

HISTORICAL TRUTH HISTORICAL CRITICISM AND IDEOLOGY

*Chinese Historiography and Historical Culture
from a New Comparative Perspective*

EDITED BY

HELWIG SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, ACHIM MITTAG
AND JÖRN RÜSEN



BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON
2005

POETRY AND RELIGION: THE REPRESENTATION OF "TRUTH" IN EARLY CHINESE HISTORIOGRAPHY

Martin Kern

Scholarship of the last few decades has questioned some of the truth claims inherent in traditional historiography, suggesting that antagonistic pairs such as "history" versus "myth" or "fact" versus "fiction" are to some extent illusory constructs.¹ Yet the question of correspondence between historical events and their subsequent records remains of critical importance to historiography: historians tell narratives they expect their audiences to accept as true. Early Chinese historians are not different in this respect. However, compared to their ancient Western counterparts, they differ fundamentally in the literary techniques by which they claim for their narratives the authority of being true. These differences are rooted in specific notions of authorship and personality, of the nature of textual creation, of the role of the historian, and of the inner workings—the cosmology—of the world the historian is describing; they define both the "deep structure" and the aesthetics of early Chinese historiography. Here, truth is neither defined nor claimed in terms of philosophical discourse, and only with Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145-c. 86 B.C.) does the historian's own reflection on his doing become to some extent explicit, in particular with respect to the limits of capturing the often elusive facts of the past.²

The question is not whether or not the ancient Chinese developed a logical concept of "truth" (which some scholars of Chinese philosophy and language have doubted).³ Of course, early Chinese thinkers had ways to decide and to express what is (*you* 有) or is not (*wu* 無), what is right/the case (*shi* 是) or is wrong/not the case (*fei* 非), what is so (*ran* 然) or is not so (*fou* 否), what is trustworthy (*xin* 信), what is correct (*zheng* 正), what is fact (*shi* 實), what is essential (*qing* 情), and so on. Confucius' famous dictum on *zhèng míng* 正名 ("rectifying the names") in *Analects* 13.3 is not concerned with the abstract notion

¹ The most prominent voice in this respect is White 1973, 1978, 1987. However, White's textualism has not gone unchallenged; see, e.g., Lorenz 1997: 177-187.

² Li 1994, 1999: 44-53.

³ To my mind, Harbsmeier 1989, 1998: 193-209 and Graham 1989: 393-398 have settled the issue (without stopping its discussion).

of a "true statement" but with matching language with the facts of the matter: names need to be correct in order to maintain a social order—the order of ritual propriety (*li* 禮)—that begins with the order of words. Confucius and his followers are not alone in searching for "truth" in the practical and concrete correspondence between language and what it denotes in the world. An emphasis on the substance and the effects of words appears across the range of early philosophical thought. One may think, for example, of the *xing ming* 刑/型/形名 ("forms and claims") doctrine ascribed to a Legalist line of thought;⁴ of the concern with *shi shi* 事實 ("the facts of the matter") in *Hanfeizi* 韓非子,⁵ or of the line that "trustworthy words are not beautiful, beautiful words are not trustworthy" (*xin yan bu mei, mei yan bu xin* 信言不美, 美言不信) in *Laozi* 老子 81. Glib speakers (*ningren* 佞人) are denounced in *Analects* 15.11 and 17.18, while in the *Shiji* 史記, the early Western Han oracle specialist Sima Jizhu 司馬季主 is quoted as saying that rhetoricians had to engage in exaggeration and verbosity in order to reach the ear of their rulers.⁶ In a *Zhanguo Ce* 戰國策 anecdote of dubious origin, the persuader Su Qin 蘇秦 (4th cent. B.C.) delivers a long and forceful speech to King Hui 惠 of Qin 秦 (r. 337-311 B.C.), structured in tri- and tetrasyllabic lines with rapid rhyme changes after each couplet. Having pulled out all the stops to let the king aesthetically experience the confusion that arises from excessive rhetoric, the master rhetorician disparages the rulers of his time as "ignorant about the supreme way" (*hu yu zhi dao* 忽於至道) and "muddled in their teachings, chaotic in their rule, confused by words, mystified by speech, deluged by disputation, drowned by phrases (*hun yu jiao, luan yu zhi, mi yu yan, huo yu yu, chen yu bian, ni yu ci* 悞於教, 亂於治, 迷於言, 惑於語, 沈於辯, 溺於辭).⁷ Such worries over the beautiful yet deceptive appearance of words are mostly associated with certain misgivings about the elaborate and powerful speeches of Warring States "wandering persuaders" (*youshui* 游說, *youshi* 游士, *youtan zhi shi* 游談之士, etc.). Yet the rhetorical tradition, and with it the problem of adequate language, extends to

⁴ See Makeham 1990-91, 1994: 67-83, critically reacting to Creel 1970: 79-91, 1974: 119-124.

⁵ Wang Xianshen 1986: 1.12-13 and 20.367.

⁶ *Shiji* 127.3219.

⁷ *Zhanguo Ce* 3.119.

philosophical discourses,⁸ to the representation of religious incantations, and to the literary compositions of the Western Han *fu* 賦. Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 B.C.-8 A.D.) famous protest against the excessive verbosity of the *fu* and its morally corrupting influence has shaped the perception of the *fu* down to the present day.⁹

The widespread discourse on language is concerned with the performative force and moral effects of the spoken word. The techniques of Warring States political rhetoric and Western Han court entertainment and panegyrics are modelled on more ancient religious utterances or "word magic"; their formal proximity to spells and prayers has led modern scholars to assume that they indeed were of a genuinely religious nature.¹⁰ To me, the elaborate argumentations of the "wandering persuaders" and the spectacular poetic splendor of Han *fu* poetry seem to exhibit too much of a literary self-consciousness and authorial ironic distance to be taken as unmediated religious utterances.¹¹ On the other hand, it is in early historiography, because of its emphatic claims for truth, morality, and ritual order that genuinely religious impulses remained at the core of the text. Historical writing is in general not regarded as "performance text" (in the obvious sense, for example, of a sacrificial hymn);¹² with few exceptions so far¹³ it is generally seen as the most factual and the least religiously shaped body of early Chinese literature. With the present paper, I follow some leads in the other direction, arguing that in its

⁸ In particular to the so-called "debaters" (*bianzhe* 辯者) or "terminologists" (*mingjia* 名家) of Hui Shi's 惠施 and Gongsun Long's 公孫龍 (both 3rd cent. B.C.) caliber.

⁹ *Fayan Juan* 3-4; *Hanshu* 30.1756, 87B.3575; Knechtges 1968, 1976: 89-97, 1994; Kern 2003.

¹⁰ E.g., the "Jiu Ge" 九歌 (Nine Songs), "Da Zhao" 大招 (The Great Summons), and "Zhao Hun" 招魂 (Summoning the Soul) poems in the *Chu Ci* 楚辭 anthology or, later, Wang Yanshou's 王延壽 (fl. mid-second cent. B.C.) "Meng Fu" 夢賦 (*Fu* on a Dream); see Wen Yiduo 1982: 1.263-334; Harper 1987; Waley 1923: 17, 1955; Frankel 1976: 186-211; Hawkes 1974, 1985: 95-101.

