The core chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*

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A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Trinity 2016

Abstract

In this thesis, I discuss a group of compositionally related “core” chapters within the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書, a collection of 59 texts from ancient China that has received very limited attention in scholarship. The texts in this collection are difficult to read and interpret because of their poor preservation and the lack of concise commentaries. I develop a methodological strategy for the identification of philologically related texts within the collection, which allows me to single out a group of texts related by compositional structures, rhetorical patterns and characteristic formulaic expressions. I call such chapters “kingly consultations”, considering that most of such texts are presented as speeches involving sage rulers of the Western Zhou 西周 (mid. 11th century – 771 BC), in which they share the fundamental wisdoms of kingship. I argue that these texts are remnants of an important ritualised textual practice, which has left traces not only in the *Yi Zhou shu*, but also in other collections, such as the *Liu tao* 六韜 (*Six Bow Cases*), which is commonly classified among “military” texts. I reconstruct elements of the socio-political context of the kingly consultations using comparative insight. I examine the numerical lists used for systematisation of knowledge against similar lists in the Pāli canon. I also explain the significance of the expressions that emphasise the secretive transmission of texts against better known esoteric textual communities in China and Japan. Such comparison allows me to preliminarily identify the communities behind the kingly consultations as based on strict knowledge-based hierarchy, but prone to segmentation. Finally, I position the kingly consultations within the broader context of the practice of treasure texts. This practice is an important development in ancient China that led to the emergence of a new type of textual authority by “detaching” earlier epigraphic texts from their precious material carriers and introducing them into novel environment of manuscript culture.

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Acknowledgements

I express gratitude to the Clarendon Fund and Wolfson College, Oxford University, without whose support I would not have been able to undertake my doctorate course in Oxford. I am also grateful to the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange whose generous grant allowed me to fund the fourth year of my study.

As I worked on my thesis, I benefited greatly from the support of Rens Krijgsman, a fellow doctorate student at Oxford, with whom I frequently discussed my work in progress and to whom I am very much indebted.

I am obliged to the members of Wolfson College for their support and insightful conversations. I am particularly grateful to Cameron Bailey, who made me realise that much of what I thought to be specifically Chinese has convincing parallels in Buddhist sources.

I am grateful to Professor Robert Chard, Dr Peter Ditmanson, Professor Barend ter Haar, Professor Richard Parkinson and Professor Kai Vogelsang whose feedback has allowed me to improve various parts of this thesis during the different stages of its preparation.

Finally, I express special gratitude to my supervisor Professor Dirk Meyer who encouraged me to apply to Oxford and who offered extremely competent assistance in my most important professional achievements.

Conventions

Citations from the *Yi Zhou shu*, unless otherwise indicated, are given according to: Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, Tian Xudong 田旭東, and Zhang Maorong 張懋鎔, eds. *Yi Zhou shu huijiao jizhu* 逸周書彙校集注 (*A Collated and Annotated Edition of the Yi Zhou Shu*). Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2007. This edition is in turn based on the *Sibu congkan* reprint of a collated edition by Zhang Bo 章檗 published in the twenty-second year of the Jiajing 嘉靖 era (1543).

For transcriptions of oracle-bone texts and electronic fonts, I use the CHANT database: http://www.chant.org. For bronze texts, I use electronic texts and fonts from the electronic database *Shang-Zhou jinwen ziliao tongjian* 商周金文資料通鑑 (*Comprehensive Collection of Bronze Text Materials from Shang and Zhou Eras*) v. 2.0 from January 2013, which I acquired from Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽. An earlier version of this database underlies Wu's 35-volume *Shang-Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji tuxiang jicheng* 商周青銅器銘文暨圖像集成 (*Anthology of Bronze Epigraphy and Images from the Shang and Zhou Eras*). Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2012. Index numbers of bronze texts, unless otherwise indicated, are provided according to: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (Collection of Bronze Texts from Yin and Zhou Dynasties). 18 vols. Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1984–1994.

With the exception of the *Liu tao* 六韜 (*Six Bow Cases*), the *Shang shu* 尚書 (*Venerated Writings*) and the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (*Leftover Zhou Writings*) that occur frequently in the text, I provide translations and transcriptions in original script for every first mention of a Chinese or Japanese name or term within every chapter.

When providing phonological reconstructions, unless otherwise indicated, I rely on the recent reconstruction by William Baxter and Laurent Sagart: Baxter, William H., and Laurent Sagart. *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014; Baxter, William H., and Laurent Sagart. "The Baxter-Sagart Reconstruction of Old Chinese," 20 September, 2014. http://ocbaxtersagart.lsait.lsa.umich.edu/ .

Introduction

What is the *Yi Zhou shu* about? I hear this seemingly simple question on many occasions, and those who ask usually expect a short and intelligible answer. What I have to say in response, however, is always disappointing. To begin with, it is difficult to pin down the subject of a loose anthology. The fact that this anthology consists of badly preserved material without sufficient commentaries does not help. Finally, knowing that this anthology was reconceptualised more than once, every time with different ideas in mind, makes it impossible to describe it concisely at a lunch-table conversation.

In the existing scholarship, several different ways to define the *Yi Zhou shu* are commonly considered, each reflecting a certain perception of the collection during some period of its long formation and circulation. Among some of the best known understandings one could mention: writings received from the rulers of the Western Zhou dynasty; chapters of the *Shang shu* that were discarded by Confucius during his editing of the classic; the texts excavated from the tomb in Ji commandery (*Ji zhong shu* 汲冢書) in the late third century AD; a collection of partially credible and partially dubious historical records. Many of these understandings co-existed over long spans of time, further complicating an already muddled matter.

Finding difficulties with any of the traditional understandings of the *Yi Zhou shu* is a cakewalk for any critically minded textual scholar: the inclusion of Han-dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD) texts makes it impossible to view the collection solely as a product of the pre-imperial (before 221 BC) period;[1] the continued transmission of many chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* before the famous discovery in Ji commandery precludes the treatment of it purely as an exca-

1 Zhou Yuxiu 周玉秀 (2005, 43) demonstrates convincingly that the “Shi xun jie” 時訓解 (“Seasonal instructions. Explained”) chapter contains features characteristic of the Eastern Han linguistic developments. They are located in key parts of the text and cannot be regarded as a later accretion. The chapter “Shifa jie” 謚法解 (“The order of posthumous names. Explained”) appears to be a conflation of several texts that were merged some time during the early mediaeval period.

vated text; moreover, the frequent use of dating formulas and story-telling introductions at the beginning of the chapters fails to conceal the evident preoccupation with a-historical matters.[2] Nonetheless, taking issue with these obviously shallow positions is a questionable pleasure. It would be better to find an alternative understanding that does not contradict available evidence. Considering the complexity of the *Yi Zhou shu*'s textual history, such an alternative understanding cannot be simple. In fact, I can only envision it as a set of mutually complementing narratives, each focusing on different components of the anthology and on different issues related to their formation and gradual integration. Once elaborated in sufficient depth, such narratives may add to our understanding not only of the formation of the *Yi Zhou shu*, but also of the environment of its textual production during the different periods of early and mediaeval China.

My engagement with the *Yi Zhou shu* started many years before the beginning of my doctoral project. In 2010, I submitted a Bachelor's degree dissertation to the Institute of Asian and African Studies at Moscow State University, where I discussed some issues related to the formation and transmission history of the *Yi Zhou shu*. The observations related to the multi-staged formation of the collection still appear largely valid today, and I would like to summarise some of them below, partly because they provide the necessary background information for the understanding of the *Yi Zhou shu* in general, and partly because they are important for the understanding of the problem of the “core chapters”, the central topic of this thesis.

2 On the compositional significance of the contextualisation passages at the beginning of individual chapters, see Grebnev (2016). I also discuss this in Chapter 1.

0.1 The muddled history of the *Yi Zhou shu*'s mediaeval recensions

The textual history of the *Yi Zhou shu* is a complex matter. It can be roughly divided into two periods: the period when the different constituent components of what would later be compiled into one collection existed independently or at least were part of a relatively loose and variable assemblage of texts, and the period after the compilation of the recension mentioned in the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 treatise of the *Han shu* 漢書 (*Book of Han*), after which the constituent parts of the collection could no longer be easily separated from one another. The textual history of the *Yi Zhou shu* during the first period should be seen as the history of individual texts and groups of texts. For the second period, it becomes justified to study the textual history of the collection *in toto*, although the flexibility of its transmission during the mediaeval period, the existence of several parallel recensions and the separate circulation of some of its chapters make it impossible to think of its history as a history of a single entity or even of several parallel commensurate entities. A river that is first formed out of multiple springs, then breaks into several small and large concurrent streams to eventually reunite again in one flow would perhaps be a suitable metaphor here.

To any scrupulous student of the *Yi Zhou shu*, it soon becomes obvious that some parts of this collection of 59 texts are more similar to each other while others stand out by their language, size, composition, cast of characters and other features. A philologically acceptable grouping of texts within the collection, however, still remains a desideratum. This problem has been acknowledged since a long time ago. As early as in the sixteenth year of the Daoguang 道光 era (1836), Tang Dapei 唐大沛 proposed a fairly complex classification of chapters: first he divided the *Yi Zhou shu* into three batches based on their preservation condition and authenticity: top batch (*shang bian* 上編), middle batch (*zhong bian* 中編) and

lower batch (*xia bian* 下編). Subsequently, within each batch he identifies two or three thematic groups.[3] Although Tang's classification is important as an early attempt to highlight the heterogeneous nature of the collection and is partially based on valid observations regarding the texts' varying degrees of archaicity and proximity to other parts of the received corpus, his system is difficult to accept. Indeed, Tang does not attempt to provide a text-historical or a formal philological grouping. His goal is rather to help the reader by dividing the collection into more and less worthwhile material, which results in a classification based on value judgement, not on falsifiable formal criteria. In particular Tang's three "batches" represent groups of texts of different value, with each next group considered somewhat less important than the previous one.

A more scrupulous approach that considers formal features of individual chapters has been accepted by Shaughnessy in his concise introduction to the *Yi Zhou shu* in the *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, which remains the most useful bibliographic summary on the *Yi Zhou shu* in a Western language. Shaughnessy's summary is a good departure point for my discussion as it provides both an overview of existing evidence regarding the collection's textual history and reflects certain widely held beliefs that call for a critical re-evaluation.[4] The list of 32 "core" chapters in his summary is borrowed from the doctoral dissertation of Huang Peirong 黃沛榮 whose analysis is a step in the right direction, even though I find his argument in favour of philological homogeneity of such a large group of texts not sufficiently thorough. The criteria that Huang relies on in his identification of the core chapters are: 1) frequent use of anadiplosis, when the first character (or two) of a new clause repeats the last character of the preceding clause; 2) frequent use of four-character phrases; 3) frequent use of numerical lists; 4) similarity of chapter titles; 5) rhyming. Of the 32 chapters

3 Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, Zhang Maorong (2007, 1225-1228).
4 Shaughnessy (1993).

that Huang identifies as the "core", only two match all the five criteria, while the other chapters only have two to four of the identified features.[5] Considering the non-specific character of these criteria and their relatively loose application by Huang, I doubt that there is any firm evidence to argue that the 32 chapters "are written with one hand" (*chu zi yi shou* 出自一手).[6] A philologically justified identification of the set of the related "core" chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* therefore remains an important problem, which lies at the focus of this thesis.

Much insight for the identification of related groups of texts within the *Yi Zhou shu* can be gained from the scrutiny of the collection's textual history, which is another important question covered in Shaughnessy's summary. He starts his discussion from the earliest surviving bibliographic record in the "Yi wen zhi" in the *Han shu*, which mentions a *Zhou shu* 周書 in 71 chapters (*pian* 篇) followed by a brief commentary: *Zhou shi ji* 周史記 ("records of Zhou historiographers").[7] From the bibliographic treatises in the dynastic histories *Sui shu* 隋書 (*Book of Sui*), the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (*Old Book of Tang*) and the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (*New Book of Tang*), it is possible to deduce that two different recensions of the collection co-existed in the period around the seventh until the 11th century AD.[8] One was known as the *Zhou shu* 周書 (*Zhou Writings*) with Kong Chao's 孔晁 (third century AD) commentary in eight *juan* 卷 ("scrolls"), the other one as the *Ji zhong Zhou shu* 汲冢周書 (*Zhou Writings from the Tomb in Ji Commandery*) in ten *juan*.[9] The latter was believed to be related to the famous group of texts unearthed from the tomb of King Xiang of Wei 魏襄王 (d. 296 BC) in

5 Huang Peirong (1976, 93–94).
6 Huang Peirong (1976, 92).
7 *Han shu* (1962, 1705)
8 My understanding of the term "recension" is influenced by Harold Roth who defines it as "a foundational version of a text that exhibits a distinctive pattern of textual variants and sometimes a unique textual organization and which is often associated with a particular ancient commentary on the text" (Roth 1993, 223).
9 *Sui shu* (1973, 959); *Jiu Tang shu* (1975, 1993); *Xin Tang shu* (1975, 1463)

the late third century AD.[10] Not much is known about the differences between these two recensions and their role in the formation of the modern text of the *Yi Zhou shu*. It would be tempting to assume that the present-day recension in ten *juan*, which assembles both commented and non-commented chapters, is a result of a conflation of the eight-*juan* recension, whose bibliographic descriptions mention a commentary, and the ten-*juan* recension without a mention of a commentary. However, as I shall explain below, such an assumption would be misleading.

Fortunately, some light is cast on the problem by the *Shi lüe* 史略 (*Outline of Historical Writings*), a work written by Gao Sisun 高似孫 (1158-1231) with a preface dated to 1225. The *Shi lüe* is an important yet often-ignored source for the study of the *Yi Zhou shu*'s textual history. It was unknown in China until 1884, when Li Shuchang 黎庶昌 (1837-1896) reprinted a copy discovered in Japan in the *Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書 series. For this reason, the evidence from the *Shi lüe* was not used in some of the philologically advanced editions of the *Yi Zhou shu* created by the highly competent and influential scholars of the late imperial era, such as Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717-1796) and Zhu Youceng 朱右曾 (1800-?).[11]

The *Shi lüe* contains a bibliographic outline of the *Zhou shu* which mentions titles of individual chapters followed by a citation of a passage from the chapter or, alternatively, by a short summary of its contents.[12] Notably, some of the titles and some of the quoted passages differ from what has been preserved in the received *Yi Zhou shu*.

One specific difference that I would like to bring to focus is the use of the character *jie* 解 in the chapter titles. This *jie* literally means “to expound, to explain”, and the reason why it is

10 Shaughnessy (1997, 69, 77–78).
11 The editions of Lu and Zhu, as well as other influential works by Qing scholars have been recently published in a useful collection of reprints by the National Library of China (Song Zhiying and Chao Yuepei 2015).
12 Gao Sisun (1884, 6.7a-9b).

appended to all chapter titles in the received edition of the *Yi Zhou shu* is a matter of ceaseless debate. Some argue that this character marks the addition of Kong Chao's commentary, but they fail to explain the presence of the character in the titles of 17 non-commented chapters.[13] Others suggest that it marks a different kind of "explanation" or a specific early mediaeval practice of assigning titles to chapters within textual collections, but the evidence for such in-text explanations or the modification of chapter titles just by virtue of their inclusion in the textual collection is hardly convincing.[14] Not all sound observations expressed in this debate have received due acknowledgement. In a paper published in 2001, Li Shaoping 李紹平 observed that not all chapter titles contain the character *jie* in the bibliographic outline of the *Zhou shu* included in the *Shi lüe*. Furthermore, he pointed out that there is an interesting correlation between the use of this character and the presence of commentary in respective chapters: it is predominantly the chapters with commentary whose titles are appended with the character *jie* in the *Shi lüe*, while the titles of chapters without commentary do not contain this character (Table 1).[15] Thus, the *Shi lüe* confirms that the *jie* character, at some point, was indeed used to mark chapters with commentary. However, in the received recension of the *Yi Zhou shu*, this character has been appended indiscriminately also to chapters without commentary, thus obfuscating its initial meaning. Li's observation is further supported by the *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 (*Essential Extracts on Governance from Various Books*), a mediaeval collection of book extracts on the matters governance completed in 631 AD. It includes, among others, material from some recension of the *Zhou shu*.[16] In the *Qunshu zhiyao*, extracts from chapters "Wen zhuan jie" 文傳解 ("King Wen's Tradition. Explained") and "Rui Liangfu jie" 芮良夫解 ("Rui Liangfu. Explained"), whose titles contain the *jie*

13 Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, Zhang Maorong (2007, 1228); Wang Lianlong 王連龍 (2010, 57–62).
14 Huang Huaixin (1992, 81–86); Zhang Huaitong 張懷通 (2013, 77–79); Zhou Yuxiu (2005, 46–52); Zhao Fengrong 趙奉蓉 (2013, 1–14).
15 Li Shaoping (2001).
16 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 8.9a–12b.

character, are accompanied by commentaries, while the extract from the chapter “Guan ren” 官人 (“The Officials”) comes with no commentary and lacks the character *jie* in the title. (This also conforms with the received *Yi Zhou shu*, where the first two chapters are also accompanied by a commentary, while “Guan ren” is not.) Thus, the extracts in the *Qunshu zhiyao* fully correspond to the pattern of titles of the recension surveyed in the *Shi lüe*.

It can therefore be established that the function of the *jie* character was to mark the chapters “explained” by means of a commentary, but only some chapters contained this character initially in their titles. Furthermore, a recension combining commented and uncommented chapters already existed in the early seventh century AD when the *Qunshu zhiyao* was composed. In other words, albeit tempting, the speculation that the present-day *Yi Zhou shu* is the result of a conflation of commented and non-commented recensions of the *Yi Zhou shu* made some time after the composition of the *Xin Tang shu* (1060) cannot be sustained. The creation of a recension that included both commented and non-commented material must have happened several centuries earlier, and the difference between the eight-*juan* recension and the ten-*juan* recensions is probably of a different nature.

Having thus offered an explanation for the function of the *jie* character, I find it unnecessary to reproduce the graph in the chapter titles of the received recension, where it has been appended to all chapters, regardless of whether they have a commentary or not, such that it is rendered meaningless. For the sake of simplicity I therefore drop it from chapter titles in the following parts of my thesis.

Table 1. Overview of the textual properties of chapters relevant to the study of the formation of the Yi Zhou shu

#	*Juan*	Title	*Shi lüe*	Comm.	Seq.	Chr. info
1	1	Du xun 度訓	解	注	B	
2		Ming xun 命訓	解	注	B	
3		Chang xun 常訓	解	注	A	
4		Wen zhuo 文酌	解	注	B	
5		Di kuang 糴匡	解	注	B	
6	2	Wu cheng 武稱	解	注	A	
7		Yun wen 允文	解	注	B	
8		Da wu 大武	解	注	B	
9		Da ming wu 大明武	解	注		
10		Xiao ming wu 小明武	解	注		
11		Da kuang I 大匡	解	注	A	+
12		Cheng dian 程典	解	注	-	+
13		Cheng wu 程寤			-	
14		Qin yin 秦陰			-	
15		Jiu zheng 九政	-		-	
16		Jiu kai 九開			-	
17		Liu fa 劉法			A	
18		Wen kai 文開			A	
19		Bao kai 保開			B	
20		Ba fan 八繁			A	
21	3	Feng bao 酆保			A	+
22		Da kai 大開			A	+
23		Xiao kai 小開				+
24		Wen jing 文儆			A	+
25		Wen zhuan 文傳	-	注	A	+
26		Rou wu 柔武		注	A	+
27		Da kai wu 大開武		注	A	+
28		Xiao kai wu 小開武		注		+
29		Bao dian 寶典	解	注	A	+
30		Feng mou 酆謀	解	注	B	+
31		Wu jing 寤敬	解	注	A	+
32		Wu shun 武順	解	注	B	
33		Wu mu 武穆	解	注		
34	4	He wu 和寤	解	注	A	+
35		Wu wu 武寤	解	注		+
36		Ke yin 克殷	解	注	A	+
37		Da kuang II 大匡	解	注	-	+
38		Wen zheng 文政	解	注	-	+
39		Da ju 大聚	解	注	A	+
40		Shi fu 世俘	解	注	-	+
41		Jizi 箕子			A	
42		Qi de 耆德			A	
43	5	Shang shi 商誓			A	+
44		Duo yi 度邑			A	+
45		Wu jing 武儆			-	+
46		Wu quan 五權			A	+
47		Cheng kai 成開	解	注	A	+
48		Zuo Luo 作雒	解	注	A	+
49		Huang men 皇門	解	注	A	+
50		Da jie 大戒	解	注	A	+
51	6	Zhou yue 周月			A	+
52		Shi xun 時訓			B	+
53		Yue ling 月令			A	
54		Shifa 謚法	解	注	A	+
55		Ming tang 明堂			A	+
56		Chang mai 嘗麥			A	+
57		Ben dian 本典			A	+
58	7	Guanren 官人			A	+
59		Wang hui 王會	解	注	B	+
60	8	Zhai gong 祭公	解	注	A	+
61		Shi ji 史記	解	注	A	+
62		Zhi fang 職方	解	注	B	
63	9	Rui Liangfu 芮良夫	解	注	A	+
64		Taizi Jin 太子晉	解	注	A	+
65		Yu pei 玉佩	解	注	B	
66		Yin zhu 殷祝	解	注	B	+
67		Zhou zhu 周祝	解	注	B	
68	10	Wu ji 武紀	解		C	
69		Quan fa 銓法	解		C	
70		Qifu 器服	解		C	

Legend

Shi lüe 解 : chapters whose titles appear with the character *jie* in the *Shi lüe*.
- : chapters that are not mentioned in the *Shi lüe*.

Comm. 注 : chapters with commentary in the received edition.

Seq. A: chapters with type-A descriptions in the "Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings".
B: chapters with type-B descriptions.
C: chapters with type-C descriptions.
- : chapters missing from the "Sequential outline".

Chr. info: + : chapters with information specifying their "chronology", such as dates, mention of individual rulers or the "ritual" contents associated with the Duke of Zhou.

0.2 The “Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings” and the multi-layered composition of the *Yi Zhou shu*

There are a few exceptions in the correlation between the presence of the commentary and the appending of the *jie* character to the chapter title. In particular, the titles of chapters 26-28 are not appended with the *jie* character in the *Shi lüe* even though they are accompanied with a commentary in the received recension. For the last three chapters 68-70, the situation is the opposite: in the *Shi lüe*, their titles contain the *jie* character although the texts themselves do not contain a commentary. While I can offer no satisfactory explanation for chapters 26-28 at the present stage, a plausible suggestion can be developed for the last three chapters. For this I rely on evidence from the “Zhou shu xu” 周書序 (“Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings”), an outline of the collection's contents located at the very end of the *Yi Zhou shu*. This text, reminiscent of the more famous “minor sequences” (*xiao xu* 小序) of the *Shi jing* 詩經 (*Classic of Songs*) and particularly the *Shang shu*, provides brief descriptions of the circumstances of the composition of each chapter (see Appendix). At first glance it appears consistent and uniform. However, a closer inspection reveals important structural inconsistencies.

In the “Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings”, it is possible to identify a prevailing structural pattern used in the descriptions of most chapters. It can be represented schematically as follows:

Individual actor + circumstances + composition of the chapter(s)

Here is an example of a description of chapter 24 “Wen jing” 文儆 (“Alarming of King Wen”) corresponding to this pattern:

> 文王有疾，告武王以民之多變，作文儆。

> King Wen was gravely ill. He made an announcement to King Wu regarding the many changes of the common folk. Thus was composed the chapter “Alarming of [King] Wen”.

The individual actors are predominantly either the Western Zhou rulers or the Duke of Zhou, and in the descriptions that correspond to the prevailing pattern the individual actor always appears at the very beginning. I will refer to descriptions corresponding to this pattern as *type A*. However, there are some descriptions where this pattern is not followed and where the individual actor is replaced with a collective entity. Here is an example taken from the joint description for chapters 32 “Wu shun” 武順 (“Martial compliance”) and 33 “Wu mu” 武穆 (“Martial solemnity”):

> 周將伐商，順天革命，申喻武義，以訓乎民，作武順、武穆二篇。

> The Zhou were about to attack Shang, [yielding] obedience to Heaven's change of the mandate. [They] amply elucidated the fundamentals of warfare in order to instruct people in them. Thus were composed the “Martial compliance” and “Martial solemnity”, two chapters.

I shall refer to the descriptions that bear partial semblance with type A but fail to mention the individual actor at the very beginning as *type B*. For all instances of such descriptions, see Table 1.

Entries for chapters 68-70, the ones whose titles in the *Shi lüe* contain the *jie* character despite the lack of commentary, seem to digress from the pattern of type A to the greatest extent. In fact, they appear to have been drafted according to a completely different pattern that is characterized by the absence of an actor, rich use of negations, and consistent number of characters per entry (eleven). Only one element allows us to relate these descriptions to type A, the mention of the act of composition followed by the chapter name at the very end of the description. I will refer to these three descriptions as *type C*:

> 武以靖亂，非直不剋，作武紀。
> 積習生常，不可不慎，作銓法。
> 車服制度，明不苟踰，作器服。
>
> [When using] warfare to calm the chaos, [those who] are not forthright will not succeed. Thus was composed [the chapter] “Martial discipline”.
> [In regard to] the ingrained habits and life routines [one] cannot be not cautious. Thus was composed [the chapter] “The appraisal method”.
> The regulations concerning chariots and robes are obviously not to be carelessly passed by. Thus was composed [the chapter] “Utensils and robes”.

The difference of this pattern from most other descriptions in the “Sequential outline” is striking. Thinking of the strangely divergent naming pattern of these chapters in the *Shi lüe*, where their titles are appended with the *jie* character despite the lack of commentary, I suggest that the divergent description in the “Sequential outline”, the divergent naming and the positioning at the very end of the collection are related. These three chapters are probably a relatively late addition that postdates the composition of the commentary and the addition of the *jie* character to chapter titles. Whoever made this addition seems to have changed the collection in three ways: first, he appended the three new chapters to the end of the collection; second, he created for them chapter titles imitating the style of the collection without having understood the rationale behind this style (that *jie* marks commented texts); third, he crafted utterly divergent C-type descriptions for them in the “Sequential outline” without having sufficiently understood the structural pattern of this text.

The last three chapters present the most convincing case of how a critical interpretation of internal and external evidence can elucidate the multi-staged textual formation of the *Yi Zhou shu*. However, I think that some insight can also be gained if we consider the less striking differences between descriptions of types A and B in the “Sequential outline”. Table 1 shows that many of the B-type descriptions are not dispersed evenly but are lumped in clusters. This is important, as a more even distribution would be expected if both type A and type B were crafted by one author who was unwilling for some reason to conform consis-

tently to one pattern. Furthermore, there is a striking correlation between the description type in the “Sequential outline” and the contents of the chapters described. Most of the chapters with information that allows us to relate them to specific figures from ancient Chinese history and thus position them on the temporal scale have A-type descriptions in the “Sequential outline”. This is the case of chapters that contain references to kings, calendrical dates, or “ritual” matters that are traditionally identified with the Duke of Zhou. To the contrary, chapters that do not contain such information tend to have type-B descriptions.

It has to be mentioned that there are also chapters whose descriptions are missing from the “Sequential outline”. At first glance, this appears totally understandable, considering that the “Sequential outline” contains several long *lacunae* that probably correspond to passages with missing descriptions. However, it is exactly these *lacunae* that constitute the most suspicious part of the “Sequential outline”. One remarkable thing about them is that most of the long *lacunae* are preceded by a commentary: *ci you tuo jian* 此有脱簡 (“there are missing characters here”), which is followed by a certain amount of blank squares. To anyone familiar with imperfectly preserved Chinese texts, this combination appears odd. While using blank squares for missing characters is a common practice, supplementing such squares with an explicit commentary that they are missing characters strikes me as superfluous. Another suspicious thing is that, in the fragments corresponding to the end of *juan* two and four, these sequences of missing characters occur exactly before the descriptions of chapters that are missing from the main text. In both these places, we see roughly the same pattern: first, a string of missing characters in the “Sequential outline” marking purportedly unpreserved descriptions; second, several descriptions of chapters that are marked as missing at the end of the corresponding *juan* in the main text. It is highly improbable to see such close alignment of the missing bits in the “Sequential outline” and the missing chapters in the main

text occurring by natural reasons. I therefore suggest that the *lacunae* in the “Sequential outline”, which correlate with the main contents of the collection so closely, must result from someone's conscious editing.

To my mind, the most plausible explanation of this artificial insertion of *lacunae* (and marking them with the superfluous commentary about the missing characters) is that they result from the harmonisation of two different arrangements of the *Yi Zhou shu* with two partially overlapping sets of chapters. This harmonisation occurred after the “Sequential outline” in its present-day form had already been written, possibly with the exception of the last three type-C descriptions. The editor probably did not supplement the “Sequential outline” with new descriptions but simply inserted the *lacunae* to make the text of the “Sequential outline” appear compatible with the increased body of texts in the collection. These *lacunae* probably correspond to the chapters that had originally been missing in the recension from which the “Sequential outline” was taken. To us, such an editorial “improvement” that results in newly-added strings of missing characters in what had been a relatively well-preserved text appears bizarre. However, according to the logic of the editor, it was justified because the resulting text had the advantage of resolving the contradictions between the main text of the collection and its “Sequential outline”. In making these changes, the editor was pursuing something that is very different from our preoccupation with textual history and diachronic reconstructions that allow for different states of the text at different periods of its existence. For the editor who introduced the *lacunae* into the “Sequential outline”, there was only one possible “perfect” arrangement of the collection, and his work brought the collection a step closer to this perfection.[17]

17 Regarding some differences between the textual-historical problems encountered by scholars of Western and Chinese texts, see Boltz (1995).

Therefore, despite the suggestiveness of the mediaeval records that make a distinction between recensions with and without a commentary, a closer scrutiny of texts shows that at least one of these recensions had already contained both commented and non-commented chapters as early as in 631 AD. However, a closer look into the “Sequential outline” and the arrangement of chapters within the collection reveals multiple stages of textual development that are not accounted for in the existing bibliographic records. In particular, it becomes possible to trace how the received arrangement of the collection was created by merging two divergent recensions, each with different sets of chapters, and aligning the contents of the merged work according to the “Sequential outline”. It is difficult to identify when this merging happened, but I suspect it was after the composition of the recension mentioned by Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645) in his commentary to the *Han shu*, which seems to have been submitted to the throne in 641 AD.[18] In this commentary, Yan Shigu speaks of a *Zhou shu* that has preserved just 45 chapters.[19] Considering that the received recension contains 59 chapters and that the pre-merger recensions overlapped to some extent, it is likely that the 45-chapters recension was one of them. Future research may reveal which one of these two recensions contained the “Sequential outline” and in what ways they differed from each other.

It is now possible to offer a preliminary reconstruction of the different stages of the evolution of the “Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings”, which most certainly reflects the evolution of the whole collection, or at least of one of its recensions. However, before doing so, I first need to turn to the type-A and type-B descriptions in the “Sequential outline” to clar-

18 Yan Shigu does not explicitly mention the date when he completed the work, but modern scholars have argued that it might have been 641 based on an astronomical metaphor used by Yan Shigu (Luo Xianglin 1972, 55).

19 *Han shu* (1962, 1706). Shaughnessy (1993) mentions Yan Shigu's commentary alongside a remark by Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721) who “explicitly mentioned in his *Shih t'ung* 史通 that all 71 chapters were still extant”. While Shaughnessy reads Liu Zhiji's note as a proof of existence of a complete 71-chapters recension of the *Zhou shu* during the Tang, I do not think that this reading is justified. Liu Zhiji does not demonstrate any familiarity with the text and he seems to have simply reproduced a well-known bibliographic entry from the *Han shu*.

ify one issue. Unlike the type-C descriptions, which are markedly different from the rest of the work, the differences between types A and B are relatively minor. It would be possible to explain the type-B divergences by copyist mistakes, case-by-case idiosyncrasies and other incidental reasons. However, considering that the descriptions of type B tend to mark texts that cannot be positioned on a temporal scale (see above) and that many of type-B descriptions come in clusters and are not scattered across the “Sequential outline”, the difference between types A and B should be considered seriously. I suggest that type B may be seen as a later layer introduced into the “Sequential outline” after the descriptions of type A. Based on this consideration, I propose the following schematic outline of the evolution of the “Sequential outline”:

Table 2: Stages of formation of the "Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings"

1. Composition of the type-A descriptions	
2. Composition of the type-B descriptions	
3a. Composition of the type-C descriptions	3b. Insertion of the *lacunae*

In this table, stage 1 is followed by stage 2, which in turn is followed by stages 3a and 3b. Speaking of stages 3a and 3b, it is difficult to establish their relative sequence as the *lacunae* might have been inserted either before or after the addition of the last three chapters.

It would be desirable to identify when each one of these changes took place, but this does not appear possible now. Moreover, one should also keep in mind that this table only outlines the history of the “Sequential outline” in schematic form, and therefore just presents a partial account of the formation of the *Yi Zhou shu*. Additional insight into the more general history of the collection may be gained from Table 1, which highlights certain compositional regularities that betray the collection's composite formation.

The above observations regarding the textual history of the *Yi Zhou shu* are of course preliminary. However, they cast light on the problems inherent to more simplistic approaches to the study of the *Yi Zhou shu*. For example, when discussing the collection during the Han dynasty, one should be aware that certain chapters (such as those whose descriptions are absent from the "Sequential outline") might not have been included in it yet. When discussing the *Yi Zhou shu* during the early mediaeval period, one should be aware that it existed in at least two differently arranged recensions with different sets of chapters whose respective characteristics we have not identified yet. Furthermore, the formation of the collection seems to have occurred in multiple stages, which is why it would be wrong to view it either as an unchangeable artefact inherited directly from the Western Han or simply the sum of two monolithic components, such as the commented and uncommented recensions, or the transmitted *Zhou shu* with the texts excavated in the third century AD. Despite all the seductiveness of simple reconstructions, we need to acknowledge that the *Yi Zhou shu* is an extremely complex collection. A reliable reconstruction of its textual history therefore also needs to be complex and take into account different kinds of evidence. It is clearly insufficient to rely entirely on the explicit bibliographic records from the *Sui shu*, *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu*, as the most dynamic period of the *Yi Zhou shu*'s formation history seems to fall into the "uncharted territory" in between the record of the "Yi wen zhi" (first century AD) in the *Han shu* and the bibliographic section of the *Sui shu* (seventh century AD).

It is possible to suggest preliminarily that the chapters with type-A descriptions constitute the earliest assemblage of the *Yi Zhou shu*. This hypothesis allows us to identify within the *Yi Zhou shu* a group of texts that are more homogeneous, thus constituting a more reliable object of study than the collection when taken as a whole. Nevertheless, even within this subset there are some texts with notable compositional differences that deserve further in-

depth examination. This philological heterogeneity of what appears to be the earliest stratum of the collection, which I discovered during the initial survey of the *Yi Zhou shu*'s textual history in my Bachelor's dissertation, is also the departure point of my DPhil project. Is there indeed a homogeneous early textual "core" in this multi-layered collection? Are there any objective methods to identify this core? And finally, what is this core about?

In this thesis, I attempt to find answers to these questions. This task is somewhat more difficult than one could expect, as the very methods to identify homogeneous texts cannot be borrowed from anywhere. Such methods need to be devised by observing patterns within texts, explaining these patterns on the micro-level and finally considering them in a broader perspective in order to find affinities across different texts in various collections. Thus, my work is not only a study of the *Yi Zhou shu*, but also a collection of methodological experiments, some of which, I hope, will serve to help scholars working on other sources from ancient China.

The reader will notice that, throughout this thesis, I maintain a strong interest in the compositional structures of texts. I am indebted in this to the work of Vladimir Spirin (1929-2002), who argued convincingly for the importance of systematic investigation of the textual structures to construct viable interpretations. Although Spirin is often carried away by his method, it does not undermine the general validity of his discoveries.[20]

0.3 The structure of the thesis

The first two chapters of my thesis are separate case studies whose goal is to find an objective approach to identify a philologically homogeneous "core". In the first chapter, I examine the contextualisation passages that provide temporal, spatial and narrative background of the main contents of respective texts. It is commonly assumed that these opening passages

20 Spirin (2006).

are the very element that relates the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu* into a broader genre of *shu*. I demonstrate that this belief is unjustified and that the prevailing contextualisation patterns in the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu* are markedly different in their formal structures. I argue that they also differ in compositional functions. The different kinds of contextualisation correlate with different kinds of content in the main body of the text. I trace the main distinction between what I call "dramatic" contextualisation predominant in the *Shang shu* and the "non-dramatic" contextualisation representative of the *Yi Zhou shu*, albeit both collections contain other types, too.

In the second chapter, I identify a set of philological features characteristic of what I call "kingly consultations", the main textual type in the *Yi Zhou shu*. I demonstrate that these texts, mainly represented by – but not restricted to – two distinctive groups of *kai* 開 ("induction") and *jing* 儆 ("alarming") chapters, have a large number of intricate compositional, lexical and rhetorical features in common. I propose to use the combination of these features as the main criterion that allows me to consider a text as either belonging to the group of the kingly consultations or falling outside its scope. Nevertheless, I keep the boundary line intentionally blurred, leaving the ground open for future research that may reveal more characteristic features and establish a firmer ground for the identification of textual relatedness. Having identified the shared features of these texts, I apply them to find the textual relatives of the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* in other collections. This is how I identify a group of chapters in the collection known as the *Liu tao* as well as the "Lü xing" 呂刑 ("Marquis Lü on punishments") chapter of the *Shang shu*. Remarkably, the shared features in these two cases are not the same, suggesting that the exchange of textual practices operated on multiple levels and that different communities exchanged different sets of practices with one another.

In the third chapter, I discuss one of the most characteristic features of the kingly consultations: the numerical lists. I demonstrate that, compositionally and structurally, the numerical lists of the *Yi Zhou shu* bear semblance to the numerical lists that are omnipresent in Buddhism, in particular, the Pāli canon. Considering that we have more circumstantial evidence about the use of numerical lists in the Buddhist communities and more insightful secondary research, I devote a significant part of the chapter to the discussion of the practice of numerical lists in Buddhism and the theories regarding the early development of this practice. Inspired by this evidence, I argue that numerical lists of the type that we see in the *Yi Zhou shu* and the Pāli canon mainly originate in strictly hierarchical communities united by indisputable knowledge authority and claims for comprehensive knowledge. The contemporary parallels from business and political environments demonstrate that this practice should not be regarded as an exotic Oriental phenomenon, but rather as a natural development in hierarchical communities that put a strong emphasis on discipline and uniformity of knowledge-practice.

In the fourth chapter, I explain the tension between concealment and transmission that is apparent in a number of kingly consultations. I juxtapose it against texts from early mediaeval China that demonstrate similar tensions, mainly the Lingbao 靈寶 (“Numinous Treasure”) tradition. These texts, being more abundant, detailed, better preserved and better understood than the *Yi Zhou shu*, provide much insight into the social contexts of texts such as the kingly consultations. I suggest that the latter might have been conceived as secretive texts capable of empowering their audience with the knowledge that allegedly allowed the early Western Zhou rulers to raise to their prominent positions and maintain it for generations. The underlying conceptualisation of kingship as predicated mainly on textualised empowering knowledge is an important development that, in my opinion, later evolved into the elab-

orate esoteric textual revelations that started to flourish already before the early empires but are best known from mediaeval Chinese religions. I suggest that one specific text, “Wu wang jian zuo” 武王踐阼 (“When King Wu ascended the throne”), today preserved in the *Da Dai liji* 大戴禮記 (*Ritual Records of Dai the Elder*), can be understood as an important transition point which connects the earlier practice of empowering kingly consultations with the practice of esoteric texts ascribed to super-human authorities.

In the last fifth chapter, I go beyond the scope of kingly consultations to investigate a broader textual phenomenon which can be traced in dfferent chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* as well as other collections, which I identify as “treasure texts”. I argue that this practice was influenced by the indigenous Chinese tradition of precious text-bearing artefacts whose texts were detached from their initial performative contexts and material carriers, reproduced in multiple copies on perishable media and re-interpreted as powerful immaterial artefacts that inherit the properties previously ascribed to their material carriers. I suggest that the practice of treasure texts may explain the significance that contemporary audience ascribed to some texts of the *Yi Zhou shu*. I also reconstruct some of the social contexts of the treasure texts, putting together internal evidence from epigraphy and received texts as well as secondary evidence regarding the performance and appreciation of treasure texts in antiquity.

In Britain, 4-6-2013 is written in full as "4 June 2013" (in spoken British English "the fourth of June two thousand and thirteen "). In the US, 4-6-2013 is written in full as "April 6, 2013" (in spoken US English usually "April sixth two thousand thirteen "). Notice the comma before the year in the written US version.

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Chapter 1

Patterns of textual contextualisation in epigraphic texts, the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Shang shu*

Chapter contents

1.1 Summary

In this chapter, I identify the distinctive patterns of contextualisation in the *Yi Zhou shu*, which introduce texts by mentioning the time, place, circumstances and participants of conversations recorded in them. In order to understand the compositional significance of these patterns, I compare them against the predominant pattern of contextualisation in the *Shang*

shu and the contextualisation patterns in early epigraphy. I argue that, despite the ostensible similarity, contextualisation plays different compositional roles depending on specific types of epigraphic media and transmitted texts. Nevertheless, in spite of this dissimilarity in application, there is also a remarkable degree of continuity in textual structures. In particular, the structural patterns of contextualisation used in oracle-bone inscriptions appear in early bronze texts where they are adopted for distinctively different uses. Such continuity in structural patterns can also be traced between the pattern of contextualisation developed in the Western Zhou bronze texts and the characteristic contextualisation pattern of some speeches of the *Yi Zhou shu*.[21] Thus, upon a closer examination, the outwardly similar contextualisation patterns prove to be a valuable tool for the differentiation of specific compositional concerns of texts and for the establishment of their affinity. I conclude by identifying several groups of chapters within the *Yi Zhou shu* that demonstrate distinctively different patterns of contextualisation. I briefly describe their compositional peculiarities and the possible connections with epigraphic and transmitted texts.

1.2 Contextualisation passages

One of the remarkable features of many chapters in the *Yi Zhou shu* are the "historical settings" in which the contents of these chapters were allegedly composed or pronounced.[22] They are particularly abundant in the chapters with type-A descriptions in the "Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings" (Zhou shu xu 周書序), which I have discussed in the Introduc-

21 With some exceptions that I mention explicitly, by "speech" I understand parts of texts that are explicitly presented as oral utterances, usually by means of the *yue* 曰 character. I also extend this term to the texts where speech predominates compositionally.

22 It is methodologically impossible to treat the information in the opening passages as historical evidence without the preliminary philological research. One of the goals of such research is to establish the purpose and context of a source text and consequently the ways it can be applied in historical research. Unless this task is satisfactorily accomplished, "historical" should remain in quotation marks. Another set of important questions is related to the different notions of history (or rather, different notions from the semantic field of "historical") embedded in pre-modern texts and their comparability with the notions spread among contemporary scholars. Unawareness about the divergences between these notions may lead to incorrect interpretation of sources and the unjustified imposition of modern conceptual frameworks onto antiquity (Koselleck 1985).

tion, and their study is important for the understanding of what may be the first compositional layer of the *Yi Zhou shu* as a textual collection. Typically, such "historical settings" contain information about the place, time and audience to which the speech recorded in the text was addressed.[23] At first glance, they seem to have been formulated according to the same rules as the opening passages in Western Zhou bronze texts.[24] Indeed, bronze texts often provide information about time and place that seems to be related to the particular occasion which is celebrated by the creation of the bronze. Similar passages are also found in the *Shang shu*, a well-known but understudied classic.[25] The presence of similar textual elements in the two collections, the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu*, is perhaps one of the reasons why they are often regarded as related.[26] However, the relationship between them, to my knowledge, has never been investigated in a sufficiently systematic fashion.[27]

23 A summary of the *Yi Zhou shu* chapters that contain such elements is provided in a table on page 58.

24 I consciously avoid the term "bronze inscriptions" preferring to use "bronze texts" instead. The conventional term is problematic as it can mislead – and, in fact, often misleads – those readers who are less familiar with the technological process of casting of ritual bronzes with texts. Indeed, in most cases, texts were cast as part of the bronze, and not "inscribed" on it after the casting. For an in-depth treatment of the casting process, see Barnard and Wan Jiabao (1976). A concise summary of the process is also presented in the work of Edward Shaughnessy (1991, 37–43).

25 Among the most significant general studies of the *Shang shu*, the works of Chen Mengjia 陳夢家 (1911-1966), Liu Qiyu 劉起釪 (1917-2012) and Jiang Shanguo 蔣善國 (1898-1986) should be mentioned in the first place (Chen Mengjia 2001; Liu Qiyu 1989; Jiang Shanguo 1988). The innovative approach of Jiang Shanguo is particularly praiseworthy for his ability to critically assess the sources and provide new explanations based on close scrutinisation of texts. A contemporary commentary by Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980) and Liu Qiyu that conveniently combines insights from traditional commentaries with original critical scholarship is the most useful aid in the close reading of the collection (Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu 2005). However, to my knowledge, there have been no attempts to systematically study the *Shang shu* with due attention being paid to the recurring structural patterns and composition of chapters. In the absence of such studies, it is hardly possible to reliably establish the functions of individual textual elements, such as "historical settings".

26 Other notable reasons include: 1) the fact that the *Yi Zhou shu* was for a long time known as just *Zhou shu* 周書, which is identical to the name of a section in the *Shang shu*; 2) a traditional account that the *Yi Zhou shu* was composed out of textual materials that Confucius set aside when he was compiling the *Shang shu*; 3) the fact that some ancient sources containing passages with counterparts in both the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu* refer to them by the same name (e.g. simply *shu* 書). Huang Huaixin's 黃懷信 study provides much textual evidence concerning the history of the *Yi Zhou shu*, although its analytical value is not very high (Huang Huaixin 1992). For a convenient summary of instances of indiscriminate citation in ancient sources from the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Shang shu*, see Wang Lianlong (2010, 13–22).

27 The relationship between these two collections has been discussed in several important studies of the *Shang shu* (Chen Mengjia 2001, 317–332; Liu Qiyu 1989, 32–61, 93–97; Jiang Shanguo 1988, 434–446).

Even though it is clear that the opening passages of the *Yi Zhou shu* and *Shang shu* chapters have something in common with bronze texts, merely knowing this is not sufficient to understand these opening passages and their role in texts. The focus of this chapter is to reveal the degree of similarity of textual patterns in these different sources and describe the intertextual relationship between them, if such a relationship exists.

In what follows, I shall adopt a slightly more specific terminology that will be convenient in the closer examination of textual material. I will use the term "contextualisation" to refer to the techniques that composers of texts employed in order to furnish them with certain "historical settings". The terms "contextualisation passages" or "instances of contextualisation" will be used interchangeably to refer to the textual passages created by such contextualisation techniques.

1.3 Contextualisation in early epigraphic texts

In the next sections, I provide a diachronic overview of the evolution of contextualisation formulas in ancient epigraphic materials from the Shang 商 oracle-bone inscriptions (ca. 1200-1040 BC)[28] to texts on ritual bronzes that date to the Warring States 戰國 (453-221 BC) period. In this overview, I transgress some sub-disciplinary boundaries that are still ingrained in the scholarship of early China. Each of the early stages of ancient Chinese history is conventionally associated with a specific kind of epigraphic materials: Shang studies are thus inseparable from oracle-bone inscriptions, while the studies of the following Western Zhou 西周 (ca. 1045-771 BC) period[29] are closely related to texts on ritual bronzes. Nonetheless, I would argue that both the Shang and the Western Zhou were the periods when literacy was still being invented. The core of this invention is, of course, characters,

28 This approximate chronology is based on the estimates by David Keightley (1985, 177–82).

29 The dates for the Western Zhou here and below are based on Shaughnessy's influential reconstruction (Shaughnessy 1991, 217–87). In my opinion, there is still much uncertainty about the dates of the Western Zhou, but this issue necessitates a separate extensive discussion.

but characters alone do not give the ability to compose different types of texts for a variety of purposes, and these different textual forms need to be invented separately.[30] Comparing the earliest oracle-bone inscriptions with later ones, or the earliest bronze texts with the elaborate examples from around the ninth century BC demonstrates that they underwent tremendous evolution. It appears that the scribes of the time were pioneers of textual composition regardless of the specific material carriers they worked with.

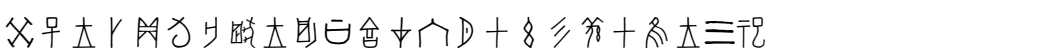
Formulas of temporal and spatial contextualisation are one case where the impossibility to stay within the boundaries of conventional sub-disciplinary division is particularly evident. On the one hand, such formulas can be found in different types of received and epigraphic texts. On the other hand, they demonstrate significant stability when adopted for new uses, which allows us to recognise textual structures in texts on different media and from different time. That is why, when studying the patterns of contextualisation passages in received texts, it is useful to consider their probable precursors in Western Zhou bronze texts, Shang bronze texts and Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, all of which appear related by the textual patterns employed in them. Extending our inquiry into epigraphy allows us to develop a fuller understanding of the compositional roles of contextualisation and create a more accurate classification of contextualisation patterns attested in the *Yi Zhou shu*.

1.3.1 Contextualisation in oracle-bone inscriptions

The earliest date-and-place notations, in many ways resembling the contextualisation passages in the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Shang shu*, are already found in the oracle-bone inscriptions of Shang, which often contain “prefaces” (following Keightley’s terminology) mentioning the days of the sexagesimal cycle and names of diviners. In several inscriptions, predominantly dated to period V that corresponds to the last two reigns immediately before the

30 Rosalind Thomas provides insightful examples of the gradual maturing of textual forms and practices and the gradual adaptation of human societies to literacy in ancient Greece (Thomas 1992).

downfall of Shang,[31] "prefaces" also include the place of divination.[32] Furthermore, some oracle-bone inscriptions contain "postfaces" that can include the cyclical date, the place of divination, the month, the name of one of the five chronologically regulated ritual procedures within the "Cyclical Sacrificial Roster" or CSR (adopting the term coined by Adam Smith for what is known as *zhouji zhidu* 周祭制度 in Chinese scholarship)[33], and – only for period V – the number of the ritual cycle *si* 祀, which is believed to have been more or less equal to the solar year by the end of the Shang dynasty.[34] Here are two examples of more complex inscriptions containing both a preface and a postface, which I reproduce largely following Keightley's translation:[35]



癸巳王卜，貞旬亡𡆥（禍）。王𠂤（占）曰：吉。才（在）六月。甲午彡翦甲。隹王三祀。

Jiaguwen heji #37838 [36]

Preface:	On *gui-si* (30/60), the king made cracks and divined:
Charge:[37]	"In the (next) ten days there will be no disaster."

31 These are period V inscriptions according to the five-period division initially developed by Dong Zuobin 董作賓 (1895-1963) and adopted by Keightley. For introductory information about Dong Zuobin's five periods and its derivatives, see Keightley (1985, 92–94). The five periods are as follows (Keightley 1985, 203):
Period I (ca. 1240-1181 BC): reigns of Pan Geng 盘庚, Xiao Xin 小辛, Xiao Yi 小乙, and Wu Ding 武丁.
Period II (ca. 1180-1151 BC): reigns of Zu Geng 祖庚 and Zu Jia 祖甲.
Period III (ca. 1150-1131 or 1150-1121 BC): reigns of Lin Xin 廩辛 and Geng Ding 庚丁.
Period IV (ca. 1130-1101 or 1120-1091 BC): reigns of Wu Yi 武乙 and Wen Wu Ding 文武丁.
Period V (ca. 1100-1051 or 1090-1041 BC): reigns of Di Yi 帝乙 and Di Xin 帝辛.

32 Keightley (1985, 28–30, 116). For a convenient table listing the different structural variants of prefaces in oracle-bone inscriptions, see Keightley (1985, 196–97).

33 Keightley proposes the following readings for the five ritual procedures: *yi* 翌, *ji* 祭, *zai* 𢦏, *xie* 劦, and *yong* 彡 (Keightley 1985, 115, fn. 102), which in later publications he transliterates as *rong*, e.g. (Keightley 2000). Cf. Vandermeersch (1980, 2:333). Smith (2011), acknowledging the difficulty of phonetic renderings, prefers to refer to those rituals by assigning to them convenient markers S1, S2, S3, S4 and S5.

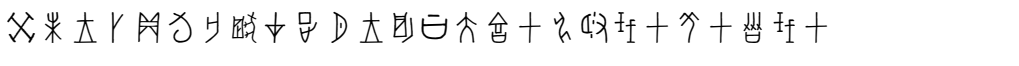
34 Keightley (1985, 116, fn. 107; 2000, 50–53).

35 Keightley (1985, 116). While Keightley used Wade-Giles Romanisation system in his monograph, for the sake of consistency, I have substituted it with *Hanyu pinyin*.

36 Hereafter the index numbers of oracle-bone inscriptions are provided according to the *Jiaguwen heji* 甲骨文合集 (*Collection of Oracle-Bone Inscriptions*) edited by Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1982).

37 For an in-depth description of the different structural elements of oracle-bone inscriptions, including the previously mentioned "preface" and "postface", as well as "charge" and "prognostication", see Keightley (1985, 28–45).

Prognostication:	The king read the cracks and said: “Auspicious.”
Postface:	In the sixth moon. [Divined for the week in which] on *jia-wu* (day 31), we were to perform the *rong* ritual to Qiang Jia. It was the king’s third ritual cycle.



癸未王卜，貞旬亡𡆥（祸）。才（在）正月。王𠙵（占）曰：大吉。甲申祭彡甲羌甲𢍏彡甲。

Jiaguwen heji #41717

Preface:	On *gui-wei* (20/60), the king made cracks and divined:
Charge:	“In the (next) ten days there will be no disaster”.
Postface:	In the first moon.
Prognostication:	The king read the cracks and said: “Greatly auspicious”.[38]
Postface:	[Divined for the week in which] on *jia-shen* (day 21) we were to perform the *ji* ritual to Xiang Jia, *zai* ritual to Qiang Jia, *xie* ritual to Qian Jia.

In these examples, the dates of the preface and the postface do not point to the same day, as the preface refers to the day of the divination while the postface mentions a date one or several days later. Therefore, the preface and the postface technically do not constitute a single instance of contextualisation, but rather contextualise two separate events, no matter how closely they follow each other. Moreover, these two types of contextualisation are structurally different, and the more complex postface contextualisation evidently provides more details about the ritual activities conducted on specific dates and very likely refers to several different events. The difference between these two structural elements may appear more significant if one considers Keightley's recent hypothesis that the postfaces on period-V inscriptions refer to events that have not happened yet but are expected to take place in future,

38 The insertion of a prognostication in between two parts of the postface suggests that the postface may in fact consist of several distinct elements. In fact, in his more recent works Keightley no longer seems to view the postface as referring to the same event, even though he still continues to employ the term in the same way as in his earlier publications (Keightley 2000; Keightley 2012–2013).

which hypothesis I have followed in my translation.[39] In any case, what is important for the present discussion is that we see, in some of the period-V inscriptions, a complex elaboration of the compositional pattern that allows scribes to record in one text more different types of events related to divination.

1.3.2 Contextualisation in texts on Shang ritual bronzes

The pattern of contextualisation used in oracle-bone inscriptions was later adopted by the Shang for texts on ritual bronzes.[40] The structure of texts on Shang bronzes is rather loose, and the order of individual elements is unstable, although some consistent patterns of contextualisation can still be safely deduced. Here is an example of a Shang text on a ritual bronze whose structure is rather typical of the period (I have highlighted the elements that do not belong to contextualisation):

> 癸子（巳），王易（錫）小臣邑貝十朋，用乍（作）母癸隣（尊）彝，隹（唯）王六祀，肜（肜）日，才（在）三（四）月。
>
> “Xiaochen Yi” *jia* 小臣邑斝, *Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng* #9249

Cyclical date:	On day *gui-si* (30/60)
Royal gift:	the king bestowed the lesser servant Yi with ten bounds of cowrie shells.
Statement of dedication:[41]	On this occasion [Yi] made the venerated vessel for Mother Gui.

39 Keightley (2012–2013).

40 A rigorous study of the chronological evolution of formulaic patterns in bronze texts has been undertaken by Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫 (1925-2006). Hayashi (1983, 13–17) provides a convenient table that summarises the evolution of dating formulas in bronze texts. This research is praiseworthy for demonstrating how effective even simple quantifications are in the analysis of ancient textual materials. Future application of quantitative methods to bronze texts will definitely yield much more significant results.

41 Hereafter, I employ some elements of the elegant framework developed by Lothar von Falkenhausen (1993; 2011) for the analysis of records of court-audience ceremonies, which are the most common kind among the larger and structurally elaborate bronze texts. I shall not, however, treat it as a dogma and will occasionally adjust it to the sources. I believe that such adjustments are possible considering the chronological and typological diversity of my sources as opposed to a specific sub-type from a specific time period chosen by von Falkenhausen. In his framework, von Falkenhausen suggests to divide court-audience investiture texts into three basic structural elements: “statement of merit”, “statement of dedication” and “statement of purpose”, of which the first element refers to past events that justify the creation of a ritual bronze, the second represents an act of dedication simultaneous with the casting of the

Ritual Cycle + CSR procedure:	It was the king's sixth ritual cycle, the day of the *rong* ritual,
Month:	in the fourth month.

The overwhelming majority of such texts start from the cyclical date, apparently under the direct influence of the practice attested in the prefaces of oracle-bone inscriptions. The positioning of the month, the ritual cycle and the Cyclical Sacrificial Roster (CSR) procedure is less stable than in oracle-bone inscriptions, but there are some clear patterns; in particular, all these elements tend to be located at the end of texts.[42] The ritual cycle and the CSR procedure are almost always grouped together, and, even though the length of the ritual cycle more or less corresponds to a year and the CSR procedure certainly refers to individual days within that cycle, the month never intervenes between them and is usually positioned before or sometimes after the stable pair "ritual cycle + CSR procedure".[43]

It is worth mentioning that not all elements of temporal contextualisation appear in Shang bronze texts equally often. The following table illustrates the frequency of individual elements.

bronze and the third is an expression of hope that the bronze will be properly used in future and will help to receive the desired graces from the ancestors. It is notable that contextualisation passages apparently do not belong to any of the three elements in von Falkenhausen's framework and can accompany both "statements of merit" and "statements of dedication".

42 Two exceptions to this rule are an unprovenienced and unpreserved vessel "Qin Nong" *ding* 寢農鼎 (*Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng* #2710) and an unprovenienced vessel "Si zuo Fu Yi" *gui* 肆作父乙簋 (#4144).

43 This distinction may be related to the difference in perception of the flowing time (*chronos*) and the unique events (*kairos*). However, considering the repetitiveness of terminology involved in the recording of the CSR procedures, it may be that the Shang operated with other distinctions between the different ways of time-reckoning to which we may not easily find parallels in other cultures.

Table 3: Frequencies of the elements of temporal contextualisation in Shang-style bronze texts from Shang and Western Zhou periods[44]

	Element of contextualisation	**Number (percent)**
1	Cyclical date (*ganzhi* 干支)	70 (99%)
2	Ritual cycle (*si* 祀)	12 (17%)
3	CSR procedure	12 (17%)
4	Month	18 (25%)
5	Place[45]	23 (32%)
6	Total number of contextualised texts	71 (100%)

Obviously, the cyclical date is the single most important element in the Shang pattern of contextualisation. Different types of spatial contextualisation occur in every third text, while the other elements (CSR procedure, ritual cycle, month) only appear in a quarter or less of the surveyed texts. This prevalence of the cyclical date can be explained by the continuity with ritual practices attested in oracle-bone inscriptions, where the preface containing the cyclical date is also a much more commonplace element than the postface that mentions the month, the ritual cycle and the CSR procedure.

It is clear that composers of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions did not attempt to represent chronological information in a sequence that may appear logical to us: either from larger to

44 This table summarises not only texts from the Shang dynasty, but also Western Zhou bronze texts that follow the Shang conventions. The criteria that I use to distinguish between the Shang-style and the Zhou-style bronze texts will be explained below.
The quantitative summaries given here and below are preliminary; they are built from my own selection of bronze texts with elements of temporal contextualisation (ritual cycles [*si* 祀], years [*nian* 年], months, cyclical dates [*ganzhi*]) extracted from the Academia Sinica database (https://inscription.sinica.edu.tw/). I only counted unique contextualised events, so that a set of related inscriptions referring to the same event was only counted as one occurrence. At this stage, I did not take into account the important problem of dubious bronze texts from mediaeval antiquarian collections and unprovenienced bronzes, although both are present in the Academia Sinica database. The removal of dubious bronze texts could potentially lead to important changes in my summaries, although I do not expect the general patterns to alter in a significant way. The problem of forgery of ritual bronzes and bronze texts has been extensively discussed by Noel Barnard in a number of publications, and although he may have exaggerated the gravity of this problem, his cautious remarks certainly deserve more attention than they receive today (Barnard 1968; Barnard and Wan Jiabao 1976).

