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The art of narrative and the rhetoric of persuasion in the “*Jīn Téng” (Metal Bound Casket) from the Tsinghua collection of manuscripts

Abstract: This article reconstructs the rhetoric of persuasion in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” 周武王有疾 (King Wǔ of Zhōu suffered from illness), a text written on fourteen bamboo slips that is part of the Tsinghua collection of manuscripts and presumably dates to the Warring States period (ca. 481–222 BC). The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” has well-known transmitted counterparts in the *Shàngshū* and the *Shǐjì*, but in comparison with these texts, it largely omits explicit comment on the role of the Duke of Zhōu 周公 after the death of King Wǔ 武王. By taking this difference seriously and analysing the art of narrative in the text, this article reconstructs the social use of the text in the politico-philosophical discourse of the Warring States period. By drawing on theoretical work by Mieke Bal and Jan Assmann on narratology and memory production, this structural analysis of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” further enables new insights into the circulation of knowledge, as well as into the production and circulation of texts at the time.

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1 Introduction

This article analyses the art of narrative in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” 周武王有疾 (King Wǔ of Zhōu suffered from illness) to reconstruct the rhetoric of persuasion in the text. The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” (commonly referred to as “*Jīn téng” 金滕 in reference to its corresponding counterpart – “Jīn téng” – from the New Text recension of the *Shàngshū* 尚書) dates to the Warring States period and is part of the Tsinghua collection of manuscripts. By making explicit the strategies by which meaning is constructed, I cast light on the audiences of this text, as well as its social use in the politico-philosophical discourse of its period.

There exist different manifestations of the story where the Duke of Zhōu 周公 “puts himself forward” in the place of the successor King Chéng 成王 (r.1042/35–1006 BC) after King Wǔ 武王 (r. 1049/45–1043 BC) of Zhōu has fallen ill and died.¹ The Duke of Zhōu, so the story continues, holds a private divination where he consults the spirits with regard to his intentions, and then stores the record of the divination in a metal-bound casket. Much later, moved by suspicion, King Chéng has the casket opened to find that the Duke of Zhōu acted in good faith. The most prominent versions of the story known today are manifested in the “Jīn téng” (Metal-bound casket) of the New Text recension of the *Shàngshū* and the “Lǚ Zhōugōng shìjiā” 魯周公世家 (The Hereditary House of Duke Zhōu of Lǚ) chapter of the *Shǐjì* 史記.² The discovery of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” 周武王有疾 included in the Tsinghua collection of manuscripts adds to the picture in significant ways.³

Key thematic elements of the fabula remain fairly stable throughout the different known manifestations of the story.⁴ These are, in particular, the euphemistic description of the illness of King Wǔ; his subsequent death; the proposal that the Duke of Zhōu should conduct a divination; the prayer in which he suggests to the spirits that he put himself forward in the place of the King; the placing of the

1 All dates follow Shaughnessy 1999a.

2 The story is also referred to in various ways across the literature. Wáng Chōng 王充 discusses a number of themes from the “Jīn téng” explicitly in the “Gǎn lèi” 感類, “Qì shòu” 氣壽 and “Sǐ wěi” 死偽 chapters of the *Lùn héng* 論衡. In the *Hàn shū* 漢書, the trope of putting oneself forward in the place of the king is applied to Wáng Mǎng 王莽 (33 BC–23 AD) who performs a ritual and places the record of his prayer in a metal-bound casket when Emperor Píng 平帝 (9 BC–6AD) suffers from severe illness.

3 The “Tsinghua collection” is a corpus of manuscripts recently purchased by Tsinghua University in Běijīng. The manuscripts, believed to date to the Warring States period, are published under the aegis of Lǐ Xuéqín as *Qīnghuá Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡. Shànghǎi: Zhōngxī, 2010–. (Henceforth *Tsinghua Manuscripts*.) The volumes are beautiful artefacts that contain high quality photographic reproductions of the slips together with transcriptions and philological annotations. So far volumes 1–4 have appeared. The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” is part of volume 1. (See 14–17 for photographic reproduction of the slips; 157–162 for the transcription of the text, annotations and a translation into Modern Chinese.)

4 I follow Mieke Bal’s basic three-layer distinction between text, story, fabula, (in Bal 2009) to which I add the distinction between text and manuscript. I define “text” as the textual matter transmitted. It is the formulation of an idea that can take either oral or written form, or both at once, and is abstracted from any material carrier. A text can therefore travel orally and so independently of material contexts. “Manuscript” is the material textual representation, that is, the physical manifestation of a text. (See also Meyer 2012) See further Ehlich for an in-depth discussion of “text”. (In Ehlich 1982, 1983). Bal understands fabula as the material or content that is worked into a story; “story” is defined as the content of a text that produces a particular manifestation of a fabula. (In Bal 2009: 5).

record of his prayer in a metal-bound casket; King Chéng's suspicion towards the Duke of Zhōu's actions and the Duke's subsequent presentation of an ode to King Chéng; the mention of the destruction of the crops by wind and rain when King Chéng refuses to meet the Duke; the opening of the casket and the subsequent confirmation of the Duke's loyalty; the final recovery of the crops.

Despite these constants in the presentation of the story, its manifestation as presented in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” differs significantly from the “Jīn téng” and the “Lǚ Zhōugōng shìjiā”, especially with regard to key elements of the fabula that are missing in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”. Crucially, some of these elements play an important part in the “Jīn téng” or the “Lǚ Zhōugōng shìjiā” in that they provide an unambiguous interpretative context to the narrative, showing the Duke in an unmistakably favourable light.⁵

Altogether, the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” presents a much truncated manifestation of the story, and the fact that we now have a primary text from the Warring States period that differs so significantly from the “Jīn téng”⁶ and the Imperial “Lǚ Zhōugōng shìjiā” raises important questions about the nature of the story, as well as the role of writing in its preservation and circulation. This situation allows conclusions to be drawn more generally about memory, the circulation of knowledge, and the production and circulation of texts at the time. One wonders which components of the fabula were essential for the story to remain intact, and, perhaps more fundamentally, whether the story remains intact at all? What exactly is the story as presented in the Tsinghua “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”, and what is the logic of events conveyed in it? How did the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” work as text and what was the socio-political background against which this particular manifestation of the story was produced and meaningful? (Even if one were to hypothesise that the story as presented in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” was in itself nonsensical, its fixation on bamboo clearly served a purpose of some kind.) How was the text understood by certain meaning-communities, and used for different socio-philosophical ends?⁷ Did the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” present a story that

⁵ The recovery of King Wǔ subsequent to the divination held by the Duke of Zhōu or his reassurance to the participating ministers in the divination that the King will suffer no harm, may be cited here. Anna Stryjewska provides an excellent analysis of the differences between the three texts with regard to the presentation of the story in her unpublished MSt thesis (Oxford, 2013).

⁶ Gù Jiégāng 顧頡剛 (1893–1980) organised the *Shàngshū* in three main chronological categories, namely into texts which he considered to date from the Western Zhōu, texts from the Eastern Zhōu, and texts from the late Eastern Zhōu and the Qín and the Hàn periods. He dates the “Jīn téng” around the Eastern Zhōu period (770–221 BC).

⁷ I here differentiate meaning communities in the wider sense from narrower textual communities. While all textual communities constitute a meaning community of some kind, the opposite does not necessarily apply. Groups that are informed by, and share, the same cultural memory,

was accessible to the uninitiated, that is, was it accessible to a wide range of textual audiences? Was it accessible at all without prior knowledge of and reference to the “Jīn téng” or other supporting materials? And which social groups were targeted by the text? Who were those communities that constituted its likely audience, and how was it used at the time?

These are just a few of the central questions that have been thrown up by the discovery of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”. I intend to address them by means of a thought experiment. As a hermeneutic strategy, I look at the text in isolation of the transmitted manifestations of the story in an attempt to reconstruct the rhetoric of persuasion in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”. Understanding the text as a manifestation of a social event, the idea is to investigate whether this text was a sufficient tool for presenting an argument, and as such a successful attempt to give meaning to a specific state of socio-political affairs. Reading the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” in this way will cast light on the social use of texts during the Warring States period and elucidate the role of reading and writing in the setting of memory production and knowledge transmission.

Following Mieke Bal’s differentiation of fabula, story, text,⁸ I propose to differentiate notionally between cultural memory, meaning community, and textual community. Parallel to “fabula”, I understand cultural memory as the material that frames the experience of a society and that can be worked into different narratives; parallel to Bal’s “story”, meaning communities can take different aspects to and from that material and make it into a narrative. The Duke of Zhōu, for instance, may appear good in the narrative of some meaning communities but bad in the narrative of others – even if the same set of materials informs these groups and frames their experience. It follows that one event can be interpreted in different ways by different textual communities. When made into a narrative of some kind, it reinforces their position in relation to that event, as well as serving to inform them about other affairs of interest.

represent a “meaning community”. Here the term applies, in particular, to the community of *shì* 士, that is, the culture-producing group at the time of the Warring States period. The term “cultural memory” was introduced to the wider academic community by J. Assmann 1999. (See J. Assmann 2011 for the English translation.) Assmann’s cultural memory is conceptually based on Maurice Halbwachs’s (1877–1945) analysis of the concept “collective memory”, which he put forward in his seminal work *La mémoire collective* (1950; English translation 1992)

⁸ See n. 6.

