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RESEARCH ARTICLE

What is the Tsinghua **Rui Liangfu Bi* 芮良夫毖? Genre, Prosody, Theme, and Form in a Warring States Verse-album

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Abstract

The **Rui Liangfu bi*, a previously unattested Warring States manuscript held by Tsinghua University, purports to record two admonitory songs that Rui Liangfu (fl. ninth century BCE) presented to King Li (r. 853/57–841 BCE) and his derelict ministers at court. The genre identity of the manuscript text is contested, owing in part to two similar texts, a *shi*-poem preserved in the *Odes* and a *shu*-document in the *Yi Zhou shu,* also traditionally interpreted as Rui Liangfu's speech at the same event. Although none of the three texts share anything literatim with one another, they all rhyme and cleave closely to a well-known legend. Proceeding from complete translation of the manuscript text, I show that it diverges significantly from the canonical categories thus far used to classify it, with regard to both prosody and theme. Moreover, a structural analysis reveals that the manuscript's paratextual encapsulation demonstrates an early precedent for the explicit, historical contextualization of songs that became pervasive in the Mao *Odes*. On the basis of structure, the manuscript can also be classed with a set of verse collections known only in manuscript form, save for one "forgery" preserved in the ancient-script *Documents*.

Keywords: verse; Shijing; poetry; odes; documents; remonstration; paratext; genre

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Introduction

In the most concrete terms, the **Rui Liangfu bi* 芮良夫毖 (The Good Man of Rui's Admonition; hereafter **Admonition*) is a Warring States manuscript text held by Tsinghua University,[1] consisting of twenty-eight mostly complete bamboo slips that were originally bound together as a foldable sheet.[2] The text consists of two rhyming admonitions, prefaced by a short narrative that presents them as Rui Liangfu's criticism of King Li of Zhou 周厲王 (r. 853–842 BCE) and his ministers. Whereas the text is previously unattested, the legend of Rui Liangfu is well known from other transmitted sources. The editors have named the manuscript based on its narrative content, although another title was originally written and subsequently scraped off the verso of the first slip.[3]

Beyond these basic details, prior studies of the **Admonition* have arrived at quite conflicting conclusions about the nature of the text: those who treat it as poetry (*shi* 詩 or *shige* 詩歌) have characterized it variously as a *bian-ya* 變雅 (an ironic or critical *ya*-poem);[4] as a musical poem;[5] as a chanted or written *cifu* 辭賦-style non-musical

[1]The text is part of a significant cache of manuscripts, purchased by an anonymous donor in 2008 and repatriated to China. The slips are written in a Warring States-style Chu script, and carbon dating of an unwritten slip dates the cache to roughly 300 BCE. This text is published in Qinghua daxue chutuwenxian yanjiu yu baohu zhongxin 清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心, *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* [*san*] 清華大學藏戰果竹簡[參], vol. 3 [hereafter *Qinghua jian* 3] (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2012), 12–3, 71–90, 144–62. For dating, see the first volume in the series, *Qinghua jian* 1 (2010), 3. For a general introduction to the manuscripts, see Liu Guozhong 劉國忠, *Introduction to the Tsinghua Bamboo-Strip Manuscripts*, trans. Christopher Foster and William French (Boston: Brill, 2016). An asterisk marks manuscript texts that have been named by their editors, following Matthias L. Richter, *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 12. Although there were doubts about the authenticity of the cache, a scientific excavation of tomb M46, at the Zaolinpu 棗林鋪 paper factory (Zaozhi 棗紙) in 2020, has allayed all reasonable ones. The tomb contained a homolog of a previously unknown text that in the Tsinghua corpus is called **Yue gong qi shi.* 越公其事. If the **Yue Gong qi shi* is not a forgery, then neither are the remaining texts of the corpus (embedded along with it, in mud). For an initial description see Zhao Xiaobin 趙曉斌, "Jingzhou Zaozhi jian 'Wu Wang Fuchai qi shi fa Yue' yu Qinghua jian 'Yue Gong qi shi'" 荊州棗紙簡《吳王夫差起師伐越》與清華簡《越公其事》, in *Qinghua Zhanguo Chujian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 清華戰國楚簡國際學術研討會論文集, Beijing, November 2021, 6–11.

[2]*Qinghua jian* 3:144. Slips are about forty-five cm in length, written in Chu script with roughly thirty graphs per slip. The manuscript is reconstructed according to slip numbering on the *verso*, which is found in different positions in several groups of slips. Seven slips are incomplete after reconstruction. For the **Rui Liangfu bi* as a sheet folded (*zheye* 折頁) into quarters, rather than a rolled scroll, see Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔, *Zhanguo zhushu xingzhi xiangguan wenti yanjiu: yi Qinghua daxue zhanguo zhujian wei zhongxin* 戰國竹書形制及相關問題研究: 以清華大學藏戰國竹簡為中心 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2015), 227–29.

[3]The *verso* of the first slip preserves another title, *Zhou Gong zhi song zhi* 周公之頌志（詩）, that was incompletely deleted by scraping off. See *Qinghua jian* 3:144. The **Rui Liangfu bi* does not refer to the Duke of Zhou, but its codicological features closely resemble those of the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* 周公之琴舞 manuscript, also in vol. 3. This has led to speculations that the two texts were inscribed at the same time, and that the deleted title may be an alternate one for the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu*, mistakenly inscribed on the codex for the **Rui Liangfu bi.*

[4]Tang Pui-ling 鄧佩玲, "Tan Qinghua jian 'Rui Liangfu bi' bi shi suo jian zhi zheng jian" 談清華簡《芮良夫毖》毖詩所見之諍諫, *Qinghuajian yanjiu* 清華簡研究 2 (2015), 162–81, here 165.

[5]*Qinghua jian* 3:148: "The *bi* texts on slips are all rhymed, in poetic form, and can be played to music" (簡文中「毖」皆用韻，為詩歌體，也是可以演奏的).

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poem;[6] as a (presumably vocal) non-operatic *shi*-poem;[7] as a *zhen* 箴 (admonishment);[8] or as paradigmatic of a long-lost *bi* 悊 genre of *shi*-poetry encompassing varied forms.[9] Others, however, have read the **Admonition* not as a poem at all, but as a *shu* 書 (historical) document.[10] Beyond Chinese scholarship, very little has been said about the **Admonition*, perhaps because it is not directly homologous to anything found in the canon. Yet precisely because it is an unknown text about well-known events, it affords a vital perspective on how texts in early manuscript culture may depart from the conventions of canons and genres into which similar material was eventually assimilated.

Most illuminating about the **Admonition* are two textual arrays in which it can be situated. On the one hand, the **Admonition*, along with Mao no. 257, "Mulberry Tendrils" (*Sang rou* 桑柔, no. 257), and the *Yi Zhou shu*'s 逸周書 "Rui Liangfu" 芮良夫 chapter, completes an assemblage of three texts (one canonical ode, one "document," and one unknown), in which all three texts purport to record Rui Liangfu's rhyming criticism of King Li.[11] On the other hand, the **Admonition*, as I show below, belongs to a structural class of texts manifest exclusively in manuscript form, save for one example fossilized in the *guwen* 古文 *Documents*.

Controversies about the typology of the **Admonition* are shaped in part by other known, transmitted sources of the Rui Liangfu legend. That legend, in skeletal form, can be summed up as follows: King Li was wayward and cruel, and refused to hear criticism of his rule. Thereupon, according to the current-script (*jinwen* 金文) *Bamboo Annals*, "Liangfu, the Elder of Rui, cautioned the hundred officials at court,"[12] predicting or facilitating the king's eventual removal from power, and a period of interregnum that marks the beginning of the end of the Western Zhou.[13] Compared to the Duke of Zhou, for whom poetics is merely one of many legendary talents, Rui

[6]Cao Jianguo 曹建國, "Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu shi lun" 清華簡芮良夫悊試論, *Fudan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 復旦大學學報(社會科學版), 2016.1, 26.

[7]Li Xueqin 李學勤, "Xin zhengli Qinghua jian liu zhong gaishu" 新整理清華簡六種概述, rpr. *Xia Shang Zhou wenming yanjiu* 夏商周文明研究 (Beijing: Shangwu, 2015), 219–34, here 225, says the **Admonition* has "no connection to song and dance performance" (與樂舞無關).

[8]Huang Tiantian 黃甜甜, "Qinghua jian 'Shi' wenxian zonghe yanjiu" 清華簡「詩」文獻綜合研究, Ph.D. dissertation (Tsinghua University, 2014), chap. 5.

[9]Ma Fang 馬芳, "Cong Qinghua jian Zhou Gong zhi qinwu Rui Liangfu bi kan bi shi de liang zhong fanshi ji qi yanbian guiji" 從清華簡周公之琴舞、芮良夫悊看悊詩的兩種範式及其演變軌跡, *Xueshu yanjiu* 學術研究, 2015.2, 138–43.

[10]Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, "Rui Liangfu bi chu du" 芮良夫悊初讀, *Wenwu* 文物, 2012.8, 77; also Chen Pengyu 陳鵬宇, "Qinghua jian 'Rui Liangfu bi' taoyu chengfen fenxi" 清華簡《芮良夫悊》套語成分分析, *Shenzhen daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 深圳大學學報(人文社會科學版), 31.2 (2014), 44–54.

[11]The attribution is made in the Mao commentary and is one of the few echoed by the *Zuo zhuan*, See Shisanjing zhushu bianweihui 十三經注疏編委會, *Mao shi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2000), 18.1383, and *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 1.9, Durrant et al., *Zuo Tradition*, 467.

[12]Fang Shiming 方詩銘 and Wang Xiuling 王修齡 *Guben Zhushu jinian jizheng* 古本竹書紀年輯證 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1981), 250–53. The Tsinghua *Xinian* provides a terse summary of this period but omits Rui Liangfu's role: "arriving at the time of King Li, King Li was greatly cruel to the Zhou; the great ministers, all the officers, and the myriad people could not bear it in their hearts, and placed him at Zhi" (至於厲王，厲王大虐于周，卿士、諸政、萬民弗忍于厥心，乃歸厲王于彘),·Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed., *Qinghua jian* 2 (2011), 39, 136.

[13]Known as the Gonghe 共和 regency (841–828 BCE).

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Liangfu is at best a minor sage or worthy of note, whose role hardly extends beyond poetic admonition; he is remembered for little other than speaking out against King Li. Now, the **Admonition* can also be compared with those counterpart texts in the *Shijing* and *Yi Zhou shu* that purport to record his direct speech. In all three texts, Rui Liangfu presents his remonstrations in verse; a fourth, significant source of the legend is an anecdote in the *Guoyu* 國語, which differs from those mentioned above in that it narrates a dialogue between minister and king and does not rhyme. Moreover, in the *Guoyu* anecdote, Rui Liangfu speaks in a Warring States idiom and quotes both the *Hymns* and *Elegantiae* by name. This later, post-canonical consciousness is not evident in the three rhyming texts, which use archaic language and cite ancient wisdom but never ancient books.[14]

Genre and Typologies of Criticism

The problem of genre, or of what forms are appropriate to political criticism, is addressed by a different scene in the *Guoyu*, in which King Li is reprimanded not by Rui Liangfu but by the Duke of Shao 召公, for seeking to suppress criticism of his rule. The Duke of Shao sets forth a meta-remonstrative remonstration, presenting an idealized division of labor in which the entire kingdom provides collective, comprehensive critical feedback:

> 天子聽政，使公卿至于列士獻詩，瞽獻曲，史獻書，師箴，瞍賦，矇誦，百工諫，庶人傳語，近臣盡規，親戚補察，瞽、史教誨，耆、艾修之，而後王斟酌焉，是以事行而不悖。
>
> When the Son of Heaven holds court, he makes the dukes and high ministers through the upper nobles offer *shi*-poems; the blind music-directors offer *qu*-tunes; the scribes offer *shu*-documents; teachers *zhen*-exhort; *sou* and *meng* [blind] musicians *fu*-rhapsodize and *song*-intone; the hundred artisans *jian*-remonstrate; and the common people spread *yu*-tales. Personal attendants evaluate him thoroughly; close relatives correct his errors; blind music-directors and scribes teach and instruct; the elders train him; and thereupon the king can deliberate. This is how one undertakes matters without delusion.[15]

According to this comprehensive scheme, if Rui Liangfu ranks among the "high ministers," then *shi*-poetry is the appropriate form. But we also have a *shu* document and the unknown **Admonition* attributed to him that appear to serve roughly the same function. Moreover, this vast scheme is itself contested, preserved in no less than

[14]*Guo yu* 1.4, Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhenglizu, ed., *Guo yu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1978), 1.12–14. The *Guo yu* narrative differs in singling out King Li's favor of Duke Yi of the Rong 榮夷公. It also portrays Rui Liangfu as citing the *Elegantiae* as a source of ancient wisdom; in the *Zuo zhuan* and prefaces, he is known for "making" a poem presumably only later collected in the *Elegantiae*, which seems somewhat anachronistic.

[15]*Guo yu*, 1.3, 1.9–12.

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ten distinct variants, many of which divide the labor of criticism differently.[16] If the categories of textual production here may be called genres, then the problem of genre, and the genres appropriate to varied roles, is also both meaningful and contested, as with the classification of the **Admonition*. What forms of literature were available to preimperial manuscript users, and how, among these, might the **Admonition* have been classed?

Admittedly, the term "genre" is hardly uncontested,[17] and one might question the term's commensurability with early Chinese categories. "Genre," as I use it, refers simply to meaningfully distinct kinds of texts perceived and/or imitated by a community that creates, edits, or collects texts. In particular, I am interested in the community that assembled the **Admonition* and other related texts; but given the lack of contemporaneous Warring States-era theoretical exposition on what fundamental concerns or criteria underlay the sort of typology set out in the *Guoyu* above, my rudimentary working definition can only be a descriptive one, based on identifiable formal and thematic characteristics that might have mattered to users on the ground.[18]

Thus, below I first analyze the **Admonition*, starting from those formal and thematic characteristics, and compare them to those of transmitted *shu* and *shi* texts.[19] Although characteristics such as prosody and length are not in themselves sufficient to define a genre, they do help provide a formal vantage point from which to distinguish sources of the Rui Liangfu legend and some conventions of the books that collect them. Second, turning to thematic aspects of the **Admonition*, I show that some ideas presented in the text bear a greater resemblance to those in technical, correlative expositions, or to texts known only from early manuscripts, than to what is preserved in transmitted *shi* or *shu* canons. Third, I compare the overarching text–paratext structures of the **Admonition* with a class of manuscript-bound forms I term "verse albums," and suggest that rather than viewing the contents of these texts exclusively through the lens of canonical *shi* and *shu*, we consider categories that emerge inductively from forms manifest in manuscript sources. A fourth and final section

[16]"Shi jun lan" 恃君覽, in *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2002), 20.1373; "Jinyu" 晉語, in *Guo yu*, 12.410; "Zhouyu shang" 周語上, in *Guo yu*,1.9–10; "Zhu shu"主術, in *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1989), 9.310; "Bao fu" 保傅 in *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 (Taipei: Taibei Shangwu, 1984), 3.115; "Bao fu" 保傅, in Jia Yi 賈誼, *Xin shu* 新書, *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua, 1981), 5.100; "Zhou benji" 周本紀 in Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959), 4.142; "Jia Yi zhuan" 賈誼傳, in *Han shu* 漢書, ed. Ban Gu班固, annot. Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 48.2249; "Jia Zou Mei Lu liezhuan" 賈鄒枚路傳, in *Han shu*, 51.2330. See also discussion in David Schaberg, "Remonstrance in Eastern Zhou Historiography," *Early China* 22 (1997), 133–79; and David Schaberg, "Foundations of Chinese Historiography: Literary Representation in *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu*," Ph.D. Dissertation (Harvard University, 1996), 230–68.

