

# The Five "Confucian" Classics, by Michael Nylan

## Endnotes

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¶ **Chapter 2 — The *Odes***

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- 1 "...unification in 221 BC"—The first epigraph comes from the concluding remarks to pian 6 of Wenxin diaolong; the second, from Fan Ye's HHS 10A:426. Two qualities mark the Odes as reliably old: it contains no forgeries and few interpolations. Conservative scholars have tended to assume that the Odes were composed sometime during the tenth-sixth centuries BC. Ode 153, assumed by them to be one of the latest, appears to comment on events of 520-514 BC, according to W. Dobson (1964). Shirakawa Shizuka (1981), p. 5, suggests that the Odes would then have taken only a little over a century to compile, judging from Japan's Man'yôshû. The anthology was probably available in something approaching its present form by the late fourth century BC, since Mencius quotes the Odes no fewer than thirty-four times, and each quotation can be identified in a verse in the present Odes collection. The belief that these citations do not represent later interpolations is strengthened by four facts: (1) that the Zuozhuan (fourth century BC) refers to the present Odes sections in nearly their present form; (2) that the fushi recitations refer to odes by title and stanza, implying a fixed, repeatable text; (3) that together the Zuo and Guoyu cite lines from some 178 of the odes in the received Mao anthology (if the Liji from Western Han were added, an additional 100 odes would be cited, making 278 of the extant 305); and (4) that the Analects quotes three verses found in the present-day Odes, while speaking also in two passages from different chapters of the Analects (2/2; 13/5) of the "three hundred odes," suggesting a collection — oral or written — already shaped. See Steven van Zoeren (1991), chap. 2, for citations of the Odes in the Analects; van Zoeren traces in detail what he sees as the conversion of a "weak text" (i.e., stable, reiterable discourse, not necessarily written) into a "strong [written] text" "central to a doctrinal culture and thus the object of exegetical exposition and study." Sceptics, of course, may charge that the present Odes anthology was compiled in accordance with these sources, already identified as important and/or representative, but I find that unlikely. And one must now factor in the reports (albeit unofficial) from the Shanghai Museum of an excavated find (ca. 300 BC) that includes a commentary on the Odes attributed to Confucius.

Shirakawa, 1981, p. 1, names the odes, along with the oracle bone and bronze inscriptions, as the earliest reliable records of ancient China, while noting that substantially long bronze inscriptions all date from the Chunqiu period. Yu Xingwu (1935) notes affinities of diction between the Odes and verses inscribed on Zhou bronzes. Ken-ichi Takashima (1999) offers interesting observations on prosodic features found in both the Odes Hymns and bronze inscriptions. Nonetheless, (1) all the more or less reliably dated odes in the anthology (e.g., nos. 24, 50, 131) date to the Chunqiu period; and (2) there is only one old bronze inscription to date (from the "semibarbarian" state of Chu) that shares a bit of text with one of the odes. (However, the supposed cultural particularity of Chu is questioned — quite rightly — in Heather Peters [1983]). Martin Kern in two unpublished papers offers the most radical vision of the composition of the Odes, arguing that it may have been composed from standard ritual performance formulae as late as the fourth century BC.

Careful collation of Warring States and Han texts citing the Odes therefore shows that there are very few lacunae in the extant version. One may consult three books dating from late Warring States through early Western Han (the Zuozhuan, Liji, and Guoyu) and find in their citations to some 278 of the 305 Mao odes only 14 references to lost odes said to have once belonged to the Minor Court Songs sections. A prose fragment attached to the preface to Ode 177 contains twenty-two odes' titles, of which six have been lost. Ten odes quoted in the Zuozhuan are not to be found in the received Mao text, for six of which we have titles, thanks to other early literary sources. See Zhu Tingxian (1988), p. 5; Qu Wanli (1980), pp. 8, 10.

Translations in this chapter are based, with minor modifications, on Arthur Waley's in *The Book of Songs*. Very different translations are possible, of course.

- 73 1 "than three thousand"—See SQ 47:1936 for Confucius as editor. Perhaps Sima Qian based himself on *Analects* 9/15, which says that Confucius "rectified" the music so that the Court Songs and Hymns could "each attain its proper place." The idea of Confucius as editor is convincingly refuted in "Kongzi shan shi," in LBQ, pp. 702-3, citing Wang Yuwang.
- 73 1 "...as in the myth"—Gu Jiegang (1982), for example, uses the vocabulary found in the Odes to explore early marriage customs among the Central States elites, as did Marcel Granet (1932). But the Odes, like all other records, often records events in such a way as to render them nearly unrecognizable. For example, Odes 262 and 263 celebrate King Xuan of Zhou's victories over the Huai peoples, whereas other accounts (principally the *Guoyu* and the *Shiji*) lead us to believe that those campaigns ended in disastrous defeats. Compare the observation in Edward Shaughnessy (1991), pp. 176-77, to the effect that no Western Zhou bronze inscriptions ever mention a defeat, given their ritual function. Apparently, the Odes functioned in a similar manner. But contrast GY 1:8 ("Zhouyu A"); SJ 4:144-45, texts written with a different purpose in mind.
- 73 4 "...odes 209-12)"—*Ya* is usually translated as "Refinements" or "Elegantiae." Several authors, beginning with Liang Qichao and including Qu Wanli (1980), p. 5, suggest that *ya* refers to [the region of] Xia, a cultural center along the Yellow River of great antiquity and supposed refinement. (As *ya* and Xia are cognate, this suggestion seems plausible.) My own translation reflects information in the "Great Preface" (see n. 47 below), which attributes the *Airs* to people in various outlying regions and the Court Songs to those at court; also, to the tradition that Confucius had his pupils recite the *Ya* not in vernacular pronunciation, but in the distinctive pronunciation of the old capital district, which was taken as the cultural standard. Regarding the use of the "Ya," Zhu Xi speculated that the Minor Court Songs were performed at feasts and the Major at formal audiences, as they differ considerably in tone of diction and in melodic rhythms, even when dealing with essentially the same themes. See Zhu Xi, cited in Qu Wanli (1980), pp. 5-6. The most common form found in the Minor Court Songs is short odes of three and four stanzas, each having four lines to eight lines; about the same number come with five, six, or eight stanzas of similar length. Over half of the Major Court Songs are five, six, or eight stanzas long, with those stanzas most often composed of eight to twelve lines.
- 74 1 "...or 'merry' feasts"—I have adopted "Hymn," one of the conventional renderings of song, though I accept the argument of Ruan Yuan that song originally meant *rong* (Ruan, 1/15). Note that many of the Hymns mention guests at the performance; these guests would have included the gods and ancestors invited to partake of sacrifices (often by the host gods of the ruling clan), in addition to the human guests. See, for example, Ode 248, in which the Lord Impersonator (*gongshi*), standing in for the powerful ancestors, is feasted with good wine and broiled meats. An additional complication attends the terms *feng*, *ya*, *song*, *fu*, *bi*, *xing*. When the Six Principles (*feng*, *ya*, *song*, *fu*, *bi*, and *xing*) are used in connection with the Odes, most scholars assume that the first three terms refer to the substantial "structural frames" (*gu*) of the Odes, while the last three terms refer to modes of presentation. But Huang Che (twelfth century) maintained that, in the context of the Odes, the first three terms carry additional meanings: *feng* means to "move and inspire"; *ya*, to "rectify wrongs"; and *song*, to "glorify." See Wei Qingzhi (1978), I, 268.
- 74 2 "...a signal contribution"—In this, they may be compared with the *Guoyu*, but accounts in the *Guoyu* were clearly designed to emphasize interstate contention rather than commonality.

- 74           2   "...citations from the Odes"—Evidence is admittedly scanty, but it appears that regional pride made inhabitants of a certain area prefer to use songs from their own locality when conveying diplomatic messages. In the *Zuozhuan*, for example, the men of Zheng preferred to use the Zheng odes although it would not have been easy to convey so many different messages from such a limited repertoire. Note, however, that the odes seem to be well known to some "barbarians," as well as Chinese, for those from the Rong, a group which had settled during the Chunqiu period on the border of Jin, "recited odes" (*fushi*) extemporaneously in court, as well. (All thirty-six instances of *fushi* recorded in the *Zuo* are listed by Zhang Suqing (1991), pp. 261-68.) For women, see, e.g., HSZ 1/2, on the female central figure in Ode 17, "Xinglu." Finally, note the difference between my view and that of C.H. Wang, who seems to posit a semiprofessional corps of wandering bards inhabiting a single Chinese cultural horizon to explain how poets of distant regions came to employ the same stock metaphors.
- 74           2   "...as literary art"—Certainly, a milieu in which every cultured person was something of a poet produced poems that differ from those of their modern Euro-American counterparts. It is doubtful that early performers and writers of poems saw themselves as poets prior to the Han, when Yang Xiong writes quite self-consciously about such categories of men. Therefore many modern readers, Chinese as well as American, criticize the odes for their flatness or naiveté, tending to cite the following as flaws: (1) lack of a meaningful connection between the "evocation," or opening image (its *xing*), and the rest of the poem; (2) absence of suspense; (3) abrupt shifts in perspective; (4) extreme compression; (5) seeming timelessness, which works against the modern taste for specificity; and (6) reliance on symmetry to convey meaning. Unlike many poems well known to modern Euro-American readers, the odes do not work primarily through linear development and tight closure. They work instead through juxtapositions, additions, and parallels, typically in binary and trinary patterns; such artful wordplay is precisely where the charm of poems lay for early readers. Parataxis creates a semblance of linkage between discrete units. See Stephen Owen (1992); Christopher Connery (1991), pp. 88ff.; Theodor Adorno, "Parataxis"; and Eva Chow (1995), chap. 3, on juxtaposition. All of these aspects of early Chinese poetry seem even more strange by virtue of dramatic linguistic and societal changes (within Chinese traditions, as well as across cultures) and the loss of melodic traditions attached to the Odes. For example, the *xing* originally may have cued the key in which the ode was to be performed, but when the odes became detached from their musical traditions, that relation was lost to educated Chinese readers, who then had to work harder to infer a connection between the introductory images and the balance of the ode.
- 74           3   "...plants, and trees"—*Analects* 17/8 (Waley, 212 [renum.]). Stephen Owen (1996), among others, notes "the sheer delight in naming all the parts of things: all the different kinds of millet, every activity to be performed in its season."
- 75           2   "...told in verse"—Jeffrey Riegel (1997), p. 171.