2 The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”: text on bamboo

The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” is part of a collection of unprovenanced manuscripts that was acquired by Tsinghua University in Běijīng from an antique market in Hong Kong in 2008.⁹ The collection contains different manuscripts of altogether about 2,500 bamboo slips that probably originate from the ancient kingdom of Chǔ 楚. For the most part, the slips of this collection are in a remarkably good condition.¹⁰ Given that the slips were not discovered in a supervised excavation but “repatriated” through publicly unknown dealers, we know virtually nothing about the immediate contexts of the manuscripts, that is, how the slips were stored originally (can we presume that they come from a tomb?) and whether they were accompanied by any other (grave?) artefacts.¹¹ The majority of texts from the Tsinghua manuscripts are commonly considered to belong to the *shū* 書 “documents”¹² tradition, as well as annalistic texts.¹³ But we have no idea whether these texts were part of a larger collection of more diverse materials,¹⁴ or whether this was an oddly consistent collection of texts with a particular – quasi-historical – focus.¹⁵

⁹ See Liú Guózhōng 2011: 36.

¹⁰ Liú Guózhōng 2011: 54. In fact, the exceptional quality of the slips leads to some doubt about their authenticity as real Warring States period artefacts.

¹¹ This is a regrettable situation that deprives us of crucial information about the texts we study. (For a discussion of this, see Kern 2002. See also Meyer 2009.) All we know is that the slips were purchased together with the remains of a wooden box. (See Lǐ Xuéqín 2008a: 2.) It is likely that they were stored originally in such a box.

¹² See also Sarah Allan’s discussion of the “*shū*”-tradition. In Allan 2012.

¹³ Volume 2 (2011) of *Tsinghua Manuscripts* contains a single manuscript in 138 slips, referred to as “*Xì nián” 繫年. (I add the asterisk to indicate that the title was assigned to it by modern editors. In this I follow the practice introduced by Rodo Pfister, who himself follows the praxis in Buddhist studies and historical linguistics.) The “*Xì nián” is the longest Warring States manuscript found to date. It presents a chronology of events spanning the beginnings of Zhōu rule to the reign of King Dào 悼王 of Chǔ (ca 400 BC).

¹⁴ Answers to these questions are highly relevant if we want to contextualise the texts in a historically valid socio-political framework in order to cast light on the culture of reading, writing, and text collection in early China that is so vital for the wider project of a history of thought in early China. The Chinese authorities and cultural institutions – but also scholars in the West – must therefore think carefully about strategies to slow down the accelerating process of trade in unprovenanced materials where all the relevant contextual information about the texts is irretrievably lost.

¹⁵ “Historical” here does not mean that these texts present history in a positivist, “Rankean” sense but, for the most part, present “history” with a polemical attitude which makes these texts argumentative rather than purely descriptive. The question as to what Ranke’s statement “wie es eigentlich gewesen” (showing what essentially happened) means in precise terms is an issue of

Despite all contextual information about the manuscripts being lost due to their unlawful acquisition, the authenticity of the slips was nonetheless confirmed through radiocarbon testing of some of the broken and non-inscribed ones. Based on this, the manuscript is now dated to circa 305 BC, with a margin of error of about thirty years.¹⁶ That this only gives us an incomplete picture is clear. The ink was never tested, and so there remains at least the theoretical possibility that a forgery was produced by using original slips.¹⁷ Until the ink is tested, all results remain tentative.¹⁸

The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” is written on fourteen bamboo slips that were connected by three cords.¹⁹ Unbroken slips of the manuscript have a length of 45 centimetres. The upper end of slips eight and ten is missing and presumably three to four characters are lost in both places. Slips seven and nine also lack the upper end but it seems that no graph is missing there. Slips nine and ten are broken at their lower ends. No graphs are missing there.

ongoing debate. (The translation here follows Evans 2000: 17.) Scholars such as Evans hold that Ranke was above all a romantic and idealist, with “eigentlich” referring to the essence behind the facts which the historian should discern. (See also Iggers and Powell 1990.)

¹⁶ See Lǐ Xuéqín 2009: 76.

¹⁷ On the issue of forgery, see Hú Píngshēng 2008.

¹⁸ Having said that, it should be noted that even the testing of the ink would not *per se* prove the authenticity of the manuscripts. By now, ancient ink has been found in a number of tombs and so there remains at least the theoretical possibility that forgers might use ancient ink to write on recovered ancient slips. Other indicators must therefore be used to validate the authenticity of unprovenanced manuscripts in addition to radiocarbon testing of the slips and analysing the chemical consistency of the ink, as well as, of course, positive affirmation by leading palaeographers with regard to the authenticity of the calligraphy. (For instance the palaeographic analysis of previously unseen structural and calligraphic variations that nonetheless conform to our knowledge of Chinese palaeography and historical phonology may help to authenticate the materials in question.) In the case of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” there are a few instances where cracks on the slips go right through the characters. This suggests that the writing on the slips is contemporaneous to the preparation of the slips for the manuscripts or, at least, predates the cracks in the slips. (IT4/13 𠄎 may serve as an example. Other examples include IT4/12 𠄎; IT9/11 𠄎; IT9/12 𠄎) Tombs where ancient ink or ink stones have been found include Hàn tomb Bājiǎoláng 八角郎, number 40, Dìngxiàn, Héběi (circa 55 BC), which contained an ink stone. This was the tomb of King Huái of Zhōngshān, Liú Xiū. (The tomb was discovered in 1976. It was disturbed and partly burned. For a report, see *Wénwù* 1981: 8.) Mid-to-late Warring States period tomb Jiǔdiàn 九店, number 56, Jiānglíng, Húběi (circa 330–270 BC) contained an ink box. (The tomb was discovered in 1981. For a report, see Jiānglíng Dōng Zhōumù, 1995: 49–51, 53; Jiānglíng Chǔ jiǎn, 2000.) An ink-slab, made of cobblestone, was found from the Qín tomb Shuǐhǔdì, Húběi, in 1975. The tomb further yielded a rubber, also made of cobblestone with traces of ink on it. (By 2004, some 24 sites contain either ink or inkstones. For a list, see the Appendix produced by Shaughnessy in Tsuen-Hsuei Tsien 2004: 237.)

¹⁹ See *Tsinghua Manuscripts*, vol. 1: 157.

For the most part, the characters written on the slips are clearly legible. The calligraphy is uniform, suggesting that the writing was carried out by just one hand.²⁰ Unbroken slips contain around 29 to 32 graphs.²¹ The exception to this is the final slip. It carries only three graphs plus a mark signalling the end of the text (𠂇). The remaining slip is left blank.

For the Tsinghua “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” it is difficult to establish with certainty what came first in the process of producing the manuscript, the writing or the binding of the slips in one unit. The traces of the three cords that connected the fourteen slips into one entity are still visible on the slips.²² The slips were connected at their very top and the very bottom, with no other cord at the centre. The fact that no single graph was covered by the cords and that slips *JT*3 and *JT*8 seem to have left a slightly bigger gap between the characters where the traces of the middle cord remain suggests to me that in the case of the Tsinghua “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”, the writing came after the binding. If that was indeed the case, it is interesting to note that the fourteen slips carry numbers on their back, indicating the position of the slips in the manuscript, plus a thin diagonal line that runs across all fourteen slips from the top end of the first slip (*JT*1) to the upper third of the final slip (*JT*14).²³ This might indicate a process of manuscript produc-

²⁰ Note that text and manuscript production are two different things. The writing on the slips need not be that of the author but, presumably, was carried out by a scribe. As argued in Meyer 2012, the production of the manuscript has no direct correspondence with the composition of the text and the two activities must be kept apart. A powerful distinction between “scribe” and “scribal hand” is made in Bagnall 2013. (See also the discussion in Richter 2013.) For the distinction between “scribe” and “scribeur” in the Chinese context, see Meyer forthcoming 2015b.

²¹ Slip *JT*1 contains 30 graphs; *JT*2 contains 29; *JT*3: 30; *JT*4: 29; *JT*5: 29; *JT*6: 31; *JT*7: 32; *JT*9: 30; *JT*11: 30; *JT*12: 30; *JT*13: 29. This does not take into account cases of ligature or signs for reduplication. In my notation, “*JT*” indicates “slip of the ‘Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí’ manuscript”, followed by an Arabic numeral of the slip in question plus the graph on that slip. For example, “*JT*4” refers to slip 4 of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”; “*JT*4/12” refers to graph 12 on slip 4; “*JT*4/12–14” refers to graphs twelve to fourteen of slip 4.

²² Note that the visible traces of the ancient binding straps also serve as indicator of the authenticity of the slips. The Zhèjiāng 浙江 manuscripts, for instance, lack such marks of binding straps. Although the calligraphy is on ancient slips, the Zhèjiāng manuscripts are now generally considered as not authentic.

²³ The exact purpose of such a slanting line, carved into the back of the slips with a sharp knife (as is the case for the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”), is as yet unclear. It has been suggested that such lines were used to indicate the order of the slips, but cases such as the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” seem to speak against this hypothesis (Staack 2012: 8–13) – unless we assume that they served this purpose at different stages of manuscript production (Stryjewska 2013: 7), which to me seems the most plausible scenario. The fact is, whenever we see a slanting line plus slip numbers written on the back of the slips, the two correlate. The Tsinghua “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” is no

tion where the scribe of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” was either copying the text from a visible *Vorlage* that contained the same number of slips, or where the scribe produced more than this one copy of the text and so prepared a set number of slips in advance. Both scenarios cast some light on the commodification of text and manuscript in the latter half of the Warring States period when a manuscript culture was taking shape.²⁴ Apart from the numbers indicating the slip sequence in the manuscript and the slanting line on the back of the bamboo slips, the manuscript contains a designation written on the back of the lower third of slip ^J14 [周武王又（有）疾周公所自以弋（代）王之志] “The record of the Duke of Zhōu putting himself forward in the place of the king when King Wǔ was suffering from illness”. I assume that this served the purpose of accessibility when storing the manuscript.

