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THE HAN RIVER AS THE CENTRAL AXIS AND THE PREDOMINANCE OF WATER: QUESTIONING THE CLAIM OF "NO CHU-RELATED TRAITS" IN THE VIEW OF TERRESTRIAL SPACE IN THE *RONG CHENG SHI* MANUSCRIPT (FOURTH CENTURY B.C.E)

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Abstract

The description of the "Nine Provinces" (*Jiu zhou* 九州) found in the *Rong Cheng shi* 容成氏 (Mister Rong Cheng?, late fourth century B.C.E.) manuscript from the Shanghai Museum Bamboo Slips Collection (*Shangbo cangjian* 上博藏簡) is the only manuscript version of it known to date. Its discovery immediately raised the question of its relation to the cluster of descriptions on the "Nine Provinces" transmitted from the late Warring States to the early Western Han periods. There is general consensus that the manuscript description of the "Nine Provinces" has close affinity with the transmitted descriptions, as well as with a wide spectrum of transmitted early Chinese texts in general. It is distinguished by the eclectic combining of known spatial concepts, rather than manifesting any radically new or specifically Chu traits. In this study I reassess this impression with respect to the reference to the Han River in the manuscript, which up to now has been noted only in passing as an unsolved puzzle. I argue that the Han River is referred to here as the central axis that divides terrestrial space into southern and northern halves, something that implies a shifting of the mapped area to the South and thus conveys a Chu view of space. Together with

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I am grateful to Olivier Venture for remarks and suggestions on the first draft of this article, to Constance Cook for discussing and proof-reading the revised version during our stay as Visiting Fellows at the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities (IKGF) in Erlangen (summer 2016), to Sarah Allan and two anonymous reviewers for useful remarks on the revised version, and to John Moffett for the final corrections to my English. All mistakes found in this paper are my own reponsibility. I was preparing the manuscript for publication during my research stay at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin (July–September 2020) and considerably benefited from its excellent research facilities and most helpful staff. My special thanks are to Cathleen Paethe, the Subject Librarian for Sinology of the Institute.

philological analysis of the descriptions of terrestrial space, I apply an innovative method of investigation of these descriptions through landmarks, using as a visual aid traditional Chinese historical maps. In addition, I explore the predominance of waters as the distinguishing feature of the representation of terrestrial space in the *Rong Cheng shi* manuscript and demonstrate its difference from the structuring of terrestrial space proceeding from mountains to waterways to be seen in the majority of transmitted early Chinese texts.

INTRODUCTION

A new account of the "Nine Provinces" (*Jiu zhou* 九州) discovered in the *Rong Cheng shi* 容成氏 (Mister Rong Cheng [?]) manuscript of Chu provenance dated to the late fourth century B.C.E. has resulted in the immediate addition of this text to the list of the key early Chinese sources describing terrestrial space. Its importance is enhanced by the general rarity of manuscripts among early Chinese terrestrial descriptions, its description of the "Nine Provinces" being the only manuscript version known to date. However, it has close affinity with a wide spectrum of transmitted texts and is distinguished by its combining of diverse spatial concepts with the central role of draining excess waters. Its eclecticism thus throws light on transmitted versions of the "Nine Provinces" more than it manifests any radically new or specifically Chu traits. This conclusion is true with respect to the description proper of the "Nine Provinces" and is based on parallels with other texts. In this study I reassess this conclusion with respect to the context of this passage in the *Rong Cheng shi*, challenging an initial impression of its lack of any Chu flavor.

While the parallels of the new description of the "Nine Provinces" with those in transmitted texts has attracted considerable scholarly attention, its relation to other issues concerning terrestrial space in the *Rong Cheng shi* has not yet been studied. Before discussing the spatial issues in this manuscript, I shall first revise all the reconstructed sequences of its slips (Introduction). Then I shall focus on the especially controversial slip 31, which appears to be of primary relevance to spatial concepts (Part I). It contains a reference to a "cosmograph"-like pattern followed by a description of managing landscape features, beginning with waterways. I shall discuss the place of this pattern in early Chinese cosmography, in particular the link of the "policy statement" on the predominance of waters to the version of the "Nine Provinces" in the manuscript. I suggest that, from the point of view of the revealed spatial concepts, slip 31 should be placed prior to the group of slips that describe terrestrial disasters that preceded the establishment of the "Nine Provinces."

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Having concluded that the predominance of waters is the distinguishing feature of the representation of terrestrial space in the manuscript, and having compared the manuscript with another cosmographical manuscript of Chu provenance contemporary with the *Rong Cheng shi*, the Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 (c. late fourth century B.C.E.), I suggest that this feature may be characteristic of Chu descriptions of terrestrial space. My main attention is focused on solving the spatial problem in the conclusion to the "Nine Provinces," which up to now has been noted only in passing as somewhat confusing (Part II). It provides a summary of structuring terrestrial space through waterways, and cuts the space thus mapped into southern and northern halves along the Han River. I argue that this unusual usage of the Han River as the central axis implicitly shifts the mapped area to the South, and thus conveys a Chu view of space, while explicitly respecting the spatial framework of transmitted descriptions of the "Nine Provinces." In addition to philological analysis of the descriptions of terrestrial space, I apply an innovative method of investigation of them through landmarks. Landmarks found in these descriptions, including the Han River, will be explored as elements of what can be tentatively defined as relational, positional, or diagrammatic maps. Such maps are characteristic of traditional Chinese cartography. The earliest specimens covering the entire imperial realm date from the twelfth century. Although the majority of these maps appeared as part of commentaries on early terrestrial descriptions and are products of a continuous tradition of representing space, they are rarely taken into consideration in studies of early texts. Finally, I discuss a correlation between structuring terrestrial space through waterways and the concept of Yu's personal and exhausting physical engagement in hard work (Part III).

The description of the "Nine Provinces" with the related preceding and following slips—slips 31 and 23-15-24-25-26-27-28-29—is provided in the Appendix).

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE *RONG CHENG SHI* MANUSCRIPT AND CONCURRING RECONSTRUCTIONS OF THE SEQUENCE OF ITS SLIPS

The *Rong Cheng shi* belongs to the Shanghai Museum Bamboo Slips Collection (*Shangbo cangjian* 上博藏簡). The corpus was purchased by the Shanghai Museum in 1994 in Hongkong, and the precise location and date of this find are still unknown. Compared to manuscripts discovered in *situ*, looted manuscripts pose two major research problems—the lack of archeological context and, thus, their being, by definition, of

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questionable authenticity.[1] There is general consensus that the Shanghai Museum corpus includes genuine manuscripts originating from a Chu aristocratic tomb closed shortly before the Chu court was obliged to leave the capital at Ying 郢 in 278 B.C.E.[2] No data contesting this point of view has been found to date.

The *Rong Cheng shi* is one of the largest (some 2,000 characters) and best preserved manuscripts in the corpus.[3] Its title is found on the verso of the last among the originally identified 53 surviving slips of the

1. For a summary of problems with looted manuscripts, see Martin Kern, "'Xi shuai' 蟋蟀 ('Cricket') and its Consequences: Issues in Early Chinese Poetry and Textual Studies," *Early China* 42 (2019), 45–49; see also Lai Guolong and Q. Edward Wang, "Manuscript Culture in Early China: Editors' Introduction," *Chinese Studies in History* 50.3 (2017), 167–71, and Anke Hein, "Concepts of 'Authenticity' and the Chinese Textual Heritage in Light of Excavated Texts," in *China and the World—the World and China: Essays in Honour of Rudolf G. Wagner*, Volume 1: *Transcultural Perspectives on Pre-Modern China*, ed. Joachim Gentz (Gossenberg: Ostasien, 2019), 37–63. For some methods for establishing fakes, see the article on one of the Tsinghua University manuscripts (acquired in 2008) by Jiang Guanghui 姜廣輝, Fu Zan 付贊 and Qiu Mengyan 邱夢燕, "Qinghuajian 'Qi Ye' wei weizuo kao" 清華簡《耆夜》為偽作考 / Research into the fabrication of the 'Qi Ye' manuscript among the Qinghua Collection of Bamboo Strips, *Gugong Bowuyuan yuankan* 2013.4, 86–94, English abstract: 160–61.

2. Ying 郢 was the Chu capital from about 690 though 278 B.C.E. when it was occupied by Qin 秦, the kingdom that eventually absorbed all the ancient Chinese kingdoms and founded the Qin empire (221–207 B.C.E.). The precise location of Ying is unknown. Two possible locations—"Southern" and "Northern"—are proposed in relevant scholarly literature: Jinancheng 紀南城 and Chu Huangcheng 楚皇城, both in Hubei, see Barry B. Blakely, "The Geography of Chu," in *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China*, ed. Constance A Cook and John S. Major (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 10–13; for Jinancheng, see also Guo Dewei 郭德維, *Chu du Jinancheng fuyuan yanjiu* 楚都紀南城復原研究 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1999). The discussion about Chu capitals has been given new life with the publication of the *Chuju* 楚居 (Chu Settlements) manuscript from the Qinghua University collection of Warring States bamboo slips (*Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡), see Li Xueqin 李學勤, *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Zhonghua, 2011), even if the manuscript itself depicts rather the shift of the palaces of the Chu kings and not the shift of capitals, see articles by Shou Bin 守彬, "Cong Qinghua jian Chu ju tan 'x Ying'" 從清華簡《楚居》談 "x 郢", *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 10 (2011), 94–100, Taniguchi Mitsuru 谷口滿, "Shi lun Qinghua jian Chu ju duiyu Chuguo lishi dili yanjiu de yingxiang" 試論清華簡《楚居》對於楚國歷史地理研究的影響, trans. Chen Wei 陳偉, *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 10 (2011), 23–30, and Xin Deyong 辛德勇, *Xin Deyong shuo Zhongguo lishi dili: yanmo de guowang* 辛德勇說中國歷史地理：湮沒的過往 (Shenyang: Wanjuan, 2017), 1–18. For an extensive discussion of the genealogy of Chu rulers, according to this manuscript, see Constance Cook and Luo Xinhui, *Birth in Ancient China: A Study of Metaphor and Cultural Identity in Pre-Imperial China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017). I am grateful for details about recent studies to one of the anonymous reviewers.

3. Due to damaged slips and obscure characters, a precise calculation of the total is not possible. It is approximately equal in length to the "Yu gong" 禹貢 (Yu's [System]

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manuscript.[4] It is written as *song cheng di* 訟城氏, commonly accepted to stand for Rong Cheng shi 容成氏—Mister Rong Cheng.[5] Rong Cheng shi is one the sage rulers of High Antiquity.[6] The manuscript provides

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of Tribute, c. fifth–third century B.C.E.) chapter of the *Shang shu* 尚書, *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Sibu beiyao 四部備要 edition.), 6.1a–19b, systematically referred to below.

4. Several slips at the beginning and end of the manuscript, and possibly a couple of slips in between, have deterioriated. Difference in lightness between characters on the recto and the verso of slip 53 and the possible discrepancy between the last character of the title and its analogues in the text (see the next note) allow one to conclude that the title was added later by another hand, see Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, "Chu zhushu *Rong Cheng shi* de pianming ji qi xingzhi" 楚竹書《容成氏》的篇名及其性質, *Huaxue* 6 (2003), 75–78; reprinted in Zhao Ping'an, *Xinchu jianbo yu guwenzi guwenxian yanjiu* 新出簡帛與古文字古文獻研究 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2009), 248–54. This conclusion is now commonly shared, see Niu Xinfang 牛新房, "Chu zhuzhu *Rong Cheng shi* buyi" 楚竹書《容成氏》補議, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2010.4, 75–76, and Sarah Allan, *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Recently Discovered Early Chinese Bamboo-Slip Manuscripts* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), 187.

5. In March 2005 I benefited from email communications with Wolfgang Behr, who revealed the complexity of identifying the 訟城氏 as plausible phonetic loan characters for 容成氏, and I can only regret that his notes have not been published. For an annotated list of investigations of the manuscript's title by Chinese scholars, see Sun Feiyan 孫飛燕, "*Rong Cheng shi* yanjiu zongshu"《容成氏》研究綜述, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu dongtai* 2010.7, 13. The identification of 訟城氏 with 容成氏 has to do with the discrepancy between the characters designating "Mister" in the title of the manuscript and in the surviving names of the sage rulers in the main body of the manuscript: *di* 氏 = *shi* 氏 and *shi*1是, respectively. There is a supposition that the bottom stroke in the 氏 may not be part of the character in the title, making it 氏, see Sun Weilong 孫偉龍 and Li Shoukui 李守奎, "Shangbojian biaozhi fuhao wuti" 上博簡標識符號五題, *Jianbo* 3 (2008), 181–90, but it is not largely supported, though simplifying the identification of the title still does not solve the discrepancy problem. Finally, there is a stray interpretation of the title that is still worth taking into consideration: it may not refer to Rong Cheng shi at all, but may be the name of a person derived from a placename, Jao Tsung-I 饒宗頤, "You *Zun Lu shi* tandao shanghai zushu (er) de *Rong Cheng shi*—Jianlun qi yu Mojia guanxi ji qita wenti" 由尊盧氏談到上海竹書（二）的《容成氏》—兼論其與墨家關係及其它問題, *Jiuzhou xuelin* 2006 (mid-spring issue 春季卷), 2–15. Finally, the two translations of the manuscript into English by Yuri Pines and Sarah Allan contain regretful errors or misprints in the title transcription. Pines, "Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy in the *Rong Cheng shi* Manuscript," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 73.3 (2010), 4n5, 訟成是 instead of 訟城氏; Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 188, 成 instead of 城.

6. For a brief analysis of the two presumably earliest references to the sage Rong Cheng shi in transmitted texts found in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (fourth–third centuries B.C.E.) and in the titles of two lost texts bearing his name listed in the "Yiwenzhi" 藝文志, the bibliographical treatise of the *Han shu* 漢書 by Ban Gu 班固 (C.E. 32–92), which relies on the lost bibliography *Qilüe* 七略 edited by Liu Xin 劉歆 (c. 46 B.C.E–C.E. 23), see Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces': Some Parallels with Transmitted Texts," *East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine* 32 (2010), 15–16. For the sage rulers of High Antiquity enumerated at the beginning of the *Rong*

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an overview of Chinese history, from the mythical sage rulers to the establishment of the Zhou dynasty (c. 1046—256 B.C.E.).[7] While having multiple parallels with transmitted texts describing the same historical periods and events, the manuscript is distinguished by its special emphasis on the "supremacy of power transfer through the ruler's abdication in favor of a worthier successor."[8]

The investigation of the content of unearthed manuscripts on bamboo slips depends on solving two basic technical problems—the transcription of characters, and the restitution of the sequence of slips. Though there are relatively few variations in the transcriptions of the characters of the *Rong Cheng shi* manuscript, the sequence of its slips still remains a highly controversial issue, even though this work is considerably facilitated by the narrative chronology. Once the slips of a manuscript have been arranged into a more or less meaningful sequence, the focus of scholarly discussion tends to move on from such basic technical problems to the

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Cheng shi manuscript and in transmitted texts, with a focus on the role of Rong Cheng shi, see Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 186–91. Among the transmitted texts referring to Rong Cheng shi is the somewhat overlooked overview of Chinese history in the "Benjing xun" 本經訓, chapter 8 of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (compiled shortly before 139 B.C.E.), which is especially interesting for its being typologically close to the *Rong Cheng shi* manuscript's historical narrative. Rong Cheng shi is also briefly mentioned to in the "Xiuwu xun" 修務訓, chapter 19 of the *Huainanzi*; see *Huainan honglie jijie* 淮南鴻烈集解 [*Xinbian zhuzi jicheng* 新編諸子集成] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1989), 253–56 (chap.8) and 646 (chap.19); Charles Le Blanc and Rémi Mathieu, trans., *Philosophes taoïstes, II, Huainan zi* (Paris: Gallimard, 2003), 340–41 and 925–26; John S. Major, Sarah A. Queen, Andrew Seth Meyer, and Harold D. Roth, trans., *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China, by Liu An, King of Huainan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 275–76 (§ 8.6) and 778 (§ 19.5). For references to Rong Cheng shi and other sages in the *Jinlouzi* 金樓子 (sixth century) also focused on the worthy rulers, see Maria Khayutina, "Glückverheißende Omina und weltliche Tugenden der, zu 'Königen Erhobenen': Ein Nachruf für Kaiser Wu der Liang-Dynastie im Buch *Jinlouzi* (6. Jh.)," in *Aus geteilten Zeiten: Studien zur Nanbeichao-Periode: Geburtstagsgabe für Shing Müller* 宋馨, ed. Roderich Ptak (Gossenberg: Ostasien, 2020), 89–128.

7. Chen Ligui 陳麗桂 proposed a quantitative distribution of slips with respect to the described rulers: three slips refer to the sage rulers of remote antiquity, two slips to the events towards the end of remote antiquity preceding Yao, eight slips to Yao, four slips to Shun, seventeen slips to Yu, nine slips to Cheng Tang, six slips to King Wen and four-five slips to King Wu; see Chen Ligui, "Tan 'Rong Cheng shi' de liejian cuozhi wenti" 談《容成氏》的列簡錯置問題, in *Shangboguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu yanjiu xubian* 上博館藏戰國楚竹書研究續編, ed. Zhu Yuanqing 朱淵清and Liao Mingchun 廖名春 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2004), 336. Even if the attribution of some slips is debatable, these calculations give a general idea of the narrative's structure and show the substantial place of Yu's deeds in the manuscript.

8. Pines, "Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy," 2; see also his earlier article "Disputers of Abdication: Zhanguo Egalitarianism and the Sovereign's Power," *T'oung Pao* 91.4–5 (2005), and Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 181–84.

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content and the context of the manuscript, and unsolved techical issues fade into the background.[9] Instead of the common method of choosing one sequence and then discussing the content, I propose to discuss the content of the slips while considering all their possible arrangements. I shall demonstrate that this approach may provide conclusive arguments for determining the most plausible place for some controversial slips.[10]

The first arrangement of the *Rong Cheng shi* slips and their transcription was proposed by Li Ling 李零 in the second volume of the *Shanghai guji chubanshe* edition of the corpus published in 2002.[11] Since then the sequencing of slips and transcription of certain characters have been continuously challenged.[12] Shortly after Li Ling's publication, Chen Jian 陳劍 substantially changed Li Ling's sequence:

Chen Jian

1–3, 35B, 4–7+43, 9–11+13–14+8+12+23+15+24–30+16–21+31–32+22+33–34+35A+38–41+36–37+42+44–53[13]

9. Cf. the discussions of the state of the art of another manuscript from the Shanghai Museum Collection, the *Kongzi Shilun* 孔子詩論, in Thies Staack, "Reconstructing the *Kongzi Shilun*: From the Arrangement of the Bamboo Slips to a Tentative Translation," *Asiatische Studien—Etudes Asiatiques* 64.4 (2010), 858. For a general discussion of reconstructing arrangement of bamboo slips, see Thies Staack "Reconstruction of Early Chinese Bamboo and Wood Manuscripts: A Review (1900–2010)," CSMC (Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures)—Occasional Paper No. 5 (April 2016) http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/papers_e.html.

10. Staack has a stab at establishing a system of criteria for reconstructing the arrangement of bamboo slips comprising of all the available material and textual evidence, see Staack, "Reconstructing the *Kongzi Shilun*," esp. 857–81. The case of the *Rong Cheng shi* is somewhat more straightforward, as it is much better preserved, and my task is also simpler, as I discuss only a part of the manuscript.

11. Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, ed., *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2002), 91–146 (colored photographs of numbered slips), 247–93 (transcription and commentary by Li Ling 李零). For an annotated version of Li Ling's sequence, see Qiu Dexiu 邱德修, *Shangbo Chu jian Rong Cheng shi zhuyi kaozheng* 上博楚簡容成氏注譯考證 (Taibei: Taiwan guji, 2003).

12. For reviews of relevant studies, see Pines, "Disputers of Abdication," 263n50; Pines "Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy," 3n6; Niu Xinfang, "Chu zhuzhu *Rong Cheng shi* buyi," 73–75 (§ 1); Sun Feiyan, "*Rong Cheng shi* yanjiu zongshu," 13–14; Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 184–85nn4–5.

13. Chen Jian 陳劍, "Shangbojian 'Rong Cheng shi' de zhujian pinhe yu bianlian wenti xiaoyi"上博簡《容成氏》的竹簡拼合與編連問題小議, in *Shangboguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu yanjiu xubian*, 327–34; (first published under a slightly different name on the Bamboo and Silk forum *Jianbo yanjiu* 簡帛研究 www.jianbo.com, Jan. 9, 2003. Punctuation (,—+) is given, following Chen Jian. I only use short and long lines to distinguish between two successive slips and a group of successive slips, e.g. slips 36–37 and 24–30, respectively.

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Chen Ligui 陳麗桂[14] and Bai Yulan 白於藍[15] made further partial adjustments to the sequence, having restituted the succession of slips 21 and 22 proposed by Li Ling:[16]

Chen Ligui	13–15+23–31+16–21–22+32–34
Bai Yulan	21–22+31+33–34+32+35A

The articles surveying Chinese scholarship on the *Rong Cheng shi* by Sun Feiyan 孫飛燕 and Niu Xinfang 牛新房 distinguish the following main suggestions about the slips' arrangements:[17]

1) Chen Jian noticed that two damaged fragments, considered by Li Ling to constitute slip 35, are in effect pieces of two different slips, now referred to as slip 35A and slip 35B;[18]

2) Dan Yuchen 單育辰 joins slips 15 and 24, arguing that these slips are pieces of one slip;[19]

3) Guo Yongbing 郭永秉 links slips 31 and 32 with slips 4 and 5; [20]

4) Guo Yongbing also proposes to insert slip 43, already advanced to the beginning of the text by Chen Jian, after slip 35A.[21]

Niu Xinfang concludes his evaluation with a summarizing rearrangement of slips, where he proposes to distinguish eight coherent groups:[22]

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14. Chen Ligui, "Tan 'Rong Cheng shi' de liejian cuozhi wenti," 339–41.

15. Bai Yulan 白於藍 '"Rong Cheng shi' bianlian wenti buyi'《容成氏》編連問題補議, in *Disijie guoji Zhongguo guwenzixue yantaohui lunwenji* 第四屆國際中國古文字學研討會論文集 / Collected papers of the Fourth International Workshop on the Study of Ancient Chinese Characters (The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Oct. 15–17, 2003), 301–8, and '"Rong Cheng shi' bianlian wenti buyi'《容成氏》編連問題補議, *Huanan shifan daxue xuebao* 2004.4, 91–92.

16. The restitution is now supported by the majority of scholars.

17. Sun Feiyan provides an annotated bibliography of *Rong Cheng shi* studies organized by subject, with the aim to encompass all the suggestions advanced, while Niu Xinfang focuses on the suggestions he personally supports, see Sun Feiyan, "*Rong Cheng shi* yanjiu zongshu," and Niu Xingang, "Chu zhuzhu *Rong Cheng shi* buyi," respectively.

18. He subsequently counts 54 slips.

19. Sun Feiyan refers to an article by Dan Yuchen 單育辰, "Rong Cheng shi zatan"《容成氏》雜談 (三則), in *Jiangbo yanjiu* 2007 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue, 2010), 37–44. If we accept this suggestion, the total number of slips will again be 53.

20. Guo Yongbing 郭永秉 "Cong Shangbo Chu jian *Rong Cheng shi* de 'you Yu tong' shuodao Tang Yu shishi de yiwen" 從上博楚簡《容成氏》的'有虞迺'說到唐虞史事的疑問, *Chutu wenxian yu guwenzi yanjiu* 1 (2006), 295–312 (first published under a slightly different name on the Bamboo and Silk forum, Nov. 7, 2005); *Di xi xin yan* 帝系新研 (Beiing: Beijing daxue, 2008), 43–56.

21. See n. 20 above.

22. Niu Xinfang, "Chu zhuzhu *Rong Cheng shi* buyi," 74–75.

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Niu Xinfang

I 1–3

II 35B+43+7B

III 31–32+4–6+7A

IV 9–11+13–14+8

V 12+23+15=24–30+16–21–22

VI 33–34

VII 35A+38–41+36–37

VIII 42+44–53

Yuri Pines, the author of the first English translation of the manuscript, follows Chen Jian's sequence, with the exception of reinstating the place of slip 22 after slip 21, but expresses strong doubts about Chen Jian's placement of slips 31 and 32 (I distinguish them by *italics*):[23]

Chen Jian/Pines

1–3, 35B, 4–7+43, 9–11+13–14+8+12+23+15+24–30+16–21–22+31–32+33–34+35A+38–41+36–37+42+44–53

Sarah Allan, who has provided a second translation of the manuscript with extensive commentary updated by recent studies, follows Guo Yongbing's sequence and the general consensus on reinstating Li Ling's sequence of slips 21–22; she also reinstates slips 36–37 before 38:[24]

Guo Yongbing/Allan

1–3, 35B, 43, 31–32, 4–7, 9–11, 13–14, 8, 12, 23, 15, 24–30, 16–22, 33–34, 35A, 36–42, 44–53

In sum, each scholar who has tried to deal with the sequence of slips in the *Rong Cheng shi* has come up with more or less different suggestions about their arrangement. There are groups of slips the order of which is shared by the majority of scholars. These groups can be recognized as *definitive sets*. There are at the same time some *errant*

23. Pines, "Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy," 13–14. I shall discuss these two slips below.

24. Allan, *Buried Ideas*, chapter 6, 181–222 (passage-by-passage interpretation); 223–62 (translation supplied with comments on transcriptions and the identification of characters in current scholarship).

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slips, the placement of which differs, sometimes rather considerably, among the suggestions advanced.[25]

PART I: THE "COSMOGRAPH" PATTERN AND PUTTING WATERWAYS FIRST IN CONSTRUCTING SPACE: REASSESSING SLIP 31

One especially controversial slip—No. 31—contains a "policy statement" for conceptualizing terrestrial space in the *Rong Cheng shi*. It is preceded by a description of a cardinally oriented twelve-fold pattern. Due to the conciseness of these references, neither the meaning of this spatial pattern, nor the significance of the "policy statement" have been fully appreciated in studies of this manuscript. Their profound implication emerges from an analysis within the broad context of early Chinese concepts of space derived from transmitted and manuscript texts. At the same time, the comparison of this passage with similar occurrences provides new arguments for determining the most plausible place of this slip in the *Rong Cheng shi* narrative.

Placements and Interpretations of Slip 31

Varying placements have been proposed for slip 31. Essentially there have been two approaches:

1) Li Ling, Chen Ligui, Bai Yulan, and Chen Jian associate slip 31 with Yu, whose deeds are featured around the middle of the manuscript.

2) Guo Yongbing and Niu Xinfang place slip 31 at the beginning of the manuscript, considering it to be part of the description of an ancient sage ruler named Youyu Tong 有虞通, who is not found in transmitted texts. Guo Yongbing identifies characters 又吴迵 on slip 5 with 有虞通, and further reconstructs the same name in a group of faint graphs on slip 32, which is damaged.

It should also be noted that some scholars regard slip 31 as a pair with slip 32, while others do not.

Yuri Pines follows the first approach in his translation, but he expresses doubts about its belonging to the "Yu part" of the manuscript

25. To the usual difficulties of assembling a sequence from disordered elements, the early Chinese bamboo manuscripts add damaged and missing slips. Some slips are evidently missing from the beginning of the manuscript, but there might also be some missing from the body of the text, which further complicates the sequencing.

