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HISTORICAL POETRY, POETICAL HISTORY, AND THE ROOTS OF COMMENTARY:

RUI LIANGFU AND THE FORMATION OF EARLY CHINESE TEXTS

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For courageous critics and truth-tellers.

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ABSTRACT

The unearthing of manuscript texts, especially in the last fifty years, has revolutionized the study of early Chinese civilization. Manuscripts, which bear previously unknown texts and unknown forms of known texts, have greatly destabilized our view of the textual canons that have defined the landscape of genre for two millennia. One preliminary way of understanding the precursors of canonical texts is as freely circulating *zhang* 章 (pericopes; chapters) that became disposed in compendia at random. Although this may partially account for forces at work in text formation, pericopes can also become appended with paratextual markers that guide their interpretation, categorization, and compilation. This dissertation seeks to shed light on these proto-commentarial features, and reconsider how texts and genres accreted and decayed in Chinese manuscript culture.

To this end, I examine an array that includes known transmitted texts as well as manuscript texts of previously unknown structure and form. Controversies

surround the genre identity of the manuscript texts, while the transmitted texts have been compiled separately in compendia associated with distinct genres. The dissertation's series of experiments maintains controls of narrative and form: first, all the texts (as contextualized by commentary and paratext) function as sources for the legend of Rui Liangfu 芮良夫, a ninth century BCE noble who spoke out against the government of his contemporary King Li of Zhou 周厲王 (r. 853-842 BCE); second, all the texts, while differing in prosody and form, are written in tetrasyllabic verse.

Following a general introduction to the dissertation's problems and methods in chapter one, chapter two emerges from a philological study and translation of the **Rui Liangfu bi*, a Warring States bamboo manuscript in the Tsinghua University corpus. Proceeding from disagreements about whether the text is a *shu* document or *shi* poem, I argue that the text's content and form violates conventions of these genres, at least as these genres are known in transmission. Instead, I identify the texts as "verse albums" on the basis of text-paratext structures in several other manuscripts and one transmitted text. Verse albums function as micro-collections of

thematically related literature, and come marked with interpretive paratext whose function is similar to prefaces and synopses found in transmitted canons.

Chapter three examines the roots of a historicizing hermeneutic in the *Shijing* (Confucian Canon of Poetry), in part through the poem *Sang rou* (Mulberry Shoots) attributed to Rui Liangfu. Here, as with verse albums, I chart the traces of intentionality and proto-commentarial markers that seek to make poems into texts with fixed historical meanings, thus functioning like the narrative paratext found in verse albums of chapter two and the commentarial layers of later canons.

Examining the conventions of suites of poems, and the tendency of historical poems to form thematically organized suites, I propose a model by which a historicizing hermeneutic might have spread chronologically and laterally, becoming pervasive in the *Mao Shi*.

The fourth chapter is based on a philological reconstruction and translation of the *Yi Zhou shu*'s "Rui Liangfu" chapter. The critical translation employs received editions and a version of the chapter preserved only in Japanese manuscripts of the

Qunshu zhiyao, a Tang-era encyclopedic compendium lost in China for centuries. In this study, I demonstrate that both versions of the text derive from similar editions; significant lacunae and errors in the two texts show that much of the damage arose in imperial times. Much of this is due to the delegitimization of the *Yi Zhou shu*, which has long been viewed as the leftovers that remained when Confucius redacted the *Shang shu* (Revered Documents) canon. While chapters two and three show how paratextual markers might aid a text's organization and preservation in a collection, chapter four shows how the removal of an editor-figure can induce a text's decay.

The fifth and final chapter examines intertextual relations among the sources studied in chapters two through four. The texts share a great familiarity with a common legend of Rui Liangfu, yet they share almost no word-for-word text with one another. I propose that at least one of the texts results from historical confabulation—a broad and continuous effort to fill historical lacunae that were revealed by a new, systematizing discourse on the cultural forms (and genres) appropriate to remonstrance. I consider also the possibility that the reconstruction

or alleged “forgery” of *shu* documents literature in early and medieval China stems from a similar historiographic impulse.

Chapter One: Project overview

1.1 Critical speech and its division of labor

What forms of political speech are condoned in China? Who can speak out against the ruler and what form can that speech take? These questions, still relevant today, were addressed systematically at least two thousand years ago. At that time, while social status undoubtedly played a major role in determining what particular forms a critic might employ, the labor of criticism was envisioned as an essential enterprise and collective effort in which all members of society participated. One such collective scheme is laid out in the *Guoyu* 國語 (Discourses of the States), wherein the Duke of Shao 召公 provides critical advice to his contemporary King, Li of Zhou 周厲王 (r. 853-842 BCE):

Guoyu 1.3¹

¹ *Guoyu*, 1.3, Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu 上海師範大學古籍整理組, ed., *Guoyu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), pp. 9-12. Part of this passage and several other representative examples are translated and discussed in David Schaberg, "Remonstrance in Eastern Zhou Historiography," *Early China* 22 (1997): 133-79; see also David Schaberg, "Foundations of Chinese Historiography: Literary Representation in Zuo Zhuan and Guoyu" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1996), 230-268.

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厲王虐，國人謗王。邵公告曰：「民不堪命矣！」王怒，得衛巫，使監謗者，以告，則殺之。國人莫敢言，道路以目。王喜，告邵公曰：「吾能弭謗矣，乃不敢言。」邵公曰：「是障之也，防民之口，甚于防川。川壅而潰，傷人必多，民亦如之。是故為川者決之使導，為民者宣之使言。故天子聽政，使公卿至于列士獻詩，瞽獻曲，史獻書，師箴，瞽賦，矇誦，百工諫，庶人傳語，近臣盡規，親戚補察，瞽、史教誨，耆、艾修之，而後王斟酌焉，是以事行而不悖。民之有口，猶土之有山川也，財用于是乎出，猶其原隰之有衍沃也，衣食于是乎生。口之宣言也，善敗于是乎興，行善而備敗，其所以阜財用、衣食者也。夫民慮之于心而宣之于口，成而行之，胡可壅也？若壅其口，其與能幾何？」王不聽，于是國莫敢出言，三年，乃流王于彘。

King Li was cruel, and his countrymen criticized him.

The Duke of Shao told him:

“The people no longer abide your command.”

The King was furious. He found a shaman, and employed him to investigate critics. Those reported were executed. The countrymen did not dare to speak; on the roads they merely made eye contact.

The king was happy, and told the Duke of Shao:

“I was able to suppress the critics—[they] dare not speak.”

The Duke of Shao said:

“This is to stop them up. Damming peoples’ mouths is more [dangerous] than damming rivers.

When a river bursts its blockage, those injured will be numerous. The people are like this as well: this is why those who manage rivers dredge them, letting them be channeled; those who manage people free them up,² letting them speak. Thus when the Son of Heaven holds court, he makes the dukes and high ministers through the upper nobles offer *shi*-poems; the blind music-directors offer *qu*-tunes; the scribes offer *shu*-documents; teachers *zhen*-exhort; *sou* and *meng* [blind] musicians *fu*-

² The key image here is one of free non-obstruction. Wei Zhao glosses *xuan* 宣 here as “set free” (*fang* 放), although the term *xuan* also has been applied specifically to dredging canals. Du Yu glosses it as “*tong* 通” in his annotation of “Shao gong yuan nian” 召公元年 chapter of the *Zuo zhuan*, where it refers to dredging of the Fen and Tao rivers. See Ruan Yuan 阮元 ed., *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Taipei: Yiwen yishuguan, 1965), 706.

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rhapsodize and *song*-intone;³ the hundred artisans *jian*-remonstrate;⁴ and the common people spread *yu*-tales. Personal attendants evaluate him thoroughly; close relatives correct his errors; blind music-directors and scribes teach and instruct; the elders train him; and thereupon the king can deliberate.⁵ This is how one undertakes matters without delusion.

The people's having mouths is like land having mountains and rivers. Riches come forth from them just as the damp lowlands produce a fertile plain. Food and clothing are produced by this. Mouths being free to speak are that by which [discrimination of] good and bad flourishes. To implement what is good and prepare for what is bad are how one amasses riches, food and clothing.

You should complete and implement what the people consider in their hearts and express from their mouths. How can blockage be permissible? If you block up their mouths, how long can [your reign] last?"

The king did not listen, and thereupon no one in the country dared to speak out.

Three years passed, after which the king was exiled to Zhi.

The Duke of Shao presents a blueprint for constructive dissent—a meta-remonstrance advocating remonstrance. The tendency to speak is a natural feature of the human landscape; channeling speech is as fundamental a technique as irrigation, and equally crucial to the kingdom's well-being. In this ideal of a well-irrigated society working to produce collective wealth, there is a highly systematic division of labor that stretches

³ Wei Zhao's notes distinguish here blind musicians without pupils and those who have pupils but no sight (see also Schaberg 1997, 146 n. 43). I am not certain whether these are titles that derive from conditions associated with musicians, or prescriptive conditions; the import of the passage as a whole however, seems clearly to emphasize the comprehensiveness with which the ruler should listen to his court and subjects.

⁴ "Remonstrance" *jian* 諫 is also a term used frequently in the *Zuo zhuan* to preface this type of speech. The *Shiji* version of Rui Liangfu's speech (almost identical to that in the Guoyu 1.4) uses this term to refer to the speech, much as the term is used in the *Zuo Zhuan* as discussed in Schaberg 1997.

⁵ Lit. "ladle [wisdom] forth from these."

from the highest ministers—those who present *shi*-poems—down to commoners who transmit tales (*chuan-yu* 傳語). Criticism is institutionalized. It takes a kingdom to scold a king.

At least ten distinct variants on the *Guoyu*'s scheme are found in transmitted sources, each of which presents a full complement of critical feedback,⁶ but there is significant disagreement on the fine points of how to divide the collective labor. In the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, for example, *shi*-poetizing is the realm of musicians, rather than the high dukes and ministers;⁷ a *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo Tradition) passage has the

⁶ Some of the variant schemes appear to be witnesses of less than ten pericopes, although each sequence is unique. See “Shi jun lan” 恃君覽, Lü Buwei 呂不韋著, *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, ed. ann. Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 1373; “Jinyu” 晉語, *Guoyu*, 410; “Zhouyu shang” 周語上, *Guoyu*, 9-10; Huainanzi “Zhu shu” 主術, in Liu Wendian 劉文典, ed., *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 310; “Bao fu” 保傅 in Gao Ming 高明, ed., *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 (Taipei: Taibei Shangwu yishuguan, 1984), 115; “Bao fu” 保傅, in Jia Yi 賈誼, *Xin Shu* 新書, *Sibu Beiyao* 四部備要 (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 100; “Zhou benji” 周本紀 in Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記, ed. Pei Yin 裴駟 and Zhang Shoujie 張守節 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981), 142; “Jia Yi zhuan” 賈誼傳, Ban Gu 班固 ed., Wang Xianqian 王先謙 ann., *Han Shu* 漢書, *Zhongguo xueshu lei bian* 中國學術類編 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1986), 2249; “Jia Zou Mei Lu liezhuan” 賈鄒枚路傳, *Han Shu* 2330.

⁷ “Shi jun lan” 恃君覽. “When the Son of Heaven holds government hearings, he makes the dukes, high ministers and upper nobles correct and remonstrate; the erudite and informed present *shi*-poems; [blind] meng-musicians exhort and tutors intone; while the common people transmit sayings. “...天子聽政，使公卿列士正諫，好學博聞獻詩，矇箴師誦，庶人傳語. *Lüshi Chunqiu*, 1373:

hundred artisans presenting their crafts, rather than *jian*-remonstrations.⁸ One may also suspect that any version of the scheme is merely an attempt to create an idealized system from a messier actuality. However, at least in the cases of *shi*-poetizing and *shu*-documenting, the labor of criticism is associated not only with literary genres but with compilations of written texts—the *Shijing* 詩經 (Canon of Poetry) and *Shang shu* 尚書 (Revered Documents)—that provide literary models of authoritative speech. *Shi* and *shu* are categories we know from transmitted canons and quotation practices, but it is not entirely clear, for example, whether Dukes simply practice the arts of intoning, exhorting, and remonstrating, or if *zhen* 箴 exhortations and *jian* 諫 remonstrations intoned by dukes of the *Zuo zhuan* are recognizable as literary forms. What literary forms were available to preimperial writers and manuscript users, as they created, borrowed, edited, and compiled texts of their own?

⁸ “Duke Xiang, year 14” 襄公十四年: “Scribes make *shu*-documents; [blind] du-music directors make *shi*-poems; dukes intone *zhen*-exhortations and *jian*-remonstrations; grandees delimit [norms] and instruct; nobles transmit words; commoners condemn; merchants exhibit at market; and the hundred artisans present their crafts” ...史為書，瞽為詩，工（公）誦箴諫，大夫規誨，士傳言，庶人謗，商旅于市，百工獻藝。In *Shisanjing zhu shu zhengli weiyuanhui* 十三經注疏整理委員會, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan Zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 1063-4.

1.2 Introduction and description of major problems

This dissertation treats a set of textual narratives that address what was presumably a single, exemplary, legendary act of remonstrance also set in the 9th century BCE, toward the end of the Western Zhou dynasty (~1045-771 BCE). In all cases, the recipient of criticism is the same King Li named above, but the author-protagonist is a different royal uncle, Rui Liangfu 芮良夫 (The Good Man of Rui). The several chapters of the dissertation, which treat sources of the narrative in varied forms, may appear at first glance to be a forensic account of a very discrete and narrow set of events. Nonetheless, this single remonstrance is better understood as the controlled variable in a set of experiments that use unearthed manuscripts, forgotten texts, and the new perspective such sources afford to investigate how literary genres, textual compilations, and interpretive traditions took shape in early China.

Viewed at medium range, the dissertation says more about some texts than others: in particular, each chapter takes rhyming literature as its point of focus. Rhyme (but not

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all aspects of prosody) is a second control in the larger experiment. Some of the texts addressed are labeled as “*shi*-poetry” by virtue of being compiled in the *Shijing* 詩經, but many of the texts belong to a previously underexplored corpus of verse discovered only recently in unearthed manuscripts. One such text is the **Rui Liangfu bi* 芮良夫毖—a text lost for millennia that will be introduced below. Much verse is also found in transmitted compendia like the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (Remnant Documents of Zhou), a neglected collection whose contents have long been regarded as less deserving of exemplary status than the writings contained in the *Shang shu* 尚書. Up to now, our only knowledge of early Chinese literary genres has been transmitted by canons, in which notions of exemplarity and the practices of compilation and redaction have carved out the boundaries of genres we know.

To what genre do the texts associated with Rui Liangfu belong? Rhyme does not necessarily define a genre, but the *ad hoc* genre of “rhyme-texts” does provide a perspective from which canonical conceptions of genre, like *shi*-poetry, can be re-examined. Rhyme, in addition to its association with poetry or rhetoric, can function as

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incantation, as prognostic word-magic, or as a mnemotechnic means of inscription. Rhyme in pre-imperial China is generally associated with Chinese *shi* poetics, whereas *shu* history is largely the domain of unrhymed prose, and yet just as there are unrhymed *shi* poems in the *Zhou song* 周頌 section of the *Shijing*, a subset of pre-imperial *shu* documents and chronicles contain incantatory speech acts that bring rhyme into the realm of historiography. Where historiography is concerned with recording prognostications that, according to the chronicles, turned out to be true, rhyming prognostication lies well within the realm of historiography. It should go without saying that historiography is concerned with inscribing events, and thus with mnemotechnics. The redactors who compiled the transmitted canons must have had ideas of how rhyme could or could not be used in different genres of literature, but how these lines were drawn in practice, before those redactors (and the redactors before them) came along, is a question of interest that new sources can address.

Although for most of the last two millennia we have read Chinese literature through the lens of transmitted canons, in the last hundred years, and in particular the

last fifty, unearthed texts have given us new ways of reading and thinking about early and pre-imperial China. In addition to revealing many texts that were previously unknown, unearthed texts have destabilized the interpretation and canonicity of known, transmitted texts. The *Laozi* 老子 for example, has been unearthed in a number of editions in which the order of chapters is significantly different than in the received editions. This has led some scholars to posit a pre-imperial manuscript culture in which the *zhang* 章 (chapters; pericopes) rather than the book, were the basic unit of organization, and *zhang* could vary freely in their arrangement.⁹ There is undoubtedly much truth to this account. The processes that shape textual formation may be more constant than the texts themselves—owing in part to the development of media technologies. But the texts of early Chinese civilization did not all take form at the same moment. While many texts from this period are definitely open, or unfixed, the primordial soup out of which we suppose canonical literature evolved must have been

⁹ William G. Boltz, “The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts,” in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, ed. Martin Kern (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 50-78. For an account of the processes of text formation as medium-dependent, from freely varying bamboo texts to fixation of textual sequences on silk scrolls, see Sarah Allan, *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-Slip Manuscripts* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2015), Ch. 3. See also. Li Ling 李零, *Jianbo gushu yu xueshu yuanliu* 簡帛古書與學術源流 (Beijing: Sanlian shuju, 2008), 14, (cited in Allen) for the indeterminacy of textual order in a preimperial context.

an ecosystem with its own species and historical evolution. Preserved in manuscript texts are clues about how texts came to be. Such clues, which may contain the name of a legendary figure associated with a text or instructions on how to interpret the text's content, may reveal how a *zhang* can be indexed or grouped, or how a manuscript's author/redactor intended a text to be interpreted.

1.3 Sources: Rui Liangfu and his texts, the primary foci of study

Our hero-protagonist, Rui Liangfu, is known for speaking out against bad government. A statesman portrayed as protecting the Western Zhou order from misrule and decay, he is also known as Rui Bo 芮伯 (“The Earl of Rui” or “The Elder of Rui”). Rui lords seem to have played a central role in the Western Zhou court,¹⁰ and legend identifies

¹⁰ The *Shijing* poem *Mian* 緜 (*Mao* no. 237) celebrates King Wen (r. 1099-1050) for settling a land dispute between the people of Yu 虞 and Rui.¹⁰ The *Gu ming* 顧命 and *Kang Wang zhi gao* 康王之告 chapters of the *Shang shu*, identify a Rui Bo (a predecessor of Rui Liangfu) who served in the court of King Kang of Zhou (1005-978 BCE) as one of the six noble ministers (*liu qing* 六卿). According to Kong Anguo's commentary Rui Bo was a *situ* 司徒, second in rank only to the Duke of Shao, who was *taibao* 太保. See Shisanjing zhushu bianweihui 十三經注疏編委會, *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), p. 584. This is consistent with Rui Liangfu's portrayal in the *Guoyu*, wherein the two admonitory speeches against King Li are made by the Duke of Shao (translated above) and Rui Liangfu (translated below), presumably the two highest-ranking ministers.

Rui Liangfu as a *qingshi* 卿士, one of the high ministers in the court of King Li of Zhou 周厲王 (r. 853-842 BCE). Traditional accounts have located Rui in either modern Dali 大荔 county in Shaanxi 陝西, or in Ruicheng 芮成, Shanxi 山西, but recent excavations of a Rui cemetery in Liangdaicun 梁帶村, Hancheng 韓城, Shaanxi, do not corroborate either account.¹¹ Despite recent developments, the history and geography of Rui are unfortunately not as well-known as the legend of Rui Liangfu.

King Li, the villain of the legend, is remembered as a negligent and corrupt king,

¹¹ For a detailed account of the geographical debate, see Ch'en Chao-jung, "On the Possibility That the Two States Yu and Rui Were Originally Located in the Jian River Valley," in *Imprints of Kinship: Studies of Recently Discovered Bronze Inscriptions from Ancient China*, vol. (17), ed. Edward L. Shaughnessy; Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong Monographs Series (Hong Kong: CUHK Press, 2017), 189-207. For an overview of the site and its discoveries, see Edward Shaughnessy, "Newest Sources of Western Zhou Civilization: Inscribed bronze vessels, 2000-2010" in the same volume, 145-8. The vessels name a "Rui Taizi" 芮太子 (Prince of Rui) identified as a "Rui Huan Gong" 芮桓公 (Duke Huan of Rui), but the title of *gong* 公 does not match that of *bo* 伯 for Rui Liangfu any better than the transmitted geography matches excavation data.

Materials excavated at Liangdaicun can be found in Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan 陝西省考古研究院 and Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, *Jin yu hua nian: Shanxi Hancheng chu tu Zhou dai Rui guo wenwu zhenpin* 金玉華年：陝西韓城出土周代芮國文物珍品 (Golden age of the Rui state: Zhou dynasty treasures from Hancheng, Shaanxi Province), (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2012); a number of preliminary interpretations of the site are found in Shanxi Hancheng chutu Ruiguowenwu ji Zhou dai feng guo kaoguxue yanjiu guoji xueshu yantaohui 韓城出土芮國文物及周代封國考古學研究國際學術研討會, *Liang Zhou fengguo lunheng: Shanxi Hancheng chutu Ruiguowenwu ji Zhou dai fengguo kaoguxue yanjiu guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 兩周封國論衡：陝西韓城出土芮國文物及周代封國考古學研究國際學術研討會論文集 (The International Symposium on Rui State Treasures from Hancheng, Shaanxi Province), (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014).

and although his eventual exile does not bring about the end of the Western Zhou, his reign certainly represents a precipitous moment of decline—the beginning of the end.¹² Rui Liangfu, in the sources we have, is remembered primarily for two things: first, for his critical remonstrance against King Li; and second, for his rhyming verses. In some contexts, it may be self-explanatory that remonstrations be made in rhyming verse, in which case these two things may actually be one.

The text most conspicuously associated with Rui Liangfu is an ode in the Confucian poetic canon, the *Shijing* 詩經 (Canon of Odes; Classic of Poetry), entitled *Sang rou* 桑柔 (Supple Mulberry; #257 in the transmitted *Mao shi* 毛詩).¹³ Its origin and authorship will be discussed in detail in chapter three, but it is clear that from quite

¹² For an overview, see Edward L Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, ed. Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 292-351.

¹³ *Shisanjing zhushu bianweihui, Mao shi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義, *Shisanjing Zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), pp. 1383-1401. The *Mao shi* 毛詩 (Mao [version] Poetry) is one interpretive tradition of the *Shijing*, attributed to the elder Mao Heng 毛亨 and younger Mao Chang 毛萇 (2nd-3rd c. BCE). During the Han, several other interpretive traditions were known, including the *Lu shi* 魯詩, *Qi shi* 齊詩, and *Han shi* 韓詩 (Lu, Qi, and Han *Poetries*) officially recognized during the Han dynasty. The *Mao shi* is the sole version of the interpretive tradition passed on intact to the present, although fragments and quotations of the other interpretive versions remain, primarily as collected in Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Shi san jia yi jishu* 詩三家義集疏 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1987).

early in the history of *Shijing* exegesis, the poem was read as Rui Liangfu's criticism of King Li. At least as presented by Confucian historiography, and by the distribution of forms in the Confucian canon, an underdetermined or indirect *shi*-poem like *Sang rou* is the appropriate form for exemplary criticism of counter-exemplary kings, at least as criticism is portrayed during the wane of the Western Zhou.

We also know Rui Liangfu via his eponymous chapter in the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書, (Remnant Documents of Zhou), a compilation of *shu* 書 (documents) literature that occupies a peri-canonical space in the transmitted corpus. Like the poem *Sang rou*, the *Yi Zhou shu*'s "Rui Liangfu" (studied in detail in chapter four) is composed largely in tetrasyllabic rhyme, and portrays Rui Liangfu speaking out authoritatively against corrupt ministers and (undoubtedly, yet indirectly) their wayward king. The compilation has often been assumed to contain the texts left over when Confucius compiled the *Shang shu* 尚書 (Canon of Documents; lit. "esteemed documents"), and much of the compilation has suffered from neglect as a result of its marginalization during imperial reception history. Recent manuscript evidence, however, suggests that

the distinction between “esteemed” and “remnant” documents literature was not yet clear in pre-imperial China. Less recent manuscript evidence—namely a nearly-complete homologue text of the “Rui Liangfu” chapter lost in China but preserved in Japanese manuscripts—provides a basis for reconstructing the text.

In addition to these *shi*-poetry and *shu*-history texts, both of which contain rhyming tetrasyllables, an anecdote in the *Guoyu* 國語 (translated below) preserves yet another scene of remonstrance in which Rui Liangfu addresses King Li, bringing the number of pre-imperial transmitted sources to three. A fourth pre-imperial source, the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (*Bamboo Annals*), notes for the eighth year of King Li’s reign (846 BCE) that “Rui Bo Liangfu cautioned the hundred officials at court.”¹⁴

In their own right, this array of transmitted legendary sources—some of which have never been translated into a Western language—would make a worthwhile topic of study. Nonetheless, the undertaking has been given new urgency by the discovery of

¹⁴ See appendix 6 for a translation of the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 corresponding to King Li’s reign.

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a large cache of manuscripts acquired by Tsinghua University in 2008, containing not only texts that resemble or replicate transmitted *shu* documents and *shi* poems, but also a text known as the **Rui Liangfu bi* 芮良夫毖 (Rui Liangfu's Admonition). This new text preserves yet another, previously unknown scene of remonstrance, in which our protagonist presents two rhyming songs. The text is unique in form, its relation to known genres of literature is a matter of dispute, and it is addressed in detail by chapter two.

The *Guoyu* anecdote is the only Rui Liangfu text that does not rhyme, although it is the primary raw material out of which later narrative histories and re-imaginings of the legend are fashioned.¹⁵ For this reason, it provides a good introduction to the fundamental events, themes, and problems addressed by this study:

Guoyu 1.4¹⁶

厲王說榮夷公，芮良夫曰：「王室其將卑乎！夫榮公好專利而不知大難。夫利，百物之所生也，天地

¹⁵ The passage is spliced directly into the “Zhou benji” 周本紀 section of the *Shiji* 史記, in Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981), p. 141.

¹⁶ *Guoyu*, 12-14.

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之所載也，而或專之，其害多矣。天地百物，皆將取焉，胡可專也？所怒甚多，而不備大難，以是教王，王能久乎？夫王人者，將導利而布之上下者也，使神人百物無不得其極，猶曰怵惕，懼怨之來也。故《頌》曰：『思文后稷，克配彼天。立我蒸民，莫匪爾極。』《大雅》曰：『陳錫載周。』是不布利而懼難乎？故能載周，以至于今。今王學專利，其可乎？匹夫專利，猶謂之盜，王而行之，其歸鮮矣。榮公若用，周必敗。既，榮公為卿士，諸侯不享，王流于彘。

King Li favored Duke Yi of Rong 榮夷公.

Rui Liangfu said: “Will the King’s house demean itself? This Duke Yi of Rong loves to monopolize profit and has no idea of [the coming] great disaster.¹⁷ Profit is what the hundred beings produce—it is what Heaven and Earth hold up! And now when someone seeks to monopolize it, that will certainly cause harm in abundance! Heaven, Earth, and all beings must partake of it—how can it be permissible to monopolize it? Many are sure to be angered by this action, and there is no readiness for disaster. If this [i.e., Duke Yi’s monopolizing] is the example set for the king, can the King’s rule last?¹⁸ To rule others as a king is to guide profit—to distribute it above and below such that neither the spirits, the people, nor any of the hundred beings fail to get their due,¹⁹ and still to ever be apprehensive, in fear that resentment will come.

Thus the *Laudes* say:

‘We pray to Lord Millet, who is peer to these Heavens;
he established our flourishing people, none fail to get their due.’²⁰

The *Greater Elegantiae* say:

‘[King Wen’s] spreading of gifts supported the Zhou.’²¹

¹⁷ *Zhuan li* 專利 (to monopolize profit) in this context means to exercise exclusive control over wealth or resources.

¹⁸ Reading *jiao* 教 (teach) here as *xiao* 效 (to emulate). Also possible: “If people [in monopolizing profit and not preparing for disaster] emulate the king, how can the King’s rule last?”

¹⁹ The commentary of Wei Zhao 韋昭 (3rd c. CE) glosses *ji* 極 here as “proper” (*zhong* 中). See also the **Rui Liangfu bi*, lines 24 and 28, appendix 1.

²⁰ The poem here is “*Siwen*,” *Mao* no. 275, attributed to the Duke of Zhou by the *Mao* commentary. *Maoshi zhengyi*, p. 1538.

²¹ This quotation is found in the second verse of the first poem of the or *Da ya* 大雅 (*Greater elegantiae*) of the *Shijing*, *Mao* no. 135, “*Wen Wang*,” which is a poem in praise of King Wen (“The Cultured King”) who founded the Zhou. The preceding couplet reads: “diligent, diligent was King Wen, and his goodness brought unceasing fame” 亶亶文王 令聞不已 陳錫哉周 侯文王孫子. The term *zai* 載 (support; carry), is read as a verb in this translation and in the *Guoyu* but as an emphatic particle in the *Maoshi*. *Maoshi zhengyi*, p. 1122

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Is this not distributing profit for fear of disaster? Thusly was he able to support the Zhou, up until now. And now the king emulates [those who] monopolize profit. Is this permissible?

A commoner who monopolizes profit is what we also call a thief. If one is king and does it, those who pay allegiance to him will be few indeed! If Duke [Yi] of Rong is employed, the Zhou will fall.”

Soon after this, the Duke of Rong was made high minister.

The regional lords did not make their offerings.²²

The King was exiled to Zhi.²³

This passage, which immediately follows the Duke of Shao’s meta-remonstrance in the transmitted *Guoyu*, elaborates on the rulers role in the preservation of the normative order. In addition to keeping the channels of criticism unobstructed (as urged the Duke of Shao), the ruler must ensure that *li* 利 (“profit,” “produce,” or “advantage”)—the product of agriculture—is distributed as skillfully as water—its precondition.

Monopolizing wealth, like damming rivers or monopolizing speech, is a sufficient precondition for disaster.

Although chapter five will return to elements of the *Guoyu*’s Rui Liangfu narrative,

²² This phrase is spliced by Sima Qian into a passage almost identical to *Guoyu* 1.3, translated below, where it reads “The regional lords did not come to court 諸侯不朝.”

²³ The location of *Zhi* 彘 is identified as far northeast of the capitals in the state of *Jin* 晉, in the Fen river valley. See Wei Zhao’s note in the *Guoyu* passage cited above. *Zhi* means “swine,” so perhaps merely by historical accident, perhaps by way of poetic justice, the king is banished to the “Land of Swine.”

several points of contrast can be made between it and the three focal texts (*Sang rou*, “Rui Liangfu,” and **Rui Liangfu bi*) of this dissertation. First, only the *Guoyu* names the Duke of Rong as a culprit and “monopolizing profit” as a misdeed. Second, only the *Guoyu* scenes are informal, with the avuncular advisor directly addressing the king (the others conform better to the formal court scene set in the *Bamboo Annals*). Third, and perhaps most significantly, only in *Guoyu* does Rui Liangfu’s authority rely on quoting an established, authoritative body of texts (i.e. *Laudes*; *Greater Elegantiae*) now found in the Confucian canon. It is such prior texts that the systematizing historiography of the *Guoyu* seems to organize hierarchically. Both the explicit, interpretive narrative and awareness of a discrete body of authoritative literature indicate a relatively mature historiography and late date, probably sometime in the Warring States.²⁴ *Sang rou*, “Rui Liangfu,” and the **Rui Liangfu bi* may have been categorized by schemes that works like the *Guoyu* help to erect, but the three rhyming texts do not quote from any established canon; they bear the consciousness of a prior, pre-canonical body of literature.

²⁴ Chang I-ren, William G. Boltz, and Michael Loewe, “Kuo-Yu,” in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Institute of East Asian Studies, 1994) 263-8.

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In light of the comprehensive division of critical labor prescribed by the Duke of Shao, Rui Liangfu appears very prolific, perhaps even overstepping the boundaries put in place by any one version of the scheme. Some forms of texts may not be actually be texts—*chuan yan* 傳言 (rumors; talk) and the crafts of artisans do not require literary gifts, but Rui Liangfu has ostensibly left us a *shi*-poem, a *shu*-historical document, and another text that might be a teacherly *zhen* 箴 or workerly *jian* 諫 remonstrations, at least within the genre awareness of the *Guoyu*. The *Guoyu*'s division of labor is—as stated above—merely one of a plurality of comprehensive schemes that circulated in pre- and early imperial China. All the schemes draw divisions along categories of speech that include *shi*-poems, *qu*-tunes, and *shu*-history as identifiably distinct. At least in some of these schemes, distinctions in speech functioned like genre boundaries for early compilers, although it is not clear from canons whether the hallmarks of genres were authorly status (pedigree), moral exemplarity, or formal literary qualities that any talented writer might master. While the former two might be difficult to analyze, literary qualities such as structure, content, and form are elements to which we have access, and so the methods employed here focus on these elements.

1.4 Method

Fundamental to any study of structure, content, and form, is a basic account of the texts, how we know them, and what they say. Manuscript evidence, new and old, provides some of the raw data for each study; the rest is provided by transmitted texts and their interpretive traditions. Transcription, reconstruction, and translation of the three focal Rui Liangfu source-texts provides the philological basis for interpreting and analyzing the texts in chapters two through four. Most of this foundational work is presented in appendices one through four.

Textual structure is an important facet of analysis, and my approach to structure is informed by prior studies that examine parallelism,²⁵ narrative and discourse

²⁵ Joachim Gentz, "Zum Parallelismus in der Chinesischen Literatur," in *Parallelismus Membrorum*, ed. Andreas Wagner (Friborg: Göttingen, 2007), 241–69.

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structures,²⁶ relationships among textual units,²⁷ and paratext.²⁸ The study of structure can reveal clues about compositional layers in the text, as, for example, in chapter three, where I identify autocommentarial structures in *Shijing* poetry. The arrangement of structural elements can also reveal clues to textual genres (as, for example, in a class of texts I identify as “verse albums” in chapter two). Structuring features can operate at relatively short textual distances, such as rhyme and other features of prosody; paratext, commentary, or concatenated textual elements operate at somewhat greater distances; large-scale structural features include the disposition of “suites” or groups of texts in manuscripts and canons. The ways this study’s problems and methods emerge from prior research will be discussed in more detail in the sections below, beginning with rhyme.

²⁶ Dirk Meyer, *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China* (Boston: Brill, 2011).

²⁷ William G. Boltz, “Textual Criticism and The Ma Wang Tui Lao Tzu,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, no. 1 (1984): 185-224; Rudolf G. Wagner, “The Impact of Conceptions of Rhetoric and Style upon the Formation of Early Laozi Editions: Evidence from Guodian, Mawangdui and the Wang Bi Laozi,” *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies XLIV* (1999): 32–56. Joachim Gentz, “Defining Boundaries and Relations of Textual Units: Examples from the Literary Toolkit of Early Chinese Argumentation,” in *Literary Forms of Argument in Early China*, ed. Dirk Meyer and Joachim Gentz (Boston: Brill, 2015), 112–57; Boltz 2005; Allen 2015; Li 2008.

²⁸ Heng Du, “The Author’s Two Bodies: Paratext in Early Chinese Textual Culture” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2018). Du Heng applies the modern concept of paratext, to ancient literature. The method is adapted from Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, 1997.

1.4.1 Rhyme

Rhyme is a feature shared by all of the Rui Liangfu texts studied individually in chapters two through four, and because rhyme links adjacent lines or couplets, it is one of the basic building blocks of verse. But in archaic texts, identifying rhymes requires a method. In the most general terms, by “rhyme” I am concerned primarily with intentional phrase-final consonance and/or assonance that confers order and rhythmic structure on the text. In some languages, rhyme does not serve this function well. In ancient Greek poetics, rhyme is of marginal help in ordering a text, so rhythmic patterning is achieved by way of alternating long and short syllables.²⁹ Ancient Hebrew and Anglo-Saxon poetic traditions used other features such as alliteration or parallelism to construct their patterning, but the urge to pattern may be universal.³⁰

²⁹ Haun Saussy, “The Career of Rhyme: A Tentative Comparative Ethnographic Investigation” (unpublished address at Academia Sinica, Nangang, Taiwan, 2004). Greek words tend to have very similar final syllables, ending either in assonance or in three final consonants, and thus are relatively ineffective for establishing patterns.

³⁰ Ibid.

Within the classical Chinese tradition, end-rhyme is an important rhetorical and organizational feature of language, but the matter of what constitutes rhyme also depends on the expectations and conventions of a particular genre.³¹ Wang Li 王力 points out that certain types of rhyme, such as identical rhyme (in which a word rhymes with itself), are acceptable in some Chinese genres but not others.³² The same is true of particle rhyme, wherein a sentence-final particle participates in the rhyme scheme; in *Shijing* poems in which a line ends with a particle, the rhyme almost always occurs at the penultimate position.³³ In other forms of pre-imperial verse, such as in bronze inscriptional literature or didactic verse, particle rhyming, penultimate rhyme, identical rhyme, and mixed rhyme schemes (slant or cross rhyme) are all common occurrences.³⁴ These are all features of rhyme as used in the **Rui Liangfu bi* and the *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui

³¹ William Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), pp. 88-97.

³² Wang Li 王力, *Hanyu Shilixue 漢語詩律學* (Beijing [Hong Kong]: Zhonghua shuju [Xianggang fenju], 1957 [1973]), 762, apud Baxter 1992. The proposition that the *Shijing* does not employ extensive identical rhyme is disputed by Wolfgang Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung* (Bochum: Projekt Verlag, 2008), 51-2, although Behr counts cases of repetition or anadiplosis, in which an entire phrase is repeated.

³³ W.A.C.H. Dobson, “The Origin and Development of Prosody in Early Chinese Poetry,” *T'oung Pao*, no. 54 (1968): 231-50.

³⁴ Wolfgang Behr, “The Language of the Bronze Inscriptions,” in *Imprints of Kinship: Studies of Recently Discovered Bronze Inscriptions from Ancient China*, ed. Edward L. Shaughnessy (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2017), 9-32, 14 and 29n.52. For didactic verse and other less easily characterized forms, see David Schaberg, “On the Range and Performance of Laozi-Style Tetrasyllables,” in *Literary Forms of Argument in Early China* (Brill, 2015), 87-111.

Liangfu.”

Rather than provide here an exhaustive account of the neurophysiological and psycho-linguistic bases of rhyme’s rhetorical effects, I refer the reader to Wolfgang Behr’s monograph on rhyme in bronze inscriptional literature.³⁵ Rhyme in China begins early, most likely becoming widespread by the mid-Western Zhou (although perhaps earlier),³⁶ when rhyme was used in inscribed ritual bronzes. The religious hymns of the *Shijing* and prognosticative *yao* 繇 songs also employed rhyme. The term *yao* 繇 refers not only to “ditties” or the prescient word-magic of children, but to *yao* 爻 “oracles” in the *Yijing* 易經 (Classic of Changes). Much of the language and prosody of the *Yijing* is shared with *Shijing* poetics, and the wishful supplication in *Shijing* poetry is shared with divinatory traditions.³⁷ *Xing* 興, a trope common in *Shijing* poetry, juxtaposes imagery

³⁵ Behr, 2008, Ch.1-2. Although there is evidence of parallelism in Shang divinatory oracle bones, Behr does not find sufficient evidence to link this ordering of text to a literary tradition of the Zhou, but does not rule out the possibility of some continuities.

³⁶ Behr 2008, 53. An important modern study is Wang Guowei 王國維, “Liang Zhou Jinshiwen Yundou 兩周金石文韻讀兩周金石文韻讀,” in *Wang Guantang Xiansheng Quanji* 王觀堂先生全集王觀堂先生全集 (Taipei: Wenhua, 1961), 1965-88. For a survey of the literature see Behr 2008, ch. 3. See also Edward L. Shaughnessy, “From Liturgy to Literature: The Ritual Context of the Earliest Poems in the Book of Poetry” (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997), 165-196, 178; 192n.30.

³⁷ Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Arousing Images: The Poetry of Divination and the Divination of Poetry,” in *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, ed. Amar Annus (Chicago: Oriental Institute of

of the natural or pastoral world with that of human concerns, much as the oracles of the *Yijing* seek to symbolically reflect human events. Rhyming in poetry, oracles, prayers, curses and incantations may share a common impulse to predict and control events, or to order the world via ordered language.

Reconstructions of Archaic Chinese are used to identify rhyme. These are based primarily on medieval rhyme dictionaries and the rhymes of the *Shijing*. Newer reconstructions divide finals into ever more precise groups. Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682), the first scholar to construct a system of rhyme groups for Archaic Chinese, identified ten discrete rhyme groups. The system of Wang Li 王力 (1900-1986), still popular in mainland China, divides *Shijing* rhymes into twenty-nine finals.³⁸ Systems that take a modern historical linguistic approach distinguish thirty-eight, forty-one, fifty-three, or fifty-seven rhyme categories.³⁹ Modern reconstructions provide a

the University of Chicago, 2010), 61–75. See also Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Poetry and Prophecy: The Written Oracle in East Asia*, ed. Bernard Faure (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), introduction, for a theory that views divination as religious ritual.

³⁸ Wang Li 王力, *Shijing Yundu* 詩經韻讀 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014 [originally published by Shanghai guji, 1980]), 17.

³⁹ For an almost exhaustive comparison, see Behr 2008, ch. 4. Baxter 1992 differentiates some fifty-three categories; Axel Schuessler and Bernhard Karlgren, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A*

precision that exceeds that with which rhyme is used in practice beyond the *Shijing*, and indeed their precision may exceed their accuracy, at least as applied to the texts of this study.⁴⁰ Unless otherwise noted, I consult the newest Baxter-Sagart 2014 reconstructions, but primarily use Schuessler's OCM system for its relative simplicity of notation,⁴¹ and because verse texts of this study do not support some of the distinctions made in Baxter-Sagart 2014, such as that between the finals -r and -n.⁴² I also list the rhyme groups of Wang Li's widely used system.⁴³

1.4.2 Meter and verse

In general, meter in preimperial Chinese literature is primarily tetrasyllabic. Both in the

Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009) designates thirty-eight.

⁴⁰ By "precision" I mean that they divide categories more finely; by "accuracy" I refer to the faithful representation of archaic Chinese as found in the texts of this study. It may be the case that dialect effects lead to distinctions not relevant (or indeed misleading) for Chu texts.

⁴¹ Baxter-Sagart 2014 has a complex system of notation for initials, which are not relevant to the study of end-rhyme.

⁴² Schuessler, 2009. On distinguishing -r and -n, see William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart, *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 50. These are made according to the suggestion of Starostin.

⁴³ Wang Li's rhyme groups are from the modified system found in Li Zhenhua 李珍華 and Zhou Changji 周長楫, eds., *Hanzi gujin yinbiao* 漢字古今音表, 1st ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993).

Shijing and in bronze inscriptional literature, there is a tendency toward tetrasyllabic phrasing that is already pronounced in the early Western Zhou and increases steadily, culminating in the highly regular four-beat meter of the *Maoshi*.⁴⁴ All of the Rui Liangfu texts tend towards this meter, but none are as regular as the *Maoshi*.

I use the term “verse” for sequences that continue for more than a couplet and tend towards a regular meter. “Verse” as I use it thus encompasses the archaic, irregular structures of *Zhou song* and *Da ya* poetry, sustained sequences in some bronze inscriptions, didactic or technical texts, and other rhyming literature, including that studied in chapters two through four. I follow W.A.C.H. Dobson in reserving the words “stanza” or “stanzaic” for verses that exhibit more complex structural inter-relationships such as mirroring and repetition, such as are found in the *Shijing*

⁴⁴ Wolfgang Behr, “The Extent of Tonal Irregularity in Pre-Qín Inscriptional Rhyming,” in *Hànyǔshǐ Yánjiū: Jìniàn Lǐ Fāngguī Xiānshēng Bǎisùì Míngdàn Lùn-wénjí* 漢語史研究—紀念李方桂先生百歲冥誕論文集 (Essays in Chinese Historical Linguistics: Festschrift in Memory of Professor Fang-Kuei Li on His Centennial Birthday), ed. Anna O. Yue, Pang Hsin Ting, and Dah-an Hoh (Taipei: Academia Sinica Institute of Linguistics, 2008), 111–46, 116, figure 6. Behr 2017, p. 14 notes that metric intervals of up to fourteen graphs between rhyme words have been identified in bronze inscriptional literature, although at such distances one may question whether rhyme is intentional, especially if combined with other repetitive formulae.

(primarily in the *Guofeng* 國風 and to a lesser extent in the *Xiaoya* 小雅).⁴⁵

1.4.3 Paratext

The studies all ask how narrative or commentarial elements become appended to texts.

In both the **Rui Liangfu bi* and in one version of the *Yi Zhou shu*'s "Rui Liangfu,"

prefatory narrative functions to historically contextualize the text; in poems of the

Shijing, commentarial metatext undertakes this same role.

Paratext is a term originally formulated to comprehend the external structures that define works of literature, bringing them into being and commenting on their meaning and interpretation.⁴⁶ These include things such as the author's name, the title of the book, or other packaging such as a preface or illustrations.⁴⁷ Gérard Genette conceives of such features primarily as making modern literature, but notes also that in ancient

⁴⁵ W.A.C.H. Dobson, "The Origin and Development of Prosody in Early Chinese Poetry," *T'oung Pao*, no. 54 (1968): 231–50.

⁴⁶ The term is first developed in Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes* (Paris, 1981), 9, apud Genette, *Paratexts*, 1.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 1.

and medieval literature, “the sole fact of transcription—but equally, of oral transmission—brings to the ideality of the text some degree of materialization, graphic or phonic, which may induce paratextual effects.”⁴⁸ In Chinese manuscript sources recently excavated, there are a number of examples where texts are clearly associated with identifiable figures, or are labeled with titles (even if such titles do not have the fixity they do in the modern world of publishing). Du Heng’s recent dissertation explores more broadly the function of paratext in early China, examining the formation of authors, texts, and textual identity, and lays out in some detail how the concept of paratext might be applied to the study of Chinese texts.⁴⁹ She examines a wide range of complex structures that operate within canon formation at varied distances, such as indexing and the management of information.⁵⁰ Here, I am concerned primarily with textual features that make verse texts into historical narratives—paratextual features that function like postfaces or prefaces, and the attachment of authorial figures.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 3.

⁴⁹ Heng Du, “The Author’s Two Bodies: Paratext in Early Chinese Textual Culture”

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Unlike the highly fixed, published, modern books for which the concept of paratext was first articulated, ancient texts may go through a number of transformations in time and space before producing one or more stable editions. In an early part of the process, multiple witnesses of a text may circulate in manuscript cultures, later becoming attached to and shaped by distinct commentarial traditions. For example, while the *Shijing* refers to a collection of song texts, at some point in time, a *xu* 序 (sequential prefaces) commentary — probably the earliest extant layer of written commentary — circulated on a separate codex. Such a text, shaping interpretation at a codicological distance, might properly be considered metatextual.⁵¹ Nonetheless, the transmitted *Maoshi* 毛詩 as contextualized in the Tang-era *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義, the *Shijing* song texts text, early layers of commentary, and later layers of sub-commentary are brought together on the same codex, such that in the reading frame of the *Zhengyi* edition, the relationship between the commentarial layers and their encapsulated core *Shijing* song texts, is more like that between paratext and text. Discriminating paratexts and metatexts in this context is easier when a core text is fixed by multiple separate

⁵¹ Genette, *Architexte*, 82 apud Richard Macksey, “Foreword” in Genette, *Paratexts*, xix.

traditions, as is the case with the *Shijing*. In such an instance the core text is well known and more easily discriminated from commentary. The same processes of appending commentary, author attributions, or other such hermeneutic aids, occurs in preimperial manuscript culture, but where the core texts are not clearly fixed and the intent of the manuscript user is unknown, I use “auto-commentary,” “proto-commentary,” or simply “paratext,” to describe text that appears to function as an auxiliary hermeneutic aid, appended to or interpolated in the as-yet unfixed or “open” text we have, in an inline, same-codex relationship.

Rather than enter a protracted debate about the nature and applicability of the term “author” in early Chinese texts or the accuracy (from a modern point of view) of claims about authorship, I use the term “author” not substantively, but to highlight the attributive function of authorship.⁵² Thus I seek to treat authors, in the process of text formation, as hooks on which a text can be hung. In some cases, attribution may keep

⁵² For a study of the type of “cultural hero” attributive authorship that may function in Rui Liangfu texts, see Hanmo Zhang, *Authorship and Text-Making in Early China* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), ch. 2.

the text from being discarded, but before a text is closed, texts can be removed from hooks, moved to other hooks, or the hooks themselves might be abandoned altogether.⁵³

1.4.4 Manuscript studies and text critical methods

The studies of this dissertation apply text-critical methods of both the “old” and “new” philologies. For much of interpretive history, textual criticism in China has been concerned with recovering an *urtext* that derives from a sagely author or original context. In this interest, text-critical studies have resembled the “old philology” of textual eclecticism in seeking to establish an idealized version of a text, or to get back to the “original” thought or literature of an ancestral author figure (e.g. God). On the other hand, with the unearthing of manuscripts in China, a number of Sinologists, taking the

⁵³ Alexander Beecroft, writing on authorship in *Shijing* poetics, calls authorship “a property ascribed to a literary text...an attempt to ground and contextualize that text by assigning its composition and/or performance to a specific individual, real or hypothetical, and the narrative representation of that composition and/or performance constitutes a major category of evidence concerning authorship.” Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 18; and Beecroft, “Authorship in the Canon of Songs (Shi Jing),” in *That Wonderful Composite Called Author: Authorship in East Asian Literatures from the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Christian Schwermann and Raji C. Steineck (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 58–96, 61.

lead of scholars in medieval manuscript studies, have forged a “new philology.” This approach is perhaps best exemplified by Bernard Cerquiglini’s *In Praise of the Variant*, which confers on particular manuscript witnesses of a text the right to speak authoritatively about their particular time, place, and users.⁵⁴

Both of these approaches have advantages when applied to certain texts and research problems. The new philology is essential to understanding how texts operate in manuscript culture before they are completely fixed or closed. For example, in discussing the problem of genre in the **Rui Liangfu bi* in chapter two, I show that canonical conceptions of genre may in some cases obfuscate early processes of textual formation and practice. A great wealth of texts that were abandoned by canonical traditions are essential to this understanding and worthy of study on their own terms, to illuminate the particular contexts of their use. The **Rui Liangfu bi* is just one such text.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). A number of other methodological reflections can be found in the special edition of *Speculum* on “The New Philology.” For an introduction see Stephen G. Nichols, “Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture,” *Speculum* 65, no. 1 (1990): 1–10.

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There is a great deal of labor involved in producing ancient manuscripts, and their use as tomb texts indicates that they were used, cherished, or prized by their users.⁵⁵ In contrast, the transmitted text of the *Yi Zhou shu* is notoriously corrupt, owing in part to the text's delegitimization and neglect in imperial China. Those who dutifully copied the *Yi Zhou shu* certainly introduced variant readings, but since they seem not to have interpreted, valued, or understood the text (they did not care enough to produce or transmit commentaries), an "old philology" approach is more effective for reconstructing an early stage of transmission. Perhaps the variants introduced by transmission in an environment of relative neglect are a topic of interest for medieval studies, but they do not speak to the corpus as it may have existed in preimperial China. The aim in this case is not to get back to the absolute word of God; it is merely to get closer to a plausibly early reading of an otherwise corrupt text. For several texts now found in the *Yi Zhou shu*, the Tsinghua manuscripts have been an invaluable source in reconstructing a better picture of what these texts might have looked like in early

⁵⁵ Unfortunately, in the case of the Tsinghua manuscripts, we do not have certain knowledge about the context or burial of the manuscripts.

China—imperfect, perhaps, and idealized, but far more accurate than before.⁵⁶

When there are multiple readable texts, subtle differences between transmitted and excavated witnesses of a text may illustrate important concerns or tendencies particular to that witness's context of use.⁵⁷ It is only by the combined approaches of both old and new philologies that we may interpret both the meanings and early critical reception of the *Yi Zhou shu* and its component texts.

1.5 Overview of Chapters

Chapter two focuses on the **Rui Liangfu bi*, a manuscript text in the Tsinghua corpus that has been identified as a *shi*-poem by some and a historical *shu*-document by others.

I test the prosody against the other Rui Liangfu texts, and show that while the **Rui*

⁵⁶ For an example of how Lachmannian stemma codicum “old philology” can be applied using the Tsinghua manuscripts, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Of Trees, a Son, and Kingship: Recovering an Ancient Chinese Dream,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 77, no. 3 (August 2018): 593–609.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Matthias L. Richter, *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts* (Brill, 2013), which provides a “non-homogenizing” reading of the excavated **Min zhi fumu* against two transmitted counterparts. Allen 2015, shows a systematic tendency of excavated manuscript texts (from Chu) to advocate rule by meritocracy.

Liangfu bi shares a number of features with both canonical *shu* and *shi*, it does not adhere well to the conventions of either of these categories, at least as they are exemplified by transmitted literature. In particular, the second of two rhyming song-texts in the manuscript contains a long exposition that resembles Warring States technical literature. This complicates the comparison of the **Rui Liangfu bi* to canonical genres, and yet, from the standpoint of those who used the manuscript, questions whether the separation between what we consider “technical literature,” “poetry,” or “history,” meant the same thing to early manuscript users as it does for canonical literature.

Turning to structural features of the text as a whole, I class the **Rui Liangfu bi* together with two other manuscripts in the Tsinghua corpus and a single transmitted text fossilized in the *Shang shu* as examples of a larger class of “verse albums.” Verse albums employ paratextual narrative to preface and punctuate verse-texts, creating performance narratives that historically contextualize their verses, and authorize their component texts. From the standpoint of structure and codicological organization, verse

albums occupy an intermediate realm, between independently circulating *zhang* 章 (pericopes) and fixed canons and compendia.

Finally, having disengaged from the binary of known genres, I return to the album's two component verse texts, and consider the possibility that the admonitions contextualized within the **Rui Liangfu bi* were considered by the manuscript authors to belong to a larger genre of admonitions that include self-admonitory literature found both in the early *Zhou song* 周頌 hymns section of the *Shijing* and in other verse albums—a class of texts that might predate any conception of *shu* and *shi* as recognizable (or fundamentally separate) types of literature.

Chapter three examines *Sang rou* 桑柔 (Supple Mulberry), the poem attributed to Rui Liangfu, and a larger group of operatic *ya*-poems of the *Shijing*. While the Han-era *Maoshi* commentary seeks to provide a historical context for nearly every poem, quotation practices prevalent in Warring States literature give the impression that individual poems have no fixed meaning whatsoever. In general, *Shijing* hermeneutics

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of the modern period has addressed this incongruity by comprehensively rejecting the *Maoshi*'s pervasive historical attributions. This approach, however, still reifies canonical boundaries by applying a unified theory of interpretation to the *Shijing*'s contents with a logic that runs as follows: because the contents on which the prefaces function (i.e. because the *shi*) are fundamentally a homogenous unity, if we reject one preface we must reject them all. In contrast, rather than globally rejecting fixity or fluidity as true for every poem, this chapter seeks to answer the question of how a historicizing hermeneutic could develop both chronologically and laterally across the *Shijing*'s heterogenous contents, culminating in *Maoshi* historiography.

In order to find the historical roots of *Shijing* hermeneutics, I examine evidence of historical themes and incipient commentarial practices. In *Sang rou*, for example, the questions and answers that occupy the later commentarial tradition are addressed by the poem itself. This occurs in part by a much more pervasive compositional phenomenon in which postface-like “autographs” (including those considered recently

as *sphragides*),⁵⁸ shift focus to an author-figure who emerges in the final lines, commenting on the significance and motivation for the foregoing poetic act. Such explanatory codas, which perform some of the same commentarial functions as prefatory paratext in verse albums and historicizing prefaces of the *Maoshi*, contribute to a historicizing agenda that is carried out more explicitly in a group of related, critical poems of the *Xiaoya* than it is the *Daya*. This reveals a compositional trend in which historiography becomes more explicit with greater distance from historical events. The arrangement of suites of poems, both in the *Shijing* and in verse albums, represents an intermediary for considering the compositional, narrative, and hermeneutic bases of canon and genre formation.

Chapter four is a philological reconstruction and critical study of the *Yi Zhou shu*'s "Rui Liangfu" chapter, which, in contrast to the other Rui Liangfu texts, is the only text for which there are two extant homologues, one of which is found in the Tang-era *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 compendium, lost in China but preserved in Japanese

⁵⁸ Beecroft, 2010; Du, 2018.

manuscripts. Proceeding from a critical reconstruction and translation of the text, I show that both texts derive from editions that accompanied a commentary by Kong Zhao 孔晁, and that the received text has substantial lacunae postdating the commentarial affixation (and, presumably, fixation) of the text.

Following a close analysis of the prosody, rhyme, and grammatical features of “Rui Liangfu,” I argue that despite the meta- and paratextual claims of authorship, it is extremely difficult to isolate a single moment in time for the text’s emergence, despite the fact that such knowledge is a clear desideratum of the interpretive tradition. The manuscript version of the text indicates that commentarial metatext may have been transformed into inline paratext, indicating that the form of the text was in flux during medieval times. There is no reason to doubt that some version of the text (some of which remains lost even after reconstruction) may have circulated in pre-imperial times, but the presence of both archaic and classical grammar in different sections of the text reveals traces of compositeness or imitation.

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With regard to the formation of the text and its deposition in the *Yi Zhou shu* as opposed to the *Shang shu*, the text differs from *Shang shu* texts in combining the genres of dramatic speech and political criticism with tetrasyllabic rhyme. Another unusual feature, the use of the formula *ruo yue* 若曰 by someone other than a Zhou King or regent figure, is uniquely discordant with its use in known *shu* literature and bronze inscriptions, none of which portray ministers speaking with the degree of authority accorded Rui Liangfu in the *Yi Zhou shu*. It is quite possible that this authority was deemed a usurpation by the editors of the *Shang shu*.

Whereas in all the Rui Liangfu texts, historical and authorial attributions serve as para- and meta-textual features that legitimize their respective texts, the divergence of the two homologs of “Rui Liangfu” illustrate what happens to a compendium when it has been delegitimized. In this case, it is not that Rui Liangfu’s historical context has been peeled away, but that Confucius, in his role as compiler-editor of a sanctioned tradition of *shu* documents, has been removed from the compilation, destabilizing the fixity of its component texts. Thus the study of “Rui Liangfu” illustrates both the

formation of texts and their decay.

The fifth and final chapter examines the assemblage of Rui Liangfu texts as they function together, examining what the texts share *literatim* with one another, and what contours of a common narrative shape the individual texts. The three primary texts of study share less text, letter-for-letter, than each does with a larger corpus of transmitted literature. While the contours of the legend they preserve is highly conserved, the texts share so little text with one another that their seeming ignorance of one another as text may lead some to believe that the ignorance is willful. The *Guoyu* and *Shiji* accounts, on the other hand, are more or less redactions of a single text. Returning to the division of labor outlined in the *Guoyu* above, I identify several arrays of texts for further research on the genre categories and norms appropriate to remonstrance.

Finally, I open several scenarios for further exploration. First, I consider the possibility that verse albums like those in the Tsinghua corpus circulated in the Han, like materials associated with the *Yue ji* 樂記 (Record of Music) noted in the *Hanshu*

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“Yiwen zhi” 漢書藝文志, but now lost. The account there shows that much scholarly activity was devoted to recovering the *yi* 義 ([historical] significance) of the poetic and musical pieces. Such a project, in its time, might “reconstruct” history that is perceived as missing but may not have ever existed in written form. Second, I consider the related possibility that the alleged “forgery” that produced the *guwen Shangshu* 古文尚書 in the Eastern Han or Jin may represent a continuous process by which lacunae are perceived and filled throughout Chinese historiographic traditions, rather than an instant of falsification. One explanation for how the **Rui Liangfu bi* and “Rui Liangfu” texts could bear such similarities while sharing so little, *literatim*, with one another—without resorting to the conclusion that they willfully avoid sharing text—is that the authors of one knew the other *ought to exist*, and in its absence, reconstructed it.

Chapter Two

What is the Tsinghua *Rui Liangfu bi 芮良夫毖? Prosody, Paratext, Content and Form in a Warring States Verse Album¹

2.1 Introduction

The *Rui Liangfu bi 芮良夫毖² (The Good Man of Rui's Admonition) is an unearthed manuscript text written in a pre-imperial script from the state of Chu. The manuscript, presumably looted from a tomb, was purchased by an anonymous donor in 2008 and obtained by Tsinghua University as part of a large and significant cache of manuscripts.³ In tandem with a larger structural class of manuscripts, the *Rui Liangfu bi provides new and important clues about the coalescence of genres and canons in early Chinese

¹ This chapter owes a special debt of gratitude to Donald Harper and Daniel Morgan, for their aid and comments on technical vocabulary of the manuscript text. Thanks are also due to Edward Shaughnessy, for sharing and discussing preliminary translations of a number of Tsinghua manuscript texts, including some of those I have below termed “verse albums.”

² An asterisk marks manuscript texts that have been named by their editors.

³ The manuscript text is found in Li Xueqin, 李學勤 ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* [san] 清華大學藏戰果竹簡[參], v. 3 (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2012), pp. 12-13, 71-90, 144-162. Hereafter *Qinghua jian* v.3. For a general introduction to the manuscripts, see Liu Guozhong 劉國忠, *Introduction to the Tsinghua Bamboo-Strip Manuscripts*, trans. Christopher Foster and William French (Boston: Brill, 2016).

manuscript culture. Its combination of narrative content with song may also illuminate an incipient stage in the development of written commentaries.

The *Rui Liangfu bi shares a number of features with the varied, transmitted sources of the legend introduced in chapter one: it is written primarily in tetrametric verse; it constructs a common legend of Rui Liangfu's remonstrance of King Li; it is unequivocally admonitory, etc. Nonetheless, the manuscript text is unique in form and content, and it has proved difficult to classify through the lens of genre categories known from transmitted canonical texts. Scholars working on the *Rui Liangfu bi have arrived at varied conclusions about the nature of the text: those who treat it as poetry or *shi* have seen it as an example of a *bian-ya* 變雅 (an ironic or critical *ya*-poem);⁴ as a musical *shi*-poem;⁵ as a written *cifu* 辭賦-style non-musical poem;⁶ as a (presumably

⁴ See Tang Pui-ling 鄧佩玲, "Tan Qinghuajian Rui Liangfu bi bi shi suo jian zhi zheng jian 談清華簡芮良夫恣恣詩所見之諍諫," *Qinghuajian Yanjiu* 清華簡研究 2 (2015): 162–81, p. 165.

⁵ *Qinghua jian* v.3, 148: "The *bi* texts on slips are all rhymed and can be played to music." 簡文中「恣」皆用韻，為詩歌體，也是可以演奏的。

⁶ Cao Jianguo 曹建國, "Qinghua jian rui liangfu shi lun 清華簡芮良夫恣恣詩論," *Fudan Xuebao (Shehuikexue Ban)* 復旦大學學報 社會科學班, no. 1 (2016), p.26. Cao suggests that the poem is more like a chanted *cifu* 辭賦.

musical but) non-operatic *shi*-poem;⁷ or as paradigmatic of a long-lost *bi* 毖 genre of *shi*-poetry that encompasses works of broadly different forms.⁸ Others, however, have read the *Rui Liangfu bi not as a poem at all, but as a *shu* (i.e. historical) document.⁹

These categories are generally conceived retrospectively via the *Shijing* (Classic of Poetry), or by way of historical *shu*-documents known from the canonical *Shang shu* 尚書 (Book of Documents) and the peri-canonical *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (Remnant Documents of Zhou).

Below, I introduce the *Rui Liangfu bi manuscript and test it against the other Rui Liangfu texts, which less problematically represent the categories of *shi* and *shu*:

⁷ Li Xueqin qualified the editors' general claim regarding *bi* 毖 poems for the *Rui Liangfu bi in particular, saying that the text has "no connection to song and dance performance" 與樂舞無關. See Li Xueqin 李學勤, "Xin zhengli Qinghuajian liu zhong gaishu 新整理清華簡六種概述," as reprinted in *Xia Shang Zhou wenming yanjiu* 夏商周文明研究 (Beijing 北京: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2015), 219–34, p. 225. The paratextual opening uses the terminology of musical performance to introduce the rhyme-texts, but the veracity of such a historical performance setting is unknown.

⁸ Ma Fang 馬芳, "Cong Qinghua jian Zhou Gong zhi qinwu Rui Liangfu bi kan bi shi de liang zhong fanshi ji qi yanbian guiji 從清華簡周公之琴舞、芮良夫毖看毖詩的兩種範式及其演變軌跡," *Xueshu yanjiu* 學術研究, no. 2 (2015): 138–43.

⁹ See Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, "Rui Liangfu bi chu du 芮良夫毖初讀," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 8 (2012), p. 77; See also Chen Pengyu 陳鵬宇, "Qinghua Jian Rui Liangfu bi taoyu chengfen fenxi 清華簡 芮良夫毖 套語成分分析," *Shenzhen Daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 深圳大學學報 人文社會科學版, 31, no. 2 (March 2014), 44–54. For the possibility of the *Rui Liangfu bi as a *zhen* 箴 admonishment, see Huang Tiantian 黃甜甜, "Qinghua Jian 'Shi' Wenxian Zonghe Yanjiu 清華簡「詩」文獻綜合研究" (Ph.D. dissertation, Tsinghua University, 2014), ch.5.

prosodically, the manuscript text shares features with both *Sang rou* and “*Rui Liangfu*,” but is characteristic of neither of transmitted *shi* nor *shu*. Turning then to some unique features of the *Rui Liangfu bi*’s content, I show that the text may be compared against a body of rhyming technical literature as fruitfully as against transmitted models of *shi* or *shu*. I then compare the overarching text-paratext structures of the **Rui Liangfu bi* with those of two other manuscripts and with a singular chapter preserved only in the *guwen* chapters of the *Shang shu* 古文尚書, all of which encapsulate verse texts within historically contextualizing narrative paratext. I call these manuscript-bound forms “verse albums,” and suggest that rather than viewing the contents of these texts exclusively through the lenses of canonical *shi* and *shu*, we approach pre-imperial texts on the basis of categories that emerge inductively from the forms as they are manifest on manuscript sources. To do so affords a more empirical approach to pre-imperial text formation, and it also confers authority on the perspective of manuscript users and the contexts in which they wrote and compiled texts. A final section reconsiders the term *bi* 誌 (admonition) and the problem of genre in preimperial literature.

2.2 Description of the **Rui Liangfu bi* manuscript and text

The **Rui Liangfu bi* manuscript, found in the Tsinghua corpus, is dated to the late Warring States period, or to approximately 300 BCE, on the basis of orthography and carbon dating of an unwritten slip.¹⁰ The manuscript consists of twenty-eight mostly complete bamboo slips that were originally bound together as a scroll and are reconstructed according to numbering on the verso side of the slips.¹¹ The Tsinghua editors have given it the name **Rui Liangfu bi* [Rui Liangfu's admonition] based on its content.

The manuscript text can be described as having a paratext-text structure. By paratext I refer to material that instructs the reader in interpreting the text proper. In this case, the text proper consists of two long song-texts; the paratextual material

¹⁰ *Qinghua jian*, v. 1 (2010), p. 3.

¹¹ *Qinghua jian* v.3 (2013), p. 144. Slips are written in Chu script. After reconstruction by matching fragments and broken ends, seven slips are still incomplete. Slips bear approximately thirty characters when written in full. The verso of the first slip is labeled with the words *Zhou Gong zhi song zhi* 周公之頌志 (詩) ("The Duke of Zhou's Eulogistic Poem/s," "The Duke of Zhou's eulogized intent" or one of any other such possibilities), which appear to have been intentionally scratched off.

consists of a preface and a marker indicating the start of the second song-text (“The second [song-text] began, saying:...”二啟曰). In this paratext-text structure, the **Rui Liangfu bi* resembles two other manuscripts in the Tsinghua corpus that contain collections of songs that are also historically contextualized and punctuated into discrete song-texts (discussed below in section five).¹²

The paratextual opening (lines 1-8 below) provides a crucial framework for reading the text. I provide it here with the first few phrases of the first song-text (lines 9-20), to give also a sense of its contents:

¹² The **Rui Liangfu bi* manuscript is very similar in codicology and orthography to another of these manuscripts, the *Zhou gong zhi qinwu* 周公之琴舞, also in *Qinghua jian* v.3, and discussed in more detail below.

Chapter 2: What is the Tsinghua *Rui Liangfu bi

1.0	周邦驟有禍	The Zhou State had repeatedly suffered	[^g góiʔ]	[X]
	寇戎方進	misfortune,		
	厥辟御事	and the marauding Rong were entering.	[^{ts} tsins]	[A]
	各營其身	Their Lordships and masters of affairs	[^{dz} dzrəʔ]	[B]
5	恆爭于富	each fended for themselves.	[^h hin]	[A]
	莫治庶難	They struggled constantly with each other for	[^p pəkh]	[B]
	莫卹邦之不寧	wealth,		
	芮良夫乃	and none of them managed the many hardships;	[ⁿ nân]	[a]
	作愆再終	none relieved the disquiet of the state.	[ⁿ nêŋ]	[a]
	曰	Rui Liangfu thus	[ⁿ nəʔ]	[B]
	敬之哉君子	made this admonition in two codas.	[^t tun]	[a]
1.1	天猶畏矣	He said:		
	敬哉君子	Oh, be warned of this, My Lord(s):	[^{ts} tsəʔ]	[A#]
10	寤敗改繇	Heaven is indeed to be feared!	[^u uih]	[B]
	恭天之威 載	Oh be warned, My Lord(s)!	[^{ts} tsəʔ]	[A#]
	聽民之繇	Awaken to your fall and change your course.	[^j jau]	[C#]
	間隔若否	Respect the might of Heaven—Oh!	[^u uih]	[B#]
15	以自訛讀	Listen to the <i>yao</i> -songs of the people. ¹³	[^j jau]	[C#]
	迪求聖人	Discriminate what's right from wrong;	[^{br} brəʔ]	[A]
	以申爾謀猷	So as to censure yourselves for calumny.	[^w kwəs]	[B]
1.1B	毋擾聞繇	Seek and promote sages	[ⁿ nin]	[X]
	度毋有咎	to extend your strategic plans.	[^j ju]	[c]
20		Do not be ashamed to inquire about the [proper]	[^j jau]	[C]
		course,		
		Be blameless in your rule!	[^g guʔ]	[c]

The song in two parts that continues from section 1.1 above goes on to enumerate

¹³ The term *yao* 繇 on slip three and throughout may be translated as “ditty,” “mantic pronouncement,” or “course,” and the meaning here is difficult. See appendix 2 for a more detailed discussion.

exhortations and complaints, all directed at the ruler(s) and minister(s) at court. The primary, albeit indirect target is thus King Li of Zhou 周厲王, Rui Liangfu's contemporary. The song-texts are long—each roughly as long as the longest poems in the *Shijing*, and so I present them below in parts; a complete translation of the manuscript text is found in appendix 1.

