

Destroyers

The gods and suprahumans who bear gifts of culture and wellbeing to humans can also be plague bearers, bringing war, drought, and chaos in their wake. While the culture-bearing gods enhance the life of humans with peace, food, clothing, and shelter, there are those gods whose wilful violence wreaks havoc on that order and security. In ancient myths the greatest gods, such as Zeus (Jupiter), Thōrr, Perún, and Indra, possess within their divinity the inherently positive forces for peace besides the negative forces of destruction. There are lesser gods, however, whose function is wholly negative. Such are the plagueghosts, the sons of the god Chuan Hsu, and the war bringer, Ch'in P'i, and drought bearer, Drum, who are described in the readings in this chapter. The spirits of gods executed for a crime, they are like the Harpies, who defile and torment the living.

Some mythic narratives relate the violent conflict of the gods, who challenge one another for supreme power, the *Ti* or *Shen*, meaning godhead. Such is the marplot, Kung Kung, whose martial fury goes beyond control, causing a disruption in the cosmic order. There is also the myth of paradisiacal loss, or the myth of the separation of sky and earth. Then there are the contests between suprahumans and heroes, such as the quarreling brothers Yen Po and Shih Ch'en, and the enmity Hsiang has for his older half-brother, the good and virtuous Shun. Nearer to historical time are the myths of Yi the Archer, King Chieh of the Hsia, King Kai of the Shang, and King Chou of the Shang, who caused the downfall of their dynastic line and the ruin of their royal house. Several mythic narratives depicting such flawed mythical figures constitute what Jaan Puhvel terms "nadir episodes," which show them to be venal, sacrilegious, unjust, cowardly, and treacherous (1987, 243).

Crimes of the Gods

The two readings below, from *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*, narrate myths of crimes committed by lesser gods and their punishment by God. Their crime was the murder of a sky god, Pao Chiang (or Pao Tsu), and their punishment is ritual execution. Their evil lives on after them when they turn into monster birds bringing war and drought. The identity of lesser gods such as these is uncertain. The names Drum and Bell, in the first reading, refer to the primary musical instruments of ancient China. Ch'in P'i is named K'an P'i in *Chuang Tzu;* he is said there to have entered the western paradise of K'un-lun (Watson 1968, 81). In *Huai-nan Tzu* and elsewhere, his name is variously written as Ch'in Fu or Ch'in P'i with a fish radical instead of the usual bird radical. *Ch'in* means 'the sound of a bell', and *P'i* means 'an osprey'. In his interesting discussion of myth and ritual in the Han, Derk Bodde examines numerous plague demons that were exorcized in seasonal rites (1975, 75-138).

The second reading, though from the same *Classic*, dates from the first century B.C. (the first reading dates from about the third century B.C.). It gives a graphic account of the punishment by ritual exposure on a mountaintop for the crime of murder committed by the lesser god Erh-fu, or Double Load, and his officer, Peril. Their victim was Cha Yü (also pronounced Ya Yü). It is not clear who this figure was, but in another passage of the *Classic*, it is related that six shamans kept Cha Yü's body from decaying on Mount K'un-lun, waving branches of the drug of immortality over it. Edward H. Schafer's valuable survey of ritual exposure focuses on historical cases rather than mythical accounts, although the two clearly overlap (1951, 130-84).

Another four hundred and twenty leagues to the northwest is Bell Mountain. His son was called Drum. In appearance his face was like a human and he had a dragon's body. He and Ch'in P'i murdered Pao Chiang on the south side of K'un-lun Mountain. God therefore executed them on the east of Bell Mountain, which is called Yao-Jade Cliff. Ch'in P'i turned into a huge osprey. He looked like a vulture and had black markings and a white head, a red beak and tiger's claws. His call was like that of the dawn goose. When he appears there is a great war. Drum also turned into a *chün*-bird. He looked like a kite with red feet and a straight beak, and he had yellow markings and a white head. His call was like that of a goose. Any place where he appears suffers from severe drought. (Shan hai ching, Hsi tz'u san ching, SPPY 2.15a-b)

Double Load's officer was called Peril. Peril and Double Load murdered Cha Yü. God therefore chained him on Su-shu Hill. He fettered his right foot and tied both hands behind his back with his hair, binding him to a mountaintop tree. This was on Mount K'ai-t'ou's northwest side. (*Shan hai ching, Hai nei hsi ching, SPPY 11.1a-b*)

The Links between Earth and Heaven are Severed

The myth of the separation of the sky and earth has a worldwide distribution. It is often associated with the myth of world parents and related as the separation of the sky-father from earth-mother. The myth also incorporates the theme of the demarcation between the sphere of the gods and the world of humans. The motif of the separation of sky and earth is listed as motif number A625 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index* (1955, I:128-29), and it is found in ancient Greece, India, eastern Indonesia, Tahiti, Africa, and native North and South America (Dundes 1984, 182). The myth also exists in China in several versions. It is possible to conjecture that the late-dated P'an Ku myth is a version of this myth, and the demigod may be seen as the firstborn of his sky and earth parents, when the sky and earth gradually separated from each other. This myth was presented in chapter 1.

A different myth of the separation between sky and earth occurs in numerous classical myths, and three versions are related in the following readings. The first is from a first-century A.D. chapter of *The Classic* of *Mountains and Seas.* It tells of a monstrously deformed god, Chuan Hsu, who presides over the pivot of the sky. His grandchildren are Ch'ung and Li, whom he orders to keep the mass of the sky and the matter of the earth physically apart, Ch'ung by pushing the sky up, Li by pressing earth down.

The second reading is from Discourses of the States, and the third

from *The Classic of History*, which both date from the late Chou period. In these two versions the myth is called "severing the links between earth and Heaven." Both versions are extremely convoluted and incorporate several major themes: the proper ministration of the relationship between gods and humans, political control, cosmic harmony, and paradisiacal loss.