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and about the relationship to slip 32.[26] Sarah Allan's translation relies on Guo Yongbing's hypothesis about Youyu Tong and his placement of slip 31 at the beginning.[27]

The passage in question occupies almost the whole of slip 31. Sarah Allan claims that it advocates musical harmony:[28]

Rong Cheng shi, slip 31, beginning from character No. 2; translation by Allan:

始方爲三宮,	He first made three tones,
救聲之紀:	seeking a guide for the sounds (of a musical scale).
東方爲三宮,	He made three tones for the East,
西方爲三宮,	three tones for the West,
南方爲三宮,	three tones for the South,
北方爲三宮,	three tones for the North,
以躗(越)於溪浴(=谷),	using [the sounds of] crossing brooks and streams
濟於廣川,	and fording wide rivers,
高山陞,	of mountains high up [and]
蓁林	dense forests
[end slip 31]	
[slip 32, first character:]	
入。	deep in.

Allan focuses her attention on the musical scale, which may be implied in the phrase *jiu sheng zhi ji* 救聲之紀. Allan translates it as "seeking a guide for the sounds (of a musical scale)" and identifies the character *gao* 告 with *gong* 宮 ("tone"). In this case the total of twelve *gao* corresponds to the twelve-pitch scale 十二律 *shi'er lü* used in ancient Chinese music.

Allan (along with Li Ling, Chen Jian, and Guo Yongbing) begins the passage with the second character on slip 31, which she reads, having accepted one among its identifications, as *shi* 始, and ends it with the first character on slip 32, which is generally transcribed as *ru* 入 ("to enter, to penetrate"). *Ru* used as a predicate with forests makes a good match with *sheng* 陞 ("to mount, to ascend") used as a predicate with mountains—*gao shan sheng, zhen lin ru* 高山陞，蓁林入 ("high mountains became ascendable, dense forests penetrable"). One issue with this reading is the fact that after *ru* 入follows *yan* 焉 (= *yu zhi* 於之). The combination of these two characters is quite common in early Chinese texts. It means "to enter somewhere" and as a rule is found at the end of

26. Pines, "Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy," 14n34.
27. Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 192n15.
28. Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 192–95 and 228–31.

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a phrase. *Ru yan* at the beginning of slip 32 looks more likely to be the ending of another passage; so some scholars, including Bai Yulan and Chen Ligui, separate slips 31 and 32.

Although Yuri Pines in his translation of the *Rong Cheng shi* accepts a successive arrangement of slips 31 and 32, he tries to solve the problem of their mismatch by calling attention to the damaged nature of slip 32, suggesting that some neighbouring slips might be missing. He translates the beginning of slip 32 as the end of a lost piece of text: *ru yan, yi xing zheng* 入焉，以行政 "[he] entered there to perform administrative tasks." Pines also feels that no satisfactory identifications of the character *gao* have been made and cautiously translates it as some type of ritual.[29] He gives credit to the musical aspect, but does not exaggerate it, and better fits the transmitted written tradition in translating the context:[30]

Rong Cheng shi, slip 31, beginning from character No. 3; translation by Pines:

方爲三告,	At every direction he performed *gao* ceremonies (?),[31]
救聲之紀:	to obtain the essentials of the sounds (?):
東方爲三告,	three *gao* to the east,
西方爲 三告,	three *gao* to the west,
南方爲三告,	three *gao* to the south,
北方爲三告,	three *gao* to the north:
以遼(=越)於溪浴(=谷),	thereby he traversed creeks and gorges,
濟於廣川,	crossed broad rivers,
高山陞,	ascended high mountains,
蓁林 …	□ dense forests.
[end of slip 31]	

I give preference, with some minor amendments of my own, to Pines' interpretation of the passage:

Rong Cheng shi, slip 31, beginning from character No. 3; translation by the author of this article:

方爲三告,	At/to every cardinal direction [he] performed three *gao* ceremonies,
救聲之紀:	seeking the proper order of the sounds:

29. Pines, "Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy," 14n35.

30. Pines begins the passage with the third character on slip 31 and considers the second character to be *jun* 君 (and not *shi* 始 accepted by Allan).

31. Taking *fang* 方as a noun in relation to the subsequent focus on the cardinal arrangement makes much more sense.

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東方爲三告,	in/to the East performed three *gao* ceremonies,
西方爲三告,	in/to the West performed three *gao* ceremonies,
南方爲三告,	in/to the South performed three *gao* ceremonies,
北方爲三告,	in/to the North performed three *gao* ceremonies.
以亹(=越)於溪	This enabled [him] to traverse brooks and river
浴(=谷),	valleys;
濟於廣川,	cross broad rivers,
高山陞,	high mountains became ascendable,
蓁林 …	dense forests … .
[end of slip 31]	

A Twelve-to-Four Pattern for Tailoring Space

According to both interpretations, this passage first of all describes structuring space into twelve cardinally oriented units—three at each of the four cardinal directions. This spatial structure underlies all the other possible correlations, including the twelve-pitch scale. At the same time, the character *ji* 紀, designating here the order of sounds, in contemporary transmitted texts is systematically used in relation to duodecimal temporal cycles, in particular the system of twelve months of the year, the "Shi'er ji" 十二紀 (Twelve Monthly Records) section of the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Springs and Autumns of Mister Lü, compiled shortly before 239 B.C.E.) and its counterpart, the "Yue ling"月令 (Monthly Ordinances, c. second century B.C.E.) chapter of the *Li ji* 禮記 (Records of Ritual, compiled about the first century C.E.), being the *loci classici* for the duodecimal calendar texts.[32] The twelve months

32. For the "Shi'er ji," section I of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, see *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Sibu beiyao edition), 1.1a–12.10b; for translations of this section that put in evidence the twelve-to-four pattern emulated by its textual structure, see Richard Wilhelm, trans., *Früling und Herbst des Lü Bu We* (Jena: Eugen Diderichs, 1928), 1–156; Ivan P. Kamenarovic, trans., *Printemps et automnes de Lü Buwei* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1998), 29–189; John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, trans., *The Annals of Lü Buwei: a Complete Translation and Study* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 59–273; Grigory A. Tkachenko, trans., *Lyshi chun'tsyu: Vesny i oseni gospodina Lyuya* [Lüshi chunqiu: Springs and autumns of Mister Lü] (Moscow: Mysl', 2001), 71–181; for a summary on the "Shi'er ji" structure, see Grigoriĭ A. Tkatchiénko, "Sur la composition du *Shi'er ji* dans le *Lü shi chunqiu* (Printemps et automnes de Lü", in *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* 13 (1991): *Modèles et structures des textes chinois anciens: les formalistes soviétiques en sinologie*, ed. Karine Chemla, Alexei Volkov, and Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, 121–26; for the "Yue ling" chapter of the *Li ji*, see *Li ji Zheng zhu* 禮記鄭注 (Sibu beiyao edition), 5.1a–29b; for translations of this chapter that put in evidence the twelve-to-four pattern emulated by its textual structure, see James Legge, trans., *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism, Part III, The Lî Kî, I–X*, *Sacred Books of the East* 27, series ed. F. Max Müller (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1885), 229–310; Séraphin Couvreur, trans., *Li Ki, ou Mémoires sur les bienséances; texte Chinois avec une*

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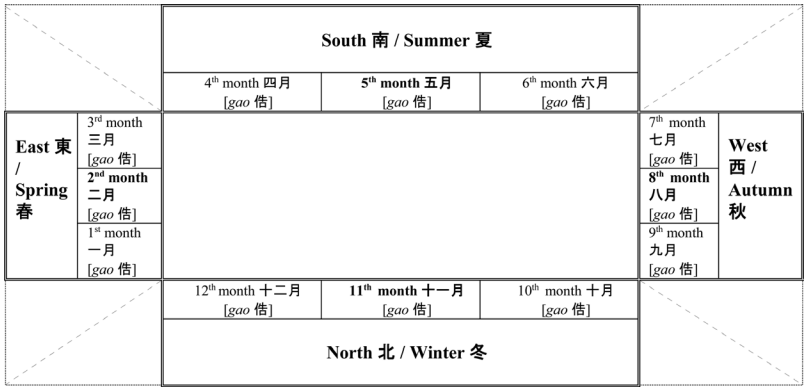

Figure 1 Twelve months of the year arranged into four seasons correlated with the four cardinal directions with superimposed twelve *gao* 告.

arranged into four seasons correlated with the four cardinal directions constitute the Chinese cosmographical conception of space-time, which is in the first place evoked by the twelve-to-four pattern. Figure 1 shows the spatio-temporal deployment of the twelve months with a correlated cardinally oriented arrangement of twelve *gao*.

One could argue that the scheme in Figure 1 is a reconstruction and there are other possible ways to array the twelve months of the year. However, their pictorial representation, according to the pattern above, is found in another manuscript of Chu provenance roughly contemporary with the *Lüshi chunqiu* and the *Rong Cheng shi*, the so-called Chu Silk Manuscript, recently re-labelled as Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 (c. 47 × 38.7 cm in its present condition, estimated original size 48 × 40 cm;[33] c. late fourth century B.C.E, unearthed by grave robbers sometime between 1934 and 1942 at Zidanku 子彈庫, Changsha, Hubei province). This has been studied intensively since the middle of the twentieth century. Among milestone studies are those by Li Ling, who not only takes notice of its peculiar spatio-temporal layout, which combines textual passages and pictures, but also calls attention to its meaning and a functional significance.[34] Having first explored various

double traduction en Francais et en Latin, vol. 1 (Hokkien: Mission Catholique, 1913), 330–410.

33. Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu* 楚帛書研究 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2013), 181 and 217.

34. Insights into these aspects made in Li Ling's first monograph on Chu Silk Manuscript no.1; see Li Ling, *Changsha Zidanku Zhanguo Chuboshu yanjiu* 長沙子彈庫戰國楚帛書研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1985). These were then developed in a special article, see Li Ling, "Chuboshu yu shitu" 楚帛書與式圖, *Jiang Han kaogu* 1991.1, 59–62, and further in the context of *fangshu* 方術 practices, see Li Ling, *Zhongguo*

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shapes of the *shitu* 式圖, which he translates as "a diagram of *shi* 式 (or cosmic model),"[35] Li Ling establishes the link between the layout of Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 and cosmological devices *shipan* 式/栻盤, commonly referred to as divining or cosmic boards or cosmographs. The divining or cosmic board or "cosmograph" has a square base plate with a rotating disc on top, representing Earth and Heavens, respectively.[36] He supports his point of view with two diagrams, which demonstrate their parallels. The first diagram shows the arrangement of the manuscript's textual units supplied with indications to the reading direction of each unit and their tentative sequence—clockwise from

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fangshu kao 中國方術考 (Beijing: Dongfang, 2000), 89–231. The manuscript was recently reassessed by Li Ling in two monographs, see Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu* and *Zidanku boshu* 子彈庫帛書, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu, 2017). The 2013 book is a convenient collection of Li Ling's studies on Chu Silk Manuscript no.1, including a translation, glossary, and several articles, some in Chinese and English versions, discussing the similarity between Chu Silk Manuscript no.1 and the "diagram of shi 式 (or cosmic model)" from different angles, see Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, 1–74, 155–243, 252–87. He also makes observations on the context of the discovery and material aspects of the manuscript, as well as the other silk manuscripts found together with it, unfortunately considerably damaged, ibid., 171–243. These are the focus of his most recent study, see Li Ling, *Zidanku boshu*. The first volume (for which see also its English version, Li Ling, *The Chu Silk Manuscripts from Zidanku, Changsha (Hunan Province), Vol.1*, trans. and ed. Lothar von Falkenhausen (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2020)) is devoted to the history of the discovery and scholarly transmission of these manuscripts. The second is focused on reconstructions and philological analysis of the manuscripts and fragments; for Chu Silk Manuscript no.1 labeled 四時令 *Sishi ling*, see Li Ling, *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 43–77, for Chu Silk Manuscript no.2 labeled 五行令 *Wuxingling*, as well as other fragments, see Li Ling, *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 78–113.

35. Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, 155.

36. Such devices are discussed in two recent monograph studies of early Chinese cosmography and cosmology, by David Pankenier, who refers to these devices throughout his book as "mantic astrolabes"; see David Pankenier, *Astrology and Cosmology in Early China: Conforming Earth to Heaven* (Cambridge: Cambridge Universtity Press, 2013); see also Christopher Cullen, *Heavenly Numbers: Astronomy and Authority in Early Imperial China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), chapter 5: "The Measures and Forms of Heaven," 179–222, especially 202–7 and figure 5.7 on p. 203, and Huang Ru-Xuan 黃儒宣, "Xi-Han zaoqi de tiandi moxing—yi Mawandui boshu 'Digangtu' ji 'Kanyu' wei zhongxin" 西漢早期的天地模型—以馬王堆帛書《地剛圖》及《堪輿》為中心, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 19.4 (2019), 682–732, which discusses a series of "cosmograph"-related depictions, including manuscripts on silk from the Mawandui. For a list of earlier studies of "cosmographs," see Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapless Mapping: Did the Maps of the *Shan hai jing* Ever Exist?," in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: the Warp and the Weft*, ed. Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and Georges Métailié (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 249n79. The earliest excavated specimens of "cosmographs" date from the Western Han dynasty.

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the center to periphery. This requires the rotation of the manuscript by its "user" and makes the diagram a process-oriented scheme (Figure 2a; center: two long textual passages written inversely with respect to each other, one comprised of thirteen and the other of eight columns. Margins: twelve short textual passages related to the monthly divinities, the names of which are placed in the reading direction of the respective passage).[37] This diagram highlights the non-linear textual structure of the manuscript, which is especially valuable due to its being the original, not reconstructed textual arrangement.[38] The second diagram shows the pictorial images in a square pattern, that is, the twelve

37. See Li Ling, *Changsha Zidanku Zhanguo Chuboshu yanjiu*, 30–31; *Chuboshu yanjiu*, 29 (small diagrams with no title). Even if one accepts a different reading sequence, it would still require a rotation. In Li Ling, *Zhongguo fangshu kao*, 111 (figure 21), the scheme is provided at a larger scale and with a title— *Chuboshu de tushi* 楚帛書的圖式, but regretfully does not provide indications to the reading direction and the sequence of passages.

38. Although non-linear texts *per se* are not the focus of Li Ling's interests, from the very beginning of his studies of Chu Silk Manuscript no.1 he pointed out this attribute of the manuscript and its typological similarity with reconstructions of the "You guan" 幼官 chapter of the philosophical treatise *Guanzi* 管子 (compiled about the end of the first century B.C.E.) in the shape of a cardinally oriented ground "plan of the Dark Palace" (*Xuangong tu* 玄宮圖), as well as with the textual structure of the *Shanhai jing* 山海經), see Li Ling, *Changsha Zidanku Zhanguo Chuboshu yanjiu*, 39–44; *Zhongguo fangshu kao*, 135–40; *Chuboshu yanjiu*, 37–40, 123–25. The first reconstruction of the Dark Palace plan, which was ground-breaking for considering non-linear textual structures, was proposed by Guo Moruo 郭沫若 and Wen Yiduo 聞一多 in 1956. I discuss spatially organized early Chinese texts as a type of textual structure and their studies in Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Spatial Composition of Ancient Chinese Texts," in *History of Science, History of Text*, ed. Karine Chemla (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 3–47, and the structure of the *Shanhai jing* in relation to Chu Silk Manuscript no.1 in Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapless Mapping," esp. 242–49. Studies of various non-linear textual structures not necessarily dealing with space were mainstream in Soviet studies of early China in the 1970s through the late 1990s. For a survey and some translations, see *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* 13 (1991): *Modèles et structures des textes chinois anciens: les formalistes soviétiques en sinologie*, eds. Karine Chemla, Alexei Volkov, and Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann; see also more recent surveys by Stanislav Rykov, "The 'School of Structural Analysis' in Modern Russian Sinology," *Journal of World Philosophies* 1 (Winter 2016), 27–40, and Yegor Grebnev, "Aural-Mnemonic Architectonics of Ancient Chinese Philosophical Texts," *Monumenta Serica*, 68.2 (2020), 289–314. Argumentation by means of textual diagrams in neo-Confucian scholarship, many diagrams referring to early texts, is extensively discussed by Michael Lackner; and for an overview, see Francesca Bray, "Introduction: The Powers of *Tu*," *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China*," 1–78, esp. 5–40. There has been a rise in interest in non-linear textual studies in Western sinology since the mid-2000s; see, for instance, the latest collection of articles edited by Joachim Gentz and Dirk Meyer, *Literary Forms of Argument in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2015). Regretfully, the editors, while apparently relying on previous scholarship in the field, do not give full credit to it.

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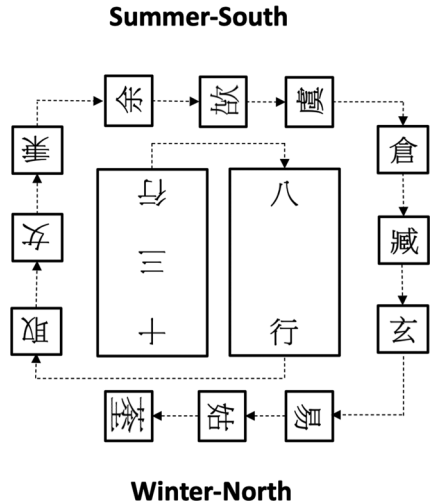

Figure 2a General arrangement of Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 and its tentative reading sequence. Reproduced from Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu* 楚帛書研究 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2013), 29, and re-oriented with the South on top; estimated size of the original diagram c. 40 × 40 cm.

monthly divinities, three on each side of the manuscript, with four trees placed in the corners (Figure 2b; a group of three divinities at each side of the manuscript corresponds to a season. Cardinal orientation is not noted explicitely, but may be reliably derived from its correlation with the seasons).[39] The same pattern is found on the square bottom (=Earth) plate of the so-called *Liuren* 六壬 type of cosmograph, on which the twelve cyclic signs (Earth branches) are arranged within the second square zone from the outside (Figure 2c[40]).

Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 was accompanied by at least one text, which contains a diagram with a circular arrangement of months. The diagram is considerably damaged, but its colors and shape can still be ascertained from the surviving pieces—two concentric circles, both delineated in black and red, each with regular arrangements of the twelve months, see

39. Li Ling, *Zhongguo fangshu kao*, 180, figure 27. Reproduced several times under the title *Chuboshu de tuxiang [anpai]* 楚帛書的圖像[安排] and translated for the English version as "The twelve gods representing the months of the year," in Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, 188, figure 15; 224, figure 9; 273, figure 1.

40. For a slightly different redrawing, see *Anhui sheng wenwu gongzuodui* 安徽省文物工作隊, "Fuyang Shuanggudui Xi-Han Ruyin hou mu fajue jianbao" 阜陽雙古堆西漢汝陰侯墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 1978.8, 25, figure 10.

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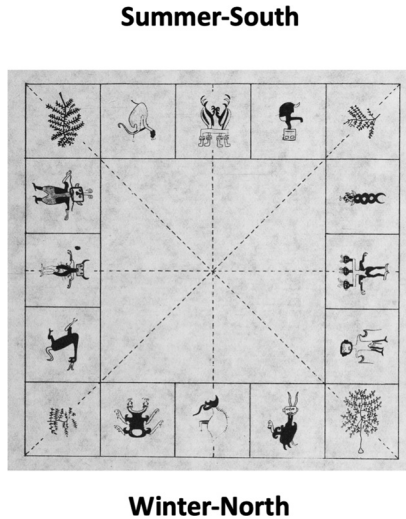

Figure 2b Cosmograph-like square pattern marked by the twelve monthly divinities and four corner trees in Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1. Reproduced from Li Ling, *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方術考 (Beijing: Renmin Zhongguo, 1993), 170, figure 47; estimated size of the original diagram c. 40 × 40.

in Figure 2d (extant state) and Figure 2e (reconstruction).[41] The circular diagram has affinity with the "cosmograph's" heavenly disc and with the device composed of two discs conventionally referred to as a "lodge dial" found together with the *Liuren* "cosmograph" (see Figure 2f).[42]

The circular diagram in Chu Silk Manuscript no.2, which has become available to the scholarly community only recently, offers an important argument in favor of typological parallels of Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 with a "cosmograph," a divination device made up of a square plate representing the earth surmounted by a round heavenly one. The two manuscripts constitute a pair, as both convey schematic arrangements of the twelve months: their arrangement according to the square twelve-to-four pattern in Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 was complemented by their circular arrangement in Chu Silk Manuscript no.2. The two manuscripts are therefore related, as with the earthly and the heavenly plates of a "cosmograph."

The importance of Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 for understanding the system of twelve *gao* in the *Rong Cheng shi* is not limited to structural

41. Li Ling, *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 10–11 (color plates), 78–81 (reconstruction and interpretation), the diagram labelled by Li Ling "The Diagram of Month's Names" *Yuming tu* 月名圖 belongs to the text, which he refers to as the 五行令 *Wuxing ling*.

42. Cullen, *Heavenly Numbers*, 205–6.

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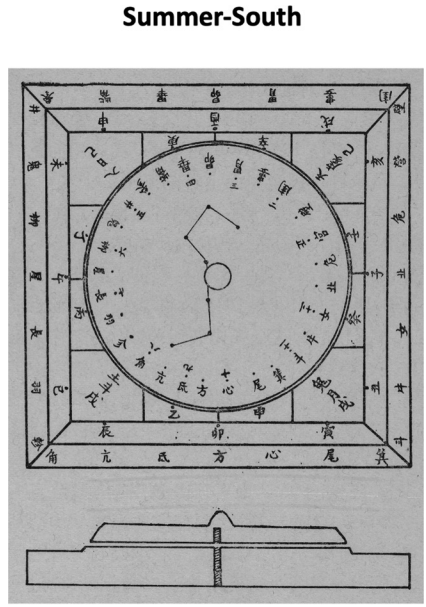

Figure 2c The so-called *Liuren* 六壬 type of the divining or cosmic board or "cosmograph" from the tomb of Marquis of Ruyin 汝陰侯 closed in 165 B.C.E, Shuanggudui 雙古堆, Fuyang 阜陽. Redrawing with cross-section below, laquered wood, bottom plate: 13.5 cm, upper disc diameter: 9.5 cm. Reproduced from Yin Difei 陰滌非, "Xi-Han Ruyin hou mu chutu de zhanpan he tianwe yiqi" 西漢汝陰候墓出土的占盤和天文儀器, *Kaogu* 1978.5, 340, figure 1.

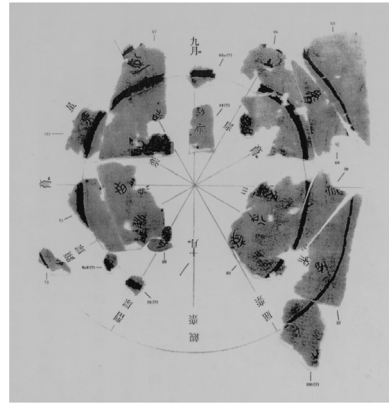

Figure 2d Diagram with two circular arrangements of the twelve months, extant state. Delineated in red and black, reproduced from Li Ling, *Zidanku boshu* 子彈庫帛書 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2017), 79, figure 1.

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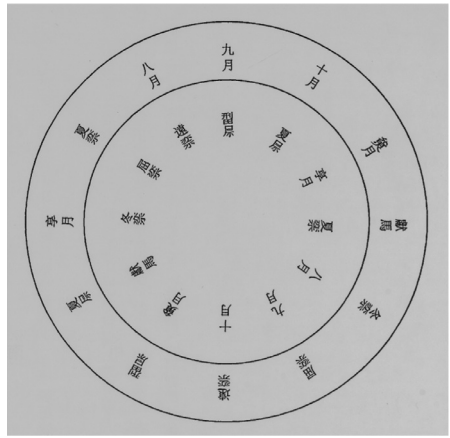

Figure 2e (middle) Diagram with two circular arrangements of the twelve months, reconstruction. Reproduced from Li Ling, *Zidanku boshu* 子彈庫帛書 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2017), 79, figure 2.

parallels between the arrangement of the twelve monthly divinities in the former and the deployment of *gao* in the latter. Their pictorial content—symbolizing months by their divinities—points to a highly important role of divinities in the early Chinese conception of space,

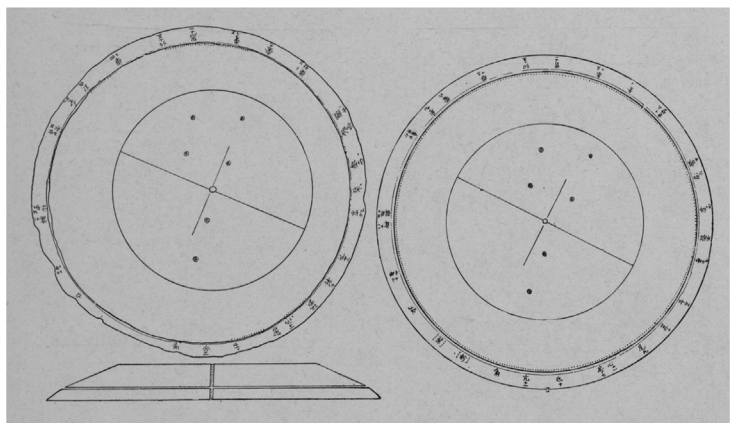

Figure 2f (right) The "lodge dial" device from the tomb of Marquis of Ruyin 汝陰侯 closed in 165 B.C.E, Shuanggudui 雙古堆, Fuyang 阜陽. Redrawing with cross-section below, laquered wood, bottom disc diameter: 25,5 cm, upper disc diameter: 23 cm; reproduced from *Anhui sheng wenwu gongzuodui* 安徽省文物工作隊, "Fuyang Shuanggudui Xi-Han Ruyin hou mu fajue jianbao" 阜陽雙古堆西漢汝陰侯墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 1978, no.8, 19, figure 8. For a slightly different redrawing, see Yin Difei 陰滌非, "Xi-Han Ruyin hou mu chutu de zhanpan he tianwe yiqi" 西漢汝陰候墓出土的占盤和天文儀器, *Kaogu* 1978, no.5, 342, figure 3.

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coordinated with the yearly cycle of seasons and months.[43] Yet this text, as well as being a "cosmograph," provides a diagram or device imbued with some intrinsic techniques for process-oriented use—rotation—though they do not describe the process proper. Indeed, the process of managing this space–time, accomplished through sacrifices to divinities in charge of units of the spatio-temporal division, perfectly qualifies Emperor Shun's "tour of inspection" *xun shou* 巡狩, as described in a transmitted source roughly contemporary with the *Rong Cheng shi*, the "Shun dian" 舜典 chapter of the *Shang shu* 尚書 (Karlgren, "Yao dian 2" 堯典續; all in text references to Karlgren are to Karlgren, trans., "The Book of Documents," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 22 (1950)).[44] This description is a case of verbal mapping devoid of

43. I discuss the role of divinities in ordering terrestrial space in early China in Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapping a 'Spiritual' Landscape: Representing Terrestrial Space in the *Shan hai jing*," in *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History*, ed. Nicola di Cosmo and Don Wyatt (London: Curzon–Routledge, 2003), 35–79; "Text as a Device for Mapping a Sacred Space: A Case of the *Wu zang shan jing* ('Five Treasuries: The Itineraries of Mountains')," in *Göttinger Beiträge zur Asienforschung* 2–3 (2003): *Creating and Representing Sacred Spaces*, eds. Michael Dickhardt and Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, 147–210; see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapless Mapping" on the example of the *Shanhai jing* in relation to the Chu Silk Manuscript no.1.

