

## The Hsia, Basic Annals 2

[2:49] Yü of Hsia's 夏禹<sup>1</sup> *praenomen* was Wen-ming 文命.<sup>2</sup> Yü's father was Kun 鯀. Kun's father was the Emperor Chuan-hsü 顓頊. Chuan-hsü's father was Ch'ang-yi 昌意. Ch'ang-yi's father was The Huang-ti. Yü was the great-great-grandson of The Huang-ti and the grandson of the Emperor Chuan-hsü.<sup>3</sup> Yü's great-grandfather Ch'ang-yi and his father Kun were both unable to gain the imperial position.<sup>4</sup> They were vassals.

[50] During the time of the Emperor Yao, flood waters surged towards the heavens, so vast that they embraced the mountains and covered the hills.<sup>5</sup> The people of the lowlands suffered from them. Yao looked for someone who could regulate the waters.

His assembled vassals and the Chiefs of the Four Sacred Mountains all said, "Kun can be used."

Yao said, "Kun is a man who defied orders and ruined his clan's name. He cannot be used."

The Chiefs of the Four Sacred Mountains said, "In comparison to him, there is not yet a person more capable. We would hope Your Majesty might try him."

After this Yao listened to the Chiefs of the Four Sacred Mountains and employed Kun to regulate the waters. After nine years, the waters had not receded and his work was unsuccessful.

Emperor Yao then looked for another person and obtained Shun. Shun was brought into the government, where he was put in charge of the imperial administration of tours of inspection. During his travels he saw that Kun's regulation of the waters was unimpressive. He then banished Kun to Mount Yü 羽 to die.<sup>6</sup> The people of the world all regarded Shun's sentence as correct. After this, Shun promoted Kun's son Yü 翳 to die.<sup>6</sup> The people of the world all regarded Shun's sentence as correct. After this, Shun promoted Kun's son Yü and had him continue Kun's task.<sup>7</sup>

When Yao died, Emperor Shun asked the Chiefs of the Four Sacred Mountains, "Is there someone who can finish and perfect Yao's enterprise whom I can appoint to office?"<sup>8</sup>

They all said, "If Po Yü 伯禹<sup>9</sup> were the Minister of Works, he could finish and perfect Yao's work."

<sup>1</sup> According to "Cheng-yi," Yü was appointed Earl of Hsia (夏伯, see also n. 9 below), a fief near modern Ju-nan 汝南 in Honan about 135 miles southeast of Loyang (see also T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 5:45).

<sup>2</sup> The "K'ung An-kuo 孔安國 (c. 156-c. 74 B.C.) Commentary" to the *Book of Documents* reads *wen-ming* 文命 in that text (in the passage 文命敷于四海) as "*wen te chiao ming*" 文德教命 "his cultured virtue and the lessons of his teaching [were made known (everywhere) within the four seas]" (*Shang shu chu-shu* 尚書注疏, 4:1b, *SPPY*), rather than as Yao's *praenomen*. This is just one of many discrepancies between the "Commentary" and the *Shih chi* interpretations of the *Book of Documents* (see also the Translators' Note at the end of the chapter).

<sup>3</sup> On the origins of the Hsia see also Tu Cheng-sheng 杜正勝, "Hsia-tai k'ao-ku ch'i ch'i kuo-chia fa-chang te t'an-so" 夏代考古及其國家發展的探索, *K'ao-ku*, 1990.1, 43-56.

<sup>4</sup> They were not emperors because although they led the Hsia Clan, the Hsia had not yet begun their dynasty by establishing suzerainty (see also Tu Cheng-sheng's study cited in n. 3 above).

<sup>5</sup> This summarizes the *Book of Documents* chapter "Canon of Yao." See our translation of Chapter 1.

<sup>6</sup> For the location of Mount Yü see n. 116 in Chapter 1 above.

<sup>7</sup> On the various accounts of Yü's efforts to control the flood see Rémi Mathieu, "Yu le Grand et le mythe du déluge dans la Chine ancienne," *TP*, 78(1992), 162-190.

<sup>8</sup> This passage derives from the "Shun tien" 舜典 (Canon of Shun) chapter in the *Book of Documents* (*Shih-san-ching chu-shu* 十三經注疏 ed. [Taipei: Tung-sheng Ch'u-pan Shih-yeh Kung-su 東昇出版事業公司, n.d.], 3:21a).

<sup>9</sup> It is unclear whether Ssu-ma Ch'ien understood Po 伯 as a title (Earl Yü), a kinship term (Yü the Eldest), or in the Shang sense of "Patriarch" (on the latter see David Keightley, "The Shang State as Seen in the Oracle-bone Inscriptions," *EC*, 5[1979-80], 28).

Shun said, "Ah! So be it!" He ordered Yü, "Regulate the waters and land and put your effort just into this!"

Yü touched his forehead to the ground and yielded to Hsieh 契, Hou Chi 后稷, and Kao-yao 皋陶. Shun [\*51\*] said, "Go tend to your work."

Yü was a man both diligent and indefatigable.<sup>10</sup> His character was impartial, his personality was endearing, his words were trustworthy, his voice was the law, his behavior the standard. He demonstrated these qualities in the proper manner. And so earnestly, so reverently, these qualities became the net's head-rope, became the yarn's guiding-thread [for his people].

Yü, together with Yi 益 and Hou Chi, in obedience to an imperial command then ordered the feudal lords and the families of the hundred cognomens to assemble their followers to build earthworks. He traveled through the mountains, marking the trees, ordering the high mountains and great rivers. Yü was saddened that the work of his deceased father, Kun, was unsuccessful and that Kun had been punished for this. Thus he racked his body and wearied his mind, living outside his home for thirteen years, not daring to enter his house even when he passed its gate.<sup>11</sup>

He neglected his clothing and food to make offerings for the ghosts and spirits. He humbled his houses and rooms to make funds for the ditches and canals.<sup>12</sup>

On land he rode in cars, on water he rode in boats, through mud he rode a sledge, in the mountains he rode in sedan chairs.

He opened the nine lands, connected the nine roads, embanked the nine lakes, and surveyed the nine mountains, with a water level and chalk line in his left hand, a compass and carpenter's square in his right, and a "four seasons instrument" in his carriage.<sup>13</sup>

He ordered Yi to give the common masses rice to enable them to plant the low, wet lands. He ordered Hou Chi to give the common masses foods which were then difficult to acquire. He balanced the feudal lords' [needs] where food was scarce by supplying it from where there was surplus.

Yü then set out to appraise the productivity of the land, all that could serve as standard tribute, and the [potential] of the mountains and rivers.<sup>14</sup>

[52] Yü set out from Chi-chou.<sup>15</sup>

Chi-chou 冀州 [the Land of Chi]<sup>16</sup>: After starting work on Mount Hu-k'ou 壺口,<sup>17</sup> Yü regulated [the waters from] Mount Liang 梁<sup>18</sup> up to Mount Ch'i 岐.<sup>19</sup> He restored [the land from] T'ai-yüan 太原<sup>20</sup> to the southern slopes of Mount Yüeh 嶽.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>10</sup> There is a passage parallel to this in the *Ta Tai li-chi* (7:3b, *SPPY*).

<sup>11</sup> *Meng Tzu*, 3A/4 says he was away from his home for eight years.

<sup>12</sup> This passage is similar to a description in the *Lun yü*, 8/3. Takigawa (2:4) complains that this refers to when Yü had become emperor and is therefore out of place here.

<sup>13</sup> This paragraph also has a parallel in the *Ta Tai li-chi* (*op. cit.*).

<sup>14</sup> The Chung-hua edition and Takigawa (2:6) take *ti yi so yü yi kung* 地宜所有以貢 as a single clause. We take *ti yi* and *so yü yi kung* as separate clauses.

<sup>15</sup> The following is Ssu-ma Ch'ien's rendition of the famous *Book of Documents* chapter, "Yü kung" 禹貢 (The Tribute of Yü) 禹貢, often compared to the British *Domesday Book*, a census of properties in England compiled during the eleventh century. The set order for each section in the "Tribute of Yu" is as follows: 1) location; 2) a summary of public works in the district; 3) tax rating; 4) soil rating (see below); 5) tribute supplied; 6) local people (often non-Chinese) and their tribute; 7) the route by which tribute is sent to the capital.

<sup>16</sup> As Chavannes observes, this is the only land not located in the text. Based on the borders of the other eight, Chavannes places it in modern Shansi (1:103, n.); Ch'ien Mu (*Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 2) concurs, relating this Chi to that where The Huang-ti killed Ch'ih-yü (see our translation of *Shih chi*, 1:3 above).

He achieved success in T'an-huai 覃懷,<sup>22</sup> [then restored the land] up to the Heng Chang (Horizontal Chang [River]) 衡漳.<sup>23</sup>

The soil there was light-colored and friable.<sup>24</sup> The farm tax<sup>25</sup> was the upper grade of the first level with variations. The land was rated the middle grade of the middle level.<sup>26</sup>

The Ch'ang 常<sup>27</sup> and Wei 衛<sup>28</sup> rivers were restored to their courses and the Ta-lu 大陸<sup>29</sup> was planted.

<sup>17</sup> On the east bank of the Yellow River in modern Shansi about 10 miles southwest of Chi 吉 County (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:35).

<sup>18</sup> A few miles northwest of modern Kan 乾 County in Shensi (about 50 miles northwest of Sian; T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:13).

<sup>19</sup> About 15 miles northeast of modern Ch'i-shan in Shensi, some 15 miles west of Mount Liang (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:13).

<sup>20</sup> A few miles southwest of modern T'ai-yuan in Shansi (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:23).

<sup>21</sup> "So-yin" says this is the Huo-t'ai 霍太 Range which parallels the Fen River in modern Shansi south and east of Huo 霍 County (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:17).