45 Different types of reference to space constitute different elements of contextualisation in Shang bronzes. More work is needed to develop a proper classification of these elements. By referring to the single element of “Space” in the table, I am most certainly blending those different elements together in order to give the reader a general idea of how often different kinds of spatial contextualisation occur in the Shang bronze texts.

smaller (ritual cycle – month – day / CSR procedure) or from smaller to larger units (day / CSR procedure – month – ritual cycle). Instead, they seem to have preferred to group ritual cycles with the CSR procedure as they were parts of the same system of ritual scheduling that had not been originally designed for the purpose of timekeeping. However, after having been adopted for this new purpose, the pair "ritual cycle + CSR procedure" appears to have been treated as relatively close to the month as the compound "ritual cycle + CSR" and the month usually occupy neighbouring positions in the closing sentences of texts on ritual bronzes. This, too, seems to have been inherited from the postface formulas in oracle-bone inscriptions where these elements are also commonly grouped together. Evidently, certain elements in Shang bronze texts are easier to understand if read against the background of a much richer corpus of oracle-bone inscriptions.

Although the closing passages in texts on Shang ritual bronzes are structurally similar to postfaces in oracle-bone inscriptions, functionally they seem to be quite different. Unlike oracle-bone inscriptions where there is a functional overlap between prefaces and postfaces, both of which mention different sexagesimal dates, closing passages of texts on ritual bronzes never mention cyclical dates. In other words, while the prefaces and postfaces in oracle-bone inscriptions refer to different events of which the one in the postface is contextualised more fully, there appears to be only one contextualised event in Shang bronze texts whose pattern is structurally divided into two parts positioned at the beginning and at the end of the text. Although the purposes of oracle-bone inscriptions and of Shang bronze texts are different, their structure is strikingly similar, which makes it a curious example of how the new wine of a novel text type is poured into the old wineskin of a legacy textual form.[46]

46 By a "text type" I understand a group of texts sharing common compositional patterns. This includes the inventory of structural elements at the super-phrase level, their compositional functions in the text and the range of expressive devices and textual formulas employed in each of these structural elements.

1.3.3 Contextualisation in texts on Western Zhou ritual bronzes

Speaking of the patterns of texts on ritual bronzes, it is possible to draw a boundary between the Shang and the Zhou styles of contextualisation and consequently between the Shang and the Zhou patterns of bronze texts in general. Shang-style bronze texts usually start with a cyclical date, which is never preceded by any other elements of temporal contextualisation, such as ritual cycles *si* 祀 or months that are usually located at the end of the text. For the Shang-style texts, it is common to mention Shang-specific rituals (Cyclical Sacrificial Roster), which never occur in the Zhou-style texts.[47]

Some common structural patterns of Zhou-style texts have been examined in the works of Lothar von Falkenhausen, but, to my knowledge, contextualisation formulas have not been specifically considered in his analysis that is primarily focused on the main contents of bronze texts and their concluding formulas.[48] The problem of temporal and spatial context in bronze texts has been specifically discussed by Maria Khayutina whose contribution is very important for the understanding of the role of time and space in bronze texts of that period.[49] However, the focus of Maria Khayutina's work is significantly different from my analysis. While Khayutina is predominantly interested in the sociological contextualisation of the different forms of time reckoning as attested in Western Zhou bronze texts, I am mainly looking into the dynamics of textual patterns that were employed in the recording of that information. Therefore, I believe that the research of Maria Khayutina and my own work are complementary.

47 See Rong Geng 容庚 (1941, 1:30); Vandermeersch (1977, 1:23); von Falkenhausen (1993, 157).
48 According to von Falkenhausen (1993; 2011), the main actors in these records are the "donor" who commissioned a bronze object and the "patron" who confers the right (and sometimes resources) to cast a vessel to the donor. (Bronze inscriptions sometimes also mention secondary participants in the ritual who perform such actions as guiding the donor to the place of audience or assisting him in the ritual.)
49 Khayutina (2009).

For the Zhou-style texts, it is common to position all information related to the temporal context at the very beginning of texts, in the logical sequence from larger to smaller units, although there are some exceptions when the ritual cycle or the year (but not the month) is positioned at the end of the text.[50] The Zhou style is characterised by some innovations, such as the common placement of "lunar-phase terms" (*yuexiang ci* 月相詞) between the month and the cyclical day.[51] As some new elements came in, certain old elements had to go, and the Cyclical Sacrificial Roster procedures that were sometimes included in Shang bronze texts totally disappear from the Zhou-style bronze texts.

The use of the Cyclical Sacrificial Roster and lunar-phase terms was apparently related to the intrinsic features of the Shang and Zhou ritual systems. Although the Shang-style texts

50 The vessels where the ritual cycles and/or years are positioned at the end of texts include: "Da Yu" *ding* 大盂鼎 (#2837), "Xiao Yu" *ding* 小盂鼎 (#2839), "Hu" *gui* 獄簋 (#4317), "Zuoce Zhe" *zun* 作册折尊 (#6002), "He" *zun* 冓尊 (#6014), "Chi" *zhi* 遲觶 (*Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng* #6516) and "Wu fang yi" *gai* 吳方彝蓋 (#9898). Texts on vessels "Hong" *gui* 訇簋 (#4321), and "Shi Hong" *gui* 師訇簋 (#4342), where the whole Zhou-style contextualisation formula is positioned at the very end following a king's speech, appear to be an important exception as the speech is positioned before the uncommonly brief and structurally incomplete description of the court-audience ceremony at which it was announced. There is also an exceptional case of "Bao" *you* 保卣 wine container (#5415) where the cyclical date is given at the beginning of the text, and the month at its end, in accordance with the Shang pattern. However, the month is accompanied by a lunar-phase term, typical of the Zhou style.

51 Starting from Wang Guowei's 王國維 (1877-1927) seminal article, these terms are normally interpreted as calendrical markers, supposedly referring to the different phases of the moon: "the beginning auspiciousness" (*chuji* 初吉), "after *po* was born" (*jishengpo* 既生霸), "after the full moon" (*jiwang* 既望), "after *po* was dead" (*jisipo* 既死霸) (Wang Guowei 1959). (Note that the term *po* 霸 [*[phʕ]rak] is also often written with the phonologically cognate *po* 魄 [*phʕrak], which arguably is only an insignificant difference in spelling.) However, it is worth mentioning that the structural position of these terms in Zhou-style inscriptions was the same as the position of the "verification" element in some of the period V oracle-bone inscriptions, and it is likely that both the verifications confirming the auspiciousness (*ji* 吉) of the divination in oracle-bone inscriptions and the lunar-phase terms (among which the term *chuji* contains the same character *ji*) in Zhou bronze texts had similar functions, namely confirmation of auspiciousness of a particular date. It is also noteworthy that, in the early Shang divinations, confirmations could be either positive or negative, while, by period V, the result of confirmation was always auspicious (*ji* 吉, *daji* 大吉 or *hongji* 弘吉). Therefore, Western Zhou dating formulas were perhaps following the late Shang case, only modifying and expanding the vocabulary of auspiciousness terms. While the less common three of the four "lunar-phase" terms (all other than *chuji*) appear to have had etymological relationship with lunar terminology, in the light of their compositional position in bronze texts, it is plausible that their primary function could be that of indicators of auspiciousness, and not of calendrical markers. A very thought-provoking attempt to read one of the *yuexiang* terms as related to the domain of divination, and not primarily to calendrical matters, has been undertaken by Liu Yu 劉雨 (2008). In Western scholarship, the question of Western Zhou date terms has been discussed at length by Edward Shaughnessy and David Pankenier in relationship with their own chronological reconstructions (Shaughnessy 1991, 139–44; Pankenier 1992; Shaughnessy 2009).

do not immediately disappear after the establishment of the Western Zhou, to my knowledge, there is not a single text that would combine Shang-specific Cyclical Sacrificial Roster with the Zhou lunar-phase terms.[52] Therefore, it appears that the difference between the Shang and Zhou styles was not a result of a smooth evolutionary process, but rather of a coming into place of a new distinct Western Zhou ritual tradition that no longer relied on the complex system of the Cyclical Sacrificial Roster (except those cases when the Shang rituals were maintained as a legacy tradition, which resulted in creation of a relatively small number of Shang-style texts), but instead introduced a new framework of ritual scheduling.

While most elements of contextualisation in the Shang-style bronze texts did not have fixed positions, contextualisation patterns in the Zhou-style bronze texts are rather rigid and uniform, especially starting from the Middle Western Zhou (roughly corresponding to the reigns of kings Mu 穆 and Gong 共, ca. 956-900 BC). By that time, as the new pattern had matured and partially ossified, all chronological elements (year, month, lunar-phase term, cyclical date – not necessarily in a full assemblage in every text) usually appeared in a single consistent formula positioned at the very beginning of the text.[53] While the position of this formula was the same as that of prefaces in oracle-bone inscriptions, structurally it was more reminiscent of the more detailed postfaces. Here is an example of a typical Middle

52 Among the bronze texts with distinctive Shang-style contextualisation patterns, only the one cast in the Dian zun 典尊 vessel is attributed to Middle Western Zhou by the editors of the *Xinshou Yin-Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji qiying huibian* 新收殷周青銅器銘文暨器影彙編 (*Collection of newly acquisitioned bronze texts and rubbings from Yin and Zhou dynasties*) (Jung Bor-sheng et al. 2006), #1608. With the exception of this vessel, all other instances of distinct Shang-style contextualisation during the Western Zhou come from the Early Western Zhou period.

53 Judging from the 16 bronze texts in the Academia Sinica database that mention either a ritual cycle (*si* 祀) or a year (*nian* 年) in contextualisation passages, it appears that there were two predominant ways of referring to years in the Early Western Zhou: one was based on specific events that happened during that year (*nian*), and the other mentioned the number of the ritual cycle (*si*) of a king or, less commonly, his regnal year (*nian*). Using *nian* for the count of regnal years was apparently an innovation that only became commonplace during the Middle Western Zhou. Structurally, the ritual cycle was normally positioned at the end of bronze texts, and not at the beginning, as it would become typical for years (*nian*) in the Middle Western Zhou bronzes. Cf. Khayutina (2009, 126–30).

Western Zhou contextualisation passage from the text on the "Jiu nian Wei" *ding* 九年衛鼎 vessel (*Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng* #2831):

隹（唯）九年正月既死霸（魄）庚辰，王才（在）周駒宮，各（格）廟。

Year:	In the ninth year,
Month:	in the first month,
Lunar-phase term:	after *po* was dead,
Cyclical date:	on day *geng-yin* (27/60),
Place:	the king was at Zhou,
Ritual locality:	at Ju ritual complex.
Patron's disposition	[The king] took his place in the temple …

In addition to the logically sequenced temporal information, many bronze texts from the Middle Western Zhou contain relatively uniform elements of spatial contextualisation: the place-name (unlike the Early Western Zhou, where the repertoire of place-names is rather diverse, in the Middle Western Zhou mostly the royal residences are mentioned), and a ritual locality within that place (a temple or a ritual complex).[54] The patron's disposition (usually a king) can be regarded both as a part of the contextualisation passage and as a part of the following description of the court-audience ritual, although in Middle Western Zhou bronze texts this element is very common and appears to have become an element of the contextualisation formula.[55] However, on the Early Western Zhou bronzes it cannot be seen very often, and the mentions of the patron's disposition are fewer and less regular.

These observations can be illustrated by the frequencies of contextualisation elements in bronze texts from the Middle and Late Western Zhou, as classified in the Academia Sinica database.[56]

54 The question of ritual localities in relationship with the cultic practices of the Western Zhou has been discussed at length by Léon Vandermeersch (1977, 1:71–123).

55 See note 48.

56 This table includes not only the bronze texts dated to the Middle Western Zhou, but also those that are dated with less clarity to Middle Western Zhou to Late Western Zhou (ca. 900-771 BC). The table indicates whether a particular bronze text contains a certain element, and the more complex texts

Table 4: Frequencies of the elements of temporal contextualisation in bronze texts from the Middle and Late Western Zhou periods

	Element of contextualisation	**Number (percent)**
1	Year	89 (32%)
2	Month	269 (97%)
3	Lunar-phase term	223 (81%)
4	Cyclical date	224 (81%)
5	Total number of contextualised texts	276 (100%)

As seen in the table, the single most important element of contextualisation in the Zhou-style bronze texts, unlike their Shang-style counterparts, is not the cyclical date, but the month. This observation makes it possible to tentatively suggest that, in place of the system of ritual scheduling based on cyclical days that was at the heart of the Shang ritual system, a new system of ritual scheduling was developed by the Middle Western Zhou period that was primarily based on observations of the moon.[57] In other words, the dates preserved on Shang and Western Zhou bronzes should be seen as ritual artefacts that probably reflect the priorities of ritual scheduling, and not of some bureaucratic time-keeping practice. Any attempt to use data from epigraphic texts in chronological reconstructions should necessarily be preceded by a thorough analysis of these two systems of ritual scheduling in their diachronic

containing several dates have therefore been only counted once. This summary also includes bronze texts on vessels that, according to the Academia Sinica database, may originate from either the Late Western Zhou or the Early Spring and Autumn 春秋 (771-454 BC) periods.

57 Lunar information continues to occupy the predominant position in the bronze texts from the Spring and Autumn period. However, the Springs and Autumn bronzes demonstrate a dramatic fall in the number of contextualised texts that mention the year (from 42% for Late Western Zhou and Late Western Zhou/Early Spring and Autumn to only 6% for Spring and Autumn) that perhaps reflects the unwillingness of the local sovereigns to mention the years in the regnal calendar that was not “theirs” but still was formally promulgated by the Zhou king. Another important development of the Late Western Zhou to Spring and Autumn period is the further ossification of contextualisation formulas that is reflected not in the structural pattern of these formulas, but in the smaller range of possible values of their individual elements. In particular, for the Spring and Autumn period, the first month is mentioned in a disproportionately large number (54%) of texts, and among the cyclical dates the three most frequent ones, *ding-hai* (34/60) 丁亥, *geng-wu* (7/60) 庚午 and *yi-hai* (12/60) 乙亥, respectively occur in 40%, 9% and 4% of texts, which collectively amounts to 53% of the total number of contextualised bronze texts. This development reminds of the ossification of the “verification” element in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions that, while allowing for both auspicious and inauspicious values in the earlier periods, by the late Shang could invariably only mark auspiciousness (Keightley 1988). Cf. von Falkenhausen (1993, 175–76).

evolution. The changes in structural patterns of epigraphic texts and frequencies of individual elements provide the most useful information for the understanding of this evolution.[58]

1.4 Contextualisation in epigraphic texts: concluding remarks

Before proceeding to the analysis of contextualisation in the collections of received texts, *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu*, it is necessary to recapitulate the more important findings related to epigraphic texts.

1) Contextualisation patterns are inseparable from the specific contexts of textual production and performance. For example, the complex contextualisation patterns of the period-V oracle-bone inscriptions appear to be by-products of the increasingly sophisticated system of ritual scheduling. This statement may appear obvious, but it is important to keep in mind that the brief and outwardly similar contextualisation passages are parts of larger texts created for distinct purposes and tied to specific contexts.

2) Despite the dissimilarity of contexts, it is striking to see the same compositional patterns of contextualisation adopted for distinctively different types of epigraphic media. Thus, a very peculiar pattern of contextualisation from oracle-bone inscriptions was adopted for bronze texts, even though they were apparently written for different purposes, and possibly for different audiences. This transition necessitated a certain readjustment of individual contextualisation elements. Most notably, postfaces, which in oracle-bone inscriptions referred to separate events postdating those mentioned in prefaces, in the early bronze texts appear to

58 There is also a possibility that the ossification of contextualisation formulas and the narrowing down of the range of possible values of their individual elements reflect the divergence between the ritual practice and its textual representation. In other words, the later bronze texts possibly recorded not what had happened in practice but rather what was considered appropriate to be commemorated in bronze.

have been integrated into the single, albeit structurally dispersed, contextualisation formula referring to only one event.

3) With the transition to the Western Zhou, a distinct pattern of contextualisation evolved that was apparently related to a different system of ritual scheduling adopted by the Zhou. Within this new system, the month took over the cyclical date as the single most important element of temporal contextualisation. Besides, by the Middle Western Zhou a more coherent contextualisation formula had developed which listed elements of temporal contextualisation in the logical order from larger to smaller units (year, month, lunar-phase term, cyclical day), usually at the very beginning of bronze texts. By the Middle Western Zhou the contextualisation formula virtually merged with the opening part of the unified descriptions of the court-audience ritual. In particular, the disposition of the donor in a certain ritual locality (e.g. a temple or a ritual complex) can be considered part of a larger contextualisation formula in bronze texts from Middle to Late Western Zhou.

4) When considered *en masse*, bronze texts from different periods demonstrate varying concerns in the use of the different elements of contextualisation formulas, even when the structure of these formulas does not change significantly. The fact that month notation in Western Zhou bronze texts becomes the most stable element of the dating formula is just one example of this phenomenon. Even though it is impossible to say for sure which period a particular bronze text comes from by merely looking at its contextualisation formula, it is still possible to suggest which period this formula is the most reminiscent of. This understanding of varying concerns reflected in contextualisation patterns of epigraphic texts from different periods should have a certain instrumental value in the analysis of contextualisation passages in transmitted texts.

1.5 "Background-centred" contextualisation pattern in the *Shang shu*

One of the most important traits of the *Shang shu* is the prevalence of speeches, either monological or dialogical. With only a few exceptions, *Shang shu* chapters normally only contain the narrative that is clearly subordinate to the speeches. In this light, contextualisation patterns in the *Shang shu* cannot serve any purpose other than to provide context for speeches.

It is possible to identify several distinct patterns of contextualisation in the "Modern script" (*jinwen* 今文) chapters of the *Shang shu* based on the differences in the formal structure and compositional role of contextualisation passages, and I have proposed a classification in a separate study.[59] I shall not reproduce this classification here since the research of the *Shang shu* is not a goal of this thesis. From the different patterns of contextualisation that can be identified in the *Shang shu*, I shall only discuss here what I call the *background-centred* pattern that is the most characteristic of this collection. In my view, such contextualisation is used to provide a recognisably distinct and elaborate setting for each individual speech. I choose to call such contextualisation background-centred because this effect is achieved mainly by means of background details.

The "Modern script" chapters of the *Shang shu* are often seen as textual artefacts coming from the same age as the Western Zhou bronze texts.[60] Therefore, one could expect the contextualisation passages in the *Shang shu* to be similar to those in bronze texts with calendrical information, such as the ones I have mentioned above. However, upon a closer scrutiny it becomes obvious that this is not the case. In fact, the elements of temporal contextualisation that are the most reminiscent of the bronze texts only occur in a relatively small number

59 Grebnev (2016).
60 See the discussion in Vogelsang (2002).

of the “Modern script” chapters. However, when they do appear, they seem to be part of a larger contextualisation formula whose structure is very different from that of contextualisation patterns in bronze texts. Therefore, it appears impossible to describe the *Shang shu* contextualisation passages using the structural schemes that can be derived from bronze texts – this framework simply does not fit to the *Shang shu* material. Instead, it becomes necessary to devise another descriptive framework that would be applicable to the predominant part of the contextualised “Modern script” chapters of the *Shang shu*. The core of such a framework would consist of two structural elements: “Larger-scale background events” and “Smaller-scale accompanying actions and recipients of the speech” (the latter element could be logically divided into two, but on the textual level it appears indivisible). The larger-scale background events can perhaps be understood through the lens of the Greek notion of *kairos*: they are unique and non-repetitive. When not preceded by calendrical information, they can be structurally related to the so-called “great event” (*dashi* 大事) notations in early bronze texts, which were sometimes used as a *kairos* alternative to the conventional *chronos* calendrical terms.[61] “Date”, which is a key element in epigraphic texts, in the contextualisation passages of the *Shang shu* turns out to be only an optional element of secondary importance:

Table 5: Introductory passages from chapters with background-centred pattern of contextualisation in the Shang shu

#	**Chapter**	**Date**	**Larger-scale background events**	**Smaller-scale accompanying actions and recipients of the speech**
1	“Gan shi” 甘誓 (“Harangue at Gan”[62])	-	大戰于甘。 [It was] the great battle at Gan.	召六卿。 [The king] **summoned** the six commanders.

61 See Shaughnessy (1991, 76–77). I am grateful to Maria Khayutina and Ondřej Škrabal who brought this important point to my attention. I am also grateful to Kai Vogelsang who has pointed out to me the applicability of the Greek distinction between *chronos* and *kairos* for the discussion of the different ways of time-reckoning attested in early Chinese texts.

62 Here and elsewhere, my translations of chapter titles and of chapter contents of the *Shang shu* are much indebted to James Legge, although I diverge from his interpretations in many instances (Legge 1865).

#	Chapter	Date	Larger-scale background events	Smaller-scale accompanying actions and recipients of the speech
2	“Pan Geng” 盤庚 (1) [63]	-	盤庚作，惟涉河以民遷。 Pan Geng arose. He was about to cross the river in order to settle his people [at a new place].	乃話民之弗率，誕告用亹，其有衆咸造勿褻在王庭，盤庚乃登進厥民，曰：明聽朕言，無荒失朕命。 [Pan Geng] then spoke to those of the people who were not willing to follow. He made a great **announcement** to them with sincerity. The multitudes came along and did not behave frivolously at the royal courtyard. Pan Geng made the people ascend closer. He said: “Listen clearly to my words. Do not disregard my orders!”
3	“Pan Geng” 盤庚 (2)	-	盤庚既遷，奠厥攸居。 When Pan Geng had already moved, he established his place of residence.	乃正厥位，綏爰有衆。 [Pan Geng] then **rectified** official posts, **comforted and assisted** the multitudes.
4	“Pan Geng” 盤庚 (3)	-	盤庚遷于殷，民不適有居。 When Pan Geng has moved to Yin, the people were not accustomed to dwell there.	率籲衆感出，矢言。 [Pan Geng] called out to all the displeased and **straightly told** [them].
5	“Pan Geng” 盤庚 (4)	-	盤庚敎于民，由乃在位以常舊服。 When Pan Geng taught the people, he started with those who occupied official posts in order to rectify the old customs.	正法度。 [Pan Geng] **rectified** the rules and measures.
6	“Gao zong rong ri” 高宗肜日 (“Day of the supplementary sacrifice to Gao Zong”)	高宗肜日 In the sacrificial day of the High Ancestor.	越有雊雉。 There came a crowing pheasant.	祖己曰：惟先格王正厥事。乃訓于王。 Zu Ji said: “First [it is necessary] to [put] the king in the [right] position and rectify his affairs.” Then he **edified** the king.

63 In the received tradition, “Pan Geng” is divided into three chapters: *shang* 上, *zhong* 中 and *xia* 下. In fact, there are as many as four separately contextualised speeches. Moreover, the sequence of speeches within the traditional division does not seem to match the temporal order in which they purportedly pronounced. As Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1907) first pointed out, the second (*zhong*) chapter contains a speech pronounced before the transition to the new capital at Yin 殷, and it should therefore be put at the beginning of the sequence, while the first (*shang*) chapter that contains an admonition towards those settlers who were not accustomed to dwell at a new place is apparently the last in the temporal sequence (Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu 2005, 900–901). In this table, I follow Yu Yue’s reconstruction.

#	Chapter	Date	Larger-scale background events	Smaller-scale accompanying actions and recipients of the speech
7	“Xi bo kan li” 西伯戡黎 (“The Chief of the West's conquest of Li”)	-	西伯既戡黎，祖伊恐。 When the ruler of the West conquered Li, Zu Yi was afraid.	奔告于王。 [Zu Yi] diligently **reported** to the king.
8	“Mu shi” 牧誓 (“Harangue at Mu”)	時甲子昧爽 It was day *jia-zi* (1/60), at the break of dawn.	王朝至于商郊牧野。 The king arrived in the morning at the field of Mu in the vicinity of Shang.	乃誓。王左杖黃鉞，右秉白旄以麾：逖矣西土之人。王曰：嗟我友邦冢君御事，司徒司馬司空亞旅師氏千夫長百夫長及庸蜀羌髳微盧彭濮人，稱爾戈比爾干立爾矛予其誓。 Then he **made a declaration**. The king, with his left hand, leaned on the yellow battle-axe; with his right hand, held the white pennant. [He] waved it, saying: “It has been a long [way for you], people of western lands!” The king said: “Oh, the great princes of my country, intendants of affairs, ministers of instruction, warfare and public works, subordinate officers, instructors, heads of thousands and heads of hundreds, and you, the people of Yong, Shu, Qiang, Mao, Wei, Lu, Peng and Pu! Put your battle-axes straight, arrange your shields in line and set up your spears! I am going to give a declaration!”
9	“Kang gao” 康誥 (“Announcement to the Prince of Kang”)	惟三月哉生魄 It was the third month, when *po* was being born.	周公初基作新大邑于東國洛。 The Duke of Zhou started to lay the foundation, he made the new great capital in the eastern country of Luo.	四方民大和會。侯甸男邦采衛百工播民和見士于周。周公咸勤乃洪大誥治。 People from all the four sides assembled in great harmony. Various officials and ordinary people from the statelets *hou*, *dian* and *nan*, and from *cai* and *wei* fiefs attended for service at Zhou. The Duke of Zhou applied all his diligence, and then [he] overwhelmingly **instructed and rectified**.
10	“Duo shi” 多士 (“Many men”)	惟三月 It was the third month.	周公初于新邑洛。 The Duke of Zhou commenced at the new capital of Luo.	用告商王士。王若曰：爾殷遺多士。 [The Duke of Zhou] used [this opportunity] to make an **announcement** to the men of Shang. Thus said the king: “You, the many remaining men of Yin!”
11	“Duo fang” 多方 (“Numerous regions”)	惟五月丁亥 It was the fifth month, day *ding-hai* (24/60).	王來自奄至于宗周 The king came from Yan and arrived at Zongzhou.	周公曰：王若曰：猷告爾四國多方，惟爾殷侯尹民，我惟大降爾命。 The Duke of Zhou said: “Thus said the king: ‘I will **discourse and tell** you, [the people of] the four states and many countries, you, officials and people of the *hou* of Yin! I greatly bestow a decree upon you!’ ”

#	Chapter	Date	Larger-scale background events	Smaller-scale accompanying actions and recipients of the speech
12	“Lü xing” 呂刑 (“Marquis Lü on punishments”)	-	惟呂命。王享國百年耄。 A decree issued to Lü. The king, having reigned for many years, grew old.	荒度作刑以詰四方。 Having broadly considered [various matters], he made the punishments in order to **moderate** the [people living in] four directions.

The table shows that instances of contextualisation in chapters with the background-centred pattern are structurally uniform and that two elements, “Background events” and “Accompanying actions and recipients of the speech” constitute their core. Remarkably, this structure is different from contextualisation passages in bronze texts with temporal information, where no such emphasis on background events and accompanying actions is noticeable.

Overall, the contextualisation passages in the *Shang shu* clearly reflect a different set of concerns from bronze texts, and the compositional role of contextualisation passages in the *Shang shu* is not the same. If so, what is this role and what could be the purpose of contextualisation passages in the *Shang shu*?

It becomes possible to find an answer to this question by comparing them against other chapters from the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu* where different contextualisation patterns are employed. Unlike the *Shang shu* chapters listed above, texts in the *Yi Zhou shu* often lack the elaborate description of circumstances, the accompanying actions and the recipients of the speech, but normally contain the temporal information. There is an interesting correlation: contents of the chapters listed in the table above mainly consist of emotionally laden speeches that vividly re-enact the speaker, relying on such emphatic devices as vocatives, exclamations and imperative verbs. And while most speeches in the *Yi Zhou shu* also use some of the characteristic emphatic devices of the *Shang shu*, they do so only in a rudimen-

tary form in the opening and closing passages, whereas the main body of the text is neutral and impersonal.

In other words, there appears to be a clear relationship between the structure of contextualisation passages and the main contents of the contextualised text; elaborate contextualisation passages with much detail concerning the circumstances, the accompanying actions and the recipients of the speech normally only appear in chapters with emotionally laden speeches. I propose to call such chapters "dramatic" and the other "non-dramatic".[64]

Looking back at the prevailing contextualisation pattern of the *Shang shu* with the idea of "dramatic" chapters in mind, it is possible to explain the compositional role of these contextualisation passages. With the preceding events, accompanying actions and the recipients of the speech clearly defined, the speeches could be perceived as instances of the specific verbal reaction of venerated individuals to clearly described circumstances, and not just as high-flown sayings that could be pronounced – and neglected – in any generic situation.[65] Therefore, contextualisation amplifies the emotional impact of speeches. It remains an open question whether this vivid background had to be imagined by the audience or whether it was fully or partially recreated in the performance and stage decorations. However, it is perhaps not crucial to have a definite answer to this question in order to understand the compositional role of contextualisation passages.

64 My conclusions concerning the "dramatic" nature of the prevailing part of the "Modern script" chapters of the *Shang shu* have been influenced by Martin Kern who had earlier proposed to understand the *Shang shu* as a collection of performative scripts intended to commemorate the ancestors (Kern 2009a). I have also drawn much inspiration from Helmut Utzschneider's paper who suggests that drama may be one of the universal genres present in all early textual cultures. Utzschneider (2010, 67) proposes the following defining criteria for "dramatic" texts: "(1) by means of direct speeches and addresses, changing speakers, themes, and perspectives, they evoke the impression of actors' entrances; (2) the speeches visualize the scene of the entrances – in other words, they stage the location and other visual circumstances embodied in the speeches".

65 Cf. Khayutina (2009, 136).

Consideration of the "dramatic" nature of the many chapters of the *Shang shu* also makes it possible to explain why the temporal details were a secondary and optional element of contextualisation. While there may have been many cultural references connected to particular years, months, lunar-phase terms and cyclical dates, many of which modern scholars will never be able to reconstruct,[66] overall their emotional and perceptual impact on the audience was arguably less significant than the impact of the more individualising elements, such as background events, actions accompanying the speech and recipients of the speech.

It is worth pointing out another important divergence between bronze texts and the *Shang shu* that explains the difference in their approaches to contextualisation. It has been long observed that bronze texts are inseparable from the bronze objects on which they were cast, while transmitted texts have no such close relationship with a particular material medium. Even when a transmitted text seemingly follows the textual pattern borrowed from the epigraphic tradition, its message is no longer tied to any particular object. This unbinding has two major consequences: 1) the range of contextualised events becomes wider: the composer of a medium-independent text is free to provide context for any event or utterance, not necessarily related to the strictly regulated ritual; 2) the techniques of contextualisation become more diverse as the composer can use a wider range of tools to offer a richer depiction of background events, describe recipients of the speech and often clarify the intention behind the speech. I suggest that it is this independence from specific material carriers, cou-

66 The question of the ritual significance of the individual elements in dating formulas is badly understudied, although even a quick glance over the distribution of individual months, cyclical dates and lunar-phase terms in bronze texts suggests that their use was defined by ritual regulations. Although the ample chronological information in the *Spring and Autumn* (*Chunqiu* 春秋) chronicle has received some scholarly attention (Karapet'yants 1999; van Auken 2006), to my knowledge, no attempts have been taken to use this information to shed light onto the general use of patterns in dating formulas in epigraphic and received texts from the Western and Eastern Zhou 東周 (771-221 BC). One of the few elements of ritual significance in dating formulas that has been discussed in the literature is the opposition between the so-called "hard" (*gang* 剛) and "soft" (*rou* 柔) cyclical dates (Smith 2011; Vandermeersch 1980, 2:340).

pled with the “dramatic” nature of the *Shang shu* speeches, that explains the unique contextualisation pattern of the “Modern script” chapters of the *Shang shu*.

1.6 Contextualisation patterns of the *Yi Zhou shu*

Unlike the *Shang shu* that almost exclusively consists of speeches, the *Yi Zhou shu* contains both speeches and non-speech texts. Nevertheless, most of the non-speech texts there are not contextualised. With a few exceptions that are discussed below, the object of contextualisation in the *Yi Zhou shu*, like the *Shang shu*, is speech.

As I have mentioned before, contrary to the expectations based on the commonplace association of the *Shang shu* with the Western Zhou bronze texts, the contextualisation passages in the *Shang shu* cannot be analysed using the structural schemes that can be devised from epigraphic materials. Likewise, it becomes clear that contextualisation patterns in the *Yi Zhou shu* cannot be described using the structural framework derived from the *Shang shu*. It turns out that most of the *Yi Zhou shu* employ contextualisation techniques that differ from the predominant pattern of the *Shang shu* in both the structure and the compositional function.

A different structural scheme of contextualisation at the beginning of chapters is not the only important compositional difference between the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Shang shu*. In the *Yi Zhou shu*, contextualisation passages positioned at the beginning of a text are usually paired with characteristic concluding passages at the end, while in the *Shang shu* I was not able to detect any stable concluding pattern. While the concluding passages cannot be considered parts of contextualisation as they do not convey any background information, compositionally the two are closely intertwined and together they form a unified framing device that is vaguely reminiscent of the encompassing bipartite contextualisation pattern in the Shang-style bronze texts. I shall examine the concluding passages of the chapters that rely the most

heavily on repetitive formulas in Chapter 2. In the following table, I shall just indicate whether a chapter contains a conclusion or not.

1.6.1 Template-based contextualisation pattern

Of the total 59 chapters found in the modern recension of the *Yi Zhou shu*, 16 chapters follow the prevailing contextualisation pattern where the objects of contextualisation are inherently "non-dramatic" texts styled as speeches. Unlike the background-centred contextualisation pattern common in the *Shang shu*, contextualisation passages in these texts put a stronger emphasis on the date; the background details in them are usually brief and repetitive. The overall impression is that these contextualisation passages have been crafted according to a uniform simple template where the date is the most flexible and the most important element. Hereafter, I will refer to such contextualisation as *template-based*:[67]

67 The poorly preserved chapter 22 "Da kai" 大開 ("The great induction") formally does not correspond to the prevailing contextualisation pattern as its main contents are not styled as a speech marked with the character *yue* 曰. However, it contains a formulaic conclusion, which suggests that at an earlier stage of its textual history it could have been more similar to other chapters following the predominant contextualisation pattern.

Table 6: Introductory passages from chapters with template-based contextualisation in the *Yi Zhou shu*

#	Chapter	Contextualisation passage				Conclusion
		Date and place	**Larger-scale background events**	**Accompanying actions and recipients of the speech**	**Inquiry**	
1	“Feng bao” 酆保 (“Safeguarding at Feng”) *juan* 3, chapter 21[68]	維二十三祀庚子朔 (1) In the twenty-third ritual cycle, on [the month with the new moon on] day *geng-zi* (47/60),	九州之侯咸格于周。 (2) princes of the nine regions came to Zhou.[69]	-	-	+
		王在酆，昧爽，立于少庭。 (3) The king was at Feng. Before dawn, he stood in the small courtyard.	-	王告周公旦曰： (4) The king made an announcement to the Duke of Zhou, saying:	嗚呼！諸侯咸格來慶，辛苦役商，吾何保守？何用行? (5) “*Wuhu!* All the princes have come to felicitate. [They] are heavily burdened with their service to Shang. How can I safeguard? How shall [I] act?”	
2	“Da kai” 大開 (“The great induction”) *juan* 3, chapter 22	維王二月既生魄，王在酆。 (1) In the king’s second month, when *po* was already born, the king was at Feng. He stood in the small courtyard.	-	兆墓九開，開厥後人，八儆五戒。 (2) Having conceived the nine inductions, he inducted his posterity in the eight warnings and five admonitions.	-	+
3	“Xiao kai” 小開 (“The lesser induction”) *juan* 3, chapter 23	維三十有五祀， (1) In the thirty-fifth ritual cycle,	-	王念曰：多□ (2) the king said in contemplation: “The many ...”	-	+
		正月丙子拜望食無時， (3) In the first month, on day *bing-zi* (13/60), [they] venerated the eclipse of the full moon that occurred in an untimely fashion.	-	-	汝開後嗣謀。 (4) “You should induct the heir in deliberations!”	

68 Exceptionally for the *Yi Zhou shu*, in “Feng bao” the numerical catalogues that constitute the main body of the text can be read not as part of the dialogic exchange, but rather as part of the narrative: these lists appear to have been inscribed by King Wen on a stone that he erected at a locality called Chong 崇.

#	Chapter	Contextualisation passage				Conclusion
		Date and place	**Larger-scale background events**	**Accompanying actions and recipients of the speech**	**Inquiry**	
4	"Wen zhuan" 文傳 ("King Wen's tradition") *juan* 3, chapter 25	文王受命之九年，時維莫春，在鄗。 (1) In the ninth year of King Wen's receiving of the mandate, in the time of late spring, [the king was] at Hao.	-	太子發曰[70]：吾語汝我所保所守，守之哉。 (2) [The king summoned] the heir incipient Fa, saying: "I tell you: what I preserve and what I keep, you should [also] keep!"	-	-
5	"Rou wu" 柔武 ("Soft warfare") *juan* 3, chapter 26	維王元祀一月既生魄， (1) In the king's first ritual cycle, in the first month, when *po* was already born,	-	王召周公旦曰： (2) the king summoned Dan, the Duke of Zhou, saying:	-	-
6	"Da kai Wu" 大開武[71] ("The greater induction of King Wu") *juan* 3, chapter 27	維王一祀二月，王在酆， (1) In the king's first ritual cycle, the second month, the king was at Feng.	-	密命訪於周公旦曰： (2) [He] secretly ordered Dan, the Duke of Zhou, to pay a visit, saying:	嗚呼！余夙夜維商密不顯，誰和？告歲之有秋，今余不獲其落，若何？ (3) "*Wuhu!* I am from morning till night [perplexed that] the secrets of Shang are not exposed. How [do I put my mind] at peace? It is reported that the year has yielded its harvest, but now I do not get its produce, what can be done about it?"	+

69 "Feng bao" is the only chapter in the *Yi Zhou shu* where the background events interrupt the date and place information, which normally appears as an indivisible unit. This violates the structural conventions of contextualisation passages in both epigraphic and received texts. As this contextualisation passage does not fit to the generic scheme "Date and place, Background events, Accompanying actions and recipients of the speech", I had to adapt it by inserting an additional row. I shall do likewise for every contextualisation passage that does not fully conform to the general structural scheme.

70 Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717-1796), who published a collated edition of the *Yi Zhou shu* that had significant impact on Qing scholarship, adds a character *zhao* 召 at the beginning of this passage, building on a citation in the *leishu* 類書 *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (*The Imperial Reading of the Taiping Era*) published in 978 (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 237). I believe that this emendation is necessary to make a sensible reading of the text, so I also accept it in my translation. However, I am reluctant to accept the other emendations of this passage proposed by Lu Wenchao as they substitute a fully valid reading of the original with a "more complete" reading of the version preserved in citations.

71 As it has been pointed out by Sun Yirang 孫怡讓 (1848-1908), the titles of this and the following chapter are corrupt and should be read as "Da Wu kai" 大武開 ("The great induction of King Wu") and "Xiao Wu kai" 小武開 ("The lesser induction of King Wu") instead of "Da kai wu" 大開武 ("The great opening of the war") and "Xiao kai wu" 小開武 ("The lesser opening of the war"). A better preserved version of the title is still found in a valuable bibliographic summary of a non-preserved edition of the *Zhou shu* in the *Shi lüe (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 257, 272; Gao Sisun 1884, 6.7-9)*. See also McNeal (2012, 131, 216).

#	Chapter	Contextualisation passage				Conclusion
		Date and place	**Larger-scale background events**	**Accompanying actions and recipients of the speech**	**Inquiry**	
7	“Xiao kai Wu” 小開武 (“The lesser induction of King Wu”) *juan* 3, chapter 28	維王二祀一月既生魄 (1) In the king's second ritual cycle, the first month, when *po* was already born.	-	王召周公旦曰： (2) The king summoned Dan, the Duke of Zhou, saying:	嗚呼！余夙夜忌商，不知道極，敬聽以勤天命。 (3) “*Wuhu!* I am from morning till night on guard against Shang. I do not know the perfection of the way. [Therefore] I am reverently listening [to your advice] in order to toil on the [accomplishment] of the mandate of Heaven.”	+
8	“Bao dian” 寶典 (“Treasured testament”) *juan* 3, chapter 29	維王三祀，二月丙辰朔，王在鄗 (1) In the king’s third ritual cycle, in the second month with the new moon on day *bing-chen* (53/60), the king was at Hao.	-	召周公旦曰： (2) [The king] summoned Dan, the Duke of Zhou, saying:	-	+
9	“Feng mou” 酆謀 (“Deliberation at Feng”) *juan* 3, chapter 30	維王三祀，王在酆。 (1) In the king’s third ritual cycle, the king was at Feng.	-	謀言告聞。王召周公旦曰： (2) The words of deliberation were reported. The king summoned Dan, the Duke of Zhou, saying:	嗚呼！商其咸辜，維日望謀建功，謀言多信，今如其何? (3) “*Wuhu!* All the transgressions of Shang! [I] daily anticipate and deliberate on how to accomplish a feat. The words of deliberation are very credible. Now what shall I do?”	+
10	“Cheng kai” 成開 (“King Cheng's induction”) *juan* 5, chapter 47	成王元年 (1) In the first year of King Cheng,	-	大開告用周公曰： (2) [the king requested] the great induction from the Duke of Zhou, saying:	嗚呼！余夙夜之勤，今商孽競時逋播以輔，余何循，何循何慎? (3) “*Wuhu!* My toils from morning till night! Now the Shang spawn are hurriedly dispersing to help themselves. How shall I follow [them]?”	+
11	“Huang men” 皇門 (“August gate”) *juan* 5, chapter 49	維正月庚午， (1) In the first month, on day *geng-wu* (7/60),	-	周公格于左閎門，會群臣，曰： (2) The Duke of Zhou came to the left alley gate to conduct an audience with the many officials. He said:	-	-

#	Chapter	Contextualisation passage				Conclusion
		Date and place	**Larger-scale background events**	**Accompanying actions and recipients of the speech**	**Inquiry**	
12	“Da jie” 大戒 (“Great admonition”) *juan* 5, chapter 50	維正月既生魄， (1) In the first month, when *po* was already born.	-	王訪于周公曰： (2) The king, being visited by the Duke of Zhou, said:	嗚呼！朕聞維時兆厥工非不顯，朕實不明。維士非不務而不得助。大則驕，小則懾，懾謀不極，予重位與輕服，非共得福，厚用遺。庸止生郤，庸行信貳，衆輯群政，不輯多匿。嗚呼！予夙勤之，無或告余，非不念，念不知。 (3) “*Wuhu*! I have heard: 'You should in a timely manner show your accomplishments'. It is not that [I] do not demonstrate [them], but [I] am truly not illuminated. Speaking of men, it is not that I do not employ [them], however I still do not receive aid. The greater are arrogant, and the smaller are cowardly. And deliberations with the cowardly do not reach the pinnacle. When I give [them] important appointments and light responsibilities, it is not that [we] mutually profit, and the ample investments are lost. If the petty [men] are obstructed, they cause ruffles, if the petty [men] are employed, they put their trust in the treacherous. If the masses are under control, then everybody is governed, and if they are not controlled, many will flee. *Wuhu!* I toil [on this from early] morning, [and yet] there is nobody to announce [the solution] to me. It is not that I do not contemplate, I do contemplate, but I still do not know!”	+
13	“Ben dian” 本典 (“Basic testament”) *juan* 6, chapter 57	維四月既生魄王在東宮。 (1) In the fourth month, when *po* was already born, the king was at the Eastern Palace.	-	召公告周公曰： (2) He summoned the Duke of Zhou, saying:[72]	嗚呼！朕聞武考，不知乃問，不得乃學。俾資不肖，永無惑矣。今朕不知明德所則，政教所行，字民之道，禮樂所生，非不念而知，故問伯父。 (3)”*Wuhu*! I have heard of my late Father Wu that, when he did not know [a certain thing], he would ask, and if he did not receive [something], he would learn [it]. [Doing so], he caused the resources not to dwindle, and he never had any perplexities. Now I do not know how to regulate the bright *de*-virtue and how to conduct the instruction of governance. [I do not know] the way of loving the people and the source of the ritual and music. It is not that I can know this without contemplating [on it]! For this reason, I inquire you, oh uncle!”	+

72 In the received recension of the *Yi Zhou shu*, the text reads “The Duke of Shao made an announcement to the Duke of Zhou”. However, what follows is a speech mentioning the late father King Wu, which is clearly attributed to the young King Cheng. Therefore, I agree with Sun Yirang and other commentators who consider this passage corrupt (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 751). In the translation, I follow the passage from an alternative recension preserved in the *Shi lüe*: *wei si yue jiwang, jishengpo, wang zai dong gong, zhao Zhou gong Dan* 維四月既望既生魄，王在東宮，召周公旦 (Gao Sisun 1884, 6.9b). However, this alternative rendering is clearly corrupt, too, since the two *yuexiang* terms *jiwang* 既望 and *jishengpo* 既生魄 cannot follow each other.

There are several important things that should be observed about the contextualisation pattern demonstrated in the table above.

Template-based contextualisation and "non-dramatic" texts. A closer look at the template-based contextualisation passages in the *Yi Zhou shu* reveals their striking difference from those in the *Shang shu*. Unlike the background-centred contextualisation of the *Shang shu* where the circumstances of the speech, the recipients, and the actions accompanying the speech are the most important elements that are described vividly and with much detail, in the template-based contextualisation of the *Yi Zhou shu* these elements lack detail and originality; furthermore, the circumstances of the speech are often omitted. The accompanying action is usually expressed with a single verb, and the choice of such verbs is extremely limited, with *zhao* 召/詔 ("to summon"), *gao* 告 ("to announce"), and *fang* 訪 ("to visit") used in most chapters. Overall, there is clearly no attempt in the template-based contextualisation patterns to create a vivid dramatic setting. It is not surprising considering that the contents of these chapters consist of impersonal treatises that are difficult to imagine in the context of dramatic re-enactment.

Proximity to bronze texts. Most of texts with template-based contextualisation contain spatial and temporal information, while the *Shang shu* chapters often do not mention any temporal context at all, and the spatial context only appears as part of the background events accompanying the speech. The emphasis on the temporal and spatial context and the lack of dramatic detail makes the *Yi Zhou shu* contextualisation passages more reminiscent of bronze texts than the *Shang shu*. However, there are some oddities in the use of individual elements of temporal contextualisation in the *Yi Zhou shu* that need to be mentioned. First, the *Yi Zhou shu* avoids mentioning the term "year" (*nian*) in favour of "ritual cycle" (*si*), a feature that could be considered a rudiment of the late Shang and Early Western Zhou peri-

ods because *si* was largely supplemented with *nian* only during the Middle Western Zhou.[73] However, this archaic term goes in the *Yi Zhou shu* chapters side-by-side with some very late terminology, only attested on bronzes from the Warring States period. Three *Yi Zhou shu* chapters, "Feng bao", "Bao dian" and "Wu jing" (see table above), contain the term *shuo* 朔 ("new moon"). This term is widely attested in Warring States and later excavated texts where it is used to identify the first day of the month mentioned (e.g. "it was the eleventh month whose new moon fell on day *yi-si*"). Therefore, this practice seems to be a late development that cannot be related to the calendrical terms attested in Western Zhou bronze texts. Furthermore, it is quite striking that, of the four different lunar-phase terms known from the Western Zhou bronzes, only one is used in the *Yi Zhou shu* chapters, namely *jishengpo* 既生魄 ("after *po* was born"). It occurs 5 times in the above-mentioned *Yi Zhou shu* contextualisation passages, while other lunar-phase terms, including *chuji* which is the most frequent for bronze texts of the Western Zhou period, are absent. This seems to further corroborate the observation that contextualisation passages in Western Zhou bronze texts and in the *Yi Zhou shu* reflect different concerns.

1.6.2 Alarming pattern and other types of contextualisation in the *Yi Zhou shu*

The template-based pattern is not the only characteristic type of contextualisation attested in the *Yi Zhou shu*. In chapters 24 "Wen jing" 文儆 ("Alarming of King Wen"), 31 "Wu jing" 寤敬 ("Alarming at awakening"), 45 "Wu jing" 武儆 ("Alarming of King Wu") and 46 "Wu quan" 五權 ("Five balances"), a peculiar type of contextualisation is employed that appears to be mainly reserved for the presentation of distressing events.

73 This rule might not be universal. It appears that, on Chu 楚 bronzes, *si* was used for the indication of the year at least until the fifth century BC. See, for example, the "Chu wang Xiong Zhang" *zhong* bell 楚王熊章鐘 (*Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng* #85). I am grateful to Ondřej Škrabal for this observation.

Table 7: Introductory passages from chapters with alarming contextualisation pattern in the Yi Zhou shu

Title	**Date (year, month)**	**Alarming event (king's condition)**	**Date (day)**	**Accompanying action**	**Inquiry**
"Wen jing" 文儆 *juan* 3, chapter 24	-	維文王告夢，懼後祀之無保。 King Wen made an announcement concerning a dream. He feared that the heir[74] would not be preserved.	庚辰 On day *geng-chen* (17/60),	詔太子發曰：汝敬之哉！ [the king] summoned heir apparent Fa, saying: "You should be reverent towards this!"	-
"Wu jing" 寤敬 *juan* 3, chapter 31	維四月朔， In the fourth month, on the new moon,	王告儆。 the king made an announcement concerning an alarm [received in a dream].	-	召周公旦曰： He summoned Dan, the Duke of Zhou, saying:	嗚呼！謀泄哉！今朕寤有商驚予，欲與無□則，欲攻無庸，以王不足，戒乃不興，憂其深矣！ "*Wuhu!* The plans are leaking! Today, as I was awakening, Shang alarmed me: 'If you want to receive [rulership], you have no [appropriate] rank, and if you want to attack, you have no military achievements; you do not suffice to be king, and beware not to start out!' My anxiety is very severe!"
"Wu jing" 武儆 *juan* 4, chapter 45	惟十有二祀四月， In the twelfth ritual cycle, in the fourth month,	王告夢。 the king made an announcement about a dream.	丙辰 On day *bing-chen* (53/60),	出金枝郊寶開和細[75]書，命詔周公旦，立後嗣，屬小子誦文及寶典。王曰：嗚呼！敬之哉！汝勤之無蓋！ there were taken out: the *jiao* treasure [decorated with] metal rods, the writings on silk concerning induction and harmonization. [The king] ordered to summon Dan, the Duke of Zhou, to establish the heir, to admonish the offspring to recite the ornate writing and the treasured testament. The king said: "*Wuhu!* Be reverent towards this and do not cause harm!"	-
"Wu quan" 五權 *juan* 5, chapter 46	-	維王不豫。 The king was indisposed.	于五日 On the fifth day,	召周公旦曰： [the king] summoned Dan, the Duke of Zhou, saying…	-

74 I read *housi* 後祀 ("later sacrifice") as *housi* 後嗣 ("heir"), following Gao Sisun's *Shilüe* 史略 (Gao Sisun 1884, 6.8a).

75 Following Zhu Junsheng 朱駿聲 (1788–1858), I read *xi* 細 ("minute," "thin") as *chou* 紬 ("silk fabric"). The two characters are similar in shape, and the infrequent *chou* 紬 could have been replaced by the common *xi* 細 (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 485).

The chapters employing such *alarming contextualisation* in the *Yi Zhou shu* are few, but this type is distinctively different for focusing on the exceptional circumstances in the king's life. Unlike background-centred and template-based contextualisation where the date is always positioned before the description of background and accompanying events, the description of an alarming event in this pattern is positioned after the year, the month and the "lunar phase", but before the specific day. Interestingly, this pattern of contextualisation is attested in chapters "Gu ming" 顧命 ("Testamentary charge") and "Jin teng" 金縢 ("Metal-bound casket") of the *Shang shu*, which also deal with distressing events, such as the king's death or illness. Therefore, it is impossible to disregard this pattern as a phenomenon of marginal importance restricted to the *Yi Zhou shu*.

Apart from the template-based and alarming contextualisation, the *Yi Zhou shu* employs several other types that need to be mentioned. Some chapters employ background-centred contextualisation which I have described above as representative of the *Shang shu*. In the *Yi Zhou shu*, this pattern is used in chapters 34 "He wu" 和寤 ("Peaceful awakening"), 39 "Da ju" 大聚 ("Great assembly"), 44 "Duo yi" 度邑 ("Making measurements of the city"), 64 "Taizi Jin" 太子晉 ("Heir apparent Jin"), 66 "Yin zhu" 殷祝 ("Yin incantation"). Nevertheless, the similarity in contextualisation does not always mean a similarity in style and structure, and only some of these texts are reminiscent of the *Shang shu* material. Contextualisation passages in chapters 37 "Da kuang" II 大匡 ("Great rectification"),[76] 38 "Wen zheng" 文政 ("Cultured governance"), 48 "Zuo Luo" 作雒 ("Making of Luo"), 56 "Chang mai" 嘗麥 ("Tasting of wheat") and 61 "Shi ji" 史記 ("Historiographer's records") are close to template-based contextualisation. However, in these chapters, contextualisation is employed in predominantly narrative texts, which makes it difficult to compare to the background-cen-

76 The *Yi Zhou shu* contains two chapters called "Da kuang" 大匡: chapter 11 in *juan* 2 and chapter 37 in *juan* 4. For the sake of convenience, I shall refer to them as "Da kuang" I and "Da kuang" II, respectively.

tred and template-based patterns used to introduce speeches.[77] In chapters 11 “Da kuang” I, 12 “Cheng dian” 程典 (“Testament at Cheng”), 63 “Rui Liangfu” 芮良夫 and 54 “Shi fa” 謚法 (“Order of posthumous names”), contextualisation passages describe not the moment of oral pronouncement, but the moment of the composition of written texts. I call such contextualisation passages *writing-informed*, and they reflect a typologically late understanding of text as a written entity that is brought into existence only when physically recorded.

Overall, the *Yi Zhou shu* contextualisation passages are heterogeneous. While there are some chapters whose contextualisation is similar to the *Shang shu*, generally the *Yi Zhou shu* is dominated by the patterns that are most characteristic of this particular collection. The distinct form of template-based contextualisation, in particular, is reminiscent of bronze texts by its use of date and place formulas, as well as by its brevity and repetitiveness. However, unlike bronze texts, it is applied to “non-dramatic” speech, a peculiar text type typical of the *Yi Zhou shu*. This synthetic pattern of contextualisation seems to be a creation of the Eastern Zhou textual culture, and it provides an interesting insight not just into how new texts were produced at that time, but also how older texts – perhaps including epigraphy – were read and appreciated. Alarming contextualisation, another characteristic pattern attested in the *Yi Zhou shu*, relates four chapters of this collection to the chapters “Gu ming” and “Jin teng” of the *Shang shu*. Finally, the *Yi Zhou shu* contains some chapters with background-centred contextualisation, the most representative type of the *Shang shu*. Therefore, there is indeed some important overlap in the compositional techniques employed in the two collections, however, despite this overlap, the predominant patterns in them are distinctively different.

77 Previously, I have referred to chapters “Da kuang” II and “Wen zheng” as “non-dramatic” speech, but I now consider that the borrowing of a small number of linguistic elements characteristic of “non-dramatic” speeches in these two texts is not sufficient to stop viewing them as narrative (Grebnev 2016).

They represent several separate traditions of textual production that relied on their own standards of composition.[78]

Imitation and innovation. It would be wrong to regard the *Yi Zhou shu* contextualisation passages only as imitations of the venerated patterns of bronze texts. Contextualisation in the *Yi Zhou shu* is first and foremost a compositional device that serves specific textual concerns of this family of texts. These concerns are markedly different for different groups of texts. While in the *Shang shu* the predominant concern is to re-enact the words of foundational figures pronounced in very specific circumstances, the predominant concern of the *Yi Zhou shu* is not the same. It appears that the *Yi Zhou shu* "non-dramatic" speeches are not preoccupied with the celebration of foundational figures, but rather with the structured presentation of knowledge. For these purposes, the mere presence of a sage is no longer sufficient. Instead, these chapters attempt to show how the past sages would have answered questions of contemporary relevance. The "non-dramatic" speeches provide such answers, formulated as coherent and impersonal reasoning. This objectivised textual form sets them apart from the emotionally laden speeches of the *Shang shu* where it is often difficult to identify a specific "point" that underlies the "argument" of a text. The new textual concerns in the *Yi Zhou shu* called for a new element of contextualisation, "Inquiry", an initial question that opens the argumentative flow constituting the main body of the text. Even though such enquiries are not present in all chapters this is an important innovative element in the prevailing contextualisation patterns of the *Yi Zhou shu*. The relationship between the repetitive pattern of template-based contextualisation and impersonalised "non-dramatic" speeches make such speeches appear strikingly similar to the Buddhist *suttas*, in which the

78 In his recent monograph, Robin McNeal (2012) discusses several "military" chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*. It is interesting that, with the only exception of chapter 26 "Rou wu" 柔武 ("Soft warfare" or "Gentle martiality" as McNeal translates it), the chapters examined by McNeal fall lack the characteristic patterns of contextualisation described here.

same compositional form appears to have been invented independently to transmit the structured knowledge developed by the community of Buddhist practitioners.

1.7 Discussion

In this chapter, I have outlined how contextualisation was employed in different types of texts in different periods of the early Chinese textual tradition. This survey is certainly incomplete: I have not explored the interesting developments of the Eastern Zhou bronze texts, neither have I considered any texts other than the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu*, although these two collections are not unique in the use of contextualisation as a compositional device. However, what I have done is perhaps sufficient to fulfil my primary goal: to create a framework for further analysis of the compositional techniques in the *Yi Zhou shu*.

My investigation has yielded some results that have important implications for the understanding of the early Chinese textual culture. It is striking to observe how much continuity there was at its early stages when the same textual forms were adopted for emergent purposes, even though the new contexts made these legacy forms inconvenient and even irrelevant. For example, the lasting prevalence of ancient structural patterns of oracle bone inscriptions was only overcome in bronze texts by the Middle Western Zhou period. Largely the same pattern was adopted in the template-based contextualisation pattern of the *Yi Zhou shu*, which may be a token of continuity, but more plausibly of a conscious antiquarian imitation. While there is a visible preoccupation in the *Yi Zhou shu* with the dating formulas attested in bronze texts, the supposedly earlier “dramatic” speeches of the *Shang shu* demonstrate little interest in them. Instead, they draw heavily on the background detail and the unique attributes of the re-enacted scene. Such differences appear inseparable from the distinct compositional concerns of these texts, suggesting that they might have been conceived for different performative contexts. The analysis of contextualisation techniques in the four

different groups of texts (oracle bone inscriptions, bronze texts, the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu*) has allowed me to describe their most common recurring patterns and to discern between the legacy and innovative elements in each of them.[79] This has put me on a much more solid ground in typological reasoning, as individual instances of contextualisation in each of the four groups often diverge from their predominant patterns, and the comparative study of such isolated individual instances would have been fruitless or misleading.

A clearer understanding of the structures and compositional roles of the different patterns of contextualisation can be used as an instrument to establish the relationship between groups of texts based on formal and verifiable criteria rather than on scholarly intuition. This instrument can be used to establish whether the *Shang shu* contains any texts related to the *Yi Zhou shu* and vice versa. Furthermore, the analytical framework presented here can be applied to other texts, both transmitted and recently excavated, to examine their possible relationship with the compositional approaches attested in the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu*.

It has to be noted that there does not appear to be any clear relationship between the specific patterns of contextualisation and the description patterns in the “Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings”. In particular, chapters with the type-A descriptions, which possibly represent an early layer of the collection, have all types of contextualisation that I have surveyed here. Therefore, already by the time of the composition of the earliest version of the “Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings”, the collection might have included variegated material with different compositional characteristics. Thus, in order to investigate the textual history of the constituent parts of the *Yi Zhou shu* on a deeper level and to reveal within it groups of texts from different periods, it is necessary to stop treating the *Yi Zhou shu* as a whole, acknowledging that the different groups of texts within it are older than the collec-

79 I find Stanley Tambiah's anthropological framework very useful for the identification of legacy and innovative elements of ritual, including ritual texts (Tambiah 1981).

tion itself. The analysis of contextualisation patterns is the first step in this direction, and now I would like to take a step further and outline a group of texts with shared compositional features that constitutes the most characteristic group within the *Yi Zhou shu*.