The scene set by the **Rui Liangfu bi* and much of its admonitory content cleaves closely to a legend we know from other transmitted sources. In what is largely shared by the varied narratives, Rui Liangfu speaks out against the rulers' faults. The nature and form of the imagined performance varies somewhat across sources, but the complaints against the King's ministers (and indirectly, the king) are largely consistent: failure to employ good ministers; failure to listen to advice; lack of concern for the people; failure to prepare for disaster; unwillingness to learn from the mistakes of prior dynasties; and, more generally, greed, cruelty, and corruption. In contrast to these accusations, Rui Liangfu presents exhortations toward model behavior. Many of the charges are hardly unusual to poems of complaint and caution in the *Shijing*, or to

exhortations in *shu* documents. The most basic refrain, “oh, be warned!” 敬哉 is one that the *Rui Liangfu bi shares with literature in the *Shijing* and in both *shu* compendia.¹⁴ In this regard, elements of the narrative are formulaic, although, as we will see below, there is much in the text’s narrative detail that diverges significantly from transmitted literary forms.

Before delving into the details of the text’s content in section three below, however, it is instructive to compare the form and prosody of the manuscript text with representative examples from transmitted sources. This affords a nuanced description of form and provides a basis for better surveying landscapes of genre in early manuscript culture.

2.3 Prosody in the *Rui Liangfu bi and transmitted texts attributed to Rui

¹⁴ The exhortation appears repeatedly in the *Shang shu* (especially in the dramatic *gao* chapters) as well as in the *Yi Zhou shu*. In the *Shijing*, as well as in the Tsinghua *Zhou gong zhi qinwu* 周公之琴舞 manuscript, the exhortation generally is phrased as “be reverent of it” or “be warned of it” 敬之, although there are other variants on the theme.

Liangfu

The prefatory opening to the *Rui Liangfu bi clearly indicates that “Rui Liangfu made this admonition in two [musical] codas” 作毖再終,¹⁵ so it is natural to treat the text as song, especially considering Rui Liangfu’s alleged identity as a poetic author. However, a comparison of the *Rui Liangfu bi to the *Shijing* poem *Sang rou* and the “Rui Liangfu” chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* will show that the manuscript text diverges from the songs or documents we know from the transmitted canon, at least with regard to form and prosody.

2.3.1 The *Rui Liangfu bi and *Sang rou*

¹⁵ As we know it from both the received tradition and the other two song compilations in the Tsinghua corpus, the term *zhong* 終 invariably designates bouts of musical performance. The words *zai zhong* 再終 appears in the “Li yue zhi” 禮樂志 of the *Han Shu* 漢書, other passages in transmitted manuscripts and the Tsinghua song collections contain the terms “one coda” 一終 or “three codas” 三終, etc. In all cases the terms regard discrete musical events. See *Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian*, v.1 (2011), 152, for the editors’ explanation of similar occurrences in the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 and *Qiyue* manuscripts. See also Fang Jianjun 方建軍, “Qinghua jian zuo ge yi zhong deng yu jieyi 清華簡‘作歌一終’等語解義” *Zhongguo yinyuexue* 中國音樂學, no. 02 (2014): 84–86, who confirms that the term *zhong* in all these contexts represents a discrete bout of musical performance.

The *Rui Liangfu bi, like much other early rhyming verse, tends toward a primarily tetrasyllabic or octosyllabic form, in which tetrasyllabic phrases rhyme on every second phrase in a repeating pattern such that two rhyming octosyllables might be represented as: ----, --- B; ----, --- B, wherein B is the rhymed syllable. The rhymes of this pattern can be abbreviated as XBXB, wherein X represents any non-rhyming foot and A, B, C etc. represent end-rhymes of rhymed feet. The prevailing XBXB pattern suggests rhythmic patterning with stress on alternating tetrasyllables, and is common in early tetrasyllabic verse. A second rhyme, "A," may surface atop this prevailing pattern, yielding an ABAB pattern, --- A, --- B; --- A, --- B. In the *Rui Liangfu bi, this rhythmic pattern, however, is merely a tendency; nowhere does the rhythm go uninterrupted for long, and indeed only some 72% of the phrases are tetrasyllabic, which makes it considerably less regular than most poems of the *Shijing*.¹⁶

¹⁶ The 72% regularity of phrase length corresponds roughly with that in bronze inscriptions from the late *Chunqiu* and Warring States periods; see Wolfgang Behr, "The Extent of Tonal Irregularity in Pre-Qin Inscriptional Rhyming," in *Hanyushi yanjiu: Jinian Li Fanggui Xiansheng baisui mingdan lunwenji* 漢語史研究—紀念李方桂先生百歲冥誕論文集 (Essays in Chinese Historical Linguistics: Festschrift in Memory of Professor Fang-Kuei Li on His Centennial Birthday), ed. Anna O. Yue, Pang-Hsin Ting, and Dah-an Hoh (Taipei: Academia Sinica Institute of Linguistics, 2004), 111–46, pp. 116–7 and fig. 6. There may indeed be differences of form that complicate the comparison; moreover, the extent to which prosody is inherently regular in *Shijing* forms may also have to do with subgeneric conventions. The version of *Xishuai* 蟋蟀 (Cricket) in the *Qiyue* manuscript, published in *Qinghua jian* v.2, has pentasyllabic lines ending each verse, yet exhibits stanzaic regularity that does not differ significantly from the *Maoshi* version.

While the narrative paratext serves to parse the *Rui Liangfu bi into two movements or song-texts, within these songs verse structure is roughly as irregular as phrase length and difficult to make out at points, despite the pervasive presence of rhyme. No two efforts to separate the text into verses have yielded exactly the same structure, as can be seen in figure 1.1, a schematic diagram of how several recent studies have divided the verses of the song texts. This study, represented in the top row, seeks to punctuate verses where a change in rhyme coincides with a change in topic.¹⁷ This is easier said than done, as the rhyme often seems to drift and cross topics, or to change in places with no obvious thematic shift. This is exacerbated by the fact that the prevailing XBXB rhythm is often interrupted by a foot that seems to be extra or missing. A few segments represented in black, such as those found at the end of song one, indicate areas of

¹⁷ I have punctuated verses 2.3 and 2.4 on the basis of two structurally parallel but opposed themes. For the attempts to grapple with the prosody of the *Rui Liangfu bi see Ma Nan 馬楠, "Rui Liangfu bi yu wenxian xianglei wenju fenxi ji bushi 芮良夫謄與文獻相類文具分析及補釋," *Shenzhen daxue xuebao, Renwen shehui kexue ban* 深圳大學學報 (人文社會科學版), no. 1 (2013); Chen Pengyu 陳鵬宇, "Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu bi taoyu chengfen fenxi 清華簡"芮良夫謄"套語成分分析," *Shenzhen daxue xuebao, renwen shehui kexue ban* 深圳大學學報 (人文社會科學版) 31, no. 2 (March 2014), and Cao Jianguo 曹建國, "Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu shi lun 清華簡"芮良夫謄"試論," *Fudan Xuebao (shehuikexue ban)* 復旦大學學報 (社會科學班), no. 1 (2016). Chen and Ma do not treat the opening paratext, so it has been shown as empty in figure 1.1.

unanimous agreement among the several studies as to how a verse is punctuated.

Proportionally lighter sections show correspondingly greater disagreement on where a segment starts and ends. A typical poem of the *Shijing* would be completely black, by comparison, as most of its songs have a readily apparent, uncontested verse structure.¹⁸

If the verses of the *Rui Liangfu bi may be regarded indeed as verses, they would also be of more variable length than any *shi*-poem found in the *Shijing*.¹⁹

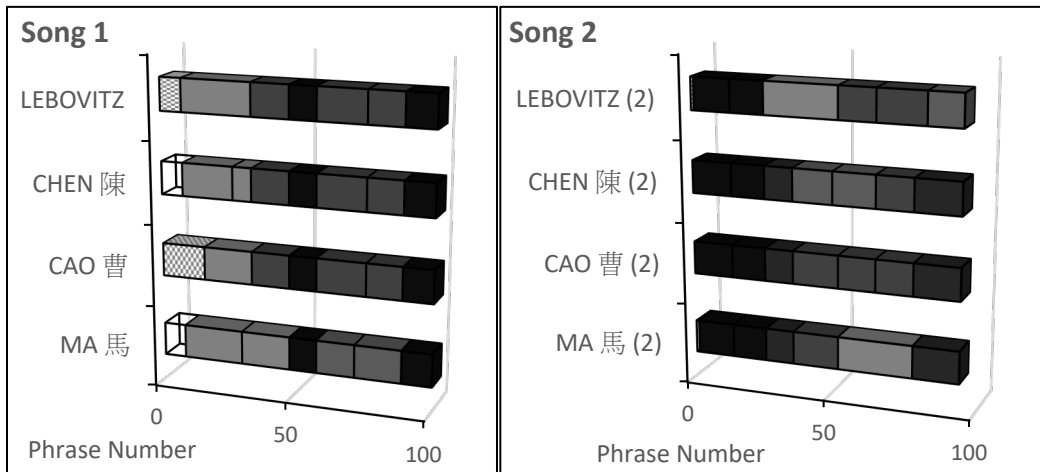
Despite the challenges, identifying discrete verses is a desideratum of most studies that treat the text comprehensively. This may in part be due to a preconception of Rui Liangfu as a poetic critic, and in particular as a maker of *Ya* poetry. Presumptions (based at least in part on *Shijing* poetry) about how pre-imperial poetry was organized, may thus also be an important influence. And, of course, it is also the case that given the

¹⁸ This may be aided in part, by the commentarial tradition, which comments on the verse structure at the end of each poem. Nonetheless, in almost all cases these structures are considerably more regular less controversial than in the *Rui Liangfu bi.

¹⁹ Verses as I have sought to punctuate them are of 26, 14, 10, 18, 13, and 12 phrases long in the first song and 13,12,26,13,17, and 12 in the second song. In the *Shijing*, the poem *Bi gong* (Mao # 300), which has verses of 17, 17, 8, 8, 17, 8, 8, 10, and 10 phrases respectively, is exceptional in both the length of its verses and in mixing verses of uneven length, but even in this comparatively irregular example, one can imagine patterned or cyclical musical movements that correspond to verses of seventeen, eight, and ten lines in length.

paratextual claim that the text preserves two song-bouts or codas (*zai zhong* 再終) a reader might very reasonably expect the piece to preserve some cyclical structures of musical performance. Such signs are scarce in the *Rui Liangfu bi.

Figure 1.1 Attempts to parse the *Rui Liangfu bi into verses



The irregularities of both verse length and rhyme pattern should be clear from the table, and will become even more clear by comparison to the regular structure of *Sang rou* in table 1.1 below. While some verses, such as 1.2 and 1.4 stand out for their relatively regular rhyme, the profusion of lowercase letters used to indicate near-rhyme, consonance, or assonance indicate that the text rhymes irregularly in many places, especially as compared to poems of the *Ya*.

Ya poetry, in contrast, finds a very representative example in *Sang rou*, with almost perfectly regular tetrasyllabic rhyme (99%) and two perfect movements—one of six-phrase verses and one of eight-phrases.²⁰ The only way in which *Sang rou* can be called atypical of the *Shijing* is in regard to its length: its two movements make a hundred and twelve phrases combined—one of the longest in the *Shijing*.²¹

²⁰ *Sang rou* has only a single five-character line challenging its otherwise perfectly tetrasyllabic rhythm. For an overview of *Shijing* prosody see W.A.C.H. Dobson, “The Origin and Development of Prosody in Early Chinese Poetry,” *T’oung Pao*, no. 54 (1968): 23–250. For a discussion of the significance of this phenomenon, see George A. Kennedy, “Metrical ‘Irregularity’ in The *Shih Ching*,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 4, no. 3/4 (1939): 284–96.

²¹ Only *Yi* 抑 (Mao #256, also in the *Daya*; 114 phrases) and *Bi gong* 閼宮 (Mao #300, in the *Shang song* 商頌 section; 120 phrases) are longer. Each of the two songs of the *Rui Liangfu bi are roughly as long as the longest poems in the *Shijing*, so at least with regard to overall length, the forms would seem to be similar, but if *Sang rou* can indeed be split into two movements on the basis of prosody, then its movements would be roughly half the length of each song of the *Rui Liangfu bi. It is difficult to know for certain what the verse structure of *Sang rou* means for musical accompaniment, but the bisection of *Sang rou* and the *Rui Liangfu bi may derive from a common legend.

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Table 1.1 *Rui Liangfu bi verse structure

Vr	Rhyme	Vr	Rhyme
1.0	X <u>ABAB</u> aBa	2.0	X
1.1	<u>A</u> *B <u>A</u> *C#B# <u>C</u> #AB A	2.1	XAaXAAAXA[?]AXA
B	X <u>c</u> C <u>c</u> X	2.2	<u>AA</u> XAaAX <u>XA</u> *XA
C	<u>Xc</u> [A/c] <u>Xc</u> CD <u>C</u> D [A/c]DCD	2.3	A##AXA
1.2	ABABXbX <u>B</u> X <u>B</u> bBb B	2.4	XA* <u>B</u> ABXA*bAb <u>B</u> ABβaβA βA
1.3	<u>a</u> XABXBAB <u>a</u> B	2.5	<u>A</u> AB <u>B</u> CXcXADbD
1.4	X <u>AB</u> AXAB <u>A</u> C <u>A</u> CA <u>A</u> AX <u>B</u> AB	2.6	#B#BA*BA*BAX <u>B</u> AB <u>B</u> aBA
1.5	ABABXB[?][?]CBX CB	2.7	[?][?]A* <u>A</u> *Xaa[?]XAaA
1.6	[.][.]XAXAXAaaXa		

Table 1.2 Mao #257, Sang rou verse

Vr	Rhyme	V	Rhyme
		r	
1	ABABABBB	9	ABABXB
2	ABABABAB	10	#B#BXB
3	XBXBABAB	11	XBXBXB
4	ABABXBAB	12	XBaBAb
5	ABABABBB	13	BBBBXB
6	ABABCCDD	14	XBXBXB
7	XBABABAB	15	BBXBXB
8	ABXBABBB	16	BXBBXB

Legend for tables 1.1-1.3: letters represent the (mostly tetrasyllabic) feet of the verse texts, with “X” being used to represent the ends of non-rhyming phrases, and A, B, C, etc. designating rhymes. Verses 1.0 and 2.0 are paratextual. Underlining (X) indicates significant rhyme at the penultimate position; [?] indicates a lacuna; pound sign (#) indicates identical rhyme that is not otherwise part of the passage; superscript pound (X[#]) indicates identical rhyme as part of the rhyme pattern; lowercase letters indicate significant consonance or assonance (e.g. “a” is consonant with “A,”); diacritics are also used to distinguish near-rhymes.

With regard to rhyme and verse structure, the *Rui Liangfu bi looks very unlike the sort of poem that is attributed to Rui Liangfu in transmitted traditions, and in fact, unlike any canonical *shi*-poem. The manuscript text does, nevertheless, possess a few features at the level of the line or phrase that are typical of *Shijing* songs. These include

a reduplicative in line 132, “Overturned, overturned, there is no success” 板板其無成, exemplifying a rhythmic feature commonly found in the *Shijing*.²² Such features of *Shijing* prosody, however, are quite scarce for a text of this length, at least as compared to *shi*-poems we know from the canon. Nonetheless, the *Rui Liangfu bi* contains some lyrical exclamations of note that would be quite out of place in a *shu* document:

“Oh how troubled is this heart!” 心之憂矣 (line 49)²³

“My heart is [unhappy]” 我心不[快] (line 184)²⁴

“Worries entangle my inner heart” 吾中心念絳 (line 188).

Expressions like these are common formulae of *Shijing* lyricism, but completely absent from transmitted *shu* documents literature. It is unclear whether such formulae reflect the genre awareness of such texts at their time of composition, or are the result of reshaping texts to fit textual assemblages in manuscript culture. Clearly, however, the

²² See line 132. The reduplicative occurs also in the *daya* poem *Ban* (Mao #254), in which it portends doom: “Shangdi overturns it; the people below are destroyed” 上帝板板下民卒瘡. The poem is also read as a political critique of King Li. *Shisanjing zhushu bianweihui* 十三經注疏編委會, *Maoshi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義, *Shisanjing Zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Beijing da xue chu ban she, 2000), 1344.

²³ The **Rui Liangfu bi* shares this exact phrase with eleven other *Shijing* poems: Mao# 27 *Lu yi* 綠衣; #45 *Zhou bo* 舟柏; 63 *You hu* 有狐; # 109 *Yuan you tao*; #150 *Fu you* 蜉蝣; #183 *Mian shui* 沔水; #192 *Zheng yue* 正月; #197 *Xiao bian* 小弁; #207 *Xiao ming* 小明; #233 *Tiao zhi hua* 苕之華; and #264 *Zhan yang* 瞻仰.

²⁴ In *Du Ren Shi* 都人士 (Mao #225) the phrase is written 我心不說. The graph 快 is uncertain in the Tsinghua manuscripts, but *yue* 悅 is as good a guess, and phonetically close enough.

*Rui Liangfu bi violates expectations that the *Maoshi xiaoxu* 小序 (preface) and the *Zuozhuan* would have made clear to imperial readers about what type of song Rui Liangfu ought to have composed; the manuscript text makes some gestures toward transmitted *shi*-poetry, even while its verse structure and irregular rhyme indicate that we are looking at something quite distinct from the *Ya*-poem Rui Liangfu allegedly authored. Thus while the comparison to *Ya* poetry is a productive foil for examining the prosody of the *Rui Liangfu bi, the attribution to *Sang rou* may in the end distract from the question of the manuscript text's typology and composition.

2.3.2 The *Rui Liangfu bi and "Rui Liangfu" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*

The manuscript text may also be tested against the "Rui Liangfu" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*, in which Rui Liangfu arrives at court, bows respectfully,²⁵ and dresses down King Li and his nobles for their negligent rule and lack of virtue. While one may consider *shu*

²⁵ Following Zhu Youzeng 朱右曾, who follows the *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 reading that Rui Liangfu "Bowed his head and respectfully announced..." 稽首謹誥; other versions read this as "...examined the Way, making counsels and proclamations." 稽道謀誥, which would seem to make the remonstrance even more direct. See chapter four from a more detailed discussion of the opening lines.

documents primarily as prose historical forms, their appearance as such owes in part to the particular salience of those chapters identified as authentic Zhou works of the *jinwen* 今文 (standard script) *Shang shu*. Among these are the *gao* 告 (announcement) chapters, dramatic speeches often regarded as the early core of the work, containing little in the way of verse or rhyme.²⁶ A cohesive group of “core” chapters in the *Yi Zhou shu*, in contrast, use rhyme extensively in combination with a set of prosodic and rhetorical features such as anadiplosis and lists.²⁷ Perhaps because “Rui Liangfu” lies beyond this core and its dramatic speech resembles the paradigmatically old *gao* chapters of the *Shang shu*,²⁸ “Rui Liangfu’s” rhymes have generally gone unnoticed.²⁹ In

²⁶ A number of the chapters thought to be Eastern Zhou or later in origin contain rhyming sequences; others contain texts that are identified as songs, as for example the short songs presented by Yu 禹 and Di 帝 in the *Yi Ji* 益稷 chapter of the *Shang shu*. Also of note is a sequence in the *Hong fan* 洪範 chapter that reads very much like a *Shijing* poem, complete with rhyme and reduplication, which is quoted in the “Jian ai xia” 兼愛下 chapter of the *Mozi* 墨子 as a “Zhou *shi*-poem.” Shisanjing Zhushu Bianweihui 十三經注疏編委會, *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 368; Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 ed., *Mozi Jiangu* 墨子閒詁, (Taipei: Hua zheng shuju, 1987), 117.

Rhyme is also more widespread in *shu* documents exclusive to the *guwen* 古文 (archaic script) version of the text, although these are generally understood to be post-Han works.

²⁷ Huang Peirong 黃沛榮, “Zhou Shu Yanjiu 周書研究” (National Taiwan University, 1976), ch.3 and pp. 93-4.

²⁸ The useful typological distinction of “dramatic speeches” is proposed by Yegor Grebnev, “The Yi Zhou Shu and the Shangshu: The Case of Texts with Speeches,” in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)*, ed. Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer (Boston: Brill, 2017), 249–80.

²⁹ Studies that encompass prosody in the *Yi Zhou shu* have each uncovered ever more extensive rhyme in the chapters. The first of these is Jiang Yougao 江有誥, *Xianqin yundu* 先秦韻讀 [Colophon 1817], *Xuxiu siku chuanshu* 續修四庫全書; Huang Peirong has recognized rhyming broadly among his “core” 主體

its combination of dramatic speech with extensive tetrasyllabic rhyme, it better resembles the *Rui Liangfu bi than any transmitted, pre-Han *shu* document.³⁰

Table 1.3 Yi Zhou shu 逸周書 “Rui Liangfu” rhymes, by section

Sect. ³¹	Rhyme	Sect.	Rhyme
1	{AAX} ³²	6	aãæBBaAaXXAA
2	XXABA#BA#XBBAaXBaX	7	XaAXAaX
3	#X#AAXXBb	8	AbBBXAbbAXbBA
4	A#X A##XA	9	ABBbXXXXX
5	##X###XaAXA	10	X#A#AãaBAXBããßXbbXBXCC

Nonetheless, in other ways, the “Rui Liangfu” chapter does better fit the mold of prose *shu* literature. At only sixty percent tetrasyllabic overall, it has a less consistent rhythm than the *Rui Liangfu bi, and there is no verse structure whatsoever (the rhymed sections divided in table 1.2 are based entirely on narrative cues). Moreover, in addition

chapters and remarks on the tetrasyllabic rhythm of the “Rui Liangfu,” but not its rhyme (Huang Peirong, ch.3 and pp. 93-4); see also Zhou Yuxiu 周玉秀, *Yi zhou shu de yuyan tedian ji qi wenxianxue jiazhi* 逸周书的语言特点及其文献学价值, 1st ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), ch. 4, which identifies much more extensive rhyme within the chapters (but does not include “Rui Liangfu” among them). For a detailed study, and prosodic analysis of “Rui Liangfu” in particular, see Zhou ch. 4, and ch. 4 of this dissertation.

³⁰ A speech in the “Pan geng” 盤庚 chapter of the *Shang shu* also contains a rhyming section, although it is considerably shorter and represents only a fraction of the chapter.

³¹ Here I have divided the text into sections strictly by topic, because the rhyme is not regular enough to perceive any verse structure.

³² Curly brackets indicate inline prefatory paratext that is present only in the *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 edition. For a detailed discussion see ch.4 and appendix 4.

to loosely rhyming sequences throughout, the rhyme in “Rui Liangfu,” also lapses (e.g. “XX,” in fig. 1.3), and much of the text is held together rhythmically by monorhyme that results from the repetition of words (e.g. ###)³³ “Rui Liangfu” has no overt, formulaic gestures of *shi* lyricism; on the contrary, it is opened by the phrase “Rui Bo thusly said:” 芮伯若曰, a formula exclusive to *Shu* documents and bronze inscriptions.³⁴

On a continuum, with regard to prosody and structure, the *Rui Liangfu bi lies somewhere between a typical *shi*-poem of the sort we might expect and an unusually rhythmic, dramatic *shu*-history. As a lengthy text that rhymes the entire way through, displaying some of the lyrical gestures of *Shijing* poetry, and yet lacking the regularity

³³ Such features are shared with a diverse body of literature described by David Schaberg as “Laozi-style tetrasyllables,” although the term does not describe the *Rui Liangfu bi as well. The manuscript text does indeed contain identical rhyme, but it is generally subordinate to a more pervasive rhyme scheme. Schaberg suggests in a note regarding Martin Kern’s study of the *Huainanzi*’s “Yao lue” chapter that there is a distinction between *fu* forms and “Laozi-style tetrasyllables” that is made only with difficulty. It is worth considering whether the rhymes of the *Rui Liangfu bi are packaged into a form sufficiently close to *fu*, an identity suggested by Cao Jianguo. It does seem to do much that we might call “exposition,” and yet if we consider the highly direct and elaborate criticism that is presented by the *Rui Liangfu bi, the thematic comparison is still strained. See David Schaberg, “On the Range and Performance of Laozi-Style Tetrasyllables,” in *Literary Forms of Argument in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 87-111, 108-9; n.58. Also, Martin Kern, “Western Han Aesthetics and the Genesis of the ‘Fu,’” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63, no. 2 (2003): 383–437.

³⁴ Given the unusual prosody of the text, it is certainly possible that the *ruo yue* formula was appended at some later point to make it cohere with a larger body of *shu* texts.

of rhythms, rhyme, and verse, it fits neatly into neither the *Shijing* nor compendia of *shu*. Perhaps the overwhelming significance of canonical poetry within the later tradition has led most modern readers of the manuscript to focus on concerns that fit more squarely with *shi* poetics, and to a lesser extent with *shu* historiography, but the binary approach of reading the *Rui Liangfu bi through the lens of transmitted *shi*-poetry or *shu*-documents has its limits. Having above shown what the *Rui Liangfu bi is not gets us only part of the way to understanding what it is. The term *bi* 誌, which will be discussed in the penultimate section, is one possible genre term that may aid a constructive, generic identification of the text, and there are indeed other examples of transmitted remonstratory literature that offer some promise in reconstructing a preimperial landscape of genre. Any approach, however, that seeks to better contextualize the *Rui Liangfu bi, must account for the text's unique thematic features and intellectual content.

2.4 Unique concerns of the *Rui Liangfu bi: Virtue, punishment, and cosmic

mechanics

In form as well as content, the *Rui Liangfu bi bears a significant resemblance to technical literature that has gone almost unremarked.³⁵ Almost all technical references occur in the second song-text, as can be seen in table 1.3. While even the trope of *xing* 興, common in canonical poetics, functions to juxtapose the actions of the natural world with the realm of man, the warnings and exhortations of the *Rui Liangfu bi belie a more elaborate, systematic or rule-based view of cosmic correlations, in which the ruler's action must be closely synchronized with celestial and seasonal events. The concerns of the manuscript text include a fear of unraveling the *jigang* 紀綱, or cosmic net-structure. This structure is interwoven with concern for the balance between *de* 德 and *xing* 刑 (virtue and punishments), a dyad that becomes a major set of binary correlates in later calendrical systems and methods of astro-calendrical divination. A concern with preserving order both in astral realms and in the kingdom are expressed by the term *du* 度, which I have translated as "rule." In the manuscript text, both the motion of planets

³⁵ Cao Jianguo's "Qinghua Jian Rui Liangfu Shi Lun" is an exception in this regard, and notes some of these unusual features of the text.

and the action of the ruler have a proper *du* that should not be disordered. The text also has an extensive exposition on political order that appears in two conceptually parallel sequences, in which the concept of mutually reinforcing vertical and horizontal door braces are understood as metaphors of mutual support and regulation in properly ordering the realm and cosmos (see Appendix 1, lines 136--166). While these cosmological concerns provide much to digest, here I begin with the relationship between cosmic order and the balance between virtue and punishments.

2.4.1 Balancing Virtue and Punishment

The problem of the balance between *de* 德 (virtue) and *xing* 刑 (punishments) arises numerous times (see lines 43, 113, 122, 134, 144, 153), mostly but not exclusively in the second song section. These two terms are Han Feizi's 韓非子 "two handles":

明主之所導制其臣者，二柄而已矣。二柄者，刑、德也。何謂刑德？曰：殺戮之謂刑，慶賞之謂德。

That by which the percipient master leads and controls his servants needs nothing more than the two handles: the two handles are punishment and virtue. What are punishment and virtue? It is

said: murdering and killing are called punishment; celebrating and bestowing are called virtue.³⁶

The valence of these opposed concepts is broad, as is that of the binome “punishment and virtue” 刑德. In technical literature, by the Warring States period the terms take on another set of important associations that go well beyond their use in a non-technical context, and certainly beyond associations of the English terms used to translate them. John Major has suggested that these technical uses be translated as “accretion” and “rescission,” for example, as found in seasonal ordinances, wherein they become concepts that move through different locations in time, like *yin* and *yang*:³⁷

德在室則刑在野，德在堂則刑在術，德在庭則刑在巷

When *de* is in the Room, *xing* is in the Field.

When *de* is in the Hall, *xing* is in the Road.

When *de* is in the Court, *xing* is in the Lane.³⁸

The term does not completely shed its etymological origins, however, as it enters the astro-calendrical realm; the use of the two terms as cosmic variables is part of a new

³⁶ Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 ed. ann., *Hanfeizi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), p. 111.

³⁷ John Major, “The Meaning of Hsing-te” in Susan Blader et al. *Chinese Ideas About Nature and Society : Studies in Honour of Derk Bodde*. Shaukiwan, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1987, pp. 281-91.

³⁸ *Huainanzi* 3:12ab, trans. Major, 1987 p. 285, modified.

expanded set of possible meanings for *xing* and *de*.³⁹

It is not clear to what extent the uses of *xing* and *de* in the *Rui Liangfu bi are identical to those found in Han-era technical literature; the term in the manuscript text is *de-xing* rather than *xingde* but the dyad clearly represents elements read in opposition, or as two qualities that must be balanced symmetrically and linked to cosmic structure. One of the earliest transmitted occurrences of the terms in clear opposition is in the *Lü xing* 呂刑 chapter of the *Shang shu*, a text thought to be one of the later additions to the canon, likely dating to the Warring States, and also undergirded by a mechanistic view of the cosmos.⁴⁰ Marc Kalinowski explains:

With the development of cosmological thought and the yin-yang and Five Agents doctrines, the action of Heaven was seen more and more as an impersonal organizing power working on the world through the regular rhythms of nature. The rotation of stars, the cycle of the season, and the alternating of yin and yang became the expressions of an immanent natural order that determines

³⁹ See Marc Kalinowski, "The Xingde Texts from Mawangdui" *Early China*, v. 23/24 (1998-99), pp. 156 n. 75

⁴⁰ Kalinowski, 1998-99, 155 n. 70 on *Lü xing* as first occurrence; Edward L. Shaughnessy, "On The Authenticity of the Bamboo Annals," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46, no. 1 (1986): 149–80, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2719078>, p. 176, on Warring States date of *Lü xing*. Shaughnessy (personal communication) now regards the *Lü xing* as a Spring and Autumn-era text. The opposition between the senses of virtue and punishment also appears clearly in the *Gao yao mo* 皋陶謨 chapter, also thought to come from relatively recent layers of the *Shang shu*.

the destiny of men.⁴¹

If it weren't for the particular way in which the concerns of finding balance between *xing* and *de* come intertwined with astro-cosmological ideas about timing in the **Rui Liangfu bi*, it might seem as though the “virtue” and “punishments” might be of an entirely secular understanding, more in the vein of Han Feizi's political use of the terms. However, the virtue and punishments of the **Rui Liangfu bi* must operate closely in unison with the workings of the cosmos. Lines 144-153, embedded in a much lengthier technical exposition, are an exhortation to proper governance:

	政命德刑	Governance and the mandate, virtue and punishments—
145	各有常次	each possessed its regular sequence.
	邦其康寧	[In such case], the state shall be peaceful.
	不逢庶難	and will not encounter the many disasters
	年穀紛成	the yearly grain harvest will be abundant
	風雨時至	the wind and rain will come at their proper times.
150	此惟天所建	And so this is what Heaven sets into action;
	惟四方所祗畏	it is what the four directions respect and fear.
	曰 其罰時當	It is said: “let their sanctions be timely;
	其德刑宜利	and their virtue and punishments be righteous and advantageous.”

Much as described by Marc Kalinowski above, the proper functioning of the realm

⁴¹ Kalinowski 1998-99, 155.

begins and ends with the regulation of virtue and punishments. A relatively impersonal, mechanistic or rule-based view of the cosmos underlies the model of rulership set forth here. The idea that “sanctions” should come at a proper time is well aligned with the concept of virtue and punishment as an opposed pair in correlation with the seasons, and indeed in the Warring States and Han, punishing at certain times was not just a matter of theoretical correlation but a matter of practice.⁴²

2.4.2 *Du* 度 and celestial divination

In a section of the **Rui Liangfu bi* that describes how failure at the craft of rulership leads ultimately to the unraveling of the cosmos, the ultimate consequence is that “The Year-star then loses its *du* (rule)” 歲迺不度, leading to great “misfortune” *jiu* 咎 (lines 164-6; see section C below for the passage). The **Rui Liangfu bi* reveals other cases in which maintaining proper *du* 度 can allow one to avoid misfortune, or where not adhering to

⁴² John Major, “The Meaning of Hsing-te” in Susan Blader et al. *Chinese Ideas About Nature and Society : Studies in Honour of Derk Bodde*. Shaukiwan, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1987, pp. 281-91. See pp. 283-4.

pure virtue can cause a loss of *du*:⁴³

19 毋擾聞絲 Do not be ashamed to inquire about the [proper] course

20 度毋有咎 and your *du* (rule) will be without misfortune!

...

106 不秉純德 Not holding fast to pure virtue,

107 其度失營 his *du* (rule) will lose order.

It seems clear that in the interpretive context of the *Rui Liangfu bi, the *du* of the ruler is very closely associated with the *du* of planetary bodies, and intertwined with the notion of balancing virtue and punishment. Addressing prior practices of astral divination that he views as misguided, Sima Qian explains:

...水、火、金、木、填星，此五星者，天之五佐，為（經）緯，見伏有時，所過行贏縮有度。日變脩德，月變省刑，星變結和。凡天變，過度乃占。

...[Mercury], [Mars], [Venus], [Jupiter], and [Saturn] – these five stars are the five assistants of Heaven. As for their actions in warp and weft (i.e., declination and right ascension), and their appearance and hiding, [everything] has its time, and the gain and retreat by which they exceed their [expected] travels have their measure {or *du* 度 “rule”}. When the sun changes, work on your virtue; when the moon changes, reconsider your punishments; when the stars (planets) change, join [people?] in harmony: With celestial incidents, one only performs omen interpretation when they

⁴³ Although I am certain that the term *du* 度 here represents a cluster of polysemous but related terms (“rule,” “measure,” “self-restraint,” etc.), the same graph seems to be used to write *zhai* 宅 (house; position) in the Tsinghua manuscripts, and senses associated with *zhai* either present alternative interpretations or a wider valence of concepts associated with a single word *zhai/du*.

have exceeded their measure/expected *du* position⁴⁴

Here, Sima Qian is writing to criticize practices from before his time (and possibly contemporary to the *Rui Liangfu bi manuscript). His claim is that during this time astral divination was practiced more regularly than needed, perhaps as a regular part of the craft of seasonal regulation. We do not know what role astral divination had in the context of the *Rui Liangfu bi, but it is clear in this context that the *du* of planets must be closely regulated by the ruler, and that cycles emphasizing virtue and punishments are interwoven with the movement of celestial bodies. I suspect that in the context of the *Rui Liangfu bi, to “inquire about the [proper] course” 毋擾聞繇 (line 19, above) involved consulting technical specialists as well as those versed in more mundane political matters.⁴⁵ The term *yao* 繇 translated as “course” here can also be interpreted as “mantic pronouncement” or “prognostic song,” the interpretive possibilities point to a cluster of etymologically related terms that assume a fundamental relationship

⁴⁴ Sima Qian, translation modified from Daniel P. Morgan, ‘Mercury and the Case for Plural Planetary Traditions in Early Imperial China’, in *The Circulation of Astronomical Knowledge in the Ancient World*, ed. John M. Steele (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 416–50, pp. 439–440. Also, Dan Morgan, “On sciency words in the Rui Liangfu bi” (personal communication, March 2017). Curly brackets are mine.

⁴⁵ Cao Jianguo has taken the interpretation a bit further, reading the term *yao* 繇 as referring to a mantic pronouncement. See appendices 1 and 2 for a detailed discussion.

between the mantic arts and charting a course of action.

2.4.3 Rulership as the art of seasonal regulation

The description of a harmonious cosmos (quoted above as lines 144-151) is the result of proper government, which according to the *Rui Liangfu bi, is also a task of careful alignment or measuring—another meaning within the valence of the term *du* 度. The metaphors employed in the description of good government share some imagery in common with webbed net of the cosmic structure or *jigang* 紀綱, which ideally extends lines of regulation across vertical and horizontal space (lines 136-143):

約結繩膊	The ‘double ties; the plumb and circle—
民之關閉	these are the crux of [governing] the people.
如關鍵扃管	Like the horizontal and vertical door braces, the bolt and the key;
繩膊既正	Just as the plum and circle are perfectly correct;
而五相柔比	the five ministers fall yieldingly into line.
矯易兇心	Compliantly their evil thoughts are transformed,
研甄嘉惟	they analyze and devise great strategic plans,
敕和庶民	fostering and harmonizing the many people.

Rulership as depicted here, is a craft, requiring precision and symmetry. However,

when the ruler fails to maintain order within this nexus, political discord will erupt and cascade downwards (lines 156-160). The consequence of political breakdown is that the cosmos correspondingly falls apart (lines 161-166):

日月星辰	The sun, moon and stars
用交亂進退	thus advance and retreat in tangled chaos,
而莫得其次	such that none takes its proper station.
歲迺不度	The Year-star then loses its <i>du</i> (rule)
民用戾盡	and thereby the folk become thoroughly perverse
咎何其如台哉	Oh, what can be done about such tragedy?!

Note that this language is not shared in any way by the other Rui Liangfu texts. The texts which bear the most resemblance to this are in fact seasonal ordinance texts, or texts such as the rhyming *Sui 歲 text of the *Zidanku Chu boshu* 子彈庫楚帛書 (Zidanku Silk Manuscript #1):⁴⁶

惟□□□	It is ...(?)...	
月則贏絀	...if the lunar [intercalary] augmentation or abatement	
不得其當	does not achieve its proper place,	陽 *tâŋh
春夏秋冬	Spring Summer Fall Winter	冬 *tûŋ
□有□常	(will not?) have (?) regularity,	陽 *dɑŋ
日月星辰	the sun moon, planets and stars	文 *dɑn

⁴⁶ See Li Ling 李零, *Zidanku boshu* 子彈庫楚帛書, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2017), 45-7. See also Li Ling, *Chu boshu yanjiu*. (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2013), p. 45 for an earlier interpretation. Here I have omitted the non-standard characters, although in some cases the reading is tentative.

Chapter 2: What is the Tsinghua **Rui Laingfu bi*

亂失其行	Are chaotic and lose their proper movement,	陽 *gân
羸絀失口	If the augmentation or abatement lose their ...(?),	?
奔木亡常	plants and trees lose regularity.	陽 *dan
是謂妖，	This is called a portent,	宵 *?au
天地作祥	Heaven and Earth are making [aberrant] signs.	陽 *s-jaŋ

Calamities include the collapse of mountains and geysers erratically spilling forth, as well as wars and negative consequences for the king.⁴⁷ It is precisely these sorts of calamities that are referred to as the “many disasters” 庶難 repeatedly in the **Rui Liangfu bi* (see lines 6, 40, 79, 105, 147, and 183). Li Ling points out that this section of the Zidanku manuscript is concerned primarily with “disorder and the imperative to reestablish order,”⁴⁸ and that concerns of seasonality and the imperative to order time properly were not relegated to the realm of the ritual specialist, but rather were pervasive concerns.⁴⁹

Moreover, these pervasive concerns are addressed by rhyming verse forms—exemplified by the Zidanku *Sui* text—that circulated in the Warring States, presumably

⁴⁷ Li 2003, 45-6.

⁴⁸ Li Ling 李零, “The Zidanku Silk Manuscripts,” in *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China: The Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin, and Han*, trans. Donald Harper (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 249–77, 263..

⁴⁹ Li Ling 2017, 58-9.

within the same milieu as texts like the **Rui Liangfu bi* and a range of materials that we know from transmitted traditions. In addition to rhyming philosophical texts that we know from both transmitted compendia and unearthed manuscripts, we also know a number of technical texts that developed in the Warring States through Han, giving rise to texts like the *Jiaoshi Yilin* 焦氏易林, the **Yinyangjia yan* 陰陽家言, *Jing jue* 荊決,⁵⁰ and other technical texts that share formal and prosodic features with *shi* poetry we know from the canon. There is almost certainly a significant body of such literature that processes of transmission and redaction cast aside. Nonetheless, given the similarities of both (rhyming) form and content that exist between the **Rui Liangfu bi* and the texts like the *Zidanku Sui* text, we ought to give fair consideration to a body of rhyming literature very different from canonized *shi* when considering the genre typology and composition of the **Rui Liangfu bi*.

2.4.4 Heaven's trigger mechanism: A smoking crossbow?

⁵⁰ **Yinyangjia yan* 陰陽家言 is found in Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo, ed., *Beijing daxue cang Xi Han zhu shu*, v. 3.2 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2015); *Jing jue* 荊決 appears in v.5 of the same series.

It has already been suggested that the mechanical metaphors underlying cosmic order—and in particular the opposed relationship between virtue (*de* 德) and punishment (*xing* 刑)—are markers of a Warring States text. One more of these mechanical metaphors may enable us to date the most recent compositional layer of the *Rui Liangfu bi text more definitively to after the late Chunqiu period. In a closing section of the text, Rui Liangfu makes a somewhat prophetic remark, cloaked in deferential language:

167	朕惟沖人	I am but a submerged man,	[#]
168	則如禾之有稊	and while a stalk of grain has a sprout,	[B]
169	非穀哲人	I am no seed-bearing wise man.	[#]
170	吾靡所援 <small>口</small> 詣	I am not someone [useful to consult]!	[B]
171	我之不言	[But] if I myself don't say it.	[A#]
172	則畏天之發機	then I fear Heaven's trigger will release	[B]
173	我其言矣	[and] once I myself have said it,	[A#]
174	則逸者不斲	then the negligent ones will find it displeasing	[B]

Adding to the list of mechanical metaphors seen above, such as the horizontal and vertical door braces, the plumb and circle, the bolt and key, we must now add Heaven's "trigger mechanism" (*faji* 發機; line 172). If we assume that the manuscript, with the text as we have it, is that of a historical person of the late Western Zhou, then it would

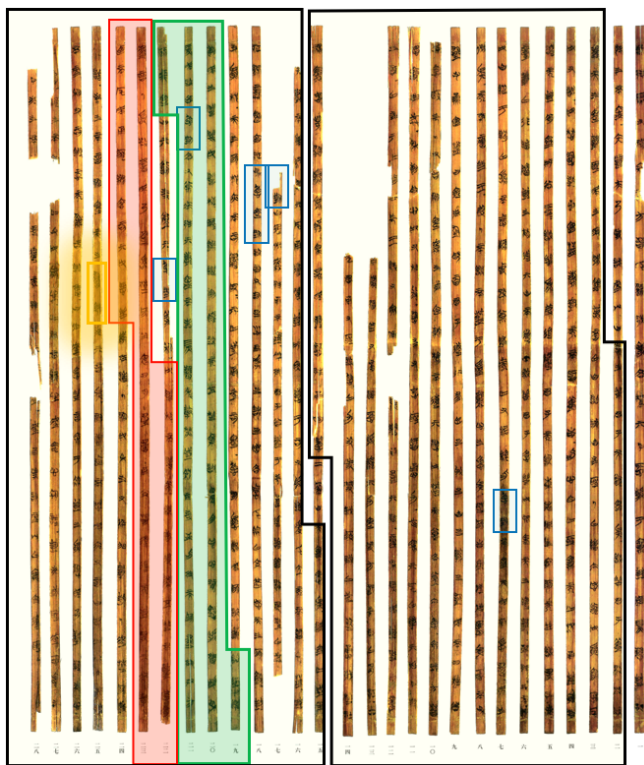
indeed be strange to encounter the metaphor of a trigger mechanism being used; while the crossbow and its trigger mechanism are well attested in the Warring States both as physical objects and as source domains for metaphors that describe mechanical incipience at work in the mind, the cosmos, or other phenomena, the mechanism is not well attested in earlier times. The earliest attempt to trace the history of the crossbow trigger comes in the *Wu yue chunqiu* 吴越春秋, which places the first use of the crossbow in China in the 6th century BCE, at the earliest.⁵¹ The *Sunzi bingfa* employs the trigger mechanism metaphorically, which indicates that by the Warring States, the crossbow was probably in common use. If indeed we can read the term *faji* 發機 as referring to the crossbow trigger, then I think we must assume that the most recent compositional layer of the text, and the particular form in which the text comes to us, bears the impression of the late Spring and Autumn period at earliest, and more likely a Warring States intellectual milieu.

As indicated above, however, the distribution of technical concerns primarily in the

⁵¹ See Joseph Needham and Robin D. S. Yates, *Science and Civilization in China, vol.5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 6: Military Technology: Missiles and Sieges* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 139-45.

second song text is consistent with a laminate compositional structure; some of the material may elaborate on prior literature, as can be seen in table 1.3. With a single exception, all of the technical concerns identified above cluster in the second song-text.

Figure 1.2 Distribution of the *Rui Liangfu bi's technical content



Legend for figure 1.2: Black boxes bound the two song-texts; unbounded regions of the text are paratextual sequences; light blue boxes show where *de xing* 德刑 are mentioned; green and red highlight parallel expository sequences; yellow highlights the trigger mechanism.

2.5 Structure and paratext in verse albums

The above discussion of the *Rui Liangfu bi's intellectual content has hopefully served to

disengage our discussion of the texts from the categories of *shi* and *shu* familiar from transmitted literature. I hope that it has also shown that other types of rhyming literature share intimately the cosmological concerns of the *Rui Liangfu bi. I would here like to turn the discussion back to the topic of structure, and having shown ways in which the text is not paradigmatic of *shi* or *shu*, point to some other texts that do resemble the *Rui Liangfu bi with regard to overall structure and form.

2.5.1 Verse albums in manuscript form

Within the Tsinghua corpus, the *Qiyè* 耆夜 and *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* 周公之琴舞 manuscripts are both structured much like *Rui Liangfu bi: in all of these manuscripts, rhyming texts are contextualized by narrative paratext that directs the reader in interpreting and parsing the text proper.⁵² The five song texts of the *Qiyè* consist of four previously unattested songs capped by a version of the poem *Xishuai* 蟋蟀 (The Cricket) that we know from the *Shijing* (Mao #114). Likewise, the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu*,

⁵² The *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* 周公之琴舞 (The Duke of Zhou's Zither and Dance) is found in *Qinghua jian* v.3; *Qiyè* 耆夜 is in *Qinghua jian* v.1.

combines the previously unknown song texts with a rendition of one *Shijing* poem we do know, *Jing zhi* 敬之 (Be Warned of it; Mao # 288).⁵³ The editors note that the codicological features and handwriting of the *Zhou gong zhi qinwu* and *Rui Liangfu bi manuscripts are similar, and that the two texts were likely produced at the same time.⁵⁴

The *Qiye* 耆夜 (Toast [celebrating the defeat] of Qi) manuscript commemorates a drinking party that celebrated King Wu's conquest over the state of *Qi* 耆.⁵⁵ The text opens with a prefatory section that I regard as paratextual, and which functions to historically contextualize the poems. It reads:

PN 武王八年征伐耆，大戡之。還，乃飲至於文太室。畢公高為客，召公保奭為夾，周公叔旦為主，辛公泉甲為位，作策逸為東堂之客，呂尚父命為司正，監飲酒。

PN 王夜爵酬畢公，作歌一終曰《樂樂旨酒》：...

[Narrative Paratext:] King Wu campaigned against *Qi* in his eighth year, and greatly conquered it. On his return, he drank to his arrival in the Great Hall of King Wen. Gao, the Duke of Bi was the guest; Protector Shi, the Duke of Shao was the helper; Shu Dan, the Duke of Zhou was the host,

⁵³ Both of these manuscripts combine material homologous to that we know from transmitted sources with material that was not transmitted; the *Rui Lianfu bi contains exclusively material that was not transmitted, and is thus new to us.

⁵⁴ *Qinghua jian* v.3, 132.

⁵⁵ *Qi* is identified by the editors as the state of *Li* 黎 discussed in the *Shang shu* chapter *Xibo kan li* 西伯戡黎 (The Earl of the West defeats Li). The Xibo has often been identified as King Wen, although the preface of the manuscript suggests that Xibo is king Wu.

Chapter 2: What is the Tsinghua *Rui Liangfu bi

Quanjia the Duke of Xin was the attendant; Zuoce Yi was the guest of the Eastern Room; Lü Shangfu was ordered to serve as master of ceremony, overseeing the drinking.

[Narrative Paratext:] The King offered up his chalice, toasting the Duke of Bi, and made a song in one *zhong* 終 (coda), called “Joyful joyful, the tasty brew”...

[Song text...]

Much like the opening in the *Rui Liangfu bi, which describes the circumstances under which Rui Liangfu presented his song in two parts, the prefatory section here guides the reader to interpret the poem as having a specific historical significance, functioning much like the prefaces found in the Mao edition of the *Shijing*. What follows is a series of songs, each offered by King Wu and the Duke of Zhou, in the course of toasting the other members of the drinking party. Each song is prefaced by paratextual narrative that indicates who toasted whom with which song. The phrase “[so-and-so] made a song in one part, which is called [such-and-such] ...作歌一終曰...is repeated so as to punctuate each song from the previous one. A rendition of *Xishuai* is the last of the poems, and its prefatory paratext indicates that the Duke of Zhou extemporized (or composed) it in response to an interloping cricket that happened upon his mat.

While the *Qiye* climaxes with a known *Shijing* song, the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* opens

with one: after a brief introduction and a few verses by the Duke of Zhou (which may actually be intended as part of the first song), the first song sung by King Cheng is a version of *Jing zhi* 敬之 (Mao#288). In the case of the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu*, the opening narrative paratext is more rudimentary: preceding the first song it says that “The Duke of Zhou made [for] the many nobles warnings and cautions, [accompanied by] zither and dancing in nine *sui* (refrains/units of performance)” 周公作多士儆毖，琴舞九遂。A similar phrase prefaces King Cheng’s first verses, and paratext functions also to punctuate the nine *sui*, each of which is divided into an opening *qi* 啟 and a *luan* 亂 (coda; perhaps with vocal accompaniment).⁵⁶

Comparing these two manuscripts with the *Rui Liangfu bi, the resemblance in overall textual form is quite apparent: all are collections of songs that could perhaps be termed “historically contextualized micro-collections,” or “historically conscious song-books” (at least in that the paratextual narrative implies a context of musical performance). The term I have settled on, “verse album,” implies an agnosticism about

⁵⁶ The exception to this pattern is the first *sui*, for which the Duke of Zhou and King Cheng each have an opening *na* 納 (entrance).

whether the texts were ever actually performed as they are portrayed in the manuscripts. The Tsinghua corpus offers a total of three examples of texts with this form and function, but there is at least one more example now fossilized in the *Shang shu*.

2.5.2 *Wuzi zhi ge* 五子之歌, a historically conscious songbook and transmitted text

In seeking to classify the *Rui Liangfu bi as a *shu* historical document, and prove that *shu* documents may contain song material, Zhao Ping'an has pointed out a fourth text—this one in the transmitted tradition—that bears an uncanny resemblance to the *Rui Liangfu bi: the *Wuzi zhi ge* 五子之歌 (Songs of the five princes), now found in the *Shang shu*.⁵⁷

Considering that the songs of the *Wuzi zhi ge* chapter are all remonstrations against a corrupt ruler, the content of the chapter resembles the *Rui Liangfu bi even more closely

⁵⁷ Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, "Rui Liangfu bi chu du 芮良夫毖初讀," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 8 (2012): 77–80.

than do the other verse album manuscripts in the Tsinghua corpus.⁵⁸

The *Wuzhi zhi ge* is found in the *Xia shu* 夏書 section of the *Shang shu*, and functions to recount the tale of the wayward Xia king Tai Kang 太康, whose negligence and mismanagement ultimately led to the revolt of the people (presumably championed by Yi, the ruler of Qiong 窮后羿). Tai Kang's brothers present songs of criticism against him. The prefatory paratext reads:

太康尸位，以逸豫滅厥德，黎民咸貳，乃盤遊無度，畋于有洛之表，十旬弗反。有窮后羿因民弗忍，距于河，厥弟五人御其母以從，徯于洛之汭。五子咸怨，述大禹之戒以作歌。

Tai Kang occupied the throne like a personator of the dead. By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his virtue, till the black-haired people all wavered in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any self-restraint {*du* 度 “rule”; “measure”}. He went out to hunt beyond the Luo, and a hundred days elapsed without his returning. (On this) Yi, the prince of Qiong, taking advantage of the discontent of the people, resisted (his return) on (the south of) the He. The (king's) five brothers had attended their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the north of the Luo; and (when they heard of Yi's movement), all full of dissatisfaction, they related the Cautions of the great Yu in the form of songs.⁵⁹

The songs of complaint and criticism that follow this prefatory section are all very

⁵⁸ The song *Xishuai* 蟋蟀, as presented in the Tsinghua version, is an admonition to be restrained in the pleasures of wine and song.

⁵⁹ Translation modified from James Legge, “Songs of the Five Sons,” in James Legge, *The Shoo King, The Chinese Classics v.3* (London: Henry Frowde; Oxford University Press, 1871), 158-9.

short, ranging from five to sixteen mostly tetrasyllabic lines, with each song set apart by the paratextual introduction, “The first one said 其一曰;” “The second one said 其二曰;” and so on (see appendix). On the basis both of text-paratext structure and of content, the *Wuzi zhi ge*'s resemblance both to the *Rui Liangfu bi and to the other verse album manuscripts is strikingly clear.

What is not clear, however, is how a text structured like the *Wuzhi zhi ge* came to be found in the *Shang shu*. The text is found only in the *guwen* 古文 (old text) chapters of the *Shang shu* that are generally suspected of being post-Han forgeries. The fact that texts structured much like the *Wuzi zhi ge* circulated in the Warring States warrants a reexamination of the *Wuzi* text, as part of a larger reexamination of *shu* documents in light of the Tsinghua discoveries. Even if one does believe that a text like the *Wuzi* might have been forged in post-imperial times, Bruce Rusk's work on forgeries of lost *Shijing* traditions suggests that even forgeries reflect the forms and interpretive practices of texts that were used and circulated contemporary to their fabrication.⁶⁰ While it is

⁶⁰ See Bruce Rusk, *Critics and Commentators: The Book of Poems as Classic and Literature*. (Cambridge: Harvard Asia Center, 2012), ch. 5.

definite that verse albums circulated in the time of the Tsinghua manuscripts, it is certainly possible that they circulated long afterwards, either passed on from remote regions of the empire, preserved in private hands, as texts fabricated on the basis on known prior forms, or as recovered texts, like those alleged to be uncovered from the walls of Confucius's former home or caches like the *Jizhong* bamboo manuscripts. Some related questions will be further considered in chapter five.

2.6 *Bi* 誌 (admonition) and the problem of genre

Having examined what the *Rui Liangfu bi is not (canonical *shu* or *shi*), what is unique about it (technical exposition), and what its overall structure resembles (other verse albums), it is worthwhile returning to the question of *bi* 誌 (誌) as a class of texts, to consider its value for reconstructing the genre-awareness of pre-imperial manuscript users. One convention in naming inscribed bronzes is to respect self-identification; if the vessel calls itself a *hu* 壺 then it is a *hu*. Likewise, the *Rui Liangfu bi makes it clear that Rui Liangfu “made a *bi* 誌 in two codas”; the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* prefaces its version

of the *Shijing* poem “Jing zhi” with “the King made warnings and *bi*” 王作儆毖. But does the term *bi* refer to an “admonition” of any sort, or to a literary genre that is bounded, just as the typology of *hu* vessels might be? The Tsinghua editors have certainly implied that such a typology holds: “The *bi* work(s) in the manuscripts all use rhyme; they are a form of song or poetry, and can be performed to music” 簡文中「毖」皆用韻，為詩歌體，也是可以演奏的。⁶¹

Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 has attempted to trace the etymology of the term *bi* 毖, read as *bi* 毖 from Shang oracle bones.⁶² He argues that the term is a warning delivered at a distance, which would have entailed a significant campaign.⁶³ Such a warning (or perhaps a threat) is reminiscent of the use of *bi* in early *shu* documents literature.⁶⁴ Zhao Pingan has pointed out that *bi* in the *Shang shu* has both nominal and verbal uses: “admonish,” and “admonition”; and in the *Jiu gao* 酒告 (Proclamation on Wine), for

⁶¹ *Qinghua jian* v.3, p. 148.

⁶² Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, “Shi ‘bi’ 釋秘,” in *Qiu Xigui xueshu wenji* 裘錫圭學術文集, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Fudan Daxue chubanshe, 2012), 51–71, 61–5. Thanks to Adam Schwartz for directing me to this source.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Qiu relies on the *Shang shu* usages, so one might also argue his imagination of how the term was used in the Shang is simply colored by *shu* usage.

example, it gets used both ways.⁶⁵ Ultimately, using the example of *Wuzi zhi ge*, he argues that *shu* documents can contain songs along with opening contextualizing narrative, and that *bi* is thus a long-lost subgenre of the *shu* documents, like *shi* 誓 (oaths), *gao* 告 (proclamations), *xun* 訓 (instructions), *ming* 命 (commands), etc. Certainly, the similarity of the “Rui Liangfu” chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* suggests that transmitted *shu* forms could encompass—with some editing—the material found in the *Rui Liangfu bi. Nonetheless, the manuscript texts use the term *bi* to refer to the song-texts proper, not to their larger, paratextually encapsulated narrative forms.

The idea that subgeneric conventions are perceptible in *shu* literature, however, reminds us that canons—and subsections of those canons—contain heterogeneous materials. Such is also true of the *Zhou song* section of the *Shijing*, in which the odes “Min yu xiao zi” 閔予小子, “Fang luo” 訪落, “Jing zhi” 敬之, and “Xiao bi” 小毖 (Mao# 286-289), form a suite that appears admonitory or self-admonitory. In this regard, the suite of poems, together with their Mao *xiaoxu* prefaces, reads much like the

⁶⁵ Zhao, 78.

admonitory or self-admonitory suite of songs in the *Zhou Gong zhi qin wu* manuscript.⁶⁶

In addition to the *bi* in the title of “Xiao bi” (Little Admonition), the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* text uses the term *bi* to refer to its version of “Jing zhi”; its exhortations to “be warned of it,” are echoed also by the *Rui Liangfu bi. As a rule, none of the *Zhou song* are critical or satirical, but what is a rule for the canon need not have been a rule for the manuscript culture that produced the Tsinghua manuscripts. Although the *Rui Liangfu bi’s songs are unequivocally critical and considerably longer than any of the *Zhou song* suite, their irregularity of rhyme and verse better resemble that of these admonitory *Zhou song* texts than they do *Sang rou* and its operatic ilk. For these reasons, and because of the material and codicological similarity between the *Rui Liangfu bi and *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* manuscripts, one might be inclined to group the *Rui Liangfu bi with the *Zhou song* suite as a collection of admonitory literature. While there is no certainty that *bi* designates a genre, either as a class of composition in the Warring States or in the nomenclature of compiled, transmitted texts, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that admonitory

⁶⁶ Li Xueqin has also pointed out that the *Zhou gong zhi qin wu* manuscript’s suite of songs functions similarly to the sequence in the *Maoshi*, wherein the poems also form a suite and are read as such by the *Mao xiaoxu* prefaces. See Li, “Zai du Qinghua jian Zhou gong zhi qin wu” 在讀清華簡周公之琴舞, in Li Xueqin 李學勤, *Xia Shang Zhou Wenming Yanjiu* 夏商周文明研究 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2015), 267-9.

literature, broadly speaking or *bi* in particular was a typological term in some place or time, despite the absence of a *bi* genre from transmitted literature, or from a systematic taxonomy of remonstrations that surfaces in the *Guoyu*, *Lüshi Chunqiu*, and *Zuozhuan*.⁶⁷

These taxonomies do, however include *zhen* 箴 admonishments, of which an example, *Yu ren zhi zhen* 虞人之箴 (The Warden's Admonishment), is preserved in the *Zuozhuan*.⁶⁸ In that the *Yu ren zhi zhen* is tetrasyllabic and lacks a clear cyclical verse structure, thematically and prosodically it resembles the *Rui Liangfu bi. Other verse forms, like the *Gui shi* 侷詩 in the *Fu* 賦 section of the *Xunzi*, are instructive, if not decisive, in contemplating the problem of genre. The *Gui shi* is a poem rather than a

⁶⁷ A taxonomy is found in several variant forms across several texts, including the *Zuo zhuan*, *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 and *Guoyu* 國語. For a detailed discussion see chapters one and five. Terms include *zhen* 箴 (lit. to prick; incite), *jian* 諫 (remonstrate), *song* 誦 (invocation), and a number of others. For the relevant passages, see *Zuozhuan* "Xiang Gong" 襄公 14, Durrant et al., 1024-5; "Da yu" 達鬱 in Lü Buwei 呂不韋著, *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, ed. Chen Qiyu 陳奇猷校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 1373; and "Zhou yu" 周語 1.3, in Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu 上海師範大學整理組, *Guoyu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1978), 3.

For translations and a detailed analysis of many of these passages, see David Schaberg, "Remonstrance in Eastern Zhou Historiography," *Early China* 22 (ed 1997): 133-79, especially 143-150. See also Zhu Ziqing 朱自清, *Shi yan zhi bian* 詩言志辨 (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1947), 1-14, for a discussion of presenting political verse in the *Shijing* tradition. Passages include *Guoyu* 1.3 and *Zuozhuan* "Xiang gong" 襄公 14.

⁶⁸ Schaberg, "Remonstrance in Eastern Zhou Historiography," 152-3; Stephen Durrant, Wai-yee Li, and David Schaberg, trans., *Zuo Tradition*, 1st ed., 3 vols. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 918. Huang Tiantian's dissertation, ch. 5, considers in more detail the *Rui Liangfu bi as an example of *zhen* 箴 admonishments. See above note 9.

dramatic speech, and its classical language would never be mistaken for the archaic diction of *shu* documents, but in other ways it resembles the *Rui Liangfu bi: in its irregular tetrasyllabic meter; in its themes of complaint (for example, against the neglect of good men in government); and—more generally—in what David Knechtges calls the “*topos* of the world upside-down.”⁶⁹ Its structure includes an autocommentarial opening akin to the paratextual section of the *Rui Liangfu bi, and claims to musicality in a final *xiaoge* 小歌 (little song) section. In its universal poetics of complaint, the *Gui shi* may represent a development, whereby specific instances of dramatic, historical, and exemplary speech give rise—by induction—to poems that yield an ahistorical, philosophical, general case.⁷⁰ Nonetheless, as a *shi*-poem lodged in a chapter of what are presumably *fu*-poems, the *Gui shi*'s placement among the *Fu* chapter's expository riddles echoes the problems of placing the *Rui Liangfu bi within canonically shaped *shi* and *shu* genres.

⁶⁹ David R. Knechtges, “Riddles as Poetry: The ‘Fu’ Chapter of the Hsün-Tzu,” in *Wen-Lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities*, ed. Tse-tsung Chow, vol. 2 (Madison, WI: Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, University of Wisconsin, 1989), 1–31, 11–14. On the “world upside down” see Knechtges, 26–9 and Nicholas Morrow Williams, forthcoming. Knechtges, 29, notes that some of these themes are also shared with one of the *Chengxiang* 成相 texts in the *Xunzi*.

⁷⁰ Such a trend would parallel the development of *Shijing* poetics in which the *Guofeng*, generally regarded as later texts, are less likely to identify historical events.

2.7 Conclusion

The trouble of identifying genres such as *shi*, *shu*, or *fu* in preimperial texts, and for answering—from the perspective of early manuscript culture—the question of “what is the *Rui Liangfu bi,” may be precisely the trouble of determining how preimperial texts were composed, compiled, and redacted. The micro-anthologies that we see in preimperial verse albums provide new clues to those processes, and so I close with some reflections based on those clues. The nature of some of these reflections is speculative, and awaits further excavations.

First, etymology and early use of the term *bi* is shared by texts that came to be compiled in canons of *shu* versus *shi* (e.g the “Jiu gao” chapter in the *Shang shu* versus the “Xiao bi” or “Jing zhi” of the *Shijing*). Although it is not entirely clear whether, when, or where in early China *bi* may have functioned as a generic term, there is also little evidence that mutually exclusive categories of *shi* and *shu* literature were an

important feature of the preimperial genre landscapes in which the contents of verse albums began to coalesce. If the *Zhou song* poems truly represent the most archaic layer of the *Shijing*, then many of them must in any case significantly predate the categories and canons we have come to know as *shu* and *shi*; the most archaic works preserved in these canons should predate the categories that result from the process of their collection. And, if we want to know whether *bi* is a genre of texts, we need not count on the attestation of such a genre in transmitted literature, especially when considering regional manuscript cultures.

Second, although the foregoing analysis has shown that many of the technical concerns of the *Rui Liangfu bi appear to significantly postdate the Western Zhou, the verse albums may all be layered and accretive. That would help explain why almost all of the technical content of the *Rui Liangfu bi (i.e. the mention of *de* and *xing*, parallel expositions on cosmic governance, and the trigger mechanism) concentrates in the second song.⁷¹ If the first song-text was understood as admonitory in the way that the

⁷¹ The dyad of virtue and punishment does appear once in the first half of the manuscript.

suite of “Min yu xiao zi” through “Xiao bi” or the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* are, the second song text may in turn be a later composition that in seeks to elaborate on its admonitory theme, but in so doing reveals intellectual concerns that are particular to its own time and place. Considering that “Jing Zhi” is the first song by King Cheng in the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu*, and that “Xishuai”蟋蟀, is the clear climactic focus of the *Qiye*, these poems we know also from the *Shijing* may have enjoyed a special status in the community that produced the manuscripts; other materials compiled in verse albums may have been composed or reimagined to better contextualize earlier material that was already better known. Such a special status may have also been enjoyed by material in the first song of the *Rui Liangfu bi.

More generally speaking, while it is undoubtedly the case that many of the texts we know from the canon must have been especially revered, the relative fixity and significance of those texts within certain communities may still have been a matter of contention that paratextual narrative sought to resolve, perhaps in tandem with the elaboration and compilation of like materials. The degree of organization is different

from what we see in written commentaries of the Han, but the impulse may be largely the same. The preface of the *Rui Liangfu bi would thus have sought both to contextualize its attached song-texts and emphasize their significance by attributing their creation to an authoritative figure. Considering that the redactive forces of transmission eventually cast it aside, its preservation in the Tsinghua corpus affords us an opportunity to learn from its transmissive failure. With so many texts in early China contending to transmit Rui Liangfu's authentic words, perhaps it lost out to texts that better fit the forms and formulae of *shi* or *shu*.

Chapter Three

Poems Articulate Poësis 詩言詩: Historicity, Auto-Commentary, and Authorial

Attribution in the *Shijing*; the Case of “Sang rou” 桑柔 and Autographic *Ya* 雅

Poems

3.1 Introduction

The *Shijing* 詩經, while ostensibly a book of poetry, has for vast periods of history been read as inherently historical. The last hundred years, starting roughly with the publication of Marcel Granet’s *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine* in 1919, or with the first issue of *Gushibian* 古史辨 (Discriminating Ancient History) a few years later,¹ constitutes the most sustained and comprehensive exception to the historical mode of *Shijing* exegesis. While “poetry” and “history” need not be mutually exclusive domains,

¹ Marcel Granet, *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*, Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études. Sciences religieuses 34; (Paris, E. Leroux, 1919). Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 ed., *Gu shi bian*, 1st ed. (Beiping: Pu she, 1926-). The second half of the 1930 third issue is devoted to studies of the *Shijing*, although some formative ideas are discussed in the inaugural 1926 issue.

late modern *Shijing* hermeneutics has generally sought to approach the *Shijing* as world literature, as universal art, or as anthropological data about primitive society. In literary approaches to the *Shijing*, and especially in Western Sinology, the ballast of Chinese literary history has generally been tossed overboard in the interest of translatability.

Even well into the current age of archaeology, the most prevalent accounts of *Shijing* hermeneutic history understand pre-Han *Shijing* exegesis primarily via the residue of quotation practices, in which *Shijing* passages are used freely, in an *ad hoc* fashion, without regard to the original meaning of a poem.² Such practices give the impression that a poem thus quoted is devoid of any fixed historical meaning. Han and later exegetic practices, in contrast, seem to suffer from the opposite problem, in that they provide a historical context even for odes that appear to be ahistorical folk songs. How does one arrive at one mode of reading from the other, if at all?³ As yet, there has been no satisfactory account of how a historicizing hermeneutic might take root.

² One notable exception is Zhu Ziqing 朱自清, *Shi yan zhi bian* 詩言志辨 (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1947).

³ Perhaps the most dissatisfying feature these two hermeneutic approaches share is that they are both one-size-fits-all modes of interpretation. One might prefer a strategy that applies different hermeneutic strategies to different poems, but history has not preferred such an approach.

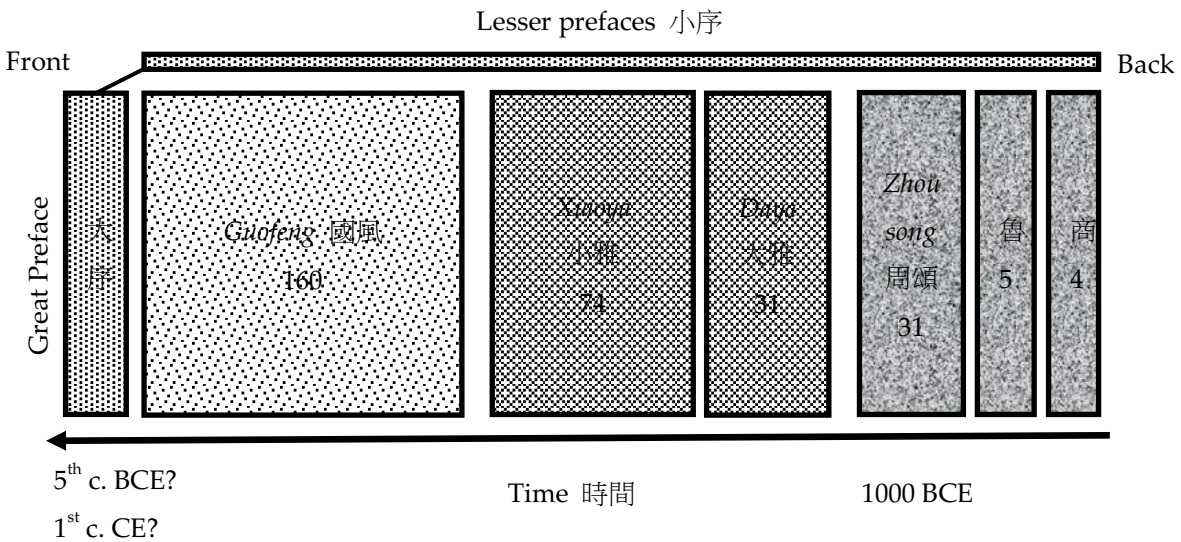
This chapter asks how historical agents and events became a pervasive concern of *Shijing* interpretation. While the answers may be fragmentary and incomplete, the following pages will seek to show that the commentarial impulse to seek historical events in the poems of the *Shijing* has a clear precedent in the poems themselves. Moreover, building on prior studies of authorship in the *Shijing*, I read closing, autographic statements, in which the speaker emerges, commenting on the foregoing poetic act, as a form of auto-commentary or proto-commentary that is continuous with the concerns and discourse of the earliest commentarial layers found in the *Maoshi*. These autographic, closing statements are manifestations of a broader range of compositional practices and hermeneutic concerns.