[17]For the contestability of terms such as "genre," "form," and "mode," see David Duff, "Introduction," in *Modern Genre Theory*, ed. David Duff (London: Routledge, 2000), 17.

[18]"Form" and "theme" to some extent echo the Aristotelian separation of mode and object as criteria for genre identification, and are two major approaches to descriptive, historical accounts of genre. See Gerard Genette, *The Architext: An Introduction*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Berkeley: University of California, 1992), 60–72, repr. Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 210–16.

[19]The problems of separating *shi* and *shu* are not entirely straightforward; moreover, in Warring States literature, a number of passages are cited as *shu* in some cases, and *shi* in others. For a study of the citational evidence and underlying problems, see Liu Jiao 劉嬌, "'Gu shu shi shu du hucheng' shuo bianzheng" 「古書詩書多互稱」說辯證, *Chutu wenxian* 出土文獻, 2024.1, 139–57.

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reconsiders the term *bi* 毖 (admonition), and the problem of genre in preimperial literature.

Prefatory Narrative and Structural Contours of the **Admonition*

Due to the length of the text, and so as to sustain my analysis and discussion below, I append a full annotated translation of the **Admonition* at the end of this article. Let me begin here by presenting just the narrative section that opens the text and some of the first lines of verse, to give a sense of the text's laminate structure and content.

1.0	1	周邦驟有禍	The Zhou state had repeatedly suffered misfortune,	
		寇戎方進	and the marauding Rong were entering.	A
		厥辟御事	His Lordship and masters of affairs	B
		各營其身	each fended for themselves,	A
	5	恆爭于富	constantly struggling for wealth.	B
		莫治庶難	None of them governed the many hardships;	a
		莫卹1邦之不寧-	none of them concerned themselves with the disquiet of the state.	a
	8	芮良夫乃	Rui Liangfu thus made this admonition in two	B
		作毖再終-	codas.	a
		曰	It says: . . .	
1.1		敬之哉君子	Oh, be warned of this, My Lord(s):	A
	10	天猶畏矣-	Heaven is indeed to be feared!	B
		敬哉君子	Oh be warned, My Lord(s) !	A
		蘧敗改鯈2	Awaken to your failure; change your course.	C
		恭天之威載	Respect the might of Heaven!	B
		聽民之	listen to the *yao*-songs of the people.	C
	15	間隔若否[	Discriminate what is right from wrong,	A
		以自刺潰	so as to censure yourselves for ruination.	B
		迪求聖人	Seek and employ sages,	d
		以申爾謀猷	so as to extend your strategic plans.	C
		毋羞聞	Do not be ashamed to inquire about the [proper] course;	C
	20	度 3 毋有咎-	and be blameless in your bearing!	C
		毋惏貪悖愖	Be neither greedy nor avaricious, disorderly nor blind.	d
		滿盈康戲	You brim complacently in the enjoyment of pleasures—	c
		而不智蘧覺-	and do not know to awaken from your dream.	c
		此心目無極	This is for the senses to have no standards;	c
	25	富而無況-	to have wealth but no limits;	c
		用莫能止 4 欲	such that none are able to stop their desires,	c
		而莫肯齊好	and none are willing to still their lusts.	C
		尚極之敬哉	Would that you set standards—Oh, be warned! . . .	D

The first song continues with a litany of largely formulaic warnings, criticisms, and exhortations (in some cases implicit in the descriptions of ancient models), ending on

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an exhortative note. The second song is prefaced by the narrative comment, "The second opening says: 二啟曰," which I interpret as belonging to the same paratextual layer and narrative voice as the prefatory opening. In both songs, most of the individual phrases would not be out of place in the critical poems of the *Elegantiae*, or the authoritative speeches of the *Shang shu*, save for a lengthy exposition on the mechanics of government in the second song, discussed in more detail below.

Moreover, in contrast to the prefatory narrative in section 1.0, the two songs themselves are *completely devoid* of specific reference to known people or places, as is the case in most of the transmitted *Odes*; the entire work of historically contextualizing the songs is done by the opening "preface." The same can be said about the function of the prefaces in the Mao-version *Odes*, in which the prefaces often identify a speaker or "maker" of the ode, and sometimes identify the target of criticism. The entry for Mao no. 257 reads: "in 'Mulberry Tendrils,' the Elder of Rui criticizes King Li" (〈桑柔〉,芮伯刺厲王也).[20] Similar contextualizing pronouncements can be found in the corresponding section of the preface to the *Yi Zhou shu*, and in part of another preface preserved only in the *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要, although *shu* documents (including "Rui Liangfu") regularly identify their speakers within the text proper.[21]

Given that the opening of the **Admonition* above also rhymes, and considering our lack of knowledge about how its individual songs may have circulated in oral or manuscript contexts, one might question whether there is any fundamental discontinuity between the "preface" and the songs that follow. Were the two composed simultaneously, or did the songs circulate as independent texts, with the rhyming preface added later to match? Should we choose to read preface and songs as separate, the songs are contextualized much as they come in the transmitted *Odes*. If we are inclined to read the "preface" as an integral part of the **Admonition*, then at least with regard to this particular feature, the**Admonition* may better resemble a *shu* document.

Before turning to details of prosody and form in the text, I note one large-scale feature that is neither purely structural nor purely thematic: the final song ends with a transition to a more lyrical mode of expression (section 2.7), highlighting the speaker, in a gesture very similar to "sphragis" expressions that close a number of songs of the *Elegantiae*.[22] In this regard, the overall narrative contour of the **Admonition* resembles "Mulberry Tendrils," which can also be divided into two movements on the

[20]Shisanjing Zhushu Bianweihui, *Mao shi zhengyi*, 18.1383.

[21]The extract from the *Zhou shu xu* 周書序 reads "Rui Bo examined antiquity and made an instruction to induce the king to goodness, and the officers and lesser servants all to reflect on themselves; and made "Rui Liangfu." (芮伯稽古作訓，納王于善，暨執政小臣，咸省厥躬，作芮良夫). The manuscript appends its pronouncement paratextually, immediately before the chapter extract: "King Li had lost the Way, Rui Bo set forth his proclamation, and made 'Rui Liangfu'" (厲王失道，芮伯陳誥，作芮良夫). The provenance of the *Qunshu* preface is unclear. See Gi Chō (Wei Zheng) 魏徵 ed., Ozaki Yasushi 尾崎康, and Kobayashi Yoshinori 小林芳規 annot., *Gunsho chiyō* (*Qunshu zhiyao*) 群書治要 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1989), vol. 1, *juan* 8. This edition is a photographic reproduction of the mid-Kamakura 鎌倉 era (1185–1333) manuscript held by the Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫.

[22]For the use of "sphragis" to label odes in which a closing shift highlights the speaker of the first-person perspective, see Alexander Beecroft, "Authorship in the Canon of Songs (Shi Jing)," in *That Wonderful Composite Called Author: Authorship in East Asian Literatures from the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Christian Schwermann and Raji C. Steineck (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 89.

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basis of its verse structure, and contains a similar gesture at the close (perhaps corresponding to the *luan* 亂 finale).

Prosody, Form, and Formulae in the **Admonition* and Texts Attributed to Rui Liangfu

Let me begin a formal analysis of the **Admonition* by comparing it with the two other (canonical) texts attributed to Rui Liangfu. The largely similar, formulaic linguistic and narrative content shared by the three texts serves, in a sense, as a controlled variable that can help highlight prosodic conventions of *shi* and *shu* canons in which the **Admonition*'s counterpart texts are compiled, to show how the **Admonition* diverges from those conventions. Of course, "Mulberry Tendrils" and the *Yi Zhou shu* chapter, "Rui Liangfu," are not equally representative of the collections in which they are found, so my analysis below must also consider how the works diverge from the prosodic norms of their respective canons.

*Does the *Admonition Accord with Known Odes Prosodies and Forms?*

Prosody in the **Admonition* tends toward a primarily tetrasyllabic or octosyllabic end-rhyme well-known from early verse, in which tetrasyllables rhyme on every second foot, yielding a repeating XBXB pattern.[23] The **Admonition* approaches this regular pattern, although it is only 72 percent tetrasyllabic, and thus considerably less regular than most poems of the *Shijing*.[24] In many cases, the rhythm seems to lapse or be carried partly by particles or monorhyme. The 112 phrases of "Mulberry Tendrils," in contrast, are perfectly representative of *Elegantiae* prosody in their nearly perfect (99 percent) tetrasyllabic rhyme (Figure 1b), and in their division into two movements on the basis of verse structure.[25]

Whereas the two movements of "Mulberry Tendrils" perfectly typify structures found throughout the *Elegantiae*, verse structure in the **Admonition* is often difficult to discern,[26] especially if one assumes that changes of topic ought to coincide with

[23]Here, XBXB represents the feet of four tetrasyllables, wherein X is any non-rhyming foot and A, B, C etc. represent end-rhymes of rhymed feet. A second "A" rhyme, may surface atop this prevailing pattern, yielding ABAB.

[24]There are odes with irregular rhyme and verse in the Zhou Hymns (*Zhou song* 周頌) section, although the Zhou hymns are all much shorter, and thematically distinct from the critical odes of the *Ya* or the **Rui liangfu bi*. Seventy-two percent regular would be typical of rhyming bronze inscriptions from the late *Chunqiu* and Warring States periods; see Wolfgang Behr, "The Extent of Tonal Irregularity in Pre-Qín Inscriptional Rhyming," in *Hanyushi yanjiu: Jinian Li Fanggui Xiansheng baisui mingdan lunwenji* 漢語史研究—紀念李方桂先生百歲冥誕論文集, ed. Anna O. Yue, Pang-Hsin Ting, and Dah-an Hoh (Taipei: Academia Sinica Institute of Linguistics, 2004), 111–46, at 116–17 and fig. 6.

[25]The sixteen stanzas of "Mulberry Tendrils" contain only a single five-character line challenging their otherwise perfectly tetrasyllabic rhythm. For an overview of *Shijing* prosody see W.A.C.H. Dobson, "The Origin and Development of Prosody in Early Chinese Poetry," *T'oung Pao* 54 (1968), 23–250. For a discussion of the significance of this phenomenon, see George A. Kennedy, "Metrical 'Irregularity' in The *Shih Ching*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 4.3–4 (1939), 284–96. The first eight stanzas are of eight lines whereas the last eight are six lines each. See Figure 1.2.

[26]No two efforts to parse the text into verses yield the same structure. See Ma Nan 馬楠, "Rui Liangfu bi yu wenxian xianglei wenju fenxi ji bushi" 芮良夫毖與文獻相類文具分析及補釋, *Shenzhen daxue xuebao*

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changes in rhyme (as they tend to do in the *Odes*). The *Odes* were presumably set to music, and the preface to the **Admonition* clearly indicates that "Rui Liangfu made this admonition (*bi*) in two codas" (*zuo bi zai zhong* 作𠂤再終); since "codas" in all similar contexts refers to bouts of musical performance,[27] both the **Admonition* and *Odes* narratives imply that Rui Liangfu presented his criticisms in some form of musical verse. The irregularity of the **Admonition*'s "verses," however, seems to mirror that of the text's rhyme scheme. It drifts in and out of slant-rhyme; its rhymes change mid-topic or cross into new topics no clear thematic shift, and the rhythm is periodically interrupted by a foot that seems extraneous or missing (see Figure 1a). Irregularity of rhyme and verse is a feature found among some odes of the *Hymns* (discussed below), but in the transmitted *Odes*, these hymns are poems of praise, set in the ideal age of the Zhou founders and ancestors, centuries before Rui Liangfu. Moreover, these hymns, at least as transmitted, are all much shorter pieces.[28]

As to length as a formal feature, the **Admonition* is roughly twice as long as the longest works in the *Odes*; that is, each song is roughly as long as the longest transmitted *Odes*, but considerably more irregular in rhythm and rhyme, and in verse structure than any of those long odes.[29]

Formulaic Expressions

Although with regard to rhymes, verses, and overall structure, the **Admonition* looks unlike the sort of poem that is attributed to Rui Liangfu in transmitted traditions, and indeed unlike any canonical *shi*-poem; it does, nevertheless, possess a few features at the level of the line or phrase that are typical of the *Odes* and atypical of *shu* documents. These features can be contrasted with a large body of common language and formulae that the **Admonition* shares with both *shi* and *shu*, (expressions like *zi* 資, or *wuhu* 嗚呼, for example), none of which are very useful for discriminating one

(renwen shehui kexue ban) 1 (2013), 76–78; Chen, "Qinghua jian 'Rui Liangfu bi' taoyu chengfen fenxi," Cao, "Qinghua jian Rui Liangfu shi,"and Huang, "Qinghua jian 'Shi' wenxian zonghe yanjiu," chap. 5.

[27]In all other known texts, the term *zhong* 終 designates bouts of musical performance. The phrase *zai zhong* 再終 appears in the "Li yue zhi" 禮樂志 of the *Han Shu*. See *Qinghua jian*, vol. 1:152, for the editors' explanation of similar occurrences in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Qiye* 耆夜 manuscripts. See also Fang Jianjun 方建軍, "Qinghua jian 'zuo ge yi zhong' deng yu jieyi" 清華簡「作歌一終」語解義, *Zhongguo yinyuexue* 中國音樂學, 2014.2, 84–86.