<sup>22</sup> Southwest of modern Wu-she 武陟 County in Honan (Ch'ien Mu, *Ti-ming k'ao*, pp. 417-8).

<sup>23</sup> Commentators have suggested that Heng and Chang are two different rivers, but K'ung An-kuo thinks *heng* is equivalent to *heng* 橫 "crossways, horizontal" (*Shang shu chu-shu*, 6:4a). Chavannes (1:106-7, n. 2) identifies two "Chang Rivers," a Clear (*ch'ing* 清) Chang and a Turbid (*cho* 濁) Chang, the former beginning about 10 miles southwest of Lo-p'ing 樂平 County in Shansi and the latter originating 15 miles west of Ch'ang-tzu 長子 county in the same province (see T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 8:21). T'an Ch'i-hsiang argues that the Clear Chang flows nearly due south from the northwest foothills of the Sung-tzu 松子 Mountains in Shansi and the Turbid Chang south and east (i.e., "horizontally") from Wu-hsiang 武鄉 in Shansi to join with the Clear Chang in northern Honan.

<sup>24</sup> A great deal has been written about the soil classifications in the "Tribute of Yu." The primary references for the pedologist viewpoint include Joseph H. Needham, 6.1:77-103, and Wan Guoding 萬國鼎, "Chung-kuo ku-tai tui-yü t'u-jang chung-lei chi ch'i fen-pu te chih-shih" 中國古代對於土壤種類及其分部的知識, *Nanking Agricultural College Journal*, 1956, 1, 101. For a brief discussion of some of the philological and linguistic problems, see Bernhard Karlgren, "Glosses on the Book of Documents I and II," *BMFEA*, 20(1948), 31-315 [hereafter "Glosses"] and 21(1949), 63-206, glosses #1353, 1358, and 1370.

The following soil types are mentioned in the text: *jang* 壤 "friable soil," *feng* 墳 "fertile soil," *chih* 埴 "clayey soil," *ch'ing* 塗泥 "boggy or miry soil," *ch'ing-li* 青礪 (the *Shang shu* writes 青黎) "dark-black soil," and *ch'ih* 濕 (the *Shang shu* writes 斥) "salt flats."

Needham transliterates all soil names in his translation, but offers the following detailed interpretation in his discussion of the text: "... the 'daub mud' (*t'u-ni*) soils of these provinces were all of meadow and meadow-bog character, leached and lime depleted ... the term *ch'ing li* referred to the montane humose dark forest soils on each side of the Han valley ... *jang* ... bears the general sense of loessial soils and their derivative alluvial silts, while *fen* has that of humus-rich recent forest soil. *Lu* means dark hard compact soil, carrying the implication of calyans and sajong horizons, *chih* applies to all sticky soils containing much clay, while *ch'ih* is unquestionably saline soil of the solonchak type ..."

<sup>25</sup> The term *fu* 賦 had different meanings during different periods in Chinese history. Thus Nancy Swann, in her translation of the *Shih chi* and *Han shu* chapters on economic history (*Food and Money in Ancient China* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950], translates it as "military tax" for the Chou period and "poll taxes" for Ch'in and Han times. Yang Lien-sheng in his review article "Notes on Dr. Swann's *Food and Money in Ancient China*," *Studies in Chinese Institutional History* (Cambridge: Harvard Yen-ching Institute, 1961), pp. 85-118, points out that *fu* could also mean taxes in general. The problem of the term *fu* in "Yü kung" is also discussed in Rhea H. Blue, "The Argumentation of the *Shih-huo* Chapters of the Han, Wei, and Sui Dynastic Histories," *HJAS* 11(1948), 1-118.

Since the *fu* is always mentioned in conjunction with the farmland rating, we render it as "farm tax."

<sup>26</sup> The normal order of land grade followed by farm tax is inverted here.

<sup>27</sup> The name of the Ch'ang 常 River was Heng 恆 in the *Shang shu*. "So-yin" claims all references to Mount Heng and the Heng River were changed to Ch'ang in the *Shih chi* to avoid the name-taboo of Emperor Han Wenti. The character *heng*, however, still appears 16 times in the *Shih chi*, 7 times as a mountain's name, 4 times as the name of the King of Tai 代, and 5 times as an adjective. Moreover, this sentence seems to be out of order--

Dressed in leather, the Niao Yi 鳥夷 People hugged the right side of Mount Chieh-shih 碣石,<sup>30</sup> then entered the Ho 河 [and thereby reached the capital].<sup>31</sup>

[54] The land between the Chi 濟 River<sup>32</sup> and the Ho River was Yen-chou 沅州 [the Land of Yen].<sup>33</sup> The Nine Ho 九河 were channeled, Lei-Hsia 雷夏 became a lake, and the Yung 雍 and Chü 沮 [rivers] were joined to it.<sup>34</sup> After the mulberry fields were filled with silkworms, the common people were able to come down from the hills and live on the plains.

The soil there was black and humous. The grasses were luxuriant, and the trees tall. The land was rated the upper grade of the middle level. The farm tax was equivalent [to the rating of the land].

After working on this area for thirteen years, Yü set it in order.

The standard tribute<sup>35</sup> there was lacquer and silk. The basket tribute there was brocade.

[All these goods were shipped] along the Chi 濟 and T'a 漯 [rivers],<sup>36</sup> passed over the Ho River, [and thereby reached the capital].

[55] Between the ocean and Mount Tai 岱<sup>37</sup> was Ch'ing-chou 青州 [the Land of Ch'ing]: After the Yi people of Yü<sup>38</sup> 嶧夷 had been put in order, Yü channeled the Wei 濰 and Tzu 淄 [rivers].<sup>39</sup>

We would expect a list of tribute here rather than another comment on geography.

<sup>28</sup> Ch'ien Mu (*Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 598) revises the "So-yin" gloss by suggesting that the Wei is not a tributary of the Hu-t'o 滹沱 River (which flows eastward out of Shansi into Hopei, skirts to the north of modern Shih-chia-chuang, and joins with the Yellow River near modern Wu-yi 武邑--T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 8:8), but the Hu-t'o itself.

<sup>29</sup> A marsh located northeast of modern Jen 任 County in Hopei (Ch'ien Mu, *Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 119).

<sup>30</sup> About 20 miles southeast of modern Ku-chu 孤竹 in Hopei, about 100 miles east and north of what was then the mouth of the Ho near the seacoast (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:41).

<sup>31</sup> *Shang shu* reads Ho 河 (the Ho) instead of hai 海 (the sea). According to "Chi-chieh," an early edition of *Shih chi* also read Ho. Although Mount Chieh-shih is near the sea, we prefer Ho, as in most of the other accounts of tribute routes below.

The traditional interpretation takes the route at the end of every section to be the tribute-bearers' passage to Yü's capital. Karlgren, however, believes this describes the route by which Yü himself returned home. We follow the traditional interpretation here, but differ from it in other respects; the leather clothing, for instance, is usually taken to be the Niao Yi People's tribute. We take it as simply descriptive of their dress (as did Chavannes, 1:108).

<sup>32</sup> The Chi flowed from about 30 miles north of modern Loyang in Honan east into Shantung, turned northeast near modern Ting-t'ao 定陶 and flowed into the sea (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:17-18).

<sup>33</sup> Constituting parts of modern eastern Honan and northwestern Shantung provinces.

<sup>34</sup> Chavannes (1:109 and n. 2) understands Chiu Ho 九河 as the nine branches of the Ho. Ch'ien Mu (*Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 100) suggests a Han-dynasty interpretation as a single river, but his identification is tentative. From a passage below (*Shih chi*, 2:69) the Nine Ho probably refer to the branches of the Yellow River in its delta at that time.

The Lei-Hsia Lake was in western Shantung about 25 miles north of Ting-t'ao (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:36). The traditional commentaries suggest the Yung and Chü were rivers which joined to Lei-Hsia Lake. See also Chavannes (1:110, n. 2).

<sup>35</sup> Four types of tribute are mentioned in "Yü kung": standard tribute, basket tribute, bundle tribute, and presented tribute. This system is otherwise unattested. From the context, it is clear that the basket tribute was generally cloth and the bundle tribute largely fruit.

<sup>36</sup> On the Chi River see n. 32 above. The T'a, according to Ch'ien Mu (*Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 114) flowed from near modern Kao-ch'ing 高青 in Shantung to the sea (see T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 8:23).

<sup>37</sup> See n. 28 to Chapter 1 above.

<sup>38</sup> Probably the area between modern Peking and the sea, see Chavannes, 1:112-3, n. 3. Traditional commentators read Yü-yi as a place name.

<sup>39</sup> The Tzu flowed north through modern Shantung east of Tzu-po 淄博 City into the sea; the route of the Wei

The soil there was light-colored and humous. There were broad salt flats on the sea-shore. The land there was saline.<sup>40</sup> The land was rated the upper grade of the lower level. The farm tax was the middle grade of the upper level.

The standard tribute there was salt, Chinese arrowroot,<sup>41</sup> sea products of various kinds, and, from the valleys of Mount Tai, silk, hemp, lead, pine-wood, and unusual rocks.

The Yi people of Lai 萊<sup>42</sup> were herdsmen; their basket tribute was mountain-mulberry silk.<sup>43</sup>

[All these goods were shipped] along the Wen 汶 [River],<sup>44</sup> passed over the Chi 濟 [and thereby reached the capital].

[56] The land from the coast and [Mount] Tai to the Huai 淮 [River]<sup>45</sup> was Hsü-chou 徐州 [the Land of Hsü].

After the Huai and Yi 沂<sup>46</sup> [rivers] were regulated, [Mounts] Meng 蒙 and Yü 羽<sup>47</sup> were planted. After Ta-yeh 大野<sup>48</sup> had been made into a reservoir, the Tung-yüan 東原<sup>49</sup> area was well-ordered.

The soil there was red, clayey and humous. The vegetation gradually became lush.<sup>50</sup> The land there was rated the upper grade of the middle level. The farm tax was the middle grade of the middle level.