44. I discuss the implications of this passage in Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space (Warring States-Early Han)," in *HdO Early Chinese Religion. Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC–220 AD)*, ed. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 595–644, esp. 638–40. For the complete passage and its three main scholarly translations, which differ and also complement each other, see *Shang shu Zhengyi*, 3.3a–6b; James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics, Vol. 3, Part 1 (Shoo King)* (Hongkong: London Missionary Society's Printing Office, 1865), 33–37 (§§ 6–9); Séraphin Couvreur, trans., *Chou King* (Ho Kien Fou: Imprimérie de la Mission Catholique, 1897), 15–19 (§ 6–9); Bernhard Karlgren, trans., "The Book of Documents," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 22 (1950), 2 and 4–6 (§§ 17–20). Legge's and Couvreur's translations have extensive, but not always similar, commentaries. Karlgren's "The Book of Documents" is preceded by separate glosses, see Karlgren, "Glosses on the Book of Documents," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 20 (1948), 39–315, and 21 (1949), 63–206. It assembles only the "New Script" chapters of the "Book of Documents" (*Shu jing*), having rearranged some of them, namely, the "Shun dian," which corresponds to the second part of the "Yao dian" chapter. For a general discussion of the "Yao dian" chapter in the modern-script recension, including the complexity of its dating, see Martin Kern, "Language and the Ideology of Kingship in the 'Canon of Yao'," in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)*, ed. Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 23–61, and also Kai Vogelsang "Competing Voices in the *Shangshu*," in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy Studies*, 78–89. For a critical review of the volume devoted to the *Shang shu*, see Edward Shaughnessy's review, "*Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic*

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graphical illustrations, as is the description of the twelve *gao*. The juxtaposition of such verbal schemes or relevant texts with authentic visual aids, for some reason often missing in previous scholarly approaches, allows one to establish the missing links between *scheme* and *action* that are necessary for undersanding both.

Without going into the details of the various sacrifices, the "tour of inspection" may be summarized as follows:

> In the second month of the year (*sui eryue* 歲二月 = mid-Spring) the "tour of inspection" goes in the Eastern direction towards the Taizong 岱宗 (= Eastern Peak) for performing a series of rites;
>
> In the fifth month (*wuyue* 五月 = mid-Summer) the "tour of inspection" goes in the Southern direction towards the Southen Peak for performing the same series of rites;
>
> In the eighth month (*bayue* 八月 = mid-Autumn) the "tour of inspection" goes in the Western direction towards the Western Peak for performing the same series of rites;
>
> In the eleventh month (*shiyiyue* 十一月 = mid-Winter) the "tour of inspection" goes in the Northern direction towards the Northern Peak for performing the same series of rites.

One can see that the "tour of inspection" is accomplished according to the twelve-to-four pattern mapped out by the Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1. The "tour of inspection" can therefore be devined as a seasonal succession of rites, performed at the corresponding cardinal directions. The "tour" starts in Spring in the East and proceeds *clockwise* to the South in Summer, then to the West in Autumn and finally to the North in Winter, thus *accomplishing a complete yearly cycle encompassing the entire terrestrial space. The* space-regulating rites are performed in the middle month of each season at the true cardinal points marked by the four Peaks (*yue* 岳).[45]

"Performing *gao*" (*wei gao* 為告) described in the *Rong Cheng shi* also starts in the East, but proceeds *crosswise*—first from East to the West,

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of Documents). Edited by Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017," 饒宗頤國學院院刊 / Bulletin of the *Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology* 5 (2018), 417–45. The passage is cited in the "Wang zhi" 王制 chapter of the *Li ji*, see *Li ji Zheng zhu*, 4/5a–6a; Legge, *The Lî Kî, I–X*, 216–17 (II, § 13–16); Couvreur, *Li Ki*, vol. 1, 275–78 (II, § 13–16), discussed below.

45. An elaborate month-by-month description of the yearly ritual cycle, starting from the first month of spring, constitutes the "Shier ji" section of the *Lüshi chunqiu* and the "Yue ling" chapter of the *Li ji*, referred to above.

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then from the South to the North. Temporal correspondences are not in evidence in "performing *gao*," as it regulates terrestrial space through delineating its crosswise/horizontal and lengthwise/vertical axes, unrelated to the seasonal sequence. Similarly to the arrangement of the monthly divinities in the Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1, the cardinally oriented threesomes of *gao* does not put any special emphasis on the central *gao* among the three at each cardinal direction.

Despite these structural variations, "performing *gao*" and the "tour of inspection" describe *actions* aimed at establishing *a regular framework of terrestrial space*, both being typologically similar *process-oriented* schemes. This is a strong argument in favor of understanding *wei gao* as the performance of certain space-regulating ceremonies. The ceremonies may have a musical aspect, but their main goal is spatial arrangement.[46]

From Mountains to Waters or Vice Versa?

An even stronger argument in favor of the primary spatial significance of the twelve *gao* is the similar outcome of "performing gao" and the "tour of inspection"—to establish manageable elements of terrestrial space. Shun's "tour of inspection" results in the initiation of "provinces" as units of territorial division, twelve in total, followed by the establishment of a matching number of key mountains and making rivers deeper, the latter unnumbered. The repeated emphasis on the number twelve correlates with the twelve-to-four pattern underlying the "tour of inspection":[47]

> ***Shang shu*, "Shun dian," (Karlgren, "Yao dian 2," § 21):**
>
> 肇十有二州, 封十有二山, 濬川.
>
> [Shun] founded the "Twelve provinces," assigned twelve mountains [and] deepened rivers.

46. In particular, during his "tour of inspection" Shun "unified pitches, degrees, volumes and weights" (*tong lü du liang heng* 同律度量衡), but these actions are part of arranging space, and not the main goal. Though a relation between the twelve *gao* 告 and a twelve-pitch scale is highly plausible, the interpretation of landscape features in terms of their sounds, as proposed by Sarah Allan in her translation of slip 31, does not have any support in the manuscript or transmitted texts.

47. *Shang shu zhengyi*, 3.8b; Legge, *Shoo King*, 38 (§ 10); Couvreur, *Chou King*, 20 (§ 10); Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 5–6 (§ 21). References to the *Shang shu* hereafter follow its convenient division into chapters and paragraphs by Bernhard Karlgren; translations of the *Shang shu* provided hereafter are my own; they take into consideration the three main scholarly translations, which differ, and include my emendations.

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The outcome of Shun's "tour of inspection," in turn, is further paraphrased in the introduction to the establishment of the "Nine Provinces" (*Jiu zhou* 九州, literally "Nine Isle-lands") by his subordinate and then successor, Yu the Great 大禹, as described in the "Yu gong" 禹貢 (Yu's [system] of Tribute) chapter of the *Shang shu*:[48]

> ***Shang shu*, "Yu gong," (Karlgren, § 1):**
>
> 禹敷土, 隨山刊木, 奠高山大川.
>
> Yu laid out the lands; moved along the mountains [as orientation marks and]
> cut down trees (or made cuts [as signs] on trees)
> [in order to blaze itineraries through forested highlands],
> settled the high mountains [and] the big rivers.

According to these summaries, both Shun and Yu first put in order mountains and then rivers.

A detailed arrangement of terrestrial space in this particular sequence is developed further in the "Yu gong," in the description of the ways of communication Yu paved through the "Nine Provinces": first nine land itineraries marked by mountains, then nine river itineraries.[49] Another summary of Yu's regulations included into the "Yi [and Hou] Ji" 益稷 (Karlgren, "Gao Yao mo 2") chapter of the *Shang shu* contains the same phrase about mountains found in the introduction to the description of the "Nine Provinces" in the "Yu gong," but is distinguished by paying special attention to regulating waterways:[50]

> ***Shang shu*, "Yi [and Hou] Ji," (Karlgren, "Gao Yao mo 2," § 9):**
>
> 予乘四載, 隨山刊木 …
>
> 予決九川, 距四海;
>
> 濬 畎 澮, 距 川.

48. *Shang shu zhengyi* 6.1a–b. Legge, *Shoo King*, 92–93 (§1); Couvreur, *Chou King*, 61–62 (§ 1); Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 12–13 (§1).

49. Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space," 627–29.

50. *Shang shu zhengyi*, 5.1a–b; Legge, *Shoo King*, 77–78 (§ 1); Couvreur, *Chou King*, 49–50 (§ 1); Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 9–10 (§ 9), but is not identical to any of them. The resulting translation is to a considerable extent inspired by the interpretation of this passage by Artemy M. Karapetiants during his classical Chinese lessons I was privileged to attend during my university and post-graduate studies (1980–1985). For a recent general discussion of "Gao Yao mo" chapter in the modern script recension, see Vogelsang, "Competing Voices in the *Shangshu*," 63–78.

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I (= Yu) having mounted my four (kinds of) conveyances,
moved along the mountains [as orientation marks and]
cut down trees (or made cuts [as signs] on trees)
[in order to blaze itineraries through forested highlands] …
I (= Yu) released the flows of the nine [main] rivers and
led [them] into the seas of the four [cardinal directions],
deepened field-drains and [drainage] ducts and led [them] into the
[main] rivers.

In contrast to the simple "deepening" of rivers by Shun and by Yu in the introduction to the "Nine Provinces," the passage from the "Yi [and Hou] Ji" ("Gao Yao mo 2") describes his arranging waterways into a two-level system of interconnected waterways for draining the excess waters of the Flood—the higher level of the "nine [main] rivers" *jiu chuan* 九川, which empty their waters into the seas of the four cardinal directions, and the lower level of "field-drains and [drainage] ducts" *quan kuai* 畎澮, which drain into the main rivers.[51] Yet, despite this focus on waterways, arranging space still starts from mountains.

A more elaborate and structurally perfect version of a successive drainage system of six levels is featured in the "Shi shui" 釋水 (Explaining Waterways), chapter 12 of the *Erya* 爾雅 dictionary (c. second century B.C.E.).[52] The waterways are also listed from large to small, as follows: *chuan* 川 [main] rivers ← *xi* 谿 creeks ← *gu* 谷*gu* [river] valleys ← *gou* 溝 [drainage] ditches ← *kuai* 澮 [drainage] ducts ← *du* 瀆 [drainage] trenches:[53]

***Erya*, chap. 12 "Shi shui":**

水注川曰谿,

注谿曰谷,

51. For a recent reassessment of the Flood legend see Sarah Allan, "The Jishi Outburst Flood of 1920 BCE and the Great Flood Legend in Ancient China: Preliminary Reflections," *Journal of Chinese Humanities* 3 (2017), 23–34.

52. Being drawn from different materials, the *Erya* retains some concepts rejected in early imperial historiography, such as the location of the Yellow River source at Kunlun Mountain. In the "Yu gong" the Yellow River begins in Jishi 積石, whereas in late Warring States–Early Han texts such as the *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Narrative of the Son of Heaven, Mu, late fourth-early third centuries B.C.E.) and the *Shanhai jing* it begins in Kunlun Mountain. For the ideological importance of determining the "true" source of the Yellow River in early imperial cartography, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Where is the Yellow River Source? A Controversial Question in the Early Chinese Historiography," *Oriens Extremus* 45 (2005–2006), 68–90.

53. Precise translation of these waterway terms needs a special study. Here I try to use more or less matching equivalents, different for each different character.

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注谷曰溝,

注溝曰澮,

注澮曰瀆.[54]

Waterways which pour into the [main] rivers are called creeks;
those which pour into creeks are called [river] valleys;
those which pour into [river] valleys are called [drainage] ditches;
those which pour into [drainage] ditches are called [drainage] ducts,
those which pour into [drainage] ducts are called [drainage] trenches.

While at first sight the richness of the vocabulary for types of waterways in the *Erya* is impressive, a closer look reveals that the vocabulary for mountains in this dictionary is even more abundant. Entries about mountains are divided with respect to two categories—"Shi qiu" 釋丘 (Explaining Peaks, chapter 10) and "Shi shan" 釋山 (Explaining Mountains, chapter 11). These two chapters precede chapter 12 on waterways, thus again respecting the sequence from mountains to waters. Finally, the sequence from mountains to waters determines the structure of the most comprehensive early Chinese description of the "natural" world—that of the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Itineraries of Mountains and Seas, compiled about the first century B.C.E.), composed of the "Shan jing" 山經 (Itineraries of Mountains) and the "Hai jing" 海經 (Itineraries of Seas). In addition, as in the case of the *Erya*, it is characterized by the quantitative prevalence of mountains over waters. Firstly, the "mountains" section is about twice as large as the "seas" section. Secondly, the itineraries of the "Shan jing," a detailed version of Yu's land itineraries, are delineated from mountain to mountain. Rivers here are secondary landmarks, subordinated to mountains. They are registered only in cases where they have their source in mountains, and they are greatly outnumbered by mountains.[55]

In sum, according to such representative texts as the *Shang shu*, the *Erya*, and the *Shanhai jing*, the conception of terrestrial space builds on the predominance of mountains over rivers. This point is of crucial

54. *Erya Guozhu* 爾雅郭注 (Sibu beiyao edition), 7.9b. Subsequently, see *Erya Guozhu* 爾雅郭注, 7.10a, the drainage trenches *du* 瀆 are glossed by the four rivers pouring into the sea: 江河淮濟為四瀆，四瀆者，發源注海者也 *Jiang He Huai Ji wei Sidu, Sidu zhe, fa yuan zhu hai zhe ye* "The Jiang, He, Huai and Qi rivers constitute the Four [main] drainage trenches; the Four [main] drainage trenches are those who have spouting sources that pour into the sea." However, from the logic of the drainage system described in the "Yi [and Hou] Ji"/"Gao Yao mo 2," the four rivers match better as a gloss for the largest waterways in the system: *chuan* 川.

55. Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Conception of Terrestrial Organization in the *Shan hai jing*," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 82 (1995), 59 n. 8, and 90, table 1.

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importance for understanding the message behind the outcome of "performing the *gao*" in slip 31:

***Rong Cheng shi*, slip 31:**

以瓁 (=越)於溪浴 (=谷),	This enabled [him] to traverse brooks and river valleys,
濟於廣川,	cross broad rivers;
高山陞,	high mountains became ascendable,
蓁林 …	dense forests …

end of slip 31

The wording is very similar to the summaries of space regulation by Shun and Yu in the *Shang shu*, especially to those by Yu, which are more detailed—they include trees as attributes of mountains, and supply mountains and rivers with augmenting adjectives, though this is a difference of detail rather than substance. At the same time, in slip 31 the sequence of managing landscape features is inversed—*arranging waterways precedes arranging mountains*. In addition, moving across terrestrial space is effectuated not with respect to mountains—as a tour of cardinal peaks by Shun or "moving along mountains" (*sui shan* 隨山) by Yu, but through waterways—"traversing" and "crossing" them (*wei* [=*yue*] 瓁(=越) and *ji*濟, respectively). This is a cardinally different view of terrestrial space, one in which the main structuring elements are waterways.[56] And, indeed, this characteristic perfectly matches the version of the "Nine Provinces" described in the *Rong Cheng shi*, which primarily builds on the idea of successive drainage. Its general principle, as mentioned above, is formulated in the "Yi [and Hou] Ji" ("Gao Yao mo 2") and the "Shi shui" through a system of abstract waterways of hierarchically different types. The "Nine Provinces" of the *Rong Cheng shi* apply this principle to specific waterways and describe the well-known rivers of the Yellow River and the Yangzi River basins as such a system.[57] The emphasis on waterways in slip 31 correlates with the primary role of waterways in the "Nine Provinces" in this manuscript.

56. For the concept of "water" (*shui* 水) in early Chinese thought and its implications, see Sarah Allan, *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997).

57. I have discussed the "Nine Provinces" of the *Rong Cheng shi* in detail elsewhere; see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces,'" 37–41. The description of the "Nine Provinces" is reproduced in the Appendix to the present article.

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Proposed Placement Of Slip 31

The above comparison of slip 31 with transmitted texts, and the correlation of arranging landscape, beginning from waters, with the drainage concept of the "Nine Provinces" allows one to conclude that it most likely refers to the group of slips that describe Shun's and Yu's activities.

In the *Shang shu*, which became the canonical version of the origins of history in early imperial historiography, one finds an interesting phenomenon—the spatial arrangements of Shun and Yu are characterized by a certain replication with respect to each other. The similar summaries of Shun's and Yu's management of landscape features progressing from mountains to waters provide a good example. Although Shun's "Twelve Provinces" are only briefly mentioned, and Yu's "Nine Provinces" are described in much greater detail, both follow the same principle of managing terrestrial space, where the number of "provinces" is matched by the same number of arranged features of landscape, and is, therefore, also a replication. Shun's and Yu's spatial arrangements are distinguished on a formal level, from the attribution of different numbers to the separation of certain functions. Elsewhere I have discussed that the regulation of space through communicating with spirits *shen* 神 in the *Shang shu* is an exclusive prerogative of Shun, but that in transmitted texts not included into the Confucian "canon" this distinction is not respected.[58] The reason is that, with the exception of the *Shang shu* and its citations, the division into "provinces" is credited only to Yu, as is the major imput into regulating space in all its aspects. In the *Shang shu* the merit is divided between Shun and Yu: as ruler Shun initiated and inspired spatial regulation, while Yu successfully developed on them, having started as Shun's foreman.

The transmitted version of Shun's and Yu's spatial regulations found in the *Shang shu*, more precisely in the "Shun dian" ("Yao dian 2"), the "Yi [and Hou] Ji" ("Gao Yao mo 2") and the "Yu gong" chapters, underwent considerable editing in becoming the canonical version, which allowed for replication. Replication is also apparent in Yu's regulations—the very similar summaries that precede the draining of excess waters in the "Yi [and Hou] Ji" ("Gao Yao mo 2") chapter and the description of the "Nine Provinces" in the "Yu gong" can be regarded as such. Putting aside the

58. Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space". Thus, in alternative versions of Yu's labors, e.g., in the *Shanhai jing*, Yu relies heavily on spirits. However, spirits do not play an important role in the *Rong Cheng shi*. The character *shen* occurs only once as part of a placename in slip 40, and, through a loan character, in the name of Shen Nong (slip 1), so cannot serve as a criterion by which to distinguish between the functions of Shun and Yu in this manuscript.

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reasons for such replications in the *Shang shu*, let us strip them down to the basic structural nodes of Shun's and Yu's spatial regulations. These are as follows: Shun performs the ritual regulation of space according to a twelve-fold "cosmograph"-like pattern → summary of managed landscape features → Yu realizes practical regulation of terrestrial space through draining floodwaters and establishing the "Nine Provinces."[59] In the *Rong Cheng shi* one finds a concise version of these three nodes: a cardinally oriented scheme of performing twelve *gao* followed by a summary of managed landscape features in slip 31, and establishing the "Nine Provinces" in the drainage process in slips 24–27. If we take the canonical version of Shun's and Yu's regulations as a basis for comparison, slip 31 most likely refers to Shun's regulations and should precede the description of the "Nine Provinces."

The description of the "Nine Provinces" in the *Rong Cheng shi* is the core of a *definitive group* of slips (23+15+/=24–30), nine slips in total, or eight if one considers slips 24 and 15 as pieces of the same slip, the sequence of which is not in doubt. Many scholars now consider slips 16–22 as belonging to this group, and place them immediately after slip 30. I suggest that a possible placement of slip 31 could be before slip 23.[60] The beginning of this slip is broken off, but the surviving piece is the second and the final reference to the general state of the landscape in the manuscript, this time in its negative state: after three years of Shun's rulership the landscape features became unmanageable and required Yu's appointment as a foreman:

***Rong Cheng shi*, slip 23:**

… 舜聽政三年,

山陸(=陵)不 [illegible] (=凥= 處),

水䊾(=潦)不湝(?),

乃立禹以為司工.

Shun administered the government for three years.
[During this time] mountains and hills were uninhabitable,
waterways and rainwaters did not flow,
[Shun] then established Yu as the Master of Public Works.

59. A summary of Shun's regulations concludes his "tour of inspection," and in the case of Yu's regulations they precede them, so if one considers them as replications, one can reduce them to one.

60. The beginning of slip 31 does not fit with the end of slip 12, which since Chen Jian's rearrangement has been accepted as preceding slip 23 by the majority of scholars. Therefore, such a placing of slip 31 would require further rearrangements.

This description of terrestrial space as being in disorder follows the common sequence *from mountains to waters*, because in this way it prioritizes the main problem—the "uninhabitability" (*bu chu* 不處) of the land. Establishing the "Nine Provinces" in the *Rong Cheng shi* solves this problem, as "provinces" are conceived of as pieces of land which have become "suitable for inhabiting, habitable" (*ke chu* 可處) due to Yu's regulations of waterways.[61] The description of the disordered landscape in slip 23 alludes to the image of the Flood in the *Shang shu*—inundated mountains and hills:

> ***Shang shu*, "Yao dian," (Karlgren, § 11), and "Yi [and Hou] Ji" (Karlgren "Gao Yao mo 2," § 9):**
>
> 懷山襄陵
>
> [The waters of the Flood] encircled mountains and rose above the hills.

In addition, the occurrence in the "Yi [and Hou] Ji," (Karlgren, "Gao Yao mo 2") is followed by the phrase *xia min hun dian* 下民昏墊, which can be understood as "people [dwelling] below [live] in semi-darkness and make pillar constructions," implying a difficulty of habitation.[62]

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61. The term 可處 in total is used six times (slips 25–27); see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces,'" 24–27. This character occurs in the manuscript one other time in the meaning "to reside at [place]" (*chu yu* 處於) in the description of Yao's whereabouts: *Xi Yao chuyu Danfu yu Diaoling zhijian* 昔堯處於丹府與藨陵之間 ("In former times Yao resided between Danfu and Diaoling"), slip 6. Altogether this character is found in the *Rong Cheng shi* eight times. However, in slip 23 an error in transcription of this character was introduced with the first transcription of the manuscript by Li Ling and has persisted since then in all relevant studies and translations. The graph  in slip 23 is drawn in the same way as all its other occurrences in the manuscript, where it is identified with the character *chu* 處. Yet, Li Ling identifies it with *xu* 序 ("to make into a sequence, to order") and Chen Jian with *shu* 疏 ("to guide, to direct, to separate [as a comb separates hair]"), see Ma Chengyuan, *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, 267; Chen Jian, "Shangbojian 'Rong Cheng shi' de zhujian pinhe yu bianlian wenti xiaoyi," 329. Yuri Pines and Sarah Allan, following Chen Jian, translate the phrase in question a similar way, as "mountain ranges could not be passed through" or "the mountains and hills did not have passes," respectively, see Pines, "Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy," 9–10; Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 202–3 and 239, see also Allan, "The Jishi Outburst Flood of 1920 BCE and the Great Flood Legend in Ancient China," 27, alluding to Yu's passing through mountains. For comparison, in the Chu Silk Manuscript no.1 the character 處 occurs once, also as a verb and is written in a close, but not completely similar way:  , see Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, 86, and is transcribed as 尻 (inner short text, column 1, character 11); *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 229 (here the reference to the occurrence of the character in the text is missing, for the occurrence, see p. 59).

62. *Shang shu zhengyi*, 5.1a. This phrase has posed difficulties for commentators and translators, cf. translations of the Flood description by Legge, *Shoo King*, 77–78 (§ 1); Couvreur, *Chou King*, 49–50 (§ 1); and Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 9–10 (§ 9).

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The landscape becoming unmanageable after a certain period of time, as stated in slip 23, implies that it was manageable before, and from this point of view the proposed sequence of slips 31 and 23 fits. According to the proposed sequence of slips, the narrative on the regulation of terrestrial space matches the general logic of its development in the *Shang shu*: Shun made initial, but insufficient arrangements, and Yu completed them.

Apart from the summaries on the state of terrestrial space in slips 31 and 23, mountains are mentioned in the *Rong Cheng shi* only once more, in an enumeration of types of land suitable for habitation—highlands (mountains and hills) and lowlands (*ping xi* 平隰—plains and marshes):

> ***Rong Cheng shi*, slip 18:**
>
> 禹乃因山陵平隰之可邦邑
>
> **[end of slip 18; beginning of slip 19:]**
>
> 者而繁實之.
>
> Yu then, having [established places] suitable for polities and settlements,
>
> according to [the configuration of] mountains and hills, plains and marsches,
>
> lavishly filled them [with population].[63]

The Correlation of Mountains and Waterways in the *Rong Cheng Shi* and the Chu Silk Manuscript No. 1

References to mountains in this manuscript are not only quite rare—three in total—but in all these cases they refer to generic mountains.[64] In contrast to mountains, not only are references to waterways in the *Rong*

The translation provided here is based on its analysis by my teacher of classical Chinese, Artemy M. Karapetiants, during a text-reading seminar of selected chapters of the *Shang shu* for post-graduate students at the Institute of Asian and African Studies (Moscow State University) in 1990. For the history of dwelling constructions in China, see Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨, *Zhongguo zhuzhai gaishuo* 中國住宅概説 (Beijing: Jianzhu gongchen, 1957).

63. Pines, "Political Mythology and Dynastic," 12; Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 207–8, 245–46.

64. The names of two specific mountains are found in the *Rong Cheng shi*, but only as parts of personal or lineage names—岷山是(=氏) Minshan shi and 鬲山是(=氏) Lishan shi (slips 38 and 40, respectively), and, therefore, not directly related to describing terrestrial space.

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Cheng shi numerous and diverse, but the majority are to specific rivers, lakes, and marshes.[65]

Now the question is whether this emphasis on waterways in the *Rong Cheng shi* is only due to the central role of drainage in the conception of terrestrial space in this manuscript, or whether it may be considered generally characteristic of Chu texts. To this end, let us turn to the Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1, which is especially representative for its focus on cosmography. The Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 always respects the sequence *from mountains to waters*. The traversable nature both of mountains and rivers, is, however, expressed by a term, the literal meaning of which is to "pass through rivers" (*she* 涉), similar to the terms for traversability in slip 31 of the *Rong Cheng shi*. In addition, the Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 is distinguished by a rich diversity of waterway types, the passage below being an example of all three characteristics:

> **Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1, inner short text, column 3, characters 24–31:**
>
> … 以涉山陵瀧泔凶滿
>
> … in order to pass through mountains [and] hills, fast waters, dirty waters, reservoirs(?), 10,000 rivulets(?)[66]

At the same time, in the Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1, mountains are more prevalent than in the *Rong Cheng shi*. Mountains paired with hills are mentioned in this manuscript three times independent of waterways.[67] One of these occurrences is of special interest, as it is an attribute of the "Nine Provinces" similar to the pattern found in the "Yu gong":[68]

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65. In the description of the "provinces" in the *Rong Cheng shi* (slips 24–27) one finds fourteen specific waterways, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces,'" 47, table 3.

66. The Chu Silk Manuscript no.1 is hereafter referred to according to its transcription by Li Ling following the manuscript's non-linear layout and his sentence-by-sentence comments in his two last books focused on this manuscript; see Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, plate 8 (transcription); *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 62 (comments). Translations are by the author of this article.

67. Inner long text: column 2, characters 19–20; inner short text: column 3, characters 5–6, and column 5, characters 7–8 (Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, plate 8; *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 48, 61 and 63, respectively). In comparison, "[main] rivers" (*chuan* 川) are mentioned separately once (surrounding text 7, column 1, character 6, see Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, plate 8; *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 72), "waters" *shui* 水twice (inner short text, column 1, character 29; surrounding text 6, column 1, character 7, see Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, plate 8; *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 60 and 72, respectively).

68. Yu is probably referred to in the manuscript, although the meaning of this occurrence is not clear (inner short text, column 2, character 26).

