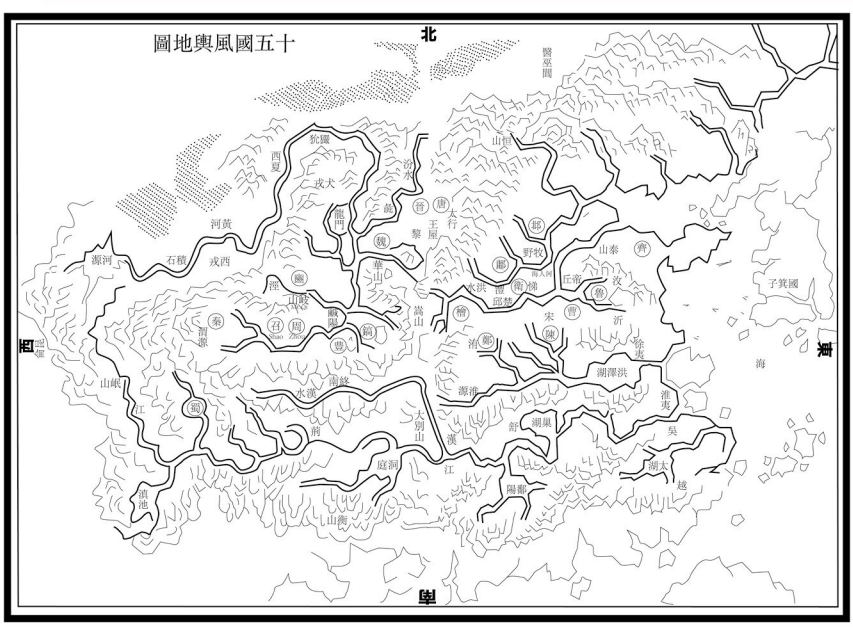
Songs of the Royal Zhōu and the Royal Shào

Shī 詩 *of the Ānhuī University Manuscripts*

Dirk Meyer and Adam Craig Schwartz



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Songs of the Royal Zhōu and the Royal Shào

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Cover illustration: Map of the states of the *Shījīng*.

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To Áine and Yè Dōngyí

Contents

Acknowledgements

我其夙夜，畏天之威,于時保之。

May we day and night
fear the majesty of Heaven,
and thereby preserve it.
Shījīng 272 (KARLGREN 1950: 241)

Volume 1 of *Ānhuī Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn* 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡 had just appeared when, on a bright winter day in Zhūhǎi, we began reading the Shī at United International College of Běijīng Normal University and Hong Kong Baptist University (UIC) in 2019. This wasn't planned. We had arranged to meet at Hong Kong for an Oxford-Hong Kong Baptist University lecture series on the Shū 書 (Documents) Traditions. But then things changed. Hong Kong was railing from violent protests, and instead of giving public lectures on the Shū in Hong Kong, we were reading the Shī in Zhūhǎi in what felt like cloistered isolation.

When the first productive visit to Zhūhǎi came to an end, it was clear that more had to follow. We met again for an extended period on the campus of UIC to read the songs systematically. Our visits at UIC were a blessing. We were given a fully equipped room on campus, and inexhaustible access to the local food halls and cafés. We could begin reading in the morning and our sessions always ran late into the night. But then, the COVID-19 pandemic broke out. Visits had to be put on hold and, instead of reading the songs together in Zhūhǎi or Oxford, the shaping of our project was done on-line. Our sessions were no longer open ended but, further restricted by the time difference between Hong Kong and the UK, determined by when the kids would sleep or go to school (as long as the schools and nurseries were open, that is, which was not for very long). We could not continue, as we had hoped, and bring out two planned volumes at once, one on the Royal Zhōu ("Zhōu Nán") and the Royal Shào ("Zhōu Nán"), the other on the songs of the common states. Instead, we decided to finalise the book on the songs of royal states first, before we conclude the songs of the common states (our planned volume 2).

Many friends and colleagues helped us along the way. First and foremost, we thank Chén Zhì, friend, colleague, mentor. Chén Zhì not only believed in the value of deepening the academic collaboration between Oxford and Hong Kong, but—as a scholar of the Shī—he immediately saw the potential of our analysis of the songs. He further helped us realise the project by funding our visits to Zhūhǎi. Sincere thanks also go to the Associate Editors of Ancient Languages and Civilizations (ALAC), Carlotta Viti and Shawn Wang. Rens Krijgsman and Nick Williams read earlier versions of the whole manuscript and offered constructive feedback. Two anonymous readers provided valuable corrections and suggestions. Anthony Lappin (Stockholm) proofread the entire manuscript. Thank you, all! At UIC, we wholeheartedly thank the administrative and academic team. At Brill, special thanks go Elisa Perotti, who saw the project through to the end, from manuscript submission to its publication.

None of this would have been possible without the enormous support of our families. With huge thanks, we dedicate the book to Áine and Yè Dōngyí.

Dirk Meyer and Adam Schwartz
Oxford and Hong Kong, March 2022

Introduction

> 子謂伯魚曰：「女為《周南》、《召南》矣乎？人而不為《周南》、《召南》，其猶正牆面而立也與？」
>
> The Master said to Bó Yú, 'Have you applied yourself to the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán"? Someone who fails to apply themselves to the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán" is like someone standing facing a wall, is it not so?'

⁂

In early 2015, Ānhuī Dàxué 安徽大學, the University of Ānhuī, obtained a cache of ancient manuscripts. Central to this cache was a copy of Shī 詩, the Songs (henceforth Ān Dà *Shī*), which on the surface bear close resemblance to the songs recorded in the *Shījīng* 詩經, *Classic of Songs*, of the *Máo* recension.[1] With the exception of the Shī, the great majority of the texts in the cache were unknown prior to their acquisition.

The materials are being arranged and published according to their contents and style in multiple volumes as *Ānhuī Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn* 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡 (henceforth *Ānhuī University Manuscripts*). Volume 1 is devoted to the Shī (Songs). It was published in late 2019, nearly five years after Ānhuī University first obtained these manuscripts.[2]

The said manuscripts continue a sad trend in the acquisition of knowledge about China in the Warring States period (ca. 453–221 BC), in that they were not obtained by scientific means.[3] This aspect brings with it the standard prob-

1 When we refer to the Songs as a cultural institution, to which various user communities could relate in their own ways, we write Shī (i.e., capital letter but not italicised). When we refer to a particular recension or instantiation of this cultural institution by a particular textual community, we write *Shī* (as in *Máo Shī*, or Ān Dà *Shī*, i.e., italicised capital letter). When we refer to an individual song within a recension or particular instantiation, we do not capitalise or italicise 'song'.

2 *Ānhuī Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn* 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡 1. The manuscripts were purchased by an unknown buyer, possibly on the Hong Kong antiquities market, and then donated to Ānhuī University. We have no precise information as to where in China the manuscripts were found.

3 The circumstances thus bear regrettable similarities to the two famous Warring States man-

lems, and concerns, of working with unprovenanced materials,[4] academically, methodologically, and ethically.[5] Our own position is that, academically, methodologically, and ethically, the field would lose much more by disregarding the materials than by working with them.

1 The Ān Dà *Shī*

The Songs as recorded in the *Ānhuī University Manuscripts* only contain what the *Máo* recension calls "Guó fēng" 國風, the 'Airs of the States'. The "Xiǎo Yǎ" 小雅 'Lesser Elegantiae', the "Dà Yǎ" 大雅 'Greater Elegantiae', and the "Sòng" 頌 'Hymns' are not present.

The Ān Dà *Shī* never refer to any of the states generically as *guó* 國, as in *Máo*, or *bāng* 邦, as in **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* 孔子詩論, but specifically by the name of the state—or, as in the first twenty-five songs discussed in this book, as "Zhōu Nán" 周南, the 'Royal Zhōu', and "Shào Nán" 召南, the 'Royal Shào'.

The slips of the Ān Dà *Shī* are all numbered consecutively at the tail of the *recto*, from 1 to 117.[6] As twenty-four slips are missing,[7] only ninety-three slips remain, carrying fifty-seven songs. Missing slips might account for the absence of songs from a given state, but cannot account for the fact that whole states are themselves absent in the Ān Dà *Shī* but present in *Máo*.[8]

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uscript collections from Shànghǎi Museum and Tsinghua University. The former collection of Chǔ manuscripts was acquired in 1994. It contains some 1,200 inscribed bamboo strips, which the Shànghǎi Museum started publishing in 2001 (*Shànghǎi bówùguǎn cáng Zhànguó Chǔ zhú shū*). The Tsinghua collection was purchased in the summer of 2008 in Hong Kong. It contains around 2,500 bamboo slips, and features Shū-type texts of which some have close counterparts in the transmitted *Shàngshū*, *Yì Zhōushū*, as well as in annalistic texts. *Qīnghuá Manuscripts*: *Qīnghuá Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn*.

4 Goldin 2013: 156n6 introduced the neologism of 'unprovenienced' to distinguish between place and owner of non-scientifically obtained manuscripts. However, unlike ancient Egyptian collections that may have been passed on for generations, or even centuries, the Chinese case is not assisted by this differentiation and so we refrain from using it here.

5 A number of projects which are currently ongoing deal explicitly with the issue of unprovenanced texts and their academic use. See, among others, Brindley and Flad; Meyer, Metcalf, and Rota.

6 Complete slips measure on average 48.5 cm by 0.6 cm. They were connected by three binding straps and show prepared grooves on the *verso*. The total number of graphs per slip ranges from twenty-seven to thirty-eight, depending on the length of a song and its layout.

7 These are: slips 18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 30, 56–58, 60–71, 95–97.

8 Zhū Fènghàn 2020: 62 suggests, with reference to Huáng Dékuān 2017a, that there were also "Xiǎo Yǎ" 小雅 'Lesser Elegantiae' songs in the Ān Dà *Shī*. Revisiting Huáng Dékuān 2017a we could find no such reference, as the article confirms there are no other items from sections of

The *Ānhuī University Manuscripts* contain the songs of *six states.[9] They are, in the preserved sequence:

– "Royal Zhōu" 周南, 11 songs;[10]
– "Royal Shào" 召南, 14 songs;
– "Qín" 秦, 10 songs;
– "Hóu"* 侯, is transmitted by *Máo* as "Wèi" 魏, with one exception ("Wèi" *1*), 6 songs;
– "Yǒng"* 甬 (*Máo*: Yōng 鄘), 9 songs;[11]
– "Wèi"* 魏, with the exception of "Wèi" *1*, is transmitted as "Táng" 唐, 9 songs.[12]

The relationships between "Hóu" 侯 and "Wèi" 魏; and between "Wèi" 魏 and "Táng" 唐, are rather obscure, as there is no clear distribution pattern for individual songs between these states when comparing the Ān Dà *Shī* with the *Máo* recension. An 'exchange' of songs between "Wèi" and "Táng" seems possible, given their geographical positions (Fig. 1), as both were situated in western Shānxī, with Táng north of Wèi. This leads us to speculate that 'Hóu' (perhaps a toponym like "Wáng" 王 in *Máo* [lit. 'king'; but usually understood as referring to the 'Royal Domain']) was in western Shānxī as well, and refers to a place between Wèi and Táng.[13] Regardless of whether this location for 'Hóu' can be accepted, the fact that sixteen of the remaining fifty-seven songs in this selection of Shī have an affiliation with western Shānxī seems significant, and appears to indicate a preference.[14]

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the received *Shījīng* ("Xiǎo Yǎ"; "Dà yǎ" 大雅 'Greater Elegantiae'; or "Sòng" 頌 'Hymns') in the later volumes of *Ānhuī University Manuscripts*. We can therefore only posit that Zhū Fènghàn was referring to the materials classed as 'Chǔcí type' by Huáng Dékuān.

9 The editors (pp. 1–2) propose that songs from 'some' states were recorded on slips 60–71, in total approximately 380 words; while their speculation seems justified, we have no means to validate or contradict it. In response, and when referring to the sequence of the states' songs after "Qín" (3), we add an asterisk* ahead of the state's name to indicate the possibility that it was one place further removed from "Zhōu Nán" (1).

10 These are all songs of the *Máo* recension. However, we felt compelled to split one song, *9*, conceptually into 9^{A} and 9^{B}. The split song is not included in the total count of the "Zhōu" songs or the total number of songs in the manuscript. Song *10 (almost certainly a version of *Máo* 10 "Rǔ fén" 汝墳 'Raised banks of the Rǔ River') is missing. Slip 20 records 'Zhōu Nán, eleven'.

11 Slip 99 records a total of nine songs, only seven of which remain; as ten songs from this state are included in *Máo*, we cannot be sure which two are missing.

12 Slip 117 records "Wèi" as having a total of nine songs, but the text has ten. This updated number is included in the total count of fifty-seven songs.

13 'Hóu', thus, perhaps refers to the area of Qūwò-Hóumǎ 曲沃侯馬; this agrees, in principle, with the findings of Xià Dàzhào who proposes that 'Hóu' referred (self-referentially) to the state of Jìn 晉. See also Xià Dàzhào 2018: 119–125 and Xià Dàzhào 2020: 5–15.

14 See further Mǎ Yínqín 2020.

FIGURE 1 Map of the states of the *Shūjīng*
ADAPTED FROM FĀNG YÙRÙN (AD 1811–1883) 2017: 10–11

When looking at the states and their distribution, geographically and within the Ān Dà *Shī*, two things are noteworthy. First, geographically we notice a peculiar western bias of the Songs. Not one of the eastern states and only one of the central states of the *Máo* recension is present in the Ān Dà *Shī*, seemingly a glaring omission.[15]

The sequence of states differs remarkably from the received "Guó fēng", and this warrants comment. The position of "Qín" 秦 is particularly striking. While it comes eleventh in *Máo*, it is third in the Ān Dà *Shī*. Given a *terminus ante quem* of circa 300 BC (330 BC ± 30 years; see below) for the manuscript, this may well have to do with the rising political power of Qín at the time (and thus possibly the omission of the eastern states?). Out of respect for tradition, the songs of the "Royal Zhōu" and the "Royal Shào" had to come first, but the approach to the sequence then shows itself to be more flexible. In this context it is perhaps also worth noting that the Qín songs have nothing of the sometimes satirical and playful elements we see in many of the songs from other states, but instead impress upon their reader a rather belligerent tone. Was this how the Qín wanted to be remembered? Or is it a reflection of Qín's status at the time, given further substance by having it appear near the top of the sequence, after the 'Two Nán' 二南[16] ("Zhōu Nán" 周南 and "Shào Nán" 召南)? Then, the section here called "Hóu" 侯 (six songs) is the fourth state listed in the Ān Dà *Shī* but, under the name "Wèi *fēng*" 魏風, comes ninth in the *Máo* recension. "Yǒng" 甬/鄘 (seven songs) is listed fifth in the Ān Dà *Shī* but fourth in *Máo*. What is called "Wèi" 魏 (ten songs) in the Ān Dà *Shī* is, with one exception, "Táng" 唐 in *Máo*, where it is the tenth state.

While the sequence of the states differs between the Ān Dà *Shī* and *Máo*, the sequence of songs within a state is consistent in the "Royal Zhōu" and the "Royal Shào". The sequence breaks down, however, in the other states: "Qín" 秦, "Hóu" 侯, "Yǒng" 甬 (Yōng 鄘), and "Wèi" 魏.

With a total of fifty-seven remaining songs, the Ān Dà *Shī* has slightly more than one-third of the 160 songs of the 'Airs of the States' of the *Máo* recension.

The songs pertaining to particular states are consistently separated by thick black marks on the slips. A hook-shaped mark () is used, though inconsist-

15 "Yǒng" 甬 (*Máo*: Yōng 鄘) is the location of old capital of Shāng; "Wèi" 魏 is in western Shānxī, etc. Shāng oracle bone inscriptions refer to the area later called Yōng 鄘 (perhaps subjectively) as 'central'.

16 Although the designation 'Two Nán' 二南 for the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán" became popular only during the Hàn dynasty, the two were treated as a conceptual pair in the early literature. See, for instance, *Lúnyǔ* "Yáng Huò" 17.10; *Zuǒ zhuàn* "Xiāng" 29.2; *Lǚ shì Chūnqiū* "Yīn chū" 音初 2; thrice in the *Yílǐ* (see footnote 71).

ently, to signal the end of each subsection. The Ān Dà *Shī* also contain entries which detail the number of songs from one state, such as in 'Zhōu Nán, eleven' 周南十又一; or 'Hóu, six' 侯六. The songs themselves, however, are never listed with a title. On two occasions, at the end of a subsection, the manuscript text lists the first song by name, as in 'Yǒng, nine: White boat' 甬九白舟, or 'Wèi, nine: Grass-cloth sandals' 魏九葛縷. Because the first song is listed for these two, the editors of the Ān Dà *Shī* suggest that each song must have had a name—albeit not one mentioned on the slips.[17] Methodologically the editors go one step further, as they suggest that the names of the songs recorded on the manuscripts must have been roughly the same as those of the *Máo Shī*. Hence, they introduce each song by its *Máo* designation, a choice we find philologically unsound and methodologically problematic. As the Ān Dà manuscript is incomplete, we cannot be certain whether "Shào Nán" and "Qín" also listed a song title. However, we can ascertain that the basic way of referring to subsections was by the name of the state and the number of songs, not by including the titles of songs.

We certainly would not want to exclude the possibility that the songs, or at least some of them, might have had the same or similar names as their counterparts in *Máo*.[18] But if they did, the manuscript witness shows they were not considered to be an integral element, and so they should not be imported into *this* version of the Songs. To assume so as a working hypothesis therefore strikes us as a poor choice. (It would be impossible, anyway, to test this assumption.) Methodologically it is also flawed, because it guides our expectations and therefore the way we read the songs. Instead, in the representation of individual songs, we simply list them numerically, in the sequence order in which they appear in the *Ānhuī University Manuscripts*, which in the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán" is largely compatible with the *Máo* recension. The fact that the songs are counted in the manuscript might suggest that the order was more important to the textual community of the Ān Dà *Shī* than paratext.

Despite the macro-consistency of the 'states', the Ān Dà *Shī* nonetheless only contain about one third of the "Guó fēng" in *Máo*. They are also presented in a different order, not only in how the states are organised relative to one another, but also in how some individual songs are arranged within and among the latter four 'non-royal' (or 'common') states—that is, "Qín" 秦; "Hóu" 侯; "Yǒng" 甬; and "Wèi" 魏. The composition of individual songs, too, can differ, with stanzas

17 *Ānhuī University Manuscripts* 1: 2.

18 We say more on this later in the Introduction.

being moved vis-à-vis their received counterpart. There are four such instances among the first twenty-five songs, that is, the songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán".[19] Moreover, in one instance, "Shào Nán" *14*, the song shows an additional stanza to its *Máo* counterpart (*Máo* 25 "Zōu yú" 騶虞).

2 Attempting an 'Emic' Reading of the Ān Dà *Shī*

We offer the first book-length study of the first twenty-five of the songs of the Ān Dà *Shī*, the songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán"—the old royal songs which constitute a gateway into the Shī. Radiocarbon analysis suggests the manuscripts are roughly 2280 years old, calibrated to the year 1950.[20] This furnishes a date of circa 330 BC for the manuscripts. Subsequent chemical analysis of the slips has confirmed their mid-Warring States pedigree, though the ink was not tested. Theoretically, this means we cannot with certainty exclude the possibility that recent forgers produced the texts on ancient bamboo slips. But we follow the lead of Chinese scientists and palaeographers and rule out, as a working premise, that recently-fabricated texts were produced on ancient slips.

The editors of Volume 1 of *Ānhuī University Manuscripts* do not hide their excitement about the texts collected in this volume, for they now have a Warring States-period copy of the *Classic of Songs*, *Shījīng* 詩經, or so they claim.

To be the first to edit a Warring States-copy of the *Classic of Songs* is, of course, an enormous burden. The editors duly responded to this difficult task by providing a philologically highly competent, but conservative (or, perhaps, extremely radical?) reading of the Songs. It depicts the Songs as decidedly consistent with the received *Máo* recension.

As our goal is to carry out the first fully-annotated translation into English of the first twenty-five songs of this collection, our stakes are lower, and so our task is considerably easier. Let there be no doubt: we are guided by the same academic ethos of striving to attain the best possible reading of the text and to do it no harm. But as we determine our reading, we do not feel the same ancestral weight resting on our shoulders, and so the burden of tradition restricts us far less when making our choices as to what we believe constitutes the best, and most honest, reading of the text.

19 They are "Zhōu Nán" *3* and *5*; "Shào Nán" *8* and *11*.

20 Huáng Dékuān 2017a: 56–58.

The eminent scholar Qiú Xīguī once remarked the following:

> 在將簡帛古書與傳世古書（包括同一書的簡帛本和傳本）相對照的時候，則要注意防止不恰當的「趨同」和「立異」兩種傾向。前者主要指將簡帛古書和傳世古書意義本不相同之處說成相同，後者主要指將簡帛古書和傳世古書中彼此對應的、意義相同或很相近的字說成意義不同。[21]
>
> When comparing bamboo and silk manuscripts with transmitted ancient texts (including bamboo and silk versions and their transmitted counterparts), we must resist two incompatible tendencies, one is 'the urge to equate them', the other is 'establishing differences'. The former primarily conflates differences in the content of bamboo and silk texts and their received counterparts; the latter stresses differences between the graphs in bamboo and silk texts and received texts, while their meaning is actually similar or very close.

These, however, are not our choices. As we shall detail in our discussion of the songs, the disparities between the Ān Dà *Shī* and the *Máo* recension are such that they seem to reflect an internally consistent (but in each case different) logic, which determines certain choices made by the communities behind the two versions as they wrote out the songs. Variances between the versions are not selective, let alone random, but rather systematic, and so the Ān Dà *Shī* appears as an independent iteration of the Songs. Because the date of the manuscripts is circa 330 BC, as a thought experiment we treat the texts upon them as non-*Máo*. Methodologically, this means that when reading the Ān Dà *Shī* we are not bound by *Máo*, and so, unlike the editors of the *Ānhuī University Manuscripts*, we do not have to force them through *Máo*—even though the *Máo* recension crucially informs our choices.

We do not know much about the *Máo* recension. It was promoted as the authoritative edition by King Xiàn of Héjiān (Liú Dé 劉德) (r. 155–130 BC) but did not gain official recognition until quite late in the Western Hàn, somewhere between 1 BC and AD 6, ousting the other major traditions, Lǔ 魯, Qí 齊, and Hán 韓.[22] The *Máo* recension is often associated with Máo Hēng 亨 and Máo

21 Qiú Xīguī 2012a: 339.

22 We refer to Western Hàn Shī traditions of Lǔ, Qí, and Hán as 'major', and other, lesser-known ones, as 'minor', thus drawing into parallel Jao Tsung-i's conceptualisation of the Yì 易 (Changes), as attempted in Jao Tsung-i 2009, vol. 4: 17.

Cháng 萇, whose dates are uncertain.[23] It is important to maintain a distinction between the *Máo* recension and the Máo commentary (i.e., *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 毛詩詁訓傳). The transmission of the *Shījīng* is a convoluted topic, and beyond the remit of this book, but accounts are usually rooted in Kǒngzǐ's compilation of 'the' *Shī* and its subsequent dissemination by Bǔ Shāng 卜商 (507–? BC; courtesy name Zǐ Xià 子夏). An early medieval model of transmission that we follow relates that the 'elder' Máo, Máo Hēng, learned 'a' *Shī* of the Xúnzǐ (ca. 300–219 BC) tradition.[24] Bernhard Karlgren (1889–1978), proposing that 'elder' Máo was a 'disciple's disciple' of Xúnzǐ, demonstrated a close affinity between citations of *Shī* in *Xúnzǐ* and the *Máo* recension. He further suggested that the Máo commentary, which he concluded was completed in the second century BC—'nearer to 150 BC than to 200 BC'—had been strongly influenced by Xúnzǐ's thought.[25] Be that as it may, it remains uncertain whether what we now know as the *Máo* recension was actually in circulation before Máo Hēng obtained a copy of it, or whether he 'established' a new recension from an older (and primarily sound-based) model—or potentially a combination of the two. In this regard, it is perhaps noteworthy that of sixty-one instances of *Shī* quotations in *Xúnzǐ*, forty-eight agree with the *Máo* recension and only thirteen disagree.[26]

As we take the Ān Dà *Shī* as a non-*Máo* iteration of the Songs, methodologically we are not bound by the *Máo* recension, and thus by received canon. Rather, our reading sets out to understand the texts as written on the slips, insofar as this is possible but helped, of course, by modern understandings of the phonetics of Old Chinese and by advances in palaeography.[27] We seek to understand how a certain community with a profound specialisation in the tradition afforded meaning to the Songs. In order to do so we use a two-stage approach. We first have recourse to broadly contemporaneous texts, principally the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* of the Shànghǎi Museum collection of Chǔ manuscripts, which allows us to understand how at least one other textual community

23 Kern 2011: 21.

24 Lù Jī 陸玑 (third century AD), *Máo Shī cǎomù niǎoshòu chóngyú shū* 毛詩草木鳥獸蟲魚疏, 70: 21.

25 Karlgren 1931: 18–20; he used the term 'Xúnzǐ-coloured'. Although we accept this view, it must be acknowledged that the pedigree of the Lǔ tradition can also be traced back to Xúnzǐ, and the *Hán Shī wài zhuàn* frequently quotes him as an authority.

26 Karlgren 1931: 26–35. The tabulation does not include repetitions and quotations from lost songs.

27 We found the best system is to reconstruct OCM (for 'Minimal Old Chinese') after Axel Schuessler 2007, 2009.

worked with the Shī.[28] Second, where possible, we systematically consult the *Máo* recension, as well as fragments of texts from other major Western Hàn traditions, to help us reach an informed decision as to what a given song actually says. We can surmise that Máo's reading was at least partly based on pre-existing notions of matters pertaining to the Songs, albeit perhaps different in some details. It is thus instructive to see where the Ān Dà *Shī* differs from the major Western Hàn Shī recensions, and, possibly, why. As we are accessing the long, philologically-immaculate tradition of *Shī* exegesis—of which we are now a part—we rely on the commentarial traditions of the Western (206 BC–AD 9) and the Eastern Hàn (AD 25–220), as reflected mainly in the Máo commentary and the copious notes produced by Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (AD 127–200), so as to be clear about our own choices. We have supplemented this by consulting Qīng Dynasty (AD 1636–1912) scholarship on the *Shī* and its Hàn reception, as reflected mainly in the work of Yáo Jìhéng 姚際恆 (AD 1647–ca. 1715), Fāng Yùrùn 方玉潤 (AD 1811–1883) and Wáng Xiānqiān 王先謙 (AD 1842–1917); Bernhard Karlgren's "Glosses on the Book of Odes", which relied heavily on the scholarship of Chén Huàn 陳奐 (AD 1786–1863), is a vital resource.

The goal of this exercise is to establish a hypothetical 'emic' perspective of reading the Songs through the Ān Dà *Shī*.[29] It is hypothetical, if only because it can never be fully achieved. 'Emic' perspective considers an insider's account

28 **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* is published in vol. 1 of the *Shànghǎi Museum's Warring States Manuscripts*. We use the title **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* as a convention, not because we believe that the text actually had this title or that Kǒngzǐ was the author. Following Lǐ Xuéqín's (2002) slip order, it seems that Kǒngzǐ was not the writer but rather was cited as an authority. In our opinion, the text was produced as an instruction to the Shī, likely during the Warring States period; see also Kern 2015: 186. Reading the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* and Ān Dà *Shī* against one another is a novel approach to Warring States Shī that was not available before the recovery of the Ān Dà *Shī*. **Wǔ xíng* 五行 from tomb 1, Guōdiàn, is also valuable, but relying on it is risky as in the **Wǔ xíng* the Songs are not the principle focus of the elaboration, but rather serve to support a specific philosophical argument. One must take account of the different needs and goals of the community that produced a given text and their use of the Songs. (More on this point below.) The version of the *Zī yī* 緇衣 texts found at Guōdiàn, and the Chǔ manuscripts in the Shànghǎi Museum collection, were compiled from three separate sources—Shī, Shū 書, and master sayings, *zǐ yuē* 子曰—and forged into archival units that store a learning repertoire that was relevant to a particular community (Meyer 2021: 74). But in these units the sources work in a co-ordinated fashion with one another, not hierarchically, and the *Zī yī* does not articulate Shī-instruction. Whether this archival focus served argumentative ends is unclear. We therefore do not use it as a primary tool for an emic reading, as we do the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*.

29 In an important article, Kern 2010 discussed the difficulties in establishing the Shī pre-*Máo*, for which he had to rely predominantly on palaeographic materials commenting on the Shī, not the Shī itself.

or perception.[30] The approach is borrowed from linguistics,[31] and relates to the study of a language or culture in terms of integral elements and respective functions, rather than through existing models or schemes that are necessarily external.[32] In cultural anthropology, the emic approach describes a viewpoint obtained from within a social group.[33] The application of this approach to ancient texts and how they were used is necessarily limited, but as Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975) has stated, behind the iteration and interaction of texts is always 'a contact of personalities and not of things'.[34] Texts are the secondary products of the multi-faceted social realities of meaning construction. The primary actors are people—individual or groups—participating in a discourse.[35]

In attempting an emic perspective of reading the Ān Dà *Shī*, and so to cast light on how the community behind the Ān Dà *Shī* afforded meaning to the Songs, we do not claim to be metaphorically venturing back in time, like embedded anthropologists, to sit idly among the textual community that produced this iteration of the Songs, to witness their use, and to experience it for ourselves. But the manuscript at hand and the above-mentioned support material afford sufficient grounds from which to approach the text on its own terms and, on this basis, to reconstruct what its textual community may have wished to achieve by engaging with the songs. Remembering that this collection is a reflection of people and their concerns 'and not of things', we are thus establishing a hypothetical reading of this particular iteration of the Songs as it circulated among certain conceptual communities during the Warring States period—conceptual because they must remain our theoretical projections.[36] To seek an emic reading therefore does *not* mean we are reading this manuscript in isolation, as though we had some benediction granting us access to it. We also do not treat it as though it came to us out of the blue. We consider it not possible to—and do not aspire to—treat the Ān Dà *Shī* as separate

30 Pike 1954.

31 In linguistics, for instance, Nöth 1995: 183 defined the 'emic unit' as an 'invariant form obtained from the reduction of a class of variant forms to a limited number of abstract units'. The distinction between emic and etic in linguistics was coined by Kenneth Lee Pike. See in particular Pike 1943.

32 Cf. Hays 2012: 6 for the notion of establishing an 'emic' reading of Egyptian hieroglyphic material. See also the seminal essay of Harris 1976.

33 Conrad 2006: 46 notes 'the emic approach investigates how local people think', which implies how they conceptualise the world and their place in it, and which actions they take from there.

34 Bakhtin 1986: 162.

35 Meyer 2021: 113.

36 For a detailed discussion of 'conceptual communities' see Meyer 2021.

from context of wider Shī scholarship.[37] Just as this manuscript iteration was produced in a given social setting, so too was the *Máo* recension, and the recensions of the other major (and minor) Western Hàn traditions.

It is important to stress that we do not, and never will, claim that we are reading 'the' Shī. Rather, our approach has always been that of a 'gedanken-experiment' where, methodologically, we provide a hypothetical reading of what certain conceptual communities during the Warring States period might have made of the Ān Dà *Shī*, as they were themselves not immediately guided by the *Máo* recension. (Most likely they were informed by the predecessors to *Máo* which, in turn, might at least partly have informed Máo's conceptualisation of the songs too.) What we are reading is 'a' Shī from the Warring States period.

3 Writing the Image Programme of the *Songs*

We detect at least two orthographic manners on the slips.[38] Certainly in "Zhōu Nán", and for the most part also in "Shào Nán", the calligraphy is executed with great care. It is often exceedingly elegant, and sometimes a graph is written to be evocatively pictographic. The graph for horse, *mǎ* 馬, in "Zhōu Nán" *3* (*Máo* 3) is a case in point, in that it actually shows a horse:  . Interestingly, the writer of the song—who is emphatically not the composer of the song; we chose the designation 'writer' for the person who executed the calligraphy on the manuscript deliberately as it does not imply a directional relationships between the manuscript and the text, as 'copyist' or 'scribe' does[39]—also allowed for some variation in the calligraphy, as the last horse in the same song appears like this:  . That is, the horse without the legs, so to speak:

> 菜=蘈耳. 不盈⿰知皿匡 .
> 差我褱人寘皮周行

37 See Kern 2010 for a related observation.

38 Note that we are not making a claim for multiple writers, only that we have detected at least two orthographic manners. We acknowledge the possibility that a single writer could write in different styles, and that graphic variants occurring in the same manuscript text might carry with them a complex history of transmission (for instance from abroad) or conversion (for instance into a local script). Stated briefly, and with an awareness that more detailed study is required, basic handwriting analysis discerns two distinct forms of 我, signifying the high-frequency word *wǒ* 'my, mine; I, us'; and two different styles for 又, signifying the high-frequency word *yòu* 'right hand' > *yǒu* 'have' 有, among notable examples. See *Ānhuī University Manuscripts* 1: 224–225, 293–294.

39 The French term 'scripteur' would also be apposite, but we see no advantage over 'writer'.

陟皮高阬我  (馬)玄黄 6|
\我古勺皮兕衡隹㠯羕鼏

陟皮崥嵎我  (馬)䟣遺
我古勺金罍隹㠯羕褱

陟 7||皮沚矣我  (馬)徒矣.
我儯夫矣員可無矣 ■[40]

What is especially interesting—and this differs decidedly from the Warring States-manuscripts that carry, say, philosophical texts—is that many of the graphs in the Ān Dà *Shī* consistently contain an extra layer of information that expresses the meaning of the word through the graph in ways other literary texts of the time do not seem to do.

For example, the graph representing 'flying [birds]' 鵗 for *fēi* 飛, is written as  in stanza *1* of "Zhōu Nán" *2* (*Máo* 2). The graph for 'flying' is not normally indistinct, and so it is apparent the added signifier 'bird' was not used for the purpose of reducing ambiguity.[41] Rather, it strikes us as something playful, yet which served to evoke images through writing—or reflects what the writer had in mind as they produced a copy of the song. We see an attention to detail, by which the writer sought to have the graphs visually embody the wider meaning of the words they represent. One might also consider the onomatopoeia '*rih rih*' for the sound of birds' chirping, written as  = (鴷鴷) in the same stanza:

葛之蕈可.陀于审浴.
隹 3||·葉萋=黃鳥于  （鵗）
集于權木亓鳴  （鴷）=

How the kudzu spreads! extending deep into the valley.
The leaves are plentiful, orioles are in flight [to it].
Gathering on the trees with yellow blossoms, they tweet '*rih-rih*'.

This extra layer of information in the graph means the writer was not just writing 'to fly'. By adding the signifier 'bird' to it, the writer further evoked the image of orioles in flight. Similarly, the writer did not just write the sound '*rih rih*' to

40 We provide a translation of the song on p. 14 below.
41 See also "Zhōu Nán" *2*, stanza 1, annotation 3 (p. 69).

represent the chirping of orioles gathered in the trees, but continued to evoke the imagery of chirping through the addition of yet another ‘bird’ signifier in the graph that wrote out their sound.[42] Examples of this sort can be found throughout the “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” (and in much of the Ān Dà *Shī* more generally).

As they add to their meaning in significant ways, so too do the graphs on the slips often go beyond, or at least differ from, their modern equivalents in terms of meaning and connotation. Because this was done with such care, reflecting a strategy on the part of those who wrote out the songs, we have opted not to follow the standard form of text representation, where a direct transcription precedes the interpretative transcription using modern equivalents, as in 黃鳥于䰁（飛）集于權木亓 (其) 鳴鵹=（唎唎）.[43] This would have meant distorting the text in such a way that we, for our part, would have had to invent a text which the writer of the Ān Dà *Shī* did not mean to produce. (For “Zhōu Nán” *2*, it would have meant taking some ‘birds’ out of the lyrics, so to speak.) Hence, we have simply maintained the direct transcription of what the writer wrote. With this in mind, we shall return briefly to the horse with- and without legs in “Zhōu Nán” *3*.

Subsequent to the first stanza, which serves as a form of preamble situating “Zhōu Nán” *3* emotionally and contextually, three stanzas describe a progression of decline on the part of the travelling male as imagined, and voiced, by the lone female singer, his lover:

> Ascending that high ridge, my horse () has turned dark yellow.
> I now ladle into that rhinoceros horn cup, it is thus my pain shall last.
> Ascending that craggy height, my horse () is on the verge of collapse.
> I now ladle from the bronze bucket, it is thus my yearning will last.
> Ascending that slippery slope, my horse () is at a crawl.
> and as for my humble servant, there is nothing more to say!

The horse is the one repeating feature in the image programme of the song,[44] and it serves to stand metaphorically for the pains of the male traveller as imagined by his suffering woman, who places herself in the narrative perspective

42 For more information, the reader may wish here to consult “Zhōu Nán” *2*, stanza 1, annotation 5 (pp. 70–71).

43 Richter 2013: 48 supplies a prescriptive account of such transcription format.

44 We borrow the idea of ‘image programme’ from Schwartz’ 2018 studies of the *Yìjīng*. We understand the precise semantic, lexical content in a song’s lyrics to be an image, and the intersection of images in a song’s lyrics as an image programme. We have chosen

of her lover. The progressive decline of the horse is emblematic for that of the male traveller and his companion. First, the horse has ascended a high ridge and the writer shows that its strong legs are moving forward. Second, the writer has changed the position of, and inverted, the horse's once-strong, forward-striding legs to show the result of it being pushed to ascend a rocky height. By the third stanza, the traveller's horse is literally finished. As it slows to a crawl, it appears as though it has no legs to stand on while trying to make its way up a slippery slope, a situation observed and emotively commented upon by the writer of the song.

Had this visualisation been one of a handful of examples, we would not emphasise it and declare it a chance coincidence. But this is not so. Close analysis of songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" shows that a layer of meaning was regularly added through careful execution of the writing, including the binomes, and that this was an important means of visually expressing what was occurring in the songs.[45] There are of course many graphs in the Ān Dà *Shī* where this aspect is lacking, but key terms in the songs are marked with striking consistency. We here cite but a few examples:

"Zhōu Nán" *1* (*Máo* 1) establishes an image programme centred on a male osprey seeking his prey as a metaphor for a male seeking a lithe and beautiful female of his desire. The female is referred to, sportively, as an 'adversary', that is, the object of his desire, and the graph writing this word *chóu*, is written 雠, with the phonophore *zǎo* 棗 'jujube' (*tsûʔ), which the writer specified by adding a 'dagger-axe' 戈 signifier. This was a common way of writing the word in Warring States Chǔ script, and is the same word used in the Lǔ (followed by Zhèng Xuán) and Hán recensions (written with the graph 仇). It forms a

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the word 'programme' because of its association with systematic application and system-based learning. A song's images form a series of instructions that control the operation of the song's meaning. Note that semantic content refers not only to the words signified by graphs but also, and sometimes crucially, to the use of signifiers in the structure of the graphs and their significance.

45 This observation is on a surface level diametrically opposed to Kern's (2010: 45) finding that 'the individual graphs in these binomes are utterly irrelevant; as has long been noted' (Kern is citing Kennedy 1959: 190–198 and Knechtges 1987: 3–12), 'such descriptive rhyming, alliterative, or reduplicative binomes cannot be decoded based on the meaning of each character'. But in his studies Kern was largely working with different commentarial traditions. While we admit that the graphs chosen had to agree to the productive mould, as we call it, of the Shī, and thus they were guided by *prescriptive* rhyming and alliteration principles set by this mould, we cannot exclude the possibility that the various textual communities chose them with great care and for the meanings they represent, and that their choices may well conflict with those of other groups. On this point, the reader should please consult our discussion of *yāo dí* 要翟 in "Zhōu Nán" *1*, stanza 1, annotation 3 (pp. 54–56).

semantic bracket with the words *lán-lán* (**rôn-rôn*) 闌闌 'enter recklessly' (into someone's space), before it, and *liú* 流 'flow around [like water]', *qiú* 求 'seek', *fú* 服 'subdue; cause to obey; give up', *cǎi* 采 'pluck', *yǒu* 有 'obtain', and *jiào* 教 (效) 'handpick', after it, to produce a reading that is decidedly different from what its counterpart, *qiú* 逑, 'mate, companion', means in the *Máo* recension.

"Zhōu Nán" *2* (*Máo* 2) describes a woman's joy as she enters into marriage. Orioles (*huáng niǎo* 黃鳥 'yellow birds'), chirping, carry forth the happy news. We have already mentioned the added signifier 'bird' for the orioles in flight, and in their chirping of the happy news. The Ān Dà manuscript text also differs from the *Máo* recension in where the birds alight. The chirping orioles gather in the Ān Dà *Shī* on 'trees with yellow blossoms', *quán mù* 權木, the colour yellow symbolising the female and serving as a metaphor for marriage, whereas in the *Máo* recension they alight, more prosaically, on 'bushes', *guàn mù* 灌木. While the sound—and thus the prescriptive sound mould—of *quán* and *guàn* is the same (both are written with the phonophore *guàn* (**kôn*) 雚 'heron'), the repeated occurrence of the graph 灌 later in the manuscript text's lyrics (stanza *3*), where it writes the word *guàn* in its primary meaning 'pour out; rinse' (contra *Máo*: *huǎn* 澣 'wash'), demonstrates that great care was taken by the writer of this song when choosing the appropriate signifier—without compromising its sound mould.

"Zhōu Nán" *3* (*Máo* 3) has the above-mentioned 'horse' in emotive postures that change along with the progression of the song. The male subject of the song is imagined to be in the mountains in stanzas *2* to *4*, and six of the fifty-one words are written with 'mountain' signfiers.[46] When describing the man's horse as it moves through the mountains, graphs with a 'movement' signifier express exactly that movement—which differs from the graphs chosen in *Máo*—and with them the song's image programme, while keeping the sound mould intact.[47] There is also a discernible pun in the writing of the word *shāng*

46 In the *Máo* recension, eight words are written with graphs using a 'mountain' or 'hill' signifier.

47 The first instance is a rhyming binome in Ān Dà *Shī*: 阮遺, which corresponds to *Máo*: *huī-tuí* 陟隤. Even though the word is the same, the difference between the two is that in the Ān Dà *Shī* the second syllable of the binome is written with a 'movement' signifier, adding further signification and depticting the movement of the 'horse', whereas in *Máo* it is written with a 'hill' signifier, adding another layer of signification to the 'mountain' images serving as the background for the man's travails, and thus responding to the different image programme in *Máo*. The second instance is the use of 徒 in Ān Dà *Shī*, again written with a 'movement' signifier, which corresponds to 瘏 in *Máo*, written with a 'sickness' signifier. Thus, the Ān Dà text maintains consistency in describing the horse's belaboured movement with a 'movement' signifier. (See "Zhōu Nán" *3*, stanza 3, annota-

'pain' (*Máo*: 傷) with the graph 觴 (觴) 'cup of horn'. The writer added an extra layer of signification to the word 'pain' by writing it, hardly unintentionally, with the very ale cup that the subject was going to use to prolong that pain. Reading 觴 as a simple phonetic loan for 傷 is, of course, possible. But this presents a much weaker reading, one that ignores the song's image programme and thus misses the ingenuity of how the writing is employed; more fundamentally, it potentially nullifies further associations and the feelings it evoked when encountered in the song.

"Zhōu Nán" *5* (*Máo* 5) centres around locusts and their various sounds and movements as a metaphor for the continuity of a lord's line, coming forth in multitudes. Unlike in *Máo*, the writer preserves an evocative and striking intimacy between 'locusts' and 'people', equating them through intersecting parallelisms in the writing of the graphs. The first two lines of each stanza are about the locusts, while the third and fourth lines are each about the lord's descendants. But where the song talks about locusts, it uses graphs with humans-related signifiers; where it talks about people, the writing uses graphs with the insect signifier. This parallelism begins with the song's very first word, *zhòng* 'multitudes', and ends with its final word, *shéng/mǐn* 'to spring up ceaselessly'. In the opening sentence, the one about 'locusts', the graph used to signify the word contains 'three people'—  (眾)—whereas in the song's final sentence, about the lord's 'descendants', the graph used to write the reduplicative binome modifying them is composed with an 'insect' signifier, 蠈= (with the reduplication mark repeating, in fact 'doubling', the 'insect': 蠈蠈.)

"Zhōu Nán" *7* (*Máo* 7) centres on the image of a rabbit net 兔罝 (*lhâh-tsha)—the materiality of its composition, its construction, and its placement in several key positions—as part of a phonetically-driven metaphor for the martial man 武夫 (*maʔ-pa) and his disposition in properly serving his lords, the Gōng and the Hóu. Similar to how the imagery of humans and locusts intersects in "Zhoū Nán"*5*, in this song the martial man and the rabbit net are braided together using reduplicative binomes written with a 'silk' signifier that is absent in the *Máo* recension.

In "Shào Nán" *6* (*Máo* 17), the song is sung in the voice of a woman who suffers from ongoing harassment, and litigation, by a man she presumably wishes to divorce. When the song arrives at the part about litigation in stanzas *2* and *3*,

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tion 2 for more on the 'sickness' signifier in the written instantiation of the song lyrics in *Máo* and the other major Western Hàn recensions.) The graph 砠 in *Máo*, writing the word *jū* 'rocky', and thus maintaining consistency with its mountain-related image programme, is written with a 'water' signifier in Ān Dà *Shī*: 沮. We read 沮 as it is written, 'slippery slope', primarily because it is just as sensible, but also considering the image programme of the horse under duress at this point in the song.

two specialised forms in Ān Dà—痚 and 謖, which correspond to the word *sù* 速 'beckon, invite, urge on' (but also 'rapid, quick') in *Máo*—add meaning through the use of 'sickness' and 'speech' signifiers. While the same phonophore makes it certain that all three graphs write the same word, we propose that 痚 captures the 'rapid' onset of illness, with the underlying sense that this is akin to forcing litigation upon the female defendant. As for 謖, which is listed in the *Shuōwén jiězì* as a Warring States *gǔwén* form of *sù* 速, the addition of the signifier 'words, speak' suggests yet another specialised form, and thus signify 'to speak' or 'call forth to speak', in this case at trial.