The origins of think tanks can be traced to … the desire to bring knowledge to bear on governmental decision-making …

James G. McGann, Think Tanks and Policy Advice in the US

Chapter 2

Kingly consultations as the predominant text type in the *Yi Zhou shu*

Chapter contents

2.1 Summary

In this chapter, I carry out a more fine-grained analysis of the texts that I have identified as "non-dramatic" speeches in Chapter 1. I start from identifying two groups of chapters that demonstrate an affinity in the naming conventions: the five *kai* 開 ("induction") chapters

and the three *jing* 儆 (“alarming”) chapters. Having identified the peculiar compositional features that these chapters share in common, I broaden the scope of my inquiry and single out other chapters among the “non-dramatic” speeches that share these features. I call such texts *kingly consultations*. Having described the characteristic features of the kingly consultations allows me to identify texts with these features outside the *Yi Zhou shu*. Notably, I find that texts with similar compositional structures are common in the received and excavated textual assemblages that are conventionally identified with the *Liu tao*, a collection of texts that is traditionally grouped with “military” works. On the other hand, I identify a significant overlap in the use or characteristic rhetorical devices between the kingly consultations in the *Yi Zhou shu* and the “Lü xing” 呂刑 (“Marquis Lü on punishments”) chapter of the *Shang shu*. I conclude by arguing that the broad presence of the characteristic features of the kingly consultations in different texts from early China shows that the kingly consultations are not a phenomenon of marginal interest. Rather, they appear to be an important artefact of once-influential practices that have left a visible imprint on the received and excavated texts.

2.2 Kingly consultations as a text type

Texts discussed in this chapter are speeches involving the Western Zhou kings and the Duke of Zhou 周公 as interlocutors. There is often a hierarchy of knowledge-based authority in these speeches: it is either the Duke of Zhou or the king of the older generation who possesses more complete knowledge that puts him in the “teaching” position whereas the younger king's role is predominantly limited to questioning at the beginning and confirming the validity of the received wisdom at the end of the text.

In several texts with scenes of teaching delivered to the younger king (usually King Cheng 成王, ca. late 11th century BC), the monarch openly recognises his lack of wisdom in com-

parison with his sagely adviser (the Duke of Zhou) and asks for advice. He then receives the precepts and instructions that he asks for. It seems to me that this literary image of apprentice king was a relatively late development, considering that the epigraphic materials from the Western Zhou and the earlier texts of the *Shang shu* either present the kings as the ultimate source of authoritative knowledge or at least position them at the same level as the advisers.[80] Of course, they acknowledge their immaturity and incompetence compared to the deceased members of royal lineage, but it is necessary to remember that, according to what we know about the Western Zhou beliefs, the deceased members of the royal lineage do not really die but rather remain in continuous communication with their posterity.[81] Therefore, the king's acknowledgement of inferiority in epigraphic sources perhaps should not be taken too literally as a request for everybody in his surrounding to start teaching him. In contrast, for the "non-dramatic" speeches of the *Yi Zhou shu*, with their emphasis on structured knowledge transmitted to younger kings in response to their acknowledgement of ignorance, only such literal reading is possible. This seems to accord with what we know about the religious transitions of the Eastern Zhou, when the direct communication with ancestors had been interrupted, and devoid of such communication the living would develop a stronger interest in the knowledge purportedly left by the ancestors. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think that the kings in the "non-dramatic" speeches are completely subordinated to the Duke of Zhou who preserves and transmits the ancestral knowledge; the dynamics is more complex. It is normally the king's initiative to summon the Duke and challenge him with a ques-

80 For information on the Western Zhou royal appointment ceremonies where the king is presented as the source of indisputable authority, see von Falkenhausen (1993; 2006a; 2011). For a discussion of the increasing authority of the Duke of Zhou vis-à-vis the kings mainly based on the *Shang shu* and the *Zuo zhuan*, see Lewis (1999, 209–18). In her comparative discussion of the representation of the Duke of Zhou in the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu* Michael Nylan demonstrates how the Duke is commonly placed in the position of superior authority (Nylan 2010). Yanaka Shin'ichi 谷中信一 points out that, in the *Yi Zhou shu*, the Duke of Zhou plays a characteristic role of a "bag of wisdom" which sets this collection apart from other received sources (Yanaka 2000).

81 Von Falkenhausen (2006b, 293–325).

tion, but once the question is formulated it is no longer the king but rather the Duke who occupies the more authoritative position. In other words, the texts in question never argue that the rulers possess less authority than the Duke of Zhou, but they do draw a line between political authority that stems from belonging to the legitimate succession line and the knowledge-based authority that seems to derive from experience (which is especially true for the scenes where the older king delivers a message to his heir/posterity) or from access to certain sources of knowledge that are not immediately available to the king (which is true for most scenes involving the Duke of Zhou).[82] Therefore, I term such texts “kingly consultations” to reflect the idea of the kings' political pre-eminence coupled with the relative inferiority of their knowledge.[83]

2.3 Two notable subtypes of the kingly consultations

The kingly consultations can be divided into several types based on the compositional structure and contextual presentation. It is not difficult to observe that the titles of some of these texts already provide certain clues as to their possible grouping and contexts. In particular, there are five chapters that have the character *kai* 開 (“to open”) in their titles[84] and three chapters with character *jing* 儆 (“to alarm, to daunt”): “Da kai” 大開 (“The great induction"), “Xiao kai” 小開 (“The lesser induction”), “Da kai wu” 大開武 (“The great induction of King Wu”), “Xiao kai wu” 小開武 (“The lesser induction of King Wu”) and “Cheng kai” 成開 (“King Cheng's induction); and “Wen jing” 文儆 (“Alarming of King

82 The idea of superiority of text-based knowledge authority over political authority is inherited by early mediaeval esoteric traditions, as shown by Anna Seidel (1983, 342–45). I believe this to be one of the features in which certain texts in the *Yi Zhou shu* are typologically related to the early medieval esoteric scriptures, which I discuss in Chapter 4.

83 Instructive dialogues in the Warring States texts often rely on stable compositional forms. For a discussion of the form of “scenes of instruction” in the *Analects*, see Denecke (2010, 98–127). For an analysis of the textual form in relationship with the “textual function” of Confucius in the *Analects* and the *Zhuangzi*, see Weingarten (2014).

84 I do not include the chapters “Jiu kai” 九開 (“Nine inductions”), “Wen kai” 文開 (“Induction of King Wen”) and “Bao kai” 保開 (“Induction concerning safeguarding”). Only titles of these chapters are mentioned in the received recension of the *Yi Zhou shu*.

Wen"), "Wu jing" 寤敬 ("Alarming at awakening") and "Wu jing" 武儆 ("Alarming of King Wu").[85] By considering the chapter titles as a criterion of philological proximity, I am stepping on a dangerous ground as it is well-known that the titles are not necessarily coterminous with respective texts and, as far as recently excavated materials allow us to judge, the counterparts of received texts often circulated without titles. Indeed, I am not ready to say whether the titles of the *kai* chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* were composed together with the texts or whether they were appended some time later. The only reason why I find it justified to operate with chapter titles when discussing the individual constituent components of the *Yi Zhou shu* before the collection was supposedly compiled toward the first century BC is the presence of similar chapter titles in the Yinqueshan 銀雀山 collection of bamboo manuscripts dating from the second century BC. (I discuss the probable proximity of chapter titling conventions between the Yinqueshan *Liu tao* and the *Yi Zhou shu* below.) However, it is true that the establishment of certain text naming conventions in the second century BC does not mean that such conventions had been in place a century earlier. Therefore, when I operate with such groups as the *kai* chapters or the *jing* chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*, I do not imply that these titles accompanied the texts from the very beginning and I acknowledge that these titles might have been produced at a later stage.

The different *kai* chapters are associated with the different kingly figures: the "The great induction" and "The lesser induction" are related to King Wen, while the "The great induction of King Wu", "The lesser induction of King Wu" and "Induction of King Cheng" are related to kings Wu and Cheng respectively. The same pattern seems to apply to the "alarming"

85 Strictly speaking, there are only two chapters with *jing* 儆 in their titles as chapter 31 "Wu jing" 寤敬 has *jing* 敬 (without the 亻 radical) instead. However, considering its compositional proximity with the other two, I consider it justified to view all three chapters as a group, and it is possible that the current discrepancy in titles is caused by the vicissitudes of textual transmission. Furthermore, in the "Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings" the name of the chapter is spelled as 寤儆.

chapters as there is an “Alarming of King Wen” and an “Alarming of King Wu”, although the “Alarming at awakening” diverges from it.

My identification of this pattern is not a pioneering discovery since the chronological arrangement according to individual reigns is the basic principle of sequencing of chapters in the received *Yi Zhou shu*, which is obvious to a careful reader.[86] Nevertheless, this explicit grouping of texts does not seem to have been properly analysed or explained in the scholarship and the reasons why certain chapters are titled “inductions” and “alarmings” are not clear. I shall start my discussion from the analysis of these types as they might be important for the understanding of the kingly consultations in general.

2.3.1 Inductions

As observed by Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848-1908), there is a proximity between the chapters bearing the *kai* character in their titles.[87] In particular, all the five *kai* chapters start with a brief template-based contextualisation passage. Apart from the titles, within the texts of the “The great induction” and the “The lesser induction”, *kai* is employed as a transitive verb with “posterity” (*jue houren* 厥後人 or *housi* 後嗣) as the object.[88] This makes it possible to think of *kai* as an induction for monarchs, even though the target is not the immediate recipient but rather the distant posterity. Such a use of *kai* is remarkably similar to the one in the ode “Wu” 武 from the “Zhou song” 周頌 section of the *Classic of Songs* (*Shi jing* 詩經):[89]

> 於皇武王、無競維烈。
> 允文文王、克開厥後。
> 嗣武受之、勝殷遏劉、耆定爾功。

86 See McNeal (2002, 50; 2012, 84).
87 Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong (2007, 257).
88 There are some interesting uses of *kai* in the *Yi Zhou shu* that fall beyond the scope of this pattern. For example, the chapter “Cheng kai” contains a passage: *da kaigao yong Zhou gong* 大開告用周公 (“was greatly inducted and exhorted by the Duke of Zhou”). The compound *kaigao* 開告 also appears in the chapter “Huang men” 皇門 (“August gate”): *kaigao yu yu jia de zhi shuo* 開告於予嘉德之說 (“induct and exhort me regarding the teaching of the splendid *de*-virtue”).
89 I borrow Legge's translation, converting the spelling of personal names to the standard *Hanyu pinyin* romanisation (*Mao shi zheng yi* 1739, 27.28b; Legge 1871a, 594).

> Oh! great wast thou, O king Wu,
> Displaying the utmost strength in thy work.
> Truly accomplished was king Wen,
> Opening the path for his successors.
> Thou did'st receive the inheritance from him;
> Thou did'st vanquish Yin, and put a stop to its cruelties; –
> Effecting the firm establishment of thy merit.

Here, Legge translates *ke kai jue hou* 克開厥後 as "opening the path for his successors", but it would perhaps be more accurate to render it as "was able to set the path for his successor" as the text is dedicated to King Wu and not to the whole ruling lineage of Zhou.[90]

I suggest that there is a remarkable similarity between "Wu" and the *kai* chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*.[91] It can be observed in the characteristic use of *kai* as a transitive verb with "posterity" (*housi*, *houren*) as the object. To my knowledge, this is a relatively atypical use of this verb.

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90 This ode is also paralleled by a similar passage in the ode "Yong" 雝, also from the "Zhou song" section (*Mao shi zheng yi* 1739, 19.21a; Legge 1871a, 590):

> 宣哲維人、文武維后。
> 燕及皇天、克昌厥後。
>
> With penetrating wisdom thou did'st play the man,
> A sovereign with the gifts both of peace and war,
> Giving rest even to great Heaven,
> And ensuring prosperity to thy descendants.

There is no apparent phonological similarity between *kai* 開 (*[k]^{hʕ}əj) and *chang* 昌 (Baxter and Sagart reconstruct 倡 and 唱 from the same phonetic series as *mə-t^{h}aŋ-s), and there is no reason to believe that "setting the path" and "ensuring prosperity" are synonymous, but the use of these two verbs in both odes is similar, and it is notable that in both cases they are employed in the context of inter-generational interaction.

91 The compound *housi* 後嗣 that is used as an object of the verb *kai* in the "The lesser induction" is possibly influenced by "Wu". The characters *hou* 後 and *si* 嗣 occupy neighbouring positions in the ode, too. However, upon a closer inspection they cannot be seen as parts of the same compound as they are separated by a rhythmic *ceasura* (in Western-influenced transcriptions they are put on different lines). The epigraphic evidence is limited, but it is notable that *housi*, attested on three wine vessels *hu* 壺 from the fourth century BC (two wine containers "Zeng ji Wu Xu" *hu* 曾姬無卹壺, *Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng* #9710, #9711, and the square-shaped wine container "Zhongshan wang Cuo" *fang hu* 中山王譽方壺, #9735), does not occur in earlier bronze texts. Its earlier-attested counterparts are *houren* 後人, known from two vessels from the Western Zhou (two tureens "Zuoce Ze" *gui* or "Zuoce Ze ling" *gui* 作冊矢令簋, #4300, #4301) and one tripod from the fourth century BC ("Zhongshan wang Cuo" *ding* 中山王譽鼎, #2840), and *houmin* 後民, known from two unprovenanced bronzes from the Spring and Autumn period: the bell "Pu Er" 僕兒鐘 *zhong*, #184) and the wine container "Yu Bing" 與兵壺 *hu*, *Xinshou Yin-Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji qiying huibian* #1980).

Against the backdrop of “Wu”, the inductions in the *Yi Zhou shu* can be regarded as instances of the path-setting knowledge of the kind which is celebrated in the ode. Furthermore, the passage in “Wu” allows us to fully appreciate the claims of the *kai* chapters as the cornerstone knowledge passed on by the legendary kings of the Western Zhou, thus ensuring the continuity of their lineage and its success during the glorious foundational age. This surely is the kind of knowledge that deserves attention, respect and reverence.

The use of the notion of “inducting the posterity” is not restricted to the *Shijing* and the *Yi Zhou shu*. An interesting example can also be found in the *Kaogong ji* 考工記 (*Records of the Scrutiny of Crafts*) in a record related to the production of the measure of capacity:[92]

> 其銘曰：時文思索，允臻其極。嘉量既成，以觀四國。永啓厥後，茲器維則。
>
> The text on it said:
>
> The Illustrious [ruler] in his thinking and pondering
> Has truly reached the extremity!
> As the splendid [norms of] measure are established
> To look after the countries of the four [cardinal directions]
> And eternally induct the posterity,
> It is this tool [that will be used] as a standard.

Notably, the character *kai* 開 (*[k]^{hˤ}əj) is substituted here for a synonymous and phonologically cognate *qi* 啓 (Baxter and Sagart reconstruct 启 as *k^{hˤ}ijʔ) which may be seen as a more sound alternative linguistically because *qi* is more commonly used as a transitive verb with animate objects.[93] I shall revert to the question of the possible relationship between *kai* and *qi* in the *Yi Zhou shu* chapter titles in the discussion on the *Liu tao* below.

2.3.2 Alarming chapters

The relatively brief “alarming” chapters (179 characters in “Wen jing”, 158 in “Wu jing” 寤敬 and 86 in “Wu jing” 武儆) are characterised by several common features including

92 Cf. Jun Wenren (2013, 45–46).
93 See also Sagart (1999, 76); Schuessler (2007, 422).

alarming contextualisation related to a dream or a sudden state of fear and a dialogue in which a piece of wisdom is offered as a remedy to this distressing condition. In addition, the *jing* chapters also contain a recurring plead to preserve this remedy safely and not to lose it. Such a compositional approach distinguishes the *jing* chapters from their *kai* counterparts where the "danger-remedy" sequence is less conspicuous. It is also remarkable that the *jing* chapters generally do not include numerical lists, with the exception of a mention of the "three virtues" (*san de* 三德) in the "Wu jing" 寤敬.

In "Wen jing" and "Wu jing" 武儆, the mention of a dream is followed by the cyclical date (*geng-chen* 庚辰 in "Wen jing" and *bing-chen* 丙辰 in "Wu jing"), suggesting that the conversation recorded in the text did not occur on the same day as the dream but rather some time later. It also seems to suggest that a proper reaction to the received revelation had to be performed on a specially designated day, which corresponds to the practice of careful selection of fortunate days for different activities attested in excavated texts. Although the number of texts in the *Yi Zhou shu* is insufficient for generalisations, it is curious that the dates in both chapters contain the same cyclical element *chen* 辰 from the 12 earthly branches (*dizhi* 地支), possibly indicating that *chen* was deemed as an appropriate day for a "response" to a dream revelation.[94]

Dream revelations have been an important concern in ancient China since the very beginning of recorded history. Already in oracle bones there are instances of divination related to the identification of ancestors who purportedly incurred a perplexing dream and the very existence of such divination records suggests that dreams were seen as important events neces-

94 The use of cyclical days for the selection of appropriate days for certain activities is already attested in the earliest epigraphy of the Anyang phase in the 13th-11th centuries BC, although interpreting these early practices using the evidence about divinatory practices from later periods is dubious (Smith 2011). For a discussion of ancient Chinese "almanacs" in the context of historical development of occult and esoteric practices during the fifth-third centuries BC, see Harper (1999, 843–52).

sitating a carefully planned response action.[95] Although there is a significant time gap between the early oracle bone inscriptions and the *jing* chapters, the idea of a ritually regulated response seems to be present in both. Nonetheless, the nature of the prescribed response to a dream revelation is largely unknown to us. Other than the scarce records in oracle bone inscriptions, we do not know what kind of information (if any) Shang kings tried to acquire on the occasion of dream revelations and what kind of actions they took in order to mitigate the possible negative outcomes. However, it is clear that, in the *jing* chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*, such revelations serve as occasions for urgent consultations that we can "re-witness" through these texts.

2.4 Characteristic features of the kingly consultations

It is possible to see in the *kai* and *jing* chapters two different textual patterns styled as responses to different kinds of challenges. The *kai* chapters are responses to more lasting threats whereas the *jing* chapters are presented as more spontaneous reaction to alarming revelations. Apart from these two types, there are other chapters bearing semblance to the *kai* and *jing* but named in other ways. I believe that it is possible to join such chapters with the *kai* and *jing* and view them all as a philologically related group. However, it is hard to come up with a firm set of criteria to decide whether a chapter belongs to this group or falls beyond its scope. At the initial stage of my analysis, I would not like to eliminate any "non-dramatic" speeches from consideration. The different "non-dramatic" speeches may have different degrees of formal similarity with one another, and I will attempt to identify a set of linguistic and compositional features that may be useful to establish such similarity. Identi-

95 Keightley (2000, 101–2). Donald Harper (1988) has discussed briefly the ancient and mediaeval incantations designed to expel nightmare demons, which is one possible form of reaction to a dream. Li Ling (2006, 52–54) mentions that the divination practices related to dreams used to be very important in antiquity, but few sources have been preserved. For a discussion of the foul dreams as a threat that needs to be eliminated (rather than a means of prognostication), see Poo (2011, 306); Fodde-Reguer (2014, 45–46).

fying these features and presenting them in a visually accessible way might be the first step towards a formally grounded typology. I hope that, from Table 8, it will become clear that some “non-dramatic” speeches of the *Yi Zhou shu* share many peculiar elements with one another that speak of their textual affinity. I need to emphasise that Table 8 is designed as a convenient introductory guide into the relatively complicated textual properties of the kingly consultations, and not as an authoritative reference. The individual entries in the table are based on subjective decisions and sometimes contestable interpretations, and future research will certainly necessitate substantial revisions.

I explain the contents of this table in more detail in the following sections, but it is important to provide several preliminary observations. The formal features that I have selected for analysis can be divided into several groups: the **compositional complex** that involves the macro-structural elements and their sequence in the text; the **formulaic complex** that involves the recurring formulaic expressions which tend to occur at compositionally comparable positions of different texts; **characteristic vocabulary** specific to the kingly consultations; finally, the **rhetorical complex** that involves the peculiar linguistic and expressive means used in kingly consultations.

A quick glance at Table 8 shows that the degree of formal relationship between different chapters is uneven. There are some “non-dramatic” speeches that only share several elements of the rhetorical complex but none of the other groups, which may suggest their relative foreignness to the more typical kingly consultations. Of these, the most representative is the “Xiao kai”, which may appear unexpected considering that it lacks what may appear as the most conspicuous feature of the *Yi Zhou shu*: numerically organised categories with listings of individual elements. In the “Xiao kai”, some numerical lists are mentioned, but their constituent elements are never enumerated.

I consider it justified to refer only to chapters that have more than two characteristic features as “kingly consultations” proper. Chapters with only one or two features are related to the kingly consultations merely compositionally. Although their relatedness with this textual type under review is obvious, it seems to be rather remote, unless, of course, I have missed certain important elements in my typology.

It is also worth observing that certain chapters among the kingly consultations form sub-groups as their feature profiles appear closer to one another than to the rest of the group. This is the case, in particular, with the *jing* chapters and chapters “Da jie” and “Ben dian” at the end of the collection. The similarity in the feature profiles of chapters that are relatively closely positioned within the collection suggests that the arrangement of the *Yi Zhou shu* as a collection of texts is not chaotic. The present sequence of chapters is probably influenced by the gradual compilation as a result of which at least some related texts occupied neighbouring positions in the overall arrangement. In particular, this might have happened to the “Da jie” and “Ben dian” at some early stage of the collection's history.

Table 8: Characteristic elements of the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations

Chapter title	酆保	大開	小開	文儆	文傳	柔武	大開武	小開武	寶典	酆謀	寤敬	大聚	武儆	五權	成開	皇門	大戒	本典
Compositional complex																		
Contextualisation passage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Numerical lists	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+		+	+
Conclusion	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
Formulaic complex																		
Acknowledgement of ignorance by the king							+	+									+	+
Request not to lose the instruction				+							+		+					+
Request regarding the timely application of the instruction		+	+	+							+							
Request to forewarn the posterity	+	+	+	+							+							
Exclamation concerning the scarcity of time		+	+					+			+		+		+			
Characteristic vocabulary																		
Leakage/capturing of deliberations	+		+						+		+							
Rhetorical complex																		
Rhetorical questions using 何 X 非 Y or 何 A 何 B 何 C			+	+			+		+						+			
嗚呼 + imperative with second-person pronoun			+	+									+	+				
嗚呼 + rhetorical question			+	+			+											
嗚呼 + reference to the past			+						+					+			+	+
嗚呼 + message concerning the king's vigilance							+								+		+	
Total	5	6	10	8	2	2	7	5	6	3	7	2	5	5	6	1	6	6

Given the imperfect condition of most of these texts and the insufficiency of received commentaries, it would be unreasonable to expect even a good translation to be lucid. The kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* clearly do not speak for themselves, and translations that are not accompanied by an extensive reconstructive explanation may appear as cryptic as the Chinese originals, perhaps having the only advantage of bringing their irritating complexities to the forefront. Nevertheless, the fact that we have several cryptic texts sharing the same linguistic and compositional features may allow us to attempt a non-linear reading, trying to understand these texts not by *what* they say but rather by *how* they express what they say, both compositionally and linguistically. In other words, I suggest that the chain of narration conventionally employed in these texts should provide sufficient insight into the compositional concerns shared by these texts that would reasonably limit the scope of possible interpretations. Besides, the recurrence of specific formulas[96] and characteristic terms may highlight the specific thematic concerns that the textual communities behind these texts were focused on. Systematising this knowledge might allow us to create a synthetic model of the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations that could be used in our interpretation of individual texts, rejecting the interpretations that contradict this framework and supplementing the missing or poorly preserved bits with what can be revealed from the compositional and linguistic patterns of kingly consultations as a whole.

I have already mentioned some of the recurring formulaic elements in the *kai* and *jing* chapters above. I shall now explore these recurring elements more systematically and then trace

96 My understanding of “formula” is influenced by my source material and is different from what is conventionally accepted in philological discussions that focus on issues of orality and literacy. By this term, I understand a variable textual pattern expressing a specific idea and playing a definite compositional role but allowing for a significant degree of textual flexibility, such as contraction, expansion, replacement of individual elements with synonyms and grammatical variability. It is normally the relatively stable compositional position of the formula within the text that allows to identify a given text and juxtapose it against instances of the same formula in other texts, even though there is almost never a 100% match between individual instances. For a relevant discussion of the concepts of “formula”, “stock phrase”, see Allon (1997, 9–18).

their use not only in the *Yi Zhou shu* but also in other received and excavated texts. I need to remark that it is not my intention to provide a comprehensive analysis of the language and vocabulary of kingly consultations. At this point, my interest is mainly restricted to easily identifiable textual features that could be used in order to identify the texts' relationship with one another as well as to highlight some of the characteristic concerns underlying these texts. A thorough discussion of word collocations and grammar patterns of the kingly consultations would certainly shed more light on the linguistic features of these texts, and I hope that the present study will provide some basis for future research of the language of different chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* based on their philological affinity and not merely on the fact of their belonging to this collection.[97]

2.4.1 Features of the kingly consultations related to the compositional complex

In this study, I consider three general compositional features: template-based contextualisation (this is the basic criterion that I have applied to decide whether to include a chapter in Table 8), presence of numerical lists and a conclusion that contains a summary of the instructive message presented in the main part of the text and/or a plea to treat it with due reverence. Such concluding passages are particularly rich in compositionally stable formulas, which I discuss below.

Speaking of numerical lists, I only consider such chapters that, apart from providing titles of lists (e.g. “three virtues” and “four affinities”), also enumerate their constituent compo-

97 The valuable study by Zhou Yuxiu 周玉秀 (2005) could have benefited from considering the *Yi Zhou shu* as a heterogeneous collection whose components are not necessarily immediately related linguistically. The necessity to reconsider the conventional treatment of the *Yi Zhou shu* as a linguistically homogeneous text becomes particularly manifest if one considers Tang Yuanfa's 唐元發 (2015) recent attempt to compose its systematic vocabulary. The failure to acknowledge the textual complexity of the collection has rendered this laborious effort almost completely inutile.

nents.[98] I discuss the numerical lists of the kingly consultations in the *Yi Zhou shu* in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.4.2 Features of the kingly consultations related to the formulaic complex

There are a number of recurring formulas that can be seen in many of the kingly consultations. I discuss the formulas in the order in which they normally appear in the compositional sequence of the kingly consultations.

The king's acknowledgement of ignorance

The opening part of some kingly consultations contains a formula that puts emphasis on the king's acknowledgement of his ignorance. In several instances, this is coupled with a statement that it is not because of the lack of reverence or diligence, but rather because of the lack of knowledge that he looks for advice.

1. "Da kai wu" : 王拜曰：允哉！余聞國有四戚、五和、七失、九因、十淫。非不敬，不知。
   The king bowed and said: "Truly so! I have heard that [in ruling] the country there are four affinities, five agreements, seven losses, nine causalities, ten excesses. It is not that [I am] not reverent – I do not know [about them]."
2. "Xiao kai wu": 王召周公旦曰：嗚呼！余夙夜忌商，不知道極，敬聽以勤天命。[99]
   The king summoned Dan, the Duke of Zhou, and said: "*Wuhu*! I am daily and nightly on guard against Shang. I do not know the perfection of the way. [Therefore]

98 Much of the contents of the chapter "Da ju" consists of five large units, each corresponding to a particular "virtue" (*de* 德), which are referred to in the concluding part as the "five virtues" (*wu de* 五德). Therefore, "Da ju" could also be viewed as a chapter containing a numerical list. However, such overarching lists are not attested in other "non-dramatic" speeches, where lists are rather employed to enumerate individual notions or relatively brief statements. Therefore, I prefer not to consider the "five virtues" in "Da ju" as a numerical list for the purposes of typological comparison.

99 In the redaction of the *Yi Zhou shu* that I consult this sentence ends with *tianxia* 天下 ("All-under-heaven"), however other early editions have *tianming* 天命 ("Heavenly mandate"). I preliminarily follow this variant as it produces a more sensible reading (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 272).

I am reverently listening [to your advice] in order to toil on the [accomplishment] of the mandate of Heaven."

3. "Da jie": 嗚呼！予夙勤之，無或告余，非不念，念不知。

   Wuhu! I toil [on this from early] morning, [and yet] there is nobody to announce [the solution] to me. It is not that I do not contemplate, I do contemplate, but I still do not know!

4. "Ben dian": 非不念而知，故問伯父。

   It is not that I can know this without contemplating [on it]! For this reason, I inquire you, oh uncle!

There appears to be a certain degree of consistency between the first, third and fourth examples in their use of the expression 非不某(不)知. The second example diverges from this pattern but arguably achieves a similar effect. Overall, these examples contribute to the presentation of the king as a humble student of the Duke of Zhou who acknowledges the superiority of the Duke's wisdom.

In the following examples, I focus on the formulaic expressions that appear in the concluding parts of certain kingly consultations (Table 9).

Table 9: Formulaic complex of the kingly consultations (formulas occurring in the concluding parts of texts)

#	**Formula**	酆保	大開	小開	文儆	小開武	寤敬	武儆	成開	本典
1	Statement against the loss of the instruction				敬之哉！汝慎守勿失，以詔有司，夙夜勿忘……		監戒善敗，護守勿失……	朕不敢望，敬守勿失，以詔賓小子。		王拜曰：允哉！幼愚敬守，以為本典。
2	Statement re-		儆我後	維周于	維周于		維乃予			

#	**Formula**	酆保	大開	小開	文儆	小開武	寤敬	武儆	成開	本典
	garding the application of the instruction		人，謀競，不可以藏。	民，人謀競不可以。	民之適敗，無有時蓋。		謀，謀時用臧。不泄不竭，維天而已……			
3	Request to forewarn the posterity	戒後人，復戒後人，其用汝謀。	戒後人，其用汝謀。	後戒後戒。	後戒後戒。		戒戒，			
4	Exclamation concerning the scarcity of time		維宿不悉，日不足。	宿不悉，日不足。	謀念勿擇。	日正余不足。	維宿。	曰：允哉！汝夙夜勤心之無窮也。	嗚呼！余夙夜不寧。	

It is important to note that this table shows not only the similarity of formulas across different chapters, but also the stability of their relative sequence within different texts. Even though it is only the “Wu jing” 寤敬 that contains the full assembly of the four formulas, chapters with less complete sets still follow the same sequence, even though the formulas may be uttered by different speakers and there may be other textual segments between them (marked with dots in the table above). In other words, these chapters are related not only by the shared vocabulary and formulaic expressions, but also by the adherence to the same intricate compositional pattern that requires the placement of incantation-like exclamations and requests in a strict sequential order.

Statement against the loss of the instruction

There is a repeating charge in the *jing* chapters not to lose the knowledge recorded in them. In two cases it is coupled with a request to transmit this knowledge to those who are expected to put it to practice.

“Wen jing”: 汝慎守勿失以詔有司，夙夜勿忘。

You should cautiously preserve and not lose it. Inform those in charge about it so that they would not forget [about it] from morning till night.

“Wu jing” 寤敬: 監戒善敗，護守勿失。

Be observant and alert regarding what is good and what is ruinous. Watchfully preserve and do not lose it!

“Wu jing” 武儆: 敬守勿失，以詔賓寘小子。

Reverently preserve and do not lose it! Inform and instruct the heir in it!

Apart from the *jing* chapters, there is also a similar expression at the end of the “Ben dian” chapter, which is presented not as an imperative statement pronounced by the king or the Duke of Zhou, but rather as an acknowledgement uttered by King Cheng. In the kingly consultations (chapters “Cheng kai”, “Da jie”, “Ben dian”), he is only allocated the role of a diligent student willing to receive the knowledge transmitted from his legendary father and grandfather:

王拜曰：允哉！幼愚敬守，以為本典。

The king bowed and said: Truly so! The young and ignorant should reverently preserve [this] and make it the basic testament.

The point of emphasis of this formula is clear: the message should be treated with caution, preserved and properly transmitted to those who are entitled to put it to practice. It is one of the many instances of the kingly consultations' insistence on preservation and continuity of knowledge transmission.

Statement regarding the application of the instruction

One part of the conclusion in two *kai* and one *jing* chapters is an obscure plea directed at the posterity. Even though the proximity of the formulas in the “Da kai” and “Xiao kai” helps to limit the scope of possible interpretations, it is still insufficient for a definite reading.

“Da kai”: 儆我後人，謀競，不可以藏。

Forewarn my posterity [that, if they] conceive strife, they cannot prosper.

“Xiao kai”: 維周于民，人謀競，不可以［臧］。

As for the relationship between Zhou and the commoners, if the people [of the ruling lineage] plan strife, they cannot [prosper].

“Wen jing”: 維周于民之適敗，無有時蓋。

Zhou, in what relates to the people's movement towards collapse,[100] will have no timely protection.

“Wu jing” 寤敬: 余聞曰：維乃予謀，謀時用臧。 不泄不竭，維天而已。

I have heard: “The deliberations that you have given, these deliberations [should be] employed and concealed in a timely manner”. Not to leak and never to be depleted [in deliberations] is something that only Heaven can achieve!

Request to forewarn posterity

In some texts, this formula is presented in a very abbreviated form that can be understood better only through comparison with other texts. Its characteristic focus on posterity is one of the most explicit reflections of the idea of inter-generational communication in the kingly consultations.

100 *Shi bai* 適敗 (“movement towards collapse”) appears earlier in the text of “Wen jing”; therefore, it cannot be regarded as a stable part of the formula.

"Feng bao": 戒後人，復戒後人，其用汝謀。

Admonish the posterity, admonish the posterity[101] so that they use your deliberations!

"Da kai": 戒後人，其用汝謀。

Admonish the posterity so that they use your deliberations!

"Xiao kai": 後戒後戒。

Posterity beware, posterity beware!

"Wen jing": 後戒後戒。

Posterity beware, posterity beware!

Exclamation concerning the scarcity of time

This formula occurs at the very end of the speeches. It seems to bring to focus the transience of time and the necessity of constant vigilance.[102]

"Da kai": 維宿不悉，日不足。

The nights are not complete, and the days are not sufficient!

"Xiao kai": 宿不悉，日不足。

The nights are not complete, and the days are not sufficient!

"Wen jing": 謀念，勿擇

Deliberate and think! Do not be weary!

101 I omit the character *fu* 復 ("to revert, to restore") in the translation, agreeing with Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 that it is most likely an interpolation from the preceding passage *bu cong nai kui, kui bu ke fu* 不從乃潰，潰不可復 (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 211). However, I do not find it justified to remove with it the following three characters *jie hou ren* 戒後人: even though this repetition does not seem to add any new information to the text, the reduplicate use of such exclamations is not exceptional.

102 This formula is also attested in the "*Bao xun" 保訓 ("Precious instruction") of the Tsinghua manuscripts (Li Ling 2009).

"Wu jing" 寤敬: 後戒，維宿。

Admonish the posterity concerning the nights [that are short]!

Note: In this text, the formula with the plea to forewarn the posterity and the formula concerning the scarcity of time seem to have been merged in such a way that it is very difficult to treat them separately.

"Xiao kai wu": 日正余不足。

Truly, the remainder of the days is not sufficient!

Apart from the four instances of clearly related expressions above, there are two chapters where the final sentences mention the speaker's incessant toils. I suggest that they might be typologically related to the previous examples, not only because of their positioning at the very end, but also because of their emphasis on constant vigilance:

"Wu jing" 武儆: 汝夙夜勤心之無窮也。

Your toils of heart from morning till night are incessant.

"Cheng kai": 嗚呼！余夙夜不寧。

Wuhu! I am from morning till night not tranquil [about this].

The consistency of the recurring formulas in the kingly consultations is rather impressive. I suggest that the texts with these formulas might have been produced in the communities that were aware of the same sophisticated compositional template. The significance and the performative context of these formulas remain unclear, but their complexity and consistency across texts make them an original and significant phenomenon in the history of early Chinese textual production. Although the *Yi Zhou shu* are commonly read alongside the *Shang shu*, no traces of these formulas can be seen in the canonical collection, with the exception

of the chapter “Lü xing” discussed below. This reminds us that viewing the *Yi Zhou shu* as an “imitation” or a minor supplement to the *Shang shu* is misleading.

Another important feature of the formulaic expressions in the kingly consultations is the visible proclivity towards abbreviation and rudimentisation, sometimes to the degree of incomprehensibility. Such abbreviation is well-known from the “salutatory words” (*guci* 嘏辭) in bronze texts, and if this parallel holds, than we should be prepared to see in the formulaic expressions of kingly consultations a comparably lasting textual practice that survived long enough to allow some of its elements to become ossified and rudimentised. Therefore, the formulas in the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations cannot be regarded as a spontaneous composition of some imitator around the third century BC, but as artefacts of a lasting tradition. Judging from the degree of incompleteness and incomprehensibility, the received kingly consultations might be seen as quite remote from the source of this tradition.

2.4.3 Deliberations (*mou*) as a depletable knowledge resource and its properties

There is a distinctive and repetitive terminology that is consistently used in kingly consultations, especially those in *juan* 3 of the *Yi Zhou shu*. This terminology is important for the understanding of the conceptual framework of these texts, although it is somewhat difficult to disentangle it as it is presented in the *Yi Zhou shu* in an unsystematic and fragmentary fashion. For example, many of these speeches mention “deliberations” (*mou* 謀) and demonstrate explicit concern about their “leaking” (*xie* 泄) and various kinds of preservation (*cang* 藏, *bao* 保, *shou* 守), but this co-occurrence of concepts may appear esoteric and impenetrable at first sight. The *Yi Zhou shu* does not seem to provide any explicit clues that would help to understand the relationship between these terms.

One possible strategy to solve this puzzle is to consider these concepts within the metaphorical framework of a granary of knowledge that seems to underlie all of them. The deliberations are regarded as a kind of collectable wealth that the king should use responsibly, assuring that it is never depleted. In fact, the metaphor of granary/storage seems to have been employed in at least one other context during the Warring States, referring to the seasonal closure of the *qi* 氣 of the land. The following citation from the *Lü shi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 illustrates this point:[103]

> 仲冬之月……命有司曰：「土事無作，無發蓋藏，無起大衆，以固而閉。」發蓋藏，起大衆，地氣且泄，是謂發天地之房。
>
> In the second month of winter … the order is promulgated to the officials in charge: “The work on the land should not be performed, the [food] reserves should not be opened up, the multitudes should not be employed [in corvee labour; everything] should be settled and shut down”. If one opens up the [food] reserves and employs the multitudes [in corvee labour], the *qi* of the land will therewith leak out. This is what is called “opening up the chamber of heaven and earth”.

The language employed in this passage in regards to the seasonal administration of agricultural work partially matches the terminology of the kingly consultations, which suggests that they may be based on the same metaphorical framework, closely linked to the ideas of timeliness and rational management of resources.

The associative link between “deliberating” and “storing” is also corroborated by the materials from the so-called *Daybook B* (*rishu yi* 日書乙) excavated from a tomb dated to the late third century BC at Shuihudi 睡虎地, Hubei province:[104]

> 虛日，不可以臧（藏）蓋，臧（藏）蓋，它人必發之。<…>
> 閉（閉）日，可以蓋臧（藏）及謀。<…>

103 Lü shi chunqiu,11.1a–b.

104 Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu (1990, 122, 233). For concise introductory information on these manuscripts and their physical layout, see Harper (1985, 462–70). Mark Kalinowski is perhaps the sole Western scholar to have discussed the Shuihudi daybooks extensively (Kalinowski 1986; Kalinowski 2008).

> On the "empty" days, it is not permissible to store up. If one stores things up [on such days], then other people will open them up. < … >
>
> On the "shut" days, it is permissible to store up and to deliberate. < … >

According to the text, for every month there is only one favourable cyclical sign from the twelve earthly branches that corresponds to the "empty" and one cyclical sign for the "shut".[105] This results in there being approximately three fortunate days for "storing up" in every month. Notably, the activities of "storing up" and deliberating are considered related as the text indicates that both are permissible on the days designated as "shut". This conforms well to the above-mentioned metaphor of granary as well as to the whole set of concerns related to preservation, integrity and timeliness that is so manifest in the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations.

In light of the Shuihudi daybooks, it appears plausible that deliberations were conceived of as a resource that could be amassed and depleted. From this perspective, the kingly consultations can be thought of as sources of knowledge that can be used to replenish the supply of deliberations when there is a lack of them.

Another insightful citation that further highlights the importance of careful management of deliberations can be found in the chapter "Zhou he" 宙合 ("The all-embracing unity") of the *Guanzi* 管子 that contains a shorter main text followed by a more elaborate commentary discussing separate passages. Here is the part of the commentary that is dedicated to a passage mentioning the character *mou*:[106]

> 「欲而無謀」。言謀不可以泄，謀泄菑極。
>
> "When you desire [something], you should not deliberate". It means that deliberations cannot be leaked. If the deliberations are leaked, [it will cause] extreme calamities.

105 Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu (1990, 232–33).
106 *Guanzi*, 4.3b. For the English translation, see Rickett (1985, 208).

This commentary states that *mou*-deliberations need to be preserved with due caution and that leaking them will provoke calamities. This interpretation of *mou* seems to support my understanding of the *mou* as a special resource that requires a careful attitude.

I believe that the above evidence is sufficient to demonstrate that the term *mou* should be regarded as more profound and semantically laden than just “plan” or “stratagem”. Below I shall outline the semantic scope of this term with reference to examples from the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*. I do not claim that my understanding of *mou* is exhaustive, and I refrain from using examples that I do not find sufficiently clear.

One characteristic property of the *mou*-deliberations is that they can be leaked, which is perceived as an undesirable and threatening event:

“Xiao kai”:

> 謀泄，汝躬不允！
>
> If the deliberations are leaked, then your own person will not be sure.

“Wu jing” 寤敬:

> 嗚呼！謀泄哉！
>
> *Wuhu*! The deliberations are leaking!

In the first example, the leaking of the deliberations is presented as a threatening event that can affect the person of the king. In the second example, the leaking of deliberations is mentioned at the very opening of the text suggesting that it is an ominous and an important enough reason to ask for the king to summon his wise adviser. This threatening feeling is only alleviated towards the end of this text:

“Wu jing” 寤敬:

> 余聞曰：維乃予謀，謀時用臧。不泄不竭，維天而已。

> I have heard: “The deliberations that you have given, these deliberations [should be] employed and concealed in a timely manner.” Not to leak and never to be depleted [in deliberations] is something that only Heaven can achieve!

This passage is important for linking the metaphor of the leaking of deliberations to other related notions, including the idea of timely application, which also seems to belong to the specific parlance of the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations.

The opposite of the leaking of deliberations – which is obviously an undesirable event – is the capturing of the deliberations of the enemy which is seen as a loss for the enemy but a gain for “our” side. For example, here is a recommendation from the “Feng bao” 酆保 chapter that appears in the list of the “five abscissions” (*wu luo* 五落) all of which are aimed at weakening and shattering of the enemy while not engaging in military activities:

> 厚其禱巫，其謀乃獲。
>
> Strengthen their sorcerers, and then their deliberations [can be] captured.

A similar passage appears in “Bao dian” 寶典:

> 淺薄間瞞，其謀乃獲。
>
> If they are shallow, superfluous and disperse the secrets, then their deliberations can be captured.

Overall, the impression that one gains of the *mou*-deliberations in the kingly consultations is more than just clever stratagems that the audience can use to their own benefit. The deliberations are a fragile yet precious resource that needs to be applied with caution, with particular attention to the timeliness of its use and concealment. This idea of deliberations seems to take a situation of political competition as an unquestionable primordial condition, where “our” loss of them is conceived as the enemy's gain and vice versa. Somewhat surprisingly, one does not simply possess deliberations or lack them – it is possible to have them in sufficient quantity, to have them leaking or completely depleted. It would be tempting to think of

mou as an abstract elusive substance, similar to the *de*-virtue 德, but this does not seem to be possible as the kingly consultations identify deliberations quite explicitly with the specific knowledge recorded in the texts. It is this double nature of the deliberations as concrete knowledge, on the one hand, and depletable power crucial for the survival and continuity of the ruling lineage, on the other, that makes them one of the most fascinating intellectual constructs of the kingly consultations.

According to some kingly consultations, the deliberations can have more than a momentary situational relevance, and can be efficient even when transmitted through the generations. This notion of the lasting efficacy of the deliberations is important for the understanding of how the knowledge presented in the form of deliberations came to be textualised in the first place. Apparently, the procedure of "deliberating" could involve both the situation-specific reaction and the consultation of authoritative knowledge received from the past. This point is made clear by the examples of "requests to forewarn the posterity" that I have provided above, such as the exclamation from "Da kai": "Admonish the posterity so that they use your deliberations!" (*jie hou ren, qi yong ru mou* 戒後人，其用汝謀).

I believe that the notion of *mou* in the kingly consultations can be further clarified if we consult some other texts, although such external evidence should be used carefully considering that even the *Yi Zhou shu* cannot be treated as a conceptually holistic corpus. Here is a passage from the "Fa qi" 發啓 ("Induction regarding the start of action") from the "Wu tao" 武韜 ("The bow case of martiality") section of the *Liu tao*, which, as I shall discuss below, is a collection relatively closely affiliated with the *Yi Zhou shu*:[107]

> 王其修德，以下賢惠民，以觀天道。天道無殃，不可先倡，人道無災，不可先謀。必見天殃，又見人災，乃可以謀。

107 "Liu tao" 1935, 10a.

> When the king refines his *de*-virtue, he should [achieve it] through submitting himself to the worthy ones and being benevolent to the people, through observing the way of Heaven. If there is no calamity in the way of Heaven, one should not be the first to act; if there is no disaster in the way of people, one should not be the first to deliberate. One should [first] see the calamity [in the realm of] Heaven and see the disaster [in the realm of] people, and it is then that one can deliberate.

If we accept that this statement originated in a community related to the one that produced the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*, it can be helpful not only for the further elucidation of the notion of *mou* but also for the understanding of the compositional concerns of these texts. Many of the kingly consultations demonstrate either a preoccupation with unfortunate events in the human realm (normally the malicious deeds of Shang: “Feng bao”, “Da kai wu”, “Xiao kai wu”, “Feng mou”, “Cheng kai”) or some kind of revelation from the super-human, that is, the heavenly realm (the *jing* chapters). Arguably, these can be linked to *renzai* 人災 (“disaster in human realm”) and *tianyang* 天殃 (“calamity from Heaven”) respectively and serve as legitimate reasons for the exposition of deliberations that are recorded in the texts.

2.4.4 Features of the kingly consultations related to the rhetorical complex

In this section, I consider characteristic patterns of rhetorical questions that commonly occur in the kingly consultations, as well as the use patterns of the frequent exclamation *wuhu* 嗚呼.

Formulaic rhetorical questions

In four chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* (“Xiao kai”, “Wen jing”, “Da kai wu” and “Bao dian”), there appears a peculiar rhetorical pattern based on the following formula: 何 X 非 Y (“What/how X? Is it not Y?”). To my knowledge, among the received pre-Qin texts, this pattern is almost exclusively found in these four chapters, as well as in the “Lü xing” chapter of

the *Shang shu*, which I discuss below.[108] Here is an example of the use of this pattern from the "Xiao kai" chapter:

> 汝[日]夜何脩非躬? 何慎非言? 何擇非德? 嗚呼! 敬之哉!
>
> [Daily] and nightly, what would you refine? Is it not [your own] person? What would you take caution in? Is it not the words? Who would you elect? Is it not the virtuous? *Wuhu*! Be reverent towards this!

There does not seem to be a prescribed place in the text for this pattern. It may appear at the beginning ("Xiao kai", "Bao dian"); it may be evenly interspersed in the text, possibly to structure the main argument ("Wen jing"); or it may be put at the end thus reinforcing the rhetorical effect of the admonition ("Xiao kai", "Wen jing", "Da kai wu"). The fact that it can be positioned at the end of the text suggests that these questions primarily serve rhetorical ends – otherwise it would not be sensible to have texts terminated with unanswered questions.

The rhetorical pattern 何 X 非 Y seems to be related to a similar pattern 何 A 何 B 何 C where several questions using the interrogative pronoun *he* 何 are listed in a row. This occurs in chapters "Da kai wu" and "Cheng kai". Consider the following two examples from "Da kai wu" (the first is taken from the opening part of the text and the second from the ending):

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108 This pattern also occurs in the chapter "Wen wang guan ren" 文王官人 ("King Wen's officials") in the *Da Dai liji* 大戴禮記 (*Ritual Records of Dai the Elder*) collection, which, according to Matthias Richter, is a "cognate text" of the chapter "Guan ren" 官人 in the *Yi Zhou shu* (Huang Huaixin, Kong Deli, and Zhou Haisheng 2005, 1089, 1144; Richter 2002). Remarkably, of these two texts it is only the *Da Dai liji* version that contains the pattern in question. Two other instances of this pattern familiar to me are found in the *Mengzi* 孟子 and the *Zuozhuan* 左傳. The *Mengzi* contains two identical citations, one in "Gongsun Chou I" 公孫丑上 and another in "Wan Zhang II" 萬章下, both attributed to the legendary sage Yi Yin 伊尹, and probably coming from the textual lore that pre-dated the *Mengzi* (*Mengzi*, 3.9b, 10.1b):

> 何事非君? 何使非民?
> Whom would one serve? Is it not the lord? Whom would one employ? Is it not the common folk?

In the *Zuozhuan*, the relevant passage is found in the record corresponding to the first year of Duke Zhao 昭公. I borrow from David Schaberg's translation (Schaberg 2001, 237):

> 又賦采蘩, 曰: 小國為蘩, 大國省穡而用之, 其何實非命?
> [Shusun Bao 叔孫豹 of Lu] then recited "Gathering artemisia", saying: "The small state is the artemisia. The great state uses it sparingly. What is the essence [of such behaviour] if not the [following of the] mandate?"

> 維文考恪勤，戰戰何敬何好何惡？時不敬殆哉！
>
> As for [my] late Father Wen, he was strict and arduous, residing in awe. What did he revere? What did he like? What did he loathe? If one is not reverent towards these, peril is near!
>
> 格乃言。嗚呼！夙夜戰戰，何畏非道，何惡非是？不敬殆哉！
>
> True indeed are your words! *Wuhu*! From morning till night I reside in awe! What would one treat with awe? Is it not the *dao*? What would one loathe? Is it not these [corrupt influences discussed above]?[109] If one is not reverent, peril is near!

Here, the context of rhetorical questions in both passages is notably similar, suggesting that both the 何 X 非 Y pattern and the 何 A 何 B 何 C pattern play similar compositional roles. Therefore, I find it possible to take into consideration a similar passage from the chapter "Cheng kai", which also contains a series of three consecutive questions with *he* 何:

> 嗚呼！余夙夜之勤。今商孽競時逋播，以輔余何循，何循何慎？
>
> *Wuhu*! My toils from morning till night! Now the Shang sprawl are hurriedly dispersing to help themselves. How shall I follow [them]? How shall I follow [them] and how shall I be cautious?

Two elements suggest that the use of this pattern in "Bao dian" and "Cheng kai" mai be compositionally similar: both put an emphasis on the continuous effort ("from morning till night") and both position the pattern at the beginning of the text.

Overall, the use of these rhetorical patterns in the *Yi Zhou shu* can be summed up as follows:

109 "Da kai wu" enumerates the "ten excesses" (*shi yin* 十淫) that have a corrupting influence on various social norms and institutions.

Table 10: Use of the patterns 何 *X* 非 *Y and* 何 *A* 何 *B* 何 *C in the* Yi Zhou shu *chapters*

Pattern type	小開	文儆	大開武	寶典	成開
何 X 非 Y	汝[日]夜 何脩非躬 何慎非言 何擇非德? … 何嚮非翼? … 汝何敬非時 何擇非德? … 汝何異非義 何畏非世 何勸非樂? … 汝何監非時 何務非德 何興非因 何用非極?	民何嚮非利? … 何嚮非私? … 汝何慎非遂? … 汝何葆非監?	夙夜戰戰， 何畏非道? 何惡非是?	何脩非躬? … 何擇非人? … 何有非謀? … 何慎非言?	-
何 A 何 B 何 C	-	-	戰戰何敬？何好何惡?	-	余何循，何循何慎?

Formulaic exclamations with *wuhu* 嗚呼

There are patterns in the use of the *wuhu* exclamation in the kingly consultations. Even though this exclamation, which is attested as early as in Western Zhou bronze texts, is not restricted to the *Yi Zhou shu*, in kingly consultations it is often accompanied by repetitive collocates, which suggests that we may view the exclamation as a part of larger formulas. In the table below, I provide a summary of the different uses of the *wuhu* exclamation in the kingly consultations.

Table 11: Uses of the wuhu *exclamation in the kingly consultations*

Chapter	**Questions/ requests**	**Imperative + second-person pronoun**	**Rhetorical question**	**Reference to the past / transmitted wisdom**	**Other**
酆保	1				3 (imperative statements directed at the third person)
小開		1	2	2	
文儆		1	2		
大開武	1		1		1 (an exclamation concerning a dangerous situation)

小開武	1				
寶典				1	
酆謀	1				1 (a neutral statement)
寤敬					1 (an exclamation concerning a dangerous situation)
武儆		1			
五權		1		1	
成開	2				
大戒	1			1	
本典				1	
Total	**7**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**6**

Before I examine specific examples, I need to mention one observation that seems to apply to all of them: in the kingly consultations, the exclamation *wuhu* is always positioned at the beginning of an argumentative statement. It does not seem to be possible to interrupt a chain of argument with *wuhu*, which makes it somewhat dissimilar to its conventional English rendering *alas*! Rather, *wuhu* signals a new start, and if there is anything that can precede it in the composition of the text, it is only the *yue* 曰 character that conventionally marks the start of direct speech.

1. Exclamations followed by questions/requests

> “Da kai wu”: 嗚呼！余夙夜維商密不顯，誰和?
>
> *Wuhu*! I am from morning till night [perplexed that] the secrets of Shang are not exposed. How [do I put my mind] at peace?
>
> “Xiao kai wu”: 嗚呼！余夙夜忌商。不知道極，敬聽以勤天命。
>
> *Wuhu*! I am from morning till night on guard against Shang. I do not know the perfection of the way. [Therefore] I am reverently listening [to your advice] in order to toil on the [accomplishment] of the mandate of Heaven.

"Feng mou": 嗚呼！商其咸辜，維日望謀建功，謀言多信，今如其何?

Wuhu! All the transgressions of Shang! [I] daily anticipate and deliberate on how to accomplish a feat. The words of deliberation are very credible. Now what shall I do?

"Cheng kai": 嗚呼！余夙夜之勤。今商孽競時逋播，以輔余何循，何循何慎?

Wuhu! My toils of day and night! Now the Shang sprawl are hurriedly dispersing to help themselves. How shall I follow [them]? How shall I follow [them] and how shall I be cautious?

"Da jie": 嗚呼！予夙勤之！無或告予，非不念，念不知。

Wuhu! I toil [on this from early] morning, [and yet] there is nobody to announce [the solution] to me. It is not that I do not contemplate, I do contemplate, but I still do not know!

The pattern under review is of a complex structure. It can be schematised as:

"*wuhu* + protagonist's continuous toiling + question or request to share wisdom"

The pattern seems to occur predominantly in the *kai* chapters. The concluding sentence in the "Cheng kai" chapter may be regarded as related to this pattern, for it mentions the protagonist toils, but without a question:

嗚呼！余夙夜不寧。

Wuhu! From morning till night, I am not at peace!

In the beginning of "Feng bao", there is a question preceded by the *wuhu* exclamation which diverges a little from the pattern that I have presented in the previous examples. The *wuhu* exclamation is also followed by a question here. However, there is no mention of the protag-

onist's toils, which is instead replaced by a description of events involving third parties (the princes of states):

> "Feng bao": 嗚呼！諸侯咸格來慶，辛苦役商，吾何保守？何用行？
>
> *Wuhu!* All the princes have come to felicitate. [They] are heavily burdened with their service to Shang. How can I safeguard? How shall [I] act?

2. Exclamations involving imperative statements with second-person pronouns

> "Xiao kai": 嗚呼！敬之哉！汝恭聞！不命，賈粥不讎。
>
> *Wuhu*! Be reverent towards this! You should respectfully heed [to this]. If you are unruly, [it will be like] wares that you vend and yet do not sell out.
>
> "Wen jing": 嗚呼！敬之哉！汝慎守勿失，以詔有司。
>
> *Wuhu*! Be reverent towards this! You should cautiously preserve [these deliberations] and not lose them. Inform those in charge about them.
>
> "Wu jing" 武儆: 嗚呼！敬之哉！汝勤之無蓋。
>
> *Wuhu*! Be reverent towards this! You should be diligent in it and not conceal it!
>
> "Wu quan": 嗚呼！敬之哉！汝慎和稱五權。
>
> *Wuhu*! Be reverent towards this! You should cautiously harmonise and weigh the five balances!

In these examples, the use of *wuhu* in imperative statements involving the second-person pronoun *ru* 汝 occurs as a part of a larger pattern: *Wuhu! Jing zhi zai! Ru …* 嗚呼！敬之哉！汝 … ("*Wuhu*! Be reverent towards this! You should …"). This surprising match across several texts seems to suggest that the members of the textual communities behind the kingly

consultations had to follow relatively rigid rules in the composition of imperative statements. This is yet another example of the complex conventions underlying these texts, which we are only beginning to uncover.

3. Exclamations involving rhetorical questions.

"Xiao kai": 嗚呼！汝何敬非時？何擇非德?

Wuhu! What would you revere? Is it not the time?

How would you select [people]? Is it not by the *de*-virtue?

嗚呼！汝何監非時？何務非德？何興非因？何用非極?

Wuhu! How would you exercise authority? Is it not in a timely manner?

What would you exert yourself in? Is it not the *de*-virtue?

How would you stimulate? Is it not by causation?

How would you employ? Is it not through the extremities?

"Wen jing": 嗚呼！敬之哉！民之適敗，上察下遂，信何嚮非私?

Wuhu! Be reverent towards this! When the people move towards collapse, the superior examine, and the subordinate follow. Verily, what do [they] aim towards? Is it not [their] private interest?

嗚呼！敬之哉！倍本者槁，汝何葆非監?

Wuhu! Be reverent towards this! The one who turns his back on the root, withers away. What would you safeguard? Is it not the exercise of authority?

"Da kai wu": 嗚呼！夙夜戰戰，何畏非道？何惡非是？不敬殆哉！

True indeed are your words! *Wuhu*! From morning till night I reside in awe! What would one treat with awe? Is it not the *dao*? What would one loathe? Is it not these [corrupt practices mentioned in the text]? If one is not reverent, peril is near!

Note that in the last example the exclamation *wuhu* is followed by a statement concerning the speaker's vigilance, which is similar to the pattern of questions/requests discussed under point 1 above. Perhaps this indicates a relationship between the patterns involving rhetorical questions and non-rhetorical requests in the kingly consultations.

4. Exclamations involving references to the past or transmitted wisdom.

"Xiao kai": 嗚呼！于來後之人。余聞在昔曰……

Wuhu! Oh, the people who come thereafter! I have heard that it was said of old...

嗚呼！敬之哉！後之人！朕聞曰……

Wuhu! Be reverent towards this, the people of posterity! I have heard that it was said...

"Bao dian": 嗚呼！敬哉！朕聞曰：何脩非躬?

Wuhu! Be reverent! I have heard that it was said: "What would you refine? Is it not [your own] person?"

"Wu quan": 嗚呼！敬之哉！昔天初降命于周。

Wuhu! Be reverent towards this! In the old days, Heaven first sent down the mandate to Zhou.

"Da jie": 嗚呼！朕聞維時兆厥工。

> *Wuhu*! I have heard: “You should in a timely manner show your accomplishments!”[110]
>
> “Ben dian”: 嗚呼！朕聞武考，不知乃問。
>
> *Wuhu*! I have heard of my late Father Wu that, when he did not know [a certain thing], he would ask.

These last examples could be formally divided into two groups (references to the past and references to transmitted wisdom), but I believe that their overlap in “Xiao kai” is a sufficient reason to group them together and to keep the classification less fragmented.

Overall, if we accept that *wuhu* is used for the purpose of rhetorical emphasis, then the focal points necessitating such emphasis across the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* appear to be few and uniform: these are mainly rhetorical and non-rhetorical questions, imperative statements and references to past precedents or received wisdom. Furthermore, a closer examination of the patterns of questions and imperative statements reveals their structural uniformity, suggesting that the emphasised statements in the kingly consultations were subject to strict compositional rules. In this regard, these statements appear similar to the recurring formulaic expressions discussed above. Although the boundary between the two is blurred, one could say that the formulaic statements are largely similar across different texts, whereas the emphasised statements include a variable part that is different in every text.