Apart from the mark in the form of a hook on the final bamboo slip to indicate the end of the text (■), the manuscript further shows marks for repetition, for instance on slip ^J5: ■ 爾之許我=(我)則; indications for ligature writing, for instance on slip ^J13/14: ■ 齋=(之所); repetition marks for fixed terms that are written in short hand, for instance ^J10/2: ■ 夫=(大夫); reading marks, possibly used to indicate textual “breath groups”, for instance ^J3/20–^J4/17: 子之責在上 ■ (,) 惟爾元孫發也 ■ (,) |^J4 不若旦也 ■ (,) 是佞若巧

exception in this respect. The recently purchased Běijīng Dàxué 北京大學 Western Hàn “Lǎozǐ” manuscripts *shàng* 上- and *xià jīng* 下經 cast further light on the purpose of the slanting line on the back of the slips. This corpus is rather consistent in that the slanting line – as is true of the Tsinghua “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” – exclusively runs from the top left of the first slip to the upper half of the right end of the final slip. According to Sūn Pèiyáng, this situation applies to the great majority of bamboo manuscripts from the Warring States period to the Hàn. (The Tsinghua “Qí yè” 耆夜 may serve as counter example in that it has a few slips going the opposite direction, suggesting that a minority of manuscripts also had a “V” or perhaps “W” shaped line at the back of the slips instead of the “/” as in the majority of known cases.) In most cases, the slanting line – sometimes as thin as a hair – is carved into the back of the slips with a very sharp tool. In the vast majority of cases, the slanting line goes to the position of the second binding strap. This indicates that the slanting line was carved before the binding of the slips into one manuscript because it continues under the strap. The current hypothesis, shared by Sūn Pèiyáng and the editors of the “Běi Dà Western Hàn-Lǎozǐ”, is that the line was carved into the bamboo tube before the slips were cut from that tube, and that the slips of one manuscript all come from the same tube. (See Sūn Pèiyáng 2011: 449–462; Běijīng Dàxué cáng Xihàn zhúshū, vol. 2: 227–235.) These observations cast light on how little waste was produced in the making of the slips. The highly skilled work strongly suggests a division of labour in the production of the manuscript between, at least, the carver of the slips and the scribe.

²⁴ On the commodification of texts and the resulting division of labour in the process of manuscript production, see in particular Meyer 2012: 83 and 210.

能，多才 (，) 多執 (藝) (，) 能事鬼神.²⁵ The reading support in the text is fairly consistent. Of the sixty-three places in the text where modern editors would add either a comma or a full stop, the scribe – or later readers – indicated twenty-nine in the text. This includes the mark at the end of the text. It is noticeable that those places where modern editors would put a comma are marked more consistently than where one would put a full stop. This might suggest that the more obvious reading pauses were not deemed to need marking while the less obvious ones were marked consistently. It also indicates that the manuscript was produced for use, that is, to be read, and not just for display purposes. Whether such marks were added by the scribe or by later readers cannot be determined at this point because the marks do not affect the spacing between the individual graphs.

3 Structure and thought

The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” unfolds a narration that spans an extended period of time where more than one single event is covered. This is rather untypical for texts of the “Shū” tradition, to which the New Text recension counterpart of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” belongs by definition, where individual events normally take place on just one day.²⁶ It is also noteworthy that in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” we do not find large chunks of speech but narration interspersed with short dialogical excerpts and isolated utterances. In fact, it is perhaps in order to hypothesise that within the texts of the “Shū” tradition, the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” shows a novel form of text composition. The character of the king as an agent in the composition with no active role in the text is just another indication of this.²⁷

On the whole, the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”, one could say, narrates the primary event of the Duke of Zhōu conducting a divination. (Note, however, that the event of the divination is itself nowhere made explicit in the text.) Other events occurring in the text can all be taken as sub-events directly related to or dependent on

²⁵ The vertical line before the designation of the slip and its place in the manuscript indicates the beginning of an unbroken slip. |⁷⁴ thus designates the beginning of slip 4 of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”, which is not damaged. |^{78/1}, for instance, refers to the first remaining graph on the damaged slip 8.

²⁶ A rather noteworthy exception to this is the New Text recension “Gù mìng” 顧命 (Testimonial Charge). As a text composition, the “Gù mìng” also dates to the Eastern Zhōu period. (For an extensive discussion of the “Gù mìng” see Meyer forthcoming 2015a.)

²⁷ The form of a text of “Shū” tradition normally presupposes that the king would reappear to take an active role. But in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”, the king simply serves as the passive agent of an event (e.g. the king is ill).

the primary event of the Duke's actions. These include the illness of King Wǔ and his death; the premature succession of King Chéng 成王; rumours about the Duke of Zhōu; the displacement of the Duke of Zhōu and unrest in the Zhōu Kingdom; the capture of the leaders of the rebellion against the House of the Zhōu; King Chéng's suspicion against the Duke of Zhōu; devastation through severe weather and the final recovery of the harvest.

In accordance with the progression of events in the text, I propose to split the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” into three main units – or subcantos (A B C) – of altogether eight building blocks.²⁸ Subcanto A runs from ^{IT}1/1 to ^{IT}6/23 (勿敢言 wù gǎn yán “do not have the temerity to talk about [it]!”). It narrates the event of the divination without taking any macroscopic perspective. Subcanto C runs from ^{IT}9/9 (是歲 shì suì “in that year”) to the end of the text (^{IT}14/3 大穫 dàhuò “great harvest”) and nearly equals subcanto A in length. It narrates the opening of the casket, also by taking no macroscopic perspective. It should be seen as a resolution to the conflict. Subcanto B takes a middle position between the two. It consists of just one building block and runs from ^{IT}6/24 (即後 jíhòu “thereafter”) to ^{IT}9/8 (迎公 yíng gōng “receive the Duke”). Structurally, it takes on a bridge position between subcanto A (“Divination”) and subcanto C (“Resolution”). The three subcantos are not marked physically in the text. Based on this structure, I propose a detailed division of the texts as follows:

Subcanto A contains the following elements:

1. *The frame*: this unit specifies the context of the account by defining the time (but not the space) of the setting. It provides the basic contextual information of the story.
2. *Contradictions in the Duke's behaviour*: here an apparent contradiction comes to the fore where the Duke's actions deviate from what he declares. This unit leads over to:
3. *The Duke's prayer*, which contains two elements
 - a. the preparation of the prayer and
 - b. the contents of the prayer.
4. *The closure of ritual*.

Subcanto B:

5. *Bridge*: this unit provides the contextual information that connects subcantos A and C.

Subcanto C:

6. *Nature sends signs*: nature sends a sign to admonish the King;
7. *The opening of the casket*: the King is persuaded to open the casket;

²⁸ For a discussion of the term “subcanto”, see Meyer 2012: 56, n.15.

8. *Nature sends signs: nature signals approval.**The Primary Event: Subcanto A*

Subcanto A consists of altogether four building blocks that narrate the primary event of the divination. The act of the divination, however, is itself nowhere made explicit. As indicated, subcanto A alone takes no wider macroscopic perspective but assumes immediate involvement in the event, with exception of the first line. Line 1 frames the account by specifying the event in time and reference. Otherwise, contextualisation is kept to a bare minimum. A macro-perspective on the events is only gained when reading subcanto A in connection with subcantos B and C:

A 1

- 1 |^m 武王既克殷三年，王不豫有遲。[i]²⁹
 - 2 二公告周公曰「我其爲王穆卜。」
 - 3 周公曰：「未可以|^m感吾先王。」ⁱⁱ
 - 4 周公乃爲三壇同壇，爲一壇於南方。周公立焉，秉璧，戴珪。ⁱⁱⁱ
- 1 |^m It was three years since King Wǔ had defeated Yīn. The King was indisposed for a long while because [he suffered from severe] illness.
 - 2 The two Dukes [ritually] announced to the Duke of Zhōu saying: “Let us reverently perform the oracle divination for the King.”
 - 3 The Duke of Zhōu responded: “we must not |^m upset our former kings.”
 - 4 Thereupon the Duke of Zhōu made three [earthen] altars on the same platform and one on the southern side [of it]. The Duke of Zhōu stood on it, holding a *bì* (*pek) jade disk and carrying a *guī* (*k^we)³⁰ jade tablet.

The opening in line 1 places the narrative in a historical setting. While texts of the early layers of the “Shū” tradition predominantly refer to “[Our] King”,³¹ the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jī” specifies “king” explicitly as King Wǔ and locates the

²⁹ The transcription of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jī” is based primarily on *Qīnghuá Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn* vol 1. The philological discussion of my reconstruction is at the end of this paper, marked as “i” et cetera.

³⁰ For the reconstruction of Old Chinese, I follow the system by Baxter / Sagart (forthcoming).

