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MOUTON

Dirk Meyer

DOCUMENTATION AND ARGUMENT IN EARLY CHINA

THE SHÀNGSHŪ 尚書 (VENERATED DOCUMENTS) AND THE SHŪ TRADITIONS

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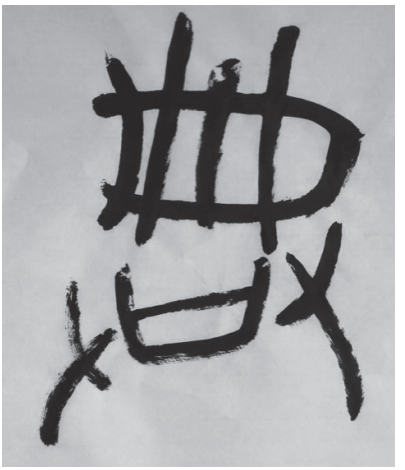

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Für Flann und Nele

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Dirk Meyer
Oxford, 25 November 2020

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Introduction

exegi monumentum aere perennius
(more durable than bronze ... / ... is the monument I have made)[1]

When Johan August Strindberg (22 January 1849–14 May 1912) left his homeland for Grez-sur-Loing, just south of Paris, a well-known artist community that attracted the likes of Carl Larsson (1853–1919) and Anders Zorn (1860–1920),[2] so as to write in French and become a truly European author,[3] probably no-one ever thought that one day this highly controversial figure, then tired of Sweden, would become Sweden's foremost national author.[4] But in the late 1970s, a towering project of historical dimensions was launched that would outdo many of the most daring projects in the humanities. Determination, institutional support, and financial might came together to erect a real monument of Swedish identity, the *National Edition of Strindberg's Collected Works (Nationalupplagan av August Strindbergs Samlade Verk* – short '*Samlade Verk*') in seventy-two sizeable volumes, bound in linen covers. All in all, it took some thirty-five years to see the final volume of this testimony to Swedish memory and pride into print, in 2016, just four years after the centenary of Strindberg's death.[5]

The problems faced by the team of Swedish scholars when putting together *Samlade Verk* were immense, beginning with the simple question: what actually *is* 'Strindberg'? Take the example of his *Inferno*. Originally written in French, it

1 Horace 1964: 206–207.

2 Larsson and Zorn are Sweden's foremost painters; they were well acquainted with Strindberg.

3 'I write in French as Swedenborg and others wrote in Latin: because it is a universal language', Strindberg once pointed out. (*Letters* 22 Nov. 1897) (Cited from Gavel Adams 2015)

4 That Strindberg was tired of Sweden and wished to become a truly European author instead appears from his letters. (Personal communication with Gunnel Engwall, chair of the board of *National Edition of August Strindberg's Collected Works*, Uppsala, 3 February 2015.)

5 For decades to come, *Samlade Verk* will be the authoritative text of Strindberg's work. As Viklund 2013: 515f asserts, the title *Nationalupplagan* (*National Edition*) indicates that *Samlade Verk*, financed in full by the government and at the outset planned as a project in seventy-two volumes, was created for the 'benefit of the entire Nation'. As such, it was initially conceived as the 'exhaustive and definite edition of the works of our great author' (as stated in the dust jacket of *Samlade Verk*; the translation is my own). At the time, the project was launched by the Strindberg Society and later organised as a department of Stockholm University, nobody assumed that it would take some thirty-five years to complete. I thank Elena Balzamo (Paris) for directing me to Jon Viklund 2013 where illuminating insights into the projects are given.

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was translated into Swedish by a close friend.[6] But Strindberg disapproved of the translation, thinking that some words were 'pompous' or overly 'feminine', and so he introduced a number of changes to the text in 1897.[7] Does that constitute *le bon manuscrit*? Or is the French edition of 1898, changed independently by Marcel Réja (1873–1957)[8] to improve the Swedish composer's poor French, a good candidate for an authoritative text?[9] Or, rather, is 'Strindberg' perhaps something that neither he nor his friends ever produced: an 'ideal' text, so to speak, one that acknowledges the various flaws and strengths of the different manuscript texts and that introduces a version—based of course on the best of scholarly knowledge—that Strindberg *might* have wanted to produce? Does that mean a text such as *Inferno* needs later scholarly invention to be—or become—a 'good' Strindberg? Do we need to 'heal' the text? Or none of the above? Does this editorial institutionalisation therefore mean that we have produced our own Strindberg, a national monument in the ideology of memory, used to frame, and therefore construct, an imagined community?[10]

The underlying issue of the above questions relates to the problem of what actually determines the textual boundaries of a work. But this is not just relevant for Strindberg's work. Similar questions apply to nearly all texts that are repeatedly rearticulated in new contexts to inform—and therefore also structure—their relevant text communities. How do we determine what belongs to such a text, and what not? What are the processes that control how a text changes? What does textual development tell us about the communities and their institutions involved in such changes? And how do the relevant text communities negotiate the conflict of text fluidity on the one hand, and text authority on the other?

When for a contemporary work such as that of Strindberg these questions are so relevant, how much more is this true for ancient and highly layered text

6 The translation was produced by Eugène Fahlstedt (1851–1935).

7 Gavel Adams 2015.

8 On Marcel Réja (pseudonym of Paul Meunier), see Robinson 2008: v.3: 1517.

9 When *Inferno* was published in 1898 by Mercure de France in a French revision by Réja, he had made ten to fifteen corrections or changes per page. (Gavel Adams 2015)

10 From the scholarly perspective, the monumental paper edition is of course just a 'supplement' to a much fuller online edition that has a full scholarly apparatus and, rather democratically, keeps the various versions and recensions of the Strindberg texts in parallel. (See http://litteraturbanken.se.) (Last accessed February 2015.)

On the concept of 'imagined communities', see Benedict Anderson's homonymous book of 1983.

corpora such as, say, 'the' Bible,[11] Homer, or *Shàngshū* 尚書 (Venerated Documents)?[12] – each of which is a 'library' of its own sort. Must we not admit that the 're'-constitution of these works is always the construction of an imagined, ideal, text as 'decided' at some point by a given community? Or do we really believe that the *Shàngshū* is a true representation of Eastern Zhōu (c. 770–256 BC), not to mention Western Zhōu (c. 1100–771 BC), and earlier, realities?[13] Almost certainly not.[14] What are therefore the implications for us when working with these—ancient—text miscellanies?

In essentially three ways the ancient *Shàngshū* and the modern work of Strindberg, manufactured by the Swedish state as a monument of Swedish pride, have common ground. First, the example of Strindberg goes to show that the complexity of textual history, with the insight on our part that there may be no such thing as a posited *Urtext*, is not just a phenomenon of the distant past but is, and remains, a natural consequence of human productivity. Second, the editions of

11 It is interesting to note in this context that the name of the bible, τὰ βιβλία (*tà biblía*), 'the books', is in the plural. In medieval times it was sometimes catalogued as 'bibliotheca' (library).

12 Grebnev's forthcoming study, *Unravelling early Chinese scriptural traditions: the Yi Zhou shu and related texts*, suggests rendering *Shàngshū* as *Venerated Scriptures*. Without a doubt the texts of the *Shàngshū*—as well as related texts in the traditions of Shū which I discuss below—articulate a claim to truth and so there is much merit in Grebnev's use of the term. However, 'scripture' has a highly religious connotation, referring to the 'inerrant word of God'. This dimension is absent in the *Shàngshū* and related texts. For this reason, although I sympathise with Grebnev's choice, I render *shū* as 'documents' (also for stressing their claim to documentary impulse), while keeping in mind the reverential attitude of the actors to these texts.

13 The appellation '*Shàngshū*' 尚書 first appeared in the transmitted literature in the *Mòzǐ*, probably dating partly to the fourth century BC, where it is used of texts of greatest antiquity – then projected to be Documents of the legendary Xià 夏, as well as the Shāng 商 (c. 1600–1100 BC). Roughly two-hundred years later, around the second century BC, the term is used more broadly. Commentators during the Hàn often gloss *shàng* 尚 as 'high' in reference to claims that the texts were received by the sages from Heaven. Today's popular choice of name, *Shūjīng* 書經, gained prominence only during the tenth century AD when scholars of the Sòng 宋 Dynasty (960–1127; 1127–1279) felt it necessary to protect the texts' canonical authority as the various layers of the miscellany came under critical philological scrutiny and, especially during the eleventh century AD, when central parts were no longer considered 'authentic', that is, as texts of pre-imperial making. For an unsurpassed summary of Chinese scholarship dealing with the *Shàngshū*, see Chéng Yuánmín 2008.

14 For a study of the *Shàngshū* and its specific philosophical and philological complexities, see the collected essays edited by Kern and Meyer 2017a. An excellent introduction of matters related to the *Shàngshū* is given in Nylan 2001.

the works, both produced by later groups, have little in common with the polymorphic realities of the layered texts as used by the communities at the time.[15] Third, they both surprise by their relevance to some communities of present day society. The *Shàngshū* texts have bearing on Chinese discourse today: lost and reproduced repeatedly over the centuries, the *Shàngshū* is the result of a persistent and still ongoing effort to produce an 'ideal text', dealing, in various ways, with the foundation of the Zhōu Dynasty in particular, and with the legitimacy of the Chinese state more generally. It is an assortment of texts entailing contrastive, even contradictory, voices and positions, which, as a text corpus, is nonetheless highly valued as authoritative by communities to the present day.

Questions of canonisation therefore do not concern me in this book. Rather, looking at what pertained *before* the imperial iterations, and putting the three just mentioned observations at the core of this study, this book studies how certain groups frame their objectives within a productive framework of text making.

The Shàngshū

The *Shàngshū* is difficult to read. Its language is archaic, often opaque. For the most part the *Shàngshū* is just a collection of speeches ascribed to rulers and ministers of high antiquity. Very little in it is presented in the form of a narrative.

Its earliest layers are sometimes claimed to date from around the tenth century BC. Its newest segments may have been produced as late as the fourth century AD, emulating the work of the ancients.

The vast majority of the speeches collected in the *Shàngshū* lack historicising contexts. It is only through later commentaries that they are placed in a historical continuum, real or imagined. Despite their disconnected nature, the speeches were the fallback texts for countless communities who developed their sociopolitical and philosophical positions in reference to, or against the background of, these speeches. This was often done by drawing on common themes of the speeches; or by appropriating some of their reference structures as blueprints for

15 It is in the nature of any edition that, by fixing the text, it does more than just preserve the written. The former editor in Chief of *Samlade Verk*, Lars Dahlbäck 1991: 111 once lamented that 'in the manuscript the text is not fully redacted, in print it is corrupted'. (Quoted from Viklund 2013: 521; the translation from the original Swedish is my own.)

new arguments. These trends are already clearly visible by the mid-Warring States period (c. 453–221 BC). They continue today. [16]

The reasons for this practice, now as well as in antiquity, lie in the attempt to legitimate the present through the exemplary voice of the past. Now that in China Marxism no longer serves as the unifying (albeit constructed) official ideology,[17] intellectuals and nationalists alike are on the lookout for a new source for national orientation.[18] The desire to establish reinvented Confucianism in a desperate attempt to find a cultural basis for a new state doctrine has been a national favourite for a while,[19] providing a crucial historical link to national identity in recent times.[20] Continuing the legacy of Confucianism thus works through the creative interpretation of the foundational texts of classics, including the particularly politically important *Shàngshū*. When party cadres or political scientists in China quote from the *Shàngshū* today, this is not just a rhetorical flourish. It is a cultural claim to a line of legitimacy stretching down from furthest antiquity. The traditional legitimisation of political authority thus works through the medium of ancient texts, in this case serving as uniform expressions of national ideology.

To a historian of ancient Chinese philosophy, such appeals to the past must appear hollow, as they are obviously made for contemporary ends. Culturally-philosophically speaking, however, such acts of tradition making are instructive because they allow us to conceptualise parallel activities of sociopolitical thinking and knowledge production in Chinese thought, past and present.

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16 A good example is Xí Jìnpíng's 習近平 speech on the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (a political advisory body in the People's Republic of China), which was interspersed with quotations from the *Shàngshū*, in particular "Qín shì" 泰誓 (Harangues of Qín). See http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2014-09/21/c_1112564804.htm. (Last accessed July 2020.)
For an overview of Xí's use of classical texts in his political orations, see Rénmín Rìbào pínglùn bù 2015. See further my discussion in the Conclusion.

17 A most prominent example of that view is Jiǎng Qìng 蔣慶 (b. 1952), proponent of a Constitutional Confucianism (or Political Confucianism) in China today, and founder of the Confucian Yángmíng Academy (陽明精舍) in remote Guìzhōu 貴州 in 1996. On the 'Sinicisation' of Marxism in China, see Rošker 2019.

18 As, for instance, claimed most prominently by Yán Xuétōng 閻學通 (born 1952), Dean of the Institute of Modern International Relations at Peking Tsinghua University (see the New York Times of November 20, 2011).

19 See also *The Wall Street Journal*, September 20, 2015 by Jeremy Page on recent trends in China as to how presumably ancient Confucian ideas are promoted by Xí Jìnpíng as pillars of the one-party state.

20 An extreme case is Bell 2015. (For a sharp critique see Nathan 2015.) See also Bell 2008; Fan 2011; Bell et al 2012.

Such acts of tradition making have varied in the course of history down to the present day, involving a wide range of strategies. They include ascribing at least the editorship of the work to the paragon of Chinese learning, Confucius, making him an author-like figure behind the *Shàngshū*;[21] or producing dictionaries and grammars of the *Shàngshū* that, by definition, introduce unity and therefore ignore inconsistencies underlying that vast collection of texts; they include carving inscriptions on stone that seek to establish the one authoritative text of that miscellany, such as was done between 833–837 by edict of the Táng 唐 (618–907) Emperor Wenzong (Táng Wénzōng 唐文宗 809–840; r. 827–840);[22] or prescribing set-texts in the state-sponsored Confucius Institutes at western universities for foreigners to study Chinese civilisation; or, last but not least, framing political speech with reference to *Shàngshū*, as was the case for the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

The *Shàngshū*—as well as the traditions preceding it—arguably structured the experience of vastly different groups; at the same time, the experience of these groups also structured the *Shàngshū*, one witness among potentially many more of the Shū traditions. It is a dialectical relationship where one moulds the other. As I shall demonstrate, *Shàngshū*-style speeches served as the source material for the development of a wide range of sociophilosophical arguments, with different groups using them as suited their needs. The (philosophical) texts from the Warring States plainly show this. Some communities even created new speeches by reproducing the language, structure, and themes of the known examples. The readings of these traditions were thus continually changed to serve contrasting

21 *Hànshū* 30.1706: Here, in a—conflated—commentary either by Liú Xiàng 劉向 (79–8 BCE) or Yán Shīgǔ 顏師古 (581–645) the authors of that line speculate that the *Zhōushū* 'probably constitutes the leftovers from the hundred chapters [of the *Shàngshū*] collated by Confucius' (*gài Kǒngzǐ suǒ lún báipiān zhī yú yě* 蓋孔子所論百篇之余也).

22 The Stones classics, generally referenced as Kāichéng 開成- or Táng 唐 Stone Classics 石經, are engraved on both sides of 114 stone tablets and they carry about 650,000 graphs. Besides the *Shàngshū*, they contain the *Yìjing* 易經, *Shījīng* 詩經, *Zhōulǐ* 周禮, *Yílǐ* 儀禮, *Lǐjì* 禮記, *Zuǒ zhuàn* 左傳, *Gōngyáng zhuàn* 公羊傳, *Gǔliáng zhuàn* 穀梁傳, *Lúnyǔ* 論語, *Xiàojīng* 孝經, as well as *Ěryǎ* 爾雅, that is, the 'Twelve Confucian Classics' of the time. Today the stelae are kept at Bēilín 碑林 Museum, Xi'an 西安. They are the oldest remaining monuments of their kind in China. The earliest example of engraving classical texts in stone dates to the late Eastern Hàn Dynasty, when on the petition of Cài Yōng 蔡邕 (132–192) forty-six stelae with about 200,000 graphs were erected between 175–183 at the Imperial Academy (Tài xué 太學) outside Luòyáng 洛陽, the Xīpíng Stone Classics 熹平石經. They carry the then 'Seven Classics', *Yìjīng*, *Shàngshū*, *Shījīng*, *Lǐjì*, *Chūnqiū*, *Xiàojīng*, and the *Lúnyǔ*. Except for a few fragments they did not survive the onslaught of time. A list of Stone Classics, produced to make an authoritative version of the text, 'a text which the reader can trust', is given in Nylan 2001: 49.

ideological claims – in antiquity as today. The ways these communities resourcefully utilise the Shū traditions—of which the *Shàngshū* is but one expression—in service of their agenda thus cast light on one common trend: the materialisation of the past for socio-political and philosophical claims in the present.[23]

Documentation and Argument

This book gives no history of the *Shàngshū*. Rather, I set out to conceptualise what I think of as Shū genre, a historically evolving practice of literary production, suitable to deliver a variety of arguments.[24] I do so by approaching the Shū traditions—in the first instance these are defined by texts collected in the *Shàngshū*, *Yì Zhōushū*, and related manuscript texts—from a number of complementary analytical angles, enquiring into matters such as the position of Shū in the framework of elite learning; the inter- and cross-textual networks that involve the Shū; the shifting patterns of narrative production around Shū speeches; the creative recontextualisation of authoritative text material by participating social groupings; genre formation; and the performative dimensions inherent to acts of text delivery and text reception. The Shū, clearly, are not immutable texts that were faithfully inherited from antiquity. Instead, my analysis shows them as fluid text material that embodies the ever-changing 'cultural capital' of the relevant conceptual text communities—conceptual because they must remain theoretical projections—who constantly actualise the Shū according to their changing visions of history and evolving group interests. [25]

Methodologically the analysis further develops my previous work in that I enquire—by keeping a close eye on the literary form of the argument in the context of the literary engagement with thought—how different social groupings of the Warring States period emerge as actors by virtue of expanding their scope of action through literary thought production. [26] However, compared with many of the argument-based manuscript texts from the Warring States, the Shū are rather 'messy', as they are subject to a constant literary, as well as political, appropriation by contrasting social groupings. There is therefore something rather special

23 Alain Schnapp 2013: 2 poses the intriguing epistemological question about the relationship between 'oral tradition, monument, object, and text' in the materialisation of the past.

24 I first analyse Shū from a genre perspective in Meyer 2018b.

25 Note that, as the conceptual communities must remain theoretical projections, they are inevitably constituted by the textual sources which are read for the traces of their activity.

26 See Meyer 2011 (inprint 2012) where I develop my thoughts on early Chinese textuality.

about the texts which may be described as Shū and the conceptual social groupings around them. The Shū and the said groups persistently constitute each other dialectically – much more so than is true of the philosophical texts of the time. In the context of maturing manuscript cultures these social groupings now frame their arguments in reference to the Shū by way of what I call a writing-supported text performance, a concept I outline further below but which, briefly, denotes the enabling of a text, within certain, relatively well-defined parameters, through the written word. Genre expectations are important in this development. They stabilise in tandem with these developments, enabling these groups to articulate a great variety of positions such that they carried weight. In this book I cast light on some of these strategies by studying the various planes of meaning production in this dynamic environment. While to some extent this must necessarily be Shū specific, I hope that this book is not just relevant to the student of Early China, but provides connection points with neighbouring disciplines too, speaking to matters of meaning production, text performance, and foundational text formation more widely.

That during the Warring States different communities would utilise Shū creatively for their ends has historical cause. The reasons for this are twofold: the nature of (political) argument at the time; and the material condition of maturing manuscript cultures.

During the Warring States, society faced an existential unsettling that led to certain communities questioning the structural social order. By way of responding to such challenges, and thus expanding their scope of action, these communities became political actors. Utilising the voices of high antiquity as they were believed to be preserved in the Shū traditions, they present their claims as having legitimate precedent. At the same time, these new actors worked within a novel text environment, as the Warring States saw the unprecedented increase of written texts in physical circulation. These sociomaterial developments led to decisive shifts in the literary articulation of sociopolitical and philosophical thinking, and hence argument construction.[27] In this first significant maturing of a manuscript culture, the increase of written texts in wider circulation naturally led to a pollination of genres and text traditions.[28] Writing, increasingly common well beyond the immediate centres of power,[29] thus enabled contrasting communities to translate political challenge into new articulations of sociopolitical and philo-

27 See Meyer 2014b: 23.

28 See Krijgsman 2016.

29 Lewis 1999a: 64; Meyer 2014b: 27.

sophical thinking. Being placed in a milieu where the different actors could access written records empowered them to rearticulate traditions with increasing ease, such that they might produce an argument of new significance. And so there developed a shift in the written sociophilosophical productivity. Certain elements of the Shū traditions—speeches or other items of import—were reiterated in newly produced texts, and thus re-contextualised, by way of narrative, to serve a variety of contemporary needs. The communities that would appropriate the speeches, as well as the traditions behind them, therefore did not do so to 'document' history or to record the speeches for antiquarian purposes. Rather, they narrativised, in different contexts, what was for them old cultural capital as they constructed arguments of sociopolitical and philosophical significance as suited their needs.

In studying the malleability of what I call a group's 'cultural capital', this book has a range of modern implications, despite its focus on Chinese antiquity, and I shall highlight them in my conclusions. It draws parallels between how contemporary Chinese scholars of political philosophy justify their own political discourse by reference to ancient texts and the manner in which ancient communities appropriated the past for present ends.

Translocation of Writing

This book deals with two diametrically opposed phenomena. On the one hand there is the *materiality* of the speeches.[30] Informing countless communities, they are continuously rearticulated and reconstituted whenever they move across intellectual lines. On the other hand, there is the *materialisation*, or 're'-constitution, of these speeches through the act of writing that gives shape to a constructed

30 In his defining work, *Analysis of the Poetic Text* (1976), Yuri Lotman (1922–1993) famously spoke of the 'materiality of language' in relation to literature with how an artist is thinking about paint, or a sculptor is thinking of stone. To him it functions as the 'material substance' to what it is forming. However, language is not 'socially indifferent'. It does not stand outside of a cognition of reality because it is already correlated with social and ideological processes 'even before the hand of artist touches it'. This is not trivial because it determines how *text*, which is constituted by the social reality of language, and *structure*, which is constituted by the social forces of a culture, condition each other dialectically, such that one adopts reality only in the reciprocal relationship with the other. Beyond its purely physical yet equally determining properties, the materiality of a text is therefore fundamentally also created by 'its systemic relationships' and 'meaningful antitheses', viz., the extralinguistic information coded in what Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009) has called the 'systemic character' of the 'structure of the work', the nexus of 'text' and 'system' (Lévi-Strauss 1958: 306). It is this sense of 'materiality' I am adopting here.

past. It is in this continuously revised form that the past shapes contrasting presents.

Different cultures come up with different strategies to construct social memory. The Egyptians, for instance, built stone edifices of gigantic dimensions and carved royal inscriptions that would promote their fame.[31] The Chinese of antiquity made a different choice. In later times they organised the production of vast numbers of large stone slabs inscribed with the classics, including the *Shàngshū*; but at the earlier stage, the period that is more the concern of this book, they continued an old tradition and cast commitment in bronze, movable objects, that carry texts in which the donor commemorates whatever he wished future generations to remember and act on.[32] But just as the lyrics of the Songs (Shī 詩) took on new functions as their accompanying music fell into oblivion, as is often imagined,[33] the texts cast or inscribed in bronze too underwent profound change when bereft of their physical grandeur and used in contexts outside that of the ancestral sacrifice. Something similar can be said to have happened to Shū when written down in new contexts and used outside appointment ceremonies or battle speeches. The result of such change is that the materialisation of the past took new forms. Culturally established text patterns became blueprints for new texts; past traditions were revamped to adapt them to the prevailing needs of new groups.

Once certain items of the Shū traditions were written down, as as in the *Shàngshū*, or rearticulated in a new setting (for instance a written out, sociophilosophical argument), they moved beyond the particular event-specific moment of ritualised speech, and thus they required substitute narrative contexts to place them in a defined, imagined, sociohistorical situation. Whether such substitute narratives were initially produced in written form, or orally, is irrelevant. In either case, their underlying structure remains intact whenever textualised items of these traditions move between contexts. The result of such strategies to (re)-contextualise venerable speech within narrative settings is that the royal speeches, as well as other elements of these traditions, take on new significance in the constructed place of the target text. It is now *through that target text* that they attain a consistent and interpretable message. The act of placing entire texts, or isolated

31 Schnapp 2013: 5f. See also his portrayal of Mesopotamian strategies of hiding the knowledge they wished to transmit, which partly resonates with Grebnev's (2017b) notion of 'treasure texts' in Chinese civilisation.

32 See von Falkenhausen 2013.

33 I point out that this is far from being the only theory behind the evolution of the textualised Shī. (See on this point the discussions by William N. French in his forthcoming PhD thesis.)

text constituents such as speech, within constructed narrative frameworks thus imbues them with a message. In many ways, it creates an author function for the otherwise 'authorless' textualised traditions.[34]

The Shū Traditions

This study explores the multilayered, diachronic and synchronic traditions that inform the making of miscellanea such as the *Shàngshū* and the *Yî Zhōushū*, two formative expressions of ongoing intellectual activity by actors that were not synchronous and exist as a group only across time.

The *Shàngshū* is just one expression of these traditions, and the principles on which it draws to select its texts are not clear. The *Yî Zhōushū* is another.[35] The relationship between the two miscellanies, often lumped together in a single type, is as yet not well understood.[36] In their current form the *Shàngshū* and the *Yî Zhōushū* each contain relatively stable formulae and text clusters that may separate them on formal grounds. As I show in Chapter 2, there was, however, contact between these two now-distinct literary forms during the Warring States period. It is therefore likely that *Shàngshū* and *Yî Zhōushū* are manifestations of the attempt by later—imperial (!)—communities to channel distinct forms of text composition within these traditions – traditions, which for lack of a better term, I refer to as Shū 書 (Documents). It is conceivable, indeed highly likely, that the two imperial miscellanies simply represent selective interpretative strands of written-down Shū among potentially many more such strands, singled out for reasons that so far remain beyond our comprehension. With the discovery of the manuscripts now in the possession of Tsinghua University (Qīnghuá Dàxué 清華

34 The concept of 'author function' was developed by Michel Foucault in his 1969 lecture on literary theory 'Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur' at the Collège de France. In brief, author function provides structures that enable meaning references to the text recipients. Note, what I describe are necessarily general structures, not absolute realities that apply to each particularity. A text such as "Shì fú" 世俘—it is part of the *Yî Zhōushū* and so by definition a Shū text—necessarily complicates the discussion, as it also contains almost no speech, but it shows some close proximity to Xiǎo Yǔ-*dǐng* (JC 2839).

35 For good introductions to matters of the *Yî Zhōushū*, see McNeal 2012; Grebnev 2016. For Chinese, see Huáng Huáixìn 1992.

36 See, however, Grebnev 2017a for a comprehensive study of the referencing formulae in these text bodies, which are distinct.

大學), to which I return below, we are only just beginning to guess at the breadth of these traditions during the Warring States.[37]

For methodological clarity, pre-imperial articulations should therefore not be considered as *Shàngshū* texts but as expressions of Shū traditions. This helps to avoid the assumption of mono-causal relationships between different, sometimes even unrelated, texts. In differentiating Shū traditions from the *Shàngshū* (or the *Yǐ Zhōushū*) the latter denotes the received, imperial, texts while the former marks pre-imperial articulations of these traditions. I capitalise them as Shū to suggest that—written out or not—they are a recognisable expression of a valued culture and a particular, and distinctive, type of utterance. [38]

Surviving manuscripts suggests that Shū were used widely, and by different communities. This confirms their foundational status during the latter half of the first millennium BC. Despite this, they continued to be dynamic and, to some extent, amorphous – and certainly they were not a well-defined anthology.[39]

Writing-supported text performance

So, what *were* the Shū during the Warring States? Let me attempt a preliminary answer: the Shū were something dynamic. Informed by an old tradition—a possible candidate for this are the *lìng shū* 令書, ancient appointment documents, which we see mentioned in bronze texts from the 10th c. BC[40]—they evolved by way of incessant (re-)articulations of certain themes, modular text patterns, as well as fixed reference formulas in an archaic speech register, used by different

37 The Qīnghuá Manuscripts are believed to date to the Warring States. They are published under the aegis of Lǐ Xuéqín as *Qīnghuá Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡. Shànghǎi: Zhōngxī, 2010–. The volumes are beautiful artefacts that contain high quality photographic reproductions of the slips together with transcriptions and philological annotations.

38 For further discussions, see Matsumoto Masaaki 1968: 520; Chén Mèngjiā 1985: 11–35; Kanaya Osamu 1992: 230–257; Liú Qǐyú 1997: 4–24; Lewis 1999a: 105–109; Kern 2000a: 181–195; Schaberg 2001: 72–80; Vogelsang 2002.

39 Here it must be acknowledged that by understanding the polymorphic nature of the Shū traditions we are standing on the broad shoulders of Matsumoto Masaaki (1968). Based on the differences of intertextual correspondences of Shū in the literature of the Warring States, he concluded that by the late fourth century BC there existed three different versions of Shū 書, a 'Rú'; Mò; and a historian's recension. (Matsumoto Masaaki 1968: 520). Even though this study still thinks of the Shū as of stable recensions, a notion I wish to deconstruct, Matsumoto was the first to detail, systematically, the multi-layered nature of the Shū.

40 Yegor Grebnev attempts to outline the diachronic evolution of 'scriptural *shū*' in his forthcoming book, *Unravelling early Chinese scriptural traditions*.

groups who wished to expand their space of influence and, by doing so, emerged as political actors. As some clusters were used more often than other, they naturally developed some gravity, such that they attracted further corresponding features, reference structures, and themes, so as to meet the expectations of the different groups, producers and recipients alike.[41] As a result, these structures solidified and became the cultural capital of a wider meaning community. Different sub-groups could relate to this cultural capital by using prescribed, modular, components, which became a repertoire ready to be used by these groups when making an argument of a particular kind.[42] The Shū thus developed into a genre of performative composition, as I shall detail, that enabled participating groups 'to move old cultural capital into new argument space'—to borrow a useful phrase as coined by Randall Collins in his *The Sociology of Philosophies*[43]—and thus emerge as actors, politically as well as philosophically.

That orality and literacy are not clear-cut phenomena is not news. More often than not mixed modes of oral and written communication are the norm in human culture. Jack Goody had already discussed that phenomenon in the late 1960s,[44] and it has been widely accepted as a condition of human communication and interaction since.[45] Yet, despite this well-documented overlap, much of Early China scholarship is still caught up in operating with these categories as though they were absolutes.[46] Perhaps that is so partly because of the abundance of the

41 I here refer to the concept of a (philosophical) persona in line with Deleuze and Guattari 1994. Parallel to the concept of 'philosophical persona' is that of 'historical persona'.

42 Swidler 1986 conceptualises 'repertoire' as a cultural 'tool kit'. Silber 2003 provides a most useful critique of Swidler's discussion.

43 Collins 1998.

44 Goody 1968: 4–5.

45 Prior to Goody, Ong 1959: 97 already points to 'oral-aural commitments' in medieval 'literate' societies where much of the written word is read 'aloud' and was produced for performance rather than silent reading. (Ibid.) Ruth Finnegan 1988 deepens that point in her discussion of the technologisation of communication. Jean Leclercq 1961: 18–19; 72 describes the process of reading in the European Middle Ages and antiquity as primarily 'oral reading'. That means that the auditory component of the word had to be established so as to catch its meaning. Leclercq referred to this phenomenon as 'hearing the voices of the pages'. (Ibid.) Ivan Illich 1991 (esp. ch. 4) applies that notion to the custom of the scribe dictating to himself the text he saw and therefore recording the sound heard rather than the graph seen. Michael Clanchy 1979: 218 also points to these phenomena in his description of medieval writing, in particular in reference to the eleventh-century clerk Eadmer of Canterbury.

46 See for instance Shaughnessy's (2015, 2016a) most recent attempts to demonstrate the 'written nature' of the foundational texts in early China. A rather schematic attempt to apply the oral-formulaic theory of Parry and Lord's studies of epic poetry—deepened by the work of John M. Foley over a quarter of a century—to Chinese texts, in particular the *Shī* 詩 (Odes), was C. H.

written word in China. I hope to move beyond that age-old construct of a duality between the two.

The oracle bone inscriptions of the Shāng period (c. 1600–1100 BC), with examples dating from as early as around 1200 BC, already show a highly sophisticated writing system.[47] The fact that there are no breaks in the history of the notation system, with the result that the Zhōu communities operated with very much the same writing as the Shāng before them, quite naturally supports the image of a text-centred society.[48] Because of this situation, students of Chinese communication all too easily jump to the conclusion that there existed an all-absorbing *written* world framing the experience of groups and individuals as early as the Western Zhōu period (1046–771 BC). Generic expressions such as *shī yún* 詩云 (or *shī yuē* 詩曰) 'in a song it is said' in the literature of the mid-to-late Eastern Zhōu (c. 770–256 BC) are therefore often read as unambiguous references to a closed corpus of—written (?)—*Songs* (as in *Shījīng*), ignoring, or glossing over, the sometimes considerable discrepancies between the transmitted text and the suggested references. Assumptions of that kind fail to see that 'text' may not always be equated with 'written text'; a text may equally be spoken; or spoken *and* written, both.[49]

Inspired by David Carr's study of the text formation of the Hebrew Bible, I therefore propose to replace the dichotomy of the oral as against the written with a model that takes into account the (genre) specific requirements of groups using written text segments and partially written traditions—be it within a text or within a discourse—by placing the dynamics of text production in a communicative setting.[50] I thus posit the model of a writing-supported text performance as the enabling, and execution, of a complex utterance through the support of the written

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Wang's *The Drum and the Bell* (1974). Much has happened since in refining the theories of the oral and the written in early China, in particular spearheaded by the work of Martin Kern.

47 Schwartz, A.C. 2019; Bagley 2004; see also the discussion in Boltz 1994: 38ff.

48 This leaves aside possible linguistic differences between the Zhōu and the Shāng. My use of the term 'society' during the Shāng and the Western Zhōu (c. 1100–771) refers to the text producing groups located at the centres of power around the king.

49 Text as defined here is therefore the textual matter transmitted. Constituting the formulation of an idea that can take both oral and written form, or both at once, 'text' is therefore abstracted from any material carrier and can travel independently of given material contexts. 'Manuscript' is the material textual representation, that is, the physical manifestation of a text. (Meyer 2011: 8)

50 Cf. Carr 2011: 5 ff. I put 'genre' in parenthesis here to open this model up to applications outside a particular genre, as I detail below.

word. This works within the confines of given constraints—genre-specific or otherwise—, such that the expectations as held by different groups of what constitutes a valid instantiation within such respectively defined boundaries are met: a text is accepted within a genre; an idea is considered good or an argument sound within a particular discourse; or a song is received within the accepted confines of Songs, among other.

Carrying the words ascribed to kings or ministers, the speeches of the Shū traditions were suitably delivered, time and again, on different occasions, partly in reference to the—supposed original—event.[51] That means they had to be made accessible for more than just one enactment. Writing must have played at least some part in this. Reconstructions of the appointment ceremonies by Herrlee Glessner Creel (1905–1994) and others have already demonstrated the central role of the written word in such a delivery of ritual events.[52] But the focal character of the written word is also evident from the denotation of those traditions as '(written) documents', *shū* 書. In many ways this situation recalls the practice of referring to some of the biblical scriptures as γραφή (*graphé*), 'writing', 'that which is written' in the Mediterranean world from around the second century BC; or its Hebrew counterpart *katáv* 'to write', with the nominal form *kiteb* to refer to 'that which is written, scripture'.[53] Just like the Shū, the biblical texts contain stories about 'historical' personae of high antiquity and what they said and did, and these documents played a central role in, say, early Jewish identity formation. As with Shū, writing and the written word are likely to have played a central role in the formation, and the transmission, of these texts.[54]

51 The acting out aloud of a text out aloud is an informed assumption and likely to have occurred in a ritual setting. Although such text-based performance can only be assumed and not proven, there are nonetheless a number of text features, which can be described, that are strongly indicative of the performative nature of a text. See also Kern 2009, 2007b.

52 See Creel 1936. See also Chén Mèngjiā 2005 (first published 1943, revised 1956); Kern 2009, 2007b; Zhū Fènghàn 2011.

53

	Old Chinese	***Classical Greek***	***Biblical Hebrew***
Verb to write	*shū	γραφή (graphe)	kataba
that which is written/book	*Shū	graphein	kiteb

54 The literature on this topic is too vast to be reviewed here. I simply point to the seminal works on this topic by David Carr (2005 and 2011), John van Seters (2006), Karel van der Toorn (2007).

Moreover, references to writing in Shū appears variously in both the transmitted recension of the *Shàngshū* and the Qīnghuá manuscripts, so named after the host institution of their possession. Such references pertain to both early and late texts, and they include a command (*mìng* 命) issued in writing (*shū* 書) by the Duke of Zhou;[55] a command to a Maker of Records (*zuò cè* 作冊) that he recite an investiture document;[56] '[bamboo] slips bound together' (*cè* 冊); and 'canons' (*diǎn* 典).[57] "Jīn téng" 金縢 (Metal bound casket) moreover speaks of a concealed writing; "Gù mìng" 顧命 (Testimentary charge) recounts the manner in which the Grand Scribe holds writings in his hands.[58] "Yuè mìng" 說命 (Command to Yuè) of the old-script recension[59]—there is a distant rendition of the tale in the Qīnghuá

It would be desirable to see a comprehensive comparative work that looks into the various uses and meanings of the terms 'writing, scripture, documents' in the different traditions, in particular Chinese, Greek, Hebrew. Why exactly were the biblical texts referred to as 'scripture' (*kiteb)* in Hebrew, and 'that which is written (*graphéin*) in Greek? How does this compare with the use of the term *shū*, which in its generic reference to textualised Shū traditions might not have formed prior to the second century BC?

55 In "Shào gào" 召誥 (Announcement by the Gong of Shao). References to written documents also occur in "Yì jì" 益稷 (Yi and Ji); "Lǚ xíng" 呂刑 (The Hou of Lü on Punishments).

56 In "Luò gào" 洛誥 (Announcement concerning Luo).

57 In "Duō shì" 多士 (Many Officers). 'Canons' are also referenced in "Kàng gào" 康誥 (Announcement to Prince Kang).

58 '太史秉書' (the Grand Scribe held in his hands the writings).

59 There are two recensions of the received *Shàngshū*: the so-called 'modern-script' (*jīnwén* 今文) and 'old-script' (*gǔwén* 古文). The modern-script recension consists of twenty-eight (or twenty-nine) chapters. They are considered more 'reliable' by common wisdom. It is generally assumed that the modern-script recension was reconstituted during the early Western Hàn 西漢 (202 BC–9 AD) at the time of the reign of Emperor Wén 文 (r. 179–157) by the nonagenarian academician (*bóshì* 博士) Fú Shèng 伏勝 (268–178), formerly of the Qín court, in oral recitation from memory. The old-script recension comes in fifty-eight chapters (including those of the modern-script text). It is claimed to have been written originally in 'old-script', that is pre-imperial script, when it was 'discovered' in the walls of Confucius' home by his descendent Kǒng Ānguó 孔安國 (c. 156–74 BC). Lost around the late second century BC, it was presented as 'rediscovered' around the third or fourth century AD. Méi Zé 梅賾 (fl. fourth c AD) submitted a copy of the 'rediscovered' text to the throne, together with a preface, supposedly produced by Kǒng Ānguó. By 653 AD, this came to be the officially sanctioned verison of the *Shàngshū*. This was so until around the 17th century, when Yán Ruòqú 閻若璩 (1636–1704) argued that the old-script recension was not authentic, but had been fabricated around the third- or fourth-century AD. He concluded it was concocted from a mix of fragments of early *Shàngshū* phrases and newly invented passages. This is now the accepted view, but manuscript texts make clear that this was in fact a common feature of text production of Shū traditions in general. It may therefore be necessary to adjust Yán Ruòqú's assertions. Today there only exist old-script versions of *jīnwén* chapters in the *Shàngshū*. Michael Nylan therefore suggests replacing the confusing terminology of 'modern-script' and

manuscripts, and so I include it here too—refers to the making of a document;[60] "*Bǎo xùn" 保訓 (Prized instructions) speaks of a written testimony.[61] But, of course, the spoken word also constituted a vital element in the ritual of the appointment ceremonies – and in fact most of the examples cited here contextualise the written with reference to oral activities.

Moreover, the royal (or ministerial) speeches also have a reality outside the appointment ceremonies. The narrative contextualisation of such speeches in Shū traditions makes this plain, illustrating their nature as a repertoire of more or less movable text constituents. In constituting the cultural capital of the time, the different items could find application in potentially different texts and contexts. But such remembered constituents of textual production are not a feature unique to Shū speeches: it is demonstrated by analysis of the now well-known "Wǔ xíng" 五行 (Five Aspects of Virtuous Conduct) as materialised in different manuscripts—one is from pre-imperial tomb no. 1, Guōdiàn; the other is from the Hàn Dynasty tomb no. 3, Mǎwángduī 馬王堆—to name but one example from outside the Shū traditions.[62] "Wǔ xíng" is made up of more or less stable units that

'old-script' recensions with 'Hàn-era' Documents versus 'pseudo-Kǒng' (or early fourth century) Documents. (Personal communication, 21 July 2019.) As this primarily refers to the time of collation and (imaginative) reproduction of the texts, not much can be said about their actual origins.

60 '王庸作書以誥曰' (On this, the king made a writing used to announce X).

61 The asterisk next to the title indicates that it was assigned to the manuscript by modern editors. In Chinese Studies, this practice was introduced by Rodo Pfister. It follows Buddhist studies and historical linguistics.

62 Tomb number 1, Guōdiàn 郭店, is located nine kilometres north of the old capital of the Kingdom of Chǔ 楚 at Jīnán 紀南, close to the village of Guōdiàn in the Shāyáng 沙洋 District, Sìfāng 四方, Jīngmén 荊門 City. The tomb was opened in a rescue excavation in 1994 shortly after tomb looters had forced access to it. The excavation report was published by the Húběi Province Museum in the City of Jīngmén (henceforth referred to as Húběi Province Museum). See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1997. The tomb dates from around 300 BC and contains a variety of important philosophical texts. The excavation report was published by the Hubei Province Museum in the City of Jingmen (Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 湖北省荊門市博物館 1997). High quality photographs of the manuscripts and transcriptions of the texts are given there, ed. 1998 (henceforth *Guōdiàn Manuscripts*).

Tomb no. 3, Mǎwángduī, is located near Chángshā 長沙, Húnán 湖南 Province. The previously undisturbed tomb of Lì Cāng 利蒼 (d. 185 BC), later known as the Hóu Dì 侯軹, was excavated in winter 1973. Because of a letter in the tomb to the netherworld we know that the date of burial was around 168 BC. The tomb contained silk manuscripts inscribed with up to 125,000 graphs. For excavation reports, see Húnán shěng bówùguǎn 湖南省博物館 and Zhōngguó kēxué yuàn kǎogǔ yánjiūsuǒ 中國科學院考古研究所 1974, 1975; Chén Sōngcháng 陳松長 and Fù Jǔyǒu 傅舉有 1992, supplement.

find application at different places in wider *wǔ-xíng* theory.[63] The notion of text *mouvance* is relevant in this respect.[64] It would be naïve to postulate an exclusively written context for such phenomena of textual *mouvance* in early textuality. But equally, they should not be thought of as purely oral. Rather, they present the phenomenon of a writing-supported text performance where the materialisation of the text in writing constitutes an instance of text performance.

While the model of a writing-supported text performance might not be applicable to all kinds of written texts from antiquity, I believe the Songs (Shī) of the Warring States are a good example beside the Shū, to which the model is particularly relevant. It was long held that the Songs were guided by sound to the extent that the precise linguistic information of the individual songs was at best secondary.[65] The find of the Ān Dà *Shī* adjusts this picture of purely sound-guided Shī. Ān Dà *Shī* is a written anthology of 57 songs, collected in the manuscripts now in the possession of Ānhuī University.[66] While the organisation of both the songs of this collection and their distribution across the states can sometimes differ substantially from the *Máo* recension,[67] we see in this particular instantiation of Songs the attempt of a user community to generate extra layers of meaning

63 See the discussion in Meyer 2011, Ch. 3.

64 See Zumthor 1983 on the notion of text *mouvance*.

65 In a seminal study, Martin Kern (2010: 45) remarks that in the Songs 'the individual graphs in … binomes are utterly irrelevant'. Following the observations made by Kennedy 1959: 190–198 and Knechtges 1987: 3–12 Kern concludes that the descriptive features such as 'rhyming, alliterative, or reduplicative binomes cannot be decoded based on the meaning of each character'. See also Kern's fuller account in Kern 2011.

66 The unprovenanced collection of songs is published as *Ānhuī Manuscripts* (published in late 2019) and contains the songs of six states, "Zhōu" 週, with *11 songs (song 10 is missing); "Shào" 召, 14 songs; "Qín" 秦, 10 songs; "Hóu" 侯 (*Máo* 魏), 6 songs; "Yǒng" 甬 (*Máo* "Yōng" 鄘), *9 songs (due to material loss, just seven songs remain); "Wèi" 魏, which is transmitted as "Táng" 唐, *9 songs (Slip 117 records "Wèi" as having a total of nine songs, but the text has ten).

67 With a total of 57 songs, the 'states' of manuscript collection contain little more than one third of the 160 songs recorded in the 'Airs of the States' of the *Máo* recension. The sequence order of the states differs decidedly from the received "Guó fēng". "Qín" 秦, for instance, comes eleventh in *Máo* but it is third in *Ān Dà* Shī; what is "Hóu" 侯 in *Ān Dà* Shī (6 odes) where it comes fourth, comes ninth as "Wèi Fēng" 魏風 in *Máo*. "Yóng" 甬/鄘 (7 odes) comes fifth in *Ān Dà* Shī but fourth in *Máo*; what is called "Wèi" 魏 (10 odes) in *Ān Dà* Shī is, with one exception, "Táng" 唐 in *Máo*, where it comes as the tenth state. While the sequence of the states differs between *Ān Dà* Shī and *Máo*, the sequence order of the songs within the states is consistent in "Zhōu" 週 and "Shào" 召, but breaks down in "Qín" 秦, "Hóu" 侯 (魏), "Yǒng" 甬 (鄘) and "Wèi" 魏 (唐). As for the individual songs, we often see the phenomonen of differently organised stanzas, that is, what may for instance be stanzas 1, 2, 3 in *Máo* could be 1, 3, 2 in the *Ān Dà* Shī. See Meyer and Schwartz 2021.

through the careful execution of writing, including its binomes.[68] In the Ān Dà *Shī*, this phenomenon even goes beyond the purely linguistic information as coded in the individual graphs by added signifiers; it extends to the visual representation of individual graphs such that they embody, in a playful way, or so it seems, what is going on in the song.[69] The individual songs are thus given expression through a writing-supported text performance where, within the productive mould of Shī, a literary culture is *speaking*—and thus expressing itself—through writing.[70] This productive mould of Shī thus provided a matrix, through the Song's compositional form, their structure, and phonetic value, that had to be followed by different conceptual communities. At the same time, the communities had some autonomy as to how they wished to fill in the precise linguistic content—by way of writing-supported text performance—within this mould, and guided by the expectations of the various text communities of the time.[71] Therefore, what constitutes genre expectations for Shū is similarly true of the productive mould of Shī as defined by rhythm, phonetic value, and structure, within which the individual song—or, as in Shū, a genre-specific argument—is expressed, sometimes even enabled, through a writing-supported text performance.

Fabula, Manuscript, Meaning Community

Text, Story, Fabula

To this day, modes of text enquiry often use a two-tier model to analyse written modes of communication. This may be the common pair of *fable* and *sujet* as used predominantly by the Russian Formalists; the proposed dichotomy between *story* and *discourse*;[72] or that of *histoire* as against *discours*, as developed by the French

68 See the discussion in Meyer and Schwartz 2021 for the "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán".

69 A prominent example is the visual expression of suffering in "Zhōu Nán" *3* through the 'horse', which stands metaphorically for the increasing pains and the progressive decline of the male traveller as imagined by his suffering woman. In the first stanza, the horse is shown visually with strong legs striding forward. As the condition of the traveller is worsening, so is the horse, to the point where it is just 'at a crawl'. The writer of the song evocatively comments upon this and depicts it without legs in the calligraphy.

70 Meyer and Schwartz 2021.

71 From this also follows that *Ān Dà* Shī cannot stand pars pro toto for the Songs in general but remains specific to this particular instantiation.

72 See Seymour Chatman's coterminous book from 1978.

Structuralists. The problem inherent in any of the two-tier models is that when analysing texts such as the ones considered in this study we find these models either use ambivalent concepts with mutually overlapping analytical layers, or they distort the narrative constitution of their focus by oversimplification.[73] Moving on from two-tier models that proved useful in their day but fail to provide a more fine-grained text analysis, Mieke Bal develops a three-layer distinction between *text*, *story*, and *fabula*,[74] which, in its clarity, is a step up from the traditional two-tier models. Bal's model moreover eliminates a problem of the otherwise often used three-tier model developed by Gérard Genette in his *Discours du récit*, thus providing us with a tool that enables us to analyse past narrative with much greater precision.[75] Bal defines 'fabula' as the material or content worked into a story, while she takes 'story' as the content of a text that produces a particular manifestation of a fabula.[76] Bal therefore understands the 'text' to be the signifier of the story (*Erzählung*, *récit*), while her 'story' is the signifier of the 'fabula' (*Geschichte*, *histoire*).

Useful as Bal's three-tier model is, it is not entirely without shortcomings. This becomes most obvious when comparing it to the three-tier model of Karlheinz Stierle, unfortunately often neglected in the literature, which suggests the triad of *Geschehen – Geschichte – Text der Geschichte*.[77] There, 'Geschehen' (string of events) presents the narrative material that is implicit in the 'Geschichte' (*fabula*, *histoire*). Transformed into a *Geschichte*, the string of events is what produces signification.[78] The first two constituents of Stierle's model, *Geschichte* and *Geschehen*, thus further differentiate Bal's fabula (or *histoire*), while his rather ambigious (and problematic) *Text der Geschichte* entails both Bal's 'story' (*récit*) and 'text' (*texte*). Stierle's model is useful insofar as it points to the crucial difference between a meaningful narrative (*Geschichte*), on the one hand,

73 Schmid 2013: 220.

74 See Bal 2009.

75 Genette 1972. Genette further developed his model in his 1983 *Nouveau discours du récit*. His model is built around the concepts of *récit – histoire – narration*, where *récit* serves as signifier and *histoire* as significatum. (Shlomit Rimmon-Kenan 1983: 3 renders this triad as *text – story – narration*.) Bal criticises Genette's third item, *narration*, for working on a different level from the other two 'activités productrices' (Bal 1977: 6), and so Genette's model really remains within the two-tier model of the Russian Formalists. (Cited from Schmid 2013: 221.)

76 Bal 2009: 5. Bal developed that model first in her French book from 1977, where she termed these layers *texte-récit-histoire*. The first English version was published in 1985.

77 Stierle 1971; Stierle 1977.

78 See also Schmid 2013: 221.

and the string of events as interpreted from it (*Geschehen*), on the other. Most four-layer models of text analysis now follow this differentiation.

The reasons why I introduce this further complexity between *Geschichte* (*histoire*) and *Geschehen* (string of events) behind the broader concept of fabula is not because I wish to discard Bal's basic three-layer model. Rather, I flag it as just *a model*, and therefore naturally not without limitations. In this book, which is fundamentally not a narratology but a study of how communities narrativised old cultural capital to serve their needs, I engage with the models developed by narratologists to analyse past narratives with greater precision, not for its own ends. For the most part I consider Bal's three-tier differentiation of text, story, and fabula fully sufficient for my needs, and so I use it to avoid undue complexity whenever possible.

Text and Manuscript

I differentiate between text and manuscript. This is vital because it prevents us from making uni-linear assumptions about text development. I treat 'text' as the textual matter transmitted. It is the formulation of an idea that can take either oral or written form, or both at once. As such it is distinct from any material carrier. Text may therefore travel independent of a given materiality.[79] 'Manuscript', on the other hand, is the material textual representation, the physical manifestation of a text. The text exists apart from its materiality, but it may also be shaped by material conditions or the material contexts in which it appears.

Meaning Community and Text Community

I further differentiate notionally between 'cultural memory', 'meaning community', and 'text community'. It may be useful to think of them as a three-tier model of cultural analysis, parallel to Bal's three-tier model of text analysis. I understand *cultural memory* as the material that frames the experience of a society and that can be worked into different narratives;[80] I use *meaning community* as something made up of individuals and groups that may take different aspects to and

79 See Ehlich 1983 and 1984 for a more in-depth discussion of 'text'.

80 The term 'cultural memory' was introduced to the wider academic community by J. Assmann 1999. (See J. Assmann 2011 for the English translation.) J. Assmann's cultural memory is conceptually based on Maurice Halbwachs's (1877–1945) analysis of the concept 'collective memory',

from that material of cultural memory and make them into narratives. Keeping in mind the concept of 'speech communities',[81] according to which certain cultural models have evolved in reference to the 'emotional universe' of a society,[82] my use of the term partly resembles that of a 'discourse community', which, according to the British linguist John Swales, is defined broadly as 'groups that have goals or purposes, and use communication to achieve these goals'.[83] Analogous to a discourse community, a 'meaning community' is not required to gather together physically to constitute a group. But unlike discourse communities, meaning communities do not require a particular medium (viz., a form of text organisation or genre) to pursue their goals and to unite them. As informed by, sharing, and contributing to the same cultural capital, a meaning community is therefore infinitely wider, and looser, than a discourse community.[84] I am thinking of the various sub-groups of the Eastern Zhōu oecumene as constituting such a meaning community. Taking different aspects to and from what informs their cultural awareness, they make it into a narrative that suits their needs.

Perhaps the concept of 'structure of feeling' as developed by the British Marxist theorist Raymond Williams (1921–1988) is instructive here, as it sets out to conceptualise how competing ways of thinking may emerge at any given time in history. [85] To give an example: the Duke of Zhou, perhaps *the* persona of sociopolitical thinking of elite groups during the Warring States, may appear good in the narrative of some communities but bad in that of others – even if the same set of materials informs these groups and frames their experience. It follows that a certain event may be interpreted in different ways by different text communities and their respective sub-groups. When made into a narrative of some sort, it reinforces their position in relation to that event, as well as serving to inform

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which Halbwachs first presented in his seminal work *La mémoire collective* 1950. (English translation 1992.)

81 The term developed in the 1960s.

82 Paul Harris 1995 (c. Wierzbicka 1999: 31).

83 Borg 2003: 398.

84 Swales (1990) cites a society of stamp collectors scattered around the world but united in their shared interest in stamps of Hong Kong as a 'prototypical discourse community'. (c. Borg 2003: 398.)

85 Williams first developed the concept 'structure of feeling' in his "Preface to Film" in 1954, where he discusses the matter of the social acceptability of given conventions. He further develops the concept in "The Long Revolution" (1961), in particular to problematise the notion of 'cultural hegemony' as developed by the Italian Marxist philosopher, Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). Because hegemony, per Williams, is never total—it can ever only reflect ways of thinking that are dominant at a given time and place—there must be a certain dynamic for new thought to emerge.

them about other affairs of interest. I thus use meaning community in contrast to the narrower text communities. While all text communities constitute a meaning community of some sort, the opposite does not necessarily apply.

Note that in this model, various pairs—for instance fabula and cultural memory; text community and meaning community—crucially remain in a dialectical relationship with each other. It is a relationship where one continually informs, and shapes, the other. It is also worth stressing that my communities are conceptual types. As a hypothetical concept they describe interpretative communities, not actual historical groupings. I therefore use the concept of communities to reconstruct the complex and diverse, albeit sometimes subtle, intellectual positions as produced in the text. Historically I do not seek to pin down, and name, actual gatherings of individuals behind the making of Shū texts. Methodologically, however, it is nonetheless important to think of the diverse—and fundamentally conceptual—groupings behind contemporaneous argument construction and reception to allow us to describe the greater lines of discourse development, which would be lost when just thinking of undifferentiated people and their idiosyncratic use of a text. It thus enables us to see more clearly the nuanced strategies by which texts that appear relatively similar on one level can nonetheless serve radically different sociopolitical and philosophical ends on another. To use conceptual communities is therefore a productive way of thinking about the texts and their philosophical purposes. It draws our attention to the at times understudied distinctions in the ways the texts construct meaning and, historically speaking, address different—sometimes even contrasting—interpretative groupings which, because of a lack of factual evidences, must remain conceptual projections.

Similarly, a concept such as fabula does not constitute an ontological reality, something that is 'out there'. It is simply an analytical tool. I use it to analyse communicative patterns with more precision. It is perhaps useful therefore to think of fabula as a set of motifs employed according to the principles of given rules. Obviously, such rules change, but they produce a recognisable directive that governs the use of the motifs at any moment in time. To use once again the example of the Duke of Zhou, he may be presented as good in the narratives of some communities but bad in those of others. However, it would be unthinkable to present him as a fool in the discourse of any community – unless of course it was done so for polemical ends and by breaking those rules consciously as a rhetorical means.[86]

86 An example for such rhetorical violation of the set of rules that govern a fabula is a passage in *Zhuāngzǐ* 26, "Wàiwù" 外物 (Things External), one of the Miscellaneous Chapters (*zá piàn* 雜

The Sources of this Study

Besides using the texts from the *Shàngshū*—mostly texts of the Hàn-era modern-script Documents (*jīnwén* 今文), but I also use pseudo-Kǒng texts of the old-script recension (*gǔwén* 古文) when suitable—in much of this work I draw on manuscript texts from the Warring States to support my argument. That is partly to the manuscripts from tomb no. 1, Guōdiàn 郭店.[87] It also includes references to the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts, published under the auspices of the Shànghǎi Museum (henceforth *Shànghǎi Manuscripts*),[88] and, to a much greater

篇). Here, in a staged conversation between Confucius and Lǎo Láizǐ 老萊子 (Old Master Pig-weed), ritualised modes of conduct are characterised as morally wrong:
儒以詩禮發冢，大儒臚傳曰：「東方作矣，事之何若？」小儒曰：「未解裙襦，口中有珠。」「詩固有之曰：『青青之麥，生於陵陂；生不布施，死何含珠為！』接其鬢，壓其顪，儒以金椎控其頤，徐別其頰，无傷口中珠！」
While the *Rú* open up tombs according to the [prescribed] ways of Songs and rituals, the senior *Rú* passes on [the remark]: 'dawn has already set in the east. How do things stand?' The junior *Rú* responded: '[we] have not yet removed the skirt and the jacket, and there is [still] a pearl inside the mouth.' [The senior *Rú* instructs:] 'In a song of old it is said: "wheat so lush grows on the slopes of the hill; as one does not distribute [the wheat among the people] when one is alive, how should one carry a pearl inside the mouth when one is dead?" Take his temple hair and pull his beard; gently control his cheeks with a metal spine and slowly separate his jaws. Don't you damage the pearl inside the mouth!'
In this instance, the blatantly polemical nature of the passage confirms the guiding rules of the fabula as consciously violated for rhetorical ends.

87 Besides a variety of artefacts, number 1, Guōdiàn 郭店, yielded a large number of manuscripts, carrying philosophical texts. Studies dealing with the Guōdiàn texts are too vast to be referenced here in full. Monographs in western language pertaining to these materials include Holloway 2009; 2013; Meyer 2011; S. Cook 2012. Cook also provides fully annotated translations of all texts from that tomb. Photographic reproductions of the manuscript slips plus annotated transcriptions are given in *Guōdiàn Chǔ mù zhújiǎn* 1998 (henceforth *Guōdiàn Manuscripts)*.

88 The Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts was acquired by the Shànghǎi Museum in 1994. It contains some 1,200 inscribed bamboo strips. Since 2001 the Shànghǎi Museum has been publishing these strips (volumes 1–). After the corpus was made publicly accessible, it was repeatedly assumed that the strips came from a site close to Guōdiàn or even from the same tomb (see, e.g., Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:2). While I consider it a possibility that the Shànghǎi manuscripts come from a site near Guōdiàn, for reasons I discuss elsewhere (Meyer 2011: 5f), I do not find it likely that they come from the same tomb.
I use '*Shànghǎi Manuscripts*' in italics to refer to the publication. I keep the roman 'Shànghǎi Manuscripts' in reference to the body of manuscript texts.

extent, manuscripts in the ownership of Peking Tsinghua University (*Qīnghuá Manuscripts*).[89]

The Guōdiàn manuscripts, which carry a broad range of philosophical texts, provide an excellent resource for the student of early China. The bamboo slips on which the texts from Guōdiàn, Shànghǎi, Qīnghuá are written were obtained in a supervised excavation, so they have a provenance.[90] They were part of a tomb assemblage of a low ranking aristocrat whose tomb was sealed around 300 BC.[91]

Unfortunately, that is not true of either Shànghǎi or Qīnghuá. Obtained from dealers at an antique market in Hong Kong, the provenance of the Shànghǎi manuscripts—a collection of mostly argument-based texts dating to c. 300 BC—remains uncertain.[92] The Qīnghuá manuscripts comprise some two thousand and five hundred bamboo slips. Just as Shànghǎi, they were also purchased in Hong Kong; this time by Tsinghua University in the summer of 2008. We therefore know nothing about their contexts.[93] They are generally believed to date from circa 305

89 'Qīnghuá manuscrits refers to the texts in the possession of Qīnghuá University. When put in italics I refer to the publication. Bound in traditional ways, the *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* are being published in magnificent volumes since 2010 under the aegis of Lǐ Xuéqín. Martin Kern 2013 discusses the growing size in the physical representations of the published volumes, from the mostly black and white reproductions of the slips in *Guōdiàn Manuscripts*, via the huge tomes of the *Shànghǎi Manuscripts* that render the slips in excellent colour images and original size, to the traditional binding of the *Qīnghuá Manuscripts*, which makes the volumes extremely cumbersome to work with, showing them as 'display items' of prestige for Qīnghuá University.

90 Paul Goldin 2013: 156n6 introduces the neologism of 'provenience' to the field of Sinology to distinguish between 'provenance', viz. history of ownership, and 'provenience', viz. original location, when discussing manuscripts without contexts. Unlike Egyptian artefacts this distinction proves less relevant for the Warring States manuscript texts and so I shall not adopt it.

91 See Cuī Rényì 1997; 1998; Luó Yùnhuán 1999; Péng Hào 1999a, 1999b, 1999c; Lǐ Xuéqín 2000a, 2000b; among many others. As an isolated voice, Wáng Bǎoxuán 1999 suggests that the tomb might have been closed as late as 227 BC.

The general argument about the date at which the tomb was sealed is based on the structure of the tomb. The argument goes that the structure of an aristocratic tomb changed drastically after the assault of Yǐng, the capital of Chǔ, by invaders from Qín 秦 under General Bái Qǐ 白起 (?–257 BC) in 278 BC. In comparison to other tombs (especially tomb number two, Bāoshān, sealed sometime between 323 [or 322] and 316 BC), the Guōdiàn tomb is dated generally between 323 (or 322) and 278 BC. For a discussion of the date of burial of the Bǎoshān tomb, see Péng Hào 1999c: 24; Lǐ Xuéqín 1999a: 13; Liú Bīnhuī 1991.

92 The Shànghǎi Manuscripts carry vastly different texts, including sociopolitical and philosophical ones, as well as texts with quasi-historical focus. 'Historical' here does not mean that these texts present history in a positivist, 'Rankean' sense but with a polemical attitude, which makes them argumentative rather than descriptive.

93 See Liú Guózhōng 2011: 36.

BC, with a margin of error of about thirty years.[94] They carry texts of which some are clearly recognisable as more or less remote renditions of what we know from the transmitted *Shàngshū*, *Yì Zhōushū*, as well as annalistic texts.[95] Obviously, these texts are of huge academic value. However, for texts without a good provenance there remains a valid—and important (!)—hesitation in using them in academic discourse. I like to think that in this study I chose them with great care and only after evaluating each of the selected manuscripts in great detail. Having said that, yet more is to be done. While samples of unwritten slips were subjected to radio-carbon testing, the ink on the slips that contain writing remains to be analysed properly. Although authentic ink would in itself be no proof of the authenticity of the manuscripts as products of the Warring States, it would at least help to lessen unease about the manuscripts' authenticity.[96] Lǐ Xuéqín 李學勤 (1933–2019), former head of the project overseeing the publication of the Qīnghuá manuscripts, vehemently refused to do the analysis, as this would mean scraping part of the ink off the slips, which are 'National Treasures' (*guó bǎo* 國寶).[97]

94 See Lǐ Xuéqín 2009a: 76.

95 Volume 2 (2011) of *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* contains a single manuscript in 138 slips, referred to as "*Xì nián" 繫年 by the modern editors. "*Xì nián" is the longest Warring States manuscript found to date. It presents a chronology of events spanning the beginnings of Zhōu rule to the reign of King Dào 悼王 of Chǔ (ca 400 BC).

96 By now, ancient ink has been found in a number of tombs and so there remains at least the theoretical possibility that forgers might use ancient ink to write on recovered ancient slips. Other indicators must therefore be used to validate the authenticity of unprovenanced manuscripts in addition to radiocarbon testing of the slips and analysing the chemical consistency of the ink, as well as, of course, positive affirmation by leading palaeographers with regard to the authenticity of the calligraphy. (For instance, the palaeographic analysis of previously unseen structural and calligraphic variations that nonetheless conform to our knowledge of Chinese palaeography and historical phonology may help to authenticate the materials in question.) Tombs where ancient ink or ink stones have been found include Hàn tomb Bājiǎoláng 八角郎, number 40, Dìngxiàn, Héběi (circa 55 BC), which contained an ink stone. This was the tomb of King Huái of Zhōngshān, Liú Xiū. (The tomb was discovered in 1976. It was disturbed and partly burned. For a report, see *Wénwù* 1981: 8.) Mid-to-late Warring States tomb Jiǔdiàn 九店, number 56, Jiānglíng, Húběi (circa 330–270 BC) contained an ink box. (The tomb was discovered in 1981. For a report, see Jiānglíng Dōng Zhōumù, 1995: 49–51, 53; Jiānglíng Chǔ jiǎn, 2000.) An ink-slab, made of cobblestone, was found from the Qín tomb Shuìhǔdì, Húběi, in 1975. The tomb further yielded a rubber, also made of cobblestone with traces of ink on it.

By 2004, some 24 sites were found that contain either ink or inkstones. For a list, see the Appendix produced by Shaughnessy in Tsuen-Hsuin Tsien 2004: 237. Jiǎ Liánxiáng 2015 gives a further update for the Warring States.

97 Personal communication with Lǐ Xuéqín, Dartmouth, NH, 1 September 2013.

Unfortunately these materials increasingly divide the Early China field. While I appreciate, and share, the concerns of working with unprovenanced materials, I think we cannot afford to ignore them. Methodologically I fear we would lose far more academically than we would gain were we to neglect them. One would hope, however, that one day scientifically excavated manuscripts will outdo the importance of other channels of obtaining knowledge about thought production in antiquity. [98] For now, this is not the case, however. Everybody must therefore make up their own mind as to how to engage with these resources – or not.

Besides my own careful selection of the materials under review, I have further consulted the leading palaeographers with regard to each of the discussed manuscripts that have no provenance, including Chén Jiàn 陳劍 from Fùdàn University, Shànghǎi (復旦大學); Jì Xùshēng 季旭生 from Wénhuà University, Taiwan (文化大學); Lǐ Shǒukuí 李守奎 from Tsinghua University (清華大學); Zhōu Fèngwǔ 周鳳五 (1947–2015) from National Taiwan University (國立臺灣大學). I trust them as scholars both for their vast knowledge of palaeographical materials and their integrity.

Needless to say, a study such as this cannot be, and does not intend to be, exhaustive – on any level. Rather, it uses select texts—of which some yield major conceptual differences to the transmitted corpus, while others surprise due to their stability—that allow me to cast light on the dynamic Shū traditions as a multilayered institution, constantly adapted and recomposed for the ends of contrasting communities. Casting light on the formation and development of Shū genre and how it was used to enter debate, the different materials manifest the changing philosophical concerns of diverse groups and their sociopolitical realities. This study explores the ways their experiences were voiced materially through the Shū genre.

98 Note, however, while it is true that every successful sale of unprovenanced manuscripts spirals the hunt for more, it is unlikely that there are looters looking specifically for such fragile items. They are too rare compared with other artefacts, and too difficult to preserve. (Personal communication with Sarah Allan, 19 November 2018.) Rather, knowing manuscripts are valuable, tomb robbers now preserve them if they have the technical expertise to do so, whereas in the past they did not.

The Organisation of the Book

This book studies pre-imperial articulations of Shū. Predating the *Shàngshū*, it depicts the developments that occur during the second half of the first millennium BC, and the Warring States in particular, when the Shū speeches were increasingly integrated in narratives.[99]

With my focus on how the Shū work as a genre, matters of intertextuality—processes by which a culture 'continually rewrites and retranscribes itself' [100]—are central. When text is situated in a particular setting it is by way of 'entextualisation'. This means certain elements are taken from other contexts (they thus become 'decontextualised') and placed in a new environment, the 'target text' (or argument). To move such elements and integrate them in that new environment does not say, however, that they are simply transposed from A to B. Rather, entextualisation always means that the entextualised elements themselves take on a new reality within their changed environment. Similar patterns also apply when stand-alone texts (or arguments) circulate among different communities: either they become modular in their use, ever in need of contextualising structures *outside the text* to adapt them meaningfully to the needs of its conceptual communities; or they develop narrative structures where adaptation happens *within the text* to make them fit the needs of the communities. Such forms of text permutation may come about in many ways, and I depict some of such cases in this study.

Chapter One highlights methodological concerns. To this day, students of early China often read China's past through an imperial lens. Inevitably this leads to distorted conclusions, especially with regard to the textual condition of the time. Imperial labels are all too often imposed on textual materials and taken as a historical reality, rather than understood as retrospectively devised concepts, used, for instance, in the context of libraries and as means of knowledge organisation. Albeit implicitly, such take on antiquity assumes the consistency of a model text. Generic references to cultural institutions—Songs (*shī* 詩); Docu-

99 My study is therefore complementary to Grebnev's forthcoming study, *Unravelling early Chinese scriptural traditions*, which offers an outline of the diachronic evolution of this tradition. Grebnev in particular explains the significance of the 'paracanonical' *Yî Zhōushū*, as well as other texts that have not been traditionally labeled as *shū*, such as certain chapters of "Liù tǎo" 六韜.

100 Renate Lachmann 2010: 301 on 'intertextuality' as processes that enable the commemorative actions that link the knowledge of cultures in literary and non-literary form, past and present.

ments (*shū* 書); Divination practices (*yì* 易); Rites and ritual propriety (*lǐ* 禮); Music (*yuè* 樂); Chronicles (*chūnqiū* 春秋)[101]—are thus accepted as proof of the stability of the canon at the time. Such conclusions about Chinese antiquity should be questioned. Because we cannot be sure of the extent to which later editors intervened in the transmitted literature, I provide close readings of select passages from pre-imperial manuscript texts that make reference to the foundational texts of early China in generic form: *shī-shū-lǐ-yuè-yì-chūnqiū*. My conclusion suggests that in the first place they refer to a cultural praxis, not a fixed corpus of texts.

In Chapter Two I explore the ways references to Shū traditions occur explicitly and by name in a highly structured text environment.

With its stand-alone units of thought that each present an isolated concern, "Zīyī" 緇衣 (Black Robes) is ideal for this task. The units are structured in a uniform manner. They each contain four voices, a statement by a—or *the*—master (Confucius), followed by phrases from the cultural lore of the day, mostly Shī and Shū, connected by an authorial voice. The different sources do not develop an argumentative pattern but feature co-ordinately in a formulaic reference structure that make "Zīyī" appear much like an archive storing phrases of cultural import.

Chapter Three deepens my conceptualisation of Shū as a genre by primary reference to the Qīnghuá manuscript text "Hòu Fù" 厚父 (Uncle Hou). In "Zīyī" we already see segmental speech components paired with changing referential structures. The analysis of "Hòu Fù" takes this further by showing the profoundly modular built-up of what we later come to experience as Shū texts. It shows how conceptual communities revert to a standard repertoire of the pool of cultural capital, which they use according to certain 'rules', associative links that determine how Shū genre is employed at the time. By laying bare the deep structures of meaning production and argumentation in Shū genre the discussion casts into sharper relief the ways old cultural capital is refashioned in new problem space, lending weight to sociopolitical and philosophical thinking in the present. The analysis further suggests that taking "Hòu Fù" as 'a lost chapter of the *Shàngshū*', as is done repeatedly, is methodologically mistaken.

Chapter Four shows how in the Shū genre solidified moulds of argumentation enable contrasting conceptual groups to link their sociopolitical and philosophical stance to a wider discourse. Framing structures are key to this. They

101 I here provide the most generic renderings of the Chinese terms, rather than the labels Songs (*shī* 詩), Documents (*shū* 書), Changes (*yì* 易), Rites (*lǐ* 禮), Music (*yuè* 樂), Chronicles (*chūnqiū* 春秋), which would imply a fixed corpus.

serve as blueprints that determine how an argument is put. "Gù mìng" 顧命 (Testimentary Charge) of the *Shàngshū* and "*Bǎo xùn" 保訓 (Prized Instructions) of the Qīnghuá manuscripts serve as the prime examples of the analysis.

When reading "*Bǎo xùn" through "Gù mìng" we find reduplicative text patterns in the narrative framing devices that channel the ways a certain event is told. By relating a historical—or outright invented—event to such moulds, the narrativised event is transposed to further uses in different contexts and arguments. It no longer just represents the reported event itself; it now becomes a normative *type of event*. By taking its place in the narrative continuum of the textual tradition, this normative type now defines how to frame historical narratives more broadly. Recontextualisation is crucial here, with different contents to fill such moulds of argumentation. Once established, the frame thus shapes the discursive terms in which communities conduct their debates and claim their authority over the past for ends in the present. The frame thus enables a community to archive quasi-historical material in the target text. The text no longer just stores memory – it constructs memory.

The focus of Chapter Five lies on the different textualisations of the tale in which Zhōu Gōng 周公, the famous Duke of Zhou, carries out a divination when his ruler—King Wu (Zhōu Wǔwáng 周武王, r. 1049/1045–1043 BC)—falls ill, and subsequently stores the record of his divination in a metal bound casket.[102] The discussion shows how different communities use a known story by adapting it to their needs. The texts studied are the received "Jīn téng" 金縢 (Metal-bound Casket) and its manuscript counterpart "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" 周武王有疾, short for "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí Zhōu Gōng suǒ zì yǐ dài wáng zhī zhì" 周武王有疾周公所自代王之志 (The record of the Duke of Zhou putting himself forward in the place of the king when King Wu was suffering from illness).

The different textualisations of the tale present a stable set of key elements reproduced in both texts. However, the story they present differs profoundly. Right from the beginnings, the received "Jīn téng" confirms the duke's faithful intentions towards the House of the Zhōu. Not so the manuscript text. While "Jīn téng" leaves no doubt about the actual role of the duke in the reported events, the manuscript text is composed in such a manner that the duke's faithful intentions become apparent only towards the end of the text. The manuscript text thus plays with the presentation of the persona of the duke, inviting suspicion on the part of the text recipient about his true intentions. The two textualisations of the tale clearly serve different ends.

102 The term 'textualisation' as used in this book is inspired by its use in Nagy 1996 with the caveat that I use it not just for 'composition-in-performance' (Nagy 1996: 40).

While the received text has all the necessary ingredients to serve as a token for the mutual obligations of ruler and ruled, the manuscript text is the product of Eastern-Zhōu communities. It puts the materialisation of the text at a time when the House of Zhōu ruled the different territories only nominally, with local lords wilfully assuming the royal title of 'king' and serving the House of Zhōu just as suited their needs.[103] This adds a whole new sociopolitical dimension to the manuscript text. While "Jīn téng" shows all the characteristics of a—much later—commemoration of the events, taking a rather distanced stance, the manuscript text surprises by its political urgency.

