

JOHN D. WONG

## The Shifting Concept of Space and Territory in China during the Warring States Era

In early China, the production of royal realms involved different ways of perceiving space and territory. Thus territorial claims constituted a critical component in the emergence of the Chinese empire during the third century BC. Such claims evolved out of a continuing and protracted discourse on space which produced statecraft knowledge.<sup>1</sup> The power of the knowledge that was produced in this way lay in its function as a guide for action – action occurring in space already affected by human intentions made in terms that were practical, discursive, and symbolic.<sup>2</sup>

Among the early Chinese works that relate the human effect on space in terms of terrain and territory, four in particular deserve examination: *Xici zhuan* 繫辭傳 (a work that eventually became appended to the *Book of Change*, or *Yi jing* 易經); the chapter “Yu gong” 禹貢 in the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu* 尚書); the *Zhou li* 周禮; and the “You shi” 有始 chapter of *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋. This selection of writings will shape my analysis,<sup>3</sup> which explores in detail their focus on the issues

THE AUTHOR would like to thank Peter Bol and Michael Puett for comments on an earlier version of this article.

<sup>1</sup> The conception of territories was intrinsically linked to discussions of administrative, economic and military configurations. See, for example, Yuri Pines, *Envisioning Eternal Empire: Chinese Political Thought of the Warring States Era* (Honolulu: U Hawai'i P., 2009), which describes the emergence of a bureaucratized autocratic structure with the avowed aim of serving the populace.

<sup>2</sup> For more on how spatial conceptions can be deployed in statecraft, see Francesca Bray, “Introduction,” in Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and Georges Métailié, eds., *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 1–78, and Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

<sup>3</sup> In addition to these four, certain other early Chinese texts also dealt with territorial issues. For example, the *Er ya* 爾雅 offers definitions on certain territories in its “Shi di” 釋地 section, and *Mu tian zi zhuan* 穆天子傳 includes various descriptions of geographical areas. So did the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shan hai jing* 山海經). For analyses, see, e.g., these articles by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann: “Conception of Terrestrial Organization in *Shan hai jing*,” *BEFEO* 82 (1995), pp. 57–110; “Political Concept behind an Interplay of Spatial ‘Po-

of territorial claims and their visions concerning jurisdictional administration. My analysis engages with scholars interested in the conceptualization of space in the emerging Chinese imperial structure.

Many scholars have analyzed these early Chinese texts but their efforts focused mainly on comparing the manner in which the areas depicted were mapped onto the landmass we would come to know as China. E. L. Oxenham's *Historical Atlas of the Chinese Empire* published in 1898 presented such an analysis in a cartographical format. Also, attempts made by Chinese scholars to conduct "scientific" research in the Republican era called for the reexamination of these particular texts according to the standards of Western science.<sup>4</sup> Joseph Needham's series *Science and Civilisation in China* included in its third volume a section on the "sciences of the earth" in which he set out to compare coeval Europe with early Chinese geographic and cartographic competence based on the knowledge demonstrated in the texts we are studying.<sup>5</sup> Others have compared the descriptions of territories in early Chinese texts generally for similarities and inconsistencies.<sup>6</sup> In contrast to this type of previous research, the present article approaches such texts not from the perspective of the factual specifics they provide but the shifting philosophical conceptualization of space and territories that is revealed in them.

Other modern scholars have taken a different tack. In her analyses of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann has

---

sitions," *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* 18 (1996), pp. 9–33; "Mapping a 'Spiritual' Landscape: Representation of Terrestrial Space in the *Shan hai jing*," in Nicola di Cosmo and Don Wyatt, eds., *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Boundaries in Chinese History* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 35–79; and "Spatial Organization of Ancient Chinese Texts (Preliminary Remarks)," in Karine Chemla, ed., *History of Science, History of Text* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), pp. 3–47. The three early texts just mentioned do not, however, emphasize territorial claims or agendas for jurisdictional administration, which are the main issues of the present article.

<sup>4</sup> Li Suying 李素英, "Yu gong de di wei" 禹貢的地位 ("The Status of the 'Tribute of Yu'"), *Yu gong ban yue kan* 禹貢半月刊, *The Evolution of Chinese Geography Semi-monthly Magazine* 1.1 (1934), pp. 5–6. Along with others, Yu Xixian 于希賢 responded to this call for reevaluation when he compared the descriptions of soil types in "Yu gong" with modern analyses; Yu Xixian, *Zhong guo gu dai di li xue shi lue* 中國古代地理史略 (Hebei: Hebei ke xue ji shu chubanshe 1990), p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Needham, sect. "Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth," in *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P. 1959), pp. 502–3.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, "Du Zhou guan zhi fang" 讀周官職方, *Yu gong ban yue kan* 7.6–7 (June 1937), pp. 327–32; Yang Kuan 楊寬, *Zhan guo shi* 戰國史 (1955; rpt. Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1980) p. 455; Xin Shuzhi 辛樹幟, *Yu gong xin jie* 禹貢新解 (Beijing: Nongmen chubanshe, 1964), p. 12; Li Changfu 李長傅, *Yu gong shi di* 禹貢釋地 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou shu hua she, 1982), p. 6; Jin Jingfang 金景芳 and Lü Shaogang 呂紹綱, *Shang shu Yu Xia shu xin jie* 尚書虞夏書新解 (Shenyang: Liaoning guji chubanshe, 1996), p. 292.

shunned the study of it simply for its accuracy in matching actual topography according to standards of modern geography; instead she proposes that the work conveys a cosmological perspective and constructs a schematic representation of a “spiritual landscape.”<sup>7</sup> More recently, she has analyzed the deliberate order in which territories appear in certain texts and has examined the newly discovered “Rong Cheng shi” 容成氏 bamboo manuscript, which offers an account of Yu’s provinces that stands in contrast to the transmitted versions of the “Yu gong” chapter. “Rong Cheng shi” is dated to the fourth century BC, and would hence exclude any editorial process associated with the subsequent emergence of imperial ideology. She argues for a “process-oriented scheme” in the manuscript, which accentuates a sequential establishment of the provinces without any allusion to spirits, thus producing an “administrative” terrestrial division symbolizing world order. It underscores the symbolic importance of such ordering in the administrative division (versus the spiritual characterization) of space in certain territorial texts, because such texts articulated a world order in the service of Chinese statecraft.<sup>8</sup> In light of Dorofeeva-Lichtmann’s approach, the present article will also explore the cosmological aspects of the selected works, as well as the sequential order in which they articulate the territories in a bid to justify political control. I add to what she has done by pointing out that to express cosmological understandings, compilers of this period also included in their writing specific information some of which constitutes a catalog of economic resources for the pragmatic administrative needs of the ruler.

Mark Edward Lewis has also examined texts on terrain and territory, in particular “Yu gong,” and showed the importance of Chinese flood myths in the justification of political authority.<sup>9</sup> He has further explored how texts from the Warring States and early-imperial periods expressed the evolution from a primal state of undifferentiated chaos to an “order of things” in the process of creating an empire in early China. This “order of things” encompassed spatial configurations at various levels (the body, the family, the city, and the region) that related to the

<sup>7</sup> Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, “Conception of Terrestrial Organization in *Shan hai jing*,” “Mapping a ‘Spiritual’ Landscape.”

<sup>8</sup> Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, “Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space (Warring States–Early Han),” in John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, eds., *Early Chinese Religion: Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC–220 AD)*, Volume 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2009). For a complete translation of *Rong Cheng shi*, see Yuri Pines, “Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy in the *Rong Cheng shi* Manuscript,” *BSOAS* 73:3 (2010), pp. 503–29.

<sup>9</sup> Mark Edward Lewis, *The Flood Myths of Early China* (Albany: State U. New York P., 2006).

totality of a new world-order.<sup>10</sup> In addition to a certain spatial hierarchy that Lewis perceives, I will demonstrate that the early Chinese writings also organized regions according to economic dimensions and that they privileged details having to do with material resources as things to be put at the disposal of the ruler.

The different perceptions of space and territories of this period included the mystical idea of topographical configurations associated with corresponding celestial ones in *Xici zhuan*, the analysis of tribute from the various territories in the “Yu gong” chapter, the emphasis on defense and the notion of space in relation to natural markers of mountains and rivers in *Zhou li*, and the politically inspired nomenclature of regions in *Lüshi chungiu*. This article will analyze the approach each of these texts takes in describing, defining, and/or labeling space as a manifestation of the political order during the period of the Warring States.

### *XICI ZHUAN*

Among references to the conceptualization of terrestrial space seen generally in the four selected texts, the allusions to topographical configurations contained in *Xici zhuan* (*Commentary on the Attached Verbalizations*) in the *Book of Change* are probably the most elusive. There, earthly terrains below are paired with constellations on high as clues for sages to comprehend inherent cosmological patterns. Taking its axiomatic position, Earth (*di* 地) along with Heaven (*tian* 天) anchors a particular cosmological arrangement: “Heaven being eminent and Earth humble, *qian* 乾 and *kun* 坤 (aspects of *Change*) are determined 天尊地卑, 乾坤定矣.”<sup>11</sup> *Xici zhuan* further maintains that the cosmos follows a cyclical course of transformations, and clues to these transformations have been imprinted in observable celestial and terrestrial forms. Therefore, through the observation of topographical configurations along with celestial patterns, one can begin to understand changes taking place in the cosmos. Clues to the knowable cyclicity in the cosmos are readily available to gifted interpreters who just need to “look upward to observe astronomical patterns and downward to examine terrestrial configurations 仰以觀于天文, 俯以察于地理.”<sup>12</sup> Sages are considered just

<sup>10</sup> Mark Edward Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (Albany: State U. New York P., 2006).

<sup>11</sup> *Zhou yi* 周易 (*The Book of Change*), sect. “Xici, A” 繫辭, 上 (citing SKCS edn., *Zhou yi ji zhu* 周易集註; hereafter *ZY*), *juan* 13. Translations of passages from *Xici zhuan* are based on Willard J. Peterson, “Making Connections: ‘Commentary on the Attached Verbalizations’ of the *Book of Change*,” *HJAS* 42.1 (1982), pp. 67–116, with my modifications.