"Shào Nán" *13* (*Máo* 24) celebrates the offspring of King Píng (r. 770–720 BC) and the Hóu of Qí, as one of the royal princesses is married to an elite family in the east. The writer of the song visibly intended to sublimate the image of flora and fruit in abundance through a sustained use of graphs written with floral signifiers, and as a way of adding meaning to the metaphor of beautiful royal females and their many anticipated offspring. Of the thirty-seven graphs still legible on the slips, eight are written with the floral signifiers: 'grass' 屮/艸; 'tree' 木; and 'plant (of grains)' 禾. In the song's final stanza, the metaphor changes from royal females and their descendants as beautiful flora and abundant fruit to a silk fishing line. This is also reflected in the song's written instantiation as three of the stanza's remaining eleven words, including the song's final word, 'grandchildren', *sūn* 孫 (*sûn), are written with a 'silk' signifier.

These few examples (we discuss these and other cases in more depth in the philological annotations of the songs) show that the written graphs in the Ān Dà *Shī* serves to develop its image programme, and thus the songs' meanings. This is not an argument for a fundamentally written tradition of the Songs (or as it is often put, their 'written nature'). But it shows how the writer of the Ān Dà *Shī* either expressed the feelings which the Shī invoked in them as they wrote down their version, or how they voiced, in written form, what they felt the Songs expressed. In any case, the writer(s) made the Songs more profound through the careful execution of written graphs. It thus appears that by around the mid-fourth century BC, both the phonetic texture and image programme were integral elements in Shī iterations, at least in this case, thus demonstrating extensive knowledge of tradition, and transmission, on the part of the writer of the Ān Dà *Shī*.

The Shī lend themselves to such forms of meaning construction through the written graph in the build-up of an image programme in ways other genres, with the exception of the Yì (Changes), might not.[48] In so many ways the Shī

48 Note that this observation is not necessarily at odds with the findings of Galambos 2006, but it draws different conclusions. Based on covenant texts from the fifth century BC, but

are more evocative due to metre, regulated words per line, sound moulds, and the tradition's emphasis on prompting feelings through sound and imagery, which might explain this facet. Many of the examples we have cited add meaning to the songs through the use of signifiers associated with nature, like 'grass', 'wood', 'mountain', 'avian', 'animal', and 'insect'. This is not without precedence though.[49] The writer of this iteration of the Shī placed importance on how to write key terms, including binomes (sometimes by using semantically-charged phonophores), so as to add meaning to the songs, or to reveal a connection between the songs of a given state. The Ān Dà *Shī*, with its discernible care regarding how sounds were written out, enables us to revisit the value of the written graphs in other iterations of the Shī, including the *Máo* recension, and in other genres.[50]

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confirmed by wider selections of manuscript texts, Galambos traces a general instability of a graph's signifier in manuscript writing. While such instability is apparent in the Ān Dà *Shī*, signifiers were not chosen without consideration; see, for example, the comments of Shaughnessy 2021: 24–25 on the consistent use of 'mouth' signifiers to write out the song lyrics of "Yǒng" 2 (*Máo* 46 "Qiáng yǒu cí" 牆有茨 'On the outer wall there is three-horned vine'). (The lesson of the song, if read through the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* [slip 28], is an admonition to be 'be tight-lipped so that others do not know of [one's] words' [慎密而不知言]; not doing so is cause for gossip which, in turn, leads to 'humiliation', 'perpetuation', and 'disgrace' that cannot be 'bundled up', 'removed', or 'brushed away', as per *Máo*; we discuss the song in Meyer and Schwartz forthcoming 2023–2024.) See also Schwartz 2018b: 1189–1190, who discusses signifier exchange in the Yì traditions in a specific case study centred on trigram Gèn. Xià Hányí (Edward Shaughnessy) 2012 also pointed out possible correlations between the Shī and Yì traditions.

49 As Kǒngzǐ put it: [Through the study of Shī one] 'becomes more knowledgeable about the names of birds, animals, plants, and trees' 多識於鳥獸草木之名; *Lúnyǔ* "Yáng Huò" 陽貨 17.9.

50 While the addition, or accumulation, of signifiers writing a single grapheme is not at all new to the study of Chinese palaeography, the systematic use of certain signifiers that add meaning, either to a discrete, literary text, or across a genre produced at approximately the same time and in the same geographical location, is an issue of Warring States-Western Hàn studies of excavated materials that only became more widely recognised (but not necessarily accepted!) after the discoveries of the Mǎwángduī (1973) and Guōdiàn (1993) manuscripts and the Zhōngshān (1977) bronzes. Discussing the Mǎwángduī **Wǔ xíng* manuscript, for instance, Csikszentmihalyi 2004:169 notes a peculiar way of writing *shēng* 聲 'sound' as *shèng* 聖 'sagacious' which, he hypothesised, was not just a phonetic loan but an 'unstated philosophical argument'. Scholars who work with excavated Warring States inscriptions and manuscripts are aware of an interpretive tradition that sees significance in the relatively large number of graphs composed with a *xīn* 心 'heart' signifier in the Zhōngshān bronze inscriptions, and in the philosophical manuscript texts produced during the latter half of the fourth century BC; see Liú Xiáng 1996; Páng Pǔ 2000, 2011; and Liú Bǎojùn 2020. Jao Tsung-i 2005 calls attention to the frequent use of words in the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* written with a 'heart' signifier, and associates them, collectively, with 'the range

We would like to stress, once more, that the aspect we have just described says nothing about the nature of the Songs in general.[51] But it shows the limitations of using isolated, external, sources—for instance, contemporaneous philosophical texts—to then conclude that the Songs must have been exclusively oral. Contemporaneous texts might follow the Songs' phonetic textures, but specific semantic elements such as those in *Máo* are, at best, secondary. Rather, we posit that the different ways philosophical texts relate to the Songs demonstrates how different conceptual communities during the Warring States period would have used the Songs for their own ends. We thus gain information about conceptual user communities and their requirements, not about the Songs themselves. Likewise, the writer of the songs in Ān Dà *Shī* executed the calligraphy with such care that it produced an extra layer of significance, but this does not imply a characteristic of the Songs during the Warring States period in general. Rather, it shows that in this written instantiation of the Songs, the process of writing and the written graphs were important to the textual community that produced them (or, just possibly, to one writer). Writing was a tool used to evoke images to further stimulate the reader, and to enhance the meanings of the songs in ways they saw fit. This shows an aspect of the Songs that has, until now, been abstruse. By moving beyond philosophical texts we have gained insight into how the Songs were used by real communities in the Warring States period.

In summary, we have already noted that as our working hypothesis, our *gedankenexperiment*, we consider the Ān Dà *Shī* to be non-*Máo*. Yet, with this proposition in mind, we do not insist it must have been pre-*Máo*. Methodologically, this choice to treat the Ān Dà *Shī* as non-*Máo* enables us to read the songs of the *Ānhuī University Manuscripts* on their own terms, as given representation on slips by a community who afforded meaning to the Songs. By comparing the various representations of the Songs in texts from the Warring States period, as well as those in the *Máo* recension, we conclude that by this time the Shī had formed a matrix, through their form, structure, and phonetic value. Conceptual communities followed this matrix, but nonetheless had some liberty when choosing how to inform in the precise semantic content of the Shī, within sound moulds that in turn conformed to the expectations of the various textual communities of the time.

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of different feelings one has when reading the *Shī*'. Many such observations have thus far remained isolated, and have not received due attention because of the intense focus on phonetic writing over the past years.

51 Martin Kern and Edward Shaughnessy have launched a sometimes heated debate about whether the Songs were 'oral' or 'written' in nature. We do not wish to partake in it. As this written instantiation of the Songs shows, there were clearly *also* written songs circulating among groups who may equally have been guided by oral primacy.

4 Bringing to Life the Sound Moulds of Shī Production

The Ān Dà *Shī* were not mindlessly penned. Certainly for the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán", the calligraphy was executed with care and served as an additional and meaningful element of signification. This includes the addition of signifiers or phono-semantics to certain graphs, and often binomes, so as to add clarity to what was said in the song and to further evoke its imagery; to comment on it in an 'instructive' way; or as a means to connect songs and themes into larger clusters of signification. In this regard, the discovery of a Warring States instantiation is nothing short of a momentous event for early Shī studies because, with the Ān Dà *Shī*, we realise for the first time how the songs were not just received only through an appeal to the ears, but also to the eyes: a literate community gave voice to songs through a writing-supported text performance in which the written word was not secondary, but played a significant, and to some extent primary, role.[52]

Of course, this observation does not deny the vital aural element of the songs. They are, after all, songs. In this book we describe how sound moulds function in a Shī tradition where units of signification were not just created through rhyme, but were distinctive phonetic textures that bound the songs into tight units, and yet may be filled with diverging but meaningful content, as revealed by comparisons between the Ān Dà *Shī* and the *Máo* recension. Whether these sound moulds demonstrate the oral prevalence of the songs is not for us to say. Rather, we believe that sound moulds confirm the aural significance of the songs, carried not just by rhyme but by distinctive phonetic textures, and that they produce containers for the songs' contents. These contents need to be made explicitly, something we believe would not work well without a written element. The Ān Dà *Shī* manuscript thus shows how Shī worked *on the ground* during the Warring States period, that is, within different textual communities who responded to the sound moulds of individual songs according to their own biases and requirements.

Sound moulds carry a song's words, and thus they define the individual songs of the Shī phonetically. But as our term 'mould' suggests, during the Warring States period they also served as containers that could be filled, to an extent, with semantically malleable content deemed appropriate by the community in question. As long as the sound of the chosen graph did not violate the prescriptive mould into which it was placed,[53] the writer, who, by virtue of writing the

52 The model of a writing-supported text performance is laid out in Meyer 2021: 15. We further comment on this later on in the Introduction.

53 It is at this stage not possible to state how close a match was required for a chosen word to

song was also commentating on it—and thus laying claim to it—was at some liberty to apply a group's consistent reading of the song.

Huáng Dékuān and Edward Shaughnessy have already commented on linguistically variable word choices in the Ān Dà *Shī* vis-à-vis the *Máo* recension, where the phonetic value of a word remains intact while rendering a different meaning.[54] Both commentators focus on the example of "Shào Nán" *14* (*Máo* 25 "Zōu yú" 騶虞). The Ān Dà *Shī* writes *cóng hū* 從虖 *dzoŋ-*hâ 'after them' or *zòng hū* 縱虖 'release them' where *Máo* has *zōu yú* 騶虞 (*tsro-*ŋwâ). The latter is notoriously difficult to interpret.[55] Although the difference between the two versions is phonetically sound, Huáng Dékuān insists that this does not necessarily present an innocent phonetic loan—the words may just as well show two different readings of the song.[56]

While we agree with this assessment, we go one step further. Spurred by our reading of "Yǒng" 甬 *1* (*Máo* 45 "Bǎi zhōu" 柏舟 'Cedar boat'), we realised that such variances need not be selective, let alone arbitrary, but apply to the expressions of Shī more profoundly, going beyond the odd graph or binome in a song.[57] Something quite systematic occurred during the Warring States period when communities voiced Shī through the written word. In the case of "Yǒng" 甬 *1*, we see meaningful variance that stretches consistently over entire lines, such that they alter—sometimes dramatically—the overall character of the song, while keeping intact its phonetic value.

The 'Two Nán' show similar characteristics. A case in point is "Zhōu Nán" *3* (*Máo* 3 "Juǎn ěr" 卷耳 'Cocklebur').[58] Stanza *3* reads as follows:

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be phonetically acceptable, as this may also have differed from one Warring States-period community to another. However, a close reading of the Ān Dà text against the texts of the Hàn traditions, of which *Máo* is dominant, indicates at least minimal adherence, at the word level, to a pre-existing rule about the agreement of the vowel sound(s).

54 Huáng Dékuān 2018; Shaughnessy 2021.

55 See our notes on "Shào Nán" *14*, stanza 1, annotation 1 (193).

56 Huáng Dékuān 2018: 73.

57 "Yǒng" *1* in the Ān Dà version is composed in *two stanzas, each stanza in seven lines, each a line of four words. Whereas line 3 of each stanza in Ān Dà writes 湫皮兩鶃 'Submerging are those two wild ducks', the corresponding line in *Máo* is 髡彼兩髦 'Falling down are those two tufts of hair' (said of a young man). A comparison between the two shows that the phonetic value is largely stable, but that there is a drastic difference in the selection of its *written* words; these selections, in turn, significantly affect the songs' overall meaning—not in their aurality, but in how the written instantiations express and produce meaning. Employing philological methods to try and equate the two sentences—and thus the two versions of the song—is unwarranted, and doing so negates the ingenuity of the Shī communities that produced them. We discuss the song in more detail in Meyer and Schwartz 2022/2023.

58 On this song see also above, "Writing the Image Programme of the Songs".

陟 7||皮沔矣我馬徒矣。 Ascending that slippery slope, my horse is at a crawl.
我僕夫矣員可無矣■ and as for my humble servant, there is nothing more to say!

The *Máo* version has the following:

陟彼砠矣，我馬瘏矣。 I was ascending that flat-topped height, but my horses became quite disabled.
我僕痛矣，云何吁矣。 And my servants were [also] disabled. Oh! how great is my sorrow![59]

In the even-numbered line (2), the *Máo* recension has *tú* 瘏 (*dâ) 'fatigued, ill' where the Ān Dà *Shī* writes *tú* 徒 (*dâ) 'on foot, walk'. Phonetically they are identical and so one might dismiss this difference as a simple phonetic loan. However, both renderings each provide systematically stable readings. In the Ān Dà *Shī* we see the steady decline of the horse, to the point where it can no longer walk (it is 'at a crawl'), while the *Máo* recension lays stress on how the horse is increasingly unwell. This situation continues into the next lines where the iterations focus on different aspects in accordance with their image programmes. In one case it is the 'humble servant' of whom 'there is nothing more to say'. In the other case, it is the 'servant' who, just like the horse, is 'disabled', leading to the self-pitied exclamation 'how great is my sorrow!' To ignore such differences means to miss the opportunity of seeing how the sound moulds allowed different communities to construct meaning variously.

As these examples show, a song might display different word choices, but aural correspondence remains largely intact between their various iterations, be it *Máo*, Ān Dà *Shī*, or another. As we discuss more fully in our annotations to the songs, this is especially true of the keywords and the rhyming words,[60] although there are also instances of disparity that are perhaps best explained

59 Legge 1961: 8.

60 Of the ten songs of the "Zhōu Nán" extant in the Ān Dà *Shī*, seven have exactly the same rhymes as those in *Máo*; these are "Zhōu Nán" *1–5*, *9*, and *11*. Songs *6* and *8*, each composed in three stanzas, show rhyme disparity only in the final stanza, but the disparity in "Zhōu Nán" *6* is minimal and the vowel is still the same (the rhyme in *Máo* is in *-in; in Ān Dà, it is in *-î/-in). Due to the inconclusive identification of one of the rhyming words in stanza 2 of song *7* (*Máo* 7) we are unable, at present, to use this in our tabulation; rhymes in the other two stanzas however, like those in songs *6* and *8*, agree with the sound moulds in *Máo*. Song *10* (= *Máo* 10) is missing, as is stanza 1 in song *11*. Thus, of the total number of stanzas in the Ān Dà "Zhōu Nán", words in prescriptive rhyming moulds agree with *Máo* in twenty-eight of the twenty-nine instances, or 97% (note that this count parses "Guān

as reflecting linguistic features of Chǔ regional dialects, and how local writers accommodated them.[61] A comparison between the *Máo* and Ān Dà versions sees significantly less lexical variation in the songs of royal states, the 'Two Nán', than in the songs of the other four 'common' states. This fidelity indicates an intimate reception of the royal songs and, for late Warring States-Western Hàn users of the Shī, a reverence for their exalted pedigree.[62] That *Máo* and the Ān Dà *Shī* both adhere to the same sound moulds also suggests the tradition they follow was much older. And that by the time when the Ān Dà *Shī* was voiced in writing, these moulds were fundamentally stable. The Shī are characterised by an aural primacy, but that does not extend to semantic fixity.[63] Taking note of the productive sound moulds in Shī iterations might not just prove useful when discussing new finds of manuscript texts in the future; it might also serve as a suitable tool when revisiting the major traditions of the Western Hàn period, the foremost of which is *Máo*.

5 Sounding the Image Programme of the *Songs*

Within a song, accumulation and layering of sound moulds produces a 'phonetic texture' regarding how certain elements are linked. And as with written forms, phonetic textures can evoke meaning and contribute to mounting image programme of a song.

We find a variety of strategies by which meaning is evoked through sound. Consider "Shào Nán" *8* (*Máo* 19 "Yǐn qí léi" 殷其靁 '"Qin" sounded the thunder'). Here, just as in other songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán",[64] we can see how the writer in question filled in a prescriptive sound mould using just enough variation to show meaning. We argue that this does not show a degree of indifference to the semantic content, but rather corresponds with how the

jū", "Zhōu Nán" *1*, in three stanzas, as per the *Máo* recension, and not in five, as per Zhèng Xuán's reading.) See also Chéng Yàn 2020.

61 Huáng Dékuān 2018: 71.

62 The songs of "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" are said to be 'where sages are' in Jiāo Gòng's 焦贛 (Western Hàn) *Yì lín* 易林; see Shàng Bǐnghé (AD 1870–1950) 2005: 7.499. Songs of the 'common' states are never referred to in such terms.

63 Note that the point about the aural primacy of the Songs must not be confused with deliberations about whether the Shī were primarily oral or written. Rather, we assert that the purpose of writing the Shī during the Warring States period would not be for 'memorisation', but rather for interpretation: for providing *semantic* fixity to the already fixed aural forms.

64 We discuss the various cases in our philological commentary on the songs.

writer (or the community of which the writer was a part) saw it fit to detail the content of the song. The song is highly repetitive, with just the last word of lines 2 and 4 changing. The sound of the song is carried by the dominant vowels *-e-, -ə-, and -a-, which characterise all three stanzas. Only two elements break away from the phonetic pattern, the repeated sounding of the thunder, 敦𠂤靁 (*ʔin *gə *rûi), marked by *-i- and the pharyngealised *-û-, and the 'so quaking is the lord' 震=君 (*tən-*tən *kun), which takes up these sounds, albeit weaker and not pharyngealised. These two sounds thus form a phonetic bracket which links the two choses words (or 'images') into a meaningful unit, a technique we encounter in many other songs of the 'Two Nán'.[65]

"Shào Nán" *8* contains two consistent rhymes, which is consistent with *Máo*. It is in the voice of the narrative 'I' of a female speaker, lamenting her lord's departure as soon as the thunder sounds. The song is highly repetitive and, as such, it is predictable. So too is its message. We consider this not to be a coincidence, but rather suggest that it is part of the song's image programme. As the thunder (*rûi) sounds (*ʔin), the narrative 'I' of the female voice knows her lord (*kun) will be prompted into action (*tən). As the speaker's experience predictable, so too is the repetitive structure of the song and the texture of its sound moulds.

Something different occurs in "Zhōu Nán" *8* (*Máo* 8 "Fúyǐ" 芣苢 'Plantain'), a song in four stanzas which describes the monotonous work of plucking the plantain. The rhythmic and repetitive nature of the song, with its continued stress of glottal stops, beautifully captures this monotony. Just like "Shào Nán" *8*, on a phonetic level the song thus reduplicates its semantic content:

*tshêʔ-tshêʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bâk-ŋan *rhyme word*-*1 tə
*tshêʔ-tshêʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bâk-ŋan *rhyme word*-*1 tə;

*tshêʔ-tshêʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bâk-ŋan *rhyme word*-*2 tə
*tshêʔ-tshêʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bâk-ŋan *rhyme word*-*2 tə;

*tshêʔ-tshêʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bâk-ŋan *rhyme word*-*3 tə
*tshêʔ-tshêʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bâk-ŋan *rhyme word*-*3 tə;

65 Take for instance "Zhōu Nán" *7* (*Máo* 7 "Tù jū" 兔罝 'Rabbit net'), a highly formulaic song of three stanzas. The song's 'rabbit net' stands allegorically for the martial man, trapping the Gōng and the Hóu. The association of the rabbit net with the martial man is made explicit phonetically: 兔罝 *lhâh *tsa rhymes with 武夫 *maʔ *pa, creating the crucial link between them, thus marking them as a unit.

Or one might consider "Shào Nán" *6* (*Máo* 17 "Xíng lù" 行露 'Walking in the dew'). This sings of a woman who suffers ongoing harassment by, presumably, her former husband. In highly accessible visual terms, which parallel her husband's actions with how a sparrow forces its way through a roof, the song describes how the man encroaches upon female space. This threat is captured, phonetically, by the *-ôk and -ok endings of the rhyme which reproduce the hacking sound of the 'beak' (*jiǎo* 角 [*krôk]) and thus invokes a sense of threat.

6 Receiving the Shī

As both the visual and aural information are relevant when constructing the image programme of a song, questions arise as to how Shī were transmitted and received. Based on the consistency and attention to detail in how an image programme was established, through carefully executed writing within the existing sound moulds of Shī production, we disagree with interpretations that regard the written song lyrics of this selection of Shī as minimal notations of sounds, heard through second-or third-party recitation. A contemplated transcription from self-recitation strikes us as conceivable for thus instantiation, as might written transmission from a pre-existing source text.[66] Particularly applicable to our reading is the model of a writing-supported text performance. This describes the enabling, and execution, of a complex utterance (text) through the support of the written word.[67] The enabling of a text's iteration through a writing-supported text performance implies certain constraints, genre-specific or otherwise. In the case of the Shī, this would be the sound moulds within a prescribed phonetic texture. Such frameworks ensure that the expectations held by the different groups as to what constitutes a valid instantiation would be met, within respectively defined boundaries: a text is accepted within a given genre; an idea is considered good and an argument sound within a particular discourse; and with the Shī, a song is received, and voiced in writing, within the accepted confines of its sound moulds and phonetic texture.

66 Jiǎng Wén 2021 reaches this conclusion.

67 Note this model differs from Nagy's 1996: 40 concept of 'textualisation', which he understands as 'composition-in-performance'.

7 The Significance of the Royal Zhōu and the Royal Shào

For the most part, the songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán" display a marked stability vis-à-vis *Máo*. Even though at times the order of the stanzas differs, as mentioned, structurally complete songs are generally characterised by their consistency. One reason for this stability was almost certainly the permanency of the sound moulds and phonetic texture they produce. Thanks to the acquisition of the Ān Dà *Shī* we can conclude that by the time of the mid-fourth century BC, at the latest, phonetically the songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" were largely stable. Not one of the songs of "Zhōu Nán" or "Shào Nán" is particularly long, and each has a clear rhyme scheme that further eases reproduction in different contexts, which certainly helps their stability in the long term. That the image programmes of many of these songs differ, sometimes spectacularly, from *Máo* should not come as a revelation. Different versions simply speak to different communities and their specific needs. In those cases where we see a different sequence in the order of the stanzas compared with *Máo*, we often feel that the sequence in an Ān Dà song is intuitively more appealing than that in *Máo*, as it generally follows a clear progression, temporally or otherwise, sometimes following a prelude that sets the song's mood or context. It is often in *Máo*, not in the Ān Dà *Shī*, that this progression appears to be interrupted.[68]

But what about the macro-consistency of an entire state (*guó*/*bāng*)? How is it that the sequence of the first twenty-five songs, the songs of the "Royal Zhōu" and the "Royal Shào", is so stable between the Ān Dà *Shī* and *Máo*, much more so than for any of the other states?

To answer this question, we scrutinised the image programme of each song and searched for possible connectors from one song to the next. In many cases, though not all, we were able to discern connectors that produce a 'distant reading' of the songs, which ties them together in a stable sequence across a state. Connectors may vary in type. They include correspondences in the narrative voice between two or more songs, images that run across the different songs, calligraphic connectors (as we call them) that tie two or more graphs together across songs, and distinctive sound patterns such as phonetic brackets or coded phrases, which are marked by phonetic exceptions that are repeated across the certain songs. But more often than not we found a combination of

68 This observation would confirm a later date for *Máo*, suggesting some form of conceptual obstruction in the transmission of the relevant songs from one community to another. However, this is not the concern of this book and so we leave it as a footnote to be taken up at a later time.

these and other literary devices that produced a macro-matrix of Shī-organisation within the states.[69]

The other reason for stability lies in the special status of "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" as a conceptual pair. Pre-Hàn texts usually refer to the "Zhōu Nán" in conjunction with "Shào Nán". Certainly by the mid-Spring and Autumn period they were considered a unit and, at least structurally, a comparatively stable one. This is because unlike any other state, the songs of the "Royal Zhōu" and the "Royal Shào" are ultimately linked to the two paragons of Chinese civility, Zhōu Gōng and Shào Gōng, if only by tradition rather than fact. Moreover, the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán" formulate a normative claim to carry the songs of old royal states, as marked by their programmatic title *nán* 南.

The tight organisation of the songs within the two states and their special, normatively royal status may well have worked in tandem, one driving and strengthening the other. Mututal enforcement might have lent them a special place, not just in the collection of 'The States', the "Fēng", but in the Shī more generally.[70] One can only hypothesise whether the two states were also passed on as one unit, separate from the other states.[71]

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69 We believe this is what is also addressed in the following entry in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* "Xiāng" 16.1: 晉侯與諸侯宴于溫，使諸大夫舞，曰：「歌詩必類。」齊高厚之詩不類。荀偃怒，且曰：「諸侯有異志矣。」 "The Hóu of Jìn and the many princes were feasting at Wēn when the Hóu made the high officers dance. He said: 'The Songs ought to be sung according to their type. The song by Gāo Hòu of Qí is not in type'. Xún Yǎn was angered and said: 'it is clear, the many princes are not of one mind with us' ". Durrant at al. 2016: 1039, however, translate the speech as 'The ode sung has to match the right order. The ode by Gao Hou of Qi did not match the right order', to which they note (462): 'the "right order" … refers to the correspondence between the music and the dance or to the connection between the performance and the proper intent (*zz* 33.573)'. This 'may also include political hierarchy and ritual propriety'. This is not tenable. Rather, confirmed by the matrices we see from the Ān Dà *Shī* and **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, we believe that the songs had to be 'in type' as they were performed and could not be disarrayed.

70 See Jīn Róngquán 2012.5: 165–168.

71 Throughout the *Yílǐ* ("Xiāng yǐn jiǔ lǐ" 鄉飲酒禮 14; "Xiāng shè lǐ" 鄉射禮 11; "Yàn lǐ" 燕禮 21) the songs of the pair are thus referred to as the 'proper songs' (正歌). In Shī-traditions, starting no later than its representation in the *Máo* "Preface", they are referred to as the 'proper winds' (正風), as opposed to the other thirteen states' songs as 'deviating winds' (變風); the *Máo* "Preface" glosses the meaning of "Fēng"-songs paronomastically as 'wind'—meaning 'instruction'—and, employing bi-directional wordplay, understands the songs of the 'Two Nán', the proper, royal songs, as having a transformative power, while the 'non-royal' songs are understood to be satirical (*fěng* 諷); see *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.6–7; Mǎ Ruìchén 1.9–10. Although the songs of "Bīn" 豳, a state located north of Zhōu and Shào, are associated with pre-dynastic Zhōu ancestors, they are still considered 'non-royal' in the Shī tradition more broadly (Fāng Yùrùn 2017: 29), and their nature as 'pure' "Fēng"-songs (as opposed to a hybrid style containing "Yǎ" elements) is contested (Fāng

This is why we chose to focus closely on this conceptual pairing from antiquity, examining their shared features and stable sound moulds, and highlighting their importance to the different conceptual communities of the Shī.

Accordingly, we review the 'Two Nán' of the Songs during the Warring States period from an emic perspective, and relate them to what we can reconstruct from the transmitted literature. We shall take a take a small—but informed—leap of faith and claim that, in the sixth century BC, the word *nán* 南, when used in combination with *yǎ* 雅, referred to the songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán". This does not imply there was a precise match between sixth-century "Nán" and the first twenty-five songs of the *Máo* recension and the Ān Dà *Shī*. But a substantial overlap, certainly with regard to the sound moulds of the songs, however many they were, seems most likely.

8 What Does 'Nán' Mean?

We have no intention of revisiting the wealth of interpretations regarding to the meaning of the two-word combinations 'Zhōu Nán' and 'Shào Nán'. Too much has been written about it already, as nearly every commentator who works on the Shī feels obliged, by tradition, to take a position on the issue, which nonetheless remains controversial. The problem is the function and meaning of *nán* 南 and its relationship to the state-names 'Zhōu' and 'Shào'. No other subsection carries this, or any other, designation, instead being only known by state name.

Chen Zhi has, in more than fifty pages, engaged in a detailed discussion of the dispute concerning *nán*, and we could not have written this section without his important contribution to the topic.[72] The 1983 discovery of a set of bells, the *Shèngliù-*zhōng*, in Dāntú, Jiāngsū, is vital as they show an interesting overlap with the song "Gǔ zhōng" 鼓鐘 'Beating the drums' of the "Yǎ" section of *Máo* (*Máo* 208).[73] The Ān Dà *Shī* further informs the way we understand the concept of 'Nán', which differs from existing scholarship.

Zhōu and Shào are state-names; this is certain. But ever since (at least) the Western Hàn, their exact location has been debated. Zhōu and Shào were probably neighbouring states with an east-west relationship. With the exception of Qín, which was farther west, they were to the west of other states. To locate the

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Yùrùn 2017: 48–49). Since these songs do not occur in the Ān Dà *Shī*-selection, we shall not address them further in this book.

72 Chen Zhi 2007: 193–244.

73 Chen Zhi 2007: 197–198; 210–214.

two, then, partly depends on how one understands the date of the songs, which is a controversial issue, and how one understands *nán* 南.

As Hàn commentators suggested, we think of *nán* as a directional term—'south', or 'southern' vis-à-vis the 'northern' positions of Zhōu and Shào.[74] Since it is well-accepted in Western Zhōu oracle bone and bronze studies that Zhōu was located just south of Mount Qí 岐山, it seems justified to locate it broadly there, and this in turn implies that Shào was somewhere nearby.[75] We have placed them accordingly on our map (Fig. 1). We thus disagree with hypotheses which locate them between modern-day Nányáng in Hénán province and Jīngzhōu in Hǔběi, or which suggest that 'Zhōu Nán' was in Luòyáng, and that Shào, accordingly but awkwardly, was to its west.[76]

The notion that the designation *nán* means 'southern' has led to a push in scholarship to locate Zhōu and Shào yet further south. As one can see from the map, no state occupied the expansive stretches of territory ranging from the ancient locations of Zhōu and Shào all the way south to the Jiāng river, and southeast into the western bank of the Rǔ and the Huái river valley.

As is apparent from the Ān Dà *Shī* manuscripts, when compared with **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, the *Shī* were a well-structured entity by the time of the Warring States

74 *Máo Shī zhèngyì* 1.19–20.

75 Wáng Yìnglín (AD 1223–1296) 2011: 1.183–185, 191–192; Chen Zhi 2007: 194–196. Cf. *Máo* 262 "Jiāng Hàn" 江漢 'The Jiāng and Hàn Rivers', which says, "On the banks of the Këang (Jiang) and the Han, the king had given charge to Hoo (Hu) of Shaou (Shao): 'Open up the whole of the country; make the statutory division of my lands there … as far as the southern sea'", and then, once he had accomplished the charge and was bestowed the gift of a libation cup and aromatic ale in the king's presence, the king declared, 'And [I] confer on you hills, lands, and fields. In [K'e-] (Qi)chow shall you receive investiture, according as your ancestor received his'. (Legge 1961: 553f). (Note that Karlgren 1950: 233–234 comes to a different understanding of this passage.) The 'ancestor' mentioned here, if following Legge's translation, might refer to Shào Gōng Shì. An early Western Zhōu jade dagger recording that 'Tài Bǎo' 太保 (i.e., Shào Gōng Shì) received a command (likely from King Chéng of Zhōu) to 'visit the southern states' was discovered in this area in 1902; see Lǐ Xuéqín 1997: 135–141.

76 Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 1.1–2, citing a Lǔ *Shī* explanation, and *Shǐ jì*; see also Chen Zhi 2007: 221–222. In Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions the Zhōu's eastern capital at Luòyáng was called *Xīn yì* 新邑 'The New Settlement', *Chéng Zhōu* 成周 'Completed Zhōu', and *Wáng chéng* 王城 'The City of Kings', the latter of which just might be the referent for the 'state'-name "Wáng" 王 (lit. 'King(s)') in Shī traditions. The songs of "Wáng", absent in the Ān Dà *Shī*-selection, are dated in the Máo tradition to the beginning of the 'Eastern' Zhōu (*circa* 770 BC), when King Píng moved the Zhōu seat east to Luòyáng; see *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 4.117. The hypothesis that "Zhōu Nán" was in, or subsumed, Luòyáng is diminished if "Wáng" was also located in this area, although again it depends on how one dates the songs.

period, with loose ends perhaps, but ends that have no bearing here.[77] Texts such as the archaeologically-obtained *Zī yī* show that, by the fourth century BC, Shī were referred to by section, not just individual songs, which further confirms their stable organisation at the time.[78] The *Zuǒ zhuàn*, admittedly retrospectively, considers the 'Two Nán' to have had organisational stability by the sixth century BC, and assumes it to be common Warring States knowledge that they were a conceptual unit.[79] It is evident, therefore, that the dates of the individual songs must be substantially earlier, else it would be difficult for a community to conceive, understand, and refine these traditions. It seems not exaggerated, therefore, to push their composition, broadly and with at least one exception,[80] to some time during the Western Zhōu period (1045–771 BC). We cannot however rule out the possibility that more songs—not just "Shào Nán" *13*—were composed in the early Eastern Zhōu (770–256 BC), but we are here arguing on the basis of sound moulds and phonetic textures, not the precise semantic rendering of the songs.

The *Máo* "Preface" asserts that the "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" were 'tied' to Zhōu Gōng Dàn and Shào Gōng Shì.[81] This association, if only in its reception, seems uncontroversial.[82] It reinforces the notion of the songs having a royal 'air'.[83] As crucially established in the Warring States text **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, the appearance of 'Shào Bó' (i.e. Shào Gōng Shì/Shào Kāng Gōng) in "Shào Nán"

77 The mention of an unknown song in **Táng Yú zhī dào* in tomb 1, Guōdiàn, is a case in point.

78 See the discussion in Meyer 2021, Ch. 2.

79 *Zuǒ zhuàn* "Xiāng" 29.

80 "Shào Nán" *13*. See our discussion on pp. 203–204.

81 *Máo Shī zhèngyì* 1.8. See also the discussion in Xiàng Xī 2016: 109–110.

82 The fact that *Lǚ shì Chūnqiū* "Yīn chū" 音初 2, which partly reflects Warring States ideas, draws the same connections as the *Máo* "Preface" suggests that the latter inherited a long-established understanding of the songs, shared by different communities.

83 In this respect it is noteworthy that the Máo commentary to *jū jiū* 雎鳩 'osprey', in the first line of song *1*, glosses it *wáng jū* 王雎. This is of course just another name for the bird, not a Máo invention. But what it shows is that Máo is instructing the reader of the gloss in how to understand the binome 雎鳩: it is a metaphor for the 'king', and thus begins the 'royal' songs! (關關雎鳩：興也，關關，和聲也。雎鳩，王雎也 '*Guān-guān jū jiū* is evocation. *Guān-guān* is a harmonious sound. "Osprey" is the "*king*-fisher"'.) Furthermore, having identified the 'osprey' as a hidden metaphor for 'king', the 'good girl' 淑女, as the next step in Máo's hermeneutic reading, was identified as no one other than the queen (后妃). The Máo commentary thus took what was almost certainly a pre-existing understanding of "Guān jū"—however historically correct—as something composed during the time of King Wén. The commentary thus revealed linguistic evidence embedded within the song's lyrics to justify itself. In the *Máo* tradition, as expressed by the *Máo* "Preface", the songs of the 'Nán' as a conceptual unit are thus said to pave 'the way of a proper begin-

5 (*Máo* 16 "Gān táng" 甘棠 'Sweet pear tree') confirms this association as an emic reading during the latter half of the first millennium BC.[84] It might also be the remaining clue needed to associate the songs of "Zhōu" with Zhōu Gōng Dàn—albeit indirectly, since his name does not occur anywhere in them.[85]

The *Máo* "Preface" further understands the songs collected under "Zhōu Nán" as 'northern' songs, that is Zhōu compositions, and takes the word *nán* 南 as a noun meaning 'south'. However, this was in reference to the 'southern' states that were orientated, spatially, to the 'south' of Zhōu. The songs collected as "Shào Nán" were explained as the '"Fēng"-songs of regional lords, taught by the former kings'.[86] It is left unstated whether this means the songs were composed in outlying states to the south of Shào and made their way north, or whether, as with Zhōu, they were composed in Shào. We feel that the latter is the more likely scenario.

Lyrics which mention place-names of the south are often used as evidence that the word *nán* denotes the spatial orientation, 'south', which, in the geopolitical setting of the time means 'the southern states'.[87] This strikes us as somewhat difficult to reconcile with the songs. The names of three southern rivers—Jiāng 江, Hàn 漢, and Rǔ 汝—occur in just three of the twenty-five songs,[88] while two songs with an overlapping theme ("Zhōu Nán" *4* and *9*) sing of the tall trees 'in the south'. That just four of twenty-five songs sing of the south is hardly convincing evidence to warrant the argument that the songs are from 'the south'.[89] That a song mentions a distant location, or perhaps even

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ning' (正始之道) and serve as 'the foundation of the royal transformation' (王化之基); *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.8.

84 See our discussion on pp. 155–156.

85 The word *zhōu* 周 occurs but once, in "Zhōu Nán" *3*, and means either the state or the kingdom.

86 *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.8.

87 Wáng Yìnglín 2011: 1.187–195. There is of course a larger problem: what precisely do we mean when we speak of the 'southern states' during the Western Zhōu? Following the parameters suggested by Lǐ Xuéqín 2010c and 2010d (also 1997: 138), whose studies are based on contemporary bronze inscriptions and supported by later historical sources (i.e., *Zuǒ zhuàn* "Zhāo" 9), 'southern states' might refer to any number of polities, from modern Chéngdū, Sìchuān to the west to modern Cháoxiàn, Ānhuī, in the east, and even as far south as northern Húnan.

88 "Zhōu Nán" *9* mentions the Jīang and Hàn; (Cf. *Máo* 204 "Sì yuè" 四月 'Fourth month': 滔滔江漢，南國之紀 'So torrentially flow the Jiāng and the Hàn, regulators of the southern states'.) "Zhōu Nán" *10* mentions the 'banks of the Rǔ'; "Shào Nán" *11* mentions 'tributaries of the Jīang'. Hàn and Rǔ, however, do not necessarily imply a southern location, as both rivers extend into Zhōu strongholds.

89 To date, Shī scholarship, starting (at least) in the Sòng, reads the word *hé* 河 'River' in "Zhōu Nán" *1* as referring to the Yellow River; see Wáng Yìnglín 2011: 1.187.

uses words with a southern tinge, does not reveal it to be a 'southern' composition. Since from at least the time of King Chéng of Zhōu 周成王 (1042/35–1006 BC), the Zhōu engaged with the southern regions through its military and through hunts, but also socio-economically and culturally,[90] including the relocation of élite northern lineages, some of them royal, to conquered lands in the south. It should come as no surprise that Zhōu élites sung of 'the south', even though it never served as a uniform concept during the Western Zhōu period. Based on later descriptions, to them it was a land of strange things,[91] infused with fecundity, and blessed with lush, moist terrain. Singing of the south might therefore show, in a "Fēng"-style of composition, the differences between different cultural spheres, while revealing, from a royal perspective, hegemonic claims over it. The "Yǎ"—also old royal songs—overwhelmingly express the latter, and usually in a distinctively strong tone. From the Sòng dynasty (AD 960–1279) onwards, scholars studying the *Shījīng* therefore began to suggest that the word *nán* meant 'southern music';[92] but this, too, remains tied to the vocabulary of a minority of the songs.

Commensurate with this, some scholars argue that the graph 南 depicts the image of a suspended bell.[93] The problem with this hypothesis is that there are no early inscriptions in which the graph can be found writing this word. It occurs in oracle bone and bronze inscriptions, but only for different words, most frequently as a rebus to write the word 'south' and, less frequently, as a phonetic loan to write the word 'piglet' (*hù* 豰). In trying to make a case for reading *nán* 南 as 'southern-style music' or a type of musical instrument (a 'bell'), scholarship about the Songs calls attention to the "Yǎ"-song "Gǔ zhōng" and the inscription on the *Shèngliù-*zhōng*, as well as a passage from the "Wén wáng shìzǐ" 文王世子 chapter of the *Lǐ jì*. We read these sources quite differ-

90 Take for example the late Western Zhōu (King Xuān) inscription on the *Xī Jiǎ-*pán* 兮甲盤 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 10174) that mentions economic issues stemming from southern lineages in the Huái river valley failing to provide Zhōu markets with silk.

91 For instance, an early Western Zhōu bronze discovered in Xiàogǎn, Húběi, in 1118, *Zhōng-*fāngdǐng* 中方鼎 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 2751), which records the capture of a live phoenix in the mountainous area of modern-day Zǐguī, also in Húběi, and its delivery to King Zhào. The king was at the time northwest of modern-day Suízhōu, again in Hǔběi, preparing for war against the 'violating Tiger territory', presumably further south and outside of Zhōu control (*Zhōng-*zhì* 中觶, *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 6514); see Lǐ Xuéqín 2006: 210–219.

92 This argument appears to stem from a fictional account collected in the *Lǚ shì Chūnqiū* "Yīn chū" 2, that ends by stating "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" songs were influenced by southern 'sounds'; see Zhèng Zhìqiáng and Zhōu Yǐng 2004.6: 82–87; Chen Zhi 2007: 198–200; 243; Wáng Yìnglín 2011: 1.186.

93 Chen Zhi 2007: 201–208.

ently and propose instead that, in all three instances, the word *nán* 南 refers neither to a type of music nor to an instrument, but to "Fēng"-songs of Zhōu and Shào.[94]

The inscription on the bell (*Shèngliù-*zhōng*) is presented in Figure 2 as a rubbing. Below we provide a transcription and translation to further the discussion.

> 唯王正月，初吉丁亥，舒王之孫，尋楚𫋡之子聖䢼，擇厥吉金，作鑄龢鐘，以享于我先祖。鏞鏐是擇，允唯吉金，作鑄龢鐘，我台（以）夏台（以）南，中鳴媞好，我台（以）樂我心，它=巳=，子=孫=，永保用之。

> It being the king's first month, first auspicious [day], Dīnghaì, the grandson of King Shū and son of Fǔ of Xún-Chǔ, Shèngliù, selected his finest metal to cast harmonious bells, in order to present offerings to our former ancestors. Having selected two pure metals, which indeed are fine metals, harmonious bells were cast. We use them to intone [songs of] the *Xià* (> *Yǎ*) and the *Nán*, and they (the bells) have a balance of sounds that are truly pleasant, which thus cause our hearts to be joyous, all the way until the end. [May] son's sons and grandson's grandsons safeguard and use them in perpetuity.

