The Betty Behrens Seminar on Classics of Historiography

Wednesday 22 May 2024, 2pm-4pm

Michael Nylan
Distinguished Professor, University of California, Berkeley

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

1A.1 encomium in verse
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.

1A.2 account of Xi and He and calendrical matters
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.

1A.2+ possibly interpolated (?) narrative
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.

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.

1A.3 dialogues concerning the ability of candidates for office
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).}

1 [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 Ruqiu 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: 必若稽古。帝舜曰重華，協于帝。諱哲文明。溫恭允塞。玄德升聞。乃命以位。Compare the entry in the Saishun 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...]}
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.

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].

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 jin, 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.

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

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.

<ref>1B.6c tours of inspection, gift-giving</ref>
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.

<ref>1B.7 Shun's use of punishments</ref>
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.

<ref>1B.8 the death of Yao and the transfer of power to Shun</ref>
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.

<ref>1B.9 Shun consults with the Twelve Pastors</ref>
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.

<ref>1B.10 consultation by Shun with the Marchmounts, who recommend Yu</ref>
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."
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!"

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."

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!"

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.

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."

<1B.16 general address to the appointed officers; talk of merit and examinations>
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.

<1B.17 Shun's reign and death, a summary>
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

14.1 narrative setting
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.

14.2 speech focusing on kingly rule
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.

14.3 one or two positive charges
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.

14.4 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."

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!"

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 will 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."

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. Hearken 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

1A.1

---

1 Dian is used here in the traditional way, to refer to customs believed to be based upon natural laws. See Gu Biao, in Huangshiyishu kao 1893, 1b.
[HS 馨; WYS 奥; PK 曰]若 [HS 順] 稽古 2 帝堯 3。曰放勛 / 勳 / 勳。欽明 5 文思安安 6。允 諾 7 赫 講 8。光 "OY, BG, HS 橫" 被四表 10。假 [CY, PK 格] 11 于上下。

2 Tentative translation of the four-character phrase yue ruo ji gu 日若稽古, given four possible translations for yue 若: (1) GU 4, has yue mean 諾 ("to agree" or "agreeably"); (2) Yu Xingwu, cited in ibid., says yue 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/越/越 = 若曰 = 若 (GU 5); or (4) as wei 唯, 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 gin 欽 for yue). Shiji omits the four-character phrase altogether. This translation follows Ma Rong, who glosses the phrase as shankao gundao 順考古道; relevant also is Mozi 7.3 (以天志为法也，而順帝之則也); cf. the four-character phrase in Yi Zhoubu 33 ("Wu Mu jie "武穆解 chapter). See the Keywords section for more on ruo.

3 The graphs in the four-character phrase 日若稽古 generated such controversy, that it acquired some 30,000 graphs or phrases (yan 言) in explanation (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 日古 ("according with antiquity") to praise King Wen, and other antique bronze use the similar phrase ruo yue 如古.

4 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 (字字). 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. Karlgen 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 Shih was the first to query the longstanding tradition that Fangxun is a name or epithet for Yao. Shuzhuan, juan 1, states that fang 吳 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 (bugan zhuan 不敢专), an important Han theme, if not one most modern scholars emphasize today.

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

5 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.

6 By the glosses, an an 安安 means yan yan 晏晏 ("to make be at one's ease"), elsewhere glossed as heci xu dong ju ye 和喜無動懶也; WRL (p. 1) reads yan yan 宴宴, on the basis of Zheng Xuan's glosses to the apocryphal Kao lingse, which equate yan yan with kuanrong fuzai 宽容覆載 ("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."

7 Yong gong 允恭 / 勝 = bu xia 不恤 ("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 賢/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.

8 Cf. Hanshu 30.1732.

9 The Shiji does not quote these lines; Hanshu 8.270 writes guang, 光, but heng 横 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").

10 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.

