

“YUEWANG GOUJIAN SHIJIA”:  
AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

by  
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## ABSTRACT

“Yuewang Goujian shijia,” the forty-first chapter of the *Shiji*, is one of the most important sources for the history of the ancient state of Yue. However, this chapter has not received serious scholarly examination in the West. Unlike those chapters of the *Shiji* which have been translated in the *Shiji* translation project headed by William Nienhauser, “Yuewang Goujian shijia” has not yet been translated into English. This thesis provides an annotated translation of the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.” In addition, it has been argued that the history of the Spring and Autumn period in the *Shiji* is a compilation of earlier sources. The introduction to the translation will specifically look at the relationship of the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” to one of its proposed sources, the “Yueyu xia,” which is the twenty-first chapter of the *Guoyu*. In comparing these two texts, it will be shown that dependence cannot be definitely demonstrated.

## CHAPTER I: “YUEWANG GOUJIAN SHIJIA” AND “YUEYU XIA”

### A. “Yuewang Goujian shijia”: Introduction

“Yuewang Goujian shijia” 越王句踐世家<sup>1</sup> is the forty-first chapter of the *Shiji* 史記 and the eleventh chapter in the section on the *shijia* 世家 or “Hereditary Houses.” Édouard Chavannes noted that the *shijia* section of the *Shiji* may be divided into four parts,<sup>2</sup> of which the first part contains twelve chapters [31-42], each narrating the history of one of a dozen powerful states during the Spring and Autumn period (722 – 468 BCE).<sup>3</sup> The “Yuewang Goujian shijia,” which tells the history of the state of Yue 越, a state that rose to prominence during the late Spring and Autumn period, seems to neatly fall into this first section of these *shijia* chapters.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter, which is one of the most important sources for the history of the ancient state of Yue, has not received serious scholarly examination in the West. Unlike those chapters of the *Shiji* concerned with the history of Yue’s great rival, the state of Wu 吳, such as “Wu Taibo shijia” 吳太伯世家<sup>5</sup> and “Wu Zixu liezhuan” 伍子胥列傳,<sup>6</sup> which have been translated in the *Shiji* translation project headed by William Nienhauser,<sup>7</sup> “Yuewang Goujian shijia” has not yet been translated into English. In order to amend this lacuna, this thesis provides an annotated translation of the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.” As these annotations will show, many of the speeches and anecdotes in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” have parallels in other early texts, which treat the same historical events. It has been argued that the history of the Spring and Autumn period in the *Shiji* is a compilation of earlier sources, and various early texts have been proposed as being sources for the *Shiji*. The short introduction to the translation will specifically look at the relationship of the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” to one of its proposed sources, the

“Yueyu xia,” 越語下 which is the twenty-first chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語.<sup>8</sup> In comparing these two texts, it will be shown that dependence cannot be definitely demonstrated. First, there is a lack of significant verbal parallels in those passages from the “Yueyu xia,” that have been proposed as being sources for their counterparts in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.”<sup>9</sup> Second, historical details in those passages of the “Yueyu xia” are at variance with their counterparts in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.”

Before discussing these parallel passages, previous research into the relationship of the “Yueyu xia” to the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” will be examined in the following section.

## B. Previous research into the *Guoyu* as a source for the *Shiji*

Throughout the *Shiji* 史記, Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145 - ca. 86 BCE) candidly talks to the reader, adding comments at the end of each chapter, and occasionally revealing his struggle with finding a reliable method for examining his sources and evaluating the evidence.<sup>10</sup>

余嘗西至空桐，北過涿鹿，東漸於海，南浮江淮矣，至長老皆各往往稱黃帝、堯、舜之處，風教固殊焉，總之不離古文者近是。予觀《春秋》、《國語》，其發明五帝德、帝系姓章矣

I once traveled west to [Mt.] Kongtong 空桐; in the north I passed by [Mt.] Zhuolu 涿鹿; to the east I drifted along the coast, and in the south I floated on the Yangtze 江 and Huai 淮 rivers. Wherever I arrived, village elders all pointed out in the distance, calling [them] the places of the Yellow Emperor 黃帝, Yao 堯 and Shun 舜,<sup>11</sup> each of their customs and traditions were certainly different from each other. To sum up, those [which were] not far away from the ancient-text versions were close to it [what must have been plausible]. I have examined the *Chunqiu* 春秋 and *Guoyu*, which elucidate the *Wudi de* 五帝德 and the *Dixixing* 帝系姓.<sup>12</sup>

From the above quote, we can see that according to the *Shiji*, besides oral histories, two texts called the *Chunqiu*, also called the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and the *Guoyu* were considered authoritative sources in compiling the *Shiji*. Nienhauser, discussing sources for the *Shiji*, stated that “The *Chunqiu* and its commercial tradition – written and oral – made up only a

small percentage of the total number of sources. Yet for many of the *benji*, *nianbiao*, *shijia*, and *liezhuan* this text and its commentaries were primary sources.”<sup>13</sup> This commercial tradition includes The *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and the *Guoyu*. Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎, in his investigation of sources for the *Shiji*, included the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* as belonging to the *Chunqiu*.<sup>14</sup> Although it is presently impossible to know with any certainty what the *Zuozhuan* or *Guoyu* looked like in the Han dynasty, and whether they are the same as the extant versions today, scholars still have argued that the *Shiji* is dependent on the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* for its history of the Spring and Autumn period.<sup>15</sup> It has been shown that in the *Shiji*, events in one chapter are at variance with accounts treating the same events in another chapter.<sup>16</sup> Because of this discord, it has been proposed by scholars that the *Shiji* is a compilation of historical narratives, which were collected together, often unaltered from the earlier sources, and that Sima Qian, because of the overwhelming amount of material, did not have enough time to polish his work and work out the problems of these discrepancies.<sup>17</sup> Since much of the *Shiji* has been considered a compilation, scholars have looked at the structure of the *Shiji* and passages with parallels in other sources in order to investigate how the *Shiji* was compiled.<sup>18</sup> Bernard Karlgren, using linguistic criteria, divided the *Shiji* into two parts, which he called “independent chapters” and “dependent chapters.”<sup>19</sup> The “independent chapters” dealt with Han times, and were considered by Karlgren to have been written by Sima Qian himself, while the “dependent chapters” which dealt with pre-Han history, were considered by Karlgren to be based on earlier texts such as *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*. Stephen Durrant, advocating for Karlgren’s methods, says, “Karlrgren compared several *Tso chuan* and *Shih chi* narratives of the same historical events and proved that the latter frequently makes use of the former, often paraphrasing its ‘terse and difficult’ language.”<sup>20</sup> Looking at possible sources, which the *Shiji* may have used for the

Eastern Zhou, Durrant states, “much of his [Sima Qian’s] history of the Spring and Autumn period is a somewhat free translation from the *Zuozhuan* into the language of his own time.”<sup>21</sup>

In addition, Mark Edward Lewis stated, “Sima Qian also borrowed much material from the *Zuo Zhuan*, although he rewrote its archaic language.”<sup>22</sup>

Examining the history of the states of Wu 吳 and Yue 越 as presented in the *Shiji*, a much more complicated picture emerges. Although there is some overlap in the events described in the *Zuozhuan* and the *Shiji* for the history of the kingdom of Yue during the Spring and Autumn period, the discord between events in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” and versions of the same events in the *Zuozhuan* suggests the possibility that the *Zuozhuan*, which may have been a source for other parts dealing with the history of the Spring and Autumn period in the *Shiji*, was not a source for the history of Yue. In addition, Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, examining the *Zuozhuan*, was bothered by the paucity of events about the state of Yue, and conjectured that the author must have lived far from Yue.<sup>23</sup> The complete omission of Fan Li 范蠡 (fl. early fifth century BCE), one of the most important characters in the *Shiji* stories of Wu and Yue, was even more vexing for Yang Bojun, who wrote, “Even more [confusing], why is there not even one word mentioning Grand Master Zhong (Wen Zhong) or Fan Li?” (更為何連大夫種(或文種) 范蠡一字不提? ).<sup>24</sup> Fan Li, who is missing from the *Zuozhuan*, is an important character in “Yueyu xia” chapter of the *Guoyu*,<sup>25</sup> which contains many of the same episodes narrated in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.” As Yang Xiangui 楊向奎 has stated, “Sima Qian quoted extensively from the *Zuozhuan*, what was not in the *Zuozhuan*, he took from the *Guoyu*,”<sup>26</sup> and in line with this thinking, scholars have looked at the “Yueyu xia” as being a source for the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.” Rao Hengjiu 饒恒久 has argued that because the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” quotes the “Yueyu xia,” it is dependent on the

latter.<sup>27</sup> Han Zhaoqi 韓兆琦 and Chen Xi 陳曦 have proposed that the image of Fan Li in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” is based on the “Yueyu xia.”<sup>28</sup>

In examining the *Guoyu*, Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 and Liu Qiyu 劉起鈞 have argued that parts of the *Guoyu* were directly used as sources for the *Shiji*.<sup>29</sup> For example, when a passage from the “Zhou benji” 周本紀 in the *Shiji*<sup>30</sup> is compared to its counterpart from the “Zhouyu shang” 周語上, the first chapter of the *Guoyu*<sup>31</sup> only about 4% (4 out of 94 characters) of the passage is different. Therefore, the language of these passages is about 96% verbatim.

If the *Shiji* is quoting the *Guoyu*, any differences, as suggested by Karlgren above, can be explained by changes in the language to fit the usage of Han times. The king’s name has been regularized to from Gong 恭 to Gong 共, and the archaic uses of the preposition *yu* 于 have been modernized to the Han usages of *yu* 於. Karlgren has argued that *yu* 于 and *yu* 於, in the early dialect of the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*, served different functions, and this usage would have been lost by Han times.<sup>32</sup> Whether or not the “Zhouyu shang” is the source of the “Zhou benji,” as Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu have proposed, there is an obvious connection between these two passages in terms of content and language that extends beyond the possibility of just serendipity.

However, unlike the example above, parallel passages shared by “Yueyu xia” and “Yuewang Goujian shijia” have a much more complicated relationship which is even more difficult to explain. Noting this complicated relationship, Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu have argued that the “Yueyu xia,” as it existed in the early Han, was not the same text as the extant version today. However, when charting out a relationship between the texts, Gu and Liu still proposed that the “Yueyu xia” was a source for the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.”<sup>33</sup> The next section will

examine differences between the “Yueyu xia” and “Yuewang Goujian shijia” in terms of language and content in order to show that although there is some intertextual relationship, the assumption of dependence cannot be definitely demonstrated.

### C. Comparison of parallel passages in “Yueyu xia” and “Yuewang Goujian shijia”

Three episodes in the “Yueyu xia” have counterparts in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia,” and Rao Hengjiu has argued that, because of these parallels, the “Yueyu xia” is not only a Warring States text, but also a source for the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.”<sup>34</sup> In this section, two of these three parallel episodes will be examined.<sup>35</sup> It will be shown that the placement of speeches in relation to the historical events in the episodes varies in each of the texts, and although the meaning of the speeches is close, much of the wording is substantially different, suggesting although they may have drawn on similar traditions, dependence of one text on the other cannot be definitely demonstrated.

In the first example, according to the “Yuewang Goujian shijia,”<sup>36</sup> after being defeated in battle, and negotiating peace with the state of Wu, King Goujian 句踐 of Yue (r. 496 - 465 BCE) returned to his capital. Sometime after returning, he wanted to turn government affairs over to Fan Li, who replied that in terms of domestic affairs he was not as good as another minister, Grand Master Zhong 種 (d. 470 BCE). However, Fan Li said that in terms of international diplomacy Zhong was not as good as he. Thereafter, Goujian appointed Grand Master Zhong to be in charge of domestic policy, and sent Fan Li to be a hostage in Wu. This event and speech have a close parallel in the *Guoyu*.<sup>37</sup> However, in that text, these words are spoken while Goujian, following defeat in battle, was entrenched at Mt. Kuaiji preparing to surrender. Therefore the context of each speech is actually entirely different.

Below is a comparison of Fan Li’s words as found in each of the texts. The first is from the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” and the second from the “Yueyu xia.” Although the meaning is practically the same in both, the words and syntax are substantially different.

“Yuewang Goujian shijia” version:

兵甲之事，種不如蠡；填撫國家，親附百姓，蠡不如種。

As for military matters, Zhong is not as good as I, but in terms of stabilizing and comforting the state,<sup>38</sup> becoming close to the common people, I am not as good as Zhong.<sup>39</sup>

“Yueyu xia” version:

四封之內，百姓之事，蠡不如種也。四封之外，敵國之制，立斷之事，種亦不如蠡也。

Within the four borders, as for affairs of the common people, I am not as good as Zhong. Outside of the four borders, in controlling enemy states, and affairs requiring quick decisions, Zhong is not as good as I.<sup>40</sup>

In each passage the only phrases that are almost direct parallels, in terms of language, are the phrases “Zhong is not as good as I” and “I am not as good as Zhong.” However, even there the *Guoyu* has the addition of particles. In addition, the placement of the two phrases is reversed. In the *Shiji* version, Fan Li talks first of his strength, but in the *Guoyu* he talks first of his weakness. As for wording, what is called “military matters” in the *Shiji* is “controlling enemy states, and affairs requiring quick decisions,” in the “Yueyu xia.” This phrase, “controlling enemy states, and affairs requiring quick decisions,” is used by Fan Li elsewhere in the “Yueyu xia,”<sup>41</sup> but it is not seen in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.” Unlike the parallel from the “Zhouyu

shang” and “Zhou benji,” where the passages are almost exactly identical, the wording of this parallel is substantially different.

In addition to the discord in the chronology of the speeches (one is at Kuaiji; one is after they returned to the capital), there is another historical discrepancy that is illustrative of the discord between historical events in the “Yueyu xia” and “Yuewang Goujian shijia.” In the “Yueyu xia” version, Goujian, as part of the peace accord with Wu, must go to Wu to become the captive and servant of the king of Wu. On account of this, he wished to entrust Fan Li with the Kingdom while he was away, and it is for this reason that Fan Li says he should be used for foreign affairs and Grand Master Zhong should be used for domestic affairs. Thereafter, according to the “Yueyu xia,” Goujian entrusts Grand Master Zhong with the kingdom, and both he and Fan Li and go off together into captivity in Wu.<sup>42</sup> However, in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia,” Goujian does not become a servant in Wu, but only sends Fan Li to Wu as a hostage. This evidence suggests that although the compilers of the *Shiji* and *Guoyu* were both aware of a speech said by Fan Li comparing him to Zhong, because of discord in the language and historical details, neither of these texts is apparently dependent on the other.

According to the “Yueyu shang” 越語上 chapter of the *Guoyu*, Goujian went to Wu with three hundred men of Yue to be servants, and Goujian himself was in charge of leading Fuchai’s horses.<sup>43</sup> In addition, *Han Feizi* 韓非子, which also mentions him leading the King of Wu’s horse, and *Mencius* 孟子 also have references to the fact that Goujian spent time as a servant in Wu.<sup>44</sup> David Johnson has argued that there was a tradition known to the *Mencius*, *Han Feizi*, *Guoyu* and *Wu Yue chungiu* 吳越春秋 about Goujian’s exploits, including his captivity in Wu, which does not appear in the *Shiji* and *Zuozhuan*.<sup>45</sup>

Although we can see that the compilers of both texts were aware of a tradition where Fan Li compares himself to Zhong, it is not certain from the *Shiji* version that the compiler is aware of a tradition of Goujian going into captivity in Wu. This suggests that, because of discrepancies in the historical content and language, the dependence of the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” on the “Yueyu xia” cannot be definitely demonstrated. In addition, the fact that alternative traditions are alluded to in other early texts, such as *Mencius* and *Han Feizi*, the compiler of the *Shiji* possibly had other source material on which to draw for these anecdotes.

The following example, for the same reasons of discrepancies in historical content and a lack of significant verbal parallels, also illustrates that there should be significant doubt that the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” version is dependent on the “Yueyu xia.”

In this episode which takes place after Yue finally conquers Wu, King Goujian out of gratitude to Fan Li for his achievements, offers Fan Li half his kingdom. According to the “Yueyu xia,” Fan Li refuses and leaves on a boat on the Five Lakes 五湖 and is never heard from again. Thereupon, Goujian had a metal statue of Fan Li cast, to which he made offerings.

This story of Fan Li disappearing into reclusion and being worshipped following his departure is entirely missing from the *Shiji*, which says that after leaving, Fan Li went to Qi and became an official, and then later went to Tao and became a rich merchant. In addition to the discrepancies in historical content and purpose of each passage in illustrating Fan Li’s image, the language of the two passages is substantially different. In the following passages those characters that are the same have been highlighted for comparison. “Yueyu xia” version:

「所不掩子之惡，揚子之美者，使其身無終沒於越國。子聽吾言，與子分國。不聽吾言，身死，妻子為戮。」范蠡對曰：「臣聞命矣。君行制，臣行意。」遂乘輕舟以浮於五湖，莫知其所終極。

[The King said,] “If there is anyone who does not conceal your offenses, as well as promote your virtues, that person will not die a natural death in the state of Yue. If you heed my words, I will split the kingdom with you. But if you disregard my words, you will die, and your wife and children will be executed.” Fan Li replied, saying, “My lord enacts control, but I will do my will.” Thereupon, he embarked on a light boat and floated away on the Five Lakes. No one knows what became of him.<sup>46</sup>

This can be compared to the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” version below:

「孤將與子分國而有之。不然，將加誅于子。」范蠡曰：「君行令，臣行意。」乃裝其輕寶珠玉，自與其私徒屬乘舟浮海以行，終不反。

Goujian said, “I shall split my Kingdom with you and you shall have [half]. Otherwise, you will be executed.

Fan Li said, “My lord enacts orders, but I will do my will.” He then packed up his light treasures, pearls and jades, and with his family and retainers, he boarded the boat and floated out to sea and left, never to return.<sup>47</sup>

Both passages show an awareness of traditions about King Goujian offering Fan Li half his kingdom, and then threatening him with death if he refuses. Although, it is probably not by

chance that these parts share these similarities, the intertextual relationship between these two passages cannot be explained with the few extant sources we have today. Unlike the passages described earlier from the “Zhouyu shang” and “Zhou benji” that are about 96% verbatim, these passages on the fate of Fan Li with so few characters being verbatim are evidence that it is much more difficult to make an argument that this passage of the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” could be dependent on the “Yueyu xia.” Apparently, a tradition where Fan Li, before sailing away, said, “I will do my will” (臣行意) was known to both compilers. However, the fact that the first part of the phrase varies in each text, as well as a lack of verbal parallels elsewhere in the passage, along with the discord in the historical context in each version, casts doubt on the dependency of the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” on the “Yueyu xia,” suggesting that both were drawing from a tradition or traditions of Fan Li using this phrase, but these texts were not drawing from each other or even the same source material.

Lastly, it should be noted that many of the anecdotes in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” about Fan Li do not even appear in the “Yueyu xia.” A list of these anecdotes is given by Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu.<sup>48</sup> This list only includes those anecdotes about Goujian that do not have analogues in other early texts. In addition to this list, the stories of Fan Li after the war in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia,” such as the story of Fan Li’s letter to Grand Master Zhong<sup>49</sup> and the story of Lord Zhu and his three sons also do not have parallels in early texts. If the *Shiji* is a compilation of earlier texts on the Spring and Autumn history, as has been argued by Karlgren, Nienhauser and Durrant, this suggests other now lost sources were used for the compilation of the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.”

#### D. Conclusions

In this introduction to the translation of the “Yuewang Goujian shijia,” I have attempted to show that because of the lack of parallels in language, discrepancies in the historical content, and evidence that there were other now lost sources for the history of Yue, the dependence of the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” on the “Yueyu xia” cannot be definitely demonstrated.