¹¹ I regard poems like those mentioned in the previous note not as genuine religious utterances but as rhetorical representations of such utterances. For an example of reading apparently incantatory poetic language from the Han not in religious but in political terms—which is the more traditional approach to early poetry—see Guo Weisen 1999.

¹² Kern 2000.

¹³ Very interesting observations on the religious motivation behind Sima Qian's *Shiji* can be found in Nylan 1998-99. Pines (1997: 80-86, 2002: 17-18, 250 notes 8-9) has argued that the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋) were ritual messages communicated to the ancestral spirits, and thus to some extent similar in nature and function to the early bronze inscriptions.

origins, its self-referential structure, its truth claims, and some of its motivations, early historiography shows profound reflections of religious and other ritual practice as well as of the aesthetics of performance texts. In brief terms, I will point out some of the salient features of such diverse texts as oracle bone, bronze, and stone inscriptions, ritual hymns from the *Odes* (*Shi* 詩), speeches from the *Documents* (*Shu* 書), and divination lines from the *Changes* (*Yi* 易) together with the ideals and expressions of both the ancient ancestral sacrifice and early poetic thought. While the texts of early historiography—with the most fully developed examples of *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and *Shiji*—transcend any one of these older texts and genres, they have absorbed the truth claims of all of them. In considering the question of “truth” in Warring States and early imperial historiography, we must first look back at earlier times and their texts.

The late Shang (c. 1200-c. 1045 B.C.) oracle records inscribed into bovine shoulder blades and turtle plastrons are documents of religious practice but without particular literary features.¹⁴ Carved into the media proper of the divinatory act, they provide composite records of the divination and its situational context, including the cyclical day designation, the diviner’s name, and the charge (often in positive-negative alternatives). Optional additions were a prognostication (often by the king who is mentioned as “reading the cracks”) and a later confirmation of the prognosticated event. Such divination and prognostication records are not descriptive but prescriptive and show a tight control over the process by the human agents; the spirits divined “could not reveal themselves in unexpected ways. The supernatural responses were rigorously channelled.”¹⁵ Moreover, while in the earlier strata of bone and plastron records, both positive and negative prognostications occur, and a few verifications even contradict the king’s prognostication,¹⁶ they soon give way to an increasing “routine optimism” in the form of emphatically positive crack notations, prognostications and, occasionally, even verifications that the divined event has actually taken place.¹⁷ Within the time span of just a century, the divination practice ossifies into a mechanical and predictable procedure: truth is not searched for, but controlled. This tendency is

¹⁴ For useful introductions to these texts, see Keightley 1978, 2000.

¹⁵ Keightley 1984: 13-14.

¹⁶ Keightley 1999.

¹⁷ Keightley 1978: 117; on the verifications, see Keightley 1978: 42-44, 118-19.

further enhanced by an increasingly narrow scope of divination topics: towards the end of the Shang, the vast majority of divinations concern the timing and success of ancestral sacrifices—an activity controlled by the king, who is able to affirm that any given sacrifice was fully successful. A prognostication for rain could be disproved; a performative speech act declaring and thus constituting the success of a sacrifice could not.

The fundamental question of the nature and function of the divination records remains still unanswered. Some historians have seen the inscriptions primarily as bureaucratic records of events: early historical documents that, inscribed into durable material, were archived for consultation by later generations. Yet the limitations of these records for a long-term preservation of information are obvious. Not only are bones and plastrons awkward to store; their texts routinely mention the kings and ancestors not by their names but as “king”, “grandfather”, etc., and they assign dates only within the ever-recurring sixty-day cycle. Despite their gesture of sober historical recording, they lack any specific time-reference; and thus, despite the durability of their carriers, their usefulness as permanent records decreased rapidly over time. It also cannot have escaped the makers and readers (whom we cannot identify) of these inscriptions that in terms of historical accuracy, the records were blatantly distorted. Perhaps the divination process itself had become ever more restricted, or one recorded only certain types of divinations directly on the bones and plastrons (with other types being archived on perishable materials?). In either case, the inscriptions we have are unabashedly tendentious.

The same must be said about Zhou bronze inscriptions, the other early textual genre that ostensibly presents a historical gesture and includes a great deal of valuable historical information that has been used in the reconstruction of Zhou history. But as Edward L. Shaughnessy has noted more than a decade ago, not one of the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions referring to warfare “commemorates a defeat.”¹⁸ This is both unsurprising and important; inscribed texts used in rituals commemorating the ancestors and sacrificing to them, as well as presenting the donor’s own achievements, were certainly not meant to embarrass either side. In this spirit, the famous

¹⁸ Shaughnessy 1991: 176-177.

water basin inscription by Scribe Qiang (*Shi Qiang pan* 史墙盤), composed shortly before 900 B.C. and regarded by Shaughnessy as “probably the first conscious attempt in China to write history”,¹⁹ mentions feats such as King Zhao (r. 977/75 B.C.-957 B.C.) taming the southern people of Chu and Jing—yet unfortunately, as is known from other sources, King Zhao’s expedition southward ended in a “crushing defeat” that destroyed not only his army but also left the king dead.²⁰ One may be tempted to say that in light of such evidence, the question about the historical value of bronze inscriptions (not to mention the oracle records) is already answered. But this would be too simple.

Why were records produced that (a) present themselves as thoroughly historical—in the case of the bronzes, often providing precise dates (day, month, and year), relating specific events, identifying the object’s donor, etc.—and yet (b) were so obviously contradicted by otherwise available historical knowledge? Why did the Shang kings consider their ancestors powerful enough to ask them for support and prediction if at the same time, these ancestors—at least during the divination process—could be confidently kept under the strict control of the living? Why did Zhou rulers and nobles use the setting of the ancestral sacrifice to present their ancestors with records, inscribed into sacrificial vessels and bells, that the ancestors, just as the living, must have recognized as idealized to the point of distortion? How functional is a misrepresentation that everybody knows as being just that? Such are obvious questions, but they are not the only ones, and perhaps not even the most important ones. Divination records and bronze inscriptions were not merely less than fully functional as historical sources, they also were much more than carriers of factual information. Bone and plastron inscriptions were very labor-intensive to prepare; they were often arranged in approximate symmetry, carefully pigmented, and occasionally written in a large “display” style; they also were produced in series of identical texts where, for every piece, the same amount of labor had to be exerted.²¹ None of these efforts contributed anything in terms of historical information.

¹⁹ Shaughnessy 1991: 1.

²⁰ Shaughnessy 1999: 322-323.

²¹ Keightley 1978: 46, 54, 56, 76-77, 83-84, 89.

Similarly, bronze inscriptions were cast together with their often elaborate carriers; they could occasionally be inlaid in gold (in the famous case of the Zeng Hou Yi 曾侯乙 bells from c. 433 B.C.); already in Western Zhou times, their visual appearance became increasingly regular over time (the *Shi Qiang pan* again being a primary example), as did their literary aesthetics of rhyme and meter;²² and they were cast in series (especially in the case of bells) as well,²³ an element that extended all the way down to the stone stelae erected by the Qin First Emperor.²⁴ Finally, both oracle records and bronze inscriptions were fundamentally self-referential, pointing to their own making, use, and purpose—a feature they shared with numerous other ritual texts of early China, especially sacrificial hymns of both Zhou and imperial times.²⁵ In their self-referential gesture, these texts not only described the process of the divination or of the ancestral sacrifice but simultaneously affirmed the success of the very ritual act to which they, as texts, themselves belonged. Any initially underlying factual records now became transformed into texts of a profoundly religious nature and function²⁶ and submitted to acts of display and performance.²⁷ Thus, by means of its texts, the ritual performance created its own reality and historicized itself.²⁸ It was semanticized, doubled, and instantaneously confirmed through its own texts that in a multi-media performance were transmitted to the spirits. Yet just as importantly, it was in turn the performance that sacralized the historical account provided in the hymns and inscriptions.