This new account of the beginnings of *Shijing* commentary is approached in part by consideration of new manuscript sources such as the verse albums of Chapter two, but its primary explanatory power derives from applying new methods to old poems. Rui Liangfu, the hero of Chapter two, and the alleged author of the *shi*-poem “Sang

rou” 桑柔 (Mulberry Shoots), plays a significant role in this account, and the poem will serve as a central example in revising the history of a *Shijing* hermeneutics.

3.2 The *Shijing* and modern accounts of *Shijing* hermeneutics

Fig. 3.1 Schematic diagram of the *Shijing*



The only complete form of the *Shijing* today is that transmitted as the *Maoshi* 毛詩, which contains the three hundred and five poems, introduced and interpreted by the Mao commentary.⁴ Other interpretive traditions survive only very fragmentary form.

⁴ For an additional six poems, we have the titles but no text.

The poetic texts preserved in the *Shijing* (as we know them from the *Maoshi*) appear to have accreted roughly from back to front. The layers of poetic contents may be sketched (only schematically) as follows: the oldest layer contains the temple hymns, of which the *Zhou song* 周頌, on thematic and linguistic bases, appears to contain material stemming from the Western Zhou; the middle layer contains the *Ya* 雅, or “Elegantiae,” which were probably performed for larger audiences; and the newest—though still old—are the *Guofeng* 國風, which have the outward appearance of folk songs, and are the substrate on which the greatest controversies regarding the nature of *Shijing* poetry have unfolded.⁵ At least since the *Maoshi*’s orthodox consolidation in the copious *Wujing zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (Correct interpretation of the five classics) of the Tang dynasty, the first thing a *Shijing* reader has encountered is the *Da xu* 大序 (*Great Preface*). The *Great preface* articulates an overarching theory of *shi*-poetics based primarily on the paronomastic maxim of *shi yan zhi* 詩言志, which although

⁵ For the periodization of *Shijing* poems see W.A.C.H. Dobson, “The Origin and Development of Prosody in Early Chinese Poetry,” *T’oung Pao*, no. 54 (1968): 231–50; cf. William Baxter, “Zhou and Han Phonology in the *Shijing*,” in *Studies in the Historical Phonology of Asian Languages*, ed. Michael C. Shapiro and William G. Boltz, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), which complicates a clear periodization. On the transition from hymns to elegantiae see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “From Liturgy to Literature: The Ritual Context of the Earliest Poems in the Book of Poetry,” in *Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics* (SUNY Press, 1997).

underdetermined is conventionally rendered as “*shi*-poetry articulates intent.” The *Great preface* was probably once contiguous with the *xiaoxu* 小序, or “lesser [sequential] preface(s),” each of which more narrowly explicates the historical and moral *yi* 義 (significance) of a poem. The *xiaoxu* seems to have circulated as a continuous commentarial text that listed the poems in order. The *xiaoxu* synopses have since been appended to the beginning of each poem, where they now offer a historical context for each one. The *xiaoxu* are in general agreement with the other commentarial layers of the *Maoshi*; they are simply the most clear and comprehensive source of historical attribution.

The interaction between the *xiaoxu* pronouncements and the poems of the *Guofeng* has been especially interesting to Western scholars concerned with comparative rhetoric, in particular because if one assumes that the *Guofeng* are essentially folk songs, the prefaces often appear to enforce an implausible, allegorizing reading of the poems. Ready examples abound, such that one might select a poem of the *Guofeng* almost at random. *Kao pan* (Mao #56) reads as follows in the translation of Bernhard Karlgren:

Chapter 3: Poems articulate poësis

- Kao Pan 考槃 #56 (Karlgren tr.)
- 1 考槃在澗 碩人之寬 We achieve our joy in the stream valley;
Oh, the grandeur of the stately man!
獨寐寤言 永矢弗諼 When (alone =) separated from me he sleeps and wakes and talks
Forever, he swears, he won't forget (me).
- 2 考槃在阿 碩人之邁 We achieve our joy on the sloping hill;
Oh, the greatness of the stately man!
獨寐寤歌 永矢弗過 When (alone =) separated from me he sleeps and wakes and sings
Forever, he swears, he will not (have fault against=) be unfaithful to
(me).
- 3 考槃在陸 碩人之軸 We achieve our joy on the high ground;
Oh, the prominence of the stately man!
獨寐寤宿 永矢弗告 When (alone =) separated from me he sleeps and wakes and sojourns
Forever, he swears, he will not tell (of our love).⁶

It should be apparent that Karlgren interprets the ode as a love song. Taking the poem at its words—to the extent that it is possible to do so—there is nothing implausible about such a reading; and allowing that *pan* 槃 (or 盤 plate; basin) can be glossed as *le* 樂 (joy), as it is in the Mao glosses,⁷ such a reading would have been transparent or literal to an early reader. The problem, however, is that if the love song reading is plausible or correct, the *xiaoxu* preface in the *Maoshi* seems not to be:

⁶ Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes: Chinese Text, Transcription, and Translation* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), 37-8.

⁷ Shisanjing zhushu bianweihui 十三經注疏編委會, *Maoshi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義, Shisanjing Zhushu 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 259.

小序：考槃：刺壯公也
不能繼先公之業，使賢者退而窮處。

Kao Pan censures Duke Zhuang. He could not continue the service of the prior dukes, and forced worthy men to retire and live in obscurity.⁸

To twentieth century readers who regarded the *Shijing* as a universally accessible world literature, the exegetical claim that the poem responds to Duke Zhuang's poor governance seemed unlikely. In some of the earliest letters preserved in *Gushibian* on the topic, Qian Xuantong 錢玄同 shares his general thoughts on *Shijing* exegesis with Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛:

《詩經》只是一部最古的總集，與《文選》、《花間集》、《太平樂府》等書性質全同，與什麼《聖經》是風馬牛不相及的（「聖經」這樣東西，壓根兒就是沒有的。）這書的編纂，和孔老頭兒也全不相干，不過他老人家曾靜讀過它罷了。
研究《詩經》，只應該從文章上去體會出某詩是講的什麼。至於那什麼「刺某王」，「美某公」，「后妃之德」，「文王之化」等等話頭，即使讓一百步，說作詩者確有此等言外之意，但作者即未曾明明白白地告訴咱們，咱們也只好闕而不講；——況且這些言外之意，和藝術底本身無關，儘可不去理會它。

The *Shijing* is just one of the oldest anthologies, completely identical in nature to the *Wen xuan* 文選, *Huajian ji* 花間集, or *Taiping yuefu* 太平樂府. Comparing it to the *Bible* is about as apt as mating a bull with a mare (there has simply never been anything like the *Bible* [in China]). Also, the compilation of the book has got nothing at all to do with Old Man Confucius—excepting that the old fellow read it once before, that's all....

Study of the *Shijing* should grasp what the poems are talking about simply on the basis of the work itself. With regard to topics like “satirizing this king,” “praising that duke,” “the Queen Consort's virtue,” or “the Cultured King's transformative power,” etc. etc.—even if we retreat a hundred steps and concede that a poem's author truly intended these types of figurative meaning—if the author has not told us so explicitly, we had best just leave it undiscussed; and what's more, since these

⁸ Ibid.

figurative meanings have nothing to do with art itself, we needn't pay them any mind at all.⁹

Qian begins by de-sanctifying the *Shijing*. That China could have a text that functions like the *Bible* is unthinkable. The Mao interpretation of *Kao pan* above (in which even Karlgren's translation takes the same tack as the *Gushibian* authors), exemplifies precisely what Qian Xuantong refers to as "satirizing this king" or "praising that duke." Such commentary appears to the non-believer to allegorize the text by adding a layer of figurative meaning; to Qian, this layer is at best inexplicable and in all cases dispensable, as it is irrelevant to a universally accessible poetic "art" that inheres in the odes.

Qian Xuantong and the *Gushibian* movement were not the first to challenge historical readings of the *Shijing*. Qian's letter to Gu Jiegang regards Gu's resurrection of the collected fragments of Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 *Shi bian wang* 詩辨妄 (Discriminating nonsense in the *Poetry*), a twelfth century work of *Shijing* exegesis that categorically

⁹ Qian Xuantong 錢玄同, "Lun *Shijing* zhen xiang shu" 論《詩經》真相書 in *Gushibian* 《古史辨》1 (1926), 46.

rejected the *xiaoxu*.¹⁰ Zheng Qiao's book is regarded as important in persuading later influential scholars, such as Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) to disregard the text of the *xiaoxu*. But even Zhu Xi was unwilling to dismantle the larger interpretive framework which rested on *xiaoxu* exegesis, and Zheng Qiao's work was not transmitted intact to the present.¹¹ It was not until Gu Jiegang collected the fragments, some eight centuries later, that the ideas became relatable in plain speech, and the *Shijing* could be approached anew as secular literature, stripped of its canonical packaging.

None of this, however, happened in isolation. Just a year before the first issues of *Gushibian* were published, Marcel Granet published his *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*, a sociological work that read the *Guofeng* as folk songs integral to early Chinese ritual festivals.¹² Granet read the *Shijing* as the formulaic, authorless, oral literature of a primitive society.¹³ He was concerned almost exclusively with the *Guofeng* section of the

¹⁰ Zheng Qiao 鄭樵, *Shi Bian Wang* 詩辨妄, ed. Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, *Bian wei cong kan* 辨偽叢刊 (Beiping: Jingshan shushe 景山書社, 1933).

¹¹ In fact, Gu Jiegang's most valuable source for constructing *Shi bian wang* was Zhou Fu's 周孚 *Fei Shi bian wang* 非詩辨妄 (Against *Shi bian wang*), a work that sought to dispute Zheng Qiao's claims, and seems to have been preferred by the forces of textual transmission.

¹² Granet, *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*.

¹³ For the interesting story of Granet's role in developing oral literature as a discipline of study, see Haun Saussy, *The Ethnography of Rhythm: Orality and Its Technologies* (New York: Fordham University, 2016).

poetry, which has since often stood in synecdochally for the whole of the canon, and by virtue of its ahistoricity (in Granet's reading) was data applicable to a larger human social science. Indeed, as illustrated above in *Kao pan*, it is in *Guofeng* interpretation that the most jarring disjunctions between folksy appearance and historicizing doctrine arise, and so the most productive modern debates of comparative rhetoric—concerning the nature and possibility of a “Chinese allegory”—have unfolded primarily in dialogue with *Guofeng* hermeneutics.¹⁴

More generally speaking, however, the claims of the *xiaoxu* to anchor *Shijing* poetics in specific, historical circumstances get in the way of a universal poetics. Modern translations of the *Shijing* follow through on Zheng Qiao's impulse to comprehensively reject the *xiaoxu*. Arthur Waley's 1937 translation of the *Shijing* does away not only with the Mao's *xiaoxu* pronouncements, but with the *xu* sequence, by reclassifying the poems on a new thematic basis. Waley even declined to translate a

¹⁴ See, for example: Pauline R. Yu, “Allegory, Allegoresis, and The Classic of Poetry,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43, no. 2 (1983): 377–412; Pauline Yu, *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), ch 1-2; Haun Saussy, *The Problem of a Chinese Aesthetic* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), ch. 1-3.

number of the more indisputably historical poems, treating them as history and redacting them from his poetic *Shijing* translation entirely.¹⁵ Bernhard Karlgren's *Shijing* translation likewise gives little credence to the claims of the *xiaoxu* and the historicizing interpretive tradition.¹⁶

The account most representative of the prevailing impression of *Shijing* hermeneutic history is made in Stephen van Zoeren's 1991 monograph, *Poetry and Personality*.¹⁷ Van Zoeren discriminates chronological layers in the *Analects* that reveal an early era of Confucian scholastic life in which the *Shi* are merely musical works, middle layers in which the *Shi* are "pre-texts," and late passages in which the *Shi* are resolute, stable "texts."¹⁸ Van Zoeren finds in the *Mencius* the first "explicit hermeneutic," an indication that *Shijing* odes had fixed meanings that could underpin

¹⁵ See Arthur Waley, "The Eclipse Poem and Its Group," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 3 (1936): 245–48. These poems have since been translated by Joseph Allen, in a revised edition of Waley's translation that restores the *Maoshi's* canonical sequence: Arthur Waley and Joseph Roe. Allen, *The Book of Songs* (New York: Grove Press, 1996).

¹⁶ Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes: Chinese Text, Transcription, and Translation* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950); Bernhard Karlgren, *Glosses on the Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1964).

¹⁷ Steven Jay van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

¹⁸ van Zoeren, ch. 2

historical and moral claims.¹⁹ While normative moral claims are commonly capped or “proved” with lines from the *Shi* in the *Xunzi*, the degree to which such uses of the *Shi* cleave to a historical reading is far less apparent in the *Xunzi* than in the *Mencius*.²⁰ Thus if one seeks a trend toward historicism that appears in the *Mencius* and culminates in the Mao *xiaoxu*, then the *Xunzi*’s lack of historicizing (in spite of its length and comprehensiveness) does little to provide an incremental, intermediate step in the development of a historicizing hermeneutic. On the contrary, one might get the impression from reading the *Xunzi* that even on the verge of empire, *Shijing* poems had no established meaning.

While van Zoeren is certainly correct that Mencius partakes of the historical reading practices that dominate the Mao tradition,²¹ the idea that a historical frame of

¹⁹ Van Zoeren, 71-4 primarily discusses Mencius’s interpretation of *Bei shan* 北山 (Mao #205), but the fixed historical hermeneutic is more broadly visible in discussions of “Xiao pan” 小弁 and “Kai feng” 凱風 (Mao# 197 and 32, respectively). See also Zhu Ziqing 朱自清, *Shi Yan Zhi Bian* 詩言志辨 (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1947), 24. For relevant passages see *Mencius* 5A.4, 5b.8, 6B.3, 7B.3 in D. C. Lau (tr.), *Mencius*, (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2003), 199, 237, 267, 311.

²⁰ For a study of *Odes* quotation practices in the Warring States period see Paul R. Goldin, “The Reception of the *Odes* in the Warring States Era,” in *After Confucius, Studies in Early Chinese Philosophy* (University of Hawai’i Press, 2005), 19–35.

²¹ Van Zoeren, 72.

reading the odes began with Mencius is extremely doubtful. Van Zoeren is very sensitive to compositional layers in the *Analects*, but his discussions—and indeed the larger debates that present the *Shijing* as transparent world literature, as timeless art, or as pastoral invitations to political allegoresis—neglect the sedimentation of the *Shijing* itself, in which the layers cleave more clearly (albeit still imperfectly) along linguistic, prosodic, and thematic lines. These lines leave their imprint in the divisions of the *Shijing*—*feng*, *ya*, *song*, and in thematic subclasses or suites of related poems within these sections. These divisions are themselves an imperfect and heterogeneous patchwork, and while a great number of odes may indeed be ahistorical in origin (especially those of the *Guofeng*), it is also the case that a great number of songs are fundamentally concerned with historical events, regardless of how compilers of the *Mencius* or *Xunzi* read or used this ode or that.

3.2 Fixity, indeterminacy, and applicability of *Shijing* poems

Unless one assumes the historical/legendary contents of *Shijing* poems to be rote

recordings of people or deeds, they must also be applicable as lessons of history. Thus, before moving to explicitly historical poems, I will first digress here briefly to discuss the problems of indeterminacy and applicability entwined with the prevailing ahistorical hermeneutic, before turning the discussion to identifiable people and events.

3.2.1 Indeterminacy

The use of poetry in the *Zuozhuan* may have real moral, political, and historical effects, but these effects often rely on the free or novel application of a poem. Zhu Ziqing 朱自清, for example, draws an important basic distinction between the two political acts of presenting 獻詩 a *shi*-poem and reciting one 賦詩.²² The former will be discussed in more detail below; in the latter, one uses a *shi*-poem to express one's *zhi* 志 fluidly, in accord with the political circumstances at hand. While the relatively underdetermined poems of the *Guofeng* tend to be more amenable to making philosophical points,²³ even

²² Zhu, 1-20.

²³ For the idea that the *guofeng* are more amenable to interpretation, see, for example, Paul R. Goldin, "The Reception of the Odes in the Warring States Era," in *After Confucius, Studies in Early Chinese Philosophy* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 21, 25-26; Chen, Shi-Hsiang, "The Shi-Ching: Its Generic Significance in Chinese Literary History and Poetics," in *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*, ed. Cyril

some lines of this chapter's exemplar, "Sang rou," enjoy varied rhetorical application. A line that says "Who can handle heat? Is it not surely by way of a [cooling] rinse?" 誰能執熱 逝不以濯 is cited by the *Zuozhuan* and Mao commentary in advocacy of *li* 禮 (ritual propriety); the Mozi cites it as an advocacy of *shang xian* 尚賢 (esteeming the worthy); Mencius and the *Hanshi waizhuan* cite it as advocating *ren* 仁 (humaneness).²⁴ From the standpoint of a fixed historical meaning, these cannot all be right; some may be simply employing the poem to make their own arguments, akin to "breaking off verses so as to take one's [preferred] meaning from them" 斷章取義.²⁵ This phrase is coined in a passage of the *Zuozhuan*, which indicates that decontextualized, *ad hoc* quotation is a common practice, while clearly recognizing that such decontextualized uses operate in contrast to a prior, fixed meaning. On the other hand, fluidity in the use of "Sang rou" lines coexists in the *Zuozhuan* with concrete attributions like that of "Sang rou" to Rui Liangfu (for which see below); fixity and fluidity may coexist, and the acts

Birch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 35; and Tamara Chin, "Orienting Mimesis: Marriage and the Book of Songs," *Representations*, no. 1 (2006), p. 59.

²⁴ *Zuozhuan* "Duke Xiang" 31, Durrant et al., 1285; Mozi "Shang xian" 墨子尚賢, Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, *Mozi jiangou* 墨子閒詁, *juan2*, p. 13; Mencius "Li lou shang" 離婁上 in Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Jiaodian Sishu jizhu* 點校四書章句集注, *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng* 新編諸子集成 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 280.

²⁵ *Zuozhuan*, "Duke Xiang" 襄公 28.9, in Durrant et al., 1218-19.

of presenting and reciting poems, while both political, are distinct modes of expression.

3.2.2 Historical indeterminacy

On the one hand, attributing a poem to a sagely historical author-figure like Rui Liangfu may help cement that poem's perceived cultural significance and ensure its transmission, especially if ad hoc uses of the poem do not serve to dilute that attribution. On the other hand, a poem might be better suited to transmission if it can be reused more or less intact, so that the meaning may be taken without the need to "break off verses" or decontextualize the poem. The interaction of these forces is evident in *Chang di* 常(唐/棠)棣 (Mao #164), a poem that provides a transparent advocacy of brotherhood, but whose historical and authorial attribution is disputed among interpreters. The first and fourth verses are cited by Fu Chen 富辰 in the *Zuozhuan* for the year 626 BC, where they read as follows:²⁶

²⁶ See *Zuozhuan* "Lord Xi" year 24 僖公二十四年 Durrant et al., 381.

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1	1.1	常棣之華	The blossoms of the Kerria: ²⁷
	1.2	鄂不韡韡。	Is their blooming not luxuriant?
	1.3	凡今之人、	[Of] all the people of our time:
	1.4	莫如兄弟。	There are none like brothers.
	
4	4.1	兄弟鬩于牆、	Inside their walls brothers quarrel,
	4.2	外禦其務。	but outside they repel abuse.
	

The *Guoyu* also quotes the fourth verse of *Chang di* and identifies it as “Zhou Wen Gong’s [i.e Duke of Zhou’s] poem” 周文公之詩.²⁸ The *Guoyu* does not specify how the poem belongs to the Duke of Zhou, but post-Han commentators impute to him the creation of the poem,²⁹ perhaps part of a larger trend in which implausible authorial

²⁷ Mao glosses *tangdi* 常棣 as *di* 棣; Wang Xianqian cites variants 棠棣 in the Lu school and *fu yi* 夫移 as the Han reading. The Lu School reading must be identical to 唐棣, *Sanjia*, p. 563. It is not clear whether this should be identified as Shadberry or Kerria. A lost poem (or verse; or concatenation of quotations) quoted in the *Lunyu* contains the identical line “The blossoms of the Kerria” 唐棣之華, which is annotated to suggest that the blossoms turn away from one another and then turn back (perhaps like estranged siblings reconciling).

²⁸ “Zhou yu zhong” 周語中, Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu 上海師範大學古籍整理組, ed., *Guoyu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 45.

²⁹ According to Du yu’s 杜預 *Zuozhuan* commentary “The Duke of Zhou composed the ode and Duke [Mu] of Shao sang it” 周公作詩召公歌之. *Sanjia*, 562. Kong Yingda 孔穎達 clearly seeks to remove creative authorship from Duke Mu of Shao: “Chang di celebrates brotherhood, lamenting that Guan [Shuxian] and Cai [Shudu] had lost the Way.” Kong says: “This ode is thus what the Duke of Zhou made during the time of King Cheng, so as to make close relatives close. It is merely that when Duke Mu of Shao encountered the time of King Li, and saw that caring between brothers had eroded, he re-sung this song of Zhou Gong’s to make them close again, that’s all. For that reason, Zheng [Xuan] responds to Zhao Shang by saying: ‘As to *fu*-ing odes, sometimes it means to “create a poem”; other times it means to “recite the ancients.”’ What he calls ‘reciting the ancients’ is this poem that Duke Mu of Shao composed by reciting the ancients—he didn’t create it.” 此詩則是成王之時周公所作，以親兄弟也。但召穆公見厲王

attributions continue to accrete beyond the fixation of the canon,³⁰ although perhaps due to a historiographic stance that glorifies the Duke of Zhou. The *xiaoxu* corroborates the *Guoyu* in tying the poem to the Duke of Zhou's fraternal troubles with Guanshu Xian 管叔鮮 and Caishu Du 蔡叔度. It also seems to imply that the poem has an author, although the clause lacks an identifiable subject:

小序：常棣，燕兄弟。閔管、蔡之失道，故作常棣焉

Xiaoxu: *Chang di* celebrates brotherhood. Lamenting that Guan[Shu xian] and Cai[Shu du] had lost the Way, [he] thereupon made *Chang di*.³¹

As the story is narrated in the *Zuozhuan* by Fu Chen 富辰, it was Duke Mu of Shao

之時，兄弟恩疏，重歌此周公之詩以親之耳，故鄭答趙商云：「凡賦詩者，或造篇，或誦古。」所云誦古指此召穆公作誦古之篇，非造之也。 *Maoshi zhengyi*, 663-664.

³⁰ A salient case of the continued process of historicization is that of *Guanju* 關雎: the *xiaoxu* regards it just as a poem about the royal consort; Liu Xiang 劉向 is the first to tie the poem to King Kang 康王, and it is not until the Eastern Han that Zhang Chao 張超 specifies the Duke of Bi 畢公 as the poem's author. See Liu Xiang 劉向, *Lienü Wei Qu Wofu zhuan* 烈女魏曲沃負傳 apud Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Shi San Jia Yi Jishu* 詩三家義集疏 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1987), 4-5 (hereafter *Sanjia*). For Zhang Chao's *fu* see Mark Laurent Asselin, "The Lu-School Reading of 'Guanju' as Preserved in an Eastern Han *Fu*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, no. 3 (1997): 427-43.

³¹ See *Maoshi zhengyi*, 663; Wang Xianqian quotes the Han preface as identical to the Mao *xiaoxu*, with the exception that it is missing the last phrase, which suggests that the attribution of an unspecified author is unique to the Mao *xiaoxu*. See *Sanjia*, 562.

召穆公, a contemporary of Rui Liangfu and King Li,³² who reflected on the Duke of Zhou's fraternal troubles, and made 作 the poem for a gathering of the Zhou lineage, so as to broker peace among kin.³³ Fu Chen, in turn, in the context of the *Zuozhuan*, is using the poem to persuade his king to "treat kin as kin" 親親, and not employ the Di 狄 tribes against the kindred state of Zheng 鄭.³⁴ At least as the poem is read by the larger commentarial tradition, there are as many as three layers of creation and re-use: 1) the attribution to the Duke of Zhou, in which the Duke of Zhou seems to provide the divine inspiration;³⁵ 2) the attribution to Duke Mu of Shao, a more plausible context of production; and 3) Fu Chen's re-use of the poem to emphasize the importance of kinship. In all these cases, the poem serves a didactic function and is fixed in its advocacy of cultural norms. The fourth stanza as identified by the *Zuozhuan* corresponds to that in the

³² Shao Mu Gong is seen also in the *Guoyu* remonstrating against King Li, translated in Ch. 1 pp. 1-2. Text in *Guoyu* 1.3 "Zhou yu" 周語, Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu 上海師範大學古籍整理組, ed., *Guoyu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), pp. 9-12.

³³ The passage reads: "Formerly, the Duke of Zhou grieved that his two younger brothers were not in accord with him. That is why he distributed power and granted domains to kinsmen and relatives as a hedge and a screen for the Zhou...[years later] Duke Mu of Shao worried that the virtue of Zhou was no longer what it had been. Therefore, he gathered together the ancestral lineages at Chengzhou and made (zuo 作) an ode..." 昔周公弔二叔之不咸，故封建親戚以蕃屏周。……召穆公思周德之不類，故糾合宗族于成周而作詩。 Translation modified from Durrant et al., 380-1.

³⁴ Durrant et al., 380-1.

³⁵ The attribution by divine inspiration may stem from a historiographic orientation that revered the Duke of Zhou, but it also serves to illustrate one way that a poem's origins may travel back in time as its use moves forward.

Maoshi, which is consistent with fixity of the text. Nonetheless, despite the poem's alleged use to respond to or alter the course of historically significant events, the poem itself lacks the historical fixity that identifiable figures (and events) confer on poems, and the commentarial disputes illustrate some of the problems of determining a poem's true history that will be discussed in more detail for "Sang rou" below.

3.3 The *Song* and *Ya* sections are concerned with historical events and persons

In the de-canonized reading of *Guofeng* poems like *Kao pan*, and in the conflicted readings of *Chang di*, a poem's relation to a historical person (Duke Zhuang or the Duke of Zhou) may seem to be held up by the shaky scaffolding of commentarial traditions. This is especially true if we read the *Shijing* from front to back; with relatively few exceptions, the relationship between poem and *xiaoxu* for most songs of the *Guofeng* is fraught, like that between *Kao pan* and its *xiaoxu*. Nonetheless, if one reads the *Shijing* as it appears to have accreted, from the back to the front, these relationships are often less strained, and it becomes apparent that the hermeneutic scaffolding of the commentarial

tradition is erected on a more solid substrate of history and legend. By my count, while at most only seven *Guofeng* poems out of one hundred sixty identify concrete historical (or legendary) events or agents (or about four percent),³⁶ as we move back through the collection (and, presumably, back in time), eleven of seventy-three *xiaoya* poems, or fifteen percent, refer to historical or legendary topics.³⁷ The same is true of fourteen of thirty-one *daya* poems, or roughly forty-five percent,³⁸ and eighteen of forty poems of the *song* section, also forty-five percent.³⁹

Thus, while roughly half of the poems preserved in the *Ya* and *Song* sections are concerned with the repeatable dramas of court life or ritual, the other half present a *Shijing* poetics that is straightforwardly concerned with inscribing past events and commemorating persons, which they do so without far-fetched analogies or allegories.

³⁶ Mao #16, 24, 54, 57, 131, 152; Mao #50, which records the building of a palace, is harder to link to known history, but seems to be a historically conscious memorial piece; certainly the commentarial tradition does not hesitate to reconstruct the history.

³⁷ Mao #168, 177, 178, 191, 192, 193, 194, 199, 200, and 227.

³⁸ Mao #235, 236, 237, 240, 241, 244, 245, 250, 255, 259, 260, 261, 262, and 263. I do not count “Sang rou” among these, despite the plausible interpretation that the song refers to the destruction of an identifiable king.

³⁹ Mao #267, 268, 276, 271, 272, 274, 275, 277, 285, 294, 295, 298, 300, 301-305.

3.3.1 Poets and their intended targets

The *xiaoxu* prefaces are concerned throughout with identifying historical persons and events to which *Shijing* poems allegedly refer, and in doing so they are concerned with identities that are self-explanatory in many poems of the *Ya*. There are however a number of cases in which it is not clear whether a poem is fundamentally historical in nature, or a repeatable drama to which the *xiaoxu* has assigned historical roles. Whether intrinsic to the poem or not, the *xiaoxu* explicitly identify the problem to which each poem responds—its external reason for coming into existence; its object or person of praise or blame, such as Duke Zhuang in *Kao pan*. As to the proximal agent of praise or blame (the poem’s speaker or speakers), the *xiaoxu* is often silent, or finds that the collective dissatisfaction or admiration of “the [important] people” (e.g. *ren* 人; *guoren* 國人) is enough to bring many poems into being. Nonetheless, for many poems of the *Ya*, the *xiaoxu* identify a specific creator or a historically significant performer of a poem. The palpability of those creators, like the explicitness of a poem’s object of critique, is also varied. In many poems of the *Ya*, be they intrinsically historical or not, the speaker

of a poem comes sharply into focus, commenting on the poetic act itself. The speaker's palpable presence brings a poem to life and reifies causes that might otherwise seem inert or ahistorical.

The poem "Sang rou" 桑柔 (Supple Mulberry; Mao #257) is one such poem that affords exploration of several of the problems outlined above: that of the poem's person of praise or blame; that of the autocomentarial voice of the speaker; and that of the relative fixity or repeatability of a poem's dramatic events. The next sections will approach these topics respectively.

3.3.1 *Ya* poetry and its discontents: "Sang rou" and the problem of the accused

Much of "Sang rou" illustrates a state in turmoil, with descriptions of war and famine.

The second verse is representative:

2.1 四牡騤騤 Unceasingly go the stallion fours;
旗旐有飏 Raptor and reptile banners flap.
亂生不夷 The chaos produced cannot be stilled;

靡國不泯no country goes undestroyed.
2.5 民靡有黎There are no black-hairs among the people;
具禍以燼They have all met disaster, turned to ash.
於乎有哀Woe, alas, how sorrowful!
國步斯頻So urgently do the countries march!

In addition to the imagery of destruction, the poem shares a number of formulaic complaints with works like the **Rui Liangfu bi*, seen in the preceding chapter, and with a group of transparently critical poems of the *Ya* sections: failure to respect the authority of *Tian* 天; unwillingness to heed remonstrance; employment of flatterers and slanderers; lack of timely planning, etc.⁴⁰ The opening verse of the poem, however, presents an underdetermined *xing* 興 figure that elicits commentary, and reveals the questions about which commentators care, if no definite answers:

1.1 菀彼桑柔Luxuriant is this soft mulberry tree,
其下侯旬and [the shade] beneath it is even.
捋采其劉Stripping and plucking it bare away,
瘼此下民has afflicted the people below.
1.5 不殄心憂Incessant is our hearts' distress;
倉兪填兮oh, long has our grieving grown.
倬彼昊天You, that bright, towering Lord-Heaven,

⁴⁰ For the text of these complaints in “Sang rou,” consult the full translation in appendix three. For some of the most explicit statements of these complaints elsewhere in the poetry, see, for example, *Ban* 板 (Mao # 254) and *Jie nan shan* 節南山 (Mao # 191).

寧不我矜 would you not take pity on us?

The *xing* juxtaposes the pastoral realm—mulberry trees stripped bare—with the realm of human suffering. The trope functions here as an invitation to think analogically about what lies beneath the canopy of this troubled orchard. The problems—incessant war, destruction, the scorched remnants of civilization—are caused by whoever is analogically construed as the cause of exfoliation. For Mao Heng 毛亨, the King, in his failure to protect the branches, is the chief addressee of this criticism; for Zheng Xuan, it is the King's men who strip away the leaves.⁴¹ Kong Yingda, writing centuries later, draws a compromise between these views: the king is fundamentally evil, and the ministers in complete collusion.⁴² Although the answers

⁴¹ The Mao commentary says: “[the term] ‘Outshining Heaven’ denounces the king” 昊天斥王者也。 “Heaven” is in this reading metonymic for “Son of Heaven” 天子 [The King], and so it is the King above who callously disregards the plight of those below. Zheng Xuan, in contrast, reads “Heaven” literally: “‘Outshining’ means being bright and grand; ‘Outshining Heaven’ thus stands toweringly and grandly bright, and doesn't take pity on the people below” 昊天乃倬然明大而不矜哀下民。 To Zheng Xuan, Heaven remains Heaven, but King Li is the tree; Zheng Xuan locates the source of the malady neither in Heaven nor in the king/tree, but rather as those who are stripping away the branches: “[while] the people should be sheltered by the king's benevolent compassion, all the king's ministers are unrestrained in their dissoluteness, which has compromised the king's virtue 民當被王之恩惠群臣恣放損王之德。” In his reading, then, the king is a figure of treelike passivity and the censure is directed against those degenerate ministers who have stripped away the leaves. *Maoshi zhengyi* 1383-4.

⁴² It is quite characteristic of Kong Yingda to minimize apparent conflicts between the Mao and Zheng Xuan commentaries. He writes: “According to [Zheng Xuan's] Jian 箋 commentary, ...the stripping and plucking [of leaves] is done by people. It's not that the shade was previously insufficient; thus [Zheng

differ slightly, the question is the same ubiquitous one to which the *xiaoxu* prefaces respond repeatedly throughout the *Shijing*: “who is to blame?” But in “Sang rou,” this question, often assumed to voice a concern of imperial interpretive traditions, is posed within the poem itself:

3.7 誰生厲階Who begot this ruthless (li) cause

3.8 至今為梗that has been our affliction ever since?

Thus, at least in the case of “Sang rou”, it is not possible to isolate the questions of the *xiaoxu* and subsequent commentarial layers from those voiced in the canon itself; there is a clear continuity between the poem’s own questioning and that of the commentarial tradition. The question is quoted as a *shi* in the *Zuozhuan*, which further supports the claim that the commentarial question was integral to the poetic canon in its

Xuan] thinks the analogy is being made to the king’s ministers, whose dissoluteness compromised the king’s virtue, rather than to the king having originally been evil. As to this, King Li’s evil arose in fact from his original heart-mind; it is not necessarily the case that ministers compromised him. Moreover, from the beginning there was no praiseworthy deed; the author 作者 considers the ruler and his ministers acting as oneto abet the ruler in doing evil. Thus he places blame on the ministers to censure the king, that’s all.” 箋以……捋采是其人采之 非蔭先薄 故以喻羣臣恣損王 非王本惡也 然厲王之惡 實出本心 非必臣能損之 初時亦無所善 作者以君臣一體助君為惡 故歸咎於臣以刺君耳。
Maoshi zhengyi, 1384.

time,⁴³ although one can easily imagine it might be posed for any bad scenario. In any case, we can be fairly confident that Wei Hong's version of the *xiaoxu* were not the first to ask the question or hazard a guess.

But one may want to know whether the question is one with a single right answer. The *xiaoxu* answers that King Li 厲王 is the poetic impetus and recipient of criticism,⁴⁴ and the answer is corroborated by a quote in the *Zuo zhuan*, which seems to have circulated quite early on. But how plausible is this answer? The veracity of the attributions has come under doubt; Zheng Qiao, in fragments collected by Gu Jiegang, rejects the *xiaoxu* for "Sang rou."⁴⁵ Zhu Xi 朱熹 did not disassemble commentarial constructs, but he did remove the *xiaoxu* from his edition of the *Shijing*. At the modern end of this cascade, Arthur Waley, who omitted "Sang rou" from his translated *Shijing*, assumed it to be contemporary to a group of Eastern Zhou poems that record political

⁴³ Durrant et al., 1630, Duke Zhao, 24th year (518 BCE) 昭公二十四年. The quote in its *Zuo zhuan* context is also interpreted to refer to the king, as in the scenario presented by the *Maoshi xiaoxu*.

⁴⁴ *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1383.

⁴⁵ *Shi bian wang*, 9-10. In the fragments, which may or may not be complete for this poem, Zheng Qiao argues that legends connected to the poems "Dang" 蕩 and "Shao min" 召旻, are baseless confabulations based on lines of the poems, and that the *xiaoxu* for "Sang rou" is equally unfounded.

events after King You.⁴⁶ Whatever one may make of his conclusion, a suite of poems that includes *Shiyue zhi jiao* indeed affords a productive comparison to “Sang rou” and complaint songs of the *Ya*. The poem presents what is perhaps the most explicit imagery of cosmic disorder found in the *Shijing*, recounting coincident lunar and solar eclipses, a sure sign of the Zhou’s imminent collapse.

Shiyue zhi jiao, verse 2, (Mao #193; Translation Joseph Allen/Li Feng)⁴⁷

2 日月告凶 不用其行	The sun and moon foretell disaster, when they do not follow their normal path.
四國無政 不用其良	No state in the realm is well-governed, when it fails to use its good men.
彼月而食 則維其常	The eclipse of the moon, is something often seen.
此日而食 于何不臧	But this eclipse of the sun! Where have we gone astray?

The concurrence of solar and lunar eclipses is an event that has inspired significant controversies, and most commentators (including Waley) assume it to mark an identifiable moment in time.⁴⁸ The sequential suite of poems, which I will call “the ‘Jie’

⁴⁶ Waley, “The Eclipse Poem and its Group.” Waley uses the poem “Shi yue zhi jiao” 十月之交 (Crossing in the tenth month; Mao# 193) to date the composition of all these poems, assuming thematic similarity implies the same compositional context.

⁴⁷ Waley, *Book of Songs*, 170-171, modified; titles from Li Feng *Landscape and Power*, 205-6.

⁴⁸ See Arthur Waley, “The Eclipse Poem and Its Group” for the argument that the date refers to events in 735 BCE, see *T’ien Hsia Monthly* 3 (1936): 245–48. See also Fang Shanzhu 方善柱, “Xi Zhou niandai xue shang de jige wenti” 西周年代學上的幾個問題, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 51.1 (1975): 17- 23, (apud Edward

suite” includes at least “Jie nan shan” 節南山 (Mao# 191), “Zheng yue” (first month; Mao# 192), “Shi yue zhi jiao” (Mao# 193), and “Yu wu zheng” 雨無正 (Mao #194).⁴⁹ Together they form a thematically and codicologically (as disposed in the *Maoshi*) cohesive group that narrates the last days of the Western Zhou. Waley’s assumption, however, that this suite of odes forms a cohesive, contemporaneous group with poems like “Sang rou” or “Ban” 板 (Overturned; Mao# 254), is more speculative. Aside from its compilation in the *Daya*, “Sang rou” differs from poems #191-194 in that its actors, if intended as specific, historical persons, are never explicitly named. This poses a difficulty for definitively answering the question posed within “Sang rou” about the poem’s target of blame; no explicit identification is made in “Sang rou,” but if the answer was obvious, perhaps the rhetorical effect of the poem relies on the question going unanswered. A third explanation will be offered below.

Nonetheless, the similarities among these poems also provide a clue to the

Shaughnessy, “Writing and Rewriting the Poetry,” 2009), for the argument that the “ten” is a misreading of “seven,” and that the eclipse is datable within the time of King You.

⁴⁹ The succeeding poems, though Mao # 207 *Gu Zhong* 鼓鍾 are all clear criticisms that may belong to a cohesive suite, but do not contain mention of explicit events or individuals.

mechanism by which a historicizing hermeneutic might spread; despite the silence of “Sang rou” on the “who” questions that the *xiaoxu* prefaces answer, comparisons between “Sang rou” and the poems in the suite of *Jie nan shan* are in other ways apt. Certainly, all of the poems are unambiguous complaints that depict the Zhou order in decay and share a number of prosodic and topical formulae that indicate a cohesive tradition or genre. Even if one assumes that the historical context that the *xiaoxu* provides “Sang rou” is a fabrication, it is clear that the same “who” questions posed by the words of “Sang rou” and answered by the *xiaoxu* commentary receive concrete answers in a number of other poems in the *Ya* sections, including the *Jie* suite. For example, the fourth verse of *Shiyue zhi jiao* lays out clearly the figures of concern:

Shiyue zhi jiao, verse 4, (Mao #193; Translation Joseph Allen/Li Feng)⁵⁰

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---|
| 4 | 皇父卿士 番維司徒
家伯維宰 仲允膳夫 | Huangfu was Prime Minister; Fan was Master of Multitudes ;
Jiabo was Superintendent of the royal household; Zhong Yun, the Provisioner |
| | 聚子內史 蹶維趣馬
楛維師氏 豔妻煽方處 | And Zouzi, Interior Scribe; Jue was Master of Horses,
Yu was the Marshal; The lovely consort, so resplendent, had just taken her position. |

⁵⁰ Waley, *Book of Songs*, 170-171; Feng Li, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045-771 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 205-6.

There is no “explicit hermeneutic” necessary to recognize *Shiyue zhi jiao* as a poem that records past events (e.g. eclipses) and (infamous) persons. So while early interpreters may well have had good reason to believe that “Sang rou” responds to the times and person of King Li, even in the absence of such reasons, if they read “Sang rou” (correctly, as I have argued above) as a text that expressly calls for comment on its intended recipient, it is but a small, homogenizing step for commentaries to explain for “Sang rou” what is self-explanatory in *Jie nan shan* and its larger suite of historical-legendary poems.

If the authors of the *xiaoxu* have been accused of wild and unfounded speculations, they cannot easily be accused of carelessly reading the poems, at least as they are transmitted in the *Maoshi*. As Jeffrey Riegel and Tamara Chin have insightfully pointed out, the foremost concern of the Mao commentarial tradition (including the *xiaoxu* prefaces) is the regulation of the imperial harem, which may in turn be connected

to concerns of Han court politics.⁵¹ What has gone relatively unnoticed in such discussions of the commentarial tradition, is that the same thematic concerns of the Mao commentary are predicted by the poems of the *Ya*. In a comprehensive reading of the *Maoshi*'s poems, King You's concubine Bao Si 褒姒 (the "lovely consort" mentioned above in *Shi yue zhi jiao*), stands out prominently as a target of complaint. As the legend goes, Bao Si displaced the proper royal wife and engaged King You in diversions that brought down the Zhou.⁵² *Zheng yue* 正月 (First month; Mao# 192), blames Bao Si explicitly:

Zheng yue 正月, verse 8 (First month; Mao# 192)⁵³

心之憂矣，如或結之 Oh, the troubles of my heart; like someone tied it into knots.

今茲之正，胡然厲矣 What we now call proper rule—how has it turned so treacherous?

燎之方揚，寧或滅之 That moment when the torch was raised, could no one have extinguished it?

赫赫宗周，褒姒威之 Majestic majesty, Ancestral Zhou: Bao Si has extinguished it.

⁵¹ See Jeffrey Riegel, "Eros, Introversion, and The Beginnings of Shijing Commentary," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, no. 1 (1997): pp.143-177.; Tamara Chin, "Orienting Mimesis: Marriage and the Book of Songs," *Representations*, no. 1 (2006): 53-79.

⁵² The story is told somewhat differently in the *Guoyu* 國語, *Lü shi chun qiu* 呂氏春秋 and the *Shiji* 史記, but most versions portray Bao Si as illegitimate and responsible for eroding trust with allied polities (by what is perhaps the earliest "boy who cried wolf" narrative). For a detailed discussion of both legend and history, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045-771 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), ch. 4.

⁵³ *Sanjia*, 670.

Named figures such as Huangfu 皇父 (mentioned above in #193) and Shi Yin 師尹 (discussed below in #191) are powerful ministers to whom the poetic speaker may deliver invocations, and indirectly criticize the King.⁵⁴ Poems of praise regularly name the founding kings and legendary ancestors for their roles in the establishment of the Zhou. Direct recipients of criticism, on the other hand, almost always go unnamed.⁵⁵ Thus, the blaming of Bao Si in *Zheng yue* is, in contrast, a singularly direct statement of blame; there is not a single identifiable figure in the poems of the *Shijing* who is blamed as clearly and directly as Bao Si, nor is there any event as blameworthy as the fall of the Zhou. The sentiment is echoed in *Zhan yang* 瞻仰 (Mao# 264):

Zhan yang 瞻仰 (Mao# 264; Karlgren translation)⁵⁶

哲夫成城 哲婦傾城 A clever man builds a city wall, a clever woman overthrows it;
懿厥哲婦 為梟為鴟 beautiful is the clever woman, but she is an owl, a hooting owl;
婦有長舌 維厲之階 a woman with a long tongue, she is a (steps=) promoter of evil;
亂匪降自天 生自婦人 disorder is not sent down from heaven, it is produced by women;
匪教匪誨 時維婦寺 those who cannot be taught or instructed are women and eunuchs.

⁵⁴ Li Feng has made a cogent argument that Huangfu, who has generally been regarded as a figure of criticism by commentarial traditions, may in fact be invoked by the poem to continue resisting the King's political faction at court. See *Landscape and Power*, 203-214.

⁵⁵ By this indirect principle, the poems in the *Jie nan shan* suite are all read by the *xiaoxu* as criticizing King You.

⁵⁶ Karlgren, 237; *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1479.

Much as the *xiaoxu* intervenes in “Sang rou” to identify the specific historical context, in *Zhan yang*, the *xiaoxu* steps in to identify the poem as a criticism of King You, such that the “woman” of the poem can be read as Bao Si, and the “who” questions answered by the poem itself in *Zheng yue* are thus answered for *Zhan yang* by commentary. It should be clear from these examples that the Mao commentary’s prominent treatment of regulation of the inner chambers, while certainly relevant to the political landscape of the Han,⁵⁷ stands out as yet another point at which the historiographic impulses of the *xiaoxu* prefaces reflect the narrative impulses voiced explicitly within the historical-legendary poems of the *Maoshi*.

3.4 Autographic poems highlight the individual speaker and comment on the poetic act

⁵⁷ The most significant point of the studies by Chin and Riegel (for which see above) concerning the Han political milieu specifically is the revelation of Zheng Xuan’s re-gendering of the imagined protagonist of the opening poem *Guanju* 關雎 as a virtuous female who actively seeks to ensure stability of the harem; see *Maoshi zhengyi*, 77, for the re-gendering.

But “who” questions may also be applied to another figure. “Sang rou” is not merely a critical song that asks who its target is—a speaker within the poem invites the audience to identify the poem’s source or author. Whereas the preceding section addressed a poem’s distal cause or target of blame—King Li, for example, as claims the *xiaoxu* for “Sang rou”. This section will discuss a poems’ agent of production—Rui Liangfu, (again, as dictates the *xiaoxu*) for “Sang rou”—the source that generates the poem. While many poems are ascribed an author-figure only by the commentarial tradition, others exhibit auto-commentarial gestures within the poems that predict the topics and concerns of the commentarial tradition. This category of autocommentarial poems is prominent within the *Ya*, although the presence of autocommentary is neither necessary nor sufficient to any *Ya* class.

In addition to the general resemblances pointed out above between *Jie nan shan* and “Sang rou”, both these poems (and a much larger set of poems in both lesser and greater *Ya* sections) contain what I regard as auto-commentarial, autographic gestures in their closing lines. These endings serve to highlight the perspective of the speaker

and reflect on the preceding poetic act. In some cases, they may function like a signature to attribute the poem's creation (or significant performance) to identifiable persons. The second and final verses of *Jie nan shan* read as follows:

#191 *Jie nan shan* 節南山 st. 2, 9, and 10⁵⁸

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|
| 2 | 節彼南山 有實其猗
赫赫師尹 不平謂何
天方薦瘥 喪亂弘多 | Towering is that southern mountain, substantial its luxuriance,
Majestic majesty, Shi Yin, wherefore is this lack of peace?
Heaven is now sending afflictions, deaths and chaos are many and broad. |
| | 民言無嘉 僭莫懲嗟 | The people have nothing good to say; nothing stays their sighs [of grief]... |
| | ... | ... |
| 9 | 昊天不平 我王不寧
不懲其心 覆怨其正 | Towering Heaven is not just; our king is not at peace.
He does not correct his heart; and moreover resents being corrected. |
| 10 | 家父作誦 以究王誼
式訛爾心 以畜萬邦 | Jiafu made 作 this invocation 誦, to plumb the king's clamorous disputes;
Would that you change your heart, and thereby foster the myriad states. |

The poem closes with a reflection on its own making, with a clear focal shift that highlights both the speaker and the poetic act that has just come to a close. The autograph—like an inscription on a gift or a signature closing a letter—highlights a

⁵⁸ *Maoshi zhengyi*, 814-827.

discrete speaker and explains the reason for making the poem. Moreover, as contextualized by the identifiable individuals in the two poems that directly follow *Jie nan shan*, the figures in the poem—the speaker Jiafu 家父 and the target-recipient Shi Yin 師尹 (proxy for the king)—appear to be readily identifiable. Problems of how to connect figures in the poem to historical individuals remain,⁵⁹ and perhaps the ease with which the poem fits into a narrative of decline in the time of King You attests merely to the power of the sequence of the poems to provide a satisfying historical context. Nevertheless, regardless of the absolute identifiability of Jiafu and Shi Yin, there is certainly precedent for the emergence of identifiable individuals in the *Daya*: both the poems *Song gao* 崧高 (Mao #259) and *Zheng min* 烝民 (Mao #260) have clearly named makers and recipients. The autographs to both these poems read “Jifu made this invocation” 吉甫作誦; Jifu’s *Song gao* is dedicated to Shen Bo 申伯, while *Zheng min*

⁵⁹ Mao simply identifies Jiafu as a *dafu* 大夫 or senior official, and indeed the term may just refer to a particular office; Zheng Xuan seems to acknowledge that Jiafu’s identity is a matter of obscurity, but concludes that there is a concrete individual of reference. *Maoshi zhengyi*, 826. Shi Yin 師尹, however, is also referred to in this poem as Yinshi taishi 尹氏太師. Yang Bojun, in his annotation to the *Zuozhuan*, identifies both *jiafu* 家父 and *yinshi* 尹氏 as hereditary offices. The *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 says that for King You’s first year, “The king conferred the mandate on Taishi Yinshi Huangfu” 王錫太師尹氏皇父命. See appendix 6. Li Feng makes a plausible case for identifying Jiafu as the Jiabo 家伯, mentioned in *Shi yue zhi jiao*, and speculates that the Jiafu/Jiabo and Huangfu belonged to a court faction that rivaled that of King You and Bao Si. See *Landscape and Power*, 209.

praises Zhong Shanfu 仲山甫.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1401-1441.

Chapter 3: Poems articulate poësis

Table 3.1 Autographic poems

#	Title	Praise/ blame	Author	Addressee	Others	<i>Xiaoxu</i> attribution
162	“Si Mu” 四牡	blame	?			n/a
191	“Jie nan shan” 節南山	blame	<i>Jiafu</i> 家父	Shi Yin 師尹 ^A		Jiafu 家父 criticizes King You 幽王
199	“He ren si” 何人斯	blame		Bao 暴? ^B		Su Gong 蘇公 criticizes Bao Gong 暴公
200	“Xiang bo” 巷伯	blame	<i>Siren</i> <i>Mengzi</i> 私人孟子			Siren Menzi 私人孟子 Criticizes King You 幽 王
204	Si mu 四月	blame	<i>a junzi</i> 君子			A great minister 大夫 criticizes King You 幽王
252	Juan a 卷阿	?				Duke Kang of Shao 召 康公 cautions King Cheng 成王 ^C
257	Sang rou 桑柔	blame	?	?		Earl of Rui 芮伯 criticizes King Li 厲王
259	Song gao 崧高	praise	Yin Jifu 尹吉甫	Shen 申	Fu 甫; Duke Shao 召伯; The King 王	Yin Jifu 尹吉甫 praises King Xuan 宣王
260	Zheng min 烝民			Zhong Shanfu 仲山甫	The King 王; Son of Heaven 天 子	Yin Jifu 尹吉甫 praises King Xuan 宣王

^A Shi Yin is also identified as Huangfu 皇甫.

^B Karlgren does not believe it is possible to construe “Bao” as a name for “Prince of Pao” 暴公, although he does exactly this for the dukes Shen and Fu of ode 259. Karlgren *Odes*, 149, 226. Traditional commentators have generally accepted the claim of the *xiaoxu*.

^C The preface portrays this as a warning.

Thus, in identifying a speaker, autographic poems vary in the degree of specificity with which we can identify the speaker, much as poems of the collection vary in their treatment of identifiable persons and events. In “Sang rou,” the poem itself does not name names, but there is a continuous effort to highlight the voice of the (good) speaker and distance that speaker from the poem’s (wayward) target(s) of criticism:

- 10.1 維此聖人It is this sagacious man
10.2 瞻言百里whose insight and words stretch a hundred *li*
10.3 維彼愚人It is that foolish man
10.4 覆狂以喜who takes perversity and madness as joy.
...
11.1 維此良人It is this good man
11.2 弗求弗迪that is neither sought out nor advanced.
11.3 維彼忍心It is that callous one
11.4 是顧是復to whom you turn and return.
...
12.3 維此良人It is this good man,
12.4 作為式穀who in standing up demonstrates what is right.
12.5 維彼不順It is that wayward one,
12.6 征以中垢who in launching assaults exemplifies benightedness
- 13.1 大風有隧A great wind has its path [of origin];
13.2 貪人敗類the greedy defeat the righteous.
13.3 聽言則對To servile words, you face and reply;
13.4 誦言如醉to invocations, you loll as if drunk.
13.5 匪用其良Never do you employ the good;

13.6 覆俾我悖rather you take us as perverse.

Repeatedly, the *liang* 良 (good) man is juxtaposed with the callous, wayward, or foolish good-for-nothing, and at the outset, it is difficult to say with certainty whether these comparisons simply narrate events at a distance. Nonetheless, by verse thirteen, the silhouette of the speaker is detectable, and it is clear that the “good” man (precisely that “good” in the name of Rui Liangfu 芮良夫, The Good Elder of Rui) represents the speaker’s first person perspective. Here also, the speaker demands that the good man and his good words be granted their proper authority. The clearest emergence of the speaker, however, comes in the last lines, which dedicates the poem expressly to its degenerate (but unnamed) recipients.

14.1 嗟爾朋友Oh you friends and associates!

14.2 予豈不知而作 How could I not have known when I made [this]?

14.3 如彼飛蟲[I’m] like that creature taking wing,

14.4 時亦弋獲so often landed by the dart,

14.5 既之陰女I go to keep you sheltered,

14.6 反予來赫yet you are hostile to me.

...

16.1 民之未戾That the people are unsettled

16.2 職盜為寇is because of the plundering of thieves.

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- 16.3 涼曰不可 The degenerate say “[you are] unacceptable”;⁶¹
16.4 覆背善詈 the perverse and backward excel at condemning [others].
16.5 雖曰匪予 Though you may say “it wasn’t me,”
16.6 既作爾歌 I have made this song for you.

As autographic endings go, this one provides a long and detailed reflection on the motivations for making the poem. It laments the plight of the people and portrays men at court as degenerates, thieves, and slanderers. The speaker singles himself out for risking his own safety to take the lead in speaking out against violations that are presumably self-evident to the audience. If one imagines an original performance at court, like that mentioned in the *Bamboo Annals*, the audience may also be complicit. But perhaps more than anything, the final focal shift in verse sixteen brings not only the person of the speaker into sharp relief, but explicitly lays out the speaker’s *zhi* 志 (intent) in producing the song.⁶²

⁶¹ Following Ma Ruichen in reading *liang* 涼 for *liang* 涼; see *Ma Ruichen* 馬瑞辰, *Maoshi Zhuan Jian Tongshi* 毛詩傳箋通釋, 3 vols., Shisanjing Qingren Zhushu 十三經清人注疏叢書, 975-6 and notes to the full translation in appendix 3 for further discussion.

⁶² Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 points out that this *zhi* is intrinsically political (or historical, from our perspective), and the act of “speaking the *zhi*” is consistent with the presentation of odes as characterized in texts like the *Lunyu* 論語 and *Guoyu* 國語, or rhetorical uses of the odes as seen in the *Zuozhuan*. Zhu Ziqing 朱自清, *Shi yan zhi bian* 詩言志辨 (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1947), especially pp 3-4, 16-18.

3.5 Deciphering autographs: identifying the maker of “Sang rou”

Having encountered this reified speaker, the question for “Sang rou,” at least as far as the commentarial tradition is concerned, is that of the speaker’s identity, which in turn would imply a historical fixity. The *xiaoxu* says: “In “Sang rou,” Rui Bo [i.e. Rui Liangfu] criticizes King Li” 桑柔:芮伯刺厲王也.⁶³ For the *xiaoxu* to provide for “Sang rou” the concrete historical actors that appear explicitly in other *Ya* poems (e.g. Huang Fu, Bao Si, Zhong Shanfu, etc.) would certainly serve to homogenize the *Ya*. But in this case, in contrast to the majority of poems, the *xiaoxu* is corroborated by the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, which quotes verse thirteen of the poem in its entirety, preceded by the attribution, “Rui Liangfu of Zhou’s *shi*-poem says...” 周芮良夫之詩曰.⁶⁴ Regardless of the veracity of claims that connect the poem (or some instantiation of it) to a historical Rui Liangfu, the *Zuozhuan* attribution occurs in the entry for 626 BCE, which, if accurate, would

⁶³ *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1383.

⁶⁴ *Zuozhuan*, “Wen gong” 1.8 左傳·文公元年, in Durrant et al, *Zuo Tradition*, 466-7. Given the ubiquity of this larger legend as reflected in the *Guoyu* 國語, *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書, *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年, and **Rui Liangfu bi* 芮良夫誌, the attribution would undoubtedly have implicated King Li as well. Cf Kern, 2018, p. 53, which seeks to establish the marginality of such attributions (but does not take account of this particular case).

show that at the very least, the attribution predates the *Mencius* significantly; there is in any case no reason to doubt that a poem could become known as “Rui Liangfu’s *shi*-poem” in some context, well before the *Mencius*.

Nonetheless, to answer the absolute question about the historicity of “Sang rou,” we must ask: is “Sang rou” a historically fixed poem like *Jie nan shan*, or a repeatable drama like *Chang di*? Is “Sang rou,” in other words, a poem from the brush of Rui Liangfu? Or is it merely a satire that cast him in the lead role of critical minister, in an operatic *roman-à-clef*, built on a foundation of shared *Daya* formulae, and in which the historical figures would have been so obvious to contemporary audiences that no “key” would be necessary to decode its meaning? Or, is the instantiation of “Sang rou” in the *Maoshi* entirely formulaic—applicable to any bad king, and speakable by any good minister—such that the connection to Rui Liangfu is created wholly by myths of attribution now fossilized in the *Zuo zhuan*?

In the absence of names, interpreters have combed *Sang rou* for any hint to its

context. It might seem that the answer to “who begot this ruthless (li) cause” 誰生厲階 inheres in the question, as the *li* 厲 (ruthlessness) may pun on the *Li* 厲 (lofty) king. But an “ascent to *li* 厲 ruthlessness”—a variation in the same poetic formula, is found in *Zhanyang* 瞻仰, ostensibly directed at King You—not King Li.⁶⁵ Interpreters have also sought a foothold in verse seven of “Sang rou,” which reads:

- 7.1 天降喪亂 Heaven sends down death and chaos,
- 7.2 滅我立王 Destroying our *li-wang*.
- 7.3 降此蠹賊 Sending down those pestilent thieves, [so that]⁶⁶
- 7.4 稼穡卒痒 what is sown and reaped lies dead and diseased.

...

All the interpretations of the *Zhengyi* edition agree that “destroying our *li-wang* 立王” means “destroying that which establishes kings,” i.e. grain;⁶⁷ not a very literal reading, but not implausible for an agrarian civilization whose revered ancestors include Lord Millet (Hou ji 后稷). In the more literal reading, “destroying our established king,” Arthur Waley insists that the king dies violently in this poem, which helps identify the

⁶⁵ *Maoshi Zhengyi*, 1476; The *xiaoxu* attributes the poem to the Earl of Fan 凡伯.

⁶⁶ The Mao commentary to *Da tian* 大田 identifies *mao* 蠹 as “stem eaters” and *zei* 賊 as “root eaters” *Maoshi zhengyi*, 993.

⁶⁷ *Maoshi Zhengyi*, 1391. The Mao, Zheng, and Kong commentaries all read “grain.”

king as King You, rather than King Li.⁶⁸ Of course, the doctrine that this is “Rui Liangfu of Zhou’s *shi*-poem” prohibits this reading. But there are other interpretive possibilities: “destroying our *li-wang*” may refer merely to the institution of hereditary kingship that was interrupted when King Li was banished. A definitive answer may be elusive.

On the basis of shared language, formulae, and tropes alone, it is difficult to reject the hypothesis that the poem stems from the time of King You, especially if we look to the *Xiaoya*, which seems to use such formulae more freely. Many of the lamentations in *Daya* poems (incessant war, plagues of crop-eating insects, etc.) are shared, but there are some clues that are consistent with a particular context. Among these is a line in verse ten of “Sang rou”: “No words should be unspeakable, so why this fear of [speaking] the taboo?” 匪言不能 胡斯畏忌, which can be matched to King Li’s silencing of critics, as recorded in the *Guoyu* and *Bamboo Annals*.⁶⁹ Similarly, the repeated contrast of the “good” men with the good-for-nothings in, examined above in “Sang rou,” may highlight not

⁶⁸ Waley, “The Eclipse Poem and its Group.”

⁶⁹ *Guoyu* 1.3, Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhengli zu, ed. 上海師範大學古籍整理組校點, *Guoyu* 國語. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978, 9-12. The *Bamboo Annals* lists year eight of King Li as the “first investigation of critics” and the same year that “Rui Liangfu cautions the hundred officials at court.” See appendix 6.

only our “Good Man of Rui,” but also a Duke Yi of Rong 榮夷公 singled out both as a villain and as King Li’s favorite, also in the *Guoyu* and *Bamboo Annals*.⁷⁰ The specificity in the latter case leaves much to be desired; any story may have its villain. Nevertheless, in that the narrative fits the poem better than any other, the commentarial claim that *Sang rou* is in some sense “Rui Liangfu’s poem” is at the very least based on a careful reading of the poems, if not on some clearer historical precedent.

Looking at the *Ya* and across its divisions, however, we can make some broader inferences. First, the identities implied in *Daya* poems by specific complaints are made explicit in the *Jie* suite by naming names. For example, while the specific complaint that the king does not listen (especially to criticism) is sometimes used against King You in the *Xiaoya*, in *Daya* poems, this complaint is—according to the commentarial tradition—leveled exclusively at King Li.⁷¹ Likewise, with regard to poems read as criticizing King You, whereas we saw in *Zhanyang* (in the *Daya*) a verse decrying unnamed evil women in

⁷⁰ *Guoyu* 1.4, 12-14.

⁷¹ *Maoshi* numbers #254 *Ban* 板, #256 *Yi* 抑 and #257 *Sang rou* all accuse the recipient of not listening to advice; #255 *Dang* 蕩, has a similar complaint, that “there are still canons and laws, but you have never heeded them” 尚有典刑，曾是莫聽. *Maoshi zhengyi* 1347, 1363, 1379-82 1395-6, -1400.

the court, in *Yu wu zheng* (of the *Jie* suite in the *Xiaoya*), the naming of Bao Si becomes explicit.

Second, another generalization holds true: names in the *Daya* only identify targets of praise; in the *Xiaoya*, as we have seen, they name the blamed as well. Verse fourteen of *Sang rou*, translated above, suggests a reason for this: speaking out against authority is a danger to one's life. This may explain why critical speakers and the ministerial proxies of bad kings all go unnamed in the *Daya*. If we regard the *Jie* suite in the *Xiaoya* as a retrospective dramatization of Western Zhou events, it affords a better explanation: the poems *Jie nan shan* (#191) through *Zheng yue* (194), enjoying a historical distance from the events they portray, were able to name names; moreover, not only could they do so without fear of reprisal—names were necessary to make a poem historically explicit when the specific complaints of earlier *Daya* poems had become more promiscuously applied formulae, and no longer could serve as the “key” to identify a particular king.

In light of the foregoing, as to the historical lamination of *Ya* poems, it seems likely

that *Sang rou* and its ilk predate the *Jie* suite, as is suggested by the prosodic features of the poems more generally.⁷² The scope of any claims about dating must be limited and relative, and it is not the case that every poem of the *Xiaoya* is historical in origin or postdates every song of the *Daya*. Nonetheless, if relationships like those between Bao Si (specifically in *Yu wu zheng*) and bad women (non-specifically in the *Zhan yang*) represent a continuous tradition, we may have in the *Jie* suite another case in which poems comment on other poems—a step in the historicizing hermeneutic towards a mode of explicit historical narration that was eventually superimposed on every poem.

3.6 Proto-commentarial interpretation of the *Shi*-poems: Historicizing context in the *Mencius* and excavated manuscripts

Conclusions about the compositional origins of “*Sang rou*” are necessarily speculative, although the historiography of the *Zuozhuan*, *Guoyu*, and *Bamboo Annals* must have their sources, most likely in annals and/or a body of legend shared with the *Jie* suite and its

⁷² See W.A.C.H. Dobson, “The Origin and Development of Prosody in Early Chinese Poetry,” *T'oung Pao*, no. 54 (1968): 231–250.

predecessors. Both the **Rui Liangfu bi* and the “Rui Liangfu” chapter discussed in the previous and next chapters, respectively, portray Rui Liangfu remonstrating in tetrasyllabic rhyme. As Zhao Ping’an, has put it, “Rui Liangfu was expert at poetry, so when he wrote a *bi* he used poetic form” 芮良夫擅長詩歌，故作皆用詩歌體。⁷³ One need not share his faith in the facts of authorship to recognize clearly that the textual record portrays Rui Liangfu very consistently as a rhymester—especially if we consider his eponymous *Yi Zhou shu* chapter. Features of the legend had ossified, texts had formed, even if no single, universally authoritative text had emerged.

In the transmitted record, the *Mencius* has until recently provided the clearest indication of hermeneutic practices in which the meaning of an ode has become historically fixed,⁷⁴ although the overwhelming movement (from Zheng Qiao to Zhu Xi, to Granet and the *Gushibian* writers) to debunk mythologies by categorically rejecting the *Maoshi xiaoxu* has effectively rendered the *Mencian* hermeneutic vestigial, if not anomalous or suspected of later interpolation. The *Mencius*, in addition to challenging the

⁷³ Zhao, “Rui Liangfu bi chudu,” 78.

⁷⁴ Van Zoeren, 68-74; Zhu, 24.

idea that the fixity of odes begins only with imperial commentaries, challenges broader assumptions about literary practice in pre-imperial China: that there is no concept of authorship; and that the authority of written texts was irrelevant to doctrinal disputes.⁷⁵

Excavated sources, however, suggest that there is nothing anomalous or exceptional about the *Mencius's* literary environment.

Most important among these are the verse albums discussed in the previous chapter, including especially the *Zhou gong zhi qinwu* and *Qiyē* manuscripts. Regardless of what one may conclude about the doctrinal authority of the manuscript versions of “Jing zhi” and “Xi shuai” vis-à-vis the transmitted *Maoshi* versions, both manuscripts, in addition to the **Rui Liangfu bi*, seek to narrate the historical circumstances under which poems—be they autonomous creations or historically important performances—were made.⁷⁶ In

⁷⁵ See for example, two recent articles by Martin Kern that seek to advance such claims as the general case: Martin Kern, “‘Xi Shuai’ 蟋蟀 (Cricket) and Its Consequences: Issues in Early Chinese Poetry and Textual Studies,” *Early China*, 2019.1, 1–36, 32, 32n.67-8; Martin Kern, “The Formation of the Classic of Poetry,” in *The Homeric Epics and the Chinese Book of Songs: Foundational Texts Compared*, ed. Fritz-Heiner Mutschler (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 39–72, 54. In the former source, Kern notes Mencius’s doubting of the *Wu cheng* 武成 as the exception to the rule that “In early China, there were arguments over ideas, but there was never an argument over texts.” He notes *Mencius* 3B.9, in which the *Chuqiu* is attributed to Confucius, as exception to the rule that authorship was irrelevant.

⁷⁶ The *Qiyē* manuscript prefaces a rendition of *Xishuai* 蟋蟀 (Mao #114) with paratext that attributes the poem to the Duke of Zhou, who appears to extemporaneously compose 作 the poem at a banquet

so doing they are wholly consistent with the hermeneutic in the *Mencius* and with the more systematic practices of historical and authorial attribution in the *xiaoxu* of the *Maoshi* tradition. Attributive claims as a phenomenon are not limited to the Qin-Han period, even if the specific claims and written texts may not have stuck until they were then systematized under a centralized authority.

3.7 Autocommentary in context

Moreover, the commentary that autographic poems provide on their own creation and—more hypothetically—the clarifying historical statements that Bao Si in *Zheng yue* seem to make for “women and eunuchs” in *Zhan yang*, exemplify a larger group of compositional practices that are contiguous with the development of a historical hermeneutic in *Shi* poetry. While composition (like all creation) in *Shijing* poetry was

celebrating the conquest of the Qi 齊 (Li 黎) people. The Mao tradition does not name a creator/producer, but identifies it as a criticism of Duke Xi of Jin 晉僖公 (who Lu Deming identifies as Marquis Hou of Jin 晉釐侯, d. 823 BCE); see *Maoshi zhengyi*, 441. The *Zhou gong zhi qinwu* attributes a rendition of the poem *Jing zhi* 敬之 (Mao #288), to King Cheng, consistent with the attribution in the Mao *xiaoxu*. For translations and comparisons of both poems, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Unearthed Documents and the Question of the Oral versus Written Nature of the Classic of Poetry,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 75, no. 2 (2015): 331–75. Cf. Kern, “‘Xi Shuai’ and its consequences.”

certainly not *ex-nihilo*, and probably relied on the reuse and recombination of formulae, at some point legends like that of Rui Liangfu ossified, attached to poems. Determining an absolute time for these events is difficult, in part because differing claims were advanced for versions of the poems in different communities, a case in point being for the Tsinghua version of *Xishuai* versus the *Maoshi* version, or for variant claims about *Changdi*. Orthodoxies may not have been effectively cemented before the Han, but the claims and processes that led to them had already begun.

Autocommentarial claims are also, like the *Mencius's* historical claims, not anomalous;⁷⁷ they are merely a special case among a wider range of songs and rhymed literature in which the closing statement or verse exhibits a shift in perspective. In what I have called autographic poems proper, the speaker emerges prominently in the final lines

⁷⁷ Martin Kern, noting that the last quatrains of both *Song gao* and *Zheng min* are set apart by a new rhyme, and that the last lines tend not to be quoted in other texts, intimates that the autographic signatures do not belong to same textual layers as the odes themselves. He argues that the absence of quotations of the autographic endings elsewhere in the received record show that they were not integral to the poems in pre-imperial China. In regard to these points, respectively: 1) a close look at the prosody of each poem shows that the quatrain is quite simply the rhythmic unit in both *Song gao* and *Zheng min*, so there is no particular evidence that a poem was spliced at this point, or any other; and 2) autographic endings are not strictly absent from the corpus of quotations, although for *Song gao* and *Zheng min*, the endings are so highly specified as to be useless for quotation. See Kern 2018. 39-73; 53-4, and Kern 2019, 16n.28. In regard to the relative applicability of different quotations of *Shijing* material, see Goldin, 2005.

by way of names or pronouns, and explicitly comments on the making of the song; another set of poems, which I tentatively call pseudo-autographic, are slightly more subtle, and may meet only one of these two criteria, strictly speaking. Nonetheless, they exhibit the same basic phenomenon.