³¹ The overarching pattern in the New Text recension of the *Shàngshū* is to leave “king” non specific. Exceptions include primarily the mention of Kings Wén and Wǔ. (In “Hóng Fàn” 洪範; “Jīn téng” 金縢; “Dà gào” 大誥; “Kàng gào” 康誥; “Jiǔ gào” 酒誥; “Shāo gào” 召誥; “Luò gào” 洛誥; “Wú yì” 無逸; “Jūn shì” 君奭; “Duō fāng” 多方; “Lì zhèng” 立政; “Wén hóu zhī mìng” 文侯之命). Bronze texts often also do not specify “king” by name.

event just before his death. This is important. First, through the historical setting of the frame, the text formally opens up the narration to non-specific audiences in a manner that is common for texts of the Warring States period that do not target any particular audience.³² Second, the death of King Wǔ had a different significance to the Zhōu from just the death of one of the “two bodies” of the king, to force the metaphor by Ernst Kantorowicz (1895–1963), where kingship lives on with the death of the king’s physical body.³³ King Wǔ’s death had a different impact and was not an event of routine succession. His death threatened the consolidation of Zhōu rule just after their decisive victory over the Shāng 商 at Mùyě 牧野 in 1045 BC. The Duke of Zhōu assumed power as regent because, so the transmitted texts that approve the Zhōu say, King Chéng was deemed too young to rule. But the reality was probably more complicated than this, and so the younger brothers of King Wǔ³⁴ soon led a revolt against the Duke of Zhōu.³⁵ Open war was the result, leaving the newly established Zhōu on the brink of collapse.³⁶ Provoking years of instability, turbulence and warfare, to the point that the very existence of the young dynasty was under threat, the incident of the Duke’s interregnum left a lasting mark in the cultural memory of the Zhōu. Different texts from the Eastern Zhōu period institutionalise that memory.³⁷ They create remembrance of the event in a way a particular meaning community – elite groups of the

³² For a discussion of the targeting of audiences in Warring States period argumentative texts, see Meyer 2012: 103, 207.

³³ See Kantorowicz 1957. I am aware of the Christian undertones of this concept and do not suggest applying the “divine-humane” duality of a Christ-centred kingship to the Zhōu period. It is clear, however, that there is a political counterpart to the “mystical” or “divine” element and that the King’s role was not exhausted by his natural body in early China.

³⁴ They were Guǎnshū Xiān 管叔鮮, Càishū Dù 蔡叔度 and perhaps Huòshū Chù 霍叔處.

³⁵ Archaeological evidence confirms that the whole event is not as clear as the transmitted Zhōu sources portray it. According to Wáng Huī, Sōng 誦 (the personal name of the future King Chéng) must have been around the age of twenty-three at the time of King Wǔ’s death and so unlikely to have been too young to rule. (See Wáng Huī 王暉 1993: 940–943.) In fact, Ulrich Unger in his analysis of the Western Zhōu “Tàibǎo” 太保 *guǐ* inscription suggests that the Duke of Zhōu did indeed rule as king and not just as regent. (In Unger 1976: 184–195.) Texts such as the *Lǐ jì* 禮記: “Míngtáng wèi” 明堂位 (the Duke of Zhōu “set foot on the place of the son of Heaven” 踐天子位 *jiàn tiānzǐ wèi*) and *Hánfēizǐ* 韓非子: “Nán èr” 難二 (“borrowing it, [the Duke of Zhōu] served as son of Heaven for seven years” 假為天子七年 *jià wèi tiānzǐ qī nián*) seem to confirm Unger’s conclusions. (Ibid, n. 24–25). Unger suggests that the Duke of Zhōu continued the Shāng practice of brother-succession. Obviously not aware of Unger’s excellent analysis, Edward Shaughnessy’s interpretation of the event comes to a different conclusion. (In Shaughnessy, 1989: 51–77. Repr. in Shaughnessy 1997: 137–164. See also Shaughnessy 1993: 41–72. Repr. in Shaughnessy 1997: 101–136). I thank Christian Schwermann for bringing Unger’s article to my attention.

³⁶ The tumultuous events are summarised in Shaughnessy 1999b: 307–310.

³⁷ The “Gù mìng” 顧命 in particular takes this as a starting point. (See Meyer 2015a)

Zhōu – wished to keep it, and so the Duke's interregnum became part of the “foundational past” of the Zhōu.³⁸ The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” must be seen in this light. As will become clear later, it represents the attempt to reconfigure the presence of threat into a founding myth of the Zhōu. The ambiguous role of the Duke of Zhōu plays a key role in this.

We cannot assume that the textual audience of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” would face the text without this cultural baggage. Text circulation at the time of the manuscript's production was still fairly limited to particular communities. At the time of the Warring States period when a manuscript culture took form, texts were no longer confined to closed circles around the king and his advisers but broke beyond the centres of immediate political power.³⁹ Nonetheless, we can conclude from the archaeological records that in general, text and knowledge production largely remained the domain of confined, well educated elite groups.⁴⁰ Those who encounter the Duke of Zhōu in texts from the Warring States period would not encounter a historical person of Rankean type, but an idealised philosophical persona to Zhōu taste. For the textual audience of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” this will have been no different. They will have known that the Duke of Zhōu assumed power – in whatever fashion he might have done so. They might even realise that the legitimacy of that move was, at least among some communities, in doubt. As will be shown, the authors of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” were obviously well aware of doubts concerning the Duke's integrity and the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” plays with the ambiguity inherent in the role of the Duke in Zhōu history.

The text takes the decisive moment of Zhōu history as its starting point – without ever spelling it out in precise terms. Throughout the text, the authors maintain feelings of doubt and suspicion on behalf of the text's audiences with regard to the Duke of Zhōu's actual role in the years of turmoil. A few key words

³⁸ On the concept of foundational history, see J. Assmann 2011: 38, 59, 61–63. The concept entails cultural memory transforming “factual” history into “remembered history”, by which it turns into “myth”. Myth, in turn, is “foundational history” in that its narrative intends to illuminate the present through the past. The connection with the foundational past of a people is vital for the identity of the remembering group. For this, ceremony is a key element. But in the same way in which ceremony is key for remembrance, it also shapes memory. (See J. Assmann 2011: 38.)

³⁹ For a discussion, see Meyer, 2014: 27. See also Lewis 1999: 64.

⁴⁰ These would have been largely the part of the community of *shì* 士, non-land holding aristocrats. For a discussion of the formation of the group of *shì* 士 as people possessing social and learned skills, see Yú Yingshí 1980; Pines 2009: 115. For a study of the archaeological record with regard to the sub-elite of the Spring and Autumn as well as Warring States period, see von Falkenhausen 2003.

suffice, and the authors know the textual audiences on their plane. The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”, the initial frame suggests, speaks to non-specific but well-trained, elite communities. Contextualisation in subcanto A is only used to demarcate the larger contours of the narration. The *èr gōng* 二公 that enter the stage (line 2) right after the initial frame exemplify this well. They could be either “two dukes” or “*the* two Dukes”, possibly Tàì Gōng 太公 and Shào Gōng 召公, who feature in the imperial “Lǚ Zhōugōng shìjiā”.⁴¹ But the text remains silent about their identity. It is irrelevant whether this silence is because the authors could assume sufficient familiarity with the identity of the two on the part of the text recipient. For the purpose of meaning-construction, it remains that it does not matter who they are in precise terms. Structurally, their function is that of empty placeholders that are, on the one hand, historically consistent with the ritual setting of the event, but, on the other, indeterminate in their individual specification. The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” pays no attention to historical detail. Historical narrative, we shall see, serves a different purpose in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”. The text unfolds a “drama of a universal kind”⁴² where everything revolves around two main characters, the Duke of Zhōu on the one hand, and King Chéng on the other. The purpose of the two dukes here is just to propose to the Duke of Zhōu that they conduct a divination on behalf of the waning King Wǔ, to be refused instantly by the Duke (line 3). His actions, however, speak a different language (line 4). The Duke of Zhōu goes on to prepare three altars on the same levelled ground and one on its southern side. With the state insignia of power in his hands, he now does what he claimed he would not do, and addresses the spirits of the former Zhōu kings.

This apparent contradiction between the Duke’s actions and declarations is addressed nowhere in the text. It is one among the many loose ends in the text that find no resolution. Whether this is by mistake in the text composition is irrelevant. It does not impair the text’s overall clarity. On the contrary, it furthers the sense of doubt that proves a vital element of the text’s message.

Structurally, the final line (line 4) takes a bridging position between this one and the next building block. By creating a tension, it raises suspicion on the part of the text recipient with regard to the Duke’s real intentions, leading over from the account of A 1 to building blocks A 2.1 and A 2.2, where the Scribe announces to the former kings the prayer of the Duke of Zhōu.

⁴¹ Tàì Gōng 太公 and Shào Gōng 召公: Shào Gōng Shì was the half-brother of the Duke of Zhōu.

⁴² The “Jīn téng” contains all elements to consider it a “dramatic text”. For a discussion of “drama” in universal terms, see Utzschneider 2007a, 2007b.

A 2 forms a pericope and so I refer to the building blocks as A 2.1 and A 2.2. Structurally, building block A 2.1 prepares the details in the Duke of Zhōu's prayer to be given in A 2.2:

A 2.1

史乃冊^{|T3}祝告先王曰：

「爾元孫發也，遭害虐疾。爾毋乃有丕子之責在上^{iv}？惟爾元孫發也，^{|T4}不若旦也。」

The Scribe then announced ^{|T3} the prayer to invoke the former kings as follows:

“It is Fā, your first grandchild, who has been struck by misfortune as he suffers severe illness. Is it not you to bear responsibility for the great son before the [one above (Heaven)]? Indeed, it is your first grandchild, Fā, ^{|T4} who does not compare to [me], Dàn (the Duke of Zhōu)!

The reasons why Fā, that is, King Wǔ, cannot compare with the Duke of Zhōu include the latter's talents and skills. These are detailed as follows:

A 2.2

1 是佞若巧能，多才，多藝，能事鬼神。

2 命于帝廷，敷有四方，以定爾子^{|T5}孫于下地。

3 爾之許我，我則厭(瘞)璧與珪^v。爾不我許，我乃以璧與珪歸。」

1 The one (Dàn) is clever and ingenious, he has many talents and skills, and [so he] is able to serve the deities.

2 Mandated by the Hall of the ancestors, [the mandate] extends to the four quarters [of the world] to reaffirm your ^{|T5} descendants below on earth.

3 If you were to approve of me, I would enter this *bì* jade disk and the *guī* (*k^we) jade tablet; but if you were not to approve of me, I would then return the *bì* (*pek) jade disk and the *guī* jade tablet.”