In Chapter Six I reflect on the dialectical relationship of the physical availability of written sources and flows of information, which lead to structurally novel features of text production in Shū genre. The role of the king changes in the texts of Shū traditions, as he becomes increasingly one of many actors; we find increased forms of narrativisation, as speech is reduced to a bare minimum (or disappears entirely); novel forms of focalisation occur, leading to the dramatisation of an event; shifts in the perspective of a narrator enable the portrayal of an 'extended event', covering a lengthy period of time.

These developments point to the growing sophistication of literary culture that gave rise to changed forms of text production and reception. Although the social setting of Shū often remains tied to acts of oral text delivery, at the time of consolidating manuscript cultures some Shū texts make for a good read. They mark a clear departure from the isolated speech in the traditions of Shū, adding to these texts layers of complexity, making them increasingly become items of literature and philosophy.

Chapter Seven closes the analysis with a discussion of the nature of the political argument in early China. It is shown as a creative space of cultural production within the accepted framework of tradition. This space, defined by the confines of cultural normativity as set by the parameters of Shū genre allows contrasting communities, ancient and modern, to formulate novel, even heterodox, positions of sociopolitical and philosophical import. Political argument is thus produced as a performance activity that rearticulates cultural knowledge for present ends. Shū are shown to be acts of a literary performance that have sociopolitical and philosophical ends and are guided by their own premises. They are

103 In 344 BC, Wèi Huìhóu 魏惠侯, later known as Liáng Huìwáng 梁惠王 (King Hui of Liang) assumed the royal title 'king', previously the prerogative of the House of Zhōu. His move triggered a domino effect in the course of which various lords assumed that title. The pattern of the ruler-centred state and its developments to kingdoms during the Warring States is presented succinctly in Lewis 1999b: 597–619.

ever-evolving products of fluctuating conceptual communities, varying with each articulation. These communities repeatedly test the boundaries of Shū genre. By showing the continuous applicability of Chinese antiquity through Shū, the study is making the case of China relevant to global discussions of multiple modernities in political philosophy.

1 Shū traditions and philosophical discourse

tempora mutantur
nos et mutamur in illis
(times change / and we change with them)[1]

Early China was arguably a text-centred culture. However, 'text-centred' does not necessarily mean book (or manuscript)-centred. To avoid misunderstanding, a text-centred culture may well come without a wealth of written artefacts. Equally, a place with many written artefacts may not necessarily qualify as a text-centred society or culture.[2] In this study I consider a text-centred culture to be constituted by groups within a society that organise their cultural experience, be it descriptive or prescriptive, in various ways, around foundational texts—written out or not—imitating, learning, and interpreting these texts.[3] During the Warring States period this applies in particular to two miscellanies, Songs (Shī 詩) and Documents (Shū 書). We know of them primarily through their imperial manifestations as *Shījīng* 詩經 and *Shàngshū* 尚書. While the former is composed largely in verse, the latter is built around mostly royal speeches.

The Shī and the Shū were not alone. Other manifestations of cultural knowledge include Rites (*lǐ*); Divinations (*yì*); Chronicles (*chūnqiū*) – later known as the 'Five Classics'.[4] Whether they were primarily text-bounded (written or not) during the Warring States, or perhaps just represent later, reimagined performance-based activities, is open to question. Palaeographical evidence shows that

1 William Harrison, *Description of England*, 1577: 170. The phrase is inspired by Ovid and its modification by the German Protestant Reformer Caspar Huberinius (1500–1553).

2 An example of text-centred cultures lacking a written canon may be found in the text communities of the ancient Indian subcontinent gathering around the Vedas.

3 Cf. J. Assmann 2011: 86.

4 On their processes of canonisation, see Michael Nylan's (2001) work on the Five 'Confucian' Classics. See also Nylan 2009.

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Shī were written down, at least in parts, by the Warring States.[5] Various divination texts of the Yì traditions also exist at the time.[6] Chūnqiū is just a generic expression referring to the various chronicles of the states.[7] Judging from the palaeographical records, Lǐ seem to be loosely text-bounded traditions.

Manuscript finds make plain that although the textual condition was stabilising during the Warring States, most texts still circulated in variant forms. Take philosophical texts:[8] as is typical of antiquity more generally, the written thought-products of the Warring States were not the work of identifiable 'authors', at least not in the sense in which we understand the word today, but of mostly anonymous individuals within certain discourse communities.[9] Truly cosmopolitan and travelling between the states, they were part of a productive tradition where the ideas with which they worked constituted the collective property of the wider meaning community of the Eastern Zhōu. The latter were not a wholly homogenous society, in my view, but rather a range of communities whose experience was framed via a shared textual repertoire that informed their cultural memory. The philosophical texts of the Warring States are thus the products of these communities. Produced in a 'stream of tradition',[10] common ideas

5 The batch of Chǔ manuscripts in the possession of Ānhuī Dàxué 安徽大學 (University of Anhui) is a case in point. See Huáng Dékuān 2017; *Ānhuī Manuscripts* 2019.

6 See Shaughnessy 2014.

7 Cai 2014: 102.

8 The term 'philosophical' in reference to those texts in China that enquire into the patterns of the world and the human experience in it is contested – a silly act of diffidence by Sinologists in response to hegemonic claims by 'Western'—with an *imagined* capitalised initial—academic philosophical practices, which underepresent non-Anglo-European traditions in their curriculum. It is thus often forgotten that 'philosophy'—in Greece as well as in the later, vastly disparate, traditions of Europe and the Americas—was never a unified activity. It meant something entirely different to the predecessors of Plato as it did to his successors. The debate among the early followers of Plato, arguing whether Plato's works should be considered 'philosophical' or 'poetic' is revealing, with Aristotle concluding that the Platonic dialogues should be classed as 'midway between poetry and prose'. (Cited from Gentz and Meyer 2015b: 3.) Whenever thinkers engage with 'questions of deep human concern while substantiating ideas with examples and argument' (Defoort 2001: 403), whether in Greece, China, India, Arica, or Anglo-European traditions—or elsewehere—it must be considered 'philosophical'. For discussions of the formation of the western-centric philosophical canon, see Bernasconi 1997; P. K. Park 2013; Said 1978.

9 On the subject of the author in the Classical literature of western antiquity, see also the discussions collected in Marmodoro and Hill 2013; for the Renaissance, the discussion in North 2003, among many others. In the East Asian context, see especially Harbsmeier 1999; Beecroft 2010; Zhang Hanmo 2018; and the collected essays in Steineck and Schwermann 2014.

10 This term was coined by Leo Oppenheimer 1977: 13 for the literary production of cuneiform Mesopotamia.

were taken up by these groups, changed, and used for their ends. Texts of antiquity—and this is not just true of early China—are therefore more often than not synchronic artefacts and the work of many authors – not the creation of single, identifiable individuals. This makes them in the first instance the products of a milieu and its now forgotten inhabitants. There was no self-aware author prior to the late Western or early Eastern Hàn dynasties.[11] Needless to say, this reduces *ad absurdum* the imperial term *masters' texts* for the written thought-products of the time.[12]

The philosophical texts of the Warring States are part of a discourse. As written entities they are therefore both synchronic and diachronic artefacts. Formed by making reference to all kinds of concepts and ideas, they are highly intertextual.[13] Yet, to this day there is no single instance where one philosophical text refers by name to another. At best we get direct speech incorporated in a philosophical text and framed through the formula '*zǐ yuē*' 子曰 (a or *the* master said) – but that too more likely accounts for a generic recourse to cultural authority rather than referring explicitly to a particular text, a named individual, or a given historical instance. That is true even when reference is made explicitly to Kǒngzǐ.[14] He is more philosophical persona than individual, the projection figure

11 Michael Nylan 2011 calls Yáng Xióng 揚雄 (53 BC–AD 18) the 'first author' to defend his own writings.

12 On the gradual development of the author-concept during the Warring States, see Krijgsman 2016.

13 Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975) would claim—and I agree, with the caveat that 'quotation' as used here should not be misunderstood in linear terms—that any discourse is itself always a 'collage of quotations' and so the very nature of discourse is that it is fundamentally interwined with other discourses. Bakhtin would call this the 'dialogic principle'. (For a more detailed discussion of this concept, see Bal 2009: 69ff.) The term 'intertextuality' was first used in print by Julia Kristeva in 1969 in the collection of her articles in *Recherches pour une sémanalyse*. Observing Bakhtin's discussion of dialogism, but also on Saussure's ideas about the ways a sign derives its meaning within the structure of a text, Kristeva does not consider text as something static but as 'a dynamic site in which relational processes and practices are the focus of analysis' (Alfaro 1996: 268). This implies that meaning is always mediated through certain 'codes'. (Kristeva 1980: esp. 69ff) Edmunds 2001: 17 critiques Kristeva's take on intertextuality as a 'mosaic of quotations' (Kristeva 1986: 37) proceeding 'directly from language to literature'. Note that my concerns differ from the French theorists who were using it, writing as they were under the 'tyranny of print'.

14 Here and elsewhere I use 'Kǒngzǐ' for the sitz im leben and 'Confucius' for the imperial author(ity) function.

of the expectations and imaginations of various groups.[15] The texts from that period therefore do not 'quote' each other. Since 'travelling concepts'[16] were the collective property of the meaning community of the day, the text makers of antiquity worked from a mine of materials where ideas were borrowed freely and concepts given new readings, recombining intellectual stances as they saw fit.[17]

Whilst this was the basic scenario of text production in antiquity, the Shī differ. This is probably because of their nature as verse compositions. Manuscripts that contain Shī alone are the exception rather than the norm.[18] Mostly Shī are present through other texts that incorporate them for the construction of an argument – be it for providing reference, guidance, or for serving as the basis for further philosophical enquiry. But that does not mean that the Shī were not used widely in early Chinese textuality. The opposite is the case. They served as a storage of knowledge and were the basis of the *lingua franca* of sociopolitical debate. Lines of Shī incorporated in the philosophical texts therefore abound. Yet while the philosophical manuscript texts overall present the Shī as phonetically mostly stable, lexically they use the Shī in a rather loose fashion, or so it seems.[19] Partly this is only to be expected in a manuscript culture. But it also shows that although the Shī seem to be well recognised during the Warring States, they remain an object of interpretation (or negotiation), with the act of articulating them to some extent formulating a reinvention of the text, or, in fact, claiming it. This should not hide that there are also a number of manuscript texts that incorporate lines, or even entire odes, which no longer exist in the imperial corpus of the transmitted *Shījīng* (Classic of Odes).[20] However, we should not judge the pre-imperial text condition of the Shī on the basis of a much later, singledout recension. Therefore,

15 I take 'philosophical persona' after Deleuze and Guattari 1994.

16 Bal 2001.

17 For a good discussion of the interrelation of texts in early societies with one another, see Illich 1991. Meyer 2011: 130, 248 f. discusses that phenomenon in the context of the excavated philosophical texts from the Warring States. See also Krijgsman 2014a in reference to "*Yǔcóng" 語叢.

18 Given the wealth of other manuscript finds this situation is unlikely to be explained by a gap in the archaeological record. The earliest known manuscript texts carrying Shī alone are the Ān Dà *Shī* dating to the Warring States.

19 Kern 2007a. Note, this situation says actually very little about the Shī itself but more about how it was used by different groups during the Warring States.

20 "*Táng Yú zhī dào" 唐禹之道 from tomb no. 1, Guōdiàn, may be cited here.

while the Shī undoubtedly framed the experience of the wider meaning community of the Eastern Zhōu, with their productive mould, it seems appropriate to take them as a widely recognised collection of verse, with loose ends perhaps.[21]

Shū are different. While a substantial number of texts, transmitted and newly discovered alike, integrate Shī in their makeup, sometimes even by name, those incorporating what we now know as Shū are not so common. To take just two random examples, the *Lúnyǔ* 論語 (Analects), often misread as a reliable source for reconstructing Confucius' original ideas,[22] refers to *shū* 書 a mere four times, of which two are simply generic statements: one states that *shū* are in *yǎyán* 雅言 (refined speech);[23] the other is a rhetorical address asking Kǒngzǐ about the value of consulting *shū* so as to be learned.[24] What *shū* means in this context is open to question. The other refer, in vastly different form, to the following items: "Jūn chén" 君陳, now preserved in the old-script (pseudo-Kǒng) recension of the *Shàngshū*, a work of the fourth century, produced most likely as a creative collage of phrases from the Shū traditions; the fabula that also informs the making of "Wú yì" 無逸, a text preserved in the modern-script (Hàn-era) recension of the *Shàngshū*.[25] The *Mèngzǐ* 孟子, to name another example of a transmitted text where we expect to find reference to the Shū, refers to *shū* seventeen times, with just four of them to texts preserved in the modern-script recension.[26] Indeed, those four are notably stable.[27] Altogether, transmitted texts, often used uncriti-

21 The stability of a text paired with an apparent instability of its lexicon does not necessarily point to the oral nature of the text in question, and any conclusions one reaches about such a text (for instance, the Shī) may not be transposed immediately onto another, in particular when the latter is defined by its continuity with the present rather than with the past. I discuss this aspect more fully in Meyer 2011: 172.

22 An extreme expression of that misconception is Chin 2007. Weingarten 2009 and Hunter 2017 debunk that view. For an informed refusal of Hunter's analysis and its conclusions, see Jean Levi 2018a; see also his reproach in 2018b.

23 In "Shù ěr" 述而: 18.

24 In "Xiān jìn 先進: 25.

25 In "Xiàn wèn" 憲問: 40.

26 See Chén Mèngjiā 1985: 4–7.

27 "Liáng Huìwáng" includes text of "Tāng shì" 湯誓 (湯誓曰：時日害(*N-kˁat-s)喪，予及女偕亡) with just some minor graphic differences to the *Shàngshū* (時日曷(*gˁat)喪，予及汝皆亡) The differences here apply to three graphs: 害 vs. 曷; 女 vs. 汝; 偕 vs. 皆. All three cases present a stable phonetic situation and so they must be considered unproblematic. "Wàn zhāng" references as "Yáo diǎn" what is in fact "Shùn diǎn" (堯典曰：二十有八載，放勳乃徂落，百姓如喪考妣。三年(*C.nˁiŋ)，四海遏密八音 'Yáo diǎn says: "after twenty-eight years, Fàng Xūn passed away; the people mourned for him as for a parent for three years. Within the four seas all the eight kinds of instruments of music were stopped and hushed"'), as opposed to: 二十有八載，

cally as voices from the pre-imperial era, make one hundred and sixty-eight references to Shū texts, but only fifty-two of these—less then a third—are to texts that are preserved in the modern-script recension.[28] While the scarcity of the references to Shū in the transmitted literature from early China is in itself an interesting phenomenon and worthy of closer investigation, it presents a real obstacle when studying the way the foundational texts of pre-imperial China are built up and used.

Closely related to the phenomenon just described is the reconceptualisation of the past during the early empires, when much of China's textual heritage was rewritten. There is no transmitted literature that genuinely predates the Western and Eastern Hàn dynasties. To evaluate its foundational texts on the basis of the received literature alone will therefore always risk comparing texts that were harmonised by the same editorial groups.

One final example from the *Mèngzǐ* should suffice to give further evidence to this point. In a constructed debate about the relation between Yáo 堯 and Shùn 舜, the *Mèngzǐ* substantiates the argument by reciting a line from Shū, referred to

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帝乃俎落，百姓如喪考妣。三載(*ts$^{\text{ʕ}}$əʔ)，四海遏密八音. Differences include that the *Mèngzǐ* uses the personal name Fàng Xūn 放勳 while the *Shàngshū* has just has 'Dì' 帝; it has *nián* 年 (三年) 'year' while *Shàngshū* repeats *zài* 載 'year'; it uses the graphic variation 徂 for 殂. None of these present any structural differences. "Wàn zhāng" includes text of "Kàng gào" 康誥 (康誥曰: 殺越人于貨，閔(*mrənʔ)不畏死，凡民罔不讋 'When men kill others and climb over their dead bodies to reach their goods, being reckless and not fearing death, it is true of the people that there are none who do not detest them'), as opposed to *Shàngshū* 殺越人于貨，暬(mrinʔ)不畏死，罔弗憗 'When men kill others and climb over dead bodies to reach their goods, being reckless and not fearing death – no one does not loathe them'. Variations are minor and the differences apply to the use of graphs 閔 vs. 暬, unproblematic phonetically; 讋 vs. the graphic variant 憗 (again unproblematic phonetically); plus the specification 凡民 'it is true of the people that..' included only in the *Mèngzǐ*. None of these variants present any structural changes.

Zuǒzhuàn refers to Shū forty-six times but only fifteen times to the modern-script recension, with the remaining thirty-one references to the old-script recension; *Guóyǔ* refers to Shū texts fourteen times, of which only three are to the modern-script recension; *Mòzǐ* refers to Shū thirty-one times, of which only four times to the modern-script recension; *Lǐjì* refers to Shū thirty-one times, of which only twelve to the modern-script recension; *Xúnzǐ* refers to Shū texts fourteen times, of which ten times to the modern-script recension. *Hánfēizǐ* has just one reference to Shū, namely to the modern-script "Kàng gào"; *Lǚshì Chūnqiū* has ten references to Shū texts, of which only one is to the modern-script ("Hóng fàn" 洪範). As I hope to show in Ch. 3, the widely held assumption that the text of the Hàn-era modern-script recension is 'more reliable' is methodologically problematic.

In reconstructing Old Chinese, I follow the system of Baxter and Sagart 2014.

28 See Chén Mèngjiā 1985: 3–29; Chan Hung Kan and Ho Che Wah 2003.

as "Yáo diǎn" 堯典. In reality, it is from "Shùn diǎn" 舜典, the text following on from "Yáo diǎn". In the modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū*, "Shùn diǎn" constitutes the latter half of "Yáo diǎn", and it later became a truism that it was once part of "Yáo diǎn".[29] However, the fact that a common grammatical feature of "Shùn diǎn"—the particle *yě* 也—appears not once in "Yáo diǎn" challenges the assumption of an original unity between the two and reveals the reference in the *Mèngzǐ* as an imperial text.[30] This observation leads to one of the following conclusions: somebody may have tampered with the reference in the *Mèngzǐ* to make it fit contemporaneous assumptions about Shū; or the entire line is a later intrusion. In any case, it calls into question the unit in the *Mèngzǐ* as a reliable source from the Warring States. This is symptomatic of how during the early empires a re-conceptualisation of past traditions took place, shaping much of how we think about ancient China today.

1.1 The Past is a Foreign Text

When the British novelist L. P. Hartley (1895–1972) coined the phrase 'the past is a foreign country: they do things differently there' in the opening sequence of *The Go-Between*,[31] he probably did not imagine that the line would almost be proverbial a few decades after he penned it. The beauty of the line is the verb 'doing'. They *do* things differently in the past. The past is what is made by past activities.

Intentionally or not, that realisation does not always prevail – especially not when it meets with an ideology that frames an orthodoxy of memory in primarily written form. I try to elucidate this point by reference to an entry in China's two main histories, one produced during the Western Hàn, the *Shǐjì* 史記; the other one during the Eastern Hàn (AD 25–220), the *Hànshū* 漢書 (Records of the Han).

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29 It seems as though that notion had certainly stabilised by the fourth century AD and possibly before.

30 On the two texts, see Nylan 2001: 134; Kern 2017b. Both Karlgren (1946: 264) and Allan (1991: 58–62) argue that "Yáo diǎn" is a composite text that combines traces of the Shāng with cosmological concepts developed during the Warring States. As Allan 1991 shows, while the correlative relations are already manifest the the oracle bone inscriptions, "Yáo diǎn" expands these into the system of 'five phases' (*wǔ xíng* 五行). The "Yáo diǎn" is thus a good example of conflating different knowledge systems by placing old layers of text with their distinctive terminology in new contexts. Kern 2017b demonstrates that the old-script "Shùn diǎn" presents an imperial vision of bureaucracy that is absent in the modern-script "Yáo diǎn", and the two actually put forward different positions with regard to what constitutes ideal government.

31 L. P. Hartley, *The Go-Between* 1953.

The incident recorded in those two works is relevant because it is suggestive of how the past was read at the time.

The purported event took place in 213 BC. China's First Emperor, Qín Shǐ Huángdì 秦始皇帝, (r. 246–210 BC) is said to have issued the edict that four hundred scholars be buried alive, while written documents circulating outside the ownership of the scholars at court were to be handed in to the imperial library or face destruction. Whatever actually happened at the time is not entirely clear. However, it is unlikely the event was really the turning point in China's intellectual history, as later reception often has it.[32] In reality, the infamous edict, now commonly referred to as the 'burning of the books', was probably aimed at controlling knowledge circulation, not the destruction of the texts per se.[33] But it provides a beautiful pretext for later Confucians to present themselves as victims of the regime.[34]

Despite the perhaps negligible impact of the edict on lasting structures of knowledge production, the way it is presented in the histories—*Shǐjì* and *Hànshū*—is nonetheless revealing when considered as part of a history of thinking. It is difficult to say with certainty when the *Shǐjì* was finally produced, but it is generally assumed that the events dating after around 100 BC may be later interpolations.[35] When Bān Gù 班固 (AD 32–92), the main redactor of the *Hànshū*

32 A good discussion of the events can be found in Neininger 1983; Bodde 1986: 95; Petersen 1995; Kern 2000a: 183ff.; Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003. For a comparison between the measures taken in 213 and 212 BC during the Qín, and in 136 BC when Hàn Wǔdì 漢武帝 (r. 140–87 BC) established the Imperial Academy, see Kern 2000a, 191–192; Cf. also Nylan 2009.

33 Kern 2000a compares the events of 213 BC with those of 136 BC when Emperor Wǔ of the Hàn (Hàn Wǔdì 漢武帝 – r. 141–87) established the Imperial Academy. The edict explicitly exempts written documents in the possession of Qín court scholars—including Shī and Shū, as well as 'the sayings of the manifold masters' (*bǎijiā zhī yán* 百家之言)—plus manuals of divination. The measures taken by the Qín—habitually a place of 'traditional ritual and classical scholarship' (Kern 2000a: 188)—were therefore aimed primarily at controlling circulation rather than suppressing learning. This was a typical process in the establishment of a canon across early societies and cultures. (For a discussion, see A. Assmann and J. Assmann 1987.) The appointment of a specialist in cultural memory whose task it was 'to comprehend the past and present' (*tōng gǔ jīn* 通古今) (see, e.g., *Hànshū* 19A: 726) is just one indication of the deep roots in textual and ritual traditions of the Qín. If there really *was* an incident of profound impact, then it was that of the period between 206 when the Qín capital was taken by the enemy armies of the Hàn in 207 BC and burned to the ground in 206 BC. (Note that such acts of violence were not isolated instances and, as Lewis 2007: 101 states, capitals were habitually burned to the ground 'whenever a new dynasty took control'.)

34 Neininger 1983.

35 Hulsewé 1993b: 406.

died in AD 92, the greater part of the work was already completed, with the exception of the work's eight tables, as well as the chapter on astronomy (now chapter 26 "Tiānwén zhì" 天文志).[36] While the *Hànshū* is to some extent based on the *Shǐjì*, the former was produced around a hundred years after the reported burning of the books.

The gap of a few generations leaves much space for conceptualising past events through the lens of contemporary experience. I suggest that much of the entry says more about how the Grand Scribes conceived of the past than about what really happened in 213 BC.[37] It indicates a shift in a group's thinking about the olden days that initially developed during the Western Hàn and matured profoundly during the Eastern Hàn, the heyday of imperial manuscript culture, when written modes of thinking increasingly took precedence over other forms of information transmission and cultural storage.

During the empires, when manuscript cultures were reaching maturity and written texts abound, people ever more worked and, crucially, habitually thought with texts. Ever more, texts became central to cultural productivity and imagination.[38] The texts that shaped cultural life at the time therefore increasingly became the lens through which scholars of the day saw their past. The past became something to be studied through texts. More importantly, it also became something *experienced* through texts. As the entries in the *Shǐjì* and *Hànshū*, as well as other materials of the time suggest, the past gradually came to be seen as text too. The image of textual cultural production became projected on to the cultural activities of their past. As a result, the foreign country of the past progressively became a textual matter.

This shift—more so than what happened in 213 BC—has had profound consequences on the history of thinking in China. When the past is increasingly conceptualised through the lens of written texts, it impacts the way the texts produced at the time come to see—and reproduce—the past. While textual variation is the norm in

36 Hulsewé 1993a: 129.

37 There will have been no surviving member of the group that experienced the events in 213 BC when it was recorded in the *Shǐjì*. Based on Vansina's 1965 notion of the 'floating gap', J. Assmann 2011: 36ff. developed what he terms 'communicative memory'. As shared between individuals, it marks a generational memory that accrues within a group, originating and disappearing with its carriers, that is, the individual members of the group. (The Romans, thus Assmann, referred to this as *saeculum*, viz. 'the end point of when the last surviving member of a generation' has died.) Assmann considers the span of eighty years a critical threshold for communicative memory. (Ibid.)

38 That can be further seen in a letter to the academicians under the Commissioner for Ceremonial, in which Liú Xīn articulated an account of the textual history in China that would soon become the orthodox account of the textualised past. (*Hànshū* 36.1967–71)

manuscript cultures, over time it came to be seen as a form of decline, especially during the Eastern Hàn.[39] Ancient texts were often considered corrupt when differing from other versions of a similar narrative. As a result, they had to be healed, standardised, unified, and fixed. Streams of tradition were thus gradually channelled into increasingly authoritative recensions.[40]

The example of Liú Xiàng 劉向 (79–8 BC) and his son Liú Xīn 劉歆 (46 BC–AD 23) shows this plainly. The Liús were collating the texts from the imperial libraries of the Hàn by order of Emperor Chéng of Hàn 漢成帝 (r. 32–7 BC) in 26 BC.[41] They now produced entirely 'new texts' (*xīn shū* 新書), as Liú Xiàng called them, from the existing materials, perhaps superimposed on older archives, as Michael Nylan suggests.[42] They compared various renditions of a text, identified what they believed were interpolations, wrong characters, or reduplicative elements,[43] and removed these—in their eyes corrupt—passages.[44] Of the three hundred and twenty-two bundles of the *Xúnzǐ*, to name but one prominent example, only thirty-two were kept. The rest were discarded.[45]

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39 Already during the reign of Emperor Wǔ, it was lamented upon by some scholars how many of the pre-Qín texts had been lost. (See Loewe 2015: 376)

40 Note, however, that the Xīpíng Stone Classics 熹平石經, put up during the Eastern Hàn, monuments which carry the then 'Seven Classics'—this includes the *Shàngshū*—are not a sign of text stability but of the opposite. Nonetheless, they do make manifest the zeitgeist of the time that *desires*—and thus implicitly believes in—text stability. (Note that it was during the Eastern Hàn, notably by Bān Gù, that the Classics were elevated above the 'Masters'.) I should add that it has been shown for the Shī that the nature of a recension during the Western Hàn—Hán 韓, Qí 齊, Lǔ 魯, Máo 毛—was highly political and not just academic. A recension included not just the text of the Songs but also a broad range of (sometimes contradictive) learnings. For an excellent study of the nature of a recension during the imperial times see P. Chan 2018.

41 Michael Loewe 2015: 372 suggests that Emperor Chéng's order might have been aimed at diverting Liú Xiàng from criticising the Wáng 王 family, the profound influence of which he considered a threat to the dynasty.

42 Nylan 2011.

43 *Hànshū* 10.310. The full complexity of the measures taken are well discussed in van der Loon 1952: 357 – 393; Nylan 2011.

44 They took notes about each text that was edited, which they recorded in the *Biélù* 別錄 (Separate Records), most of which is now lost. Liú Xīn 劉歆 (46 BC–AD 23) produced the *Qīlüe* 七略 (Seven Summaries), the basis of the later "Yìwén zhì" 藝文志 ("Records of Arts and Letters") in the *Hànshū*. See Yáo Zhènzōng 1899 for the remaining parts of the *Biélù*. Zhāng Shùnhuī 1990 and Gù Shí 1987 provide excellent studies on the "Yìwén zhì". Lewis 1999a: 325–332.

45 Descriptions of that kind are given for many of the 'new texts' produced by the Liús. The new recension of *Lièzǐ* 列子, for instance, was produced in eight *juǎn* 卷 (scrolls) from short works circulating under separate designations in twenty *juǎn* – and just one of these was a shorter *Lièzǐ*.

Such modes of imposing textual coherence are likely to have informed the imperial vision of the past more broadly, leading to a profound revamping of the textual traditions of early China – especially during the Eastern Hàn.[46] Often referred to as the 'classical turn', special policies and other projects were sometimes projected as just by reference to archaising works, thought to be written in high antiquity.[47]

While it is certain that much of the written heritage was recomposed during the empires, it is difficult to pin down exactly to what extent the imperial libraries really affected written memory. No matter what, it is clear that the scholars of the time erected a conceptual barrier that is difficult to overcome if we rely solely on the texts of the time to enquire into formative ideas of early China.

1.2 Shàngshū

With the above in mind it comes as no surprise that during the early empires there was growing anxiety that the foundational texts of the past were no longer complete.[48] It was common faith that the *Shàngshū* originally consisted of up to a hundred texts in its pre-imperial constitution. But during the Hàn only twenty-nine 'remained' in circulation.

Propaganda all too easily explained the felt loss with the policies under the First Emperor and his edict to burn the books. The narrative was that Fú Shèng 伏勝 (268–178), court academician (*bóshì* 博士) for the study of the Documents during the Qín (also known as Master Fú 伏生), secretly stored a copy of the *Shàngshū* in the walls of his house to save it from destruction when the edict was implemented. When in 191 BC the ban was lifted that previously prohibited texts in private circulation, he excavated the bamboo slips on which his copy was written, just to find that only twenty-eight texts of the entire text corpus remained in legible condition. Because Fú Shèng's copy was written in the clerical form (*lì shū*

46 Such patterns of retrospectively conceptualised experience should not be explained by reference to 'different mentalities' of the groups in question, a topic discussed by Geoffrey Lloyd 1990. Instead, it seems far more appropriate to explain them with reference to the changing sociopolitical contexts of knowledge production and information transmission. A similar point is also made by Collins 2002: 78.

47 The phenomenon is discussed in Csikszentmihalyi 2015; Nylan 2008; Fukui Shigemasa 2005. Note, however, that we should not overestimate the extent to which the Classics were used to vindicate Hàn policies prior to the Eastern Hàn period. Sīmǎ Qiān quite plainly shows that Hàn Wǔdì used the Classics only as he saw fit.

48 Loewe 2015: 376.

隸書) standardised during the Qín, it came to be known as the modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū*. The court secured a copy of his text during the reign of Emperor Wén 文帝 (r. 179–157 BC). It was recognised as a classic at the time of Emperor Wǔ 武帝 (r. AD 141–187), some two-hundred and fifty years after Fú Shèng would have immured the text.

Michael Nylan has identified a number of misconceptions that speak against this narrative. Two are particularly relevant. First, as a *bóshì* at court, Fú Shèng was exempted from handing over his own copy of the text so there would have been no need for him to hide it. Second, to assume that court academicians had not also memorised at least a great deal of their texts and relied solely on their fixation on bamboo and silk seems mistaken.[49] Parallel to the 'burning of the books', the account therefore rather seems to reflect imperial imagination than historical reality.[50]

In the course of time, when the Fú Shèng recension became official learning, and the post of an academician was established with the sole responsibility of interpreting and expounding the text,[51] several other fragments of Shū were 'discovered' across the empire. One of these was the "Tài shì" 泰誓 (perhaps at around the time of Emperor Wǔ or Xuán 宣帝, r. 74–49). It was soon integrated into the modern-script recension, thus making a corpus of altogether twenty-nine texts. The other texts were written in non-clerical, old-script, said to come from the walls of Kǒng Ānguó 孔安國 (died c. 100 BC). They contained material not seen in the modern-script recension plus a different "Tài shì".[52] Soon more text recensions were said to be found and promoted: by Prince Xian of Hexian (Héxián Xiànwáng 河間獻王, Liú Dé 劉德, ?–129); the so-called old-script copy of Zhōngmì 中秘; Zhāng Bà's copy 張霸,[53] as well as that of Dù Lín 杜林.

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49 Nylan 2001: 130.

50 Another interpretation as to why texts might have been stored in the walls of a dwelling is given in Hanmo Zhang 2018: 170ff. Rather than reading this practice through the ominous edict of the First Emperor, Zhang entertains the possibility that it was instead rooted in religious beliefs where, like a talisman, the presence of the text served to protect the occupant of the house. On the talismanic use of text, see also Harper 1998; Lewis 1999a: 29; Campany 2006. J. Robson 2008 gives an excellent overview with special focus on Buddhism.

51 This was under the tutelage of Ōuyáng Gāo 歐陽高. The dates of the Western Hàn scholar are not known.

52 The new material came in sixteen texts. The old-script recension was separated into twenty-four chapters. Together, the two recensions made up a group of forty-five texts in fifty-eight chapters—the number of the present *Shàngshū*. (See Shaughnessy 1993: 381)

53 Zhāng Bà produced a version of the *Shàngshū* in 102 *piān*. Although his *Shàngshū* was seen to diverge from other versions in many respects, his copy remained in circulation.

The feeling that texts must be consistent meant that the lack of cohesion of a foundational text was seen as a threat. A long and fierce dispute arose between the proponents of the modern and those of the old-script recensions of the *Shàngshū* over their respective authenticity.[54]

1.3 Instantiations of Shū

New material evidence now casts light on the dynamic character of the Shū traditions as constantly adapted and recomposed by different text communities. We may thus now move beyond the imperial conceptualisations of past traditions through the lens of text consistency consistency.

While the bronze inscriptions from the Western and Eastern Zhōu period have long given invaluable insight into the complexity of early Chinese textuality, providing clues about shared and related uses of text frames, stock phrases, dating formulae, and ceremonial expressions, a number of manuscript texts, available since the late 90s, further document the breadth of Shū traditions during the Warring States. These finds can be classed roughly in two groups. One is the finds of pre-imperial manuscripts that carry predominantly philosophical texts and incorporate Shū material in constructing an argument; the other is the discoveries of manuscripts containing texts that, in one way or another, correspond to wider expressions of Shū traditions.

The former group contains two major manuscript collections. One is from tomb number 1, Guōdiàn 郭店.[55] It was excavated in a controlled setting and so provides excellent reference material to explore text formation before the founding of the empires.[56] The other contains manuscripts of uncertain provenance purchased by the Shànghǎi Museum in 1994.[57] Both sets of manuscripts are widely considered to date around the mid-to-late Warring States, coming from the Kingdom of Chǔ 楚.

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54 The so-called modern-old-script debate is discussed well in the written dispute between Nylan 1994 and van Ess 1994.

55 Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1997.

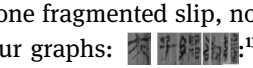
56 Note that the tomb was disturbed before the archaeologists decided to carry out the excavation. But since it is unlikely that the intruders—tomb looters—*added* further bamboo slips to the collection of texts assembled in the tomb, there are no questions of authenticity around these materials.

57 The Shànghǎi corpus contains some 1,200 inscribed bamboo slips. Since 2001, the Shànghǎi Museum has been publishing these. (*Shànghǎi Museum* 2001–.)

1.4 Texts relating to Shū (and other foundational resources)

1.4.1 "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ" 君子為禮

Let me begin by citing a fragmented slip with merely four remaining graphs. It may have belonged to the Shànghǎi manuscript text now tentatively called "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ" 君子為禮 ("The gentleman's acting out rites"). The manuscript is badly damaged. Complete slips are 54.1 to 54.5 centimetres in length, but not many are complete. They have three notches where the binding straps used to be: about 10.5 centimetres from the top of the slip; followed by the next notch at a distance of, on average, 13.2 centimetres; the third notch follows circa 19.5 centimetres lower, leaving on average 10.3 centimetres between the third notch and the bottom of the slips and allowing for attempted reconstuctions of the order and collocation of the slips.[58] However, not a single slip is unaffected by loss and decay, with slips 1–3 and 11 remaining in best condition.[59] Because of its state, it is not possible to provide a continuous reading of "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ".[60]

Given its material condition, not much can be said about "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ", except that on the remains of one fragmented slip, now tentatively numbered slip 16, we find the following four graphs:  [13] …夫 |[16] 子祠(治)時(詩)箸(書) 'the honourable master ordered Shī and Shū'.[61] Having caught the attention of many scholars, the line is often taken to confirm traditional beliefs in the textual stability of the classics.

Despite its poor condition, "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ" is sometimes considered closely related to "*Dìzǐ wèn" 弟子問, both in material terms and with regard to the ideas put forward in the two texts – as far as they can be reconstructed. It presents a staged conversation between Confucius and his disciple Yán Yuān 顏淵; hence the common identification of *zǐ* 子 'master' with *the* master in the text, that is, Kǒngzǐ.[62] Because the material recorded on slips 1–3 and 9 shows some overlap with "Yán Yuān wèn rén" 顏淵問仁 (Yan Yuan enquires about humaneness) of

58 See *Shànghǎi Museum* vol. 5: 253.

59 Only small parts are missing at their bottom. See the image in *Shànghǎi Museum* vol. 5: 8.

60 A lot of good work has however been done on the remaining fragments. See for instance Liáo Míngchūn 2006; Lǐ Sōngrú 2008; Gāo Rónghóng 2013; Gù Shǐkǎo [S. Cook] 2018a.

61 "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ" slips 13 (end) and 16.
The identification of 時 (*[d]ə) as 詩(*s.tə) is unproblematic; and so is that of 祠 (*sə.lə) as 治 (*lrə-s). The graph 箸 (*[d]<r>ak-s) is commonly used for 書 (*s-ta) in manuscripts from the Warring States.

62 This is because slip 16 is part of a passage where Zǐgòng 子貢 praises his master, referring to Confucius explicitly by name, Zhòngní 仲尼. (See the reconstruction in Gù Shǐkǎo 2018a: 16)

the transmitted *Lúnyǔ*, it has even been suggested that "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ" provides direct clues to the compilation of the *Lúnyǔ*, conjectured as between 494–492 BC.[63]

Such speculations aside, the line provokes thought about the constitution of these traditions. Isolated as the phrase is in "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ", it provides only limited information, and is certainly no proof of the traditional account that Confucius 'compiled' the classics – despite many commentators' wish to see it so. A note of caution is therefore in order. Scholars all too often confuse the account given in manuscript texts with representations of historical reality. Just like the Eastern Hàn stone classics, which primarily reflect a *desire* for text cohesion rather than prove text stability at the time, the manuscript texts may equally well just represent anachronistic conceptualisations of contemporaneous affairs. It is therefore important that we trace trends, not build arguments on isolated expressions. Despite these limitations, the phrase in "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ" is nonetheless indicative of four things. First, it suggests that to some communities the Shī and the Shū were a conceptual unit. Second, given the stress on them being 'ordered' (or 'organised'), a certain text-bound materialisation was either experienced, imagined or aspired to. Third, they are given special status and taken as a pair. Fourth, while linking Kǒngzǐ to the Shī and Shū as in "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ" is of course no proof that this reflects historical reality, it does nonetheless show that there existed an early association of Kǒngzǐ with the foundational texts. As this is not a one-off but reoccurs in other environments too, the tripartite scheme 'master', Shī and Shū had thus clearly attained some stability already during the Warring States, possibly even across communities, offering intriguing perspectives as to what these communities may have wished to achieve by it.[64] Thus, while we cannot take an isolated phrase and use it as proof of a complex matter (to do so would be bad philology), it is not entirely without value but presents some, limited, clues on the status of Shī and Shū during the Warring States.

1.4.2 "*Liù dé" 六德

"*Liù dé" 六德 is another example. The work was unknown before its excavation. In its current manifestation as part of the Guōdiàn manuscripts it is written on

63 See Huáng Rénèr 2007. Such conclusions are problematic because they rest on mono-linear analyses of random text witnesses.

64 I come back in my discussion of "Zīyī" in Ch. 3.

forty-nine bamboo slips. Much of the manuscript is in surprisingly good condition. Just eleven slips are broken and graphs missing.[65] Complete slips are on the average 32.5 centimetres long, connected by two cords at a distance of about 17.5 centimetres. The slips show fabricated notches at their right side to hold the cords in place. The slips are tapered at both ends, helping us to identify much of the manuscript and confirming which slips belong together. While most graphs on the slips kept a good distance from where the cords used to be, on slips 17 and 18 it looks as though the graphs nearer to the lower cord may have been partly covered by, or at least written uncommonly close to, the cord in question (slip **17**/16:  ; slip **18**/17: ).[66] Furthermore, on slip 25 it would seem that a graph was added, which may then have been covered partly by the upper cord (slip **25**/6: ).[67] Unfortunately we do not know whether the slips carry numbers on their back.

"*Liù dé" suggests that the way to rule the populace lies in observing the natural order of human relationships. It discusses these relationships and their complexity in considerable depth and surprisingly concrete terms. It links the six virtues (*zhì* 智 'wisdom', *xìn* 信 'faithfulness'; *shèng* 聖 'sagacity', *rén* 仁 'humaneness'; *yì* 義 'appropriateness', *zhōng* 忠 'fidelity') with the different status of the social person (husband, wife; father, son; ruler, minister) and their duties in society (lead 率, follow 從; instruct 教, learn 學; direct 使, serve 事).[68] However, like the complex distribution of the five virtues in the process of moral self-cultivation as put forward in "Wǔ xíng",[69] the six virtues of "*Liù dé" remain in complex relation to a variety of positions and their duties. "*Liù dé" holds that when each member of society carries out their respective duty within the proper bounds, it may be possible to forestall contention, strife and disobedience in a society.[70]

Interesting for us is that "*Liù dé" propounds the principle of handling human relationships as rooted in antiquity through the presence of Shī 詩, Shū 書, Lǐ 禮 Rites, Yuè 樂 Music, Yì 易 Changes/divination practices, Chūnqiū 春秋 Chronicles – six cultural institutions of high antiquity.[71] The explicit reference to them as a group—and coming from a documented text—has prompted scholars to claim the existence of a coherent body of the six classics, *liù jīng* 六經, by the

65 These are slips 6–12; 13; 23; 47. See the images in *Guōdiàn Chǔ mù zhújiǎn*: 69–73.

66 The notation'**17**/16' indicates graph sixteen on slip seventeen.

67 I therefore assume that in the case of Guōdiàn "*Liù dé", the calligraphy was applied to the slips before they were bound into one manuscript.

68 Shaughnessy 2006: 53; Xiè Yàotíng 2012; S. Cook 2012: 751–752.

69 For a discussion of these, see Meyer 2011; S. Cook 2012.

70 S. Cook 2012: 753.

71 Slips 24–25.

time the text was buried, that is, circa 300 BC at the latest.[72] While it is—understandably—tempting to do so, I am not sure that the evidence, in fact, warrants such a sweeping conclusion.

"*Liù dé" is a typical Warring States text, an artefact of maturing manuscript cultures. As is characteristic of environments where flows of information increase because written texts gain wider circulation, the work is a medley of shared concepts and stock phrases, put together in the making of an argument. Even some of the chain of correspondences that are put forward to link sets of virtues and their mutual interaction correspond closely with other texts of the time, such as "Wǔ xíng" and "*Xìng zì mìng chū". We may cite the conceptualisation of *rén* 仁 'humaneness' and *yì* 義 'appropriateness' as virtues that operate 'inwardly' (*nèi* 內) as opposed to those operating 'outwardly' (*wài* 外), as seen in many transmitted texts;[73] the pair *shèng* 聖 'sagacity' and *zhì* 智 'knowledge' in opposition to other virtues that feature pre-eminently in "Wǔ xíng" is another such example, including some of its stock phrases that re-appear in "*Liù dé" nearly verbatim. Some formulae known from the transmitted *Xúnzǐ* also figure prominently in "*Liù dé", not least the stress on relationships with their triangular tension between the priorities of family, and of society, juxtaposed with the duties of a person in that society. That is a constant in the texts of the time, transmitted and discovered ones alike; the number six linked with virtues (*dé* 德), positions (*wèi* 位), duties or occupations (*zhí* 職) also features prominently.[74]

Typical of texts of that period is also the argumentative pattern that stresses the causal effects of one particular element within the various correlating chains, equally in terms of their human relationships, as well as their corresponding function in society. In such causal settings, the notion of *zhì* 治 'to order' applies to all strata of sociopolitical matters where the ideal state of affairs is traced back to one identifiable condition or activity. The gentleman, in seeking to organise—or *zhì* 'to order'—society must therefore first make sure that the three pairs of social relations are in place,[75] for there are those in society who lead and those who must follow.[76] Equally, there are those who teach and those who learn, which is

72 See Lǐ Wéiwǔ 2001: 66; Shaughnessy 2006: 53; Shaughnessy 2014: 24.

73 See the discussion in Geaney 2011, esp. 129ff.

74 Xú Shǎohuá 2000: 375–380 provides multiple text references where the number six features prominently and where texts enumerate human relationships and their corresponding virtues.

75 These are those of husband and wife; father and son; lord and subject. (Slips 6–7.)

76 Slip 8.

also taken as one correlative pair. There are thus the 'six duties' and the 'six positions'.[77] The 'six virtues', then, are the next step by which the sociopolitical condition—and so the world at large—may be ordered (*zhì* 治).

We thus find the notion of order (治) applied centrally to all strata of human interaction, of which there are always six. In the logic of the argument, it is understandable that a text such as "*Liù dé" needs a pretext for such order, which it finds in antiquity. The text goes on to expound the idea that sagacity corresponds with knowledge as the prime pair of the six virtues,[78] and that the making of ritual (*lǐ* 禮) and music (*yuè* 樂), just like the foundation of punishments (刑) and laws (法), depends on their introduction by the sagacious and knowledgeable ones. The next pairs that structure society apply to the various layers of its fabric, in that same format. The text puts it as follows:

> 乍（作）豊（禮）樂，折（制）荆（刑）灋（法），孝（教）此民尔夐（使）之又（有）向也，非聖智者莫之能也。[79]
> The making of ritual and music, the regulation of punishments and laws, and the teaching of these to the common folk so as to provide them with a direction – if not sagacious or knowledgeable, no-one is capable of setting them up. [...]

A normative situation is thus brought about through the conscious efforts of the sagacious person(s). In this case, ritual and music, just like punishment and laws, rely on the sagacious persons to be set up in the first place. It is clear that 'ritual' and 'music' here feature co-ordinately as a pair together with punishments and law. They are in the first instance presented as *practices* that structure society, not written texts. These cultural patterns can be taught to the people—though "*Liù dé" remains silent about the means by which this is done—and so they serve to order society at large. The pair of music and ritual on the one hand and punishments and laws on the other is important because it determines how to conceptualise the remaining pairs of cultural learning later on in the text.

"*Liù dé" further asserts that it is the property of the Lord to govern, and his relevant virtue is proportion; equally, it is the property of the subject to serve and his virtue is fidelity.[80] The husband leads, and his virtue is knowledge, while the wife follows and her virtue is trustworthiness (*xìn* 信); lastly, it is the property of the father to teach, and his virtue is sagaciousness; equally, it is the property of the son to learn and his virtue is humaneness. The six divisions each have their

77 Slips 9–10.
78 Slip cluster 1–5.
79 The reconstruction of the Chinese here follows S. Cook 2012: 774. All translations are my own.
80 Slip clusters 13–21; 23–26.

roles and their respective virtues. Moreover, just as there are groups of six for things such as duties, for the different positions in society, as well as for the virtues that apply to them, there are also the six cultural institutions that provide the framework for such concepts. Having stated that:

> ... when each of the six carries out their duties—the husband acts as husband, the wife as wife, the father as father, the son as son, the ruler as ruler, the subject as subject—then slander and conceit have nowhere to spring from.. ,

the text continues as follows:

> 雚（觀）者（諸）時（詩）、箸（書）則亦才（在）亩（矣），雚（觀）者（諸）|[25]豊（禮）、樂則亦才（在）亩（矣），雚（觀）者（諸）易、春秋則亦才（在）亩（矣）。新（親）此多（者｛也｝）也，審（密）此多（者也），|[26]顫（美）此多（者｛也｝）也。衍＝（道行）宋（妄）止。■ [81]
>
> When observing [such relations] in Songs and Documents, there too we find them; when observing [such relations] in Rituals and Music, there too we find them; when observing [such relations] in Changes and Chronicles, there too we find them. It is such these [practices] hold dear; it is such they focus on; it is such they embellish. When the Way prevails, unruliness stops.

The pairs in "*Liù dé" are telling. Just as music and ritual were portrayed as a pair co-ordinate with law and punishment, so too we should acknowledge the pairing of the other items: Songs with Documents; Changes with Chronicles.

Yì (Changes) become canonised only when the imperial commentaries were added which conceptualise the various divination positions of broken and unbroken lines in philosophical terms. This crucially includes the commentaries of the "Ten Wings" (*shí yì* 十翼), which really establish the Yì as a philosophical text.[82] It is beyond doubt that the divination positions were also used during the

81 The reconstruction of the Chinese here follows S. Cook 2012: 783–785.
Here and in the following, I reference the slips and the graphs on them by superscript numbers in the Chinese text to indicate the beginning of the bamboo slip in question. When a slip indication is given without a vertical line '|' the head of the slip has broken off.

82 Unsurprisingly, tradition credits Confucius with the composition of the "Ten Wings", but already during the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) Ōuyáng Xiū 歐陽脩 (1007–1072) and Sīmǎ Guāng 司馬光 (1019–1086) raised serious doubts about this assumption. While modern scholarship is still unsure about the origins and the composition of the "Ten Wings" (see the discussion in Shaughnessy 2014: 284f; R. Smith 2008: 31–48) the "Ten Wings" are now increasingly considered to be of Hàn Dynasty origins.

Warring States[83] – and to some extent they were conceptualised philosophically even then, also in writing. But there is no indication that the practice of divination was fixed when "*Liù dé" was buried.[84] Nonetheless, the numerous copies of texts in the traditions of Changes, some of which are surprisingly consistent, clearly demonstrate the growing efforts by contemporaneous communities to conceptualise them philosophically.[85] Chūnqiū is a generic term for the chronicles of the different states.[86] Just like the Changes they are given textual representation. But there is no reason to equate them with the later canonised text, *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The pair Songs and Documents is revealing insofar it corroborates the conceptual pairing of Shī and Shū as given in "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ".

Thus, while rituals and music are presented as conceptually on a par with law and punishments, they most likely just represent cultural activities of learning; Changes and Chronicles instead seem to be principally generic expressions denoting a cultural praxis with some textual representation, while Songs and Documents are confirmed as a conceptual pair. In various ways these six points of reference are cultural institutions that structure the sociopolitical fabric of a society. Some of them—I here point to the Yì-Chūnqiū, as well as the Shī-Shū pairs—may well be partly written. However, whether they also denote "Six Classics", *liù jīng* 六經, is indeed questionable. Thus, even though "*Liù dé" makes explicit reference to six mainstays of culture, the text itself undermines that they were primarily textually bounded when "*Liù dé" was produced.

1.4.3 "*Xìng zì mìng chū" 性自命出 and "*Xìng qíng lùn" 性情論

The Guōdiàn manuscript text "*Xìng zì mìng chū" 性自命出 and its close Shànghǎi counterpart, "*Xìng qíng lùn" 性情論, close my discussion of generic

83 To name but one example, "Yīn Gāozōng wèn yú sān shòu" 殷高宗問於三壽 of the Qīnghuá Manuscripts demands of the *jūnzǐ* 'gentleman' that he consult 'writings and numbers' [箸（書）占] (Slip **9**/21–22).

84 In fact current research on divination practices in early China suggests that competing systems were in use concurrently.

85 See Shaughnessy's 2014 study of Changes texts.

86 The term first appeared in the *Mòzǐ* to refer to the chronicles of different states. It was continuously used as a generic term to refer to the chronicles of the different states. See the discussion in Cai 2014: 102.

references to Shū traditions in pre-imperial philosophical manuscript texts.[87] "*Xìng zì mìng chū" is the longest of the argument-based texts from Guōdiàn. It contains some 1,550 characters, written on sixty-seven slips. The slips, tapered towards both ends, are on average 32.5 centimetres long. They have notches at their right side and bear marks of two binding straps at a distance of 17.5 centimetres, allowing for a solid identification of the slips as parts of the one manuscript.[88] The manuscript is well preserved. Of its sixty-seven slips, just nine are broken, one of these at both ends. This cannot be said of the Shànghǎi manuscript. Many of its graphs are faded, and several slips only remain as fragments. While it contains forty bamboo slips, cut evenly at both ends, only seven are complete, carrying between thirty-one and thirty-four characters at a length of up to fifty-seven centimetres.

The question whether "*Xìng zì mìng chū"—and equally "*Xìng qíng lùn"—is one integral text or two or three remains controversial and has been discussed at some length.[89] The reason for this is the use of text division markers. The fact that the manuscript carrying "*Xìng qíng lùn" divides the text similarly to "*Xìng zì mìng chū" to me suggests that these parts should each be considered as integral items, 'core text' and 'applications'.[90] Despite such striking similarities between "*Xìng zì mìng chū" and "*Xìng qíng lùn", there are also discrepancies at the level of their macrostructure. Text stability is therefore found primarily at the

87 The similarity of the two texts has given rise to the suspicion that the two manuscripts come from the same geographic area—Húběi—or even from the same site—Guōdiàn—(*Shànghǎi Museum* 2001–, vol. 1: 2). Because "*Xìng qíng lùn" was not brought to light in a scholarly excavation but purchased from an antiquities dealer in Hong Kong, it is impossible to confirm its place of origin.

88 Physically, "*Xìng zì mìng chū" bears a close resemblance to Guōdiàn "*Chéng zhī wén zhī" 成之聞之, "*Zūn dé yì" 尊德義, "*Liù dé" 六德, suggesting chronological and spatial proximity of manuscript production. This says nothing though about the making of the texts on them.

89 See Lǐ Xuéqín 1999b; Liáo Míngchūn 2000a: 19; Lǐ Tiānhóng 2003; Guō Yí 2004; Meyer 2011: 138–141; Richter 2013: 185–187.

90 "*Xìng zì mìng chū" contains three marks of division, of which one at its end (the tadpole symbol, seen on Slips 35, 49, 67), suggesting that it has been organised in two distinct parts. "*Xìng qíng lùn" confirms two of these marks. Following what corresponds to the core text of "*Xìng zì mìng chū", "*Xìng qíng lùn" carries a big square mark occupying the entire width of that slip (slip 21), thus confirming the text division of the materials into core text and its application. Moreover, "*Xìng qíng lùn" also confirms the demarcation after the exclamation 'this truly is the case' (on slip 40) from "*Xìng zì mìng chū" (slip 49)—except that in the Shànghaǐ manuscript the exclamation signals the end of the entire text, whereas it appears in the latter third of the Guōdiàn One manuscript. Ignoring the overlap in content between the texts, Richter (2013: 185–187) argues to the contrary mainly because the type of the markings differs between the manuscipts.

level of the building blocks rather than text composition, which, as we have seen, is a typical phenomenon in a manuscript culture.[91] While the 'core' part in each of the two texts develops the philosophical framework and is surprising in its remarkable stability, the 'application' leaves more room for textual variation between "*Xìng zì mìng chū" and "*Xìng qíng lùn".[92] The two texts thus make a good example of what happens when during the Warring States period a known and relatively stable text was written down in two independent instances.

"*Xìng zì mìng chū" and "*Xìng qíng lùn" are the earliest known examples of texts engaging with the question of what constitutes 'human nature' (*xìng* 性) – hence the close attention they attract from modern scholarship. Moreover, they also provide further insight into the semantic and philosophical breadth of some of the core terms of the philosophical discourse of the time.[93] Important for present purposes is that "*Xìng zì mìng chū" and "*Xìng qíng lùn" explicitly refer to '*shī-shū lǐ-yuè*'. Just like in the roughly contemporaneous manuscript text "*Liù dé", they are understood as core institutions of learning and named as one group. Some scholars even argue that there are also direct allusions to the body of Shū 書 itself.[94] Unlike in "*Liù dé", there is, however, no mention of Yì and Chūnqiū. "*Xìng zì mìng chū" and "*Xìng qíng lùn" discuss the respective functions of Songs, Documents, Rites, and Music for the individual's moral cultivation, and explain the role which sagacious persons, *shèng rén* 聖人, play in turning them into tools for educating the people.

As with "*Liù dé", the explicit mention of the cultural mainstays as a group is sometimes considered sufficient proof for the existence of a fixed canon at the

91 This phenomenon is analoguous to that of the different manuscripts carrying the "Wǔ xíng" text, Guōdiàn and tomb 3, Mǎwángduī.

92 This is a general feature of argument-based texts from the Warring States. For an overview of the different arrangement of the building blocks in the 'application' part of the texts, see Meyer 2011: 143n 45.

93 The specific use of the concept *qíng* 情, for which there are so many different translations, is often cited as an example. For a discussion of the semantic breadth of the term, see Harbsmeier 2004.

94 Huáng Zhènyún and Huáng Wěi 2003: 81 suggest that on Slips 8–9 "*Xìng zì mìng chū" refers to '*sān dé*' 三德 from the "Hóng fàn" of the *Shàngshū* – as though that was a stable concept at the time. This is a good example how scholars' quest for unbroken continuity and stability may influence critical analysis of ancient textuality.

time when the texts were buried;[95] the sagacious person—or persons (?)—is generally identified with Kǒngzǐ himself.[96] As is true for "*Liù dé", the authors of "*Xìng zì mìng chū" and "*Xìng qíng lùn" think in terms of causal chains where there is a need for an originator of both the cultural institutions and the posited sociopolitical order.

The fundamental point the texts make is that human nature (*xìng* 性) depends on outside stimuli to develop. Because the heart-mind (*xīn* 心) responds to such stimuli, it is important to nourish it in such a way that it develops the right sort of desires. This is called the 'will of the heart-mind' (*xīn zhì* 心志). The heart-mind's will is responsive to factors such as the phenomenological world, called the 'things' (*wù* 物); 'satisfaction' (*yuè* 悅); 'practice' (*xí* 習). Education is crucial, and Shī, Shū, *lǐ*, *yuè* play a central role. They are all characterised by some form of sincerity which is inherent in them, to which the individual feels a strong pull. It is against this background that the following statement can be appreciated more fully: 'In the beginning *dào* 道 approximates [one's] sensibilities (*qíng* 情); in the end [it] approximates appropriateness' (*yì* 義).[97] It implies that *dào* must be inherent in the individual so they can progress from fickle sensibilities to acting appropriately without going against their nature.[98] Hence the claim that '{*those who*} understand {*their sensibilities are able*} |[4] to manifest them externally; those who understand appropriateness are able to manifest it within'.[99] It is this very progression from non-refined expression of the inner state to profound meaning that also underlies the making of Songs, Documents, ritual and music. Just as appropriateness may become an intrinsic element of the individual's disposition by nourishing it through the repeated practice of what is good, thus leading to its internalisation, so too will the repeated practice of other things bring out their virtue. On slip 14 "*Xìng zì mìng chū" then opens up an excursus about the making of the mainstays of culture:

> 凡衍(道),心述(術)為宔 (主)。衍(道)四述(術),唯 |[15] 人衍(道)為可衍(道)也。其參(三)述(術)者,衍(道)之而已。時(詩)、箸(書)、豊(禮)、樂,其司(始)出皆生 |[16] 於人。時(詩)又(有)為為之也。箸(書)又(有)為言之也。豊(禮)、樂又(有)為㞧(舉)之也。聖人比其 |[17] 頪(類)而侖(論)會之,雚

95 See Lǐ Tiānhóng 2000a and 2000b; Huáng Zhènyún and Huáng Wěi 2003; Guō Qíyǒng 2001; Shaughnessy 2006: 53.

96 See, e.g., Lǐ Tiānhóng 2000a and 2000b; Guō Qíyǒng 2001: 25; Puett 2004: 50. A refreshing exception is Jì Xùshēng 2004: 169 who takes it as referring to generic cultural hero(es) of antiquity. I take *shèngrén* as the generic reference to a philosophical persona.

97 始者近情;終者近義. (Slip **3**/11–18)

98 I must stress that this does not imply the text argues that men possess a 'fixed' nature.

99 知☐☐☐[情者能] [4] 出之,知義者能納之. (Slips **3**/19–**4**/8)

(觀)其之〈先〉逘(後)而逆(逆)訓(順)之,體其宜(義)而即(節)憂(文)之,里(理) |[18] 其青(情)而出內(入)之,肰(然)句(後)復以⿱⿵教(教)。⿱⿵教(教),所以生悳(德)于宙(中)者也。[100]
Generally speaking, of the various ways the mode of the heart-mind is the dominant one. The way diverges into four modes, [but] only |[15] the way of humans can be followed. As for the [other] three modes, one can only talk of them. Songs, Documents, rites, and music—in every case their first appearance arose from |[16] man. Songs came into being by acting them out. [101] Documents came into being by speaking them out. Rites and music came into being by exalting them. The sagacious person [then] juxtaposed them according to |[17] their sort and assembled them. [He] beheld them in their temporal sequence to arrange them into better accord.[102] [He] gave embodiment to their meaning to regulate and refine them. [He] ordered |[18] the sensibility [expressed in them] to make them manifest at the outside and internally. Only when this was achieved, did [he] return them through teaching. Teaching is that by which moral force is produced within.

豊(禮)复(作)於青(情), |[19] 或(又)舉(興)之也。堂(當)事因方而折(制)之。其先後之舍(序)，則宜(義)衍(道)也。或舍(序)為 |[20] 之即(節)，則憂(文)也。至(致)頌(容)畣(貌)，所以憂(文)即(節)也。君子媺(美)其青(情)，【貴其義】， |[21] 善其即(節)，好其頌(容)，樂其衍(道)，兑(悅)其⿱⿵教(教)，是以敬安(焉)。拜，所以【□□也】， |[22] 其䜬(數)憂(文)也。幣帛，所以為信與謹(徵)也，其訂(治)宜(義)道也。
Rites arose from sensibilities – |[19] [but] eventually, they [also] stimulate them. They are regulated according to what is suitable in each case, and so the proper sequence of what comes first and what comes last befitted the way. Once the proper order was |[20] regulated, they were culturally refined. To extend this to one's manner and appearance, that is how cultural refinement is regulated. [Therefore], the gentleman finds beauty in sensibilities and {he *values appropriateness*}. [He] |[21] considers regulation as good and esteems manners. [He] finds joy in the [proper] way and delights in teaching. It is thus he enjoys respect. Bending [the hands] {*is how respect [for X] is expressed*}; |[22] the repetition of it is refined pattern. To offer presents of coin and silk is how trustworthiness and its evidence are established. Their regulations befit the [proper] way.

芺(笑)，豊〈憙(喜)〉之鑿(淺釋)也。|[23] 樂，豊〈憙(喜)〉之深澤(釋)也。凡聖(聲)，其出於情也信，肰(然)句(後)其內(入)臬(拔)人之心也厚(厚)。|[24]𦖞(聞)芺(笑)聖(聲)，則羴(鮮)女(如)也斯憙(喜)。昏(聞)訶(歌) 謠(謠)，則舀(陶)女(如)也斯奮。聖(聽)琴(琴) 开(瑟)之聖(聲)，|[25] 則誖(悸)女(如)也斯㦤(歎)。雚(觀)賚(賚)、武，則齊(懠)女(如)也斯复(作)。雚(觀)佋(韶)頣(夏)，則免(勉)女(如)也 |[26] 斯僉(斂)。羕(詠)思而蓮(動)心，胃(喟)女(如)也。其居即(節)也舊(久)，其反善復訂(始)也 |[27] 訂(慎)，其出內(入)也訓(順)，司(治)其悳(德)也。奠(鄭)衛(衛)之樂，則非其聖(聲)而從(縱)之也。[103]
Laughter is the shallow release of rejoicing. |[23] Music is the profound release of rejoicing. Generally speaking, all sounds that emanate from sensibilities are trustworthy; only then, when they enter and agitate the heart of man, do they become profound. |[24] When hearing

100 For the reconstruction of the Chinese, see Meyer 2011: 314–315; S. Cook 2012: 708–711.
101 S. Cook 2012: 711 translates 有為 as 'for a purpose'.
102 I here follow S. Cook 2012: 712.
103 For the reconstruction of the Chinese, see Meyer 2011: 315–316; S. Cook 2012: 715–719.

the sound of laughter, it is lively and so one becomes joyous. When hearing the sound of chanted songs, it is cheerful and so one becomes energetic. When hearing the sound of lute and zither, it is |[25] rousing and so one has to sigh. When watching the [performance] of the [ritual dances] "Lài" and "Wǔ" it is solemning and so one becomes stirred. When watching the [performance] of the [ritual dances] "Shāo" and "Xià", it is inciting |[26] and so one becomes modest. When the mind is moved by plain chant to ponder, one will sigh with emotions. As it stays in control, it will last a long time; as it returns to what is good and reverts to the beginning, it |[27] is sincere; as it bring forth [emotions] and internalises [them], it is in accord [with us]—this is how it brings order to [our] virtues. The music of Zhèng and Wèi, in contrast, gives free rein to indulge in the wrong kinds of sounds. [104]

|[28] 凡古樂龍(隆)心,益(溢)樂龍(隆)指(嗜),皆𡥈(教)其人者也。𡋗(賚)、武樂取,佋(韶)頣(夏)樂情。

|[28] Generally speaking, music of old ennobles one's heart-mind; extravagant (new) music satisfies desires.[105] They both serve to educate their people. In the [dances of] "Lài" and "Wǔ", music makes manifest [ambitions]; in the [dances of] "Shāo and "Xià", music [displays] sensibilities.

Having come thus far, "*Xìng zì mìng chū" dwells on the extreme effects music has on the individual in bringing sorrow and yearning, happiness and joy. Just as sorrow brings mournfulness, joy brings elation. For the individual it is a seemless process from experiencing such moments of elation to making them manifest at the outside, for instance through dance. Parallel to dance, "*Xìng zì mìng chū" also explains the origins of angry expressions like stamping as the physical expressions of one's inner state.

Under closer scrutiny, the brief excursus into the origins of the mainstays of culture and their effect on the human psyche in "*Xìng zì mìng chū" brings to light various aspects worth considering. First, the development of culture in its distinct constituents—Songs; Documents; Rites and Music—is explained through behavioural and psychologising models. Culture on the whole has a rather trifling source, namely the natural behavioural patterns in the populace. It is only through the workings of the sagacious person(s) that it becomes something profound. However, it is worth noting that the cultural heroes, as I advocate calling

104 This reading follows S. Cook 2012: 719.

105 S. Cook 2012: 719n184 summarises the diverging views about 溢/淫(?)樂. As *yì yuè* 溢樂 serves to educate the people, I think it rather unlikely that it would simply represent a class of 'new' music or something akin to the wrong sort of sounds. It must have had some form of corrective element to it in the pursue of becoming a well-rounded human being. For analyses of musical thought in "Xìng zì mìng chū", see exemplary Lǐ Tiānhóng 2003; Gù Shǐkǎo 2004; Brindley 2006a and 2006b; Liu 2008; Perkins 2017. For a more generic discussion see also S.J. Park 2013.

them here, do not change the substance of the mainstays of culture – they just alter their shape, as they order them by kind, and so refine them.

This is important in various respects. Philosophically it matters because it renders the project of education on the basis of culture as structurally parallel to the individual's process of moral cultivation, where he or she progresses from a state of fickle sensibilities to appropriate conduct in a smooth development because *dào* is always already part of the individual. Just as self-cultivation marks a seamless evolution that does not conflict with human nature,[106] education through culture is possible because culture correspondingly sprang from the people as an initially uncontrolled expression of their inner state. It furthermore matters because the substance of the constitution of Shū—one of the four mainstays of culture in "*Xìng zì mìng chū"—is described as unaltered after the philosophical persona of the *shèngrén* has ordered it by kind.[107] To the makers of "*Xìng zì mìng chū" the Shū remain closely associated with acts of speaking.

Related to this point, secondly, is the obvious lack of any reference to a potentially textual source of these cultural institutions, or indeed their textually bounded representation. Third, the pairing of Shī-Shū, on the one hand, and *lǐ-yuè*, on the other, is noteworthy, for it confirms the conceptual pairing as carried out in "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ" and "*Liù dé". "*Xìng zì mìng chū" explains them as follows: 'Songs came into being by acting them out; Documents came into being by speaking them out;[108] rites and music came into being by exalting them'.[109] Rites and music are clearly in a category of their own, with Shī and Shū forming another. This division is deepened over the entire course of the excursion on the mainstays of culture. While Shī and Shū are not subjected to further treatment beyond one phrase, the texts go into considerable pains to discourse on rites and music.[110] This suggests, again confirming the picture of the other manuscript texts, that rites and music were something much more diffuse in comparison to Shī and Shū and in need of elaboration. In other words, to the projected audiences of "*Xìng

106 "Xìng zì mìng chū" slip **3**/11–18.

107 One might like to consider this kind of 'ordering' as a parallel expression to "*Jūnzǐ wéilǐ".

108 This statement tallies with a passage from the "Yìwén zhì" of the *Hànshū*, stating that, in antiquity:

> 'the Scribe on the left recorded the words [of their lords]; the Scribe on the right recorded their deeds. The deeds became *Spring and Autumn Annals*; the words became *Venerated Documents*. (左史記言，右史記事，事為春秋，言為尚書). *Hànshū* 1962: 1715.

109 "Xìng zì mìng chū" slip **16**/3–21.

110 The entire set of slips **18**/21–**22**/18 is used for the discourse on ritual, while the entire space of slips **22**/19–**28**/23 is used for music. (The slip sequence is that of "Xìng zì mìng chū".)

zì mìng chū" and "*Xìng qíng lùn", Shī and Shū are well-recognised items – rites and music are not.

Fourth, the way rites and music are described is surprising in its breadth. Rites express sensibilities but also refined patterns. They are described as regulated activities that can be taught. This equally applies to the individual's bodily expressions, just like the regulated exchange of gifts.[111] The same is true of music, a category even containing dance. The texts mention chanted songs, the sounds of zither and lute and ritual dance. Music elevates and stirs emotions, but it can also humble the individual. More important, however, is that music also contains elements that 'give free rein to indulging in the wrong kinds of sounds'.[112] This is not the description of a primarily textual, let alone closed, canon. It clearly describes rites and music in social-behavioural terms.

1.5 Conclusion

Much thus depends on the mainstays of culture in the texts under consideration. The ideas put forward about the underlying patterns of learning and moral self-cultivation are given ancient pedigree, and they are presented as though they accord with—and are in part structurally parallel to—the cultural manifestations of the human psyche.

The line of reasoning points to two related phenomena. First, it becomes clear that the ideas developed in these texts were novel, perhaps even revolutionary, for it was felt necessary to persuade the intended text recipients of their ancient pedigree, parallel to the mainstays of culture – be they two,[113] six,[114] or four.[115] As they have a validity from the *longue durée*, they reflect the most profound areas of human activity, or so the texts suggest. Second, and fundamentally linked to the first point, in this way these texts cast light on a deeply engrained trust in the institutions of culture on the part of the text recipients. *Shī-shū-lǐ-yuè-yì-chūnqiū* are presented as unquestioned pillars of culture by contemporaneous audiences, making manifest the canon of cultivation, learning and refinement. But do these

111 On gift economy in early China, see the discussions in Chang 1975; Cooper 1982; C. Cook 1997. See also Mullis 2008. For a fascinating anthropological development of value more broadly, which includes the exchange of gifts, see Graeber 2001.

112 "*Xìng zì mìng chū" slip **27**/11–22.

113 Songs and Documents as in "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ".

114 Songs and Documents, plus 'rites' and 'music', "Changes" and "Chronicles", as in "*Liù dé".

115 Songs and Documents; 'rites' and 'music', as in "*Xìng zì mìng chū" and "*Xìng qíng lùn".

works, as has been claimed for them, also give evidence of a set of textually bound classics during the Warring States? I think not.

Two things stand out. First, the manuscript texts do not agree on a defined catalogue of learning. Despite its fragmented state, we can confirm that to "*Jūnzǐ wéi lǐ" only Songs and Documents are centrally important. In line with its philosophical considerations of the correspondences of three pairs of two, "*Liù dé" considers six mainstays of culture as important for the project of moral refinement. To "*Xìng zì mìng chū" and "*Xìn qíng lùn" four items are what matters.

Second, in all of these texts Shī and Shū stand out. They always serve as a pair, and they are treated as categories that need no detailed account of what they are. At the time of the texts' interment they clearly were well-recognised concepts, be it speech registers or text miscellanies – and they were valued as such by contemporaneous groups. This being so, the texts cited here do not refer to them as something fixed or even necessarily written. They are closely tied to performance. We know that Songs were already a fairly well-delimited body of verse in the Warring States, but writing is unlikely to have put a definite end to their spoken delivery. As for Shū, the stress in these texts is consistently laid on their relation to acts of speaking. The extent to which the basis of these words was also written will be discussed later on in this study (see, in particular, Ch. 6). At this point it will suffice to say that the Shī and Shū clearly form a category of their own, signalling their status as core cultural institutions.[116] The description of rites and music differs in this respect. They are given no textual connection in the discussion

116 This is confirmed by another, somehow unorthodox manuscript text, "*Jì Kàngzǐ wèn yú Kǒngzǐ", consisting of 23 slips, 39 cm long, and collected in volume 5 of *Shànghǎi Museum* (41–66; 193–236). Here Jì Kàng enquires about the nature of '*mín wù*' 民務 (commonfolks' duties) to which Kǒngzǐ responds by elaborating about a 'lord's duties' (*jūn wù* 君務). Having particularised that the lord treats the commonfolks with compassion (*rén* 仁) by way of his virtuous powers (*dé* 德), he pairs Documents (Shū) and Songs (Shī)—in that order—with the 'ritual deportment' (*yí* 儀) of the lord. (Slips 6–7) 'As for the Documents they are to document (*shū* 書) a lord's *dé*; |[7] as for the Songs they are to record (*zhì* 誌) a lord's wishes (*zhì* 志); as for ritual deportment (*yí* 儀) they are to make the lord cautious (*jǐn* 謹) of his ways". (I follow the organisation of the manuscript as suggested by Gù Shīkǎo [S. Cook] 2018b in his excellent study and reconstruction of the text.) Its unusual sequence of Shū and Shī aside, the manuscript text confirms the conceptual pairing of the foundational texts, Shī and Shū, giving each of them a textual connection; it also moves them in the conceptual vicinity of Confucius; and finally, it confirms their use in the context of a discussion of ritual comportment.

from the passages cited above. Instead they are presented as structurally co-ordinate with punishments and law.[117] Changes and Chronicles are perhaps more difficult to evaluate as they are only mentioned once and in passing. While we know that both existed in written form quite early on, there is no evidence to equate those textualisations with the later classics of that name.[118]

The fact that "*Yǔ cóng" 語叢 *1*, a manuscript text of Guōdiàn, contains a similar catalogue of cultural practices—*shī*-{*shū (?)}-*lǐ-yuè-yì-chūnqiū*—does not alter the picture. [119] To begin with, it is not all that clear what the manuscript text really is and what it does. It shows rather unusual characteristics in content and style, as well as in its physical representation.[120] It does not offer a continuous disquisition of the type seen in many philosophical texts of the time; nor does it present clear units of thought of the kind seen in "*Lǎozǐ" or "Zīyī". Instead, it provides mostly single-phrase statements of the sort known from the canon of the Mohist 'Dialectical' chapters, *Mò-jīng* 墨經, that is, short sophisticated statements and isolated propositions.[121] The fact that many propositions of "*Yǔ cóng" *1* reproduce phrases from other texts of the Guōdiàn corpus adds to the difficulty. Should it be taken as 'analytic *aperçu*', as Christoph Harbsmeier suggests in a series of thought-provoking essays? [122] Or does it simply represent the notes taken by a student of the manuscript texts from Guōdiàn, that is, shorthand key phrases from a defined group of texts? Or do the phrases perhaps belong to the cultural

117 Obviously this does not necessarily exclude that some of these instances were given written representation. The *Zuǒ zhuàn*, but also the covenant texts *méng shū* 盟書 make it plain that at least some of the codes were put in writing during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States.

118 This conclusion is confirmed by manuscript texts that do not reason by way of using Shū but single out Shī in their making of an argument. "*Mín zhī fùmǔ" 民之父母 (Parents of the commonfolks) is a case in point. The Shànghǎi manuscript text in the rites traditions clearly draws on text-based Shī and juxtaposes it to the conceptual pair of 'rites' and 'music', which it treats as non-textual activities.

119 "*Yǔ cóng" (Thicket of Sayings) *1* is collected in *Guōdiàn Manuscripts*: 75–86 for the photographic reproductions of the slips; 191–200 for the transcription. In my reading, here too they relate to practices rather then well-prescribed texts.