[28]It is possible that their shortness is due to their fragmentary preservation. For this possibility, and for some ideas about how to interpret or reconstruct these pieces, see the section on the "Zhou song" 周頌 in Fu Sinian 傅斯年, "*Shijing* jiangyi gao" 詩經講義稿, in *Fu Sinian quan ji* 傅斯年全集 (Zhengzhou: Zhengzhou guji, 2016), 1.15–39. Perhaps the most relevant evidence to surface is the *Zhou gong zhi qinwu*, discussed below.

[29]The only way "Mulberry Tendrils" is atypical of the *Elegantiae*, is in its length (112 phrases). Only *Yi* 抑 (Mao no. 256, also in the *Greater Elegantiae*) and *Bi gong* 閟宮 (Mao no. 300, in the *Lu song* 魯頌 section) are longer, at 114 and 120 phrases respectively. If "Mulberry Tendrils" is split into two movements, those movements are roughly half the length of each song of the **Admonition*. By my punctuation, the **Admonition*'s verses are 26, 14, 10, 18, 13, and 12 phrases in the first song, and 13, 12, 26, 13, 17, and 12 in the second. In the *Odes*, *Bi gong* (Mao no. 300), with verses of 17, 17, 8, 8, 17, 8, 8, 10, and 10 phrases respectively, is exceptional in both the length of its verses and in mixing verses of uneven length, but even in this comparatively irregular example, one can imagine patterned or cyclical musical movements that correspond to verses of seventeen, eight, and ten lines in length.

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(a) *Admonition 芮良夫毖 *verse structure*

Vr	Rhyme	Vr	Rhyme
1.0	XABABaaBa	2.0	X
1.1 A	A# B A# C# B# C# AB	2.1	XAaXAAAXA[?]AXA
B	XcCcX	2.2	AAXAaAXAXA#XA
C	Xc[A/c]XcCDCXD [A/c]DCD	2.3	A##AXA
1.2	ABABXbXBXBbBb B	2.4	XA#BABXA#bAbBABBaBAB A
1.3	aXABXBABaB	2.5	AABBCXCbXADbD
1.4	XABAXABACACA AAXBAB	2.6	#B#BA#BA#BAXBABBaBA
1.5	ABABXB[?][?]CBX CB	2.7	[?][?]A# A#Xaa[?]XAaA
1.6	[.][.]XAXAXAaaXa		

(b) *"Sang rou" verse structure*

Vr	Rhyme	Vr	Rhyme
1	ABABABBB	9	ABABXB
2	ABABABAB	10	#B#BXB
3	XBXBABAB	11	XBXBXB
4	ABABXBAB	12	XBaBAb
5	ABABABBB	13	BBBBXB
6	ABABCCDD	14	XBXBXB
7	XBABABAB	15	BBXBXB
8	ABXBABBB	16	BXBBXB

(c) Yi Zhou shu 逸周書 *"Rui Liangfu" rhymes, by section*

Sect.	Rhyme
1	{AAX}
2	XXABA#BA#XBBAaXBaX
3	#X#AAXXBb
4	A#X A###XA
5	##X###XaAXA
6	aåāBBAaXXAA
7	XaAXAaX
8	AbBBXAbbAXbBA
9	ABBbXXXXX
10	X#A#AåaBAXBååʙXbbXBXCC

Figure 1. Verse and rhyme structure in texts attributed to Rui Liangfu. Legend: letters (A, B, C, etc.) represent the rhyming feet; "x" represents non-rhyming feet. Verses 1.0 and 2.0 are paratextual. Underlining indicates rhyme at the penultimate position; [?] is a lacuna; pound sign (#) indicates monorhyme, rendered in superscript (e.g. A#) when integral to the rhyme pattern; lowercase letters indicate significant consonance or assonance (e.g. "a" is consonant with "A"); diacritics distinguish near-rhymes. The text of 1.3 is divided into sections strictly by topic, because the rhyme is not regular enough to perceive any verse structure, and section 1 is found only in the *Qunshu zhiyao* versions.

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form from the other. Features that might be of use in discriminating *shi* from *shu* include a single reduplicative in line 133, "Overturned, overturned, there is no success" (板板其無成), a rhythmic feature commonly found in the *Shijing*.[30] Nonetheless, this feature is remarkably scarce in the **Admonition*, considering its great length and the pervasive presence of reduplication in the *Shijing*. There are, however, some lyrical exclamations of note that would be very unusual in a *shu* document:

"Oh how troubled is my heart!" (心之憂矣, line 50)[31]

"My heart is [unhappy]" (我心不[快], line 185)[32]

"Worries entangle my inner heart" (吾中心念絓, line 189)

Such formulae of *Shijing* lyricism are completely absent from transmitted *shu* documents. Whether those formulae reflect the genre awareness of a text at its time of composition, or reflect its reshaping to fit textual assemblages in manuscript culture is unclear.

In sum, if one approaches the **Admonition* from the perspective of the received tradition, it violates the expectations and typology that the "preface" to the *Odes*, the *Zuozhuan*, and the *Guoyu* establish for Rui Liangfu's literary output. Although it makes gestures toward transmitted *shi*-poetry, and reflects some of the contours of "Mulberry Tendrils" (criticisms, closing sphragis, two movements, etc.), the **Admonition* has few signs of the structures of accompanied musical performance that undergird the *Elegantiae*. Given its prosodic irregularity, any performance of its songs would have differed significantly from the highly regularized pieces in the *Elegantiae*, and its rhymes and verses are of more variable length than any ode of comparable theme or length in the *Shijing*, including the *Hymns*.

Could the **Admonition* be a *shu* 書 document?

While one may consider *shu* documents to be primarily prose forms that undergird ancient history and present models of political speech, this impression owes in part to the salience of those chapters presumed to be among the earliest authentic Zhou works of the *Shang shu* 尚書. Paradigmatic among these are the *gao* 告 (announcement) chapters, dramatic speeches often regarded as the early core of the work, containing little in the way of verse or rhyme. Some early chapters, however, do contain rhyming

[30]The reduplicative occurs also in the *daya* poem *Ban* (Mao no. 254), in which it portends doom: "Shangdi overturns it; the people below are destroyed" (上帝板板下民卒癉). The poem is also read as a political critique of King Li. Shisanjing Zhushu Bianweihui, *Mao shi Zhengyi*, 17.1344.

[31]The **Rui Liangfu bi* shares this exact phrase with eleven other *Shijing* poems: Mao nos. 27, 45, 63, 109, 150, 183, 192, 197, 207, 233, and 264.

[32]In *Du Ren Shi* 都人士 (Mao no. 225) the phrase is written 我心不說. The graph 快 is uncertain in the Tsinghua manuscripts, but *yue* 悅 is plausible, graphically and phonetically.

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verse, although such verse is generally more common in those chapters thought to be post-Han re-creations.[33]

In the peri-canonical *Yi Zhou shu*, in contrast, a cohesive group of "core" chapters uses rhyme extensively in combination with a set of prosodic and rhetorical features such as anadiplosis (wherein a line's last word repeats at the start of the next line) and listing/enumeration.[34] In its dramatic speech,[35] "Rui Liangfu" resembles the paradigmatically old *gao* chapters of the *Shang shu*, and although its loose and disjointed rhymes have generally gone unnoticed,[36] it does indeed rhyme in places, yet lacks the other prosodic features that characterize the *Yi Zhou shu*'s "core" chapters.[37] In its combination of dramatic speech with rhyme, however, it better resembles the **Admonition* than any transmitted, pre-Han *shu* document.[38]

Nonetheless, in other ways, the "Rui Liangfu" chapter does better fit the mold of prose *shu* literature. At only 60 percent tetrasyllabic overall, it has a less consistent rhythm than the **Admonition*, and while there is intermittent rhythm and rhyme, there is little clearly identifiable repeating verse structure (section divisions in Figure 1.3 are based entirely on narrative cues). Moreover, in addition to a relatively loose tendency to rhyme throughout, that drifts into consonance or assonance (e.g. nasal finals), the rhyme in "Rui Liangfu" lapses completely in places, and is held together rhythmically by monorhyme in others.[39]

[33]Short songs are presented by Yu 禹 and Di 帝 in the "Yi Ji" 益稷 chapter of the *Shang shu*, Shisanjing Zhushu Bianweihui, *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2000), 5.155; a sequence in the *Hong fan* 洪範 chapter reads much like a *Shijing* poem, complete with rhyme and reduplication, and is quoted in the "Jian ai xia" 兼愛下 chapter of the *Mozi* 墨子 as a "Zhou *shi*-poem." *Shang shu zhengyi* 12.365–69; Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 ed., *Mozi Jian gu* 墨子閒詁 (Taipei: Hua zheng, 1987), 16.117 ("Jian ai xia" 兼愛下).

[34]Huang Peirong 黃沛榮, "Zhou shu yanjiu" 周書研究, Ph.D. dissertation (National Taiwan University, 1976), chap. 3 and 93–94.

[35]The useful typological distinction of "dramatic speeches" is proposed by Yegor Grebnev, "The Yi Zhou Shu and the Shangshu: The Case of Texts with Speeches," in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)*, ed. Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer (Boston: Brill, 2017), 249–80.

[36]Prosodic studies of *Yi Zhou shu* have uncovered ever more extensive rhyme in the chapters, starting with Jiang Yougao 江有誥, "Xianqin yundu" 先秦韻讀 [Colophon 1820] in *Jiang shi yinxue shi shu* 江氏音學十書, Xu xiu siku quanshu 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2002), vol. 248; Huang Peirong has recognized rhyming broadly among his "core" 主體 chapters and remarks on the tetrasyllabic rhythm of the "Rui Liangfu," but not its rhyme (Huang Peirong, chap. 3 and 93–94); see also Zhou Yuxiu 周玉秀, *Yi zhou shu de yuyan tedian ji qi wenxianxue jiazhi* 逸周書的語言特點及其文獻學價值 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2005), chap. 4, which identifies much more extensive rhyme within the chapters (but does not include "Rui Liangfu" among them).

[37]For a full translation of the *Yi Zhou shu* "Rui Liangfu chapter," see Lebovitz, "Historical Poetry," appendix 4, 340–62.

[38]A speech in the "Pan geng" 盤庚 chapter of the *Shang shu* also contains a rhyming section, although it is considerably shorter and represents only a fraction of the chapter.

[39]Such features are shared with what David Schaberg calls "*Laozi-style* tetrasyllables," a term that does not adequately describe the **Rui Liangfu bi*. The manuscript contains some isolated identical rhyme, but it is generally subordinate to a more pervasive rhyme scheme. Schaberg notes that the distinction between *fu* forms and "*Laozi*-style tetrasyllables" is made only with difficulty. See David Schaberg, "On the Range and Performance of Laozi-Style Tetrasyllables," in *Literary Forms of Argument in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 87–111, 108–9n58. Enumerative *fu* "exposition" may bear some similarity to the prolific litany of complaints in the **Rui Liangfu bi*, even if such direct criticism may overstep the thematic conventions of *fu* as we know it.

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Unlike the **Admonition*, gestures of *shi* lyricism are totally absent from the *Yi Zhou shu* chapter, which opens, in contrast with "Rui Bo thusly said: . . . " (芮伯若曰), a formula found exclusively in *shu* documents and bronze inscriptions, where, remarkably, it almost always marks the authoritative speech of the king or in some cases the Duke of Zhou.[40]

On a continuum, with regard to prosody and structure, the **Admonition* lies somewhere between a typical *shi*-poem of the sort we might expect and an unusually rhythmic, dramatic *shu*-history. As a lengthy text that rhymes the entire way through, displaying some of the lyrical gestures of the *Odes*, its prosodic features are atypical of the finished *Odes* canon and transmitted *shu*. Perhaps the overwhelming influence of transmitted literature has led modern readers of the manuscript to focus on concerns that fit more squarely with canonical categories, but the binary approach of reading the **Admonition* through the lens of these categories has its limits; showing what the **Admonition* is *not* gets us only part way to understanding what it *is*, and while the comparison to transmitted literature is a productive foil for examining prosody and form in the **Admonition*, the question of the manuscript text's typology and composition can be further explored below by comparison to other manuscripts.

As suggested above, there are some prosodic features the **Admonition* shares with the Zhou *Hymns*, where the term *bi* 毖, to which I return in the penultimate section of this article, does appear in the title of one ode. Beyond *bi* and the canon lie other transmitted verses that help contextualize the **Admonition*. Any approach, however, that seeks to contextualize it, must also account for the text's unique thematic features and intellectual content, to which I now turn.

Unique Themes and Concerns of the **Admonition:* Virtue, Punishment, and the Mechanics of the Cosmos

Although, as mentioned above, there are many formulaic warnings and exhortations in the **Admonition* that would be at home in critical odes or authoritative *shu* speech, the **Admonition* also shares a number of concerns with Warring States technical literature and correlative thought that have gone largely unnoticed.[41] It could be argued that a correlative understanding of the relation between the natural and human realms underlies even the trope of "stimulus" (*xing* 興) in canonical poetics, which juxtaposes the two realms. And it would also be mistaken to say that human actions and celestial motions are never juxtaposed within the *Odes*.[42] Nonetheless, the warnings and exhortations of the **Admonition* reveal a more elaborate, systematic, rule-based, or mechanical view of cosmic correlations, in which the ruler's action must be closely synchronized with celestial and seasonal events. The mode of discourse in the manuscript, with its tendency towards exposition and a lack of "stimulus," in many places more resembles that seen in technical literature or correlative philosophy, than in the *Odes*.

[40]Again, we might also consider, as with the question of reduplication above, whether the *ruo yue* formula or other such features are editorial features that make it cohere with a larger body of *shu* texts.

[41]Cao Jianguo's "Qinghua jian Rui Liangfi shi lun" is an exception in this regard, and notes some of these unusual features of the text.

[42]The most explicit case of natural disasters (an eclipse) juxtaposed with human malfeasance in the *Odes* is found in "Shi yue zhi jiao" 十月之交 (Mao no. 193).

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Concerns of the **Admonition* include a fear of unraveling, or disrupting the cosmic net-structure (*jigang* 紀綱), which comes interwoven with concern for the balance between *de* 德 and *xing* 刑 (virtue and punishments), a dyad with a wide range of binary correlates known from later technical literature and astro-calendrical divination. The term *du* 度 (measure, attitude, degree, bearing) directly bridges a correlation between astral bodies and the ruler's measured disposition or attitude. In the manuscript text, both the motion of planets and the action of the ruler have a proper *du* that should not be disordered. The text also has an extensive exposition on political order that appears in two conceptually parallel sequences. Therein, mutually reinforcing vertical and horizontal door braces are understood as metaphors of mutual support and regulation in properly ordering the realm and cosmos. These cosmological concerns provide much to digest; here I begin with the relationship between cosmic order and the balance between virtue and punishments.