- 75           2   "...and social arenas"—However, the Odes, unlike the extant bronze inscriptions, do not contain many specific and detailed historical references. Wen Yiduo says that since archaic Chinese script employed the same character for both "ode" and "record" or [written or mental], students of the Odes have always assumed one important function of the anthology to be this recording of past feelings, relations, and events. See Wen Yiduo (1923), I, 185 (jia). Cf. Chow Tse-tung (1968), esp. pp. 164, 207. Cf. GZ, juan 22, pian 75: "The Odes is the means by which to record things." Arthur Waley (1937), p. 336, says that the Odes is not just a "textbook of personal morality;" it conveys "lessons of specific historic situations." The "recording songs" are all to be found among Major Court Songs and Hymns. They include Odes 235-37, 241, 242, 245, 250, and 303. David Schaberg (1999) terms these odes the "history songs," as they name individuals and recount unique events. In this particular context, the proverbial *shi yan zhi can* mean, "The odes tell of the historical records."
- 75           2   "... in the person's heart"—See Analects 16/3, which says that the person who does not study the odes will not know how to talk; or Analects 17/8, where Confucius remarks that knowledge of the odes will teach proper social behavior and "will widen your acquaintance with the names of birds, beasts, plants, and trees." In addition to the twenty-seven odes that speak directly of persons "knowing" or "not knowing" (*zhi, bu zhi*) one another, a great many others use synonyms for "knowing" and "not knowing" or attribute a situation to full knowledge or the lack thereof. Mozi considered historical precedent as one of three proofs (i.e., ways to know) in logical argument; such wisdom is said to induce order in human reactions. See Zhong chap. 7 (ICS p. 10, line 11). But the Odes, in comparison with the Changes, emphasizes knowing men more than knowing things.
- 76           1   "...through literary conventions"—James Legge, *The She King*, vol. 4 in *The Chinese Classics*, "Prolegomena," p. 29, argues that the prefaces and commentators "reduce many of [the odes] to absurd enigmas"; cf. Marcel Granet (1932), pp. 6, 27. Many modern Western sinologists have used the term "allegory" in connection with the Odes and Haun Saussy (1993), pp. 24-32, argues for it, contra Pauline Yu (1983), who says that what is termed allegory or allegoresis is, in fact, historical contextualization aiming to treat figural images as metonymic truths of categorical correspondence. For the conjectures emphasizing the ritual and folk origins of the Odes' songs, see Haun Saussy (1993), pp. 57-60. See David Schaberg (1999) for information on the children's ditties and people's songs that paralleled and informed the Odes' traditions. For the stories of slaves and grave diggers, see below.
- 76           1   "...humans in the know"—This is my answer to the excellent question posed implicitly in Haun Saussy (1993), esp. p. 55: When is one to accept the "forced explanations" encountered in the prefaces, since they are "not of the kind that begin with a local mistake and spread along a chain of transmissions and reinterpretations," but instead represent "a consistent error" that results from "definite presuppositions methodically applied"? Like Saussy, I disbelieve the scenario whereby a "first meaning" of an ode acquired over time a derived ethicopolitical interpretation. But I question whether it was only in the twentieth century, "when the bottom fell out of the poetic exchange market," that Chinese scholars could see the self-evident meanings of the Odes (*ibid.*, pp. 58ff.). Richard Kunst has suggested that individual odes took on an emblematic character, i.e., that a tendency existed to think of each as conveying a single emotion produced by a generalized situation, in a manner similar to the interpretations of *Yijing* hexagrams.
- 76           2   "...working and cultivation"—Of course, one cannot say that any of the odes' authors intended to emphasize this theme; their intentions will most likely never be known. One can say only that this theme is one among several that the Odes traditions emphasized, though many Song and post-Song interpreters of the Odes tended to ignore this sort of material.

- 77 1 "...insight and cultivation"—Cf. Charles Hartman (1986b), p. 60: "It is doubtful if any Chinese writer of poetry viewed himself as principally a 'poet' in the Western sense of the word — an individual whose primary function is to compose poetry. In China, skill in writing poetry is not a polite accomplishment; it is a requirement for admission to that status." Hartman probably overstates the case, since there seem to have been professional song makers at the early courts in China, but his point is valid in many ways, as we will see when we turn to the State Airs (Guo feng) traditions. Cf. Stephen Owen (1992), *passim*. Of course, the song makers at pre-Qin courts belonged to different cultures than the later "poets," however much traditional Chinese commentators view them both as part of a single, continuous tradition.
- 77 2 "...the two halves fit"—Liu Xie (ca. 465-ca. 520): "The word 'ode' means 'to hold.' ... One holds them to make them accord, so that there is in them a tally, with the two halves fitting." See also Mencius 1A/1-2.
- 77 2 "...and tapping feet"—The folk etymologies found in the "Great Preface" presume a number of visual puns. For example, the character for "odes" consists of two components meaning "talk" or "words" and "intent" or "goal." Similarly, "intent" is made up of the "heart/mind" and "to go to." As for the waving hands and tapping feet, the right-hand component of the character for "ode" contains the elements "foot" and "hand" in its form, which was thought to indicate that the odes were accompanied by dance and gesture. Ch'en Shih-hsiang (1969), p. 53, establishes "the root meaning of the Chinese word for poetry as 'beating rhythm with the foot on the ground'." Cf. note 19 for another significant cognate.
- 77 3 "...about historical events"—Wen Yiduo (1923), p. 181 (jia), relates the character *ge* to *ah* (the sound of heaving a sigh of emotion), and the character *shi* to *zhi* (to record). Cf. Zhang Xuecheng (1738-1801), who insisted on the essential historical impulse underlying the Odes, among other Classics. For Zhang's theory that "all the Classics are history," see David Nivison (1966), pp. 98-100. For the power of music and elegant phrasing to make the speech "last long," and for the prolixity of prose compared with poetry, see Wen Yiduo (1923), pp. 191, 189 (jia), respectively. Cf. Bo Juyi's "Letter to Yuan Jiu," in BJJY 45/1a-11a.
- 78 1 "...the Odes' early textual history"—Among the problems: (1) It is not certain when and where the word *ge* (song) is first found in early texts; (2) the word may be southern, rather than Central States, in origin, as in the "Jiu Ge" (Nine Songs) included in the Chuci; (3) historians of early China do not agree on the existence of state archivists in the very early days. (As Martin Kern points out, there is no inherent need to presuppose the existence of early archives before the Warring States period, though the work of Edward Shaughnessy assumes them.) To date, the only prose records from early times that have not undergone later redaction are the bronze inscriptions, including the Shi Qiang pan, which is itself structured by rhyme and meter. Those bronze inscriptions are surely not simple transcriptions of the language of the time, but products of a specialized ritual idiom. That suggests that the modern distinction between "historical writing" and writing for ritual purposes may not have existed for early peoples, as pointed out long ago by Shirakawa Shizuka. See also Lothar von Falkenhausen (1993a), pp. 168-70, 193. Martin Kern (forthcoming), pp. 79-80, notes further that writing did not supersede oral performance, but rather transcribed it, with the written word "servant to" the oral: "Since Shang times, the poetry of the Chinese ancestral temple sacrifices, formulaic as it was, did not depend on the mechanics of oral composition and oral transmission. As the bronze inscriptions prove, writing ... was readily available for the ritual texts, yet at the same time, the aesthetics of oral performance were carefully maintained and, judging from the regularity of rhyme distribution, even further refined through many centuries." Kern has drawn my attention to the very useful work by Rosalind Thomas (1992). Others prefer to think of the context for the Odes' composition in terms of Walter Ong's (1982)

concept of "secondary orality," wherein literary consciousness is conditioned by the knowledge of written language.

- 78 1 "...specific time and place"—Pauline Yu (1990), esp. p. 225, citing Stephen Owen's views; also, "The Odes classic expresses the tone of an age and a time" (p. 234). Similarly, William McNaughton (1971), p. 13, writes, "Because of the rhymes and of the linguistic uniformity [in the extant Mao anthology], we can assume that songs in nonstandard dialect were revised so as to be both intelligible and artistically pleasing" to audiences. Many scholars have commented that the dialectal differences likely in poems composed over great spans of time and space are largely absent from the Odes collection. Given the abundant evidence of rapid rhyme changes during Han, under a unified, highly centralized empire, it is highly unlikely that the Shijing rhymes in oral recitation would have remained constant during long centuries in the pre-Qin period. For this reason, Martin Kern in a forthcoming publication, following Kanaya Osamu (1992), traces the Odes rhymes to Qin, while William Baxter (1991) calls the Shijing a "Zhou text in [Western] Han clothing" (p. 30), whose script and text have both been influenced by post-Shijing phonology.
- 78 1 "...competing oral traditions"—Steven Van Zoeren (1991) outlines the gradual elevation of the Odes on the path toward canonical status, being valued, first, as a book for its musical qualities, second, as a fund of polite quotations for practical use by the elite, and, third, as an authoritative "wisdom book." As his analysis largely depends upon the dating of individual chapters in the Analects, his hypothesis, however persuasive, remains somewhat speculative.
- 78 1 "...the received Mao version"—Note that scholars disagree whether the author of the Mao commentary was Mao Heng or Mao Chang. Zheng Xuan did not supply his personal name, and in the Han histories he is identified only as the "Honorable Mao" (Mao gong). Relatively late traditions identify Mao Heng as the teacher of Mao Chang, but it is just possible that they are the same person \_\_\_\_, being a homophone for \_\_\_\_, which is the usual gloss for \_\_\_\_ (=\_\_\_\_?).
- 78 1 "...from the Mao Odes"—CQYD 326-28/Xiang 29/8 Zuo (Legge, 545-50). To perform the entire Odes would have taken some ten to fifteen hours, according to the musicologist Laurence Picken (1997). The airs of Bin, Qin, and Tang were performed in an order slightly different from that of the received text. Lü Zuqian (1137-1181) therefore thought that all the Odes, including those from the Wei and Zheng sections, had once been set to "elegant [court] music" (ya yue 雅乐). Zhu Xi disagreed. The Guodian materials quote fragments of the Odes under the headings of "Shi" (Odes), "Xiaoya" (Minor Court Songs), and "Daya" (Major Court Songs), if the transcriptions are correct.
- 78 1 "...chimestones, and drums"—Of course, the scheme is not absolutely perfect, for, to take one example, Mao 209, a Hymn included in the Court Songs section, would have received full orchestration. (See immediately below.) Among the first to emphasize the musical aspect of the Odes were Cheng Dachang (Song dynasty) in his *Shilun*; cf. Chen Shen and Chen Yanshan (Ming dynasty), quoted in HeK. Cheng Dachang, thinking peasants incapable of making music, assumed that the State Airs, minus the two Nan subsections, were "merely [spoken] poems." Even today, traditional Chinese music has the same three divisions (Nan [= first part of Feng], Ya, and Song) as the Odes. See Liu Chisheng, in Gao and Sun (1959), pp. 250ff. For lacquered pipes in relation to Court Songs, see Zhang Binglin (1919), I, 1/1a-3a; Shirakawa Shizuka has also argued that the ya (Court Songs)/Xia refers to a musical instrument. For the Airs, see Guo Moruo (1931b), "Shinan," which equates Airs with the "Nan" (often read "south"), and "Nan" with small bells (ling). For the Hymns, see Zhang Xitang (1957), chap. 5.
- 78 1 "...were inexplicably lost"—Stephen Van Zoeren (1991), p. 10.