120 The manuscript contains 112 bamboo slips that are unusually short, being just 17.2 to 17.4 cm long, connected by three cords.

121 See Harbsmeier 2011; 2015. The literature on "*Yǔ cóng" *1–4* from tomb no. 1, Guōdiàn, is too vast to be reviewed here. A succinct overview is given in S. Cook 2012: 799–810.

122 Harbsmeier 2011; 2015.

repertoire of the learned at the time, with the philosophical texts of Guōdiàn expounding the pool of knowledge in a systematic fashion?[123] We simply do not know. But even if we were to assume that "*Yǔ cóng" *1* is not just the notes of the owner of the Guōdiàn manuscripts and thus represents another independent, and therefore fully valid, instance of a text providing a catalogue of cultural practices—*lǐ-yuè-shī*-{*shū (?)}-*yì-chūnqiū*—it does not mean that what we see on slips 36–44 is also the listing of the 'Six Classics' (*liù jīng*). I here cite the relevant text passage:

|[42] 豊(禮)交之行述也 –
|[43] 樂或生或教者也 –
|[38] 詩所以會古含(今)之恃(志) |[38] 也者 –
□□□□□者也 –
|[36] 易所以會天彳亍(道)人彳亍(道) |[37] 也 –
春秋所以會古含(今)之事 |[38] 也 ■ [124]
|[42] Ritual is the procedure of the conduct of interaction;
|[43] Music is that which at times is brought about and which at times instructs;
|[38] Songs is that by which wishes |[38] past and present are brought together.
{X: (Documents ?) *is that by which* } ... . †
|[36] Changes is that by which the ways of Heaven and the ways of man |[37] are brought together.
Chronicles is that by which affairs past and present are brought together.

The highly tentative ordering of the slips notwithstanding, we see two features that correspond to the previous catalogues (altogether the conceptual overlap of these lines with "*Xìng zì mìng chū" is rather striking). First, as in the previous instances, rites and music are treated differently from the other cultural practices. They are a group of their own. Second, the mainstays of culture are all related to behavioural patterns. The other, *shī*-[*shū* (?)]-*yì-chūnqiū*, all store different types of knowledge, in whatever ways.

What we see from all these instances, "*Yǔ cóng" *1* included, is a deep affinity to these cultural institutions, something around which patterns of conduct are structured. Given these observations, it is fair to conclude that the mention of these *cultural practices* in the first instance points to a canon of learning and refinement, forming the basis of the cultural capital of the learned. This may well be textually bounded in parts. To take it as proof for the existence of a closed canon at the time of the Warring States seems, however, overstated.

123 This would give the texts "*Yǔ cóng" some sort of primacy over the philosophical texts from Guōdiàn that are written in a continuous mode.

124 The order of the slips and the transcription here follows S. Cook 2012: 835f.

2 Archiving cultural capital

> I would enshrine the image of the past
> For future restoration[1]

There is a clear pattern as to how the manuscript texts from the Warring States period relate to the mainstays of Zhōu culture. The texts normally present stable pairings, comprised of Shī (Songs) and Shū (Documents) as one pair; Lǐ (rites/rituals) and Yuè (music) as another; Yì (Changes) and Chūnqiū (Annals) as a third. In addition, rites and music are sometimes also paired with other cultural institutions such as law and punishments.

The two pairs, Songs and Documents on the one hand and Changes and Annals on the other, are conspiciously different. Unlike rituals and music, and unlike law and punishments, it seems they represent categories which more plainly stand on their own in the eyes of their contemporaneous beholder. Although to some extent they are all described as cultural practices, Songs and Documents, and Changes and Annals seem to come with at least some textual representation (and expectation of the same), lending stability to their conceptualisation as groups. This conclusion is supported by further palaeographical evidence.[2] Songs and Documents in particular stand out, suggesting they had a more dominant status at the time.

This picture is given further support by "Zīyī", a highly schematic context-dependent text from the Warring States period. It repeatedly weaves phrases from the Shī and Shū into a themed texture of its own making, while other foundational sources—except sayings from the Master himself—are prominently absent from its manuscript representations.

Looking at "Zīyī" is therefore instructive. While it confirms the special status of the Shī and the Shū, it also complicates our picture of the foundational texts and their users at the time, casting light, in a limited way, on how they were used by the text communities behind the making of "Zīyī".

1 William Wordsworth, Prelude 1805, XI, v. 342–343.

2 Shaughnessy 2014; Huáng Dékuān 2017; Kern and Meyer 2017a.

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2.1 "Zīyī"

In general, transmitted texts from the Warring States contain just a few intertextual correspondences with Shū, and such correspondences should be viewed with some caution because of the growing belief in text stability and text cohesion during the empires. *Transmitted pre-Qín* texts is a contradiction in terms, since the texts were subject to later rewriting. They do therefore not serve as a reliable point of reference without further material support. "Zīyī" is, however, ideal as a point of reference because it comes in different recensions, excavated and transmitted alike. Moreover, the importance of "Zīyī" further lies in its structured, and explicit, reference to the Shī and Shū for much of the work. Unlike argument-based texts written in continuous mode, "Zīyī" is organised in disconnected 'units of thought'.[3] The regular references to Shī and Shū in these units appear parallel to sayings referenced as *zǐ yuē* 子曰, 'the Master says' (or 'the masters say), which frame the various units and mark them each as independent entities. This may look as follows:

> 子曰:為上可𥘅(望)而智(知)也,為下 |[4] 可賴〈賴(述)〉而等(志)也,則君不悘(疑)其臣,臣不惑於君。寺(詩)員(云):雩(弔)人君子,其義(儀)不 |[5] 弋(忒)。尹𠦂(誥)員(云):「隹(惟)尹𠂤(允)及湯,咸又(有)一悳(德)。 ■ [4]
>
> The Master said: 'When those on high can be looked up to and understood, and those below |[4] can be [made to] follow and taken note of, then lords will not hold in doubt their ministers, and ministers will not be confused about their rulers'.
>
> Songs say: 'The good and noble person,[5] their standards are not |[5] ambiguous'.
>
> Yǐn's admonitions proclaim: 'Truly [Yi] Yin and [King] Tang both had one single mind''.

As in this example, the various units are introduced by a statement put into the mouth of a, or more likely *the* master, traditionally understood as Confucius. These 'master sayings',[6] as I wish to call them, are paired with references to at least one foundational text, Shī or Shū. For the most part, this is to Shī, consistently introduced as 'Songs say' [寺(詩)員(云)], but references to Shū are also

3 The term appeared first in Wagner 1999. Wagner's concept is not entirely unproblematic because it requires a definition of 'thought'. In this book I use unit of thought to denote a textual unit that puts forward one self-contained concern.

4 Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit 3 (*Lǐjì* 10): Slips **3**/14–**5**/13. For the reconstruction of the text, see Shaughnessy 2006: 96–97; S. Cook 2012: 379–380.

5 Guided by the *Máo* recension, most commentators here read 雩 as 淑. For a discussion as to why 弔 'good, fine' might work better, see Meyer and Schwartz 2021b.

6 My use of the term 'master saying' should not be taken as an equivalent to Denecke's 2010 "masters' literature", which I consider methodologically problematic because it studies heterogeneous pre-imperial traditions from the perspective of imperial catalogues.

made with some regularity. The transmitted "Zīyī" moreover makes one reference to the *Changes* (*Yì* 易) and to the *Chūnqiū*.[7] Not so the manuscript texts.

In its transmitted form, "Zīyī" belongs to the imperial classic *Lǐjì* 禮記 (Record of Rites), a ritualist's miscellany that contains a variety of ritual 'prescriptions, definitions, and anecdotes', [8] providing reflections on, and conceptualisations of, rites. Much of the rites recorded in the *Lǐjì*, however, reflect imperial imagination rather than ancient realities.

Next to the transmitted recension in the *Lǐjì*, "Zīyī" also comes in two manuscript representations – one was excavated from Guōdiàn; the other is part of the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts, bought by the Shànghǎi Museum in 1994 and published in volume 1 of the *Shànghǎi Manuscripts*. The two manuscript texts are strikingly similar but differ substantially from the received text in structural terms. Ignoring for a moment that Shànghǎi "Zīyī" is not so well preserved,[9] the two manuscript texts have the same length, the same contents, and even share the sequence of their units of thought, both of which differ in the received recension. But not just the order of the units differs between manuscript texts and the received recension – even their internal makeup is not consistent with the received text. The individual units are also much shorter in the manuscript texts. Given the high structural cohesion of these units in the manuscript texts, which, one would think, should lend them long-term stability, this is noteworthy.[10]

Notwithstanding the unusual text consistency of the two manuscript texts, I consider it unlikely that either served as immediate *Vorlage* for the production of

7 I here italicise *Changes* to indicate that unlike the manuscript text, the transmitted—and thus imperial—text most likely text makes reference to a defined body of *Changes*.

8 Riegel 1993: 293.

9 The Shànghǎi manuscript has a text written on twenty-four slips about 54.3 centimetres long when complete, connected by three binding straps. Today only eight slips remain intact. See *Shànghǎi Museum* 2001–, vol. 1:43–68, 169–213.

10 The two manuscript manifestations are organised as follows: The manuscript opening unit corresponds to unit 2 of the received "Zīyī", followed by units 11, 10, 12, 17, 6, 5, 4, 9, 15, 14, 3, 13, 7 (unit 7 is split into two in the manuscript texts), 8, 23, 18, 22, 21, 19, 20, 24. Units 1, 16, and the first part of 18 of the received text are not extant in the manuscript texts. For a discussion of the structural stability of manuscript "Zīyī", see Kern 2005a.

the other, as is indicative from certain structural differences between them.[11] Because variation is the norm in a manuscript culture,[12] disparity between texts in general only offers limited information about their immediate relation. Some variances in the writing between the manuscripts fall into the category of graphic difference,[13] others are phonetical.[14] Differences of those two kinds are to be expected. They normally point to a situation where a given text may be relatively stable in its wording but not so stable in its written form, thus indicating a vital oral element in a text's use and transmission. This includes the possible scenarios where the writer in question—I am using the designation 'writer' for the person who executed the calligraphy on the manuscript as it does not carry the directional relationships between manuscript and text which copyist or scribe do[15]—was reading the text aloud to himself or taking dictation when producing another copy of it, as this would result in a phonetically stable copy of the text, rather than a graphically stable one. This is a standard phenomenon in manuscript production more generally.[16] Instances of this sort therefore offer only limited information about the stability of a text and do not concern us here.

We should look out for clues of a different sort. Particularly relevant is the situation where two (or more) different graphs represent broadly similar words (or not), but have a different phonetic value. Two main scenarios are normally considered for producing a copy of a text in manuscript cultures. First, a manuscript is reproduced from memory; secondly, it is reproduced from a physical *Vorlage*.[17] Yet the process is not so simple. The two models are not necessarily so different. To reproduce a manuscript from memory may also include taking the step via a physical *Vorlage* – and vice versa. The scenarios may therefore vary and may or may not involve third parties.

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11 The term *Vorlage* is common in Biblical studies and does not carry the problematic connotations of the English 'source text'. Based on the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which defines *Vorlage* as 'original version of a manuscript or a book from which a copy is produced', I use it as the—physical—template of a given text.

12 In his seminal *Eloge de la variante*, Bernard Cerquiglini 1989: 111 remarks that medieval writing 'does not produce variants; it *is* variance' (L'écriture médiévale ne produit pas de variantes, elle est variance). It is important to note that this does not just characterise the European case of medieval writing, but equally applies to manuscript cultures more broadly, including those of early China. I come back to this.

13 See Boltz 1997: 258 for a discussion of graphic variation in manuscript texts.

14 See the discussion in Meyer 2011: 196, n. 32.

15 The term 'scripteur' would do the job too but I can see no advantage of it over 'writer'.

16 For European manuscript cultures see especially the informed discussion in Illich 1991.

17 To this date Kern 2002 has given the matter of manuscript reproduction in early China the fullest attention.

One way to produce a new copy from a physical *Vorlage* is by dictation. This too may take two principal forms, each allowing for theoretically unlimited variations. First, the writers in question dictate the text they see to their own brush; second, someone is reading it out aloud to a writer, a situation reminiscent of the *scriptorium* in early medieval Europe.[18] In either scenario, even though the writer is working from a material *Vorlage*, the oral value of the word may still by highly relevant or even take primacy over the structural features of the visible graph. This is of course not the only scenario. But it is common in manuscript cultures. China is no exception.[19] To encounter the phenomenon in two structurally stable manscript texts where the type of variation is that two different graphs represent broadly similar words (or not) but have a substantially different phonetic value is therefore at odds with the habits of dictation, be it through a third party or by direct reference to a *Vorlage* (i.e., by dictating the word to one's own brush). This also includes text reproduction from memory. Should such phenomena occur in more than just one isolated instance, we can discount, as an informed hypothesis, the scenario that a writer was using one of two manuscripts, A or B, as a *Vorlage* for producing the other copy (A or B). In such cases we should therefore speak of each exemplar as a text in its own right.

To cite just one example taken from the manuscript texts "Zīyī", in a reference to Shū traditions, the Guōdiàn text has *cāng* 滄 (OC *[ts^{hʕ}]aŋ) where the

18 On manuscript production in early medieval Europe, see exemplary, Putnam 1962.

19 There are of course also plenty of examples where the writer went for the graph they saw, not its aural value. But such cases are not always easy to determine. For instance, when in a manuscript text certain graphs are sometimes written with a variable position of their phonophore or signific (i.e., left, right, top, bottom), it is not necessarily indicative of a visual copying from a physical *Vorlage*. Cases where a writer reproduced the *graph* they saw, not the sound they heard, have been made for various texts. The Qīnghuá manuscript "*Mìng xùn" 命訓 (Instructions on Commands), for instance, reproduced in volume 5 of the *Qīnghuá Manuscripts*, may be one such case, as suggested by Richter 2009. The manuscript "*Zhèng Wéngōng wèn Tàibó" (vol. 6) might be another reference point for visual copying. It comes in two manuscript recensions, *A and *B, which systematically write place names differently while it seems that they were produced by the same writer. However, cases of visual copying are not the rule. Ignoring matters of phonetics, graphic variation between manuscripts is often explained by stating that the writer in question must have worked from different *Vorlagen* at hand, just because the position of the signific of a graph or so differs between two manuscripts. (Examples include Shaughnessy 2016b. A similar argument was made in Morgan 2010.) For a good discussion of the triangular relationship of graph, sound, and meaning, see Boltz 1994: 18–21.) Note in this context that in some of the states in the collection of verse of the Ān Dà *Shī* the writer clearly made a point about the deeper meaning of a word by playing with its written signification. It is impossible to say though whether this reflects a separate tradition of the Shī or simply answers to a rather idiosyncratic playfulness of the writer in question. This is discussed more fully in Meyer and Schwartz 2021a and b.

Shànghǎi manuscript has *hán* 寒 (OC *[g]ˁa[n]).[20] While the two words appear sufficiently close phonetically on a superficial level, the place of articulation of the initial seems too different for assuming that it makes a good loan, and they also have a different coda.[21] Although the two words basically share the same (broader) meaning, they differ (enough) phonetically. Examples of this kind abound. To me it suggests that the two manuscript texts are best considered as independent texts without a shared immediate transmission history.[22] I therefore treat them as though they each have had their own—and different—*Vorlage*.[23] This does not of course mean that the two texts do not have a related history. However, unless we assume a creative reproduction of the text from its *Vorlage*, that is, the literarisation of the new text through productive polishing, we must suppose that neither of the manuscripts was produced by using the other as direct *Vorlage*. Given the type of variation in the manuscript texts, as well as the sort of text the manuscript versions of "Zīyī" represent—they are neither representational in their literary style nor in their physical appearance—I consider the scenario of a creative reproduction unlikely.

In conclusion, the evidence suggests that Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi "Zīyī" each represent an independent text. Despite some changes on the lexical level, common in a manuscript culture, the two manuscript texts are surprisingly stable in text composition, structure, and content. The two independent but highly stable manuscript texts to a rare degree cast light on the condition of text cohesion and writing in the environment of a steadying manuscript culture at around 300 BC.

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20 Guōdiàn Slip **10**/8; Shànghǎi Slip **6**/20. Baxter-Sagart 2014 reconstruct *hán* 寒 as OC *Cə.[g]ˁa[n], but I think the prefix is not tenable. Schüssler 2007 reconstructs the pair OC *tshraŋ(h) (for *cāng* 滄) and OC *gân (for *hán* 寒).

21 The criteria for phonetic similarity for loan characters and phonetic components in Old Chinese are as follows. (1) The main vowel should be the same; (2) the coda should be the same; (3) initials should have the same place of articulation (but not necessarily the same manner of articulation); (4) one may be A-type, one may be B-type; (5) one may have *-r- and the other not; (6) the 'tone' category may be different (i.e., final *ʔ and final *-s can be ignored). These rules are sometimes relaxed, as is evident, for example, by páng zhuǎn 旁轉 phenomena, in which open and closed syllables are substituted for each other. (See Meyer 2011: 150, n71.)

22 This point is contested. Scott Cook (2012: 370) concludes the opposite. He takes the two instantiations of "Zīyī" fundamentally as the same text.

23 Other examples include graphs that differ phonetically, as well as in meaning. For instance, in a reference to the Songs, Guōdiàn has *yì* 義 (*ŋ(r)aj-s) 'rightness'  (Slip **34**/6) while the Shànghǎi text has *jìng* 敬 (*kreŋʔ-s)  'respect' (Slip **17**/29). Most changes of this kind occur in reference to Shū texts. In discussing "*Wǔwáng jiànzuò" A and B Krijgsman 2014b: 102n74 notes a parallel variation to the one under discussion, stating that although *yì* 義 and *jìng* 敬 have some graphic resemblance, they are nonetheless easily distinguished.

The Guōdiàn manuscript text "Zīyī" is written on forty-seven bamboo slips, each about 32.5 centimetres long. They are unusually well preserved. Not a single slip of this rather sizeable manuscript is fragmented. The slips are tapered towards both ends. As can be judged from the marks, two cords, 12.8–13 centimetres apart, previously kept the slips together.[24] The Guōdiàn "Zīyī" is very likely complete, as is the Shànghǎi. After each unit of thought there is a heavy black mark on the slips, structuring the text into twenty-three units. This number is also given at the end of the text, signalling that this is the full extent of the text.[25] Given that the same number is produced in two independent manuscript texts, it is reasonable to assume that "Zīyī" in twenty-three units was considered one entity by at least some text communities. It is therefore likely that more such copies existed and that during the Warring States, "Zīyī" was considered a stable entity – otherwise it would not be necessary to provide that number at the end of the text. To assume that the number might serve to preserve the text in its given form—what German textual criticism calls *Textsicherung*—so as to guard the text against future rearticulations yields the same conclusion about the multiple circulation of a predominantly stable text. This is given further support by Shànghǎi "Zīyī". The textual state of "Zīyī" thus explains the extraordinary coherence of the two manuscript versions of the text.[26]

In the manuscript texts the following units draw explicitly on Shū, the information in parentheses points to their counterpart in the received text: 3 (*Lǐjì* 10); 5 (*Lǐjì* 17); 7 (*Lǐjì* 5); 10 (*Lǐjì* 15); 11 (*Lǐjì* 14); 12 (*Lǐjì* 3); 13 (*Lǐjì* 13); 17 (*Lǐjì* 23); 18 (*Lǐjì* 18).[27] On altogether nine occasions the manuscript texts refer to text passages—or speakers (?)—of Shū traditions, while twelve units of the received "Zīyī" draw on the *Shàngshū*, some in more than just one instance.[28] The most erratic of these is unit 16 of the received text, with four references to the *Shàngshū*. Notably, these are to the spurious "Tài jiǎ" 太甲 in two instances; "Yuè mìng" 說命 of the nebulous old-script-recension; as well as to a text generally taken as "Yǐn gào" 尹誥

24 *Guōdiàn Slips* 1998: 129.

25 Note that "Zīyī" is not the only text where numbers are preserved. Olivier Venture lists various cases, including manuscripts from the Eastern Hàn, that provide a word count at the end of the text in his *Livres et documents dans la Chine ancienne*, a systematic overview of text finds from early China.

26 Kern 2005a: 300–301 suggested that the macro-consistency of the excavated "Zīyī" presents an effective tool for textual stability.

27 This exercise is greatly aided by Shaughnessy 2006.

28 The references to *Shàngshū* in the "Zīyī" of *Lǐjì* are in units 3 (manuscript unit 12); 5 (M17); 10 (M3); 13 (M13) in two instances; 14 (M11); 15 (M10); 16 (N/A) in four instances; 17 (M5); 18 (M18); 22 (M19); 23 (M17); 24 (M23).

(but written as 尹吉 in the text). The transmitted unit 16 is not extant in the manuscript texts and is probably a much later intrusion. Equally interesting is the fact that while many of the references to Songs in both the manuscript and received recensions name them explicitly as Songs, there are no intertextual correspondences of that sort to Shū. In the manuscript texts Shū are never referenced in generic terms but always by specific designations – be they texts or the names of posited speakers.

2.2 Shū in "Zīyī"

I shall now present a brief overview over the ways "Zīyī" draws on Shū, exemplified through the Guōdiàn text representation.

Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit *3*:

The first unit that incorporates Shū in the manuscript texts is unit *3*, cited fully above.[29]

Both the Guōdiàn and the Shànghǎi recensions reference Shū as Yǐn gào 尹㬎 (誥). There is no such text in the received modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū*,[30] but a phrase similar to this one appears in pseudo-Kǒng "Xián yǒu yī dé", as I outline below.[31]

Differences between Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi with regard to Shū correspondences are minor. They principally apply to two graphs: for graph **5**/7 in Guōdiàn, [ >身(允) *[l]u[r]ʔ] Shànghǎi has  > (夋) *[ts^{h}]u[r] (**3**/13). Assuming the graphs have been rendered correctly in the transcriptions, they are just graphic variations of the same character, a normal phenomenon in manuscript cultures and should not concern us here; for graph **5**/9 in the Guōdiàn text, [ (湯) *ɾ̥^{ʕ}aŋ] Shànghǎi has  (康) *k-ɾ̥^{ʕ}aŋ > *ɾ̥^{ʕ}aŋ (**3**/15). They both denote the name of the first Shāng ruler. As in the example above they have the same phonetic value.

The old-script "Xián yǒu yī dé" has the following line: '惟尹躬暨湯，咸有一德' (in reaching out to Tāng, Yī *Yǐn [and Tāng] both had one single mind), stably corresponding to '惟尹躬及湯，咸有一德' from the *Lǐjì* recension – except the fourth graph. But 暨 (*[m-k-]rəp-s) and 及(*[m-k-]rəp) make a perfect loan and

29 See p. 64.

30 The *Lǐjì* recension of "Zīyī" has "Yǐn jí" 尹吉. Based on Zhèng Xuán, Shaughnessy 2006: 97, n. 46 speculates that the received recension confuses the title with one of a lost chapter of the *Shàngshū*, named Yǐn Jífǔ 尹吉甫 or Yǐn Jífù 尹吉父.

31 The old-script "Xián yǒu yī dé" was possibly produced by way of building the text around common phrases from known traditions. We therefore cannot determine the exact relationship of it with the *Lǐjì* and other sources.

can mean the same thing. The phrase appears similarly also in "*Yǐn gào" of the Qīnghuá manuscripts: 隹(惟)尹既  (及)湯咸又(有)一悳(德).[32] The third graph, (Guōdiàn **5**/7:  >身(允); Shànghǎi **3**/13: (夋); Qīnghuá **1**/3:  *[k]ə[t]-s) causes much confusion among the commentators and cannot be well explained either phonetically or graphically.[33]

Judging from the lexicon we may conclude that the two manuscript recensions of "Zīyī", Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi, each show some graphic variations that do not, however, impair the texts' stability. Phonetically, however, they present a remarkably steady text. This aside, regarding their use of Shū traditions, the two manuscript recensions of "Zīyī" display a discrepancy from Qīnghuá "*Yǐn gào" pertaining to one graph in particular, which broadly speaking has the same meaning to the ones used in the other manifestations of textualised Shū but differs in ways that cannot be well explained phonetically or graphically. This suggests, again, that the three manuscript texts (the two manuscript texts "Zīyī" plus "*Yǐn gào") were not produced from the same immediate *Vorlage*, or in fact, from one another. This should not come as a surprise. Nonetheless, it is crucial, methodologically, to make this clear. As a general observation, confirmed by the analysis of the other units in "Zīyī", there is a gap between received and manuscript texts: the received recensions of the referenced text (in this case, Shū as produced in *Lǐjì* "Zīyī"—henceforth just *Lǐjì*—plus "Xián yǒu yī dé") prove phonetically stable but present some notable discrepancies from the three manuscript texts.

Conceptually the analysis presents a different picture though. In the old-script "Xián yǒu yī dé" the referenced text reproduces speech articulated by Yī Yǐn. This is not so clear in "Zīyī". In "*Yǐn gào" the referenced passage is not part of Yī Yǐn's speech but constitutes a narrative by an off-text voice. This brings to light a marked difference between "Xián yǒu yī dé" on the one hand, and the manuscript text "*Yǐn gào" (and possibly "Zīyī" too) on the other. It shows that while the different texts clearly draw on a common fabula that frames the articulation of these texts in the first place, the story they produce from it is different in each case. This makes it plain that the communities in question each conceptualise quite differently the materials that underlie common text production.

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32 Slip **1**/1–9.

33 Guōdiàn renders the graph as which reads (身). It is taken as *yǐn* 尹 (*m-qurʔ) while reading the preceding 尹 as *yī* 伊, which is unproblematic. Qiú Xīguī (in *Guōdiàn Manuscripts*: 132) interprets as *yǔn* 允 in the sense of an emphatic 'truly'. *jì* 既 (*[k]ə[t]-s) of the Qīnghuá recension is phonetically quite different different from 尹 (*m-qurʔ) or 允 (*[l]u[r]ʔ) and thus poses a problem.

Questions remain, in particular with regard to what this unit actually means, or what it sets out to do. Why have a master saying paired with lines from the Songs and Shū, without any supporting narrative that would help to conceptualise the three sources—master sayings, Shī, Shū—or make them somehow cohere?

The Shū phrase itself as produced in this unit says very little, except of course that two personae of high antiquity 'had one single mind'. This suggests that, as stored in this unit, the phrase is less about its actual *content*, but rather about the *story behind the phrase* to which it is pointing, but which today's student of early textuality can reconstruct only inadequately through the limited sources available, in particular the imperial *Shǐjì* and *Shàngshū*, as well as other, epigraphical, materials.[34] Whether the story as presented in them corresponds at all to the ways the communities around the manuscript texts "Zīyī" would conceptualise the role of these personae back then is yet another question.

When reading the old-script "Xían yǒu yī dé", one of the extant sources available today, we see that it dwells on the notion that it is vital for a ruler to nourish their *dé* 德, 'charismatic power', as a principle means to preserve their throne because it is 'difficult to rely on Heaven – its appointments are not constant' (天難諶，命靡常)[35]. That is why the rulers of high antiquity had to make sure their *dé* 德 was constant. As long as a ruler's *dé* is unwavering, his ways are certain to be fortunate. As put by Yī Yǐn in "Xían yǒu yī dé", the minister's task is therefore to promote the ruler's *dé* so it be unflagging. From this it follows that it ought to be the rulers' task to find, and appoint, ministers that ably do so.

That it is vital to nourish a ruler's 'charismatic power' so as to secure Heaven's commands (*tiān mìng* 天命) is not, however, a notion which features prominently in either Qīnghuá "*Yín gào", or in the master's saying as (re-)produced in the manuscript texts "Zīyī". Unlike "Xían yǒu yī dé", the manuscript text "*Yǐn gào" dwells on the importance of keeping the support of the *mín* 民—for reasons of simplicity I here render the term as 'commonfolks'[36]—for they make

34 Some oracle bone inscriptions reference Yī Yǐn, and so it can be assumed that there really was a person of that name during Shāng times. As the name is preserved, it has historical significance (whether he really had the said importance as the principle minister helping his ruler, Tāng, to defeat Jié 桀 (leg. 1728–1675 BC) is another matter.) Next to Qīnghuá "*Yín zhì" and "*Yǐn gào", Mǎwángduī also contains a text, "*Yī Yǐn: *jiǔ zhǔ*" 伊尹九主, which contains retrospective imaginings about Yī Yǐn. Láo Sīguāng 2003: 133 considers the text to be of Warring States origin. Reading "Zīyī" through the *Mòzǐ*, Andrew Meyer 2014 suggests a 'bidirectional' process between master sayings and foundational texts.

35 My translation here follows Legge, 1960: 213.

36 Obviously, *mín* 民 is not equivalent to the 'people'. The term probably derived from denoting members of the aristocracy of a different state and took on the meaning of 'commonfolks' only

the basis of a ruler's preservation of his throne. While the notion of preserving the throne thus features prominently in both "Xían yǒu yī dé" and "*Yín gào", it looks as though it is absent in "Zīyī", where the clear confines of the different roles in government are stressed so that lords shall not 'doubt their ministers' and ministers 'shall not be confused' about their rulers. It is not difficult to imagine that the text communities around the "Zīyī" manuscript texts may have conceptualised the master saying in this way.

We further notice that, in the textualisations of Shū, the ideas about preserving the throne are developed quite differently. The phrase from the very beginning of Qīnghuá "*Yín gào"—|[1] 隹(惟)尹既𠬜(及)湯咸又(有)一悳(德) 'it was when Yī [Yín] had joined Tāng that they had one shared mind'—serves as the opening peg of the text. While it brings to mind the exemplary pair of ruler and minister from bygone days, it remains conceptually detached from the subsequent dialogue between minister and ruler. This differs in "Xián yǒu yī dé" where it features more centrally.

Lastly, the phrase from the Songs as reproduced in "Zīyī" simply mentions the standards of the noble man. When looking into the ode "Shījiū" 鳲鳩 (turtledove) as it is transmitted and therefore, at least theoretically, a (remotely) possible source behind the phrase in "Zīyī", we see that it suggests that it is through the deportment of virtuous men that the 'four quarters of the state' can be 'rectified' (淑人君子正是國人) for 'myriad years' (萬年).[37]

In conclusion, this brief conceptual overview casts light on four phenomena. First, the unit of the "Zīyī" contains a thematic grouping of three separate sources, consisting of master saying; Shī; and Shū. This confirms the picture of the stabilising tripartite structure of *zǐ*—Kǒngzǐ (?)—and the foundational texts, Shī and Shū, of the analysis in Chapter One. Second, because the linguistic content of these sources as produced in this unit is rather limited, it becomes clear that the

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in the course of the Warring States. I discuss this in further depth in my Conclusion. Today's misconception of *mín* as 'people' in the *Shàngshū* largely derives from Legge's conceptualisation of that term. Although Legge himself was well aware of the commentaries that understand it rather differently, his translation primarily reflects ideological, that is, Protestant purposes and has to be understood in the context of the Scottish Enlightenment ('everybody has access to the message of God' – personal communication with Joachim Gentz, September 2015). Later, however, it came to influence Western scholars' understanding of that term as 'people' more generally. See also Gassmann 2000 for a discussion of *mín*, which suffers, however, from overcategorisation. A more nuanced reading is given in Crone 2014 and 2016. Grundmann 2017 takes it to denote a political idea, Zhōu kingship, rather than actual social groupings.

37 *Máo* "Guófēng": 152. It is vital to keep in mind, however, that the *Máo* recension is of imperial making. The song is not part of the Ān Dà *Shī*.

conceptualisation of the phrases, if it occurred, must have taken place in a setting outside the written text, reflecting either a teaching situation or marking "Zīyī" as a text speaking only to groups of insiders. Third, it seems unlikely that the master saying provides any sort of conceptualisation of the Shī and Shū as produced in the text, for it is itself too enigmatic to cast light on a third source. Therefore, rather than reading Shī and Shū as reproduced in "Zīyī" *through* the master sayings, it seems as though the three feature *co-ordinately*, that is, as separate cultural resources collected in one unit, figuring on the same conceptual plane. Lastly, there are broadly speaking three separate interpretations in the use of the fabula related to Yī Yǐn as reproduced in this unit. These are, first, the transmitted recensions of *Shàngshū* and *Lǐjì*; they display some marked differences to the three manuscript versions of the referenced text. But the three manuscript texts must also be grouped, and a distinction made, between the two "Zīyī" texts on the one hand, and the Qīnghuá manuscript text, on the other.[38]

It seems as though the unit under review acted like an archive, storing items of cultural significance. It contains a repertoire of key modules of learning ascribed to Master, Shī, and Shū, put together by themes. The units that follow largely confirm this as the broader picture: first regarding the ways the three sources feature co-ordinately in the "Zīyī" manuscript texts, thus serving as some form of storehouse for cultural capital that is conceptualised outside the written text; second, the textualisations of Shū as produced in "Zīyī" feature as unfixed entities referencing different fabulae, which, in each case are given contrasting representations in textual form by different conceptual communities.

Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit *5*:

子曰：民以君為心，君以民為體; 心好則體安之，君好則民念(欲) |⁹ 之。
古(故)心以體瀳(廢)，君以民芒(亡)。
寺(詩)員(云)：隹(誰)秉窢(國)成，不自為貞(正)，卒褮(勞)百眚(姓)。
君𤘘(牙)員(云)：日㫷(暑)雨，少(小) |¹⁰ 民隹(惟)日悁(怨)；晉冬旨(凄)滄，少(小)民亦隹(惟)日悁(怨)。 ■ [39]

The Master said: 'The commonfolks take the lord as their heart (-mind), the lord takes the commonfolks as his body; when the heart (-mind) is good then the body will find comfort in it, and when the lord is good the commonfolks will desire |⁹ him'.

This is why 'the heart (-mind) is laid waste by the body and the lord may disappear on account of the commonfolks'.

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38 Whether the comparable stability of Shū references between the two "Zīyī" recensions says more about the stability of "Zīyī" than the Shū is a question that occupies me further below.

39 Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit 5 (*Lǐjì* 17): Slips **8**/7–**10**/14. For the reconstruction of the text, see Shaughnessy 2006: 100–101; S. Cook 2012: 384–386.

> Songs say: 'Who is it to hold to the accomplishments of the state? Not serving as the standard himself, in the end he belabours the many surnames.
> Lord Ya (君牙) said: 'when summer rain comes daily – the petty |[10] commonfolks resent it more by the day; when the brisk cold of winter approaches – it is equally that the petty commonfolks resent it more by the day'.

The reference structure of the unit presents the phrase as though it was given by the speaker Lord Ya (*jūn yá*), not a text.[40] A text of the name "Jūn Yá" 君牙 (Lord Ya) is, however, part of the pseudo-Kǒng recension of the *Shàngshū*.

Shànghǎi "Zīyī" references the saying by Lord Ya in the same way. But it displays some discrepancies from the Guōdiàn text in the contents of that phrase.

"Jūn Yá" 君牙 (Lord Ya) contains the following line: 夏暑雨，小民惟曰怨咨; 冬祁寒，小民亦惟曰怨咨 (in the heat and rains of summer—the petty commonfolks can be described as murmuring and sighing; and so too can they be described in the great cold of winter); the *Lǐjì* has instead 夏日暑雨，小民惟曰怨。資冬祁寒，小民亦惟曰怨 (with the hot rain of summer rains—the petty commonfolks can be described as resentful; and so too, with the bitter cold of winter—the petty commonfolks can be described as resentful). The difference between 咨 (*[ts]ij) and 資(*[ts]ij) is purely graphical and therefore negligible; other changes include the additional use of 'day' (日) in the *Lǐjì* recension plus the reference to the text as "Jūn Yá" 君雅 (rather than 君牙) in the old-script recension. They have no bearing on the stability of the text.

With reference to Shū, the differences between Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi are altogether minor;[41] the text of the *Lǐjì* recension broadly corresponds to the

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40 I elaborate this in more detail in my conclusion.

41 For graph **9**/29 in the Guōdiàn text [ >冒 (暑) *s-thaʔ] the Shànghǎi recension has  >俗(暑) *s-thaʔ (**6**/10), but its components seem to correspond. This difference is graphical, not structural, because the components of the two seem to correspond fully. It displays a kind of variation typical in manuscript cultures and should therefore not concern us here; next is Guōdiàn  >惰 (怨) *[ʔ]o[r]-s 'resentment' (**10**/4), rendered as  (命) *m-riŋ-s 'command' (**6**/16) in the Shànghǎi recension. Note, however, that Lǐ Líng 2002b: 410 suggests that the graph in question () is really a form of 怨 'to resent'. 'Winter' 冬 *t^{ʕ}uŋ has an additional signific in the Shànghǎi recension 夂(冬) which has no bearing on the stability of the text (**6**/19–20). The pair 旨(湊)滄 in Guōdiàn (**10**/7–8) is rendered as 耆寒 in the Shànghǎi text (**6**/18). While the first graph just has an additional signific in the Shànghǎi recension (老), which has no bearing on the text's stability, the second graph, while representing broadly the same word, differs graphically as well as phonetically 滄 *[ts^{ʕ}h]aŋ / 寒 *Cə.[g]^{ʕ}a[n]. (Guōdiàn Slip **10**/8; Shànghǎi Slip **6**/20.) As mentioned above, this difference suggests that the two manuscripts were not copied one from another, or in fact had a common (!) third source.

Shàngshū with just some insignificant changes. However, as seen from the previous unit (Guōdiàn "Zīyī" *3*), there are some notable differences in the use of Shū between the manuscript texts on the one hand, and the received texts on the other. We see a text in various recensions that is constant with regard to the fabula that informs text production, but with some instabilities in its rendering as actual text.

As in the previous unit (*3*), the master saying is itself not obviously elaborating the Shū phrase. It is itself too enigmatic. Its inscrutable nature therefore confirms that in "Zīyī" the sources feature co-ordinately, not hierarchically. As none of the three voices conceptualise any of the other (as in Shī and Shū through *zǐ* 子), it appears that the master saying, *zǐ* 子, is itself part of the repertoire of cultural learning, reproduced—and thus stored—in "Zīyī".[42]

Despite these commonalities, the structure of this unit is intriguingly different from unit *3*. Unlike in the previous instance, the master saying is broken up by a reflecting comment, marked by '*gù*' ('this is why'). It is not clear whether it actually belongs to the master saying. Two features suggest it does not[43] – first, the regularity with which it occurs in "Zīyī"; second the link it provides *thematically* between the cultural resources of *zǐ*, Shī, Shū. Because of its structuring feature with regard to the cultural resources within the space of "Zīyī", methodologically I therefore take it as its authorial voice.

Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit *7*:

子曰：堨(禹)立三年，百眚（姓）以悬(仁)道。
　　凱(豈)必 [13] 隶(盡)悬(仁)？
寺(詩)員(云)：成王之孚，下土之弋(式)。

For the remainder of the line, 少(小)民亦隹(惟) 日悄(怨) in the Guōdiàn recension of "Zīyī", Shànghǎi reproduces the previous difference and renders the Guōdiàn graph 悄(怨) as 令(令). (The stroke on the lower right is the unit marker and not part of the graph in question.)

42 This interpretation still holds if assuming, quite possibly, that only the first half or so of the phrase is spoken by *zǐ*, with the remainder of that phrase introduced by *gù* 'this is why [it is said]' belonging to the authorial voice of the text. Because this would be an obvious break from the pattern to the contemporaneous audiences as all the other phrases belong to a community's cultural capital, it would be a 'principle insertion' and thus formulate the unit's central concern. It would add to "Zīyī" an argumentative layer commonly unnoticed in the scholarship.

43 In his seminal study of the manuscript texts from Guōdiàn, Scott Cook (2012: 372f) persuasively points to this possibility by reference to the Qīng scholar Chén Lǐ 陳澧 (1810–1882). My conclusion is also informed by a conversation with William French (South Bend, IN, October 2018).

> 郘(呂)坓(刑)員(云)：一人又(有)慶，㻊(萬)民贎(賴) |[14] 之 ■ [44]
> The Master said: 'When [the Great] Yu had been in position for three years, the many surnames were all led by humaneness'.
> 'How could it be that they were |[13] all humane?'
> Songs say: 'The faithfulness of King Cheng is the model of the lands below'.
> In Lü's penalties (呂刑) it is said: 'when the One man excels in virtue, the myriad folks [all] rely on |[14] him'.

This passage above refers to "Lǚ xíng" 呂刑 (*raʔ *[ɢ]ˁeŋ). The *Lǐjì* recension consistently renders it "Fǔ xíng" 甫刑 (*p(r)aʔ *[ɢ]ˁeŋ), an unproblematic phonetical change that should not concern us. A text "Lǔ xíng" 呂刑 is part of the modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū*.

With the exception of 贎 (賴) *rˁa[t]-s in Guōdiàn (**13**/22), rendered 訣 in the Shànghǎi manuscript, the two manuscript recensions can be described as consistent,[45] with just a few graphical differences between the two that do not affect the stability of the text and can therefore be disregarded.[46] The received "Lǚ xíng" reads 一人有慶，兆民賴之 (when the One Man excels in virtue; the 'multitudinous commonfolks' rely on him). The *Lǐjì* recension is identical to the *Shàngshū*. Instead of *wàn mín* 㻊(萬)民 as in the manuscript recensions, it has *zhào mín* 兆民 the 'multitudinous commonfolks'. [47]

44 Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit 7 (*Lǐjì* 5): Slips **12**/11–**14**/1. For the reconstruction of the text, see Shaughnessy 2006: 103; S. Cook 2012: 388–389.

45 Note, however, that the identification of 贎 as *lài* is not entirely unproblematic because *lài* 賴 reads *rˁa[t]-s while the phonophore in 贎 is 萬 *C.ma[n]-s, which is a problem on both phonetical and graphical grounds.

46 It should be pointed out though that 訣 is an unknown graph that has not been analysed properly. See however Xú Zàiguó and Huáng Dékuān 2003; Bái Yúlán 2002 who take *dà* 大 (*lˁat-s) as the phonetic element and read it as 賴 (*rˁat-s) as they do in the Guōdiàn recension; Zāng Kèhé 2003 tries to argue that *dà* 大 here is actually *ér* 而 and sees the graph as a variant of *tiáo* 誂, here rendered as *lài* 賴.

47 The phrase 兆民 appears regularly in the old-script recension of the *Shàngshū*: "Wǔ zǐ zhī gē" 五子之歌; "Zhònghuǐ zhī gào" 仲虺之誥; "Tāng gào" 湯誥; "Yī xùn" 伊訓; "Yuè mìng" *shàng* 說命上; "Wǔ chéng" 武成; "Zhōu guān" 周官 (four times). The one use in "Lǚ xíng" is its sole occurrence in the modern-script recension. The term *wàn mín* 萬民 as used in the manuscript recensions presents the opposite picture. Except for one occasion, it is used exclusively in texts of the modern-script recension: Twice in "Pán gēng" 盤庚; twice in "Wú yì" 無逸; once in "Jūn chén" 君陳. Whether this distribution pattern points to a late modification where the term *zhào mín* 兆民 is used is difficult to ascertain (Chéng Yuánmǐn 1999 arrives at this conclusion). The *Zuǒzhuàn* ("Mǐngōng yuán" 閔公元年: 1.6) conceptualises it as follows: 'for the son of Heaven [one] says *zhào mín* (multitudinous commonfolks); for the many Hóu [one] says *wàn mín* (myriad commonfolks)' 天子曰兆民，諸侯曰萬民. Yáng Píngnán 2001: 259 notes that in bronze texts the 'Son of Heaven' is sometimes addressed as *zhào mín*.

While in the previous units the immediate relation of the three resources—master saying, Shī, Shū—is of an intuitive nature only, here they cohere more consistently in the topos of the exemplary person and their impact on the people. The master saying brings in the memory of the Great Yu (Dà Yǔ 大禹) and the subsequent transformation of the people; the phrase from the Shī dwells on the model king, King Cheng (Zhōu Chéngwáng 周成王, r. 1042/1035–1006 BC) for 'the lands below'; Shū remains generic in this respect but essentially reproduces a related thought. The authorial voice brings this to the fore, though in this unit it produces a rhetorical question rather than a marked '*gù*' statement.[48] Thematically its organising function remains nonetheless.

Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit *10*:

> 子曰：大人不新(親)其所臤(賢)，而 |[18] 信其所戔(賤)，𡥈(教)此以遊(失)，民此以緮(煩)。
> 寺(詩)員(云)：皮(彼)求我則，女(如)不我得，執我 |[19] 𢧢= (仇仇) ;亦不我力。
> 君迧(陳)員(云)：未見聖，如其弗克見；我既見，我弗迪聖。■ [49]
> The Master said: 'When the superior man does not hold dear those he considers worthy but |[18] places trust in those he considers vulgar, then instructions will be lost and the commonfolks will be troubled'.
> Songs say: 'Those sought for me as [their] model. Should they not get me, they will hold me |[19] in animosity;[50] surely they seek no strength in me'.
> Lord Chen (君陳) said: 'while not having seen a sagacious person it was as though it was impossible for him to be seen; once I had seen [him] I failed to make use of [him], the sagacious one'.

As before, "Zīyī" seems to take Lord Chen as a speaker rather than a text. But a text named "Jūn chén" 君陳 (Lord Chen) exists in the pseudo-Kǒng recension of the *Shàngshū*.

Shànghǎi introduces the phrase as 君綞 (陳). This is a mere graphic difference to the Guōdiàn text and can therefore be ignored.[51] The *Lǐjì* recension has a linguistically close rendition of this as 未見聖，若己弗克見，既見聖，亦不克由聖

48 S. Cook (2012: 388f) does not break it off but takes the line as belonging to the *zǐ* saying.
49 Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit 10 (*Lǐjì* 15): Slips **17**/16–**19**/23. For the reconstruction of the text, see Shaughnessy 2006: 105–106; S. Cook 2012: 394–395.
50 This reading is inspired by S. Cook (2012: 395).
51 Other instances of that sort include graphical differences in the word for *shèng* 聖 (*l̥eŋ-s) written without the signific as 𦔻 in the Shànghǎi manuscript text, a common writing for the word 聖 in manuscripts from the Chǔ area; after 未見聖，如其 the Shànghǎi text displays a mark on the slips (=) which is normally used for reduplicating a word (Shànghǎi Slip **11**/3); instead of *dí* 迪 () (Guōdiàn Slip **19**/22) in the Guōdiàn manuscript text 我弗迪聖, the Shànghǎi text has  (Shànghǎi Slip **11**/12). This was rendered as *guì* 貴 (*kuj-s) 'precious; to honour' by the editors

(While not having seen a sagacious person it was as though he couldn't be seen; once he was seen, surely we were unable to follow along with him);[52] the old-script *Shàngshū* has 凡人未見聖，若不克見；既見聖，亦不克由聖 (generally speaking, while men have not yet seen a sagacious person, it is as though they should never catch sight of him; once they have seen him, surely they are unable to follow along with him). The textual differences between the different recensions show a slight alteration in the understanding of the matter, unsurprisingly perhaps, but indicating the interpretative interruption of the phrase. It therefore appears that while the two manuscript texts (Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi) display notable textual stability, that same text cohesion does not extend to the old-script *Shàngshū*, despite some significant textual overlap suggesting a close textual affinity. Albeit not conclusive, the line nonetheless supports Michael Nylan's hypothesis that the pseudo-Kǒng texts present 'deutero-canonical' knowledge in that they contain 'genuinely old material' that was then 'spliced with newer bridging passages of later date to form coherent narratives'.[53]

When looking for a connecting thread between the three resources—master saying, Shī, and Shū—the theme of the recognition of the worthy one springs to mind. The song, produced from the posed perspective of the non-recognised, if indeed it is permissible to be reading the line through the received *Shījīng*,[54] is lamenting the destruction of the capital of the Western Zhōu as no support is sought from the aides (note that this is, however, not clear when seeing the phrase as produced in this unit in isolation); the downfall of Yīn 殷, caused by the disobedience of the people as a result of the rulers' lack of *dé* 德, 'charismatic power', is central in the received "Jūn Chén" (again, that piece of information is not available in the phrase as reproduced in "Zīyī"); the Shū phrase identifies the lack of trust in capable aides as the source of misery.

The master saying provides no guidance as to how we should read and contextualise the Shī or Shū phrases. Instead, it is by introducing the matter of the sovereign as against the worthy one that the unit creates a platform of thematically related phrases from high antiquity. Unit *10* thus confirms the picture of "Zīyī" as gathering three parallel resources in the place of the text, speaking to

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of *Shànghǎi Museum*. (Shaughnessy 2006: 196, n. 63 suggests that the correct transcription of the graph should also have the phonophore 由 *l[u]).

52 Note that phonetically *rú qí* 如其 (OC *na-gə) was close to *ruò jǐ* 若己 (OC *nak-kəʔ).

53 Nylan 2001: 131. For the Greek application of this phenomenon, see Collins 2002: 82–97.

54 Shī: "Zhèng yuè" 正月 (*Máo* "Minor elegantia" 小雅: 192). I do not suggest this was necessarily the reading of the contemporaneous text communities around the manuscript texts "Zīyī".

an audience of insiders as no contextualisation of the resources appears in the text. The authorial voice is, however, conspicuously absent from this unit.

Guōdiàn “Zīyī” unit 11:

子 |[20] 曰: 大臣之不新(親)也,則忠敬不足,而贔(富)貴已𨒥(過)也。邦豪(家)之不寍(寧) |[21] 也,則大臣不台(治),而埶(褻)臣恎(託)也。此以大臣不可不敬,民悔之蕬(蕝)也。

古(故) |[22] 君不與少(小)悔(謀)大,則大臣不情(怨)。

𣈱(晉)公之𦣻(顧)命員(云):毋以少(小) (謀)敗大 |[23] 惜(圖),毋以卑(嬖)御憩(息)[55] 妝(莊)句(后),毋以卑(嬖)士憩(息)大夫、卿事(士)。■ [56]

The Master |[20] said: When great ministers are not held dear [by their lords], fidelity and respect will not suffice while wealth and honours will be in excess. When the state and the household are not peaceful |[21], the great ministers will not be orderly while the dirty ones confide. It is for this reason that great ministers cannot but be respected – for they are the indicators of rank for the people’.

This is why ‘when the |[22] gentleman does not scheme great [things] with petty ones, then what is great shall not be resented by the ministers.

The testimentary charge of Jin Gong (晉公之顧命) says: ‘You shall not defeat the great |[23] plans on account of petty schemes; you shall not retire the stately consort on account of favoured concubines; you shall not retire great officers and elevated officials on account of favoured men’.

The passage contains no reference to Songs. The oration used has no equivalent in the *Shàngshū*. However, there are some correspondences with a chapter of the *Yì Zhōushū* (Remnants of the Documents of Zhōu).

In Guōdiàn the text calls the orator of the speech as >𣈱(晉)公 Jìn Gōng (*tsi[n]-s *C.qˤoŋ) ‘Lord of Jin’ (**22**/12); Shànghǎi has >丵. The graph simply lacks the signific but represents essentially the same word 晉 *tsi[n]-s (**12**/22), a change that can be ignored.[57] Besides the *Yì Zhōushū* there is also some significant overlap with Qīnghuá “*Zhàigōng zhī gùmìng” 祭公之顧命 (Testimentary charge of Lord Zhai), a Warring States text that is a potpourri of phrases from the Shū traditions; compositionally the features of “*Zhàigōng zhī gùmìng” are rem-

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55 I do not share S. Cook’s 2012: 398 decision, guided by the received text, to read **22**/6 憩(息) as *jí* 疾 (*dzit) ‘to distress’. (The same applies to **22**/13.)

56 Guōdiàn “Zīyī” unit 11 (*Lǐjì* 14): Slips **19**/24–**23**/16. For the reconstruction of the text, see Shaughnessy 2006: 107–108; S. Cook 2012: 395–397.

57 Note that Lǐ Xuéqín 1998: 44–45 claims that the Guōdiàn graph >𣈱(晉) should in fact be read as 祭 (*[ts]et-s) in reference to Zhàigōng 祭公. It would thus correspond (too well?) to a text of that title in the *Yì Zhōushū* that corresponds to the referenced line.

iniscent of the *Yî Zhōushū* where old cultural capital is brought together at sometimes near random.[58] "*Zhàigōng zhī gùmìng" refers to the speaker as 譽>捲(祭)公 Zhài Gōng (Lord Zhai).[59] The *Lǐjì* recension has 葉公 Yè (*l[a]p) Gōng (Lord Ye).

For the most part the Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi manuscripts present a stable text. Differences between the two are mostly insignificant.[60] The *Yî Zhōushū* markedly deviates from the manuscript texts, while the structure of its narrative is largely compatible:

> 公曰： 嗚呼！天子，我丕則寅哉寅哉！汝無以戾反罪疾，喪時二王大功，汝無以嬖御固莊后，汝無以小謀敗大作，汝無以嬖御士疾莊士大夫卿士，汝無以家相亂王室，…
> The lord said: 'Alas!' Son of Heaven, we shall greatly make a standard with respect, with respect! You shall not change your own ways because of a transgression, thus losing the great achivements of the [former] two kings, (Wén and Wǔ). You shall not find fault with the established stately consort because of any favoured concubines; you shall not thwart the great deeds because of petty schemes; you shall not find fault with your great officers

58 For photographic reproductions of the slips and the philological annotations, see *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* 2010–, vol. 1: 22–24; 99–113; 173–179.

59 Qīnghuá "*Zhàigōng zhī gùmìng" Slip **1**/5–6.

60 For instance, in the case of *bēi* 卑(嬖) (*p$^{\varsigma}$ek-s) (**22**/4) we find *bì* 辟 (*[b]$^{\varsigma}$ek) in the Shànghǎi text (**12**/37), a mere graphical change, typical of texts in manuscript cultures and so it should not concern us here.

The corresponding item for graph **22**/6 in the Guōdiàn recension 愄(息) 'to extinguish' as used in the Shànghǎi manuscript text might perhaps present a problem. The corresponding item for graph **22**/6 in the Guōdiàn recension is 𣪊 *q^{h}ə (**12**/39). That graph is much discussed in the literature. The graph from the Guōdiàn manuscript—愄(息) *sək 'to extinguish'—is sometimes interpreted as *jí* 疾 (*[dz]it) 'to distress', which is certainly guided by the *Lǐjì* recension of "Zīyī". (The discussion is well summarised in S. Cook 2012: 398, n. 144. I discuss the Guōdiàn graph in reference to the *Lǐjì* text below.) That choice was justified by taking 自 (*s.[b]i[t]-s) as the phonetic element, read 疾 (*[dz]it). (Xú Zàiguó and Huáng Dékuān 1998.) While the reconstruction as presented by the editors is to some extent guided by the wish for textual cohesion, the graph has nonetheless little bearing on the overall cohesion of the two manuscript texts. It is, however, not the only instance where the wish for textual cohesion guides the editors' choice of reconstruction. Other examples include the following: for the final two graphs in the text, the Guōdiàn recension has *qīng* 卿 (*C.q^{h}raŋ) *shì* 事(士) while the Shànghǎi text has *xiàng* 向 (*n̥aŋ-s) *shì* 事(士). Because 向 (*n̥aŋ-s) is close to 鄉 (*q^{h}aŋ-s) phonetically, and 鄉 is close to 卿 graphically, some scholars like to think the Shànghǎi 向 is the result of 'miscopying' *qīng* 卿 as *xiāng* 鄉 (See Liú Lèxián 2002) – another strenuous explanation.

> and elevated officials because of favoured men in office; you shall not bring chaos to the kingly chambers because of private confidants (or your own surname), ... [61]

While structurally it is closer to the manuscript texts, the *Lǐjì* recension shows some notable overlap with the *Yì Zhōushū* in terms of its lexicon:

> 葉公之顧命曰:毋以小謀敗大作,毋以嬖御人疾莊后,毋以嬖御士疾莊士夫卿士。
> The testimentary charge of Yè Gōng says: do not defeat the great deeds because of petty schemes; do not distress the stately consort because of favoured concubines; do not distress established officers and the elevated officials because of favoured officers.[62]

Much in line with the *Yì Zhōushū*, then, "*Zhàigōng zhī gùmìng" reads, within a longer catalogue of prescriptions:

> 公曰：於(嗚)虎(呼)，天子...女(汝)母(毋)以俾(嬖)[illegible](御)息尔(爾)[illegible](莊)句(后)，女(汝)母(毋)以少(小)[illegible](謀)[illegible](敗)大[illegible](作)，女(汝)母(毋)以俾(嬖)士息夫〓(大夫)卿孳(理)，女(汝) [17] 母(毋)各豪(家)相而室...
> The lord said: 'Alas!' Son of Heaven ... You shall not extinguish the stately consort because of favoured concubines; you shall not defeat the great deeds because of petty schemes; you shall not extinguish great officers and elevated officials because of favoured men; you shall not bring chaos to the kingly chambers because of the household, ... [63]

The recensions of the *Yì Zhōushū* on the one hand, and the Qīnghuá manuscript text on the other, are fairly stable with regard to what they say, as well as the first few expressions used. Qīnghuá simply does not contain the first person pronoun of the line 我丕則寅哉！ ('we shall greatly make a standard with respect') and it also does not repeat the marked stress *yín zāi* 寅哉. The negative imperative in Qīnghuá is identical to that of the other manuscript texts, while the *Yì Zhōushū* is closer to the *Lǐjì*. There are other differences, of which some may well reflect an altered understanding of the text.[64] For the most part, however, the differences

61 Yì Zhōushū huìjiào jízhù: 936–939.

62 Lǐjì zhùshū: 931.

63 For comparison of "*Zhàigōng zhī gùmìng" with the passage in the *Yì Zhōushū* see Shaughnessy 2012. Shaughnessy concludes that the lexical variation between the Qīnghuá recension and that of the *Yì Zhōushū* results from copying errors when consulting the same *Vorlage*.

64 Differences apply for instance to the line 汝無以戾反罪疾,喪時二王大功 'You shall not change your own ways because of a transgression, thus losing the great achivements of the [former] two kings, (Wén and Wǔ)', as "*Zhàigōng zhī gùmìng" has 茲 (*ɢʷen) for 反 (*[b]ˤran?) and 亡 (*maŋ) for 喪 (*s-mˤaŋ-s). While the latter difference is unproblematic phonetically, the former can neither result from oral transmission nor from a graphical similarity, which tells against

between the texts are of a kind one can expect in a manuscript culture. But as in the examples above, some differences cannot be explained on purely phonetic or graphic grounds.[65]

These observations lead to two conclusions. First, some of the changes reflect an interrupted line of understanding between the text of the *Yì Zhōushū* on the one hand, and the Qīnghuá "*Zhàigōng zhī gùmìng" on the other. It appears as though the differences between the two recensions do not result primarily from an oral text condition, nor do they reflect scribal 'errors' in copying from a given *Vorlage* (or one from another). Instead, the picture we get is of a different sort, suggesting independent instances of text production. Albeit they reference the same fabula, the story they produce from it differs. Second, because both the Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi recensions of "Zīyī" are tightly organised around the Shī and Shū, the inclusion of the passage known from the *Yì Zhōushū* shows that at least certain text communities around 300 BC considered the traditions that we now see reflected in the *Shàngshū* and the *Yì Zhōushū* as related, so they would not distinguish between them. This is insofar noteworthy as a comprehensive study by Yegor Grebnev has shown there are marked differences between these two miscellanies (as well as earlier epigraphical materials) in composition, framing strategies, and recurrent text formulae.[66] "Zīyī" thus complicates the picture

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the assumption that the two recensions result from the same *Vorlage*, or one from another; instead of 二王大功 'the great achievements of the two kings', "*Zhàigōng zhī gùmìng" furthermore has 遠大邦 'the great state afar'.

In 汝無以嬖御固莊后 'you shall not extinguish the stately consort on account of favoured concubines' Qīnghuá additionally has *xī ěr* 息爾, and in 汝無以嬖御士疾莊士大夫卿士 'you shall not extinguish great officers and elevated officials on account of favoured men' it lacks *yù* 御 plus *zhuāng shì* 莊士 and, just like the other manuscript texts, it uses *xī* 息 in the place of *jí* 疾. Where the received text has 汝無以家相亂王室 'you shall not bring chaos to the kingly chambers because of the household' "*Zhài gōng zhī gù mìng" adds *gè* 各, and instead of *luàn wáng shì* 亂(*r$^{\varsigma}$on-s)王室 it has *xiāng ěr shì* 相(*saŋ)而室 – again displaying some differences in understanding. The connection with the next sentence is constructed by the co-ordinate connective particle *ér* 而 in the *Yì Zhōushū* while "*Zhàigōng zhī gùmìng" constructs a subordinate sentence through *rán* 然. While this creates a different stress, it may be easily explained on graphic grounds. For the phrase 尚皆以時中乂萬國 in the *Yì Zhōushū* "*Zhàigōng zhī gùmìng" has the modal particle *qí* 其 (*gə) for *shàng* 尚 (*[d]aŋ-s) 'still, yet', and instead of *yǐ* 以 (*ləʔ) in the *Yì Zhōushū* it has *zì* 自 (*s.[b]i[t]-s).

65 It therefore seems they result from independent texts that did not share the same *Vorlage*.

66 Grebnev 2017a. Besides the differences in the prevailing contextualisation patterns in the *Shàngshū* and the *Yì Zhōushū* in structure and function, Grebnev further shows that the differ-

of the *Shàngshū* and the *Yì Zhōushū* by casting into sharper relief their use by overlapping text communities before they were channelled into the current miscellanies. It becomes clear that *Shàngshū* and *Yì Zhōushū* simply represent interpretative lines of wider Shū traditions as organised by later, most likely imperial, communities. At least for some text communities, the distinction did not exist during the Warring States.

The master saying is uniquely long – even if we take the statement following *gù* 'this is why' as the unit's authorial voice. More obviously than in the previous examples this voice structures the unit thematically. But just as in the previous instances, it does little to contextualise, let alone conceptualise, the Shū or any other resource, Shī or *zǐ*. It simply remarks a shared concern about the integrity of ministers, connected through the obvious catchwords of scheming (謀) and the greater good (大).

Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit *12*:

子曰: 倀(長)民者䛅(教)之 |[24] 以悳(德),齊之以豊(禮),則民又(有)懽(勸)心;䛅(教)之以正(政),齊之以坓(刑),則民又(有)孛(免)心。

|[25] 古(故)孳(慈)以悉(愛)之,則民又(有)新(親);信以結之,則民不伓(背);共(恭)以位(蒞)之,則民 |[26] 又(有)愻(遜)心。

寺(詩)員(云):虛(吾)大夫共(恭) 叡 (且)驗 (儉),林(靡)人不歛(斂)。

呂坓(刑)員(云):非甬(用)臸(令),斮(折>制)以坓(刑), |[27] 隹(惟)乍(作)五瘧(虐)之坓(刑)曰法。
■ [67]

The Master said: 'When the one to lead the commonfolks instructs them |[24] with moral power and corrects them with rituals, then the commonfolks will have a diligent mindset; when [he] instructs them with governance and corrects them with punishments, then the commonfolks will have an avoiding mindset'.

|[25] This is why 'when showing love to them to [generate mutual] caring, then the commonfolks will have [a sense of] being intimate [to the leader]; when being trustworthy to bind them [together], then the commonfolks will not revolt [against the leader]; when showing respect in governing them, then the commonfolks |[26] will have an obeying mindset'.

Songs say: 'When my officers are respectful and prudent, none of the members of the *rén* group will not be receptive'.[68]

ences stably correlate with the kinds of content. While that is so, passages such as this one suggest there is overlap between these traditions before the texts become channelled in these two miscellanies. Grebnev admits this by noting that "Lǚ xíng" of the *Shàngshū* contains some *Yì Zhōushū* patterns while *Liù tāo* 六韜 (*Six Bow-Carrying Cases*) closely follows the framing patterns common in the kingly consultations of the *Yì Zhōushū*.

67 Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit 12 (*Lǐjì* 3): Slips **23**/17–**27**/8. For the reconstruction of the text, see Shaughnessy 2006: 108–109; S. Cook 2012: 399–402.

68 The ode referenced here is not in the transmitted *Shījīng* and it is also not referenced in the *Lǐjì* "Zīyī".

> Lü's punishments (呂刑) say: 'it is not that they (the Miáo?)] used commands; they regulated [the commonfolks] through punishments. |[27] Creating the punishments of the five mutilations, [they] called it law'.

This passage refers to "Lǚ xíng" 呂刑, consistently called "Fǔ xíng" 甫刑 in the *Lǐjì* recension. Shànghǎi has 呂型.[69] It is a mere graphic variation from Guōdiàn and thus unproblematic.

Shànghǎi qualifies the subject to the sentence 非甬(用)臸(令) as >毦 (*máo* 覒) (mˤaw-s) *mín* 民 (**14**/13–14). So too does the *Lǐjì* recension, which has *miáo mín* 苗(*m(r)aw) 民 'Miáo folks'. The two are phonetically stable and the difference can be ignored. The *Lǐjì* recension is here identical with the *Shàngshū* in saying 苗民弗用靈，制以刑，惟作五虐之刑曰法 (among the commonfolks of Miáo, they did not use the power of goodness, but the restraint of punishments. They made the five punishments engines of oppression, calling them the laws).[70] Guōdiàn does not specify the subject. Since the slips are complete this has nothing to do with material loss and must be explained differently. It may reflect a different set of ideas underlying the Shànghǎi text; or the text communities around the Guōdiàn text saw no need to specify the subject.[71]

The negation differs slightly among the different recensions.[72] Other changes mostly reflect typical features of instability in manuscript cultures.[73] The *Lǐjì* recension continues the phrase in question further, but that has no bearing on Shū either. It does, however, cast light on the textual condition of the transmitted "Zīyī" as against the manuscript recensions of the text.

Altogether, the Shū are for the most part stably reproduced in the two transmitted recensions. There are, however, discrepancies between the transmitted

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69 Slip **14**/10–11.

70 The translation here follows Legge 1960: 591.

71 Because neither manuscript was produced in direct consultation of the other, the often cited 'slip of the eye' does not apply.

72 It is identical in the two manuscript texts. *Lǐjì* has *fěi* 匪 (*pəj), a mere graphical variation and fully stable phonetically. The *Shàngshū* negation has *fú* 弗 (*p[u]t). While the two have broadly the same meaning, the change between the *Shàngshū* and the other three recensions is not graphical or phonetic.

73 For 臸(令) (*riŋ-s) in Guōdiàn the Shànghǎi text has (霝) (*c-[r]ˤeŋ) (**14**/17), a mere graphical variant of 零 (*[r]ˤiŋ) and probably phonetically compatible with Guōdiàn. The *Lǐjì* recension has *mìng* 命 (*m-riŋ-s) which phonetically is fully congruent with the manuscript texts. The *Shàngshū* has 靈 (*[r]ˤeŋ). It broadly corresponds phonetically with the other recensions. For 乍(作) in Guōdiàn the Shànghǎi text has 复(作), a minor graphical variation that can be ignored. For *nüè* 虐 in the *Lǐjì* and *Shàngshū*, the two manuscript texts each add a different signific, which has no bearing on the stability of the text.

texts on the one hand, and the manuscript texts on the other, as well as between the manuscript texts, indicating that Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi were each distinctive interpretations, as were the received texts.

The "Zīyī" of the manuscript texts is organised around the theme of leading the people by embodying a model of cultural refinement, not punitive measures. The master saying contains both these aspects, but the Shī and Shū each contain just one of the two. Shī considers the notion of the cultural model. Shū considers the theme of punitive governance.

As seen before, the authorial voice of the "Zīyī" binds the three resources—*zǐ*, Shī, Shū—together into one unit. More obviously perhaps than in the previous instances, it does so by way of a principal insertion[74] that in a double-directed manner points upwards (to the *zǐ*-phrase), as well as downwards (the Shī and Shū phrases). But again, thinking of it as contextualising any of the three resources might be going a step too far. Rather it seems to function as an intellectual bridge that eases the combined use of the three items of cultural capital.

Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit *13*:

子曰: 正(政)之不行,孝(教)之不成也,則型(刑)罰不 |[27] 足恥,而雀(爵)不足懽(勸)也。
古(故)上不可以埶(褻)型(刑)而翌(輕)雀(爵)。
康誥員(云):敬 |[28] 明乃罰。
呂型(刑)員(云):翻(播)型(刑)之迪。 ■ [75]

The Master said: 'It is when governance is not carried out [properly] and instructions are not completed, punishments and penalties do not |[27] suffice to shame [the people], and rank does not suffice to encourage [them]'.
This is why 'those on top cannot take punishments as [mere] garment and consider rank lightly'.
Proclamation concerning Kang (康誥) say: 'make reverent |[28] and brilliant your penalties'.
Lü's punishments (呂刑) say: 'sow the lead through punishments'.

The theme connects well to the one of the previous unit by producing master sayings and Shū phrases, combined by the text's authorial voice, which together dwell on the ways punishments and penalties ought to be carried out in governance. Nonetheless, it differs from the majority of "Zīyī" units in that it leaves out the Shī and istead uses the Shū traditions twice. Interestingly, all four recensions,

74 A 'principal insertion' is a structurally alien element cutting through an otherwise consistent unit. (Here it is the sole element of authorial voice placed between the cultural resources of *zǐ*, Shī, and Shū.) In argument-based texts it normally formulates the main idea of unit of thought. For a discussion, see Meyer 2011.

75 Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit 13 (*Lǐjì* 13): Slips **27**/9–**29**/10. For the reconstruction of the text, see Shaughnessy 2006: 110; S. Cook 2012: 402–403.

Guōdiàn, Shànghǎi, *Lǐjì* and *Shàngshū*, are entirely stable in their use of “Kàng gào”. The phrase from “Lǚ xíng”, produced as 翻(播)埊(刑)之迪 in Guōdiàn, presents some instability, though mostly minor.[76] Moreover, “Lǚ xíng” has the phrase 非時伯夷播刑之迪 (is it not the one, Bóyí, sowing [among the people] [his lessons of] leading through punishments), while *Lǐjì* produces 播刑之不迪 (sowing [among the people?] [his lessons? of] avoiding punishments). No matter whether the difference in the *Lǐjì* recension responds to a different set of understanding or to a—later canonised—mistake, it shows how different text communities understood the text differently.

Guōdiàn “Zīyī” unit *17*:

子曰: 言從行之,則行不可匿。

古(故)君子賜(顧)言而 |[35] 行以成其信,則民不能大其媺(美)而少(小)其亞(惡)。

大虽(雅)云:白珪之石〈砧(玷)〉,尚可 |[36] 𥔲(磨)也;此言之砧(玷),不可為也。

少(小)顕(雅)員(云): 身(允)也君子,塞〈廛(展)〉也大成。

君奭員(云): |[37] 昔才 (在) 上帝,戠(割[蓋])紳(申)觀文王悳(德),其集大命于氒(厥)身。■ [77]

The Master said: ‘when words are followed up by enacting them then actions connot be concealed’.

This is why ‘when the Lord gives his testamentary decree and |[35] enacts [it] to accomplish his trustworthiness, then the commonfolks are unable to exaggerate his beauty and hide his failings’.

“Dà yá” say: ‘stones <flaws> in a sceptre of white [jade] may still be |[36] ground [away]; [but] for such flaw in speech, nothing can be done’.

“Xiǎo yá” say: ‘faithful is the Lord, in laying out [his] great achievements’.

Lord Shi (君奭) said: |[37] ‘in days yore, the Lord on High surely stretched out to observe King Wen’s charismatic power and thus gathered the great Mandate on his [own] person’.

This unit incorporates a master saying, authorial voice, lines from the Songs of the “Greater”- and “Smaller Elegantia”, and speech ascribed to Lord Shi (Jūn Shì). The latter is also the name of a chapter in the Hàn-era *Shàngshū*. The Lord’s speech is produced in an identical manner in the Shànghǎi manuscript text, as well as in the received *Lǐjì*.

Unfortunately the tail of Shànghǎi slip 18 is broken and the first eleven or so graphs are missing in that unit. It is therefore not possible to compare the two

76 Shànghǎi has 釆 (**15**/22) for 翻(播), but it looks as though this graph is phonetically stable because 釆, which might be the phonophore, is the same in both graphs. The same is true for *dí* 迪 (*lˤiwk) ‘to lead’ which has only the phonophore in the Shànghǎi text. *Lǐjì* also has *bò* 播 (*pˤar-s) ‘to sow’ but the remaining bit differs between the manuscript recensions on the one hand and the received ones on the other.

77 Guōdiàn “Zīyī” unit 17 (*Lǐjì* 23): Slips **34**/8–**37**/17. For the reconstruction of the text, see Shaughnessy 2006: 114–115; S. Cook 2012: 408–409.

manuscript recensions more fully.[78] The speech is rendered stably in all four recensions, Guōdiàn, Shànghǎi, *Lǐjì* and *Shàngshū*. They do, however, differ in their references.

In Guōdiàn (and given their overall stability, most likely Shànghǎi too),[79] as well as in *Lǐjì*, Jūn Shì as a resource is used as though it was the speaker of the oration. In the *Shàngshū*, however, he is the addressee. The *Shàngshū* has the following line:

> 君奭！在昔上帝割申勸寧王之德，其集大命于厥躬
> Prince Shi! In days of yore when the Lord on High was inflicting calamity [on Yǐn], he repeatedly encouraged the charismatic power of King Ning, thus gathering the great mandate on his [own].

Parallel to the other occurrences in "Zīyī" where Shū speeches are rendered stably, but their references differ among the text recensions, here too we have the situation where a stable speech component takes different contexts. The *Lǐjì* recension differs yet again. As in the manuscript texts the subject is the Lord on High. But it is he who in the 'fields of Zhōu observe(s) King Wen's charismatic power' (周田觀文王之德). Again, what we see from this is how different conceptual communities produce an altered understanding of a fabula with its stable core constituents.

That words and deeds of a ruler must correspond to prove his faithfulness is the unifying theme of this unit. However, the texts do not seem to present this as an end in itself. The different resources all take it as a means to secure power over a political entity – if indeed one considers it viable to contextualise Shī in this unit accordingly. The phrase attributed to Lord Shi is much clearer in this regard.

Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit 18:

> 子曰: 君子言又(有)勿(物),行又(有) |37 逄(格),此以生不可敓(奪)志,死不可敓(奪)名。
> 古(故)君子多䎽(聞),齊而獸(守)之;多志,齊而 |38 新(親)之;精智(知),逄(略) 而行之。
> 寺(詩)員(云): 弔(弔)人君子,其義(儀)弌(一)也。
> 君連(陳)員(云):出內(入)自尒(爾)帀(師),于(虞) |39 庶言同。 ■ [80]
> The Master said: 'when the words of the gentleman have substance (are concretely followed by things) and [his] actions are of |37 regularity [force], then it is such that while [he] is alive

[78] The remaining six graphs of that phrase are identical in the two texts, except that Shànghǎi has  (氏) (**19**/5) where Guōdiàn has  > 氒(厥) (**37**/16). This is, however, a mere graphical variation as the phonophore is identical in both graphs. This is a typical change in manuscript cultures with no bearing on the stability of the text.

[79] Shànghǎi equally starts off by 'Jūn Shì said'. (Remaining graphs of Slip 18.)

[80] Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit 18 (*Lǐjì* 18): Slips **37**/18–**40**/3. For the reconstruction of the text, see Shaughnessy 2006: 115–116; S. Cook 2012: 410–411.

[his] wishes cannot be robbed [from him], and when [he] is dead [his good] name cannot be robbed [from him]'.

This is why 'a gentleman has many [things] into which he enquires, and evenly [he] safeguards them. [His] wishes are many, and evenly [he] |[38] holds them dear. [He] has refined understanding [of the things], and in a regulated way he acts on them'.

Songs say: 'the good and noble person, their standards are |[5] uniform'.

Lord Chen (君陳) said: 'in coming or going, when you [take] from your captaincies, anxiously [consider] whether [your] words |[39] comply with the multitudes'.

Unit *18* is the last of the manuscript texts that incorporates Shū. It relates to speech by Lord Chen. A text of that name, "Jūn Chén" 君陳, is part of the pseudo-Kǒng *Shàngshū*.

The recensions that refer explicitly to "Jūn Chén" (Guōdiàn, Shànghǎi, *Lǐjì*) do so in identical ways. The reproduced text too is stable for the most part.[81]

The received "Jūn Chén" differs though. As in the previous cases, in the received text Lord Chen is not the resource (speaker) but the addressee, thus indicating a marked interruption in the contextualisation of the materials by the participating text communities. Moreover, in the received text the referenced line reads as follows:

出入自爾師虞，庶言同則繹

Whether you take out or bring in [something], seek the judgment of the multitudes about [it], and, when there is general agreement, exert your own powers of reflection.