Discourses of the States, as its title proclaims, contains political and philosophical discourse and speeches purporting to have been delivered by historical personages of the different states of the Chou dynasty. Its sophisticated style clearly marks it as later than the era of the personages it claims to portray, and it probably dates from about the fifth to the third century B.C. Although the speeches are idealized reconstructions rather than a historical record, the text is valuable for mythology because it contains versions of important myths. The myth of the separation of the sky and earth is related in the chapter of Discourses entitled "Discourses of Ch'u," because the Ch'u people are believed to have descended from Ch'ung and Li, and ultimately from Chuan Hsu, the three central figures of the myth. The myth is placed in three different periods. First there was the primeval era, when gods and humans did not intermingle but communicated with one another through a small number of humans with special powers who were called *hsi* and *wu*, that is, male and female shamans. Second, there was the era of Shao Hao, when gods and humans intermingled and ordinary people usurped the special functions of the hsi and wu. Third, there was the era of Chuan Hsu, Shao Hao's successor, who ordered two officers, Ch'ung and Li, to keep the affairs of Heaven and the affairs of earth under separate control. This command of Chuan Hsu became known as "severing the links between earth and Heaven." The eras in which these events occurred were characterized by an initial period of paradisiacal grace, when there were no natural calamities; a period when the cosmic order was disrupted; and a final period when order was restored.

The version in *The Classic of History* narrates the myth from a totally different perspective, although the context is similar. Again, this text belongs to the same period as the *Discourses*, and it is also characterized as a collection of idealized reconstructions of political and philosophical discourse which is valuable for its mythological material, no matter how distorted it may be. The account of the separation of the sky and earth occurs in the opening passage of the chapter entitled "The Punishments of [the Prince of] Lü." This purports to be a formal record of the archaic discourse of an ancient king of the Chou dynasty on the nature of law and punishment for the benefit of his official, the Prince of Lü, whom he had appointed as one of the highest-ranking ministers of state. The king relates the history of rebellion and evil deeds from primeval times, when Ch'ih Yu was the first rebel, to the era of Yao, Shun, and Yü. He traces the evolution of evil and characterizes it as an infectious sickness in the body politic. The evil of Chi'h Yu was passed on to the Miao people, who oppressed the population with harsh and indiscriminate punishments. The people became demoralized and were infected by the same lack of virtue as their leaders. God intervened to assuage the people, and he exterminated the Miao. He also commanded Ch'ung and Li to "sever the links between earth and Heaven," because the Miao had violated their sacred trust and had used their supernatural powers for evil purposes. Thus the account of the myth is framed within a narrative told by a king in antiquity.

The three versions of the myth in The Classic of Mountains and Seas, Discourses of the States, and The Classic of History are widely disparate, although they draw on the same mythological matter. The version in the first text below, with its brief narrative and lack of explanatory background, closely coincides with the worldwide motif. The other two versions clearly show signs of distortion of a basic myth for the purposes of political philosophy and legal theory. This is most noticeable in the version in the third reading, from the History, which eliminates the central god, Chuan Hsu, and transforms the mythical figures of Ch'ung and Li into human types serving mundane goals of sociopolitical administration and control. Both the version in the Discourses and the one in the History may be said to represent a formulation of a political myth which seeks to demonstrate the proper method of social control. The version in the Discourses (the second reading below), especially in its last section, may also be construed as a mythologem of the separation between sacral and temporal powers. While the first version of the myth focuses on the physical aspects of sky and earth, the second version expresses major concepts noted by G. S. Kirk concerning the myth of the separation of sky and earth: the idea of a Golden Age and the relationship between gods and humans (1970; 209, 226-38).

In the vast wastes there is a mountain. Its name is Sun-and-Moon Mountain and it is the pivot of Heaven. The Wu Chü Gate of Heaven is where the sun and moon set. There is a god with a human face and no arms. His two feet are doubled up behind the top of his head. His name is Hsu. Chuan Hsu gave birth to Old Child; Old Child gave birth to Ch'ung and Li. The god ordered Ch'ung to raise his hands up against Heaven and he ordered Li to press down against earth. Under the earth Yi was born and he lived at the west pole. Through him the movements and rotation of the sun, moon, and stars were set in motion. (*Shan hai ching, Ta huang hsi ching, SPPY 16.4b-5a*)

King Chao [of Ch'u, 515-489 B.C.] asked Kuan She-fu, "Is it really true as the History of the Chou says that Ch'ung and Li caused Heaven and earth to be kept apart? If they had not done that, the people would still be able to ascend to Heaven, wouldn't they?" He replied, "No, it wasn't like that. In ancient times gods and humans did not intermingle. But among the people there were some who were gifted with clear vision, who were single-minded, and who possessed the power of absolute reverence and authority. Such was their knowledge that they could correlate the affairs of the world on high and the world below. Such was their wisdom that they could illuminate the remote and reveal what was clear.... Therefore the shining gods descended to the people, to the males known as hsi-shamans and to the females known as wu-shamans. It was they who arranged the positions of the gods and their due sequence at ceremonies. . . . Thus the offices in charge of the functions of Heaven and earth, and of gods and humans, were named the Five Offices.... Humans and gods were treated as separate entities.... Therefore the gods sent down their blessings on humans, and they received their offerings, and no calamities were visited upon them. When it came to the period of decline under Shao Hao, the Nine Li disrupted the cosmic powers, and gods and humans intermingled and became indistinguishable, and it became impossible to determine who were mortal creatures. Everyone performed sacrifices with offerings as if they were shaman officials, and they lost their essential sincerity of faith. ... Blessings no longer came down to them and calamities were visited upon them. Chuan Hsu succeeded him [Shao Hao], and then he ordered Ch'ung, the Principal of the South, to control Heaven in order to assemble the gods in their proper place, and he ordered Li, the Fire Principal, to control earth in order to assemble the people in their proper places. He made them go back to old established customs and not usurp powers or commit sacrilege. This was termed to "sever the links between earth and Heaven." Later the San Miao repeated the disruption of the cosmic powers as the Nine Li had done. Therefore Yao protected the descendants of Ch'ung and Li,

who had not forgotten the old ways, and ordered them to supervise them. Right up until the era of the Hsia and the Shang, therefore, the descendants of Ch'ung and Li arranged Heaven and earth in their due spheres and kept their functions and sovereigns separate. (*Kuo* $y\ddot{u}$, *Ch'u* $y\ddot{u}$, SPTK 18.1a-3a)