The standard tribute was soil in five colors,<sup>51</sup> pheasants from the valleys of Mount Yü, pauwlonia wood from the south of Mount Yi, "floating" stone chimes<sup>52</sup> from the banks of the Ssu 泗 [River],<sup>53</sup> oyster pearls and fish from the Yi people of the Huai [River].

The basket tribute there was dark, fine silk and white silk.

[All these goods were shipped] along the Huai and Ssu [rivers], joining the Ho [and thereby reached the capital].

was also northward and it was located about 50 miles east of the Tzu (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:26-27).

<sup>40</sup> The sentence "The land there was saline" 厥田斥鹵 does not appear in the *Shang shu* text.

<sup>41</sup> Following Needham (6:2:86).

<sup>42</sup> An area in what is now north-central Shantung (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:12).

<sup>43</sup> Needham (*op. cit.*) explains that yen 葎 is the mountain mulberry (*morus mongolica*). The silk produced by silkworms eating these leaves was of a generally lower quality, but as Needham adds, "mountain mulberry silk was considered to be especially good for the strings of musical instruments because of its high tensile strength."

<sup>44</sup> The Wen flowed southwest and then west out of modern central Shantung entering the Chi near modern Liang-shan 梁山 (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:26).

<sup>45</sup> The course of the Huai at this time approximates its modern location (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:10).

<sup>46</sup> The Yi flowed from modern Yi-yüan 沂源 in Shantung south to join the Huai about 70 miles from its mouth (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:45).

<sup>47</sup> Mount Meng is west of modern Yi-nan 沂南 in Shantung (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:39). On Mount Yü see n. 116, Chapter 1 above.

<sup>48</sup> A large lake on the Chi River just south of modern Liang-shan in Shantung (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:39).

<sup>49</sup> "Chi-chieh" locates this area near modern Tung-p'ing 東平 and the lake of the same name in west-central Shantung (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 8:22 and 5:5).

<sup>50</sup> This line is puzzling. Chavannes (1:116) translates it similarly: "les herbes et les arbres s'y multiplient de plus en plus" and Viatkin (1:153) renders it: "and [in it (i.e., the soil)] grasses and trees grew luxuriantly." Wang Li-ch'i's also understands the line in this manner (2:35). But there are no parallel descriptions in this chapter. Realizing this, Needham (6:86) substitutes *chan* 漸 for *chien* 漸 and *pao* 苞 for *pao* 包 to read: "Its (characteristic) plant is a kind of oak, its (characteristic) plant a kind of spear-grass."

<sup>51</sup> These soils--green, red, white, black and yellow earth--were used in the *she* 社 sacrifice (see Needham, 6:86, n. 1 and Chavannes, 5:437ff. and 459ff.).

<sup>52</sup> Needham (6:1:88) translates "chime-stones from the frothy rocks."

<sup>53</sup> Flowing south from near modern Ch'ü-fu 曲阜 in Shantung to join the Sui 睢 River east of modern Sui-ting 睢定 in Shantung (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:25).

[58] The land between the Huai River and the coast was Yang-chou 揚州 [the Land of Yang]. After P'eng-li 彭蠡<sup>54</sup> was made into a reservoir, the migratory birds nested there. After the Three Chiang 三江<sup>55</sup> had been sent into [the ocean], Lake Chen 震澤<sup>56</sup> was established, and the arrow-shaft bamboo spread.<sup>57</sup>

The weeds there were tender. The trees there were lofty. The soil there was boggy. The land was rated the lower grade of the lower level. The farm tax was the lower grade of the upper level with its [next] higher variation.

The standard tribute was three kinds of metal,<sup>58</sup> *yao* 瑤 jade, *k'un* 琨 jade,<sup>59</sup> arrow-shaft bamboo, ivory, animal hides,<sup>60</sup> [pheasant] feathers, and yak tails.

Dressed in grass cloth, with their basket tribute of strung cowries,<sup>61</sup> and their bundle tribute of tangerines and pomelos, the Island Yi 島夷 people sailed along the Chiang 江 and up the coast to join with the Huai and Ssu Rivers [and thereby reached the capital].

[60] From Mount Ching 荆<sup>62</sup> to the southern slopes of Mount Heng 衡<sup>63</sup> was Ching-chou 荊州 [the Land of Ching]. The Chiang and the Han 漢<sup>64</sup> [rivers] all were returned to their origin in the sea and the Nine Chiang 九江<sup>65</sup> flowed smoothly. After the T'o 沱 and Ch'en 沔<sup>66</sup> [rivers] had been channeled, the soil in the Yün 雲 and Meng 夢 [marshes<sup>67</sup>] was [\*61\*] [also] regulated.

<sup>54</sup> This lake formed along the Yangtze, adjacent to the north end of modern Lake P'o-yang 鄱陽 in Kiangsi (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:32).

<sup>55</sup> The "Three Chiang" refers to the three mouths of what is now the Yangtze River which then marked its delta: one near its current mouth, one east of modern Lake T'ai 太 near Shanghai, and one near modern Hangchow in Chekiang (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:32, see also Chavannes, 1:119, n. 2).

<sup>56</sup> I.e., modern Lake T'ai 太 (Ch'ien Mu, *Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 129); see also Derk Bodde, "Marshes in Mencius and Elsewhere: A Lexicographical Note," in *Ancient China*, pp. 157-66.

<sup>57</sup> *Chu-chien* 竹箭 "arrow-shaft bamboo" seems to be Ssu-ma Ch'ien's translation of the phrase *hsiao-tang* 篠簜. Needham (6.1:88, n. f) observes "*Hsiao* means dwarf bamboo, perhaps of several species, among which we might identify *Arundinaria hindsii* . . . and *Bambus tuldoidea* . . . *Tang* means large bamboo, with long internodes, such as *Phyllostachys bambusoides*."

<sup>58</sup> Karlgren's gloss #1364 ("Glosses, I," p. 150) describes the various explanations. We follow him in assuming that this refers to three kinds of bronze.

<sup>59</sup> We have not succeeded in identifying these stones.

<sup>60</sup> Needham (6.1:88) translates '(rhinoceros) hide' and adds (*op. cit.* n. k): "Cf. the point made just above (p. 85) that central China was in ancient times much hotter and wetter than now. Hide was for armor."

<sup>61</sup> Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里, *Shang shu chin-chu chin-yi* 尚書今註今譯 in *Ch'ü Wan-li ch'üan-chi* 屈萬里全集 (Taipei: Lien-ching, 1984), p. 37, n. 33, identifies this as "brocade with seashell figuring." Karlgren, "Glosses, I," p. 150, gloss #1365, agrees with this, and translates it as "woven stuffs in cowrie patterns." Needham (6.1:89) ponders whether this could represent a loan for *chi-chü* 吉貝, i.e. cotton. Regarding Karlgren's translation, he argues that the 'figuring' would require a "drawloom," the existence of which is "at least as dubious as the existence of cotton for this period."

<sup>62</sup> About 60 miles north of modern Yi-ch'ang 宜昌 in Hupei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:17).

<sup>63</sup> I.e., modern Mount Heng in Hunan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:46).

<sup>64</sup> I.e., the modern Han River which empties into the Yangtze (i.e., the Chiang) at modern Wuhan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:17-18).

<sup>65</sup> Located in the area of modern Lake P'o-yang in modern Kiangsi (see Chavannes, 1:120, n. 4 and T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:18).

<sup>66</sup> The T'o was actually a separate channel of the Yangtze which flowed north of the main channel for about 20 miles just west of modern Chiang-ling 江陵 in Hupei. The Ch'en was a small stream about 50 miles south of the T'o in Hunan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:44).

<sup>67</sup> Two large marshes west (Yün) and further southwest (Meng) of modern Wuhan in Hupei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:29).

The soil there was boggy. The land was rated the lower grade of the middle level. The farm tax was the upper grade of the lower level.

The standard tribute was [pheasants] feathers, yak tails, ivory, and hides; metals of three kinds; toona mahogany, bow-wood, juniper, and arborvitae; grindstones, whetstones, flint arrowheads, cinnabar, and black bamboo, *lu*-bamboo 籐, and arrowthorn shrub wood. The three states offered their most famous goods as tribute.<sup>68</sup> The bundle tribute was thorny rushes. The basket tribute was black silk, red silk, and silk cords for threading beads. The Nine Chiang presented large turtles.

[All these goods were shipped] along the Chiang, the T'o, the Ch'en, and the Han [rivers], sent over [the mountains] to the Lo 雒, up to the South Ho<sup>69</sup> [and thereby reached the capital].

[62] Between Mount Ching and the Ho was Yü-chou 豫州 [the Land of Yü]. After Yü had sent the Yi 伊, Lo, Ch'an 灋, and Chien 澗<sup>70</sup> into the Ho, after he had made Ying-po 滎播<sup>71</sup> into a reservoir, he channeled Ho Lake 荷澤<sup>72</sup> up to Ming Reservoir 明都.<sup>73</sup>

The soil there was friable; that of the lowland was humous and fertile. The land was rated the middle grade of the upper level. The farm tax was the upper grade of the middle level.

The standard tribute was lacquer, silk, fine arrowroot cloth and ramie cloth. The basket tribute there was fine silk floss.

They also offered stone chimes.

[All these goods were shipped] along the Lo, passed over the Ho [and thereby reached the capital].

[63] Between the southern slopes of Mount Hua 華<sup>74</sup> and the Black Waters 黑水<sup>75</sup> was Liang-chou 梁州 [the Land of Liang]. After Mount Wen 汶<sup>76</sup> and Mount Po 蟠<sup>77</sup> had been planted, after the T'o 沱 and Ch'en 沔 had been channeled, roads were established on Mount Ts'ai 蔡 and Mount Meng 蒙,<sup>78</sup> and the Yi people of the Huan 和 [River]<sup>79</sup> achieved success [in regulating the flood].