<sup>12</sup> This overall argument is stated in *ZY*, “Xici, A,” *j.* 13.

such gifted individuals: they designed trigrams and hexagrams for posterity “by imitating celestial and terrestrial transformations 天地變化, 聖人效之.”<sup>13</sup> Thus, the *Book of Change* operates in the realm of Heaven and Earth and offers prognostications presented in the form of diagrams produced by the sages in order to record celestial and terrestrial movements in a type of template.<sup>14</sup> These prognostications are predicated on the precision with which sages associated such movements: “The *Book of Change* is calibrated to Heaven and Earth and thus is capable of remaining completely in alignment with the course/way of Heaven and Earth 易與天地準, 故能彌綸天地之道.”<sup>15</sup> In fact, the *Xici zhuan* posits such a heavy reliance on Heaven and Earth that the sages’ abilities can be seen as complete only within that frame 天地設位, 聖人成能.<sup>16</sup>

In its discussions of topographical matters, the relevant passages of *Xici zhuan* maintain an overarching philosophical tone. In fact, the most specific reference to landscape is merely its allusion to the sage’s imitation of the legendary *Hetu* and *Luoshu* configurations in the design of the trigrams and hexagrams.<sup>17</sup> However, *Xici zhuan* is not interested in any of the numerically and spatially suggestive *Hetu* and *Luoshu* designs. Unlike other early Chinese texts that attempted to describe the geographic world as they knew it or to delineate an empire or a civilization in a spatial manner, *Xici zhuan* asserts the universal applicability of the *Book of Change*. Topographical formations are important in the *Xici zhuan* but only as patterns to be interpreted by sages. The *Xici zhuan* text does not concern itself with defining boundaries for any political or cultural entity – its prognostications are to transcend all such boundaries. Moreover, the *Book of Change* embraces a loftier goal than the mere definition of space, and thus *Xici zhuan* ascribes such vast authority to the *Book of Change* that the latter emerges as *the* text in matters of the patterns of the cosmos and how human beings were to function within this patterned cosmos. In other words, the *Book of Change* is believed to provide sufficient interpretation of a patterned cosmos to guide human beings to cope with the ongoing flux and transformations between Heaven and Earth, and such guidance had already given birth to civilization. This reading of *Xici zhuan* challenges Lewis’ assertion of primal chaos and the ruler’s fashioning of a cosmic order.<sup>18</sup> Human activities

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> 㒹, “Xici, B” 繫辭, 下, j. 14.

<sup>17</sup> 㒹, “Xici, A,” j. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Lewis, *Construction of Space in Early China*, p. 307.

might at one time have been undifferentiated and chaotic. However, sages did not have to create order out of chaos in a vacuum; they just had to look to celestial constellations and terrestrial configurations for a blueprint for organizing civilization.

Note that *Xici zhuan* does not specify a limit to Heaven and Earth: the universality of the patterns described in the *Book of Change* are to govern everything between Heaven and Earth. Not only do actual topographical formations not present any spatial barriers to the *Book of Change*, but the classic actually lays claim to an understanding of the entire cosmos.

#### “YU GONG”

Compared to the obscure references to territories in *Xici zhuan*, spatial descriptions in the “Yu gong” chapter (“Tribute of Yu”) of the *Book of Documents* are more concrete. In fact, it has been celebrated as the earliest document in the study of geography in China, so much so that a serial publication during the Republican period titled *Yu gong* (the English title of which was “The Evolution of Chinese Geography Semi-monthly Magazine”) wrote in its inaugural issue that the “Yu gong” chapter was the “founding ancestor of studies of geographical theory in China, breaking ground for research and enlightening commoners with geographic ideas.”<sup>19</sup> Such sentiments echoed similar praise by earlier Chinese scholars, for instance that it was the “forefather of ancient and modern treatises on terrestrial organization 古今地理志之祖.”<sup>20</sup> However, in spite of the various details of terrestrial formations that the text offered, it was not intended to serve as a canon of geographical knowledge in early China but a statement on political hierarchy embedded in which was an argument for the rightful claim on territory based on historical events.

Its premise is that the mythic Yu completely rectified the problems brought by the flood, and this action accounted for his succeeding Yao and Shun to the throne. Therefore, it was only appropriate that “Yu

<sup>19</sup> Li Suying, “Yu gong de di wei,” p. 5. The journal ceased publication in July of 1937. For more information, see Tang Xiaofeng, *From Dynastic Geography to Historical Geography: A Change in Perspective towards the Geographical Past of China* (Beijing: Commercial Press, 2000).

<sup>20</sup> Hu Wei 胡渭 (1633–1714), *Yu gong zhui zhi* 禹貢錐指 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), p. 1. Hu was quoting an earlier scholar. See also Jin and Lü, *Shang shu Yu Xia shu xin jie*, p. 435, for similar assertions. For a collection of works on the *Tribute of Yu*, see the seven-volume set of *Li dai Yu gong wen xian ji cheng* 歷代禹貢文獻集成 (*Collected Works on the Tribute of Yu from the Various Eras*) (Xi'an: Xi'an ditu chubanshe, 2006).

gong” launched the four-chapter chronicle of the Xia dynasty (*Xia shu* 夏書), beginning with the reign of Yu, the Xia founder. The nine territories (*jiu zhou* 九州) the description of which forms the body of “Yu gong” would not have been possible except for Yu’s successful effort in taming the water flow in these areas.

The nine territories were brought to conformity. The area inside the four quarters had been made inhabited; the nine mountains had been cleared of their superfluous wood and sacrificed to; the nine rivers had their sources cleaned; the nine marshes had been well banked; and the four seas were joined. 九州攸同, 四隩既宅, 九山刊旅, 九川滌源, 九澤既陂, 四海會同.<sup>21</sup>

What this indicates is that the nine territories came into being only after Yu had transformed the physical landscape into habitable grounds.

The onerous burden of hydraulic control is deeply woven into the form of the text to the extent that it alludes to Yu’s efforts geographically in relation to each of the nine territories and then recounts again his accomplishments chronologically by following the route he took. In addition, the concluding lines give a summation of his contributions. The Chinese character that emphasizes a sense of accomplished mission in Yu’s works is *ji* 既. Its meaning centers on the idea of “having already completed.” In the section concerning the nine territories in “Yu gong,” *ji* appears twenty-one times, all but once referring to Yu’s accomplishments.<sup>22</sup> In keeping with the emphasis of Yu’s hydraulic feats, most of the word compounds involve his directing the water flows, as we see in the following list:

1. *jicong* 既從: having brought to the proper channels (Jizhou 冀州, Yongzhou 雍州);
2. *jidao* 既道: having made to keep to their proper channels (Yanzhou 兗州, Jingzhou 荊州, Liangzhou 梁州);
3. *jize* 既澤: having turned something into a marsh (Yanzhou 兗州);
4. *jizhu* 既豬: having confined [to proper limits] (Xuzhou 徐州, Yangzhou 揚州, Yuzhou 豫州);

<sup>21</sup> *Shang shu* 尚書 (*The Book of Documents*) (citing SSJZS edn., *Shang shu zheng yi* 尚書正義; hereafter *SS*), j. 5, sect. “[Xia shu], Yu gong.” In translating these selections from “Yu gong,” I have consulted Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Documents* (Stockholm: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1950); Needham, “Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth”; James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, With a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Notes* (rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong U.P., 1960); and Luo Zhiye 羅志野, trans., *Shang shu* 尚書 *Book of History* (Changsha: Hunan chubanshe, 1997), with my modifications.

<sup>22</sup> The only exception is *jifu* 既敷 in the entry for Yangzhou 揚州, 篠簜既敷 (“fine bamboos and coarse bamboos were propagated”).



5. *jiru* 既入: having led to enter [the sea] (Yangzhou 揚州, Yuzhou 豫州); and
6. *jixi* 既西: having conducted westwards (Yongzhou 雍州).

These underscore his success in channeling, collecting, and releasing rivers in order to create proper, predictable and smooth riverine circuits. However, Yu's accomplishments extend further. As other phrases in this section of "Yu gong" make clear, Yu also tamed landmasses:

7. *jizai* 既載: having finished [his] work (Jizhou 冀州);
8. *jixiu* 既修: having repaired (Jizhou 冀州);
9. *jizuo* 既作: having put into cultivation (Jizhou 冀州); and
10. *jiji* 既藝: having put into cultivation (Liangzhou 梁州).

Such terrestrial successes altered the landscape not just for habitation free from the threat of water disasters but also fit for productive agricultural deployment. This theme is echoed in the last group of phrases in which Yu's contribution takes on a social, cultural or political tone:

11. *jilue* 既略: having defined [the territory] (Qingzhou 青州);
12. *jitian* 既蚕: having made fit for sericulture (Yanzhou 兗州);
13. *jilu* 既旅: having sacrificed to the mountains (Yongzhou 雍州);<sup>23</sup>  
and
14. *jizhai* 既宅: having made habitable (Yongzhou 雍州).<sup>24</sup>

Although this last group (11–14) does not convey a sense of physical transformation of the landscape, Yu's action improved the living conditions of the areas by performing such services as establishing means of agricultural, and other, production and the placating of spirits by sacrificing to mountains.

Yu's achievement, therefore, involved both physical and social dimensions. First, the physical landscape had to be reconstructed to ensure people's safety. Second, inhabitants had to be provided productive resources (proper water supplies and appropriately sculpted land profiles) with which they could make a living. Finally, the settlements had to be made harmonious with the spirits in nature. Such a reading of the establishment of the nine territories (*zhou* 州) is somewhat in line with the definition of the word in *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字:

Habitable places in the midst of water are called *zhou*. [Pictorially, it is] a place surrounded on all sides by water; under the radical

<sup>23</sup> Note that this particular aspect of Yu's accomplishment that "Yu gong" includes echoes Dorofeeva-Lichtmann's emphasis on the spiritual dimension of early descriptions of Chinese landscape in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*.

<sup>24</sup> SS, j. 5, "Yu gong."