Table. 3.2 Pseudo-Autographic poems

#	Title	Praise/ blame	Author	Addressee	Others	<i>Xiaoxu</i> attribution
107	Ge Ju 葛屨	blame				
141	Mu men 墓門	blame		ChenTuo 陳佗		
177	<i>Liu yue</i> 六月	praise	Zhang Zhong 長仲?	Jifu 吉甫	Jifu 吉甫	n/a ⁷⁸
193	<i>Shiyue zhi jiao</i> 十月之交	blame	?		Huangfu 皇甫; Fan 番; Jibo 家 伯; Zhong Yun 仲允; Zou 聚; Jue 蹶; Yu 楛	A Great Minister 大夫 criticizes King You 幽王
223	<i>Jue gong</i> 角弓	blame				uncles and brothers 父 兄 criticize King You 幽 王
253	<i>Min lao</i> 民勞	blame				Duke Mu of Shao 召穆 公 criticizes King Li 厲 王

⁷⁸ This allegedly celebrated King Xuan's campaigns against the northern tribes. The *xiaoxu* preface here launches into a long commentarial list of the preceding poems, enumerating the societal failures that gave rise to each poem. See Beecroft, "Authorship in the Canon of Songs" 79-84.

For example, the ode *Jiao gong* 角弓 (Mao # 223) goes some eight stanzas, enumerating the faults of unworthy officials, using a third person narrative mode, describing what it is that “they” are guilty of: abandoning family, drunkenness, arrogance, lack of propriety. Only in the last line does the narrator shift into focus, saying “I, by the forgoing, am troubled” 我是用憂.⁷⁹ If it was not clear from the preceding lines that the grievance is personal, then it is in this almost jarring last line that it becomes unmistakable. The lyrical turn explains the poem’s reason for being, even if it does not refer directly to its genesis or name its creator. And, while *Jiao gong* may remonstrate indirectly by expressing its discontent, *Min lao* 民勞 (Mao # 253) caps a long remonstrance by making its intent explicit. A remonstrance allegedly directed at the king by way of his ministers, the verses each reiterate that the people are tired,

⁷⁹ It is possible that this may be a first person plural perspective.

providing also directives to the poem's intended recipient: allow the people rest, repress villains; reform the wicked, etc. The poem's final line, "this is why I greatly admonish you" 是用大諫, reveals the intent of the foregoing poetic act, and the reason for the poem's existence.⁸⁰

This calls into question the degree to which terms (including my own) used to describe these poems—autographic, pseudoautographic, sphragis poems,⁸¹ the "twelve places in the *Shijing* that talk about making poems"⁸² 詩經裏說到作詩的十二處, or any other term that seeks to encompass these poems, form a natural category from the perspective of *Shijing* composition. First, similar expressions are hardly exclusive to *Shijing* poetry—we find it in the **Rui Liangfu bi*, discussed in the previous chapter, which closes as follows:

吾用作愆再終 That I have made this admonition in two parts
以寓命達聽 is to make heard the mandate entrusted to me.⁸³

⁸⁰ "The king wishes to support you, this is why I greatly admonish you" 王欲玉(畜)女 是用大諫
Following the emendation by Ma Ruichen, *Sanjia* 912-3.

⁸¹ This term is used by Alexander Beecroft to name a subset of the poems here identified.

⁸² Zhu, 4.

⁸³ See translation supplement.

We find it also in the *Yuren zhi zhen* 虞人之箴 (The Warden's Remonstrance) recited by

Wei Jiang 魏絳 of Jin 晉 in the *Zuozhuan*:

武不可重 Let your armed hunting expeditions not become onerous
用不恢于夏家 as that was why [Archer Yi] could not become great in the house of Xia.
獸臣司原 As a minister of the beasts, supervisor of the hunt,
敢告僕夫 I presume to proclaim this to the servants [of the king].⁸⁴

Second, at an even broader structural level, examples abound in rhyming literature in which a distinct shift of perspective or change of register closes the text. A suite of ritual poems in the *Maoshi*, numbers 209 to 216, close with *guci*-like 嘏辭 prayers. And, of course, so do the rhyming texts of bronze inscriptions that these *Shijing* poems resemble. A formulaic *guci* may be fashioned at the end of a text, producing what may in some sense be regarded as a composite, but then the texts produced, especially in the case of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, may enjoy a long history of stable

⁸⁴ Found in *Zuozhuan* Xiang year 4. Translation from David Schaberg, "Remonstrance in Early Zhou Historiography," *Early China* 22 (1997): 152-3, modified; c.f. Durrant et al, 918-20. The text warns against excess of hunting, by relating the tale of Hou Yi 后羿 (Archer Yi), who hunted to the neglect of his kingdom.

transmission. Seen in the larger context of these structural forms, in and well beyond the *Shijing*, there is no reason to believe that the closing statements of *Shijing* poems did not become a compositional feature well before the time of the *Mencius*.

3.8 Autocommentary as protocomentary

In the very literal sense that autographic endings comment on the making of the poem that came before, they may be regarded as autocommentarial. But there is another important way in which these sections occupy a single discourse with the *Shijing*'s earliest commentarial layers. It has been remarked that the term *shi* 詩 is not well attested within the *Shijing* itself, which is true; the term comes up merely three times in the whole canon. All of those three times, however, are in the auto-commentarial endings of poems termed above as “autographic,” the poems “Xiang bo” 巷伯 (Mao 200), “Juan a” 卷阿 (Mao 252), and “Song gao” 崧高 (Mao 259).

Xiang bo 巷伯 (Mao 200)

楊園之道、猗于畝丘。 The way to the willow garden leads to the acred hill

寺人孟子、作為此詩。 The palace-attendent Mengzi made up this poem (*shi*)

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凡百君子、敬而聽之。 May all gentlemen, whosoever they be, listen to it with attention.⁸⁵

Juan a 卷阿(Mao 252)

君子之車、既庶且多。 The lord's chariots are many, and plenty.

君子之馬、既閑且馳。 The lord's horses are obedient and fleet.

矢詩不(丕)多、維以遂歌。 I present these many⁸⁶ poems (*shi*), so as to extend the singing.

Song gao 崧高 (Mao 259)

吉甫作誦 其詩孔碩 Ji-fu made an invocation, its poems (*shi*) lovely and grand,

其風肆好 以贈申伯 Its air (*feng*) long and lovely, as a present to the Lord of Shen.⁸⁷

Whatever came before these poems—presumably the *Zhou song*, and whatever other genres of verse that were available to early writers—the poems above exemplified *shi*-poetry in their time, and set examples of a forming genre, which can express either admonition (as in the first case) or praise (as in the latter two). We can unfortunately only work inductively from a very few examples, but these autographic, auto-commentarial pronouncements likely developed in concert with a burgeoning awareness of what a *shi*-poem could be.

⁸⁵ Modified from Waley, 183.

⁸⁶ The Mao commentary appears to read *bu* 不 here as *pi* 丕 *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1336.

⁸⁷ Modified from Waley, 274.

The term *feng* is more obscure. There are of course many references to the word “wind” in the *Shijing*, but the references that clearly specify a musical or poetic sense are few. In “Song gao” it may refer to a melody, but just as well to a moral property inherent in the poem. The only other clear occurrence is in the poem of complaint, “Bei shan” 北山 (Mao #205), in which term *feng yi* 風議, implies criticism or satire,⁸⁸ and may well predate the coalescence of a *feng* genre concerned with blowing moral winds. The autocommentarial closing line of “Ge ju” 葛屨 employs the critical term *ci* 刺 (lit. to prick; satirize) so familiar from the *xiaoxu* pronouncements on critical poems.

Ge ju 葛屨 (Mao 107)

維是褊心、是以為刺。 It is this narrowness of mind, for which I satirize him.

Within the *Maoshi*, there is really only one other place that one finds the critical terms above used as they are in these poems: the earliest commentarial texts; the *Daxu* and

⁸⁸ Although *Bei shan* is itself not obviously auto-commentarial, poems 200 and 204 are, and *Bei shan* can be grouped thematically at least with 204. The term *feng* may be read literally as “wind” or “air” but understood figuratively in a number of poems, the other poem self-attributed by Jifu, *Zheng min* (Mao #260) makes a simile in which the poem is “solemn like the pure air” 穆如清風.

xiaoxu (the greater and lesser *Prefaces*). The autographic endings thus not only comment on the poetic act at hand, they also form the clearest basis for a critical terminology of poetics as well as the later metatextual discourse on what *shi*-poems are and what they do.

3.9 Conclusion

From the foregoing, it should be clear that the impulse to make historical attributions for a poem is not exclusive to Han commentaries; the same impulse is integral to many of the poems themselves, as they come in the received *Maoshi*, echoed by the contextualizing paratext that accompanies excavated verse albums, and by the *Maoshi xiaoxu*, and whatever sources were eventually fixed within it. Other evidence for proto-theories of poetry may remain to be excavated from the *Shijing* itself,⁸⁹ and we may hope that archaeology will also reveal more evidence of incipient commentarial

⁸⁹ The imperative in the critical poem *Ban*, for example, to “consult the grass and firewood gatherers” seems to predict the legend by which *Guofeng* poems originated, collected from the people in all corners of the empire. Ban 板 (Mao # 254) “People before us had a saying: consult the grass and firewood gatherers. 先民有言 詢于芻蕘.” *Ban* is also of interest in that it repeats the phrase “...this is why I greatly admonish you” 是用大諫 which is autographic in the last stanza of the previous poem.

traditions.

Perhaps a historical Rui Liangfu produced an operatic drama like “Sang rou”; perhaps he, like the Duke of Zhou, served as inspiration for a later poetic performance, real or imagined. But “Sang rou,” as it comes to us, is already inscribed with the questions of blame that the commentarial tradition—and the poems of the *Xiaoya*—seek to answer explicitly.

If, as the foregoing has sought to show, the development of *Shijing* commentary is a process continuous with the circulation and compilation of the poems, a major problem left to solve is that of the relative continuity of the poems themselves. *Shijing* poems, like “Xishuai” of the *Qiyē* verse album, differ in significant ways from their received counterparts. Do the poems reflect the concerns of the commentary, or does the commentarial context influence each instantiation of a poem? In the case of “Sang rou” and Rui Liangfu, the consistent message of the several Rui Liangfu texts would seem to suggest a fixed legend, and corroboration in the *Zuozhuan* implies an early

fixity to the attribution. But did “Sang rou” quoted in the seventh century look like the version we have in the *Maoshi*? In all cases writing serves (imperfectly) to enforce a particular instantiation of the text, but the tension between fixed text variance can hardly be well-understood without a more thorough understanding of the unspoken and unwritten assumptions that guided early readers in interpreting and altering ancient texts.

While some poems must have dealt with historical people and events from their first instantiation, and while explicit historical and authorial attributions were made for many poems in the preimperial period, a vast body of poems shows no clear sign of fixed historical significance. Thus, the question of how the historicizing hermeneutic became so pervasive remains. Clues to the answer lie both in the verse albums of the previous chapter, and in the cohesive suites of poetry (such as the *Jie* suite, or the group of ritual poems in the *Xiaoya*) that concatenate in the *Shijing*, traces, perhaps, of codices that came together during canon formation. To the extent that materials within verse albums appear to be homogenous with regard to genre, topic, or intent, such

manuscripts may have served as an intermediate step in which material on the same codex was assumed to be homogenous and thereby subject to the same hermeneutic principles. Because all these materials can be grouped under the rubric of *Shi* poetry and unifying theory of *shi* poetics, the impulse to seek historical significance throughout a larger class of *Shi* may account in part for the development of a historicizing hermeneutic. One line of reasoning, faulty or not, that comes from reading *Ya* poems as a natural category might be summarized as follows: Bao Si is identifiable in a critical *Ya* poem, and *Sang rou* is a critical *Ya* poem; therefore *Sang rou* has an identifiable villain. But similar reasoning must work much more effectively at the level of verse albums like the *Qiyē* or *Wuzi zhi ge*, in which the contextualizing narrative provides both an event and a purpose that unifies the poems. The “Jie” suite, for example, may have circulated on a single codex, prefaced by narrative (in the case that the poems themselves were not sufficiently explicit).

The phenomena described above are not limited to the *Ya* sections. At least two autocommentarial endings are found in the *Guofeng*, as are several odes that have clear,

historical concerns.⁹⁰ These odes may have functioned as seeds around which a historicizing hermeneutic crystallized, but their study awaits further evidence, some of which we hope will be forthcoming in the publication of the *Guofeng* manuscript held by Anhui University. Further study of these materials has the potential to contribute to a broader science of the processes of text formation and the beginnings of written commentarial traditions.

⁹⁰ These include *Zai chi* 載馳 (“Now Galloping”; Mao #54) which is said to be composed by the Lady Mu of Xu (Xu Mu furen 許穆夫人), who was the daughter of Duke Yi of Wei 衛懿公, attempting to return home to visit and condole with her brother upon the military defeat of Wei. Others include *Shuo ren* 碩人 (“The Great Lady”; Mao #57), which enumerates by name the familial relations of the marquis of Hou’s wife; *Qing ren* 清人 (“Men of Qing”; Mao #79), recounting a military expedition; and *Huang niao* 黃鳥 (“Yellow Birds”; Mao #131), which commemorates by name three men of the Ziju 子車 lineage who were entombed alive with Duke Mu of Qin in 620 BCE.

Chapter Four

The *Yi Zhou shu*'s 逸周書 “Rui Liangfu” 芮良夫 Chapter, an Early Tetrasyllabic Remonstrations

4.1 Introduction

This study emerges from the reconstruction and translation of “Rui Liangfu” 芮良夫,¹ and examines problems of its composition, interpretation, and reception. The text is found in the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (Remnant Documents of Zhou), a collection that has suffered centuries of neglect, and has only in recent years begun to receive its fair share of attention. This attention is owed in part to the discovery of the Tsinghua manuscripts, which include versions of several *Yi Zhou shu* chapters.² The Tsinghua corpus also includes a number of lost manuscript texts that in one way or another resemble *shu* documents, all of which may inform the formation of *shu* genres and canons.⁵ The **Rui*

¹ The text appears as “Rui Liangfu jie” 芮良夫解 in transmitted editions of the text; the *jie* at some point seems to have distinguished chapters that contained the Kong Zhao commentary, but was later appended indiscriminately to a later edition of the text. See Georgiy [Yegor] Grebnyev, “The Core Chapters of the *Yi Zhou Shu*” (Wolfson College, Oxford, 2016), 16-17.

² Texts with homologs in the Tsinghua manuscripts include the *Ming xun* 命訓, *Cheng wu* 程寤, *Huang men* 皇門, and *Zhai gong* 祭公 chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*. Respectively, these correspond to chapters 2, 13, 49, and 60 in the transmitted *Yi Zhou shu*. The “Cheng wu” chapter is missing from the transmitted *Yi Zhou shu*, but can be identified on the basis of quotations in medieval sources. For a study and translations of all these texts, see Edward Shaughnessy, “Unearthing the *Yi Zhou shu*” (forthcoming); for the “Cheng wu” chapter, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Of Trees, a Son, and Kingship: Recovering an Ancient Chinese Dream,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 77, no. 3 (August 2018): 593–609.

⁵ These include the *Yinzhi* 尹至, *Baoxun* 保訓 (for which see Liu 116-119). They also include *Houfu* 厚父, which appears to be quoted by the *Mencius*, and *Fengxu zhi ming* 封許之命. According to the editors, the

Liangfu bi manuscript discussed in Chapter two has been interpreted as a *shu*,⁶ and is of particular relevance to interpreting the *Yi Zhou shu*'s “Rui Liangfu” chapter.

While new discoveries offer excitement, older discoveries are still key to the task at hand: the “Rui Liangfu” chapter preserved in the *Yi Zhou shu* collection is damaged and missing text in many places, but it can fortunately be reconstructed with the help of long-lost manuscripts. This is because “Rui Liangfu” is one of three chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* excerpted in the *Qunshu zhi yao* 群書治要 (Essentials of Governance from the Flock of Books), a Tang dynasty *leishu* 類書 (encyclopedia) that was lost in China but was preserved for centuries in Japanese manuscripts.⁷

Below I will begin by presenting a detailed history of the text and its reception,

former of these should be regarded as a lost chapter of the *Shangshu*. See Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed., *Qinghua daxue cang zhangguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡 v.5 pt.2, 109, 117.

⁶ See ch 2.

⁷ For an overview of the textual history and detailed account of Japanese editions, see Ozaki Yasushi 尾崎康, “Gunsho Chiyō to Sono Genson Hon” 群書治要とその現存本, *Bulletin of the Shidō Bunko Institute* 斯道文庫論集, no. 25 (1990): 121–210. See also translation supplement. The three chapters preserved in the *Qunshu zhiyao* are ch. 25 “Wen zhuan/chuan jie” 文傳解, ch. 58, “Guan ren” 官人, and ch. 63 “Rui Liangfu” 芮良夫.

including the sources used to reconstruct “Rui Liangfu.” The study shows that both lineages derive primarily from a version with the embedded commentary of Kong Zhao (3rd c. CE). I use the term “*Qunshu*” to refer to versions of the text preserved in the *Qunshu zhiyao*; since the *Qunshu* versions of “Rui Liangfu” are technically transmitted (at least with regard to this particular chapter), I refer to the chapter found in the *Yi Zhou shu* as transmitted in fifty-nine extant chapters simply as the “non-*Qunshu*” version of “Rui Liangfu.”⁸ The study of reception shows that accounts of the origins of “Rui Liangfu” are inseparable from varying conceptions of authenticity held by the text’s transmitters. Here the study also compares how the “Rui Liangfu” chapter fits into the *Yi Zhou shu* by groupings within that collection and against a “core” identified by modern scholars.

In the second part of the study, I explore in detail problems of interpreting the text’s contextualizing opening sequence. These problems are evident in disputes of the commentarial tradition, but they emerge equally from variants in the text, and the

⁸ Representative of the non-*Qunshu* version is the *Sibu beiyao* version, which is referred to most often in the appended translation.

demands of textual reconstruction. I consider the use of formulae—in particular “Rui Bo *ruo*-said” — in tandem with these interpretive problems.

The last part of the study examines the language, form, and content of “Rui Liangfu,” with particular regard to concerns of the Chinese scholarship. The text is compared to a speech in “Pan geng” — one of the few pre-imperial *shu* documents that presents a dramatic, incantatory speech in rhyming tetrasyllables. The challenge to kingly authority that “Rui Liangfu” presents is found wholly absent from the transmitted *Shang shu*. “Rui Liangfu,” while presenting both classical and pre-classical language, shows all signs of having a pre-imperial—and perhaps pre-classical origin.

4.2 Transmission of the *Yi Zhou shu*

One primary source for the study of “Rui Liangfu” is the version of the *Yi Zhou shu* now preserved in several editions transmitted in China. In these versions, the work comprised seventy-one *pian*, the last of which is a preface. Of those, fifty-nine are still

extant, and forty-two of these contain the commentary attributed to Kong Zhao.

Early bibliographic records of the *Yi zhou shu* refer to the text simply as the *Zhou shu* 周書 (*Zhou Documents*), not to be confused with the identically named section of the *Shang shu* 尚書 (Revered Documents). The *Zhou shu* is recorded under the *Documents* heading in Liu Xiang’s *Liu yi lue* 六藝略 (Outline of the six arts), preserved in the opening sections of the *Han shu* “Yiwenzhi,” and reserved primarily for the most revered Confucian classics and associated commentaries. The earliest use of the name *Yi Zhou shu* seems to have arisen contemporary to Xu Shen 許慎 (25-189 BCE), whose *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 contains numerous references to the text as the *Yi Zhou shu*. It seems that Xu Shen’s use of the term *yi* 逸 (lost) indicates simply that these documents had gone missing from some place they belonged. The “Yiwenzhi” itself merely records the *Zhou shu* as a book of “Historical records of the Zhou” in seventy-one chapters,⁹ but a comment attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE), by the Sui-Tang scholar Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645) says that the seventy-one chapters “must be the rest 餘 of the

⁹ Seventy-one chapters almost certainly includes the *Zhou shu xu* (Sequential contents of the Zhou shu; “preface”), currently chapter 71.

hundred documents that Confucius discussed” 蓋孔子所論百篇之餘也¹⁰ Seventy one documents plus the twenty-eight or twenty-nine of the *Shang shu* would make one hundred chapters. Li Xueqin has recently suggested that the term *yi* in this early context simply means that the collection was not accompanied by an established commentarial tradition.¹¹ For this reason, however, some of its contents may have come under suspicion. At some point there arose the idea that the documents might not have been innocently “lost,” but were rather the chaff that remained after Confucius redacted the *shu* to create the revered *Shang Shu* canon.

This impression seems to have coalesced more thoroughly in the *Sui shu* 隋書, a work compiled under the supervision of Wei Zheng 魏徵 and completed in 636 CE. The “Jing ji zhi” 經籍志 bibliography records a *Zhou shu* in ten *juan* that is glossed as

¹⁰ *Han shu yiwenzhi*, “Liu yi lue, *shu*” (Record of arts and letters; *shu* documents): “*Zhou shu*, seventy-one *pian*; Historical records of the Zhou. [Yan] Shigu says: “Liu Xiang comments: ‘Proclamations, oaths, and commands from Zhou times. Must be the rest of Confucius’s hundred *Shu* documents.’ Forty-five chapters are currently extant.” 《漢書·藝文志·六藝略·書》：周書七十一篇。周史記。師古曰：「劉向云『周時誥誓號令也，蓋孔子所論百篇之餘也。』今之存者四十五篇矣。」 Ban Gu (漢)班固 ed., Yan Shigu (唐)顏師古 ann., Wang Xianqian ed., ann., *Han shu buzhu* 漢書補注, (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1986), 1705.

¹¹ Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Qinghua Jian Yu Shangshu Yi Zhou Shu Yanjiu 清華簡與尚書逸周書研究,” *Shixueshi Yanjiu* 史學史研究 142, no. 2 (2011): 104-9.

“books from the *Ji zhong* 汲冢 (the tomb at Ji commandery), which must be what was left over 餘 when Confucius redacted the *Shu*.”¹² This and subsequent bibliographies often refer to the text by the dubious title of *Ji zhong Zhou shu*,¹³ a name that may have stuck because it served to differentiate the text not only from the identically named section of the *Shang shu*, but from its other namesake, the official history of the Western Wei 西魏 and Northern Zhou 北周 dynasties, also entitled *Zhou shu* 周書, also revised under the same imperial initiative as the *Sui shu*, and completed in the same year, 636 CE.

In imperial bibliographies following the *Sui shu*, the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old Book of Tang) records only a *Zhou shu* in eight *juan* with a Kong Zhao commentary; in the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New Tang History), compiled in the Song dynasty, a ten-*juan* version

¹² 《隋書·經籍志·雜史》周書十卷。汲冢書，似仲尼刪書之餘。 *Sui shu* “Jing ji zhi; za shi” (Sui shu record of canons and books; assorted histories) *Zhou shu*, ten *juan*. Wei Zheng (唐)魏徵等撰, *Sui Shu* (Song ke dixiu ben) 隋書 宋刻遞修本, ed. Yang Jialuo 楊家駱主編 (Taipei: Ding wen shu ju, 1980), 959. The *Jizhong* site was most likely exhumed around 279 CE; for a detailed account see E. L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), ch 3.

¹³ For the argument that there is little basis for relating the content of the *Yi Zhou shu* to the Jizhong tomb discoveries, see Huang Peirong 黃沛榮, “Zhou Shu Yanjiu 周書研究” (National Taiwan University, 1976), ch. 2; Shaughnessy [forthcoming]. Cf. Luo Jiaxiang 羅家湘, *Yi zhou shu yanjiu* 逸周书研究, 1st ed., (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006). Luo regards *Qifu* 器服, ch. 70, as the *qiance* 遣冊 grave inventory from the Jizhong text, as does Zhang Huaitong, 96.

re-appears—this time explicitly called the *Jizhong Zhou shu*—accompanied by an eight *juan* version of the text containing the Kong Zhao commentary.¹⁴ As we will see below, despite the Kong Zhao commentary’s absence from the *Sui shu* bibliography, a text with the Kong Zhao commentary was undoubtedly available in Wei Zheng’s milieu.

Following the Tang, the texts of the *Yi Zhou shu* suffered neglect, and many of the transmitted chapters contain lacunae and errors that make them difficult to read and understand. Although most of the extant editions of the *Yi Zhou shu* probably stem primarily from a single Yuan print edition from 1356,¹⁵ the most useful of these and the one most frequently consulted in this study is the *Sibu bei yao* (hereafter SBBY) edition, a print version based on Lu Wenchao’s 盧文弨 (1717-1796) collative efforts, preserved in the 1786 *Baojingtang congshu* 抱經堂叢書 edition.¹⁶ We can credit Lu Wenchao and a

¹⁴ *Jiu Tang shu*: “Yiwenzhi: zashilei” 藝文志·雜史類 in Liu Xu 劉昫, Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 (ed.), *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981), 1993. 「《周書》八卷，孔晁注」。

Xin Tang shu: “Yiwenzhi: zashilei” 藝文志·雜史類 in Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, Song Qi 宋祁, Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 (ed.), *Xin Tang shu*, (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981), 1463. 「《汲冢周書》十卷。孔晁注《周書》八卷。」

¹⁵ The Yuan edition is the 至正十四年嘉興路學宮刊本, based on a Song 1222 宋嘉定十五年丁黼 print edition, that in turn stems from two Song manuscript editions. See Huang, *Zhushi* introduction and chart, p. 74.

¹⁶ For details on this and other editions, see the introduction to the translation, appendix 4.

number of other Qing scholars for their efforts to reconstruct and make sense of the *Yi Zhou shu*, but there are still a number of corrupt and missing passages in the transmitted text.

4.3 Reconstructing “Rui Liangfu” with the *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要

4.3.1 *Qunshu* and non-*Qunshu* versions are both necessary for reconstruction

The *Qunshu zhiyao* was compiled at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, commissioned by Tang Taizong 唐太宗, and completed in 631 CE, under the direction of Wei Zheng.¹⁷ By the Southern Song dynasty, however, bibliographic records indicate that only scrolls eleven through twenty of the original fifty were extant in China; the “*Yiwen zhi*” (Records of Arts and Letters) bibliography of the *Song shi* (History of the Song), which records ten scrolls, is the last trace of the text in China prior to its return from Japan.¹⁸

¹⁷ Ozaki, 123.

¹⁸ See Poon Ming Kay 潘銘基, “Ribei pingan shidai jiutiao jia ben qunshu zhiyao yanjiu 日藏平安時代九条家本《群書治要》研究,” *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 (67), 2018.7, 2, and Wang

The *Qunshu zhiyao* seems to have entered Japan roughly in eighth or ninth century,¹⁹ and it eventually made its way back to China in 1796, where it was first published in Ruan Yuan’s 阮元 *Wan wei bie cang* 宛委別藏.²⁰ The base text for all *Qunshu* editions that contain *Yi Zhou shu* material derive ultimately from the Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫 manuscript, a facsimile of which was published in 1989.²¹

Much of what is preserved in the *Qunshu zhiyao* consists merely of excerpts from earlier books, which often amount to a few lines or a short pericope. Occasionally, however, as is the case with “Rui Liangfu,” longer excerpts are preserved. In addition to “Rui Liangfu,” The *Qunshu* contains excerpts from two other *Yi zhou shu* chapters, the “Wen zhuan” 文傳 and “Guan ren” 官人 chapters, but it preserves only about a fourth

Yinlin 王應麟 *Yu hai* 玉海 (Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1964)juan 54, p. 29 (upper register), apud Poon. The Northern Song *Xin tangshu* 新唐書 “Yiwenzhi” 藝文志, is the last to record the complete fifty scrolls. According to the *Yu Hai*, fragments of the Southern Song *Zhongxing guange shumu* 中興館閣書目 are the first evidence the text was becoming lost, with only scrolls 11-20 remaining.

¹⁹ Ozaki, 121.

²⁰ See appendix 4 for more details on the textual transmission of *Qunshu zhiyao* editions.

Ozaki, “Gunshochiyō kaidai” 群書治要解題 apud. Poon, p.3, claims that the *Tenmei* edition arrived in China in 1796, during the inaugural year of the Jiaqing emperor.

²¹ Gi Chō (Wei Zheng) 魏徵 ed., Ozaki Yasushi 尾崎 康, and Kobayashi Yoshinori 小林 芳規 ann., *Gunsho chiyō* (*Qunshu zhiyao*) 群書治要, v. 1. Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin, 1989-.

of the former and less than one eighth of the latter.²² In contrast to these, the “Rui Liangfu” chapter in the *Qunshu* is almost complete, containing more than three fourths of the text as reconstructed by this study. The non-*Qunshu* version contains slightly more—some ninety percent of the reconstructed text,²³ but neither version is complete, and while both versions of the text have difficult sections where the text is corrupt, either text provides a more or less complete narrative arc. The relative completeness of the *Qunshu* version of “Rui Liangfu” makes it an unusual and especially fortunate discovery.

The two versions of “Rui Liangfu” can be used to supplement one another in places where one or the other simply does not make good sense. In addition to numerous loci at which a previously unreadable sentence in the one version is rendered decipherable by an additional word or variant graph from the other version, both the *Qunshu* and

²² The *Wen zhuan* 文傳 chapter has 143 graphs in the *Qunshu* version and 539 in the SBBY; the *Guan ren* 官人 chapter has 195 graphs preserved in the *Qunshu* and 1687 in the SBBY. This study has not reconstructed the texts, so they are expressed as a fraction of the extant, non-*Qunshu* version; the non-*Qunshu* versions these two chapters may be missing text that was in Kong Zhao’s text, as is the case with the “Rui Liangfu.”

²³ The reconstructed text is 497 characters; the SBBY version is 448; the QSZY has 385 characters, or 77% of the reconstructed text.

non-*Qunshu* versions of the text each contain significant phrases or passages that are entirely missing from the other: three significant parts of the reconstructed text are preserved exclusively in the *Qunshu* versions; four parts are preserved only in the non-*Qunshu* version. A chart of these major lacunae, consisting of one or more phrases, is found in the table below.

Table 4.1 Major lacunae in the “Rui Liangfu” chapter

Lines	#Graphs	Text found only in	Corresponding Kong Comment present in
1-3	12	<i>Qunshu</i>	neither ²⁴
34-36	12	<i>Qunshu</i>	<i>Qunshu</i>
41-44	13	Non- <i>Qunshu</i>	non- <i>Qunshu</i>
50-53	22	<i>Qunshu</i>	both
62-77	76? ²⁵	Non- <i>Qunshu</i>	non- <i>Qunshu</i>
101-104	16	Non- <i>Qunshu</i>	non- <i>Qunshu</i>
111-112	8	Non- <i>Qunshu</i>	non- <i>Qunshu</i> ²⁶

4.3.2 Both recensions derive from a Kong Zhao text

²⁴ If lines 1-3 were part of Kong Zhao’s version, it would probably have warranted explication, although no comment is preserved in the QSZY.

²⁵ The non-*Qunshu* version here uses empty box symbols to indicate two characters are missing in this sequence, but since the size of the lacunae that are estimated elsewhere in non-*Qunshu* version by such symbols does not agree with the length that can be supplemented by the *Qunshu* version, it is not possible to determine exactly how many characters might actually be missing here.

²⁶ The commentary preserved at this locus seems corrupt.

In addition to containing the core text, both the *Qunshu* and non-*Qunshu* versions of the text contain the embedded Kong Zhao commentary, and while the majority of these comments are the same in both versions, each version also preserves comments that are lost from the other.²⁷ In two such cases, text missing from the non-*Qunshu* versions is also accompanied by embedded lines of Kong Zhao commentary, which shows that the non-*Qunshu* versions are missing significant passages that were part of an earlier Kong Zhao text. Despite the tendency of commentaries to fix and canonize a text, significant deviations seem to have arisen in both texts after the embedment of the Kong Zhao commentary; lacunae seem to be primarily the result of faulty transmission, by way of recopying, or due to damage to manuscripts that occurred subsequent to the embedment of Kong Zhao’s commentary.

Not all chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* actually contain Kong Zhao’s commentary but all

²⁷ A Kong Zhao comment present only in the *Qunshu* versions is inserted at line 36. Comments present only in the non-*Qunshu* versions are inserted after lines 44, 63, 65, 67, 73, 77, 104, 112. Comments preserved in both versions are found after lines 11, 16, 18, 25, 28, 30, 33, 40, 48, 53, 61, 81, 85, 90, and 108. The fact that the Kong commentary is present in both the SBBY and *Qunshu* versions of “Wen zhuan” and “Rui Liangfu” and absent from both versions of the “Guan ren” supports the conclusion that the comment inserted at line 36 in the *Qunshu* is indeed just part of the Kong Zhao commentary.

non-*Qunshu* chapters (excepting the final *Xu* 序 commentary chapter) did become appended with the character *jie* 解, regardless of whether they had been commented or not. Of the three chapters excerpted in the *Qunshu zhiyao*, both “Rui Liangfu” and “Wen Zhuan” contain commentary, whereas “Guan ren” does not. This accords with the presence of commentary in the non-*Qunshu* lineage *Yi Zhou shu*. In the *Qunshu zhiyao*, the character *jie* 解 is appended to the titles “Rui Liangfu” and “Wen zhuan” but not to “Guan ren.” This differs from non-*Qunshu* versions, which all have appended *jie* indiscriminately, regardless of whether they contain commentary or not, but it agrees with the chapter names preserved in another text recovered from Japan, the *Shi lue* 史略 (Synopsis of Histories), in which “Guan ren,” is one of fourteen chapters that has no *jie* appended to its title.²⁸ Thus we can deduce that the *Qunshu* lineage of “Rui Liangfu” may have avoided some of the clumsier attempts to unify or redact the *Yi Zhou shu*, such as those that appended *jie* indiscriminately to all the chapters in the non-*Qunshu* versions.

²⁸ Li Shaoping, 2001, apud Grebnev, “The Core Chapters of the *Yi zhou shu*,” 16-18.

It is hard to know for certain whether the extracts found in the *Qunshu zhiyao* were taken from a single edition or copied from two manuscripts.²⁹ Wei Zheng’s *Sui shu* records only a ten *juan* version, while the *Jiu Tang shu* records an eight *juan* version with Kong Zhao’s commentary, but if there is any time during which two versions might have been available to Wei Zheng and those who compiled the *Qunshu zhiyao*, one would expect it to be during his time. Indeed, the fact that Kong Zhao’s commentary is included in the *Qunshu* extracts of the *Zhou shu* for the “Rui Liangfu” and “Wen zhuan” chapters (and missing from both versions of “Guan ren”) would seem to be definitive proof that Wei Zheng or his team of compilers had access to a Kong Zhao text, even though it was not listed in the *Sui shu* bibliography.

The *Qunshu* versions of the “Rui Liangfu” and “Wen zhuan” chapters sometimes omit comments, consistent with the *Qunshu*’s tendency to excerpt parts of the text. With few exceptions, where a comment is preserved in both texts, we find it interpolated at

²⁹ Yegor Grebnev suggests that “a recension containing commented and uncommented chapters already existed in the early seventh century AD when the *Qunshu zhiyao* was composed.” Grebnev, (diss.), 17.

the same point.³⁰ This demonstrates at the very least that copyists agreed on the punctuation of the text, and substantiates the claim above that the *Qunshu* and non-*Qunshu* texts both stem from editions that already contained an embedded Kong Zhao commentary, precisely like the eight *juan* version noted in the *Jiu Tang shu* bibliography. Furthermore, if the two (*Qunshu* and non-*Qunshu*) versions of “Rui Liangfu” do indeed stem from the same eight *juan* Kong Zhao text in the Tang, the divergence we see in the two texts is entirely due to post-Tang aberrances of transmission. Since this seems the most likely scenario, comparison of variance in the two “Rui Liangfu” versions provides a valuable litmus test for the extent to which transmitted *Yi Zhou shu* chapters have been shaped by post-Tang processes.

³⁰ It should be noted that the consistency of insertion is not entirely without exception. Of a total of nineteen comments in the reconstructed “Rui Liangfu” present in both *Qunshu* and non-*Qunshu* versions of the text, fifteen comments present in both versions of the text are found inserted at exactly the same place; two comments to passages found in both versions are omitted from the *Qunshu* version. One comment is inserted in two slightly different places in the two versions of the text. See lines 55 and 56 in appendix 4; a number of other variants occur at this locus, which suggests that the insertion variant may be a result of damage to the manuscript. The reconstructed “Wen zhuan” chapter contains a total of seven comments, of which five are comments to passages found in both versions. Of these five, two are omitted from the *Qunshu* versions; two are present in both versions; and one is inserted differently in the two versions. In one case, a comment found only in the SBBY version responds to a line found only in the *Qunshu* version.

4.4 Authoritative texts and the reception of “Rui Liangfu”

4.4.1 “Rui Liangfu” as venerated or remnant text

In most studies of the *Yi Zhou shu*, it is almost impossible to separate appraisals of the provenance and date of authorship from appraisals of authenticity and value. This problem coalesces most consequentially in the moment that value judgments about the origin of the *Yi Zhou shu* become tied to the legend of Confucius’s redaction, or from the moment that *yi* 逸 took on the meaning of “remnant.” Much before this, however,

Mencius expressed his doubts about the veracity of some of the *shu* documents:

孟子曰：「盡信《書》，則不如無《書》。吾於《武成》，取二三策而已矣。仁人無敵於天下。以至仁伐至不仁，而何其血之流杵也？」

Mencius said: To believe everything in the *shu* is worse than there being no *shu*; in *Wu cheng* 武成, I accept only two or three slips [of the whole scroll]. The benevolent man goes unchallenged in the world—how could staves drifting in [rivers of] blood result when the most benevolent campaigned against the most malevolent?³¹

In Mencius’s ideal history, King Wu was benevolent and his conquest of the evil King Zhou of Shang must have occurred via bloodless surrender. But as told by the text

³¹ *Mencius* 7B.3

Mencius refers to, now preserved in the *Yi Zhou shu* as the “Shifu” 世俘 chapter, hundreds of thousands were killed in the conquest, many of whom were ritually sacrificed.³² For Mencius, an abiding faith in the benevolence of the Zhou founders carries more authority than written records of their deeds. Assuming (as the text is translated above) that Mencius is speaking figuratively about accepting (literally “taking”) only three slips, then his critical stance at once recognizes and challenges the authority of writing; it reveals the very impulse to redact, but it also suggests that the impulse was restrained by the form and authority that the *shu* took; Mencius disbelieved the *Wucheng*, but he probably did not do violence to the corpus that he deemed at least partly authoritative.³³

The specific forms that *shu* took in Mencius’s lifetime, and the manner in which “Rui Liangfu” circulated prior to the *Yi Zhou shu* is more difficult to ascertain than that of the *Wucheng*, due in part to “Rui Liangfu”’s relatively meager *literatim* intertextual

³² See Edward L. Shaughnessy, “‘New’ Evidence on the Zhou Conquest,” *Early China* 6 (1981): 55–79.

³³ Shaughnessy 1981, 5-6; the authentic *Wucheng* text was clearly known by both Liu Xin and Wang Chong in the Western Han, and probably did not disappear until the E. Han.

borrowing with other texts. Perhaps the very first clue about the chapter’s reception is also part of the story of its transmission: it was never part of the twenty-eight chapter *Shang shu*. One may merely speculate that this is due to its striking portrayal of ministerial authority, but we have no clear commentarial pronouncements like that Mencius made about the *Wucheng/Shifu*.³⁴

The next significant clue about the reception of “Rui Liangfu” comes at the juncture in transmission between the *Qunshu* and non-*Qunshu* versions of the text. While *zhiyao* implies the “essentials” of government, not all essentials are created equal: extracts from the *Yijing*, followed by other Confucian canons, form the head of the collection; wisdom from the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子, in contrast, is deposited at the tail end. If the *Qunshu* is chronological, at least the *Yi Zhou shu* is regarded as authentically old, and at least morally exemplary enough for extraction in a book of political wisdom.

Wei Zheng is associated with the compilation of both the *Qunshu zhiyao* and the *Sui*

³⁴ On the tendency of excavated, preimperial texts to advocate greater ministerial authority than texts of the transmitted tradition see Sarah Allan, *Buried Ideas* (New York: SUNY Press 2015).

shu, but these two books classify the *Yi Zhou shu* quite differently: the *Qunshu zhiyao*, following the the *Hanshu* “Yiwenzhi,” calls the book *Zhou shu* and places it in a conspicuously peri-canonical spot between the Confucian ritual canons and the *Guoyu* 國語; the *Sui shu* bibliography, as with all later bibliographies, calls it the *Yi Zhou shu* and relegates it to the realm of *za shi* 雜史 (assorted histories) that are neither official nor canonical. Thus, in Wei Zheng’s immediate context two critical views of the *Yi Zhou shu* are evident: in the *Qunshu zhiyao* it is among the leaders of the “flock of books”; in the *Sui Shu* bibliography it is leftover material of questionable authority and/or authenticity. The text’s relative placement in these bibliographic pecking orders might have to do with the perceived authenticity of the “Rui Liangfu” chapter in particular, especially since it is the only “essential” that presents an *Yi Zhou shu* chapter in nearly complete form.³⁵ If the Tang compilers of the *Qunshu* considered the *Yi Zhou shu* to contain authentic (or authentically early) material alongside material that is less authentic (or simply later), then placing it in the peri-canonical position it occupies in

³⁵ If one assumes the “Rui Liangfu” to have been accorded particular value among *Yi Zhou shu* chapters by the editors of the *Qunshu zhiyao*, one would also have to explain how the *Wenzhuan* and *Guanren* chapters would have been critically received.

the *Qunshu*'s internal hierarchy would make perfect sense.

Wei Zheng was probably neither the first nor last to suspect that “Rui Liangfu” might belong toward the center of the canonical flock. Zhuang Shuzu 莊述祖 (1751-1816), in his *Shang shu ji* 尚書記 and *Shang shu jiaoyi* 尚書校逸, treated several *Yi Zhou shu* chapters as lost texts of the *Shang shu*.³⁶ These overlap significantly with the chapters others have identified as early chapters, and include “Rui Liangfu” “Zhai Gong,” and five other chapters.³⁷ Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794-1857) also treated these two chapters as lost chapters of the *Shang shu*.³⁸

The earliest systematic attempt to classify the chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* is Tang Dapei's 1836 *Yi zhou shu fen bian ju shi* 逸周書分編句釋,³⁹ which divides chapters into

³⁶ Zhuang Shuzu 莊述祖 (1751-1816) *Shang shu ji*; 尚書記 (seven *juan*), and *Shang shu jiao yi* 尚書校逸 (two *juan*), imprint 光緒 25 年 [1899] *Jiangyin mou shi* 江陰繆氏校刊本 edition; Huang Peirong, 11.

³⁷ The chapters are #43 “Shang shi,” 商誓, #44 “Du yi” 度邑, #49 “Huang men” 皇門, #60 “Zhai Gong” 祭公, # 63 “Rui Liangfu” 芮良夫, # 56 “Chang mai” 嘗麥, and 40 “Shi fu” 世俘.

³⁸ Wei Yuan 魏源, *Shu Gu Wei* 書古微, vol. 2, *Wei Yuan Quan Ji* 魏源全 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2004), 368, 371. Colophon 1855 (咸豐五年). Wei suggests that Rui Liangfu wrote “Rui Liangfu” before the interregnum, and *Sang rou* 桑柔 after.

³⁹ Tang Dapei 唐大沛, *Yi Zhou shu fen bian zhu shi* 逸周書分編句釋 [Colophon 1836 清道光十六年] (rpt. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shu ju, 1969).

three grades on the basis of perceived textual integrity and authenticity.⁴⁰ Tang puts both the “Rui Liangfu” and “Zhai Gong” chapters in the top grade, among chapters that “all follow in the cart tracks of the twenty-six chapter *jinwen Shang shu*” 與今文尚書二十六篇悉同軌轍.⁴¹ “*Jinwen*” in this formulation implies authenticity, and Rui Liangfu” is “certainly a work from the Earl of Rui’s own hand” 必出芮伯之手,⁴² a conviction that Wei Yuan and others also held. Tang differs from Zhuang and Wei in that he doesn’t imply that the “Rui Liangfu” chapter is literally a chapter of the *Shang shu*. Such claims are not merely arguments about facts; they are equally critical appraisals of the text’s value.

4.4.2 The “core” derives authority from a body of prior literature

In the modern era, scholars have found value of some sort in all chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*, and have expanded the systematized study that Tang began, primarily by

⁴⁰ See Tang, *fan li* 凡例 (reader’s guide), p. 3, also reproduced in Huang Huaixin et al., 1225-6. The grades are *shang bian* 上編, *zhong bian* 中編 and *xia bian* 下編 (top, middle, and lower grades, respectively).

⁴¹ Tang, 4; also in Huang Huaixin et al., 1225.

⁴² Tang, 117.

articulating and refining a rubric for identifying “core” (*zhuti* 主體) chapters that probably reflect the intellectual community in which the *Yi Zhou shu* first coalesced as a book. In the first of these, Huang Peirong focuses largely on linguistic and rhetorical features of the text,⁴³ placing the core in contrast to “Rui Liangfu,” and other chapters that predate the core.⁴⁴ While Huang dismisses the claims of Zhuang Shuzu and Wei Yuan as unreliable or worse,⁴⁵ his rubric preserves much of the grouping of these prior studies (and Tang’s). While estimates differ as to exactly when the “Rui Liangfu” might have been composed, as the Table 4.2 below demonstrates, the grouping of these “older” texts is relatively consistent.

⁴³ Huang, ch. 3.

⁴⁴ By Huang’s account, these include the following: # 36 *Ke Yin* 克殷; #40 *Shi fu* 世俘; #43 *Shang shi* 商誓; #60 *Zhai gong* 祭公; and #63 *Rui Liangfu* 芮良夫. See Huang Peirong, Ch. 8.

⁴⁵ Huang Peirong, 11.

Chapter 4: *Yi Zhou shu*, “Rui Liangfu”

Table 4.2 Modern classifications of *Yi Zhou shu* chapters presumed to be most ancient

	Chapter #	36	40	43	44	49	56	60	63
Dating		Ke Yin	Shi fu	Shang shi	Du yi	Huang men	Chang mai	Chai gong	Rui Liangfu
Zhuang, “Lost Chapters of the <i>Shang shu</i> ”			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Wei, “[lost] books of King Mu”								✓	✓
Tang, “in the cart tracks of the <i>Shang shu</i> ”					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Huang Peirong, “Earlier”		✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
Huang Huaixin, “W. Zhou” ^a			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Li Xueqin “W. Zhou”			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Zhou Yuxiu “Related to lost chapters of the <i>Shang shu</i> ”		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	⁴⁶
Zhang Huaitong “oldest” ^b		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Shaughnessy (forthcoming) “oldest”			✓			✓		✓	✓

^a Huang includes Ke Yin 克殷 among 22 additional chapters that he claims originate in the Western Zhou and were later emended, altered, or rewritten. See Huang, *Yi Zhou shu jiaobu zhuyi*, 46-64, esp. pp. 63-4.

^b For Zhang’s conclusions see pp. 368-374. He regards “Zhai Gong” and “Rui Liangfu” as mid-late Western Zhou 西周中後期 works that have presumably been altered by Spring and Autumn and Warring States linguistic conventions (370). Zhang also argues that “Wang Hui” 王會 may have originated in the Western Zhou and been re-worked during the Warring States.

More recently Yegor Grebnev reevaluates Huang’s concept of the core by examining structural and contextualizing features. In so doing, he expands a line of inquiry that

⁴⁶ Zhou, 272. Zhou excludes “Rui Liangfu” and “Changmai” on the basis of their use of interrogative 安 and the pronoun 余 respectively.

Tang Dapei recognized but did not pursue in detail. Tang perceived the heterogeneity of the book, and in addition to discerning a group of early, authentic documents, identified chapters that “take the words of ancient militarists and present them as documents of kings Wen and Wu” or “use false narratives at the beginning and end to make labored attributions to the time of some king or other.”⁴⁷ What Tang perceived as spurious composites, Huang and Grebnev view as subjects of legitimate study, but both linguistic and structural analyses confirm the distinction in form that Tang notes between spurious composites and “authentic ancient documents” like the “Rui Liangfu.”

Since the concept of a “core” of chapters is a useful foil for identifying features that characterize “Rui Liangfu” and its ilk, it merits a slightly excursive look. “Da kai” 大開

⁴⁷ Tang, 3-4; Huang et al., 1225. “This book originally had authentic ancient documents that were complete; it has some that are slightly damaged; some that are already severely damaged; some that are collections of broken slips; some take the words of ancient militarists and present them as documents of kings Wen and Wu; some that use false narratives at the beginning and end to make labored attributions to the time of some king or other; and some that are already lost and have been fraudulently replaced by other documents. The genuine and forged are mixed together, the pure and impure a disunity. Truly there is no way other than to consider them separately— and therefore they are separated into the top, middle, and bottom groups.” 是書原本有真古書完具者，有稍殘缺者，有殘缺已甚者，有集斷簡而成者，有取古兵家言指為文武之書者，有偽敘首尾強屬之某王時者，有本篇已亡譾取他書以當之者。真贗相淆，純雜不一，誠不可不分別觀之也，故分為上編、中編、下編。

(Greater opening), by virtue of its brevity, makes a suitable example of the core:

“Da kai” 大開⁴⁸

B&S ‘14

1	維王二月既生魄	It was the king’s second month, after growing brightness. ⁴⁹		
	王在鄂	The king was at Feng,		
	立于少庭	And stood in the small courtyard.		
	兆墓（基）九開	He began the nine initiations,		
5	開厥後人	opening his posterity,		
	八儆五戒	with the eight alarms and five warnings.		
	八儆：	The eight alarms		
	一□旦于開	one: [...] day in initiation;	*[k] ^h səj	a
	二躬條九過	two: in your person, order the nine errors	*k ^w saj	A
10	三族修九禁	three: in your clan, cultivate the nine prohibitions		
	四無競維義	four: non-competition is righteous	*ŋ(r)aj-s	A
	五習用九教	five: employ the nine teachings as your practice.		
	六□用守備	six: employ [...] as your defense.		
	七足用九利	seven: employ the nine profits to satisfy [your needs].		
15	八寧用懷□	eight: embrace [...] to achieve peace.	?	
	五戒	The five warnings		
	一祗用謀宗	one: reverentially consult with ancestors,	*[ts] ^s uŋ	B
	二經內戒工	two: regulate your inner [chambers] and warn your workers	*k ^s oŋ	B
	三無遠親戚	three: do not keep relations at a distance	*s.t ^h siwk	C
20	四雕無薄□	four: in engraving use no thin [...] ⁵⁰	?	C?
	五禱無憂玉	five: in praying do not begrudge the use of jade. ⁵¹	*[ŋ](r)ok	C

⁴⁸ SBBY, *juan* 3, 2-3.

⁴⁹ As written, “the *po*-spirit having been born” 既生魄; here, 魄 *p^hsak is a sound loan for 霸 *p^hsak.

⁵⁰ Pan Zhen 潘振 has suggested that “Metal” 金 *k(r)[ə]m is the missing graph here; in Huang Huaixin et al., 215. “Wood” 木 *C.m^sok, however, would fit both the meaning and rhyme scheme perfectly.

⁵¹ Following Wang Yinzhi, collected in Huang Huaixin et al., p. 241, reading 憂 as 愛, meaning 吝惜.

Chapter 4: *Yi Zhou shu*, “Rui Liangfu”

及為人盡不足	Act urgently, as if no one’s needs are satisfied. ⁵²	*[ts]ok	C
王拜，	The King saluted [and said]:		
儆我後人	“Admonish our posterity:		
25 謀，競不可以藏	in consultations, competition cannot achieve good ends.		
戒後人其用汝謀	Warn posterity: would that you employ consultations.		
維宿不悉日不足	For the nights are not full and the days insufficient.”		

The details of the “nine practices” or the folly of the “nine errors,” may be opaque to the uninitiated, but the contextualizing sequences that bracket the chapter are familiar formulae from the early *gao* chapters: an opening sequence sets up a concrete time and place of utterance; a final sequence narrates the king’s concluding words. However, the main content of “Da kai” is non-narrative, in contrast to “Rui Liangfu” and dramatic speeches. Rather than an impassioned plea or command, the parts sandwiched into the middle of the text present a systematic, impersonal philosophy—a great point of contrast to the discursive, dramatic speeches found in “Rui Liangfu” and the paradigmatic *gao* chapters of the *Shang shu*. In many of the *Yi Zhou shu*’s core chapters, the lists of virtues or practices, which often rhyme even more regularly than they do here, tend to be multiple, lengthy, and found alongside other rhetorical features such as

⁵² Following Sun Yirang, collected in Huang et al., 214, reading 及 as 急.

anadiplosis.

Zhao Kuifu 趙逵夫 has called “Da kai” a chapter thus “dressed in shoes and a hat” 戴帽穿鞋; that is to say that the beginning and the end are appended sequences that do not match the middle, as is the case in many of the “core” chapters.⁵³ The question of whether the systematized content of the “core” derives principles from earlier *shu* writings, or merely borrows their authoritative appearance, is a question for broader study of the *Yi Zhou shu*. Nonetheless, it should be clear that these ordered philosophical systems were more persuasive when capped and shod in contextualizing narrative that mimicked established forms and evoked the authority of the early Zhou kings. In this view, the gestures to emulate paradigmatic *gao* literature primarily function as attractive packaging for the systematic thought contained in the core chapters. If Mencius’s claim to take “only two or three slips” of the *Wucheng* is meant figuratively, perhaps it was because he knew firsthand that stitching and cobbling two or three slips into a kingly “hat and shoes” (or crown and slippers, as it were) was just

⁵³ Zhao Kuifu 趙逵夫 *Gudian wenxianxue jiangyi* 古典文獻學講義, (Beijing: Renmin daxue chubanshe, 2002), 210 apud Zhou, 11.

one of many ways by which *shu* documents were authored and redacted in his lifetime.

“Rui Liangfu” lacks some of the specific features of contextualization present in some kingly announcements, such as an exact date and time of utterance, but it does employ a degree of contextualization that would be perfectly at home in the *Shang shu*. Moreover, the text’s archaic language, dramatic speech, discursive form, and lack of systematizing narrative have led the vast majority of interpreters to group “Rui Liangfu” (rightly, it would seem) with a group of chapters that stand in contrast to ostensibly later “core.” There is much consensus on the family resemblances that define how the “core” stands in contrast to the group of texts that are “older” or more stereotypical of *Shang shu* literature, but there are some differences in how studies date the “Rui Liangfu” in particular. Some assume it is a work contemporary or deriving directly from a historical “Rui Liangfu”;⁵⁴ others date the text to the *Chunqiu* or later.⁵⁵ The next sections will argue that the transmitted text reveals features characteristic of

⁵⁴ Examples include most premodern scholars, as well as Li Xuexin, Zhang Huaitong, and Huang Huaixin. See chart above.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Huang Peirong and Zhou Yuxiu.

disparate ages that complicate any effort to pinpoint the text’s creation in a discrete historical moment. To that end, the following sections will examine in detail the formulae, prosody, linguistic features, and intellectual content of the text; this, in turn, will provide a more nuanced account of the text and conclusions about its origin and textual life.

4.5 Setting the scene: Paratext, tone, and authority in “Rui Liangfu”

4.5.1 The disputed opening: Paratext or metatext?

Much of what has caused difficulty in interpreting the “Rui Liangfu” chapter arises prominently in the opening lines. In the *Sibu bei yao* edition, the chapter opens as follows:

芮伯若曰予小臣良夫稽道謀告...

Rui Bo *ruo*-said: I, Liangfu, your lesser servant, upon examining the Way, consultatively [*sic*] tell you:...⁵⁶

What follows this in all recensions is a long speech admonishing the King and his

⁵⁶ SBBY, *juan* 9, p. 1.

ministers. However, the directness and tone accorded that speech is highly dependent on the content and disputed interpretation of this opening section. The controversies include not merely the rendering and literal meaning of the opening line above, but also larger matters of authenticity, including whether or not it is the opening line, and indeed whether it reveals the hands of editors or forgers at work.

The “Rui Liangfu” chapter as constructed with the aid of the *Qunshu zhiyao* opens differently, with a preface-like introduction that contextualizes Rui Liangfu’s speech and explains its purpose and origin:

厲王失道芮伯陳誥作芮良夫

King Li had lost the Way; Rui Bo set forth his declaration, making “Rui Liangfu.” (Lines 1-3).

This opening sentence, akin in function to the opening paratext of the **Rui Liangfu bi* (ch.2) or the *xiaoxu* prefaces of *Shijing* poems (ch. 3), is found only in the *Qunshu zhiyao* versions of the text. Wang Niansun, among the first scholars who had access to the *Qunshu*, argued that the *Qunshu* opening was present in the *urtext*, citing several *Yi Zhou*

shu chapters that contain preface-like openings.⁵⁷ As Wang points out, this mode of narrative, wherein a text announces the circumstances of its own creation 作, is hardly unusual in *shu* texts.⁵⁸ On the other hand, this paratextual opening is identical in form to some of the “Houxu” 後序 pronouncements found in the last section of the *Yi Zhou shu*. In particular, it is of identical form to the last three entries, or what Yegor Grebnev has termed “type C” — the third group of three patterns in the *houxu* that may identify compositional layers.⁵⁹ It is worth noting that this sequence is different from that preserved in the “Houxu,” with the exception of the last four graphs, which are a

⁵⁷ Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜誌, (rpt. Jinlong shuju, 1870), v. 1, *juan* 4, 112-113. Wang lists the openings on the “Da kuang I” 大匡 (Ch.11), “Cheng dian” 程典 (Ch. 12), and “Shifa” 謚法 (Ch. 54). *Ibid*, 113. For example: “Da kuang I” 大匡 (Great Remedy): “It was the third year of the Zhou King’s residence at Cheng when he encountered a great crop failure, and made “Da kuang” to order governance at the borderland...” 維周王宅程三年，遭天之荒，作大匡以詔牧其方. SBBY *juan* 2, p.6. “Da kuang I” is to distinguish the chapter from chapter 37, which has the same name. Huang (*Jiaobu zhuyi*, 66) argues that this chapter should in fact be called “Wen kuang,” although the “Xu” says King Mu 穆王 is the proper subject.

⁵⁸ Such features are in fact so formulaic to texts in *shu* compendia that Yegor Grebnev uses them to classify the *Yi Zhou shu* chapters, yielding distinctions such as “larger scale background events,” “smaller-scale background events,” “alarming events,” etc. Unfortunately, Grebnev’s classification of “Rui Liangfu” as a chapter with “writing-based contextualization” rests entirely on the inclusion of this disputed line. The problem, however, emphasizes how crucial these opening lines can be in framing reader expectations about the text. Yegor Grebnev, “The Yi Zhou Shu and the Shangshu: The Case of Texts with Speeches,” in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)*, ed. Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer (Brill, 2017), 249-280.

⁵⁹ Grebnev dissertation, 18-27. The presence of such material at the front of “Rui Liangfu” may aid clarifying the relative dating of Grebnev’s proposed compositional stages of composition, p. 25. We know at least that paratextual (or metatextual, depending on the arrangement of sources) sequences of the type-c form were extant in the edition used to make the *Qunshu zhiyao*. Thanks to Ed Shaughnessy for pointing out the similarity of this phrasing to that in the *houxu* for *Qifu* 器服.

formula found in the pronouncement for each chapter. In Huang Huaixin’s translation of the text, for example, the opening is not emended according to the *Qunshu* versions.⁶⁰ Considering that there is no clear evidence that the line stems from Kong Zhao’s text,⁶¹ such an interpretation seems equally justified. Nevertheless, the *Qunshu* variant raises the questions of texts’ openness and form of circulation in the Sui-Tang. It is noteworthy that it is only in the “Rui Liangfu” excerpt in the *Qunshu zhiyao* that any sort of prefatory comment is preserved; the excerpts of the “Wen zhuan” and “Guan ren” do not preserve any such material, so appending commentarial material to the head of an excerpt is by no means an established practice of the *Qunshu* editors. It is possible that the text circulated in a form similar to the *Maoshi zhengyi*, in which *xu* commentary and text had become disposed on the same page (metatext had become paratext). If not, then at least we can say that the *Qunshu* editors felt free to conflate text and commentary—if indeed there was any distinction drawn between the two in their edition.

⁶⁰ See Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, *Yi Zhou Shu Jiao Bu Zhu Yi* 逸周書校補注譯 (Xi’an: San Qin chubanshe, 2006), 363. Huang et al do note the variant in *Yi Zhou xu hui jiao jishu*.

⁶¹ There is no similar prefatory statement to the other two *Yi Zhou shu* chapter excerpts that would indicate the sentence derives from a different version of the preface, nor is there any embedded Kong Zhao comment after this sentence, despite the fact that such opening lines almost always invite commentarial elaboration. Due to the fact that the *Qunshu zhiyao* tends to omit comments.

The corresponding “Houxu” comment in non-*Qunshu* versions reads as follows

芮伯稽古作訓納王于善暨執政小臣咸省厥躬作芮良夫

Rui Bo examined antiquity and made an instruction; so as to induce the king to goodness, and so that the officers and lesser nobles each reflect on themselves, [he] made “Rui Liangfu.”

A second problem with the opening lines of “Rui Liangfu” is that in the *Sibu beiyao* reading, Rui Bo’s authority seems to derive from an ancient, authoritative Way (and King Li’s failure to follow it). In the *Qunshu* version, Rui Liangfu “bows his head to the ground and respectfully declares” 稽首謹告 his warning to the king. To kowtow and to claim the moral authority of the Way make for two quite distinct, if not irreconcilable openings:

SBBY	予小臣良夫稽道謀告	I, Liangfu, your lesser servant, examine the Way, and consultatively [<i>sic</i>] tell you:… ⁶²
QSZY	余小臣良夫稽首謹誥	I, Liangfu, your lesser servant, touch my head to the ground and respectfully declare to you:… ⁶³
SL	予小臣良夫稽首謀告	I Liangfu, your lesser servant, touch my head to the ground and consultatively [<i>sic</i>] tell you:… ⁶⁴

⁶² SBBY *juan* 9, p.1.

⁶³ GSCY, 468; CSZY *juan* 8.

⁶⁴ Gao Sisun 高似孫, *Shilüe* 史略, in *Gu yi congshu* 古逸叢書 (imprint, 1884), v.20, *juan* 5.

In addition to the *Qunshu* and *Sibu beiyao* versions, another long-lost Japanese manuscript preserves the line as Gao Sisun 高似孫 (1158-1231) recorded it in his *Shilüe* 史略 (“SL” above), wherein it accords with the *Qunshu* version. Better evidence for how to read the binome are some eleven other occurrences of the compound 稽首 in the *Yi Zhou shu*, and sixteen more in the *jinwen* chapters of the *Shang shu*, as compared to zero occurrences of *ji dao* 稽道. Considering that “touch [one’s] head to the ground” 稽首 is an attested binome, it seems almost entirely clear that a copyist has gone wrong somewhere.

Nevertheless, there are reasons that a copyist would have gone wrong, and they help illustrate larger problems of understanding Rui Liangfu’s authority. First, the “Zhou Shu xu” 周書序 (Sequential contents of the *Zhou shu*; “preface”), reads the graph *qi* 稽 (kowitz) as *ji* 稽 (to examine):

芮伯稽古作訓納王于善暨執政小臣咸省厥躬作芮良夫

Rui Bo examined antiquity and made an instruction; so as to induce the king to goodness, and so that the officers and lesser nobles each reflect on themselves, [he] made “Rui Liangfu.”

Rui Liangfu’s having “examined antiquity” 稽古—a binome that comes up repeatedly

in *shu* documents is hard to distinguish from having “examined the Way” 稽道, considering the unspoken presumption that the Way prevailed only in ancient times. So a reader primed by the preface might reasonably expect Rui Liangfu’s authority to stem from knowledge of the Way.

Reading the “xu” together with the opening lines of the text also highlights the larger problem of how one might categorize speech in the “Rui Liangfu”: in making the *xun* “instruction” 訓 of the preface, setting forth the *gao* 誥 (declaration; announcement) of the *Qunshu* opening, and presenting the *mou* 謀 (consultation), or *mou gao* 謀告 (consultative announcement [sic]), of the *Sibu beiyao* reading,⁶⁵ the opening suggests at least three different categories of authoritative speech common in *shu* documents. While it is mistaken to read the chapter’s opening expressly as a list of genres, the evocative use of critical vocabulary raises the question of what sort of speech Rui Liangfu is positioned to make in “Rui Liangfu.” Some of these critical terms

⁶⁵ Wang Sinian has suggested that the reading of *mougao* 謀告 “doesn’t make sense,” see Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜誌, rpt. Jinlong shuju 金陵書局重刊 1870 同治庚午十一月 *juan* 4, 114. It is also the case that from the standpoint of collocation, neither *jingao* nor *mougao* are well-attested.

coalesce in other *shu* documents, for example in the *Pan geng I* 盤庚上 chapter, where the king prepares his announcement. That text opens:

王若曰：「格汝眾，予告汝訓：

The king *ruo*-said: “Come, all of you; I will announce my instruction to you.”

Here the terms *gao* (announce) and *xun* (instruction) collocate with the formula of kingly announcement, *Wang ruo yue* 王若曰, a prefatory formula and salient marker of authoritative, royal speech. And so the second reason that a copyist might have gone wrong, having imagined Rui Liangfu as speaking with the authority of the ancient Way 稽道, with no particular need to kowtow 稽首, is because in “Rui Liangfu,” the monologue is prefaced by a variation of this formula reserved almost exclusively for kingly announcements and commands.

4.5.2 “The Earl of Rui *ruo*-said”

All witnesses of the “Rui Liangfu” agree on the presence of the phrase “the Earl of Rui *ruo*-said” 芮伯若曰. The more familiar formula, *Wang ruo yue* 王若曰 has been read as “the king approved of saying,” “the king seemingly said,” “the king spoke with godly

approval,” or “the king thusly spoke,” among other readings.⁶⁶ It usually precedes a command, conferral, or other speech act, and is particularly prominent in the *gao* chapters of the *Shang shu*, wherein the early Zhou kings use it to speak with unmistakable authority. This kingly authority is shared with the Duke of Zhou in his role as regent, as seen in some seven cases in the *Shang shu*, but in each case he seems to be speaking on behalf of the king, as regent.⁶⁷

The opening of “Rui Liangfu” is the only case in the *Yi Zhou shu* of anyone other than the king *ruo*-saying anything; in the *Shang shu*, *ruo yue* 若曰 is used almost exclusively by kings and by the Duke of Zhou acting as regent. In nearly every case, *ruo yue* marks authoritative speech acts; it never marks supplicative pleas. This fact complicates the interpretation of “the Earl of Rui *ruo*-said,” by violating reader

⁶⁶ The literature on this is extensive. For an overview of prior scholarship, and the claim that the scope of the term is primarily to indicate quoted speech, see Zhang Huaitong 张怀通, “‘Wang ruo yue’ xin shi ‘王若曰’新释,” *Lishi yanjiu* 2008.2, 182–88 (also reprinted in Zhang 2013, 61-73). Other important works include: Dong Zuobin 董作宾 “Wang ruo yue gu yi” 王若曰古義 *Shuowen yuekan* 1944.4, 327-333; Chen Mengjia 陈梦家, “Wang ruo yue kao,” 王若曰考 in *Shang shu tong lun* 尚書通論 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 163-189; Yu Shengwu 于省吾 “Wang ruo yue shiyi” 王若曰釋義 *Zhongguo yuwen* 中國語文, 1966.2, 147-9.

⁶⁷ Chen, “Wang ruo yue kao,” 185. The chapters are *Shao gao* 召誥, *Luo gao* 洛誥, *Duo shi* 多士, *Wu yi* 無逸, *Jun shi* 君奭, *Duo fang* 多方, and *Li zheng* 立政.

expectations about Rui Liangfu’s role at court. Moreover, the phrase is often interpreted to indicate the live transcription of speech at court.⁶⁸ The Qing scholar Wei Yuan 魏源 argues that since the chapter was authored by Rui Liangfu, the third person narrative “*ruo*-said” must have been added by later, misguided editors.⁶⁹ Zhang Huaitong 張懷通, on the other hand, while sharing Wei Yuan’s conviction that the text originated directly from a historical Rui Liangfu, makes an entirely antithetical assertion about the provenance of the phrase “the Earl of Rui *ruo*-said,” presenting it as the key that dates

⁶⁸ The relationship between royal speech and writing is complicated. In broad terms, the king made speech acts that were documented in writing on bamboo *ce* 冊. In bronze documents, the phrase *ruo yue* 若曰 may indicate that scribes are transcribing royal speech in real time, although in some conferrals the *ce* may have been pre-written. The late Western Zhou *Song ding* 頌鼎, for example, shows the king conferring a title to someone named Song, and at the same time ordering a scribe to present a *ce* of the conferral. Zhang Huaitong assumes that the *ce* presented at Song’s conferral was prepared before the ceremony, and that the king’s speech (in this case *wang yue* 王曰—not *wang ruo yue* 王若曰) as recorded in the vessel inscription, records only the gist and not the exact words of that *ce*. Zhang 2008, 184. Zhang reads the king’s speech (*wang yue* 王曰...) in the *Song ding* (*Jicheng* 5.2827) as an oral explanation of what is written in the document; that is, he seems to assume that the document was prepared in advance (as per Chen Mengjia’s understanding), and the king’s speech now found in the *Song* vessels as merely an oral summary of the contents of the *ce* 冊命; if the *ce* were being recorded live, then Zhang presumes that *wang ruo yue* would open the speech.

⁶⁹ The Kong commentary glosses *ruo* 若 as *shun* 順 (compliant). Wei Yuan says: “This document was written by Rui Liangfu, so it shouldn’t say ‘*ruo*’—that was added by later scholars who erroneously added it in imitation of *wang ruo yue* in the *Shang shu*. Because the Kong commentary below has the term ‘*mou ruo*,’ which means they all obediently served, they call this ‘*ruo*-saying.’ Such forced words cannot be followed.” 此書芮良夫所作，不當稱若，此後人仿《尚書》“王若曰”妄增之也。孔注因下有“謀若”之語，謂其皆順事之詞，故稱“若曰”。勉強之詞，不可從 Wei Yuan 魏源, *Shu Gu Wei* 書古微, vol. 2, *Wei Yuan Quan Ji* 魏源全 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2004), p.371. [順事之詞 doesn’t mean “obediently served,” I think, but rather “speech pertinent to the business at hand.”]

the text precisely to Rui Liangfu’s historical moment in the late Western Zhou, an argument that will be considered further below.⁷⁰

Others have seen non-kingly uses of the *ruo-yue* formula, contra Zhang Huaitong, as specific evidence that a text is a poor imitation of Western Zhou conventions. Chen Mengjia 陳夢家 cites similar, non-kingly uses such as “Weizi *ruo*-said” 微子若曰 and “Fushi *ruo*-said” 父師若曰 in the *Shang shu* 尚書 as the especially inappropriate embellishments of *Chunqiu* era writers who no longer knew how the term was used in the Western Zhou.⁷¹ Yu Xingwu 于省吾 extends this same reasoning to “Rui Liangfu,” in particular.⁷² Normative understandings of the “correct” use of the formula, however, are based primarily on the language of kingly conferrals in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and commands in the *gao* and other chapters that are thought to originate

⁷⁰ Zhang *Yi Zhou shu xin yan*, 318.