11 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").
1A.2

12 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 polities 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 辨 ("make distinctive" or "display"), with the former the Ouyang tradition, possibly derived from Fu Sheng (Ma Shiyan 2014, 284). The Xiahou tradition writes this as 便章, with similar meaning. Zheng Xuan follows the Han-era Documents, glossing the phrase as 便明 別明. As to the PK variant for 便 (= ping 平), see Ruan Yuan, 20-1. Yang Jialuo 1970, 6, argues that all ping should be read as jian 顯 ("to send down"). We do not follow Yang, partly because Yang assumes that the Documents language is consistent across chapters.

13 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.

14 See Shiji 1.16, for bian 便, and SSDZ for bian 辨/辯. 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 辨/便 ("make distinctive" or "display"), with the former the Ouyang tradition, possibly derived from Fu Sheng (Ma Shiyan 2014, 284). The Xiahou tradition writes this as 便章, with similar meaning. Zheng Xuan follows the Han-era Documents, glossing the phrase as 便明 別明. As to the PK variant for 便 (= ping 平), see Ruan Yuan, 20-1. Yang Jialuo 1970, 6, argues that all ping should be read as jian 顯 ("to send down"). We do not follow Yang, partly because Yang assumes that the Documents language is consistent across chapters.

15 Xu 協 = 和合 = 啓 (meaning, "harmonious").


17 Hanshu 10.312 writes fan 剥 for bian 變, meaning duo 多 ("many"); see GU 29, on bian 弁/弁. Here the verb "flourished" tries to indicate two changes, one entailing "transformation" and one, "increase." Ying Shao (Hanshu 10.312n2) reads bian as bianhuan 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.

18 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 Hulsewé 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 c 此, as per the OBI.

19 Xu Nan'yu 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。敬順。敬授人时。分命羲仲。居［PK 宅］郁［SW 境; HS, PK 境］夷。曰旸谷［HNZ 湯谷; Juyan 揚穀］。敬道［PK 黃實］出日。便程［SW 平鱗; MR 莘; ZX, SSDZ 辯秩; FSTY 辨秩;...

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 *Shanhai 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.

*Shiji* 1.16 reads 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."

See Ouyang 1b, clearly the source for BHT 36 ("Sishi " 四時 chap.).

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

*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.

For the earliest reading, see *Shiji* 1.16; *Hanshu* 28A.1526 writes 崯夷. Cf. Ouyang 2a.

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.

*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 備, "to guide or lead." For the guest ritual 臨日, see GU 38-39 n10.


28 For the earliest reading, see Shiji 1.16. Ma Rong read píng 苹 as "cause" (shì 使); for Zheng Xuan's variant, see Shangshu Zhengzhuan, 1.2. For this reading of dong zào 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 Huai Xin 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.

29 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).

30 The Bird is a lunar lodge star (xing 星), near the center of the constellation Vermillion Bird (zhū guī 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 Songshan wenji, 11.17-18, emphasizing that only the brightest of the seven stars appears.

31 Wherever the PK "Yao dian" uses the demonstrative jiu 我, Shiji 1.16-17 uses the less formal or archaic qi 其. 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” 经说, 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 鳳 and feng 凰 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.)

32 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 分析 as "to disperse/scatter" (jìn sān 分散).

33 Shiji 1.16 writes ziwei 字微, instead of ziwei 子微. 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).

34 Shiji 1.16-17ff. consistently uses the synonymous jì 居 in place of the PK zhai 墻.

35 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 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 Qi jing xiaozhan, shang 上, 1. Wang Bo thought the phrase should read 宅南交都; see Xinyi, 9.

36 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").

37 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 南為. Cf. Zheng Xuan citing an unidentified "old text" in commentary to the Liji, chap. 41 ("Yue ling" 月令 chapter).