<sup>68</sup> There are several interpretations of the text of "The Tribute of Yü" here. See Karlgren, "Glosses, I," pp. 161-2, glosses #1367 and 1368 for more detailed discussion.

<sup>69</sup> The Nan Ho 南河 was that section of the Yellow River just before it split into two streams near modern Ku 潁 County in northeastern Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:24).

<sup>70</sup> The Yi flowed northwest out of what is modern southwestern Honan, south of Loyang, into the Lo River and then enters the Yellow River (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:18). The Ch'an came south from the hills along the Yellow River into the Lo just east of Loyang; the Chien flowed east along the edge of Loyang into the Lo (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:19).

<sup>71</sup> A lake near modern Ying-yang 滎陽 in Honan ("So-yin").

<sup>72</sup> A small lake linking the Chi 濟 and Ho 河 rivers near modern Ting-t'ao in Shantung (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:39).

<sup>73</sup> I.e., Meng-chu 孟豬 a small lake through which the Tan River flowed located on the border between modern Shantung and Honan provinces near modern Shang-ch'iu 商丘 (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:39).

<sup>74</sup> About 65 miles east of modern Sian in Shensi (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:17).

<sup>75</sup> The Black Waters is mentioned three times: in Liang-chou, in Yung-chou, and in the summary of the rivers Yü worked on. They refer to a tributary of the Han River near modern Han-chung 漢中 City in western Shensi ("Cheng-yi"; see also Ch'ien Mu, *Ti-ming k'ao*, pp. 136-8).

<sup>76</sup> On the border between modern Kansu and Szechwan about 200 miles north of Chengtu (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43).

<sup>77</sup> I.e., Mount Po-chung 蟠冢, located about 20 miles southwest of T'ien-shui 天水 in Kansu (Ch'ien Mu, *Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 61 and T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43).

<sup>78</sup> "Chi-chieh" places both mountains in Han-chia 漢嘉 County, about 60 miles southwest of modern Chengtu

The soil there was dark and humous. The land was rated the lower grade of the upper level. The farm tax was the lower grade of the middle level with variations up or down one level.

The standard tribute was pure gold, iron, silver, steel;<sup>80</sup> flint arrowheads, and stones for chimes; black-bear skins, brown-bear skins, fox skins, racoon-dog skins, and wool rugs.

[64] [All these goods were shipped] from Mount Hsi-ch'ing 西傾,<sup>81</sup> along the Huan 桓 [River]<sup>82</sup> and from there along the Ch'ien 潛,<sup>83</sup> over [the mountains] to the Mien 沔,<sup>84</sup> into the Wei 渭,<sup>85</sup> [then] over the Ho [and thereby reached the capital].

[65] Between the Black Waters and the West Ho 西河<sup>86</sup> was Yung-chou 雍州 [the Land of Yung]. After the Jo Waters 弱水<sup>87</sup> had been led westward, the Ching 涇 [River]<sup>88</sup> was joined to the Wei from the north, and both rivers were made to flow smoothly.

After the Ch'i 漆 and the Ch'ü 沮 [rivers]<sup>89</sup> were restored to their courses, the Feng Waters 豐水<sup>90</sup> joined them.

On Mount Ching and Mount Ch'i, roads had been made, [like those] from Mount Chung-nan 終南<sup>91</sup> and Mount Tun-wu 敦物<sup>92</sup> to Mount Niao-shu 鳥鼠.<sup>93</sup> In both the highlands and lowlands, [Yü] achieved success all the way to the desolate areas. After Mount San-wei 三危 had been surveyed, the San-miao 三苗 were for the most part kept in order.<sup>94</sup>

The soil there was dark-colored and friable. The land was rated the upper grade of the upper level. The farm tax was the middle grade of the lower level.

The standard tribute was jade balls, jade staffs, and jade beads.

(T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 4:7). T'an Ch'i-hsiang has Mount Meng about 60 miles west of Chengtu (1:43).

<sup>79</sup> T'an Ch'i-hsiang, who reads Huan-Yi as a place name, locates it north and east of Mount Wen in Kansu (1:43; see also n. 73 above).

<sup>80</sup> We share Needham's (6:91, n. b) doubts that this was steel.

<sup>81</sup> On the border of modern Kansu and Tsinghai about 100 miles southwest of Lanchow (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43).

<sup>82</sup> The Huan flowed southeast from Mount Wen east of the border between modern Kansu and Szechwan for about 200 miles before joining the Chien (see next note) about 100 miles northeast of Chengtu (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43).

<sup>83</sup> The Ch'ien flows south for about 200 miles from Mount Po[meng] in Kansu to join the Pa 巴 River near modern Ho-ch'uan 合川 in Szechwan about 40 miles north of Chungking (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43-4).

<sup>84</sup> I.e., the Han 漢 River (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43-4).

<sup>85</sup> Flowing east from central Kansu, north of modern Sian, into the Yellow River at the conjunction of Honan, Shensi and Shansi provinces (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43-4).

<sup>86</sup> The Hsi Ho 西河 is that portion of the Yellow River from the point it bends north at the juncture of the modern provinces of Shansi, Shensi and Honan until it swings to the west over 300 miles to the north (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:32); see also n. 117 in our Chapter 1 above.

<sup>87</sup> The Jo still has the same name--it flows northwest and then north through modern Kansu into Inner Mongolia and ends in a pair of lakes near the modern city of O-chi-na Ch'i 額濟納旗 (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 8:57).

<sup>88</sup> The Ching flows southeast from modern P'ing-liang 平涼 in Kansu until it enters the Wei about 20 miles northeast of modern Sian (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:22).

<sup>89</sup> The Ch'i was a small tributary (about 20 miles in length) of the Ch'ü, which itself flowed south and east through modern Shensi to enter the Wei about 30 miles northeast of Sian (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:44).

<sup>90</sup> A stream only 25 miles long which flowed into the Wei from the south just west of modern Sian (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:44).

<sup>91</sup> Located 65 miles southwest of modern Sian (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:44).

<sup>92</sup> "So-yin" places Mount Tun-wu east of modern Fu-feng 扶風 in Shensi about 60 miles west of Sian (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 5:41). This is a particularly questionable identification.

<sup>93</sup> Located near the headwaters of the Wei River in modern Kansu (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43).

<sup>94</sup> On Mount San-wei see n. 115, Chapter 1 above. On the San-miao people, see n. 111 in Chapter 1 and on the campaigns against them, see Chao T'ieh-han 趙鐵寒, *Ku-shih k'ao-shu* 古史考述 (Taipei: Cheng-chung Shu-chü, 1965).

[All these goods were shipped] from Mount Chi-shih 積石<sup>95</sup> and arrived at Lung-men 龍門<sup>96</sup> on the West Ho, which flowed into the Wei 渭 from the north [and thereby reached the capital]. As for rugs, they were [sent as tribute by] K'un-lun 昆侖,<sup>97</sup> Hsi-chih 析支,<sup>98</sup> and Ch'ü-sou 渠搜.<sup>99</sup> The Western Jung 西戎<sup>100</sup> then came into order.

[67] [Yü] made roads<sup>101</sup> through the Nine Mountains: from Mount Ch'ien 汧 reaching Mount Ch'i and then to Mount Ching 荆 and across the Ho;<sup>102</sup> [from] Mount Hu-k'ou and Mount Lei-shou 雷首 to the T'ai Yüeh 太嶽 [Great Sacred Mountain];<sup>103</sup> [from] Mount Ti-chu 砥柱 and Mount Hsi-ch'eng 析城 to Mount Wang-wu 王屋;<sup>104</sup> [from] the T'ai-hang 太行 [Mountains] and Mount Ch'ang 常山 to Mount Chieh-shih and then down to the coast;<sup>105</sup> [from] Mount Hsi-ch'ing, Mount Chu-yü 朱圉, and Mount Niao-shu to Mount T'ai-hua 太華;<sup>106</sup> [from] Mount Hsiung-erh 熊耳, Mount Wai-fang 外方, and Mount T'ung-po 桐柏 to Mount Fu-wei 負尾.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>95</sup> A range stretching along the modern Tsinghai-Kansu border 50 miles west of the modern city of Ma-ch'ü 瑪曲 (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43). At the foot of its northern slopes is the Yellow River--these goods were thus shipped over the river around its great northern bend to Lung-men.

<sup>96</sup> On the west bank of the Yellow River about 20 miles north of modern Han-ch'eng 韓城 in Shensi (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:35).

<sup>97</sup> In modern Tsinghai about 200 miles northwest of Ch'ing-hai 青海 (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:31).

<sup>98</sup> Located on the eastern bend of the Yellow River in Tsinghai west of the modern city of Kuei-te 貴德 (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43).

<sup>99</sup> T'an Ch'i-hsiang (2:17) following "Chi-chieh" locates Ch'ü-sou on the northernmost portion of the Yellow River in what is the modern Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region about 20 miles southwest of the modern city of Wu-la-t'e-ch'ien Ch'i 烏拉特前旗. Ch'ien Mu (*Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 11) feels that the Han Ch'ü-sou and that of the Hsia must be different places and suggests a location on the modern Kansu-Shensi border. But the "Chi-chieh" location is much more in keeping with the geographical context of this passage.

<sup>100</sup> A non-Chinese tribe living in Tsinghai.

<sup>101</sup> Another reading of *tao* 道 takes refers it to Yü's travels--see Chavannes, 1:135 and n. 1: "Il (Yü) parcourut les neuf montagnes." Our reading fits better with the parallel passages: *tao Chiu Ch'uan* 道九川 (*Shih chi*, 1:69).