- 79 1 "...place of composition"—Either tack was thought to elucidate meaningful parallels between past and present, and each enjoyed equal weight in the commentaries. In some sense, the direction of interpretation hardly mattered, for any aspect of the universe, however small or large, and any event in history, whether personal or public, could serve equally well as revelatory sign pointing to the complex workings of the whole (the cosmos, the course of human history, or the Way). Pauline Yu (1983), p. 410, makes the interesting argument that "where Western allegorists attempted to prove that Greek myth possessed a deeper philosophical or religious meaning — an abstract, metaphysical dimension — so the early Chinese exegetes had to demonstrate the literal truth value of the songs," "the truth of this world, an historical context," given their nondualistic cosmology, wherein history and revelation were one and the same. HS 30:1708 condemns the interpretive traditions of Qi and Han — two of the very earliest — for "straying far" from the "original meaning" of the Odes in their haste to apply the Odes' moral messages to the tumultuous political events of the late Spring and Autumn period. The historicizing impulse also shows up in the commentaries attributed to Mao Gong and to Zheng Xuan.
- 79 1 "...place, or social origin"—Shirakawa Shizuka (1981), p. 3; Ch'en Shih-hsiang (1969), 390. Most would exempt from this characterization the first twenty-five poems in the *Airs*, the "Zhounan" and "Shaonan" sections, whose regular meter may reflect their authors' more formal training. But the early classicists apparently assumed that the anonymous authors of the State *Airs* "when starving sung of food; when working sung of tasks" (He Xiu, subcommentary to the *Gongyang zhuan*, cited in Xia Fucui [1993], p. 174).
- 79 2 "...windows and doors"—HS 24A:1123 (emphases mine). Cf. LJ 5/22; FSTY xu (p. 3); note 14 above. For the Han dynasty's aspirations to imitate the Ancients in gathering musical odes, see FSTY 6:43.
- 79 3 "...administration in each locale"—LJ 5/22 (Legge, I, 216). The locus classicus for the idea of "gathering odes" is Duke Xiang 14 in the *Zuozhuan*. Cf. the letters exchanged by Liu Xin and Yang Xiong (whose authenticity has been demonstrated by Paul Serruys [1956] and David Knechtges [1977]): "Every year in the eighth month, the Three Dynasties, Zhou, and Qin envoys in light carriages took to the roads to choose children's ditties, ballads, and so forth." Similarly, the HS "Shihuo zhi" says that in the spring months envoys sounded wooden clappers as they traveled to gather odes, which were then set to music and performed for the ruler. Thus "the king need not leave his doors to know All-Under-Heaven." Cf. SW; and *Gongyang zhuan* (Duke Xuan 15, He Xiu subcommentary), which is particularly interesting: "Men of sixty or women of fifty who had no children would be fed and clothed by the government, then sent among the people to seek odes, that would then be forwarded from country to town to capital, where they would be heard by the Son of Heaven." By some theories (for example, that expressed in the *Zhengyi*), the melodies of the local odes were more accurate barometers of regional conditions than the lyrics. See Steven van Zoeren (1991), pp. 143. So strong were such traditions in connection with the Odes that Emperor He (r. 89-105) dispatched envoys in carriages throughout the realm, "to observe and collect the airs and ditties" (HHS 82A:2717).
- 80 1 "...composing and circulating"—LSCQ 15/2a-3a (Shenda lan). For the predictive arts associated with the Odes collection, see below.
- 80 4 "...people as a mirror"—Adapted from Documents, "Jiu gao," par. 12 (Karlgrén, p. 45).
- 81 4 "...to improving custom"—Yuan Mei (1716-98), in a letter to Shen Deqian (1673-1769), cited in Pauline Yu (1990), 169.

- 81 4 "...people are in trouble"—"Great Preface," which tradition generally attributes to Confucius's disciple Zixia, to the "Honorable Mao" (Mao Gong) of mid-Western Han, or to Wei Hong (active AD 25). It was Zheng Qiao (1104-1162) who first questioned the authenticity of the "Great Preface" in his *Shi bian wang*. On questions of authorship, see Chow Tse-tung (1968), pp. 157-58. Stephen Owen (1992), p. 37, says that the "Great Preface" "was the beginning of every student's study of the Book of Songs [= Odes] from the eastern Han through the Song,... and even when ... [it] came under harsh attack in later ages, many positions in it remained almost universally accepted." On the different tones produced by different governments, see the apocrypha (e.g., CIS, vol. 3, p. 23). Recent archaeological finds suggest that the music of different states was played in different keys. See Robert Bagley (forthcoming-a).
- 82 1 "...of fecundity as well"—See C.H. Wang (1974); Wen Yiduo (1923), pp. 81-86 (jia). By a pun, fish (yu) mean "a surplus" (yu) of sons; that fish have many roe also leads to their association with fertility.
- 82 2 "...members of the elite"—Gao Heng (1980), p. 166ff., suggests six possible origins for separate lyrics in the Odes anthology.
- 82 2 "...the literary bureaucracy"—Ironically, the modern search for an Ur-text appears no less ideologically motivated than the writings of the early commentators. For example, earlier in the century, readings of the Odes were colored by Western enthusiasm for the rediscovery and interpretation of folk traditions. Accordingly, Arthur Waley, Wen Yiduo, and many others discovered hidden in the Odes a folk poetry that cleverly confirmed prevailing Western notions about preliterate societies. Chinese Marxist interpreters then found in the Odes ample support for their schema of historical periodization. However, the regional origins of the odes preclude any single-origin theory for any section of that anthology, much less for the collection as a whole. Authors in search of original meaning seem doomed to failure, as most discussions about "original meaning" assume one meaning per poem, despite the function of formulae in the odes that simultaneously inform, delight, and reform. The multiplicity of meanings is the main reason for the Odes' perennial appeal, in fact.
- 82 2 "...as folk compositions"—C.H. Wang (1988), p. 2, says that "the Shijing poems are demonstrably formulaic, by and large, but they are not all necessarily composed orally and spontaneously. ... Literary elements are ever present throughout even the most formulaic compositions in the Guo feng section." Two studies pointing to the oral-formulaic character of many parts of the Five Classics are Richard Kunst (1985) and David Schaberg (1996). We must not forget that oral composition, oral performance, and oral transmission are often associated with the most highly educated elites, rather than with the folk. In Lin Qingzhang (1987), pp. 19-38, Qu Wanli has cogently summarized why the State Airs cannot represent the (only slightly edited) work of commoners. Less valuable is Marcel Granet's [1932] insistence that the first 160 odes are of popular origin, deriving from age-old rituals and festivals. To exclude "all interpretations which are symbolic or which imply subtlety in the poet," as Granet seeks to do (p. 27), is no less absurd than to search the Odes for esoteric meanings or over elaborate analogies.
- 82 2 "...as politicized peasants"—Tradition associates the first five "Zhounan" odes with the Duke of Zhou, and the "Shaonan" odes with the early Zhou court. In any case, according to Zheng Xuan's commentary to the Odes, the Hymns were often played at formal feasts for diplomats and honored guests, and the State Airs, at less formal court feasts. But XZYD 100/27/105 cites an unnamed authority to the effect that the State Airs are rightly performed within the ancestral temple. According to Zheng Xuan, no classicist by his time (late Eastern Han) knew which odes were to be sung on which occasions. See Liu Chisheng, in Gao and Sun (1959), p. 252.



- 82           2 "...members of the gentry"—Karlsgren (1964), pp. 75-76. Gu Jiegang (1931) reached similar conclusions. Martin Kern (forthcoming), p. 84, points out that the "regularity of Shih-ching rhymes by and large happens to coincide with our own notions of regular rhymes, e.g., on the even lines of a poem .... The fact that the Shih-ching pieces rhyme in a much more regular fashion than the (probably) contemporary bronze inscriptions supports the hypothesis that the Shih-ching hymns may have gone through the hands of later editors." Kern theorizes that the Odes were re-rhymed once under Qin and then again in Western Han after their canonization. The following discussion on the "Great Preface" responds to the (to my mind, mistaken) class analysis of the "Preface" offered in Svensson (1999). Note that the first three periscopes of the "Preface" are based upon the "Yueji" chapter of the Liji, but the rest of the "Preface" borrows more from Xunzi, chap. 19. The Minor Prefaces explicitly attribute the creation of the State Airs (except possibly for Ode 93) to members of the elite.
- 83           1 "...in the political realm"—For the phrases *xianshi* (submit odes) and *chenzhi* (set out one's aspirations), see the Mao Odes, commentary to ode 252. Cf. Guoyu, "Jinyu" 6; also "Zhouyu" A; also Steven van Zoeren (1991), chap. 3, for an excellent analysis of this. It is interesting that sexual allegory appears popular in some periods covered by the Zuo, especially the mid-sixth century, but not in others.
- 84           1 "...Central States cultural horizon"—It seems probable that the Odes came to particular prominence in an age of political fragmentation because it purported to embody a notion of a shared Central States culture. (In this, the Odes may be compared with the Guoyu, but see note 6 above.) For this one reason, the odes during the Chunqiu period (722-476 BC) probably enjoyed a much wider circulation than separate chapters in the Documents, whose kingly precedents would have held much less interest for ordinary men at the lower ranks of government service, unless they were antiquarians. During the Warring States period (475-222 BC), however, when the long warfare leading to unification obviated the need for certain kinds of diplomatic discourse and shifted the centers of power to Qin and Chu, far outside the Central States region, the Odes anthology's implied appeals to Central States cultural unity may have struck warring aristocrats, if not their foot-soldiers, as old-fashioned and largely irrelevant. Many have noted that the practice of *fushi* (reciting odes) is recorded in the Zuo zhuan only for the years 637-500 BC, though it may have occurred both before and after these dates. If this reflects a waning commitment to the priority of the Central States, Zhao Meng may have had to explain the meaning of an ode he has just chanted because his diplomatic counterparts no longer fully understood the public code imbedded in the verse. See CQYD 341/Zhao 1/fu ii (Legge, 577); Tam Koo-yin (1975). This remains mere speculation, however, in the absence of adequate documentation for the period.
- 84           1 "...to the peripheries"—Martin Kern points in his work to the counter example of Han Wudi (r. 140-87 BC), who introduced regional culture into central court culture (especially in music and in literature), for which he was strongly condemned by late Western Han and Eastern Han classicists.
- 84           1 "...advertising their differences"—Of course, real interaction was probably limited. Zheng Xuan believed that the odes had been consciously devised as a tool by which to overcome the lamentable gap in communication between social superior and social inferior that had arisen in the hierarchical society of Zhou. See Sato Hiroji (1949). (However, Gu Jiegang, in GSB, III, 312ff., argues against a self-conscious gap between Great and Little Traditions in the ancient period.) Mencius 1A/2 advises political elites to share their wealth and pleasures with the masses; 1A/4 urges elites to act as "fathers and mothers" of the people.

- 84           2   "...aegis of mythic figures"—Ode 161 speaks of "a pattern and model" for the court officers; Ode 191, of "deceitful dealing" and of the ruler's "resentment of endeavors to rectify him"; Ode 199, of those "who do not stand in awe of Heaven"; Ode 194, of the "near-extinction of the Zhou ruling house." In 1981, the Odes expert Shirakawa Shizuka supplied evidence that even the Zhou Hymns must have been written centuries after the founding of the Zhou dynasty. Shirakawa suggested 771 BC, the beginning of Eastern Zhou, as a possible year of composition for the Zhou Hymns. Shirakawa cites as evidence certain auspicious phrases such as *yongshi* (for generations unto eternity), which appear in the Zhou Hymns (e.g., Odes 286/1) and on bronzes of the Chunqiu period. Shirakawa (1981), pp. 338-39, further argues that the early Zhou palaces and temples were given individual names only in Eastern Zhou, though such names appear in the Lu Hymns, as in Ode 242. Shirakawa arrives at the 771 BC date for the Zhou Hymns via the assumption that such phrases and names appeared first in the odes and were copied onto the bronzes; the reverse could also be true, of course. Shirakawa also supplies some evidence that interpolations may have been inserted as late as some 150 years after the Western-Eastern Zhou transition. The phrase "last-ditch cultural salvage operation" comes from Pauline Yu (1990), p. 192.
- 85           2   "...name their authors"—For the self-referential statements of these and other Shijing songs, see Martin Kern (forthcoming). The odes that name their authors come entirely from the Court Songs section. Ch'en Shih-hsiang (1969), p. 374, also thinks it significant that the word *shi* appears only in the Court Songs section (in nos. 200, 252, 259), suggesting "a greater consciousness of the art of poetry-making, of polish and refinement of style." See also Qu Wanli (1980), pp. 150-51, 251-52; and Zhu 12/145; 18/213. Four odes, nos. 107, 199, 204, 253, explicitly cite the desire to satirize, to explore another's indecision, and to express grief as the emotions motivating their composition.
- 85           2   "...in pre-Han courts"—Gradually, beginning with Han, the music masters are degraded to anonymous technicians, but in the pre-Han period, the music masters, who were not necessarily masters of texts, seem to have held a higher place at court.
- 86           1   "...and the dead"—C. H. Wang (1988), p. 51, stresses the importance of references to dance in the Hymns in particular. Edward Shaughnessy (1997), chap. 6, argues that the Zhou hymns preserve within their corpus evidence of the transition from liturgy to literature entailing a parallel shift from collective concelebration by members of the ruling house toward a separation of celebrant and audience. Martin Kern (forthcoming) sees the whole issue of ritual performance in relation to writing quite differently — and to my mind, more persuasively.
- 86           1   "...(with rhymes determining stanzas)"—This difference was recognized by Kong Yingda (574-648) in *Maoshi zhengyi* 20-1/341a.
- 86           1   "...consistent rhyme schemes"—W. Dobson (1968), pp. 247-55, demonstrates that the Hymns are as closely interwoven with the Major Court Songs as they are distinct from the State Airs. Perhaps dance was a more important element in Zhou state sacrifice from the very first, for the irregular length of lines used in the Zhou hymns would be an advantage in choreography, allowing dance-masters to use steps of varying intricacy." But this must remain a matter for speculation, since the Hymns seldom describe the rituals they are meant to accompany. Moreover, if we assume that the Lu and Shang Hymns were written down prior to the time when the tripartite structure of the Odes anthology was fixed, they may later have been put in the same section as the Zhou Hymns because of the strong historical associations linking Shang, Zhou, and Lu.