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

39 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


interpretation (3), as noted in Shiji 1.18n13. In some versions, *yin* is written as *rang* 僉/*rang* 讓 ("gave themselves up to") an activity, or "worked bare-chested in the fields." More likely, *yin* just means "attached" (yinyuan 因緣).
40 Shiji 1.16-17 writes *shen* 申 in both places where PK writes *fēn* 分.
41 Jiangshou ji, 6929, identifies "Willow Vale" as the Han-era Documents text, not the usual Valley of the Dusk (Meigu 奚谷), which he identifies as Zheng Xuan's mistake; cf. "Glosses," #1214.
42 Shiji 1.16 has *jīng dào rì rú* 敬道日入, where Ma Rong reads 寰餞納日, and PK, in Ruan Yuan 21-2, writes *yânjàn* 纳日. See Jiangshou ji, 6929, for Ma Rong.
43 See Shiji 1.16 for the earliest reading. SSDZ, 1.1, reads *biān zhì* 辯秩, instead of *píngzhì* 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."
44 Shiji 1.16 has the synonymous *yè* 夜 for *xiāo* 宵.
45 Shiji 1.16 writes *zhēng* 正 for *yīn* 录.
46 Zheng Xuan, cited in XQLH, p. 8, also writes 中秋 in commentary to the Zhouli; Ruan Yuan 107-1 (Zhouli).
47 Shiji 1.17; cf. Er Cheng quanshu ("Jing shuo" 經說, 二).
48 Shiji 1.17 has the synonym *bei* 北 for PK *shuò* 朔.
49 Shiji 1.17 has *biān zài* 便在伏物, where *fawu* refers to the storage of goods harvested or hunted, instead of PK's *jīng zài* shuò *ji* 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 *shuòyi* 朔易 as *zhōngshì* 終始, "to come to the end of the cycle and begin again."
50 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.
51 Shiji 1.17n24 relates both *ào* 燀 and *mì* 密理 to *ziwen* 自溫 ("keeping oneself warm"). Chao Cuo used *mì* 密 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 *ào* 燀 as *nei* 內 ("entering" into shelters), which becomes the basis for the PK *ào* 燀 ("shelter"). See Ma Nan 2016, 103.
52 The two Shuowen readings for *röngmao* come from 3B.15a, 8A.25b, respectively. See XQLH, 9.
Reading 65 casts an appearance of Dan Zhu's spirit as a sign of ill-used in this position until the 64 or an epithet of the sun god. Ma Rong identifies this as an "old tradition" (of Yao.") signifying a name + character analysis. Cf. uses the three characters 63 Yao's unworthy son (one of nine, by Huangfu Mi's reckoning), was named Dan Zhu. When the "Yao dian" chap. 62 associated with the raven in the sun (who eventually becomes the symbol of the Red Bird, assigned the South). As 61 polity, and 60 emperors to Yao 59 already employ the archaistic phrase 58 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 咨 as 咨. 55 Curious.

1A.3 堯曰。誰可順此事[PK 異咨 / 諮若時登庸] 56. 放齊 57. 嗣子 60 [PK 胤子] 丹朱 61. 開 [PK 孑] 明。堯曰。吁 62. 顚凶 63. 不用[PK 孑訟可乎] 64. 堯又曰。誰可者[PK 帝曰。 異咨若子采] 65. 56 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 Zhongliang, 1.1. 55 Cf. Hanshu 21A.973. For Shuowen, see 7A.19a.

58 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. Han Hanshu 10.426; also, WRL (p. 8); the Hanshu variant occurs in Hanshu 21A.973.

57 After 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 咨咨, once in a pastiche of verse phrases from the "Yao dian" tying the Han emperors to Yao. WRL (p. 10) reads 登庸 as 成事 ("do things well," "accomplish things"). 54 Fangqi is only known as an official of Shun.

59 Reading yin 聲 as ji 齊 or si 孓 ("heir"). However, PK, in Ruan Yuan, 101-2, takes Yin to be the name of a polity, and 聲 to be a rank, rather than a name. In myth, Zhu is a divine bird or culture hero called Lizhu 明朱, 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 朱訟明, Zheng thought those three characters referred to a single figure, rather than signifying a name + character analysis. Cf. Er Cheng quanshu ("Jing shuo" 聞説, 二), identifying him simply as "son of Yao." Note, meanwhile, Shiji 27.1322n1 reads 聞訟明 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).