The line '我台（以）夏台（以）南' corresponds with '以雅以南' in the song "Gǔ zhōng" of the "Yǎ" section in *Máo* (*Máo* 208), and it is perfectly clear that the two lines say the same thing. The *Shī* line informs our reading of *xià* 夏 in the bell-inscription as 雅. This is not only based on their phonetic proximity (夏: OCM *grâʔ; 雅: OCM *ŋrâʔ), but also by the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, which writes the word *yǎ*—as in the "Yǎ"-songs of the *Máo Shī*—as 夏. The progression of the inscription makes it apparent that the line in question speaks to how the set of 'harmonious bells' (龢鐘) were used, not that the donor was informing his descendants of the specific types of instruments that had been cast (or, even less

94 We will not take up a discussion of the passage collected in the *Lǐjì* as we feel James Legge's translation has already determined that *nán* has this meaning. The excerpt, in "Wén wáng shìzǐ" 20.625, reads: 胥鼓南。春誦夏弦，大師詔之瞽宗, which Legge translates as '[in autumn and winter …] the assistants regulated by the drum (the chanting of) the Nan. In spring they (i.e., royal children and young men) recited (the pieces), and in summer they played on the guitar, being taught by the grand master in the Hall of the Blind'. (Note that Legge reads 瞽宗 as 'Hall of the Blind', but the sentence should more likely end with *zhī* 之 'it'; *Gǔ zōng* 瞽宗 starts the next sentence in the Běijīng University 1999 edition). Zhèng Xuán's commentary (20.625–626) understands the word 南 as 'music of the south-

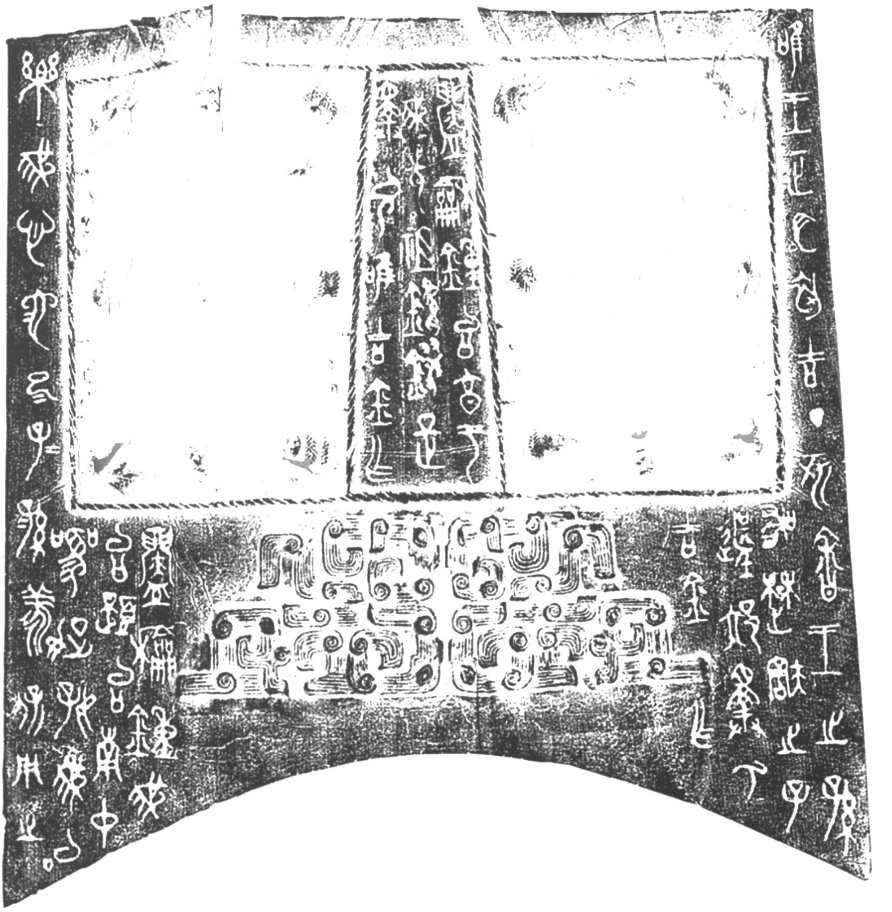

FIGURE 2 Rubbing of *Shèngliù-*zhōng*

so, that it meant the descendants ought to sound the bells, in general). In any case, the use of 夏(雅) for a type of bell is unattested, which severely weakens, if not totally undermines, a reading of 南 in its so-called primary sense.[95]

The *Máo* commentary understands the word *nán* 南 in "Gǔ zhōng" as a type of 'southern'-style dance, but this too is not persuasive as it also takes no account of *yǎ* 雅. Some scholars have therefore suggested to read *xià* 夏 in the

ern tribes' and cites *Máo* 208 as evidence; he then understands the words *sòng* 誦 'recite' and *xián* 弦 'string instrument' in the following sentence as referring to the *Shī*.

95 Chen Zhi 2007: 212 cites Zhèng Xuán, who says a word signified with the graph 雅 meant a 'drum', which we find dubious; either way, it is not a bell, which is the object carrying the inscription.

inscription as it is written, and to take the pair of words 夏 and 南 as referring to the 'music of the central [states] and southern [states]'.[96] We acknowledge the plausibility of this reading, but cannot resolve to accepting its vagueness. Instead, like Yáo Jìhéng, we take 雅 and 南 in "Gǔ zhōng" as referring to songs of the *Shī*, namely its "Yǎ" and "Nán" songs.[97] We think this also applies to the bell inscription.

This reading allows us to go one step further in speculating about *nán*. It seems significant that an élite family in sixth-century BC Jiāngsū, a southern state ('Shū 舒' on the map, Fig. 1), used bells to set the "Yǎ" and the "Nán" to music. This indicates more than just the cultural dominance of the Zhōu across a wider area: it confirms the conceptual stability of the core sections of the Shī at the time. We know of the *Zuǒ zhuàn* story, retrospectively dated to 544 BC, which relates how an official from the southern state of Wù, Jì Zhá, upon visiting the northern state of Lǔ to observe (and learn) Zhōu music, witnessed a selection of Shī songs in performance.[98] But what else happened during his stay? Did he just listen to a single concert and leave? Was he able to learn it and take it back with him, or even request a copy of the sheet-music and lyrics? Upon his return, would he not have reported his achievement and relate to his lord what he had learned? Would his lord then not have called his music masters so they could learn from him?[99] That Jì Zhá requested to observe Zhōu songs demonstrates knowledge of these Shī songs in the south. Shèngliù and his family too knew of the songs. He commissioned a large set of bells to share his joy in them with his ancestors, some of whom, being kings, would also have known them. Our reading therefore suggests that members of the aristocratic élite who were resident in 'the south' at around 500 BC knew of the "Nán", and had them performed to music.

In summary, we recognise that the "Nán" songs of "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" display striking organisational consistency between Ān Dà *Shī* and *Máo*: "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" come first in both versions; the sequence of these songs is identical; and their sound moulds are fully stable. This is unlike any other state recorded in the Ān Dà *Shī*, and suggests that the two states and their songs were afforded special status by at least the fourth century BC. Transmitted literature moreover confirms that by the sixth century BC, "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" were regarded as a conceptual pair. Texts of the time would not normally speak of either "Zhōu Nán" or "Shào Nán" in isolation, and later texts would

96 Chen Zhi 2007: 211.

97 Yáo Jìhéng (AD 1674–ca. 1715) 1961: 11.228.

98 *Zuǒ zhuàn* "Xiāng" 29 (544 BC).

99 For a comparable example in *Hán Fēizǐ* "Shí guò" 十過, see Chén Zhì 2016: 9.

express this ancient notion as the 'Two Nán' 二南. As confirmed moreover by **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* and *Zī yī*, the Shī were structurally stable, in four sections, by the second half of the first millennium BC.[100] The "Nán" held a special status, and the consistent evidence for that status leads us to infer that the inscription of the *Shèngliù-*zhōng* speaks not of *nán*-music, but of *putting to music* the Shī songs of the "Nán" and the "Yǎ".

This reading is validated by the close parallels between the inscription and song 208 of the *Máo* recension. In particular "Yǎ", "Sòng" (of the Zhōu), and the 'Two Nán' represent, time-honoured royal songs. As such, it is little wonder that they were named, generically and as a pair, in a bell dating to the late Spring and Autumn period. It shows that 'Nán' in "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" cannot mean music, let alone a musical instrument. These were geographical designations, and their special status is indicated because no other state carries 'Nán' as a qualification.

Zhōu and Shào were northern states. Their regional qualification as 'south' (*nán*) strikes us as unconvincing, unless it means 'the songs *south* of Zhōu and Shào', and so, 'the songs (of Zhōu and Shào) *extending* south' (to the Zhōng nán mountains, lit., 'End of the South Mountains'). This reading might seem plausible, but it is difficult to reconcile with the special place afforded to the "Nán" in the Shī as a conceptual pair, especially when juxtaposed with the old royal songs of "Yǎ". As such, we suggest reading *nán* in a normative sense as 'south-facing'. Conceptually, *nán* signifies the position of a ruler and reaffirms the royal status of the songs. In claiming royalty, the "Nán" thus affirm the asserted cultural dominance of the Zhōu and Shào over the south. This reading, insofar it is accepted, resolves contradictions that other readings are unable to avoid.

9 The Significance of the Ān Dà *Shī*

As mentioned, correspondences with Shī in other Warring States texts abound, particularly in philosophical texts. But rather than being isolated support material for arrangements in other contexts, the Ān Dà manuscript is the earliest extant iteration of the Songs. This is significant. The manuscript offers a unique glance on the standing of Shī during the Warring States period. Again, this does not imply that the Ān Dà manuscript shows 'the' *Shī* of the time. It may not

100 **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, which is no longer intact, mentions only three sections for certain: the "Bāng Fēng" 邦風 'Airs of the States', "Dà Xià" 大夏, viz., "Dà Yǎ" 大雅 'Great(er) Elegantiae', and the "Sòng" 訟, viz., 頌 'Hymns'. However, citations of *Shī* in Warring States versions of *Zī yī* confirm the existence of "Yǎ"-songs in two sections, 'lesser' and 'greater', that is the "Xiǎo Yǎ" and the "Dà Yǎ", as per *Máo*; see for example *Shànghǎi* 1, slip 18.

even be representative. But it was certainly *one* instantiation of the Shī, and so shows how at least one conceptual community—the Warring States textual community involved with the production and reception of this manuscript—engaged with the text.

Perhaps it is to be expected that by the fourth century BC the Songs *also* circulated in writing—at least its core parts, such as the 'Two Nán' that served as the conceptual normative royal pair as early as the second half of the first millennium BC.[101] These carry, among others, the single most influential song of the entire history of China: "Guān jū" ("Zhōu Nán" *1*). After all, this was the time when China's manuscript cultures matured,[102] when ever more texts were put into writing, and when philosophical cogitation became a written exercise, at least in part, as complex transmitted texts such as the *Xúnzǐ* or the manuscript texts from a tomb at Guōdiàn, Húběi, forcefully show.[103] Traditions of Yì and Shū were written down,[104] as was historical knowledge.[105] We see short philosophical *aperçu*,[106] long disquisitions on music and dance,[107] prayers,[108] and literary compositions with verse.[109] Why should the Shī form a striking exception and not exist in written form? They would not. And yet it is only now, with the physical actuality of the Ān Dà manuscript, that we can be more assertive about the Songs and their use during the Warring States period. The earliest extant collection of the Songs forces us to rethink some of the assumptions we may have long held dear, but which can no longer be maintained under closer scrutiny.

Prior to the acquisition of the Ān Dà *Shī*, the earliest copy of Shī was from the first half of the second century BC (no later than 165 BC).[110] But this copy, excav-

101 *Lúnyǔ* "Yáng Huò" 17.10; *Zuǒ zhuàn* "Xiāng" 29 (544 BC).

102 See Meyer 2011 (2012), Krijgsman 2016.

103 Meyer 2014; 2011 (2012).

104 On the Yì traditions during the Warring States, see Shaughnessy 2014, Schwartz 2018a and Schwartz 2018b. On the Shū traditions, see Kern and Meyer 2017, Meyer 2021.

105 See Pines 2020 on **Xì nián* 繫年 from the Qīnghuá manuscripts.

106 See Harbsmeier 2015 on **Yǔ cóng* 語叢 from the Guōdiàn manuscripts.

107 See Cài Xiānjīn 2017: 166–183 on *Zhōu Gōng zhī qín wǔ* 周公之琴舞 from the Qīnghuá manuscripts.

108 See Lǐ Xuéqín et al. 2017: 136–138 for a transcription and commentary on **Zhù cí* 祝辭 from the Qīnghuá manuscripts; see Schwartz 2015.

109 See Kern 2019 on *Qí yè* 耆夜 from the Qīnghuá manuscripts.

110 Preliminary reports state that from July 2014 to January 2015 archaeologists excavated sites at Xiàjiātái 夏家台 and Liújiātái 劉家台. Tomb 106 at Xiàjiātái, which dates to the Warring States period, is reported to have included songs of Bèi fēng 邶風 (see *Húběi rìbào*, 28 January 2016). No transcription of the songs has been published yet, so we cannot comment on this reported instantiation of Shī.

ated from the Western Hàn tomb of Xiàhóu Zào at Shuānggǔduī, is extremely fragmented and poorly preserved. It has limited value *as a text*. The Fùyáng 阜陽 *Shī* shows how the Songs were organised during the Western Hàn,[111] in the sense that individual songs in this manuscript are recorded with titles and word counts.[112] The macro-organisation of the Ān Dà text confirms this tradition of collecting songs under the rubric of states, arranging them in a sequence, and tabulating their total. That the first song in two of the Ān Dà 'state' sub-sections are named further implies that other songs in the manuscript text may have had names too.[113] Alternatively, these names might refer to the respective groups of songs in a section, perhaps in a given order, but because "Zhōu Nán" does not list the title of its first song, the songs association with that section do not appear to have relied on the name of its initial one.[114] This complements the picture gained from **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, which slightly pre-dates the Ān Dà *Shī*, and which identifies its songs by title.[115]

While the Ān Dà *Shī* clearly differs—sometimes spectacularly so—from the received *Máo* recension in terms of its image programme, and often even semantically, the organisation of the songs and the close matches of their corresponding sound moulds suggests that both versions originated from another, and likely earlier but definitely independent, source. The **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, which confirms the existence of Shī in sections during the latter half of the fourth century BC—"Bāng Fēng", "Xià (that is, Yǎ)", and "Sòng"—records fifty-eight songs, a meare 19 per cent of the 305 said to have been selected by Kǒngzǐ and included in *Máo*. Amongst these, there are thirty songs from twelve states, with one song of uncertain affiliation.[116] As mentioned, the Ān Dà has songs from six states;

111 Hú Píngshēng and Hán Zìqiáng 1988.

112 The Fùyáng *Shī* also contains some significant graphical and lexical variation unknown from other recensions, and so attests to the diversity of early Shī.

113 How closely these names, if they existed, might have corresponded with *Máo*, is yet another matter.

114 Whether the formula 'state, number of songs, song title', as in "Yǒng" and "Wèi", represents the creation of a retrospective anthology, by claiming certain songs for some states, is something we explore in our discussion of the 'common states'.

115 The fact that **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* never speaks of 'Nán' but lists the songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán" along with other "Fēng" songs by title, concurs with our hypothesis that *nán* during the Warring States period cannot refer to a type of music, but rather that in Shī it is a normative, directional, term.

116 The **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* mentions one state, Bèi 北 (邶), and this implies that other songs also had state affiliations, as per the fifteen states in *Máo*. The **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* does not, however, mention songs from the states of Wèi 魏, Qín 秦, and Bīn 豳. As mentioned, songs from Táng were classified as songs of Wèi in Ān Dà, and this leaves open the possibility, if reading the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* through the Ān Dà *Shī*, that at least two songs mentioned

fifty-seven in total. Twelve songs of **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* overlap with the Ān Dà. Conservatively we can therefore say that during the Warring States period at least these twelve songs were conceived as belonging to the tradition named Shī by *Máo*, and by at least two different communities. More likely, however, is the scenario in which there were no fewer than seventy-five Shī "Songs of the States", and perhaps as many as 103 Shī songs circulating—*also* in written form—in the fourth century BC. Whether—and if so, why—the Ān Dà *Shī* thus presents a 'selection' from a larger *corpus* of Shī is open to question. The **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* strongly suggests this larger compendium closely resembled the *Máo* recension in organisation, and may also have contained many of the songs recorded there. Whether they also resembled each other linguistically, we do not know. However, what is clear from **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* glosses is that the main themes of the songs correspond closely. We are therefore confident enough to assert the following:

> During the latter half of the fourth century BC, Shī were understood widely as partitioned into the sections known from the *Máo* recension; the Ān Dà *Shī* represents a selection—reasoned or not—from a larger *corpus* of Shī; third, there were *also* written instantiations of Shī-selections circulating during the second half of the fourth century BC.

The exact relationship between this manuscript and its historical owner remains unknown. We have no information about the provenance of the manuscript, and, at the time of writing, only a preliminary report about what else was in the owner's possession has been published.[117] That someone owns a Shī manuscript—among other texts—at a minimum suggests an interest in the subject matter, whether that was generated by the manuscript, or the manuscript was acquired for that reason. But it does not mean that the person necessarily 'studied' the Shī to acquire an advanced level of proficiency in the text or its tradition. If we suppose the punctuation marks in the manuscript were introduced by the holder, then we have every reason to think that the owner and user of the manuscript were the same person, with the implication that they read at least parts of the text closely. But what if the punctu-

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in the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* could be classified as songs of Wèi. Perhaps more important is the elevation of the Qín songs immediately after the 'Two Nán' in Ān Dà, but their complete absence in the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*. Songs of Bīn do not occur in either manuscript text.

117 Huáng Dékuān 2017. This includes texts about Chǔ 楚 history (440+ slips, in two groups), thought (276+ slips, in nine groups), physiognomy (22 slips), divination (11 slips), and more poetry (50/51 slips, in two groups).

ation marks, or some of them, were not introduced by the owner? In that case, we posit, there were *Shī* texts circulating as 'reader's editions', however preliminary they might have been. This too is significant; it indicates an interest in, and market for, Shī manuscripts for reading with textual support provided. But was the owner simply reading the Shī? Or were they having them intoned for whatever performative purpose?[118] Or else, was this manuscript just something someone planned to read but never actually did? Was the text of the manuscript an attempt at establishing a new 'recension'? Is it a verbatim copy of a pre-existing one? Or is it an idiosyncratic rendering of the Shī in writing? We can only muse on these and other questions.

Thus, the Ān Dà *Shī* manuscript returns us to the heart and mind of studying the Shī. It forces us to rethink questions we had long thought settled (or perhaps we had merely thought as futile to revisit). From an emic perspective, centred on Warring States use of the Shī, it makes us rethink how the Shī worked *on the ground*, within a community; it makes us rethink how writing and the sound texture can be complementary and serve a song's image programme, and how they fit within the sound moulds of Shī production; it made us rethink, as we were writing a book about the songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán"—the old royal songs—about what 南 *nán* actually means.

Since at least Jiǎ Kuí 賈逵 (AD 30–101), scholars have paid close attention to variations in *Shī* recensions.[119] Before the Ān Dà, this mainly focused on texts from four *Shī* 'schools' or traditions during the Western Hàn, but for which only *Máo* is complete and has any real value *as a text*.[120] Although the Ān Dà *Shī* only contains songs from the 'states', the kinds of variation seen in this manuscript increases our knowledge and understanding of Shī traditions pre-Qín, for which, aside from names and affiliations, we knew very little.[121]

Important questions remain. A controversial issue is perhaps what the Ān Dà manuscript actually *is*. What was its purpose? To whom did it speak? Here we can only speculate. It seems clear, however, that the precise execution of the graphs served as an additional layer of meaning, and demonstrates the writer's close familiarity with the text—a text perhaps passed on from teacher to student, with explicitness expressed in the written word, in many ways exaggerating, but never ridiculing, the image programme of the songs. The result is

118 While the general assumption is that text production and text reception in antiquity was a male activity, we cannot conclude with certainty that females had no access these texts.

119 Wáng Yìnglín 2011: 9.

120 Wáng Xiānqiān 2020; Chéng Yàn 2010.

121 Wáng Yìnglín 2011: 160–162.

a unique mode of Shī instruction, embedded into the text proper, that transmits principles of interpretation and conveys how the community for whom the text was written understood the deeper levels of its meaning. The Ān Dà *Shī* therefore signifies the Shī reception of a particular conceptual community. We reiterate that this does not mean it was the dominant, let alone sole, articulation of the Songs as a recension within that community. Just like a good reader of poetry today can violate the rhythm of a poem as they stage it, an attentive student in antiquity may have seen different connections with the songs than they learned from their teacher, and passed them on accordingly. Yet variant texts still remain part a community. Different versions of the Shī might—and in all likelihood did—exist within a given community, with the Ān Dà manuscript articulating just one of its instantiations.

10 The Songs of the Royal Zhōu and the Royal Shào: Conventions

We offer translations of the first twenty-five songs of the Ān Dà *Shī*, the songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán"; the old royal songs. For reasons outlined in our Introduction, we do not provide an interpretative transcription of the graphs, but instead render them as closely as possible to what was produced on the bamboo. For purposes of comparison—and this is for the modern reader, not due to our methodology—we also reproduce the text of the *Máo* recension. We only translate the songs of Ān Dà *Shī*. Indeed, we only translate the extant text of the Ān Dà manuscript. If a slip is corrupted due to material loss or other factors, we do not attempt to reconstruct the missing text on the basis of *Máo*.

We take the edition of *Ānhuī University Manuscripts* as our base text and justify in our comments where we deviate from the choices made by its editors. The translations are accompanied by a brief description of the song as it occurs on the slips, together with a portrayal of its phonetic texture, and a short summary of its image programme.

We also provide the necessary philological apparatus from which to defend our reading. We do this per stanza, as we see them. We close each song with a brief commentary.

Where, as in "Zhōu Nán" 9, a song is listed as one song in *Máo* but appears as two in the *Ānhuī University Manuscripts*, we differentiate them with a superscript '*A*' and '*B*', to maintain consistency with subsequent songs in *Máo*. Note, however, that this is for convention, not because we believe in a primacy of the *Máo* recension.

Some further remarks on our representation of features of the manuscript: a forward-slash or reverse solidus (\) indicates the beginning of a slip broken at

the top; a back-slash or solidus (/) marks the end of a slip whose tail is missing; a vertical line (|) marks the beginnings and ends of complete slips; a full-stop in bold with a larger point-size (**.**) reduplicates the reading mark found at the right side of the slip; reduplication marks are provided as an equals sign (=); and the marker for the end of a song is reproduced as a black square (■).

Songs of the Royal Zhōu and the Royal Shào

∴

Songs of the Royal Zhōu

∵

List of Songs

***Ān Dà* Shī 安大《詩》**
Zhōu Nán 周南, 11

Zhōu Nán *1* 周南一
Zhōu Nán *2* 周南二
Zhōu Nán *3* 周南三
Zhōu Nán *4* 周南四
Zhōu Nán *5* 周南五
Zhōu Nán *6* 周南六
Zhōu Nán *7* 周南七
Zhōu Nán *8* 周南八
Zhōu Nán $9^A/9^B$ 周南九
Zhōu Nán *10* 周南十 (missing)
Zhōu Nán *11* 周南十一

Máo Shī, *the* Máo *recension*《毛詩》
Zhōu Nán 周南, 11

1 “Guān jū” 關雎 ‘Call of the osprey’
2 “Gé tán” 葛覃 ‘Kudzu spreads’
3 “Juǎn ěr” 卷耳 ‘Cocklebur’
4 “Jiū mù” 樛木 ‘Trees with down-curving branches’
5 “Zhōngsī” 螽斯 ‘Locusts’
6 “Táo yāo” 桃夭 ‘Young and vigorous peach tree’
7 “Tù jū” 兔罝 ‘Rabbit net’
8 “Fúyǐ” 芣苢 ‘Plantain’
9 “Hàn guǎng” 漢廣 ‘The broad Hàn River’
10 “Rǔ fén” 汝墳 ‘Raised banks of the Rǔ River’
11 “Lín zhī zhǐ” 麟之趾 ‘Feet of the unicorn’

Zhōu Nán *1* 周南一

\ 䦨 =疋鴼. 才河之州.
要翟嗇女. 君子好戴.

晶籗芫菜. 左右流之.
要翟嗇女. 俉 [1]| |㛌求=之=
弗旻俉㛌思伓
舀=才=遷倲反昃.

晶籗芫菜. 左右采之.
要翟嗇女. 鋈 [2]| |𥝦有之.
晶籗芫菜. 左右教之.
要翟嗇女. 鍾敼樂之 ■

Máo 1　關雎

關關雎鳩，在河之洲。
窈窕淑女，君子好逑。

參差荇菜，左右流之。
窈窕淑女，寤寐求之。
求之不得，寤寐思服。
悠哉悠哉，輾轉反側。

參差荇菜，左右采之。
窈窕淑女，琴瑟友之。
參差荇菜 ，左右芼之。
窈窕淑女，鍾鼓樂之。

Zhōu Nán *1* 周南一

'Rôn-rôn' [shrieked] the osprey on the islet of the river;
that tender beauty of a woman, the lord keenly takes her as the object of his desire.

Uneven is the water mallow, to the left and right, [like water] will [I] flow around it;
that tender beauty of a woman, asleep and awake, [I] seek her.
Seeking her [I] cannot get her, asleep and awake, may [she] submit.
How long! twisting and turning, to the back, to the side.

Uneven is the water mallow, to the left and right, [I] will pluck it;
that tender beauty of a woman, with lutes and zither [I] will obtain her.
Uneven is the water mallow, to the left and right, [I] will handpick it;
that tender beauty of a woman, with drums and bells [I] will give her delight.

1.1 *Notes on the text*

"Zhōu Nán" *1* runs over little more than two and a half slips. The slips are essentially intact, with only the top end of slip 1 broken but no graphs missing. For the most part reading support is added consistently, with the exception of stanza *2* on slip 2, where there are none to mark up the couplet [求之]弗旻悟婦思伾 'Seeking her [I] cannot get her, asleep and awake, may [she] submit.'[1]

The song comprises twenty sentences. Following the structural outline of the *Máo* recension, we divide it into three stanzas, of four sentences; eight sentences; and eight sentences.[2] Semantically the two recensions differ greatly, as will be discussed in our annotations.

The song consistently has the last word of each line rhyme with the last word of the previous one (i.e., lines 1 and 2 rhyme; 3 and 4, etc). Central to this version of the song is the notion of 'transformation'. The image programme used to its build-up includes the shriek of the osprey, isolation and distance, and modes of education.

1.2 *Establishing a reading*

1.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. 闗: The editors read *lán* 闌 (*rôn) as *guān* 關 (*krôn) as in *Máo*; we read it as it is written on the slips. The choice to read *lán* as *guān* is phonetically sound and the graphs writing these two words are indeed very similar. Both readings make sense. Our reading is, however, supported by the structure of the song in this version.

闗 is written with the 'door' signifier and the phonetic *luán* 絲, reconstructed as *rôn. The two 'silk' elements 糸 in 絲 are a corruption and derive from 𢆶 (> 系) (hand grasping thread tufts) 'to bind together, tie up, attach' with 言 the likely phonophore; 絲 is cognate with *luán* 孿 'bind, tie up'. One might also relate *lián* 聯 'connect' (as in the jaw to the ear), and *luàn* 亂 'disorder, reckless' (*rôns). The *Shuōwén jiězì* defines 絲 as 亂.[3]

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1 Given the consistency of the reading support in this song, we assume that the reduplication marks in the following lines in stanza *2*: 悟$_1$ | | 婦求$_=$之$_=$ and 𠂤$_=$才$_=$ likely subsumed it; we would like to thank Rens Krijgsman for calling our attention to this possibility.

2 According to Lù Démíng's 陸德明 (ca. 550–630) commentary to *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* (1.11), Zhèng Xuán used a five-stanza version of "Guān jū", each stanza of four sentences. As mentioned further below, the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* (slip 14) attests to a version in more than four stanzas; see also Huáng Huáixìn 2004: 317.

3 *Shuōwén jiězì* "Yán 言 (word) signific" 3.151.

The *Shuōwén jiězì* understands *lán* 闌 as to 'enter recklessly into a house with the support of one's arms > force one's way into a house recklessly through the door' (妄入宮掖也).[4]

> The *Zhuāngzǐ* reads 'let me try to put it to you recklessly so you listen to it in the same way, ok?' (予嘗為女妄言之，女以妄聽之，奚？)[5]
>
> The Western Hàn text *Shuō yuàn* says of *wàng* 妄: 'that which is obtained by foul means and given birth to at the wrong season is what we call "[something is] achieved recklessly".' (非道而得，非時而生，是謂妄成。)[6]

The *Máo* recension has *guān* 關 (*krôn) 'door bolt; to close' (written with the phono-semantic *guàn* 丱 signifying a crossbar lock). Phonetically the relation between *lán* 闌 (*rôn) as *guān* 關 (*krôn) is fairly close. The graph 絲, the phonophore in *lán*, occurs in "Hóu" 侯 *5* (slips 80–82) and corresponds to *guàn* 貫 (*kôns) 'pierce; link' in the *Máo* recension of "Shuò shǔ" 碩鼠 'Big rat' (*Máo* 113). **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* writes the name of "Zhōu Nán" *1* as 劉  (聞疋) (10/1–2). The graph *chuàn*/*guàn* 串 (*krôns) 'pierce, string together' is used to write the word *guān* 關 'door bolt' in the Mǎwángduī **Laǒzǐ* A in the line 'to close [something] skilfully needs no bolts or bars, and yet it cannot be opened' (善閉無關楗而不可開).[7]

The *Máo* commentary says of *guān-guān* that it presents a harmonious sound (和聲). The meaning being a couple of ospreys, one female and one male, are calling out '*guān- guān*' in unison.

Gāo Hēng 高亨 (1900–1986) dismisses this reading. He takes it as an onomatopoeic bird noise.[8] The Qīng dynasty *Shījīng* commentator, Fāng Yùrùn 方玉潤 (1811–1883), in his *Shījīng yuánshǐ* 詩經原始, found a deeper, hidden meaning in the sounds of birds and animals (onomatopoeia) as used in the Songs.[9] The exegetical technique he developed was 'the sound shows meaning' 聲中見意. Fāng suggests that *guān* 關 means *xiāng guān* 相關 'to care for each other', viz., the ospreys calling out 'we care for each other, care for each other'. Ezra Pound (1954: 2) notably translates *guān-guān* as 'Hid! Hid!', hearing in the bird sound the meaning of a word called out by the pursuing prince in reference

4 *Shuōwén jiězì* "Mén 門 (door) signific" 12.788.
5 *Zhuāngzǐ jíshì* "Qí wù lùn" 2.100.
6 *Shuō yuàn* "Tán cóng" 16.201/138/12.
7 *Lǎozǐ jiàoshì* 108.
8 Gāo Hēng 2018: 2.
9 Fāng Yùrùn 2017: 73.

to the girl 'hiding' from him in her dark and deep secrecy and clear modesty. Edward Shaughnessy, employing the same technique, translates the bird call as the words '*Join Join*' and, like Pound, proposes that the cry of the osprey was from the male. Unlike Pound, he interprets the meaning shown by the sound as a euphemism for sexual penetration (he makes a connection with the cognate 貫) and sexual union.[10]

The Ān Dà song does not suggest that we read 'ospreys' in the plural as does the Máo commentary. It is the voice of a single osprey, not a pair. Taking the graphs as they are written in this version of the song, 闥闥, the meaning associated with the sound is that someone is seeking to enter recklessly into another's space with undue force. Applied to the song the idea is that, triggered by the sound, the male subject recklessly seeks to unite with a beautiful female.

To be reckless is the antithesis of acting in line with ritual propriety. The manuscript text **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* notes that in the "Bāng Fēng" 邦風 'Airs of the States' one can 'broadly observe humans' desires' 博觀人欲 (slip 3). It says of "Guān jū", on slip 10, that the main lesson obtained from this song is 'change' (*gǎi* 改), such that one's emotions are moderated by *lǐ* 禮 'ritual propriety'.[11]

The reason we understand *lán* 闥 as recklessly entering into someone's space is because of the consistent pattern of opposition as brought out in the words *chóu* 雠 (equivalent to 仇) 'adversary' and *bèi* 伾 (read as a loan for *fú* 服) 'take as subordinate, cause to submit, give up' that follow next.

2. 疋鼬: *shū* 疋 (*sa) corresponds phonetically with *jū* 雎. (雎 is written with 隹 'short tailed bird' and 且 (*tsha?) as the phonophore.) As mentioned, the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* also renders 雎 as 疋. In the Ān Dà *Shī*, "Zhōu Nán" *3*, a word written as *jié* 泚 'muddy, slippery' corresponds with *jū* 砠 'rocky' in the *Máo* recension. It seems that for this textual community, 疋 was the common way of expressing what *Máo* rendered as 且. Elsewhere in the manuscript text, and outside of the 'Two Nán', 疋 writes the word *chǔ* (*tshra?) 'thornwood' (*Máo*: 楚); see "Yǒng" *6* (*Máo* 50), slips 92–94.

3. 要翟: The *Máo* recension has *yǎo-tiǎo* 窈窕 'dark and secluded'; (Karlgren (1964: 86) has '[t]he beautiful and good girl'.) The editors, and Xú Zàiguó (2019a), suggest reading *yāo* 要 as *yāo* 腰 'waist', a good choice that informs our reading of the rest of the line. 要 in archaic script is pictographic showing a man with his hands at his 'waist'; it is the ancestral form of 腰. 要 also means 'waist apron'

10 Shaughnessy 2010, 2020; Xià Hányí 2011.

11 串(關)疋(雎)以色俞(喻)於豊(禮) '"Guān jū" uses lust to illustrate *lǐ*'.

in "Wèi" 魏 *1*, "Gé jù" 葛屨 'Kudzu sandals' (100/15). For *dí* 翟, the editors read it *tiǎo* 嬥 (lit.) 'upright and nice figure' > 'beautiful'.

The alternative, of course, is to read 要翟 as a rhyming binome, meaning something along the lines of 'lithe' or 'beautiful', and as yet another way of writing the same word expressed by the sound 窈窕 in *Máo*.[12] The composition of *Máo*: 窈窕, written with a reduplicated 穴 'cave' signifier, possibly inspired Máo's (> 'dark and secluded' 幽閒) and Zhèng's ('dark and secluded residing deep in the palace' 幽閒處深宮) explanation of the binome.[13] Both 'readers', we suggest, saw meaning *in the written specification* of the binome's sound.[14] Thus

12 Mǎ Ruìchén 2005: 2.31; Kern 2010: 41–47; Dù Zéxùn 2020.

13 In combination with other linguistic evidence embedded within the song's lyrics, namely *jū jiū* 雎鳩 'osprey' in the couplet preceding it, the Máo-Zhèng commentary took what was almost certainly a preexisting understanding of "Guān jū" and used linguistic evidence embedded within the song's lyrics, including in its written instantiation, to design an innovative reading of it. See footnote 84 in the Introduction; as mentioned, having identified the 'osprey' as a hidden metaphor for the 'king' (i.e., another name for *jū jiū* 雎鳩 'osprey' is *wáng jū* 王雎 '*king*-fisher'), the 'good girl' 淑女, as the next step in Máo's hermeneutical reading of "Zhōu Nán" *1*, was identified as no one other than the queen (后妃). The binome 窈窕 thus preceding 'good girl', if read through Zhèng Xuán's elaboration of Máo, is a description of the queen's location; see *Máo Shī zhèngyì* 1.24 for Kǒng Yǐngdá's elaboration of Zhèng's reading.

The reading of *yōu* 幽 as 'dark' is reinforced by the graph's two elements, the signifier 'mountain' 山 and the phono(?)-semantic 'tuft(s) of thread' 玆 (< 幺, loan for 玄, 'dark black'). (In Shāng script the word is written:  , and it is the last example (*Huādōng* 花東 237) that reveals the element at the bottom is in fact a 'hill'/ 'mountain', and not the graphically similar 'fire'.) Its meaning, as a color term, 'dark' or 'dark black', already occurs in Shāng oracle bone inscriptions, while later meanings like 'hidden' (*Shuōwén jiězì* 4.254), 'gloomy', 'remote', and 'quiet' are characteristics associated with the 'mountain' signifier. See Wang Tao 1996: 93–96, and Jì Xùshēng 2014: 316–318.

14 Dù Zéxùn 2020: 141 realises this as well, but he does not develop the hermeneutic principle any further, as his motivation lies in opposing it. The example he selects as his evidence *par excellence*, and as a means not just to oppose but to ridicule the principle, is *jiāo-sháo* 茭芍, which occurs in a citation of "Guān jū" in the Mǎwángduī **Wǔ xíng* manuscript text. What Dù, and others, fail to see is that this particular example is perhaps the worst choice to adduce, since anyone familiar with the passage in which the binome occurs knows that the analogy, with the goal being to illustrate ritual propriety in order to advance one's moral conduct, focuses on *jiāo* 交 'copulating'. (Kern 2010: 35 has a translation of the said passage.) It hardly seems unintentional that the choice of '*jiāo* 茭' in the binome, written with a 'grass' signifier and the 'false' phonophore 交, was not designed by the writer to correspond with the keyword 交 occurring immediately after the song's citation and several more times thereafter. (This is why we refer to 交 in 茭 as a 'false' phonophore; it actually was meant to function phono-semantically.) Missing the hidden code in 茭: 交 means to miss the ingenuity of its use. The textual community did not just randomly select 茭 for its sound; the graph, in this particular instance, is thus utterly relevant. There is meaning in its sound.

the question remains: would Máo, and then Zhèng, have read the binome—and thus the song—in the same way if it was written without the repeated 'cave' signifier, as it is in Ān Dà?[15]

4. 雟女: *Máo* has 淑女 'fine woman'. 雟 is composed of *diào*/*dì* 弔 and a component that resembles 口 'mouth'. The graph 弔 in early Chinese writes the words *têwk-s 'mourn; sad' and *têwk 'good, fine'. In the following examples, 弔 means 'good':

1) 敦不弔。敗乃邦。嗚呼哀！帝家以寡。
'Dun is no good. [He] has failed your state. Oh, how sad! The house of the deceased father is now deprived.'[16]

2) 肆予沖人，非廢厥謀，弔由靈各（骼）。
'I, a youth, did not discard your plan; the good (one) came from the turtle and bone.'[17]

3) 不弔不祥、威儀不類。
'[You] are bad and unkind; your demeanor is not as it should be.'[18]

While it is unproblematic to read 雟 as a phonetic loan for *shū* 淑 (*diuk), reading 雟 as 弔 *têwk 'good, fine' in received literature is perfectly sound from an emic perspective.[19]

5. 好戠: The editors transcribe  as 戠 and identify it as a graphic variant of *chóu* 仇, but still choose to read it as a phonetic loan for *qiú* 逑 'mate, partner' as in *Máo*—'it means *pǐ* 匹',[20] which we consider a poor choice given the pat-

15 Cf. Máo's and Zhū Xī's readings of *Máo* 143, cited in Karlgren 1964: 86, where the same binome occurs written differently as *yǎo-jiū* 窈糾. Máo defines it there as 'beautiful appearance', whereas Zhū, seemingly encouraged by the 'cave' and 'silk' signifiers in the binome's written specification, defines it as 'dark and tied' (幽結).

16 Dūn-*yǒu* 敦卣 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 5392).

17 *Shàngshū zhèngyì* "Pán Gēng, xià" 9.244; Lǐ Xuéqín 2008, Schwartz 2018a.

18 *Máo* 264 "Zhān yǎng" 瞻卬 'Looking up'.

19 As it is in quotations of *Shī* in the Guōdiàn (slips 4, 32) and Shànghǎi Museum (slip 16) versions of *Zī yī* 緇衣 'Black robes' that write 雟 and that correspond to 淑 in the received *Shījīng* (*Máo*); see Shaughnessy 2006: 112, 116. Róng Gēng, cited in *Gǔwénzì gǔlín* 7.424–425, has a compelling analysis of 弔 meaning 'good', and discusses the graph 弔 used in Western Zhōu bronze script as a rebus to write words later (he suggests post-Hàn) substituted with *shū* 叔, such as 'third of four brothers; uncle' and 'good, fine' (淑/俶). 雟 occurs in *Qīnghuá* 1, *Chǔ jū* 楚居, slip 3, and in *Shànghǎi* 9, **Bǔ shū* 卜書, slip 1, unambiguously writing the word 叔 'third of four brothers'. 棗 (*diāo* 祧) 'lining of a coffin' occurs in Ān Dà "Wèi" 魏 *6*, slips 109–110, and corresponds to *chóu* 綢 (*driu) 'silk, statin; wrap round' in the *Máo* recension.

20 *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.9.

tern of the duality that is upheld in the song. Lǔ and Qí recensions both have 仇, not 逑.[21] The Máo commentary reads 好 as a modifier, 'good', of 'partner', and this is the explanation most often found in Shī studies. Zhèng Xuán, in his *Shī* "Notes", disagrees, and following in the Lǔ school hermeneutical tradition reads 好 as a verb, *hé hǎo* 和好 'reconcile', and defines 仇 as *yuàn ǒu* 怨耦 'bitter adversary'. The reading of 仇 is key in that it directs an understanding of the line 君子好仇, thus '[On behalf of] the lord, [she] reconciles with the many concubines in their enmity' 能為君子和好眾妾之怨.[22] A comparable line occurs in "Zhōu Nán" 7 (*Máo* 7 "Tù jū" 兔罝 'Rabbit net'): 公侯好仇, in Zhèng Xuán's reading thus '[On behalf of] the Gōng and the Hóu, [he] (i.e., 'the martial man') reconciles with [their] adversaries'.[23]

We too read 好 as a verb, but as *hào* 'is keen', and agree with Zhèng Xuán (and, by extension, the Lǔ school interpretation) that 仇 does not mean 'partner'.

仇 occurs six times in the received *Máo Shī*: in *Máo* 1 and in *Máo* 7, which are included in the Ān Dà manuscript and have just been mentioned; in *Máo* 133 "Wú yī" 無衣 'Without clothes': 與子同仇 'with you [we] have a common adversary', where the *Máo* commentary defines 仇 as 'comrade' (同仇 would then mean '[on] the same side') but Zhèng Xuán's commentary considers it unlikely and, as he does elsewhere, defines it as 'adversary'; in *Máo* 192 "Zhēng yuè" 正月 'First month': 如不我得，執我仇仇 'If [he] does not get me, [He] holds fast to my adversaries';[24] in *Máo* 241 "Huáng yǐ" 皇矣 'August indeed': 詢爾仇方 'Plan [against] your adversarial territory';[25] and in *Máo* 220 "Bīn zhī chū yán" 賓之初筵 'Guests first approach the mats': 賓載手仇 'the guest (team) now select [their] opponent'.[26]

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21 Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 1.9. The word 逑 occurs once more in the *Máo* recension, in *Máo* 253 "Mín láo" 民勞 'Commonfolk's toil': 惠此中國、以為民逑 'Let us make these middle states good, a place for the commonfolk to unite'. "Guān jū" is cited in *Lǐ jì* chapter "Zī yī" 'Black robes'; in the Guōdiàn version (slip 43), the sentence is written the same way as it appears in the Ān Dà *Shī*; the same word signified 仇 is written  .

22 Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 1.9–10.

23 In their commentary (p. 80) to Ān Dà "Zhōu Nán" 7, the Ān Dà editors appear to agree with Zhèng Xuán's reading of 'adversary'; see also Zhōu Xiáng and Shào Zhèngxiān 2020: 19.

24 The song is cited the *Lǐ jì* chapter "Zī yī" 'Black robes'; in the Guōdiàn version (slips 18–19), the second sentence in the above citation is written 執我  =.

25 Karlgren 1950: 196 translates it as 'Plan with your partner states', following the Máo commentary in understanding 仇 as 'partner'. The *Shuōwén* 3.159 defines 詢 as 謀 'plan'; Cf. Qín-*guǐ* 禽簋 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 4041): 王伐蓋（奄）侯，周公某（謀）'His Majesty (i.e. King Chéng) attacked the Hóu of Yǎn. Zhōu Gōng planned it'; see Chén Mèngjīa 2004: 1.128.

26 The Máo commentary reads 仇 as 匹 'partner', and this implies that there were at least two to a team (playing the game Pot-pitch 投壺); see Chén Jiàn 2007: 26–27. Our reading

An alternative transcription for  is 戟. Read 戮, as the editors do, it can be analysed as being written with the signifier 戈 'dagger-axe' and the phonophore *zǎo* 棗 'jujube' (*tsûʔ); read 戟, which was first proposed by Chén Jiàn and followed by Lǐ Xuéqín and his editorial team in their work on the Tsinghua collection, it can be analysed as being written with the signifier 'dagger-axe' and the phonophore 朝 (from *tāo* 本 (*lhû));[27] in either case, it is clear that it writes the word later signified by *chóu* 仇 (*gu). The phonophore 朝/棗 in this graph is noticeably different in shape from the graph writing the word *qiú* 求, which occurs in the very next line:  (cf.  (slip 34)). The graph 逑, to date, does not occur in Pre-Hàn inscriptional materials; however, the word that 逑 (*gu) writes, *qiú* 'match; pair; collect', first occurs in Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions and was frequently written  with the signifier 辵 'swift movement' and the phonophore 朝. While this may be so, the writing of the word *chóu* 'opponent, enemy' in Warring States script with the specified 'weapon' signifier carries a semantic undertone. One example has already been cited in footnote 24. We can further compare its usage in the following three examples from other Warring States period bamboo slip manuscripts; the first two examples occur in the literary manuscripts held in the Tsinghua University collection, and the last example appears in the administrative manuscripts discovered in Bāoshān tomb M2:

1) 晉文侯  （戟=仇）乃殺惠王於虢。
'Jìn Wén Hóu considered [King Huì] his adversary and killed him in Guó'.[28]

2) 方臧方武, 可燮  (戟=仇)  (戡=讎)。
'On one side good, on the other side martial, [you] were able to attack the adversarial enemy'.[29]

3) 思呈之  （戟=仇）敘於呈之所證。與其  （戟=仇），有悁（怨）不可證。
'Would that Chéng's adversary respond to the evidence presented against him. And with his adversary, there is enmity that cannot be proven.'[30]

The occurrence of the words 'adversary' and 'enmity' in the last citation, (3), can be compared with Zhèng Xuán's reading of 仇 as 怨耦 cited previously.

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follows Zēng Yùnqián 1990: 140 and Gāo Hēng 2018: 345. Zhèng Xuán's commentary reads 仇 as a loan for *jū* 斢 'pour out; pick out': 'the guest (team's player) picks out (the arrows)'.

27 Chén Jiàn 2007: 31.

28 Qīnghuá *Xìnián* 繫年 slip 8.

29 Qīnghuá *Qí yè* 耆夜 slips 5–6.

30 *Bāoshān* slip 138*verso*.

In Classical Chinese the words 仇 and *ǒu* 耦/偶 have opposite meanings, sometimes referring to one's 'opponent' and sometimes to one's 'mate'.[31] In games and in sport, for instance in archery and pot-pitch, 仇 can refer to a fellow player and 耦/偶 to an opponent, but the same words were also applied the other way around. In response to words with opposite meanings, words were commonly differentiated by way of signifiers.