While this reading follows the conceptualisation of the phrase by the Eastern Hàn commentator Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (AD 127–200), it is clear that it differs substantially from other recensions. Unit *18* thus confirms the picture of Shū as a resource adapted to different contexts by dynamic communities.

81 The manuscript texts have *chūnèi* 出內 for 'coming and going' while the *Lǐjì* has *chūrù* 出入, a mere graphical difference, as the phonophore of the graphs remains the same. That is true also for *zì ěr shī* 自尒(爾)帀(師) (when you [take] from your captaincies…) that comes next plus *yú shù yán tó* 于(虞)庶言同 (anxiously [consider] whether [your] words comply with the multitudes). While some graphical differences occur, the phonophore of these graphs remains notably stable, and so too the phonetical value of these graphs. One difference might apply to graph **39**/27  >*yú* 于 (*ɢʷ(r)a), written as >雩(于) (**20**/16) in Shànghǎi. The *Lǐjì* recension has *yú* 虞 (*[ŋ]ʷ(r)a) 'anxiety'. As they have the same phonetical value, we may read them here as standing in for the same word too. The manuscript recensions are therefore remarkably stable with the received *Lǐjì* with regard to this one line.

2.3 Conclusion

The picture that emerges from the comparison of intertextual correspondences is one of surprising textual stability. It is surprising insofar as the various texts studied in this chapter represent independent recensions, making it unlikely that they either shared the same *Vorlage*, or that they were produced from one another. It is therefore not suprising to see that, despite some significant text overlap, there are several important differences between them. These are twofold structurally. First is the lexicon of the referenced passages: while in some cases the Shū as reproduced in the recensions displays stability of the content, the lexicon nonetheless differs. This may be graphically, phonetically, or both at once. Because this phenomenon is symptomatic of manuscript cultures it has no profound bearing on our evaluation of the Shū.

The other structural difference is the conceptualisation of Shū passages by the different text communities: while key text elements remain remarkably stable in the different recensions, the story they render can nonetheless differ substantially. What is striking is the extent to which the Shū differ from the Shī in this regard. The text condition of Shī in manuscript texts, we recall, is characterised by a volatile lexicon within a surprisingly steady phonetic setting. While this points to a profoundly oral factor in the reproduction—and reinterpretation—of Songs, it also casts light on their stable textual condition.[82]

That is not true of Shū as seen through "Zīyī" and related texts. Here we understand that both the lexicon and the presentation of the stories can differ, sometimes substantially, between the different (re-)productions of Shū, even though its key text constituents, in particular speech, remain recognisably steady. The emerging picture is that small but stable 'speech components', as I call them, were paired with other, again modular, components. The speech components look as though they belong to a recognised pool of cultural capital, used variously in the different recensions. Moreover, while the Shī maintain their strongly oral aspect, Shū, it seems, depended more on written representation.

In the light of these findings, some points relating to the Shū, as well as to the way they are presented in "Zīyī", are worth discussing in more detail. First, in the various text traditions there is a notable instability of the triangular relation of Shū speech components, their orators, as well as their projected recipients. [83]

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82 This point does not contradict that, as seen from Ān Dà *Shī*, some literate communities filled the productive mould of Shī by speaking through writing in their reproduction, and claim, of the Songs.

83 This point was first made in Meyer 2014c.

The manuscript texts of "Zīyī" often introduce the speech components by the name of a speaker, while in the received counterparts they are not registered as speakers but as addressees of the speech. I cite unit *17* of the manuscript texts as an example.[84] Here "Zīyī" reads as follows:

> 君奭員(云): [37] 昔才 (在) 上帝,戡(割[蓋])紳(申)觀文王悳(德),其集大命于毕(厥)身。 ■
> Lord Shi said: [37] 'in days yore, the Lord on High surely stretched out to observe King Wen's charismatic power and thus gathered the great mandate on his [own] person'.[85]

In the *Shàngshū*, however, Lord Shi is not the speaker but the recipient:

> 君奭！在昔上帝割申勸寧王之德，其集大命于厥躬。
> 'Lord Shi! In days of yore when the Lord on High was inflicting calamity [on Yin], he repeatedly encouraged the charismatic power of King Ning, thus gathering the great mandate on his [own]'.[86]

This is a different thing. It yields two alternative but mutually exclusive explanations. One, "Zīyī" refers not to the speaker Lord Shi but to a text of that name. That would mean we should not read it as 'Lord Shi said' but as 'in "Lord Shi" it is said'. Alternatively, at the time when "Zīyī" was formed, the speech was in the first instance associated with the persona of antiquity (Lord Shi), not a text of that name.[87] This assumption implies that the speech had been kept—in whatever ways—as part of the repertoire of cultural learning and rendered accessible and reproduceable to different audiences. The given identification then hardened in the received "Zīyī", but it did not continue into Shū traditions as produced in the *Shàngshū*.

This is not a far-fetched assumption. Consider the constitution of "Zīyī" in comparison to the texts referred to in it. "Zīyī" has produced a much greater stability of its own then the texts interwoven with it. Rather than by its focal reference to Shī and Shū, text stability in "Zīyī" was achieved predominantly through its tightly-knit frame and the brief lines as used in the fairly concise units of thought. "Zīyī", it would seem, has thus produced a mould that was continued in

84 Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit 17 (*Lǐjì* 23): Slips **34**/8–**37**/17.
85 Guōdiàn "Zīyī" Slips **36**/22–**37**/17.
86 Shàngshū jiào shìyì lùn, vol. 3: 1573.
87 The implicit consequence of this assumption is that the contextualising elements such as frames that place such utterances within a particular setting were added at a later point to make those speeches meaningful in the sociopolitical debate of changing text communities.

other recensions where the identification of the orator with that speech is stabilised. But that identification was not maintained in the recensions further removed from "Zīyī".

If the above assumption holds, it provides a viable explanation as to why a text such as "Zīyī" was produced in the first place. The question arises because "Zīyī" is so squarely at odds with much else from that time. While the texts of, say, "Lǎozǐ"—or, more accurately, those texts that are commonly associated with the tradition of that name[88]—are partly also context-dependent and produced in largely disconnected units of thought, "*Lǎozǐ" nonetheless contains neat argumentative layers, largely absent in "Zīyī". Unlike most known texts, "Zīyī" in the first instance presents just master sayings, paired with phrases from the Shī and Shū.[89] In the great majority of cases they are held together by a further, authorial, voice. Introduced near-consistently as 'this is why' (*gù*) it functions as a principal insertion which, in a double-directed manner, relates the three resources thematically to one another – unless of course we take this voice as part of the master saying (*zǐ*), in which case the units lose their organising, thematic focus. While the authorial voice structures the various units of "Zīyī" thematically, it does not produce an obvious argumentative structure. In some cases, the connection between the three resources within the various units of thought is also not entirely obvious, despite the structuring authorial voice, as the following unit shows:

> 子曰: 民以君為心，君以民為體; 心好則體安之，君好則民忩(欲) |[9] 之。
>
> 古(故)心以體灋(廢)，君以民芒(亡)。
>
> 寺(詩)員(云)：隹(誰)秉宬(國)成，不自為貞(正)，卒褮(勞)百眚(姓)。
>
> 君舀(牙)員(云)：日暑(暑)雨，少(小) |[10] 民隹(惟)日情(怨)；晉冬旨(淒)滄，少(小)民亦隹(惟)日情(怨)。■ [90]
>
> The master said:
>
> The commonfolks take the lord as their heart, the lord takes the commonfolks as his body; when the heart is good then the body will find comfort in it, and when the lord is good the commonfolks will desire |[9] him.

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88 I here reference the Guōdiàn materials collated in bundes "*Lǎozǐ A" (*jiǎ* 甲); "*Lǎozǐ B" (*yǐ* 乙); "*Lǎozǐ C" (*bǐng* 甲丙), which so far present the earliest extant overlap with the transmitted text of that name. But, as William Boltz remarked so astutely, we should beware of labelling a late fourth-century BC manuscript 'with a name, for which our first evidence is a century or more later'. (Boltz 1999: 596)

89 Given that "Zīyī" is on the whole contructed around authoritative statements, it seems likely that the master sayings were already conceptualised as coming from *the* master as the persona of philosophical insight (viz. Confucius) as imagined by certain communities at quite an early moment in time.

90 Guōdiàn "Zīyī" unit 5 (*Lǐjì* 17): Slips **8**/7–**10**/14. For the reconstruction of the text, see Shaughnessy 2006: 100–101; S. Cook 2012: 384–386.

> This is why [it is said] the heart is laid waste by the body and the lord may disappear on account of the commonfolks.
>
> Songs say:
>
> Whoever holds to the accomplishments of the state? Not serving as the standard himself, in the end he belabours the many surnames.
>
> Lord Ya (君牙) said:
>
> When summer rain comes daily – the petty |[10] folks resent it more by the day; when the brisk cold of winter approaches – it is equally true that the petty folks resent it more by the day.

While obviously there is an *associative link* between the master saying and the text of Shī and Shū in that they can all be taken as comments on the effects a ruler's conduct has on the commonfolks' sentiments (and their conduct), made explicit through the authorial voice of this unit, there is no obvious *argumentative link* produced within that unit that would help to establish a necessary hierarchical interrelation of the different resources. Instead, the references are presented more in a co-ordinate fashion such that they remain on the same conceptual plane, or so it seems. Whether they feature co-ordinately to one another in a loosely associative way, and fitted in a given unit of thought within "Zīyī" through the authorial voice, they all have their relevant place in relation to given themes. In this manner, "Zīyī" has produced a matrix that allows its text communities to store common phrases associated with high antiquity and relevant for that meaning community as made explicit by the authorial voice – perhaps to protect them from the effacing effects of time. This also explains why the phrases embedded in "Zīyī" produce much greater stability within the texts of the different recensions, than their counterparts outside "Zīyī". In this way "Zīyī" can serve as an archive for a meaning community to whom the cultural lore seemed vital: a storehouse of cultural capital, structured and organised thematically by the accompanying authorial voice, and made available to certain communities who may wish to capitalise on this repertoire of learning.

Second, besides the structuring authorial voice, the two manuscript texts of "Zīyī" are tightly organised around master sayings, Shī and Shū. The inclusion of material that is now included in the *Yî Zhōushū* shows that at least certain text communities would not draw a conceptual distinction between them. While there are now clear structural differences between the texts in the imperial *Shàngshū* and *Yî Zhōushū*,[91] it is likely that they just reflect, unknown to us, the principles of later communities to organise Shū in different traditions. "Zīyī" therefore

91 See the discussion in Grebnev 2017.

plainly shows that such contrasting conceptualisations were certainly not upheld across all the communities.[92]

Third, closely related to the previous two points, the extraordinary stability of "Zīyī" springs to mind. We noted that a limited range of textual features suggests that Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi were not copied from one another but relied on a third, independent *Vorlage*. Structurally the two versions are nonetheless near identical. This is remarkable as both texts include the same compositional inconsistencies. Of the units cited here, that is, the units which include a reference to the Shū traditions, just two—*3* and *10*—lack the authorial voice which normally highlights the thematic relation of the three resources of cultural capital, *zǐ*, Shī, and Shū. Moreover in unit *7* the authorial voice is not marked explicitly by way of '*gù*' (this is why) but instead put as a rhetorical question – if indeed this line *is* a representative of the authorial voice. The fact that the two accidentally obtained and mutually independent manuscript texts of "Zīyī" both uphold the same structural departures from the overall compositional norm suggests a remarkable stability of this particular recension by the fourth century BC. This is further evidence, together with the closing number, twenty-three (*èrshí yǒu sān* 二十又[有]三) at the end of the Guōdiàn manuscript, that during the Warring States "Zīyī" was a stable text that circulated through multiple witnesses.

Fourth, "Zīyī" confirms the tripartite reference structure of 'master – Shī – Shū' that was stabilising during the Warring States among certain communities. It shows that the master—*the* Master—was for some communities a cultural resource equal in rank to the foundational texts, Songs and Documents.

Fifth, as against Shī, "Zīyī" never refers to Shū in generic terms. Instead the point of reference is always to a particular text, or, for that matter, speaker. Shū are represented in their particularity while Shī constitute a group of their own. This is important as it reflects on the conceptualisation of these two traditions by the communities of the day. The whole situation becomes even more remarkable when one considers that references introduced as Shū *yún* 書云 or Shū *yuē* 書曰 in the *received* literature from the pre-Hàn and Hàn dynasties number nearly a thousand, compared to not one single reference (!) of the kind in a manuscript text.[93]

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92 These findings correspond broadly with Lǐ Xuéqín's (2010) take on the *Yî Zhōushū*. Lǐ contends that as late as the Warring States there was probably no distinction between the *Shàngshū* and the *Yî Zhōushū*. He suggests that the *Yî Zhōushū* did not come to be considered an independent text until the Hàn period.

93 The *Xúnzǐ* alone has ten times the line 'Shū say' 書曰, as does the *Mèngzǐ*. 'Shū say' 書云 references are found predominantly in texts from the former and latter Hàn. *Shuǐhǔdì* 1990: 148, "Fēng zhěn shì" 封診式 4 has the line: 詰之極而數訑，更言不服，其律當治（笞）諒（掠）者，

This is extraordinary, casting light on two parallel phenomena. First: the shift that we see materialised in the *transmitted* literature where the notions from the texts of Shū traditions are rendered generically as 'in a *shū* it is said'—and not as particular texts or individual orators—presents a markedly transformed understanding of Shū traditions during the imperial age. Second: that shift which we see materialised in the transmitted texts (note that the transmitted texts were to some degree all amended during the imperial age) is conceptually identical—and therefore parallel to and thus highly instructive—with the shift seen in the *manuscript texts*, where Shī are conceptualised in generic terms while Shū are taken as particular texts or individual orators. *Nota bene*, as manifested in "Zīyī", it becomes plain that the conceptual differences just described were being upheld by mutually overlapping text communities.

This striking difference between Shī and Shū is clear not just from the referencing formulae. It is also evident from the relatively sparse references to Shū in manuscript texts as compared to Shī. How does this look in larger cultural developments?

In a number of essays, Reinhart Koselleck coined the term 'threshold period', *Sattelzeit* (literally 'saddle period'), to describe an epoch where key concepts and guiding terms experience conceptual transformation. Prime denotations become reformulated and change their meaning. Koselleck devised the threshold period in reference to conceptual developments in the sociopolitical terminology between the years 1750 and 1850.[94] At the time, common terminology is submitted to an increased abstraction while key notions undergo fundamental singularisation and, with it, profound change. One example is past experience. As Koselleck proposes, it shifted from experienced episodes, understood in their particularity

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乃治（笞）諒（掠）。治（笞）諒（掠）之必書曰：爰書：以某數更言，毋（無）解辭治（笞）訊某 which has: 'When one has cross-examined to the limit, but he has repeatedly lied, changing his words and not submitting [to the denunciation against him], then, for those persons whom the statutes say match being caned, cane them. When caning him, be sure to write it down. Received in writing: Because person X repeatedly changed his words and made no explanatory statements, person X has been interrogated with caning', which obviously just talks about the act of writing down a report. These observations do not conflict with the generic mention such as *shī, shū, lǐ, yuè* as seen from "Xìng zì mìng chū" or the like. (My translation of "Fēng zhěn shì" follows Barbieri-Low and Yates 2015: 156, adapted.)

94 See his *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, vol. 1: xiv ff. (1972); vol. 2: 363 ff; 625 ff. (1975); 1979: 107; 349 f.

and the singularity of each event (*Geschichten*), to its conceptualisation as 'history' (*Geschichte*) in the form of a collective singular.[95] Connected to such shifts is the rise of a terminology as a horizon of expectations, which is sometimes quite remote from actual experience. Koselleck calls this phenomenon 'temporalisation' (*Verzeitlichung*). Such profound changes in the conceptual range of the sociopolitical terminology during the threshold period were ultimately triggered by the diffusion of knowledge through an increase of written texts in wider circulation and the opening of institutions to a wider public, previously restricted to small, highly privileged, parties.

This is not a unique phenomenon of the threshold period. The German ancient historian Christian Meier (born 1929) identifies the same patterns in the transformation of the conceptual range in the Greek world of the fifth century BC, equally profound and wide-ranging. To name but one example, he points to the formation of concepts such as 'eunomia' (*εὐνομία*) as the one right order, ordained by the gods, now understood as the ultimately valid sociopolitical condition of legal order.[96] As is true of the threshold period, the shift towards the collective singular as the result of a changing conceptualisation of shared experience was equally prompted by the breakdown of restricted institutions as a result of the dispersal of knowledge.

Similar processes are at work in China during the second half of the first millennium BC.[97] At that time, we observe profound changes in how groups conceptualise their immediate experience, owing to the wider accessability of knowledge as a result of ever more texts in written circulation now that manuscript cultures are maturing and stabilising.[98] The conceptual shift in the term

95 Note that while Koselleck's enquiry into the transformation of the conceptual range has now been shown to be more complex (in Sawilla 2004), the implications of his findings remain – albeit that the answers to his questions prove somewhat more complex.

96 C. Meier 1980: 279.

97 This period is often referred to as 'axial age' (*Achsenzeit*). While the German philosopher Karl Jaspers (1883–1969) was not the first to conceptualise a key period in the history of thinking as 'Axial age', it was he who popularised it in *Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte* (1949).

98 These processes are discussed in more detail in Meyer 2011 and 2014b. As for what characterises the Axial Age, I follow Björn Wittrock's 2005a: 112 (and 2005b: 72) understanding, influenced, I think, by Koselleck, that the Axial Age is not defined by its reference to the transcendental but rather by 'an increasing reflexivity of human beings and their ability to overcome the bounds of a perceived inevitability of given conditions in temporal and social orderings'. The literature on the Axial Age is too vast to review it in full. See, however, the important discussions in Aleida Assmann 1989 and 1992; Shmuel Eisenstadt 1987, 1992, and 2008; Robert Bellah 2005 and 2011. Some of these articles have a very different take on the Axial Age as characterised by Wittrock. Bellah in particular takes a highly 'Western'-centric, even Hegelian view by describing

jūnzǐ 君子 is a case in point. As analysed sharply by Vitali Rubin, it developed from meaning 'person of high social standing', to becoming 'person of moral integrity' – with criteria varying from text to text.[99] Along with these changes, the descriptions of a *jūnzǐ* changed too. Moving on from describing predominantly the outer appearance of the *jūnzǐ* as a handsome—mostly young—man and exemplary prince, the texts increasingly lay stress on his inner qualities. See the well-known ode from the "Odes of Wèi" 衛風 (*Máo* 55):

瞻彼淇奧、綠竹猗猗。
有匪君子、如切如磋、如琢如磨。
瑟兮僴兮、赫兮晅兮。
有匪君子、終不可諠兮。
Look at those recesses in the banks of the Qi,
With their green bamboos, so fresh and luxuriant!
There is our elegant and accomplished prince -
As from the knife and the file,
As from the chisel and the polisher!
How grave is he and dignified!
How commanding and distinguished!
Our elegant and accomplished prince -
Never can he be forgotten!
瞻彼淇奧、綠竹青青。
有匪君子、充耳琇瑩、會弁如星。
瑟兮僴兮、赫兮晅兮。
有匪君子、終不可諠兮。
Look at those recesses in the banks of the Qi,
With their green bamboos, so strong and luxuriant!
There is our elegant and accomplished prince -
With his ear-stoppers of beautiful pebbles,
And his cap, glittering as with stars between the seams!
How grave is he and dignified!
How commanding and distinguished!
Our elegant and accomplished prince -
Never can he be forgotten!
瞻彼淇奧、綠竹如簣。
有匪君子、如金如錫、如圭如璧。
寬兮綽兮、猗重較兮。
善戲謔兮、不為虐兮。

it as a series of stages reminiscent of Hegel's *Bewusstseinsphilosophie* (philosophy of consciousness).

99 Rubin 1976. *Nota bene*, the change as occurring during the second half of the first millennium BC is structurally parallel to that of 'gentleman' in the English context (Rubin 1976: 20) during the eighteenth century, the threshold period in Europe.

> Look at those recesses in the banks of the Qi,
> With their green bamboos, so dense together!
> There is our elegant and accomplished prince -
> [Pure] as gold or as tin,
> [Soft and rich] as a sceptre of jade!
> How magnanimous is he and gentle!
> There he is in his chariot with its two high sides!
> Skilful is he at quips and jokes,
> But how does he keep from rudeness in them![100]

As ever more texts are beginning to describe the aristocratic, gentle *jūnzǐ* as a superior person with good judgements and high morals, he gets repeatedly contrasted with the *xiǎo rén* 小人, the 'petty men'. This shift reaches its conclusion during the Warring States when the term becomes a stable concept in sociopolitical and philosophical discourse.[101]

The collective singular Shī for wider traditions of quite diverse songs that frame the experience of the learned elite and are the basis of the *lingua franca* in the sociopolitical language of the day is another marker of change. Its use referring to all kinds of odes (as in *shī yún* 詩云 or *shī yuē* 詩曰) runs to nearly two thousand in the transmitted literature, and manuscript texts referring to that body of texts and in those terms abound too. But no bronze text ever uses this expression. My initial conclusion is that the Shī accelerated in the rate by which they were used in debate, so that they came to be seen as the pinnacle of refinement. As Shī become the ultimate expression of sincerity and appropriateness, they mark an idealised form of communication. But the groups' conceptualisation of Shī and their conceptualisation of Shū are out of step – and this may have to do with the main form of circulation and transmission of those texts. While Shī depend on rhythm and assonance to keep their integrity, they are much more easily learned and remembered, and so effortlessly used and reproduced.

Shū differ. They do not impress their audience with strict rhythm and smooth assonance. They are more unwieldy to use and reproduce. The result is that in comparison to Shī we see far fewer intertextual references using Shū, and a much

100 Legge 1961: 91–93. The date of composition of *Máo* 55 is open to question, but it is unlikely as old as the "Small Preface" suggests, that is, made before or during the early days of the reign of King Ping 平, r. 770–720 BC. Western Zhōu bronze texts which contain the term '*jūnzǐ*' all say 'X 君子 Y', which translates as 'Y, the son of lord X'. The concept of 'handsome gentleman' for *jūnzǐ* therefore most likely postdates the Western Zhōu.

101 Note that the term *wén* 文 underwent a parallel shift to that of *jūnzǐ*, from 'pattern', carrying the meaning of 'awe-inspiringly beautiful', to 'morally refined' during the Warring States. Bergeton 2019: 49ff.

greater variation of those lines. There is therefore a delay in conceptualising them in any other form but their particularity. It thus took more time for Shū to be used as a collective singular, conjoining the expectations of various groups and serving as their primary source of identification.

3 The materiality of meaning networks

I live in the world of others' words[1]

This chapter draws on one particular observation of the previous chapter. We saw how segmental speech components were sometimes combined with shifting referential structures. While in one recension a given speech component is associated with a certain speaker, in another recension that persona of antiquity may well be the speech's recipient, rather than the orator. This suggests that a modular principle to some extent informed the built-up of what we later come to see as Shū texts; it moreover indicates there were strong associate links between the speech component on the one hand, and a given persona of days yore on the other. Despite their modular character, the associative links they produce are therefore not random. The link between speech and persona remains intact – irrespective of the role they actually play.

Let me explain. There are plenty of examples where a hardened speech component (for convenience called 'A') relates to a persona of antiquity (called 'X') as either the orator (X_O) in one recension, or as the recipient (X_R) of that speech in another. However, I have not seen a single speech component (A) relating to a given persona (X_O or X_R) in one recension, but to someone else ($Y_{O/R}$) in another.

This phenomenon goes even further, pertaining to the use, and thus the production, of Shū more profoundly. To study the ways groups of individuals made use of Shū traditions therefore necessitates that we leave behind the canon-centred paradigm of imperial *Shàngshū* and *Yǐ Zhōushū* because implicitly it considers the layered texts as the primary level of meaning construction and signification. Because the latter claims consistency, projected from the imperial texts back to the textual condition of the Warring States, it obscures Warring States realities. Rather than thinking that the communities worked with Shū primarily by reduplicating model texts in different circumstances, communication using the genre of Shū was such that it allowed groups to deploy shared cultural capital by reproducing a repertoire of modular elements from it together with other, closely intimately linked, items. Over time associative links between certain elements of the Shū traditions then stabilised, producing structures suitable for groups to use when formulating their own arguments. In this way old cultural capital was

1 Bakhtin 1986: 143.

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moved into new problem space, lending weight to sociopolitical and philosophical thinking in the present. By laying bare these structures, the analysis throws into sharper relief the deep structures of meaning production and argumentation in the Shū genre. I base my analysis on exemplary readings of Qīnghuá "Hòu Fù" 厚父.

3.1 Genre

In this book I differentiate the Shū *genre* from the Shū *traditions*. I take Shū genre as something performative, produced by reference to old cultural capital; the texts built up from this make the Shū traditions. Methodologically this differentiation between the social act of working with the Shū traditions on the one hand, and the actual concretisation of these traditions through the texts produced by the different groups on the other, crucially enables me to go beyond what sometimes appears as static ideas and their textual representation, and instead analyse in greater detail the social use of dynamic traditions and their contemporary adaptability. Moreover, it enables me to spell out more clearly the 'rules'—insofar as there are any—behind the appropriation of old cultural capital for the presentation of claims in the present in the Shū genre. I am thinking about the iterability of text.

Some considerations about genre by the Russian literary theorist Sergey Sergeevich Averintsev (1937–2004) are useful here. In his essay on the "Historical variability of the category of genre", written in the mid-1980s, Averintsev introduced the notion of performance as he attempted to define genre beyond its common indexicality.[2] To him, the particular situation of an utterance, a speaker's gestures, as well as intonations, are all part of what defines a genre. He cites the example of the ritualised setting of a communal feast, where the moving of an object that was passed on from one participant to another, indicating who was expected to sing, was crucial.[3] He acknowledges that the material thickness of such a ritual experience is much lessened in the increasingly literarised performance of, say, the epic. Yet, as Averintsev suggests, and I follow him here, the genre determination of such literary actualisations 'cannot be restricted to the reality of literature itself' because 'the poetic rhythm of the *Book of Parables* and even the hexameters of the *Iliad*' do not yet constitute the self-sufficient literary

2 Averintsev 1986. I thank Yegor Grebnev, who brought my attention to this piece. I have consulted his unpublished translation of Averintsev's essay.

3 Ibid., 5.

fact of 'metre'; rather they are 'a reflection of the fact that the biblical aphorisms existed in the ceremonial chanting of "the wise men", and the Homeric epic in the chanting of bards'.[4] As Averintsev puts it, it was still 'literature-in-itself', not 'literature-for-itself', as it would not yet have developed its own self-consciousness that would 'look at its own self through the mirror of criticism and theory', thus 'consciously representing and constituting itself as literature'. He calls this 'pre-reflexive state' of literary activities 'pre-reflexive traditionalism'.[5] With the developing of a reflexive state, which for the Greek side Averintsev sees completed in the fifth century BC, the extra linguist situation no longer defines the genre; it is now replaced by literary norms. It has become 'literature-for-itself'.

There is a lot to say about Averintsev's progressive model and the sharp divide he introduces between 'reflexive' and 'non-reflexive' stages in literary production. But even if we do not force the teleological lens on the literary activities of the social communities in China, as Averintsev does for Greece; and even if we leave aside the issue of cognitive realisation with its strongly Hegelian complexion, there is still much value in Averintsev's perceptive analysis. Needless to say, 'pre-reflexive' and 'reflexive' modes, if we follow his terminology for the moment, can happily go together and need not replace each other. The ritualised wailing with the beating of one's breast; the moving of the cup in the utterance of a libation ritual, none of this needs come to an end when certain communities produce literary activities guided by their own premises. Moreover, this shift in literary production itself does not have to be made explicit by and to the participating communities – there is no need to assume it must necessarily be reflexive to take effect. But the act of literary performance that is guided by its own premises, be it reflexive or not, is an important insight and crucially informs my reading of the stabilising of the Shū genre during the Warring States period. It guides my understanding that the way communities move old cultural capital into new argument space through Shū was not random but governed by conventions, be they explicit or not.

In this my take on performance follows Richard Bauman's thesis of performance 'as a mode of communicative display'.[6] An utterance is connected to a discursive practice through intertextual links.[7] The sociohistorical reality produced

4 Ibid., 6.

5 Ibid., 7.

6 Bauman 2004: 9.

7 Genette 1997: 1 defines 'intertextuality' as 'the textual transcendence of the text', that is, its interactive alignment with other texts. This definition rings with Bakhtin's 1986: 162 discussion of 'text' as the ways in which 'each act of textual production presupposes antecedent texts and anticipates prospective ones'. (Bauman 2004: 4)

by such interdiscursive affiliations thereby rests upon the activation of cultural capital—Bauman calls it 'cultural repertoire' [8] —serving as conventionalised framework for the 'production, reception, and circulation of discourse'.[9] In this way genre actively channels the production and reception of a particular kind of text by assimilating an utterance through its intertextual links with previous utterances. Certain framing devices are key in this. Linking an utterance to discourse, for Bauman, means in particular that a performer signals to the audience something to the effect of 'hey, look at me! I'm on!' I consider the mode of communicative display by moving cultural capital into new argument space as a strategy by which groups link their sociopolitical and philosophical concerns to a specific discourse. Either way, it means that the act of expression itself is 'framed as display' and so, following Bauman, it becomes 'objectified' in the eyes of their contemporary beholder. Applied to the material under review it follows that the articulation of a current sociopolitical and philosophical concern through the manner of Shū releases it from its 'contextual surroundings', which opens it up to 'evaluative scrutiny' by the audiences.[10] My discussion of "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn" in the next chapter will develop this more fully. Here it suffices to say that framing and entextualisation are crucial – and crucially interlinked.[11] The framing formula 'the king said thus' (*wáng ruò yuē* 王若曰) may be cited here as one such marker of Shū-display. It creates an expectation that constitutes the 'framework for entextualisation', by which 'a stretch of discourse is organised into text'.[12] Moving old cultural capital into new argument space to Bauman thus objectifies the utterance; linking a group's sociopolitical and philosophical concerns to a specific genre by modes of intertextuality thus objectifies the act of expression. The metacommunicative message achieved in this way signals accordingly 'I am part of this discourse'. Or in our case: 'take me as an expression of the Shū traditions!'

8 My use of cultural capital for Bauman's 'repertoire' is unproblematic as it simply points to the higher level of value. The repertoire is, in other words, the currency of the capital, its actual, modular, representation.

9 Bauman 2004: 2.

10 Foley 1991, 1995.

11 'Recontextualisation' is when signs, text, or meaning more broadly are taken from their previous contexts—this is commonly termed 'decontextualisation'—and placed in a new environment, referred to as 'entextualisation'.

12 Bauman 2004: 4.

As the maturing of manuscript cultures during the Warring States led to unprecedented flows of information,[13] different communities found access to this pool of material with increasing ease. As writing became ever more widespread and, as a result, further removed from central power, contrasting conceptual communities increasingly articulated their sociopolitical and philosophical concerns through texts that circulated ever more independently of their composers.[14] The result is twofold. On the one hand we see a steadily more systematic approach to the past in these texts;[15] on the other we notice an increase in the use and diffusion of the modular components of old cultural capital spread across the literature and entextualised in manifold ways.

Moving old cultural capital into new problem space by weaving a repertoire of it into constructed narratives allowed contrasting sub-groups of the wider meaning community of the Zhōu oecumene to articulate their concern with ancient backing. A discourse thus emerged where past glories were retrospectively systematised for a variety of claims in the present. Certain features now became an expected requirement for these texts, allowing different social groupings to take part in these debates, with the result that some features of the texts were repeated across different texts, thereby gaining a fixed character. This applies in particular to the framing formulae of these texts, but other elements also followed. With their archaic language, the marked use of direct speech put into the mouth of ancient personae, the repeated framing formulae in these texts, as well as certain themes increasingly required in them, it becomes plain that during the Warring States these texts drive the development of a genre: Shū became a type of argumentation which channelled subsequent forms of text production.

3.2 "Hòu Fù"

"Hòu Fù" is ideally suited to demonstrate how some of the associative links in Shū genre work. It is a relatively brief manuscript text commonly dated around 300 BC and recorded in neither *Shàngshū* nor *Yì Zhōushū*. Now part of the Qīnghuá manuscripts, it presents a recorded conversation between a 'king' (*wáng*

13 Meyer 2011, 2014; Krijgsman 2016. For methodological reflections, see the work by Steve Farmer 2006; 1998. Farmer further developed his model in a series of co-written papers. See most importantly Farmer, Henderson and Robinson 2002; Farmer, Henderson and Witzel 2002; Farmer, Sproat and Witzel. 2004.

14 Meyer 2014.

15 Kern 2017a.

王)[16] and someone named 'Hòu Fù' 厚父 (Lord Hou). The name does not appear outside this text and we should not assume that the text presents an actual, historical, occurrence. Most likely it records an imagined conversation. The conversation itself provides nothing unexpected. It repeats the usual themes (not to say clichés) of recorded dialogue in texts of Shū traditions otherwise known from the *Shàngshū* and the *Yî Zhōushū*, as well as the Qīnghuá manuscript texts.

The reason why "Hòu Fù" receives special scholarly attention is in particular because it shows close intertextual correspondence with the received *Mèngzǐ*. In the *Mèngzǐ* the said phrase is clearly marked as Shū by the formula '*shū yuē* 書曰' (in a Shū it is said).[17] However, while it features centrally in "Hòu Fù", it does not appear like this in transmitted records.

Scholars all too easily rushed to the conclusion that Qīnghuá "Hòu Fù" is therefore a 'lost chapter of the *Shàngshū*'.[18] The difficulty with this interpretation is that it makes unfounded claims about text consistency of both the *Shàngshū* and "Hòu Fù". It posits a stable canon prior to their historical curtailment and transposes the reality of imperial texts—*Shàngshū* and *Yî Zhōushū*—to the Warring States.

"Hòu Fù" is collected in vol. 5 of *Qīnghuá Manuscripts*.[19] It is produced on thirteen slips. Unbroken slips are on average 44 cm long and c. 0.6cm wide.

The first slip is broken at both ends. By my count circa four graphs are missing at the top; ten to eleven graphs are missing at the bottom. The remaining slips are all intact, allowing for an uninterrupted reading of the text. Because the slips are numbered at their back from 1–13, with number one missing because of the broken slip, the reconstruction of the slip sequence, and thus of the flow of the text, is unproblematic. The last slip also records the designation of the manuscript in question, or the fabula on which the text draws: "Hòu Fù". For convenience I render the text in full:

16 Here and elsewhere I render *wáng* 王 as 'king'. It is the sole pre-Qín title for which I use the English because it is relatively closely equivalent to European notions of 'king'. Due to conceptual differences, I leave other titles of the aristocratic ladder untranslated unless they acquired special significance, such as in 'Duke of Zhou' for Zhōu Gōng 周公. The order of the titles in the male aristrocracy is Gōng 公, Hóu 侯, Bó 伯, Zǐ 子, Nán 男.

17 *Mèngzǐ* "Liáng Huìwáng *xià*": 215.

18 Qīnghuá Manuscripts vol. 5: 109.

19 For photographic reproductions of the slips, see *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* vol. 5: 2–4; 25–36; for transcription and notes, 109–116.

3.2.1 Frame

\[1]□□□□，王監嘉練(績)，𦖞(問)前文人[20]之觀(恭)明悳（德）。[21]
\[1]□□□□. The king inspected the estimable merits and asked about the reverence and brilliant virtue of the cultured men of the past.

1.
王若曰：“厚父！咸(遹)𦖞(聞)禹 / [][][] |[2] 川，乃降之民，[22]建顕(夏)邦。[23]啟隹（惟）后，帝亦弗巩(鞏)啟之經悳（德），[24]少(乎)命咎(皋)陶下為之卿事，茲咸又（有）神，能畧(格)于上。[25] |[3] 智（知）天之畏（威）[26] 戋（哉），𦖞(聞)民之若否，隹（惟）天乃永保顕

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20 Cf. renditions of the phrase in *Shàngshū* “Wén Hóu zhī mìng” 追孝于前文人 ‘Your filial piety goes back to your accomplished ancestor’.

21 Cf. *Shàngshū* “Jūn shì” 不知天命不易，天難諶，乃其墜命，弗克經歷。嗣前人，恭明德 ‘I do not know whether the favour of Heaven is easily preserved; Heaven is difficult to depend on. Upon losing its favouring appointment one cannot pursue and carry out the reverence and brilliant virtue of one’s forefathers’. As in “Hòu Fù”, the phrase ‘the reverence and brilliant virtue’ relates to past accomplished men (‘forefathers’ 嗣前人 or ‘cultivated men of the past’ 前文人).

22 Cf. *Shàngshū* “Yī xùn” 惟上帝不常，作善降之百祥，作不善降之百殃 ‘(The ways) of the Dì on High are not invariable: to those who do good he sends down the manifold blessings; to those who do not-good he sends down the manifold miseries’.

23 Cf. *Shàngshū* “Yuè mìng” 建邦設都 ‘Founding states and setting up capitals’.

24 Cf. *Shàngshū* “Jiǔ gào” 經德秉哲 ‘Consistent in his virtue; holding fast his clarity.

25 Cf. *Shàngshū* “Yáo diǎn” 欽、明、文、思、安安，允恭克讓，光被四表，格于上下。克明俊德 ‘He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, thoughtful – with ease and no effort. He was sincerely respectful, and capable of yielding. Radiantly his bearing was felt through the four quarters (of the land), up to (Heaven) above and (Earth) beneath’; *Shàngshū* “Jūn shì” 在太戊時則有若伊陟、臣扈，格于上帝 ‘At the time of Tàiwù there were people like Yì Zhì and Chén Hù, through whom [Tàiwù’s virtue] reached up to the Dì on High’. Compare further with the following phrases from “Xián yǒu yī dé” where a number of shared aspects reappear 曰：「嗚呼！天難諶，命靡常。常厥德，保厥位。厥德匪常，九有以亡。夏王弗克庸德，慢神虐民。皇天弗保。監于萬方，啟迪有命，眷求一德，俾作神主。惟尹躬暨湯，咸有一德，克享天心，受天明命，以有九有之師，爰革夏正 ‘[Yī Yǐn] said: Alas! it is difficult to rely on Heaven – its appointments are not constant. (But if the sovereign will see to it that) his virtue be constant, he will preserve his throne; should his virtue not be constant, the nine provinces will be lost thus. The king of Xià was not capable of maintaining the virtue (of his ancestors) unchanged, and he contemned the spirits and cruelly oppressed the *mín*. August Heaven would thus no longer protect him. Looking from above to the myriad quarters, it gave its lead to those who would receive its favouring command, fondly seeking (the possessor of) constant virtue so as to make him lord of the spirits. Then there were I, Yǐn, as well as Tāng, we both were of consistent virtue, capeable of recieving Heaven’s mind’.

26 Cf. *Shījīng* 272: (“Wǒ jiàng”) 我其夙夜、畏天之威、于時保之 ‘Do not I, night and day, Revere the majesty of Heaven. Thus to preserve [their favour]’ (Legge, 576); *Shàngshū* “Duō fāng” 爾乃惟逸惟頗，大遠王命，則惟爾多方探天之威，我則致天之罰 ‘You, thereupon, will thus be shown as indolent and aberrant, and greatly disobedient to the royal commands. Then it is that

(夏)邑。[27]才（在）顯(夏)之剸（哲）王，廼嚴禬(寅)畏皇天上帝之命，朝夕肆（肆）祀，不 |4 盤于庚（康）[28]，以庶民隹（惟）政之觀(恭），天則弗臭(斁)，永保顯(夏)邦。其才（在）寺（時）後王之卿（享）或（國），肆（肆）祀三后，永敘(敘)在服[29]。隹（惟）女（如）紿(台)?

The king said thus: 'Hòu![30] Obediently I have heard how the [Great] Yu /... |2 the streams;[31] upon this, [he] established the domain of the Xià for the commonfolks (*mín*) descended [by Heaven]. When Qǐ was the sovereign, the Dì would surely refrain from obstructing (or consolidating?) the lasting powers of Qǐ; thence he ordered Gāoyáo below to take charge of the administrative affairs on his behalf. Thus they were all in possession of the spirits and able to make their [virtue] go up above. |3 Understanding that Heaven's terrors are thus, and hearing whether the commonfolk were compliant or not, it is such that Heaven did ever thus preserve the settlement of the Xià. With the illuminated kings of the Xià thereupon respectfully heeding the commands of awesome August Heaven and High Dì, night and day bringing forth their offerings, and not |4 going excess in [their] pleasures, it is such that the various members of the commonfolks would respectfully receive their governance;[32] Heaven[33] would thence not grow weary [of them], ever preserving the domain of the Xià. From this on the kings following after him who would receive the lands would all carry on bringing forth offerings to honour the three lords, that ever their position be kept in proper sequence. How is this to us? (i.e., how does this relate to us?)

2.

厚 |5 父拜-[手]稽=[首]，曰：

"者（都）魯！天子！古天降下民，埶（設）萬邦，作之君，作之帀（師），隹（惟）曰其助上帝，𤔔（亂）下民之匿（慝）[34]。王廼渴（遏）|6 失（佚）其命，弗甬（用）先折

throughout your numerous regions you will bring on yourselves the terrors of Heaven, and thus we will inflict on you the Heavenly punishments'.

27 Cf. *Shàngshū* "Zhōng huì zhī gào" 欽崇天道，永保天命 'Revere and hold high the way prescribed by Heaven, and you will lastingly preserve the favouring appointment of Heaven'; "Zǐ cái" 欲至于萬年，惟王子子孫孫永保民 'I wish that (your rule) may last for myriads of years; be it that the king's sons and grandsons forever protect the *mín*'.

28 Cf. *Shàngshū* "Wǔzǐ zhī gē" 乃盤遊無度 '[He, however,] pursued his pleasurable wanderings without restraint'.

29 Cf. *Shījīng*: 255 (蕩 "Dang") 曾是在位、曾是在服 'That you should have them in offices; That you should have them in the conduct of affairs!' (Legge 1961: 506).

30 As it is used here, standing behind the name, *fù* 父 (甫) was the common part of a courtesy name (*zì* 字), not a kinship term, and thus somehow equivalent to our 'Sir'. It differs to its use in "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" and Máogōng-*dǐng* (Ch. 5) where it is placed in front of the name (父 X), thus marking the polite address to someone older than the speaker (i.e., the king).

31 About 10 graphs are missing at the end of the slip. The reconstruction of the phrase is therefore not possible.

32 This phrase is nearly identical in "Wú yì" of the *Shàngshū*: 文王不敢盤于游田，以庶邦惟正之供.

33 i.e., [The world under] Heaven.

34 Cf. *Shàngshū* "Tài shì *shàng*" 天佑下民，作之君，作之師，惟其克相上帝，寵綏四方。有罪無罪，予曷敢有越厥志？ 'Heaven, for the help of the lower commonfolks, made for them lords,

（哲）王孔甲之典刑，真（顛）復（覆）毕（厥）悳（德），滇（沈）湎于非彝，天迺弗若，迺述（墜）毕（厥）命，亡毕（厥）邦。|[7]隹（惟）寺（時）下民，𢍏（洪）帝之子，咸天之臣民，迺弗慎毕（厥）悳（德），甬（用）敘才（在）服。”

Hòu |[5] Fù obediently clasped his hands and, with his forehead touching the ground, and he said: ‘Alas! Son of Heaven! In antiquity Heaven[35] gave birth to (sent down) the commonfolks (*mín*) below and set up the myriad lands. It made them lords and armies that are said to assist the Dì on high to tame the wrongdoings of the commonfolks below. Thereupon the kings exhaustively |[6] lost their command, for they would not use the statutes and laws of the former illustrious king, Kǒng Jiǎ,[36] but subvert their charismatic power by sinking into the habits of unruly behaviour (i.e., drinking); Heaven, thereupon, would know no pardon, and it would let fall their Mandate, having them lose their lands. |[7] At this the commonfolks below, as well as the offspring of the son of the magnanimous Dì, all being Heaven’s *chén* and *mín*,[37] would thus no longer ‘carefully guard their [king’s] charismatic power’,[38] that they ‘keep their position in proper sequence’.

3.

王曰：“欽之戕（哉），厚父！隹（惟）寺（時）余經 |[8] 念乃高且（祖），克害（憲）皇天之政(征)工（功），迺虔秉毕（厥）悳（德），作辟事三后。隸（肆）女（如）其若龜筮之言，亦勿可遻（專）改。茲 |[9] 少（小）人之悳（德），隹（惟）女（如）𠂤(台)？”

The king said: ‘be reverent, Lord Hou! It is such that I lastingly |[8] ponder your great ancestors who were able to establish as a standard August Heaven’s punitive achievements, that devoutly they held fast to their charismatic power. They set up the regal affairs of the three Lords. He committed you, [Lord Hou,] that just like the words of milfoil and turtle shells (i.e., divination speech) this must indeed not be changed singlehandedly! Such is also the charismatic power of me, the |[9] small man. How does this relate to us?

4.

厚父曰：“於乎，天子！天命不可溼斯，民心難測[39]。民弋（式）克共（恭）心敬愄（畏），畏不恙（祥），保教明悳（德）[40]，|[10] 慎肆祀。

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and made for them armies (this is generally read ‘teachers’), that they be capable to serve the Dì on High, and secure the tranquillity of the four quarters (of the kingdom). Whether committed wrongful conduct or not, how would I dare to have the temerity to transgress your wishes?’

35 For a lack of such phrasing in the transmitted records an alternative would be to read *gǔ* 古 in *gǔ tiān* 古天 as *gù* (故/固) ‘verily’.

36 Interestingly, Kǒng Jiǎ does not otherwise appear in the *Shàngshū* or *Shījīng*. In the transmitted literature he only appears in texts from the Hàn dynasties onwards.

37 Thus: both groups were installed by Heaven as Heaven’s *chén* and Heaven’s *mín*.

38 The sentence repeatedly appears in bronzes. It is also seen similarly in *Shàngshū* “Wǔzǐ zhī gē” 五子之歌 (Songs of the Five Sons).

39 Cf. *Shàngshū* “Cài Zhòng zhī mìng” 民心無常 ‘The hearts of the *mín* have no constant attachment’.

40 Cf. *Shījīng*: 241 (“Huáng Yǐ”) 帝謂文王、予懷明德 ‘The Dì addressed King Wen, “I embrace [your] brilliant virtue”’; *Shàngshū* “Shào gào” 保受王威命明德 ‘To maintain and receive his majesty's dread command and brilliant virtue’.

隹（惟）所役之司民啟之， 民其亡諒，迺弗畏不恙（祥）。亡㬎（顯）于民；[41]亦隹（惟）歁（禍）之卣（攸）及， 隹（惟）司民之所取。 今民 |[11] 莫不曰‘余保教明悳（德）[42]’，亦鮮克以誨。[43]”

Hòu Fù said [to this]: ‘Alas, Son of Heaven! Heaven’s Mandate cannot be trusted, ah! The mind of the commonfolks is difficult to fathom. But the commonfolks ought to be able to respectfully use their heart-mind and reverently show awe, that they are fearful of the signs of misfortune, preserve the teachings and make bright their charismatic power, and |[10] meticulously attend to set forth the sacrifices. Was it [such] that the commonfolks’ overseer, forcing them into corvée labour, would enlighten them, the commonfolks clearly had no faith, upon which they would show no fear against what bates ill fortune.[44] If this is not made manifest brightly in the commonfolks, then clearly it is indeed when misfortune strikes that the overseer of the commonfolks seizes [the opportunity]. But if among the commonfolks today |[11] there is none who would not say: ‘I shall preserve [their] teachings of the brilliant charismatic power’, then indeed this is seldom achieved through instructions by way of mouth.

5.

曰：“民心隹（惟）桑，毕（厥）作隹（惟）栞（葉），引(矧)其能丁（貞）良于苗，人迺洹（宣）弔毕（厥）心：|[12] 若山毕（厥）高，若水毕（厥）朋（淵），女（如）玉之才（在）石，女（如）丹之才（在）朱——迺是隹（惟）人。”

[He] said: ‘The heart-mind of the commonfolks is like the trunk of a [mulberry] tree; their doings are like [mulberry] leaves; how much more (*shěn*) if they could become good fruits of a young seedling! Members of the *rén* group would thereupon greatly improve their heart-minds: |[12] just like mountains they [would be thus] tall; just like the waters they [would be thus] deep; [they would be] like jade in a stone; like the red of cinnabar – and so it is with the *rén*.

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41 Cf. *Shàngshū* “Jiǔ gào”: 罔顯于民祇 ‘So that no charges came from him brightly before the people’.

42 Cf. Shī: 予懷明德 ‘I cherish your brilliant virtue’; *Shàngshū* “Kàng gào: 克明德慎罰 ‘He was able to make bright his virtue and be careful in the use of punishments’; “Shào gào”: 保受王威命明德 ‘to maintain and receive his king’s dread command and brilliant virtue’; 弗克經歷。嗣前人，恭明德 ‘Because they were not able to pursue and carry out their forefathers’ reverence and brilliant virtue’; “Duō fang” 罔不明德慎罰 ‘Noone did not make bright their virtue and carefully use the punishments’; “Wén Hóu zhī mìng” 克慎明德 ‘Carefully did they make their brilliant virtue’

43 Cf. *Shàngshū* “Bì mìng” 鮮克由禮 ‘Few are capable to observe the rules of propriety’.

44 Other possibility: ‘upon which they would show no fear against what bates ill fortune, that no charges could come brightly before the commonfolks.’

6.
曰："天監司民，[45]毕（厥）陞（登）女（汝）𠂤（肱）之服于人。民弋（式）克 |[13] 敬悳（德），母（毋）湛于酉（酒）。民曰：'隹（惟）酉（酒）甬（用）肆祀，亦隹（惟）酉（酒）甬（用）庚（康）樂。'"
[He] said: 'As Heaven is inspecting the commonfolks, their ascending is like the upper arm in its service to a man. The commonfolks surely ought to be able to |[13] show reverence to charismatic power, [thus] do not drown it in wine. The commonfolks will say: 'it is wine [they] use to carry out the *sì* sacrifice; indeed it is wine [they] use to enjoy the pleasures'.
7.
曰："酉（酒）非飤（食），隹（惟）神之卿（享）。民亦隹（惟）酉（酒）甬（用）敗畏（威）義（儀），亦隹（惟）酉（酒）甬（用）恒（興）疰（狂）。"
[He] said: 'Wine is not for feasting, it is to give as offering to the spirits. Surely it is indeed the wine by which the commonfolks will lose their respect for dignified comportment, and surely it is indeed the wine by which they are roused into a craze.

3.3 Meaning Networks in "Hòu Fù" and Shū Genre

Much of what "Hòu Fù" produces resonates with themes and notions in other Shū texts, Qīnghuá included. Concerns expressing that 'Heaven's terrors' are such that one cannot rely on Heaven's support; ideas about Heaven's sending down upon the *rén* and *mín* a certain quality;[46] the consolidation of the state; the working for the trust of the *mín*; anxieties about the *rén*; tensions of alcohol and ritual – all this strikes even the casual reader of the *Shàngshū* as familiar. But not just the themes of the text are well known. The entire build-up of "Hòu Fù" reads like a *smörgåsbord* of common Shū phrases. This includes its reference to 'accomplished ancestors' (前文人); 'reverence and brilliant virtue' (恭明德); the ability to make one's virtue 'go up above' (能格于上) to 'ever preserve' (永保) the royal domain; 'wise kings' (哲王) of the past; for the sovereign to 'carefully guard their charismatic virtue' (慎厥德) that they 'keep their position in proper sequence' (用敘在服); Heaven's inspecting the commonfolks (天監司民); the 'mind of the commonfolks' (民心) which is 'difficult to fathom' (難測)[47] – to name just a few items of the text chosen at a random.

45 Cf. *Shàngshū* "Gāozōng róngrì": 曰：惟天監下民，典厥義 '[He] said: in its inspection of the commonfolks below, Heaven first considers their rightness'.
46 In Qīnghuá "Mìng xùn" a generic *mìng* 'command' is making *rén* and *mín* descend.
47 Or, as put in *Shàngshū* "Cai Zhòng zhī mìng": 民心無常 'The commonfolks' hearts have no unchanging attachment, (they cherish only the kind)'.

As is typical of texts of the Shū traditions, "Hòu Fù" offers only minimal context information. The little it says is given in the first few sentences, framing subsequent speech. In this case the speech is produced as a dialogue between two actors, an unnamed 'king' and the otherwise unknown character Lord Hou.

The dialogue is organised in seven units, each of which headed by an explicit marker of speech – a common feature of Shū texts. There is no action other than the speeches, except the to-the-point-mention of the king's enquiry in the text's frame, as well as the brief description of Lord Hou's ritual gesture of obedience, which heads his exclamation in unit *two* in response to the king.

Asking about the deportment of their forefathers, the king of "Hòu Fù" seeks to establish an agenda for securing his own rule through the work of ministers and advisors, in particular the assistance of Hou. His conviction is that Heaven can be 'read' and, by properly observing the ritual performance of the due sacrifices, the commonfolks (*mín*) will be kept in check.

Lord Hou then complicates the king's picture of how the king may secure his rule in the long run by insinuating that the Heavenly Mandate 'cannot be trusted' and the 'mind of the commonfolks is 'difficult to fathom'. For this reason governance must install a framework that allows the commonfolks (*mín*) to be in awe of the workings of the state and, by extension, the working of the world around them. Hence the king must seek to understand the mind of the commonfolks, because their actions are all dependent on this. The mind of the commonfolks, for its part, rests on the actions of the ruler and their proper comportment. Should they indulge in drink, a common concern expressed in the Shū traditions, instead of using the wine in their offerings of sacrifices, they are sure to lose the respect, and thus the support, of these folks. In other words, the producers of "Hòu Fù" propound the idea of rule by moral force. This is a common notion in Warring States sociopolitical philosophy.

So far thinking of "Hòu Fù". Unfortunately with slip one broken, the first four or so graphs of the text are irreversibly missing. We will therefore never know for sure which formula framed "Hòu Fù" and whether it was a formula typically seen in Shū texts. However, since common Shū patterns occur across the text it is clear that the communities behind "Hòu Fù" articulated their argument in a particular way so as to couch their message as part of the Shū traditions. Thus connecting their concern to a relevant discourse, it is reasonably safe to assume that some form of common Shū contextualisation also occurred at the text's beginning, had it been complete. Such framing patterns are often the event-immanent framing device 王若曰 'the king said thus'; or a time-place contextualising formula of the kind 惟 X 月/ 年 'it was in month/year X', or 惟 X 月 Y 'in month X, Y'; or 惟 X 有

Y 年 'it was in the XY year..' (e.g., 惟十有一年) etc. Given that the phrase continues with the king taking notice of merits (王監劼績) we can safely exclude the former. Moreover, the event-immanent formula *wáng ruò yuē* also occurs later on in the text when normally this formula appears just once.[48] With roughly four graphs missing, the latter formula fits the space well.

Moving on from the initial frame, "Hòu Fù" repeats commonplace clichés of the Shū traditions, of which some produce webs of reference structures. To give an example, related to the initial notion of the king 'inspecting the estimable merits' in "Hòu Fù"—a phrase that in this form does not appear in the *Shàngshū* or the *Yì Zhōushū* but that resonates everywhere in Shū traditions, including the received texts—is the following structure: 'X' (mostly Heaven in the Shū traditions but in this instance it is the king) is inspecting 'Y' (like in "Hòu Fù" this is generally something positive, such as merits or virtue), which are related to groups 'Z'. This is common use in the Shū genre. In the Shū traditions these groups ('Z') are often comprised of the lower commonfolks (*mín*) but in this case they are the exemplary personae of the past. This deviation from the norm is, however, not too extraordinary, going to show the extent to which groups had autonomy in stretching common practice without breaking normative conceptual links in Shū genre.

"Hòu Fù" then continues by dropping the modular phrase 'reverence and brilliant virtue' (恭明德). In the Shū traditions the phrase occurs generally in the context of two central concerns: the unpredictable nature of Heaven's favours and the fears of losing them, generally paired with deliberations about continuing the deeds of their ancestors. This is also the reference structure adopted in "Hòu Fù", where the said modular phrase relates to the accomplished men of the past in exactly this manner.[49]

Then, having just dwelled on the 'lasting powers' (*jīng dé* 經德) of Qǐ—*jīng dé* is a widespread term that is, however, used variably in Shū genre as either denoting the 'lasting *dé* of X' or as 'taking as guideline the *dé* of X'—"Hòu Fù" reflects on the predecessors' abilities to make their virtue 'go up on high' (格于上). Just like in "Hòu Fù", this phrase often comes together with associative links pertaining to 'constant powers' (常德),[50] 'preserving the throne' (保位),[51] 'overseeing' the

48 More on this in Ch. 6: 187n.9.

49 Note that what in "Hòu Fù" and other Shū texts (as well as bronze texts from mid-Western Zhōu onwards) are the 'cultivated men of the past' (前文人) are sometimes also rendered as 'forefathers' (嗣前人). However, because of their shared reference structure they seem to be part of a common pattern of meaning construction.

50 Cf. *jīng dé* 經德 in "Hòu Fù".

51 Cf. *yǒng bǎo Xià yì* 永保夏邑 'forever preserving the domain of the Xià' in "Hòu Fù".

multitude regions' (監于萬方), as well as the common possession (咸有) of either the 'spirits' (神) or, as in the received "Jūn Shì" of the *Shàngshū*, a 'common *dé*', where the associative links also occur in the context of bemoaning how difficult it is to 'rely on Heaven' as its 'appointments are not constant'.

If the above named examples were isolated instances of structural overlap between "Hòu Fù" and other texts of the Shū traditions we should probably not overrate them. But that is not so. Rather, it seems "Hòu Fù" is largely built up of modular phrases that appear throughout the Shū traditions, where they dwell on related topoi or themes, activating a shared referential web of signification in Shū genre.

Just like most of what we see in "Hòu Fù", section *two* is awash with common phrases and images of the Shū traditions. I shall look at one such phrase in particular, as it presents an interesting case of how structures of signification were redeployed, creatively, in Shū genre. With that I close my discussion of meaning networks.

Just as Lord Hou obediently touched his forehead to the ground, the text has him produce the following phrase:

> 古天降下民，埶（設）萬邦，作之君，作之帀（師），隹（惟）曰其助上帝，𢍏（亂）下民之匿（慝）
> In antiquity Heaven sent down (i.e., gave birth to) the lower commonfolks and set up the myriad lands. It gave them lords and armies that they assist the Dì on high to correct the wrongdoings of the lower commonfolks.

This is the said phrase prompting scholars to speak of a 'lost chapter of the *Shàngshū*' – a conceptualisation of past activities that is problematic on so many levels. Not only does it seek to explain ancient textuality in reference to an imperial text-miscellany—one that to some extent was chosen at random—*Shàngshū*; it also tries to understand the polymorphic social realities of meaning construction during the Warring States through the model of static texts. It is useful to bring to our attention Bakhtin's assertion about intertextuality. Bakhtin insists that behind the interaction of texts is always 'a contact of personalities and not of things'.[52] Texts, in other words, are only the secondary products of the multifacetted social realities of meaning construction. The primary actors are people—individual or groups—participating in a discourse by way of entextualising old cultural capital into contemporary argument space.

The relevant passage of the *Mèngzǐ* which triggered the debate reads as follows:

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52 Bakhtin 1986: 162.

> 書曰：天降下民，作之君，作之師。惟曰其助上帝，寵之四方。有罪無罪，惟我在，天下曷敢有越厥志？ In a Shū it is said: 'Heaven gave birth to (sent down) the lower commonfolks; it gave them lords and armies that they assist the Dì on high to pacify the four quarters [of the realm]. Whether they have fault or not, with us being here, how would anyone in the world have the temerity daring to transgress its wishes?'[53]

The overlap of the two texts is indeed remarkable. Except the stress on antiquity, which is missing in the *Mèngzǐ*—as is the phrase '[Heaven] set up the myriad lands', which comes next—the two share four near-identical textual elements in reference to assisting the Dì on high that he may either 'tame the wrongdoing of the lower folks' in "Hòu Fù", or 'pacify the four quarters [of the realm]' in the *Mèngzǐ*. Then they each drift off into different deliberations with no shared reference structures between them. The Shū as cited in the *Mèngzǐ* continues with three further phrases not seen in "Hòu Fù". It is clear that the Shū as cited in the *Mèngzǐ* is not simply an abbreviated version of "Hòu Fù". Rather, "Hòu Fù" and the cited Shū of the *Mèngzǐ* each contain a shared set of phrases, which they use to contextualise a different matter.

The phrase 'Heaven sends down X' appears variously in *Shàngshū* and the Qīnghuá manuscripts. But its use is not stable. Central to it is the verb 'sending down'. But even though it often appears in conjunction with the pair 'Heaven' and 'the commonfolks', the *reference* structure behind these phrases is not necessarily the same. Implied objects may produce very different webs of signification, even when the *sentence* structure remains intact.

The above-cited sentences show an interesting case of overlap with the old-script "Tài shì" 泰誓 (Great Harangue).[54] "Tài shì" is traditionally attributed to Zhōu Wǔwáng, addressing the nobility of the Zhōu just before attacking the Shāng.[55] It reads as follows:

> 天佑下民，作之君，作之師，惟其克相上帝，寵綏四方。有罪無罪，予曷敢有越厥志？ Heaven assisted the commonfolks below. It made for them rulers, it made for them armies, that they be able to aid the Dì on High to secure the tranquillity of the four regions. Whether they have fault or not, how dare I transgress its (Heaven's) wishes?

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53 *Mèngzǐ* "Liáng Huì Wáng *xià*": 10.

54 Although "Tài shì" appears in part in the *Shǐjì* traditionally ascribed to Sīmǎ Qián 司馬遷 (c. 145–c. 85 BC) and is repetedly referred to in texts of the Warring States, the fact that it is not part of the modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū* means the text ought to be treated with caution. There are possibly six different versions of it from different periods. See the discussion in Jiǎng Shànguó 1988: 213–225.

55 For a study of textual overlap between the various "Harangues" in the *Shàngshū*, see Kern 2017a.

The "Tài shì" is here near-identical with the Shū as cited in the *Mèngzǐ*. But even in this case we find they are used to express a different concern. The Shū of the *Mèngzǐ* puts stress on the authority of Heaven as embodied in the awe-inspiring ruler, King Wen. In his presence, no one would ever dare to go against Heaven's will as articulated through him, the king. In "Tài shì", the phrase is put in the mouth of Fā, rhetorically the future King Wu, and used to state that *he* dare not disregard the wishes of Heaven.

When comparing "Tài shì" with "Hòu Fù" more fully—it is not possible to do the same with the phrase as appearing in the *Mèngzǐ* because of its isolated use there—we find that the wider context structure of this line could hardly be more different from what is happening in "Hòu Fù". In the latter, Lord Hou invokes cultural memory to admonish his lord, the unnamed king, that he may not rely on Heavenly Command if he does not also fulfil his kingly duties in observing the statutes and laws of the former illustrious king. In "Tài shì", cited above, however, King Wu delivers an oration to the nobles of the Zhōu just before their battle with the Shāng. It stresses the rightful nature of their campaign, which is bound to be successful because, unlike the many officers of the Shāng, the Zhōu and their allies are of 'one mind' (惟一心).

Despite the obvious differences in the wider context structures of signification underlying the two speeches, one by Fā, the other by Lord Hou (and, as conceptualised yet again differently in the *Mèngzǐ*, King Wen), the internal reference structure of the web of signification created by the modular speech items by and large remains intact, albeit certain components differ. On a macro level, in both orations the modular speech items appear within a web of references that point to regime change in the face of rulers indulging in drink instead of considering the wellbeing of their subjects. On the microscopic level, we see that five modular items remain in close interaction with one another in a relatively stable manner. The first of these is Heaven and its relation to the lower commonfolks. In one text ("Tài shì") Heaven aides the commonfolks; in the other ("Hòu Fù") it brings them forth. "Hòu Fù" further adds that Heaven also sets up the myriad lands, an item not considered in "Tài shì". The modular link of Heaven-commonfolks connects to three further—stable—items in both speeches. One, it made for them rulers (作之君); two, it made for them armies (作之師);[56] three, the thus-generated ability that the commonfolks (*mín*) assist the 'Dì on High': 'that they be able to aid the Dì on High' (惟其克相上帝) in "Tài shì" and 'that are said to assist the Dì on High' (惟曰其助上帝) in "Hòu Fù". These items connect to a reference structure that,

56 Tradition often renders *shī* 師 as 'models'. However, given the text's sense of Realpolitik I consider 'armies' more apt.

contextually, stays intact in both orations: in one text it is to 'secure the tranquillity of the four regions' (寵綏四方);[57] in the other it is 'to tame the wrongdoing of the lower commonfolks' (亂下民之慝).[58]

The above examples all point to the same phenomenon: the profound modular build-up of these texts. Their shared reference structures is evidence of a second- or third-order composition process that goes beyond the modular combination of discrete textual units to support a particular argument. This confirms that speaking of a 'lost *Shàngshū* chapter' because there are—admittedly close—intertextual correspondences between a passage in the *Mèngzǐ* highlighted as 'Shū' on the one hand, and a manuscript text of the Qīnghuá corpus on the other is, methodologically, ill-conceived.

3.4 Conclusion

The above observations do not present a one-off scenario. The list of examples showing modular reference structures in "Hòu Fù" could be continued if subjecting the entire text to fully-fledged systematic scrutiny. But "Hòu Fù" is not unique in this respect either. Other manuscript texts—and the same is equally true of the received texts as recorded in the *Shàngshū* and *Yì Zhōushū*—are also awash with referential webs of signification. They are made up of modular phrases that resonate with given sets of sociopolitical or philosophical topoi or themes, thus producing micro-networks of signification used variably in these texts.

The repertoire of modular speech components constituted a primary layer of Shū genre, which developed during the second half of the first millennium BC when manuscript cultures were maturing. This developing genre, fostered by the flow of information that came with the wealth of physically available texts in wider circulation, informed the communities debating at the time. These groups now came to exploit and reconceptualise old cultural capital to fashion new texts so as to advance their own sociopolitical and philosophical ideas by investing them with an ancient pedigree.

It is interesting that in Shū genre even though many of the common modular phrases remain within their larger referential structure, their applied meaning may differ substantially from one case to another. As well as to larger structures of signification, this also applies to the micro-level of the text, down to the individual sentence. The example of one such case of a larger meaning network is

57 "Tài shì".

58 "Hòu Fù". I discuss the complexities of the verb *luàn* 亂 in Ch. 4.

telling. The use of excessive drink appears stably in the context of regime change and the lords' disrespect for the wellbeing of the commonfolks. However, in one instance the lord is admonished that because the Heavenly Mandate is unpredictable he must observe the statutes and laws of the former illustrious king so as to guard the 'mind of the commonfolks' (民心); in another, while redeploying the same web of correspondences, it is used in the context of a pre-battle speech delivered by the king to remind his allies that victory is inevitable because, unlike their enemy, the allies of the king are of one mind (惟一心). While the basic reference structure remains intact in the two texts, it is applied to entirely different settings.

On the micro-level of signification, we see many examples of modular phrases that are stable in their choice of words but differ in their wider meaning contexts. Take for instance the example of the common sentence in Shū genre that structures 'heaven' *tiān* 天 and the '(lower) commonfolks' *xià mín* 下民 around the central verb 'to send down' *jiàng* 降. In some cases (e.g., "Hòu Fù") the use of the verb is transitive, thus giving us: 'Heaven sends down the lower *mín*';[59] others (e.g., "Tài shì") take an implied object: 'Heaven sends down (a quality) X for the lower *mín*'. What we see from this is exactly the same situation as above only that here it applies to the micro-level of signification: a relatively fixed (sentence) structure is redeployed in different settings where it attains altered meaning in line with what the text puts forward.

Examples of this kind abound. They go to show very clearly how the groups at the time worked with what was simply a mine of materials. Stable elements of the cultural capital are redeployed in different contexts by entextualising them flexibly in the space of a new argument, such that they serve their users' ends.

The above yields further implications. One is that to some extent we ought to reconsider the clear divide of old- and modern-script recensions in our evaluation of the social reality behind the *Shàngshū*. Of course, this should not suggest that the old-script texts of the *Shàngshū* are the products of the Warring States. That is out of the question. But the way in which communities brought these texts to light is structurally not so different from what happened during the Warring States. Even though the provenance of the old-script recension of the *Shàngshū* is uncertain, and its texts generally ought to be treated with great caution, it is nonetheless too easy to dismiss them *a priori* as 'forgeries'. It is the same attitude that considers what was a polymorphic reality of past activities of constructing meaning through the canon-centred paradigm of imperial text making, which

59 The Qīnghuá manuscript text "*Mìng xùn" which I discuss also below is another case in point.

sets aside the texts of the old-script recension because of fixed, reductivist assumptions which chronically simplify what was, in fact, an exceedingly complex transmission history.

Reference patterns in texts of the Warring States suggest that the material of what is now titled "Tài shì" was used widely in the construction of argument at the time. The *Mèngzǐ* is just one example. Other include the *Mòzǐ* 墨子, *Guóyǔ* 國語, *Guǎnzǐ* 管子, and *Zuǒ zhuàn*.[60]

Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that "Tài shì" was repeatedly reconstituted, in different form across the centuries, perhaps millennia.[61] As such it is clearly not the product of the Warring States. But do we really believe that the texts of the modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū* reflect anything remotely like their 'original' state? Hardly. In one way or another they were all reconstituted, variously, time and again – no matter whether modern-or old-script recensions. As Michael Nylan suggests, the old-script texts bear 'deuterocanonical' knowledge, 'spliced' with more recent materials, maybe even building on older archives. That is not so different from what was happening during the Warring States – except, of course, that 'archive' takes an entirely different meaning there; when thinking about Warring States activities, 'genre' performs this function.

The stabilising of Shū genre is therefore not equivalent to claims of text stability within this genre. Quite the opposite: certain text moulds are solidifying as they are now appearing repeatedly in texts of Shū description;[62] given motifs are being used over and over; common fabulae are being repeatedly exploited;[63] known memes reoccur time and again in various texts.[64] However, whether there can be said to be fixed 'Shū texts' is yet a different matter. As I discuss below, during the Warring States ever more complex texts increasingly made for a good read. Even text titles occur.[65] But to postulate a 'lost Shū text' just because a given phrase occurs in the transmitted records (in this case *Mèngzǐ*) while there is no counterpart of that phrase in the imperial miscellanies *Shàngshū* and *Yì Zhōushū* falls short analytically.

Shū genre actively channels the production and reception of a particular kind of text by assimilating an utterance—oral, written, or both—through links with

60 Chan and Ho 2003: 160–169.

61 As mentioned, Jiǎng Shànguó 1988: 213–225 counts as many as six versions across the ages.

62 See the discussion in Ch. 4.

63 See the discussion in Ch. 5.

64 A very good discussion of memes is found in Gleick 2011: 310–323. See also Distin 2005.

65 See the discussion in Ch. 6.

previous utterances. Intertextuality is central to this. By moving old cultural capital into a new argument space and framing it as an expression of Shū, an expectation is created that produces the 'framework for entextualisation'. Such a framework thus enables organising a stretch of discourse into text. In this way the new argument enters into debate. An argument produced in this way is therefore a performance activity that rearticulates cultural knowledge for present ends. Whether that is done in primarily written form – this may perhaps be the model for the texts of the old-script recension in their claim of political influence; or whether this happens in a combination of both in spoken and written delivery—I consider this a likely scenario of the articulation of Shū during the Warring States as reflected from the Qīnghuá manuscirpts—is, I believe, secondary. By looking at the Shū traditions as representatives of a genre it is possible to draw a more accurate picture of how the conceptual communities engaged in and with this discourse without thinking via the contrastive poles of orality and literacy which are assumed as mutually exclusive practices by which meaning may be generated.

To approach the social reality behind the Shū traditions by reference to genre theory frees us from conceptualising Warring States-polymorphic trends in argumentation and meaning construction through the sole prism of texts where changes must reflect deviations of the norm. Instead the idea of Shū genre enables us to come up with a model to conceptualise dynamic Shū traditions, as we see them through the Qīnghuá manuscripts, as a way in which people—groups or individuals—are integrating stretches of discourse in their making of an argument. Shū are a social phenomenon. The Shū traditions are the result of what people do. Shū genre is a way by which different conceptual communities can (re-)negotiate spaces of influence, be they practically oriented (for instance, meant to persuade someone at court about ways of ruling) or philosophical, say, in developing a programmatic vision of rule. They reflect not the interaction of things but people and their arguments.

4 Moulds of discourse

> Das Wahre war schon langst gefunden,
> Hat edle Geisterschaft verbunden;
> Das alte Wahre, fass es an! [1]

The discussion has shown that intertextuality is central to the ways genre channelled the production as well as the reception of Shū by assimilating a spoken or written utterance through the aura of previous utterances. By moving old cultural capital into a new argument space and framing it as Shū, expectations are created that produce a 'framework for entextualisation'. A stretch of discourse is thus organised into text; a new argument thus enters into debate. Two dominant strands of argument formation are crystallising thus. First, we saw that certain communities, in producing an argument, relied on solidified patterns of signification that tied the modular items in their repertoire into small reference networks; second, patterns of themes formed accordingly that behaved just like memes, (re-)appearing in entirely different contextual settings and used for different ends. In the following I shall look at each of these scenarios in greater detail, beginning, in this chapter, by investigating how hardened patterns of signification produced moulds that shape the way an argument is put.

By way of shaping moulds of argumentation, during the Warring States period culturally ingrained patterns could sometimes provide a blueprint for continuous Shū text-production. When a concern is thus articulated through such a mould of argumentation the reported event is transmuted and it becomes a normative event-type. To show how this works I read "Gù mìng" 顧命 (Testimentary Charge) of the *Shàngshū* in consultation with "*Bǎo xùn" 保訓 (Prized instructions) of the Qīnghuá manuscripts.[2]

"Gù mìng" presents the act of succession from King Cheng to his son Zhāo 釗, the future King Kang (Zhōu Kāngwáng 周康王, r. 1005/1003–978 BC). It is a particularly lengthy text in two parts, with speech framed by narrative. King Cheng here commands his ministers to be loyal to his son and heir. This marks the text as a *mìng* 命 'command', as is also noted in the present denotation of the text. But

1 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Gedichte. Ausgabe letzter Hand, 1827*. Gott und Welt: "Vermächtnis".

2 The analysis of this chapter is based on Meyer 2017a, which here I expand, correct, and further develop.

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as discussed elsewhere,[3] "Gù mìng" should neither be read as an actual witness to the act of succession, nor should it be studied through the retrospectively invented—and hence anachronistic—category '*mìng*'.[4] Instead, in its present form, it reads like an Eastern Zhōu rearticulation—and imagining (!)—of a vital moment of the Zhōu's past. It translates sociopolitical angst into a founding myth that proves relevant to contemporaneous communities.

"*Bǎo xùn", for its part, was unknown prior to its acquisition in 2010. It presents the act of succession from King Wen (Zhōu Wénwáng 周文王, r. 1099/1056–1050 BC) to his son, Fā 發, the future King Wu. Just as in "Gù mìng", the act of transferring power is described as a matter of urgency in the face of King Wen's death. "*Bǎo xùn" is a brief text in two parts. First is a narrative that frames the king's speech. Then two anecdotes, as well as concluding remarks, give further support to the point made by the king in his address to his son. Just like "Gù mìng", "*Bǎo xùn" is a voice in the rulership debate.

4.1 Text Presentation in "Gù mìng" 顧命 and "*Bǎo xùn" 保訓

"Gù mìng" combines brief speeches with extensive narrative material. The story can be summarised as follows: King Cheng fears his death is imminent, and so he presents those attending him with a request about his succession. Then, after having conducted a ritual washing, he delivers a speech in which he stresses the unbroken line of rightful rule from Kings Wen and Wu to himself, demanding the loyalty of those around him in support of his son, Zhāo.[5] This is the core of "Gù mìng".

Then the king dies and Zhāo is prepared for his succession. The text offers a description of the accompanying rituals that in length, form, and attention to detail is not seen elsewhere in textualised Shū traditions. The text closes with an announcement made by Zhāo, the new King Kang (Kāng wáng 康王).