<sup>102</sup> This road would have gone from Mount Ch'ien (written *ch'ien* 汧 in *Shang shu chu-shu* [6:22a]), located about 60 miles west of Mount Ch'i (see n. 19 above) in western Shensi, by Mount Ch'i to Mount Ching (not the same Mount Ching depicted above in n. 62, it is located on the north shore of the Wei and the west bank of the Yellow River near their confluence--T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:35--130 miles east of Mount Ch'i) and then across the Yellow River (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:44).

<sup>103</sup> Here the road ran from Mount Hu-k'ou (see n. 17 above) on the east bank of the Yellow River about 100 miles north of the eastward bend, south to Mount Lei-shou (i.e., Mount Li 歷--see also n. 123, Chapter 1 above), which was on this bend, directly across the Yellow River from Mount Ching, at the juncture of modern Honan, Shansi and Shensi provinces (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:35) on to the T'ai-yüeh (i.e., Mount Huo 霍太 on the east bank of the Fen 汾 River near modern Huo 霍 County in Shansi) about 130 miles to the northeast (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:35).

<sup>104</sup> This route went from Mount Ti-chu on the north bank of the Yellow River about 120 miles south of T'ai-yüeh and 15 miles east of modern San-men Hsia 三門峽 City northeast about 60 miles to Mount Hsi-ch'eng (some 60 miles north of Loyang) and on a few miles south to Mount Wang-wu, a small range just to the south on the Honan-Shansi border (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:35).

<sup>105</sup> The T'ai-hang are actually a lengthy range dividing much of modern Hopei from Shansi, its southernmost portion 60 miles east of Mount Wang-wu; Mount Ch'ang is also known as Mount Heng 恆山 (see *Shang shu chu-shu*, 6:22b), located on the Shansi-Hopei border 85 miles north of the T'ai-hang; Mount Chieh-shih (see n. 30 above) is in extreme northeastern Hopei about 180 miles east of the T'ai-hang and only a few miles from the sea (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:35, 38 and 41).

<sup>106</sup> This road would have run about 300 miles from Mount Hsi-ch'ing near modern Lanchow in Kansu (see n. 81 above) to Mount Chu-yü on the Wei River about 60 miles southeast (downriver) from Mount Niao-shu (see n. 93 above) and then on to Mount T'ai Hua (i.e., Mount Hua), 15 miles south of the juncture of the modern provinces

He made roads from Mount Po-chung 嵎冢 to Mount Ching;<sup>108</sup> [from] Mount Nei-fang 內方 to Mount Ta-pieh 大別;<sup>109</sup> [from] the southern slopes of Mount Wen 汶<sup>110</sup> to Mount Heng, crossing the Nine Chiang, to the plain of Fu-ch'ien 敷淺原.<sup>111</sup>

[69] He channeled the Nine Rivers.<sup>112</sup>

He channeled the Jo Waters to Mount Ho-li 合黎, and sent the remainder of the water into the Liu-sha 流沙 [Shifting Sands (Desert)].<sup>113</sup>

He channeled the Black Waters 黑水 up to Mount San-wei, and sent it into the Nan-hai 南海.<sup>114</sup>

[70] He channeled the Ho from [Mount] Chi-shih to Lung-men, south to the northern slopes of Mount Hua, east to Mount Ti-chu, and further east to Meng-chin 盟津 [Meng Ford].<sup>115</sup> He brought it past the north shore of the Lo 雒 [River] to [Mount] Ta-p'i 大邳.<sup>116</sup> He brought it north past the Chiang River 降水 to Ta-lu.<sup>117</sup> To the north he divided it into the

of Honan, Shansi and Shensi (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43-44).

<sup>107</sup> A lengthy road which began at Mount Hsiung-erh about 125 miles west-southwest of modern Loyang in Shensi, ran to Mount Wai-fang 30 miles east-southeast of Loyang and then south about 100 miles to Mount T'ung-po (on the Honan-Hupei border about 130 miles northwest of modern Wuhan) and Mount Fu-wei (i.e., Pu-wei 陪尾, see *Shang shu chu-shu*, 6:23a) another 65 miles to the south.

<sup>108</sup> This road leads from Mount Po-yang in Kansu (see n. 77 above) 300 miles along the Wei River to Mount Ching near where the Yellow River turns eastward (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43-44).

<sup>109</sup> Mount Nei-fang was on the east bank of the Han 漢 River about 100 miles west of modern Wuhan; this road led eastward nearly 200 miles to the range known as the Ta-pieh on the border between Anhwei and Hupei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:45-6).

<sup>110</sup> The *Shang shu* text regularly distinguishes Mount Wen 岷 and the Wen River 汶. The *Shih chi* text never distinguishes the two, using only 汶. Ssu-ma himself does mention 岷山 in *Shih chi*, 29:1415.

<sup>111</sup> Mount Wen has not been identified. It is not likely to be the Mount Wen referred to above (see n. 76 above) since that one is on the modern Kansu-Szechwan border, hundreds of miles from where the rest of the places on this road are. Neither Ch'ien Mu (*Ti-ming k'ao*, pp. 60-1) nor Chavannes (1:140, n. 1) are of any help. Mount Heng is just south of modern Huo-shan 霍山 in Anhwei. The Nine Chiang was the section of the Yangtze River just north of modern Lake Po-yang in Kiangsi, and the Plain of Fu-ch'ien some 30 miles southwest near modern Te-an 德安 in Kiangsi (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:45-6). Since the remainder of this road (after Mount Wen) runs almost due south for about 125 miles, perhaps Mount Wen is located somewhere just north of Mount Heng.

<sup>112</sup> On the Nine Rivers see Florian C. Reiter, "Change and Continuity in Historical Geography: Chang Huang's (1527-1608) Reflections on the *Yü-kung*," *AM, Third Series*, 3.1(1990), p. 130, Reiter's "Über den Namen 'Neun Flüsse' (Chiu-chiang) und seine Behandlung in der historischen Geographie am Beispiel von Erörterungen Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang's (1123-1195)," *OE*, 29(1982), 161-71, and Sun Hsing-yen 孫星衍 (1753-1818), *Shang shu chin-kü-wen chu-shu* 尚書今古文注疏, 3B:4a, 3C:7b, *SPPY*.

<sup>113</sup> On the Jo Shui see n. 87 above. Mount Ho-li is a small range along the eastern banks of the upper reaches of the Jo in modern Kansu. The Liu-sha refers to a large area of desert from northwest of the Jo in Kansu to the north flowing Yellow River in the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:31-32).

<sup>114</sup> This channel approximates that of the modern Han 漢 River. Mount San-wei (see n. 114, Chapter 1) is in Kansu and the Black Waters near modern Han-chung 漢中 (see n. 75 above). Nan-hai here must refer to the sea beyond the mouth of the Yangtze (see "Cheng-yi").

<sup>115</sup> On these locations see n. 74, 104, 95 and 96 respectively. Meng Ford is about 20 miles northeast of modern Loyang near Meng County in Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:44).

<sup>116</sup> The Lo River flows from southern Shensi (30 miles southwest of Mount Hua) eastward to enter the Yellow River near modern Wen 溫 County in Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:35-36). The "Cheng-yi" says Ta-p'i is Eastern Mount 東山 in Li-yang 黎陽 (near modern Chün 浚 County on the north bank of the Yellow River in Hopei, T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 5:49).

<sup>117</sup> The Chiang is also known as the Chang 漳 and flowed from near modern Ho-shun 和順 in Shansi (near what was later the Ch'ang-p'ing Battlefield) south, east and then northeast to join with the north branch of the Ho about 35 miles northeast of modern Han-tan 邯鄲 in Hopei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:38). On the marsh called Ta-lu, see n. 29 above.

Nine Ho, then brought it together again to become the Ni Ho 逆河 [Reverse Ho] and sent it into the ocean.<sup>118</sup>

From Mount Po-chung he channeled the Yang River 滎, running it eastward to become the Han, and further east to become the waters of the Ts'ang-lang 蒼浪.<sup>119</sup> He brought it past the San-shih River 三澨 and sent it into the Ta-pieh 大別 Mountains.<sup>120</sup> He sent it into the Chiang, then joined it with a lake to the east to make Lake P'eng-li, then east to become the Pei Chiang 北江 [North Chiang] and then sent it into the ocean.<sup>121</sup>

From Mount Wen he channeled the Chiang to the east, splitting it into the T'o, then running it further east into the Li [River] 醴.<sup>122</sup> He brought it past the Nine Chiang to Tung-ling 東陵.<sup>123</sup> He took it east, then turned it north and joined it to the confluence [of waters overflowed from Lake P'eng-li], then turned it east to become the Central Chiang 中江, and sent it into the ocean.

He channeled the Yen 沔 east to become the Chi River, sent it into the Ho, splashed it out to become [Lake] Ying 滎, took it out east, to the north of T'ao-ch'iu 陶丘, further east to Lake Ko 荷, then further east and north to join with the Wen, then further northeast, and sent it into the ocean.<sup>124</sup>

He channeled the Huai from T'ung-po 桐柏 east to join with the Ssu and the Yi Rivers, and sent it east into the ocean.<sup>125</sup>

He channeled the Wei 渭 from Niao-shu-t'ung-hsüeh 鳥鼠同穴 east to join the Feng 豐, further northeast to join with the Ching 涇, brought it east past the Ch'i 漆 and the Chü 沮 [Rivers], and sent it into the Ho.<sup>126</sup>

He channeled the Lo from Mount Hsiung-erh northeast to join with the Chien and Ch'an Rivers, east to join the Yi, then sent it northeast into the ocean.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Presumably the nine channels in the delta of the Yellow River at that time (see n. 34 above). The Reverse River must refer to that portion of the Ho under tidal influence (see Ch'ien Mu, *Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 100).

<sup>119</sup> On Mount Po-chung was near the source of the Han 漢 River (see n. 77 above); according to "Cheng-yi" the Yang and the Ts'ang-lang were designations given to portions of what is now the Han (see also Ch'ien Mu, *Ti-ming k'ao*, pp. 133-4).