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Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1, inner short text, column 5, characters 3–10:

九州不坪　Nine Provinces were not on the [appropriate] ground-level
山陵備䧹　Mountains and hills were about to collapse(?)[69]

Two more references to mountains are found in summaries of the main landscape features, where mountains appear first, but waterways are diverse and in a hierarchy:

Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1, inner short text, column 3, characters 11–14:

山川四海　mountains [and] rivers, the four seas[70]

Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1, inner long text column 11, characters 15–18:

山川溝浴　mountains [and] rivers, 10,000 rivulets(?) [and] river valleys.[71]

In sum, both the Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 and the *Rong Cheng shi* pay considerable attention to waterways. In the former it is manifest through outstandingly diverse terminology for waters. In the *Rong Cheng shi* there is a quantitative and qualitative predominance of waters over mountains. Though the evidence of these two Chu manuscripts may not be conclusive, they are still representative enough to suggest that the emphasis on waters may be a manifestation of a Chu flavor in conceptualizing terrestrial space. Concepts of space are necessarily influenced by the nature of the territory where they are produced. In both manuscripts the traversability of territory is designated by terms for passing through waterways. This can only result from the practice of moving through territories with an abundance of waterways, which is, indeed, the case in the middle and lower parts of the Yangzi River basin. If the hypothesis that a pronounced emphasis on waterways may be characteristic of descriptions of terrestrial space of Chu provenance needs further confirmation, it is undeniable that in the *Rong Cheng shi* waterways constitute the main structural elements of the conception of space.

69. Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, plate 8; *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 63.
70. Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, plate 8; *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 61.
71. Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, plate 8; *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 56.

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PART II: DRAWING A DEMARCATION LINE ALONG THE HAN RIVER: COSMOGRAPHIC IMPLICATION

This evidence for the predominance of waters in the conception of terrestrial space in the *Rong Cheng shi* provides the missing context for understanding the conclusion to the description of the "Nine Provinces" in the manuscript, which by definition points to the main outcome of Yu's regulations:

***Rong Cheng shi*, slips 27–28:**

禹乃

從灘(=灘=漢)以南為名浴(=谷)五百,

從 **[end of slip 27; beginning of slip 28:]**

灘(=灘=漢)以北為名浴(=谷)五百.

天下之民 𠂤 (=居) 奠.

Yu then
to the South from the Han [River] created 500 named river valleys,
to the North from the Han [River] created 500 named river valleys.
The dwelling places of people through the Under-Heavens [thus] became settled.

This passage, in effect, concisely formulates the general premises of conceptualizing terrestrial space in the *Rong Cheng shi*. Firstly, waterways are explicitely recognized here as the main structural elements of the mapping of terrestrial space. Secondly, the orderly arrangement of waterways further assures the stability of "dwelling places" (*ju* 居) or inhabitable land in the Under-Heavens. As mentioned above, the establishment of the "Nine Provinces" is conceived of as a conversion of "uninhabitable" (*bu chu*) landscape into "suitable for inhabiting" (*ke chu*) pieces of land that emerged when the waters were drained.[72] The stability of "dwelling places" through the entire Under-Heavens is, therefore, the ultimate goal of the "Nine Provinces" in the *Rong Cheng shi*.

---

72. The synonymous characters for inhabitable land in the manuscript—*chu* 處 and *ju* 居—are distinguished between each other by their shape (𡈼 and 𠂤, respectively) and function: the former is consistently used as a verb "to inhabit, to dwell, to reside" (eight occurrences in total, see n. 61 above). Constance Cook noted a similar distinction between these two characters, which were close in their pronunciation, in the *Shifa* 筮法 manuscript from the Qinghua University collection of Warring States bamboo slips (*Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡), see Constance A. Cook and Zhao Lu, *Stalk Divination: A Newly Discovered Alternative to the I-Ching* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

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Yet, this does not solve the main puzzle—the unusual division of the mapped terrestrial space into South and North along the Han River. It is even more puzzling that the Han River is not mentioned in the description proper of the "Nine Provinces" or elsewhere in the *Rong Cheng shi*. This curious reference to the Han River has been noticed only in passing in previous scholarship. The first explorer of the *Rong Cheng shi* manuscript, Li Ling, simply mentions the noteworthiness of delineating a borderline between the North and the South along the Han River.[73] Pines is aware that the phrase "hints at the Han River being of central importance for the authors, which would fit nicely with a Chu location," but still believes that "the association with Chu remains very meagre" in the manuscript.

I now argue that the demarcation line along the Han River between the South and the North is the crucial point in the description of the "Nine Provinces" in the *Rong Cheng shi*, if not *the point* of it. In order to clarify all the implications of the demarcation line along the Han River, it is necessary to determine how the position of this river was conceived of in early terrestrial descriptions and traditional historical cartography, beginning from the system of the "Nine Provinces."

"Provinces" Described in the *Rong Cheng Shi*: The Method of Locating by Landmarks

The new version of the "Nine Provinces" discovered in the *Rong Cheng shi* attracted much attention from Chinese specialists on manuscripts and concepts of space.[74] The unusual names of many of the "provinces"

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73. Ma Chengyuan, *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, 272 (*Jianwen yi Hanshui zhide zhuyi* 簡文以漢水值得注意).

74. The peak of scholarly interest is the two first years following the manuscript's publication in 2002, and Li Ling already highlights them in his introduction; see Ma Chengyuan, *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, 249. For the "provinces" proper, see Chen Wei 陳偉, "Zhushu 'Rong Cheng shi' suo jian de Jiu zhou" 竹書《容成氏》所見的九州, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 2003.3, 41–48; Li Ling "Zhushu 'Rong Cheng shi' suo jian de Jiu zhou" 竹書《容成氏》所見的九州, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 2003.3, 190–92; for selected "provinces," see Su Jianzhou 蘇建洲, "'Rong Cheng shi' yishi'" 《容成氏》譯釋, in *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* (vol. 2) *duben* 《上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書(二)》讀本, ed. Ji Xusheng 季旭昇, Chen Meilan 陳美蘭, Su Jianzhou, and Chen Jialin 陳嘉凌 (Taibei: Wanjuanlou, 2003), 139–42 (§§ 36, 37, 39–41, 45), (first published under a slightly different title on the Bamboo and Silk forum, Mar. 29, 2003); Yan Changgui 晏昌貴, "'Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (2)' zhong 'Rong Cheng shi' Jiu zhou jianshi" 《上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書(二)》中《容成氏》九州柬釋, *Wuhan daxue xuebao* 57.4 (2004), 503–6 (first published under a slightly different title on the Bamboo and Silk forum, Apr. 6, 2003); Shen Jianhua 沈建華, "Chu jian 'Rong Cheng shi' zhouming yu buci jinwen diming" 楚簡《容成氏》州名與卜辭金文地名, *Guwenzi yanjiu* 25 (2004), 328–33; Zhu Yuanqing 朱淵清, "'Rong Cheng shi' Jia zhou, Xu

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in the *Rong Cheng shi* and the unusual way of describing them in pairs gave an initial impression that a Chu version of the "Nine Provinces" has been discovered.[75] However, multiple investigations of it showed that, apart from these, the *Rong Cheng shi* version of the "Nine Provinces" does not contain anything new in the description of the "provinces" with respect to transmitted texts. On the contrary, it has multiple parallels with a broad range of transmitted texts, in particular with descriptions of the "Nine Provinces." My own input into these investigations was to evaluate the new version of the "Nine Provinces" with respect to their transmitted accounts and other references to them in terms of conceptualizing space. In this respect, this approach reveals the outstandingly eclectic character of the manuscript version of the "Nine Provinces." It combines spatial concepts related to the "Nine Provinces" that became distinct in transmitted texts, and, therefore, throws new

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zhou, Xü zhou kao" 《容成氏》夾州，徐州，敘州考 in *Shangbo guan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu yanjiu xubian*, 412–24 (first published under a slightly different title on the Bamboo and Silk forum, Aug. 7, 2003); Yi Desheng 易德生 "Shangbo Chu jian 'Rong Cheng shi' Jiu zhou chuyi" 上博楚簡《容成氏》九州芻議, *Jiang Han luntan* (*Jiang Han Tribune*) 2006.5, 106–8 (first published under a slightly different title on the Bamboo and Silk Forum, Feb. 5, 2006); "Cong Shangbo Chu jian 'Rong Cheng shi' Jiu zhou kan 'Yu gong' de chengshu niandai" 從上博楚簡《容成氏》九州看《禹貢》的成書年代, *Jiang Han luntan (Jiang Han Tribune)* 2009.12, 77–80 (first published under a slightly different title on the Bamboo and Silk Forum, Mar. 27, 2006). For related issues, see Chen Jian, "Shangbojian 'Rong Cheng shi' de zhujian pinhe yu bianlian wenti xiaoyi"; Liu Lexian 劉樂賢, "Du Shangbo jian 'Rong Cheng shi' xiao zha," Bamboo and Silk forum, Jan. 13, 2003; Xu Quansheng 許全勝, "Rong Cheng shi' bushi"《容成氏》補釋, Bamboo and Silk forum, Jan. 14,2003; Yan Shixuan (Yen Shih-Hsuan) 顏世鉉, "Shangbo Chu zhushu sanlun" 上博楚竹書散論, Bamboo and Silk forum, Feb. 20, 2003; Cheng Yuanmin 程元敏, "Tianming Yu pingzhi shuitu" 天命禹平 治水土, in *Shangbo guan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu yanjiu xubian*, 331–26. For a survey of the first series of these studies, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces,'" 22–23. For more studies, see Huang Ren'er 黃人二, "Shangbo Chujian *Rong Cheng shi* suoshu zhi Jiu zhou ji xiangguan wenti tanyan" 上博楚簡《容成氏》所述之九州及相關問題探研, in *Chutu wenxian lunwenji* 出土文獻論文集 (Taibei: Gaowen, 2005), 145–57; Fan Guodong 凡國棟, "*Rong Cheng shi* Jiu zhou deming yuanyin shitan"《容成氏》九州得名原因試探, in *Chudi jianbo sixiang yanjiu* 楚地簡帛思想研究, vol. 3 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu, 2007), 212–19; Yin Hongbing 尹宏兵, "*Rong Cheng shi* yu 'Jiu zhou'"《容成氏》與'九州'), in *Chudi jianbo sixiang yanjiu*, 220–36; Du Yong 杜勇, "Lun Yugong Liangzhou xiangguan zhu wenti" 論《禹貢》梁州相關諸問題, *Tianjin Shifan Daxue xuebao [shihui kexueban]*, 2008.2, 37–41, "Ju guo wang nian bian" 莒國亡年辨, *Guanzi xuekan* 2010.3, 115–16; Wang Kunpeng 王坤鵬, "Chujian *Rong Cheng shi* shidi wenti yanjiu pingyi" 楚簡《容成氏》史地問題研究評議, *Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts [BSM]* (*Wuhan daxie jianbo yanjiu zhongxin* 武漢大學簡帛研究中心 / *Center for Bamboo Silk Manuscripts of Wuhan University* http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=1322, Oct. 15, 2010.

75. Names of seven "provinces" are not found in other sets of the "Nine Provinces"; six "provinces" are described by pairs.

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light on the group of transmitted sources concerned and their filiation. At the same time, the "Nine Provinces" in the *Rong Cheng shi* appear to have close affinity with the mainstream representation of the "Nine Provinces," according to the "Yu gong" and its four derivations—the "Youshi lan" 有始覽 (Observations on the Beginnings) chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the "Shi di" 釋地 (Elucidations on the Earth) chapter of the *Erya* and the "Zhifang shi" 職方氏 (Officer in Charge of the Cardinal Directions) chapter of the *Zhou li* 周禮 (Zhou Rituals, compiled by the middle of the second century B.C.E.).[76] My method of determining their affinity was to explore *the names and types of landmarks* that occur in the *Rong Cheng shi* version of the "Nine Provinces" in comparison to their transmitted descriptions, combining a philological approach with their analysis as markers of "positions" in a conception of space.[77]

First, I compared placenames and the context of their occurrence in the *Rong Cheng shi* version of the "Nine Provinces" with their transmitted descriptions and other relevant texts. As already mentioned, all landmarks found in the *Rong Cheng shi* description of the "Nine Provinces" are waterways, and all but one river, Lou 蔞, in the most northern "province," overlap with rivers, lakes, and marshes found in descriptions of the "Nine Provinces" of the "Yu gong" group of accounts.[78] In many cases the context of their occurrence shares the same wording with the transmitted descriptions.

In addition to the usual philological analysis, I explored depictions of waterways found in the *Rong Cheng shi* description of the "Nine Provinces" in maps showing the "Yu gong" topography. The earliest extant maps of the "Nine Provinces" are known from the Southern Song dynasty.[79] These maps appeared as a form of commentary on the "Yu gong," and continued to be produced and re-produced from then

76. Dorofeeva-Lichtman, "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space," 595–644; "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces,'" 13–58.

77. I discuss the concept of "position" in Chinese cosmography in Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Political Concept Behind an Interplay of Spatial 'Positions,'" *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* 18 (1996): *Disposer pour dire, placer pour penser, situer pour agir*, ed. Karine Chemla and Michael Lackner, 9–33.

78. For identifications of this river with rivers mentioned in early Chinese terrestrial descriptions, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces,'" 32–33, and 47, table 3, for a list of waterways found in the description of the "Nine Provinces" of the *Rong Cheng shi*.

79. Two examples of such maps are provided in my survey paper on the transmitted accounts of the "Nine Provinces" and the *Rong Cheng shi* Version in Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space," 619–20 (Map 1 and 2). For a detailed study of the Song maps related to the "Yu gong," see Martin Hofmann, *Reconsidering the Spatial Order of the Great Yu: Song Commentaries on the Yugong*, Ph.D. dissertation (Würzburg University, 2007).

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onwards. Formally referring to the "Yu gong" and mostly based on its topography, these maps sometimes include topographical data from other sources.[80] I argue that early Chinese descriptions of terrestrial space cannot be adequately comprehended without taking into consideration traditional Chinese cartography, which continues the same tradition of conceiving of space, and especially not without the historical maps drawn as visual elucidations on early texts. Modern Western maps, often used by default for illustrating early Chinese texts in contemporary studies, are aimed at a topographically accurate and complete representation of the terrestrial surface. Song maps of the "Yu gong" topography are of a radically different—relational, positional, or diagrammatic—category of maps, typologically similar to relational tree diagrams.[81] The Song dynasty maps build on a limited selection of landmarks and aim to show their arrangement with respect to each other, which serves to convey spatial ideas without much concern for topographical accuracy. The majority of landmarks listed in the "Yu gong" and then visualized in maps are inspired by the real topography of the Yellow and the Yangzi river basins; but once selected, these landmarks immediately become markers of relative positions.[82] Positions in maps can be shifted quite considerably with respect to the real locations of landmarks for the sake of the desired spatial arrangements. In addition, landmarks borrowed from real topography are often transformed and supplemented by landmarks that actually do not exist.[83]

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80. For instance, in some maps the Yellow River source is delineated from Kunlun Mountain, as described in the *Shanhai jing*, and not from Jishi 積石, as according to the "Yu gong," see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Where is the Yellow River Source?"

81. These are tentative definitions; a standard term has not yet been worked out. The typology of East Asian maps was recently discussed by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and Alexei Volkov, "Formal Approaches to Studies of Traditional Maps of East Asia: State of the Art and General Remarks," paper presented at the Panel "Formal Approaches to Studies of Traditional Maps of East Asia," *Fifteenth International Conference on the History of Science in East Asia* (ICHSEA), Aug. 19–23, 2019, Chonbuk National University, Jeonju, Republic of Korea, http://ichsea2019.org/program.php (article "Typology of East Asian Maps and Formal Approaches to Their Study" is in preparation for the *East Asian Science Technology and Medicine* journal).

82. In particular, itineraries of the "Yu gong," as well as of the *Shanhai jing* are chains of relative locations.

83. One notable transformed landmark is the "Nine [branches] of the He River" (Jiu He—九河) located on "Yu gong" maps in the lower Yellow River valley and apparently inspired by the changing flow of the Yellow River. It is usually depicted as a splitting of the Yellow River course into nine separate branches, which unite again before the Yellow river falls into the sea (see Map 4) or less frequently as a widening of its course (see Map 1a). Transformed landmarks are often depicted in a variety of ways. This is the case with the Three Jiang rivers 三江 and the Nine Jiang rivers 九江, although in "Yu gong" topography they are always shown as being around the mouth of the

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While using waterways found in the description of the "Nine Provinces" in the *Rong Cheng shi* as a means by which to approximate locations of each "province," I combined the application of the Western maps and the "Yu gong" topography maps.[84] This is not simply circumscribing geographical areas. This method shows the "provinces" of the *Rong Cheng shi* and their landmarks as elements of relational mapping, and compares them with the relational topography of the "Yu gong." Apart from sharing the same landmarks as markers of the same territorial core with the "Yu gong" group of the "Nine Provinces," the *Rong Cheng shi* set of "provinces" manifests a typological affinity with them in terms of the relational arrangements of landmarks.[85]

Following the text of the early Chinese written sources and the images of traditional "Yu gong" cartography, I refer to the rivers as they appear in these texts and maps, for instance, He and Jiang not the Yellow River and the Yangzi River. This is because these latter names, especially in the case of the Yangzi, do not always completely correspond to the configuration of landmarks listed in the early sources. In addition, Yangzi is a toponym current in the Western cartography, its Chinese equivalent is a derivate of Jiang—Changjiang 長江 (Long Jiang). This approach allows one to understand what precisely is meant in the references to these landmarks

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Yangzi (for the Three Jiang) and its middle course for (the Nine Jiang). For a survey of representations of the Nine [branches of the] He River and the Nine Jiang in Song maps of the "Yu gong," see Hofmann, *Reconsidering the Spatial Order of the Great Yu*, 98–114 and 115–32, respectively. An example of a non-existent landmark difficult to associate with a real river is the Black River (*Heishui* 黑水), see Hofmann, *Reconsidering the Spatial Order of the Great Yu*, 133–48. For examples of the Three Jiang, the Nine Jiang, and the Black River, see Maps 1a and 4.

84. For the approximate regions covered by the "provinces" of the *Rong Cheng shi*, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space," 630–35, esp. 634, Map 4, and "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces,'" 44–45 and 46–48, Map 1.

85. It would be interesting to apply this method to one more transmitted set of the "Nine Provinces" found in the "Dixing xun" 墜形訓, chapter 4 of the *Huainanzi*. Names of "provinces" in this set are radically different from those in the "Yu gong" group. The difference in names is generally explained by the fact that, in contrast to the "Yu gong" group, the *Huainanzi* extrapolates the 3x3 grid to mapping the entire inhabited world, see John S. Major, "The Five Phases, Magic Squares and Schematic Cosmography," in *Explorations in Early Chinese Cosmology*, ed. Henry Rosemont (Chico: Scholar Press, 1984), 133–66; Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space," 614, table 5. However, landmarks listed in the *Huainanzi* to a considerable extent overlap with the landmarks occurring in the "Yu gong" group of descriptions of the "Nine Provinces." In addition, the "Dixing xun" chapter of the *Huainanzi* has much in common with the "Youshi lan", chapter 13 of the *Lüshi chunqiu*. It may be interesting to revisit the "Nine Provinces" set of the *Huainanzi* with the approach I have applied to the *Rong Cheng shi* description of the "Nine Provinces."

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in early texts, and is one of the reasons why I provide, in the majority of cases, my own translations of textual passages.

The Limits of the "Nine Provinces": The Transgressible and Non-Transgressible

The investigation by landmarks of the "Nine Provinces" described in the *Rong Cheng shi* summarized above was primarily aimed at approximating the areas of single "provinces." Drawing a demarcation line between South and North along the Han River raises the issue of the general area of the territory thus divided and its limits. The limits of the area covered by different sets of the "Nine Provinces" have not yet been systematically discussed in scholarly literature. By the limits here I mean landmarks, which are conceived of as bordermarkers. I shall investigate them applying the same method, which combines philological analysis with the examination of their positions in maps of the "Yu gong" topography. The limits of the "Nine Provinces" described in the "Yu gong" are defined in the conclusion to their description:[86]

***Shang shu*, "Yu gong" (Karlgren, § 38):**

東漸于海,	In the **East** washed by the **Sea**,
西被于流沙,	In the **West** tucked by the **Flowing Sand**,
朔南暨,	In the **North** and the **South reach the limits**,
聲教,	[Yu's] fame and teaching
訖于四海.	filled up all within the four seas.

The East and West are delimited by "fluid" boundaries, the Sea and the Flowing Sand, inspired by the East China Sea and the Gobi-Taklamakan desert zone, respectively.[87] The zone of sand in the Chinese view of

86. Difficulties in understanding and alternative interpretations of this passage are discussed by Legge, *Shoo King*, 150–51 (§ 23), and Couvreur, *Chou King*, 88–89 (§ 23). See also Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 16 and 18 (§ 38). The character 聲 *sheng* ("sound"), here usually translated as "fame," plays an important role in the cardinally oriented space regulation described in slip 31.

87. Gobi-Taklamakan is a long desert zone to the northwest of the core Chinese territories. The desert zone includes smaller deserts, the closest of which to the territories covered by the "Nine Provinces," the Tengger and Badain Jaran, are characterized by sand dunes, which most likely inspired the idea of the Flowing Sand. In traditional Chinese cartography, the Flowing Sand gradually became the name of the Taklamakan Desert, depicted from the Ming dynasty as a cyst-shaped branch of the main part of the desert zone—Shamo 沙漠 (Gobi), literally the Sand Mist, shaped as a thick band, which crosses the northwestern periphery of the imperial realm. Although the Gobi is a rocky and pebble-strewn desert, its Chinese name provides clear evidence that in the Chinese tradition of representing space it was conceived of as a sandy desert. For the graphic symbol for a desert zone in Chinese cartography, which appears only in the Ming dynasty, see Unno Kazutaka, "The Origin of the Cartographical

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space was designated by "watery" characters—the character "sand" (sha 沙) has the "water" radical and and its adjective "flowing" (*liu* 流) is usually applied to rivers. In this way the sand zone in the West made a "fluid" counterpart to the Sea in the East. The indefinite northern and southern limits in the "Yu gong" are further determined in one of the latest texts related to the "Yu gong" group, the "Wang zhi" 王制 chapter (c. second century B.C.E.) of the *Li ji*. It does not feature any specific set of "provinces," but instead provides a list of measurements, which allow one to assemble an ideal 3 × 3 square grid framework underlying the "Nine Provinces." The Eastern boundary here appears with the adjective "Eastern"—the Eastern Sea, making it a better pair to the Flowing Sand, and the limits in the South and North are marked by mountains, Heng 衡 and Heng1 恆, respectively. Thus, there is the symmetry of the fluid boundaries in the East and West, and the mountains in the South and North:[88]

***Li ji*, "Wang zhi" chapter:**

西不盡流沙, In the **West** does not exceed the **Flowing Sand,**
南不盡衡山, In the **South** does not exceed the **Heng Mountain**,
東不盡東海, In the **East** does not exceed the **Eastern Sea**,
北不盡恆山. In the **North** does not exceed the **Heng1 Mountain**.

Heng and Heng1 mountains are mentioned in the "Yu gong," but not yet as markers of the cardinal points.[89] It is also noteworthy that in the "Yu gong" the definition of limits is centrifugal—the territories inside extend as far as the defined limits, while in the "Wang zhi" it is centripetal—the territories do not exceed them. The Heng and Heng1 mountains are now identified with real mountains having these names in southern Hunan and northern Shanxi, respectively. One should keep in mind, however, that their actual identifications may have been determined later, and that these mountains may have had alternative identifications, as is the case with many Chinese placenames. For this reason it is especially important to examine depictions of landmarks under these names in traditional Chinese maps, as they show their relative locations.[90]

Symbol Representing Desert Areas," *Imago Mundi* 33 (1981), 82–87; Elke Papelitzky, "Sand, Water, and Stars: Chinese Mapping of the Gobi and Taklamakan Deserts," *T'oung Pao* 107.3–4 (2021), 376–416.

88. *Li ji Zheng zhu*, 4.18a; Legge, *The Lî Kî, I–X*, 245 (V, § 19); and Couvreur, *Li Ki*, vol. 1, 321–22 (V, § 19).

89. These mountains belong to the "Five Peaks" (*Wuyue* 五岳), sets of which can, however, vary in early Chinese sources.

90. Relative locations can vary between the maps, but only within a limited area. For instance, a landmark associated with the East will never be depicted in the West.

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One of the earliest and the most clearly drawn example of the "Yu gong" maps is the "Map of moving along mountains and deepening rivers, as registered in the Yu gong" (*Yugong suo zai suishan junchuan zhi tu* 禹貢所載隨山濬川之圖) from the *Collected Commentaries on the Book of Documents* (*Shu jizhuan* 書集傳) completed in 1209 by Cai Shen 蔡沈, also known as Cai Jiufeng 蔡九峰 (1167–1230), see Map 1a. The Eastern Sea and the Flowing Sand, and Heng and Heng1 Mountains are prominently depicted at the corresponding cardinal sides of the map, thus showing how these landmarks demarcate the area, as described in the "Nine Provinces" of the "Yu gong."

The key difference between the historical "Yu gong"-type maps and maps showing administrative divisions of the Chinese Empire consists in their southern limits. Those of the "Yu gong" topography do not include territories to the South of Heng Mountain, as is the case of the map by Cai Shen. Contemporary maps of the Song Empire, on the other hand, extend to the sea in the South. Especially instructive here are maps that combine both historical and contemporary topography and administrative divisions. One such example was drawn by Cai Shen for the *Collected Commentaries on the Book of Documents* and, according to its title, aimed at making a comparison between the "Yu gong" topography and the Song imperial realm—"Map of the Nine Provinces of the Yu gong of the contemporary provinces and commanderies" (*Yugong Jiu zhou ji jin zhoujun zhi tu* 禹貢九州及今州郡之圖), see Map 1b. Such maps include southern territories between Heng Mountain and the sea in the South, but historical place-names are only given for landmarks to the North of Heng Mountain and are distinguished from contemporary place-names through using different legends.[91] This way of the

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Detailed investigation of these variations and their meaning is beyond the scope of this article.

91. Another example of maps combining "Yu gong" topography with the Song imperial realm is the "Map of Yu's Tracks" (*Yuji tu* 禹跡圖, engraved in 1137, sometimes erroneously dated to 1136), reproduced in all reference studies on the history of Chinese cartography. This is a rare case of traditional mathematical cartography, based on applying a square survey grid. In the map the check of the grid is 100x100 *li*. For an attempt at evaluating the map's topographical precision through its geo-referencing, see Alexander Akin and David Mumford, "'Yu laid out the lands:' georeferencing the Chinese *Yujitu* [Map of the Tracks of Yu] of 1136," *Cartography and Geographic Information Science*, 39.3 (2012), 154–69; Akin and Mumford's methods were criticized by Alexei Volkov, "Pre-colonial Vietnam in Chinese and Western maps: A Revisit," in "Re-discovered Maps of East and South-East Asia," Panel at the *Fourteenth International Conference on the History of Science in East Asia* (ICHSEA), July 6–10, 2015, EHESS, Paris https://14ichsea.sciencesconf.org/resource/page/id/22.html; see also "Formal Approaches to Studies of Traditional Maps of East Asia: State of the Art and General Remarks, Part 2."