- 86 2 "...imitation of one another"—The free form of the Zhou Hymns may attest a very early date, i.e., contemporary with the earliest Zhou bronze inscriptions. But firm dating is impossible, given the strong probability that the Odes underwent substantial later editing and reperformance. Note the curious fact that the Zhou Hymns pay scant attention to the Duke of Zhou, their reputed author, though exegetes could always attribute the silence to the inherent modesty of the man. Only one hymn (Ode 300) mentions the Duke of Zhou; much more attention is paid to King Wen, the legendary predynastic founder of Zhou. This suggests that the development of the cult of the Duke of Zhou may not predate Confucius by any great margin. For further information on the Duke, see the Documents chapter.
- 86 2 "...(successor to King Wu)"—The prominent Han exegetes included Mao Chang, Jia Yi, Kuang Heng, and Zheng Xuan. For example, Kuang Heng, cited in HS 25B:1255, assumed that the Zhou Hymns were written to accompany the rites for King Cheng's suburban sacrifice. Some early Han scholars may have been influenced by the statement made in CQYD 197/Xuan 12/3 Zuo: "When King Wu conquered Shang, the Hymns were composed." Zhu Xi understood that at least some of the songs included in the Hymns section could have nothing to do with suburban sacrifice.
- 86 3 "...sage-rulers of antiquity"—Mencius 5B/8.
- 87 1 "...Duke Xiang of Song (r.650-637 BC)"—This story, found in the Mao commentaries (preface to Ode 301), is probably based on an account in the Guoyu. Some standard genealogies make Zheng Kaofu of Song the direct seventh-generation ancestor to Confucius. See Tsuda Sokichi (1958), pp. 214-18. Qu Wanli (1980), pp. 8-9, following Zheng Xuan, speculates that it was Confucius who inserted the Lu and Shang Hymns into the Odes anthology, as the Zuozhuan gives no indication that the Hymns comprised three separate sections.
- 87 1 "...such traditional attributions"—OYX-B 7:77-82, "Bian shuo." Guo Shaoyu (1978), based on dates in the Shiji and the Zuozhuan, concluded that Zheng Kaofu could not have been living in 650 BC, when the reign of Duke Xiang of Song began.
- 87 1 "...based on Shang models"—Pi Xirui (1954), pp. 43-47, comments on this. Cf. Yu Pingbo (1931). Nonetheless, as C.H. Wang (1988), p. 3, points out, the Zhou Hymns section is unusual in that nearly 51 percent of its lines consist of "whole-verse formulas, as compared with a figure of less than 3 percent for the Shang Hymns"; also, the formulas of the Zhou Hymns are largely absent from the odes of other areas.
- 87 2 "...the Shang ruling clan"—This was the standard early Western Han jinwen (Modern Script) attribution. See SJ 38:1633 (but the later Suoyin comment claims greater antiquity for the Shang Hymns). Wang Guowei (1927), 1/113-118, claimed to have proved that the Shang Hymns were written during the reign of Duke Xiang of Song (r. 650-637 BC). Cf. WeiY 6/17b-22a, who gave thirteen examples to show that the Shang Hymns must have been composed during the Chunqiu era.
- 87 2 "...the Lu ruling house"—See Wang Guowei (1927), "Shuo Shang song"; cf. Qu Wanli (1980), Introduction (pp. 9-10), taking the notion from Zheng Pu; also from Zuozhuan, Duke Min 2. Tradition attributes the Lu Hymns to about the eighteenth year of Duke Xi, when victories over the Huai barbarians prompted the composition of odes in honor of the duke. Shirakawa Shizuka (1981), p. 365, opts for a date instead in the sixth year of Duke Xi's successor, Duke Wen (r. 626-609), when a commissioned cycle would have honored the duke's marriage.

- 87           3 "...ancient praise-songs"—The principal reference for this is Kong Yingda's Preface to the Odes. Purely from the musical point of view, one would expect songs of great metrical regularity to predate irregular meters, according to Laurence Picken (1977). But the Hymns may be deliberately archaistic, which would complicate matters of dating. Most consider the Zhou Hymns to be the oldest section of the Odes, but a few scholars, such as Matsumoto Masaaki, have reversed the whole scheme, making the State Airs the first section in the anthology.
- 88           1 "...was on the mind"—For the phrase *shi yan zhi*, see numerous pre-Han and Han texts, as cited in Wen Yiduo (1923), I, 184 (jia). Something like this theory survives in the work of Shirakawa Shizuka (1981), p. 4, which suggests that the odes reflect the "source of energy" in the society of the time they were written. Stephen Owen (1992), pp. 26-28, seems to concur. This same belief is fundamental to the contemporary cult of poetry in the People's Republic, as described by Michelle Yeh (1996).
- 88           2 "...sacrifices and banquets"—See Lothar von Falkenhausen (1993c), pp. 62-65, on the personnel and performance of music on formal occasions, based on evidence from the Zhouli.
- 89           2 "...for All-under-Heaven"—See the Zhengyi commentary on the Preface to Ode 1, as well as Kong Yingda's subcommentary, in SSJZS.
- 89           3 "...voice of goodness"—This theory was promoted by Zheng Qiao (1104-1162) in *Shi bian wang* (now known only from fragments); Yan Can act. 1248), in *Shiqi*; and Zhang Huang (1527-1608), in various monographs on the five classics (no longer extant).
- 89           4 "...for divine inspirations"—Zheng Qiao in *Shi bian wang*; Zhu Xi in his preface to the *Shiji zhuan* said that the majority of the Airs "came from the village alleyways"; hence their preoccupation with romance and sex. Still, Zhu accepted the traditional attribution of the "Zhouan" and "Shaonan" sections to the court, assuming that they were less debauched in consequence. See Lin Qingzhang (1987). For the creation of ancient music by the gods, see HFZ 10 (3:3a-b), trans. in Watson, p. 55.
- 89           5 "...in the ancestral temple"—See the Zheng Xuan commentary and Kong Yingda subcommentary. Elaborated by Wang Zhi (1127-1189), Cheng Dachang (1123-95), Zheng Qiao (1104-62), Zhu Xi (1130-1200), Jiao Xun (1763-1820), Gu Yanwu (1613-82), Hui Zhouti (jinshi 1691), and Ruan Yuan (1764-1849).
- 89           6 "...to authorial status"—Additional proposals on the tripartite division of the Odes may be found in the scholarly literature, for example, Chen Zhirou's (d. 1184) belief that the Feng, Ya, and Song divisions were distinguished by different literary styles. Exceptions to these generalizations include Lü Zuqian (1137-1181) in his *Du Shiji* (On Reading the Odes), who continued the general approach of the Mao commentary, written during Han. Wang Yinglin (1223-96) in his *Shikao* tried to compile the extant fragments of the three oldest interpretive lines known in Han times (the Qi, Han, and Lu), although he disagreed with some of their interpretations. Chen Qiaozong (1808-68) supplemented Wang's work. For the three oldest interpretive lines, see also James Hightower (1948). For the modern Marxist verdict that the State Airs as folk songs are inherently more valuable than the Court Songs and Hymns, which are presumed to be products of the aristocratic court, see Xia Fucui (1993), p. 305.
- 90           1 "...division of the Odes"—Just as many stress (inexplicably to my mind) a concomitant need to search for the original reading of each ode — the single reading, in other words, that would presumably reflect both originating event and original meaning.

- 90           2   "...supposedly encouraged dissipation"—For early musical theory, see Kurihara Keisuke (1978); Kenneth DeWoskin (1982), 29-98; Kenneth DeWoskin (1992); Lothar von Falkenhausen (1993c), 23-66; and Martin Kern (1997), 23-50.
- 90           2   "...the decline of Zhou"—Ode 90, for example, which talked of cocks crowing through the storm, was said by early commentators to express a longing in a disorderly age for a true gentleman whose conduct will be as regular as the cocks' crowing. Ode 13 was said to express the desire of the people of Zheng to have the condition of the state rectified. See Legge, IV, 35, 51. Note that Bruce Brooks offers a very different scenario by which insertions of new odes into the Zheng Airs were made to balance their originally lascivious and therefore unacceptable content with others that were "mitigated and thus salvageable" or "transformed and thus fully usable." See WSWG Note 123. Such a scenario assumes that the lyric texts had to be converted once their primary use was moral.
- 90           3   "...them into the canon"—Ouyang Xiu urged that Ode 42, for example, be understood to portray an exchange of love tokens. Stephen van Zoeren (1991), chap. 6, shows how much further the Cheng-Zhu advocates pushed this notion of debauchery beyond Ouyang Xiu's readings. Zhu Xi late in life and Wang Bo, Zhu Xi's self-described disciple, said that all of the Airs and Court Songs were "turned" save sections one and two of the Airs ("Zhounan" and "Shaonan"), which had been explicitly singled out by Confucius as models of refinement. In particular, the followers of Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy castigated the turned odes in the Zheng section of the Airs. So sharp was the perceived distinction between moral and "turned" that Cheng Dachang (1123-1195) suggested making the "Zhounan" and "Shaonan" poems into a separate section, rather than including them in the Airs. Wang Bo expurgated thirty-two turned odes in his edition of the anthology. Later, of course, came a tendency to rehabilitate the turned odes in the name of their emotional authenticity (*zhen*). See Achim Mittag (1993); Xia Fucui (1993), pp. 179-86; Zhu 1 4/51-54, 56. Mao Qiling long ago pointed out that Confucius condemned only the "music of Zheng," not the odes of Zheng. See MQL-B, 1/1b.
- 90           3   "...of men and states"—The turned odes appear as portents in the "Great Preface" to the Odes, but that interpretation was not elaborated until much later. The Mao and Zheng Xuan commentaries classify the odes as turned or upright, but not yet as sexually dirty or pure; hence my unwillingness to translate *pian* as "depraved," "debauched," or "lascivious," all terms which have sexual overtones. Zheng Xuan (127-200) regarded Odes 1-25 of the Airs, Odes 161-75 of the Xiao Ya, and Odes 235-52 of the Da ya as upright odes, composed during the halcyon days of early Western Zhou; the rest of Airs and Court Songs he took to be turned. All of the Hymns he considered upright. See C.H. Wang (1988), pp. 115-18, for a clear explanation of this classification. Note that Zheng Xuan's list of turned odes does not coincide exactly with that of Wang Bo.
- 90           4   "...the entire collection"—The line, *si wu xie*, is found in stanza 4 of Ode 297 and cited in the Analects. The initial character *si* is probably a particle which need not be translated, though it may function as a modal particle introducing the pious hope, "May there be no misalignment." See Xia Hanyi (1989). From that pious hope probably evolved the usual interpretation for the Analects line favored by exegetes for millennia: "Thoughts with no trace of deviance." The problem for later moralists, as Wan Sitong stated in his "Shi shuo," was that an anthology edited by the moralizing Sage should contain so many debauched pieces. See Wan, cited in Chen Pan (1931), p. 429. But of course these odes were not considered debauched until quite late in Chinese history. Note that Eric Henry (private communication) in tabulating the citations from the Odes found in the Zuo has found that the State Airs in general, of which the Zheng odes formed a part, were employed frequently in formal performances, but seldom when making moral pronouncements.
- 91           1   "...one's place of birth"—HS 22.1043.