⁷¹ Chen Mengjia 陳夢家, *Shang shu tong lun* 尚書通論 (Shanghai: Shang wu, 1957), p.188. These uses come in the *Weizi* 微子 chapter of the *Shang shu*. In regard to *Weizi*: “This is the imitative work of *Chunqiu* era “men of Song” (i.e. descendents of the Yin-Shang; also “blockheads”) who already misunderstand the system by which scribal officials used the term *wang ruo yue* to promulgate orders.” 此乃春秋時宋人追擬之作，已不明“王若曰”為史官宣命之制. Chen also includes the *Pan geng I* chapter cited above as violating conventions of Western Zhou use of “The king *ruo*-said.”

⁷² Yu, “Wang ruo yue shiyi,” 148.

in the Western Zhou.

In both bronze inscriptions and *shu* documents, it is almost exclusively the king or regent that is portrayed as “*ruo*-saying” intentions into political realities, but there are also important variations from the norm. The best contemporaneous evidence comes from late Western Zhou bronze vessels, which can be dated both on the basis of art historical criteria and inscriptional content. There are only two extant vessels that have anyone other than the king “*ruo*-saying,” the *Ni zhong* 逆鐘 and *Shi X gui* 師鬲【白^{左上}言^{左下}犬^右】簋, both record conferrals datable to the reign of King Li.⁷³

Ni zhong 逆鐘

唯王元年即生霸庚申，叔氏在大廟，叔氏令史歆召逆，叔氏若曰：逆，乃祖考許政于公室...

It was the king's first year, after the growing brightness, *gengshen* (day 57); Shushi *ruo*-said: Ni, your grandfather and deceased father were permitted to govern in the ducal house...⁷⁴

Shi X gui 師鬲簋

惟王元年正月初吉丁亥，伯穌父若曰：師鬲，乃祖考又^喜于我家，汝雖小子余令汝死余家...

It was the king's first year, first month, first auspiciousness, *dinghai* (day 24). Bo Hefu *ruo*-said: Your grandfather and deceased father gave assistance to our family. Although you are but a small child, I

⁷³ Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 269, 285.

⁷⁴ *Jicheng* 1.60-3, Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽 ed., *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji tuxiang jicheng* 商周青銅器銘文暨圖像集成 v. 27 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2012), 143-150.

command you to aid our family...⁷⁵

The *Ni zhong* is often cited as evidence that the conferral ceremonies like those carried out in the royal court also took place in ducal or regional courts,⁷⁶ but the *Ni zhong* makes for a lonely example. The *Shi X gui* has been read as a second such example, as a conferral that happened in the court of Bo Hefu’s own vassal state,⁷⁷ but at the time of the vessel’s creation, Bo Hefu was acting as the Zhou regent. It makes at least as much sense to understand “Bo Hefu *ruo*-said” as similar to the seven or so cases where the Duke of Zhou is seen acting as regent in the *Shang shu*.⁷⁸ The ways in which the language of authority in the *Shi X gui* and *Ni zhong* conferrals differ from those in prior vessels is probably due to the weakening of kingly authority during and after King Li’s reign.

Zhang Huaitong argues that the shared formula “XX *ruo*-said” XX 若曰, like that in *Ni Zhong* and *Shi X gui*, and “Rui Liangfu” chapter, all point to origins in the Western

⁷⁵ *Jicheng* 8.4311. Translation from Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, 272.

⁷⁶ Zhang 2008, 187-188; Li Xueqin 李学勤, “You Yishui Xin Chu Yu Ming Shi Jinwen Zong Zi” 由沂水新出孟銘釋金文「總」字, *Chutu Wenxian* 出土文獻 3 (2012): 119-21;

⁷⁷ Zhang, “Wang ruo yue xin shi,” 188; Yu, 149.

⁷⁸ See also Chen, “Wang ruo yue kao,” 186, who seems to make this connection.

Zhou.⁷⁹ The same line of argument, however, would suggest that the *Weizi* chapter in the *Shang shu* 商書 section of the *Documents* canon, is a Western Zhou work, although most of the chapters that recount Shang history are regarded as later additions. The *Weizi* chapter portrays the *Shang* nobles just after Zhou conquest, with Weizi 微子, the elder half-brother of the last *Shang* king Zhou 紂, in dialogue with the imperial tutors Fushi 父師 and Xiaoshi 少師.⁸⁰ Weizi and Fushi both give speeches prefaced by “XX *ruo*-said.”⁸¹ As Chen Mengjia suggests, this may indeed be an Eastern Zhou text, in which the conventions of “*ruo*-saying” have been forgotten, and the scenes merely reconstruct or imagine Shang events. If Chen, Yu and Wei are right that later writers imitated earlier formulae, then indeed we should allow that to later authors (or “forgers”) the formula was understood differently. Nonetheless, a literary use of the term may in fact be less discontinuous with its Western Zhou context than such normative appraisals. It seems more certain that in all cases, whether a text is set in the time of King Li or the fall of the Shang, non-kingly “*ruo*-saying” signifies an

⁷⁹ Zhang, *Yi Zhou shu xin yan*, 318.

⁸⁰ Fushi and Shaoshi probably identify the princes Jizi 箕子 and Bi Gan 比干, mentioned in *Lunyu* 18.1. See D.C. Lau tr., *The Analects* (Hong Kong: CUHK Press, 2000), 182-3.

⁸¹ Legge Shoo v. 1 p.273-9.

interruption of kingly authority. Thus later literary use of the term by non-kings reflects the interruption of an order that dictated the term’s authoritative, ceremonial use as we know it from excavated and transmitted sources.

Moreover, even if one allows for cases in which nobles can act as regent or make conferrals and commands in their own regional courts, Rui Liangfu, although avuncular as portrayed in the *Guoyu*, is doing neither in *Yi Zhou shu*. The “Rui Liangfu” chapter’s direct criticism of the king and his ministers is striking, but the idea that a minister could use the kingly formula of authority in the king’s own court, with the king and ministers present, and implicating the king himself, is unprecedented in transmitted literature. It is in this sense, at least, that the rebuke in “Rui Liangfu” is unique among all the texts described above. Such words may not have been unthinkable or unspeakable in Rui Liangfu’s time—indeed similar challenges are present in the **Rui Liangfu bi*—but few such texts have survived to the present. The scene as presented in “Rui Liangfu” need not be the same as that imagined by the **Rui Liangfu bi*, but it is of great interest that in the latter, Rui Liangfu announces that his reason for speaking out

is “to make heard the *ming* entrusted to [him].” 以寓命達聽 (appendix 4, line 195). If such a *ming* positions him as steward of the Zhou’s heavenly mandate, then this would support a reading of *ruo yue* consistent with its use by the Duke of Zhou, in which a speech is presumably made on the authority of Zhou or with support of the mandate. Regardless of the exact scope of *ruo yue* as used in early Western Zhou conferrals and commands, if we read the term as a marker of legitimate political power, then perhaps the authors (or editors) of texts like the *Weizi* and “Rui Liangfu,” seek to reflect the interruption or decay of ritual and political order in the speech of non-kingly nobles—an interruption also attested by the inscriptions of vessels like the *Ni Zhong* and *Shi Xgui*.

4.6 Language, form and content in the “Rui Liangfu” chapter

4.6.1 Prosody

Prior studies of prosody in the *Yi Zhou shu* have recognized rhyme in an increasingly significant subset of chapters, and rhyme has emerged as a central feature

in attempts to classify and date the chapters. Jiang Yougao 江有誥 characterized rhyme in some ten chapters.⁸² Huang Peirong recognized significant rhyme in fourteen chapters, as one feature defining a larger set of thirty-two “core” chapters.⁸³ Since then, Zhou Yuxiu 周玉秀 has identified rhyme in a thirty-three chapters, classed as follows: 1) chapters that rhyme all the way through; 2) chapters that are a mixture of prose and rhyme; 3) prose chapters with rhyming sections; and 4) prose chapters that contain rhyming quotations.⁸⁴ Jiang Yougao does not analyze “Rui Liangfu,” and while Huang Peirong recognizes that much of “Rui Liangfu” has a tetrasyllabic rhythm, he does not recognize rhyme. Zhou seems to have a broader definition of what constitutes significant rhyming than her predecessors, but she recognizes neither rhyming nor tetrasyllabic rhythm in the “Rui Liangfu.”

⁸² Jiang Yougao 江有誥, *Xianqin yundu* 先秦韻讀 [Colophon 1817-], *Xuxiu siku chuanshu*.

⁸³ Huang’s analysis includes the chapters in this “core” primarily on the basis of four features: 1) the use of *anadiplosis*, or “beaded sentence patterns” (*Lianzhu jufa* 聯珠句法), in which the last term of a phrase is the first term of the subsequent phrase; 2) tetrasyllabic composition, in which phrases tend towards a four-character rhythm; 3) the use of numbered items or concepts; and 4) the use of rhyme. See Huang, ch. 4, especially pp. 86-8. On these bases, he comes up with a group of some thirty-two chapters that he considers to form the core chapters, and which he regards as the likely product of a single authorial or editorial hand. 83, 285. On page 285, he makes the more ambitious, authorial claim. For a chart of Huang’s core chapters and list of features, see Huang Peirong, p. 93. Huang also relies on chapter titles and the intellectual content of texts to identify the “core.”

⁸⁴ See Zhou, ch. 4 and its useful appendix, “*Zhou shu yundu*” 周書韻讀, which provides all the rhymes she finds in the text, with both the archaic and medieval rhyme categories, and tone classes.

There is rhyme in the “Rui Liangfu” chapter; it is evident in the opening lines, and it is not accidental. There is, however, no clear verse structure, and the rhyme scheme is neither as regular nor precise as that found in the *Shijing* or in rhyming chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* core. In the opening passage below, the primary rhyme “A” rests on the OCM *-u /*-uh/*-ukh/ *-u? (幽/覺) with crosses to *-ək/*-əh (職/之). I identify another rhyme “B” is between *-auh/*-auk (宵/藥), but even the finals that fall under “A” and “B” are known to rhyme with one another in some cases.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ *Yu-zhi* (之魚) and *zhi-you* (之幽), *zhi-xiao* (之宵) and even *zhi-yu-you* (之魚幽) and *zhi-yu-you-xiao* (之魚幽宵) rhyme in the *Yilin* and other sources are well-attested. See Luo Changpei and Zhou Zumou, *Han Wei Jin Nan Bei chao yun bu yanbian yanjiu*, pp. 269-72; pp. 247-8 in the same work show evidence of similar cross-rhyme in the *Huainanzi*.

Chapter 4: *Yi Zhou shu*, “Rui Liangfu”

“Rui Liangfu,” opening lines:⁸⁶

		WANG/OCM	B&S 2014	
	厲王失道	King Li had lost the Way.	幽 ^上 *lûh	*[kə.l]ʰu? A
	芮伯陳誥	Rui Bo set forth his declaration,	幽 ^{去入} *kûkh	*kʰuk-s A
	作芮良夫	and made “Rui Liangfu.”	魚 ^平 *pa	*p(r)a #
	芮伯若曰:	Rui Bo said to the effect:	月 ^入 *wat	*[ç]wat
5	余小臣良夫	I, Liangfu, your lesser servant,	魚 ^平 *pa	*p(r)a #
	稽首謹誥	touch my head to the ground and solemnly declare:	幽 ^{去入} *kûkh	*kʰuk-s A
	天子惟民父母	The Son of Heaven is father and mother to the people,	之 ^上 *mô?	*mə? B
	致厥道	and when he sets forth his Way	幽 ^上 *lûh	*[kə.l]ʰu? A #
	無遠不服	there is no distant place where he is not obeyed;	職 ^入 *bək	*[b]ək B
10	無道	[but] when there is no Way,	幽 ^上 *lûh	*[kə.l]ʰu? A #
	左右臣妾乃違	then [even] those men and women at his right and left disobey.	微 ^平 *wəi	*[ç]wə[j]
	民歸于德	The people gravitate to virtue;	職 ^入 *tək	*tʰək B
	德則民戴	virtue is what people support	之 ^去 *təh	*Cə.tʰək-s B
	否德民讐	and non-virtue is what they hate.	幽 ^平 *du	*[d]u A
15	茲言允效	Truly emulate these words;	宵 ^去 *grâuh	*m- B [k]ʰraw-s
	于前不遠	Do not stray from posterity;	元 ^上 *wan?	*C.çwan?
	商紂不道	King Zhou of Shang’s waywardness	幽 ^上 *lûh	*[kə.l]ʰu? A
	夏桀之虐	And King Jie of Xia’s cruelty—	藥 ^入 *ŋauk	*[ŋ](r)awk B
	肆我有周	These are why we have the Zhou...	幽 ^平 *tiu	*tiw A

Some of the rhyme in the first half derives from use of monorhyme—a feature in which

⁸⁶ See attached translation supplement for complete notes.

repetition of words glues many lines of the text together throughout. Nonetheless, the last half of this opening sequence appears to be quite well-ordered by rhyme, and it is not the only rhyming sequence. Even where there is no rhyme, much of the chapter is dominated by a tetrasyllabic rhythm, and there are significant stretches that rely more exclusively on rhythm or repetition.

One sequence of the text resembles Zhou Yuxiu’s fourth category, rhyming quotations. In this case, transmitted wisdom comes embedded in the chapter’s longest rhythmic/rhyming closing passage:

		WANG/	B&S 2014	
		OCM		
91	我聞曰 I have heard it said:	月 ^入 *wat	*[ɣ]wat	
92	以言取人 When you select men according to their speech,	真 ^平 *nin	*ni[n]	#
93	人飾其言 men ornament their speech;	元 ^平 *ŋan	*ŋa[n]	A
94	以行取人 [but] when you select men according to their conduct,	真 ^平 *nin	*ni[n]	#
95	人竭其行 men exert their conduct.	陽 ^去 *grâŋ	*[g]ʰraŋ-s	A
96	飾言無庸 There is no use in ornamental speech;	東 ^平 *loŋ	*loŋ	a
97	竭行有成 success lies in utmost conduct...	耕 ^平 *deŋ	*[d]eŋ	ä

The lower case “a” indicates consonance or near-rhyme. From the perspective of a modern reconstruction with thirty-eight distinct rhyme groups, the passage contains no

perfect rhyme—only the identical rhyme of “men” 人 with itself, which in this case also functions to illustrate the only use of *anadiplosis* in the chapter. Although the opening “I have heard it said” suggests that the passage represents received, ancient knowledge, language, discussed in more detail below, suggests the passage postdates much of the chapter. If the passage does not rhyme in perfection, every single line ends in a coronal or dorsal nasal, an indication of phono-rhetoric that goes beyond rhythm, and appears close enough to “rhyme” to warrant a commonsense use of the term.

A number of rhyming texts that bear great similarity to “Rui Liangfu” from the standpoint of prosody alone might be enumerated and compared. Among these would be texts like the “Hong fan” 洪範 of the *Shang shu* or any number of texts like it that reflect highly ordered systems of thought, like those also evident in “Da kai.”⁸⁷ If we regard dramatic speech as an important generic element and rule out rhyming texts that

⁸⁷ In addition to the many rhyming *shu* documents such as those found in the “core” chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* (as defined by Huang Peirong), several chapters of the *jinwen Shang shu*, notably the *Yao dian* 堯, *Shun dian* 舜典, (*Da yu mou* 大禹謨), *Yu gong* 禹貢, *Lü xing* 呂刑, *Hong fan* 洪範, and to a lesser extent the *Gao yao mo* 皋陶謨, all contain rhyming passages. Huang notes some of these chapters in his discussion of the tetrasyllabic meter of “Rui Liangfu”, and points out that this meter is even more prevalent in the *guwen* chapters of the *Shang shu*, notably *Wuzi zhi ge* 五子之歌, *Qin shi II & III* 秦誓中、下, *Zhou guan* 周官, *Bi ming* 畢命, etc. (Huang diss. P. 321-2).

present systematic technical exposition, the speech that this study has thus far found most similar to that in “Rui Liangfu” is found in the “Pan geng I” 盤庚上 chapter of the *Shang shu*:

盤庚上: *Pan geng I*, Legge tr.

王若曰	The king spoke to this effect:		
格汝眾	“Come, all of you;	*tuŋ-s	A
予告汝訓	I will announce to you my instructions.	*lu[n]-s	A
汝猷黜乃心	Take counsel how to put away your (selfish) thoughts.	*səm	B
無傲從康	Do not with haughty (disregard of me) follow after your own ease.	*[kʰ]ʰaŋ	C
古我先王	Of old, our former kings	*gʷaŋ	C
亦惟圖任	planned like me how to employ	*n[ə]m-s	B
舊人共政	the men of old families to share in (the labours of) government.	*teŋ-s	b
王播告之修	When they wished to proclaim and announce what was to be attended to,	*s-liw	
不匿厥指	these did not conceal the royal views;	*mə.kijʔ	
王用丕欽	and on this account the kings greatly respected them.	*[k]ʰe[n]ʔ-s	b
罔有逸言	They did not exceed the truth (in their communications with the people),	*ŋa[n]	b
民用丕變	and on this account the people became greatly changed (in their views)	*pro[n]-s	b

Notable in particular is the same use of nasal consonance as found in the sequence of

“Rui Liangfu” lines 91-97.⁸⁸ In the case of “Pan geng I” the rhyme and rhythm do not extend throughout the chapter (nor are they obvious in the other two “Pan geng” chapters), but at least they show a precedent in the *Jinwen Shang shu* that appears to be early. On the basis of the difficulties that the language of the Pan Geng presents, even Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, otherwise inclined to doubt antiquity, expresses certainty that “Pan Geng” predates the Warring States;⁸⁹ Qu Wanli 屈萬里 dates it no later than the end of the Western Zhou.⁹⁰ Although it is not possible to make any conclusions about absolute dating, identifying this similarity is a step towards identifying a body of texts that share similar formulae and prosodic patterns and may stem from a similar compositional context.

The efforts to discern such a body of texts, however, are complicated by later compositional processes. In the *guwen*-only text of the *Jiong ming* 冏命, which with the

⁸⁸ Notably, as the passage continues, the rhyme subsides with the king’s narrative shift to the problems of the present day.

⁸⁹ Gu Jiegang, “Pa geng Zhong pian jinshi” 盤庚中篇今釋 *Gushibian* v. 2 pt 1, p.44. Gu confesses that he originally thought it might truly date to the Shang. Given the text’s particular concern with moving the Shang capital, which it compares to a fallen tree sprouting new shoots 若顛木之有由蘖, it seems possible that the text arose around the time of King Ping, when that topic would have been of great concern.

⁹⁰ Qu Wanli 屈萬里, *Shang Shu Jishi* 尚書集釋 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 81-3. Qu seems to think that the text was written by Song descendants of the Yin, although this is also unsubstantiated.

discovery of the Tsinghua **She ming* 攝命 seems ever more certain to be a product of imperial imitators,⁹¹ we find many of the same features identified in “Pan geng” above, combined with many of the ostensibly earlier grammatical features that will be discussed below. The text begins as follows (nasal finals marked with an asterisk “*”):

Shang shu “Jiong ming” 冏命: Legge trans., modified⁹²

		周&羅	LHan
王若曰：「伯冏	The king <i>ruo</i> -said: 'Bo-jiong,		
惟予弗克于德	I come short in virtue,	職	tək
嗣先人宅丕后	and have succeeded to the former kings, to occupy the great throne.	魚	go ^{B/c}
愴惕惟厲	I am fearful, and conscious of the peril (of my position).	祭	lias
中夜以興	I rise at midnight,	蒸	hiŋ *
思免厥愆	and think how I can avoid falling into errors.	元	k ^h ian *
昔在文武	Formerly Wen and Wu	魚	mua ^B
聰明齊聖	were endowed with all intelligence, august and sage,	耕	seŋ ^c *
小大之臣	while their ministers, small and great,	真	gin *
咸懷忠良	all cherished loyalty and goodness.	陽	lian *
其侍御僕從	Their servants, charioteers, chamberlains, and followers	東	dzioŋ *
罔匪正人	were all men of correctness;	真	riŋ *
以旦夕承弼厥辟	morning and evening waiting on their sovereign's wishes, or supplying his deficiencies.	錫	biek
出入起居	(Those kings), going out and coming in, rising up and sitting down,	魚	kia ^(c)
罔有不欽	were thus made reverent.	侵	k ^h im *

⁹¹ *Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian*, v.8; Ma Nan 馬楠, “She Ming Chutan 攝命初探,” *Wenwu*, no. 9 (2018): 46–49.

⁹² Legge, *Classics* v.3 pt2, 583-587.

Chapter 4: *Yi Zhou shu*, “Rui Liangfu”

發號施令	Their every warning or command	耕	lien(°) *
罔有不臧	was good.	陽	tsaŋ *
下民只若	The people yielded a reverent obedience,	鐸	ńiak
萬邦咸休	and the myriad regions were all happy.	幽	x(i)u

While Huang Peirong ultimately places the “Rui Liangfu” chapter among what he regards as precursors of the core, he also expresses some doubts about its tetrasyllabic rhythm—a feature that it shares with a number of the *guwen* chapters of the *Shang shu*—here exemplified by the “Jiong ming.” In almost every way—its narrative structure, its pre-classical particles, its “king *ruo*-said” formula, its dramatic narrative, its mode of remonstrance—“Jiong ming” appears to emulate a narrow genre that includes “Rui Liangfu.”⁹³ In addition to considering Huang’s gut suspicions, readers have often relied on the relative difficulty of reading a text in determining its age, and while the *Jiong ming* presents very few such difficulties, the main difficulties of “Rui Liangfu” come from the neglect of the text, not its archaisms; in reconstruction, the majority of it (and in particular the final tetrasyllabic section) is neither more difficult than “Jiong ming,” nor as difficult as “Pan geng.”

⁹³ Huang Peirong, 322.

4.6.2 Grammatical and Lexical indicators of provenance

Prior studies have systematically examined the use of grammatical particles and vocabulary in the *Yi Zhou shu*, primarily in the interest of characterizing the date and arrangement of chapters.⁹⁴ As Huang Peirong has pointed out, “Rui Liangfu” uses the sentence-final particle *er* 而 to indicate an emphatic rhetorical question, a use not attested in the Western Zhou;⁹⁵ the same is true of the term *zhao* 兆, used as a numerical rather than omenological term.⁹⁶ The current study adds to this the use of *er yi* 而已 to mean “only,” and *yan* 焉 as a sentence final particle.⁹⁷ Zhou Yuxiu further notes the use of *an* 安 as an interrogative marker.⁹⁸ These points concur with Huang’s doubts about Western Zhou origins. Nonetheless, Zhou finds that *zhe* 者 is not used as a

⁹⁴ Studies by Huang Peirong and Zhou Yuxiu have done so most systematically; Zhang Huaitong has considered similar results in his analysis.

⁹⁵ The line is: “Oh, is this not bound for chaos!” 不其亂而, see line sixty-one in the appended translation; Huang, 322.

⁹⁶ Huang, 323-5. According to Huang, the Term *yi* 億 (100,000) in *yi zhao* 億兆 is found only in one bronze inscription, the *Ming Guajun hu* 命瓜君壺, dated to the Warring States period.

⁹⁷ See lines 41 and 80 in the appended translation. The sentence-final use of *yan* 焉 equivalent to *yu zhi* 于之 is used sentence final in “Rui Liangfu” but not found in Shang *shu* chapters assumed to be early nor in the *Daya* or *Song* sections of the *Shijing*. It is used in the *Xiaoya* and *Guofeng*, and in the sections of the *Shang shu* assumed to be later. If the term is found in pre-Warring States bronzes, I have yet to find it.

⁹⁸ Zhou 159; 161. Zhou’s conclusions are based on an analysis of the distribution of the interrogative 安 in early transmitted texts, but the analysis does not encompass 焉, which may represent the same word.

nominalizer, and that *ye* 也 and *yi* 矣 are not used as a sentence-final particles. These are consistent with pre-classical use.⁹⁹ A representative point of contrast is provided by the use of particles in a remonstrance of the *Zuo zhuan*:

Zuozhuan “Yin Gong” 3.7 隱公三年 (Translation, Durrant et al., modified)¹⁰⁰

石碻諫曰	Shi Que remonstrated:	B&S ‘14	
臣聞愛子	“I have heard that if one loves a son,	*tsəʔ	A
教之以義方	one teaches him the ways of duty	*paŋ	
弗納于邪	and does not allow him to stray into deviant	*sə.ɠA	#
	paths.		
驕奢淫泆	Pride, wastefulness, lewdness, and	*qek	a
	dissipation		
所自邪也	originate in deviance.	*sə.ɠA	# ^P
四者之來	These four come	*mə.rʰək	A
寵祿過也	when favor and reward are excessive.	*k ^w aj	#
將立州吁	If you are going to establish Zhouxu as heir,	*q ^{wh} (r)a	
乃定之矣	then settle it now!	*tə	
若猶未也	If you are not ready to do this,	*m[ə]t-s	
階之為禍	then you are building steps to disaster.	*k ^w aj	#

In addition to the use of classical particles, Shi que’s remonstrance shows clear signs of an intellectual background in which concepts are just as highly systematized as those

⁹⁹ Zhou, 147, 171.

¹⁰⁰ Durrant et al., p 27

found in the core of the *Yi Zhou shu*.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, while a general paucity of grammatical particles may be common in pre-classical literature, “Da Kai” and “Jiong ming” tend also to lack these particles, despite the fact that they are almost certainly later, classical texts. The lack of particles may be a generic feature with preclassical origins, but it transcends time precisely because of the genre’s influence. Moreover, in some of these cases, other forces such as tetrasyllabic rhythm and rhyme that punctuate the text may make phrase-final particles unnecessary.¹⁰²

Since the *Qunshu* and non-*Qunshu* lineages of “Rui Liangfu” postdate the embedment of the Kong Zhao commentary, the variants found between the two must result from differing scribal conventions that postdate that embedment. Negatives like *bu* 不 are replaced by *fu* 弗 and vice-versa in the *Qunshu* and non-*Qunshu* versions of “Rui Liangfu.”¹⁰³ The same is true of the pronouns *yu* 余 and *yu* 予; prior studies interpret such patterns of use as an *urtextual* reading or of adherence to scribal

¹⁰¹ In addition to the four “origins of deviance” discussed here, the remonstrations go on to enumerate the six violations 六逆 and the six compliances 六順.

¹⁰² Lists and numbering, as seen in “Da kai” above, may also serve the same function, but it is possible that the feature is also an attempt at archaization.

¹⁰³ For 不/弗 see appended translation, lines 17, 47, 106; for 余/予 lines 5, 106

conventions of a *guwen* or *jinwen* school.¹⁰⁴ The variants presented by the *Qunshu* recensions, however, show that such differences appear simply to be the product of post-Han scholars who used the graphs interchangeably. Although we do not have similar data for the chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* absent from the *Qunshu* version, the foregoing analysis casts doubt on broader conclusions that rely on these variants.

Other features of archaic language are shared by both recensions of “Rui Liangfu,” but also by texts like the “Jiong ming” above or texts *Yi Zhou shu* that are presumed later. The pre-classical copula *wei* 惟 is used throughout; *you* 攸 is generally used instead of *suo* 所; *jue* 厥 is the primary possessive marker.¹⁰⁵ But *you* 攸 and *jue* 厥 are also accompanied in “Rui Liangfu” by *suo* 所 and *qi* 其, equivalent particles used in later classical Chinese. Pre-classical *you* 攸 and *jue* 厥, however, are also employed in later texts, including the “Zhou shu xu” — a work that cannot predate the compilation of the *Yi Zhou shu*. The presence of classical language in the “Rui Liangfu” and pre-

¹⁰⁴ Zhou 105-106; Wang Li 王力 apud Zhou, 105. Zhou here suggests that the use of 予 might indicate a closer relationship to the *Shang shu* 尚書.

¹⁰⁵ *you* 攸 30, 78, 79, 81; *suo* 所 76; *jue* 厥 8, 35, 89; *qi* 其 95.

classical language in the late chapters of the book complicates the use of such language to pinpoint a date of composition. Is the use of archaic language an incomplete attempt to emulate the language and register of a prior time, or are newer, classical terms in otherwise pre-classical language simply the result of scribes who used later, equivalent particles when transcribing the ancient text? While the two lineages of the “Rui Liangfu” do not support the latter scenario, such uncertainties have either led investigators to limit their claims or to simply disregard this evidence when dating the text.¹⁰⁶

Despite the difficulties of drawing a conclusion on the basis of pre-classical function words, the use of these words does show some divergence within the text that points to a possible interpolation; the passage examined above (lines 92-97) that purports to cite received knowledge (我問曰...) exhibits not only the sole use of *anadiplosis* in the text, but is also the only section that uses *qi* 其 to indicate the possessive;¹⁰⁷ elsewhere in the

¹⁰⁶ Zhou Yuxiu’s conclusions are largely consistent with Huang Peirong’s at least in that both deny that the text as we have it predates the Spring and autumn period; Zhang Huaitong, on the other hand, notes linguistic data but tends to ignore it when arriving at conclusions.

¹⁰⁷ One exception, which proves the rule, is discussed below in the next section.

text, that function is served almost exclusively by *jue* 厥. Certainly, it is strange that a passage that ostensibly expresses transmitted wisdom of an earlier age contains language (*anadiplosis* and possessive *qi* 其) typically associated with a later one. The passage would seem to belong to a different layer, although the question of which layer came first is not easily answered.

4.6.3 Intellectual content of “Rui Liangfu”

The interpolated passage just discussed advocates employing men on the basis of their conduct, and thus it gestures towards meritocracy.¹⁰⁸ This is largely coherent with the idea, present throughout the text that *de* 德 (virtue) is the result of proper conduct and source of the ruler’s power. Proper role-playing is also essential to success in real life: the ruler must act the role of the ruler or risk being overturned by the people (lines 37-48). Moreover, the text is itself an implicit advocacy of remonstrance and it calls explicitly for rulers to heed the advice of their ministers. “Rui Liangfu” calls out men

¹⁰⁸ See lines 92-97 regarding *xing* 行 (conduct); The only other case in which *qi* 其 designates the possessive, is in line 29, which also emphasizes *xing* 行 as the key to order. 治亂信乎其行. Line 29, which I originally interpreted as a quotation of received wisdom, now appears to be an interpolation consistent with the ideas presented in lines 92-97.

whose “titles are obtained by bribery” (line 85), but this leaves room for some agnosticism as to whether heredity or conduct is the preferred source of authority. On the whole, the text allows that rulership is conditional, and based on virtue, but there is no clear advocacy of kingly abdication or merit over heredity. If the interpolations are indeed interpolations, the incremental nudge they make towards ministerial power is subtle.

“Pan geng,” which also speaks extensively about virtue and the qualifications of rulership, tilts very incrementally more towards advocacy of hereditary rule; nobles are referred to as *jiuren* 舊人 (men of old families), but there is still the intimation that the ruler must select men on the basis of conduct.¹⁰⁹ Of note also is that *dao* 道 (the Way), in “Rui Liangfu” is a metaphysical *dao*, absent in the *gao* chapters and “Pan geng” but found in other chapters of the *jinwen Shang shu*.

¹⁰⁹ tr. modified from “Pan geng III” Legge, *Classics*, v.3. pt1, 247: “I will not employ those who are fond of enriching themselves; but will use and revere those who are vigorously, yet reverently, labouring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them and planning for their enduring settlement. 朕不肩好貨敢恭生生。鞠人謀人之保居敘欽。”

4.6.4 Intertextuality: The clearest evidence for the pre-imperial origins of “Rui Liangfu”

The “Rui Liangfu” shares just a few identifiable intertextual connections to other early works of literature. In this regard, it stands in contrast to texts like “Zhai Gong” 祭公, which exhibits not only discursive forms familiar from paradigms of the *Shang shu*, but in numerous places shares entire phrases or sentences with it.¹¹⁰

“Rui Liangfu” shares a phrase with the *Shijing* poem, *Gu feng* 谷風, a line in the “Chuyu” 楚語 chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語, and possibly a line in the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, all of which are discussed below. The text shares almost nothing with the **Rui Liangfu bi* manuscript or the poem “Sang rou” attributed to him in the *Shijing*.

The phrase “Rui Liangfu” shares with “Gu Feng” is embedded as follows in the two sources:

¹¹⁰ See Huang (dissertation), 316-320, for some fifteen examples.

Chapter 4: *Yi Zhou shu*, “Rui Liangfu”

“Gu feng” (Mao #35) tr. Legge, modified¹¹¹

不我能慤	You cannot cherish me,
反以我為讎	And you even count me as an enemy.
既阻我德	You disdain my virtues, -
賈用不售	A pedlar's wares which do not sell.
昔育恐育鞠	Before I feared that birth would be my end,
及爾顛覆	And thereby turn you upside down.
既生既育	Now that I've lived and given birth,
比予于毒	You compare me to poison.

“Rui Liangfu” (lines 98-104)

惟爾小子	It is you noble sons,
飾言事王	who ornament your speech to serve the king—
寔蕃有徒	truly many are such men.
王貌受之	And the king appears to countenance them,
終弗獲用	but in the end they find no use.
面相誣蒙	Facing one another with accusations and
	duplicity
及爾顛覆	Such that you are turned upside down.

In the phrase as contextualized in either of these two occurrences, the theme of betrayal is clear. It is also clear in the other *Gu feng* 谷風 (Mao #201) found in the *Xiaoya* section, for which the lyrics seem to be a variation on those above. Neither of these poems, however, has anything to do with Rui Liangfu. The preface preserved to #34 suggest that the poem “satirizes loss of the ‘Way of husband and wife’” 刺失夫婦之道; that to #201

¹¹¹ Legge, *Classics* v.4 pt 1, 55-58.

reads it as “satirizing King You” 刺幽王.¹¹²

Another aphorism in “Rui Liangfu” is shared with a passage in the *Guoyu* 國語:

Guoyu Chuyu xia 國語楚語下：人求多聞善敗以監戒也

One should seek to hear extensively about what is proper vs. what is corrupt, so as to be informed and vigilant.¹¹³

“Rui Liangfu” line 古人求多聞以監戒

The ancients sought to hear extensively, so as to be informed and vigilant

In both of these cases, again, there is a clear similarity between the language, but no indication in the transmitted source that the use bears any relation to Rui Liangfu whatsoever. Only the final example presents such a possibility.

Yi Zhou shu “Rui Liangfu,” lines 12-14

民歸于德，德則民戴，否德民讐。

The people gravitate to virtue; virtue is what people support, and non-virtue is what they hate.¹¹⁴

Lü Shi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋 “Shi wei” 適威

周書曰：「民善之則畜也，不善則讎也。」

Zhou shu says: “What the people approve of they nurture; what they disapprove of, they hate.”

The similarity and context might suggest that the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* is quoting the “Rui

¹¹² *Shi sanjia yi jishu*, 168, 721.

¹¹³ Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu 上海師範大學古籍整理組, *Guoyu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1978), 588.

¹¹⁴ See appendix 4, lines 12-14.

Liangfu” chapter. It would had to have been a somewhat different chapter, but indeed the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* quote goes on to mention King Li’s fall as an illustration of the aphorism.¹¹⁵ However, two Han era variants of this aphorism, both of which are much closer to the version found in the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* than to “Rui Liangfu,” attribute it to Confucius and Yin Yi 尹逸.¹¹⁶ Moreover, of the other three quotations attributed to a “Zhou shu”周書 in the *Lü Shi Chunqiu*, only one of them is found in the *Yi Zhou shu*; the other two are found in the *Shijing* and *Analects* 論語, so the “Zhou shu” in the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* need not refer to the *Yi Zhou shu*, but more likely just to “a Zhou document.”

With the exception of the last passage, which presents some interesting possibilities, there is no clear relationship between the other shared phrases and Rui Liangfu. This stands in clear contrast to the patterns of intertextuality witnessed in the *guwen* chapters

¹¹⁵ The passage continues: “Having haters and lots of them is inferior to having nothing at all. King Li was the Son of Heaven, but his haters were many, so he was banished to Zhi and the misfortune extended to his heirs—if it weren’t for Duke Hu of Shao, he would absolutely not have had successors.” 有讎而眾，不若無有。厲王，天子也，有讎而眾，故流于彘，禍及子孫，微召公虎而絕無後嗣。

¹¹⁶ Wang Su 王肅注, ed., *Kongzi jiaayu* 孔子家語, vol. 2, *Xinbian Zhuzi Jicheng* 新編諸子集成 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1991), 14: 《孔子家語》：孔子曰：「夫通達之國皆人也，以道導之，則吾畜也；不以道導之，則吾讎也，若何而毋畏？」；《淮南子》：尹逸曰：「天地之間，四海之內，善之則吾蓄也，不善則吾仇也。」 The “Ke yin” 克殷 chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* refers to an *Yinyi jia* 尹佚莢, also identified as the early Zhou minister Shiyi 史佚 or Yi zhuce 逸祝冊 in the *Luo gao* 洛誥. An *Yinyi* 尹佚 in two *pian* is listed in the *Mo jia* 墨家 section of the *Hanshu* “Yiwenzhi.”

of the *Shang shu* that have subsequently proved to be later compositions. Because such texts were “reconstructed” from known quotations in contemporaneously extant texts, they often contain the few remnant quotes that could link a text to its supposed context of origin. The fact that such connections can only be drawn to completely unrelated texts, and not at all to any of the (several) other sources of the Rui Liangfu legend—the **Rui Liangfu bi*, his *Guoyu* speech, *Sang rou*—speaks strongly against any conscious, retrospective effort to reconstruct the text on the basis of prior sources. In this regard, Rui Liangfu resembles “Pan Geng” more closely than the *guwen* “Jiong ming.”

4.7 Structure: A closing incantation

Much of the overall structure of “Rui Liangfu” has been touched on in one way or another in the foregoing sections, and won’t be repeated here in detail. In the simplest terms, “Rui Liangfu” has a beginning, middle and end. The first lines of the “Rui Liangfu” set the scene with the kingly formula of speech; the middle is a dramatic, rhythmic (and often rhymed), discursive sequence of moral enjoinders and

aphorisms,¹¹⁷ generally lacking complex structures of verse, dialogue, or systematized thought. The end, to a lesser extent than the complicated opening segment, bears a notable similarity (but no explicit intertextual connection) to the end of *Sang rou*:

Sang rou (appendix 3, stanza 14)

既之陰女 I go to keep you sheltered,

反予來赫 yet you are hostile to me.

雖曰匪予 Though they may say “it wasn’t me,”

既作爾歌 I have written this song for them.

“Rui Liangfu” (appendix 4, lines 109-112)

難至而悔 If you repent only after hardship has come about

悔將安及 how will your repentance come in time?

無曰予為 No one says “it was my doing”;

惟爾之禍 that will be your disaster.

Although chapter three has identified such language in *Sang rou* as an “autograph,” it doubles here as an accusation or threat. Again, “Pan geng I” provides a parallel threat in closing: “From this time forward, attend respectfully to your business; make even the place you stand; measure your speech—lest punishment come upon you, when

¹¹⁷ Yegor Grebnev uses the term “dramatic speech” to identify other chapters of the *Shang shu* and *Yi Zhou shu*. The “Rui Liangfu” chapter, however, gets classified as a speech with “writing-informed contextualization.” In this case, categorization unfortunately hinges on the disputed first line of the text, as found in the *Qunshu* versions, rather than on other features of the speech. The term “dramatic” is nonetheless useful, in particular for describing “Rui Liangfu.” Grebnev, “The *Yizhou shu* and *Shang shu*,” 255-6, 270-1.

repentance will be of no avail” 自今至于後日各恭爾事齊乃位度乃口罰及爾身弗可悔。¹¹⁸

Much like the autographic poems, or even the *guci* of bronze inscription, the final section exhibits a final shift in perspective where speech ends and its predictive efficacy or mandate takes effect.

Rui Liangfu’s speech act is not precisely an incantation or prayer, but it is instructive to consider some of the predictions made by the text that come true. Rui Liangfu’s declaration that he “doesn’t know how the king will stay in place” 余未知王之所定,¹¹⁹ or that disbelieving his warning will result in disaster 惟爾之禍,¹²⁰ raises questions about the text’s historicity: is “Rui Liangfu” a figure of historical concern because his predictions came true, or do the predictions come true because the text is a retrospective dramatization? If the phrase “Rui Liangfu *ruo*-said” is taken to indicate the collapse of Zhou order, then there may be some anachronisms within the text, especially in comparing the opening and closing lines that contextualize the speech and

¹¹⁸ Legge, *Classics* v.3 pt. 1, 232.

¹¹⁹ Here in this phrase, line 76 in the appended translation, is found the only use of 所, which may indicate interpolation. Elsewhere both versions of the text use the pre-classical 攸.

¹²⁰ The phrase 無曰予為(偽) may also be interpreted to mean “do not say I am spreading falsehood.”

set it into action. If Rui Liangfu were predicting a collapse that had already happened, these words would seem less prescient.

4.8 Contextualizing the “Rui Liangfu” in *shu* compendia and *shu* genre

“Rui Liangfu” may have a precedent in literature like the “Pan geng,” but the tetrasyllabic form seems to have become much more widespread in the later chapters of the *Shang shu* that present systematic discourse. Such language is certainly even more common in the *weiguwen* chapters of the *Shang shu*, perhaps because it served to parse archaized language. It is quite possible that the precursors of those forms first took shape in *Zhou song* self-admonitions and in the rhythmic, incantatory warnings like “Rui Liangfu,” and the fact that they have somehow later been classed as “history” or “poetry” probably has little to do with the genre awareness of early writers.

As to the question of whether the “Rui Liangfu” is old, the answer provided here has sought to treat the text as a continuity, but a review of the text’s transmission that accounts for the concerns of interpretive history inevitably and repeatedly emphasizes historical moments to which we have limited access. The appended reconstruction and

translation is a part of that history, in that it makes emendations and interpretations that were not with certainty part of any prior edition or *Urtext*. Nonetheless, it also makes reasoned judgments about the text Kong Zhao or his predecessors might have used and offers speculations on the text’s origins.

Within the text of “Rui Liangfu” that is agreed upon by both the *Qunshu* and non-*Qunshu* textual lineages, there are traces of both classical and pre-classical language that suggest compositional layers. The examination of intellectual content finds that ideas present in those layers differ subtly, but their shared lack of systematized thought is consistent either with the text predating such systems or closely imitating prior forms. In this regard, “Rui Liangfu” stands also in contrast to the **Rui Liangfu bi’s* systematic technical exposition (ch. 2). The study of intertextuality, which encompasses all layers of the text, finds little indication that the text took shape in an environment where other written Rui Liangfu texts circulated; it is relatively certain that Rui Liangfu” is not a *weiguwen* creation of the imperial age. While the story was clearly known widely in early China from other sources, the text—like the **Rui Liangfu bi*—shows only the most

meager evidence of textual borrowing.

Based on intellectual content, form, prosody, and general difficulty of interpretation, the text appears somewhat more recent than the “Pan geng I” chapter. The earliest layer of the text (if it is indeed not archaized) would appear to date to the Spring and Autumn period. The similarity of the accusations intoned in the final lines of *Sang rou* and “Rui Liangfu” suggest one of the texts was aware of the other, although it is not clear which came first, and there is no shared language that can link the two. The notion that Rui Liangfu spoke in dramatic tetrasyllables seems to have been well established by the Warring States, but the texts (aside from *Sang rou*) may have been doomed to obscurity by virtue of their potentially subversive challenge to authority.

How the text might have circulated before Kong Zhao presents another difficult question. There is no record of it ever having been in a twenty-eight or one hundred-chapter recension of the *Shang shu*. If it was late Warring States and Han compilers that kept “Rui Liangfu” out of the canon, the story of *Wucheng* shows that a text might be

shunted from one collection to the other. Subsequent clues of compilation are few. The *Qunshu* editors seem to have had particular regard for “Rui Liangfu,” as did Qing (and indeed modern) scholars who perceived the text’s resemblance to documents of the *Shang shu*. But if the origins of the text are pre-imperial, as the foregoing would suggest, there is no reason to believe that there was any single orthodox, pre-imperial context in which “Rui Liangfu” was venerated or discounted. Li Xueqin has suggested that in the context of the Tsinghua corpus, there simply was no such distinction.¹²¹

Mencius’s pronouncements on *Wucheng* must stand in contrast not only with the beliefs of his contemporaries, but also against the more modern revelation that *Shifu* tells a truer story of Zhou conquest than the *guwen Wucheng*. The standard of critical values might be articulated in numerous ways: for Mencius, intuitive knowledge of a moral age was an important criterion for determining authenticity; for those that actually succumbed to the same redactive impulse latent in Mencius’s critical stance on written history, a political imperative to regulate ministerial power may have been the

¹²¹ Li, “Qinghua jian yu shangshu yi zhou shu Yanjiu,” 104-9.

standard of authenticity. For later scholars, perhaps including the editors of the *Qunshu zhiyao* and certainly including Zhuang Shuzu, Wei Yuan, and many moderns, authenticity seems to mean “authentically ancient” or “authentically attributable to a historical author,” but the text comes to us only by way of copyists and redactors that had different values. Those transmitters helped the text conform to the antiquity they believed in, and so questions about the earliest history of the text’s transmission will probably remain, as they were for Mencius, matters of faith.

Chapter Five

Legend, Genre, and Canon in Early China: A summary and prospectus for further research

5.1 Introduction

This chapter brings the texts of **Rui Liangfu bi*, the *Yi Zhou shu*'s "Rui Liangfu" chapter, and the attributed poems of the *Shijing*—including *Sang rou*—into closer intertextual comparison. It also seeks to reflect on larger problems in the formation of genres and canons that have emerged from the individual philological studies. In addition to generating some new hypotheses for further study, I reconsider more broadly the generative and re-generative historical impulses that have led to the deposition of the texts into strata of textual history that include revered poetry, leftover history, and the cutting room floor.

The first section, an examination of intertextual relations, reveals that rhyming sources of the Rui Liangfu legend share much less text *literatim* than would be expected for inscribed mnemotechnic verse. A consideration of the genre concerns of each of the texts shows that despite their differences in form and their deposition in different

textual corpora, an argument can be made that all three texts may have been read in a Warring States contexts as historical records of events. All the texts may also be shaped by generative attempts to fill lacunae perceived at different points in history. Another feature shared by the texts, crucial in the conception of this research project is the role of rhyme, a feature that has complicated the genre identification of the **Rui Liangfu bi*. I hypothesize that the obscurity of the **Rui Liangfu bi* and the “Rui Liangfu” chapter may both owe partly to a critical environment in which *shi*-poetry encompassed the approved, undetermined, and plausibly deniable language of dissent. A final section reflects on the Han reconstruction of the *Yue ji* 樂記 and the so-called “forgery” of the *guwen* 古文 *Shang shu* 尚書 as revealing a common, generative process of history, which fills historical lacunae while creating textual ones.

5.2 Rui Liangfu, intertextuality, and the assemblages in which legends coalesce

Intertextuality can refer to a number of relations among texts. Some of these, like

quotation or the sharing of written textual sequences, are easily identified, but there are also more subtle ways in which texts may be shaped by one another: for example, paraphrases, allusions, or conscious mimicry of narrative elements. Texts may reference one another, but particularly in historiographic writing, texts refer also to a body of experience and lore that is inscribed on the less immutable medium of memory. These modes of inscription have a long history of development, beginning with events of the Western Zhou and culminating in more systematic records in the Han. As texts form, and conscious efforts are made to compile comprehensive records, lacunae appear. In the section below, I argue on the basis of relationships among the Rui Liangfu texts that at least one and perhaps several of the texts may be responses to perceived lacunae.

5.2.1 Fine-scale intertextualities

With regard to the more easily verified senses of intertextuality, versions of the Rui Liangfu legend that have served as the foci of the preceding three chapters share little in the way of text with one another, word-for-word. The nearest exceptions to the rule can

convey what sorts of contact—at their most prominent—are detectable:

Sang rou, verse 11

維此良人 It is this good man
弗求弗迪 that is neither **sought out** nor **promoted**.

**Rui Liangfu bi*, slip 3 lines 17

迪求聖人 **Seek and promote** sages

**Rui Liangfu bi*, slip 1 line 8

芮良夫乃 Rui Liangfu thus
作愆再終 made this **admonition** in two codas.¹

Sang rou, verse 5

為謀為愆 We seek to **strategize** and to **admonish**...
(or, “We make **strategies** and we make **admonitions**...”)

**Rui Liangfu bi*, slip 18 line 125

胥箴胥謀 ...exhort each other; **strategize** with each other

**Rui Liangfu bi*, slip 9, line 58

胥穀胥均 **Do right to each other**; equalize with each other.

Sang rou, verse 9

朋友已譖 Friends have undermined [friends],²
不胥以穀 and do not aid **each other** in **doing right**.

“*Rui Liangfu*,” lines 55-6

惟以貪諛事王 It is with greed and flattery that you serve the King;
不勲德以備難 ...acting neither diligently nor virtuously to prepare for **hardship**.

lines 82-3

爾執政小子 You ministers and noble sons
弗圖大艱(難) fail to **plan** for great **hardship**.

¹ The last line, 195 provides a similar use.

² The graph *zen* 譖 is read *jian* 僭 in some editions. See appendix 3, note 39.

line 108

備乃禍難 Prepare for your disasters and **hardship**.

**Rui Liangfu bi*, slip 1, line 6

莫治庶難 None of them governed the many **hardships**

slip 7, line 40

以遯不圖難...neglecting, in your ease, to **plan** for **hardship**.³

**Rui Liangfu bi*, slip 6, lines 33-4

莫之扶導 With no one to support or guide you,

其猶不顛覆 how would you not **turn upside-down**?⁴

“*Rui Liangfu*” lines 103-4

面相誣蒙 Facing one another with accusations and duplicity

及爾顛覆 until you are **turned upside-down**.

More or less the entire extent to which the three *Rui Liangfu* texts echo one another in wording is seen in the excerpts above. Significant concepts and themes recur, but hardly a single phrase is shared among the three *Rui Liangfu* texts; the examples above read at best like paraphrases of one another. At a less granular level of analysis, in contrast, we can observe that all three texts are in a much broader set of direct sharing or borrowing relationships with other texts, in which entire phrases or lines—longer textual sequences than those above—are shared. Such connections, especially common to transmitted *shi* and *shu* literature, are noted in the appended translations and have been

³ The term “disaster” 難 occurs also on slips 12, 16, 21, and 26 (lines 79, 105, 147, and 187).

⁴ The interpretation of this is tentative; see appendix 1, note 23, and appendix 2.

enumerated and studied by others,⁵ so I will not detail them all here. Nonetheless, the last of the excerpts above, discussed in the previous chapter, serves to illustrate the general point: “Rui Liangfu” shares the entire phrase “until you are turned upside down” 及爾顛覆 verbatim (or literatim) with the *Shijing* poem *Gu feng* 谷風 (Mao #35), whereas with the other Rui Liangfu texts, it shares at best the binome “upside-down” 顛覆 that makes for plausible, but not definite thematic intertextuality – and even that binome is not undisputed.⁶

5.2.2 Mid-scale intertextualities: Narrative contours shared by sources of a

⁵ Chen Pengyu 陈鹏宇, “Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu bi taoyu chengfen fenxi 清华简〈芮良夫毖〉套语成分分析,” *Shenzhen daxue xuebao, renwen shehui kexue ban* 深圳大學學報 (人文社會科學版) 31, no. 2 (March 2014): 44–54, under a Parry-Lord model, compares stock phrases or syntactic formulae found in the **Rui Liangfu bi* to a corpus of *Shijing* poetry and a more general corpus of early literature. By this model, *Shijing* poems share much more with *Sang rou* than they do with the **Rui Liangfu bi*. Chen concludes that the **Rui Liangfu bi* is a *shu* document, although it shares much with both transmitted *shi* and *shu* literature. The latter point can be seen more clearly in Ma Nan 馬楠, “Rui Liangfu Bi Yu Wenxian Xianglei Wenju Fenxi Ji Bushi 芮良夫毖與文獻相類文句分析及補釋,” *Shenzhen daxue xuebao, renwen shehui kexue ban* 深圳大學學報人文社會科學版 30, no. 1 (January 2013): 76–8. Ma provides a useful, if incomplete chart of parallel passages.

⁶ The editors read this binome as 攝停. See appendix 2. Another superficial exception to the rule is the phrase “The *min* also have a saying” 民亦有言 slip 6 line 175, which is close to the variant “The people also have a saying” 人亦有言 in *Sang rou*. Nonetheless, the latter version of the phrase is shared with *Dang* 蕩, *Yi* 抑, *Sang rou* 桑柔, and *Zheng min* 烝民 (Mao# 255, 256, 257, and 260, respectively), so there is hardly any specificity to the phrase, save to this group of admonitory poems.

legend

If we turn to more subtle traces of intertextuality, several narrative details also seem to tie the three texts together in spite of their lack of shared text. The first of these, shared between *Sang rou* and the **Rui Liangfu bi*, is the narrative in which Rui Liangfu heroically places the Zhou order before his life:

Sang rou, verse 14

嗟爾朋友 Oh you friends!

予豈不知而作 Do you think I didn't know when I stood forth/composed [this]?

如彼飛蟲 [I'm] like that creature taking wing,

時亦弋獲 so often landed by the dart,

既之陰女 I go to keep you sheltered,

反予來赫 yet you are hostile to me.

**Rui Liangfu bi*, slip 25; lines 171-4

我之不言 [But] if I myself don't say it.

則畏天之發機 then I fear Heaven's trigger will release

我其言矣 [and] once I myself have said it,

則逸者不媿 then the negligent ones will find it displeasing

**Rui Liangfu bi*, slips 27-8; lines 190-1

吾恐罪之□身 I fear blame will come to [my?] body

我之不□ [but] I [for my part] cannot ...[avoid it?]

Rui Liangfu has agreed to take a bullet, as it were, in the human realm, to save the

kingdom from Heaven's more damaging projectiles. Neither text shares a word, but both passages borrow the same metaphorical source domain; one highlights the crossbow bolt, the other the trigger. Both portray Rui Liangfu as a self-sacrificial statesman. This rhetorical stance, as far as I have found, is a unique feature shared by sources of the legend.

Second, another striking narrative contour, shared by "Rui Liangfu" and *Sang rou*, anticipates in particular the denial of the intended targets.

Sang rou, verse 16

雖曰匪予 Though they may say "it wasn't me,"

既作爾歌 I have written this song for them.

"Rui Liangfu," lines 109-112

無曰予為 No one says "it was my doing";

惟爾之禍 that will be your disaster.

In spite of the formulaic nature of complaints, as discussed in the previous chapters, this accusation seems specific to the Rui Liangfu narrative. A lacuna towards the end of the **Rui Liangfu bi* manuscript makes it at least possible that all three of the texts shared

this feature.⁷

Third, as mentioned in chapter four, as implied by the phrase *Ruibo ruo yue* 芮伯若曰 which signifies that the speaker (in the function of king or regent) speaks on behalf of the Zhou order, the language of “Rui Liangfu” is consistent with the **Rui Liangfu bi* narrative in which Rui Liangfu speaks so as “to make heard the *ming* entrusted to [him].” 以寓命達聽.⁸ In points of narrative convergence like this, the consistent detail of the supporting, background narrative is evident even in the absence of shared phrases in the speech texts.

The *Guoyu* and *Shiji* narratives differ significantly from the three texts examined above in two important ways. First, they do not rhyme. Second, with regard to textual borrowing, one is quite plainly the textual source of the other; the *Shiji* narrative absorbs virtually the entire text of the *Guoyu* anecdote, splicing what stands in *Guoyu* 1.4 as an

⁷ Slip 28, lines 192-3 read: “[graphs missing] ...this loss, and thus the state suffers the [resultant] distress” □□是失而邦受其不寧, so the interpretation of this section is not clear. On the basis of the other two texts, it is tempting to interpolate the words “Who recognizes” (誰認, 誰職, or 誰供) or “Who caused” (誰為). Other possibilities include “none prepare” 莫備.

⁸ Appendix 1, slip 28, line 195, in the manuscript text. See also ch. 4.

independent pericope into a larger narrative history of King Li and the Zhou.⁹ The *Guoyu* narrative shares the concern of “preparing for great disaster” 備大難 with the passages studied above, although the *Guoyu* elaborates that the problem in particular is Duke Yi of Rong 榮夷公, who “does not know great disaster” 不知大難, and is concerned with the exclusive concentration of wealth, or “monopolizing profit” 專利. In naming Duke Yi, the *Guoyu* makes explicit its interpretation of the less specified roles in the three basic sources.

Third, the *Guoyu* and its derivatives bear the distinct consciousness of a commentarial tradition, in which revered, canonical texts are known and cited by name, and other texts cite those texts. The *Guoyu* is among the latter, and throughout cites sections of the *Shijing* and chapters of the *Shang shu* by name. In the case of *Guoyu* 1.4, Rui Liangfu is portrayed citing by name poetic lines from the *Daya*,¹⁰ an obvious anachronism if we give credence to the idea that he was the author of a poem that

⁹ The scene of Rui Liangfu’s remonstrance of King li occurs in *Guoyu* 1.4 (see chapter one). Both 1.4 and *Guoyu* 1.3, which contains the Duke of Shao’s scene of remonstrance, conclude with the King’s exile to Zhi 豷; each functions as an independent moral tale, in contrast to the continuous narrative of the *Shiji*.

¹⁰ The *Daya* citation is to *Wen Wang* 文王 (Mao# 235), the first of the *Daya* section; the *Song* 頌 section is also quoted by name, for which the poem cited is *Si wen* 思文 (Mao# 275).

eventually became compiled in such a corpus. The three rhyming texts, in contrast, often quote ancient knowledge, prefaced, for example, by “men of the past had a saying...” 先人有言, or share poetic lines, as in “until you are turned upside down” 及爾顛覆, but these patterns of textual reuse never indicate any separate, fixed, authoritative body of text; they, themselves, seek to be the texts of authority.

More generally speaking, the three rhyming Rui Liangfu texts that form the core of this study differ from the *Guoyu/Shiji* narratives in that they are sources of a legend, and are not at all versions of a text in the sense that the *Guoyu/Shiji* pair are. This is perhaps more significant considering that, as the foregoing has shown, the three texts share a great deal of other features, not only with regard to the general consistency of narrative, but also with regard to their prosody. Notwithstanding the significant technical concerns of the **Rui Liangfu bi*, in an environment in which either it or “Rui Liangfu” were considered permissibly indirect remonstrations, it is difficult to see what historiographic or redactive forces, other than availability, might favor one over the

other.¹¹ The paucity of verbatim textual sharing is all the more striking when we consider that all the texts are rhymed; if rhyme functions as a mnemotechnic means of inscription, it has failed here; each of the texts seems so completely informed about the story, yet so ignorant of other texts, that one wonders whether the ignorance is willful.

We might hypothesize a scenario in which divergence of texts in the face of such conformity to legend is not willful: notwithstanding the formulae and differences of textual form, the relationship between “Rui Liangfu” and the **Rui Liangfu bi* might be compared to that between a post-Han *guwen Shu* document and the pre-Han, “authentic,” *zhenguwen* 真古文 (true archaic script) document that presumably preceded it but was lost. To the extent that a post-Han *guwen* 古文 *Shang shu* text is a fabrication that seeks to reconstruct what is lost, it elaborates the story as told by extant legend. In principle, where such a textual relationship might differ from that between the **Rui Liangfu bi* and “Rui Liangfu” is that whoever re-composed the *guwen Shang shu*

¹¹ The texts do each have individual preoccupations. For example, only the **Rui Liangfu bi* names Rong marauders as a destabilizing force; the “Rui Liangfu” chapter stresses the importance of *de* 德 whereas the **Rui Liangfu bi* is concerned with balancing *de* and *xing* 刑.

chapters presumably began with fragments of an earlier text that were preserved in quotations, such that the final product might at least in a few places be expected to share text with the lost *zhenguwen* text. Nonetheless, in practice, quotations in Warring States sources are seldom so precise as to specify an exact chapter in which one should expect to find a *shu* document's alleged source, so it is certainly possible that this exception to the comparison is meaningful.¹² Although Huang Peirong's "suspicions," that the tetrasyllabic rhythm of "Rui Liangfu" might mark it as a fabrication of the Eastern Zhou or later may be valid,¹³ now that we have the **Rui Liangfu bi*, there is good evidence that a text sharing much of its prosody, language, and narrative shape could have circulated by the Warring States at latest. In their detailed knowledge of a common legend, and relative ignorance of one another as fixed, inscribed texts, the two texts thus resemble a *weiguwen* 偽古文 (fabricated archaic script) and *zhenguwen* pair. Did the

¹² In the many cases in which *guwen* documents literature derives from other transmitted sources, the quotations do not necessarily derive from the exact chapter being reconstructed; for example, much of the shared text in *guwen* chapters that recount events of the Xia dynasty contain material that is quoted in other sources like the *Zuozhuan* or *Guoyu* merely as *Xia shu* 夏書 (the *Xia documents*, or "a document of Xia"). For a succinct accounting of the text sequences that *guwen* chapters share with other received texts, see Qu Wanli 屈萬里, *Shang Shu Jishi* 尚書集釋, ed. Zhou Fengwu 周鳳五 and Li Weitai 李偉泰 (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2014), appendix 3, pp.309-327.

¹³ See ch. 4 for this discussion.

authors of the **Rui Liangfu bi* (or the *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu,” for that matter) know the legend of Rui Liangfu, and know of the existence of a Rui Liangfu text, but not know the text itself? If so, I speculate that such knowledge could that have been a motivation to “reconstruct” or recompose such a lost text. It is unlikely that the texts we have now record the direct speech of Rui Liangfu, unless we believe that the sort of court visit mentioned in the *Bamboo Annals* only once was in fact repeated, generating a number of similar texts—an extremely dubious scenario. The mystery presented by the relationship between the rhymed Rui Liangfu texts makes investigating the compositional practices of the *guwen Shang shu* a promising avenue for further research—or for that matter, the composition of any set of texts that have been traditionally delegitimized by their alleged forgery.¹⁴ The goal, in part, would be to better understand to what extent practices that produced verse albums like the **Rui Liangfu bi* and the *Wuzi zhi ge* are continuous throughout late pre-imperial and early imperial Chinese manuscript culture. Such a plan of study would also afford better insight into how legends stabilize in the absence of authoritative sources that construct

¹⁴ One possible starting point would be comparisons of the *guwen* versions with several of the Tsinghua manuscripts that preserve versions of texts thought to be *zhenguwen* versions.

them.

5.2.3 Macro-scale intertextualities: Arrays of sources that construct similar legends.

The intertextual assemblage discussed above presents one array of sources; other sets of texts, distributed across genres and canons generally regarded as distinct, may interact in similar ways. In chapter one, we encountered the *Guoyu* scene in which Duke Mu of Shao presents King Li with a meta-remonstrance against rejecting remonstrance, and against silencing critics. The passage lays out a systematic, comprehensive division of remonstrative labor. At the upper echelons of government, “the dukes and high ministers 公卿 through the upper nobles 列士 offer *shi*-poems; the blind music-directors 瞽 offer *qu* 曲 tunes; the scribes offer *shu*-documents...” and so on down to the commoners who present *chuanyu* 傳語 (rumors).¹⁵ The attribution of *Sang rou* to Rui Liangfu tallies with this the division of labor, although similar sources, including the

¹⁵ *Guoyu* 1.3, translated in ch. 1.

Zuozhuan and *Lüshi chunqiu*, divide remonstrative labor in significantly different ways.

In these sources the blind music directors offer *shi*-poems and the dukes “intone exhortations and remonstrations” 誦箴諫 at court.¹⁶ Such uncertainties of how to divide the labor aside, all these schemes seek to be comprehensive, and legends of reproof are inscribed across arrays of texts that may at least partially reproduce some perceived division of labor.

One of these arrays constructs the legend of Zhai Gong Moufu 祭公謀父 (Moufu, Duke of Zhai) in his remonstrations to King Mu of Zhou 周穆王 (r.956-918 BCE). Thanks in part to recent excavations at Guodian and the discovery of the Tsinghua manuscripts, we now know a richer assemblage of sources for the legend. In addition to Zhai Gong’s eponymous chapter in the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書, a manuscript version of the text is found in the Tsinghua corpus, labeled on the verso with *Zhai Gong zhi gu ming* 祭公之顧命—the same name by which it is quoted in the *Guodian Ziyi* 緇衣.¹⁷ In this case, in contrast

¹⁶ *Zuozhuan* “Xiang gong” 襄公 14; *Lüshi chunqiu* “Shi jun lan” 恃君覽, 1373. See ch. 1.

¹⁷ The *Ziyi* 緇衣, preserved in the *Liji* 禮記 and found in versions in both the Guodian and Shanghai museum corpora quotes *Zhai Gong zhi gu ming*. The transmitted *Liji* version has the mis-transcription, *Ye Gong zhi guming* 葉公之顧命. See Li Xueqin 李学勤, “Shi Guodian Jian Zhai Gong Zhi Guming 釋郭店簡祭公之顧命,” *Wenwu* 文物 1998.7, 44-5; Edward L Shaughnessy, “Texts Lost in Texts: Recovering the

to that of Rui Liangfu, we have what are clearly two versions of a single text that we know as a *shu* document, so there is no perfect analogue in this assemblage for the **Rui Liangfu bi*. Nonetheless, for the tale of King Mu there are different excavated sources, including the *Mutianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳, in which the Duke of Zhai plays a small, yet musical and prognosticatory role,¹⁸ and in the case of the Duke of Zhai narrative, bronze vessel inscriptions provide more significant historical clues than they do for Rui Liangfu's immediate context.¹⁹ As with the **Rui Liangfu bi*, the *Mutianzi zhuan* demonstrates the diversity of textual forms and written lore that circulated in the Warring States period.

Many of the sources for the Duke of Zhai's remonstrance are distributed across

'Zhai Gong' Chapter of the Yi Zhou Shu," in *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture - Festschrift in Honour of Christoph Harbsmeier on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing, 2006), 32–47; Shaughnessy, forthcoming.

¹⁸ The *Mutianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳, is a Warring States text unearthed during the Jin dynasty as part of the *Jizhong* 汲冢 corpus. For a description of the discovery, see E. L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), ch. 3. In *juan* 5, the Duke of Zhai is portrayed exchanging festal songs with King Mu, including one called *Hao tian* 鬲 (昊) 天. The *Mutianzi zhuan* scenes might be productively compared with scenes of festal drinking found in the *Qiyue* manuscript.

¹⁹ See Edward Shaughnessy, "The Mutianzi Zhuan and King Mu Vessels," *Rao Zongyi Xueyuan Yuankan* 饒宗頤學院院刊, 2014.4, 55–75.

compendia and categories similar to those known for the legend of Rui Liangfu. A story surfaces in the *Guoyu*,²⁰ wherein the Duke of Zhai remonstrates against King Mu's overeager military campaigns. And, there may be a poem as well; at least as the division of remonstrative labor is portrayed in the *Guoyu*, it seems obligatory that a key statesman like the Duke of Zhai, a *qingshi* 卿士 (prime minister),²¹ should present a poem, although for whatever reason, no such poem is identified in the *Maoshi*. The poem, while not completely lost, is obscure, as is related by Ran Dan 然丹, who recites it in his indirect remonstrance of King Ling of Chu 楚靈王 (r. 540-529 BCE), recorded in the *Zuozhuan*:

Zuozhuan "Lord Zhao" 昭公 12, translation modified from Durrant et al.²²

……昔穆王欲肆其心，周行天下，將皆必有車轍馬跡焉，祭公謀父作祈招之詩，以止王心，王是以獲沒於祗宮，臣問其詩而不知也，若問遠焉，其焉能知之，王曰，子能乎，對曰，能，其詩曰：祈招之愔愔/ 式昭德音/ 思我王度/ 式如玉/ 式如金/ 形民之力/ 而無醉飽之心，王揖而入，饋不食，寢不寐，數日不能自克，以及於難，仲尼曰，古也有志，克己復禮，仁也，信善哉，楚靈王若能如是，豈其辱於乾谿。

"... In times past King Mu wanted to give free rein to his desires and travel everywhere under heaven, so that every place would show his carriage ruts and hoofprints. The Zhai Duke Moufu

²⁰ *Guoyu* 1.1, in Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu 上海師範大學古籍整理組, ed., *Guoyu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 1.

²¹ *Zhushu jinian*, "Mu Wang" year 11. Wang Guowei 王國維, *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年 in Fang Shiming 方詩銘 and Wang Xiuling 王修齡, *Guben Zhushu Jinian Jizheng* 古本竹書紀年輯證 (Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1981). Shaughnessy, 2006, 36.

²² Durrant et al., 1484-5; *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義, 1505-6.

composed the poem *Qi zhao* 祈招 (Prayer Summons) to still the king's heart, and it was for this reason alone that the king managed to die in the Zhi Palace [rather than abroad]. I asked Yixiang about this poem, but he did not know it. If you ask him something at all obscure, how will he ever know it?"

The king said, "Do you know it?"

Ran Dan replied, "I do. The poem says:

Sonorous is the prayer summons,
Showing forth the sound of virtue.
Think on our king's good rule—
Like jade,
Like bronze.
He is a model of strength to the people,
Giving no thought to drinking nor eating his fill."

The king saluted him and went in. When given food, he would not eat, nor would he sleep when lying down. For several days he could not master himself, having reached a state of awe.²³

The absence of *Qi zhao* 祈招 (Prayer summons) from the *Shijing* is consistent with the narrative of its obscurity, although obscurity, in the hands of Ran Dan, is employed to demonstrate a higher level of mastery that serves to augment—rather than diminish—the poem's powerful, transformative medicine. The sequence above, both in the *Zuozhuan* and in a variant in the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語, is appended with pronouncements attributed to Confucius, which praise the poem (and its application) as an example of "mastering oneself and returning to ritual propriety" 克己復禮, perhaps

²³ Interpreting here 難 for 難

a concession to the poem's exclusion from the *Shijing*.²⁴ There is no way to know when the poem became associated with its putative author, but the anecdote has several literary effects: it affirms the incantatory power of *shi*-poetry; it addresses the poem's elision; and, importantly, it makes complete the remonstrative, *shi*-poetic labor prescribed in the *Guoyu* for high officials. Additionally, as may also be the case for *Sang rou*, the anecdote's attributive function fills a perceived gap in the record; it performs, for a poem perceived as missing, the same act of reconstruction that authors of the post-Han *guwen Shang shu* pursued for documents literature.²⁵

Other textual arrays will be crucial to further study of the powers of remonstrative incantation. Duke Mu of Shao is a figure around whom such texts have accreted, including not just the meta-remonstration in the *Guoyu*, but also the *Ya* poems *Min lao* 民勞 (Mao #253) and *Dang 蕩* (Mao #255) as attributed in the *Mao xiaoxu*. Other figures

²⁴ The alternate passage is in "Zheng lun" 正論. Ch. 41, in Wang Su, ed. (魏)王肅注, *Kongzi Jiayu* 孔子家語, vol. 2, *Xinbian Zhuzi Jicheng* 新編諸子集成 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1991), 97. The pronouncement by Confucius is preserved also in *Analects* "Yan Yuan" 顏淵 D.C. Lau, *The Analects* (Bilingual Edition) (Hong Kong: CUHK Press, 2000), 108-9.