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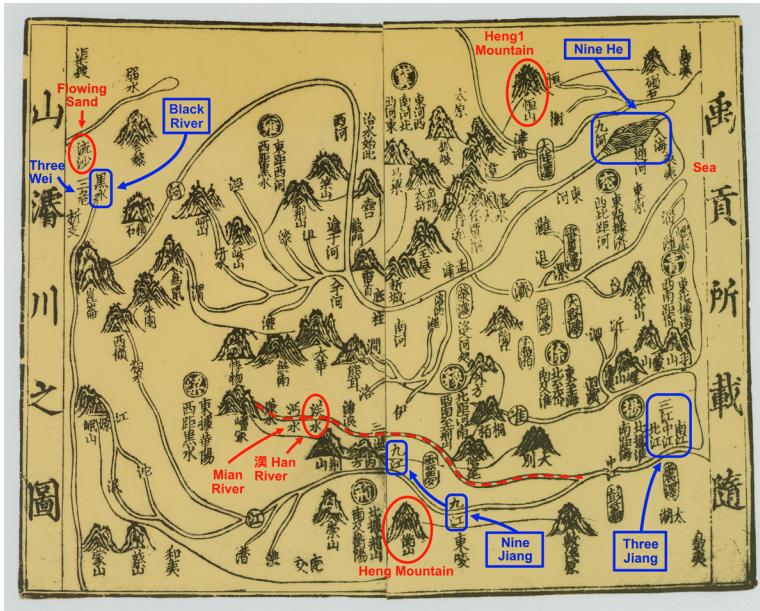

Map 1a "Map of moving along mountains and deepening rivers, as registered in Yu gong" (*Yugong suo zai suishan junchuan zhi tu* 禹貢所載隨山濬川之圖), in *Collected Commentaries on the Book of Documents* (*Shu jizhuan* 書集傳) completed in 1209 by Cai Shen 蔡沈 / Cai Jiufeng 蔡九峰 (1167–1230). National Library of China (Beijing) 中國國家圖書館. Reproduced from: Yan Ping et al., *China in Ancient and Modern Maps* (London: Sotheby's Publications, Philip Wilson Publishers, 1998), 65. Printed on two pages in a block-printed book, precise dimensions unavailable.

superimposition of historical cartography on the contemporary imperial realm became especially current in Ming cartography and after, see for instance Maps 3 and 5.

In terms of modern physical geography, the territory covered by the "Nine Provinces" is delimited in the South by the arc of the Nanling and Wuyi mountain ranges. These mountains are difficult to cross and thus formed a natural obstacle to going South.[92] The same applies to depictions of the eastern and the western borders of the "Nine Provinces" in Chinese cartography. These borders are also inspired by serious natural obstacles to territorial extension—the desert region in the northwest and the sea in the East. Maps of the "Nine Provinces" keep strictly to these

92. For a long time this natural border protected territories in the South from northern intruders. The southern territories were annexed only with the unification of China into an empire. It is also noteworthy that the southern territories were easier to reach by sailing along the coast.

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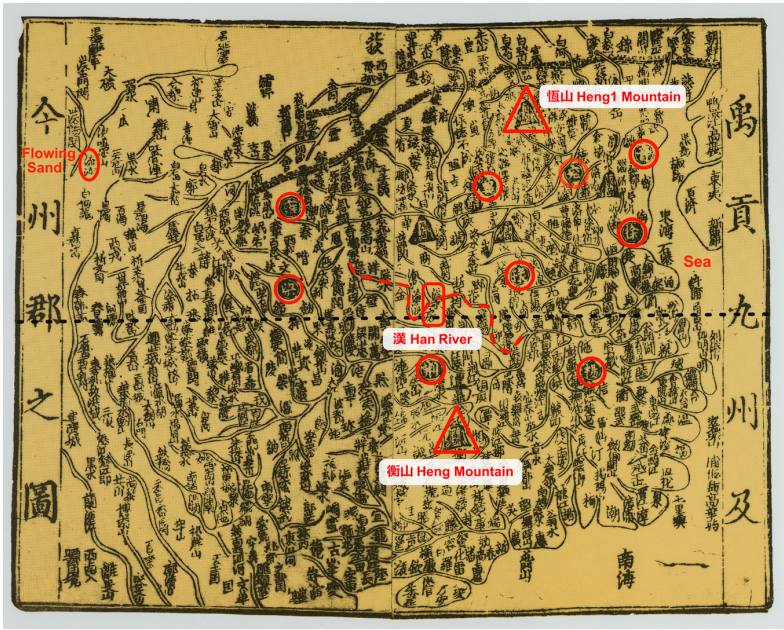

Map 1b "Map of the Nine Provinces of the Yu gong of the contemporary provinces and commanderies" (*Yugong Jiu zhou ji jin zhoujun zhi tu* 禹貢九州及今州郡之圖), in *Collected Commentaries on the Book of Documents* (*Shu jizhuan* 書集傳) completed in 1209 by Cai Shen 蔡沈/Cai Jiufeng 蔡九峰 (1167–1230). National Library of China (Beijing) 中國國家圖書. Reproduced from: Yan Ping et al., *China in Ancient and Modern Maps* (London: Sotheby's Publications, Philip Wilson Publishers, 1998), 64. Names of the "Nine Provinces" are marked by circles. Printed on two pages in a block-printed book, precise dimensions unavailable.

borders, and in this respect differ from some maps of the contemporary Chinese Empire. Many contemporary maps include the Western Region, and the sea in the East contains the names of insular neighbours. In the "Yu gong" topography maps, the sea is reduced to a thin blank margin, and the Flowing Sand does not have a special cartographic image, being marked only by its name. It is also noteworthy that the Flowing Sand is a natural western limit only of the Yellow River basin, while the Yangzi River basin is delimited by mountaneous areas, though it was the view of the Yellow River Basin that determined the idea of the western boundary of the "Nine Provinces." The "Yu gong" maps adhere to topographical reality and place the Flowing Sand in the northwest.

The situation with the northern boundary is different from all the other cardinal limits of the "Nine Provinces," which are distinguished by the difficult nature of their transgressibility. Some of the "Yu gong" topography maps include landmarks mentioned in the "provinces," which are missing

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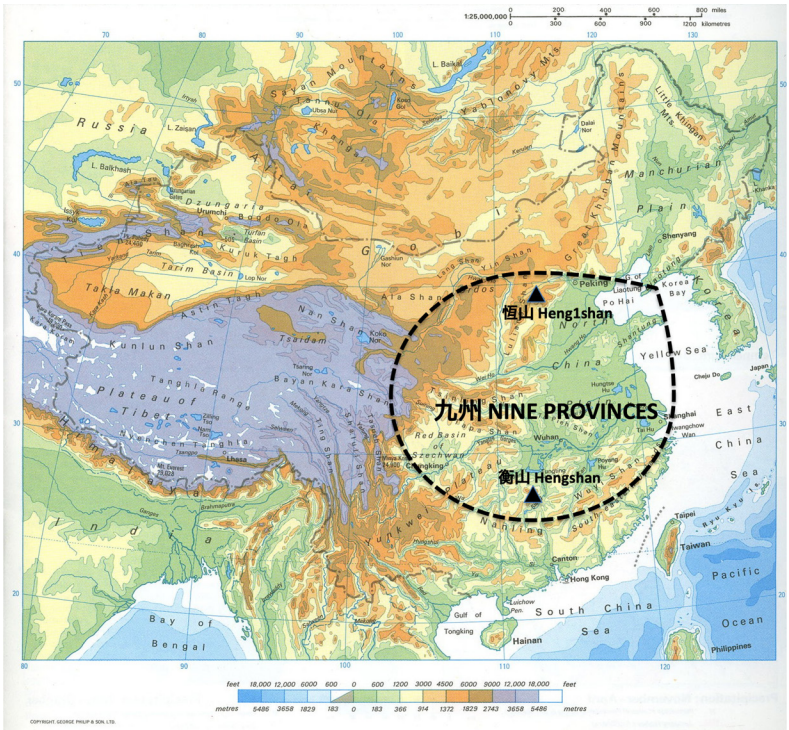

Map 2a Physical map of China.

in the initial "Yu gong" set. All these supplementary landmarks are small rivers draining into the Bohai Sea. In the maps in question, this region occupies the northeastern corner.[93] One can see from a physical map of China that the Bohai Sea is, indeed, surrounded by lowlands covered by a dense river network, which facilitated territorial expansion, and at the same time is delimited to the West by mountain ranges, thus chanelling expansion in a northeasterly direction (see Map 2a). It is also noteworthy that Heng1 Mountain located almost on the same longitude with Heng Mountain (113°44′08″E and 112°41′05″E, respectively) in the "Yu gong" maps, is considerably shifted to the northeast. This shift most likely reflects the impluse towards the northwest.[94]

93. A highly detailed depiction of these rivers is to be found in the "Map of Yu's Tracks." The data about rivers draining into the Bohai Sea is borrowed mostly from the "Zhifang shi."

94. The only exception is the "Map of Yu's Tracks," which is based on the square survey grid. Here the placement of Heng and Hengl mountains (in this map the latter is given its different name—常山 Chang Mountain) is close to their real locations—they

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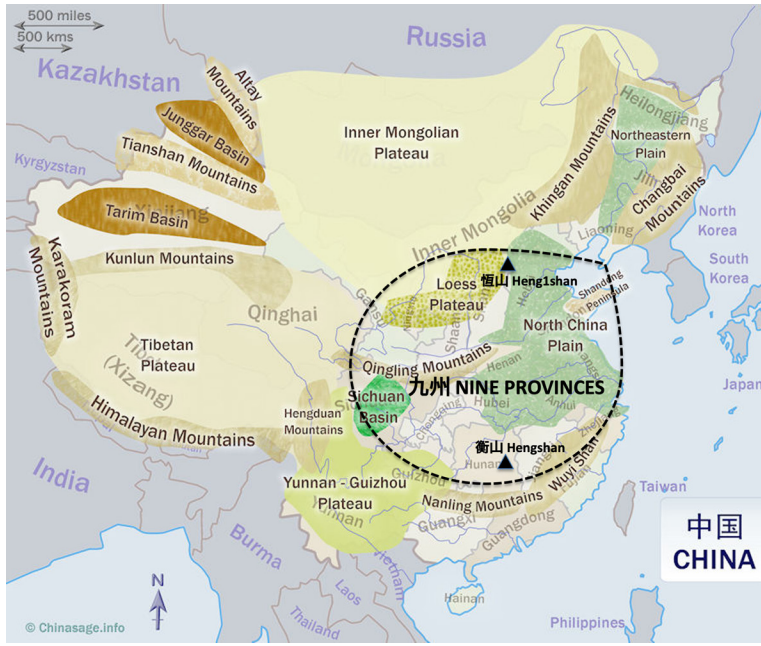

Map 2b Topographical areas of China.

In sum, the "Nine Provinces" is a conception of space reflecting the reduced capacity for territorial expansion, with the exception of the northeastern corridor, as one can grasp from a scheme of the topographical areas of China, see Map 2b, The only flaw of this useful scheme is the lack of a special symbol for the desert area, encompassing the southern part of the Inner Mongolian Plateau and the Tarim basin. This is an interesting echo of the original absence of a special cartographic symbol for desert in Chinese cartography.

The "Nine Provinces" sets of the "Yu gong" group differ in one or two positions; altogether they include twelve names of "provinces."[95] These dozen "provinces" are depicted in the "Map of demarcation between the Nine Provinces and the Twelve Provinces of Tang (= Yao 堯) and Yu1 (=Shun 舜)" (*Tang Yu Jiu zhou shier zhou fenjie tu* 唐虞九州十二州分界圖) from the *Yue shi yue1 shu* 閱史約書 (Reviewing history, weighing books)

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are placed within two neighboring vertical columns of the grid. For the variation in the mountain name, see William H. Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records, Vol. I: The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China by Ssu-ma Ch'ien* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 23–24n27.

95. For comparison between the "Nine Provinces" sets of the "Yu gong" group of transmitted texts, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial," 608–11, tables 1–4.

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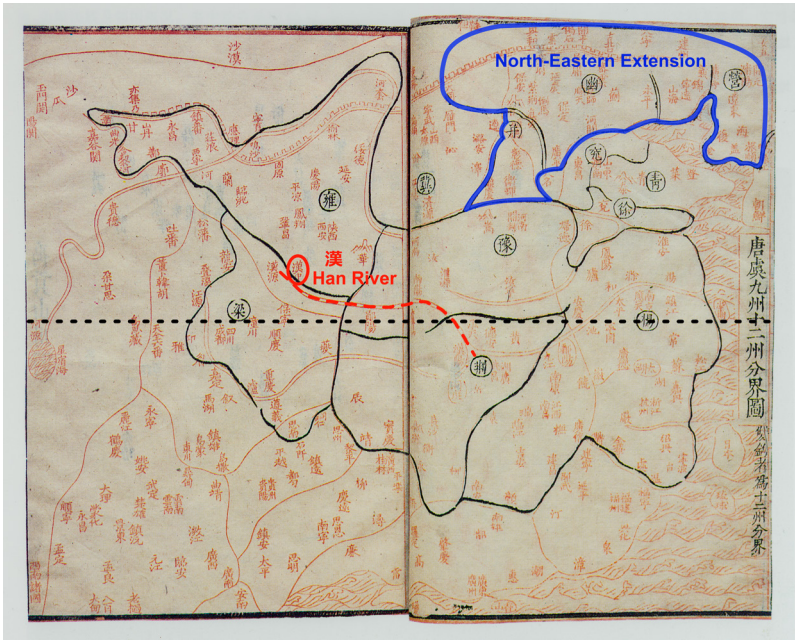

Map 3 "Map of demarcation between the Nine Provinces and the Twelve Provinces of Tang (= Yao 堯) and Yu1 (=Shun 舜)" (*Tang Yu Jiu zhou shier zhou fenjie tu* —唐虞九州十二州分界圖), in *Yue shi yue1 shu* 閱史約書 (Reviewing history, weighing books), by Wang Guanglu 王光魯 (fl. mid seventeenth century) in 5 *juan* (published in 1643). National Library of China (Beijing) 中國國家圖書館. Reproduced from: Yan Ping et al., *China in Ancient and Modern Maps* (London: Sotheby's Publications, Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd., 1998), 155. Printed on two pages in a block-printed book, precise dimensions unavailable.

by Wang Guanglu 王光魯 in 5 juan, published in 1643, see Map 3.[96] In this map, the northeastern extension is distinguished by means of special cartographic symbols:

- in contrast with all the other sides of the mapped territory, the northeast is not circumscribed by a continuous boundary, thus staying open for further extension;
- "provinces" missing in the "Yu gong" set are delineated from each other by double borderlines.

96. These maps have many topographic characteristics of Ming cartography; for example, the course of the Yellow River differs from that found on Song maps and the Yellow River source is identified with the Xingxiuhai 星宿海 (Star Lodges Lake), see Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "A History of a Spatial Relationship: Kunlun Mountain and the Yellow River Source from Chinese Cosmography through to Western Cartography," *Circumscribere* 11 (2012), 1–31.

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From the point of view of its landmarks, the *Rong Cheng shi* set of the "Nine Provinces" follows the same tendency: it is characterized by a surprisingly large extension to the northeast, and contrary to expectations, does not include any specifically southern landmarks.[97]

In sum, from the point of view of textual parallels between transmitted descriptions of the "Nine Provinces" and that in the *Rong Cheng shi* version, and the areas that both the transmitted and the *Rong Cheng shi* sets of "provinces" fill out by landmarks, one can find no specifically Chu spatial concepts in the *Rong Cheng shi*. This conclusion matches the general impression of Yuri Pines, who notes "a curious lack of any Chu-related trait in the *Rong Cheng shi*" and its "absence of Chu flavour."[98] Even if one may question considering the "Nine Provinces" as a "northern" view of the core Chinese territories,[99] it is still a view that includes a modest share of the southern territories in the Yangzi River basin and an expanding predominance of the "provinces" that belong to the basin of the Yellow River and further northeast.

Totals of Landscape Features as a Means of Measuring Space

Let us now return to the division of terrestrial space into the southern and the northern clusters of waterways by the Han River, begining with the quantitative implication with respect to the "Nine Provinces." The use of quantitative topographical summaries *per se* is one of the distinguishing features of early Chinese descriptions of terrestrial space, specifically, the total numbers of waterways found in several Warring States—Former Han texts. Especially interesting is the passage from the "Tianxia" 天下 (The under-heavens) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 citing the philosopher Mozi 墨子 (c. 470–c. 391 B.C.E.). The passage is not found in the transmitted version of the *Mozi* treatise and belongs to the latest layer (Miscellaneous Chapters *zapian* 雜篇) of the *Zhuangzi*, which consists of thirty-three chapters composed from the fourth through the second century B.C.E. "Tianxia" is the last—the thirty-third—in the list of chapters and was apparently composed by Zhuangzi's followers. Yet, the concept referred to in the passage may be dated to the end of Mozi's lifetime, which overlaps with the upper chronological limit of the *Zhuangzi*—the early fourth century B.C.E. Translations of this passage

97. Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces,'" 31–33.

98. Pines, "Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy," 25–26.

99. I regard the "Nine Provinces" as a "northern" view, as does Pines, "Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy," 11 and 26. This interpretation is criticized by Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 205–6. The Flowing Sand, which works as the western limit only for the Yellow River basin, is a strong argument in favor of the "northern" view.

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vary considerably in interpretation.[100] The detailed description in the *Rong Cheng shi* of how Yu established the "Nine Provinces" through "releasing" 決 and "communicating/linking" (*tong* 通) waterways seems to provide the missing details for a better understanding of this passage.[101] In it the excess waters are drained through a hierarchical system of rivers—300 big rivers, 3,000 of their tributaries, and countless small rivers:

"Tianxia" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* citing Mozi:

墨子稱道曰:

昔禹之湮洪水,

決江河而通四夷九州也.

名川三百,

支川三千,

小者無數.

禹親自操橐耜而九雜天下之川 …

Mozi, praising [his] teaching, said:

In former times when Yu was draining off the floodwaters,[102]

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100. *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, ed. Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1974), 1077; Chen Guying 陳鼓應, *Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi* 莊子今注今譯 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983), 863; James Legge, trans., *The Texts of Taoism: The Tao Tê Ching—The Writings of Chuang-tzû, The Thâi-shang—Tractate of Actions and Their Retributions* (New York: The Julian Press, 1959), 659–60; Herbert Giles, trans., *Chuang Tzû: Moralist, Moralist, and Social Reformer* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1926), 441–42; Larisa Pozdneeva, trans., *Mudretsy Kitaya (Sages of China): Yang Zhu, Lie zi, Zhuang zi* (Petersburg: XXI vek, 1994), 357; Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 366; Liou Kia-hway, trans., *Tchouang-tseu, oeuvre complete* (Paris: Gallimard/Unesco, 1969), 90; Angus C. Graham, trans., *Chuang-tsû: The Inner Chapters* (London: Mandala, 1991), 276; Victor H. Mair, trans., *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Bantam Books, 1994), 337; Vladimir V. Malyavin, trans., *Chzhuan-zy (Zhuang zi)*, in *Kitaiskaya Klassika: novye perevody, novy vzglyad. Daosskie kanony* [Chinese Classics: new translations, new perspective. Daoist canons] (Moscow: Astrel', 2002), 307.

101. I discuss the passage from this angle in Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces,'" esp. 40–43, in the context of the concept of "making communicate/linking up" when determining the system of waterways described in the *Rong Cheng shi*.

102. A similar phrase is found in the *Hong fan* 洪範 (The Great Model) chapter of the *Shang shu*, but it refers to Yu's father, Gun 鯀, who was appointed first by Yao to fight the Flood: 昔鯀堙洪水 ("in former times Gun dammed up Floodwaters"); see *Shang shu*

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[he] released the Jiang and He [rivers]

and made communicate [via waterways the territories of]

the barbarians of the four [cardinal directions] and the Nine Provinces.

The [number of resulted] named rivers is 300;

The [number of their] tributary rivers is 3,000;

Small [rivers] are countless.

Yu personally himself operated the sack/basket [for collecting soil] and ploughshare

and [thus within] the Nine [Provinces] interlaced the rivers of the Under-heaven …

A more complete hierarchy of waterways is provided in the "Youshi lan" chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*.[103] Here there are 6 magistral [river] valleys, 600 main rivers, 3,000 tributaries and more than 10,000 small rivers.[104] These totals are not strictly related to Yu's ordering of terrestrial space, but are part of the "fundamental structural principles (literally: "beginnings" *shi* 始)" of the Universe (Heavens and Earth) listed at the

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zhengyi, 12.2a; Legge, *Shoo King*, 323 (§3); Couvreur, *Chou King*, 195 (§ 3); and Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 28–29 (§ 3); see also a study focused on *Hong fan* by Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center: The Original "Great Plan" and Later Readings* (Nettetal: Steyler, 1992), 112. The same idea is developed in the concluding paragraph of the *Shanhai jing*: 鯀竊帝之息壤以堙洪水 ("Gun has stolen alluvial(?) soil belonging to the Emperor in order to dam up the Flood"); see *Shanhai jing jianshu* (Sibu beiyao edition), 18.8b; Elektra M. Yanshina, trans. *Katalog gor i morei (Shan hai tszin)* [Catalogue of mountains and seas *(Shan hai jing)*] (Moscow: Nauka (GRVL), 1977), 129; an annotated translation is by Rémi Mathieu, trans., *Etude sur la mythologie et l'ethnologie de la Chine Ancienne. Tome I: Traduction annotée du Shanhai jing*, Memoires de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises 22 (Paris: Collège de France—Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1983), vol.1, 651–52. Gun's method failed and he was executed. Yu did the opposite and succeeded—he released excess waters. In the citation from *Mozi*, instead of 堙 *yin* (to dike, to block up; mound, blockage) appears *yin* 湮 with the "water" radical, which means "to spread, to blot [as ink]." However, taking into consideration the irregular use of radicals in early China, the phrase attributed to Mozi is not very clear.

103. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 13.3a; Wilhelm, *Früling und Herbst des Lü Bu We*, 159; Kamenarovic, *Printemps et automnes de Lü Buwei*, 195; Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei: a Complete Translation and Study*, 281 (§§ 13/1.9–10); and Tkachenko, *Lüshi chunqiu*, 182.

104. The term *tong gu* 通谷 is translated hereafter as "magistral [river] valley," in the sense of a water artery that accumulates the flows of medium and small water courses and channels them further, in this case into the sea.

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beginning of this chapter. Except for the mention of the Heavens at the head of the list, all other attributes are of ordered terrestrial space:

***Lüshi chunqiu*, chap. 13 "Youshi lan," § 1 "You shi" 有始:**

天有九野,	Heavens have Nine Fields,
地有九州,	Earth has Nine Provinces,
土有九山,	Soil has Nine Mountains,
山有九塞,	Mountains have Nine Block-stations,
澤有九藪,	Marshes have Nine Swamps,
風有八等,	Winds have Eight Degrees (Directions),
水有六川.	Water(way)s have Six [Main] Rivers.

Each of these total numbers of attributes is further elucidated by names of their constituent elements, e.g. names of each "province," mountain etc. The "Six [Main] Rivers" include the He 河, the Chi (=Red) 赤, the Liao 遼, the Hei (=Black) 黑, the Jiang 江 and the Huai 淮 rivers, but not the Han River, which is featured so prominently in the *Rong Cheng shi*. The list of rivers is followed by dimensions of the earth surface "Inside the Seas" (*Hainei* 海內) and the totals of its waterways:

"Youshi lan" chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*:

…

何謂六川？河水，赤水，遼水，黑水，江水，淮水。

凡四海之內，東西二萬八千里，南北二萬六千里，

水道八千里，受水者亦八千里，

通谷六，

名川六百，

陸注三千，

小水萬數.[105]

What is meant by the "Six [Main] Rivers"? The He River, the Red River, the Liao River, the Black River, the Huai River.

In sum, the inside the four [cardinally oriented] seas is

105. Here *wanshu* 萬數 paraphrases *wushu* 無數 "countless" in the counterpart passage in the *Zhuangzi* and should therefore be translated as "counted in their 10,000s." The totals of waterways are followed by huge dimensions of the universe between its four ultimate cardinally oriented points 極 *ji*.

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28000 li long from the East to the West,

26000 li long from the South to the North.

River itineraries are 800 li long; rivers receiving confluents [= big rivers] are also 800 li long.

There are 6 magistral [river] valleys,

600 named rivers,

3,000 pouring from the [high]lands,

small waterways are counted in their 10,000's.

The 6 magistral [river] valleys apparently correspond to the six main rivers, as specified above, which gives a clear "point of entrance" into the waterway system. The "Youshi lan" totals are reproduced in a simplified way in the "Dixing xun" 墜形訓 chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (compiled by 139 B.C.E.), and explicitly in the context of Yu's ordering of terrestrial space. The "Dixing xun" copies much of the "Youshi lan" passage, except for the names of the "Nine Provinces" and the detailed hierarchy of waterways. It only refers to unnumbered "magistral [river] valleys" *tong gu* 通谷 and 600 big rivers. However, the total length of "land itineraries" *lu jing* 陸徑 of 3,000 *li* is an interpretation of the ambiguous "land(?) confluents" (*lu zhu* 陸注) listed in the "Youshi lan" and indirectly continues the decimal sequence of totals of waterways:[106]

***Huainanzi*, chap. 4 "Dixing xun":**

闔四海之內，東西二萬八千里，南北二萬六千里，

水道八千里，

通谷其名川六百，

陸徑三千里.

To sum up, the inside the four [cardinally oriented] seas is

28000 *li* long from the East to the West,

26000 *li* long from the South to the North.

River itineraries are 800 *li* long,

106. *Huainan honglie jijie* 淮南鴻烈集解 (*Xinbian zhuzi jicheng* 新編諸子集成) (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1989), 132; Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Chinese Thought*, 147–50 (Section II); Le Blanc and Mathieu, *Huainan zi*, 163–64; Major et al., *The Huainanzi*, 155 (§ 4.2). As in the "Youshi lan," the total numbers also conclude with huge dimensions of the universe between its four ultimate points.

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As far as the magistral [river] valleys [are concerned],

its named river flows are 600,

The *land itineraries* are 3,000 *li* long.

A list of distances totals, in its turn, derived from the "Dixing xun" is found in the conclusion to the first part of the *Shanhai jing*, the "Shan jing" or the "Wuzang Shanjing" 五臧山經 (Five Treasuries: the Itineraries of Mountains).[107] By definition, the "Shan jing" privileges total numbers related to mountains, and develops on the lengths of itineraries by land and by rivers, but total numbers of waterways are not included:

"Shan jing," conclusion:

禹曰：

天下名山，經五千三百七十山，六萬四千五十六里，居地也.

言其五臧，蓋其餘小山甚衆，不足記云.

天地之東西二萬八千里，南北二萬六千里，

出水之山者八千里，受水者八千里，

出銅之山四百六十七，出鐵之山三千六百九十.

Yu said: [as far as] the named mountains of the Under-heavens [are concerned],

[I] passed through and thus linked by itineraries[108] 5370 mountains,

[the established itineraries are] 64056 *li* [long],

[these are the dimensions of] dwelling/inhabitable land.

They are called the "Five Treasuries,"

In sum, the other smaller mountains are extremely numerous, cannot even be recorded.

Heavens and Earth are 28000 *li* [long] from the East to the West,

26000 *li* [long] from the South to the North.

Mountains being sources of rivers, [these rivers are] 800 *li* long,

107. See *Shanhai jing jianshu* 5/44b-45b; Yanshina, *Katalog gor I morei*, 93–94; Mathieu, *Traduction annotée du Shanhai jing*, 371–72. For some of these totals, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapless Mapping," 254–55.

108. For the meaning of the character *jing* 經in this passage, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapless Mapping," 253–59.

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Rivers receiving confluents (= big rivers) are 800 *li* long,

There are 467 mountains producing copper, 3690 mountains producing iron.

The series of passages discussed above manifest a chain of filiations from the Mozi citation in the *Zhuangzi* to the "Youshi lan," then the "Dixing xun" and, finally, the conclusion to the "Shan jing," as summarized in Table 1.[109] The most structurally complete four-level system of waterways appears in the "Youshi lan." It is typologically similar to the drainage systems described in the "Yi [and Hou] Ji" (Karlgren, "Gao Yao mo 2," § 9) and the "Shi shui" chapter of the *Erya* discussed in Part I above, with the difference that the focus is not on the drainage aspect, but on the number of different types of waterways. In the "Youshi lan" the system of waterways also becomes supplemented by dimensions of inhabitable space and total lengths of river itineraries. The "Shan jing" develops the same template, having replaced rivers by mountains. The reference to the arrangement of waterways with respect to the Han River in *Rong Cheng shi* is a congener, but from an apparently different branch.

