefs were beheaded in the ....... The King called out ....... order Yu, with his prisoners and scalps, to come in at the (South) Gate and to present them at the West Walk. With ....... to enter and sacrifice them by
fire in the Ancestral Temple of the Chou House.

(Tr. Dobson, 1962), 231–32)

The underlining here represents parallels with the "Shifu." As one can tell at a glance, whole sections correspond in exact detail, offering another piece of evidence for the authenticity of the "Shifu.

37. Yue 鬲 offerings are recorded in both Shang oracle bone and Western Zhou bronze inscriptions; e.g., the Chen Chen xiang 臣辰盎：住王大龠于 宗周 “it was when the king performed the great yue offering in Zongzhou.” (Luo Zhenyu: 14. 12a) While the context in these inscriptions allows little insight into the nature of the offering, later texts are fairly consistent in defining it as an agricultural (i.e., vegetarian) offering. For example, the Baihu tong (p. 678) states: "夏曰禴者，麥熟進之” In the summer it is called the yue; when the wheat is ripe it is offered.

38. The original text reads 武王乃以庶祀馘于 國周朝; the emendation is based on the "Wucheng" quotation in the Hanshu.

39. Reading here yu 于 for yu 於, this occurrence of yu 於 being anomalous in the text.

40. Adding yu 玉 after shu 穀, following Lu Wenchao, whose emendation is based on the Taiping yulan 太平御览 text.

41. Reading yan 琰 for wu 五, as in the parallel phrase above.

42. Hanshu: 1015–16.

43. It is true that the "Wucheng" date for the battle at Myue reads "third month" (san yue 三月) rather than "second month" (er yue 二月), but this is universally considered a textual corruption.

45. The guwen "Wucheng" states: 歸馬于華山之 陽，放牛于桃林之野，示天下弗服 "He sent back his horses to the south of Mount Hua, and let loose his oxen in the open country of Taolin, showing the empire that he would not use them again." (Legge, CC III: 308)

46. Mencius 7B/3; Tr. Lau, 1970: 194 (modified). While it is clear that the violence of the Zhou conquest detailed in the "Wucheng" was anathema to Mencius' idealistic historiography, elsewhere he seems in fact to have used the "two or three stripes" of the text he considered reliable to fill out his history of the conquest.

The Duke of Zhou helped King Wu to punish (the Shang king) Zhou. He waged war on Yan for three years and punished its ruler; he drove Fei Lian to the edge of the sea and executed him. He extinguished fifty states. He drove tigers, rhinoceroses and elephants to the distant wilds, and the Empire rejoiced.

We have seen that King Wu's victorious hunting excursion was regarded as significant both in his own time (see above, n. 27) and also later (e.g., in the Shuxu), and Mencius here accepts it as historically valid. And it goes without saying that the "mopping up" campaigns against recalcitrant states mentioned here by Mencius comprise the major portion of the "Shifu" text. (It would seem however, that by linking the Duke of Zhou with King Wu, Mencius has here confused his history. Traditional accounts [e.g., Shiji: 132] associate the Duke of Zhou with the campaign against Wugeng, Guan shu and Cai shu, during the reign of King Cheng.)

47. The "Taishi" is a guwen chapter of the Shangshu; for a discussion of the anachronisms in the "Ke Yin," see Huang Peirong, 1976: 289–97.


50. It appears however that the Han dynasty composer of the text masquerading under the title "Wucheng" also interpreted Mencius's characterization as a quotation, and in an attempt to camouflage his forgery, incorporated the phrase into his text.

This presentation of Warring States and Han reflections on the "Wucheng" has been adapted substantially intact from the seminal study by Gu Jiegang, 1963: 24–27.


52. For a fuller discussion, see Huang Peirong, 1976: 300–302.

53. This also demonstrates that the traditional interpretation of this title, i.e., "The Successful Completion of the War" (Legge, CC III: 306, following the pseudo-Kong Anguo 孔安國 commentary, 文王受命, 有此功成於克商 "King Wen received the mandate; there was this military success, completed in the conquest of Shang," Shangshu, 6.8a), is incorrect. The title should be translated "(King) Wu's Achievement (of Rule)."

54. See the discussions by such Qing dynasty scholars as Wei Yuan, Shu guwei: 171.17a-b and Cheng Tingzu (Wanshu dingyi: 26.4a). Modern scholars who have made linguistic studies of the text include Guo Moruo (1929: 269–71), Gu Jiegang (1963: see esp. 28–29), and Qu Wanli (1965: 327–31).