2.5 Compositional consistency of the kingly consultations

One question that needs to be discussed in relation to the kingly consultations is the question of their compositional homogeneity. Against the backdrop of such texts as the *Shang shu*, the kingly consultations may appear as a patchwork of compositionally unrelated fragments

110 This passage is unclear and probably poorly preserved. See in particular Sun Yirang's 孫詒讓 comments (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 561).

where the opening and concluding bits are only mechanically attached to the main body of the text. This is what Tang Dapei 唐大沛 referred to in his 1836 edition of the *Yi Zhou shu* saying that some chapters in the collection are "artificially appended with openings and endings in order to forcedly link them to the reigns of particular kings" (*wei xu shouwei qiang zhu zhi mou wang shi zhe* 偽敘首尾强屬之某王時者).[111] The analysis of the compositional patterns of the kingly consultations, however, does not confirm this hypothesis. I find it justified to start from "Wen jing", which is relatively short and where, I believe, the compositional consistency is more clearly articulated than in the longer texts (the full translation of this text is provided in the Appendix):

> 維文王告夢，懼後祀之無保，
>
> King Wen made an announcement concerning a dream, in which he was menaced that the heir would have no preservation [of what he inherits].

It may appear that this contextualisation passage is disconnected from the rest of the chapter, however, the anxiety concerning the possible loss of "preservation" (which is a notion that I would not claim to have perfectly understood) seems to reverberate in the main body, several passages before the concluding formulas:

> 嗚呼！敬之哉！汝慎守勿失，以詔有司，夙夜勿忘，
>
> *Wuhu*! Be reverent towards this! You should cautiously preserve [these deliberations] and not lose them. Inform those in charge about them so that they would not forget [about them] from morning till night.

Finally, the same preoccupation with "preservation" is visible in the concluding passage, despite its indisputable obscurity:

> 汝何葆非監？不維一保監順時，維周于民之適敗，無有時蓋。後戒後戒，謀念勿擇。
>
> What would you safeguard? Is it not the exercise of authority? If [you] do not, in a wholehearted manner, safeguard the exercise of authority and comply with [proper] times, then Zhou, in what relates to the people's movement towards

111 Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, Zhang Maorong (2007, 1225).

> collapse, will have no timely protection. Posterity, beware! Posterity, beware! Deliberate and think! Do not be weary!

I believe that the example of “Wen jing” demonstrates the unity of thematic priorities throughout the opening part, the main body and the concluding bits of the text. While it is impossible to completely discard the possibility that the opening and concluding passages were “appended” at a later date, in this case whoever added them made a very good effort to harmonise them with the main body of the text. This, in my opinion, is a less probable scenario than the composition of the whole text from scratch where the opening passage, the main body and the concluding formulas would preserve a common emphasis on the theme of preservation while remaining compositionally separate from each other. While it is more difficult to identify such unity of thematic priorities in other kingly consultations, I believe that the relationship between their structural units is similar to that of the “Wen jing”. The contrast between the opening part and the main body that makes the contemporary reader suspicious about the compositional unity of the text may well be the matter of a compositional convention, rather than the contrast between the purported “original” text and a secondary frame appended to it by some mysterious forger.

Another argument in support of compositional consistency of the kingly consultations can be developed using the comparative evidence of the *suttas* of the Pāli canon. The common compositional structure of a *sutta* is reminiscent of the kingly consultations, where the story-telling narrative (*nidāna*) at the beginning fades away as the protagonist (usually the Buddha) starts delivering his sermon, which constitutes the main body of the *sutta*. The Buddha’s interlocutors reappear once again at the conclusion, but overall their compositional role – as well as the compositional role of the narrative “frame” in general – is clearly subordinate. For the Pāli *suttas*, such compositional structure is commonplace, and, to my

knowledge, nobody has questioned the compositional consistency of the *suttas* because of their division into several structurally distinct parts.

I believe that the compositional unity of the different structural parts of the text like we see it in “Wen jing” and the typological parallel of the *suttas* in the Pāli canon are sufficient to view the kingly consultations as compositionally consistent works, unless more convincing evidence is offered in support of their heterogeneous composition and/or instances of otherwise inexplicable inconsistency are identified between the framing narrative and the main body. To a Sinologist whose reading expectations are informed by the better understood classical texts that follow different compositional rules, the kingly consultations may appear odd, but it is methodologically unjustified to forcedly disintegrate such compositionally unfamiliar texts in order to make them correspond to our expectations. Rather, we should acknowledge that our understanding of the various compositional structures of ancient Chinese texts is still limited and we should be ready to broaden the scope of our expectations to accommodate text types that we have not considered previously. The kingly consultations are perhaps one of such types, and their continuous preservation in the periphery of the textual tradition should not give us the false impression of familiarity: the reading strategies for such texts have been lost and need to be developed anew, similarly to how we are forced to develop novel reading strategies when approaching the unfamiliar texts from the recently excavated and otherwise acquired caches of ancient manuscripts.

2.6 Textual relatives of the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations

Having identified the characteristic textual patterns of the kingly consultations in the *Yi Zhou shu*, I can now inquire whether any of these characteristic features occur in other texts. If there are such occurrences, perhaps they might indicate the relative position of the kingly

consultations in the textual landscape of ancient China and, to some extent, cast light on the communities that produced them.

2.6.1 Liu tao

The *Liu tao*, which I discuss next, is a collection of texts whose history is comparably complicated to that of the *Yi Zhou shu*.[112] It is widely acknowledged that the *Yi Zhou shu* with its scenes of royal consultations involving the Duke of Zhou, and the *Liu tao*, which has similar scenes involving the Grand Duke 太公 as main protagonist, are related in some way, although the exact relationship has not been discussed convincingly.[113] The evidence of such a relationship is rather diverse. One piece is preserved in the commentary to the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 by Lu Deming 陸德明 (d. 630 AD), where he refers to unpreserved earlier works by Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. 306 AD) and Cui Zhuan 崔譔 (lived during the Eastern Jin 東晉 [317-420]). Lu states that the *Jinban liu tao* 金板六弢 ("Six bow cases [inscribed] on metal plates") is the name of the chapter(s) of the *Zhou shu*.[114] Additionally, the earliest preserved work of the *leishu* 類書 genre, *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書抄 composed by Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558-638), contains two citations attributed to the *Zhou shu*, which in two later *leishu* (*Chuxue ji* 初學記 [*Notes for Young Beginners*, 713-742] and *Taiping yulan* 太平御覧 [*Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*, completed in 982]) are identified with the *Liu tao*.[115]

112 The textual history of the *Liu tao* has been studied the most extensively by Japanese scholars. See in particular, the works by Gōbara Tsubasa 郷原翼 (2005) and Suzuki Tatsuaki 鈴木達明 (2011). For useful summaries in Chinese, see Xu Yong 徐勇 and Shao Hong 邵鴻 (2001); Jie Wenchao 解文超 (2007, 107–16).

113 Yanaka Shi'ichi 谷中信一 and Wang Lianlong 王連龍 observe that the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Liu tao* have a number of matching passages. Wang Lianlong suggests that the similarities are due to the emendation of an earlier recension of the *Zhou shu* with the *Liu tao* material excavated from the famous tomb in the Ji commandery in the late third century AD (Wang Lianlong 2010, 34–44, 62–67). Since the editors were "Confucian", they purportedly substituted all the mentions of the Grand Duke with the Duke of Zhou. I find this explanation implausible and failing to account for all the evidence concerning the relatedness of the two collection. Yanaka Shin'ichi proposes a more careful theory involving a hypothetical "proto *Zhou shu*" (*gen Shū sho* 原周書) that lay at the origin of both collections (Yanaka 1986; Yanaka 1994). This suggestion appears more convincing, although the presentation of the textual history of the *Liu tao* and the *Yi Zhou shu* as a story of an early splitting of an ancestral collection followed by the independent development of its offspring does not explain the mediaeval overlaps.

114 I discuss this reference in more detail in Chapter 5.

115 *Beitang shuchao* (1988, 10.1a, 80.1b); *Chuxue ji* (1985, 21); *Taiping yulan* (1960, 76.5a, 523.5a).

Furthermore, the Dunhuang manuscript P.3454 preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France contains a manuscript redaction of a textual collection that overlaps in contents with the received *Liu tao*. Among others, this manuscript contains a version of the text that is otherwise known as the chapter "Shi ji" 史記 ("Scribal records") of the *Yi Zhou shu*.[116] Curiously, this text is also cited in the *Beitang shuchao* as the *Liu tao*.[117] It would be possible to discard Lu Deming's commentary as obscure, and the *Beitang shuchao* citations as mistaken, but in the Dunhuang manuscript we see a significant textual overlap between the two collections, which calls for an explanation. Such an explanation would necessitate a close scrutiny of the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Liu tao*, and would potentially revolutionise our understanding of both collections. Here, I would only like to provide some new evidence for this future project and point out that the relatedness between the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Liu tao* is not restricted to overlapping passages and chapters, but is also seen in the proximity of characteristic compositional structures in texts that otherwise do not have direct counterparts. To my knowledge, the *Liu tao* is the only source apart from the *Yi Zhou shu* that contains texts corresponding to the compositional pattern of kingly consultations.

What is referred to in scholarship as the *Liu tao* is currently known in at least six different arrangements: two transmitted and four recently discovered. First, there is the *Liu tao* as a separate transmitted text, divided into six separate "bow cases": "Illustrious" (*wen tao* 文韜); "Martial" (*wu tao* 武韜); "Tiger" (*hu tao* 虎韜); "Leopard" (*bao tao* 豹韜); "Dragon" (*long tao* 龙韜); and "Canine" (*quan tao* 犬韜).[118] Second, there is a set of extensive citations preserved in the collection of excerpts known as the *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 (*Essential Extracts on Governance from Various Books*) completed in 631 AD. Despite being fragmen-

116 A useful collated transcription of the Dunhuang manuscript has been made by Wang Jiguang (1984) who also offers a brief discussion of the textual issues related to the manuscript.
117 *Beitang shuchao* (1988, 113.9a).
118 Cf. Sawyer's remarks on the *Liu tao*'s textual transmission (Sawyer 2008, 35–37).

tary, the *Qunshu zhiyao* version provides much useful evidence as not all of the dialogues cited there are preserved in the received *Liu tao*, and even those that are present in both arrangements demonstrate notable differences.[119] Third, there is the Dunhuang manuscript that I have already mentioned. Fourth, there is an excavated counterpart of the *Liu tao* from the Yinqueshan Western Han cache of manuscripts on bamboo strips that were excavated at Linyi 臨沂 municipality in Shandong province in 1972 and published in 1985.[120] Fifth, there is another counterpart from the Dingzhou 定州 collection of manuscripts excavated in 1973 that is also dated to the Western Han, but surprisingly has no parallels with the Yinqueshan collection.[121] Finally, there are several fragments of Tangut translations preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts at Saint Petersburg and at the British Library.[122] Each one of these arrangements, no matter how fragmentary, contains material that is not found in the others.

2.6.2 The patterns of kingly consultations in the opening and closing passages of the received *Liu tao*

Of the six sections in the received *Liu tao*, the two that appear particularly interesting for my discussion are “Wu tao” 武韜 (“Martial bow case”) and, to a lesser extent, “Wen tao” 文韜 (“Illustrious bow case”). Unlike other sections that are presented as dialogues without any separate contextualising narrative, the first chapter of the “Wu tao” section, called “Fa qi” 發啓 (“Induction regarding the start of action”), opens from a contextualisation passage that is

119 See Suzuki Tatsuaki (2011, 3)

120 Yinqueshan Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu (1985). For a systematic study of the relationship of the Yinqueshan counterpart of the *Liu tao* with other arrangements, see Ishii Mamiko 石井真美子 (2014).

121 The Dingzhou manuscripts have been published only partially. In particular, for the Dingzhou counterpart of the *Liu tao*, we only have a set of transcriptions of individual manuscript fragments with only several line drawings (Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo Dingzhou Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 2001a; Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo Dingzhou Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 2001b). For a systematic introduction to the Dingzhou manuscripts, see van Els (2009).

122 It would perhaps be more justified to treat these as separate arrangements since the surviving fragments probably derive from different translations (Galambos 2015, 259–60). However, this might as well apply to the Yinqueshan and Dingzhou caches, in which what modern scholars classify under the label of *Liu tao* might not necessarily have belonged to the same arrangements at the time of interment. For Chinese translations of two chapters that survive only in Tangut, see Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音 (1996).

very reminiscent of template-based contextualisation in the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*:[123]

> 文王在酆，召太公曰：嗚呼！商王虐極，罪殺不辜，公尚助予憂民，如何?
>
> King Wen was at Feng. [He] summoned the Grand Duke and said: *Wuhu*! The king of Shang is cruel to the extreme, [he] villainously kills the innocent. You, Duke Shang, have previously assisted me in taking care of the people, so what shall I do?

Just as the opening passages in the kingly consultations in the *Yi Zhou shu*, this chapter starts from the expression of the king's concern over the actions of Shang that serve as an immediate cause for the inquiry. In fact, this opening passage seems to fully correspond to the pattern of kingly consultations, other than the fact that the sagely adviser being summoned is not the Duke of Zhou but rather the Grand Duke (Tai Gong 太公), the main protagonist of the *Liu tao*.

The "Wen tao" section does not contain chapters with this pattern of contextualisation, however, chapter "Ming zhuan" 明傳 ("Elucidating the tradition") has an opening that employs the alarming contextualisation pattern known from some chapters of the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu*:[124]

> 文王寢疾，召太公望，太子發在側。曰：嗚呼！天將棄予，周之社稷，將以屬汝。今予欲師至道之言，以明傳之子孫。
>
> King Wen lay in bed gravely ill. He summoned Grand Duke Wang, while Heir Apparent Fa was by side. [The king] said: "*Wuhu*! Heaven is about to abandon me! The Zhou altars of earth and grain will soon pass to you. Now I would like [to hear] the words of the ultimate *dao* from the Instructor [the Grand Duke], in order to transmit them in an elucidating way to my son and grandsons."

The deathbed setting used in this text is not seen in the *Yi Zhou shu.* With the exception of "Wu quan", which mentions the king's illness, the distress in the chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* with alarming contextualisation is related to dream revelations. However, it is similar to the

123 "Liu tao" (1935, 10a).
124 "Liu tao" (1935, 4b).

contextualisation passages in the “Jin teng” and “Gu ming” chapters of the *Shang shu*, which also start from a similar depiction of the king's grave illness (see Chapter 1). Thus, considering the received *Yi Zhou shu* alone is not sufficient to examine the possible textual influences on the *Liu tao*.

Nevertheless, it is not only the contextualisation passage that reminds of the *Yi Zhou shu* compositional patterns in the *Liu tao*. The concluding passage of “Wen qi” 文啓 (“King Wen's induction”), the second chapter in the “Wu tao” section, reminds of the endings in some of the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations:[125]

> 文王曰：公言乃協予懷。夙夜念之不忘，以用為常。
>
> King Wen said: “Your words, O Duke, accord with my aspirations! From morning till night, [I will] meditate on them. [I will] not forget [about them] and will use them as a constant [rule]”.

Apart from the use of the patterned closing expression mentioning the speaker's toils “from morning till night”, this passage has other interesting similarities with the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*. One such similar passage from “Da kai wu” has already been cited above (p. 106), and here is the closing passage of the chapter “Bao dian”:

> 格而言，維時余勸之以安位，教之廣用。寶而亂，亦非我咎。上設榮祿，不患莫仁。仁以愛祿，允維典程。既得其祿，又增其名，上下咸勸，孰不競仁？維子孫之謀，寶以為常。
>
> Your words are correct! In a timely manner, I will exert myself in them in order to assure my position, I will instruct [others] in them so that [they are] broadly used. When [one possesses the] treasure and yet there is chaos, is it not our fault? When the ruler establishes honorary rewards, then he would not be troubled that nobody is humane. One is made humane through the love of rewards, this is truly a constant rule. Once the rewards are obtained and the fame is increased, then both those above and below exert [themselves]. In such a case, who would not compete in humaneness? Oh, the deliberations for children and grandchildren, treasure them so that they may become a constant rule!

125 “Liu tao” (1935, 12a).

Although the concluding part of the "Bao dian" is more elaborate, it is easy to observe that both texts follow the same pattern where: 1) the correctness of the received advice is confirmed, 2) the necessity to put it to practice is emphasised and 3) the advice is elevated to the status of constant rule. The concluding part of "Wen qi" from the *Liu tao* seems to conform to the elaborate compositional conventions of the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations.

2.6.3 The *Qunshu zhiyao* recension of the *Liu tao*

In the received *Liu tao*, chapter "Fa qi" seems to be the only one that starts from a summoning scene similar to the *Yi Zhou shu* while all other chapters of the *Liu tao* open with non-contextualised questions. However, there appear to have been more such chapters in the recension of the *Liu tao* consulted by the compilers of the *Qunshu zhiyao*. Although the names of individual chapters are not mentioned there, it is possible to see that at least another text with the "summoning" scene typical of the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations was included in the "Wu tao" section:[126]

> 文王在岐周，召太公曰：争權於天下者，何先?
>
> King Wen was at Qizhou, he summoned the Grand Duke, saying: "In contesting the power in All-under-heaven, what should be the foremost?"

Another chapter with a similarly structured contextualisation passage is cited in the "Hu tao" section:[127]

> 武王勝殷，召太公問曰：今殷民不安其處，奈何使天下安乎?
>
> King Wu defeated Yin. [He] summoned the Grand Duke and inquired, saying: "Now the people of Yin are not pacified in their places. How can I make All-under-heaven pacified?"

Although the summoning scenes in these two passages lack the compositional complexity of the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*, the very basic scene-setting structure where the

126 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 31.11a. I discuss the closing passage of this text in Chapter 5 (p. 236).
127 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 31.18b.

king summons his adviser while being at a specific location is nonetheless present. This differs from most dialogues in the received *Liu tao*, which are presented as simple question-and-answer sequences. The evidence is, of course, very fragmentary, but the comparison between the received *Liu tao* and the one preserved in fragments in the *Qunshu zhiyao* seems to suggest that, in the course of its textual history, texts transmitted in the received *Liu tao* lost much of the characteristic compositional patterns that they shared in common with the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*. This impression will further strengthen if we consult the excavated evidence.

2.6.4 The excavated counterparts of the *Liu tao*

The Yinqueshan manuscript collection contains what appears to be an alternative version of the *Liu tao,* although this name is never explicitly mentioned in the manuscripts. Overall, when speaking of ancient manuscripts, the title *Liu tao* should be used with caution because the materials that eventually became part of the mediaeval arrangements that bear this name were not necessarily assembled under one title in the second century BC. The Yinqueshan collection preserves a version of “Fa qi” (in the Yinqueshan collection, titles are often mentioned at the end of texts, however, this is not the case with “Fa qi”, perhaps because the final part of the manuscript is missing) that generally corresponds to the received *Liu tao.* However, the discrepancies between these two versions, such as the unsubstantial rearrangement of the compositional sequence, word substitutions that cannot be easily explained by copyist errors, as well as extended versions of individual passages suggest that neither one of them is a copy or even an edited version of another. There appears to be an element of recomposition in the course of the formation of these two versions, which is common for texts that had been committed to memory before their variants were written down.[128] This makes

128 On the “relative fluidity” of texts created in traditions where written texts are created for oral performance and memorisation, see Carr (2005, 41–44).

it irrelevant to discuss which one of these two texts is more "authentic", although the excavated text clearly has the advantage of having been unaffected by later transmission in the course of more than two thousand years. The opening passage of this excavated counterpart of "Fa qi" reads:[129]

> 文王才（在）酆，召大（太）公望曰：於乎（嗚呼）！謀念我（哉）！啻（商）王猛極，秋罪不我舍，女（汝）嘗助予務謀，今我何如？ (strip no. 677)
>
> King Wen was at Feng. He summoned Grand Duke Wang, saying: "*Wuhu*! Deliberate and meditate on it! The king of Shang is unruly to the extreme! When [executing] the criminals in autumn, he will not spare us! You have previously assisted me to attend to deliberations. What shall we do now?"

Despite certain interesting discrepancies with the received "Fa qi", this text still corresponds closely to the pattern of the opening passages of the kingly consultations. Remarkably, the excavated version seems to put an emphasis on the notion of *mou* ("deliberations") which is mentioned twice in this fragment but is absent from the transmitted version.

There are fragments in the Yinqueshan cache that suggest that the number of texts involving summoning as part of the opening statement was also substantially high:[130]

> ……召大（太）公望曰…… (strip no. 757)
>
> … summoned the Grand Duke Wang and said …
>
> ……召大（太）公望曰：於乎（嗚呼）！…… (strip no. 758)
>
> … summoned the Grand Duke Wang and said: *Wuhu*! …

Just like the recension of the *Liu tao* attested in the *Qunshu zhiyao* seems to have included more chapters with elements of the compositional pattern of the kingly consultations, so does the Yinqueshan assemblage. However, unlike the received *Liu tao* and the recension of the *Qunshu zhiyao*, where the similarity is mainly restricted to the opening passages, some

129 Yinqueshan Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu (1985, 1.67, 2.95, 3.113).
130 Yinqueshan Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu (1985, 1.73, 2.101, 3.125).

closing formulas in the Yinqueshan cache are also strikingly reminiscent of the kingly consultations in the *Yi Zhou shu*:[131]

> ……後嗣，周有天下以為冢社。沇(允)才(哉）！日不足。・葆啓 (strip no. 744)
>
> … the posterity! Zhou owns All-under-heaven and regards it as a sacred altar. Truly so! The days are not sufficient! "Bao qi"

The title of the chapter "Bao qi" 葆啓 ("Induction on safeguarding") that is preserved on strip no. 744 is particularly interesting. This chapter is not found in the received version of the *Liu tao*, and yet it seems to conform to the interesting pattern: most of the chapters in the received *Liu tao* demonstrating compositional proximity with the *Yi Zhou shu* inductions contain the character *qi* 啓 in their titles. Clearly, this is also the case with "Bao qi". Might there be a connection between the title and the compositional pattern of the text?

Editors of the Yinqueshan materials suggest that the *qi* character might be related to the *kai* character in the chapter titles of the *Yi Zhou shu*. It might have been a substitution effected in order to avoid using the character *qi*, which matches the given name of Emperor Jing 景帝 (157-141 BC). This taboo had probably been introduced some time before the Yinqueshan materials were interred (ca. 140-118 BC).[132] The Yinqueshan materials could have been written some time before this taboo was enforced or simply did not obey the interdiction. Whichever the case, the manuscripts probably correspond to an earlier practice of assignment of text titles unaffected by the taboo. A similar substitution might have also occurred in the chapter "Shi fu" 世俘 ("The hauling of captives") of the *Yi Zhou shu*. This chapter mentions a name of a performative piece "Chong Yu sheng Kai" 崇禹生開 ("Venerable Yu begets Kai") that Liu Shipei 劉師培 (1884-1919) suggests to read as "Chong Yu sheng Qi"

131 Yinqueshan Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu (1985, 1.72, 2.100, 3.121).

132 Yinqueshan Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu (1985, 3.123). Regarding the phonological proximity of *qi* and *kai*, see p. 78. On the dating of the Yinqueshan burials, see Shandong zheng bowuguan Linzhe wenwuzu (1974, 5).

崇禹生啓 (“Venerable Yu begets Qi”). Qi is the name of Yu's son, and Liu's suggestion appears convincing.[133] If the replacement of *qi* with *kai* indeed took place in the case of the materials preserved in the *Yi Zhou shu*, then its *kai* chapters might have originally been *qi* chapters. In this case, both the precursors of the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Liu tao* would have contained a substantial number of chapters that were similar in both their titles and compositional structures. I hope that future research will provide a convincing explanation for this similarity of titles and compositional structures between the two collections that have not been considered as related until very recently.

2.6.5 “Lü xing”

“Lü xing” is a chapter in the canonical collection *Shang shu* that contains some of the peculiar features of the kingly consultations discussed above. No other chapter in the *Shang shu* and, in fact, no other text in the received corpus seems to have a comparable degree of rhetorical similarity with the kingly consultations.

The first of these features is the use of the rhetorical pattern 何 X 非 Y. In “Lü xing”, its applications seem to be more diverse than in the *Yi Zhou shu*. I shall first provide the examples that have more similarity even though they appear later in the text:[134]

> 王曰：吁！來，有邦有土，告爾祥刑。在今爾安百姓，何擇非人？何敬非刑？何度非及？
>
> The king said: “Ho! Come, the owners of states and territories, I will announce to you the benevolent [rules concerning] punishments! Now, in your giving repose to commoners, who do [you] select? – Is it not the men [of right virtue and capacity]? What do you treat with reverence? – Is it not the punishments? What do you evaluate? – Is it not the impact?”

Although this passage may not appear particularly informative to a contemporary reader, it did have a strong appeal to the audience of the Warring States China, which is reflected in a

133 Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong (2007, 429).
134 Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu (2005, 1994).

number of citations across the corpus of ancient Chinese texts. In the version preserved in the chapter "Shang xian xia" 尚賢下 ("Promotion of the virtuous III") in the *Mozi* 墨子, the rhetorical pattern 何 X 非 Y is only vaguely recognisable (*fei* 非 is replaced with *bu* 不 and in one instance the negation is lost altogether) although the text does not have any substantial differences from "Lü xing":[135]

> 於先王之書呂刑之書然，王曰：於！來！有國有土，告女訟刑，在今而安百姓，女何擇言人，何敬不刑，何度不及。
>
> In the "Lü xing" writing from the writings of past kings, the king said: "Ho! Come, the owners of states and territories, I will announce to you [the rules] concerning disputes and punishments! Now, in your giving repose to commoners, how do you select and discuss people? What do you treat with reverence if not the punishments? What do you evaluate if not the impact?

There is also an interesting version preserved in chapter "Zhou ben ji" 周本紀 ("The basic annals of the house of Zhou") from the *Shiji*:[136]

> 王曰：吁，來！有國有土，告汝祥刑。在今爾安百姓，何擇非其人，何敬非其刑，何居非其宜與?
>
> The king said: "Ho! Come, the owners of states and territories! I will announce to you the benevolent [rules concerning] punishments! Now, in your giving repose to commoners, what do you select? Is it not the men [of right virtue and capacity]? What do you treat with reverence? Is it not the punishments? Where do you abide? Is it not at a suitable [location]?

The differences between these examples also suggest that they had been committed to memory and reproduced independently in several variants. However, it is clearly the received text of "Lü xing" that matches the pattern 何 X 非 Y of the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations. These several diverging instances of the same passage suggest that it was not of marginal interest, but rather a *locus classicus* that attracted a strong and continuing attention. The rhetorical force achieved through the use of the pattern 何 X 非 Y could have been one of the reasons of its relatively broad use.

135 Sun Yirang (1895, 2.19b-20a).
136 *Shiji* 1959, 138.

"Lü xing" contains several instances of a peculiar use of the 何 X 非 Y pattern that is not attested in the *Yi Zhou shu*. In the very first passage where this pattern appears, the Y element is represented by a clause, not a single character. Furthermore, this peculiar instance of the 何 X 非 Y pattern is paralleled in the same passage with a related pattern 何 X 惟 Y, where Y is also represented by an extended clause:[137]

王曰：嗟！四方司政典獄，非爾惟作天牧?
　今爾何監?
　　非時伯夷播刑之迪。
其今爾何懲?
　　惟時苗民匪察于獄之麗，罔擇吉人，觀于五刑之中。
　　惟時庶威奪貨，斷制五刑，以亂無辜。

> The king said: "Ah! The directors of governance of the four cardinal directions and supervisors over criminal cases! If not you, then who would be the shepherds of All-under-heaven? Now, how would you exercise authority? – Would it not be [by following] these paths set by Boyi when he disseminated [the rules concerning] punishments? And what would you reprove? – It is surely these Miao people who do not inspect the due precedents of criminal cases; they do not choose benevolent people to observe the [implementation] of the five punishments. [And also] it is surely these numerous powerful ones who expropriate goods, who determine and administer the five punishments so as to confuse the innocent."

Considering these examples, it would be justified to say that the 何 X 非 Y pattern that is characteristic of the *Yi Zhou shu* is applied in the "Lü xing" more flexibly and appears in more variants, especially if we consider its affirmative counterpart 何 X 惟 Y.

The 何 X 非 Y pattern is also employed in the closing passage of "Lü xing":[138]

王曰：嗚呼！嗣孫，今往何監非德于民之中？尚明聽之哉！

> The king said: "*Wuhu*! Oh, the distant heirs! Now, how would you control [your subjects]? Is it not [by spreading] the *de*-virtue among the people? You should respectfully and clearly listen to it!"

Remarkably, this passage does not only use the 何 X 非 Y pattern but also contains an explicit address to future generations, which is common in the kingly consultations of the *Yi*

137 Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu (2005, 1982).
138 Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu (2005, 2055).

Zhou shu but not in the *Shang shu*. Moreover, it is also reminiscent to the kingly consultations by the way the exclamation *wuhu* is combined with a formulaic rhetorical question.[139]

There are more features that relate the expressive apparatus of "Lü xing" to the rhetorical complex of kingly consultations. In other parts of the text, the exclamation *wuhu* is used together with uniform imperative exclamations *nian zhi zai* 念之哉 ("meditate on it!") and *jing zhi zai* 敬之哉 ("be reverent towards this!"). Such expressions are also common in the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations. One has to acknowledge that there is a considerable overlap between the range of rhetorical tools of "Lü xing" and that of kingly consultations that cannot be explained by coincidence but probably marks textual affinity.

"Lü xing" has a broad set of addressees, while the kingly consultations are usually presented as speeches given to one specific recipient. The range of expressive devices in "Lü xing" is also substantially broader: in addition to the omnipresent *wuhu* of the kingly consultations, it also employs such exclamations as *jie* 嗟 and *xu* 吁, introducing a much more significant degree of rhetoric diversity to the text. Finally, "Lü xing" is presented against a broad mytho-historical background (with Chi You 蚩尤, the evil people of Miao 苗民, the benevolent Shangdi 上帝 et cetera) while the kingly consultations are always narrowly focused on the early Western Zhou rulers.

I conclude therefore that the similarities between the kingly consultations and "Lü xing" are only limited to the level of rhetoric (and even in this regard the range of rhetoric devices in "Lü xing" is significantly broader), whereas the composition of the text and the scale of its mytho-historical context is markedly different from the kingly consultations.

139 This similarity between the language of some of the *Yi Zhou shu* and the "Lü xing" has been noticed – and applied in the interpretation of the *Shang shu* – by Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu (2005, 2069–70).

It does not seem to be possible to explain this conflation of striking similarities and distinct differences. Perhaps both “Lü xing” and kingly consultations were influenced by the same textual practice, but in different ways. Or maybe “Lü xing” was the first text that employed the rhetorical patterns which became so widespread that they had a profound impact on the textual tradition that engendered the kingly consultations. However, it would be unjustified to discard the latter as simply “imitations” of the revered “Lü xing”. It is clear that, in the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*, we see a systematic and elaborate rhetorical complex that is only partially present in “Lü xing”. Furthermore, the characteristic compositional pattern of the kingly consultations and the fixed order in which the different formulas appear within these texts are a characteristic phenomenon preserved most fully in the *Yi Zhou shu*. Therefore, even if “Lü xing” might be ancestral to the tradition of the kingly consultations, it is so only partly. The unique compositional patterns of the kingly consultations may have other sources which have not been identified yet.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined a set of characteristic features that distinguish the kingly consultations among other chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*. I have shown that the kingly consultations are a highly conventionalised textual type whose unique features set it apart not only from other chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*, but also from other texts conventionally related to the *Yi Zhou shu*, mainly the *Shang shu*. Despite the fact that this description has not allowed me to develop entirely lucid interpretations of texts in question yet, I believe that it creates a reliable foundation for future philological work. I hope that my analysis will contribute to the rejection of the amorphous category of *shu* 書 texts, at least in philological discussions of the *Yi Zhou shu*. At the same time, I hope that it will draw the attention of scholars in the field to the importance of the methods of compositional and linguistic categorisation in the

analysis of ancient Chinese texts. As I have demonstrated in my discussion of the *Liu tao* and “Lü xing”, the textual affiliates of the kingly consultations in the *Yi Zhou shu* span across a range of conventional categories – quite inconveniently for those who would still like to see the Eastern Zhou textual production as occurring in isolated intellectual lineages (“schools of thought”) closed to outside influences. The compositional pattern of kingly consultations provides only one example of a textual phenomenon whose influence spreads across a range of intellectual traditions, but future research will surely reveal more, further elucidating the complex interactions that underlie the textual scene of ancient China.

In my discussion of certain chapters of the *Liu tao* and “Lü xing”, I have identified textual features that relate these texts with the kingly consultations in *Yi Zhou shu*. It is notable that, in each of these two cases, the shared textual features are different, that is, both the *Liu tao* materials and “Lü xing” can be seen as relatives of the kingly consultations, but not necessarily of each other. This demonstrates that textual affinity and textual influences may have worked on multiple levels. It does not appear to be possible to discuss the questions of relative chronology and literary influences between ancient texts unless we start to apply a range of methods that would combine both our understanding of the language and the compositional features of the sources. My suggestion to divide the characteristic textual features of the kingly consultations into compositional, formulaic and rhetorical complexes can be viewed as the first step in this direction. I hope that this framework can be extended to other texts and integrate other methods, in particular grammatical and lexical analysis.

Finally, the knowledge concerning the function of recurring formulaic elements and their position in the compositional sequence of the text can be a useful aid in the reconstitution of newly-excavated materials that share the compositional patterns with kingly consultations. Knowing that a similar compositional pattern occurs in the “*Bao xun” of the Tsinghua

manuscripts, it becomes clear that the characteristic textual features that I describe in the present chapter are significant not only in specialist discussions of the *Yi Zhou shu*. The kingly consultations encapsulate a set of textual practices that seem to have enjoyed much renown around the fifth to the third centuries BC, which makes the present observations relevant for a broader community of scholars working on transmitted texts and excavated manuscripts.

I have intentionally restricted the discussion in this chapter to narrow philological matters in order to ensure that my identification of the formal features is not influenced by the speculative ideas related to the performance and production of texts with these features. However, once the philological characteristics of the texts have been identified, it appears necessary to attempt to explain and contextualise them in their contemporary environments, relying on the fragmented surviving evidence from China and on applicable comparative evidence from elsewhere. One important feature of many kingly consultations that, in my opinion, cannot be convincingly explained merely by systematic scrutiny of primary texts are the numerical lists that constitute the main body of many chapters in this collection, which is the what I discuss in the next chapter.

2.8 Side note: preliminary reflections on the sociological background of the kingly consultations

In my work, I operate with the term “textual communities” to refer to groups of people who created and perpetuated the texts that in question. A systematic investigation of this important issue would be a topic for a separate study which I do not feel ready to undertake at this early stage, and the discussion that I offer on the following pages is preliminary. My choice of the term “textual communities” is immediately influenced by the work of Dirk Meyer,[140]

140 Meyer (2009; 2012).

but more generally – by recent scholarship on other ancient traditions (in particular, the works of David Carr)[141] which remind us of the importance of generations of mainly anonymous textual experts who, using oral and written methods, contributed collectively to the formation, transmission and preservation of the ancient texts that we access today. Although the names of the vast majority of such experts are lost, it is impossible to understand the processes of textual formation in antiquity without the due consideration of their efforts. I believe that textual formation in pre-imperial China should also be seen through the same lens: when approaching a text, we should be seeing it as a collective effort of generations of learned communities united by common values and concerns, and not as products of individuals pursuing their particular goals.

The sociological setting of such communities in ancient China is a complex and understudied issue.[142] On the one hand, it is clear that the origins of textual competence should be sought in state officialdom which employed textual expertise (and writing in particular) in ritual as well as for the more mundane purposes of record-keeping.[143] On the other hand, I believe that the textual production and transmission were not restricted to the communities of state-employed officials, and I do not find any significant reasons to disregard the circumstantial evidence in the traditional accounts about such figures as Confucius (551-479 BC) and Mozi 墨子 (ca. 470-380 BC) who are envisioned as heads of literate communities whose members would submit to the authority of their master and not to the authority of the state which employs them. However, members of these communities never completely lost the connection with the officialdom and they would often covet an office as the most convenient means to realise their personal goals and ideals. I imagine that the emergence of

141 Carr (2005; 2011).
142 See Hsu (1965); Lewis (1999).
143 For a comprehensive systematic summary of the received and epigraphic evidence regarding the offices related to writing in pre-imperial China, see Kern (2009b). Michael Nylan argues in favour of a close affiliation of the text-producing communities in ancient China with state administration (Nylan 2000).

this stratum of non-employed literate experts might be related to the social and economic realities of the mid-first millennium BC, during which time enough surplus was produced to sustain a certain number of well-educated members of nobility beyond the number of what was necessary for the perpetuation of administrative offices.[144]

There is, of course, no reason to attempt to fit these communities into the strict boundaries of the "schools of thought" attested in early imperial retrospective accounts.[145] The members of the text-producing communities of the fifth-fourth centuries BC hardly thought of themselves in terms of the rubrics that would be developed by the compilers of the imperial library several hundred years later, and I find it particularly limiting to think that texts were only produced by the participants of the intellectual debate of the competing "hundreds of lineages" (*bai jia* 百家). Apart from this overemphasised debate, there would be other concerns that united the members of textual communities, especially considering that the stage of "debate" is typologically late as it already relies on an accumulated corpus of shared textual material that is presumably assembled for other purposes (I attempt to investigate some of them in chapter 4 of this thesis in my discussion of secretive empowering texts). Another problem is the inclination in our field to think in terms of over-generalised chronology grouping distinctively different texts under the "Warring States" rubric and forcing us to think of the intellectual lineages behind them in inappropriately static terms. On the one hand, there was fragmentation of the kind that is attested in the traditional accounts for the followers of Mozi, which appears to be corroborated by the fascinating parallel develop-

144 Cf. von Falkenhausen (2006b, 374–92).

145 See Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan (2003). The paradigm of the "schools of thought" may bring worthwhile results when applied to the better-known parts of the received corpus, which allowed Angus Graham to develop a consistent depiction of the intellectual debate in Warring States China as a dialogue between influential individuals (Graham 1989). However, the farther one goes into the periphery of the textual tradition into such collections as the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Da Dai liji*, the more one realises that the explicative potential of this paradigm is limited.

ments in the textual corpus known as the *Mozi* today.[146] On the other hand, there was mutual penetration and exchange of ideas, textual snippets and complete texts between the members of concurring lineages, resulting in the kind of intellectual complexity and heterogeneity that is attested in a number of excavated and received texts, including the *Yi Zhou shu* whose chapters also escape identification within the traditional paradigm of intellectual affiliation.[147]

146 While in the light of the recent studies it does not appear possible any longer to match the different chapters of the *Mozi* onto the three competing lineages mentioned in the received sources, the general suggestion that they were composed by textual communities that share a certain amount of common textual and intellectual legacy while following different development trajectories seems to remain valid (Graham 1985; Maeder 1992; Desmet 2007).

147 See Boltz (2005), Meyer (2012).

“四個全面”戰略佈局能否接續推進，關鍵在於是否擁有一大批按照“三嚴三實”要求培養和鍛造的領導幹部。

Whether or not we can continuously promote the strategic layout of the “four comprehensives” fully depends on whether there are masses of cadres pursuing personal cultivation and fortification according to the “three stricts and three honests”.

News of the Communist Party of China[148]

Chapter 3

Numerical lists of foundational knowledge in early Chinese and early Buddhist traditions

Chapter contents

3.1 Summary

One of the peculiar features in the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations are the numerical lists that often occupy the central position in the compositional structure of the text. Such lists are hard to interpret: even in the chapters with no signs of textual corruption it is difficult to understand the value of these lists and their possible applications. In this chapter, in order to

148 Wu Yijun 吳毅君 (2015).

suggest some interpretative strategies, I refer to the material in the Pāli canon of Theravada Buddhism, a textual tradition famous for the abundance of numerical lists. I discuss how texts with complex frameworks of numerical lists evolved in that tradition out of specific individual lists, and I suggest that the lists in the kingly consultations might have followed a similar development trajectory. I propose an instrumental classification of numerical lists, based on their structure and degree of elaboration, and I argue that it is impossible to interpret lucidly the non-elaborated cryptic lists that occur frequently in the *Yi Zhou shu* unless more elaborate versions of these lists come to light. Such cryptic lists occur also in the individual *suttas* of the Pāli canon, but usually they are elaborated to a sufficient extent in other *suttas*, which is why their interpretation does not present a difficulty. Furthermore, I suggest that the peculiar form of numerical lists as vehicles of systematised knowledge might have originated in hierarchical communities with indisputable knowledge authority, which is well-attested for the early Buddhist tradition and has convincing parallels in contemporary political and business practice where numerical lists are employed as means to unify the patterns of thinking and behaviour in social groups. Nevertheless, unlike the early Buddhist tradition that produced the texts of the Pāli canon, the numerical lists of the *Yi Zhou shu* demonstrate a significant degree of incongruence, which suggests that they might have originated in separate communities that nevertheless adopted the same practice of textual production.

3.2 Why the numerical lists are easy to misinterpret

The passage that I have borrowed as an epigraph provides suitable contemporary background for the ancient textual problems that I am trying to untangle. To a reader unfamiliar with the most recent political developments in China, this quote will appear as esoteric gobbledygook. However, those who do follow the policies of China's current leader Xi Jinping

习近平 will quickly recognise in it the concentrated formulas which Xi uses to revamp the Chinese political system and to promote his vision of reforms. The relevance of these formulas is underpinned by Xi's authority as the head of the state and the party as well as by the growing body of written and oral commentaries, in which these formulas are elaborated, explained, linked together and projected onto the everyday problems experienced by the members of the party-state. And despite the fact that these formulas are grounded in Xi's authority and were first pronounced by him, today the discourse surrounding the “four comprehensives” and the “three stricts and three honests” is mainly promoted not by himself but by the numerous party officials and media workers. In fact Xi's involvement in the development of this discourse is rather limited. Having formulated these core notions, he let them out into the wild, and the variety of ways in which they are interpreted and conjugated is already beyond anyone's control. Although there are several people who have coined the key terms of this discourse (Xi was the first to enumerate the individual items in the list of the “four comprehensives” but was not the first to give them a name as a group) and provided seminal exegesis, future historians will probably ascribe the entirety of this discourse to Xi Jinping, thus exaggerating his role and downplaying the grandiose community effort that ensured its spread and gradual sophistication.[149]

For me as a researcher of textual practices, it is particularly fortunate that the acceleration of information exchange and the proliferation of electronic media have made it possible to observe the emergence of lexical formulas packaged as numerical lists in real time. I am convinced that such lists should be understood as a social phenomenon, and the only way to ex-

149 Xi Jinping first mentioned this list in November 2014, however, at that time it only contained three, not four items (“Xi Jinping: shixian you zhiliang you xiaoyi de sudu; shixian shishizaizai meiyou shuifen de sudu” 2014). It was extended to four items in December of the same year (“Xi Jinping: zhudong bawo he jiji shiying jingji fazhan xin changtai” 2014). However, at that time Xi still did not use a collective term to refer to this list. It seems to have emerged several months later in the official publications of the Communist Party of China in early 2015 (“Renmin ribao shouci quanwei dingyi Xi Jinping sige quanmian” 2015).

plain them is to identify the environment that produced them and the instructive message encoded in them (or, in J.L. Austin's terminology, it is important to view them primarily as perlocutionary acts intended to induce the audience to adopt certain patterns of behaviour, rather than illocutionary acts intended to explain something). We talk about the “four comprehensives” and the “three stricts and three honests” seriously because we understand that they affect directly the behaviour of China's political actors; knowing these formulas makes it easier for us to understand and predict their actions. I doubt that there are many scholars who would study these formulas in order to find out whether the “four comprehensives” are indeed comprehensive or whether the “three stricts and three honests” really constitute the ideal moral code of a government official.

When dealing with ancient texts, however, this dubious interpretative strategy is difficult to resist. Devoid of any certain knowledge about the community that produced the texts and the concerns of this community, we are tempted to assume that texts are self-sufficient entities, designed to produce meaning irrespective of the environment in which they are performed. This is, however, as wrong as the interpretation of the “four comprehensives” would have been if we considered it separately from the figure of Xi Jinping and China's contemporary political scene. I suggest to apply the same strategy to the numerical lists in ancient texts, and in what follows I attempt to explain the numerical lists in ancient texts as a social practice. In doing so, I am fully aware that my knowledge of the particular communities that produced these texts can never be complete and therefore my explanation will always remain partial and to some extent speculative. Nevertheless, I am convinced that such a partial reconstruction of an ancient social practice is still better than the assumption that ancient texts are self-sufficient and self-elucidating.

The prevalence of numerical lists where certain phenomena, types of action or bits of instruction are arranged in numerical sequences such as the “nine causations”, the “four proximal relations” et cetera is a notable characteristic feature of the *Yi Zhou shu*.[150] Such lists are particularly salient in the kingly consultations, where numerical lists often occupy a central position in the text, suggesting that they are the main message, whereas the standardised opening and closing passages only serve as a frame of subordinate compositional importance. Therefore, to make sense of such lists is crucial to understand the kingly consultations in general. Still, while the frames with their familiar characters and simple historicised narrative are certainly easier to understand, to restrict our inquiry to them would be similar to preferring frames over pictures at a picture gallery.

I regard the numerical lists in the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* as instantiations of a more widespread textual practice of ancient China in ca. fifth-second centuries BC.[151] The most famous example of this practice is the “Hong fan” 洪範 chapter of the *Shang shu*, which I discuss briefly as a text that equally abounds in numerical lists but is less difficult to interpret because it has been preserved in a continuous tradition and its enigmatic numerical lists are made lucid by extensive commentaries. Speaking of the numerical lists of the *Yi Zhou shu*, I attempt to explain them from two novel angles. First, I discuss their similarity with the *suttas* of the Pāli canon of Theravāda Buddhism which preserves a massive corpus of texts that, among other interesting structural parallels with the *Yi Zhou shu*'s kingly consultations, abound in numerical lists. Second, inspired by this parallel, I attempt to view the numerical lists in the kingly consultations not as an haphazard assemblage of formulas scat-

150 For a recent informative discussion of the numerical lists in the *Yi Zhou shu*, see Zhou Yuxiu (2005, 236–50).

151 I realise that the phenomenon of lists as containers of knowledge is widespread across cultures (Goody 1977; Vansina 1985, 174–85; ter Haar 2013), but I believe that the numerical lists of the type that we see in the *Yi Zhou shu* have important distinctive properties that necessitate their separate treatment. While at a first glance comparative analysis of lists appears attractive, a closer study reveals that various kinds of them are almost as different from one another as the various types of texts.

tered in unrelated texts, but rather as remnants of a single textual practice, similar to the practice that lies at the core of the teachings of the Pāli canon.

3.3 The numerical lists of the “Hong fan”

Arguably, if one had to choose the single most influential text from the Chinese textual tradition, that would be the “Hong fan” chapter of the *Shang shu*, a text that is commonly seen as a condensed outline of traditional Chinese cosmological and philosophical notions.[152] According to the entry corresponding to the “Hong fan” in the “Shu xu” 書序 (“Sequential outline of the Writings”),[153] the text was created by the sagely Jizi 箕子 as he was released from prison following King Wu's 武王 (mid. 11th century BC) victory over the last wicked king of the Shang 商 dynasty (ca. late 13th century – mid. 11th century BC). King Wu humbly asks Jizi about the principle(s) according to which Heaven bestows harmony upon the people, which principles, he admits, he does not know. This kind of humble inquiry is familiar to us from the kingly consultations in the *Yi Zhou shu* where the king, despite his superior political power, commits himself to someone else's knowledge authority. In response, Jizi says that the knowledge that he is about to share was first revealed by Heaven to the founder of the legendary Xia 夏, Yu the Great 大禹, as he succeeded his father Gun 鯀 who had failed in taming the flood. In this way, the “Hong fan” is presented as knowledge revealed at the time of royal succession, which is also a common textual device in the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Shang shu*.

152 For a comprehensive discussion of the “Hong fan” and its evolving reception in the Chinese tradition, see Nylan (1992).

153 I prefer to call it “sequence” because I believe that this word, which is closer to the literal meaning of character *xu* 序, conveys more adequately the role of the *xu* as a text that organises in chronological sequence the material that might have until then been preserved as a looser unsequenced collection. I reserve this translation for the “sequences” in earlier texts, such as the *Shang shu*, *Shi jing*, the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Shiji*. For mediaeval texts, translating *xu* as “preface” is of course justified. For a discussion of the “Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings” in the *Yi Zhou shu*, see the Introduction.

What Heaven revealed to Yu the Great were the "nine divisions" (*jiu chou* 九疇) of the "Hong fan", apparently corresponding to the nine regions that Yu put in order as he tamed the waters. The "Hong fan" does not dwell on the exact nature of those "nine divisions", but the commentarial tradition – apparently originating from Liu Xin 劉歆 (50 BC – 23 AD) – is quite equivocal in treating them as revelations made by Heaven in the physical form of the diagrams, *he tu* 河圖 (Yellow River Chart) and *luo shu* 洛書 (Writ of the Luo River).[154]

Following the narrative frame describing how the text was received by King Wu, the "Hong fan" proceeds with the enumeration of the "nine divisions":[155] the "five phases" (*wu xing* 五行), the reverent use of the "five [personal] matters" (*wu shi* 五事), the earnest use of the "eight objects of government" (*ba zheng* 八政), the harmonious use of the "five dividers of time" (*wu ji* 五紀), the establishment and use of "august perfection" (*huang ji* 皇極), the discriminating use of the "three virtues" (*san de* 三德), the intelligent use of the "[means for the] examination of doubts" (*ji yi* 稽疑), the thoughtful use of the "various verifications" (*shu zheng* 庶徵), the hortatory use of the "five [sources of] happiness" (*wu fu* 五福) and the awing use of the "six [occasions of] suffering" (*liu ji* 六極). Having initially enumerated the components of the "nine divisions", the text goes on to discuss the contents of each one of those divisions, most of which are also numerical lists composed of a certain number of items.

I shall provide the text of the first two divisions to give a better idea of how numerical lists are expounded in the "Hong fan":

> 一、五行：一曰水，二曰火，三曰木，四曰金，五曰土。水曰潤下，火曰炎上，木曰曲直，金曰從革，土爰稼穡。潤下作鹹，炎上作苦，曲直作酸，從革作辛，稼穡作甘。

154 See Nylan (1992, 58–59).
155 Here and below, I rely on James Legge's translation with minor modifications (Legge 1899, 140–41).

> i. 'First, of the five elements. The first is water; the second is fire; the third, wood; the fourth, metal; and the fifth, earth. (The nature of) water is to soak and descend; of fire, to blaze and ascend; of wood, to be crooked and straight; of metal, to yield and change; while (that of) earth is seen in seed-sowing and in-gathering. That which soaks and descends becomes salt; that which blazes and ascends becomes bitter; that which is crooked and straight becomes sour; that which yields and changes becomes acrid; and from seed-sowing and in-gathering comes sweetness.'
>
> 二、五事：一曰貌，二曰言，三曰視，四曰聽，五曰思。貌曰恭，言曰從，視曰明，聽曰聰，思曰睿。恭作肅，從作乂，明作哲，聰作謀，睿作聖。
>
> ii. 'Second, of the five (personal) matters. The first is the bodily demeanour; the second, speech; the third, seeing; the fourth, hearing; the fifth, thinking. (The virtue of) the bodily appearance is respectfulness; of speech, accordance (with reason); of seeing, clearness; of hearing, distinctness; of thinking, perspicaciousness. The respectfulness becomes manifest in gravity; accordance (with reason), in orderliness; the clearness, in wisdom; the distinctness, in deliberation; and the perspicaciousness, in sageness.'

The overall structure of the “Hong fan” can be schematically represented as follows:

Table 12: The recursive structure of the numerical lists of the “Hong fan”

Main list	**#**	**First-level elements**	**Second-level elements**
Nine divisions (*jiu chou* 九疇)	1	Five phases (*wu xing* 五行)	
	2	Five personal matters (*wu shi* 五事)	
	3	Eight objects of government (*ba zheng* 八政)	
	4	Five dividers of time (*wu ji* 五紀): year; moon; sun; stars, planets and zodiacal spaces; calendaric calculations	
	5	August perfection (*huang ji* 皇極)	
	6	Three virtues (*san de* 三德)	
	7	Examination of doubts (*ji yi* 稽疑):	Five indications by turtle plastron (*bu* 卜)
			Two indications by stalk divination (*zhan* 佔)
	8	Various verifications (*shu zheng* 庶徵):	Five seasonablenesses (*shi* 時)
			Examination of year, month (moon) and day (sun)
	9	Five sources of happiness (*wu fu* 五福) and six occasions of suffering (*liu ji* 六極)	

Several features suggest that this complex system was probably compiled from several previously independent lists, rather than composed at once. The way the structure is packaged into the "nine divisions" should make us suspicious: each of the last three divisions consists of two separate lists, and the impression is that the contents were forced to fit the chosen frame. Besides, the repetition of the tripartite sequence of year, month and day in "five dividers of time" and in the second part of "various verifications" is a contradictory redundancy unlikely to appear in a single-time composition. Likewise, the re-occurrence of the same character *ji* 極 (extremity) in the titles of the fifth and the ninth divisions is clumsy. It can, however, be explained when entertaining the assumption that the "Hong fan" is a combination of pre-existing lists.[156]

Despite such seeming inconsistencies, the "Hong fan" is not just a mechanic sum of its components, but a dynamic system whose elements are meant to interact with one another.[157] There is an explicit link in the fifth division ("august perfection") to the "five sources of happiness" from the ninth. More such links between the different divisions of the "Hong fan" can be derived implicitly – in fact, that is what is commonly done by traditional commentaries.[158] The "Hong fan", it therefore seems, presents a complex matrix of elements that amplify one another by means of explicit or inferable cross-referencing.

Overall, the impression is that of a composite system of partially overlapping lists of different origins that were somewhat forcedly combined into a list of "nine divisions" in which some divisions actually contain more than one component. The "Hong fan" thus appears as a synthetic summary of an earlier stage of the development of the tradition when several

156 Michael Nylan (1992, 125) mentions several examples of the linguistic heterogeneity of the text, as well as compositional inconsistency, such as alteration of prose and rhyme and abrupt rhythmic breaks.

157 Cf. Nylan (1992, 126).

158 As Nylan points out, in his fragmentarily preserved commentary on the *Shang shu*, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), in his reading of the fifth division ("august perfection"), puts an emphasis on the "five phases" (first division), "five personal matters" (second division) and the "verifications" that would for him encompass not only the eighth, but also the ninth division.

conceptual lists had been developed independently, perhaps even competing with one another as catalogues of knowledge and used to similar ends. The text combines those pre-existing lists, attempting to furnish an overarching framework that integrates various subject-specific catalogues. This attempt proved to be successful, and it was accepted by the Chinese tradition as the most authoritative knowledge framework of universal applicability.

No matter how authoritative and influential the “Hong fan” may be, it is not the sole interlinked knowledge framework that we know from the ancient China. Below, I demonstrate that similar frameworks based on numerical lists are preserved in the *Yi Zhou shu*, even though those alternative lists were not accepted by the mainstream of the Chinese textual tradition and survived as peripheral texts, apparently having fallen out of active practice at a relatively early stage.

It is noteworthy that similar interlinked numerical lists are not just attested in the non-canonical part of the Chinese tradition, they also exist in textual traditions of South Asia. Of these, the Pāli canon of Theravāda Buddhism is perhaps the most interesting one. The number of numerical lists in this corpus is striking, and the way in which they are presented in these texts is also surprisingly similar to ancient Chinese counterparts. What is particularly important is that the Buddhist numerical lists survive in a continuing tradition, of which we have a sufficiently consistent interpretation and can even witness how they are used by the community of contemporary practitioners. Considering that no such evidence survives for the texts with numerical lists in the *Yi Zhou shu*, the insight from the Buddhist tradition can be decisive in our attempt to reconstruct the role of numerical lists in this collection, as well as their importance for the ancient audience.

3.4 Numerical lists in Pāli *Nikāyas*

Buddhist scriptures abound in numerical lists. Already in the earliest parts of the Pāli canon (believed to have been recorded in ca. the first century BC), the important bits of the Buddhist teaching are neatly packaged in numerical lists that are presented in a way that is very similar to what we have seen in the "Hong fan" and which, as I show below, is also common in the *Yi Zhou shu*. I shall predominantly focus on the Sutta Piṭaka, mainly because this part of the Pāli canon is easily available in translations and has been covered the most extensively in Western scholarship, although numerical lists also abound in the Vinaya Piṭaka and the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. I should acknowledge that I have no knowledge of Pāli. However considering that I refrain from the discussion of linguistic issues, I consider it possible to survey the numerical lists of the Pāli canon via translations.

It is important to mention that, in the Pāli canon, we have a massive corpus of textual material compared to which the handful of texts preserved in the *Yi Zhou shu* appear more than modest. For example, the recent English translation of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*The Long Discourses of the Buddha*) is printed on 648 pages, and the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*The Middle Length Discourses*) on 1420 pages, and those are just individual parts of one of the three major divisions of the canon.[159] This wealth of material in the Pāli canon is another reason to use it is as a comparative counterpart: while the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* give the impression of a loose and fragmentarily preserved part of the tradition, the vastness, and sometimes even redundancy of the Pāli canon provides a much more solid foundation for an investigation of the inner workings of a textual tradition, with relatively little risk that this investigation would be founded on incomplete and arbitrarily selected source base.

159 Walshe (1987); Ñāṇamoli and Boddhi (2009).

I do not intend to provide a systematic study of numerical lists in the Pāli canon, for which I lack adequate qualification and which would lead me too far away from my main subject. However, there is a body of insightful specialist research to rely on. Building on this research, I attempt to provide certain examples that will highlight the commonalities of the use of numerical lists in the Pāli canon and ancient China as well as the differences related to the varying concerns and development trajectories of respective textual communities. As I have mentioned above, my goal is not to demonstrate that both traditions had similar numerical lists (which would be an interesting but impractical observation), but rather to understand the inner workings of systems of numerical lists within ancient textual traditions, apply this understanding to improve our knowledge of ancient Chinese textuality and, in particular, develop a reading strategy for the texts with numerical lists in the *Yi Zhou shu*.

I begin the discussion with a text whose position in the Pāli canon is comparable to that of the “Hong fan” in the Chinese canon. It is the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta* (*The Greater Discourse on the Foundations of Mindfulness*) of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, which contains a systematic outline of the meditative practices that are necessary “for the overcoming of sorrow and distress, for the disappearance of pain and sadness, for the gaining of the right path, for the realisation of Nibbāna”.[160]

The text begins with a very brief contextualisation passage mentioning that the Buddha was once staying among the Kurus (descendants of the legendary Kuru tribe known from the Vedic texts) in a market-town of Kammāsadhamma where he addressed the monks with a sermon. Other than this brief introduction and the formulaic ending mentioning that the monks were delighted and rejoiced in hearing the Buddha's words, the remainder of the text is presented as the Buddha's speech that is completely detached from this thin narrative

160 Walshe (1987, 335)

frame. This approach to textual presentation of authoritative knowledge is remarkably similar to the compositional strategy of the “non-dramatic” speeches of the *Yi Zhou shu*.

The main body of the text starts with an outline of the four foundations of mindfulness: contemplating body as body, feelings as feelings, mind as mind and mind-objects as mind-objects. Like the nine divisions of the “Hong fan”, these four units determine the structure of the following discourse, which is presented in the order of its units and sub-units, with occasional patterned intermittent sections describing the monk's contemplative state. In the part dedicated to the **contemplation of body**, the text consists of sub-units dedicated to the following subjects: breathing techniques, bodily postures, clear awareness of one's actions, reflection on the repulsive parts of the body, reflection on the body's composition out of the four elements, reflection on the consecutive stages of the body's disintegration (charnel-ground contemplation). The part dedicated to the **contemplation of feelings** is a short one and it consists of an enumeration of the possible combinations of feelings, sensual feelings and non-sensual feelings: pleasant, painful or neither-painful-nor-pleasant. The part covering the **contemplation of mind** is also very brief, and it contains an enumeration of the different kinds of mind (lustful, free from lust, hating, free from hate et cetera). The part on the **contemplation of mind-objects** is the most extensive and arguably the most important one. It includes the following sub-units: the five hindrances (sensual desire, ill-will, sloth-and-torpor, worry-and-flurry, doubt), the five aggregates of grasping (form, feeling, perception, mental formations, consciousness), the six internal and external sense-bases (eye and sight-objects, nose and sounds, tongue and tastes, body and tangibles, mind and mind-objects), the seven factors of enlightenment (mindfulness, investigation-of-states, energy, delight, tranquillity, concentration, equanimity) and the four noble truths (suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering, the way of practice leading to the cessation of suffering). The last

part, in turn, also represents an extensive discourse with its own sub-units, where the fourth sub-unit (the noble truth of the way of practice leading to the cessation of suffering) contains an exposition of the noble eightfold path (right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration).