²⁵ In this regard, the reconstruction of pre-Zhou histories in what are generally thought to be Eastern Zhou chapters of the *Shang shu* presents a further dimension worthy of further study.

for whom we have more than one legendary source include Duke Wu of Wei 衛武公, who is named as author of the poem *Yi* 抑 in both the *Maoshi xiaoxu* and in the *Guoyu*. Fan Bo 凡伯 (The Earl of Fan), figures in the *Zuozhuan* narrative and is the putative author of the last poems of the *Daya*, corresponding to the reign of King You 幽王. The Rui Liangfu legend may have one of the more robust and varied arrays of sources, but these other groups of texts provide a preliminary corpus for studying how sources of a legend come to be disposed in transmitted books or manuscript sources.

5.3 Formation of genres

5.3.1 **Rui Liangfu bi*

The **Rui Liangfu bi*'s status as an item whose genre is currently undecided makes it an advantageous entry to the question of how genre operated in pre-imperial China, both in literary imagination and in the practices of literate individuals. The category of "manuscript verse albums," a category proposed in chapter two, provides an alternative

to genres that derive from later processes of canonization and compilation, of which we know only the end-products. Verse albums themselves bear outward structural and prosodic resemblances to one another, and the perceived similarity of their contained verses may reveal traces either of how content was grouped by virtue of similarity and theme, or of how previously extant verses were contextualized by the “re-construction” (or *de novo* creation) of similar content that completes the narrative scene. Verse albums may be considered jointly as a genre, but whether they constitute a genre of literary compilations or a genre of rhyming historical narratives is still an open question. Our ability to confront verse albums on their own terms, as a class of manuscript texts, has been complicated by the fact that some of their contents, namely those of the *Qiye* 耆夜 and *Zhou gong zhi qinwu* 周公之琴舞, are also found in the *Shijing*, albeit contextualized differently. Nonetheless, it is for this same reason that approaching the problem through the previously unknown **Rui Liangfu bi* affords a unique perspective. As far as the Tsinghua manuscripts can tell us, there is no sign that the songs of the **Rui Liangfu bi* were revered any more or less than songs now found in the *Shijing*. The great potential and value of verse albums lies not just in their presentation of texts we know,

but in the fact that as genres of compilations or suite-sized groups of texts, they represent what may be a missing link between the related processes by which genres crystallized and canons formed in early Chinese manuscript culture, a topic further discussed in the section on canon formation below.

5.3.2 *Sang rou* and autographic poems of the *Shijing*

To what extent are features such as historicity and the emergence of author-figures indicative of genre? In the *Maoshi*, nearly all *shi*-poems achieved historical fixity, and many were ascribed authors. Verse albums may belong to a body of lore that facilitated the historical fixation of individual *shi*. Sub-genres of poetry (many of the *Guofeng*, for example) might not all be intrinsically historical, but historical significance is intrinsic to many individual poems, such as those that name historical/legendary figures or events. If historical readings were not employed for some poems before the Han, it is hard to explain how it would suddenly become the case for all of them during the Han; the historicizing hermeneutic cannot be exclusive to the Han.

The Zhou impulse to create durable records of events predated the time in which there were mutually exclusive things called *shi* and *shu*. Whatever *Sang rou* may have been in its first manifestation, the version we have explicitly poses the question “Who is to blame?” taken up in the commentarial tradition for other poems; the author figure silhouetted in *Sang rou* and critical poems of the *Ya* also calls out for explicit identification, speaking forth in what chapter two has argued is autocommentary on the poetic act (and also proto-commentary, with regard to the incipient written interpretive tradition). The *Xiaoya* poems of the suite beginning with *Jie nanshan* 節南山 are explicitly historical in ways that poems of the *Daya* take up only implicitly. As such they reveal the coalescence of a sub-genre of explicitly political poems that represents a historical hermeneutic—a literary and intellectual tradition that is continuous both with the contextualization practices evident in verse albums and with the systematic, written comments of the *Maoshi xiaoxu*. Historicity, explicit or not, may be just one of many aspects that contributes to genres that coalesce as Wittgensteinian family resemblances rather than Aristotelian categories in which historical figures or individual narrators are

necessary for every poem. Nonetheless, verse albums and suites of poems point to early efforts to bring like materials together, or to relate legends through poems whose relatedness is reflected in form as well as content.

5.3.3 *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu”

As discussed in chapter four, the “Rui Liangfu” text of the *Yi Zhou shu*, while unusual in its combination of rhythm, rhyme, dramatic monologue, and pre-classical language, contains formulae (e.g. *ruo yue* 若曰) that mark it clearly as a *shu*-type document. It is hard to know whether a text like “Rui Liangfu” began with such formulae, or if it was adapted to the conventions of transmitted *shu* by appending formulae that made it recognizable as a *shu* text. By Li Xueqin’s count, the Tsinghua corpus contains more than twenty *shu* texts.²⁶ Some of these do seem to demonstrate a relatively mature set of conventions, but they also present significant variance from transmitted *shu*. As the Tsinghua texts are still being published, a full analysis of their forms will remain a

²⁶ Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Qinghua Jian Yu Shangshu Yi Zhou Shu Yanjiu 清華簡與尚書逸周書研究,” *Shixueshi Yanjiu* 史學史研究 142, no. 2 (2011): 104–9, 104.

direction for further research. Some texts, such as the *Zhai gong* 祭公 and its counterpart in the Tsinghua corpus, may represent genres of literature for which conventions of form matured earlier; these texts may also be more stable than others, such as the *Jinteng* 金滕 and its Tsinghua counterpart. While subgroups of texts—such as dramatic speeches—may seem to cohere as a group sharing common conventions, and as codicologically disposed in the *Zhou shu* section of the *Shang shu*, the content of the canon overall is heterogenous, encompassing texts that present dialogues and other textual forms. The same rule of heterogeneity holds for the *Yi Zhou shu* and the Tsinghua corpus as a whole. In light of the fact that the term *shu* in some pre-imperial transmitted texts refers more generally to “writings” rather than a specific genre, it would be desirable to know what groupings of forms—if any—constituted a distinct class in the context of the Tsinghua corpus.

Although this question of genre may ultimately prove unanswerable, its further exploration is an essential part of a more comprehensive approach to identifying generic dark horses like the **Rui Liangfu bi* and texts like the *Wuzi zhi ge*, the latter of

which may be classed among the *shu* merely by accidents of post-Han compilation. As discussed in chapter two, texts that resemble the **Rui Liangfu bi* in content include Warring States technical literature as well as canonical poetry, which further complicates the comparison to *shu* literature and begs the question of what shape the conventions of a class of *shu* texts had for early manuscript users.

5.4 Formation of Canons and Commentarial traditions

Chinese canons, once they have become fixed, are highly conservative in the sequence of their contents. In light of the modern unearthing of early manuscript texts, the order of units in manuscript texts that predate canonical fixities, in contrast, has been understood by modern scholars as considerably more fluid; Rudolf Wagner and William Boltz have identified the notion of a *zhang* 章 as the smallest free-standing unit of textual content;²⁷ such *zhang* are generally understood to sort freely, in principle

²⁷ For the argument that *zhang* 章 is the unit of composition in the *Laozi*, see Rudolf G. Wagner, "The Impact of Conceptions of Rhetoric and Style upon the Formation of Early Laozi Editions: Evidence from Guodian, Mawangdui and the Wang Bi Laozi," *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* XLIV (1999): 32–56. William Boltz generalizes the argument to pre-imperial Chinese texts, in William G.

becoming disposed anywhere in a manuscript. Nonetheless, the intervening processes by which manuscript fluidity coalesces into the fixities of canons is less well understood. *Xu* 序 (lit. “sequence”) commentaries, like that of the *Maoshi*, presumably play a role in consolidating the sequences that we find in canons. Nonetheless, as Wang Xianqian has pointed out for the *Maoshi*, the suite of ritual and occasional poems that number 208 through 218 in the *Maoshi* sequence are all read implausibly by the Mao commentary as ironic criticisms of King You.²⁸ More generally, as Alexander Beecroft has recently argued, the *xiaoxu* often sacrifice a plausible reading of the poems in order to preserve a narrative of decline,²⁹ and the difficulty of reconciling some of the poems with their *xiaoxu* suggests that the order of the poems was fixed prior to the *xiaoxu*. The standard *Maoshi* sequence of the poetry is thus likely to have stabilized before any interpretive *xu* commentary.³⁰

Boltz, “The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts,” in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, ed. Martin Kern (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 50-78.

²⁸ Wang Xianqian, “Shi Sanjia yi jishu xulie” 詩三家義集疏序列, *Sanjia*, p.2.

²⁹ Alexander Beecroft, “Authorship in the Canon of Songs (Shi Jing),” in *That Wonderful Composite Called Author: Authorship in East Asian Literatures from the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Christian Schwermann and Raji C. Steineck (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 58–96, 77-85.

³⁰ Here I consider the possibility that the *xu* was fundamentally a sequential list of poems to which synopses might have been added.

Boltz makes the important distinction between “practitioner lineages” in early China, which safeguard texts within communities that deem them authoritative.³¹ While the Han version of the *Yi* found at Mawangdui has a very different sequence from the transmitted text, the transmitted sequence seems to have become fixed and entered circulation well before the Han.³² This is significant in a text which is often presumed to have been used one *zhang* at a time, at least in the course of divination. The much anticipated manuscript of the *Guofeng* held by Anhui University has a sequence that differs from the *Maoshi* in important ways, but in which certain sections, such as the *Zhounan* 周南 and *Shaonan* 召南 have sequences identical to the received text.³³ A scientifically excavated manuscript of the *Bei feng* 邶風 from Xiajiatai 夏家台 also

³¹ Boltz, 50-60. Boltz (n.24) cites Nylan and Csikszentmihalyi to the effect that “texts” in this context, are subordinate to practices. Nonetheless, we can only speak of texts we have, and to disregard pre-imperial manuscripts as non-texts risks a chauvinism for the textual authority of the Han. Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan, “Constructing Lineages and Inventing Traditions through Exemplary Figures in Early China,” *T’oung Pao* 89, no. 1/3 (2003): 59–99.

³² See Edward L. Shaughnessy, trans., *I Ching: The Classic of Changes*, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1997), 16-18; Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Unearthing the Changes: Recently Discovered Manuscripts of the Yi Jing (I Ching) and Related Texts* (Columbia University Press, 2014). 47-57, and Sun Peiyang 孫沛陽, “Shanghai Bowuguan Cang Zhanguo Chu Zhushu de Zhou Yi de Fuyuan Yu Guaxu Yanjiu 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書《周易》的復原與卦序關係,” *Gudai Wenming Yanjiu Tongxun* 古代文明研究通訊 46 (2010): 23–36, apud Shaughnessy 2014..

³³ Xu Zaiguo 徐在國, “Anhui daxue cang zhanguo zhujian shijing shi xu yu yiwen” 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡詩經詩序與異文, *Wenwu* 文物, 2017.9, 60-62.

promises to shed light on matters of sequence.³⁴ The stability of textual sequences is of special interest because if sufficiently fixed, sequence may mediate the spread of a historicizing hermeneutic. Certainly, in the case of verse albums, materials that are grouped together are thematically similar and presumably subject to similar hermeneutic strategies. As collections grow or incorporate heterogeneous materials on a single codex, a unifying hermeneutic principle could produce the historicizing phenomena we see in *Guofeng* hermeneutics.

Recent work on manuscript culture has portrayed the late Warring States as the beginning of a period in which manuscript materials proliferated explosively and intellectual activity had just begun to take on the complex, systematic, text-mediated structures that culminate in textual canonization.³⁵ There is likely much truth to these accounts, but by this reasoning, highly ordered texts would seem to be an anomaly in

³⁴ Excavated at Xiajiatai 夏家台 in 2016, awaiting reconstruction and publication. It would be desirable to see that the sequence in a scientifically excavated section of the *Shijing* preserves a degree of order similar to the Anda manuscript.

³⁵ See Dirk Meyer, *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), ch. 7. Meyer's view is inspired in part by the work of Eric Havelock on Greek literature.; Rens Krijgsman, "A Self-Reflexive Praxis: Changing Attitudes Towards Manuscript and Text in Early China," *Early China*, 2019.2, 1–36, <https://doi.org/10.1017/eac.2019.2>.

the Warring States. We also invariably suffer from a “streetlight effect” wherein the evidence we have about Chinese manuscript culture comes almost exclusively from the region of Chu (where buried texts did not decompose), and largely from graves (which are not libraries). Manuscript production was not a new technology in the Warring States, and evidence that would afford broader claims about manuscript culture throughout China is unfortunately sparse.

The foregoing chapters have also opened a discussion of text-critical processes that produce canons. Li Xueqin has argued (contra Huang Peirong) that the distinction between revered documents of the Zhou and “leftover” documents does not exist from the perspective of the Tsinghua manuscripts, or in the Warring States more generally.³⁶ The evidence from *shu* quotation patterns seems to be in Li’s favor. If a text like the *Wucheng* 武成 mentioned by Mencius could be shunted to the leftovers of the *Yi Zhou shu* on the basis of its content (and thus perceived authenticity), so might texts like the “Rui Liangfu” and “Zhai gong,” have been deemed inappropriate for inclusion in the

³⁶ Li Xueqin 2011, 107-8.

Shang shu, due to the fact that they portray remonstrations that imply (in the case of “Zhai gong”) or more directly state the faults of Zhou kings. Given the directness and incantatory properties of both the “Rui Liangfu” and **Rui Liangfu bi*, it should perhaps not be a surprise that both texts were either lost or marginalized in imperial times.

Above, I considered how verse albums like the **Rui Liangfu bi*, *Qiye*, and *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* might form a missing link between genre formation and text formation. Verse albums present suites of songs, and we also encounter runs of poems in the *Shijing* that seem to group together thematically, such as—for example—the critical suite of poems beginning with *Jie nanshan* (containing at least Mao #191-193) in the *Xiaoya*—the suite that names figures contemporary to King You. The two poems allegedly authored by Yin Jifu in the *Daya* section (#259 and 260) group together as one more of many examples.³⁷ There are reasons for caution in assuming that verse albums are a direct intermediary between *zhang* (or songs, or single poems). One important way

³⁷ Poems of the *Guofeng*, which might have little explicit historical content may have been arranged simply on more superficial thematic bases; poems numbered 137-141 all seem to open with lines about gates, and are titled *Dong men zhi fen* 東門之粉 (The Elms of the Eastern Gate), *Heng men zhi xia* 橫門之下 (Beneath the Gate’s Cross-lintel); *Dong men zhi chi* 東門之池 (The Pool of the Eastern Gate); *Dong men zhi yang* 東門之楊 (The Poplar of the Eastern Gate).

in which verse albums differ from suites within the canon is that no known verse album contains more than one homolog of a known poem, so they afford no conclusions about sequencing. It is also the case that the concept of *zhang* may not apply as fluidly to songs, which are structured by music lost to us, but perhaps known to manuscript users. Nevertheless, even if the verse albums are not direct precursors to suites as found in the canon, they belong to a common commentarial discourse in which *xu* commentaries participate, and they represent a clear effort to group (or reconstruct) thematically related materials that exhibit more complex narrative structure than is presumed by a model of freely assorting *zhang*.

5.5 Rhyme, genre, and canon formation

Prosody, and in particular tetrasyllabic rhyme has been approached as an unknown in relation to genres defined by canons. Here, I comment briefly on some tendencies of transmitted literature, possible regional differences with regard to the use of rhyme, and suggestions for further study.

The prefatory, commentarial narration that opens a text like the **Rui Liangfu bi*, the “Rui Liangfu” chapter’s appended (possibly commentarial) opening, and the *xiaoxu* pronouncements that frame critical poems of the *Shijing* are generally concise statements of historical significance; though the texts may have lyrical content, we have relatively little direct knowledge of the psychology — real or imagined — of such scenes. The scene in the *Zuozhuan* that recounts Ran Dan’s recitation of *Qi zhao* 祈招 illustrates how potent a poem could be. A poem’s attribution of authorship and historical significance may also be integral to its power; *Qi zhao* would presumably have been at least as potent when originally presented by the Duke of Zhai. This provides at least one preliminary model for the incantatory power of the **Rui Liangfu bi*, “Rui Liangfu,” and *Sang rou*. On the other hand, in the case of *Qi zhao*, or the earlier, self-remonstrative suite of *Min yu xiao zi* 閔予小子 through *Xiao bi* 小毖 and the *Zhou song* or the *Zhou gong zhi qinwu*, efficacy depends ultimately on the ruler’s willingness to listen, a problem addressed directly by Duke Mu of Shao’s *Guoyu* dialogue with King Li. We don’t know if the efficacious incantation of *Qi zhao* operates in the same way that

the *Rui Liangfu bi* was intended to. We cannot rule out the possibility that the king in such a scene might be bowled over by the power of rhyming exhortations, yet emerge days later insufficiently transformed. But it is more likely that efficacy in the rhyming word magic of Rui Liangfu texts lies in the power of prediction; if we read *Sang rou* as it is interpreted by the earliest commentaries, then we can generalize that Rui Liangfu's rhymes in transmitted and manuscript sources all predict King Li's failure and the beginning of the end of the Zhou order.

Nonetheless, it is still intuitive to group efficacious incantation and prediction as powers of a single rhyming word magic as it is portrayed in early transmitted literature. But the use of this powerful magic has its conventions. As David Schaberg has perceptively noted for the *Zuo zhuan*, quotations of *shi* poetry like that of Ran Dan are regular rhetorical events, but "except in citation and recitation, rhyming was the province of employed specialists, diviners and physicians in particular, and with them it retained close connections with song, being introduced as a distinct rhythmic form

framed by and separate from ordinary speech.”³⁸ This generalization holds true for other transmitted Ruist literature, including the *Guoyu*, which perhaps not incidentally contains the only Rui Liangfu text that does not rhyme (except—to prove the rule—in quoting *Shijing* poetry to make its point). Schaberg advances the hypothesis that rhyming as portrayed in the *Zuozhuan* is beneath the nobles, although it may be that it is in fact above them, and that the technical and political realms simply have distinct rules of authority and efficacy. It is the absence of this presumed distinction that makes the technical language of the **Rui Liangfu bi* stand out, although we need not assume that there was such distinction in Chu; Schaberg mentions the *Tian wen* 天問 of the *Chuci* 楚辭 as a notable exception to the tendency to preserve a separation between lyrical and technical rhyme. Another exception is found in the **Min zhi fumu* 民之父母 manuscript of the Shanghai corpus, presumably also from Chu, in which Confucius rhymes in an instructional context. Political rhyming in the *Zuozhuan* presumes a significant power, such that it is exercised by the use of transmitted rhymes that preserve political powers to which only the sages of the past were entitled. If rhyme is as potent in the

³⁸ David Schaberg, “On the Range and Performance of Laozi-Style Tetrasyllables,” in *Literary Forms of Argument in Early China* (Brill, 2015), 87–111, 90. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004299702>

interpretive context of the *Zuozhuan* as the Ran Dan example suggests, then to speak with one's own, authoritative rhyme to enumerate the faults of a standing Zhou ruler would be a usurpation. The violation of this norm may be critical grounds for rejecting texts like "Rui Liangfu" or the **Rui Liangfu bi*. Just as Mencius might question the authenticity of the *Wucheng* 武成 on the grounds of an implicit, fundamental view of a sage king's virtuous conduct, so we might imagine that unthinkably direct incantation challenging a Zhou king might be grounds for doubting the "authenticity" of the "Rui Liangfu" and relegating it to the "leftovers" of history.

5.6 Loss, reconstruction, and loss by selective reconstruction: A model for the continuous composition of history

Perhaps, however, having rejected something in times past as worthless or subversive, there comes a time when we wish that something had never been discarded. This is more easily avoided in the digital age than in the age of bamboo, but the problem is not new. Below, I offer some closing reflections, and gesture towards a third option, beyond

shi or *shu*, for considering verse albums in a Han context; I also address the larger problem of how verse albums, *shu* documents, or *shi* attribution might represent a continuous effort to fill historical lacunae, which are in turn created by the relative care or neglect implicit in the selective process of textual criticism.

Han authors tried to recover more than lost *shu* documents; whether in the six domains of knowledge (six arts) or in the six canons, music was a domain for which records were presumed incomplete. The (re-) construction of the *Yue ji* 樂記 (Record of Music) was an important Han project whose goals are today still incomplete. In the *Hanshu* "Yiwenzhi," a number of writings are named in the category of "Record of Music," although their contents are mostly unknown to us. I will not delve into the problems of the *Yue ji*, some portion of some version of which is preserved in the *Liji* and duplicated in the *Shiji*.³⁹ Nonetheless, in addition to two versions of the text in twenty-three and twenty-four pian, respectively, which differ in ways we do not know,

³⁹ For a detailed translation and philological study see Scott Cook, "'Yue Ji' 樂記 -- Record of Music: Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Commentary," *Asian Music* 26, no. 2 (1995): 1-96, <https://doi.org/10.2307/834434>.

the “Yiwenzhi” lists a number of related materials:

樂記二十三篇。王禹記二十四篇。雅歌詩四篇。雅琴趙氏七篇。雅琴師氏八篇。雅琴龍氏九十九篇。
凡樂六家，百六十五篇。

Yueji 樂記 (Record of music) 23 *pian*

Wang Yu ji 王禹記 (Wang Yu Record) 24 *pian*

Yage shi 雅歌詩 (*Ya* song-poems) 4 *pian*

Yaqin Zhao shi 雅琴趙氏 (Zhao lineage *ya* lute) 7 *pian*⁴⁰

Yaqin Shi shi 雅琴師氏 (Shi lineage *ya* lute) 8 *pian*⁴¹

Yaqin Long shi 雅琴龍氏 (Long lineage *ya* lute) 99 *pian*⁴²

Music of the six lineages, altogether 165 *pian*⁴³

In names like *Ya ge shi* 雅歌詩, *ya* may take its meaning from the trope in the *liu yi*

六藝 (Six arts) named in the *Daxu* 大序 to the *Maoshi*, wherein it is explicated as

deriving from the meaning of “correct” 正 or “upright,” a meaning that is related to

the *Ya* of *yayue* 雅樂 (elegant/proper music). Like *yayan* 雅言 (official language), these

may record musical performances that seek to be normative, non-dialectical, and non-

⁴⁰ Ban Gu 班古 notes: [Mr. Zhao] was named Ding 定, and was from Bohai. These were performed by the Counselor-in-chief Wei Xiang 魏相, during the time of Emperor Xuan 宣帝. 名定，勃海人，宣帝時丞相魏相所奏。

⁴¹ Ban Gu: [Mr. Shi] was named Zhong 中 and was from Donghai. According to the tradition he was a descendant of Shi Kuang 師曠 名中，東海人，傳言師曠後。

⁴² Ban Gu: [Mr. Long] was named De 德 and came from Liang. 名德，梁人。

⁴³ Ban Gu (漢)班固 撰, Yan Shigu (唐)顏師古 ann., and Wang Xianqian 王先謙 ann., *Han Shu Buzhu* 漢書補注, *Zhongguo Xueshu Lei Bian* 中國學術類編 (Taipei: Ding wen shu ju, 1986), 1711.

regional (universal).⁴⁴ Given the project as laid out in the “Yiwenzhi,” we might characterize their contents as pertaining to morally exemplary, upright music. Although the contents might be more technical descriptions of performance aspects of music, or early attempts at some unknown system of notation, the comment appended to the end of the section offers an explanation, at least for the first two items in the *Yue ji*

bibliography:

周衰俱壞，樂尤微(眇)，以音律為節，又為鄭衛所亂故無遺法。漢興，制氏以雅樂聲律，世在樂官，頗能紀其鏗鏘鼓舞，而不能言其義。六國之君，魏文侯最為好古，孝文時得其樂人竇公，獻其書，乃周官大宗伯之大司樂章也。武帝時，河間獻王好儒，與毛生等共采周官及諸子言樂事者，以作樂記，獻八佾之舞，與制氏不相遠。其內史丞王定傳之，以授常山王禹。禹，成帝時為謁者，數言其義，獻二十四卷記。劉向校書，得樂記二十三篇，與禹不同，其道浸以益微。

When the Zhou declined everything was destroyed; music was especially obscure, as it was marked out by tones and pitches. Moreover, as it was disordered by the [sounds of] Zheng and Wei, there was nothing left to emulate. When the Han flourished, the Zhi lineage, by their knowledge of the sounds and pitches of correct 雅 music, served in the ministry of music. They were quite able at arranging the ringing and chiming of drum and dance, but they were unable to discuss [the music's] meaning.

Of the rulers of the six countries, Marquis Hou of Wei loved antiquity the most; in the time of Emperor Xiao, [the emperor] received his musician, Elder Dou. [Dou] presented his writings, and thereupon the music of the *Zhou guan's* Musician in Chief, in the Ministry of Rites, became manifest.

⁴⁴ The term *Yaqin* 雅琴 is also attested as a type of stringed instrument, although that does not explain the *ya* in *ya geshi* 雅歌詩; the *ya* on its own may refer to a type of drum. It is uncertain how to translate the names of these texts, since they are all lost.

Chapter 5: Legend, genre, and canon

In the time of Emperor Wu, the Xian King of Hejian loved the Ru, and he accompanied Mao Sheng⁴⁵ and others in collecting [passages] from the *Zhou guan* and the many masters' texts that discuss matters of music, in order to make the *Record of Music*. In presenting the dances for eight rows of performers, they did not stray far from the Zhi lineage. The Assistant to the Royal Secretary, Wang Ding transmitted it, whereby it was given to Wang Yu of Changshan. Yu was a visitor in the time of the Emperor Cheng, on multiple occasions explaining the meaning [of the music], and he presented a *Record* in twenty-four *pian*. Liu Xiang collated the records, producing the *Yue ji* in twenty-three *pian*, which was different from that of Yu; its/their ways gradually became obscured.⁴⁶

What is interesting about this passage is that on the one hand, the problem of the music's loss is in part a function of its medium; in the absence of notation, music, unlike literature, cannot be easily written down. On the other hand, the Zhi lineage musicians did somehow know *ya* 雅 music, as it should be, seemingly in spite of the sullying influences of the sounds of Zheng and Wei; what they lacked was knowledge of the *yi* 義 (significance; meaning) of the music, a project that requires the expertise of Elder Dou 竇公 and members of the Mao lineage. The contents of Wang Yu's *Yueji* are unknown, but so is much of Liu Xiang's *Yueji*, which is now missing thirteen *pian*. Of the remaining hundred and seventeen scrolls in the "Yiwenzhi" we know even less. If

⁴⁵ Cook, 76 n.6. notes that Mao Sheng probably refers to Mao Chang 毛萇 of the *Maoshi* transmission lineage.

⁴⁶ "Yue ji" in Ruan Yuan 阮元 ed., *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義, *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965), 662.

we take seriously, however, the idea that the impetus behind the *Yue ji* project was to uncover the lost (or misplaced) meaning of the music—a concern closely entwined with the aims of the Mao lineage—then the material found in the Tsinghua verse albums would undoubtedly have been of great interest to that project. Each verse album, in one way or another, seeks to set the contextual meaning and significance of a musical performance.

The urge to collect what was presumably extant but now lost is not relegated to the meaning of musical performances. In a recent article discussing the post-Han *guwen Shu* documents in light of the Tsinghua discoveries, Li Xueqin 李學勤, citing the view of Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, has said:

所謂「作偽」，我一再地說並不一定是古人是個騙子在欺騙我們，而只是整理了一些材料。Regarding the matter of the so-called “faking” [of the documents], I have said repeatedly that it is not necessarily the case that the ancients were deceivers trying to deceive us; they were just re-ordering some materials.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Qinghua jian yu Shangshu Yi Zhou shu yanjiu 清華簡與尚書逸周書研究,” *Shixueshi yanjiu* 史學史研究 142, no. 2 (2011): 104–9, 106.

Li's claim that we ought not to pass judgement on the ancient people and processes that produced transmitted literature is not unreasonable. And although he credits the statement above to Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, it encapsulates quite well his own historiographic stance, and his role at the helm of the "re-ordering group" 整理組 of the Tsinghua manuscripts.⁴⁸ If the ancients were doing the same sort of thing that Chen Yinke did and that we do today, faced with disordered, unearthed manuscripts of uncertain provenance, then the implications of Li's statement may be broader than he intended: the reconstruction of history, in which disparate fragments are pieced together, and the lacunae are filled so as to yield a more comprehensive account of the past, is a continuity. If this is true, we need not view the production of the *guwen Shangshu* as an isolated moment of forgery, but as part of an ongoing process of creative re-ordering and reconstruction.

Admittedly, historiographic approaches are not the same today as they were in antiquity, but there is no reason to believe that people in the Han and Jin were the

⁴⁸ Ibid. For those who suspect the Tsinghua documents as forgeries, such a statement will undoubtedly also be read as an apology for fabricating texts in the name of reconstructing history.

first to perceive historical lacunae and seek to fill them in. In contrast to the early *gao* chapters of the *Shang shu* that are said to record live speech of the Zhou kings at court, *Shu* documents that record events long before the Zhou do not plausibly record speech verbatim in the scenes they construct; they are imitations that reproduce the forms of earlier Western Zhou texts. I propose that such *shu* documents are generated, “reconstructed,” or fabricated in part to augment the perceived loss or insufficiency of the textual record, and perhaps even to say things that were unspeakable closer to the events of concern. The same urge may generate verse albums, or designate songs to tell histories (as for many of the *Guofeng*, or the *Jie* suite, as I envision it in its earliest recognizable instantiation). Moreover, debates about the exact dating of *shu* documents are produced in part by the fact that their composition (or the re-ordering 整理 of their raw constituents) is a more continuous process than has been previously recognized. The “Pan Geng” chapter, discussed in chapter four in connection with “Rui Liangfu,” is one example of a text featuring kingly, dramatic speech that likely borrows form and formulae from earlier literature, akin to that found in the dramatic *gao* chapters of the *Shang shu*. “Rui Liangfu” may likewise be a historical reconstruction that makes use of

shu formulae.

Ultimately, Li argues—correctly, I think—that many *shu* documents like the *Huangmen* 皇門 and *Zhai gong* 祭公 chapters stem from legitimately old texts, and that the variety of pre-imperial materials that circulated in the Han were not limited to the discoveries reported in transmitted histories, like the Kong Anguo *shu* documents allegedly discovered in the wall of Confucius’s old home.⁴⁹ Li’s argument that there is no Warring States distinction between “revered” documents on the one hand and “leftover” ones on the other is probably true. It is advanced, however, partly in the interest of emphasizing the significance of texts in the Tsinghua corpus; the implied consequence is that we ought to value texts of the *Yi Zhou shu* (and hence, especially those *Yi Zhou shu* texts in the Tsinghua corpus) because they contain legitimately ancient material. While it is undoubtedly true that we should value those texts, I would add that we should equally value the “forgeries” of the *guwen Shang shu*, and the manuscript texts that never seemed true enough to be canonized. Texts that seem to be

⁴⁹ Li, 2011 107-8.

false may be among the truest sources we have for understanding the nature of early Chinese historiography and text critical processes. Moreover, it is precisely a zeal for things “authentic” at the expense of the “inauthentic” that contributed to the reputational decay of the *Yi Zhou shu* in the first place,⁵⁰ and likely to the loss of countless other texts like the **Rui Liangfu bi*.

⁵⁰ Li, 2011 intimates that many of the problems of reading the *Yi Zhou shu* are a result of their transcription from pre-imperial scripts in the Han dynasty. This may be the case for any text that predates the Han. The study in chapter four of the “Rui Liangfu” text preserved almost entirely in the *Qunshu zhiyao*, demonstrates that much of the corruption in that text occurred due to neglect during its medieval transmission, rather than from some ancient transcription into standard script.

Appendices

Appendix One: **Rui Liangfu bi* Transcription and Translation

In the following translation, the top line provides modified graph as processed for the *wenzibian* 文字編 index,¹ the second line provides the editors' *liding* 隸定 standardization, and the third line interprets the likeliest equivalent word in Han graphs. References to interpretations of "the editors" are found in the original publication's transcription and notes, *Qinghua jian* v.3, 144-155. Footnotes below indicate where the translation diverges from the editors' interpretation. The line of Han graphs includes traditional rhyme categories based on the system of Wang Li and phonetic reconstructions following Axel Schuessler's OCM, unless otherwise noted, although Baxter and Sagart 2014 have also been consulted for all rhymes.² Numbers (1-

¹ Enhanced photos of the individual characters are courtesy of Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔 of Tsinghua University's Center for the Research and Preservation of Unearthed Documents. The graphs are produced with the aid of a lasso selection tool and are therefore not a completely objective replacement for the original photographs or slips.

² Li Zhenhua 李珍華 and Zhou Changji 周長楫, eds., *Hanzi gujin yinbiao* 漢字古今音表, 1st ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993); Axel Schuessler and Bernhard Karlgren, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa*, ABC Chinese Dictionary Series (Honolulu: University of

20) among the images and transcription indicate the ends of the bamboo slips in sequence.

In addition to the initial graphic transcriptions and semantic glosses of the Tsinghua editorial group, a number of alternative interpretations are collected in two recent M.A. theses by Fang Yuan 方媛 and Zhu Dewei 朱德威.³ The most up-to-date review and bibliography in Chinese is currently Zhou Tianyu's 周天雨 "Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu bi yanjiu zongshu" 清華簡《芮良夫毖》研究綜述 (Summary of research on the Tsinghua *Rui Liangfu bi* bamboo manuscript).⁴

The transcription and translation are divided into sections starting from (1.0), which reflect an imperfect attempt to divide the text into discrete verses on the basis of prosody and theme. Each phrase is numbered on the left hand side. In displaying

Hawai'i Press, 2009); William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart, *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

³ Fang Yuan 方媛, "Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu bi jishi" 清華簡《芮良夫毖》集釋 (M.A. thesis, Anhui University, 2016); Zhu Dewei 朱德威, "Rui Liangfu bi jishi" 《芮良夫毖》集釋 (M.A. thesis, Jilin University, 2017).

⁴ Zhou Tianyu 周天雨, "Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu bi yanjiu zongshu" 清華簡《芮良夫毖》研究綜述, *Yindu xuekan* 殷都學刊, no. 2 (2017): 59–61.

rhyme scheme, capital letters (e.g. [A]) represent rhyme; lowercase letters indicate near-rhyme (final consonance or assonance). In the prosodic analysis, I have also looked at rhyme operating at the penultimate position in each phrase. Underlined letters (e.g. [B]), indicate that in addition to the final rhyme, some form of penultimate rhyme also functions between the indicated phrase and its neighboring phrases. A pound sign ([#]) indicates monorhyme, in which a final word is repeated; when repeated words are part of the larger rhyme scheme, monorhyme is indicated together with the rhyme (e.g [A#]). The rhyme group (e.g. 真 -in) designated by any given letter [A] restarts from each section. Short horizontal, phrase-end punctuation marks in the text are represented by “-” in the Chinese text and “◎” in the translation.

(1.0)



周邦聚又禍 寇戎方晉 辟戢事 各縈其身 恆靜于富

周邦驟有禍, 寇戎方進^[真*tsins], 厥辟御事^[之*dzrəʔ], 各營其身^[之*pəkh], 恆爭于富^[之*pəkh]

- 1 The Zhou State had repeatedly suffered misfortune,
and the marauding Rong were entering. [A]
Their Lordships and masters of affairs [B]

Appendix 1

- each fended for themselves,⁵ [A]
 5 constantly struggling for wealth. [B]

莫治庶難 莫卹 1 邦之不寧 內良夫乃 復讎再終 曰

莫^紉庶難 莫卹 1 邦之不寧 - 內良夫乃 復讎再終 曰
 莫治庶難^[元*nàn] 莫卹 1 邦之不寧^[耕*nén]。內良夫乃^[之*noʔ] 作愆再終^[侵/冬*tun]。曰

None of them governed the many hardships; [a]
 none of them concerned themselves with the disquiet of the state. ◎[a]
 Rui Liangfu thus made this admonition in two codas. ◎ [a]
 He said:

(1.1)

敬之 紉君子 天猶畏矣 敬 紉君子 蕙敗改繇 2

敬之^紉君子 天猶畏矣 - 敬^紉君子 蕙敗改繇 2
 敬之哉君子^[*tsəʔ] 天猶畏^[*ʔuih]矣。 敬哉君子^[*tsəʔ] 蕙敗改繇^[齊*jau] 2

- Oh, be warned of this, My Lord(s): [A#]
 10 Heaven is indeed to be feared! ◎⁶ [B]

⁵ The term *Jue pi* 厥辟 is found in a number of bronzes as a third-person term for the ruler. Here the Tsinghua editors interpret it to mean King Li of Zhou 周厲王 on the basis of other historical accounts of Rui Liangfu. Others have emphasized that the term may refer more broadly to Zhou rulers. See Gao Zhonghua 高中華 and Yao Xiao'ou 姚小鷗, "Lun Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu bi de wenti xingzhi 論清華簡芮良夫愆的文體性質," *Zhongzhou xuekan* 中州學刊 226, no. 1 (January 2016): 140-43. See also Wu Kejing 鄔可晶, "Du Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu Bi zaji san ze 讀清華簡芮良夫愆雜記三則," in *Guwenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究, vol. 30, 古文字研究, 2014, 408-9 (and Chen Jian 陳劍 apud Wu). A later address in the text is indeed to "every one of you hundred lords" 凡百君子 (line 55).

⁶ The editors here read *you* 猷 as *you* 猶, translating as "can be" (*ke* 可), an identity based on comparison to usage in the received *Shijing* poems "Zhihu" 陟岵 and "Bai hua." If *wei* 畏 here can be read (as the editors read elsewhere) as *wei* 威, then this might read "Heaven's schemes are to be feared!"

Oh be warned, My Lord(s) ! [A#]

Awaken to your fall and change your course.⁷ [C#]

轟天之畏載 聖民之繇 闕焉若否 以自訛讀 由求聖人

轟天之畏 載 聖民之繇 闕焉若否 以自訛讀 由求聖人

轟天之威(*?uih)載 聽民之繇[齊*jau] 間隔若否[之*brə?] 以自訛讀(*kwəs) 迪求聖人

Respect the might of Heaven!⁸ [B#]

listen to the *yao*-songs of the people.⁹ [C#]

15 Discriminate what is right from wrong;¹⁰ [A]

so as to censure yourselves for calumny.¹¹ [B]

⁷ See appendix 2 regarding the translation of *yao* 繇 on slip three and throughout. There is a difficulty here in distinguishing among attested uses of *yao* 繇/繇/繇/猷 that include “course,” “omen,” “song,” or “plan.”

⁸ The editors read *zai* 載 here as a sentence-initial emphatic marker in line 14; I follow Ma Nan in reading it as a sentence-final exclamatory particle. See appendix 2 for a detailed discussion.

⁹ See appendix 2 for the use of *yao* 繇.

¹⁰ This might also be read “Make your choice by discriminating good and evil 簡歷若否.” The editors of the Guodian slips read *ge* 鬲 plausibly as *li* 歷 in *Qiong da yi shi* manuscript, Jingmen shi bo wu guan 荆门市博物馆, ed., *Guodian Chu mu zhu jian* 郭店楚墓竹簡. (Beijing 北京: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), 145-6.

¹¹ The lines ending in 威/畏 [微*?uj-s] and 讀 [微*kuj-s], rhyme here, per Baxter & Sagart 2014. The editors read 讀 as *hui* 毀, presumably meaning *dihui* 詆毀, “to slander.” There are phonological problems with reading these equivalently. Cao Jianguo 曹建國, “Qinghua Jian Rui Liangfi Shi Lun 清華簡芮良夫嗾試論,” *Fudan Xuebao (Shehuikexue Ban)* 復旦大學學報 社會科學班, no. 1 (2016): 19–30, 19, reads 以自訾微 as “...to find fault with your ruination.” The sound loan *kui* 潰 can be read to a similar effect. The *Shuowen* defines *zi* 訛 as “not deeming satisfactory” 不思稱意, and cites a reduplicative phrase now found in *Shao min* 召旻 and *Xiao min* 小旻, that employs the reduplicative *zizi* 訛訛; the Mao commentary says “deemed as *zizi*, one is not thought suitable for promotion 訛訛然思不稱乎上.” The *Erya* says “...nobody offers [him] a position” 《爾雅·釋訓》：翁翁訛訛，莫供職也。So one possibility for reading this phrase is simply to read 讀 as *gui* 貴 (worthy), and 訾貴 as parallel to 若否 and the phrase 以自訾貴 as “so as to deem yourselves unworthy or worthy.” Nonetheless, also in the *Shuowen*, the entry for *hong* 訶 says: “*Hong* means *hui* 讀; it derives from *yan* 言 and has the sound of *gong* 工; the *Shijing* says “the pestilent thieves *hong* within.” 訶：讀也。从言工聲。《詩》曰：「蠹賊內訶。」The poem is *Shao min*, for which the Mao commentary says “*hong* means *kui* 潰 (to destroy)” 訶，潰也。Zheng Xuan explains “*hong* means ‘to be mired in mutual struggle and accusation’” 訶，爭訟相陷入之言。Thus I

Appendix 1

Seek and promote sages,¹²



以繻尔母猷 母脂鬲繇 度 3 母有咎 - 母林愈教 昆
 以申爾謀猷^[幽*ju] 母羞聞繇^[宵*jau] 度 3 母有咎^[幽*guʔ]。母林貪悖愆

- to extend your strategic plans. [c]
- Do not be ashamed to inquire about the [proper] course;¹³ [C]
- 20 and your rule will be without blame!◎¹⁴ [c]
- be neither greedy nor avaricious, disorderly nor blind.¹⁵
- [missing line?]¹⁶

tentatively follow a reading that reads the element 貴 as the phonophore of the word equivalent to 讀 or 潰 in these sources.

¹² Here I follow the editors in reading *you* 由 as *di* 迪, but not in interpreting *di* as an “auxiliary particle” 語氣助詞 *Qinghua jian* v.3, 149. *Sang rou* uses the terms *di* and *qiu* together just as seen here, meaning to seek and promote/employ respectively: “Here is a good man, neither sought out nor employed 維此良人、弗求弗迪,” tr. Legge, *Classics* v.4, 525. Mao glosses *di* as *jin* 進, meaning “to promote.” *Maoshi zhenyi*, 1395.

¹³ The translation follows Dan Yuchen 單育辰 (“ee,” apud Zhang Zongli 張崇禮) and Huang Jie in reading of 羞 (*s-nu) for 脂, where the editors have read 擾 (*ʔ(r)u). Huang Jie 黃傑, “Zai du Qinghua jiansan Rui Liangfu bi biji 再讀清華簡 (叁) 《芮良夫毖》筆記,” *Wuhan Daxue Jianbo Wang* 武漢大學 簡帛網 (blog), January 16, 2013, http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=1815. The “ee” blog post, currently unavailable, is cited in Zhang Zongli 張崇禮, “Qinghuajian Rui Liangfu Bi Kaoshi 清華簡《芮良夫毖》考釋,” *Fudan Daxue Chutuwenxian Yu Guwenzi Yanjiu Zhongxin* 復旦大學出土文獻與古文字研究中心 (blog), February 4, 2016, <http://www.gwz.fudan.edu.cn/Web/Show/2740>.

¹⁴ Here and throughout, I read this graph as *du* 度 and translate it as “rule.” See chapter 2 n.44. The translation reads *wu* 毋 here in the imperative. Although it is tempting to read this line to the effect that blamelessness in rule is a consequence of listening properly, the text uses *wang* 亡/罔 elsewhere to indicate non-imperative negation.

¹⁵ Editors read 憚 as 婪. There is some uncertainty about the use of 毋 here and in the preceding lines, and whether it should be read as imperative 勿 or just negative as 無/不.

¹⁶ A line may be missing here, based on the anticipation of parallel structure of line couplets beginning with 毋 and a lapse in rhythm; this section has an odd number of lines.

會漾康戲 而不智 壹告 - 此心目亡 亟 寡而亡 況

滿盈康戲 而不智 薈覺^[覺*krúk]。 此心目無極^[職*gok] 富而無況^[支*ηék?]—

You brim complacently in the enjoyment of pleasures—

and do not know to awaken [from this state]!.¹⁷

[c]

This is for the senses to have no standards;

[A/c]

25 to have wealth but no boundaries^[2].

甬莫能止⁴ 欲 而莫肯齊好。 尚極(=)敬 寡皮遂復 君子而受東

用莫能止⁴ 欲^[屋*lok]而莫肯齊好^[幽*húh] 尚極之敬^[耕*krenh]哉 顧彼後復^[幽*bukh] 君子而受諫

such that none are able to still their desires,

[c]

and none are willing to settle their lusts.

[C]

Would that you set standards—Oh, be warned!¹⁸

[D]^P

Reflect on the consequent retribution:¹⁹

[C]

30 He who is Lord takes as his remonstrance...

¹⁷ Here following Huang Jie 黃傑, Cao Fangxiang 槽方向 Bai Yulan 白於藍 in reading *gao* 告 as *jue* 覺 and *wujue* 薈覺 as equivalent to *juewu* 覺悟 (awaken; recognize; become aware of s.t.). Bai Yulan 白於藍, “Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian san shiyi 清華大學藏戰國竹簡 (三) 拾遺,” *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu* 中國文字研究, February 2014, 14–18, cited in Zhu Dewei, 64.

¹⁸ The editors read a duplication mark here, yielding 恆恆; the translation follows Huang Jie 黃傑, “Chu du Qinghua jian san Rui Liangfu bi biji 初讀清華簡 (叁) 〈芮良夫毖〉筆記,” *Wuhan Daxue Jianbo Wang* 武漢大學 簡帛網 (blog), January 6, 2013, http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=1778, identifying *ji zhi* 極之 as a *hewen* 合文.

¹⁹ Or, “look back at what will come around.”

萬民之咎 所而弗敬 卑之若 5 童載 以行 隋險

萬民之咎^[幽*guʔ]所尔弗敬^[耕*krenh] 譬之若 5 重載^[之 *dzoh] 以行 峭^[耕*tshên]險^[*hɲramʔ]

the myriad peoples' misfortune.²⁰ [C]
 If you are not warned,²¹ [D]
 this is like overloading your cart [A/c]
 and riding off among the crags and precipices,²² [D]^p

莫之扶導 其猶不顛覆

莫之扶導^[幽*luʔ]其猶不顛覆^[*phuk]

With no one to support or guide you, [C]
 how would you not be overturned?²³ [C]

(1.2)

敬望君子 勿樂成 惟書天 三 陰 對 眾 祥 之 壽 期 6

²⁰ Here it seems that what the editors have identified as 咎 in both cases may have different meanings in the two forms used above: with 言+咎 meaning “blame” on slip 4, and with the roof radical 宀+咎 meaning “misfortune.” A final judgement awaits further research.

²¹ Following Ma Nan in reading 而 as 尔. I read 所 as a conjunction, indicating a hypothetical. A similar use is found in the *Mushi* 牧誓 “If you are not energetic...” 爾所弗勗 *Shangshu zhengyi*, 340.

²² Both *xian* 險 [^{*hɲ(r)amʔ}] and *jing* 峭 [^{耕談*tshên}] are written with the ear radical in the manuscript, and if they were reversed as might easily occur, it would preserve the rhyme scheme. Lines 32 and 34 may also be inline commentary, and can be rhythmically parsed as two lines.

²³ This line presents a number of problems. See Ding Ruoshan 丁若山 (Guo Yongbing 郭永秉) 2013, apud Zhu, 76-81. The graph 覆 [^{*phuk}] here may possibly be read as 傾 [^{*khwen}], in which case the rhyme would be [D], and the rhyme of *jing* 峭 in the preceding line would align better. To solve this problem Guo suggests that the two graphs 覆 and 傾 may be the same word, although either possibility would fit one of the rhymes [C] or [D].

敬^絲君子 恪^絲母荒 畏天之^隆載 卹邦之不^疇6
 敬哉君子^[-*tsəʔ] 恪哉母荒^[陽*hmán] 畏天之降災^[-*tsəh] 卹邦之不臧 6

- 35 Oh be warned, My Lords; [A]
 Oh, be scrupulous and not degenerate. [B]
 Be fearful that Heaven will send down disaster; [A]
 Concern yourself with the malfeasance of the state. [B]

毋自縱于^媿 以^晷不^愒 覓^改崇^統 而亡又^紹統

毋自縱于媿 以晷不愒 覓改崇統 而亡又紹統
 毋自縱于逸 以^遯不^圖難^[-*nâns] 變改常術 而無有紀綱^[陽*kân]

- Do not lose yourself in wanton leisure,
 40 neglecting, in your ease, to prepare for hardships. [b]
 If you change or alter the standard means,
 then there will be no [cosmic] support-web—²⁴ [B]

此^惠刑不^齊 夫民用^憂傷

此惠型不齊 夫民甬^息惕 -
 此德刑不齊 夫民用^憂傷^[陽*lhán] 。

- this is for virtue and punishments to be imbalanced,
 which brings suffering and injury to the people. © [B]

此^惠刑不^齊 夫民用^憂傷 此^德刑不^齊 夫民用^憂傷

²⁴ For this, see the discussion of cosmic structure in chapter two.

Appendix 1

民之 7 賤矣 而佳畜為王 - 彼人不敬 不藍于顛商
 民之 7 賤^[元*dzans]矣 而唯帝為王^[陽*wan] 。 彼人不敬^[文*krenh] 不鑒于夏商^[陽*han]

45 Oh, how the people are disdained, [b]^P
 and only Di can act as king. ©²⁵ [B]
 That those men do not take warning [b]
 is because they do not reflect on the Xia and the Shang! [B]

(1.3)

心之憂矣 靡所告懷 兄弟懃懃 空不和均 8

心之憂矣 - 楚所告眾 佳弟懃矣 忘不和均 8

心之憂^[幽*ru?]矣。 靡所告懷 兄弟懃^[職*nhək]矣 空不和均^[真*kwin] 8

50 Oh how troubled is my heart! © [a]^P
 There are none to whom I can tell these feelings;
 Oh how wicked are these brothers! [A]^P
 I fear there can be no harmonizing or equalizing. [B]

屯員滿溢 曰余未均 凡百君子 及爾蓋臣

屯員^[圓]滿溢 曰余未均 凡百君子 及爾^[聿]蓋臣

屯員滿溢 曰予未均^[真*kwin] 凡百君子^[之*tsə?] 及爾蓋臣^[真*gin]

Roundly replete, full to overflow,
 yet saying “I have not been given equally.” [B]

55 Every one of you hundred Lords [A]

²⁵ Or “and who is fit to serve as king?” reading 帝 as 適. The translation considers the larger themes of cosmic retribution.

and your loyal servants:

[B]

正收正由 正穀正均

正收正由 正穀正均

胥糾胥由^[幽*ju] 胥穀胥均^[真*kwin]

Rectify each other, rely on each other²⁶

[a]

Do right to each other, equalize with each other.

[B]

(1.4)

民不日幸 尚 9 息思毆(繫) 先人有言 則畏 虞之

民不日幸 尚 9 息思毆(繫) 先人有言 則畏 虞之

民不日幸^[耕*sin] 常 9 憂思噫^[之*ha 噫] 先人有言^[元*han] 則威虐之^[之*tə]

The people are not getting more fortunate by the day,
60 which perpetuates their worried thoughts.²⁷

[A]

Men of old had a saying:

[B]

“When the model is fearsome, brutality comes about.”²⁸

[A]

²⁶ You 由 here may also be read as di 迪 [*liûk].

²⁷ The editors punctuate this sentence before yi 繫, parsing the line such that yi 繫 is read as a sentence initial particle. I follow Ma Nan in reading this as a sentence final particle yi 噫 or 懿. *Qinghua jian* v.3, 145, 151 n.37; Ma, 77 and n.1.

²⁸ This line presents problems of interpretation for which a number of implausible solutions have been proposed. See Fang, 67-8 and Zhu 101-3. Part of this is due to the editors’ reading of yi 毆 as a sentence-initial particle, even though the rhythm and rhyme scheme suggest that it should be phrase final. Most interpreters assume that 則 is read ze 則. Following the meaning of line 64, I read the graph 則 as equivalent to ce 惻 (model) of line 64 as “model.” There is no indication that any text is missing from this section.

或因斬柯 不遠其側 母灌天崇 各當爾惠

或因斬柯 不遠其側 - 母灌天崇 各當爾惠 -

或因斬柯 不遠其則^[職*tsək]。母害天常^[陽*dan] 各當爾德^[職*tək]。

He who hews an axe-haft²⁹

must not stray from the model. ◎

[A]

65 Harm not the Heavenly constant

[B]

Each take your place according to your virtue. ◎³⁰

[A]

寇戎方晉 10 謀猷惟戒 和專同心 母有相負

寇戎方晉 10 謀猷惟戒 - 和專同心 母有相負 -

寇戎方進^[真*tsins] 10 謀猷惟戒^[之*krəh]。和專同心^[侵*səm] 母有相負^[之*boʔ]。

The Rong marauders are coming in,

[C]

To consult and plan is to be on guard! ◎³¹

[A]

Ally yourselves, be of one mind—³²

[C]

70 and do not turn your backs on one another! ◎³³

[A]

²⁹ This is an allusion to the Bin Feng 鬪風 poem *Fake* 伐柯 (Mao#158), “To hew an ax—how is it done? It can’t be done without an axe.” 伐柯如何 匪斧不克... “To hew an ax, hew an ax—the model is not far” 伐柯伐柯、其則不遠 *Maoshi zhengyi*, 618-622. Or, it cites a source common to both texts.

³⁰ Huang Jie reads 尚 instead of 當. A possible reading is then “Each would respect your virtue.”

³¹ *Wei* 惟, when indicating “prepare” or “plan” as used elsewhere in the text, is generally written with the heart signfic. If this line violates that convention, then it could be read “Consult and plan; prepare and guard!”

³² The editors read this as 劃, glossing as 齊 based on the *Guangya*. Another dubious gloss is *duan* 斷. The important metaphor here is that of the circle, *zhuan* 搏 or of forming a circle (*tuan* 團). The same graph 劃 is used to indicate a tool for measuring the circularity of vessels. See note 52 below.

³³ Ma reads 忒 for 負, which also makes sense here, but the justification is not clear. The graph appears in the *Guodian Ziyi* 緇衣, where it is most commonly read as 服, probably on the basis of the received text. A number of other possibilities have been discussed, none of which suit the context here better than *fu* 負 (abandon; let down). For an exhaustive discussion of the possibilities, see Scott Cook, *The Bamboo*

詢求又恂 聖智勇力 必探其宅 以暉元楨

詢求又恂 聖智勇（勇）力-必探其宅 以暉元楨

詢求有才^[之*dzə] 聖智勇力^[職*rok]。必探其度 以親其臧^[陽*tsan]

- Seek out those with talent;³⁴ [A]
- The sagacious, wise, brave, and strong. ☉ [A]
- You must examine their rule³⁵
- so as to become intimate with the good among them³⁶ [B]

如幹 11 身與 11 之語 上

身與 11 之語 - 以求元上

身與 11 之語^[魚*ŋaʔ]。以求其上^[陽*danh]

- 75 talk with them personally [A]
- so as to seek out their best. [B]

(1.5)

Texts of Guodian: A Study and Complete Translation, Volume 1 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell East Asia Series, 2013), 376 n.9.

³⁴ There is some disagreement about how to read 恂. Huang Jie and Ziju both read it as 恂. The editors use 恂 and gloss as 謀. The meaning of 謀求 and 詢求 are both “to seek out” (there are other possibilities for 謀求 but few good ones if we read this sentence as VO construction). See Zhu, 108-9.

³⁵ The editors read *zhai* 宅 in this instance, although read the graph as *du* 度 elsewhere in the manuscript; *du* throughout seems to be used to indicate one’s adherence to principles or ritually defined norms, like a measure of self-control that implies the ability to rule others. The term *du* also is used to indicate precision in units of measure or in the degree of celestial bodies whose proper alignment correlates with proper rulership. Thus I use the polysemous term “rule” here to translate *du*.

³⁶ The editors read *zhuang* 狀 (countenance) here; they read the same graph in slip six as *zang* 臧 (good). The translation follows the reading in slip six.



昔才先王 幾又眾庸 庶難 甬建丕邦 平和庶民 莫敢僇 12

昔在先王^[陽*wan] 幾有眾庸^[東*lon] 庶難^[元*nāns] 用建其邦^[東*prōn]。 平和庶民 莫敢僇^[東*thon]

- Anciently, in times of the former kings³⁷ [A]
 since there were multitudinous workers, [B]
 [they tended to?]...the many disasters, [A]
 80 so as to establish the state. ◎ [B]
 They pacified and harmonized the many people; [X]
 none dared stir chaos. [B]



用協保 罔有怨訟 恆爭獻其力 威燮方讎

-?....
?....
 85 [?] so as to help and protect [C]
 and there was no enmity nor accusation. [B]
 They were constantly competing to contribute their power³⁸ [c?]
 to awe and attack the bordering enemies. [C]



³⁷ Here the topic clearly changes, but the preceding *-an rhyming seems to continue.
³⁸ This section appears to have an odd number of lines; this is the only one that seems not to fit well into the rhyme scheme, although the narrative does not present any problem. Given the lacuna in lines 83-85, it is unknown how regular the rhyme should be here.

先君以多尗 -
先君以多功。

The former lords thusly achieved their many merits. ◎³⁹ [B]

(1.6)

 13□□□□□□□□□□

古 13 □□□□□□□□ 甬又聖政惠 以力及復 焚戮放邴

古 □□□□□□□□ 用有聖政德職*tsək 以力及作 變仇啓國職*kwək

90 Ancient...?...

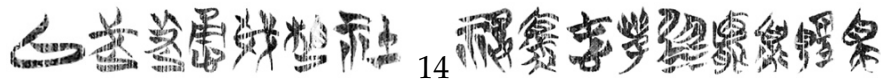
....?...

...?... Lord (s)

owing to sagacious governance and virtue, [A]

By force and creative power

95 Vanquished enemies and founded the kingdom. [A]

 14

以武及惠 戮想社 14 襍 襄志學弱 羸寡脛(矜)蜀

以武及勇 衛相社 14 稷職*tsək 懷慈幼弱職*niauk 羸寡獨職*dók

³⁹ The rhyme scheme and punctuation seem to indicate that this is the end of a section; the rhyme changes on the other side of the lacuna immediately following this line, but the topic is not drastically different—it is still discussing the merits of former lords, and the only clue we have is that line 90 begins with “ancient 古.”

Appendix 1

By martiality and valor⁴⁰
 defended and aided the altars of soil and grain.⁴¹ [A]
 He had concern and compassion for the young and the weak [a]
 the downtrodden, the widowed, the solitary, and the orphaned.⁴² [a]

萬民具懋邦用昌熾

萬民具懋邦用昌熾 -

萬民俱懋^[幽*kuh] 邦用昌熾^[之*thək]。

100 The myriad people were all pleased;
 and the state was thereby resplendent. ◎ [A]

⁴⁰ Ji 及 here seems to read straightforwardly as “and,” although Fang, p. 83, suggests that the 止 element may indicate a verbal reading. It could be a verb of causation or production. Here the editors transcribe both 及 and [及+止] in these seemingly parallel lines, interpreting the latter graph as an elaborated version of the former, designating the same word.

⁴¹ Due in part to the lacuna that begins this passage, it is hard to determine whether the protagonist(s) and the altars are singular or plural. According to legend, during the Western Zhou, the Zhou King distributed clods of soil from the altars in the capital with which the *zhuhou* (lords of states) were to build their own altars. While they would be feasted symbolically on special occasions with meat from the Zhou altar, they were to have proxy altars in their respective kingdoms. The *Zuoluo* 作雒 (Making Luo) chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 regards the rituals connected to the altars of soil and grain. The chapter, however is difficult to interpret: the text says the altars are built “in Zhou” 周中; Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, *Yi Zhou shu jiao bu zhu yi* 逸周書校補注譯. (Xi’an: Xibei daxue chubanshe, 1996), p. 256, emends this to read “in their states” 國中, although this is far from certain. If there were only a single altar in the Zhou capital, we might read this as providing a model for the king, but if we follow the emendation, this passage presents a model for all Zhou rulers, such that they can participate in the collective venture of protecting and nurturing the alliance. For a discussion, see See Zhou Yiqun, *Festivals, Feasts, and Gender Relations in Ancient China and Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2010), p. 118. See also Li Xiangping 李向平, *Wangquan yu shenquan* 王權與神權 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe), 128-138, esp. 131-2, 136-7, 188-9.

⁴² The graph I interpret as 羸, the editors read as 羸, or 嵬, which has a number of uses such as “weary,” or “downfallen,” attested as early as the *Yijing*. Here I follow them, reading “downtrodden” rather than “emaciated”; I follow Huang Jie in reading 斃 (having no siblings) for 矜, although the overall sense is unaffected. As Fang, p.86, points out, this set of terms seems to cover discrete sub-categories of incomplete families.

(2.0)

二啟曰

二啟曰

二啟曰

The second movement began:

天猷畏矣 舍命無成 生 15 難 不秉純德 其度用失營

天猷畏矣 - 豫命亡成 生 15 難 不秉純德 其度用失營

天猷畏矣。舍命無成^[耕 *den] 生 15 難^[元 *nâns] 不秉純德 其度用失營^[耕 *wen]

Heaven is indeed to be feared!

To lodge with the mandate is not foregone

[A]

105 Bringing about ...hardships.⁴³

[a?]

Not holding fast to pure virtue,

his rule will lose order.

[A]

莫好安情 于可又靜 莫再舉立 而不智充溢

莫好安情 于可又靜 - 莫再舉立 而不智充溢 -

莫好安情^[耕 *dzen] 于何有爭^[耕 *tsrên]。莫稱厥位 而不知充盈^[耕 *len]。

When none love peace and calm,

[A]

conflict will arise; ◎

[A]

110 when no one acts according to his position,

⁴³ Line 105 does not fit the rhyme scheme evenly. Enough of the graph preceding *nan* 難 is visible to determine that its orthography differs significantly from *shu* 庶 and *jian* 艱, with which *nan* 難 collocates elsewhere in the text.

nor knows fullness from overflowing; ☉

[A]

莫 16 莫 自紀 莫 邦甬不 莫

莫 16 型 自紀 莫 邦甬不 莫 -

莫 16 型^[耕*gèn] 自起殘虐 邦用不寧^[耕*nèn]。

when [none....]

[...] punishments,⁴⁴

[A]

disdain and cruelty will naturally arise

115 And the state will thereby be disquieted. ☉

[A]

(2.2)

凡佳君子 尚藍于先舊 道譚善敗 卑生以誠

凡佳君子 尚藍于先舊 道譚善敗 卑生以誠

凡惟君子^[之*tsəʔ] 尚鑒于先舊^[幽*gwəʔ] 導讀善敗 俾匡以戒^[之*krəh]

It is ever so that a lord

[A]

values reflection on the leading men of old;

[A]

takes guidance and study from their success and failure;

takes rectification [from success] and warning [from failure].

[A]

功績 和惠定刑 政百有司

功績 和惠定刑 政百有司

功績^[屋*s-lok] 恭潔享祀^[之*s-ləʔ] 和惠定刑 正百有司^[之*sə]

⁴⁴ The graph preceding *xing* 型 (punishments) is likely to be *de* 德 (virtue), on the basis of several other occurrences.

120 ...merits and achievements, [a?]
 reverently makes pure sacrificial offerings, [A]
 harmonizes virtue, settles punishment,
 and sets the hundred officials straight [A]

三心三孝三哉三愆各意畢業以交罔愆

三心三孝 三哉三愆 各意畢業 以交罔愆

胥訓胥教 胥箴胥謀^[之*mə] 各圖厥永 以交網謀^[之*mə]

Advise and teach each other,
 125 exhort each other and strategize with each other. [A#]
 Each concerning himself with posterity,
 by entwining weave your strategies.⁴⁵ [A#]

(2.3)

天之所隳莫 18 之能枳 天之所枳 亦不可隳

天之所隳^[微*krúih] 莫 18 之能支^[支*ke] 天之所支^[支*ke] 亦不可隳^[微*krúih]

That which Heaven destroys⁴⁶ [A#]
 no one can hold up; ◎ [#]

⁴⁵ Lines 116-127 seem to be setting out a single model, but it is worth reconsidering how to render the subject/topic and addressee for all these lines. Clearly, the text is constructing a past ideal, and there are presumably multiple exemplary men to serve as models. It is not clear though whether the doing in these cases—the harmonizing, strategizing, taking guidance and so forth—is meant in the past tense of former exemplary men or is meant in the imperative to aspirants of ideal conduct. Nonetheless, it seems likely, considering the model of reciprocal assistance, remonstrance, and weaving alliances, that the intended audience of this remonstrance is not only the king but also other nobles.

⁴⁶ There is much discussion of the identity of this graph, but general agreement on the meaning of the line. Fang 100-101.

130 and that which Heaven holds up,
also cannot be destroyed.⁴⁷

[#]
[A#]



反=斤亡成⁴⁸ 甬生可畏-

反反其無成 用皇可畏^[微*7uih]。

reversal, reversal, there is no success⁴⁹;
this can be greatly feared. ◎

[A]

(2.4)



愆型態統 民所詆訛 約結繩 9 刺 民之關閉

德刑怠惰 民所詆訛^[錫*pits] 約結繩 9 膊⁵⁰民之關閉^[脂 *pit(s)]

⁴⁷ A version of this is preserved in the *Guoyu* “Zhouyu xia” 國語·周語下 chapter: “A Zhou *shi*-poem says ‘that which Heaven holds up, cannot be destroyed; what it seeks to destroy, likewise cannot be held up.’ Long ago, King Wu made this poem as a *yu*-song 飢歌 upon defeating the Yin, naming it ‘Zhi’ 支, and leaving it for men of posterity to eternally examine by it.” 周詩有之曰：『天之所支，不可壞也。其所壞，亦不可支也。』昔武王克殷，而作此詩也，以為飢歌，名之曰『支』，以遺後之人，使永監焉。 Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu 上海師範大學整理組, *Guoyu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1978), 145.

⁴⁸ The graph 成 appears to be written as 城.

⁴⁹ The term 無成 I read as referring to “To remain with the mandate is not foregone” 舍命無成 in line 104 above. The editors point out that this term occurs in the *Daya* poem “Ban” (Mao 254), wherein the overturning of the heavenly way spells doom for the people below: 上帝板板、下民卒瘡 “Shangdi overturns it; the people below are destroyed.” This seems to be the only case of XXAB reduplication in the entire poem. The editors assume this reduplication to read identically to the *Shijing* poem, “Overturned, overturned, there is no success” 板板其無成, which is possible but uncertain.

⁵⁰ Editors read the first graph of slip 10 [夷+刀] as *duan* 斷 (to break); in slip 11, they read it as 專. See note 52 below.

When virtue and punishments are lax and ineffective
 135 the people regard it as portentous and deviant.⁵¹ [A#]
 The “double ties”; the measuring-line and circle—⁵² [B]
 these are the crux of [governing] the people.⁵³ [A#]

女聞 杖屨豎 綱刺既政 而五想 柔訛

女聞 杖屨豎 綱刺既政 而五想 柔訛
 如關榘局管^[ㄨㄢˊ*kónʔ] 繩膊既正 而五相柔比^[ㄅㄧˊ*pih]

⁵¹ The terms 訛^[*pits] and 比^[*pih] in lines 135, 137, and 140 clearly rhyme. I suspect that in the language of this text, wherein [言+必] is read as 𠄎, both elements 比 and 必 are similar in sound. Thus I tentatively reconstruct 訛 as *pits. The editors read the phrase as “this is what the people scorn and despise” 民所詆僻, although the reconstruction for 僻 is *phek. Ziju apud Zhu, p. 149, suggests the reading of *bi* 吡 (OCM *pheʔ; to vilify, calumniate) for *bi* 訛. These may be correct in the import of the sentence. The reading above is based on the context of cosmic order and the dyad *yao nie* 妖孽 (portents and demons) as used in the “Yi ben ming” 易本命 chapter of the *Dadai liji* 大戴禮記: “...Therefore, he who rules as king must act according to the Way, and rest according the Pattern. If action is not taken according to the Way nor rest taken according to the Pattern, then he will die early and not achieve longevity; portents and demons will repeatedly arise; spirit and numen will not manifest; wind and rain will not come at their proper times; storms, floods and droughts will co-occur; the people and *min* will die prematurely; the five grains will not grow; and the six domesticated animals will not breed.” 故王者動必以道，靜必以理；動不以道，靜不以理，則自夭而不壽，詆孽數起，神靈不見，風雨不時，暴風水旱並興，人民夭死，五穀不滋，六畜不蕃息。Gao Ming 高明, ed., *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 (Taipei: Taibei Shangwu yishuguan, 1984), 523. The “Zhong yong” in the *Liji* 禮記 has a similar statement that “When a country is about to fall, there will be portents and demons” 國家將亡，必有妖孽. Thus it seems possible that this could be read as *yaonie* 妖孽 (portents and demons) if 僻 and 孽 (OCM *ɲat) could be written interchangeably. The *Rui Liangfu jie* in the *Yi zhou shu* makes reference to domesticated and wild animals acting strangely in the event of such a moral lapse (see appendix 4).

⁵² *Yueji* 約結 occurs in the *Guanzi* as a term of mutual alliances Li Mian 李勉, *Guanzi* 管子 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1990), 950. The graphs glossed as as *sheng duan* 繩斷 by the editors, I interpret as 繩膊. *Quan* 膊 is attested in the “Kao gong ji” 考工記 of the *Zhouli* 周禮, where it is standard for measuring the inside of ceramic *qi* 器 (round vessels): “In all matters of pottery, crooked, dropped, cracked, or uneven [pots] should not enter the market. *Qi*-vessels should match the circle (*quan* 膊); dou-vessel [handles] should match the plumb-line 縣. The circular depth [is not to exceed] four chi 尺; the thickness [is not to exceed] four inches” 寸 凡陶旒之事髻墜薛暴不入市，器中膊，豆中縣。膊崇四尺，方四寸。The “circle” in this context appears to be a tool by which pots are measured in the horizontal plane. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 and Jia Gongyan ed. ann., *Zhouli Zhushu* 周禮注疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 1328.

⁵³ Lit. “These are the horizontal and vertical door-bolts of the people.”

Like the horizontal and vertical door brace, the bolt and the key,⁵⁴ [B]

[rhythmic disjunction]

and just as the measuring-line and circle are perfectly aligned

140 the five ministers fall yieldingly into line.⁵⁵ [A]

易兌心 覓愍嘉惟 料和 20 庶民 政命惠型 各又崇宥

通易兌心^[侵*sam] 研甄嘉惟^[微*wi] 料和 20 庶民^[真*min] 政命德刑^[耕*gèn] 各有常次^[脂*tshih]

通易兌心^[侵*sam] 研甄嘉惟^[微*wi] 料和 20 庶民^[真*min] 政命德刑^[耕*gèn] 各有常次^[脂*tshih]

Compliantly their evil thoughts are transformed; [b]

they analyze and devise great strategic plans; [A]

pacifying and harmonizing the multitudes.⁵⁶ [b]

[rhythmic disjunction]

Governance and the mandate, virtue and punishments— [B]

145 each possesses its regular order. [A]

邦其康寧 不逢庶難 年穀紛成 風雨時至

邦其康寧 不逢庶難 年穀紛成 風雨時至

邦其康寧^[耕*nén] 不逢庶難^[元*nāns] 年穀紛成^[耕*den] 風雨時至^[脂*tits]

The state shall be peaceful [B]

⁵⁴ This line does not fit into the rhyme scheme. It could be an inline comment.