The report of historical events was no doubt an important concern for the composers of bronze inscriptions—which is why their historical study has proven so fruitful—but it was far from being the only or even the most important one. In analogy to Jessica Rawson’s suggestion that the primary purpose of late Shang bronze ornament “seems to have been to denote a ritual vessel”,²⁹ I would submit that

²² For the second point, see Behr 1996.

²³ Falkenhausen 1988: 635-639.

²⁴ Kern 2000a: 119-125.

²⁵ Falkenhausen 1993: 145-161; Kern 2000: 58-66, 2000a: 140-154.

²⁶ Falkenhausen 1993: 161-171.

²⁷ There is sufficient evidence that bronze inscriptions were texts to be sung or recited, just as the ancestral hymns that were used in the same ritual settings. Again, this feature extends to the Qin stelae inscriptions as well as to Eastern Han tomb stelae; see Kern 2000a: 142-145; Brashier 1997, forthcoming.

²⁸ For this function of ritual language, see Wheelock 1982.

²⁹ Rawson 1993: 92.

the overriding purpose of a bronze inscription was to perform an act of communication with the spirits and to display it as one of filial piety and ritual propriety. In similar terms, it seems to me that late Shang oracle records were first and foremost items to express spiritual and political authority: while the bones and plastrons in their sheer materiality represented control over resources and technology, the records inscribed next to the cracks—the latter understood as manifestations of the spirits' responses—showed the king in his ability to communicate successfully with his ancestors and, therefore, to secure the well-being of his people.³⁰ The historical gesture thus points to itself as the ultimate accomplishment; it is a ceremonial one; and it expresses not only some selective historical knowledge but, most importantly, control and authority over any such knowledge. Divination records and bronze inscriptions are displays of power because they represent the performance of exalted rulership.³¹

Therefore, it is profoundly irrelevant whether or not the Shi Qiang *pan* inscription is factually correct in celebrating King Zhao (or in any of its other details). What counts most are two things: that Scribe Qiang is able to identify himself towards both his ancestors and posterity, and that he possesses and is able to display the authority to speak of King Zhao in the first place. As expressed in the *Liji* 禮記, a ritual vessel elevated both its dedicatees and its donor, giving a name to the rememberer as much as to the remembered. Yet in the case of the Shi Qiang *pan*, there is even more to the inscription, due to the position of its donor Qiang who according to his own inscribed text was the youngest member in a lineage of kingly scribes. His text of 275 characters (284, if the included "joint characters" (*hewen* 合文) are counted twice) is not only among the longest Western Zhou inscriptions;³² for its time, it also is very regular in its graphic appearance as well as in its tetrasyllabic meter and regular rhyming (only the final passage is in prose). Visually, the text is displayed in two beautifully balanced columns of nine vertical lines each. The first seventeen lines are composed of fifteen characters each, while the final line, in a somewhat cramped appearance, includes twenty

³⁰ Similarly Falkenhausen (1993: 167) on bronze inscriptions: "What mattered was not that messages were inscribed, but that the rituals of communication were performed according to the rules."

³¹ Cf. Cannadine 1987: 19.

³² The longest being the famous *Mao Gong Ding* 毛公鼎 of 498 characters.

characters; clearly, this was deemed important in order to maintain the overall visual balance of the two columns. The caster had enough space left to move the final five characters into another line, but he chose not to do so. The emphasis on the text as a graphic artifact is further enhanced by the fact that it is not disturbed by any ornament on the wide, visually dominant inside of the bronze vessel itself.

Here, the visual image of the text must be related to both the position of its donor and the contents of his text. In the first (right) column, Scribe Qiang presents in idealized form the genealogy of the Zhou kingly house; in the second (left) column, he parallels it with the genealogy of his own lineage of scribes. Thus, in sacrificing to his ancestors—which is the presumed use of the vessel—Scribe Qiang presents himself self-consciously as the recorder of the Zhou and simultaneously as the recorder of his family's achievements. He is the kingly scribe, because his ancestors were kingly scribes; and as such, he enjoys the unique privilege of enlisting the Zhou kings as supporters of his ancestors. In such a context, it was not possible to embarrass King Zhao as the one who perished during a disastrous expedition; neither was there an option to simply skip him. Strikingly similar to the relentlessly positive and optimistic late Shang divination records, his text expresses the alliance of sovereignty and remembrance, not only preserving what must not be forgotten but, equally important, systematically excluding what should never have happened.³³ Ritual bronze inscriptions like the Shi Qiang *pan* can be seen as a controlled distillate of history, encapsulated in a highly intensified, formalized and linguistically restricted code³⁴ that not merely preserves the past but, first and foremost, defines it. Such texts do not contain an expansive, amorphous, and ambiguous mass of historical knowledge; they tightly limit what is to be remembered, and how it is to be remembered. Due to their ritualized expression, they do not accommodate well the complexity and diversity of historical detail; they narrow, not widen, the perspective on the past. Reducing historical knowledge to a normative and ideal account, they create a memory sanctified by its performance in ancestral sacrifices and other

³³ Assmann 1997: 71-72, 83-86.

³⁴ Bloch 1974.

rituals, a linguistically constructed parallel reality that with its own authority overrules the “factual” one.³⁵

Scribe Qiang was certainly clear about the result of King Zhao’s campaign, as were his ancestors, his own king, and his contemporaries at court. With a historical event of such magnitude (commemorated also in other inscriptions), his text cannot have been meant to misguide anybody. To the scribe and his audience, far more important than historical accuracy was the actual act of praising the lineage of Zhou kings, which had to include King Zhao, together with the lineage of the scribe. The act of praise marked the water basin as an appropriate vessel to be used in the ancestral sacrifice, and it showed the donor in his noble and privileged capacity of the kingly scribe. Thus, while the Shi Qiang *pan* inscription is a unique artifact precisely because of the status of its donor, it still shares the primary purpose of all other bronze inscriptions, namely, to present the donor and his merits towards his own ancestors. Scribe Qiang’s writing of “history” is embedded in, and defined by, a ceremonial act of pointing to himself and to his ancestors in the religious context of the ancestral sacrifice. Towards this end, his text represents the scribe’s cultural accomplishment not only in its contents but also in its aural (rhyme and meter) and visual (two balanced columns of evenly sized characters) aesthetics.