55. This comparison is adopted substantially intact from Gu Jiegang, 1963: 6, no. 5.
67. I suspect that this usage of you is also capitated; see Shih Chang-ju, 1959: 7-8, 297-99.

66. It is well known that a significant percentage of the corpses found at Anyang had been thus decapitated; see Shih Chang-ju, 1959: 7-8, 297-99.


64. Dobson, 1962: 231.

63. In his study of early archaic Chinese, W.A.C.H. Dobson notes that "sequence in months and days is indicated by yih (翌) 'next' (before days) or lai (来) 'come' (before months)" (Dobson, 1962: 88). While this distinction may not be questioned on the basis of the linguistic sample to which Dobson restricted himself (Western Zhou materials), the following oracle bone usages show that this sense is derived from an earlier usage where yi marked short intervals and lai marked relatively longer intervals of time.

62. For a study of this inscription, including a detailed summary of the arguments on yu fang, see Shirakawa Shizuka, 1971: 32.817-19, for a summary of their views.

61. The Shuowen notes that yu 馀 (i.e., 餥) is the ancient form of 御 馀吉文御 (Shuowen jiezi gulin: 1257a). The occurrence of both forms in this one inscription would suggest a difference in nuance, but taking the ·opening para-

60. Xu Jinxiong, 1963: 8a.

59. See above, n. 44. Other scholars identifying yu fang as a place-name include Wang Guowei, Yang Shuda 楊樹達, and Chen Banghuai 陳邦懷; see Shirakawa Shizuka, 1971: 32.817-19, for a summary of their views.


57. For this inscription, see Guo Moruo, 1957: Inscription-135-36, Study-146.

56. See, for example, Chen Mengjia, 1956: 283; Guo Moruo, 1929: 270; and Xu Jinxiong, 1963: 8a.


53. See above, n. 33.

52. The use of yu 子 in this line, as well as above in 彊于天于稷 I report to Heaven and to Ji is also worthy of note. Compare, for example, Chunqiu (Zhao), 11: Winter, eleventh month, ding-yu (day 34); the army of Chu vanquished Cai, captured You, the heir-apparent of Cai, and returned with him, "using" (yong) him.

51. For other examples of this usage, see Chunqiu, Xi 倔, Zuozhuan, Zhao 10, and Du Yu's respective commentaries (ibid. 6.3b, 22.6a), and Mozi 墨子 4.14b. I do not believe however that these later archaicisms detract from the contemporaneity of the "Shifu"s usage.

50. The use of yu 子 in this line, as well as above in 彊于天于稷 I report to Heaven and to Ji is also worthy of note. Compare, for example, Chunqiu (Zhao), 11: Winter, eleventh month, ding-yu (day 34); the army of Chu vanquished Cai, captured You, the heir-apparent of Cai, and returned with him, "using" (yong) him.

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48. For a discussion of these two general sacrifice verbs, see Yao Xiaoaiui, 1979: 381-82.

47. Shih Chang-ju, 1959: 7-8, 297-99. I should note here that vestiges of this technical usage continued well into the classical period, as the following passages from the Chunqiu, Zuozhuan and Du Yu's commentary demonstrate.

Chunqiu (Zhao, 11): Winter, eleventh month, ding-yu (day 34); the army of Chu vanquished Cai, captured You, the heir-apparent of Cai, and returned with him, "using" (yong) him.

Zuozhuan: Winter, eleventh month; the viscount of Chu vanquished Cai and "used" (yong) the heir-apparent on Mount Gang.

Du Yu: To "use" yong him is to kill him and sacrifice to the mountain. (Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie, 22.8b)

For other examples of this usage, see Chunqiu, Xi 倔, Zuozhuan, Zhao 10, and Du Yu's respective commentaries (ibid. 6.3b, 22.6a), and Mozi 墨子 4.14b. I do not believe however that these later archaicisms detract from the contemporaneity of the "Shifu"s usage.

46. For this 47-day interval to be compatible with the lunar-phase notations of the two full-date notations, one would have to assume either two consecutive short (i.e., 29-day) months, or that ji pang shengpo refers to the 10th day of the lunar-phase notation instead of the 11th, and that six days later would then be the 15th instead of the 16th.