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3 Meyer 2017a.

4 Scholars such as Mǎ Shìyuǎn (2008: 9) are misguided in taking those categories as forms of text production (*viz.*, text types) during the late Western Zhōu period.

5 Glorifications of Kings Wen and Wu as a pair were becoming a standard element of the rhetoric in Western Zhōu appointment texts but, following Venture, Kern 2009: 149 notes the formula of Kings Wen and Wu as a paradigmatic pair of ancestors that established lasting patterns of rule through 'succession and complementary virtues' became a stock component of political discourse only much later, when the house of Zhōu was itself passing. See also the discussion in Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005: 2115.

Three things relating to the content and textual form of "Gù mìng" need to be pointed out. First, by recording the last will of King Cheng for his son Zhāo to be enthroned after his death, "Gù mìng" articulates the notion of primogeniture. Because this account comes just before King Cheng's death, it connects with other Shū that document the transition of power from ruler to successor as a matter of urgency. This makes it a crisis text.[6] Second, related to the previous point, "Gù mìng" can be linked to a group of texts that explicate their very existence as written entities.[7] By constructing a narrative that can be understood as giving a reason for its physical existence (the situation of emergency created by the king's imminent death and, therefore, his urgent need to name a successor), it expresses a sense of unease about, and therefore the need to explain, the event of recording what could well (or should ideally? – in the imagination of certain communities) exist primarily in oral form. "Jīn téng" (plus "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí") and "*Bǎo xùn" are other such examples.[8] Unlike texts that employ the common formula *wáng ruò yuē* 王若曰, 'the king spoke thus', both "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn" do not assume the rhetorical fabric of a reported, and therefore to some degree summarised and idealised, event. Instead, they present the events as though they were recorded as witnessed by a chronicler present at the time. Third, "Gù mìng" belongs to those articulations of Shū that give voice to multilayered events where the main event produces a number of related sub-events over an extended time span.

Not so "*Bǎo xùn". It is not narrating an event in the sense of "Gù mìng". It only records the words of the king. In "Gù mìng" the kingly speech looks for a response. It is therefore an integral part of the event as narrated in the text. Speech in "*Bǎo xùn", however, does not produce a response, and no sub-events are linked to the speech. Speech here is a stand-alone entity. In "*Bǎo xùn" the king's speech *is* the event.

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6 Grebnev 2016 calls such texts 'alarming'. To him other alarming Shū texts include "Jīn téng" (plus the Qīnghuá "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí"); Qīnghuá "*Bǎo xùn"; *Yì Zhōushū* "Wù jǐng" 寤儆 (Alarmed when Awakening) and "Wǔ quán" 五權 (Five Balances). In such texts, the focalisation lies not on the 'background event' (or the 'time-and-place information') but on detailing an alarming situation 'in a king's life'. Nicholas Vogt 2017 introduced the notion of 'deathbed texts', inasmuch as they situate arguments within the shared frame created by the chronology of an individual human life. He therefore excludes "Jīn téng" from this list, since the death of King Wu presented a real threat in the milieu of the text, but not to the author(s), who of course knew that King Wu would not die.

7 See the relevant discussion in Krijgsman 2017.

8 I discuss "Jīn téng" and "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" in Ch. 5.

By presenting the text as though it was a record set down by someone witnessing the events following the death of King Cheng, the *Gestus* of "Gù mìng"—its rhetorical fabric of delivery—situates the text historically just one generation after King Wu. In this way, the authors tie "Gù mìng" closely to the affairs that brought the ruling house of the Zhōu to near collapse. These events may be summarised as follows: shortly after leading a campaign against the citadel of Chóng 崇, where the Zhōu attempted to bring the Fēn River valley under their military control, King Wen died. King Wu succeeded him and soon led a major campaign against the Shāng 商. A decisive battle was fought and won at Mùyě 牧野. King Wu subsequently assigned some of his younger brothers to oversee the former Shāng domain, while keeping Zhōu Gōng Dàn 周公旦, the famous Duke of Zhou, in the Zhōu capital to act as his chief adviser.[9] But soon after this decisive campaign against the Shāng, King Wu also died. The duke stepped in for King Cheng to oversee government on his behalf – thus the orthodox reading of the events of the time. However, ancient sources make it plain that doubt about the legitimacy of this move was common among Eastern Zhōu communities.

Whatever really triggered the events may well stay beyond us. However, we know that a revolt against the Zhōu broke out around the time when the duke assumed power, culminating in years of open war that shook the very foundations of Zhōu rule.

The literarisation of a historical event is usually written against the background of specific sociopolitical or philosophical contexts. So too is "Gù mìng". By presenting an ideal case of royal succession, "Gù mìng", it seems, lays claim to the young dynasty's ultimate challenge of establishing lasting structures of rule and royal succession. "*Bǎo xùn", for its part, situates the moment of its speech just one generation before the events presented in "Gù mìng". It too discusses forms of royal succession, but it does so by assuming a radically different position.

9 Shaughnessy 1999: 310 dates this event two years after the campaign. For a summary of the events between the battle of Mùyě and the suppression of the rebellion, including the actions by Guǎnshū and his brothers, see Shaughnessy 1999: 307. After the battle of Mùyě where the armies of King Wu brought much of the Shāng domain under nominal control of the Zhōu, King Wu assigned two, perhaps three, of his younger brothers to oversee the former Shāng domain. They were Guǎnshū Xiān 管叔鮮, Càishū Dù 蔡叔度 and perhaps Huòshū Chù 霍叔處. Guǎnshū (Guǎnshū Xiān) was the third son of King Wen. As the younger brother of King Wu, he was King Cheng's uncle. After the suppression of the rebellion, Guǎnshū Xiān was executed and his fief, Guǎn 管, was annihilated.

4.2 "Gù mìng"

Gù Jiégāng 顧頡剛 (1893–1980) took "Gù mìng" for an Eastern Zhōu text. With this view he was rather isolated.[10] The dominant trend is to think of it as a text of the Western Zhōu to the early Spring and Autumn period.[11]

Following the line of our findings in the previous chapters, such an assumption is conceptually problematic. To consider "Gù mìng" a text of Western Zhōu to early Spring and Autumn making is not sustainable. The difficulty lies in the implied assumptions about authenticity. When applied to the *Shàngshū* 'authentic' (or 'genuine') normally suggests that a text belongs to the earliest stratum of text production.[12] Implicitly it treats the text as a monolithic entity. Both assumptions fall short. Without a doubt, many, if not all *Shàngshū* chapters postdate by centuries the events they claim to 'witness'. They contain deliberate archaisms and reflect multiple stages of composition and compilation. The Shū, and in particular the highly edited *Shàngshū*, are, furthermore, not single-authored entities.[13] They are highly layered artefacts that combine elements from different sources, traditions, and periods into one entity. While the texts almost certainly contain genuinely old material, their actual composition is unlikely to match the age of the oldest elements, since older material is repeatedly integrated into new(er) framing structures as a fundamental feature of Shū genre. Such a reworking changes their import, as well as altering the story they present – and the opposite may also be the case, in that material of a newer date is infused into

10 His assessment was a response to Hú Shì's 胡適 (1891–1962) reservations about the reliability of the modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū* in 1922. Gù Jiégāng 顧頡剛 thus proposed organising the *Shàngshū* into three main periods: texts from the Western Zhōu (1046–771 BC); texts from the Eastern Zhōu (770–256 BC); and texts from the late Eastern Zhōu and the Qín and Hàn dynasties. See Gù Jiégāng 1926–41, vol. 1: 200ff.

11 Based on Creel 1970: 447–463, Shaughnessy 1993: 379 notes that those chapters attributed to the reign of King Cheng, especially the first seven years of that reign when the Duke of Zhou acted as regent for the young king, make up the core layers of the *Shàngshū*. With the exception of "Wú yì" 無逸 (Without Idleness) and "Lì zhèng" 立政 (Establishing Rule) he dates them to the Western Zhōu. Implicit claims about "Gù mìng" as a Western Zhōu text are also made in Shaughnessy 1999: 317f. In his discussion of the *gào* chapters, Vogelsang 2002: 138–209 raises the possibility of a late Western Zhōu or early Spring and Autumn date for the early layers of the *Shàngshū*. Kern 2007b: 123ff and 2009: 183 arrives at a similar conclusion and assumes a late Western Zhōu date for the "Gù mìng".

12 See Dobson 1962 for a discussion of the language in the *Shàngshū* as compared to that of Western bronze texts. With the exception of "Pán Gēng" 盤庚, which is listed in the "Shāng" 商 division, the 'genuine' chapters all fall in the "Zhōu" division of the *Shàngshū*.

13 On this point see especially the informed discussion by Vogelsang 2017.

conventional and much older text moulds and framing structures. And of course, the two situations may happily go together and apply both at once to the same text. Jiǎng Shànguó 蔣善國 (1898–1986) aptly expressed this when he claimed that the question is not *whether* a *Shàngshū* chapter is 'genuine' (*zhēn* 真) or 'fabricated' (*wéi* 僞); rather *when* was it was put together and edited (*zhěngbiān* 整編).[14] "Gù mìng" is an illustrative case in point.

In the editions by Mǎ Róng 馬融 (79–186) and Zhèng Xuán—Sūn Xīngyǎn 孫星衍 (1753–1818) believed it to be based on the old-script (*gǔwén* 古文) recension of the *Shàngshū*—the text includes "Kāng Wáng zhī gào" 康王之誥, the chapter directly following it in the modern-script recension.[15] In my analysis, I follow Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú in thinking that "Gù mìng" and "Kāng Wáng zhī gào" are best read as a single entity.[16]

4.3 Speech and Ritual in "Gù mìng"

My form-analysis divides "Gù mìng" into seven elements:

1. *The specification of the context*: this element frames the account by defining the temporal but not spatial setting, and provides the context against which the account is constructed. As is typical, it provides no meta-information regarding the sociopolitical background against which "Gù mìng" is produced.
2. *The king's charge*: King Cheng stresses his rightful place in the Zhōu line of rule and makes a plea to the attending officers to support his son Zhāo.
3. *The king's death*: this element serves as a subframe to scaffold the account of the ritual by specifying the context, event and location.
4. *The king's postmortem ritual*: here the text provides an elaborate account of the ritual with exceptional attention to detail. This takes the form of a catalogue.
5. *The command and its intonation*: after Zhāo is enthroned, the Grand Secretary intones King Cheng's command to him. The new king (King Kang) receives it reverently and holds a drink sacrifice.

14 Jiǎng Shànguó 1988: 133.

15 See *Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū*: 504. In the Qín/early Western Hàn modern-script recension of Fú Shèng 伏勝, the two texts were listed as one, namely as chapter 24.

16 Interestingly this follows the old-script recension. Note that this overlaps with observations made also by Kern 2017b (for "Yáo diǎn" 堯典) and Vogelsang 2017 (for "Gāo Yáo mǒ" 皋陶謨), who independently identify two distinct texts in each of these chapters. While this is the opposite of what I see in "Gù mìng", their findings also match the old-script recension where "Gāo Yáo mǒ" (into "Gāo Yáo mǒ" and "Yì jì" 益稷) and "Yáo diǎn" (into "Yáo diǎn" and "Shùn diǎn" 舜典) are separated into two chapters each.

6. *Oath*: the king is confirmed as the rightful successor. The Grand Protector and the Eldest of Rui announce his royal duties, to which King Kang responds that he will reverently observe them.
7. *Conclusion of the ritual*: the many lords leave and King Kang continues to mourn his father.

The first two elements form the first contextual unit. They constitute the 'core' of "Gù mìng", the first stable text unit. For ease of reference I shall call them section A. Elements 3 to 7 can be subsumed under 'description of the ritual' and make up section B. The individual elements can be further subdivided and I do so in my analysis of the text.

4.4 Text Analysis of "Gù mìng"

Section A follows common patterns of Shū genre. Although its elements constitute the core of "Gù mìng", they are not necessarily the earliest text materials. But they form the intellectual basis of "Gù mìng". As we shall see later on, this bit provides a mould that ensures a stable pattern of text (re-)production. Reading "Gù ming" through "*Bǎo xùn", as I do in this chapter, allows me to show that this mould became reproducible in other contexts too, where it served quite different purposes.

After section A, the diction of "Gù mìng" changes radically to an astoundingly comprehensive description of the ritual event. This part, put in the form of five catalogues,[17] has no corresponding item in the Shū traditions thus far known.[18] Finally, the text shifts again to a more common Shū pattern when closing with the new king's oath. Such shifts between narrative, speech, and catalogue, as well as the sub-events relating to the king's death that make the described event cover a prolonged time period, are not very common in the Shū traditions. In the case of "Gù mìng", I suggest they indicate text material combined with other text units. No matter how old the different elements may be, we should be open to the possibility that they were incorporated in what is now "Gù mìng" to furnish those materials with a narrative that links the text to a wider discourse on rule.

17 The 'catalogue' was a common literary device in texts of the Warring States, used to indicate the totality of the represented items. The first discussion of catalogues as a literary device to my knowledge is Zhào Bóxióng 1999.

18 Note that "Hóng fàn" 洪範 too contains many catalogues, albeit of a different kind; "Cháng mài" 嘗麥 (Tasting of Wheat) of the *Yì Zhōushū* contains some catalogues of ritual scenes.

4.4.1 The Frame (Specification of Context)

The initial element situates "Gù mìng" in time and concern. Such frames commonly define the limits—mostly in time and space—of the account. In "Gù mìng", as in many other Shū, rhetorically it follows a common opening formulae of text cast in bronze.[19]

1 惟四月，哉生魄，王不懌。

2 甲子，王乃洮頮水，相被冕服。

3A 憑玉几，乃同[召]太保奭，芮伯，彤伯，畢公，衛侯，毛公，師氏，虎臣，百尹，御事。[20]

3B 王曰：嗚呼！疾大漸。惟幾，病日臻。既彌留，恐不獲誓言嗣，玆予審訓命汝。[21]

1 It was in the fourth month,[22] at the birth of *pò* (the new moon).[23] The king (King Cheng) was indisposed [because of sickness].[24]

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19 Note, this is in *Gestus* only, not factually. Bronze texts do not normally include a logical sequence with discourse connectors as part of the contextualising introductory portion. The inclusion of '*nǎi*', which implies not just sequence but causality, is indicative of a later text intervention.

20 The modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū* does not have the graph *shào* 召. Shào Gōng 召公 was the elder brother of the Duke of Zhou. At the time of King Kang he held the title of *tàibǎo* 太保, 'Grand Protector'. See Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005, vol. 4: 1716f.

21 This sentence contains many problems. The first is *jǐ* 幾 which, according to Pines 2002: 696 attained its meaning of 'imminent' as a secondary meaning to 'trigger' (of a crossbow) no earlier than the fourth century BC. For the remainder of the line, see Zēng Yùnqián 2011: 275.

22 Zhèng Xuán believes this to be the 28th year of King Cheng's reign. Sūn Xīngyǎn follows Zhèng (*Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū*: 479f.), but most later scholars disagree; see Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005, vol. 4: 1712f.

23 Misled by Liú Xīn's 劉歆 (c. 50 BC–AD 23) analysis of *shēng bà* 生霸 as *wàng* 望, the pseudo-Kǒng Ānguó commentary to the old-script recension understands this to mean 'starting to wane'. The mistake is continued in Cài Shěn's 蔡沈 (1167–1230) *Shūjīng jízhuàn* 書集傳; see Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005, vol. 4: 1713. The *Hànshū* "Lǜlì zhì" 漢書律曆志 (21.1017) quotes "Gù mìng" by taking *pò* 魄 (*p^{hs}rak) as *pò* 霸 (*p^{hs}rak-s); see Qū Wànlǐ 1983: 128. The two are homophonous and hence interchangeable.

24 This line has a close counterpart in the manuscript texts "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and "*Bǎo xùn". *Yì* 懌 (*laʔ) is generally read as *yù* 豫 (*laʔ-s) 'well disposed'. With explicit reference to "Gù mìng", the *Hànshū*: "Lǜlì zhì" *xià* 律曆志下 (21.1017) paraphrases this line as '[T]he king was indisposed due to sickness' (*wáng yǒu jí, bù yù* 王有疾、不豫).

2 On the day *jiǎzǐ*,[25] the king washed his hair and his face.[26] He was dressed in his official cap and his robe by his attendants.[27]

3A The king leaned on a jade-embroidered bench[28] as he summoned at once Shào, that is, the Grand Protector Shi,[29] [with] the Bó of Ruì and Tóng; the Gōng of Bì, [with] the Hóu of Wèi and the Gōng of Máo; [as well as] the Marshals,[30] the Tiger Warriors, the Hundred Officers, and the Superintendents of Affairs.[31]

3B [At this], the king exclaimed: "*wūhū*! My illness is progressing rapidly. [I] am at imminent risk [of dying]. Daily I have a new flare-up of pain, and it lasts for increasingly longer intervals. I fear I shall not succeed in giving an oath in which I declare my succession. Therefore, I shall now carefully lay my charge to you who are present with special instructions."

I take this entire unit as the initial frame of "Gù mìng". It is split it into three subelements. The first one situates the account in time and focus. It says why and when the account was taken, but not where. The text resembles bronze text-language with perhaps some degree of variation in that the primary event—the illness of the king—appears before the specification of the sexagenary cycle.

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25 Wáng Guówéi 1959: 19–26 interprets this as the first day of the waning moon; Zēng Yùnqián 2011, following Hàn commentators, entertains the same reading, while Legge 1960: 544f. disagrees. Just as Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005, vol. 4: 1714, I remain hesitant about the actual point of reference of *jiǎzǐ*. Grebnev 2017a: 264t4 holds that *jiǎzǐ* belongs to the dating pattern of the previous line. That may be the case and would not change the analysis of this passage.

26 Although phonetically problematic, *huì* 頮 (*m̥ˤut-s)—and its archaic form *huì* 饋 (*qʰʕuj-s)—is sometimes taken as equivalent to *mèi* 沫 (*mˤat-s); see *Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhushu*: 480).

27 Zhèng Xuán (*Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū*: 481) explains *xiàng* 相 as attendants in charge of the king's clothing. However, it might make more sense to read *xiāng* as an adverb of reciprocity where the action suggests 'a mutual bond of some kind between subject and object'. (Pulleyblank 1962: 233)

28 The *Zhōulǐ*, "Chūnguān zōng bó" 春官宗伯, describes different types of benches used for different ceremonies. The jade embroidered bench is thought to be the most valuable ceremonial one. Here, reference to "Gù mìng" is made explicitly by Zhèng Xuán's commentary (20.317).

29 Shàogōng Shì 召公奭 and Tàibǎo Shì 太保奭 are the same person.

30 On 'marshals', which was technically not a title but 'a designation of men with certain military roles', see Li Feng 2008: 312–313. It seems *shì* here served as a suffix title for a group of individuals who share certain qualities.

31 One may also take *yùshì* 御事 not as the title, 'Superintendents of Affairs', but as 'to take charge of affairs'. In taking it as a title, I follow Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú (2005: vol. 4, 1723). The principal figures among the six officers are instead Shàogōng 召公 and Bìgōng 畢公, each leading a group. As for the elements indicating the individual's seniority among siblings, I follow von Falkenhausen 2006: 70.

The mention of this cycle serves to introduce a new event (and the second subelement of the frame): the ritual washing of the king's hair and face. This new event is, however, not on the same plane with the initial event, the king's illness, but closely related to and in fact dependent on it. This information marks a subcontext within the frame. It introduces a linear progression of episodes before the various officials are summoned before the king (the third subelement of the frame). Notably, it is introduced by specifying the day in the sexagenary cycle: the first day of that cycle, *jiǎzǐ*.

After the officials have entered, the text gives voice to the king himself. As usual in Shū and bronze texts, the king in "Gù mìng" is never referred to in any other way than just *wáng* 王, 'king'. For us, later recipients of the text, far removed from the communities that claimed memory of the Zhōu's foundational past,[32] the identity of the king is revealed only through the mention of his son, Zhāo. The king's speech contains two elements. Because the opening part establishes the context for the subsequent message, self-referentially introducing what follows as his speech, I take it to belong to the initial frame.

With the king's speech, the language of "Gù mìng" changes. It shifts from a documentary to a much more personal style. Introduced with the theatrical exclamation *wūhū* 嗚呼 (*ʔʕa-qʰʕa), the speech is a dramatic appeal to his attendants.

Besides time, the frame situates the king's speech in sociopolitical terms. The king voices his profound fear that he might not last long enough to declare his succession formally. This is why he lays his charge with special instructions to the men present. To frame speech like this is exceptional, and most texts of Shū traditions simply provide the reference to a king's speech by having him say: 'I have an announcement to make'.[33]

4.4.2 The King's Charge

1 昔君文王、武王宣重光，奠麗陳教，則肆，肄不違，用克達殷集大命。在後之侗，敬迓天威，嗣守文武大訓，無敢昏逾。

2 今天降疾，殆弗興弗悟。[34]

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32 On the concept of foundational history, see J. Assmann 2011: 38, 59, 61–63. The concept entails cultural memory transforming 'factual' history into 'remembered history', by which it turns into 'myth'. Myth, in turn, is 'foundational history' in that its narrative intends to illuminate the present through the past.

33 As seen, for instance, in the "Gān shì" 甘誓 and "Tāng shì" 湯誓.

34 Pace Karlgren and Sūn Xīngyǎn, I follow Cài Shěn's *Shūjīng jīzhuàn*: 232 and parse the sentence not after but before *dài* 殆.

3 爾尚明時朕言，[35]

3A 用敬保元子釗，弘濟于艱難。

3B 柔遠能邇，安勸小大庶邦。

3C 思夫人自亂于威儀，爾無以釗冒貢于非幾。[36]

1 'In days yore, the lords Kings Wen and Wu displayed their repeated brilliance,[37] and they defined a standard of refinement that [they] set forth through [their own] model. And so they toiled, but in toiling, they never went against (the norms). In this way they were able to reach Yin and they succeeded in setting up the 'Great Mandate'.[38] I, the one in the line of succession, have respectfully welcomed 'Heaven's fearsome [charge]'.[39] I have inherited and guarded the 'Great Instructions'[40] of Kings Wen and Wu and never dared to transgress them foolishly.

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35 There are two ways of reading *shí* 時 here. One is as an unemphatic form for the demonstrative *shì* 是 or *zhī* 之 (*tə) which might be the better fit. (*shí* 時 *də and *shì* 是 *deʔ are used interchangeably in excavated texts.) This would give '[m]ay you in perpetuity endeavour this and [respectfully receive] my words'; but *shí* 時 *də could also be taken as *zhī* 之 *tə in the sense of 'to go, proceed'. This would render a sentence with an implied object of the type '[m]ay you in perpetuity endeavour to follow along [these] my words'. *Míng* 明 (*mraŋ) could also be read in the sense of *mèng* 孟 (*mˁraŋ-s) 'eldest', which, phonetically, is possible. (See also Bái Yúlán 2008: 261) The *Shìmíng* 釋名 reads it as 'to endeavor, exert one's strength into something'. (*Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū*: 485.)

36 The *Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū* explains *jǐ* 幾 as *jī* 機 (*kəj) 'mechanism', glossed as *lǐ* 理 (*rəʔ) 'regulate' (in *Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū:* 485). Because of the shared phonophore, reading 幾 as *jī* 機 (*kəj) and *jī* 機 (*kəj) as *lǐ* 理 (*rəʔ) 'regulate', is unproblematic.

37 On the conceptual pairing of Kings Wen and Wu, see 121n.5. For a detailed discussion of *chóng guāng* 重光, see Zēng Yùnqián 2011.

38 The term 'Great Mandate' *dàmìng* 大命 appears repeatedly in bronze texts from late Western Zhōu to late Warring States.

39 In "Jūn Shì" 君奭, the term 'Heaven's majesty' *tiānwēi* 天威 appears four times. The old-script "Tài shì" 太誓 also has this term, as does the modern-script "Lǚ xíng" 呂刑, and so does the *Yì Zhōushū* (in "Jìgōng—or "Zhàigōng"—*jiě* 祭公解**)**. With some variation, it also appears in the old-script "Tāng gào" 湯誥: 天命明威 '[I] will promote Heaven's Mandate and manifest [its] might'. Outside the *Shàngshū*, the term only appears twice in early Western Zhōu bronze texts: *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng*: 02837 and 04341, but it appears in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* (in a phrase that is repeated with some variation in the literature, namely in "Xǐ" 喜 2), and five odes of the *Shījīng* use phrases that incorporate the term (*Máo*: 194; 195; 198; 265; 272), suggesting that it had a certain presence in the texts of the time.

40 The term 'Great instructions' *dàxùn* 大訓 never appears in bronze texts and is used only three times in the *Shàngshū*, of which twice in "Gù mìng". The other appearance is in the old-script "Bì mìng" 畢命.

Note that it may also be possible to take the 'Great instructions' not as a proper name but simply as one of many variants of the notion of important instructions. Examples include *guāng xùn* 光

2 But now that Heaven has sent down [terminal] sickness, I fear [that I shall soon reach the point] where I shall not rise, nor get awaken.

3 May you perpetually listen to these clear words of mine,[41]

3A that [you] (lit. 'and with them') reverently guard my eldest son, Zhāo, and greatly assist him to succeed (ford over) when facing difficulties.

3B 'Be gentle to the distant [states] and connect with those that are near'; 'make tranquil the many states, small and large, through advice'. [42]

3C Consider how the man must regulate himself[43] to 'fearsome dignity,'[44] and so, do not recklessly put Zhāo into inappropriate [situations]!'[45]

The king's charge is a powerful example of early Chinese rhetoric. What for the post-conquest Zhōu is actually a novel act of orderly hereditary succession is coated with layers of charged language that suggest tradition, stability, and the transmission of power as routine.

The core of the speech has three components, and it follows a clear division of past-present-future that, on a meta-level, characterises many speeches of Shū traditions, as well as bronze texts. In the first part, the king's speech evokes the rule of Kings Wen and Wu. It situates the position of King Cheng within this line

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訓 'radiant instructions' (in "Gù mìng"); *yí xùn* 遺訓 'constant instructions' (in "Jiǔ gào" and "Cài Zhòng zhī mìng") *gǔ xùn* 古訓 'lessons of antiquity' (in "Bì mìng").

41 This is an obvious allusion to the dedication line in bronze texts. The line similarly appears in the old-script "Yuè mìng" 說命, where it appears in the king's charge to Yuè. I am here reading *shàng* 'reverently' (*daŋ-s) as *cháng* 'perpetually' (*traŋʔ), a common change in bronzes and texts of Shū traditions. In a previous reading of the phrase (Meyer 2017a: 117) I read *shàng*, not *cháng*.

42 Late Spring and Autumn, *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng*: 00220, 00221.

43 Baxter 1992: 365 thinks that the word *luàn* 亂 (*r^{s}on-s) is cognate to *biān* 變 (*pron-s) 'change'. The "Shì gǔ" 釋詁 of the *Ěryǎ* glosses it as *zhì* 治 (*C.lrə) 'to regulate, order, govern'. (*Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū*: 485), and so does the *Shuōwén jiězì* (9693 under *yǐ bù* 乙部). Not least phonetically, this is problematic – linguistically I consider it rather stretched. In gloss 1464 to "Pán gēng" Karlgren 1970: 202 considers the possibility that *luàn* 亂 is a 'misspelled' *sī* 司 'to regulate, order, govern' as commonly written with the phonophore *sī* 厶 (*s-lə) in bronze texts and thus read accordingly, not *luàn*. I think this is a viable alternative to the commonplace gloss of *zhì* 治 'to regulate, order, govern' for *luàn* 亂 'chaos, disorder'. A. Smith 2017 confirms this view, situating the error of reading it as *luàn* 'chaos, disorder' at the time of the *Ěryǎ*.

44 Trusting *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng*, 'fearsome dignity' (*wēiyí* 威儀) appears more than fifty times in the bronze texts from the late Western Zhōu, middle Western Zhōu, as well as late Spring and Autumn periods.

45 I here read 'not regulated' (*fei li* 非理) as 'inappropriate'. The two sentences of admonishment build up some regularity between their conduct towards the many states, which is directly applicable to that of the individual, Zhāo, the king's son.

and stresses his natural and legitimate place in it. Declaring that he never went against the spirit of Kings Wen and Wu and reverently welcomed Heaven's fearsome charge, the speech skilfully applies a purported historical scenario to the present situation. By juxtaposing the present with the past, the speech demands the same loyalty from the ministers towards King Cheng's son that King Cheng claims to have shown towards King Wu, and that King Wu before him has shown to King Wen. This is not done in explicit terms but through the presence of parallel allusions.

After invoking the past to serve the present and to secure future loyalty to Zhāo, the speech pronounces three separate admonitions. The central one is political, with King Cheng cautioning his men about their handling of the states; it is framed by two statements about the ministers' conduct towards the future king. The formal arrangement of the charge suggests that these elements are intertwined.

Drawing on established authority, the king's charge must have resonated with the expectations of its audiences. The speech adopts commonplaces and stock phrases otherwise known from bronze texts, but it also contains innovative elements known to us only from this particular speech. The use of established phrases allows the audiences to situate the speech within the wider confines of accepted narrative and, hence, tradition. Concepts such as Kings Wen and Wu as a pair are likely to have had considerable appeal at the time when the speech was produced.[46] The 'Great mandate' *dà mìng* 大命 and 'Heaven's fearsome charge' *tiān wēi* 天威 were laden notions that appear repeatedly in Shū genre and bronzes, while terms such as the 'Great instructions' *dà xùn* 大訓, which King Cheng claims to have scrupulously followed as he inherited them from Kings Wen and Wu,[47] have no verbatim presence outside "Gù mìng".[48] The intertextual setting in which the speech was placed creates a sense of cultural affinity and acquiescence within a wider meaning community, where the celebration of the past makes possible claims of legitimacy for the present.

46 See 121.n.5.

47 The 'Great mandate' is mentioned repeatedly in "Páng Gēng" 盤庚, "Xībó kān Lí" 西伯戡黎, "Dà gào" 大誥, "Kàng gào" 康誥, "Jiǔ gào" 酒誥, "Jūn shì", and "Gù mìng"; it also appears in the spurious old-script recension "Tài jiǎ" 太甲.

48 This excludes, however, texts of the old-script recension such as "Bì mìng". Note that I do not wish to say that these elements were genuine 'inventions' of this speech, but that they had some innovative element and do not seem to recur elsewhere in the records. 'Instructions' in combination with an adjective that qualifies it as a set phrase otherwise occurs predominantly in texts of the old-script recension.

Once momentum has been established to claim consistency between past, present, and future, the speech falls into a eulogising tone common in prayers in bronzes. The charge to the ministers is made up of routine phrases used repeatedly in bronze texts from different periods and traditions, where the king demands that the high ministers act cautiously towards other political entities:

3 'May you perpetually listen to these clear words of mine:
3A that [you] "reverently guard my eldest son, Zhāo, and greatly assist him to succeed when facing difficulties".
3B "Be gentle to the distant [states] and connect with those that are near";
"make tranquil the many states, small and large, through advice"'.

Although the text uses a range of set phrases when talking about political action towards such entities, from the late Western Zhōu to the late Spring and Autumn periods,[49] the request concerning the ministers' behaviour towards the king's son is phrased in his own words, albeit words of gravity. The result is clear. From our perspective, the cross-chronological range of the used phrases feels forced, like a deliberate act of tradition making.[50] Not so for contemporaneous audiences, I think. Through their dialogic presence, the speech creates a continuum of the present with the past that makes past actions—idealised as they are—applicable to the present and the future.

"Gù mìng" presents an important moment in the historical narrative of the Zhōu. It is therefore perhaps not all that surprising that key elements of the frame and command also appear beyond this particular articulation of the events. The Qīnghuá manuscript text "*Bǎo xùn" also frames its account accordingly. In fact, the extent to which "Gù mìng" resonates with "*Bǎo xùn" is so remarkable that it demands we look further into the relationship between them. As in "Gù mìng",

49 柔遠能邇 '[B]e gentle to the distant [states] and connect with those which are near': the phrase appears repeatedly in bronze texts from the late Western Zhōu (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng*: 02836; 04326; NA0757) as well as in the *Shàngshū* ("Yáo diǎn" 堯典, "Pang geng", "Wén Hóu zhī mìng", and also in the old-script chapter "Lü ao" 旅獒); 安勸小大庶邦 '[T]ranquilise the many states, small and big, through guidance': the phrase is reflected in eight identical inscriptions from the late Spring and Autumn (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng*: 00210; 00211; 00217; 00218; 00219; 00220; 00221; 00222).

50 The chronological differences is noteworthy, as the bronzes from the late Western Zhōu and late Spring and Autumn periods are quite different from each other, which means that bringing these phrases together feels like a deliberate effort. For critical engagement with the parallels between bronze texts and the *Shàngshū*, see the studies by Jiāng Kūnwǔ 1989 and, focusing predominantly on the *Shījīng*, Chén Zhì 2010 (a, b, and c). See also Chén Zhì 2012.

"*Bǎo xùn" has the king suffering from an illness and fearing imminent death, a situation requiring that his successor be declared immediately.

4.5 "*Bǎo xùn" (Prized Instructions)

Qīnghuá "*Bǎo xùn" is written on just eleven bamboo slips, all of 28.5 centimeters in length. They are cut evenly at both ends. They show no consistent use of notches but marks remain where the connecting cords used to be.[51] Each slip carries twenty-two to twenty-four graphs. Not much space is left at either end of the slips, except for the final one where the lower third carries no writing. This signals the end of the text in material terms. For the most part, the manuscript is well preserved, with just the top half of the second slip broken off. By my reckoning, twelve to thirteen characters are missing there. The manuscript contains the conventional signs for the repetition of graphs but no other reading marks. The calligraphy is uniform and seems to be the work of a single hand. From their material appearance, my initial impression is that the slips were bound together after the writing. They are not numbered on the back.

There are a few instances where cracks apply to the slips that go right through the characters. Slip ten of "*Bǎo xùn" clearly shows such a crack in the slip, going right through the first five graphs.

The text can be divided roughly into three parts.[52] First is a frame. It situates the event in time and topic. As with "Gù mìng", I subdivide it into three main parts. Next comes the primary speech of the king, which tells of two parallel historical situations. Third is the closing of the admonition.

4.5.1 The Opening Frame of "*Bǎo xùn"

The speech presented in "*Bǎo xùn" is framed in much the same way as in "Gù mìng". But there are differences. In "Gù mìng", the king calls on his officials,

51 A number of manuscripts display the routine use of notches to keep the cords in place on the slips.

52 For a thorough analysis of "*Bǎo xùn" that reaches, however, different conclusions about its structure, see Krijgsman 2017.

while in "*Bǎo xùn" he addresses his son. And while the king in "Gù mìng" instructs his officials out of fear that he will not last long enough to pass on the 'Great instructions' (*dà xùn* 大訓) formally, in "*Bǎo xùn" the king fears the loss of the 'prized instructions' (*bǎo xùn* 保訓) and therefore presents his charge in written form. In both cases, the king describes his sufferings in dramatic terms before moving on to the charge, the core of the speech. In "*Bǎo xùn" this reads as follows:

1 |[1] 惟王五十年，不豫。王念日之多歷，恐墜寶訓。[53]

2 戊子，自疐水。己丑，昧 [爽] [2] □□□□□□□□□□□□□ †

3A [□□□] †

3B [2][王] 若曰: "發，朕疾漸甚，恐不汝及 |[3] 訓。[54]
昔前人傳保，[55]必受之以誦。[56]今朕疾允病，恐弗唸終，[57]汝以書[58] |[4] 受 之。欽哉！勿淫！

1 |[1] It was in the fiftieth year that the king was indisposed. The king pondered on the many days that had passed [since he came to the throne], and he feared that the prized instructions might be lost.

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53 In my reconstruction of "*Bǎo xùn", I use the edition by *Qīnghuá Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn* 2010 as the base text but depart from it occasionally by way of more recent scholarhip. I do not give the direct transcription of the graphs. Instead, I provide the modern characters that reflect the generally accepted interpretations of the graphs in the manuscript. I briefly annotate those choices that are still contested. For a comprehensive overview of different readings, see Hú Kǎi and Chén Mínzhèn 2011.

54 Mèng Péngshēng 2009 reads graph **2**/6  as *jiàn* 漸(*[dz]amʔ)

55 The editors of the *Qinghua Manuscripts* suggest reading graph **3**/6  as 寶(*pˁuʔ) 'treasure' in reference to its use in the context of dynastic change, such as *bǎo mìng* 寶命 'treasured mandate'. The two graphs 保 and 寶 are homophonous though, and their meaning is related. I therefore read the graph parallel to graph **1**/16 rather than changing it to 寶 while keeping its connotations.

56 With reference to "Gù mìng", graph **3**/11 (*sòng* 誦) (*sə-[l]oŋ-s) is sometimes read as *tóng* 詷 (*[l]ˁoŋʔ) and interpreted as 童 (*[d]ˁoŋ) 'young boy' (Lǐ Shǒukuí 2010: 81). Although phonetically plausible, to read it as *sòng* 'to recite' suits the passage better because it nicely keeps the term in opposition to the written document. (See the discussion in Chén Wěi 2010: 60).

57 See Lín Zhìpéng 2010 for the reading of **3**/19 as *niàn* 念 (*nˁim-s) 'to intone'.

58 Li Feng (2008: 112; 2001/2: 50) argues that *shū* refers to the text as opposed to its material carrier. I doubt whether this passage confirms his hypothesis. In nuanced discussion, Thies Staack 2019: 312, considering the difference between *shū* 書 and other terms of writing, suggests that *shū* served two functions, one as an umbrella term for written documents and 'probably all possible acts of writing', and the other, more specifically, referring to the 'original drafting of a new document'.

2 On [the day] *wùzǐ*, the king washed his face. On [the next day] *jǐchǒu*, at dawn [□□□] †

3A [□□□] †

3B [2] [The king] said thus: 'Fā! My suffering is progressing rapidly, and I fear that I shall not [last] to |[3] instruct you.
In days of yore, when the previous rulers passed on the prized [instructions], they always received them through recitation. But now that my suffering is so severe, I fear that I shall not [last] to intone them in full, [and so] you will |[4] receive them in writing. Be reverent! Do not ever desecrate [them]!

The frame here follows the exact modular arrangement of "Gù mìng", with the various elements appearing in exactly the same sequence. Even some key elements remain intact. The initial bit of the frame situates the whole event in temporal—but not in spatial—terms. This element also specifies the concern of "*Bǎo xùn": the king is in imminent danger of dying and fears, ritually, the 'prized instructions' might be lost. Illness is put in euphemistic terms. Then comes the central image of the ritual washing of the face. As in "Gù mìng", it is headed by a specification of the day in the sexagenary cycle. Unfortunately a gap follows, due to material loss. Presumably eleven to thirteen characters are missing before the third element continues with the formal opening of the speech, which forms element 3B of the frame. Given the structural coherence of the two texts, we can assume a similar contextualisation to appear at this point in "*Bǎo xùn" as we see in "Gù mìng" at the same place, had the slip been complete. Last comes the opening of the speech. As in "Gù mìng", the increasingly severe state of the king's illness is stressed here. It calls for immediate action on the part of the king to give instructions about his succession – hence the physical existence of the text.[59]

This brief summary highlights the exceptional overlap between the two texts. The following fine-grained comparison of the key elements in "Gù mìng" ([GM]) and "*Bǎo xùn" ([BX]) presents an even clearer picture (with the framed parts indicating structural discrepancies between the two):

1[GM] 惟四月哉生魄，王不懌。
1[BX]惟王五十年，不豫。王念日之多歷，恐墜保訓。

2[GM] 甲子，王乃洮頮水，相被冕服。
2[BX] 戊子，自疐水。己丑，昧 [爽] [2] □□□□□□□□□□□□□ †

59 On the disproportionate stressing of the king's illness in "*Bǎo xùn", see Krijgsman 2017.

3A[GM] 憑玉几，乃同[召]太保奭，芮伯，彤伯，畢公，衛侯，毛公，師氏，虎臣，百尹，御事。
3A[BX] [□□□] †

3B[GM] 王曰：嗚呼！疾大漸。惟幾，病日臻。既彌留。恐不獲誓言嗣，玆予審訓命汝
3B[BX][王]若曰: "發，朕疾漸甚。恐不汝及訓。昔前人傳保，必受之以誦。今朕疾允病，恐弗唸終，汝以書受之。欽哉！勿淫

Initial frame (1): "Gù mìng" has lunar information, but "*Bǎo xùn" does not. "*Bǎo xùn" adds the king's reflections on the past.

Sub-frame (2): the same elements appear in both texts. Not much can be said about the latter half due to the broken slip.

Setting of the speech (3A): the incomplete slip prevents further comment.

Opening of the speech (3B): the opening contains four elements, shared by both texts. First, we hear the king speak; second comes either the address as in "Gù ìing" or the addressee as in "*Bǎo xùn"; third is the description of the illness; fourth is the fear of leaving it until too late to give the instructions, hence their existence in the present form. With the formula 'the king said thus' in the first element, "*Bǎo xùn" is closer to the majority of Shū and bronze texts. While the king in "Gù mìng" opens with an emphatic exclamation, "*Bǎo xùn" immediately addresses his son, Fā, although this difference is only superficial because *wūhū* and Fā! are both emphatic forms of address. Their sole difference is that in one case the addressee is specified while in the other he is implied. The third element, the description of the illness, is expressed in nearly identical terms. The fourth element, the fear of "*Bǎo xùn" running out of time differs between the two texts only insofar as in "Gù mìng" the instructions are given orally, while in "*Bǎo xùn" the king states they must be written down.

Although "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn" present different stories, key elements correspond closely, as does the configuration of the frame. It therefore appears that the structure common to "*Bǎo xùn" and "Gù mìng" allows for different modular elements of the content to be put in much the same mould, with the result that the different contextual elements become mutually interchangeable. In one case we have King Cheng; in the other, King Wen. While King Cheng addresses his ministers, King Wen addresses his son, possibly in written form through the present charge. In both cases there is the felt need to explain—or legitimise—the existence of the text, in much the same terms. While "Gù mìng" explains the presence of the oral charge and "*Bǎo xùn" justifies its written existence, the fundamental point is the same. Both report on the transferring of power at death's door. The analysis therefore suggests that both texts use a common textual form which presents a mould that determines the way the events are told. But that is not all. In each case the event itself, now shaped

according to that rhetorical mould, becomes transposable to further uses in different contexts and arguments. It is representing not only itself, but a normative *type* of event.

4.5.2 The King's Charge in "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn"

With the charge itself, the similarity between the two texts breaks off. While in "Gù mìng" the charge to the ministers is put in solemn diction, "*Bǎo xùn" presents anecdotes that furnish the thought of continuity with the past:

1. 昔舜久作小人， 親耕于鬲茅，[60]恭求中。
   自稽厥志， |[5]不違于庶萬姓之多欲。厥有施于上下遠邇，乃易位設稽。測 |[6]陰陽之物，咸順不逆。舜既得中，言不易實變名。
   身茲服惟[61] |[7]允，翼翼不懈， 用作三降之德。帝堯嘉之，用授厥緒。
   嗚呼！祗之 |[8]哉！
   In days yore, Shùn long acted as a common person; he personally plowed the thicket at Mount Li, and reverently, he sought the centre.[62]
   He examined his own wishes and |[5][saw they] never transgressed against the many desires of the multitudinous people. When he had implemented [good rule] toward those above and below, far and near, he changed position [with Yáo] and established the standards. [He] gave measure to the material manifestations of |[6] Yīn and Yáng; all followed without going against the flow. As Shùn attained the centre, his decrees never altered the substance [of the things], nor did he change their name.

60 In *Qīnghuá Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn* 2010, vol. 1: 145, the graphs **4**/7–8  are read as *lì qiū* 歷丘 (*[r]ˤek *[k]^{wh}ə). My reading of *lì máo* 鬲茅 (*k.rˤek C.mˤru) follows Hú Kǎi and Chén Mínzhèn 2011: 50.

61 Graph **6**/21  was initially transcribed as *bèi* 備 (*[b]rək-s). It is used interchangeably with *fú* 服 (*[b]ək).

62 The question what *zhōng* in "*Bǎo xùn" means precisely remains open and lies outside the scope of this essay. It seems clear though that it constitutes a vital element in assuming power. For a summary of the discussions focusing on *zhōng* in "*Bǎo xùn", see Hú Kǎi and Chén Mínzhèn 2011.

As a person he was faithful in adhering to |[7] this, and he was 'reverent without being remiss',[63] and on this account he initiated virtue descending thrice.[64] Dì Yáo considered him excellent, and so he bestowed his charge on him.
Wūhū! Revere |[8] it!

2. 昔微假中于河，以復有易，有易服厥罪。微無害，乃追中于河。
|[9]微志弗忘，傳貽子孫，至于成湯。祗服不懈，用受大命。
嗚呼！發，敬哉！
In days yore, [Shāng Jiǎ] Wēi appropriated the centre from Hé [Bó] to take his revenge on Yǒu Yì. Yǒu Yì atoned for his crimes. Wēi was without harm and returned the centre to Hé.†
|[9] Wēi did not neglect his wishes [to obtain the centre] and passed this on to his sons and grandsons. When it came to Chéng Tāng, he followed it reverently and without remiss and on this account received the Great mandate.
Wūhū! Fā! Respect it!

3. |[10]朕聞茲不久命，未有所延。今汝祗服毋懈，其有所由矣。
不 |[11]及爾身受大命。
敬哉！毋淫！日不足，惟宿不永。"[65]
|[10] I have heard that when the Mandate is insufficiently old it lacks yet the means to extend itself. But now that you comply and are not remiss, you will have something to proceed from. It is |[11] not yet the time for you to receive the Great mandate yourself.
Respect it! Do not desecrate it!
The days won't ever suffice in numbers [to achieve the goals], and nighttime is not long.

The charge in "Bǎo xùn" is divided into three parts: two anecdotes, each of which is followed by a formal closure, plus an admonition directed at Fā, the future King Wu.

63 The compound *yìyì* 翼翼 occurs ten times in the *Shījīng*. A similar phrase, namely *jìng ér bù xiè* 敬而不懈 occurs in Guōdiàn manuscript text "Wǔ xíng" 五行.
64 Hú Kǎi and Chén Mínzhèn 2011: 76–79 take it as 'Three Descended Virtues'. With reference to "*Róng chéng shì" 容成氏 from the collection of manuscripts at Guōdiàn, Lǐ Xuéqín 2009b: 5–8 takes it to reference Yáo who is said to have paid three visits to Shùn.
65 My reading of this line follows that of Jì Xùshēng 2013: 108. Note also the close correspondence of the ending with that of "Xiǎo kaī" (Lesser instructions) of the *Yî Zhōushū*: 宿不悉日不足 'nighttime shan't **perpetuate* and days won't suffice [in numbers]' (*Yî Zhōushū* vol.1: 229), testifying to the modular use of that formula in Shū genre. "Dà kaī" (Greater instructions) too has that formula.

The two anecdotes work in parallel. On the one hand, there is Yú Shùn, the legendary ruler and personification of filial piety and uprightness who, on the basis of his virtues alone, receives All-under-Heaven from Yáo. The anecdote concerning his initial humility, including the stock image of ploughing the fields and other kinds of manual labour, appears all across Warring States-literature. It represents Shùn as *the* archetype of a commoner appointed because of his merit in Warring States period thinking.[66] Juxtaposed to this is the case of Wēi, cited next. Wēi, or Shàng Jiǎ Wēi 上甲微, was the predynastic founding ancestor of the Shāng royal lineage.

The term *zhōng* 中—here translated as 'centre'—is of primary importance in both anecdotes. Shùn obtained it and ruled the world accordingly, while Wēi borrowed it and took revenge on Yǒu Yì 有易 for the death of his father. No matter what exactly *zhōng* means,[67] it here indicates power, perhaps even legitimate rule, over a political entity. It allows Shùn to rule All-under-Heaven and it enables Shàng Jiǎ Wēi to take revenge on Yǒu Yì. The two cases further stress that determination and resilience are vital to achieving one's goal. Never remiss in his duties, Shùn was finally appointed by Yáo. Never abandoning his ambition, Shàng Jiǎ Wēi's determination finally culminated in the divine Chéng Tāng, who defeated King Jie (Xià Jié wáng 夏桀王) and overthrew the Xià lineage to establish Shāng rule.

The closing of the admonition applies both cases to the present. It warns Fā that it takes stamina to bring his ambitions to fruition and take control of All-under-Heaven.

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66 See, for instance, the *Mòzǐ* "Shàng xián" or Guōdiàn "Qiōng dá yǐ shí", *Guǎnzǐ* 66.1205, *Mòzǐ* 9.57-8; 10.68, *Hán Fēizǐ* 36.349. Allan 1981: 37, 44–45 discusses the repeated structural patterns in the representation of characters of this type.

67 There is an ongoing debate as to its meaning in "*Bǎo xùn". Opinions include taking it to refer to a document of jurisdiction; reading it as *zhòng* 眾 'crowds of people'; taking it parallel to the concept of *zhōngyōng* 中庸 'unswerving pivot' (this translation follows Ezra Pound; it is also translated as 'golden mean'); considering it a means to receive the 'Great mandate' 大命; or simply meaning 'central position' in the symbolism of rulership. That reading considers it as related etymologically to the early word for *zhōng* in Shāng inscriptions, where it denotes a flagpole, marking the centre. In its derived meaning, the centre, then, is where ruler resides. In a combined sense, it would thus give a term denoting 'the principles or core values that Shun was seeking' (S. Chan 2012: 9), that is, 'becoming a ruler/ideal personality' and 'possessing the principles/the way that define an ideal ruler' (ibid.). See also the discussions in Lǐ Xuéqín 2009c; Zǐjū 2009. (On the meaning of *zhōng* in Shāng oracle bones, see Tāng Lán 1981: 53–54; Xú Zhōngshū 1990: 40.)

4.6 Recontextualisation and Memory Production

Entextualisation in our analysis describes how cultural capital is moved into new argument space by way of recontextualising signs, text, or meaning more broadly. However, the act of recontextualising elements from one environment in another does not leave the materials unaltered. When put in a new context, the entextualised material, be it a web of signification, a fabula, or a stretch of discourse that is moved into a new target text, undergoes change too. These processes are at play whenever text and signs are moved between contexts.

A Swedish linguist specialising in dialogical theory, Per Linell, explains the act of recontextualisation as the 'dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context (the context being in reality a matrix or field of contexts) to another'.[68] The hyphens in Linell's unwieldy definition have significance. 'Transfer-and-transformation' describes the way the act of transfer yields an alteration of the moved materials. When communities move old cultural capital into new problem space—an act of recontextualisation—it is never just 'pure transfer of fixed meaning'. Rather it is always another set of sense-making practices. The selected units attain a new meaning in their changed environment, and so, too, in the implied communicative contexts of these new environments.[69]

Furthered by the theories of Jakobson, Hyman, Bauman and Briggs, and their ideas about the conceptualisation of communicative events,[70] these basic considerations help to see more clearly what is happening in Shū genre more generally, and the texts under review in particular. In both "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn", the king's speech is framed through narrative structures, and thus placed within a given historical situation. The text thus transmutes the immediacy of the speech, and the communicative event underlying the text is brought to the fore. When speech is thus recontextualised within a historical situation, it is therefore no longer just reenacting the event. Rather, the speech now becomes a mediated, archived object. As such it is no longer primarily for purposes of performance, nor does it any longer address the immediate witnesses of the occasion. Instead, the text that includes the speech becomes a reference tool, oral or written, to inform a wider audience across time. It becomes a *lieu de mémoire*, a place that stores—in fact, constructs—memory.[71] As a 'site of memory', now informing the

68 Linell 1989: 154.

69 Ibid: 155.

70 Jakobson 1960, Hymes 1962 and 1974a, 1974b. See also Bauman and Briggs 1990.

71 The concept *lieu de mémoire* was established in Nora 1989 before it was further developed in a seven-volume multi-year collaborative project. A three-volume English-language edition of it is available under the title *Realms of Memory*. See Hue-Tam Ho Tai 2001 for an evaluation of it.

expectations of groups and their debates, the event gains new relevance. The projected 'original' event thus ceases to be the primary point of reference. What matters now is the *message* as channelled in the context of its new environment and thus transported in the text.[72] It is through strategies of this sort that texts such as "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn" become tools in the debate.[73]

We do well to remember this when inquiring into the function of the remaining parts of "Gù mìng". Following on from the admonition they continue with an elaborate description of events after King Cheng's death. I take this entire unit, to which I return now, as section B.

4.6.1 The Description of the Ritual in "Gù mìng"

Section B describes in detail the rituals through which Zhāo is installed as successor king. It consists of five elements: 'frame' (*the death of the king*); 'postmortem ritual' in the form of catalogues; 'command and its intonation'; 'oath' which confirms the new king as legitimate successor; and finally, the 'conclusion of the ritual', when the many lords leave while Zhāo, the new king, continues to mourn his father.

The detail of this description is unique in the Shū traditions and often taken as an outstanding example of early Western Zhōu ritual.[74] It is therefore not surprising that much effort has gone into explaining this particular part of the text, expressing confusion about the nature of the description.[75] For the present, it is, however, not

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72 See also my discussion in Ch. 3 about 'objectivation' through framing.

73 Note: the above equally applies when we assume that the speech (and not just the historicising frame) was invented purely for the sake of argument making, produced to serve in sociopolitical and philosophical debates taking place at a later time (say, in late Eastern Zhōu times) than the projected events (say, early Western Zhōu or before). Even such an invented speech is now archived in the narrative continuum of history and thus made available through the text as historical reference.

74 Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005, vol. 4: 1881 for references.

75 The description of the ritual was not questioned until Sùn Jué 孫覺 (1027/8–1090) introduced the notion that the "Gù mìng" probably represents a set of 'lost Rites' 失禮 because—as elaborated in the now lost *Shàngshū shūjiě* 尚書書解—it has no counterpart outside this particular text. The ideas in his book were transmitted and further detailed in Sū Shì's 蘇軾 (1037–1100) *Dōngpó Shū zhuàn* 東坡書傳. (See Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005, 1881.) There much attention was paid to alleged contradictions to perceived ritual norms. The initial suspicion raised by Sùn Jué, and elaborated in detail by Sū Shì was soon taken up by other scholars. Here, attention is drawn to perceived contradictions in the representation of the ritual with regard to contemporaneous standards, ranging from the king's ritual dress to Shào Gōng's behaviour when receiving the future King Kang. (See for instance the discussion in *Shàngshū quán jiě* 尚書全解 by Lín Zhīqí

relevant whether this section of "Gù mìng" is actually as old as many commentators suggest – there is no means of proving one or the other anyway. What matters for my argument are the underlying patterns of text-contextualisation in Shū genre: the ways "Gù mìng" archives the ritual event in the narrative by entextualising it in the target text, thus making it accessible as a historical reference in its retrospective construction of memory. Entextualised in "Gù mìng" as it is, its place is comparable to the anecdotes of its counterpart in "*Bǎo xùn" (or to the king's speech in the core text, Section A). Archiving old knowledge in the place of narrative, it serves as a reference tool in the actual discourse.

Like the frame that contextualises the king's charge above (Section A), the post-mortem ritual is presented as though given by an all-observing chronicler to fix in time a message underlying the event. Just like the frame in Section A, the contextualising frame to the post-mortem ritual can be organised as follows in three entities: 'death of the king' (1); 'preparation for the post-mortem ritual' (2); 'announcement of the measures' (3).

1A 茲既受命還[76]。出綴衣于庭。

1B 越翼日乙丑，[77] [成]王崩。[78]

2 太保命仲桓、南宮毛俾爰齊侯呂伋，以二干戈、虎賁百人，逆子釗於南門之外，延入翼室，恤宅宗。

3 丁卯，命作冊，度。

1A Then, having received [the king's] order, [the officers] returned. An embroidered screen was brought into the courtyard.

1B On the next day, the day *yǐchǒu*, the king died.

林之奇 [1112–1176].) Soon there developed the reading that the ritual representation was at odds with common ritual, as something contradictory and clearly not orthodox. Especially the lack of a three-year mourning period and the ritual dress of the new King Kang in the face of his father's death invited much doubt. Zhū Xī 朱熹 (1130–1200) countered this perception. The actions of the Son of Heaven, he puts it, cannot be heterodox. Orthodoxy is whatever the king does. Hence, the ritual description is not an oddity but the case of of ritual that does not apply to anyone other than this particular king, so Zhū Xī. In *Zhūzǐ yǔlèi* 朱子語類. (Ibid.)

76 Following Legge 1960: 549, I read *zi* 茲 (*tsə) adverbially, *shì shí* 是時 'then'.

77 Sūn Xīngyǎn (*Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū*: 486) states that *yì* 翼 (OX *ɢʷrəp) is glossed as *yì* 翌 (*ɢʷrəp). 翌 is used for *yù* 昱 (*ɢʷrəp) 'the following day'. The same sentence pattern also appears in the old-script recension "Wǔ chéng" 武成 and in "Shào gào" 召誥.

78 Taking explicit reference to "Gù mìng", the *Hànshū*: "Lǚlìzhì xià" (21.1017) has 成王崩 'King Cheng died'. Duàn Yùcái states that the modern- and the old-script recensions of Mǎ Róng and Zhèng Xuán both had 成王崩 'King Cheng died' before the king's name was erased in the pseudo-Kǒng recension. Duàn considers that a mistake, a view also shared by Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005, vol. 4: 1736f.

2 The Grand Protector gave orders to Second-born Huán and Nángōng Máo and made them assist Lǚ Jí, the Hóu of Qí,[79] with two shield-and-spear men and a hundred tiger-swift guards, and receive Zǐ Zhāo at the [eastern side] of the southern gate [of the ancestral temple],[80] inviting [him] (延) to enter the bright room [of the temple][81] and mourn at the place of the ancestors.[82]

3 On the day *dīngmǎo*, an order was given [by the Grand Protector Shì] to make a document [of the deceased king's charge] and lay out the ritual regulations.[83]

The first element of the frame specifies the reason for conducting the ritual (the king's death) and situates the event in time. I split it into two separate but related events. The second element specifies the event's location and names its main actors, while the third element conceptualises the written existence of the ritual account as official record keeping. To some degree, this tripartite frame mirrors that of the core, most prominently in their shared concern why it exists in writing.

Next follows the 'post-mortem ritual'. The language of "Gù mìng" changes accordingly. It is phrased in strictly parallel text patterns, such that the language marks the ritual nature of the event. It contains five catalogues of ritual description, headed by a time specification. The final block of this description prepares for the intonation of the command.[84] I here reproduce it in full:

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79 Following Norman 1988: 86, Schüssler 2007: 583 takes *yuán* 爰 (*ɢʷa[n]) as an ungrammatical form of *yú zhī* 于 (*ɢʷ(r)a) 之 (*tə) 'there' where it is a fusion of *yú* 于 (*ɢʷ(r)a) 'plus an *-n with a demonstrative meaning'. Karlgren 1970: 158 glosses *yuán* 爰 as *yuán* 援 (*[ɢ]ʷa[n]) 'to support, to assist', which is a good and simple solution because the two share the same phonophore. I take *bǐ* 俾 to be the result of the orders in the sense of '... thus causing them to...'. For Nánggāng Máo, cf. the Nánggōng Liú-*dǐng* (JC 2805).

80 Opinions differ about the location of the Southern Gate. See Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005, vol. 4: 1741.

81 In *Shàngshū jízhù yīnshū*, Jiāng Shēng thinks of *yì shì* 翼室 as the room next to the imperial tomb. The pseudo-Kǒng commentary takes it to mean 'bright room' (*ming shi* 明室) (Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005, vol. 4: 1742f.); Karlgren follows this reading. Because the passage is the *locus classicus* of *yì shì* 翼室, the precise meaning of that term is unclear and contested.

82 See Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005, vol. 4: 1743.

83 Karlgren 1970: 160 has '[o]rder was given to make a document about *du* the measures'. Lǐ Mín and Wáng Jiàn 2004: 374 take *zuò cè* 作冊 as official title, which it is in the great majority of transmitted texts and bronze inscriptions. '*zuò cè*' is normally followed by a name. The pseudo-Kǒng commentary in the *Shàngshū zhèngyì* suggests that a record was made of the charge pronounced orally by the king. My translation here is based on Kern's 2007b: 156 analysis of the phrase.

84 Structurally, the final unit of the ritual description (part 4) could also be taken as the initial element of the next unit, which describes the command and its intonation (part 5). For reasons discussed below, I take it as a bridge that connects part 4 ('post-mortem ritual') to part 5 ('command and its intonation').

越七日，癸酉，伯相命士須材。
Seven days after [the event of the king dying], on the day *guǐyǒu*, the Senior Officer commanded the officers to await the coffin. [85]

1 狄設黼扆綴衣。
黼間南嚮，敷重篾席，黼純，華玉仍几。
西序東嚮，敷重厎席，綴純，文貝仍几。
東序西嚮，敷重豐席，畫純，雕玉仍几。
西夾南嚮，敷重筍席，玄紛純，漆仍几。
Servants set out the screens embroidered with axes, together with an embroidered screen.[86]
Between the windows and facing south, [they] spread out in two layers bamboo-strip mats with black-and-white silk borders[87] and the usual[88] stool embroidered with multicoloured jades.
In the side space along the western wall,[89] facing east, [they] spread out in two layers smooth (rush) mats with stitched borders and the usual stool with patterned cowries.
In the side space along the eastern wall, facing west, [they] spread out in two layers sumptuous mats with painted borders, and the usual stool with carved jades.
In the western side-room, facing the south, [they] spread out in two layers young-bamboo mats with dark, ample borders,[90] and the usual stool with lacquer.[91]

85 The character *xū* 須 (*[s]o) is problematic. Karlgren 1970: 161 dismisses Zēng Yùnqián's (1884–1945) suggestion to gloss it as *bān* 頒 'issue, promulgate' because of its Sòng specific usage. Karlgren takes it as a verb in the sense of 'making it necessary, obligatory', which he takes to mean 'exact'.
86 *Dí* 狄 (*l^{ʕ}ek) is normally read as 'low servant' in the *Shàngshū* (Schüssler 2007: 209). *Fú* 黼 (*p(r)aʔ) is a loan for *fǔ* 斧 (*p(r)aʔ) 'axe, hatchet' (Zēng Yùnqián 2011: 279). Zēng further suggests to gloss *yǐ* 扆 (*ʔəjʔ) as *yī* 依 (*ʔəj) 'lean upon'. I see, however, no reason to deviate from the reading of 'screen' here.
87 Here *fū* 敷 (*p^{h}(r)a) 'spread widely' is glossed as *bù* 布 (*p^{ʕ}a-s) 'to spread out (a mat)'; *chún* 純 (*[d]u[n]) is glossed as *yuán* 緣 (*lon) 'border' (Sūn Xīngyǎn *Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū*: 488 f). The reading of 'bamboo-strip mats with black-and-white silk borders' for *miè* 篾 follows the pseudo-Kǒng commentary.
88 Legge 1960: 553. The *Zhōu lǐ* states that 凡吉事變几，凶事仍几 'as a matter of principle, for auspicious events, the stool is changed; for non-auspicious events, the usual stool is taken'.
89 See the description of *xù* 序 in Legge 1960: 553 (based on *Ěr yǎ*). A more elaborate explanation is in Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005, vol. 4: 1750ff.
90 Karlgren 1970, 163.
91 The ritual import of this is not clear. Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú summarise the many different attempts to explain it. (In Gù and Liú 2005, vol. 4: 1745ff., especially 1754f.)

2 越玉五重，陳寶。
赤刀，大訓，弘璧，琬琰在西序。
大玉，夷玉，天球，河圖在東序。
胤之舞衣，大貝，鼖鼓在西房。
兌之戈，和之弓，垂之竹矢在東房。[92]
[There were] quintuple jades from Yuè,[93] together with *chén bǎo* [jades].[94]

The red [sacrificial jade] knife,[95] the large [jade] *xún* (*ɻun-s)[96], the great [jade] *bì* (*pek) disk, the rounded-top [*guī* sceptre], and the pointed-top [*guī* sceptre] were [put on display] in the space along the western wall [facing east];

The great jades,[97] the jades from the Yí tribes in the northeast,[98] the large round-shaped (球) Heaven jades, together with the River-scheme [jades][99] were in the space along the east wall [facing west].

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92 Notably this passage does not contain any relevant rhyme pattern.
93 Mǎ Róng takes 越 (*ɢʷat) to be a place name from where jade donated to this occasion was coming from, reading it as a tribe's name. The pseudo-Kǒng Ānguó commentary reads it as general locative link *yú* 于 (*ɢʷa) 'go to (a place/do something) in, at, on, to'. However, as Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú note, given more recent research on ancient jades, it now seems more reasonable to assume that Mǎ Róng's interpretation was right. (For a discussion of ancient jades, see especially Dèng Shūpíng 1994.) It is to be assumed that *yuè yù* refers to jades carved by people in the regions of Yuè. Karlgren follows the interpretation of the pseudo-Kǒng to assume five kinds of jade, hence his translation: 'quintuple jades'.
94 Wáng Guówéi takes *chén bǎo* as a type of jade.
95 Zhèng Xuán states that this was the knife with which King Wu allegedly killed Zhòu; because red was the ritual colour of the Zhōu, it had to be red too.
96 *Xún* 訓 (*ɻun-s) is problematic. Zhèng Xuán interprets as 'admonishments', possibly referring to *Documents*, but that is clearly a Hàn Dynasty reading when the Documents were seen as an early written body of texts; following Karlgren, I believe that it could be some kind of ritual jade object and the graph possibly a Hàn confusion. (In Karlgren 1970, 164) Karlgren interprets 訓 as 川 (*t.ɻun) which, for graphical similarities, was taken for *jiè* 介 (as in *jiè guī* 介圭, an ancient jade tablet used as sceptre). He takes this to be analogous to the following *wǎn* 琬 which also features without the supporting *guī* 圭. This is plausible. However, to my mind, it does not matter for this passage which objects *exactly* were displayed in this section, and so I leave it without a translation here.
97 Dèng Shūpíng assumes that the great jades (*dà yù*) refer to jades from the Zhōu polities. Chén Dàyóu states in the *Shūjīng jízhuàn huò wèn* that 重 above refers to 'a pair of jade' (玉一雙曰重).
98 According to Dèng Shūpíng, the areas around the u River delta might have been the first where carving jade was practiced. (In Dèng Shūpíng 1994: x)
99 This refers to the fable of Fú Xī 伏羲, the legendary founder of Chinese polity, when a dragon-horse came out of the River, with marks on its back, from which the idea of the eight diagrams was borne.

The Yìn dancing garments, the large tortoise shell, and the large drum[100] were in the western room;
The dagger-axe of Duì, the bow of Hé, the bamboo arrows of Chuí were in the eastern room.[101]

3 大輅在賓階面，贅輅在阼階面。
先輅在左塾之前，次輅在右塾之前。
The grand chariot was [waiting] in front of the guests' staircase,[102] the adjunct chariot was [waiting] in front of the eastern staircase;[103]
The foremost chariot was [waiting] before the left gate-room, the next-following chariot was [waiting] before the right gate-room.[104]

4 二人雀弁，執惠，立于畢門之內。
四人綦弁，執戈上刃，夾兩階阼。
一人冕，執劉，立于東堂。
一人冕，執鉞，立于西堂。
一人冕，執戕，立于東垂。
一人冕，執瞿，立于西垂。
一人冕，執鋭，立于側階。
Two men with sparrow-caps[105] holding *huì* spears, stood inside the gate of the temple.[106]
Four men with black mottled caps, holding dagger-axes with the edge upwards, stood on both sides of the staircases (階) and the corners (阼) of the (raised) hall-platform.
One man, wearing a state cap, holding a *liú* 劉 axe, stood in the eastern part of the (open) hall,

100 For the large tortoise shell, and the large drum, see Legge 1960: 554 f.
101 Zhèng Xuán reads Yìn 胤, Duì 兌, Hé 和, Chuí 垂 as ancient personae who made the various objects displayed here. The pseudo Kǒng commentary reads Yìn as a place name. Following Karlgren, this should be kept for the whole line then. It is impossible to say either was the case with certainty. I follow Karlgren's translation here.
102 Zhèng Xuán explains *miàn* 面 as 'facing south'; Jiāng Shēng reads it as *qián* 前 'in front of' that appears later in the line. If following Zhèng, who also explains *qián* 前 to mean 'facing north', then we would get: 'The grand chariot was [waiting] by the guests' staircase, facing south'.
103 The character *zuò* 阼 reads 'east side of a flight of steps'.
104 Zhèng Xuán takes *dà lù* 大輅 (*l^{ʕ}at-s *ɢ^{ʕ}rak-s) as *yù lù* 玉輅 (*ŋok *ɢ^{ʕ}rak-s) 'jade chariot'. He takes *zhuì* 贅 to mean 次 'the next (in line)'. Another reading for 塾 is 'family school'.
105 According to Zhèng Xuán, the 'sparrow cap' was red-black.
106 *Bì* 畢 is explained as gate. (In Zēng Yùnqián 2011, 281)

One man, wearing a state cap, holding a *yuè* 鉞 axe, stood in the western part of the hall,
One man, wearing a state cap, holding a *kuí* 戣 lance, stood at the eastern extreme end [of the hall],[107]
One man wearing a state cap, holding a *jù* 瞿 lance, stood at the western extreme end [of the hall],
One man, wearing a state cap, holding a *ruì* 銳 lance, stood at the side staircase (north from the hall).

5 王麻冕黼裳，由賓階隮。
卿士、邦君，麻冕蟻裳，入即位。
太保、太史、太宗，皆麻冕彤裳。太保承介圭，上宗奉同、瑁，[108]由阼階隮。太史秉書，由賓階隮。
The king (King Kang) wore a hempen state cap and robe embroidered with black-and-white (axe-shaped) ornaments as he ascended by the guests' staircase;
The ministers and stately rulers wore hempen state caps and dark, ant[-patterned] robes as they entered and assumed their positions [to the left and to the right].[109]
The Grand Protector, the Grand Secretary and the Minister of Rites all wore hempen state caps and red robes. The Grand Protector held the grand *jiè* sceptre,[110] the Minister of Rites[111] held high up to present the great vessel together with the libation ladle †.
They ascended by the eastern staircase. The Grand Secretary held the writings as he ascended by the guests' staircase.

The description of the spatial arrangements and the stress on cardinal directions in the first four catalogues are striking. While grouping the bamboo mats in two layers follows a South-East-West-South orientation, with displaying objects in West-East-West-East order, the men wearing state caps and holding five different types of weapons are arranged in an East-West-East-West-North pattern. This is

107 Reading *chuí* 垂 (*doj) as *chuí* 陲 (*doj) 'far end (of a hall)'.
108 Sūn Xīngyǎn explains *tóng* 同 (*l$^{\varsigma}$oŋ) as *tóng* 銅 (*l$^{\varsigma}$oŋ) 'bronze' (500). Mǎ Róng notes that this is the great bronze vessel. (In *Shàngshū gǔ jīn*, 500) The Great Commentary of the *Shàngshū* glosses *mào* 冒 (used for 瑁) as lid for the *guī* 圭 'sceptre'. Zhèng Xuán takes 同 to be a wine cup used for the libation rite. In a long note Karlgren 1970, 166f argues to the contrary. However, Zhèng Xuán's suggestion seems to be confirmed by archaeological finds. The kind of chalices, commonly called *gū* 觚 since Sòng times, were most likely called *tóng* 銅. This hypothesis is based on an inscription on one such 觚. See Wú Zhènfēng 2010. I here take 上宗 to refer to 太宗.
109 The *Ěr yǎ* explains *lì* 立 (*k.rəp) as 'right and left positions at the Middle Hall'.
110 Following Zēng Yùnqián 2011: 283.
111 I read *shàng zōng* 上宗 as *tài zōng* 太宗 from above.

reduplicating the arrangement of the bamboo mats in a mirror image. By so doing, this unit is not just a mere description of a ritual event. Rather, it embodies the ritual space in written form. Representation is thus given to the four directions, capturing the totality of space and hence of the universe. The regular arrangement of parallel sentence patterns gives form to the occasion in writing, with the marked stress on repetition encapsulating it in all its aspects. While the rituality of the language captures the nature of the event, the well-ordered text evokes the power of authority that is inherent in such an occasion. Still, entextualised as it is in "Gù mìng", it is no longer primarily reenacting the ritual but fixed in the narrative text. As the rituality of the text is transmuted, its message in the text comes to the fore.

Then, following the postmortem ritual and Zhāo's enthronement, the command by King Cheng to his successor is intoned by the Grand Secretary. Zhāo's legitimacy is confirmed thus. As his duties as king are announced, he promises to observe them reverently.

1A 御王冊命。曰：
[Facing south, the Grand Secretary] announced to the [new] king the written charge (with the orders of the dead king).[112] He said:

2A 皇后憑玉几，道揚末命，命汝嗣訓，臨君周邦，率循大卞，燮和天下，用荅揚文武之光訓。
'Our august sovereign (the dead King Cheng),[113] leaning on the jade-embroidered stool, brought forward and promoted his last order.[114] He commanded you to inherit the instructions [of the ancient Kings Wen and Wu],[115] to look down favourably upon and rule the state of Zhōu, to follow and extol the great laws, to make All-under-Heaven harmonious[116] and in agreement with one another,[117] thus responding to and extolling Wen and Wu's glorious instructions'.

112 See the discussion in Kern 2007b: 157.

113 Here I follow Karlgren 1970: 71.

114 Sūn Xīngyǎn (*Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū*: 502) interprets this passage differently. He assumes that the new king is now made to lean on the jade-embroidered stool in the same fashion as his father did when delivering his Testimentary charge. I consider this unlikely. Instead, this is a representation of the situation when King Cheng emphasised the dramatic setting of his charge and the pressing order.

115 See Zēng Yùnqián 2011: 284.

116 See Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū: 502.

117 Just as above where two words render the same notion—*dǎo* 道 (*[kə.l]^{ʕ}uʔ) 'bring forward' and *yáng* 揚 (*laŋ) 'make known'; *shuài* 率 (*s-rut) 'to follow' and *xún* 循 (*sə.lu[n]) 'to follow'; *xiè* 燮 (*s.q^{hʕ}(r)ip) and *hé* 和 (*ɢ^{ʕ}oj) render the same notion too. This seems to be a special rhetorical trope in the delivery of a highly laden speech. Martin Kern 2000a: 153f has identified the

3A 王再拜，興，荅曰：
眇眇予末小子，其能而亂四方，以敬忌天威？
乃受同、瑁。王三宿，三祭，三吒。

3B 上宗曰：饗！
太保受同，降，盥，以異同，秉璋以酢，授宗人同，拜。王荅拜。
太保受同，祭，嚌，宅，授宗人同，拜。王荅拜。
太保降，收。
諸侯出廟門俟。

King [Kang] bowed twice, rose, and responded:
'How insignificant am I, the last small child [of the great line of kings], how should I be capable of governing the four regions and reverently stand in awe of Heaven's terror?'

Thereupon [he] accepted the *tóng* wine cup and *mào* jade. The king thrice advanced [the wine cup to the spirits],[118] thrice he made a libation [by pouring it out], and thrice he set [the cup] down. The Supervisor of the Minister of Rites said [to the spirits]: '[Accept this] sacrifice!'

The Grand Protector received the wine cup, descended [the steps], washed his hands, took another wine cup, held the jade libation ladle and made a [matching] libation. He handed the wine vessel to the [Assistant] Minister of Rites and bowed. The king bowed in return.

The Grand Protector received the wine cup, made a libation, lifted it to his lips [to prove it], set it down, handed the wine cup to the [Assistant] Minister of Rites and bowed. The king bowed in return.

The Grand Protector descended. [The utensils] were removed.[119]

The various Hóu all left the temple and waited at the gates.

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same rhetorical pattern, hendiadys, in imperial stele inscriptions. Kern notes that in ritual texts it serves to intensify the linguistic value of what is said, stressing claims of universality. In hendiadys two words each carry full semantic value, while their effective 'doubling' invokes normativity. Kern calls this rhetorical device 'categorical accumulation'.

(In the first two cases, I render the second mentioning 'to manifest'; in the third case, following Karlgren 1970: 71 who reads 'concordant', I translate it with 'in agreement with one another'.)