The last line of this unit presents us with a problem. Graph ^{|T5}/10 (𠄎) is identified as 晉, which the editors of the *Tsinghua Manuscripts* suggest reading as *jìn* 晉 (*tsin-s) or possibly as *jìn* 進 (*tsin-s) “to advance”. However, as noted recently by Chén Jiàn, to read the graph 𠄎 as *jìn* 晉 (*tsin-s) is mistaken.⁴³ Xú Zàiguó and Sòng Huáqiáng propose reading 𠄎 as *yàn* 厭 “to bury” (*?em),⁴⁴ which is now perhaps the most widely accepted reading for the graph 𠄎. But this reading is problematic too. Referring to the insignia of power, the Duke of Zhōu addresses the former kings as to whether to “bury” (厭) the insignia or, if he is not granted the very request whose precise nature remains unsaid, to return them. This does not seem to make much sense. Sòng Huáqiáng offers a way out of this dilemma.

⁴³ See Chén Jiàn 2013: 405 (with further references).

⁴⁴ See Xú Zàiguó 2003; Sòng Huáqiáng 2010: 422.

Accepting the established identification of the graph 𡗗 as *yàn* 厭 (*ʔem), he takes this to be a phonetic variant of 贛 (*komʔ) in the sense of “to present”.⁴⁵ But this too is problematic because it violates the criteria for phonetic similarity for loan characters and phonetic components in Old Chinese.⁴⁶ Chén Jiàn therefore proposes to read it as *yì* 瘞 (*ʔ<r>ep-s) “to enter, bury” which works well phonologically and content-wise.⁴⁷ It adds to the sense of conspiracy built up to this point and allows for a smooth reading of this passage. The final line of A 2.2 invites the text recipient to understand that the Duke of Zhōu intends to usurp the power of the state for his own gain and, in his rhetoric to the former kings, to the benefit of the entire Zhōu domain. The formal structure of this unit evidences this. The Duke of Zhōu was presented to the former kings as superior in talents to King Wǔ and, in line 2, as a true servant eager to retain the power of the dynasty as established by the former kings. We have not learned in what way his talents are superior to those of King Wǔ. But in keeping his actions and talents the object of lines 1 and 3, the two lines work in parallel fashion to each other, embracing the content of what is put between the two (line 2) in the form of a conceptual “principal insertion” that formulates the successful establishment of Zhōu rule.⁴⁸ On the structural level of text composition, the literary form of the argument⁴⁹ thus presents the claim that the actions by the Duke of Zhōu are to the advantage of the Zhōu – but at the expense of the current Zhōu rulers; a coup d’état to save Zhōu rule.

- 1 是佞若巧能，多才，多藝，能事鬼神。
 2 命于帝廷，敷有四方，以定爾子¹⁷⁵孫于下地。
 3 爾之許我，我則瘞璧與珪。爾不我許，我乃以璧與珪歸。」



Fig. 1: The Duke embraces Zhōu rule

The next element closes the account of subcanto A by keeping the perspective of immediate involvement and participation that only allows for microscopic

⁴⁵ See the discussion in Sòng Huáqiáng 2011. 贛 is glossed as *cì* 賜 (*s-lek-s) “to give” in the *Shuōwén jiězhì*. The reading of the graph 贛 in this sense is testified in bronze inscriptions. (Ibid)

⁴⁶ These criteria are outlined in Meyer 2012: 150, n. 71.

⁴⁷ In Chén Jiàn 2013: 409–411. Although *yì* 瘞 also takes the meaning of “to bury” (in a sacrifice), it is done so as part of an exchange between humans and the extrahuman (in this case between the Duke of Zhōu and the spirits of the former kings).

⁴⁸ The literary form of a principal insertion normally embraces the crucial information of a text unit. It is placed between two (conceptually) parallel text passages. (See Meyer 2012: 98–99, 116–117, 179.)

⁴⁹ I take this expression from Gentz and Meyer (forthcoming 2015).

observation on the horizontal level of event progression. It, too, contains personal speech. The Duke of Zhōu emphatically warns the attendees of the event that they must not speak about it. His final exclamation vividly enforces the notion of conspiracy in this unit:

A 3

周公乃納其 ^{/T6}所為貢自以代王之說^{vi}，于金縢之匱，乃命執事人曰：「勿敢言■。」

The Duke of Zhōu thereupon put ^{/T6}the speech in which he presented himself [to the former kings] in the place of the King, into the metal-bound casket and ordered those who assisted in the ritual by saying: “do not have the temerity to talk about [it]!”

Graph ^{/T6}3 𠄎 poses a problem in the interpretation of this passage. The editors of the Tsinghua manuscripts identify it as 𠄎, which they read as *gōng* 功 (*k^ʰoŋ) “achievement, merit”.⁵⁰ The two share the same phonophoric, making this interpretation highly plausible. Contextually, another choice would be to read the graph as *gòng* 貢 (*k^ʰoŋ-s) “tribute, present”; but also “to present to”. This, too, shares the same phonophoric with 𠄎. I take this to be the better solution to this passage. Yet, instead of reading this as a noun in the sense of “tribute” or “sacrifice” as suggested by Mǐyàn 米雁,⁵¹ I would like to take it as a verb, saying that he “presented himself [to the former kings] in the place of the King [Wǔ]”. Phonetically and grammatically this makes perfect sense. The clear advantage of this reading is that structurally the unit stays intact, nourishing the sense of suspicion of and conspiracy by the Duke Zhōu that is characteristic of subcanto A on the whole.⁵²

Subcanto A closes with a description of the event of storing away the written account of the ritual. The physical action of closing the metal-bound casket also marks the closure of the event in structural terms. Nothing has been said about the precise nature or the content of the divination that was presumably carried out, nor has the outcome of the event been made explicit. The text recipient remains in the dark whether the Duke of Zhōu was successful in his request to the former kings. We are not released from the role of a passive observer and gain no macroscopic perspective about the real nature of the events. Instead of bringing the sense of suspicion and conspiracy to a conclusion, in whatever way, the unit further enforces these sentiments by putting a final exclamation into the mouth of the Duke of Zhōu where he warns the attendees of the ritual to keep silent

⁵⁰ *Tsinghua Manuscripts*, vol.1: 160.

⁵¹ Mǐyàn 2011a.

⁵² Based on the Bǎoshān manuscripts, Lǐ Xuéqín reads the graph as *gōng* 攻 “attack”. I deem this a rather unlikely reading. Lǐ Xuéqín 2008b: 408–412.

about the event. Serving as kind of a final stamp on this unit, this rhetorical point in a nearly physical way exclaims all the doubts about the Duke's real intentions. Subcanto A takes no interest in presenting the Duke of Zhōu favourably.

Altogether, subcanto A reads like a stable unit that presents a narration of its own. And yet it is clear that the text does not end here. The next unit, subcanto B, does little to overcome the sense of suspicion against the Duke of Zhōu. Structurally, it serves as a bridge that connects the event of the divination to subcanto C below. While subcanto A was told from the perspective of immediate involvement, the text gains macroscopic perspective in subcanto B.

The Bridge: Subcanto B

Subcanto B serves as a contextualising element in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” by adding a quasi-historical perspective to the event, interspersed with small bits of speech.⁵³ For the first time, the conflict between the Duke of Zhōu on the one hand, and King Chéng on the other, is brought to the fore and presented as a direct result of the Duke's secretive behaviour. Still, no information about the circumstances or the precise intentions of the Duke are being disclosed on any level:

B 1

即後武王陟^{vii}，成王猶^{|/17}幼在位。

管叔及其羣兄弟，乃流言于邦曰：「公將不利於孺子。」

周公乃告二公曰：「我之^{/18} □□□□ 無以復見於先王。」

周公宅東三年，禍人乃斯得。於後，周公乃遺王詩^{/19 54}曰雕鶚，王亦未迎公。

Thereafter, King Wǔ had already ascended (=died) and King Chéng was still ^{|/17} young when he took position, when

Guǎnshū and his group of brother spread a rumour in the state by saying: ‘the Duke [of Zhōu] will not be to the benefit of the young child’.

Upon this, the Duke of Zhōu proclaimed to the two dukes [who assisted in the ritual] by saying: ‘our ^{/18} □□□□. I have no more [business] to be received again by the former kings’.

The Duke of Zhōu settled in the East for three years when the offenders had been caught. But when the Duke of Zhōu thereupon presented the King with an ode which he called “Eagle Owl”, the King would still not receive him.

⁵³ Edward Shaughnessy has noted for the “Jīn téng” that the second half of the text contextualises the first half. (In Shaughnessy 1997: 119) This observation was applied by Anna Stryjewska in her MSt thesis to the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”. The analysis now shows that this is, however, not quite correct. Both subcantos A and C are narrated from the perspective of immediate involvement with no macroscopic focus. Contextualisation is provided in subcanto B exclusively.

⁵⁴ The top part of the slip has broken off just before the first graph on slip ^{/19}.

Subcanto B presents a most abbreviated account of a historically complex series of events, broken up by two brief excerpts of related speech. The Duke's address (line 3) is incomplete and so there remains a degree of uncertainty with regard to what this passage actually says. It is clear, however, that the Duke's speech is in direct response to the slander against him. Interestingly, it is addressed to the two unidentified dukes who were serving him during the ritual (A 1). There is no sign that the Duke's statement resolves the issue of his actual role on any level.