The king said, "We have been taught from antiquity that Ch'ih Yu was the first to bring disorder and that this extended to the people who had been at peace. They all became thieves, bandits, hawkish people, traitors, looters, forgers, and murderers. The Miao people did not apply the restraints of training but subdued them through punishments. They devised the five severe punishments, which they called the Law. They executed the innocent and began to carry to excess punitive mutilations of amputating the nose, legs, and testicles and branding with pitch. All these were designated as punishment, and everyone received the same equal punishment, no distinction being made among those who had been pronounced guilty. The people were stirred up and affected one another with their wrongdoing, becoming troublesome and disorderly. They lost their innate good faith and broke their vows and covenants. All those who had received these severe punishments from tyrannical rule protested aloud their innocence before the Almighty. God Almighty looked down upon his people, and there was no fragrant_virtue but the stench coming from those punishments. The August God felt sorrow and pity for the innocent who had been so severely chastised. His vengeance on the harsh tyrants was their own severe chastisement: he exterminated the Miao people and extinguished their line forever. Therefore he ordered Ch'ung and Li to sever the links between earth and Heaven, so that no gods descended or humans, ascended. (Shang shu, Lü hsing, SPPY 19.10a-11b) home beton host

The Sons of Chuan Hsu

In the previous section the first reading related that the god Chuan Hsu had a son named Old Child. Another text, *Chronicle of Tso*, which dates from five centuries earlier, tells that Kao Yang, Chuan Hsu's other name, had eight talented sons known as the <u>Eight Fortunate</u> Ones (*Pa k'ai*). The *Chronicle* also relates that Chuan Hsu had an untalented son named T'ao Wu, the Block, who, with three others, Hun Tun (Chaos), Ch'iung Ch'i (Gargoyle), and T'ao T'ieh (Glutton), made up the Four Ominous Ones (Ssu hsiung) (Karlgren 1946, 255-56, 247-49.) The first reading below is from a first-century A.D. text by Wang Ch'ung, It further relates that Chuan Hsu had three other sons who were plagueghosts when they died in childbirth. The author, Wang Ch'ung, cites as his source one of the ancient books of ritual, and, although his account is late, his recording of known myths is usually reliable. The second reading is from *The Classic of Spirits and Strange Beings*, attributed to the famous Han author Tung-fang Shuo, but probably is later. Here the untalented son of Chuan Hsu, T'ao Wu, the Block, is fancifully described. The third reading is from a very late encyclopedic work by Ch'en Yao-wen, of which his preface is dated A.D. 1569. In this text the god goes under the name of Kao Yang.

These three readings narrate quite different myths that are linked only by the evil nature of the spirits or lesser gods descended from the otherwise benign god Chuan Hsu. The last reading shows how a classical myth can lose its identity in the later tradition and become merged with a tale relating to a popular socioreligious custom. Bodde has made a special study of demons in the Han era (1975, 85-117).

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The *Rites* says, "Chuan Hsu had three sons who lived for a while and then died and turned into plague-ghosts. One lived in the Great River, and this was the Fever Ghost. One lived in Jo River and was the water goblin ghost. One lived in the palaces and houses of humans and loved scaring little children." The generation before Chuan Hsu certainly produced great numbers of sons, and there were all kinds of ghostly spirits like Chuan Hsu's ghosts. (*Lun heng, Ting kuei*, SPTK 22.14a)

In the wilds of the western region there is a beast. In appearance it is like a tiger, but it is very large. Its fur is two feet long, it has a human face, tiger's paws, and a pig's mouth and tusks, and its tail is eighteen feet long. It stirs up trouble in the wilds. One name for it is T'ao Wu and its other name is Nan Hsun. It says in the *Spring and Autumn*, "Master Chuan Hsu had a useless son whose name was T'ao Wu." (*Shen yi ching, Hsi huang ching,* HWTS 32.8b)

Master Kao Yang's son was lean and miserly. He enjoyed wearing threadbare clothes and eating rice gruel. On the last day of the first month he died in an alley. It became popular custom to cook rice gruel and throw threadbare clothes outdoors and to offer sacrifice on this day in the alleyways, which was called "The Cortege of the Wasted Ghost." (T'ien-chung chi, citing Sui shih chi, SKCS 4.57b)

Kung Kung Butts into the Mountain

The mythical figure of Kung Kung appears in several different roles in late Chou and Han mythological accounts. According to one tradition, Kung Kung was a primeval god prior to the Flame Emperor (Yen Ti) and the Yellow Emperor and followed after Sui-jen, the Fire Driller. This tradition identifies Kung Kung as the chief protagonist in a flood myth that is quite separate from that of Yü and the flood. The Kung Kung flood myth is narrated in the first two readings in this section, of which the second, from Discourses of the States, presents an unfavorable portrait of the god, stating that his hydraulic work caused cosmic disruption and made the people miserable in their suffering. The third reading depicts Kung Kung in his role as warrior, a mighty titan who fights Chuan Hsu for the godhead (Ti). This passage from Huai-nan Tzu gives another reason for Kung Kung's cosmic blunder, which differs from the account of cosmic disorder in the Nü Kua myth (chap. 3). In the narrative presented here, Kung Kung damages Pu-chou Mountain, one of the earthly pillars supporting the canopy of the sky. Elsewhere in Huai-nan Tzu it relates that Chuan Hsu killed Kung Kung because he "caused a flood disaster." The myth of Kung Kung and the flood parallels that of Yü and the flood and at the same time that of Nü-Kua.

It is feasible to identify Kung Kung as the marplot of classical myth, one who spoils the order of the world. In his study of this mythical figure, William G. Boltz makes a number of interesting points. He defines Kung Kung as "a personification of the Flood itself" (1981, 147-48). Furthermore, utilizing Lévi-Strauss's theory of binary opposites, Boltz contrasts Kung Kung personifying chaos with Yü personifying order, and he interprets the Yü flood myth as "Order' vanquishing 'Chaos'" (1981, 144-45). He also usefully analyses the various written forms of the god's first name, Kung, and its phonetic correlatives, which signify 'quarrelsome' and 'flooding waters'. Usually, phonological equations in mythology are of dubious value, but certainly in this case the name appears to be significant.