Balancing Virtue and Punishment

Han Fei's 韓非 concept of the "two handles" (*er bing* 二柄), "punishments and virtue," advocates a pragmatic use of stick and carrot.[43] *Xing* 刑, homophonous and perhaps etymologically linked to bodily form (*xing* 形), is that which is taken away by punishments (e.g. a nose, a foot, or a life), whereas "virtue" (*de* 德) puns on "obtaining" (*de* 得) something desired. The problem of balance between *de* 德 and *xing* 刑 arises numerous times in the **Admonition* (see lines 45, 114, 123, 135, 145, and 154 in the Appendix), but like the dyad "punishment and virtue" 刑德, known from Han Fei and other texts, the reversed *de-xing* in the **Admonition* bears on a number of associations that go well beyond their use in a non-technical context, and certainly beyond associations of terms used to translate them. John Major has suggested that some uses of *xing* and *de* be translated as "rescission" and "accretion," for example, as found in seasonal ordinances, where they cycle through different locations in time, like *yin* and *yang*:[44]

> 德在室則刑在野，德在堂則刑在術，德在庭則刑在巷
>
> When *de* is in the Room, *xing* is in the Field. When *de* is in the Hall, *xing* is in the Road. When *de* is in the Court, *xing* is in the Lane.[45]

[43]Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷, ed. and ann., *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1958), 111, "That by which the percipient master leads and controls his servants needs nothing more than the two handles: the two handles are punishment and virtue. What are punishment and virtue? It is said: slaying or killing are called punishment; celebrating and bestowing are called virtue" (明主之所導制其臣者，二柄而已矣。二柄者，刑、德也。何謂刑德？曰：殺戮之謂刑，慶賞之謂德).

[44]John Major, "The Meaning of Hsing-te," in Susan Blader et al., *Chinese Ideas About Nature and Society: Studies in Honour of Derk Bodde* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1987), 281–91.

[45]*Huainanzi* 3.12a–b, trans. Major, 1987, 285, modified.

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One of the earliest transmitted occurrences of the terms in clear opposition, is in the *Lü xing* 呂刑 chapter of the *Shang shu*,[46] thought to date as late as the Warring States period.[47] The terms do not completely shed their etymological origins as they enter the astro-calendrical realm, but their associative valence is expanded.[48]

Elsewhere in the Tsinghua corpus, the terms virtue and punishment arise in conjunction with the previously obscure concept of "five assistants" (*wu xiang* 五相), unattested in transmitted Warring States texts, but seen in lines 141 and 157 of the **Admonition*. In the **Tang zai chimen* 湯在啻門 manuscript, a philosophical text replete with correspondence schemes, the sage king Tang's 唐 minister, Yi Yin 伊尹 lists these "five assistants" as "virtue, affairs, missions, corrections, and punishments" (德、事、役、正、刑).[49] Although "five assistants" in the **Admonition* was originally read as *huxiang* 互相 ("mutual," a sense also unattested before the Han), it should now be clear that it indeed refers to "five assistants," bookended by "virtue" and "punishment," which in **Tang zai chimen* are enmeshed with or synecdochic for the functions of the five. We see this same five-to-binary correlative enmeshment also in lines 135–41 here, and in 159–71 (discussed below), where virtue and punishments are understood metaphorically as vertical and horizontal door braces, or mutually entwined ropes:

2.4	135	德刑怠惰	When virtue and punishments are slack and ineffective,	
		民所訧	this is what the people demonize and decry.	A#
		約結繩 19 摶	For the paired rope ties to be entwined	B
		民之關閉	is for the door bars of the people to be secured.	A#
		如關楗扃管	As when the perpendicular bars are bolted and locked,	B
	140	繩摶既正	when the ropes entwine in alignment,	C
		而五相柔比	the five ministers fall yieldingly into line.	A
		遹易兇心	Compliantly their malicious thoughts are changed;	b
		研甄嘉惟	they analyze and devise great strategies;	A
		料和 20 庶民	pacifying and harmonizing the multitudes.	
	145	政命德刑	Governance and the mandate, virtue and punishments—	C
		各有常次	each possesses its regular order.	A

[46]See, for example, Edward L. Shaughnessy, "On The Authenticity of the Bamboo Annals," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46.1 (1986), 176. The opposition between the senses of virtue and punishment also appears clearly in the *Gao yao mo* 皋陶謨 chapter, also thought to come from relatively recent layers of the *Shang shu*.

[47]See Marc Kalinowski, "The Xingde Texts from Mawangdui," *Early China* 23–24 (1998–99), 155n70, on *Lü xing* as first occurrence, and 155: "With the development of cosmological thought and the yin-yang and Five Agents doctrines, the action of Heaven was seen more and more as an impersonal organizing power working on the world through the regular rhythms of nature. The rotation of stars, the cycle of the season, and the alternating of *yin* and *yang* became the expressions of an immanent natural order that determines the destiny of men."

[48]See Kalinowski, "The Xingde Texts from Mawangdui," 156n75.

[49]Yi Yin 伊尹 states that "there are four by which the state is completed, and five by which it is assisted" (*si yi cheng bang wu yi xiang zhi* 四以成邦，五以相之). When Tang asks for further explanation, Yi Yin replies that "these 'Four Gods' are the Four Governors; five to assist them [are]..." those stated above. *Qinghua jian*, vol. 5:74, 77–78, 141.

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	邦其康寧	The state shall be peaceful	C
	不逢庶難	and not encounter the many hardships;	B
	年穀紛成	the yearly grain harvest will be abundant and ripe;	C
150	風雨時至	the wind and rain come at proper times.	A
	此惟天所建	This is what Heaven sets into action;	B
	惟四方 21 所祗畏	It is what the four directions respect and fear.	A
	曰其罰時當	It is said: "Let their sanctions be timely,	b
	其德刑宜利	and their virtue and punishments be proper and advantageous."	A

As we will see below, when the pair of braces comes apart or the ropes unravel, the five assistants weaken, and the five celestial entities (sun, moon, stars, planets, and year-star) all become disordered. Some particular themes of the **Admonition* can only be fully decoded by recourse to other texts in the Tsinghua corpus, such as **Tang zai chimen*, in this case.

The virtue and punishments of the **Admonition* operate closely in unison with the workings of the cosmos and calendar: when imbalanced, they lead to disorder in the five celestial bodies seen above; when balanced, the seasons come at the right times (lines 145–59). Moreover the idea that "sanctions" in the human realm should be issued at a proper time (line 153) and that "virtue and punishments be proper and advantageous" (line 154), were not just matters of theory in early China; punishing at certain times was a matter of practice.[50]

The emphasis on balancing the astro-calendrical variables of virtue and punishment is just one manifestation of a relatively impersonal, mechanistic or rule-based view of the cosmos that underlies the model of rulership set forth in the **Admonition*, nowhere better exemplified than in the metaphor of "Heaven's trigger mechanism" (*tian zhi faji* 天之發機), (Appendix, line 173), which Rui Liangfu fears will be set off by the failure to instate timely, measured, cosmically aligned governance.[51]

Du 度 and Celestial Alignment

Another crucial concept that aligns the ruler with the heavens in the **Admonition* is *du* 度, which usually refers to a measured quality of being or doing, and which I have translated imperfectly as "bearing."[52] By not "being ashamed to inquire about the

[50]Major, "The Meaning of Hsing-te," 283–84.

[51]The earliest attempt to trace the history of the crossbow trigger comes in the *Wu yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋, which places the first use of the crossbow in China in the 6th century BCE, at the earliest. See Joseph Needham and Robin D. S. Yates, *Science and Civilization in China, vol.5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 6: Military Technology: Missiles and Sieges* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 139–45. Despite the archaic or archaized language throughout the text, if the tenor, or source domain of *faji* 發機 is a crossbow-trigger, then this may be a smoking gun, so to speak, that dates this portion of the text to some time after the 6th century BCE, when the crossbow was in common use. Nonetheless, it is also possible, that *fa ji* 發機 here refers merely to the release of some "mechanism" that preexisted the trigger.

[52]The term *du* 度 usually means "measure" or "degree." "Commensurateness" of action, whereby actions have a measure or degree appropriate to a particular ritual setting is very close but somewhat unwieldy. If "attitude" were used to describe the position of celestial bodies, rather than merely air- or spacecraft, the

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proper course" (毋擾聞繇), one's "*du* (bearing) will be without misfortune" (度毋有咎, lines 19–20); conversely, not adhering to pure virtue can cause a loss of *du* (lines 107–8). *Du* is also a central concern of some transmitted *shu* documents and texts known only from the Tsinghua corpus: for example, its perfection is emphasized repeatedly as a goal of the "Ming xun" 命訓 (also found in the *Yi zhou shu*);[53] the Tsinghua **Zhi zheng zhi dao* 治政之道 and **Zhi bang zhi dao* 治邦之道 compare improper *du* measurement or calibration in the selection of worthy ministers with the desynchronization of the year-star (*sui* 歲), miscalibration of drought/flooding, and ultimately the destruction of crops.[54] The Tsinghua *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* 周公之琴舞 (Duke of Zhou's Zither Dance) also uses the term *du* to refer to the implicit alignment between ruler, sun, and moon.[55]

Likewise, in the **Admonition*, the *du* of the ruler is very closely associated with the *du* of planetary bodies, and comes intertwined with the notion of balancing virtue and punishment. Sima Qian, in addressing prior practices of astral divination that he viewed as misguided, reveals some clues to how virtue and punishment were correlated with celestial movements of the "five stars," or "five helpers" (*wu zuo* 五佐; cf. "five assistants") of Heaven in some schemes:

> 水、火、金、木、填星，此五星者，天之五佐，為（經）緯，見伏有時，所過行贏縮有度。日變脩德，月變省刑，星變結和。凡天變，過度乃占。
>
> [Mercury], [Mars], [Venus], [Jupiter], and [Saturn]—these five stars are the five assistants of Heaven. As for their actions in warp and weft (i.e., declination and right ascension), and their appearance and hiding, [everything] has its time, and the gain and retreat by which they exceed their [expected] travels have their measure {*du* 度}. When the sun changes, work on your virtue; when the moon changes, reconsider your punishments; when the stars (planets)

term might bridge the gap. "Rule" is tempting, in that in one sense a "ruler" has gradations for measurement while another refers to a person whose control of the realm is dependent on appropriate *du* 度. "Bearing" can refer to a person's comportment or a compass measurement in degrees. Although I am certain that the term *du* 度 here represents a cluster of polysemous but related terms ("rule," "measure," "self-restraint," "bearing," "calibration," etc.), the same graph seems to be used to write *zhai* 宅 (house; position) in the Tsinghua manuscripts, and senses associated with *zhai* either present alternative interpretations or a wider valence of concepts associated with a single graph or word.

[53]This text is the second chapter in the received *Yi Zhou shu*; a variant version is found in the Tsinghua corpus, and published in *Qinghua jian*, vol. 5.

[54]*Qinghua jian*, vols. 8 and 9.

[55]See the fourth *luan* 亂, slip 8, *Qinghua jian*, vol. 3:58, 133, 139nn50–52: "The finale says: 'To be easeful in timing and manifest of wishes / is the work of august Heaven. At daybreak, preside over watching the sun / At nightfall, preside over watching the stars and planets. When the sun has set, nets and webs [of sin] do not rest / These are to have bearing (*du*).'" (亂曰：逸其顯思，皇天之功，晝之在現日，夜之在現辰，日入皐辜不寧；是惟宅). Cf. Constance Cook, *Ancestors, Kings, and the Dao* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017), 213., 213, which interprets this line rather differently, although the connection drawn between human and celestial *zhai* 宅/*du* 度 (degree) is still apparent.

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> change, join [people?] in harmony: With celestial incidents, one only performs omen interpretation when they have exceeded their measure/expected *du* position[56]

Here, Sima Qian is writing to criticize practices from before his time. His claim is that astral divination was practiced more regularly than needed, perhaps as a regular part of the craft of seasonal regulation. We do not know what role astral divination had in the context of the **Admonition*, but cycles emphasizing virtue and punishments are interwoven with the movement of celestial bodies, and the *du* of planets must be closely regulated by the ruler. It seems likely that to "inquire about the [proper] course [*yao*[" (聞繇, line 19) involved consulting technical specialists as well as those versed in more mundane political matters. The term *yao* , translated as "course" here, can also be interpreted as "mantic pronouncement" or "prognostic song." The interpretive possibilities point to a cluster of etymologically related terms, including "portent" (*yao* 妖), which appears below, or a prophetic *yu*-song (飫歌) in the *Guoyu* that shares a line with the **Admonition*.[57] All these possible readings assume a fundamental relationship between the mantic arts and charting a course of action.

Parallel Structure Within the **Admonition* and Parallel Concerns Beyond

The description of a harmonious cosmos (lines 137–50) is the result of proper government, which according to the **Admonition* is also a task of careful alignment or measuring, well within the valence of the term *du* 度. The metaphors employed to describe the precise and symmetrical craft of good government (paired rope ties, vertical and horizontal door-braces, "five assistants" aligned, etc.) share imagery in common with the warp and weft of the cosmic structure, which extends lines of regulation across vertical and horizontal space. Note, again, the exposition on proper alignment (lines 137–54 above), and the parallel section that follows it, detailing precisely the opposite, negative consequences of misalignment, in which political breakdown leads the cosmos to correspondingly fall apart (lines 155–66):

2.5	155	如關楗不閉	If the perpendicular door braces are not secured,	A 脂 *pît[58]
		而繩摶失揆	and the rope ties lose their principle,	A 脂 *gwiʔ
		五相不彊	then the five assistants are not firm,	B 陽 *gaŋ
		罔肯獻言	nor are they willing to speak up.	B 元 *ŋan
		人訟扞諱	Men accuse, block, and conceal [the truth],	A 微 *wəi
	160	民乃嗥囂	and so the people clamor and howl.	
		靡所屏依	There is no place to take cover; nothing to rely on.	A 微 *ʔəi
		日月星辰	The sun and moon, stars and planets	
		用交亂進退	thus advance and withdraw in tangled chaos,	A 微 *thus

[56]Sima Qian, translation modified from Daniel P. Morgan, 'Mercury and the Case for Plural Planetary Traditions in Early Imperial China,' in *The Circulation of Astronomical Knowledge in the Ancient World*, ed. John M. Steele (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 439–40, and Dan Morgan, personal communication, March 2017. Curly brackets are mine.

[57]See below n. 120.

[58]Interpreting rhyme A as *zhi-wei* 脂/微 cross rhyme.