118 *Sù* 宿 (*[s]uk) is taken for *sù* 肅 (*siwk), glossed as *jìn* 進 'to advance, to present' in the *Ěr yá*. The different main vowel of the two in Old Chinese might be a problem. However, there are *Shījīng* rhyme contacts between *-iw and *-u and I do not want to exclude the possibility for *sù* 宿 (*suk-s) and *sù* 肅 (*siwk) to be used interchangeably.

119 The reading follows the pseudo-Kǒng interpretation.

This is where "Gù mìng" ends in the modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū*. In the old-script recension the account continues with "Kàng wáng zhī gào" as follows:

4B 王出。在應門之內，太保率西方諸侯入應門左，畢公率東方諸侯入應門右，皆布乘黃朱。賓稱奉圭兼幣，曰：
一二臣衛，敢執壤奠。

4C 皆再拜稽首。王義嗣，德答拜。
The king [too] left. Standing within the Yìng gate, the Grand Protector led in the various Hóu of the western regions to enter from the left side of the gate. Gōng Bì led in the various Hóu of the eastern regions to enter from the right side of the gate. They all covered their carriages with light red cloth. As guests they were carrying their marks of rank and gifts.[120] [Thus] they announced:
'Us, [your] servants and defenders, have the temerity to bring forward our lands' offerings.
They all paid obeisance twice, touching their heads to the ground. The king, the rightful successor, returned their blessings and bowed.

5A 太保暨芮伯咸進，相揖，皆再拜稽首。曰：
敢敬告天子，皇天改大邦殷之命。
惟周文武誕受羑若，克恤西土。
惟新陟王畢協賞罰，戡定厥功，用敷遺後人休。
今王敬之哉！張皇六師，無壞我高祖寡命。
The Grand Protector and the Eldest of Rui both advanced, bowed to each other, their hands clasped and, together, they bowed twice, knocking their heads to the floor. They said:
'We presume, respectfully, to announce to you, Son of Heaven, that August Heaven altered the Mandate of the great state of Yín.
And so it was that [Kings] Wen and Wu of Zhōu greatly received its approval[121] that they were able to attend to the western lands zealously.
The newly ascended king[122] in all [cases] thus held on to the right balance between reward and punishment. He was able to[123] consolidate his achievements, and thus he broadly handed down blessings to his successor.

120 Cf. Xiǎo Yǔ-*dǐng* 小盂鼎 (JC2839) where the 'guests of the state' (*bāng bīn* 邦賓) form a category of attendees.
121 This follows Cài Shěn's proposal as outlined in length by Karlgren 1970: 172.
122 I.e., the deceased King Cheng.
123 Following Sūn Xīngyǎn (*Shàngshū jīngǔwén zhùshū*: 506) I read *kān* 戡 as *kè* 克.

May you, our king, now reverently [receive] this! Display and make majestic the Six Armies, and do not ruin our high ancestor's singleminded command!'

5B 王若曰：

庶邦侯、甸、男、衛，惟予一人釗報誥：

昔君文武丕平富，不務咎，厎至齊信，用昭明于天下。則亦有熊羆之士，不二心之臣，保乂王家，用端命于上帝。皇天用訓厥道，付畀四方，乃命建侯樹屏，在我後之人。今予一二伯父尚胥暨顧，綏爾先公之臣服于先王。雖爾身在外，乃心罔不在王室。用奉恤厥若，無遺鞠子羞。

The king spoke thus:

'All you [lords] of the many states and [chiefs] of Hóu, Diàn, Nán and Wèi, I the One Man, Zhāo, announce and declare to you [the following]:

"The ancient [Kings] Wen and Wu greatly made tranquil and enriched [the people of our territories] and never did they maltreat[124] or incriminate [them]. In this, they only halted[125] at the point where ultimate impartiality and fidelity were achieved, and so they became illustrious in All-under-Heaven. Consequently, since they also had warriors like bears and ministers without divided loyalty who protected and regulated the royal house, they began their mandate from God on High. August Heaven thus instructed [them in] its way and gave them [the lands] in the four directions. Wen and Wu thereupon appointed and established all the lords [that they] stand tall as protecting walls that [still] remains with us, their successors. Now that I have you, my several uncles, will you, together, consider continuing to act in care of this spirit and appease the subjects of those, your former lords, who served under our former kings? Although you will be physically outside the capital, may your hearts never be not in the royal house! Thus, in your service, zealously attend to what is suitable,[126] and do not leave me, the tender boy, in shame"'.

Finally the account is concluded with a closing frame that marks the cessation of the ritual:

群公既皆聽命，相揖，趨出。

出釋冕，反喪服。

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124 Karlgren 1970: 173 takes *wù* 務 (*m(r)o-s) for *wǔ* 敄 (*m(r)oʔ), which is used synonymously for *wǔ* 侮 (*m(r)oʔ) 'to maltreat'. Karlgren discusses this relation in detail in gloss 413.

125 Karlgren 1970: 174 reads '[t]hey caused them to come to a (uniform=) universal fidelity'. As noted in the *Ěr yá*, *zhǐ* 厎 (*tijʔ) is glossed as *zhǐ* 止 (*təʔ) 'to stop'. *Zhǐ* 止 on the other hand is used interchangeably for *zhī* 之(*tə) 'go to'. Seeing this as a result of the previous declaration, which Karlgren does, one can indeed read: '[thus making them] go to (=come to) [...]'.

126 Karlgren 1970: 172.

> Upon hearing the charge, the many lords bowed to one another, with their hands clasped, and hurried out. [The king] went out, took off his official cap, and returned [to the temple] to assume the mourning garments.

This theatre-style stage ending makes the description of the ritual come full circle. The bird's-eye view of the scene, with the main actors leaving after bowing to one another one last time, and the new king taking off his ceremonial dress to put on his mourning garments, marks the end of the event in dramatic terms. At the same time, it reconnects the ritual description to section A and thus serves as a closing device for "Gù mìng" (and "Kàng wáng zhī gào") as a whole.

The king's oath is framed yet again with *wáng ruò yuē*, 'the king spoke thus'. This is untypical. We normally just see the first instance of a king's speech marked accordingly. This confirms that multiple sources inform the making of the various layers of "Gù mìng". In the retrospective imagination, the new king refers to the rulers Wen and Wu, using generic language patterns of Shū genre. The phrase *shù bāng* 庶邦 'the many states' is exemplary. In the pre-Hàn literature it only occurs twice outside the Shū traditions.[127] But it is used twelve times in the *Shàngshū*,[128] mostly in royal speeches.[129] In "Gù mìng" it appears twice: once in King Cheng's speech; the other time said by his son and successor, thus bracketing the ritual event which formally connects the two kings. The composition of "Gù mìng" thus has the new king formally emulate King Cheng as his rightful counterpart: he is the legitimate heir and ruler.

4.7 Conclusion

While the different elements in "Gù mìng"—speeches, catalogues, the ritual description—may have originated in a variety of circumstances, recontextualised as they are within this particular text they attain a new function, and thus new meaning. As they are placed in the text they have lost the immediacy normally

127 That is, in a bronze text from the late Spring and Autumn, *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng*: 00220 (and its counterpart 00221) plus in the "Xù" 序 of the *Yì Zhōushū*. The equivalent *shù guó* 庶國, perhaps reflecting the taboo of *bāng*, occurs three times in the *Mòzǐ*; three times in the *Yì Zhōushū*; twice in *Yántiě lùn* 鹽鐵論 (Discourse on Salt and Iron); once in the *Hànshū*; once in *Shàngshū*.

128 In "Dà gào", "Jiǔ gào", "Zǐ cái" 梓材, "Shào gào", "Wú yì", "Gù mìng" (and in addition in the old-script recension of "Wǔ chéng" and the preface to "Duō fāng" 多方).

129 The exception to this is "Shào gào" where the term appears in the narration of an all-observing chronicler.

inherent in a speech or ritual event. Instead, by way of entextualising these remnants of high antiquity the communities behind the making of "Gù mìng" organise cultural capital in new problem space to construct an argument to their liking. The same can be said of "*Bǎo xùn" and the different constituents that make the text – in fact this applies whenever the immediacy of an entextualised item—for instance a king's speech—is interrupted by having it framed, and thus fixed, in the context of a narrative situation (spoken or written) where it is transformed through that situation and used to articulate a message. By storing items of cultural relevance in the place of texts, the texts become go-to items in a debate for different communities participating in it. By using accepted moulds of text composition, the contrasting conceptual communities as reconstructed from these texts move elements of cultural capital to new applications where they further debate. In "Gù mìng" this is done by recalling past existential threat in a way meaningful to the present. It exalts the succession after King Cheng's death to become part of the idealised past of the Zhōu. Sociopolitical angst—the memory of turmoil preceding King Cheng's reign—is thus reconfigured as a founding myth. In this way "Gù mìng" shapes historical memory to be used for a new time.

And "*Bǎo xùn"? First of all, it has a clear *terminus ante quem*: c. 300 BC when the manuscript was produced. But "*Bǎo xùn" is not just a material artefact from the Warring States; as argued convincingly by Sarah Allan, it is fundamentally a Warring States *text*.[130] On current evidence, Yáo and Shùn as a pair did not feature prominently as examples of moral conduct much before the Warring States, nor did *yīn* 陰 and *yáng* 陽 as a pair, describing the totality of things, gain prominence much before then.[131] Moreover, socio-politically the two anecdotes in "*Bǎo xùn" are revealing as they seem to underpin the concern to license rebellion and, in addition, to promote meritocracy as a viable model in lieu of rule by hereditary right.[132]

In neither of the two pseudohistorical cases mentioned was rule obtained by right of birth: Shùn was given All-under-Heaven by Yáo; Chéng Tāng 成湯 took it from Jié 桀. Jié, according to Eastern Zhōu thinkers, had lost the Mandate and thus the right to rule. Looking back at both the opening of the text and the closure of the admonition, this also applies to Fā, the future King Wu, who ended Shāng

130 See the discussion in Allan 2015: 300.

131 I here refer to the two concepts in their abstract sense, rather than in their early sense where they denote 'shady valley' (*yīn* 陰) and 'sunny slope' (*yáng* 陽). It is roughly around the fourth century BC that a conceptual shift takes place and *yīn* and *yáng* were used in that way. See also Allan 1997: 11ff., 56ff., 137ff.

132 See also Allan 2015.

rule. King Wu did not inherit All-under-Heaven. He took it by force because the Shāng had lost their Mandate. The themes of Mandate, abdication, and rule by merit were of pivotal concern during the Warring States and triggered intense debates at the time.[133] This is evident from a wide range of texts.[134]

In intellectual terms, "*Bǎo xùn" is right in that debate. It appears to argue precisely against the position articulated in "Gù mìng", where hereditary rule is celebrated as the ultimate source of stability. The following features may serve to gauge their relatedness. First, "*Bǎo xùn" and "Gù mìng" are both articulations in the genre of Shū. Second, they are closely related to each other chronologically. While the rhetorical fabric of "Gù mìng" is such that it presents the text as though it was a witness to the succession of rule from King Cheng to his son, "*Bǎo xùn" is positioned two generations before that event, bearing witness to the succession from King Wen to King Wu, the father of King Cheng. Third, the two texts are taking opposed sociopolitical views. "Gù mìng" celebrates dynastic succession. Its starting point is the moment of the transfer of power from King Cheng to King Kang. "*Bǎo xùn", for its part, is grounded in the notion of rule by merit; it starts at the moment of transition of rule from King Wen to his son Fā, the future King Wu. The different stance of the two texts provides a common point of departure. It is the backdrop against which lasting patterns of rule are hailed. Fourth, "*Bǎo xùn" and "Gù mìng" employ the same frame moulding their concerns. The duplication even goes so far that individual elements of the one text are repeated in the frame of the other. Especially striking here is the element of the ritual washing that is repeated nearly verbatim: 王乃洮頮水 'the king washed his hair and face' in "Gù mìng" as against 自疐水 'the king washed his face' in "*Bǎo xùn". The two graphs *huì* 疐 (*q^{hʕ}uj-s) and *huì* 頮 (*q^{hʕ}əj-s) are near-homophonous. Except for "*Bǎo xùn", the word has only a limited presence outside "Gù mìng" in Zhōu literature.[135]

133 Gù Jiégāng 1926–46, vol. 7: 30–109 holds that the abdication discourse came up with the *Mòzǐ* and the idea of promoting the worthy (*shàng xián* 尚賢) in the fifth century BC.

134 Manuscripts from the mid- to the late Warring States testify that this was one of the most prominent themes at the time. "Táng Yú zhī dào" 唐虞之道 (*Guōdiàn Chǔ mù zhújiǎn*: 39–41, 157–59), "Róng chéng shì" 容成氏 (*Shànghǎi Bówùguǎn:* vol. 2: 31–47,183–89), and "Zǐgāo" 子羔 (*Shànghǎi Bówùguǎn:* vol. 2: 91–146, 247–93) may be cited here. For a discussion of the theme of abdication in Warring States, see Pines 2010; see also Pines 2009; 2008; 2005–2006; 2005; Liú Zéhuá 2000, Graham 1989: 293, Allan 2006.

135 The nearest would be the occurrence of *huì* 疐 (*q^{hʕ}uj-s) (頮 reads *q^{hʕ}əj-s) in the *Lǐjì* "Nèi zé" 內則 (Principles Inside) (12.11) plus "Yù zǎo" 玉藻 (Jade-bead Pendants) (13.5) where it appears, however, in a different and unrelated context. That does not mean that the act of ritual washing at the imminence of death is not recorded at all in pre-imperial texts. The equivalent

The paucity of the term outside the two texts is notable, and the overall picture of "Gù mìng" in the political world of Warring States thought should give us further cause for reflection. As part of the modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū*, "Gù mìng" is considered a 'genuine' pre-Qín text. In stark contrast to the years of turmoil surrounding the Duke of Zhou's regency, it presents the transfer of power from one generation to the next as a routine act, suggesting a tradition of stability that was rooted in ritual (and written) practice. With this particular representation of history, "Gù mìng" becomes a text of utmost significance. A text of that kind, one would think, should have a remarkable presence in the literature – yet the opposite is the case. While lines from the *Shàngshū* in pre-Qín literature amount to about three hundred references,[136] no single Warring States text obviously incorporates elements of "Gù mìng". This situation changes only during the Western Hàn, beginning with a single reference in *Shǐjì*;[137] thereafter, the earliest references and quotations all date only from the Eastern Hàn 東漢 (AD 25–220).[138]

One begins to wonder whether "Gù mìng" really is what tradition would have us believe. In fact, when reading "Gù mìng" alongside "*Bǎo xùn", things fall into place much more gently. "Gù mìng" no longer appears as just an attempt to translate the post-Duke of Zhou threat into a founding myth of the Zhōu. It rather looks like an attempt to formulate a claim for rule by hereditary right on the basis of that myth. To read it side by side with "*Bǎo xùn" is to place "Gù mìng" in an Eastern Zhōu intellectual framework, where a discourse about ideal forms of government intensifies, and arguments for hereditary rule over appointment through

word *mèi* 沫 (*m$^{\text{r}}$at-s) is recognised as early as in oracle bone inscriptions (*Jiǎgǔwén zìdiǎn*: 1207), and the phrase 我沫其 'let us [ritually] wash the face' appears once in the oracle bone inscriptions. The word written as *mèi* 沫 (and its allographs) appears repeatedly on bronze texts from the Warring States, usually as a modifier for a vessel name, an 'X vessel for face-washing'. This use goes back to bronze texts of mid-to-late Western Zhōu. (Chén Mínzhēn and Hú Kǎi 2011: 21–23.)

136 See the discussion in Liú Qǐyú 1997: 4ff; Chan and Ho 2003: 261–265.

137 *Shǐjì* 4.134.

138 For studies of intertextual correspondences of the *Shàngshū* in the transmitted literature, see Chén Mèngjiā 1985: 11–35; Liú Qǐyú 1997: 4–24; Qū Wànlǐ 1983; Chan and Ho 2003. The preconceived mould and modular nature of "Gù mìng", together with the absence of an authorial voice, might help to explain the pre-imperial invisibility of "Gù mìng". Perhaps it was only after the persona of the Duke of Zhou gained new ideological significance during the early empire that elements underlying the makeup of "Gù mìng" found new resonance. (For a discussion of the persona Duke of Zhou in Han dynasty texts, including the different approaches taken in modern- and old-script texts, see Nylan 2010.)

merit become increasingly the focus of debate. This includes ideas licensing rebellion, as suggested in "*Bǎo xùn". It also implies that "*Bǎo xùn" is not a counter-text to "Gù mìng" in a chronological progression. Shaped by common Shū genre it seems that "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn" are both products of the same debate, advancing opposite positions. With this I do not mean that *all* of "Gù mìng" was of Eastern Zhōu making. Certain elements of the text may well be much older (and the same can be said about "*Bǎo xùn"). But the making of it as a go-to text in sociopolitico-philosophical discourse points to Eastern Zhōu text intervention.

As an Eastern Zhōu take on the cultural accomplishments of the Western Zhōu, "Gù mìng" is a fixation, and thus retrospect systematisation, of that image. The celebration of ritual and the long digressions in the form of five catalogues are important elements. As an idealised image of the past, it provides a framework for the legitimacy of present claims.

In this way, a narrative is constructed by which the conceptual communities behind these texts can endow their own ideas with the most ancient origins. By placing their messages in a common discursive mould "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn" need not give an unspecific, generic account of a ritual occasion (the transfer of power) but portray highly specific events that claim historical reality and, hence, validity in their application to the present.

It does not matter which came first, "*Bǎo xùn" or "Gù mìng", for it is unlikely that either of the two was produced in response to the other.[139] They are not just freestanding; they are responses to a common debate about the transference of power, produced by different communities and articulated within the genre of Shū.

139 Although profoundly different from "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn", the meta-structure of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" bears substantial overlap with these texts, and "Wǔ quán" 五權 from the *Yì Zhōushū* 逸周書 appropriates some key features of the frame in "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn" by initiating its account with the sentence 維王不豫 'it was when the king was indisposed because of illness' (*Yì Zhōushū huìjiàojì*: 489).

5 Shū traditions in narrative

> I would enshrine the image of the past
> For future restoration[1]

The reproduction of recognised clusters of signification as part of a new argument's architecture was just one way the conceptual communities of the Warring States period would construct their discourse through the Shū traditions (and participate in it)(Ch. 4). Whether they did so consciously is impossible to say; but to reproduce stable meaning structures meant that the modular items of a group's cultural capital were now linked to common reference networks and thus made accessible to wider groups with contrasting arguments.

A further strategy was to reproduce the meaning structures behind certain fabulae. I discuss this feature in the present chapter by showing how conceptual communities and their relevant sub-groups articulated constrasting intellectual positions by reworking key elements of a common fabula. My primary point of reference is the manuscript text "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí Zhōu Gōng suǒ zì dài wáng zhī zhì" 周武王有疾周公所自代王之志 ("The Record of the Duke of Zhou Putting Himself forward in Place of the King, when King Wu was Suffering from Illness")—henceforth just "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí"—of the Qīnghuá collection. It has a notably close counterpart in "Jīn téng" 金縢 (Metal-bound Casket) of the modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū*.

Different components of speech are repeated in the two texts. The narrative around them, however, differs markedly. Such a difference requires an explanation, and I shall provide one by reconstructing the argument structure of the two texts.[2] My analysis will show how different communities retold a known story to suit their needs by making select use within a repertoire of stable elements of a shared cultural capital. In reconstructing how within "Shu" genre different conceptual communities would rearticulate a known story thus flexibly, the focus lies on the performative character of the narrative as constructed in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí".

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1 William Wordsworth, Prelude 1805, XI, v. 342–343.

2 This chapter is largely based on my 2014a reading of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" (with corrections in Meyer 2017b), which here I expand, correct, and further develop.

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"Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and "Jīn téng" both tell a story of a quite dramatic sort.[3] It stretches over a lengthy time period, covering multiple events. The role of the king is worthy of note. He is just one of many actors, and his actions are not all speech.

5.1 The Duke of Zhou and King Wu

Maybe we might reconstruct the fabula in the following way. Zhōu Gōng 周公, the famous Duke of Zhou, takes the place of King Cheng (Zhōu Chéng Wáng 成王 r.1042/1035–1006 BC) after King Cheng's father, King Wu (Zhōu Wǔ Wáng 武王 r. 1049/1045–1043 BC), has fallen ill and died. The duke holds a private divination where he consults the spirits on what to do, and then stores the record of the divination in a metal-bound casket. Much later, moved by suspicion, King Cheng has the casket opened to find that the duke acted in good faith.

Different texts tell the tale differently. The most prominent examples are "Jīn téng" of the *Shàngshū* and "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjiā" 魯周公世家 (Hereditary House of Duke Zhou of Lu), a chapter of the *Shǐjì*. Further renditions exist in other imperial texts such as *Hànshū* and *Lùnhéng* 論衡 (Balanced Discourse), a collection of philosophical treatises by Wáng Chōng 王充 (AD 25–c. 100).[4] They testify to its general popularity in early imperial times.

The wide distribution of the fabula during the early empires, itself worthy of closer investigation, is however not relevant to my analysis here. Rather, I focus

3 Utzschneider 2007a; 2007b was the first to analyse dramatic features in early textuality in universal terms. In reference to Kern's 2009 discussion of the *Shàngshū* texts as texts for formal recitation that were 'preserved and perpetuated, within the institutions of religious and political commemoration from mid-Western Zhōu times onward' (ibid: 151; the diacritics are my addition), Yegor Grebnev 2017a deepens Utzschneider's notion of the 'dramatic' and applies it to the speeches of Shū traditions. Criteria of dramatic speech include the distribution of 'first- and second-person pronouns, vocatives, and exclamations throughout the text'. (Ibid: 256). One may further consider stage-like presentations in framing the speech as another important feature of dramatic texts. This tallies with Grebnev's remark in his forthcoming book that dramatic speech is 'usually witnessed by a group of people'.

4 Wáng Chōng 王充 discusses a number of themes from "Jīn téng" explicitly in the "Gǎn lèi" 感類, "Qì shòu" 氣壽 and "Sǐ wěi" 死偽 chapters of the *Lùnhéng*. In the *Hànshū 69*: "Wáng Mǎng zhuàn" *shàng* 王莽傳上 (4078) and "Wáng Mǎng zhuàn" *xià* 王莽傳下 (4184), the trope of putting oneself forward in the place of the king is applied to Wáng Mǎng 王莽 (c. 45 BC–23 AD), who performs a ritual and places the record of his prayer in a metal-bound casket when Emperor Píng 平帝 (9 BC–6AD) suffers from severe illness; see *Hanshu* 99A.4078, 99C.4184.

on the scope of its rearticulation between the pre-imperial "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and its transmitted counterpart in modern-script "Jīn téng".[5]

The shaping of the fabula in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" is remarkable. It is the only rendition of the tale so far to date unambiguously from pre-imperial times.[6] Moreover, "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and "Jīn téng" closely correspond in content and form – and yet they tell different stories. This bears important questions about the way conceptual sub-groups of the wider Eastern Zhōu meaning community creatively adapted a common fabula for their ends.

5.2 "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and "Jīn téng"

Following the Western Hàn recension of Fú Shēng 伏胜, "Jīn téng" is collated as chapter 12. The "Three Masters"-*Shàngshū dàzhuàn* has it come after "Dà gào" 大誥 (The Great Admonition). However, as seen from the order in the *Shǐjì*, it appears as though in the modern-script recension of Fú Shēng it precedes "Dà gào".[7] In the old-script compilation of Mǎ Róng and Zhèng Xuán of the Eastern Hàn, it was collated as chapter 17. The pseudo-Kǒng recension of the Eastern Jìn lists it as chapter 34.

As with "*Bǎo xùn", there are a few instances where cracks in the slips cut right through the calligraphy of the manuscript text "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí".[8]

"Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" is written on fourteen bamboo slips that were connected by three cords.[9] Unbroken slips of the manuscript are 45 centimetres long. The upper ends of slips 8 and 10 are missing and presumably three to four characters are lost in both places. Slips 7 and 9 also lack the upper tip but do not seem to be missing graphs. Slips 9 and 10 are broken at their lower ends, but no graphs are missing there.

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5 See *Qīnghuá Manuscripts*, volume 1, 14–17 for the photographic reproduction of the slips; 157–162 for the transcription of the text and annotations.

6 The reduplication of the odd sentence in texts such as *Mòzǐ*—for instance, *gǔzhě shèngwáng shì guǐshén* 古者聖王事鬼神 'the sage kings of antiquity served the spirits and deities' (*Mòzǐ*: "Lǔ wèn" 魯問 – 13.1/114/23) with *néng shì guǐshén* 能事鬼神 '[they] were able to serve the spirits and deities' ("Jīn téng" – 34/30/2)—does not testify the relationship between them, or in fact the presence of the story in pre-imperial periods. It could just as well point to the circulation of stock phrases and set concepts at the time.

7 Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005: 1222.

8 **4**/13  may serve as an example. Other examples include **4**/12 ; **9**/11  ; **9**/12  . Slip |⁴ is reproduced at the left side of this page.

9 See *Qīnghuá Manuscripts*, vol. 1: 157.

For the most part, the characters are clearly legible. The calligraphy is uniform and apparently by just one hand.[10] Unbroken slips contain from twenty-nine to thirty-two graphs.[11] The exception is the final slip. It carries just three graphs plus a mark signalling the end of the text (). The remainder of the slip is left blank.

The slips are numbered in sequence on their backs, and a thin diagonal line is carved across all fourteen from the top end of slip 1 to the upper third of the final slip (14). This may suggest either that the writer faithfully copied the text from an existing *Vorlage*, so he aligned his slips in advance (possibly to make more than one copy), or that he used the numbering and the line to protect the physical integrity of the manuscript from textual loss or confusion if cords should get broken. Either motivation suggests a concern for textual integrity.[12]

The manuscript carries writing on the back of the lower third of slip |14. It reads: 周武王又（有）疾周公所自以弋（代）王之志 'the record of the Duke of Zhou putting himself forward in the place of the king when King Wu was suffering from illness'. This notably goes beyond ancient customs of identifying a *manuscript*, for instance by reference to the first few words in the text, because it foregrounds a central notion of the text. Manuscript designation in antiquity and medieval times normally serves to aid the accessibility of a particular item. For reasons I shall outline further below, reference in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí", however, points to something else. It is a *text* title.

The manuscript is marked up. Besides the mark in the form of a hook on the final bamboo slip, which indicates the end of the text (), there are also marks for repetition (e.g.,  on slip five);[13] ligature writings (e.g.,  斯 = 之所 on slip thirteen);[14] repetition marks for fixed terms written in shorthand (e.g.,  夫 = 大

10 This ought not to be confused with the author of the text. The production of a manuscript has no direct correspondence with the composition of the text and the two activities must be kept apart (Meyer 2011). A distinction between 'scribe' and 'scribal hand' is made in Bagnall 2013.

11 Slip |1 contains 30 graphs; |2 contains 29; |3: 30; |4: 29; |5: 29; |6: 31; 7: 32 (slip broken at top – no graph missing); 9: 30 (slip broken at top and tail – no graph missing); |11: 30; |12: 30; |13: 29. This does not take into account cases of ligature or signs for reduplication. Slips 8 and 10 are broken and no precise counting of the graphs is possible.

12 More on the physical properties of the manuscripts in Ch. 6.

13 |**5**/8#9: ...  爾之許我=(我)則.

The hash sign here indicates that the marking is between graph |**5**/8 and |**5**/9. The vertical line before the designation of the slip and its place in the manuscript indicates the beginning of an unbroken slip. |**4** thus designates the beginning of slip four, which is not damaged. **8**/1, for instance, refers to the first remaining graph on the damaged slip eight.

14 |**13**/14

夫 on slip ten);[15] and reading marks, possibly used to indicate textual 'breath groups' (e.g., ).[16]

The reading support in the text is fairly consistent. Of the sixty-three places in the text where modern editors would add either a comma or a full stop, the writer—or later readers—indicate twenty-nine in the text, including the mark at the end. Places where modern editors would put a comma are marked more consistently than where one would put a full stop. This might suggest that the more obvious reading pauses were not always deemed to need marking. It also suggests that the manuscript was for use and not just for display. Whether such marks were added by the writer or by later readers cannot be determined at this point because the marks do not seem to affect the spacing between the individual graphs.[17]

5.3 Text and Fabula

The three-layer distinction between text, story and fabula, and the two-layer differentiation between text and its material representation on lightweight implements, discussed in the "Introduction", is particularly relevant in this analysis where we look at the complex relationship between a manuscript text and its closely related yet surprisingly different transmitted counterparts. The situation of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and "Jīn téng" is such that key thematic elements of the fabula remain surprisingly stable throughout the different known manifestations of the text, while the textual representations of the story derived from this are each very different.

Stable elements of the fabula are, in particular, the euphemistic description of the illness of King Wu; his subsequent death; the proposal that the Duke of Zhou should conduct a divination; the prayer in which he suggests to the spirits that he put himself forward in the place of the king; the placing of the record of his prayer in a metal-bound casket; King Cheng's suspicion of the Duke of Zhou's

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15 **10**/2

16 |**3**/20–|**4**/17: 子之責在上  (，)惟爾元孫發也  (，)|[4] 不若旦也  (，)是佞若巧能，多才  (，)多埶（藝）  (，)能事鬼神.

17 The fact that the spacing between the *graphs* is fairly even suggests that at least some of the breath marks might have been added after the text was applied to the slips.
Note that to this day there are no clear definitions as to what constitutes a 'breath' mark. There is no *pars pro toto* for all manuscript. Each manuscript must therefore be analysed in its own right. A good discussion about the marking up of text in general can be found in Leonard Boyle 1984.

actions and the duke's subsequent presentation of an ode to King Cheng; the mention of the destruction of the crops by wind and rain when King Cheng refuses to meet the duke; the opening of the casket and the subsequent confirmation of the duke's loyalty; the final recovery of the crops.

These are important constants in the presentation of the story about the duke and his loyalty to the king, and they remain surprisingly stable throughout the literature. However, there are also marked differences. They apply in particular to the pre-imperial manifestation of the story as presented in the Qīnghuá manuscript as against the transmitted "Jīn téng" of the *Shàngshū* and "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjiā" of the *Shǐjì*. While structurally "Jīn téng" and the manuscript text "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" are relatively similar, "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjiā" of the *Shǐjì* presents a more long-winded narrative. Organisationally, it is a much less well integrated presentation of the text.

Of the three texts, the manuscript text "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" is the shortest, with just under four hundred graphs; "Jīn téng" of the *Shàngshū* has an additional hundred or so graphs; "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjiā" of the *Shǐjì* is close to twice as long as "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí".[18] Altogether, the *Shǐjì* version tells a far more complex story. It presents some inconsistencies; it contains a much larger number of events; it stages a significantly different storyline from the other two texts; and at times, it is even internally incoherent.[19]

18 For exact word-counts, see Stryjewska 2013: 20.

19 Stryjewska 2013: 22. Because of the lengthy storyline in "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjiā" and its internal inconsistencies, Stryjewska calls the presentation of the story in "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjiā" a 'patchwork narrative'. (Ibidem.)

As a side note, it would certainly be exciting to gain a systematic view of the presentation of the Duke of Zhou in comparison to that of Confucius in the *Shǐjì*. While much of the *Shǐjì* captivates by its mastery of materials, the "Kǒngzǐ shìjiā" chapter of that anthology is surprisingly loose—not to say slack—in organisation, and the lack of coherence in the account of Kǒngzǐ and his life is rather striking. To think of that as a deficiency on the part of the 'Sīmǎ Qiān project' in their compiling and authoring of the *Shǐjì* might seem too easy a suggestion in light of the consistency of the other chapters and the masterly command of the different materials and sources which brought them into compelling form. It may well be that the lack of consistency and stringency is in itself a masterly strategy of argumentation: 'you cannot handle Confucius'. (Gentz and Meyer 2015b: 26) The sage is beyond our grasp. But while we cannot put Kǒngzǐ and his profound insight into categories of our own, he serves fundamentally as an example on which to model our conduct. The non-integrated nature of the presentation of the Duke of Zhou might also result

The uneven distribution of the key elements of the fabula deserves closer investigation. Especially revealing are those elements that are not present in the different texts. "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" is particularly relevant here. Some of the elements it lacks are precisely those that help to provide an unambiguous interpretative context for the narrative in both transmitted texts, "Jīn téng" and "Lǔ Zhōugōng shìjiā", helping to portray the duke in an unmistakably favourable light. They include the description of the divination and its auspicious outcome;[20] the duke's reassurance to the ministers participating in the divination that the king will suffer no harm through his actions; King Wu's recovery following the divination; and mention of the duke acting as regent.[21]

Altogether, the manuscript text presents a much-truncated manifestation of the story in comparison to its transmitted counterparts. It is sometimes argued that text development is often a matter of expansion rather than contraction.[22] The transmitted counterparts of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" too show these tendencies, suggesting that the manuscript text reflects an earlier stage of text distribution.[23] This is especially clear when considering that the components absent in

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from the perception of a non-graspable nature of the duke, similar to the *Unhandlichkeit* of Confucius, the sage, in the eyes of the editorial team of *Shǐjì* under the aegis of Sīmǎ Qiān 司馬遷 (c. 145 or 135–86 BC). For the term the *Unhandlichkeit* (unwieldiness) of Confucius, see Wagner 1991.

20 In fact, that particular element is the longest section of the "Jīn téng". Stryjewska 2013: 26 counts forty-three graphs in "Jīn téng" and seventy-six in "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjiā" for it.

21 An excellent, fine-grained analsysis of the different components in the three manifestations of the story are provided in Stryjewska 2013: 11–27.

22 Text growth often responds to a community's quest for ornamentation and clarity. This is a common phenomenon in the transmission and (re)production of texts across early literate societies. See Carr 2011: 45ff; 70ff; 99 on trends of text growth in the course of text transmission and reformulation.

Text growth should not be confused with the 'accretion' theory of Brooks and Brooks 2001. For early China, Allan (2015: 27–28) suggests a more compelling model where independent units are combined into one, more complex text. I have proposed the same for the "Wǔ xíng" 五行 and "Xìng zì mìng chū" 性自命出/"Xìng qíng lùn" 性情論 texts from tomb 1, Guōdiàn, and the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts. (Meyer 2011)

23 Note, however, that this says nothing about the date of the material worked into the texts. Despite my suggestion that "Jīn téng" is of a later date of composition, it may nonetheless also contain structural features predating those of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí".

When Gù Jiégāng 顧頡剛 (1893–1980) organised the texts of the *Shàngshū* in three main chronological categories—those from the Western Zhōu, texts from the Eastern Zhōu, and texts from the late Eastern Zhōu plus the Qín and the Hàn periods—he placed "Jīn téng" around the Eastern Zhōu period (770–221 BC). I return to this broad categorisation in Ch. 7.

"Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" are those that add to the clarity of the story in "Jīn téng" and "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjiā", in particular with regard to the duke's intentions.

More central to my present inquiry, however, is the question of why a given fabula was developed so differently in the three different texts, and what this might tell us about the diverse sociopolitical and philosophical purposes of its use. Which components of the fabula were essential for whom in the presentation of a given story, and to what ideological ends? Why are certain components absent (from the perspective of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí") or present (from the perspective of "Jīn téng" and "Lǔ Zhōu gōng shìjiā")? What exactly *is* the story in the different texts? Who are the conceptual communities that used the fabula in such different ways? And what does it tell us about Shū traditions during the Warring States period?

5.4 Structure and Thought

Just like "Jīn téng", the manuscript text "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" develops a narrative that spans a lengthy time span, covering more than just one single event. Interestingly, "Jīn téng" and "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" also lack expansive speeches, normally central in Shū genre. At the same time the two texts present an unusual complexity in textual composition, where the non-dominant role of the king points to later developments of Shū genre, as I shall explore in Chapter 6.

Both "Jīn téng" and "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" focalise on the conflict between the duke and King Cheng, as developing from the primary event in which the duke is conducting a divination on behalf of King Wu, King Cheng's father. (Note, however, that the event of the divination is itself not made explicit in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí".) Other events occurring in the text can all be subordinated to the duke's initial actions: the illness of King Wu and his death; King Cheng's premature succession; rumours about the Duke of Zhou; the duke's displacement and unrest in the kingdom; the capture of the leaders of the rebellion; King Cheng's suspicion towards the duke; the devastation and final recovery of the harvest.

In the following in-depth analysis of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí", I reconstruct the argument put forward in this text. By doing so I cast into sharper relief the way in which certain sub-groups creatively used Shū genre to make a point that suited their needs. Understanding the different texts as making manifest a situation of sociopolitical and philosophical importance for these groups, I present the strategies by which the conceptual communities textualised a frequently invoked fabula to give meaning to a specific state of affairs.

In line with its progression of events, I split "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" into three main units—A, B, and C—of altogether eight building blocks. This structure differs from the transmitted "Jīn téng", where I see only two main units, and it is lost entirely in the longer "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjiā".

In "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí", part A runs from slips 1 to 6.[24] It narrates the primary event of the divination but takes no bird's-eye view. Part C runs from slips 9 to the end of the text and nearly equals unit A in length.[25] It narrates the opening of the casket – equally without taking a bird's-eye view. We may see it as a resolution to the conflict. Part B, bridging A and C, consists of just one building block (slips 6 to 9).[26] The three parts of the text are not marked physically in the manuscript. Based on this structure, I propose a detailed division of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" as follows:
Part A contains the following elements:

1. *The frame*: providing the story's basic context; this section specifies the time (but not the space) of the account.
2. *Contradictions in the duke's behaviour*: the duke's actions deviate from what he declares. This section leads over to:
3. The duke's prayer, in two parts:
   a. the preparation for the prayer and
   b. the contents of the prayer.
4. The closure of ritual.

Part B:

1. *Bridge*: connecting units A and C by providing contextual information.

Part C:

1. *Nature sends signs*: these admonish the king;
2. *The opening of the casket*: the king is persuaded to open the casket;
3. *Nature sends signs*: which signal approval.

24 Slips |**1**/1 (武王既克殷 *Wǔ wáng jì kè Yīn* "King Wu had defeated Yīn) – |**6**/23 (勿敢言 *wù gǎn yán* 'do not have the temerity to talk about [it]!').
25 Slips **9**/9 (是歲 *shì suì* "in that year") – |**14**/3 (大穫 *dàhuò* 'great harvest').
26 Slips |**6**/24 (即後 *jíhòu* "thereafter") – **9**/8 (迎公 *yíng gōng* 'receive the Duke').

5.4.1 The Primary Event: Part A

Part A is composed of four building blocks which narrate the primary event of the divination, which itself is not made explicit. This is a widely shared phenomenon in manuscript texts from the Warring States in comparison to their transmitted counterparts. Part A alone takes no wider macroscopic view but assumes an immediate involvement in the event – with the exception of the first line, which frames the account by specifying the event in time and reference:

A 1

1 |[1]武王既克殷三年，王不豫有遲。[27]
2 二公告周公曰「我其爲王穆卜。」
3 周公曰：「未可以|[2]慼吾先王。」[28]
4 周公乃爲三壇同墠，爲一壇於南方。周公立焉，秉璧，戴珪。[29]

1 |[1]It was three years since King Wu had defeated Yīn. The king was indisposed for a long while because [he suffered from severe] illness.
2 The two Gōng[30] announced to the Duke of Zhou saying: 'Let us reverently perform the oracle divination for the king'.
3 The Duke of Zhou responded: 'we must not |[2]upset our former kings'.
4 Thereupon the Duke of Zhou made three [earthen] altars on the same platform and one on the southern side [of it]. The Duke of Zhou stood on it, holding a *bì* jade disk and carrying a *guī* jade tablet.

The opening in line 1 places the constructed narrative in a historical setting. While texts of the early layers of the *Shàngshū* (and, likewise, Zhōu bronze texts)

27 The transcription of the "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" is based primarily on *Qīnghuá Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn* vol 1.
Graph **1**/10 瘧 is generally taken as *yù* 豫. Phonetically, this is a sound suggestion. The phonophore of 瘧 is 余 (*la) and the Old Chinese reconstruction of 豫 is *laʔ-s.

28 Graph **2**/1  is read as *qī* 慼 'worry, grief; to distress' by the editors of *Qīnghuá Manuscripts*. This corresponds to the transmitted "Jīn téng", which has that graph without the heart component (戚). Ribbing Gren 2017: 216n69 suggests a putative reading 'to regard as family', which takes a corresponding line from the *Mèngzǐ* where the graph is used in that sense.

29 **22**/25 𢦏: I here follow Shěn Péi 2011: 111–121 沈培 in reading 𢦏 as *dài* 戴 'to carry (on one's head)'.

30 I discuss them below.

often just refer to a generic king,[31] "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" specifies him explicitly as King Wu and locates the events of the text just before his death. This is important. First, through the historical setting of the frame, the *Gestus* of the text is such that it opens up the narrative to wider audiences, not targeting any particular audience. (We shall see later on that this is, however, not the historical reality of the text.) Second, the death of King Wu had a different significance to the Zhōu than just the death of one of the 'two bodies' of the king, to press the metaphor by Ernst Kantorowicz (1895–1963), where kingship lives on with the death of the king's physical body.[32] King Wu's death was not an event of routine succession. It threatened the consolidation of Zhōu rule soon after the conquest of 1045 BC. The Duke of Zhou assumed power as a regent because, so the transmitted texts that approve the Zhōu say, King Cheng was deemed too young to rule. The reality was probably not that simple. The younger brothers of King Wu [33] soon led a revolt against the duke.[34] Open war followed. This left the Zhōu on the brink of collapse.[35] Provoking years of instability, turbulence

31 The overarching pattern in the modern-script recension of the *Shàngshū* is to leave 'king' non-specific. "Jīn téng" too leaves king unspecific here. Exceptions include primarily the mention of kings Wen and Wu. (In "Hóng Fàn" 洪範; "Jīn téng" 金縢; "Dà gào" 大誥; "Kàng gào" 康誥; "Jiǔ gào" 酒誥; "Shào gào" 召誥; "Luò gào" 洛誥; "Wú yì" 無逸; "Jūn shì" 君奭; "Duō fāng" 多方; "Lì zhèng" 立政; "Wén hóu zhī mìng" 文侯之命). Bronze texts often also do not specify the king by name. Note that 'kings' normally only appear in the "Zhōu" section of the *Shàngshū*, while the Shāng rulers are called by their proper names, and the legendary figures who ruled before them are not kings.

32 See Kantorowicz 1957. I am aware of the Christian undertones underlying the concept developed by Kantorowicz and do not suggest applying the 'divine-human' duality of a Christ-centred kingship to the Zhōu period. It is clear, however, that there is a political counterpart to the 'mystical' or 'divine' element such that the king's role was not exhausted by his natural body in early China.

33 See my discussion in Ch.4: 123n.9.

34 Archaeological evidence confirms that the whole event is not as clear as the Zhōu sources like to portray it. According to Wáng Huī 1993: 940–943, Sòng 誦 (the personal name of the future King Cheng) must have been around the age of twenty-three at the time of King Wu's death and therefore unlikely to be 'too young' to rule on his own. Ulrich Unger 1976: 184–195 has once used the Western Zhōu Tàibǎo 太保-*guǐ* inscription to suggest that the duke did indeed rule as king and not just as regent. Unger proposes that texts such as the *Lǐ jì* 禮記: "Míngtáng wèi" 明堂位 (the duke 'set foot on the place of the son of Heaven' 踐天子位 *jiàn tiānzǐ wèi*) and *Hánfēizǐ* 韓非子: "Nán èr" 難二 ('borrowing it, [the duke] served as son of Heaven for seven years' 假為天子七年 *jià wèi tiānzǐ qī nián*) confirm his conclusions (Ibid, n. 24–25). Unger suggests that the duke continued the Shāng practice of brother-succession. By contrast, Edward Shaughnessy (1997: 101–136, and further 137–164) is adamant that Western Zhōu Scribes never took the duke as one of their kings.

35 The tumultuous events are summarised in Shaughnessy 1999: 307–310.

and warfare, the duke's interregnum left a lasting mark in Zhōu cultural memory such that it became part of the foundational past of the Zhōu. This is relevant because, as shown below, "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" represents an attempt to reconfigure the presence of threat into a founding myth of the Zhōu.[36] The ambiguous role played by the duke in all this is central.

We cannot assume that the audiences of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" would face the text without such cultural assumptions. Text circulation at the time the manuscript was produced was still largely confined, even though it was expanding apace. At the time of the Warring States when a manuscript culture first matured, texts were no longer limited to relatively closed circles around the king and his advisers but circulated beyond the centres of royal power. Nonetheless, we can conclude from the archaeological records that text and knowledge production still largely remained the domain of relatively small, but expanding, well educated groups. These groups, including the receivers of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí", who encountered the duke in texts from the Warring States, would not have encountered a historical person of Rankean type, but an idealised persona developed to Zhōu taste and used in philosophical discourse. They will have known that the duke assumed power. Perhaps they also realised that there was doubt about his legitimacy, at least among some sub-groups of the Eastern Zhōu oecumene. As will be shown, in producing a narrative the authors of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" actively incorporate such doubts. Exposing the ambiguity inherent in the duke's role in Zhōu history, they entertain suspicions on behalf of their audience.

While "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" takes the decisive moment of Zhōu history as its starting point, it never spells it out in precise terms. Contextualisation in part A is only used to demarcate the larger contours of the narration. The *èr gōng* 二公 that enter the stage (line 2) right after the initial frame exemplify this well. In theory they could just be 'two Gōng', that is, empty placeholders, indeterminate and therefore capable of opening up the text structurally to contrasting audiences across time and space. In practice, however, this is unlikely. As I demonstrate below, unlike the transmitted "Jīn téng" of the *Shàngshū*, which consistently provides the necessary information so that different communities may relate to the argument, "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" does not address indiscriminate audiences. Instead it seems firmly tied to a particular text community, insider-audiences, to whom the actual identity of '*the* two Gōng' (probably Tài Gōng 太公 and Shào Gōng 召公[37]) would be clear.

36 In this regard it is rather similar to "Gù mìng" (Ch. 4).

37 Also featuring in "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjīa", they are probably Tài Gōng 太公 and Shào Gōng 召公. Shào Gōng Shì was the half-brother of the Duke of Zhou.

"Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" is not concerned with historical detail. The narrative serves a different purpose. It develops a 'drama of a universal kind' where everything revolves around two main characters, the Duke of Zhou and King Cheng. The textual function of the two Gōng here is merely to propose a divination on behalf of the waning King Wu, rejected instantly by the Duke of Zhou (line 3). His actions, however, speak a different language (line 4), presenting multiple ways of interpretation: after preparing the altars and while carrying the state insignia of power, he does precisely what he claimed he would not do, and addresses the spirits of the former Zhōu kings.

The apparent contradiction between his actions and his declarations is not discussed further. It is one among several loose ends in in "Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí" that find no resolution and that deepen the suspicion that proves a vital element of the text's message.

Structurally, the final line (line 4) with its ambiguity regarding the duke's intention, is transitional, leading to the next passage, where the Scribe announces to the former kings the duke's prayer. Meanwhile, the king remains entirely passive; he is simply ill.

Segment A1 of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" is generally close to its counterpart in the *Shàngshū*. However, in "Jīn téng", the ill king is not named at the outset (viz. the frame), which is more typical of *Shàngshū* texts; and while lines 2 and 3 are stable in both manifestations of the fabula, "Jīn téng" fills line 4 with additional narrative material: 'he (viz. the duke) took the business [of the divination] upon himself' (公乃自以為功); he 'faced north', that is, from a subordinate position toward the ruler, signalling the absence of ambition to usurp the throne; and finally, "Jīn téng" includes his prayer, further emphasising the duke's loyalty.

The following segment, A2,—it forms a stable text cluster and so I refer to its building blocks as A 2.1 and A 2.2—begins with an announcement by the Scribe:

A 2.1 史乃册 |[3] 祝告先王曰：

「爾元孫發也，遘害虐疾。爾毋乃有丕子之責在上？ 惟爾元孫發也， |[4] 不若旦也。[38]

The Scribe then announced |[3] the prayer document to the former kings as follows:

'It is Fā (i.e., King Wu), your first descendant (i.e., grandchild), who has been struck by misfortune, as he suffers severe illness. Is it not you who bear responsibility for the great son before the one above (Heaven)? Indeed, it is your first grandchild, Fā, |[4] who does not compare to [me], Dàn (i.e., the Duke of Zhou)!'

This is followed by the duke's prayer:

38 Regarding **3**/19 備 (丕), I here follow the suggestion by Mǐyàn (2011) to read it as *pī* 丕 (*pʰrə) rather than *bèi* 備 (*brək-s). The graph 丕 is also used in the modern-script "Jīn téng".

A 2.2

1 是佞若巧能，多才，多藝，能事鬼神。
2 命于帝廷，敷有四方，以定爾子 |[5] 孫于下地。
3 爾之許我，我則厭(瘞)璧與珪。爾不我許，我乃以璧與珪歸。」

1 'The one (Dàn) is clever and ingenious; he has many talents and skills and [thus] is able to serve the deities.
2 [He] was given the Mandate in the courtyard of the [high] god to broadly possess the four quarters and to secure your |[5] descendants below on earth.
3 If you were to approve of me, I would present this *bì* jade disk and the *guī* jade tablet; but if you were not to approve of me, I would then return the *bì* jade disk and the *guī* jade tablet'.

Without being fully explicit, this section, made up of speech and contextualising narrative, invites the audience to understand that the duke's intention might be to usurp the power of the state. Purportedly superior in talents to King Wu and eager to protect the dynasty established by the former kings, the duke appears as a true successor: he notably claims the mandate to rule by appropriating conventional language that is usually reserved for a ruler ('to broadly possess the four quarters and to secure your descendants below on earth'). The formal structure of building block A 2.2 evidences this further. While lines 2 and 4 are phrased in personal terms, line 3, as the principal insertion on a conceptual level, formulates the notion of successful rule. In this compositional structure, the duke thus draws on traditional political rhetoric to advance his personal goals – a *coup d'état* to save Zhōu rule.

In this part, differences between "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and the transmitted "Jīn téng" mainly pertain to changes in the speech. The first is the announcement of the prayer by the Scribe, which has two additions in "Jīn téng"; second is the duke's prayer, which in "Jīn téng" is restructured and extended. In this way "Jīn téng" eliminates ambiguity about the duke and his actions. An example is the phrase 'let me, Dàn (the duke's personal name) be a substitute for his (viz. King Cheng) person' that is missing in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and precisely explains what the duke's role in the event really is – something that does not become clear from reading this passage of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí". Likewise, "Jīn téng" cites the exact wording of his prayer, having the duke say how the people of the Zhōu are in awe of their king, and that the Heavenly Mandate must not be revoked. Here again, "Jīn téng" is explicit about the duke's intention to save the king.

While the compositional balance of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" is therefore not upheld in "Jīn téng", the latter contains additional narrative to elucidate the duke's role.[39]

Finally, A3 closes the account of part A by keeping the *Gestus* of actual event witnessing. It, too, contains personal speech, with a final exhortation vividly enforcing the notion of conspiracy:

A 3 周公乃納其 |[6] 所為貢自以代王之說，于金縢之匱，乃命執事人曰：「勿敢言▄。」[40]
The Duke of Zhou thereupon put |[6] the speech in which he presented himself [to the former kings] in the place of the king into a metal-bound casket and ordered those who assisted in the ritual by saying: 'Do not dare talking about [it]!'

Part A closes with how the record of the ritual is stored away. The physical action of closing the metal-bound casket also marks the closure of the event. Nothing has been said about the precise nature or the content of the divination that was presumably carried out, nor has its outcome been made explicit. The audience remains in the dark whether the duke was successful in his request to the former kings. We are not released from the role of a passive observer; we obtain no bird's-eye perspective, revealing the real nature of the events. Instead of resolving the sense of suspicion and conspiracy, the narrative of the unit further reinforces these sentiments by putting a final exhortation into the mouth of the duke. Serving as a final stamp on the unit, this rhetorical point confirms all the doubts about the duke's real intentions in a nearly physical way. Part A of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" takes no interest in presenting the duke favourably. The next unit, B, also does

39 That strict forms of composition loosen in continuous text transmission is a widespread phenomenon in early textuality and applies to all known cases of texts from the Warring States with transmitted counterparts. Widely discussed cases include Guōdiàn *Lǎozǐ and the "Zīyī" 緇衣 ("Black Robes") manuscripts from Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi. The loosened structure in the transmitted "Jīn téng" might therefore suggest its later date of composition relative to "Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí." A systematic study of how strict patterns of composition become loosened in later text recensions is in Kern 2005a. That this happens in the transmitted "Jīn téng" confirms the later date of text production in comparison to "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí".

40 Graph **6**/3  poses a problem. The *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* editors identify it as 社, which they read as *gōng* 功 (*k$^{\varsigma}$oŋ) 'achievement, merit'. The two share the same phonophoric, making this interpretation highly plausible. Contextually, another choice would be to read it as *gòng* 貢 (*k$^{\varsigma}$oŋ-s), 'tribute, present', but also 'to present to'. This, too, shares the same phonophoric with 社. I take this to be the better solution to this passage; but instead of reading it as a noun in the sense of 'tribute' or 'sacrifice' as suggested by Mǐyàn (2011), I take it as a verb, saying that the duke 'presented himself [to the former kings] in the place of King [Wu]'. This leaves the unit structurally intact, furthering its sense of suspicion and conspiracy. Another option would be to read it as *gōng* 攻 (*k$^{\varsigma}$oŋ), a kind of sacrifice.

little to overcome the sense of suspicion against him. Structurally, the narrative here serves as a bridge that connects the event of the divination to part C. While A was told from the close-up perspective of immediate involvement, the text takes a much wider view in part B.

The transmitted "Jīn téng" differs in structure and content. As an additional element of the fabula it includes the exact narrative description of the divination carried out by the duke. "Jīn téng" recounts how the duke 'then divined with three tortoise shells, all consistently favourably' (乃卜三龜，一習吉); next it describes how the duke opens the bamboo tubes[41] and looks at the writings, to find that those responses are favourable too. This confirms, as he explains, the continuation of King Wu's rule:

> 體！王其罔害。予小子新命于三王，惟永終是圖；茲攸俟，能念予一人。
> '[See their] shape! The king will suffer no harm. "Small child that I am" [so the king will say], "[I] have newly received the decree from the three kings – it is through them that elongated [futurity] is now laid out. [I] await the issue; [the three kings] can arrange for me, the one man"'.

The narrative of "Jīn téng" continues to describe how the duke returns, placing the tablets with the prayer into the metal-bound casket. Upon this, the king indeed recovers from his illness. The duke's intentions could not be put more clearly. "Jīn téng" makes the audience appreciate him as a loyal servant of his rulers. None of these narrative elements appear in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí", where suspicion and doubt dominate to this point.

5.4.2 The Bridge: Part B

In "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí", the narrative of part B creates context by adding a quasi-historical perspective. It is interspersed with small bits of speech, and for the first time the conflict between the Duke of Zhou and King Cheng comes to the fore. The conflict is presented as a direct result of the duke's secretive behaviour in part A. However, no information about the circumstances or his precise intentions is disclosed:

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41 The meaning of *yuè* 籥 (lit. 'flute') is not entirely clear. Karlgren (1970: gloss 1574) explains it as bamboo tubes, which 'have always been used in China as receptacles'.

B 1 即後武王陟，成王猶[7]幼在位。[42]
管叔及其羣兄弟，乃流言于邦曰：「公將不利於孺子。」
周公乃告二公曰：「我之[8]□□□□無以復見於先王。」
周公宅東三年，禍人乃斯得。於後，周公乃遺王詩[9][43]曰雕鴞，王亦未迎公。
Thereafter, King Wu had already ascended (=died) and King Cheng was still [7]young in position, when
Guǎnshū and his group of brothers spread a rumour in the state by saying: 'the Duke [of Zhōu] will not be to the benefit of the young child'.
Then, the Duke of Zhou proclaimed to the two Gōng [who assisted in the ritual], saying: 'Our [8]□□□□. I have nothing left for which to be received again by the former kings'.
The Duke of Zhou had been settled in the east for three years when the offenders were caught. But when the Duke of Zhou thereupon presented the king with an ode [9]called "Eagle Owl", the king would still not receive him.

Part B gives a most abbreviated account of a historically complex series of events, broken up by two brief speech components. The duke's address (line 3) is incomplete, leaving some uncertainty about what this passage actually says. It is clear, however, that what he says is in direct response to the slander against him. It is addressed to the two Gōng who assisted him during the ritual (A 1) but without a sign as to his real intentions.

The narrativised historical events are presented too briefly and enigmatically to inform the noninitiated text recipient. King Wu's death; the enthronement of the immature King Cheng; the mention of Guǎnshū and his brothers with no more on their identity or role; the resettlement of the Duke of Zhou; the seizure of offenders; the continual refusal of the king to receive the duke: none of these features would speak to anyone not already familiar with the broader contours of the story. There is no mention of the Duke of Zhou acting on behalf of—the officially immature—king; there is no mention of years of unrest. This passage, it is clear, does not report on decisive events in the history of the house of the Zhōu. The purpose of part B is not to inform its audiences about the orthodox narrative of the Zhōu, but to *remind* them.

As its purpose is therefore not historical, it is structural. Part B links A with C and contextualises "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" by summarising the turbulent years of rule, unrest, and change in just a few words. The historical perspective given

42 Regarding **6**/24  (即), the *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* editors identify the graph as *jiù* 就 although it contains the signific 止 that is not normally seen in Chǔ versions of 就. I here follow the suggestion by Chén Mínzhēn et al. 2011: 44 and read it as *jí* 即, 'to approach, go to', 'on the point of'.

43 The top part of the slip has broken off just before the first graph on slip nine. No graph is missing there.

in this unit is therefore at once important and unimportant. It is important as a dramaturgic link between the oppositional narratives of parts A and C to a shared historical moment, fitting both into an organic narrative whole. At the same time it is unimportant historically in portraying what precisely happened because of its extreme ellipsis. In producing meaning, the historical perspective serves predominantly rhetorical ends; the information given is thus secondary, and hence, structurally, exchangeable.[44] As such, it becomes 'modular' and thus interchangeable. Yet, in its dramaturgic role of formalising the marked opposition between parts A and C, it links them structurally in a single point of reference.

Within the dramaturgy of the narrative, the Duke of Zhou presents a poem to the king in response to the seizure of the offenders (line 4).[45] As noted, the text recipient would probably understand that 'the offenders' were those who rebelled when the duke took over power from King Cheng. Calling them 'offenders' puts them in clear opposition to the king but also to the duke ruling on his behalf. That despite the capture of the delinquents, the king was still not willing to receive him displays, for the first time, an open tension between the two – a tension not even resolved with the presentation of the ode. Regardless of its historical vagueness, which neither discloses the content of the poem nor reveals the nature of the king's grudge, part B, situated at the centre of the narrative, marks the dramaturgic moment that foregrounds the conflict between the duke and King Cheng. In this, it exhibits the central theme of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí".

Despite some (for my purposes here insignificant) lexical differences,[46] unit B is surprisingly stable vis-à-vis the transmitted text, except for the additional

44 The role of the list of events is here structurally parallel to that of the two unidentified dukes. The historical information given plays no primary role insofar as it only serves compositional ends instead of portraying the historical actuality.

45 A song, entitled "Diāo Xiāo" 雕鴞, is unknown in the received literature. "Jīn téng" refers to a song, "Chī Xiāo" 鴟鴞—a song of which title appears in the *Shījīng* (Máo 155)—and identifies the Duke of Zhou as its author. However, Shaughnessy rightly points out that the *Máo* ode is unlikely to have been composed by the duke. (Shaughnessy 1997a: 119–121) Whether the song mentioned in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" is the same as the one referred to in "Jīn téng" is, however, irrelevant for the analysis of the art of narrative in the "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí". Nonetheless, we should note that the two designations are remarkably close phonetically. "Diāo Xiāo" 雕鴞 *t^{c}iw-ɢ^{w}aw; "Chī Xiāo" 鴟鴞 *t^{h}ij-ɢ^{w}aw. Fundamentally framed by the narrative provided by "Jīn téng", the *Máo* ode is normally understood in the sense that it encapsulates the sadness of the unrecognised person. For an informative discussion of symbolic power of the 'owl' in Chinese literature, see Giele 2016.

46 It is interesting, however, that the word for state (*bāng* 邦) in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" reads *guó* 國 in "Jīn téng", thus allowing for speculations of imperial, that is, Western Hàn, interven-

line in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" stating that 'King Cheng was still young when he took position', which is missing in "Jīn téng". The phrase 'the duke will not be to the benefit of the young child' (公將不利於孺子), quoting the rumours in the polity of the Zhōu in direct speech, is even consistent word for word with that of "Jīn téng", and it continues in "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjiā" of the *Shǐjì* with only minor emendation,[47] making it a stable element across the different realisations of the fabula.

The remaining three building blocks, part C, then present the three-part resolution of the conflict. These are, first, nature's response to the king's refusal to meet the duke (C 1); second, the opening of the casket to reveal that the duke had acted in good faith (C 2); third, nature's response to the king's accepting to meet the duke (C 3).

5.4.3 The Resolution of the Conflict: Unit C

Contextually, the line mentioning the duke's settlement in the east and his presentation of the song to King Cheng belongs to part B. Structurally, however, I discuss it together with part C.

C1 周公宅東三年，禍人乃斯得。於後，周公乃遺王詩 [9] 曰雕鴞，王亦未迎公。

是歲也，秋大熟，未穫，天疾風以雷，禾斯偃，[48]大木斯拔。邦人 [10] □□□□ 弁，大夫端，[49]以啟金縢之匱。

The Duke of Zhou had been settled in the east for three years when the offenders were caught.

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tion in the text, as Bāng 邦 is also the personal name of Liú Bāng 劉邦 (256/ 247–195 BC), founding emperor of the Hàn dynasty, commonly known as Emperor Gaozu (Gāozǔ 高祖), his temple name. The use of the graph *bāng* 邦 was under taboo during his lifetime. (Note however that "Jīn téng" twice uses the graph *bāng* in the latter half of the text.) On the custom of taboo observances during the Hàn, see Mansvelt Beck 1987.

47 "Lǔ Zhōu Gōng shìjiā" states that 'the Duke of Zhou will not be to the benefit of the young King Cheng' (周公將不利於成王), thus keeping the structure intact and only filling in additional information.

48 **9**/23: Chén Mínzhēn et al. (2011: 58) take (斯) as *sī* 澌, 'exhaust'. This is now the generally accepted reading of this graph.

49 My reading of **10**/3  縗 (綴 < 端) as 'ritual robes' follows the argument as presented in Chén Mínzhēn et al. 2011: 61. It considers Chén Jiàn's proposal of taking *duān* 端 as *xuán duān* 玄端 'black ritual robe'. Reading the graph as 'gown, garment' presents a beautiful parallel to **10**/3 覍 (弁) 'cap'.

But when the Duke of Zhou thereupon presented the king with a song [9] called "Eagle Owl", the king would still not receive him.
That year, the autumn harvest had greatly ripened but had not yet been gathered when Heaven sent fierce winds with thunder and flattened the entire crop – [even] the great trees were all uprooted. The men of the state [10]□□□□ the ceremonial cap, and the Chief Minister put on his robe, opening the metal-bound casket.

C2 王得周公之所自以爲貣，以代武王之說。[50]
王問執 |[11] 事人，曰：「信。噫。公命我勿敢言。」
王捕書以泣，[51]曰：「昔公勤勞王家，惟余沖人亦弗及 |[12] 知。今皇天動威，以彰公德。惟余沖人其親逆公，我邦家禮亦宜之。
The king received the prayer in which the Duke of Zhou had put himself forward in the place of King Wu.
The king [went on to] question those |[11] who had carried out the affair, who said: 'Ah, it is true indeed. But the duke ordered that we must not dare to talk about [it]'.
The king held fast to the writings and said, weeping: 'In the past, the duke worked hard for the king and the royal family and only I in my youth clearly did not manage to understand |[12] this. But now August Heaven mobilised its awe to display the duke's charismatic power. Let me, the young boy, go in person and meet the duke – the household rites of our state do indeed accord with this'.

C3 王乃出逆公 |[13] 至郊。
是夕，天反風，禾漸起[52]。凡大木之所拔，二公命邦人盡復築之。
歲大有年，秋 |[14] 則大穫。
And so the king left to meet the duke, |[13] reaching the outskirts of the capital.
On this evening, Heaven withdrew the wind, and the crops rose up again in their entirety. As for the big trees that were uprooted, the two Gōng ordered the people of the state to reerect them all.
The year produced an abundant harvest, and, as it was autumn, |[14] it was gathered in all its plenty.

Parallel to part A, where the focus is on the Duke of Zhou and the events happening under his aegis, part C now presents a narrative with a close focus on King Cheng. And just as in A, part C also lacks contextualising focus but constructs a

50 For the reading of 貣, see the discussion of **6**/3 above.
51 The *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* editors read **11**/13  (捕) as *bù* 布, 'spread out'. This has met with general disapproval. By now, the generally accepted reading is *bǔ* 捕, taken in the sense of 'to hold'. (See the Fùdàn University reading group: "Qīnghuá jiǎn Jīn téng zhájì"; see further the discussion in Chén Mínzhēn et al 2011: 65–67 for the suggestion of reading the graph as *bó* 搏, 'seize'.)
52 For 漸, see the discussion of **9**/23.

story of dramatic dimension. In this way "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" reflects the tension between the duke and King Cheng in formal terms by setting the two units, A and C, in structural opposition, bridging them with part B.

C1 recounts two main events: the king is unwilling to receive the duke, and thunderstorms flatten the crops before they can be harvested. C3 describes how the king finally agrees to receive the duke, upon which the winds abate and the crops rise up again. Neither C1 nor C3 contain any speech, the core of what constitutes Shū genre. Speech appears only in C2, where a dialogue is constructed that exhibits King Cheng's wish to seek the truth. C2 with its speech components is thus a structurally unique component positioned as a principal insertion between the two parallel units C1 and C3. Thus placed in the centre and formally highlighted, C2 carries the main thought of such texts. It here portrays the king's painful insight that his distrust of the duke was mistaken. C2 is therefore pivotal: it is here that the situation of C1 is changed into that of C3.

The two units are strikingly parallel: the king's refusal to meet the duke (未迎公) is followed by Heaven's destruction of the crops before the harvest (未穫), while the king's willingness to meet the duke (王逆公) is answered by Heaven's blissful granting of an abundant harvest (則大穫). The following graphic representation of that situation, which I take from Anna Stryjewska, makes it plain: [53]

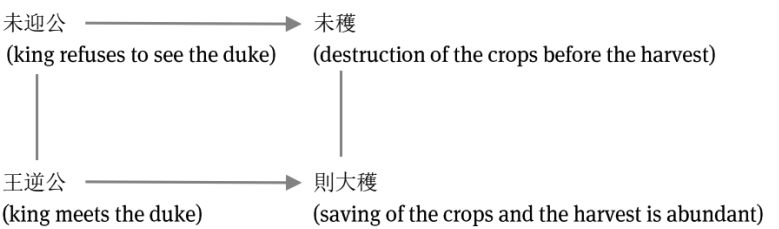

Fig. 1: The parallelism in unit C

"Jīn téng" is the only place in the received *Shàngshū* where Heaven responds directly to human action.[54] In "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" Heaven's intervention is

53 Stryjewska 2013: 13.
54 Gentz 2001: 212n205.

brought about by the king's pivotal change of attitude and action, which is marked by the employment of direct speech. Combining the two kinds of conceptual parallelism just described, it becomes clear that the element which portrays Heaven's interaction with the human sphere formally embraces the human constituent in this interaction through the form of a 'distanced parallelism',[55] where two parallel features formally flank the unit where the king changes his attitude. From Heaven's first interference, the king realises his failure in distrusting the duke; by then correcting himself and giving formal expression to his inner change by receiving the duke humbly outside the gates, he turns disaster into Heaven's blessing. The earlier sections of the text did not reveal the true nature of the duke's intentions; only now, through Heaven's response, do they become clear. The literary form of the argument reduplicates the message of this unit.

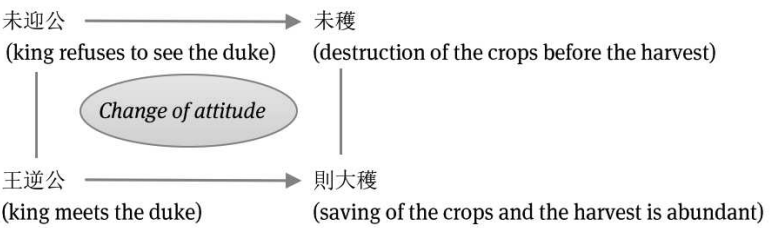

Fig. 2: Heaven embraces the sphere of humans

Compared with the previous units, part C is comparatively stable between "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and the transmitted "Jīn téng". Yet two points are worth noting. First, the picture of narrativisation[56] between parts A and C is reversed in the texts. While the transmitted "Jīn téng" employs narrative elements to erase any ambiguity around the persona of the duke from the outset, presenting his actions as strictly loyal and selfless, the manuscript text augments the narrative only in part C to elucidate even more dramatically the duke's role in preserving the house of the Zhōu. Formally, such pointed emphasis is realised through narrative markers of time that signify the correlative nature of events, such as '*that year* the autumn

55 For the terminology of a 'distant parallelism' where structural elements take on the function of binding larger units together, see Marjo Korpel's discussion of biblical delimination theory. (In Korpel 2000: 48).

56 On the concept of 'narrativisation', see White 1981.

harvest had greatly ripened' (C 1); '*on this evening* (after the king met the duke), Heaven withdrew the wind' (C 3); and '*the year* produced an abundant harvest, and *come autumn*, it was gathered in all its plenty' (C 3). Secondly the high stability of the speech components used by "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and "Jīn téng", right down to verbatim phrasing, stands in clear contrast to the contextually stable but lexically different *narration* in the two manifestations of the fabula. For example, 'Ah, it is true indeed. But the duke ordered that we must not dare to talk about [it]' (信。噫。公命我勿敢言) of C2 is identical to the phrase in "Jīn téng". The textualisation of the fabula thus corroborates the picture of a repertoire of stable speech components in Shū genre, combined with flexible, not to say loose, narrative structures surrounding and contextualising it.

5.5 Conclusion

In contrast to the transmitted renderings of the story, the narrative of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" does not provide an unambiguous representation of the Duke of Zhou. In much of the narration, right up to the point where Heaven sides with the duke, the authors repeatedly reinforce suspicion about his actual role in the events closely connected to the crisis of the Western Zhōu. Distrust and doubt about the duke's integrity, it becomes plain, must have been the presupposition of the meaning community for whom the text was composed – otherwise its rhetoric would have been void. The narrative of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" makes use of this. It speaks to this conceptual community by addressing their doubts, in fact nourishing them, just to prove them wrong, with finality, in the closing unit of the text.

From a dramaturgic perspective, "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" presents itself as a well-constructed entity. Unlike transmitted "Jīn téng", the text is put in a strict A-B-C sequence, with the three components arranged hierarchically. Part A presents a self-sufficient narrative that focuses on the duke, foregrounding sentiments of doubt against him. In a conceptually parallel mode, part C also constructs a near self-sufficient narrative, this time by focusing closely on King Cheng. Placed in between, the contextualising unit B connects the two narratives into an organic whole and exhibits the polarity of the duke and King Cheng as the central theme of this text. The figure below schematically shows how the narrative composition of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" matches the crass conflict between the two personae of high antiquity in formal terms.

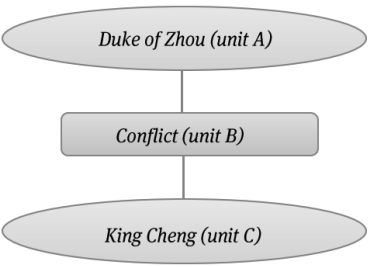

Fig. 3: the Duke of Zhou as against King Cheng

The story presented in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" thus comes full circle. Unlike "Jīn téng", by staying up close to the events without relating their larger historical context, "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" limits its recipients' perspective and places them in the position of passive observers. By so doing, the authors consistently enforce sentiments of mistrust right up until the matter is resolved. The audience is thus guided through the same sequence of doubt that King Cheng experienced toward the duke, making the moment of resolution strongly performative.

This self-reflexive mode in the presentation of the story—this feature is not uncommon in Shū genre during the Warring States—extends to the presence of the text itself.[57] Leading its audience through a process of doubt to the final discovery of truth, "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí"—as both text and physical object—makes its recipients perform, and as a physical object embodies, the king's discovery of

57 Rens Krijgsman (2014) discusses this reference to "*Wǔ Wáng jiànzuò" 武王踐阼.
Texts of Shū traditions that contain similar modes of self-reflexivity toward the presentation of the text include "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn" (I discuss both texts in Ch. 6 below) and "Lǚ xíng" 呂刑 (Punishments of the Hóu Lǚ), plus "Dà kuàng" One 大匡 I (Great Rectification I), "Chéng diǎn" 程典 (Canon at Chéng), as well as "Ruì Liángfū" 芮良夫 of the *Yì Zhōushū*. Note, however, that instead of reflecting on the *physical existence* of the text, as in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" (and "Jīn téng), the texts cited above rather reflect on the *event of composition* (*zuò* 作 'make', 'produce') of the text in question. (My separation of "Dà kuàng" I and "Dà kuàng" II texts of the *Yì Zhōushū* follows Grebnev 2016.)

the duke's written prayer in the metal-bound casket.[58] Just like the physical object of the prayer that was put in the casket, "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" presents itself as a material artefact that proves the duke's loyalty to the Zhōu.

To argue that "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" contains all elements of the fabula necessary for its rhetorical success does not require it to have all the elements of the story fully expressed and written out. Clearly, with elements such as the unnamed 'two Gōng' in part B and the elliptical summary of complex historical events in C, the text merely hints at a larger body of information that must already have been known to its target audiences. Here again, the narrative features of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" are strongly performative in the sense that they require the audience to recall the history stored in their memory. In its elegant symmetrical brevity, one could also say constructed incompleteness, it becomes fully meaningful only in its reception by a community well informed of Zhōu hegemonic culture and memory.

It follows that to some extent "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" was 'preaching to the converted' by addressing certain sub-groups of a community—the meaning community of the Zhōu oecumene—which fundamentally relate to orthodox Zhōu values yet which respond to, perhaps even share, some of the doubts over the duke's position in Zhōu memory. In such an environment, the text would also have addressed, in the Warring States, the growing concerns about the relation between rulers and subjects more generally. More so than "Jīn téng", which informs the text recipient right from the start about the duke's integrity, "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" celebrates the victory of idealised Zhōu values over heterogeneous elements by constructing a narrative to re-invoke the sentiments of doubt that were already part of the political discourse.

In addressing and then overcoming doubt, the text thus turns the original threat to the Zhōu dynasty into a positive element of Zhōu memory in order for the story to speak to issues of the complex set of relationships (the ruler-subject relationship among them) at the time it was composed. This is exactly what cultural theorists mean when saying that 'cultural memory is the interplay of present

58 Note in this context the highly performative nature of the prayer itself (in A.2.2) which in many ways corresponds to the structure of 'reduplicative questions' 正反對貞 which we find reflected by the divination on oracle bone inscriptions. (Whether they are actually part of the divination is, however, disputed. See on this matter Yáng Féngbīn 2000. But this says nothing about the way Warring States texts imagined acts Shāng divination. See Bǐng Shàngbái 2009:358f who describes traces of 'reduplicative questions' structure in *Chǔcí*.

and past in sociocultural contexts'.[59] In this, the text is an actor in the discourse of the Warring States and goes beyond mere Zhōu propaganda to portray the Duke of Zhou as a loyal statesman in selfless service to his lord. The same is true of the transmitted "Jīn téng". However, unlike in "Jīn téng", the formalised re-enactment of both doubt and belief in the narrative ensures unbroken continuity of the past in the present on the part of the participating meaning community. That is to say, the formulation of the story in "Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí" shows a past figure experiencing the same series of doubt about the Duke of Zhou, and then the resolution of doubt, that some contemporary recipients of the text would have experienced themselves when reading the text (or experiencing it otherwise). The text thus sets out to produce the common experience of the events it narrates by both past and present observers. Reciting "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" is therefore more than just invoking the memory of a loyal servant; it is an act by which political commemoration is formalised, and thus sustained, through the recollection of past time.