60 The Shuowen 1A.6b reads Zhu with the silk radical. 61 The expression signifies disagreement or disgust. 62 Reading yin 聲 as ji 齊 or si 孓 ("heir"). However, PK, in Ruan Yuan, 101-2, takes Yin to be the name of a polity, and 聲 to be a rank, rather than a name. In myth, Zhu is a divine bird or culture hero called Lizhu 明朱, 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 朱訟明, Zheng thought those three characters referred to a single figure, rather than signifying a name + character analysis. Cf. Er Cheng quanshu ("Jing shuo" 聞説, 二), identifying him simply as "son of Yao." Note, meanwhile, Shiji 27.1322n1 reads 聞訟明 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).

63 The expression signifies disagreement or disgust. 64 See Shiji 1.20. The final particle bu 平, as in PK, does not appear elsewhere in the Documents, and it is seldom used in this position until the Chunjiu (GU 70), even if the final bu appears in the OBL. 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 詣, see Gushi yiyi juli congkan 4.8b.

65 Shiji 1.20; cf. Hanshu 96.2678. Hejiao, Juyan strip 407.1 reads ruo ya cai 若子采, like PK, in Ruan Yuan, 26-1. Reading ya cai 子采 as bo guan 我官.
The Meng Kang commentary to Shiji 1.20, reading 言 as 静言, 善言; reading 为 as 为, 聽回. Hanshu 76.3235 (2x) has 善言, 善言, 静言, 为言; but Hanshu 84.336 reads 善静, 昔善 ("quietly"). Shiji 2.50 identifies the speakers. Gun is also known as Taowu 枪武, in Gouyu, “Zhounu” (1.12).

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.

For the Hanshu archaizing reading, see Hanshu 82.3381, 83.3408.

Most read 予 as “raise to office” or “select.” Shiji 2.50, 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.”

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 帝亡。往。欽哉。]]九歳【PK 載】功【PK 繼】用不【PK 弗】成83。堯曰。嗟【PK 告】四嶽/岳。朕在位七十載。汝能庸命。踐【PK 異】朕位84。嶽/岳曰。鄙意【LH, MR, ZX 鄒德; PK 否德】85成帝位。

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

---

83《史記》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."
84《史記》1.21 writes 灑, as does 《漢書》99B.4100. 《尚書注疏》1.5, has Zheng glossing the PK verb 作 異 as chu wo wei 處我位 ("take up Our post").
85《史記》1.21. 《論語》writes bi de 鄒德, as do Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan; see WRL (p. 13).
86 Cf.《史記》1.21; tentative translation, after 《漢書》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 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 《蔡中郎集》3.6.
87《尚書注疏》1.5, identifies the "crowd" here as the many local lords and the tutors at court.
88 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.
89 Shun reportedly had double pupils, and this seems relevant. 《尚書注疏》, 6930, correctly notes that in early times gu 聘 is the title for a court official, a music master. PK, in Ruan Yuan, refers to a "widower" (guan 龜), 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.
90《史記》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 肖, 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 祭載見瞽瞍, 毋賓賓賓, 瞽瞍亦允若. See Tashiro Michinao 1929.
91 Reading the reduplicative zhengzheng 烝烝 as bou 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.
92《史記》1.21. 《漢書》90.3646n2 reads 史治蒸蒸, 不至於戇, applying this phrasing to cruel officials. WRL (pp. 13-14) cites three other early parallels, the first from the《史記》chapter on cruel officials, the second from Cai Yong's "Jiu yi shan bei" 九疑山碑, in 《蔡中郎集》12.8; the third from 《列女傳》1.1 ("You Yu er fei" 有虞女妃).