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	而莫得其次	such that none takes its proper sequence.	A 脂 *tshih
165	歲 2 廼不度	and the Year-star then loses its bearing.	C 魚*dâkh
	民用戾盡	The people thus become thoroughly perverted	
	咎何其如	Alas, what can be done about such misfortune?!	C 魚*nah
	台哉		

Neither this language nor any part of the correlative expositions are shared with the other Rui Liangfu texts. As it turns out, the texts which bear the most resemblance are seasonal ordinance texts such as the rhyming **Sui* 歲 text of the *Zidanku Chu boshu* 子彈庫楚帛書 (Zidanku Silk Manuscript #1):[59]

惟□□□	It is … (?) …	
月則贏絀	… if the lunar [intercalary] gain or retreat	
不得其當	does not achieve its proper place,	陽 *tâŋh
春夏秋冬	Spring Summer Fall Winter	
□有□常	(will not?) have (?) regularity,	陽 *daŋ
日月星辰	the sun, moon, planets and stars	
亂失其行	Are chaotic and lose their proper movement,	陽 *gâŋ
贏絀失□	If the gain or retreat lose their … (?),	?
奔木亡常	plants and trees lose regularity.	陽 *daŋ
是謂妖，	This is called a portent (*yao*),[60]	
天地作祥	Heaven and Earth are making [aberrant] signs.	陽 *s-jaŋ

Calamities include the collapse of mountains, geysers erratically gushing forth, wars, and other negative consequences for the king,[61] precisely the "many disasters" (庶難) Rui Liangfu repeatedly warns of in the **Admonition* (lines 6, 39, 81, 106, 148, and 184), if the authorities do not heed the *yao* (for which "portent," here is a plausible loan). Li Ling points out that this section of the Zidanku manuscript is concerned primarily with "disorder and the imperative to reestablish order,"[62] and that issues of seasonality and the imperative to order time properly were not relegated to the realm of the ritual specialist, but rather were pervasive concerns.[63] They are not found in the *shi* or *shu* arrays, but they are common in other early texts and surface clearly in the **Admonition*.

Moreover, these concerns are addressed by rhyming verse forms—exemplified by the Zidanku *Sui* text—that circulated in the Warring States, presumably within the same milieu as texts like the **Admonition*. In addition to rhyming philosophical texts that we know from both transmitted compendia and unearthed manuscripts, we also know a number of correlative texts developed in the Warring States through Han, some of which share formal and prosodic features with canonical *shi* poetry. We also

[59]See Li Ling 李零, *Zidanku Chu boshu* 子彈庫楚帛書, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu, 2017), 45–47.

See also Li Ling, *Changsha Zidanku Zhanguo Chu boshu yanjiu* 長沙子彈庫戰國楚帛書研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985 [rpt. 2013]), 45–6, for an earlier interpretation. Here I have omitted the non-standard characters, although in some cases the reading is tentative.

[60]See n. 118.

[61]Li Ling, *Changsha Zidanku Zhanguo Chu boshu yanjiu*, 45–46.

[62]Li Ling 李零, "The Zidanku Silk Manuscripts," in *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China: The Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin, and Han*, trans. Donald Harper (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 249–77, here 263.

[63]Li Ling, "Zidanku Silk Manuscripts," 58–59.

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see this clearly reflected in texts of the Tsinghua corpus, like the *Tang zai chimen, Wu ji* 五紀, and *San bu wei* 參不韋, that weave like concerns into a philosophical system, often with the use of rhyme. None of the foregoing aims to deny the large part of the **Admonition* for which comparisons to *shu* or *shi* are perfectly straightforward, but given the similarities of both (rhyming) form and content that exist between the **Admonition* and the *Sui* text, we must consider a body of rhyming literature distinct from canonized *shi* or *shu* to fully understand the typology or composition of the **Admonition*. Or, perhaps, we need also consider the practices of reading, editing, selection, and use that underlie the separation of this body of what might be called technical literature from canons that have come to define the typology of *shi* and *shu*.

Structure and Paratext in Verse Albums

The foregoing has shown ways in which the **Admonition* is not paradigmatic of transmitted forms, as well as some concrete examples of what is thematically distinct about the text, and what sorts of texts those distinct parts resemble. Let me continue to identify other texts that, likewise, *do* more resemble the **Admonition*, while shifting the focus to broader text–paratext structural features.

Verse Albums as a Structural Class of Texts

Within the Tsinghua corpus, two other manuscripts are structured much like the **Admonition*: the *Qiye* 耆夜 (Toast [celebrating the defeat] of Qi) and *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu*. These two manuscripts are collections of verse in which prefatory narrative and punctuation of individual songs frames the interpretation and parsing of the song texts, much as seen in the **Admonition*.[64] The five song texts of the *Qiye* consist of four previously unattested songs capped by a variant of the poem "Xi shuai" 蟋蟀 (The Cricket) transmitted in the *Odes* (Mao no. 114). Likewise, the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu*, combines the previously unknown song texts with a rendition of one *Shijing* poem we know, "Jing zhi" 敬之 (Be Warned of it; Mao no. 288). The editors note that the codicological features and handwriting of the *Zhou gong zhi qinwu* and **Admonition* manuscripts are similar, and that the two texts were likely produced at the same time.[65] What we know more certainly about the *Qiye* and *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu*, is that at least the canonical part of their contents circulated—in some form, as *texts*—beyond the manuscripts. For this reason, the sort of historical contextualization performed by these narrative portions is best understood as the work of encapsulating *paratexts*—"thresholds" that constrain the identity and/or interpretation of the text proper, from a position on the same codex.[66]

[64]The *Zhou Gong zhi qin wu* 周公之琴舞 (The Duke of Zhou's Zither and Dance) is found in *Qinghua jian*, vol. 3; *Qiye* is in *Qinghua jian*, vol. 1.

[65]*Qinghua jian*, vol. 3:132.

[66]The term is first developed in Gerard Genette, *Palimpsestes* (Paris: Éd. du Seuil, 1981), 9, and Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1. For its application to early Chinese literature see Heng Du, "The Author's Two Bodies: Paratext in Early Chinese Textual Culture," Ph.D. Dissertation (Harvard University, 2018).

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The *Qiye* manuscript commemorates a drinking party that celebrated King Wu's conquest over the state of Qi 耆.[67] The text opens with a prefatory, paratextual narrative that historically contextualizes the songs. It reads:

武王八年征伐耆，大戡之。還，乃飲至於文太室。畢公高為客，召公保奭為介，周公叔旦為主，辛公泉甲為位，作策逸為東堂之客，呂尚父命為司正，監飲酒。
王舉酬畢公，作歌一終曰《樂樂旨酒》：...

King Wu campaigned against *Qi* in his eighth year, and greatly conquered it. On his return, he drank to his arrival in the Great Hall of King Wen. Gao, the Duke of Bi was the guest; Protector Shi, the Duke of Shao was the helper; Shu Dan, the Duke of Zhou was the host; Quanjia, the Duke of Xin was the attendant; Zuoce Yi was the guest of the Eastern Room; Lü Shangfu was ordered to serve as master of ceremony, overseeing the drinking.

The King offered up his chalice, toasting the Duke of Bi, and made a song in one *zhong* 終 (coda), called "Joyful, joyful, the tasty brew":[68]

[Song text ...]

Much like the opening in the **Admonition*, which describes the circumstances under which Rui Liangfu presented his song in two codas, the prefatory section here guides the reader to interpret the poem as having a specific historical significance, performing a similar function to the prefaces found in the Mao-version *Shijing*, albeit differing in the specific details of its historical context. What follows is a series of songs, offered by King Wu and the Duke of Zhou, in the course of toasting members of the drinking party. Each song is prefaced and punctuated by paratextual narrative that indicates "[so-and-so] made a song in one coda, which is called [such-and-such]" (作歌一終曰). A rendition of "Xi shuai" is the last of the poems, and its prefatory narrative indicates that the Duke of Zhou extemporized (or composed) it in response to an interloping cricket that happened upon his mat.

While the *Qiye* climaxes with a known song of the *Ode*s, the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* opens with one: after a brief introduction and entrance by the Duke of Zhou, the song sung by King Cheng 成王 in the first section is a version of "Jing zhi." In this case, the opening narrative is more rudimentary: preceding the first song it says that "The Duke of Zhou made [for] the many nobles warnings and cautions, [accompanied by] zither and dancing in nine *sui* [refrains/units of performance]" (周公作多士儆毖，琴舞九遂).[69] A similar phrase prefaces King Cheng's first verses, and paratext functions also

[67]Qi is identified by the editors as the state of Li 黎 discussed in the *Shang shu* ("Xibo kan li" 西伯戡黎 [The Earl of the West defeats Li]). The Earl of the West has often been identified as King Wen, although the preface of the manuscript suggests that Xibo is King Wu.

[68]Translation follows the transcription in Fan Limei 范麗梅 (Pham Lee-Moi), "Qinghua jian 'Qi ye' yinan zici kaoshi yu quan pian neirong jiedu" 清華簡〈耆夜〉疑難字詞考釋與全篇內容解讀, *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 76 (2023), 2.

[69]Slip 1, *Qinghua jian* 3:8, 55, 133.

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to punctuate the nine *sui*, each of which is divided into an opening (*qi* 啟) and a finale (*luan* 亂).[70]

Comparing these two manuscripts with the **Admonition*, the resemblance in overall textual form is quite apparent: all are collections of rhyming verse that could perhaps be termed "historically contextualized micro-collections," or "historically conscious song-books" (at least in that the paratextual narrative suggests a context of musical performance). The term I have settled on, "verse album," implies an agnosticism about the genre identity of their contents, or whether the texts were ever performed as they are portrayed in the manuscripts. In addition to the historicizing function of the paratext, all the texts seem concerned with presenting ritual models for rulership, in which proper *du* 度 alignment is key.[71] The Tsinghua corpus offers a total of three examples of texts with this form and function, but there is at least one more example now fossilized in the *Shang shu*.

Considering that the songs of the *guwen* 古文 (old text) *Wu zi zhi ge* 五子之歌 (Songs of the Five Princes),[72] are all remonstrations against a corrupt ruler, the content of the chapter resembles the **Admonition* even more closely than do the other verse album manuscripts in the Tsinghua corpus. The text, set in the declining Xia 夏 dynasty, and found in the *Xia shu* 夏書 section of the *Documents*, recounts the tale of Tai Kang 太康, whose negligence and mismanagement ultimately led to the revolt of the people (note the morphologic resemblance to the Rui Liangfu story). Tai Kang's brothers present songs of criticism against him. The prefatory paratext reads:

> 太康尸位，以逸豫滅厥德，黎民咸貳，乃盤遊無度，畋于有洛之表，十旬弗反。有窮后羿因民弗忍，距于河，厥弟五人御其母以從，徯于洛之汭。五子咸怨，述大禹之戒以作歌。
>
> Tai Kang occupied the throne like a personator of the dead. By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his virtue, till the black-haired people all wavered in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any self-restraint (*du* 度; "measure," "bearing"). He went out to hunt beyond the Luo, and a hundred days elapsed without his returning. (On this) Yi, the prince of Qiong, taking advantage of the discontent of the people, resisted (his return) on (the south of) the He. The (king's) five brothers had attended their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the north of the Luo; and (when they heard of Yi's movement), all full of dissatisfaction, they related the Cautions of the Great Yu in the form of songs.[73]

[70]The exception to this pattern is the first *sui*, for which the Duke of Zhou and King Cheng each have an opening *ru* 入 (entrance).

[71]*Qi ye* is the only verse album that does not explicitly discuss *du* 度, although it advocates the same quality of ritual restraint in enjoying the pleasures of wine and music. For a recent study that emphasizes this function, see Fan, "Qinghua jian 'Qi ye.'"

[72]Zhao, "Rui Liangfu bi chu du," 77–80, cites the "Wu zi zhi ge" as evidence for classifying the **Admonition* as a *shu* document.

[73]*Shangshu zhengyi*, 7.211. Translation modified from "Songs of the Five Sons," in James Legge, *The Shoo King*, The Chinese Classics 3 (London: Henry Frowde, 1893; rpt. Taipei: SMC, 1991), 158–59.

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The songs of complaint and criticism that follow this prefatory section are all very short, ranging from five to sixteen mostly tetrasyllabic lines, with each song set apart by paratextual markers, "The first one said" (其一曰):, "The second one said" (其二曰), and so on. On the basis of both text–paratext structure and content, the *Wu zi zhi ge*'s resemblance both to the **Admonition* and to the other verse album manuscripts is strikingly clear.

What is not clear, however, is how a text structured like the *Wu zi zhi ge* came to be found in the *Shang shu*. The *guwen* chapters of the *Shang shu* are generally suspected of being recreations, or "forgeries," composed after the Western Han. The questions of how and why texts structured much *like* the *Wu zi zhi ge* circulated in the Warring States are difficult to answer without some speculation, although reconstructions, or "forgeries," often reflect the forms and interpretive practices of texts that were used and circulated contemporary to their fabrication.[74] While it is definite that verse albums circulated in the time of the Tsinghua manuscripts, it is certainly possible that they circulated long afterwards. The only other traces we have are those now found in manuscripts.

Bi 誖 (Admonition) and the Problem of Genre

Having examined what the **Admonition* is not (canonical *shu* or *shi*), what is unique about it (technical/correlative exposition), and what its overall structure resembles (other verse albums), let me return to the category of *bi* 誖, and consider its value for reconstructing the genre-awareness of preimperial manuscript users. The **Admonition* makes it clear that Rui Liangfu "made a *bi* 誖 in two codas"; the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* prefaces its version of the *Shijing* poem "Jing zhi" with "the king made warnings and *bi*s" (王作儆誖). Does the term *bi* refer to an "admonition" of any sort, or to a bounded literary genre? The Tsinghua editors have certainly implied that such a genre typology holds.[75]

Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 has attempted to trace the etymology of the term *bi* 誖 from Shang oracle bones.[76] He argues that the term is a warning delivered at a distance, which would have entailed a significant campaign.[77] Such a warning (or threat) is reminiscent of the use of *bi* in early *shu* documents literature.[78] *Bi* in the *Shang shu* has both nominal and verbal uses: "admonish," and "admonition"; and in the *Jiu gao* 酒告 (Proclamation on Wine), for example, it gets used both ways.[79] Zhao Ping'an argues that since *shu* documents *can* contain songs, *bi* may be a long-lost subgenre of the *shu* documents, like *shi* 誓 (oaths), *gao* 告 (proclamations), *xun* 訓 (instructions), *ming* 命

[74]See Bruce Rusk, *Critics and Commentators: The Book of Poems as Classic and Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard Asia Center, 2012), chap. 5.