⁵⁵ Neither of the compound terms *huxiang* 互相 (one another) or *wu xiang* 五相 (five ministers) are attested prior to the Han; here I am tempted to follow the editors in the former reading because the image of the two interlocking door braces affirms a metaphor of mutuality, but this causes problems for the sentence's relation to the rest of the argument, which is about mutual reinforcement in the human realm. Reading 互相 seems to suggest that it is merely braces, rather than ministers, that fall into place, whereas the sequence that continues is clearly about ministers.

⁵⁶ There is some disagreement about how to interpret the character read as 料 by the editors. Here I read the graph as *mi* 糞, following Bai Yulan, in Zhu, 166.

and not encounter the many hardships;⁵⁷ [β]
 the yearly grain harvest will be abundant; [B]
 the wind and rain will come at their proper times. [a]

与 天 所 建 佳 四 方 21 所 畏 曰 天 罰 時 當 天 德 刑 宜 利

此佳天所建 佳四方 21 所^儻畏 曰 天罰寺^壘 天惠型義利 -
 此惟天所建^[π *kans] 惟四方 21 所^{微 *ʔuih]}祇畏 曰 其罰時當^[陽*tân] 其德刑宜利^[脂*rih]。

150 And so this is what Heaven sets into action; [β]
 it is what the four directions respect and fear. [A]
 It is said:
 “Let their sanctions be timely,⁵⁸ [β]
 and their virtue and punishments be proper and advantageous.”⁵⁹ [A]

(2.5)

女 闈 棧 不 闕 而 繩 斷 達 揆 五 相 不 彊

女闈棧不闕 而繩斷達揆 五相不疆
 如關棧不閉^[脂*pit] 而繩膊失揆^[脂*gwiʔ] 五相不疆^[陽*gan]

If the horizontal and vertical door braces are not latched, [A]

⁵⁷ I suspect *shu nan* 庶難 (many hardships) here; *nan* 難 is probably is a [陽*-an] rhyme. The graph here is 難 the “Rui Liangfu” in the *Yi Zhou shu* also has an alternate writing of this character with 喜 replacing 佳. (See appendix 4)

⁵⁸ Editors read *chang* 償 for *dang* 當.

⁵⁹ Commentators have opposite interpretations of lines 152 and 153. See Zhu 169-171; Fang 118. Some read it as counter-exemplary, whereas in this interpretation it concludes the preceding discussion of exemplary rulership and the healthy, timely natural phenomena resulting from this exemplarity. What is confusing is the interspersed -an/-an 元陽 rhyming with within the primary -i/-ih 脂微 rhyme pattern in the last lines of this section that continues to appear in the next sections, where the rhyme eventually reverts to -an/-an 元陽; the continuation of the rhyme complicates the punctuation on semantic grounds.

Appendix 1

- 155 and the plumb-line and circle lose their standard, [A]
 then the five ministers are not firm, [B]
 [rhythmic disjunction]

罔冝 22 獻言 人頌汝膏 民乃翌 囂 楚 所并袞

罔冝 22 獻言 人頌汝膏 民乃翌 囂 楚 所并袞
 罔肯 22 獻言^[元*ŋan] 人訟扞違^[微*wəi] 民乃嗥囂^[齊*hào] 靡所屏依^[微*ʔəi]

- nor are they willing to speak up. [B]
 Men accuse and violate each other, [C]
 and the people clamor and howl.
 160 There is no place to take cover and nothing to rely on. [C]

日月星晨 甬交躡進退 而莫旻 汙布 戡 23 迺不戢 23 迺不戢

日月星晨 甬交躡進退 而莫旻 汙布 戡 23 迺不戢
 日月星辰^[文*sèn] 用交亂進退 而莫得其次^[脂*tshih] 歲 23 迺不度^[魚*dákh]

- The sun and moon, stars and planets [b]
 thus advance and retreat in tangled chaos,
 such that none takes its proper station.⁶⁰ [A]
 and the Year-star then loses its rule. [D]

民用戾殛 容可汙女 紉紉

民用戾殛 容可汙女 紉紉
 民用戾盡^[真*dzinʔ] 咎何其如^[魚*nah] 台哉

- 165 The people thus become thoroughly perverted [b]
 Oh,
 what can be done about such misfortune?! [D]^P

⁶⁰ I suspect that 次, translated “station” here is analogous to 次 “sequence” in line 145.

(2.6)

綈佳潛人 則女禾之又程 非穀折人 虛楚所爰 24 詒

綈佳潛人 則女禾之又程 非穀折人 虛楚所爰 24 詒 -

朕惟沈人^[真*nin] 則如禾之有稗^[脂*drih] 非穀哲人^[真*nin] 吾靡所援 24 詒^[脂*ŋih] 。

I am but a latent man,⁶¹ [#]

and while a stalk of grain has a sprout, [B]

I am no seed-bearing wise man;⁶² [#]

170 I am not someone [useful to consult]! © [B]

我之不言則畏天之發幾 我言言矣 - 則愆者不愆

我之不言則畏天之發幾 我言言矣 - 則愆者不愆

我之不言^[元*ŋan]則畏天之發幾^[微*koi] 我其言^[元*ŋan]矣。 則逸者不媿^[脂*muɿʔ] 。

[But] if I myself don't say it. [A#]

then I fear Heaven's trigger will release [B]

[and] once I myself have said it, © [A#]^P

then the negligent ones will find it displeasing [B]

民亦有言 曰 愆亡少大 而器 25 不再利 屯可與忒 而鮮可與惟 -
民亦有言 曰 謀無小大 而器 25 不再利 屯可與忒 而鮮可與惟

民亦有言 曰 愆亡少大 而器 25 不再利 屯可與忒 而鮮可與惟 -

民亦有言^[元*ŋan] 曰 謀無小大 而器 25 不再利^[脂*rih] 屯可與忒^[元*ŋwân] 而鮮可與惟^[微*wi] 。

⁶¹ Lit. "submerged man."

⁶² Editors read *gu* 穀 as *ru* 乳.

Appendix 1

- 175 The people also have a saying, [A]
 which says: Strategies have no great or small
 and weapons cannot be resharpened [B]
 Anyone can accompany you in idle diversions⁶³ [A]
 but few can accompany you in planning. [B]

曰於虞畏綽言深于淵莫之能測民多勤難

曰於虞畏^[之*?uìh]綽言深于淵^[真*?wín]莫之能測^[職*tshrək]民多勤難^[元*nâns]

- 180 It is said: Oh be fearful! [B]^P
 Words are deeper than the depths [a]
 that no one can fathom! [B]
 The people have many troubles and hardships [A]

(2.7)

我心₂₆ 既生不亡父能生亡君不能生

我心 26 [不快?] - 戾之不亡父能生 亡君不能生 -
 我心 26 [不快]。戾之不亡 無父母能生^[耕*srèn] 無君不能生^[耕*srèn]。

My heart is [joyless] ◎

- 185 That the perversion does not ...⁶⁴ [A?]
 Without one's parents one may live on, [A#]
 but without a lord one cannot live. ◎ [A#]

⁶³ Here following the editors and Duan Yucai in reading 屯 as 皆.

⁶⁴ The character  appears to have a top portion like that of 生, 車, 乘 or 青, but it is not possible to identify it with any certainty.

空念心念註 莫我或聖 虛志鼻之 27 身 我之不 27 身 我之不 65

虛中心念註 莫我或聖 虛志鼻之 27 身 我之不
吾中心念註 莫我或聽^[耕*lhèn] 吾恐罪之 27 身^[真*lhìn] 我之不⁶⁵

Worries entangle my inner heart◎

There are none who listen to me.

[A]

190 I fear blame will come to [my] body

[a]

I [for my part] cannot ...

[A?]

是達 而邦受不寧 虛甬復訛再久 以寓命達聖 28
是失 而邦受其不寧^[耕*nèn] 吾用作恣再終^[冬*tun] 以寓命達聽^[耕*lhèn]

是達 而邦受不寧 虛甬復訛再久 以寓命達聖

是失 而邦受其不寧^[耕*nèn] 吾用作恣再終^[冬*tun] 以寓命達聽^[耕*lhèn]

[?]. . . this loss

and so the state has suffered distress◎

[A]

That I have made this admonition in two parts

[a]

195 is to make heard the mandate entrusted to me.

[A]

⁶⁵ The first four identifiable graphs listed for slip 28, 身我之不, are on a short fragment that seems to fit well here, despite the lack of clear codicological evidence, such as matching ends.

Appendix Two: Expanded Philological Notes on the **Rui Liangfu bi*

The following pages include more detailed notes on problems of interpretation in the **Rui Liangfu bi*, most of which regard the reading of difficult graphs. Reference to these graphs is made to the slip number on which the graph appears and the sequence of the graph on that slip (e.g. “5:11” refers to the twenty-second graph on slip 5).



Zai 載

13 恭天之威 Respect the might of Heaven—

載 -zai-

14 聽民之繇 listen to the *yao* of the min.

Elsewhere the graph *zai* 𠄎 (5:11; 6:17; 6:21; 23:13) seems to be the exclamatory sentence-final particle of choice, transcribed throughout as *zai* 哉. Here, the graph *zai* 載

is written , although it is used on slip 6 as “to carry”  (6:2) and as *zai* 災 (6:28).

Perhaps due to the difference in orthography, the editors here interpret *zai* 載 as an emphatic sentence initial particle. There is some precedent within the *Shijing* for doing so, although *zai* 載 might be read as it is in the *Shangshu*, to “bear” or “undertake responsibility” for a mission or to “implement” a task. Cao Jianguo 曹建國 reads it this way.¹ Bai Yulan 白于藍 reads the graph *zai* elsewhere in *Qinghua jian* v.3 as meaning to “emulate” or to “make a model of” (則；“法則”), yielding “Take as your model the course that heeds the folk,”² also a possible interpretation.

However, the most straightforward interpretation is that the orthographic conventions in which a single graph corresponds to a word just does not hold in this case, and this use of *zai* 載 is just a different graph for the sentence-final particle *zai* 哉.

¹ Cao Jianguo 曹建國, “Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu shi lun” 清華簡芮良夫毖試論, *Fudan Xuebao* (*Shehuikexue Ban*), no. 1 (2016), 20.

² Bai Yulan 白於藍. “Qinghua Daxue Cang Zhanguo Zhujian San Shiyi 清華大學藏戰國竹簡（三）拾遺.” *Zhongguo Wenxue Yanjiu* 中國文學研究, February 2014, 14–18.

Ma Nan has interpreted it this way, as does the translation.³

Yao 繇

12 寤敗改繇 Awaken to your fall and change your *yao*.

...

14 聽民之繇 Listen to the *yao* of the people.

...

17 迪求聖人 Seek and promote sages

18 以申爾謀猷 to extend your strategic *you* (*yao*).

19 毋擾聞繇 Do not be ashamed to inquire about the [proper] *yao*

20 度毋有咎 and your rule will be without blame!

The three graphs transcribed as *yao* 繇  (graphs 2:30, 3:9, 3:30, respectively)

by the editors on slips two and three are difficult to see as clearly identical, as others

³ See Ma Nan 馬楠, "Rui Liangfu bi yu wenxian xianglei wenju fenxi ji bushi 芮良夫毖與文獻相類文具分析及補釋," *Shenzhen Daxue xuebao*, (renwen shehui kexue ban) 深圳大學學報人文社會科學版 30, no. 1 (January 2013): 76–78.

have pointed out.⁴ The main difference appears to be that the *yan* 言 element is omitted from the second instantiation (3:9; line 14). It is unclear whether this indicates a different word.

It is possible to interpret *yao* 繇 here as “song.”⁵ Cao Jianguo reads the term *yao* as a mantic pronouncement, such that in his reading the line would read “uphold the practice of listening to the mantic pronouncements.”⁶ In the *Shijing* poem *Mang* 氓 (Mao no. 58) it says “You divined by crack and divined by stalks; embodied were no damning words” 爾卜爾筮、體無咎言. As Cao has pointed out, *jiu* 咎 of line 20 is consistent with the vocabulary of the mantic arts. Both of these interpretations require that the same graph, *yao* 繇, be used for a different word in line 12. Tang Pui-ling 鄧佩玲 recognizes the problem of reading “song” here and “way” in line 19, and argues on

⁴ Huang Jie claims the third instantiation has a person 亻 element on the right, as it is seen in in the *Tsinghua Yue ming shang* 說命上 and in the *Chiguzi ji Tang zhi wo* 赤鵠子集湯之屋, wherein it seems to have the meaning “to ask.” Thus, he reads this as “don’t consider it a shame to ask or inquire.” Huang Jie 黃傑, “Zai du Qinghua jian san Rui Liangfu bi biji 再讀清華簡（叁）《芮良夫毖》筆記,” Wuhan Daxue Jianbo Wang 武漢大學 簡帛網 (blog), January 16, 2013.


http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=1815. I do not at all see the 亻 element.

⁵ Wang Kunpeng 王坤鵬 “Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu bi jian shi”; Zhang Chongli 張崇禮,⁵ “Qinghua Jian Rui Liangfu Bi Kaoshi 清華簡《芮良夫毖》考釋,” Fudan daxue chutuwenxian yu guwenzi yanjiu zhongxin website 復旦大學出土文獻與古文字研究中心, February 4, 2016, <http://www.gwz.fudan.edu.cn/Web/Show/2740>.

⁶ Cao, 20.

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the basis of the similar phrase, 聽民之所刺宥 (“Listen to whether the people [choose] execution or pardon.”) in the “Sikou” 司寇 chapter of the Zhou guan 周官, that the graph should be read as you 宥 “pardon.”⁷ It is not clear however how this improves the overall reading of the sentence in context.



Finally, another possibility is that the graph is simply a loan, variant, or cognate of the word *you* 猷 as in *mouyou* 謀猷 (strategic plans), which also appears in this part of the text, on slip three. Despite the fact that both Baxter-Sagart and Schuessler have distinct reconstructions for these graphs, there is good evidence that they were used interchangeably, and they seem to rhyme in the **Rui Liangfu bi*. The graph, *yao* 繇 written as  is found in the *Sui* 歲 text of *Zidanku Chu boshu*, where it is used as a sentence-initial exclamation that proceeds an authoritative proclamation, is equivalent to *you* sentence-initial 猷 as used in the *Da gao* 大誥 and *Duo fang* 多方 chapter of the *Shang shu*; Li Ling points out also that Ma Rong’s 馬融 version of *Duo fang* had 繇 for 猷.⁸ In the **Rui Liangfu bi*, it is clear that these two graphs rhyme with

⁷ Tang Pui-ling 鄧佩玲, “Tan Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu bi bi shi suo jian de zheng jian 談清華簡芮良夫毖愆詩所見之諍諫,” *Qinghua jian Yanjiu* 2 (2015): 162–81, 154.

⁸ See Li Ling v.2, 55 and *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 apud Li.



each other, and quite possible that they represent the same or similar words. One possibility, based only on its use here, is that the graph *you* 猷 is verbal whereas 繇 is nominal.

Lie (nie) ding  

卑之若童載 以行隋險 莫之莛道 亓由不  

An initial reading of this difficult phrase is something like this:

“This is like heavily loading your cart, so as to travel the rugged slopes; with no one to support or guide [the cart], how could it not [?] [?] ?”

The interpretation of this line is especially difficult because both of the graphs  and  are uncertain. The latter graph seems quite clearly to be an inverted *shan* 山 (mountain), which was read initially in the Tsinghua manuscripts as a phonophore identical in sound to *sheng* 聖*lhɛŋh. Li Shoukui and Li Xueqin suggested the reading

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of *ding* 丁,⁹ and the editors read it in *Qinghua jian* volume three as a sound loan for *ting* 停 (to stop). The editors also read 猶 for 由 and *nie* 掇 for 邐. Thus the editors' initial interpretation reads: "This is like heavily loading your cart, so as to travel the rugged slopes; and having no one to support or guide [the cart] is like having no one to settle or stop it." This reading, grammatically speaking, reads 其猶 as a second hypothetical clause.

Zhu Dewei 朱德威 has collected a number of opinions on the matter, including that of Cai Wei 蔡偉 2012, who notes the similarity of this grammatical structure 若...其猶 as a form of rhetorical question found in the Huangmen 皇門 (both in the transmitted *Yi Zhou shu* and in the Tsinghua version), which in the Tsinghua manuscript version says: This is like a warrior on his charger, chasing a bird; how can he ever catch it? 卑 (譬) 女 (如) 戎夫喬 (驕) 用從矜 (禽) 亓 (其) 由 (猶) 克又(有) 隻 (獲). The Tsinghua *Huang men* confirms the reading of 由 as 猶, and the Pan Geng 盤庚 chapter

⁹ See Li Xueqin 李學勤, "Guanyu Qinghua Jian Zhong de Ding Zi 關於清華簡中的'丁'字," in *Xia Shang Zhou Wenming Yanjiu* 夏商周文明研究 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2015), 187–88.

of the *Shang shu* has a similar rhetorical question pattern.¹⁰ This grammatical pattern, in which 若...其猶 structures a rhetorical question, makes the best sense for interpreting the line in the *Rui Liangfu bi.

With regard to the specific imagery of the cart adage, Bai Yulan 白于藍 points out an example from the “Jiayan” 嘉言 chapter of the *Kongcongzi* 孔叢子 that says “...this is like loading the grain of a thousand scythes into a cart with no lynchpin; one can hardly hope that it will not overturn” 譬若載無轄之車以臨千仞之穀其不顛覆亦難冀.¹¹

Certainly the binome *dianfu* 顛覆 (overturn) is well attested. Ding Ruoshan 丁若山 (who might seem destined to comment on , but has been identified as Guo Yongbin 郭永秉), has pointed out that the graph identified by the editors as 邈 should actually be read as 眞 or 顛, as it is read in the Shanghai Museum *Zhou yi*, slips 24  and 25 , and *San de* 三德 slip 14 , as 眞 or 鼎 above 止 or 辵.¹²

¹⁰ Cai Wei 蔡偉 2012 apud Zhu 75. The interpretation of the quote varies in the transmitted and manuscript versions, and is not without its own problems.


¹¹ Bai 2013 apud Zhu, 73.

¹² Ding Ruoshan 丁若山 (Guo Yongbin 郭永秉), “Du Qinghua san xuanxiang yi ze 讀清華三懸想一則,” Wuhan daxue jianbo yanjiu zhongxin, January 12, 2013,


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Bai Yulan 白于藍 and Guo Yongbing 郭永秉 concur.¹³ In *Qinghua jian* v.6, slips 9 and

10 of the *Ziyi* 子義 have a graph written  and  which appears to be 示+𧀮,



and in which 𧀮 appears orthographically distinct from that identified as 𧀮 in . I

have as yet been unable to determine other bases on which the editors identify the


element 鼠 in , and while in many instances of 鼎 have legs drawn as in the

Shanghai manuscript *Zhou yi*, there are variants that draw straighter legs, as in 


in the *Shanghai *Xing zi ming chu*, or which omit the legs altogether, as in Baoshan 2.265


 or the *Sande* , such that the head more closely resembles the form found in

the Tsinghua slips. Guo Yongbing 郭永秉 has pointed out that the top part of the

graph  appears to be two *ren* 人 graphs, one right-side-up and the other upside-

down,¹⁴ which might represent a change from upright to toppled. In *Qinghua jian* v.5,

the *Tang zai di/chu men* 湯在啻門 slip 8 has 真 written as , which is quite close in





form to the element in . In sum, there seems to be better paleographic evidence for

http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=1807. Fang Yuan 方媛, “Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu bi jishi” 清華簡《芮良夫毖》集釋 (M.A. thesis, Anhui University, 2016), 51-2, makes the identification.

¹³ Bai 2013 and Guo 2013 apud Zhu, p. 79. This appears to be how *hua* 化 is written elsewhere in the *Qinghua* corpus.


¹⁴ Guo Yongbing 郭永秉 2013, apud Zhu, p. 79-81. For *hua* 化, see for example, 貨 in the *wenzibian* 文字編 section of *Qinghua zhujian* v.6, 175.

reading the graph as 顛 than there is for the reading of 邈, although in either case, one would need to assume some omitted strokes.

The graph  that follows *dian* 顛 presents problems as well, although the reading of 覆*phuk in the binome *dianfu* 顛*tin 覆*phuk (to overturn) as seen in the *Kongcongzi*, is a reasonable guess given the context. The overturning of the 山 to get  is suggestive of the meaning of overturning, but the editors initially assumed that the graph is a double phonophore for 聖*lhəŋh or 丁*têŋ, both of which fit the 耕-əŋ rhyme scheme; *fu* 覆 *phuk does not, although it does fit the other 幽覺 rhyme in the preceding feet of the sequence above. Those feet are as follows: 復^[幽*bukh]; 咎^[幽*guʔ]; 敬^{[耕}
^{*kreŋh]}; 載^[之 *dzəh]; 晴^[耕*tshêŋ] (OR 險^[*hɲramʔ]; 導^[幽*lúʔ]). This means that in fact, either a 耕 or a 幽 覺 word would fit one of the rhymes in play, and so 覆*phuk cannot be ruled out on the basis of rhyme. On the other hand, in the *De* 得 section of the *Shifa* 筮法 (slip 11) in *Qinghua jian* v.4, the editors seem to have been convinced by Guo Yongbing's argument that  should be read as equivalent in meaning to 覆, if not equivalent in sound;¹⁵ the editors also read the graph  in the *Yin gaozong wen yu san shou* 殷高宗問於三壽

¹⁵ *Qinghua jian* v. 4, 83.

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as having the 耕 sound of *sheng* 聖 *lhenh, and equivalent to *qing* 傾*khwen, in which case the overturned mountain or *ding* 丁 element in the lower left seems to be a semantophore that indicates the meaning of “overturning,” just as *qing* 傾 is used in early literature. In *Dang* 蕩 (Mao# 255), for example, the meaning of *qing* 傾 is much closer to “overturning” than to other related senses like “leaning” or “tilting”: “Since you did not listen to them, your great mandate is being overturned” 曾是莫聽、大命以傾.¹⁶ If we assume that the overturned mountain in this case is an ideograph that can be read as either 傾 or 覆, then either 顛覆 or 顛傾, both meaning “overturned,” are possibilities. The former is more idiomatic in Classical Chinese, and the question of a fixed pronunciation for  awaits further evidence. On the basis of context and grammar, either reading of “overturned” is preferable to *lie ting* 邐停, for which the identification of both graphs present the same or greater obstacles.

Thus I tentatively read: “This is like heavily loading your cart, so as to travel the rugged slopes; with no one to support or guide [the cart], how could it not overturn?”

¹⁶ *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1364.

Appendix Three: Translation of “Sang rou” 桑柔 (Mulberry Shoots)

The base text of this translation is the translation is Tang dynasty *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 edition, and the interpretive decisions seek to follow the interpretation presented by the *Mao zhuan* 毛傳 (Mao commentary) preserved in the *Maoshi zhengyi*.⁸² Additional textual and commentarial sources have been consulted, most notably those preserved in Wang Xianqian’s 王先謙 *Shi san jia yi jishu* 詩三家義集疏 and Ma Ruichen’s 馬瑞辰 *Maoshi zhuan jian tongshi* 毛詩傳箋通釋.⁸³ Rather than try to recover an *urtext* in this case, I have sought to render the *Mao zhuan* interpretation as it may have been read in the Han, even at the expense of what may otherwise seem a more plausible reading. Wherever the Mao commentary seems implausible, I have tried to express my doubts and reflections in the notes. Versions of the poem cited in other parts of the

⁸² Shisanjing zhushu bianweihui 十三經注疏編委會, *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義, Shisanjing zhushu 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 1383-1401.

⁸³ Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Shi san jia yi jishu* 詩三家義集疏 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1987), 941-952; Ma Ruichen 馬瑞辰, *Maoshi Zhuan Jian Tongshi* 毛詩傳箋通釋, 3 vols., Shisanjing Qingren Zhushu 十三經清人注疏叢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989).

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dissertation may conform more closely to my own interpretation. And because the Mao commentary is underdetermined in most places, the translation is in the end my own interpretation of how the Mao lineage may have read the poem.

Since the *Shijing* and its poems represent a source—rather than an application—of phonetic reconstructions of archaic Chinese, I have not concerned myself with phonetic readings in the translation, although I have provided the rhymes as they are read by Wang Li and William Baxter.⁸⁴ The two are in agreement with one another (and with Schuessler’s OCM readings) with only a few exceptions.

⁸⁴ Wang’s reconstructions are generally taken from Li Zhenhua 李珍華 and Zhou Changji 周長楫, eds., *Hanzi gujin yinbiao* 漢字古今音表, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993); in some cases, I note the reconstruction in Wang Li 王力, *Shijing yundu* 詩經韻讀 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014). Baxter’s rhyme analysis of the *Shijing* is included as an appendix in William H. Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992).

“Sang rou”

Preface: “Mulberry Shoots”: Rui Bo censures King Li 桑柔芮伯刺厲王.⁸⁵

Verse/

Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
1.1	菀彼桑柔	Luxuriant are these mulberry shoots,	幽	A	A
1.2	其下侯甸	and below them [the shade] is even. ⁸⁶	真	B	B
1.3	捋采其劉	Stripping and plucking them bare away, ⁸⁷	幽	A	A

⁸⁵ The Mao commentary here elaborates on the lesser preface: “Rui Bo was a regional lord of the inner realm and a high minister; his style-name was ‘Liangfu.’” Wang Xianqian cites a passage preserved in Wang Fu’s *Qian fu lun* as the Lu school pronouncement on this poem: “Rui Liangfu advanced his remonstrance but was not heeded, so he retreated and composed ‘Mulberry Shoots’ to criticize the King. It says ‘This great wind must have that from which it swirls; these indulgent people must have that which destroys their goodness.’ But the king did not awaken [to his faults], and so he was thereupon expelled to Zhi, where he died. 芮良夫諫而不入，退賦桑柔之詩以諷，言是大風也，必將有隧；是貪民也，必將敗其類。王又不悟，故遂流死於僇。 Although Kong Yingda does not include this passage in the *Zhengyi* commentary, he seems to be reading it when he comments here that in a passage regarding Rui Bo’s direct ancestor, the term *ru* 入, which I have translated as “advancing” a remonstrance, could also refer to the entry or advancement into the de facto ruling circle, even though by hereditary standards (and perhaps by virtue of real-world political influence), he ought to have been one of King Li’s closest advisors. See *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1383 and Wang Xianqian *Shi san jia yi jishu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), p. 941. and Wang Fu 王符, Wang Jipei (comm.) 汪繼培, *Qianfulun jian jiaozheng* 潛夫論箋校正 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 198) p. 27.

⁸⁶ Mao’s commentary here clearly interprets this as referring to even shade below. Mao does not gloss the term *hou* 侯, which may here may function like the particle *wei* 維 or *nai* 乃, although it may also imply paranomastically that things are equitable among the *hou*, or feudal lords.

⁸⁷ Zheng Xuan here indicates that he understands this as a *xing* juxtaposition in which the ministers are the primary object of criticism: “This is a *xing*. It analogizes that the people ought to be covered by the king’s benevolent kindness, but the many ministers are unrestrained in their corruptness, and they destroy the king’s virtue” 喻民當被王之恩惠羣臣恣放損王之德 *Wujing*

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Verse/ Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
1.4	瘼此下民	has afflicted the people below.	真	B	B
1.5	不殄心憂	Incessant is our hearts' distress;	幽	A	A
1.6	倉兪填兮	oh, long has our grieving grown.	真 ⁸⁸	B	B
1.7	倬彼昊天	Towering, bright Lord-Heaven, ⁸⁹	真	B	B
1.8	寧不我矜	would you not take pity on us?	真	B ⁹⁰	B
2.1	四牡騤騤	Unceasingly go the stallion fours;	脂	A	A
2.2	旃旒有翩	Raptor and reptile banners endlessly [proceed]. ⁹¹	真	B	B
2.3	亂生不夷	The chaos produced cannot be stilled;	脂	A	A
2.4	靡國不泯	no country goes undestroyed.	真 ⁹²	B	B

Zhengyi, 1383. There is nothing fundamentally wrong with the king: the king is in this analogy the tree or the leaves; it is the ministers responsible for the tree's destruction.

⁸⁸ Rhyme here is at the penultimate position.

⁸⁹ Here Mao indicates that *tian* 天 refers to the ruler. This is clarified by Kong Yingda's commentary, which reads Mao also as looking directly to the king to seek mercy. Zheng Xuan, in contrast sees *haotian* 昊天 (Lord-Heaven) as a power higher than the king, and not as metonymic for the ruler. *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1384.

⁹⁰ Rhyme follows *Shijing yundu*, 343.

⁹¹ Lit. banners of birds and banners of serpents and turtles. The Mao gloss here addresses *pian pian* 翩翩 rather than *you pian* 有翩 as it is written in the *Zhengyi* text: "*Pian pian* means 'unceasing on the road.'" Kong Yingda suggests that the Mao reduplication may be onomatopoeia, representing the experience of banners spread out, (sounds of flapping, perhaps?), but the text of the commentary here differs from that of the text, allowing for the possibility of textual variance.

⁹² *Shijing yundu*, 343.

“Sang rou”

Verse/					
Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
2.5	民靡有黎	None of the people can calm it; ⁹³	脂	A	A
2.6	具禍以燼	They all meet disaster, turning to ash.	真	B	B
2.7	於乎有哀	Whoa-ho how sorrowful!	微	a	A
2.8	國步斯頻	So urgently the countries march! ⁹⁴	真	B	B
3.1	國步蔑資	The countries' marching depletes their means;	脂	A	*
3.2	天不我將	Heaven does not provide for us.	陽	B	A

⁹³ Here Zheng Xuan's commentary differs from that of Mao in that *li* 黎 is read as *bu qi* 不齊 (uneven) the precise opposite to Mao's gloss of *ping* 平 (even), which Kong interprets as *zhong* 眾 (all/the many), yielding the interpretation "the people are nowhere multitudinous." Kong Yingda attempts to harmonize the Mao and Zheng interpretations by arguing that the import of the line is the same: Mao *allegedly* means 'the people are nowhere unequally [affected] vs. Zheng's 'no people is unequally affected.' The Later interpreters such as Wang Yinzhi and Ma Ruichen read *li* as *qi* 耆 (elderly): "There are no elders left among the people." *Sanjia*, 943. A probable and more literal interpretation of this line is "There are no black-heads [i.e. youths] among the people."

⁹⁴ The Mao interpretation is here underdetermined. Mao writes: "*bu* 步 is *xing* 行 (to go/conduct/encounter); *pin* 頻 is *ji* 急 (urgent/quick/dire)." The latter gloss is not simple to disentangle from variants. Wang Xianqian says that *pin* 頻 [frequent/urgent] should be glossed as *pin* 瞋 [look aghast at/knit one's brows in response to] (*Shi sanjia*, 943). Zheng Xuan says that the meaning of *pin* 頻 here is *bibiran* 比比然 (here and there; everywhere). The justification for this seems thin, but the implication is then that marching armies are bringing disaster to all the countries, ostensibly because of King Li's depraved rule. Kong Yingda here tries to harmonize the readings of Mao and Zheng, by claiming that the temporal repetition implied by *pinpin* and the spatial multiplicity implied by *bibi* are ultimately equivalent. Nonetheless, Kong's paraphrasing of the line merely suggests that he reads it like Wang Yinzhi does, as a concluding sigh (or expression of brow-knitting regret) to the verse (*Maoshi zhengyi*, 1384-5). Wang Yingzhi is cited as rejecting this account on historical grounds: there was not, in his understanding, widespread war during this period. If this is true, then either his denial of the gloss is correct or we can reject the assumption that the poem (as we have it) is a response to King Li.

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Verse/

Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
3.3	靡所止疑	There is no place to rest in calm; ⁹⁵	蒸	*	*
3.4	云徂何往	If we should go, then on to where?	陽	A	A
3.5	君子實維	A lord is firm and resolute,	微	b	B
3.6	秉心無競	his determination boundless. ⁹⁶	陽	A	A
3.7	誰生厲階	Who begot this ruthless cause	脂	B	B
3.8	至今為梗	that has ever since been our scourge?	陽	A	A
4.1	憂心慙慙	Pained is my heart—alas! Alas!	文	A	A
4.2	念我土宇	We long for our homes and plots.	魚	B	B
4.3	我生不辰	We were born under a bad star;	文	A	A
4.4	逢天憚怒	Meeting with heaven's great fury.	魚	B	B
4.5	自西徂東	From the west, to the east, ⁹⁷	東	*	*
4.6	靡所定處	There is no place to settle	魚	B	B
4.7	多我覯瘖	Many are the ills we meet;	真	a	A

⁹⁵ Following Mao in reading *ning* 凝 for 疑.

⁹⁶ Lit. his grasp of the heart/mind

⁹⁷ Wang Li, following Jiang Yougao 江有誥 and Zhu Junsheng 朱駿聲, emends this line to read “From the east, to the west” 自東徂西, as this makes for more regular rhyme (*Shijing yundu*, 343). Nonetheless, the poems *Mian* 綿 (Mao #237; *Shijing yundu*, 313) and *Wen wang you sheng* 文王有聲 (Mao #244; *Shijing yundu*, 321) contain the phrases 自西徂東 and 自西自東 identical and nearly so, and do not support Wang's emendation.

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Verse/

Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
4.8	孔棘我圉	precariously we hang. ⁹⁸	魚 ⁹⁹	B	B
5.1	為謀為毖	We seek to strategize and to admonish, ¹⁰⁰	脂	a? ¹⁰¹	A
5.2	亂兄斯削	but chaos grows, obliterating us.	藥	B	B
5.3	告爾憂恤	Tell them to empathize and pity!	質	A	A
5.4	誨爾序爵	Instruct them to follow their proper rank!	藥	B	B
5.5	誰能執熱	Who can handle heat?	月	a	A
5.6	逝不以濯	Is it not surely by way of a [cooling] rinse? ¹⁰²	藥 ¹⁰³	B	B

⁹⁸ Here Mao glosses *yu* 圉 as *chui* 垂 (to hang/beside). Zheng Xuan differs from Mao in glossing *yu* as *yu* 禦 (defend). Kong Yingda notes the distinction, but says “as to the [Zheng Xuan] *Jian*’s reading of *yu* 圉 as *yu* 禦, if we read this as ‘defending the border,’ then it can’t be true that ‘there is no place to settle’; and moreover, since *wo yu* 我圉 (we defend) does not make sufficient sense, so he has to read it as ‘[urgent is] our defending.’ (*Maoshi Zhengyi*, 1387). There are no doubt coherent interpretations of the line that read something like “urgent is our defense of the border” or “dire is our defensive stance,” although this appears to be yet another case in which the *Zhengyi* interpretation of the *Mao* is colored by the *Jian* commentary.

⁹⁹ *Shijing yundu*, 344

¹⁰⁰ Mao’s gloss here indicates just that *bi* 毖 here is *shen* 慎 (cautious); there is no indication at all that the term refers to some sort of literary form (*Maoshi Zhengyi*, 1387).

¹⁰¹ *Shijing yundu*, 344, recognizes cross-rhyme here not indicated by Baxter 1992.

¹⁰² Mao: “Pouring water is the means to remedy heat; ritual is the means to remedy chaos 濯所以救熱也礼所以救亂也.” While Mao only explicitly makes the analogy between water and ritual, the *Jian* and *Zhengyi* commentaries interpret this line to despair a dearth of *xian* 賢 (worthy men) in office, although it is unclear whether a meritocratic conception of worthiness would have occupied an earlier interpretive context (*Maoshi Zhengyi*, 1387-8). The Mozi 墨子 quotes this passage in *Shang xian zhong* 上賢中 chapter, in a way that supports the interpretation that this line refers to the need for worthies in government. Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, *Mozi Jiangu* 墨子閒詁, *Xinbian Zhuzi Jicheng* 新編諸子集成 (Taipei: Huazheng shuju, 1987), 46.

¹⁰³ Reconstruction from *Shijing yundu*, 17, 344.

Appendix 3

Verse/ Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
5.7	其何能淑	How can these be goodly [men]?	覺	b ¹⁰⁴	B
5.8	載胥及溺	Oh how they conspire to bring us down! ¹⁰⁵	藥 ¹⁰⁶	B	B
6.1	如彼遡風	Much like moving against the wind,	侵	A	A
6.2	亦孔之僂	which so exhausts the breath,	物 ¹⁰⁷	B	B
6.3	民有肅心	The people have a respectful heart	侵	A	A
6.4	芘云不逮	yet dispatch it as we may, it won't arrive.	質 ¹⁰⁸	b	B
6.5	好是稼穡	Love the labors of sowing and harvest: ¹⁰⁹	職	C	C

¹⁰⁴ *Shijing yundu* does not recognize a rhyme here; Baxter 1992 does, and the following verse exhibits a similar pattern.

¹⁰⁵ The translation here follows Mao, and the *Zhengyi* commentary reads the term *ni* 溺 more explicitly as but a more plausible interpretation lies in extending the inundation metaphor. Or: "Oh, how they lead each other to drown." It is possible that this can be read as an address or accusation in the second person, e.g. "Oh how you conspire to bring us down!"

¹⁰⁶ *Shijing yundu*, 344

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ The term(s) *jia se* 稼穡, literally to "sow and reap", as is found in most editions of the text, may also be metonymic for the riches of harvest. Here, however, the *Jian* commentary glosses this line with an explanation that refers to "residing stingily in one's house 居家吝嗇," wherein "house" and "stingily" are homophones of "sow" and "reap." Thus, in the *Jian* interpretation, these two couplets are clearly read as criticizing the king's preference for miserly and oppressive ministers. The term *jiase* in the following verse, however, is clearly referring to the fruits of harvest, so the *Jian* interpretation is quite strained. The *Tang shi jing*, *Xiao zi*, and *Xiangtai* editions agree on the reading of "sowing and harvest" presented above; Ruan Yuan argues that the text attached to the *Jian* commentary must have had *jiase* 家嗇—that is, the two *he* 禾 semantophores were not originally present, but were later added to the two characters of this compound on the basis of their appearance in *jia se* 稼穡 of the following verse (see line 7.4 below and *Maoshi Zhengyi*, 1388). Moreover, as Wang Xianqian points out, this line is quoted in the *Han shi wai zhuan*, wherein the

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Verse/					
Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
		Those who govern the people may eat in their			
6.6	力民代食	place. ¹¹⁰	職	C	C
		Those who regard the labors of sowing and			
6.7	稼穡維寶	harvest as the only treasure--	幽	D	D
6.8	代食維好	they alone may eat in place of the people. ¹¹¹	幽	D	D

term contains the *he* radicals. Thus, the Han version and the Mao version may have had graphic variants, but the meaning is identical, i.e. “to sow and reap” (*Sanjia*, 946-7).

¹¹⁰ Mao’s commentary here presents philological problems. Ruan Yuan cites the *Shijing xiao xue* which quotes Mao as saying: “‘*li min dai shi* 力民代食’ here means that those without [direct] contribution eat their heavenly-ordained salary 力民代食{代}無功者食天祿.” Most editions add a second *dai* (curly brackets in the preceding line), which Ruan identifies as an errant interpolation. (*Maoshi Zhengyi* 1389). The term *daishi* 代食 arises only in the *Shijing* and the *Hanshi waizhuan* citation, so is not a well attested phrase for this period. On the other hand, the term 貸食 is well attested only in Qin and later texts, as pointed out by Dai Weihong 戴衛紅, “Zhong Hanchutu ‘daishi’ jian yanjiu 中、韓出土“貸食”簡研究], 《中華文史論叢》2015年第1期, 217-246. Dai shows that the concept of lending grain by government officials is attested as early as in the *Guanzi*. If we were to read this line, contra Mao, as regarding borrowed grain, it would read something like this: “They lust after what is sown and reaped [i.e. grain]; encouraging the people to borrow grain/ Grain is their treasure; lending grain is what they lust for.” As both the passage and the Mao gloss are underdetermined, I tentatively follow Ruan in reconstructing a plausible Mao reading, although none of the proposed possibilities seem completely satisfactory.

¹¹¹ The *Zhengyi* reading of Mao’s interpretation differs from my translation for this verse. As mentioned above, overall, the lines of 6.5-6.8 present major interpretive problems. Commentators disagree on a number of issues, of which the most fundamental is whether these two couplets present an exemplary or counter-exemplary scenario. Zheng Xuan’s *Jian* reads it as an accusation directed to the ruler, a strained interpretation but something like this: “You love only those who reside stingily in their houses; replace those [unworthy lords] who use oppressive force to eat in place of the people [with better, worthy lords]. Those who reside stingily in their houses are your treasure; their eating in place of the people is your pleasure.” The *Zhengyi* agrees with the *Jian* interpretation of *Mao* in 6.3 and 6.4 at least in that this is a rebuke of the king’s recruiting practices, but it reads the last two couplets 6.5 -6.8 as a description of the exemplary lord. To paraphrase: one should employ those who love and respect the labor of agriculture—who

Appendix 3

Verse/ Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
7.1	天降喪亂	Heaven sends down death and chaos,	元	a	*
7.2	滅我立王	Destroying our established king. ¹¹²	陽	A	A
		Sending down those stem-eaters and root-			
7.3	降此蠹賊	eaters ¹¹³	職 ¹¹⁴	B	B

understand the hardship of the people; [only] those who are more meritorious than the people should replace those without merit in taking the heaven-ordained salary; only those who know the hardship of agriculture are the treasure of the kingdom, and rule can only be properly accomplished by employing these worthy individuals in place of the incumbents. The *Zhengyi* commentary interprets *li* 力 in 6.6 to mean specifically a power of meritorious governance, citing the “Xia guan sima” 夏官司馬 chapter of the *Liji*, which says “merit in the realm of governance is called ‘li’” 治功曰力 (*Maoshi Zhengyi*, 1388-9; c.f. entry for *li* in the *Shuowen jiezi*). The translation above follows this suggestion and interprets *li* as proper, meritorious governance. See also *Hanshi waizhuan* 10.22.

¹¹² There is no Mao commentary on this line, but there is consequential disagreement about the meaning of *li wang* 立王 [establish-king]. Zheng Xuan’s *Jian* interprets it as “that which establishes the king,” understood as a kenning for “grain,” Ma Ruichen takes this reading a step further, suggesting that *li* 立 is a variant of 粒 [to eat grain]. The *Zhengyi* commentary follows the *Jian* in this interpretation (*Maoshi Zhengyi*, 1391-2; *Maoshi zhuan jian tong shi*, 968). Zhu Xi, freed of the constraints of the minor prefaces, reads this instead to say: “Heaven sends down death and disaster, which has [already] destroyed our established king.” Zhu Xi’s interpretation makes it explicit that the king is already destroyed (*Shijing ji zhuan*, *juan* 7), but since there is no tense inflection in the poem, “destroying” as an ongoing process is another interpretive possibility. For variant quotations of this line, see *Hanshi waizhuan* 8.18 and 10.23; the former is quite obscure whereas the latter is more coherent with a straightforward reading of “established king.”

¹¹³ The Mao commentary to *maozai* 蠹賊 in the poem “Datian” 大田 in the *Xiaoya* indicates that the *mao* eat the stems and the *zei* eat the roots (*Maoshi zhengyi*, 993).

¹¹⁴ Following *Shijing yundu*, 344.

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Verse/

Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
7.4	稼穡卒痒	What we sow and reap suffers and dies. ¹¹⁵	陽	A	A
7.5	哀恫中國	Grieving are the central kingdoms;	職	B	B
7.6	具贅卒荒	sister states all beaten hollow. ¹¹⁶	陽	A	A
7.7	靡有旅力	None have might to advance [troops],	職	B	B
7.8	以念穹蒼	so they [can only] pray to the blue skies.	陽	A	A
8.1	維此惠君	It is that compliant lord, ¹¹⁷	文	B	*
8.2	民人所瞻	who the people look up to; who is determined and thoroughly	談	a	A
8.3	秉心宣猶	cooperative; ¹¹⁸	幽	*	*

¹¹⁵ That is, the grain is destroyed by pests and disease. The character *yang* 痒 here may be a loan for *yang* 瘍 [ulcerated]. There is little else explicit in the early commentarial layers, although the general meaning is relatively clear.

¹¹⁶ “Sister states” translated here is *zhui* 贅, most literally, the men who go to live in the houses of their wives’ families, which I read metonymically. Here, Mao says only that this refers to those who “belong,” that is to the affiliated states bound by marital relations. “Hollow” follows Mao, who says that *huang* 荒 means *xu* 虛 (empty); Zheng Xuan elaborates that the families’ houses have been emptied by incessant war (*Maoshi Zhengyi*, 1391-2).

¹¹⁷ Here the *Jian* commentary reads this as *shun* 順 [compliant], which finds precedent in the Mao gloss in “Yanyan” of the Bei feng (*Maoshi zhengyi*, 185)

¹¹⁸ The term *xuan you* 宣猶 is not glossed by Mao here. The *Jian* commentary reads it as *pian mou* 徧謀, something like “thorough in strategizing,” although it is not clear that Mao would have agreed with this reading. These glosses find precedent in the Mao glosses on the characters *pian* and *you* in the “Gong liu” 公劉 (Mao #253) and “Chang wu” 常武 (Mao #260) poems, although the contexts are different. Ma Ruichen 馬瑞辰 points out the characters 猶/繇/猷 are interchangeable; *you* 猷 in his interpretation should be read as *shun* 順 (compliant) echoing line

Appendix 3

Verse/ Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力 Wang	Wang	Baxter
		who, when examining [men], is cautious in			
8.4	考慎其相	evaluating their character ¹¹⁹	陽	A	A
8.5	維彼不順	It is that wayward lord, who makes himself out to be the sole [standard	文	B	*
8.6	自獨俾臧	of] goodness;	陽	A	A
8.7	自有肺腸	who has his own visceral inclinations;	陽	A	A
8.8	俾民卒狂	who makes the people raving mad.	陽	A	A
9.1	瞻彼中林	Look to that place in the forest,	侵	A	A
9.2	甦甦其鹿	how numerous are the deer.	屋	B	B
9.3	朋友已譖	Friends have undermined [friends], ¹²⁰	侵	A	A
9.4	不胥以穀	and do not aid each other in doing right.	屋	B	B

8.1, and in direct contrast to the counterexample, *bushun* 不順 (wayward) of 8.5. *Maoshi zhuan jian tongshi*, 969-70).

¹¹⁹ Mao glosses *xiang* 相 as *zhi* 質 (substance/character/to gauge character). The *Jian* commentary takes the term *xiang* 相 to mean “[the conduct of] the aides and ministers,” 輔相之行 (*Maoshi zhengyi*, 1393).

¹²⁰ Mao is silent on the meaning of *jian/zen* 譖, which might be read in several ways. Zheng Xuan understands it as “lacking trust” 不信, or that the friends now “all cheat and oppose each other” 皆相欺背. The *Yinyi* commentary notes that a variant at this locus reads *jian* 僭 (to act falsely; to usurp authority). *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1394. The translation above follows this variant, although the import is not radically different. While the *Zhengyi* edition still carries *zen* 譖, Zheng Xuan’s explanation employs *jian* 僭 (to usurp power), harmonizing between this possibility and the *Jian* interpretation (*Maoshi zhengyi*, 1395).

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Verse/

Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
9.5	人亦有言	People also have a saying:	元 ¹²¹	*	*
9.6	進退維谷	Advancing and retreating both end in an abyss. ¹²²	屋	B	B
10.1	維此聖人	It is this sagacious man;	真	#	*
10.2	瞻言百里	whose insight and words stretch a hundred <i>li</i> ¹²³	之	A	A
10.3	維彼愚人	It is that foolish man;	真	#	*
10.4	覆狂以喜	who takes perversity and madness as joy. ¹²⁴	之	A	A
10.5	匪言不能	No words should be unspeakable,	蒸	*	A
10.6	胡斯畏忌	So why this fear of [speaking] the taboo? ¹²⁵	之	A ¹²⁶	A
11.1	維此良人	It is this good man	真	*	*
11.2	弗求弗迪	that is neither sought out nor promoted	覺	A	A
11.3	維彼忍心	It is that callous one	侵	*	*

¹²¹ Nasal/tonal consonance with 9.1, 9.3.

¹²² Mao glosses *gu* 谷 as “to exhaust/to end.” This translation seeks to preserve the literal reading of the poem and read the Mao gloss as merely disambiguating possible senses of the graph.

¹²³ Mao’s comment here says only that this refers to “foresight” 遠慮.

¹²⁴ The *Zhengyi* interpretation of this line reads to the effect that “[the king] takes pleasure in employing the perverse and mad” (*Maoshi zhengyi*, 1395)

¹²⁵ Lit.: “There are no words (that one should be) unable to speak.” Mao again leaves few explicit hints about the interpretation of this line. The *Zhengyi* commentary understands the term *neng* 能 [able/capable] to regard the ability to differentiate right from wrong, although it is hard to make literal sense of the line this way (*Maoshi zhengyi*, 1395).

¹²⁶ Nasal consonance w/ A

Appendix 3

Verse/ Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力 Wang	Wang	Baxter
11.4	是顧是復	to whom you turn and return.	幽 ¹²⁷	A	A
11.5	民之貪亂	And in the people's lust for rebellion,	元	*	*
11.6	寧為荼毒	peace is like a bitter poison. ¹²⁸	覺	A	A
12.1	大風有隧	A great wind has its path [of origin];	微	*	*
12.2	有空大谷	there is a spacious, grand valley.	屋	A	A
12.3	維此良人	It is this good man,	真	*	*
12.4	作為式穀	who in standing up demonstrates what is right.	屋	A	A
12.5	維彼不順	It is that wayward one, who in launching assaults exemplifies	文	*	*
12.6	征以中垢	benightedness. ¹²⁹	侯	a	A

¹²⁷ *Shijing yundu*, 345 has 覺.

¹²⁸ There is no Mao gloss on the line. The *Jian* and *Zhengyi* commentaries read it as translated here; Zhu Xi reads something like “in the peoples’ lust and disorderliness” for 11.5. The *Zhengyi* interpretation specifies that *luan* 亂 (disorder) is understood in contrast to the rule of the evil king, thus the *Zhengyi* takes *luan* 亂 as “revolt.” Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Shijing Jizhuan* 詩經集傳, 2 vols., Qinding sikuquanshu 欽定四庫全書 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2015), *juan* 7.

¹²⁹ Mao says here only that *zhong gou* 中垢 means *yin ming* 闇冥 (dark/murky/secret). The *Jian* commentary explains *zheng* 征 (to levy taxes or troops/to mount punitive attack) as *xing* 行 (to go/to undertake a mission). *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1396. Ma Ruichen finds that the *Han shi waizhuan* quotes this line as 往以中垢; thus the wording differs, perhaps due to a transcription variant, but the meanings are similar (*Maoshi zhuan jian tongshi*, 972); indeed the term *xing* would better gloss *wang* so the version attached to the Mao commentary may have read *wang* as well. A likely variant of *zhong gou* 中垢 appears in the poem *Qiang you ci* 牆有茨 (Mao #46): “*zhong gou* talk cannot be followed” 中萑之言，不可道也; the *Jian* here reads *zhong gou* 中萑 as salacious talk pertaining to the ladies of the house; the *Yinyi* preserves a comment from the *Han shi*

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Verse/

Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
13.1	大風有隧	A great wind has its path [of origin];	微	A	A
13.2	貪人敗類	the greedy defeat the righteous. ¹³⁰	微	A	A
13.3	聽言則對	To servile words, you face and reply;	微	A	A
13.4	誦言如醉	to invocations, you loll as if drunk. ¹³¹	微	A	A

commentary: “‘*Zhong gou*’ means ‘middle-night’; it refers to debauched/salacious talk.”韓詩云中
 葺中夜謂淫僻之言也 (*Maoshi zhengyi*, 215). In either case, here it has the implication of dark or
 debauched speech, although there are other plausible readings, e.g. *zhong gou* 中詬 (...accord
 with disgracefulness). The *Hanshi waizhuan*, however, quotes the line to cap an anecdote
 illustrating the importance of seeking worthy and capable men to act as ones eyes and ears. In
 this interpretation, *zhonggou* may refer to midnight—not synecdochally the talk of midnight, but
 rather, the heedlessness of “undertaking an expedition at midnight.” See *Hanshi waizhuan* 5.25.
 Another more literal interpretation would be “...who in launching assaults end up in a ditch.”

¹³⁰ The *Jian* commentary interprets *lei* 類 as “social categorical distinctions,” such that, contra Mao,
 the court has destroyed essential norms of social distinction. Mao makes clear that the term *lei*,
 translated “righteous,” (lit. fitting the proper category; being as it/one should), whereas Mao states
 that it should be understood as *shan* 善 (good). *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1397.

¹³¹ The meaning here is not entirely clear. The *Jian* and *Zhengyi* commentaries read this line to
 make a contrast between words of “hearsay” vs. words of “recitation.” Zhu Xi’s comment,
 providing a plausible alternative to the above says “Thinking he might listen to me, I face him;
 yet nonetheless, I find he is unable to listen. 我以其或能聽我之言而對之，然亦知其不能聽也。故
 誦言而中心如醉 (*Shijing ji zhuan*, *juan* 7). The translation above follows Ma Ruichen, who draws
 the distinction between *ting* 聽 and *song* 誦, arguing on the basis of the *Shuowen* and the *Chu yu*
 楚語 that *ting* means “to follow,” whereby “following words” means the obedient words of
 flatterers, and whereas *song* 誦 refers to *feng* 諷 (satirize/criticize), or more specifically *feng jian*
 諷諫 [remonstration] (*Maoshi zhuan jian tongshi*, 973). The translation tentatively follows this. The
 Han Feizi contains a rhymed passage that seems to make reference to listening to plans and
 drunken expression: “In general, the Way of conducting government is to take what is put
 forward [the proposal] and to demand it as performance. Thus one carefully investigates job
 descriptions to establish rank,/ one is clear about their differences and differentiates classes./ The
 way of listening to proposals is such that one's appearance is as if one is quite drunk./ 聽之道，
 以其所出，反以為之入。故審名以定位，明分以辯類。聽言之道，溶若甚醉 (*Han Feizi*, “Yang

Appendix 3

Verse/					
Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
13.5	匪用其良	Never do you employ the good;	陽	*	*
13.6	覆俾我悖	rather you take us as perverse. ¹³²	微	A	A
14.1	嗟爾朋友	Oh you friends! ¹³³	之	*	*
	予豈不知	Do you think I didn't know when I stood			
14.2	而作	forth/composed [this]? ¹³⁴	魚	a	A
14.3	如彼飛蟲	[I'm] like that creature taking wing,	冬	*	*
14.4	時亦弋獲	so often landed by the dart, ¹³⁵	鐸	A	A

quan" English translation by Christoph Harbsmeier; from <http://tls.uni-hd.de/> text ID: HF 0.0.8.6.1.0). Even if this claim can be linked to some prior adage underlying drunken listening, it is safe to assume that Han Feizi's prescriptive vision for the ruler differs significantly (or is perhaps precisely opposite) to that put forth by the *Sang rou* or its early Ruist interpretation.

¹³² This passage of the text is also found quoted in the "Lord Wen, year one" 文公元年 chapter of the *Zuozhuan*. Interestingly, although perhaps coincidentally, it is both the most densely rhymed verse of the poem, with the same rhyme on all but one line, and the only verse preserved in quotation elsewhere in the pre-Han corpus. See Durrant et. al. *Zuo Tradition*, 466-7.

¹³³ Ma Ruichen draws a connection here between this line and line 69 of the *Rui liangfu* chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* 維而執政朋友小子 (*Maoshi zhuan jian tongshi*, 973)

¹³⁴ The meaning of this verse is highly contested. In this line, the *Jian* commentary reads the graph *er* 而 in 14.2 as equivalent to the second person pronoun *er* 爾 [you], and the term *zuo* 作 as meaning "conduct": "*er* means *nü* 女 [you]; 'How do I not know the evil of what you do?' 而猶女也我豈不知女所行者惡與. The *Zhengyi* commentary follows this. Ma Ruichen interprets *zuo* as it is more clearly intended in the last line of the song, where it means to write/author/create. *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1398-9; *Maoshi zhuan jian tongshi*, 973.

¹³⁵ The *Jian* and *Zhengyi* commentaries interpret the subject of 14.3-14.4 to be the immoral ministers, rather than the speaker: "[You are] like those birds awing, caught by an untimely dart". C.f. line 170-4 of **Rui Liangfu bi* (appendix 1); the *Mao* commentary on this couplet bears interesting interpretive similarities: "Your behavior, such as it is, is like birds flying dissolutely about to the north, south, east, and west. 'Caught by the shooting of an untimely dart' means to

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Verse/

Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
		I go to keep you			
14.5	既之陰女	sheltered,	魚	*	*
14.6	反予來赫	yet you are hostile to me. ¹³⁶	鐸	A	A
15.1	民之罔極	That the people have lost their [moral] bearings ¹³⁷	職	A	A

say that having been debauched so long, with nothing to control you, you will all in turn be caught by one who waits among you”女所行如是猶鳥飛行自恣東西南北時亦為弋射者所得言放縱久無所拘制則將遇伺女之間者得誅女也。 *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1398-9.

¹³⁶ Mao leaves only one clue to the interpretation of 14.1-14.4, and that clue is disputed by textual variants. The comment found in the current *Zhengyi* says “*xia* 赫 means *zhi* 炙 (to blaze/scorch/roast)” 赫炙也。 It is difficult to explain by phonetic or graphic means how such a variant should arise. As Ruan Yuan points out, the *Zhengyi* commentary suggests that the version of the *Mao* commentary to which it was originally attached read “*xia* 赫 means *xia* 嚇 (oppose/threaten). The *Jian* also reads the graph 赫 as *he* 嚇 (to oppose; threaten) 赫嚇也, and the translation above assumes that the current text of the *Zhengyi* is corrupted here. Cf. *Gu Feng* 谷風 in the Odes of Bei 邶風 section of the *Shijing*: “You do not reflect our past; you are only angry at me 不念昔者、伊余來墜,” following Wang Yinzhi’s interpretation. Wang and Ma Ruichen have different interpretations but both read 伊 X 來 Y as an inverted grammatical construction similar to 惟 X 是 Y and equivalent to 惟 YX. The translation reflects this grammatical pattern (Ma reads *ji* 墜 as 恣/愛 yielding instead “...you only love me” 伊余來墜). Wang Yinzhi, apud sec. 29 of entry for *lai* 來, HYDCD, electronic edition; *Maoshi zhuan jian tongshi*, 138-9). If one assumes that the term *zhi* “blazing” must refer back to the imagery of roasting sun and lords amidst the mulberry leaves, it is possible to arrive at a forced interpretation: “Oh you friends! How could I not have known when I stood up/wrote/[I’m] like that creature taking wing, so often landed by the dart/I go to keep you shaded; you bring instead the scorching [of the sun].” The translation follows Ruan Yuan graphic interpretation and the grammar as parsed by Ma and Wang.

¹³⁷ Lit.: “that the people have lost the pole star.”

Appendix 3

Verse/ Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
15.2	職涼善背	is because the degenerate excel at dereliction. ¹³⁸	之	A	A
15.3	為民不利	In their efforts to disadvantage the people	脂	b?	*
15.4	如云不克	it is as if they fear they won't succeed.	職	A	A
15.5	民之回讎	That the people are rebellious	質	B?	*
15.6	職競用力	is because of the aggressors' use of force.	職	A	A
16.1	民之未戾	That the people are unsettled	脂	a	*
16.2	職盜為寇	is because of the plundering of thieves.	侯	*	*
16.3	涼曰不可	The degenerate say '[you] cannot do'; ¹³⁹	歌	A	A

¹³⁸ The *Jian* commentary reads *zhi* 職 as *zhu* 主 (to be owing to). *Mao* glosses *liang* 涼 as *bo* 薄 (thin/ dilute). The *Jian* reads *liang* 涼 as *xin* 信 (trust/trustworthy), contra *Mao*'s explicit gloss of the graph as *bo* 薄 (thin/ degenerate). The *Jian* would read: "That the people have lost their propriety is because of [you rulers] entrusting those who excel at deceit." As Ma Ruichen notes, the *Shuowen* entry for a homophone, *liang* 諒, is defined as "[one's] deeds are not good" 事有不善言諒也; moreover, this was also glossed as *bo* 薄 in the *Erya* that Xu Shen used (the transmitted *Erya* has the same variant as the *Mao* text: 涼薄也). The *Jian* and *Ma*'s reading respond to the grammatical problem of interpreting the graph in context, but *Ma*'s is more plausible. *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1399-1400; *Maoshi zhuan jian tongshi*, 975-6.

¹³⁹ *Mao* leaves no explicit comment here and interpreters struggle with these lines. Several editions have the variant *liang* 諒, which is in cases interchangeable with *liang* 良. The *Jian* and *Zhengyi* commentaries understand it as meaning *xin* 信 "true/truly/trust/trustworthy," and the Tang Stone classics version has both the variant 涼 in 15.2 and 諒 in 16.3. Ruan Yuan follows Lü Deming's *Jingdian shiwen* note here in indicating that in both 15.2 and 16.3, *Mao* reads it as having the sound *liang* 良 and the *Jian* commentary reads the sound as 亮. Ruan thus argues that the Tang Stone version is wrong (as are the *Jian* and *Zhengyi* interpretations), and that we should follow *Mao* in reading *liang* 涼 in both 15.2 and 16.3 (*Maoshi zhengyi*, 1401-02). The translation above follows Ruan Yuan's interpretation of the *Mao* text, and the assumption that Ma Ruichen is correct that the graph is equivalent in meaning to *liang* 諒. However, if we assume, as Lu Deming

“Sang rou”

Verse/

Line	Text	Mao Translation	王力	Wang	Baxter
		the perverse and derelict excel at condemning			
16.4	覆背善詈	[others];	歌	A	A
16.5	雖曰匪予	Though they may say “it wasn’t me,”	魚	*	*
16.6	既作爾歌	I have written this song for them.	歌	A	A

suggests, that liang 良 is a possible reading of this graph, and indeed the Tang stone reading of 諒 is interchangeable with 良, this line might also read “They are good at pronouncing [others] ‘unacceptable.’”

Appendix Four: Translation of the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 “Rui Liangfu” 芮良夫 chapter

This translation of the “Rui Liangfu” 芮良夫 chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 is based on a critical reconstruction that considers the transmitted editions of the *Yi Zhou shu* and the version of the chapter found in the Tang-era *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 (Essentials of Governance from the Flock of Books) compendium. The greatest difference among prior textual studies of “Rui Liangfu” in particular, is between those which employ the *Qunshu Zhiyao* version of the text and those which do not. Although the text of “Rui Liangfu” comes as presented in multiple transmitted versions of the *Yi Zhou shu* and multiple versions of the *Qunshu zhiyao*, I make the larger distinction between non-*Qunshu* versions and *Qunshu* versions. Of the former, the primary source for this translation and the edition that makes best sense of the text in aggregate is the *Sibu bei yao* 四部備要 (SBBY), with Lu Wenchao’s 盧文弨 philological notes, largely because it benefits from the comparison of several late imperial prints of the text.¹ The most useful Qing

¹ Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 ed., *Yi zhou shu* 逸周書 in *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要. Taipei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju, 1965. v. 102. This is a print version based on the 1786 Baojingtang congshu 抱經堂叢書 edition, available at <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&res=78187>. Lu Wenchao’s edition was made on the basis of eight Ming and Yuan print editions, as well as the work of some twelve other scholars. Lu is circumspect in emending the text and makes careful notes of emendations and variants. See Huang Peirong 黃沛榮, “Zhou Shu Yanjiu 周書研究” (Ph.D. dissertation, National Taiwan University, 1976), 8.

studies of the “Rui Liangfu” chapter are those by Wang Niansun 王念孫 and Zhu Youzeng,² primarily because they both had access to the *Qunshu* versions of the text, which is able to satisfactorily solve a number of philological problems.

Other studies consulted include those by Chen Fengheng 陳逢衡,³ Ding Zongluo 丁宗洛,⁴ Sun Yirang 孫詒讓,⁵ Tang Dapei 唐大沛,⁶ and the edition of Zhang Bo 章燾.⁷

The *Qunshu zhiyao*, is a compendium of political philosophy commissioned by the first Tang emperor, Tang Taizong. In addition to three chapters of the *Yi Zhou*

² Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜誌, rpt. Jinlong shuju 金陵書局重刊 1870 同治庚午十一月 *Yi Zhou shu* is *juan* 1-4. A scan from Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München is available at <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&res=86852>.

Zhu Youzeng (清) 朱右曾 ed. an., *Yi Zhou shu ji xun jiao shi* 逸周書集訓校釋 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1980). Facsimile print of the edition preserved in Huang Qing jingjie xubian 皇清經解續編, *juan* 1028-1038; preface 1846 道光二十有六年.

³ Chen Fengheng 陳逢衡, *Yi Zhou shu buzhu* 逸周書補注, imprint 1825 道光乙酉. Scan from Harvard Yenching Library, available at <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&res=95504>.

⁴ Ding Zongluo 丁宗洛 *Yi Zhou shu guan jian* 逸周書管箋, preface 1825 道光乙酉. Scan from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, available at <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&res=86072>. Hereafter “YZSGJ.”

⁵ Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 *Zhou shu jiaobu* 周書駮補 in *Xuxiu siku chuanshu* 續修四庫全書. A facsimile of the *Qing Guangxu keben* 清光緒刻本 edition, available at <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&res=81828>.

⁶ Tang Dapei 唐大沛, *Yi Zhou Shu Fen Bian Zhu Shi* 逸周書分編句釋 (Taipei: Taiwan xue sheng shu ju, 1969). Colophon 1836 清道光十六年.

⁷ Zhang Bo 章燾 ed., *Jizhong Zhou shu* 汲冢周書, *Sibu congkan chubian* edition 四部叢刊初編. Facsimile edition of the Ming Dynasty 1543 嘉靖癸卯 print edition, collated by Zhang Bo 章燾, available at <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&res=77383>.

shu (“Wen chuan jie” 文傳解, “Guan ren” 官人, and “Rui Liangfu” 芮良夫),⁸ the *Qunshu zhiyao* preserves volumes of valuable homologs of transmitted texts, including everything from sections of the *Zhou yi* 周易 to the *Han shu* 漢書 to *Baopuzi* 抱朴子. The text went lost for centuries in China sometime starting in the Song dynasty. Thankfully, the text was preserved in Japan, having arrived sometime towards the end of the Nara 奈良 (710 to 794) or beginning of the Heian 平安 (794 to 1185) periods.⁹ In Japan, the text seems to have enjoyed a better reception than in China, and circulated widely in manuscript form, known as the *Gunsho chiyō* 群書治要 (hereafter GSCY). Only the Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫 (Kanazawa Library) manuscript, contains *Yi Zhou shu* material. A facsimile was published in 1989.¹⁰ The primary print version of the *Qunshu zhiyao*

⁸ Chapters 25, 58, and 63 respectively, preserving the order found in the non-*Qunshu* versions. The *Qunshu* version of “Rui Liangfu” does not append the term *jie* 解 to the title, but it does include much of the Kong Zhao commentary to the text.

⁹ Ozaki Yasushi 尾崎 康, “Gunsho Chiyō to Sono Genson Hon” 群書治要とその現存本, *Bulletin of the Shidō Bunko Institute* 斯道文庫論集, no. 25 (1990): 121–210, 121.

¹⁰ Gi Chō (Wei Zheng) 魏徵 ed., Ozaki Yasushi 尾崎 康, and Kobayashi Yoshinori 小林 芳規 ann., *Gunsho chiyō* (*Qunshu zhiyao*) 群書治要, v. 1. Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin, 1989-. This edition is a photographic reproduction of the mid-Kamakura 鎌倉 era (1185–1333) manuscript from the Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫, currently held by the Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内庁書陵部 (Archives of the Imperial Household Agency). Forty-seven of the original fifty scrolls are extant (scrolls four, thirteen, and twenty are missing). The *terminus ante quem* for the core textual layer is datable by punctuation added in the 1250’s by Kiyohara Noritaka 清原 教隆. See Ozaki 1990, 128-9. Ozaki 1990 has notes about the annotation of many of the scrolls, but not for scroll 8, which contains the *Zhou shu*; This source, in general, provides a good overview of extant Japanese manuscripts of the *Qunshu zhiyao*.

(hereafter QSZY), both for this translation and for Qing studies, is the *Wan wei bie cang* 宛委別藏, edition, based on a Japanese Tenmei print edition 天明刻本 for which the GSCY manuscript is the primary source.¹¹

The *Qunshu zhiyao* provides readable text of the “Rui Liangfu” chapter in several places where the non-*Qunshu* versions are unintelligible, or in the many places where they are missing text. Nevertheless, the *Qunshu* version is not without lacunae itself. Sections of the text reconstructed on the basis of the *Qunshu* versions edition are punctuated below by curly brackets “{ }.” Sections present in the SBBY but missing in the *Qunshu zhiyao* versions are placed in hard angle brackets “< >.”

Only the *Qunshu zhi yao* edition contains the three prefatory lines (lines 1-3 below) that open the *Jie* as reconstructed by Zhu. It is not clear how the text may

¹¹ Wei Zheng 魏徵 ed. *Qun shu zhi yao* 群書治要, v. 3, *Sibu congkan chubian* 四部叢刊初編, available at <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&res=77438>. This edition is a facsimile of Ruan Yuan’s 阮元 *Wan wei bie cang* 宛委別藏, made during the Qing Jiaqing 嘉慶 imperial reign (1760-1820) on the basis of the Tenmei print edition 天明刻本 (printed during the Tenmei reign period, 1781-1788). The Tenmei or Owari edition, printed in Owari han 尾張藩, appears to have been prepared by collating the texts of the *Qunshu* with other transmitted versions of its textual contents that were available in Japan at the time. The Tenmei was based on an earlier *Suruga ban* 駿河版 movable-type edition commissioned by Tokugawa Ieyasu 德川家康 in 1616. The Tokugawa edition was based on the Kanazawa Bunko manuscript, described above (Ozaki, 123). Since the Tenmei version emended the text in the process of collation, the Chinese editions that stem from it do not supersede earlier manuscript versions, (See Ozaki, 122; also, Poon Ming Kay 潘銘基, “Ribben Ping’an Shidai Jiutiao Jia Ben Qunshu Zhiyao Yanjiu 日藏平安時代九条家本《群書治要》研究,” *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu xuebao* 中國文化研究學報, 2018.6, p.3.). For the “Rui Liangfu” chapter in particular I note only one variant, for which see line 48 of the translation and corresponding note.

have circulated in the Warring States, or in particular whether the prefatory opening preserved in the *Qun shu zhi yao* circulated as an integral part of the text or as a later paratextual comment, but if the former is true then it bears greater similarity in form to the *Rui Liangfu bi*.¹²

It is clear from the preliminary prosodic analysis of the “Rui Liangfu” that much of the text is composed in rhyme or near rhyme. Unlike the **Rui Liangfu bi* or poems of the *Shijing*, “Rui Liangfu” neither explicitly nor implicitly claims to record a musical performance, and there is no clear verse structure. The rhyme scheme and rhythm of this text are less regular than those of *Shijing* poetry and less regular than that of the *Rui Liangfu bi*. We can say only that the text rhymes in some parts, in other parts does not rhyme, and in yet other parts there is significant final consonance or assonance that cannot quite be called rhyme on the strict basis of *Shijing* rhyme-group reconstructions, but is almost certainly close enough that it represents a conscious rhetorical feature of composition.