The well-balanced narrative of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" could be seen as a sign that the text was well suited to private consumption. However, given the political dimension of the text and its strongly dramatic-performative features, this was probably not the only, or even primary, way the text was used during the Warring States. The textual properties, both materially and structurally, suggest it also had had a strong oral-performative dimension.[60]

While displaying the narrative properties of a text suitably read privately, the primary function of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" was likely to serve sociopolitical and philosophical ends. As discussed, the contextualising element in part B adds to the narrative of conflict a quasi-historical perspective. But this unit tells a story ('eine *Geschichte*') – it is not history ('*Historie*'), to differentiate the two with Koselleck and his formative work on conceptual history.[61] The primary function of part B is not to provide a historical account (for which it would be far too elliptic) but to construct a narrative that could be employed to outline a basic pattern of human conflict. The story was thus conceptually reduplicative, and so adaptable

59 Erll 2008: 2. This definition includes broad spectra, incorporating phenomena such as 'individual acts of remembering in sociocultural contexts', 'group memory', 'invented traditions', as well as cross-community '*lieux de mémoire*'. (Ibid.)

60 Note that the two may happily go together and need not be mutually exclusive. My account here presents a more complex scenario than the one I painted in 2014a. My corrections in 2017b: 246n61 were meant that way, giving a more nuanced reading of the social use of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí". Thinking in binary pairs, however, in a much-curtailed review of my argument, Shaughnessy 2018: 428 presents them as mutually opposing scenarios.

61 Koselleck 2006: 70–76.

to different moments of discord. Thus, despite the specificity of the events surrounding the duke and King Cheng, the narrative as constructed in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" illustrates a larger theme of high sociophilosophical import, that is, the structurally recurring patterns in the interaction between lord and subject and the ideal of unbroken loyalty. While this also features in "Jīn téng", the dramatised dimensions of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" are much lessened there. Thus, although the two texts are informed by the same fabula, the ways in which they narrativise this material suggests that the two texts served different purposes and were used differently by their respective communities.

While drawing on the same sources, including identical speech components of Shū genre, the narrative as constructed from this in the transmitted "Jīn téng" is rather sober. Unlike "Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí, the actuality of "Jīn téng" is a token of memory – not its re-enactment. "Jīn téng" concentres rather than relives memory. In this way, it behaves like a war memorial in 20th-century Europe by bringing into focus the memory of wider groups, [62] rather than re-enacting it through performance.

Memorials have in common that they frame commemoration rather specifically; they concentrate *our* memory of the past; they commemorate the heroes who fought and died *for us*, a wider group of cross-generation communities. That same structure of prescribed commemoration is also made manifest through "Jīn téng".

Built on its narrativisation of old cultural capital, the actuality of "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí"—a text that embodies the experience of doubt and belief on the part of its audience—for its part lies in performance, that is, the formalised reenactment of that projected incident of disbelief through the genre of Shū. The structural and visual properties of the manuscript text seem well suited to oral recitation and performance display, including the marking up of reading support in the manuscript, which would have facilitated intoning the text aloud. "Jīn téng" differs. It is a much more temperate, and more historically complete, narrative of memory. Because of this, it is also the narrativisation of the fabula that has been preserved in the received tradition, continuing to speak to audiences further and further removed from the experience embodied in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí".

62 On memorials for commemoration, see the insightful discussion of the *Denkmal* by Aleida Assmann 2010: 43ff. See also Koselleck 1979b on the war memorial in European identity construction.

6 Shū genre in manuscript cultures

> He who controls the present controls the past,
> and he who controls the past controls the future[1]

The physical availability of written sources and flows of information are in a dialectical relationship, one fostering and stabilising the other. Steadying moulds of text production, stabilising networks of signification, sophisticated processes of entextualisation – they all occur predominantly in more mature manuscript cultures where written texts abound.[2] The maturing of Shū genre too must be seen in this context.

This study suggests that the primary layer of Shū was in the first instance a repertoire of (speech) components in an archaic register, not fully fledged texts. These components were taken from, and informed the making of, the cultural capital of a meaning community with inevitably contrasting conceptual sub-groups. Because of the cultural significance of these items, as well as the increasing access to this pool of information due to a democratisation of knowledge as ever more texts circulated in writing, penetrating and informing even relatively peripheral sub-groups of the wider Zhōu meaning community,[3] ever-more social groupings made use of this pool when making arguments of sociopolitical and philosophical significance. Thus fostered by the flows of information, the manner in which this cultural capital was used by the different actors of the mid-Eastern Zhōu meaning community became more uniform, and the items of this pool became increasingly modular in the service of a variety of arguments.

This is exactly how genre channels the production and reception of a particular kind of text and, by extension, argument: it assimilates an utterance through its intertextual links with previous, related utterances. The sociohistorical reality thus created by a community's use of this repertoire rests upon the activation of

1 George Orwell 1949, in response to changes made in the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* shortly after Stalin's death, removing an article on Lavrentiy Pavlovich Beria, the former chief of Stalin's secret police. (Rudy 2016: 1.)

2 Note that writing in manuscript cultures is just one technology enabling these processes; another is the complex production of oral text as seen on the Indian sub-continent.

3 On this development, see Meyer 2018a. The significance of this statement lies in the fact that even these more peripheral groups are aware of, and to some extent share, basic values and assumptions of the hegemonic Zhōu legacy.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110708530-007

a shared code—a community's cultural capital—serving as conventionalised framework for the 'production, reception, and circulation of discourse'.[4]

It is clear therefore that the modular speech components cannot stand on their own for them to serve a group's needs. Rather they operate as the intertextual juncture by which groups, even peripheral ones, connect their narratives to a wider discourse practice and link their experience to the 'knowledge stored by a culture'.[5] By relating their concerns to a discourse through intertextual links common of Shū genre, different groups acquired a tool that enabled them to fashion new texts through which they could formulate their own sociophilosophical thinking, and give it ancient pedigree.

By thus weaving old cultural capital into new argument space, a discourse emerged where the past was retrospectively systematised to justify claims of rulership in the present. Certain features thus became a requirement in these texts for the participating communities to connect to this debate. In this way the participating groups generated an expectation and satisfied it at the same time. With different communities and their sub-groups expecting to find certain references that allowed these groups to tie an argument (and its makers) to a particular debate on good rule, key text features stabilised as they were repeated across different texts. With their archaic (or archaising) language, the excessive use of direct speech put into the mouth of ancient rulers, and the repeated framing formulae, as well as certain themes increasingly required in them, Shū became a genre which channelled the production of new text and hence new arguments.

6.1 Old Wine in New Bottles

With the narrativisation and the literalisation of old cultural capital in maturing manuscript cultures the texts of the time became increasingly complex. Dramatic features of text composition were now being used more widely. It is possible that silent reading too was beginning to develop.[6] While it was probably still not common during the Warring States, certainly some texts in the traditions of Shū increasingly made for a good read.[7]

One particular feature of the increased complexity of the text is the 'extended event', which we see occurring in Shū texts during the Warring States period. It

4 Bauman 2004: 2.

5 Lachmann 2010: 301

6 The question of silent reading in antiquity is discussed in Bernhard Führer and Wolfgang Behr 2005.

7 See Ch. 5.

results from the narrativisation and the literalisation of cultural capital through modes of entextualisation. The extended event in Shū genre transforms the social use of a text from the re-enactment of an (imagined) historical encounter—most likely in a ritual setting—to a specific sociopolitical and philosophical argument.

In "Gù mìng" (Ch. 4), for instance, the frame and the king's charge form the text's core. Structurally the catalogues of ritual description are supplementary. Yet together they portray an ideal of royal succession. While structurally the catalogues thus form a 'secondary' element, no matter their previous contexts, entextualised in "Gù mìng" they serve to systematise retrospectively ideas about, and the praxis of, statecraft.

Through modes of entextualising old cultural capital into new problem space, the 'secondary' elements—for instance elucidating narrative, additional speech items, catalogues of various sorts—the target text no longer just portrays the core (or 'primary') event, such as the king's speech. Instead, Shū texts now produce chains of responses to the primary event that function as 'sub-events'. Entextualisation thus enables the makers of these texts to tell a more complex story.

6.2 "Wén Hóu zhī mìng"

I would like to cite the contrastive example of a speech-only event to elucidate my point. For convenience I use "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" of the new-script recension of the *Shàngshū*.[8] It is a relatively brief text formed of just five building blocks. Headed by the event-immanent formula that commonly frames kingly speech in Shū genre, *wáng ruò yuē* 王若曰 (the king spoke thus),[9] it produces a

8 "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" is listed as Ch. 27 of the Western Hàn modern-script recension of Fú Shēng 伏胜 (268–178 BC); it is recorded as Ch. 28 in the recensions of the "Three Masters" that follow the "Fú Shēng modern-script" recension. During the Eastern Hàn (AD 25–220) the text was organised as Ch. 33 in the old-script compilation of Mǎ Róng and Zhèng Xuán. In the pseudo-Kǒng recension of the Eastern Jìn, it was arranged as Ch. 56. The dominant traditions of the Three Masters (*sān jiā shī* 三家師 – also referred to as the 'Three Modern-script-Masters') 三家今文 denote the recensions attributed to Master Ōuyáng 歐陽氏, Xiàhóu Senior 大夏侯氏, Xiàhóu Junior 小夏侯氏. (These recensions all added the spurious "Tài shì" 泰誓 to their text corpus.)

9 The literature on *wáng ruò yuē* is vast and I am probably missing many important contributions to that discussion here. Seminal to our understanding of that phrase is the discussion by Chén Mèngjiā 1939 (reprinted in Chén Mèngjiā 1985 (and 2005): 143–166). Chén's analysis has inspired a debate in China (but also in the West) about the particular meaning and purpose of that phrase. See, as exemples of that debate, Péng Yùshāng 2014; Zhāng Huáitōng 2008; Xīn Yíhuá 2002. For a reevaluation of the phrase, see von Falkenhausen 2011.

royal address to someone referred to as 'Yìhé' 義(誼)和.[10] The speech, which formulates a contractual exchange between ruler and subject, is the sole event of this text. Yìhé's role is being a passive recipient with no voice; the king's action is that of speech:

1. 王若曰：
   父義和，[11]丕顯文武，克慎明德，昭升于上，敷聞在下。惟時上帝，集厥命于文王。亦惟先正[12]，克左右昭事厥辟，越小大謀猷罔不率從。肆先祖懷在位。[13]
   The King spoke thus:
   'Oh Uncle Yihe (Yìhé 誼和)! Greatly illustrious were [kings] Wen and Wu. They were able to carefully make bright their charismatic power that it rose brilliantly on high (in Heaven) and had their fame diffuse widely on [us] below. And so it was that the God on High united his favouring commands[14] on kings Wen [and Wu].[15] Then indeed it was so that there were ministers who could aid and brightly serve their sovereign, and further, in carrying out [our ancestors'] plans, great and small, there were none who did not follow them (our ancestors), and so [our] ancestors could be tranquilly in their position [on the throne]'.

2. 嗚呼！閔予小子嗣[16]，造天丕愆，殄資澤于下民[17]，侵戎我國家純，即我御事，罔或耆壽俊在厥服。
   'Oh, to be pitied am I, the little child succeeding [their position]; I inflicted [upon me] Heaven's great retribution, and so I cut off the resources and the bounties [that were dispersed so plentiful] on to the lower common folk; we suffered foreign attacks and invasions that brought severe disaster over our polities; even among those who manage our affairs, in my service there is no one of age and distinguished experience'.

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10 Yì 義 is generally taken as Yì 誼. See for instance Zhū Jùnshēng (1788–1858) in his *Shàngshū gǔ zhù biàndú* (2115).

11 The pseudo-Kǒng explains *fù* as used because Wén Hóu was of the same *xìng* 姓 as the speaker. Yì Hé was used accordingly to set them apart. (2114f.) In his *Shūjīng jízhuàn* (255), Cài Shěn (1167–1230) explains *fù* as uncle, pointing to the use of *fù* for denoting the same father. Yì Hé 義和 might have been a courtesy name, *zì* 字.

12 Zhèng Xuán explains *xiān zhèng* 先正 as *xiān chén* 先臣, pointing to the *qīng dàifú* 卿大夫 'high officials'.

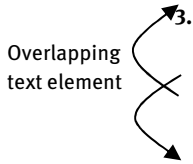
13 Cài Shěn renders *huái* 懷 (*[g]^{c}ruj) with *ān* 安 (*[ʔ]^{c}a[n]).

14 Legge 1960: 613.

15 My emendation follows the rhetoric structure of the text, which talks of the kings as a pair. This change is supported by the contextualisation of the text in a parallel passage in the *Shǐjì*: "Jìn 晉 shìjiā" (Hereditary houses, Jin), 68.

16 Another way of parsing the sentence would be to take it as 'Oh, to be pitied am I, the little child; in succeeding [their position], I inflicted [upon me] Heaven's great retribution'.

17 Sūn Xīngyǎn interprests *tiǎn* 殄 as *jué* 絕 'to bring to an end'; Zhào Qǐ takes *zé* 澤 as *lù* 祿 'official's salary.



3. 予則罔克，曰：惟祖惟父，其伊恤朕躬。嗚呼！有績，予一人永綏在位[18]。

'Thus uncapable, I say: "my grand-uncles and my uncles, may you anxiously think of my person! Oh, if you have achievements, I, the one man, shall forever enjoy repose upon my position!"'

4.1 父義和：

汝克紹乃顯祖[19]，汝肇刑文武，用會紹乃辟，追孝于前文人[20]。汝多修，扞我于艱[21]，若汝予嘉。

'Uncle Yi He! You are able to assist your illustrious ancestors. You were the first to follow the example of [kings] Wen and Wu and thereby join in (*huì*) and continue (*shào*) [the efforts] of your king, to pursue the filialities toward the former accomplished men.[22] You have on many occasions done best to defend me in [moments of] difficulty – someone like you, I find excellent (because of your merit)!'

4.2 王曰：

父義和，其歸視爾師，寧爾邦。用賚爾秬鬯一卣[23]，彤弓一，彤矢百，盧弓一，盧矢百，馬四匹。父往哉！柔遠能邇，惠康小民，無荒寧，簡爾都，用成爾顯德。

The king said:

'Uncle Yi He! You should return to oversee your armies and pacify your state. I thus award you with sacrificial liquor (made from millet and fragrant) of one vessel *yǒu*;[24] one red bow

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18 Liú Qǐyú suggests taking *jì* 績 'merit; accomplishments' in the sense of *zé* 責 'hold responsible' (in Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005: 2119). That would render the sentence as 'if you hold responsibility, … '.

19 The pseudo-Kǒng glosses *shào* 紹 as *míng* 明, which suggests that some text versions might have had *zhāo* 昭 'clear'. (See, however, the discussion in Karlgren 1970, gloss 2094.) There is now some concensus that in bronze texts *shào* 紹 should be read as *zhào* 詔 'to assist'. I read it in this sense too.

20 The phrase *qián wénrén* 前文人 'former men of accomplishment' appears repeatedly in the bronze texts from the mid- and late Western Zhōu periods. Except for "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" it is not found in the transmitted texts such as the *Shījīng* or the *Shàngshū*. The line 'I have made announcement to the accomplished one' (告于文人) in the ode "Jiāng Hàn" 江漢 (*Máo* 262) marks the closest parallel to the phrase in "Wén Hóu zhī mìng". More common is the reduction of the phrase to 'former men' (前人), which occurs repeatedly in the *Shàngshū* but in none of the other received texts, "Dà gào" 大誥; "Luò gào" 洛誥; "Jūn Shì" 君奭; plus the old-script recension "Cài Zhòng zhī mìng" 蔡仲之命 and "Jūn yá" 君牙.

21 The term *duō xiū* 多修 has inspired all kinds of interpretations. I here follow Karlgren 1970 to take them in their most ordinary fashion. (See his gloss 2096.)

22 On the conceptual paring of Kings Wen and Wu, see Ch.4: 121n.5. For *wén rén* 文人 as 'accomplished person', see Schaberg 2001: 63ff.

23 The term *yòng* 用 expresses the consequence of the uncle's merit.

24 *yǒu* 卣 is a type of wine vessel. It was during the Sòng that the textual *yǒu* was connected to the bronze object that now goes by that name, but none of them ever bear the self-description '*yǒu*', and so we do not know what shape they had.

plus one hundred red arrows; one black bow plus one hundred black arrows; and four horses. Go, my Uncle! 'Be gentle to the distant [states] and connect with those that are near';[25] 'be kind to the minor commonfolks and tranquillise them';[26] 'don't you idly seek repose';[27] inspect and zealously attend to your capital, so that you may accomplish your illustrious charismatic power!'

6.2.1 The Sitz im Leben of "Wén Hóu zhī mìng"

"Wén Hóu zhī mìng" records no contextual information. There are no narrative elements situating the (imagined?) encounter in time and space. It does not produce an extended event and, isolated as it is, this speech-only event is structurally 'a-historical'. [28]

Because of its historical unspecificity, and thus uncomfortable openness, commentators of all ages have looked for historical situations into which they might slot this text historically to make full sense of it. In taking "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" as an actual recording of a historical reality, as they thus do, it is often understood as citing King Ping's (Píng Wáng 平王, r. 770–720 BC) speech to the Hóu (marquis) Wen of Jin (Jìn Wén Hóu 晉文侯, 780–746 BC), then the most powerful of the local lords. This reading was introduced by the highly influential Eastern Hàn commentator Zhèng Xuán, whom the pseudo-Kǒng commentary follows.[29] Such historicising placement of essentially a-historical Shū speech is typical.[30] It is the commentarial (i.e., imperial) substitute for the literalisation of cultural capital.

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25 The phrase *róu yuǎn néng ěr* 柔遠能邇 'Be gentle to the distant [states] and connect with those which are near' is common in Shū genre and appears repeatedly in bronze texts from the late Western Zhōu: *Yīnzhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 02836 and 04326. It also appears in the ode "Mín láo" 民勞 of the *Shījīng* (*Máo* 253). See also "Gù mìng", 3B.

26 Variations of that phrase appear in "Kàng gào", "Wú yì", "Dà gào"; "Zǐ cái"; "Luò gào".

27 Variations of that phrase appear in "Wú yì".

28 I stress that 'a-historical' does not mean that the text is necessarily ahistorical in the sense that it lacks historical knowledge. (Meyer 2017a: 107.)

29 This assumption has now become the dominant reading of "Wén Hóu zhī mìng". See the discussion in Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú 2005: 2128–2136.

30 One prominent example is "Dà gào" (Great Announcement) where the King's speech, framed just by the event-immanent formula *wáng ruò yuē*, is ascribed by most commentators to King Cheng 成王, while some take it as proncounced by the famous Duke of Zhou, Zhōu Gōng 周公. The urge of commentators to historicise both the orators of speech and the factual occasion of that oration is also expressed in the prefaces to the various *Shàngshū* texts. (For a discussion of the prefaces, see Zhū Tíngxiàn 1987: 4–20.)

Yí Jiù 宜臼 was the legitimate heir apparent of King You (Yōu Wáng 幽王), the last ruler of the Western Zhōu, forced into exile by his father, the king.[31] After the fall of the western capital, he was installed as King Ping (Zhōu Píng Wáng 周平王) at Chéngzhōu 成周.[32] The dominant forces behind this were initiated by the states of Jìn 晉 and Zhèng 鄭 under the principle aegis of the Hóu Wen of Jin (Jìn Wén Hóu 晉文侯). The two states, Jìn and Zhèng, were also active in facilitating the evacuation of the Zhōu elite from their Wei River homeland when it was overrun by Quǎn Róng 犬戎 tribes.[33]

Chéngzhōu had long been a stronghold of the Zhōu, and it provided the eastern states with logistical support.[34] Leadership and military support from Jìn and Zhèng, as well as from the state of Lǔ 魯 which had been founded at the beginnings of the Western Zhōu, proved essential for the survival of the court in the new capital.[35] King Ping depended hugely on these forces, to the point where he exchanged his son as a hostage for the son of the Gōng, Zhuang of Zheng (Zhèng Zhuāng Gōng 鄭莊公 r. 743–701). This was an unprecedented breach of the relation between king and vassal.[36] The relationship even worsened after the death of King Ping, as the Gōng Zhuang of Zheng sent raids into the fields of the royal domain. King Ping's successor finally led an alliance of Chén 陳, Wèi 衛 and Cài 蔡 to attack Zhèng, which resulted in a disastrous defeat for the royal forces. The Zhōu rulers never recovered from this. Ever since, the Zhōu king was merely a nominal leader.

When projected against this background, "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" shows up the weakness of the Zhōu as King Ping delivers his stylised speech to the most powerful local lord of the day, the Hóu Wen of Jin (Jìn Wén Hóu 晉文侯). The text *itself*,

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31 The entire account account, fictionalised as it may be, is recorded in the Hàn Dynasty work *Shǐjì*: 4, 147.

32 Chéngzhōu 成周 is at present Luòyáng 洛陽, Hénán.

33 See also Shaughnessy 1999: 350; Li Feng 2006 presents a historical analysis of the crises of the late Western Zhōu.

34 Cho-yun Hsu 1965: 546.

I here ignore the question whether the importance of Luòyì 洛邑 was really one that was retrospectively explained, such that the 'reasons' for the relocation to the east came to be expounded conceptually only after that move. The position it occupies in the received corpus is noticeably disproportionate to that of the old capital.

35 Hsu 1965: 551. The "Xìnián" 繫年 (Annalistic History), one of the manuscripts in the Qīnghuá collection, offers further insight into the relocation, suggesting that King Ping even spent a few years in Jìn before actually moving to Chéngzhōu. For a discussion of the "Xìnián" as an attempt to date "Wén Hóu zhī mìng", see Lǐ Xuéqín 2013, who thus dates to 750 BC.

36 Ibid., 552.

however, does not determine this reading. Whether it really responds to that encounter—real or imagined—rests entirely on the retrospect projection of the otherwise not recorded name 'Uncle Yihe' 義(誼)和 as the Hóu Wen of Jin. Its structure suggests, however, it was not just used in such narrowing historical placing.

I do not wish to deny that "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" grew out of a particular moment in time. But its social reality within a community was not so static. Constructed in such an open manner, the setting in the life of "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" evolves whenever a community recites—and thus activates—it by rearticulating "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" in a given context.

6.2.2 Speech in "Wén Hóu zhī mìng"

Structurally, the speech in "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" can be divided into five building blocks of four sequential units as follows: First is the king's primary address to Yì Hé (1).[37] It is headed by the event-immanent formula *wáng ruò yuē*, which marks the 'internal' frame to the speech.[38] The speaker expresses two notions. One is the exaltation of Kings Wen and Wu as founding fathers of the glorious Zhōu, whose *dé* 德 ('charismatic power') was such that it encompassed the whole world. The other is the speaker's praise of their servants whose loyalty enabled Kings Wen and Wu to establish lasting patterns of rule.

Introduced by the genre-typical theatrical exclamation, *wūhū* 嗚呼, the speaker positions himself as the rightful successor of Kings Wen and Wu, and therefore the legitimate ruler over the Zhōu polity, but contrasts his own achievements, ritually, humbly, with those of the two kings. Lamenting the foreign intrusions into the Zhōu polity, as well as the hardship of the people, he formulates a 'uniform opposition' to the initial lines of the first unit. A conceptually parallel antagonism to his praising of the loyal ministers of the founding fathers of the

37 The numbers in parentheses relate to the structural organisation of the text as given on pages 188–90.

38 I differentiate 'external' from 'internal frame'. *External frame* denotes the narrative material that contextualises speech in a certain situation by providing a 'historical' (albeit possibly imagined) context for the speech. Texts such as "Gù mìng", "*Bǎo xùn", "*Jīn téng", "Fù Yuè zhī mìng", which I dicuss in this volume, are examples of speech contextualised in this way. *Internal frame* (or event-immanent frame) are speech related structures that mark the speech by placing it in a—non-specific—sociopolitical context.

Zhōu is thus produced.[39] This is further stressed by his lamenting the lack of devoted men who could help him order the state.

This segment of his speech (2) is countered by another exclamation (3). The orator again shifts focus, now turning to himself. It is claimed that those in his service should consider him the centre of their concern, so he may remain tranquilly in a position of power. Structurally, this element takes the form of a double-directed text segment: it connects the laments about the lack of ministers (in 2) to a command and implicit request to Yì Hé expressed below (in 4).[40] It rounds off the previous segment (2) by providing a counterposition to it and leading the whole speech over to the command (in 4). This puts a request to Yì Hé and frames the command in unit four by means of marked speech ('Thus X, I *say* Y'). The notion of an ideal state of tranquillity is important. It directly connects the speaker's utopian outlook to the initial reference point of his speech, that is, the glorious rule of kings Wen and Wu. In this way, the orator establishes a parallel case in point, situating him implicitly in correspondence to these kings.

Last is the command to Yì Hé (4). The speech puts it in two parts. First is the explication of Yì Hé's achievements (4.1). Here he is put as the prime example of a man who, through his service, enables his lord to shine. But this part of the command is not just an appraisal of Yì Hé's service. Above all, it entails a strong prescriptive statement because it takes all those items listed in the previous speech elements that position the speaker parallel to Kings Wen and Wu, and extends them to the domain of those in his service. By glorifying Yì Hé's service, the speech parallels Yì Hé in such a manner that he corresponds conceptually to the worthy ministers in the service of Kings Wen and Wu. In this way, it presents a fervent appeal to Yì Hé – he *must* act like the men of old in service to Kings Wen and Wu. And just like them, he *must* work diligently for the wellbeing of his ruler. The final element of the speaker's command therefore closes by announcing a reward that will serve to remind Yì Hé of his duty (4.2). This portion of the speech is interspersed with stock phrases that appear repeatedly in bronze texts, as well as in Shī and Shū traditions. Such intertextual referencing that to the outsider might appear as hollow, clichéd attempts to embellish speech actually adds gravity to the speaker's words. Moreover it stresses the tradition within which Yì Hé's service is rooted, signalling continuity in the relationship of a subject serving his lord.

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39 The literary device of 'uniform opposition' in early Chinese meaning construction is discussed in Meyer 2015: 303.

40 On the literary device of a double-directed text segments, see Meyer 2011: 58. It is related to the double-directed parallelism discussed in Gentz 2006.

6.2.3 The Gestus of "Wén Hóu zhī mìng"

"Wén Hóu zhī mìng" signs each of its five speech components (1; 2; 3; 4.1; 4.2) through explicit markers. The first of these is *wáng ruò yuē*, 'the king spoke thus'. The phrase frames the first of the five speech elements, as well as "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" as a whole.[41] By way of this frame, the text takes on a passive construction and assumes the rhetorical fabric of a report.[42] "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" is thus presented as a neutral testimony of a ritualised occasion. The text presents itself in the manner of Western Zhōu bronze texts.

The remaining four speech elements each take the abbreviated phrase 'the king said' (*wáng yuē* 王曰) or other types of speech-markers, such as the king's exclamation *wūhū* 'ah, alas'; or they use the name of the addressee of the king's speech, which takes the rhetorical form of an exclamation ('Uncle Yi He!'). The marker of speech in the third component is interesting, for *yuē* in the sentence 予則罔克，曰 ... (thus uncapable, I say...) introduces a new subset which is synctactically subordinate to the preceding. This is peculiar because in Western Zhōu bronzes *yuē* normally frames speech not as the header of a sub-clause.[43] It is but one of the elements suggesting a later text intervention. "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" embodies the tension between the *Gestus* of a Western Zhōu bronze text and later text making.

Elements of *Western Zhōu* inflexion mainly apply to the macro-outlook of the text. They include: the a-historical nature of text that is bare of any narrative

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41 As is true of bronzes, the phrase *wáng ruò yuē* in general only introduces the first speech element of a text. Subsequent elements are introduced only with the abbreviated formula *wáng yuē* 'the king said'. (See also von Falkenhausen 2011: 265.)

42 That is true even when assuming that *wáng ruò yuē* should be translated similarly to Western Zhōu bronze texts, as 'thus spoke the king [approvingly]', read out by a Secretary, and part of the appointment document. In any case the word *yuē* requires a translation in the past-tense. (von Falkenhausen 2011: 240–241.) Alterations of the formula '*wáng ruò yuē*' appear, for instance, in "Bǎo diǎn" (Precious Testimony) of the *Yì Zhōushū* where we find: 王拜曰：格而言 ... (The king bowed and said: 'true [indeed] are your words! ...'.) The phrase occurs in the situation of a ritual where the king hands to his servant objects deserving their respect. The formula here '*wáng* X *yuē*' and the adverb *ruò* is replaced by the description of how he is bowing as he holds his address. The deviation from the basic formula *wáng ruò yuē* indicates even more explicitly the reported character of the event.

43 Note, however, the relative synctactical similarity with phrases like 縣改奉揚伯夷父休，曰：... (JC 04269) '[I], Xiàn Jǐ, present and extoll the beneficence of Bó Yífù, [and thus I] say: "..." '. If we moreover understand 則罔克 as an adverbial modification of 曰, then it is somewhat similar to bronze texts saying X 拜手稽首曰..., 'bowing prostrate and touching [my] head to the ground, I say "..." '. As such subordination is not marked there remains a certain degree of arbitrariness.

structures; its rhetorical fabric suggesting an intimate audience well informed about the reported event (no matter its historical reality) and, related to this, its thus posited non-representative illocutionary force;[44] the singular, that is, unextended nature of the event—the king's speech—which covers just one particular moment in time and portrays it as a real-time happening.

For philosophical argument-based texts such a lack of contextualising features would normally mean that the argument travels less well among communities because the lack of information means it is itself too elliptic. In Shū genre this is different. A speech-event such as this one appeals precisely because the lack of contextualising elements means it can be used in a variety of contexts and occasions, entextualised in different settings, textual or not.[45] The speech-event therefore becomes modular within the cultural bounds of text formation in Shū genre.

Features of post-8th c. BC intervention mainly pertain to grammatical and ideological shifts. The use of *yuē* as a marker of a subordinate clause has already been mentioned. The repeated focus on Kings Wen and Wu as paragons of the ideal ruler may be cited too, albeit with caution.[46] Even though this pair-image took shape during the Western Zhōu,[47] as a concept, it took more definite shape during the Eastern Zhōu period when comparable idealisations of the golden past were needed to enforce—in fact construct—the legitimacy of the exiled house of the Zhōu. The retrospective systematisation of the rulers' explicit concern for the wellbeing of the people as a goal in itself, typical of Eastern Zhōu sociopolitical thinking, should also be mentioned.[48]

"Wén Hóu zhī mìng" embodies the tension between pre- and post-8th-c. BC attributes. It looks like an Eastern Zhōu artefact that was (re-)articulated by those communities to whom the sociomaterial setting of Western Zhōu (bronze) texts[49]

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44 The differentiation between illocutionary and perlocutionary acts goes back to Austin 1962. The perlocutionary act is the effect an illocutionary act has on the listener, intended or not.

45 This is of course different from the rhetorical approach of Western Zhōu bronze texts which seek to caputre the *immediacy* of s single ritual event.

46 See Ch.4: 122:9.

47 Examples from mid-Western Zhōu include the following bronze inscriptions: Hōng-*guǐ* 訇簋 (04321); Dong 豦-*guǐ* (04342), Shī Kè-*xǔ* 師克盨 (04467)

48 See, however, the discussion of the related concept 'Mandate of Heaven' by Mercedes Valmisa (2012) which hypothises its presence in some form during the Western Zhōu.

49 The 'materiality' of a text is of course not exhaustively captured in the naïve empirical or positivistic sense. I am here emphatically *not* talking about a hypothetical, physical encounter of the said communities with Western Zhōu bronzes, which has then led them to compose "Wén Hóu zhī mìng". For my use of 'materiality', see the Introduction (Translocation of Writing), n.30.)

and their *Gestus* of representation was still present, and they fashioned the text on this model.[50]

While "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" lacks obvious rhyme schemes, it contains a compelling sound texture and rhythm. Some of its lines are framed phonetically, so that the initial and last word of a line feature the same main vowel; some may even rhyme.[51] The focal statement of the text—it is expressed right after the king is listing the merits of the implied addressee and as he is just about to announce the contractual gifts—'someone like you, I find excellent' (4.1: 若汝予嘉), is stressed phonetically through the consistent use of the open main vowel 'a' (若 *nak-汝*naʔ-予*laʔ-嘉*kˤ<r>aj), considered a particularly ancient rhyme at the time. This sentence is also surprisingly close phonetically to the framing phrase of the text, *wáng ruò yué* (王*ɢʷaŋ-若*nak-曰*[ɢ]ʷat), and so perhaps relating the two phrases conceptually by means of a phonetic web.[52] Thus presented, the speech-event of "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" is highly compact.

"Wén Hóu zhī mìng" is a formalised oration, paired with a highly predictable language. This is typical of ritualised speech. The text is replete with first- and second-person pronouns; it refers to the speaker in the ritual self-style of 'I the small child' (予小子), and time and again it uses the ritually humble self-depiction of the speaker as against the paragons of high civilisation, Kings Wen and Wu; the stylised, trifling and clichéd exclamation *wūhū* (oh; alas) with which the king introduces his words also fall into such hackneyed speech patterns.[53] As predictable and clichéd as its language, so is the little information it actually provides. As is typical of speech in Shū genre, it is divorced from every day contexts and use. In its formalised, stereotypical, and artificial dictum, it is what the British anthropologist Maurice Bloch would call 'impoverished'.[54] The purpose of such language is therefore not primarily to pass on information; it is recurrent, ritualistic recitation.

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50 The point of saying the text appears as an Eastern Zhōu effort at Western Zhōu style is not to attempt a dating of "Wén Hóu zhī mìng", but to highlight the dynamic processes underlying such text making, which drew on *practices* rather than fixed texts in the first instance.

51 As for instance in the second line of the king's speech: 克*kʰˤə̲k-慎*[d]i[n]-s-明*mraŋ-德*tˤə̲k.

52 The core of the text is thus 'someone like you I find excellent!' of the king's declaration. On the structuring of texts through rhyme webs, assonances etc, see Behr 2004.

53 See also the discussion of ritual speech in Western Zhōu bronze texts by Kern 2009: 184–188.

54 Bloch 1974: 67. Founded on the ethnographical analysis of Merina ritual discourse, Bloch developed the hypothesis about the relationship of formalisation and force in ritual language. Analysing the political oratory and the circumcision rites in Merina discourse, he suggests that the instrument of persuasion in such discourse makes use of coercive devices of traditional authority. (Boyer 1990: 82)

6.2.4 A Modular Reading of "Wén Hóu zhī mìng"

According to Bloch, in ritual settings impoverished forms of artificial, formalised language produce meaning proportionally to the degree in which propositional force is reduced.[55] The information it carries becomes secondary, the speech patterns become more predictable. The language is 'coercive'. With the reciter given no room but to accept or deny the 'imposed utterances', it becomes ideological.[56]

Whether one accepts Bloch's analysis of ritualised speech in every detail is of lesser importance here. Crucial is the description of impoverished language of a formalised speech event where the information is reduced to a minimum and becomes secondary. What matters to the communities in question is now primarily the social presence of the text and its use in a sanctified setting, not what it says in words. Meaning is primarily determined by repetition, not exegesis. Reciting "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" in a ritual setting—or reproducing it in writing—becomes a performance-activity that is making manifest, time and again, the 'contractual' exchange between ruler and subject – irrespective of historical actors.

"Wén Hóu zhī mìng" celebrates the loyalty between lord and subject in a highly generic manner. The act of recitation (or its written reproduction) repeats that contract. It becomes an integral part of the discourse of the participating meaning community who uses the text, and thus rewrites its applications in the present whenever they do so. In this way the social presence of the text helps to convey, sustain, and institutionalise an invented, imaginary, orthodoxy. Parallel to the ways the experience of the present is dependent on the perception of the past, the image of the past now legitimises present social order.[57]

According to the British social anthropologist best known for his work in memory studies, Paul Connerton, something is commemorative insofar as it is performative. The performative relies on habit, while habit depends on repetition and automatism.[58] The *Sitz im Leben* of "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" is best described accordingly. The formalised—albeit possibly constructed—'re'-enactment of the ritual event it embodies makes manifest in the present the posed validity of the ancient contract between subject and lord. Whether some communities associate the speech-event with a certain ruler is therefore secondary. Most likely this differed from community to community. What matters is the ritualistic use of the

55 Cf. Bloch 1974: 67.
56 Boyer 1990: 83.
57 See Connerton 1989: 2.
58 See Connerton 1989: 4.

text: it is continually dynamic, ultimately a-historical, and necessarily repetitive. In its ritualistic use it is modular; in its modular use it is necessarily ritualistic.

6.2.5 Shaping Cultural Capital

"Wén Hóu zhī mìng" is not culturally unique. In fact it has a close counterpart in a bronze text, the Máogōng-*dǐng* 毛公鼎, long considered spurious but now generally assumed to date to the late Western Zhōu period.[59] Although nearly twice as long as "Wén Hóu zhī mìng", the text cast in the Máogōng-*dǐng* essentially shares the same basic structure as "Wén Hóu zhī mìng". It presents a king's address to someone referred to as 'Sir Yin' (Fù Yǐn/Ān), in five similarly structured speech elements. Much like "Wén Hóu zhī mìng", it follows the usual tripartite structure discoursing on past glories, present-day hardship, and future outlook; and it also closes with a contractual list awarded to Fù Yǐn for his service. Differences between the texts apply;[60] but the commonalities are so striking that one was even considered as a model text for the other.[61] I shall offer an alternative interpretation.

Around the ninth century BC there occurred an overall shift of ritual paraphernalia in Western Zhōu bronzes. This shift, generally termed 'ritual reform',[62] reflects profound social change. The ritual reform introduced aesthetic changes

59 Máogōng-*dǐng* records a text in just under five-hundred graphs (497), arranged over thirty-two lines. (*Shāng-Zhōu qíngtóngqì míngwénxuǎn*, vol 3: 316). For a bronze from the Western Zhōu period it is exceptionally long. Máogōng-*dǐng* was long considered a nineteenth century forgery. Based on their close correspondences, Noel Barnard (1965; 1974) considered "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" as one of the potential inspirations for forging the Máogōng-*dǐng* (Barnard 1965: 399, 403; 1974: 6–7). Other voices doubting the bronze include Shirakawa Shizuka 1964 and Xú Zhōngshū 1984. However, x-ray techniques have now made visible the spacers, indicating the authenticity of the bronze (Shaughnessy 1991: 59n39).

60 These include in particular grammatical differences such as the syntactical *yuē* and the exclamatory *wūhū* as a speech-unit marker of "Wén Hóu zhī mìng". (That formula also appears in Máogōng-*dǐng* but not in the same way as a marker for speech-units.) In "Máogōng-*dǐng*, each speech-unit is marked by the repetitive '*wáng yuē*: Fù Yǐn/Ān' 王曰：父厝 (the king said: 'Sir Yin!') While Máogōng-*dǐng* is thus structured more stringently in its explicit markers, "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" is more balanced in its correspondences of the different text-units, and it is closer in structure of composition to the argument-based texts of the Warring States.

61 See note 59; Barnard 1965: 399, 403 assumed a direct relationship of the texts. Shaughnessy 1991: 75 suggests that Máogōng-*dǐng* as a model inspired the production of "Wén Hóu zhī mìng", a view criticised sharply in von Falkenhausen 1993: 163n46.

62 Sometimes referred to as a 'ritual revolution', 'reform' is probably the more accurate description of the changing patterns in the paraphernalia of ritual sacrifice at the time.

in the objects,[63] and it led to changes in the texts cast or inscribed in them. Bronze ornaments became increasingly abstract while the texts they carry became ever more generic. They become 'unvarying',[64] such that we can speak of an overall standardisation of the bronzes and their texts.[65] Albeit beautifully written, they are more 'stereotyped in content', showing reduplicative patterns of text production.[66] These developments produced a centuries-long lasting legacy, with incessant patterns of cultural reproduction shared by wider groups.

While in Western Zhōu memory production, it is conceptually difficult to separate the text from the object that carries the text and the historical event both commemorate, this tripartite relation of object, text, and event is increasingly weakened by the Eastern Zhōu period. "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" is a good example, as it travelled independent of the material carrier that crucially defines its Western Zhōu counterpart, the Máogōng-*dǐng* (and other, similar texts) – a natural development in an environment where the making of a bronze text was no longer tied too intimately to a specific historical event. Cultural capital was becoming increasingly adaptable. But that is to be expected. The Swiss historian Kurt Raaflaub reminds us that the ancients' commitment to truth differs from modern-day ideas of objectivity.[67] Present-day traditions of record-taking are ultimately shaped by nineteenth-century ideas about historiography, influenced profoundly by Ranke's (1795–1886) dictum that we show 'how it really was' (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*).[68] But there is no point-for-point equivalence in antiquity.[69]

63 For a discussion of such changes, including the typological repertoire, epigraphy, as well as the constellation of bronzes as buried in tombs, see Bagley 1980; Rawson 1988; Rawson 1990; von Falkenhausen 1994; Luó Tài [von Falkenhausen] 1997; von Falkenhausen 1999 (with further references 150, n.13).

64 Rawson 1999: 438.

65 von Falkenhausen 1999.

66 Rawson 1999: 439.

67 Raaflaub 2014: 2.

68 What Ranke's statement 'wie es eigentlich gewesen' (showing what essentially happened) actually means precisely is an issue of ongoing debate. (The translation here follows Evans 2000: 17). Scholars such as Evans hold that Ranke was above all a romantic and idealist, with 'eigentlich' referring to the essence behind the facts which the historian should discern. (See also Iggers and Powell 1990).

69 A similar point is made in Goldin 2008: 80. See also Vogelsang 2005.
Ranke's dictum was stated in the preface of his *Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations from 1494–1514* (1887). It is discussed in Stern 1973: 57. See also the highly informed discussion in Rüsen 1990.

The ancients' commitment to truth was instead concerned with preserving the memory of great deeds, serving primarily as exhortations to an ideal.[70]

Commemorating an ideal—rather than an actual—event, the ritual text is transposable to more than just one, historical, occasion. In its generic form it is, as discussed, modular in its application. In this way it shapes a prescriptive mould that allows variation. I believe this model is closer to the reality of the kind of text reduplication seen in "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" and Máogōng-*dǐng*. To suggest a mono-causal relationship between the two falls short because it randomly prioritises certain, occasional, text witnesses rather than considering long-term trends.

6.3 The Extended Event and the Making of an Argument in Shū Genre

Cultural capital divorced of its socio-material setting forms the source of the language of Shū genre. Paired with stabilising manuscript cultures where information flows better, it becomes ever more suited for the making of an argument of sociopolitical and philosophical import. This is through modes of entextualisation by different conceptual groupings who marry old and new to produce arguments that are novel yet persuasive as they claim high antiquity on their side. The extended event in the written traditions of Shū is symptomatic of this. It gives evidence to the sophisticated literary culture that is maturing at the time.

This does not mean that the texts of the second half of the first millennium BC, in particular the Warring States, are necessarily growing in length. Unlike the transmitted—imperial—*Shàngshū*, the Qīnghuá manuscript texts are mostly rather short, even when structurally they produce an extended event. The length of a text and the type of event presented in it are therefore not corresponding features.

Exemplary of the extended event with pronounced dramatic features in brief texts are "*Yǐn zhì" 尹至 and "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" 傅說之命. They are collected in volumes 1 and 3 of *Qīnghuá Manuscripts*.

70 Raaflaub 2014. See also Kern 2005b: 57ff. The famous case of the Shǐ Qiáng-*pán* confirms this. Produced just a few generations after a decisive battle, it celebrates success while really the king suffered humiliating defeat on that campain.

6.4 "*Yǐn zhì" 尹至

"*Yǐn zhì" 尹至 is a formerly unknown iteration of the retrospective imaginings about Yī Yǐn and Chéng Tāng. It is recorded on just five bamboo slips, circa 45 centimetres long. It recounts Yī Yǐn 伊尹, travelling from Xià 夏 to Shāng 商, to report to Chéng Tāng 成湯 the hardship of the people of Xià as inflicted upon them by their ruler. As Heaven sends omens revealing the wishes of the common-folks, the two swear allegiance to punish the Xià.

Some aspects of the fabula resonate with texts of the *Shàngshū*. The modern script recension "Tāng shì" 湯誓 comes to mind. While "*Yǐn zhì" has no obvious counterpart in the received tradition, the editors of *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* note that the phrasing partly resembles "Shèn dà" 慎大 of the *Lǚ shì Chūnqiú*.[71]

The manuscript bears no title. The current title was assigned to it by modern editors based on its first line: '[Yī] Yǐn had travelled from Xià to Bó (the Shāng capital) and by midnight [he] arrived at the place where Tāng was' 隹(惟)尹自頣(夏)䢔(徂)白(亳)彔(菁)至才(在)湯.[72] The slips were connected by three cords, at the very top above the first graph; at the very bottom below the last graph; at the centre. Especially on slips one and four it seems as though there was additional space left between the graphs (15 and 16) where the central cord used to be. This opens up the question whether the writing was applied after the manuscript was bound.

Fully written slips carry between 29 to 32 characters.[73] The physical properties of the slips and the calligraphy on them are identical to those of "*Yǐn gào", which is also part of the Qīnghuá manuscripts. It seems that the writing was carried out by the same hand and the slips were probably produced at the same workshop. They carry double line markers for repetition  (twice on slip 1; once on the final slip 5), single-line text markers indicating position-changes in the text  (once on slip 2; once on slip 3; three times on slip 4), as well as a final mark signalling the end of the text  (on the bottom of slip 5). No further writing is applied after that mark. I return to these marks further below.

The writing on the slips is well preserved. Only the top graph on slip 2 (**2**/1) is no longer completley visible. The slips are numbered on their back consecutively

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71 As stressed repeatedly, we should not deduce a direct connection between the two random text representatives (199). Among many possibilities, the texts may be informed by a common source or discourse, textual or otherwise.

72 Slip **1**/1–10.

73 Slip 1 carries thirty-one graphs; slip 2 carries thirty-two graphs; slip 3 carries thirty-one graphs; slip 4 carries just twenty-nine graphs; slip 5 carries thirty graphs plus a final mark.

from one to five, written clearly in ink at the lower upper third of the slips. Interestingly, the height where the numbers are written on slips 1 to 3 is identical, and so is that of slips 4 and 5. However, in the latter group it is placed a good deal lower. This is rather exceptional.[74] While it may be assumed from this that the identification of the slips as one manuscript is mistaken, the text itself does not support that conclusion. The story progresses well from slips 1–3 and 4–5, with no obvious break between the former group of slips and the latter. While the manuscript properties suggest that *writing* on the slips came after binding them together, the *numbering* was possibly done before binding them into one entity. This might suggest that the writer had had a good estimate of the physical length of the text he was about to produce. A reasonable explanation is that he might have been working from a written *Vorlage* when copying the text under review. This and the fact that more than just one set of slips went through the hands of this unknown writer suggests that he was working in a professional workshop.

The place where the numbering appears differs in colouring. It looks as though it had been shaven off before the writing was applied. Possibly because the slips were thinned accordingly, fine cracks apply to some of these places.[75] At times these cracks go right through a graph, suggesting that the writing on the slips is contemporaneous to the preparation of the slip in question or, at least, predates the cracks in them.[76] There is no slanting line produced at the back of the slips.

According to the progression of events, I divide the text into roughly three main constituents, ABC, preceded by an initial frame that situates the text in an imagined historical context. I further subdivide A and C into two sections each.

Frame a |[1]惟尹自夏徂亳，暨至在湯。
b 湯曰：「格，汝其有吉，志。」

74 While this is an exception of the rule, "*Yǐn zhì" is not the only text that presents such features. Another case in point is "Yīn Gāozōng wèn yú sān shòu" (*Qīnghuá Manuscripts* v. 5). It is written on 28 eight slips, all of which numbered consecutively at the back of the slips from 1–28. (Note, however, that Slip 3 is missing, but it can be assumed that that slip too carried a number.) The slip numbers 1–7 are recorded at the top of the lower third of the slips; 8–15 are recorded at the bottom of the upper third of the slips; Slip 16 carries that number slightly lower than Slip 15; slip numbers 17–28 are again recorded at the top of the lower third of the slips.

75 Namely on slip three where a fine crack is going right through graph **3**/9 at the front of the slip and the number three at the back; on slip four a fine crack goes through the number at the back.

76 The image on p. 199 shows the crack on slip 3 that goes through the graph on the front side of the slip [**3**/9] and the number on its back.

|[1] [Yī] Yǐn had travelled from Xià to Bó (the Shāng capital) and by midnight [he] arrived at the place where Tāng was.[77]
Tāng said [on this occasion]: 'Come forward! May you have [something] good to report!'[78]

A1 尹曰：「后，我來廷。今恂恂余閔。
其有夏，眾 |[2]☐ † 吉好；其有后，厥志其爽。
寵二玉，弗虞其有眾。民允曰：『余及汝皆亡。』
惟災虐德暴重，亡。」
Yī [Yǐn] said: 'My Lord! I have come to [your] court. I shall now courteously accord with your wishes.
As for the Xià the |[2] {} (nature/character?) of the multitudes is auspicious and well disposed; [but] as for their lord, his intentions are erroneous.
[He] indulges in his two jades (*viz.*, women)[79] but shows no consideration for the multitudes in the domain. [Thus] the commonfolks indeed say: "I and you, we shall all be ruined!"
Now that his violent character of disaster and cruelty becomes ever more severe [3] [they are bound to] diminish'.

A2 「典夏有祥，在西在東，見章于天。
其有民率曰：『惟我速禍。』
咸曰：『害今東祥不章？今 |[4] 其如台？』」■
'Omens to govern the Xià are at the east, as well as at the west – visibly do they appear in the sky;
The commonfolks [of the Xià] go along [these signs] and say: "it is us indeed, who shall soon encounter misfortune!"
[They] all say: "Why, now, are the omens to the east not visibly clear?[80] Now, what does that mean to us?"'

B 湯曰：「汝告我夏覣率若是？」▬
尹曰：「若是。」■
[Chéng] Tāng said: 'Do you thus tell me that, in examining the Xià, it is all like this?'
[Yī] Yǐn responded: 'It is indeed so'.

C1 湯盟誓及尹，茲乃柔，大縈。

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77 The graph **1**/7  𥎦 appears similarly on slip 85 of the Ān Dà manuscripts in the ode 牆 (牆)又(有) 螏(蝾) 蟍(蛪) 'On the outer wall there is three-horned vine (tribulus)' (43 [*Máo* 46], Song 2 Yǒng 甬) except that the phonophore *xì* 夕 appears on the left, not at the top of the graph (㑳).
For a discussion of the graph see *Ān Dà Manuscripts* 1:4.
78 For a rendering of *jí* 吉 as 'good', see Schwartz 2019: 78n. 8. Schwartz further cites "*Yǐn zhì" as a 'later example' (i.e., Warring States) of *jí* meaning 'good'. (Schwartz 2019: 80n.16)
79 The story of how he carved the names of Wǎn 琬 and Yǎn 琰 into jade appears in the *Tàipíng Yùlán* that references the "Jì nián" in chapter 135, the "Shèn dà" chapter of the *Lǚ shì Chūnqiū*, as well as the "*Róng chéng shì" from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts. The origin of that story is not known.
80 The Shāng were at the East of the Xià.

[Chéng] Tāng [thereupon] contracted an oath with [Yī] Yǐn. Although this was done conciliatorily, it was greatly binding.

C2 湯往 |5 征，弗宥。摯度摯德，不僭。
自西殘西邑，戡其有夏。
夏播民入于水，曰：「戰。」帝曰：「一勿遺。」 ⌞
Tāng went and |[5] marched [against the Xià] without forgiveness; Zhì was restrained and showed charismatic power, never overstepping his authority.
From the West [of Bó], they destroyed the Western capital (*viz*. the capital of the Xià), [thus] they gained victory over the Xià.
The Xià relocated the commonfolks into the water and shouted: 'to battle!
The Dì[81] proclaimed: 'not one is to be spared!' ⌞

The frame stages an encounter of Yī Yǐn and Chéng Tāng and structures the conquest of the Xià by the Shāng in narrative terms. The stage-like opening constructs a dramatic setting. I take Tāng's initial address to Yī Yǐn as part of the text's frame because it structures Yī Yǐn's subsequent address ideologically, while keeping A structurally intact.

What follows is organised in three parts (A, B and C). The first, A, specifies the reasons for Yī Yǐn's alleged visit to Bó, the capital of the Shāng. Except the event-immanent introducing formula, '[Yī] Yǐn said' (尹曰), it consists only of Yī Yǐn's address to the king, Chéng Tāng, reporting on the condition of Xià.

Unit A can be subdivided. A1 reports the cruelty of the Xià against their own people; A2 brings in the cosmic sphere where omens forecast the end of the Xià. They signal that the Shāng uprising is legitimate, commanding to end Xià's cruelty by introducing the rule of the Shāng for the people's benefit. Their wish for Shāng insurrection is clear from the last line of A2, as they look for omens in the east, the place of the Shāng.

At the end of A2 there is a black mark on the slips. It coincides with a shift in the narrative mode of the text (). Yī Yǐn's lecture, in which he repeats the people's wishes, has ended.[82] Tāng's response comes in, seeking to confirm Yī Yǐn's assessment of the situation (in B). The shift is signalled by another black mark. Next is Yī Yǐn's brief but powerful validation of what has been said. It is yet again followed by a black mark, the last one on the manuscript, signalling the finality of the text in B. The way these marks are used suggests they serve as 'perspective markers'.

81 Title of the Shāng ruler.

82 It is this black mark that makes me read 今 |[4] 其如台？ 'now what does that mean to us' as part of the people's exclamation.

Unit B presents a shift. It functions as a structural bridge that leads over Yī Yǐn's observations from unit A to C, where they are translated into physical action against the Xià. As is true of A, unit C too contains two structural components. One is the pre-battle oath between Yī Yǐn and Tāng (C1); the other presents the war against the Xià (C2). Like the act of divination in "*Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí", the oath in C1 is not itself described in the text. This is a typical feature of Warring States texts.

The portrayal of Shāng's takeover from Xià in C2 is in many ways worthy of attention. First is the length of that text unit. While the entire "*Yǐn zhì" consists of some hundred and fifty-six graphs,[83] the actual takeover is given a mere thirty-three graphs – just about a fifth of the entire length of the text. The actual rebellion and its battles, it is clear, are of no central importance to the text. This is further evident from the fact that there is no description of the battle as such. The text merely states that they marched 'without forgiveness', with 'not one … spared'.

Rather than focusing on the actual takeover, "*Yǐn zhì" is concerned with the legitimacy of that move. It portrays Chéng Tāng's concern that the takeover be in line with the will of the people of Xià and therefore supported by Heaven. Portraying that concern takes about two thirds of the text.[84] The focalisation on Chéng Tāng's anxiety that he duly serve the people, move against the Xià, and thus satisfy the Heavenly order, is further supported by the text's narrative mode: dramatic in nature, it assumes a stage-like frame; it contains an intimate exchange between Yī Yǐn and Tāng; and it is characterised by the heavy use of personal pronouns of first and second order.[85]

"*Yǐn zhì" is not reporting the armed insurrection against the Xià. Rather, it is about the appropriateness of that move, as well as a leader's obligation to carry it out when necessary. The dramatic mode conveys urgency, with the dialogic speech patterns making it suitably acted out. Chéng Tāng, it becomes clear, only serves as a projection image, a first legitimising factor, highlighting a profound truth behind that 'historic' incident. "*Yǐn zhì" thus portrays reduplicative patterns of personal duty to serve the will of the people, and by implication, Heaven. Once established as an argument, the projected idea becomes—with different degrees of self-consciousness by the text producing communities—transposable to a wide range of sociopolitical and ideological situations.

83 That is, 155 graphs plus one that is missing and has to be added. This may be considered the typical length of a textual unit during the Warring States.

84 That is, developed in units A and B, 94 graphs plus one that is missing and has to be added.

85 The personal pronouns make a good fifteen percent of the entire text.

This is also reflected in the *Gestus* of the text. Reporting the exchange between Yī Yǐn and Chéng Tāng, units A and B assume the constructed perspective of a witness who is present at the event. No broader perspective is assumed. That differs in the initial line of the frame, as well as in unit C. Here a post-event summary is given, providing a retrospective reflection that puts the event in a narrative context. In this manner, a distance from the reported event is staged. That distance is adopted again in unit C. C1 provides two things. One is the mention of the oath. The other is the placing of the event on a scale of importance. While the event itself is described as 'conciliatory', it is nonetheless 'greatly binding'. The narrative thus draws political conclusions. This is furthered in C2. As Tāng marched against the Xià, 'no forgiveness' was shown. Yī Yǐn—in C2 he is notably referred to as Zhì, his personal name—showed 'restraint' and 'charismatic power', and he never 'overstepped his authority' during that campaign. Chéng Tāng and Yī Yǐn are thus portrayed as the perfect match where minister and ruler fully complement each other. This is not the mode of a report. The highly rhetorical "*Yǐn zhì" serves different ends. It presents a well-crafted argument about rule sanctioned by Heaven – obviously a Zhōu invention that was systematised in Eastern Zhōu thought. Here it is used anachronistically for the Shāng, providing a 'historical' pretext.

The closure of the text, the Dì proclaimed: 'not one is to be spared!' (帝曰一勿遺) is interesting, no matter who, we think, is actually the speaker of this line. One possibility is that it gives voice to the last ruler of the Xià. This may come as a surprise, for it seems to privilege the ruler of the Xià with the final words of this text – just before the battle. For a text that is so unequivocally composed from the perspective of Chéng Tāng serving the will of Heaven, this might seem unlikely. However, there is another spin to it. As Chéng Tāng is moving against the Xià, the Xià relocate their folks into the water, abusing them as a human shield. Contextually, the final exclamation by the Dì that, in his own words, 'not one is to be spared' in a nearly physical way reinforces—literally cries out—the cruelty of the last ruler of the Xià. By putting this at the close, the authors of this iteration of fabula present him as the obvious counter-image to Chéng Tāng, whose prime concern is the common folk. As an alternative, Chéng Tāng is speaking, giving his actions legitimacy by calling him Dì even before he completed his campaign against the Xià.[86]

No matter who of the two is speaking, Chéng Tāng or the last ruler of the Xià, it is remarkable that "*Yǐn zhì" gives active voice to the Dì *as Dì*.

86 I do not want to exclude the possibility that the text is purposefully left open, a cliffhanger ending incentivising its audiences to consult further iterations of the Yī Yǐn fabula.

In the received *Shàngshū*, only three texts do so by means of the formula ‘the Dì said’ (*Dì yuē* 帝曰): “Yáo diǎn”; “Shùn diǎn”; “Yì jì” 益稷 – three texts of late production; the *Yì Zhōushū* uses the expression just once.[87]

It is worth noting that the phrase ‘the Dì said’ is absent from the entire body of bronze texts, even though Dì—also as Shàng Dì 上帝 (the Dì on High) and Huáng Dì 皇帝 (the Almighty Dì)—occurs numerous times in bronze texts, from the late Shāng to the Warring States. While in its early use Dì was probably the name or title by which Shāng and Zhōu kings addressed their High God, [88] as far as the records beyond the *Shàngshū* suggest, as a royal title it probably not in use for living rulers before circa 288 BC, when the first rulers ‘declared themselves to be western and eastern *dì*’.[89] Just as in the late texts “Yáo diǎn” and “Yì jì”, the fact that Dì is here used to give active voice to a ruler (帝曰) further supports the hypothesis of late *text* production – perhaps not much before its manifestation on the very bamboo manuscript we are looking at.[90]

6.5 “Fù Yuè zhī mìng” 傅說之命

Another representative of the extended event as developed in a brief text is “Fù Yuè zhī mìng” 傅說之命 (The Charge to Yuè from the Rocks of Fù). [91] Just as “*Yǐn zhì”, “Fù Yuè zhī mìng” shows many characteristics of a late Warring States-text and it provides further clues about text formation and the social use of Shū genre at the time. It tells the tale of how the King of Yīn 殷,[92] Wǔdīng 武丁 (c. ?–1189

87 The old-script “Dà Yǔ mó” 大禹謨 also gives direct voice to a Dì.
In *Gǔ shǐ biàn* vol. 1, 200 ff, Gù Jiégāng suggests that the production of these texts falls between the late Warring States and the Qín and Hàn dynasties. In the *Yì Zhōushū*, the phrase appears in the chapter Harangues of Shāng 商誓.

88 See Keightley 1999: 252. Keightley further suggests that it could also refer to the royal ancestors of the main line of descent. The role of Dì, however, was non-ancestral in Shāng thinking (253). It was a supernatural element that could cause disaster. The Tiān 天 of the Zhōu was therefore capable of ‘harming and destroying the dynasty’. (Ibid.)

89 Lewis 1999b: 637.

90 Dì was of course also used as a posthumous name of the last Shāng kings: Dì Yǐ 帝乙 (*1105–1087) and Dì Xǐ 帝辛 (*1086–1045). (We find the former in Shāng bronze texts as Wén Wǔ Dì Yǐ 文武帝乙). Knowledge about these names was preserved in the Warring States—the *Guóyǔ* for instance mentions Dì Yǐ 帝辛 once in “Zhōu Yǔ *shàng*”: 商王帝辛，大惡于民 ‘the Shāng king Dì Yǐ was greatly cruel to the commonfolks’—but the text producers probably no longer knew they refer to posthumous names.

91 *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* vol. 3: 2–7; 121–131.

92 Yīn 殷 is another name for the Shāng that feature in the text “*Yǐn zhì”.

BC), received from Heaven the image of Yuè 說 that the latter become his minister. At the time Yuè was in the service of Yì Zhòng 佚仲. When Wǔdīng finally obtains Yuè, he commands Yuè to attack the polity of Yì Zhòng; thence, upon the successful completion of the campaign, making Yuè his minister, he charges Yuè with the affairs of his kingdom.

"Fù Yuè zhī mìng" has a remote counterpart in "Yuè mìng" 說命 (The Charge of Yuè), transmitted in three parts in the "Shāng" 商 section of the old-script recension of the *Shàngshū*. It records the king's address to Yuè delivered on his appointment as prime minister. However, as also acknowledged by the editors of the *Qīnghuá Manuscripts*, we should consider the Qīnghuá "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" a text in its own right.[93]

The transmitted "Yuè mìng" has no other rendition except the old-script recension of the *Shàngshū*. The *Shǐjì* remains notably silent about its composition. This silence is peculiar and often taken as an indicator of the spurious nature of the text. Nonetheless, according to James Legge (1815–1897), the "Preface" ("Xù" 序), as well as the many references to it in the transmitted literature 'leave no doubt' that there was originally a "Yuè mìng".[94] The problems inherent in such claims are obvious.[95] However, if we follow Michael Nylan in assuming that many of the texts in the old-script recension of the *Shàngshū* contain 'deutero-canonical' knowledge,[96] there is no need to propose imagined stemmata of an immediate relationship between the old-script "Yuè mìng" and the Qīnghuá "Fù Yuè zhī mìng". It is more plausible that the two texts relate to the same material, but worked it into different stories.

6.5.1 The Text as Realised on Bamboo

Just like the old-script "Yuè mìng", the Qīnghuá "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" comes in three units. They each carry the designation "Fù Yuè zhī mìng", written at the lower third on the back of the final slip. They are all written on slips of 45 centimetres

93 Qīnghuá Manuscripts 3: 121.

94 Legge 1960: 249.

95 Legge's notion of 'references' to "Yuè mìng" in the received literature is problematic. While there are remote correspondences of phrases and notions seen in "Yuè mìng" and transmitted literature, there is no ground for assuming a linear reference of those items to "Yuè mìng" rather than the general recourse to known and widely shared concepts. That is especially true for so-called 'pre-imperial' texts and their relation to "Yuè mìng".

96 Nylan 2001: 132.

in length. The slips are cut in a straight line at both ends, with three strings connecting them. With reference to the old-script text, the editors of *Qīnghuá* label them as “*Yuè mìng” *shàng* 說命上 (Yuè mìng upper part), “*Yuè mìng” *zhōng* 中 (Yuè mìng middle part) and “*Yuè mìng” *xià* 下 (Yuè mìng lower part). No such order is marked in the manuscripts. I here follow the editors’ designation of the manuscripts as **shàng*, **zhōng*, and **xià* purely for ease of reference.

The slips of each of the three manuscripts are numbered on the back. But there is no slanting line. The text of **shàng* is written on seven slips, and so is **zhōng*; **xià* was originally written on ten slips, but only nine of these remain. The initial slip of the **xià* bundle is now lost. Each of the three entities is closed by the tadpole symbol (). No writing appears after them. In the case of **shàng*, slightly more than half of the final slip is left blank; the symbol appears at the bottom of **zhōng*, and at the lower third of the final slip of **xià*. (See their reproduction at the left.)

All three manuscripts contain mark-up. The calligraphy is uniform across the three units, but this is not true of the markings. Some are likely to have facilitated the reading of the text out aloud, possibly indicating breath marks  , as seen for instance on slip **4**/5 of **shàng*. These are distributed fairly evenly across the manuscripts,[97] but only **shàng* contains regular markings for repetition  : one on slip 3; three on slip 4; two on slip 5, while **xià* has just one on slip 6 and **zhōng* has none.

Except for the missing slip in **xià*, the three manuscripts are otherwise complete. No slip is broken to the extent that graphs are missing. There are also no cracks in the slips. While this is not unusual for a manuscript,[98] I reiterate what I said about the importance of having documented excavations that allow us to work with the materials in full confidence of their provenance. This is particularly relevant for a text such as this one, where there is such a neat overlap of the “Xù” to the *Shàngshū* mentioning the existence of “Yuè mìng” in three parts, as well as the old-script recension with regard to the division into three. It is clear that had

97 In “Fù Yuè zhī mìng” **shàng* eight such markers appear on seven slips: one on slip 2; one on 3; three on 4; three on 5. In **zhōng* ten marks appear on seven slips: one on slip 1; two on 2; one on 3; one on 4; three on 5; one on 6; one on 7. Thirteen such markers appear on **xià*: one on slip 3; one on 4; two on 5; two on 6; one on 7; three on 8; two on 9; one on 10.

98 Note that the lengthy slips found in tomb 1, Guōdiàn, are in part also in remarkably good condition. The longest slips of the Guōdiàn corpus—excavated by archaeologists—are around 32.3–32.5 centimetres in length. “*Lǎozǐ A” 老子甲, “Zī yī” 緇衣, “Wǔ xíng” 五行, “*Xìng zì mìng chū” 性自命出, “*Chéng zhī” 成之, “*Zūn dé yì” 尊德義, and “*Liù dé” 六德, altogether 331 slips, all fall into this category. Of those 331 slips, just 30, that is, less than ten percent, are in poor condition with slips broken.

it been obtained through an overseen excavation it would vastly outstrip the present manuscripts in scholarly value.

6.5.2 Text Division

That "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" existed in—at least—three separate entities raises important questions about manuscript production and text circulation during the Warring States. It may be explained in principally two ways: first is the 'unity-hypothesis' of text division. It follows the *Qīnghuá* editors in considering the three items as integral parts of one text. Second is the 'fabula-hypothesis'. It suggests the items are each independent cases of textualised fabula of Wǔdīng making Yuè his minister.

6.5.3 The unity-hypothesis

The unity-hypothesis considers two alternative scenarios. The first is 'occasional'; the second 'structural'. The 'occasional' scenario prioritises the writing support available for producing the manuscripts. It implies that the given materialisation of "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" is accidental and says nothing about it as a text. This scenario makes two further assumptions. The first thinks that in this particular case the writer either did not have enough slips to produce "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" in full, so they simply split the text into three as they saw fit to match the available writing materials. The three units were then each designated "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" to indicate that together they form one single entity. The second thinks the text was produced in stages, possibly due to some form of labour division.

It is open to question how likely the 'occasional' scenario—of either sort—really is, as each of the three is marked as a closed entity: the tadpole symbol always appears on the final slip, leaving blank some part of it and marking a unit's end. The consistent physical features of the bamboo slips and the uniform hand which produced the writing on them also speak against this scenario. Therefore, rather than suggesting that a material deficiency lead to the partition of the text, it seems more plausible to think it the other way round, that is, arguing from the text, not the writing support: text-division was realised in the material. This is the 'structural' scenario of text division, to which I come next.

The 'structural' scenario suggests that at least some conceptual communities recognised "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" as consisting of three, and possibly more than three, parts. The fact that text partition was realised physically further suggests

detectible, stable meaning clusters. It moreover suggests that more than just one copy of "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" circulated – for were there just one copy, what use would there be to impose text division and name its parts correspondingly? Furthermore, related to the previous point, given that the—much later—old-script "Yuè mìng" is also divided accordingly implies, conservatively, that during the Warring States, there was the prevalent condition for producing "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" in different parts, possibly three, perhaps more.

"Fù Yuè zhī mìng" in three parts thus confirms the overall picture of a stabilising textual condition during the Warring States where we see the division of a given text solidifying into various recensions. This unlikely went as far as in "Zīyī", which was clearly considered a stable entity in twenty-three units and marked accordingly (Ch. 2). It rather resembles texts such as Guōdiàn "*Xìng zì mìng chū" and Shànghǎi "*Xìng qíng lùn" in that they were produced in an environment that inspired text division in different parts, while not securing them in such strict ways as in "Zīyī". [99]

Obviously there is a—natural—asynchrony in the formation of recognised, stable texts. For texts to stabilise into known entities depends on many factors, including their language; structure; and the contents they deal with. Moreover, and crucially based on these factors, it depends on the accelerated rate at which a text was circulating, and thus the rate at which different groups would reproduce it for their own ends.

Take again "Zīyī". The discussion in Ch. 2 shows that it has attained a much greater stability than the foundational texts interwoven with it, especially Shū. While *text recognition* of "Zīyī" relies on the explicit integration of cultural resources, *text stability* was nonetheless achieved primarily through the highly concise structure of the compact building blocks that constitute it. They make it circulate well, to the point that "Zīyī" becomes the stable entity that it was during the Warring States; hence the near-identical copies of it in Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi. Texts that are more complex in constructing their argument generally travel less well without change. Since argument-based texts are normally more specific in what they say in comparison to "Zīyī", the rate at which they were reproduced by different communities was necessarily lower than that of "Zīyī". As well as their tendency towards alteration, (complex) argument-based texts therefore fall more easily into oblivion.[100] Thus, while some texts attain stability, to the point that they become structurally closed entities (e.g., Warring States "Zīyī"), others simply inspire some sort of compositional repetition in the reproduction of the

99 See the discussion on 52–53.

100 Counterexamples exist and I discuss one, *Mìng xùn", further below.

text, without, however, being ever recognised as an entity—not least a closed one—by the conceptual communities in question (e.g., "Fù Yuè zhī mìng", "*Xìng zì mìng chū", "*Xìng qíng lùn").[101]

6.5.4 The fabula-hypothesis of text division

Alternative to this is the 'fabula-hypothesis'. It assumes that the three manuscript texts "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" are simply independent renditions of a widely recognised fabula, rendered in different stories. Because of their common ground, the texts were collected under a common reference ("Fù Yuè zhī mìng") by a third party, possibly the writer in a workshop, or the collector. In this scenario the text is not the primary entity of recognition, but the fabula. It informs the communities in a variety of ways, with different versions circulating at the same time. Some, but certainly not all, of its manifestations were written down. This scenario suggests that the three are each an example of occasionally textualised matter, produced by a given social grouping at a given time.[102] That they were nonetheless each designated accordingly confirms my previous points about the stabilising text condition during the Warring States.

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101 It remains that the proposed structural organisation of "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" in three parts and the related conclusions regarding text formation during the Warring States are not indicative of an imagined relationship of an immediate order between "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" and the old-script "Yuè mìng", which by the way differ substantially. The first appearance of the "Yuè mìng" in the old-script recension was as late as the Eastern Jìn (317–420) when Méi Zé 梅賾 (or 梅陶) submitted a spurious version of the text to the throne.

Méi Zé held the position of Interior Scribe (*nèi shǐ* 內史) at Yùzhāng 豫章. When Emperor Yuán of Jìn 晉元帝 (r. 317–322) called for a re-collecting of texts to restore the imperial libraries after the court had to flee due to pressures from the northwest, Méi Zé submitted a copy of the old-script recension of the *Shàngshū* together with the pseudo-Kǒng recension, the *Shàngshū Kǒng shì zhuàn* 尚書孔氏傳 in 58 chapters. This became the standard version for centuries to come. The Sòng 宋 (960–1279) scholar Wú Yù 吳棫 was the first to raise doubts about it. However, it was not until the Qīng 清 (1644–1911) that it was declared a forgery. Yán Ruòqú in his *Gǔ wén Shàngshū shū zhèng* 古文尚書疏證) and Huì Dòng 惠棟 (1697–1758) in his *Gǔ wén Shàngshū kǎo* 古文尚書考 were decisive in this.

102 The different textualisations of the fabula as given in "*Wǔwáng jiàn zuò" *A* and *B*, where King Wu, after fasting for several days, is presented with ancient wisdom as recorded in "Dān shū" (Cinnabar Writings) 丹書 by Shīshàng Fù 師尚父, is a similar case in point. (The text is recorded in the *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* 2008: 149–168. It has been analysed by Krijgsman 2016.)

6.5.5 The Three “Fù Yuè zhī mìng”: *shàng

There is a marked structural difference between “Fù Yuè zhī mìng” *_shàng_ on the one hand, and *_zhōng_ and *_xià_, on the other. *_shàng_ is a brief retrospective account of Fù Yuè (Yue from the Rocks of Fu) and his relation to Wǔdīng:

1. |[1]惟殷王賜說于天， 庸為佚仲使人。
   王命厥百工像，以貨徇求說于邑人。
1. |[1]The King of Yin, [Wǔdīng,][103] was given from Heaven [the image of] Yuè; [at that time Yuè] served as a conscript labourer in service of Yì Zhòng 佚仲.
   The king commanded his craftsmen to make a liking [of that image], and had him searched by among people in the domain for a handsome reward.

2A. 惟射人 |[2]得說于傅巖，
   厥俾繡弓，引闢辟矢。 (*l̥ijʔ)▬
2A. An archer |[2]tracked Yuè to the rocks of Fù 傅;
   he was made to draw his bow; as he was drawing the bow to the full, he prepared his arrows.

2B1. 說方筑城，縢降庸力， 厥說之狀，腕 |[3]肩如椎。
2B2. 王乃訊說曰：
   「帝繄尔以畀余，繄非」？ (*pəj)▬
   說乃曰：
   「惟帝以余畀尔，尔左執朕袂，尔右」。 |[4]稽首。
   王曰：
   「亶然」。(*nan)▬
2B1. At that time, Yuè was [conscripted to] pound the city wall, and his body was tied up by use of force; the appearance of Yuè was such that wrist and |[3]shoulders were like a mallet.
2B2. The king asked of Yuè saying:
   ‘Is it you, the Heavenly Dì presented to me? Or is it not you?’
   Yuè [, reporting of his dream,] responded:
   ‘It is [indeed] me that the Heavenly Dì presented to you [in your dream]; your left held my sleeve, with you [standing] on the right’. [He thus] |[4]touched his forehead to the ground.
   The king said: ‘indeed, it is so’.