[75]*Qinghua jian*, vol. 3:148: "The *bi* work(s) in the manuscripts all use rhyme; they are a form of song or poetry, and can be performed to music" (簡文中「誖」皆用韻，為詩歌體，也是可以演奏的).

[76]Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, "Shi 'bi'" 釋柲, in *Qiu Xigui xueshu wenji* 裘錫圭學術文集, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue, 2012), 51–71, here 61–65. Thanks to Adam Schwartz for directing me to this source.

[77]Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, "Shi 'b,i'" 1:61–65.

[78]Qiu relies on the *Shang shu* usages, so one might also argue his imagination of how the term was used in the Shang is simply colored by *shu* usage.

[79]Zhao, "Rui Liangfu bi chu du," 78.

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(commands), etc. Certainly, the similarity of the "Rui Liangfu" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* suggests that transmitted *shu* forms could encompass—with some editing—the material found in the **Admonition*. Nonetheless, the manuscript texts use the term *bi* to refer to the song-texts proper, not to their larger, paratextually encapsulated narrative forms.

The idea that subgeneric conventions are perceptible in *shu* literature, however, reminds us that canons—and subsections of those canons—contain heterogenous materials. Such is also true of the Zhou *Hymns* section of the *Odes*, in which the odes "Min yu xiao zi" 閔予小子, "Fang luo" 訪落, "Jing zhi" 敬之, and "Xiao bi" 小毖 (Mao nos. 286–89), form a self-admonitory suite.[80] The suite, together with the corresponding Mao prefaces, echoes the tone of self-admonition in the *Zhou Gong zhi qin wu* manuscript, although self-admonition, in both suite and manuscript, functions largely to present King Cheng as a model of ritual devotion (*xiao* 孝). In addition to the *bi* in the title of "Xiao bi" (Little Admonition), the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* text uses the term *bi* to refer to its version of "Jing zhi"; its exhortations to "be warned of it," in turn, are echoed also by the **Admonition*. As a rule, none of the Zhou *Hymns* are satirical, and as criticisms they do not exceed a form of ritual self-deprecation that the king performs while facing the ancestors. Nonetheless, must the rules of the canon constrain the manuscript culture that produced the Tsinghua manuscripts? Although the **Admonition*'s songs are unequivocally critical and far longer than any in the Zhou *Hymns* suite, the irregularity of their rhyme and verse patterns is more reminiscent of the admonitory Zhou Hymns than texts such as "Mulberry Tendrils" and its operatic ilk. For this reason, and because of the material and codicological similarity between the **Admonition* and *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* manuscripts, one might be inclined to group the **Admonition* with the self-admonitions of the Zhou *Hymns* suite, despite the differences of length and theme.

More broadly speaking, direct criticisms against the king in transmitted *shu* documents are set almost exclusively in pre-Zhou or prehistoric times; the only clear exception to this is "Rui Liangfu," which perhaps for this very reason was shunted to the *Yi Zhou shu*;[81] in the *Odes*, identification of wayward kings never happens explicitly, but is a function of the preface, such that neither the *Documents* nor the *Odes* ever directly criticize a Zhou king. The *Hymns* (*song* 頌) are generally thought to take their name from *rong* 容 (countenance), or proper ritual demeanor towards the king and ancestors, such that they almost by definition would exclude any sort of direct criticism.[82]

[80]See Fu, "Zhou song," 15–39, and discussion in Edward L. Shaughnessy, "From Liturgy to Literature: The Ritual Context of the Earliest Poems in the Book of Poetry," in *Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997), 165–96.

[81]Another possible candidate is the "Zhai gong" 祭公 chapter, also found, perhaps unsurprisingly, in the *Yi Zhou shu*, although it contains more in the way of exhortations; King Mu's reception is not so unanimously bad.

[82]Slips 11–12 of the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu* indicate that in the interpretive context of the Tsinghua manuscripts, the scope of *song* 頌/*rong* 容 coheres with the eulogizing mode of the *Hymns*. The Duke of Zhou exhorts the many servicemen (*duo shi* 多士) to show their respect to King Cheng and his place among the ancestral kings: "Whoah-ho! Be models and facilitators for his lordship. By your countenance, harmonize with me; By being cautious, uphold and safeguard he whom the Patterned Men approve" (嗚呼式克其有辟用容（頌？）輯余用小心持維文人之若). *Qinghua jian*, vol. 3:60, 145.

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Evidence of a *bi* genre from the Duke of Shao's systematic taxonomy of remonstration in the *Guoyu* and parallel sources is lacking,[83] and the evidence from other transmitted sources is murky. Suppose, however, that there is class of critical *bi* verses that encompasses all manner of warnings—both kingly self-admonishment and ministerial critique—and functions either as a class of composition or nomenclature of compilation during the Warring States: if there were such a *bi* category, of which only some "eulogize" (*song* 頌), it seems almost certain that its thematic range could never be reflected in the canon as we know it,[84] due to the unspoken conventions of redaction that have scrubbed away all direct criticism of Western Zhou kings. If the *Guoyu* taxonomy provides a hierarchical yet contested blueprint for collective labor, it must also have hierarchical notions of who is authorized to say what to whom.

If we do wish to further pursue the question of typology, there are other instructive genre candidates in taxonomies beyond the *Guoyu*, including *zhen* 箴 admonishments, of which an example, *Yu ren zhi zhen* 虞人之箴 (The Warden's Admonishment), is preserved in the *Zuozhuan*.[85] In that the *Yu ren zhi zhen* is tetrasyllabic and lacks a clear cyclical verse structure, thematically and prosodically it resembles the **Admonition*. Other verse forms, like the *Gui shi* 侃詩 in the *Fu* 賦 section of the *Xunzi*, are instructive, if not decisive, in contemplating the problem of genre. The *Gui shi* is a poem rather than a dramatic speech, and its classical language would never be mistaken for the archaic diction of *shu* documents, but in other ways it resembles the **Admonition*: in its irregular tetrasyllabic meter; in its themes of complaint (for example, against the neglect of good men in government); and—more generally—in what David Knechtges calls the "*topos* of the world upside-down."[86] Its structure includes an auto-commentarial opening akin to the paratextual section of the **Admonition*, and claims to musicality in a final *xiaoge* 小哥 (little song) section. In its universal poetics of complaint, the *Gui shi* may represent a development, whereby specific instances of dramatic, historical, and exemplary speech give rise—by induction—to poems that present an ahistorical, philosophical, general case.[87] Nonetheless, as a *shi*-poem lodged in a chapter of what are presumably *fu*-poems, the *Gui shi*'s placement among the *Fu* chapter's expository riddles echoes the complexities of placing the **Admonition* within canonically shaped *shi* and *shu* genres.

[83]See above note 77.

[84]If, for example, *song* 頌 and *bi* 毖 are both genre terms according to the rudimentary definition I have offered above, they cannot coexist or have equal footing in a genre *system* that underlies the canonical boundaries we know, and wherein category membership is exclusive and/or hierarchically nested.

[85]Schaberg, "Remonstrance in Eastern Zhou Historiography," 152–53; Stephen Durrant, Wai-yee Li, and David Schaberg, trans., *Zuo Tradition*, 3 vols. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 918. Huang Tiantian's dissertation, chap. 5, considers in more detail the **Rui Liangfu bi* as an example of *zhen* 箴 admonishments.

[86]David R. Knechtges, "Riddles as Poetry: The 'Fu' Chapter of the Hsün-Tzu," in *Wen-Lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities*, ed. Tse-tsung Chow, vol. 2 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 1–31, here 11–14. On the "world upside down," see ibid., 26–29 and Nicholas Morrow Williams, "The Topos of the World Upside-Down Turned Rightside-Up: Liu Xiang and Political Rhetoric in Early China," *Asia Major* (3rd. ser.) 35.2 (2022), 145–81. Knechtges ("Riddles as Poetry, 29) notes that some of these themes are also shared with one of the *Chengxiang* 成相 texts in the *Xunzi*.

[87]Such a trend would parallel the development of *Shijing* poetics in which the *Guofeng* odes, generally regarded as later texts, are less likely to identify historical events.

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Closing Thoughts

The trouble of identifying genres such as *shi*, *shu*, or *fu* in preimperial texts, and of answering—from the perspective of early manuscript culture—the question of "what is the **Admonition*," may be precisely the trouble of determining how preimperial texts were composed, compiled, and redacted. Were they composed with an awareness of genre? Was there any systematicity to those genres, such that membership in one category might preclude that in another? Were texts edited to fit genres that arose subsequent to their earliest instantiation? The collection of texts into preimperial verse albums provide new clues to those processes, or at least hints about what constituted "like" materials in a preimperial context, and so I close with some reflections, speculations, and questions based on those clues.

First, etymology and early use of the term *bi* is shared by texts that came to be compiled in canons of *shu* and *shi* (e.g., the "Jiu gao" chapter in the *Shang shu* versus the "Xiao bi" or "Jing zhi" of the *Shijing*). Although it is not entirely clear whether, when, or where in early China *bi* may have functioned as a generic term, there is also little evidence that mutually exclusive categories of *shi* and *shu* literature should predate the earliest works that later found their way into the canon; the term *shi* 詩 is found in the closing, autographic or "sphragis" verses of the *Elegantie* but nowhere in the Zhou Hymns. If we want to know whether *bi* is a genre of texts, we need not count on the attestation of such a genre in transmitted literature, especially when considering regional manuscript cultures.

Second, it is worth noting that the **Admonition*'s correlative exposition and many of its technical concerns seem to concentrate in the second song text.[88] This may be purely coincidental, although it may be meaningful for understanding how verse albums were compiled. If the first song-text was understood as a model, the second song text could be a later composition that in seeking to elaborate on its admonitory theme, reveals, in turn, intellectual concerns particular to its own time and place. Considering that "Jing Zhi" is the first song by King Cheng in the *Zhou Gong zhi qinwu,* and that "Xishuai" 蟋蟀 is the clear climactic focus of the *Qiye*, these poems we know from the *Odes* probably enjoyed a special status in the community that produced the manuscripts. The directionality of their relationship to the transmitted *Odes* is hard to know. Were odes with a prominent role in verse albums more easily inscribed in memory and thus ultimately better preserved in the Mao *Odes*? Or does the placement of known odes within verse albums merely reflect their prominence as members of a fixed *Odes* collection? Whatever the directionality, material in the first song of the **Admonition* might also have enjoyed a special status—or, perhaps, it existed previously as an anonymous collection of complaints that could apply to any bad ruler,[89] and was only given a historical context, identity, author-figure, and the two-movement structure known in "Mulberry tendrils" by later editors.

Finally, while it is undoubtedly the case that many of the texts we know from the canon must have been especially revered in the Warring States, the relative fixity and significance of those texts within certain communities may still have been a matter of

[88]The dyad of virtue and punishment does appear once in the first half of the manuscript.

[89]For an example of a text in the corpus that might fit this description see the **Nai ming yi* 迺命一 and **Nai ming er* 迺命二, which present a number of exhortations and admonitions, albeit spoken from the perspective of a superior to his inferiors, in *Qinghua jian*, vol. 9.

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contention that paratextual embedment sought to resolve, perhaps in tandem with the elaboration and compilation of like materials. The degree of organization in verse albums is different from what we see in the closed canons of the Han, but the impulse may be largely the same. The preface of the **Admonition* would thus have sought both to contextualize its attached song-texts and emphasize their significance by attributing their creation to an authoritative figure. I see no reason to doubt that these collections of verse convincingly resembled collections of like material. However, if, for example, all of the unknown verses in the *Qi ye* were composed primarily to provide a context for the making/performance of "Xi shuai," then the term "paratext," strictly speaking, still applies, but is perhaps a blunt instrument for treating the complex, multilaminate structures that accrete in manuscript culture over generations of transmission.

Considering that selective forces of transmission eventually cast the **Admonition* aside, its preservation in the Tsinghua corpus affords us an opportunity to learn from its transmissive failure. Perhaps it overstepped the bounds deemed appropriate in imperial times, or, with so many texts in early China contending to transmit Rui Liangfu's authentic words, perhaps it lost out to texts that better fit the forms and conventions that made canonical literature as we know it.

Appendix: **Rui Liangfu bi* 芮良夫毖 Translation[90]

1.0	1	周邦驟有禍[貿*gôi?]	The Zhou state had repeatedly suffered misfortune,	
		寇戎方進[真*tsins]	and the marauding Rong were entering.	A
		厥辟御事[之*dzrə?]	His Lordship and masters of affairs	B
		各營其身[真*lhin]	each fended for themselves,[91]	A
	5	恆爭于富[之*pəkh]	constantly struggling for wealth.	B
		莫治庶難[元*nâns]	None of them governed the many hardships;[92]	a
		莫卹 1 邦之不寧[耕*nêŋ].	none of them concerned themselves with the disquiet of the state.	a

[90]Conventions: Capital letters represent rhyme, whereas lowercase represent consonance and assonance. Chinese rhyme categories are based on the modification of Wang Li's 王力 system in Li Zhenhua 李珍華 and Zhou Changji 周長楫, eds., *Hanzi gujin yinbiao* 漢字古今音表 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1993); reconstructions are based on those in Axel Schuessler and Bernhard Karlgren, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2009). Underlines indicate rhyme is also operating at the penultimate position. Pound sign # indicates monorhyme. Arabic numerals in the Chinese text indicate the end of correspondingly numbered slips.

[91]A plural referent for *jue pi* 厥辟 here is consistent with the addressee of line 55, "every one of you hundred lords" (凡百君子).

[92]The word "disaster" (*nan* 難) is used six times in this text as a rhyme word (lines 40, 79, 104, 146, 218). Schuessler reconstructs as *nâns (Axel Schuessler and Bernhard Karlgren, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009]; henceforth OCM); Baxter and Sagart reconstruct *n$^{\varsigma}$ar (William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart, *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014]; henceforth B&S). Schuessler notes that the word probably derives from *jian* 艱 (OCM krə̂n); throughout this text *nan* 難 appears to have rhyme or slant-rhyme with *yuan* 元 rhymes (as expected), and other nasals, *yang* 陽/-aŋ, *geng* 耕/-eŋ, and *zhen* 真/-in.