The historical events in this unit are presented in such a manner that they are too brief and too enigmatic to inform the non-initiated text recipient. King Wǔ's death; the enthronement of the immature King Chéng; the mention of Guǎnshū and his brothers with no further information on who he was and what role he played; the resettlement of the Duke of Zhōu; the seizure of offenders; the continuous refusal of King Chéng to receive the Duke of Zhōu – none of these features would speak to anyone who was not already familiar with the dominant version of the story with regard to what had happened at the time.⁵⁵ There is no mention of the Duke of Zhōu acting on behalf of – the officially immature – King Chéng; there is no mention of years of unrest. This passage, it is clear, does not report on decisive events in the history of the house of the Zhōu. Instead, the mention of these incidents serves a rhetorical purpose. This unit does not inform; it *reminds*. The text here speaks to an audience that is already well acquainted with the orthodox narrative of the Zhōu.

The main purpose of this unit is therefore not a historical one. It is structural. Subcanto B links subcanto A with C and presents an element of contextualisation to the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” by summarising the turbulent years of rule, unrest and change in just a few lines. For this purpose, the historical perspective given in this unit is at the same time important and unimportant. It is important structurally insofar as it links two equally consistent and highly dramatic narratives (i.e., subcantos A and C) into an organic whole, and places the events from subcantos A and B in a quasi-historical context. But it is unimportant historically in portraying what precisely happened, or defining a progression of events “wie es eigentlich gewesen”. In terms of meaning production, the historical perspective serves a rhetorical purpose and the information given in this unit is therefore

⁵⁵ After the battle of Mùyě where the armies of King Wǔ brought much of the Shāng domain under nominal control of the Zhōu, King Wǔ assigned two, perhaps three, younger brothers of his to oversee the former Shāng domain. They were Guǎnshū Xiān 管叔鮮, Càishū Dù 蔡叔度 and perhaps Huòshū Chù 霍叔處. Guǎnshū (Guǎnshū Xiān) was the third son of King Wén. As the younger brother of King Wǔ, he was King Chéng's uncle. After the suppression of the rebellion, Guǎnshū Xiān was executed and his fief, Guǎn 管, was annihilated. For a summary of the events between the battle of Mùyě and the suppression of the rebellion, see Shaughnessy 1999b: 307.

secondary, and hence, structurally, exchangeable.⁵⁶ The importance of this unit lies in its dramaturgic role of formalising the marked opposition between the two subcantos A and C, and linking them in a point of reference.

Remaining on the dramaturgic level of meaning construction rather than the historical one “as it really happened”, it is important to note that the Duke of Zhōu presents a poem to the King in response to the seizure of the offenders (line 4).⁵⁷ As noted, it is likely that the text recipient would make the connection that the offenders were those who rebelled against the Zhōu when the Duke assumed power from King Chéng. Calling them “offenders” puts them in clear opposition to King Chéng. At the same time, it also puts them in opposition to the Duke of Zhōu in formal terms, for it was the Duke who was ruling on behalf of King Chéng. The fact, then, that the King was still not willing to receive the Duke of Zhōu despite having captured the offenders displays for the first time an open tension between the two, and this tension would not even be resolved with the Duke’s presentation of an ode to the King. Despite its interchangeability in historical terms – further underscored by the fact that the text neither discloses the content of the poem, nor reveals the precise nature of the King’s grudge – subcanto B presents a dramaturgic moment in foregrounding, and contextualising, the conflict between the Duke of Zhōu and King Chéng. It exhibits the central theme of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”.

The remaining three building blocks in subcanto C present the three-part resolution of the conflict. The three units put forward, firstly, nature’s response to the king’s refusal to meet the Duke of Zhōu (1C); secondly, the opening of the casket to reveal that the Duke acted with good intent (2C); nature’s response to the King’s acceptance to meet the Duke (3C).

⁵⁶ The role of the list of events is here structurally parallel to that of the two unidentified dukes. The historical information given plays no primary role insofar it only serves compositional ends of meaning construction instead of portraying the historical actuality of the event.

⁵⁷ The name of the ode “Diāo Xiāo” 雕鶚 does not appear anywhere else in the received literature. The “Jīn téng” refers to an ode, “Chī Xiāo” 鴟鵂, – an ode of that title appears as *Máo* 155 – and identifies the Duke of Zhōu as its author. However, as Shaughnessy rightly notes, it is very unlikely that the *Máo* ode was indeed composed by the Duke of Zhōu himself. (Shaughnessy 1997: 119–121) Whether the ode mentioned in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” is the same as the one referred to in the “Jīn téng” is however not relevant for the analysis of the art of narrative in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”. Nonetheless, we should note that the two designations are remarkably close phonetically. “Diāo Xiāo” 雕鶚 OC *tʰiw-gʷaw; “Chī Xiāo” 鴟鵂 OC *tʰij-gʷaw. The *Máo* ode captures the mood of sadness of one whose efforts have not been recognised. (Shaughnessy 1997: 120)

The Resolution of the Conflict: Subcanto C

Contextually, the line mentioning the Duke's settlement in the east and his presentation of an ode to King Chéng belongs to subcanto B. Structurally, however, it makes sense to discuss it in the context of subcanto C.

C1

周公宅東三年，禍人乃斯得。於後，周公乃遺王詩^{/79}曰雕鴞，王亦未迎公。
是歲也，秋大熟，未穫，天疾風以雷，禾漸偃^{viii}，大木漸拔。邦人^{/710}□□□□弁，大夫端^{ix}，
以啟金滕之匱。

The Duke of Zhōu settled in the East for three years when the offenders had been caught. Thereupon, the Duke of Zhōu presented the King with an ode which he^{/79} called “Eagle Owl”, but the King would still not receive him.

That year, the autumn harvest had greatly ripened but had not yet been gathered, when Heaven sent fierce winds with thunder and flattened the entire crop – [even] the great trees were all uprooted. The people of the state^{/710} □□□□ the ceremonial cap and the Chief Minister put on his robe, opening the metal-bound casket.

C2

王得周公之所自以爲貢^x，以代武王之說。

王問執^{/711}事人，曰：「信。噫。公命我勿敢言。」

王捕書以泣^{xi}，曰：「昔公勤勞王家，惟余冲人亦弗及^{/712}知。今皇天動威，以彰公德。惟余冲人其親逆公，我邦家禮亦宜之。」

The King received the prayer where the Duke of Zhōu put himself forward in the place of King Wǔ.

The King [went on to] ask those^{/711} carrying out the affair who said: “Ah, it is true indeed. But the Duke ordered that we must not have the temerity to talk about [it].”

The King held fast to the writings and said, weeping: “In the past, the Duke worked hard for the King and the royal family and only I in my youth clearly did not manage to understand^{/712} this. But now August Heaven mobilised its awe to display the Duke's virtue.

Let me, the young boy, go in person and meet the Duke – the rites of our domain and family do indeed accord with this.”

C3

王乃出逆公^{/713}至郊。

是夕，天反風，禾漸起^{xii}。凡大木之所拔，二公命邦人盡復築之。

歲大有年，秋^{/714}則大穫。

And so the King left to meet the Duke^{/713} reaching the outskirts of the capital.

On this evening, Heaven withdrew the wind, and the crops rose up again in their entirety. As for the big trees that were uprooted, the two dukes ordered the people of the state to re-erect them all.

The year produced an abundant harvest, and come autumn,^{/714} it was gathered in all its plenty.

Just as subcanto A had its focus on the Duke of Zhōu and the events happening under his aegis, subcanto C now narrates with a close focus on King Chéng. And just as in subcanto A, subcanto C also lacks contextualising focus and instead presents a story of dramatic dimension. The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” formally reflects the tension between the Duke of Zhōu and King Chéng in that it sets the two subcantos A and C in opposition, and has them mirrored in B.

Subcanto C contains three units. Of these, units 1 and 3 present a narration of events that contrast the speech in the central building block of C (see Figure 2). C1 narrates the two main events, that the King is unwilling to receive the Duke of Zhōu, and that thunderstorms flatten the crops before they were harvested. C3 describes how the King finally agrees to receive the Duke, upon which the winds abate and the crops rise up again. Neither C1 nor C3 contain any speech. Speech sets in only in C2 where a dialogue is constructed that exhibits King Chéng’s wish to seek for the truth. Flanked by the two parallel units 1 and 3, the literary form of the argument in subcanto C thus constructs a principal insertion where a structurally different component is positioned between two conceptually parallel elements. Formally highlighted, such a unit normally carries the main thought of such text composition.⁵⁸ It here portrays the king’s painful insight to have been mistaken when distrusting the Duke of Zhōu:

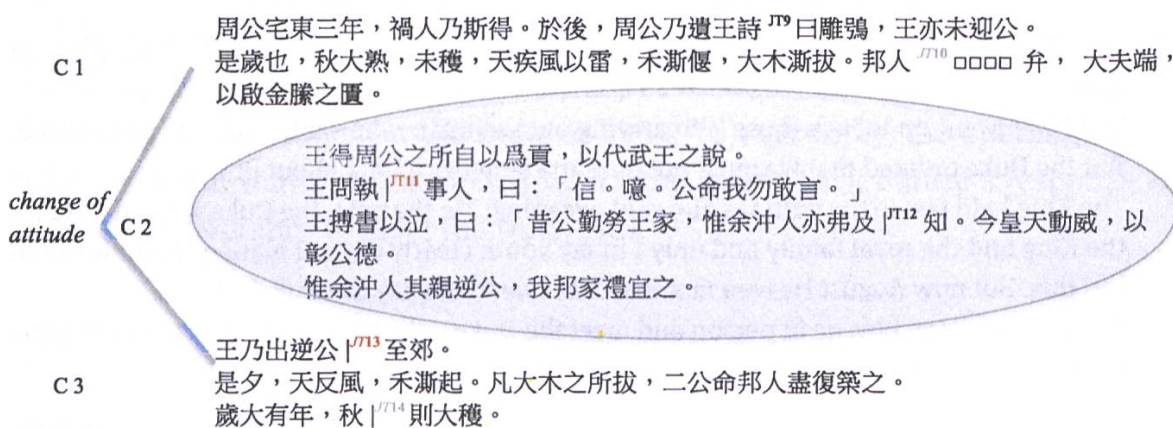


Fig. 2: Speech and narration in the principal insertion of sub-canto C

But this is not the only parallelism on a conceptual level in subcanto C. Just as striking as the principal insertion is a parallelism, described by Anna Stryjewska, between, on the one hand, the king’s refusal to meet the Duke and Heaven’s destruction of the crops, and, on the other hand, the King’s willingness to meet the Duke, answered by Heaven’s blissful saving of the crops:⁵⁹

⁵⁸ The rhetorical structure of a principal insertion is discussed in detail in Meyer 2012: 99, 179.