Ever since the era of the Fire Driller, there has never been one who did not consider managing the empire to be of great importance. When Kung Kung was king, water covered seven-tenths of the world and dry land consisted of three-tenths. He took advantage of the natural strengths of the earth and he controlled the world within those narrow confines. (*Kuan Tzu, K'uei to*, SPTK 23.3b)

Long ago, Kung Kung abandoned this Way.... He wanted to dam the hundred rivers, reduce the highest ground, and block up the lowlying ground, and so he damaged the world. But August Heaven opposed his good fortune and the common people refused to help him. Disaster and disorder sprang up everywhere and Kung Kung was destroyed. (*Kuo yü, Chou yü*, 3, SPTK 3.6b)

Long ago Kung Kung fought with Chuan Hsu to be God. In his fury he knocked against Pu-chou Mountain. The pillar of Heaven broke and the cord of earth snapped. Heaven tilted toward the northwest, and that is why the sun, moon, and stars move in that direction. Earth had a gap missing in the southeast, and that is why the rivers overflowed and silt and soil came to rest there. (*Huai-nan Tzu, T'ien wen*, SPPY 3.12-b)

The Myths of Hun Tun

The inclusion of the Hun Tun myth here amply illustrates the polyfunctionality of the mythic material. In the various accounts, Hun Tun is an apertureless god, an avian god without facial features, an anthropomorphized human rebel, or a minor deity, and also a cosmogonic concept. Thus it is difficult to place such a figure. That Hun Tun appears among destroyers is prompted by the best-known mythic narrative, in which he is not so much a destroyer as destroyed. N. J. Girardot has examined the many-faceted Hun Tun myth, especially from the perspective of early Taoist philosophy and in its numerous metaphorical associations (1983).

The mythic traditions of Hun Tun are contradictory. One of the earliest accounts occurs in the Taoist philosophical text *Chuang Tzu* (fourth century B.C.), where he appears as the god of the central region, who has no facial apertures, and who is killed by two busybody gods after they bore holes for his eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth. Clearly, the author of *Chuang Tzu* has used a preexisting strand of myth to illustrate the dangers of misguided charity and interventionist political policies and the benefits of a laissez-faire policy. A quite different presentation of the myth of Hun Tun appears in *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*, in a chapter postdating *Chuang Tzu* by about a century. This narrative provides a detailed description of the deity which concurs with the Chuang *Tzu* portrayal in one important respect, that Hun Tun has a featureless head. It would seem that a mythical figure named Hun Tun, which is written in at least four ways, belongs to a shadowy mythological tradition of which only faint traces appear in late Chou sources.

In both texts, Hun Tun is depicted as a benign or neutral figure. In two other late Chou works, however, Hun Tun is a negative figure. In *Chronicle of Tso*, Hun Tun is labeled as the first of the Four Ominous Ones, along with Ch'iung Ch'i (Gargoyle), T'ao Wu (the Block), and T'ao T'ieh (Glutton) (Karlgren 1946, 247). In *The Classic of History*, Hun Tun is one of the "Four Evil Ones" exiled by Shun for being rebellious and barbarous (Girardot 1983, 123).

A separate tradition concerns not so much a featureless deity or an anthropomorphized criminal as an abstract concept or a descriptive expression of featurelessness, shapelessness, and lack of definition. In this sense, the binome hun-tun is used as an adjective or adverb in a medley of affiliated terms, such as hun-tun written with various graphs, hun, or tun, or hun-hun, or tun-tun, and so forth. For example, in the Taoist text The Classic of the Way and the Power, the term hun-ch'eng appears, denoting 'confusedly formed', but the compound hun-tun never occurs. It is in the Huai-nan Tzu that the multiple forms of hun-tun and its synonyms are linked cosmogonically to the primordial state at the moment of creation. For example, in "Explanations," chapter 14 of that text, there is an opening evocation of primordial chaos: "In the gaping, undifferentiated void, sky and earth were an unmarked mass in confusion [hun-tun] which had not yet been created" (SPPY 14.1a).

Thus the ancient myth of the god Hun Tun vestigially described in the late Chou works *Chuang Tzu* and *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* evolved in the early Han era into an abstract concept that was adapted to depict a cosmogonic myth. For this reason it has often been translated as 'chaos'.

By the late Han period the mythical Hun Tun was restored to divine status, although rewritten as T'un Hun, but he was demoted from a prime deity to a minor one. In his "Table of Personages Ancient and Modern," the historian Pan Ku (A.D. 32–92) ranked T'un Hun eleventh in a secondary list of deities subsumed under the major god T'ai Hao (Karlgren 1946, 230). Even later in the mythographic tradition, Huang-fu Mi (A.D. 215–282) ranked Hun T'un (*sic*) as a major god, coming tenth after Fu Hsi and Nü Kua (Karlgren 1946, 234).

Since the Hun Tun narratives in Chuang Tzu and The Classic of

Mountains and Seas are recognizably mythological in substance and style, and since they are both authentic texts of the late Chou era, they are presented in sequence in the readings.

The god of the south sea was Shu [Brief], the god of the north sea was Hu [Sudden], and the god of the center was Hun Tun [Confused]. Shu and Hu occasionally used to go together to Hun Tun's land, and Hun Tun received them very cordially. Shu and Hu planned how to repay his generosity. They said, "All humans have seven openings with which to see, hear, eat, and breathe. Only this one has not got any." So they tried chiseling him. Each day they chiseled one opening. On the seventh day, Hun Tun died. (*Chuang Tzu, Ying Ti Wang*, SPPY 3.19a–b)

Three hundred and fifty leagues farther west is called Sky Mountain. There is a lot of gold and jade, and it has green realgar. Ying River springs from there and then flows southwest to empty into T'ang Valley. There is a god [*shen*] there. His appearance is like a yellow bag, and he is red like a cinnabar flame. He has six feet and four wings. Hun Tun has no face or eyes. This one knows how to sing and dance. He is, in fact, Ti Chiang [God River]. (*Shan hai ching, Hsi tz'u san ching,* SPPY 2.22b-23a)

The Shen Star and the Ch'en Star

The number of stars counted by ancient Chinese astronomers is considerable. Shih Shen's "Astronomy," of the early fourth century B.C., listed 122 constellations with 809 stars, and other astronomers counted others to make a total of 284 constellations with 1,464 stars by Ch'en Ch'o's time (fourth to fifth century A.D.). Most of the stars charted by Shih Shen and others, however, had no name (Maspero 1929, 269–319). Chinese stellar myths are few compared with the numbers of stars listed in the ancient works on astronomy.

The paucity of Chinese stellar myths contrasts with the Greco-Roman tradition, which has 45 major ones. Those of Orion the Gigantic Hunter, the Pleiades, Ganymedes-Aquarius, and Hesperus the Evening Star are among the oldest. The Chinese myth of the Shen and Ch'en stars has some parallels with Western myths. It is also one of the oldest of the Chinese stellar myths, though it cannot be dated textually as early as the Orion myth mentioned by Homer circa 700 B.C. The Shen and Ch'en myth parallels that of Orion in the sense that the Orion

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star is in eternal pursuit of the Pleiades or their mother, Pleione, for Shen and Ch'en were originally brothers who ceaselessly quarreled and had to pursue separate paths for eternity.