**********
曰若稽古。帝舜曰重華。協于帝。濬哲文明。温恭允塞。玄德101升聞102。乃命以位。103

**********

1A.4

---

93 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.
94 Reading wu qi 吾其 as wo qi 我其 (i.e., women 我們), as per Ken’ichi Takashima 2016, 71.
95 See Shiji 1.21.
96 Shiji 1.21. While tradition makes them Yao’s daughters, Zheng has thoughts on nü 女 vs. qi 妻. See Shangshu Zhengzhu, 1.5.
97 GU 96 says Yao is subject here.
98 Shiji 1.21. Many commentators take Rui 沩 here to be the name of a river and surrounding area, but some, to standardize usage throughout the Documents, read rui as "hend 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 历山, 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.
99 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.
100 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.
101 See Matsumoto 1966, 224; Yap Kuo-liang 1980, 52-53, 56-58. Zhu Xi, Zhuzi yulei, juan 78, found the expression xuan de 玄德 especially dubious, and wondered if it had been added post-Han.
102 See the English side of this translation, for an explanation of the bridging material.
103 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 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.

NB: Shitong, juan 12 (pp. 299-300), tells us that the "Shun dian" began in his time with shenbu; 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: Shi ji 1.23 supplies the phrase 乃使舜, then reads bai 徹 as de and;
Wang Su, however, reads bai 徹 as měi 美 ("to make beautiful or excellent"), as per this translation. The latter gloss spurs Yang Junru, cited in GU 98, to read bai as de 賦, meaning 有所治也. GU 99n2, says no matter which gloss one prefers, the meaning is clear enough: bai is a verb, meaning he improved (gao hao 搞好) the rule, and the Five Canons must be the object.

Zheng Xuan, cited in Shangshu Zhengzhuan, 1.5, glosses the wudian as "Five Teachings" or "Instructions" 五教, apparently on the basis of Zuozhuan, Lord Wen, Year 18, which summarizes this passage as "there were no acts contrary to the teachings" (wu nei jiao 無逆教). 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 (si tu, si ma, si kong, si shi, and si kou), 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 Zuozhuan, 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. Cibu 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.

104 Shi ji 1.20, 23, 24 reads baiguan 官 (officers); PK, in Ruan Yuan, 34-2, takes kui 拢 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.

105 Shi ji 1.21; Shi ji 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 many of the officers, to see that all were performing their duties in a timely and orderly way (yī bù shí shì); cf. Zuozhuan, Lord Wen, Year 18, glossing this phrase as wu nei 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 ("Taiifu citang biming" 太傅祠堂碑銘), in Hou Hanwen, juan 76; Cai Zhonglang, 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.

107 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.

108 As this line, in Shi ji 1.22, repeats the same idea as the preceding four-character phrase, we suspect it may be a gloss.

1A.5
召舜曰。女謀事至而言可績。三載矣。[PK 帝曰。格汝舜。詢事考言。乃言庶可績。三載]^{111}。汝登[PK 陟]帝位。舜讓於德^{112}。不懌/怡^{113}。

1B.6

^{109} Shi ji 1.22 adds chuan ze 川澤 ("rivers and wetlands") after shan lin 山林 ("mountain forests"); Shi ji 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. Lan heng ("Zheng shuo" 正説 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 Xin lun, 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.

^{110} Shi ji 1.22 adds, "Yao regarded him as a sage" 堯以為聖.

^{111} 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 厳 as zhi 致 ("to be effective").

^{112} 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."

^{113} All three extant Han-era versions write bu yi 不怡 or 悚, 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 Shi ji jijie 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 Shi ji 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]."
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). *Bohu 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 (農正建丑，雍正建子) 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 yuan 元 as shen 神. Wang Su insists, by contrast, that the first month never changed from Xia through Zhou times; see Zeng Yunqian 1964, 17.

**Zhong 綂** 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, 緂 1.

*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* 緂機銓, promoted the idea of the emperor's own divine ancestry (建文祖). 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.

The term xuanji 緂機 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 Hunytian 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 hunytian 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.

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, stars 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 junzi's willingness to keep to a regular course. Liu Xiang's *Shiyuanyuan* supplies a different reading, as it names only three stars of the Northern Dipper (Gouchen, and Shu 櫟, 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.