First, several anecdotes about Fan Li in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia,” such as his letter to Grand Master Zhong and the story of Lord Zhu and his three sons, not only are not in the *Guoyu*, but are also not in any other early text. If the *Shiji*, as has been proposed, is a compilation of earlier writings, then the sources for these stories are now lost. Among these sources, there may have been other sources for Fan Li, thus the “Yueyu xia” need not be considered the only possibility for the source of Fan Li’s story in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.”

Second, in terms of historical content, there is considerable discord between the two texts in historical details when treating the same events, suggesting that the compilers of each text may have been working with different historical traditions.

Third, as for verbal parallels, episodes from the “Yueyu xia” that have been proposed as sources for the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” may have a few spoken phrases in common, such as Fan Li’s words, “I will do my will” (臣行意), but elsewhere they lack any significant verbal parallels. This suggests that the compilers of these texts may have drawn from similar traditions concerning dialogue, but were not using the same source material.

Because the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” cannot be shown to be dependent on the “Yueyu xia,” we can neither be certain that the stories in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” were developed

from the stories in the “Yueyu xia,” nor be certain that the “Yueyu xia” even represents earlier versions of these stories. In addition, any variations in the image of Fan Li in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” cannot be seen as a reaction to his image in the “Yueyu xia.”<sup>50</sup> However, as has been shown, although dependence cannot be certain, there still is overlap between the texts. Instead of dependence, this suggests there are complicated and possibly multilayered lines of transmission that require further research. Whereas this short introduction has looked at the differences, an examination of those speeches, poems, and dialogues that do share verbal parallels, in order to understand the possible explanations for their similarities, is one area for further research.

Admittedly, we actually do not know for certain what these texts looked like before the first surviving printed editions from the Song, but, presently, the “Yueyu xia” and “Yuewang Goujian shijia” may be considered the two earliest surviving accounts for the full story of Fan Li. However, neither of these texts should be used as evidence of the existence of Fan Li, let alone be used for trying to reconstruct an historical Fan Li, who, if he were historical, lived centuries before these stories were compiled. Instead, each of these texts is illustrative of how events from the kingdom of Yue during the Spring and Autumn period were understood by people in the late Warring States and Han. Both texts, even though they differ in terms of structure and content, are a window into ideas and values at the time of compilation, which, without being able to date these texts, may be nearly contemporary or even hundreds of years apart. Although there have been some studies done on Fan Li’s speeches in the “Yueyu xia,”<sup>51</sup> there is much more room for future research.

It is apparent that there were far more sources about the legends of Wu and Yue available to the people of the late Warring States and Han than to us,<sup>52</sup> and although we cannot

draw a neat family tree, charting the development of the story of Fan Li from the *Guoyu* to the *Shiji* and onto later works such as the *Wu Yue chunqiu*, the fact that these texts may represent independent parallel traditions may actually be of great value for future studies on how legends were transmitted and reworked in the late Warring States and Han. The popularity of the stories of Wu and Yue is shown in the abundance of variant versions in early texts. Sometimes the same story is recorded in a variant form in the *Han Feizi*, *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, *Mencius*, *Zuozhuan*, *Guoyu*, *Shiji*, *Wu Yue chunqiu* and *Yuejueshu* 越絕書. For this very reason, Wu Zixu has been the subject of several studies.<sup>53</sup> As said earlier, there is dialogue that is common to both the “Yueyu xia” and Yuewang Goujian shijia,” which is an area for future research. In addition, analogues in other early texts, such as the *Han Feizi* and *Lüshi chunqiu*, also need to be examined. A fuller examination of the relationship of these parallels would be of value for understanding how the legends of Fan Li were collected, employed, interpreted and transmitted. Finally, a fuller study of the “Yueyu xia” and the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” may provide clues on the complicated, multilayered interaction between early Chinese texts in terms of how these texts were, arranged and rearranged, employed, interpreted, and then transmitted in the Han as well as later times.

CHAPTER II: TRANSLATION OF THE “YUEWANG GOUJIAN SHIJIA”<sup>54</sup>

The Ancestor of King Goujian 句踐 (r. 496 - 465 BCE)<sup>55</sup> of Yue,<sup>56</sup> was a distant descendent of Yu 禹 [the Great].<sup>57</sup> He was the son<sup>58</sup> of the Emperor Shaokang 少康<sup>59</sup> of the Xiahou 夏后<sup>60</sup> by a secondary wife, and was enfeoffed at Kuaiji 會稽<sup>61</sup> in order to offer and guard the sacrifices<sup>62</sup> to Yu [the Great]. He tattooed his body, cut his hair short,<sup>63</sup> cleared the vegetation<sup>64</sup> and built a city there. After more than twenty generations,<sup>65</sup> [the line of descent came] down to Yunchang 允常 (d. 497 BCE).<sup>66</sup> In the time of Yunchang, King Helu 闔廬 of Wu (r. 514 – 496 BCE)<sup>67</sup> warred with Yunchang, [they] resented each other, launching punitive wars against each other. When Yunchang died, his son Goujian succeeded him. This was the King of Yue.

In the first year [of the reign of Goujian] (496 BCE),<sup>68</sup> King Helu of Wu, having heard that Yunchang had died, raised an army and attacked Yue. King Goujian of Yue sent troops, who were willing to die<sup>69</sup> to challenge [the Wu army] to battle. Advancing in three ranks, they arrived at the Wu formation, yelled out and cut their own throats. As the Wu army was watching this, Yue, taking advantage of this [moment], made a surprise attack. The Wu army was defeated at Zuili 檣李.<sup>70</sup> [Yue] shot and wounded King Helu of Wu with an arrow. As Helu was about to die, he told his son, Fuchai 夫差 (r. 495-473 BCE), “[You] must not forget Yue.”<sup>71</sup>

In the third year [of the reign of Goujian] (494 BCE),<sup>72</sup> Goujian heard that King Fuchai of Wu day and night was drilling soldiers, and was about to use them to take revenge against Yue. Yue wanted make a preemptive strike before Wu sent its troops to attack them. Fan Li 范蠡 (fl. early fifth century BCE) remonstrated, saying, “This cannot be, I have heard, ‘weapons are

inauspicious instruments'; war goes against moral potency; contending is the least [important] of all affairs;<sup>73</sup> plotting in secret goes against moral potency, being keen on using inauspicious instruments, and trying oneself at that which is unimportant, Shangdi [God on High] prohibits it. Those who act [in this manner] will not benefit.”<sup>74</sup>

The King of Yue said, “I have already decided on this.” Thereupon, he raised an army. The King of Wu, having heard this, mobilized all his elite soldiers and struck Yue, defeating them at Fujiao 夫椒.<sup>75</sup> The King of Yue, with [his] remaining five-thousand troops, then entrenched<sup>76</sup> [themselves] at [Mt.] Kuaiji 會稽. The King of Wu pursued and surrounded them.

The King of Yue said to Fan Li, “Because I did not listen to you, I have been brought to this. On account of this, what can be done?”

Fan Li said, “As for those who maintain fullness, Heaven joins with them,<sup>77</sup> for those who stabilize that which collapses, the people join with them,<sup>78</sup> and for those who regulate affairs, the Earth [favorable geography and climatic conditions] is with them.<sup>79</sup> [Speak] Humble words and present generous gifts to them, if this doesn't work, then offer yourself to them as an exchange [in order to spare the state of Yue].<sup>80</sup>

Goujian, said, “Agreed.”<sup>81</sup>

Then [the King of Yue] commanded Grand Master Zhong 種 (d. 470 BCE)<sup>82</sup> to discuss peace terms with Wu. Approaching on his knees and kowtowing, [Zhong] said: “Your Majesty, I, Zhong, a vassal of Goujian, whose nation you have defeated, have been sent here to dare to inform your subordinates, that Goujian requests to become your vassal, and [to present his] wife [to you] as a concubine.”

The King of Wu was going to permit this. But [Wu] Zixu 伍子胥 (d. 484 BCE)<sup>83</sup> spoke to the King of Wu, saying, “Heaven has taken Yue and given it to Wu. Do not permit it.”

Zhong returned, and reported to Goujian. Goujian wanted to kill his wife and children, burn all his treasures and bronze vessels, and enter into a battle to the death. Zhong stopped him, saying, “Now, Grand Steward Pi 嚭<sup>84</sup> is greedy, and can be lured with valuables. I request to go secretly and talk to him.

Thereupon, Goujian then gave Zhong beautiful women<sup>85</sup> and treasures and [bronze] vessels, and commanded him to secretly offer them to Grand Steward Pi. Pi accepted them, and then presented Grand Master Zhong to the King of Wu. Zhong kowtowed and said: “I entreat Your Majesty to pardon Goujian’s crime, and he will give you all his treasures. If he is unfortunately not forgiven, Goujian will kill all his wives and children, burn his treasures and [bronze] vessels, and with all his 5000 troops enter into battle, and there will certainly be an equal [amount of casualties on both sides].”

Thereupon, Pi attempted to persuade the King of Wu, saying, “The King of Yue has by this submitted to you as vassal. If you will pardon him, it will benefit the country.”

The King of Wu was about to permit it, when [Wu] Zixu remonstrated, saying, “If, at this time, you do not destroy Yue, afterwards you will certainly regret it. Goujian is a worthy ruler, Zhong and Fan are excellent ministers, if he returns to his country, there will be disorder. The King of Wu did not listen to him, and in the end he pardoned Yue, withdrew his armies and returned [to Wu].

When Goujian was surrounded on [Mt.] Kuaiji, he sighed deeply and said, “Will I end here?” [Grand Master] Zhong said, “Tang 湯<sup>86</sup> was bound in fetters in Xiatai 夏臺,<sup>87</sup> King Wen 文王<sup>88</sup> was imprisoned at Youli 羑里,<sup>89</sup> Chong’er 重耳<sup>90</sup> of Jin 晉 fled to the Di 翟,<sup>91</sup> and Xiaobai 小白<sup>92</sup> of Qi 齊 fled to Ju 莒.<sup>93</sup> They all, in the end, became kings or hegemons.<sup>94</sup> If you look at it from this way, why can’t this be a blessing?”

When Wu had pardoned Yue, and King Goujian returned to the capital of his state,<sup>95</sup> he toiled arduously and brooded anxiously. He suspended a gall bladder over where he sat, and if sitting or lying he saw the gall bladder above him, before eating or drinking he also tasted the gall, and he would say, “Will you forget the humiliation of Kuaiji?”<sup>96</sup> He himself ploughed his fields, and his wife herself did the weaving. He ate meals without adding any meat, his clothes did not have multiple colors.<sup>97</sup> He was humble and placed himself below worthies, he treated guests generously, extended relief to the poor, mourned for the dead,<sup>98</sup> and toiled together with the common people. He desired to entrust Fan Li with the affairs of state.

Fan Li said, “As for military matters, Zhong is not as good as I, but in terms of stabilizing and comforting the state,<sup>99</sup> becoming close to the common people, I am not as good as Zhong.”<sup>100</sup> Thereupon, Goujian entrusted Grand Master Zhong with the government, and sent Fan Li and Grand Master Zheji 柘稽<sup>101</sup> to negotiate peace and be hostages in Wu. Two years later, Wu sent Fan Li back.

Seven years after Goujian returned from Kuaiji, he trained his soldiers and people; he wished to take revenge on Wu. Grand Master Pang Tong 逢同<sup>102</sup> remonstrated, saying, “The state was only recently in peril,<sup>103</sup> now [it is] prosperous again, after repairing our ornaments and preparing sharp weapons, Wu will certainly become apprehensive, and if they are wary of us

then difficulties will certainly be at our doorstep. When a bird of prey is about to strike, it inevitably conceals its form. Presently, the armies of Wu are added to Qi and Jin [in alliance], the resentment is deep in Chu 楚 and Yue. Since their name is famous all through the realm, they are actually a threat to the Zhou 周 royal house. Since their virtues are few and their merits are many, they will certainly become immoderate and arrogant with themselves. As for a plan for Yue, none is better than making an alliance with Qi, getting close to Chu, drawing near to Jin, in order to get in good with Wu. The intentions of Wu are broad, it will inevitably take waging war lightly, then we will connect with the forces [of Qi, Jin and Chu], and when these three kingdoms attack them, Yue will benefit from its defeat, and then [Wu] can be overcome.

Goujian said, “Excellent.”

Two years later (484 BCE), the King of Wu was going to attack Qi. Zixu remonstrated, saying: “This cannot be done yet. I have heard that Goujian eats foods that are without multiple flavors. With the common people, he shares their suffering and joys. If this person does not die, he will certainly be a calamity to our state. Yue to Wu is like a sickness of the abdomen and heart, but Qi to Wu is but a skin irritation. I wish Your Majesty would put [plans for attacking] Qi aside and first [take care of] Yue.<sup>104</sup> The King of Wu did not listen to him, and thereupon attacked Qi, and defeated them at Ailing 艾陵.<sup>105</sup> Wu captured Gao 高 and Guo 國 of Qi,<sup>106</sup> and took them back to Wu [as prisoners].

[The King of Wu] berated Zixu. Zixu said, “Your Majesty should not rejoice!” The King was angry, and Zixu wanted to kill himself, the king heard about this and stopped him. Grand Master Zhong of Yue said, “I have that observed that the governance of the King of Wu is arrogant. I propose we try to borrow grain from them, and use this to divine the situation.” Yue

requested a loan [of grain], the King of Wu desired to grant it, but Zixu advised him not to grant it. The King [of Wu] then gave it, and Yue was secretly pleased. Zixu said, “Your Majesty, if you do not listen to remonstrations, after three years Wu will be in ruins.” Grand Steward Pi heard this. On several occasions he contended with Zixu on the issue of Yue, and therefore he slandered Zixu, saying, “Wu Yun 伍員<sup>107</sup> appears to be loyal, but is actually hard hearted, he did not care for his father and brother,<sup>108</sup> how can he care for Your Majesty? Previously, when Your Majesty wanted launch a punitive expedition against Qi, Yun stubbornly remonstrated [against this]. Now it is complete and you have won merit. Because of this, on the contrary, he resents Your Majesty. If Your Majesty does not take measures against Wu Yun, he will certainly cause disorder.”<sup>109</sup>

[Bo Pi] plotted with Pang Tong, slandered Wu Zixu to the king. The king, in the beginning, did not follow their advice. He sent Zixu to Qi as an envoy. Only when he heard Wu Zixu had entrusted his son to the Bao 鮑 Clan<sup>110</sup> was the king enraged and said, “Wu Yun is surely deceiving me!”

Upon returning from his embassy, [the king] sent someone to present to Zixu the Zhulou<sup>111</sup> sword, so that he may use it to commit suicide. Zixu burst into loud laughter, saying, “I made your father hegemon, I also helped you to succeed to the kingship<sup>112</sup> and in the beginning you wished to split the kingdom and give half to me. I did not accept, and that is over,<sup>113</sup> but now, because of slander, you execute me. Alas, alas, one man cannot stand alone.” He replied to the king’s envoy, “You must pluck out my eyes and hang them on the East Gate, so I can watch the armies of Yue entering.”<sup>114</sup> Thereupon, Wu entrusted Pi with government affairs.

Three years later, Goujian summoned Fan Li and said, “The King of Wu killed Zixu, those that flatter the king are many, can he be [attacked now]?” [Fan Li] replied, “Not yet.”

In the spring of following year, the King of Wu went north to meet with the feudal lords in Huangchi 潢池.<sup>115</sup> The elite soldiers of Wu escorted the king, leaving only the oldest and weakest soldiers with the heir designate<sup>116</sup> to defend [the kingdom]. Goujian again consulted Fan Li, and Fan Li said, “it can be [done].” Then he sent 2000 mariners, 40,000 trained troops, 6000 nobles, and 1000 administrative personnel to attack Wu.

The Wu army was defeated, and the heir designate was killed.<sup>117</sup> [The people of] Wu reported the crisis to the king, just as he was meeting with the feudal princes at Huangchi; he feared that All under Heaven would hear about this, so he tried to keep it a secret. When the King of Wu had already concluded the alliance at Huangchi, he sent an envoy with generous presents to Yue in order to sue for peace. Yue gauged itself not yet strong enough to exterminate Wu, and only then made peace with Wu.<sup>118</sup>

Four years later Yue again attacked Wu.<sup>119</sup> The soldiers and people of Wu were worn out [from constant wars], the elite troops had all been killed in Qi and Jin, and [as a result] Yue devastated Wu. On account of this, they surrounded and besieged [the capital] for three years. When the army of Wu was [finally] defeated (473 BCE), Yue, subsequently, forced the king of Wu to take refuge on Mount Gusu 姑蘇. The King of Wu sent Gongsun Xiong 公孫雄 [to discuss terms].<sup>120</sup> With his chest bared, crawling on his knees, he advanced and requested to negotiate terms of peace with the King of Yue, saying, “Your isolated and helpless vassal Fuchai dares to express his heart. Formerly, when Fuchai offended you at Kuaiji, Fuchai did not dare disobey your orders, and made peace with Your Majesty, so you could return to Yue. Now Your

Majesty has raised his precious jade feet to come to execute your isolated and helpless vassal. Your isolated and helpless vassal can only obey your order. Could you pardon your helpless vassal's crime, just like what happened at Kuaiji?

Goujian wasn't hard hearted and wanted to allow this.

Fan Li said, “[As for] the affair at Kuaiji, Heaven took Yue and bestowed it upon Wu, [but] Wu did not take [it]. Now, Heaven has taken Wu and presented it to Yue, is it possible that Yue will go against Heaven? Moreover, that My Lord and Majesty has been attending court early [in the morning] and retiring [from court] late in the evening, is it not on account of Wu? [You have been] planning this for 22 years, and now in a single moment you throw it away, is that permissible? In addition, if Heaven gives and we don't take it, the opposite will occur and we will incur its [Heaven's] castigation. ‘When an axe handle is hewn, its model will not be far away.’<sup>121</sup> My lord have you forgotten the disaster at Kuaiji?”

Goujian said, “I wish to heed your words, but I cannot bear being harsh to his emissaries.”

Fan Li then beat the drum and advanced the troops, saying: “His Majesty has already entrusted the affairs of government to the one in charge.<sup>122</sup> Envoys, you must now depart, otherwise you will receive punishment.”<sup>123</sup>

The envoys from Wu wept and departed. Goujian pitied him, and then sent someone to talk to the King of Wu, saying, “I will place Your Majesty at Yongdong 甬東 to rule over a hundred households.<sup>124</sup>

The King of Wu declined [the offer] and said, “I have become old, I cannot serve My Lord and Majesty.” Thereupon, he was going to kill himself.<sup>125</sup> He covered his face, and said, “I have no face with which to see Zixu.” The King of Yue then buried the King of Wu and executed Grand Steward Pi.<sup>126</sup>

When Goujian had already pacified Wu, he then led his army to the north, crossed the Huai 淮 river,<sup>127</sup> met with the feudal lords of Qi and Jin<sup>128</sup> at Xuzhou 徐州,<sup>129</sup> and sent tribute to Zhou. King Yuan of Zhou 周元王 (476–469 BCE) sent someone to present sacrificial meat<sup>130</sup> to Goujian, and gave him the title hegemon. After Goujian had already departed and went south crossing the Huai river, he took the territory around the upper reaches of the Huai river and gave it to Chu,<sup>131</sup> and returned to Song 宋 those lands which Wu had invaded, and gave to Lu 魯 the hundred square *li* east of the Si 泗 river.<sup>132</sup> At this time, the armies of Yue moved at will about in the area from the Yangzi 江 river to the east of the Huai river. The feudal lords all came to pay their respects and called Goujian, “Hegemon King.”