Beyond the inscriptions, the two other groups of texts that include historical information and are commonly dated into Western Zhou times are the core chapters of the *Documents*—mostly solemn proclamations (*gao* 誥) by rulers—and the “Zhou Song” 周頌 section of the *Odes*. The next layer in time are the “Ya” 雅 (especially “Daya” 大雅), “Shang Song” 商頌, and “Lu Song” 魯頌 sections of the *Odes*. These are also ritual hymns, albeit most of them were probably not used in the ancestral sacrifice but during banquets at court; however, they share and develop to greater perfection much of the aesthetics of the sacrificial hymns proper, and their often extensive historical accounts are no less idealized. Chronologically, they are accompanied by another series of *Document* chapters that are dated into the early centuries of the Eastern Zhou; these would include another series of exalted speeches, including intense harangues and “oaths” (*shi* 誓)

³⁵ I adopt the term “parallel reality” from Lewis’s (1999: 4) insightful discussion of Warring States texts.

purportedly delivered at, and indeed marking, critical historical moments. It is therefore remarkable that with regard to the collections of both the *Odes* and the *Documents*, the most historically-minded chapters are considered the earliest. In the case of the *Odes*, none of the 160 “Guofeng” 國風 songs contains a single sustained historical narrative, while especially the “Daya” provide extended historical and mythological accounts.³⁶ In the case of the *Documents*, the later chapters³⁷—although claiming to reach much further back into high antiquity—are increasingly occupied with cosmological schemes that to some extent transcend historical particularities, even where they are associated with particular legendary heroes.

The earlier *Document* chapters are close to datable early bronze inscriptions both in spirit and in linguistic terms. We therefore also need to be prepared to discuss these transmitted texts within the same paradigms of religious or otherwise ritualized speech that applies so clearly to the inscriptions. This is what the early layers of the *Odes* and *Documents* themselves suggest. In the case of the sacrificial hymns, the parallels are perfectly obvious, as both hymns and inscriptions appear to have come from the same context of the ancestral sacrifice. Thus, the self-referential, self-historicizing gesture especially of bronze inscriptions, epitomized in the “statement of purpose” formula of “I have made this vessel/bell in order to pray for/receive abundant blessings”,³⁸ can also be found in a series of sacrificial hymns. Across hymns and inscriptions, this formula of “auspicious words” (*guci* 嘏辭),³⁹ which defines the religious purpose of the entire text regardless of the amount or accuracy of historical information in it, is to a limited extent flexible in its wording, but not in its basic structure and function. To varying degrees, hymns and inscriptions also make use of the same literary devices such as rhyme, meter, reduplicatives, hendiadys, onomatopoeia, and parallelism. If a certain intensity of ornament was indicative of a ritual vessel, the use of such literary features may have distinguished ritual texts, with both

³⁶ C.H. Wang 1988: 73-114 has suggested that a particular group of five “Daya” poems should be considered the “epic” of King Wen 文王.

³⁷ I am referring only to the later chapters of the so-called “modern text” (*jinwen* 今文) recension, not to the “ancient text” (*guwen* 古文) chapters known to be a fourth century A.D. forgery.

³⁸ The expression “statement of purpose” has been coined by Falkenhausen 1993: 150-156.

³⁹ Xu Zhongshu 1936; also Kern 2000: 103-106.

vessels and texts contributing to the aesthetics of the type of performance that was intended to reach the spirits. Similarly, the speeches of the *Documents*, like the inscriptions often hailed as prototypical early Chinese historical writing, participated to some extent in these aesthetics; it is not merely incidental that Confucius is quoted as having reserved the elegant standard idiom (*yayan* 雅言) for speaking about (or performing) the *Odes*, the *Documents*, and matters of ritual (*Analects* 7.18).

To some extent, the notion of poetic language must have overlapped with that of *yayan*. It is clear that in early China, "poetic language" transcended the narrow definition of "poetry" as language organized by rhyme and meter. There was no sharp distinction between bound ("poetry") and unbound ("prose") speech, as texts like bronze inscriptions, certain speeches of the *Documents* and the Han *fu* frequently moved with ease from one into the other; in fact, the "Zhou Song", considered to be the most authentic early Zhou sacrificial hymns, are barely rhymed at all and quite irregular in their meter. Maspero may have been correct in reading substantial parts of the *Documents* as "pantomime libretti" that furnish exact descriptions of the ritual dances.⁴⁰ In short, the poetic language of early China is best understood as an aesthetically intensified way of speech that (a) self-referentially calls attention to its own patterning and (b) was primarily used in ritual contexts. Poetic language in this broader sense—an idiom expressive of cultural accomplishment—is the language of ritual: *yayan*.

The archaic *Shangshu* proclamations and oaths fall squarely within this range of intensified speech. As with the inscriptions and hymns, there is no "plain meaning" of the text independent from its form. It is the rhythmic, repetitious, exhortative and threatening diction that marks these speeches as solemn and sustains their messages as inspired truth. Thus, in the "Oath of Mu" ("Mu Shi" 牧誓), purportedly delivered at dawn on the day of the Shang conquest, King Wu not simply encourages the warriors to exert their strength. The oath begins with a long catalogue of the addressed dignitaries and

⁴⁰ Maspero 1978: 274-276. The most famous case where the *Documents* seem to parallel a performance is the account given in the "Zhou Song" dance suite "Dawu" 大武 (Great martiality), a series of songs believed to have been danced to mimetically represent the Zhou conquest of the Shang, see Wang Guowei 1975: 2.15b-17b; Sun Zuoyun 1966: 239-272; Shaughnessy 1994.

officers who are asked to "raise your halberds, join your shields, set up your lances" in order to listen. Then, in another rhythmic catalogue, the king recites the misdeeds of the Shang before stirring his officers to "be like tigers, be like leopards, be like black bears, be like brown-and-white bears!" Finally, the king violently threatens his men with physical extinction if they fail in their martial resolution.⁴¹ In its sheer performative force, the king's utterance is emblematic of two key notions of early Chinese religion—his virtuous power (*de* 德) and awe-inspiring dignity (*weiyi* 威儀).

The remarkable phenomenon is not that such ritualized aural utterances—performed in hymns, inscriptions, and royal speeches—have been transmitted, at least to some extent from very early times on.⁴² The real point is that they comprise the entire early historical record. This might be natural in terms of archaeologically retrieved artefacts where only the most durable texts—those cast into ritual bronzes—survived while all others perished. It is not necessarily natural, however, for texts like those of the traditional canon that for their preservation in the cultural memory did not depend on being inscribed into bronze. (There are, of course, later texts like the *Yi Zhou Shu* 逸周書 or Sima Qian's *Shiji* that speak—often with surprising accuracy—about the Western Zhou; but unlike the *Odes* or *Documents*, they neither linguistically nor in mentality belong to that period.)

Early Zhou divination on the basis of the *Changes* (*Yi* 易) participated in the poetic language especially of the *Odes*. Hellmut Wilhelm has pointed to the great number of poetic images in the line statements of individual hexagrams, arguing for a close relation between *Shi* imagery and *Yi* expressions. Furthermore, Wilhelm could demonstrate that some of the line statements are both tetrasyllabic and rhymed.⁴³ A prime example is that of the hexagram 53, "Jian" 漸

⁴¹ *Shangshu* 11.70a-71c.

⁴² It is impossible to determine whether these texts have come directly from the historical moments to which they are assigned or have emerged from the subsequent imagination of these moments. In both language and mentality, they were part of the early Zhou historical milieu and were preserved as its supreme manifestations. These texts certainly changed over time when orality must have played an important role in their transmission; moreover, their final fixation in writing certainly involved editorial acts of interpretation. Yet it is equally clear that over the entire transmission period, their archaic diction was venerated and carefully guarded.

⁴³ Wilhelm 1980: 190-221; recently, Shaughnessy (1999: 338-342) has repeated the point.