The context of this narrative, from the *Chronicle of Tso*, demonstrates the early Chinese belief in the baneful influence of the stars. The Lord of Chin was ill and Tzu Ch'an was asked to visit him. Tzu Ch'an explained that his illness was caused by the two spirits of the stars. In this account the god Kao Hsin is Ti K'u's other name.

In the Han dynasty, poets used this stellar myth as a romantic metaphor for lovers suffering from estrangement. Lines from a ballad by Ts'ao Chih (A.D. 192–232) illustrate this literary mythopoeia: "In the past you covered me with fond love, / We were in harmony like harp and lute. / Why, my love, do you reject me? / Why are we estranged like Shang from Shen?" (Birrell 1986, 70; *Shang* means 'the Ch'en star').

Long ago Kao Hsin had two sons. The elder was called Yen Po; the younger was called Shih Ch'en. They lived in a vast forest. They could not bear each other and every day they looked out for a fight with shield and dagger-ax and made attacks on each other. The Lord God was displeased and moved Yen Po to Shang-ch'iu, putting him in charge of the Ch'en star. The Shang people followed him, and that is why Ch'en is the Shang star. And he moved Shih Ch'en to Ta Hsia, putting him in charge of the Shen star. The people of T'ang [Yao] followed him and so they became subjects of the Hsia and the Shang. (*Tso chuan, Chao kung* First Year, SPPY 15.7b-8a)

Yi Shoots the Lord of the River

Yi the Archer has already been encountered in his most famous role as the hero who saved the world from being incinerated by the ten suns. It was also suggested earlier that the mythical figure of Yi is presented ambiguously in mythic narratives, compared with the positive portrayal of figures such as Shun and Yü. Yi's function as heroic savior is countered by a separate tradition of Yi the villain. Yi is known by various names: Yi Yi or Yi of the East People, Yi Yi or Yi the Good, or Lord Yi of the Hsia.

The earliest accounts of Yi's decline from good to evil occur in the *Chronicle of Tso* and in "Questions of Heaven" (the first reading below), where his crimes are listed as the excessive pursuit of pleasure, an unprovoked attack on the river god of Lo River and the theft of his

wife, and the usurpation of the Hsia royal house. Classical commentators of the second and third centuries A.D., such as Wang Yi (second and fourth readings), Ju Ch'un (third reading), and Kao Yu (fifth reading), embroider the myth of Yi's crimes of murder and adultery in their explications of passages in "Questions of Heaven" and in *Huai-nan Tzu* (seventh and tenth readings) and the commentary on it (ninth reading). Yet even while recounting his crimes, these commentators retain a sympathy for Yi and explain away his wrongdoing. The most damning accusation against Yi, however, in terms of the later historical record was that he caused the downfall of the glorious Hsia dynasty, which had been founded by Yü the Great. The narrative in the *Chronicle* (the eleventh and last reading below) clearly removes Yi from the primeval solar myth and humanizes him as a political personage who, like many other villains in the *Chronicle*, meets with a grisly death. The *Chronicle* dates from about the fourth century B.C.

The myth of the death of Yi comes in two versions, one from the aforementioned *Chronicle*, which historicizes Yi, the other from late Chou texts such as *Mencius* and *Hsun Tzu* (eighth and sixth readings). Both contain numerous mythic motifs.

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God sent down Yi Yi to drive away the evils besetting the Hsia people, so why did he shoot down the Lord of the River and take his wife, Lo-pin? (*Ch'u Tz'u, T'ien wen*, SPTK 3.15b)

Lo-pin was a water nymph and she was called Fu-fei.... Yi also dreamed that he had an affair with Fu-fei, the goddess of Lo River. (Wang Yi's commentary on *Ch'u Tz'u*, *T'ien wen*, SPTK 3.15b)

Ju Ch'un says that Fu-fei, the daughter of [?Fu] Hsi, died by drowning in Lo River and then she became a goddess. (Li Shan's commentary on *Lo shen fu*, citing *Han shu yin yi*, *Wen hsuan*, SPTK 19.14b)

The Lord of the River turned into a white dragon and played on the riverbank. When Yi saw him, he shot him with his arrow, aiming for his left eye. The Lord of the River went up to complain to God in Heaven: "Kill Yi because of what he has done to me!" God in Heaven said, "Why were you shot by Yi?" The Lord of the River said, "When I transformed myself into a white dragon I came out to play." God in Heaven said, "If you had kept to the river depths <u>as a god</u>, how could Yi have committed this crime against you? Today you became a reptile, so you were bound to be shot at by someone. Of course he

is in the right-what was Yi's crime in this case?" (Wang Yi's commentary on Ch'u Tz'u, T'ien wen, SPTK 3.15b)

The Lord of the River killed people by drowning them, so Yi shot him in the left eye. (Kao Yu's commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu, Fan lun*, SPPY 13.22a)

Yi and Feng Men were the best archers in the world. (Hsun Tzu, Cheng lun, SPPY 12.9b)

In archery contests of one hundred shots, the most skilled archers were always Yi and Feng Meng. (*Huai-nan Tzu, Shui lin*, SPPY 17.4a)

Feng Meng learned archery from Yi and acquired an exhaustive knowledge of Yi's style of shooting. He realized that only Yi in the whole world was better than he, so he killed Yi. (*Meng Tzu, Li Lü, 2*, SPTK 8.8b)

"Club" is the large stick that he [Feng Meng] made out of peach wood to batter Yi to death with. From that time on demons are terrified of peach wood. (Hsu Shen's commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu*, *Ch'üan yen*, SPPY 14.1b)

Yi rid the world of evil, so when he died he became the god Tsung Pu. (Huai-nan Tzu, Fan lun, SPPY 13.22a)

Long ago, when the Hsia was beginning to decline, Lord Yi moved from Ch'u to Ch'iung-shih and, relying on the people of Hsia, replaced the Hsia government. He took advantage of his archery skills, neglecting public affairs and indulging in hunting game in the fields. He discarded the ministers Wu Lo, Po Yin, Hsiung K'un, and Mang Yü, employing instead Cho of Han. Cho of Han was a treacherous young retainer of the house of Po Ming, and the Lord of Po Ming had dismissed him. But Yi Yi trustingly received him into his entourage and appointed him as his prime minister. Cho practiced flattery at court and bribery in society at large. He deceived the people and encouraged Lord Yi to go hunting. He devised a plot to deprive Yi of his state. Society and the court all acquiesced to Cho's command. But Yi still refused to mend his ways. One day, on his return from the hunt, his clansmen all assassinated him, and they cooked his corpse in order to serve it to his sons to eat. But his sons could not bear to eat him, and they were all put to death at Ch'iungmen. (Tso chuan, Hsiang kung Fourth Year, SPPY 29.12b-13a)