*chuan* 川. In the past, Yao suffered from flooding disasters. People lived on higher grounds in the midst of water, which therefore were called the nine territories. ... It is also said that *zhou* means *chou* 疇 [cultivated farmlands]; [that is,] each person cultivates land to make a living. 水中可居曰州. 周遶其旁, 從重川. 昔堯遭洪水, 民居水中高土, 故曰九州. ... 一曰: 州, 疇也. 各疇其土而生之.<sup>25</sup>

In “Yu gong,” therefore, the nine territories represent the area made habitable by Yu; only after the transformation of the area into habitable territories could Yu begin to establish the socio-political order:

The various soils were compared and determined. Care was applied [in determining] their value and levies. [The fields] were all classified to one of three classes of soil and their levies [to the political center] were established 庶土交正, 底慎財賦, 咸則三壤成賦.<sup>26</sup>

Yu’s achievements in flood control earned him not only accession to the throne, it also allowed him to institute a new form of governance over a territory in which his subjects could safely reside. Moreover, from the bounty of this land through the labors of his subjects, Yu could expect tribute and contributions to the coffers of the political center. The ruler earned the right not only to conceptualize the division of the whole space but also to assess tribute and contributions for each of the territories thus defined according to its natural endowments. Therefore, this assessment meant the accrual of economic benefits to Yu in recognition of his contribution to the physical improvement of the productive resources.

Now that we appreciate the expectation of economic returns through Yu’s actions, we can approach the description of the nine territories in “Yu gong” not just as a geographically descriptive text but more importantly as an argument for a political order and a territorial claim predicated on those actions. Table 1 reorganizes the chapter’s information about the nine territories. It is a list of Yu’s works for each territory, and shows the basis on which the writer of the text justifies, in other passages, the economic returns that would follow. As the table shows, “Yu gong” does not provide consistently detailed geographic definitions for the territories (column labeled “Area”). In fact, for the first of the nine territories, it offers no reference at all to its boundaries. For the rest of the nine, the text outlines roughly their borders with

<sup>25</sup> Wang Guiyuan 王貴元, *Shuo wen jie zi jiao jian* 說文解字校箋 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2002), p. 499.

<sup>26</sup> *SS*, j. 5, “Yu gong.”

references to elevated terrains and bodies of water.<sup>27</sup> While such references furnish the reader with the approximate position of each territory in relation to the others, the images in readers' minds might be thought of as no more than a juxtaposition of inchoate spaces. Moreover, the frontiers of the landmass that represents the aggregation of the nine territories were far from clear; the reader can only gather from the text that the landmass extended to the sea around Qingzhou, Xuzhou and Yangzhou, but its other frontiers remain ill-defined or even fluid.

The text's intent is not to describe in detail spaces and boundaries but to emphasize Yu's triumph in transforming the landscape (column labeled "Works") and his success in civilizing the various *yi* 夷, or people residing outside of the civilized area ("People"). The section on each territory ends with a description of the resulting water flow ("Waterways") that, despite the dispersed locations of the territories, carried all the tribute from them, making its way into the He River and eventually, it is implied, to Yu's capital. This convergence of tribute streams via waterways functions both literally and metaphorically in the text of "Yu gong." Literally, it describes Yu's success in directing water from the various regions to flow through different channels before their convergence. These tributaries served not only as branches of a river but also as the physical conduits through which tribute was conveyed.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, "Yu gong" combines "geography with mythologized economic history."<sup>29</sup> Yu did not just release water from the various pressure points throughout the nine territories, he channeled it into productive uses the fruits of which were to be conveyed via the branching tribute/tributary system he had designed. The genius and labors of Yu had transformed a disruptive power as well as the people of the nine territories into a productive force that was to owe him tribute and allegiance.

In addition to establishing the basis by which Yu could demand tribute, the section on the nine territories sets out to evaluate the productive capacity of each territory in order to adjust their levies accordingly (table 2). The most explicit description is the grade-ranking of their fields (column labeled "Field Grades 田"). The fields of the nine

<sup>27</sup> In her analysis of *Rong Cheng shi*, Dorofeeva-Lichtmann explains that the key waterways and reservoirs served a different function in that coeval text. They were located inside the provincial territories, "like the systems of blood vessels," thereby governing the shape of these territories "as a result of their regulation by Yu" ("Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space," p. 633).

<sup>28</sup> See also Lewis, *Flood Myths of Early China*, p. 47.

<sup>29</sup> David Schaberg, "Travel, Geography, and the Imperial Imagination in Fifth-Century Athens and Han China," *Comparative Literature* 51.2 (Spring 1999), p. 170.

territories are divided into three grades, each of which then being subdivided into three levels. This results in grades for each territory that range from 1 to 9. Along with this system, the passage contains a grading scheme for the levies coming from those territories. Similar to the grade-ranking of the fields, the grading scheme for levies also employs a system of three grades each subdivided into three levels.

More importantly, the field grades do not correspond to the grades the territories received for their levies.<sup>30</sup> For example, the passage began with Jizhou 冀州, which held an exactly middle grade for its fields (中中, or mid-middle; that is, 5th place out of a total of 9); but Jizhou was first in its levy contribution (上上錯, upper-top plus a mixture of the second; that is, 1st place out of 9, allowing for some variation). On the other hand, the last territory mentioned, Yongzhou 雍州, ranked first for its fields (upper-top) but yielded a below-average grade for its levy (中下, lower-middle; that is, 6th of 9). The text does not offer an explanation for this incongruity. Xu Daoling 許道齡 speculated that the discrepancies arose from the different temporal stages in which the territories were developed and exploited.<sup>31</sup> The lack of a clear explanation notwithstanding, “Yu gong” maintains that levies were determined according to productive potential of the soil.

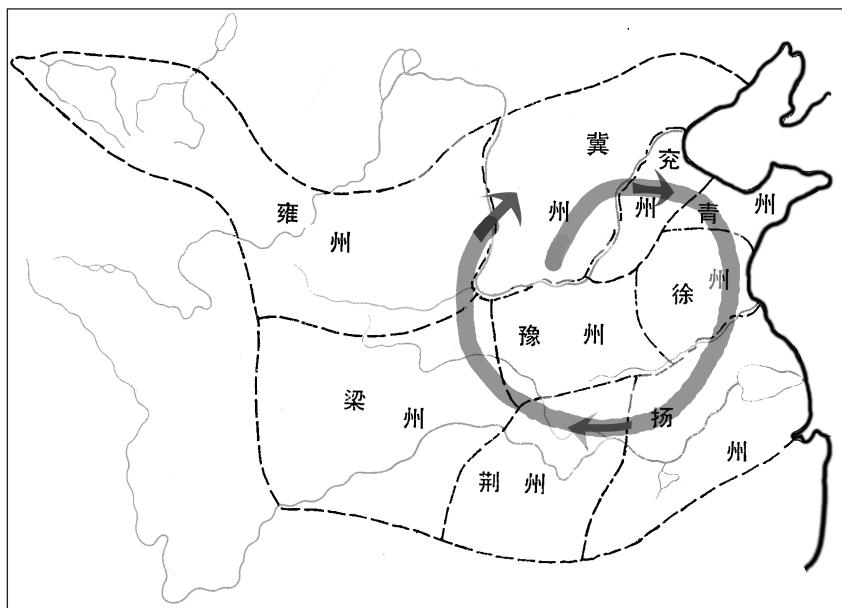
Apart from the grain taxes assessed on each territory, the passage also specifies tribute goods each territory was to send (listed in the column labeled “貢 Tribute”). As opposed to the levies, the goods did not spring from cultivated fields. Instead, they were marine and other animals, minerals, and handicrafts. Besides these, various woven products from some of the territories were said to have filled up the transport baskets (*fei* 筐). Some territories are said to have rendered certain exotic finds, such as the great tortoise 大龜 from Jingzhou 荊州. Listed separately from the levies, tribute presents a peculiar group of offerings. Yu’s transformation of the physical landscape substantiates the claims of the political center over the bounty of the cultivated fields in the nine territories, and his efforts in furnishing the people with additional means of production such as sericulture can justify claims over woven products. However, such claims could not have extended to preexisting products such as sea creatures, animals and minerals that bore no relation to Yu’s magic touch. That such items are included under the

<sup>30</sup> See also Kuwada Kōzō 桑田幸三, “Shōsho Ukō ni tsuite” 尙書禹貢について, *Hikone ronsō* 彦根論叢 144 (1970), pp. 41–59.

<sup>31</sup> Xu Daoling, “Lun Yu gong tian fu bu ping jun zhi gu” 論禹貢田賦不平均之故, *Yu gong ban yue kan* 禹貢半月刊 1.1 (March 1934), p. 6.

category of tribute may reflect more their function as symbols of the territories' submission to Yu, than as actual items rendered.

*Figure 1. "Yu gong": Orderly Spiral around the Imperial Pivot*



*Source:*

*Li, Yu gong shi di, p. 26 (cited n. 6); indication of path of narration is mine. I differ from Li by not reading the text as giving relatively clear definitions of boundaries for the jurisdictions.*

The order in which the nine territories appear also presents an interesting pattern. The text begins with Jizhou – located in the heart of the Central Plains; it proceeds in a continuous spiral pattern moving first through the coastal territories, then returning to the inland territories before looping back towards the center where the tour began (figure 1). Note that for the most part the narration of this tour avoids any reference to the four cardinal directions, even though later sections in the chapter do employ them, demonstrating the writer's understanding of such markers for geographical description. Because the use of these directional devices could have suggested dispersive motions from the center, the deemphasis of these terms allows the text to provide a litany of the nine territories that reads like a record of expeditions that bind together victoriously the territories, bundling in the loose fringes, and

thereby forming an integral entity. This process entails a spiral path that pivots around the Central Plains. The sense of motion around a central power parallels a theme in “Hong fan” 洪範 (“The Great Plan”), a later chapter in the *Book of Documents*. Interestingly, it is a chapter on the Zhou dynasty – two dynasties after the Xia – that shows the continuing influence of Yu’s successful water works. The chapter begins with king Wu of Zhou inquiring about the unvarying principles that allow rulers to establish order 彝倫攸敘. The respondent, a surviving adherent to the former dynasty, the Shang, recalls for the king the victorious labors of Yu for which Heaven awarded him with the Great Plan, by which he could properly govern the people. A key concept in this Great Plan is the imperial pivot (*huang ji* 皇極) around which the people’s lives were to revolve. Astride this pivot, “the Son of Heaven, as the parent of the people, was to become the sovereign of all under Heaven 天子作民父母, 以爲天下王.”<sup>32</sup> The “Yu gong” chapter can be read as a geographic manifestation of this royal pivot, implying that the political order revolves around the Central Plains along a spiral pattern, as indicated by the narration of the nine territories.<sup>33</sup>

The implication of an unspecified political center raises an issue for our interpretation of “Yu gong.” While the passage concerning the nine territories indicates a clear political hierarchy in which a certain supreme political body representing Yu expects tribute to flow in from everywhere, which consists of the nine territories, the text does not elaborate on the identity and location of this supreme political body. The description of the waterways implies that the He River served as the conduit through which all tribute is collected and transported. The

<sup>32</sup> *SS*, j. 11, sect. “[Zhou shu] Hong fan.” For further discussions on the idea of *huang ji* and interpretations of the *Hong fan* in different eras, see Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center: The Original “Great Plan” and Later Readings*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 24 (Sankt Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 1992).