("Gradual Progress") where the first five of altogether six line statements are bound by rhyme and meter and dominated by the image of the movements of the "wild goose" (*hong* 鴻), a nature image that is then paralleled by observations about the human realm. In both form and imagery, such line statements closely parallel the poetry of the *Odes*; it may well be that this core layer of the *Yi* divinations was originally composed for verbal performance.⁴⁴ This would testify to the overall coherence of early Zhou ritual and textual culture. It would further support the double assumption that (a) the origins of Chinese poetry are closely bound to religious practice and (b) poetic form was essential to historical and cosmological truth claims generated from the ritualized communication with ancestral spirits and cosmic forces. The presentation of hymns to cosmic spirits, while not found in the *Odes*, is fully documented from the state sacrificial hymns of the Western Han onward.⁴⁵ It can also be identified in the Qin imperial stelae: here, the inscribed hymns were placed on the mountains-tops—established religious sites—soon after the conquest of the Eastern states was completed. Recounting and eulogizing the conquest and imperial unification in the hallowed idiom of the bronze inscriptions and *Odes*, the inscriptions appropriate the history of the former six Eastern states and transform it into an episode of teleological Qin history: through a performative, self-referential speech act, they turn the Eastern states from subjects of their own history into objects of Qin history. Both the emperor's tour of inspection and his announcement of the conquest replicate older religious expressions of territorial sovereignty, preserved primarily in the *Odes* and the *Documents*.⁴⁶

From earliest times, the office of the historian/scribe (*shi* 史) was as much in charge of recording and ritually presenting historical events as it was concerned with divination, omen interpretation, and astrology.⁴⁷ This certainly extended to the Western Han, and here

⁴⁴ For a somewhat excessive attempt to identify a folk song in almost every hexagram, see Huang 1995.

⁴⁵ For the cosmic hymns of the Western Han—Emperor Wu's 武 (r. 141-87 B.C.) "Hymns for the Sacrifices at the Suburban Altars" ("Jiaosi Ge" 郊祀歌)—and their further development during the Six Dynasties, see Kern 1997.

⁴⁶ Kern 2000a.

⁴⁷ The literature on *shi* is enormous and cannot be cited here; for a succinct survey, see Gentz 2001: 8-9. See also the contribution by Wolfgang Behr in the present volume.

especially to Sima Qian and his father Sima Tan 司馬談 (d. 110 B.C.); it also explains why the interpretation of omens was pursued by *Spring and Autumn* scholars like the *Gongyang* 公羊 erudite Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (c. 179?-c. 104? B.C.), the *Guliang* 穀梁 specialist Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8 B.C.), and the *Zuozhuan* expert Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. A.D. 23) who all relied on records from the past to cast judgments on unusual appearances of their own times.⁴⁸ Yet the genuinely religious acts of prophecy and omen interpretation were already built into the historiographic narratives proper.⁴⁹ Beginning with *Zuozhuan*, one finds a new set of poetic utterances that advance strong truth claims. Here, anonymous folk songs frequently announce major calamities like the untimely death of a ruler, a major military defeat, or even the fall of a state. Such prophecies are couched in simple rhymes and gain much of their authority from the ideal of innocent and undistorted truth embodied in the minds and voices of the common people or, quite often, children.⁵⁰ This phenomenon is continued in the early imperial historiography of both *Shiji* and *Hanshu*⁵¹ and relates to two separately formulated but interlocked ideas: first, the cosmological foundation of poetic composition, namely, that poetry comes into being as a spontaneous, quasi-objective response of the human mind to the circumstances in the world.⁵² Second, the view of a ruler who had messengers collect the anonymous songs and ditties of the common folk which then would provide a true mirror of the people's situation and, ultimately, of the ruler's own government and virtue.⁵³

⁴⁸ See the tripartite "Wu Xing Zhi" 五行志 (Monograph on the Five Phases) in the *Hanshu*.

⁴⁹ The reading of unusual signs can be found throughout early historiography. For *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*, see Schaberg 2001: 96-124; for the Han, see Kern 2000b, with references to earlier studies.

⁵⁰ Schaberg 1999.

⁵¹ Kern 2004.

⁵² The primary document expressing this idea is the "Great Preface" ("Daxu" 大序) to the *Odes*, which is in turn based on earlier concepts of ritual music as expressed, e.g., in the "Yueji" 乐记 (Records on Music) chapter of the *Liji*. For discussion, see Van Zoeren 1991: 71-115; Owen 1992: 19-56; Lewis 1999: 147-193, and, in historiography, Kern 2004. The composition of poetry is part of the larger "stimulus and response" (*ganying* 感應) cosmology of Warring States and Han times.

⁵³ As far as I know, this idea surfaces only in Han sources, most if not all of them Eastern Han; see *Hanshu* 22.1045, 24A.1123, 30.1708, 30.1756; the "Wang Zhi" 王制 (Kingly Regulations) chapter of the *Liji* 11.100b, and Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127-200 A.D.) "Shipu Xu" 詩譜序 (Preface to the Table of the *Odes*), quoted in *Maoshi Zhengyi* 3. For doubts regarding the collection of poetry by the Western Han "Office

Poetry is seen not as artificially constructed speech but as the most “natural” type; because of its spontaneous emergence in response to the circumstances, it is endowed with sincerity, authentic emotion, and morality. It is the human counterpart to the appearance of natural portents. In this ominous poetry, not just the common people are speaking; the cosmos speaks through them,⁵⁴ issuing judgments on the world that only wait to be recognized and decoded.

The songs in early historiography do not need to be anonymous. *Shiji* and *Hanshu* contain a substantial number of poetic texts assigned to named—usually very prominent—historical actors who in the experience or foresight of imminent personal disaster burst into tears, song, and often also dance. Historiographically, these impromptu performances unfailingly mark climactic moments of crisis and catharsis, violence and destruction.⁵⁵ History reaches its culmination points, and narrative historiography reaches its limits: the only proper words are now the words of song, floating on tears. The hero’s song, intensely personal and yet transparently schematic, adds the individual dimension to the more general cosmological notion of stimulus and response: “poetry expresses what is on the mind, and song makes words last long” (*shi yan zhi, ge yong yan* 詩言志, 歌永言).⁵⁶

Therefore, while Warring States and early imperial historical accounts developed into anecdote series and extended historical narratives, highly ritualized poetic expressions remained at the center of these new narratives serving as strong manifestations of authenticity and claims of truth. In certain cases, as with Qu Yuan’s 屈原 (4th. cent. B.C.) song “Yu Fu” 漁父 (“The Fisherman”), the poetic text itself comprises the entire narrative, in this case, of the protagonist’s banishment.⁵⁷ Here, it is not so much historiography preserving poetry as poetry preserving and transmitting historical knowledge. In the early empire, when the *Odes* were regarded as “history told in verse”,⁵⁸ poetry was understood as history’s own and

authentic voice. Songs emerge out of specific historical circumstances, and so they can, if properly decoded, be read as historical accounts. On several levels, this poetic dimension of early historiography is indeed a late reflection of much older ritual practices and their powerful truth claims:

First, the song attributed to a historical actor embodies the essence of both his personality and his circumstances. Singers display the disaster that has befallen them and announce their decision to submit themselves to an act of ultimate and irrevocable violence, usually suicide. Before extinguishing themselves, they create and perform the songs through which their fate will be remembered. Such outbursts of despair present the singer’s—and the historian’s—moral judgment of the historical situation surrounding the song. In general, the virtuous sing and die; the malicious may survive for the time being, but their reputation will be forever tainted in subsequent historiography.⁵⁹ In early China—a culture of memorization much more than one of readership—the retelling of such a hero’s story certainly included the performance of his song (if it was not indeed largely reduced to it). The hero was thus commemorated through his own, authentic words. The most famous case is that of the founding emperor of the Han, Liu Bang 劉邦 (Han Gaozu 漢高祖, r. as emperor 202-195 B.C.). His final song “The Great Wind” (“Da Feng Ge” 大風歌), extemporized in his home village of Pei in the year of his death, became posthumously incorporated into the hymnic repertoire of his ancestral temple, where it was regularly performed from 195 through 141 B.C.⁶⁰ Exceptional as this case may be, it illustrates how the old idea of ritual commemoration was now extended to the songs embedded in a hero’s story and historiography.