We understand the word 仇 in "Zhōu Nán" *1* as referring to the female, sportively, as an 'adversary'; she is the 'object' of the male's desire.

1.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. 流: The Máo commentary explains *liú* as meaning to 'search for' (*qiú* 求),[32] seemingly based on the coda of the following sentence completing this couplet. Waley (1937: 81) followed this reading, rendering the sentence 'In patches grows the water mallow; to the left and right one must seek it'. We doubt this reading mainly because, assuming that the graph is to be read as the word it writes, 流 does not have this meaning in ancient texts; rather, it is clearly related to the river's flow, as per Legge (1961: 3–4), 'as moves the current strong'; and as per Pound (1954: 2), 'as the stream moves left and right'. Based on the word 'pluck' in the next stanza, the subject of this verb is not the grass but an unstated person (viz., the persona of the male) guised in the metaphor of flowing water. The male subject, like flowing water, will surge left and right enveloping the water mallow (viz., the girl).

2. 悟寤: The *Máo* recension has *wù mèi* 寤寐 'awake and asleep'. The second graph writes the word *qǐn* 寢, which also means asleep. There is no phonetic contact between 寢 (*tshəmʔ) and 寐 (*mi(t)s), and thus they would seem to constitute two different words.[33]

3. 思伏: 伏 does not occur elsewhere in the Ān Dà *Shī*. It is written with the phonophore *bù* 不 (*pə) and corresponds to the word *fú* 服 (*bək) in the *Máo*

31 For 仇, Karlgren 1964: 86 says, '仇 means fundamentally "a vis-à-vis", hence on the the one hand "antagonist, enemy" (common), on the other "companion, mate"'. The word *chóu*, written with a 'dagger-axe' signifier and the phonophore *zǎo* 棗, occurs in *Zhōu Gōng zhī qín wǔ* 周公之琴舞 (*Qīnghuá University Manuscripts* 3), slip 4: 仇其又（有）辟 'acted as a *chóu* to their rulers'. The bidirectionality of *chóu* clearly affords different interpretive possibilities. Our commentary (2.1) and analysis of "Zhōu Nán" 7 further engages with this issue.

32 The gloss occurs in the *Ěryǎ* "Explaining words" 3.63.

33 Shaughnessy 2021: 8. Xú Zàiguó 2019c proposes 寢 was perhaps misunderstood by Hàn scholars to be writing the word 寐 since one of its alloforms was written with 寢.

recension. A comparable loaning, 仐 for 服, occurs in Qīnghuá *Zhài Gōng zhī gùmìng* 祭公之顧命 'Zhài Gōng's retrospective command' (slip 20). Hereafter, for instance in "Zhōu Nán" 2, the graph *bèi* 備 (*brəh) writes the word 服. In Warring States manuscripts from Chǔ, 仐 regularly writes the same words signified with *bèi* 背 'back' and *bèi* 倍 'multiply' (*bəʔ),[34] thus 思仐(倍) 'thinking of her more and more'. Shaughnessy (2021: 7–8) while acknowledging that 仐 routinely serves as an alternative form of 倍, takes another step and reads 倍 as cognate with *pèi* 配 'pair', thus '[a]wake and asleep thinking to pair'. The Máo commentary takes 思服 as a compound verb meaning 'thinking (of her)', thus, after Karlgren (1964: 87), '[w]aking and sleeping he thinks of her'. In the Lǔ tradition, followed by Zhèng Xuán, it means 'duties' 事.[35] Yet 服 in early Chinese literature also means 'to subdue, cause one to obey, give up'.[36] We must acknowledge that 思仐(倍) 'thinking of her more and more' is a strong reading of the line and is a good possibility for an emic approach; however, given how we understand the song, with a special consideration of the words 闕闕 and 𢦏 (= 仇) preceding it, and as perhaps a better rhyme with the word *cè* 側 (*tsrək) following it, we have chosen to read 仐 as 服. Our reading of 服 as 'to obey; submit' is further informed by the Hán school interpretation, which explains 思服—through a clever association with the line *wú sī bù fú* 無思不服 in the song "Wén Wáng yǒu shēng" 文王有聲 'King Wen is famous' (*Máo* 244)—as meaning that one's wishes will be obeyed.

In early divination statements, including oracle bone inscriptions and Warring States divination records, but also in other songs collected in the *Shījīng* (for instance *Máo* 297 "Jiōng" 駉 'Stallions'), *sī* 思, functioning modally as an adverb, routinely introduces a prayer or a wish.[37] In this instance it is the latter.

4. 滔滔: The editors read *yǎo* 滔 (*lu ~ lauʔ) as in the *Máo* recension as *yōu* 悠 (*liu) 'long'. 滔 means 'scoop out/up'. The reduplicative binome *yǎo-yǎo* 滔滔 also occurs in "Qín" 7, slip 55: '滔=我思', which again corresponds to *yōu-yōu* 悠悠 in the *Máo* recension. The apparent mismatch in modern reconstructions of Old Chinese, albeit minor, leads us to read the reduplicative binome as *tāo-tāo*

34 For instance, Guōdiàn **Lǎozǐ* A, slip 1: 民利百仐（倍） 'the commonfolks will benefit a hundred-fold'/Mǎwángduī **Lǎozǐ* A has 民利百負 (*bəʔ); Shànghǎi Museum *Zhōu Yì*, slip 48: 艮其仐（背） 'Looking back at his back'.

35 Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 1.13; Karlgren 1964: 87. A verbal sense of 事, occurring in Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions, means 'to serve'; for instance, Lì-*dǐng* 利鼎 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 2804; mid-Western Zhōu), Shàn-*dǐng* 善鼎 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 2820; mid-Western Zhōu), Sòng-*dǐng* 頌鼎 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 2827; late Western Zhōu).

36 *Gǔxùn huìzuǎn* 1056.

37 Xià Hányí 2012: 57–85; Schwartz 2019: 162n225.

(*lhǔ), signified by 慆慆, which the Máo commentary to song 156, "Dōng shān" 東山 'East Mountain', glosses as 'long-lasting' (*jiǔ* 久).[38]

1.2.3 Stanza *3*

1. 有: The *Máo* recension has 友 'friend, to befriend'. In this line it is a transitive verb. We read the graph as it is written, writing the word *yǒu* 'obtain', and see it as a result of 'plucking' in line 1 of the stanza. "Zhōu Nán" *8*, stanza 1, has the same progression, 'plucking it' and then 'obtaining it'.

2. 教: The editors read 教 (*krâuh; the phonophore is *yáo* 爻 (*krâuh) (two 'fives' (*ŋâʔ) > 'line(s) of a hexagram')) 'instruct' as 芼 (*mâu), which follows the *Máo* recension. The previous stanza has 採 'pluck', so Máo defining 芼 as *zé* 擇 'choosing, selecting, sorting through' seems to have to considered the progression in the song more than the semantic range of the word, which functioning in this sentence as a verb has never been well understood.[39]

Whatever word was chosen in this position, it needed to fit into a regulated sound mould, determined by *lè* 樂 (*râuk) 'give delight', and to link with and progress from *liú* 流 'flow' and *cǎi* 采 'pluck' before it. The semantic limitation caused by these two factors maybe why the meanings of *Máo*: 芼 and Ān Dà: 教 are difficult to understand.

While there is evidence of contact between the initials *m- and *kr- in Warring States Chǔ manuscripts,[40] and thus support to read 教 as though it wrote the same word signified by 芼, we opt to interpret the two as lexical variants filling a prescriptive sound mould, *-âu(h). We propose to read *jiào* 教 as though it wrote the word *xiào* 效 (*grâuh; the phonophore is *jiāo* 交 (*krâu)) 'resemble, cause to be the same; examine, count (> *jiào* 校 (*grâuh))',[41] with

38 *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 8.12.

39 *Ěryǎ* "Explaining words" 3.91, defines a verbal sense of 芼 as *qiān* 搴 (holding in the hand >) 'seize, get'; Guō Pǔ's (274–326) comment says it means to 'pick vegetables by its roots and select (from amongst) them'. 芼 is defined as 'grass; covering plant' (*Shuōwén jiězì* "Cǎo 艸 (grass) signific" 1.47) and as 'green vegetables' (f.i. *Yílǐ zhùshū* 26.504).

40 For instance in Warring States Chǔ script, the word *mào* 'appearance' (*mrâu), later written with 貌, is written with the signifier for 'person' and the phonophore 爻 (Guōdiàn **Wǔ xíng*, slip 32).

41 For these definitions, see *Gùxùn huìzuǎn* 961–962. The *Shuōwén jiězì* 3.199 defines 效 as *xiàng* 象 'resemble', and glosses 教 paronomastically as 效 (3.206); cf. Mǎwángduī *Yìjīng* "Xìcí", 與天地相校（效），故不回（違） 'Imitating Heaven and Earth, therefore (it) does not move in opposition to it'; the received version has *sì* 似 'resemble' (*Shuōwén jiězì* 8.528: 象) for 校（效）. In **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* slip 23: 見善而孝（效/傚） 'Seeing something good, one imitates it', a graph often seen in Chǔ manuscripts writing the word 教 writes 效/傚; in Mǎwángduī *Yìjīng* "Xìcí": 效（爻）馬（象）動乎內，吉凶見乎外 'Line

the sense being along the same line as how the word is explained in the Máo commentary: that the subject was going to sort and select (> 'handpick') from amongst the plucked water mallow those shoots 'resembling' one another.[42] Presumably the purpose of doing so was to cook and eat them, but the song itself does not state as much.

1.3 *Analysis: Zhōu Nán* 1

'**Rôn-rôn*' is the shriek of an osprey on the islet of a river. This sound, with its various connotations ranging from 'recklessly enter', 'bind',[43] 'surprise attack',[44] or 'long for' (*liàn* 戀), triggers a reaction by the male character of this song, causing him to think longingly of a certain woman of his desire. Being on an islet, the osprey is physically distant, just as the woman for whom he longs is beyond his reach. This creates an urge to possess her, which quickly becomes his obsession. This drive to possess yields a male-dominant reading of the song, in which the woman is not the male's equal, but is someone he must, and will, obtain.

The constructed opposition of the two characters, the dominant male and the subordinate woman of his desire, is upheld throughout the song. The lord regards her as his 'adversary' (讎=仇). Just as water surrounds the uneven water mallow, he seeks to 'surround her' as if in battle or on a hunt; he longs 'to subdue' her (思伉(服)); he wants to 'pluck her' (采之); he seeks to 'obtain her' (有之); finally, he wants to 'handpick her' (教(效)之) before he can give her delight with drums and bells—instruments used when banqueting after success abroad, be it in warfare or the hunt. None of these actions allow for a female response, let alone accommodate her feelings. The woman is entirely objectified.

This male gaze upon a woman whom he seeks to possess is a far cry from what we see in the *Máo* recension, with its more balanced tone of two 'equals', for the man and woman in the *Máo* reading are together from the start of the song. This reading cannot be upheld in in the Ān Dà version.

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images move on the inside and one's fortune appears on the outside', the graph 效 is used to write the word 爻, which, as mentioned, is the phonophore used to write 敎/教. See Bái Yùlán 2012: 136–137, 142–143.

42 As attested in Warring States manuscripts, the meaning of *xiào* as 'select' is confirmed by its use in the compound verb *yì* (*zé*) *xiào* 繹 (擇) 效; see *Sì gào* 四告 '*Four Announcements' slip 9 (*Qīnghuá University Manuscripts*, Volume 10).

43 For a comparative example, see Lǐ Líng's 2013: 185–188 reading of *Zhōu Yì* "Xián" 咸 (hexagram 31), understood in the canonical commentarial tradition as 'feeling' (*gǎn* 感), as *jiān* 緘 'bind (with cord)'.

44 Qiú Xīguī 2012b.3: 284–285, 75.

Instead, much of the song is written in the manner of feverish daydreaming. A sound reaching the ear of a restless male in his (day-)dream transforms into obsession for possession, which, as an initial stimulus provoking an imagined response, leads to the voices between the shrieks. In the male's imagination he will 'recklessly enter; push open with force', and in his feverish response to 'obtain her' as he is, like water, 'twisting and turning' without sleep.

Despite this overbearing male gaze, the song in the Ān Dà slips is not without the said transformative power, which has been claimed to be characteristic of the Shī—including "Guān jū"—of Confucian readings.

To Confucius, as given voice in the manuscript text **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, "Guān jū" exemplifies emotions harnessed by ritual conduct, and this interpretation has dominated later readings of the *Máo* recension. However, unlike *Máo* with its harmonious interplay of two ospreys, the transformative power evoked by ritual conduct is deeply engrained in the structure of song *1* of the "Zhōu Nán".

Stanza *1* brings out the male gaze. On hearing the sound of an osprey he keenly focuses on the objectified woman of his desire. Stanza *2* marks a transition. While the language of male desire is still dominant, the stanza is now characterised by movements of twisting and turning. In stanza *3*, having figuratively 'plucked' (i.e., obtained) her, the language changes. 'Lute and zither', and delight by way of 'bells and drums', are metaphors for the union of man and woman, as per **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* (slip 12). In the final stanza, no longer do we have the near-violent gaze of the male seeking to subdue a female counterpart. Gone is the element of recklessness that characterised his previous actions. Having obtained the woman in his imagination, the male character himself undergoes a transformation, which, by extension, might stem from the influential power of that very woman. Instead of being led by raw desires, his actions are now framed by rituality. In seeking the object of his desire, the man is following a specific urge, an urge that when pursued ultimately leads to his moral refinement.[45] The moral development of the man serves as the song's 'instruction' (*jiāo*/*jiào* 教).

This leads back to the choice of the graph 教 and the question of its intentionality. We take it as part of a hermeneutical procedure in operation, fully intended by the Shī community who produced the text in question.

45 This is not so different from the 'paradox of virtue', as Nivison termed it, which underlies Confucian ethics and informs much of Confucian thinking. The paradox entails that one cannot set out to act in a genuinely moral way unless one already has some kind of understanding—and thus appreciation—of morality within oneself. The song on the whole can thus be seen as metaphorically capturing this insight. David Nivison 1996: 33 ff.

The **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* understands the final stanza (stanza *3* in the Ān Dà *Shī* and the *Máo* recension and stanza 5 in Zhèng Xuán's version) as the point in the song where 'transformation' takes place. In our interpretation, this is where the man, having 'obtained' the lady of his desire whom he has pursued with such force and emotion, now behaves properly according to ritual norms; and it is where the woman, in the presence of her relentless suitor, now finds balance and composure. Furthermore, the use (or 'insertion') of 教 in the penultimate couplet of the song's final stanza seems intent on unveiling the metaphor in operation, and intertwining the song's imagery that was previously kept separate. In this version of the song, 'instruction' appears to be balancing 'unevenness', and it stops one from reaching licentiousness.[46] Resisting the 'urge to equate' with the *Máo* recension and not reading 教 as 芼 seems to produce an even more indiscernible reading. Any concern as to how awkward the text may be at this point (for a reader), we believe, is not a problem of the text, but one of being outside the ancient textual community.

Related to this point, it is significant, and exciting, that the Ān Dà *Shī* accords with the *Máo* "Preface" interpretation of the "Fēng" ('Airs') as 'didactic' (教化) and 'rectifying' (正), the "Zhōu Nán" songs as a 'foundation for transformation' (化之基), and "Guān jū" as a literary apparatus for 'self-improvement' (憂在進賢).[47]

In **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, following Lǐ Xuéqín's slip order, "Guān jū" heads the "Fēng".[48] It also heads the "Zhōu Nán" section of the States—and thus the entire Ān Dà *Shī*—as well as the *Máo* recension, manifesting a special place among Shī traditions. 'Desires harnessed by *lǐ*' is likely what gave this song its significance in the Ān Dà *Shī*, and in the literary history of China overall. We posit that it may also have served as a hermeneutical key to the entire "Zhōu Nán" by having the transformative power, which it describes, play out in the makeup of the "Zhōu Nán" as a whole.

46 See Kern 2010.

47 *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.4–8.

48 Huáng Huáixìn 2004: 323–328.

⁘

Zhōu Nán 2 周南二

葛之覃可.陀于审浴.
隹 3|| · 葉萋=黃鳥于𩬊
集于權木亓鳴鶛=

葛之覃可陀于审浴
隹葉莫=是刈是穫 4||
為紙為郗備之無睪.

詹告帀氏.言告言𨒅.
專穫我厶. 專濯我衣.
害濯害5|| 否.𨒅寍父毋 ■

Máo 2 葛覃

葛之覃兮，施于中谷，維葉萋萋。
黃鳥于飛，集于灌木，其鳴喈喈。

葛之覃兮，施于中谷，維葉莫莫。
是刈是濩，為絺為綌，服之無斁。

言告師氏，言告言歸。薄污我私，
薄澣我衣。害澣害否，歸寧父母。

Zhōu Nán 2 周南二

How the kudzu spreads! extending deep into the valley.
The leaves are plentiful, orioles are in flight [to it].
Gathering on the trees with yellow blossoms, they tweet '*rih-rih*'.

How the kudzu spreads! extending deep into the valley.
The leaves are abundant; thus [I] cut them! Thus [I] harvest them!
and make [from them] linen fine and coarse. Wearing them, [he] shan't weary [of me].

I shall report to the tutor that [I] will enter my new home.
[I] swiftly wash and rinse my undergarments; [I] swiftly wash and rinse my outer garments.
What needs to be rinsed, what not? Entering my new home will calm my parents.

2.1 *Notes on the text*

"Zhōu Nán" *2* runs from the lower quarter of slip 3 to the first 5 graphs on slip 6. The slips are complete. The reading support on the slips, continuing in their manner from the previous song recorded on the same slip, are produced consistently on slip 3, missing on slip 4 with the possible exception of reduplication marks, and then occur again consistently on slips 5 and 6 until the end of the song. Some examples in the writing exhibit the writer's care in capturing the meaning of the word in the graph. Examples include 鷖 for birds flying; for their chatter, both of which contain the bird significant.

On top of slip 4 the writer produced a round dot where normally the first graph would appear on the slips. We believe this may indicate that the song continues onto a new slip. (At the top of slips 5 and 6, as is seen elsewhere, the writer has left a blank space without a mark.) However, as this is not done elsewhere in "Zhōu Nán", or even this song, nothing can be said with certainty about it. A similar dot appears again further down the slip on top of the graph *mù* 木 'tree' (4/10), but this may well just be a drop of ink off the brush.

In **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, what is "Zhōu Nán" *2* of the Ān Dà *Shī* (*Máo* 2 "Gé tán" 葛覃) starts a section of the text (slips 16-24-20) that,[49] gathering songs with floral and arboreal images in their titles, makes a metaphorical association between roots, stems and their outward growth with adulthood, tradition, and valuing beginnings:

> 孔子曰：吾以《葛覃》得氏（祇）初之詩。民性固然。見其美，必欲反其[本]。
>
> Kǒngzǐ said, 'with "Kudzu spreads" I obtain a song that honours the beginnings. The characteristics of the commonfolks are inherently so. Upon witnessing its beauty, [one] is certain to go back to the [roots]'.

The meaning drawn by Confucius from the said song uses transformation as instruction; having grown into adulthood, like a quick-growing climbing plant, one must remain mindful of their beginnings. Our reading suggests that the girl of the song is about to get married.

"Zhōu Nán" *2* comprises three stanzas of equal length, six lines each stanza, eighteen sentences altogether. The punctuation makes it clear that in stanza *1* the copula *wéi* 隹 (維) introduces a new idea. Stanza *2* shows no punctuation other than indicating where the stanza ends. Stanza *3* separates each single sen-

49 Following the slip ordering of Lǐ Xuéqín 2002: 7; Huáng Huáixìn 2004: 19.

tence. The way stanza *1* is set up therefore guides the structure and organisation of the song in its entirety. Semantically the two songs also differ.

The song in each stanza rhymes the last word of each line with its parallel counterpart of that stanza, viz. lines 1 (可) and 4 (鵻) rhyme; 2 (浴) rhymes with 5 (木); 3 (萋) rhymes with 6 (翿), etc. Central to this song is the happy news of a girl getting married ('entering [a new] household'). The image programme used here comprises the shriek of orioles, this time announcing the happy news; kudzu spreading and thus bridging distance; trees in yellow blossom, the auspicious colour of marriage; a set of linen clothing in different weights, indicating utility and forming a balanced match; and harvest, indicating the time is ripe.

2.2 *Establishing a reading*

In the songs of the "Zhōu Nán" of the Ān Dà *Shī*, the poetic exclamation particle *xī* 兮 (slow release of breath) of the *Máo* recension is consistently produced as *kě* 可.[50]

2.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. 尋䌷: here *xún* 尋 (*s-ləm) 'reach out, elongate; measure' is phono-semantic, *yóu* 由 'prolong' is semantic. (The editors suggest 由 (*liu) is also the phonophore.) It writes the same word signified in *Máo: tán* 覃 (*lə̂m) 'spread; extend; reach to'.

2. For the poetic exclamation particle *kě* 可 (*khâiʔ), the *Máo* recension consistently has *xī* 兮 (*gî) (slow release of breath). The *Shuōwén* entries are  for 兮 and  for 可; both are written with 丂.

3.  (鵻), the rhyme word for 可 (*khâiʔ), is written with a 'bird' signific and *bēi* 悲 'sad', which is comprised of the phonophore *fēi* 非 (*pəi) and a 'heart' signifier. It is a graphic variant of *fēi* 飛 (*pəi). The word *fēi* 'fly' is regularly written as  (Shànghǎi Museum *Zhōu Yì* slip 56) in Warring States Chǔ script, but also with the loan  (非) (*Shìfǎ* slip 52), and there is a clear resemblance in their shapes. It is possible that the phonophore 非 was chosen to write the word 'fly' because the shape of the graph resembled the wings of a bird  (羽).

4. For *quán mù* 權木, the *Máo* recension has *guàn mù* 灌木 and the editors read *guàn mù* 樌木 'bushes'. 灌 means 'pour out, to libate', so it must be a phonetic

50 This occurs elsewhere, for instance in the verse in the Shànghǎi Museum collection of Warring States manuscripts; see *Shànghǎi* 8.

loan for 權 or 樌. The latter is a specialised writing of *guàn* 貫 'string together, link', meaning shrubs or trees closely lined together (Karlgren 1964: 87–88). The *Shuōwén* glosses 權 as a 'flowering tree or plant with yellow blossoms'.[51] This is significant as it matches the 'yellow birds' (orioles) alighting on it. Note that the graph 灌 occurs twice in stanza *3* writing the word it signifies 'pour water on, rinse', showing yet again the great care taken by the writers of this song in choosing an appropriate signific for the word they are writing.

5. 鶃: The writing captures the concept of the bird tweeting plus the sound of the tweet. The elements in the lower half of the graph resemble *míng* 鳴 'bird tweet', but the same form, albeit in a different orientation with the 'mouth' to the right of the 'bird', occurs in the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, slip 9, as a variant of *niǎo* 鳥. (See the images in fig. 3 below.) We can thus explain its composition either as 'bird' or 'bird tweet' (signifier) and the phonophore *lì* 利 (*rih); or as signifier *kǒu* 口 'mouth' and the phono-semantic *lí* 鸝 'oriole'. (秎 is an archaic form of 利.) Among the names for 'oriole' in the *Ěryǎ*, "Explaining birds", one is *lí huáng* 鸝黃 (graphic variant: 黧黃).[52] It seems uncoincidental that the sound of the tweet also happened to be another name for the bird. But there is more. Fāng Yùrùn (2017: 76) glosses 黃鳥 as *lí* 鸝 (*rêh). The primary sense of 麗, the phonophore in 鸝, is 'joined' (deriving from 'a 'pair' of deer antlers that were 'joined' and not separated'), and from this we have the meanings 'pair', 'mate, companion' (儷) and 'elegant, beautiful'. Based on the principle of Fāng Yùrùn (2017: 73, cited in the commentary to "Zhoū Nán" *1*) that bird and animal sounds in the *Shījīng* have meaning, the sound of the oriole's tweet could also be heard as tweeting the words 'join, join!'; 'mate, mate!' or even 'beautiful, beautiful!', the former two indicating in code that the girl is to be married.[53]

51 *Shuōwén jiězì* "Mù 木 (tree) signific" 6.369.

52 *Ěryǎ* "Explaining birds" 10.316.

53 *Máo* has *jiē-jiē* 喈喈 (*krî-krî), which is generally understood to be a harmonious tweeting. *Jiē* 皆 (*krî) 'all' is cognate with *xíe* 偕 *krîʔ 'together'. The editors read it as in *Máo* (harmonious tweeting). There is evidence of a phonetic correspondence between sound expressed with the graphs 利 (秎) (*rih) and 皆 as early as the Western Zhōu period: for instance, the graph *kǎi/jīe* 楷 was used to write the word *lí* 黎 [place name] in inscriptional material from that period (Lǐ Xuéqín 2010a: 1–4). This makes full sense phonetically as they share the same position of articulation of the initial and they have the same main vowel. That 皆 is pharyngelised while 利 (秎) is not should not concern us, as it did not affect phonetic borrowing in antiquity. And the same holds for the 'tone' category (i.e., the final *-ʔ can be ignored).

鴠= the tweet of the birds '**rih-rih*' in the Ān Dà manuscript, slip 4/13:

鳥 'bird' in the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, slip 9/28:

鳴 'bird tweet' in the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, slip 23/2:

FIGURE 3 Writing the bird call '**rih-rih*', 'bird tweet', and 'bird' in Warring States Chǔ script

2.2.2 Stanza 2

1. 𣏌 'to cut': this is a specialised form of *yì* 刈 'cut (grain plant)'. It is comprised of 'grain plant' (*hé* 禾) and 'sickle' (*yì* 刈).

2. For 穫, the *Máo* recension has *huò* 濩 'to boil'. Based on the parallel with the verb *yì* 刈 'to cut', and taking the 'grain plant' (*hé* 禾) signific into account, we agree with the editors, and Xú Zàiguó (2017: 83–86), to read it as *huò* 穫 'to harvest'. Note that this graph also occurs in stanza *3* where it clearly should be read as a phonetic loan for 濩.

3. 絺: *xī* 希 and *dī* 氐 are both phonophores; the editors note that the top element in 希, 乂 (archaic ※), is phono-semantic and depicts 'yarn; (coarse) linen'; the bottom element is the 'cloth' signific 布.

2.2.3 Stanza *3*

1. 𠔃: this is a graphic variant of *yàn* 諺 (*ŋrans). The *Máo* recension has *yán* 言 (*ŋan) 'to speak; word' and the Máo-Zhèng commentary says it means *wǒ* 我 (*ŋâiʔ) 'I'.[54] In the outer chapters of the *Zhuāngzǐ*, "Shān mù" 山木 'Mountain wood', the graph *yán* 言 is often understood as used to write the first person pronoun 'I', and so this is unlikely just a Shī specific use but reflects southern (Chǔ?) poetic language more widely.[55] The fact that the writer produced a complex graph at the beginning of the line suggests that he wanted to differentiate it from the simple graphs 言 'words; saying; a particle' that appear in the following clause. The issue is complicated by the appearance of the possessive first person pronoun 'my', *wǒ* 我, in this stanza below. We are fairly confident that in the songs of the 'Two Nán' 𠔃 and 言 are used to write the word for the first-person nominative 'I' (吾 *ŋâ),[56] while *wǒ* 我, with one exception,[57] marks the possessive 'my' or the objective 'me'.

2. 言告言遠(歸): the written specification of the pronoun 'I' in the previous line suggests to understand 言 differently here. We read it in both instances, after Zhū Xī, as a mere particle filling out the four-word line.[58] The word *guī* 遠 (歸) 'return' is synonomous with *lái* 來, as in 'return to A from B'. (Cf. "Shào Nán" *8*: 蠆=君子遠=才= 'So quaking is the lord, come back, come back!') It also means a girl entering her new marital house. It is used in this sense in three other songs in the 'Two Nán',[59] as well as in other sections of the *Máo* Shī.[60]

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54 Xià Dàzhào 2017 has a detailed study on this based on new information in the Ān Dà manuscript text.

55 *Zhuāngzǐ jíshì* 20.691–692: 言與之偕逝之謂也 'this is meant by saying "I and them are travelling side by side"'.

56 "Zhōu Nán" *8*: 菜=芣𠂤尃言采之 'Plucking plucking the plantain, swiftly do [I] gather it!' (End of slips 13–14/6); "Zhōu Nán" *9B*: 橈=楚新言刈亓楚 'tall indeed is the wild thornwood, I will cut its thorns!' (slip 16).

57 "Zhōu Nán" *3*: 我古勺皮兕衡 'I now ladle into that rhinoceros horn cup' (slip 7); 我古勺金鑿 'I now ladle from the bronze bucket' (slip 7). Outside of the 'Two Nán', the manuscript text contains another clear instance where 言 in the *Máo* recension is written 我 'I' in Ān Dà; Ān Dà "Qín" *3*: 我念君子 'I am thinking of (my) lord'/ *Máo* 128 "Xiǎo róng" 小戎 'Small war (carriages)': 言念君子.

58 Karlgren 1964: 88.

59 "Zhōu Nán" *9B*: 寺子于遠言穡亓馬 '[t]his girl is to enter her new home, I will feed her horses.' (slip 16); "Zhōu Nán" *6*: 寺子于遠宜亓室豕 '[t]his girl is to enter her new home; may she be right for the chambers and the household!' (slip 11); "Shào Nán" *1*: 寺子于遠百兩御之 '[t]his girl is to enter her new home, one-hundred carriages drive her' (slip 21).

60 *Máo* 101, with an explicit commentary by Zhèng Xuán explaining it such.

3. For *fū* 尃 'spread', the *Máo* recension has *báo*/*bó* 薄 'thin', for which 尃 is the phonophore. Zhèng Xuán's comment to *Máo* 273 glosses it *shǐ* 始 'first, now': 'And now I will soak my private clothes' (Karlgren 1964: 89). We agree with Gāo Hēng (2018: 4) who understands it as an adverb and glosses it: 'swiftly, hurriedly', and follow Zēng Yùnqián (1990: 17–18) in reading 尃 as a phonetic loan for *pò* 迫 'urgent, in a hurry'. The same word occurs again with the same meaning in "Zhōu Nán" *8* (*Máo* 8 "Fúyǐ" 'Plantain').

4. *Huò* 穫 'harvest' in this instance is a phonetic loan for *huò* 濩 'wash'. The *Máo* recension has *wū* 汙 'dirty', but it is usually explained based on the context as 'to wash' (Gāo Hēng 2018: 4).

5. 遠(歸)窻(寧)父毋(母) '[e]ntering my new home will cause my parents to be calmed': the *Shuōwén* records a variant from another recension: 以晏父母 'so as to cause my parents to be at ease'.[61] As is clear from a passage in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* "Zhuāng" 27 (667 BC), *guī níng* 'to visit one's natal home' had acquired a stable meaning as a binome quite early on, meaning, for a girl, 'to return to to visit [one's] parents home' during marriage.[62] We believe, however, that in this case it is best not read as a binome. Two features in the song suggest so. First is the strong image of 'yellow', normally associated with 'marriage' in early China.[63] Second is the fact that she is telling her tutor about *guī níng*. The role of the tutor normally ends as a woman gets married. The tutor's role is to prepare her for when she leaves her natal home. Their place is therefore not at the male's house but at the house of the parents.

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61 *Shuōwén jiězì* "Nǚ 女 (woman) signific", 12.825.

62 冬，杞伯姬來，歸寧也，凡諸侯之女，歸寧曰來，出曰來歸，夫人歸寧曰如某，出曰歸于某 'Winter, the Bó Jī of Qǐ came. She was returning to visit her parents' home. In each case, whenever the daughter of a prince returns to visit her parents' home, [we] call it 'to come'. Whenever [she] has been exited (i.e., divorced) we call it 'to come home'. Whenever a lord's wife is returning to visit her parents' home, [we] call it 'to go to so and so'. Whenever [she] has been exited, [we] call it 'to return to so and so'. (*Zuǒ zhuàn* 27.4).

63 Traditionally, women wore a yellow skirt when they got married. Yellow was one of the three auspicious colours, signifying the earth; see Lǐ Líng 2013: 77. *Zuǒ zhuàn* "Zhāo" 12 (530 BC) records: 南蒯枚筮之，遇䷇坤之比，曰：黃裳元吉，以為大吉也 'Nán Kuǎi used stalks to divine about it and encountered "Kūn"'s (The earth principle) "Bǐ" (Aligning) (i.e., Line 5 of "Kūn") that [the *Zhōu Changes*] says: "Yellow skirt, prime auspiciousness", and interpreted it to be greatly auspicious.' (*Zuǒ zhuàn* 12.10).

2.3 *Analysis: Zhōu Nán* 2

This song in three stanzas is relatively close to that of the *Máo* recension "Gé tán" (*Máo* 2). The entire song is in the voice of a new bride who is about to enter into a marriage.[64] It has a very positive, bright feel to it. The prospect of entering into marriage—for the woman, this is a new beginning, as is also brought out by the graph *quán* 權 with its implied undertone for 'beginning',[65] a connotation which is lost in *Máo*—fills her with joy, captured allegorically by the loud twittering of birds, the chirping one hears as 'join, join!', carrying forth to distant places (allegorically, for her new home) the happy news. The orioles ('yellow birds') alighting on trees with yellow blossoms (權) serve as an auspicious image for the woman, who is ready to depart.

The expansion of kudzu into the valley, with a trail of luxuriant and abundant leaves, serves as a metaphor for a girl maturing into a woman, under the direction of her parents and tutor. Now mature, she is ready to 'return back' (*guī*) to her roots and give peace to her parents, showing them appropriate appreciation through the acts of 'a woman's proper conduct': she can 'enter her new home', that is, be married.

The kudzu thus takes on a double imagery in this song: As it is expanding into the valley, so too will she be moving on to a new place, her husband's house; and this symbol of her move is extended into the fabrication of clothes. She hopes that by wearing clothes of her making, her husband will never tire of her.

64 Gāo Hēng 2018: 5 reads *Máo* 2 as describing a bride's first visit home. This reading hinges on a different conceptualisation of *guī* 'return', in particular since *guī níng* 歸寧 already served as binome during the Eastern Zhōu meaning for a bride 'to visit the natal home'. However, the Máo and Zhèng commentaries clearly understand the poem as being about a girl who is about to be married. The spreading kudzu serves as a metaphor for her growth under the supervision of her parents and tutor. Her working the kudzu into clothes shows she is ready to be a wife. Máo takes *guī níng* 歸寧 to mean *guī ān* 歸安 in the sense that 'when at the parents home [her] intent is set on affairs of female labor … then [she] can enter into marriage, [thus] calming her parents and transforming the world with a woman's proper conduct' 在父母家志在於女功之事 … 則可以歸，安父母，化天下以婦道也; *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.11.

65 As in the compound *quán yú* 權輿 'beginning' (*Ěryǎ* "Explaining old words" 1.8.).

⁘

Zhōu Nán *3* 周南三

菜=蒸耳. 不溋𢁉匡 .
差我褱人寘皮周行

陟皮高阬我馬玄黃 $_{6}$|
\我古勺皮兕衡隹㠯羕𩦹

陟皮𡺪㟙我馬砳遺
我古勺金罍隹㠯羕褱

陟 $_{7}$||皮泟矣我馬徒矣.
我𠋆夫矣員可無矣 ■

Máo 3 卷耳

采采卷耳，不盈傾筐。
嗟我懷人，寘彼周行。

陟彼崔嵬，我馬虺隤。
我姑酌彼金罍，維以不永懷。

陟彼高岡，我馬玄黃。
我姑酌彼兕觥，維以不永傷。

陟彼砠矣，我馬瘏矣，
我僕痡矣，云何吁矣。

Zhōu Nán *3* 周南三

[I] pluck and pluck the cocklebur, [but it] is not filling the tilted basket.
Ah! the person I cherish, [he] is on those roads of Zhōu.

Ascending that high ridge, my horse has turned dark yellow.
I now ladle into that rhinoceros horn cup, it is thus my pain shall last.

Ascending that craggy height, my horse is on the verge of collapse.
I now ladle from the bronze bucket, it is thus my yearning will last.

Ascending that slippery slope, my horse is at a crawl.
and as for my humble servant, there is nothing more to say!

3.1 *Notes on the text*

The slips are complete for the most past, except the top of slip 7 which is missing. No graphs are lost, however. The reading support is produced inconsistently. There is some interesting variation in writing; for instance the word for horse *mǎ* 馬 is written as  ,  , and  , all three ludic depictions evoking different images of the horses 'legs'.[66] As seen before, overall, we witness a careful execution of writing which brings out in the graphs the image programme of the song. The examples of 泜 for the slippery slope (written with the 'water' signifier), or 僝 for the servant (adding the signific *chén* 臣), may be mentioned here.

Stanzas *2* and *3* are reversed between the *Máo* recension and the manuscript text. Altogether the manuscript text produces a rather different reading from that which we see in the *Máo* recension.

"Zhōu Nán" *3* comprises four stanzas, each of which have four lines. Lines three and four of stanzas *2* and *3* have ten and nine words respectively, thus breaking the rhythm of the four-lines elsewhere in the song. It is significant that the emotions of prolonged pain and yearning occur, and are given a more pronounced expression, in the prolonged, unbalanced couplets.

In stanza *1* the rhymes are between lines 1 (耳–*nəʔ) and 3 (人–*nin); 2 (匪–*khwaŋ) and 4 (行–*gâŋ), further enforced by an alliteration between 1 and 3, 2 and 4 (*n- and *n-; *kh- and *g-). The main vowel of stanza *2* is *-a-, and the rhyme words of lines 1 and 3 also share the same initial (*k-). The rhyming vowel of stanza *3* is *-u-, and in stanza *4* all lines end in 矣.

The dominating theme of song *3* is the 'missing' of the lover, built up by the image programme of a woman's imagination as she is 'plucking' plants (cocklebur), throwing them into her 'empty basket', which sees 'slippery slopes' and utensils used for drinking (alone). The colour 'yellow' reappears, yet this time, when mixed with 'black', not in happy circumstances but signalling illness. (But perhaps the colour yellow serving as a 'distant' connecting element in linking the two songs in their order in "Zhōu Nán".) Finally, there is the 'horse', metaphorically illustrating the pains of the male traveller and his companions.

3.2 *Establishing a reading*

3.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. For *luán ěr* 蠻耳 (*ron-s *nəʔ), the *Máo* recension has *juǎn ěr* 卷耳 (lit. 'curled ear') 'cocklebur' and Máo's commentary glosses it as *líng ěr* 苓耳.[67] When compared with its form in the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, the writing of this word with a 'grass'

66 See our discussion in the Introduction: 12–15.

67 The gloss occurs in the *Ěryǎ* "Explaining grasses" 8.259: 菤耳 ，苓耳. Lǐ Líng 2007: 21

signifier in the Ān Dà *Shī* is another indication of the careful execution of the written word in the text's transmission. Applying the principle of 'sound showing meaning' (see our commentary to "Zhōu Nán" *1*, stanza 1, n9), *a* meaning evoked by the sound of the binome '*ron-s *nəʔ', and seemingly revealed as such with the conscious selection of the phonophore 絲 in the compound 縊, is *ron-s *neʔ 戀爾 'longing for [you]'.

2. 斜匣 'slanted basket': the first word is an adjective written with the signifier *zè* 夨 'tilted head' and a graph that, although resembling *xuè* 血 (*hwît), is actually an abbreviated form of *yì* 益 (*ʔek), 'full'; the same word occurs in "Shào Nán" *9* where it is written as 迪, thus confirming the phonophore.[68] Both instances correspond to *qīng* 傾 (*khweŋ) 'tilted head' in the *Máo* recension. The second word, 匣, is a noun and an archaic writing of *kuāng* 筐; it occurs again, after 迪, in "Shào Nán" *9*. It is the tilted basket, deep at the back and shallow at the front, that the woman is carrying at work in the fields.

3. 實皮周行: 實 is a graphic variant of 實 'solid, fruit'. The *Máo* recension has *zhì* 寘 'set down' (Cf. *Shuōwén jiězì*: *zhì* 置 'set down'). 實 seems best explained as a phonetic loan for 寘, but the two are also similar in shape, which might leave open the possibility of miscopy. The same graph occurs elsewhere in the Ān Dà songs, "Qín" *1*, as a phonetic loan to write the word *dié* 耋 'aged'. 實 (實) 'fruit' is also to be read as it is written, for instance in "Zhōu Nán" *6*, "Shào Nán" *9*, "Hóu" *3*, and "Wèi" *5*.

A point of dispute among commentators is whether the object of 寘 in this line is the woman's unfilled basket or her husband's person, *wǒ huái rén* 我懷人. We understand it as the latter, similar to Máo's reading: '[He] has been placed in the ranks of Zhōu', although we understand the word *háng* 行 in *Zhōu háng* 周行 not as Zhōu's 'ranks' but as its 'roads' (Fāng Yùrùn 2017: 79; Karlgren 1964: 88–89).

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reads *juàn' ér* 惓而 in the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, slip 29, as writing the name of this song, which is questionable; see also Chéng Yàn 2010: 10.

68 A graph written  , with a water signifier and the semantically-charged phonophore 血(益), occurs in *Shénwū fù* 神烏賦 "Rhapsody of the spirit raven" on slip 116/10, in the phrase 洋不測 '[his virtue] overflows and cannot be measured', and clearly writes the word *yì* 溢 'full, overflow'; *Yǐnwān Hànmù jiǎndú* 尹灣漢墓簡牘 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1997).

3.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. 玄黃, lit. 'black and yellow', refers to the horse pushed to its limits. Cf. *Zhōu Yì* "Kūn" 坤, top line: 龍戰于野，其血玄黃 'Dragons battle in the wilds, their blood black and yellow'.[69]

2. *Héng* 衡 (*grâŋ) 'vertical, yoke, measure' is either an alternate form writing the same word signified with *gōng* 觥 (var. 觵) (*kwrâŋ) 'cup of horn', or a phonetic loan for it.

3. For 隹己兼觩 (觴), the *Máo* recension has 維以不永傷 'it is thus my pain shall not last', which has exactly the opposite meaning. The same happens in stanza *3*. The word *shāng* 'pain' is written here with 觩 'cup of horn', hence the 'horn' 角 signifier, which is different from how it is written elsewhere in the 'Two Nán': 慯, with a 'heart' signifier, in "Shào Nán" *3*. It seems as though the writer cleverly added an extra layer of meaning to the word 'pain', by writing the word, as a pun, with the very ale cup that the subject was going to use to dwell in the pain through drink! The 'horn' signifier writing this word corresponds to the 'horn' signifier in *héng* 衡 'yoke' (> *gōng* 觥 'cup of horn') just in front of it.

3.2.3 Stanza *3*

1. 崔嵬 'craggy height' corresponds to *Máo*: *cuī-wéi* 崔嵬; the stability of the rhyming binome in its written specification across early Shī instantiations is noteworthy and exhibits a writer's care in producing a written articulation of the Shī. The 'mountain' signifiers further correspond with the 'hill' signifier used in writing the word *zhì* 陟 'ascend', which opens the line.

2. 玷遺 corresponds to *Máo*: *huī-tuí* 虺隤 'on the verge of collapse'; again, the relative stability of the rhyming binome in its written specification across early Shī instantiations is significant. There is however a slight nuance in the choice of signifiers writing the second word of the rhyming binome. The 'swift movement' 辵 signifier in Ān Dà is related to the horse's movement, whereas the use of a 'hill' signifier in *Máo* maintains the 'hill/mountain' imagery evoked in the previous clause. Lǔ, Qí, and Hán recensions write the binome, quite uniformly, as *lěi-tuí* 瘣頹 (var. 穨), with a 'sickness' signifier meant to express the horse's lack of energy, and corresponding with *xuán-huáng* 玄黃 'dark yellow'.[70]

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69 *Zhōu Yì jíjiě* 2.38.

70 Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 1.25–26.

The occurrence of a 'sickness' signifier in the binome of the text in the three major Western Hàn Shī traditions is significant as it corresponds to the two words written in the following stanza with a 'sickness' signifier, *tú* 瘏 and *pū* 痡 in the *Máo* recension. The conscious use of the 'sickness' signifier in this song's written instantiation provides an extra layer of meaning and evokes images different from the Ān Dà version which does not include any words written with this signifier.[71]

3.2.4 Stanza *4*

1. *Jiē* 泚 'slippery slope' is written with a water signifier and the phonophore *shū* 疋 (*sa); the *Máo* recension has *jū* 砠 'rocky slope', written with a 'rock' signifier and the phonophore *jū* 且 (*tsha?). Although phonetically the former could be plausibly understood as a phonetic loan for the latter as, broadly speaking, they share the same position of articulation and the same main vowel, we read it as it is written, as a lexical variant, since it is just as sensible.

2. For *tú* 徒 (*dâ) 'on foot, walk', the *Máo* recension has *tú* 瘏 (*dâ) 'fatigued, ill'. Again, although phonetically the former could be plausibly understood as a phonetic loan for the latter, we read it as it is written, as a lexical variant, since it is also just as sensible; and further, because the Ān Dà text of this song does not include other graphs written with a 'sickness' signifier unlike the text of the Máo and other Western Hàn *Shī* traditions. The same applies to our decision about how to read Ān Dà: *fū* 夫/*Máo*: *pū* 痡 in the very next line. Both words fill the prescriptive sound mould with *dâ.