The structure of the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta* can be schematically outlined as follows:

Table 13: The recursive structure of the numerical lists of the Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta

Main list	**First-level elements**	**Second-level elements**	**Third-level elements**
Four foundations of mindfulness	Contemplation of body	Breathing techniques Bodily postures Clear awareness Reflection on the repulsive parts of the body Reflection on the four elements Charnel-ground contemplation	
	Contemplation of feelings	Enumeration of the possible kinds of feelings	
	Contemplation of mind	Enumeration of the possible kinds of mind	
	Contemplation of mind-objects	Five hindrances Five aggregates of grasping Six internal and external sense-bases Seven factors of enlightenment Four noble truths	Noble eightfold path

Similar to the “Hong fan”, what we see in this text is a combination of different lists merged into a comprehensive system of contemplative practices. We have even stronger reasons to suspect that this list consists of pre-existing elements because many individual lists mentioned in the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta* frequently appear in various parts of the canon. Similar to the “Hong fan” where the contents of the system do not fit very neatly into the chosen framework of the “nine divisions”, the framework of the “four foundations of mindfulness”

is equally unbalanced, with most of the frequently mentioned numerical lists appearing in the fourth section ("contemplation of mind-objects") while the first three sections mainly consist of the less important lists including such that do not even have titles (cf. the non-titled lists in the eighth division of the "Hong fan" under the title "Various verifications"). The simple enumerations of the second and the third sections also contrast sharply with the more extensive sets of lists of the first and the fourth section, suggesting that the contemplative practices related to the body and the mind-objects are of a greater importance for the creators of the text, although, within the chosen framework, they could not omit the parts related to the feelings and to the mind. Finally, the composite list of the text represents more than just an orderly conceptual matrix but an interactive structure, and some of its elements are linked by means of internal referencing. In fact, the conceptual system of this *sutta* is effectively circular as one of the elements of the eightfold path, right mindfulness, lists exactly the same four elements which are the main subject of the text: contemplating body as body, feelings as feelings, mind as mind and mind-objects as mind-objects. Overall, both in the compositional strategy and the occasional disproportion, the practice of composite lists compiled out of pre-existing elements as we see it in the "Hong fan" and the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta* is remarkably similar, and despite the obvious differences between the two traditions, the resulting textual structures seem to work along the same lines.

As I have already mentioned, the Buddhist tradition is extremely rich in numerical lists and the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta* is not the only attempt to provide a systematic outline using a combination of numerical lists. Some of such texts largely overlap with one another, and the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta* has a very close relative in the *Satipaṭṭana Sutta* (*The Discourse on the Foundations of Mindfulness*) of the *Majjhima Nikāya* which is nearly identical, only lacking the detailed exposition of the four noble truths of the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta*. In ad-

dition to that, individual lists mentioned in the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta*, such as the four noble truths and the eightfold path, re-occur multiple times in the Pāli canon, and it is impossible to point out the "original" *sutta* that they come from.[161] Even though some texts do contain information that is not found in others, generally the Pāli canon relies heavily on repetitions, and the idea of textual exclusiveness is alien to it.

The *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta* is just one knowledge framework created for a specific purpose, and the *Nikāyas* preserve more such systems designed for other ends, such as, for example, the *Sigālaka Sutta* (*To Sigālaka*) which contains a system of ethical prescriptions for lay people. The contents of this *sutta* are mainly prohibitive: the four defilements of action, four causes of evil, six ways of wasting one's substance. In addition to that, the *sutta* offers a Buddhist re-interpretation of the popular practice of veneration of the six cardinal directions, presenting them, respectively, as relations towards parents; teachers; wife and children; friends and companions; servants, workers and helpers; ascetics and brahmins. In this way, the Buddhist tradition effectively re-defines a pre-existing religious practice, subsuming and integrating it into the body of its own teaching using the tried-and-proven instrument of numerical lists.

The *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta* and *Sigālaka Sutta* target very different audiences, which makes them good illustrations of how differently purposed systems based on numerical lists could have been created within the framework of the Buddhist teaching. Despite the fact that the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta* contains more elements that are commonly seen as fundamental to Buddhism, it would not be correct to see it as fundamental to all situations covered by the teaching of the *Nikāyas*, and in the *Sigālaka Sutta* we see how the same textual

161 For a recent systematic study of the four noble truths, see Anderson (1999).

mechanism is applied to produce a very different knowledge framework targeted not at the monks but at the lay audience.

3.5 The impact of numerical lists on the Buddhist textual tradition

Having very briefly shown how the numerical lists are used in the Pāli *Nikāyas*, I would like to summarise some of the recent scholarship discussing the phenomenon of numerical lists in the Pāli canon. I believe that the insights gained from that research can be useful for the study of Chinese texts, such as those in the *Yi Zhou shu*.

The preponderance of numerical lists in Buddhist texts is so conspicuous that several scholars have dedicated specialised studies focused on this phenomenon. Among these, Rupert Gethin's outline of the development of the practice of numerical lists in Buddhism is particularly elucidating, even though he does not attempt to identify diachronic layers within the Nikāya corpus and thus openly admits that his perspective is synchronic.[162] This approach is picked up by Bart Dessein who further investigates the role of lists as one of the fundamental tools in the development of Buddhist textual and philosophic tradition.[163] Even though Gethin's study has received criticism as paying insufficient attention to practices that ensured stability and consistency of textual transmission in the Buddhist community, I believe that his opinion is nevertheless justified for the period when these practices had not yet assumed their present rigidity.[164] Gethin suggests that early Buddhism was a gradually unfolding tradition whose teaching and textual practice developed alongside the maturing of the Buddhist community itself. This agrees with what we currently know about the gradual formation of other textual traditions of antiquity. An alternative view of Buddhism as an excep-

162 Gethin (1992, 153).
163 Dessein (2013).
164 Wynne (2004)

tional tradition whose texts and practices emerge in all their fascinating complexity almost immediately after the demise of the Buddha is perhaps more difficult to accept considering what we know about the slow development of textual practices in other regions, which involved variegated textual communities across multiple generations.[165]

Gethin claims that the practice of numerical lists originates in oral tradition and that they served a mnemonic function. Supporting this idea, he mentions that the Nikāyas contain many instances of the same lists in various degrees of detail: mentions of lists without enumeration of their constituent items, lists with brief enumeration of items and elaborately expounded lists where their items receive further explanations. Gethin suggests that it is easy to imagine how such different degrees of detail depended on the context, so that the list would be unwound to different degrees depending on a particular text, which "highlights the difficulties about entering into arguments about the 'original' version of a sutta, for example, in the context of comparative research between the Pāli Nikāyas and Chinese Āgamas."[166] Particularly noteworthy is Gethin's observation how smoothly numerical lists were eventually combined into composite ones, following the doctrinal development and the debates that arose within the Buddhist community. Such composite lists eventually became interwoven so that all the major doctrinal points became linked to one another forming a structured web of knowledge. At this stage, the mastery of lists would not only help to memorise individual bits of the Buddhist teaching, but also serve as a convenient point of entry to the body of knowledge accumulated by the Buddhist community as every individual list would raise in mind the numerous connections that relate it to other parts of the teaching. The example of the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta* is one instance of such interwoven discourse where links between different elements can be traced already at the level of a single *sutta*. How-

165 Carr (2005); Makeham (1996); Hunter (2014).
166 Gethin (1992, 156).

ever, if we start considering other *suttas* mentioning individual categories of the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta*, we will be able to extend greatly its web of interlinked categories, thus encompassing a great part of the Buddhist teaching, and Gethin provides many examples of such links. The application of this vast, virtually unrestricted web of interlinked categories would, in addition to the reproduction of pre-existing knowledge, become a productive tool to help the practitioner understand the inner structure and dynamic of the Dhamma.[167] The resulting interlinked structure, according to Gethin, served as a "flowchart for the composition of the discourse" and helped educated practitioners to structure their debate along well-defined and familiar lines of numerical lists.[168] This created a firm ground for improvisation and creation of new texts that from the very inception were sufficiently consistent with the existing body of knowledge. Some divergences would arise in the course of such composition, and indeed, there are instances of diverging systems of numerical lists that have been preserved in different parts of the Buddhist tradition.[169]

Gethin shows how this uniform approach to composition and structuring of texts resulted in works that consist of a large number of repetitive blocks. In his opinion, the common tech-

167 Gethin (1992, 156, 161–62).

168 Cf. the "discourse machine" that Stephen Owen identifies in the early mediaeval Chinese literature (Owen 2001).

169 Alexander Wynne who is very unsympathetic to the idea of an extended productive period in the early history of the Buddhist textual tradition suggests that such divergences can be equally explained by conscious editing of original texts that had thereto been preserved verbatim since their creation. Thus, Wynne prefers to see the history of Buddhist textuality as that of a set of "original" texts that were gradually dispersed and modified in various traditions. In other words, even though the transmission was oral, the accuracy was such an important concern that the transmission of texts worked virtually the same way as in manuscript traditions. Wynne's criticism does not address Gethin's discussion of the gradual formation of complex lists out of pre-existing simple linear lists. Furthermore, it seems to be based on the assumption that the only possible model of oral transmission is that outlined by Albert Lord (Lord, Mitchell, and Nagy 2000). However, this does not seem to accord with Gethin's argument in which he traces a different model of oral transmission specific to the early Buddhist community. Disagreeing with Gethin's reconstruction of productive transmission in the early period of the Buddhist community, Wynne is forced to offer an alternative explanation of how the Buddhist texts were composed initially. However, his alternative model, according to which the numerous repetitive pericopes in Buddhist scriptures were "fashioned by committees" is rather fanciful, and the evidence that he provides in support of such communal composition, such as the "great complexity and sophistication" of the Buddhist textual tradition as opposed to texts from other traditions (apparently including Homeric epics) is hardly convincing (Wynne 2004, 120–24).

nique of abbreviations (*peyyālas*) where the large repetitive fragments of texts are omitted and the reader is invited to reconstitute them according to the pattern of the initial pericope, constitute evidence for such a form of textual production and transmission.[170]

At a later stage, the Buddhist tradition moved on to develop the numerical lists into even more elaborate tools of textual production which Gethin identifies as *mātikās*, related to the practice of *vibhaṅga* ("breaking up"), a specific kind of analysis that is based on systematic decomposition of phenomena into their constituent parts.[171] *Mātikā*, according to Gethin, is "any schedule or table of items or lists – but especially one built up according to a system of numerical progression – that acts as a basis for further exposition."[172] Often such *mātikās* are produced by applying one list on another list, for example, the *mātikā* of 144 variations of dependent-arising formula is constructed out of sixteen basic variations applied to a further nine variations.[173] By the time when *mātikās* became commonplace, numerical lists had already undergone a long way from their initial mnemonic roots to serve as a tool for discourse production closely intertwined with the Buddhist meditative practices.

This brief exposition of Gethin's observations provides much insight for the understanding of the workings of similarly structured texts in the Chinese tradition for which we have much less evidence. Gethin demonstrates that numerical lists in Buddhism are a product of an evolving textual community of practitioners who use them as a tool to create increasingly advanced forms of textual discourse. There are many things that both traditions have in common: the use of lists with varying degree of detail depending on context, the creation of composite lists out of simpler ones, the presence of diverging variants of the same lists in

170 Gethin (1992, 156).
171 Gethin (1992, 164).
172 Bart Dessein (2013) subscribes to a broader definition of *mātikās* that would include all of numerical lists. I find Gethin's meticulous approach more useful since the practice that corresponds to *mātikās* in the proper sense does not seem to be attested in ancient China, as opposed to the preceding practice of simple and composite numerical lists for which we have a large number of Chinese examples.
173 Gethin (1992, 159).

various parts of the tradition. Overall, the amount of similarities is such that it appears justified to suggest that they constitute the same phenomenon that evolved independently in China and South Asia. While direct textual exchange between these two realms at that time seems implausible, I believe that this similarity in textual practices is caused by the structural proximity of the two textual communities. I suggest that similar attitudes to authoritative knowledge in communities based on strict hierarchy may have produced similarly structured texts in two unrelated ancient societies.[174]

I would like to move on to examine the numerical lists of the *Yi Zhou shu*, which I view as artefacts of an early period of knowledge frameworks based on numerical lists in China. During that period, a variety of such frameworks co-existed, making the strategies of knowledge organisation more diverse than the later tradition focusing entirely on the "Hong fan" would want us to believe.

3.6 Distribution of numerical lists in the *Yi Zhou shu*

Numerical lists in the *Yi Zhou shu* are abundant. However, while such lists appear very similar to one another at a first look, under closer examination their contents, structure and presentation turn out to be rather diverse. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between different kinds of such lists. When speaking of numerical lists, I consider it necessary to exclude the commonplace lists that are widely spread in received texts, such as the "four cardinal directions" (*si fang* 四方), "six kinds of domestic animals" (*liu xu* 六畜), "nine grains" (*jiu gu* 九穀) et cetera. In the *Yi Zhou shu*, the constituents of such lists are never specified and arguably they are used merely as common language tropes whose meaning was potentially obvious to any member of the audience. I ignore such idiomatic lists in order to focus on the

174 There are more noteworthy examples of compositional similarity in texts produced in different ancient societies in the absence of direct textual interaction. I have discussed elsewhere an interesting proximity between the Near Eastern royal inscriptions and the "Shi fu" 世俘 ("Hauling of captives") chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* (Grebnev forthcoming).

lists whose knowledge was most likely restricted to a specific textual community, and which were considered important enough to be expounded at length, often occupying the central position in the texts. As these lengthy elaborations suggest, the contents of such innovative lists were not self-evident to their audiences. Although there are several marginal cases where we cannot be certain whether the list is innovative or idiomatic, overall the boundary between these two types in the *Yi Zhou shu* is clear enough for such a distinction to be applied consistently.

Nevertheless, even after the exclusion of idiomatic lists, the remaining lists are not uniform and a more fine-grained classification is needed to distinguish between their different types. This is important considering that different types of numerical lists with distinct formal features may be products of different communities.

The most general distinction can be made between expounded and unexpounded lists. While many lists in the *Yi Zhou shu* are accompanied with enumerations of their constituents, some lists come without such enumerations and their exact contents remain unclear. Although sometimes the expositions can be borrowed, with more or less convincing justification, from other chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*, in other cases such lists are neither clarified in the *Yi Zhou shu* nor in any other parts of the received corpus. For example, the "Ming xun" 命訓 ("Instruction on the mandate") chapter mentions the "three coherences" (*san shu* 三述) that, to my knowledge, are not expounded in any text presently known. One would suspect that such lists refer to unpreserved texts, or that their contents were part of an oral commentary accompanying the text but never written down and therefore unavailable to us, or that the knowledge of these lists in a particular textual community was so widespread that they technically were idiomatic. Unless convincing information comes from excavated texts, it is better to refrain from attempting to untangle such unpreserved lists.

In the following table, I provide an overview of the *Yi Zhou shu* chapters with numerical lists. This table can be used as a quick reference for the initial classification of lists and the identification of related lists in different chapters.

#	*Juan*	Title	List features	Parallels
1	1	Du xun 度訓	-	
2		Ming xun 命訓	Expounded: non-enumerated; unexpounded	3
3		Chang xun 常訓	Expounded: non-enumerated; unexpounded	2, 29(!), 38(!), 57
4		Wen zhuo 文酌	Expounded: enumerated	
5		Di kuang 糴匡	-	
6		Wu cheng 武稱	-	
7	2	Yun wen 允文	-	
8		Da wu 大武	Expounded: enumerated	21(*), 22, 23, 27
9		Da ming wu 大明武	Expounded: enumerated	
10		Xiao ming wu 小明武	-	
11		Da kuang I 大匡	-	
12		Cheng dian 程典	-	
13		Cheng wu 程寤		
14		Qin yin 秦陰		
15		Jiu zheng 九政		
16		Jiu kai 九開		
17		Liu fa 劉法		
18		Wen kai 文開		
19		Bao kai 保開		
20		Ba fan 八繁		
21	3	Feng bao 酆保	Expounded: enumerated	8(*)
22		Da kai 大開	Expounded: enumerated	38
23		Xiao kai 小開	Unexpounded	8, 27, 28, 31, 47
24		Wen jing 文儆	-	
25		Wen zhuan 文傳	Expounded: non-enumerated; expounded: untitled, enumerated	
26		Rou wu 柔武	Expounded: enumerated	
27		Da kai wu 大開武	Expounded: enumerated	8, 23
28		Xiao kai wu 小開武	Expounded: enumerated	23, 32, 47, 67
29		Bao dian 寶典	Expounded: enumerated	3(!), 38
30		Feng mou 酆謀	Expounded: enumerated	
31		Wu jing 寤敬	Unexpounded	23
32		Wu shun 武順	Unexpounded	28, 32, 47, 67
33		Wu mu 武穆	Expounded: enumerated	
34	4	He wu 和寤	-	
35		Wu wu 武寤	-	
36		Ke yin 克殷	-	
37		Da kuang II 大匡	Expounded: non-enumerated; unexpounded	38
38		Wen zheng 文政	Expounded: enumerated; expounded: non-enumerated	3(!), 21, 22, 29 (!), 37
39		Da ju 大聚	Expounded: structural	
40		Shi fu 世俘	-	
41		Jizi 箕子		
42		Qi de 耆德		
43	5	Shang shi 商誓	-	
44		Duo yi 度邑	-	
45		Wu jing 武儆	-	
46		Wu quan 五權	Expounded: enumerated	
47		Cheng kai 成開	Expounded: enumerated; unexpounded	23, 28, 32, 47, 67
48		Zuo Luo 作雒	-	
49		Huang men 皇門	-	
50		Da jie 大戒	Expounded: enumerated	
51	6	Zhou yue 周月	-	
52		Shi xun 時訓	-	
53		Yue ling 月令		
54		Shifa 謚法	-	
55		Ming tang 明堂	-	
56		Chang mai 嘗麥	-	
57		Ben dian 本典	Expounded: untitled, non-enumerated; unexpounded	3
58	7	Guanren 官人	Expounded: structural; expounded: non-enumerated	
59		Wang hui 王會	-	
60	8	Zhai gong 祭公	-	
61		Shi ji 史記	-	
62		Zhi fang 職方	-	
63	9	Rui Liangfu 芮良夫	-	
64		Taizi Jin 太子晉	-	
65		Yu pei 玉佩	-	
66		Yin zhu 殷祝	-	
67		Zhou zhu 周祝	Unexpounded	
68	10	Wu ji 武紀	Expounded: non-enumerated	
69		Quan fa 銓法	-	
70		Qifu 器服	-	

Table 14. *Types of numerical lists in the* Yi Zhou shu

Legend: non-enumerated: lists where individual items are not enumerated; unexpounded: lists that are mentioned by titles but whose contents are not given; untitled: numerical lists that do not have a title; structural: lists that are used to organise the overall structure of the text. Semicolon divides two different types of lists within the same text; (*) after the chapter number indicates that the number of items in related lists is different, but the contents are related; (!) indicates that the titles of the lists and the number of items are identical, but the contents are considerably different. Missing chapters are marked with grey.

3.7 Types of numerical lists occurring in the *Yi Zhou shu*

Expounded lists come in several forms and are spread unevenly within the collection (Table 14). Of these, the prevalent form are expounded enumerated lists. Such lists are usually first mentioned by their title, such as the “six guards” (*liu wei* 六衛) or the “three extremities” (*san ji* 三極), followed by expositions enumerating their constituents either immediately or somewhat later in the text. Below is an example of such a list from the “Feng bao” chapter. The slightly obscure narrative of this chapter seems to describe how King Wen erected a stone with two sets of rules inscribed on its two sides. The rules on the “inner side” apparently were related to domestic matters, while those on the “outer side” were related to foreign affairs. In this example, I give the enumeration of all lists followed by the exposition of the first one from the “inner” set:

> 內備五祥、六衛、七厲、十敗、四葛，
> 外用四蠹、五落、六容、七惡。
>
> 五祥：
> 一君選擇，
> 二官得度，
> 三務不舍，
> 四不行賂，
> 五察民困。

> On the inner side, [he] prepared the five propitiousnesses, six guards, seven exertions, ten defeats, four coverings. On the outer side, [he] used the four erosions, five abscissions, six containers, seven evils.
>
> The five propitiousnesses are:
> The first: the ruler selects.
> The second: the officials receive the restrictions.
> The third: the duties are not abandoned.
> The fourth: do not take bribes.
> The fifth: investigate the people’s difficulties.

Sometimes, however, numerical lists have titles but the exposition of their contents comes without enumeration. In particular, this is typical of “Ming xun” and “Chang xun” 常訓

(“Instruction on constancy”) chapters at the beginning of the collection. Here is an example from “Chang xun”:

> 六極：命、醜、福、賞、禍、罰。
>
> The six extremities are: the mandate, shame, welfare, rewards, troubles, punishments.

Titles of such lists may appear after the exposition of the lists' contents, such as in “Da kuang II” 大匡 (“Great rectification”):

> 綏、比、新、故、外内、貴賤曰六位。
>
> Moderation, competition, what is novel, what has precedents, external and domestic, noble and lowly are called the “six positions”.

There are also several instances of untitled lists where the total number of constituents is mentioned, but no general term is chosen to name the group composed of the list's items. One example of such a list can be found in the “Wu ji” 武紀 (“Martial discipline”) chapter at the end of the collection:

> 不知所取之量，不知所施之度，不知動靜之時，不知吉凶之事，不知困達之謀，疑此五者，未可以動大事。
>
> Not knowing the amount when taking, not knowing the limit when putting something to action, not knowing the due time of activity and calm, not knowing the fortunate and baleful affairs, not knowing the plans of trouble and achievements: the one who is hesitant in these five is not yet able to advance great affairs.

There are also lists that are used not to group notions but rather to organise the text that consists of several distinct structural units. This is the case of chapters “Da ju” 大聚 (“Great assembly”) and “Guan ren” 官人 (“The officials”) whose long and elaborate contents are presented as lists of “five virtues” (*wu de* 五德) and “six indicators” (*liu zheng* 六徵) respectively. I do not provide examples of such instances here as this would require listing the full contents of these relatively long texts.

As I have shown in my discussion of the “Hong fan”, some lists form nested structures that include other lists, such as the “five [sources of] happiness” (*wu fu* 五福) and “six [occasions of] suffering” (*liu ji* 六極) that jointly constitute the ninth division of the “Hong fan”. However, in addition to such nested lists where the contents of what could be called “child lists”, to borrow from the information technology jargon, are not restricted by the “parent lists”, there are also nested lists where child lists act as “sub-titles” of the sections of the main lists. Many examples of the first kind can be found in the “Da wu” 大武 (“Great warfare”) chapter, such as the following one:

攻有九開，開有四凶、五良。
…
四凶：
一攻天時，
二攻地宜，
三攻人德，
四攻行利。
五良：
一取仁，
二取智，
三取勇，
四取材，
五取藝。
凡此九者，攻之開也。

Attack has nine inductions. The inductions have four evils and five goods.
…
The four evils are:
The first: attack considering the heavenly times.
The second: attack considering the earthly conveniences.
The third: attack considering the human virtues.
The fourth: attack considering the beneficial actions.

The five goods are:
The first: choose the humane.
The second: choose the wise.
The third: choose the valiant.
The fourth: choose the capable.
The fifth: choose the skilled.

The aforementioned nine items are the inductions of attack.

Finally, as some of my examples have already shown, different expounded lists have different degrees of detail. Some lists are expounded in such a way that they remain exceptionally cryptic and difficult to understand while other come with more detailed expositions that elucidate the meaning of individual components and the overall logic of the list. Some of these detailed expositions can be seen as double-layered texts, where a gnomic brief exposition constitutes the first layer and a more lucid supplementary explanation constitutes the second layer. Here is an example of a list with such elaborate expositions from the “Da kai wu” 大開武 (“The great induction of King Wu”) chapter:

十淫：
一淫政破國，
　　動不時，民不保，
二淫好破義，
　　言不協，民乃不和，
三淫樂破德，
　　德不純，民乃失常，
四淫動破醜，
　　醜不足，民乃不讓，
五淫中破禮，
　　禮不同，民乃不協，
六淫采破服，
　　服不度，民乃不順，
七淫文破典，
　　典不式，教民乃不類，
八淫權破故，
　　故不法，官民乃無法，
九淫貸破職，
　　百官令不承，
十淫巧破用，
　　用不足，百意不成。

The ten excesses are:
The first: excess in the governance ruins the country.
If the actions are not timely, then the people will not be safeguarded.
The second: excess in inclinations ruins righteousness.
If the words are not harmonious, the people will not be in agreement.
The third: excess in music destroys the virtue.
If the virtue is not pure, the people will lose their constancy.
The fourth: excess in actions ruins the shame.
If the shame is not sufficient, the people will be unwilling to yield.
The fifth: excess in the middle ruins the ritual.
If the ritual is not the same, the people will not be in harmony.
The sixth: excess in decoration ruins the robes.
If the robes are not according to the grades, the people will not be obedient.
The seventh: excess in writing ruins the testaments.
If the testaments are not followed as models, the people will not be of the same kind.
The eighth: excess in authority ruins the precedents.
If the precedents are not treated as rules, officials and people will not obey the law.
The ninth: excess in loans ruins the responsibilities.
The numerous officials will then not be able to carry out their orders.
The tenth: excess in mastery ruins the applications.
If the applications are not sufficient, the numerous intentions will not be fulfilled.

While the explanations in this example do not make the list completely lucid, without them it would have been entirely cryptic; in particular its applications would have been totally unknown. In fact, most lists in the *Yi Zhou shu* are exactly as obscure as the “ten excesses” would have been without their explanations. This reminds us of the problem of the inseparability of such lists from their social contexts, which I have mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. It is very likely that the recalcitrance of many texts in the *Yi Zhou shu* to be rendered into convincingly lucid translations is not only due to the scholars' insufficient understanding of the language or the poor preservation of the text (both of which are valid concerns), but even more so due to the lack of the crucial bits of elaboration, such as those that we see in the list of the “ten excesses” in the “Da kai wu”. We have to acknowledge therefore that some gnomic lists might always remain unclear, no matter how much time we spend on them. This statement may appear more convincing against the evidence of the Pāli canon, where, depending on a particular *sutta*, the same list may be presented without elaboration, with brief elaboration, or with lucid detailed elaboration. If the surviving texts only contained lists of the first and second type, the teaching of the early Buddhist community would have appeared to us significantly more obscure than it does today. This seems to be the case, however, with the *Yi Zhou shu*, where the remaining evidence is fragmentary and insufficient for a lucid interpretation.

3.8 The numerical lists typical of kingly consultations

In the *Yi Zhou shu*, numerical lists are the most frequent in the chapters of the third *juan* 卷 (“scroll”) out of the ten *juan* that form the collection. The type of numerical lists there is also quite uniform: whenever the lists are expounded, their individual items are listed by numbers. The sole exception is “Wen zhuan” 文傳 (“King Wen's tradition”), which, in addition to unexpounded lists, contains an untitled enumerated list at its very end. Notably, these

lists occur the most often in chapters that I have classified as “kingly consultations”, with the exception of “Wen zhuo” 文酌 (“Pondering on cultivation”) in the first *juan*, “Da wu” and “Da ming wu” 大明武 (“Great illuminated warfare”) in the second *juan* and “Wu mu” 武穆 (“Martial solemnity”) in the third *juan* (Table 15).

Table 15: Types of lists in the kingly consultations

酆保	大開	小開	文儆	大開武	小開武	寶典	酆謀	寤敬	文政	大聚	武儆	五權	成開	大戒	本典
Exp.: enum.	Exp.: enum.	Unexp.	-	Exp.: enum.	Exp.: enum.	Exp.: enum.	Exp.: enum.	Unexp.	Exp.: enum.; exp.: non-enum.	Exp.: struct.	-	Exp.: enum.	Exp.: enum.; unexp.	Exp.: enum.	Exp: untitl., non-enum.; unexp.

Legend: exp.: expounded lists; unexp.: unexpounded lists; enum.: enumerated lists; non-enum.: non-enumerated lists; struct.: structural lists.

Nevertheless, such lists are not an indispensable feature of kingly consultations. The three *jing* chapters do not contain numerical lists, apart from the single unexpounded mention of the three virtues (*san de* 三德) in the “Wu jing” 寤敬. “Xiao kai”, despite containing the most typical assemblage of textual features that characterise kingly consultations (see Chapter 2) contains only unexpounded mentions of the “three virtues” (*san de* 三德), “three extremities” (*san ji* 三極), “nine causations” (*jiu yin* 九因), “four proximal relations” (*si qi* 四戚) and “five harmonies” (*wu he* 五和). It appears that, despite the frequent occurrence of numerical lists in kingly consultations, seeing them as the most important and indispensable element of these texts is unjustified. This phenomenon is perhaps easier to understand against the backdrop of the *Nikāyas*, where some *suttas* lack explicit numerical lists despite their overall prevailing character in the Pāli canon. Lists are not the only form to transmit valuable teachings in the Pāli corpus, and it may be justified to expect the same from the community that created the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*.

As I have mentioned before, in the Pāli canon, there are some numerical lists whose importance is reinforced by the frequency of their occurrence within the corpus. Arguably, a textual element that reverberates many times in different contexts is likely to be more important for the communities behind the texts in which it occurs. If we approach the numerical lists in the *Yi Zhou shu* with this idea in mind, we will see that there are also repetitions that may help us to get a better idea of the communities that furnished this group of texts and its prevailing concerns.

Such repetitions are the most visible in the *kai* 開 chapters. A closer look at the systems of numerical lists of the *kai* chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* reveals that the same groups of notions are expounded in them several times, and some of these expositions contain noteworthy differences that possibly betray the differences between the respective communities.

The *kai* chapters form a group of five texts that are, in the present arrangement, related to the three different kings of the early Western Zhou: we have two such chapters for both kings Wen and Wu and one for King Cheng (Table 16).

Table 16: Numerical lists of the kai *chapters of the* Yi Zhou shu

Reign	**Chapter title**	**Numerical lists**	**Notes**
King Wen	"Da kai" 大開	Nine inductions (*jiu kai* 九開)* Eight warnings (*ba jing* 八儆): - nine trespasses (*jiu guo* 九過) - nine interdictions (*jiu jin* 九禁) - nine teachings (*jiu jiao* 九教) - nine merits (*jiu li* 九利) Five forewarnings (*wu jie* 五戒)	The "nine inductions" are mentioned in the "Da wu" chapter no. 8 where it is a container including two smaller lists: "four evils" (*si xiong* 四凶) and "five goods" (*wu liang* 五良). There is an exposition of the "nine trespasses" in chapter "Wen zheng". There are no mentions of the "nine interdictions" in the *Yi Zhou shu*, however, "Wen zheng" mentions the "nine vices" (*jiu te* 九慝) that should be interdicted (*jin* 禁).
	"Xiao kai" 小開	**Nine causations**** (*jiu yin* 九因): **- four proximal relations** (*si qi* 四戚) **- five harmonies** (*wu he* 五和) Three virtues (*san de* 三德) **Three extremities** (*san ji* 三極)	Apart from the "Xiao kai" and "Xiao kai wu", the "nine causations", "four proximal relations" and "five harmonies" occur in the "Da wu" chapter. The "three virtues" are also mentioned in the "Wu jing" 寤敬 (no. 31) and "Shang shi" (no. 32) chapters but never expounded. Generally, it seems to be an idiomatic list.

King Wu	"Da kai wu" 大開武 ("Da Wu kai" 大武開 according to the *Shi lüe*)	**Four proximal relations** (*si qi* 四戚) **Five harmonies** (*wu he* 五和) Seven losses (*qi shi* 七失) **Nine causations** (*jiu yin* 九因) Ten excesses (*shi yin* 十淫)	
	"Xiao kai wu" 小開武 ("Xiao Wu kai" 小武開 according to the *Shi lüe*)	**Three extremities** (*san ji* 三極): - nine kinds of luminaries (*jiu xing* 九星) - **nine regions** (*jiu zhou* 九州) - **four limbs** (*si zuo* 四左[175]) Four introspections (*si cha* 四察) **Five phases** (*wu xing* 五行) Seven compliances (*qi shun* 七順) Nine temporal markers (*jiu ji* 九紀)	The "nine luminaries" are clearly parallel to the "nine ranks" in "Cheng kai" although the names are different and the difference cannot be explained by either phonetic or graphic similarity. The "nine regions" also occur in "Feng bao", "Chang mai" and "Zhi fang" chapters where it is unexpounded. I consider these uses of the list as idiomatic and do not take them into account in my survey. I consider the spelling *si zuo* 四左 in "Xiao kai wu" functionally identical to *si zuo* 四佐 in "Cheng kai". In that second spelling, the list also occurs in the "Wu shun" chapter no. 32. The "five phases" in the *Yi Zhou shu*, apart from the *kai* chapters, are mentioned (not expounded) in the "Bao dian" (no. 29), "Wu shun" and "Zhou zhu" (no. 67) chapters.
King Cheng	"Cheng kai" 成開	**Three extremities** (*san ji* 三極) - nine ranks (*jiu lie* 九列) - **nine regions** (*jiu zhou* 九州) - **five phases** (*wu xing* 五行) - **four limbs** (*si zuo* 四佐) Five demonstrations (*wu shi* 五示) Four preservations (*si shou* 四守) Six principles (liu ze 六則) Nine achievements (*jiu gong* 九功) Five precedents (*wu dian* 五典)	

* Underlined items correspond to unexpounded lists whose constituent items are not given in the chapter.
** Lists marked **in bold** occur in more than one *kai* chapter.

As the table shows, the numerical lists of the *kai* chapters are largely interrelated, with the exception of "Da kai" 大開 ("The great induction") which may or may not be due to its poor preservation.[176] "Xiao kai" 小開 ("The lesser induction"), despite the fact that it only con-

175 I read *zuo* 左 ("left") as *zuo* 佐 ("assistant", metaphorically "limb") here, which is informed by "Cheng kai". The notion of "four assistants" meaning "four limbs" seems to have origins in the government administration metaphor, similar to the better known *wu guan* 五官 ("five senses"), literally meaning "five official posts". For a more detailed discussion, see McNeal (2002, 46–60).

176 We do not know whether its preserved text is complete, but it is certain that, in the transmitted text, three characters in the exposition of the "eight warnings" (*ba jing* 八儆) and one character in the list of "five forewarnings" (*wu jie* 五戒) are lost, making the resulting text rather incomprehensible.

tains unexpounded lists, is remarkable for having the largest concentration of lists occurring in other *kai* chapters. Among these, “Xiao kai” presents the “four proximal relations” and “five harmonies” as constituent elements of the “nine causations”. This logic is, however, not followed by the “Da kai wu” which gives the nine causations, four proximal relations and five harmonies as independent numerical lists, even though they occupy neighbouring positions in its system. However, if we look at the “Da wu” chapter no. 8, which is not a kingly consultation but can be related to them by the way it presents numerical lists (see Table 14 and the discussion above), we will see there that the four proximal relations and the five harmonies are presented as sub-components of the “nine causations”, which accords with the logic of “Xiao kai”. Therefore, “Xiao kai” (with “Da wu”) and “Da kai wu” present two different approaches to the exposition of the same cluster of numerical lists, which betrays the higher stability of such clusters over the exact contents of the lists in the cluster.

Apart from the cluster of the “nine causations”, “four proximal relations” and “five harmonies”, “Xiao kai” also mentions the “three extremities” (*san ji*) without expounding them. This list reoccurs in multiple chapters. Among the *kai* chapters expositions of it can be found in “Xiao kai wu” 小開武 (“The lesser induction of King Wu”) and in “Cheng kai” 成開 (“King Cheng's induction”) (Table 17). Interestingly, although these expositions are structurally similar and clearly related to one another, the one in “Cheng kai” is accompanied by a supplementary elaboration that elucidates some of the non-obvious applications and associations of the list's items. It is also interesting that it is only the clauses of this supplementary elaboration that rhyme.

Table 17: Exposition of the “three extremities” in “Xiao kai wu” and “Cheng kai”

“Xiao kai wu”	“Cheng kai”
三極:	三極:
一維天九星,	一天有九列,

二維地九州，
三維人四左。

別時陰陽，(*laŋ)
二地有九州，
別處五行，(*[g]ʕaŋ)
三人有四佐，
佐官維明。(*mraŋ)

The three extremities are:
The first: in Heaven, there are nine luminaries.
The second: on the earth, there are nine regions.
The third: in people, there are four limbs.

The three extremities are:
The first: The heaven has nine ranks, which are used to discern between times, the *yin* and *yang* elements.
The second: the earth has nine regions, which are used to position the five phases.
The third: the people have four limbs, and the assisting officials should be clear-sighted.

Overall, the *kai* chapters seem to operate with a limited number of concepts whose contents are relatively stable, but not to the extent to make them identical in all texts. Therefore, the *kai* chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* do not form a consistent non-contradictory system like the Pāli *suttas*; rather, they seem to constitute a collection of concurrent attempts to create comprehensive knowledge frameworks based on numerical lists as a result of intellectual-historical developments that we cannot fully reconstruct. This is an important conclusion since it highlights the heterogeneity of the *Yi Zhou shu* even in those chapters that otherwise appear the most closely related. Clearly, such texts were not one-off compositions by the same author. Rather, they seem to have been produced in a loose tradition whose members did not pursue the goal of textual consistency.

Judging from the contents of the reoccurring lists, it can be concluded that the predominant concerns are the principles of social interaction (“four proximal relations”, “five harmonies”) and cosmology (“three extremities” with its subcomponents: “nine luminaries” or “ranks”, “nine regions”, “five phases”). There is some proximity between the *kai* chapters and the “Hong fan”, such as the “five phases” and the “three virtues” mentioned in “Xiao

kai" and expounded in the "Hong fan", as well as the emphasis on temporal markers that is conspicuous in the "Hong fan" and also explicit in "Xiao kai wu". Finally, the "nine divisions" of the "Hong fan" may be related to the "nine regions" mentioned in the *kai* chapters: both are phonologically close (in Baxter-Sagart reconstruction, 州 is *tu while 疇 is *dru). However, the overlap is only partial and while we can say that both the "Hong fan" and the *kai* chapters are products of the same practice of authoritative textual frameworks relying on numerical lists, it is not clear whether they were designed for the same purpose.

Today, the *kai* chapters are presented to us as "inductions" of three different kings of the early Western Zhou thus making it possible to alleviate the contradictions between them: one can imagine that the circumstances of the ascension of these individual kings to power were somewhat different resulting in the different frameworks of instructive knowledge. Accepting this explanation of the divergence between the *kai* chapters, however, would imply that all these texts are Western Zhou compositions, which is unlikely. Alternatively, one can imagine that the shared features of these texts originate from the same discourse (and perhaps from the same initial text), however, in the course of transmission differences between the variants accumulated, and the fixation in writing made it impossible to ignore those differences any longer.[177] It is possible that the chronological sequencing of the *kai* chapters and their attribution to different kings might have been applied to alleviate these contradictions post factum.

Although parallel numerical lists are the most obvious in the *kai* chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*, they are not restricted to them, as Table 14 shows. It is worth examining other parallels briefly in order to understand whether we can see in the *Yi Zhou shu* a kind of conceptual

177 A similar development can be traced in the parallel texts of the *Mozi* 墨子, which have been first discussed in the seminal study of Angus Graham (1985). Most recently, this question has been further developed in the dissertation of Karen Desmet (2007) who has highlighted some of the complexities in the texts of the *Mozi* overlooked by Graham and other researchers.

network whose fragments are linked to one another by means of shared material and cross-references.

One chapter that is particularly rich in parallels is “Da wu”, a systematic catalogue of instructions related to military activities, whose “seven formations” (*qi zhi* 七制) correspond to the gradual stages of military involvement starting from peaceful governance to immediate combat.[178] As one might expect, the part that is the richest in parallels with the rest of the *Yi Zhou shu* material is the first formation, “[peaceful] government” (*zheng* 政), which refers to the “nine causations”, in turn composed of the “four proximal relations” and “five harmonies”. I have already discussed these elements above. Apart from these, two items in the so-called “three collections” (*san lian* 三斂) that belong to the formation of “invasion” (*qin* 侵) are clearly related to the sixth and the seventh items in the list of “nine virtues” in the “Wen zheng” 文政 (“Cultured governance”) chapter:

Table 18: Parallels between the lists of the lists of the “three collections” in “Da wu” and the “nine virtues” in “Wen zheng”

“Da wu”	“Wen zheng”
三斂：一男女比，二工次，三祇人死。	六商工受資，七祇民之死
The three collections are: the first: males and females should be matched; the second: artisans should [receive] materials;[179] the third: one should be respectful in what relates to people's death.	… the sixth: merchants and artisans should receive materials; the seventh: one should be respectful in what relates to the commoners' death.

Another interesting parallel with “Da wu” is found in the “Feng bao” 酆保 (“Safeguarding at Feng”) chapter. In this case, the parallel part is the formation of “war” (*zhan* 戰) which, according to “Da wu”, consists of the “eleven agitations” (*shiyi zhen* 十一振), in turn composed of the “six exertions” (*liu li* 六厲) and “five guards” (*wu wei* 五衛). The two latter lists are clearly related to the “six guards” and “seven exertions” in the “Feng bao”:

178 McNeal (2012, 110–22).
179 I read *ci* 次 (“the next”) as *zi* 資 (“material”) considering the parallel in “Wen zheng”.

Table 19: The "guards" and "exertions" in "Da wu" and "Feng bao"

"Da wu"	"Feng bao"
六厲： 一仁厲以行， 二智厲以道， 三武厲以勇， 四師厲以士， 五校正厲御， 六射師厲伍。	六衛： 一明仁懷恕， 二明智設謀， 三明武攝勇， 四明才攝士， 五明藝法官， 六明命攝政。
五衛： 一明仁懷恕， 二明智輔謀， 三明武攝勇， 四明材攝士， 五明藝攝官。	七厲： 一翼勤厲務， 二動正厲民， 三靜兆厲武， 四翼藝厲物， 五翼言厲復， 六翼敬厲衆， 七翼知厲道。
The six exertions are: The first: use humane exertion for action. The second: use wise exertion for the method. The third: use the martial exertion for valiance. The fourth: use the exertion of training for the officers. The fifth: the instruction in correctness exerts the implementation of orders. The sixth: the training in archery exerts military formations.	The six guards are: The first: those who are clear-sighted about humaneness cherish mercy. The second: those who are clear-sighted about wisdom design plans. The third: those who are clear-sighted about warfare promote the brave. The fourth: those who are clear-sighted about talents promote the officers. The fifth: those who are clear-sighted about skills set an example for the officials. The sixth: those who are clear-sighted about the mandate promote the government.
The five guards are: The first: those who are clear-sighted about humaneness cherish mercy. The second: those who are clear-sighted about wisdom assist in plans. The third: those who are clear-sighted about warfare promote the valiant. The fourth: those who are clear-sighted about talents promote the officers. The fifth: those who are clear-sighted about skills promote the officials.	The seven exertions are: The first: encouraging the diligence exerts the public works. The second: putting the righteous to action exerts the people. The third: diminishing the auspicious portents exerts the warfare. The fourth: encouraging the arts exerts the production. The fifth: encouraging the words exerts the response. The sixth: encouraging the reverence exerts the multitudes. The seventh: encouraging the wisdom exerts the way.

These two lists present an interesting relationship. First, both texts operate with "guards" and "exertions" as a cluster of related items and not as two independent lists. Second, it is very interesting how, despite the variance in the number of constituent components, the lists

are near-identical in “exertions” and markedly different in the “guards”. There is only one important exception: the second element in the “Da wu” list of “guards” parallels the seventh in the list of the “seven exertions” in “Feng bao”. Depending on which version is given priority, there can be two explanations of this divergence. If “Da wu” is closer to the original, then the creators of “Feng bao” (or its lost predecessor) borrowed the idea of a paired list of “guards” and “exertions”, expanded both lists by one item and recomposed the list of “seven exertions” to make it appear less tautological and less similar to the list of “guards”. Only the last (seventh) item in this list was influenced by the “Da wu” version while the rest were recomposed anew. If primacy is given to the “Feng bao” version, though, then one explanation could be that the composers of “Da wu” have forgotten the contents of the “exertions” and compensated it by reconstituting these contents using the notions from the “guards”. As a result, only the second item in the list preserved similarity to the original. It is difficult to say which one of these two scenarios is more probable. In any case, what this example shows us is that certain clusters of lists were more stable than their contents, which is also witnessed by the cluster “nine causations”, “four proximal relations” and “five harmonies”.

The divergences that I have described above show that the community that developed the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* had relatively loose standards of fixation of concepts presented as numerical lists. Despite the fact that certain notions and groups of notions were reused across different texts, in the course of transmission some lists acquired completely different contents, while individual elements of other lists ended up in new lists. The relative stability of the clusters of lists and the lists' titles over their contents that we have seen in examples above is another interesting phenomenon, suggesting that for the textual communities behind the numerical lists of the *Yi Zhou shu*, certain higher-level entities had preva-

lence over their lower-level constituent elements. In other words, remembering that there are "nine causations" was, for some reason, more important than remembering what exactly those "nine causations" were composed of.

These observations, however, tell us little about how the lists were perceived, learned and applied by the members of the communities in question. The texts with numerical lists in the *Yi Zhou shu* do not provide sufficient internal evidence to understand their purported applications. In order to answer this question, I shall once again expand the scope of my inquiry and examine a text in the *Liu tao*, which, in my opinion, preserves elements of evidence, which might be important to understanding the applications of the *Yi Zhou shu* chapters with numerical lists.

3.9 Lists in authoritative knowledge transmission: gradual unwinding in dialogic setting

The *Liu tao* is a textual collection that contains material most reminiscent of the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*. Below, I provide the text of the "Liu shou" 六守 ("Six custodians") chapter in the "Wen tao" 文韜 ("The illustrious bow case") section of the collection. The way in which numerical lists are expounded in this text is suggestive for understanding the practice of elaboration and transmission of numerical lists as recorded in the *Yi Zhou shu*.

> 文王問太公曰：君國主民者，其所以失之者，何也?
> 太公曰：不慎所與也。人君有六守、三寶。
>
> King Wen asked the Grand Duke, saying: "When one rules the country and exercises sovereignty over commoners, why might he lose these [privileges]?"
>
> The Grand Duke said: "Not being cautious in giving [may lead to this]. In exercising lordship over the people, there are six custodians and three treasures."
>
> 文王曰：六守何也?
> 太公曰：一曰仁，二曰義，三曰忠，四曰信，五曰勇，六曰謀，是謂六守。

King Wen said: “What are the six custodians?”

The Grand Duke said: “The first are the humane, the second are the upright, the third are the loyal, the fourth are the trustworthy, the fifth are the valiant, the sixth are the ingenuous. These are the six custodians.”

文王曰：慎擇六守者何?
太公曰：富之而觀其無犯，貴之而觀其無驕，付之而觀其無轉，使之而觀其無隱，危之而觀其無恐，事之而觀其無窮。富之而不犯者、仁也，貴之而不驕者、義也，付之而不轉者、忠也，使之而不隱者、信也，危之而不恐者、勇也，事之而不窮者、謀也。

King Wen said: “And what is the way to cautiously select the six custodians?”

The Grand Duke said: “Enrich them and watch that they do not transgress, ennoble them and watch that they do not become conceited, endow them and watch that they do not shift, delegate them and watch that they do not conceal, daunt them and watch that they do not dread, assign them a service and watch that they are not exhausted. Those who having been enriched do not transgress are humane; those who having been ennobled do not become conceited are upright; those who having been endowed do not shift are loyal; those who having been delegated do not conceal are trustworthy; those who having been daunted do not dread are valiant; those who having been assigned a service are not exhausted are ingenuous.

人君無以三寶借人，借人則君失其威。
文王曰：敢問三寶?
太公曰：大農、大工，大商，謂之三寶。農一其鄉，則穀足；工一其鄉，則器足；商一其鄉，則貨足。三寶各安其處，民乃不慮。無亂其鄉，無亂其族。臣無富於君，都無大於國。六守長，則君昌；三寶完，則國安。

In exercising lordship over people, if one does not lend to people of the three treasures, then in lending to people the lord will be losing his authority.”

King Wen said: “May I ask about the three treasures?”

The Grand Duke said: “The great farmer, the great artisan, the great merchant are those that are called the “three treasures”. If there is one such farmer in the area, then the grain will be ample; if there is one such artisan in the area, then the tools will be ample; if there is one such merchant in the area, then the goods will be ample. If each one of the three treasures is secured in his place, then the people will not be troubled, they will not cause disorder neither in their area nor among their kinsmen. The servant is not wealthier than his lord and the town is not wealthier than its country. If the six custodians are given priority, then the lord will prosper; if the three treasures are accomplished, then the country will be peaceful.

What is noteworthy about this dialogue is that the lists are not given as part of one continuous monologue but rather they are expounded step-by-step in a sequence of questions and

answers. The first mention of the lists is followed by the interlocutor's inquiry about their contents, and the enumeration of the first list's components is followed by a request regarding their application. The lists in the “Six custodians” are expounded step-by-step in a dialogical setting, which makes them appear much more comprehensible and transparent than the esoteric and terse monologues in the *Yi Zhou shu*. Despite that, it seems that the practical application of the lists preserved in these texts by contemporaneous knowledge communities would have been more akin to the dialogical setting of the “Six custodians”, allowing instructors not only to present their knowledge to the audience but also to adapt it according to its expectations, knowledge and concerns. Of course, the freedom of the audience should not be exaggerated as the form of numerical lists places the discourse in very strict boundaries; once the interlocutors utter their first question regarding the contents of an unknown numerical list, they already confirm that the list objectively exists while only its contents and meaning remain unclear. In this manner, as a dialogue-structuring tool, numerical lists place the teacher in the dominant position, allowing him to shape and structure the sequence and the contents of the conversation, as well as the sequence and the conceptual links in the knowledge that he confers to his audience. Therefore, the “freedom” to inquire about the contents of lists is dependent on the acknowledgement of authority of the one who first mentions the lists. If so, then the *modus operandi* of the knowledge communities that produced the lists of the “Six custodians” and the *Yi Zhou shu* may indeed be very similar to the strictly hierarchical relations of authority underlying the Buddhist community, which has also produced a plenitude of similar lists.

3.10 Conclusion

When the Russian newspaper *Vedomosti* asked Victoria B. Mars, the chairman of the world-famous food manufacturer Mars, Inc. how her company managed to improve living condi-

tions in various neighbourhoods where it opened its manufacturing facilities, she embarked on this opportunity to praise the magical working of the company's "five principles":[180]

> It's all thanks to our five principles. If you apply these five principles naturally, you will see how they change the environment.

The principles that Victoria B. Mars refers to are: "quality, responsibility, mutuality, efficiency, freedom". Perhaps those who expect to see, in these five principles, a killer recipe for business success, will be disappointed as this enumeration of abstract categories appears merely as a nice combination of attractive words. However, this is not the attitude of the food manufacturer's chairman:

> When I speak to colleagues, especially to new colleagues, I make it very clear that these are not merely mottoes. We do not proclaim, we really live up to these principles, and every colleague at Mars expects another to live up to them. We spend a lot of time and effort to impart these principles to our colleagues so that they become a natural part of their professional and everyday lives. And when you share these principles, it is very easy to live up to them.

This example illustrates how numerical lists are employed in contemporary setting as a convenient tool for a thriving transnational company to introduce a uniform corporate culture. This list is, of course, meaningless unless it is accompanied by practice, and the way the managers of Mars, Inc. explain these abstract notions to their employees in such a way that they assimilate and apply them uniformly is perhaps more important than the principles themselves. However, it is likely that, for a large number of company's employees, the five principles indeed represent an articulated standard of practice and a set of shared values that allows them to form a consistent and efficient community.

What I want to demonstrate with this example is that numerical lists are not a specifically Chinese or South Asian phenomenon, and their appearance in the context of contemporary Western business practice suggests that the use of such lists as a means to present authorita-

180 Gubsky (2015).

tive knowledge is probably rooted in the way our minds and social structures operate. One element that appears common for ancient Chinese, Buddhist and contemporary cases is the presentation of lists as a "key" to the full understanding of a particular phenomenon or mastery of a certain practice. Numerical lists are by definition comprehensive, and it is impossible to have an authoritative list of "four or five" or "ten or so" categories.

The knowledge presented in such lists is closed, and it is expected to be accepted as an object of learning, contemplation and practice, not as one of criticism or creative inquiry. Therefore, these lists rely on strong authority, be it the authority of the corporate management, experienced members of the Buddhist *saṅgha* or a textual lineage head in an ancient Chinese educated community.

The complex systems combining several numerical lists that we have seen in the Pāli canon, the "Hong fan" and the *Yi Zhou shu*, however, go beyond this basic application of numerical lists and apply them to create synthetic frameworks of knowledge whose elements jointly constitute a productive system that aims at a broader range of situations. This is the case of the *Mahāsatipaṭṭana Sutta* that provides a comprehensive outline of essential meditative practices, the "Hong fan", which provides a knowledge framework to cover most problems in exercising control and maintaining social (and universal) order as a monarch, or the lists of the *kai* chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* whose ambitions seems to be similar to that of the "Hong fan". Such frameworks restrict the freedom of practitioners more than simple lists as they attempt to structure their thinking not in situation-specific contexts but rather in everything that they do as a part of their main vocation, be it the reign of a monarch or the self-perfection of a Buddhist practitioner. This is a heavy burden, and one needs a special justification to convince the practitioners to accept it.

This is perhaps the reason why the comprehensive lists in the Pāli *Nikāyas* are attributed to the Buddha, and the "Hong fan" buttresses itself using the combined authority of King Wu who receives the exposition of the list, the sagely Jizi who expounds the list to King Wu, the legendary ruler Yu the Great who was allegedly the first person to have received the list and finally Heaven itself that imparted the list to Yu. This massive claim of authority, coupled with complex and elliptical categories of the "Hong fan", might have ensured the reverential acceptance of the text as a wondrous source of knowledge that reveals its useful mysteries as the practitioner revisits it in contemplation and practice. Of course, we cannot imagine any such veneration towards the five principles of Mars, Inc. which, if borrowed by another company, would first become an object of scrutiny, interpretation, questioning and modification, and only then would be accepted in business practice.

Despite the self-referential origin story of the "Hong fan", texts do not come out of the blue but are created in the course of human interaction and knowledge exchange as answers to certain real-world challenges. The similarity of textual structures of the Pāli *Nikāyas* and the numerical lists of the *Yi Zhou shu*, together with the evidence that we have in ancient Chinese texts concerning the exposition of numerical lists in the setting of teacher-student dialogue suggests that the environment of textual production for kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* might have been, in several essential elements, similar to that of the early Buddhist community. The texts were not bought at a book shop or borrowed anonymously from a library: they might have been learned from masters who had certain expectations towards their students. Therefore, we may be dealing with similarly structured communities of practice where textual knowledge was an important concern, but not the only element that cemented the community in which respect towards masters and the acceptance of a certain code of behaviour were also important. The very recent example of the "four comprehen-

sives" and the "three stricts and three honests" promoted by Xi Jinping also demonstrates a very similar dynamic of interaction between knowledge and authority.

The ancient Chinese communities that produced the lists preserved in the *Yi Zhou shu*, however, did not succeed in assuming the same degree of homogeneity as the Buddhist *saṅgha*, and the texts that we have received from them are noticeably misaligned, making it impossible to view them as components of one non-contradictory system. It is difficult to explain how exactly this happened. Nevertheless, it is most likely that what is preserved in the *Yi Zhou shu* is more than a creation of a particular author for a particular cause. The proximity of the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations with other parts of the ancient Chinese corpus, such as the *Liu tao*, further informs us that in these texts we witness remnants of a broader textual practice that was probably not restricted to a particular geographic locality or isolated intellectual lineage. If so, the disagreements in the *Yi Zhou shu* texts can be seen as instances of related, but separate textual traditions that started off with the same set of ideas (and perhaps the same set of foundational texts) and later developed them into recognisably similar, but substantially different texts. This is not a novel discovery since we have seen very similar developments in the communities that created the parallel texts of the *Mozi*, and the recently excavated counterpart of the "Jin teng" 金滕 ("Metal-bound casket") chapter of the *Shang shu* in the Tsinghua manuscripts collection suggests that even the texts that later became canonical were also subject to such changes in the course of transmission.[181] In other words, we possess enough evidence of knowledge communities that were relying on authoritative textual knowledge and yet found it possible to modify this knowledge, and this tension between the authoritative claims and the susceptibility to modification is one of the most curious problems revealed by the analysis of the numerical lists of the *Yi Zhou shu*.

181 Meyer (2014).

More similarities between the *Yi Zhou shu* and the Pāli *Nikāyas* can be revealed if we compare the textual setting in which the numerical lists are presented in the early Buddhist tradition and in the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*. In both cases, the texts are commonly styled as consultations where the dialogic form is reduced to a textual frame that serves as a vehicle for a structured and systematic exposition of the main monologic message. It is important that members of the textual community seldom claim ownership of such knowledge: in China, the lists are ascribed to the kings of the early Western Zhou and the Duke of Zhou; in the *Nikāyas*, they are usually pronounced by the Buddha (cf. the commonplace attribution of the discourse of the "four comprehensives" to Xi Jinping). In other words, we see in these unrelated traditions the invention of the same textual device where knowledge is presented as having been uttered by a figure whose authority is beyond doubt. Systems of numerical lists ascribed to authoritative figures styled by the early Buddhist and ancient Chinese textual communities would therefore function as powerful mechanisms of systematisation of knowledge-practice, forcing the adepts not only to learn the same material, but also to think of it and to analyse it in the same manner.

There is therefore a totalising aspect in numerical lists that goes beyond merely teaching of what one believes to be true. Numerical lists in the settings that I have examined seem to pursue the unification and standardisation of practice, be it the practice of practical action (business operation or government) or the meditative practice focused on the self (which is the primary concern for most such lists in Pāli *Nikāyas*). Numerical lists come up as convenient tools to create groups of like-minded people who approach certain practices and phenomena with the same ideas and thought patterns. It appears that both the Chinese and the early Buddhist communities make emphasis not on the production of new knowledge and experiences, but rather on the systematic re-production of the existing ones.

The later stages of both traditions appear to be distinctively different, nevertheless. China does not seem to have ever developed its version of *vibhaṅga*, which is understandable since this method may have indeed been closely related to the specifically Buddhist practice of meditation. Furthermore, China has clearly lost interest in many of its lists, and towards the Western Han we see an undisputed domination of the "Hong fan", while alternative attempts (some of which are preserved in the *Yi Zhou shu*) seem to have fallen out of favour. The reasons for such a divergence deserve a separate study. I shall only note that one of its causes might have been the communal character of the *saṅgha* vs. the increasingly centralised and state-dominant textual community of China during the early empires. While the early Buddhists had to achieve the unity of their teaching by means of negotiation, which resulted in a massive corpus of doctrinally consistent texts with neutralised contradictions, in China such contradictions became a subject of political competition where the most desired prize would be not the acknowledgement by the full body of the community, but rather the monopolistic position of a text (and the related tradition) supported by the state. In this harsh competitive environment, it seems, it would be natural for only one comprehensive system built on numerical lists to survive, and this is what seems to have happened to the "Hong fan".

I consider it important to mention another important difference between the *suttas* of the Pāli canon and the kingly consultations in the *Yi Zhou shu*. While the former are usually presented as knowledge that was openly announced by the Buddha to large audiences of followers, the kingly consultations rely on the scenes of private consultations that took place in extraordinary circumstances. Furthermore, the kingly consultations emphasise the need to preserve the knowledge and not to disclose (or "leak") it. I believe that this contrast between the form of open-air public sermons and closed-chamber consultations is important for our

understanding of the kingly consultations, and may potentially elucidate the incongruences between the knowledge frameworks of the different kingly consultations. This is the question that I shall explore in the next chapter.

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Chapter 4

Kingly consultations as secret empowering knowledge

Chapter contents

4.1 Summary

In this chapter, I discuss recurring elements in the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*, which emphasise the secrecy of knowledge on the one hand while insisting on the necessity of its transmission through generations on the other. I compare these elements against a better studied early mediaeval textual tradition known as Lingbao 靈寶 (Numinous Treasure). I argue that the kingly consultations are composed as secret knowledge, intended to be trans-

182 According to a report published in May 2013, Adobe programmes occupied top positions in the list of the most frequently pirated software in the United Kingdom, trailing only Microsoft (Flood 2013).

mitted in restricted textual lineages. I also argue that the way in which protagonists in the Lingbao texts are identified with the real-world adepts can be used to elucidate the kingly consultations where protagonists set a model to imitate, especially in what relates to the proper reception and transmission of the text.

While the circumstantial evidence regarding the operation of such secretive textual lineages in early China is lacking, recent research on the emergence and spread of secretive textual traditions in mediaeval India and Japan is useful for comparative purposes, as it sheds light on the socio-political environment in which the kingly consultations were conceived and proliferated. Through these traditions it becomes possible to understand the political significance of the connection of these texts to specific occasions in the reigns of the legendary sage rulers of the Western Zhou. It seems plausible that similar occasions in the reigns of contemporary rulers provided an opportunity for the members of restricted textual lineages to claim authority by referring to relevant secret texts in their possession. The comparative evidence also explains how the kingly consultations were disseminated, eventually resulting in a variety of contradictory frameworks of empowering knowledge that we find today combined in the *Yi Zhou shu*.