- 91 1 "...measure of effeteness"—CQYD 327/Xiang 29/8 Zuo. Gu Jiegang (1931), p. 350, reminds us that the "new music" associated with Zheng was an improvement upon the old, in the sense that its metrical complexity made it interesting even without the customary additions of lyric and dance. Apparently, the new music introduced half-tones into music, as confirmed by the discovery of a set of music bells in the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (buried 433 BC).
- 91 2 "...all the insignia of culture"—Analects 8/19.
- 91 2 "...into young adulthood"— See Anne Kinney (1995), esp. pp. 27, 39, citing Xunzi's instructions and contemporary evidence; cf. Pei-yi Wu (1995), p. 130.
- 91 2 "...of human relations"—Young aristocrats were taught the Odes with a view to broadening their minds. In GY 17:191 ("Chuyu A") Shenshu Shi, prime minister to King Zhuang of Chu (r. 613-591 BC), advises the king to appoint a tutor to "teach [his heir] poetry with a view to broadening his mind and illustrating virtuous examples [of antiquity] so that he will clarify his own aspirations."
- 91 2 "...yet in everyone's sight."—GY 5:72 ("Lüyu B"). I am indebted to Haun Saussy for this reference. Saussy (1993), p. 115, talks of a long age in China that "loved ingenuity and did not consider it inimical to truth"; hence the wide admiration for the Mao readings, many of which were "showpieces of rhetorical skill." A nice balance between honest expression and subtle phrasing reflected one's integrity and a polite appreciation of other views.
- 91 2 "...of limitless applicability"—Confucius also recited the odes using a special pronunciation, presumably that of the Western Zhou capital region.
- 91 3 "...sound of virtue"—For a typical example of the full range of "knowing" associated with the Odes, see the Mao Odes' preface to "Shan you chu" (ode no. 115), which associates "lack of moral knowing" with similar lacks in pleasure-seeking and in politicking. Although literary historians tend to date any departure from the didactic interpretation to the post-Han period, evidence of a profound interest in formal aesthetic values occurs already in many Warring States and Han texts. This may explain another change: in the beginning, the Court Songs and Hymns were most often invoked, but later it was the State Airs. A similar way of knowing has been valued in other pre-modern cultures, for example, in classical Greece, though this way of knowing is inconsistent with modern Western epistemological strictures, which value explanatory rigor and generalized predictive power. Some of the culture-specific ways of knowing are still operative in China today, according to Judith Farquhar (1994), esp. pp. 18, 26. Some of the language in this paragraph recalls her descriptions; cf. Julia Ching (1997), p. xi. For the sound of virtue in relation to music and the arts, see Zhong ch. 7 (ICS p. 11, line 2). The phrase *de yin* comes from Ode 161/2, where it is associated with fame.
- 91 3 "...their princes aboard"—Analects 17/8 (Waley, 212 [renum.]). Cf. the statement by Bo Juyi: "The sage moves men's hearts so that the world is at peace. In moving men's hearts, there is nothing that precedes emotion, nothing that does not begin with words, nothing that does not accord with music, nothing that is deeper than meaning. What we call 'poetry' [or the Odes] has emotions as its root, words as its sprouts, music as its blossoms, and meaning as its fruit."
- 92 1 "...made noble men return"—Shu Xi, "Du shu fu" (ca. AD 300), in YWLJ 55/6b-7a.

- 92 2 "...curriculum of polite arts"—ZTYL 14:24:1223 shows that even as late as the Song period, the gentry normally participated in the singing of State Airs and Court Songs at provincial banquets. (Several leaders in the *fugu* movement in Song, including Zhang Zai, advocated using odes set to music in court, domestic, and district rituals.) Through the Tang dynasty, after all, it had been assumed that the best poems — modern as well as ancient — "could be put to [the music of] pipes and strings." See Pauline Yu (1990), p. 192, citing a work by Lou Ying that dates to ca. 750.
- 92 2 "...to round out meaning"—GY 5:72 ("Luyu B").
- 92 2 "...the course of events"—Gu Jiegang, in GSB, III, 312-14, lists all the occurrences in the Zuo zhuan of men of culture extemporizing odes to suit an occasion. Many such occurrences, as Gu notes (pp. 321-22), took place when entertaining guests. See note 94 below. For five instances of song invention in reaction to an external circumstance, see the Zuo entries for the years 722-638 BC.
- 92 2 "...outside the text"—William McNaughton (1971), pp. 97, 148, remarks, "When the later Chinese poet went to The Book of Songs, he had plenty to study in the way of verbal music and main forms" — some ninety-four poetic forms, and a host of rhetorical resources.
- 93 1 "...similarities and differences"—Cf. Roman Jakobson (1985), pp. 37-46. Aristotle said that poetic metaphors are the true mark of genius because the making of metaphor depends on seeing some similarity in dissimilar objects. This function of the Airs may explain the curious comment about them in two early commentaries to the Zuo zhuan: "They satirize the inability of the horse and ox to mate," an apparent reference to the concrete analysis of everyday situations through categorical comparisons. See Liu Chisheng, in Gao and Sun (1959), p. 256.
- 93 1 "...he might encounter"—Analects 13/5 (Waley, 172-73).
- 93 2 "...merits to account"—Liu Xiang, "Qilüe" for the first quote; for the second; Analects 13/5 (Waley, 172). Cf. XZYD 99/27/86 (Knoblock, vol. 3, p. 226): "Those who are good at doing the odes [need] not engage in [ordinary] persuasions." Compare Herodotus 6/129, where suitors from different lands "compete with one another in music and in talking in company." The work of Alfreda Murck (forthcoming) on Du Fu, Su Shi, and their poet/painter successors shows poetry fulfilling a similar function in medieval and late imperial China.
- 93 2 "...[in persuading others]"—CQYD 307/Xiang 25/fu i, citing a remark attributed to Confucius: "One should be truthful in one's sentiments, but also masterly in their expression. For if a person does not use words, who will know what is on his mind? And if the words lack pattern and refinement, they will not go far [in persuading others]!" Hence Ban Gu's insistence in his preface to the "Rhapsody on the Two Capitals" that all contemporary literary writings evolved from the ancient Shijing. Rulers who entertained their guests with a performance of the wrong odes were considered benighted. See CQYD 257/Xiang 4/2 Zuo.
- 93 4 "...by those present"—CQYD 321/Xiang 28/6 Zuo, for the expression *fushi duanzhang*. See Tam Koo-yin (1975), p. 4, for an analysis. The Zheng Xuan commentary to the Zhouli defines fu as "to display directly the good and bad points of the present government's moral instruction." See ZL 23/6b. Chanting or playing the odes was considered a gift to the audience. See CQYD 151/Wen 4/6 Zuo. In "breaking off" an ode, usually the first or last lines of a stanza were taken, as in the meeting between Chong'er and Duke Mu of Qin, recorded in Zuo zhuan.
- 93 3 "...criticize, satirize, or extol"— We learn that Shui Hui improved three lines, the better to express his frustration. See CQYD 4/Yin 1/4 Zuo. Cf. HSWZ 2/29 (Hightower, p. 69).

- 93 3 "...its meaning deeply"—See CQYD 257/Xiang 4/2 Zuo (also in Guoyu, "Luyu"); 282/Xiang 14/fu 6; 326/Xiang 29/fu 8. Specific odes had set melodies. See Zhang Yingqin (1969), p. 369. According to the Yili, select odes had been set to ritual music for use in certain ceremonies. See He Dingsheng (1968), pp. 381-87, 391, 394.
- 94 1 "...from other states"—Gu Jiegang (1931), p. 331, makes a convincing case that Zhao Meng means to convey the idea that the private matters of the ruling house should not be openly discussed; Gu's reconstruction counters many traditional commentators, who focused on the sexual topic as inherently offensive.
- 95 1 "...to defend against insults"—For an alternative reading of the Ode, see Waley (1947), p. 233. The reading given here, based upon SJ 4:117, seems more apt under the circumstances.
- 96 2 "...with literary exchanges"—The odes cited happen to be from the Major and Minor Court Songs.
- 96 3 "...was on the mind"—That disastrous consequences will follow any injudicious selection of the odes is illustrated by the Zuozhuan story of Wei Xiangong, in CQYD 279-80/Xiang 14/4 Zuo. Zhu Ziqing (1945) argues that the term "aspirations" originally referred solely to political matters. Elsewhere in this chapter, I have translated this phrase more generally as "the Odes express what is on one's mind."
- 96 3 "...of odes to woman"—Wenxuan, Li Shan's (ca. 630-689) commentary to "Li Ling's poem, given to Su Shi," cites Cai Yong's "Qin cao" to this effect. Ode 25 and Ode 26 were but two of the many songs whose composition was attributed to women.
- 96 3 "...it creates no offense"—See the "Great Preface," which continues: "But the listener [of the ode] is sufficiently forewarned." A further confirmation of the tradition that the Odes teach the "subtle use of words" is a story attributed to the poet Song Yu (fl. 275 BC) in the Song compilation, Guwen, I, 61f.
- 96 3 "...influence was swift"—For the first citation, see Analects 8/15; for the second, XZYD 76/20/15.
- 97 2 "...substantive argument made"—Zhu Xi himself commented on the convivial nature of the odes, many of which he thought were designed "to urge others to take their pleasure in feasting." See Xia Fucui (1993), p. 175. See Jan Assmann (1988), on ritual language, which conveys little information; Francois Jullien (1995), 91, 98-100.
- 97 2 "...for bureaucratic office"—"Gao Yao mo," par. 2 (Karlgren, 8).
- 97 2 "...by them, as appropriate"—The Bureau therefore played an important role in nurturing the growth of particular literary genres, with great consequences for later literary developments in China. See James Hightower (1962), pp. 49-60; Pierre Diény (1968); Michael Loewe (1974), ch. 6. In Chinese, consult Luo Genze (1931); Guo Shaoyu (1978); and the locus classicus for the idea of gathering odes, in Duke Xiang 14 of the Zuozhuan.
- 97 3 "...dancing to them"—MZYD 86/48/35. Mozi disliked the Ru's propensity to resort to music at every turn, thinking rhythm and mood to be more diffuse and so more irrational than the written word.
- 97 3 "...discuss the Odes!"—Analects 3/8 (Waley, pp. 95-96 [mod.]). The first two lines quoted by Zixia come from Ode 86, but the third does not appear in extant editions of the Odes.
- 98 1 "...three important lessons"—Cf. the anecdote about Boyu, recorded in Analects 13/5 (Waley, pp. 172-73), where Confucius is also said to teach three lessons by one reference to the Odes.