<sup>120</sup> T'an Ch'i-hsiang (1:45) identifies San-shih as the land on the left side of the Han south of modern Hsiang-fan 襄樊 in Hupei. It is difficult to see how any water could move from the Han-River basin "into" the Ta-pieh Mountains 100 miles to the east. *Shang shu chu-shu* (6:26b) reads *chih yü* 至于 "up to" rather than *ju yü* 入于 "send into."

<sup>121</sup> On Lake P'eng-li see n. 54 above. The North Chiang refers to that northernmost section of the Yangtze from modern Nanking to the sea (see Ch'ien Mu, *Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 129).

<sup>122</sup> On Mount Wen see n. 76 above; on the T'o, n. 66. The Li (also 禮) River flowed from what is now northwestern Hunan east to join the Yangtze at Lake Tung-t'ing 洞庭 (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:45).

<sup>123</sup> On the Nine Chiang see n. 65 above. Tung-ling was in the Ta-pieh Range, northwest of the Nine Chiang (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:45).

<sup>124</sup> The Yen was the designation given to the upper reaches of the Chi, near modern Chi-yüan 濟源 in Honan; the Chi joined the Ho from the north about 30 miles northwest of modern Chengchow. Lake Ying is located on the south side of the river just northwest of Chengchow. The Chi then flowed out of this lake eastward past T'ao-ch'iu (or simply T'ao, near modern Ting-t'ao 定陶 in Shantung) into Lake K'o a few miles east of that city; then it ran into the Wen (see n. 44 above), back into the Chi, and on to the ocean (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:35-36 and 39-40).

<sup>125</sup> The Huai originates at the foot of Mount T'ung-po on the modern Honan-Hupei border and flows east to the sea; the Ssu and the Yi (see n. 53 and 46 above) are tributaries which join the Tan 丹 and then the Huai in Kiangsu about 70 miles before it empties into the sea (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:45-46).

<sup>126</sup> The Wei originates at the foot of Mount Niao-shu (see n. 93 above) in modern Kansu; the Feng is a small tributary joining it just west of modern Sian; the Ching enters from the north, east of Sian and the Ch'i and Chü join it from the north about 10 miles further downstream (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:43-44).

<sup>127</sup> The Lo (see n. 116 above) flows north of Mount Hsiung-erh (see n. 107 above) eastwards where it is joined



[75] After this, the nine lands were all set in order, and the four quarters all settled. The nine mountain ranges were all marked for roads, the nine waterways' headwaters were cleared, the nine lakes were banked, and the world assembled together.

The [contents of] the six storehouses have been well tended, all the soils have been carefully classified, and due care given to taxes. All paid farm taxes to the central capital<sup>128</sup> based on the three ranks of soils. Bestowing land and *cognomens* [Yü said], "I gave priority to those who had merit. Do not defy my actions!"

[Yü] made the land five-hundred *li* outside of the Son of Heaven's city the supply domain. The farm tax for the first hundred *li* was paid in sheaves of grain, for the next hundred *li* in ears of grain, for the next hundred *li* in spikes of grain, for the next hundred *li* in unhulled grain, and for the last hundred *li* in hulled grain.

[He made] the land five-hundred *li* outside of the supply domain the warning domain. The first hundred *li* were the ranking officers' fiefs. The next hundred *li* were the barons' fiefs, and the last three-hundred *li* were the feudal lords' [fiefs].

[He made] the land five-hundred *li* outside of the warning domain the peace-securing domain. For the first three-hundred *li* they modified the teachings of the central government [according to the situation]. For the last two-hundred *li*, they maintained military garrisons at full strength.

[He made] the land five-hundred *li* outside of the peace-securing domain the reinforcing domain. The first three-hundred *li* [held] the Yi [people], the next two-hundred *li* [held] exiled men.

[He made] the five-hundred *li* outside of the reinforcing domain the wild domain. The first three-hundred *li* [held] the Man [people]. The next two-hundred *li* [held] banished men.

[77] To the east [these domains] extended to the ocean, to the west they covered the Liu-sha, and to the limits of both north and south. [The government's] advice and instructions encompassed the world.

After this, the emperor [Shun] bestowed on Yü a black-jade tablet,<sup>129</sup> announcing to the world his successful accomplishments. The world was then greatly ordered.

Kao-yao was made the judicial officer to administer the people. Emperor Shun held court. Yü, Po Yi 伯夷<sup>130</sup> and Kao-yao conversed before the emperor.<sup>131</sup>

Kao-yao explained his plans: "If [a king] can make his character trustworthy, then his plans will become brilliant and his assistants in harmony."

Yü said, "It is so. But how [to do this]?"

Kao-yao said, "Ah! One should be attentive in cultivating oneself, think for the long term, and cause the nine relations to be sincere and orderly. Then all distinguished people will

by the Chien and Ch'an from the north near Loyang (see n. 70) and the Yi from the south a few miles further downstream before entering the Yellow River (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:18 and 19).

<sup>128</sup> Our parsing differs from the Chung-hua editors here.

<sup>129</sup> *Kuei* 圭 was a tablet, made of jade or stone, which the emperor and the feudal lords held during sacrifices at court (Hsu Chia-lu, p. 219).

<sup>130</sup> Only Kao-yao and Yü appear in the conversation that follows. It is not clear who this Po Yi is; perhaps this is an error for 伯益, as Takigawa (2:3), suggests. There is also a Po Yi who appears in the "Canon of Shun" chapter of the *Book of Documents* as one of the Chiefs of the Four Sacred Mountains, and another Po Yi who appears in the *Lü-shih ch'un-chiu* as the tutor of the Emperor Chuan-hsü (see our translation of Chapter 1). In any case, he must be distinguished from the famous hermit of a much later era who appears in Chapter 61.

<sup>131</sup> This sentence summarizes the following passage, a condensed version of the *Shang shu* chapter "Kao-yao Mo" 皋陶謨 (The Plan of Kao-yao), *Shang shu chu-shu*, 4:16b-24b, *SPPY*.

come to assist you. Things done near can have far-reaching [effects]--the reason lies in these [things]."<sup>132</sup>

Yü bowed to his elegant speech. "It is so."

Kao-yao said, "Ah! [Governing consists in] knowing people and bringing peace to people."

Yü said, "Alas! It is all just as you have said. But even a good emperor finds it difficult. If he were able to know people, then he would be intelligent and therefore capable of appointing people to official positions. If he could bring peace to people, then he would be gracious and therefore the common people would embrace him. If he were able to be intelligent and gracious, why should he worry about Huan Tou 驩兜, why should he move the Miao 苗 [people],<sup>133</sup> why should he fear those sycophants with their sweet talk and pleasing appearance?"

Kao-yao said, "It is so. Ah! With regard to conduct, there are indeed nine virtues. And I will surely tell you these virtues."

Then he said, "When one sets to work, one should be liberal but strict, gentle but firm, frank but reverent, orderly but alert, compliant but courageous, forthright but warm, easy going but unyielding, resolute but sincere, forceful but righteous. If one can manifest these principles, it is excellent indeed!"

"If one can show three of these nine virtues daily, if morning and night one is reverent and diligent, one can maintain his household."<sup>134</sup>

"If one sternly promotes and respects six of the nine virtues daily, and serves sincerely, one can maintain his state."

"If one accepts them completely and applies them generally, carrying out all nine of these virtues, those with talent will serve in office and all the functionaries will be made respectful and cautious."<sup>135</sup>

"Do not allow the evil, the depraved, the cunning plotters, or men otherwise unfit to hold office."<sup>136</sup> This is what is called disrupting the affairs of Heaven. To chastise criminals according to heaven, he has five punishments to be used in five ways.<sup>137</sup> Could what I have said achieve good behavior?"

Yü said, "Your words would bring about good merit and behavior."

[78] Kao-yao said, "I don't have knowledge yet, I only want to assist the government."

[79] Emperor Shun spoke to Yü and said, "You say something illuminating, too!"

Yü touched his forehead to the ground and said, "Ah! What should I say? I think only of keeping myself busy every day."

Kao-yao challenged Yü, "What do you mean by keeping busy?"

<sup>132</sup> We follow the *Shang shu chu-shu* (4:17a) text (*tsai tz'u* 在茲), rather than the *Shih chi* text (*tsai yi* 在已).

<sup>133</sup> Huan-tou was a bad minister of Yao (see *Shang shu cheng-yi*, 2:11b, *SPPY*) and the [San]-Miao were referred to above (see n. 94); a parallel passage can be found in *Shang shu* (*Shang shu cheng-yi*, 4:10b, *SPPY*); on the sources referring to Huan Tou as the progenitor of the Miao, see Karlgren, "Legends," pp. 254-5.

<sup>134</sup> Our translation follows Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里, *Shang shu chin-chu chin-yi*, p. 22, n. 20.

<sup>135</sup> The *Shang shu chu-shu* (4:20b) reads 百僚師師, 百工惟時, 撫于五辰, 庶績其凝. The *Shih chi* text reads 百吏謹肅 and omits the last twelve characters; thus Ssu-ma Ch'ien's text either differed or he took *shih-shih* 師師 as a binome with the meaning "solemn" and simply omitted the missing portion.

<sup>136</sup> The *Shang shu chu-shu* (4:21b) reads 無教逸欲有邦. For various interpretations of this line, see Karlgren, "Glosses, I," pp. 111-2, gloss #1306. It seems that Ssu-ma Ch'ien took the word *chiao* 教 in a sense somewhat similar to the modern usage of "cause, allow."

<sup>137</sup> The *Shih chi* omits a long passage from the *Shang shu* text here, which is why this passage seems so abrupt.