Fan Li then departed, and from the [the state of] Qi, he sent Grand Master Zhong a letter saying,

“When the flying birds are all gone, / The good bows get stored away,

When the crafty hares are dead, / The coursing hounds get boiled.<sup>133</sup>

The King of Yue is a person with a long neck and bird's beak – you can share hardships with him, but not happiness. Why don't you leave?”

After Zhong read the letter, he claimed illness and did not attend court. Because someone slandered him and accused him of planning revolt, the King of Yue granted him a sword,<sup>134</sup> saying, “You taught me seven arts<sup>135</sup> for attacking Wu. I have used three of them and defeated Wu; the other four are still with you. On my behalf go join the previous king and try them out [the other four arts]. Thereupon Zhong killed himself.

When Goujian died,<sup>136</sup> his son, King Shiyu 鼫與,<sup>137</sup> was established. When King Shiyu died, his son, King Bushou 不壽,<sup>138</sup> was established. When Bushou died, his son, King Weng 翁,<sup>139</sup> was established. When Weng died his son, King Yi 翳,<sup>140</sup> was established. When Yi died his son, King Zhihou 之侯,<sup>141</sup> was established. When Zhihou died, his son, King Wuqiang 無疆,<sup>142</sup> was established.

During the time [of the reign] of King Wuqiang (d. 333 BCE), Yue raised an army and launched a punitive expedition against Qi to the north; to the west they attacked Chu, and contested for territory with the central states. During the time [of the reign] of King Wei of Chu 楚威王 (r. 339 - 329 BCE), Yue went north to attack Qi, and King Wei of Qi 齊威王 (r. 378-320) sent someone to try to persuade the King of Yue, saying, “If Yue does not attack Chu, as for the large, you cannot become king;<sup>143</sup> as for the small, you cannot become hegemon. Thinking about this, the reason Yue does not attack Chu is it does not have [the support of] Jin.<sup>144</sup> Han 韓 and Wei 魏 will certainly not attack Chu. As for Han attacking Chu, if its army were overturned and its generals would be killed, then She 葉 and Yangdi 陽翟<sup>145</sup> would be in danger. As for Wei, if it also would have its army overturned and its generals killed, then Chen 陳 and Shangcai 上蔡<sup>146</sup> would not be safe.

Therefore if the two Jin served Yue, it would not go so far as their armies being overthrown, and their generals getting killed, and the achievements of their sweating warhorses will not be seen. Why do you value gaining [the support of] Jin so much?"

The King of Yue said, "That which is sought from Jin, is not really having them blunt their blades [by involving them in the wars], let alone expect them to attack walled [forts] and lay siege to cities. What I wish for is that Wei deploy troops below Daliang 大梁,<sup>147</sup> and what I wish for Qi is to have them try their armies at Nanyang 南陽 and Ju 莒,<sup>148</sup> and gather their forces at the borders of Chang 常 and Tan 郟,<sup>149</sup> then [Chu's armies] outside Fangcheng 方城<sup>150</sup> could not go south, and [Chu's armies] in the area between the Huai river and Si river could not go east to attack the territories of Shang 商,<sup>151</sup> Wu 於,<sup>152</sup> Xi 析,<sup>153</sup> Zhi 鄆<sup>154</sup>, and Zonghu 宗胡;<sup>155</sup> the [Chu armies] on left [to the west] of the Road to Xia 夏<sup>156</sup> will be insufficient to defend against Qin. The [armies of Chu] to the south of the Yangtze and along the upper reaches of the Si river will not be enough to deal with Yue.<sup>157</sup> Then Qi, Qin 秦, Han, Wei will achieve their ambitions against Chu. Thereupon the two Jin will divide up territories without warring, and without plowing will reap [the benefits]. If it's not done this way, then Yue would fight a battle between the Yellow River and Hua Mountain,<sup>158</sup> and thus subject itself to being taken advantage of by Qi and Qin. For someone who expects [success], to lose strategically like this, how could he become king?"

The envoy of Qi said, "It will truly be lucky if Yue does not perish. I do not value your methods, which are like the wisdom of an eye that sees a fine strand of hair, but cannot make out its own lashes. Presently, Your Majesty sees the error in Jin's tactics, but you do not understand the mistakes of Yue. This is the analogy of the eye.<sup>159</sup> What Your Majesty expects to

get from Jin is not the achievements of sweating warhorses, nor also to join with their armies and create alliances, but you want to get them to help in causing Chu to divide its armies. Now Chu's armies are already divided [along its borders], so what can you expect from Jin?

The King of Yue said, "What can be done [about this]?"

[The envoy] said, "The three noble [Grand Master] houses of Chu<sup>160</sup> lead the armies north to besiege Quwo 曲沃<sup>161</sup> and Wuzhong 於中;<sup>162</sup> Wujia Pass 無假<sup>163</sup> stretches for 3,700 *li*. If the army of Jing Cui 景翠 (fl. late fourth century BCE)<sup>164</sup> goes north and deploys in Lu, Qi, and Nanyang, could this army be any more spread out?<sup>165</sup> Moreover, that which Your Majesty seeks is fighting between Jin and Chu, when Jin and Chu do not fight, Yue's army cannot move; this is like understanding two fives, but not knowing ten. At this time if you do not attack Chu, for this reason, I understand that Yue, as for the large, you cannot become king; as for the small, you cannot become hegemon. In addition Chou 讎,<sup>166</sup> Pang 龐<sup>167</sup> and Changsha 長沙<sup>168</sup> are Chu's grain basket; Jinglingze 竟陵澤<sup>169</sup> is where Chu gets lumber. If Yue can secretly send its armies through Wujia Pass, these four cities will be unable to send tribute and be of service to Ying 郢.<sup>170</sup> I have heard that, 'He that plans to be king, but fails to be king, then he at least can be hegemon. But if he cannot even be hegemon, then he loses the kingly way. Therefore I beseech Your Majesty to turn and attack Chu.'

Thereupon, Yue quit [abandoned its attack on] Qi, and attacked Chu. King Wei of Chu raised an army and attacked, severely defeating Yue and killing King Wuqiang. Afterwards they completely took the old territory [that was once belonged to the kingdom] of Wu, all the way to the Zhe 浙 river,<sup>171</sup> and then they went north and broke through Qi at Xuzhou.<sup>172</sup> Because of this Yue was scattered, the sons of the various clans contended to be established, some as kings,

some as lords. From the banks of Yangtze south to the seashore,<sup>173</sup> they submitted and sent tribute to Chu.

Seven generations later, Yao 搖,<sup>174</sup> Lord of Min 閩, assisted the various lords to pacify Qin,<sup>175</sup> Emperor Gao[zu] 高祖<sup>176</sup> of Han again appointed Yao as the king of Yue, in order to carry on the line of succession of Yue. The lords of East Yue 東越 and Min all were his descendants.<sup>177</sup>

Fan Li served Goujian, the King of Yue, bitterly pushing himself and working arduously. He was with Goujian for more than 20 years working on profound plans,<sup>178</sup> finally exterminating Wu, taking revenge for the shame received at Kuaiji. Going north, leading troops across the Huai River, they brought their troops to Qi and Jin, gave commands to the Central Kingdoms, in order to respect the Zhou royal house, Goujian took the title hegemon, and Fan Li was called generalissimo. After returning to the capital [of Yue], Fan Li thought his great fame could only diminish, and it would be difficult to stay [in officialdom] for a long time. In addition, he thought Goujian was a person with whom hardships could be shared, but it would be difficult to dwell with him in times of peace. He wrote a memorial to Goujian bidding farewell, saying, “I have heard, ‘When the ruler worries, the subject toils [for him]; when the ruler is shamed, the subject dies. Formerly, when Your Majesty was shamed at Kuaiji, the reason I did not die was because of this affair [of revenge against Wu]. Now that the shame has already been cleansed, I request to receive the punishment from Kuaiji.’”

Goujian said, “I shall split my Kingdom with you and you shall have [half]. Otherwise, you will be executed.

Fan Li said, “My lord enacts orders, but I will do my will.”<sup>179</sup> He then packed up his light treasures, pearls and jades, and with his family and retainers, he boarded the boat and floated out to sea and left, never to return. Thereafter, Goujian marked Mount Kuaiji as Fan Li’s city from which he could collect taxes.<sup>180</sup>

Fan Li floated out to sea, and went to Qi, changed his surname and given name, and called himself Chiyi Zipi 鴟夷子皮.<sup>181</sup> He plowed by the shores of the sea, bitterly pushing himself and working arduously, the father and sons did business. Not long afterwards, his fortune amounted into the hundreds of thousands. The people of Qi heard that he was worthy, and appointed him to be Prime Minister.<sup>182</sup> Fan Li sighed deeply and said, “To live at home and then acquire 1000 in gold, to live in the ministry and be raised to the office of Prime Minister,<sup>183</sup> this is the ultimate for a commoner. However, to enjoy respect and fame for a long time is inauspicious.” Then he returned the seal of the Prime Minister’s office, and completely dispersed his fortune. He divided it among his acquaintances, friends, and fellow townspeople, then he personally carried his most valued treasures, and quietly departed; stopping in Tao 陶;<sup>184</sup> he considered it to be the center of the realm, as every trading route and commercial highway crossed through [that place]. Doing business there, one could achieve wealth. Thereupon, he called himself Lord Zhu of Tao 陶朱公.<sup>185</sup> He again worked with his sons, farming and raising livestock. He bought low and sold high,<sup>186</sup> waiting for the opportune time and selling his goods, taking ten percent for profit. Not long afterwards, his assets accumulated and amounted to a hundred million.<sup>187</sup> All throughout the realm he was called Lord Zhu of Tao.<sup>188</sup>

When Lord Zhu resided in Tao, his youngest son was born. When his youngest son had reached adulthood, Lord Zhu’s middle son killed someone, and was imprisoned in Chu. Lord

Zhu said, “To die as a result of killing someone is justified. However, I have heard, the sons of the wealthy do not die in the marketplace.”<sup>189</sup> He told his youngest son to go and see [his brother in prison]. He then packed 20,000 taels of gold<sup>190</sup> in a bag, placed it in brown containers, and sent him in a carriage, drawn by a single ox. When he was about to send his youngest son, Lord Zhu’s eldest son steadfastly insisted that he wanted to go, but Lord Zhu did not listen. The eldest son said, “In a family there is an oldest son, he is called the guardian of the household. Now that my younger brother has committed a crime, but you are not sending me; instead the youngest is going, this means I have no ability.” He wanted to commit suicide. His mother spoke in favor of him, saying, “Now if you send the youngest son, that does not necessarily mean he can save the middle son; and our eldest son will first have died in vain,<sup>191</sup> what could be done?” Lord Zhu had no alternative, and therefore sent the eldest son, writing a letter on his behalf to present to his old good friend, Scholar Zhuang 莊,<sup>192</sup> and said [to his son], “When you arrive, this gold is to be presented to Scholar Zhuang. No matter what he does, be careful not to argue with him concerning this affair.” When the eldest son was about to leave, he also secretly took several hundred in gold to cover his expenses.

When he arrived in Chu, Scholar Zhuang’s house was attached to the outer wall of the city, [the eldest son had] to push the wild vines out of his way to reach to the door; [Scholar Zhuang] was living in extreme poverty. Thereafter the eldest son gave him the letter and presented the thousands in gold, just as his father had said. Scholar Zhuang said, “You should hurry home, be cautious not to stay here. When your brother is released, do not ask why.” Then the eldest son departed, but he did not heed Scholar Zhuang and secretly stayed in [Chu]. He took the money for his private travel expenses and gave it to the aristocrats who held power in the State of Chu.

Although Scholar Zhuang lived on an impoverished alleyway, his incorruptibility and integrity were renowned in the state (of Chu). From the king on down, all respected him as their teacher. When Lord Zhu gave him the gold, it was not his intention to accept it; he wished to return it when the affair had been settled, so that he would be considered trustworthy. Therefore when the gold arrived, he said to his wife, “This is Lord Zhu’s gold, if I become sick [and die] before I can notify you,<sup>193</sup> return it afterwards. Do not touch it.” Lord Zhu’s eldest son did not know about Scholar Zhuang’s intentions, and thought in the end there would be no results.”<sup>194</sup>

When the king of Chu had free time, Scholar Zhuang went to see him and said, “Such and such star has entered such and such mansion, this will cause harm to Chu.”

The king from the beginning trusted Scholar Zhuang, and said, “Presently, what can be done about this?”

Scholar Zhuang said, “Only through enacting moral virtue can we get rid of this.”

The King of Chu said, “Scholar, you may retire. I will enact this.” The king then sent a messenger to seal the royal treasury.<sup>195</sup>

The aristocrats of Chu were surprised and told Lord Zhu’s eldest son, saying, “The king is about to declare an amnesty.”

The eldest son said, “How do you know this?”

[They] said, “Every time the king is about to declare an amnesty, he always seals his treasury, and last night the king sent someone to seal it.”<sup>196</sup>

Lord Zhu's eldest son thought that if there were an amnesty, his brother would inevitably get out. He valued the thousands in gold and considered it to have been wasted on Scholar Zhuang, and all that had been done was just useless. So he then went back to see Scholar Zhuang. Scholar Zhuang was startled and said, "Didn't you leave?" And the older brother said, "Definitely not, I first came on account of the business of my younger brother. Now, as for my younger brother, I have myself presently found out that there will be a general amnesty, I have come to take my leave from you and depart."

Scholar Zhuang understood his intention; that he wished to get his gold back, and said, "You may come into the room where it is stored and personally get the gold." The eldest son then personally entered and took the gold and departed; he was pleased with himself and with his good fortune.

Scholar Zhuang was ashamed at being betrayed by one who was of a younger generation, and went to see the king of Chu, saying, "Earlier, when I told you about the affair of such and such a star, Your Majesty said you wished to cultivate moral virtue in order to deal with it. Now, I [just] went out, and on the road, I heard everyone saying that a rich person from Tao named Lord Zhu has a son in prison for murder, and members of his family have taken gold and bribed your majesty's entourage, and therefore this amnesty was not done because Your Majesty was compassionate towards the state of Chu and enacted a pardon, but was done because of the son of Lord Zhu."

The king was enraged and said, "I may not be virtuous, but there is no way this act of clemency was done on account of the son of Lord Zhu."

He then ordered the execution of Lord Zhu's son, and on the next day he decreed the amnesty. In the end, the eldest son of Lord Zhu collected the remains of his younger brother and returned back home.

Upon arriving back home, his mother and all the townsfolk utterly lamented this. Only Lord Zhu laughed, and said, "From the very beginning, I knew the outcome must be that [the older brother would] cause his younger brother to be killed. That [wasn't because] he did not cherish his younger brother, but merely because he was one who was unwilling to part with [money]. This boy, from the time he was a child has lived with me. He has witnessed hardships, and the difficulties of making a living, therefore he places great importance on not wasting money. As for his younger brothers, when they were born I was wealthy, they drove chariots, rode majestic horses, and chased clever rabbits. How could they understand from whence their fortune had come? For this reason, they thought lightly about money, and would not be miserly. Earlier, when I wanted to send my youngest son, the reason was he was one who could spend money, but his older brother could not, therefore, in the end, he caused his younger brother to be killed. Since this is the pattern of things, it's not worth it to grieve. From the beginning [of this affair], every night and day, I have been preparing myself to see the arrival of his dead body.

Therefore, Fan Li moved three times,<sup>197</sup> establishing his fame throughout the realm. He was not one who just moved easily [from a place], [but] where ever he went he would inevitably become famous. In the end, he died of old age in Tao, and thus world has traditionally called him Lord Zhu of Tao.

His Honor the Grand Scribe says: “The merits of Yu were great. He channeled the nine rivers to flow [correctly], and set the nine provinces, and up to the present time, the various Xia states have been regulated, stabilized, and safe.

His descendent Goujian toiled arduously and brooded anxiously. In the end, he exterminated the powerful state of Wu, went north and showed off his military might to the central states, and because of his respect for the Royal House of Zhou, he took the title Hegemon King. Can Goujian not be called worthy? This is probably because some of the merits of Yu got passed down to him.

Fan Li moved three times, and in all cases, achieved renown, and his name was passed on to future generations. Ministers and lords like him, will always be famous even if it's against their wishes.

## APPENDIX A: NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 41. 1739-56. “Yuewang Goujian shijia” may be translated “The Hereditary House of King Goujian of Yue.”

<sup>2</sup> Édouard Chavannes, trans., *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, vol. 5 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1895-1905; reprint, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Dating the Spring and Autumn period is rather arbitrary, the dates often given are 722-479 BCE as those are the dates covered by the *Chunqiu* 春秋 chronicle. I have used 722-468 since 468 is the date of the death of Duke Ai of Lu 鲁哀公 (494 – 468 BCE), which marks the end of the period of time covered by the *Zuozhuan* 左傳.

<sup>4</sup> Two features set this chapter apart from the other *shijia* chapters that deal with Spring and Autumn states. First, with one exception the chapter only focuses on historical events of the life of a single ruler of Yue, King Goujian, and then only on his wars with Wu. Second, the last third of the chapter is entirely devoted to an unrelated anecdote about a certain Lord Zhu of Tao (identified as the minister Fan Li) and his three sons. At first glance, the story of Lord Zhu and his three sons could have been used for a separate biography and was instead tacked on the end of this chapter. However, there is already a separate biography for Fan Li found in the *Shiji*, 129. 3256-58, to which this story could have been added. So, although the structure of this chapter seems haphazard, future study of this section is needed.

<sup>5</sup> *Shiji*, 31.1445-76.

<sup>6</sup> *Shiji*, 66.2171-84.

<sup>7</sup> See William H. Nienhauser, ed., “T’ai-po of Wu, Hereditary House 1,” in *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol. 5, bk. 1, *The Hereditary Houses of Pre-Han China, Part 1* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 1-29, and William H. Nienhauser, ed., “Wu tzu Hsü, Memoir 6,” in *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol. 7, *The Memoirs of Pre-Han China, Part 1* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 49-62.

<sup>8</sup> *Guoyu* 國語 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1978), 21. 641-659. The dating of the “Yueyuxia,” as with most early texts, is not without controversy. For dating the “Yueyu xia,” Sun Haibo 孫海波 argues for a Late Warring States or even Han date. Sun Haibo 孫海波, “Guoyu Zhenwei kao” 國語真偽考, *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 16 (1934): 192-193. Based on what they see as Huanglao 黃老 ideas found in the “Yueyu xia,” Han Zhaoqi 韓兆琦 and Chen Xi 陳曦 argue for late Warring States date. Han Zhaoqi 韓兆琦 and Chen Xi 陳曦, “Huanglao sixiang yu Shiji zhong de Fan Li Zhang Liang” 黃老思想與《史記》中的范蠡、張良, *Wenshi zhishi* 文史知識 3 (2000): 63-68; Liang Xiaoyun 梁曉雲, also looking at Huanglao ideas, argues for a late Warring States Date. Liang Xiaoyun 梁曉雲, “Shiji yu Zuozhuan Guoyu suo ji zhi Wu Yue lishi di bijiao yanjiu” 《史記》與《左傳》《國語》所記之吳越歷史的比較研究, *Henan daxue xuebao* 河南大學學報 37 (1997): 54-58; Eric Henry argues for a possible Western Han date. Eric Henry, “The Provenance of the Wú and Yuè Chapters in *Guóyǔ*” (paper presented at the Warring States Project Meeting, AAS, April, 2002): 1-10; Following Wei Juxian 衛聚賢, William Boltz and Michael Loewe, have dated the text to after 314 BCE. William Boltz and Michael Loewe, “Kuo-yü” in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: The

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Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993), 264.