- 98 1 "...beauties of form"—Cf. Analects 1/4 (Waley, 87), where Confucius states explicitly that the polite arts should be studied only in the spare time left after all one's moral obligations have been fulfilled.
- 98 1 "...what comes next!"—Analects 1/15 (trans. after Waley, 87).
- 98 5 "...performed to music"—A few scholars, e.g., Gu Yanwu, have argued, with little supporting evidence, that not all Odes verses had musical lyrics. See Gu's RZL, III, 59-60. For a review of early references to the Odes (almost all of which show the lyrics set to music), see XianQin, pp. 128-31.
- 98 5 "...meant reading aloud"—*Du* was the technical term for "reading aloud." By "medieval," I mean post-Han through Song. For China, see Jin 49:1363, biography of Ruan Zhan (act. 307-12). For Europe, think of Augustine's frank astonishment at Ambrose's habit of silent reading. See Susan Cherniack (1994), p. 53, for both citations; also B.M.W. Knox (1968), pp. 421-35. Note that the line between chant and song is largely subjective, according to musicologists. On the inadvisability of silent reading of the Classics in general, and of the Odes in particular, see ZZJ, p. 276.
- 98 5 "...poetry set to music"—Analects 9/14 (Waley, 141-42) shows that the Odes — at least the ya and song sections — were sung at the time of Confucius; Ode 208 is suggestive in this regard. XZYD 100/27/105 also compares the Airs section of the Odes to "metal and stone [instruments]." Zheng Qiao (1104-1162) in his "Zhengsheng xulun" was an early proponent of the musical aspect of the Odes, arguing that "the Odes rest in music, not in ideas." But it is really from Qing that Odes research began to concentrate on the musical accompaniment to the odes; Shao Yichen's (1810-1861) opinion that "the origin of music is within the three hundred odes" was typical. See Shao, pp. 9-24; cf. Wen Yiduo (1923), I, 181-92 (jia); and He Dingsheng (1968), pp. 1-35, who agree that all 305 odes once had melodies. (Obviously the discussion on emotions with reference to the Odes developed out of discussions of music in the classical authors.) He Dingsheng (1931b) points out three characteristics of the odes that bespeak musical settings: (1) the xing (evocation, or opening image) has little to do with the following narrative content of the ode, so it probably sets the musical key; (2) successive stanzas often repeat the same basic meaning, changing only the end-rhymes; (3) different odes often include the same lines. Gu Jiegang, GSB III-B, pp. 608-57, esp. p. 653, specifically refutes the idea that only the "Zhounan" and "Shaonan" parts, along with Hymns, were once sung.
- 99 1 "...of six polite arts"—For a listing of the Six Arts, see the introduction. The first specialized teaching of the Odes, so far as is known, took place first under Qin (221-208 BC), when boshi (Academicians) noted for teaching the Odes traditions were appointed at court. Still, (a) the students of Confucius, Mencius, and Xunzi clearly knew some codified songs; and (b) there were earlier boshi, but it is not known what kind of appointments they held in the various states.
- 99 2 "...powers to music"—Zhu Xi's heightened interest in the musical component of the Odes was responsible for a revolution in his thinking about the text, according to Achim Mittag (1993). Note that modern theory, as outlined by Suzanne Langer, accepts the general premise that "music swallows words."

- 99 2 "...timing to all activities"—For the early association between balance, music, self-rule, and godlike charismatic power, see HSWZ 8/29. Musical training prepared one for physically and mentally taxing tasks. In ritual theory, enunciated in both the Xunzi and Liji texts at some length, music ideally harmonized what was internal, while ritual ordered the external situation (though the ritualized performance of the odes would have blurred the theoretical distinction). See LJ, trans. James Legge, II, p. 406. Heiner Roetz (1993), p. 164, points out that in the Zhuangzi "music and singing are the steady accessories of the protagonists of the Confucian school." See note 110 above for a similar remark.
- 99 2 "...violation of the rules"—Ode 106/3.
- 99 2 "...I will follow you!"—The refrain of Ode 85. The antiphonal character of many of the odes is obvious.
- 100 1 "...the most enduring"—Our knowledge of early musical performance was appreciably enlarged by the excavation in 1978 of the undisturbed tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (in present-day Hubei), who was buried in 433 BC with an orchestra of 125 instruments, including 65 bells arranged in three groups. Inscriptions on the bells refer to different pitch systems in use in various contemporary principalities, suggesting that the airs and hymns of each state may have been keyed to distinctive pitches produced by distinctive instruments. See Lothar von Falkenhausen (1993c); Robert Bagley (forthcoming-a). The foregoing citations are drawn from Xunxi's chap. 20, "On Music."
- 100 2 "...equivalent to joy"—For the Chinese on puns, see William Boltz (1994), esp. chap. 3. The "Yueji" writes, "Music is something in which the ancient sages took pleasure; it improves the heart/minds of men. Therefore it is said that music is joy." William Boltz (private communication) writes that "the two words ... are closely related not only in sound but in meaning, and are therefore cognate, so that they can be considered the same 'word-root' in some not well-defined sense." Boltz refers readers to the monograph by A. Conrady entitled "Musik und Freude."
- 100 2 "...source of gratification"—I have used "accomplishment" in two senses: the ability to successfully conclude one's diplomatic mission; also, cultivation in the polite arts. The early Chinese found music, defined as timbre, pitch, and rhythm, everywhere in the cosmos — in rushing winds, purling streams, drumming thunder: "The myriad things all produce sound" (LSCQ 5/3a-b). Thus, the sage did not need to create music; he had only to discover it, and through it the innate perfectibility of things. For rhythm as a compulsion, engendering "an unconquerable urge to yield and join in," not only with the feet but with the soul, too, see Friedrich Nietzsche (1987), pp. 138-39, which tallies with the Hanshu treatise on the pitchpipes, extensively cited in Kenneth deWoskin (1982). Lothar von Falkenhausen (1993c), introduction, suggests that such theories may have been new in Qin and Han, however.
- 100 3 "...socialized to virtue"—Such notions are elaborated in the "Yueji" chapter in the Liji; in Shiji 24, a treatise on music; and in the "Great Preface" to the Odes.
- 100 3 "...of that region"—Feng argued that the licentious Airs of Zheng "lent precious poetic support for the joys of love within the framework of Confucianism," according to Christoph Harbsmeier (1995), pp. 346-47. Feng's Mountain Songs show that folk poetry in late imperial China openly dealt with sexual and erotic matters, despite our assumptions about premodern Chinese prudery.

- 101 3 "...Legalists, Mohists, or Daoists"—The Ru classicists claimed that the Legalists were intent upon making rules to apply on an empirewide basis, so that they forfeited the ability to understand things on a human scale; they also claimed that the Legalists devised plans based on the worst in human nature, rather than on the average. Those figures often now called Daoists, according to Xunzi, were overly preoccupied with the strange. And the Mohists' injunctions were unworkable for the average person. See, e.g., XZYD 71/19/13; 64/17/50-54; Mencius 3B/19.
- 101 3 "...she fancied another"—Zhu Xi, however, took this to be the lament of an abandoned woman. After Zhu, commentators in late imperial China, anxious to enshrine the notion of female chastity after marriage, took this to be the lament of a widow pestered by suitors but determined to remain faithful to her dead husband. See Zhang Xuecheng, cited in Susan Mann (1997), p. 85. Compare the cypress boat imagery in Ode 45, which may suggest a past experience of togetherness that prompts a vow of eternal love.
- 102 2 "...to divulge fully"—Cf. the definition of good poetry, articulated by Wei Tai (eleventh century), as quoted in A.C. Graham (1965), p. 7. T.S. Eliot said that when poetic devices do the work of placing an image in context, so as to generalize the facts, "very nearly the whole business of poetry" has been done. See HSWZ 1/8-11, for early moral lessons drawn from this Ode.
- 103 2 "...the melody itself"—The definition of *xing* employed here comes from Zheng Zhong's commentary, cited in Mao shi zhengyi, according to Zhao Zhiyang (1974), p. 29. The term *xing* has occasioned more debate than any other related to the Odes anthology. Writing in the fifth century AD, the literary critic Liu Xie lamented, "The true meaning of *xing* has been lost!" See Shih, chap. 36. Most commentators have begun with a definition offered by Kong Yingda in Zhengyi 1a/6b (p. 44): "*xing* means to arouse: to take a comparison guided by categorical analogy to stimulate one's heart/mind." In the words of the pseudo-Kong commentary to the Analects (17/9), the *xing* "in drawing a comparison, linked the categorically related." Most traditional commentators, accordingly, believed that the *xing* was a device to put a particular situation into an expanded conceptual framework. See, e.g., Zhong Hong's (ca. 465-518) writings on *xing*, summarized in Xia Fucui (1993), pp. 142-46. The Song critic Zheng Qiao, however, sharply disputed the notion of categorical correspondence between the *xing* and the following narrative, setting off a wave of further commentarial debate. The clearest explanation of the term comes from Su Che's (1039-1112) essay "Shilun" and from He Dingsheng (1931a). He believes that the *xing* were borrowed from popular songs, that their purpose was to signal singers and musicians to switch keys (p. 702) and that the choice of *xing* was somehow tied to the sound of the music (LJAL ch. 1). (Gu Jiegang suggests rhyme principally determined the choice of *xing*.) In any case, the *xing* set or reinforced the rhythm, established the sound pattern, and evoked a mood, hence my translation as "evocation" or "evocative [image]," a translation found also in Haun Saussy (1993). C.H. Wang (1974), p. 102, has argued that *xing* functioned not only as mnemonic devices (chiefly needed in longer poems) but also as intensifiers, recalling to the audience the many other odes that employ the same image, so as to stimulate the audience and set the emotional tone of the ode. Two scholars of the French school depart from tradition when they define *xing*. For George Margoulies, the term *xing*, like the terms *bi* (comparisons) and *fu* (extended description), designates "a method of interpretation for the poems employed by the literati who studied them." See William McNaughton (1963), p. 102, n. 64. In a related vein, Donald Holzman (1978) renders *xing* as "to make metaphorical allusions" based on the Odes in public rhetorical speech. I assume a propensity in art forms to communicate the deepest truths in multiple dialects or styles, with some relatively clear and explicit and others condensed to mere formulae. See also David Keightley (1990), esp. chap. 3.4; Zheng Zhong's commentary, cited in Maoshi zhengyi, according to Zhao Zhiyang (1974), p. 29.