Yü said, "The flood waters surged towards the heavens, so vast that they embraced the mountains and covered the hills. The people in the lowlands were all working on the waters."<sup>138</sup>

"When I travelled on land, I rode in a car; when I travelled on water, I rode in a boat; when I travelled over mud, I rode in a sled; when I travelled in the mountains, I rode in a sedan chair."<sup>139</sup> As I travelled through the mountains, I marked the trees for roads, and together with [Po] Yi 益 I gave the common people rice and fresh meat. This is how we dug channels for the Nine Ho and brought them to the four seas, dredged the ditches and canals and brought them to the rivers.

"Together with [Hou] Chi 稷, I gave the common people foods which were hard to obtain. When a place had little to eat, then we moved [food] from where there was a surplus to where there was not enough."<sup>140</sup> And we also moved people's residence around. The common people then were settled. The many regions became peaceful."

Kao-yao said, "It is so. This is your outstanding merit."<sup>141</sup>

Yü said, "Ah! Emperor! Be careful of the position you hold and keep your behavior composed. Retain your kindness and the world will greatly echo you. Openly serve the mandates of the Supreme Deity by cleansing your mind. Heaven will bless you by enhancing your mandate."

The emperor said, "Oh! You vassals! You vassals! You vassals be my hands and feet, eyes and ears. I want to assist the people; you assist me! I want to observe the manifestations of the ancients, in [the garments embroidered with] the sun, moon, and planets. You made them. I want to hear the sounds of the six pipes, the five tones [of the pentatonic scale], and the eight sounds [of the musical instruments], to observe whether [the country is] in order or disorder,"<sup>142</sup> so I can modify my five teachings. You [\*80\*] make me hear them. If I become close to the depraved, you correct and assist me."<sup>143</sup> You shall not flatter me to my face and slander me after you have withdrawn. You shall respect the four attendant vassals."<sup>144</sup> As for all those defamatory and depraved vassals, if a lord's kindness is applied with sincerity, they will all become peaceful."

Yü said, "It is so. If an emperor does not practice [these] things, generally mixing up the good and the bad, then there would be no merit."

The emperor said,<sup>145</sup> "Don't be as presumptuous as Tan-chu 丹朱,<sup>146</sup> who was fond of nothing but leisure and pleasure. Even if there was no water, he would sail his boat. With his

<sup>138</sup> The *Shang shu chu-shu* (here "Yi-chi" 益稷, 5:1b) reads 下民昏墊. The *Shih chi* text reads 下民皆服於水. For a discussion of other possible translations for this line, see Karlgren, "Glosses, I," pp. 116-7, gloss #1313.

<sup>139</sup> This is Ssu-ma Ch'ien's explanation for the phrase *yü ch'eng ssu-tsai* 予乘四載 in the *Shang shu chu-shu* (*Shang shu chü-shu*, 5:1b, SPPY). It is explained in approximately the same way in the *Han shu* ("The Treatise on Canals and Ditches" 沟洫志) and the *K'ung An-kuo Commentary*. The *Sun Sub-commentary* claims that this explanation is also given in two older books now existing only in fragments: *Shih Tzu* 尸子 and *Shen Tzu* 慎子.

<sup>140</sup> The traditional interpretation of the *Shang shu* text differs. See Karlgren, "Glosses, I," pp. 117-8, gloss #1315.

<sup>141</sup> The *Shang shu* text reads *shih ju ch'ang yen* 師汝昌言 "I shall follow your elegant words."

<sup>142</sup> There are numerous interpretations of the phrase *lai shih hua* 來始滑. See Karlgren, "Glosses, I," pp. 125-7, gloss #1322 for a lengthy discussion.

<sup>143</sup> The *Shang shu chu-shu* (5:5a) reads: *Yü wei, ju pi* 予違, 汝弼 "If I err, you guide me."

<sup>144</sup> *Fu-ch'en* 輔臣 is Ssu-ma Ch'ien's rendering of the word *lin* 鄰 in the *Shang shu chu-shu* (5:5a). According to "So-yin," *lin* refers to four types of attendants who stood to the front, rear, left and right of the Emperor in court.

<sup>145</sup> In the *Shang shu chu-shu* (5:10b) this is still part of Yü's speech. See Karlgren, "Glosses, I," p. 131, gloss #1329a: both *ku-wen* and *chin-wen* versions originally had the phrase *Ti yüeh* 帝曰, but it was removed in the *K'ung* version of the text.

friends he engaged in licentious behavior at home. For this reason he cut off his family tradition. I could not follow such an example."

Yü said, "[On the *hsin* 辛 day and the *jen* 壬 day] I married a daughter of T'u-shan 塗山 and [stayed home] through the *k'uei* 癸 and *chia* 甲 days."<sup>147</sup> When Ch'i 啟 was born, I did not take care of him. For this reason I was able to accomplish the work of waters and lands and assist you to realize the five service-zones as far as five-thousand miles away--in each land we made twelve settlements--extending outward to reach the four seas. In all [these places] we established a chief for every five [lords]<sup>148</sup> and each of them carried out his own works. The Miao were obstinate; however, they would not carry out their work. May the Emperor bear this in mind."

The emperor said, "It was your work which made it possible to guide my deeds."

[81] Kao-yao at this point looked upon Yü's deeds and ordered all the people to model themselves on Yü. If they did not do as he said, then punishment followed. Shun's virtue was greatly manifest.

At this point K'uei 夔 played music, the deceased ancestors all arrived [to enjoy the sacrifices], the lords all yielded to each other, the birds and beasts all began to soar and dance, and the "Hsiao-shao" 簫韶 was played for the ninth time. A phoenix came, all the beasts danced, and all the officials were in harmony. The emperor for this reason wrote a song which went:

To care for heaven's mandate  
is to make good use of time and potential;

Then he sang

Hands and feet understand each other,  
the head be inspired,  
and the one-hundred tasks [\*82\*] thrive!

Kao-yao touched his forehead to the ground, raised his voice and said, "Keep in mind, always engage in interesting affairs, be careful about your laws and be attentive!" Then he too made a song which went:

The head be bright,  
the arms and legs have might,  
and every enterprise run right!

Again he sang,

When the head takes care of the trivial,  
the arms and legs become idle,  
then ten thousand things are unattended!

<sup>146</sup> Yao's son--see our translation of Chapter 1 above.

<sup>147</sup> Legge (3:85) translates the corresponding *Shang shu* passage: "When I married in T'oo-shan, I remained with my wife only the days sin, jin, kwei, and kea." These are the eighth, ninth, tenth and first days of the ten-day week. See also Karlgren, "Glosses, I," p. 134-5, gloss #1333, and Chavannes, 1:158 and n. 3.

<sup>148</sup> There are numerous readings of this line, but we follow that suggested by K'ung An-kuo (see "Chi-chieh"; see also Legge's comments [3:85-86]).



The emperor bowed and said, "It is so! Go! Be attentive!"<sup>149</sup>

At this point the people of the world esteemed Yü's clarification of the standards, ways of doing things, and music, so they put him in charges [of the sacrifices] to the spirits of the mountains and rivers.<sup>150</sup> Emperor Shun recommended Yü to the heavens to be his successor. After seventeen years, Emperor Shun died.

When the mourning period of three years was over, Yü declined the position and avoided Shun's son, Shang-chün 商均, by going to Yang-ch'eng 陽城.<sup>151</sup> The feudal lords of the world all kept away from Shang-chün and paid homage to Yü. After this, Yü ascended the throne. Facing southward, he received the world's homage. The name of his state was Hsia-hou 夏后. His *cognomen* was Ssu 姒.

[83] When Emperor Yü was enthroned, he selected Kao-yao and recommended him to heaven. He was about to transfer the government to him, but Kao-yao died. He enfeoffed Kao-yao's descendants at Ying 英 and Liu 六 and some of them at Hsü 許.<sup>152</sup> Afterward he selected Yi 益 and entrusted him with the reigns of government.

After ten years, Emperor Yü made an imperial tour of inspection to the east. When he reached K'uai-chi 會稽, he passed away. [As he was dying] he gave the world to Yi.

When the mourning period of three years was over, Yi yielded to Emperor Yü's son, Ch'i 啟, and avoided him by living south of Mount Ch'i. Yü's son Ch'i was worthy and the people of the world fixed their hopes on him. By the time Yü died, even though he had given the world to Yi, the days Yi had assisted Yü were few, and the people of the world had not yet reached an understanding with him. For this reason the feudal lords kept away from Yi and paid homage to Ch'i. They said, "This is our lord, Emperor Yü's son." After this, Ch'i subsequently ascended the throne of the Son of Heaven. He was known as Emperor Ch'i of Hsia-hou.

[84] Emperor Ch'i of Hsia-hou was Yü's son; [Ch'i's] mother was a daughter of the T'u-shan 塗山 Clan.

The Yu-Hu 有扈 Clan did not submit; Ch'i chastised it and engaged in a great battle at Kan 甘.<sup>153</sup> When he was about to go into battle, he wrote the "Vow at Kan"<sup>154</sup> and then called in the six ministers to explain.

Ch'i said, "Oh, you people of the six offices! I will take this vow to enjoin you. The Yu-Hu Clan abused the five elements and neglected the three annuaries.<sup>155</sup> Heaven for this

<sup>149</sup> This marks the end of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's paraphrase of "Kao-yao's Plan." There is a lengthy section in *Shang shu* (preceding "at this point K'uei played music") which Ssu-ma Ch'ien omits here.

<sup>150</sup> This seems related to *Ta-Tai Li-chi* (7:3b, *SPPY*): 為神主, 為民父母. The term *shen-chu* 神主 also appears in the *Shang shu* chapter "Hsien yü yi te" 咸有一德 (All Have One Virtue) and in the *Tso chuan* (Yang, *Tso chuan*, Hsiang 14, p. 1016).

<sup>151</sup> On our treatment of *ch'eng* 城 see "On Using This Book" in the front-matter.