<sup>33</sup> My reading here parallels Dorofeeva-Lichtmann’s suggestion in her recent work of “dynamic – process-oriented – aspects of the Nine Provinces” in “Yu gong” (“Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space,” p. 622). I agree with her assessment that Yu’s tour and draining the waters of the flood were presented in a sequence that was “neither trivial nor accidental,” since it formed a step-by-step process of assembling the world in a certain order that grew from the requirements of draining the excess waters (*ibid.*, p. 627). Dorofeeva-Lichtmann has also underscored the meticulous system of routes depicted in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, which she argues constituted “a *prescription* for performing certain actions related to organizing space” (“Conception of Terrestrial Organization in *Shan hai jing*,” p. 60; italics original). “Yu gong” traces the route just as deliberately, albeit with less elaboration. I would emphasize, however, that it accentuates not just the prescribed procedure to “(re)produce” a *proper terrestrial organization* (*ibid.*, p. 58) but also the notion of centrality in the conception of space: in fact, the creator of the text established the basis for claims to rulership on an integrated realm. In this respect, my interpretation parallels Lewis’ emphasis of unity around a center in the construction of space during the period (*Construction of Space in Early China*).

spiral sequence in which each of the nine territories appears in the text suggests that the pivot is situated around Jizhou, the territory with which the text opened. Certain late-imperial scholars accepted “Yu gong” as a possible portrayal of the political geography of Yu’s reign.<sup>34</sup> The modern scholar Yu Xixian traces perceived competing chronologies contained in “Yu gong” based on a comparison of territories mentioned there to actual Zhou and Warring States frontiers, and also on textual evidence such as names of minerals and territories. While inconclusive, his assertions indicate that the relevant passage could have been written in a period that spanned the Western Zhou and the fifth century BC.<sup>35</sup> Edward L. Shaughnessy, on the other hand, noting that “Yu gong” could not possibly date from the time of the semi-legendary emperors Yao and Yu, holds that it could have been composed as late as the Qin dynasty,<sup>36</sup> while Joseph Needham believed that the text could be dated to the fifth century BC.<sup>37</sup> Jiang Shanguo chronicles Chinese scholars’ efforts in the dating of the *jiu zhou* portion, and we can accept the most credible of these claims that place the beginnings of the text at around 300 to 200 BC.<sup>38</sup> Although in general the evidence is inconclusive, the preponderance of analyses, which date the text to the Warring States era – well before the Qin unification – coincides with the text’s placement of the political center of gravity in an area that does not coincide with the Qin’s western power base.<sup>39</sup>

The amorphous nature of the geographic extent of the nine territories is echoed in the concluding section of “Yu gong” that presents a different argument, one that views political order in a spatial formation that does not reflect the territorial realities described in the text’s preceding section. From the territorial realities of the civilized realm of

<sup>34</sup> For example, Hu Wei explained the discrepancies between “Yu gong” on the one hand, and *Er ya* and the “Zhi fang zhi” chapter of *Zhou li*, on the other hand, as territorial gains and losses during the Shang and Zhou dynasties (*Yu gong zhui zhi*, p. 12).

<sup>35</sup> Yu, *Zhong guo gu dai di li xue shi lue*, pp. 37–40.

<sup>36</sup> Edward L. Shaughnessy, “*Shang Shu* 尚書,” in Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1993), p. 378.

<sup>37</sup> Needham, “Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth,” p. 500.

<sup>38</sup> Jian Shanguo 蔣善國, *Shang shu zong shu* 尚書綜述 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1988), pp. 174–79.

<sup>39</sup> Based on his analysis of the various phrases in the text, Gao Shidi has suggested a wider time span for the emergence of “Yu gong” – anywhere between the third millennium BC (around the time of Yao) and 500 BC (mid-Spring and Autumn); see Gao Shidi 高師第, *Yu gong yan jiu lun ji* 禹貢研究論集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), p. 50.

Note that my interpretation of political legitimacy as implied in “Yu gong” differs from Dorofeeva-Lichtmann’s reading of a “prescription” in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, one that required political successors to trace the route in imperial processions.

the nine territories in the first section, the author extends the discussion to the entire world, applying a sort of cosmogram, what may be seen as concentric squares, to create the global schematic of territorial control (see figure 2). Political order here assumes the premise that land was the prerogative of the sovereign: “He conferred lands and surnames to wise and intelligent men in accordance with their virtues and they were to not act against the sovereign’s measures 中邦錫土、姓，祗台德先，不距朕行。” Having established this premise, the passage proceeds to construct a political order. Without reference to the nine territories, the text states that people were to be organized spatially in concentric squares of decreasing political affinity and desirability, the farther away they are from the center in which the sovereign resides.

Five hundred *li* formed the Domain of the Sovereign. From the first hundred they brought as revenue the whole plant of the grain; from the second, the ears, with a portion of the stalk; from the third, the straw, but the people had to perform various services; from the fourth, the grain in the husk; and from the fifth, the grain cleaned. 五百里甸服：百里賦納總，二百里納銍，三百里納秸服，四百里粟，五百里米。

Five hundred *li* (beyond the first five hundred) constituted the Domain of the Nobles. The first hundred *li* was occupied by

*Figure 2. Yu gong: The Five Domains*





the cities and lands of the [sovereign's] high ministers and great officers; the second, by the principalities of the barons; and the [other] three hundred, by the various other princes. 五百里侯服: 百里采, 二百里男邦, 三百里諸侯。

Five hundred *li* (still beyond) formed the Peace-securing Domain. In the first three hundred, they cultivated the lessons of learning and moral duties; in the other two, they showed the energies of war and defense. 五百里綏服: 三百里揆文教, 二百里奮武衛。

Five hundred *li* (remoter still) formed the Domain of the Restrained. The [first] three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the Yi; the [other] two hundred, by criminals undergoing lesser banishment. 五百里要服: 三百里夷, 二百里蔡。

Five hundred *li* (the most remote) constituted the Domain of the Cultureless Savagery. The [first] three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the Man; the [other] two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment. 五百里荒服: 三百里蠻, 二百里流。<sup>40</sup>

This section of “Yu gong,” therefore, envisions an orderly world in which the sovereign surrounds himself with subjects in a carefully orchestrated formation. (See figure 2.) In closest proximity to the Sovereign are the Nobles assigned to specific locations based on their ranks. The third area (Peace-securing) forms a transition zone in which those closer to the center cultivated learning while those in the outer region prepare for defense. Finally, the last two zones contain the politically disagreeable elements, but even in these areas the passage prescribes specific regions for different levels of undesirability.

Such was the grand plan that the Great Yu accomplished, that “as far away as the sea in the east, the moving sands in the west, and to the utmost limits of the north and south, his fame and transforming influence filled [all within] the four seas 東漸于海, 西被于流沙, 朔南暨聲教訖于四海.”<sup>41</sup> This was the spatial manifestation of the “Hong fan,” or, Great Plan, in which Yu would install himself in a central pivot, organize his subjects into the appropriate categories, and assign them a spatial setting from which they would fulfill their responsibilities. It would thereby create a lasting political order. In other words, Heaven bestowed the Great Plan upon Yu, who then implemented the *jiu chou* 九疇 articles in the text of “Hong fan,” materializing the ideals in the form of the *jiu zhou* 九州 territories. In creating the *jiu zhou* according to

<sup>40</sup> *SS*, j. 5, “Yu gong.” The translation of this section follows closely Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, III, pp. 142–47.

<sup>41</sup> *SS*, j. 5, “Yu gong.”

the *jiu chou*, Yu realized the the Great Plan's promise of an elaborate, ordered array of correspondences among Heaven and Earth and the myriad things in between.<sup>42</sup> He who executed the Great Plan through the transformation of terrestrial space had earned the right to rule. Thus, it is only appropriate that at the end of the "Yu gong" passage, the Great Yu, after having succeeded in implementing the Great Plan, is presented a dark-colored jade, probably from an implied Yao sage, as he brought his work to a completion 禹錫玄圭，告厥成功。<sup>43</sup>

In "Yu gong," space provides the primary means by which a ruler justifies his supremacy, organizes his subjects, and establishes a political order. The legend of Yu's management of the flood by channeling the water forms the basis on which he lays claim to the "nine territories" in which the Great Yu supposedly labored.<sup>44</sup> From these territories, the ruler can expect economic contributions in accordance with productive capacity, in return for Yu's valiant effort and benevolence, and tribute of other precious items as a sign of submission to the throne. Together with this assertion of power presented along the dimensions of a natural geographical landscape, "Yu gong" dictates a schematic framework with which the sovereign places subjects in a manner commensurate with their ranks and duties.<sup>45</sup>

## ZHOU LI

Another early Chinese text that had to do with issues of space and territory is *Zhou li* 周禮. It occupied a critical place in the evolution of China's imperial political structure, and has been referred to by David Schaberg in that regard as a "constitutional' promise."<sup>46</sup> The *Zhou li*'s

<sup>42</sup> Nathan Sivin, "State, Cosmos, and Body in the Last Three Centuries B.C.," *HJAS* 55.1 (June 1995), p. 16.

<sup>43</sup> *SS*, j. 5, "Yu gong."

<sup>44</sup> Needham seems not to have believed that "Yu gong" asserted a legend-based claim on territories. He observed that territories mentioned in it were "completely devoid of magic, and even of fantasy or legend, apart from the appearance of Yu himself" ("Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth," p. 501).

<sup>45</sup> My reading of these two sections as complementary assertions of power in both naturalistic and schematic formats differs from Major's interpretation of "Yu gong" as an attempt to present the actual geography of China and hence can "not be said to be schematic geography," which *Huainanzi* would develop during the Han dynasty; John S. Major, "The Five Phases, Magic Squares and Schematic Cosmography," in Henry Rosemont, Jr., ed., *Explorations in Early Chinese Cosmology* (1976; rpt. Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1984), pp. 137, 143.