The Three Trials of Shun

The mythical figure of Shun was discussed earlier in his primary roles as sage-ruler and exemplar of filial piety. Here attention is focused on the ways in which the myth of Shun is reworked into legend and folklore in Han and post-Han sources. The readings illustrate the heroism of Shun in countering his evil family and his conversion of their enmity into virtuous behavior. In the previous discussion, passages were drawn from "Questions of Heaven" and *Mencius*, both dating from the fourth century B.C. A different selection of narratives is presented here by way of contrast between early and late versions. It will be evident, for example, that the third reading, from the Han historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien, closely follows the version of the myth in *Mencius*. The first reading purports to be a lost fragment of *Biographies of Women*, ascribed to Liu Hsiang (79–8 B.C.), and the second reading is from the text proper of the *Biographies*.

The Biographies of Women tells how the Blind Man and Hsiang plotted to kill Shun. They ordered Shun to repair the granary. Shun told his two women. The two women said, "This time it can only mean they are going to destroy you; this time it can only mean they are going to burn you to death. Take off your top garment and go out wearing the bird-patterned coat." When Shun was putting the granary in order, they immediately removed his ladder and the Blind Man set fire to the granary. But Shun had already flown away. Later they ordered him to dig a well. Shun told his two women. The two women said, "This time it can only mean they are going to destroy you; this time they are going to bury you alive. You take off your top garment and go out wearing your dragon-patterned coat." Shun went out to dig the well. They spied on his movements and then began burying him alive. But Shun had escaped and disappeared. (Hung Hsing-tsu's commentary on Ch'u Tz'u, T'ien wen, citing a passage in Lieh nü chuan not in extant editions, Ch'u Tz'u pu chu, TSCC 3.81)

The Blind Man also invited Shun to drink strong liquor, so as to kill him. Shun told his two women. So the two women gave Shun a lotion to bathe himself with in the pool. Then he went off and drank the liquor all day without getting drunk. Shun's younger sister took pity on him and restored peace and harmony to her in-laws' home. (*Lieh nü chuan, Yu Yü erh fu*, SPPY 1.1b) The Blind Man and Hsiang were delighted, imagining that Shun was now dead. Hsiang said, "I was the one who thought of it first." When Hsiang divided Shun's possessions with his father and mother, he said, "I will take Shun's two daughters of Yao and his lute. I shall give you, Father and Mother, the cattle and sheep and the granary." Hsiang immediately settled in at the palace residence and was beating time on the lute when Shun came and saw him there. Hsiang was amazed beyond belief. He said, "When I thought about you, Shun, I was very sad and anxious about you." Shun said, "All right. I hope you will always continue to be like that." Shun once again served under the Blind Man and he loved his younger brother and cared for him with devotion. (Shih chi, Wu ti pen chi, SPPY 1.19a)

King Kai Loses His Oxen

King Kai was the seventh Shang king descended from Hsieh, the mythical founder of the Shang dynasty. He was also known as King Hai, or Wang-tzu Hai or Heir Apparent Hai. In a later tradition he was known as the First Herdsman. Although the main account of the myth of King Kai in "Questions of Heaven" is so textually corrupt that the narrative is garbled, it is possible to elicit its basic outline from the reconstructed text of Yuan K'o (1980.2, 220–22) and, to some extent, from later fragments.

The first reading is from "Questions of Heaven" and is in the typical format of serial questions that are phrased substantively enough for a narrative to emerge. This narrative, insofar as it can be pieced together, is a tale of treachery, fornication, and murder played out in the context of two tribes of herdsmen. King Kai was the royal guest of the ruler of Yu-yi, whose name was Mien-ch'en. Implicit in the elusive narrative is the idea that Mien-ch'en allowed King Kai to pasture his herds and flocks in the rich valley of the Yellow River. When King Kai performed a warrior dance for his hosts, he inflamed Mien-ch'en's wife with passionate desire. They had an affair, and she became pregnant, her condition euphemistically expressed as: "Why did her smooth flanks and firm flesh grow so plump?" As a result of this breach of trust and diplomatic scandal, the Shang suffered a decline during the successive reigns of Shang kings, their perverse sexual mores contrasting with the strict virtue of their forebear King Chi.

The myth of King Kai is taken up with the second reading, from the commentary of Kuo P'u of the fourth century A.D. on *The Classic of* Mountains and Seas. It relates that the ruler of the Yu-yi people, King Mien-ch'en, killed King Kai (referred to here as Prince Hai of the Yin, or Shang), and exposed his corpse in retribution for violating his wife. King Kai's successor, King Shang Chia-wei, the eighth Shang king, avenged him by killing Mien-ch'en.

The third reading, from *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* itself, returns to the classical mythological tradition with the motif of divine intervention by a river god and with an early account of the foundation myth of the Yao minority people of South China.

The basic outline of the myth of King Kai that emerges thus far is clearly insufficient to explain the myth in a convincing way. One small clue is, however, contained in a recurring feature of the first and third readings below which might be explored in the search for the underlying significance of the myth. This recurring element is the pastoral way of life of the king and his people and the particular pastoral mode expressed in the two narratives. The first reading states that the king lost his "herdsmen, cattle, and sheep" when he visited the king of a neighboring tribe but that he managed "to lead back his herds and flocks." The passage also says that relations between the two tribes remained precarious for some generations. The third reading indicates that King Kai (here named Hai) "entrusted his herds" to the neighboring tribe. but they "killed King Hai and stole his herd of domesticated cattle." If these accounts are compared with the brilliant comparative analysis of the "myth of the first cattle raid" by Bruce Lincoln, who found convincing parallels between the pastoral culture of the Masai tribe of East Africa in modern times and the Indo-Iranian pastoral culture as recorded in the ancient textual tradition, a strong argument appears to emerge for interpreting the myth of King Kai as the "myth of the first cattle raid" in the Chinese tradition. Lincoln shows that underlying such a myth is the socioeconomic value and importance of cattle in the pastoral cultures of the Masai and the ancient Indo-Iranians:

Cattle have an enormous importance and constitute the measure of wealth, while supplying the basis for exchange relations. This value is no doubt largely based on their role as the chief source of food—furnishing milk, milk products, meat, and even blood for drinking. The value, however, goes beyond mere food production, since their skin furnishes leather for clothing, blankets, and thongs; their bones furnish material for tools; their dung furnishes fuel for fires; and their urine is commonly used as a disinfectant...