The common feature of all these totals is the adjective *ming* 名 applied to the higher types of landmarks. It is usually translated as "famous," but I suggest that they may rather mean "important landmarks with fixed names" versus smaller landmarks of no importance. Some evidence for this suggestion is found in the Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1, where the naming of landscape features is a means for putting them in order, possibly by the Emperor Yu, who may be mentioned just before (Chu Silk Manuscript, inner short text, column 2, character 26). The character *ming* 名 is replaced here by its homophone *ming*1 命:

Chu Silk Manuscript, inner short text, column 3, characters 5–14:

山陵不斌, 乃命山川四海

Mountains and hills were not refined, then named mountains and rivers, the four seas[110]

109. The filiation line "Youshi lan" → "Dixing xun" → "Shan jing" does not raise any doubts. One could argue that the Mozi citation in the *Zhuangzi* was rather inspired by the "Youshi lan," but according to the juxtaposition of classifications of waterways in Table 1 it seems more likely that the idea advanced by Mozi was developed in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and then concisely cited in the *Huainanzi*.

110. Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, plate 8; *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, p. 61.

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Table 1 Text filiations

	"Tianxia," *Zhuangzi* fourth–second centuries B.C.E. (citation of Mozi, c. 470–c. 391 B.C.E.).	"Youshi lan," *Lushi chunqiu* shortly before 239 B.C.E.	"Dixing xun," *Huainanzi* shortly before 139 B.C.E.	"Shan jing" (conclusion) compiled about the first century B.C.E.	*Rong Cheng shi* late fourth century B.C.E.
Text filiation with respect to totals of distances					
Text filiation with respect to totals of landmarks	**totals of waterways** 			**totals of mountains** 	

(*Continued*)

Table 1 Text filiations (*Continued*)

	"Tianxia," *Zhuangzi* fourth–second centuries B.C.E. (citation of Mozi, c. 470–c. 391 B.C.E.).	"Youshi lan," *Lushi chunqiu* shortly before 239 B.C.E.	"Dixing xun," *Huainanzi* shortly before 139 B.C.E.	"Shan jing" (conclusion) compiled about the first century B.C.E.	*Rong Cheng shi* late fourth century B.C.E.
Totals of mountains and total length of land itineraries				天下名山，經五千三百七十山， 六萬四千五十六里， 居地也．言其臧． 蓋其餘小山甚衆， 不足記云． [As far as] the named mountains of the Under-heavens [are concerned], [Yu] passed through and thus linked by itineraries 5,370 mountains, [the established itineraries are] 64,056 *li* [long], [these are the dimensions of] dwelling/inhabitable land. They are called the "Five Treasuries." In sum, the other smaller mountains are extremely numerous, cannot even be recorded.	

Length and width of inhabitable space	凡四海之內， 東西二萬八千里，南北二萬六千里， In sum, the inside the four [cardinally oriented] seas is 28,000 li long from the East to the West, 26,000 li long from the South to the North.	闔四海之內， 東西二萬八千里， 南北二萬六千里， To sum up, the inside the four [cardinally oriented] seas is 28,000 *li* long from the East to the West, 26,000 *li* long from the South to the North.	天地之 東西二萬八千里， 南北二萬六千里， Heavens and Earth are 28,000 *li* [long] from the East to the West, 26,000 *li* [long] from the South to the North.
Length of river itineraries	水道八千里， 受水者亦八千里， River itineraries are 800 li long; rivers receiving confluents [= big rivers] are also 800 li long.	水道八千里. River itineraries are 800 *li* long,	出水之山者八千里， 受水者八千里， Mountains being sources of rivers, [these rivers are] 800 *li* long, Rivers receiving confluents (= big rivers) are 800 *li* long,

(*Continued*)

Table 1 Text filiations (*Continued*)

	"Tianxia," *Zhuangzi* fourth–second centuries B.C.E. (citation of Mozi, c. 470–c. 391 B.C.E.).	"Youshi lan," *Lushi chunqiu* shortly before 239 B.C.E.	"Dixing xun," *Huainanzi* shortly before 139 B.C.E.	"Shan jing" (conclusion) compiled about the first century B.C.E.	*Rong Cheng shi* late fourth century B.C.E.
Totals of waterways max.	名川三百,支川三千,小者無數.	通谷六, 名川六百, 陸注三千, 小水萬數	通谷 其名川六百， 陸徑三千里.		禹乃 從漢以南 為名浴(=谷)五百,從漢以北 為名浴(=谷)五百.
4 levels of waterways:	The [number of resulted] named rivers is 300;	There are	As far as the		Yu then
I. 通谷 **magistral [river] valleys**	the [number of their] tributary rivers is 3,000;	6 magistral [river] valleys,	magistral [river] valleys [are concerned],		to the South from the Han [River] created 500 named river valleys,
II. 名川 **named rivers**	small [rivers] are countless.	600 named rivers,	its named rivers are 600,		to the North from the Han [River] created 500 named river valleys.
III. secondary rivers		3,000 pouring from the [high]lands,	the *land itineraries* are 3,000 *li* long (error for 陸注?)		The dwelling places of people through the Under-Heavens [thus] became settled.
IV. small rivers		small waterways are counted in their 10,000's.			
Totals of mountains				出銅之山四百六十七， 出鐵之山三千六百九十. There are 467 mountains producing copper, 3,690 mountains producing iron.	

At the same time, the total numbers of waterways in the *Rong Cheng shi* differ in several interesting respects from those found in the *Zhuangzi*, *Lüshi chunqiu*, and *Huainanzi*:

1) The *Rong Cheng shi* provides the total of "named" (*ming* 名) river valleys designated by the character *yu* 浴, which consists of the radical "water" 水 *shui* and the semantic element "valley" *gu* 谷, the radical accentuating its relation to waterways. The same vocabulary is found in the Chu Silk Manuscript no. 1 (*shanchuan, wanyu* 山川滿浴 "mountains [and] rivers, 10,000 rivulets(?) [and] river valleys").[111]

2) The "named river valleys" *ming yu* 名浴 is a fusion of the "magistral [river] valleys" *tong gu* 通谷 and the "named rivers" *ming chuan* 名川, distinguished in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and the *Huainanzi*, as the two higher levels of waterways.

3) In contrast to the transmitted texts, in the *Rong Cheng shi* there is no hierarchy of waterways. Instead they are arranged into two *quantitatively* equal cardinally oriented parts: 500 "named river valleys" in the South and 500 "named river valleys" in the North. This spatial arrangement of the total numbers of waterways is nowhere in evidence in transmitted texts. The equality of the southern and northern parts is accentuated by the term, which appears in the phrase, which immediately follows: 天下民居奠 *Tianxia min ju dian* (The dwelling places of people through the Under-Heavens [thus] became settled). 奠 depicts a ritual vessel on an altar and implies something being perfectly balanced.

4) The total number of 300 "named rivers" in the *Zhuangzi* is doubled to 600 in the "Youshi lan," which also adds a matching upper hierarchical level of 6 "magistral [river] valleys."[112] The southern and northern "river valleys" in the *Rong Cheng shi* altogether make up a considerably larger total number of 1,000.

I believe that the numerical rise in the total numbers of landscape features conveys an idea of territorial expansion. In the case of the "Youshi lan" it may correspond to the extension of this set of the "Nine Provinces" to the northeast. The 1,000 "named river valleys" have to be seen in the context of the spatial implication of the South–North division along the Han River.

111. Li Ling, *Chuboshu yanjiu*, plate 8; *Zidanku boshu*, vol. 2, 56.
112. The next level down in the hierarchy stays the same with the value of 3,000.

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The Han River in Chinese Cosmography and Cartography

To begin with, a territorial division into two equal halves along the Han River does not match the area encompassed by the transmitted and the *Rong Cheng shi* sets of the "Nine Provinces."

In transmitted descriptions of the "Nine Provinces," the Han River is used as a boundary marker between "provinces" twice—in the "Youshi lan" and the "Shi di." According the "Youshi lan," the Han River together with He delimit Yu 豫 "province":[113]

***Lüshi chunqiu*, chap. 13 "Youshi lan," § 1 "You shi" 有始:**

河漢之閒為豫

Between the He and the Han [rivers] there is Yu [province]

Yu "province" is found in all transmitted sets. In the *Rong Cheng shi*, Yu corresponds to Xu 敘 "province."[114] Yu covers the region of Luoyang, the center of the ideal picture of the world under the Zhou dynasty. In representations of the "Nine Provinces" within the framework of the 3 × 3 grid, Yu occupies the central square.[115] The He and Han rivers, seen as boundaries of the central square of the 3 × 3 grid, divide the territory of the "Nine Provinces" into *three equal thirds*: the He River delimits the center from the North, and the Han River from the South (see Figure 3). In the "Shi di," the Han River is referred to from the other side, as the northern boundary of Jing "province" (another name of the Chu Kingdom), which occupies the southern square of the grid:[116]

***Erya*, chap. 9 "Shi di":**

漢南曰荊州

[The territory] to the South of the Han River: Jing "province."

In the "Yu gong," the Han River is not used as a "province" boundary, but is mentioned twice in the description of Jing "province." If we accept that the Han River conventionally divides the mapped territory into equal northern and southern sections, then one must add another line of squares at the bottom or the South of the 3 × 3 grid.

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113. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 13.2a.

114. See Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the "Nine Provinces,'" 29. According to the "Shi yan" 釋言 chapter of the *Erya*, Yu 豫 and Xu 敘 are synonyms.

115. For locations of "provinces" as given in the transmitted accounts, and the 3x3 grid, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space," 607–18.

116. *Erya Guozhu*, 6.1b.

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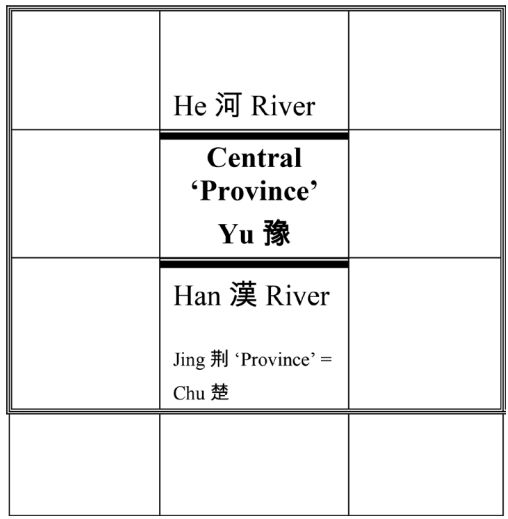

Figure 3 Positions of Yu and Jing "provinces" within the 3 × 3 grid. Representation of the "Nine Provinces" (delimited by a triple line).

This simple scheme demonstrates the great impact of the South–North division along the Han River. It implies the extension of the "civilized world" to the South and *shifts its center to the northern border of Chu*. The scheme also demonstrates a 3 × 3 scheme for the "Nine Provinces," which by definition cannot be divided into two halves by rivers as boundaries between the "provinces." Rivers as boundaries between the squares of the 3 × 3 grid are described in the "Wang zhi," where they complement the cardinal limits of the "Nine Provinces":[117]

***Li ji*, "Wang zhi" chapter:**

North → South

自恆山至於南河, 千里而近;
自南河至於江, 千里而近;
自江至於衡山, 千里而遙.

From Heng Mountain to the Southern He River, it is as close as 1,000 *li*;

From the Southern He to the Jiang River, it is as close as 1,000 *li*;

From the Jiang River to the Heng1 Mountain, it is as far as 1,000 *li.*

117. This passage precedes the description of the cardinally oriented border-marks of the "Nine Provinces" in the "Wang zhi," discussed above and belongs to the same paragraph, see *Li ji Zheng* zhu, 4.18a; Legge, *The Lî Kî, I-X*, 245 (V, § 19).

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East → West

自東河至於東海, 千里而遙;
自東河至於西河, 千里而近;
自西河至於流沙, 千里而遙.

From the Eastern He to the Eastern Sea it is as far as 1,000 *li*;

From the Eastern He to the Western He, it is as close as 1,000 *li*;

From the Western He to the Flowing Sand, it is as far as 1,000 *li*.

In the derived scheme the Jiang River takes the place of its confluent Han River, but the conveyed image is the same: a river or rivers in no way can divide the "Nine Provinces" into equal southern and northern parts (see Figure 4).

Figures 3 and 4 are reconstructions derived from texts, but similar dispositions of the boundary marks with respect to each other can be observed in authentic maps showing the topography of the "Nine Provinces," beginning from the earliest specimens drawn as commentaries to the "Yu gong." Since these maps include the whole set of landmarks related to the "Nine Provinces," they have a more complex configuration, but this configuration is still shaped by relative locations. The depiction of rivers in these maps mostly relies on the nine river routes, which, together with the nine land routes, supplement the description of the "Nine Provinces" in the "Yu gong." The delineation

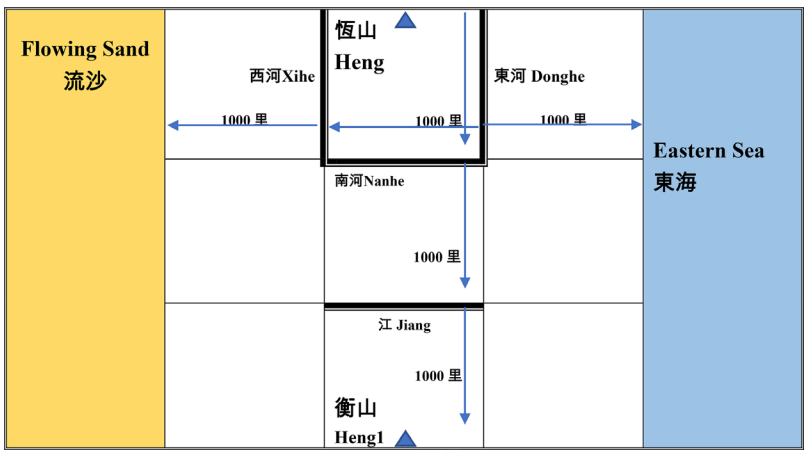

Figure 4 Borderlines and dimensions of the "Nine Provinces", according to the "Wang zhi" chapter of the *Li ji*.

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of rivers in the "Yu gong" has an interesting characteristic—parts of the same river may have different names. Thus, the Han River belongs to the fourth river route, which consists of the Jiang River with its northern tributary. Han is the name of the middle course of this northern tributary. The description of this northern tributary of the Jiang River, which constitutes the first part of the fourth river route, is as follows:[118]

> ***Shang shu*, "Yu gong" (Karlgren, § 24):**
>
> 嶓冢導漾，東流為漢，又東為滄浪之水，過三澨，至于大別，南入于江 …
>
> [Starting from] Bozhong [Mountain Yu] a way was made along the Yang, which flowing eastward became the Han [River], farther to the East became the Canglang River, passing through the Three Dykes, reached Dabie [Mountain], [and flowing] southward poured into the Jiang …

In Map 1, which is limited to the "Nine Provinces," depiction of the northern tribute of the Jiang River closely follows the "Yu gong," Han designating the middle course of the tributary. It is depicted closer to the bottom of the mapped area, and, therefore, does not work as a boundary between the southern and the northern halves. In Map 3, where the "provinces" are inscribed into a larger cartographical context, Han becomes the name of the entire northern tributary of the Jiang River. Here one can see that the Han River does indeed cut the mapped territory into approximately equal parts, but only by including territories to the South of the "Nine Provinces." One of the most interesting maps in this respect is the "Map of the Nine Provinces, the [nine itineraries marked by] mountains and the [nine] river [itineraries] of the 'Yu's [system of] Tribute'" (*Yugong Jiuzhou shanchuan zhi tu* 禹貢九州山川之圖) from the encyclopaedia on statecraft *Diwang jingshi tupu* 帝王經世圖譜 in 16 *juan*, by Tang Zhongyou 唐仲友 (1136–1188), see Map 4. This map shows thick borderlines between the "Yugong" "provinces," and adds a tenth similarly delimited region to the South of the "Nine Provinces" designated Southern Yue (*Nan Yue* 南越). Originally referring to a conglomerate of the southern Yue tribes, with the foundation of the Han dynasty Nan Yue became a name of a short-lived kingdom (204–111

118. *Shang shu zhengyi*, 6.15a–b. The translation is my own, cf. Legge, *Shoo King*, 136–37 (§ 8), Couvreur, *Chou King*, 83 (§ 24); and Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 16–17 (§ 24). The Han River occurs in the "Yu gong" two other times, in the description of the southern Jing "province" and both cases in relation to the Jiang River, see Legge, *Shoo King*, 112–16 (§ 46–53); Couvreur, *Chou King*, 72–73 (§§ 12–13); Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 13 and 15 (§§ 13–14).

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Map 4 "Map of the Nine Provinces, the [nine itineraries marked by] mountains and the [nine] river [itineraries] of the 'Yu's [system of] Tribute'" (*Yugong Jiuzhou shanchuan zhi tu* 禹貢九州山川之圖), in encyclopaedia on statecraft *Diwang jingshi tupu* 帝王經世圖譜 in 16 *juan*, by Tang Zhongyou 唐仲友 (1136–1188). National Library of China (Beijing) 中國國家圖書館. Reproduced from Yan Ping et al., *China in Ancient and Modern Maps* (London: Sotheby's Publications, Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd., 1998), 84]. Printed on two pages in a block-printed book, precise dimensions unavailable.

B.C.E.) located to the South of the Nanling mountain range. In this map, the depiction of the northern tribute of the Jiang River deviates in some details from the "Yu gong," but its middle course still bears the name Han. It cuts the mapped territory into northern and southern halves, but only with this additional southern element. Curiously, in contrast to the "provinces" filled out by mountains and rivers, the Nan Yue is a blank territory. In this respect it is similar to the implied southern extension in the *Rong Cheng shi*, which is also devoid of any landmarks.

In modern Western maps, the Han River falls diagonally into the Jiang River from the northwest, but in the Song maps it is depicted more horizontally. In some traditional Chinese maps, the Han River forms an almost horizontal line with the Jiang River. This is the case with maps of China found in the so-called Sino-Korean atlases. Maps of China are overlooked in scholarly literature on the Sino-Korean atlases. The atlases

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are mostly known by their eye-catching first sheets, often referred to as the 'wheel' maps.[119] Although the atlases originate from the sixteenth century, at the earliest, and their numerous extant copies were made during the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, they are composed of strangely archaic maps. For reasons outside the scope of this paper, the maps of China in the Sino-Korean atlases follow the patterns of the "Yu gong" maps from the Song dynasty.[120] The maps also show the fifteen Ming provinces (*sheng* 省) curiously drawn over the "Yu gong" topography. The "Nine Provinces" and the fifteen Ming provinces are often distinguished by contrasting colors, which allow one to immediately grasp the difference in the areas they cover. The "Nine Provinces" keep to their traditional limits, the Ming provinces descend towards the sea in the South, see Map 5. The horizontally delineated Han-Jiang, Han here being the name of the entire tributary of Jiang, divides the mapped territory into equal southern and northern parts, if one takes into consideration the extended area in the South covered by the Ming provinces.

Few early Chinese texts describe southern territories beyond the Chu Kingdom; one that does is the *Shanhai jing*. This text was compiled by the end of the Former Han dynasty and conveyed the idea of terrestrial space of the united empire, the territory of which now extended towards the sea in the South. The *Shanhai jing* conveys an *ideal* organization of terrestrial space, characterized by a complex yet regular structure. The nucleus of this structure is the arrangement of 447 mountains into twenty-six itineraries, each delineated as moving

119. For reference studies of these atlases and the "wheel" maps in English, see Nakamura Hirosi, "Old Chinese Maps Preserved by the Koreans," *Imago Mundi* 4 (1947), 3–22; Gari Ledyard, "Cartography in Korea," in *The History of Cartography, Vol. II.2: Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 256–67; Oh Sang-Hak, "Circular World Maps of the Joseon Dynasty: Their Characteristics and Worldview," *Korea Journal* 48.1 (2008), 8–45; Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "'Inversed Cosmographs' in Late East Asian Cartography and the Atlas Production Trend," in *East-West Encounter in the Science of Heaven and Earth* 天と地の科学, ed. Tokimasa Takeda 武田時昌 and Bill M. Mak 麥文彪 (Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 2019), 144–74. The name "wheel map" was introduced by the famous Korean scholar Yi Ch'an in 1976, whose work became known to historians of cartography due to reference to it by Ledyard.

120. I briefly discuss the maps of China in Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Inversed Cosmographs," 164–66. An indication of the late origins of these maps is the delineation of the lower part of the Yellow River: it flows southeast and pours into the sea below the Shandong Peninsula, having taken over the Huai River valley. This reflects the confluence of these two rivers, which existed between 1289 and 1853 (the schematic character of the map does not allow one to propose a more precise dating). In comparison, in Song dynasty maps the Yellow River flows northeast and pours into the Bohai Sea.

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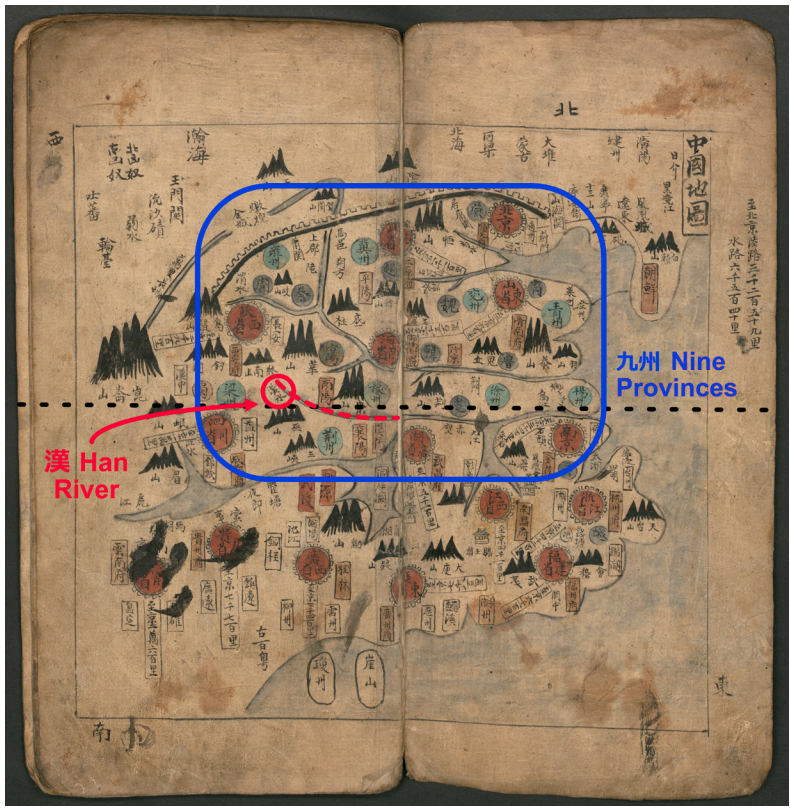

Map 5 Map of China, Sino-Korean Atlas (colored manuscript), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Shelfmark: Cod. cor. 72 (https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0006/bsb00061455/images/index.html?id=00061455&groesser=&fip=eayayztsewqsdasqrssdaswxdsydeneaya&no=10&seite=12). Printed on two pages in a block-printed book, precise dimensions unavailable. Titles of the "Nine Provinces" (*Jiu zhou* 九州) are colored in clear blue; titles of the 15 Ming provinces (sheng 省) are colored in faded red; in both cases the titles are inscribed inside circles.

from mountain to mountain. The twenty-six itineraries are distributed between the cardinal directions and the center in an orderly fashion (three itineraries in the North and the South, four in the East and the West, and twelve in the center, which in their turn constitute two groups – seven itineraries in the Yellow River basin and five itineraries in the Yangzi River basin).[121] The description of the third itinerary of the

121. I have discussed the representation of space according to the *Shanhai jing* in a series of articles, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Conception of Terrestrial Organization," "Mapping a 'Spiritual' Landscape," "Text as a Device for Mapping a

footnote continued on next page

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Southern Mountains, in particular the directions and destinations of its rivers, reveals an extension of the mapped territory towards the sea in the South: this itinerary is delineated from the West to the East—parallel to the southern coast; the three rivers, which pour from the mountains in this itinerary (mountains nos. 2, 9 and 13, of the 13 mountains in the itinerary) flow to the south or to the southeast in the last case and pour into the sea.

The Han River is mentioned 5 times in the *Shanhai jing*:

- twice in the first itinerary of the Western Mountains (nos. 13 and 14 of the nineteen mountains in this itinerary); the river, which pours from mountain 13, flows to the South and pours into the Han River, and mountain 14 is the source of the Han River, which flows southeast and falls into the Mian 沔 River;[122]
- once in the fourth itinerary of the Western Mountains (no. 18 of the nineteen mountains of this itinerary); the river of this mountain flows to the West and eventually pours into the Han River);
- twice in the eleventh itinerary of the Central Mountains, which belongs to the southern group of the central itineraries (from the eighth to the twelfth of the twelve central itineraries). The river which starts from mountain no. 1 of its forty-eight mountains flows to the southeast, and the river which starts from mountain no. 10 flows to the South; both rivers pour into the Han River.

No authentic maps or schemes of the system of the twenty-six itineraries have survived, and it is doubtful that they ever existed.[123]

Sacred Space" and "Mapless Mapping." For a brief summary of this conception of space, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Healing Plants in the Spiritual Landscape of the *Shanhai jing* (Itineraries of Mountains and Seas, comp. first c. BC," *Circumscribere* 16 (2015), 103–12.

122. The location of the Mian River is not clear. In the "Yu gong" it occurs only once—among water landmarks of the southwestern Liang "province," where the Han River is not mentioned, see *Shang shu zhengyi*, 6/11a; Legge, *Shoo King*, 123 (§ 40); Couvreur, *Chou King*, 77 (§ 17); and Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 15–16, (§ 17). In the "Yu gong" there is no evidence of any relation between the Mian and the Han, which is reported in the *Shanhai jing*. In the *Shanhai jing* the Mian River appears only one other time, as a river into that falls the Motu 末塗 River, which pours from mountain N° 10 of the first Itinerary of the Eastern Mountains. There is no other information about the Mian River in the *Shanahai jing*. Yet, in the maps showing the "Yu gong" topography, the Mian River is usually depicted in relation to the Han, but in different ways. E.g. in Map 1a the Mian and the Han are successive parts of the same waterway; in Map 4 the Mian River is the southern tributary of the Han.

123. Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapless Mapping."