- 104 1 "...achieve his goals"—See Jeffrey Riegel (1986), p. 21; Willard Peterson (1979).
- 104 3 "...with his wrath"—See Chuxue 19, citing the odes "Shiwei" and "Bozhou." For a second example of such sarcastic readings, lines in Ode 130/1 ("Looking bland and soft as a piece of jade/Living there in his plank house/ It sends confusion into all the corners of my house") were used to describe five kinds of so-called gentlemen who failed in their duties (HSWZ, pp. 67-68).
- 105 1 "...impact of any citation"—Contra William Graham (1980), p. 22.
- 105 1 "...the Changes divination manual"—Shi Kuang (also known as Music Master Kuang) was a musician at the court of Duke Ping of Jin (r. 557-32 BC), who reputedly used music to predict the future. See HHS 82A:2704. The Han magic of "watching the ethers," as reported in Derk Bodde (1959), is related to this, as the musical pitchpipes were used to determine the activities of qi.
- 105 2 "...heart to heart"—Note that the dead in China were not entirely confined to the world below ground, as the ancestors were also thought to reside in Heaven, from which vantage point they could exercise their powers to protect or punish men below.
- 105 2 "...to initiate closer relations"—Gu Jiegang (1931), p. 356, makes the interesting point that by the Warring States period things had changed, probably because the three hundred odes were not so familiar to members of the greatly expanded class of literate men. A citation from the Odes may have been used just as frequently to signal a desire to cut off relations, as well as to forge better relations, in situations reflecting a widening of divisions.
- 105 2 "...to instructed minds"—The quotation is from Analects 12/24; after the quotation comes a loose paraphrase of *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), cited in William McNaughton (1971), p. 125.
- 105 3 "...exchange of ideas"—See Donald Holzman (1978), p. 34, on the Odes as "instruments of exchange." For a Han citation, see HS 48:2249, which claims that in an ideal past, each heir designate was taught by a number of officials, including "blind music masters to chant odes, musicians to chant exhortations and admonitions, grandees to put forth proposals and officials to convey public opinion. As [the heir] studied and his fund of knowledge increased, he was therefore able to set forth his own opinions incisively yet without undue embarrassment." In a very few passages recorded in the *Zuo*, the odes are used only to articulate the speaker's feelings, but in each of these passages, the situation is clearly labeled as unalterable. See CQYD 181/Xuan 2/4 *Zuo*, where Xuanzi protests the historian's final decision with the words of the odes; CQYD 307/Xiang 25/fu ii, where Taishu Wenzi quotes an ode to criticize Ning Xi's demonstrated lack of care in dealing with his ruler; and CQYD 328/Xiang 29/fu viii, where Pi Chen criticizes the blood oath already sworn between a Zheng counselor and the Boyou clan.
- 106 1 "...in the Odes' anthology"—Numerous odes take friendship as their subject. Ode 247, for example, speaks of "Your friends being assisted,/ Assisted by your dignified mien." And for an ode that laments loving friendship turned sour, see Ode 201: "Faced with fear and dread,/ It was all you and I./ Came time of ease and joy,/ And you've cast me away." The HSWZ also supplies numerous negative examples of friendship and mutual succor, as in 6/27, as well as passages on how to recognize or act as a potential worthy friend, as in 2/10, 2/18, and 2/28. Finally, many of the HSWZ anecdotes are preoccupied with the theme of knowing, as in HSWZ 1/3, 1/18; 7/17; 7/18.
- 106 1 "...and his absolute loyalty"—HSWZ 10/2 (Hightower, 319).
- 106 2 "...what he did for them"—Analects 14/18 (Waley, 185).
- 106 2 "...Central States culture"—Analects 14/17.

- 106 2 "...who really knew me"—This summary comes from Eric Henry (1987), p. 8. This article, a conversation with Eric Henry in the spring of 1997, and the work of Alfreda Murck inspired much of my thinking in this chapter.
- 106 2 "...these three virtues?"—HSWZ 7/24 (Hightower, 247 [mod.]). Cf. *ibid.* 7/6 (Hightower, 229); SY 2/5a. As quoted in the *Analects*, Confucius wished only to be sure of knowing others; supposedly he cared less about being known, i.e., recognized.
- 107 2 "...worth playing for"—HSWZ 9/5 (Hightower, 294 [mod.]). For a similar story told of Confucius himself, whose disciples "know the sound" (*zhi yin*) of his playing, see HSWZ 7/26.
- 107 3 "...often at home"—Gu Jiegang (1931), p. 354, remarks that bell and drum predominated in the Chunqiu period whereas stringed instruments like the lute became more popular during Warring States. At the same time, the public/private contrast was not as large as one might suppose today. HSWZ 1/23 compares the governing of a state to the tuning of a lute. Successful governance was also tied to empathetic treatment of one's subjects as fathers, elder brothers, friends, and teachers, making strong associations among the themes of good rule, music, and friendship in early China. See HSWZ 8/10; 9/12.
- 107 4 "...their own enjoyment"—The first quotation from Zhong Hong, cited in Xia Fucui (1993), p. 142; the second from CIS, III, 100. For the belief that friends, music, and texts (texts being the repository of "friends in history") were the Ancients' treasure, see Zhu2 chap. 5, p. 182.
- 107 4 "...are they vague"—Stephen Owen (1992), p. 44.
- 107 4 "...the surface social reality"—As HS 48:2249, puts it, "With his moral education complete and the heart/mind mature, thus the Middle Way will seem to him like second nature."
- 108 1 "...and animates his body"—Zhong, chap 6 (p. 9, line 16)
- 108 2 "...a tapping of feet"—Cf. "Music is joy, an emotion which man cannot help but feel at times. Since man cannot help feeling joy, his joy must find an outlet in voice and an expression in movement.... Man must have his joy and joy must have its expression, but if that expression is not guided by the principles of the Way, then it will inevitably become disordered." See XZYD 22/8/65-66; cf. ZZYD 9/33/9. Cf. XY 6 ("Shenwei"), which says that expressing inner feelings will "benefit the emotions and regulate the nature," or the "Great Preface," which perhaps draws upon apocrypha (e.g., CIS, III, 91) or *Xunzi*. In any case, this argument has "appeared in one form or another in the works of the most important criticism," including Lu Ji (261-303) of the Jin and Liu Xie and Zhong Hong of the Liang (fl. late fifth-early sixth century)," according to Ch'en Shih-hsiang (1959), p. 317. Note that "the aspirations" on one's mind have nothing to do with logic; *zhi* refers to the heart/mind's focus on some goal that has stirred it, as in the popular lyric, "Woke up this morning/ You were on my mind." See *Analects* 16/13 (Waley, 208).
- 108 3 "...of stable friendships"—As early as the second century BC Mawangdui manuscript, "Wuxing pian," it was averred that when the five ways of conduct are harmonized, "then there is pleasure." "Harmonized" refers to the sense of the harmony found in the "five tones" of music. See Ikeda Tomohisa (1993), p. 377.
- 109 1 "...without being plucked"—CQFL 13/3b. This chapter may not be authentic, but Dong made similar statements using musical metaphors in memorials to Emperor Wu of Han (r. 140-87 BC). See HS 56:2504-5, for example.

- 109 1 "...truest to oneself"—For the compound effect to be had when sentient and noetic *qi* (*shenqi*) is attuned and resonating, see the authentic works of Dong Zhongshu and Huan Tan. Cf. HSWZ 1/9, where the sound of a true sage merges with Heaven and Earth, as though the sage were himself a set of musical instruments.
- 109 1 "...external things, they stir"—LJ 19/1.
- 109 1 "...of singing odes"—GY 5:72 ("Luyu B"). See Pierre Diény (1968), pp. 44-45, for the "improvisation pathétique," wherein the poet shakes off feelings of melancholy by playing a musical instrument or asking a friend to accompany him.
- 109 1 "...against a wall"—Analects 17/10 (Waley, 212), with reference probably to the "Zhounan" and "Shaonan" parts.
- 109 2 "...performances, and feasting"—Chang'an was the third and Luoyang joined that distinguished roster when it became the capital of the empire during Eastern Han. See Lü Yun (1987).
- 109 2 "...of married life"—See Kaizuka Shigeki (1976-78), VI, 301-12, for a famous depiction of the Ru master Fu Sheng teaching the Documents. At Yi'nan, numerous scenes of merry feasts adorn the tomb. At the Wuliang shrine, a stone relief depicting "Host and Hostess Among Guests" appears with another portraying the "Meeting of Confucius and Laozi." The same conjunctions are often found in Sichuan, as is clear from Lucy Lim (1987), figs. 2, 12. See, e.g., two "pictorial tomb reliefs of feasting with entertainment," in Lucy Lim (1987), cpl. 16, pl. 47, and the "Lecture Scene," a pottery tomb relief unearthed in Chengdu in Lucy Lim (1987), pl. 34. For the Sichuan version of the "Meeting of Confucius and Laozi," see the stone relief unearthed from Xinjin county (*ibid.*, pl. 54). Note that many scenes of Xiwangmu, conferrer of immortality, depict a man and wife — not just the man — seated in attendance on the queen.
- 111 1 "...to please her"—Translation based upon Qu Wanli (1980), pp. 25-28; and Wen Yiduo (1923), pp. 69-70 (*yi*); also Wai-lim Yip (1969), pp. 2-3.
- 111 2 "...seeking the girl"—For the trochaic meter of the opening lines of Ode 1, see Ken-ichi Takashima (1999), 414. For ospreys as monogamous ("By nature, they don't go together in pairs"), see Zhang Chao, "Chao Qing Yi fu," LNZ 3/23a. See Mark Asselin (1997), pp. 430, 433; Riegel (1997). Some scholars, including Donald Harper, have suggested that the osprey's characteristic cry (*guan-guan*) was a homophone for "come together/come together," but others (including Paul Kroll and Martin Kern) find no pun here in the *xing*. (Zheng Qiao thought the bird was not an osprey, but the common mallard duck, portending a union of lamentably short duration.) For "pure and undefiled," see the Xue scholars on Ode 1, as in HHS 2:122, n. 4; HHS 28B:995, n. 2. The secluded nature of the isle, which parallels the segregation of women, preoccupies the Han commentator Xue Han, cited in MGH, I, 513.
- 111 3 "...even to the world"—XZYD 97/27/35-42.
- 111 3 "...and proper relations"—Translation after Mark Asselin (1997), p. 435, n. 52.