<sup>9</sup> Only three of the eight sections of the “Yueyu xia” have parallels in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.”

<sup>10</sup> As for the identity of this authorial voice, whether it is Sima Qian, or his father Sima Tan 司馬談 (d. 110 BCE), or neither of them is beyond the scope of this study. For recent research by scholars in the west on the debate over Sima Qian and his role as the author of the *Shiji*, and all the problems that entails, see Joseph Allen, “An Introductory Study of Narrative Structure in *Shiji*,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 3 (1981): 31-66; Stephen Durrant, *The Cloudy Mirror: Tension and Conflict in the Writings of Sima Qian* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); Grant Hardy, *Worlds of Bronze and Bamboo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Michael Nylan, “Sima Qian, A True Historian?” *Early China* 23-24 (1998-1999): 203-246; William Nienhauser, “A Note on a Textual Problem in the *Shih Chi* and Some Speculations Concerning the Compilation of the Hereditary Houses,” *T'oung Pao* 89 (2003): 39-58; and William Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vol.1, *The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994); Esther Klein, “The History of a Historian: Perspectives on the Authorial Roles of Sima Qian” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2010). Klein examines all of this previous research listed above. The focus of her research is an examination of the construction of Sima Qian as author by readers and how that construct developed from Han to Song times.

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<sup>11</sup> Legendary Sage Emperors, who, according to the *Shiji*, lived in the third millennium BCE.

Even in Sima Qian's time these figures lived in remote antiquity. *Shiji*, 1.1-46.

<sup>12</sup> “Wudi benji” 五帝本紀, *Shiji*, 1.46. The *Wudi de* 五帝德 and the *Dixixing* 帝系姓 are two other works that have been proposed as sources for the *Shiji*. William Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vol. 1, *The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China*, 46.

<sup>13</sup> William Nienhauser, “For Want of a Hand: A Note on the ‘Hereditary House of Jin’ and Sima Qian’s ‘Chunqiu,’” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127 (2007): 229.

<sup>14</sup> Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎, *Shiki kaishō kōshō fu kōhō* 史記會注考證附校補 (Tokyo: Tōhō bunka gakuin, 1934), 5303-04.

<sup>15</sup> Takigawa Kametarō, *Shiki kaishō kōshō fu kōhō*, 5303-04; Yang Xiangui 楊向奎, “Lun *Zuozhuan zhi xingzhi jiqi yu Guoyu zhi guanxi*” 論《左傳》之性質及其與《國語》之關係, *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊 (1936): 3; Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 and Liu Qiyu 劉起鈞, *Chunqiu san zhuan ji Guoyu zhi zonghe yanjiu* 春秋三傳及國語之綜合研究 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1988), 106-110; Nienhauser, “For Want of a Hand: A Note on the ‘Hereditary House of Jin’ and Sima Qian’s ‘Chunqiu,’” 229; Bernard Karlgren, “Sidelights on Si-ma Ts’ien’s Language,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 42 (1970): 297; Stephen Durrant, “Ssu-ma Ch’ien’s Conception of the *Tso chuan*.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112 (1992): 296; Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York, 1999), 312.

<sup>16</sup> Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vol.1, *The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China*, 209.

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<sup>17</sup> William Nienhauser, review of *Worlds of Bronze and Bamboo: Sima Qian's Conquest of History*, by Grant Hardy, *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (CLEAR) 22 (2000): 161-62; David Schaberg, review of *Worlds of Bronze and Bamboo: Sima Qian's Conquest of History*, by Grant Hardy, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61 (2001): 257; Edwin Pulleyblank, "The Historiographical Tradition," in *The Legacy of China*, ed. Raymond Dawson (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 149-150.

<sup>18</sup> Takigawa Kametarō, *Shiki kaishō kōshō fu kōhō*, 5303-04; Nienhauser, "A Note on a Textual Problem in the *Shih Chi* and Some Speculations Concerning the Compilation of the Hereditary Houses," 39-58; Nienhauser, "For Want of a Hand: A Note on the 'Hereditary House of Jin' and Sima Qian's 'Chunqiu,'" 229-247.

<sup>19</sup> Bernard Karlgren, "Sidelights on Si-ma Ts'ien's Language," 297.

<sup>20</sup> Stephen Durrant, "Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Conception of the *Tso chuan*." 296.

<sup>21</sup> Stephen Durrant, "Creating Tradition: *Sima Qian Agonistes?*" in *Early China/Ancient Greece: Thinking through Comparisons*, ed. Steven Shankman and Stephen Durrant (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 283-98.

<sup>22</sup> Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 312.

<sup>23</sup> Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 47.

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<sup>24</sup> Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 47. Actually Grand Master Zhong is mentioned once in the *Zuozhuan*, which merely says he was sent to Wu to negotiate peace. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1605-07 [Ai 1].

<sup>25</sup> *Guoyu*, 21.641-659.

<sup>26</sup> Yang Xiangui, “Lun *Zuozhuan* zhi xingzhi jiqi yu *Guoyu* zhi guanxi,” 3.

<sup>27</sup> Rao Hengjiu 饒恒久, “*Guoyu*, ‘Yueyu xia’ Zuo shi xianyi” 《國語·越語下》 作時獻疑, *Shaoxing wenli xueyuan xuebao* 紹興文理學院 30 (2010): 1.

<sup>28</sup> Han Zhaoqi and Chen Xi, “Huanglao sixiang yu *Shiji* zhong de Fan Li Zhang Liang,” 63-68.

<sup>29</sup> Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu, *Chunqiu san zhuan ji Guoyu zhi zonghe yanjiu*, 106-110.

<sup>30</sup> *Shiji*, 4.140.

<sup>31</sup> *Guoyu*, 1.8.

<sup>32</sup> See Bernhard Karlgren, “On the Authenticity and Nature of the *Tso-chuan*,” in *Göteborgs högskolas arsskrift* 32 (1926); reprint, *On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso-chuan* (Taipei: Chengwen Pub. Co., 1968), 65-74. In addition, Pulleyblank has also argued that the *Guoyu* and *Zuozhuan* share a similar unique dialect. Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995), 3.

<sup>33</sup> Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu, *Chunqiu san zhuan ji Guoyu zhi zonghe yanjiu*, 106-110.

<sup>34</sup> Rao Henjiu, “*Guoyu*, ‘Yueyu xia’ Zuo shi xianyi,” 1-4.

<sup>35</sup> The third parallel, which will not be examined for reasons of space, also exhibits the same issues which will be studied in the other two passages, casting the same doubts about dependence. For this parallel, see *Guoyu*, 21.652-58 and *Shiji*, 41.1745-46.

<sup>36</sup> *Shiji*, 41.1742.

<sup>37</sup> *Guoyu*, 21.643-4.

<sup>38</sup> I have followed Yang Yanqi and treated these as separate verbs “stabilize and nurture” (鎮定撫慰). Yang Yanqi 楊燕起, *Shiji quanyi* 史記全譯 (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin, 2001), 1931.

<sup>39</sup> *Shiji*, 41.1742.

<sup>40</sup> *Guoyu*. 21.643-4.

<sup>41</sup> *Guoyu*, 21.646.

<sup>42</sup> “[Goujian] commanded Grand Master Zhong to guard and preserve the country, and [Goujian] with Fan Li entered Wu as servants. Three years later, the people of Wu sent them back [to Yue]” (令大夫種守於國，與范蠡入宦於吳。三年，而吳人遣之). *Guoyu*, 21.641-44.

<sup>43</sup> “Afterwards, the king humbly served Fuchai. Three hundred officials and knights went to Wu, the king, personally lead Fuchai’s horses” (然後卑事夫差，宦士三百人于吳，其身親為夫差前馬). *Guoyu*, 20. 634.

<sup>44</sup> “Therefore King Tai (an ancestor of the Zhou rulers, trad. 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE) served the Xun Yu (an early nomadic group north of the Shang state), and Goujian served Wu” (故大王事獯鬻,

句踐事吳). *Mengzi zhengyi* 孟子正義 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 111 [ 1B ]; “Goujian went and served in Wu, personally holding a shield and halberd, he served as the front guard for the King of Wu’s horses. Therefore, he was able to kill Fuchai at Gusu” (句踐入宦於吳，身執干戈為吳王洗馬，故能殺夫差於姑蘇). Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷, *Han Feizi jishi* 韓非子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 159.

<sup>45</sup> David Johnson, “Epic and History in Early China: The Matter of Wu Tzu-hsü,” *The Journal of Asia Studies* 40 (1981): 267.

<sup>46</sup> *Guoyu*, 21.658.

<sup>47</sup> *Shiji*, 41.1752.

<sup>48</sup> Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu, *Chunqiu san zhuan ji Guoyu zhi zonghe yanjiu*, 106-110.

<sup>49</sup> The episode may not be in other early texts, but variations of the poem in the letter, “When the flying birds are all gone, /The good bows get stored away, /When the crafty hares are dead, /The coursing hounds get boiled” (蜚鳥盡，良弓藏；狡兔死，走狗烹), which have no parallel in either the *Zuozhuan* or *Guoyu*, are found in other early texts. However, although this poem is always connected to an event in the story of wars between Wu and Yue, each version of the events surrounding the passage is entirely different, with none of them resembling the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” version.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, the source of this episode, not only cannot be determined, but because each known version is so very different, it suggests that there were multiple traditions, connecting this poem to the Wu-Yue story, floating around in the Warring States and Han periods. See, *Han Feizi jishi*, 247-48; *Shiji*, 92.2625-27; *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋

(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 17.1181; and *Wu Yue chungiu* (*Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition), 5.11b-12a; 10.7a-8b; 10.8b-9a.

<sup>50</sup> Han Zhaoqi and Chen Xi have argued that Sima Qian has worked with the image of Fan Li in the “Yueyu xia” but had altered it for his own personal reasons. Han Zhaoqi and Chen Xi, “Huanglao sixiang yu *Shiji* zhong de Fan Li Zhang Liang,” 63-68.

<sup>51</sup> Liang Xiaoyun, “*Shiji* yu *Zuozhuan* Guoyu suo ji zhi Wu Yue lishi di bijiao yanjiu,” 54-58; Han Zhaoqi and Chen Xi, “Huanglao sixiang yu *Shiji* zhong de Fan Li Zhang Liang,” 63-68.

<sup>52</sup> Olivia Milburn, *The Glory of Yue: An Annotated Translation of the Yuejue Shu* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 46-65.

<sup>53</sup> Allen, “An Introductory Study of Narrative Structure in *Shiji*,” 31-66; Johnson, “Epic and History in Early China: The Matter of Wu Tzu-hsü,” 267.

<sup>54</sup> The base text for this translation of the “Yuewang Goujian shijia” 越王句踐世家 is the Zhonghua shuju edition of the *Shiji*. *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959). Included in that edition, which were invaluable for this translation, are the three important surviving medieval commentaries to the *Shiji*: 1) The *Jijie* 集解 commentary by Pei Yin 裴駟 (fl. 438); 2) the *Zhengyi* 正義 commentary by Zhang Shoujie 張守節 (fl. 725-735); 3) the *Suoyin* 索引 commentary by Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (fl. 745). These commentaries were first combined in editions of the text during the Song dynasty (960-1279). I have often referred to Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎, *Shiki kaishō kōshō fu kōhō* 史記會注考證附校補 (Tokyo: Tōhō bunka Gakuin, 1934); Wang Shumin 王叔岷, *Shiji jiaozheng* 史記斠證 (Taipei: Zhongyang

yanjiuyuan, 1982); Wang Liqi's 王利器 annotations to the "Yuewang Goujian shijia" in Zhang Youlun 張友鸞 et al., *Shiji xuanzhu* 史記選注 (Hong Kong: Zhongliu, 1965); as well as Yang Yanqi's 楊燕起 annotations and modern Chinese translation in Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi* 史記全譯 (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin, 2001).

<sup>55</sup> King Goujian is the only king of Yue that is well attested in the early sources. However, just four historical events described in this chapter are known from his thirty-one year reign, and these all are concerned with the war with Wu. Olivia Milburn has written that Goujian was a "cornerstone" of Yue identity. Milburn, *The Glory of Yue: An Annotated Translation of the Yuejue Shu*, 65. That this chapter is named "Yuewang Goujian shijia" [The Hereditary House of King Goujian of Yue] shows he was considered the ancestor of the royal house of Yue, even though other Yue kings ruled before him. Later kings of Yue, as well as the rulers of the small Yue states during the Han, all claimed descent from Goujian. *Shiji*, 41.1751; *Shiji*, 114.2979. Goujian is written 句踐 in the *Shiji* 史記, and other early texts such as the *Guoyu* 國語, *Mengzi* 孟子, and *Zhuangzi* 莊子. However, the form Goujian 勾踐 is found in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, *Wu Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋, and *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策. Some texts use both forms of Goujian's name in different passages; these are the *Xunzi* 荀子 *Han Feizi* 韓非子, *Shuoyuan* 說苑, and the *Zuozhuan* 左傳. Neither form of the name is found on excavated bronzes with inscriptions dated to Spring and Autumn period Yue. According to Dong Chuping 董楚平 and Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎, three swords dated to the Spring and Autumn period, have inscriptions written in the so-called Bird and Insect script with the name of a king of Yue, which scholars have identified as Goujian. Since Bird and Insect script is difficult to read, each name has been variously

interpreted as being written 九菱 and 鳩淺. Dong Chuping 董楚平, *Wu Yue wenhua zhi* 吳越文化志 (Shanghai: renmin chubanshe, 1999), 103-4; Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎, “Ji xin faxian de Yue wang Bushou jian” 記新發現的越王不壽劍, in *Wu Yue lishi yu kaogu luncong* 吳越歷史與考古論叢 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), 90.

<sup>56</sup> The ancient Kingdom of Yue was located south of the Yangtze delta in what is now northern Zhejiang province, its capital being in present-day Shaoxing city. The ancient Kingdom of Wu was located in the area that is now southern Jiangxi, and its capital city was located in the area of present-day Suzhou. Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, ed., *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集 (Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe, 1982), 1.30. Some early texts, such as the *Chunqiu* 春秋, give the name of this state as Yuyue 於越. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 11.1549 [Ding 5]. The received text of the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 [*Bamboo Annals*] also has Yuyue. Wang Guowei 王國維, *Guben Zhushu jinian jixiao; Jinben Zhushu jinian shuzheng* 古本竹書紀年輯校·今本竹書紀年疏證 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), 113. Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎, looking at textual and epigraphic evidence, has a discussion on the ancient name of the state of Yue. Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎, “Yuewang dazi mao kaoshi” 越王太子矛考釋, in *Wu Yue lishi yu kaogu luncong* 吳越歷史與考古論叢 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), 65-70.

<sup>57</sup> The story of Yu [the Great] is told in the “Xia benji” 夏本紀, *Shiji*, 2.49-84. As for his connection to Kuaiji and the need to offer and guard the sacrifices to him, the “Xia benji” says,

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“After ten years, Emperor Yu went east on an imperial inspection. When he arrived in Kuaiji, he passed away” (十年，帝禹東巡狩，至于會稽而崩). *Shiji*, 2.83.

<sup>58</sup> This son of Emperor Shaokang is not named in the *Shiji*, but other early sources give his name as Wuyu, written as 無餘 in the *Yuejueshu* or 無余 in the *Wu Yue chungiu*. *Yuejueshu* (*Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition), 8.1a-b; *Wu Yue chungiu* (*Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition), 4.7a.

<sup>59</sup> According to the *Shiji*, 2.86, Shaokang is a descendent of Yu, and the sixth emperor of Xia. According to William Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribes Records*, vol. 1, *The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China*, 37, during the Warring States there were many stories about the adventures of Shaokang circulating around, however, in the “Xia benji,” these stories are not mentioned. According to the *Zuozhuan*, following the battle of Fujiao, when King Fuchai of Wu was considering sparing Yue, Wu Zixu, in order to persuade the king not to spare Yue, remonstrated, comparing Goujian to Shaokang. The ancients may have seen a connection in Goujian to his ancestor Shaokang. It is also possible that they may have become connected as ancestor and descendent through their similar stories. The “Wu Taibo shijia” also records a version of Wu Zixu remonstrating with King Fuchai, using the story of Shaokang. *Shiji*, 31.1469.

<sup>60</sup> Xiahou 夏后 is usually equated with the Xia dynasty, however, more accurately, according to the “Xia benji,” Xiahou is the name of the state. *Shiji*, 2.82.

<sup>61</sup> Kuaiji 會稽 is the name of a mountain; it is located south east of present day Shaoxing county in Zhejiang province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.30.

<sup>62</sup> Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 1926n2 takes these two characters *fengshou* 奉守 to be separate verbs, *gongfeng shouwei* 供奉守衛 “to sacrifice and guard.”

<sup>63</sup> On the descendants of Yu tattooing and cutting their hair short, the *Hanshu* notes that the descendants of Yu cut their hair short and tattooed their bodies in order to avoid being harmed by dragons. Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 28b.1669-70. The *Jijie* commentary to the *Shiji*, records Ying Shao 應劭 (fl. Eastern Han), who explains that the people of Wu and Yue are always in water, “therefore they cut their hair [short], and tattoo their bodies, in order to look like dragons, so they don’t become wounded or harmed” (故斷其髮，文其身，以象龍子，故不見傷害). *Shiji*, 31.1445. The *Yuejueshu*, 1.1a records that King Goujian of Yue had tattoos. In the ancient sources, Wu and Yue were seen as linguistically and culturally distinct from (and by) the people living in the Central States. According to the *Lüshi chunqiu*, Wu Zixu is quoted as saying that Wu and Yue are unlike the people of Qi in the north, but “share the same customs and a mutually intelligible language” (習俗同，言語通). *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2002), 2816. Much has been made in ancient texts concerning their differences – such as having tattoos. The *Zhuangzi* records, “A man of [the state of] Song who did his business selling ceremonial headgear [hats] went to the various Yue, [however ], the Yue people wore their hair short and had tattooed bodies, so they had no use for them” (宋人資章甫而適諸越，越人斷髮文身，無所用之). *Zhuangzi ji shi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 2004), 31. Whether the Yue can be classified as belonging to a single ethnic group is by no means certain. On the question of ethnicity, see Heather Peters, “Tattooed Faces and Stilt Houses: Who Were the Ancient Yue?” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 17 (April

1990): 10. The ancient Yue have been posited as being the ancestors of the Vietnamese, as being Austronesian Speakers, or related to the modern Zhuang ethnic group. Below are a few of the past studies that have examined the little linguistic and textual evidence that has been preserved as well as the material culture in attempts to establish the identity of these peoples. In addition to Peters (above), see Erica Brindley, “Barbarians or Not? Ethnicity and Changing Conceptions of the Ancient Yue (Viet) People, ca. 400-50 BC,” *Asia Major* 16 (1): 1-32.; C. Michael Thompson, “Scripts, Signs, and Swords: The Viet Peoples and the Origin of Nom,” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 101 (March 2000): 1-72; Jerry Norman and Mei Tsu-lin, “The *Austroasiatics in Ancient South China: Some Lexical Evidence*,” *Monumenta Serica* 32 (1976): 274–301; William Meacham, “Defining the hundred Yue,” *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 15 (1996): 93–100; Dong Chuping 董楚平, *Wu Yue wen hua xin tan* 吴越文化新探 (Hangzhou : Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1988); Dong Chuping, *Wu Yue wenhua zhi* 吴越文化志 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1998).

<sup>64</sup> *Lai* 萊 could mean 藜 “lamb's quarters.” However, here *sheng man zacao* 生滿雜草 ‘wild vegetation’ seems more probable, see *Hanyu da zidian* 漢語大字典 (Wuhan: Hubei cishu chubanshe, 1986), 3230. The reading here is based on Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 1926n3: “cleared the area’s vegetation” (開闢荒蕪之地).