< b > 1 B. 6 b < b >

119 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 還 as 賣 事 (“dutifully); "he dutifully performed the lei sacrifice to the gods of Heaven" (以事類祭天神).
120 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 yi (p. 14); Ouyang 2. Ma Rong anachronistically identifies Shangdi with Taiyi, a god first worshipped under Han Wudi.
121 Shownen 1A.3h, also defines this as a purification ceremony: 祀;瀋祀也。曰一精意以享為穀。
122 WRL. (p. 17), following Ma Rong, takes 稟 not as the name of a sacrifice, but as the verb 祈享 (“to offer sacrifice”). The term lu zong 六宗 is not easily translated, 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 Ershibu, 2 cr, 2212. Shiji 1.24n3 offers good notes, as do Shangshu Zhengzhu, 1.7, Ouyang, 2b, and Wujing yi (pp. 22-24). The lu 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"; (4) the six "offspring" of Change Hexagrams 1 and 2, said to be water, fire, thunder, wind, mountains, and water; (5) the stars, asterisms (chen 星), water, fire, the Yellow River and the Great Rivers 河瀆; (6) the sun, moon, and stars, plus Mt. Tai, the Yellow River, and the four seas; and (7) 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, Fenjin, they set up altars to worship the lu zong, and Chengdi discussed this with Kuang Heng, the ritual expert. Judging from the Shownen 1A.3b (以事類祭天神) and Gongyang 2.11 ("Lu yu "鲁語 " 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 lu 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 zhaou and three mu ancestors; see Xinyi, 18, an identification followed by Yang Jian and by Wang Yinglin, as noted in Cai Genxian 2006, 506.
123 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.
124 Typically identified as the gu tablet, the lu 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 lu, to use when visiting; the zhang to raise troops, and so on. See SSDZ, 1.1, for an explanation; cf. Jiao shi Yin, 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.
125 See Shiji 1.24, for the earlier reading.
126 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 覷) the local vassal lords.
127 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.
歳二月東巡守/狩^{128}。至于岱宗。柴/柴。望秩^{129}于山川^{130}。遂見東方君長^{131}[HS 紹見東后;PK 肆觀東后]。合[PK 協]時月正日^{132}。同律度量衡^{133}。修五禮^{134}、五玉[HS 樂]^{135}、三帛^{136}、二生^{137}、一死^{138}為贊[貢/壑]。如五器^{139}。卒乃復。

1B.6c
五歲[PK 戽]一巡守143。群后四朝144。偏告[PK 敷奏]以言。明試以功*145。車服以庸*146。

1B.7

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).

140 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.

141 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.

142 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.

143 While Shiji 1.24 writes sui 歲, Shiji 12.476, 28.1356, 1398, and Hanshu 23.1191 write sui. "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).

144 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.

145 The unprovenanced "Rong cheng shi" ms. has Shun performing several gao 皓 sacrifices, by some modern scholars’ readings. See Dorofeeva-Lichtmann 2021.

146 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.
147 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, julu bianwei, 1.17a, reads zhao 肇 as zhao 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 zhao 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.

148 Shiji 1.24. Zheng Xuan identifies jun 濟 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.

149 The translation reads dian 謐 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 binomial expression xiang xing 象刑, meaning "image punishments," which meant wearing the clothing associated with menials or slaves, of an ocher color. SSDZ, 1.1, describes three levels of such punishments, with the worst a reddish garb that was or signified the "impure" (bu chang 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 象 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, bu 流). See GU 168-69.

150 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."

151 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 Zuozi, 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.

152 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.

153 Cf. "Kang gao," which also uses the expression 禍災, which may refer literally to "calamities."

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

155 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.

156 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. Lunbeng ("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.

157 This gu 黨 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.

158 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.

159 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 (放臠乃阻落), speaks of Fangxun dying, as do the Dunhuang mss. ascribed to Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan; see Matsumoto 1966, 195, citing Jingdian shiwen. Xinyi, 21, says the first word "to die" refers to the huo's ascent to heaven, while the second (huo) refers to the po's burial in the earth.

160 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).

161 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 yuan 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).

162 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.

163 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.

164 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
communication with each other and the empire thus united, and without barriers (廣視聽於四方，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.

