

## **The Betty Behrens Seminar on Classics of Historiography**

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*Documents* [Shū] (ca. 221 BC) by Fu Sheng

Two chapters (ch. 1, pp. 1-3; ch. 14, pp. 1-4) from the text in English follow

(out of a total of 30 that were in circulation in the Han)

*Ch. 1 is also in Chinese to see how much emendation  
Professor Nylan brings to the text, based on the extant sources*

## Canon of Yao

### <a>1A.1 encomium in verse<a>

Yao, Examiner of Old Heroes, named "Propagator of Merit," was impressive and clear-sighted. He knew how to put all things in order and at ease. Truly attentive to his duties, he was capable of relinquishing his powers and privileges to worthy men. His bright influence shone wide to earth's four corners, reaching above and below.

He was able to make his instructive example shine forth, to draw the Nine Clans close to him. Once the Nine Clans were settled, then Yao distinguished by insignia the Hundred Families. And once the Hundred Families themselves became shining examples, that induced harmony in the myriad polities, at which point the masses flourished, and the era came to be at peace.

### <a>1A.2 account of Xi and He and calendrical matters<a>

Then he did command Xi and He to comply solemnly with Beneficent Heaven, to calculate and model the regular movements for the sun, moon, planets, and stellar markers. With due attention he bestowed the seasons upon his men. In turn, he commanded Xi Zhong to reside at Yuyi, to sow grain. the Valley of the Dawn. In reverence, he greeted the rising sun with a guest ritual, and he set in motion the eastern work of spring planting. At the equinox, he used the Bird star to ascertain the proper alignment for the second month of spring. His people went their ways, and the birds and beasts nurtured their young.

He then commanded Xi Shu to reside in the southern site called Mount Nanjiao. He set in motion the southern work, and he was most attentive to it. At the summer solstice, he used the Fire star to ascertain the proper alignment for the second month in summer. The people acted according to the season, as the plumage of birds and pelts of beasts grew thinner.

### <a>1A.2+ possibly interpolated (?) narrative <a>

In turn, he commanded He Zhong to reside in the western lands, at Willow Vale. With all due reverence, he was to greet the setting sun, to set in motion the western harvests. At the autumn equinox, he used the Barrens star to ascertain the proper alignment for autumn's second month of autumn. His people took their ease, while the plumage of birds and pelts of beasts grew thick.

He then commanded He Shu to reside in the north, in the Dark Region. He had his subjects store goods from the harvests and hunts. At the winter solstice, he used the Mane star to ascertain the proper alignment for the second month of winter. There the men huddle together inside to stay warm, while, to warm themselves, the birds grew feathers and the beasts grew fur.

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The Lord then said, May you consider, Xi and He, the full course of a year to be 366 days, and by the intercalary months fix the four seasons correctly, to complete the year. With tallies Yao issued orders to his many officers, to initiate all the many achievements.

### <a>1A.3 dialogues concerning the ability of candidates for office<a>

Yao asked, "Who is the right person to see to such matters [as Heaven's timing]?" Fangqi said, "Your heir and son Dan Zhu is bright." Yao replied, "Huh! He is obstinate and quarrelsome. He will not do." Yao asked once more, "Who among my officers will do, then?"

Huan Dou said, "Oh, Gong Gong propagates his merits in every endeavor. He can be so employed." Yao replied, "Huh! He speaks well enough but his way of acting offends. He *seems* respectful, but he insults Heaven by his behavior. He cannot be employed.

Yao said once more, "Ah, you Marchmounts, a deluge, rushing, with waters swirling all around wreaks damage everywhere. The flood waters encircle the mountains and rise above the hills and mounds. So vast is its flow that it reaches the skies. And the people below have their troubles. Is there no one who can remedy the situation?"

Everyone replied, "Gun is your man!" The Lord said, "Huh! He disobeys his charge and brings ruin to his clan. He will not do."

They all said, "The others [are worse]. You will find that they are not employable – and that's the simple truth." Yao at this point listened to the Marchmounts and employed Gun.

[The Lord said, "He should proceed then, and attend to his duties well."]] But after nine years, the work [of quelling the flooding] was still incomplete, so the Lord said, "Ah, Marchmounts, We have been on the throne for seventy years. If you can take up the charge, I will cede my position to you." The Marchmounts replied, "We have not the virtue needed to fill the royal position."

Yao replied, "Then, may you all in every case raise to the ranks of officers your noble relatives and extend the search to those in low and out-of-the way places." Then the assembly all spoke to Yao, saying, "There is a bachelor among the people named Shun of Yu." Yao said, "So We have heard. What about him?" The Marchmounts said, "He is the son of a blind man. His father is mean, his mother quarrelsome, and his younger brother is overbearing. Yet he has managed to induce harmony among them by filial behavior. Thanks to his magnanimity, they live in good order; they have never come to blows."

Yao said, "Let us try him! Then Yao gave his two daughters to Shun in marriage, so that he might watch how he conducted himself with regard to the two women. Shun, following orders, then went down to live with the two women, at the rivers Gui and Rui, where the new household observed the rituals for wives. Yao then approved him.

Bridging material of dubious authenticity, in twenty-eight graphs (marked by asterisks on the facing page).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [The above break marks the paragraph that starts, in the fourth-century pseudo-Kong chapter, a new chapter dubbed the "Shun dian." The break occurs mid-dialogue, and notably, no such break existed in pre-Han or Han times. Yan Ruoqu and Mao Qiling, following Liu Zhiji's claims, as listed in the Background Essay for this chapter, allege that Yao Fangxing 姚方興 (fl. 497), using material from the earlier commentaries, added twenty-eight graphs to the *Documents* chapter: 曰若稽古。帝舜曰重華，協于帝。濬哲文明。溫恭允塞。玄德升聞。乃命以位。 Compare the entry in the *Suishu* bibliographic treatise. Lu Deming reports that he had seen two versions of the chapter, one adding these twenty-eight characters and a second adding only twelve. Classical scholars, during Han through Qing, have guessed that the first twelve graphs should be ascribed solely to Yao Fangxing, whereas

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<a>1 A.4<a>

He then had Shun carefully conform to the Five Canons. And once Shun conformed to Five Canons, then there came to be compliance within the ranks of many officers. And once the official ranks were all in good order, Shun received clients from all four directions, and caused them all to act with great circumspection also. The local lords, as well as the retainers and guests from distant lands, all paid due heed to their duties.

Yao then ordered Shun to enter the great mountains, waterways, and marshlands, where he met with violent wind and lightning and rain, but never got lost. Yao thought him a sage.

<a>1A.5<a>

And so he ordered Shun, saying, "Surely, it has already been three years that you, Shun, have planned effectively and your words have all borne fruit in achievements. I would have you ascend to the position of Lord of all." Shun modestly declined to admit that he had such virtue, and he felt uneasy [with Yao's decision].

<a>1B.6 Shun's rule begins, and Shun acts <a>

But in the first month, on the first day, Shun accepted the end of Yao's rule from Yao in the temple. Using the Dipper stars, Shun regulated the Seven Governors.

He then offered the *lei* animal sacrifice to the Lord on High, and the *yin*, to the Six Origins. He offered the *wang* sacrifice to the gods of the mountains and major rivers, everywhere offered cult to the crowds of gods in their various ranks. He gathered together the Five Auspicious Jades. He chose an auspicious date, and he held an audience for the Marchmounts and the many local pastors, to whom he distributed the auspicious jades.

<a>1B.6b. possible interpolation, a version of which appears in *Shiji* 1.24<a>

In the second month of the first year, [at the spring equinox], Shun went east on a tour of inspection. He got as far as Daizong [Mount Tai], where he made a burnt offering. The *wang* sacrifice he offered, in turn, to the mountains and great rivers. Then he held an audience for the lords of the east. He coordinated the seasons and the months, while aligning the days. He regulated the pitch pipes, as well as the measures of length, capacity, and weight. He had the Five Rituals and the Five Musical Scores (?) performed. [From each he got] three bolts of silk, two offerings of live animals, and one dead pheasant, as with the Five Ritual Implements. And when the ceremonies were completed, then he returned the items.

In the fifth month [at the summer solstice?], he traveled south of his tour of inspection. He got as far as South Mountain, [[where he performed rituals like those at Mount Tai].] In the eighth month [at the autumn equinox?], he went west, and he got as far as the West Mountain, [[where he did as

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the sixteen graphs that follow were interpolated by Liu Xian. See William Hung 1957, 125, which entertained the possibility of a forgery by Liu Xuan, the Sui-era scholar. Compare Matsumoto 1966, 230-31.

before]]. In the eleventh month [at the winter solstice?], he went north, and he got as far as North Mountain, [[where he performed the same rituals he had in the west]]. In each case, the ceremonies were as at the first. He then made his way home, where he went to the ancestral temple, to offer a sacrificial animal, using an ox ritual.

#### <a>1B.6c tours of inspection, gift-giving<a>

Thereafter every five years he made one tour of inspection, and the assemblies of local lords came from all four directions to the formal audiences. At each audience, they gave a report of their rule, which was then tested in light of their deeds. They then received chariots and robes, according to how meritorious their practices were.

#### <a>1B.7 Shun's use of punishments<a>

At this, the twelve provinces came to be defined. And the great rivers were [also] deepened and dredged. Images were devised for clothing corresponding to each of the constant punishments, and he used banishment to mitigate the Five Mutilations. He stipulated that a whip be employed for the officers' punishments; a cane or stick, for the pupils instructed in government schools, and metal, when commuting fines. With inadvertent offenses, even those that caused harm, he would err on the side of pardoning, but those who knowingly and repeatedly committed crimes to the very end, he had them treated harshly, with death meted out to them. "Attend to this! Attend to it!" Such was his reluctance to act when pronouncing punishments.

He begged permission to exile Gong Gong to Youzhou. He banished Huan Dou to Mount Chong. He drove the Sanmiao to Mount Sanwei, while sending Gun into exile at Mount Yu. With these four criminals [punished], the entire realm submitted.

#### <a>1 B. 8 the death of Yao and the transfer of power to Shun<a>

Only after twenty-eight years on the throne did Yao die. The Hundred Families mourned him like a father or mother. For three years, no one played music in the four quarters of the realm. [[On the first auspicious day in the first month in the following year,]] Shun went to the ancestral temple [to report]. There he took counsel with the Leaders as to the best method to open the doors of communication between the four quarters, so that he could see with the eyes and ears of the most worthy men through wide consultation.

#### <a>1B.9 Shun consults with the Twelve Pastors<a>

He consulted his twelve Pastors to analyze the charisma proper to the Lords: "Gentleness to the distant will bring the able close," and so they conferred liberal favors, even as they distanced the sycophants. [[This is the only way.]] Then the Man and Yi groups will all submit to your rule."

#### <a>1B.10 consultation by Shun with the Marchmounts, who recommend Yu<a>

Shun said: You, Marchmounts, is there anyone who can stir others to meritorious actions, and so bring glory to Yao's merits? I would then cause such a man to take his place as an official to oversee the affairs. They all replied: "Noble Yu, if appointed Minister of Works, can improve upon the emperor's merit."

<a>1B.11 Shun appoints Yu<a>

Shun said, "Ah, Yu, you are to settle the waters and the land. May this be your sole endeavor!" Yu bowed low to the ground, and tried to decline in favor of Lord Millet, Xie, or Gao Yao. The Lord said, "It shall be so. Go forth!"

<a>1B.12: Shun appoints three others<a>

Shun then said, "Qi, the ordinary people start to suffer from famine. May you, acting as Lord Millet, see that all types of grain are sown."

Shun said, "Xie, the Hundred Families still lack a deep affection for me. The five ranks do not yet give way [to my orders]. May you, as Minister over the Masses, with due attention to your duties propagate the Five Teachings, which all consist of tolerance and magnanimity.

Shun said, "Gao Yao, the Man and Yi trouble our fair lands. There are robbers, murderers, and treacherous men. May you, as Minister of Justice, employ the Five Mutilations, so that they submit, and as for the Five Submissions, let there be three types of location for the three levels. For the five categories of exile, let three sites be built. **With insight** may you be able to inspire trust."

<a>1B.13 Shun appoints more high officials, after due consultation<a>

Shun asked, "Who among you can train my artisans?" All said, "Chui would do!" Thereupon Shun made Chui his Overseer of the Artisans.

Shun said, "Who among you is equal to the duty of superintending, above and below, all living things, the vegetation, birds and beasts?" They all said "Yi will do!" Thereupon Shun said, "Yes. Oh, Yi, may you become Our royal forester." Yi bowed low, with his head touching the ground, and he wanted to decline in favor of the officials Red Bird, Tiger, Black Bear and Brown Bear. Shun said, "Go to it! May you induce order!"

<a>1B.14 On the advice of the Leader, Shun appoints Bo Yi<a>

Shun said, "Ah, Marchmounts, is there anyone able to direct Our royal Three Rituals?" They all said, "Bo Yi will do!" Shun said, "Ah, yes. O, Bo Yi, may you order the ancestral temple. Night and day, you must attend to your duties, and be upright and faultless."

Noble Yi wished to decline in favor of Kui the One-legged Dragon or Long the Dragon.

<a>1B.15 Shun's appointment of Kui, whose powers are soon demonstrated<a>

Shun said, "Kui, I appoint you Music Master, to teach the royal sons, so that the **brusque** may be made mild, the magnanimous, more cautious, the strong kept from tyranny, and the impetuous, from arrogance. The odes express one's ideas; the tunes prolong the words; the notes harmonize the sounds. That the notes rely on prolonging and the pitch pipes harmonize the notes, means that in this way the eight different kinds of musical instruments, each with their own timbres, can be

attuned, so that no one detracts from the other, and gods and people are thereby brought into harmony."

Kui replied, "Yes, when I strike the musical chime stones or pat them, all the animals then set to dancing."

Shun said, "You, Dragon, We loathe slanderers and liars who stir up Our masses. We order you to act as Minister for Communications. Day and night you are to propagate Our royal commands and report back to me truthfully."

<a>1B.16 general address to the appointed officers; talk of merit and examinations<a>  
Shun said, "Ah, you twenty-two [thirty-two?] men, attend to your duties, so that you may at due times oversee your ordained activities." Every three years Shun held an examination of merit, after three such tests, officers were demoted or advanced. By this did men far and near have all their merits revealed. Shun divided the Sanmiao, sending them to the north.

<a>1B.17 Shun's reign and death, a summary<a>  
Shun at the age of thirty began to serve in office, and he acted as official for thirty years. In the fiftieth year of his reign, he went on a tour of inspection of all the regions, during which he died.

## Proclamation to Kang

### <a>14.1 narrative setting<a>

In the third month, at the time of the new crescent moon, Zhougong first made plans to build and to establish a new great city at Luo, in the eastern polities. The leading men of the four directions in great numbers converged there. The leading men from the Hou, Dian, and Nan estates, and *cai* and *wei* [defensive zones], as well as the supervisors for the Hundred Artisans and the scattered people of Yin came together in harmony, to offer their services to Zhou. As Zhougong wanted to encourage them all, at that point he promulgated a great proclamation on behalf of the king about good rule.

### <a>14.2 speech focusing on kingly rule<a>

He spoke as king, saying:

O, leading prince, Our younger brother, young master Feng. It was your greatly illustrious deceased father, King Wen, who succeeded in making his conduct and character a shining example and in being duly cautious about penalties. He did not mistreat widowers and orphans. He diligently put to use any useful people [he could find]; he revered those worthy of being revered, and he punished those deserving punishment. Thus did he make his people illustrious. And then he began to proceed into our fair lands, and our one or two [allied] lands, he ruled our western lands. On account of this, his exertions became known to the Lord on High, The Lord approved him and Heaven then gave the great charge to King Wen to carry out the task of slaying the war-like Yin. With this, he received his overlord's charge to rule, his realm, and his people. May you from this time on extend the exertions of your elder brother, the former king. Without further ado you, my young master Feng, will reside in these eastern lands.