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Their importance transcends their worth in hard economic terms, however, for cattle come to play a major role in social transactions. They serve as bridewealth and wergeld, in the belief that only cattle can fully make up for the loss of a valued human member of society. ... it would seem that the greatest desire of any herdsman is the possession of many cattle.

This longing for cattle has produced an interesting development: the organized theft of cattle from neighboring tribes. Warfare becomes strictly the quest for cattle, and virtually no other booty is taken. (Lincoln 1981, 6-7)

Lincoln's comparative analysis of two socioeconomic structures widely divergent in historical terms but remarkably similar in their thought patterns provides a valuable basis for viewing the garbled account of King Kai as a prototype of the pastoral myth of the first cattle raid in the Chinese tradition.

Kai maintained the power passed down by Chi, his father having been well endowed with goodness. Why then did he die in the end at Yu-yi, together with his herdsmen, cattle, and sheep? When he danced with shield and plumes, why did someone desire him? Why did her smooth flanks and firm flesh grow so plump? Where did the young herdsmen meet up with him? When they bludgeoned his bed, he had already got up, so how did he meet his fate? Heng maintained the power passed down by Chi. How did he manage to lead back his herds and flocks? Why did he go back and seek to gain from them with his attractive gifts, and not go straight back home? Hun Wei was descended from Heng and Kai, but the Yu-yi were restless. Why did the people grow troublesome and unruly, and their womenfolk and children become so immoral? Hsuan and his brother were both sexually corrupt; they endangered the life of their brother. Why is it that, even though times had so changed for the worse that they committed acts of treachery, their descendants met with good fortune? (Ch'u Tz'u, T'ien wen, SPTK 3.22a-24a)

The Yin [Shang] Prince Hai was a guest at Yu-yi, but he committed fornication there. The ruler of Yu-yi, Mien-ch'en, killed him and threw him away. That is why Shang Chia-wei of the Yin availed himself of the army of the Lord of the River and attacked Yu-yi and destroyed it. Then he killed its ruler, Mien-ch'en. (Kuo P'u's commentary on Shan hai ching, Ta huang tung ching, citing Chu shu chi nien, SPPY 14.4b)

There is a man called King Hai who held a bird in his two hands and then ate its head. King Hai entrusted his herds to Yu-yi and the Lord of the river domesticated his cattle. The people of Yu-yi killed King Hai and stole his herd of domesticated cattle. The Lord of the River mourned Yu-yi. Then the people of Yu-yi left the region in secret and made their kingdom among wild beasts, which people took for their food. This kingdom is called the Yao people. (Shan hai ching, Ta huang tung ching, SPPY 14.4b-5a)

King Chieh of the Hsia and the Two Suns

The late Chou texts refer in a piecemeal way to sixteen kings of the Hsia, the mythical dynasty much spoken of in the classical tradition, but for which no evidence as yet exists. The early texts all agree that the founder of the Hsia was the mythical figure Yü, and most agree that the last ruler of the legendary Hsia was King Chieh. In the later mythological tradition the rulers between Yü and Chieh were arranged in chronological sequence to produce a noble line of descent from the demigod Yü. A typical chronology is provided by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, which is discussed in some detail by Karlgren (1946, 314–15). None of these Hsia rulers can be historically attested.

Throughout the late Chou texts the figure of King Chieh is portrayed as an evil tyrant who brought about the fall of the legendary house of the Hsia. He is usually contrasted unfavorably with King T'ang the Conqueror, who led the Shang people to victory over the Hsia. The two figures of the tyrant and the good king interact in binary opposition, symbolizing the powers of evil and the forces of good. The struggle between the two mythical figures assumes an epic dimension in the classical texts, and the theme became a major paradigm of political theory in the course of Chinese history. It was expressed in terms of a cyclical pattern of dynastic change in which a bad last ruler of a dynasty is defeated in a just war by the virtuous first ruler of a new dynasty (Meskill 1965, I; Allan 1981, 81–89).

The colorful account of King Chieh the Tyrant and his defeat by the good King T'ang describes several other protagonists, such as the lovely Mo Hsi, King Chieh's one-time favorite who was cast aside for two new favorites, Wan and Yen, and so schemed to bring about his downfall. For his part, King T'ang's charisma attracted the finest men to assist him in his campaign against the Hsia. One such person was Yi Yin, a major mythical figure and a famous hero. Thus the protagonists on the side of the tyrant are females, while those on the side of the good king are virtuous males, a dichotomy that reinforces the structure of binary sexual opposition, Yin and Yang, in this mythologem.

The Chou texts and later narratives were unanimous in their condemnation of King Chieh, accusing him of sexual excess, tyranny, and extravagance. The details of his crime become more picturesque as the mythological and legendary tradition lengthens. Like Caligula in ancient Rome, King Chieh is depicted as a ruler who enjoyed observing the suffering of others as they froze or drowned or were chased by ravening tigresses through the marketplace. King Chieh's extravagance is illustrated in the second reading in this section by his wasteful use of precious jewels, such as the *t'iao*-bloom jade, to carve the names of female favorites, and, in another context, his fondness for massing thirty thousand female singers for day-long concerts. Like Yi the Archer, King Chieh refused to take advice from wise counselors, but followed the advice of courtiers who pandered to his whims. In the end his weaknesses, especially his love of women, facilitated the successful ruse by which King T'ang and Yi Yin destroyed him.

The fall of the Hsia is dramatically presaged in two solar myths. The first reading, from *The Classic of History*, relates one such omen, which echoes a proverb preserved in the *Record of Ritual*, in the chapter entitled "The Questions of Tseng Tzu": "The sky does not have two suns, a knight does not serve two rulers, a household does not serve two masters, and one cannot respect two superiors." The other solar myth is related in the third reading, from *The Treatise on Research into Nature*, third to fifth century A.D. It tells of the simultaneous rising and setting of two suns in the sky, an omen that is interpreted as the dynastic ascendancy of the Shang and the decline of the Hsia. This portent ironically echoes the blasphemy of King Chieh when he swore: "When that sun dies, you and I, we'll all perish!" Like many tyrants in myth and history, King Chieh senses his own impending doom and seeks to bring down destruction on the whole world.