45. As, for example, Wang Guowei, who in his Sheng-sha sba kao referred only to the Hanshu "Wucheng" quotation. But it is interesting to note that Liu Xin himself, who after all was quoting the original "Wucheng," did not subscribe to this 47-day interval calendar. Based on his definitions for the lunar-phase notations (see above, n. 3), he dated the battle at Mu to the 5th day of the second month, and the sacrifice at Zhou to the 22nd day of the fourth month (fifth lunation), which was preceded by an inter-calary month. In other words, he interpreted the text to require a 107-day interval.

44. Kong Guangsen has argued that both the cere-
monies of sec. V and those of sec. IX took place in the Zhou capital (Jingxue zhiyan: 11.8347). There are two compelling reasons why this cannot be the case. However, one may interpret the word ye 許 of the phrase 許戎于牧野 (Sec. V), 且 must be admitted that it is the only verb in the sentence, and being modified by the prepositional phrase 于 Muye, the act of ye-ing must have taken place 于 Muye, just outside of the Zhou capital.

Furthermore, it will be noted that in Sec. IX the captured nobles of the Shang are executed on geng-xu (day 47). In Sec. V, they are presented to the king on gui-chou (day 50). If these two sections were indeed to be conflated, one would have to explain the rather distasteful presentation of four-day-old corpses to the Zhou king.

75. I mention this, because in addition to Kong Guangsen's proposal to conflate Sec. V with Sec. IX, Gu Jiegang has also proposed a re-arrangement of the text, joining the campaign of Sec. VI with that of Sec. IV (1963: 22-23), thus eliminating any actions between the ceremonies in the Shang capital and those in the Zhou capital. As argued above (n. 22), this is based on a mis-perception of the geographical location of the states named in Sec. VI, Mo, Xuanfang, Shu, and Li, which in fact lie in the vicinity of the Zhou homeland. The attack against these states would naturally have occurred during the return of the Zhou army from the Shang to the Zhou homeland, and the sequence of the original text is confirmed.

76. See above, n. 3.

77. Note especially that the ceremonies recorded in the Xiaoyuding inscription take place on 既望, the 16th day of a lunation. See above, n. 42, and also the discussion in Dobson, 1962: 231-33.

78. Gu Jiegang, 1963: 31. Gu does discuss at some length the very interesting solutions of Kong Guangsen and Chen Yiwang 陳億綱. Both of these proposals are ultimately damned, however, because of their reliance on Liu Xin's definitions of the lunar-phase notations.

79. The "Zhou yue" comprises chapter 51 of the Yizhoushu; this passage can be found at 6.2a. For a detailed discussion of the dating of this chapter, see Huang Peirong, 1972: 1-38.

80. According to the san-tong theory, the first month of the Shang year was the chou午 month (i.e., the month after the month containing the winter solstice) while the first month of the Zhou year was the zi 子 month (that containing the winter solstice.) But Huang Peirong (1972: 76 overleaf) has organized the calendrical studies of Shinjo Shinzo 新城新藏 on the Chunqiu into the form of a graph, demonstrating that the change in calendar described by the san-tong theory did not take place before about -630.


84. See for example, the "Preface to the Documents" (Legge, CC III: 6-7), and Shiji: 121.


86. For a discussion of the relationship between Jian and Shang, see Akatsuka Kiyoshi, 1977: 665, and 138ff.

87. Inscriptional evidence suggests Shang precedents for this type of post-conquest behavior. Consider, for example, the following period V bone inscriptions:

Although unfortunately incomplete, both of these pieces allow interesting insights into the behavior of victors in warfare at the time of the Zhou conquest. 纜圖 16.2 records the capture of 1,694+ prisoners in the course of a battle, but, significantly, only the leaders of the four enemy states were sacrificed after the battle. (For a full discussion of the development of this custom, see Yao Xiaosui, 1979: 385-90.) Likewise, in 纜圖 315, it is apparently only the leader of the Renfang, an enemy of the Shang, who is brought forward to face execution. The place of execution, You 攸, is also noteworthy, for the corpus of inscriptions concerning the campaign against these Renfang (see Dong Zuobin, 1945: Xia 9.48a-63b) shows that You was an ally of the Shang in the campaign and served as a sort of forward base for the Shang army. Thus, the return to You before executing the leader of the Renfang would be comparable to King Wu's return to Zhou with the Shang nobles before executing them.

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