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	8	芮良夫乃[之*nəê?]	Rui Liangfu thus	B
		作毖再終[侵/冬*tun].	made this admonition in two codas.[93]	a
		曰	It says: . . .	
1.1		敬之哉君子[*tsə?]	Oh, be warned of this, My Lord(s):	A#
	10	天猶畏[微*ʔuih]矣[*lə?].	Heaven is indeed to be feared!	B#
		敬哉君子[*tsə?]	Oh be warned, My Lord(s) !	A#
		蘑敗改繇[宵*jau]2	Awaken to your failure; change your course.[94]	C#
		恭天之威(微*ʔuih) 載 [之*dz ə?]	Respect the might of Heaven!	B#
		聽民之 [宵*jau]	listen to the *yao*-songs of the people.	C#
	15	間隔若否[之*brə?]	Discriminate what is right from wrong,[95]	A
		以自刺潰[微*kwəs]	so as to censure yourselves for ruination.[96]	B
		迪求聖人[真*nin]	Seek and employ sages,[97]	d
		以申爾謀猷[幽*ju]	so as to extend your strategic plans.	C
		毋羞聞 [宵*jau]	Do not be ashamed to inquire about the [proper] course;[98]	C#
	20	度3 毋有咎[幽*gu?].	and be blameless in your bearing![99]	C
		毋惏貪悖愖[真*hmə̂n]	Be neither greedy nor avaricious, disorderly nor blind. [rhythmic disjunction]	d
		滿盈康戲 [歌*haih]	You brim complacently in the enjoyment of pleasures—	c
		而不智蘑覺[覺*krûk].	and do not know to awaken from your dream.[100]	c
		此心目無極[職*gək]	This is for the senses to have no standards;	c
	25	富而無況[支*ŋêk?]	to have wealth but no limits;	c
		用莫能止 4 欲[屋*lok]	such that none are able to stop their desires,	c
		而莫肯齊好[幽*hûh]	and none are willing to still their lusts.	C
		尚極之敬[耕*kreŋh]哉	Would that you set standards—Oh, be warned![101]	D

[93]"Admonition" (*bi* 毖) is written here and in slip 28.

[94]The graph *yao* and its many plausible sound-loans 繇/謠/猷 in lines 12, 14, and 19 encompass a number of interpretive possibilities, including "course," "omen," "song," or "plan." There is likely some productive ambiguity or wordplay here.

[95]Or "examine and rank the good [men] and not-good [men]" (簡歷若否). The editors of the Guodian slips read *ge* 鬲 plausibly as *li* 歷 in the *Qiong da yi shi* 窮達以時 manuscript, Jingmen shi bo wu guan ed., *Guodian Chu mu zhu jian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1998), 145–46.

[96]*Ci* 刺 is transcribed by the editors as 諰; the same graph appears in the Anda *Airs* "Ge lu" 葛屨 for which the received edition reads 刺. See Anhui daxue hanzhi fazhan yu yingyong yanjiu zhongxin ed., *Anhui Daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian (yi)* 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡（一）, ed. Huang Dekuan 黃德寬 and Xu Zaiguo 徐在國 (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2019), 57, 137, 185. *Wei* 威/畏 [微*ʔuj-s] and *kui* [微*kuj-s], rhyme here, per Baxter and Sagart 2014. The editors read as *hui* 毀 (B&S*[m̥](r)ajʔ); the translation reads 潰.

[97]The poem "Mulberry Tendrils" 桑柔 (Mao no. 257) uses precisely the terms seen in "Here is a good man, neither sought out nor employed" (維此良人、弗求弗迪), Shisanjing Zhushu Bianweihui, *Mao shi zhengyi,* 18.1395; tr. James Legge, *The She King, or Book of Poetry*, The Chinese Classics vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893 [rpt. Taipei: SMC, 1991]), 525.

[98]Reading *xiu* 羞 (*s-nu) for 脁; the editors read *rao* 擾 (*ʔ(r)u).

[99]Here and throughout, I read this graph as *du* 度 and translate it as "bearing." See above for more detailed discussion of this concept. The translation reads *wu* 毋 here in the imperative, however, it is possible to read this simply as a loan for *wu* 無: "and your rule will be without blame." In general, the text uses *wang* 亡/罔 elsewhere to indicate non-imperative negation, but there are a number of cases in the corpus where *wu* 無 and *wu* 毋 appear to be used interchangeably.

[100]Reading *gao* 告 (*kûk) as a loan for *jue* 覺 (*krûk).

[101]Following Huang Jie 黃傑, in interpreting *gen* 亙 above *zhi* 止 and the repeat mark "＝" immediately after as a *hewen* 合文 for *ji zhi* 極之. Huang Jie, "Chu du Qinghua jian san 'Rui Liangfu bi' biji" 初讀清華簡（叁）〈芮良夫毖〉筆記, *Wuhan daxue jianbo wang* 武漢大學簡帛網 (blog), January 6, 2013, http://m.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/5996.html, accessed on January 3, 2025.

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		顧彼後復[幽*bukh]	Look back at what will come around![102]	C
	30	君子而受諫 [元kråns]	He who is Lord takes as his remonstrance …	.
		萬民之咎[幽*guʔ]	the myriad peoples' misfortune.[103]	C
		所尔弗敬[耕*kreŋh]	Such as it is, for you to not be warned,[104]	D
		譬之若 5 重載[之 *dzəh]	can be compared to overloading your cart	A/c
		以行崤[耕*tshêŋ]險(談*hŋramʔ)	and riding off among the crags and precipices;[105]	D
	35	莫之扶導[幽*lûʔ]	With no one to support or guide you—	C
		其猶不顛[真*dîn]覆[幽*phuk]	how would you not be overturned?[106]	C
1.2		敬哉君子[之*tsəʔ]	Oh, be warned, my lords!	A
		恪哉毋荒[陽*hmâŋ]	Oh, be scrupulous and not degenerate!	B
		畏天之降災[之*tsəh]	Be fearful that Heaven will send down disaster;	A
	40	卹邦之不臧[陽*tsaŋ] 6	Be concerned with the miscreants in our state.	B
		毋自縱于逸 [質*lit]	Do not lose yourselves to wanton leisure,	.
		以遨不圖難[元*nâns]	neglecting, in your ease, to prepare for hardships.	B
		變改常術 [物*m-lut]	If you change or alter the standard means,	.
		而無有紀綱[陽*kâŋ]	then there will be no [cosmic] support-web.	B
	45	此德刑不齊[脂*tsi]	This is for virtue and punishments to be imbalanced,	.
		夫民用憂傷[陽*lhaŋ].	which brings suffering and injury to the people.	B
		民之 7 賤[元*dzans]矣.	Oh, when the people are so disdained,	B
		而誰遧為王[陽*waŋ].	who is fit to be their king?[107]	B
		彼人不敬[文*kreŋh]	That those men do not take warning	b
	50	不鑒于夏商[陽*lhaŋ]	is because they do not reflect on the Xia and the Shang!	B
1.3		心之憂[幽*ruʔ]矣.	Oh how troubled is my heart!	a
		靡所告懷[微*grûi]	with none to whom I can tell these feelings;	
		兄弟慝[職*nhâk]矣	Oh how wicked are these brothers!	A
		恐不和鈞[真*kwin]	I fear they won't harmonize or regulate.	B
	55	屯員滿溢[錫*ʔek]	Roundly replete, full to overflow,	a
		曰予未均[真*kwin]	yet saying "I've not been given equally."	B
		凡百君子[之*tsəʔ]	Every one of you hundred Lords	A
		及爾蓋臣[真*gin]	and your loyal servants:	B
		胥糾胥由[幽*ju]	Restrain each other, rely on each other;	a
	60	胥穀胥鈞[真*kwin]	Do right to each other, regulate each other.	B
1.4		民不日幸[耕*sin]	The people's fortune does not daily improve,	

[102]Or "reflect on the consequent retribution," or, less literal but more idiomatic, "what goes around comes around."

[103]The graph *jiu* 咎 is written as on slip 4, and with 宀 above 咎 here. The translation assumes these significs may disambiguate words, although "blame" is also plausible here.

[104]Following Ma, "Rui Liangfu bi yu wenxian xianglei wenju fenxi ji bushi," 76–79, in reading 而 as 尔, and 所 as conjunctive, indicating a hypothetical. See, for example, *Shang shu* "Mushi" 牧誓 "If you are not energetic …" (爾所弗勖) *Shangshu zhengyi*, 11.340.

[105]Both *xian* 險 (談*hŋramʔ) and *jing* 崤 (耕*tshêŋ) are written with the "mound" signific (*fu* 阝/阜) in the manuscript, the rhyme scheme suggests the two graphs were reversed. Lines 32 and 34 may also be inline commentary, and can be rhythmically parsed as two lines.

[106]A graph written as an inverted mountain (*shan* 山), was initially interpreted by the editors as *ding* 丁 [*têŋ]. Translation follows Guo Yongbing 郭永秉, "Shi Qinghua jian daoshan xing de 'fu' zi," 釋清華簡中倒山形的('覆'字, *Zhongguo wenzi* 中國文字 39.12 (2013), 77–88, which reads *fu* 覆 (to overturn). The word (or morpheme) may be *fu* 覆 [*phuk] or *qing* 傾 [*khweŋ]. Although the latter rhymes with *ding* 丁 and *jing* 崤 of the previous line, *dianfu* 顛覆 "to overturn" is much better attested, and *fu* 覆 [*phuk] also rhymes here, although with less perfect rhythm.

[107]Reading *chi* 寔 as *di* 遧 (適). A similar structure and meaning is found in the *Shijing* poem "Bo xi" 伯兮 (*Mao* no. 62): "It is not that I could not anoint and wash it; But for whom should I adorn myself?" (豈無膏沐、誰適為容); Shisanjing Zhushu Bianweihui, *Mao shi zhengyi*, 3.286; tr. Legge, *She king*), 105. Zheng Xuan herein glosses this character as *zhu* 主 (to be the master or ruler).

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		常 9 憂思噫[之*hə]	perpetually troubled, they hope for full bellies.[108]	A
		先人有言[元*ŋan]	Men of old had a saying:	B
		則威虐之[之*tə]	"When the model is fearsome, brutality comes about."[109]	A
	65	或因斬柯[歌*kâi]	He who hews an axe-haft[110]	
		不遠其則[職*tsə̂k].	must not stray from the model.	A
		毋害天常[陽*daŋ]	Harm not the Heavenly constant	B
		各當爾德[職*tə̂k].	Each one according to his virtue.	A
		寇戎方進[真*tsins] 10	The Rong marauders are coming in;	c
	70	謀猷惟戒[之*krə̂h].	Consult and plan strategize and defend![111]	A
		和專同心[侵*səm]	Ally yourselves, be of one mind—	c
		毋有相負[之*bəʔ].	and do not abandon one another!	A
		恂求有才[之*dzə]	Seek out those with talent;	A
		聖智勇力[職*rək]	The sagacious, wise, brave, and strong.	A
	75	必探其度[鐸/魚*dâk]	You must examine their bearing[112]	D
		以親其臧[陽*tsaŋ]	to become intimate with their good [men];[113]	B
		身與 11 之語[魚*ŋaʔ].	talk with them personally,	D
		以求其上[陽*daŋh]	so as to seek out their best.	B
1.5		昔在先王[陽*waŋ]	Anciently, in times of the former kings,[114]	A
	80	冀有眾庸[東*loŋ]	they hoped to have multitudinous workers.	B
		□□庶難[元*nâns]	[so they tended to the] … many disasters,	A
		用建其邦[東*prôŋ].	so as to establish their state.	B
		平和庶民[真*min]	They pacified and harmonized the many people;	a/b
		莫敢 憧[東*thoŋ]	none dared stir chaos.	B
	85	□□□□□	….? ….	
		□□□□	….? ….	
		□用協保[幽*pûʔ]	[?] so as to help and protect	C
		罔有怨訟[東*s-loŋ]	and there was neither enmity nor accusation.	B
		恆爭獻其力[職*rək]	They constantly vied to contribute their power[115]	c?
	90	威燬方讎[幽*du]	to awe and attack the bordering enemies.	C
		先君以多功 [東*kôŋ = kloŋ].	The former lords thereby achieved their many merits.[116]	B
1.6		古 13 □□□□	Anciently …	

[108]The editors read *yi* 殹 as a sentence-initial particle *yi* 繄; Ma, "Rui Liangfu bi yu wenxian xianglei wenju fenxi ji bushi," 76–78. suggests reading the sentence final particle *yi* 噫, which I read literally as "to burp," following the *Shuowen* gloss "expiration from having eaten one's fill" 飽食息也. Translation reads *shang* 尚 as a loan for *chang* 常, although the orthography here differs from that of *chang* 常 below (line 65), where it is written 嘗. A number of alternatives for this line are plausible, including: "Having tasted despair they hope for death" (嘗憂思殪); "Alas, they still think troubled thoughts" (尚憂思噫); and "Often they are troubled, thinking of this" (常憂思繄).

[109]Most interpreters assume that *ze* 則 is conjunctive here. Following the clear example in line 64, I read the graph 則 as "model" or "standard." There is no indication that any text is missing from this section.

[110]This line quotes or shares a source with *Mao shi* "Fa ke" 伐柯 (*Mao* no. 158), "To hew an ax—how is it done? It can't be done without an axe" (伐柯如何 匪斧不克) "To hew an ax, hew an ax—the model is not far" (伐柯伐柯、其則不遠); Shisanjing Zhushu Bianweihui, *Mao shi zhengyi*, 8.618–22.

[111]Reading *wei* 惟 as "to think," but in context, here, "to strategize." See lines 143 and 180 for similar uses.

[112]Editors read "houses" (*zhai* 宅) in this instance, and "degree" or "measure" (*du* 度) elsewhere in the manuscript; both readings are plausible here.

[113]Editors read 臧 as *zhuang* 狀 (countenance) here and as *zang* 臧 (good) in slip six. The translation follows the latter reading in both places.

[114]Here the topic clearly changes, but the preceding *-aŋ rhyming seems to continue.

[115]This section appears to have an odd number of lines; this is the only one that seems not to fit well into the rhyme scheme, although the narrative does not present any problem. Given the lacuna in lines 83–85, it is unknown how regular the rhyme should be here.

[116]The rhyme scheme and punctuation seem to indicate that this is the end of a section; the rhyme changes on the other side of the lacuna immediately following this line, but the topic is not clearly different.