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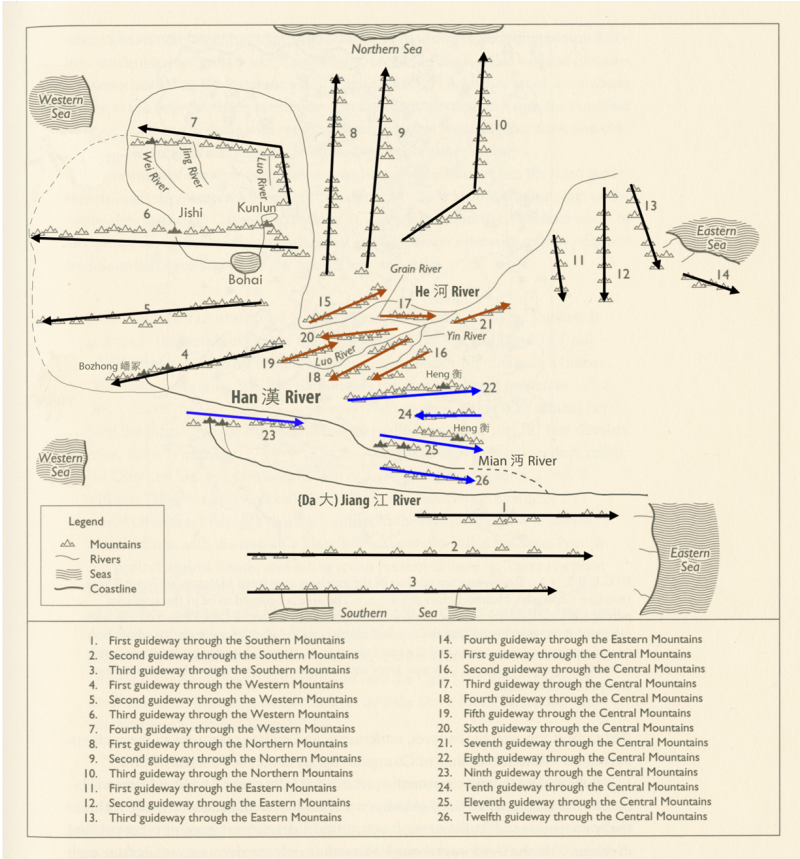

Map 6 The Han River in the system of itineraries of the "Shan jing" 山經 Reconstruction in the form of a topographical map by Wang Chengzu 王成組, redrawn and completed by Richard Strassberg, amended by me, see n. 124.

Wang Chengzu attempted to reconstruct a survey cartographical representation of the itineraries, which by both Richard Strassberg and I developed further (see Map 6).[124] In addition to putting in evidence

124. Wang Chengzu 王成組, *Zhongguo dilixueshi: Xian Qin zhi Ming dai* 中國地理學史:先秦至明代 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1988), 19, Map 2. Richard Strassberg translates and completes Wang's reconstruction, see Richard Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways Throught Mountains and Seas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 37, figure 10. I have proposed some amendments, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapping a 'Spiritual' Landscape," 38 and 43; "Where is the Yellow River Source?" 82. In Map 6 I have further corrected the source and the flow of the Han River, according to data derived from the text.

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spatial arrangement of the itineraries, the map allows one to see that the relational topography of the *Shanhai jing* has interesting differences from that of the "Yu gong." For instance, Heng Mountain, the marker of the southern limits of the "Nine Provinces" is duplicated; Heng1 恒 Mountain, the marker of the northern limit of the "Nine Provinces," is mentioned once as "being observed from distance" (*wang* 望) in the East from mountain no. 7 of the third itinerary of the Western Mountain, where it precedes Kunlun Mountain, but is missing in the itineraries of the Northern Mountains or anywhere else in the text, even under its alternative name Chang 常.

Although the reconstruction of the system of relational topography of the *Shanhai jing* needs to be elaborated on further, it does reveal that in the *Shanhai jing* the Han River plays only a modest role.[125] It does not work as a demarcation line that cuts the mapped territory into two equal halves: only five itineraries of the total twenty-six are located to the South of the Han River. In effect, the position of the Han River in the system of itineraries is quite similar to its position in the "Yu gong" family of the "Nine Provinces"—it delimits one third of the mapped territory in the South.

Nevertheless, a division of terrestrial space into northern and southern halves is implicit in the arrangement of the twelve itineraries of the Central Mountains into two clearly distinguishable clusters. As one can see from **Map 5**, the first seven itineraries of the Central Mountains form a structurally complete group around the central part of the Yellow River; the last five itineraries belong to the Yangzi River basin.[126] However, the survey of terrestrial space in the *Shanhai jing* aims to attenuate the opposition between the North and the South, and not to emphasize it.

The division of terrestrial space into the North and the South does not seem to play an important role in the corpus of pre-Han early texts. One can rather speak of a predominance of the North, as is the case in the transmitted descriptions of the "Nine Provinces" of the "Yu gong" group. An earlier example of this northern predominance is the

125. In comparison, the Jiang 江 River(s) is mentioned fifteen times, in the first itinerary of the Eastern Mountains, and in the ninth and twelfth itineraries of the Central Mountains.

126. The reference to the Yellow or the Yangzi rivers basin is determined by the destination of rivers, which pour from the mountains along the itineraries. The "northern" cluster of the Central Mountains contains seven itineraries and the "southern," five itineraries, but their inequality in the number of itineraries is compensated for by a greater number of mountains in the southern group of itineraries; see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Conception of Terrestrial Organization in the Shan hai jing", 91, table 2.

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representation of terrestrial space mapped out by the "Guo feng" 國風 chapter (literally "The Airs of Principalities," c. eighth–sixth centuries) of the *Shi jing* 詩經 (The Book of Songs). The structure of the "Guo feng" is underlied by an ideal scheme of Zhou principalities. It starts with positioning the South: its first two groups of songs share a common name including "South," the "Zhou nan" (周南) and the "Shao nan" (召南). In this respect they formally differ from the other thirteen groups of songs, which constitute the main part of the "Guofeng," each named *feng* 風 ("air"). The "Airs" bear the names of Zhou principalities, all located in the Yellow River basin.[127] Their positioning as the North is signaled by the name of the first "Air"—Bei 邶, which includes the phonetic "North" (*bei* 北), and which in the manuscript version of the *Shijing*, discovered at Shuanggudui 雙古堆 near Fuyang 阜陽, is written simply as "North."

An interesting phrase, *fen bei sanmiao* 分北三苗 ("demarcated the north from the Three Miao"), concludes Shun's deeds in the "Shun dian" (Karlgren, "Yao dian 2").[128] However, no details about this spatial arrangement are provided, apart from a reference shortly before that the Three Miao were transferred to the Three Wei 三危, which in the "Yu gong" topography is located to the West of the "Nine Provinces."[129] One can suggest, that, in this case, the territories governed by Shun are understood as being under the term the "North," the demarcation thus rather means "distinguishing the North," and not drawing a borderline between North and South.

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127. Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "'Vents des royaumes' (*Guo feng*): un schéma géographique," *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* 13 (1991), 58–91.

128. *Shang shu zhengyi*, 3.17a. Cf. interpretation by Legge, *Shoo King*, 50 (§ 27); Couvreur, *Chou King*, 31 (§ 27); and Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 6 and 8 (§ 38).

129. *Shang shu zhengyi*, 3.8b; Legge, *Shoo King*, 39–40 (§ 12); Couvreur, *Chou King*, 22 (§ 12); and Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 5–6 (§ 23). In the "Yu gong" the Three Wei are mentioned together with the Three Miao in the description of the western "province" Yong 雍 (*Shang shu zhengyi*, 6/12a; Legge, *Shoo King*, 123–27 (§ 10); Couvreur, *Chou King*, 78–81 (§ 18–19); and Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," 15–17 (§ 18–19)), while only the Three Wei are mentioned in the description of the Black River, which corresponds to the second river route (*Shang shu zhengyi*, 6/14b; Legge, *Shoo King*, 132 (§ 2); Couvreur, *Chou King*, 82 (§ 22); and Karlgren, "The Book of Documents,"16–17 (§ 22)). In maps of the "Yu gong" topography the Three Wei are depicted at the western border of Yong, e.g. in Map 1a it appears as a toponym without any cartographic image, while in Map 4, a rare case showing borders between "provinces," the Three Wei are depicted as an outstanding mountain with three summits along the Black River course and located outside the western border of the "Nine Provinces."

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In sum, from the perspective of the early Chinese written tradition, the statement on the division of terrestrial space into two equal halves along the Han River, concluding the description of the "Nine Provinces" in the *Rong Cheng shi*, is absolutely revolutionary. The Han River is a landmark that plays a secondary role in transmitted descriptions of the "Nine Provinces" and was firmly associated with Chu territory. In the *Rong Cheng shi*, the Han River becomes the central axis and radically changes the picture of terrestrial space mapped out by the "Nine Provinces": the center is shifted to the northern border of the Chu Kingdom, and the southern limits are thus pushed farther to the South. The northern extension of territories covered by the "provinces" becomes outbalanced by the implied extension to the South.

The Han River may play a role of a demarcation line, however, or, according to David W. Pankenier, a "cosmographic divide," not on the terrestrial surface, but in its projection onto celestial space: the toponym Han occurs in two of three names of the Milky Way used in early Chinese texts—literally the "Heavenly Han" (*Tian Han* 天漢) and the "Han [Beyond] Clouds" (*Yun Han* 雲漢).[130] The Milky Way roughly divides celestial space into two halves. The earliest surviving celestial map clearly showing the Milky Way is drawn on the ceiling of a Northern Wei (386–534 C.E.) tomb in Luoyang's 洛陽 Mengjing 孟津 county. This colored mural map depicts the Milky Way as a wide river tinted in blue and filled out with wavy lines imitating flowing water. It divides the celestial circle along its diameter from North to South, so that the celestial space becomes divided into the eastern and the western halves, see Map 7a–b.[131]

130. References to the Milky Way in early Chinese sources and their representations in celestial cartography are discussed throughout Pankenier, *Astrology and Cosmology in Early China*.

131. For a study of this map in the context of Chinese cosmology, see Lilian Lanying Tseng 曾藍瑩, "Visual Replication and Political Persuasion: The Celestial Image in Yuan Yi's Tomb" / "Shijue fuzhi yu zhengzhi shuofu: Bei Wei Yuan Yi mu tianxiang jiexi" 視覺複製與政治說服：北魏元乂墓天象解析 (summary), in *Between Han and Tang: Visual and Material Culture in a Transformative Period* / 漢唐之間的視覺文化與物質文化, ed. Wu Hung 巫鴻 (Beijing: Wenhua, 2003), 377–424. The map contains clearly depicted graphic symbols—recognizable constellations, single stars, and the Milky Way dominating the entire picture, but no text, so it is not possible to determine which term may have been used to designate the Milky Way. This map is not discussed by Pankenier; in later maps discussed in his study the depiction of the Milky Way becomes more refined and crosses celestial space from the northwest to the southeast.

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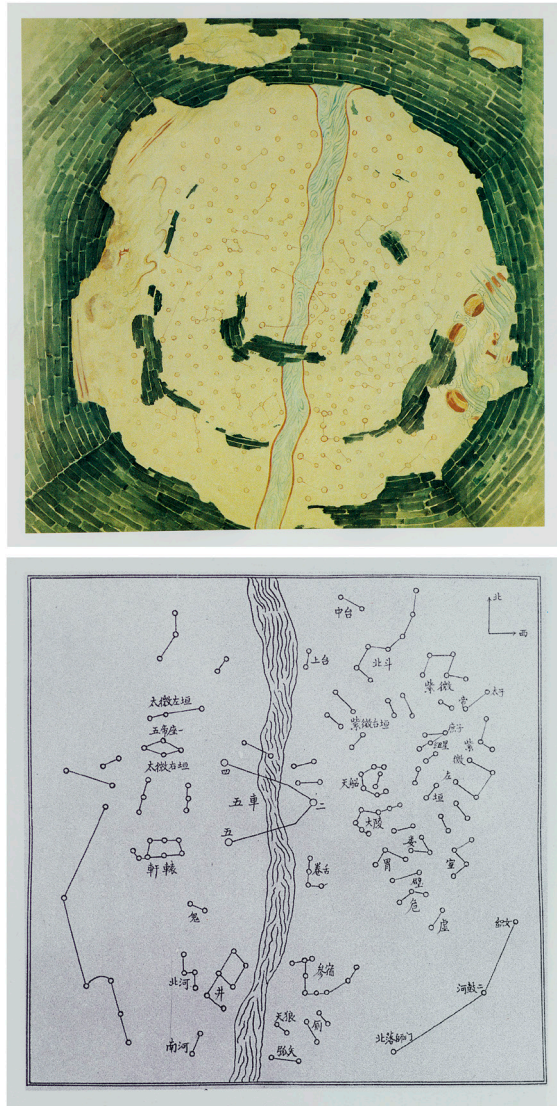

Map 7 Celestial map on the ceiling of a Northern Wei (386–514) tomb from Luoyang's Mengjing county. Original (Map 7a) and redrawing (Map 7b) with added names of constellations. North is at the top; West is on the right (view from the Earth). The mural covers the entire 9.5-meter-high vaulted ceiling built on a rectangular chamber ca. 7.5 by 7.0 meters.[132]

132. Redrawing made at the National Museum of China (Beijing). Dimensions unavailable. Reproduced from Yan Ping et al., *China in Ancient and Modern Maps*

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Although, according to Pankenier, the Milky Way is assumed to be "functionally identical in astrological terms" to the Yellow River, which indeed appears in the third possible name of the Milky Way—the Silvery He (= Yellow River, *Yin He* 銀河), the usage of the toponym Han in its name still links it closely with the Han River, and this link cannot be ignored.[133] Moreover, the name Silvery He becomes current after the fall of the Han dynasty, while earlier transmitted texts more commonly use Han when referring to the Milky Way. For instance, in the *Shi jing*, the Milky Way is mentioned three times, once as the Heavenly Han ('There is the Han [River] in the Sky'—*wei tian you Han* 維天有漢) in the poem 'The Great East' (*Da dong* 大東, no. 203) of the 'Xiao ya' 小雅 section, and twice the Han [Beyond] Clouds in a poem under the same name *Yun Han* (no. 258) and in the 'Oak-wood unworked' (*Yu pu* 棫樸, no. 238), both from the 'Da ya' 大雅 section.[134] It is possible, then, to suggest that the division of mapped territory into two halves along the Han River in the *Rong Cheng shi* may evoke or even be inspired by celestial topography, as an application of the principle of the Heaven–Earth correlation.[135] Since no celestial issues are discussed in this manuscript, however, the only argument in favor of this hypothesis is the structural similarity between celestial and terrestrial spaces cut in two by a Han River.

Part III: Yu's Handling of Tools and Wearing Out of His Body

The immediate context of description of the "Nine Provinces" in the *Rong Cheng shi* includes one more point, which at first sight does not have direct relation to conceptualizing terrestrial space—Yu's personal

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(London: Sotheby's Publications, Philip Wilson, 1998), 34–35

133. Pankenier, *Astrology and Cosmology in Early China*, 276–79, esp. 276n35. Despite the pertinence of Pankenier's study, he misleadingly does not distinguish these two different river toponyms for designating the Milky Way and translates both as simply "river": the Sky River (*Tian Han*), the River of Clouds (*Yun Han*), and the Silvery River (*Yin He*), see Pankenier, *Astrology and Cosmology in Early China*, 396.

134. Apart from these occurrences, the terrestrial Han River appears in four other poems, always together with Jiang: four occurrences in the poem "Han is broad" (*Han guang* 漢廣, no. 9) of the "Zhou nan" 周南 group, the "Guo feng" 國風 section), one in the "Fourth Month" (*Si yue* 四月, no. 204) of the "Xiao ya" section, three occurrences in "Jiang [and] Han" 江漢 (no. 262) and the "Ever-Martial" (*Chang Wu* 常武, no. 263), both the "Da ya" section. As in the case of the *Shanhai jing*, occurrences of the rivers He and Jiang are much more frequent.

135. Correlation between celestial and terrestrial space—*Fen ye* 分野—is not a simple projection of one surface on another, but a complex system of correspondences, see the "Principles of field-allocation astrology" and "Derivation of relevant astrological correspondences" in Pankenier, *Astrology and Cosmology in Early China*, 268–73 and 273–76, respectively.

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and exhausting physical engagement in hard work. It follows the passage on Yu's appointment for regulating disordered landscape and becomes interwoven with the description of the first pair of "provinces" (slips 23–15=24–25). Although slips 15 and 24 (most likely pieces of a single slip) are considerably damaged, the main idea of the introduction is clear: Yu's extraordinary austerity and exceptional diligence:[136]

***Rong Cheng shi*, slips 23–15=24–25:**

… 禹既已 **[end of slip 23; beginning of slip 15:]** 受命.

乃卉(=草)服箬箬帽. **Pines:** 芙□□足□▨… **/ Allan:** 芙 蕘▨足▨…)

[break of slip 15; break of slip 24, now considered to be parts of a single slip]

Pines: □ 面乾粗, 脛不生之毛[137] **/Allan:** 面乾， 蹠垢, 不生肢毛.

Pines: □ **/Allan:** 剴澨(=開塞)澮流.

禹親執枌(=耒Li Ling, Qiu Dexiu/ 畚 Chen Jian et al.)汩(=耜);

以波(= 陂) 明者(=都) 之澤;

決九河 **[end of slip 24; beginning of slip 25:]** 之渠 (=阻 Li Ling et al.; =泄 Xu Quansheng).

於是虖(=乎)夾州, 滮(=涂) 州 始可 (尻= 處).

Once Yu had received the appointment,

[he] then dressed in clothing made of grass/bamboo leaves, a bamboo hat, and plant footwear on his feet (?)

Pines: His face became dry and coarse, his shin was that of not producing hair. /

136. Translations of this considerably damaged part of the manuscript by Pines, "Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy," 9–10, and Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 203–4, 239–41, differ in some details, but not in general sense. Yu's modesty in clothing, which can be made out from slip 15, is difficult to explore due to its damaged state. Yu's austerity is also described in the much better preserved slips 20–21, see Pines, "Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy," 13, and the extensively commented translation by Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 207–11, 247–48.

137. Pines refers to Su Jianzhou, "'Rong Cheng shi' yishi,'" 136 (§§ 28–29).

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> **Allan:** His face was chapped, his footsoles filthy, did not produce limb hair.
>
> [he] opened the blocked [ways] and drained the water.
>
> Yu personally held the plough handle (Li Ling) / bamboo or wicker scoop (Chen Jian) and the ploughshare;
>
> In order to dike the Mingdu Marsh;
>
> [and] released the blockage (Li Ling et al.)/(leak—Xu Quansheng) of the Nine He [rivers];
>
> Thereupon Jia "province" [and] Tu (=Xu) "province" first became habitable.

The concept of Yu's employement of agricultural tools in order to regulate waters, sometimes to the extent of exhausting his body, is found in a series of late Warring States—Former Han texts. To begin with, according to the quotation of Mozi in the "Tianxia" chapter of the Zhuangzi, referred to above, Yu's regulation of waterways is the direct outcome of his personal use of tools:

> **"Tianxia" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* citing the *Mozi*:**
>
> 禹親自操橐耜而九雜天下之川 …
>
> Yu personally himself operated the sack/basket [for collecting soil] and ploughshare
>
> and [thus within] the Nine [Provinces] interlaced the rivers of the Under-heaven …

Similar passages are found in the "Wu du" 五蠹 (Five Vermins) chapter of the *Han Feizi* 韓非子, the "Lüe yao" 略要 (An Overview of the Essentials) chapter of the *Huainanzi* and in the "Sima Xiangru liezhuan" 司馬相如列傳 (Memoir on Sima Xiangru) of the *Shi ji* 史記. The passage from the "Wu du" chapter is distinguished by the listing of notable attributes of the worn-out state of Yu's body due to his personal use of tools—emaciated thighs and hairless shins—as well as pointing out the extreme strenuousness and the seemingly low status of his physical work. There is also another interesting nuance—it was this personal wielding of the tools that enabled Yu to become the ruler:[138]

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138. *Hanfeizi jishi* 韓非子集釋, ed. Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1974), 1041; Wen-kwei Liao, trans., *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu*, vol. 2 (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1959), 277; Burton Watson, trans. *Han Fei Tzu: Basic Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 97–98. My translation differs is some details.

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***Hanfeizi*, "Wu du":**

中古之世, 天下大水,

而鯀、禹決瀆.

… .

禹之王天下也,

身執耒臿, 以為民先,

股無胈, 脛不生毛, 雖臣虜之勞, 不苦於此矣!

During the middle ancient epoch,

the Under-heaven [was covered] by the Great Waters,

and Gun and Yu released and ditched [the waters].[139]

…

When Yu ruled the Under-heaven,

[he] himself held the plough handle and bamboo or wicker scoop,

by means of this became the leader of people.

Thighs did not have flesh, shin did not produce hair.

Although [he] was doing the work [usually done by] servants or war prisoners,

did [he] have bitter feelings about this!'

The passage from the "Lüe yao" chapter, with a slight difference in specific tools applied by Yu, copies the point about the role of his personal handling of tools for becoming the ruler. The passage omits details about damages to his body and exceptional hardship of his work, but instead develops on attributes of regularity of the main waterways put in order by means of the tools:[140]

***Huainanzi*, chap. 21 "Lüe yao":**

禹之時, 天下大水,

禹身執虆垂, 以為民先,

139. This passage mentions Gun and Yu together "releasing" (*jue* 決) the Floodwaters. Compare with n. 102 above.

140. *Huainan honglie jijie*, 709; Major et al., *The Huainanzi*, 864. My translation differs in some details.

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剔河而道九岐,

鑿江而通九路,

辟五湖而定東海.

In the times of Yu, the Under-heaven [was covered] by the Great Waters,

Yu himself held a dirt-basket and a bob,

by means of this became the leader of people.

Picked [a way] for the He River

and made a way for [its] nine branches (the Nine He Rivers),

Chiselled [a way] for the Jiang River

and made communicate for [its] nine watercourses (the Nine Jiang Rivers),

Dispelled the Five Lakes and established the Eastern Sea.

The attributes of the regularity of the system of waterways in the "Lüe yao" evoke three water landmarks of the "Nine Provinces"—the Nine [branches of the] He River, the Nine Jiang rivers, and the Five Lakes, which are quantitatively arranged by numerologically significant numbers conveying the idea of order.[141] In the *Lüshi chunqiu*, in the "Zhongxia ji" 仲夏紀 (Middle Summer Records) chapter of the "Shier ji" section and the "Kai chun" (Beginning of Spring) chapter of the "Six Discourses" section, one finds less structurally perfect, but still quite similar summaries of Yu's rearrangement of the major waterways, and also references to his exceptional diligence in draining the excess waters, but without naming specific tools or attributes of the worn-out state of his body:[142]

141. For the Nine [branches] of the He River and Nine Jiang Rivers, see n. 83 above. The Five Lakes are either identified with Taihu Lake or with the system of lakes along the lower and middle parts of the Yangzi.

142. *Lüshi Chunqiu*, 5.9b–10a; Wilhelm, *Frühling und Herbst des Lü Buwe*, 65; Kamenarovic, *Printemps et automnes de Lü Buwei*, 95; Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 149–50 (§ 5/5.10), Tkachenko, *Lüshi chunqiu*, 116; and *Lüshi chunqiu*, 21.8a; Wilhelm, *Frühling und Herbst des Lü Buwe*, 383; Kamenarovic, *Printemps et automnes de Lü Buwei*, 423–24; Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 561 (§ 21/5.3), Tkachenko, *Lüshi chunqiu*, 364–65, respectively. A similar passage on Yu's managing waterways, but without mentioning his physical exhaustion is found further, in the "Eight Observations" (*Ba Lan* 八覽) section, chap. 15 "Shen da lan" 慎大覽, § 7 "Gui

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***Lüshi chunqiu*, chap. 5 "Zhongxia ji," § 5 "Gu yue" 古樂 (Music of the Ancients):**

禹立，勤勞天下，日夜不懈，

通大川，決壅塞，鑿龍門，降通漻水以導河，疏三江、五湖，注之東海.

When Yu took the position of the ruler, he diligently tired [himself] for the Under-heaven day and night did not relax, made communicate big rivers, released obstructions and blockages,[143] descended and made communicate unruly waterways in order to make the way of the He [River], separated the Three Jiang and the Five Hu, made them pour into the Eastern Sea.

***Lüshi chunqiu*, chap. 21 "Kai chun," § 5 "Ai lei" 愛類 (Appreciating the Same Class):**

昔上古龍門未開，呂梁未發，河出孟門，大溢逆流，無有丘陵沃衍、平原高阜，盡皆滅之，名曰鴻水。禹於是疏河決江，為彭蠡之障，乾東土，所活者千八百國，此禹之功也。勤勞為民，無苦乎禹者矣。

Long ago, in high antiquity, when Longmen (Dragon's Gate) had not yet been opened and Lüliang had not yet been made to flow freely, the He River flowed out of the Meng Gate, greatly flooded [the territory] and flowed in the opposite direction; there were no peaks and hills, wet lowlands, flat plains, high mounds [left] that were not be all and entirely inundated; this is called the Flood. In consequence of this, Yu separated [the nine branches of] of the He River and released the Jiang River, built the Pengli dike [and thus] dried the eastern lands; the very survival of the 1800 polities, this is Yu's work! But there were no bitter feelings in Yu from diligently tiring [himself] for the people!

One of the latest passages in this series, is found in the "Sima Xiangru liezhuan," is an interesing summary of all the aspects of Yu's works

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yin" 貴因: 禹通三江、五湖，決伊闕，溝迴陸，注之東海，因水之力也 "Yu made communicate the Three Jiang and the Five Lakes, released jams and congestions, [made] drainage ditches to circumnavigate the pieces of land, and poured them into the Eastern Sea, [only] relying on the [natural] force of the water [to flow down]," see *Lüshi chunqiu*, 15.15b; Wilhelm, *Frühling und Herbst des Lü Buwe*, 227; Kamenarovic, *Printemps et automnes de Lü Buwei*, 269; Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 364 (§ 15/7.1); and Tkachenko, *Lüshi chunqiu*, 235.

143. Cf. n. 100 above.

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discussed above. It mentions in passing the drainage system established by Yu, points out his exhausting personal engagement in physical work, without, however, reference to specific tools, and lays a special emphasis on the wearing out of his body:[144]

***Shi ji*; chap. 177 "Sima Xiangru liezhuan":**

昔者鴻水浡出, 氾濫衍溢,

民人登降移徙, 崎挢而不安.

夏后氏戚之, 乃堙鴻水, 決江疏河, 漉沈贍菑,東歸之於海,而天下永寧.

當斯之勤, 豈唯民哉!

心煩於慮而身親其勞, 躬胝無胈,膚不生毛.

故休烈顯乎無窮,聲稱洽乎于茲.

In former times when the great Flood poured out, bubbling forth and swelling vastly so that the people had to climb [mountains] and descend [the slopes] in order to change their settlements, they had to go on rough roads but did not find peace. Lord Xia-hou (夏侯氏 = the legendary Emperor Yu) pitied them and then began to stem the Flood, releasing the Jiang River and separating [the nine branches of] the He River,[145] dividing and deepening them in order to smoothen the effects

144. *Shi ji* 史記, *Ershisi shi* 二十四史 series (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1972), 117.3050. I took notice of this passage thanks to the opportunity to attend text-reading seminars on the *Shi ji* chapters (in Munich, in April–July 2011 and July 2012) in the framework of the translation project of this text directed by William H. Nienhauser and Hans van Ess. With slight differences I rely on translation of this passage by Hans van Ess in William H., Jr. Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records, by Ssu-ma Ch'ien. Volume X: The Memoirs of Han China, Part III* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 130; see also Anatoly R. Vyatkin, ed., *Syma Tsyan' -- Istoricheskie Zapiski Shi tszi'* (Sima Qian—Historical Records *Shi ji*). vol. 9 (Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura, 2010), 115.

145. It is noteworthy that in the "Sima Xiangru liezhuan" managing waterways by Yu proceeds from the Jiang to the He, that is from the south to the north. The sequence is inversed, if compared to the *Lüshi chunqiu*, which uses the same wording for Yu's managing rivers, in particular "separating [the nine branches of] of the He River" (*shu He* 疏河) and "releasing Jiang" (*jue Jiang* 決江), but follows the spatial sequence of Yu's labors in the "Yu gong," where description of the He [River] and its basin precedes the Jiang [River] and its basin, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Conception of Terrestrial Organization in the *Shan hai jing*," 77–78 and 100 (figure 10). The same spatial sequence is also respected in the *Shanhai jing*, in the "Itineraries of the Central Mountains"

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> of disasters. He led [the excess water] to the East into the sea and the Under-heaven became peaceful for ageless times. Such care was certainly not accomplished by just the [common] people! *[His] heart burned with thoughts and [he] himself personally was doing the hard work. His body was covered by callouses (or: his body and backside) did not have flesh, and on his skin [there] grew no hair*. Therefore his achievements shine gloriously for eternity and his name has been praised until today.