The line of argument that I am pursuing in this chapter is akin to Anna Seidel's suggestions regarding the relatedness between the initiation and ordination rites in early medieval "Daoism" and the court practices of the Han dynasty. However, while Seidel is sceptical about the possibility to trace such connections to the period before the early empires,[183] I propose to view some of the textual practices of early medieval esoteric communities as replicating and elaborating the practices of textual performance and transmission that might have originated in the courts of ancient Chinese kingdoms as early as ca. the fifth-fourth centuries BC.

183 Seidel (1983, 292).

In this way, not only the contents of early medieval esoteric scriptures could be seen as variations on the theme of the ancient court ritual, but even the textual form of such scriptures and the structure of the communities that transmitted them could be regarded as replicating and continuing the older patterns that might have originated in the middle of the first millennium BC.

4.2 The Lingbao scriptures

When talking about the Lingbao scriptures (I use this conventional term to refer to the *jing* 經 writings produced in mediaeval non-Buddhist religious communities), I prefer to abstain from calling them “Daoist”. While it is certainly correct to do so when the tradition is approached retrospectively with the modern assemblage of Daoist texts in mind, one should be aware that this conventional terminology may be anachronistic when applied to the early mediaeval textual and ideological landscape.[184] In the fascinatingly productive textual milieu of the fourth-fifth centuries AD, Lingbao is one of several comprehensive scriptural systems to have emerged over a very short timespan. Among other such systems, one should mention the corpus of Buddhist translation of Kumārajīva and the corpus of the *Shangqing* 上清 scriptures, of which the latter were also integrated consecutively into the Daoist project.[185] Despite being one of the several systems to come out of that productive environment, Lingbao contains characteristic features absent from the other traditions.

184 The suitability of the use of the term “Daoism” in academic debate is one of the questions that will probably continue to be discussed as long as Sinology exists. For relatively recent overviews of the problem, see Kirkland (2000) and Raz (2012, 6–18). For an insightful analytical discussion of the different metaphors that underlie the contemporary Western discussions of “religion” and their applicability to the Chinese material, see Campany (2003).

185 Speaking of translations of Buddhist literature, Erik Zürcher (1980, 98) mentions a “veritable 'translation project' which in the late fourth and early fifth century turned out a mass of translations of unprecedented quality”. Stephen Bokenkamp (1983, 476) points out that “[t]he spiritual fertility of the fourth-century Chiang-nan produced not only the two major Taoist traditions that were to dominate the centuries to come, but also a considerable number of influential Buddhist translations as well as sūtras composed directly in Chinese”. However, the socio-political factors that contributed to the formation of such a productive environment, to my knowledge, have not been explained yet.

As my main focus is not the Lingbao tradition itself but rather its structural similarities with the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*, the characteristic features that I am looking at are limited. For the most part I shall examine the ways in which the mythical or legendary protagonists set a model for real-world adepts to follow, and how the ideas of scriptural secrecy and continuity of textual lineages are embedded in the texts. I should also mention that the elucidating features that I like to investigate are present not only in the Lingbao canon but also in other texts, in particular in the *Taiping jing* 太平經 (*Canon of the Great Peace*) that is believed to have been composed in its initial form in the second century AD. Nonetheless, the dating of the constituent elements of the received *Taiping jing* remains an unresolved problem, and it is commonly accepted that, in its present form and arrangement, the text should be dated to the sixth century.[186] This relatively late date makes the Lingbao scriptures the preferable choice of an early corpus of esoteric texts demonstrating the specific features related to textual secrecy that I am interested in. Otherwise the *Taiping jing* would have been a more convenient comparative counterpart.

Scholarship on the Lingbao scriptures today is greatly facilitated by the achievements of recent decades. Stephen Bokenkamp's study of the origin of the Lingbao tradition is indispensable for anyone who attempts to acquire an initial understanding of the history of this tradition. His work is in turn based on the seminal analysis of Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾 that opened the possibility to identify reliably the early Lingbao scriptures in the eclectic maze of the *Zhengtong Daozang* 道藏 (*Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Era*) of 1445, which assembles over 1400 texts.[187] Thanks to these contributions, it has become possible to use the

186 For a concise, although outdated, overview of the text's contents see Kaltenmark (1979). More recent studies emphasise the complexity of the text, but it does not seem to be possible to date reliably its constituent parts yet. For an outline of textual complexities surrounding the *Taiping jing*, see Beck (1980). For more recent overviews, see Hendrischke (2000, 143–45); Schipper and Verellen (2004, 277–80).

187 See Bokenkamp (1983); Ōfuchi (1974). For a relatively recent slightly emended version of Bokenkamp's catalogue, see Yamada Toshiaki 山田利明 (2000).

evidence of the Lingbao tradition while not committing oneself fully to the study of related philological problems.

The Lingbao scriptures appear to have been composed in the late fourth century AD. As suggested by Bokenkamp, they might have been a response of the aristocratic Ge 葛 family from the town of Jurong 句容 south-east of the present-day Nanjing to the introduction of the corpus of the Shangqing 上清 scriptures. The Shangqing corpus was sponsored by the Xu 許, another notable family who also resided in Jurong with whom the Ge competed in influence, despite the marital connections between the two families. In the Shangqing scriptures, written just several decades before the Lingbao, members of the Ge family were portrayed as occupying only subordinate positions in the spiritual hierarchy.[188] That might have served as an impetus for the creation of the Lingbao corpus in which the Ge family is given superior authority. Bokenkamp believes that much of this project might have been carried out by Ge Chaofu 葛巢甫, a person about whom not much circumstantial evidence is preserved.

Even though the composition of the Lingbao scriptures might have been prompted by rather earthly concerns, they do not appear as a rushed creation of a frustrated scion of the Ge family driven by momentary envy. The Lingbao is a well-planned project that goes far beyond mere copying and subversion of the Shangqing corpus, introducing original elements, in particular of liturgical nature, that became indispensable for the later Daoism. Thus, on the one hand, it is possible to see the Lingbao as the enterprise of a particular family (or perhaps even the creation of a single member of that family) whose name has been preserved and whose motivation we can reconstruct with a degree of detail that would be impossible for early Chinese texts. However, on the other hand, this family operated within an extremely

188 For an insightful discussion of the circumstances of emergence and early development of the Shangqing scriptures, see Strickmann (1977).

dynamic textual environment of the late fourth century AD, characterised by the fusion of traditional and newly-introduced elements. Erik Zürcher and Stephen Bokenkamp, in their discussion of the Buddhist, Shangqing and other influences on the Lingbao, have outlined many elements that testify to the intensive interaction between the textual projects of the time. However, I believe that there are some important elements in the Lingbao scriptures whose origins lay neither in Buddhism, nor in the indigenous communities of "masters of methods" *fangshi* 方士 and esoteric *chenwei* 讖緯 traditions, which normally serve as a conventional starting point for the discussion of the origin of "Daoist" practices in scholarship.[189] More specifically, it appears that the mechanism of secretive textual transmission that is essential for the Lingbao scriptures had already been pioneered in much earlier textual communities, such as the ones that produced the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*.

4.3 The merging of protagonists and adepts

One of the confusing elements of the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations are the frequent repetitive formulaic incentive utterances, such as "preserve and do not lose it!" (*shou wu shi* 守勿失) and "admonish the posterity!" (*jie hou ren* 戒後人). If we read them as requests made by one protagonist to the other, it remains puzzling why, despite their little narrative value, they were deemed so important as to ossify in relatively stable formulations and reoccur in a number of different texts. We know other examples of repetitive ossified formulas from ancient epigraphy, namely the so-called *guci* 嘏辭 (salutatory words) in the endings of bronze texts and the *ma yi fei shi* 麻夷非是 imprecation (apparently standing for *mi yi bi shi*

189 Gil Raz (2012, 94–97) discusses the possible connection between the model of transmission of secretive knowledge in the *Wufu xu* 五符序 (*Array of the Five Talismans*), one of the early components of the Lingbao scriptures, and the transmission of specialist knowledge and texts among early imperial medical practitioners, as attested in chapter 105 of the *Shiji* 史記 (*The Grand Scribe's Records*) that contains a biography of Chunyu Yi 淳于意 (216-150 BC) and the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Thearch* (*Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經). See also Elisabeth Hsu's translation and discussion of the relevant parts of chapter 105 of the *Shiji* (E. Hsu 2010).

靡夷彼氏 — "let that lineage be wiped out") in Houma 侯馬 and Wenxian 温縣 covenants.[190] In both cases, the bronze texts and the covenants, the constant re-occurrence of such formulas corresponds to their significance in respective ritual contexts. Therefore we should aim to find a justified interpretation of the recurring formulas in the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* that would recognise their importance and not just see them as meaningless place-holders. Here are some examples of passages that emphasise the importance of the continuous transmission of knowledge across generations.

"Feng bao"

> 戒後人，復戒後人，其用汝謀。
> Admonish the posterity, admonish the posterity so that they use your deliberations!

"Da kai"

> 儆我後人，謀競，不可以藏。戒後人，其用汝謀。
> Forewarn my posterity [that, if they] conceive strife, they cannot prosper. Admonish the posterity so that they use your deliberations!

"Xiao kai"

> 後戒後戒。
> Posterity beware, posterity beware!

"Wen jing"

> 後戒後戒，謀念勿擇。
> Posterity beware, posterity beware! Deliberate and think! Do not be weary!

"Bao dian"

> 維子孫之謀，寶以為常。
> Oh, the deliberations for children and grandchildren, treasure them so that they may become a constant rule!

One way to look at such passages is to consider them as directed primarily at contemporary audiences rather than to legendary protagonists. It is these audiences who should take heed not to lose the precious deliberation recorded in the text, and it is them who should take care to properly transmit it across generations. If this is so, the intention behind these utterances

190 For a classic discussion of the *guci*, see Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒 (1936). For a detailed treatment of the *ma yi fei shi* formula in Houma texts, see Williams (2014).

and the object of application of their illocutionary force become clear. We start seeing the protagonists not as remote figures involved in dialogues of negligible contemporary relevance but as standing close to “us”, the audience, such that the boundaries between “us” and “them” starts to blur.

This hypothesis regarding the immediate inclusion of the audience in the text may perhaps appear far-fetched, and it would benefit from additional evidence. That is why I turn to the Lingbao corpus where the identification of protagonists with adepts is well-attested and where some scriptures, despite the obvious temporal gap and the difference of contexts, are structured in a surprisingly similar way to the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*.

As I have demonstrated in previous chapters, the basic compositional structure of the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* can be outlined as follows: 1) contextualisation passage mentioning the circumstances of the text's initial pronouncement; 2) main body containing the text's original message; 3) concluding part where the formulas concerning the confirmation of the received instruction and the necessity of its continuous transmission usually occur. Perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, the very same compositional structure can be seen in a number of the Lingbao scriptures. Of course, the Lingbao scriptures belong to a completely different age, which shows itself, first of all, in the extensive length of these texts compared to the extremely brief and terse kingly consultations. Therefore, in the following discussion, I select relatively brief passages relevant for my argument.[191]

First, I would like to give an example of the opening passage in a Lingbao scripture that introduces the protagonists and outlines the pseudo-historical background of the scripture's initial pronouncement. It is taken from the *Lingbao Scripture on the Great Superior Rules*

191 For a full English translation and a well-informed discussion of the *Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Limitless Salvation* (*Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miao jing* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經), a Lingbao scripture that corresponds largely to the basic compositional structure of the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*, see Bokenkamp (1997, 373–438).

and Original Vows of Wisdom (*Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin jing* 太上洞玄靈寶智慧本願大戒上品經), also known as the *Precepts of the Original Vows of Devil-destroying Wisdom* (*Xiaomo zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin* 消磨智慧本願大戒上品, LP#25[192]) dated by modern scholars to the fifth century AD:[193]

> 仙公於天台山靜齋念道，稽首禮拜，請問靈寶玄師太極太虛真人曰：弟子有幸，得侍對天尊，自以微言，彌綸萬劫，洞觀道源，過泰之歡，莫有諭也。顧玄少好神仙白日飛騰之道，心想上聖，恒以髣佛，大經微遠，妙賾難通，將稟口訣，釋我冥津，洞暢虛漠，有無都盡矣。近而未究人生宿世因緣本行之由，今願天尊覺所未悟。
>
> The Duke Transcendent, having fasted in solitude and meditated on the Dao on Mt. Tiantai, bowed in reverence touching the floor with his head and asked the Mystic Instructor of the Numinous Treasure, the Perfected Person of the Great Extreme and Great Void, saying: I, your pupil, am very fortunate to be able to attend to the Heavenly Worthy so that through the subtle words I might be able to encompass ten thousand kalpas, and thoroughly penetrate into the source of the Dao. My joy [on this occasion] surpasses everything and is beyond compare. Since my childhood, I, Xuan, took pleasure in the Dao of divine transcendents that brings one into heaven in broad daylight. I thought about the sages of the past and constantly imitated them. The great scripture is subtle and distant, mysteriously obscure and difficult to comprehend. So would you bestow upon me the oral instructions and free me from the abysmal crossing [of the river in the underworld]? [Let me] freely cross the void deserts, exhausting all the being and non-being. Now I would ask the Heavenly Worthy to elucidate to me what I have not yet realised concerning the ever-close yet unexplored sources of original deeds leading to human destinies transcending rebirths.

Despite its wordiness and eclectic terminology, the basic structure of this contextualisation passage closely matches that of the *Yi Zhou shu*: the protagonists meet on a certain occasion and one addresses the other with a request. Similar to how the initial inquiry opens the path for the exposition of numerical lists in some of the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*, this request by the Duke Transcendent (honorific appellation of the legendary immortal Ge Xuan 葛玄 [166-244] in the Lingbao corpus) furnishes a reason for the Duke's interlocutor to expound the main contents of the text. I shall not reproduce the whole of this relatively long scripture here. Instead, I shall focus on the closing passages where the protagonists

192 Here and below, I shall be referring to the Lingbao scriptures by the numbers in Bokenkamp's catalogue that follows the reconstruction of Ōfuchi (Bokenkamp 1983). For a summary of the contents of this text, see Schipper and Verellen (2004, 238).

193 LP#25, 1a.

once again switch from the exposition of the teaching to stories about their own acquisition of the scripture and to the prescriptions for future adepts regarding its proper transmission:[194]

> 太極真人曰：吾昔學道時，受之於太上虛皇，奉而修之，遂成真人矣。道士若欲受吾大戒品文，師先讀一過，以示其心也，其必是學仙之士者，當齋信詣師門，及[195]對齋三日，念道思戒，然偉傳矣。此戒至重，各各有威神部護其人，慎哉，慎哉。
>
> The Perfected Person of the Great Extreme said: In the past, when I studied the Dao, I received it from the Emperor of the Supreme Void. Having received it, I practised it and in this manner became a perfected person. If an adept of the Dao would wish to receive my select writings of the great precepts, then his master should first read it once in order to reveal his intention. If it is indeed an adept who is the student of immortality, then he should send a messenger to the master's gate and then fast for three days pondering on the Dao and meditating on the precepts. After that, [conduct] the great transmission. These precepts are extremely important, each one of them is accompanied by a troop of awe-inspiring spirits protecting the owner. Be cautious, be cautious!

In this passage, the Perfected Person of the Great Extreme shares the story of his acquisition of the text and relates this personal experience to the instructions that he issues to future adepts. The link between the stories about legendary protagonists and the practical instructions aimed at earthly adepts is thus made clear. The exclamation concluding this passage ("be cautious, be cautious!") is reminiscent of similar refrains in the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*.

This self-referential instruction pronounced by the Perfected Person of the Great Extreme in conclusion of his revelation to the Duke Transcendent is followed by a brief response by the Duke Transcendent praising the power of the text, as well as by a hymn chanted by the Duke on the occasion of this transmission. In addition, the text is furnished by another self-

194 LP#25, 14a-b.

195 In the Dunhuang manuscripts P.2468 and P.2400 that preserve mediaeval manuscript version of the scripture *nai* 乃 is written instead of *ji* 及. It is very probably a graphic mistake, and I find the manuscript variant preferable as it produces a more straightforward reading.

referential instruction regarding textual transmission, this time pronounced by the Duke Transcendent to his disciple Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠:[196]

> 仙公告弟子鄭思遠曰：吾少遊諸名山，履於嶮**崤**， 在禽獸之左右，辛苦備至，忍情遣念，損口惠施，後身成人，懷道安世，恒修慈愛，念道存真，無時敢替也。齋直一年而未竟，其冬至之日，天真眄降，見授大經上仙之道。天真令我大齋長靜，按經施誦，次而學之，遂成真人矣。吾昔所受經道，太上所貴也，非中仙之所學矣。歷劫以來，常傳上仙，仙公仙王仙卿，不但我也。 吾先世與子同發此願，施行善功，勤積不怠，致玄都有仙名，今相為師友，是以相授耳。吾去世也，將有樂道慈心居士，來生吾門者，子當以今道業，事事一通付之，法應世世錄傳也，皆是我前世與彼有宿恩，因緣使然也。子以一通依科傳付弟子佳者也。若無其人，一通封付五嶽名山矣。此太極真人口訣，子祕之，慎之慎之，時思之。
>
> The Duke Transcendent made an announcement to his disciple Zheng Siyuan, saying: In my youth, I roamed at famous mountains, trod on precipitous cliffs, in the company of wild beasts and birds. Having experienced utmost hardships, I restrained my feelings and dispatched my contemplations. Guarding my mouth, I conducted mercy. In the following birth, I became human and cherished the Dao in order to bring peace to the world, constantly perfected myself in charity and, pondering upon the Dao, kept the genuineness, not daring to give up at any time. I fasted for one year, and before the end, on the day of winter solstice, the Heavenly Perfected glanced upon me and descended, and I was granted the great scripture, the Dao of the immortals of the highest rank. The Heavenly Perfected ordered me to fast strictly and to reside in silence for a long time, then to practise recitation according to the [text of the] scripture, and then to learn it. After that, I became a perfected person.
>
> The scripture and the Dao that I received in the past are venerated in the greatest heights and are not such that are learned by immortals of middle rank. Since innumerable kalpas, these have been transmitted to the immortals of the highest rank, the immortal dukes, immortal kings, immortal ministers, not only to myself. In the previous life, I and you have jointly made this vow to conduct good deeds, to diligently accumulate them and not be idle, in this manner ensuring that we have immortal names in the mystic capital. And now I am your master and you are my friend, and therewith I transmit it.
>
> After I leave the world, if there are meritorious gentlemen who take pleasure in the Dao, are charitable in their hearts and [predestined] to share our lot in their future lives, you should transmit to them this teaching of the Dao, every matter of it in the complete form. The Law must be copied and transmitted across generations. For all those to whom I have awarded grace in previous lives, according to the karmic relations [you should] make so. You should in complete form, according to the sequence of matters transmit it to the best of the disciples. And if there is no such person, you should in complete form bestow it upon the Five Sacred Peaks.

196 LP#25, 15a-b.

> You should preserve in secret this Oral Instruction of the Perfected Person of the Great Extreme! Be cautious, be cautious! Think of it continuously!

This concluding narrative contains further instructions regarding transmission of the text, stressing that it should be imparted only on the worthy ones who have already been chosen in their previous lives. It is noteworthy that the emphasis on the necessity of transmission and the continuous meditation on the instruction, although formulated differently, are similar to the recurrent concluding formulas in some kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*.[197] However, unlike the confusingly brief formulations in the kingly consultations where the connection between the legendary protagonists and the earthly recipients of the text is never spelled out explicitly, in the unit under review such connections are explicit, and little doubt remains that the conversation between the protagonists is directed immediately at the adept who receives the text.

Overall, the narrative stories of the Lingbao scriptures and the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations can be understood as scripts for the audience to follow. In these texts, "us" is equally important as "them"; in fact, both are mingled into one in such a way that it becomes impossible to separate the "story" from "prescription".[198] The protagonists serve as exemplars of textual acquisition and transmission, setting models for adepts to imitate.[199] Nevertheless, while we have sufficient knowledge about how these examples were used in the Lingbao texts to create continuous hierarchical communities interested in the achievement of tran-

197 Cf. the following passage in the "Feng bao" chapter:
> 嗚呼！深念之哉！重維之哉！不深乃權不重，從權乃慰，不從乃潰，潰不可復，戒後人，復戒後人！其用汝謀。王曰：允哉。
> "*Wuhu*! Contemplate on it thoroughly! Repetitively think about it! If [you do not contemplate on it] thoroughly, then the balance will not be held in esteem. If you act according to the balance, you shall be comforted. If you do not observe [the balance], you shall collapse, and if you collapse, you cannot be restored. Admonish the posterity, admonish the posterity so that they use your deliberations!" The king said: "Truly so!"

198 On this point, see also Bokenkamp (1997, 394).

199 For an overview of the transmission procedures in Daoism, see Benn (2008). See also Benn's insightful book-length analysis of the ordination rite conducted for Tang Princesses Gold-Immortal (*Jinxian gongzhu* 金仙公主) and Jade-Perfected (Yuzhen gongzhu 玉真公主) in 711 AD. (Benn 1991).

scendent goals (salvation of the self and others, acquisition of supernatural powers et cetera), it remains unclear to what ends the teachings of the kingly consultations were employed. This is the question that I attempt to untangle in the following parts of this chapter.

4.4 Between "magic" and "history"

In his insightful study of the formation of religious Daoism, Gil Raz makes the most valuable observation that the narrative stories embedded in the *Wufu xu*, one of the early Lingbao scriptures that apparently pre-dates the composition of the main part of the corpus, are structurally similar to the narrative introductions in magic spells of the ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern cultures that have been discussed in literature as *historiolae* (Latin "short stories"). In particular, Raz identifies a set of three features that make the phenomenon of *historiolae* relevant in his study of Daoist texts: 1) the way in which the ritualist identifies himself with a god, which results in "a collapsing of boundaries between the human situation and the mythical dimension"; 2) the fact that "*historiola* itself may be, or include, an account of the genesis and initial use of a specific incantation within it"; and that 3) *historiolae* may mention tools and objects employed together with the spell which " 'situates' the mythical dimension within the performative setting".[200]

In order to make the phenomenon of *historiola* appear less abstract and more relevant to my discussion, I will provide an example from an incantation for toothache in *Enuma Elish*, a Babylonian creation account, as cited by David Frankfurter:[201]

> "After Anu had created the heaven, (And) the heaven had created the earth," and following this sequence down to the creation of the worm. The worm proceeds to declare his preference for teeth and jawbones instead of the figs and apricots

200 Raz's discussion is based on a paper by David Frankfurter, which provides a convenient overview of the phenomenon of *historiolae* (Raz 2012, 118–20; Frankfurter 1995, 469–71). In the enumeration of the characteristic features of historiolae Frankfurter in turn refers to Sørensen (1984). For other recent discussions of the phenomenon of *historiolae* in ancient cultures, see Sanders (2001);Waller (2015).

201 Frankfurter (1995, 458) citing Heidel (1951, 72–73).

> offered by the god Ea, at which point Ea, or the ritualist, or most likely both, declare, “Because thou hast said this, O worm, May Ea smite thee with the might of his hand!”

I believe that Raz's observation concerning the applicability of the notion of *historiolae* to the Chinese materials can be extended beyond the uncertain domain of the “magical” whose exact boundaries I would rather not attempt to delimit.[202] It appears to me that in Hellenistic and Egyptian spells, in the Lingbao scriptures and in the contextualisation passages of the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* we are dealing with a universal phenomenon that serves the purpose of connecting the reality to a mythical precedent by means of textual performance as outlined above. As Frankfurter puts it, *historiolae* are forms of speech that “involve a 'mythic' dimension of action; a 'this-worldly' or human realm of problems or needs; and the speech act itself, which draws from the mythic dimension to apply to human dimension”.[203] In this perspective, *historiolae* are important as they might provide insight into the specific “this-worldly” situation in which the text might have been performed and by correctly interpreting the mythical precedent we might be able to understand the scope of earthly applications.

The alarming contextualisation passages that I have discussed in Chapter 1 come to mind immediately as the basic structure of “problem and remedy” embodied in them is typologically similar to spells, to which the notion of *historiola* has been applied conventionally. However, even when the contextualisation passage does not mention any distressing events, the events in the reigns of sage rulers that it mentions are perhaps best taken as projected onto similar occasions in the reigns of later rulers. That would suggest that kingly consulta-

202 I sympathise with the pragmatic view on magic associated with Bronislaw Malinowski, who analysed magic as a means to achieve specific goals that is grounded in emotional stress (Malinowski 1948, 59–70). I consider it premature to apply the apparatus of sociological research on magic onto the kingly consultations, which constitute the main object of my interest. Little detail is available about the social context of these texts, and representing them as artefacts of a magical practice would, at the present stage, appear too speculative. For an informative comparative overview of the different scholarly opinions on magic expressed in the English and French academic traditions, see Keck (2002).

203 Frankfurter (1995, 461).

tions might have originally been performed in the court environment, for which there appears to be more evidence, as I discuss next.

Before I proceed to this question, I have to remark that, whatever the performative context of a *historiola* might have been, its main purpose is to set a reference point in the domain of myth to project it onto a real-world situation, and not to inform the audience about something that happened in the past. A de-contextualised *historiola* referring to an event connected to a historically attested person may have an appearance of a factual record. However, its outward proximity to a factual account does not qualify it as a historical source. Likewise, I believe that the introductory passages in the kingly consultations, despite their semblance to documentary records, cannot be treated as historical sources as the texts bearing these passages appear to have been composed for very different ends.

4.5 The "open secret" of kingly consultations

In addition to the recurrent emphasis on the continuous transmission of knowledge, kingly consultations also emphasise the necessity to use this knowledge with caution and not to "leak" it. This is another aspect where the comparison with the Lingbao scriptures is elucidating. Below, I provide examples of two passages from the *Yi Zhou shu* and a passage from the Lingbao scripture *Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing suyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶本行宿緣經 (*Scripture on Destiny as Determined by One's Original Deeds*), also known as *Dongxuan qingwen jing* 洞玄請問經 (*Scripture of Questions*) or *Xiangong qingwen jing* 仙公請問經 (*Scripture of the Questions of the Duke-Transcendent*) that mention the danger of "leaking" of knowledge.[204] As in the previous example, I attempt to elucidate the cryptic passages of the *Yi Zhou shu* by putting them side-by-side with the more detailed and better contextu-

204 LP#26, 8a-b. This text may be of relatively late origin, about the fifth-sixth centuries AD (Schipper and Verellen 2004, 239).

alised text from the Lingbao tradition that is written in a very lucid way, despite its esoteric concerns.

“Xiao kai”

> 謀泄，汝躬不允！
> If the deliberations are leaked, then your own person will not be sure!

“Wu jing” 寤敬

> 余聞曰：維乃予謀，謀時用臧。不泄不竭，維天而已。
> I have heard: “The deliberations that you have given, these deliberations [should be] employed and concealed in a timely manner.” Not to leak and never to be depleted [in deliberations] is something that only Heaven can achieve!

Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing suyuan jing

> 復有道士輕法妄宣，泄慢寶經，見世為考鬼所殺，幽沈地獄，後生業疾，其苦難説。是故經文不可不秘之，恐有不能寶用，使彼此得罪。又為人師，甚亦不易， 授弟子不善，罪皆相及。
> If there is a student of Dao who, disrespecting the doctrine spreads it irresponsibly, leaking and being negligent of the precious canons, then in this life he will be killed by the inquisitor demons and plunged deep into hell. In future life he will toil in illness, and his suffering will be difficult to describe. Thus, it is impossible but to keep the written words of the canons in secret, and if one is not able to use them as treasure, this will be an offence on behalf of both [the master and the student]. Therefore, being a master of someone, one should watch carefully not to be light-minded. If the receiving student is not benevolent, the offence will spread on all.

This is one of the numerous examples of gruesome imprecations that are frequently seen in the Lingbao tradition. I have chosen a relatively moderate version, but it is common to see in such texts curses directed at those who handle the scriptures improperly with threats to punish the offender and up to seven generations of his relatives.[205] From these examples, we see that the emphasis on the continuous transmission of scriptures in the Lingbao tradition goes side-by-side with the emphasis on the secrecy of this transmission, which also appears to be true for the kingly consultations in the *Yi Zhou shu*. The resulting tension between the concealment from outsiders and the sharing with initiated is more than a curious peculiarity of these two groups of texts. In fact, such a tension lies at the heart of all secretive textual

205 LP#21, 2b. Cf. Seidel (1983, 333–35). Such curses are reminiscent of those involved in the sealing of covenants during the Spring and Autumn era, however, I am not sure that there is necessarily a genealogical relationship between the two (Lewis 1990, 46; Weld 1997).

traditions.[206] However, if the kingly consultations indeed represent some secretive textual traditions, they do not seem to contain any teaching that would compare with the Lingbao in esoteric attractiveness. The concerns of the kingly consultations are pronouncedly earthly and lacking in transcendent ambition, and this combination of earthly concerns with the employment of secretive tools of textual transmission appears surprising and necessitating an explanation.

Despite the declarative secrecy of the kingly consultations, the fact that we can access and read them testifies to the limits of this secrecy. Besides, traditional accounts related to the *Yi Zhou shu* do not preserve any evidence regarding the secret character of the kingly consultations, which is why I had to "excavate" this secrecy relying on philological methods. Arguably, this secrecy had already become irrelevant by the time the *Zhou shu* was first put together into a heterogeneous collection combining kingly consultations with materials of different nature. This might have happened by the first-second centuries AD, when the *Zhou shu* appears in the "Yiwen zhi" chapter of the *Han shu*, even though the *Zhou shu* of that time might have differed in certain ways from the received *Yi Zhou shu*. In other words, the kingly consultations are very much an "open secret" from as early as we can trace them. However, if we think of secrecy not only as a means to withhold information but also as a way to increase its attractiveness, then, paradoxically as it may seem, the forgotten secrecy of the kingly consultations may be the most convincing testimony of the success of their secretive project. Such transitions from secrecy and restricted use contexts to publicity are in fact well attested in other secretive and esoteric textual traditions. Moreover, it appears that the connection to the royal court setting that distinguishes the kingly consultations from

206 Concerning the dangers related to the violation of interdictions concerning the transmission or reception of scriptures, see Bokenkamp (1986).

China's later esoteric traditions, such as the Lingbao, also parallels the developments in other cultures where secretive textual traditions also bear the birth-mark of the royal ritual.

4.6 The socio-political environment of secretive textual traditions

I believe that the initial use contexts as well as the early evolution of the kingly consultations can be elucidated if we follow the general patterns of development of secretive textual traditions in those cultures where more evidence is preserved. In particular, I focus on the mediaeval Indian Buddhism and mediaeval Japan whose esoteric traditions have been studied recently by Ronald Davidson and Mark Teeuwen.

Davidson was the first to explain the development of secretive textual traditions by the influence of a changing socio-political environment. He realised that the conspicuous overlap between the vocabulary of initiation ritual of esoteric Buddhism and Indian kingship was not merely a coincidence but a phenomenon well worth investigating. He refused to interpret it through the lens of the ancient Vedic tradition which he found anachronistic and irrelevant for the explanation of the developments in mediaeval Buddhism. In Davidson's opinion, esoteric Buddhism is a product of the rapidly evolving environment of early mediaeval India where, among other factors, political centralisation gave way to the rise of smaller and more bellicose centres of power, while the trade guilds that had sponsored Buddhist communities for centuries lost their influence. It was in this increasingly competitive socio-political environment that secretive traditions within Buddhism emerged, modelling their initiation rituals on the royal enthronement ceremonies and creating a new type of secretive teachings where the adepts were endowed with the esoteric powers of overlords (*rājādhirāja*) or universal rulers (*cakravartins*) that they would employ to bring order to their “domains”.[207]

207 Davidson (2002, 113–68).

Mark Teeuwen, in part inspired by Davidson's research, uses a similar perspective to study the emergence and spread of secretive traditions in early mediaeval Japan. However, unlike mediaeval India where the study of early esoteric traditions is complicated by the lack of factual material regarding the specific socio-political circumstances, in the Japanese case more circumstantial evidence is preserved, which allows Teeuwen to trace the development of secretive authoritative scriptures with regard to their time of creation, the use, as well as the reasons for their establishment. Teeuwen accepts Davidson's idea that the emergence of such texts is prompted by a politically competitive environment, but the individual cases of political competition that he studies are specific and detailed, which makes his argument appear more down-to-earth than Davidson's schematic reconstruction.[208]

Building on the work of Japanese scholars, Teeuwen remarks that secretive textual lineages only become widespread in Japan in the eleventh-twelfth centuries. Among the different secretive lineages of the time he selects an exceptionally well-documented case of "secret-making as a means of securing a position of power"[209] where the conception and development of a secretive tradition can be followed in much detail using the evidence from mediaeval court diaries. His focus is the so-called *sokui kanjō* 即位灌頂 ("enthronement unction") ritual as monopolised by the aristocratic lineage of Nijō 二条 who occupied an authoritative hereditary position of imperial regents (*kanpaku* 関白). I shall summarise Teeuwen's case studies in the following paragraphs.[210]

At the outset of the institution of regency, the connection between the regent and the emperor was based on kinship as the regent was the emperor's father-in-law. Later the office of regents was monopolised by one lineage and became hereditary, but at the same time the lin-

208 Teeuwen (2006a).
209 Teeuwen (2006a, 177).
210 Teeuwen (2006a, 175–81, 189–94).

eage of regents was no longer the sole provider of the imperial consorts. As a result the regents had to find a new way to substantiate their legitimacy, one of which was to claim that they possessed exclusive knowledge (recorded in texts) regarding the conduction of an important imperial rite of *shinzen no gi* 神膳の儀 (“divine offerings”) that was performed on the occasion of *daijōe* 大嘗会 (“Great Tasting”),[211] a ceremony that accompanied the first harvest received during the new emperor's reign. As the newly-ascended emperors were often very young, the role of the ritual guide was obviously very important. Besides, a new conceptualisation of the relationship between the emperor and the regent was put forward by the monk Jien 慈円 (1155-1225), himself a son of a regent, mentioning the ancient pact between Amaterasu, the founder of the imperial family, and Ame no Koyane 天児屋根, the ancestor of the regents' lineage.

Such was the order of things until the time of Regent Nijō Morotada 二条師忠 (1254-1341) who could not claim legitimate possession of the *shinzen no gi* ritual because of a conflict that his father had with his grandfather as a result of which the lineage split and the coveted secret knowledge was inherited by a rival branch of the family, the Ichijō 一条. Morotada solved the problem jointly with his monastic brother Dōgen 道玄 (1237-1304) by creating a new empowering ritual of *sokui kanjō*, apparently based on a creative interpretation of the authoritative teachings of Jien. This new ritual involved a *mudra* (a ritual gesture) and a *mantra* that were conveyed to the new emperor several days before his ascension to the throne. This ritual was first performed in 1288 during the ascension of Emperor Fushimi 伏見天皇 (1287-1298) and it helped Morotada to confirm the authority of his Nijō lineage. As Teeuwen summarises it, “the Nijō realised that their loss of the secrets of the *shinzen no gi* represented a real problem, and they solved it by establishing the *sokui kanjō* in its stead”.[212]

211 It is perhaps not a coincidence that the *Yi Zhou shu* contains a chapter “Chang mai” that describes a similar ritual of the tasting of wheat in the setting of the Western Zhou court.

212 Teeuwen (2006a, 179).

Another insightful example provided by Teeuwen is that of an ascension ritual developed by the monk Dōjun 道順 (?-1321), who as a companion of the retired Emperor Go-Uda 後宇多 (1267-1324, r. 1274-1287) was closely involved in political disturbances of the time. During his visit to the Outer Shrine at Ise 伊勢 some time in 1318-1321, Dōjun gave an esoteric explanation of the rite of dragon-fox (*shinko no hō* 辰孤の法) that was performed there daily by shrine maids during the presentation of divine food. Dōjun suggested that this rite was in fact the pre-Buddhist enthronement ritual that belongs to the emperors as descendants of the Grand Deity of Ise (Amaterasu). When Amaterasu appeared in the world the second time as Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 (posthumous name of Kūkai 空海 [774-835], the founder of the Shingon 真言 school of Buddhism) he gave a detailed interpretation of this very method as "the method of ruling the four seas" (*shikai ryōshō no hō* 四海領掌の法), which was used thereafter to initiate the emperors during their enthronement. According to Teeuwen, this *shikai ryōshō no hō* is nothing else than the *sokui kanjō*, the ascension ritual invented by Nijō Morotada several decades before Dōjun's visit to Ise. Having identified the rite practised by the shrine maids at Ise with the *sokui kanjō* ritual, Dōjun created a hybrid version by combining elements of both that became known as *sokui hō* 即位法 ("enthronement method"), which he immediately "transmitted" to an acquaintance while still at Ise. In fact, this new enthronement method proliferated so quickly in the Buddhist communities that already by 1327 an unknown provincial monk of the Ritsu 律宗 school advertised it as "a method for all to attain 'high positions', whether monk or layman", alongside some other *sokui hō* method that he also possessed.[213]

The case studies provided by Teeuwen are very useful for our understanding of the development of secretive textual lineages in ancient China. First of all, they present an illuminating

213 Teeuwen (2006a, 196).

parallel to the ways in which the ownership of secret textual knowledge becomes a powerful tool in the contestation of authority in politically competitive environments.[214] This enables us to look at certain ancient Chinese texts from a new angle, viewing them not just as artefacts of the slowly evolving debate between competing intellectual traditions,[215] but as weapons employed in political battles that could decide the fate of powerful lineages. And we know well that the political landscape of the Eastern Zhou China (771-221 BC) did not lack competitiveness and experienced a strong deficit of legitimacy. The lineages of the regional rulers (the *zhuhou* 諸侯) contested power with the Zhou king and with one another,[216] aristocratic lineages contested power within the courts of individual polities.[217] Finally, members of the emergent literate elites, such as we see in the traditional account of Confucius' biography in the *Shiji*,[218] attempted to negotiate a higher position in the social hierarchy by claiming access to indispensable knowledge and competence. Secret textual lineages could emerge from any of these political tensions, and we might never know the circumstances of the invention of the first secretive kingly consultation. What the comparative insight from the works of Teeuwen and Davidson tells us, though, is that the socio-political environment of the time was prepared to accept and proliferate this invention.

When re-approaching the kingly consultations with Teeuwen's case studies in mind, some of their puzzling properties become easy to explain. The quick proliferation of the variant versions of the enthronement ritual within decades after the initial invention allows us to give a sensible interpretation of the partially overlapping and partially contradictory knowledge

214 Cf. Seidel's discussion of the "Daoist" initiation rites as modelled after the kingly ritual (Seidel 1983, 308–9).
215 This perspective has been developed with impressive consistency by A.C. Graham (1989).
216 One indication of the growing ambitions of regional ruling lineages is the usurpation of the title of "king" (*wang* 王) by the regional rulers, pioneered by King Wu of Chu 楚武王 (741-690) and adopted by the rulers of all major polities towards the end of the fourth century BC. The usurpation of the elements of royal ritual, most certainly accompanied by the borrowing of relevant texts, started much earlier.
217 A classic example is the state of Jin 晉, which was divided between the aristocratic lineages of Zhao 趙, Wei 魏 and Han 韓, formally acknowledge by the Zhou king in 403 BC.
218 *Shiji* (1959, 1905–1948).

frameworks of the different kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* that I have discussed in Chapter 3. Against the backdrop of the competing versions of the *sokui no hō* ritual, they can be interpreted not as artefacts of some oddly undisciplined "school of thought" but rather as products of competing secretive lineages claiming ownership of the divergent empowering texts pronounced to different Western Zhou kings on different occasions while always following the uniform authoritative compositional pattern.

Likewise, the concurrent existence of the "Grand Duke" 太公 kingly consultations in the *Liu tao* 六韜 and the "Duke of Zhou" 周公 kingly consultations in the *Yi Zhou shu* that are similarly structured and partially overlap in contents becomes easy to explain within the same interpretative framework of competing secretive lineages of empowering texts.

Another insightful point is the quick transition of the newly-invented secretive enthronement method from the court environment to the community of Buddhist practitioners that elaborated this method in new versions as their *shōgyō* 聖教 ("sacred teachings") so as to use it as a valuable object of exchange with monastic and lay parties. The universal attractiveness of royal empowerment (also demonstrated in Davidson's work) might explain the continuity and attractiveness of the kingly consultations in the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Liu tao* among the non-royal audiences of pre-imperial China. The uptake of the enthronement ritual by Buddhist communities and the elaboration of its new versions within these communities also suggest that the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations might only have a mediated relationship with the court. While the textual type of kingly consultations bears the imprint of the court environment, many – if not all – of the received texts of this type might have been composed without any intention to impart them to real rulers.

Finally, Teeuwen shows convincingly that the explicit calls for secrecy and the frightening imprecations aimed at those who disclose the secrets to the unworthy should not be read as

if such attitudes would be expected in all possible performative contexts from the contemporary audience. The willingness to exchange secretive texts in mediaeval Japan and sometimes even their open publishing show that such imprecations were not always taken at face value.[219] Teeuwen's observations are confirmed by the quick dissemination, unauthorised copying and blatant forgery that accompanied the earliest stages of the formation of the Shangqing corpus, as demonstrated by Strickmann. Conventionally one might think of secretive texts as something that is being preserved in secrecy, and this is of course correct. However, it is clear that secretive texts play a number of other functions, such as consolidation of communities, promotion of authority, dissemination of knowledge and acquisition of wealth. Frequently these “other” functions of secretive texts would undermine the principle of secrecy itself.

Of course, the explanatory framework developed by Davidson and Teeuwen applies not only to the *Yi Zhou shu*. In fact, the idea of the political competition as the driving force behind secretive traditions accords very well with the accounts of the emergence of the Shangqing and Lingbao traditions by Strickmann and Bokenkamp, and future research may reveal more connections between the political developments and the formation of scriptural traditions in Southeast China in the fourth century AD.[220]

4.7 Esoteric textual lineages of pre-imperial China

The main reason why I had to draw so heavily on comparative evidence, both from later periods of China's own history and from other regions, is because the available sources are surprisingly silent on the significance and applications of the secret knowledge preserved in

219 Teeuwen (2006b, 1–2; 2006a, 194).

220 The secretive knowledge of the kingly consultations may be related to the increasing claims of scholars-officials unwilling to act merely as subjects of their rulers, as discussed by Mark Edward Lewis (1999, 63–73). However, the narrow secretive lineages that, in my opinion, might have backed the kingly consultations during their formative period do not seem to be part of Lewis' framework, and identifying them with a particular social or administrative stratum of early China is difficult.

the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*. It is true that citations in ancient texts related to the *Yi Zhou shu* are few, but one could expect there to be more evidence on secretive textual lineages preserving authoritative empowering texts. So far I have not seen any. However, the internal evidence preserved in the structure and the recurring vocabulary of kingly consultations is too consistent to be ignored. Were it not for the emphasis on secrecy that becomes so clear once read against the early mediaeval esoteric scriptures, the idea of reading the kingly consultations as secretive texts would have never come to my mind. Indeed, Sinologists are used to think of the pre-imperial textual landscape as being dominated by textual lineages that compete only in persuasion. The exercises in textuality undertaken within such lineages have one universal goal of creating an argumentative system that would overcome similar systems of the opponents.[221]

In this connection, I find it relevant to turn to the "Wu wang jian zuo" 武王踐阼 ("When King Wu ascended the throne") chapter of the *Da Dai liji* 大戴禮記 (*Ritual Records of Dai the Elder*), which I shall also discuss in Chapter 5. I believe that this text is crucially important for the understanding of the secretive textual lineages in pre-imperial China and the reasons of decline of the secretive traditions represented in kingly consultations. Unlike the *Yi Zhou shu* and similar to the *Liu tao*, the protagonist of the "Wu wang jian zuo" is the Grand Duke and not the Duke of Zhou. "Wu wang jian zuo" opens a path for esoteric textual authority by presenting a Cinnabar Writ (*chi shu* 赤書), allegedly transmitted to the Grand Duke from the Yellow Thearch (Huang di 黃帝), as a solution to the problems that King Wu is unable to resolve by other means. Both the Cinnabar Writ and the Yellow Thearch are commonplace in the later "Daoism", but similarities do not end here. The rite of esoteric textual transmission that the Grand Duke forces King Wu to follow finds correspondencies

221 An example of a very good systematic study of ancient Chinese texts dominated by this perspective is Graham (1989).

in early mediaeval “Daoism”. Even the choreographic detail of the master-student interaction presented in “Wu wang jian zuo” finds close parallels in a Lingbao scripture. Compare the following passages from the “Wu wang jian zuo” and the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶赤書玉訣妙經 (*Lingbao Scripture of the Jade Instruction on the Cinnabar Writ*):[222]

> 王下堂，南面而立。師尚父曰：先王之道不北面！王行西，折而南，東面而立。
>
> The King descended into the hall and stood facing the south. Instructor Shangfu said: “[When presenting] the method of past kings, one does not face north!” [Then] the king walked to the west, and, having turned and walked to the south, he stood facing the east.”
>
> 道曰：子受靈寶大戒，當起北向，首體投地，禮於十方，東向伏聽十戒。
>
> The Dao said: when you receive the great precepts of the numinous treasure, you should first stand facing north then prostrate putting your head and limbs to the ground, venerate the ten cardinal points and then face east respectfully listening to the ten precepts.

Finally, the “eighteen articles”, that is to say, the household objects, clothes and weapons that, following the received revelation, King Wu inscribes with disappointingly banal statements make little sense as “philosophical argument”: “Being at ease, you must dwell in reverence” (*anle bi jing* 安樂必敬); “Do not do what you might regret” (*wu xing kehui* 無行可悔); “When seeing what is in front of you, think of what is behind you” (*jian er qian, lü er hou* 見爾前，慮爾後) et cetera.[223] Arguably, they appear more meaningful when treated as precursors of magical talismans known from the “Daoist” practice, which also originate in esoteric revelation.[224] In other words, the arsenal of esoteric methods characteristic of the “Daoist” religion in the “Wu wang jian zuo” is so complete that today's scholarship would long have recognised its connection to “Daoism” were it not for the unfortunate fact that it has been preserved in a “Confucian” collection, the *Da Dai liji*. If the looted manuscripts of the

222 Huang Huaixin, Kong Deli, and Zhou Haisheng (2005, 644); LP#2, 2b.
223 Huang Huaixin, Kong Deli, and Zhou Haisheng (2005, 653, 654, 657).
224 Despeux (2000).

Shanghai museum collection are authentic and if their dating is indeed close to the archaeologically excavated Guodian 郭店 manuscripts,[225] then all these features had already developed in China by the third century BC, a fact that might prompt some pages in the history of early "Daoism" to be rewritten.[226]

However, what interests me in the first place is not the history of esoteric religious practices, but the way "Wu wang jian zuo" subverts the pre-existing model of authoritative empowering texts. The semblance of its opening part to the opening passages of kingly consultations is not accidental, nor is the spectacular humiliation of King Wu in face of a source of superior authority, the Cinnabar Writ. The model of kingly consultations is followed here with much accuracy – only to deprive it of all its authority and reveal its miserable weakness when confronted with super-human textual knowledge. In this regard, the subversion of "Wu wang jian zuo" is typical of reforming systems of scriptural (especially religious) authority when they move beyond old boundaries and introduce new sources of revelation. The Buddhist traditions are perhaps particularly rich in such transitions, providing multiple examples of texts focused on the spectacular subversion of previous authoritative systems.[227]

What we can deduce from the subversive intention of the "Wu wang jian zuo" is that the model that it challenges indeed possessed a significant degree of authority that had to be defeated by demonstrating the inferiority of kingly knowledge and the ritualised humiliation of King Wu. Whoever stood behind the "Wu wan jian zuo" programme of textual revelation

225 Regarding the possible relationship between the Shanghai museum manuscripts and the Guodian corpus, see Meyer (2012, 5–6, fn.7).

226 Cf. Seidel (1983); Benn (2008). Benn provides a good summary of the existing views regarding the origin of the "Daoist" textual transmission ritual: "Taoist ordinations, the liturgies of investiture practiced in the late Nan-pei ch'ao and the early T'ang periods, originated in the rites for conferring registers of the Celestial Master movement and the rites for transmitting texts among the alchemical, occult, and contemplative schools during the second, third, and fourth centuries A.D." (Benn 1991, 97).

227 In his study of Tantric Buddhism, Wedemeyer (2013, 81–82) gives an example from the *Mahāvairocana Tantra*, an influential text whose narrative "serves further to decenter and provincialize Śākyuamuni, who is here cast as a disciple of other buddhas". Perhaps more relevant to my present discussion are the traditional Tibetan accounts where "the king is forced by Guru Rimpoch'e's great power to prostrate to the lama", mentioned by Samuel in his study of Tibetan Buddhism (Samuel 1993, 35).

was likely aware of the existence of the authoritative kingly consultations and eager to supersede them with new teachings. Judging from the complete absence of the Western Zhou kings in later esoteric traditions, this plan worked successfully. However, it also shows that before the transition point marked by “Wu wang jian zuo” other ideas about authoritative empowering texts might have been prevalent.

4.8 Conclusion: decline of secrecy

The gradual tendency toward unification and canonisation of scriptures might have also played a role in the decline of kingly consultations as secretive teachings and their re-appropriation in the role of para-canonical writings. The initial stages of the canon formation in pre-imperial and early imperial China remain poorly understood, but it is clear that we can no longer see it as a story of a loss and subsequent recovery of an already established canonical corpus that had remained largely intact since the time of Confucius.[228] The criteria that were applied to decide whether a particular text should be included in the canon or instead preserved in a para-canonical collection are obscure. At least, a comparative overview of the contents of the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu* reveals that this work was done with imperfect philological consistency.[229] However, one of the results of unification and canonisation of scriptures was the introduction of a single authoritative corpus of scriptures supported by the state, which did not leave any room for secret textual traditions, at least those who would have an ambition to compete with the state-supported corpus in authority. These developments might be seen as a facet of political centralisation: with the decline of a politically competitive environment, the original *raison d'être* of secretive textual traditions also evaporated. Nevertheless, the exclusion of secretive scriptures from the area of political competition did not necessarily mean their complete disappearance from other domains.

228 Nylan (2009).
229 Grebnev (2016).

Perhaps the esoteric practices of the “men of techniques” (*fangshi* 方士) can be seen as a “safe abode” in which the secretive lineages perpetuated at the time when the increasingly centralised social order precluded their political application.[230]

This decline of secrecy of the traditions attested in the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* can perhaps be compared with the wearing out of secretive textual traditions in Japan during the Tokugawa shogunate (1603-1868). Teeuwen provides a concise overview of these changes: “Across the intellectual field, secret teachings lost much of their prestige and authority in this new setting. Texts that in the mediaeval period had been transmitted within closed lineages were now made available to the public by way of the printing press. Oral transmissions were held up against newly compiled collections of canonical works, and rejected as 'frauds of a later age' when they failed to satisfy strict criteria of scriptural orthodoxy and philological hermeneutics. Whereas earlier, all that was 'secret' had been associated with profound truth and superior powers, the word now quite suddenly became a synonym for 'fake'.”[231]

230 For a critique of the conventional distinction between the “elite” and “popular” culture and the neglect of the *fangshi* as belonging to the latter and therefore insignificant in the analysis of the mainstream textual traditions, see Campany (1996, 162–67).

231 Teeuwen (2006b, 9).

The coinage of this paper money is authenticated with as much form and ceremony as if it were actually of pure gold and silver ...

Marco Polo, The Travels of Marco Polo
(translated by William Marsden)

Chapter 5

Treasure texts of ancient China: towards the understanding of a forgotten textual practice

Chapter contents

5.1 Summary

In this chapter, I offer a reconstruction of the practice of “treasure texts” in ancient China which has never been studied as a single phenomenon despite the significant amount of textual evidence. I suggest that the emergence of treasure texts might have been influenced by “detachment” of texts on ritual bronzes and their copying onto lightweight perishable media, which lifted the material-imposed restrictions on their circulation. Treasure texts seem to have been an authoritative and influential form of knowledge transmission during the War-

ring States 戰國 (475-221 BC) period, and after that they had a great impact on the tradition of revealed texts in traditional Chinese religions. Thus, the phenomenon of treasure texts allows us to trace an important continuity between ancient China's characteristic practice of ritual bronzes and early mediaeval religious texts.

I am aware that, in the studies of mediaeval Chinese religions, treasure texts are an important and well-known phenomenon.[232] However, scholars focusing on mediaeval religions usually do not acknowledge the existence of this practice in pre-imperial China. The specific connections between authoritative revelations of the middle ages and the textual practices of antiquity remain obscure, and usually they are traced to the mythical writs *he tu* 河圖 (Yellow River Chart) and *luo shu* 洛書 (Writ of the Luo River) purportedly revealed to Yu the Great 大禹, the impenetrable corpus of the fragmentary remains of the *chen-wei* 讖緯 apocrypha that flourished around the first century BC, and the story-telling narrative about the text in a precious casket in the "Gu ming" 顧命 ("Testamentary charge") chapter of the *Shang shu*.[233] Such obscure accounts, of course, provide no concrete evidence of communities with an interest in textual revelation in antiquity, and the resulting lack of specificity allows some scholars to conclude that it was only during the early middle ages that "scripture, and its increased importance marked the evolution of Taoism from an oral to a written tradition".[234] In other words, lacking convincing evidence from earlier periods, the authoritative revealed texts are regarded as early imperial or even early mediaeval innovation that paved the way for the emergence of religious traditions. Contrary to such opinions, I argue that, around the fifth-third centuries BC, there was already a sophisticated practice of treasure texts understood as sources of authoritative knowledge. However, in order to notice this

232 For recent studies of early mediaeval authoritative religious texts with a precious material dimension, see Xie Shiwei 謝世維 (2010); Filonov (2011).
233 Cf. Tsai (2006); Kohn (2008).
234 Robinet (2008).

practice it is necessary to give up the conventional expectations regarding the textuality of the period informed by later traditions. Ancient treasure texts have no connection with the "Daoist" writings, alchemical practices and, during their early stage, mythical figures. Instead, they originate from the domain of ancestral ritual, are attributed to the sage kings of the Western Zhou, and it was only at a later stage that they developed into full-fledged esoteric traditions. This statement is in line with what Anna Seidel has argued in her insightful discussion of the Han-dynasty court precedents of "Daoist" rites, but now it appears possible to trace the origin of some specifically textual practices of early mediaeval esoteric communities to an even earlier period.[235]

My inquiry into the phenomenon of treasure texts is not restricted to the texts with explicit mentions of precious materiality. I find it fruitful to think of treasure texts as characterised by a set of properties, among which I also identify provenance from an authoritative source, connection to a ritual setting and prescribed reverential attitude. It is not necessary for a text to possess all the properties to be related to the practice of treasure texts, however, the last property, prescribed reverential attitude, is crucial because without it the text cannot be viewed as a "treasure" any longer.

I think of treasure texts primarily as a practice, that is to say, a set of ideas related to textual production and performance that informed the composition and perception of textual material. At the same time, I consider it possible to refer to such texts that were produced and performed according to this practice as treasure texts. However, it was the ancient followers of this practice that identified whether a particular text should be treated as a treasure text. Even though it is sometimes possible to identify features within texts that would testify to

235 Seidel (1983).

their relationship to this practice, I imagine that often treasure texts would only appear as such in the eyes of their audience.

5.2 Texts with ambitious claims

Chapter "Chang mai" 嘗麥 ("Tasting of wheat") of the *Yi Zhou shu* depicts a court assembly presided by King Cheng of Zhou 周成王 (ca. late 11th century BC). The insightful description of the ceremonial procedures in "Chang mai" is not unique and it reminds of other well-known texts, such as the "Gu ming" chapter of the *Shang shu* that also contains elaborate descriptions of royal ceremonies.[236] However, one detail makes "Chang mai" particularly noteworthy. Towards the end of the text, once we have "witnessed" all the ceremonies and "heard" all the orders received by officials of various ranks, the text suddenly becomes self-descriptive and tells us how it was preserved – as a material object – in the royal treasury:

> 太史乃藏之盟府，以為歲典。
>
> Then the Grand Scribe stored it [the record of the ceremony] in the covenant treasury as a year tablet.

In this short passage, we see how the speeches produced at the court ceremony are rendered into a written text which is then deposited into the treasury for covenants[237] and elevated to the status of a regularly venerated "year tablet".[238] Remarkably, we learn not only that the text assumed a material dimension – which, as I shall demonstrate below, is not rare in pre-

236 On this text, see Meyer (2016). Takano Yoshihiro 高野義弘 has recently demonstrated that "Chang mai" has important structural parallels with Western Zhou 西周 (ca. mid. 11th century – 771 BC) epigraphic texts on ritual bronzes and therefore should not be discarded as a "dubious" text of a later age (Takano 2011). Much of "Chang mai" is narrative describing ceremonial procedures, which sets it apart typologically from most of the *Shang shu* chapters and the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*.

237 For a systematic survey of the fifth century BC excavated covenants from Houma 侯馬 and Wenxian 温縣, see Weld (1997). For a useful discussion of covenants as envisioned in the later literary tradition of the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (*The Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals*), see Dobson (1968). See also Lewis (1990, 43–50).

238 I was not able to identify what *suidian* 歲典 means by surveying the available sources. Based on the connotations of the *sui* 歲 as the agricultural year and the overall ritual context of "Chang mai", it is conceivable that *suidian* could refer to a particular kind of textual artefacts used in regular ceremonies related to the completion or the start of the year.

imperial (before 221 BC) texts – but we also become aware of its exact storage location and functional status. And while most ancient Chinese texts usually leave it to the reader to identify the degree of their authority, here no such freedom is given: the "Chang mai" declares its high authoritative status unequivocally. This seems to be a remarkably ambitious text.

I have selected the passage from "Chang mai" not because it is the most representative of what I call treasure texts but rather because it contains the fullest assembly of semantic elements that can be used in the study of this forgotten textual practice.[239] "Chang mai" is explicit about its function as a vehicle of knowledge transmission from an authoritative source (court ceremony of a sage king of the early Western Zhou), its form as a material object (precious medium stored in the treasury), the prescribed attitude (preserving as a treasure) and its relationship with the recurring court ritual (intended for yearly performance). I attempt to demonstrate that these elements – although seldom in such a full set – are shared by a relatively large number of texts and that many core chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* might be related to this practice.[240]

Although much of the evidence that we have about treasure texts comes from self-reflective passages in texts, such as the one cited above, external evidence is also available. Here is an entry for the character *dian* 典, the last character in the "Chang mai" passage, from Xu

239 By calling "treasure texts" a forgotten practice I want to make an emphasis on the need to examine their implied contexts and to demonstrate that this phenomenon allows us to trace inter-textual relationships that would otherwise remain unnoticed.

240 My classification of treasure texts that allows for partial inclusion of the characteristic features may appear as a token of poor thinking discipline. Nevertheless, we should not expect the textual practices of Chinese antiquity to obey to the rules of Aristotelian logic. I find Ronald Davidson's discussion of the elusive phenomenon of tantric Buddhism particularly insightful in this regard: "It should be clear from developments in cognitive science that polythetic category constructions (or analogous models) are the primary vehicle for human decision systems. Thus we should find a *set* of variables that both meets tests of the evidence and fits the historical context for the rise and development of tantric Buddhism. Polythetic categories … provide an interrelated web of parameters that serve in aggregate to define specific kinds of category. … The important contribution of polythetic category construction is that the presence or absence of a single variable does not defeat the inclusion of an item into the category" (Davidson 2002, 119). One influential study that Davidson refers to in support of his argument is Lakoff (1987).

Shen's 許慎 (ca. 58-147) *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (*Discussing the Script and Explaining the Graphs*):[241]

> 典：五帝之書也。从冊在丌上，尊閣之也。莊都說，典，大冊也。
>
> *Dian* 典 ("testaments"): are the writings of the Five Thearchs. From *ce* 冊 ("inscribed bamboo strips"), [positioned] on top of *ji* 丌 ("stand") – it is something that is deposited respectfully. Zhuang Du says: *dian* 典 are large *ce* 冊.

Xu Shen provides two alternative glosses, of which the second one is attributed to Zhuang Du 莊都. For my purposes, the first one is obviously more interesting. *Dian* 典 ("testaments") are understood here as writings originating from the legendary thearchs that require respectful treatment by putting them on top of a stand. Although there are different arrangements of the list of "Five Thearchs", it is not uncommon to include the mythical rulers Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 in this list. Having considered this, one recalls that "Yao dian" 堯典 and "Shun dian" 舜典 are the first two chapters in the "Archaic script" (*guwen* 古文) recension of the *Shang shu*.[242] Even though we have no evidence that these two chapters are the same *dian* that are mentioned by Xu Shen, as a working hypothesis I would like to suggest that Xu Shen and the composers of the *Shang shu* could have had a similar understanding of *dian* as venerable texts from foundational figures. This aligns well with the notion of treasure texts that I have attempted to deduce from the internal evidence of "Chang mai".