<sup>46</sup> David Schaberg, "The *Zhouli* as Constitutional Text," in Benjamin A. Elman and Martin Kern, eds., *Statecraft and Classical Learning: The Rituals of Zhou in East Asian History* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 33–63. *Zhou li* was originally titled *Zhou guan* 周官, or *Zhou guan li* 周官禮; see William G. Boltz, "Chou li," in Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 24–32.

text makes specific references to the *jiu zhou* and such references have been analyzed extensively for their congruence with and discrepancies from details given in “Yu gong.”<sup>47</sup> Putting those specifics aside for a moment, the approach taken in *Zhou li* concerning territories implies a conception of space different from the other early texts. Whereas *Xici zhuan* claims, as we discussed, connections between terrestrial configurations and cosmic patterns, and “Yu gong” lays claim to the territorial integrity of the *jiu zhou* based on the accomplishments of Yu the Great, *Zhou li* imposes an administrative structure onto the physical landscape, which it considers to be in disarray.<sup>48</sup>

*Zhou li* claims to describe the administrative hierarchy of the Zhou dynasty itself, although this historical reality has been challenged and commented on by numerous scholars; Hsu Cho-yun, for example, maintains that the work prescribes a massive bureaucracy for a utopian state.<sup>49</sup> According to the text, government positions in the Zhou dynasty were organized into six ministries: the Celestial Ministry in charge of general administration 天官冢宰, the Terrestrial Ministry overseeing education 地官司徒, the Spring Ministry taking care of sacrifices and rites 春官宗伯, the Summer Ministry responsible for military affairs 夏官司馬, the Autumn Ministry for penal affairs 秋官司寇, and the Winter Ministry to ensure craft and technical skill conformed to standards 冬官考工記.<sup>50</sup>

The offices with responsibilities over the *jiu zhou* spanned three ministries. Among these officials, the most senior was the head of the Terrestrial Ministry, who held the title of *qing* 卿 (minister), which was the highest rank for officials serving the Zhou king and feudal lords. He secured the layout and plans (*tu* 圖) upon which the country was founded 掌建邦之土地之圖.<sup>51</sup> He was responsible for keeping track of the population in order to assist the ruler in pacifying any disturbance 與

<sup>47</sup> See for example, Gu, “Du Zhou guan zhi fang,” pp. 329–30; Yang, *Zhan guo shi*, p. 455; Xin, *Yu gong xin jie*, p. 12; Li, *Yu gong shi di*, p. 6; Jin and Lü, *Shang shu Yu Xia shu xin jie*, p. 292.

<sup>48</sup> This reading of *Zhou li* parallels Lewis’ assertion of primal chaos depicted in early Chinese geographic treatises. However, official titles in *Zhou li* follow a terminology associated with “Heaven and Earth,” in keeping with the argument of *Xici zhuan*.

<sup>49</sup> E.g., Hsu Cho-yun, *Ancient China in Transition: An Analysis of Social Mobility, 722–222 B.C.* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1965), pp. 120 (n. 76), 210.

<sup>50</sup> *Zhou li* 周禮 (*The Rites of Zhou*) (citing SKCS edn., *Zhou li zhu shu* 周禮注疏; hereafter *ZL*). Translations of office titles follow the conventions provided in Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1985), and Boltz, “*Chou li*.” Boltz notes that the section on the Winter Ministry had already been lost in the Former Han and was replaced with *Kaogong ji* (p. 25).

<sup>51</sup> *ZL*, j. 10, sect. “Diguan Situ.”

其人民之數，以佐王安擾邦國。<sup>52</sup> By possessing such plans, which denoted all territories under Heaven, he understood thoroughly the extent of the *jiu zhou* and could differentiate the well-known items produced in various terrestrial formations 以天下土地之圖，周知九州之地域廣輪之數，辨其山林川澤丘陵墳衍原隰之名物。<sup>53</sup> This knowledge of the terrain was supposed to enable the Minister to institute appropriate policies of connecting or fortifying territories based on the size of settlements and set up for these territories mounds for community altars, making them masters of the fields 而辨其邦國都鄙之數，制其畿疆而溝封之，設其社稷之壇而樹之田主。<sup>54</sup> In this sense, the *tu* 圖 entrusted to the official in question is analogous to the Western concept of “chart,” “plan,” and “scheme” – both nominal and verbal.<sup>55</sup> Explicit in the *Zhou li* description of the mission of the head of the Terrestrial Ministry was that his possessing the *tu* empowered him to regulate agricultural production and other economic activities by redistricting his administrative zones, and to enforce proper moral values by connecting certain settlements while segregating others. This assertion implies the need of rulers to make sense of territories and the requirement of governments to restructure so as to create order.

This high official appears to have worked in concert with others in the bureaucracy whose job functions specifically had to do with the *jiu zhou*. The Royal Astrologers 保章氏,<sup>56</sup> who were part of the Spring Ministry of sacrifices and rites, monitored celestial phenomena relative to terrestrial formations and interpreted them as signs that portended auspicious and disastrous events.<sup>57</sup> Surveyors 量人,<sup>58</sup> posted in the Summer Ministry for military affairs, measured sites for public works and recorded for safekeeping geographical details of states 邦國之地，與天下之涂數，書而藏之。<sup>59</sup> The Directors of Defense Works 司險<sup>60</sup> – placed in the Summer Ministry – also held the *tu* plan of the

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> The meaning of *tu* in the *Zhou li* is analogous to claiming in English that the possession of a “chart” may enable its owner to “chart” a course of action.

<sup>56</sup> The two most senior Royal Astrologers received the rank of “Ordinary Servicemen 中士,” servicemen being the lowest of three categories of officials in the service of the Zhou king and feudal lords; *ZL*, j. 17, sect. “Chunguan Zongbo.”

<sup>57</sup> *ZL*, j. 27, sect. “Chunguan Zongbo.”

<sup>58</sup> The two most senior Surveyors received the rank of “Junior Servicemen 下士,” a rank in the same category as the senior Royal Astrologers but one notch lower; *ZL*, j. 28, sect. “Xiaguan Sima.”

<sup>59</sup> *ZL*, j. 30, sect. “Xiaguan Sima.”

<sup>60</sup> The two most senior Directors of Defense Works received the rank of “Ordinary Servicemen 中士”; *ZL*, j. 28, sect. “Xiaguan Sima.”

*jiu zhou* in order to fully appreciate the presence of natural barriers and were responsible for the construction of ditches and planting of trees for additional military defense.<sup>61</sup> While these offices all dealt with terrestrial matters, they pale in comparison to the Overseers of Feudatories 職方氏 in the Summer Ministry. The four highest-ranking and senior of these Overseers received the rank of Ordinary Grand Masters 中大夫 and were supported by eight Junior Grand Masters 下大夫, sixteen Ordinary Servicemen 中士, and an additional staff of 196 junior officials.<sup>62</sup> Except for the Ministers 卿, most of whom headed the six ministries, these Ordinary Grand Masters represented the most senior bureaucrats in the Zhou government. With a total headcount of 224, this official layer was one of the most heavily staffed. Therefore, the Office of the Overseer of Feudatories stood out as an organization with one of the largest number of lower-ranking workers supporting a hierarchy comprising a very few high-ranking officials. It should come as no surprise that *Zhou li* featured thorough knowledge of the *jiu zhou* in the job description.

The list of responsibilities of the Overseers of Feudatories begins with a line that expands on the theme already conveyed in the job descriptions of the other officials who administer land and territories. “The Overseers of Feudatories,” says *Zhou li*, “manage the plan of all under Heaven in order to manage all the land under Heaven” 掌天下之圖，以掌天下之地。<sup>63</sup> Having such a plan also enables them to identify states, cities, out-of-the-way places, and people belonging to various uncivilized tribes. Furthermore, included in the plan is essential information on grains and domesticated animals and a thorough explanation of the strengths and weaknesses of the territories. Equipped thus, the Office of the Overseer of Feudatories can differentiate the states within the *jiu zhou*, receive tribute from them and create networks for economic advantages.<sup>64</sup> Underlying the task of these Overseers is the assumption that geographic knowledge and the ability to reconfigure the landscape held the key to economic and political power.

Having established the details of and the rationale for the responsibilities of the Overseers of Feudatories, the text proceeds with an analysis of the *jiu zhou* territories (table 3). The list of the nine territories is similar to that in “Yu gong,” except for the omission of Xuzhou

<sup>61</sup> *ZL*, j. 30, sect. “Xiaguan Sima.”

<sup>62</sup> *ZL*, j. 28, sect. “Xiaguan Sima.”

<sup>63</sup> *ZL*, j. 33, sect. “Xiaguan Sima.”

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

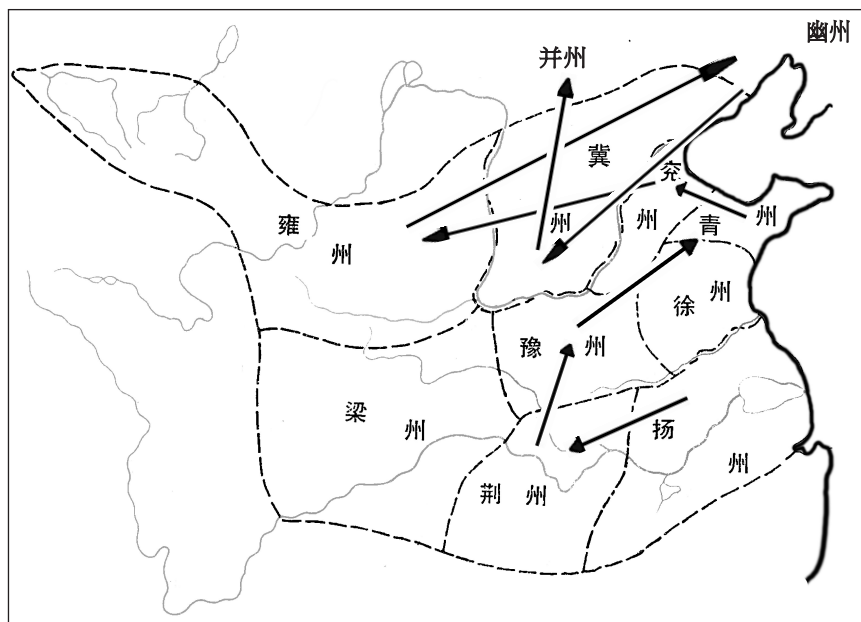
and Liangzhou and the inclusion of Youzhou and Bingzhou. More notable is the difference in the *Zhou li*'s format for giving details of the *jiu zhou*. For the locations of the territories, *Zhou li* does not adopt the "Yu gong" approach of describing borders with references to elevated terrains and bodies of water; instead, *Zhou li* employs cardinal directions. Topographical formations that either formed borders of territories or represented the results of Yu's labors in the text of "Yu gong" are instead objects of classification in *Zhou li*. The classifying of mountains, rivers and bodies of water into the nine territories falls under the purview of the political center, whose prerogative is to name them and slot them into administrative zones. Although such zones still must conform to certain physiographical contours, the state has in this scheme come to enjoy some latitude in drawing jurisdictional boundaries on the landscape. This assertion of the state's right to redistrict the territories also alleviates the burden of analyzing the quality of the fields that "Yu gong" sees as a critical factor in governance. Instead, the *Zhou li*'s focus has shifted to population – the male/female ratio for each of the nine territories. Although the text offers no explanation for the use of these data, one can conjecture that division of labor by gender had become an established norm and the needs of male soldiers probably rose in importance with the incessant battles of the Warring States era. Finally, similarly to "Yu gong," *Zhou li* analyzes the local products of the territories. However, *Zhou li*'s distinct categorization of local products, animal husbandry, and grains conveys a sense of heightened awareness of specialized economic activities.