- 112 1 "...the myriad generations"—LJ 27/2. Cf. HSWZ 5/1 (Hightower [1952], p. 159), which calls the poem "Mysterious and dark,... its transformations like those of the supernatural dragon [symbol of fecundity]. It is that which connects all things and on which the life of human beings is dependent." Cf. also Kuang Heng, cited in HS 81:3342, which says, "Confucius, in setting the order of the Odes, made 'Guanju' its beginning, [implying that] the great superiors are parents of the people ... who set in order the myriad things." The "Zhongyong" concurs: "The way of the noble man originates in husband-wife relations"; the prefatory remarks to SJ 49. Compare Odes 1 and 7, where both a woman and a man are the "noble man's good match." Early commentators, such as Song Jun, clearly take Ode 1 to refer to the search for a mate. See CIS, III, 32. Hence the many odes cited not only in the *Zuozhuan*, the main account of diplomatic conduct by males, but also in the *Lienü zhuan*, an early text about exemplary female conduct. See also Lin Yaolin (1990), pp. 18ff, and Cf. MGH, I, 491, citing Han Ying's commentary. The notion that a wife's constant virtue is the foundation of the family virtue, which becomes in turn the foundation for the just state, is found in Zheng Xuan's *Shipu*, and it persists into late imperial China. Cf. Fang Yurun's *Shijing yuanshi*, summarized in Xia Fucui (1993), pp. 230-33.
- 113 1 "...beckons me to sport"—Reading *ao* (GSR 1130a) as "to amuse oneself."
- 113 1 "...and then some more"—According to the Han version of the Odes, in which *xunxu* was read as *le* (delight, pleasure). See MGH, I, 497.
- 113 2 "...companions and models"—See XZYD 100/27/105 (Knoblock, vol 3, p. 230). Knoblock translates *yan qi zhi* as "do not err in their stopping point," taking "their" to refer to "desires." That reading is also possible. (We tend to forget that Xunzi's theory on ritual is premised on "the nurture of human desires and the supplying of human wants," as in XZYD 70/19/2.) That Ode 1 is about "the pleasures of the inner chambers [i.e., the bedroom]" is unequivocally stated by the Jin dynasty commentator Sun Yu in MGH, I, 568. As Christoph Harbsmeier (1995), p. 350, reminds us, "in pre-Han China... love... was not 'problematised'." The erotic dimension was certainly not excluded from the *Zuozhuan* accounts, which are roughly contemporaneous with Xunzi.
- 113 2 "...especially the Odes"—*Yanshi jiaxun* 2:2 (Teng, 5).
- 113 2 "...in the inner chambers"—Zheng Xuan, *Shipu*, discussed in detail in Jiang Qianyi (1984), esp. p. 39; cf. Zheng Xuan's *Yi li* commentary (15.81). Zheng was undoubtedly thinking of the Han *yuefu* music attributed to the consort of the first Han emperor, Lady Tangshan, but the term *fangzhong* in connection with that song cycle may also refer to the side rooms used in the ancestral sacrifices.
- 113 2 "...out in the fields"—Wen Yiduo (1923), I, 76 (*jia*), notes in later ritual practice a ceremony in which a substitute for the female founders wears the clothes of the impersonator of the dead and takes his place, in a chaste "recreation" of the sexual congress between female founders and the Lord.
- 113 2 "...from the canons"—Three years after penning these lines, I came across Christoph Harbsmeier (1995), p. 327, which states similarly, "I find it hard to believe that privately Confucians in general believed this [political rendering of the Odes in authorized commentarial interpretations, including the Mao Preface] to be a natural and historically plausible reading of the original purpose" of the Odes. Harbsmeier continues (p. 330), "I strongly suspect that the open-minded eroticism of this poetry has always been privately and quietly enjoyed in all its innocent licentiousness by traditional scholars, in spite of the Confucianist orthodox readings recommending by the moralizing Prefaces."

- 13           2 "...knowing the canon"—Mark Asselin (1997), pp. 428ff. Zhu Xi himself in *Shi ji zhuan* compared Ode 81 to a love song in a "Liking Sex rhapsody" between a man and a woman by Song Yu (fl. 275 BC). See Zhu1, p. 51.
- 114           1 "...of uncommon severity"—Particularly nice is the scene concerning preparations for Bridal Du's study. See translation by Cyril Birch (1980), p. 27. The young miss dies of longing during the festival commemorating the yearly meeting of the Cowherd and Weaving Girl constellations in the sky. She is eventually reunited in this life, not the next, with the object of her dreams, a cultivated scion of an old, aristocratic house who is, naturally, predestined to succeed brilliantly in the palace examinations.
- 114           1 "...lines from the Odes"—Cyril Birch (1980), pp. 51, 91. In many cases, the sensuality of young married women is excused on grounds that it has been aroused by passages in the Odes.
- 114           2 "...of expressive song"—Many canonical works presume that much great literature is engendered by the insights born of sorrow, especially of suffering injustice. See, for example, the *Changes* traditions, according to which the virtuous King Wen of Zhou wrote his famous work while in prison; also the Preface to the Odes, where the *Airs* are said to reflect local conditions imposed by government. This view was vigorously promoted by China's greatest historian, Sima Qian, in his famous "Letter to Ren An," included in chapter 130 of his monumental *Shiji* (ca. 100 BC). In that same letter Sima Qian also contended that those who made the Odes in "narrating past events were thinking of those to come." For the eternal power of the Odes, see Liu Zongyuan, in *LiuZY* 34:2. Regarding the relative importance of themes of friendship and separation in Chinese poetry, William McNaughton (1971), pp. 43-45), reminds us that Chinese poets write, "much more frequently than the Western poets, of separation from a friend.... In later Chinese poetry, poems of separation most often deal with separation of friend to friend."
- 114           2 "...name for 'upholding friends'"—Mencius 5B/8 (trans. after Lau [1979], p. 158).
- 115           1 "...and social standing"—In the phrase of Stephen Owen (1992), p. 35, this impulse to know many others beyond one's circle constitutes "a kind of ethical curiosity that is both social and sociable."
- 115           2 "...able to get it"—Mencius 5A/4.
- 115           2 "...recitations of the songs"—Stephen Owen (1981), p. 94, has emphasized the "repeatable" nature of experiences based on literature. On the blind musicians: Presumably this tradition goes back to the Odes itself, for the Preface to the Odes (as quoted in the *Tang Stone Classic*) remarks on the "blind musicians, who when they began to make music, were united with the ancestors." When the blind musicians played the Hymns section, the ancestors of the Shang ruling clan would be present as guests.
- 115           2 "...longing for noble men"—Ode 90, followed by the relevant citation from the "Great Preface," cited in Legge, IV, 51.
- 115           2 "...[will appreciate their merits]"—Han Yu2, p. 115.
- 115           2 "...the original mind"—Wang Yangming *nianpu*, under 57 sui, 10th month; trans. modified from Tu Wei-ming (1976b), p. 15.



- 115 3 "...the course of politics"—For further information, see Adele Rickett (1975), 146; also, Wenxin diaolong: "In the case of composing literature, the emotions are stirred and the words come forth; but in the case of reading, one opens the literary text and enters the emotions [of the writer], goes up against the waves to find the source; and though it will [at first] be hidden, it will certainly become manifest. None may see the actual faces of a faraway age, but by viewing their writing, one may immediately see their hearts/minds" (trans. after Stephen Owen [1985], p. 59).
- 116 1 "...over the ages"—Matching odes are known from the beginning; see Zuo zhuan, Yin 1. The custom of matching rhymes antedated Tang times but became famous thanks to the poetic exchanges between Yuan Zhen (779-831) and Bo Juyi (772-846) and between Pi Rixiu (d. 880) and Lu Guimeng (d. 881). For the matching rhymes associated with Du Fu and with Su Shi, see Alfreda Murck (forthcoming) and Ronald Egan (1983). For an example of "reversed images," see Charles Hartman (1986a), p. 58. Note that even poets famous for self-expression, according to Chinese critics, were inspired by the State Airs and Court Songs. See Yuan Haowen, cited in Wixted (trans.), pp. 34, 57.
- 116 1 "...a thousand years ago"—Zhu4 7/15a (trans. after Chaves [1982], pp. 202-3). Cf. Yuan Mei: "Fortunately one need not belong to one's own time,/ One's real date is the date of the books one reads" Arthur Waley/ [1956], p. 85).
- 116 1 "...no gap in between"—From Chen Jing's (Southern Song) Shangshu xiangjie, cited in Liu Qiyu (1987), p. 66.
- 116 1 "...great literary tradition"—Zhong Kun'ai, cited in Tin-yuke Char (1975), p. 257.
- 117 1 "...harmony with you!"—Kongjia 22/12b (trans. after Mather, [1978], pp. 168-69).
- 117 1 "...All-under-Heaven"—Both these points are made in Marcel Granet (1932). Stephen Owen emphasizes the sense of wholeness in the anthology in his Foreword to Joseph Allen's new edition (1996) of Arthur Waley's classic translation (1937).
- 117 1 "...were inextricably joined"—See Stephen Owen (1985), ch. 1; Yang Ye (1996).
- 117 1 "...with Heaven and Earth"—The first quotation is from Zhong Hong's preface to the Shipin; the second, from Du Fu, in poems addressed to his friends Gao Shi and Chen Shen, in Tang, VII, 2427; the third, from HSWZ 1/9. The translation of the second quotation follows Yang Ye (1996), p. 19.
- 117 2 "...into rhetorical usage"—Kidder Smith (1989), p. 442. There was little consensus even within the state-approved interpretations. For example, the BHT explains Ode 52, with its lines "Look at the rat/it has its limbs," as a wife admonishing her husband, while the Mao commentary ties the ode to a critique made by Duke Wen of Wei of his ministers' manners. For BHT, see Tjan, 467, n. 25.
- 117 2 "...kind of poetry"—Richard Rorty (1983) and (1989).
- 117 2 "...clear, and unbroken"—The cross-referential nature of the commentarial traditions is discussed best in Haun Saussy (1993), pp. 23ff. For the discussion of music, see Analects 3/23. Many scholars in late imperial China were influenced by Ouyang Xiu, who had argued, "Those portions of the classics that can be understood without reference to a commentary are seven or eight parts in ten, while those that are confused and obscured by the commentaries are five or six in ten" (cited in van Zoeren, p. 183).

- 117 2 "...sophisticated Odes scholars"—For a long time, Gu Jiegang (1931), pp. 319-20, was one of the few modern scholars to insist that the odes supply insufficient information for us to identify their "basic [motivating] event." Some fifty years ago, much of Euro-American scholarship, operating on the prevailing positivist assumption that each ode could have only one right meaning, rejected the didactic readings formulated in the Odes' commentarial traditions, valuing the commentaries chiefly for their philological glosses. Though many continue to assume the priority of the canons over the commentaries, more recent scholarship on the Odes, perhaps reflecting the post-modern interest in discontinuity and rupture, finds these commentaries — written centuries to millennia after the composition and anthology of the largely unrelated poetic lyrics — worth study in their own right as rhetorical documents reflecting a parallel and no less important interplay of inscribed textual traditions, current cultural fashions, and personal idiosyncrasies. See, e.g., the work of Pauline Yu, Steven van Zoeren, Haun Saussy, and Martin Kern in this regard, which represents a return to earlier insights. LH 82:565, in fact, argues that the "canonical texts rely on their traditions for explanations" without which it would be impossible to "transmit the ideas" and "adopt the intent" of the sages. Mark Edward Lewis (1999), p. 300, goes so far as to say that the jing are constituted by the shuo (sayings) and zhuan (traditions or commentaries).
- 118 1 "...so perfect one's virtue"—Zhong ch. 7 (ICS 10, line 13, p. 11, line 7).
- 118 2 "...building a synthetic view"—Guoxue jikan fankan xuanyan, cited in Xia Fucui (1993), p. 268.
- 118 2 "...an unbearable calamity"—As HSWZ 5/15 says, "Is it not the man of learning alone with whom one can speak all day long without fatigue? His physique may not be worth looking at and his strength insufficient to inspire fear; his family may not be worth mentioning and his ancestors not worth talking about. But he can be famous everywhere and illustrious among the feudal lords" (trans. adapted from Hightower [1952], p. 205). The final formulation about true bliss is borrowed directly from Eric Henry (1987), 8, and only slightly reworked.
- 118 2 "...than delighting in it"—Analects 6/20.
- 118 2 "...not true nobility"—Analects 1/1.
- 119 1 "...reprobates and scoundrels"—To my knowledge, only a few individuals in imperial China disputed this. For one, see Xiao Kang (503-51), "Dang yang gong da xin shu," cited in Miao Yue (1955), p. 47.
- 119 1 "...[invariably] comes forth"—Quoted matter preceding the ellipsis, adapted from Stephen Owen, cited in Hall and Ames (1995), p. 219; following the ellipsis, from HS 30:1708.
- 119 1 "...with you is good"—Ode 94, trans. adapted from Whincup, (1997), p. 15. Yang Xiong (53 BC-18 AD) referred to heartfelt human speech as "rhapsodies of the men of the Odes," in contrast to court-sponsored flattery, which he decried as "rhapsodies of the men of beautiful phrases." See HS 30:1756.