<sup>65</sup> The *Yuejueshu*, 8.1a-b records that there was more than a thousand years from this son of Shaokang, called Wuyu 無餘, down to the time of Goujian. The *Wu Yue chunqiu* records 14 generations from the time of Wuyu to Goujian (counting inclusively). *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 10.12a. Takigawa Kametarō notes that 20 generations from Shaokang down to Yunchang is too few,

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since from Shaokang to Jie 桀 (the last ruler of Xia) there were 11 [rulers in the line of succession]; from Tang 湯 (the first ruler of Shang, ca. 15<sup>th</sup> century BCE) to Zhou 紂 (the last ruler of Shang, d.ca. 1045 BCE), there were 30 [rulers in the line of succession], from King Wu of Zhou 周武王 (The founder of the Zhou dynasty, fl. ca. 1045 BCE) down to King Jing 周敬王 (519–477 BCE, a contemporary of Goujian) there were 25 [rulers in the line of succession]. Takigawa Kametarō, *Shiki kaishō kōshō fu kōhō*, 41.2557.

<sup>66</sup> Yunchang 允常 (d. 497 BCE) was an early ruler of Yue and the father of King Goujian. According to the *Yuejueshu* 8.1b-2a, he was the son of Futan 夫鐔 and the father of Goujian. In the list of the kings of Yue given in the *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 10.12a, he is called Yuanchang 元常. The *Wu Yue chunqiu* 6:4b-5a records that his reign began in the time of King Shoumeng of Wu 壽夢 (r. 585-561 BCE). According to the *Shiji*, 31.1449 Shoumeng died in 561 BCE. This would mean Yunchang reigned at least 64 years. Not much else is known of this shadowy figure. The *Yuejueshu*, 8.4b has a description of his tomb. In 1996 – 98, archaeologists excavated a large 1000 square meter tomb, which they identified as belonging to Yunchang. One of the largest known Spring and Autumn period tombs, it is located on Yishan 印山 mountain southeast of Shaoxing. Eric Henry, “The Submerged History of Yue,” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 176 (2007): 5 and Milburn, *The Glory of Yue: An Annotated Translation of the Yuejue Shu*, 225n16. According to the *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 10.10a-b, Goujian attempted to move Yuanchang’s tomb, when he moved the capital to Langye, but was unsuccessful, as when the tomb was opened smoke and wind came out of the tomb blowing sand and rocks at the workmen, so that none

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count enter, and Goujian called off the project. The *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 4.7a records the famous sword maker Ou Yezi 歐冶子 was commissioned by King Yuanchang to make five swords.

<sup>67</sup> King Helu of Wu (r. 514 – 496 BCE) was the son of King Chufan 諸樊 of Wu (r. 560 – 548 BCE). According to the story, told in the *Shiji*, 86.2516-19, he employed Zhuanzhu 專諸 to assassinate Liao 僚 (r. 526-515 BCE), the King of Wu, who was his father’s younger brother. After this, he succeeded to the throne and turned Wu into a powerful state. Elsewhere in the *Shiji*, his name is written Helü 闔閭. *Shiji*, 5.197; *Shiji*, 35.1553; *Shiji*, 36.1569; *Shiji* 37, 1582. According to Wang Shumin, these two sounds are interchangeable. Wang Shumin, *Shiji jiaozheng*, 1281. According to the “Wu Taibo shijia,” *Shiji*, 31.1462-5 and the *Zuozhuan*, see Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 10.1483-84 [Zhao 27], his personal name was Guang 光 and he took the name Helu, when he became king. It has been generally assumed that this refers to his reign name. However, Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎 argues that Helu is the Wu language version of the name Guang. Cao Jinyan, looking at textual and epigraphic evidence, argues that his was written as King Guang on contemporary inscriptions. Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎, “Pei’er goudiao mingwen ba” 配兒鉤鑿銘文跋, in *Wu Yue lishi yu kaogu luncong* 吳越歷史與考古論叢 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), 29.

<sup>68</sup> According to the *Zuozhuan*, this battle took place in the summer of the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Duke Ding of Lu 魯定公 (509–495 BCE), which corresponds to 496 BCE. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 11.1595-96 [Ding 14].

<sup>69</sup> *Sishi* 死士, soldiers willing to die. Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi* 1926n6 and Wang Liqi 王利器 in Zhang Youluan, *Shiji xuanzhu*, 128n9 both have “soldiers who will dare death” (敢死之士). In the *Zuozhuan*, the *sishi* were not the ones who killed themselves, but were instead the first wave of troops sent by Goujian with the mission of breaking the enemy formations. It is only when they were unable to do this that Goujian sent forth three ranks of convicts. In the *Zuozhuan*, it is those people who then commit mass suicide in front of the Wu army, not the *sishi*.

勾踐患吳之整也，使死士再禽焉，不動，使罪人三行，屬劍於頸，而辭曰，二君有治，臣奸旗鼓，不敏於君之行前，不敢逃刑，敢歸死，遂自剄也，師屬之目，越子因而伐之，大敗之。

Goujian worried about the orderliness of [Wu’s formations], and dispatched *sishi* [troops willing to die], which although they repeatedly [attempted lure them out] to get captured by them, the Wu army did not move [and break formation]. Goujian [then] sent convicts in three ranks to advance, and they held their swords to their own throats and called out, “Our two lords have managed [affairs], but we violated the flags and drums, and so because of our dereliction of duty we [stand] before your ruler’s formation, we dare not flee from punishment, and dare to go to death.” Thereafter, they [all] slit their own throats. As the army [of Wu] beheld this with their eyes, Viscount of Yue, using this [moment], attacked them, inflicting a crushing defeat upon them.

In the annotations to the *Zuozhuan*, Jia Kui 賈逵 (30-101) considered these soldiers that killed themselves to have been soldiers condemned to death, whereas Zheng Zhong 鄭眾 (d. 114)

thinks they were soldiers willing to die in order to repay their lord's mercy. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 11.1595-96 [Ding 14]. Nowhere else, that I am aware of, are *sishi* mentioned in the ancient sources as being soldiers who just kill themselves, nor are they considered to be convicts. They are usually those troops able to brave death. As can be seen from this example from the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1998), 81 [Qin 1:2]: “On account of this, [rulers] cast aside literate civilian administrators and appoint military administrators, generously providing for soldiers willing to die, sewing together armor and sharpening weapons, [and thus] effecting victory on the battleground” (於是，乃廢文任武，厚養死士，綴甲厲兵，效勝於戰場).

<sup>70</sup> There is considerable controversy in locating where the battle of Zuili happened. According to the *Jijie* commentary, “Jia Kui 賈逵 said, ‘Zuili is a place in Yue.’ Du Yu 杜預 (222–285) said, ‘The city of Zuili is located in Wu Commandery south of Jiaying’” (集解賈逵曰：「檣李，越地。」杜預曰：「吳郡嘉興縣南有檣李城也」). *Shiji*, 31.1468n1. According to Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.30, Zuili is located south of present day Jiaying 嘉興 city in Zhejiang 浙江 Province. However, Yang Yanqi locates it south of Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang province. Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 1926n7. Wang Liqi locates Zuili at Dongting mountain 洞庭山 on the south bank of Lake Taihu 太湖 Jiangsu 江蘇. Zhang Youluan, *Shiji xuanzhu*, 128n11. As the ancient capital of Yue is located in present day Shaoxing city, it would make sense that the Wu army invading from the north would have been met by the Yue army somewhere north of modern day Shaoxing (which was where the ancient Yue capital was) before the Wu army reached the capital.

<sup>71</sup> The Battle of Zuili, the death of King Helu of Wu 闔廬 (r. 514-497 BCE), and what was said to Prince Fuchai is recorded in the *Zuozhuan*, Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 11.1595-96 [Ding 14]. It is also recorded in three other chapters of the *Shiji*, *Shiji*, 31.1940-41; *Shiji*, 40.1717; *Shiji*, 66.2178. In each version, the details vary. Below is the version of Helu's death according to the *Zuozhuan*, Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 11.1595-96 [Ding 14], illustrating the discord between events recorded in that text and the parallel in the “Yuewang Goujian shijia.”

靈姑浮以戈擊闔廬，闔廬傷將指，取其一屨還，卒於陘，去樵李七里，

夫差使人立於庭，苟出入，必謂己曰，夫差，而忘越王之殺而父乎，則對曰，唯不敢忘。

Ling Gufu 靈姑浮 used his halberd and struck Helu, cutting off his big toe, he thus obtained one of [Helu's] shoes and returned. He died at Xing 陘, seven *li* from Zuili.

Fuchai arranged for someone to stand in court, and whenever he went in or out that person always would say to him: “Fuchai, have you forgotten that the King of Yue killed your father?” He would reply, “I dare not forget.”

<sup>72</sup> The *Zuozhuan* says this battle happened in the first year of Duke Ai of Lu 魯哀公 (r. 494–467 BCE). Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1605-07 [Ai 1]. This same date is given in the “Wu Taibo shijia” 吳太伯世家, which says it happened in the second year of Fuchai (494 BCE). *Shiji*, 31.1469.

<sup>73</sup> The least of all affairs is literally “the branch of affairs.” *Ben* 本”Root” and *mo* 末”branches” refer to the fundamental relationship of all affairs, cosmic and human. The tree has these two parts. Each is an integral part of the whole. However, although the roots may be hidden, all else derives from the roots, so they take precedence over the lower branches. In the *Huainanzi*, fearing that their multiple illustrations may cause the readers to only see the smaller picture, one of the authors of the last chapter admonishes the reader, “Therefore many words have been written [in this text], and numerous are the persuasions, but there is fear that people [reading this text] will depart from the roots and go to the branches” (故多為之辭，博為之說，又恐人之離本就末也). *Huainanzi jishi*, 21.1439.

<sup>74</sup> There is a parallel version of this speech in the “Yueyu xia” in the *Guoyu*, 21.641-44.

<sup>75</sup> Where the battle of Fujiao took place is not certain. According to the *Zuozhuan*, Fuchai first defeated Goujian at Fujiao, and then afterwards invaded Yue, which would make it seem that Fujiao is a place in Wu. “King Fuchai of Wu defeated Yue at Fujiao, in revenge for [the defeat] at Zuili, thereafter they entered Yue” (吳王夫差敗越于夫椒，報檣李也，遂入越). Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1605-07 [Ai 1]. This accords with the *Guoyu* which says that Yue invaded Wu. *Guoyu*, 21.643. In the parallel in the “Wu Zixu liezhuan,” the name of the place is also Fujiao, but written as 夫湫. *Shiji*, 66.2178.

<sup>76</sup> The original word here translated as “entrenched” is *qi* 棲, which means to “roost” [for birds]. The *Jijie* commentary explains, “Du Yu said, ‘This is on top of Mt. Kuaiji’” (杜預曰：「上會稽山也」). *Shiji*, 41.1740.2. The *Suoyin* explains that the true meaning here is that they “roosted on Kuaiji.” “Zou Dan said, ‘Using a mountain for protection is called ‘roosting,’ like a bird roosting

in a tree in order to avoid danger, therefore the *Liutao* says, ‘An army which is high on the mountain is then called “roosting”’ (鄒誕云：「保山曰棲，猶鳥棲於木以避害也，故《六韜》曰『軍處山之高者則曰棲』」). *Shiji*, 41.1740n2.

<sup>77</sup> This passage is difficult to understand, and there are varying interpretations, and I have followed the interpretation given in the *Suoyin* commentary. According to the *Suoyin* commentary, “‘Joining with Heaven’ is Heaven joins with (them), this is to say, maintaining fullness but not overflowing, Heaven joins with those of the same Dao (way), therefore Heaven joins with them” (與天，天與也。言持滿不溢，與天同道，故天與之). *Shiji*, 41.1741n2.

<sup>78</sup> For this reading, I have used the *Jijie* and *Suoyin* commentaries, *Shiji*, 41.1741n3, which are based on Wei Zhao’s commentary to the *Guoyu*. “Joining with the people means to obtain the hearts of the people. The Way of People is to be fond of modesty. When things are collapsing, one uses humble words and august rituals, presents treasures and female musicians, and addresses with respectful titles” (與人，取人之心也。人道好謙，傾危之中，當卑辭尊禮，玩好女樂，尊之以名). *Guoyu*, 21. 642.6.

<sup>79</sup> For this reading I have followed the traditional *Suoyin* commentaries, “For the character *yi* 以 the *Guoyu* has the character *yu* 與, here it is *yi* 以 which also means to join with righteousness. That is to say, the Earth can enrich one with the myriad things. The master of men who properly regulates affairs using Laws of Earth, the Earth will therefore join with him. Wei Zhao and others, in their interpretation, are perhaps incorrect” (《國語》「以」作「與」，此作「以」，亦與義也。言地能財成萬物，人主宜節用以法地，故地與之。韋昭等解恐非). *Shiji*, 41.1741n4.

<sup>80</sup> I have followed the traditional commentaries for this reading: The *Jijie* commentary says, “Wei Zhao says: ‘Shi’ means ‘Li,’ that is to say, entrust the keys [musical instruments] *guan yue* 管籥 to the state, and take yourself and follow them” (韋昭曰: 「市, 利也。謂委管籥屬國家, 以身隨之」). *Shiji*, 41.1741n5. The *Zhengyi* commentary says, “Humbly speak, and generously give precious treasures. If they do not allow for a peace agreement, then the King of Yue will himself go and serve them” (卑作言辭, 厚遺珍寶。不許平, 越王身往事之). *Shiji*, 41. 1741n5.

<sup>81</sup> This is a famous passage and has parallels in both the *Guanzi* and *Guoyu*. In the *Guanzi*, the parallel is presented as an independent saying in a chapter of short disjointed passages of pithy moral sayings or apothegms. It is also one of the few chapters that has separate explanations. See Allyn Rickett, trans., *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China. A Study and Translation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 58. In the *Guoyu* parallel, the conversation first takes place before the battle of Fujiao, where Fan Li uses these arguments in an attempt to dissuade Goujian from attacking Wu, and then following the battle, when Goujian is entrenched on top of Kuaiji, Fan Li reiterates the conversation. *Guoyu*, 21.641-44.

<sup>82</sup> For *Dafu* 大夫 as “Grand Master,” see Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985; reprint, Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1985), 565. This is also how *dafu* has been translated in the *Shiji* translation project headed by Nienhauser. In later texts such as the *Wu Yue chunqiu*, Grand Master Zhong has the surname Wen 文, with the given name Zhong 種, in the *Zuozhuan*, *Guoyu* and *Shiji*, he is simply called Grand Master Zhong. A person of Chu; his background is given in the *Zhengyi*

commentary discussing how he went and found Fan Li. *Shiji*, 41.1741n1 and *Shiji*, 41.1752n1.

The date of Grand Master Zhong's death is given according to the *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 10.9a-9b.

<sup>83</sup> Wu Zixu was a minister in Wu. He was from the state of Chu, and fled to Wu following the execution of his father and older brother. He helped Helu become king of Wu, and later led a major attack on Chu, destroying the Chu capital. He then dug up the body of the late king, who killed his father, and personally whipped it three hundred times, see “Wu Zixu liezhuan” *Shiji*, 66.2171-85. His story is exciting, lengthy and complicated, and has many versions. For an introduction to the legends of Wu Zixu, see David Johnson, “Epic and History in Early China: The Matter of Wu Tzu-hsü,” 255-271.

<sup>84</sup> *Taizai* 太宰: Grand Steward, see Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 483. This office is the same as Prime Minister. Elsewhere Grand Steward Pi 太宰嚭 is surnamed Bo 伯 with the given name Pi 嚭. *Shiji*, 40.1469 etc. Like Wu Zixu, Grand Master Zhong, and Fan Li, he is also from the state of Chu. His grandfather was a Chu official named Bo Zhouli 伯州犁. After his grandfather was executed, Bo Pi fled to Wu. *Shiji*, 66.2174.

<sup>85</sup> On the tribute of these beauties: The *Suoyin* commentary says, “The *Guoyu* says: ‘Yue adorned two beauties, and sent Grand Master Zhong to give them to Grand Steward Pi’” (《國語》云:「越飾美女二人, 使大夫種遺太宰嚭」). *Shiji*, 1742n8. This exact phrase is not in the extant version of the *Guoyu*, which records, “The men of Yue adorned eight beautiful women and gave them to Grand Steward Pi, saying, ‘if you forgive the crime of Yue, we will send others even more beautiful’ (越人飾美女八人納之太宰嚭, 曰:「子苟赦越國之罪, 又有美于此者將進之」). *Guoyu*, 20. 634. The *Suoyin* may be confusing this passage with a tradition, first seen in the

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later Eastern Han works, *Wu Yue chungiu* and *Yuejueshu*, where the people of Yue sent two beauties Xi Shi 西施 and Zheng Dan 鄭旦 to King Fuchai in order to distract him from government affairs. However, it should be noted that according to the *Wu Yue chungiu*, 9.4a-b, these two women were sent to Fuchai in the 20<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Goujian, and were meant to distract King Fuchai from government affairs, while the eight women above sent to Grand Steward Pi were sent in the third year of the reign of Goujian, and are a bribe to get Grand Steward Pi to advocate for Wu to spare Yue following the defeat of Yue at the battle of Fujiao.

<sup>86</sup> Tang 湯 (or Cheng Tang 成湯, trad. 16<sup>th</sup> century BCE) is the semi-legendary founder of the Shang 商 Dynasty (16<sup>th</sup> century – ca. 1045 BCE). According to the “Xia benji,” Jie 桀, the decadent last emperor of Xia 夏, imprisoned Tang at Xiatai 夏臺. Later Tang was freed and he rebelled overthrowing the Xia dynasty. Jie fled into exile at Mingtiao 鳴條, and Tang established the Shang dynasty. *Shiji*, 2.88.

<sup>87</sup> According to legend, this was the name of the prison of Emperor Jie of Xia. It was also called Juntai 均臺. It is located in Henan southwest of Yu County. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.9-10.

<sup>88</sup> According to the “Yin benji” 殷本紀, after Zhou 紂 (d. ca. 1045 BCE), the licentious, last Emperor of the Shang 商 dynasty, had killed a daughter of the Marquis of Jiu 九, the Marquis of E 鄂 remonstrated, and was turned into dried strips of meat. Ji Chang 姬昌 (d. ca. 1049 BCE), the Lord of the West 西伯, sighed in secret. However, Hu 虎, the Marquis of Chong 崇, heard about this and reported it to Emperor Zhou, who imprisoned him at Youli 羑里. Hongyao 閔夭,

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a vassal of the Lord of the West sent beautiful girls and treasures to the Shang King, who released him and enfeoffed him in the west. Hence the name Lord of the West. Chang ruled virtuously and later his son Ji Fa 姬發 rose in rebellion, defeating Emperor Zhou at the battle of Muye 牧野. Emperor Zhou fled to Lutai 鹿臺 put on a jade burial suit and killed himself by jumped into a fire. Ji Fa then founded the Zhou 周 dynasty and was called King Wu 武王. His father Ji Chang was called King Wen 文王 and was considered one of the founders of the Zhou 周 Dynasty. *Shiji*, 4.116-27.

<sup>89</sup> According to Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.30, Youli 羑里 is located few miles south of modern day Anyang 安陽. Yang Yanqi and Wang Liqi place Youli just north of present day Tangyin 湯陰 county in Henan Province. Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 1930n2; Zhang Youluan, *Shiji xuanzhu*, 128n9.