The second reading is taken from the compendium of historical records and documentation compiled by Ma Su in the seventeenth century, *Hypotheses on History*. This work contains a great number of valuable mythological fragments from classical times which do not always appear in the extant editions of the texts they are cited from. In this instance, Ma Su is citing from the *Bamboo Annals*, an anonymous text purporting to record ancient history. The passage narrates the causes of the fall of the Hsia, namely, the revenge of the king's castoff favorite, Mo Hsi, and the guile of his opponent's minister, Yi Yin, a double agent who poses as a Hsia ally while remaining loyal to the Shang king.

The king of the Hsia completely depleted his country's energies, and with his system of punishments he slaughtered his people in the city of the Hsia. So great numbers of people showed disrespect toward him and the king was displeased. He said, "When that sun dies, you and I, we'll all perish!" (*Shang shu, T'ang shih*, SPPY 8.1b)

Lord Chieh ordered Pien to attack the Min mountain people. The Min mountain people presented Chieh with two girls, one named Wan, the other named Yen. The lord found the two girls very beautiful... and carved their names on *t'iao*-bloom jade.... He discarded his former favorite mistress, named Mo Hsi, on Lo River. She plotted with Yi Yin and then they caused the Hsia to be destroyed. (Subcommentary, *Yi shih*, citing *Chu shu chi nien*, PCTP 14.3a)

In the era of King Chieh of the Hsia, the king's clansman, Fei Ch'ang, was going along by the river when he saw two suns, one rising in brilliant light from the east, the other sinking with fading light in the west, and he heard a sound like a sudden boom of thunder. Ch'ang asked P'ing Yi, "Which sun means the Yin, and which sun means the Hsia?" He answered, "The sun in the west means the Hsia, the sun in the east means the Yin." At this, Fei Ch'ang promptly moved his clan and went over to the Yin [Shang]. (Po wu chih, Yi wen, SPPY 10.1a)

King Chou of the Shang Imprisons King Wen of the Chou Dynasty

The myth of the cyclical pattern of dynastic history is repeated in the narratives below of the epic contest between King Wen and King Wu of the Chou and their enemy, King Chou of the Shang. The "last bad ruler" of the Shang, King Chou, and the "first good rulers" of the Chou dynasty, Wen and Wu, interplay in binary opposition to create a dynamic myth of good versus evil. The myth of King Chou of the Shang differs from the usual paradigm of the "last bad ruler" in the sense that his portrayal is not always entirely negative. Ssu-ma Ch'ien's portrait of him, for example, is subtle and sympathetic, suggesting that King Chou began his career as an attractive, intelligent, heroic, and charismatic ruler who gradually succumbed to depravity by weakly refusing to accept valid criticism and good counsel. In this respect the portrait of King Chou resembles that of Yi the Archer. In her study of mythic patterns in the transfer of power, Sarah Allan presents a detailed structural analysis of King Chou of the Hsia (1981, 103–8).

King Chou was a man with remarkable qualities, and he was most discerning, besides being forceful and quick-witted. When he received counsel from his officials and when he gave them audience, he showed a very keen mind. His natural strength exceeded that of other men, and a blow from his fist could fell wild animals. He was sufficiently clever to be able to oppose official censure, and with his eloquence he was able to gloss over his mistakes. He boasted of his abilities to his courtiers, and he was loud in his praise of his own reputation to everyone. He made everyone detest him. He was far too fond of drink and he was overindulgent in listening to music. He was amorous with the ladies, but his favorite was Ta Chi, and he did everything Ta Chi told him to do. Then he made his music master, Ch'üan, compose some new love music and Pei-li dances, which were a very effete style of music. He increased taxation in order to fill the treasury at Stag Terrace and filled to overflowing the granary at Great Bridge. He collected great numbers of dogs, horses, and rare animals, which filled the palace buildings. He enlarged the park terraces at Sha-ch'iu and housed there great numbers of wild beasts and the winged birds he had caught. He was negligent in his duties toward the ghosts and gods. He had a large ensemble of musicians to entertain him at Sha-ch'iu, and he made men and girls parade naked together, holding drinking parties through the long nights. The people felt resentful toward him, and there were some who plotted sedition among the nobility. (Shih chi, Yin pen chi, SPPY 3.8b-9a)

King Wen cultivated the Way and his virtue, and the people grew close to him. King Wen had two sons, the Duke of Chou and King Wu, and they were all wise men. At that time, Ch'ung-hou Hu and King Wen both ranked among the nobles, but the former could not match King Wen in virtue, and so he was always jealous of him. Then he slandered King Wen to King Chou saying, "Ch'ang, the Lord of the West, is a sage, and his oldest son, Fa, and his next son, Tan, are also both sages. These three wise men have hatched a plot and they are going to take advantage of you, so you had better think carefully

what you intend to do about them." King Chou made use of his advice and imprisoned King Wen at Yu-li, and he chose a day when he would execute him. Then King Wen's four ministers, T'ai Tien, Hung Yao, San Yi-sheng, and Nan-kung-kua, went to visit King Wen. King Wen winked and slid his right eye round, indicating that King Chou was overly fond of the ladies, and he patted his belly with his archery bow to hint that King Chou was greedy for rare valuables. Then he tottered feebly on his feet, meaning that his ministers should be very quick in supplying King Chou's wants. So they traveled all over the country and went to every local area, and they found two beautiful girls, a large water-cowrie, and a white horse with a red mane. They went to present these to King Chou, displaying them in the central courtyard. When King Chou saw them, he looked up to Heaven and sighed, "How lovely they are! Who do they belong to?" San Yi-sheng hurried into the courtyard and said, "They are the prize possessions of the Lord of the West, and they are for his ransom because he has been condemned to death." King Chou said, "How very generous he is to me!" Then he promptly released the Lord of the West. King Chou said to Yi-sheng, "The man who acted in secret against the Lord of Ch'i has a long nose and a disfigured ear." When Yi-sheng went back to his own country he told King Wen about this description of the traitor, and so they knew that Ch'ung-hou had betrayed him. (Ch'in ts'ao, Chü yu ts'ao, TSCC 1.5)