Juxtaposed against this human invention of an orderly administrative scheme was the random sequence in which *Zhou li* describes the nine territories (figure 3, below). The text begins with Yangzhou in the southeastern corner, loops south to Jingzhou, advances to the center territory of Yuzhou, east to Qingzhou, approaches the center around Yanzhou, goes west toward Yongzhou, then the extreme northeast of Youzhou; it returns to the center at Jizhou and finally ends in the northern territory of Bingzhou. The path crisscrosses the map and goes nonconsecutively around the center three times. The lack of an organized pattern contrasts with the spiral peregrination around a pivot suggested in the "Yu gong" text; it indicates in some sense that there was not a notion of an inherently orderly landscape. For the writer of the *Zhou li* text, the terrain was disorderly. It was rendered manageable only through a vision of a methodical arrangement of space. This arrangement, which cataloged each province according to categories deemed significant (table 3), reduced the essence of each province into

sections of almost uniform length, ranging from 44 characters for Ji-zhou to 48 characters for Bingzhou.

Just as in “Yu gong,” *Zhou li* presents several discourses within the same text. From the description of the *jiu zhou*, *Zhou li* proceeds to a notion of different classes of people being fit into cosmological spaces represented by concentric squares.<sup>65</sup> (See figure 4.) The two texts differ in their specific arrangements (for comparison, refer again to figure 2). “Yu gong” specifies five domains (*wu fu* 五服) versus nine (*jiu fu* 九服) for *Zhou li*. The former aggregates the Domain of the Imperial inside the innermost 500 *li*; *Zhou li*, however, earmarks the first 1,000 square *li* for the royal territories under the title (“*wang ji* 王畿”), which does not count towards the nine domains and calls for another 500 *li* of the Domain of the Sovereign 甸服 two zones out, thereby circumscribing the

*Figure 3. Zhou li: Disorderly Sequence*



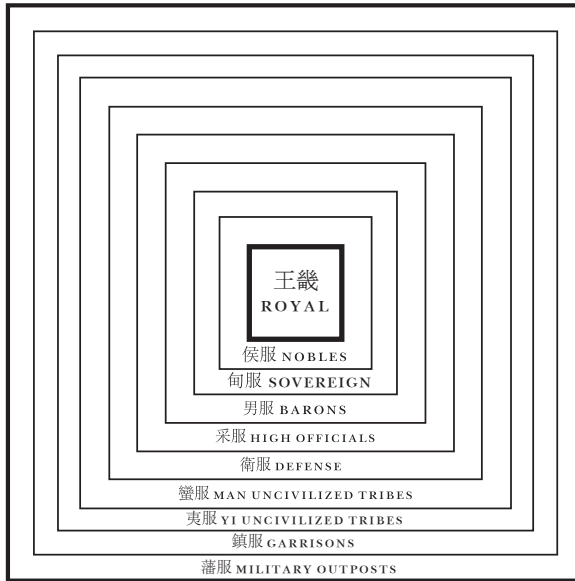
Source: Adapted from Oxenham, *Historical Atlas of the Chinese Empire*, p. 3; notation of path of narration mine.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.



Domain of the Nobles 侯服 between two zones under the direct control of the sovereign. In *Zhou li*'s third and fourth zones are two additional domains for the nobles (for the barons and high officials respectively; 男服, 采服), while in "Yu gong" there is a single Domain of the Nobles. At the next level, what "Yu gong" calls the Peace-securing Domain becomes the Domain of Defense 衛服 in *Zhou li*. The two outermost domains in "Yu gong" designated for the uncivilized tribes and banished criminals expands into an elaborate system of four zones in *Zhou li*, which stations garrison troops 鎮服 and military outposts 藩服 in the outer border zones; between them and the aforementioned Domain of Defense, *Zhou li* confines the uncivilized people 蠻服, 夷服.

Figure 4. *Zhou li: The Nine Domains*



This description of the zones in *Zhou li*, as in the case of "Yu gong," is not meant to represent the true dimensions of the territories. After all, the outlines of the *jiu zhou* could not have swelled to such an extent to account for the literal expansion from 2,500 *li* (five zones times 500 *li*) in "Yu gong" to the 5,500 *li* (nine zones times 500 *li* plus the 1,000 *li* of royal territories) in *Zhou li*. However, the philosophical difference was evident: "Yu gong" aims at providing a systematic, orderly framework of spatial organization while *Zhou li* spells out a system of confinement

in which potentially disturbing elements are segregated and bounded on both sides by relatively more trustworthy subjects.<sup>66</sup>

The nobles were to be enfeoffed in zones of different sizes on the basis of, and as an indication of, their statuses. The sovereign installed them in offices based on their abilities and formulated for them the appropriate tribute based on the productive resources they possessed 制其職, 各以其所能, 制其貢, 各以其所有. With the sovereign in firm control of territorial distribution and assignment of responsibilities, no one could escape the constant imperial surveillance and “no one dared show any disrespect for the rules 無敢不敬戒.”<sup>67</sup>

Variations between the presentation of the *jiu zhou* in “Yu gong” and *Zhou li* highlight philosophical differences in the conception of space. In *Zhou li*, gone are the attempts to justify political authority with Yu’s legendary labors. *Zhou li* offers no justification for the domination of the state over the territories to which it lays claim. The absence of any justification, coupled with a heavier emphasis on defense, indicates that *Zhou li* implies an assertion of unified control over the territories simply because it could, thanks to the state’s coercive power. Both “Yu gong” and *Zhou li* believe that power over terrestrial formation promised political power; however, while “Yu gong” believes the territories to be the finished work of Yu the Great that later rulers stood to inherit, *Zhou li* portrays the undulating landscape and meandering waterways as materials with which the state can modify physically and organize administratively on a continuous basis to gain for itself strategic military advantage. *Zhou li* does not set out to identify the pattern underlying a naturally structured cosmos; instead it sought to impose a rigorous system of administration and defense upon disorderly space. It does not attempt to arrange the state along any lines of natural partition; it modifies the configuration of space to fit the purpose of the government.

### LÜSHI CHUNQIU

The last passage I shall examine for spatial conceptions is the chapter named “You shi” 有始 (“The Beginning”) in the Qin-era *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (*Springs and Autumns of Lü Buwei*). Unlike the other early Chinese texts examined thus far, this one can be dated more precisely to around 239 BC, shortly before the Qin’s inauguration of an empire in

<sup>66</sup> My interpretation of the Nine Domains passage differs from Gu Jiegang’s 顧頡剛, who read it as an overt attempt to diverge from the Five Domains of “Yu gong” but failed to follow the systematic layout of spheres of decreasing political desirability provided in “Yu gong” (“Du Zhou guan zhi fang,” p. 329).

<sup>67</sup> *ZL*, j. 33, “Xiaguan Sima.”

221 BC. For the present purposes it is important, for cross-comparison, that the work was from roughly the same period as *Zhouli*, which recent scholarship has placed to about the time of the Qin.<sup>68</sup> Purporting to be an all-encompassing canon that encapsulates the whole of political, technical-managerial, and natural knowledge, the chapter in question elaborates, in the form of a survey (the word used is *lan* 覽), the natural patterns between Heaven and Earth.<sup>69</sup>

“You shi” begins with the statement, “When Heaven and Earth first began, Heaven rarefied, taking form, Earth coagulated, taking shape. The harmonious union of Heaven and Earth is the grand principle of creation 天地有始，天微以成，地塞以形，天地合和，生之大經也。”<sup>70</sup> Clearly, *Lüshi chungiu* engages in metaphysical concepts, but this particular, succinct, introduction also foreshadows the matter-of-fact enumerations and descriptions that follow. “Heaven has nine fields and Earth has nine territories. On dry land there are nine mountains and in the mountains the nine passes. In the wetlands, there are the nine marshes. Of winds [there is one for each of] the eight directions. Of waters, there are the six rivers 天有九野，地有九州，土有九山，山有九塞，澤有九藪，風有八等，水有六川。”<sup>71</sup> Terrestrial formations were categories of systematic correspondence, which, as mystical as they were, formed a logical, coherent picture of the universe.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> For discussions of the dating, see Schaberg, “*Zhouli* as Constitutional Text,” pp. 33–63, and Martin Kern, “Offices of Writing and Reading in the *Rituals of Zhou*,” in Elman and Kern, eds., *Statecraft and Classical Learning*, pp. 64–93. “You shi” was one of the three types, or genres, of the chapters contained in *Lü shi chun qiu*; its name means “panoramic surveys.”