<sup>90</sup> During the Spring and Autumn period, Chong'er 重耳 (671-628 BCE) was a prince in the State of Jin 晉. According to the "Hereditary House of Jin," Chong'er's evil stepmother Li Ji 驪姬, framed Chong'er's elder brother, the heir designate, who chose to commit suicide. After his brother's suicide, Chong'er was framed as well, and barely escaping, he took refuge among the Di 狄 barbarians (655 BCE). He lived with the Di for 12 years, then travelled among the Feudal States having several famous adventures before he finally established as Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公 (r. 636-628 BCE). *Shiji*, 39.1641-61. While he was Duke he established himself as Hegemon of the Central States, later he was considered one of the Five Hegemons 五霸.

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<sup>91</sup> Di 翟 is another character for Di 狄. Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 1930n2. Chong'er lived for 12 years among the Di also see the *Guoyu*, 10.337. The Di 狄 is a non-Zhou ethnic group living in north China.

<sup>92</sup> According to the “Qi Taigong shijia” 齊太公世家, Xiaobai 小白 was a younger brother of Duke Xiang of Qi 齊襄公 (d. 686 BCE). The Duke sent two officials to garrison a fort during melon season, saying when the next melon season came a year later they would be relieved. When they were not relieved they rose in rebellion, killing Duke Xiang and installing a relative as the new duke. Xiaobai fled to Ju and was assisted by Bao Shuya 鮑叔牙 (d. 644 BCE), while another brother Jiu 糾 fled to Lu assisted by Guan Zhong 管仲 (c. 720-645 BCE). When the usurper was killed, Xiaobai returned to Qi, raised an army and defeated his brother in battle and became Duke Huan of Qi (r. 685 BCE-643 BCE). With the assistance of Guan Zhong, whom he had forgiven, Duke Huan of Qi became the first of the Five Hegemons. *Shiji*, 32.1484-87.

<sup>93</sup> Ju 莒 is the name of a small state during the Spring and Autumn period, which was of non-Zhou origin, it was located in Shandong province. However, because of its vulnerability, it moved several times. William Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribes Records*, vol. 5, bk. 1, *The Hereditary Houses of Pre-Han China, Part*, 56n172. According to Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.30, the location at this time during the Spring and Autumn period was in present day Ju 莒 county in Shandong province.

<sup>94</sup> The hegemon (*ba* 霸) was an especially powerful ruler during the Spring and Autumn period, who was able to create alliances among the states in which they were the leaders. The Five Hegemons were a list of five rulers who were able in their time to become strong enough to

command these alliances. The list of who these Five Hegemons were changes depending on the text. In early sources, King Goujian himself occasionally makes the list, as does Helu and Fuchai. However, Xiaobai (Duke Huan of Qi) and Chong'er (Duke Wen of Jin) are always recognized as being one of the Five Hegemons and are on every list.

<sup>95</sup> When this takes place is not exactly clear. According to the “Yueyu shang,” Goujian personally went into captivity in Wu for three years. “Afterwards [Goujian] humbly served Fuchai. Three hundred officers and knights [of Yue] went to serve in Wu, and [Goujian] personally served as the caretaker of Fuchai’s horses” (然後卑事夫差，宦士三百人于吳，其身親為夫差前馬). *Guoyu*, 20, 634. The *Shiji* does not seem to be aware of Goujian spending time as a captive in Yue. However, *Han Feizi* seems to be aware of a similar tradition of Goujian being in charge of the King’s horses while in captivity. “Goujian went and served in Wu, personally holding a shield and halberd, he served as the front guard for the King of Wu’s horses. Therefore, he was able to kill Fuchai at Gusu” (句踐入宦於吳，身執干戈為吳王洗馬，故能殺夫差於姑蘇). *Han Feizi jishi*, 164.

<sup>96</sup> According to Gu Jiegang, this appears to be the earliest reference to this measure taken by Goujian. It forms the first half of the famous idiom, “tasting gall and sleeping on firewood” (嘗膽臥薪). The “sleeping on firewood” part doesn’t become part of the legend until much later. Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu, *Chunqiu san zhuan ji Guoyu zhi zonghe yanjiu*, 107.

<sup>97</sup> There are many parallels describing the determination of Goujian and the austere life he put himself through to succeed. One of the most descriptive is in the *Lüshi chunqiu zhushu* 呂氏春秋注疏 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2002), 885-6.

<sup>98</sup> According to the “Yueyu shang,” “If a son, who was not the heir died, the father was excused from government service for three months, and [Goujian, himself] would inevitably go to the grave and cry for him, as if it were his own child [who had died]” (支子死，三月釋其政。必哭泣葬埋之，如其子). *Guoyu*, 20. 635.

<sup>99</sup> 填撫: I have followed Yang Yanqi and treated these as separate verbs “stabilize and comfort” (鎮定撫慰). Yang Yanqi 楊燕起, *Shiji quanyi* 史記全譯 (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin, 2001), 1931.

<sup>100</sup> There is a parallel in *Guoyu*, 21. 643-4. However, in that text these words are spoken while they are on Kuaiji, preparing to surrender. In that version, Goujian is going to serve in Wu and wishes to entrust Fan Li with the kingdom while he is away, but in that text, Fan Li says he should be used for foreign affairs and Grand Master Zhong should be used for domestic affairs. Thereafter Goujian entrusts Grand Master Zhong with the kingdom, afterwhich Fan Li and Goujian go off together into captivity in Wu.

<sup>101</sup> According to the *Suoyin* commentary, Zheji 柘稽 is a Grand Master of Yue. *Shiji*, 41. 1743n3. He is equated by the *Suoyin* commentary with a Yue official named Chuji Ying 諸稽郢 in the “Wuyu” 吳語 chapter of the *Guoyu*, 19.593.

<sup>102</sup> According to the *Suoyin* commentary, he was a Grand Master of Yue. His surname was Pang 逢, and given name was Tong 同. Later in this chapter, he conspired with Bo Pi to have Wu Zixu killed.

<sup>103</sup> For *liuwang* 流亡 meaning “peril,” see Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, ed., *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1994), 5.1256.

<sup>104</sup> Parallel in “Wu Taibo shijia,” *Shiji*, 30.1471. According to that chapter, Fuchai was taking advantage of the fact that Duke Jing of Qi had died (489 BCE) and the new lord was young and the various ministers were contending. This marks the beginning of the chaos in Qi and the rise of the Tian 田 family which would eventually take over as rulers of the state.

<sup>105</sup> Dating for the battle of Ailing 艾陵 is problematic. According to the *Zuozhuan*, the battle at Ailing took place in 484 BCE. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1663 [Ai 11]. In the “Wu Taibo shijia,” the battle takes place in 489 BCE, *Shiji*, 31.1471. According to the *Zuozhuan*, Wu Zixu’s death comes soon after the battle at Ailing. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1664 [Ai 11].

<sup>106</sup> According to the *Suoyin* commentary, Guo and Gao were Guo Huizi 國惠子 and Gao Zhaozi 高昭子. According to the *Zuozhuan*, All the spoils of the war were given to Duke Ai of Lu, Guo was captured and subsequently beheaded by Lu, which sent the head back to Qi. The *Zuozhuan* says that Gao was defeated at the battle of Ailing but his fate is not given, and he is not included in the list of people captured. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 11.1663 [Ai 11].

<sup>107</sup> Grand Steward Pi is using Wu Zixu’s personal name, which has a disrespectful connotation. For the pronunciation of Wu Zixu’s given name as Yun 員, see *Ciyuan* 辭源 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1988), 519. Zixu is his courtesy name. Nienhauser takes Xu to be his courtesy name and “zi” to be an “honorific suffix.” Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribes Records*, vol. 7, *The*

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*Memoirs of Pre-Han China*, 50. In a number of places in his biography, *Shiji*, 66. 2171-84, he is simply called Wu Xu, which lends credence to “zi” being an honorific in that chapter.

Throughout the *Guoyu*, he is called Shen Xu 申胥, and according to Wei Zhao’s commentary, Shen 申 was his fief in Wu. *Guoyu*, 19.592n4.

<sup>108</sup>This is a reference to the story of Wu Zixu fleeing Chu following the execution of his father and older brother by the King of Chu.

<sup>109</sup> In other early sources such as the *Zuozhuan* and “Wu Taibo shijia,” Bo Pi does not actively slander Wu Zixu, especially with a Grand Master of Yue. However, in “The Biography of Wu Zixu, Bo Pi slanders Wu Zixu, and this leads directly to his death. *Shiji*, 66.2180.

<sup>110</sup> The Bao Clan, to whom Wu Zixu had entrusted his son, was a noble clan in Qi. They were represented by Grand Master Bao Mu 大夫鮑牧 (who actually died four years earlier). They will overthrow Duke Dao 悼 of Qi in 485 BCE. A parallel version of these events in the *Zuozhuan* also records that this event was the catalyst for the execution of Wu Zixu. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1664 [Ai 11].

<sup>111</sup> The Zhuluo 屬鏐 sword. There are two pronunciations usually given for this sword: Shuluo and Zhuluo. “Shuluo” is the pronunciation given in D.C. Lau, 吳越春秋逐字索引 *Wu Yue chunqiu zhuzi suoyin* (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1993), 240. “Zhuluo” is the pronunciation given in the *Ciyuan* dictionary, *Ciyuan*, 496. For now, I will tentatively use Zhuluo, although there is evidence either may be correct. Zhuoluo is the name of the sword bestowed by Fuchai on Wu Zixu, with which he is to kill himself. This sword also is mentioned

in the “Wu Zixu liezhuan” and *Zuozhuan. Shiji*, 66.2180; Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1664 [Ai 11]. According to the *Xunzi*, the name of the sword that Wu Zixu used to commit suicide was the Dulu 獨鹿 sword. *Xunzi 荀子 (Sibu beiyao 四部備要 edition)*, 18.5a. In some versions of the story, Grand Master Zhong even used the same sword that Wu Zixu used to kill himself making the tragedy even more poignant. This irony was not lost on the ancient writers, as both of them were loyal and forced to commit suicide by their kings with the same sword. *Huainanzi jishi*, 959. In the *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 10.9a-9b the sword used by Wen Zhong to kill himself is called the Zhulu 屬盧 sword.

<sup>112</sup> According to “Wu Zixu liezhuan,” Wu Zixu helped Fuchai to get chosen as hier over his brothers. *Shiji*, 66.2180.

<sup>113</sup> There are many interpretations of the meaning of the character *yi* 已 here. Yang Yanqi interprets it to mean, “that was not long ago.” Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 1935. Ma Chiying 馬持盈 interprets it as an interjection, “alas.” Ma Chiying 馬持盈, *Shiji jin zhu 史記今注* (Taiwan: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979), 1774. Another possible meaning is, “it (that affair) is over,” which I have tentatively used until the issue of this passage is resolved.

<sup>114</sup> There are many variations on what Wu Zixu said before he died and what happened to his corpse. According to the *Lüshi chunqiu zhushu*, 21.2821-23, it is Fuchai, who gouges out Wu Zixu’s eyes and hangs them on the gate. In the *Wu Yue chunqiu*, Fuchai cuts off Wu Zixu’s head and hangs it on a high pavilion. *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 5.8a. According to the *Guoyu*, “The king was enraged, and said, ‘I won’t let you to see anything!’ and took Shen Xu’s corpse, stuffed it into a wineskin, and threw it in the Yangtze River” (王愷曰：「孤不使大夫得有見也」乃使取申胥之

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尸，盛以鷓夷，而投之于江). *Guoyu*, 19.602. The *Suoyin* commentary records the *Guoyu* version. *Shiji*, 41.1744n6.

<sup>115</sup> According to the *Zuozhuan*, the meeting at Huangchi 潢池 happened in Year 13 of Duke Ai of Lu (482 BCE). Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1676-77 [Ai 13]. Huangchi was located south of present day Fengchiu 封丘 county in Henan province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.24-25.

<sup>116</sup> *Taizi* 太子: hier designate. Although Hucker has “heir apparent,” Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 484, I have chosen to use the term hier designate as during the Eastern Zhou succession was not based on primogeniture. The king would designate the hier, and as narrated earlier in this chapter, Wu Zixu even helped Fuchai become hier designate over his brothers. On the succession of the kings of Wu, see Olivia Milburn, “Kingship and Inheritance in the State of Wu: Fraternal Succession in Spring and Autumn Period China (771-475 BC),” *T'oung Pao* 90 (2004): 195-214. According to the *Zuozhuan*, the name of Fuchai’s heir designate was You 友. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1676-77 [Ai 13].

<sup>117</sup> In the *Zuozhuan*, the hier designate is captured, but it does not tell his fate after that. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1676-77 [Ai 13]. This version is translated in note note 240 on page 94.

<sup>118</sup> According to the *Zuozhuan* this event took place in 482 BCE. The *Zuozhuan*, Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1676-77 [Ai 13]. The *Zuozhuan* version records the battle in great detail. In that version Hier Designate You is captured but his fate is not recorded. Also, in that version the king of Wu kills the messengers that tell him of the defeat. “The people of Wu told

the king about the defeat. The king hated the idea that anyone would hear about this, and personally decapitated the seven messengers on the spot” (吳人告敗于王，王惡其聞也，自剄七人於幕下). Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1676-77 [Ai 13].

<sup>119</sup> This event is recorded in the *Zuozhuan*, Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1707 [Ai 17].

<sup>120</sup> According to the *Jijie* commentary, “Yu Fan says: ‘[He is a] Grand Master of Wu’” (虞翻曰：「吳大夫」). *Shiji*, 41. 1746n1. There is a parallel in the *Guoyu*, 21.652-56.

<sup>121</sup> Here Fan Li is quoting the *Shijing*, *Mao* 158: “When an axe handle is hewn, the pattern is not far off” (伐柯伐柯，其則不遠). *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), 531-532. There is a parallel in the *Guoyu*, 21.652-56.

<sup>122</sup> *Zhishi* 執事, which literally means director of affairs, is not an official title. The “one in charge” is Fan Li. According to the *Jijie* commentary, “*Zhishi* is what (Fan) Li calls himself” (執事，蠡自謂也). *Shiji*, 41. 1746n2. According to the *Shiji*, the general Sunzi told King Helu of Wu, that once a general is in the field, “there are commands from the ruler that are not accepted” (君命有所不受). *Shiji*, 65.2161.

<sup>123</sup> According to the *Jijie* commentary, the meaning of this phrase should be – “I will be punished on account of you.” “Yu Fan says, ‘I will be punished because of you’” (虞翻曰：「我為子得罪」). However the *Suoyin* commentary says, “Yu Fan’s comments are probably based on

the text of the *Guoyu*. Presently I have looked at this text, it says the envoys should quickly depart, otherwise they will be punished by Yue, the meaning is also the same” (虞翻注蓋依國語之文，今望此文，謂使者宜速去，不且得罪於越，義亦通). *Shiji*, 41.1746n3. Yang Yanqi in his comments and translation follows the *Suoyin* version, Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 1937n8, 1938.

<sup>124</sup> Yongdong was located on Zhoushan 舟山 Island east of modern Ningbo city. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.21.

<sup>125</sup> There are many versions of the death of Fuchai. In the version from the “Wu Taibo shijia,” Fuchai says he regrets not listening to advice of Wu Zixu, and then slits his throat (遂自剄死). *Shiji*, 31.1475. However, in the *Zuozhuan*, the king hangs himself: “In the winter of the 11<sup>th</sup> month, on the *dingmao* day, Yue exterminated Wu, and asked the King of Wu to live at Yongdong. The king declined saying, ‘I have become old, how could I serve your lord.’ Then he hanged himself” (冬，十一月，丁卯，越滅吳，請使吳王居甬東，辭曰，孤老矣，焉能事君，乃縊). Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1719 [Ai 22].

<sup>126</sup> Other early traditions about Grand Steward Pi, as found in the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*, not only do not mention his execution by Goujian, but according to the *Zuozhuan*, he was employed by Yue following the fall of Wu. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1723-24 [Ai 24]:

閏月，公如越，得太子適郢，將妻公，而多與之地，公孫有山，使告于季孫，季孫懼，使因大宰嚭，而納賂焉，乃止。

In the intercalary month, the Duke [Ai of Lu] 鲁哀公 (r. 494 – 468 BCE) went to Yue and met with the Shi Ying 適郢 (the son of Goujian), who

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intended to marry [his daughter] to the duke and present him with more territory. Gongsun Youshan 公孫有山<sup>126</sup> sent someone to tell the Ji Sun 季孫. Ji Sun was afraid, and on account of this sent someone to offer bribes to Grand Steward Pi. After which the affair was dropped.

This event which happened in the 24<sup>th</sup> year of Duke Ai of Lu (470 BCE), and therefore took place three years after the fall of Wu, shows that at least one early tradition did not have Grand Steward Pi executed following the fall of Wu, and he was actually employed by the state of Yue following the fall of Wu.

<sup>127</sup> The Huai 淮 river flows west to east through northern Anhui province into northern Jiangsu province. Tan, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.29-30.

<sup>128</sup> The Ruler of Jin was Duke Chu of Jin 晉出公 (474–452 BCE) and the ruler of Qi would be Duke Ping of Qi 齊平公 (480-456 BCE).

<sup>129</sup> Xuzhou is also Shuzhou 舒州 which is the state of Xue 薛, located south of present day Teng 滕 county in Shandong province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.39.

<sup>130</sup> During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States, feudal lords would seal political bonds with other lords by distributing sacrificial meat. Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 30.

<sup>131</sup> This passage is at variance with other parts of the *Shiji*. The “Chu shijia” 楚世家 says “After Yue destroyed Wu, they were not able to control the land around the Yangtze, and north of the

Huai river. In the East, Chu invaded the wide territory, taking the land all the way up to the upper reaches of the Si river” (越滅吳而不能正江、淮北。楚東侵廣地至泗上). *Shiji*, 40.1719. This discrepancy is noted in the *Jijie* commentary to the *Shiji*, 41. 1746n1.

<sup>132</sup> The Si river, a tributary of the Huai river, flows southeast and meets up with the Huai river in Shandong province, about 40 km upstream from present day Qingjiang 清江 city. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.30.

<sup>133</sup> For the fuller poem which may or may not be of a later date, see “Huaiyin hou liezhuan” 淮陰侯列傳. “When the crafty hares are dead, /The trusty dogs get boiled; / When the high [flying] birds are all gone, / The good bows get stored away, / When enemy states are broken,/ The strategists get liquidated” (狡兔死 良狗烹; /高鳥盡 良弓藏; /敵國破 謀臣亡). *Shiji*, 92.2627. That this may be considered a poem is shown in the tri-syllabic meter and the use of rhyme. The possibility, that the characters 烹 *peng* ‘boil,’ 藏 *cang* ‘store’ (v.) and 亡 *wang* ‘die’ once rhymed in Old Chinese, can be seen in William Baxter’s reconstruction of Old Chinese. *Peng*: OC \*p.q<sup>h</sup>raŋ {\*[p.q<sup>h</sup>]<sup>h</sup>raŋ} Baxter, 117; *Cang*: OC \*m-ts<sup>h</sup>aŋ Baxter, 28; *Wang*: OC \*maŋ, Baxter, 92. See Baxter, W. and L. Sagart (n.d.) “Baxter-Sagart Old Chinese reconstruction” (version 1.00 ), <http://crlao.ehess.fr/document.php?id=1217>. Accessed (3/1/2013).

<sup>134</sup> This event parallels Wu Zixu’s death. King Fuchai presented Wu Zixu with the Zhuluo 屬鏤 sword, with which he was to honorably kill himself. In some versions of the story, Grand Master Zhong even used the same sword that Wu Zixu used to kill himself. According to the account in the *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 10.9a-9b, Grand Master Zhong used a sword called the Zhulu 屬盧 sword.

<sup>135</sup> These seven arts are not listed in the *Shiji*. The *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 10.9a-9b records that Wen Zhong had nine arts. For a list of these nine arts, see the *Yuejueshu*, 12.1a. The *Zhengyi* commentary quotes these nine arts from the *Yuejueshu*, with slight differences. *Shiji*, 41.1747n2.