165 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 (*Jiheang* #2836 and #4326), with the first ascribing this pacific conduct to Commander Huafu, not to a ruler. Cf. *Shuyuan* ("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 (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." 70.3029n1, assigns unambiguously to the "Shun dian" part of the "Yao dian."

166 ‘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.”

167 *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 merits. 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* 浮為/為, "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* 於時 with *yu shi* 於是.

1B.11

1B.12
舜[PK 帝]曰。棄。黎民始[JIN, HS, MA 祖; ZX, PK 阻]飢。汝后稷。177。播時百穀。178

168 Shi ji 2.50 reads this very differently: "Is there any man who can perfect and praise (成美) Yao's deeds and achievements?" Reading yong 庸 as gong 功。
169 PK adds, "so that his bright deeds might serve the court and order everything properly."
170 Significantly, PK does not provide this description of how important Bo Yu is. The rhymes marked with an asterisk are a-a.
171 The rhymes marked with an asterisk are a-a.
172 Shi ji 1.38. Cf. Shuowen 10B.229a; PK, in Ruan Yuan, 44-1, also speaks of Yu's exertions. Ma Rong seems to gloss mian 亙 as mei 美 ("excellent"). See Ma Nan 2018, 75.
173 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.
174 Shi ji 1.38. Shangshu Zhengzhu, 1.10, Shi ji 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.
175 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.
176 Shi ji 1.38, 4.112. Ma Rong reads zu 阻 as zu 祖, glossing the latter as "to start." See WRI 28; Ma Nan 2016, 97-98. But many Han versions have the people dying, not just "starving for food."
177 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. Zuozhuan, 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/*tsak/) and 播時百穀 (屋/*k̚ok/)．
178 Other Documents chapters ("Gao Yao mo," "Punishments") mention Hou Ji superintending the sowing of grains, as does the Yi Zhou shu 43 ("Shang shi jie" 史誓解 chap.).
舜曰。契。百姓不親。五品不騂。順。汝作司徒。敬敷五教。在寬。

舜曰。皋陶。蠻夷猾夏。寇賊姦。軌/亢。女/汝作士。五刑有服。五服三就。五流有度。五度三居。維明能信。維明維允。

1B.13
舜曰。誰能騂予工。皆曰。垂可。於是為共工。[[PK 帝]]曰。俞。咨垂。汝共工。垂拜稽首。讓于爻。斯暨伯與。帝曰。俞。往哉。汝謁。}}

1B.14

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

1B.15
舜[PK 帝]曰。然。以夔為典樂199。[HS 女典樂，PK 邑。命汝典樂]。教禮*[FY, SW 育；PK 邑]子200。直而溫201。寬而慄/粟。剛而毋/無虐。簡而毋/無傲。詩言意[PK

---

189 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.
190 For the complexity of this term, see Masubuchi 2019, 262-63. Yu 娶 (here, "forester"), as in PK, in Ruan Yuan, 46-I, 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.
191 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" 森固 chap.), which analogizes the chief ministers to these wild creatures, who defend the ruler with all their might.
192 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.
193 Our reasons for treating these ambiguously (possibly as animals) is given in the Background Essay for this chapter.
194 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."
195 Bo Yi was supposedly the lineage founder of the Jiang 姜 clan.
196 Neither Ma Rong nor Wang Su include the PK 作.
197 Shiji 1.39. This probably refers to putting in the proper hierarchy the ancestral spirits who are to be worshipped. The rhymes a-occur in both the Han-era and PK versions.
198 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!'"
199 See Shiji 1.39 for this section. Hanshu 22.1038 defines dian. 自卿大夫師瞀以下，皆選有道德之人.
200 Fu yan 5.19, 7.22 read yu 育, as does Shuowen; see Ma Nan 2016, 96. Han ritual texts, in the main, define zhouzi 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.
201 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.
Note that PK has the ruler again asking to consult with the members of his court, other ministers. For additional details and yet another way to count the twenty of twelve Pastors; Liu Xiang agreed with Sima Qian. Wang Mingsheng, 1780 of the provinces), and the nine ministers.