Second, the insight that in traditional cultures, “poetic formation serves primarily the mnemotechnical purpose of putting identity-securing knowledge into a durable form”,⁶¹ helps us to understand not

of Music” (*yuefu* 樂府), see Yao 1984: 1-11; Zhang 1992: 57-64; Birrell 1989. For fuller discussion, see Kern 2004.

⁵⁴ Cf. the expression in *Mencius* 5A.5 that Heaven observes the ruler through the eyes and ears of the people, a quotation from a lost “Taishi” 太誓 (The Great Oath) text that is not to be confused with the spurious chapter of the same title in the *Guwen Shangshu* 古文尚書.

⁵⁵ Kern 2004.

⁵⁶ *Shangshu* 3.19c.

⁵⁷ *Shiji* 84.2486.

⁵⁸ Riegel 1997: 171, Kern 2003a, 2004a.

⁵⁹ I am aware of only one example in Han historiography where the singer is the perpetrator: the gruesome Liu Qu 劉去 (Prince of Guangchuan 廣川王, d. 71 B.C.) is quoted with two songs: with the first, he drives one of his consorts to suicide, with the second, he pities his court ladies; see *Hanshu* 53.2429, 2431. He finally becomes demoted and commits suicide himself; his wife—according to the narrative, the ultimate force behind the prince’s misdeeds—is publicly executed, see *Hanshu* 53.2432.

⁶⁰ *Shiji* 8.389, 24.1177; *Hanshu* 1B.74, 22.1045.

⁶¹ Assmann 1997: 56.

only why poetically formed bronze inscriptions and ritual hymns were esteemed as the prime carriers of historical memory; it also explains the inclusion of song in later historiographic narrative where the promise of memorability—making “words last long”—was transposed from the song to the narrative.

Third, by including songs in their historiography, the authors and compilers of early narrative works apply the cosmological assumptions about the production of song to the historiographic narrative. To the historian, songs were among the broad range of sources that included historical documents alongside traditional lore both written and oral, poetry and prose. This heterogeneous body of historical knowledge had to be integrated into a narrative that was, to the minds of the historian and his audience, coherent, meaningful, and memorable. Thus, by including song into his narrative, the historian chose those utterances of historical memory—the lyrics and movements of a hero at climactic moments of distress and devastation—that were most highly prized for their expression of authentic emotion. He used song as a rhetorical device of historiography, representing the actors' emotions in the way these actors supposedly expressed themselves. Thus, the historian emphatically confirmed the claims of immediacy that privileged poetry over any other mode of expression, and he appropriated this very immediacy for his own narrative.

Conveying the essence of a historical moment and of the composer-performer's personality at that very moment, the weight of truth and authenticity carried by the early songs was not restricted by the plausibility of their embedding narrative. Just as King Zhao's fate in the Shi Qiang *pan* is historically incorrect, Warring States and early imperial historiographic narratives surrounding some of the songs seem utterly implausible to modern readers. According to the Qu Yuan biography in the *Shiji*, the hero, immediately after composing (*zuo* 作) the “*Fu* on Embracing Sand” (“*Huai Sha zhi Fu*” 懷沙之賦), embraced a stone and drowned himself in the Miluo 汨羅 river.⁶² How did the song survive? Who was there to record it? These are not questions Sima Qian felt the need to answer. If the song, as the historian found it among his sources, was “true” as a genuine expression of Qu Yuan's sentiment, it most appropriately was to be

assigned to the culmination point of his fate, sanctified by the imminent death. In this logic, the plausibility of narrative detail is not at stake. It is the song itself that is plausible, and that requires only some loose narrative to be built around it.⁶³ The song epitomizes the dramatic nature of a moment of crisis, but it does not explain the narrative. It is the other way around: the historiographic narrative is there to guide the reader towards the song.

Fourth, the historiographic use of poetry by which historical events are judged or predicted in prophetic voices from within the historical account itself is structurally identical with the ritual use of poetry that speaks directly from and about the performance in which it played its role. In other words, in establishing its claim for truthfulness through the inclusion of poetry, the composition of historiography follows the same pattern as the choreography of ritual.

This last point leads us back to Confucius, the paradigmatic historian of early China. To the Confucius of the *Analects*, the order of words was the order of ritual propriety; to Confucius's followers, the order of ritual propriety also was the order of the master's own historiography. While Sima Qian credits Confucius with the compilation of the *Odes*, the “ten wings” (*shi yi* 十翼) commentaries to the *Changes*, and the arrangement of the *Documents*,⁶⁴ he attributes only one of the Five Classics (*Wu Jing* 五經) directly to Confucius's authorship: the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. This also is the single text with which he is associated already in *Mencius* 孟子.⁶⁵ Here—and paraphrased in the *Shiji*⁶⁶—Confucius declares that later generations will judge him only for the *Annals*; and it is the *Annals* to which Sima Qian refers when modeling himself on Confucius as a historian.⁶⁷ When praising the *Annals*, Sima was surely aware how his words tallied with the master's dictum of “rectifying the names”. According to Sima, the *Annals* “discriminate right and wrong” (*bian shi fei* 辯是非) and thus lead to “rightness” (*yi* 義); a guideline to rulers and ministers, they are capable of moving a world in “disorder” (*luan* 亂) back to “correctness” (*zheng* 正); they guard the social order against a state of chaos where “rulers do not act as rulers, ministers do not act

⁶³ Schaberg 1999: 357-358.

⁶⁴ *Shiji* 47.1935-44.

⁶⁵ *Mencius* 3B.9.

⁶⁶ *Shiji* 47.1944.

⁶⁷ *Shiji* 130.3296-3300; *Hanshu* 62.2717-2719, 2735; Durrant 1995: 1-69.