3. For *wǒ púfū* 我僕夫 'my humble servant', the *Máo* recesion has *wǒ pú pū* 我僕痡 'my servant is exhausted'. As mentioned, although 夫 (*pa) 'man, suffix for male names and occupations' (Cf. *nóngfū* 農夫 'farmer') and 痡 (*phâ) could be understood as a phonetic loan for the latter, reading the former as it is written is more sensible in the Ān Dà text tradition. (As a suffix 夫 and 甫, the phonophore of 痡, were interchangeable in early script.)

In our view, the two words written with the 'sickness' signifier in the *Máo* recension, *tú* 瘏 and 痡, are lexical variants that maintained a principle of phonetic agreement with the words they substituted; both words fill the prescriptive sound mould with *-p(h)a.

71 As the graphs corresponding to *Máo*: *tú* 瘏 and *pū* 痡 in the texts of the major Western Hàn Shī traditions are no longer extant, we have no way to further develop the hypothesis; see Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 30–31.

4. For 員可無矣 'there is nothing more to say!', the *Máo* recension has 云何吁矣 'what can I do but sigh!'; (Karlgren (1950: 4): 'Oh, how grieved I am'.) Rhyme in the final stanza required a word with an *-a coda in the third position, and, in our view, this necessitated prepositioning the verb 員(云) 'say' in the sense that 員可無 reads 可無員.

3.3 *Analysis: Zhōu Nán* 3

Perhaps initiated by a phonetic evocation of the 'cocklebur' (蘦耳 *ron-s *nəʔ) with 'longing for [you]' (戀爾 *ron-s *neʔ),[72] this song in four stanzas is from the perspective of a lonely woman who assumes the narrative voice of her lover.[73] She misses her lover, who is away on business, travelling the roads of Zhōu. The act of gathering wild cocklebur invokes in her the imagery of his gruelling journey. In her mind she thus articulates her lover's words, voicing in three stanzas the pains of his exertion and loneliness.

The cocklebur, a type of small, wild sunflower, is curled, closed—and so is she, as she is without her lover, and thus without child—an image conjured by the tilted basket that sits, unfilled, on her back.[74]

In her agonised longing she fearfully imagines, and implicitly painfully hopes, her lover's journey to be excruciating. Wishing that her pains are his too, she imagines how he raises the cup and, thinking of her, prolongs this pain.

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72 See our discussion of stanza *1*, n. 1.

73 See Zhāng Hànwén 2018 who, independently, arrives at a similar conclusion about the female's voice.

74 The image of a woman holding an empty basket is inauspicious: Cf. *Zhōu Yì* "Guī mèi" 歸妹 'Returning maiden', top line: 女承筐无實 … 无攸利 'A woman raising a basket without fruit … Without anything beneficial' (*Zhōu Yì jíjiě* 11.334–335); *Zuǒ zhuàn* "Xī" 15 (645 BC): 晉獻公筮嫁伯姬於秦，遇𠔃𠔃歸妹之睽。史蘇占之，曰: 不吉。其繇曰 … 女承筐， 亦無貺也 'Lord Xiàn of Jìn divined by milfoil about marrying Bó Jī to Qín and encountered hexagram "Guī meì"'s "Kuí" (Cross-eyed). Scribe Sū prognosticated it and said, "Not auspicious. Its oracle says … A woman raising a basket, but there is no gift"'. (*Zuǒ zhuàn* 15.4). The image of a woman holding a slanted basket also occurs in "Shào Nán" *9* (*Máo* 20) "Biào yǒu méi" 芺（摽）有梅 'Dropping are the plums'.

⁘

Zhōu Nán *4* 周南四

南又流木葛藟=之
樂也君子福禮侹 8|| 之

南又流木葛藟豐之
樂也君子福禮酒之

南又流木葛藟榛之
樂也君 9|| 子福禮城之 ■

Máo 4　樛木

南有樛木，葛藟累之。
樂只君子，福履綏之。

南有樛木，葛藟荒之。
樂只君子，福履將之。

南有樛木，葛藟縈之。
樂只君子，福履成之。

Zhōu Nán *4* 周南四

In the south there are trees [with branches] flowing downwards;
vines, climbing, bind them.
Joyous is the noble man, may good fortune and proper conduct give him repose.

In the south there are trees [with branches] flowing downwards;
vines, climbing, enrich them.
Joyous is the noble man, may good fortune and proper conduct lead him along.

In the south there are trees [with branches] flowing downwards;
vines, climbing, entwine them.
Joyous is the noble man, may good fortune and proper conduct fortify him.

4.1 *Notes on the text*

"Zhōu Nán" *4* is written on the middle of slip *8* to the top of slip *10*. The slips are complete. The reading support is produced inconsistently. The end of the song is indicated by a heavy black mark.

The song comprises three stanzas of four lines each, altogether twelve lines. The structural makeup corresponds with *Máo* 4. Semantically there are some important differences between them.

The composition of the song has two exemplary phonetic features. The first weaves an alliterative web created of words with a *r initial, starting with the word 流 (*r(i)u) in the third position of line 1, and linking the words 蘦 (*ruiʔ), 樂 (*râuk), and 禮 (*rîʔ) in the following lines and stanzas. The second feature is rhyme created with the coda of words in the third position of even-numbered lines: 蘦 (*ruiʔ)/俀 (*snui); 豐 (*phuŋ)/酒 (*tsaŋ); 榠 (*mêŋ) /城 (*geŋ).

The song portrays how ministers serve to correct a lord's declining conduct. The image programme used to portray this includes a natural 'down-flowing' (*liú* 流), combined with the tendency of heavy branches to lean downward. Counter to this is the upward 'climbing' flora of 'vines' that 'bind' (viz., hold) the branches (viz., the lord's conduct), 'enrich' and 'entwine' (viz., shield) them, so he be calm, well-guided, and safe.

4.2 *Establishing a reading*

4.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. For *liú* 流 (*r(i)u) 'flowing [downward], releasing', the *Máo* recension has *jiū* 樛 (*k(r)jiwʔ). The commentary explains it as 'down-bending branches'. **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* (slip 10) has *qiú*/*jiū* 梂 'acorn'; 'long and curved',[75] and the early Western Hàn Fùyáng 阜陽 *Shī* (slip S002) has *jiū* 朻 'down-bending branches'. The latter two are closely related, graphically and phonetically (they probably reconstruct as *kiuʔ or something similar). Phonetically the differ-

75 Although the *Ěryǎ*, "Explaining trees", 9.273, glosses *qiú* 梂 as 'acorn', we understand it in **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* not as a phonetic loan, but rather as a specialised form, with a 'tree' signifier, writing a word < *gu meaning 'long, thin and curved', and said of tree branches; other specialised forms written with 'hand' (*jiù* 捄) and 'horn' (*qiú* 觓) signifiers and the stable phonophore *qiú* *gu 求, also mean 'long, thin and curved', and are said of fingers, or finger-like things, and horns. Examples include *Máo* 215: 兕觥其觓 'How long and curved is that cup of rhinoceros' horn!' (*Máo* 215); Máo 203: 有捄棘匕 'There are long and curved spoons of thornwood'. *Qiú* 求 is, however, more than a simple phonophore; originally a pictograph of an insect with many legs, *qiú* 蛷, it is thus an image archetype of something 'long, thin and curved'.

ence between *Máo* and Ān Dà song *4* is unproblematic as the two graphs in question (流 and 橚) have the same position of articulation of the initial and they share the same height of articulation of the main vowel (the 'tone' category can be ignored). The philologist Guì Fù 桂馥 (1736–1805) determined the *Máo* gloss of *jiū* 橚 was not defensible and proposed instead that the word, cognate with *liù* 翏 'soar', meant 'soaring branches'; the word written as 朻 meant 'down-bending branches'.[76] The appearance of 流 in this Ān Dà song suggests either that the *Máo* recension introduced a new word or that 橚 should be read as a phonetic loan for 朻, which is plausible.

2. 葛藟=之: *léi* 藟 'plaited basket of vine' is to be read *lěi* 虆 'vine; to wind up'. The reduplication mark under it suggests that we first read it verbally as 'vine, climbing (the trees)'.

3. For 樂也君子 'joyous is the noble man', the *Máo* recension has 樂只君子 'joyous this (> is the) noble man'. Zhèng Xuán's comment to *Máo* says that *zhī* 只 *teʔ means *shì* 是 (*deʔ) 'this'. *Yě* 也, functioning here like the copula 'to be', reconstructs *laʔ, and thus the sound mould in this position differs from *Máo*. This leads to the working assumption that either the two graphs recorded a sound that was close enough to fill a prescriptive mould, or that 只 in *Máo* is a corruption, maybe through miscopy of the graphically similar 也.[77]

4. For 福禮俀之, the *Máo* recension has 福履綏之. The changes are phonetically unproblematic. Early Chinese references, like *Shuōwén jiězì* and *Ěryǎ* "Explaining words",[78] paronomastically define *lǐ* 禮 (*rˁijʔ) 'rites, serving the spirits; manners' as *lǚ* 履 (*rijʔ) 'to tread; sandals', with an underlying sense, embodied by Rú-ist thought, that anywhere a noble man 'treads' he will accord with 'proper manners and courtesy'. The *Shuōwén jiězì* says further that 'rites' are '[t]he way by which serving the spirits brings about good fortune' 所以事神致福. This underscores a connection between *lǐ* 禮 and *fú* 福 'good fortune'. *Tuǐ* 俀 'weak' is either a phonetic loan for *suí* 綏 'safeguard' or an alternative way of writing the same word.

76 Quoted and discussed, approvingly, in Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 1: 32–33; Chéng Yàn 2010: 12–13. Chén Wěiwǔ 2020 proposes that 流 is a phonetic loan either for 橚 'soaring' or *qiáo* 喬 'tall'. Saussy 2021: 209–210 translates 流木 as 'floating trees', and acknowledges that it is 'hardly a propitious image with which to being a litany of praise for a ruler'.

77 Zhào Píng'ān 2009: 272–274.

78 *Shuōwén jiězì* "Shì (altar) signific" 1.4; *Ěryǎ* "Explaining words" 3.67.

4.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. For *fēng* 豐 (*phuŋ) 'abundant' the *Máo* recension has *huāng* 荒 (*hmâŋ) 'uncultivated, excessive; barren, neglect'. Although the current phonetic reconstructions suggest the two words were not related, in Western Zhōu script 豐 was written with the phonophore *wáng* 亡 (*maŋ) 'have not';[79] 荒 is comprised of a 'grass' signifier and the phonophore *huāng* 亢 'water source that broadens; reach', which is written with the phonophore *wáng* 亡.

4.2.3 Stanza *3*

1. *Míng* 榠 (*mêŋ) 'quince' is a phonetic loan for *Máo*: *yíng* 縈 (*ʔweŋ) 'entwine'. 縈 is etymologically related to *yòng* 禁 (*wreŋ(h)) (ritual for protection performed by encircling oneself with cotton or wool wadding) and *yíng* 營 (*weŋ) 'encircle; build'.[80]

2. *Chéng* 城, here writing a verb, 'to fortify', corresponds to *Máo*: 成 'complete'. Warring States Chǔ manuscripts commonly write the word *chéng* 'complete' with 城, which of course leaves open the possibility that this is how it should be read here. The image programme of the song, however, centres on vines climbing and fortifying tree branches hanging down, just as good fortune and proper conduct gives the noble man repose, leads him along, and, finally, 'fortifies' (or 'completes') him. 'Fortify', in our reading, better fits the underlying metaphor in the song.[81] See also "Shào Nán" *1*, stanza 3 for a similar situation with reference to the graph *chéng*.

4.3 *Analysis: Zhōu Nán* 4

Song *4* in three stanzas is highly repetitive, except for the three verbal phrases, 'give him repose', 'lead him along', and 'protect him'. These elements mark a progression from inside to the outside, and so from the present to the future.

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79 For instance on the Fēng-*yǒu* 豐卣, *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 5403.1.

80 *Shuōwén jiězì*: "Shì (altar) signific" 1.8, glosses 禁 paronomastically as 營, and defines it: 禁: 設緜蔰為營，以禳風雨、雪霜、水旱、癘疫於日晨星辰山川也 … 一曰禁，衛，使灾不生 'To set out a circular boundary of cotton/wool wadding as a means to dispel wind, rain, snow, frost, flooding, and drought, and pestilence and plagues by the sun, moon, stars, mountains and rivers … Another explanation is that it means protect, as in to not allow calamities to be born.'

81 Saussy 2021: 209 translates this line 'may felicity and ritual fortify him'; he further states (210), 'If *chéng* 城 "fortification, city wall" is not a loan for *chéng* 成 "perfect, make complete," it could also act as a metaphor for the sturdiness of the nobleman's character. The poem makes sense on its own terms'.

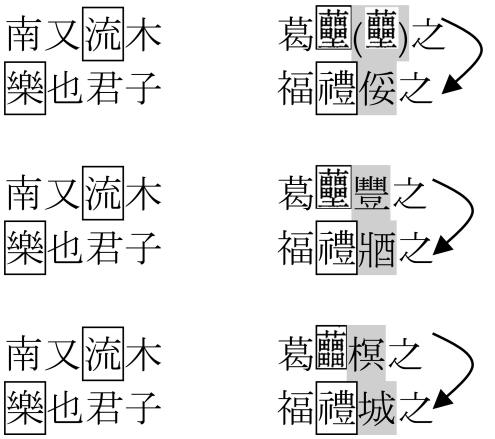

FIGURE 4 the phonetic texture of "Zhōu Nán" 4

The imagery behind the song is of two movements in opposite directions: the branches [of the tree] bend downwards as vines climb them, upwards. Together they create an environment in perfect harmony where the one supports the other. With the trees as parallels to a noble man, it is not difficult to envisage the significance of the song in various scenarios and social relationships.[82]

A striking feature of this song is the construction of a tight phonetic texture, through the alliteration of words with an *r- initial, and a rhyming coda of the penultimate word of every even line. By so doing, the song prompts close connections between certain words while flowing smoothly due to its assonance. The words connected by alliterations are *liú* 流 (*r(i)u) 'flowing downward; releasing'; *yuè* 樂 (*râuk) 'joyous'; *lǐ* 禮 (*rîʔ) 'propriety', and, crucially, *lěi* 藟 (*ruiʔ), the upward corrective to the downward flowing *liú* 流 (*r(i)u). Reading the song from an emic perspective we propose that *liú* 流 'flowing downward; releasing'—the word initiating the alliteration—is a metaphor for immorality.[83] The downward-bending branches thus evoke human immorality (through the parallel position of 'the lord'), while the climbing vines, 藟, in their capacity to bind, enrich, and insulate the branches, evoke restraint. The song in the Ān Dà version thus evokes the sense that, whenever a

82 Lord and commonfolk; lord and minister; husband and wife, etc.

83 Cf. Dǒng Zhòngshū 董仲舒 (179–104), *Chūnqiū fán lù* 春秋繁露 "Tiān dào shī" 天道施 82 (*Chūnqiū fán lù yì zhèng* 17.469; Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú 1992 ed.): 好色而無禮則流 'To be fond of sex and without propriety is dissolute'; Schwartz 2022 provides a discursive analysis with additional references.

noble man drifts off towards immorality, 流 (*r(i)u), he will be propped up (藟 'bind up' *ruiʔ) by propriety, 禮 (*rîʔ), and so be 'joyous', 樂 (*râuk).

The rhyme created by the coda in the third position of its even-numbered lines describes the utility of the vines: climbing and binding the downward-bending branches, 藟 (*ruiʔ), they offer the noble man repose 俟 (綏) (*snui); as they further enrich, 豐 (*phuŋ), they lead him along 將 (> 將 *tshaŋ); and as they entwine [him], 榛 (*ʔweŋ), they fortify 城 (*geŋ) him. This can be seen clearly in a schematic presentation of the song's phonetic texture (Fig. 4). Through these characteristics, the binding vines metaphorically help the lord, so that he will not drift and go astray.

⁘

Zhōu Nán *5* 周南五

眾斯之羽选$_{=}$可
宜尔孫$_{=}$篕$_{=}$可

眾斯之羽還$_{=}$可
宜尔孫$_{=}$執$_{=}$可

眾斯之 $_{10}$|| 羽厷$_{=}$可
宜尔孫$_{=}$釁$_{=}$可 ■

Máo 5　螽斯

螽斯羽，詵詵兮。
宜爾子孫，振振兮。

螽斯羽，薨薨兮。
宜爾子孫，繩繩兮。

螽斯羽，揖揖兮。
宜爾子孫，蟄蟄兮。

Zhōu Nán *5* 周南五

The wings in the swarm, oh how they move forward!
May it be right that your descendants come one after the other!

The wings in the swarm, oh how they beat over and over!
May it be right that your descendants hold on to one another!

The wings in the swarm, oh how they whirr!
May it be right that your descendants spring up ceaselessly like locusts!

5.1 *Notes on the text*

"Zhōu Nán" *5* is recorded on slips 10/6 to about the first third of slip 11. The slips are complete. There is no reading support other than marks for reduplication and the black square indicating the end of the song.

**Kōngzǐ Shī lùn* (slip 27) refers to this song as "Zhōng shì" 中氏,[84] nothing other than a phonetic loan for 眾斯 in Ān Dà or 螽斯 in *Máo*.

Stanzas *2* and *3* are interchanged between this song and its counterpart in the *Máo* recension.

In *Máo* the phrase 螽斯羽 produced as 眾斯之羽 in the Ān Dà song consistently leaves out the anaphoric possessive pronoun *zhī* 之. We think that the use of the pronoun was to ensure the lines are parallel to the metrical particle *sī*. The compositional balance upheld in Zhōu Nán *5* is absent in the *Máo* recension (six words versus seven words).

The song comprises three stanzas, twelve lines (four lines each stanza). The structural outline, not the distribution, corresponds with *Máo* 5. Semantically too the versions differ profoundly.

The song is rhymed consistently in its use of the reduplications in lines 2 and 4 of each stanza, the only moveable components of this song, all rhyming in *-a-.

The central image of the song is the gradual encroachment of the lord and his successors on the individual. The image programme used in the song centres around locusts and their various sounds and movements.

5.2 *Establishing a reading*

5.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. 眾斯: for *zhòng* 眾 'many, multitudes, masses', referring to the lord's offspring, the *Máo* recension has *zhōng* 螽 'locust' and the commentary understands 螽斯 as a compound noun (*sōng xū* 蜙蝑). The *Shuōwén* lists *zhōng* 蠷 as an allograph of 螽, which suggests that *zhòng* 眾 in this song might have been used for writing the word 'locust'.[85] However, given the care generally observed by the writer of "Zhōu Nán" when writing out the graphs, we cannot ignore the absence of an 'insect' signifier in its composition, and the inclusion of this very signifier in the writing of other words in this song (e.g., the last word 蠆), and so we interpret the word more generally as 'many, multitudes' but use the term 'swarm' which indicates insects more specifically.

84 Lǐ Líng 2007: 20.

85 The graph *zhòng* 眾 writing the word *zhōng* 'locust' does occur in the *Shījīng*, for instance in the song lyrics of "Wú yáng" 無羊 'Without Sheep' (*Máo* 190).

We agree with Yáo Jìhéng that *sī* 斯 (*se) is a prefix or suffix particle for a (monosyllabic) noun and not integral to the word 眾.[86] Note the rhyme between 斯 (*se) and its counterpart in the following line 爾 (*neʔ), interrupted just by the initial word of the second couplet of each stanza, 宜 (*ŋai).

2. 选: written with a 辵 'swift movement' signifier and the phono-semantic *xiān* 先 'moving forward' (with emphasised 'foot' above 'person' (> 'legs of a person')). It corresponds to *shēn* 詵 'inquire' in *Máo*, written with the same phonophore and a 'speech' signifier, which always seemed out of place. The same word signified with 詵 in *Máo* is written *shēn* 𩦋 'many' in other major Western Hàn *Shī* recensions.[87] The use of the graph 𩦋, written with the signifier *duō* 多 'many', clearly intended to add yet another, extra layer of meaning to the image programme of the song. We understand 选, however, not as 'many', but rather, expressing forward movement and development, since the 辵-signifier in the Ān Dà graph corresponds with the same signifier used in *xí* 遝 in the following stanza.

3. 𥫱: writes the word *lín* 粼 (*rin) 'group of five families, neighbour', which, reduplicated as 粼粼, we render as 'numerous and continuous' (as in neighbour next to neighbour). The *Máo* recension has *zhèn-zhèn* 振振 (*təns-təns) 'shake, rouse, quake', interpreted contextually by Zhū Xī as meaning 'ample'.[88] To suggest reading the reduplicative binome in the Ān Dà song as a phonetic loan for *Máo's* 振振 is not tenable because a similar graph to 'neighbour', 𥫱, writes the word *lín* 麟 'unicorn' in "Zhōu Nán" *11*, and that song also contains a reduplicative binome, 螓螓 (written with the phono-semantic *yìn* 胤 (*ləns) 'successor, heir' and reduplicated 'insect' 虫), which corresponds to *Máo*: 振振. "Shào Nán" *8* has both 螾 and 蠉 (written with the phonophore *chén* 辰 (*dən) 'date, point in time' and reduplicated 'insect' 虫), which also correspond to *Máo*: 振. We suspect the two graphs in "Shào Nán" *8* are graphic variants of *zhèn* 振, but 𥫱𥫱 in the present song and 螓螓 in "Zhōu Nán" *11* are best treated as lexical variants filling the prescriptive sound mould with *-in /*-ən.

The late Eastern Hàn onomasticon *Shì míng* 釋名 'Explaining names' paronomastically defines 粼 as *lián* 連 'continuous, one after another' (相接連).[89] The first song of the state of "Qín" is named "Chē lín" 車粼 (*Máo* 126). In Ān Dà,

86 Yáo Jìhéng 1961: 23.

87 Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 1.35.

88 Karlgren 1964: 91–92 has a full discussion of this. 振 is cognate with *shēn* 娠 'pregnant'; the reduplicative binome 振振 might then mean 'May your [women] be pregnant with descendants one after another!'

89 *Shì míng shū zhèngbǔ* "Shì zhōu guó" 釋名疏證補：釋州國, 2.100.

line 1 of the song is incomplete, but the *Máo* recension rhymes *lín* 粼 (*rin) with 'top of the head', *diān* 顛 (*tîn): 有車粼粼，有馬白顛 'there are chariots one after another, there are horses with white foreheads.' Because of the consistent rhyme in *-ə- we assume that the phonophore of 爨/㷠, 文 (*mən), was used to uphold the rhyming pattern.

5.2.2 Stanza *2* (Stanza 3 in *Máo*)

1. 遝: parallel to stanza *1* the Ān Dà song uses the 辵 signifier; *xí* 習 (*s-ləp) is the phonophore. The *Máo* recension has *yī* 揖 (*ts(r)əp) 'salute' (moving hands up and down, left and right, as a salute). Phonetically the two fill the prescriptive sound mould with *-əp, but the meaning of the words represented by the graphs, assuming they are to be read as they are written, differ. We choose to understand the graph on the slips as writing the same word represented by the graph *xí* 習 (*s-ləp) 'flap/beat wings repeatedly'. There is no reason to be guided by the *Máo* recension in our reading of this line.

2. For *zhí* 執 (*təp) 'seize, hold in hand, carry', the *Máo* recension has *zhé* 蟄 (*drəp) 'hibernate';[90] Karlgren (1950: 4) has 'should be (clustering:) in great swarms.' Later communities (i.e., *Máo*) used the graph with the 'insect' signific where the Ān Dà writer chose to just specify the 'hand' signifier.[91] As mentioned, stanza *2* in Ān Dà is arranged as the final stanza in *Máo*. 蟄蟄 are the last two sounds of the song in the *Máo* recension, and like in the Ān Dà version, graphs are written with 'insect' signifiers, thus corresponding with the first word of the song which is written with a graph using a reduplicated 'insect' signifier: 螽.

5.2.3 Stanza *3*

1. For *gōng* 厷 'forearm' (*kwêŋ, the ancestral form of *gōng* 肱), the *Máo* recension has *hōng* 薨 'die', which is clearly a loan for another word.[92] (Máo explains

90 The use of the graph *zhí* 執 to write the word *zhé* 蟄 'hibernate' occurs for instance in the *Shénwū fú* 神烏賦 "Rhapsody of the spirit raven" (slip 114): 惟歲三月，春氣始陽，眾鳥皆昌（唱），執（蟄）虫坊（徬）皇（徨）'It was the third month of the year, spring's air began to warm; the multitudes of birds sang (and) hibernating insects moved about back and forth'; see *Yǐnwān Hànmù jiǎndú* 尹灣漢墓簡牘 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1997).

91 Note that the word *zhí* 執 is associated with childbirth, and it may well carry that association here too. See for instance the description in the "Nèi zé" 內則 'Family rules' chapter of the *Lǐ jì* (18.863) wherefore a father 'takes hold' of the right hand of his newborn and names him (父執子之右手，咳而名之).

92 Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 1.39.

it as 'many'.) The graph used to write the particular reduplicative binome in the Ān Dà song appears to have been selected both for the sound of the locust's wings in motion and also for its semantic association with the hands > insect's wings. The graph used to write the same binome in the *Máo* recension, 薨薨, does not preserve this sense. The graph used to write this word in the *Hán* recension is *hóng* 翃 'fly', adding a 'feather/wing' signifier, thus underpinning the image programme by giving further expression to the word 'wings' in the line before it.

2. 蠅: is written with the 'insect' signifier and the phono-signific *xīng* 興 'rise, prosper' (*həŋ); the *Máo* recension has *shéng*/*mǐn* 繩 'rope; continue; ceaseless' (*m-ləŋ), but explained by Máo as 'being cautious'.[93] A graph composed with the same phono-signific *xīng* 興 but with the reduplicated 'insect' signifier 虫 occurs in **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, slip 28, writing the word *yíng* 'fly' (*ləŋ) (variant of 蠅); the word *shéng* 'rope' in Warring States Chǔ script is written 縄 (variant of 繩),[94] also with *xīng* 興 as the phonophore. This means that phonetically the two fill the prescriptive sound mould with *ləŋ and almost certainly wrote the same word.[95] The addition of the 'insect' signifier to write the final words of the song in the Ān Dà text, however, seems intentional and serves to reinforce the overall metaphor in operation. The main difference, for an interpretive reading, is that the binome in *Máo* has a 'silk' signifier, indicating a 'continuation' (said of a lineage; see our "Shào Nán" 13 commentary), whereas the Ān Dà text has an 'insect' signifier, to intertwine the metaphor about humans and insects; we make this explicit in the translation.

5.3 *Analysis: Zhōu Nán* 5

On the surface, this brief repetitive song in three stanzas presents a blessing, for the continuation of a lord's line. This reading is also upheld in the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* and in the *Máo* tradition.[96] Gāo Hēng however offers a new interpretation, and posits that this song is a satirical stab at the ruling élite as they excessively exploit the resources of the commonfolk. Although it is collected in the Songs

93 Cf. *Guǎnzǐ jiàozhù* 管子校注 "Zhòu hé" 宙合 4.261 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú 2018 ed.): 故君子繩繩乎，慎其所先 'This is why a lord's son is so ceaseless in action; on guard about what is ahead of him.'

94 For instance, Qīnghuá *Guǎn Zhòng* 管仲 slip 6; *Qīnghuá* 6.

95 The reduplicative binome 繩繩 occurs elsewhere in the *Shījīng* (*Máo* 256), also in a wish for one's progeny: 子孫繩繩 '[Your] songs and grandsons will continue in an unbroken line'. Cf. *Dào Dé jīng* 14: 繩繩不可名 'Ceaseless in action, it yet cannot be named.'

96 The **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* (slip 27) says the song means 'a lord's children' (*jūn zǐ* 君子), which we understand as a blessing for progeny.

of Royal Zhōu, which usually convey positive connotations, his reading is worth entertaining as we know very little—often nothing—about the history of individual songs and how they came to be part of a given collection. The fact that the Ān Dà song sees the 'descendants' as 'springing up ceaselessly [like locusts]' (蠢蠢) might be taken to confirm Gāo's suspicion.[97] Locusts are, to say the least, an unusual way to express the wish for someone's descendants to come forth. But, of course, one may also dismiss this reading.

We see a progression in the Ān Dà song that is lost in *Máo*. Initially, there is birth. One after another, head first, the lord's descendants come forth. Then, holding fast to one another like a chain, they lend each other mutual support. Lastly, like locusts ceaseless in action, they are established. And, so the prayer exclaims, may this be right!

It is noteworthy how the writing of the Ān Dà song plays a role in its interpretation. Unlike in *Máo*, the writer preserves a striking intimacy between 'locusts' and 'people', equating them through intercepted parallelisms. The first two phrases of each stanza are about locusts, while the third and fourth lines are each about the lord's descendants. But where the song treats locusts, it uses graphs with human-related signifiers; where it treats people, the writing consistently uses graphs with the insect signifier. This intersected parallelism begins with its very first word, *zhòng* 'multitudes'; in the opening sentence, about 'locusts', the graph used to signify the word contains 'three people':  (眾).

97 In this regard, aware that the graph 蠢 in Ān Dà was also used to write the word *yíng* 'fly', and mindful of how the Máo commentary explains 繩繩 as a warning—'be on guard', it is hard not to make a further association with the homophonous, reduplicated binome *yíng-yíng* 營營 (*weŋ-weŋ), said of insects buzzing back and forth (< surrounding), particularly 'flies', and carrying a negative connotation; *Máo* 219: 營營青蠅 'They buzz back and forth, the blue flies.' The **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, slips 28–29, comments that the song means 'perceiving … what is deplorable but not perceiving (it) in people'.

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Zhōu Nán *6* 周南六

桃之夭=邵=亓芋
寺子于遹宜亓室豕

桃之夭=又焚亓實
寺11|| 子于遹宜亓豕室.

桃之夭=亓葉萋=
寺子于遹宜亓豕人■

Máo 6 桃夭

桃之夭夭，灼灼其華。
之子于歸，宜其室家。

桃之夭夭，有蕡其實。
之子于歸，宜其家室。

桃之夭夭，其葉蓁蓁。
之子于歸，宜其家人。

Zhōu Nán *6* 周南六

How young and vigorous is the peach tree, so bright are its blossoms.
Entering her new home, may she be right for the chambers and the household.

How young and vigorous is the peach tree, as if on fire are its fruits.
Entering her new home, may she be right for the household and its chambers.

How young and vigorous is the peach tree, its leaves are so many.
Entering her new home, may she be right for the household and its people.

6.1 *Notes on the text*

"Zhōu Nán" *6* is written on slips 11/9 to 12/21. The slips are complete. Except for the reduplication marks and the black square signalling the end of the song, the reading support is produced highly inconsistently, if occurring at all.

**Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* does not discuss the song.

The song comprises three stanzas, twelve lines (four lines per stanza), each line four words. The structural makeup is consistent with *Máo* 6 (桃夭). Semantically there are some minor differences between them, but altogether the song is fairly consistent across both texts.

The song is consistently rhymed in the last words of lines two and four of each stanza. Stanza *1* rhymes in *-â; stanza *2* in *-it; stanza *3* in *-î/*-in. Only the rhyme in stanza *3* of the Ān Dà version differs slightly from the rhyme used in the *Máo* recension. We will have more to say about this below.

This song is closely associated with "Zhōu Nán" *5* through the mutual use of four-word sentences beginning with the word *yí* 宜, lit. 'It is right'. As this word only occurs in the lyrics of these two songs amongst the other songs of the 'Two Nán', we can only assume that they were paired together for this reason.

The song is about a young woman ready to be married. It reads as though a wish, repeated as a consistent prayer, that she be the right fit for her husband and his household. The image programme used in the song consists of the 'young and vigorous peach tree', standing in for the young woman,[98] and its 'blossoms' which are 'vibrant'; then its 'fruits' which are as though 'on fire'; and finally its 'leaves' which are 'many', all of which are metaphorically used as attributes for the female subject as she progresses through life.

6.2 *Establishing a reading*

6.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. For *sì* 寺, the *Máo* recension has *zhī* 之 'this'. This is a common loan in manuscript texts from the Warring States period. In early script the top element of 寺 (which resembles the graph writing the word 土 'earth') is the phonophore 之.

98 The *Shuōwén jiězì* 12.827 cites 桃之娭娭 to *Máo*: 桃之夭夭, and defines *yāo* 娭, using paronomasia, both as *qiǎo* 巧 'clever' and *xiào* 笑 'laugh'. (Karlgren 1964: 93, citing the *Dà Dài Lǐ jì* "Qiān shèng" 千乘, defines it as 'roguish', and translates the line, understood figuratively, as 'How (roguish:) charming, pleasant is that peach tree.') Given the integral nature of the the written word in the Ān Dà *Shī*, the selection of a graph with a 'woman' and a 'flora' signifier, 娭, to write the binome *ʔâu-ʔâu seems also to be adding an extra layer of meaning to the song's lyrics, and as a means to interwine the metaphor: peach tree in its youthful vigour, the young woman in bloom.

2. 邵=亓芋: Although the reduplicative binome *shào-shào* 邵邵 (*drauh-drauh) might work as a phonetic loan for *Máo*: *zhuó-zhuó* 灼灼 (*tiauk-tiauk) 'burning bright', it also reads sensibly as writing the same word signified 昭 > *zhāo* 'bright'.[99] (*Shuōwén jiězì* 9.598 defines 邵 as 'high'.) 邵邵 might also be a better rhyme with the reduplicative binome preceding it, *yāo-yāo* 夭夭 (*ʔâu-ʔâu).[100] Máo's commentary says it means 'abundant' (華之盛), thus 'abundant are its flowers' (as per Karlgren 1964: 94); both Lǔ and Hán traditions, however, explain it as 'bright' (明) (Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 1.41).

亓 is an archaic form of the pronoun *qí* 其 'its'; *yù* 芋 (*wah) 'taro' works as a phonetic loan for *Máo*: *huá* 華 (*wâ) 'flower, blossom'.

6.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. For 又焚亓實, the *Máo* recension has 有蕡其實. *Fén* 焚 (*bən) 'burn' and *fén* 蕡 (*pân) 'lush' are phonetically close and this leaves open the possibility to read the former as a loan for the latter so as to agree with the *Máo* recension.[101] While they are indeed interchangeable in Old Chinese, there is no need prioritise the *Máo* recension over Ān Dà as 'on fire' makes good sense here and fits nicely with 'bright' in the first stanza. We understand *yǒu* 又(有) verbally as 'there is'.

2. *Jīa shì* 豕室 'the household and its chambers' is the reverse of 室家 'the chambers and the household' in stanza *1*. It is reversed in line 8 to rhyme with *shí* 實 'fruits' in line 6.

6.2.3 Stanza *3*

1. 亓葉萋= corresponds to *Máo*: 其葉蓁蓁. The rhyming of *qī* 萋 (*tshî) with *rén* 人 (*nin) is different than the rhyme in *Máo*: *dzin/*nin.[102] As it occurs both in the song's final stanza and as a rhyme for the song's last word, the choice of 萋, written with a 'grass' signifier and the phonophore *qī* 妻 'wife', is particular in its design and specification; to us it seems as though it is intertwining the song's metaphor, kept separate previously, that the peach tree in its youthful vigour is the young woman in bloom as a wife in spe. The reduplicative binome

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99 Cf. Qīnghuá *Chì hú jí yú Tāng zhī wū* 赤鵠集于湯之屋, slip 4: 乃邵（昭）然，四亓（荒）之外，亡（無）不見也 'Then, as if shining bright, beyond the four seas, there was no one who did not see [her].'

100 We cannot be certain that the articulation of 夭夭 did not have a final -k sound as it is represented in the *Máo* version of this song; cf. *wò* 沃 (*ʔâuk) 'glossy; fertile'.

101 *Ěryǎ* "Explaining trees" 9.276: '*fén* 蕡 means *aǐ* 藹 "lush, luxuriant"'.

102 There are no other instances in the songs of the 'Two Nán' of rhyming *zhī* 脂-group (*-i/*-əi) and *zhēn* 真-group (*-in) words; see *Ānhuī Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn* 1: 153–168.

萋萋 occurs just once more in Ān Dà's 'Two Nán' songs, in "Zhōu Nán" *2*, which is also a song about a young woman who is to be married.

6.3 *Analysis: Zhōu Nán* 6

A peach tree in early blossom stands metaphorically for a young woman. She is ready to be married. The use of *guī* 歸 in this song informed our reading of "Zhōu Nán" *2* (*Máo* 2 "Gé tán" 葛覃) as being about a woman who is soon to be married (and not, as is sometimes assumed, returning home for her first visit after marriage).[103]

This brief song is composed of three highly repetitive stanzas. Variation occurs only in the description of the peach tree (the young woman) and its flowers, fruits and leaves, on the one hand, and the household with its members and its chambers, on the other. A beautiful balance is thus produced between the woman and the household, suggesting, on the literary level, that they will form a harmonious unit.[104]

Blossoms are an aspect of spring, fruit of autumn, leaves of summer. We may read this as stages in a women's life. Whether this progression suggests an urgency on the part of the woman to be married and thus form an allusive bracket with "Shào Nán" *9* (*Máo* 20 "Biào yǒu méi" 摽有梅)—it gives voice to the anxieties of a woman in her prime to be married—or whether it considers the longevity of the woman's onging desire to 'be right for the household', is open to question. The song clearly lends itself to both interpretations.

103 See our discussion of "Zhōu Nán" *2*, stanza *3* (72–73).

104 Note the parallel metaphor in "Zhōu Nán" *4* between trees and humans.

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Zhōu Nán 7 周南七

肅=兔罝敦之正=
糾=武夫公 12| | 侯干城

肅=兔罝陀于宇戲
繆=武夫. 公侯好逑

肅=兔罝陀于宇林
繆=武夫公侯腹心 ■

Máo 7　兔罝

肅肅兔罝，椓之丁丁。
赳赳武夫，公侯干城。

肅肅兔罝，施于中逵。
赳赳武夫，公侯好仇。

肅肅兔罝，施于中林。
赳赳武夫，公侯腹心。

Zhōu Nán 7 周南七

Tightly woven is the rabbit net, hit its [posts] '*têŋ-têŋ*'.
Twisting and plaiting, so elegant is the martial man, the Gōng and the Hóu take him as their shield and wall.

Tightly woven is the rabbit net, place it at the crossing of many roads.
Plaiting and twisting, so elegant is the martial man, the Gōng and the Hóu keenly take him as their opponent.

Tightly woven is the rabbit net, place it in the midst of a forest.
Plaiting and twisting, so elegant is the martial man, the Gōng and the Hóu take him as their belly and heart.

7.1 *Notes on the text*

"Zhōu Nán" *7* is produced on slightly less than one and a half slips, running from the lower half of slip 12 to the third-last graph on slip 13. The slips are complete. The writer of this song consistently uses marks for reduplication for the first graphs in lines 1 and 3 of each stanza. There are perhaps two marks indicating a pause; this includes the possibility of the reduplication mark after 正 in line 2 serving to indicate a pause.

This song comprises three stanzas of four lines each, altogether twelve lines. It is structurally—but not semantically—consistent with *Máo*. The song is highly formulaic; varience is kept at a minimum. The song is tightly structured phonetically, and it consistently rhymes the last word of the even sentences in each stanza with one another. Stanza *1* rhymes 正 *têŋ with 城 *geŋ; in *3* it rhymes 林 *rəm rhymes with 心 *səm; in stanza *2*, it rhymes the structurally unknown graphs 戵 and 戵 on *-u.[105] The rhyme words, which are the variable elements between stanzas, drive the song's image programme. Yet the uneven sentences are also reduplicative phonetically in the sense that sentence 1 of each stanza parallels sentence 3 phonetically, creating a tight phonetic texture, and thus reduplicating the content level of the song phonetically. (1. 肅=兔蔚 *siuk-siuk lhâh-tsha,[106] 2. 糾=武夫 *kiu-kiu maʔ-pa.)

The song praises the 'upright' minister, that is, the 'martial man', and his capacity to 'entangle' the lord by way of his qualities such that he can serve as the lord's 'shield' and 'wall', thus 'protecting' them from ill-meaning enemies. He serves as the lord's 'counterpoint' in the sense that he speaks to his mind, not their desires, 'standing tall' and adhering to his principles, no matter what; he serves as the lord's 'belly' and 'heart', loyally serving their various needs. Central to the image programme of this song are also the 'crossroads' and in the depths of the 'forest' as places for the 'rabbit net'. In the imagery of this song, the rabbit net is the 'martial man'; in reading this song through the *Mèngzǐ*, as we attempt below, the Gōng and the Hóu are rabbits to be caught.

7.2 *Establishing a reading*

7.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. The Máo commentary glosses *sù-sù* 肅肅 (*siuk-siuk) as *jìng* 敬 'pay careful attention; cautious'; the *Shuōwén jiězì* says it means 持事振敬 'undertake affairs energetically and carefully'.[107] Elsewhere in the *Shī* (*Máo* 154 "Qī yuè" 七月 'Seventh month'), the Máo commentary reads *sù* 肅 (*siuk) as a phonetic loan for

105 More on this pair below.

106 This is working on the assumption that the phonophore of 蔚 is 罝 *tsha.

107 *Shuōwén jiězì* "Yù 聿 (Brush) signifier" 3.188.

suō 縮 (*sruk), written with a 'silk' signific and the phonophore *sù* 宿 (*suk) 'constrict; draw in; regulate'; if applied to this song as a modifier for net,[108] the sense is that the net, tightly woven (*xìmì* 細密), with its threading traverse and crossing, does not allow anything to get through it. A further association can be drawn with the words in the following lines 糾 'twisted downwards' and 繆 'twisted upwards', both written with 'silk' significs, and describing attributes of the martial man.[109] 肅肅 (縮縮) is thus both a modifier for the rabbit net, and for the martial man, who undertakes his duties in serving the Gōng and Hóu in an orderly manner and with careful attention.

2. For �huo (*rok), the *Máo* recension has *zhuó* 椓 'hammer; strike' (*trôk). The graphs are variants writing the same word. �huo is a transitive verb; *zhī* 之 is an anaphoric pronoun referring to the rabbit net in line 1.

3. For *zhēng-zhēng* 正= (*teŋ-teŋ), the *Máo* recension has *dīng-dīng*/*zhēng-zhēng* 丁丁 (*têŋ-têŋ), which are near homophones and thus confirm to the prescriptive sound mould. The Máo commentary says 丁丁 (Ān Dà 正正) is the sound of building the net. (*têŋ 丁 is the ancestral form of *dīng* 釘 'nail, peg' and the onomatopoeia '**têŋ-têŋ*' presumably originated in the action of hammering pegs.) Following the principle of sound showing meaning (see "Zhōu Nán" *1*, annotation 1), 正正 is not simply the sound of building the net, but rather it is an elaboration of the rabbit net as a metaphor for the martial man. The pun indicates the martial man is 'upright'. What he does in service for his employers, the Gōng and Hóu, is 'proper'.

4. For both 糾= in this stanza and 繆 in stanzas *2* and *3*, the *Máo* recension has *jiū-jiū* 赳赳. The Máo commentary explains it as having a 'martial appearance' (武貌); Karlgren (1964: 94) has 'elegant'. 赳 is written with a 'walking swiftly' signifier, whereas 糾 and 繆 are written with 'silk' signifiers. We understand the words written with 'silk' signifiers as serving the image programme which is part of the larger phonetically-driven metaphor operating in this song: the martial man (武夫; *maʔ *pa) as the rabbit net (兔罝; *lhâh *tsa). The netting of the rabbit trap is said to be tightly woven (肅肅(縮縮)), and the words 糾 'plaiting downwards' and 繆 'plaiting upwards' in these stanzas describe the composition of the martial man through the metaphor of his 'netting'. Just as images

108 Wén Yīduō 2016: 102.

109 See the commentary to "Zhōu Nán" *4*, stanza 1, annotation 1.

of humans and locusts intersect in "Zhoū Nán" *5*, here the martial man and the rabbit net are braided together in constructing the song's image programme.

7.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. 斀 and  (戢?): as in "Zhoū Nán" *1*, we continue to follow Zhèng Xuán's commentary in reading *chóu* 斀 (*gu) (equivalent to 仇) as 'adversary, counterpoint', and not as 'mate, companion'.[110] In line 2 it serves as the rhyme word with in line 4, which is a structurally unknown graph. Because 斀 rhymes with *zhōu* 州 (*tu) in an unambivalent context in Ān Dà's "Zhōu Nán" *1*, we can be fairly sure that the phonophore of 斀 is *zǎo* 棗 (*tsûʔ), which then determines how we read its rhyming pair, . Guided by the *Máo* recension, the editors of the *Ān Dà Manuscripts* take 畱 (*tsrə) as the phonophore of which they transcribe as 戢. At first sight this might look as philologically unsound because the main vowels of the rhyming words differ (*-u vs. *-ə). Having said this, we notice a general instability of *-u vs. *-ə rhymes in Ān Dà's "Zhōu Nán" songs more generally.[111] Moreover, it may well be that the identification of the graph as 戢 is incorrect.[112] Due to the general stability of sound moulds between the Ān Dà *Shī* and the *Máo Shī* in the songs of the 'Two Nán', we expect to write a word that rhymes with *gu and to fill the sound mould with *-u, as per *kuí* 逵 (*gru) 'crossroads' of the *Máo* recension and *kuí* 馗 (*gru) of the *Hán* recension. Although we are unsure which word it originally signified, we see no reason not to read as a phonetic loan for the same word signified 逵/馗.

7.3 *Analysis: Zhōu Nán 7*

The 'rabbit net' stands allegorically for the martial man of the song, which sings his praises. It is sung from the perspective of a third party, an observant bystander.

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110 See "Zhōu Nán" 1, stanza 1, annotation 5.