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		□□□□□□	[some ideal rulers]	
		用有聖政德[職*tâk]	owing to sagacity, governance, and virtue,	A
	95	以力及作[鐸* tsâk]	by force and creative power,	a
		燮仇啓國[職*kwə̂k]	vanquished enemies and founded the kingdom.	A
		以武及勇[東*lon ŋʔ]	By martiality and valor	
		衛相社14稷[職 *tsək]	defended and ministered the altars of soil and grain.	A
		懷慈幼弱[藥*niauk]	They had concern and compassion for the young and the weak,	a
	100	羸寡煢獨[屋*dôk]	the downtrodden, widowed, solitary, and orphaned.[117]	a
		萬民俱愫[幽*kuh]	The myriad people were all pleased	a
		邦用昌熾[之*thək]▪	and the state was thereby resplendent.	A
2.0		二啟曰	The second opening says:	
2.1		天猷畏矣▪	Heaven is indeed to be feared!	
	105	舍命無成[耕 *deŋ]	To lodge with the mandate is not foregone	A
		生 15 □□難[元 *nâns]	Bringing about … disasters.	
		不秉純德[職*tə̂k]	Not holding fast to pure virtue,	
		其度用失營[耕 *weŋ]	his bearing will lose order.	A
		莫好安情[耕 *dzeŋ]	When none love peace and calm,	A
	110	于何有爭[耕 *tsrêŋ]▪	then conflict will arise;	A
		莫稱厥位	when no one acts according to his position,	
		而不知充盈[耕*leŋ]▪	nor knows fullness from overflowing;	A
		莫 16 □□□	when none […] …	
		□□□□型[耕*gêŋ]	… [… virtue and?] punishments,[118]	A
	115	自起殘虐	disdain and cruelty will naturally arise	
		邦用不寧[耕*nêŋ]▪	and the state will thereby be disquieted.	A
2.2		凡惟君子[之*tsəʔ]	In every case, to be a lord [is to]:	A
		常鑒于先舊[幽*gwəʔ]	always reflect on the leading men of old;	A
		導讀善敗	take guidance and study from their merits and failure;	
	120	俾匡以戒[之 *krə̂h]	to be rectified and take warning.[119]	A
		□□ 17 功績[屋 *s-lok]	… […] merits and achievements;	
		恭潔享祀[之*s-ləʔ]	reverently make pure sacrificial offerings;	A
		和德定刑	harmonize virtue, settle punishments;	
		正百有司[之*sə]	and set the hundred officers straight.	A
	125	胥訓胥教	Advise each other, teach each other;	
		胥箴胥謀[之*mə]	exhort each other, strategize with each other.	A
		各圖厥永	Let each plan for posterity;	
		以交網謀[之*mə]	by entwining weave your strategies.	A
2.3		天之所壞[微*krûih]	That which Heaven destroys,	A#
	130	莫 18 之能支[支*ke]▪	no one can hold up;	#
		天之所支[支*ke]	and that which Heaven holds up,	#
		亦不可壞[微*krûih]▪	can indeed not be destroyed.[120]	A#

[117]The graph I interpret as 羸, the editors read as *lei* 纍, or 儡, which has a number of uses such as "weary," or "downfallen," attested as early as the *Yi jing*. Here I follow them, reading "downtrodden" rather than "emaciated"; I follow Huang Jie in reading 煢 (having no siblings) for 矜, although the overall sense is unaffected.

[118]The graph preceding *xing* 型 (punishments) is likely to be *de* 德 (virtue), on the basis of several other occurrences.

[119]I construe this line as parallel to the preceding one, in that one is "made rectified" and "warned" by merit (*shan* 善) and failures (*bai* 敗), respectively.

[120]For this and the preceding line see *Guo yu* 3.145 ("Zhouyu xia" 周語下): "A Zhou *shi*-poem says 'that which Heaven holds up, cannot be destroyed; what it seeks to destroy, likewise cannot be held up.' Long ago, King Wu made this poem as a *yu*-song 飫歌 upon defeating the Yin, naming it 'Zhi' 支, and leaving it for men of posterity to eternally examine by it" (周詩有之曰：「天之所支，不可壞也。其所壞，亦不可支也。」昔武王克殷，而作此詩也，以為飫歌，名之曰「支」，以遺後之人，使永監焉).

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		反反其無成	Toppled, tipped over, there will be no success;[121]	
		用皇可畏[微*ʔuih].	this can be greatly feared.	A
2.4	135	德刑怠惰 質*drus	When virtue and punishments are slack and ineffective,	
		民所訳 [脂*pits]	this is what the people demonize and decry.[122]	A#
		約結繩 19 摶元*dronʔ	For the paired rope ties to be entwined[123]	B
		民之關閉[脂 *pit(s)]	is for the door bars of the people to be secured.	A#
		如關楗扃管[元*kônʔ]	As when the perpendicular bars are bolted and locked,[124]	B
	140	繩摶既正耕*teŋ	when the ropes entwine in alignment,	C
		而五相柔比[幽*pih]	the five ministers fall yieldingly into line.[125]	A
		遹易兇心[侵 *səm]	Compliantly their malicious thoughts are changed;	b
		研甄嘉惟[微*wi]	they analyze and devise great strategies;	A
		料和 20 庶民[真*min]	pacifying and harmonizing the multitudes.[126]	
	145	政命德刑[耕*gêŋ]	Governance and the mandate, virtue and punishments—	C
		各有常次[脂*tshih]	each possesses its regular order.	A
		邦其康寧[耕*nêŋ]	The state shall be peaceful	C
		不逢庶難[元*nâns]	and not encounter the many hardships;[127]	B
		年穀紛成[耕*deŋ]	the yearly grain harvest will be abundant and ripe;	C
	150	風雨時至[脂*tits]	the wind and rain come at proper times.	A
		此惟天所建[元 *kans]	This is what Heaven sets into action;	B
		惟四方 21 所祇畏[微 *ʔuih]	it is what the four directions respect and fear.	A
		曰 其罰時當[陽*tâŋ]	It is said: "Let their sanctions be timely,[128]	b
		其德刑宜利[脂*rih].	and their virtue and punishments be proper and advantageous."	A
2.5	155	如關楗不閉[脂*pît]	If the perpendicular door braces are not secured,	A
		而繩摶失揆[脂*gwiʔ]	and the rope ties lose their principle,	A
		五相不彊[陽*gaŋ]	then the five assistants are not firm,	B
		罔肯 22 獻言[元*ŋan]	nor are they willing to speak up.	B
		人訟扞諱[微 *wəi]	Men accuse, block, and conceal [the truth],[129]	A
	160	民乃嘷囂[宵*hâo]	and so the people clamor and howl.	-
		靡所屏依[微*ʔəi]	There is no place to take cover; nothing to rely on.	A

[121]See "Ban" 板 (*Mao* no. 254): "Shangdi overturns it; the people below are destroyed" (上帝板板、下民卒癉). Shisanjing Zhushu Bianweihui, *Mao shi zhengyi*, 17.1344.

[122]The editors read the text's *bi* as a loan for *pi* 僻 (OCM *phek; "to avoid"). The same graph appears in slip 28 (line 195), where it is clearly a variant writing of *bi* 悊 (OCM *pits; "admonition"), written in slip 2 (line 8). As to the meaning of *yao* 訞 (OCM *jau), and considering that the ruler is exhorted to "listen to the *yao*-songs of the people" (line 14; *ting min zhi yao* 聽民之謠), a number of plausible interpretations or intended polysemes here include *yao* 妖 (OCM *ʔau; "prodigy"), and all the possible loans of *yao* (OCM *jau), discussed above.

[123]*Yuejie* 約結 occurs in the *Guanzi* 管子, *Xunzi* 荀子, and *Han Feizi* 韓非子 as a term of mutual political alliance; see, for example, *Guanzi* (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu, 1990), 950 ("Xingshi jie" 形勢解, chap. 64). The editors read *tuan* 剸 as a loan for "to break" (*duan* 斷), which is a plausible sound loan but does not make sense in context. The translation reads "tightly bound" (*tuan* 摶/*zhuan* 縳).

[124]*Guan* 關 and *jian* 楗 refer respectively to horizontal and perpendicular door braces.

[125]Neither the editor's reading of *huxiang* 互相 (one another) nor *wu xiang* 五相 (five ministers) are attested prior to the Han (see discussion above).

[126]There is some disagreement about how to interpret the character read as *liao* 料 by the editors. Translation reads *mi* 敉, following Bai Yulan 白於藍. "Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian san shiyi" 清華大學藏戰國竹簡（三）拾遺, *Zhongguo Wenxue Yanjiu* 中國文學研究, 2014.2, 14–18.

[127]I suspect *shu nan* 庶難 (many hardships) here; *nan* 難 throughout rhymes with [陽*-aŋ] finals. The graph here is 戁. "Rui Liangfu" in the *Yi Zhou shu* also has an alternate writing of this character with 喜 replacing 隹.

[128]Editors read *chang* 償 for *dang* 當.

[129]The editors read 菅 as *wei* 違 (disobey; violate). The terms "taboo" or "concealment" (*hui* 諱) better suit the mouth signific and the context of the preceding line.

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		日月星辰[文*sêŋ]	The sun and moon, stars and planets	b
		用交亂進退[微*thus]	thus advance and withdraw in tangled chaos,	A
		而莫得其次[脂*tshih]	such that none takes its proper sequence.	A
	165	歲 23 迺不度[魚*dâkh]	and the Year-star then loses its bearing.	C
		民用戾[脂*rits]盡[真*dzin?]	The people thus become thoroughly perverted	-
		咎何其如[魚*nah]	Alas, what can be done about such misfortune?!	C
		台之*jə哉之*tsə		-
2.6		朕惟沈人[真*nin]	I am but a submerged man,[130]	a#
		則如禾之有稈[脂*drih]	and like the sprout of a grain-stalk,	B
	170	非　哲人[真*nin]	I am no seed-bearing wise man;[131]	a#
		吾靡所援 24 □詣[脂*ŋih]▪	I am not someone [useful to consult] !	B
		我之不言[元*ŋan]	[But] if someone does not say it,	A#
		則畏天之發機[微*kəi]	then I fear Heaven's trigger will release,	B
		我其言[元*ŋan]矣▪	[and] once someone has said it,	A#
	175	則逸者不嬀[脂*muiʔ]	the negligent ones will be displeased.	B
		民亦有言[元*ŋan]	The people also have a saying,	A#
		曰 謀無小大	which says: Strategies have no great or small	–
		而器 25 不再利[脂*rih]	and weapons cannot be sharpened again.	B
		屯可與忨[元*ŋwân]	Anyone can accompany you in idle diversions	A
	180	而鮮可與惟[微*wi]▪	but few can accompany you in strategizing.	B
		曰嗚虖畏[之*ʔuih]哉	It is said: "Oh be fearful!"	–
		言深于淵[真*ʔwîn]	These words are deeper than the depths;	a
		莫之能測[職*tshrək]	no one can fathom them!	B
		民多艱難[元*nâns]	The people have many troubles and hardships;	A
2.7	185	我心 26 不快[月*khwêts]▪	it makes me disheartened	?
		戾之不□	That this perversion goes un[checked] . . .[132]	?
		無父母能生[耕*srêŋ]▪	Without one's parents one may live on,	A#
		無君不能生[耕*srêŋ]	but without a lord one cannot live.	A#
		吾中心念紲[*gwrêh]▪	Worries entangle my inner heart	–
	190	莫我或聽[耕*lhêŋ]	There are none who will listen.	A
		吾恐罪之 27 □身[真*lhin]	I fear blame will come to [my] body	–
		我之不□	[But] one cannot [control that][133]	?
		□□是失[質*lhit]	[?] . . . this loss	–

[130]"Submerged man," (沈人) written here as 淰人, may be a loan for "sprinkled/rinsed man" (*chong ren* 沖), or for "sincere man" (*chen ren* 諶人). This and the similar "submerged/sincere son" (*chen zi* 沈子) occur throughout transmitted *shu* documents literature, bronzes, and the Tsinghua *She ming* 攝命, *Zhou wu wang you ji* 周武王有疾 ("Jin teng" 金騰), and *Zhou gong zhi qinwu* 周公之琴舞 texts, where in most cases it is self-referential for the king and possibly the Duke of Zhou. This raises questions about the level of royal authority Rui Liangfu here implicitly claims.

[131]Editors read *gu* 穀 as *ru* 乳.

[132]The bottom of the first graph of slip 28 is mostly missing, but is most likely a *geng* 耕 rhyme. The top part appears to contain or 青.

[133]The first four identifiable graphs listed for slip 28, 身我之不, are on a short fragment that seems to fit well here, despite the lack of clear codicological evidence, such as matching ends. The fifth graph is probably also a *geng* 耕 (-eŋ) rhyme. Ma, "Rui Liangfu bi yu wenxian xianglei wenju fenxi ji bushi," 76–9, notes a similar *shu*-documents phrase, found in the entry for 弈, glossed as *zhi* 治 (to order; control) in the *Shuowen*: "The *Zhou documents* says, 'I cannot [control] it'" (周書曰：我之不弈). A variant of the phrase 我之弗辟 is found in the transmitted text. Unfortunately, the few graphs after *wo zhi* 我之 are missing in the Tsinghua version of "Jin teng" due to slip damage. Given what can be seen of the graph, 弈 seems possible here. A possible loan word, *jing* 靖 (OCM dzeŋʔ), also glossed as *zhi* 治 in the Mao commentary, is found in the *Xiaoya* poem "Yu liu" 菀柳 (*Shijing* no. 224): "If I were to [try and] order his affairs, his demands afterwards would be extreme" (俾予靖之、後予極焉) (tr. Legge, *She King*, 407–8).

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	而邦受其不寧[耕*nêŋ].	and thus the state suffers from disquiet.	A
195	吾用作毖再終[冬*tuŋ]	That I have made this admonition in two parts	a
	以寓命達聽[耕*lhêŋ] ⌞	is to make heard the mandate entrusted to me.[134]	A

《芮良夫毖》是何種文本？戰國「小韻文集」中的文體、韻律、主題和形式

李博威

摘要

清華大學收藏的《芮良夫毖》戰國寫本記錄者兩篇前所未見的韻文著作。據寫本所載的序文， 兩篇是西周大臣芮良夫（公元前9世紀）在朝廷上向周厲王（公元前853/57–841年在位）及其敗臣進獻的兩首勸諫歌。《詩經》和《逸周書》兩部傳世經書中，各保留著相似的一篇文本，而且此兩篇傳統歸功給芮良夫，被視為他在同一個場所所進獻的詩歌。儘管這三篇文本之間沒有任何逐字相同之處，但它們都押韻，並且緊密依附於一個眾所周知的傳說故事。本文從《芮良夫毖》整篇的翻譯出發，展示它在韻律、形式和主題上，與迄今用來分類寫作的經典類別有顯著的不同。此外，寫本被副文本（paratext）所包裝的結構，可以對《毛詩》普遍歷史化現象提供一個早期的先例。基於文本——副文本（text-paratext）結構分析，《芮良夫毖》還可以與一組韻文集歸類在一起，而這類文本，除了保存在古文《尚書》中的一篇「偽作」除外，只有兩篇在清華簡中的實例。

韻文、詩、芮良夫毖、書、箴諫、文體、副文本

[134]The text is delimited by a hook-shaped terminus mark.

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