### <a>14.3 one or two positive charges<a>

The king said,

Ah, Feng, may you carefully consider this! At present, the people there are suffering. You should diligently carry on the example of your deceased father, continuing what you have learnt and complying with virtuous advice. May you go forth and everywhere seek guidance from [the model of] Yin's former accomplished kings, in order to settle and govern the people. May you go very far in considering the examples of the old established men of Shang, and hold them in your heart and mind, and come to understand their instructions. And may you widely seek to learn from the accomplished kings of old, in order to ease and protect your people. Magnified by your conduct in accord with Heaven, may you never set aside the king's court in any way.

### <a>14.4.<a> new speech unit

The king said,

Ah, young master Feng. Lest misery and afflictions descend upon your own person, pay due heed! For Heaven, in its awesome majesty, is not to be relied upon, and the people's condition and feelings will become apparent on a grand scale [should they rebel]. The little people are difficult to settle. Go forth, and give them your all. Do not become too accustomed to ease and pleasure. Then you will be governing the people well. I have heard it said, 'Resentment does not derive



from great matters nor from small.' So you should favor those who are not yet favored and encourage those who have not been encouraged."

"Fine! You, young master, your service shall make [our rule] great, and thereby fiercely protect the people of Yin. Then you, for your part, shall help the king abide in Heaven's charge and consolidate it, and make a new people of them."

<a>14.4 another group of mini-speeches<a>

The king said,

Ah, Feng! Be attentive and clear in your penalties. Let us suppose someone commits a minor crime, which is not an inadvertent error, but rather an intentionally unlawful act carried out to the end. I warn you, even though the crime be minor, you cannot but kill him for it. By contrast, let us consider the case when someone commits a major crime, but he does not persist in it to the end. You then should deem it an "inadvertent" or "accidental" mistake, given that it was not intended. Then, to judge it appropriately, according to the severity of the crime, you may never kill him.

The king said,

"Ah, Feng! With the right procedures and precedents in place, your people will submit to strict and clear chastisement. Your people will be encouraged to work for harmony. Treat your people like an ailing patient, whom you would free of any taint. Treat your people like a nurseling at the breast, whom you would nourish into health and fitness. Apart from you, Feng, let no one else pronounce punishments or executions. Apart from you, Feng, let no one lop off noses or limbs.

The king said,

"In trying such cases in the local court, you are to lay out all the relevant evidence for each case. And you should take as your model those Yin penalties that reflect reasonable norms. We moreover say that if you want to incarcerate a person [to await trial], you must think it over for five or six days, up to a week's time. Then may you in all majesty sentence those who have been incarcerated."

The king said,

"In judging penal cases, let your penalties and executions reflect the Yin-era norms, using their just mutilations and just killings. Do not make it a habit to act willfully. Only when you do your utmost of be subservient to the laws, then may you be said to be 'following proper and timely procedures.' But you shall not claim to be in perfect compliance with those norms."

"Fine, done! You are but an inexperienced prince, yet there has never been one with a heart quite like yours! Our royal heart, Our charismatic influence, that alone you understand and appreciate! In general, the people actively commit crimes of their own volition—pillaging and selling stolen goods, or committing murder while trespassing on another's property—showing no fear of death whatsoever. As a general rule, do not show such people any mercy!"

<a>14.5 responsibilities, father to son, elder to younger brother, ruler to nobles<a>

The king said,

"Feng, if these are cases of huge abominations and great blame, how much worse is unfilial and unbrotherly behavior! If a son fails to attentively serve the affairs of his royal father, it greatly wounds his father's heart. And when a father cannot care for and commiserate with his royal son, then and only then he will afflict the royal son. And when a younger brother ignores what Heaven has made plain [the right and privileges of duly appointed judges], and then fails to attend to his duties to his royal elder brother, the elder brother, for his part, will not consider sparing his younger brother pain. Indeed, he will act in a very unfriendly manner toward that younger brother. Were Our leading men to tolerate such behavior, and fail to punish them, then that would lead to wreaking havoc with the norms conferred by heaven upon Our people. Thus I say, 'May you with all due haste follow the penalties fashioned by King Wen.' For those who merit punishments, let there be no pardons.

Those who fail to comply shall be punished severely, all the more so when it is the sons in the collateral noble lines or the court instructors. Should the ruler's leading men and the lower-ranking officials with their commissions spread their fame separately from you, creating great reputations among the people while neglecting their duties and failing to act by the norms, this will only distress the ruler. At times this may incite wrongdoing, which will cause Us to abhor and condemn them. Done! You should then quickly execute them, by this principle, following the just laws. The same goes for rulers and leaders. If they cannot manage their householders, minor officials, and external directors, and only think of exerting their awesome powers and tyrannizing over others, while offending the king's decrees greatly, then they will have shown that they cannot be governed by charismatic virtue.

You for your part should in everything respect the precedents, for only then will you lead your men to blessings. Think of King Wen's reverent observance of the taboos and prohibitions, so as to bless the people. And if you say, 'May I only attain this [fine example],' then I, the One Man, will then be pleased."

<a>14.6 final exhortation to the prince<a>

The king said,

"Feng, please think clearly about your men, so as to lead them to a fortunate state of prosperity and security. We at due times ought to think of the charismatic virtue of the former wise kings of Yin, who thereby settled and ordered the people. We should seek [to be emulate them]. How much worse will things be if the people now have no path to follow, and you do not guide them? Without guidance, the realm will lack effective policy-making."

The king said,

"Feng, We cannot but look to these as to a mirror. And I proclaim to you the sayings about charismatic virtue, with respect to the carrying out of penalties. Now the people are unsettled. Do not do violence to their hearts. The guidance we have given repeatedly, but they have not yet truly joined us. Think clearly about the potential for heaven to penalize or even execute us [if we are remiss]. We would have no cause for resentment or complaints. With its punishments of crimes, nothing depends on how great nor how many they are. But how much worse will it be if such crimes come to light and then are known in heaven!"

The king said,

"Ah, Feng, pay heed! Do nothing to create resentment. [[Do not abandon virtuous conduct.]] Do not employ those who are bad advisors or irregular ones. Do not keep in obscurity the trustworthy men of the time. On a grand scale, take as a rule zealous virtue, and so as to settle your own heart. Look to your own charismatic virtue; make your plans far-reaching, in the hope that your people may thus be pacified. Do not let your own flaws cut off your line.

The king said,

"Ah! May you, little master Feng, do your best. [Heaven's] charge does not go to or remain in a constant place. May you think long about this! Do not cause the ordained sacrifices to be cut off for or by Us. Clearly display your devotion to the charge. Elevate your hearing, and so settle and order the people.

He spoke as king, saying,

"Go forth, Feng, [to your fief]! Do not set aside due attention to the established norms. Harken to what We proclaim to you. Only with the help of the Yin people may you perpetuate the lineage sacrifices down through the generations."

disconnected fragment, ascribed to the "Kang gao" by two early sources

If the father is not compassionate, or the son is irreverent, or the elder brother is not affable or the younger brother neglects his duties, they will not get along well.

堯典<sup>1</sup>

1A.1

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<sup>1</sup> *Dian* is used here in the traditional way, to refer to customs believed to be based upon natural laws. See Gu Biao, in *Huangshi yishu kao* 1893, 1b.

[HS 欽; WYS 奧; PK 曰]若 [HS 順]稽古<sup>2</sup>帝堯<sup>3</sup>。曰放勳/敷/勳<sup>4</sup>。欽明<sup>5</sup>文思安安<sup>6</sup>。允恭<sup>7</sup>克讓<sup>8</sup>。光<sup>9</sup>[OY, BG, HS 橫]被四表<sup>10</sup>。假 [CY, PK 格]<sup>11</sup>于上下。

<sup>2</sup> Tentative translation of the four-character phrase *yue ruo ji gu* 曰若稽古, given four possible translations for *ruo* 若: (1) GU, 4, has *ruo* mean *nuo* 諾 ("to agree" or "agreeably"); (2) Yu Xingwu, cited in *ibid.*, says *ruo* means *shun* 順 ("to accord with" or "be amenable to"), after *Hanshu* 23A.1112; (3) as part of a compound, functions as an "empty particle": *ruo yue* 若越/粵/雩 = 若曰 = 曰若 (GU 5); or (4) as *wei* 惟, the copula. Most Han texts read this four-character phrase as a text unit, equating it with the phrase *wei kaogu* 惟考古. See, e.g., *Hanshu* 73.3123 (which substitutes *qin* 欽 for *yue* 曰). *Shiji* omits the four-character phrase altogether. This translation follows Ma Rong, who glosses the phrase as *shunkao gudao* 順考古道; relevant also is *Mozhi* 7.3 (以天志為法也, 而順帝之則也); cf. the four-character phrase in *Yi Zhoushu* 33 ("Wu Mu jie" 武穆解 chap.). See the Keywords section for more on *ruo*.

<sup>3</sup> The graphs in the four-character phrase 曰若稽古 generated such controversy, that it acquired some 30,000 graphs or phrases (*yan* 言) in explication (*Hanshu* 30.1723n6). *Shiji* 27.1350 has Sima Qian saying of himself ("I have perused the historical records to examine deeds and events" 余觀史記考行事), where "antiquity" means "past exemplars." The Shi Qiang *pan* (Shirakawa 50; *Heji* 15.335), dating to the early tenth-century BC reign of King Gong likewise uses the graphs *yue gu* 曰古 ("according with antiquity") to praise King Wen, and other antique bronzes use the similar phrase *ru gu* 如古.

<sup>4</sup> Unquestionably, this is Yao's name or epithet, as many early sources agree on that. *Shiji* 1.15n1 identifies Fangxun as the personal name of Yao; Ma Rong concurs. Wang Su took this to be Yao's style name (*zi* 字). The name Fangxun describes "[the good official] spreading merit," as Ma Rong, Zheng Xuan, Huangfu Mi, and others, including PK, in Ruan Yuan, 19-2, argue; see, e.g., *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.1. Karlgren 1946, 289, identifies Fangxun as Yao's appellation "before becoming emperor." *Fangxun* need not be followed by punctuation therefore. So far as we know, Su Shi was the first to query the longstanding tradition that Fangxun is a name or epithet for Yao. *Shuzhuan*, *juan* 1, states that *fang* 放 means *fa* 法 (model), and *xun* refers to Yao's merit (有功而可法). Zeng Yunqian 1964, 3, speaks of Yao "not daring to monopolize" policy-making powers (*buyan zhuan* 不敢專), an important Han theme, if not one most modern scholars emphasize today.

For the variants, *xun* 勳 / 勳, see *Jingdian shiwen*, citing a Dunhuang mss. that has *xun* 敷.

<sup>5</sup> *Shiji* 1.15 paraphrases these praises as 其仁如天, 其知如神 (see the Introduction for a translation). Where not explicitly noted, the material preceding the brackets comes from the counterpart *Shiji* chapter, for *Shiji* 1.16ff. repeats the same formulae for each of the four seasons. Our punctuation follows the Han-era Ouyang and Xiahou traditions, as per Matsumoto 1966, 561.

<sup>6</sup> By the glosses, *an an* 安安 means *yan yan* 晏晏 ("[to make be] at one's ease"), elsewhere glossed as *hexi wu dong ju ye* 和喜無動懼也; WRL (p. 1) reads *yan yan* 宴宴, on the basis of Zheng Xuan's glosses to the apocryphal *Kao lingyao*, which equate *yan yan* with *kuanrong fuzai* 寬容覆載 ("overlaid with generosity"). Alternate translation: "He was a man of character and substance, at the same time that he was relaxed and easy in his manner."

<sup>7</sup> *Yong gong* 允恭/龔 = *bu xie* 不懈 ("not lax"), and so attentive to one's duties; cf. *Hanshu* 100B.4237. GU 11, notes several Qing scholars disputed the reading of *gong* as "reverent." The character displays hands holding up to offer an object or signify one's reverence, so the character now read as *gong* 恭 likely should be read as 龔/共. GU 12 says, "This says that Yao truly could act diligently in his position." Both *gong* imply exterior activity and palpable attention to duties.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Hanshu* 30.1732.

<sup>9</sup> The *Shiji* does not quote these lines; *Hanshu* 8.270 writes *guang* 光, but *heng* 橫 appears in *Hanshu* 57B.2601. Zheng Xuan reads *guang* as *guangyao* 光耀 ("rays of light"). GU 12-13, 15 glosses the descriptive as *chong man zhi yi* 充滿之意 ("filled to overflowing with").

<sup>10</sup> This four-character phrase appears frequently in Han-era texts, including *Hanshu* 8.270, 78.3282; *Qian Hanji*, 8.123 (using 光被四海); *Xinyu* 3.5, etc.

<sup>11</sup> Thereby gaining the allegiance of all. Multiple Han texts write *jia* 假, including BHT, SW, and SSDZ. PK, in Ruan Yuan, 19-2, reads *ge* 格, glossed as *zhi* 至 or *jia/xia* 假 ("to arrive at"; "to reach").

能明馴/訓德\*[PK 克明峻德\*]<sup>12</sup>。以親九族\*<sup>13</sup>。九族既睦\*。便[BG 辨; SSDZ 辯/徧; BHT, PK 平]章<sup>14</sup>百姓\*。百姓昭明\*。合[BG, LH, PK 協]和<sup>15</sup>萬國[PK 邦\*; QHJ 方\*]。黎民<sup>16</sup>於蕃/卞<sup>17</sup>[CY, PK 變]時<sup>18</sup>雍\*<sup>19</sup>。

## 1A.2

<sup>12</sup> *Shiji* 1.15 writes 能明馴德; *Xunzi* ("Zheng lun" chap. 18), has *ke ming ming de* 克明明德, likely reading *xunde* 馴德, in the sense of *shun de* 順德; cf. *Liji* ("Da xue" 大學 chap.). (For the latter reading, see Xu Guang's commentary; also WRL (p. 2).

Han scholars usually read this as a description of what Yao did 自明其德 ("he himself made brilliant his virtue"). *Shiji* 1.15 has the ruler's good example attracting other good men to his service, as is normal; *Hanshu* 71.3049 supports this translation whereby the object of Yao's transforming influence extends to politics far beyond the Central States, as does *Hanshu* 66.2891. After all, the character for *de* 德 contains the component that means "supervising/overseeing things," as Serruys' notes point out; early graphs also write *de* as *zhen* 真 ("genuine") over a heart radical.

<sup>13</sup> In Han-era texts, the phrase "Nine Clans" generally refers to "all the many noble clans," except in legal language, where the same phrase means "nine generations"(great-grandfather to great-grandson) liable to punishment for a capital crime (as in *Fayan* 9/8). *Wujing yiyi* states that the Ouyang traditions defined the Nine Clans as "relatives and dependents with different surnames" (*yixing you shuzhe* 異姓有屬者), including members of the father's, mother's, and wife's families, whose importance is also seen in the MWD Mourning Diagram.; cf. Ouyang, 1a. By contrast, PK, in Ruan Yuan, 20-2, equates the Hundred Families with the Hundred Officials 百官. We follow WRL (p. 2) here.

<sup>14</sup> See *Shiji* 1.16, for *bian* 便, and SSDZ for *bian* 辨/徧. If the latter variants are adopted, the sentence reads, "He everywhere made a brilliant model of the Hundred Families," the leading families. *Ping* 平 is also glossed as *bian* 辯/便 ("make distinctive" or "display"), with the former the Ouyang tradition, possibly derived from Fu Sheng (Ma Shiyuan 2014, 284). The Xiahou tradition writes this as 便章, with similar meaning. Zheng Xuan follows the Han-era *Documents*, glossing the phrase as *bie ming* 別明. As to the PK variant for *bian* (= *ping* 平), see Ruan Yuan, 20-1. Yang Jialuo 1970, 6, argues that all *ping* should be read as *jiang* 降 ("to send down"). We do not follow Yang, partly because Yang assumes that the *Documents* language is consistent across chapters.

<sup>14</sup> *Xie* 協 = 和合 = 哖 (meaning, "harmonious").

<sup>15</sup> For *he* 合, see *Shiji* 1.15; also Gentz 2020. *Shiji* 18.877 writes 和萬國; cf. *Hanshu* 8.246, 71.3049. Wang Mang's edicts offer minor variants, as in *Hanshu* 99A.4072, 99B.4129.

<sup>16</sup> *Li* 黎 means "black," referring to the "many/ masses," hence *limin* "black-haired people," as per Legge, 732, referring to "commoners" or farming "peasants"; cf. the phrase *qianshou* 黔首.

<sup>17</sup> *Hanshu* 10.312 writes *fan* 蕃 for *bian* 變, meaning *duo* 多 ("many"); see GU 29, on *bian* 弁/卞. Here the verb "flourished" tries to indicate two changes, one entailing "transformation" and one, "increase." Ying Shao (*Hanshu* 10.312n2) reads *bian* as *bianhua* 變化 ("to transform"), emphasizing Yao's transformative powers; cf. *Hanshu* 99A.4072, citing the four characters 黎民時雍. Zhang Taiyan glosses *shi* 時 as *shan* 善, referring to the excellent words 美言 that bring groups together; see Zeng Yunqian 1964, 4; Zhang argued that this seems to be the sense in which early inscriptions took such phrases.

<sup>18</sup> Han-era readings usually read *shi* 時 as "era" or "time," as in GU 31; sometimes we take it to mean "in due time," as in Hulswé 1955, 422n347. However, Fan Wang, in commentary to the *Taixuan*, glossed *shi* as *diao* 調 ("to harmonize" or "to adjust"), as noted in WRL (p. 3). Later glosses more often read *shi* as *er* 而 or *zhi* 之, and QWL nearly always reads *shi* 時 as *ci* 此, as per the OBI.

<sup>19</sup> Xu Nanyu 2009 argues this instead of "compliance." See Cai Yong's "Hu gong bei" 胡公碑 in *Cai Zhonglang*, 4.2, 4.3. For the rhymes in this paragraph (marked with an asterick), they are a-a-a-a-a, b-b-b-b-b. See the Appendix by Thomas Crone.

乃命羲和<sup>20</sup>。敬順<sup>21</sup>[PK 欽若]昊天<sup>22</sup>。數法<sup>23</sup>[BA, BHT, PK 曆/麻象]日月星辰。敬授人<sup>24</sup>時。分命羲仲。居[PK 宅]郁[SW 埗; HS, PK 嶠]夷<sup>25</sup>。日暘谷[HNZ 湯谷; Juyan 揚穀]<sup>26</sup>。敬道[PK 寅賓]出日<sup>27</sup>。便程[SW 平黓; MR 莘; ZX, SSDZ 辯秩; FSTY 辨秩;

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<sup>20</sup> See the Background Essay for this chapter, on the question of how many people are indicated by the two graphs Xi +He. *Lishi chunqiu* makes Xihe (a single person) the inventor of methods to divine for auspicious days (羲和作占日). Some traditions, drawing upon the *Shanbai jing*, make Xihe a single woman, who is wife to Lord Jun 帝俊 and the mother of the ten suns. For the complications, see Karlgren 1946, 265ff.; *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.2; Allan 1991, 60. For the importance of the calendrical arts to the empire's productive capacities, see Nylan and Hahn (forthcoming); Liu Ming 2022, chap. 2, esp. 91-92, expanding upon Ying Shao's commentary to *Hanshu* 19.721, 723.

<sup>21</sup> *Shiji* 1.16 writes *jing shun* 敬順. GU 32-33 follows *Shiji*, glossing the PK *qian ruo* 欽若, in Ruan Yuan, 21-2, as *jing shun* 敬順. GU 34-35n4 notes that the epithet *hao tian* does not predate late Western Zhou. *Shuowen* 7A.1a explains *hao tian* as a phrase describing beneficence that blankets all "those below."

<sup>22</sup> See Ouyang 1b, clearly the source for BHT 36 ("Sishi " 四時 chap.).

<sup>23</sup> *Shiji* 1.16 reads *shufa* 數法 ("calculate the calendrical regularities") for *lixiang* 麻象 ("to calculate and delineate"). The *Bamboo Annals* 1.5 adopts the same *lixiang* to describe this. Cf. *Hanshu* 21.973.

<sup>24</sup> *Shiji* 1.16 reads *min* 民 for *ren*. For the theory that *ren* 人 becomes a standard replacement for *min* 民 by Tang, see GU 38n5. SSDZ, *juan* 1, remarks that there is a proper time to plant each and every crop; Yu therefore "gave it [the knowledge of proper timing] to the people" (*Tianzi fu zhi min* 天子賦之民), in the sense of teaching them.

<sup>25</sup> For the earliest reading, see *Shiji* 1.16; *Hanshu* 28A.1526 writes 嶠夷. Cf. Ouyang 2a.

<sup>26</sup> Yanggu is identified as the legendary site where the sun rises, marked by the Fusang tree. *Shiji* and the pseudo-Kong agree here; see *Shiji* 1.16. For a possibly earlier reading, that of Yanggu 揚穀, see *Juyan xinjian*, 3 (EPT4:16); Liu Ming 2022, 91-92. Sima Qian seems not altogether sure whether Xi Zhong is two people or one. See *Shiji* 130.3285.

<sup>27</sup> *Shiji* 1.16 reads *jing dao ri chu* 敬道/導日出 for this four-character phrase, meaning "to lead the sun out with due reverence;" *bin* means the homonymic 賓, "to guide or lead." For the guest ritual 賓日, see GU 38-39 n10.

PK 平秩]東作<sup>28</sup>。日中<sup>29</sup>、星鳥<sup>30</sup>。以殷中/仲春。其[PK 厥]<sup>31</sup>民析<sup>32</sup>。鳥獸字微[PK 孳尾]<sup>33</sup>。

申命羲叔。居[PK 宅]<sup>34</sup>南交<sup>35</sup>。便程[PK 平秩]<sup>36</sup>南為[GW 偽, PK 訛]<sup>37</sup>。敬致。日永、星火。以正仲<sup>38</sup>夏。其[PK 厥]民因<sup>39</sup>。鳥獸希革。

<sup>28</sup> For the earliest reading, see *Shiji* 1.16. Ma Rong read *ping* 平 as "cause" (*shi* 使); for Zheng Xuan's variant, see *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.2. For this reading of *dong zuo* 東作 in Qin and Han texts, see GU 40n11. WRL (p. 4) argues, citing SSDZ, that this refers to all manner of spring work, and only from Wang Mang's time was this phrase limited to spring planting. Huang Huaixin 2014 would also like us to separate the work of spring planting from the later phrase about the spring equinox, with implications for the other seasons as well.

<sup>29</sup> Or, when the day was "centered" (here and below), i.e., when crossing the meridian due south of the observer, at dusk and at dawn at different times of the year. Christopher Cullen, historian of science, would prefer, "When the day is of middle length..." (personal communication, July 26, 2016).

<sup>30</sup> The Bird is a lunar lodge star (*xing* 星), near the center of the constellation Vermillion Bird (*zhu que* 朱雀), extending between the modern asterisms Corvus and Gemini; see Sun and Kistemaker, 16-17. *Mao* and *Xu*, or *Mane* and *Barrens*, refer also to lunar lodges, with *Mane* specifically a bright star in the Autumn quadrant (aka "White Tiger" quadrant); *Fire* refers to the great red star in the Heart constellation (i.e., Antares). This identification apparently follows *Chao Yuezhi's Songsban wenji*, 11.17-18, emphasizing that only the brightest of the seven stars appears.

<sup>31</sup> Wherever the PK "Yao dian" uses the demonstrative *jue* 厥, *Shiji* 1.16-17 uses the less formal or archaic *qi* 其.

<sup>32</sup> PK commentary take this to mean that the people "departed from one another" (presumably to carry out their respective tasks). QWL 5n13, following this tradition, has the people leave for their seasonal agricultural tasks, following Cheng Yi perhaps (*Er Cheng quanshu*, "Jing shuo" 經說, 二). GU 43-44n16, treats these last seven graphs as genuinely old Shang material. Cf. Allan 1991, 82. Allan, 61, says that these may be bird names, as *feng* 風 and *feng* 鳳 in the Shang OBI are interchangeable. As *Heji* #14294 shows, in the Shang OBI these names appear as quadrants of the sky and hence the names of winds. (In *Shanhai jing*, where the winds have different names, but the names of the quadrants are the same.)

That said, the problem remains with how the "Yao dian" compilers, who apparently used Xi, Yin, Yi, and Yu to designate gods, sky quadrants, and possibly the directional winds, were understood during Han and post-Han. PK, in Ruan Yuan, 21-1, glosses the character *xi* 析 as "to disperse/scatter" (*fen san* 分散).

<sup>33</sup> *Shiji* 1.16 writes *ziwei* 字微, instead of *ziwei* 孳尾. But the PK reading may be older than one might think, given the *Shuowen* 8B.1a-1b definition of *wei* 尾 (尾, 交接也).

<sup>34</sup> *Shiji* 1.16-17ff. consistently uses the synonymous *ju* 居 in place of the PK *zhai* 宅.

<sup>35</sup> QWL 5n13 takes this to be the name of a mountain; the PK commentary, to be the "meeting point [i.e., midway point] between spring and summer" (Ruan Yuan, 21-1). However, some commentators, including Zheng Xuan, took Nanjiao to be Jiaozhi 交趾, located in the far south; the Kong Yingda subcommentary reasonably argues that this must represent a place name consistent with the other parallel identifications. Zheng Xuan thought three characters were missing (*yue Mingdu* 曰明都); Liu Chang identified the three missing characters as *wei* 為交趾. See Liu's *Gongshi Qijing xiaozhuan*, *shang* 上, 1. Wang Bo thought the phrase should read 宅南交都; see *Xinyi*, 9.

<sup>36</sup> *Shiji* 1.16-17 consistently writes *bian cheng* 便程 wherever PK reads 平秩. For *bian cheng*, a Wang Mang edict (*Hanshu* 99B.4133), writes *quan* 以勸 ("to encourage").

<sup>37</sup> *Shiji* 1.16 has *nanwei* 南為 for *nan'e* 南訛, in the earliest extant version of the passage; *Hanshu* 99B.4133 writes *Nanwei* 南偽. Cf. Zheng Xuan citing an unidentified "old text" in commentary to the *Liji*, chap. 41 ("Yue ling" 月令 chap.).

<sup>38</sup> *Shiji* 1.16-17 writes the cognate *zhong* 中 wherever PK uses *zhong* 仲 with respect to a season. With the *Shiji*, we might understand the reference to be "mid-summer," rather than "the second month of summer."

<sup>39</sup> The three main readings for *yin* 因 are: (1) "the name of a wind" 風名; (2) "to disperse" or "to be scattered" (分散居住); and (3) "the old and weak go out to the fields to help farm the fields" (老弱出来帮助耕作). PK follows



1A.2+

申[PK 分]<sup>40</sup>命和仲。居[PK 宅]西土。曰柳穀[ZX 昧谷]<sup>41</sup>。敬道日入<sup>42</sup>[PK 寅餞納日]。便程<sup>43</sup>[PK 平秩]西成。夜[PK 宵]<sup>44</sup>中、星虛。以正<sup>45</sup>[PK 殷]中[PK 仲]秋<sup>46</sup>。其[PK 厥]民夷<sup>47</sup>。鳥獸毛毳。

申[PK 分]命和叔，居[PK 宅]北[PK 朔]<sup>48</sup>方。曰幽都。便[PK 平]在伏物[PK 朔易]<sup>49</sup>。日短<sup>50</sup>、星昴。以正仲冬。其[PK 厥]民燠<sup>51</sup>[ZX 奧; PK 隩]。鳥獸毳毛<sup>52</sup>[HS 毳毛、SW 毳髦]。

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interpretation (3), as noted in *Shiji* 1.18n13. In some versions, *yin* is written as *rang* 儻/*rang* 讓 ("gave themselves up to") an activity, or "worked bare-chested in the fields." More likely, *yin* just means "attached" (*yinyuan* 因緣).

<sup>40</sup> *Shiji* 1.16-17 writes *shen* 申 in both places where PK writes *fen* 分.

<sup>41</sup> *Jiangshou ji*, 6929, identifies "Willow Vale" as the Han-era *Documents* text, not the usual Valley of the Dusk (Meigu 昧谷), which he identifies as Zheng Xuan's mistake; cf. "Glosses," #1214.

<sup>42</sup> *Shiji* 1.16 has *jing dao ri ru* 敬道日入, where Ma Rong reads 寅踐納日, and PK, in Ruan Yuan 21-2, writes *yanjian na ri* 寅餞納日. See *Jiangshou ji*, 6929, for Ma Rong.

<sup>43</sup> See *Shiji* 1.16 for the earliest reading. SSDZ, 1.1, reads *bian zhi* 辯秩, instead of *pingzhi* 平秩, tying this passage not to harvesting, but to judging penal cases and selecting and training knights for the army, "so that they can launch punitive campaigns against the undutiful and settle court cases, all of which facilitates the work assigned to autumn."

<sup>44</sup> *Shiji* 1.16 has the synonymous *ye* 夜 for *xiao* 宵.

<sup>45</sup> *Shiji* 1.16 writes *zheng* 正 for *yin* 殷.

<sup>46</sup> Zheng Xuan, cited in XQLH, p. 8, also writes 中秋 in commentary to the *Zhouli*, Ruan Yuan 107-1 (*Zhouli*).

<sup>47</sup> *Shiji* 1.17; cf. *Er Cheng quanshu* ("Jing shuo" 經說, 二).

<sup>48</sup> *Shiji* 1.17 has the synonym *bei* 北 for PK *shuo* 朔.

<sup>49</sup> *Shiji* 1.17 has *bian zai fumu* 便在伏物, where *fumu* refers to the storage of goods harvested or hunted, instead of PK's *ping zai shuo yi* 平在朔易 (Ruan Yuan, 21-2). SSDZ, 1.1 (whose text agrees with *Shiji* 1.17n22), ties these activities to orders by the Son of Heaven to his nobles to close their doors and seal their borders, after which they are to go hunting to secure the animals needed for blood sacrifices, thereby helping to usher in winter. *Hanshu* 99B.4101, in an edict issued by Wang Mang, also speaks of storing goods. WRL (p. 7) reads *shuoyi* 朔易 as *zhongshi* 終始, "to come to the end of the cycle and begin again."

<sup>50</sup> Ma Rong identified this as the day when the clepsydra registered 40 units; Zheng Xuan had 45 units. In summer, there are 60 units, according to both. For Mane, see note 30 above.

<sup>51</sup> *Shiji* 1.17n24 relates both *ao* 燠 and *mili* 密理 to *zhiwen* 自溫 ("keeping oneself warm"). Chao Cuo used *mili* to describe the habits of the northern Rong, but elsewhere the term refers (*Hanshu* 49.2284) to growing bird feathers and animal fur. Zheng Xuan reads *ao* 奧 as *nei* 內 ("entering" into shelters), which becomes the basis for the PK *ao* 隩 ("shelter"). See Ma Nan 2016, 103.

<sup>52</sup> The two *Shuowen* readings for *rongmao* come from 3B.15a, 8A.25b, respectively. See XQLH, 9.

[[PK 帝曰<sup>53</sup>。咨<sup>54</sup>汝義暨和]]。歲[SW 祺, PK 朞/期]<sup>55</sup>三百有六旬有六日。以閏月正[PK 定]四時。成歲。信飭百官<sup>56</sup>[PK 允釐百工]。眾功皆興<sup>57</sup>[YX 庶績咸喜; HS 眾功皆美; CY, PK 庶績咸熙]。

### 1A.3

堯曰。誰可順此事[PK 疇咨/諮若時登庸]<sup>58</sup>。放齊<sup>59</sup>曰。嗣子<sup>60</sup>[PK 胤子]丹朱<sup>61</sup>開[PK 啟]明。堯曰。吁<sup>62</sup>。頑凶<sup>63</sup>。不用[PK 罷訟可乎]<sup>64</sup>。堯又曰。誰可者[PK 帝曰。疇咨若予采]<sup>65</sup>。

<sup>53</sup> According to Wang Su, "This classic entirely lacks the phrase *di yue*" 茲經皆無帝曰。Curious.

<sup>54</sup> *Shiji* omits the first seven characters in this bridging paragraph. However, in other passages, the *Shiji* reads *zi* 咨 in one of two senses: (1) as an interjection, sighing; and (2) "to consult or plan." WRL (p. 10) cites a Wei dynasty stele that reads *zi* 咨 as *zi* 茲.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *Hanshu* 21A.973. For *Shuowen*, see 7A.19a.

<sup>56</sup> Tentative translation, as *xin* 信, which often refers to the insignia of office. Alternately, "truly issued orders," or "truly put all his many officials in good order." *Shiji* 1.17 reads *baigong* as *baiguan* 百官, hundred officials, but in other important ways, it diverges here from the PK. GU 64 argues that this passage should be part of the next section. For Cai Yong, see his stele inscription "Gu Taiwei Qiaogong miaobei" 故太尉喬公廟碑, in *Cai Zhonglang*, 1.1.

<sup>57</sup> After *Shiji* 1.20, which reads *xing* 興 instead of *xi* 熙 ("glorious"). Yang Xiong's *fu* in praise of Wang Mang's Xin dynasty is presumably one basis for the PK. Cf. *Hou Hanshu* 10.426; also, WRL (p. 8); the *Hanshu* variant occurs in *Hanshu* 21A.973.

<sup>58</sup> *Shiji* 1.20 reads this in a much less archaizing fashion than PK, as indicated above: 若時 = 順是 / 如是; alternately, "in accord with the times," following *Jiangshou ji*, 6929-30; Wang Zhankui, 367. The bracketed phrase "as Heaven's timing" is added for sense, but it does not appear in *Shiji* 1.20. *Hanshu* 6.212, 18.677 and 100B.4237 already employ the archaistic phrase 疇咨, once in a pastiche of verse phrases from the "Yao dian" tying the Han emperors to Yao. WRL (p. 10) reads *deng yong* 登庸 as *cheng shi* 成事 ("do things well," "accomplish things").

<sup>59</sup> Fangqi is only known as an official of Shun.

<sup>60</sup> Reading *yin* 胤 as *ji* 繼 or *si* 嗣 ("heir"). However, PK, in Ruan Yuan, 101-2, takes Yin to be the name of a polity, and *zi* 子 to be a rank, rather than a name. In myth, Zhu is a divine bird or culture hero called Lizhu 離朱, associated with the raven in the sun (who eventually becomes the symbol of the Red Bird, assigned the South). As *Gushi bian*, vol. 7.1, 309, notes, the *Shiji* 1.20n2 ("Zhengyi"), 1.30n3 ("Suoyin") cite Zheng Xuan, who argued that Yao's unworthy son (one of nine, by Huangfu Mi's reckoning), was named Dan Zhu. When the "Yao dian" chap. uses the three characters 朱啟明, Zheng thought those three characters referred to a single figure, rather than signifying a name + character analysis. Cf. *Er Cheng quanshu* ("Jing shuo" 經說, 二), identifying him simply as "son of Yao." Note, meanwhile, *Shiji* 27.1322n1 reads *qiming* 啟明 as *kai ming* 開明 ("opens the light"), either as a name or an epithet of the sun god. Ma Rong identifies this as an "old tradition" (*jiu chuan* 舊傳), as noted in WRL (p. 10).

<sup>61</sup> The *Shuowen* 13A.6b reads Zhu with the silk radical.

<sup>62</sup> This expression signifies disagreement or disgust.

<sup>63</sup> *Shiji* 1.20 reads *wanxiang* 頑凶 for *yin song* 罷訟.

<sup>64</sup> See *Shiji* 1.20. The final particle *hu* 乎, as in PK, does not appear elsewhere in the *Documents*, and it is seldom used in this position until the Chunqiu (GU 70), even if the final *hu* appears in the OBI. *Guoyu*, "Zhouyu" (1.12) casts an appearance of Dan Zhu's spirit as a sign of ill-fortune and danger to the ruling line. For Yu Yue on song 訟, see *Gushi yiyi juli conglan* 4.8b.

<sup>65</sup> *Shiji* 1.20; cf. *Hanshu* 96.2678. *Hejiao*, Juyan strip 407.1 reads *ruo yu cai* 若予采, like PK, in Ruan Yuan, 26-1. Reading *yu cai* 予采 as *wo guan* 我官.

謹[PK驩; Guwen 鵬]兜<sup>66</sup>曰。都。共工旁聚布[SW 翳救/逖; PK 方鳩僂]功<sup>67</sup>。可用<sup>68</sup>。堯曰。吁。共工善[HS, LH 靖; HS, PK 靜]言。其用僻[PK 庸違]<sup>69</sup>。似[ZL, PK 象]恭漫[ZL, PK 滔]天<sup>70</sup>。不可<sup>71</sup>。

堯[PK 帝]又曰。嗟[PK 咨]。四嶽/岳<sup>72</sup>。湯湯洪[Xiping 鴻]水滔天[PK 方割]。浩浩[PK 蕩蕩]懷山襄陵。[[PK 浩浩滔天]]<sup>73</sup>下民其憂[PK 咨]<sup>74</sup>。有能使治者[SW 俾嬖; PK 俾乂]<sup>75</sup>。

皆曰。鯀<sup>76</sup>可[PK 僉曰於。鯀哉]。堯曰。鯀負命毀族<sup>77</sup>。不可<sup>78</sup>。[HS, PK 吁<sup>79</sup>。呬哉。方命圯族]。嶽/岳曰。異哉<sup>80</sup>。試不可用而已<sup>81</sup>[PK 試可乃已]。堯於是聽嶽用鯀<sup>82</sup>。

<sup>66</sup> For the *Hanshu* variant, see *Hanshu* 23.1081. GU 71n12, wants to relate this name to the raptor or owl (another bird), possibly a totem for a Miao group, even if these Miao cannot be related to today's Miao ethnic group. Ma Nan 2018, 46, thinks Huan Dou and Dan Zhu were confused. For another confusion, see Yu Yue, *Gushu yiyi juli congkan*, 7.12a.

<sup>67</sup> *Shiji* 1.20 writes *pangju bugong* 旁聚布功; *Shuowen* 2B.5b, 8A.3a, writes *pang qiu/jiu cangong* 翳逖羸功. While the identification of Gong Gong is fraught, most Han texts made him a descendant of Yandi. *Hanshu* and *Hanji* agree that Gong Gong performs the hegemon's role in the Nine Provinces (*ba you jiu zhou* 霸有九州).

<sup>68</sup> The phrase *ke yong* 可用 appears in *Shiji* 1.20.

<sup>69</sup> *Shiji* 1.20 writes *jingyan* 靜言 as *shanyan* 善言; reading *pi* as *wei* 違 or *bui* 回. *Hanshu* 76.3235 (2x) has *jing yan* 靖言; but *Hanshu* 84.336 reads *jing* 靜 ("quietly"), as does Wang Yi's commentary to the *Chuci*. GU 75n16 argues for an identity between Kang Hui 康回 and the legendary Gong Gong.

<sup>70</sup> See *Shiji* 1.20, for the earliest version. The phrase "insults Heaven" also implies or hints that he has committed the crime of letting the waters assault heaven (flood-quelling language).

<sup>71</sup> This sentence is added in *Shiji* 1.20.

<sup>72</sup> Zheng Xuan identifies these as officials assigned to supervise the four seasons and also the four major mountains in China, conflating these with the so called Four Barons (*sibo* 四伯); see *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.4, and hence four in number. See the Background Essay for details.

<sup>73</sup> Or, if we follow *Shiji* 1.20, "floods up to Heaven" (*hong* 洪). The *Shiji* text here departs somewhat from the *Shangshu*, but the passages clearly relate much the same content. Note also that the *Shiji* uses both of the two graphs (洪, 鴻). Cf. *Shiji* 2.50, 79; *Hou Hanshu* 52.1711. *Haobao* becomes the standard reduplication to describe flood waters, as in *Hanshu* 85.3471.

<sup>74</sup> For *you* 憂 as the substitution for the PK *zi* 咨 (usually "consult?"), see *Shiji* 1.20, 2.50.

<sup>75</sup> *Shiji* 1.20 writes 有能使治者. For *bi yi*, see *Shuowen* 9A.13b.

<sup>76</sup> *Shiji* 1.20. Alternatively, "Gun can do it!" *Shiji* 2.50 identifies the speakers. Gun is also known as Taowu 橛杻, in *Guoyu*, "Zhouyu" (1.12).

<sup>77</sup> *Shiji* 1.20, reading 圯族 = 毀族.

<sup>78</sup> For the *Hanshu* archaizing reading, see *Hanshu* 82.3381, 83.3408.

<sup>79</sup> *Shiji* 1.20. PK, in Ruan Yuan, 26-2, reads 呬 as *li* 戾 ("bad conduct").

<sup>80</sup> Most read *ju* 舉 as "raise to office" or "select." *Shiji* 1.20, 2.50, show that this expression clearly means in early times, "As for the rest of them [besides Gun], they do not even match up to him," as the emperor will find out, if he tries to employ them!" This interpretive tradition goes back as early as the *Wu Yue Chunqiu* 6.28, if not earlier. HRY, however, thinks possibly this two-character phrase registers disagreement: "I beg to differ with you."

<sup>81</sup> HRY, citing PK, in Ruan Yuan, 26-2, takes this to mean, "Let's try Gun and see what he can do," as it would "not do" to have yet another dismissal. The Meng Kang commentary to *Hanshu* 100B.4237n1, supplies these characters.

<sup>82</sup> This sentence may represent a comment by Sima Qian or a citation from the *Documents* tradition he knew, as it is absent from PK.

[[PK 帝曰。往。欽哉。]]九歲[PK 載]功[PK 績]用不[PK 弗]成<sup>83</sup>。堯曰。嗟[PK 咨]四嶽/岳。朕在位七十載。汝能庸命。踐[PK 異]朕位<sup>84</sup>。嶽/岳曰。鄙惠[LH, MR, ZX 鄙德; PK 否德]<sup>85</sup>忝帝位。

堯曰。悉舉貴戚及疏遠隱匿者[HS 仄陋; CY, PK 明明<sup>86</sup>揚側陋]。眾<sup>87</sup>皆言於堯[ZX, PK 師錫帝]曰。有矜[SSDZ, PK 鰥]在民間[PK 下]。曰虞舜<sup>88</sup>。堯曰。然。朕聞之。其如何。[PK 帝曰。俞。予聞。如何]。嶽/岳曰。盲者[PK 瞽]<sup>89</sup>子。父頑。母嚚。弟[PK 象]<sup>90</sup>傲。能和[PK 克諧]以孝。烝烝<sup>91</sup>[XY 蒸蒸]治[PK 艾/乂]。不至[PK 格]姦<sup>92</sup>。

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<sup>83</sup> *Shiji* 1.20, 2.50. Serruys read this differently: "though it lasts nine years that the work is applied [sic], do not assume one has completed it."

<sup>84</sup> *Shiji* 1.21 writes *jian* 踐, as does *Hanshu* 99B.4100. *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.5, has Zheng glossing the PK verb *xun* 異 as *chu wo wei* 處我位 ("take up Our post").

<sup>85</sup> *Shiji* 1.21. *Lunheng* writes *bi de* 鄙德, as do Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan; see WRL (p. 13).

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *Shiji* 1.21; tentative translation, after *Hanshu* 9.279, 19A.721, 89.3624. In the PK tradition, the line reads simply, "May you make the illustrious one(s) famous [officials by promoting them]." Some traditions argue *ming ming* 明明 refers to Yao's propensity to "think through things clearly." For Cai Yong, see his stele inscription for the tutor of the prince of Langya 琅琊王傅, in *Cai Zhonglang ji* 3.6.

<sup>87</sup> *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.5, identifies the "crowd" here as the many local lords and the tutors at court.

<sup>88</sup> SSDZ, 1.1, digresses here to tell us the story of Shun, and also to stipulate marriage times for men and women. In early texts, *jin* refers both to a hardworking person and to a bachelor. Hence our over-translation, which tries to capture both senses.

<sup>89</sup> Shun reportedly had double pupils, and this seems relevant. *Jiangshou ji*, 6930, correctly notes that in early times *gu* 瞽 is the title for a court official, a music master. PK, in Ruan Yuan, refers to a "widower" (*guan* 鰥), or possibly just an unmarried bachelor. But, as Cheng Yuanmin 2012, I, 460, points out, usually this term refers to an elderly man, which Shun is not.

<sup>90</sup> *Shiji* 1.21 does not supply the personal name of Shun's brother here. By legend, Xiang is the younger stepbrother of Shun. Still, the sentence would read perfectly well if Xiang were read instead as the noun *xiang*, meaning "bearing" or "image." See Yang Jialuo 1970, 10, for Shun's brothers. Materials ascribed to the *Shangshu* in later times (尚書逸文) read 祇載見瞽瞍, 夔夔齋栗。瞽瞍亦允若。 See Tashiro Michinao 1929.

<sup>91</sup> Reading the reduplicative *zhengzheng* 烝烝 as *hou* 厚 or *mei* 美. For the variants, see WRL (p. 13). Wang Chenguang 2023 argues (ms. p. 4) that the context is always good governance, whose first principles are (a) taking the ancestors as models; and (b) participating fully in offerings to them.

<sup>92</sup> *Shiji* 1.21. *Hanshu* 90.3646n2 reads 吏治蒸蒸, 不至于姦, applying this phrasing to cruel officials. WRL (pp. 13-14) cites three other early parallels, the first from the *Shiji* chapter on cruel officials, the second from Cai Yong's "Jiu yi shan bei" 九疑山碑, in *Cai Zhonglang*, 12.8; the third from *Lienü zhuan*, 1.1 ("You Yu er fei" 有虞二妃 chap.).

堯[MR, ZX, WS, PK 帝]<sup>93</sup>曰。吾[LH, PK 我]其試<sup>94</sup>哉。於是堯妻之二女<sup>95</sup>[LH, PK 女<sup>96</sup>于時]。觀其[PK 厥]德[PK 刑]於[PK 于]二女。舜<sup>97</sup>飭下[Xun, Shen, PK 釐降]二女于媯汭<sup>98</sup>。如婦禮<sup>99</sup>[HHS, PK 嬪于虞]。堯善之[PK 帝曰。欽哉]<sup>100</sup>。

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曰若稽古。帝舜曰重華。協于帝。濬哲文明。溫恭允塞。玄德<sup>101</sup>升聞<sup>102</sup>。乃命以位。<sup>103</sup>

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#### 1A.4

<sup>93</sup> While *Shiji* 1.21 specifies the speaker as Yao, the Ma Rong, Zheng Xuan, and Wang Su commentaries do not. *Lunheng*, in citing this passage, follows *Shiji*.

<sup>94</sup> Reading *wu qi* 吾其 as *wo qi* 我其 (i.e., *women* 我們), as per Ken'ichi Takashima 2016, 71.

<sup>95</sup> See *Shiji* 1.21.

<sup>96</sup> *Shiji* 1.21. While tradition makes them Yao's daughters, Zheng has thoughts on *nü* 女 vs. *qi* 妻. See *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.5.

<sup>97</sup> GU 96 says Yao is subject here.

<sup>98</sup> *Shiji* 1.21. Many commentators take Rui 汭 here to be the name of a river and surrounding area, but some, to standardize usage throughout the *Documents*, read *rui* as "bend of the river" (the dominant reading for the graph in "Shao gao"). Qu Wanli 1956, 8-9n58, notes the two readings, and refuses to choose between the two interpretations; if these are two rivers, both had their source in Lishan 歷山, according to *Shuijing zhu*. For Cai Yong, see his stele inscription entitled "Guangwu Jiyang gongbei" 光武濟陽宮碑, in *Cai Zhonglang*, 5.1.

<sup>99</sup> This may mean only that the two wives punctiliously served Shun, despite their superior status as princesses, and certainly the PK variation supports that reading, as seen from HHS 62.2503, citing Xun Shuang. See also *Jiangshou ji*, 6931.

<sup>100</sup> *Shiji* 1.21. PK, in Ruan Yuan, 26-2, adds the admonition *qin zai* 欽哉 ("Faithfully attend to your duties."), after which it inserts a long bridging passage of 28 characters (曰若稽古帝舜...乃命以位). We follow the shorter Han-era version.