<sup>69</sup> Besides “survey” (see preceding n.), there were two other genres in *Lü shi chun qiu*; each of the eight *juan* 卷 inside the *lan* category consists of eight *pian* 篇, which suggests the 8 trigrams and 4 unmixed hexagrams of the *Book of Change*. The only exception was that one *pian* is missing in this first *juan*, the “You shi.” The other two categories are the 2-*juan* “*ji* 紀 (ordering),” each comprising five *pian* for a total of 60 to correspond to the sexagenary cycle; and the 6-*juan* “*lun* 論 (discourses)” of six *pian* each (numerological significance unknown). The grand total of 160 *pian* (8x8 + 2x5 + 6x6) is thought to have conveyed a sense of tightly defined structure, appropriate to a comprehensive canon; see Michael Carson and Michael Loewe, “*Lü shih ch’un ch’iu* 呂氏春秋,” in Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts*, p. 325, and Scott Cook, “The *Lüshi chungiu* and the Resolution of Philosophical Dissonance,” *HJAS* 62.2 (December 2002), p. 313.

<sup>70</sup> *Lü shi chun qiu* 呂氏春秋 (*Springs and Autumns of Lu Buwei*) (citing SBCK edn.; hereafter, *LSCQ*), j. 2, sect. “You shi.” Translations of passages from “You shi” are based on those of John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei, Lü shi chun qiu: A Complete Translation and Study* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 2000), with modifications. Knoblock and Riegel noted that this section of *LSCQ*, which expounds patterns of Heaven and Earth, seems to have been influenced by Zou Yan and his followers (p. 277).

<sup>71</sup> *LSCQ*, j. 2, sect. “You shi.”

<sup>72</sup> *LSCQ* seems not to have considered the integration of local cosmographies into a scheme of unified order as much a problematic issue as did the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*. On how the latter handled this, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann’s “Conception of Terrestrial Organization in *Shan hai jing*,” p. 89.

As for the nine territories of which the Earth was composed, “You shi” offers a much condensed version of descriptions compared to what we have seen thus far in “Yu gong” and *Zhou li*. For each of the nine territories, the text indicates its location either by boundaries of rivers or a simple directional pointer (table 4). These markers, far from precise, are augmented by a reference to a state. In other words, “You shi” does not define each territory by attempting to delineate its borders but by identifying it with the jurisdiction of the state that dominated, or once dominated, the area. Therefore, the overarching political entity seen potentially as uniting all these lands would assert ownership over states because the supreme ruler was thought of as lord of all.

The empire that “You shi” envisions, as does *Lüshi chungiu*, was to be all-encompassing. The supreme ruler was to set his sight not on the subjugation of individuals but on the conquest of states. *Lüshi chungiu* does not feel the need to justify or assess levies or tribute from the various regions in the manner of the “Yu gong,” or to reorganize the landscape for administrative purposes in the style of *Zhou li*. Although the chapter names mountains, mountain passes, marshes, winds, and rivers, it sets out only to catalog the structures and patterns of them, but not account for their origins. Just as the totalistic approach of *Lüshi chungiu* purports to be all-encompassing knowledge that permits the text to command authority and embody wisdom, a plan to unify the Chinese world would create a mammoth political entity, and the power generated in this totalizing process would transcend all natural boundaries and envelop all cosmological formations. While “Yu gong” and *Zhou li* take different approaches to understanding the *jiu zhou* in the way they elaborate details of the land, the people and habitats, the “You shi” chapter of *Lüshi chungiu* tackles a vast world of details, which are then united to form an integral whole.

## CONCLUSION

Heaven and Earth posed interesting problems to a Chinese civilization that was blossoming in many ways during the Warring States period. Astronomic and calendric matters, the purview of all sorts of experts, aroused the curiosity of rulers, who in various ways used this discourse to legitimize power; important to this was the ability to systematize astrological signs, which penetrated the all parts of the Heavens and Earth. But this also presented a dilemma. The immensity of the Earth and the wrath it showed through natural disaster, such as floods, inspired awe, and more than that, the ability of human beings to miti-

gate such dire problems even within their own limited spaces imbued them with a sense of power. It was between this dominating sense of power over Earth and the mystical view of Earth, which engendered at once trepidation and wonder, that political thinkers during the Warring States period construed visions of a unified empire.

This essay at hand selected four early Chinese treatises on spatial conceptions; by limiting ourselves thus, we could at the very least arrive to a bounded and limited understanding of contesting notions of space in early China – contesting in the sense of philosophical interplay and differentiation. These notions included the arcane assertion of *Xici zhuan*, which interpreted terrestrial formations as an element in the knowable patterns of the cosmos (in their most metaphysically complete form). The *Book of Documents* chapter “Yu gong” rationalized the political order it envisions by emphasizing the accomplishments of a specific culture-hero, the legendary Yu, who transformed the landscape and its inhabitants. We saw that *Zhou li* underscored the needs to restructure continuously the hostile landscape and impose a bureaucracy and defense mechanism on the chaotic nature of this space; and, finally, the compendious and universalistic *Lüshi chungiu* looked upon the territories as physical constituents to aid its particular totalizing project to unify the Chinese world.

Early scholarship on these texts scrutinized information in them for factual accuracy according to modern understandings of actual topography and cartography. More recent work has stressed the futility in attempts to recapture the texts’ meanings without an understanding of the cosmological tradition that informed the relevant concepts of space.<sup>73</sup> This article has demonstrated that the representation of space in these treatises, though conceptual in schematic form, also included justification of political authority and details on economic resources that were of material interest to rulers. From that standpoint, although these geographic writings represented a kind of knowledge different from modern geography, they constituted just as much a breakthrough in the conceptualization of space as did the construct of the “geo-body” as an idea of space and sovereignty, which made claims to territories, people and culture that Thongchai Winichakul has powerfully described in *Siam Remapped*.<sup>74</sup> No description of geographical formation

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., and idem, “Mapping a ‘Spiritual’ Landscape.”

<sup>74</sup> Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 1994).

is exempt from cultural inflection, nor is any terrestrial treatise free of power implications.

The tumultuous Warring States era entailed continuous series of territorial fights. Battles over territories were accompanied by competition among political thinkers advocating various designs for more efficacious administrations. This process inspired different ways of perceiving space and territory which varied from the mystical notion of *di* 地 as topographical configurations that hold the key to unlocking an inherent pattern of the cosmos, to *di* as territories forming a single complex together with the machinery of the state. Written for an elite readership, the four texts examined in this article constituted the agendas that geopolitical thinkers offered in the midst of a reshaping of the political order of the Warring States era.

#### *LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS*

<i>LSCQ</i>	<i>Lü shi chun qiu</i> 呂氏春秋
<i>SS</i>	<i>Shang shu zheng yi</i> 尚書正義
<i>ZL</i>	<i>Zhou li zhu shu</i> 周禮注疏
<i>ZY</i>	<i>Zhou yi ji zhu</i> 周易集註

Table 1. “Yu gong”: Area Definitions and Yu’s Works

PROV- INCE	AREA	PEOPLE	WORKS	WATERWAYS
Ji 冀州		The Dao Yi-barbarians [had] skin garments. 島夷皮服	Having done the work at Hukuo, he brought order to Liang [mountain] area; he repaired works in Taiyuan and went south to Mt. Yue; was successful at Tanhuai and crossed the Heng’s streams. 既載壺口, 治梁及岐. 既修太原, 至于岳陽; 覃怀底績, 至于衡漳 The [waters of the] Heng and Wei were properly channeled; Dalu brought into cultivation. 恒·衛既從, 大陸既作.	Keeping close on the right the rocks of Jie, they entered the He. 夾右碣石入于河
Yan 兗州	Between the Ji and the He. 濟河惟兗州	And then [the people] came down from the heights, and occupied the grounds [below]. 是降丘宅土	The nine branches of He River were made to keep their proper channels. Leixia was made a marsh, in which [the waters of] the Yong and the Ju were united. 九河既道, 雷夏既澤, 濞·沮會同. The mulberry grounds have been made fit for silkworms. 桑土既蚕.	They floated along the Ji and Ta, and so reached the He. 浮于濟·漯, 達于河
Qing 青州	Between the sea and [Mount] Dai [Tai-shan]. 海岱惟青州	The Cai Yi-barbarians were herders. 萊夷作牧	Having defined [the territory of] Yuyi, he made the Wei and Zi [rivers] keep their [old] channels. 嵎夷既略, 濞·淄其道.	They floated along the Wen, and reached the Qi. 浮于汶, 達于濟
Xu 徐州	Between the sea, mount Dai, and the Huai. 海·岱及淮惟徐州	The Yi-barbarians along the Huai [brought] oyster-pearls and fishes. 淮夷蠙珠暨魚	The Huai and the Yi [rivers] were regulated. The [hills] Meng and Yu were made fit for cultivation. [The waters of] Daiye were confined [so as to form a marsh]; and [the tract of] Dongyuan was successfully brought under management. 淮·沂其乂, 蒙·羽其藝, 大野既豬, 東原底平.	They floated along the Huai and the Si, reaching the He. 浮于淮·泗, 達于河



PROV- INCE	AREA	PEOPLE	WORKS	WATERWAYS
Yang 揚州	Between the Huai and the sea. 淮海惟揚州	The Niao Yi- barbarians [had] bast garments. 鳥夷卉服	The [lake of] Pengli having been confined to its proper limits, the sun- birds [wild geese] had places to settle on. The three Jiang [large rivers] had been led to enter the sea, and it became pos- sible to still the marsh of Zhen. 彭蠡既豬, 陽鳥攸 居. 三江既入, 震澤底定.	They followed the course of the Jiang and the sea, reaching the Huai and the Si. 沿于江、海, 達于 淮、泗
Jing 荊州	Between [Mt.] Jing and the south of [Mt.] Heng. 荆及衡陽惟 荊州		The Jiang and the Han pursued their [common] course to the sea, as if they were hastening to court. The nine Jiang were brought into com- plete order. The Tuo and Qian [streams] were con- ducted to their proper channels. The land in [the marshes of] Yun and Meng was made capable of cultivation. 江、漢朝宗 于海, 九江孔殷, 沱、潛既 道, 雲土、夢作乂.	They floated down the Jiang, the Tuo, the Qian, and the Han, and crossed [the country] to the Luo, whence they reached the most southern part of the He. 浮于江、沱、 潛、漢, 逾于洛, 至于南河
Yu 豫州	Between the [Mt.] Jing and the He. 荊 河惟豫州		The Yi, the Luo, the Chan, and the Jian had been conducted to the He. The [marsh of] Yingbo was confined within its proper limits. The [waters of that of] He were led to [the marsh of] Mengzhu. 伊、洛、瀍、澗既入于河, 滎 波既豬. 導荷澤, 被孟豬.	They floated along the Luo, and so reached the He. 浮于洛, 達于河