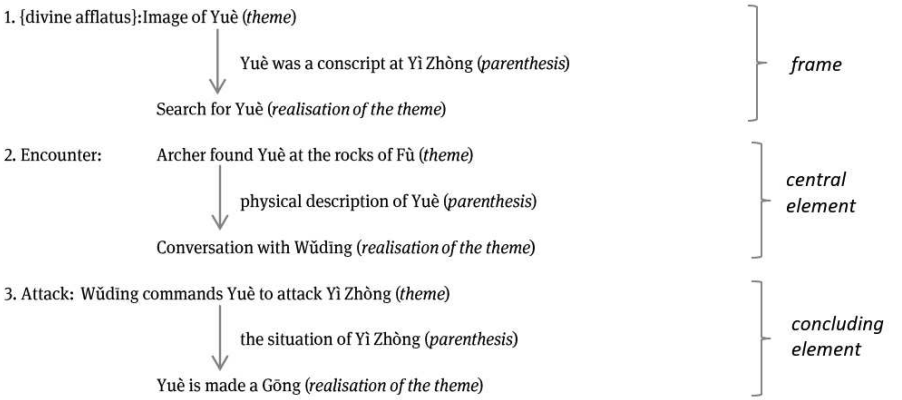
3A. 天乃命說伐佚仲。
3B1. 佚仲氏生子，生二牡豕。(*l̥ajʔ)▬
3B2. 佚仲卜曰：「我其殺之？ (*tə)▬ 我其 |[5]已，勿殺？」
3B3. 「勿殺」是吉。
3B4. 佚仲違卜，乃殺一豕。 (*l̥ajʔ)▬
3C. 說于鄟伐佚仲，一豕乃睿，保以逝，(*dat-s)▬ 乃踐。 (*dzanʔ)▬ 邑 |[6]人皆從。

103 Wǔdīng is the founding king of the Shāng, reigning to c. 1189 BC.

3D. 一豕随仲之自行，是為赦俘之戎。
3E. 其惟說邑，在北海之州，是惟圜土。說 |[7] 來，自從事于殷。王用命說為公。
3A. Heaven (through Wǔdīng) then commanded Yuè to attack the polity of Yì Zhòng 佚仲.
3B1. At that time, the Clan of Yì Zhòng had given birth to children, two of which grew like pigs.
3B2. Yì Zhòng carried out a divination where he asked [the spirits]: 'Should we indeed kill them? Or must we stop and not kill [them]?'
3B3. [The answer of the spirits was:] 'Not kill' is auspicious'.
3B4. Yì Zhòng disrespected the outcome of the divination and killed one pig nonetheless.
3C. Yuè attacked Yì Zhòng from Yī 鄩; one pig was so farsighted [that he knew that Yuè would attack Yì Zhòng from Yī 鄩], and saved [the lord of Yì Zhòng] by helping him flee. As the [city of] Yì Zhòng was annihilated, the people of the city |[6] all followed [Yuè].
3D. The one pig (the one that warned Yì Zhòng) followed [Yì] Zhòng on his travels; [together] they became the Róng tribe of Shè Fú (Pardoned Prisoner) [in the Northwest].
3E. It was now made Yuè's land; it was located at the regions of the Northern Sea, termed the 'Turn Around Soil'. Yuè |[7] returned and started to take care of the affairs at Yīn. On that account the king commanded that Yuè become Gōng.[104]

**shàng* contains a limited amount of speech and can be divided into three parts, each narrating one element of Yuè's progression into Wǔdīng's service. It is headed by a frame, a brief account of how Wǔdīng came to possess Yuè's image. Then comes the encounter of Wǔdīng and Yuè, presented as a brief dialogue. Third is the account of Yuè's attack on the polity of Yì Zhòng, as well as his consequent elevation to the rank of a Gōng. Structurally, the three parts each consist of 'theme'; 'parenthesis'; 'realisation of the theme'. The 'realisation' entails that action translates the 'theme' into a new manifestation of the matter. In schematic form it looks like this:

104 Note the anachronism of awarding Yuè the first in the five ranks of nobility (*gōng*) for the period supposedly presented in the text – but not for when the text was likely created.



Although the skeleton outline sees the basic structure of **shàng* as frame; central element; concluding element, of which each is organised along the said pattern of theme; parenthesis; realisation of the theme, this does not mean it has a well-developed storyline of the kind one ideally hopes to find in a narrative. The opposite is the case. The three parts of the text do not connect well with one another and there remain obvious gaps. However, despite the poor development of the narrative, the parallel patterns nonetheless serve to present the text's main theme, that is, the encounter of Yuè as summed up in the conversation between him and the king. The encounter—this is the sole element where speech is produced—is notably placed at the centre. Structurally, it is a principal insertion. It stresses in formal terms the encounter of Yuè with Wǔdīng after Wǔdīng had trusted the divine inspiration in which the image of Yuè was presented to him.

This is important because it allows us to situate **shàng* both sociopolitically and philosophically. Three things are thus impressed on the recipient. First, the king receives divine inspiration from Heaven about the image of the ideal minister as someone who can aid him in ruling his polity. Second, the king understands the afflatus and translates it into reality by searching for the actual person behind that image. Third, when tested, the person behind the Heavenly inspired image does indeed not disappoint. This is shown by the swift takeover of Yì Zhòng upon the king's command. On the surface level the text praises Yuè for his virtues. In reality it is Wǔdīng whose virtue becomes manifest thus. This is because Heaven directly interacts with Wǔdīng, who both comprehends the divine afflatus and, in a threefold manner, responds to it most appropriately – first, by believing in the signs given him by Heaven; second, by translating them into reality through his action; third, by having the Heavenly signs confirmed when testing Yuè. In this way Wǔdīng is shown as a model ruler – just like divine Yáo. It is through Yuè that the all-encompassing virtue of Wǔdīng becomes manifest. That a ruler's

virtue is made manifest through his minister is a common theme in the late Eastern Zhōu Shū and repeatedly discussed in the literature of the Warring States. Wǔdīng, it becomes clear, is a most keen observer of Heavenly command 天命. As seen in "*Yīn zhì" before, the authors of **shàng* anachronistically project the Eastern Zhōu concept on to the Shāng to make a historically grounded argument. "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" **shàng*, in many respects a poorly designed text, nonetheless formulates a powerful claim about ideal rulership because it strikes a chord with its contemporaneous audiences.

6.5.6 "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" *zhōng

**zhōng* and **xià* are basically lists of admonitions addressed to Yuè. They are given to Yuè as he enters into the king's service:

1A.1 |[1]說來自傅巖。
1A.2 在殷，武丁朝于門。入在宗。王再比厥夢，曰：「汝來，惟帝命。」(*mə-riŋ-s)▄
說 |[2]曰：「允若是。」(*deʔ)▄
1A.1 |[1] Yuè returned from the rocks of Fù.
1A.2 At Yīn, (the king) Wǔdīng greeted [him] for an audience at the gate. They entered the temple. [There], the king compared him twice [more] to [the image of his in] his dreams, and said: 'that you came is by command of the [Heavenly] Dì'.
Yuè |[2] responded: 'It is indeed so'.

2A. 武丁曰：
「來格汝說。聽戒朕言，寘之于乃心：
2A.1. 若金，用惟汝作礪。(*rat-s)▄ 古 |[3]我先王滅夏(*gˤraʔ)▄燮强、捷蠢邦，惟庶相之力乘； 用孚自藝。敬之哉！ 啟乃心，日沃|[4]朕心。
2A.2. 若藥， 汝不瞑眩，越疾罔瘳。朕畜汝， 惟乃腹，非乃身。
2A.3. 若天旱，汝作淫雨； (*ɢʷaʔ-s)▄
2A.4. |[5]若滿水， 汝作舟。 (*tu)▄
汝惟茲。說，底之于乃心。」(*səm)▄
2A. Wǔdīng said:
'Come here, Yuè! Listen, and take as a warning, these words of mine, and place them within your heart:'
2A.1. 'Suppose me a weapon of steel; I will use you for a whetstone.

In days yore, |[3] our former kings extinguished the Xià; [they] attacked the strong,[105] and gained victory over the wriggling state, for they relied on the strength of the most senior officials among the many [men of a] different [surname]. This was achieved through their high confidence [in the most senior of their advisees]. Revere this! Open your heart-mind and daily irrigate |[4] my heart-mind’.

2A.2. ‘Suppose me [in need of] medicine! If you don’t distress the patient, there will be no overcoming of his sickness! When I nourish you [in return], it is your belly [that I fill], not your person [that I cultivate]’.

2A.3. ‘Suppose me [encountering] severe drought! You will serve as heavy rain’.

2A.4. |[5] ‘Suppose me [crossing] the ford filled with water, you will serve as [my] boat’.

‘This is your [task]! Yuè, place these (my instructions) at the bottom of your heart!’

2B.1. 且天出不祥，不及遠，在厥落。(*kə.r^{ʕ}ak)▄

汝克 |[6] 覽視四方，乃俯視地，心毀惟備。

敬之哉！ 用惟多德。(*t^{ʕ}ək)▄

2B.2. 且惟口起戎出羞， 惟干戈 |[7] 作疾； 惟愛載病，惟干戈生厥身。

2B.3. 若詆不視，用傷。吉，不吉。余告汝若是。 (*deʔ)▄峙之于乃心 ┗。

2B.1. ‘On the point when Heaven may cause something that is inauspicious, do not place [your actions] in the distant (=do not wait long) but act at its beginnings. You are capable |[6] of fixing the eyes [at the world] and overseeing the four quarters; when looking down, you oversee the earth; take precautions when people carry blame in their heart-mind!

Revere this! Obey this and you will add to your charismatic power!’

2B.2. ‘On the point when the mouth gives rise to war and dishonour, it is the weapons of war that |[7] give rise to suffering; it is grudge that generates illness; it is weapons of war that may cause accident to one self’.

2B.3. ‘Should you not discern slander, you will suffer harm. Whether [you consider this] as auspicious or not, it is such that I announce to you! Place it in your heart!’

“Fù Yuè zhī mìng” **zhōng* takes as its point of departure the return of Yuè to Yīn. However, as is obvious from the partial reduplication of this in **shàng* and **zhōng*, the two texts do not connect seamlessly.[106] This does not mean they are not related. But the rather crude segue from **shàng* to **zhōng* might suggest a compositional gap between the two. **shàng* and **zhōng* dwell on a related theme.

105 Schwartz 2019: 161n. 221 discusses the graph 燮 as meaning ‘to attack’.

106 The final sentence of **shàng* (3E.) reads ‘Yuè |[7] returned and started to take care of affairs at Yīn. On that account the king commanded that Yuè be a Gōng’; the first sentences of **zhōng* (in 1A. and 1B.) say ‘|[1] Yuè returned from the rocks of Fù 傅. At Yīn, [Wǔdīng greeted [him] for an audience at the gate’.

But it does not seem they were produced as one organic unit. This 'rupture' is also evident from a change of the narrative perspective. While for the most part the events in **shàng* are narrated from a bird's-eye view, distanced in perspective, **zhōng* stays much closer to the events.

**zhōng* can be divided into three parts, headed by a frame. The frame stages a scene where Wǔdīng meets Yuè outside the gates, confirming once more the image that was given to him in a dream. (Note that the dream imagery is in **shàng* only implicitly through Yuè's account.) After Yuè is confirmed as the person behind the dream image, Wǔdīng presents a catalogue of admonitions to Yuè, now his loyal minister (2A.1–2A.4).[107] The text is closed by a formula that is repeated twice, following each set of admonitions.

Because of the repeated closing formula, the two series of admonitions are placed parallel. Each is marked accordingly and framed in a bracket of two formulae, 敬之哉 'revere this', on the opening side, and 底之于乃心 'place it in your heart', on the closing side. The skeleton structure of **zhōng* can thus be described as follows:

1. Staging the event: Wǔdīng meets Yuè at the gates
    1.A1–2exchange where Wǔdīng's vision is being confirmed

2. Admonitions:
    2.Aframing the admonitions through a pre-warning announcement
    2.A–B two series of admonitions:

2.A: 1: 若 'x', then 汝 should 'y'; 敬之哉 'revere this'
    2: 若 'x', then 汝 should 'y'
    3: 若 'x', then 汝 should 'y'
    4: 若 'x', then 汝 should 'y'; 底之于乃心 'place it in your heart'

2.B: 1: 且 'x', then 'y'; 敬之哉 'revere this'
    2: 且 'x', then 'y'
    3: 若 'x', then 'y'; 峙之于乃心 'place it in your heart'

In **zhōng*, the king's admonitions are not closed compositionally – nor are there any frames marking the end of the text. It is conceivable, theoretically, that the text went on with more sets.

107 The admonitions are headed by a speech-immanent frame, 'Wǔdīng said'.

6.5.7 “Fù Yuè zhī mìng *xià

“Fù Yuè zhī mìng” **xià* presents another catalogue of admonitions. Just as in **zhōng* it contains no structural features closing the text formally, thus leaving the theoretical possibility that it was expandible or contractable according to need:

X [……]

1A. |[2] [108]云，經德配天，余罔有擇言， 小臣罔俊在朕服。

1B.1. 余惟命汝說庸朕命[109]。

1B.2 余柔遠 |[3] 能邇，以益視事， 弼永延 (*lan)▬ 助余一人。”

[...]

1A. |[2] *it is said*, “in penetrating charismatic power, [I] correspond with Heaven”, [but] I never had occasion to make choice of my words, for among my petty ministers, I never had in my service a man of talent’.

1B.1. ‘It now is my command to you, Yuè, that you carry out my commands:’

1B.2. ‘I [command that you] “be kind to those afar and |[3] draw on those that are near”, that the oversight of [governmental] affairs will bring benefit; your assistance shall endure – support me, the one person!’

2A. 王曰：“說！既亦視乃服。勿易，俾越：

2A.1. 如飛雀，|[4] 罔畏羅，不惟鷹， 惟乃弗虞民， 厥其禍亦羅于罟罦 ▬”。

2A. The king said: ‘Yuè! Now that you have arrived in your position, I shall scrutinise your service. Do not take this lightly (with the result) that things get worse:

2A.1. You are like a small sparrow |[4] with no fear of being caught; [you] are not an eagle. Be untroubled by the common folk, for their misfortune will be caught in the net [like the eagle]’.

2B. 王曰：“說！汝毋狂曰：余克享 |[5] 于朕辟。

2B.1. 其有乃司四方民丕克，汝惟有萬壽，(*duʔ-s)▬ 在乃政； (*teŋ-s)▬

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108 The editors of *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* claim that the first slip of **xià* is missing. While it is obvious that the text is missing its initial portion, I do not think it is obvious how many slips are missing. I therefore put the slip numbers in brackets to indicate doubt about their precise number.

109 The editors of *Qīnghuá Manuscripts* transcribe graph **2**/23  as 雝 (融) which they read as ‘clear’. A justification is not provided, but it is clear that they base their reading on a similar use in the *Zuǒ zhuàn*. Huáng Jié glosses *róng* 融 (*luŋ) as *yōng* 庸 (*loŋ) ‘to use, employ; obey’. He draws a parallel to the “Yáo diǎn” which reads 汝能庸命，巽朕位 (you can carry out my commands – I will resign my place to you).

2B.2. 汝亦惟克顯天恫瘝小 |[6] 民，中乃罰；
2B.3 汝亦惟有萬福業業，在乃服。 (*bəʔ)▬”
2B. The king said: ‘Yuè! Do not recklessly ask: “how would I be capable to give |[5] to my lord”.
2B.1. Indeed, in managing the commonfolks in the four quarters of the world, you shall make them greatly capable, and you have myriad years in governing’.
2B.2. ‘You shall indeed be able to make manifest Heaven in making the pains of the petty |[6] commonfolks [those of] your own that your punishments be precise’;
2B.3. ‘You shall indeed have manifold blessings in your service to me!’

2C. 王曰：“說！(*l̥ot-s)▬ 晝，汝視日；夜，汝視辰。是罔非乃 |[7] 載。
敬之哉！若賈，汝毋非貨如戡石。 (*dak)▬”
2C. The king said: ‘Yuè! In daylight you shall observe the sun; at night you shall observe the stars. Of those, not any is not your |[7] burden!
Revere this! Be like a merchant, you shall not mistake valuable goods for a muddy stone’.

2D. 王曰：“說！余既諟劼毖汝，思若玉冰，上下罔不我 |[8] 義(儀)。 (*ŋaj)▬”
2D. The king said: ‘Yuè! I have already warned and cautioned you that your thoughts be pure as jade and ice that on above and below there shall be none who does not take us as their |[8] model’.

2E. 王曰：“說！(*l̥ot-s)▬ 昔在大戊，克進五祀，天章之用九德，弗易百姓。(*seŋ-s)▬
2E.1 惟是，大戊謙曰：‘余不克 |[9] 辟萬民，余罔墜天休。乃惟三德賜我，(*ŋˤajʔ)▬ 吾乃敷之于百姓。(*seŋ-s)▬ 余惟弗雍天之嘏命。’”
2E. The king said: ‘Yuè! In days of yore under Dà Wù, he was capable to promote the “five types of offerings”; Heaven made manifest this through the “nine virtues”; [he] would not take lightly the [commonfolks of the] hundred surnames’.
2E.1. ‘In this way, Dà Wù modestly said: “I am not capable to serve as |[9] lord of the myriad folks! I shall not let drop Heaven’s grace”. And so it was that the ‘three virtues’ were bestowed upon me that I disperse them on the hundred surnames. I shall not obstruct Heaven’s great command!’

2F. |[10] 王曰：“說！毋獨乃心，敷之于朕政， (*teŋ-s)▬ 裕汝其有友，正朕命哉。 ┗”
2F. |[10] The king said: ‘Yuè! Do not keep a solitary heart-mind but disperse it widely in governmental service to me. Be wealthy in counting your companions, that they may correct my commands!’

Parallel to **zhōng*, **xià* places the admonitions in a narrative setting. While in **zhōng* they are framed by a stage-like dramatisation of the event, as far as one can tell from the manuscript at hand, **xià* simply contextualises the catalogue by

a brief statement put into the mouth of Wǔdīng. All admonitions relate to governmental affairs.[110]

In **xià* each of the six admonitions is marked consistently in the form 'the king said: "Yuè! Xxx"' (王曰：說！xxx). While in **zhōng* the king spoke to Yuè through similes and metaphors, in **xià* his admonitions are for the most part explicit and related to rule. Yuè ought to be untroubled by the people and should not think of them as a threat; he ought to be precise in his punishments and make manifest Heaven's will through his service to Wǔdīng; he is responsible for everthing without restriction; he must make Wǔdīng and himself pure as jade, so they become a model for the people; Yuè is to make government affairs his entire obligation.

6.6 Text Stability and Warring States Thinking

Not one of the three entities collected under "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" presents a conclusive text. Despite the clear skeleton structure, **shàng* nonetheless contains some obvious gaps in the narrative; in **zhōng* and **xià*, although they too were clearly structured, their parallel admonitions remain open ended.

This differs markedly from the pseudo-Kǒng old-script "Yuè mìng". Ritually burdened with anxiety that he may not be a good enough successor in the line of his predecessors of virtuous rulers, the transmitted "Yuè mìng" describes in vivid ways how the king refuses to speak for years, until he dreams of Yuè as someone who might implement his rule. Against that narrative, the first of the transmitted triplets presents a set of admonitions that resemble those pronounced in the manuscript text **shàng*. Yuè then gives a speech of agreement in response to his king, closing the received triplet. As Yuè is accepted in the service of Wǔding, the second of the received triplets presents a long-winded speech where Yuè addresses Wǔdīng by expounding a minister's right behaviour. The king responds with excitement to Yuè's speech. Accepting his words, Yuè once more stresses his role in serving the king. In the third transmitted triplet, Wǔdīng tells Yuè of his past experience, which he now uses to formulate a claim about their bright future. When acting together, he concludes, they will serve as paragons of virtue. Yuè responds to this by formulating the principles on which ministers ought to serve their rulers. Wǔdīng adds a further note to it and Yuè pays obeisance. The final triplet

110 Since at least the initial slip is missing, nothing can be said with certainty about framing devices in "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" **xià*.

then closes with Yuè's words: 'I will venture to respond to, and display to the world, your Majesty's excellent charge' 敢對揚天子之休命.

The old-script text portrays Wǔdīng and Yuè as the perfect match for ideal rule. In a seamless progression from *shàng* to *xià*, it provides a compelling account of a wise king appointing an astute minister to make the king's rule long-lasting. In contrast, the three manuscript texts are a far cry from such a complete narrative, with Yuè hardly given at voice at all. While the transmitted "Yuè mìng" has developed—or more likely, was reinvented—as one text in three parts, its coherence is lacking in the manuscript texts. The manuscript texts each dwell on a particular aspect of the fabula of Wǔdīng and Fù Yuè but hardly comprise one larger, self-consistent, narrative. It is therefore possible that they are each independent renditions of selected aspects of a more widely known fabula, responding to what was considered relevant to a certain social grouping in their particular circumstances, not one text in three parts. Put to the brush at the same workshop, this does not conflict with the fact that they are written on slips of the same making and collected under one common designation.

While the manuscript texts lack a uniform narrative, they are typical representatives of Warring States thinking. **shàng* and **zhōng* portray a king who understands the signs given to him by Heaven. They present a ruler who is attuned to Heaven, responding to it in the right way. The kings of **shàng* and **zhōng* are capable of translating Heavenly command 天命 into virtuous rule through Yuè. This is taken up again in **xià*.

Nothing of the above is unique to the fabula of Wǔdīng and Yuè, let alone Shū genre. Manuscript texts such as Qīnghuá "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" (Ch. 5) or Guōdiàn "*Qióng dá yǐ shí" 窮達以時 (Success and Failure Depend on Their Time), to name but two of the more obvious examples, dwell on similar themes too.[111] In "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" Heaven intervenes at the point when King Cheng misses the true intentions of the Duke of Zhou in serving the house of Zhōu; the argument-based text "*Qióng dá yǐ shí" describes the manner in which wise ministers of the past were understood, and then received appointment, by ancient rulers.[112] The Yuè figure of "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" displays his ability by aiding Wǔdīng to translate Heavenly command into good rule. It thus connects to a ubiquitous theme of Warring States thinking, which celebrates a ruler's virtues that enable him to choose the right man.

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111 For "Qióng dá yǐ shí" see Meyer 2011: Ch. 2. A full translation is also given in S. Cook 2012.

112 The common theme expands into the humble past of the wise ministers before their appointment. The same is true in the case of Yuè, a conscript labour building the city walls of Yì Zhòng.

6.7 Manuscript Cultures and the Literarisation of Shū Traditions

To produce a manuscript is a separate thing from producing a text. Equally, to compose a text and writing it down are different activies. Texts of antiquity are the creation of a meaning community, with anonymous authors working in a stream of traditions. The written manifestation of a text is therefore the product of writers. While they may coincide, author and writer are generally different people. Hence it is not surprising that we find different instantiations of a text in different physical form.

Consider again "Zīyī". The Guōdiàn representation of it materialised on slips of 32.5 centimetres, tapered towards both ends. The Shànghǎi manifestation was copied on much longer slips, 54.3 centimetres in length, cut evenly at both ends.[113] The calligraphy is different enough to be sure that dissimilar hands applied the writing. Or take what much later becomes known as "Lǎozǐ". In the corpus of the Guōdiàn manuscripts it is produced on three separate bundles of different making.[114] Here too, it is clear that different hands applied the writing. It is also not uncommon to find groups of texts written on slips of the same making

113 Guōdiàn "Zīyī" is written on forty-seven slips. The slips are extremely well preserved, with not a single one in a fragmentary condition. They were connected by two cords, 12.8–13 centimetres apart. (See *Guōdiàn Manuscripts* 1998: 129) The Shànghaǐ manuscript is on twenty-four slips, of which only eight remain intact. Originally, three cords connected the slips in the manuscript. (See Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:43–68, 169–213) It goes without saying that the calligraphy shows characteristics of different hands.

114 Bundle A (*jiǎ* 甲) consists of slips, 32.3 centimetres in length if not broken. The altogether thirty-nine slips are tapered towards both ends. Judging from the marks on the slips, they were connected by two cords, about 13 centimetres apart; the eighteen slips of bundle B (*yǐ* 乙) are about 30.6 centimetres in length, and they are cut even on both sides. Two cords, 13 centimetres apart, connected the strips; the unbroken slips of bundle C (*bǐng* 丙) measure only c. 26.5 centimetres. The twenty-eight slips of bundle C were connected by two cords, 10.8 centimetres apart. Next to what later hardens into "Lǎozǐ", they also carry a text, now called "*Tài yī shēng shuǐ 太一生水 (The Ultimate One Generates Water). See *Guōdiàn Manuscripts* 1998: 111, 123–126. The calligraphy on the three bundles was applied by different hands. For a review of scholarship on the "*Tài yī shēng shuǐ", see Chén Lìguī 2005. The Guōdiàn materials cover about three-fifths of what later becomes known as "Lǎozǐ". While the materials 'resemble the transmitted *Lǎozǐ* closely in spirit and tone', they clearly differ from the transmitted text in style and content. (Meyer 2011: 209) A division of the materials into a *dào* 道-part (The Way) and a *dé* 德- part (Power) is not even vaguely present. Methodologically the Guōdiàn materials should therefore not be considered as "Lǎozǐ". As William Boltz put it in 1999: 596, we should beware of labelling a late fourth-century BC manuscript 'with a name for which our first evidence is a century or more later'. See further Perkins 2015.

and collected in one manuscript bundle. Again, the finds from Guōdiàn are a good example. The corpus contains a total of six groups of slips that are clearly distinct in physical terms. But these six manuscript groups carry at least eighteen different texts, [115] perhaps more, depending on how one separates them. [116] Shànghǎi and Qīnghuá confirm this picture. [117]

When manuscript and text production are separate activities, as they were in the Warring States, and when texts and manuscripts are produced on a scale significantly larger than the single occurrence of one text on one manuscript, then we must assume that the manuscripts, or at least their basic constituents—bamboo slips—were a commodity at the time. The image of the individual scholar, equipped with knife and brush, producing his own copy of a text, does not hold as a general model for text transmission at such a time.[118] Bamboo slips had to be prepared for the use as writing material. They had to be cut, dried, and then transported to wherever demand was high. This must have been an industry in itself, with division of labour a likely scenario. Today the back of a manuscript provides a little window into that world of trade in bamboo slips. Now that good photographs of these artefacts are available—a situation that was not true of Guōdiàn and Shànghǎi where only the front of the slips was photographed—we find that many manuscripts have on their back a thin slanting line. Its exact purpose is as yet unclear. It has been suggested that it was used to indicate the order of the

115 This number follows the conservative text reproduction of the editors of *Guōdiàn Manuscripts*.

116 Altogether, the tomb corpus of Guōdiàn contains 804 bamboo strips, of which 730 are inscribed. They carry some 13,000 characters. While for the most part the calligraphy has obvious Chǔ characteristics, the writing was applied by multiple hands. Six groups of manuscripts comprise first: slips that are 32.3–32.5 centimetres in length; second: slips of 30.6 centimetres length; third: slips that measure between 28.1 and 28.3 centimetres; fourth: slips of around 26.4–26.5 centimetres length; the fifth and sixth groups contain decidedly shorter slips, namely 17.2–17.5 and 15.1–15.2 centimetres length.

117 Such multi-text manuscripts are common to manuscript cultures across the globe. The Mǎwángduī silk manuscript is just one example showing that in China this practice is not a Warring States phenomenon.

118 These conclusions tie in with remarks made by Christoph Harbsmeier 1999: 222 in his study of the authorial presence in pre-Buddhist texts from China where he states:

> 'Traditionally, there was a division of labour in ancient China between the person who uses the knife or the brush to inscribe texts on various materials and the person who creates the texts that specialists in writing write down. Writing was originally a specialised craft and it remained a menial, often an anonymous task. The function of the editor/compiler was separate from that of the person responsible for the production of a given inscribed material object.'

slips.[119] However, cases such as Qīnghuá "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí", which also carry slip numbers on the back, seem to speak against this hypothesis – unless of course we assume that the slanting lines served this purpose at different stages of manuscript production.[120]

To me the most plausible scenario is to divorce the purpose of the slanting line from the actual production of the manuscript and link it to the production of the raw material of the manuscript instead – the bamboo slips. It is revealing therefore that whenever a manuscript contains both a slanting line and slip numbers, the two correlate.[121]

Consider Qīnghuá "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí". Here, as in most cases, the slanting line—in some texts it is as thin as a hair—is carved into the back of the slips with a very sharp tool. But lines drawn in ink exist too.[122] In the vast majority of cases, the slanting line extends down to the second binding strap. [123] Cases where the line continues beneath the straps further indicate that the slanting line was imposed on the bamboo slips before they were bound into a manuscript. The current hypothesis, shared by both Sūn Pèiyáng and the editors of the *Běi Dà* (Peking University) *Western Hàn-Lǎozǐ*, is that the slips of one manuscript all come from the same bamboo tube, and the slanting line was carved into the tube before the slips were cut from it.[124] This shows how little waste was produced in the making of the slips. Moreover, it shows that the line was a good indicator of which slips

119 Staack 2012: 8–13.

120 Stryjewska 2013: 7.

121 This observation coincides with Hán Wēi 2012.

122 They include manuscripts in the Bāoshān 包山 and Qīnghuá collections. See Sùn Pèiyáng 2011 and 2012.

123 The recently purchased Běijīng Dàxué 北京大學 Western Hàn "Lǎozǐ" manuscripts *shàng* 上- and *xià jīng* 下經 cast further light on the purpose of the slanting line on the back of the slips. This corpus is consistent in that the slanting line—as is true of the Qīnghuá "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí"—runs exclusively from the top left of the first slip to the upper half of the right end of the final slip. According to Sūn Pèiyáng 2011: 449–462, this situation applies to the great majority of bamboo manuscripts from the Warring States to the Hàn. A counter example is given in the Qīnghuá "*Qí yè" 耆夜 manuscript where the slanting line also goes in the opposite direction. This suggests that a minority of manuscripts also had a 'V'-shaped, or perhaps 'W'-shaped line on the back of the slips instead of just the diagonal '/' that applies to the majority of cases known thus far.

124 Sūn Pèiyáng 2011: 449–462; *Běijīng Dàxué cáng Xīhàn zhúshū*, vol. 2: 227–235. Note that Xíng Wén 2016a and 2016b considers the *Běi Dà Western Hàn-Lǎozǐ* a forgery. However, his study was poorly executed and carries no conviction. Christopher Foster 2017 has produced a comprehensive refutation of Xíng's argument.

belong together and in what order they should be placed – a useful aspect now as in antiquity.

To apply the slanting line therefore greatly helped transporting bamboo slips *en masse* to whatever place they were needed – without confusing the materials with one another. It also suggests that the numbering on the back of the slips, as it occurred, mainly aided the act of *writing* a text—possibly for determining the length of the copy—rather than the *binding* of the manuscript, for which the slanting line probably served as primary reference.[125] "*Yǐn zhì", with its unusual positioning of the slip sequence-numbers, supports this hypothesis.

The sequence of producing the manuscript text "*Yǐn zhì" was likely as follows: first, apply the numbers on the back of the slips; second, bind them into one manuscript; third, copy the text on to them. The uneven positioning of the numbers, it seems, was not an obstacle to correct placing. The sequence-numbers, disconnected from the binding of the slips into the manuscript, served as a guideline for the writer of the text. The writer, it therefore seems, must have had a good estimate of the physical length of the text he was about to produce. This suggests he was working from a written *Vorlage*. [126]

The above observations, showing the complex processes of producing the slips for writing, point to the division of labour at the various stages of making the actual manuscript. This confirms there was sufficient demand for this product, or else such forms of sophistication would not need to develop in the first place. And of course, other types of writing such as administrative or hemerological equally required the material support of bamboo slips, not just the literary texts. The material evidence thus throws into sharper relief the degree of well-developed literary cultures during the Warring States. The elaborate production of stationery developed parallel to the intellectual environment where written texts were composed to a sometimes-sophisticated standard. This comes as no surprise. The two phenomena normally appear in tandem – not just in China but across early literate societies more generally.

Although the length of a text remains mostly relatively short,[127] there is a clear increase in texts that develop a complex narrative. "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and "*Yǐn zhì" may be cited here, but "Gù mìng", "Jīn téng" and "*Bǎo xùn" equally make that point. That some texts are composed to a much lower standard only

125 The fact that not all manuscripts have that line only confirms manuscript production at a considerable scale and in different centres.

126 Note that this does not imply exact reproduction. See the discussion on pp. 66–67.

127 Wagner 1999.

confirms the diffusion of writing well beyond the centres of power and learning. "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" shows this.

6.7.1 Texts and Designations

Following on from this it is clear that we must beware of drawing direct conclusions about texts and their relationship to one another purely on the basis of their material representation.[128] "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" suggests that this even applies to manuscripts which are called by the same name.

However, there is an important difference between the designation of a manuscript and the title of a text. The *designation of a manuscript* facilitates that it be physically accessible; a *text title* is more complex. It identifies a narrative, or a compositional form, and relates it to a particular text, which has stabilised in a recognisable form. (This does, however, not mean the different text witnesses must be identical.) The *reference to a fabula*, finally, recognises the relationship of any number of texts to a known *fabula*.

Take "Zīyī". Although it shows some flexibility with regard to its actual lexicon, the compositional form of it is entirely consistent in the two manuscript texts known today. This includes the internal composition of the various units of thought, their place in the text, as well as their number. Moreover, the text was physically closed by adding the phrase *èrshí yǒu sān* 二十又(有)三 (23) at the end. "Zīyī" illustrates well how physical evidence points to a well-developed literary culture: despite some flexibility in the lexicon it is a conceptually 'closed' text. It travelled stably from one physical environment to another, and thus, potentially, between conceptual groupings.[129]

"Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" (Ch. 5) is different. Despite the obvious changes in how "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" and the transmitted "Jīn téng are presented—this relates to different socio-material contexts in which these texts played a role—their constants show a narrative with high recall value for even contrasting communities. The manuscript has on the back of its final slip the following line: 周武

128 Note that I do not here speak about representational texts. As is true of European late Antiquity, in China too representational texts, that is, texts which captivate the beholder by their material beauty (or wealth) and produced primarily for display purposes, more often than not are of a lower quality of text 'accuracy'.

129 Note that 'text-closure' may just relate to the closure of a text by certain communities or at a given point in time. "Zīyī" is again revealing. While the manuscript versions show that it was considered final by some communities during the Warring States, the transmitted version of the text shows that this was not accepted across time.

王又(有)疾周公所自以弋(代)王之志 “The record of the Duke of Zhou putting himself forward in the place of the king when King Wu was suffering from illness”. This reference goes well beyond the customs of denoting the physical item of a *manuscript* by its contents or the first few words of the text. Making it physically available was arguably not its main objective. Rather, by foregrounding a central notion of the narrative without giving away too much it is indicative of a *text title*.

For much of the text, the narrative in “Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí” focalises exclusively on the events from a horizontal perspective. The effect of this is that we are led to doubt the Duke of Zhou’s integrity, up to the point where the king opens the metal-bound casket, realising that the duke had acted in good faith. In this manner, the text gives form to a group’s celebration of unbroken loyalty between ruler and subject – also (and perhaps especially?) in moments of distress. The text’s strategy to make its audiences relive the king’s epiphany when the king is taking the duke’s text out of the casket makes manifest the level of sophistication which text composition and text reception can achieve during of the Warring States. Thus, while the reference written on the back of the final slip informs the recipient about the contents of the text, it does not disclose enough to compromise the dramatic features of “Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí”, which prove so vital for its performative nature.

And what about “Fù Yuè zhī mìng”? The gaps in the textual presentation are so significant that I think it unlikely that the designations of each bundle are the titles of one text in three parts. However, as they are also not acknowledging the *material representation* of a story, it seems best to explain them as the generic references to a known *fabula*. While clearly informing the production of these texts, it was worked into different narratives, collected under a single reference. With different communities producing different stories from a common *fabula*, it is conceivable that more such renderings exist.

In consideration, a highly sophisticated literary culture emerges before our eyes: the diffusion of texts; the occasional identification of a text by title; the literalisation of old cultural capital; the occasional stabilising of a text into a closed entity, paired with the clear signs of the commodification of the writing materials; but also the distribution of texts of a lower quality – this all points to the development of complex manuscript cultures.

6.8 Reading Shū

No matter their degree of sophistication, it would be premature to conclude that the texts were all read in a manner similar to the common reading practices today. Certainly of the Shū there is good reason to assume that they were not entirely

disassociated from oral delivery – at least as far the rhetorical fabric of self-representation of some of these texts is concerned. Warring States textualisations of Shū overwhelmingly show dramatic features. Even the more literary pieces are thus suitably delivered to their audiences, possibly the aristocratic elites, that is, the 'public' of those days.[130] Markers of dramatic makeup include the discernible use of personal pronouns that we see in nearly all texts discussed in this book; their stage-like openings or closures by means of various framing techniques; the sometimes compelling phonetic texture; the focus on the sometimes intimate exchange between between two actors; their setting in well-described environments, often the royal court; the extended event as developed in them.

But also the physical manuscripts point in this direction. The pronounced use of punctuation marks as seen in some manuscripts is a case in point. Two types are particularly relevant here. Perspective markers, as I call them; and markers of, possibly, breath groups. "*Yǐn zhì" and "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí", discussed earlier, serve as examples respectively, each showing markings that facilitate the reading of the text out aloud. While in "*Yǐn zhì" they indicate shifts between actors, settings, and perspective, in "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" they consistently mark up those breaks between chunks of text that are less easily discerned, thus making it more important to signal them when presenting the text to an audience.[131] While we saw that Shū genre is sustained by the manuscript cultures of the Warring States with the accompanying growing literary sophistication, the spoken and the written word nonetheless continuously complement each other.

130 Text-based performance in early China certainly took a different route from its various counterparts in the Mediterranean world. The Greek tragedy, perhaps the most important representative of texts for performance in European antiquity, was acted out on stage. Sung by the chorus (khorós χορός) it had as its audience the free men of the polis, and we should expect nothing of this sort when thinking about the performance of texts during the Eastern Zhōu period. (On the origins of Greek theatre, see the collected essays, ed. Csapo and Miller 2007. For a cultural history of the theatre in Greece and Rome, see the collection of articles in McDonald and Walton 2007; Revermann 2017.)

Note in this context that we cannot dismiss the possibility, given the degree of textual sophistication we have seen, that Warring States text producers were capable of creating primarily written materials that nonetheless showed dramatic features.

131 On interpunctuation see the important discussion in Krijgsman 2018. See furthermore, highly illuminative, Mèng Yuèlóng 2017 and Shaughnessy 2017.

6.9 Writing Shū

Before closing, I want to complicate the picture of Shū thus gained. Shū genre describes the written presentation of a repertoire of steady components in an archaic speech register, often used in a setting that was not entirely disconnected from oral delivery. The Shū genre was therefore not primarily constituted by texts but by items of a community's cultural capital that were used in a modular fashion. Its source is not entirely clear, but the ritual and ceremonial language preserved in the thick tradition of Western Zhōu bronze texts and the sociomaterial fabric of appointment observances is a most likely candidate – a hypothesis that is sanctioned by the neat overlap between "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" and the "Máogōng-*dǐng*".

Facilitated by maturing manuscript cultures where information flowed better, it became increasingly common for sub-groups of the wider meaning community to entextualise select items of the widely shared cultural capital when making a new argument. As a result, with the increasing physical availability of written sources during the Warring States, moulds of text production are beginning to stabilise, and textual patterns of signification increasingly reappear in different texts. With old cultural capital thus woven into new problem space it is only natural that layered texts occurred that develop an extended event even over the short span of just a few hundred graphs or less. Producing a short but stand-alone argument such as "*Yǐn zhì", one can easily see how it might develop a modular application and reappear elsewhere as a 'unit of thought' in other, more complex, narratives. This would explain a highly layered text such as "Gù mìng", which as an argument works best when read in conjunction with "Kāng Wáng zhī gào" 康王之誥, the text directly following it in the Hàn-era recension.

With the narrativisation of cultural capital in maturing manuscript cultures also comes its literalisation. The texts are not just becoming increasingly complex. They become literature, increasingly compelling in the ways they make their point, even if they were initially intended for use by a limited audience of insiders only. "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" with its quite sophisticated arc of suspense is a case in point.

Still, despite such pushes towards repeated formulations, stabilising text clusters, and even the literalisation of a 'historical' event, the picture gained from the Qīnghuá manuscripts is overwhelmingly that of text fluidity, not stability, let alone fixity. However, there are exceptions to this. Of these most striking is "*Mìng xùn" 命訓.

6.10 "*Mìng xùn" 命訓

"*Mìng xùn" (Commands and admonishments), with which I close, is collected in volume 5 of the *Qīnghuá Manuscripts*. It is produced on 15 bamboo slips, on the average 49 cm long and cut evenly at both ends. Three cords were used to connect the slips. Even though the vast majority of slips are incomplete, most graphs are still legible. [132]

Except for the final slip, 15, all slips were numbered in consecutive order at their back.[133] This makes it easy to confirm its continuous reading.

But not just the material properties of the manuscript facilitate our reconstruction of the text. "*Ming xùn" has moreover a stunningly close counterpart in "Mìng xùn" *jiě* 命訓解, a chapter of the *Yî Zhōushū*.[134] The *Qīnghuá* editors used it to refer to the manuscript text.

The editors chose to take the manuscript text "*Mìng xùn" as a '*shàn běn*' 善本, that is, a 'reliable source text' (sometimes also translated as 'good edition'). This means it allows them to alter—in their thinking, 'correct'—the reading of *Yî Zhōushū* "Mìng xùn" *jiě*, an admittedly complex, and partly certainly corrupt, text. However, I do not think it useful to think of "*Mìng xùn" in those terms, as it would grant undue prevalence to a manuscript text of which we possess only one copy. Even though it reads much better than its counterpart in the *Yî Zhōushū*, I do not want to exclude the possibility that the manuscript text is just another rendering of a surprisingly stable text at its core with nonetheless loose ends at its fringes. "*Mìng xùn" was certainly a stable text. But it was not static.

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132 Slip 1 has its top broken, with one graph missing, its tail is intact; slip 2 has the top broken, presumably two graphs are missing. Its tail is sliced with the crack going through three graphs but no losses; slip 3 has its top broken, with one graph missing, its tail is intact; slip 4 has its top broken, but no graph is missing and its tail is intact; slip 5 has its top and tail broken but no graphs missing; slip 7 has its top broken but no graph missing. Its tale is broken with one graph missing; slip 8 has its top broken but no graph is missing, its tail is intact; slip 9 has its top broken but no graph is missing. Its tail is broken but no graph is missing; slip 11 has its top broken but no graph is missing, its tail is intact; slip 12 has its top broken but no graph is missing, its tail is broken with c. three graph missing; slip 13 has its top broken but no graph is missing, its tail is intact; slip 14 has its top broken with c. two graph missing. Its tail is intact but the slip is broken in the middle, with c. two graphs missing; slip 15 has its top broken, with c. two graphs missing, its tail is intact. Slips 6, 10 are fully intact.

133 Numbers 4 and 14 are no longer fully visible.

134 *Yî Zhōushū huìjiào jí zhù*, juǎn 1, Ch. 2: 20–40.

6.11 Dialectics of Rule: The Political Philosophy of "*Mìng xùn"

"*Mìng xùn" is not an easy text. It is therefore all the more surprising how extraordinarily stable it was over the millennia. It develops a rather complex philosophy of rule wherein political power is produced, and reinforced, dialectially from the large to the small and vice versa.

This works as follows. In the political philosophy of "*Mìng xùn" Heaven is the constant reference point. It 'gives birth to the commonfolks' (*mín*), as well as 'accomplishes the Great Command' (*dà mìng* 大命), hence the first line of the text.[135] This statement is not as innocent as it may seem because, as developed later on in the text, the two—the commonfolks and the Great Command—continuously depend on each other, one serving as foundation of the other – and together they form the basis of a complex system of rule and daily rulings. Justified by Heaven, the Great Command thus governs the workings of the virtuous powers (*dé*) of the ruler; it corrects the commonfolks through fortunes and misfortunes; it confirms brilliant kings through admonitions.[136] Then, with the Great Command being 'constant' (*cháng* 常), the small commands (*viz.*, commands of common orders and rules) are accomplished on a daily basis. [137] This being so, respect for the system is established in its use on a daily basis and thus, retrospectively as it proves successful, the Great Command—this is now defined as the system of rule and successful ruling—will expand. [138] As the Great Command expands it further reinforces respect for the Commands, great and small (*viz.*, the Great Command as reinforced through the small commands of daily routines), which in turn serves again as a standard against which the system of rule and its daily rulings are being defined and measured.[139] And so on.

Thus is the thinking of "*Mìng xùn" as developed in its first building block. The further explorations into the finer details of the dialectics of successful ruling all relate back to this initial unit of thought with its core concepts, which forms the basis of the further philosophical cogitating of the text. From here the various points of departure are developed in matryoshka-esque fashion. While "*Mìng xùn" considers matters as diverse as what is right (*yì*); reward and punishments;

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135 **1**/1–6. \ [1][] (天?)生民而成大命 = (，)

136 **1**/7–18. (命)司 悳 (德)，正以禍(禍)福，立明王以儆 (訓)之。

137 **1**/20–27. 大命又(有) 棠(常)，少(小)命日 = 成 = 。(日成)則敬，

138 **1**/28–33. 又(有)尚(常)則 宝 (廣) = ，

139 **1**/34–**2**/1. (廣)以敬命，則𠂤 (度)| \[2][][][](至于?) 亟 (極)。

fortunes and misfortunes; fame and shame; loyalty and trustworthiness; pleasure and fear; war and peace; they all remain within a defined system of a dialectics of rule, as prepared in the first few lines. Over the relatively short space of fifteen slips—this is roughly three times the length of "*Yǐn zhì"—"*Mìng xùn" thus develops a scheme, which, in a constant movement between matters small and great, defines a philosophical standard that constantly tests itself dialectically so that it never ossifies into doctrine. "*Mìng xùn" therefore only works as long as the system it develops is constantly questioning itself philosophically and not taken as a paradigm for its own sake.

6.12 Writing Shū – again

I shall not provide a full discussion of "*Mìng xùn" at this instant. This would go far beyond the point I am trying to establish here.[140] Here suffice it to say that the first unit of thought is fully consistent in the two texts, even down to the level of precise wording. This level of consistency is, however, not upheld throughout. It breaks down in the next building block as the transmitted text diverts from the train of thought in the middle of the line. Consider the following in "*Mìng xùn":

> 夫司 悳 (德)司義而易 (賜)之福 =，(福)祿才(在)人 =，(人)能居女(如)不居而圣(重)義則厇(度)至于亟 (極)
> Generally speaking, when one is overseeing virtuous power, as well as what is right (*yì*), and the riches and fortunes are bestowed on men (*rén*), [so] men can enjoy [such] riches and fortunes, then men (*rén*) are capable of setting [in them] as if they weren't settling; thus valuing what is right, the standards reach their apex.[141]

As against "Mìng xùn" *jiě*:

> 夫司德司義而賜之福祿，福祿在人，能無懲乎？若懲而悔過，則度至于極。
> Generally speaking, when one is overseeing virtuous power, as well as what is right (*yì*), and the riches and fortunes are bestowed on men (*rén*), are they not capable of being chastised? If they can be chastised and [thus] repent their wrongdoings, then standards reach their apex.[142]

140 A full translation of the text, together with a philological discussion, is given in Shaughnessy 2016b. I discuss the philosophy of "*Mìng xùn" and provide a philosophical translation of the text in Behr and Indraccolo, forthcoming.

141 "*Mìng xùn" **2**/2–26.

142 *Yì Zhōushū*, 22.

Questions aside what '*sī dé*' means,[143] "Mìng xùn" *jiě* brings up a point developed more fully later on in the two texts. At this juncture it seems misplaced. This is probably best explained as a transmission error in "Mìng xùn" *jiě*, a hypothesis stated previously by the Qíng scholar Táng Dàpéi 唐大培 (fl. 1836) in his study of the *Yî Zhōushū*.[144]

Other than this obvious break, the changes between the two texts are mostly minor. They largely fall into one of the categories described by Edward Shaughnessy in his study of the textual variants. Shaughnessy groups the differences between the two texts in five types, classed as follows: writing or copying errors; classifier variation; phonetic loans; variants caused by graphic similarity; the addition or deletion of words. He further includes one instance of a 'pseudovariant'.[145]

Shaughnessy's study shows, to my mind, the instability of a fully stable text in writing-supported text performance. In a way "*Mìng xùn" thus compares to "Zīyī" of the Warring States. However, "Zīyī" is organised in a strict system of separate building blocks of which each is structured by a fixed template of Shī, Shū and *zǐ* phrases, connected by the text's authorial voice which links them together, thus serving as archive of cultural capital. Not so "Mìng xùn". It is an argument-based text in the traditions of Shū that develops a sophisticated dialectical philosophy of ruling. Rather than explaining its stability by reference to compact compositional features we must explain it otherwise: its prevalence rests in written composition.

"*Mìng xùn" is an extraordinary text. In its stability it is equally an exception to the rule as it is a case in point. It is an exception insofar as it contradicts the point of Shū as a genre that enables conceptual groupings to use steady components in an archaic speech register to produce an argument of new significance. It is a case in point, however, in that "*Mìng xùn" testifies to the literalisation of Shū where the primacy is shifted from modular clusters appropriated from the cultural capital of the wider meaning community of the Zhōu oecumene to increasingly stable texts. "*Mìng xùn" thus confirms the point of heightened forms of textualisation in stabilising manuscript cultures where Shū steadily become literature – or, as in "*Mìng xùn", philosophy. It further shows that the models

143 The Qīng scholar Pān Zhèn 潘振 relates it to the gentleman scholar (*Yî Zhōushū*, 22). Shaughnessy 2016b: 133 renders it accordingly as 'Overseer of Virtue'. I disagree with that choice because it introduces an unnecessary disbalance and weakens the argumentative pattern of the system as laid out in "*Mìng xùn". I prefer reading it instead parallel to the next phrase as a V-O construction.

144 Táng Dàpéi, *Yî Zhōushū fēn biān jùshì*, 24. Quoted from Shaughnessy 2016b: 120.

145 Shaughnessy 2016b.

discussed in this study are not mutually contradictory. We should not think of them as one scenario replacing the other in a linear progression. Different degrees of text stability and modular cultural appropriation can happily coexist.

6.13 Conclusion

While the literalisation of old cultural capital in the traditions of Shū clearly suited private text consumption, this was probably not their primary purpose. Rather, we should assume that despite their written primacy the texts composed at the time were still overwhelmingly produced for a form of delivery which had an oral aspect to it. This is discernable from physically visible features of the manuscripts—for instance perspective markers and other reading support—as well as the structural features of the texts, such as the dramatisation of the reported event through framing and other evocative elements. Written Shū therefore often require a certain 'public' as their audience, the meaning community of those days. But the groups for whom the texts were produced, and who repeatedly reproduced these texts for their ends, were of course not static. Naturally the texts changed too. This took different forms. Often it led to increased layers of complexity in these texts. Speech is reduced. Frames and other narrative features now pad the text to furnish it with quasi-historical elements that contextualise the account in a certain, if invented, setting. Even short texts increasingly produce an extended event that covers more expansive time periods in their narratives, not any longer just the primary event of the—predominantly royal—speeches. But the processes just described are dialectical. The thus produced, stand-alone, argument can become modular too and reoccur elsewhere in another context or narrative. In the long run the said processes led to the decrease of the oral dimension of some of these texts, increasing their narrative (or, as in "*Mìng xùn", structural) appeal instead. This is certainly the case of text development in Shū traditions' *longue durée*, as seen from the imperial counterparts to their manuscript texts in the *Shàngshū*. A text such as "*Mìng xùn" in many ways foreshadows later developments. Still, despite this tendency toward an increased narrativisation and philosophication of written Shū, one point never fully ceased to play out: the purpose of Shū as a communal-political *mythomoteur*,[146] in promoting the agendas of dynamic meaning communities and their invented traditions, as we shall see next.

146 A '*mythomoteur*' is constitutive in giving a group, ethnic or otherwise, a sense of purpose, sociopolitically, socioreligiously, or dynastically. It was first used by Ramòn d'Abadal i de Vinyals 1958 and further developed by John Armstrong 1983 and Anthony D. Smith 1986.

7 Conclusion: the Shū and political argument in early China

> Die Geschichte als reine Wissenschaft gedacht und souverän geworden,
> wäre eine Art von Lebens-Abschluß und Abrechnung für die Menschheit.
> Die historische Bildung ist vielmehr nur im Gefolge einer mächtigen neuen Lebensströmung,
> einer werdenden Kultur zum Beispiel,
> etwas Heilsames und Zukunft-Verheißendes, also nur dann,
> wenn sie von einer höheren Kraft beherrscht und geführt wird
> und nicht selber herrscht und führt.[1]

The way Shū were being refashioned in a variety of ways and texts during the Warring States suggests that around the second half of the first millennium BC Shū had developed into a genre – a genre fit to hold argumentation. Select text clusters that would resonate with the cultural capital of the wider meaning community—a conceptual projection—were now reproduced, variously, by assorted social groupings.

This development is only natural. It is typical of a society in crisis, real or imagined, that venerated texts of the past are used for thinking in the present. Past forms of written communication are taken as a model for the present, with new texts reproducing the features of their predecessors. This may happen in manifold ways, often on a scale between claims of renaissance and continuity.

When a society engages in cultural production in the manner of revival, on the one hand, it is because they consider their immediate experience as disconnected from the olden days. Now lost, the past must be re-constituted in the present to serve as a model for the future. A claimed permanency, on the other hand, posits the longevity of the past in the present. A society may thus lay claim to tradition, even if (re-)invented, in support of their present situation. While the end result is similar, the strategies and underlying concerns differ.

Consider epigrams. They were produced during the eighth and ninth centuries AD in the Byzantine Empire, the Greek-speaking remnant of the Roman Empire. They claim resurgence.[2] In their stylised diction and 'stitched together from

1 Nietzsche, 1: 219.

2 The practice of Atticism where later authors copy the style of Attic authors was also a governing principle for many writers during the Roman empire, especially writers of the Second Sophistic age, such as Lucian (Λουκιανὸς, AD c. 125–180) and Aristides (Ἀριστείδης, AD 117–181). (See

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110708530-008

pieces of a previous *vita*',[3] the epigrams reconstitute the language of old to bridge the gulf between the present and the past. But while the Byzantine authors took as their basis the classical tradition, which they routinely evoke in their literary production, they also used the ancient models to bring to the fore the cultural differences between them and the ancients, thus highlighting historical change.[4] Conscious of the time gap, the producers of the epigrams present themselves as both the transmitters and guardians of ancient Greek culture, but also as active transformers of that heritage.[5] In their constant reproduction of texts and themes from antiquity the Byzantines draw on the familiar so as to translate their claimed heritage into cultural applications relevant for their own needs in the present, but in memory of the old. This makes these texts socio-politically and philosophically laden. By reconnecting the Byzantine Empire to past traditions and, at the same time, signalling the differences to—or developments from—the distant cultural ancestors of Byzantium, the texts stress Byzantium's special place in history. As ordained inheritors of Greek tradition, so the Byzantine self-perception, the texts hold a strong message. Not only do they claim the rightful order of Byzantine rule. Moreover they assert its necessary place in history.

Or take the literary movement associated with Hán Yù 韓愈 (768–824), the essayist and poet of the Táng 唐 Dynasty (618–907).[6] Advocating a new style of writing in ancient diction, the classical movement produced by his example shares with the Byzantine epigrams claims of reconstituting the past in the present through models of resurgence. Cut off from the world of the classical period that was deemed fundamental for the present and the future, traditions had to be re-invented. One way of doing so was to produce texts that reconnect present experience with the past in the creation of something new.

Arguably, Hán Yù was formulating a philosophical claim.[7] His aim was to model the self by generating the philosophical persona Mèngzǐ (aka Mencius)

Reynolds and Wilson 1991: 47). The term 'Second Sophist age' describes the literary activity of Greek writers from the second half of the first century to the first half of the third century AD.

3 Nilsson 2010: 195.

4 Nilsson 2010: 199 in reference to Green's 1982 account of Renaissance humanists' attitude to the past.

5 Nilsson 2010: 200.

6 In Western languages, there is surprising little scholarship on Hán Yù, considered by the Míng scholar Máo Kūn 茅坤 (1512–1601) as one of the 'Eight Great Masters [of Prose] of the Táng and Sòng dynasties' (唐宋八大家). (Reference taken from de Laet 1996: 1083.) See, however, Hartman 1986; McMullen 1989 assumes a very different take on Hán Yù from Hartman.

7 As a side note, one might like to think of the eighteenth-century *kǎo zhèng* 考證 (evidential research) movement as parallel to Hán Yù's in spirit, yet different in method. Just like the Táng

within oneself. This was thought best achieved by producing texts in the venerated ancient philosopher's style. [8] While Hán Yù and his ideal of 'reconstituting antiquity' (*fù gǔ* 復古) was therefore profoundly philosophical, it also had sociopolitical implications.[9] By way of producing texts in the manner of the past the—so constructed—sociopolitical and philosophical order of days yore was considered to be embraced, even embodied, in the present.

The Shū texts studied in this book compare in their conclusions. That contrasting conceptual communities used (old) cultural capital in new argument space was sociopolitically and philosophically revelant. But the Warring States articulations of Shū differed in strategy. Unlike the above-cited examples, the texts of Shū genre embraced the past not as a matter of revival, but continuation. In their *Gestus* of self-representation, these texts do not reconnect to days yore. They act as though they were actual voices of the past, heard in the present, and relevant for the future.

7.1 The Material Basis of Shū Genre

Shū genre flourished in the heyday of literary manuscript cultures when during the Warring States the material availability of written sources ensured that information might flow more easily. Select text clusters of signification—clusters that were deemed to resonate with a group's cultural capital—were consequently reproduced variously and by assorted social groupings. With the increased use of such text clusters in new textual articulations, expectations rose accordingly across the different sub-groups of the wider meaning community to see them (re-)appear in certain types of sociopolitical and philosophical utterances. As the

literary movement to reinstate antiquity, scholars of the *kǎozhèng* movement wished to restore past structures of what they perceived as true Confucian culture. To them this was best done by throwing a bridge across Neo-confucian scholarship with their Daoist and Buddhist accretions so as to resume the interrupted conversation with antiquity through the Classics, which they considered to contain 'paradigms of social order' and absolute claims to 'historical truth'. (Elman 1984: 28, also for further references.) Yet, unlike Hán Yù, their methodology to restore the past was 'philology, not philosophy'. (Elman 1984: 26–36.)

8 While Hán Yù and the movement triggered by his writings have been well described in the literature, a conceptualisation of the implicit philosophical position is yet to be written.

9 This becomes particularly obvious in the central question of imperial authority and succession, as is evident in the literary letter "Reply to Questions on Yǔ", which seems to reflect a wider debate at the time about whether the heir to the throne ought to be the son of the Emperor, or chosen on the basis of merit from outside the imperial family. See McMullen 1989: 607–608.

actors in this debate are equally the recipients as well as its producers, this demand was naturally satisfied so as to ensure that these actors connect to, and remain part of, a common debate. Consciously or not, genre expectations consequently stabilised, channelling the production and reception of a particular type of texts. By assimilating modes of communication through links with previous utterances of Shū traditions, the newly produced texts—Shū—thus enabled different actors to position themselves in the debate – in and through the voice of antiquity. Intertextuality is central to this. By making use of such consolidated text clusters in the traditions of Shū, the cultural capital of the Zhōu meaning community and their various sub-groups increasingly served as a conventionalised tool for the production, reception, and circulation of discourse. With such expectations of Shū genre solidifying across the different actors of the Eastern Zhōu oecumene, the said conventions stabilised even further, governing how a stretch of discourse was organised into text. New arguments, couched in the language of days yore, were thus introduced into the debate, with deemed-legitimate precedents from high antiquity. Shū genre thus became performative in the sense that a writing-supported text performance actualised cultural knowledge for ends in the present.

The performative aspect of Shū genre thus goes beyond the oral delivery of a text to a public of whatever description. Not that this did not happen. Quite the opposite, many texts studied in this volume clearly show dramatic features that make such a text ideally suited to oral delivery. Distinct markings on the manuscripts that may well serve to signal breath groups and a change of perspectives between the personae whose voices are captured in the texts give further evidence to this. My point here is a different one. The articulation of Shū is itself a performance activity – no matter which way it was delivered. To move old cultural capital into new problem space not only enables an argument; voicing high antiquity in the present in thus prescribed form constitutes *in itself* the making of an argument.

During the Warring States the Shū are therefore a genre—voiced by a writing-supported text performance—which is guided by its own premises. This act of literary performance has sociopolitically and philosophically patterning ends as it enables contrasting conceptual communities to link their position to a discourse and thus take stance in a normative setting. In this way Shū genre not only governs how an argument is put. It also rules what that argument entails.

7.2 Evolving Shū

Governed by its own rules of genre expectations, Shū have thus become a literary performance which textualises antiquity in a prescribed manner. Yet, the texts of Shū genre are nonetheless necessarily dynamic. They are ever-evolving products of fluctuating conceptual communities, varying with each articulation. By voicing their concerns as an expression of Shū, ever more periphal groups (or shall we say *especially* more periphal groups) found a way to claim unbroken continuation with antiquity. The Shū thus became a tool of legitimacy, allowing groups to articulate even unorthodox positions with ancient backing in the debate about ruler-subject relations and good rule.

Take for example "Jīn téng" and its manuscript counterpart "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí". My analysis (Ch. 5) has shown how different communities produce different stories for different ends in their recourse to the same set of materials. "Jīn téng" has all the necessary clues to present the deeds of the Duke of Zhōu in the most favourable light. It behaves like a memorial to remind participating communities of the right bond between ruler and subject. As such it speaks to wider communities, including those that were somewhat removed from the memory of the event. Not so "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí". Its purpose is to entertain elements of doubt about the duke's actual role, so that the text recipients may 're-live' moments of despair in a prescribed, formalised setting. "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" renews that bond in the present by having it re-enacted, time and again, in an audience through the act of reading it or experiencing it otherwise. In so doing it speaks to the meaning community of the Eastern Zhōu oecumene to whom the ritual significance of the event was more present. Or take the received "Gù mìng" and its relation to the manuscript text "*Bǎo xùn" (Ch. 4). At least in one of the two cases, if not in both, the communities in question appropriated solidified formulae that channel, and therefore prescribe, the way the event is told. In this way, they transformed a singular 'historical' situation and made it into a normative type of event – and, *nota bene*, one that presents a political claim that is at odds with the one formulated in the other text.

To articulate a given sociopolitical and philosophical stance within the cultural bounds of Shū genre is thus shown to be viable. It ensures that a message is articulated in such a manner that it carries authoritative value. It also shows that Shū do not record history. Of course they are are historical documents. But they are historical documents only insofar they inform us, the historian of thought, about the manifold ways Warring States communities narrativised a projected event in history by use of set patterns—defined by Shū genre—to make normative claims of sociopolitical and philosophical relevance.

By using the voice of antiquity for present ends, the commitment to truth of the late Eastern Zhōu articulations of Shū is therefore not a matter of objectivity but of capturing an ideal that is either gone or under threat. Shū do not set out to archive historical events as they really happened. In appropriating the past for present ends, they have political relevance.

7.3 Shū Genre and Political Argument

Political argument understood in this way entails that within the framework of normativity as prescribed by the accepted parameters of cultural production—Shū genre—a space is given to the various, sometimes competing, sub-groups of the meaning community of the day that enables flexibility, and creativity, in the making of a point that has socially patterning, as well as philosophical, relevance. That space of accepted normativity as defined by the bounds of Shū genre therefore prescribes *how* an argument is presented, as well as *what* that position may be. In their *Gestus* of self-representation these parameters of textualised Shū therefore bring together, as a cultural instution, articulations as disparate as "Wén Hóu zhī mìng", "Jīn téng", "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí", "Gù mìng", "*Bǎo xùn", "*Yín zhì", "Fù Yuè zhī mìng", and "*Mìng xùn", the texts considered in this study.[10]

Obviously, political argument thus defined differs from our common notion of 'politics', as is also remarked by the renowned German Classicist Christian Meier in his seminal, albeit somewhat inwardlooking, discussion of the origins of 'matters political' (das Politische) in early Greece.[11] Meier defines it as the area in which there appears 'an extension of the political space to act in a given, prescribed way (*Dispositionsraum*), beyond the centres of rule'. [12] The political space where argument is constructed to Meier is therefore where a given order is chal-

10 This list could of course be extended much further, with the Qīnghuá manuscripts now showing how vast the traditions of Shū were. A text like "*Tāng zài chì/dì mén" (Meyer 2018a), with its odd ways of constructing meaning in a performative setting, may be mentioned here. The text casts light on articulations that occupy a rather peripheral place in these traditions, demonstrating that to present an argument as Shū not only means to link the argument to a discourse; it moreover shows also how relevant such an act was—sociopolitically, philosophically or otherwise—to be linked to it.

11 C. Meier 1980: 15.

12 Ibid, 17 f.

lenged – in fact, to him that challenge is the very expression of political argument.[13] For Meier it is difficult to think of the political space of argument as disconnected from the Greek *hē pólis* (ἡ πόλισ), a term referring to the politically-qualified community of free men in the city-state.[14] Yet, while for Meier the Greek polis is the prime *locus* of political argument, there is no good reason why 'matters political' should be restricted to one single historical-geographical constellation – as long as we allow its parameters to be adjusted.[15] In other words, political argument as I use it here is a concept that applies whenever self-conceptionalised groups and sub-groups re-negotiate their space of influence. It is therefore essentially a goal-oriented act – in Greece, China, or elsewhere. That contrasting conceptual communities articulate their ideas within the bounds of Shū traditions by moving old cultural capital into new problem space so to use the past for ends in the present thus constitutes an immediate expression of this very act. It is a manifestation of re-negotiating political space.

When looking at political argument from the macro perspective of the Shū traditions, we therefore find that the parameters of Shū genre present a framework—call it cultural normativity—of expectations, a cultural mould, so to speak, that may be filled with contents of different sorts. This mould, rather than specific contents, is what presents legitimacy, and viability, to the positions articulated in the texts. "Wén Hóu zhī mìng" (Ch. 6) can thus assume the *Gestus* of a Western Zhōu bronze texts while really it is detached from the socio-material referentiality of such contexts; "Gù mìng" and "*Bǎo xùn" (Ch. 4) may be mirrored in their framing devices but present opposite sociopolitical and philosophical positions; "Zhōu Wǔ Wáng yǒu jí" (Ch. 5) develops a sophisticated dramatisation of the reported event by positing a polarisation of two historical personae. Its message

13 Ibidem.

14 Aristotle was perhaps the first to systematise matters political as a discipline by reference to the autonomy of the political structure of decision making. That there has never been an independent discourse of the nature of the political, thus making it into a discipline as initiated by Aristotle, is hardly justification of the claim that matters political, as a category, are not applicable to early China, as duly noted in an excellent discussion of that problem by Marchal 2011: 35.

15 This point is also made in Marchal 2011: 36–37. In terms of the different bounds, Marchal notes the lack of the public in early China; the lacking isonomy of the citymen in China; as well as the absence of the Greek notion of independence in China.

Note that C. Meier's discussion is fundamentally based on Carl Schmitt's (1888–1985) concept of 'das Politische' (as defined in his coterminous essay from 1927, further refined in 1932, and with a new Introduction and added corollaries 2015) as something that constantly negotiates between friend and enemy. Within reason, this conflict is applicable to different kinds of constellations and thus presents a useful methodological framework beyond the Greek realm.

becomes transposable to be re-used in a different setting, so that the projected experience of the king can be relived by the recipient in the present, whereas "Jīn téng" serves as a textualised *Denkmal* to remind participating communities of the generic bond between subject and lord; "*Yǐn zhì" (Ch. 6) foregrounds the legitimacy of the Shāng in replacing the Xià by focalising on the reconstitution of the Dì, thus systematising—anachronistically—the concept of heavenly Mandate; "Fù Yuè zhī mìng" (Ch. 6) unites a group of texts that narrativise—variously—the fabula of the encounter of king and minister-to-be, Fù Yuè, to celebrate the charismatic power of the king through the deeds of the minister; "*Mìng xùn" (Ch. 6) develops a complex philosophy of rule where political power is produced, and reinforced, dialectially from the large to the small and vice versa. In so doing it develops a scheme that is continuously testing itself philosophically by producing a standard which defies becoming doctrine.

That we call these different texts Shū is because tradition informs us to do so. To the conceptual communities of the time the Shū traditions were simply the bounds of accepted normativity that allowed them to articulate an argument and have it enter debate. Naturally, those bounds were tested continuously, and they were expanding accordingly. Some articulations were thus accepted as normative within those bounds; others were not. Different conceptual sub-groups will have had different expectations. Some articulations were therefore successful and survived. Others were not and fell out of transmission processes. I therefore do not consider it productive that we identify, retrospectively, hard parameters in defining what is a Shū, and what not. The meaning community was not static but constituted by competing groups and sub-groups. Genre expectations evolve over time and differ between social groupings. Shū have thus become, I close, a genre of literary performance through which constrasting conceptual communities move old cultural capital into new argument space to (re-)negotiate political space of influence within the framework of normativity as defined by accepted models of tradition.

7.4 Xí Jìnpíng's Shū

I want to end by reflecting briefly on contemporaneous dimensions of the Shū traditions. To articulate an argument and address it to an imagined community by placing it in the traditions of Shū was not just done by Eastern Zhōu communities; similar strategies are used by the political cadres and social theorists in China today when they recite select statements from those traditions as they see fit in the making of a political argument. Whether the truly ancient (or downright

invented) repertoire of a group's cultural capital is recontextualised in the continuum of history by placing it in new argument space as happening during the Warring States; or whether isolated text constituents from the *Shàngshū* are taken out of their context and cited purposefully in the setting of political speech by political scientists or cadres of the Chinese Communist Party today: in both cases the constituent elements of tradition *as used by these groups*—reproduced, recited, or invented—are treated as modular and they are thus used flexibly to (re-)negotiate spaces of influence within the normative bounds of tradition.

Having lost their heartland—and cultural legitimacy—certain communities of the Eastern Zhōu oecumene felt the need to (re-)invent the 'social contract' between ruler and ruled: a bond based on what is 'right' and exemplified by the personae of high antiquity whose voice and example of good conduct were well-known. Parallel to the experience of the Eastern Zhōu communities, leading a 'Marxist' state that is however driven by hypercapitalism, political leaders and social theorists today feel they need to invent a unifying spirit to 'remind' the Chinese people of their common cultural roots. 'Confucianism' (whatever that really means) has been national favourite in that endeavour for quite some time, despite party leaders' repeated reference to 'Marxist values', which in their logic presents no conflict.[16] Both enterprises find in Shū traditions an ideal source for their undertaking.

The *Shàngshū* is not the only source serving Xí Jìnpíng 習近平—President of the People's Republic of China, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, Chairman of the Central Military Commission, and since October 2016 lifelong 'core' leader—in upholding his view that the Chinese Communist Party remains the single 'loyal inheritor and promoter of China's outstanding traditional culture'.[17] This was stated in 2014 at an official visit to Qūfù 曲阜, (Shāndōng 山東 Province) home of Confucius, the venerated persona of antiquity who had to serve as a projection surface to legitimise a variety of trends, actions, and slogans—positive as well as negative—for much of China's history, past and present. But the *Shàngshū* and its related texts continually take a principal role in the Party's endeavour to 'vigorously promote China's traditional culture'.[18]

16 Just forty-eight hours before the visit of Barack Obama to China in November 2009, the official news agency Xīnhuá released a statement by Xí Jìnpíng—nearly three years before he became the leader of the Chinese Communist Party in Autumn 2012—in which he proposed to 'actively encourage the building of a ruling party study model of Marxism'. (Sisci 2009).

17 Cited from the *New York Times* (11 October 2014). Buckley: "Leader Taps Into Chinese Classics in Seeking to Cement Power".

18 *New York Times* (11 October 2014). Xí repeatedly also makes reference to Hán Fēi 韓非 (c. 280–233 BC), the most prominent of the group of thinkers/texts later denoted 'Legalist' (plus Shāng

In an address at the 18th collective study session on governance of the Politburo, Xí Jìnpíng remarked:

> Several thousand years ago, the Chinese nation trod a path that was different from other nations' culture and development... It is not a coincidence that we started up 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'... It was decided by our country's historical inheritance and cultural traditions.[19]

And further:

> History is created by the people and so is civilization... We should be more respectful and mindful of 5,000 years of continuous Chinese culture.[20]

Headed by a line from the *Shàngshū*, random references to statements plucked out of texts from the past follow next. The *Shàngshū* quotation notably reads 'the people are the basis of the state' 民惟邦本. Disconnected from its contexts and placed in its target text, that is, Xí's speech, it loses it previous reference structure. It is now a slogan in the first instance, rather than a reference to an ancient source. Combined with the phrases from other early texts, including phrases such as 'governmental affairs shall gain the people's support' 政得其民, as alluding to the *Mèngzǐ*,[21] or 'rituals and law come together in proper rule' 禮法合治, essentially a statement of his own making but put in the form of a reference, the source texts behind these slogans blur and, decontextualised as they now are, the phrases take on a new reality in Xí's speech.[22] Xí's reference to China's cultural

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Yāng 商鞅, c. 390–338 BC, known for his punitive procedures to transform the kingdom of Qín into the leading state), as well as to the constructed personae Confucius and Mencius. (In May 2015, the state-run newspaper *Rénmín rìbào* 人民日報 'People's Daily' published 76 selected quotations of Xí's from Chinese classical literature.) The blatant simplicity of the propaganda in which Xí identifies the Chinese Communist Party as the single loyal inheritor of Chinese traditional culture, on the one hand, and the proclamation that the Chinese people should turn to traditional culture, on the other (in other words, they should turn to the Party) needs no further note here.

19 *New York Times* (14 October 2014). Tatlow: "Xi Jinping on Exceptionalism with Chinese Characteristics", quoting *Rénmín rìbào*.

20 *New York Times* (14 October 2014).

21 The *Mèngzǐ*: "Lí lóu" *shàng* (孟子·离娄上) reads: 得天下有道：得其民，斯得天下矣。得其民有道：得其心，斯得民矣 'there is a way of obtaining the world: obtain the commonfolks – thus is the wold obtained; there is a way of obtaining the commonfolks: obtain their heart-minds – thus are the commonfolks obtained'.

22 Altogether this fraction of his speech reads: 我國古代主張民惟邦本、政得其民，禮法合治、德主刑輔，為政之要莫先于得人、治國先治吏，為政以德、正己修身，居安思危、改易更化，等等，这些都能給人們以重要啟示. 'In antiquity, our lands maintained the principle that

heritage is only on the surface. Entextualised in his speech, the phrases really point to something fundamentally new.

The *Shàngshū*, or in fact any of the texts used in Xí's speech, no longer carry any significance except that they are meant to relate to the olden days. They carry meaning *qua* source, not because they are particularly meaningful to the audience – if they even know the content of these texts at all! They invoke authority because in their ancient diction Xí is using them to 'remind' his audiences of the spirit of 'China's outstanding traditional culture' – not because the lines 'cited' in his speech document, or reflect upon, past events.

It is revealing that the line in Xí's speech from the *Shàngshū* relates to the spurious old-script "Wǔ zǐ zhī gē" 五子之歌 (The Songs of the Five Sons) of the "Xià" division, most likely of late, imperial making, unmasking Xí's use of it as purely an act of tradition-making.

In this regard it is also relevant that in much of the *Shàngshū* '*mín* 民'—the term which features centrally in Xí's speech—had a profoundly different meaning from what we consider '(common) people' today. It is a layered concept that has little in common with the English rendering of the term, which is derived from the Latin *populus*, the people of the state (in opposition to the Senate), or for that matter, its modern Chinese equivalent. In much of textualised Shū the term denotes members of the aristocracy of a different state. During the Western Zhōu it seems that *mín* 'primarily refers to subjected lineages and rulers outside the Royal Domain'.[23] It thus works with a conceptual division of the Zhōu kingdom into centre and periphery,[24] finding a graded continuation in the Spring and Autumn period – and partly during the Warring States too. During the Warring States the term underwent further shifts such that in some texts it takes on the derived meaning of 'the commonfolks', a concept that is yet again substantially different from the present egalitarian notion of 'the people'. However, in Xí's speech, it takes on exactly this meaning, that is, the 'people', as its new reality. As a result, it is not just the term *mín* but the cited lines more generally that change in meaning when decontextualised from the ancient sources and used in this way.

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the commonfolks form the roots of a state and obtain the folks through moral governance; rituals and law cohere in order, and virtue rules punishments; to govern cannot but first obtain the commonfolks; to order the lands cannot but first order the officials. To govern with virtue is to correct oneself and cultivate the person. Dwell in tranquillity pondering danger; transformation furthers change, and so forth. These are all measures that enable to offer important insight to the people'.

23 Crone 2016.

24 Crone 2014.

Through recourse to the *Shàngshū*, Xí thus roots himself—and so the entire Chinese Communist Party—in an invented tradition. It is in this continuously revised form that the past shapes contrasting presents. By taking stance in the 'continuum of Chinese antiquity' to stress the bond of ruler and ruled, thus moving old cultural capital into a new problem space, Xí is essentially articulating his own Shū – a political act as countless communities have done before him.

I do not wish to draw from this the conclusion that the power structures of the centralist Marxist state, the People's Republic of China, are in any way structurally parallel to those of the Warring States, where competing sub-groups of the wider meaning community of the Zhōu oecumene articulate their stance as Shū to capitalise on cultural memory for ends in the present. Quite the contrary. I cite this new iteration because it is illustrative of the generative power of the Shū, even today, demonstrating the significance of these traditions, and thus the appeal of using them in political discourse.

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