111 In "Zhōu Nán" *8* the graph 茁, written with the phonophore *fǒu* 缶 (*puʔ), as an alternative writing of 芣 (*pəʔ), implies either that words with the codas *-uʔ and *-əʔ were 'good enough' rhymes for the community that produced this text, or that the phonetic reconstructions are, in this case, inaccurate.

112 The element in the upper left of which the editors (p. 80) and Xú Zàiguó 2020 identify as 畱 does not resemble the graph's seal-script form . 畱, a graphic corruption of , first occurs in Shāng oracle bone script written as . It is said to be a pictograph of a receptacle (*Shuōwén jiězì* 12.848; see Jì Xùshēng 2003: 2.209–210). If the editors are right that the element in the upper left of resembled 畱 (if only an abbreviated form), perhaps it should then be identified as an abbreviated form of the phonophore (i.e., the upper half) of *guì* 貴 (*kus), written in Chǔ script as (Guōdiàn *Lǎozǐ* C, slip 13), which would rhyme unproblematically with 斀, fill the sound mould with *-u, and, of course, work as a phonetic loan for *Máo*: 逵/*Hán*: 馗.

This association of the rabbit net with the martial man is also made explicit phonetically. 兔罝 *lhâh *tsa rhymes with 武夫 *maʔ *pa, creating a tight link between them. The phonetic texture of the song, in both its variable even-numbered phrases and its static odd-numbered ones (肅=兔蘬 *siuk-siuk lhâh-tsha, 2. 糾=武夫 *kiu-kiu maʔ-pa), reduplicates on a compositional level the notion that the net is 'tightly woven' and, regardless of where it is placed—be it at the 'crossing of many roads' or in the 'forest'—it is placed 'properly' (viz. 正正) and in the 'middle' (中), and so is where it belongs.

The song remains silent about the identity of the martial man, that is, whether he is thought to be the sovereign over a polity, or merely a minister. Contextually, however, it makes more sense to think of him as the latter. The *Mèngzǐ*, for instance, a keen user of the Shī, speaks of the volatile relationship between a lord and his ministers, from the perspective of the ministers, and uses the phrase 'belly and heart' (腹心) as follows:

> 孟子告齊宣王曰：「君之視臣如手足，則臣視君如腹心；君之視臣如犬馬，則臣視君如國人；君之視臣如土芥，則臣視君如寇讎。」
>
> Mencius addressed King Xuān of Qí, saying, 'when the lord regards his ministers as his hands and feet, then his ministers regard their lord as their belly and heart; when he regards them as his dogs and horses, then they regard him as [just] another man; when he regards them as the ground or as grass, they regard him as a bandit and foe'.[113]

This is no proof as to how the Ān Dà song ought to be read, but we cannot exclude the idea that both texts were informed by a corresponding notion of the phrase if it moved from Shī into the language of political philosophy, picked up by the *Mèngzǐ* and other texts in the second half of the first millennium BC.[114] This line of reasoning also corresponds with how Confucius is portrayed to have read the song. In Huáng Huáixìn's ordering of the slips,[115] the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* reads:

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113 *Mèngzǐ zhèngyì* "Lǐ Lóu, *xià*" 16.546.

114 Our interpretation of this song offers a Warring States reading. A Western Zhōu reading, as with "Zhōu Nán" *1*, might instead interpret 逑 (仇) as 'companion' (equivalent to *qiú* 球). Cf. for instance the following passage from the late Western Zhōu bronze inscription Shǐ Qiáng-*pán* 史牆盤 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 10175) which says, 甬（通）悳（助）乙祖，逑匹厥辟，遠猶腹心 'Intelligent and assisting (was) Yǐ-day Ancestor. (He) paired with his ruler as a companion, [and] made far-reaching plans (with) belly and heart'.

115 Huáng Huáixìn 2004: 20.

兔罝，其用人，則吾取。

'As for the song "Rabbit net", I accept the way it portrays employing men'.

The martial man of song *7* 'traps' the Gōng and the Hóu by combining three qualities in his persona. Like a defence system he protects the Gōng and the Hóu, serving as their shield and wall; like a counterpoint, he speaks his mind, not flattering the Gōng and the Hóu; like a belly and heart, he nourishes them loyally.

Zhōu Nán *8* 周南八

菜=茁 13 || 㠯尃言采之
菜=茁㠯尃言右之

菜=茁㠯尃言掇之
菜=茁㠯尃言捋之

菜=茁㠯尃言 14 | \口之
菜=茁㠯尃言弃之 ■

Máo 8　芣苢

采采芣苢，薄言采之。
采采芣苢，薄言有之。

采采芣苢，薄言掇之。
采采芣苢，薄言捋之。

采采芣苢，薄言袺之。
采采芣苢，薄言襭之。

Zhōu Nán *8* 周南八

Plucking, plucking the plantain, swiftly do I gather it!
Plucking, plucking the plantain, swiftly do I hold it in my right hand!

Plucking, plucking the plantain, swiftly do I pick it up!
Plucking, plucking the plantain, swiftly do I take it with my fingers!

Plucking, plucking the plantain, swiftly do I … it!
Plucking, plucking the plantain, swiftly do I wrap it up!

8.1 *Notes on the text*

"Zhōu Nán" *8* runs from the end of slip *13* to slip *15*/8. The top of slip 15 is broken. Probably one graph is missing. Except for reduplication marks and a black square at the end of the song, reading support is absent.

The song comprises three stanzas of four lines each (viz. twelve lines total). It is structurally consistent with *Máo* 8 ("Fúyǐ" 芣苢 'Plantain') but differs from it semantically. It consistently rhymes the penultimate word of the even sentences of each stanza.

The song is highly repetitive, phonetically as well as semantically. The rhyming words are the only elements of variation of this song. The uneven sentences (1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11) all end in *-əʔ (菜=苶已 *tshâʔ-tshâʔ puʔ-ləʔ), while the even sentences continue in the pattern of *-a -a, rhyme word, * tə (尃言X之. *bâk-ŋan *rhyme-word tə). The image programme of the song is centred around the 'plantain', 'plucking (it) swiftly' so as to 'gather' it, 'holding' it, 'taking' it (with hands and fingers), and 'wrapping' it.

8.2 *Establishing a reading*

8.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. For 苶已, the *Máo* recension has 芣苢 (*bə-ləʔ); the Máo commentary identifies it as the 'plantain' (*chēqiánzǐ* 車前子) and says eating its fruit induces pregnancy. The plant's name is written alternatively as 桴苡 (*boʔ-ləʔ) in the "Wáng huì" chapter of the *Yì Zhōu shū*, which identifies its fruit as having the shape of a plum and agrees with Máo in its effects.[116] Wén Yīduō 聞一多 (AD 1899–1946) draws a phonetic association between the plant's name and the word for 'fetus', *pēi tāi* 胚胎 (*phâ-lhâ), and suggests eating its fruit had magical properties.[117] The occurrence of the graph 苶, written with phonophore *fǒu* 缶 (*puʔ), as an alternative writing of 芣 (*bə < 不 *pəʔ), implies that words with the codas *-uʔ and *-ə(ʔ) were rhymes for the user community that produced this text.

2. For *fū* 尃, the *Máo* recension has *báo*/*bó* 薄. See "Zhōu Nán" *3*, stanza 3, annotation 3, for an explanation of why we read this graph as writing the word *pò* 迫 'urgent, in a hurry'.

3. For 右 (*wəʔ), the *Máo* recension has the homophonous 有 (*wəʔ) 'to have'. The editors read the Ān Dà song through *Máo*, which is not necessary.

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116 *Yì Zhōu shū huìjiào jízhù* 逸周書彙校集注 "Wáng huì" 王會 59.926. Lǐ Líng 2007:21, unconvincingly, reads 桴而 (*boʔ-nə) in the **Kōngzǐ Shī lùn* (slip 29) as an alternative writing of the song's name.

117 Wén Yīduō 2016: 107–109.

8.2.2 Stanza *3*

1. Slip *15* is incomplete with one graph missing. The *Máo* recension has *jié* 袺 'to hold up [skirt]'. Although contextually sound, we doubt whether the Ān Dà version would have had the same word here. The word set to rhyme with it, *sài* 塞 (*sə̂k), suggests a different word.

2. 宴 is a graphic variant of *sài* 塞 (*sə̂k) 'stuff in; fill up'; the *Máo* recension has *xié* 襭 (< base phonetic is *jí* 吉 *kit) 'tuck up hem of garment to wrap something'. The words are not close phonetically.

8.3 *Analysis: Zhōu Nán* 8

The central modules of this song are consistent between the three stanzas, the only variation being the different choice of words for 'gathering' and the different descriptions as to how this gathering is carried out.

The *Máo* "Preface" sees the plantain standing metaphorically for the 'beauty of the empress' and alludes to 'the wife taking joy in having received children' (后妃之美也。和平，則婦人樂有子矣).[118] Modern commentators have put forth different readings. Wén Yīdūo takes it as a prayer-like song to magically induce pregnancy. Gāo Hēng takes it as a song sung by women during their fieldwork.[119] The song clearly lends itself to multiple readings.

What is striking is the song's monotonous semantic and phonetic rhythm, which works as follows:

*tshə̂ʔ-tshə̂ʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bə̂k-ŋan *rhyme word*-*1 tə
*tshə̂ʔ-tshə̂ʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bə̂k-ŋan *rhyme word*-*1 tə;

*tshə̂ʔ-tshə̂ʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bə̂k-ŋan *rhyme word*-*2 tə
*tshə̂ʔ-tshə̂ʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bə̂k-ŋan *rhyme word*-*2 tə;

*tshə̂ʔ-tshə̂ʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bə̂k-ŋan *rhyme word*-*3 tə
*tshə̂ʔ-tshə̂ʔ puʔ-ləʔ, *bə̂k-ŋan *rhyme word*-*3 tə;

The rhythmic and repetitive nature of the song beautifully captures monotonous and repetitive work, such as the plucking and gathering of plantain. The recurring glottal stop in particular might stress the act of plucking. This song thus vividly embodies its semantic content on a phonetic level.

118 If following Lǐ Líng's 2007: 21 reading, it is explained somewhat arcanely as being related to a class of 'man' (*shì* 士) in the **Kōngzǐ Shī lùn*, slip 29.

119 Gāo Hēng 2018: 10.

Zhōu Nán 9^{A} 周南九

南又喬木不可休思
灘又遊女不可[求]思
灘之宝矣不可羙$_{15}$| \
江之羙矣不可方思 ■

Zhōu Nán 9^{B} 周南九

橈=楚新言刈亓楚
寺子于逯言穊亓馬
灘之宝矣不可羙思
江 $_{16}$| | 之羙矣不可方思

橈=楚新言刈亓蔓
寺子于逯言穊亓駒
灘之宝矣不可羙思
江之羙矣 $_{1[X]}$ /

Máo 9　漢廣

南有喬木，不可休息，
漢有游女，不可求思。
漢之廣矣，不可泳思，
江之永矣，不可方思。

翹翹錯薪，言刈其楚，
之子于歸，言秣其馬。
漢之廣矣，不可泳思，
江之永矣，不可方思。

翹翹錯薪，言刈其蔓，
之子于歸，言秣其駒。
漢之廣矣，不可泳思，
江之永矣，不可方思。

Zhōu Nán *9*^{A} 周南九

There are tall trees in the south, one cannot find respite under them.
By the Hàn River there are girls at their ease, one cannot …
So broad is the Hàn River, one cannot swim across it.
So long is the Jiāng River, one cannot raft along it.

Zhōu Nán *9*^{B} 周南九

Tall indeed is the wild thornwood, let me cut its thorns!
The girl is to enter her new home, let me feed the horses!
So broad is the Hàn River, one cannot swim across it.
So long is the Jiāng River, one cannot raft along it.

Tall indeed is the wild thornwood, let me cut its vines!
The girl is to enter her new home, let me feed the colts!
So broad is the Hàn River, one cannot swim across it.
So long is the Jiāng River, …

9.1 *Notes on the text*

While separated in the Ān Dà version by the usual mark of a black square on the slips, they are just one song in the *Máo* recension (*Máo* 9 "Hàn guǎng" 漢廣 'The broad Hàn River'). We chose to render them as *9ᴬ* and *9ᴮ* (rather than 9 and 10). The fact that there is reduplication between *9ᴬ* and *9ᴮ* does not contradict separating them conceptually, as done by the textual community of the Ān Dà *Shī*, but it may provide clues about why in other versions, for instance the *Máo* recension, the two discrete units were considered as one song.

Song *9ᴬ* runs from the upper third of slip 15 to the upper third of slip 16. The top of slip 16 is broken. Probably one graph is missing. Except for reduplication marks and a black square at the end of the song, reading support is entirely absent for this song. Song *9ᴬ* is slightly unusual in that it consists of just one stanza, eight lines. It is entirely consistent with the first stanza of *Máo* 9. One could therefore easily take this part as a sort of preamble to what follows in *9ᴮ*.

The ink on the slips is not always clear. Two graphs are hardly legible as they have faded out. One graph is lost entirely. One further graph is missing due to the fact that the top end of slip *16* is broken. In the first instance where it reads 不可[ ]思 the penultimate graph of the line is missing, but we follow the editors who likely had the means to confirm it via infrared photography. The *Máo* recension has *qiú* 求 'to seek' (*gu) at this instance. The second instance reads 不可羙$_{15}$| \. The *Máo* recension has *sī* 思, which serves as an exclamation particle.

Phonetically *9ᴬ* rhymes the penultimate word of the even lines with one another. Lines 2 and 4 rhyme on *-u;[120] lines 6 and 8 rhyme on *-aŋ. While the uneven lines show no clear rhyme scheme, it seems that in those lines the place of articulation of the initial of the adjective which qualifies the following noun alternates between a velar (喬 *gau in line 1; 宝 **kwâŋʔ in line 5) and a post-alveolar (遊 *ju in line 3; 羙 *jaŋʔ in line 7), thus creating a distinctive phonetic pattern of duality.

The image programme of *9ᴬ* presents 'girls at their ease'; they are 'playing' by the mighty 'rivers' (the Hàn and the Jiāng) which also serve to 'protect' them from intruders (viz. future husbands), thus combining two different qualities. The 'trees' under which one cannot find 'respite' make for a good connection of *9ᴬ* to the floral image of the 'thornwood' in *9ᴮ*.

120 Of course this cannot be said with certainty as the rhyming word is missing in line 4. However, given as well as the good rhyme of lines 6 and 8, and the fact the *Máo* recension lists a word which rhymes with 休 (*hu) of line 2 (namely *qiú* 求 'to seek', *gu), we can be fairly certain that a phonetically similar word was at play here too.

Song *9^{B}* begins at the upper third of slip 16 and runs over the end of slip 17. The tail of slip *17* is broken. The end bit of the sequence number is missing. Slips 18 and 19 of the Ān Dà *Shī* are missing. It is therefore impossible to say with any certainty whether the song ends as in *Máo* 9, in which case four graphs are missing; or whether song *9^{B}* of the Ān Dà *Shī* had yet another stanza, making it three. Except for reduplication marks, reading support is entirely absent for this ode.

In stanza *1* the reduplication mark in sentence 1 is hardly visible: 橈=楚新; the same is true of *zhī* 之 in penultimate sentence 江$_{16}$| | 之羙矣. In stanza *2*, *guī* 歸 is hardly legible in the sentence 寺（之）子于遠（歸）. Slip 17 is broken off at its end and the number '7' on slip number '1[*7]' is missing. Slips 18–19 are missing in the manuscript; the last sentence of this song (in four words), presumably written at the beginning of slip 18, is missing, and along with it Ān Dà "Zhōu Nán" *10* (*Máo* 10 "Rǔ fén" 汝墳 'Raised banks of the Rǔ River').

Song *9^{B}* comprises two stanzas, eight lines each, 16 lines in total. It is structurally and semantically consistent with the latter half of *Máo* 9.

9^{B} patterns the song to similar effect as what we see in *9^{A}*, but with a different strategy. *9^{A}* alternates a velar with a post-alveolar place of articulation of the initial of those adjectives in uneven lines, which qualify the adjacent nouns, thus creating a sense of duality by way of its distinctive phonetic texture. In *9^{B}* that same sense of duality is created, this time by playing with alternating positions of the rhyming word in the even lines, having it either come after the possessive pronoun *qí* 亓 (lines 2 and 4 of each stanza) or precede the exclamation particle *sī* 思 *səh (lines 6 and *8 of each stanza[121]), as the schematic outline of the sound texture in figure 5 shows.

The mirror structures serve to create a sense of duality of protection, on the one hand, and barrier, on the other, that is central to the image programme of *9^{A}* and *^{B}*, as well as, on a macro level, between them, which might be why the conceptually distinct songs were put together in the first place.[122] Further items include the word 'tall'—serving as another catchword to connect *9^{B}* with *9^{A}*—the 'girl' who is about to 'get married', the 'mighty rivers', Hàn and Jiāng, as well as the 'thornwood' with its 'sharp' 'thorns', and earth-coloured 'vines'.

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121 The fact that lines 5 and 6 of stanza *2* are identical with those lines of stanza *1* strongly suggests that the same patterns continue with lines 7 and 8 of stanza *2* reduplicating those of stanza *1*.

122 We can, of course, not rule out that they were two variants of the same song in the eyes of the compilers.

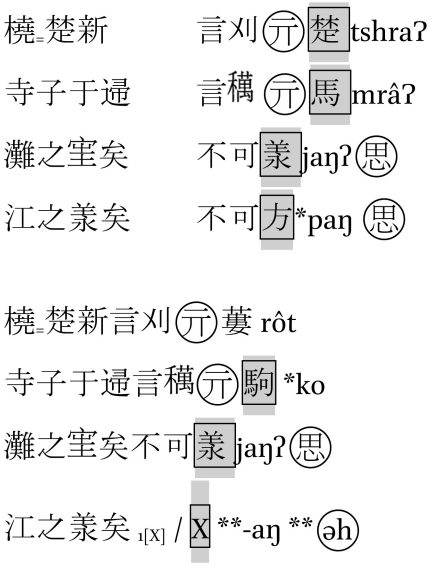

FIGURE 5 The phonetic texture of "Zhōu Nán" 9^{B}

Hàn zhī guǎng 灘之宝 'the Hàn's broadness' in line 5 of each stanza corresponds to the title of the song *Hàn guǎng* 漢廣 (minus the possessive particle 之) in the *Máo* recension; it is written 灘𡈼 in the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* (slips 10–11).

9.2 *Establishing a reading*

9.2.1 Song 9^{A}

1. For the particle *sī* 思 ending line 2, the *Máo* recension has the graphically similar *xī* 息 'rest'.

2. The graph *yàng* 羕 in the stanza has two different readings; the first, in line 6, functions as a verb and is to be read as a phonetic loan for *yǒng* 泳 'swim'; the second instance, in line 7, functions a noun and is to be read as it is written, 'long': 'the Jiāng's length'. The sentence *Jiāng zhī yàng* 江之羕 corresponds to *Máo*: *Jiāng zhī yǒng* 江之永. The *Ěryǎ* lists 永 and 羕 as synonyms.[123]

9.2.2 Song 9^{B}

9.2.2.1 *Stanza* 1

1. *Náo-náo chǔ xīn* 橈=楚新 corresponds to *qiáo-qiáo cùo xīn* 翹翹錯薪 in the *Máo* recension 橈 and 翹 are cognates; the etymological root is *yáo* 堯 'elevated,

123 *Ěryǎ* "Explaining old words" 1.21.

high'. The primary meaning of 橈 is 'bent or twisted piece of wood'; whereas the primary meaning of 翹 is 'raised tail [of feathered creatures]'. As a modifier for flora, the graph 橈, written with a 'wood' signifier has a more specialised sense to it than 翹, which is written with a 'feathers/wings' signifier. We read 楚 (*tshraʔ) 'thornwood' as it is written, and not as a phonetic loan for near homophonous 錯 'assorted' (*tshâk). 新 is the protoform of 薪 'firewood, bundle of sticks and branches', and can refer both to trees and grasses.

2. *Yán yì qí chǔ* 言刈亓楚 and *yán mò qí mǎ* 言秣亓馬: We read the graph *yán* 言 in these two sentences as writing the same word more commonly expressed with the graph *wǒ* 我 'I'; see the annotation to Ān Dà "Zhōu Nán" 2 (*Máo* 2: "Gé tán" 葛覃). 亓 is a graphic variant of 其 'its'. 楚 here has the sense of 'thorns'. 秣 is a graphic variant writing the same word signified with *mò* 秣 'to feed a horse grain'.

9.3 *Analysis: Zhōu Nán* 9^{AB}

The central motif of 9^{A} are the tall trees of the south under which one cannot find respite. The central motif of 9^{B} is the thornwood that needs cutting, in one way or another. Both parts of the song, which in principle could well work on their own, close with awed exclamations about the sheer size of the Hàn and Jiāng rivers, which are such that they cannot be traversed by any man, be it by way of swimming or rafting. But the real content of both songs is found in phrases three and four. In 9^{A} they describe a girl at her ease so she cannot be *approached (the song is incomplete, so we do not know precisely what it says); song 9^{B} refers to a girl who is about to be sent off to be married. Hence the voice of the song speaks of preparing to feed the horses (and colts) so that they will be ready for the journey.

The rivers of 9^{B} metaphorically create a barrier, while in 9^{A} they allow for happy playfulness. The woman of 9^{B} is about to be sent off to get married, entering a world where she will no longer be readily accessible to the members of her natal family, and thus 9^{B} carries an element of sadness, further enhanced by the final particle *sī* 思 (*səh) 'think of, long for', which carries both songs.

When reading the songs in conjunction, which happened historically as both *Máo* and Ān Dà attest, one might see a clear two-stage development. 9^{A} serves as a sort of preamble for what is to follow because while carrying all the elements of 9^{B}, it also presents a girl at her ease. The rivers are primarily a source of joy, as it is there where she is contented. To the speaker, however, they are reminders of a separation to come. In 9^{B}, they represent insurmountable barriers to a girl who is about to enter her new life, and be cut off from her natal home. The rivers' dual qualities are also given expression in the structural

composition of the songs, be it phonetically (as in 9^A), by way of creating a pattern of fixed interchange between rhyme-word and particle (as in 9^B), or, on a macro level, between the two songs.

The trees of 9^A and the thornwood of 9^B stand metaphorically for the girl's home. While a tall tree provides a roof, it cannot give respite for long, as inevitably the time will come when the girl is no longer playing at her ease, but will be sent off to a new home.

Songs 9^A and 9^B thus work as mirror images of each other, and this might explain why different text communities, *Máo* and Ān Dà *Shī* included, would want to see them as closely related. However, while the communities around the Ān Dà *Shī* sought to mark them as separate entities, the one setting the stage for the other, the *Máo* recension thought them best read as one entity. Both strategies make good sense.

The **Kōngzǐ Shī lùn* (slip 11) explains the focus of the song as 'knowledge', that is, one must know what can be obtained and what cannot: 《灘圭》之智，則知不可得也 'the knowledge of "Tān huáng" lies in knowing what cannot be obtained'; the text later (slips 12–13) says that in order to get what one seeks one must be prepared to exhaust oneself. By doing so, one will gain a sense of persistence: 《灘圭》 … 求之不得，不窮不可能，不亦知恆乎？'"Tān huáng" … if seeking [something] one does not [normally] get, without exhausting [oneself] it shan't be feasible—isn't that also a way of knowing persistence?'

⁘

Zhōu Nán *11* 周南十一

| 定麤=公眚于差笲可

笲之角麤=公族于差笲可 ■

周南十又一 20|

Máo 11 麟之趾

麟之趾，振振公子，于嗟麟兮。

麟之定，振振公姓，于嗟麟兮。

麟之角，振振公族，于嗟麟兮。

Zhōu Nán *11* 周南十一

… forehead, may the kinsmen of our Gōng have successors aplenty!
Oh! Unicorn!

By the horn of the female unicorn, may the clansmen of our Gōng have successors aplenty!
Oh! Unicorn!

Zhōu Nán, eleven.

11.1 *Notes on the Text*

"Zhōu Nán" **11* runs from the top of slip 20 down half a slip. The slip is complete. However, as slips 18–19 are missing we must assume at least one song (almost certainly *Máo* 10 "Rǔ fén" 汝墳 'Raised banks of the Rǔ River') preceded it. Hence, we reconstruct it as song **11*, marked accordingly. The counterpart to this song is *Máo* 11: "Lín zhī zhǐ" 麟之趾 'Foot of the unicorn', which is at the same position in the *Máo* recension.

Except for marks of reduplication and the black square at the end of the song there are no further marks for reading support on the slips.

At the very end the slip records "Zhōu Nán" followed by the number '11' and a thick black square with an embellishment of the brush  (turning it into a 'hook-shaped' mark) to indicate this section of songs is thus closed. The number of songs given for "Zhōu Nán" corresponds to that of the *Máo* recension.

The graph writing the state name "Zhōu", as a title, is written in a different calligraphical style as opposed to when it it is written elsewhere in the songs. See the following side-by-side comparison:

 (slip 20; title);  (slip 6; "Zhōu Nán" *3*)

(Both forms occur outside of the Ān Dà *Shī* in other Warring States Chǔ manuscripts.)

Judging by what is written on slip 20 and approximating the number of graphs on the missing slips 18–19, Ān Dà *11*, like *Máo* 11, comprised three stanzas, nine sentences (three sentences per stanza). If that were indeed true, the structural outline thus corresponded with the Máo recension.

The rhyming pattern of the song starts through a connection between **lín* 麟 (*rən) 'unicorn', the subject of the odd-numbered lines, and *yìn-yìn* 胤胤 (*ləns *ləns) 'successors aplenty'; rhymes are set for the coda words in lines 1 and 2 of each of the *three stanzas: **zhǐ* 趾 (*təʔ) 'feet' with **zǐ* 子 (*tsəʔ) 'children'; *dìng* 定 (顁/題) (*dêŋh) 'forehead' with *xìng* 姓 (*seŋh) 'kinsmen'; and *jiǎo* 角 (*krôk) 'horn' with *zú* 族 (*dzôk) 'clansmen'.

The image programme is constructed around the body parts of the unicorn, starting from a low-lying image (feet) and progressing to high images (forehead, horn). A similar composition occurs in line statements comprising hexagram texts in the *Zhōu Yì*; as it concerns the human figure, two of the most compelling instances are the hexagrams "Gèn"艮 'Looking backward' (hexagram 52) and "Jiān" 咸 (緘) 'Binding' (hexagram 31).[124]

124 See Schwartz 2018b: 1187–1189 for a discussion of hexagram 52 and the primary meaning of the word *gèn* 艮; the reading of hexagram 31 is after Lǐ Líng 2013: 185–188.

11.2 *Establishing a Reading*

11.2.1 Stanza *2

1. 螽 is a graphic variant of 胤 (*ləns). The 'insects' *kūn* 虫 underneath 胤 is a semantic complement graphically expressing human progeny being as abundant as insect progeny; see the commentary to "Zhōu Nán" *5*. For 螽=, the *Máo* recension has *zhèn-zhèn* 振振 'so quaking' (indicating thunderous movement). As noted in the commentary to "Zhōu Nán" *1*, the word 振 (*tən) is written in several different graphic variations in Ān Dà's "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" songs, but 螽 is not one of them. We propose that *yìn* 螽 'successors', reduplicated *yìn-yìn* 螽螽 as 'successors aplenty', and 振 are lexical variants that fill the sound mould *-ən(s); both rhyme with the word-image *lín* 麟 (*rən) 'unicorn'.

11.3 *Analysis: Zhōu Nán* 11

Not much can be said about this brief, but materially highly corrupt song, of which less than two stanzas remain. On a surface level, it is a prayer for the continuation of the line of the Gōng through the metaphor of a unicorn, *lín* 麟, which was considered auspicious. Karlgren (1950: 7) draws a parallel with the last song of the next section, "Shào Nán" *14*: *Máo* 25 "Zōu yú" 騶虞 / Ān Dà "Cóng hū" 從虐; he understands both as hunting songs.

Songs of the Royal Shào

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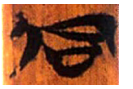

List of Songs

***Ān Dà* Shī 安大《詩》**
Shào Nán 召南, 14

Shào Nán *1* 召南一
Shào Nán *2* 召南二
Shào Nán *3* 召南三
Shào Nán *4* 召南四
Shào Nán *5* 召南五
Shào Nán *6* 召南六
Shào Nán *7* 召南七
Shào Nán *8* 召南八
Shào Nán *9* 召南九
Shào Nán *10* 召南十
Shào Nán *11* 召南十一
Shào Nán *12* 召南十二
Shào Nán *13* 召南十三
Shào Nán *14* 召南十四

Máo Shī, *the* Máo *recension*《毛詩》
Shào Nán 周南, 14

12 “Què cháo” 鵲巢 ‘The magpie’s nest’
13 “Cǎi fán” 采蘩 ‘Picking artemisia’
14 “Cǎo chóng” 草蟲 ‘Insects in the grass’
15 “Cǎi pín” 采蘋 ‘Picking clover fern’
16 “Gān táng” 甘棠 ‘Sweet pear tree’
17 “Xíng lù” 行露 ‘Walking in the dew’
18 “Gāo yáng” 羔羊 ‘Lamb and sheep’
19 “‘Yīn’ qí lěi” 殷其雷 ‘“*Qin*” sounded the thunder’
20 “Biào yǒu méi” 摽有梅 ‘Dropping from the plum tree’
21 “Xiǎo xīng” 小星 ‘Little stars’
22 “Jiāng yǒu sì” 江有汜 ‘The Jiāng River has tributaries’
23 “Yě yǒu sǐ jūn” 野有死麕 ‘In the wilderness is a dead deer without antlers’
24 “Hé bǐ nóng yí” 何彼襛矣 ‘Aren’t they abundant!’
25 “Zōu yú” 騶虞 ‘The horse-keeper and game-keeper’

Shào Nán *1* 召南一

|隹鵲又巢隹鳩尻之
寺子于遠百兩御之

隹鵲又巢隹鳩方之
寺子于遠百兩遉之

隹鵲又巢 / \$_{21}$/ \口口溫之
寺子于遠. 百兩城之 ■

Máo 12　鵲巢

維鵲有巢，維鳩居之。
之子于歸，百兩御之。

維鵲有巢，維鳩方之。
之子于歸，百兩將之。

維鵲有巢，維鳩盈之。
之子于歸，百兩成之。

Shào Nán *1* 召南一

There is a magpie's nest, an osprey is inhabiting it.
This girl, on the way to entering her new home, one-hundred carriages are driving her.

There is a magpie's nest, an osprey is occupying all sides of it.
This girl, on the way to entering her new home, one-hundred carriages are escorting her.

There is a magpie's nest, an osprey is filling it.
This girl, on the way to entering her new home, one-hundred carriages are protecting her.

1.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *1* runs over little more than one slip. The slip is fragmented. It is broken just before the end. The last graph is visible only partially. The top of slip 2 is missing too. Altogether probably two graphs are lost.

At some places the calligraphy has faded. One graph is hardly visible in stanza *1*, two in stanza *2*.

Based on repetition, the song comprises three stanzas, twelve lines (four sentences per stanza). The structural outline corresponds with the *Máo* recension. Semantically, too, the two are very similar.

The song is highly repetitive, with just the penultimate word of its even lines changing. This is also the rhyming element of the song, with stanzas *1* and *2* rhyming in *-a, stanza *3* in *-e. The image programme of this song comprises the 'magpie's nest' entirely 'occupied' by an 'osprey'; the generic 'girl' who is about to get 'married'; the 'hundred carriages' 'driving', 'escorting', and 'protecting' her on the journey to her new home.

The name of the song in the *Máo* recension 鵲巢 is written as 鵲橾 in **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* (slip 10) and *què jiāo* 誰蕉 in Wǔwēi Hàn *jiǎn* (slip 31).[1] In Ān Dà the song is not named, but the first two words are written the same way as in *Máo*.

1.2 *Establishing a reading*

1.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. 鳩: The Máo commentary identifies this bird as the 'cuckoo' or 'turtledove' (*shī jiū* 鳲鳩); see *Máo* 152 (cited, in part, below). This is, however, a matter of interpretation, rather than fact. The structure of the song demands a one syllable-word to be used for the bird, and so what the Máo commentary thinks of as 'cuckoo' or 'turtledove' may just as well be an osprey (*jū jiū* 雎鳩), forming an allusive bracket with the osprey in "Zhōu Nán" *1*. Neither the *Shījīng cídiǎn*[2] nor Lai's study "Avian Identification of jiu 鳩 in the *Shijing*"[3] are of any help here as they both base their readings on the Máo interpretation.

2. 尻 is written with 尸 (in Western Zhōu script it is written as a man in sitting position, the tiger's head 虍—*qhrâ—as the phonophore) over a 几 'stool', and it writes the word *chǔ* 處 (*k-hlah) 'to reside, be in; stop, rest'. It is a lexical

1 Chéng Yàn 2010: 22.

2 Xiàng Xī 2016: 257.

3 CM Lai 1997.

variant homophonous with *jū* 居 (*kah) in the *Máo* recension.[4] Both words are set to rhyme with the word *yù* 御 (*ŋah) at the same position in the following couplet.

3. 百兩: established through rhyme, there is a connection between the words *què* 鵲 (*tsâk) and *bǎi* 百 (*prâk) 'hundred'. This suggests that the number 'hundred' in 'hundred carriages' was primarily chosen for its sound, not its precise semantic value, so it does not explicitly indicate a marriage to a regional lord, as suggested in the Máo and Zhèng Xuán commentarial tradition.[5] It also produces a close phonetic link between the 'magpie', on the one hand, and the 'hundred carriages' *bǎi liǎng* 百兩 (*prâk-raŋʔ) on the other, confirming that they ought to be understood in unison. **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, confirming our interpretation, also places an emphasis on this object (slip 13) and connects the song's theme of marriage (歸) directly to it (slip 10).

4. The earliest meaning of the word *yù* 御, also read *yà* 迓 'go to meet; receive', is to 'drive (away)'. Máo glosses it as *sòng yù* 送御 'to send off, present, escort', while Zhèng Xuán glosses it *yíng* 迎 'receive, go to meet', but explains it to mean 'the bride's family escorts her, and the groom receives her'. **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, slips 13–11 (in Lǐ Xuéqín's slip ordering), summarises the movement of the bride on her way to be married as 'exiting' (*chū* 出) her home and says, 'when sending off the one one cares for, one inevitably says "How can I give them up?"' (送其所愛，必曰吾奚舍之？)

1.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. 方: '(n.) square' (*paŋ), as a verb, here means to fully occupy all four sides of the nest. *Máo* glosses it as *yǒu* 有 'have, possess'.

2. 遲: The rhyming counterpart of 方 (*paŋ). We assume that the phonophore of 遲 is *yáng* 羊 (*jaŋ or *laŋ). 遲 is a graphic variant of *jiāng* 將 (*tsaŋ) 'lead, take [someone or something along]', and first attested in Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions;[6] Máo glosses it as *sòng* 送 'send, escort'.

1.2.3 Stanza *3*

1. 城 (*dreŋ): the *Máo* recension has *chéng* 成 'to complete'. We read it as on the slips as 'to protect', which is a semantic extension of 'city wall', its primary mean-

4 The compound 居尻(處) in the Bāoshān manuscripts (slip 32) confirms the reading here.
5 Yáo Jìhéng 1961: 34 says 'hundred' was a round number and not a prescriptive one.
6 Yàdāng Shīwòcí (Schwartz) 2017: 63–64.

ing.[7] The rhyming counterpart of it is 溫, which, assuming the phonophore is 呈 (*lreŋ), might have been the primary reason for choosing the graph. Unlike in *Máo*, the protecting 城 here allows a steady progression of the narrative voice in relation to the 'girl' from simply 'driving' her to 'escorting' her in and 'protecting' her. On this, see also "Zhōu Nán" *4*, stanza 3.

1.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 1

The magpie is a highly intelligent yet hugely territorial bird. The osprey is known to tolerate a wide range of habitats, nesting in in any location where there is adequate food supply. The metaphor, here depicted in three highly reduplicative stanzas, lends itself to a variety of readings. While the *Máo* recension takes it as a wedding song in which a princess gets married to a prince from another state, and thus celebrates the virtue of the lady, it has also been read in the sense that a certain lord has dismissed his original wife to marry someone new, with the composer of this song aiming their remarks at that occasion. It is not difficult to see why the mating of two different kinds of bird—one territorial, the other undiscriminating about where to nest, as long as there is sufficient supply for food—could be taken as a satirical stab against such a wedding.

It would be equally possible to give this ode a positive twist, as does Arthur Waley by reference to an ode by Dù Fǔ (8th c. AD), stating that 'it was an honour' for one bird to host another.[8] Or, simply, the agreeable new wife, the 'girl' of the song, is sure to adjust well to the surroundings of her new home, next to a territorial mother-in-law.

The *Máo* "Preface" insists that the song embodies 'the moral fabric of the wife' (夫人之德),[9] and, through the metaphor of a magpie having already built a nest, it portrays a simple but loving woman setting up and residing in a home built by her husband. This reading crucially hinges on taking the bird in the nest to be a turtledove, with her virtue being that of a quiet bird who largely relies on other birds (such as magpies) to build her nest. As mentioned, **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* agrees that it is a marriage song. Zēng Yùnqián, following the suggestion of Zhū Xī, sees a progression between "Zhōu Nán" *1* and "Shào Nán" *1*, and makes a connection with the portrayal of the homely dove in *Máo* 152 as a metaphor for a homely mother, exuding her humanity, who raises her young

7 See also our discussion in the Introduction, "Writing the Image Programme".

8 Waley 1937: 13.

9 Perhaps it is a stretch, but the association of the song with the word *dé* 德 (*tâk) harmonises in sound with the *rù shēng* 入聲 vocalisation of the word *què* 鵲 (*tsâk).

with equal love: 'The dove is in the mulberry tree, and her children are seven' (鳲鳩在桑，其子七兮).[10]

However, one could also read the song quite differently. It is a wedding song, certainly, as is confirmed by the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, but it portrays more than just happiness. As the phonetic structure of the song shows, the close connection of the 'magpie' (*tsâk) with the 'hundred' (*prâk) carriages accompanying the bride confirms that the magpie stands metaphorically for the male counterpart to the bride, her groom. Sung by a third, narrative, voice, it might equally well articulate a growing sense of anticipation, perhaps even trepidation, on the part of the groom as the bride, in many ways his adversary,[11] draws nearer to his home—a space she will fill completely, take possession of and, finally, make it *her* home, as is the nature of the dominanting osprey.

The song thus brings to the fore a sense of effort, if not toiling, in anticipation of the new roles the different actors will have to play. The groom is eagerly awaiting the bride, his future wife, who, like an osprey, will take possession of his space. That is her role, and he is aware of it. He embraces it at home, and protects her outside the home with one-hundred carriages. The bride, in turn, will make an alien place her own, a challenge she is set to master.

Looking back at the narrative voice of the song, it is interesting that the groom appears only through metaphor: the passive magpie at home, whose one-hundred carriages are 'driving', 'escorting', and 'protecting' his bride. At home, the metaphor implies, he will concede the space of the house to her; outside he serves as her protector. The bride, however, is explicitly named when she is on the road, but when at home she also acts through the metaphor of the dominant osprey. It is clear the focus of the song lies on her. Although she receives the protection of the carriages (and by extension the groom), her part is the difficult one: entering a new place and making it her home. In this sense, the song can be read as the celebration of a woman's strength while her male counterpart offers his protection. In this way "Shào Nán" *1* sets the tone for songs yet to come: a focus on female characters, strong for the most part, and their dealings with male counterparts.

Through the image of an osprey, song *1* of "Shào Nán" seems to form an allusive connection with song *1* of "Zhōu Nán". Yet while "Zhōu Nán" *1* is the gateway to a bright and overwhelmingly positive section of the *Songs*, "Shào Nán" *1* is not so clear, potentially opening the way to a group of songs replete with struggle, threat, and sometimes even fear, but hardly ever bleak resentment and despair.

10 Zēng Yùnqián 1990: 21.

11 See "Zhōu Nán" *1*.

Shào Nán 2 召南二

于吕采蘩于渚于止
于吕用之公侯之士.

于吕采蘩于𡸔之宙 22|

Máo 13 采蘩

于以采蘩，于沼于沚。
于以用之，公侯之事。

于以采蘩，于澗之中。
于以用之，公侯之宮。

被之僮僮，夙夜在公。
被之祁祁，薄言還歸。

Shào Nán *2* 召南二

Where does she pluck the artemisia? at the islet! at the sandbanks!
For what does she use it? for the service of the Gōng and the Hóu!

Where does she pluck the artemisia? amidst the mountain stream!

2.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *2* is written on slip 22. The top of the slip is broken but no writing is affected. Slips 23–24 are missing, and so only the first half of the song is extant. The *Máo* equivalent has three stanzas of four lines each.

Judging from the *Máo* recension, the rhyme words of this song are located at the end of each even line, three of which remain in this song (2, 4, 6), making a full stanza and a half. Stanza *1* rhymes in *- təʔ while incomplete stanza *2* seems to create a rhyme in*-o or *-u. Interestingly, stanza *3* of the *Máo* recension breaks with the rest of the song both structurally, semantically, and in terms of rhyme. It is very unfortunate that "Shào Nán" *2* is incomplete so we do not know whether it had confirmed this rather odd situation.

Obviously, the image programme of this song can only be commented upon in parts as we are missing just about half of the song, so it seems. 'Plucking artemisia' is central to this song, as is the putting it to different use in the 'service' of the Gōng and the Hóu. Noteworthy is also the description of the locations where the herbs are gathered, namely at the 'islet'; at the 'sandbanks'; amidst 'mountain streams'.

2.2 *Establishing a reading*

2.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. 于㠯: *yú* 于 is a locative preposition; 㠯, seen commonly in Warring States Chǔ script, is the archaic form of *yǐ* 以, to be read here as the interrogative pronoun *yí* 台 'where; what' (Gāo Hēng 2018: 17).[12] The phrase occurs again in "Shào Nán" *4*, and, notably, only in this state's songs.

2. 蘩 is written with the phonophore *biàn* 弁 (*brans); see the editors' commentary, p. 85. This graph is almost certainly an alternative form of *Máo*: *fán* 蘩 (*ban).

3. 于渚于止: *yú* 于 is a locative preposition. For *zhǔ* 渚 (*taʔ) 'islet', the *Máo* recension has the lexical variant *zhǎo* 沼 (*tawʔ) 'marsh, swamp, pool'. *Zhǐ* 止 'foot, stop' is a phonetic writing, minus the 'water' signifier, of *zhǐ* 沚 'sandbank'. The word 渚 in Ān Dà agrees better with 沚 than it does with 沼 in the *Máo* recension.

4. For *shì* 士 (*dzrəʔ) 'officer; male person', the *Máo* recension has *shì* 事 (*dzrəʔ) 'duty, service'. Reading the Ān Dà text as it is written would render the

12 See also *Máo Shī zhèngyì* 1.65.

couplet, 'For what does she use it? for the officers of the Gōng and the Hóu!' The *Shuōwén jǐezì* (1.24) paronomastically glosses 士 as 事, with the underlying pun that 'officers' 'serve' their superiors. We acknowledge that either reading is possible.

2.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. 鼬, depicting mountains left and right with water in between, is an early form of *jiàn* 澗 'mountain stream', which is written with a 'water' signifier and the phono-semantic *jiàn* 間 'between'.

2.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 2

Too much is missing in the manuscript text to comment in any detail. Herbal artemisia is appreciated for its wide-ranging medical functions. Whether the song relates it to sacrifices, as suggested by traditional commentaries on the *Máo* song, describes a (female) character aiding in the treatment of maladies, or simply describes the beauty inherent to the calm and steady act of a woman plucking artemisia, we cannot say.

This song forms a connection with the next two, "Shào Nán" *3* and *4*, as all three evoke toiling from a female perspective, and share a common image of gathering plants. As mentioned, the lyrics of this song have a deeper connection with "Shào Nán" *4*.

When read in sequence, these three songs, extending from the foundational "Shào Nán" *1*, continue to extol female strength and labour but do so now by depicting more quotidian details. This song evokes toiling 'morning and night' in service to one's lord; the following song evokes toiling in the daily upkeep of the home, while awaiting a partner's return from work abroad; the third in the suite evokes preparations for rites in the ancestral chamber.

Shào Nán *3* 召南三

我心則敝**.**

陟彼南山言采亓蕨
未見君子我心憂悲
亦既見 /

Máo 14 草蟲

喓喓草蟲，趯趯阜螽。
未見君子，憂心忡忡。
亦既見止，亦既覯止，我心則降。

陟彼南山，言采其蕨。
未見君子，憂心惙惙。
亦既見止，亦既覯止，我心則說。

陟彼南山，言采其薇。
未見君子，我心傷悲。
亦既見止，亦既覯止，我心則夷。

Shào Nán *3* 召南三

… my heart will thus be pleased.

Ascending that southern hill, I pluck its fern.
Before I have seen the lord, my heart is wounded and grieved.
Let me have seen / …

3.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *3* is highly fragmented and recorded on just one remaining slip (slip *25*). The slip itself is broken and its tail missing.

The *Máo* equivalent has three stanzas of seven sentences each. Only two highly fragmented stanzas remain in the Ān Dà song. These are the last line of stanza *2* and the first six lines of stanza *3*. The two versions seem largely compatible, structurally and semantically.

Judging from the *Máo* recension, the Ān Dà song probably rhymed in lines 2, 4, and 7 of each stanza. (The *Máo* recension has three stanzas, seven lines each stanza, 21 lines in total.) Remaining in the Ān Dà song are the rhyme words of line 7 of stanza *2*, as well as lines 2 and 4 of stanza *3*. While stanza *2* must have rhymed in *-ot (the remaining word is 敓 *lhot), the rhymes of stanza *3* are in *-əi (蕨 *məi and 悲 *prə, with line 7 missing).