<sup>152</sup> Ying was to the south of the Huai River near modern Ku-shih 固始 in Honan; Liu further southeast near modern Liu-an 六安 in Anhwei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:10); Hsü was a few miles east of modern Hsü-ch'ang 許昌 in Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:29).

<sup>153</sup> Kan was located about 25 miles southwest of modern Sian (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:10).

<sup>154</sup> This begins Ssu-ma Ch'ien's paraphrase of the *Book of Documents* chapter "Kan shih" 甘誓 (The Vow at Kan), *Shang shu chu-shu* (7:1a-4a). There is a question, however, whether this chapter refers to Yü or to his son Ch'i.

<sup>155</sup> Karlgren ("Glosses on the *Book of Documents*," No. 1399 [BMFEA, 20(1948)], pp. 168-9), following suggestions by Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (127-200 A.D., cited by "Chi-chieh" in *Shih chi*, 2:84, and Ma Jung 馬融 (79-166 A.D., cited by "Chi-chieh" in *Shih chi*, 4:122) translates *san-cheng* 三正 as the three governing forces (of Heaven, Earth, and Man). The usual interpretation of *san-cheng* is as a reference to the "three annuaries" of the Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties. These supposedly differed as to which month was designated as the beginning

reason is going to cut short its sovereignty. Now I am only respectfully carrying out Heaven's punishment.

"If the left flank does not attack the left, if the right flank does not attack the right, you are not carrying out your orders. If the drivers do not guide their horses properly, you are not carrying out your orders. If you follow orders, you will be rewarded at the ancestral temple. If you do not follow orders, you will be slaughtered at the earth god's temple. I will enslave your family." Then he destroyed the Yu-Hu Clan and the world came to pay homage.

[85] When Emperor Ch'i of the Hsia-hou died, his son Emperor T'ai-k'ang 太康 was enthroned. Emperor T'ai-k'ang lost his state. While his five brothers waited on the north bank of the Lo, they wrote the "Song of the Five Princes."<sup>156</sup>

When T'ai-k'ang passed away, his younger brother Chung-k'ang 中康 was enthroned. He was known as the Emperor Chung-k'ang. During the time of Emperor Chung-k'ang, The Hsi 羲 and The Ho 和<sup>157</sup> indulged themselves in drinking, disregarding the seasons and confusing the reckoning of the days. Yin 胤 went to chastise them and wrote "Yin's Campaign."<sup>158</sup>

[86] When Chung-k'ang passed away, his son, Emperor Hsiang 相 was enthroned. When Emperor Hsiang passed away, his son Emperor Shao-k'ang 少康 was enthroned.<sup>159</sup> When Emperor Shao-k'ang passed away, his son Emperor Chu 子<sup>160</sup> was enthroned. When Emperor Chu passed away, his son Emperor Hui 槐 was enthroned. When Emperor Hui passed away, his son Emperor Wang 芒 was enthroned. When Emperor Wang passed away, his son Emperor Hsieh 泄 was enthroned. When Emperor Hsieh passed away, his son Emperor Pu-chiang 不降 was enthroned. When Emperor Pu-chiang passed away, his younger brother Emperor Chiung 廂 was enthroned. When Emperor Chiung passed away, his son Emperor Chin 廛 was enthroned. When Emperor Chin passed away, they enthroned Emperor Pu-chiang's son, K'ung-chia 孔甲. He was known as Emperor K'ung-chia.

After Emperor K'ung-chia was enthroned, he delighted in following ghosts and spirits and engaging in licentious and disorderly actions. The prestige of the Hsia-hou Clan declined and the feudal lords rebelled against him.

Heaven sent down two dragons,<sup>161</sup> a male and a female. K'ung-chia was not able to care for them and he lost the support of the Huan-lung 豢龍 (Dragon Raising) Clan. The Yao-t'ang 陶唐 Clan was already in decline, [but] among their descendants one Liu Lei 劉累<sup>162</sup> learned the technique of taming dragons from the Huan-lung Clan and thus obtained service with K'ung-chia. K'ung-chia bestowed on him the *cognomen* Yü-lung 御龍 (Dragon Tamer) and conferred on him the people descended from the Shih-wei 豕韋 [Clan]. The female

of the farming calendar. While Karlgren's suggestion merits consideration, we believe that it is more likely Ssu-ma Ch'ien took *san-cheng* in the calendrical sense, since this was the more common interpretation in the Han dynasty. There is some support for this in *Shih chi*, 4:122, which reads "[Chow] has cut himself off from Heaven and ruined his *san-cheng*." "Cut himself off from Heaven" is easily understood in light of calendrical matters, and the possessive "his" makes it unlikely that Ssu-ma thought of *san-cheng* in such general terms as "the three governing forces."

<sup>156</sup> Another section of the *Shang shu*, "Wu tzu chih ko" 五子之歌 (*Shang shu chu-shu*, 7:4a-8b).

<sup>157</sup> On The Hsi and The Ho see Legge (3:18n.), *Shang shu chu-shu* (2:5b, *SPPY*), and Karlgren, "Legends," pp. 262-7.

<sup>158</sup> A section of the *Shang shu*, "Yin cheng" 胤征, (*Shang shu chu-shu*, 7:8b-16a).

<sup>159</sup> There are numerous stories regarding Shao-k'ang in various Warring States texts, but Ssu-ma Ch'ien has apparently decided to omit them here.

<sup>160</sup> "So-yin" gives special readings for several of these names. Our transliteration below follows "So-yin."

<sup>161</sup> See also Jean Pierre Diény, *Le symbolisme du dragon dans la Chine antique* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1987).

<sup>162</sup> See also Yang, *Tso chuan*, Chao 29, pp. 1501-2.

dragon died and Liu Lei fed it to The Hsia-hou. The Hsia-hou sent [someone] to demand [more of it], and, fearing [that he would be punished], Liu Lei moved on.

[88] When K'ung-chia passed away, his son Emperor Kao 皋 was enthroned. When Emperor Kao passed away, his son Emperor Fa 發 was enthroned. When Fa passed away, his son Emperor Lü-k'uei 履癸 was enthroned. He was known as Chieh 桀.

From K'ung-chia's time to the time of Emperor Chieh, the feudal lords had revolted many times against the Hsia. Chieh did not engage in virtuous [government] but in military power<sup>163</sup> and [this] hurt the families of the hundred cognomens. The families of the hundred cognomens were not able to bear him.

Chieh then summoned T'ang 湯 and jailed him in Hsia-t'ai 夏臺. After a while he freed him. T'ang cultivated his virtue and the feudal lords all submitted to T'ang. T'ang then led troops to attack Chieh of Hsia. Chieh fled to Ming-t'iao 鳴條<sup>164</sup> and subsequently was exiled and died there. Before he died he said to someone, "I regret failing to kill T'ang in Hsia-t'ai; that is what has brought me to this."

T'ang then ascended the throne of the Son of Heaven and received the world's homage in The Hsia's place. T'ang enfeoffed the descendants of the Hsia. In the Chou dynasty they were enfeoffed at Ch'i 杞.

[89] His Honor the Grand Scribe says: "Yü had Ssu as his *cognomen*. His descendants were enfeoffed separately and they used [the names of] their own states as their *cognomens*. So for this reason there were the Hsia-hou Clan, the Yu-Hu Clan, the Yu-Nan 有男 Clan, the Chen-hsün 斟尋 Clan, the T'ung-ch'eng 彤城 Clan, the Pao 褒 Clan, the Fei 費 Clan, the Chi 杞 Clan, the Tseng 緡 Clan, the Hsin 辛 Clan, the Ming 冥 Clan, the Chen 斟 Clan, the Ko 戈 Clan.<sup>165</sup> Confucius followed the Hsia calendar and many scholars have transmitted "Hsia hsiao-cheng" 夏小正 (The Lesser Annuary of the Hsia).<sup>166</sup> In the time of Yü of Hsia the tribute and taxation systems were completed. Some say Yü met the feudal lords south of the Chiang to assess their merits and died there. Accordingly he was buried there. The place was named K'uai-chi. K'uai-chi means "gather together to evaluate."

<sup>163</sup> We read this as 不務德而(務)武: 傷百姓.

<sup>164</sup> North of the Yellow River in modern Honan about 30 miles northeast of modern Kaifeng (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:10).

<sup>165</sup> The Chung-hua edition emends this to read "the Chen-ko clan."

<sup>166</sup> This is the name of a chapter in the *Ta Tai li-chi*.

## TRANSLATORS' NOTE

This chapter is framed by an account of the Hsia lineage. Ssu-ma Ch'ien says little of Yü's origin, indicating his skepticism of his sources. The main section of this chapter is, however, an introduction to ancient Chinese geography with passages which suggest the *Domesday Book*. It is based closely on Ssu-ma Ch'ien's interpretation of the "Yü kung" 禹貢 chapter in the *Shang shu* 尚書 (Book of Documents). In following with the perceived intention of this chapter, we have endeavored to identify place names in a manner which would allow the text to make sense, keeping in mind, however, that the locations we provide in the apparatus are for the most part speculative.

Although Ssu-ma Ch'ien studied the *Shang shu* with K'ung An-kuo 孔安國 (c. 156 c. 74 B.C.), his interpretations often differ from those found in the extant "K'ung An-kuo Commentary." There is a general consensus that this commentary was actually the work of a much later scholar, but many complex questions regarding the relationship between the "Commentary" and the *Shih chi* remain, some of which are discussed in Ku Kuo-shun's work listed in the "Studies" below.

On the chronology of the Hsia, see David W. Pankenier, "Mozi and the Dates of Xia, Shang and Zhou: A Research Note," *EC*, 9-10(1983-85), 175-81 and Tu Cheng-sheng 杜正勝, "Hsia-tai k'ao-ku chi ch'i kuo-chia fa-chang te t'an-so" 夏代考古及其國家發展的探索, *K'ao-ku*, 1990.1, 43-56. The latter traces the history of the Hsia both as clan-state and dynasty.

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