<sup>136</sup> According to the *Suoyin* commentary, Goujian died in the year 465. “The *Bamboo Annals* say, ‘In the 10<sup>th</sup> year of the 11<sup>th</sup> month of Duke Chu of Jin 晉出公 (r. 474 - 462 BCE), Goujian, the Viscount of Yuyue 於粵 died, he was [known as] Tan Zhi 莢執” (《紀年》云：「晉出公十年十一月，於粵子句踐卒，是為莢執」). *Shiji*, 41.1747n1. I have not used the *Bamboo Annals* version for the following notes on these kings, as the *Suoyin* quotes the *Annals* fairly accurately, but also adds useful comments. Eric Henry discusses the idea that Goujian is the Yue language version of Tan Zhi [Reed Holder], surmising that since Goujian doesn’t have any meaning in Chinese and Tan Zhi makes sense in Chinese, therefore, Goujian may be the Yue language for Reed Holder and Tan Zhi is the Chinese translation. Eric Henry, “The Submerged History of Yue,” 11.

<sup>137</sup> On Shiyu 翫與, the *Suoyin* commentary notes, “The *Bamboo Annals* say, ‘Goujian, the Viscount of Yuyue died, he was [known as] Tanzhi. He was succeeded by Luying 鹿郢, who died in the sixth year of his reign.’ Yue Zi said, ‘In the language of Yue, Luying is Shiyu” (《紀年》云「於粵子句踐卒，是莢執。次鹿郢立，六年卒」。樂資云「越語謂鹿郢為翫與也」). *Shiji*, 41.1747n2. He has been equated to the hier designate of Goujian in the *Zuozhuan*, who in that text is named Shiying 適郢. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 12.1723-24 [Ai 24]. Cao Jinyan and Dong Chuping both argue on stylistic features of artifacts and linguistic data that this King Shiyu is the same person as a king named Zhici yuci 者旨於暘, whose name appears in

inscriptions, which Cao and Dong date to the late Spring and Autumn period. Cao Jinyan gives his dates of his reign as 464 - 559 BCE. Cao Jinyan, “Ji xin faxian de Yue wang Bushou jian,” 90; Dong Chuping, *Wu Yue wenhua zhi*, 107. Cao’s dates are apparently based on the Bamboo Annals, see Wang Guowei, *Guben Zhushu jinian jixiao; Jinben Zhushu jinian shuzheng*, 113.

<sup>138</sup> For King Bushou 不壽, the *Suoyin* commentary says, “The *Bamboo Annals* says, “Bushou reigned for 10 years and then was killed, he was [known as] Manggu 盲姑, afterwards Zhugou 朱句 was enthroned” (《紀年》云: 「不壽立十年見殺, 是為盲姑。次朱句立」). *Shiji*, 41.1747n3. Eric Henry argues that Manggu, which is unintelligible in Chinese, must be his name in the Yue language and Bushou which means “without longevity” is the Chinese version of the name and must have been given to the ruler who was assassinated after a reign of 10 years. Henry, “The Submerged History of Yue,” 11. This identification has been problematic and there is disagreement on the identification of Bushou. Bushou is listed as being the son of Shiyu in the *Shiji* kinglist, *Shiji*, 41.1747 and the *Wu Yue chungiu* kinglists, *Wu Yue chungiu*, 10.11a. He is also mentioned in the *Bamboo Annals*, which the *Suoyin* quotes above. However, the Kinglist in the *Yuejueshu*, 8.1b-2a does not mention a Bushou. As for inscriptional evidence on Bushou, Dong Chuping has argues a king called Jibeigu 丌北古 in inscriptions, which he dates to the Late Spring and Autumn, should be equated with King Manggu of Yue. Dong Chuping, *Wu Yue wenhua zhi*, 114. However, Cao Jinyan argues that Jibeigu cannot be Bushou, and that Jibeigu is possibly Wuqiang. Cao argues that, based on inscriptions that have been found, with the name of a prince of Yue called Bushou 不<sub>正</sub> [壽], Bushou does not mean “without longevity,” but is a Yue language name which meaning is lost today. In addition, Cao argues that Bushou is then the name by which the king was referred to in contemporary inscriptions. Cao Jinyan gives his

reign dates as 458 - 449 BCE, which is apparently based on the *Bamboo Annals*. Cao Jinyan, “Ji xin faxian de Yue wang Bushou jian,” 86-91. Wang Guowei, *Guben Zhushu jinian jixiao; Jinben Zhushu jinian shuzheng*, 114.

<sup>139</sup> This Weng 翁 is equated by the *Suoyin* commentary to Zhugou 朱句 recorded in the *Bamboo Annals*. According to the *Suoyin* commentary, “The *Bamboo Annals* say, ‘Zhugou, the Viscount of Yuyue, in the 34<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, exterminated Teng 滕. In the 35<sup>th</sup> year of his reign he exterminated Tan 鄆. In the 37<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, Zhugou died’” (紀年於粵子朱句三十四年滅滕，三十五年滅鄆，三十七年朱句卒). *Shiji*, 41.1747.n5. The dates of Zhugou’s reign are given as 448-412 BCE by Cao Jinyan, which is apparently based on the *Bamboo Annals*. Wang Guowei, *Guben Zhushu jinian jixiao; Jinben Zhushu jinian shuzheng*, 118. Cao and Dong both argue that this King Weng should be equated with a King Zhougou 州句, who is mentioned in more than twenty inscriptions dated by Cao and Dong to the late Spring and Autumn early Warring States. Cao Jinyan, “Ji xin faxian de Yue wang Bushou jian,” 90. Dong Chuping, *Wu Yue wenhua zhi*, 115-120.

<sup>140</sup> With the death of King Yi 翳, Yue appears to enter a period of disorder. According to the *Suoyin* commentary, a certain Zhujiu 諸咎 assassinated King Yi in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year of his reign. Zhujiu was killed soon after by the people of Yue, who established Cuozi 錯枝 as ruler. The following year, Grand Master Si Qu 寺區 established Wuyuzhi 無余之 as ruler. He was also called Mang’an 莽安. Si Qu’s younger brother killed the king Mang’an and Wuzhuan 無顛 was established. He was also called Tangzhumao 莢蠋卯. After Wuzhuan, Wuqiang 無疆 was established. After him, there was King Zhihou 之侯 who was [called] Wuyuzhi 無余之. *Shiji*,

41.1747n5. These assassinations are recorded in *Zhuangzi*, which says, that after three rulers had been assassinated, Prince Sou 搜 [Wuqiang] fled into a cave, but the people of Yue smoked him out and caused him to ride the royal chariot. *Zhuangzi ji shi*, 968. This chronology is difficult to square away with the king lists in the *Shiji*, 41.1746, *Yuejueshu*, 8.1b-2a, and *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 10.10b-11a. For a comparison of these king lists, see Henry, “The Submerged History of Yue,” 10.

<sup>141</sup> The position of Zhihou is different in each list. *Shiji*, 41.1746, *Yuejueshu*, 8.1b-2a, and *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 10.10b-11a. Cao Jinyan, based on the little inscriptional evidence from this time, argues that Buyang is a Zhici Buguang 不光 recorded in inscriptions, whom he dates to this time. He also equates this Buguang with King Yi giving the dates for his reign as 411 - 376 BCE. Cao Jinyan, “Ji xin faxian de Yue wang Bushou jian,” 90.

<sup>142</sup> On the pronunciation of Wuqiang’s name, see *Suoyin* commentary, *Shiji*, 41. 1748n6. According to the *Suoyin* commentary, “[Wu Qiang] was actually Wuzhuan's younger brother” (蓋無顛之弟也). *Shiji*, 41.1748n6. According to the “Yuewang Goujian shijia,” Wuqiang is the last king of Yue. The king lists in the *Yuejueshu*, 8.1b-2a and *Wu Yue chunqiu*, 10.10b-11a both list the names of kings that follow Wuqiang. In addition to these king lists, there is other evidence that Yue continued as an independent state after the 334 BCE date given in this chapter of the *Shiji*. The *Bamboo annals* record the death of Wuqiang in 334 BCE. Wang Guowei, *Guben Zhushu jinian jixiao; Jinben Zhushu jinian shuzheng*, 124. However, there is an entry in the *Bamboo Annals* dated to the year 312 BCE that says: “In the 4<sup>th</sup> month of the 3<sup>rd</sup> year (of King Yin 隱 of Zhou, 312 BCE), The king of Yue sent Gongshi Yu 公師隅 (to Wei) to present 300 boats, 5 million arrows, rhinoceros horns, and elephant ivory” (隱王... 三年 , ... 四月, 越

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王使公師隅來獻舟三百, 箭五百萬, 及犀角, 象齒). Wang Guowei, *Guben Zhushu jinian jixiao; Jinben Zhushu jinian shuzheng*, 126. An inscription, the longest from East Zhou, dated to around 310 BCE from the kingdom of Zhongshan records, “Previously, the men of Wu annexed Yue. The men of Yue trained in preparation for the (future) task (of revenge), and in five years were able to overthrow Wu, and keep it annexed up to the present time” (昔者, 吳人並雩 (越), 雩 (越) 人修教 (教) 備信 (信), 五年覆吳, 克並之至於今). Gilbert L. Mattos, “Eastern Zhou Bronze Inscriptions,” in *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts*, ed. Edward L. Shaughnessy (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1997), 104. Yang Shanqun, 楊善群 has a discussion on passages from the *Yuejueshu*, *Zhanguo ce*, *Han feizi*, and *Hanshi waizhuan* that all show that in the third century Yue was a viable state with a king, was a threat to Chu and Qin, and was making alliances with other states against Qin in the period of 235-225. Yang Shanqun, 楊善群 *Goujian* 句踐 (Taipei: Zhishufang chubanshe, 1993), 176-178.

<sup>143</sup> The title king here does not refer to Wuqiang’s title of king, but means “one who can unite All under Heaven,” and hegemon is “one who becomes the leading ruler of the states.”

<sup>144</sup> By the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the state of Jin 晉 had already split into three separate states: Han, Wei and Zhao 趙, often called the Three Jin 三晉. However, here Jin refers to only Han 韓 and Wei 魏. Unlike Han and Wei, Zhao does not share a border with Chu. Han and Wei in this passage are also called the “Two Jin” 二晉.

<sup>145</sup> She 葉 was in Han territory, it was located southwest of modern day She 葉 county in Henan province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.36. Yangdi 陽翟 was in Han territory, it was located south of present day Yu 禹 county in Henan province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.36.

<sup>146</sup> Chen 陳, which was a part of Wei's territory was located in west of modern Huaiyang 淮陽 county in Henan province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45. Shangcai 上蔡 was located southwest of present day Shangcai 上蔡 county in Henan province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45.

<sup>147</sup> Daliang 大梁 was the capital of the ancient state of Wei. It is located in modern day Kaifeng 開封 city in Henan. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45.

<sup>148</sup> Nanyang 南陽 and Ju 莒: This Nanyang is located in the ancient state of Qi, and was the southern district of Qi in modern day Ju county in southern Shandong province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.39. Ju is located in modern day county in Shandong province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.39.

<sup>149</sup> Chang 常 is located southwest of modern day Zaozhuang 棗莊 city. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.39. Tan 鄆 was located northwest of modern day Tan 鄆 city in Shandong province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45.

<sup>150</sup> According to the *Zhengyi* commentary, “Fangcheng Mountain is in eighteen *li* southwest of She county in Xuzhou 許州. Outside of Xuzhou is Yuzhou 豫州. This is to say, if the armies of

Wei are stationed below Daliang, the armies of Chu deployed at Fangcheng cannot move south to attack Yue” (方城山在許州葉縣西南十八里。外謂許州、豫州等。言魏兵在大梁之下，楚方城之兵不得南伐越也). *Shiji*, 41.1750n9. The maps in Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45 show the large wall built by Chu against its northern neighbors. This wall forms a half circle around Fangcheng located northeast of modern Nanyang city 南陽.

<sup>151</sup> Shang 商 was the name of a city located in modern day, Danfeng 丹鳳 county in Shaanxi province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.44.

<sup>152</sup> Wu 於 was located east of present day Xixia 西峽 county in Henan province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.44.

<sup>153</sup> Xi 析 was located in present day Xixia 西峽 county in Henan province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.44.

<sup>154</sup> Zhi 鄴 was a place in the state of Chu located north of present day Nanyang city in Henan province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45.

<sup>155</sup> Zonghu 宗胡 was located in modern day Fuyang 阜陽 city in Anhui province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45; Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 1946.

<sup>156</sup> The left [west] of the Xia 夏路 road. According to the *Jijie* commentary The Xia Road is the road coming out of Fangcheng which goes northeast toward the Central States (Huaxia), therefore the area to the left is west. *Shiji*, 41.1750n12. Tan shows Xialu [the Road to Xia]

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running along this course described in the *Jijie* commentary. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45.

<sup>157</sup> The area between the Si river and Yangtze, would run approximately along the modern borders of Anhui and Jiangsu, which would be the border area between the ancient states of Chu and Yue. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45.

<sup>158</sup> The Yellow River is far north of Yue, and Hua Mountain is in modern day Shaanxi on the border of the state of Qin. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45.

<sup>159</sup> The *Suoyin* commentary explains this as: “The King of Yue knows the errors of Jin, but is himself unable to perceive the mistakes of Yue, this is like a person’s eye which can make out a fine strand of hair, but is unable to see its own lashes, therefore this is called the analogy of the eye” (言越王知晉之失，不自覺越之過，猶人眼能見豪毛而自不見其睫，故謂之「目論」也). *Shiji*, 41.1750n14.

<sup>160</sup> This refers to the three biggest clans, related to the royal house, from whom the ranks of Grand Masters came: The Qu 屈 clan (Whose most famous representative being the poet Qu Yuan 屈原, trad. 343–278 BCE), Jing 景 clan, and Zhao 昭 clan.

<sup>161</sup> During the Warring States, Quwo 曲沃 belonged to the state of Wei, it was just north of present day Wenxi 聞喜 county in Shanxi province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.35.

<sup>162</sup> Wuzhong 於中 belonged to the state of Qin, and was located in modern Xishan county 西陝 in Henan province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.44.

<sup>163</sup> Wujia Pass 無假之關 is located north of Xiangyang 湘陽 county in Hunan province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45. On the distance of Wujia Pass: According to the *Zhengyi* commentary, “This says from west of Quwo and Wuzhong it is more than 1000 li to Hanzhong 漢中, Ba 巴, Wu 巫, and Qianzhong 黔中, all of which must prepare against Qin and Jin” (言從曲沃、於中西至漢中、巴、巫、黔中千餘里，皆備秦、晉也). *Shiji*, 41.1750n17.

<sup>164</sup> Jing Cui 景翠 is a general and grandmaster of Chu.

<sup>165</sup> According to the *Zhengyi* commentary: “This says if the army is prepared to go against these three states, could it be any more spread out?” (言楚又備此三國也，分散有大此者乎?). *Shiji*, 41.1750n18.

<sup>166</sup> According to the *Suoyin* commentary Chou 讎 is Chou 犇. *Shiji*, 41.1750n20. Chou 犇 was located southwest of modern Pingdingshan 平頂山 city in Henan province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.29.

<sup>167</sup> Pang 龐 was located east of modern Hengyang city 衡陽 in Hunan. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.46.

<sup>168</sup> Changsha 長沙 was located in modern Changsha city in Hunan. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.46.

<sup>169</sup> According to the *Suoyin* commentary, Jingzeling 竟澤陵 is Jinglingzhe 竟陵澤 and was one of the seven large marshes in the state of Chu. *Shiji*, 41.1750n20. It was located in the 500 sq.

km. area, east of modern day *Shashi* 沙市 city in Hubei province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45.

<sup>170</sup> During this time in the Warring States, Ying 郢 was the Capital of Chu and was located near modern *Shashi* 沙市 city in Hubei province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45. In 278 BCE, following an invasion by Qin, the capital was moved to Chen 陳.

<sup>171</sup> Zhe 浙 River runs east to west through Zhejiang province. It runs into the Pacific Ocean south of modern Hangzhou 杭州. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45.

<sup>172</sup> For the timing of this event the *Jijie* commentary notes: “Xu Guang says, “This happened in the 46<sup>th</sup> year of King Xian of Zhou” (集解徐廣曰:「周顯王之四十六年」). *Shiji*, 41.1751n1. The *Suoyin* commentary records, “*The Bamboo Annals*: the Viscount of Yue, 10 years after Wuqiang, Chu attacked Xuzhou. There isn’t any mention of Chu defeating Yue and killing Wuqiang. Wuqiang being the descendent of Wuzhuan is not recorded in the *Bamboo Annals*” (紀年粵子無顓薨後十年，楚伐徐州，無楚敗越殺無彊之語，是無彊為無顓之後，紀年不得錄也). *Shiji*, 41.1751n1.

<sup>173</sup> According to the *Zhengyi* commentary, “This is located in present day Taizhou, Linhai county” (今台州臨海縣是也). *Shiji*, 41.1751n2. This is in modern Linhai 臨海, in Zhejiang province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.45.

<sup>174</sup> For the biography of Yao 搖, Lord of Min 閩, see *Shiji*, 114.2979-2984.

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<sup>175</sup> This Qin refers to the Qin dynasty (221-206 BCE), which united all the warring states under its short lived empire.

<sup>176</sup> Emperor Gaozu 漢高祖: Liu Bang 劉邦 (r. 206/2-195BCE), the First Emperor of the Han dynasty.

<sup>177</sup> On East Yue 東越 and Min 閩, see *Shiji*, 114. 2979-2984.

<sup>178</sup> Twenty years: If he started at the battle of Kuaiji 494 BCE, when he first makes his appearance in the *Shiji*, and left after the destruction of Wu in 473 BCE, then he was with Goujian for at least twenty years.

<sup>179</sup> For the translation of 君行令, 臣行意, I have followed Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 1946, “My Lord can issue orders, but I will achieve my will” (君主頒行命令, 臣子實現意願), and Wang Liqi “My Lord, you enact your order, however, I will indeed follow my own determination” (君主你執行你的命令, 為臣的卻要實行自己的意志). Zhang Youluan, *Shiji xuanzhu*, 135n113.

<sup>180</sup> According to the *Guoyu*, 21.658-59, Fan Li also but received Kuaiji, but in that version he left and was never heard from again.

<sup>181</sup> This story about Fan Li moving to Qi and changing his name to 鴟夷子皮 is not found in any other early source pre-dating the *Shiji*. According to the *Suoyin* commentary, Chiyi 鴟夷 means wineskin, and Fan Li took this name to remember Wu Zixu, whose corpse was stuffed in a leather wine skin by King Fuchai and thrown into the Yangtze River. *Shiji*, 41.1753n1. On the meaning of Chiyi (owls and pelicans) as wineskin, see Timoteus Pokora, “*The Etymology of*

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*ku-chi* (or *hua-chi*),” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 122 (1972): 149-172. There are serious chronological problems in trying to equate Fan Li with an historical Chiyi Zipi. In other early texts, there is evidence of traditions that Chiyi Zipi of Qi was instrumental in helping Tian Chang 田常 (Tian Chengzi 田成子, fl. Early 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE) usurp power in Qi in 481 BCE. Since Fan Li did not leave Yue until after the fall of Wu in 473 BCE, there is a chronological discord, and the Chiyi Zipi in these other traditions could not also be the Fan Li of Yue. For alternate accounts that place Chiyi Zipi in Qi before the fall of Wu, see *Mozi jiangou* 墨子閒詁 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), 301-02; *Han Feizi jishi*, 170; *Huainanzi jishi*, 934-35.