As before, commenting on the image programme of a highly defective fragment must be done with caution. It is, however, obvious that the song connects to the previous one through the image of 'plucking' which reappears here; the narrative voice of the unknown (female) character which does the gathering also reappears, as does the stress of the location of the plant that is to be collected, here the 'southern hill' (and thus drawing an association with "Shào Nán" *8*). Moreover, if the artemisia of the previous song was indeed understood as used in an extended medical sense, the 'wounded and grieved' 'heart' of this song stands out strikingly.

3.2 *Establishing a reading*

3.2.1 Stanza *2*

1. The graph 敓 in Ān Dà is written 說 in the *Máo* recension. Both of these graphs should be read as writing the word *yuè* 'pleased' (> 悅); the same loaning occurs again in "Shào Nán" *5*.

3.2.2 Stanza *3*

1. 言 writes the word for the first-person nominative 'I' (吾 *ŋâ), while *wǒ* 我 marks the possessive 'my' or the objective 'me'; see the commentary to "Zhōu Nán" *2*, stanza 3, annotation 1.

2. The graph 悬, written with a heart signifier, corresponds to *shāng* 傷, written with a person signifier, in the *Máo* recension. Although both graphs surely write the same word, 'hurt, wound', the use of 悬 with a 'heart' signifier seems intended to signify painful longing.[13]

13 Páng Pǔ 2000; 2011. Jao Tsung-i 2005.

3.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 3

The song, it seems, is held in the narrative voice of a female speaker, plucking the fern and thinking of her lord. The song is, however, too fragmented to comment any further.

Shào Nán *4* 召南四

及盜

于已奠之宗室种下
篙亓戻 /

Máo 15 采蘋

于以采蘋，南澗之濱。
于以采藻，于彼行潦。

于以盛之，維筐及筥。
于以湘之，維錡及釜。

于以奠之，宗室牖下。
誰其尸之，有齊季女。

Shào Nán *4* 召南四

… into the pot.

Where are you going to place it down? Underneath the window in the ancestral chamber.
Who will impersonate …

4.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *4* is highly fragmented. What remains of it is written on slip *27*, which is itself broken and the tail missing. Its equivalent in the *Máo* recension has three stanzas of four lines each. Only the last two graphs of stanza *2*, and the first three lines of stanza *3* remain.

There is a symbol in black above the first word of slip 27, *jí* 及, whose function has not been described previously. It appears to be marking where the top binding cord was to be placed. The symbol was not related to reading the manuscript's text, and it is different from the filled-in circle appearing at the top of a slip.

There are only two songs in "Shào Nán"—and indeed in the entire collection of Ān Dà *Shī* (and *Máo*)—where the phrase '于以' occurs, here and "Shào Nán" *2* (*Máo* 13 "Cǎi fán" 采蘩 'Picking artemisia'). Judging from their *Máo* counterparts, the two songs are related by theme, as well as structurally. The *Máo* "Preface" understands both songs as related to the preparation of sacrificial rites for ancestor worship. The sequence of "Shào Nán" *2*, *3*, and *4* in the Ān Dà manuscript text, being the same as in the *Máo* recension, differs, however, from records of *Shī* in the *Yílǐ*,[14] as well as the sequence in the *Shī* recensions of the three other major Hàn Shī-traditions (*Qí*, *Lǔ*, and *Hán*), which have the 'suite' of songs reordered as 2, 4, 3.[15]

14 "Xiāng yǐn jiǔ lǐ" 鄉飲酒禮 14; "Xiāng shè lǐ" 鄉射禮 11; "Yàn lǐ" 燕禮 21.

15 Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 2.77–78.

Due to material loss, we cannot comment on its rhyming scheme or the image programme used in it.

4.2 *Establishing a reading*

4.2.1 Stanza *2

1. The Ān Dà song has a distinct way of writing the word *fǔ* 'pot': 盆 (*Máo*: 釜). In Ān Dà it is written with 'soil' 土 and 'receptacle' 皿 signifiers, whereas it is written with a 'metal' 金 signifier in *Máo*; both graphs however use the same phonophore, *fù*/*fǔ* 父.

4.2.2 Stanza *3

1. 簋 is the archaic form of *shú* 熟 (*duk) 'ripe; cooked,' to be read here as the interrogative pronoun *shú* 孰 (*duk) 'who'; *Máo*: *shuí* 誰 (*dui) 'who' is a lexical variant.[16] 誰 occurs in "Shào Nán" *6* written 隹.

2. For *Máo*: *yǒu* 牖 (*luʔ/juʔ), Ān Dà has 枓 (*truŋ). Reading the two as graphical variants writing the same word is unproblematic, although an interpretation that they are lexical variants writing different words for 'window' cannot entirely be ruled out. The sound mould is filled, at a minimum, with *u.

3. 屍, written with a 'spirit tablet/altar' 示 signifier and the phono-semantic *shī* 尸 'corpse', is a complex form of 尸. The word means to impersonate a deceased ancestor at rites for ancestor worship.[17]

4.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 4

Due to material loss, nothing substantive can be said about the content of this song.

16 *Ěryǎ* "Explaining old words" 2.26: '孰，誰也'。

17 Xiàng Xī 2016: 448.

Shào Nán *5*召南五

白所害.

幣帗甘棠. 勿翦勿掇. 邵白所敝 ■

Máo 16　甘棠

蔽芾甘棠，勿翦勿伐，召伯所茇。

蔽芾甘棠，勿翦勿敗，召伯所憩。

蔽芾甘棠，勿翦勿拜，召伯所說。

Shào Nán *5* 召南五

… Elder of … took rest.

Thickly overgrown is the sweet pear tree. Do not cut it! do not pick from it! Here the Elder of Shào found joy.

5.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *5* is only partially preserved. Its *Máo* counterpart (*Máo* 16) has three stanzas of three lines each. Stanza **1* is missing in the Ān Dà *Shī* as the top third of slip 28 is missing. Of stanza **2* only the last three graphs remain. Stanza **3* is complete.

The remaining text on the slip shows consistent reading support, if faded however, just as the closing black square.

The song is composed in nine neatly rhyming lines and divided into *three stanzas, three lines per stanza, as per the Máo tradition. The alliterative (and near repeating) binome *bì-fèi* 幣芾 (*pets-pəts) (*Máo*: 蔽芾) opening the song and occurring in lines 1, 4, 7, initiates a consistent yet complex rhyme in *yuè* 月 (Schuessler's *et/ets, *-at/âts/as, and *-ot). A significant difference between *Máo* and Ān Dà is the occurrence of the word *duó* 掇 (*trot) 'pluck' in the final stanza of Ān Dà, in the sentence 勿戛勿掇, which makes more sense and offers a smoother reading than its corresponding graph, *bài* 拜 (*prâts) 'bow, bend', in the *Máo* recension.

This song connects to "Shào Nán" *4* through the theme of 'plucking'.

5.2 *Establishing a reading*

5.2.1 Stanza **2*

1. *Hài* (*gâts) 害 'harm', which regularly occurs in Warring States Chǔ manuscripts writing the interrogative pronoun rendered in received Warring States texts with *hé* 曷 (*gât),[18] is to be read here as a phonetic loan for the verb *qì* 愒 (*khats) 'rest'. (The *Hán* recension has *jiē* 揭 'raise', and Lù Démíng's commentary (*Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.32) notes that it is an error for 愒.) *Qì* 憩 (*khats) 'rest' in the *Máo* recension is an alternate form.

5.2.2 Stanza **3*

1. 幣芾: *bì* 幣 'silk' is a phonetic loan for *Máo*: *bì* 蔽 'covered, conceal; decide'; *fèi* 芾 'to wipe' is a phonetic loan for *Máo*: *fèi* 茀 'lush'. The Máo commentary understands the binome as meaning 'small', which we acknowledge as possible, but not as attractive as 'thickly overgrown'. As we discuss in our commentary below, we see a deeper level of signification—a metaphor within a metaphor, in the meaning of this binome and its relationship to the sweet pear tree, which it modifies, and by extension, to the subject of the song, Shào Bó.

18 See for instance **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* slip 10.

2. For 勿戔勿掇, the *Máo* recension has 勿翦勿拜. *Jiān* 戔 (*dzân) 'cut; harm' in Ān Dà, the protoform of *chǎn* 剗, corresponds in sound and meaning to *jiǎn* 翦 (*tsenʔ < *dzên: *qián* 前 as the phonophore) 'cut, trim' in *Máo*. *Duó* 掇 (*trot) 'gather, pluck' is either to be read as it is written (as in our translation above), or as a phonetic loan for *duō* 剟 'cut, trim' (editors' commentary, p. 88).[19] Zhèng Xuán's commentary, recognising that *bài* 拜 'bow; bend' (*prâts) must be a phonetic loan for a different word, reads it as the phonetically compatible *bá* 拔 (*brât) 'uproot; pluck'.[20] The meaning of *bài* 拜 in *Máo* has never been well-understood, and the appearance in the Ān Dà version of the word *trot 'pluck' (掇) is easier to understand and a better rhyme with *lot 'cause to have joy' (說 > 悅) in the next line.

3. 邵白（伯）所敓: 邵 in Ān Dà and 召 in *Máo* are graphic variants. 敓 in Ān Dà corresponds to *shuì* 說 (*lot) 'speak, explain; blame' in the *Máo* recension. The *Máo* commentary glosses it paronomastically as *shè* 舍 (*lhah) 'rest, lodge', and thus in order to agree with the progression of the song and the words meaning to rest in the previous stanzas; (but also perhaps inferring that the sound of the rhyme word *should be* *-a.) We acknowledge the possibility of this reading, but, as an ending to the song, prefer to read it as it is written: 說 > *yuè* 悅 (*lot) 'joy; cause one to have joy';[21] cf. "Shào Nán" *3* (*Máo* 14), slip [45]: 我心則敓 (*Máo*: 說) 'My heart will thus be pleased.'

5.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 5

The significance of this particular song is that it is the only one amongst the songs of "Shào Nán" that mentions 'Shào'.

The author of the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* (slips 14+15) understood the subject, Shào Bó, as referring to Shào Gōng [Shì] 召公[奭], a founding figure of the Western Zhōu dynasty who was a son of Wén (Zhōu King 1) and a (step)brother of Wén's successor, Wǔ (Zhōu King 2) and Zhōu Gōng Dàn. This is also the interpretation proposed in Zhèng Xuán's commentary (*Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.32) and, taken together, strongly suggests that Zhèng's reading was informed by an earlier interpretive tradition.

**Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* explains the song as 'praising' (*bāo* 褒) (slip 10) and 'caring strongly' (*ài* 愛) (slips 14+15) for Shào Gōng and, following Zhèng Xuán's commentary, this means that it was sung in Shào to beatify Shào Bó's meritorious

19 Yán Shìxuán 2019 says it should be read as the same word signified *duò* 柮 'sever; cut off'.

20 Karlgren 1964: 101 reads as it is written and thus, 'do not bend it'. Yán Shìxuán 2019 reads it as a phonetic loan for *fú* 剕 'chop'.

21 The author of the **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, slip 24, cited below, understands it in this way as well.

deeds before he was promoted to the rank of Gōng and relocated east to Yān 燕. The **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* continues, on slip 24, saying,

> 'It is through "Gān táng" that I obtain my reverence for the royal ancestral shrine, and the common folks' nature is naturally thus: when strongly revering a person one is certain to revere their position [too]; when finding delight in a person one is certain to approve of what they do. It is the same with when we loathe a person.'
>
> 吾以《甘棠》得宗廟之敬，民性固然。甚貴其人，必敬其位；悅其人，必好其 所為。惡其人者亦然.

Zhèng Xuán's commentary (1.32) further understands that the sweet pear tree was the place where Shào Bó heard litigation and passed judgment, but the lyrics of the song do not explicitly say so. We therefore conclude, as does the *Máo* "Preface" (1.33), that this interpretation is related to the sequence of songs, and derived from an association with the following song that mentions the threat of a man's litigation against a woman.

The Ān Dà text uses binomes to convey an extra layer of significance to images evoked by sounds, and the interpretive principle of Fāng Yùrùn (see the commentary to "Zhōu Nán" *1*) is that the graphs used to write these binomes carry meanings in [their] sound. We therefore propose that the binome *bì-fèi* 幣芾 (*Máo*: 蔽芾), which occurs in all three stanzas modifying the central metaphorical image of the sweet pear tree, has a deeper sense. In early literature, and especially in divination records, the graph 蔽 (篾; but also 祕, with the phonophore *bì* 必) is a rebus writing the word *bì* 'decide'.[22] Since the sounds of *bì* 幣 (蔽) (*bets/pets) and *fèi* 芾 (芾) (*pəts) were either identical or at least close,[23] the sound repeats. The sweet pear tree is a metaphor for Shào Bó, which would suggest that the binome modifying it is also a veiled metaphor modifying him: 'so deciding' (or, perhaps, 'so judicious) [was] Shào Bó'. In this vein, the graph concluding the song in *Máo*: 說, while we still understand it as writing the word 'joy', can also be read as it is written, and meaning 'speak, explain; blame',[24] i.e., 'It is here Shào Bó gave explanation/assessed blame'.

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22 *Zuǒ zhuàn zhèngyì* 19.1959; *Shàngshū zhèngyì* 2.114; Jao Tsung-i 2005: 201; Qiú Xīguī 2012c: 2. 540–545.

23 Qiú Xīguī 2012c: 2.541–542.

24 For 'blame', see *Zhōu Lǐ zhùshū* 8.1987. In Warring States divination records, the graph 敓, which occurs with 蔽 (*Bāoshān* 213), writes the word 'blame' (*Zhōu Lǐ*: 說).

⁘

Shào Nán *6* 召南六

厭箵行霎豰不佰夜胃$_{28}$| \口多霎

隹胃雔亡角可已聛我屋
隹胃女亡豙可已痃我獄
唯誓我 /

Máo 17　行露

厭浥行露，豈不夙夜，謂行多露。

誰謂雀無角，何以穿我屋。
誰謂女無家，何以速我獄。
雖速我獄，室家不足。

誰謂鼠無牙，何以穿我墉。
誰謂女無家，何以速我訟。
雖速我訟，亦不女從。

Shào Nán *6* 召南六

Soaking wet [I am] walking in the dew;
How else could it be, early morning and late at night? [I was] warned, walking, there would be too much dew.

Who says the sparrow has no [sharp] beak? how else could it peck through my roof?
Who says you do not have family [support]? how else could you force upon me this trial so quickly?
Although you urge me to speak …

6.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *6* is highly fragmented. What remains of it is written on slips 28 and *29. Slip *29 is broken at both ends. Slip *30 is missing entirely. The equivalent of this song in the *Máo* recension (*Máo* 17 "Xíng lù" 行露) comes in three stanzas, 15 lines, with stanza *1* containing three sentences, and stanzas *2* and *3* each containing six sentences. In stanza *1* the fifth graph is only partially visible.

Stanza *1* rhymes the last word of each of its three lines. Judging from the *Máo* recension, stanza *2* rhymes the last word of its even sentences, the first two of which are confirmed in Ān Dà. The image programme of this song produces a dark, gloomy situation, where the female main character, the narrative voice of this song, experiences the continuous pains of getting soaking wet, ever again, by marching through the dew of the early morning and late evening; we furthermore see the beak of the bird, encroaching upon the female's space by pecking through the roof of her house.

Although unrelated in content, there is an image association between 'walking in the dew' in this song and 'walking in the heavy rain water' (*Máo*: 行潦) in "Shào Nán" *4*, although we say this with a slight leap of faith, as the portion of the slip that, hypothetically, would have written the latter is missing in the manuscript text.

6.2 *Establishing a reading*

6.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. For 簪, a graph not listed in the *Shuōwén jiězì*, the *Máo* recension has *yì* 浥 'moist, wet' (*ʔəp). The editors (p. 88) read the phonophore *huì* 會 (*gôts) as though it wrote the graphically similar *hé* 合 (*gə̂p) in order for the *Ān Dà* graph to be explained as a phonetic loan writing the same word as signified by the *Máo* graph; we follow it for lack of a better explanation, but mainly because this reading preserves a stable sound mould. The *Máo* commentary says the compound *yàn yì* 厭浥 has 'the idea of being wet' (濕意); Karlgren (1964: 101) says 'satiated and moist' = 'soaked through' (?).[25]

2. The Máo commentary understands 行 as a noun, *háng* 'road' (道); Karlgren (1950: 10) has 'Wet is the dew on the road'. We read it here, and in line 3 of this same stanza, as a verb, *xíng* 'walk; march';[26] we also read both sentences as having an implied first-person subject.

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25 Cf. *Máo* 174 "Zhàn lù" 湛露 'Soaking is the dew', stanza 1:
湛湛露斯，匪陽不晞。厭厭夜飲、不醉無歸。
'So soaking is the dew, nothing but the sun can dry it. So satiating is the evening drink, no one goes home [until they] are drunk'.

26 Both meanings occur in Shāng oracle bone inscriptions; see Schwartz 2019: 76n4; Xiàng

3. For *luò* 雘 'drizzle', the Máo recension has the graphically similar *lù* 露 'dew'. **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, slip 21, writes the name of *Máo* 174 "Zhàn lù" 湛露 'Soaking is the dew' as 湛雘.

4. *Wèi* 胃 'stomach' is a common phonetic loan for *wèi* 謂 'say, tell' in Warring States manuscripts. Here the meaning of the word carries with it the sense of a warning (I told you so). The phrase *shuí wèi* 誰謂, which commences stanzas *2* and *3* and occurs alternatively in lines 1 and 3, builds off this word and means 'Who says …'

6.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. 聯, a variant form of *lián* 聯 'connected' (as in the ear to the jaw), is written with the phonosemantic *chuàn* 串 (*krôn-s) 'pierce, connect'; here it should be read as a writing the same word signified by *chuān* 穿 (*thon) 'pierce, bore through' in the *Máo* recension.

2. 豦 is a complex form of *jiā* 家 'house; family'. Here it has the sense of 'family support' (*jiā zī* 家資).[27]

3. 瘐, a graph not listed in the *Shuōwén jiězì*, is comprised of an 'illness' signifier and the phonophore *shù* 束 (*lhok) 'bind, bundle'. It corresponds to *sù* 速 'beckon, invite, urge on; rapid, quick' in the *Máo* recension. We propose that the Ān Dà graph is a specialised form of 速 and means the 'rapid' onset of illness. The underlying sense here is that forcing litigation upon the female defendant is akin to the rapid onset of illness.

4. For *wéi* 唯 'yes, only', the *Máo* recension has *suī* 雖 'although'.

5. 謖 is listed in the *Shuōwén jiězì* as a Warring States *gǔwén* form of *sù* 速. Here the addition of the signifier 'words, speak' ought to be yet another specialised form of 速 and means to urge to speak or call forth to speak, in this case at trial.

Xī 2016: 585–586 lists these meanings in other songs in the received *Shījīng*. Zhèng Xuán's commentary (1.33) utilises both meanings in his explanation; speaking from the woman's perspective, he says that if she had known earlier there would be so much dew on the road at these times, she would never have chosen to march through it. The sense being that if she would have known prior to getting married that there would have been so much pain and sorrow, she would not have gone through with it.

27 Zēng Yùnqián 1990: 25.

6.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 6

This moving song is in the voice of a woman who suffers from ongoing harassment by, presumably, her former husband.

The *Máo* "Preface" takes "Gān táng" 甘棠 'Sweet pear tree' and "Xíng lù" 行露 'Walking in the dew' as a pair, and says both were associated with Shào Bó. Accordingly, this particular song is about him hearing litigations. Zhèng Xuán's commentary to "Shào Nán" *5* proposes that 'litigations were heard and judged' under a sweet pear tree, which led to the 'diminishing of depravity and the rise of fidelity; no longer were heavy-handed men able to force themselves upon respectable women'.[28] Yet since the name of Shào Bó does not occur anywhere in this song, there is, of course, no way of confirming this reading, and the Ān Dà song itself, as is true of its counterpart in *Máo*, provides no evidence for such contextualisation of the song.

Structurally, the song is in the form of a prelude, setting the scene for the subsequent stanzas (of which unfortunately only one survives in the Ān Dà *Shī*). In the prelude we learn about the daily pain the woman feels because of the bullying to which she is subjected, from the early hours of the morning to late at night. She is drenched and exhausted. What is worse, she was warned against the man who now causes her such distress. She brought the pain upon herself: a self-inflicted struggle against daily intrusions into her life.

In visually accessible terms, in which her purported husband's actions are paralleled with how a sparrow forces its way through a roof, stanza *2* describes how the man of this song encroaches upon female space. The *-ôk and -ok endings of the rhyme in stanza *2* phonetically capture the hacking sound of the sparrow's beak (*jiǎo* 角 (*krôk)), and so further enhance the threatening feeling in the song.

28 召伯聽訟也。衰亂之俗微，貞信之教興，彊暴之男不能侵陵貞女也。

⁘

Shào Nán *7*召南七

…\ 口
後已自公蟡=它=

羔羊之裘索絲五樅
蟡=它=後已自公

羔羊 /…
… \ 公後已 ■

Máo 18 羔羊

羔羊之皮，素絲五紽。
退食自公，委蛇委蛇。

羔羊之革，素絲五緎。
委蛇委蛇，自公退食。

羔羊之縫，素絲五總。
委蛇委蛇，退食自公。

Shào Nán *7* 召南七

Retreating from being fed at the place of the Gōng, [they] are slithering out.

Shearling jackets of lamb and sheep, with threads of silk in five vertical lines,
Slithering out, [they] are retreating from being fed at the place of the Gōng.

Shearling jackets of lamb and sheep …
… Gōng, … they are retreating after having been fed.

7.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *7* is highly fragmented. What remains of it is recorded on slip 31 and the first quarter of slip 32, which is broken at the top.

Some graphs on slip 31 have faded and are visible only partially.

Structurally there is some difference between this song and its counterpart in *Máo*. The first two lines of stanzas *2* are lines 1 and 2 of stanza *3* in *Máo*; and the first two lines of stanza *3* are lines 1 and 2 of stanza *2* in *Máo*.

The image programme of the song can only be commented upon inconclusively. Officers young and old wrapped in white shearling jackets resemble a 'flock of sheep' leaving the 'palace' of the Gōng after a meal in a long winding line that resemble slithering snakes. The latter image can be interpreted in two ways: either it simply refers to people walking in an uneven line (they were happy, full, and drunk); or it has an underlying pejorative meaning.

7.2 *Establishing a reading*

7.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. For 後己自公, *Máo* has 退食自公. *Hòu* 逅 (後) 'behind, after, follow' appears to be a miswriting of the graphically similar *tuì* 退 (退) 'retreat'; *yǐ*  (己) (*ləʔ) 'take', which resembles the graph writing the word *rén* 人 'person', is an archaic form of  (Cf. slip 29/9; 29/19) and here a (very irregular) phonetic loan for *shí*/*sì* 食 (*m-lək/*s-ləkh) 'eat; food, feed'.[29] *Zài Gōng* 自公 is a locative phrase, 'at [the place of] the Gōng'.

2. For 蛫=它=, the *Máo* recension has *wēi-yí wēi-yí* 委蛇委蛇 (lit.): 'winding snakes, winding snakes', but usually explained, for instance in the Máo commentary, as 'walking, one is able to follow the footsteps (in front)' 行可從迹; Zhèng Xuán explains it as having 'the appearance of being pleased with oneself' 自得之貌. The *Hán* recension has *wēi-yí wēi- yí* 逶迤逶迤 'winding (out of a straight line)'. Phonetically reading *guǐ* 蛫 (said to be a two-headed or two-bodied water snake) as *wēi* 委 is unproblematic, but we prefer to read these words as they are written since they are perfectly understandable; 蛫 and 它 (蛇) are different types of snakes. 'Slithering' out, like snakes, refers to the officers leaving the meal at the palace of the Gōng in a long winding line.

7.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. *gāo yáng zhī qiú* 羔羊之裘 'Shearling jackets of lamb and sheep' corresponds to *gāo yáng zhī féng* 羔羊之縫 'The seams of the lamb and sheep' in the *Máo*

29 Chén Jiàn 2019.

recension. The shape of the graphs writing the words *qiú* 'fur or shearling garment; pelt' and *féng* 'seam' (slip 100) resemble one another in the script of the Ān Dà manuscript:  (裘) versus  (表 > 縫). 'Shearling' agrees in meaning better with the words *pí* 皮 'skin' and *gé* 革 'hide' in the other stanzas, and for this reason we read the graph as it is; 'seam' in the *Máo* recension was a graphic error through miscopy.

2. For *zōng* 樅 'fir tree', the *Máo* recension has *zōng* 總 'collect; total'. The *Máo* commentary explains it as 'number; count' 數.

7.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 7

The subject of the song is not made clear, but commentators prefer to read it in the sense that it refers to (Shào) Gōng's ministers. The images of these people wearing lamb-or sheepskin shearling jackets and moving in a line like a long slithering snake, having been fed and now withdrawing from the place of their employer, has given rise to both positive and negative interpretations stemming from metaphors associated with these images.

Shào Nán *8* 召南八

數亓靁矣才南山之下
可斯韋斯莫或皇尻
蜃 =君子逯=才=

數亓靁矣才南山之 32| \昃
可斯韋斯莫或皇思
遷=君子逯=才=

數亓靁矣才南山之昜
可斯韋斯莫或敢皇
遷=君子逯= 33| |哉= ■

Máo 19 殷其靁

殷其靁，在南山之陽。
何斯違斯。莫敢或遑。
振振君子，歸哉歸哉。

殷其靁，在南山之側。
何斯違斯。莫敢遑息。
振振君子，歸哉歸哉。

殷其靁，在南山之下。
何斯違斯。莫或遑處。
振振君子，歸哉歸哉。

Shào Nán *8* 召南八

'*Qin*' sounded the thunder. [I am] at the foot of the southern mountain—
Why are you going the other way? Is there not someone who might idly stay?
So quaking is the lord! Come back, come back!

'*Qin*' sounded the thunder. [I am] at the side of the southern mountain—
Why are you going the other way? Is there not someone who might idly rest?
So quaking is the lord! Come back, come back!

'*Qin*' sounded the thunder. [I am] at the sunny slope of the southern mountain—
Why are you going the other way? Is there not someone who dares to linger?
So quaking is the lord! Come back, come back!

8.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *8* runs from the top quarter of slip 32 to slip 34/1. The calligraphy of slip 32 is rather crude and appears to be executed sloppily, a notable difference to the fine calligraphy of other songs. For instance, the graph for 'south' (*nán* 南) on slip 32 (32/9) is crudely written as  . This changes again on slip 33 where the writing is much more regular and, so it seems, executed with much more care. The top of slip 32 is broken. This has, however, no impact on song *8*. The top of slip 33 has broken off, though no graph is missing. The final exclamatory particle, *zāi*, is written 哉 in the final stanza on slip 34 but written with the phonetic loan *cái* 才 in the previous two stanzas (on slips 32–33).

There are no elements of reading support on the slips other than the sign for reduplication and the heavy black square at the end of the song.

At some places the calligraphy has faded. The first graph of song *8* is hardly visible. In stanza *2* the first graph of the second stanza is hardly legible. In stanza *3* the penultimate graph of the second sentence has faded.

The order of the stanzas is reversed. What is *1*, *2*, and *3* in Ān Dà is *3*, *2*, *1* in *Máo*. However, the stanzas are not entirely stable either. Line 4 is reversed between stanzas *2* and *3*. Also, there seems to be instability in particular with regard to the pair *gǎn* 敢 and *huò* 或. In line 4 of stanza *2* we have *gǎn* 敢 where *Máo* has *huò* 或. In stanza *3*, the order of the two words is interchanged between Ān Dà and *Máo*.

In stanzas 1–3, the *Máo* recension does not have the final particle *yǐ* 矣 that closes the first sentence of each stanza in the Ān Dà song, leaving each of them as three-word sentences in *Máo*, as opposed to four-word sentences that occur regularly starting from line 3. The Ān Dà version, which includes the final particle in line 1 of each stanza, creates a sound imbalance (perhaps intentional) in that the total number of words in lines 1–2 of each stanza are nine and not eight as in the other couplets. This is one of the very few cases where the rhyme mould of Shī production is not kept intact.

The song is highly repetitive, with just the last word of lines 2 and 4 changing. The sound mould of the song is carried by the dominant vowels *-e-, -ə-, and -a-, which characterises all three stanzas. Only two elements differ, the repeated sounding of the thunder, 敼亓靁 (*ʔin *gə *rûi), breaking away from the otherwise consistent scheme through the marked *-i- and the pharyngelised *-û-, on the one hand, and the 'so quaking is the lord' 蜄 =君 (*tən-tən *kun), taking up these sounds, albeit weaker and not pharyngealised, the on the other, thus forming a phonetic bracket and linking these two images. The song contains two consistent rhymes. On the one hand lines 1 and 5 rhyme consistently on *-əʔ/əh (with a relatively close sounding *-e between them in line 5); and lines 2

and 4 rhyme on *-ah in stanza *1*; on *-ək/əh in stanza *2*; and on *-aŋ/âŋ in stanza *3*, on the other. The image programme includes the sound of the 'thunder', '*ʔin', one of the Yì 易 positions indicating change (*zhèn* 震 *təns/Late Hàn *tśin^{c}). It further has the mountain, indicating the barrier of the narrative 'I', which is located either at its southern foot, at its side, or at its sunny side, on the one hand; and the lord, 'quaking', who is departing and unable (or unwilling) to stay, rest, or linger, and who is phonetically linked to the sounding of the thunder, on the other.

8.2 *Establishing a reading*

8.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. 𣐈, written with the phonophore *yīn* 堇 (*ʔin; in the translation adapted as '*Qin*'), an ancient form of *yān* 煙 (*ʔîn) 'smoke', that corresponds to *Máo*: *yǐn* 殷 (*ʔən)[30] and Fùyáng (slip 014): *yìn* 印 (*ʔins). There is a crucial association between this sound describing thunder, as the opening lyric of the song and of each stanza, and the word 振 (*tən), which heads the penultimate line of each stanza. (More on this in the commentary.)

2. 靁 is an elaborated form of *léi* 靁 (*rûi) 'thunder' (further simplied 雷). 靁 in the *Máo* recension is written as *lí* 离 (*rai) 'separate from' (slip 014) in the Fùyáng manuscript. While there is no question that 离 'separate from' is to be read as a phonetic loan for 靁 'thunder', it is conceivable that the community who wrote out the Fùyáng song in this way understood 'thunder' as a metaphor for 'separation' and thus intended for the graph, in their image programme, to serve multiple functions reinforcing, through the written graph, that the theme of the song is the separation of man and woman.

3. *Wéi* 韋 'to move in the opposite direction from someone else' corresponds to *Máo*: *wéi* 違 'separate from; be apart from'.

4. *Huáng* 皇 'august; brilliant (in colour)' is a phonetic writing of *Máo*: *huáng* 遑 'leisurely'.

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30 Baxter and Sagart reconstruct it as OC *ʔər. However, *shēn* 身 (*lhin) 'body' is phonosemantic in *yīn*/*yǐn* 殷, and in Western Zhōu script graphic variants of both 身 and 殷 are written with *qiān* 千 (*s-nhîn) as a phonetic assist; see for instance *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 2833, 4498, 4341, 4205. As is also confirmed by its Ān Dà counterpart, we fear Baxter and Sagart's reconstruction cannot be correct and we propose that 殷 must have had a coda proximating **-in.

5. 蜃 (*tən), written with the phonophore *chén* 辰 and the reduplicated 'insect' signific, corresponds to *Máo*: *zhèn* 振 'shake, rouse, get ready for action'.[31] 振 belongs to the same word family as *zhèn* 震 'thunder'. In stanzas *2* and *3* the same word is written 遻, adding a 辵 'swift movement' signifier.

8.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. 莫或皇思 corresponds to *Máo*: 莫敢遑息. *Sī* 思 (*sə) is either to be read as it is written, as a final sentence particle (the editors' view), or more likely, as an error for the graphically similar *Máo*: *xī* 息 (*sək) 'rest'.[32] 息 is a better rhyme with *cè* 側 'going to the side; slanting down' (*tsrək) in line 2. 或 'someone' in Ān Dà corresponds to *Máo*'s *gǎn* 敢 'dare'; the two words are lexical variants, but clearly related to Ān Dà: 莫或敢皇/*Máo*: 莫敢或遑 in the following stanza.

8.2.3 Stanza *3*

1. 莫或敢皇: the two words *huò* 或 and *gǎn* 敢 are interchanged between Ān Dà and *Máo*.

8.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 8

This song is in three stanzas of six regular lines, each highly repetitive—much more so than *Máo*—with just lines two and four of each stanza showing some variation. We suggest that narrative 'I' of the song is in a female voice.

The ordering of the stanzas in Ān Dà is the reverse of that in the *Máo* recension. Stanza *1* in Ān Dà starts with a low-lying imagery, progressing in obliquely to the side(s) of the mountain in stanza *2* (the Máo commentary calls this the 'shady side'), and, finally, ending up on the 'sunny side' of the mountain—its southern side—in stanza *3*. The constant movement could be a metaphor for a man on the move,[33] while the southern side of the mountain seems best understood as a metaphor for the hopeful reunion of the female speaker with her cherished man who, from the point of view of the female narrative 'I', will then stay 'hidden' (*yǐn* 隱 'conceal' and the sound of thunder are homophones) with her and not again take his leave.[34] From a male perspective, however, as inter-

31 Compare *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 6514, Zhōng-*zhì* 中觶: 王大省公族于庚（唐），振旅 'His Majesty had a large-scale review of the ducal lineages in Táng, and got the troops ready for action'.

32 This is also the finding of Gāo Zhōnghuá 2020.

33 Zēng Yùnqián 1990: 27.

34 For the image of concealed bird arriving and resting on the sunny side of a southern mountain and 'for three years does not fly or call out' as a metaphor for a man who shuns his official duties in favour of home and recreation, see Liú Xiàng 劉向, *Xīn Xù* 新序 "Zá shì" 雜事 2, 2: 271–276 (*Xīn Xù jiàoshì*, Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú 2001 ed.).

preted by the *Máo* "Preface",[35] which we consider unlikely, the song encourages an officer to do what is right and undertake service whenever called upon, including being prepared to be sent on campaign, far from the comforts of home, for extended periods of time. The family offers its full support, so the *Máo* "Preface".

The repetitiveness of the Ān Dà song is predictable, as is its message, while the structure of the song beautifully embodies its content. Whenever the thunder (*rûi) sounds (*ʔin)—with thunder possibly being a metaphor for a royal command (令/命 *rin(s))[36]—the female voice of narrative 'I' knows her lord (*kun) will be sent into action (*tən). In the *Changes* tradition, the trigram *zhèn* 震 is thunder. Whenever there is thunder, there is forward movement, and it is this inevitable rule that structures the song. As predictable as the speaker's experience is, so too is the repetitive structure of the song and its sound texture. The resounding thunder breaks away from the song phonetically, embodying, through sound, a looming separation that is inevitable. Moreover, it is linked phonetically to 'so quaking is the lord' (*tən-tən *kun), invariably linking the sound of thunder and the phrase (so quaking is the lord) so that they become a meaningful unit: the resounding thunder thus calls to the lord and sets him in motion towards it, moving away from his home and loved one. As a pair they form a phonetic bracket around the powerless response of the female narrative 'I'. The song thus voices frustration and despair on the part of the narrative speaker. It articulates a situation that she cannot change, leaving the speaker of narrative 'I' fully disempowered.

35 *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.36.

36 *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.36, Zhèng Xuán's commentary.

Shào Nán *9* 召南九

苶又某亓實七也
求我庶士𠂤亓吉也

苶又某亓實晶也.
求我庶士𠂤亓今也

苶又某 34| \迪厘既之
求我庶士𠂤亓胃之 ■

Máo 20 摽有梅

摽有梅，其實七兮。
求我庶士，迨其吉兮。

摽有梅，其實三兮。
求我庶士，迨其今兮。

摽有梅，頃筐塈之。
求我庶士，迨其謂之。

Shào Nán *9* 召南九

Falling down from the plum tree, seven are its fruits!
Seeking me, so many gentlemen: may good fortune come!

Falling down from the plum tree, three are its fruits!
Seeking me, so many gentlemen: may it be today!

Falling down from the plum tree, the tilted basket is already full!
Seeking me, so many gentlemen: may it be pronounced!

9.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *9* runs from slip 34/2 to the upper third of slip 35. The top end of slip 35 has broken off but the writing on the slips is not affected by it. The calligraphy is clear and legible. No reading support other than the black square at the end of the song is provided on the slips.

Based on repetition, the Ān Dà song comprises three stanzas, twelve lines (four sentences per stanza). The structural outline corresponds with the *Máo* recension. Semantically, too, the two versions are very similar.

The song is repetitive, with just the penultimate word of its even lines changing. These are also the rhyming element of the song, with stanza *1* rhyming in *-it (七 *tshit/吉 *kit); *2* rhyming in *-əm (晶 *sə̂m/今 *kəm); stanza *3* in *-ət (既 *kəts/胃 *wəts). The song as a whole is carried by a dominant *-ə- with just the 'fruit' (實 *dit), 'seeking me' (求我 *gu *ŋâiʔ), and the 'many', in gentlemen (庶士 *lha(k)h *dzrəʔ), breaking away from this pattern and driving the image programme of the song. The image programme moreover comprises the 'dropping' of the 'plums'; shrinking numbers ('seven', 'three'), as well as the pressing of time.

The Máo commentary (*Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.37) understands the odd numbers 'seven' and 'three' as referring to how much fruit is left on the tree, but there are of course other readings. It is possible to understand the numbers as referring to falling fruit, and even to suggest that 'seven' and 'three', which total the round number 'ten', refer to fractions (7/10, 3/10) of fruit left.

9.2 *Establishing a reading*

9.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. For 芼 *Máo* has *biào* 摽 'drop'. The graph in the Ān Dà version, with the addition of a 'grass' signifier, is a specialised form of 爻 (芠: the orientation of the 'two hands' in the Ān Dà form being different), which the *Shuōwén jiězì* (4.257) defines as 'an item dropping (off a tree)' 物落, and, citing this sentence from a version of the *Shī*, says 爻 should be read 摽.[37] Elsewhere in the *Shuōwén jiězì* (12.812), 摽 is said to have the same meaning as *pāo* 拋 'discard'. The addition of a 'grass' signifier, like with the graph 落 writing the word *luò* 'falling (off a tree)', informs the reader of the Ān Dà text, in writing, that the object 'dropping' is specifically from tree or plant. Xú Zàiguó proposes, quite unnecessarily in our opinion, to read the graph as writing the word *yuán* 園 'garden'.[38]

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37 The composition of *biào* 爻 as a pictograph showing one hand facing down and one hand, directly below it, facing up; the primary meaning of the word that the graph writes is to 'give, hand over'; fruit 'dropping' from tree, that is from a high position to a low position, is a derivative meaning. See Qiú Xīguī 2012b.3: 77–82.

38 Xú Zàiguó 2019b: 5–6.

2. *Mǒu* 某 'sour fruit', the ancestral form of *méi* 楳 'plum, prune', is a more archaic way to write the same word as in *Máo*: *méi* 梅 'plum'. It occurs again in "Qín" 秦 *5*, slip 50.

9.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. For *jīng*  (晶) (*tseŋ) 'bright', the *Máo* recension has *sān* (*sə̂m) 'three', written with the graph 三. On the very next slips, slips 45–46, in the next song "Xiǎo xīng" 小星 'Little stars', and as it occurs as a slip number throughout the manuscript text, the number 'three' is written with the structurally similar (𠂤), whereas the constellation, *shēn* 參, is written with the graph 晶. Although it may be possible to establish an acceptable meaning by reading it as 'bright' in this song, if reading the stanza in isolation, we follow the *Máo* recension in reading it 'three' for the following reasons: a) There is a clear pairing of 'three' in stanza two with the odd number 'seven' in the first stanza of this song; b) it is a better rhyme with *jīn* 今 (*kəm); and c) an emphasis in this song on images in odd-number combinations gets carried into the next song about odd-number combinations (three and five) of stars in the sky and thus forms a meaningful sound and image cluster.[39]

9.2.3 Stanza *3*

1. For an explanation of 迺匣 'tilted basket', see "Zhōu Nán" *3*, stanza 1, annotation 2.

9.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 9

This song in three stanzas gives voice to the anxieties of a female late in her prime, who is eager to get married. Most commentators of *Máo* add that the anxiety relates to the fact that she ought to be married according to the norms of propriety, and at the appropriate age. Hence most commentators read stanza *1* to mean '*a mere* seven fruit *remain*', counting down to just 'three' in stanza *2*. The song itself does not necessarily invite such a restrictive reading, and we believe the song, as it is on the slips, is beautifully balanced without it.

The song is carried by the dominant *-ə- with a few some key terms breaking away from this to drive the image programme of the song. But its sound texture also carries an encoded message. Other than the rhymes that end the even lines

39 It is probably not coincidence that 'three' is rendered by the graph for 'glittering', just as we do not think it is by mistake that the first graph of 'Little stars' ("Shào Nán" *10*), the next song in the collection, is headed by the graph 'plum' 李. In this way the songs are bound into a robust matrix of which song comes first, which one is next [a sequence of linked songs].

in each stanza, the central element that breaks away from the dominant sound-setting is the repeated 'seeking me, so many …' (求 *gu 我 *ŋâiʔ 庶 *lha(k)h). This element is paired with the wishful prayer, 'may good fortune come/may it be today/may it be pronounced', which invokes a gap of expectation, which in turn produces the anxiety in the narrative voice: despite the obvious interest for a woman in her prime, so far nothing has come of it. However, after stripping the song of all its elements except for words reading in *-əʔ, we get a new twist: '[to] the plum tree (*mâʔ), the gentleman (dzrəʔ), will come (**lês/lâʔ)'. The song thus creates a resounding assurance: although the clock is ticking, her wishes will be heard.

Shào Nán *10* 召南十

李皮少星厽五才東
蕨 =肖正佰夜才公折命不同

季$_{35}$|\口口口隹晶與茅
蕨 =肖正保衮與禱折命不猷■

Máo 21 小星

嘒彼小星，三五在東。
肅肅宵征，夙夜在公。寔命不同。

嘒彼小星，維參與昴。
肅肅宵征，抱衾與裯。寔命不猶。

Shào Nán *10* 召南十

Dim are those little stars, the 'three' and 'five' are in the east.
So dejected, [we are] marching through the night—late at night and early in the morning are we at the place of the Gōng—truly the commands are not the same.

Dim … they are in '*shēn*' and '*mǎo*' [constellations].
So dejected, [we are] marching through the night—carrying blankets and bedlinen on our backs—truly the commands are not alike.

10.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *10* runs from the upper half of slip 35 to the upper half of slip 36. The top of slip 36 is broken. Presumably three graphs are missing. For the most part the song is legible. Only in stanza *2* are some graphs faded.

The Ān Dà song comprises two stanzas, ten lines (five sentences per stanza). The structural outline corresponds with the *Máo* recension, but semantically, the lyrics of the two songs differ.

Lines 1 and 3 show no variation between stanzas *1* and *2*. Lines 5 and 10 only see their last word changing. The sound texture of the song is noteworthy. The third word of lines 1 and 3 of each stanza have both the same phonetic value (少 *siauʔ/肖 *siauh), while the fourth words of these lines rhyme (星 *dzeŋ/正 *teŋʔ). Then, the last words of lines 2, 4, and 5 rhyme too (stanza *1* rhymes in *-ôŋ: 東/公/同; stanza *2* rhymes in *-u: 茅/禱/猷). These rhymes are preceded by more rhyming words in the second position (stanza *1*: 五 *ŋâʔ/夜*jah; stanza *2* rhymes in *-əm: 晶/烖) and words of the same phonetic value in their third position (stanza *1*: 才 *dzâʔ; stanza *2*: 與 *lah).

The image programme of this song comprises the 'little stars' that are glowing in a 'dim' way; the stressed 'march' of the 'dejected' attendees of the 'Gōng' through the 'night' as they—possibly the ladies attending the Gōng, or perhaps just the Gōng's ministers and aides—are with him 'late at night' and 'early in the morning'. As they are lamenting that the commands of the Gōng are 'not the same', the song conveys an air of frustration on the part of the narrative voice, something we encounter time and again in the songs of "Shào Nán".

10.2 *Establishing a reading*

10.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. Where the *Máo* recension writes *huì* 曀 (*hwîs) 'faint; chirp' (said of a sound, hence the 'mouth' signifier), the *Hán* recension has *huì* 曇 'flickering; many' (said of stars); the Ān Dà version, in stanza *1*, has what appears to be  : *lǐ* 李 (*rəʔ) 'plum',[40] and, in stanza *2*,  : *jì* 季 (*kwis) 'season; young(est)' (said of crops and persons). The editors (p. 93) take 李/季 as miswriting the graphically similar *bèi*/*bó* 孛 (*bât/bêts) 'suddenly (> *bó* 勃); dim (> *pèi* 曇)', written in Chǔ script, and outside of the manuscript text, as (Guōdiàn *Lǎozǐ* B slip 10).[41] The

40 In Warring States Chǔ script the word *lǐ* is usually written as 李, with the phonophore *lái* 來 replacing the 'wood' signifier. In the Ān Dà *Shī*, slip 39, the word is written with a 'wood' signifier, on the left, and with the abbreviated phonophore *lái* over *zǐ* 子:  , and is thus different from the graph here on slip 35. The Ān Dà graph in question, however, does indeed resemble *lǐ* in Qín script; for instance:  (Shuìhǔdì *Daybook* B slip 67).