⁵⁹ Stryjewska, MSt thesis: 13.

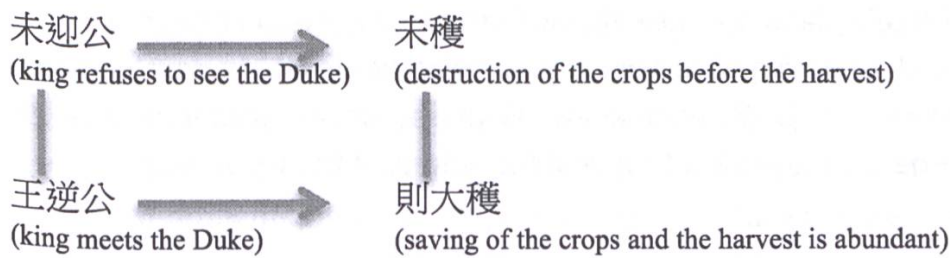


Fig. 3: The parallelism in sub-canto C

As noted by Joachim Gentz in his seminal discussion of the *Gōngyáng* commentary to the “Chūnqiú”, the “Jīn téng” is the only place in the received *Shàngshū* where Heaven responds directly to human action.⁶⁰ In the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” Heaven’s intervention is further made explicit through the parallelism of the king’s attitude towards receiving the Duke of Zhōu. Combining the two kinds of conceptual parallelisms just described it becomes clear that the element that describes Heaven’s interaction with the human sphere formally embraces the human constituent in this interaction through the form of a distanced parallelism⁶¹ in that the two parallel features formally flank the very unit where the king changes his attitude and agrees to receive the Duke. The literary form of the argument thereby reduplicates the essence of this unit that Heaven embraces human activity.

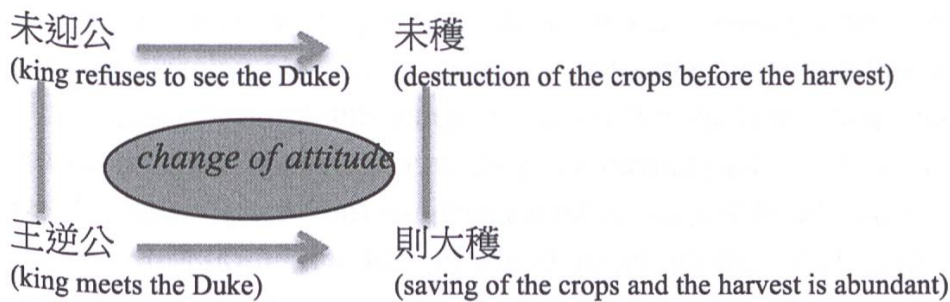


Fig. 4: Heaven embraces the sphere of humans

Met by Heavenly interference, the King realises his failure in distrusting the Duke of Zhōu. By correcting his attitude and giving formal expression to this by receiving the Duke of Zhōu humbly outside the gates, King Chéng of Zhōu reinstates cosmic harmony, with the direct effect that Heaven saves the crops and the harvest is abundant. The early sections of the text do not permit the recipient any

⁶⁰ See Joachim Gentz 2001: 212, n. 205.

⁶¹ For the terminology of a “distant parallelism” where structural elements take on the function of binding larger units together, see Marjo Korpel’s discussion of biblical delimitation theory. (In Korpel 2000: 48).

insight into the Duke's plans, because the authors portray events from the immediate perspective of a passive observer on the horizontal level. As demonstrated by nature's response, only Heaven knew. With the cosmic order reinstated, finally, there can be no doubt about the real intentions of the Duke of Zhōu.

4 Conclusion

In contrast to the received versions of the story, the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” is not interested in an unambiguous representation of the Duke of Zhōu. In much of the narration, right to the point where Heaven sides with the Duke, the authors of the text actively entertain, and repeatedly enforce, suspicion about his actual role in the events that nearly led to the downfall of the Western Zhōu. Distrust and doubts about the integrity of the Duke of Zhōu, it becomes plain, must have been deeply engrained in the memory of contemporaneous communities. The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” speaks to these communities by addressing such sentiments of doubt and nourishing them, just to prove them wrong in the final unit of the text.

From a dramaturgic perspective, the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” therefore presents itself as a well-constructed entity. The text is an A B C construction, whereby the three components do not feature co-ordinately to one another, but hierarchically. Subcanto A presents a self-sufficient narrative that closely focuses on the Duke of Zhōu. In a conceptually parallel mode to subcanto A, subcanto C also constructs a near self-sufficient narrative, this time by focusing closely on King Chéng. The two narratives are linked through the contextualising element in subcanto B, which connects the two narratives in an organic whole and exhibits the polarity between the Duke of Zhōu and King Chéng as the central theme of this text. As shown schematically in the figure below (5), the structural form of composition thus brings to the fore the conflict between the two individuals and reduplicates the matter in formal terms.

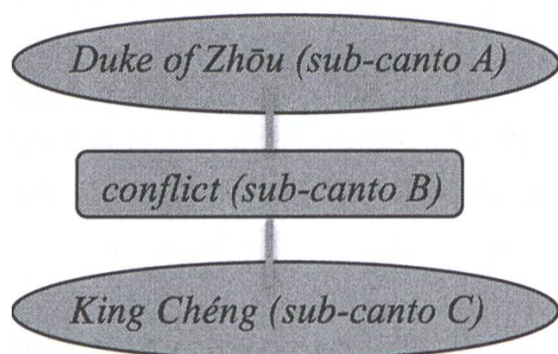


Fig. 5: The Duke of Zhōu versus King Chéng

The story presented in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” is therefore “complete”. It speaks to communities of doubt and addresses their suspicions. By remaining close to the events, the text limits its recipients’ perspective and places them in the position of passive observers. With this strategy, the authors consistently enforce sentiments of doubt right up until the matter is resolved. The effect is that the text audiences of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” repeat in themselves the same doubt that King Chéng reportedly harboured against the Duke, making the moment of resolution even more persuasive.

This mode of self-reflexivity in the presentation of the story can be further extended to the presence of the text itself.⁶² The role of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” as a physical object and the experience that it provokes in the textual audience is parallel to the description of the physical object of the text in the metal-bound casket and the king’s self-realisation when taking the text out of the casket and experiencing the Duke’s loyalty when reading the text. In other words, the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” justifies, and enforces, its material existence parallel to the Duke’s text in the metal-bound casket that stresses loyalty to the Zhōu. In this, the text behaves much like a war memorial in 20th century Europe that channels memory in highly prescribed, not to say ideological, form. With such a memorial, it is not so much the war itself that is being commemorated. It is *our* memory of it and the heroes that fought and died *for us* that is manifested in material forms. As a parallel case in point, in its material existence the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” serves as a physical token for Zhōu meaning communities to process memory in ways that suit the commemoration of acclaimed loyalty to the house of Zhōu.

To argue that the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” contains all elements of the fabula necessary for the presentation of a structurally complete and consistent entity that speaks to communities of doubt in Warring States period elite circles, nonetheless does not imply that all the elements in the presentation of the story are realised fully and in written form. On the one hand, there are loose ends and inconsistencies on the horizontal level of the narrative that seem, however, not to impair the structurally consistent line of meaning construction in the text. On the other hand, although structurally complete, the text draws on materials in the presentation of the story that to a considerable extent do not exist in written form in the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”, but are only hinted at. It must be assumed therefore that these materials appeal to the cultural memory of the addressed communities. The sketched representation of the events in the ostensible historical contextualisation in unit B may serve as example. The text works on its own in the con-

⁶² A similar case of textual self-reflexivity has been identified by Rens Krijgsman for the “*Wǔ Wáng jiànzuò” 武王踐阼. (In Krijgsman 2014).

struction of a narrative, but it builds on memory – written or not – that informs the audience of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”. This, to me, is indicative of another feature. The fact that the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” speaks to communities of beholders of hegemonic Zhōu culture and memory insinuates that successful text reception requires some degree of acquiescence on the part of the text recipient with regard to values propagated by the Zhōu. If that is indeed the case, to assume communities of severe doubt as the audience of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” might be going a step too far. In the light of this it is more plausible to assume that the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” was “preaching to the converted”, that is, to communities that fundamentally share orthodox Zhōu values but that are aware, and to some degree perhaps even share, sentiments of doubt against the Duke of Zhōu as a living element of their cultural memory. The text therefore celebrates the victory of Zhōu values over heterogeneous elements by re-invoking doubt in the reading experience of the textual audiences of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”.