<sup>101</sup> See Matsumoto 1966, 224; Yap Kuo-liang 1980, 52-53, 56-58. Zhu Xi, *Zhuizi yulei*, *juan* 78, found the expression *xuan de* 玄德 especially dubious, and wondered if it had been added post-Han.

<sup>102</sup> See the English side of this translation, for an explanation of the bridging material.

<sup>103</sup> NB: Many scholars, Tang through Qing, thought the twelve characters to be an interpolation by Yao Fangxing 姚方興 (曰若稽古帝舜曰重華協於帝) and sixteen characters to represent an interpolation by Liu Xuan 劉炫 (濬哲文明溫恭允塞玄德升聞乃命以位). Today's pseudo-Kong version only contains only a few passages by Yao Fangxing that seem to be based on the earlier commentaries by Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan. Wang Bo, the Song exegete, therefore recommended deletion of the twenty-eight characters. See Cai Genxiang 2006, 668-69, for details.

乃使舜慎和[CY, PK 慎徽]五典<sup>104</sup>。五典能[PK 克]從。乃徧[PK 納]入[PK 于]百官[PK 揆]<sup>105</sup>。百官[CY 伯揆; PK 百揆]時序[PK 敘]<sup>106</sup>。賓于四門。四門穆穆<sup>107</sup>。諸侯遠方賓客皆敬<sup>108</sup>。

<sup>104</sup> NB: *Shitong*, *juan* 12 (pp. 299-300), tells us that the "Shun dian" began in his time with *shenbui*; it also claims that the so-called "Canon of Shun" that people read today [i.e., in Tang]. See note 3 above. For Cai Yong, see the "Hu gong bei" 胡公碑, in *Cai Zhonglang*, 4.2, 4.3.

Regarding the text reconstruction here: *Shiji* 1.23 supplies the phrase 乃使舜, then reads *hui* 徽 as *he* 和; Wang Su, however, reads *hui* 徽 as *mei* 美 ("to make beautiful or excellent"), as per this translation. The latter gloss spurs Yang Junru, cited in GU 98, to read *hui* as *ai* 鼓, meaning 有所治也. GU 99n2, says no matter which gloss one prefers, the meaning is clear enough: *hui* is a verb, meaning he improved (*gaobao* 搞好) the rule, and the Five Canons must be the object.

Zheng Xuan, cited in *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.5, glosses the *wudian* as "Five Teachings" or "Instructions" 五教, apparently on the basis of *Zuoqhuan*, Lord Wen, Year 18, which summarizes this passage as "there were no acts contrary to the teachings" (*wu wei jiao* 無違教). Arguing against this reading is the use of Five Teachings (*wu jiao*) later in the very same piece. Other early scholars take these five to represent Five Officers (*situ*, *sima*, *sikong*, *sisbi*, and *sikon*), or Five Counsels, reading *dian* as *dian mou* 典謀 ("counsels"), with *dian* acquiring the grass or bamboo radicals (#118, #140). Ma Nan 2018, 54, demonstrates that Cai Yong took *baikui* to refer to high-ranking officials, presumably based on *Zuoqhuan*, Lord Wen, Year 18, but possibly based on the *Lienü* account of Shun, in *Lienü* 1.1 ("You Yu er fei" 有虞二妃 chap.). Still, Cai Yong's reference does not seem to cite the *Shangshu*.

PK, in Ruan Yuan, 34-2, apparently following Zheng Xuan, glosses *wudian* as *wuchang* 五常 (Five Constants, ruling the sociopolitical hierarchy: the father will be dutiful, the mother compassionate or loving, the elder brother affable, the younger brother respectful, and the children filial). (Cf. *Cihu yishu*, 728-29.) Cheng Yi included in the five exemplary relations that between friends who are trustworthy; see *Er Cheng quanshu* ("Jing shuo" 經說, 二). But Hsu Dau-lin 1971 showed that the term Five Constants probably dates no earlier than Han, and it is consistently emphasized only in Song (in Cai's commentary). There is no consensus about the meaning, in other words.

<sup>105</sup> *Shiji* 1.20, 23, 24 reads *baiguan* 官 (officers); PK, in Ruan Yuan, 34-2, takes *kui* 揆 originally to mean *du* 度 ("take the measure of" or "size up"). Qiao Zhou clearly reads *baikui* 百揆 as "prime minister," but GU 100n4, says this is wrong.

<sup>106</sup> *Shiji* 1.21; *Shiji* 1.35 says that Yao appointed eight worthy people to be in charge of the *houtu* 后土, so that he might take the measure of the many officers, to see that all were performing their duties in a timely and orderly way (莫不時序); cf. *Zuoqhuan*, Lord Wen, Year 18, glossing this phrase as *wu fei shi* 無廢事 ("so that there would be no lapses in fulfilling one's duties"). Note the interesting spin on this passage in *Hanshu* 85.3467; also in Cai Yong's stele inscription ("Taifu citang beiming" 太傅祠堂碑銘), in *Hou Hanwen*, *juan* 76; *Cai Zhonglang*, i 4.4, which hearkens back to nobles. As Karlgren 1946, 240, notes, Houtu is one of several terms that seem sometimes to be official titles and sometimes to be the names of gods.

<sup>107</sup> Translation after Ma Rong's gloss, where Simen 四門 refers to the noble houses in all the four directions whom Shun received at court; Ma says they all had excellent virtue: 皆有美德也.

<sup>108</sup> As this line, in *Shiji* 1.22, repeats the same idea as the preceding four-character phrase, we suspect it may be a gloss.

堯使舜入山林[OY, SSDZ 麓, PK 納于大麓]川澤<sup>109</sup>。暴[PK 烈]風雷雨。舜行不[PK 弗]迷。堯以為聖<sup>110</sup>。

#### 1A.5

召舜曰。女謀事至而言可績。三年矣。[PK 帝曰。格汝舜。詢事考言。乃言底可績。三載]<sup>111</sup>。汝登[PK 陟]帝位。舜讓於德<sup>112</sup>。不懌/怡[HS, PK 弗嗣]<sup>113</sup>。

#### 1B.6

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<sup>109</sup> *Shiji* 1.22 adds *chuan ze* 川澤 ("rivers and wetlands") after *shan lin* 山林 ("mountain forests"); *Shiji* 1.38 offers a variant. Ouyang defines *lu* 麓 as "foothills." Hence Wang Anshi's *Shangshu* commentary, which links the site with the foothills of Mt. Tai. Wang Fuzhi's *Shangshu baishu* and Wei Yuan's *Shu gu wei* both have Shun going to the foothills (*shanlu*) to conduct a special sacrifice. However, other commentators identified the *shan lu* as the place where Yao supposedly abdicated to Shun, in Julu.

Wang Mang, following the Xiahou tradition, read *shanlu* as *gongwei* 公位 ("throne" or "high official post"), as GU 103n8 notes. *Lunheng* ("Zheng shuo" 正說 chap.) agreed, reading *da lu* ("great lu") as the "position of the *sangong*" (*san gong zhi wei* 三公之位, i.e., Three Lords of the Executive Council. Cf. SSDZ, 1.1, which concurs, probably adopting Zheng Xuan's gloss. Huan Tan's *Xinlun*, ignoring these Xiahou readings, reads *lu* 麓 as *lu* 錄 ("to record" or "put in order"), in the belief that Shun was director of the Secretariat under Yao. Ma Nan 2018, 55, shows that many, including the Han Academicians (esp. the Xiahous), concurred with Huan, perhaps because they felt Shun's bureaucratic skills should be tested.

<sup>110</sup> *Shiji* 1.22 adds, "Yao regarded him as a sage" 堯以為聖。

<sup>111</sup> PK, in Ruan Yuan, 35-2, reads differently: "The Lord then said, 'Come Shun! For three years, I have watched your actions and examined your speech. Your counsels all have borne fruit,...'" Note that WRL (p. 15), on the basis of the "Tang shi" *Documents* chapter, glosses *ge* 格 as *gao* 告 ("[We] proclaim [to you]"), and we read *di* 底 as *zhi* 致 ("to be effective").

<sup>112</sup> Or, as GU 111n1, glosses this: "Shun, on account of his virtue, [wanted to] decline." Alternately, "Shun wanted to decline in favor of someone more virtuous."

<sup>113</sup> All three extant Han-era versions write *bu yi* 不怡 or 懌, instead of the PK version's *fu si* 弗嗣, in Ruan Yuan, 34-2; see Ouyang, 2a. But the last two characters appear much earlier, in a citation by Wang Mang (see *Hanshu* 99A.4038). The *Shiji jiji* explains Shun's emotional state: Shun was afraid, we are told, "because he thought this would not be accepted happily by the Hundred Families" 不為百姓所說/悅; see *Shiji* 130.3302n2 (citing Xu Guang); cf. Ouyang, 1b. On this, most Song and Qing commentators agree. WRL (p. 16) meanwhile shows that several early texts write *yi* 台 when citing this story, meaning, "Shun was not happy [about Yao's decision]."

正月上日<sup>114</sup>。舜受終<sup>115</sup>于文祖<sup>116</sup>。[[SJ 文祖者，堯大祖也。於是帝堯老，命舜攝行天子之政，以觀天命]]舜乃在璿璣[SSDZ 璇機; HS 旋機, CY 璇璣]玉衡<sup>117</sup>。以齊七政<sup>118</sup>。

<sup>114</sup> SSDZ, 1.1, says this is the first day of the month, as does Ma Rong. *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.6, describes a whole sequence of events that take place during dynastic changeovers, including changes of calendar, and rituals at the ancestral temples, and what Zheng identifies as a Mingtang (Bright Hall). *Bobu tong* and Ma Rong concur in thinking that this indicates that Shun changed the first month of the lunar calendar, used by Yao. Zheng Xuan says their calendars differed (堯正建丑，舜正建子) but Shun would have followed Yao's calendar during this ceremony (*Shiji* 1.22n14). Later exegetes prefer to gloss this as "auspicious day, in the first ten-day period," taking off from glosses by Lu Zhi and Cai Yong that read *yuán* 元 as *shàn* 善. Wang Su insists, by contrast, that the first month never changed from Xia through Zhou times; see Zeng Yunqian 1964, 17.

<sup>115</sup> *Zhong* 終 refers either to Yao's abdication ("ending" the rule) or to the "completion of the process." That Shun received these instruments is confirmed by SSDZ, *juan* 1.

<sup>116</sup> *Shiji* 1.23 supplies the material in double-brackets, but this is obviously a gloss, as it identifies *wenzu* 文祖 as Yao's "ultimate ancestor" or "temple ancestor" (堯大祖也), so we do not translate it. Besides, Han commentators disputed this gloss. Ma Rong thought that *wenzu* referred to Heaven itself as ultimate ancestor of the emperors. Zheng Xuan, after the apocryphal *Shangshu xuanji qian* 璇機鈴, promoted the idea of the emperor's own divine ancestry (感生說). But *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.6, like *Shiji* 1.23n15, casts *wenzu* as worship hall, the precursor to the Zhou Mingtang, pushing the date of the Mingtang, in a double anachronism, back from late Western Han to Yao's era; cf. *Hou Hanshu* 2.106. GU 114n3 shows that the *Documents'* early chapters generally use the term *zu* to refer to the *place* where solemn rituals are carried out. Tasan, cited in Noe, 241, says that the *Shiji* does not mention this.

<sup>117</sup> The term *xuanji* 璇機 has been read in multiple ways, but in Western Han, these were star names, and in Eastern Han, these often referred to parts of the armillary sphere (which in microcosm represented the stars). SSDZ 1.1 offers its own cryptic gloss, which seems to associate this with the North Pole or Pole Star in the Dipper. Ma Rong construes *xuanji* to be a jade instrument(s) manufactured in Yao's time (a jade turning sphere or armillary, used with a transverse jade tube, the *yuheng*), used to measure the sky by the Huntian astronomical theory, a theory not in existence prior to Han, so far as we know. By contrast, Zheng Xuan, drawing upon the apocrypha, returns to the North Pole's Seven Stars theory. WRL (p. 17) notes that both Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan begin to insert some *huntian* theory into their explications, for the theory was becoming fashionable in their day. As is our habit, we adopt the earliest reading for the translation. For Cai Yong, see his stele inscription for Jiuyi shan 九疑山碑, in *Cai Zonglang*, 12.8.

<sup>118</sup> The Seven Governors in Western Han refer to the seven [or nine?] stars of the Northern Dipper (Beidou), as in *Shiji* 27.1291 and *Hou Hanshu*, *zhi* 10.3214n1, citing the *Star Classic* 星經. Ma Rong explains that each of the seven stars of the Dipper has its responsibility, as star no. 1 is "in charge" of heaven, star no. 2, in charge of earth, star nos. 3-7 are each in charge of one of the Five Phases; Ma moreover draws a parallel between the stars having their movements regulated and the *junzhu*'s willingness to keep to a regular course. Liu Xiang's *Shuoyuan* supplies a different reading, as it names only three stars of the Northern Dipper (Gouchen, and Shu 樞, or "Pivot"). Zheng Xuan generally follows Ma. However, Wang Anshi took *xuan* to refer to a "beautiful pearl" 美珠; see Cai Genxiang 2006, 101n52.

Offering an important early variant reading, *Shiji* 25.1253 in a treatise names the Seven Governors as heaven, earth, stars and constellations, sun, moon, bells and pitch pipes (as regulating instruments), plus the calendar. Jing Fang appears to follow, as he has the Seven Governors "regulating" the movement of the stars. Elsewhere the Seven Governors are variously identified as (1) sun, moon, and Five Planets; (2) the four seasons plus the characteristic patterns of heaven, earth, and humanity; and (3) heaven and earth, the twenty-eight lunar lodges, ten "mothers" and twelve "sons" (five categories in all), as in *Shiji* 1.24n1. For details, see WRL (p. 17); Katō Jōken 1967. *Hanshu* 21A.969, SSDZ, 1.1.



遂[PK 肆]<sup>119</sup>類于上帝<sup>120</sup>。禋<sup>121</sup>于六宗<sup>122</sup>。望于山川。辯[SY, LH, PK 徧]于群神<sup>123</sup>。揖[PK 輯]五瑞<sup>124</sup>。擇吉月[PK 既月乃]日<sup>125</sup>，見[PK 覲]四嶽/岳諸[PK 群]牧<sup>126</sup>。班瑞[[PK 于群后]]<sup>127</sup>。

<b>1 B.6b<b>

<sup>119</sup> The Xiping Stone Classics match *Shiji* 1.24 here, as does *Hanshu* 25A.1191, 99B.4131. Alternatively, after GU 122n7-8, which purports to reflect Han-era traditions, reading *si* 肆 as *shi* 事 ("dutifully): "he dutifully performed the *lei* sacrifice to the gods of Heaven" (以事類祭天神).

<sup>120</sup> Early sources (sometimes cast as the pre-Qin *Shangshu*) describe the *lei* 類 as a sacrifice offered at irregular times; see WRL (p. 17). By contrast, the Ouyang and Xiahou readings identify *lei* as the name of a sacrifice (presumably regular) to Heaven, as is clear from *Wujing yiyi* (p. 14); Ouyang 2. Ma Rong anachronistically identifies Shangdi with Taiyi, a god first worshipped under Han Wudi. For multiple variants for *lei*, see CYM, I, 708.