Remonstrant.

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.

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

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.

'Tap? slap?

'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 Luxiang 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 執躡), 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!"

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

For the variant, see Hanshu 9.281.

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.

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.

See Hejiao合戸 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.

These four characters come from the "Yao dian" (not the "Shun dian"). See Shiji 1.39. For gong 工, see Zhao Liwei 2012, 44.
“Shun dian,” but these represent stories and not necessarily lost citations from the first chapter in the Han phrase. Wang Chong in Eastern Han. No one can be certain of the location, at this remove, but see a tour of inspection and dying at Cangwu.

According to Zheng Xuan, Shun lived an official life for thirty years; he was in court service 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, 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.

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.

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 隕 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 Huainanzi ("Xiu wu" 修物 chap.), the Gaoyu, "Lu yu" section, the Beiyang shuchao, juan 92; also, Taiping yulan, juan 81, citing Huangfu Mi’s famous Diwang shiji. Mencius seems to cite the earliest legends and traditions, and he has Shun dying in Mingtiao (near Kaifeng).

Many traditions, including the Huainanzi and one reported in the Lunheng (but criticized) have Shun going on a tour of inspection and dying at Cangwu (near 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 Zhangguo) but argues that Shun should have died in Shandong, as so many of his activities seem to be associated with that area.

Lienü 1.1 (cited above) also says 舜臵方; also writes 舜臵方, 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.
Noble of Wei

9.1 <a>Wei's first request for instruction from his elders <a>
The Noble of Wei spoke to this effect:
"Senior and Junior Tutors, the Yin has not governed well, and it has not induced order in the Four Quarters. Our Ancestor(s) effected accomplishments, which were duly laid out before those above. Shou is thoroughly drunk, as a rule, soaked in wine. A woman's words he follows, and so in Yin, great disorder has been brought to Tang's charismatic virtue in the later generations. There are none in Yin who, in small ways or in big, do not love to steal and commit villainous acts of treachery. The ministers and men in service, leading each other on, do not act according to norms. All have committed crimes, but none of those who are complicit have been captured and imprisoned. The little people on all sides rise up and treat others as bitter enemy. At present, Yin may be expected to collapse. One may compare it to wading across a vast sea with no ford or bank in sight. Yin hastens to its ruin, which may happen even today."

He said again: "Senior and Junior Tutors, had we better not take off? Our royal house keeps [to its ways], going to wrack and ruin. At present, you tell me nothing [about a possible remedy]. I am badly overturned and shaken. When it is like this, what is to be done?"

9.2 <a>the elders' advice to Weizi; they speak as one <a>
The Senior Tutor spoke to this effect: "Prince, Heaven in earnest sends down calamities to devastate the Yin realm. And here there rise up those who are sunk and steeped in wine. There have been refusals to regard the awesome with awe, and [the king] has failed to resort to the senior advisors and to the men who of old who occupied the court positions. At present, the Yin people have abandoned the sacrificial offerings to the gods of heaven and earth, those unblemished and intact animals that are to be used.

<b>9.2b possible interpolation, for added rhetorical effect (not in Shiji, mainly from PK, but also Ma Rong)<b>
They heap up the platters, feasting without any thought of the disasters that may befall them. [When the powers above] descend to inspect the Yin leaders' method of governing, they find that repeated levies create enemies, again and again. The crimes come together as one [insofar as they ascribed to a single man, the ruler], so that there is much pining and wasting away, and no royal decrees promise relief. The Shang today may expect to have disasters aplenty. We shall rise to accept its defeat. Given that Shang is sunk in ruin, we shall have no chance to serve the dynasty. We command you, O prince, to flee.

For a long time now, we have spoken to correct the scion of the ruling house [to no avail]. If you, O prince, should fail to make your escape, our noble line will then be undone. Each of us must decide on his own how to act, so long as we do not betray the former kings of Shang.

We shall not turn back from our decision to flee nor regret it."