41 As noted by Karlgren 1942: 104, 曀, and not 曇, is evidently the 'correct' graph as the lyr-

lexical variation proposed by the editors is reasonable, semantically, as both *huì* 彗 and 孛 mean 'comet' in Warring States literature, but the two words do not agree phonetically. Reading the graphs in stanza *1* and *2* as writing the word 孛 means diverging from the sound mould *-îs in *Máo* and the other major Western Hàn recensions, which strikes us as unlikely given the close correspondence of sound moulds between *Máo* and Ān Dà across songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán" more widely.[42] Moreover, as the sounds of 季 and 嘒/暳 are so close phonetically, we propose to stay within the prescriptive sound mould and read the graph 季 as a phonetic loan for *Hán*: 暳. The graph that resembles 李 in stanza *1* would then be either an abbreviated form or miswriting of the graphically similar 季.

2. Where the *Máo* recension writes *sù* 肅 (*siuk) 'pay careful attention; swift; shrivel', Ān Dà has 蔌, written with a 'grass' signifier and the phono-semantic *qī*/*qì* 戚 (*tshiûk) 'worried, dejected, sad'.[43] (戚 is the ancestral form of *qī* 慼 'sorrowful'; 戚, a kind of 'axe', is written with the phonophore *shū* 朿 (**nhuk).) There is a tendency in the Ān Dà *Shī*, and particularly in the songs of "Shào Nán", to use a 'grass' signifier to write words that appear in the *Máo* recension without one, or that appear in the *Máo* recension with a 'wood' signifier; for instance: *biào* 摽 written 苃 'drop' (said of fruit from a tree) (slip 34), *pǔ* 樸 'bushes' written 蘑 (slip 38), and *dì* 棣 'cherry tree' written 蒧 (slip 39). An emic approach leads us towards reading 蔌 as 戚 'dejected', as in 小人長戚戚 'petty men are evermore full of despair';[44] an alternative reading is to understand the

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ics are about stars; however, 暳 does not mean 'dim' (in fact scholars like Zhū Xī and Mǎ Ruìchén have suggested it means just the opposite, 'bright'), and the occurrence of the word 孛 (晹) 'dim' in the manuscript text perhaps is justification to better understand Máo's gloss of 嘒 not as 'small' (Karlgren 1964: 103) but rather as 'barely perceptible'. Although it is certainly possible that the 'mouth' signifier in 嘒 was a miscopy of the graphically similar 曰, Máo's gloss (: *wēi* 微) indicates that he read the graph in this song as it was written, and hints that he might have even been responsible for cleverly substituting 嘒 for 暳 in order to recreate the song's meaning. As the stars are already described as being 'little', it does not make good sense to interpret 嘒 as 'small'. 嘒 also occurs in *Máo* 258 and there the commentary defines it as 'the appearance of many stars' (i.e., one of the proposed meanings of 暳). This leads us to think that Máo's gloss of 'faint' in 'Little Stars' had its own design.

42 Chéng Yàn 2020.

43 See also Huáng Dékuān 2017b: 5–7. 蔌 recurs in "Shào Nán" *13*, slip 39, where it certainly writes, as a phonetic loan, the word *sù* 'pay careful attention' (signified in *Máo*: 肅). It is perhaps significant that the graph 蔌 only occurs in "Shào Nán" songs, whereas the graph 肅 occurs in the songs of "Zhōu Nán", "Qín", and "Wèi".

44 *Lúnyǔ* "Shù ér" 述而 7.37.

binome as meaning 'hurriedly', as per the Máo commentary (*Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.38). 戚戚 also has this meaning, 'hurriedly, in a brief amount of time'.[45]

3. 俗夜才公 in Ān Dà corresponds to *Máo*: 夙夜在公. 俗 (*sù* 宿) is a phonetic loan for *sù* 夙 'early in the morning'. In the "Shào Nán" songs, *zai gōng* 在公 'at [the place of] the Gōng' also occurs in *Máo* 13 (but it is missing in the fragmented Ān Dà "Shào Nán" *2*) and its meaning is comparable to Ān Dà "Shào Nán" *7: zì Gōng* 自公 'from [the place of] the Gōng'.

4. *Zhé* 折 (*det) 'break, snap off' in Ān Dà corresponds to *Máo*: *shí* 寔 (*dək) 'truly; this'. The *Hán* recension has *shí* 實 'really; this'. The editors (p. 93) seem uneasy with reading 折 as a phonetic loan for 寔, as the articulation puts loaning in doubt, and they suggest, as an alternative, to read 折 as *shì* 誓 (*da(t)s) 'to swear'. (Reading 折 as 誓 would render the sentence as something like: 'A promise (and) a command is not the same.') As we have noticed a hard *-k sound web linking 肅肅 and 夙夜 with this word in *Máo*, explained in more detail below, we find it unlikely that this word in the manuscript text did not have the same coda. While of course we cannot rule out that, for the textual community in question, 折 could be used to write the same word signified with 寔 in *Máo*, an alternative solution to establishing a loan would be read to 折 as though it wrote the graphically similar *xī* 析 (*sêk) 'cut apart, split'.[46]

10.2.2 Stanza *2*

1. 維晶與茅 in Ān Dà corresponds to *Máo*: 維參與昴. *Jīng* 晶 'bright' is a variant form of *shēn* 參, one of the 28 constellations, which adds the phonophore *zhěn* 㐱. *Máo* 茅 'cogongrass' is a phonetic loan for *mǎo* (or *liú*) 昴, another of the 28 constellations.[47]

2. The primary meaning of Ān Dà: *bǎo* 保 (*bûʔ) is 'carry [a baby] on one's back', whereas the near homophone in *Máo*: *bào* 抱 (*pûʔ) means to 'wrap one's arms around and carry'.

10.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 10

There are a great many ways to read this song, but what is clear is that it is in the narrative voice of a servant to a Gōng, lamenting that the said Gōng is injust by not treating all servants equally. The *Máo* "Preface" takes this to describe the

45 *Gùxùn huìzuǎn* 846.16, 847.75–95.

46 Cài Wěi 10.11.2019.

47 Zēng Yùnqián 1990: 28.

lot of a member of the harem who is not allowed to stay at the Gōng for the entire night, as this is the prerogative of the wife only. Lonely they make their way back under the stars. The *Máo* "Preface" moreover states that at the time of King Wén, wives shared their 'privileges' with members of the harem. Thus, as there was no jealousy on the part of the wives, so too was no envy on the part of the harem. This is of course unwarranted. The song does not naturally lend itself to such a historical setting and interpretation.

It shares with the preceding song ("Shào Nán" *9*) a peculiar sound texture, which encodes a given message underlying the song as a whole. Commensurate with the overwhelming mood of the songs of "Shào Nán", this one carries an air of dejection, voiced through the narrative perspective of a Gōng's servants, metaphorically reflected by the 'dim' stars, under which they return home following their service. Just as in "Shào Nán" *9*, then, when stripped of everything but the words ending in *-k, the song articulates its core message concisely: 'so dejected (蕭蕭 *tshiûk-tshiûk), morning and night (倗夜 *suk **jakh[48]), it truly is so (折 for *dək)!' This reinforces their frustration by hinting that there will be no relaxation of their position.

Because "Shào Nán" *9* and *10* share such intimate links in terms of their phonetic setting, it is no surprise that the writer of this instantiation of the Shī sought to mark the two songs as related—by writing 'three' as *jīng* 晶 'sparkling' in song *9*, thus anticipating the 'stars' in song *10*; and writing 'dim' as 'plum' 李 in song *10*, referring back to the 'plum tree' in song *9*.

48 Schuessler assumes that 夜 *jah derived from an earlier *jakh. Given the phonetic texture of the song we believe the Chǔ language might have been rather conservative, preserving certain, more ancient, forms that were lost in the increasingly diverse and urban centres of the Zhōu realm. This would include the OCM ending *-k in 夜.

Shào Nán *11* 召南十一

江又涘寺子于遠不=我=已=後也思
江 36| \ 又沱寺于遠不=我=迆 =歎也訶
江又渚寺于遠不=我=與=後也尻 ■

Máo 22　江有汜

江有汜，之子歸，不我以。不我以。其後也悔。
江有渚，之子歸，不我與。不我與，其後也處。
江有沱，之子歸，不我過。不我過，其嘯也歌。

Shào Nán *11* 召南十一

The River has tributaries. That girl is about to enter her new home. She is not taking us. Not taking us! regret will follow!

The River has mountain creeks. That girl is about to enter her new home. She is not sending us over. Not sending us over! a song will wail about it!

The River has sandy islets. That girl is about to enter her new home. She is not including us. Not including us! a place for us will follow!

11.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *11* runs from the middle of slip 36 to the lower third of slip 37. The top of slip 37 is broken but no writing is affected by it. For the most part the song is legible. Exceptions apply to graphs on slip 36 only.

Judging from the repetitions, the song is composed in three stanzas, each of which has five lines, making altogether fifteen sentences. Stanzas *2* and *3* are interchanged between the *Máo* recension and the Ān Dà version. This change is important as it affects the progression of the song.

The song's meter in both Ān Dà and *Máo* differs from some others in both the "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" songs.[49] In the Ān Dà version, only one line of the fifteen lines of the song is put in four, line 2 of stanza *1*. The remaining lines are all phrased as three-word sentences. In *Máo*, the ultimate line of each stanza is put in four-word sentences. The meter of the Ān Dà version also differs slightly from *Máo*.

The four-word sentence in the Ān Dà version reads as 之子于歸. This phrase occurs in three other "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" songs.[50] In *Máo* the sentence is written in three words as 之子歸, that is, without the preposition *yú* 于 before the verb *guī* 歸. The four-word sentences of *Máo* all contain the anaphoric pronoun *qí* 其 'she', which is omitted in Ān Dà.[51]

In comparison to some of the other songs of "Shào Nán", the phonetic texture of this song is rather simple. It is carried by a dominant *-ə- vowel (also as a diphthong), broken up by *-o- (also pharyngealised) and open *-a- vowels (also as a diphthong) in the following format:

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49 However, each stanza has a total of sixteen words, and this agrees with word totals of songs composed in stanzas of four four-word lines, i.e., "Zhōu Nán" *1* ("Guān jū") and "Shào Nán" *1* ("Què cháo"), among many others.

50 Cf. "Zhōu Nán" *6*, "Zhōu Nán" *9*^{B}, and "Shào Nán" *1*.

51 We surmise that in the *Máo* version the preposition 于 was omitted, perhaps due to the addition of 其 (a Máo addition?), in order to achieve a total of sixteen words per stanza. Note the sound correspondence between the verb 歸 (*kwəi), which refers to the subject—'that girl', who has entered her new marital home, and the anaphoric pronoun *qí* 其 (*gə) 'she', which the Máo commentary understands to be the subject of the last sentence of each stanza. This however not only creates a philological problem in explaining the meaning of the word *chǔ* 處 (Máo says it means 'stop'; Zhèng Xuán, following Máo, says it means 'to stop oneself'), but the lack of 其 at the head of the sentence in the Ān Dà version allows for an alternative reading. As in the translation, we understand the subject of 處 as the girls who have been left behind. The interchange of stanzas *2* and *3* between Ān Dà and Máo thus makes '後也處' the final line of the song and, playing off of the image-metaphor of settled-sand as islets in the River, reveals a hope that the girls left behind will have their own places. Níng Dēngguó and Wáng Zuòshùn 2020 discuss the variation

1. *o-ə-*rhyme*; 2. ə(ə)-a-əi; 3. ə-âi-*rhyme*; 4. ə-âi-*rhyme*; 5. ô-a-*rhyme*.

While this is not perfect, it shows sentences 1 and 5 forming a phonetic bracket around the central elements of the song. The latter signal the actions of the 'that girl': she is about to 'enter her new home' and not 'taking us' (stanza *1*), not 'sending us over' (stanza *2*), not 'including us' (stanza *3*). The phonetic bracket, on the other hand, marks what lies beyond the immediate control of 'that girl': the 'River has tributaries' (sentence 1); 'mountain creeks' (stanza *2*); 'sandy islets' (stanza *3*), as against 'regret will follow' (stanza *1*), a 'song will wail about it' (stanza *2*); a 'place for us will follow' (stanza *3*).

Within a stanza the song rhymes the last word of lines 1, 3 and 4, and 5. Stanza *1* rhymes on *- ə; stanza *2* and *3* rhyme on *-a.

11.2 *Establishing a reading*

11.2.1 Stanza *2*

1. 歎也訶 in Ān Dà corresponds to *Máo*: 其嘯也歌. As mentioned, in Ān Dà the coda of each stanza is a three-word sentence and does not have the pronoun *qí* as in *Máo*. 歎, written with the signifier *qiàn* 欠 'to gasp, yawn' (< a seated man with an open mouth) and the phono-semantic *liù* 翏 (*riû) 'soar', corresponds to *Máo*: *xiào* 嘯 (*siûh) 'whistle; wail, howl'.[52] *Máo* has *gē* 歌 (*kâi) 'sing; song' where Ān Dà has *hē* 訶 (*hâi) 'shout'. 訶 is a common means in Pre-Qín scripts of writing the same word signified, starting in the Qín, by 歌.[53]

11.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 11

"Shào Nán" *11* is in three stanzas of five lines each. Variation is held at a minimum and produced only in lines 1 and 3, with its reduplication in lines 4 and 5 of each stanza.

The song is in the narrative voice of an unnamed group of maids to—or girls of the same family as—'that girl'; that is, a girl about to be married. Stanzas *1* and *2* each name flowing waterways that feed into the River, making it what it is. This structure is paired with reactions of despair by the maids: Just as tributaries and mountain creeks flow into the River, making it what it is, so too in

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between the Ān Dà *Shī* and *Máo*, stanza exchange, and review the many interpretations of this song. Their conclusion that it is a song in praise of the concubine is noticeably different than ours.

52 The Máo commentary (1.40) defines 嘯 as 'to compress the mouth and emit sound', thus 'whistles and sings'. Karlgren 1964: 104 has 'crooningly she sings'; (he understands the subject differently than we do.) Cf. *Máo* 229: 嘯歌傷懷 'Wailing [I] sing of my broken heart'.

53 See for instance **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn* slips 2, 16; Qīnghuá *Qí yè* 耆夜 slips 3, 5.

is the self-perspective reflection of the maids do they make 'that girl' the person she is. Without them she is bound to experience regret, or so they claim. Nonetheless, the girl has not taken them with her.

The song presents a variety of feelings, from despair to hopelessness, and from there to resolution and confidence. When the maids predict regret on the part of the girl in stanza *1*, they are transposing their own fears onto her, wishing that their regrets will soon be hers because she has left them behind. Despair turns into hopelessness in stanza *2*. No longer is the River served by proud tributaries. They wail out their sadness in a song. In stanza *3* the water is no longer flowing; rather, mention is made of sandy islets in the River. Just as sand has settled in the River, allowing one to stand, so too have the maids made peace with their situation. A place for them will follow, they sing, whatever that place may be.

The *Máo* reading of the song suggests that it 'beautifies the secondary wives'. 'That girl', who is the first-rank wife, has not brought any girls of the same family with her (called *yìng* 媵, essentially the dowry) to her new marital home who might serve as minor wives. The secondary wives do not hate her for it and she comes to repent the mistake and learns from it. However, we contend that the song should not be confined by such a narrowing reading.

Shào Nán *12* 召南十二

埜又死麐白茅橐之
又女 37| |褱萅吉士繇之

林又[蘴]口 /\[埜]又死麇白 /

Máo 23 野有死麕

野有死麕，白茅包之。
有女懷春，吉士誘之。

林有樸樕，野有死鹿，
白茅純束。有女如玉。

舒而脫脫兮，無感我帨兮，無使尨也吠。

Shào Nán *12* 召南十二

In the wilderness there is a dead deer without antlers, white is the grass wrapped around it.
There is a girl cherishing spring, fine is the gentleman enticing her.

In the woods there are … [shrubs], [in the wilderness] there is a dead deer, white …

12.1 *Notes on the text*

Due to material loss, "Shào Nán" *12* remains in a fragmentary form only. It runs from the lower quarter of slip 37 (ten words) over the remains of slip 38 (fifteen words; fourteen words are visible and one, missing, can be deduced).

We can deduce from the structure of the song that it would have had at least two stanzas, each comprising four even sentences of four words each, totalling sixteen words per stanza, had the slips been complete. *Máo* has three stanzas. The first two correspond structurally with the Ān Dà version. The third stanza breaks away from the overall pattern of four sentences of four words each. It is comprised of three stanzas of five words each.

Presently *twenty-four words remain of the Ān Dà song, including those that are only partly legible. That means we would require space for another twenty-two graphs to be found on slip 38 for this song to have had the equivalent length of *Máo*, or twenty graphs for it to have had the equivalent length in the Fùyáng *Shī* (see our discussion below). The reduplicative verb *tuō-tuō* 脫脫 in *Máo* would, in principle, have been written 脫₌ in the manuscript text, which means the *Máo* version would have been written out in 46 graphs plus some extra space for the reduplication mark. Given the spacing of the graphs present on slip 38, it can be deduced from comparison with the other slips of "Shào Nán" that it had around 33 graphs written on it, plus or minus one or two graphs, possibly up to three, with a squeeze towards the end, and plus a black square indicating the end of the song. The remains of slip 38 show fourteen graphs. Assuming that it carried around 33–36 graphs, we might reasonably assume there was space for another nineteen to twenty-two or so graphs on it, which roughly corresponds to the required space needed to write out the version in *Máo*. We can therefore not rule out, and indeed suggest it was likely, that the Ān Dà song contained something similar to what we see recorded as stanza *3* of *Máo*. But we cannot confirm this with any certainty. This discussion is relevant because stanza *3* of *Máo* is not only structurally different from the remaining bit of the song, it further shows an unusually graphic use of language that is at odds with what we have seen so far. It is therefore interesting to note that despite these irregularities in the song, structurally and in terms of its graphic language in stanza *3*, it is more likely than not that Ān Dà corresponded to *Máo*. We can, however, further note what might be a closer correspondence, in form (and, hypothetically, in meaning), between the Ān Dà and the Fùyáng versions. Although the song itself was not recovered, slip 17 of the manuscript records the name of the song as "Deer without antlers" 麋 and the total number of its words, 44. This count is important for it implies that its stanza 3 was composed in three lines, each of four graphs, and not three lines, each of five words, as per *Máo*. It had thus maintained the regulated four word per line par-

allel of the previous two stanzas. Following the version as presented in *Máo*, and thinking about what words might have been absent in the Fùyáng version in order to match its 44 words, it seems likely it did not contain the particles *xī* 兮 and *yě* 也 in stanza *3*, as they do not occur elsewhere in the song, and so we may reconstruct the lyrics of the final stanza in the Fùyáng version of this song as follows:

舒而脫=無感我帨無使尨吠。

As mentioned, the remains of slip 38 show fourteen graphs. Assuming that eight more graphs in stanza *2* were included, this gives us 22 graphs. If stanza *3* of the Ān Dà song was written out as per our proposed reconstruction of the Fùyáng manuscript text, the total number of graphs on slip 38 would have been 33.

The image programme, as far as it can be reconstructed meaningfully, consists of the 'wilds' where there is a 'dead deer'; the colour 'white', signifying death, mourning, and loss, is the colour of the particular 'grass'—cogongrass—which traditionally was used in the fields to wrap meat so as to keep it fresh during a hunt,[54] and which in this song is 'wrapping' the deer. These images are paired with the 'girl' who is 'cherishing spring'; and the 'gentleman' who is 'enticing' her.

The song end-rhymes lines 1 and 3, and the penultimate words of lines 2 and 4 in stanza *1*; this is reversed in stanza *2*. Through rhyme the song correlates the images of lines 1 and 3 into one pair, and those of lines 2 and 4 into another.

12.2 *Establishing a reading*

12.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. 麕 in the manuscript text, written with a 'deer' signifier and the phonophore *jūn* 君, is another way of writing *jūn* 'antlerless deer', written in *Máo* as 麇, with the phonophore *qūn* 囷.

2. 橐, written with 'sack' (i.e., the signifier in 橐) and the phonophore *fǒu* 缶 (*pûʔ) in its midst, writes the same word signified by *Máo*: *bāo* 包 (*prû) 'wrap'. The same graph occurs in the Warring States manuscript **Chéng wù* 程寤 (*Qīnghuá* 1), slip 4, and is either to be read *bāo* 包 'wrap' or *fù* 覆 (*phukh) 'cover'.[55]

54 This understanding of the use of cogongrass follows the Máo commentary (1.41).

55 Lǐ Xuéqín et al. 2017: 11–12. The rhyming of 橐 with *yáo* 謠 in this Ān Dà song and its

3. The *Máo* recension has 春 where Ān Dà has 菄. Phonetically this is unproblematic. *Chūn* 春 has the OCM reading *thun while *tún* 屯, the phonophore of 菄, reads *dûn.

4. *Yáo* 鰩 (*jau) 'follow', written with the 'silk' signifier 糸 (< 'tie together') and the phono-semantic *yáo* 䍃 (> 謠 (*jau)) 'sing'. An emic reading might take the graph as signifying the word it writes, thus 'Fine is the gentleman who causes her to follow [him]', instead of trying to equate it to *Máo*: *yòu* 誘 (**juʔ) 'entice, seduce' (lit. 'elegant words').[56] Both readings are possible; if taken as lexical variants, both words still fill a stable sound mould: *jau/**juʔ.

12.2.2 Stanza 2

1. 薸, written with a 'grass' signifier and the phonophore *pú* 僕 (< *pú* 業), is another way of writing the first word in the compound *Máo*: *pǔ sù* 樸樕 'shrub'.

2. 麈 'deer', written with the phonophore *lù* 录, is an alternative and phoneticised form of *lù* 鹿; the same graph occurs in **Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn*, slip 23.

12.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 12

Stanza *1* comprises four lines that contain four central images: the 'dead dear without antlers' (line 1) is correlated with a 'girl cherishing spring' (line 3); and the 'wrapping' 'grass' (cogongrass; line 2) is correlated with the 'fine' 'gentleman' who is 'enticing' her (line 4). The relationship between these is made clear, confirmed by the rhymes which link lines 1 and 3 into one unit, and lines 2 and 4 into another. The dead deer stands metaphorically for the abused girl. The cogongrass, which wraps the dead animal, stands for the gentleman and his overpowering act of 'enticing' her.[57] Karlgren summarises the meaning of the song as, '[a] girl secretly enticed into a love affair is likened to precious game carefully wrapped up and hidden by the lucky poacher.'[58] The *Máo* "Preface" says that the song has 'lascivious airs' and that the feeling it should evoke is 'to detest impropriety'.[59]

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correspondence with *Máo*: 包 confirms the reading here and also suggests 棗 should be read the same way in **Chéng wù* 程寤.

56 Chén Wěiwǔ 2021: 627.

57 The image of cogongrass wrapping something is elsewhere used metaphorically to express the overpowering actions of a man towards a woman or girl not just in this song: see for instance *Máo* 229 "Bái huá" 白華 'White flower'.

58 Karlgren 1950: 13.

59 *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.40.

Cogongrass is a highly invasive, perennial grass species. It has rhizomes, which means it can thrive in a wide range of conditions and habitats, from forests to wetlands and planted lands, highlighting the perhaps unwanted intrusion of the 'fine' gentleman into the space of the girl who, 'cherishing spring', still had a whole life to live. Not so here, however. 'White' is the colour of death and mourning.[60] The bright expectations of the girl were cut short.

So much is clear despite the loss of material: the encounter between the girl and the 'fine' gentleman was not a happy one for her. She was seduced by him—the act of being with him has left her without protection, like a deer without its antlers—and she remains, like the deer lying dead on the forest floors wrapped in weeds, left behind and no longer cared for. Now disregarded, she is reduced to a lifeless husk.

Death reappears in stanza 2. While we cannot say from the remains of the Ān Dà song whether she survived the encounter with the man, he has clearly robbed her of her life energy, pride, and future. Having been enticed by the male character, tainted, or so the song implies, she is ousted from society and ostracised. As a result, she is and remains under the sway of the 'fine' gentleman, who is just like the cogongrass that keeps fresh the meat of the dead.

Neither the girl, nor the 'fine' gentleman are given a voice in this song. It is sung in the narrative of a retrospective observer, in the voice of an anguished speaker.

60 *Zhōu Lǐ zhùshū* "Bǎozhāng shì" 保章氏, 26.707; Zhèng Zhòng's 鄭眾 (d. 83 AD) commentary to a passage about cloud divination says, 'white [clouds] become [a symbol of] loss' (白為喪).

Shào Nán *13* 召南十三

\口口[盄]矣葛蒹之芋.
害不葳雔王巸之車

可皮盄矣芋若桃梓.
坪王之孫齊矦之子.

皮$_{39}$| \口口口隹絲䍜緍
齊侯之子坪王之孫 ■

Máo 24 何彼襛矣

何彼襛矣。唐棣之華。
曷不肅雝。王姬之車。

何彼襛矣。華如桃李。
平王之孫，齊侯之子。

其釣維何。維絲伊緡。
齊侯之子，平王之孫。

Shào Nán *13* 召南十三

… [abundant!] The blossoms of the bushy cherry.
How can one not pay careful attention and be accommodating? The carriages of royal Jī!

Aren't they abundant! The peach and the plum are in such blossom!
The grandchildren of King Píng! The children of the Hóu of Qí!

Those … It is silk that makes the thread.
The children of the Hóu of Qí! The grandchildren of King Píng!

13.1 *Notes on the text*

"Shào Nán" *13* remains in a fragmentary form only. It runs from the top end of slip 39 to the middle of slip 40. Slip 40 is broken at both ends. With the top end of it missing, and the top end of slip 39 missing too, we are lacking presumably the first two graphs in stanza *1*, and three graphs in stanza *3*. The calligraphy on the remaining slips is executed with care. The writing is clear and the ink is for the most part well visible. Sentence markers are placed at the end of couplets in line 2, line 4 (shared sentence mark/notch mark), line 6 (partly visible), and line 8. Line 12, at the end of the song, has a black square (only partly visible).

The song comprises three stanzas, each of which is made up of four four-word lines, twelve lines total.

The beginning of the song is missing, just the final particle of the first line is present. The editors reasonably reconstruct the first three graphs of the refrain as 可皮緐, which they base on the parallel in stanza 2. We can further determine that above [緐] there would have been room for three graphs. Two spaces would have been filled with the two graphs writing the first two words of the song; there would thus have been a blank space (perhaps with a mark), occupying the space of a single graph, at the head of the slip signaling a new song.

For the most part the song's vocalisation is rather stable with little variation between *Máo* and Ān Dà. There is however a key modification in the song's written specification in the manuscript text, to which we come below, and further expand upon in our discursive commentary at the end.

Of the thirty-seven graphs legible on the slips, nine are written either with a flora signifier ('grass' 屮/艸; 'tree' 木; 'plant (of grains)' 禾) or in a form that resembles it;[61] the writer who wrote out the song clearly intended to sublimate the image of flora in abundance, and to use these images, as part of a programme, the writer chose to use them as a metaphor for the female descendants of the royal lineage. Furthermore, the 'abundance' of graphs signifying flora was likely intended to correspond back to the key word *nián* 緐 'thick,

61 In addition, the word 'plum' is written 梓, with an additional tree signifier on the left. The graph transcribed 葳 is actually written with 屮, and not with 艸. The graph (> 若) in the manuscript text is not written with a 'grass' signifier, but the top part closely resembles it (cf. the graph writing 'blossoms' directly above it on slip 40:). By late Western Zhōu script the graph 若 had already evolved into a somewhat abstract form (f.i. (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén Jíchéng* 4294); cf. in late Warring States script (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén Jíchéng* 10478)) from its original image of a kneeling figure depicted with arms raised to the hair on its head: (*Jiǎgǔwén Héjí* 32035), perhaps indicating 'compliance'. By Warring States script, at the latest, the graph was written with a 'grass' signifier (e.g. *Róngchéng shì* slip 15 (*Shànghǎi* 2):). The confusion was brought about through the graphic resemblance between the 'hair' of the kneeling man, his two raised hands, and the 'grass' signifier.

abundant' (*Máo* has *nóng* 禮 (lit.) 'thick coat') in the refrain, which, following the editors' identification (more below), is written with the graph 'harvest' (*nián* 年).

The dominant images of flora in this song link it to the previous song, as well as serve as a bridge to the next one, the last song of "Shào Nán", thus creating an image thread linking the last three songs together.

13.2 *Establishing a reading*

13.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. 葛萇: corresponds to *Máo*: *táng dì* 唐棣, which the Máo commentary defines as a type of 'fruit tree' (*yí* 栘; lit. 'tree with a lot of fleshy (fruit)'); we follow Karlgren (1950: 14), 'cherry tree'. *Tāng* 葛 (*lhâŋ), written with a 'grass' signifier and the phonophore *yáng* 昜, occurs again on slip 89, and corresponds there, as it does here, to *Máo*: *táng* 唐 (*lâŋ). In combination with 棣 'cherry', we understand it as a modifier, 'bushy' (i.e., *táng méng* 唐蒙 'dodder' < a thick covering-type of grass).

2. 害不蔵雖 corresponds to *Máo*: 曷不肅雝. *Hài* 害 (*gâts) is a common phonetic loan for *hé* 曷 (*gât) 'how'. We discussed 蔵 as a phonetic loan for *sù* 肅, here: 'solemn; pay careful attention; serious', in our "Shào Nán" *8* (*Máo* 21) commentary. 雖, written with the signifier 缶 'earthenware' and what can only be reasonably interpreted as the 'false' phonetic *wéi* 隹 (*wi), is, following the editors (p. 96), a variant form of *wèng* 甕/甕 (*ʔôŋ) 'jug, pitcher' (said to be for drawing water from a well), to be read in this instance as a phonetic loan for *yōng* 雝 (*ʔoŋ), as in *Máo*.[62]

62 What we mean by 'false' phonophore here is that, as 缶 is the signifier, although appearing to be functioning as the phonophore, the element 隹 is actually to be understood as though it wrote (maybe incorrectly), or perhaps, better, stood for in abbreviated form, the graphically similar 雝. Taking 隹 as though it was a 'real' phonophore, as a first step, leads to an impasse phonetically, at the next step, in making a connection with 雝, as per *Máo*, which is necessary since in this line of the song the binome undoubtedly is 肅雝. A similar circumstance occurs in early texts of the *Zhōu Yì*. In the received *Zhōu Yì*, "Jǐng" 井 'Well', there is the line statement 甕敝漏 'The pitcher is broken and leaking', which corresponds to 唯敝句 in the Mǎwángduī version (hexagram 24) and to 隹襪縷 in the Warring states version held in the Shànghǎi museum (*Shànghǎi* 3; slips 44–46). Scholars have proposed the following interpretations as to how to read the graphs 唯 and 隹 in the manuscript texts against the received version: 1. 隹 is either a protoform of 唯, or a phonetic loan for it, and both graphs should be read as writing the same word, that is the copula *wéi*; 2. 隹/唯 are to be read as abbreviated forms of the structurally related 雝. (Cf. 唯: 𠂤 (*Jiǎgǔwén Héjí* 31937) in oracle bone script and a variant of 雝: 𨸏 (*Jiǎgǔwén Héjí* 809).); 3. 甕 in the received version recreated the text based on a resemblance between 唯/*wéi* 維

The compound 肅雝 occurs in the *Shījīng*,[63] and, in the context of temple rites, refers both to participants having a serious, cautious comportment and to the harmonious sound of bells.[64] (The meaning of 雝 as 'harmonious' perhaps originated from the sounds of tweeting birds.[65]) The Máo commentary (1.42) glosses 肅 as *jìng* 敬 'pay careful attention to; cautious' and 雝 as *hé* 和 'harmonious'.

3. *Yí* 𠂤 'wide jaw' is a phonetic loan for Jī 姬, the surname of Zhōu.

13.2.2 Stanza 2

1. 𥑮 in the manuscript text corresponds to *Máo*: *nóng* 禮 (*noŋ) 'thick coat'; Karlgren (1964: 105) notes that 禮, written with a 'clothing' 衣 signifier, is a loan character for 穠 (*noŋ), written with a 'plant [of grain]' 禾 signifier. *Nóng* 濃 'thick' (said of dew, etc.), 醲 'thick, strong' (said of ale), and *nóng* 膿 'pus' are cognate with 禮 and 穠, and all are specialised written forms deriving from the same etymological stem. The Máo commentary (1.42) paronomastically glosses 穠/禮 as *róng róng* 戎戎 (*nuŋ-nuŋ) 'so great'; the *Hán* recension has *róng* 茙 'great (> thick) grass',[66] a specialised form of 戎.

𥑮 is written with what appears, on the surface, to be a 'shallow container' 皿 signifier plus the phono-semantic *nián* 年 'harvest' (*nîn). As the classifiers 皿 and *xuè* 血 'blood' were often confused in early script (see "Zhōu Nán" *3*, stanza 1, annotation 2), we agree with the editors (p. 96) that 𥑮 is a variant of *nóng* 膿 'pus' (< 'thick liquid'),[67] to be read as a phonetic loan for 穠. However, since reconstructed vowels and codas in Schuessler for 農 'agriculture, farming, farmer' as OCM *nûŋ/Late Hàn *nouŋ and 年 as OCM *nîn/Late Hàn *nen differ, we take a position that, for the users of the manuscript text, the word 'pus', and thus the song's sound mould in this position, would have been vocalised like 年.

2. 芋若桃桲: in order to rhyme *lǐ* 桲 (李) (*rəʔ) 'plum' with the word *zǐ* 子 (*tsəʔ) 'child(ren)', *huá* 芋 'blossom' was prepositioned at the head of the sentence and

and 雍/雝, the upper element in 甕. See Dīng Sìxīn 2011: 140–141, 301; Shaughnessy 1996: 85, 299; 2013: 120–121; Lǐ Líng 2013: 246–247.

63 E.g., *Máo* 266 "Qīng miào" 清廟 'Pure temple'; *Máo* 280 "Yǒu Gǔ" 有瞽 'There are blind men (musicians)'.

64 E.g., Liáng Qí-*zhōng* 梁其鐘 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén Jíchéng* 188); Fǔ-*zhōng* 𣪘鐘 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén Jíchéng* 260); *Máo* 173 "Lù xiāo" 蓼蕭 'Tall southernwood'.

65 Jì Xùshēng 2014: 287–288; see *Máo* 34 "Páo yǒu kǔ yè" 匏有苦葉 'Gourds have bitter leaves'.

66 *Máo Shī zhèngyì* 1.102.

67 *Shuōwén jiězì* 5.327; a variant form is 膿, composed with a 'meat (i.e. flesh)' signifier.

in front of the names of the trees; the meaning of this clause is equivalent to 葛藸之芋 in stanza *1*, line 2. *Ruò* 若 (*nak) in the manuscript text and *Máo*: *rú* 如 (*na) are, in this case, synonymous lexical variants equivalent in meaning to the demonstrative *rán* 然.[68]

3. 坪王之孫，齊侯之子 'The grandchildren of King Píng! The children of the Hóu of Qí!' in this stanza is reversed in stanza *3* in order to make the rhymes 桲: 子 and *mín* 緡 (*mun) 'thread, fishing line': *sūn* 孫 (*sûn) 'grandchildren'.

13.2.3 Stanza *3*

1. Unlike the *Máo* recension, Ān Dà has the far demonstrative, *bǐ* 皮 (彼). *Máo* has the particle *qí* 其. As this instance of 皮 (彼) is the first word of the song's final stanza, it seems noteworthy that the opening stanza in the next song, which is written starting on the lower half of this same slip (slip 40) and separated with a black square, also starts with 皮 (彼). This leads to the suggestion that 皮 (perhaps substituting 其) in the current song was designed to correspond to the word 皮 (彼) in the opening lines of stanzas *1* and *2* in this song and as a means to bridge, in their written instantiation, this song to the next one.

2. *Yī* 𣪊, written with the phonophore *yī* 医, is a rebus that writes the same word, a demonstrative, as in *Máo*: *yī* 伊 'this, that; be'. The same word signified in the manuscript text with 𣪊 is written *yī* 繄 'this, that; be' in received literature.

13.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 13

This song celebrates the offspring of King Píng and the Hóu of Qí, as one of the royal princesses is married to an élite family in the east. The *Máo* "Preface" sees the song as praising female dignity. The mention of the bride as a granddaughter of King Píng (r. 770–720) provides an approximate date for the song's composition. The *Zuǒ zhuàn* twice records royal women being married off to Qí, and both occur during the reign of King Zhuāng 周莊王 (r. 696–682; years 1 and 14).[69] It is conceivable that the song was thus sung in celebration of one of these marriages, which between the royal family and élite regional lineages cemented political alliances and were intended to maintain stability and power. In the context of the "Shào Nán", this song expresses a collective

68 *Máo Shī zhèngyì* 1.103; Karlgren 1950: 14.

69 Gāo Hēng 2018: 33. King Zhuāng was King Píng's grandson, and if a marriage alliance between the royal family and Qí was (re)started during King Zhūang's reign, the first bride would have been one of King Zhuāng's sisters (or cousins).

hope that royal brides would show their virtue by taking marriage seriously, and entering their new houses in a manner befitting their status.

The song's written form contains a code, which presents itself to a discerning reader. At the song's opening the word *nóng* 'abundant' appears in a unique form, and continues to leave its graphic footprint throughout stanzas *1* and *2*, in an abundance of word 'images' written with graphs using flora classifiers. The natural image of 'the blossoms of the bushy cherry' seems to be more than a simple metaphor, as per the commentary of Zhèng Xuán, for feminine beauty.[70] There is wordplay at work between the lyrics *táng dì zhī huá* (*lâŋ *lə(t)s *tə *wâ) 葛兮之艸 and the carriages sending off royal brides: *Wáng Jī zhī chē* 王姬之車 (*waŋ **kə *tə *ka). Stanza *2* ends with the fruit of the flowering plum (梅) (written with 子 'seed-fruit') as an underlying rhyming metaphor for 'seed-children' (子). The hope is that royal women married off to Qí 'princes' (子) would bear many 'children'.

The metaphor changes in stanza *3* to a silk fishing line, which stands for the female descendants of the royal family. This is also reflected in the song's written form as the words 'silk' (絲), 'thread' (縡), and 'grandchildren' (孫) are written with a 'silk' signifier. (In the *Máo* recension the 'silk thread' metaphor is intensified by writing the rebus *wéi* 隹 'is' as 維, with yet another 'silk' signifier.) Moreover, the rhyme of 'thread' with 'grandchildren' that ends the song further carries with it a hope that royal brides, like threads made of silk, would continue the royal line in perpetuity.

70 *Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.42.

Shào Nán *14* 召南十四

皮蓳者莒一發五鄌
于差從虐.

皮蓳者莑一/

\菅一發五麋/

Máo 25 騶虞

彼茁者葭，壹發五豝。
于嗟乎騶虞。

彼茁者蓬，壹發五豵。
于嗟乎騶虞。

Shào Nán *14* 召南十四

[In] those thickets of reeds, with one release, five boars!
Ah! After them!

[In] those thickets of weeds, with one …

… yarrow, with one release, five deer!

14.1 *Notes on the text*

Due to material loss, "Shào Nán" *14* remains in a highly fragmentary form only. It runs from the upper third of the fragmented slip *40 to the top of slip *41. The calligraphy on the remaining slips is clear, and all graphs are well visible. At the end of stanza *1* there seems to be one mark to separate it from the other stanzas. Whether this is applied consistently is impossible to tell due to the fragmentary nature of the remaining slips.

Unlike the *Máo* recension (*Máo* 25), which has only two stanzas of three lines each, "Shào Nán" *14* of the Ān Dà *Shī* seems to have three stanzas of three lines each.

In terms of the song's composition, the coda of each stanza of Ān Dà, 于差從虘, in four words, is to us preferable to the *Máo* recension, 于嗟乎騶虞, which breaks the four-word parallel of previous lines.

This is a hunting song. The rhyme change in each stanza is: aʔ-oŋʔ-iʔ. In stanza one, the rhyming words *jū* 罝 (*ka) (4/12) and *fǔ* 罦 (*paʔ) (8/12) also rhyme with the last word in the refrain *hū* 虘 (**ɦâ). The three-word rhyme is not upheld in the remaining stanzas. The phonetic texture, however, is more complex than sentence-ending rhymes, for which the rhymes are but an integral part. The song is tightly strung with words in an *-a sound; the three-word rhyme in *-a in stanza one is thus part of a more comprehensive phonetic texture starting in each stanza *bǐ* 彼 *paiʔ and ending Ān Dà: *hū* 虘 **ɦâ: *Máo: yú* 虞 *ŋwa. The following words, in the order they appear in the lyrics, have an *-a sound:

彼 *paiʔ
者 *taʔ
發 *pat
五 *ŋâʔ
于 *wa
嗟 *tsa
乎 *ɦâ
虞 *ŋwa

Mindful of the song's phonetic texture causes us to understand the word *wǔ* 五 'five' as a number used mainly for its sound.

14.2 *Establishing a reading*

14.2.1 Stanza *1*

1. 于差從虐: the four-word sentence in Ān Dà corresponds to the five-word sentence 于嗟乎騶虞 in the *Máo* recension. Jiǎ Yì's *Xīn shū* has 吁嗟乎騶虞.[71]

Explanations of the compound *zōu yú* 騶虞 (*tsro-ŋwâ) in the *Máo* recension vary from officers overseeing the royal hunt: 'forester', 'chariot driver and forester', 'horse-keeper and game-keeper', and 'hunting park forester' to a 'righteous beast—a white tiger with black stripes', as in the Máo commentary.[72] Mǎ Ruìchén, drawing a parallel between the syntax of this line and the sentence coda 于嗟麟兮 'Oh! Unicorn!' of "The Feet of the Unicorn" (*Máo* 11; Ān Dà "Zhōu Nán" *11*), proposes 騶虞, like *lín* 麟, should be understood as a type of living animal, and thus supports Máo's interpretation. Karlgren (1950: 7) has noted an allusive bracket between "Shào Nán" *14* and "Zhōu Nán" *11*, both the final songs of each state's songs, and classifies them as simple hunting songs.

We agree with Shaughnessy in reading this line in the Ān Dà version as it is written.[73] *Cóng* 從 (*dzoŋ) is a verb, 'follow, rush after'; Máo glosses it elsewhere as *zhú* 逐 'pursue (said of animals)' (*Gǔxùn zhuàn* 5.159). 虐 is an archaic variant of *hū* 乎 (*ɦâ), which can be understood as a particle expressing exclamation or a command. The editors, clearly encouraged by the Máo reading (*Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuàn* 1.44), suggest reading 從 as *zòng* 縱 'release'.[74]

2. 藂, composed of a 'grass' signifier and the phonophore *duō* 叕, is a graphic variant of *Máo*: *zhuó* 茁 'sprouting grasses; thickets'.

3. 莒, composed of a 'grass' signifier and the phonophore *jū* 居 (*ka), is a graphic variant of *Máo*: *jiā* 葭 (*krâʔ). Shaughnessy (2021: 9) translates it 'bulrushes'.

4. *Fǔ* 鄙, a toponym, is surely, as per the editors (pp. 97–98), a phonetic loan for *Máo*: *bā* 豝 'boar'. The occurrence of a toponym as a loan for an animal strikes us as unusual, as does the absence of a 'pig' signifier (*shǐ* 豕), given the careful execution of the written word in the manuscript text. We propose that the

71 Jiǎ Yì 賈誼, *Xīn shū* 新書 6.215 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú 2000 ed.). Jiǎ Yì understood the line to be saying, 'Alas! Oh! The hunting park foresters!'.

72 Xiàng Xī 2016: 747–748; Karlgren 1964: 106; Shaughnessy 2021: 11. Karlgren 1950: 14 translates it as 'grooms and gamesters.' The Máo commentary's interpretation of 'white tiger with black stripes' was perhaps based on a version of this song with *yú* 虞 (composed with the phono-semantic 'tiger' and the phonophore 吳) written 虎 or, as in Ān Dà, 虐.

73 Shaughnessy 2021: 9–10. Shaughnessy translates this line as 'Aha, after them, ho!'; he renders the line in the *Máo* recension, 'Aha, oh ho, what a *zouyu*'.

74 See Huáng Dékuān 2018: 72–73.

Ān Dà graph  is the result of a graphic corruption of 豝. The left side of the Ān Dà graph is indeed the 'settlement' signifier *yì* 邑, but it seems more likely that it was a corruption of the graphically similar *bā* 巴  (*Hàn jiǎn* 汗簡 6);  (Lǐyē 里耶 8.2316). (Inverting  and  perhaps makes the similarity more discernible.) The phonophore *fǔ* 甫 in 郙 also appears to be a corruption (or alteration) of the graphically similar *shǐ* 豕 'pig', as shown in the Table below.

(Ān Dà *Shī*, slip 40)	(Bāoshān 包山, tomb 2, slip 227)	(Wàngshān 望山, tomb 2, slip 51)

FIGURE 6 Table of comparing the graphs 豕 'pig' and 甫 'great man' in Warring States Chǔ script

14.2.2 Stanza *3*

1. 菅, composed of a 'grass' signifier and the phonophore *zhǐ* 旨 (*kiʔ), is a graphic variant of *shī* 蓍 'yarrow' (*s-kiʔ).

14.3 *Analysis: Shào Nán* 14

In three stanzas of three lines each (*Máo* has just two stanzas), the song describes hunting scenes where just one release of an arrow brings down multiple animals that are hiding in the undergrowth.

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