<sup>121</sup> *Shuowen* 1A.3b, also defines this as a purification ceremony: 禋:潔祀也。一曰精意以享為禋。

<sup>122</sup> WRL (p. 17), following Ma Rong, takes *yin* not as the name of a sacrifice, but as the verb *xiang* 享 ("to offer sacrifice"). The term *liu zong* 六宗 is not easily translated, it being one of the most contested terms in early Chinese literature. An entire work by a certain Zhang Chun (Eastern Han) was devoted to "Ceremonies of the Sacrifices to the Liuzong," according to *Ershiwu*, 2 ce, 2212. *Shiji* 1.24n3 offers good notes, as do *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.7, Ouyang, 2b, and *Wujing yiyi* (pp. 22-24). The *liu zong* are glossed as (1) heaven, earth, and the four seasons; (2) the four directions plus yin and yang, signifying the totality of the gods in the cosmos who can help people; (3) whatever lives between the six directions of the cosmos; (4) all the gods roaming "between heaven and earth"; (5) the six "offspring" of *Changes* Hexagrams 1 and 2, said to be water, fire, thunder, wind, mountains, and water; (6) the stars 星, asterisms (*chen* 辰), water, fire, the Yellow River and the Great Rivers 河瀆; (7) the sun, moon, and stars, plus Mt. Tai, the Yellow River, and the four seas; and (8) the sun, moon, and stars, plus Sizhong and Siming and (as one group) Fengshi and Yushi, the wind and rain deities. GU 124 lists 21 different theories *in toto*, even if the two most important theories in Han were (1) and (2), as listed here. Theory (1) was promoted by Gao You and Ma Rong among others, while (2) was promoted in the Ouyang and Xiahou traditions, as well as by Wang Chong, He Xiu, Meng Kang, and others. Still, (5) was promoted by Kong Guang, Liu Xin, Wang Mang, and Yan Shigu. In Western Han, at Sweet Springs, Fenyin, they set up altars to worship the *liu zong*, and Chengdi discussed this with Kuang Heng, the ritual expert. Judging from the *Shuowen* 1.3b (禋:以事類祭天神) and *Guoyu* 2.11 ("Lu yu" 魯語 chap.), this *lei* worship ceremony included some kind of purification offering; hence, the variant graph using the water radical, according to SSDZ 1.1. That the identity of the *liu zong* was still being debated in Eastern Han and beyond is certain; see Ma Shiyuan 2014, 291, citing Sima Biao. In Song, Wang Anshi identified these as three *zhuo* and three *mu* ancestors; see *Xinyi*, 18, an identification followed by Yang Jian and by Wang Yinglin, as noted in Cai Genxiang 2006, 506.

<sup>123</sup> *Shiji* 1.24. *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.7, emphasizes the hierarchy among the gods, but until late Western Han, we have a more freeform set of practices, and no settled pantheon. See Tian Tian 2015.

<sup>124</sup> Typically identified as the *gui* tablet, the *bi* jade disc, the *cong* tube, the *huang* (a semi-circular jade), and the *zhang* jade, these are jades conferred by emperors upon their nobles and high-ranking officials to mark their rank while advertising his magnanimity. By tradition, each has its own function, with the *huang* to summon officials; the *bi*, to use when visiting; the *zhang* to raise troops, and so on. See SSDZ, 1.1, for an explanation; cf. *Jiao shi Yilin*, BHT 26 ("Wen zhi" 文質 section), *Gongyang* (He Xiu's subcommentary). Ma Rong, by contrast, believed each of the five jades was given to one of the five ranks of nobles, although now a hierarchy of five ranks is not thought to have existed before Zhou.

<sup>125</sup> See *Shiji* 1.24, for the earlier reading.

<sup>126</sup> WRL (p. 19), citing *Fangyan* and BHT 7 ("Feng gong hou" 封公侯 section), defines *mu* 牧 (literally, "shepherd" or "pastor") as Supervisor, saying their job is to "investigate/surveil" (*cha* 察) or "oversee" (*shi* 視) the local vassal lords.

<sup>127</sup> *Shiji* 1.24 omits the last three characters altogether, so it does not specify to whom the jades are given, but given the proximity of these groups, the recipients are implied.

歲二月東巡守/狩<sup>128</sup>。至于岱宗。柴/柴。望秩<sup>129</sup>于山川<sup>130</sup>。遂見東方君長<sup>131</sup>[HS 遂見東后;PK 肆覲東后]。合[PK 協]時月正日<sup>132</sup>。同律度量衡<sup>133</sup>。修五禮<sup>134</sup>、五玉[HS 樂]<sup>135</sup>、三帛<sup>136</sup>、二生<sup>137</sup>、一死<sup>138</sup>為摯[贊/嫫]。如五器<sup>139</sup>。卒乃復。

<sup>128</sup> *Shiji* 1.24. SSDZ 1.1 and Zheng Xuan disagreed on how frequently the local lords were to come to the central court; see CYM, I, 460, 463.

<sup>129</sup> *Zhi* 秩 = 遍 = 徧 ("everywhere"). Alternatively, this means "in order, in sequence." The *wang* sacrifice, performed on mountaintops from which one gazes afar, is unknown before the Zhanguo period; Shun travels from his capital out in a clockwise manner, beginning with east and ending with north. Yu as an official could not have initiated such tours in Shun's time, but the *Yuejue shu* has Yu, once he becomes king, making a tour of inspection to the Dayue, where he takes in all sorts of writings and consults with the elders. See Gilles Boileau 2013, esp. 111; van Auken 2002, 525; *Yuejue shu jiaoshi*, 10.221.

<sup>130</sup> Some commentators say that this means that Shun acted "according to the seasons, month, and auspicious day of the first week." However, others take these two sentences as parallels. Hu Hong in Song thought that the descriptions in previous lines had been scrambled and larded with interpolations; he blamed this on Fu Sheng's advanced age at the time of transcription. His radical re-arrangement of his simplified lines reads: 受终于文祖。禋于六宗 (moving the last four characters forward) 在璇玑玉衡。以齊七政。肆類于上帝。宜于冢土 (with these four characters added: 望于山川). See *Huangwang daji*, *juan* 4.5.

<sup>131</sup> See *Hanshu* 25A.1191.

<sup>132</sup> *Shiji* 1.26n9, quotes Zheng Xuan, arguing that Shun correlated the months with the seasons, and fixed the names of the days, "filling in the gaps and correcting mistakes" (*bei you shi wu* 備有失誤).

<sup>133</sup> Cf. *Shiji* 28.1356; *Hanshu* 21A.955, 25A.1911. Here it's not clear whether we should take *tong* in the sense of "unified" or as "regulated," as Wang Su's gloss, *qi* 齊, suggests.

<sup>134</sup> WRL (p. 18) flatly states that no one knows the referents for this set term. *Zuoqhuan*, Lord Yin, Year 8, defines these (by Zheng Xuan) as rituals for the five ranks of nobles (*gong*, *hou*, *bo*, *zi*, and *nan*), although it is doubtful that such a hierarchy existed in remote antiquity; cf. *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.7. Ma Rong more plausibly defines them as five types of rituals for (1) 吉 auspicious; (2) 凶 inauspicious; (3) 軍 war rituals; (4) 賓 receiving guests; and (5) 嘉 felicitous events (marriages, etc.), as seen in *Shiji* 1.24n11. Otherwise, they may be ritual implements, along with the jades and silks.

<sup>135</sup> *Shiji* 1.24 writes *yu* 玉 (Five Jades), but some editions, including *Hanshu* 25A.1191 writes *yue* 樂 instead of *yu* 玉. Cf. *Hanshu* 21A.972. Zhu Xi thought the passage of twenty-four graphs from *tong li du* 同律度 to *zu nai fu* 卒乃復 either out of place (a misplaced slip) or scrambled; see *Zhuji yulei*, *juan* 78. We translators adopt the *Hanshu* reading for two reasons: first, the preceding text has just discussed jades (see note 124); and second, SSDZ, 1.1, lists the sorts of songs supposedly sung during ritual occasions. WRL (p. 18) says flatly that *yue* is a mistake. Cf. *Zhuangzi daquanji*, *juan* 65, for this passage. Cai Chen and Jin Lüxiang concurred; see CAI 1.9a.

<sup>136</sup> Material in brackets added, after *Shiji*, which took these to be gifts brought by the local lords expressing fealty; see "Glosses," #1623. Compare also Zheng Xuan's commentary to *Zuoqhuan*, Lord Yin, Year 8, where Zheng says that the three bolts wrap up presentation jades, using red, black, or white silk. By Zheng's elaborate schema, different dynastic houses in turn wrapped their gift jades in different colors. GU 144n11 cites the PK subcommentary, 39-2, which makes these the three colors of silk (black, blood-red, and yellow) used to wrap ritual items.

<sup>137</sup> Reading *sheng* 生 ("living animals") as *sheng* 牲 ("sacrificial animals"). The two living animals, said to be presented by the local lords, are a sheep and a wild goose.

<sup>138</sup> Translation tentative, as the *Shiji* and *Shuowen* offer variants, the former with the hand radical, the latter with the woman radical, which *Shuowen* 12B.13b then defines as *zhi* 至 ("to bring" or "to offer"). Ma Rong, cited in *Shiji* 1.24n15, identified the dead pheasant as the offering made by the *shi* 士 ("knights?" "lower-ranking officials?"), whereas the two live offerings (of a lamb or kid and a goose) were made by the ministers and counsellors. *Hanshu* 25A.1191 follows *Shiji*.

<sup>139</sup> *Ru* 如 =? *ji* 及 or *ruo* 若 or "conferred" upon another. For theories about these jades, as either (1) having different functions or (2) being conferred upon the members of different status groups among the local lords, or (3) referring to five ranks of officials (see Wang MS, 31-33), equating the Five Ritual Implements with the Five

五月南巡狩/守[BHT, PK 至于南岳, PK continues 如岱禮]八月西巡狩[BHT, PK 至于西岳, PK continues 如初]十一月北[PK 朔]巡狩[BHT, PK 至于北岳, PK continues 如西禮。]皆如初<sup>140</sup>。歸。至[BHT 假, PK 格]于祖禰廟<sup>141</sup>[BHT, PK 藝祖]。用特牛禮<sup>142</sup>。

#### 1B.6c

五歲[PK 載]一巡守<sup>143</sup>。群后四朝<sup>144</sup>。徧告[PK 敷奏]以言。明試以功\*<sup>145</sup>。車服以庸\*<sup>146</sup>。

#### 1B.7

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Auspicious Jades; see note 124 above. Certainly, the simplest theory is that these Five Instruments are used in the Five Rituals, but some take them to be five different musical instruments. Note that several ritual texts, as well as Ma Rong's commentary, speak of the ruler borrowing implements from the local lords, who then returns them after the ritual, but without the silk in which they were wrapped (as no longer pristine?). See WRL (p. 21).

<sup>140</sup> *Shiji* 1.24 is the base text here. NB: by the *Shiji* account all the rituals performed on the tour of inspection were the same. The BHT 19 ("Xunshou" 巡狩 section) may be truncated; we cannot tell. But PK definitely specifies that the rituals were not all the same. For the Han-era ideas about these tours of inspection, see Sanderovitch 2017, esp. chap. 2.

<sup>141</sup> *Shiji* 1.24 has *miao* 廟 ("temple") for clarification. See GU 150n17; WRL (p. 22); Lü Youren 2019, 201, disputing the reasonableness of Zheng Xuan's explanatory scenario, which has the ruler on the move all the time. GU raises the question whether the ancestral temple was erected to Yao's father or to Shun's father.

<sup>142</sup> *Shiji* 1.24 adds the last phrase, which is accepted by commentators to the *Shangshu*, but appears nowhere else. *Shiji* 1.24 writes 用特牛禮, whereas PK, in Ruan Yuan, 38-1, has 用特 only. The meaning is the same.

<sup>143</sup> While *Shiji* 1.24 writes *sui* 歲, *Shiji* 12.476, 28.1356, 1398, and *Hanshu* 23.1191 write *zai*. "Five years" becomes important in predicting the fate of the state of Guo, when the spirit of Yao's son appears there; see *Guoyu*, "Zhouyu" (1.12).

<sup>144</sup> SSDZ, 1.1, describes what supposedly happened at these audiences, when the Son of Heaven gathered the local songs through the local lords, in order to view the customs of the local people. Ma Rong and Wang Su are in agreement: this means 四面朝於方岳之下也 ("the local lords came from all four directions to the audiences at the foothills of the mountain"). Cai Chen, however, reads this as, "and the local lords made four formal visits to the court." See CAI, 1.14a.

<sup>145</sup> The unprovenanced "Rong cheng shi" ms. has Shun performing several *gao* 佻 sacrifices, by some modern scholars' readings. See Dorofeeva-Lichtmann 2021.

<sup>146</sup> See CYM, I, 1001, for an early citation of this. This same phrase appears repeated in the PK version of the "Gao Yao mo." The rhymes marked an asterisk are a-a.

肇[SSDZ 兆]十有二州<sup>147</sup>。[[PK 封十有二山]]決[PK 濬]<sup>148</sup>川。象以典刑<sup>149</sup>。流宥五刑<sup>150</sup>。鞭作官刑<sup>151</sup>。扑<sup>152</sup>作教刑。金作贖刑。眚災過[HS, PK 肆]赦<sup>153</sup>。怙終賊刑。欽哉欽哉。惟刑之靜[XG 謚; HS, PK 恤]<sup>154</sup>哉。

<sup>147</sup> *Shiji* 1.24 does not include the five characters in PK that describe "raising altars on the twelve most prominent mountains." Ma Rong, cited in *Shiji* 1.24, explains how Yu's Nine Provinces were *twelve* earlier, under Shun; see Ma Nan 2018, 67. Zheng Xuan, commenting on SSDZ, *fulu bianwei*, 1.17a, reads 肇 as 兆, which means *yu* 域 ("to define a region or domain"), in order to offer sacrifices to the appropriate correspondent stars. *Shuowen* 12B.16a defines 肇 as tabooed. Wang MS, 34-35, points out that Yu established Nine Provinces, so he assumes Shun re-divided the lands afterwards, and Zheng Xuan identified this as the Xia system.

<sup>148</sup> *Shiji* 1.24. Zheng Xuan identifies *jun* 濬 as "to dredge or cut channels." Cf. *Shuowen* 11B.2b for this reading. Karlgren's translation (par. 21) inexplicably identifies these actions as Shun's doings, but legend ascribes them to Yu, even if Shun's tours of inspection trace the cosmograph as well.

<sup>149</sup> The translation reads *dian* 典 as *chang* 常 ("constant"), a probable reference to the Heavenly constants; however, this *Documents* line prompted controversies. GU 163n1 cites Xunzi ("Zheng lun" 正論 chap.), which describes the constant punishments (*dian xing* 典刑) with apparent precision, as the drawing of irregular designs on the face corresponded to black branding; the wearing of bleached cap strings, to cutting off the nose; the wearing of grass sandals, to amputation of the feet; the cutting off of a piece of the apron, to castration; and the wearing of a hemp cloth jacket without collar, to capital punishments. Plainly, some early readings equated the four-character line with the binomial expression *xiang xing*, meaning "image punishments," which meant wearing the clothing associated with menials or slaves, of an other color. SSDZ, 1.1, describes three levels of such punishments, with the worst a reddish garb that was or signified the "impure" (*bu chun* 不純). Ma Rong, cited in *Shiji* 1.24n23, is not entirely clear, as he moves to Gao Yao and uses two terms that are ambiguous: "It means that Gao Yao instituted the punishments/models for the Five Social Relations. For those who were no offenders, they merely had their symbols [=insignia of rank?], but [the court] had no [bad] men" 言咎繇制五常之刑，無犯之者，但有其象，無其人也。PK, in Ruan Yuan, 40-2, reads *xiang* 象 as *fa* 法 (models, laws); and *dian* as "predictable" as the night follows the day, and so not lenient at all.

*Fayan* 5/13 takes *xiang* to mean "well publicized," as do many other early texts, including the BHT, perhaps in the attempt to make Shun seem more pragmatic. Likewise, Yan Shigu takes *xiang* not in the sense of "image punishments," but as publicizing the main outlines of the penal code, which are then applied as needed (*Hanshu* 23.1093n4). In general, later commentators (among them Wang Anshi and Zhu Xi) tended to emphasize that punishments must be predictable. Some Qing scholars took *xiang* to be the name of a particular punishment, along with exile (for them, *liu* 流). See GU 168-69.

<sup>150</sup> Wang Anshi took banishment as less cruel and more benevolent than the Five Punishments. See *Xinyi*, 21. Ma Nan 2018, 68, objects that exile in no way can "mitigate" the Five Mutilating Punishments, esp. if the latter do not represent physical punishments, but "image punishments."

<sup>151</sup> Or possibly, "administered to officers," if following Ma Rong and PK, who insist that this refers to commoners (functionaries?) in office who are lax in their duties; see WRL (p. 24). Probably in the minds of Ma Rong, at least, was the *Liji* dictum, "The punishments do not go up to the nobility or the rituals go down to the commoners," which is cited in *Zuoqhuan*, Lord Xiang, Year 14. Su Shi on this basis speculated that "this explains why only commoners receive corporal punishments from judges." But since legend had Shun executing quite a few nobles (not to mention others), Su's supposition seems far-fetched. In the absence of clear evidence, the translation aims for neutrality.

<sup>152</sup> No one before Song seems to have thought this worth glossing. Song writers all thought the stick or cane should be applied in teaching, as necessary.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. "Kang gao," which also uses the expression 眚災, which may refer literally to "calamities."

<sup>154</sup> XG, cited in *Shiji* 1.27n31, reads *mi* 謚 instead of the PK *xu* 恤, in Ruan Yuan, 40-2. Several commentators equate *mi* with *jing* 靜 ("quietude," i.e., reluctance to act), as in *Erya* 1.20 and *Shiji* 1.27, and apparently *mi* and *xu* were seen by some as loan characters. Contrast the *Hanshu* and PK readings, which take *xu* as *you* 憂 ("worried," "troubles"). *Hanshu* 23A.1103 ("Such was the pity that characterized the punishments") ties this to the relatively

請流共工<sup>155</sup>於[PK 于]幽陵[PK 洲]。放驩兜於[PK 于]崇山。遷[SW 竄; PK 竄]三苗於[PK 于]三危。殛鯀於[PK 于]羽山<sup>156</sup>。四皐<sup>157</sup>[PK 罪]而天下咸服<sup>158</sup>。

#### 1B.8

堯辟位凡二十八年而崩[MR, ZX 殛/殛; PK 二十有八載帝乃殛落]<sup>159</sup>。百姓悲哀，如喪父母[Meng, PK 考妣]<sup>160</sup>。三年[PK 載]四方莫舉樂[PK 四海遏密八音][[PK 月正元日<sup>161</sup>]]。舜乃至[PK 格]於文祖<sup>162</sup>，謀[PK 詢]于四嶽/岳<sup>163</sup>。辟[PK 闢]四門。明通四方耳目[PK 明四目。達四聰]<sup>164</sup>。

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low number of capital punishments in the era of the sage-kings (200 out of 3,000 punishments in total, according to the Punishments chapter).

<sup>155</sup> *Shiji* 1.28. Multiple early texts, including the *Mencius*, HNZ, and *Hanshu* 23.1081, specify Youzhou. Here the *Shiji* inserts a long backstory relating to the exile of Gong Gong.

<sup>156</sup> *Shuowen* emphasizes that they were "blocked off" (a synonym for *sai* 塞). Note the graph for "three" in both the name of the group and in the place of exile. Although the verb here can mean "executed," some Han thinkers took it to mean "exiled." See Ma Nan 2018, 71. *Lunheng* ("Shuai xing" 率性 chap.) offers a compromise, insisting that not all of the Sanmiao were punished with exile, as some of them were good. Wang Su emphasizes, by contrast, that these groups were punished as repeat offenders, who had received pardons previously. None of the places of exile is particularly well identified. However, the *Mencius* spoke of "executing" both the Sanmiao and Gun. Still, it seems that Sanmiao is here envisioned as a single criminal evildoer; certainly he/they cannot be the ethnic group of later legend, since they are exiled to the far northwest, not to the south. In many texts, the Sanmiao is construed as Chiyou's descendant(s). Zheng Xuan identifies the Sanmiao as noble scions of the west 西裔諸侯, who were exiled to separate locations in the north.

<sup>157</sup> This *gu* 皐 is a graph that the First Emperor tabooed as being too close in form to that of *huang* 皇 ("sovereign"). *Shiji* 1.28 adds the puzzling phrase 以變東夷 ("to transform the Eastern Yi"), which makes little sense here.

<sup>158</sup> *Shiji* 1.28 offers an expanded version of these legendary events. Ma Rong took these four locations to be the extreme ends of the earth, to the north, south, west, and east, respectively; see Zeng Yunqian 1964, 22.

<sup>159</sup> *Shiji* 1.30 has this refer to Yao (as above). However, *Shiji* 1.30n1 has Xu Guang and Huangfu Mi agreeing that this should refer only to the 28 years when Yao essentially ruled jointly with Shun. The two commentators agree with *Shiji* 1.38. PK has Yao living 116 years.

*Mencius* 5A/5, using nearly the same language (放勳乃殛落), speaks of Fangxun dying, as do the Dunhuang mss. ascribed to Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan; see Matsumoto 1966, 195, citing *Jingdian shiben*. *Xinyi*, 21, says the first word "to die" refers to the *hun*'s ascent to heaven, while the second (*luo*) refers to the *po*'s burial in the earth.

<sup>160</sup> *Shiji* 1.30, which seems to add the phrase "wailed in misery" 悲哀. Cf. Takatsu Junya 2007, esp. 1749; BHT 43 ("Beng hong" 崩薨 section).

<sup>161</sup> Nowadays most people would take this as the first day of the month, but Han commentators debate whether this refers to the first auspicious day. Later commentators in Song and Qing do not always think the *yue zheng* means *zheng yue*, referring to the first month; often they think this phrase refers to an auspicious day in the first ten-day week of any month (上旬吉日).

<sup>162</sup> By some glosses, Yao and later Shun went to the temple of their ultimate ancestor (as per note 114 above), which Zheng Xuan equates with the Zhou-era Mingtang. Ma Nan 2018, 57, says the *wenzu* was a worship hall erected to great-grandfathers and still more distant ancestors.

<sup>163</sup> *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.9, anachronistically talks of the ministers having the responsibility to propagate the royal example and teachings in the outlying areas, including Lu and Song.

<sup>164</sup> This is a difficult passage to translate, as many ideas are packed into the compressed language. Notes to both *Shiji* 2.75n3, *Hanshu* 28A.1536n4 (each citing Tang-era texts) employ phrasing from the Kong Yingda subcommentary to PK, in Ruan Yuan, 43-1/2, which emphasizes that the Nine Provinces will be in perfect

## 1B.9

命[PK 咨]十二牧論帝德<sup>165</sup>。行厚德。遠佞人<sup>166</sup>。[PK 曰食哉惟時<sup>167</sup>。柔遠能邇。惇德允元。而難任人]。蠻夷率服。

## 1B.10

communication with each other and the empire thus united, and without barriers (廣視聽于四方，使天下無壅塞). See Ruan Yuan, 44-1/2, for Kong Yingda's comments. At the same time, *Hanshu* 86.3493n14 has this phrase *guang shi ting* 廣視聽 refer, as so often in Han and pre-Han texts, to employing worthy men to broaden the scope of what the ruler sees and hears, through wide consultation (務聰明者，廣視聽也). Our translation (doubtless an over-translation) attempts to capture both rich and important ideas, supplying a lead-in to the next paragraph about employing worthy men.

<sup>165</sup> Alternatively, "Gentleness to the distant can bring them close," or "Be gentle with the distant ones and enable those who are near." (There seems to be support for both readings for the proverb in Han.) This proverb appears not only in the *Odes*, but also in two other *Documents* chapters ("Gu ming" and "Wen hou zhi ming"), and in two "found" bronzes (*Jicheng* #2836 and #4326), with the first ascribing this pacific conduct to Commander Huaifu, not to a ruler. Cf. *Shuoyuan* ("Jun dao" 君道 chap.), which has the phrase say that good governing is the way to make the near feel like close kin and thus to settle the far: 是以近者親之，遠者安之. Cf. the Xunzi parallel proverb: 近者競親，遠方致願 (in Hutton's translation (p. 98), "those close by will vie to draw near; those far away will send notice of their wish to submit"). Wang Su reverses this sequence of actions, saying that those capable of settling the faraway lands are those who can first settle the near. *Xinyi*, 23-24, shows Wang Anshi following Wang Su, in insisting that the Ancients all believed that the good rule of those far-away must begin with those nearby.

On the PK reading: PK, in Ruan Yuan, 43-1, reads two four-character phrases (柔遠能邇，敦德允元) as parallel, and he comments, "One ought first to settle (*an* 安) those far away before one can settle those nearby." PK then adds the phrase in double-brackets, which indicate the two sentences may be an interpolation. Su Shi glosses the final PK phrase 敦厚其德，信用善人, in Ruan Yuan, 43-1, presumably meaning, "To bestow boons on them [the good men] should be the primary concern."

Again, to indicate the complexity of the rival traditions here is not easy. *Shiji* 1.38 includes all the material in black before PK, aside from the four-character proverb which is assigned to this chapter in *Hanshu* 19A.721, 70.3029 on the 柔遠之令德, which 70.3029n1, assigns unambiguously to the "Shun dian" part of the "Yao dian."

<sup>166</sup> Tradition has this speech belonging to Shun, but in context, it more likely represents the response of the twelve provincial leaders called the Pastors, to which Shun responds in the next line. Much of this paragraph does not appear in the *Shiji*, although some appears in *Hanshu* in passing. The PK reading, in Ruan Yuan, 43-1, has the Pastors advising Shun that the people must be fed, and hence his firm rule to not interfere with the farming seasons. Song thinkers (including Su Shi, Wang Anshi, and Cai Chen) read this as, "The most important thing is not to interfere with the farmer's seasons." HRY prefers that reading. But both *Hanshu* 83.3406 and BHT ("Feng gonghou" 封公侯 section) show the Han context for this passage to be employing worthies; cf. Ma Nan 2018, 73. Hence, a tentative translation as "Give them [the worthy men] posts and salaries."

<sup>167</sup> *Shiji* 1.38. Extremely different readings are given for these four characters. PK has the ruler testing or stumping those he has employed, to test their mettle. PK adds, "This is the only way..." But earlier glosses tend to take *shi* 時 ("time") as *shi* 是 ("this"). The *Erya* 1.136 reads *shi* as *wei/wei* 為/偽, "to give them a job" or "to encourage them to do something." *Shi* can mean "employ them," or give them salaries. The *Shiji* omits this passage. Wang Xianqian reads *shi* as "to encourage them," and many, including QWL, consistently equate *yu shi* 于時 with *yu shi* 於是.

舜謂[PK 咨]四嶽/岳曰。有能奮庸美[HS, PK 熙]堯[PK 帝]之事[HS, PK 載]者<sup>168</sup>。使居官相事[PK 宅百揆。亮采惠疇]<sup>169</sup>。皆[PK 僉]曰。伯禹作司空\*。可美帝功\*<sup>170</sup>。

#### 1B.11

舜[PK 帝]曰。嗟[PK 俞]。然[PK 咨]。禹\*。汝平水土\*<sup>171</sup>。維是勉[SW 時惟懋; PK 惟時懋]<sup>172</sup>哉。禹拜稽首\*。讓于稷、契與[PK 暨]皋陶\*<sup>173</sup>。舜[PK 帝]曰。然[PK 俞]。往矣[PK 哉\*]<sup>174</sup>。

#### 1B.12

舜[PK 帝]曰。棄<sup>175</sup>。黎民始[JIN, HS, MA 祖; ZX, PK 阻]飢<sup>176</sup>。汝后稷<sup>177</sup>。播時百穀<sup>178</sup>。

<sup>168</sup> *Shiji* 2.50 reads this very differently: "Is there any man who can perfect and praise (*cheng mei* 成美) Yao's deeds and achievements?" Reading *yong* 庸 as *gong* 功.

<sup>169</sup> PK adds, "so that his bright deeds might serve the court and order everything properly."

<sup>170</sup> Significantly, PK does not provide this description of how important Bo Yu is. The rhymes marked with an asterisk are a-a.

<sup>171</sup> The rhymes marked with an asterisk are a-a.

<sup>172</sup> *Shiji* 1.38. Cf. *Shuowen* 10B.229a; PK, in Ruan Yuan, 44-1, also speaks of Yu's exertions. Ma Rong seems to gloss *mian* as *mei* 美 ("excellent"). See Ma Nan 2018, 75.

<sup>173</sup> Xie was conceived when his mother swallowed a dark bird's egg; Hou Ji, when his mother trod on a giant's footprint. By Schuessler's reconstruction, *shou* and Yao are rhymed.

<sup>174</sup> *Shiji* 1.38. *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.10, *Shiji* 1.38n6, has Shun elevating to office some suitable men, and then refusing to accept their polite deferrals to others (然其舉得其人。汝往居此官。不聽其所讓也). PK introduces a rhyme, as had happens earlier.

<sup>175</sup> In later legend, equated with Lord Millet. Called this because Jiang Yuan supposedly discarded her child, as she had become pregnant by stepping into the footprint of Di or Shangdi. Lord Millet was, by legend, commissioned by Shun to be in charge of agriculture.

<sup>176</sup> *Shiji* 1.38, 4.112. Ma Rong reads *zu* 阻 as *zu* 祖, glossing the latter as "to start." See WRL 28; Ma Nan 2016, 97-98. But many Han versions have the people dying, not just "starving for food."

<sup>177</sup> Our translation tries to convey the notion that "Hou Ji" is an official (sometimes deified) supervising the millet planting. Wang Su, among others, takes Hou Ji as an official title, with the holder of the post named Qi; *Zuo zhuan*, Lord Zhao, Year 29, supports this. See Ma Nan 2018, 76-77, for details. Gu Jiegang, in *Gushi bian*, vol. 1, 138-39, argues that Hou Ji is an official title. See the Glossary. Note that these two lines are near-rhymes, we believe: 汝后稷(職/\*[ts]ək/J) and 播時百穀(屋/\*[k]˦ok/j).

<sup>178</sup> Other *Documents* chapters ("Gao Yao mo," "Punishments") mention Hou Ji superintending the sowing of grains, as does the *Yi Zhoushu* 43 ("Shang shi jie" 商誓解 chap.).

舜[PK 帝]曰。契。百姓不親<sup>179</sup>。五品<sup>180</sup>不馴/順[CY, PK 遜]<sup>181</sup>。汝作司徒。敬敷五教。在寬。<sup>182</sup>

舜[PK 帝]曰。皋陶。蠻夷猾[FY, QFL, SSDZ 滑]夏<sup>183</sup>。寇賊姦[SSDZ, HS 奸]軌/宄。女/汝作士[FSTY 師]。五刑有服\*。五服<sup>184</sup>三就\*<sup>185</sup>。五流有度\*[PK 宅\*]。五度[PK 宅]三居\*<sup>186</sup>。維明能信[HF 維明維允; PK 惟明克允]。

### 1B.13

舜[PK 帝]曰。誰能馴[PK 疇若]予工<sup>187</sup>。皆[PK 僉]曰。垂可[PK 哉]。於是以垂為共工<sup>188</sup>[[PK 帝曰。俞。咨垂。汝共工。垂拜稽首。讓于舜、折暨伯與。帝曰。俞。往哉。汝諧]]。

<sup>179</sup> *Xunzi* 13 ("Chen dao" 臣道 chap.) inserts after the four-character phrase about the Hundred Families the related phrase *zhuhou bu xin* 諸侯不信, and that also appears in *Shiji* 4.166. The implied source of these failures is the ruler himself, but possibly also the group members.

<sup>180</sup> However, both Zheng Xuan and Wang Su take *wupin* 五品 to refer to social relations, as noted in *Shiji* 1.39n9: Zheng defines *wupin* as father, mother, elder brother, younger brother, and child; Wang Su, as the "Five Constant Relations" (*wuchang* 五常). Certainly, during the two Han dynasties, the *situ* was in charge of propagating civilizing orders 教化. Cf. *Mencius* 3A, citing the "Yao dian"; cf. *Hou Hanshu* 16.602.

<sup>181</sup> For Cai Yong, see his "Taifu Anle xiang Wengong hou Hugong bei" 太傅安樂鄉文恭侯胡公碑, in *Cai Zhonglang*, 4.1, 4.6. These two lines, by current reconstructions, are near-rhymes: 親(真/\*[ts<sup>h</sup>]i[n]/K) and 馴(文/\*sə.lu[n]/k)/順(文/\*Cə.lu[n]-s/k) [遜(文/\*su<sup>h</sup>ns/k)].