To summarize, references to Yu's personal handling of agricultural tools are found in a series of transmitted late Warring States—early Han texts in an almost standardized form, differing only in the specific tools mentioned (see Table 2). Exploring the specific tools behind each occurrence would be an interesing study in the history of Chinese technology. Here it is important to determine that all the tools share the same functional and conceptual applications. All were used in early China for agriculture and related soil-based construction, and all appear in the textual tradition as instruments that served Yu in his management of waterways. Finally, Yu's wielding of the tools has a clear affinity with the references to the Son of Heaven's ritual ploughing, as described in the first month *Meng chun* 孟春 in the "Yue ling" chapter, and throughout the *Li ji*, for instance, in the "Ji tong" 祭統 (Sacrifices United) chapter, where royal ploughing in the Southern Outskirts is mentioned.[146] This affinity reveals the typological similarity of Yu's labors with the concept of the ritual initiation of seasonal agricultural works by the ruler. This simultaneously highlights the agricultural and ritual implications of Yu's ordering of terrestrial space.[147]

(*Zhongshan jing* 中山經) chapter of the "Shan jing," which roughly encompasses the central area of the Chinese territory: the "Central Mountains" begin from the He River cluster of itineraries and are followed by the Jiang River cluster (itineraries 15–21 and 22–26, respectively, see Map 6). The inversed sequence in the "Sima Xiangru liezhuan," therefore, conveys a view from the South. At the same time, *jiang he* 江河 appears to be a current binom throughout early Chinese texts, most probably due to phonetic harmony, and does not seem to convey a spatial statement, as it is the case, for instance, in the passage from the *Zhuangzi* cited in this article. I am grateful for this observation to one of the anonymous reviewers.

146. *Li ji Zheng zhu*, 5.3a; James Legge, trans., *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism, Part III, The Lî Kî, XI–XLVI*, in *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, ed. F. Max Müller (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1885), 254–55 (§ 13). Couvreur, *Li Ki*, vol. 2, 322 (§ 5).

147. For the ritual dimension of Yu's ordering of terrestrial space, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space."

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Table 2 Yu's personal engagement in hard physical work

Written source	Citation	Tools	Notes
Rong Cheng shi	禹親執枌(= 耒 Li Ling, Qiu Dexiu/ 畚 Chen Jian et al.) 疛(=耜) … Yu personally held the plough handle (Li Ling)/ bamboo or wicker scoop (Chen Jian) and the ploughshare …	枌 fen (= 耒 *lei*/畚 *ben*) plough handle/ bamboo or wicker scoop;[148] (=耜) *si* ploughshare	agricultural tools
"Tianxia" *Zhuangzi*	禹親自操橐耜 … Yu personally himself operated the sack/basket [for collecting soil] and ploughshare …	橐 *tuo* sack/ basket [for collecting soil] 耜 *si* ploughshare	
"Wu du' *Han Feizi*	禹之王天下也,身執耒臿，以為民先. When Yu ruled the Under-heaven, [he] himself held the plough handle and bamboo or wicker scoop, by means of this became the leader of people.	耒 *lei* plough handle 臿 *ben* bamboo or wicker scoop	

148. Li Ling supposes that 枌 could have been mistakenly written instead of 朸 *li*, which he reads as 耒 *lei* "plough handles, wooden part of the plough," see Ma Chengyuan, *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, 268. Indeed, in texts dating from the late Warring States through the early Han period 耒 often forms a pair with the next character 耜 *si* "ploughshare, iron part of a plough," as in the "Yue ling." However, Chen Jian suggests that 枌 may stand for 畚 *ben* "bamboo or wicker scoop, dustpan," see Chen Jian, "Shangbojian 'Rong Cheng shi' de zhujian pinhe yu bianlian wenti xiaoyi," 329. Liu Lexian, Su Jianzhou and Yan Shixuan (Yen Shih-Hsuan) support Chen Jian's suggestion with further arguments. Liu and Su refer to *Zhuangzi*, *Han Feizi*, *Huainanzi* and its citation in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, also occurrences of 畚 in the *Guo yu* 國語, *Zhou Yu zhong* 周語中 and its definition in *Guang ya* 廣雅, *Shi qi* 釋器; see Liu Lexian, "Du Shangbo jian 'Rong Cheng shi' xiao zha" (§ 2); and Su Jianzhou, "'Rong Cheng shi' yishi,'" 137–38 (§ 33). Yan Shixuan points out the possibility of using 枌 and 畚 as loan characters, see Yan Shixuan, "Shangbo Chu zhushu sanlun," last paragraph. Yan Changgui, Chen Wei, and Zhu Yuanqing accept these arguments and use 畚 in their citations of the *Rong Cheng shi*, see Yan Changgui, "'Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (2)' zhong 'Rong Cheng shi' Jiu zhou jianshi," 506; Chen Wei, "Zhushu 'Rong Cheng shi' suo jian de Jiu zhou," 42; Zhu Yuanqing, "'Rong Cheng shi' Jia zhou, Xu zhou, Xu1 zhou kao," 412).

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Table 2 Yu's personal engagement in hard physical work

Written source	Citation	Tools	Notes
"Lüe yao" *Huainanzi*[149]	禹身執虆垂, 以為民先. Yu himself held a dirt-basket and a bob, by means of this became the leader of people.	虆 *lei1* dirt-basket 垂 *chui* bob	Agricultural and measuring tools
"Yu benji" *Shi ji*	… 禹 … 乃勞身焦思 … … … 左準繩，右規矩 … Yu … then was tiring his body by hard physical work and was burning his mind … … in the left hand was holding the level and the rope bob, in the right hand the compass and the set square …	準繩 *zhun sheng* level and rope bob 規矩 *gui ju* compass and set square	measuring tools
"Yue ling" *Li ji*	天子親載耒耜 … The Son of Heaven personally launched into action the plough handle and the ploughshare …	耒耜 *lei si* plough handle/ploughshare	Ritual royal ploughing
"Ji tong" *Li ji*	天子親耕於南郊 … The Son of Heaven personally ploughed in the Southern outskirts … .	_____	
"Zhongxia ji" *Lüshi chunqiu*	禹立，勤勞天下，日夜不懈 … When Yu took the position of the ruler, he diligently tired [himself] for the Under-heavens, day and night did not relax …	_____	Yu's hard physical work without references to tools
"Kai chun" *Lüshi chunqiu*	勤勞為民，無苦乎禹者矣. But there were no bitter feelings in Yu from diligently tiring [himself] for the people!	_____	
"Sima Xiangru liezhuan" *Shi ji*	心煩於慮而身親其勞. [His] heart burned with thoughts and *[he] himself personally was doing the hard work.*	_____	

149. One can see that the "Wu du" of the *Han Feizi* and the "Lüe yao" of the *Huainanzi* contain almost identical phrases.

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Table 3 Visible manifestation of Yu's worn-out state and austerity

Written source	Citation	No flesh, no hair and other body damages	Mental Burn-out	Modest clothes and other modest living habits
Rong Cheng shi	… 乃卉(=草)服箬箬帽. **Pines:** 芙□□足☒… / **Allan:** 芙蓇☒足☒…) **[break of slip 15; break of slip 24, now considered to be parts of a single slip]** **Pines:** 面乾粗, 脛不生之毛[150] / **Allan:** 面乾，蹢垢, 不生肢毛. … [he] then dressed in clothing made of grass/bamboo leaves, a bamboo hat, and plant footwear on his feet (?) **Pines:** His face became dry and coarse, his shin was that of not producing hair. / **Allan:** His face was chapped, his footsoles filthy, did not produce limb hair.	+		+
"Wu du" *Han Feizi*	股無胈，脛不生毛 … *Thighs did not have flesh, shin did not produce hair …*	+		
"Yu benji" *Shi ji*	… 禹 … 乃勞身焦思 … 薄衣食 … 卑宮室 … Yu … then was tiring his body by hard physical work and was burning his mind … Saved on clothes and food … Kept low on palaces and chambers …		+	+
"Sima Xiangru liezhuan" *Shi ji*	心煩於慮而身親其勞, 躬胝無胈,膚不生毛. *[His] heart burned with thoughts and [he] himself personally was doing the hard work. His body was covered by callouses (or: his body and backside) did not have flesh, and on his skin there grew no hair.*	+	+	

150. Pines relies on Su Jianzhou, "'Rong Cheng shi' yishi'," 136 (§§ 28–29).

References to the worn-out state of Yu's body are much less common in early Chinese texts, and the special interest of the *Rong Cheng shi* manuscript is that it provides a new example of this attribute of the image of Yu, even if this part of the manuscript is considerably damaged. All the occurrences report the two notable attributes of weariness—emaciated thighs and hairless shins—which due to their peculiarity became firmly associated with Yu, see Table 3.

The issue of Yu's working with exceptional dedication is developed in the introduction to the complete citation of the "Yu gong" in the "Xia benji" 夏本紀 chapter of the *Shi ji*. Sima Qian assembles various details illustrating Yu's outstanding diligence from a broad range of sources, but adds new features and changes the emphasis. The physical exhaustion of Yu's body is supplemented with mental burn-out (*lao shen jiao si* 勞身焦思—"tiring the body by hard physical work and burning the mind"), also found in the "Sima Xiangru liezhuan." Much attention is given to the extreme austerity in his personal life (food, clothes, housing). Especially interesting here is the austerity in clothes, which is also described in detail in the *Rong Cheng shi*, unfortunately in a damaged part of the manuscript, but not in other transmitted texts. At the same time, the attributes of Yu's worn-out body are not mentioned, and the agricultural implication of his labors is completely erased. Yet, tools still play a highly important role in Yu'a labors, but now they are tools of measurement not of agricultural work: *zhun sheng* 準繩 ("level and rope bob") and *gui ju* 規矩 ("compass and set square"):[151]

***Shi ji*, chap. 2 "Yu benji":]**

禹 … 乃勞身焦思, 居外十三年, 過家門不敢入. 薄衣食, 致孝于鬼神. 卑宮室, 致費於溝洫 … … 左準繩，右規矩 …

Yu … then was tiring his body by hard physical work and was burning his mind, lived outside [his home] during 13 years, passing by the doors of his home did not dare to enter. Saved on clothes and food in order to perform filial piety to ghosts and spirits. Kept low on palaces and chambers in order to use all the means for drainage ditches and ravines … … in the left hand was holding the level and the rope bob, in the right hand the compass and the set square …

151. *Shi ji*, 2.52–78, for the "Nine Provinces," see pp. 52–66; for the introduction by Sima Qian, see p. 51 and its translations by Edouard Chavannes, trans., *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1967), 99–102; Rudolf V. Vyatkin and Vsevolod S.Taskin, trans., *Syma Tsyan' – Istoricheskie Zapiski Shi tszi'* (Sima Qian—Historical Records *Shi ji*). Vol. 1 (Moscow: Nauka [GRVL], 1972), 151–52; Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records*, Vol. I, 22.

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The only case of a partial overlapping with the earliar references to Yu's tools is the occurrence in the "Yao lüe" of one agricultural and soil-construction and one measuring tool—*lei1 chui* 纍垂 ("dirt-basket and bob"). The consequences of this change of emphasis are quite considerable for the image presented of Yu—from that of a worn-out cripple his body becomes a perfect gauge for measurements: *sheng wei lü, shen wei du* 聲為律，身為度 ("voice provided a [twelve-]pitch scale, body provided measurement gauges"), as it is stated in the passage preceding the description of his diligence in the "Xia benji."[152] This image of Yu keeps to the letter of the canonical description of Yu's deeds in the *Shang shu*, where neither Yu's personal handling of agricultural tools nor his wearing out of his body is in evidence, and which apparently was selected as most appropriate for imperial historiography. Elsewhere I have advanced a hypothesis that the similarity between the beginning of the "Yu gong" and the short passage on drainage for tillage in the "Yi [and Hou] Ji" (Karlgren, "Gao Yao mo 2," § 9), which were discussed in Part I, allows one to suppose that drainage and establishing an orderly division of terrestrial space may be seen as alternative conceptions of terrestrial space.[153] This study provides additional arguments in favor of this supposition. In the *Shang shu* the conception of drainage related to tillage plays a marginal role, and it is described separately from its central conception of terrestrial space—the "Nine Provinces." Here, both mountains and rivers play an important role, but do not occupy an equal place—managing landscape according to the "Yu gong" proceeds from mountains to rivers, and in addition rivers are described as ways of communication and not as elements of a drainage system. A more extreme case of the predominance of mountains in the conception of space is the *Shanhai jing*, where there is no place for Yu's personal involvement in any hard physical work. His role is that of a foreman, the head of a team doing proper listing (*ji* 紀) of mountains and their properties, including rivers emanating from them, determining

152. Cf. with the character *sheng* 聲 in slip 31.

153. Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces,'" 38–43. Elsewhere I have pointed out another important difference between the *Shang shu* version of Yu's labors recognized in the dynastic histories, and alternative versions, the *Shanhai jing* in particular. This is Yu's link to spirits, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space." Spirits are nowhere in evidence in relation to Yu in the *Shang shu*. Sima Qian makes an attempt to reconcile the *Shang shu* and the alternative versions in his introduction and also in the conclusion to the complete citation of the "Yu gong" in the "Yu Benji" chapter, but this link is then radically cut out in the "Dili zhi" 地理志 (Treatise on terrestrial organization) chapter of the *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975), 28.1524–38, for the "Nine Provinces," see pp. 1524–32, for the introduction by Ban Gu, see p. 1523.

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distances from mountain to mountain and thus paving land itineraries that map out terrestrial space.[154] The *Rong Cheng shi* version of the "Nine Provinces," on the other hand, builds on waterways and is focused on drainage. It draws a direct connection between establishing the "Nine Provinces" and the procedure of draining excess waters through Yu's personal personal handling of agricultural tools and wearing out of his body. The *Rong Cheng shi*, therefore, successfully combines concepts related to Yu's labors, which then became separated in transmitted textual tradition.

To summarize, Yu's personal involvement in hard physical work and using agricultural tools in early Chinese texts correlates with a concept of his tailoring terrestrial space, which builds on waterways. The choice to opt for the predominance of waterways in the *Rong Cheng shi* was most likely influenced by its provenance from the Yangzi River basin, where complex management of multiple waterways played an especially important role in communication and agriculture.

Conclusions

Investigation of terrestrial descriptions by landmarks combining philological analysis with exploration of relational mapping in traditional historical cartography shows that the description of the "Nine Provinces" in the *Rong Cheng shi* has close affinity to their description in the "Yu gong" and its four derivations—the "Youshi lan," the "Shi di" and the "Zhi fang shi," both in wording and the areas covered. Landmarks found in all these five congener versions never transgress the southern border of the Yangzi River basin—Nanling and Wuyi mountain ranges. Yet, the extention of the spatial area covered by the "Nine Provinces" described in the *Rong Cheng shi* radically changes in the conclusion to their description, standing out with respect to the transmitted descriptions. It introduces into the scene the Han River as a demarcation line between the southern and northern halves of the mapped territories. The equality of South and North is expressed quantitatively—through the equal numbers of waterways comprised by each part. Positioning the Han River as the central axis is nowhere in evidence in any of the early Chinese descriptions of terrestrial space. In transmitted descriptions of the "Nine Provinces" the Han River delimits an area with two thirds to the North of it and one third to the South. If the Han River becomes the central axis dividing the mapped territory into equal southern and northern parts, it implies incorporating into the

154. Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapless Mapping," 231.

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mapped area the territories extending far to the South all the way to the sea. Such positioning of the Han River appears in Chinese cartography showing the entire imperial realm, which includes the southern territories adjacent to the sea, and thus helps us to grasp the point of the spatial conception conveyed in the *Rong Cheng shi*. While formally faithful to the letter of the "Yu gong" group of the "Nine Provinces," the *Rong Cheng shi* introduces a cardinally new idea of terrestrial space, one in which center is shifted to the South. The southern territories are only implied and are not filled out by any landmarks, and this disposition may have seemed too speculative, if such a graphic image—the "Nine Provinces" filled out by landmarks and an empty, but still included into the picture, southern territories—had not been found in one of the earliest maps of the "Yu gong" topography (Map 4). The enlargement of the mapped area through implicitely including into it the southern territories is also expressed quantitatively: the total number of waterways—five hundred in the South and five hundred in the North—make up one thousand, considerably larger that in similar totals of waterways in transmitted texts—three hundred in the *Zhuangzi* or six hundred in the *Lüshi chunqiu*.

Another characteristic of the representation of terrestrial space in the *Rong Cheng shi* is the general predominance of waterways over the noticeably sparse references to mountains, and especially managing landscape features, beginning from waters, as stated in slip 31. The view of a landscape focused on waterways is the inverse of that in the "Yu gong," and also in the *Erya* and the *Shanhai jing*, where mountains predominate over rivers and regulation or description of terrestrial space begins from mountains. If not a predominance, an outstandingly rich vocabulary for waterways is found in the Chu Manuscript no. 1. This focus on waterways may not be an exclusively Chu feature of conceptualizing space, but prioritizing waters in texts of Chu provenance may well have been influenced by the natural features of Chu territory.

A certain correlation can be detected in transmitted early texts between the idea of the draining of the floodwaters by Yu and his personal usage of tools, many of them for agricultural purposes. The description of the *Rong cheng shi* provides a clear illustration of this correlation. It primarily builds on the idea of drainage and includes reference to Yu's personal usage of tools, intertwoven into the description.

The canonical version of putting in order terrestrial space disordered by the Flood in the *Shang shu* distinguishes two actors and two phases. Regulation of terrestrial space is initiated by Shun, who performed the ritual tour of inspection according to a twelve-fold tempo-spatial model, and is completed by Yu, who established the ideal model of territorial

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division into the "Nine Provinces." Slip 31 describes a ritual performed according to a twelve-fold spatial model, and I suggest that the *Rong Cheng shi* may also credit regulation of terrestrial space to Shun and to Yu, allowing one to place this controversial slip prior to the set of slips describing Yu's activities.

In sum, the conception of terrestrial space that can be derived from the *Rong Cheng shi* shares many points in common with the canonical version of the *Shang shu*, but also includes spatial concepts from other transmitted texts that did not become included in the Confucian canon. Still, while sharing these common spatial concepts, due to shifting the center and the implied territorial expansion to the South, the *Rong Cheng shi* provides a view from a Chu perspective.

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APPENDIX

Yu's establishment of the "Nine Provinces" in the *Rong Cheng shi*: from uninhabitable terrestrial space to perfectly structured dwelling places (slips 31 and the sequence 23-15=24-25-2-27-28-29)

slip 31, beginning from character no. 3	方爲三告, 救聲之紀: 東方爲三告, 西方爲 三告, 南方爲三告, 北方爲三告, 以躗(越)於溪浴, 濟於廣川, 高山陞, 蓁林 … **[end of slip 31]** At/to every cardinal direction [he] performed three *gao* ceremonies, seeking the proper order of the sounds: in/to the East performed three *gao* ceremonies, in/to the West performed three *gao* ceremonies, in/to the South performed three *gao* ceremonies, in/to the North performed three *gao* ceremonies. This enabled [him] to traverse brooks and river valleys, cross broad rivers; high mountains became ascendable, dense forests … .
Unhabitable terrestrial space and Yu's appointment as the Master of Public Works [slip 23]	**[slip 23, beginning broken off:]** ▨[155]舜聽政三年, 山陸(=陵)不 (=尻= 處; =序 Li Ling; =疏 Chen Jian), 水縲(=潦)不潛(?), 乃立禹[156]以為司工. Shun administered the government for three years. [During this time] mountains and hills were uninhabitable, waterways and rainwaters did not flow, [Shun] then established Yu as the Master of Public Works.

155. ▨—broken end of a slip.

156. In the *Rong Cheng shi* Yu's name is written with the radical "soil" below, as is often the case in Chu manuscripts: 墨

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Yu's austerity and worn-out body

禹既已 **[end of slip 23; beginning of slip 15:]** 受命.
乃卉(=草)服箬箬帽. **Pines:** 芙□□足□▨… **/ Allan:** 芙蕝□足▨…)

[slips 23–15–24]

[slip 15, end broken off; slip 24 beginning broken off:][157]
Pines: ▨面乾粗, 脛不生之毛[158] **/ Allan:** 面乾， 蹥垢, 不生肢毛.
Pines: □ **/ Allan:** 剴澺(=開塞)潛流.
Once Yu had received the appointment,
[he] then dressed in clothing made of grass/bamboo leaves, a bamboo hat, and plant footwear on his feet (?)
Pines: His face became dry and coarse, his shin was that of not producing hair. /
Allan: His face was chapped, his footsoles filthy, did not produce limb hair.
[he] opened the blocked [ways] and drained the water.

Establishment of the "provinces" as pieces of habitable land [slips 24–27]

1. Jia and Tu pair of "provinces" (northeast)

禹親執枌(=耒Li Ling, Qiu Dexiu/ 畚 Chen Jian et al.) 𧵑(=耜);
以波(=陂) 明者(=都) 之澤;
決九河 **[end of slip 24; slip 25:]** 之渠 (=阻Li Ling et al.; =泄 Xu Quansheng)
於是虐(=乎)夾州，澹 (=涂) 州始可 (=尻=處 Li Ling et al./ =居
Xu Quansheng, Qiu Dexiu).[159]
Yu personally held the plough handle (Li Ling)/bamboo or wicker scoop (Chen Jian) and the ploughshare;
In order to dike the Mingdu Marsh;
[and] released the blockage (Li Ling et al.)/(leak—Xu Quansheng) of the Nine He [rivers];
Thereupon Jia "province" [and] Tu (=Xu) "province" first became habitable.

157. Slips 15 and 24 are now considered to be parts of a single slip.
158. Pines refers to Su Jianzhou, "'Rong Cheng shi' yishi,'" 136 (§§ 28–29).
159. Xu Quansheng, "'Rong Cheng shi' bushi," and Qiu Dexiu, *Shangbo Chu jian Rong Cheng shi zhuyi kaozheng*, 403–34, identify the character (尻) here and in the following parallel passages with 居, This identification is, however, erroneous, as a clearly written occurs in slip 28.

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2. Jing1 and Fu "provinces" (East)	禹通淮與忻(=沂)；東致 (=豉=注)[160] 之海； 於是虐(=乎)競州，簪(=莒) 州始可 [illegible] (=尻=處)也。 Yu made communicate the Huai and the Yi [rivers]; Made them pour Eastward into the Sea; Thereupon Jing1 "province" [and] Fu (=Ju) "province" first became habitable.
3. Luo/Ou 'province' (North)	禹乃通蔓與湯 (=易)； 東**致** (=豉=注)之**[end of slip 25; beginning of slip 26]** 海； 於是虐(=乎)蔵(Li Ling, Chen Jian; =藕- Chen Wei, Yan Changgui, Zhu Yuanqing, =并 Qiu Dexiu) 州始可 [illegible] (=尻=處 Li Ling et al.) 也。 Yu then made communicate the Lou and the Yi1 [rivers]; Made them pour Eastward into the Sea; Thereupon Luo (Li Ling, Chen Jian; = Ou—Chen Wei, Yan Changgui, Zhu Yuanqing) "province" first became habitable.
4. Jing and Yang "provinces" (South)	禹乃通三江、五 沽 (= 湖)； 東**致**(=豉=注)之海； 於是虐(=乎) 酋(= 荊) 州，鄒 (=揚/楊) 州始可 [illegible] (=尻= 處 Li Ling et al.)也。 Yu then made communicate the Three Jiang [rivers] and the Five Lakes; Made them pour Eastward into the Sea; Thereupon Jing "province" [and] Yang "province" first became habitable.
5. Xu1 'province' (center)	禹乃通洢(=伊)、洛，并里(=瀍)、干(=澗)； 東 **[end of slip 26; beginning of slip 27]** **致**(=豉=注)之河； 於是於虐(=乎) 叙(=敘)州始可 [illegible] (=尻=處 Li Ling et al.)也。 Yu then made communicate the Yi2 [and] the Luo [rivers], connected [to the latter a pair of parallel rivers,] the Chan [and] the Jian; Made them pour Eastward into the Yellow River; Thereupon Xu1 "province" first became habitable.
6. Ju1 'province' (West)	禹乃通經(=涇) 與渭； 北**致**(=豉=注)之河； 于是乎虘 (=且=沮) 州始可[illegible] (=尻=處 Li Ling et al.)也。 Yu then made communicate the Jing and the Wei Rivers; Made them pour Northward into the Yellow River;Thereupon Ju1(?) "province" first became habitable.

160. For the reasons of identification of **致** (variant of 豉) with 注, here and in the following parallel passages, see Qiu Dexiu, *Shangbo Chu jian Rong Cheng shi zhuyi kaozheng*, 412.

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South–North demarcation along the Han River

禹乃從灘(=灘=漢) 以南為名浴(=谷)五百，
從 **[end of slip 27; beginning of slip 28]** 灘 (=灘=漢) 以北為名浴(=谷)五百。
Yu then
to the South from the Han [River] created 500 named river valleys,
to the North from the Han [River] created 500 named river valleys.

Dwelling places settled

天下之民𠂤 (=居) 奠。[161]
The dwelling places of people through the Under-Heavens [thus] became settled.

161. The follow-up to Yu's spatial stabilization, as described in the *Rong Cheng shi* (slips 28–29), is similar to the impact of draining the waters of the Flood, as described in the "Yi [and Hou] Ji" (Karlgren, "Gao Yao mo 2," § 9) referred to above: development of agriculture under the guidance of Houji 后稷, which ensured an abundance of food for the people; see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "The *Rong Cheng shi* Version of the 'Nine Provinces,'" 38–39. At the end of this paragraph in the "Yi [and Hou] Ji" there is a reference to "changing dwelling places" (化居 *huaju*), which could provide another interesting parallel with the *Rong Cheng shi*, but its context is difficult to grasp.

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漢水為軸心及水域的顯著重要性：對《容成氏》簡牘地理空間觀點中「無楚相關特徵」論點的質疑

魏德理

提要

上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書（簡稱上博藏簡）藏品中，《容成氏》（容成先生？西元前四世紀晚期）簡牘所載之「九州」為目前唯一已知的簡牘版本。此簡牘公布後，針對此簡牘與戰國晚期至西漢早期間九州記載的關聯性，隨即引起論戰。學者普遍認為，此簡牘所描述之「九州」，與一般廣泛流傳於中國古代文獻的描述有密切關係；其特點在於兼容已知的空間概念，而非呈現新的或特別具有楚特徵的空間觀。本研究重新討論漢水在簡牘中作為參照的既有論述。目前為止，此議題僅被視為是一個尚未解決之難題。我認為漢水在此簡牘中被視為空間軸心，且將地理空間分為南、北兩半。此意味著製圖區域轉向「南方」，從而傳達了楚的空間觀念。我結合對地理空間描述的語言學分析，採用一種新的研究方法探究簡牘中的地標，並將其視為傳統中國歷史地圖中的視覺輔助圖像。此外，作為《容成氏》地理空間呈現之顯著特徵，我探討水域的重要地位；並論證其不同於大多數流傳的中國古代文獻裡所述之從山脈至水路的地理空間結構。

Keywords: Chinese bamboo manuscripts, *Rong Cheng shi*, "Nine Provinces" (*Jiu zhou*), the Han River, early Chinese concepts of terrestrial space, Chinese historical cartography

戰國竹簡, 《容成氏》, 九州, 漢水, 中國古代地理概念, 中國傳統歷史地圖