In the translation below I have marked end rhyme throughout in the far right column. The traditional rhyme categories are those of Wang Li’s system found in Zhonghua shuju’s *Han zi gu jin yin biao*, and are accompanied by Axel

¹² The *Qun shu zhi yao* also lacks significant portions of the text as it is preserved in other editions, including both the final lines (lines 111-12) and a central portion designated here as sections 7-8 (lines 62-81).

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

Schuessler’s OCM Old Chinese as well as Baxter and Sagart’s 2014 reconstruction.

In cases of monorhyme, resulting from word repetition, I have added a “#” in the far right column.

Commentarial insertion points are noted in the Chinese text: “B” marks insertion of a Kong Zhao comment that occurs at the same point in both versions; “N” marks insertions found only in the non-*Qunshu* versions of the text; “Q” marks a comment present only in the *Qunshu* versions; lowercase letters are used in cases in which the section commented on is only preserved in the non-*Qunshu* (n) or *Qunshu* (q); “I1” and “I2” mark points where the same comment is inserted in different places in the two texts.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

Extract from *Zhou shu xu* 周書序:

Sect.	Line	Chinese Text	English Translation	王力	OCM	B&S 2014	Rime
0	1	芮伯稽古作訓	Rui Bo examined antiquity and made an instruction ¹³	文	*huns	*[u[n]-s	A
	2	納王于善	to induce the king to goodness,	元	*dan?	*[g]e[n]?	a
	3	暨執政小臣	and the officers and lesser servants	真	*gin	*[g]i[n]	ä
	4	咸省厥躬	all to reflect on themselves;	侵	*kun	*k(r)uŋ	A
	5	作芮良夫	and made “Rui Liangfu.” ¹⁴	魚	*pa	*p(r)a	X

Text of “Rui liangfu” 芮良夫:

¹³ The preface’s reading here clearly interprets 稽 as *ji* (to examine/study), rather than as *qi* (to touch one’s head to the ground) in other editions and similar passages. See note to line 2.6 below.

¹⁴ The subject of “made ‘Rui Liangfu’” is somewhat murky here, if only because it is unclear what the scope of 納 is and whether it extends to the officers and servants.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

Sec. Ln.	Chinese Text	English Translation	王力	OCM	B&S
1 0	芮良夫解:	“Rui Liangfu, Explained” ¹⁵			
1	{厲王失道	{King Li had lost the Way.	幽	*lâh	*[kə.l]ʰu? A
2	芮伯陳誥	Rui Bo ¹⁶ set forth his proclamation,	幽	*kûkh	*kʰuk-s A
3	作芮良夫}	and made “Rui Liangfu” ¹⁷	魚	*pa	*p(r)a X
4	芮伯若曰:	Rui Bo said to the effect: ¹⁸	月	*wat	*[ɕ]wat X
2 5	<予>{余}小臣良夫，	I, Liangfu, a lesser servant,	魚	*pa	*p(r)a X
6	稽首謹<道謀誥>告 N	touch my head to the ground and solemnly declare: ¹⁹	幽	*kûkh	*kʰuk-s A

¹⁵ Presumably the “explained” is added by the compiler. The authors of the prefatory remark in the QSZY apparently knew this text simply as “Rui Liangfu.”

¹⁶ i.e. Rui Liangfu

¹⁷ This prefatory pronouncement is only preserved in the QSZY version. No commentary is inserted after these opening twelve graphs. Wang Niansun argues that this pronouncement should have originally been included in the chapter.

¹⁸ The Kong Zhao 孔晁 annotation glosses 若 as *shun* 順, and seems to indicate that elaborating that Rui Bo was “obediently carrying out his duties in announcing it” 順其事而告之. This Kong Zhao comment is present only in the non-*Qunshu* versions. Adam Schwartz (personal communication) has pointed out the possibility of an etymological relation to the term (or genre) 訓 “instruction.”

¹⁹ The SBBY version reads “I, Liangfu, your lesser servant, have examined the Way and consultatively announce:” 稽道謀告 (where “consultative” here serves merely to demonstrate the awkwardness of this reading, which to Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi juan* 4, 114, simply

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

7	天子惟民父母，	The Son of Heaven is father and mother to the	之	*mô?	*mə?	B
		people, ²⁰				
8	致厥道，	and when he sets forth his Way	幽	*lûh	*[kə.l]ʔu?	A
						#
9	無遠不服，	there is no distant place that does not obey;	職	*bək	*[b]ək	B
10	無道，	[but] when there is no Way,	幽	*lûh	*[kə.l]ʔu?	A
						#

“doesn’t make sense” 義不可通). The gist of the sentence is nonetheless consistent with the *Zhou shu xu* 周書序, which reads “The Earl of Rui examined antiquity and made an instruction” 芮伯稽古作訓. The translation above follows the *Qunshu* edition. Clearly, the difference between these two translations rendered above is very consequential to the interpreting the tone and authority with which Rui Liangfu speaks. The translation above is a common formula in bronze inscriptions and concurs with some eleven other occurrences of a similar formula in other *Yi Zhou shu* chapters, which read either “[so and so] saluted with his hands and touched his head to the ground” 拜手稽首 or “[so and so] saluted and touched his head to the ground” 拜稽首. Among these is included the *Zhai Gong* 祭公 chapter, available both in received and transmitted versions, which read “The Duke of Zhai saluted with his hands and touched his head to the ground” 祭公拜手稽首. See “The Duke of Zhai’s Retrospective Command,” in Edward Shaughnessy, “Unearthing the *Yi Zhou shu*,” forthcoming. In the manuscript version the two characters 稽首 are read as a *heaven* 𠄎 首, Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhu jian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2010), p. 23, slip 3. Nonetheless, the term 稽古 also arises in the text of the *Yizhou shu*. See chapter four for a detailed treatment. The QSZY version of the text has *jin* 謹 “respectfully”; *Qunshu* versions have 余 where other editions read 予.

²⁰ Lu Wenchao notes that 天 was missing from one of the editions he worked from.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

11	左右臣妾乃違	B	then [even] those men and women at his right and left disobey.	微	*wəi	*[ɕ] ^{wəi} [j]	X
12	民歸于德，		The people gravitate to virtue;	職	*tək	*t ^ə ək	B
13	德則民戴，		virtue is what people support	之	*təh	*Cə.t ^ə ək-s	B
14	否{德}<則>民讐。		and non-virtue is what they hate.	幽	*du	*[d]u	A
15	茲<言>允效		Truly emulate these words;	宵	*gráuh	*m-	X
16	<于前>{斯}不遠	B	Do not stray from posterity; ²¹	元	*wans/ *wan?	*C.ɕ ^w an?	X
17	商紂<不道>{弗改}		King Zhou of Shang’s Way-wardness ²²	幽/	<*lúh>	<*[kə.l]’u?	A
A				之		>	

²¹ The QSZY and GSCY read lines 15-16 as “in this you should trust and emulate posterity; do not stray from this” 茲效于前, 斯不遠, punctuating differently, omitting 言. The non-*Qunshu* versions read “These words should be emulated; do not stray from posterity.” 茲言允效于前, 斯不遠. Neither of these readings makes much sense in context. In the latter version, it is unclear whether *yan* 言 should be read as a particle. The larger problem, however, is that regardless of whether the sentence refers to model speech or model action, neither model speech nor action has been clearly described preceding this. I suspect that the text here is corrupt and is missing at least a sentence here in both versions.

²² Following the non-*Qunshu* texts 商紂不道. The *Qunshu* has 弗改 (幽之){*C.q^ə? }{*kəʔ}.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

17B	夏桀之虐，	And King Jie of Xia’s cruelty—	藥	*ŋauk	*[ŋ](r)awk	a
18	肆我{有周}、	These are why we {who have the Zhou —}	幽	*tiu	*tiw	X
A						
18B	有家。B	have our house.	魚	*krâ	*k'ra	X
3	19	嗚呼！	魚	*há(h)	*q ^h a	X
	20	惟爾天子，	之	*tsə?	*tsə?	A
	21	嗣文武{之}業，	葉	*ŋap	*[m-	#
	22	惟爾執政小子	之	*tsə?	q ^h](r)[alp	X
		And it is you, officers and noble sons			*tsə?	A
						#

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

23	同先王之臣	[who hold] the same [offices] as the ministers of former kings ²³	真	*gin	*[g]i[r]	X
24	昏行< >[内]顧	who go about muddled and gazing inwards, ²⁴	魚	*kâ?!	*[k] ^w aʔ-s	A
25	道王不若 B	leading the king improperly;	鐸	*nak	*nak	A
26	專利作威	monopolizing resources and creating tyranny,	微	*ʔui	*ʔuj	X
27	佐亂進禍	aiding chaos and abetting misfortune.	歌	*gôî?	*[g] ^w aj?	X
28	民將弗<楚>[禽]B	The people will not stand for it.	侵	*kh ôm	*[k] ^h [ə]m	b
29	治亂信乎其行。	“Chaos and order are evident in their [corresponding] conduct.”	陽	*grân	*Ca.[g]ʔra	b

²³ The Kong Zhao annotation in SBBY and other non-*Qunshu* editions are corrupt, I follow that of the *Qunshu* version here which says “Same’ means ‘of the same position’” 同，謂位同。QSZY, 86; GSCY, 471.

²⁴ The SBBY, SBCK, and YZSBZ editions show a lacuna, reading 昏行 顧. I follow the QSZY edition and GSCY manuscript; both have 昏行內顧; the YZSGJ and ZSJXS commentaries have 昏 for 內. Wang Niansun, DSZJ *juan* 4 makes a detailed and convincing argument that 內 may in this case be a scribal error, based on 昏 having been abbreviated as 昏 or 昏. The term *nei gu* 內顧 comes up in the *Analects*, in which it seems to regard how one comports oneself properly while riding a chariot. Such an interpretation is also applicable here: “Xiang dang” 鄉黨: When he was about to mount his carriage, he would stand straight, holding the cord. When he was in the carriage, he did not turn his head quite round, he did not talk hastily, he did not point with his hands. 升車，必正立執綏。車中，不內顧，不疾言，不褻指。James Legge tr., *The Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*, vol. 1, *The Chinese Classics with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes* (London: Trübner and co., 1861), 100.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

4	30	惟王暨爾執政小子攸聞。B	It is as the King and you officers and noble sons have heard:	文	*mən	*mu[n]	A
	31	古人求多聞<以>監戒，	The ancients sought to hear advice often so as to be examined and warned.	之	krəh	*kʰrək-s	X
	32	<不>{弗}聞，	Not to hear advice—	文	*mən	*mu[n]	A
	33	是惟弗知，B	this is not to know;	支	*tre	*tre	#
	34	{爾}聞爾知，	{and for you to hear advice and have knowledge,	支	*tre	*tre	#
	35	弗政厥度	yet fail to change your rule—	魚	*dâkh	*[d]ʰak-s	X
	36	亦惟艱哉！q	is certainly perilous!] ²⁵	文	*krəh	*kʰrə[r]	A
							P

²⁵ Lines 34-36 are missing from the non-*Qunshu* editions; no lacunae are noted. In the *Qunshu* editions, there is a comment here: “[in regard to] knowing and not changing, this is never permissible; thus it says [there will be] difficulty” 知而不改無可如何故曰難也。QSZY, 78; GSCY, 470. The absence of both the line and the comment suggest that they were lost from the non-*Qunshu* versions sometime after the commentary became embedded.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

5	37	{夫}后除民害，	A ruler removes the people’s harm —	月	*gâts	*N-kʰat-s	#
	38	不惟<民害>{害民}，	he is not the people’s harm. ²⁶	月	*gâts	*N-kʰat-s	#
	39	害民乃非后：	He who harms the people is not a ruler;	侯	*gôʔ/h	*çʰ(r)oʔ	#
	40	惟其讎。B	he will be hated.	幽	*du	*[d]u	A
	41	<后作類，	<The ruler should act his role;	微	*rus	*[r]u[t]-s	A
	42	后弗類，	if he does not act his role	微	*rus	*[r]u[t]-s	A
	43	民不知后，	the people will not know [him as] the ruler,	侯	*gôʔ/h	*çʰ(r)oʔ	#
	44	惟其怨。n	but will detest him.> ²⁷	元	*ʔons	*[ʔ]o[r]-s	X
	45	民至億兆，	The people number in the millions and billions,	宵	*d-lauʔ	*[r]a[w]ʔ	b

²⁶ GCSY: 不為害民, 470.

²⁷ This sentence, lines 41-43, is present only in the non-*Qunshu* versions, where it reads like an inline comment, perhaps superfluous. Nonetheless, the Kong commentary clearly makes reference to the content of the line in those non-*Qunshu* versions (e.g. SBBY and JZS). If the Kong commentary is assumed to be a unitary, integral part of both the *Zhoushu* and *Qunshu* versions, then we must assume that this section somehow was omitted after Kong’s time in the *Qunshu* transmission lineage.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

46	后一而已，	but there is only one ruler.	之	*ləʔ	*c(r)əʔ	B
47	寡<不>{弗}敵眾，	When the few are no match for the many ²⁸	冬	*tunh	*tun-s	X
48	后其{殆}<危>我！B	the ruler will be imperiled indeed! ²⁹	之	{ləʔ}	{*l'əʔ}	B
6	49 {烏摩} <嗚呼！	> Whoah-ho! ³⁰	魚	*hâ(h)	*q ^h a	X
50	{野禽馴服于人，	{Wild beasts can be trained to obey men	真	*nin	*ni[n]	a
51	家畜見人而奔，	while domestic animals see men and flee.	文	*pôn	*p'ur	ä
52	非禽畜之性，	These are not the natural dispositions of beasts and domestic animals,	耕	*sen	*sen-s	â

²⁸ GSCY: 寡弗敵眾, 470.

²⁹ The GSCY version corresponding to line 48 reads 后其殆; the QSZY reads 后其殆哉; although the commentary, preserved in all versions, reads: “[the foregoing] is to say that superiors and inferiors lack good faith, and mutually resent each other, so that the few are precarious indeed” 言上下無義對共相怨寡者危已. This is either the source of the interpolation in the *Qunshu* versions, or a clue that Kong’s text may have read as the non-*Qunshu* versions do. The *Qunshu* reading of *dai* 殆 (imperiled), followed in the translation, fits the rhyme scheme.

³⁰ GSCY has 嗚呼; Non-*Qunshu* versions show three boxes, whereas the *Qunshu* supplements 21 graphs here, suggesting that a copyist of the text was mistaken about the size of the lacuna.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

53	實惟人民亦如之。B	and yet how true it is that the people now behave)	之	*tə	*tə	A
		likewise. ³¹				
7	今爾執政小子，	Now, you ministers and noble sons	之	*tsəh	*tsəʔ	X
54	惟以貪諛<為>事{王}II	It is with greed and flattery that you serve the King;	之	*dzrəʔ	*[m-s-	A
55		{陽}	{*wan}	{*wan}]rəʔ-s	
					{*cʷan}	
56	不<懃德>{對}以備難，I2	acting neither diligently nor virtuously to prepare for	元	*nāns	*nʰar-s	A
		hardship. ³²				
57	下民胥怨，	The people below are all resentful.	元	*ʔons	*[ʔ]o[r]-s	a

³¹ The non-QSZY versions here reads ...嗚呼 如之... indicating that three graphs are missing from the text; these versions also show two graphs missing from Kong Zhao’s comment to the line. Kong Zhao’s comment to this line, and, indeed also the meaning of the passage, make sense only in light of the text as restored from the QSZY. Interpolating on the basis of the QSZY text, Kong’s comment says: “...[as to wild animals] when people care for and feed them they are tamed, [whereas] domestic animals, if they are not cared for, will fear people. Governing people is also like this.” 人養食之則擾服雖家畜不養則畏人治民亦然也。While Kong’s interpretation fails to illuminate the meaning here, it does show that the missing text he commented on was similar to that found in the QSZY version. Chen Fengheng, having not seen the *Qunshu* versions, surmised correctly that the lacuna is more than three characters (YZSBZ *juan* 20, p.5), as is shown by the *Qunshu* versions.

³² The *Qunshu* versions read “...not responding so as to prepare for hardship”不對以備難。

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

58	<財力單竭> {財單力竭},	月	*grat	*N-	b
59	手足靡措，	魚	*tshâkh	*[tsʰ]ak-s	ˊb
60	弗<堪>{龜}戴上，	陽	*danh	*danʔ-s	A
61	不其亂而！B	元	*rôns	*[r]ʰo[n]-s	a ^p
8	62 <以予小臣良夫，	魚	*ba	*[b]a	
63	觀天下有土之君，n	文	*kun	*C.qur	a
64	厥德不遠，	元	*wanʔ	*C.ɔʷanʔ	A
65	罔有代德，n	職	*tək	*tʰək	X

³³ Here reading *dan* 單 as equivalent to *dan* 殫, which can mean “exhausted” or “exhaustively.” The Kong Zhao 孔晁 commentary to this sentence says that “*dan* means exhausted/exhaustively 單，盡也.” See YZS[Z]S, 223.

³⁴ Reading 靡 as 摩 and 措 as 錯, see numerous examples for both in *Gu xun hui zhuàn* 古訓匯纂 pp. 2471 and 827.

³⁵ This sentence (lines 63-6) is difficult to interpret. Zhu Youzeng writes of the term *bu yuan* 不遠: “doesn’t reach far” is to say that none are able to esteem the others 不遠言莫能相尚.” This is markedly different from the use of the term above, as “do not stray” from your predecessors 于前不遠. In lines 63-6 it is bad; in line 16 it is good.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

66	時為王之患，	That which makes the king suffer—	元	*grôns	*[g] ^h ro[n]-	a
67	其惟國人。n	can it be other than these countrymen?	真	*nin	*ni[n]	a
9	嗚呼！	Whoa-ho!	魚	hâ(h)	*q ^h a	X
68	惟爾執政朋友小子，	Oh you officers, friends and noble sons	之	*tsəh	*tsə?	X
70	其惟洗爾心，	Would you not cleanse your hearts,	侵	*səm	*səm	a
71	改爾行，	and correct your conduct?	陽	*grân	*[g] ^h raŋ-s	A
72	克憂往愆，	May you lament your prior faults	元	*khrian	*C.q ^h ra[n]	A
73	以保爾居，n	so as to protect your position.	魚	*ka	*k(r)a-s	b
74	爾乃贖禍翫哉，	You are deaf to disaster and oblivious to calamity,	之	*tsə	*[ts] ^h ə	B
75	遂弗不悛，	advancing what is wrong without remorse. ³⁶	文	*tshon	[?]	a
76	余未知王之所定，	I don't know how the king will remain in place,	耕	*dêŋh	*m-t ^h ɛŋ-s	a

³⁶ Reading 弗 as 非.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

77	矧乃	◦ > n	much less you [noble sons]. ³⁷	之	*tsəh	*tsə?	B
78	惟禍發於 人之攸忽，		Disaster is what emerges from what men neglect; ³⁸		*hmət	*mʰut	?
79	{谷起}於 人之攸輕，		{misfortune arises} from what men treat lightly.	耕	*khen	*[kʰ]jen	a
80	{心}不存焉，		Where one’s mind is absent, ³⁹	元	*ʔan	*ʔa[n]	A
81	變之攸伏 B		one’s undoing lies in wait.	職	*bəkʰ	*[b]ək-s	b
10	82	爾執政小子，	You ministers and noble sons	之	*tsəh	*tsə?	A
83	{弗}<不>圖<善>{大艱(難)}		fail to plan for great hardship. ⁴⁰	(元)	(*nân)	(*nʰar-s)	B

³⁷ The translation reads 乃 as a pronoun and follows Lu Wenchao in interpolating “noble sons” “小子” for these two graphs. See SBBY, YZSBZ. Lines 62-77 are missing from the *Qunshu* versions, but the presence of the Kong commentary for these sections in the non-*Qunshu* versions suggests that they were part of an earlier version that Kong Zhao commented on.

³⁸ Reading *you* 攸 as *suo* 所, here and below.

³⁹ Non-*Qunshu* versions here read 口不存焉.

⁴⁰ Non-*Qunshu* editions here read “不圖善”; the QSZY and GSCY editions write the 弗圖大艱. *Jian* 艱 (Wang Li 文部, OCM krân) appears to be an error for *nân* 難; in addition to line 56 above, 難 concurs with a parallel phrase in the *Rui Liangfu* bi: “...so as to play and not confront

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

84	偷生苟安，	元	*ʔân	*[ʔ]a[n]	B
85	爵以贿成，B	耕	*den	*[d]en	b
86	賢智<箝>{拑}口，	侯	*khôʔ	*kʰ(r)oʔ	X
87	小人鼓舌，	月	*m-letʔ	*mə.lat	X
88	逃害要利，	脂	*rih	*C.ri[t]-s	X
89	並得厥求，	幽	*gu	*[g](r)u	X
90	<唯>{惟}曰哀哉。B	微	*ʔǎi	*ʔəj	X ^r
11	91 我聞曰：	月	*wat	*[ɕ]wat	X

以器(圖)不惹(圖)難(難) ” (see *Rui Liangfu bi* line 40). The phrase “...the people have so many difficulties 民多勤(艱)難(難)” also occurs (*Rui Liangfu bi* line 183). Zhu Youzeng writes 難, which is an alternate form of 艱. The variant *shan* 善 may be an error caused by 喜 in 難; it is possible that 惹 (as found in the *Rui Liangfu bi*) is a different word from 難, meaning “fear.” All of these, however, are clearly etymologically linked. The words *Shan* 善 (OCM *danʔ) and *nan* 難 (OCM *nâns “difficulty; calamity”; *nân “difficult”) both rhyme better with adjacent lines than *jian* 艱.

⁴¹ That is, in contrast to virtue, following the Kong commentary, which emphasizes that titles are not obtained by virtue.

⁴² The Kong Zhao commentary here suggests that “dodge harm” refers to the wise and worthy, while “control profits” refers to the small men. It is also possible that this intends to say that there is no punishment for improper conduct or greed; one can control profits and dodge harm at the same time. See *Yi Zhou shu ji xun jiao shi*, p. 140.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

92	以言取人，	When you select men according to their speech,	真	*nin	*ni[n]	a#
93	人飾其言，	men ornament their speech;	元	*nan	*na[n]	A
94	以行取人，	[but] when you select men according to their conduct,	真	*nin	*ni[n]	a#
95	人竭其行，	men strive thoroughly in their conduct.	陽	*grâŋ	*[g]ʳan-s	A
96	飾言無庸，	Ornamental speech is useless;	東	*loŋ	*loŋ	a
97	竭行有成。N	striving thoroughly for conduct brings success.	耕	*den	*[d]en	ä
12	98 惟爾小子，	It is you noble sons,	之	*tsəh	*tsəʔ	A
	99 飾言事王，	who ornament your speech to serve the king—	陽	*waŋ	*cʷaŋ	b
	100 寔蕃有徒，	truly many are such men. ⁴³	魚	*dâ	*[d]ʼa	a

⁴³ This phrase is found in the *Zuo zhuan*, where it is attributed to a *Zheng shu* 鄭書 (document of Zheng), wherein the passage reads: “Shouyou said: ‘the *Documents of Zheng* have it: ‘those who revile the upright and despise the correct are truly many.’ Now that waywardness is established, I fear there you have no escape.” 叔游曰，鄭書有之，惡直醜正，實蕃有徒，無道立矣，子懼不。 Stephen Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and David Schaberg, trans., *Zuo Tradition*, 3 vols. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 1685. The phrase is also found in the *Kongcongzi*, 孔叢子, where it is not set apart by quotation.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” translation

101	<王貌受之，	之	*tə	*tə	A
102	終弗獲用，	東	*lɔŋ-s	*lɔŋ	B
103	面相誣蒙，	東	*m'ɔŋ	*m'ɔŋ	B
104	及爾顛覆>。n	幽	*p ^h (r)uk	*phuk	c
105	爾自謂有餘，	魚	*la	*la	a
106	{余}<予>謂爾<弗>{不足}，	屋	*[ts]ok	*tsok	â
107	敬思以{明}德，	職	*tək	*tək	A
108	備乃禍難，B	元	*n'ar-s	*nâns	b
109	難至而悔，	之	*m'ə?	*hməh	A
110	悔將安及，	緝	*[m-k-]rəp	*gəp	ä

⁴⁴ This line is also found in the *Shijing* poem *Gu feng* in the *Bin feng* section (*Mao* #35).

⁴⁵ What is sufficient or insufficient here may be either virtue or men of virtuous conduct.

⁴⁶ The meaning here is not abundantly clear, here I follow the *Qunshu* version interpreting this phrase, which reads 敬思以明德. It is also possible that the meaning of this sentence is “Reflect reverently on employing virtue [in selecting men or in rulership].”

⁴⁷ Following the Kong commentary, reading 乃 as a second-person pronoun.

Appendix 4: *Yi Zhou shu* "Rui Liangfu" translation

111	<無日予為，				
		歌	*wai	*c ^w (r)aj	D
112	惟爾之禍>。n				
		歌	*gôï?	*[g] ^w aj?	D

No one says "it was my doing",⁴⁸

that will be your disaster.

⁴⁸ This could also be construed as "no one says 'I will do it'," i.e. "I will rise to the occasion"; or, "do not say I speak untruth" (為=偽). The sentence is difficult to construe on its own, but it echoes the charge in the last lines of "Sang rou" that the objects of Rui Liangfu's criticism deny their complicity.

Appendix Five: Notes on the composition of the Mao *xiaoxu* prefaces

If the Mao *xiaoxu* 小序 or “lesser prefaces” are not the earliest authorial attributions, they are at the very least the most succinct and historically influential. The prefaces provide historical synopses of the poems, usually identifying the creator of a poem and the poem’s original purpose or motivation—a summary of the poem often known as its *yi* 義 (significance). These prefaces come to us most completely through transmission of the *Mao shi*, which seems to have been a relative latecomer on a scene dominated by the *Jinwen* 今文 (new script) *Lu* 魯, *Qi* 齊, and *Han* 韓 schools of exegesis that were imperially recognized in the early Han.⁴⁹ A number of other external claims arise outside the *Shijing* canon and commentary, in texts such as the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and *Guoyu* 國語, or come preserved in fragmentary quotations of the three lost *Jinwen* poetry traditions compiled by scholars in the Qing dynasty.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, there is no source as

⁴⁹ These are generally considered to be *Jinwen* texts by virtue of their being assembled and transcribed during the early Han Dynasty, into the contemporary Han script.

⁵⁰ The *Hanshu* 漢書 “*Yiwenzhi*” 藝文志 says: That all of the three hundred five poems survived the Qin complete was due to their recitation from memory and not merely to [their preservation] on bamboo and silk 凡三百五篇，遭秦而全者，以其諷誦，不獨在竹帛故也。 *Hanshu* “*Yiwenzhi*” 漢書藝文志 in *Hanshu* “*Yiwenzhi*”, in Ban Gu (漢)班固 撰 and Yan Shigu (唐)顏師古 ann., *Han Shu Buzhu* 漢書補注, ed. 王先謙 ann., *Zhongguo xueshu lei bian* 中國學術類編 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1986), 1708. For a complete translation of the bibliography passages pertaining to *Shijing*-related works, see James Robert Hightower,

comprehensive as the set of prefaces preserved in the Mao edition, which offers synopses of each and every poem—including even six lost poems that were ostensibly part of the original collection. The lesser prefaces became the most crucial guide to the narrative interpretations advanced by later commentators, including the Eastern Han *jian* 箋 commentary of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200 CE) that was later further canonized by a lengthy sub-commentary in Kong Ying-da's 孔穎達 seventh c. *Maoshi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (Correct meaning of the Mao odes).⁵¹

The transmission of the prefaces comes tightly intertwined with that of the Mao text, and although the *xiaoxu* are often called the “Mao prefaces” or *maoxu* 毛序, it is not entirely clear how the *xiaoxu* became embedded in the Mao edition of the *Shijing*, nor is it certain that they were exclusive to the Mao tradition. In addition to some twenty-eight *juan* of *Shijing* texts from each of the three *Jinwen* schools, as well as a number of commentaries on these, the *Hanshu Yiwenzhi* bibliographic treatise records a *Maoshi* 毛

“The Han-Shih Wai-Chuan and the San Chia Shih,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* v.11, 1948.3-4, 241–310.

⁵¹ Part of the larger *Wujing zhengyi* 五經正義 (Correct meaning of the five classics; completed 653 CE) project, sponsored by Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626-649 CE).

詩 in nineteen *juan* 卷, and a *Maoshi gu xun zhuan* 毛詩故訓傳 in thirty *juan*.⁵² Assuming the contents of the *Maoshi gu xun zhuan* in the imperial collection closely resembles the layer of *Maoshi* commentarial material preserved in the *Zhengyi* edition, the contents would have included at least the following: 1) primarily short glosses on individual words; 2) some comments identifying tropes (in principle those of *fu*, *bi*, or *xing*, although in practice Mao seems to refer almost exclusively to *xing*); and 3) occasional explications on the broader import of a line.⁵³ At least as Zheng Xuan encountered a text with this same name, the prefaces, including the *Daxu* 大序 (Greater Preface), would have been included in the *Gu xun zhuan*. In my reading the three layers of commentary generally cohere with the *xiaoxu*.

⁵² “Yiwenzhi,” *Han Shu Buzhu*, 1708. see also Hightower 254-256. The commentaries recorded for the other schools include *gu* 故, *xun* 訓, *zhuan* 傳, and *zaji* 雜記. The Yiwenzhi’s stated total of 416 *juan* of *Shijing* materials seems to be an error. Only if one counts the *Shi* of three schools as three separate manuscripts does the total add up to 415 *juan*.

⁵³ The three categories named above correspond to Ma Ruichen’s 馬瑞辰 ultimate definitions of *gu*, *xun*, and *zhuan*. He also suggests a scheme that addresses *guxun* and *zhuan* as two categories: “It seems most likely that *gu* and *xun* address and interpret what the text of the canon says; the *zhuan* rather assembles what the text of the canon has not yet said 蓋詁順第就經文所言者而詮釋之，傳則並經文所未言者而引申之。 In Ma Ruichen 馬瑞辰, “Maoshi gu xun zhuan mingyi kao” 毛詩故訓專名義考, *Maoshi zhuan jian tongshi* 毛詩傳箋通釋, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), pp. 3-5.

In the traditional account of the transmission of the *Shi*, Confucius is said to have selected odes from a corpus of some three thousand, transmitting an abridged and refined corpus of three hundred odes that we now know as the *Shijing*; Confucius's disciple Zixia is assumed to have been responsible for the next generation of orthodox transmission. The most influential account of the prefaces is preserved in a fragment of Zheng Xuan's *Shipu* 詩譜, which states: "The *Great Preface* was created 作 by Zixia and the *Lesser Prefaces* (*xiaoxu*) were created by Zixia and Mao Gong together. 'Where Bu Shang 卜商 [i.e. Zixia] did not exhaustively explicate [the meanings], Mao made them sufficient and complete.'"⁵⁴

Indeed, as Zheng Xuan suggests, it does seem that the prefaces contain more than a single textual layer, making their composite authorship likely even if the identity of any particular authors may be murky. The *xiaoxu* to the individual poems almost entirely

⁵⁴ Zheng Xuan's *Shipu* 詩譜 (Chronological chart of the Odes) is now only partially extant. This fragment is preserved in Lu Deming's *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文, and the *Maoshi zhengyi*, which cites the *Shipu* passage from the N. Zhou dynasty 北周 (557-581) commentary of Shen Zhong 沈重云: 「案鄭《詩譜》意, 沈重. 大序是子夏作, 小序是子夏、毛公合作。卜商意有不盡, 毛更足成之. The preface to the work is included in the *Maoshi zhengyi* edition, and fragments are preserved throughout. For a reconstruction of the *Shipu* fragments see Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, *Zhengshi yishu* 鄭氏遺書, ed. Wang Fu 王復, 1797, (Hathitrust) <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.c2689536>.

follow the same formula, in which the first sentence, often known as the *gu xu* 古序 (ancient preface) or *shouxu* 首序 (head preface), provides a very terse account of the poem's historical context—generally speaking, they state who authored the poem and what the poem seeks to praise or blame. Each of the *shouxu* ends with the particle *ye* 也, without exception. The preface to *Sang rou*, “The Earl of Rui criticizes King Li” is one of a number of prefaces that consists only of a *shouxu*. In most cases, however, a *xuxu* 續序 (continued preface) is appended after the *shouxu*, generally expanding in a mode akin to commentarial exegesis.⁵⁵ In a number of cases, one may wonder whether the two parts of the comment even agree with one another. A succinct example is the preface to *Ting liao* 庭燎 (Mao # 182) for which the *shouxu* says “*Ting liao* praises King Xuan” 庭燎美宣王.⁵⁶ The *xuxu* comment, on the other hand, says “And thereby it admonishes him” 因以箴之. The two statements are not completely impossible to reconcile, or at least if one places some faith in the Mao orthodoxy, in which the phenomenon of ironic readings of

⁵⁵ Some of the poems of the *Zhou song* seem to have no commentary beyond the *guxu* initial sentences. This is an interesting phenomenon worthy of consideration, perhaps especially in the context of excavated manuscripts of the poetry collection, which seen thus far to contain only the *Guofeng*, in the case of the Anhui manuscripts and the Fuyang manuscripts (which contain some *Xiaoya* fragments).

⁵⁶ The preceding poems, #180 and #181, also begin with the same formula, “[poem name] praises King Xuan.”

the odes is widespread. Nonetheless, one can't help considering that the two parts of the preface seek opposite readings and represent more than one commentarial layer.

The first commentarial work to have systematically and explicitly divided the poems into the two layers of commentary is *Maoshi zhishuo* 毛詩指說 attributed to Cheng Boyu 成伯璵 of the Tang Dynasty, which identifies the *Daxu* 大序 (Great Preface; integrated with the *xiaoxu* preface to the first poem *Guanju* 關雎) and the *shouxu* head prefaces as the work of Zixia, and the *shuxu* continued prefaces as the work of Mao Chang 毛萇. Cheng Boyu thus identified discrete textual layers that correspond to the division of labor described by Zheng Xuan.⁵⁷

The *xuxu* is present or lacking for the poems in a manner that may belie patterns across sections of the *Shijing*: almost all the poems of the opening *guofeng* have them with just a few isolated examples lacking.⁵⁸ The situation is reversed for the *song* temple hymns, in which each section has a *xuxu* only for the opening *song*, save for the *Zhou*

⁵⁷ Chang Sen 常森, "Wei Hong Zuo Shixu Boyi Jian Shen Zheng Xuan Zixia Zuo Daxu Zixia Maogong Zuo Xiaoxu Shuo 衛宏作《詩序》駁議——兼申鄭玄、子夏作《大序》、子夏毛公作《小序》說" *Zhongguo Xueshu* 中國學術 14, 2003.7, 163-87, 175 n.33; Van Zoeren, 147-9.

⁵⁸ Mao # 14, 28, 36, 61, 72, and 147 of the 160 *Guofeng* lack *xuxu*.

song, for which the last five songs also have *xuxu*.⁵⁹ The *ya* sections in between have or lack prefaces each in their own patterns: in the *xiaoya*, almost all the poems lacking *xuxu* congregate systematically in certain sequences;⁶⁰ the *Daya* poems are missing *xuxu* for five of the first six poems, as well as several others throughout. It is unclear why this is the case. One might imagine several scenarios: perhaps legends connected to poems from the *Ya* and *Song* sections were more widely known, and thus their elaboration less necessary; perhaps the sections of the *Shijing* were transmitted separately, and so the texts of the prefaces are in fact a composite. The results here are inconclusive.

Origins and transmission of the Mao tradition

Despite the claim that the prefaces are the work of Zixia and Mao, between the time of Zixia and the two Maos, the *Shi* would have passed through a number of hands, any of which might be suspected of making editorial or commentarial contributions to our

⁵⁹ The structure here is mimicked by the opening of the *Guofeng* as well, in which the *Daxu* 大序 (Greater Preface) is integrated with the first *xiaoxu*, placing the greatest volume of commentary at the start of the section.

⁶⁰ Two exceptions, Mao # 208 and 218, are missing *xuxu*, like those isolated examples in the *guofeng*. Also, the prefaces for two of lost poems have a *xuxu*-like sentence appended to the preserved *shouxu* to indicate in each case the loss of the poem and two preceding it. These are discussed in more detail below, and are not necessarily part of the *xuxu* layer.

transmitted version. Lu Deming's 陸德明 (~556-630 CE) *Jiangdian shiwen* 經典釋文 presents two versions of the transmission narrative, which differ significantly in accounting for the text's passage from the hands of Confucius to the canons of the Eastern Han:

徐整云：「子夏授高行子，高行予授薛倉子，薛倉子授帛妙子，帛妙子授河間大毛公，毛公為詩故訓傳於家，以授趙人小毛公，小毛公為河間獻王博士，以不在漢朝故不列於學。」

Xu Zheng (3rd c. CE) says: Zi Xia transmitted it to Gao Xingzi, Gao Xingzi transmitted it to Xue Cangzi, Xue Cangzi transmitted it to Bo Miaozi, Bo Miaozi transmitted it to the Elder Mao Gong; Mao Gong made the *Shi guxunzhuan*, circulating it among his family, [whereby it was] transmitted to the Younger Mao Gong of Zhao. The Younger Mao Gong was an erudite under King Xian of Hejian, although he was not in the Han court, so [the Mao tradition] was not instated as a subject of study.

一云子夏傳曾申，申傳魏人李克，克傳魯人孟仲子，孟仲子傳根牟子，根牟子傳趙人孫卿子，孫卿子傳魯人大毛公。《漢書·儒林傳》云：「毛公，趙人，治詩，為河間獻王博士，授同國貫長卿，長卿授解延牛，延牛授馮徐敖，敖授九江陳俠」。或曰陳俠傳謝曼卿。元始五年公車徵說詩。後漢鄭眾、賈逵傳《毛詩》，馬融作《毛詩注》，鄭玄作《毛詩箋》，申明毛義難三家。於是三家遂廢矣。

One [other] account says that Zixia passed it to Zeng Shen, Shen passed it to Li Ke of Wei, Ke passed it to Meng Zhongzi of Lu, Zhongzi passed it to Gen Mouzi, Gen Mouzi passed it to Sun Qingzi of Wei, Sun Qingzi passed it to the Elder Mao Gong of Lu. The *Han Shu* "Rulin Zhuan" 漢書儒林傳 says: "[the younger] Mao Gong was a man of Zhao who specialized in the *Shi*, and became an erudite of King Xian of Hejian. He transmitted [the *Mao Shi*] to his countryman Guan Changqing, Changqing transmitted it to Jie Yanniu, Yanniu transmitted it to Xu Ao of Guo, Ao transmitted it to Chen Xia of Jiujiang." It is also said that Chen Xia passed it to Xie Manqing. In the fifth year of the *Yuanshi* reign period [3 CE], the *gongche* 公車 (Gate traffic control office) solicited explicators of the *Shi*. Zheng Zhong and Jia Kui of the Eastern Han passed on the *Mao Shi*, Ma Rong made the *Mao Shi zhu*, and

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Zheng Xuan made the *Mao Shi jian*, elaborating [the *Mao Shi*'s] meaning and rendering the three [Lu, Qi, and Han] traditions [comparatively] difficult. From then on the three traditions decayed.⁶¹

While the two filiation narratives above begin at Zixia and end with the Maos, the several intermediaries in each account are a matter of complete disagreement, making it hard to know if there is truth to either, neither, or both accounts. Other sources elaborate that the elder and younger Maos were named Mao Heng 毛亨 and Mao Chang 毛萇, respectively; the elder is credited with making 作 a *Shi gu xun zhuan* 詩故訓專 (“Ancient explications and transmitted comments on the *Shi*”);⁶² the younger Mao is said to have attained a position in the court of King Xian.⁶³ In the latter account, the text passes to the elder Mao from the hands of the prominent Warring States Philosopher Sun Qingzi 孫卿子, or Xunzi 荀子.⁶⁴ The former account (that offered by Xu Zheng),

⁶¹ Lu Deming 陸德明, Sun Yuxiu 孫毓修 ann., *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文, fasc. 1, Sibuchongkan chubian 四部叢刊初編, vol. 52, pp.39-41. https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=77375&by_collection=1&page=1; Lu Ji's (陸機; 261-303 CE) *Maoshi caomu chongyu shu* 毛詩草木蟲魚疏, which is either the source or shares a common source with Lu Deming's account explicitly names Confucius as the origin. Cited in *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu* 欽定四庫全書總目 reprinted in *Maoshi zhengyi*, 1.

⁶² It is unclear whether or at what point the *Shi gu xun zhuan* should be understood as a book title, although it appears as such in the *Hanshu yiwenzhi*.

⁶³ The *Hanshu Rulin zhuan* 漢書儒林傳 identifies a Mao Chang 毛萇; the *Sui shu* “Jing ji zhi” 隋書經籍志 identifies Mao Chang 毛萇 as a *taishou* 太守 under King Hejian of Xian. *Maoshi zhengyi*, p.1.

⁶⁴ Despite the attribution, the Mao tradition does not seem to have much in common with Xunzi's philosophy or use of the *Odes*. Xunzi's approach to the *Shi* seems to have more in common with the theory that “*Shi* is ‘steadfastness’” 詩者，持也 attributed to the Lu school tradition in the opening of the *Sanjia*. Xunzi's use of the *Odes* is explicit than Mencius.

emphasizes the *Mao Shi*'s obscurity from the Warring States and into the Western Han, perhaps seeking to imply that the Mao version of the poetry, precisely by way of its obscurity, survived the Qin intact.⁶⁵

With regard to the prefaces in particular, despite the possibility that they may have arisen somewhere along one of the lines of transmission narrated above, there is another account that suggests they are entirely of a later date. According to the “Rulin Zhuan,” the Mao tradition was passed on from Chen Xia by way of Xie Manqing 謝曼卿, to Wei Hong 衛宏 (1st c. CE), who was allegedly the author of a Mao *Shi* preface or prefaces:

衛宏字敬仲，東海人也。少與河南鄭興俱好古學。初，九江謝曼卿善毛詩，乃為其訓。宏從曼卿受學，因作毛詩序，善得風雅之旨，于今傳於世……

中興後，鄭眾、賈逵傳毛詩，後馬融作毛詩傳，鄭玄作毛詩箋。

⁶⁵ Despite their differences, neither account of the text's transmission cites any discontinuity in the transmission of the Mao poetry. This is of interest as it may be contrasted to accounts in the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* that suggest the transmission of the *jinwen Shijing* was disrupted by the Qin: Sima Qian records an edict that called for the destruction of all private copies of the *Shijing* in the “Qinshihuang benji” Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記, ed. Pei Yin 裴駟 and Zhang Shoujie 張守節 (Taipei: Ding wen shu ju 鼎文書局, 1981), 255. The *Hanshu* “Yiwenzhi” claims that that the three *jinwen Shijing* traditions needed to be reconstructed at least partially on the basis of oral memory, but it is not clear that this would have applied to the Mao tradition.

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Wei Hong was styled Jingzhong, and came from Donghai (in modern-day Shandong). As a youth he studied ancient books enthusiastically with Zheng Xing of Henan. Prior to this, Xie Manqing of Jiujiang had excelled in the Mao *Shi*, and had made *xun* [explications] of it. Wei Hong [later] followed Xie Manqing, receiving his instruction. Accordingly, he created 作 (the) preface(s) to the Mao *Shi*, which greatly got the gist of the *feng* and *ya*, and has been passed on to the present generation... After the *zhongxing* period [ending 25 CE], Zheng Zhong and Jia Kui transmitted the Mao *Shi*; later Ma Rong made 作 the *Mao shi zhuan* and Zheng Xuan made 作 the *Maoshi jian*.⁶⁶

In this account, from Fan Ye's 范曄 *Houhan shu*, Xie Manqing, who was seen above receiving a Mao *Shi* tradition from Chen Xia, passed it on to Wei Hong, who made a preface or prefaces to the Mao tradition. This has often been read as definitive proof that the prefaces were written by Wei Hong, although we can't yet say from this account exactly what Wei Hong produced.⁶⁷ The fact that the prefaces much more thoroughly explicate the *feng* and *ya* sections of the poetry than they do the *song* section is consistent with the description of prefaces, attributed to Wei Hong, that "greatly got

⁶⁶ Lu Deming, *Jingdian shiwen*, pp.39-41.

⁶⁷ The question of who wrote the prefaces is a significant source of controversy. Hu Pu'an 胡朴安 lays out some thirteen scenarios by which the prefaces have been believed to be composed, the eight most common of which are: 1) Confucius's disciple Zixia 子夏 wrote them; 2) the early Eastern Han commentator Wei Hong 衛宏 wrote them; they were written jointly (accretively) by Zixia and Mao Gong 毛公; 3) Zixia and Maogong wrote them (jointly, accretively); 4) Zixia, Mao Gong, and Wei Hong were all involved in their authorship; 5) the poetic authors themselves wrote the prefaces; 6) Confucius wrote the prefaces; 7) state historians wrote the prefaces. Hu Pu'an 胡朴安, "Shijing Xue 詩經學," in *Hu Pu'an Xueshu Lunzhu* 胡朴安學術論著, ed. Lei Ke 雷克 (Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 1988), 123-126, apud Chang.

the gist of the *feng* and *ya*,” but this may just be because those poems were more amenable to interpretation and it does not necessarily corroborate the attribution itself.

Certainly, if we read this account as a claim that Wei Hong produced *the* very prefaces in our transmitted Mao version, it conflicts directly with Zheng Xuan’s attribution to Zixia and Mao. Was Wei Hong’s work a synthesis of prior materials, a faithful record of what he got from Xie Manqing, or a completely novel fabrication? Were his preface or prefaces to the Mao *Shi* the same prefaces that passed eventually to Zheng Xuan, or some other preface or prefaces subsequently lost? Wei Hong’s teacher, Xie Manqing is also known for transmitting the Mao *Shi* to Jia Hui 賈徽, who was the father of Jia Kui 賈逵 (30-101 CE),⁶⁸ noted above along with Zheng Zhong 鄭眾 as responsible for passing the Mao *Shi* safely beyond Wang Mang’s court and into the Eastern Han. There are thus multiple paths of possible filiation and, as with the case of the Mao’s pre-Han circulation, it is difficult to tell for certain whether multiple lineages

⁶⁸ “Jia Kui,” in Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC - AD 24)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 185.

diverged and converged or whether conflicting accounts of Zheng Xuan and Fan Ye should incline one to doubt both accounts.

As both Jeffrey Riegel and Tamara Chin have pointed out, one striking aspect of the *xiaoxu* we know from the Mao tradition is their conspicuous concern for establishing harmony and order among the imperial wives and concubines—a concern that dovetails strikingly with what was arguably the greatest source of political turmoil in the late Western Han and Xin dynasties: competition and infighting among powerful women in the inner court.⁶⁹ The Mao first got official recognition during Wang Mang's regency of Emperor Ping (r. 1 BCE to 5 CE),⁷⁰ and Chen Xia 陳俠, who is noted as a proximal transmitter of the *Mao Shi*, was a 講學大夫 (grand master instructor) in Wang Mang's court during the Xin. It seems almost certain that the emergence of the *Mao Shi* around the time of Wang Mang was part of a textual reformation closely tied to court

⁶⁹ Jeffrey Riegel, "Eros, Introversion, and The Beginnings of *Shijing* Commentary," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, no. 1 (1997): pp.143-177.; Tamara Chin, "Orienting Mimesis: Marriage and the Book of Songs," *Representations*, no. 1 (2006): 53-79. These works recognize firstly the foremost importance of regulating the inner chamber, in which powerful women played the lead role; Cheng Xuan's Jian commentary is especially interesting in its re-gendering of the protagonist of the poem "Guanju" 關雎 as female.

⁷⁰ James Robert Hightower, "The Han-Shih Wai-Chuan and the San Chia Shih," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 11, no. 3/4 (December 1948): 241-310, 257n53.

politics, although it is hard to say to what extent the Mao's commentarial contents were recycled from earlier materials or created anew. Nonetheless, the concern with regulation of the inner chambers began much before the end of the Western Han, with the legend of King You 幽王 and Bao Si 褒姒. In that legend, Bao Si is portrayed as an illegitimate (and cursed) concubine who plotted with King You to replace the legitimate Queen and kingly heir, ultimately bringing down the Zhou. This is not only a matter of Han reflections on the past; the event is commemorated in a *Shijing* poem:

心之憂矣，如或結之 Oh, the troubles of my heart: like someone has tied it into knots.
今茲之正，胡然厲矣 This which we now call proper rule—how has it become so treacherous?
燎之方揚，寧或滅之 At that moment when the torch is raised, will someone not extinguish it?
赫赫宗周，褒姒威之 Majestic majesty, Ancestral Zhou: Baosi will extinguish it.⁷¹

The early date of this narrative suggests that the inner court troubles in the Han-Xin transition are insufficient to date the *xiaoxu*. If one is inclined to believe that the legend of Bao Si is more reflective of Han dynasty historiographical concerns than earlier history, consider that Bao Si is in fact one of the few (perhaps the only) historical figures that is explicitly singled out by name as a paradigm of infamy in the text of a *Shijing*

⁷¹ From *Zheng yue* 正月 Mao #192 *Zheng yue* 正月 *Sanjia*, 670.

poem.⁷² Of explicit criticisms lodged in the odes *Shijing*, that against Baosi is probably the most prominent and the most serious.⁷³

Form and variance in the prefaces during the time of Zheng Xuan

As the text has been transmitted to the present, we have it primarily in the form that it took in the *Wujing zhengyi* edition, in which the poems are interspersed with commentarial materials from various sources. Considering that the *Maoshi* mentioned in the *Hanshu yiwenzhi* is roughly the same number of *juan* as canon core texts of the three schools, it appears most likely that the *Maoshi* canon and the *Maoshi gu xun zhuan* commentary must have circulated independently on two separate manuscripts. It is clear from where Zheng Xuan stood in *Maoshi* transmission history that the prefaces had at some point also circulated independently on a single manuscript before being

⁷² *Shiji* 史記 *Zhou Benji* 周本紀 4.147; Nienhauser, ed., *Records of the Grand Historian*. The sources for the legend of Bao Si seem to originate significantly before the Han; Bao Si appears as one of the few infamous characters explicitly named in the *Shijing*, as well as in the *Chuci* 楚辭, *Guoyu* 國語, *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年, and the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋.

⁷³ There are a very few other poems that explicitly single out an individual by name. The only other clear case I have been able to find is that of “*Shi yue zhi jiao*” 十月之交 (Mao #193), in which a Huang Fu 皇父 (identified as King You’s prime minister) is singled out by name. However, even in this case, the poem presents political complaints, rather different in character from the judgments made against Baosi. See ch. 3.

incorporated into the *Maoshi gu xun zhuan*. Aside from the narrative tendency inherent in the sequence and order of the poems (many of which seem to sacrifice a plausible or straightforward interpretation of individual poems for the sake of that order), embedded in the *xiaoxu* prefaces are more concrete clues that demonstrate the *xiaoxu*'s physical independence from other layers with which they became embedded in later editions. The first clue is the presence of *xiaoxu* prefaces for a total of six lost poems from the *Xiaoya*, in two groups of three, the first of which begins with the lost poem *Nan gai* 南陔.⁷⁴ While we are missing these poems, their prefaces were preserved in the *Maoshi gu xun zhuan* that Zheng Xuan worked from. Below are the prefaces for the first groups of three as they are preserved in the *Zhengyi* edition between the poems and commentary for Mao #169 and #170:

[Mao #169]...

南陔，孝子相戒以養也。

Nan gai: filial sons admonish one another to nurture [their parents].

白花，孝子之潔白也。

Bai hua: the purity of filial sons.

華黍，時和歲豐，宜黍稷也。有其義而亡其辭。

⁷⁴ This preface is preserved after no. 169 in the Mao sequence.

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Hua shu: the seasons were harmonious and the harvest abundant; good for broomcorn and millet. The [poems'] significances are extant but their words have been lost.⁷⁵

[Mao #170]

All three of these poems are missing, and only the prefaces remain, but the comment regarding their loss occurs only after the third preface, referring to the three preceding poems. This exact same phenomenon is found in another group of three poems occurring between Mao nos. 172 and 173, making a total of six lost poems. Zheng Xuan comments in the *Jian* commentary corresponding to these lines:

《南陔》、《白華》、《華黍》三篇者，《鄉飲酒》、《燕禮》用焉，曰：「笙入立於縣中，奏《南陔》、《白華》、《華黍》」是也。孔子論《詩》，雅、頌各得其所，時俱在耳，篇第當在於此。遭戰國及秦之世而亡之，其義則與衆篇之義合編故存至毛公為詁訓傳，乃分衆篇之義各置於其篇端 又闕其亡者以見在為數故推改什首遂通耳而下非孔子之舊

The three poems *Nan gai*, *Bai hua*, and *Hua shu* are found employed in the *Xiang yin jiu* (District drinking festival) and the *Yan li* (Ritual of the banquet),⁷⁶ which say: "the reed players entered, stood amid the bells and chimes, and played *Nan gai*, *Bai hua*, and *Hua shu*"; these are those [same poems]. When Confucius set the *Shi* in order, the *ya* and *song* odes were all in their proper place. At that time [these odes] were all extant, and their sequence should be as they are found here. In their encounter with the Warring States and Qin, these poems were lost. Their significances [*yi* 義, i.e. the *xiaoxu*], in contrast, had been collated together with the meanings of all the other poems, and were thus preserved until the time Mao Gong made the *Gu xun zhuan*, wherein/whereafter the significances of the individual poems were each placed at the beginning of the [corresponding] poem. [...] ⁷⁷

⁷⁵ *Maoshi zhengyi*, 710-11. These prefaces are found between Mao no. 169 and 170.

⁷⁶ Ritual texts compiled in the *Yili* 儀禮.

⁷⁷ *Maoshi zhengyi*,

Zheng Xuan's conclusion that the prefaces circulated independently at some prior time in interpretive history is almost certainly correct. It is only after the preface of a third, consecutive missing poem that the loss of the subsequent poems is commented upon within the preface. Had these prefaces, or *yi* 義 (significances), been interspersed with other commentarial materials such as the Mao word glosses or explications we know from the transmitted text, the comment regarding the loss of the poem would have needed to be repeated after each poem. Had the six poems occurred consecutively, it would not be necessary to repeat the comment for the second three poems. Thus, we can be quite certain that the content of the prefaces was at some point on an independent manuscript that contained just the prefaces in sequential order. Moreover, we know from Zheng Xuan's comment also that the prefaces had already been appended to the commentary of each poem in the *Gu xun zhuan* commentary attributed to Mao Gong—precisely the commentary mentioned in the *Yiwenzhi*, and a text with which Zheng Xuan seems to have been quite familiar.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ I have not yet discovered any evidence as to whether the commentary at this stage had already been combined with the core text of the poems on a single manuscript, as it later came to be with the Zhengyi edition.

We can get a further sense of how versions of a *xiaoxu* textual layer circulated during Zheng Xuan's lifetime by examining how Zheng Xuan commented on other poems mentioned in the same *Yili* passage quoted above. It is possible that Zheng's intuition about the independence of commentary layers comes from his own experience with some other set or version of the prefaces, and we know there were other sources for the information in the prefaces: when Zheng composed his commentary on the *Yili*, he was almost certainly working from a different but largely homologous version of the prefaces transmitted with the *Jian* and *Zhengyi* texts. This homologous version, in contrast to the *Maoshi gu xun zhuan*, did not include prefaces for the six lost poems. While Zheng Xuan had access to the poetic *yi* significances preserved in the prefaces for the six lost poems when he made the *Jian* commentary, he did not have them when he made his commentary on the *Yili*. If we turn to Zheng Xuan's *zhu* 注 comments to the same sentence quoted in the *Jian* commentary, "the reed players entered, stood amid the bells and chimes, and played *Nan gai*, *Bai hua*, and *Hua shu*," Zheng Xuan notes "*Nan gai*, *Bai hua*, and *Hua shu* are odes of the *Xiaoya* section. They are lost at present, and their

significances are yet unknown” 南陔、白花、華黍，小雅篇也，今亡，其義未聞。⁷⁹ If Zheng Xuan had known of a version of the *xiaoxu* that explained the significance of these poems (as is seen in the *Jian*, above), he would almost certainly have included those explanations in his annotations. We know this by comparing his annotations for some twelve other (extant) ode names for which performances are recorded in the *Xiang yin jiu* chapter of the *Yili*.⁸⁰ For each of these twelve odes, named by title in the *Xiang yin jiu*, Zheng Xuan states the significance of the poem almost exactly as it appears in the *xiaoxu* of the *Maoshi*. In ten of the twelve cases of extant poems, Zheng Xuan’s annotation to the ode name in the *Yili* is roughly identical to the upper *shouxu* section of the *xiaoxu* preface in the transmitted Mao *Shi*; in three cases, Zheng Xuan’s annotation contains information that exactly reproduces or paraphrases text from the lower section (*xuxu*) of the *xiaoxu* preface, which indicates that the text or texts of the prefaces that Zheng referred to when composing the *Yili* annotations contained material found in both the upper and lower prefaces as they appear in the transmitted Mao edition, but it

⁷⁹ In Chang Sen, 170.

⁸⁰ The *Yan li* 燕禮 chapter has another version of the account. The poems are Mao nos. 161,162,163,170, 171, 172, 1, 2, 3, 12, 13, 15. For a chart of the text, see Chang Sen, p. 171.

lacked prefaces for the missing poems.⁸¹ We know that the set of prefaces referred to in the *Yili* annotations was closely similar to that found in the *Maoshi*, and contained at least some of the material found in the lower *xuxu* preface layer.

Many scholars have assumed that the statements of significance that Zheng used to annotate the *Yili* stem from one of the three *jinwen* traditions of the *Shijing*, but there is not uniform agreement on which school that would be.⁸² The three poems that open the *Shijing* (Mao # 1-3) are part of the sequence of songs performed in the *Xiang yin jiu* chapter of the *Yili*, and the annotations are almost wholly consistent with the upper *shouxu* prefaces preserved in the Mao, as well as other variants preserved in other texts.⁸³

⁸¹ *Xiang yin jiu* annotations for nos. 171, 172, and 12 contain information found only in the *xuxu* continued preface. There are some variants. No. 2 Ge tan 葛覃 has 言后妃之職 in the *Xiang yin jiu* and 后妃之本 in the Mao.

⁸² For example, Wang Xianqian cites Zheng's *Xiang yin jiu* annotation to the title *Lu ming* 鹿鳴 (Mao 161) as stemming from the Qi school, although it is largely consistent with the Mao significance (see Wang p. 550). In the case of *Guan ju* 關雎 (Mao #1), however, Wang dismisses the *Xiang yin jiu* significance—identical to the Mao *shouxu*—as a later, aberrant speculation (Wang pp. 7-8). On the other hand, Ma Ruichen claims that Zheng Xuan's annotations consulted opinions of the Qi and Lu schools, but for the most part followed the Han explanations. See Ma, *Maoshi zuanjian tongshi*, "Zheng jian duo ben Han shi kao" 鄭箋多本韓詩考 pp. 20-23.

⁸³ Wang Xianqian, Chang Sen 170.

Appendix 5: Notes on the Mao *xiaoxu* prefaces

Table A-5.1 Variants of the queen consort narrative

Zheng Xuan comment to song in <i>Xiang yin jiu</i> ⁸⁴	Mao upper <i>shouxu</i> preface	Other attested <i>Sanjia</i> variant examples
關雎，言后妃之德 <i>Guanju</i> expresses the queen consort's virtue.	關雎：后妃之德也 <i>Guanju</i> : [is about] the queen consort's virtue	[關雎：]后妃之制 [<i>Guanju</i> is about] the queen consort's <u>regulation</u> ⁸⁵
葛覃，言后妃之職 <i>Ge tan</i> expresses the queen consort's <u>duty</u> .	葛覃：后妃之本也 <i>Ge tan</i> : [is about] the queen consort's rightful authority.	
卷耳，言后妃之志 <i>Juan er</i> expresses the queen consort's intent.	卷耳：后妃之志也 <i>Juan er</i> : [is about] the queen consort's intent.	

The similarity of significances recorded in whatever source(s) Zheng referred to in the *Yili* annotation to those preserved in the *Jian* and *Zhengyi* indicate that at the very least some material from both layers of the *xiaoxu* had already been composed but the text had not stabilized, and thus it circulated in more than one version. This is further

⁸⁴ Cited in Chang Sen, 171.

⁸⁵ Wang Xianqian, *Shi sanjia yi jishu*, 4; The passage is found in the “Du Zhou zhuan” 杜周傳 section of the *Hanshu*, Ban Gu (漢)班固撰, Yan Shigu (唐)顏師古 ann., and Wang Xianqian 王先謙 ann., *Han shu buzhu* 漢書補注, (Taipei: Ding wen shu ju, 1986), 2669.

corroborated by what Wang Xianqian cites as an alleged *Lu* school interpretation of *Guanju*, that identifies the poem's significance as "the queen consort's regulation" 后妃之制. This passage is found in the *Han shu*, and goes on to elaborate a narrative that Wang ascribes to the *Lu* school—a narrative that ultimately reads the *Guanju* more directly as a song of remonstrance. While Wang does not accept the allegation that this is an orthodox *Lu* interpretation, it further demonstrates that even those interpretations that adopt the queen consort narrative circulated in varied form, and many variants may have been used by scholars that are believed to belong to one school or another.⁸⁶ We may reasonably suppose that the text of the *Shijing* was relatively stable at this point in time, but the commentarial or paratextual elements we find in the *Zhengyi* (i.e. prefaces, accounts of verse structure, etc.) were not.

Because of *Guanju*'s place at the head of the canon and the integration of its *xiaoxu* with the *Daxu* (Greater Preface) that regards the entire canon, a great amount has already been said on the poem, including by a number of studies in Western

⁸⁶ Wang, *Sanjia*, 7-8 for the claim that this interpretation is a later speculation.

languages.⁸⁷ This has only been amplified by the discovery of the *Wuxing* 五行 and *Kongzi Shilun* 孔子詩論 manuscripts, which also comment on the *Guan ju* and corroborate its prominent position at the head of the canon.⁸⁸ But because *Guanju* has generated so much commentary, we also know of many interpretations that circulated in the Han by way of fragments that survive, including some that read *Guanju* as a poem with critical origins, in contrast to the Mao, which reads all the odes of the opening *Zhounan* section as either extollatory, or as blowing their *feng* 風 winds from an inner, exemplary desire to be good. In contrast to this, Wang Xianqian reconstructs the Han preface to read: “*Guanju* criticizes the times” 關雎刺時. Divergent interpretations of the significance of a given ode can often be found, including for the three opening odes above. We find also that regarding the *Guanju*, “The way of Zhou was lacking, and the poet(s) found the root cause in [affairs of] the mattress” 周道缺，詩人本之衽席⁸⁹; that

⁸⁷ See, for example: Mark Laurent Asselin, “The Lu-School Reading of ‘Guanju’ as Preserved in an Eastern Han Fu,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, 1997.3, 427–43; Tamara Chin, “Orienting Mimesis: Marriage and the Book of Songs,” *Representations*, 2006.1, 53–79; Martin Kern, “Lost in Tradition: The Classic of Poetry We Did Not Know,” in *Hsiang Lectures on Chinese Poetry*, vol. 5 (Montreal: McGill Centre for East Asian Research, 2010), 30–56.

⁸⁸ Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, ed., *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhu shu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書, v.1 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001); Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, *Changsha Mawangdui Han mu jianbo jicheng* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014); Jingmen shi bo wu guan 荆門市博物館, ed., *Guodian chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998).

⁸⁹ From the *Shiji* “Shier zhuhou nianbiao” 十二諸侯年表, in Wang, *Sanjia*, 5.

“*Ge tan*: [is about] fear of losing the proper time”葛覃恐其失時⁹⁰; and that *Juan er* “longs for the lords of old who made officials of worthy men, placing them in orders of nobility.” 思古君子官賢人，置之列位。⁹¹ These examples give a sense of the wealth of divergent exegetical reflections that the *Shijing* engendered, and the presence of variant narratives that circulated in the Han.

To summarily reflect on the problems of the circulation of preface material discussed above, it seems clear that even up to Zheng Xuan’s time, the four interpretive schools—often spoken of as if they are staid and static institutions—seem to have been in flux. Variants of all sorts circulated, diverging from the Mao interpretation, many of which read the *Zhounan* poems as critical. With regard to the form in which these pronouncements were packaged in the Han, it is possible that Zheng Xuan considered the *Maoshi gu xun zhuan* edition’s peculiar mode of breaking apart the *xiaoxu* and appending them to the beginning of each poem to be noteworthy precisely because he had seen a text of the prefaces that circulated independently in sequence. Indeed if we

⁹⁰ This quote is from Cai Yong’s “*Xie he hun fu*” 協和婚賦 in *Gu wen yuan* 古文苑, apud Wang, *Sanjia*, 17.

⁹¹ Wang, *Sanjia*, 23..

know from Zheng's comments to the *Yili* that he knew other sources for the *xiaoxu*; we know from fragments of the *Shipu* that he also knew that the version of the *xiaoxu* in the Mao had previously been an independently circulating, continuous text. If indeed the prefaces were not entirely fixed—a likelihood corroborated not only by variation in the text of the prefaces but by the attribution of such a work to Wei Hong in the previous century—then efforts to determine the school affiliation of a particular pronouncement on the significance of a particular ode is highly problematic. We can rest assured that a number of varied interpretations for a particular poem (or even systematized sets of prefaces for all or part of the *Shi*) circulated, and we can be certain that renditions of scholastic commentaries such as those found in the *Han shu* "Yiwenzhi" bibliography were present in the imperial library, but scholastic affiliations for any particular poem may be based on categories that were still in flux even during Zheng Xuan's time. Indeed, it was his commentary and later Kong Yingda's that successively fixed prior layers of accumulated commentary into an increasingly immutable orthodoxy.

Appendix Six: Translation of the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 for the reign of King Li 厲王

Below is a translation of the current (*jinwen* 金文) version of the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (*Bamboo Annals*), originally annotated by an unknown commentator, for the years corresponding to the reign of King Li 厲王. The source for this translation is Wang Guowei's 王國維 text and commentary, found in:

Fang Shiming 方詩銘 and Wang Xiuling 王修齡 *Guben Zhushu jinian jizheng* 古本竹書紀年緝證. Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981, pp. 250-253.

The reader may also wish to consult James Legge's translation:

James Legge. *The Chinese Classics, volume III: the Shoo King or the Book of Historical Documents*. London: Trubner, 1865; rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960, 153-154.`

Appendix 6: *Zhushu jinian* for King Li

Square bracketed numbers are dates (B.C.E.) as determined on the basis of transmitted sources and inscriptional evidence by Edward Shaughnessy.⁹²

Bamboo Annals

[853 - 828]⁹³

厲王

King Li

名胡

His name was Hu. (Original note: He lived in Zhi, which is on the Fen River, and thus was also called the King of Fen. 原注: 居旼, 有汾水焉, 故又曰汾王)

[853] 元年戊申春正月, 王即位, 作夷宮。命卿士榮夷公落。楚人來獻龜貝。

In the first month of the year *wu-shen*, the King took position, and made the Yi-temple.⁹⁴ He ordered that the high minister Duke Yi of Rong (Rong Yi Gong) take office. Men from Chu came to offer tortoise shells and cowries.

⁹² Edward Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 272-85.

⁹³ Possible gap in reign period prior to King Li's majority and eligibility to rule in his own name; this may have counted towards Sima Qian's figure of thirty years.

⁹⁴ Temple in honor of his father, King Yi 夷王.

Appendix 6: *Zhushu jinian* for King Li

[851] 三年，淮夷侵洛，王命虢公長父伐之，不克。齊獻公山薨。

Year three: The Huai-yi invaded Luo. The King ordered Changfu, Duke of Guo, to attack them. He could not defeat them. Shan, the Xian Duke of Qi, passed away.

[848] 六年，楚子延卒。

Year six: Zi Yan of Chu died.⁹⁵

[846] 八年，初監謗。芮伯良夫戒百官于朝。

Year eight: First investigation of critics. Rui Bo Liangfu cautioned the hundred officers at court.

[843] 十一年，西戎入于犬丘。

Year eleven: The Western Rong entered into Quanqiu

[842] 十二年，王亡奔彘。國人圍王宮，執召穆公之子殺之。

⁹⁵ Or, "Yan, Prince of Chu."

Appendix 6: *Zhushu jinian* for King Li

Year twelve: The King fled to Zhi. The statesmen surrounded the King's Palace, seized the son of Duke Mu of Shao and killed him.

[841] 十三年，王在彘，共伯和攝行天子事。

Year thirteen: The King was at Zhi. Gong Bo He undertook affairs on behalf of the Son of Heaven. (Original note: His courtesy name was Gonghe 原注：號為共和.)

[840] 十四年，玁狁侵宗周西鄙。召穆公帥師追荊蠻，至于洛。

Year fourteen: The Xianyun invaded the western settlements of Zongzhou. The Duke of Shao led troops to pursue the Jing-barbarians, reaching as far as the Luo.

[838] 十六年，蔡武侯薨。楚子勇卒。

Year sixteen, Marquis Wu of Cai ascended. Ziyong of Chu died.

[835] 十九年，曹夷伯薨。

Year nineteen: Duke Yi of Cao passed away.

[832] 二十二年，大旱。陳幽公薨。

Year twenty-two: Major drought. Duke You of Chen passed away.

[831] 二十三年，大旱。宋僖公薨。

Year thirteen: Major drought. Duke Xi of Song passed away.

[830] 二十四年，大旱。杞武公薨。

Year fourteen: Major drought. Duke Wu of Qii passed away.

[829] 二十五年，大旱。楚子嚴卒。

Year twenty-five: Major drought. Ziyan of Chu died.

[828] 二十六年，大旱，王陟于旼。周定公、召穆公立太子靖為王。共伯和歸其國，遂大雨。

Year twenty-six: Major drought, the King ascended from Zhi.⁹⁶ Duke Ding of Zhou and Duke Mu of Shao installed the crown prince Jing as King. Gong He returned to his state. Thereupon it rained greatly.

大旱既久

Since the drought had been so long

⁹⁶ "Ascended," here, is a euphemism for the king's death.

Appendix 6: *Zhushu jinian* for King Li

廬舍俱焚

houses and huts all burned

會汾王崩

Coinciding with the demise of the Fen King

卜于大陽

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