The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” institutionalises that memory and creates remembrance of the past in a way in which a particular meaning community wished to keep it, and it elevates the role of the Duke of Zhōu in such a way that it becomes part of the foundational past of the Zhōu.⁶³ It therefore seems that the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” forms an attempt to reconfigure the memory of threat into a founding myth of the Zhōu by re-enacting the moment of doubt and overcoming it, once again, in the present.⁶⁴ This demonstrates how memory is conveyed and sustained through the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”. Just as the experience of the present largely depends on the perception of the past, images of the past legitimate the present social order.⁶⁵ And while social memory prevails only through commemorative events, something can only be commemorative in so far as it is performative; but the performative relies on habit, and habit is dependent on repetition and automatism.⁶⁶ The formalised re-enactment of doubt and belief therefore manifests the continuity of the past in the present to the participating meaning communities. Reciting the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” thus becomes a ritual act by which commemoration is sustained, shaped, and formalised through the recollection of past experience.

Given its presentation of a dramatic narrative, the form of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” seems suited to private text consumption. In this respect, the opening frame of the text is particularly revealing. It presents a dramatic setting that

⁶³ For a discussion of the changing role of the Duke of Zhōu in early sources, see Nylan 2010.

⁶⁴ Something similar can be said about the New Text recension “Gù mǐng” (Testimonial Charge).

⁶⁵ Connerton 1989: 2.

⁶⁶ Connerton 1989: 4.

brings to the fore all the contextual information necessary for an indeterminate audience to confront the text and its message. The assumption that the text was not just produced for a known and limited group of recipients but that it was made available for wider distribution and independent text circulation is further supported by the physical properties of the manuscript that suggest manuscript production on a larger scale and not just for this one instantiation of the text.

Despite my conviction that the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” was read in private by individuals, which has significant implications for our understanding of reading and knowledge transmission in the late Warring States period, I maintain that the text also had a politico-philosophical dimension that goes beyond plain Zhōu propaganda to portray the Duke of Zhōu as a loyal statesman in selfless service to his lord. As discussed, the element of contextualisation in subcanto B adds to the narrative of conflict a quasi-historical perspective. But this unit tells a “Geschichte” and is not a “Historie”, to differentiate the two with Reinhart Koselleck and his formative work on conceptual history.⁶⁷ The historical dimension brought in at this point is therefore at best secondary from a historian’s perspective, and so structurally interchangeable. Its primary purpose is that of constructing a narrative with recall value by outlining basic patterns of human conflict. It is thus reduplicative conceptually, and so adaptable to different moments of conflict. The “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí” is therefore more than just an account of oppositional encounter between the Duke of Zhōu and King Chéng. It portrays structurally repetitive patterns in the social history of interaction and celebrates the victory of unbroken loyalty between Lord and Subject in the form of King Chéng and the Duke of Zhōu.

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⁶⁷ Koselleck 2006: 70–76.

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Appendix: Reconstruction of the “Zhōu Wǔwáng yǒu jí”

A 1

|^{T1} 武王既克 𩇑(殷)三年，王不 瘵(豫)又(有) 𠂔(遲)^[i]。二公告周公曰「我 𠂔(其)爲王穆卜。」周公曰：「未可以|^{T2} 𩇑(吾)先王。」^[ii] 周公乃爲三坦(壇)同 𠂔(壇)，爲一坦(壇)於南方 𠂔(。) 周公立女(焉)，秉璧 𠂔(，) 𠂔(戴)珪。^[iii]

A 2.1

史乃冊|^{T3} 祝告先王曰：「尔(爾)元孫發也 𠂔(，) 𠂔(遭) 𠂔(害) 𠂔(虐)疾。尔(爾)母(毋)乃又(有) 備(丕)子之責才(在)上 𠂔(，)^[iv] 惟尔(爾)元孫發也 𠂔(，) |^{T4} 不若但(旦)也 𠂔(。)

A 2.2

是年(佞)若 𠂔(巧)能，多 𠂔(才) 𠂔(，) 多 𠂔(藝) 𠂔(，) 能事崇(鬼)神。命于帝 𠂔(廷)， 𠂔(敷)又(有)四方，(以) 𠂔(定)尔(爾)子|^{T5} 孫于下 𠂔(地) 𠂔(。) 尔(爾)之 𠂔(許)我= (我，我)則 𠂔(瘞)璧與珪。^[v] 尔(爾)不我 𠂔(許)，我乃以璧與珪 𠂔(歸) 𠂔(。)」

A 3

周公乃內(納) 𠂔(其)|^{T6} 所爲 𠂔(貢)自以 𠂔(代)王之 𠂔(說) 𠂔(，)^[vi] 于金 𠂔(滕)之 𠂔(匱) 𠂔(，) 乃命執事人曰：「勿敢言 𠂔(。)」

i Graph ^{T1}/10 瘵 is generally taken as yù 豫. Phonologically, this is a sound suggestion. The phonophoric of 瘵 is 余 (*la) and the Old Chinese reconstruction of 豫 is *laʔ-s. The criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components are as follows: (1) The main vowel should be the same. (2) The coda should be the same. (3) Initials should have the same position of articulation (but not necessarily the same manner of articulation). (4) One may be A-type; one may be B-type. (5) One may have *-r- and the other not. (6) The “tone” category can be different (i.e., final *ʔ and final *-s can be ignored). These rules are sometimes relaxed, as evidenced, for example, by *páng zhuǎn* 旁轉 phenomena, in which open and closed syllables are substituted for each other. (See Meyer 2012: 150 n. 71)

ii Graph ^{T2}/1 𩇑 is read as qī 𩇑 “worry, grief; to distress” by the editors of the Tsinghua manuscripts. This corresponds to the received “Jīn téng”, which has that graph without the heart component (𩇑). Magnus Ribbing Gren suggests a causative reading “to consider as family”, which takes a corresponding line from the *Mèngzǐ* where the graph is used in that sense. (See Ribbing Gren 2013.)

iii ^{T2}/25 𠂔: I here follow Shěn Péi 沈培 in reading 𠂔 as dài 戴 “to carry (on one’s head)”. See Shěn Pèi 2011: 111–121.

iv ^{T3}/19 備(丕): Mǐyàn suggests reading the graph ^{T3}/19 as pī 丕 (*p^hrə) rather than bèi 備 (*brək-s). 丕 is also used in the New Text “Jīn téng”. (See Mǐyàn 2011b).

v ^{T5}/10 𠂔: see my discussion in the main text.

vi ^{T6}/3 𠂔: see my discussion in the main text.

B1

臺(即)逡(後)武王力(陟)■(,)[vii]盛(成)王由(猶)|^{J17}學(幼),才(在)立(位),官(管)弔(叔)返(及)元(其)羣毚(兄)弟(弟),乃流言于邦曰:「公廼(將)不利於需(孺)子■(。)」周公乃告二公曰:「我之^{J18}□□□亡(無)以逡(復)見於先王。」

周公石(宅)東三年,禍(禍)人乃斯旻(得),於逡(後)■,周公乃逮(遺)王志(詩)^{J19}曰周(雕)鶚,王亦未逆(迎)公。

C1

是戢(歲)也■,蘇(秋)大簋(熟)■,未斂(穫),天疾風以雷,禾斯(漸)旻(偃)^[viii],大木斯(漸)臧(拔)。邦人^{J10}□□□覓(弁)■(,)夫=(大夫)繞(端)■(,)^[ix]以改(啟)金紵(滕)之匱■(。)

C2

王旻(得)周公之所自以爲衺(功)^[x],以弋(代)武王之斂(說)■(。)王駟(問)執|^{J11}事人,曰:「訐(信)。毆(噫)。公命我勿敢言■(。)」王捕箸(書)以漚(泣),^[xi]曰:「昔公董(勤)褱(勞)王豢(家)■(,)佳(惟)余舊(沖)人亦弗返(及)|^{J12}智(知)■(。)今皇天遠(動)鬼(威),以章(彰)公惠(德)■(。)佳(惟)余舊(沖)人元(其)親逆公,我邦豢(家)豐(禮)宜之■(。)」

C3

王乃出逆公|^{J13}至鄙(郊)。是夕,天反風,禾斯(漸)記(起)■(,)^[xii]𠂔(凡)大木𠂔=(之所)臧(拔),二公命邦人聿(盡)逡(復)笙(築)之■(。)戢(歲)大又(有)年,蘇(秋)|^{J14}則大斂(穫) L(。)

|^{J14}背|十四周武王又(有)疾,周公所自以弋(代)王之志。

vii ^{J16/24} ■ 臺(即): The editors of *Tsinghua Manuscripts* identify the graph as *jiù* 就 although it contains the signific 止 that is not normally seen in Chǔ versions of 就. I here follow the suggestion by Chén Mínhēn to read it as *jǐ* 即 “to approach, go to”; “on the point of”. (In Chén Mínhēn et al 2011: 44).

viii ^{J19/23} Chén Mínhēn takes ■ (斯) as *sī* 漸 “exhaust”. This is now the generally accepted reading of this graph. (In Chén Mínhēn et al 2011: 58).

ix ^{J10/3} ■ 繞(綴 < 端): I here follow the Graduate Student Society of Fùdàn University 2011 who bases the reading of the graph on an analysis by Chén Jiàn. (In Chén Mínhēn et al 2011: 61) Reading the graph as “gown, garment” is beautifully parallel to ^{J10/3} 覓(弁) “cap”.

x For the reading of 貢, see the discussion of ^{J16/3} above.

xi The editors of *Tsinghua Manuscripts* read graph ^{J11/13} ■ (捕) as 布 “spread out”. This has met general disapproval. By now, the generally accepted reading is *bǔ* 捕, which is taken in the sense of “to hold”. (See the Fùdàn University reading group: “Qīnghuá jiǎn Jīn téng zhàjì”. (See further the discussion in Chén Mínhēn et al 2011: 65–67 for the suggestion of reading the graph as *bó* 搏 “seize”).

xii For the reading of 漸, see the discussion of ^{J19/23}.