It will be imprudent to assume that Xu Shen's gloss can be indiscriminately applied to periods before the Western Han 西漢 (206 BC – 9 AD).[243] I try to show that many texts related

241 Xu Shen and Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1981, 200).

242 These chapters are regarded as parts of a single text in the philologically less problematic "Modern script" (*jin wen* 今文) recension of the *Shang shu*. For a recent study, see Kern (2015). For an overview of the questions surrounding the early stages of the textual transmission of the *Shang shu*, see Nylan (1995; 2001).

243 It appears that, in the early uses of *dian* 典 in oracle-bone inscriptions, the element that Xu Shen interprets as a stand used to be depicted as two hands respectfully holding an object. Although both these elements are related to the idea of reverential attitude, the difference suggests that Xu Shen's interpretation has an element of later "folk etymology" and cannot be applied to the entire period of antiquity.

to the practice of treasure texts, despite having precursors in real treasured objects with inscribed or encast texts, are relatively late creations. Paradoxically, their self-reflective mentioning of specific material media on which they were purportedly cast or inscribed testifies that they have been detached from those media, and perhaps never attached to them at all. Thus, in my treatment of treasure texts, I am distinguishing between the earlier practice of material text-bearing objects from prestigious kingly contexts (such as epigraphic bronze texts and covenants preserved in treasuries)[244] and the later practice of retrospective treasure texts, usuallyonly with an imagined material dimension. There could have been a historical link between these two practices as some treasure texts might have been produced by means of detachment from their initial material media. However, such detachment creates texts of a distinct type – Csikszenthmihalyi calls them "literary inscriptions"[245] – that are no longer tied to a specific material carrier and ritual setting and that can be copied and disseminated without restraints. That is why it is justified to study the received treasure texts, no matter how reminiscent they may appear to epigraphic texts, not as artefacts of court ritual but as products of manuscript culture. These are two very different environments of textual production and consumption: while the court and the temple could have only provided limited access to text-bearing objects preserved in single copies, manuscript culture potentially can disseminate texts much more broadly in lasting textual communities.

244 The conceptual relatedness of precious texts and precious material artefacts is well-attested in other cultures (see fn. 293), and I believe that we should not over-emphasise the difference between epigraphic and non-epigraphic reflections in the retrospective accounts in treasure texts. Perhaps what matters above all is the ascribed provenance of a textual artefact from the objects in royal possession.

245 Csikszentmihalyi (2005). While I agree with Csikszenthmihalyi's argumentation, the notion of "treasure texts" that I put forward in this chapter is different from his "literary inscriptions" in some important respects. First, I do not consider the literary inscriptions that have non-ritual setting (such as Zizhang's 子張 inscribing of Confucius' words on his sash). Second, my understanding of treasure texts includes texts that do not have an explicit material dimension but are nevertheless presented as textual artefacts necessitating a special reverential attitude. Therefore, while there is a significant overlap between Csikszenthmihalyi's literary inscriptions and my treasure texts, not all treasure texts are literary inscriptions, and not all literary inscriptions are treasure texts.

5.3 The imagined material dimension of treasure texts

Precious covenants often refer to themselves as possessing a valuable material dimension. It can be either a precious material medium on which they are cast or inscribed (metal or jade) or a precious container in which they are stored (usually metal caskets). Chapter “Da ju” 大聚 (“Great assembly”) of the *Yi Zhou shu* is a treatise on a subject that we might tentatively identify as political economy; in the opening, it is styled as a speech pronounced by the Duke of Zhou 周公 but its final passage is a self-reflective account of how the text was cast in bronze and deposited in the treasury:

> 乃召昆吾，冶而銘之金版，藏府而朔之。
>
> Then [the king] summoned Kunwu[246] to forge and cast [the text] in a metal tablet. It was stored in the treasury and [used for] the new-moon [ritual].

It is remarkable how much importance is attached here to the material dimension of the text and how strongly the precious quality of this materiality is emphasised. As readers, we do not know who recorded the purported speech of the Duke of Zhou, but we are told the name of the person responsible for the casting of the text in bronze, Kunwu. This detail gives us an idea of how much more significant the creation of a material artefact was deemed to be as opposed to the recording of a speech in writing. In fact, the necessary intermediate stage of writing down is simply ignored as though the text materialised only when cast in a bronze tablet.[247]

246 Kunwu is the name of a lineage that is mentioned in relation with events of the the legendary Xia 夏 and historical Shang 商 (ca. 13th – mid. 11th century BC) dynasties; for some reason, this name also became tightly affiliated with the trade of bronze-casting.

247 The interest in the material circumstances of the acquisition of authoritative texts reflected in self-referential passages is not a specifically Chinese phenomenon. Fredrik Hagen (2013) offers examples of ancient Egyptian texts that refer to themselves as having been found among or copied from “ancient writings”, as well as instances of the so-called “find-notes” that describe the “historical” circumstances of the purported discovery of the funerary, mathematical and medical texts that they accompany. The find-notes usually mention specific historical figures who made the discovery, and some of them, such as Hordedef, historically a son of King Khufu of the Fourth Dynasty, reoccur multiple times in different find-notes. I am grateful to Richard Parkinson for having brought Hagen's work to my attention.

Like the “Chang mai”, the creation of a material artefact in the “Da ju” is not the ultimate goal, but an important step to create a precious artefact for ritual use. If my reading of these two texts is correct, then both “Chang mai” and “Da ju” are produced in order to be used in regular calendrical rituals, and during the intervals they are carefully preserved as treasure objects in a storage location that is presumably not easily accessible.

My interpretation of these two texts seems to be confirmed by a passage from chapter “The Way of Humility” (“Xu dao” 虛道) of the *Balanced Discourses* (*Zhong lun* 中論) by Xu Gan 徐幹 (170-217) who describes idealised ways of textual production and performance at the courts of past kings:[248]

> 先王之禮，左史記事，右史記言，師瞽誦詩，庶僚箴誨，器用載銘，筵席書戒，月考其為，歲會其行，所以自供正也。
>
> As for the ritual order of the kings of the past, the Left Scribe would record the affairs, the Right Scribe would record the words, the blind men charged with instruction would recite the *Songs*, numerous officials would edify with homilies. They would use material objects to put epigraphic texts on. On bigger and smaller sitting mats they would inscribe admonitions. Every month they would inspect their deeds and every year they would publicly discuss their behaviour. That is how they provided themselves with means of rectification.

It is interesting that this passage mentions epigraphic texts and inscriptions on non-lasting objects side-by-side with the monthly and yearly self-examination procedures as elements of the same idealised system of continuous text-based self-rectification practised by the ancient kings. The link between admonitions for rulers, materialised texts and recurring ritual is perhaps not obvious for a modern reader, but in Xu Gan's model they are components of the same system. I think that this model can be fruitfully applied to the analysis of treasure texts.

248 *Xu Gan Zhong lun*, 16b–17a. For a study and a translation of Xu Gan's work, see Makeham (1994; 2002).

5.4 The imagined ritual setting of treasure texts

The above-mentioned chapters “Chang mai” and “Da ju” of the *Yi Zhou shu* have provided two interesting examples of treasure texts that were apparently made to be used in regular calendrical ritual. However, there are more examples of ritual uses of treasure texts. Chapter “Wu jing” 武儆 (“Alarming of King Wu”) of the *Yi Zhou shu*, despite its apparently imperfect condition, is a rewarding object of analysis in this regard:

> 惟十有二祀四月，王告夢，丙辰，出金枝[249]郊寶開和[250]紬[251]書，命詔周公旦，立後嗣，屬小子誦，文及寶典。
>
> It was in the twelfth ritual cycle, in the fourth month. The king reported of a dream. On day *bing-chen* (53/60) were taken out: the metal branches, a treasure for the *jiao* [sacrifice], the writings on silk concerning induction and harmonisation. [The king] ordered to summon Duke of Zhou Dan in order to establish the heir, admonish the lesser one in the succession line, Song [future King Cheng], and to accomplish a treasured testament in writing.

If I am not completely misreading this difficult passage, it is remarkable for providing a rich picture of a succession ritual that is focused on treasure texts. Having received an initial impetus in a dream, the king first orders to extract a set of treasured objects, among which at least some can be considered treasure texts. Then he summons the Duke of Zhou who is given the charge to instruct the successor, which apparently results in the production of a

249 It is possible to accept an alternative reading proposed by Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848-1908) who suggests that character *zhi* 枝 (“branch”) stands for *ban* 板 (“plank”) that was miswritten as a result of a visual error (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 485). If this emendation is accepted, then *jin ban* 金板 (or 金版) should be read as “metal tablets”. Unlike “metal branches”, “metal tablets” are attested in the corpus of ancient texts, apparently being a familiar type of imaginary materialisation of treasure texts.

250 The compound *kaihe* 開和 that I tentatively translate as “induction and harmonisation” occurs in chapter 27 “Da kai Wu” 大開武 (“The great induction of King Wu”) of the *Yi Zhou shu:*

> 維王其明用開和之言，言孰敢不格?
>
> If you, O king, intelligently use the words of induction and harmonisation, will there be anyone [who] dares to be unrectified in his words?

251 Following Zhu Junsheng 朱駿聲 (1788-1858), I have emended *xi* 細 (“minute, thin”) as *chou* 紬 (“silk fabric”). I find this emendation justified given the visual similarity of the two characters and relatively infrequent use of *chou* 紬 (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 485) that could have led to its replacement with a more frequent character by a copyist.

new treasure text, namely “Wu jing” itself which is referred to as a “precious testament” (*bao dian* 寶典).

It appears that similar use of treasure texts in the context of succession ritual is recorded in the chapter “Gu ming” of the *Shang shu.* In the elaborate description of the post-mortem ritual, the text provides a list of precious objects, some of which can be identified as treasure texts:

> 陳寶：赤刀、大訓、弘璧、琬琰在西序，大玉、夷玉、天球、河圖在東序，胤之舞衣、大貝、鼖鼓在西房，兌之戈、和之弓、垂之竹矢在東房。
>
> [The officers] arranged the treasures:
> The cinnabar [sacrificial jade] knife, the **Great Instruction**, the great [jade] *bi* disk, the rounded-top [*gui* sceptre], and the pointed-top [*gui* sceptre] – in the space along the western wall [facing east];
> The great jades, the jades from the Yi tribes in the north-east, the large round-shaped Heaven jades, together with the **Yellow River Chart** – in the space along the east wall [facing west];
> The Yin dancing garments, the large tortoise shell, and the large drum – in the western room;
> The dagger-axe of Dui, the bow of He, the bamboo arrows of Chui – in the eastern room.[252]

If this rendering is correct, then two objects in the list of treasures that were laid on display on the occasion of the death of King Cheng and ascension of his son King Kang 康王 (ca. late 11th – early 10th century BC) can be identified as treasure texts, namely, the mysterious *Da xun* 大訓 or *The Great Instruction* (the received tradition does not provide any convincing ideas about what it might have been) and the much better-known *he tu*, one of the best known cosmological schemas from early China. The use of treasure texts as it is reported in “Wu jing” and “Gu ming” is quite unconventional and it can be said that these objects should be interpreted as treasures of some other sort. However, when we combine the evidence of “Wu jing” and “Gu ming”, it becomes more difficult to disregard the “odd” use of writing in these two texts as irrelevant and accidental. It seems that composers of both

252 I have borrowed the translation by Dirk Meyer (2016), with minor adaptations.

pieces envisioned treasure texts as important artefacts of the imaginary perfect ritual order of the early Western Zhou kings.

On the surface, the calendrical ritual mentioned in the “Chang mai” and “Da ju” appears to be different from the succession ceremony represented in the “Wu jing” and “Gu ming”. However, the royal succession ceremony in the latter two texts can be viewed as an instance of a recurring ritual that takes place at the specific moments of royal death and appointment of a successor. In this light, all the four pieces mention treasure texts used in periodic ritual ceremonies.

5.5 Treasure texts without materiality: prescribed reverential attitude

I have given several examples of treasure texts that are presented as precious objects preserved in specially designated places. Such a presentation probably serves to inform the reader about the prescribed attitude of care and reverence towards the material embodiment of treasure texts. Although the material dimension of such texts is of imaginary nature, the reader may be given the impression that he is dealing with a precious entity and, as a result, the reverence towards the imagined material object shifts to the text itself. Arguably, the whole imagined material setting was created in order to confer respect and authority to the messages embodied in these texts. For this reason, I consider it justified to broaden the scope of my analysis and to examine some texts ascribed to foundational figures that do not mention imagined material objects but that still contain an explicit call for a reverential attitude towards the textual message. There are several texts of this kind in what I identify as core chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*. Here is a typical example from chapter “Feng bao” 酆保 (“Safeguarding at Feng”):

> 嗚呼！深念之哉！重維之哉！不深乃權不重，從權乃慰，不從乃潰，潰不可復。戒後人！復戒後人！其用汝謀。王曰：允哉。
>
> [The Duke of Zhou said:] *Wuhu*! Contemplate on it thoroughly! Repetitively think about it! If [you do not contemplate on it] thoroughly, then the balance will not be held in esteem. If you act according to the balance, you shall be comforted. If you do not observe [the balance], you shall collapse, and if you collapse[253], you cannot be restored.
> Admonish the posterity, admonish the posterity so that they use your deliberations![254]
>
> The king said: "Truly so!"

The following example is from chapter "Bao dian" 寶典 ("Precious testament") of the *Yi Zhou shu*:

> 王拜曰：格而言 … 維子孫之謀，寶以為常。
>
> The king bowed and said: True are your words!.. As for the plans for sons and grandsons, [they should] treasure them and make them a constant [rule].

A similar prescription can also be found in an untitled text from the Tsinghua manuscript collection that is conventionally referred to as "*Bao xun" 保訓 ("Precious instruction").[255] Here is its closing passage that incorporates the formulaic conclusion that is virtually identical with the pattern that I have discussed in Chapter 2:

> 今汝祗服毋懈，其有所迪矣，不及爾身受大命。敬哉！毋淫！日不足，惟宿不羸。
>
> Now, you should reverently obey and you should not be idle. Even though it (you?) has advanced somewhat, it has not yet led to your personal receiving of the great mandate. Be reverent, do not be lascivious! The days are not sufficient, and the nights are not lasting!

253 Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717-1796) emends the character *du* 瀆 with *kui* 潰, which links it better with the previous sentence (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 210). I follow this emendation in my translation.

254 I omit the character *fu* 復 ("to revert, to restore") in the translation, agreeing with Lu Wenchao that it is most likely an interpolation from the preceding passage *bu cong nai kui, kui bu ke fu* 不從乃潰，潰不可復 (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 211). However, I do not find it justified to remove with it the following three characters *jie hou ren* 戒後人: even though this repetition does not seem to add any new information to the text, the reduplicate use of such exclamations is not exceptional.

255 For an analysis of the composition of "*Bao xun" and its use of heterogeneous textual techniques, see Krijgsman (forthcoming).

I think that the calls for reverential attitude towards the textual message, like in the examples provided above, and the depiction of a precious material artefact in which a text is embodied are two manifestations of the same compositional concern: a text that portrays itself as a precious object calls for reverential treatment of its message, while a text with an explicit call to the reader to be vigilant and careful about its message achieves the same goal by a more direct means. Both compositional tools are used to prescribe respectful attitude towards the message embedded in text.

It may seem that explicit calls for reverential attitude quoted above are typologically comparable to the well-known *guci* 嘏辭 ("gratulatory words") in bronze texts where the posterity is charged with the task to cherish and use the bronze object for generations to follow, such as in the widespread formula: *qi wan nian zizi sunsun yong bao yong* 其萬年子子孫孫永寶用 ("may one, for ten thousand years, through the generations of his sons and grandsons, eternally use [the vessel being cast] as a treasure").[256] Even though I would not deny the possibility of such a relationship, I believe that there is a distinctive feature that clearly differentiates treasure texts from bronze texts. Such expressions as *jing zhi zai* 敬之哉 ("be reverent towards it!"), *nian zhi zai* 念之哉 ("ponder upon it!"), *jie zhi zai* 戒之哉 ("be admonished in it!") that occur particularly often in the *Yi Zhou shu* are notably different from the *guci* formulas. These expressions urge the audience immediately with a strong imperative tone whereas in the *guci* formulas sons and grandsons only act as passive mediators witnessing the fulfilment of the commitment of the person who sponsors the casting of the bronze; *guci* formulas make no direct appeal to the audience whose role is limited to observation and compliance. Finally, the *guci* formulas in bronze texts are clearly focused on the bronze objects, and not on the textual admonitions presented on these bronzes, whereas in treasure

256 See von Falkenhausen (1993, 151–52). For an early comprehensive study of formulaic patterns in *guci* formulas, see Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒 (1936).

texts the prescribed attitude of cherishing and reverence is ultimately directed at the textual message itself.

5.6 Possible precursors of treasure texts in Western Zhou bronzes

It is perhaps counter-intuitive that, upon a closer inspection, the *guci* formulas in Western Zhou bronze texts with their stress on respectful attitude towards bronze artefacts fail to “bridge” the traditions of bronze texts and treasure texts. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the corpus of Western Zhou bronze texts does not have any examples of textual elements that can be seen as precursors to the phenomenon of treasure texts. Two wine vessels known as “Shu Quan Fu” *you* 叔䟫父卣 (*Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng* #5428) provide a non-typical example of an early bronze text with an unexpectedly personal admonition that builds on the stock formulaic vocabulary also seen in other texts. These vessels were excavated in 1978 from a Western Zhou tomb located at Xizhangcun 西張村 village, Dongzhang township 東張鄉, Yuanshi county 元氏縣 in the vicinity of Shijiazhuang, the capital of Hebei province and are currently preserved at the Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics. Each of the two *you* vessels contains identical inscriptions on the lids and bottoms. The tomb from which they were excavated also contained a *zun* 尊 wine vessel that is reported to bear the same inscription, although it has not been published due to poor state of preservation.[257]

> 弔（叔）䟫父曰：余考（老）不克御事，唯女（汝）倏㭬（其）敬辥乃身，
> 母（毋）尚（常）爲小子，余蜺（貺）爲女（汝）丝（茲）小㭻（鬱）彝，
> 女（汝）㭬 （其）用卿（饗）乃辟軝医（侯）逆𡨦（覆）出入事（使）
> 人，烏虖（呼），倏敬𢦏（哉），丝（茲）小彝妹吹見，余唯用諆（其）
> 䜌女（汝）。

257 For the initial archaeological report, see Hebei sheng wenwu guanlichu (1979). Here and below, I use transcriptions, rubbings and images from the electronic database *Shang-Zhou jinwen ziliao tongjian* 商周金文資料通鑑 (*Comprehensive collection of bronze text materials from Shang and Zhou eras*) v. 2.0 from January 2013 that I acquired from Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽; an earlier version of this database underlies Wu's 35-volume *Shang-Zhou qintgongqi mingwen ji tuxiang jicheng* 商周青銅器銘文暨圖像集成 (*Anthology of bronze epigraphy and images from Shang and Zhou eras*) (Wu Zhenfeng 2012).

> Shu Quanfu said: I am old and not able to attend to affairs. You, Tiao, should reverently look after yourself! You should not constantly be a little son. I present to you this small wine vessel. May you use it to feast your lord, Marquis Qi in meeting and returning, and in executing the charges of the people. *Wuhu*! Tiao, be reverent! As the flavour and aroma from this small vessel appear, I shall be using it to offer you to drink!

Illustration 1: One of the "Shu Quan Fu" you *vessels*

This reading is not certain in several places. In particular, my rendering of *wei chui* 妹吹 as "flavour and aroma" informed by the characters *wei* 味 ("taste") and *chui* 炊 ("to cook") attested in much later texts is speculative and possibly anachronistic, but thus far I have not found other readings more convincing.[258] And perhaps my rendering of this unique text is too overtly emotional. However, even if I have misunderstood the problematic passage and misplaced the accents, it is clear that the text is composed in an imperative mode that is gen-

258 Cf. Li Xueqin 李學勤 and Tang Yunming 唐雲明 (1979); Yang Wenshan 楊文山 (2007); Dan Yuchen 單育辰 (2013).

erally uncommon for the Western Zhou bronze text tradition. The focus is on an individual for whom the bronzes are cast and not on the ritual ceremonies in which they are to be used, which is remarkably atypical. Nonetheless, despite its peculiarities this text still adheres to the basic conventions of Western Zhou bronze texts. Unlike the self-referential passages from received texts cited above, there is no emphasis on the textual message; the text is designed to be a complementary element of the ritual vessels and not to transmit a message independent of material carriers.

Illustration 2: Rubbing from the text on the lid of the "Shu Quan Fu" you vessel portrayed on Illustration 1

Even though “Shu Quan Fu” *you* bronze text is not a treasure text itself, it provides many hints concerning the possible origins of that practice. Accompaniment of a bronze vessel with a text designed as a personal testament written in imperative mode suggests that there could have been a richer tradition of individual testamentary charges tied to material artefacts. Detachment of such texts from their material carriers, replication in multiple copies and release into the domain of manuscript culture could have been one of the sources of the practice of treasure texts.

5.7 Square-shaped wine container from the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan: an instance of a materialised treasure text

The Warring States 戰國 (475-221 BC) period is characterised by a decline in the number of ritual bronzes with long and informative texts, although impressive bronzes still continued to be produced.[259] The findings from the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan 中山王譽 (d. ca 313 BC) constitute a remarkable exception. The archaeological context of these findings and the distinct material characteristics of the subset of inscribed[260] bronzes cast during the fourteenth year of King Cuo have been thoroughly analysed in Wu Xiaolong's 吳霄龍 doctoral dissertation and I shall not discuss them here in much detail.[261] Instead, I shall concentrate on the inscription on the wine vessel known as “Zhongshan wang Cuo” *fang hu* 中山王譽方壺 (Square-shaped wine container *hu* of King Cuo of Zhongshan; *Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng* #9735), which, as I shall argue, can be viewed not only as a ritual vessel accompa-

259 For an overview of Eastern Zhou 東周 (770-221 BC) developments in the bronze texts tradition, see Mattos (1997). For a discussion of archaeological developments that reflect changes in religious practices during the Eastern Zhou, see von Falkenhausen (1994).

260 Texts were incised on these vessels, and not cast together with the bronzes as was the predominant practice during the Western Zhou. For this reason, Zhongshan bronze texts may be justifiably called “bronze inscriptions”, while a more neutral term “bronze texts” is preferable when referring to texts on early vessels, such as the above-mentioned “Shu Quan Fu” *you*.

261 Wu Xiaolong (2004).

nied with a text but also as a treasure text embedded into a precious material medium. This vessel, along with other artefacts from the same burial complex, was excavated in 1974-1978 in Pingshan 平山 county of Hebei province and is currently preserved at the Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics.

Illustration 3: "Zhongshan wang Cuo" fang hu

As observed by Wu Xiaolong, “Zhongshan wang Cuo” *fang hu* was cast as a part of a set of luxurious objects that were produced after Zhonghsan's successful military campaign on Yan 燕 in 314 BC.[262] The vessels produced during this year are distinctively different from their modest predecessors, and the inscription on the “Zhongshan wang Cuo” *fang hu* explicitly mentions that the vessel was cast out of metal that was brought from Yan, which is corrobo-

262 Wu Xiaolong (2004, 45–55).

rated by the chemical analysis of these bronzes.[263] Wu Xiaolong suggests that the king of Zhongshan could have benefited not only from Yan's metal but also from Yan's artisans with their excellent metalwork craftsmanship.[264] Overall, the bronzes from the fourteenth year seem to have been cast in celebration of an event that made the king of Zhongshan appreciate his wealth and power in a new way, and bronzes with texts inscribed on their outer surfaces are one manifestation of this change in the king's self-appreciation. I fully agree with Wu Xiaolong when he remarks that "this particular vessel was probably made for the display of inscriptions".[265] Indeed, the ritual function appears to have been of only secondary importance for the creators of these ostentatious objects with inscribed texts placed on the vessels' outer surface and performed in a beautiful decorative calligraphic style. However, I cannot fully accept Wu Xiaolong's argumentation when he suggests that the three vessels with long inscriptions ("Zhongshan wang Cuo" *fang hu*, "Zhongshan wang Cuo" *ding* 中山王譽鼎 [The tripod *ding of* King Cuo of Zhongshan": *Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng* #2840] and "Zhongshan wang" *yuan hu* 中山王圓壺 [The round wine vessel *yuan hu* of King of Zhongshan; *Yin-Zhou jinwen jicheng* #9734]) should be viewed separately from the rest of the objects. Wu Xiaolong believes that the three vessels with long texts are charged with "public" political functions, which sets them apart from the rest of bronzes that are created merely as luxurious objects for personal use. In my view, the fact that these three vessels are incised with long texts does not necessarily make them less of a luxury item; in fact, if considered from the perspective of the treasure text culture, the placement of texts onto the bodies of these vessels could have made them even more significant treasure objects than their non-inscribed counterparts.

263 Wu Xiaolong (2004, 52).
264 Wu Xiaolong (2004, 52–54).
265 Wu Xiaolong (2004, 65).

I believe that this statement can be corroborated by the “Zhongshan wang Cuo” *fang hu* inscription. I do not quote the whole of this important text which is readily available in Wu Xiaolong's translation, in turn based on the M.A. dissertation of Constance Cook.[266] Instead, I focus on the closing passage which, in my opinion, provides the strongest evidence for the inscription's relationship with the practice of treasure texts:

> 於（烏）虖（呼），允（允）𢦏（哉）若言，明友（跋）之于壺，而旹（時）觀焉，𦘦𦘦（祗祗）翼卲（昭）告遂（後）嗣（嗣），隹（唯）逆生禍，隹（唯）𢚢（順）生福，𡩜（載）之𥱼（簡）𥬝（策），㠯（以）戒（誡）嗣（嗣）王，隹（唯）悳（德）𠋆（附）民，隹 （唯）宜（義）可張（長），子之子，孫之孫，其永保（保）用亡彊（疆）。
>
> *Wuhu*! Truly so!
>
> According to how it has been said, append it clearly onto a *hu*-vessel, and regularly look at it! Piously shield, illumine and inform the future successors! It is recalcitrance that engenders trouble, it is submission that engenders well-being.
>
> Put it onto bamboo strips in order to admonish the heir king! It is the *de*-virtue that attaches the people [to the ruler], it is the rightness that makes one able to grow.
>
> Let the sons of sons, and the grandsons of grandsons eternally treasure and use [it] without limits!

266 Cook (1980).

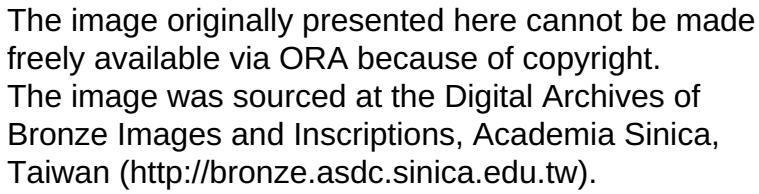

Illustration 4: Rubbing of one side of the "Zhongshan wang Cuo" fang hu *inscription with the closing passages of the text*

The outward similarity of this text to the *guci* formulas in earlier bronze texts fails to conceal the fundamentally different character of this inscription. It is no longer centred at the bronze itself, but rather at the "words" (*yan* 言) that constitute the textual message. The inscription is well aware that this message is rendered into a text independent of any particular material medium: even though it prescribes its materialization in the form of a bronze vessel, it also requests its embodiment in bamboo strips, which is a totally different material form, more susceptible of copying and unrestrained circulation. One may speculate whether the purpose of this bronze vessel was to ensure that the more accessible version on bamboo strips would be supported by the "gold standard" of a precious bronze vessel, but of course more evidence is necessary to test this supposition.

The well-developed reflectivity about the text's independent existence and its changeable materiality is not the sole feature that relates the “Zhongshan wang Cuo” *fang hu* inscription to treasure texts. Its concern about providing the king's descendants with right admonitions is reminiscent of the anxious tone of the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations. Indeed, the exclamation “Truly so!” (*yun zai* 允哉) and the recurring emphasis on the admonishing (*jie* 戒) of future successors (*hou si* 後嗣) are distinctive elements of the formulaic language in the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*. The “Zhongshan wang Cuo” *fang hu* inscription can be regarded as a continuation of the glorious Western Zhou tradition of bronze texts, and indeed it was definitely composed by the people who were aware of that tradition. However, its concerns are perhaps closer to a different tradition of material-independent treasure texts that are focused on the transmission of wisdom of the foundational figures of antiquity to future generations. Therefore, it may be possible to consider the “Zhongshan wang Cuo” *fang hu* inscription not only as an artefact of the ancient epigraphic tradition, but also as a product of a contemporary manuscript culture of North China in late fourth century BC, by which time the basic notions surrounding the phenomenon of treasure texts had already matured.

5.8 “Jin teng” and the power of treasure texts

The “Jin teng” 金縢 (“Metal-bound casket”) chapter of the *Shang shu* is the only example of a narrative with a well-crafted storyline in the authoritative canonical collection that predominantly consists of speeches by sage rulers.[267] The recently excavated counterpart of “Jin teng” in the Tsinghua manuscript collection and the reflective references to “Jin teng” in Han literature suggest that its inclusion in the *Shang shu* was not incidental and that it prob-

267 For an overview of the various types of texts with speeches in the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu*, see Grebnev (2016).

ably was an important text enjoying wider circulation.[268] I do not attempt to analyse here the whole of this text but rather concentrate on the elements that, to my mind, allow us to relate it to the practice of treasure texts.[269] The narrative of "Jin teng" provides a good example of how treasure texts should be used and appreciated.[270]

To quickly recapitulate the plot of "Jin teng", the story begins with a mention of the illness of King Wu of Zhou 周武王. Having learned about it, the Duke of Zhou performs a supplication to the ancestors in which he asks them to redirect their discontent from the king to himself. He orders a scribe to record his supplication, and after the ceremony is completed, he "then puts the bamboo strips [with the supplication] into the metal-bound casket" (*nai na ce yu jinteng zhi kui zhong* 乃納冊于金縢之匱中). After the death of King Wu his son King Cheng ascends to the throne and, having accepted the slanderous accusations from Guan Shu 管叔 (who is known in the tradition as the organiser of an anti-Zhou rebellion in the newly-conquered city of Shang where he was appointed as superintendent), dispels the Duke of Zhou and has him relocated to the East, despite his attempts at reconciliation. This unjustified dismissal of a loyal servant leads to a natural disaster in which the crops are beaten by unfavourable weather. Apparently, King Cheng takes this as a sign from Heaven and starts investigating the possible causes of the disaster. He discovers the recording of the Duke of Zhou's prayer and then "the king and his officials all put their ceremonial caps in order to open the writings in the metal-bound casket, and then they produce the supplication in which the Duke of Zhou put himself under threat in place of King Wu" (*wang yu dafu jin bian yi qi jinteng zhi shu, nai de Zhou gong suo zi yi wei gong dai Wu wang zhi shuo* 王與大

268 Cf. a discussion in the *Lunheng* 論衡 (*Balanced discourses*) by Wang Chong 王充 (27 – ca. 100), (18.9a-13b).

269 For an in-depth study of the recently acquired counterpart of the "Jin teng" on bamboo strips, see Stryjewska (2013); Meyer (2014). The arguments that I attempt to advance here stand for both the transmitted text and its recently acquired counterpart.

270 Krijgsman (forthcoming) discusses the strategies employed in the "Jin teng" to confer authority to the text and relates them to the similar strategies in the **Bao xun*.

夫盡弁以啓金縢之書，乃得周公所自以為功代武王之説). The king asks the assistants if it is true and, having received their confirmation, repents and acknowledges the Duke of Zhou's virtue. This leads to the restoration of favourable weather and the crops are miraculously healed.

In my opinion, the recording of the Duke of Zhou's prayer placed in the metal-bound casket can be regarded as a treasure text. Like some examples analysed above, it is written by a sage and is preserved in a restricted place as a treasure object. The discovery of this treasure text by King Cheng leads to his reconsideration of past mistakes, and so the text proves to be an effective tool to influence and rectify the king's behaviour. This rectification, in turn, leads to the restoration of the universal order.

The text placed in the metal-bound casket is perhaps the key element in the “Jin teng” narrative without which the rectification of King Cheng's behaviour would not have been possible. The text is presented here as a vehicle of powerful sagely wisdom capable of rectifying the rulers’ behaviour over generations. On the other hand, the ruler's ability to maintain the universal order is predicated upon his ability to access this textual wisdom. King Cheng's discovery of the text stored in a precious coffin is a fortunate event as, according to the “Jin teng” story, this text was not intended to be easily discovered and was most likely not intended for King Cheng's eyes. This brings us to the issue of secretive empowering texts discussed in the previous chapter. The partially concealed nature of the text in the metal casket matches the imagined material dimension of treasure texts discussed at the beginning of this chapter; like “Jin teng” in which King Cheng mends his ways having read the writing that he was not supposed to read, treasure texts are also inevitably re-contextualised when the readers become silent observers of the scenes of knowledge transmission between foundational figures. In the light of “Jin teng”, such texts should perhaps be seen as containers of

secretive knowledge that the reader is only able to peep at due to a fortunate turn of circumstances and perhaps as a reward for some moral achievements.

"Jin teng" can be understood as a model case of successful application of a treasure text whose exemplary character is further emphasised by the fact that both the Duke of Zhou who composes the text and King Cheng who reaps its benefits belong to the epoch of foundational sage rulers of the Western Zhou. If the treasure text could be so effective even when the sage rulers were separated from one another by only one generation, presumably it would be even more useful for the generations that are much farther away from their times. Therefore, "Jin teng" can be read not only as a memorable story with a well-developed plot, but also as an authoritative instruction concerning the due appreciation of treasure texts.

5.9 Use and appreciation of treasure texts

We have more information concerning the imagined idealised environment of production and use of treasure texts than we do concerning their real use and appreciation during the Warring States and early imperial China. However, the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 contain two passages concerning contemporary textual practices that, in my opinion, can shed some light at the status of treasure texts. I shall begin with a passage from the chapter "Jingshen xun" 精神訓 ("Quintessential spirit") of the *Huainanzi.* This passage is devoted to "people without attachments" who were able to discard universally accepted worldly goods for the sake of benefits of higher order:[271]

> 無累之人，不以天下為貴矣！上觀至人之論，深原道德之意，以下考世俗之行，乃足羞也。故通許由之意，《金縢》、《豹韜》廢矣；延陵季子不受吳國，而訟閒田者慚矣；子罕不利寶玉，而爭券契者媿矣；務光不汙於世，而貪利偷生者悶矣。故不觀大義者，不知生之不足貪也；不聞大言者，不知天下之不足利也。

> People without attachments do not hold in esteem All-under-heaven. When they contemplate the discourses of the perfected people on high, trace the meaning of

271 *Huainan honglie jie*, 7.9a. I borrow the translation from Major, Queen, and Meyer (2010, 254), with some modifications.

> the Way and its Potency in depth, and with this knowledge examine the customary practices of commoners below, they [find them] very shameful. For this reason, if one fully understands the ideas of Xu You, then the "Metal-bound casket" and the *Leopardskin Bow Case* may be discarded. Jizi of Yanling would not accept [the rulership of] the state of Wu, and [because of his influence] people who pursued land-boundary lawsuits became ashamed. Zihan was not interested in a precious jade, and [because of his influence] people who disputed contract obligations were abashed. Wu Guang was not corrupted by the attractions of his time, and those who strived for profit and tried to prolong their lives at all costs were [filled with] unease. For this reason, the one who does not observe the great rightness does not know that life is not worth striving for; the one who does not listen to great words does not know that All-under-heaven is not worthwhile.

My primary interest in this passage is Xu You 許由, a legendary sage who refused to accept the universal kingship from Thearch Yao, and the manner in which his way of living is contrasted with such texts as the "Jin teng" and *Bao tao* 豹韜 (*Leopardskin Bow Case*). I have already discussed the possible relationship of the "Jin teng" with treasure texts; as for the "Bao tao", a section with this name can be found presently in the *Liu tao* whose relationship with the *Yi Zhou shu* I have discussed briefly above. The textual history of the *Liu tao* is complicated and it is difficult to say to what extent the received "Bao tao" corresponds to the one referred to in the "Quintessential spirit". Nevertheless, it might be justified to assume that the basic characteristics of the text would be similar and that the text mentioned in the "Quintessential spirit" would also contain instructional dialogues attributed to the rulers of the foundational past.[272]

Clearly, the "Quintessential spirit" finds the rejection of the "Jin teng" and "Bao tao" admirable, but it is portrayed as an extraordinary deed, comparable to voluntary rejection of kingship or lack of interest in a precious jade. Certainly those who have attained the higher wisdom are able to indulge in such extraordinary actions, but the ordinary people (and even the ordinary rulers) will follow the established consensus and do the opposite: namely, value

272 For the concept of "foundational past", see Assmann (2011, 38).

the jade and accept profitable offers. In this view, scrutinising the "Jin teng" and "Bao tao" appears to be essential for monarchs or their advisers.

Chapter "Xu Wugui" 徐無鬼 from the "Outer chapters" of the *Zhuangzi* provides another example of juxtaposition of an admirable non-orthodox behaviour with a textual practice that can be tentatively related to treasure texts. In this chapter, Xu Wugui, having been invited by Nü Shang 女商 to speak to Marquis Wu of Wei 魏武侯 (395 - 370 BC), manages to please the Marquis and even to provoke his laughter by striking a funny parallel between people on the one hand, and dogs and horses on the other. Such extraordinary imagery amazes Nü Shang who contrasts it to his usual way of presenting argument to his ruler:[273]

> 吾所以說吾君者，橫說之則以詩、書、禮、樂，從說之則以金板六弢，奉事而大有功者不可為數，而吾君未嘗啓齒。
>
> As for the way in which I persuade my lord, when I expound something indirectly, then I do it with the *Songs*, the *Writings*, the *Ritual* and the *Music*, and when I persuade him upfront, then I do it with the *Six Bow Cases [Inscribed] on Metal Plates*. The occasions when I served [my lord in this way] and achieved great success are difficult to number, but my lord has never shown his teeth [in laughter].

In this passage, Nü Shang is portrayed as a follower of conventional textual practice that is being subverted by the original approach of Xu Wugui. It is interesting that this conventional practice is divided into two approaches, each suitable for a particular persuasive strategy. The contrast is drawn between the *Songs* (*Shi* 詩), the *Writings* (*Shu* 書), the *Ritual* (*Li* 禮) and the *Music* (*Yue* 樂) on the one side and the *Six Bow Cases [Inscribed] on Metal Plates* (*Jinban liu tao* 金板六弢) on the other. Unfortunately, we do not possess a text called *Jinban liu tao* today, but we have some evidence about what this text could have been. Firstly, the characters *tao* 弢 and *tao* 韜 could be used interchangeably which suggests that the *Jinban liu tao* was perhaps related to the *Liu tao* for which, as I have mentioned, we

273 *Nanhua zhenjing*, 8.21a.

have a transmitted version. Secondly, Lu Deming in his commentary to the above-cited "Xu Wugui" passage mentions that, according to Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. 306 AD) and Cui Zhuan 崔譔 (lived during the Eastern Jin 東晉 [317-420]), the *Jinban liu tao* is the name of *Zhou shu* 周書 chapter(s).[274] It is well-known that, during much of China's mediaeval history, *Zhou shu* was the conventional title of what is now known as the *Yi Zhou shu*, and it is tempting to take this passage as a testimony of a possible textual relationship between the *Jinban liu tao* and the *Yi Zhou shu*. Considering the relationship between the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Liu tao* that I have discussed in Chapter 2, the relatedness of the *Jinban liu tao* and the *Zhou shu* seems probable.

In fact, the recension of the *Liu tao* surveyed in the *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 (*Essential Extracts on Governance from Various Books*), which I have discussed in Chapter 2, contained a text with a self-referential note concerning its production on a precious material carrier. The text begins with a usual "summoning" scene in which King Wen 文王 calls the Grand Duke 太公, whom I have already discussed as the main protagonist of the texts in the *Liu tao*. The Grand Duke offers the king valuable advice regarding the appointment of people, which impresses the king profoundly:[275]

> 文王曰：善！請著之金板。於是文王所就而見者六人，所求而見者七十人，所呼而友者千人。
>
> King Wen said: "Excellent!" He demanded that it be inscribed on a metal plate. Thereafter, of such people that King Wen would [personally] approach [when he wished] to see them, there were six. Of such people that King Wen would send for [when he wished] to see them, there were seventy. Of such people that would assist him whenever he called them, there were a thousand.

This note's positioning at the end of the text makes it similar to the self-referential passages surveyed at the beginning of this chapter. Remarkably, this text is styled as a royal dialogue

274 See *Nanhua zhenjing*, 8.21a.
275 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 31.11b.

that is presented as Of course, the text cited in the *Qunshu zhiyao* may have no direct connection to the *Jinban liu tao* mentioned in the *Zhuangzi*, but it shows how a treasure text inscribed on a metal plate. Therefore, I find it justified to think of the *Six Bow Cases [Inscribed] on Metal Plates* mentioned by Nü Shang as also related to the practice of treasure texts.

In Nü Shang's view, the text with a precious material dimension is contrasted with the respectable traditions of the *Songs*, the *Writings*, the *Ritual* and the *Music* and is presented as an appropriate tool for bolder and more straightforward argumentation with the ruler. Knowing this, one can imagine why treasure texts could have been in demand in the court: claiming direct affiliation with the foundational figures and respectable status, they were a convenient tool for the subordinate officials at the moments when they needed to address their rulers from the position of immutability and authority.

Cai Yong's 蔡邕 (132-192) “Discourse on epigraphic texts” (“Ming lun” 銘論) is another important source of evidence concerning the appreciation of treasure texts in the Eastern Han 東漢 (25-220). Cai Yong bases his discussion on a quotation from the *Zuozhuan* which limits the possible varieties of epigraphic texts to three kinds: produced by the Son of Heaven, by hereditary rulers and by officials: “The Son of Heaven [uses them to] decree about virtue; hereditary rulers [use them to] speak about the timeliness and calculate their military achievements; officials [use them to] evaluate their military offensives” (*Tianzi ling de, zhuhou yan shi ji gong, daifu cheng fa* 天子令德，諸侯言時計功，大夫稱伐). This discussion provides much insight into Cai Yong's understanding of epigraphy:[276]

> 若黃帝有巾几之法，孔甲有盤盂之誡，殷湯有甘誓之勒，冕鼎有丕顯之銘。武王踐阼，咨于太師，作席几楹杖之銘，十有八章。周廟金人緘口以慎。
>
> <...>

276 *Cai Zhonglang ji*, 129.

呂尚作周太師，封于齊，其功銘于昆吾之冶，獲寶鼎于美陽。

<...>

物不朽者，莫不朽于金石故也。近世以來，咸銘之于碑。

Thus, the Yellow Thearch had the way of [putting inscriptions on] towels and tables,[277] Kong Jia had admonitions [inscribed] on washing basins and cups,[278] [King Cheng-]Tang of Yin had engravings of the harangue at Gan;[279] on ceremonial caps and bronze tripods [they] had epigraphic texts [celebrating] the splendour [of the kings]. When King Wu ascended the throne, he was consulted by the Great Instructor and made inscriptions on the sitting mats, tables, columns and staffs, [altogether] eighteen articles.[280] The bronze man in the Zhou temple cautioned [people] with a sealed mouth.[281]

<...>

[The Grand Duke] Lü Shang was the Grand Instructor of Zhou, [he] got enfeoffed at Qi, his achievements are cast in the metal forged by Kunwu. Precious bronzes were obtained at Meiyang.[282]

<...>

Among the non-perishable objects there is nothing better than bronze and stone. And since the recent times [such things] are all inscribed on [stone] stelae.

Cai Yong's examples of epigraphic texts are an extraordinary mixture of references to transmitted treasure texts, story-telling narratives about epigraphic texts and accounts of relatively recent (Western Han) antiquarian discoveries. For Cai Yong, there does not seem to be any significant difference between a text on a bronze vessel from Meiyang 美陽 discovered two centuries before him and a collection of received texts claiming to have been cast in

277 It is not clear which texts Cai Yong refers to here. Perhaps it is one of the unpreserved texts mentioned in the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 section of the *Han shu* 漢書, like the *Epigraphic Texts of the Yellow Thearch* (*Huangdi ming* 黃帝銘).

278 Kong Jia 孔甲 is one of the rulers of the legendary Xia dynasty. The text mentioned by Cai Yong most certainly refers to a book mentioned in the "Yiwen zhi", *Kong Jia's Texts on the Washing Basins and Cups* (*Kong Jia pan yu* 孔甲盤盂) which probably was a collection of material with attributes of treasure texts.

279 Chapter "Gan shi" 甘誓 in the received arrangement of the *Shang shu* belongs to the section "Xia shu" 夏書 ("The Writings of the Xia Dynasty"), and not of "Shang shu" 商書 ("The Writings of the Shang Dynasty") to which Cheng Tang is related. I am not aware of any other texts that would mention Cheng Tang's inscribing of his harangue on stone.

280 This passage refers to the contents of the chapter "Wu wang jian zuo" 武王踐阼 ("When King Wu ascended the throne") that I discuss below in this chapter and in chapter four.

281 The story of the bronze man is preserved in *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 (*Family Sayings of Confucius*). It has been examined by Mark Csikszentmihalyi (2005).

282 This is a mention of an antiquarian discovery that happened during the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (91-49 BC) (*Han shu* 1962, 1251).

bronze by the mythical Yellow Thearch. Where Cai Yong does make a distinction, though, is between epigraphic texts on bronzes and on stone. For him, the first are the relics of the past age, while the recent tradition of non-perishable texts has refocused on stone carvings.[283] This gives us an idea why explicit mentioning of materiality could be important for the readers of treasure texts during the Eastern Han: those who shared Cai Yong's ideas would likely perceive a text with claimed “bronze” origins as a venerable relic of the foundational era. Furthermore, such a claim would be important to eliminate doubts: inscribing or casting of a text onto a non-perishable material medium explains how the text could have survived from the foundational antiquity, even when that material medium only exists in the imagination of producers and consumers of these texts.

5.10 Towards transcendent sources of textual authority

The chapter “Wu wang jian zuo” from the *Da Dai liji* 大戴禮記 (*Ritual Records of Dai the Elder*) that Cai Yong mentions in his account and that I have briefly discussed in Chapter 4 is a curious textual artefact worth a closer examination. This chapter contains a narrative about the young king's meeting with the Grand Duke, here called Instructor Shangfu 師尚父, which is another way to refer to the Grand Duke in the traditional lore. The Duke's admonition profoundly impresses the king and moves him to create multiple short texts of rectifying nature on various objects that he would employ in everyday life. I shall not examine this peculiar text in detail.[284] However, the mechanics of textual authority in “Wu wang jian zuo” deserves attention:[285]

> 武王踐阼三日，召士大夫而問焉，曰：「惡有藏之約，行之行萬世，可以為子孫常者乎？」諸大夫對曰：「未得聞也！」然後召師尚父而問焉，曰：「昔黃帝顓頊之

283 K.E. Brashier (2009, 1031) observes that the transition was more complex as there was a significant gap between the decline of bronze texts and the rise of the tradition of commemorative stelae.

284 Mark Csikszenthmihalyi (2005, 232–34) also discusses “Wu wang jian zuo” in his study of literary inscriptions.

285 Huang Huaixin, Kong Deli, and Zhou Haisheng (2005, 639–44).

道存乎？意亦忽不可得見與？」師尚父曰：「在丹書，王欲聞之，則齊矣！」三日，王端冕，師尚父亦端冕，奉書而入，負屏而立。王下堂，南面而立。師尚父曰：「先王之道不北面！」王行西，折而南，東面而立。

On the third day after King Wu ascended the throne, he summoned his officials and inquired of them: “Is there an essential [writing] stored [in the treasury] that, if enacted, would work for ten thousand generations and would make sons and grandsons constant?”

All the officials replied: “We have not heard of it.”

Then [the king] summoned Instructor Shangfu and inquired of him, saying: “Does the method of the ancient Yellow Thearch and Zhuan Xu still exist? I reckon, it is also lost and no longer accessible?”

Instructor Shangfu replied: “It is in the Cinnabar Writ.[286] If the king wants to hear it, then [he] will need to fast!”

[Having fasted for] three days, the king put on the ceremonial clothes and cap. Instructor Shangfu also put on his ceremonial clothes and cap and, holding the writing in his hands, entered and stood with his back exposed to the screen wall. The king descended into the hall and stood facing the south. Instructor Shangfu said: “[When presenting] the method of past kings, one does not face north!” [Then] the king walked to the west, and, having turned and walked to the south, he stood facing the east.”

The scene of textual transmission presented in this text is fascinating. On the one hand, it does not break up with the tradition of sage rulers of the Western Zhou as the sources of textual authority. But on the other hand, it demonstrates the insufficiency of the conventional ways of textual transmission and human authority in general. The king asks his officials about the efficient wisdom that he desires to acquire – only to learn that there is nothing of the kind preserved in his treasury. This seems to undermine the earlier vision of treasure texts as artefacts coming from the wondrous treasuries of the Western Zhou sage rulers: now we know that these treasuries are deficient as there are some kinds of wisdom that even they do not contain. Still not willing to give up, King Wu turns to Instructor Shangfu who seems to have access to other, more authoritative sources of textual knowledge emanating from the Yellow Thearch. And Instructor Shangfu agrees to fulfil his will, demanding that the King

286 For a discussion of the Cinnabar Writ (*dan shu* 丹書) in the esoteric textual tradition and its relations with the Yellow River Chart and the Writ of the Luo River, see Seidel (1983, 299–302).

observe the purification ritual specifically prescribed for the transmission of such precious knowledge.[287] In this pivotal point, the text shifts from the domain of the legendary (Western Zhou sage rulers) towards the mythical, as the foundational figure of the Yellow Thearch belongs to the pre-dynastic, pre-historical past. This is the kind of an authoritative figure that one might turn to when seeking knowledge beyond the conventional "competence areas" of the Western Zhou sage rulers. Even though the *entourage* of the Western Zhou court is still visible in this text, it already belongs to a new domain of textual wisdom that turns to transcendent authority in order to acquire knowledge that conventional treasure texts do not provide.

The development outlined here is probably related to the gradual sophistication of the state religion during the Warring States and Western Han when the ancestral cult of the ruling house was complemented with the cult of the "Five Thearchs". These deities were personified recipients of sacrifices that, despite their human nature, did not share any affinity with the practitioners. Further sophistication of this cult led to the establishment of a new cult of Taiyi 太一 during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (157-87 BC) in which the Five Thearchs appeared only as subordinate deities.[288]

It was probably due to these developments that the applicability of treasure texts was extended to different discourses, freeing them from their affiliation with the legendary Western Zhou kings.[289] Chapter "Qi xue lun" 氣穴論 ("Discourse on Qi Holes") of the *Huangdi nei-*

287 Krijgsman (forthcoming) discusses this peculiar "rite of passage" and how "Wu wang jian zuo" reflects on textual transmission in his study of its four different received and excavated renditions. Concerning similar purification practices before textual transmission in early Daoism, see Bokenkamp (1983, 444); Seidel (1983, 323–25).

288 Bokenkamp (1983, 453) mentions the important split between the textual traditions of "historical" and "spiritual" Five Monarchs that is quite pronounced in Eastern Han apocrypha. For an overview of these developments and their significance for the religious textual traditions, see Raz (2004, 397–425).

289 Here I disagree with Anna Seidel who traces the roots of early Daoist scriptures to the Han imperial institutions (Seidel 1983). In fact, many elements used in these traditions had already become current during the Warring States.

jing: Suwen 黃帝內經·素問 (*The Inner Canon of the Yellow Thearch: Basic Questions*) is an example of a treasure text on a medical subject.[290] In this case, the text is not cast in bronze but its precious quality is still emphasised by its placement in a metal coffin:[291]

> 黃帝問曰：余聞氣穴三百六十五，以應一歲，未知其所，願卒聞之。岐伯稽首再拜對曰：窘乎哉問也。其非聖帝，孰能窮其道焉，因請溢意盡言其處。帝捧手逡巡而卻曰：夫子之開余道也，目未見其處，耳未聞其數，而目以明，耳以聰矣。岐伯曰：此所謂聖人易語，良馬易御也。帝曰：余非聖人之易語也，世言真數開人意，今余所訪問者真數，發蒙解惑，未足以論也。然余願聞夫子溢志盡言其處，令解其意，請藏之金匱，不敢復出。
>
> The Yellow Thearch inquired saying: “I have heard that there are 365 *qi* holes that correspond to [the number of days in] one year, but I do not know their locations. I would like to listen about it comprehensively.”
>
> Qi Bo bowed down to the earth and then, having bowed twice, answered, saying: “This is a difficult question, indeed! Of those who are not sage thearchs, is there anyone who could fully embrace the way of this [matter]? Therefore I ask [you] to exceed in your thinking and exhaust your words [to describe] the locations.”
>
> The Thearch folded his hands in a respectful gesture and, having stepped back politely, objected, saying: “Regarding your, Master, opening of the way to me, my eyes have not yet seen the locations and my ears have not yet heard the techniques, but my eyes are sharpened for it and my ears are tuned to it!”
>
> Qi Bo said: “This is what is called: 'A sage man is easy in conversation, a good horse is easy in handling!'”
>
> The Thearch said: “Mine is not an easy conversation of a sage man. People say that the natural techniques open up man's thinking. Now what I have come to inquire about are the natural techniques, [I have come to] illuminate my darkness and resolve my doubts; I am not yet ready to discuss [this matter]. So I would like to listen how you, Master, exceed in your knowledge and exhaust your words to make me understand its meaning. I ask to [let me] preserve it in a metal coffin, and I will not dare to extract it again.”

This is followed by a dialogue in which Qi Bo 岐伯 produces a detailed exposition of the 365 *qi* holes, which constitutes the focal point of the text. It is then followed by a return to the framing story where the Yellow Thearch fulfils his promise and puts the text into a metal coffin:

290 Concerning the relatedness of the medical and the political during the Eastern Han, see Espesset (2009, 1082).

291 *Chong guang buzhu Huangdi Neijing Suwen*, 15.3a–b.

> 帝乃辟左右而起再拜曰：今日發蒙解惑，藏之金匱，不敢復出，乃藏之金蘭之室，署曰氣穴所在。
>
> Then the Thearch dismissed his attendants and, having risen, bowed twice and said: “Today my darkness has been illuminated and my doubts resolved. I will preserve it in a metal coffin and I will not dare to extract it again.” Then he stored it in the Metal Orchid Chamber and [put] a sign saying: “The location of the *qi* holes”.

Even though the text itself apparently is not cast as a metal object, it is being treated as a treasure put into a precious metal container in turn preserved in the Metal Orchid Chamber. According to Paul Unschuld and Hermann Tessenow, the Orchid Chamber might be related to a location within the imperial palace; in particular, Orchid Terrace was “the place where in the Han era palaces the literature was stored”.[292] It is possible that the text was indeed influenced by the contemporary realities or, reversely, was part of the textual tradition that influenced the organisation of the imperial palace. No matter what the relationship is, the Metal Orchid Chamber is clearly an imagined locality whose function is to serve as a suitable storage location for a treasured text of high value that is not even supposed to be ever accessed again. Presumably the metal coffin and the Metal Orchid Chamber are employed in the “Qi xue lun” to make the reader fully appreciate the importance of the text as a source of foundational knowledge. In fact, the reader should feel privileged: while even the Yellow Thearch himself would not dare to look into the text again, this very text now appears before the reader's eyes!

5.11 Discussion

It is important to emphasise that the notion of “treasure texts” proposed in this chapter is synthetic and is inspired by, but not borrowed from, the ancient Chinese textual tradition. It is difficult to say whether such notion or such a term existed for the composers and readers of treasure texts throughout the surveyed period: if it did, then I was not able to identify it in

292 See Unschuld and Tessenow (2011, 2:58).

the received corpus. However, even though it is an analytical creation, it seems to be instrumentally useful as a device to examine texts that share some of the peculiar semantic elements that I identify as formal attributes of treasure texts. These elements include attribution of the text to a foundational figure, imagined material dimension, claimed relationship with the kingly ritual and prescribed reverential attitude towards the textual message. Of these elements, the last one appears to be of the greatest importance as it allows the text to be received in a special perceptive mode different from non-treasure texts, even authoritative ones. To my mind, it is this special perceptive mode that constitutes the *raison d'être* of the practice. Different compositional strategies can be employed to achieve the desired effect: the text can be presented as an artefact with an imagined precious material dimension or can contain an explicit call for reverential attitude towards its message. Such grouping of texts based on the prescribed attitude and expected mode of perception seems to go against the traditional criteria for classification of texts that would be based either on purported intellectual affiliation (the famous "schools of thought" paradigm) or on formal genres (ritualised poetry, speeches by sage rulers, philosophical treatises et cetera). It is possibly because of this inconsistency with widely acknowledged categorisation paradigms that treasure texts are now scattered in collections that fall under different labels of traditional classification.

The attitude towards the material embodiments of texts as precious objects is well-attested in other pre-modern textual traditions. In Roman Judaea, "religious power was enshrined within the physical object on which the divine teachings were inscribed" whereas in mediaeval England "together with sacred books and relics of the saints, documents came to be mixed in with cups, rings, wooden staffs, knives, and any other symbolic objects which retained the memory of past events".[293] The inscription on the "King Cuo of Zhongshan" ves-

293 See Clanchy (2012, 158); Goodman (1994, 100).

sel that I understand as an example of a reverse projection of the manuscript practice of treasure texts into epigraphy seems to have an interesting parallel in the so-called "Perovski tablet" that was found in the tomb of Padiamenope, who lived during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and preserved in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg. According to Hagen, the creation of this tablet was inspired by the "find-notes" that ascribed the provenance of texts to specific material artefacts on which they had purportedly been written: "[t]he creation of a mock copy of the legendary tablet acts as a physical allusion to the mythical origin of the BD [*Book of the Dead*] spells as detailed in the find-notes".[294] Therefore, the preoccupation with the imagined materiality of the text should not be seen as a specifically Chinese phenomenon. In fact, the connection between the text and its physical and imagined material form, which is manifest in treasure texts, can be discussed in the framework of the so-called "New Philology" that calls for a careful re-examination of the material media of texts, especially in manuscript studies. It is clear that, for some ancient Chinese materials, such inquiries into textual materiality cannot be restricted to bamboo strips, even if they were the sole medium on which the texts were composed and on which they circulated.

However, there is something peculiar about the phenomenon of treasure texts in ancient China where the preciousness of the imagined medium is brought to the forefront. This peculiarity was probably influenced by the monumental tradition of ritual bronzes with encast texts that did not have comparable counterparts in other parts of the ancient world. Having received the initial inspiration from the monumental bronzes, however, treasure texts reversed the relationship between the text and its medium: while in the early epigraphic tradition the text was an attribute of its material carrier, in the practice of treasure texts it is the material medium that becomes an attribute (and an optional one!) of the venerated text.

294 Hagen (2013, 206–8).

Clearly, this development should have been preceded by the "detachment" of texts from the material media that would allow the audience to treat them as separate entities. However obvious the notion of separate existence of texts and media may appear to us, in Western Zhou bronze texts it does not seem to have developed yet. The strong ritual connotations of the text-bearing bronzes, to which the Chinese treasure texts appear to be indebted, explains why they were used willingly by the later traditions as a vehicle of textual revelations. If the ritual bronzes are viewed as artefacts of a religious practice related to ancestral worship, then the treasure texts would also inherit the religious connotations, which may explain why they were treated with special respect.[295]

I end this survey at the point of transition into the rich tradition of treasure texts in early Chinese religions. The developments that I have outlined here, namely the shift of authoritative materiality into the domain of imagination and the introduction of transcendent sources of textual authority laid the ground for the efflorescence of treasure texts during the productive period of the formation of new religious traditions after the Eastern Han. And while the initial interest in revelations of sage Western Zhou rulers seems to have faded away, the textual forms developed within the practice of treasure texts had a profound impact on the structure of early religious scriptures, the ways they claim authority and the methods of textual transmission in ritualised settings.

295 In making this statement, I stick to Durkheim's (1915, 47) sociological understanding of religion as "a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things … which unite into one single moral community".

Conclusion

To conclude, I shall briefly review the important results of this study, as well as suggest further avenues of research.

Perhaps the most far-reaching outcome of these observations is that from a purely philological perspective there does not appear to be a category of *shu* 書 texts. What is conventionally referred to as the *shu* in scholarship in fact consists of several different textual types, which can be distinguished from one another if we pay close attention to their compositional structure and do not attempt to impose on them the conventional categories that possibly postdate their creation by many centuries. This observation does not only imply that the *Yi Zhou shu* should not be treated as a minor supplement to the *Shang shu*, but also that, in our philological scrutiny of both collections, we should give up using the labels *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu* altogether, unless we analyse these collections from text-historical perspective, in which case the use of such titles remains justified.