<sup>182</sup> See *Shiji* 3.91 for these speeches ascribed to Shun.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. *Hanshu* 24A.1145. This is cited in *Hanshu* 94B.3830 (Appraisal) as a reason to devise a wary policy toward the northern semi-nomadic groups. Matsumoto 1966, 241, quoting Kang Youwei, draws our attention to the graph Xia 夏, which cannot here refer to the as-yet unfounded (even in legend) Xia dynasty. See the Keywords essay on this topic.

<sup>184</sup> GU 244.47n30, simply says that *wufu* has "many explications," too many to sort through. These including "to submit," "to confess one's crime," so as "to be better ruled" (by Ma Rong), etc. What is clear is simply this: that the *wufu* discussed here is not the same *wufu* as in the "Yu gong" chapter, though the characters are the same.

<sup>185</sup> The "three levels" are defined as three grades of punishment: in the wilds, at court, and in the market, or, alternatively, "at a nearby site, at a distant site, and at a site somewhere in between near and far." By most theories, the more awful the crime, the greater the publicity for the punishment, making punishment in the market the worst. Ma Rong disagreed: for him great crimes are dealt with in the wild, and lesser in the marketplace, while those of the same clan are exiled. Another theory has the phrase *sanju* refer to three methods of delivering the punishment, and some relate this to the Eight Deliberations (*ba yi* 八議). See Ma Nan 2018, 79, for details. *Xinyi*, 25, definitely reads this as "three adjustments" made in the severity of exiles. The rhymes here are a-a. For Yu Yue, on these lines, see Yu's *Gushu yiyi juli congkan*, 7.2a.

<sup>186</sup> Taking this to refer to places of exile. The translation does not follow Zheng Xuan's gloss, which mentions *zhai* 宅 with *zha* 咤 ("to shout with anger"); Zheng seems to imply (wrongly) that each time *zhai/zha* is used it refers to instruments for punishing and regulating problematic groups. See *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.11. The co-translators suggest that readers consult Lü Youren 2019, 202, for details. The rhymes here are b-b.

<sup>187</sup> *Shiji* 1.39. Chui, by legend, is inventor of such artifacts as the bow and the plough.

<sup>188</sup> PK, in Ruan Yuan, 46-1, for consistency, with the text below adds here, "Chui kowtowed, and he wished to decline in favor of Shu, Qiang, or Lord Yu. The Lord Shun said, 'Yes, go! May you all induce order!'" Notably, the bowing and scraping does not appear in the earliest stratum of the text, it seems.



舜[PK 帝]曰。誰能馴[PK 疇若]予上下草木鳥獸。皆[PK 僉]<sup>189</sup>曰[MR, ZX 禹曰]益可[PK 哉]。於是以益為朕虞<sup>190</sup>[[PK 帝曰。俞。咨益。汝作朕虞]]。益拜稽首。讓于諸臣朱虎<sup>191</sup>、熊<sup>192</sup>羆。舜[PK 帝]曰。[[PK 俞]]。往矣[PK 哉]。汝諧<sup>193</sup>。

#### 1B.14

舜[PK 帝]曰。嗟[PK 咨]。四嶽/岳。有能典朕三禮<sup>194</sup>。皆[PK 僉]曰伯夷<sup>195</sup>可。舜曰。嗟。伯夷。以汝為秩宗[PK 帝曰。俞。咨伯。汝作秩宗]<sup>196</sup>。夙夜維敬\*[CY, PK 惟寅]。直哉維/惟靜\*絜[CY, PK 清\*<sup>197</sup>]。

[[PK 伯拜稽首]]。伯夷讓于夔、龍。 [[PK 帝曰。俞。往。欽哉<sup>198</sup>]]

#### 1B.15

舜[PK 帝]曰。然。以夔為典樂<sup>199</sup>。[HS 女典樂, PK 夔。命汝典樂]。教釋[FY, SW 育; PK 胄]子<sup>200</sup>。直而濇<sup>201</sup>。寬而慄/栗。剛而毋/無虐。簡而毋/無傲。詩言意[PK

<sup>189</sup> Ma Rong, Zheng Xuan, and Wang Su assigned this speech to Yu, not to the court officials assembled, as noted in Wu Chengshi 1933, Part 2, entry 29.

<sup>190</sup> For the complexity of this term, see Masubuchi 2019, 262-63. *Yu* 虞 (here, "forester"), as in PK, in Ruan Yuan, 46-1, refers to a wide range of officials, in charge of the areas outside the walled settlements and towns, as in the Stone Drums dated to Qin.

<sup>191</sup> Most presume four officials, as with *Shiji* 2.63, so Red-Bird [where Crimson signifies the bird], Tiger, Black Bear, and Brown Bear. *Xiong* (read as *nai*) is normally a black bear, but it can also refer to a three-legged tortoise or dragon; see Chen Mengjia 1936. These are all names of the sorts of creatures who inhabit forests, and possibly totems as well. PK definitely reads these, in a "rationalizing" effort, as two officials: Zhu the Tiger, and Xiong the Brown Bear, although *xiong* usually refers to black bears, and tigers are not red. Of relevance is *Yantie lun*, 9.2 ("Xian gu" 險固 chap.), which analogizes the chief ministers to these wild creatures, who defend the ruler with all their might.

<sup>192</sup> Cook 2012, 84, notes that the graph 熊 is sometimes also pronounced "Nai" and names a water creature associated with the center, as in "Rongcheng shi," speaking of insignias on flags.

<sup>193</sup> Our reasons for treating these ambiguously (possibly as animals) is given in the Background Essay for this chapter.

<sup>194</sup> *Shiji* 1.39. For Cai Yong, see the "Hu taifu bei" 胡太傅碑, in *Cai Zhonglang*, 4.2, 4.3. *Shangshu Zhengzhu*, 1.11, defines this as rituals for heaven, earth, and the human sociopolitical realm; Ma Rong concurs, as shown in WRL 31. Yang Jian, in his *Wu gao jie*, *juan* 8.8-9, wonders whether "three" should be "five."

<sup>195</sup> Bo Yi was supposedly the lineage founder of the Jiang 姜 clan.

<sup>196</sup> Neither Ma Rong nor Wang Su include the PK *zuo* 作.

<sup>197</sup> *Shiji* 1.39. This probably refers to putting in the proper hierarchy the ancestral spirits who are to be worshipped. The rhymes a-a occur in both the Han-era and PK versions.

<sup>198</sup> Again, PK adds a phrase that indicates more bowing and scraping on the subordinate's part: "The Lord Shun said, 'Yes, but let you go and undertake the duties assigned you. Attend to them faithfully!'"

<sup>199</sup> See *Shiji* 1.39 for this section. *Hanshu* 22.1038 defines *dian*: 自卿大夫師瞽以下，皆選有道德之人。

<sup>200</sup> *Fayan* 5.19, 7.22 read *yu* 育, as does *Shuowen*; see Ma Nan 2016, 96. Han ritual texts, in the main, define *zouzi* 胄子 as the principal heir and eldest son by the primary wife, as in BHT 6 ("Li yue" 禮樂 section). Ma Rong seems to regard this as "sons and younger brothers of nobles," but Zheng Xuan thinks this only refers to the heir. See *Shiji* 1.39n28; Wu Chengshi 1933, Part II, 3a.

<sup>201</sup> This one contrastive phrase *kuan er li* 寬而栗 occurs once also in the "Gao Yao mo" (cited in *Shiji* 2.77) where it describes the first of the Nine Virtues.

志]<sup>202</sup>。歌長[SW, PK 永; HS 詠]言\*。聲依永\*。律和聲\*。八音能[PK 克]諧[SW 醵]。毋/無相奪[SW 敝]倫。神人以和<sup>203</sup>。

夔曰。於。予擊石[LX 磬]拊<sup>204</sup>石。百獸率舞<sup>205</sup>。

舜[PK 帝]曰。龍。朕畏忌[PK 聖]<sup>206</sup>讒說殄偽[SW, PK 行\*]。振/震驚<sup>207</sup>朕眾[HS, PK 師]。命汝為[PK 作]納言\*<sup>208</sup>。夙夜出入[PK 納]<sup>209</sup>朕命\*。惟信\*[HS, PK 允]。

#### 1B.16

舜[PK 帝]曰。嗟[PK 咨]。汝二十有二人<sup>210</sup>[JY 者]。敬[JY 女官職]。[PK 欽]哉。惟時相[PK 亮]天事[XP, CY 工; PK 功]<sup>211</sup>。三歲一考功[HS, BHT, SSDZ, QHJ, PK 三載考績\*]。

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<sup>202</sup> For the phrasing here, readers may wish to consult Yin Rongfang 2017. Yuan Yuzong 2017 thinks the PK logograph 志 points to Heaven's will, the object of the people's prayers in antiquity, and so the context should be sacrifice.

<sup>203</sup> Khayutina 2003, emphasizes the emanating sounds (*sheng* 聲) of bronze bells struck during sacrifices, even if the inscriptions addressed to the ancestors are inside, typically in contact with the food offered. See her Fig. 3.

<sup>204</sup> Tap? slap?

<sup>205</sup> This same description and speech by Kui is found in the *Documents'* "Gao Yao mo" chapter. Therefore, in Song, Liu Chang, Su Shi, Chen Dayou, Zhang Ruyu, Wang Bo, Jin Lüxiang all thought this passage represented an interpolation from "Gao Yao mo." FSTY, *juan* 6, on music, ties the Image text for Hexagram 16 to this *Documents'* passage, as well as to Mao ode no. 274 ("Zhi jing" 執競), for both discuss music's powerful effects. As the FSTY asks, "If the birds and beasts seem so moved by this, how much more so are humans and still more so, the spirits!"

<sup>206</sup> Cf. *Shuowen*, 10B/221a, defines *ji* 忌 as *zeng e* 憎惡也 ("detestable" things), relating it to *Shuowen* 7B.155a, which defines another *li* 癘, as *e ji* 惡疾 ("loathsome afflictions").

<sup>207</sup> For the variant, see *Hanshu* 9.281.

<sup>208</sup> This title's translation may well sound too modern; Ying Shao, in commentary to the *Hanshu*, defines this official's duties as to become the voice and tongue of the ruler. Tu Shenggao 2019 regards this post as Chief Remonstrant.

<sup>209</sup> Churu 出入 is a binome often found in bronze inscriptions; *chu na* 出納, in Mao ode no. 135. By Shuessler's reconstruction, these lines are rhymed.

<sup>210</sup> See *Hejiao* 合校 39.5B, the Juyan strip, for minor variants. Commentators who like to count generally agree that the twenty-two sometimes make this to be: the one leader of the Marchmounts, the twelve pastors (governors of the provinces), and the nine ministers. *Shiji* counts the nine officers mentioned here, plus Pengzu, plus the twelve Pastors; Liu Xiang agreed with Sima Qian. Wang Mingsheng, 1780, thought the twenty-two men consisted of twelve Pastors, plus a group of six officers named by Ma Rong (Yu, Chui, Yi, Pi, Kui, and Long), plus four other ministers. For additional details and yet another way to count the twenty-two people, see Ma Nan 2018, 87. Note that PK has the ruler again asking to consult with the members of his court.

<sup>211</sup> These four characters come from the "Yao dian" (not the "Shun dian"). See *Shiji* 1.39. For *gong* 工, see Zhao Liwei 2012, 44.

三考黜陟\*<sup>212</sup>。[JY 知□□者三考絀幽□□。明明之光也;PK 三考, 黜陟幽明]。遠近眾功咸興<sup>213</sup>[HS 皆美, PK 庶績咸熙]。分北三苗<sup>214</sup>。

### 1B.17

[PK 舜生三十<sup>215</sup>。徵庸三十<sup>216</sup>。在位五十載<sup>217</sup>。陟方<sup>218</sup>乃死]<sup>219</sup>。

<sup>212</sup> On this, see Yang Jialuo 1970, 16-17.

<sup>213</sup> Zhongchang Tong 仲長統 (d. 220), quoted in *Hou Hanshu* 49.1655, perhaps provides an earlier unmarked confirmation of the PK reading. In any case, here there seems to be a conflation of Heaven's merit and that of the ruler. The people of real merit, due to the brilliant execution of their official duties, were promoted while those with no achievements were demoted. If the PK reading is adopted, the sentence refers instead to alerting officials every three years that they will be commended in public or be demoted from office (*you* 幽, vs. *ming* 明).

<sup>214</sup> See *Shiji* 1.39, also *Shiji* 1.42 n40, citing Zheng Xuan's note that the recalcitrant wrongdoers were exiled to the north. However, some commentators, with Legge, 50, read *bei* 北 as *bie* 別 ("to separate"), presumably because later the Sanmiao are associated with the SW or W. Dorofeeva-Lichtmann 2021, 58, associates the Sanmiao with the Sanwei.

<sup>215</sup> This paragraph (from 舜生三十 to 陟方乃死) does not appear in *Shiji* 1, but *Shiji* 1.44 has a narrative section corresponding to this. Cf. Mou Ting's 舜生三十。徵庸三十。在位五十載。

<sup>216</sup> PK has Shun a commoner for thirty years, then serving the throne thirty years, after which he sat on the throne for fifty years. Yet the PK, with its archaizing language, punctuates differently, and, as GU 335 notes, most readings adopt the PK punctuation. For competing chronologies of Shun's life, including one provided by Duan Yucai 1860, 1B.5ab-66a, see Ma Nan 2016, 60; 2018, 90. (The note immediately below cites the *Lunheng* reading.) According to Zheng Xuan, Shun lived an official life for thirty years; he was in court service *twenty* years, and he was on the throne fifty years.

<sup>217</sup> One of these "thirty" may have been interpolated, and the whole chronology is frankly incredible, but the traditional readings contend that Shun started to serve in office at age thirty; he acted as lead policymaker for thirty years; and for fifty years he sat on the throne alone (as Yao had died). See *Lunheng* ("Qi shou" 氣壽 chap.). However, the previous thirteen characters have elicited many competing readings. By different legends, then, Shun lived to be 100, 110, or 112 years old. For further information, see WRL 34.

<sup>218</sup> The binomial phrase is deeply contested. The *Shiji* definitely has Shun going on a tour of inspection to the south, where he died. The *Liji*, possibly the *Shanhai jing*, and definitely Guo Pu follow this reading. But different commentators have arrived at different conclusions: that Shun (1) went on a hunting expedition (taking *fang* as every vassal state); (2) dealt with flood control issues; (3) ascended on high (reading *zhi* 陟 as *sheng* 升, a reading that seems not to predate Han Yu, but which was much favored in Song); and (4) went on a campaign against the Miao. The last reading can be found in the *Huainanzhi* ("Xiu wu" 脩物 chap.), the *Guoyu*, "Lu yu" section, the *Beitang shuchao*, *juan* 92; also, *Taiping yulan*, *juan* 81, citing Huangfu Mi's famous *Divang shiji*. Mencius seems to cite the earliest legends and traditions, and he has Shun dying in Mingtiao 鳴條 (near Kaifeng).

Many traditions, including the *Huainanzhi* and one reported in the *Lunheng* (but criticized) have Shun going on a tour of inspection and dying at Cangwu 蒼梧 (in modern Hunan). This identification WRL 35 ridicules, as did Wang Chong in Eastern Han. No one can be certain of the location, at this remove, but see *Shiji* 1.44n2 for early traditions. GU 347 lists several other gravesites claimed for Shun in other early texts (as early as Zhanguo) but argues that Shun should have died in Shandong, as so many of his activities seem to be associated with that area.

<sup>219</sup> *Lienü* 1.1 (cited above) also says 舜陟方; also writes 舜陟方, according to *Shiji* 6.248n4. SU, 2.15, thought the phrase *naisi* 乃死 was interpolated. Ma Nan 2018, 92-95 provides what she identifies as "lost passages" from the "Shun dian," but these represent stories and not necessarily lost citations from the first chapter in the Han-era *Documents*.