PROV- INCE	AREA	PEOPLE	WORKS	WATERWAYS
Liang 梁州	Between the south of [Mount] Hua and the Black- water. 華陽、黑水 惟梁州	The Yi-bar- barians along the He were successfully regulated. 和夷底績	The [hills] Min and Bo had been made capable of cultivation. The Tuo and Qian streams had been conducted to their proper channels. 岷、蟠 既藝，沱、潛既道。 Sacrifices were offered to [the hills] Cai and Meng on the regulation [of the country about them]. 蔡、蒙旅平	From [the hill of] Xiqing they came by the course of the Huan; floated along the Qian, and then crossed [the country] to the Mian; passed to the Wei, and [finally] ferried across the He. 西 傾因桓是來，浮于 潛，逾于沔，入于 渭，亂于河。
Yong 雍州	Between the Black- water and western He. 黑水、西河 惟雍州	The Rong-bar- barians of the West came to [submit to Yu's] arrangements. 西戎即敘	The weak-water had been conducted west- wards. The Jing was led to mingle its waters with those of the Wei. The Qi and the Ju were next led in a similar way [to the Wei], and the waters of the Feng found the same receptacle. 弱水既西，涇 屬渭汭，漆沮既從，澧水 攸同。 [The mountains] Jing and Qi had been sacrificed to. [Those of] Zhongnan and Dunwu [were also regulated], and [all the way] on to Niaoshu. The plains and swamps were put in order all the way to [the marsh of] Zhuye. [The country of] Sanwei had been made habit- able, and the [affairs of the] people of Sanmiao had been greatly ar- ranged. 荆、岐既旅，終 南、惇物，至于鳥鼠。原隰 底績，至于豬野。三危既宅， 三苗丕敘。	Past Jishi they floated on to Longmen on the western He. They then met on the north of the Wei [with the tribute-bear- ers from other quarters]. 浮于積 石，至于龍門、西 河，會于渭汭

Table 2. “Yu gong”: Soil, Levy, and Tribute

PROV- INCE	SOIL 土	LEVY GRADES 賦	FIELD GRADES 田	TRIBUTE 貢	BASKETS (GOODS) 篚
Ji 冀州	whitish and mellow 白壤	上上錯 (1st) upper-top grade, but mixed with lower-grade aspects	中 (5th) mid- middle grade		
Yan 兗州	blackish and rich 黑墳  grass luxuri- ant; trees tall and strong. 草繇/木條	(9th) fixed at cor- rect amount; but not required, as from the other provinces, until after cultivated for 13 years 賦貞, 作十有 三載乃同	中 (6th) lower- middle	varnish and silk 漆絲	ornamen- tal fabrics 織文
Qing 青州	whitish and rich; 白墳 along the seashore were wide tracts of salt land. 海濱廣斥	中上 (4th) upper-middle	上下 (3d) lower- top	salt, fine grass-cloth, products of the sea of various kinds; also silk, hemp, lead/tin, pine trees, and curious stones from the valleys of Dai [Taishan]. 鹽絺, 海物惟錯; 岱畎 絲、枲、鉛、松、怪石	silk from mountain mulberry tree 縑絲
Xu 徐州	red, clayish, and rich; 赤埴墳  grass and trees grew and ap- peared everywhere. 草木漸包	中中 (5th) mid-middle	上中 (2d) mid-top	earth of five colors, variegated pheasants from valley of [Mt.] Yu, solitary <i>tong</i> trees from so. of [Mt.] Yi, and sounding-stones [seeming to] float on [banks of] the Si R. 土五色, 羽畎夏翟, 嶧陽 孤桐, 泗濱浮磬	deep azure and other silk fabrics, checked and pure white 玄織、縞
Yang 揚州	moist, mire; 涂泥 bamboos small and large, spread about; grass grew thin and long, trees rose high. 草夭/木喬; 篠簜既敷	下上, 上錯 (7th) upper-bottom, mixed with upper-grade aspects	下 (9th) lower- bottom	gold, silver, copper; yao and kun stones; bamboos small and large; [elephant] tusk, hides, feathers, hair [yak tails], timber. 金 三品, 璫, 琨玈、簞、 齒、革、羽、毛惟木 bundles of tangerines and pomelos— rendered when specially required. 包 桔柚, 錫貢	silks woven in shell- patterns 織貝

PROV- INCE	SOIL 土	LEVY GRADES 賦	FIELD GRADES 田	TRIBUTE 貢	BASKETS (GOODS) 筐
Jing 荊州	mire 涂泥	上下 (3d) lower-top	下中 (8th) mid- bottom	feathers, hair, [elephant] tusk, and hides; gold, silver, and copper; <i>chun</i> trees, wood for bows, cedars, and cypresses; grindstones, whetstones, flint stones for arrow-heads, and cinnabar; <i>jun</i> and <i>lu</i> bamboos, with <i>ku</i> tree, [all good for arrows]—of which Three Regions able to contribute best specimens. Three-ribbed-rush sent in bundles, put into cases. 羽、毛、齒、革惟金三品, 桼、干、栝、柏、礪、砥、磬、丹惟箇簾、梮, 三邦底貢厥名. 包匭菁茅  From Nine Jiang [area], great tortoise presented when specially required. 九江納錫大龜	silk fabrics, azure and deep purple, with strings of pearls not quite round 玄纁璣組
Yu 豫州	loose; 壤 in the lower parts it was rich and dark. 下土墳壚	錯上中 (2d) mid-top, mixed with very highest aspects	中上 (4th) upper-middle	varnish, hemp, fine cloth of dolichos fiber, and the ramie; 漆、枲、絺、紵 stones for polishing sounding-stones rendered when required. 錫貢磬錯	checked silks, fine floss silk 織、纊
Liang 梁州	greenish and black 青黎	下中三錯 (8th) mid-bottom, mixed with aspects of grades above and below.	下上 (7th) upper-bottom	best gold, iron, silver, steel, flint stones to make arrowheads, and sounding-stones; skins of bears, foxes, and jackals, and [nets] woven of their hair. 珍、鐵、銀、鏤、磬磬、熊、羆、狐、狸、織皮	
Yong 雍州	yellow and mellow 黃壤	中下 (6th) lower-middle	上上 (1st) upper-top	<i>qiu</i> jade and <i>lin</i> , and [stones called] <i>langgan</i> . 球、琳、琅玕  Hair-cloth and skins [brought from] Kun-lun, Xizhi, and Qusou. 織皮昆侖、析支、渠搜	

Table 3. Zhou li: *Analysis of the jiu zhou*

	DIREC- TION/ LOCATION	MOUNT 山鎮	POND 澤藪	RIVER 川	LAKE 浸/浸	FAVORS PRODUCTION OF 利	SEX RATIO 民 (MALE: FEMALE)	ANIMALS 畜 SUITABLE FOR HUSBANDRY	GRAINS 穀 SUITABLE TO CULTIVATE
Yang 揚州	Southeast 東南	Huiji 會稽	Juqu 具區	Three <i>jiang</i> 三江	Five <i>hu</i> 五湖	Gold, tin, bam- boo arrows 金錫竹箭	2:5 二男五女	Birds and beasts 鳥獸	Rice 稻
Jing 荊州	South 正南	Heng 衡山	Yunneng 雲瞢	Jiang, Han 江漢	Ying, Zhan 潁 湛	Cinnabar, sil- ver, [elephants'] tusks, hides 丹 銀齒革	1:2 一男二女	Birds and beasts 鳥獸	Rice 稻
Yu 豫州	South of the river 河南	Hua 華山	Putian 圃田	Ying, Luo 滎雒	Bo, Zha 波, 澶	Woods, varnish, silk, hemp 林漆絲枲	2:3 二男三女	Six domesticated animals 六擾 <sup>A</sup>	Five grains 五種
Qing 青州	East 正東	Yi 沂山	Wangzhu 望諸	Huai, Si 淮泗	Yi, Shu 沂沭	Cattail, fish 蒲魚	2:2 二男二女	Chickens and dogs 雞狗	Rice, wheat 稻麥
Yan 兗州	East of the river 河東	Dai 岱山	Daive 大野	He, Ji 河汾	Lu, Wei 盧維	Cattail, fish 蒲魚	2:3 二男三女	Six domesticated animals 六擾 <sup>A</sup>	Four grains 四種
Yong 雍州	West 正西	Yue 嶽山	Xianpu 弦蒲	Jing, Rui 涇汭	Wei, Luo 渭洛	Jade, other pre- cious stones 石	3:2 三男二女	Oxen, horses 牛馬	Millet 黍稷
You 幽州	Northeast 東北	Yiwuli 醫無閭	Xiyang 奚養	He, Ji 河汾	Zi, Shi 翟時	Fish, salt 魚鹽	1:3 一男三女	Four domesticated animals 四擾 <sup>B</sup>	Three grains 三種
Ji 冀州	Bordered by the river 河內	Huo 霍山	Yangyu 楊紆	Zhang 漳	Fen, Lu 汾潞	Pine, cypress 松柏	5:3 五男三女	Oxen and horse 牛羊	Millet 黍稷
Bing 并州	North 正北	Heng 恒山	Zhaoyuqi 昭餘祁	Hui, Chi, Ou, Yi 潞池溫夷	Lai, Yi 涑易	Textile 布帛	2:3 二男三女	Five domesticated animals 五擾 <sup>C</sup>	Five Grains 五種

Notes: <sup>A</sup> Horses, oxen, sheep, pigs, dogs, chickens. <sup>B</sup> Horses, oxen, sheep, pigs. <sup>C</sup> Horses, oxen, sheep, pigs, dogs.

*Table 4. Lüshi chunqiu: Description of the jiu zhou*

PROVINCE	LOCATION	STATE
Yu 豫州	Between [the Yellow River] River and the Han River 河、漢之間	Zhou 周
Ji 冀州	Between the two [parts of the Yellow] River 兩河之間	Jin 晉
Yan 兗州	Between [the Yellow] River and the Ji [River] 河、濟之間	Wei 衛
Qing 青州	East 東方	Qi 齊
Xu 徐州	Upper reaches of the Si [River] 泗上	Lu 魯
Yang 揚州	Southeast 東南	Yue 越
Jing 荊州	South 南方	Chu 楚
Yong 雍州	West 西方	Qin 秦
You 幽州	North 北方	Yan 燕