As I analyse the characteristic group of "non-dramatic" speeches in the *Yi Zhou shu*, I reveal that they, too, constitute a fairly variegated group. If there is a "core" to be revealed, it is relatively small, consisting of roughly a dozen chapters, depending on how strict one is in applying the criteria of formal philological proximity. The chapters that cohere most consistently to these criteria reveal a surprising degree of compositional homogeneity and reliance on peculiar repetitive formulas that are, in their complete assemblage, solely attested in the *Yi Zhou shu*. The identification of this characteristic textual type, which I term *kingly consultations*, is perhaps the main achievement of this thesis. It therefore becomes possible to see at the core of the collection not just a group of texts united by common themes or protagonists, but a unique textual type with its peculiar compositional structure and characteris-

tic patterned language. This language remains only partially intelligible, and in several instances the formulaic expressions are abbreviated and reduced to non-intelligible forms. I suggest that such a rudimentisation of repetitive formulas might have occurred as a result of a long period of ritualised performance before they eventually ossified in the *Yi Zhou shu*. Therefore it is possible to regard the kingly consultations not only as vehicles of knowledge transmission, but also as rudiments of an ancient ritualised practice.

The comparison with the Pāli canon makes it possible to suggest that our inability to "decipher" the numerical lists of the *Yi Zhou shu* mainly results from the incompleteness of the surviving texts, and not from our inability to solve the "puzzles" supposedly embedded in these texts. In the Pāli canon, not every single *sutta* with numerical lists is self-elucidating, however, by combining this *sutta* with other parts of the corpus it is usually possible to arrive at a sufficiently complete and lucid understanding of the numerical list in question. This is impossible for the *Yi Zhou shu*, where such missing parts have been lost irretrievably. Therefore, it is unreasonable to attempt to find the "key" to unlock the puzzles of these numerical lists; there is no code to break. This suggestion is corroborated by the presence in the *Yi Zhou shu* of variants of the same numerical lists with varying degrees of elaboration, some of which appear more obscure than others.

While it is commonly assumed that the textual forms used in revelation texts are an early mediaeval development, I argue that many important components of the later esoteric textual traditions might have already matured by the third century BC. Tracing the origins of "Daoist" practices in texts dealing with the Western Zhou kings is, in our discipline, non-conventional. The speeches that involve the Western Zhou kings and the Duke of Zhou are commonly treated as an a priori public, exoteric part of the ancient Chinese textual lore. However, the elucidating parallels from mediaeval India and Japan demonstrate that the ori-

gin of secretive textual lineages in the politically competitive public environment of the royal court is in fact a very plausible scenario.

The practice of treasure texts that I have outlined in Chapter 5 extends beyond the scope of the kingly consultations proper. However, it appears as a natural extension, considering that some of the most conspicuous evidence regarding this practice, apart from the *Shang shu*, comes from the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Liu tao*, the two collections where the kingly consultations are preserved. Applied to ancient Chinese sources, the analytical notion of treasure texts has a potential to allow us to trace continuity between epigraphic and received sources and to appreciate the material dimension that has been carefully embedded into many received texts.

6.1 Future research

One of the obvious paths of future research is a more systematic study of the related parts of the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Liu tao*, as well as a text-historical survey of the interaction between the three assemblages of texts: the *Yi Zhou shu*, the *Liu tao* and the "Zhou shu" 周書 section of the *Shang shu*. It appears that, instead of considering these three titles as independent textual collections from the earliest antiquity, it would be methodologically more justified to regard them as three different textual programmes, perhaps originating in the same shared pool of textual material. While "collection" is a mechanical assemblage of texts, "programme" implies continuous development, in the course of which the predominant patterns of the programme act as criteria for selection and filtering of textual material. I imagine that every textual programme in the course of its evolution leads to a higher degree of uniformity, as the texts that do not conform to the prevailing pattern are either homogenised or filtered out, which in turn leads to even higher consistency of the predominant patterns. One of the differences between the textual programmes of the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Liu tao* is the

choice of protagonists: the Duke of Zhou and the Grand Duke. However, this criterion cannot be applied to distinguish between the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu*, especially if one considers that the *Yi Zhou shu* contains portions of material that share characteristic compositional features of the *Shang shu*. The choice of thematic concerns may be another important distinction between the three textual programmes, although the manuscript finds of the *Liu tao* show that thematic concerns of its constituents might have been rather diverse before they were integrated into the programme of the *Liu tao*.

The development of the practice of treasure texts in pre-imperial China is another phenomenon that needs to be explored in more detail. A systematic assessment of the evidence related to treasure texts in the received texts juxtaposed with epigraphic and palaeographic evidence may reveal more important details than I have covered in my preliminary study in Chapter 5. The perspective of treasure texts opens a new path for the joint investigation of received and epigraphic texts, which until now have been studied primarily within their respective sub-disciplines. The inscription on the wine container “Zhongshan wang Cuo” *fang hu* 中山王譽方壺 is one example of such texts, which mentions explicitly that it has been produced for both manuscript and epigraphic use. It will be rewarding to attempt to reveal the impact of the conceptual developments in manuscript culture on the epigraphic practices during the Warring States period and, conversely, the specific influences of the conceptual “detachment” of epigraphic texts on the proliferation of treasure texts in manuscript form.

Appendix. Preliminary translations of select chapters

“Zhou shu xu” 周書序 (“Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings”)

“Sequential outline of the Zhou Writings” is positioned at the end of the collection and is often considered to be one of its chapters. Nevertheless, its compositional position clearly sets it apart from the rest. It provides an overview of the chronological sequence and contents of the individual chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*. While some chapters indeed contain information to position them on the time scale, other chapters completely lack it, and it is only because of the “Sequential outline” that there exists a possibility to assign a relationship between a text and a particular historical figure, usually from among the sage rulers of the early Western Zhou.

The simplistic understanding of the “Sequential outline” as a summary that was composed after the *Yi Zhou shu* had already been compiled in its present form collapses upon a closer examination of the text. The different structural patterns used in the descriptions of individual chapters and the systematic positioning of *lacunae* demonstrate that the “Sequential outline” is a result of gradual accretion. Therefore, the “Sequential outline” preserves valuable evidence regarding the stages of formation of the received arrangement of the *Yi Zhou shu*, and understanding this text is crucial for the understanding of the collection as a whole.

In the following table, I indicate the chapter numbers as they appear in the received text (no numbers are mentioned in the text of the “Sequential outline”). I also highlight the compositional patterns of individual descriptions:

- A are the descriptions of the prevailing type, where an individual actor is mentioned at the very beginning and the name of the chapter appears at the end;
- B are the diverging descriptions, most often where the individual actor is substituted with a collective entity or no actor is mentioned at all;

- C are the characteristic descriptions of the last three chapters that follow their own pattern, which is strikingly different from the rest of the “Sequential outline”.

No.	Type	Text and translation
1	B	昔在文王，商紂並立，困于虐政，將弘道以弼無道，作度訓。 In past, when King Wen and [King] Zhou of Shang reigned simultaneously, [King Wen] was perplexed by the tyrannical governance. [He] used the broad *dao* to make up for the lack of the *dao*. Thus was composed the chapter “Instruction on measures”.
2	B	殷人作教，民不知極，將明道極，以移其俗，作命訓。 As the people of Yin carried out instruction, the common folk were not aware of the extremities. [King Wen] elucidated the extremities of the *dao* in order to alter their customs. Thus was composed the chapter “Instruction on the mandate”.
3	A	紂作淫亂，民散無性習常，文王惠和化服之，作常訓。 [King] Zhou [of Shang] indulged in extravagant debauchery. The common folk were dispersed and lost the capacity to exercise their regular [activities]. King Wen in a charitable way persuaded them to mend their ways. Thus was composed the chapter “Instruction on constancy”.
4	B	上失其道，民散無紀，西伯修仁，明恥示教，作文酌。 As the ruler lost his *dao* and the common folk dispersed in disorder, the Earl of the West [King Wen] refined himself in humaneness. He elucidated the [norms of] shame and made manifest the instruction. Thus was composed the chapter “Pondering on cultivation”.
5	B	上失其道，民失其業，□□凶年，作糴匡。 As the ruler lost his way, the common folk lost their vocations. … lean years. Thus was composed the chapter “Rectification of the procurement of grain”.
6	A	文王立，西距昆夷，北備獫狁，謀武以昭威懷，作武稱。 When King Wen assumed his position, in the west he withstood the *kunyi*, in the north he prepared against the *xianyun*.[296] He deliberated in warfare in order to illuminate his awe and magnanimity. Thus was composed the chapter “Balance of warfare”.
7	B	武以禁暴，文以綏德，大聖允兼，作允文。 Warfare is used to stave off violence. Cultivation is used to retain *de*-virtue. A great sage [is the one who] truly combines both. Thus was composed the chapter “True cultivation”.
8-10	B	武有七德，文王作大武、大明武、小明武三篇。 In warfare, there are seven virtues. Thus King Wen composed “Great warfare”, “Great illuminated warfare”, “Lesser illuminated warfare”, three chapters.

296 This description seems to be derived from the “Lesser sequence” of the ode “Cai wei” 菜薇 (“Gathering thornferns”) of the “Xiao ya” 小雅 section of the *Shijing* (*Mao shi zheng yi* 1739, 16.32b; Legge 1871b, 40 [Prolegomena]). *Kunyi* 昆夷 and *xianyun* 獫狁 are names of some neighbours of Zhou during the Western Zhou period. For an overview of the military confrontation between the Zhou and the *xianyun*, see Li Feng 李豐 (2006, 141–92).

11	A	穆王遭大荒，謀救患分，□大匡。 King Mu[297] encountered a great famine. He deliberated how to rescue those who suffer and to divide … . [Thus was composed] the chapter “The great rectification”.
12-16	-	次有脱簡□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□，作九間。 [Commentary in small characters:] There are missing characters here.[298] … Thus was composed the chapter “Nine intervals”.[299]
17	A	文王唯庶邦之多難，論典以匡謬，作劉法。 King Wen, thinking of the numerous troubles of the many [subordinate] countries,[300] discussed the past precedents in order to correct mistakes. Thus was composed the chapter “The rules of capital punishment”.
18	B	文王卿士，諗發教禁戒，作文開。 The officials of King Wen made suggestions regarding the promotion of instruction and imposition of precepts. Thus was composed the chapter “Induction on cultivation”.
19	B	維美公命于文王，脩身觀天，以謀商難，作保開。 Duke Jiang received an order from King Wen to refine himself and to observe the heaven in order to deliberate on the troubles caused by Shang. Thus was

297 The mention of King Mu 穆王 in this part of the “Sequential outline” is unexpected. His reign took place in the middle of the tenth century BC, which is more than than a century later than the reign of King Wen to whom most chapters in the beginning of the “Sequential outline” are related. Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848-1908) proposes a complicated emendation, suggesting that *mu wang* 穆王 is a corruption of the original *zai cheng* 在程 (“at [the city of] Cheng”) (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 1121). This is too far-fetched, though. I cannot propose a better emendation, but I am not sure that an emendation is necessary at all, considering that the “Sequential outline” is a heterogeneous text and that different segments of it were composed by different people, who did not observe the same compositional conventions.

298 This *lacuna* corresponds to chapters 12 “Cheng dian” 程典 (“Testament at Cheng”), 13 “Cheng wu” 程寤 (“Awakening at Cheng”, missing), 14 “Qin yin” 秦陰 (the meaning of the title is unclear, missing), 15 “Jiu zheng” 九政 (“Nine [affairs of] government”, missing).
I suspect that the previous description might not be related to the chapter titled “Great rectification”. The characters *zuo jiu jian* 作九間 might have belonged to that description before it was artificially interrupted with the *lacuna* inserted there in order to account for the chapters that had been missing from the “Sequential outline”. The absence of the character *zuo* 作 (“to compose”) in the description seems to support this suggestion. Description of chapter 39 “Da ju” (see below) is very similar as it is also interrupted by an artificially inserted *lacuna*. For a discussion of the significance of the *lacunae* in the “Sequential outline” for the study of the formation of the *Yi Zhou shu*, see the Introduction.

299 In the main text of the collection, the title of the chapter is written as “Jiu kai” 九開 (“Nine inductions”). This title appears more coherent with the rest of the collection, but considering that the text does not survive, it is impossible to choose a preferable variant.

300 I follow Zhu Youceng 朱右曾 (1800-?) in reading *wei* 唯 as *wei* 惟, which has a meaning “to think” (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 1122).

composed the chapter “Induction on safeguarding”.[301]

20 A 文王訓乎武王以繁害之戒，作文繁。
King Wen instructed King Wu with admonitions regarding various harms. Thus was composed the chapter “[King] Wen's [instruction on] the various [harms]”.

21 A 文王在酆，命周公謀商難，作酆保。
King Wen was at Feng. [He] ordered the Duke of Zhou to deliberate on the troubles caused by Shang. Thus was composed the chapter “Safeguarding at Feng”.

22-23 A 文啓謀乎後嗣，以脩身敬戒，作大開、小開二篇。
[King] Wen induced the heir apparent in deliberations so that he would refine himself and be reverent towards precepts. Thus were composed the “Great induction” and the “Lesser induction”, two chapters.

24 A 文王有疾，告武王以民之多變，作文儆。
King Wen was gravely ill. He made an announcement to King Wu regarding the many changes of the common folk. Thus was composed the chapter “Alarming of [King] Wen”.

25 A 文王告武王以序德之行，作文傅。
King Wen informed King Wu about the workings of the strong *de*-virtue.[302] Thus was composed the chapter “King Wen's tradition”.[303]

26 A 文王既沒，武王嗣位，告周公禁五戒，作柔武。
When King Wen passed away, King Wu inherited his position. He made an announcement to the Duke of Zhou regarding the prohibition of the “five threatening weapons”.[304] Thus was composed the chapter “Soft warfare”.

27-28 A 武王忌商，周公勤天下，於大、小開武二篇。
King Wu was on guard against of Shang. The Duke of Zhou exerted himself for All-under-heaven. Thus were made the “Great”, and the “Lesser induction

301 The “Duke of Mei” (*Mei gong* 美公) mentioned in this description is unknown, and I follow Sun Yirang who suggests to read *mei* as a mistakenly written *jiang* 姜. Jiang is the family name of the Grand Duke 太公. However, the received recension of the *Yi Zhou shu* reserves the role of the royal adviser to the Duke of Zhou 周公, in which regard it differs from the *Liu tao*, where it is the Grand Duke who offers advice to the kings. If we take this preponderance of the Duke of Zhou as the defining feature of the *Yi Zhou shu* and its earlier recensions, then Sun Yirang's emendation would not be acceptable. However, as I have mentioned in Chapter 2, there appears to have been considerable interaction between the texts that are now transmitted in the *Yi Zhou shu* and the *Liu tao*, respectively. In particular, there is a fragmentarily preserved text from the Yinqueshan 銀雀山 collection of bamboo manuscripts that is titled “Bao qi” 葆啓 whose concluding passages bear formal similarity with the *Yi Zhou shu* kingly consultations. I suggest that *qi* 啓 might have been used in the titles of the *Yi Zhou shu* chapters instead of *kai* 開 before the introduction of a taboo during the mid-second century BC. In this light, it does not appear improbable that the description of this chapter, which is today missing from the *Yi Zhou shu*, refers to a text related to the one unearthed at Yinqueshan.

302 I follow Sun Yirang who suggests to emend *xude* 序德 (“comply with the *de*-virtue”) with *houde* 厚德 (“strong de-virtue”) (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 1124–25). Sun's suggestion is convincing because the compound *houde* appears in the text of the chapter.

303 I read the character *fu* 傅 (“to instruct”) as *zhuan* 傳 (“to transmit”), which is how the chapter is called in the main part of the text. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that either variant is acceptable.

304 I follow Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717-1796) who emends *jie* 戒 (“precept”) with *rong* 戎 (“weapon, warfare”), which he borrows from an unpreserved work by Zhao Ximing 趙曦明 (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 1125). The numerical list of the “five threatening weapons” is discussed in the text of the chapter, for which reason Lu's emendation appears reasonable.

of King Wu", two chapters.[305]

29 A 武王評周公維道以為寶，作寶典。
King Wu remarked to the Duke of Zhou that it is the *dao* that should be treasured. Thus was composed the chapter "Treasured testament".

30 B 商謀啓平周，周人將興師以承之，作酆謀。
The Shang deliberated how to begin the subjugation of Zhou. The people of Zhou were about to deploy troops to confront them. Thus was composed the chapter "Deliberation at Feng".

31 A 武王將起師伐商，寤有商儆，作寤儆。
King Wu was about to raise troops to attack Shang. In a light dream, he had an alarming [revelation] regarding Shang. Thus was composed the chapter "Alarming at awakening".

32-33 B 周將伐商，順天革命，申諭武義，以訓乎民，作武順、武穆二篇。
The Zhou were about to attack Shang, [yielding] obedience to Heaven's change of the mandate. [They] amply elucidated the fundamentals of warfare in order to instruct people in them. Thus were composed the "Martial compliance" and "Martial solemnity", two chapters.

34-35 A 武王將行大事乎商郊，乃明德□衆，作和寤、武寤二篇。
King Wu was about to perform a great feat in the suburb of [the city of] Shang. Then he … the multitude with the bright *de*-virtue. Thus were composed "Peaceful awakening" and "Martial awakening", two chapters.

36 A 武王率六州之兵車三百五十乘以滅殷，作克殷。
King Wu led the armies of the six regions with 350 chariots to extinguish Yin. Thus was composed the chapter "Conquest of Yin".

37-38 - 武王作克商，建三監以救其民，為之訓範

39 A 次有脱簡□□□□□□□□□，作大聚。[306]
King Wu, having conquered Shang, established the three superintendents in order to aid their common folk and to conduct for them instruction in models [of appropriate behaviour].
[Commentary in small characters:] There are missing characters here.
… Thus was composed the chapter "Great assembly".

40 - 次有脱簡□□□□□□□□□□
[Commentary in small characters:] There are missing characters here.[307]

41 A 武王既釋箕子囚，俾民辟寧之以王，作箕子。
When King Wu had released Jizi from captivity, he made the common folk jointly comfort him like a king. Thus was composed the chapter "Jizi".[308]

305 I follow Lu Wenchao who emends the character *yu* 於 (universal locative) with *zuo* 作 ("to compose"). Following Sun Yirang, I transpose the characters *kai* 開 and *wu* 武 in my translation, reading the chapter titles as the "inductions of King Wu", and not as unintelligible "commencement of warfare" (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 1125). Sun's observation is based on the evidence from an alternative recension of the *Zhou shu* 周書 surveyed in Gao Sisun's 高似孫 (1158-1231) *Shi lüe* 史略 (*Outline of Historical Works*), where the chapters are mentioned as "Da Wu kai" and "Xiao Wu kai", respectively. For more details, see the Introduction.

306 I believe that this artificially inserted *lacuna* interrupts the description of the chapter "Da ju" in order to allocate space for the chapters 37 "Da kuang" II 大匡 and 38 "Wen zheng" 文政 ("Cultured governance") that are located in between the chapters 36 "Ke Yin" and 39 "Da ju" in the main text of the collection. If this suggestion is correct, the part before the *lacuna* should be read as an incomplete description of the chapter "Da kuang" II.

42 A 武王秉天下，論德施□而□位以官，作考德。
King Wu took control of All-under-heaven. [He] discoursed on the *de*-virtue and implemented … and … the positions with official appointments. Thus was composed the chapter “Examination of the *de*-virtue”.

43 A 武王命商王之諸侯綏定厥邦，申義告之，作商誓。
King Wu ordered the princes [formerly] subordinate to the king of Shang to appease and stabilise their domains. [He] extended the [principles of] rightness in an announcement to them. Thus was composed the chapter “Harangue concerning Shang”.

44 A 武王平商，維定保天室，規擬伊雒，作度邑。
King Wu subjugated Shang. Having secured the layout of heavenly luminaries, he made a survey in the region of [the rivers] Yi and Luo. Thus was composed the chapter “Making measurements of the city”.

45 - 武王疾
46 A 次有脱簡□□□□□□□□□□□命周公輔小子，告以正要，作五權。
King Wu was gravely ill.
[Commentary in small characters:] There are missing characters here.[309]
… He ordered the Duke of Zhou to assist his little son and announce to him the essence of governance. Thus was composed the chapter “Five balances”.

47 A 武王既沒，成王元年，周公忌商之孽，訓敬命，作成開。
After King Wu had passed away, in the first year of King Cheng, the Duke of Zhou was on guard against the offspring of Shang. He made an instruction regarding the reverence towards the mandate [of Heaven]. Thus was composed the chapter “[King] Cheng's induction”.

48 A 周公既誅三監，乃述武王之志，建都伊雒，作作洛。
After the Duke of Zhou had done justice on the three superintendents, following the will of King Wu, he then established a capital city in [the area of the rivers] Yi and Luo. Thus was composed the chapter “Establishment of [the capital] at Luo”.

49 A 周公會群臣于閎門，以輔主之格言，作皇門。
The Duke of Zhou convened the many officials at the lane gate in order to assist them with the correct words regarding the ruler. Thus was composed the chapter “August gate”.

50 A 周公陳武王之言以贊已言，戒乎成王，作大戒。
The Duke of Zhou arrayed the words of King Wu to validate his own words as he made an admonition to King Cheng. Thus was composed the chapter “Great admonition”.

51 A 周公正三統之義，作周月。
The Duke of Zhou rectified the meaning of the three calendrical systems. Thus was composed the chapter “The [first] month of the Zhou [calendar]”.

52 B 辯二十四氣之應，以明天時，作時訓。

307 This *lacuna* corresponds to chapter 40 “Shi fu” 世俘 (“Hauling of captives”).
308 This description is one of the most difficult ones. The characters *pi/bi* 辟 and *wang* 王 are difficult to interpret in their positions, and the proposed translation is very approximate.
309 This *lacuna* corresponds to chapter 45 “Wu jing” 武儆 (“Alarming of King Wu”). Both “Wu jing” and “Wu quan” employ alarming contextualisation, and it is likely that this *lacuna* divides artificially what had been an intact description of chapter “Wu quan”.

[The Duke of Zhou] distinguished the correspondences of the twenty-four seasons in order to elucidate the heavenly times. Thus was composed the chapter “Seasonal instructions”.

53 A 周公制十二月賦政之法，作月令。
The Duke of Zhou designed the order of promulgation of policies for the twelve months of the year. Thus was composed the chapter “Monthly ordinances”.

54 A 周公肇制文王之謚義以垂于後，作謚法。
The Duke of Zhou formalised the meanings of posthumous names according to King Wen in order to pass them over to posterity. Thus was composed the chapter “Order of posthumous names”.

55 A 周公將致政成王，朝諸侯於明堂，作明堂。
The Duke of Zhou was about to pass the governance to King Cheng. He held an audience with the princes at the Bright Hall. Thus was composed the chapter “Bright Hall”.

56 A 成王既即政，因嘗麥以語群臣而求助，作嘗麥。
King Cheng had already taken over the governance. He used the occasion of the [ritual] of tasting of wheat in order to talk to the ministers and ask for assistance. Thus was composed the chapter “Tasting of wheat”.

57 A 周公為太師，告成王以五徵則，作本典。
When the Duke of Zhou held the office of Grand Instructor, he made an announcement to King Cheng regarding the five principles of recruitment. Thus was composed the chapter “Basic testament”.

58 A 成王訪周公以民事，周公陳六以觀察之，作官人。
King Cheng paid a visit to the Duke of Zhou regarding the affairs of the subordinates.[310] The Duke of Zhou expounded the six [principles] to observe them.[311] Thus was composed the chapter “The officials”.

59 B 周室既寧，八方會同，各以其職來獻，欲垂法厥後，作王會。
After the House of Zhou came to tranquillity, the [peoples of] the eight cardinal directions assembled together, coming to present offerings, everybody with their own produce. [The king] expressed a desire to pass over the way [of presenting tribute] to posterity. Thus was composed the chapter “The king's assembly”.

60 A 周公云歿，王制將衰，穆王因祭祖不豫，詢其守位，作祭公。
The Duke of Zhou had passed away, and the order of kingship was heading towards decline. King Mu, on the occasion of the illness of the Lord of Zhai, consulted with him regarding the preservation of his position. Thus was composed the chapter “The Duke of Zhai”.

61 A 穆王思保位惟難，恐貽世羞，欲自警悟，作史記。

310 Considering the contents of the chapter that outlines the rules for the selection of officials, it appears to be more relevant to translate *min* 民 not as “common folk”, which is my preferred translation elsewhere, but as a more general “subordinate”.

311 Lu Wenchao suggests that the character *zheng* 徵 (“recruitment”) from the previous description should be transposed here so that it would read as: “The Duke of Zhou expounded the six principles of recruitment to observe them” (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 1134). Considering that the chapter “Guan ren” outlines the principles of selection of officials, this suggestion might be reasonable, although I do not feel convinced enough to follow it in my translation.

King Mu pondered how difficult it is to safeguard the [royal] position. He was afraid that he would leave a bad name to [future] generations. [Therefore] he desired to warn himself and bring himself to reason. Thus was composed the chapter “Scribal records”.

62 B 王化雖弛，天命方永，四夷八蠻，攸尊王政，作職方。
Although the transformative power of kingship slackened, the mandate of Heaven was still lasting. The four *yi* and the eight *man* [tribes] abided in respect of kingly governance. Thus was composed the chapter “Official in charge of tribes”.

63 A 芮伯稽古作訓，納王于善，暨執政小臣，咸省厥躬，作芮良夫。
The Earl of Rui examined antiquity and composed instructions. He directed the king towards goodness, so that the petty officials executing governance would [also] all examine their persons. Thus was composed the chapter “Rui Liangfu”.

64 A 晉侯尚力侵我王略，叔向聞儲幼而果賢，□復王位，作太子晉。
The Marquis of Jin was still strong enough to invade our king's borders. Shu Xiang heard that the heir apparent was young and yet indeed wise. … returned the kingly position. Thus was composed the chapter “Heir apparent Jin”.

65 B 玉者德以飾躬，用為所佩。
The jade is for the virtuous to adorn himself, to use it for girding. [312]

66 B 夏多罪，湯將放之，徵前事以戒後王也，作殷祝。
As the [ruler of] Xia multiplied his crimes, Tang was going to exile him. He investigated the past deeds in order to admonish future kings. Thus was composed the chapter “Yin incantation”.

67 B 民非后罔乂，后非民罔與為邦，慎政在微，作周祝。
If people do not have a ruler, there is no order. And a ruler without people does not have anyone to organise a state with. The cautious governance is in details. Thus was composed the chapter “Zhou incantation”.

68 C 武以靖亂，非直不剋，作武紀。
[When using] warfare to calm the chaos, [those who] are not forthright will not succeed. Thus was composed [the chapter] “Martial discipline”.

69 C 積習生常，不可不慎，作銓法。
[In regard to] the ingrained habits and life routines [one] cannot be incautious. Thus was composed [the chapter] “Method of appraisal”.

70 C 車服制度，明不苟踰，作器服。
The regulations concerning chariots and robes are obviously not to be carelessly passed by. Thus was composed [the chapter] “Utensils and robes”.

周道於乎大備。
The *dao* of Zhou was thereupon greatly accomplished.

312 This description, corresponding to chapter 65 “Wang pei” 王佩 (“King's girding”) is peculiar for not mentioning the title of the chapter that it refers to.

“Da kai” 大開 (“The great induction”), chapter 22

Chapter “Da kai” contains a number of *lacunae*, and the text is poorly legible. Nevertheless, one can identify the characteristic structure of the kingly consultations: a contextualisation passage at the beginning, a set of numerical lists in the middle and a series of characteristic formulas at the end. Despite the lack of the *yue* 曰 character marking the speech, it appears that the text was composed as a speech, most likely a dialogical exchange between the king and his adviser.

In this and in the following translations, I divide the text into structural fragments. This division is based on my imperfect understanding of the text, but may still be helpful for the identification of the structural patterns of the text and its main topics. In the Chinese text, I use indentation to mark what I believe may be subordinate structural units and parallel constructs in some passages.

[1. Contextualisation passage]

The contextualisation passage is a typical example of the template-based contextualisation pattern, mentioning the month and the king's location.

維王二月既生魄，王在酆，立于少庭。

In the king’s second month, when *po* was already born, the king was at Feng[313]. [He] stood in the small courtyard[314].

313 For a discussion of the location of Feng 酆 with useful references to epigraphic and transmitted sources, see Li Feng (2006, 44–46).

314 To my knowledge, apart from this chapter and chapter 22 “Da kai” 大開 of the *Yi Zhou shu* the “small courtyard” (*shao ting* 少庭) is not mentioned neither in transmitted texts from Zhou and Han, nor in bronze texts. In bronze texts, the “middle courtyard” (*zhong ting* 中廷) is mentioned frequently, but, apart from two poorly preserved rubbings (“Xiao Yu” tripod 小盂鼎 [*Jinwen jicheng* #2839] and “Jin gong” basin 晉公盆 [#10342]), there are no mentions of the “great courtyard” (*da ting* 大廷), while the “small courtyard” is not attested even in such dubious rubbings. It would be a rewarding exercise to examine if there are any archaeological discoveries of ancient Chinese palaces with several courtyards of different size, and when such palaces appear first.

[2. Exposition of numerical lists]

The numerical lists in the chapter are expounded in the standard sequence, which includes the initial mentioning of the lists followed by the detailed exposition of their components. Unfortunately, some of these elements are badly preserved, making it difficult to fully understand the logical sequence of the lists.

兆墓九開，
開厥後人，
八儆五戒。

Having[315] conceived[316] the nine inductions[317], he inducted his posterity in the eight warnings and five admonitions.

八儆：
一□旦于開，
二躬修九過，
三族修九禁，
四無競維義，
五習用九教，
六□用守備，
七足用九利，
八寧用懷□。

The eight warnings:
First: … dawn at the opening.
Second: in what relates to one's own person, practice the nine trespasses.[318]
Third: in what relates to the kin, practice the nine interdictions.
Fourth: there should not be any strife other than for rightness.
Fifth: habitually use the nine teachings.
Sixth: … use the preparations for defence.
Seventh: sufficiently use the nine merits.

五戒：
一祇用謀宗，

315 Following Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744-1832) reading *zhao* 兆 ("to divine", "portent") as *zhao* 肇 (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 212). Borrowing from Kryukov and Huang Shuying 黃淑英, I understand *zhao* as an archaic modal adverb that indicates perfective aspect (Kryukov and Huang Shuying 1978, 73).

316 Following Ding Zongluo 丁宗洛 (1771-1841) and Zhu Youceng reading *mu* 墓 ("tomb") as *mo* 謨 (variant: 謨 一 "to plan", "to conceive").

317 There is a title "Nine inductions" ("Jiu kai" 九開) among the eight unpreserved chapters in *juan* 2 of the *Yi Zhou shu*. The "nine inductions" are never expounded in the text, which leads Wang Niansun to conclude that *jiu kai* 九開 should be instead read as a self-reference to chapter title "Da kai" 大開 ("The great induction"). Zhu Youceng prefers to read *jiu kai* as a reference to the lost chapter whose text was pronounced by a minister named Zhao 兆, but this reading is strained (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 212).

318 The "nine trespasses" are also mentioned in chapter 38 "Wen zheng" 文政 ("Cultured government"), where they are expounded as follows (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 379–80):

> 一視民傲，二聽民暴，三遠慎而近貌，四法令□亂，五仁善是誅，六不察而好殺，七不念□害行，八不思前後，九偷其身不路而助無漁。
> The first: when seeing the common folk, being arrogant.
> The second: when listening to the common folk, being aggressive.
> The third: being cautious towards those who are far away and yet being partial towards those who are close.
> The fourth: in laws and ordinances, … chaos.
> The fifth: the humane and good are the ones to be executed.
> The sixth: being fond of killing without examination.
> The seventh: not thinking … do harm.
> The eighth: not thinking of what is before and what is after.
> The ninth: concealing one's own waywardness and assisting in expropriation.

The last passage is unclear. I follow Zhu Youceng who suggests that *wu* 無 is extrapolated (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 380).

二經内戒工，
三無遠親戚，
四雕無薄□，
五禱無憂玉。

Eighth: quietly use the cherished …

The five admonitions:
First: respectfully employ the deliberations regarding [one's own] lineage.
Second: control the women and admonish the artisans.
Third: do not cast away the relatives.
Fourth: in carving do not make thin …
Five: in prayer do not have superfluous[319] jades.

[3. Formulaic conclusion]

The concluding formulas in the concluding part of “Da kai” come in a relatively full assemblage, although, like in other chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*, they appear in an abbreviated form that makes it difficult to interpret them in a completely lucid way.[320]

及為人盡不足。

王拜，
儆我後人謀競，不可以藏，
戒後人其用汝謀，
維宿不悉日不足。

Manage to [compensate for] the people's exhaustion and insufficiency.[321]

The king bowed:
“Forewarn my posterity [that, if they] conceive strife, they cannot prosper.[322]
Admonish the posterity so that they use your deliberations!
The nights are not complete, and the days are not sufficient!”

319 Following Pan Zhen 潘振 I read *you* 憂 (“anxious”) as *you* 優 (“superfluous”). Alternatively, Chen Fengheng 陳逢衡 (1778-1855) proposes to read this line as a reference to an ancient practice of burning jade at prayer, in which case it could be translated as: “in prayer, do not grieve about [the burnt] jade” (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007).
320 For the discussion of these formulas, see Chapter 2.
321 This passage is difficult and probably corrupt.
322 I follow Sun Yirang in reading *cang* 藏 (“to store”) as *zang* 臧 (“good, to be good”) (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 215).

“Xiao kai” 小開 (“The lesser induction”), chapter 23

Chapter “Xiao kai” is not the best preserved one in the *Yi Zhou shu*, and it is not easy to translate. In fact, the text contains many obvious traces of corruption marked with *lacunae*. In other places, the corruption is less obvious, but the haphazardness of the textual flow and random interruptions suggest that the text is either composed in an irregular manner or, more likely, has lost much of its initial coherence. Fortunately, the formulas grouped at the very end of the text have counterparts in other kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* and can be reconstructed to a satisfactory degree of legibility. For most other parts of the text, no such reference material exists.

While it does not appear to be possible to interpret “Xiao kai” in a consistent fashion, the text is valuable as an assemblage of peculiar compositional, rhetorical and lexical features typical of the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*. Some of these features are repeated multiple times in the text and have counterparts in other kingly consultations, which makes it possible to regard them as stable elements and not random combinations of characters resulting from sporadic textual corruption.

A group of key terms are given an explicit rhetorical emphasis in the text, such as *de* 德 (“virtue”) and *yi* 翼 (“assistance”). While it is possible to circumscribe partially the semantic scope of these terms in “Xiao kai”, such a description cannot be reliable due to the text's poor general condition. These terms may potentially become more lucid in future after a systematic study of the vocabulary of the *Yi Zhou shu*'s kingly consultations is accomplished.

[1. Contextualisation passage]

The contextualisation passage is badly preserved, but it seems to contain a dating sequence that consists of the ritual cycle (year), month and cyclical day. In addition, there seems to be a mention of a lunar eclipse, which serves as an impetus for the following instruction. It remains unclear whom the king addresses in his speech.

維三十有五祀，王念曰：多□，正月丙子拜望食無時。

汝開後嗣謀。

In the thirty-fifth ritual cycle, the king said in contemplation: "The many ..."[323] In the first month, on day *bing-zi* (13/60), [they] venerated the eclipse of the full moon that occurred in an untimely fashion.

"You should induct the heir in deliberations!"

[2. Reference to past precedent]

In this section, the king cites a saying from the past. As observed by Sun Yirang, the first four characters of this saying, *ming ming fei chang* 明明非常 seem to be attested also in the "Lü xing" chapter of the *Shang shu*, where it is spelled slightly differently: *ming ming fei chang* 明明斐常.[324] This is the more interesting considering the rhetorical proximity of this particular chapter to the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* (see the discussion in Chapter 2). Unfortunately, the interpretation of this phrase in the *Shang shu* has been a matter of debate, and no fully satisfactory reading has been proposed yet.[325] The corresponding passage of the "Lü xing" seems to have been preserved, in a different rendition, in the *Mozi* 墨子, but it is contextualised differently there, further broadening the scope of possible inter-

323 It is rather unusual for the dating pattern including the year, the month, and the cyclical day to be interrupted by other elements, and I suspect that the king's incomplete utterance inserted between these elements is a result of misplacement.

324 Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong (2007, 220).

325 Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980) and Liu Qiyu 劉起釪 (1917-2012) provide a convenient overview of opinions (Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu 2005, 1959–60). Their own rendition into contemporary Chinese is problematic, however, as they elucidate this gnomic saying by appending to it the elements which it does not have (Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu 2005, 2078).

pretations.[326] Most commentators of the *Shang shu* have interpreted *ming ming fei chang* as a statement describing a protagonist's action, as in Karlgren's translation: “clearly elucidated the irregular practices”.[327] The context of the “Xiao kai”, however, suggests that it should be read rather as an aphoristic statement: “The bright luminosity is not constant”. In my opinion, a similar reading can also be suggested for the “Lü xing”. While it is impossible to exclude the possibility that “Xiao kai” is referring to the “Lü xing”, it seems more probable to me that both texts rely on some shared corpus of aphoristic expressions.

曰：嗚呼！于來後之人。余聞[328]在昔曰：明明非常，維德曰為明。 食無時。	[The king] said: “*Wuhu!* Oh, the people who come thereafter![329] I have heard that it was said of old: “The bright luminosity is not constant. It is only the de-virtue that is called luminous.”[330] … in an untimely fashion.[331]

[3. The first series of rhetorical questions and a reference to oral wisdom]

In “Xiao kai”, there are several sets of rhetorical questions built using the “何 X 非 Y” pattern characteristic of the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu* and the “Lü xing” chapter of the *Shang shu*. The reason why I do not break this rather long fragment into smaller units is because the notions *gong* 躬 (“person”) and *yan* 言 (“words”) mentioned in the first two rhetorical questions reoccur in the king's reference to oral wisdom at the end. This may be purely incidental, and there does not seem to be a narrative connection between the rhetorical questions and the contents of the wisdom that he reproduces later on. However, I believe

326 Sun Yirang (1895, 2.14b).
327 Karlgren (1970, 179).
328 In my source edition, this character is misspelled as *kai* 開. However, in the earliest surviving blockprint edition printed in the fourteenth year of the Zhizheng 至正 era (1354) of the Yuan dynasty at the Jiaxing prefectural academy 嘉興路學官, this character is written correctly as *wen* 聞 (*Ji zhong Zhou shu* 2005, 3.3b). According to Huang Huaixin, Zhang Maorong and Tian Xudong, other early editions also contain the correct character (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 219).
329 I read *yu* 于 as an exclamation *xu* 吁.
330 Ding Zongluo and Yu Chang 于鬯 (1862-1919) suggest that the character *yue* 曰 in this phrase is superfluous (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 219). It is a plausible suggestion, although I do not follow it in my translation.
331 The last three characters appear interpolated, and they duplicate an identical sequence of characters at the beginning of the text.

that there still may be a possible compositional link, and I would not like to break this link by putting its elements in separate units.

This section contains some of the least intelligible passages in the text, and the proposed translation of the second half is very speculative. Towards the end of this section, an emphasis is made on the notion of *mou* 謀 (“deliberations”) which is mentioned multiple times in “Xiao kai”. It appears that the text argues against the use of *mou* in persuasion and warns against its leaking.

汝夜
　何脩非躬?
　何慎非言?
　何擇非德?

[From morning till] night,[332] what would you refine? Is it not [your own] person? What would you take caution in? Is it not the words? How would you select [people]? Is it not by *de*-virtue?

嗚呼！敬之哉！
汝
　恭聞。不命，
　賈粥不讎。
　謀念之哉!

Wuhu! Be reverent towards this! You should respectfully heed [to this]. If you are unruly, [it is like] wares that you vend and yet do not sell out.[333] Deliberate and think about it!

不索禍招，
　無曰不免。
不庸不茂。
不次人菑。
不謀迷棄非人。

If you do not reflect [on it], a disaster will be attracted. [In this case] do not say: it was unavoidable. If you do not have accomplishments, you will not flourish. If you are not orderly, people [will produce a] calamity. If you do not deliberate, you will be lost and forsaken as if you were not human.[334]

朕聞用人不以謀説。

332 In my translation, I follow Ding Zongluo who emends the text by inserting the character *ri* 日 before *ye* 夜, making it possible to read the passage as an exclamation regarding activity that does not cease at any time (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 220). However, the compound *riye* 日夜 (“day and night”) does not occur in other kingly consultations, and if an emendation is to be made the character su 夙 (“morning”) would be preferable: unlike *riye*, *suye* 夙夜 (“morning and night”) is indeed commonplace in these texts. Nevertheless, there may be other possible options to emend this text to produce sensible reading.

333 As observed by Chen Fengheng, this phrase seems to be borrowed from the ode “Gu feng” 谷風 (“East wind”) from the “Bei feng” 邶風 (“Airs of Bei”) subsection in the “Guo feng” 國風 (“Airs of the states”) section of the *Shijing* (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 221). Here is this fragment with the translation by James Legge (1871b, 57–58):

> 不我能慉、反以我為讎。
> 既阻我德、賈用不售。
> You cannot cherish me,
> And you even count me as an enemy.
> You disdain my virtues, -
> A pedlar's wares which do not sell.

Although “Xiao kai” uses *chou* 讎 (“enemy”) and not *shou* 售 (“to sell”) as one would expect, these two words belong to the same phonetic series, and it is likely that one acts as the loan character for the other. Baxter and Sagart reconstruct *chou* as *[d]u, but they provide no reconstruction for *shou*. Starostin reconstructs *chou* as *dhu and *shou* as *dhus (Starostin 2006).

說惡謡言，
色不知適，
適不知謀，
謀泄，
汝躬不允。

I have heard: when employing people one should not [accept] persuasion employing deliberations. If the persuasion is evil and there are false words, then, [enchanted with] the appearance, one can no longer be aware of feeling relaxed. And feeling relaxed, one can no longer be aware of deliberations. And if the deliberations are leaked, then your own person will not be sure.

[4. Reference to oral wisdom; statement about the scarcity of talents]

This relatively brief section appears to contain a statement regarding the difficulty of finding good companions for *mou*-deliberation.

嗚呼！敬之哉！後之人！
朕聞曰：
謀有共軵，
如乃而舍。

Wuhu! Be reverent towards this, the people of posterity!
I have heard that it was said: "In deliberating, there may be mutual pertinacity.[335] If it is so, then you should withdraw."

人之
好佚而無窮，
貴而不傲，
富而不驕，
兩而不爭，
聞而不遙，
遠而不絶，
窮而不匱
者鮮矣。

Among the people, those who
like being at ease and yet do not get exhausted;
are noble and yet not haughty;
are rich and yet not pretentious;
are paired [with someone] and yet do not contest;
listen and yet do not wander;
are afar off and yet do not to break away;
are in extreme conditions and yet not destitute –
are few.

[5. A second set of rhetorical questions and statements regarding division/branching]

This section is structured around three rhetorical questions using the "何 X 非 Y" pattern and statements involving the notion of *zhi* 枳 (枝 *ke) that has a broad semantic scope, including "branch", "limb" and "to support". This section relies heavily on the semantic proximity

334 This passage is one of the most problematic in the entire chapter. There are many ways to divide it into syntagms, which result in different readings. My translation is indebted to the reading proposed by Zhu Youceng, although I structure it differently in order to maintain the possible parallel between "disaster" and "human calamity" (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 222).

335 I follow Duan Yucai's 段玉裁 (1735-1815) interpretation of character *rong* 軵 as an obstructing activity with an intention to receive a concession (Xu Shen and Duan Yucai 1981, 729).

of “branching” and “support”, presenting *zhi* as the fundamental underpinning of any hierarchical relations.

汝謀斯,
　何嚮非翼?

維有共枳,
枳亡重, 大害小,
不堪柯引,
維德之用,
用皆在國謀,
大鮮無害。

When you deliberate, then where would do you direct [yourself]? Is it not towards protection?
There is mutual branching and support. If the branching and support has lost its measure, then the big will harm the small, and it will be impossible to remove them with an axe.
As for the employment of the virtuous, if they are all employed in state deliberations, then the big will be few, and there will be no harm.

嗚呼! 汝
　何敬非時?
　何擇非德?

　德枳維大人,
大人枳維卿,
　卿枳維大夫,
大夫枳維士,

登登皇皇,

□枳維國,
國枳維都,
都枳維邑,
邑枳維家,
家枳維欲無疆。

Wuhu! What would you revere? Is it not the time?[336]
How would you select [people]? Is it not by the *de*-virtue?
The *de*-virtue extends in support to the ruler,
the ruler extends in support to the ministers,
the ministers extend in support to the middle-ranking officials,
the middle-ranking officials extend in support to the noble men.

How sublime! How magnificent!

… extends in support to the state,
the state extends in support to the capital,
the capital extends in support to towns,
the towns extend in support to families,
the families extend in support to [their] needs without boundaries.[337]

[6. Numerical lists and the third set of rhetorical questions]

This section mentions several numerical lists that occur in other chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* (“Da wu” 大武 [“Great warfare”], “Xiao kai wu” 小開武 [“The lesser induction of King Wu”], “Da kai wu” 大開武 [“The great induction of King Wu”], “Cheng kai” 成開 [“King

336 An alternative way to translate *shi* 時 would be to understand it as an indicative pronoun: “What would you revere? Is it not this [what has just been explained]?” However, considering that *shi* in the “Xiao kai” is also employed as a noun and that it occurs in rhetorically accentuated positions, I prefer to translate it, within this text, consistently as a noun. This decision is open to discussion as the consistent reading of *shi* as a noun does not seem to apply to all texts that I identify as the kingly consultations. This is an issue that needs to be researched systematically in the study of the language of these texts.

337 The concluding part of this sequence is not intelligible. Perhaps it is a result of an interpolation as the two confusing characters *wu jiang* 無疆 (“no boundaries”) at the end of this passage reappear later in the text.

Cheng's induction"]). However, "Xiao kai" does not provide explicit enumerations of the lists' items. It may be possible to supplement them with information from other chapters. In particular, chapters "Xiao kai wu" and "Cheng kai" contain similar expositions of the "three extremities" (*san ji* 三極) with slight divergences. In "Xiao kai wu", the "three extremities" are expounded as "nine luminaries" (*jiu xing* 九星), "nine regions" (*jiu zhou* 九州) and "four limbs" (*si zuo* 四左), while in "Cheng kai" they appear as "nine ranks" (*jiu lie* 九列), "nine regions" (*jiu zhou* 九州) and "four limbs" (*si zuo* 四佐). Unlike the "three extremities", where there is not much contradiction between "Xiao kai wu" and "Cheng kai", the expositions of the "nine causations" (*jiu yin* 九因), "four proximal relations" (*si qi* 四戚) and "four harmonies" (*wu he* 五和) in "Da wu" and "Da kai wu" are structured in diverging ways (see the discussion in Chapter 3).

動有三極,
用有九因,
　因有四戚五私。
極明與,
與有畏勸,

In movement, there are three extremities.
In employment, there are nine causations; the causations include four proximal relations and five harmonies.[338]
The extremities elucidate the being together. In being together, there is fear and encouragement.

汝
　何異非義?
　何畏非世?
　何勸非樂?

How would you protect?[339] Is it not by righteousness?
Among whom would you inspire fear? Is it not among the people of [the present] generation?
How would you encourage? Is it not by music?

謀獲三極無疆。
動獲九因無限。
務用三德順攻。

If, in deliberations, you acquire the three extremities, there will be no boundaries.
If, in movement, you acquire the nine causations, there will be no limits.
If, in affairs, you use the three virtues, this will facilitate your accomplishments.

奸□言彼翼
翼在意仞時德。

338 I follow Chen Fengheng, Ding Zongluo, Tang Dapei 唐大沛 and Zhu Youceng who emend the character *si* 私 with *he* 和 in this passage (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 226). This makes "Xiao kai" more consistent with such chapters as "Da wu" 大武 and "Da kai wu" 大開武 that contain a similar cluster of numerical lists: "nine causations", "four proximal relations" and "four harmonies". There seems to be much graphic similarity in the forms of characters *si* and *he* in some excavated texts, and I find this emendation unproblematic. For example, in the Shuihudi 睡虎地 manuscripts, there is an instance of *he* written as  and *si* as (Academia Sinica 2016).

339 I read *yi* 異 ("to differ") as *yi* 翼 ("to protect", "to assist") to maintain consistency as *yi* 翼 occurs in several other parts of this chapter.

The crooked … discuss that protection, the protection is in the intention to assess the seasonal *de*-virtue.[340]

[7. Statements regarding timeliness/seasonality]

In this section, the preoccupation with seasonality of activities and proper timing is brought to the forefront, which is an important concern in the kingly consultations in general. Perhaps this section should be understood as an instruction regarding the application of the interrelated notions of "seasonality" (*shi* 時) and "virtue" (*de* 德) that permeate the text.

春育生,
　素草肅
　疏數滿,
夏育長,
　美柯華,
　務水潦,
秋初藝,
　不節落,
冬大劉。

Spring fosters birth: the coarse grass strengthens, the dense and the sparse become replenished.
Summer fosters growth: [that is the time] to enjoy the branches and the blossom, to prevent the inundations.
Autumn is the time of the first mowing.[341] If [the work] is not done at the right season, then [the fruit] will fall off.
Winter is the time of the great cutting.

倍信何謀?
本□
時歲至天視。

If you turn your back on the trustworthy, how would you deliberate? The basic …

The seasons and years deliver the heavenly manifestations.

[8. Final set of rhetorical questions and concluding formulas]

In this final section, the text can be fruitfully juxtaposed against other kingly consultations and the "Lü xing" chapter of the *Shang shu* that seem to employ a similar set of formulaic expressions at the same compositional location, namely, nearing the conclusion of the text. Despite the imperfect condition, this passage is representative of the kingly consultations

340 This passage is badly preserved and cannot be translated intelligibly.
341 I follow Sun Yirang who proposes to see *yi* 藝 ("to plant", "to cultivate") as a phonetic loan for *yi* 刈 ("to mow"), which agrees better with the idea of autumn activities (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 228). Baxter-Sagart reconstruct the pronunciation of these words as *ŋet-s and *ŋa[t]-s, respectively.

both in its formulaic and rhetorical features, as well as in the conceptual preoccupation with the notions of the *de*-virtue, causation and extremities.

嗚呼！汝
　何監非時?
　何務非德?
　何興非因?
　何用非極?
維周于民，
人謀競不可以
後戒後戒，
宿不悉日不足。

Wuhu! How would you exercise authority? Is it not in a timely manner?[342]
What would you exert yourself in? Is it not the *de*-virtue?
How would you stimulate? Is it not by causation?
How would you employ? Is it not through the extremities?

As for the relationship between Zhou and the commoners, if the people [of the ruling lineage][343] conceive strife, they cannot [prosper].[344]
Posterity, beware! Posterity, beware! The nights are not complete, and the days are not sufficient!

342 I follow Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu in my interpretation of *jian* 監. While it is commonly understood as "to inspect", they suggest to interpret it as "to look downwards", by extension "to govern", following a gloss from the *Shuowen jiezi* (Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu 2005, 2069).

343 Considering the broader context of the kingly consultations of the *Yi Zhou shu*, I believe that *ren* 人 here stands for *houren* 後人 ("posterity"), and not just any "people".

344 In the translation, I follow what I believe is a better preserved rendition of the same formula in "Da kai": *jing wo houren mou jing, bu ke yi cang* 儆我後人謀競，不可以藏 ("Forewarn my posterity [that, if they] conceive strife, they cannot prosper"). The last character is missing in "Xiao kai", rendering the passage incomprehensible. Following Sun Yirang, I supplement the passage with *zang* 臧 ("to prosper"), by analogy with "Da kai" (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 229–30).

“Wen jing” 文儆 (“King Wen's Alarming”), chapter 24

“Wen jing” is the first among the three “alarming” chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* (“Wen jing”, “Wu jing” 寤敬 [“Alarming at awakening”], “Wu jing” [“Alarming of King Wu”]), characterised by several common features: alarming contextualisation, lack of expounded numerical lists and relative brevity. “Wen jing” starts from the mentioning of a perplexing dream that King Wen had had and that made him concerned about the inability of his heir (or posterity in a more general sense) to sustain or preserve himself. He then summons the heir apparent and offers him an instruction that presumably is sufficient to prevent the undesirable presages of the dream, even though the contents of the dream are never elucidated.

[1. Contextualisation passage]

This is a typical alarming contextualisation, where a mention of a distressing event (here a threatening dream) is followed by a cyclical date on which the conversation took place. There seems to be a gap between the dream and the conversation suggesting that an auspicious day was selected for the latter in order to prevent the dream's baleful portents. It appears that the text itself is the remedy, empowering its audience with the knowledge necessary to draw the expected disaster away.

維文王告夢,
懼後祀之無保,
庚辰詔太子發曰:

King Wen made an announcement concerning a dream, in which he was menaced that the heir[345] would have no preservation [of what he inherits]. On day *geng-chen* [he] summoned the heir apparent Fa, saying:

[2. A positive and negative chains of causation in people's inclinations]

The first part of the instruction is about the changeability of the people and the generative chain of the people's desire of profit that engenders agitation, which in turn engenders mu-

345 In the *Shi lüe*, where a citation from the opening passage of a different recension of the text is preserved, *housi* 後祀 (“the later sacrifices”) is written as *housi* 後嗣 (“heir”) (Gao Sisun 1884, 6.8a). I follow this reading in my translation.

sic et cetera. The first two elements in this chain, if read literally, are obscure: "profit" (*li* 利) engenders "suffering" (*tong* 痛), and suffering engenders "music" (*yue* 樂). However, the last four elements ("music", "ritual propriety" [*li* 禮], "rightness" [*yi* 義] and "humaneness" [*ren* 仁]) are doubtlessly charged with positive meanings. Therefore, it would be fully justified to assume that the first two elements are also positive and that *tong* 痛 (*l̥ˤoŋ-s) possibly does not stand for "suffering" but rather for some other term, such as *tong* 通 (*l̥ˤoŋ, "comprehension") or *yong* 踊 (*loŋʔ, "agitation"). This suggestion can be corroborated by the second part where there is a similar generative chain, this time consisting of clearly negative notions: "partiality" (*si* 私), "defiance" (*kang* 抗), "seizure" (*duo* 奪), "chaos" (*luan* 亂), "deprivation" (*wang* 亡) and "death" (*si* 死). Perhaps this chain constitutes what the text refers to as the "approaching of collapse by the people" (*min zhi shi bai* 民之適敗), which the king warns against.

汝敬之哉!
民物多變。
民何嚮非利?
利維生痛,
痛維生樂,
樂維生禮,
禮維生義,
義維生仁。

"You should be reverent towards this! People and material resources are very changeable.
What do people aim towards? Is it not towards profit?
As for profit, it engenders agitation;[346] as for agitation, it engenders music; as for music, it engenders ritual propriety; as for ritual propriety, it engenders rightness; as for rightness, it engenders humaneness.

嗚呼! 敬之哉!
民之適敗,
上察下遂。
信何嚮非私?
私維生抗,

Wuhu! Be reverent towards this!
When the people move towards collapse, the superior examine, and the subordinate follow.[347]
Verily,[348] what do [they] aim towards? Is it not [their] private

346 It is probable that the character here is either corrupt or used as a loan for a more positively laden term. Unfortunately, it does not seem possible to propose an unequivocal emendation. Tang Dapei suggests *yong* 庸 ("to use"), Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1906) proposes *tong* 通 ("to connect"), while Chen Hanzhang 陳漢章 (1864-1938) suggests *yong* 用 (also "to use") (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 232–233). All these suggestions are problematic, however, as they still lead to cryptic readings. Following the same line of reasoning, I would suggest *yong* 踊 ("to leap" which I read as "agitation" in this context) as the most consistent with the argument flow.

347 This passage is obscure. Tang Dapei and Zhu Youceng interpret *cha* 察 ("examine") as a reference to insufficient examination by the superiors, that is to say, the opposite of what is literally written in the text (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 233).

348 The character *xin* 信 ("trustworthy") here is unexpected as normally one would expect an animate noun or a personal pronoun to precede the rhetorical pattern 何 X 非 Y. Pan Zhen, Chen Fengheng, Tang Dapei and Zhu Youceng read it as part of the previous sentence (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 233). This would result in the following reading: *shang cha, xia sui xin* 上察下遂信 ("The superior

抗維生奪，
奪維生亂，
亂維生亡，
亡維生死。

interest?
As for private interest, it engenders defiance; as for defiance, it engenders seizure; as for seizure, it engenders chaos; as for chaos, it engenders deprivation; as for deprivation, it engenders death.

[3. Request to preserve the instruction and a sequence of metaphors regarding the ruler's relationship with the people]

Having developed the positive and negative chains of development, the text shifts to the edifying message itself. The audience, encouraged here to associate themselves with King Wu, is told to preserve the instruction, to never lose it and also to teach those who are in charge of affairs not to forget about it daily and nightly. Interestingly, this plea (*ru shen shou wu shi* 汝慎守勿失) is a formula that reoccurs, with minor variations, in the "Wu jing" 寤敬 and the "Wu jing" 武儆 chapters. The text highlights the necessity of cautiousness (*shen* 慎) in interacting with people and the helplessness of the ruler to sustain the state without the proper management of this interaction.

嗚呼！敬之哉！
汝慎守勿失，
以詔有司，
夙夜勿忘，

若民之嚮引，
汝慎何非遂?
遂時不遠，
非本非標，
非微非煇，
壤非壤不高，
水非水不流。

Wuhu! Be reverent towards this!
You should cautiously preserve [these deliberations] and not lose them. Inform those in charge about them so that they would not forget [about them] from morning till night.
As for the people's aiming and being attracted [towards something], what would you be cautious about?[349] Is it not [the people's] following?
This following, it is not remote. If there is no root, there is no crown of the tree. If there are no tiny [things], there will be nothing splendid. If a hill is not a hill, it will not be tall. If water is not water, it will not flow.

examine, and the subordinate thereupon entrust themselves"). However, this is difficult to accept considering that the character *sui* 遂 is used later in the text as an emphasised term, and reading it as "thereupon" would diminish this term's importance in this particular sentence and bring compositional dissonance into the text.

349 The original text reads *ru shen he fei sui* 汝慎何非遂, which breaks the familiar pattern 何 X 非 Y. I suspect that this passage might be influenced by the previous sentence: *ru shen shou wu shi* 汝慎守勿失, where the characters *ru shen* appear in a sequence. Therefore, following Lu Wenchao, I read this passage as *ru he shen fei sui* 汝慎何非遂 in my translation (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 234).

[4. Concluding formulas]

The concluding formulas are rather typical of the kingly consultations. The formula mentioning “the Zhou in relation to the people's … ” (*zhou yu min zhi* 周于民之……) is particularly difficult. Compared to “Xiao kai”, it appears here in a relatively full form, but unfortunately still remains obscure.

嗚呼！敬之哉！ 倍本者槁。 汝何葆非監? 不維一保監順時， 維周于民之適敗， 無有時蓋。 後戒後戒， 謀念勿擇。	*Wuhu*! Be reverent towards this! The one who turns his back on the root, withers away. What would you safeguard? Is it not the exercise of authority?[350] If [you] do not, in a wholehearted manner, safeguard the exercise of authority and comply with [proper] times,[351] then Zhou, in what relates to the people's movement towards collapse, will have no timely protection.[352] Posterity, beware! Posterity, beware! Deliberate and think! Do not be weary![353]

350 See fn. 342.

351 Considering the often-emphasised theme of timeliness and seasonality in the kingly consultations, I prefer to read *shi* 時 here as “time”, and not as an indicative pronoun, which is how I have read it in the previous section. I realise that these diverging readings of the same character bring an inconsistency, which I would have preferred to avoid. However, I believe that reading *shi* as an indicative pronoun, understanding it as a reference to some obscure entity supposedly mentioned previously in the text, would be strained.

352 It is possible that this phrase is related to a passage from the “Lü xing” that also seems to speak of the relationship between the ruler and his subjects: *qunhou zhi dai zai xia, ming mingfei chang, guangua wu gai* 群后之逮在下，明明斐常，鰥寡無蓋 (“In the ruler's condescension towards the subordinate, if the bright luminance is not constant, then the widows and orphans will have no protection”). I follow Karlgren in his suggestion that *qunhou* 群后 should be read as *junhou* 君后, but I cannot agree with his interpretation of the entire passage (Karlgren 1970, 178–79).

353 I follow Ding Zongluo in reading *ze* 擇 (“to select”) as *yi* 斁 (“to be weary”) (Huang Huaixin, Tian Xudong, and Zhang Maorong 2007, 235).

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