<sup>182</sup> On *Xiang* 相 meaning “minister,” see Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 230. However, here it refers to “prime minister,” see the note below on *qing*.

<sup>183</sup> According to Hucker, during the Zhou, *qing* 卿 was the “highest category of officials serving the king.” Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 173. *Qing xiang* 卿相 is not in Hucker. The office seems here to be “highest minister” or “prime minister.”

<sup>184</sup> Tao 陶 is located in present day, Northwest of Dingtao 定陶 county in Shandong Province. Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, 1.27. According to the *Zhengyi* commentary, during the Tang, a grave attributed to Lord Zhu could be seen to the south of Tao mountain. *Shiji*, 41. 1753n2.

<sup>185</sup> Here I follow Burton Watson’s translation of the name Lord Zhu of Tao 陶朱公 in his translation of “Biographies of the Money-makers” found in Burton Watson, *Records of the*

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*Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II* (Revised Edition) (Hong Kong, New York: Columbia University Press Book, 1961), 436-438.

<sup>186</sup> For *fei ju* 廢居: I have followed Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 135n117. “to buy low and sell high” (囤積居奇, 賤買貴賣).

<sup>187</sup> *Juwan* 巨萬: The *Jijie* commentary says, Xu Guang says, “This is 10,000 10,000s” (徐廣曰: 「萬萬也」). *Shiji*, 41.1753n3.

<sup>188</sup> There is parallel version of this story in the *Shiji*, 129.3253-84. When Goujian was surrounded on Mt. Kuaiji by the armies of Wu he was advised by Fan Li and Jiran. Ji Ran 計然 (whose name means something like “the essence of calculation”), laid out economic strategies that should be followed. Goujian used these strategies and after ten years the economy of Yue was booming and Yue was able to generously pay his soldiers. After destroying Wu, King Goujian was recognized as hegemon. Fan Li said, “Of Jiran’s seven strategies, Yue made use of five and achieved its desires. They have already been put into practice in the state. Now I would like to try using them for my own family.” Translation by Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*, 436-438.

<sup>189</sup> Public executions were held in the market place.

<sup>190</sup> According to the *Hanyu da zidian*, 1707, *yi* 溢 is a measure of gold that is either 20 taels 兩 or 24 taels.

<sup>191</sup> I understand the meaning of this line as saying, because the eldest son threatened suicide, so if the youngest son goes, the oldest will die (from suicide) before the middle son even gets saved.

<sup>192</sup> This Scholar Zhuang does not appear elsewhere. Apparently someone has taken this Scholar Zhuang to be the famous philosopher Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (Zhuangzi 莊周子, ca. 369—ca. 298 BCE) as the *Zhengyi* commentary vehemently denies this as being possible, since Zhuang Zhou lived at the same time as King Hui of Wei 魏惠王 (r. 369 - 319 BCE) and King Xuan of Qi 齊宣王 (r. 350 - 301 BCE). *Shiji*, 41.12753n1.

<sup>193</sup> This reading is based on Takigawa Kametarō, *Shiki kaishō kōshō fu kōhō*, 2582; Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 1948n15; Wang Liqi in Zhang Youluan, *Shiji xuanzhu*, 136n129.

<sup>194</sup> For this interpretation of *duanchang* 短長 as “result,” I have followed Takigawa Kametarō, *Shiki kaishō kōshō fu kōhō*, 2583; Yang Yanqi, *Shiji quanyi*, 1948n16 and Wang Liqi in Zhang Youluan, *Shiji xuanzhu*, 136n130. I have followed it as it makes sense within the context of the passage, but this understanding is tentative as I have not seen an explanation for this meaning elsewhere.

<sup>195</sup> Literally: Treasury or Storehouse of the three forms of money. The three forms of money being: gold, silver and bronze. According to the *Jijie* commentary, “Ja Kui said, “Yu [Emperor Shun], Xia, Shang, and Zhou had three kinds of coins, some were red (bronze), some were white (silver), some were yellow (gold). Yellow (gold) is the most valuable coins and copper and iron were the least valuable coins” (賈逵說云：「虞、夏、商、周金幣三等，或赤，或白，或黃。黃為上幣，銅鐵為下幣」). *Shiji*, 41.1754n1.

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<sup>196</sup> The *Jijie* commentary explains the logic here. When an amnesty is declared all the thieves get out of prison, so the treasury needs to be sealed. *Shiji*, 41. 1755n2.

<sup>197</sup> According to the *Zhengyi* commentary, Fan Li was originally from Sanhu 三戶 village in Wan 宛, a district in the state of Chu. *Shiji*, 41. 1752n1. His first move was to Yue, after which he moved to Qi, and lastly he moved to Tao.

APPENDIX B: *SHIJI* 41, ORIGINAL CHINESE VERSION

“Yuewang Goujian Shijia”: Original Chinese version from the *Shiji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 41.1739-1756. I have put in the page numbers and removed the commentary.

【1739】越王句踐，其先禹之苗裔，而夏后帝少康之庶子也。封於會稽，以奉守禹之祀。文身斷髮，披草萊而邑焉。後二十餘世，至於允常。允常之時，與吳王闔廬戰而相怨伐。允常卒，子句踐立，是為越王。

元年，吳王闔廬聞允常死，乃興師伐越。越王句踐使死士挑戰，三行，至吳陳，呼而自剄。吳師觀之，越因襲擊吳師，吳師敗於檣李，射傷吳王闔廬。闔廬且死，告其子夫差【1740】曰：「必毋忘越。」

三年，句踐聞吳王夫差日夜勒兵，且以報越，越欲先吳未發往伐之。范蠡諫曰：「不可。臣聞兵者凶器也，戰者逆德也，爭者事之末也。陰謀逆德，好用凶器，試身於所末，上帝禁之，行者不利。」越王曰：「吾已決之矣。」遂興師。吳王聞之，悉發精兵擊越，敗之夫椒。越王乃以餘兵五千人保棲於會稽。吳王追而圍之。

越王謂范蠡曰：「以不聽子故至於此，為之奈何？」蠡對曰：「持滿者與天，定傾者與人，節事者以地。卑辭厚禮以遺之，不許，而身與之市。」句踐曰：「諾。」乃令大夫種行成於吳，膝行頓首曰：「君王亡臣句踐使陪臣種敢告下執事：句踐請為臣，妻為妾。」吳王將許之。子胥言於吳王曰：「天以越賜吳，勿許也。」種還，以報句踐。句踐欲殺妻子，燔寶器，觸戰以死。種止句踐曰：「夫吳太宰嚭貪，可誘以利，請間行言之。」於【1741】

是句踐以美女寶器令種閒獻吳太宰嚭。嚭受，乃見大夫種於吳王。種頓首言曰：「願大王赦句踐之罪，盡入其寶器。不幸不赦，句踐將盡殺其妻子，燔其寶器，悉五千人觸戰，必有當也。」嚭因說吳王曰：「越以服為臣，若將赦之，此國之利也。」吳王將許之。子胥進諫曰：「今不滅越，後必悔之。句踐賢君，種、蠡良臣，若反國，將為亂。」吳王弗聽，卒赦越，罷兵而歸。

【1742】句踐之困會稽也，喟然嘆曰：「吾終於此乎？」種曰：「湯繫夏臺，文王囚羑里，晉重耳奔犇翟，齊小白奔犇莒，其卒王霸。由是觀之，何遽不為福乎？」吳既赦越，越王句踐反國，乃苦身焦思，置膽於坐，坐臥即仰膽，飲食亦嘗膽也。曰：「女忘會稽之恥邪？」身自耕作，夫人自織，食不加肉，衣不重采，折節下賢人，厚遇賓客，振貧弔死，與百姓同其勞。欲使范蠡治國政，蠡對曰：「兵甲之事，種不如蠡；填撫國家，親附百姓，蠡不如種。」於是舉國政屬大夫種，而使范蠡與大夫柘稽行成，為質於吳。二歲而吳歸蠡。

【1743】句踐自會稽歸七年，拊循其士民，欲用以報吳。大夫逢同諫曰：「國新流亡，今乃復殷給，繕飾備利，吳必懼，懼則難必至。且鷲鳥之擊也，必匿其形。今夫吳兵加齊、晉，怨深於楚、越，名高天下，實害周室，德少而功多，必淫自矜。為越計，莫若結齊，親楚，附晉，以厚吳。吳之志廣，必輕戰。是我連其權，三國伐之，越承其弊，可克也。」句踐曰：「善。」

居二年，吳王將伐齊。子胥諫曰：「未可。臣聞句踐食不重味，與百姓同苦樂。此人不死，必為國患。吳有越，腹心之疾，齊與吳，疥癩也。願王釋齊先越。」吳王弗聽，遂伐齊，敗之艾陵，虜齊高、國以歸。讓子胥。子胥曰：「王毋喜！」王怒，子胥欲自殺，王聞而止之。越大夫種曰：「臣觀吳王政驕矣，請試嘗之貸粟，以卜其事。」請貸，吳王欲與，

子胥諫勿與，王遂與之，越乃私喜。子胥言曰：「王不聽諫，後三年吳其墟乎！」太宰嚭聞之，乃數與子胥爭越議，因讒子胥曰：「伍員貌忠而實忍人，其父兄不顧，安能顧王？王前欲伐齊，員彊諫，已而有功，用是反怨王。王不備伍員，員必為亂。」與逢同共謀，讒之王。王始不從，乃使子胥於齊，聞其託子於鮑氏，王乃大怒，曰：「伍員果欺寡人！」役反，使人賜子胥屬鏹劍以自殺。子胥大笑曰：「我令而父霸，我又立若，若初欲分吳國半予我，【1744】我不受，已，今若反以讒誅我。嗟乎，嗟乎，一人固不能獨立！」報使者曰：「必取吾眼置吳東門，以觀越兵入也！」於是吳任嚭政。

居三年，句踐召范蠡曰：「吳已殺子胥，導諛者眾，可乎？」對曰：「未可。」

至明年春，吳王北會諸侯於黃池，吳國精兵從王，惟獨老弱與太子留守。句踐復問范蠡，蠡曰「可矣」。乃發習流二千人，教士四萬人，君子六千人，諸御千人，伐吳。吳師敗，遂殺吳太子。吳告急於王，王方會諸侯於黃池，懼天下聞之，乃祕之。吳王已盟黃池，乃使人厚禮以請成越。越自度亦未能滅吳，乃與吳平。

【1745】其後四年，越復伐吳。吳士民罷弊，輕銳盡死於齊、晉。而越大破吳，因而留圍之三年，吳師敗，越遂復棲吳王於姑蘇之山。吳王使公孫雄肉袒膝行而前，請成越王曰：「孤臣夫差敢布腹心，異日嘗得罪於會稽，夫差不敢逆命，得與君王成以歸。今君王舉玉趾而誅孤臣，孤臣惟命是聽，意者亦欲如會稽之赦孤臣之罪乎？」句踐不忍，欲許之。范蠡曰：「會稽之事，天以越賜吳，吳不取。今天以吳賜越，越其可逆天乎？且夫君王蚤朝晏罷，非為吳邪？謀之二十二年，一旦而棄之，可乎？且夫天與弗取，反受其咎。『伐柯者其則不遠』，君忘會稽之厄乎？」句踐曰：「吾欲聽子言，吾不忍其使者。」

范蠡乃鼓進兵，曰：「王已屬政於執事，使者去，不者且得罪。」吳使者泣而去。句踐憐之，乃使人謂吳王曰：「吾置王甬東，君百家。」吳王謝曰：「吾老矣，不能事君王！」遂自殺。乃蔽其面，曰：【1746】「吾無面以見子胥也！」越王乃葬吳王而誅太宰嚭。

句踐已平吳，乃以兵北渡淮，與齊、晉諸侯會於徐州，致貢於周。周元王使人賜句踐胙，命為伯。句踐已去，渡淮南，以淮上地與楚，歸吳所侵宋地於宋，與魯泗東方百里。當是時，越兵橫行於江、淮東，諸侯畢賀，號稱霸王。

范蠡遂去，自齊遺大夫種書曰：「蜚鳥盡，良弓藏；狡兔死，走狗烹。越王為人長頸鳥喙，可與共患難，不可與共樂。子何不去？」種見書，稱病不朝。人或讒種且作亂，越【1947】王乃賜種劍曰：「子教寡人伐吳七術，寡人用其三而敗吳，其四在子，子為我從先王試之。」種遂自殺。

句踐卒，子王翳與立。王翳與卒，子王不壽立。王不壽卒，子王翁立。王翁卒，子王翳立。王翳卒，子王之侯立。王之侯卒，子王無疆立。

【1748】王無疆時，越興師北伐齊，西伐楚，與中國爭疆。當楚威王之時，越北伐齊，齊威王使人說越王曰：「越不伐楚，大不王，小不伯。圖越之所為不伐楚者，為不得晉也。韓、魏固不攻楚。韓之攻楚，覆其軍，殺其將，則葉、陽翟危；魏亦覆其軍，殺其將，則陳、上蔡不安。故二晉之事越也，不至於覆軍殺將，馬汗之力不效。所重於得晉者何也？」越王曰：「所求於晉者，不至頓刃接兵，而況于攻城圍邑乎？願魏以聚大梁之下，願齊之

試兵南陽、莒地，以聚常、邲之境，則方城之外不南，淮、泗之間不東，商、於、析、鄴、宗胡之地，夏路以左，不足以備秦，江南、泗上不足以待越矣。則齊、秦、韓、魏得志於楚也，是二晉不戰分地，不耕而穫之。不此之為，而頓刃於河山之間以為齊秦用，所待者如此其失計，柰何其以此王也！」齊使者曰：「幸也越之不亡也！吾不貴其用智之如目，見豪毛而不見其睫也。今王知晉之失計，而不自知越之過，是目論也。王所待於晉者，非有馬汗之力也，又非可與合軍連和也，將待之以分楚眾也。今楚眾已分，何待於晉？」越王曰：「柰何？」曰：「楚三大夫張九軍，北圍曲沃、於中，以至無假之關【1749】者三千七百里，景翠之軍北聚魯、齊、南陽，分有大此者乎？且王之所求者，鬥晉楚也；晉楚不鬥，越兵不起，是知二五而不知十也。此時不攻楚，臣以是知越大不王，小不伯。復讎、龐、長沙，楚之粟也；竟澤陵，楚之材也。越窺兵通無假之關，此四邑者不上貢事於郢矣。臣聞之，圖王不王，其敝可以伯。然而不伯者，王道失也。故願大王之轉攻楚也。」

【p. 1751】於是越遂釋齊而伐楚。楚威王興兵而伐之，大敗越，殺王無彊，盡取故吳地至浙江，北破齊於徐州。而越以此散，諸族子爭立，或為王，或為君，濱於江南海上，服朝於楚。

後七世，至閩君搖，佐諸侯平秦。漢高帝復以搖為越王，以奉越後。東越，閩君，皆其後也。

范蠡事越王句踐，既苦身戮力，與句踐深謀二十餘年，竟滅吳，報會稽之恥，北渡【p. 1752】兵於淮以臨齊、晉，號令中國，以尊周室，句踐以霸，而范蠡稱上將軍。還反國，范蠡以為大名之下，難以久居，且句踐為人可與同患，難與處安，為書辭句踐曰：「臣聞主憂臣

勞，主辱臣死。昔者君王辱於會稽，所以不死，為此事也。今既以雪恥，臣請從會稽之誅。」句踐曰：「孤將與子分國而有之。不然，將加誅于子。」范蠡曰：「君行令，臣行意。」乃裝其輕寶珠玉，自與其私徒屬乘舟浮海以行，終不反。於是句踐表會稽山以為范蠡奉邑。

范蠡浮海出齊，變姓名，自謂鴟夷子皮，耕于海畔，苦身戮力，父子治產。居無幾何，致產數十萬。齊人聞其賢，以為相。范蠡喟然嘆曰：「居家則致千金，居官則至卿相，此布衣之極也。久受尊名，不祥。」乃歸相印，盡散其財，以分與知友鄉黨，而懷其重寶，間行以去，止于陶，以為此天下之中，交易有無之路通，為生可以致富矣。於是自謂陶朱公。

【p. 1753】復約要父子耕畜，廢居，候時轉物，逐什一之利。居無何，則致貲累巨萬。天下稱陶朱公。

朱公居陶，生少子。少子及壯，而朱公中男殺人，囚於楚。朱公曰：「殺人而死，職也。然吾聞千金之子不死於市。」告其少子往視之。乃裝黃金千溢，置褐器中，載以一牛車。且遣其少子，朱公長男固請欲行，朱公不聽。長男曰：「家有長子曰家督，今弟有罪，大人不遣，乃遣少弟，是吾不肖。」欲自殺。其母為言曰：「今遣少子，未必能生中子也，而先空亡長男，柰何？」朱公不得已而遣長子，為一封書遺故所善莊生。曰：「至則進千金于莊生所，聽其所為，慎無與爭事。」長男既行，亦自私齎數百金。

【p. 1754】至楚，莊生家負郭，披藜藿到門，居甚貧。然長男發書進千金，如其父言。莊生曰：「可疾去矣，慎毋留！即弟出，勿問所以然。」長男既去，不過莊生而私留，以其私齎獻遺楚國貴人用事者。

莊生雖居窮閭，然以廉直聞於國，自楚王以下皆師尊之。及朱公進金，非有意受也，欲以成事後復歸之以為信耳。故金至，謂其婦曰：「此朱公之金。有如病不宿誠，後復歸，勿動。」而朱公長男不知其意，以為殊無短長也。

莊生閒時入見楚王，言「某星宿某，此則害於楚」。楚王素信莊生，曰：「今為柰何？」莊生曰：「獨以德為可以除之。」楚王曰：「生休矣，寡人將行 之。」王乃使使者封三錢之府。楚貴人驚告朱公長男曰：「王且赦。」曰：「何以也？」曰：「每王且赦，常封三錢之府。昨暮王使使封之。」朱公長男以為赦，弟固當出也，重千金虛棄莊生，無所為也，乃復見莊生。莊生驚曰：「若不去邪？」長男曰：「固未也。初為事弟，弟今議自赦，故辭生去。」莊生知其意欲復得其金，曰：「若自入室取金。」長男即自入室取金持去，獨自歡幸。

【p. 1755】莊生羞為兒子所賣，乃入見楚王曰：「臣前言某星事，王言欲以修德報之。今臣出，道路皆言陶之富人朱公之子殺人囚楚，其家多持金錢賂王左右，故王非能恤楚國而赦，乃以朱公子故也。」楚王大怒曰：「寡人雖不德耳，柰何以朱公之子故而施惠乎！」令論殺朱公子，明日遂下赦令。朱公長男竟持其弟喪歸。

至，其母及邑人盡哀之，唯朱公獨笑，曰：「吾固知必殺其弟也！彼非不愛其弟，顧有所不能忍者也。是少與我俱，見苦，為生難，故重棄財。至如少弟者，生而見我富，乘堅驅良逐狡兔，豈知財所從來，故輕棄之，非所惜吝。前日吾所為欲遣少子，固為其能棄財故也。而長者不能，故卒以殺其弟，事之理也，無足悲者。吾日夜固以望其喪之來也。」

故范蠡三徙，成名於天下，非苟去而已，所止必成名。卒老死于陶，故世傳曰陶朱公。

【p. 1756】太史公曰：禹之功大矣，漸九川，定九州，至于今諸夏艾安。及苗裔句踐，苦身焦思，終滅彊吳，北觀兵中國，以尊周室，號稱霸王。句踐可不謂賢哉！蓋有禹之遺烈焉。范蠡三遷皆有榮名，名垂後世。臣主若此，欲毋顯得乎！

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