⁶² *Shiji* 84.2486-90; my translation.

as ministers, fathers do not act as fathers, and sons do not act as sons" (*jun bu jun, chen bu chen, fu bu fu, zi bu zi* 君不君, 臣不臣, 父不父, 子不子);⁶⁸ they are, in sum, "the great ancestral model of ritual propriety and rightness" (*liyi zhi dazong* 禮義之大宗).⁶⁹ Accordingly, the catechistic *Gongyang Zhuan* 公羊傳 exegesis of the *Annals*—the main proponent of which was Sima's own teacher, Dong Zhongshu—is built on the assumption of an exact equivalence between historical events and their historiographic representation: as Joachim Gentz has shown, the *Gongyang* text (a) identifies apparent violations of ritual standards in the historiographic language of the *Annals* and then (b) decodes them as an intentional exposure of a violation of ritual standards in the actual historical situation. Thus, historical truth emerges from the ritually correct encoding and decoding of language.⁷⁰ In similar terms, and despite its entirely different textual structure, the *Zuozhuan* consistently narrates the past from the perspective of how human action succeeded or failed in adhering to ritual propriety. While the Spring and Autumn period is mostly described as a chaotic world that had lost the ancient moral Way (*dao* 道), the *Zuozhuan*, including a series of moral judgments by either an unnamed "gentleman" (*junzi* 君子) or Confucius,⁷¹ turns self-referential by striving to reinstate the old ritual propriety that was lost in history as the new ritual propriety of historiography.⁷² In David Schaberg's analysis, this self-referential historiography is far less a narrative of events than it is a reproduction of ritualized speeches and deliberations surrounding the events. A major battle can be "narrated" in a handful of words, while the preceding and following speeches extend over several pages, furnishing and decoding ominous signs, providing the motives leading up to the battle, offering a definite moral judgment on its outcome, and letting the main historical figures expose their own vices and virtues.⁷³ The historian, remaining invisible in the text proper, thus develops a sweeping truth claim that differs decidedly from anything in ancient Mediterranean historiography: the historical account is offered not the work of a particular author but appears to relate, predict, and explain itself.

⁶⁸ Echoing *Analects* 12.11.

⁶⁹ *Shiji* 130.3297-3298, paralleled in *Hanshu* 62.2717-2718.

⁷⁰ Gentz 2001, forthcoming.

⁷¹ Henry 1999.

⁷² Schaberg 2001.

⁷³ Schaberg 2001.

* * *

Early Chinese historiography cannot be reduced to a narrow range of religious thought and poetic language. Yet considering its late Shang and early Zhou origins as well as its Warring States and Han manifestations, one might suggest that on the profound level of its truth claims, such thought and language remained powerfully present throughout. In this respect, even early imperial historiography resounded with echoes from older times—the voices of rememberers and diviners, *maîtres de vérité*, often speaking in verse, as they did elsewhere.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ See Detienne 1990; also Ford 1992 esp. chapter 1.

REFERENCES CITED

- Assmann, Jan (1997), *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Cultural Memory. Script, Recollection, and Political Identity in Early High Cultures). München: Beck Verlag.
- Behr, Wolfgang (1996), *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung* (Rhyming Bronze Inscriptions and the Genesis of Chinese End-rhymed Poetry). Ph.D. Dissertation, J.W. Goethe-Universität Frankfurt.
- Birrell, Anne M. (1989), "Mythmaking and Yüeh-fu: Popular Songs and Ballads of Early Imperial China", in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109.2 (1989), 223-235.
- Bloch, Maurice (1974), "Symbols, Song, Dance and Features of Articulation: Is Religion an Extreme Form of Traditional Authority?", in *European Journal of Sociology* 15.1 (1974), 55-81.
- Brashier, K.E. (forthcoming), "Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Stelae", in Kern, Martin (ed.), *Text and Ritual in Early China*. Washington: University of Washington Press.
- (1997), *Evoking the Ancestor: The Stele Hymn of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 C.E.)*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Cambridge University.
- Cannadine, David (1987), "Introduction: Divine Rites of Kings", in Cannadine, David and Simon Price (eds.) (1987), *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-19.
- Creel, Herlee G. (1974), *Shen Pu-hai: A Chinese Political Philosopher of the Fourth Century B.C.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (1970), *What is Taoism?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Detienne, Marcel (1990), *Les maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque* (The Masters of Truth in Archaic Greece). Paris: Éditions la Découverte.
- Durrant, Stephen W. (1995), *The Cloudy Mirror: Tension and Conflict in the Writings of Sima Qian*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Falkenhausen, Lothar von (1993), "Issues in Western Zhou Studies: A Review Article", in *Early China* 18 (1993), 139-226.
- (1988), *Ritual Music in Bronze Age China: An Archaeological Perspective*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University.
- Ford, Andrew H. (1992), *Homer: The Poetry of the Past*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Frankel, Hans H. (1976), *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady: Interpretations of Chinese Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Genz, Joachim (forthcoming), "Ritual Meaning of Textual Form: Evidence from Early Commentaries of the Historiographic and Ritual Traditions", in Kern, Martin (ed.), *Text and Ritual in Early China*. Washington: University of Washington Press.
- (2001), *Das Gongyang zhuan. Auslegung und Kanonisierung der Frühlings- und Herbstannalen (Chunqiu)* (The Gongyang Zhuan. Exegesis and Canonization of the Spring and Autumn Annals [Chunqiu]). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Graham, A.C. (1989), *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*. La Salle, Ill.: Open Court.
- Guo Weisen 國維森 (1999), "Wang Yanshou ji Qi 'Meng Fu' 王延壽及其夢賦 (Wang Yanshou and his 'Fu on a Dream')", in Zhou Xunchu 周勛初 et al. (eds.)

- (1999), *Ci Fu Wenxue Lunji*, 辭賦文學論集 (Collected Discussions of Rhapsodic Literature). Nanjing: Jiangsu Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 196-212.
- Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han) (1987), compiled by Ban Gu 班固. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
- Harbsmeier, Christoph (1998), *Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. 7, Part I: Language and Logic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1989), "Marginalia Sinologica", in Allinson, Robert (ed.) (1989), *Understanding the Chinese Mind*. New York: Oxford University Press, 125-166.
- Harper, Donald (1987), "Wang Yen-shou's Nightmare Poem", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47 (1987), 239-83.
- Hawkes, David (translator) (1985), *The Songs of the South*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- (1974), "The Quest of the Goddess", in Birch, Cyril (ed.) (1974), *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 42-68.
- Henry, Eric (1999), "'Junzi Yue' versus 'Zhongni Yue' in Zuozhuan", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59 (1999), 125-161.
- Huang Yushun 黃玉順 (1995), *Yijing Guge Kao-shi* 易經古歌考釋 (Verification and Explanation of Ancient Songs in the Yijing). Chengdu: Bashu Shushe.
- Keightley, David N. (2000), *The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China (ca. 1200-1045 B.C.)*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- (1999), "Theology and the Writing of History: Truth and the Ancestors in the Wu Ding Records", in *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 1 (1999), 207-230.
- (1984), "Late Shang Divination: The Magico-Religious Legacy", in *Explorations in Early Chinese Cosmology, Journal of the American Academy of Religion Studies* 50.2 (1984), 11-34.
- (1978), *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kern, Martin (2004), "The Poetry of Han Historiography", in Cutter, Robert Joe, Alan Berkowitz and Chiu-Mi Lai (eds.) (forthcoming), Special Issue of *Early Medieval China* (Festschrift for David R. Knechtges).
- (柯馬丁) (2004a), "Zuwei Zhuixiang de Shi: Shi ji Qi Zaoqi Quanshi 作為追想的詩：詩及其早期詮釋 (Poetry as Memory: The Odes and Their Early Hermeneutics)", in Cheng Pei-kai and Longxi Zhang (eds.) (forthcoming), *Poetic Thought and Hermeneutics in Traditional China*. Hongkong: City University of Hong Kong Press.
- (2003), "Western Han Aesthetics and the Genesis of the *Fu*", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63.2, 383-437.
- (2003a), "Early Chinese Poetics in the Light of Recently Excavated Manuscripts", in Lomová, Olga (ed.), *Recarving the Dragon: Understanding Chinese Poetics*. Prague: Charles University, The Karolinum Press, 27-72.
- (2000), "*Shi jing* Songs as Performance Texts: A Case Study of 'Chu ci' ('Thorny Caltrop')", in *Early China* 25 (2000), 49-111.
- (2000a), *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation*. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- (2000b), "Religious Anxiety and Political Interest in Western Han Omen Interpretation: The Case of the Han Wudi Period (141-87 B.C.)", in *Chūgoku shigaku* (Chinese History) 10 (2000), 1-31.
- (1997), *Die Hymnen der chinesischen Staatsopfer: Literatur und Ritual in der politischen Repräsentation von der Han-Zeit bis zu den Sechs Dynastien* (The Hymns of the Chinese State Sacrifices: Literature and Ritual in Political

- Representation from Han Times to the Six Dynasties). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Knechtges, David R. (1994), "Exemplary Sayings, Chapter 2", in Mair, Victor (ed.) (1994), *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 530-533.
- (1976), *The Han Rhapsody: A Study of the Fu of Yang Hsiung (53 B.C. - A.D. 18)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1968), *Yang Shyong, The Fuh, and Han Rhetoric*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington.
- Lewis, Mark Edward (1999), *Writing and Authority in Early China*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Li, Wai-yee (1999), "Knowledge and Scepticism in Ancient Chinese Historiography", in Kraus, Christina Shuttleworth (ed.) (1999), *The Limits of Historiography: Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts* (Mnemosyne: Supplementum 191). Leiden: Brill, 27-54.
- (1994), "The Idea of Authority in the *Shih chi* (Records of the Historian)", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54.2 (1994), 345-405.
- Liji 禮記 (Records of Rituals), *Liji Zhengyi* 禮記正義 (The Correct Meaning of the Records of Rituals) (1980) *Shisan Jing Zhushu Fu Jiaokan Ji* 十三經注疏附校勘記 (The Thirteen Classics Annotated and Commented Upon, with Collation Notes) edition, 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
- Lorenz, Chris (1997), *Konstruktion der Vergangenheit: Eine Einführung in die Geschichtstheorie* (Construction of the Past: An Introduction to Metahistory), translated by Annegret Böttner. Köln: Böhlau-Verlag.
- Makeham, John (1994), *Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- (1990-91), "The Legalist Concept of Hsing-Ming: An Example of the Contribution of Archaeological Evidence to the Re-Interpretation of Transmitted Texts", in *Monumenta Serica* 39 (1990-91), 87-114.
- Maoshi 毛詩 (Mao Odes), *Maoshi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (The Correct Meaning of the Mao Odes) (1980) *Shisan Jing Zhushu Fu Jiaokan Ji* 十三經注疏附校勘記 (The Thirteen Classics Annotated and Commented Upon, with Collation Notes) edition, 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
- Maspero, Henri (1981), *China in Antiquity*, translated by Frank A. Kierman Jr. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press.
- Nylan, Michael (1998-99), "Sima Qian: A True Historian?", in *Early China* 23-24 (1998-99), 203-246.
- Owen, Stephen (1992), *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University.
- Pines, Yuri (2002), *Foundations of Confucian Thought: Intellectual Life in the Chunqiu Period, 722-453 B.C.E.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- (1997), "Intellectual Change in the Chunqiu Period: The Reliability of the Speeches in the *Zuo zhuan* as Sources of Chunqiu Intellectual History", in *Early China* 22 (1997), 77-132.
- Rawson, Jessica (1993), "Late Shang Bronze Design: Meaning and Purpose", in Whitfield, Roderick (ed.) (1993), *The Problem of Meaning in Early Chinese Ritual Bronzes*. London: University of London, 67-95.
- Riegel, Jeffrey (1997), "Eros, Introversion, and the Beginnings of *Shijing* Commentary", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57.1 (1997), 143-177.
- Schaberg, David (2001), *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- (1999), "Song and the Historical Imagination in Early China", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59 (1999), 305-361.
- Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents), *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義 (The Correct Meaning of the Hallowed Documents) (1987) *Shisan Jing Zhushu Fu Jiaokan Ji* 十三經注疏附校勘記 (The Thirteen Classics Annotated and Commented Upon, with Collation Notes) edition, 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
- Shaughnessy, Edward L. (1999), "Western Zhou History", in Loewe, Michael and Edward L. Shaughnessy (eds.) (1999), *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 292-351.
- (1994), "From Liturgy to Literature: The Ritual Contexts of the Earliest Poems in the *Book of Poetry*", in *Hanxue Yanjiu* 13.1 (1994), 133-164.
- (1991), *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Historian) (1987), compiled by Sima Qian 司馬遷. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
- Sun Zuoyun 孫作雲 (1966), *Shijing yu Zhou dai Shehui Yanjiu* 詩經與周代社會研究 (Studies in the Odes and Zhou Dynasty Society). Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
- Van Zoeren, Steven (1991), *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Waley, Arthur (1955), *The Nine Songs*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- (1923), *The Temple and Other Poems*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Wang, C.H. (1988), *From Ritual to Allegory: Seven Essays in Early Chinese Poetry*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Wang Guowei 王國維 (1975), *Guantang Jilin* 觀堂集林 (Collections from the Hall of Observations). Taipei: Shijie Shuju.
- Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶 (commentator) (1968), *Fayan Yishu* 法言義疏 (Commentary on the Meaning of Exemplary Sayings). Taipei: Yiwen Yinshuguan.
- Wang Xianshen 王先慎 (commentator) (1986), *Hanfeizi Jijie* 韓非子集解 (Collected Explanations of Hanfeizi), *Zhuzi Jicheng* 諸子集成 (The Corpus of Philosophic Classics) edition, reprint Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
- Wen Yiduo 聞一多 (1982), *Wen Yiduo Quanji* 聞一多全集 (Complete Works of Wen Yiduo). Beijing: Xinhua Shudian.
- Wheelock, Wade T. (1982), "The Problem of Ritual Language: From Information to Situation", in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50.1 (1982), 49-71.
- White, Hayden (1987), *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- (1978), *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- (1973), *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Wilhelm, Hellmut (1980), *Heaven, Earth, and Man in the Book of Changes*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒 (1936), "Jinwen Guci Shili 金文韻辭釋例 (Explanation of Examples of Auspicious Phrases in Bronze Inscriptions)", in *Zhongyuan Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo Jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica) 6.1 (1936), 1-44.
- Yao Daye 姚大業 (1984), *Han Yuefu Xiaolun* 漢樂府小論 (Minor Discussions on the Han Office of Music). Tianjin: Baihua Wenyi Chubanshe.

- Zhang Yongxin 張永鑫 (1992), *Han Yuefu Yanjiu* 漢樂府研究 (Studies of the Han Office of Music). Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe.
- Zhu Zugeng 諸祖耿 (commentator) (1985), *Zhanguo Ce Jizhu Huikao* 戰國策集注彙考 (Assembled Criticism of the Collected Commentaries to the Intrigues of the Warring States). Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe.