Introduction

子謂伯魚曰：「女為《周南》、《召南》矣乎？人而不為《周南》、《召南》，其猶正牆面而立也與？」

The Master said to Bó Yú, 'Have you applied yourself to the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán"? Someone who fails to apply themselves to the "Zhōu Nán" and the "Shào Nán" is like someone standing facing a wall, is it not so?'

In early 2015, Ānhuī Dàxué 安徽大學, the University of Ānhuī, obtained a cache of ancient manuscripts. Central to this cache was a copy of Shī 詩, the Songs (henceforth Ān Dà Shī), which on the surface bear close resemblance to the songs recorded in the Shījīng 詩經, Classic of Songs, of the Máo recension.1 With the exception of the Shī, the great majority of the texts in the cache were unknown prior to their acquisition.

The materials are being arranged and published according to their contents and style in multiple volumes as Ānhuī Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡 (henceforth Ānhuī University Manuscripts). Volume 1 is devoted to the Shī (Songs). It was published in late 2019, nearly five years after Ānhuī University first obtained these manuscripts.2

The said manuscripts continue a sad trend in the acquisition of knowledge about China in the Warring States period (ca. 453–221 BC), in that they were not obtained by scientific means.3 This aspect brings with it the standard prob-

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1 When we refer to the Songs as a cultural institution, to which various user communities could relate in their own ways, we write Shī (i.e., capital letter but not italicised). When we refer to a particular recension or instantiation of this cultural institution by a particular textual community, we write Shī (as in Máo Shī, or Ān Dà Shī, i.e., italicised capital letter). When we refer to an individual song within a recension or particular instantiation, we do not capitalise or italicise 'song'.

2 Ānhuī Dàxué cáng Zhànguó zhújiǎn 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡 1. The manuscripts were purchased by an unknown buyer, possibly on the Hong Kong antiquities market, and then donated to Ānhuī University. We have no precise information as to where in China the manuscripts were found.

3 The circumstances thus bear regrettable similarities to the two famous Warring States man-
lems, and concerns, of working with unprovenanced materials,\(^4\) academically, methodologically, and ethically.\(^5\) Our own position is that, academically, methodologically, and ethically, the field would lose much more by disregarding the materials than by working with them.

1 The Ān Dà Shī

The Songs as recorded in the Ānhuī University Manuscripts only contain what the Máo recension calls “Guó fēng” 國風, the ‘Airs of the States’. The “Xiǎo Yǎ” 小雅 ‘Lesser Elegantiae’, the “Dà Yǎ” 大雅 ‘Greater Elegantiae’, and the “Sòng” 頌 ‘Hymns’ are not present.

The Ān Dà Shī never refer to any of the states generically as guó 國, as in Máo, or bāng 邦, as in *Kǒngzì Shīlùn 孔子詩論, but specifically by the name of the state—or, as in the first twenty-five songs discussed in this book, as “Zhōu Nán” 周南, the ‘Royal Zhōu’, and “Shào Nán” 召南, the ‘Royal Shào’.

The slips of the Ān Dà Shī are all numbered consecutively at the tail of the recto, from 1 to 117.\(^6\) As twenty-four slips are missing,\(^7\) only ninety-three slips remain, carrying fifty-seven songs. Missing slips might account for the absence of songs from a given state, but cannot account for the fact that whole states are themselves absent in the Ān Dà Shī but present in Máo.\(^8\)

\(^4\) Goldin 2013: 156n6 introduced the neologism of ‘unprovenienced’ to distinguish between place and owner of non-scientifically obtained manuscripts. However, unlike ancient Egyptian collections that may have been passed on for generations, or even centuries, the Chinese case is not assisted by this differentiation and so we refrain from using it here.

\(^5\) A number of projects which are currently ongoing deal explicitly with the issue of unprovenanced texts and their academic use. See, among others, Brindley and Flad; Meyer, Metcalf, and Rota.

\(^6\) Complete slips measure on average 48.5 cm by 0.6 cm. They were connected by three binding straps and show prepared grooves on the verso. The total number of graphs per slip ranges from twenty-seven to thirty-eight, depending on the length of a song and its layout.

\(^7\) These are: slips 18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 39, 56–58, 60–71, 95–97.

\(^8\) Zhū Fènghàn 2020: 62 suggests, with reference to Huáng Dékuān 2017a, that there were also “Xiǎo Yǎ” 小雅 ‘Lesser Elegantiae’ songs in the Ān Dà Shī. Revisiting Huáng Dékuān 2017a we could find no such reference, as the article confirms there are no other items from sections of
The Ānhuī University Manuscripts contain the songs of six states. They are, in the preserved sequence:

- “Royal Zhōu” 周南, 11 songs;
- “Royal Shào” 召南, 14 songs;
- “Qín” 秦, 10 songs;
- “Hóu” 矢, is transmitted by Máo as “Wèi” 魏, with one exception (“Wèi” i), 6 songs;
- “Yǒng” 甬 (Máo: Yōng 邳), 9 songs;
- “Wèi” 魏, with the exception of “Wèi” i, is transmitted as “Táng” 唐, 9 songs.

The relationships between “Hóu” 矢 and “Wèi” 魏; and between “Wèi” 魏 and “Táng” 唐, are rather obscure, as there is no clear distribution pattern for individual songs between these states when comparing the Ān Dà Shī with the Máo recension. An ‘exchange’ of songs between “Wèi” and “Táng” seems possible, given their geographical positions (Fig. 1), as both were situated in western Shān̄xi, with Táng north of Wèi. This leads us to speculate that ‘Hóu’ (perhaps a toponym like “Wáng” 王 in Máo [lit. ‘king’; but usually understood as referring to the ‘Royal Domain’]) was in western Shān̄xi as well, and refers to a place between Wèi and Táng. Regardless of whether this location for ‘Hóu’ can be accepted, the fact that sixteen of the remaining fifty-seven songs in this selection of Shī have an affiliation with western Shān̄xi seems significant, and appears to indicate a preference.

The editors (pp. 1–2) propose that songs from ‘some’ states were recorded on slips 60–71, in total approximately 380 words; while their speculation seems justified, we have no means to validate or contradict it. In response, and when referring to the sequence of the states’ songs after “Qín” (3), we add an asterisk* ahead of the state’s name to indicate the possibility that it was one place further removed from “Zhōu Nán” (1).

These are all songs of the Máo recension. However, we felt compelled to split one song, 9, conceptually into 9a and 9b. The split song is not included in the total count of the “Zhōu” songs or the total number of songs in the manuscript. Song 9c (almost certainly a version of Máo 10 “Rǔ fén” 汝墳 ‘Raised banks of the Rǔ River’) is missing. Slip 20 records ‘Zhōu Nán, eleven’.

Slip 99 records a total of nine songs, only seven of which remain; as ten songs from this state are included in Máo, we cannot be sure which two are missing.

Slip 117 records “Wèi” as having a total of nine songs, but the text has ten. This updated number is included in the total count of fifty-seven songs.

‘Hóu’, thus, perhaps refers to the area of Qūwò-Hóumǎ 曲沃侯馬; this agrees, in principle, with the findings of Xià Dàzhào who proposes that ‘Hóu’ referred (self-referentially) to the state of Jìn 晉. See also Xià Dàzhào 2018: 119–125 and Xià Dàzhào 2020: 5–15.

See further Mǎ Yǐnqīn 2020.
Figure 1: Map of the States of the Shijing Adapted from Fang Yuren (AD 1811–1883) 2017: 10–11
When looking at the states and their distribution, geographically and within the Ān Dà Shī, two things are noteworthy. First, geographically we notice a peculiar western bias of the Songs. Not one of the eastern states and only one of the central states of the Máo recension is present in the Ān Dà Shī, seemingly a glaring omission.\textsuperscript{15}

The sequence of states differs remarkably from the received “Guó fēng”, and this warrants comment. The position of “Qín” 秦 is particularly striking. While it comes eleventh in Máo, it is third in the Ān Dà Shī. Given a terminus ante quem of circa 300 BC (330 BC ± 30 years; see below) for the manuscript, this may well have to do with the rising political power of Qín at the time (and thus possibly the omission of the eastern states?). Out of respect for tradition, the songs of the “Royal Zhōu” and the “Royal Shào” had to come first, but the approach to the sequence then shows itself to be more flexible. In this context it is perhaps also worth noting that the Qín songs have nothing of the sometimes satirical and playful elements we see in many of the songs from other states, but instead impress upon their reader a rather belligerent tone. Was this how the Qín wanted to be remembered? Or is it a reflection of Qín’s status at the time, given further substance by having it appear near the top of the sequence, after the ‘Two Nán’ 二南\textsuperscript{16} (“Zhōu Nán” 周南 and “Shào Nán” 召南)? Then, the section here called “Hóu” 矢 (six songs) is the fourth state listed in the Ān Dà Shī but, under the name “Wèi fēng” 魏風, comes ninth in the Máo recension. “Yǒng” 甬 (seven songs) is listed fifth in the Ān Dà Shī but fourth in Máo. What is called “Wèi” 魏 (ten songs) in the Ān Dà Shī is, with one exception, “Táng” 唐 in Máo, where it is the tenth state.

While the sequence of the states differs between the Ān Dà Shī and Máo, the sequence of songs within a state is consistent in the “Royal Zhōu” and the “Royal Shào”. The sequence breaks down, however, in the other states: “Qín” 秦, “Hóu” 矢, “Yǒng” 甬 (Yōng 郜), and “Wèi” 魏.

With a total of fifty-seven remaining songs, the Ān Dà Shī has slightly more than one-third of the 160 songs of the ‘Airs of the States’ of the Máo recension.

The songs pertaining to particular states are consistently separated by thick black marks on the slips. A hook-shaped mark ( miệng) is used, though inconsist-

\textsuperscript{15} “Yǒng” 甬 (Máo: Yōng 郜) is the location of old capital of Shāng; “Wèi” 魏 is in western Shānxī, etc. Shāng oracle bone inscriptions refer to the area later called Yōng 郜 (perhaps subjectively) as ‘central’.

\textsuperscript{16} Although the designation ‘Two Nán’ 二南 for the “Zhōu Nán” and the “Shào Nán” became popular only during the Hàn dynasty, the two were treated as a conceptual pair in the early literature. See, for instance, Liúyǔ “Yáng Huò” 17.10; Zuò zuàn “Xiāng” 29.2; Lù shì Chūnqū “Yīn chū” 音初 2; thrice in the Yǐlǐ (see footnote 71).
ently, to signal the end of each subsection. The Ān Dà Shī also contain entries which detail the number of songs from one state, such as in ‘Zhōu Nán, eleven’ 周南十又一; or ‘Hóu, six’ 矦六. The songs themselves, however, are never listed with a title. On two occasions, at the end of a subsection, the manuscript text lists the first song by name, as in ‘Yǒng, nine: White boat’ 甬九白舟, or ‘Wèi, nine: Grass-cloth sandals’ 魏九葛縷. Because the first song is listed for these two, the editors of the Ān Dà Shī suggest that each song must have had a name—albeit not one mentioned on the slips.17 Methodologically the editors go one step further, as they suggest that the names of the songs recorded on the manuscripts must have been roughly the same as those of the Máo Shī. Hence, they introduce each song by its Máo designation, a choice we find philologically unsound and methodologically problematic. As the Ān Dà manuscript is incomplete, we cannot be certain whether “Shào Nán” and “Qín” also listed a song title. However, we can ascertain that the basic way of referring to subsections was by the name of the state and the number of songs, not by including the titles of songs.

We certainly would not want to exclude the possibility that the songs, or at least some of them, might have had the same or similar names as their counterparts in Máo.18 But if they did, the manuscript witness shows they were not considered to be an integral element, and so they should not be imported into this version of the Songs. To assume so as a working hypothesis therefore strikes us as a poor choice. (It would be impossible, anyway, to test this assumption.) Methodologically it is also flawed, because it guides our expectations and therefore the way we read the songs. Instead, in the representation of individual songs, we simply list them numerically, in the sequence order in which they appear in the Ānhuī University Manuscripts, which in the “Zhōu Nán” and the “Shào Nán” is largely compatible with the Máo recension. The fact that the songs are counted in the manuscript might suggest that the order was more important to the textual community of the Ān Dà Shī than paratext.

Despite the macro-consistency of the ‘states’, the Ān Dà Shī nonetheless only contain about one third of the “Guó fēng” in Máo. They are also presented in a different order, not only in how the states are organised relative to one another, but also in how some individual songs are arranged within and among the latter four ‘non-royal’ (or ‘common’) states—that is, “Qín” 秦; “Hóu” 矟; “Yǒng” 甬; and “Wèi” 魏. The composition of individual songs, too, can differ, with stanzas

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17 Ānhuī University Manuscripts 1: 2.
18 We say more on this later in the Introduction.
being moved vis-à-vis their received counterpart. There are four such instances among the first twenty-five songs, that is, the songs of the “Zhōu Nán” and the “Shào Nán”.¹⁹ Moreover, in one instance, “Shào Nán” ¹⁴, the song shows an additional stanza to its Máo counterpart (Máo 25 “Zōu yù”騶虞).

2 Attempting an ‘Emic’ Reading of the Ān Dà Shī

We offer the first book-length study of the first twenty-five of the songs of the Ān Dà Shī, the songs of the “Zhōu Nán” and the “Shào Nán”—the old royal songs which constitute a gateway into the Shī. Radiocarbon analysis suggests the manuscripts are roughly 2280 years old, calibrated to the year 1950.²⁰ This furnishes a date of circa 330 BC for the manuscripts. Subsequent chemical analysis of the slips has confirmed their mid-Warring States pedigree, though the ink was not tested. Theoretically, this means we cannot with certainty exclude the possibility that recent forgers produced the texts on ancient bamboo slips. But we follow the lead of Chinese scientists and palaeographers and rule out, as a working premise, that recently-fabricated texts were produced on ancient slips.

The editors of Volume 1 of Ānhūi University Manuscripts do not hide their excitement about the texts collected in this volume, for they now have a Warring States-period copy of the Classic of Songs, Shìjīng 詩經, or so they claim.

To be the first to edit a Warring States-copy of the Classic of Songs is, of course, an enormous burden. The editors duly responded to this difficult task by providing a philologically highly competent, but conservative (or, perhaps, extremely radical?) reading of the Songs. It depicts the Songs as decidedly consistent with the received Máo recension.

As our goal is to carry out the first fully-annotated translation into English of the first twenty-five songs of this collection, our stakes are lower, and so our task is considerably easier. Let there be no doubt: we are guided by the same academic ethos of striving to attain the best possible reading of the text and to do it no harm. But as we determine our reading, we do not feel the same ancestral weight resting on our shoulders, and so the burden of tradition restricts us far less when making our choices as to what we believe constitutes the best, and most honest, reading of the text.

¹⁹ They are “Zhōu Nán” ³ and ⁵; “Shào Nán” ⁸ and ⁿ.
²⁰ Huáng Dékuān 2017a: 56–58.
The eminent scholar Qiú Xīguī once remarked the following:

When comparing bamboo and silk manuscripts with transmitted ancient texts (including bamboo and silk versions and their transmitted counterparts), we must resist two incompatible tendencies, one is ‘the urge to equate them’, the other is ‘establishing differences’. The former primarily conflates differences in the content of bamboo and silk texts and their received counterparts; the latter stresses differences between the graphs in bamboo and silk texts and received texts, while their meaning is actually similar or very close.

These, however, are not our choices. As we shall detail in our discussion of the songs, the disparities between the Ān Dà Shī and the Máo recension are such that they seem to reflect an internally consistent (but in each case different) logic, which determines certain choices made by the communities behind the two versions as they wrote out the songs. Variances between the versions are not selective, let alone random, but rather systematic, and so the Ān Dà Shī appears as an independent iteration of the Songs. Because the date of the manuscripts is circa 330 BC, as a thought experiment we treat the texts upon them as non-Máo. Methodologically, this means that when reading the Ān Dà Shī we are not bound by Máo, and so, unlike the editors of the Ānhuī University Manuscripts, we do not have to force them through Máo—even though the Máo recension crucially informs our choices.

We do not know much about the Máo recension. It was promoted as the authoritative edition by King Xiàn of Héjiān (Liú Dé 劉德) (r. 155–130 BC) but did not gain official recognition until quite late in the Western Hán, somewhere between 1 BC and AD 6, ousting the other major traditions, Lù 魯, Qí 齊, and Hán 韓. The Máo recension is often associated with Máo Hēng 亨 and Máo

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21 Qiú Xīguī 2012a: 339.
22 We refer to Western Hán Shī traditions of Lù, Qí, and Hán as ‘major’, and other, lesser-known ones, as ‘minor’, thus drawing into parallel Jao Tsung-i’s conceptualisation of the Yì (Changes), as attempted in Jao Tsung-i 2009, vol. 4: 17.
Cháng萇, whose dates are uncertain. It is important to maintain a distinction between the Máo recension and the Máo commentary (i.e., Máo Shī gǔxùn zhùàn 毛詩詁訓傳). The transmission of the Shi Jing is a convoluted topic, and beyond the remit of this book, but accounts are usually rooted in Kǒngzǐ’s compilation of ‘the’ Shī and its subsequent dissemination by Bǔ Shāng 卜商 (507–? BC; courtesy name Zǐ Xià 子夏). An early medieval model of transmission that we follow relates that the ‘elder’ Máo, Máo Hēng, learned ‘a’ Shī of the Xúnzǐ (ca. 300–219 BC) tradition. Bernhard Karlgren (1889–1978), proposing that ‘elder’ Máo was a ‘disciple’s disciple’ of Xúnzǐ, demonstrated a close affinity between citations of Shī in Xúnzǐ and the Máo recension. He further suggested that the Máo commentary, which he concluded was completed in the second century BC—‘nearer to 150 BC than to 200 BC’—had been strongly influenced by Xúnzǐ’s thought. Be that as it may, it remains uncertain whether what we now know as the Máo recension was actually in circulation before Máo Hēng obtained a copy of it, or whether he ‘established’ a new recension from an older (and primarily sound-based) model—or potentially a combination of the two. In this regard, it is perhaps noteworthy that of sixty-one instances of Shī quotations in Xúnzǐ, forty-eight agree with the Máo recension and only thirteen disagree.

As we take the Ān Dà Shī as a non-Máo iteration of the Songs, methodologically we are not bound by the Máo recension, and thus by received canon. Rather, our reading sets out to understand the texts as written on the slips, insofar as this is possible but helped, of course, by modern understandings of the phonetics of Old Chinese and by advances in palaeography. We seek to understand how a certain community with a profound specialisation in the tradition afforded meaning to the Songs. In order to do so we use a two-stage approach. We first have recourse to broadly contemporaneous texts, principally the *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn of the Shānhǎi Museum collection of Chǔ manuscripts, which allows us to understand how at least one other textual community

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24 Lù Jī 陸玑 (third century AD), Máo Shī cāomù niǎoshòu chóngyú shū 毛詩草木鳥獸蟲魚疏, 70: 21.
25 Karlgren 1931: 18–23; he used the term ‘Xúnzǐ-coloured’. Although we accept this view, it must be acknowledged that the pedigree of the Lú tradition can also be traced back to Xúnzǐ, and the Hán Shī wài zhùàn frequently quotes him as an authority.
26 Karlgren 1931: 26–35. The tabulation does not include repetitions and quotations from lost songs.
27 We found the best system is to reconstruct ocm (for ‘Minimal Old Chinese’) after Axel Schuessler 2007, 2009.
worked with the Shī. Second, where possible, we systematically consult the Mao recension, as well as fragments of texts from other major Western Han traditions, to help us reach an informed decision as to what a given song actually says. We can surmise that Mao’s reading was at least partly based on pre-existing notions of matters pertaining to the Songs, albeit perhaps different in some details. It is thus instructive to see where the An Da Shī differs from the major Western Han Shī recensions, and, possibly, why. As we are accessing the long, philologically-immaculate tradition of Shī exegesis—of which we are now a part—we rely on the commentarial traditions of the Western (206 BC–AD 9) and the Eastern Han (AD 25–220), as reflected mainly in the Mao commentary and the copious notes produced by Zheng Xuan (AD 127–200), so as to be clear about our own choices. We have supplemented this by consulting Qing Dynasty (AD 1636–1912) scholarship on the Shi and its Han reception, as reflected mainly in the work of Yao Jiheng (AD 1647–ca. 1715), Fang Yurun (AD 1811–1883) and Wang Xianqian (AD 1842–1917); Bernhard Karlgren’s “Glosses on the Book of Odes”, which relied heavily on the scholarship of Chen Huan (AD 1786–1863), is a vital resource.

The goal of this exercise is to establish a hypothetical ‘emic’ perspective of reading the Songs through the An Da Shī. It is hypothetical, if only because it can never be fully achieved. ‘Emic’ perspective considers an insider’s account

28 *KǒngzǐShīlùn is published in vol. 1 of the Shānhǎi Museum’s Warring States Manuscripts. We use the title *Kǒngzǐ Shīlùn as a convention, not because we believe that the text actually had this title or that Kongzi was the author. Following Li Xuéqin’s (2002) slip order, it seems that Kongzi was not the writer but rather was cited as an authority. In our opinion, the text was produced as an instruction to the Shi, likely during the Warring States period; see also Kern 2015: 186. Reading the *Kǒngzǐ Shīlùn and An Da Shī against one another is a novel approach to Warring States Shī that was not available before the recovery of the An Da Shī. *Wǔ xíng 五行 from tomb 1, Guódiàn, is also valuable, but relying on it is risky as in the *Wǔ xíng the Songs are not the principle focus of the elaboration, but rather serve to support a specific philosophical argument. One must take account of the different needs and goals of the community that produced a given text and their use of the Songs. (More on this point below.) The version of the Ziyi 緇衣 texts found at Guódiàn, and the Chū manuscripts in the Shānhǎi Museum collection, were compiled from three separate sources—Shī, Shū 書, and master sayings, zǐyuē 子曰—and forged into archival units that store a learning repertoire that was relevant to a particular community (Meyer 2021: 74). But in these units the sources work in a co-ordinated fashion with one another, not hierarchically, and the Ziyi does not articulate Shi-instruction. Whether this archival focus served argumentative ends is unclear. We therefore do not use it as a primary tool for an emic reading, as we do the *Kǒngzǐ Shīlùn.

29 In an important article, Kern 2010 discussed the difficulties in establishing the Shi pre-Máo, for which he had to rely predominantly on palaeographic materials commenting on the Shī, not the Shī itself.
or perception.\textsuperscript{30} The approach is borrowed from linguistics,\textsuperscript{31} and relates to the study of a language or culture in terms of integral elements and respective functions, rather than through existing models or schemes that are necessarily external.\textsuperscript{32} In cultural anthropology, the emic approach describes a viewpoint obtained from within a social group.\textsuperscript{33} The application of this approach to ancient texts and how they were used is necessarily limited, but as Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975) has stated, behind the iteration and interaction of texts is always ‘a contact of personalities and not of things’.\textsuperscript{34} Texts are the secondary products of the multi-faceted social realities of meaning construction. The primary actors are people—individual or groups—participating in a discourse.\textsuperscript{35}

In attempting an emic perspective of reading the Ān Dà Shī, and so to cast light on how the community behind the Ān Dà Shī afforded meaning to the Songs, we do not claim to be metaphorically venturing back in time, like embedded anthropologists, to sit idly among the textual community that produced this iteration of the Songs, to witness their use, and to experience it for ourselves. But the manuscript at hand and the above-mentioned support material afford sufficient grounds from which to approach the text on its own terms and, on this basis, to reconstruct what its textual community may have wished to achieve by engaging with the songs. Remembering that this collection is a reflection of people and their concerns ‘and not of things’, we are thus establishing a hypothetical reading of this particular iteration of the Songs as it circulated among certain conceptual communities during the Warring States period—conceptual because they must remain our theoretical projections.\textsuperscript{36} To seek an emic reading therefore does \textit{not} mean we are reading this manuscript in isolation, as though we had some benediction granting us access to it. We also do not treat it as though it came to us out of the blue. We consider it not possible to—and do not aspire to—treat the Ān Dà Shī as separate

\begin{itemize}
\item[30] Pike 1954.
\item[31] In linguistics, for instance, Nöth 1995: 183 defined the ‘emic unit’ as an ‘invariant form obtained from the reduction of a class of variant forms to a limited number of abstract units’. The distinction between emic and etic in linguistics was coined by Kenneth Lee Pike. See in particular Pike 1943.
\item[32] Cf. Hays 2012: 6 for the notion of establishing an ‘emic’ reading of Egyptian hieroglyphic material. See also the seminal essay of Harris 1976.
\item[33] Conrad 2006: 46 notes ‘the emic approach investigates how local people think’, which implies how they conceptualise the world and their place in it, and which actions they take from there.
\item[34] Bakhtin 1986: 162.
\item[36] For a detailed discussion of ‘conceptual communities’ see Meyer 2021.
\end{itemize}
from context of wider Shī scholarship. Just as this manuscript iteration was produced in a given social setting, so too was the Máo recension, and the recensions of the other major (and minor) Western Hàn traditions.

It is important to stress that we do not, and never will, claim that we are reading ‘the’ Shī. Rather, our approach has always been that of a ‘gedanken-experiment’ where, methodologically, we provide a hypothetical reading of what certain conceptual communities during the Warring States period might have made of the Ān Dà Shī, as they were themselves not immediately guided by the Máo recension. (Most likely they were informed by the predecessors to Máo which, in turn, might at least partly have informed Máo’s conceptualisation of the songs too.) What we are reading is ‘a’ Shī from the Warring States period.

3 Writing the Image Programme of the Songs

We detect at least two orthographic manners on the slips. Certainly in “Zhōu Nán”, and for the most part also in “Shào Nán”, the calligraphy is executed with great care. It is often exceedingly elegant, and sometimes a graph is written to be evocatively pictographic. The graph for horse, mǎ 马, in “Zhōu Nán” 3 (Máo 3) is a case in point, in that it actually shows a horse: 骏. Interestingly, the writer of the song—who is emphatically not the composer of the song; we chose the designation ‘writer’ for the person who executed the calligraphy on the manuscript deliberately as it does not imply a directional relationships between the manuscript and the text, as ‘copyist’ or ‘scribe’ does—also allowed for some variation in the calligraphy, as the last horse in the same song appears like this: 面. That is, the horse without the legs, so to speak:

菜=燕耳。不溫鴻鵠
差我裹人實皮周行

37 See Kern 2010 for a related observation.
38 Note that we are not making a claim for multiple writers, only that we have detected at least two orthographic manners. We acknowledge the possibility that a single writer could write in different styles, and that graphic variants occurring in the same manuscript text might carry with them a complex history of transmission (for instance from abroad) or conversion (for instance into a local script). Stated briefly, and with an awareness that more detailed study is required, basic handwriting analysis discerns two distinct forms of 我, signifying the high-frequency word wǒ ‘my, mine; I, us’; and two different styles for 又, signifying the high-frequency word yòu ‘right hand’ > yǒu ‘have’ 有, among notable examples. See Ānhuī University Manuscripts 1: 224–225, 293–294.
39 The French term ‘scripteur’ would also be apposite, but we see no advantage over ‘writer’.
What is especially interesting—and this differs decidedly from the Warring States-manuscripts that carry, say, philosophical texts—is that many of the graphs in the Ān Dà Shī consistently contain an extra layer of information that expresses the meaning of the word through the graph in ways other literary texts of the time do not seem to do.

For example, the graph representing ‘flying [birds]’ 鳥 for fēi 飛, is written as 鳥 in stanza 1 of “Zhōu Nán” 2 (Máo 2). The graph for ‘flying’ is not normally indistinct, and so it is apparent the added signifier ‘bird’ was not used for the purpose of reducing ambiguity. Rather, it strikes us as something playful, yet which served to evoke images through writing—or reflects what the writer had in mind as they produced a copy of the song. We see an attention to detail, by which the writer sought to have the graphs visually embody the wider meaning of the words they represent. One might also consider the onomatopoeia ‘*rih rih’ for the sound of birds’ chirping, written as 鳥 (鶯) in the same stanza:

葛之雕可.陀于田浴.
隹 3| • 葉萋=黃鳥于雕 (雕)
集于樺木亓鳴鶯 (鶯)=

How the kudzu spreads! extending deep into the valley.
The leaves are plentiful, orioles are in flight [to it].
Gathering on the trees with yellow blossoms, they tweet ‘rih-rih’.

This extra layer of information in the graph means the writer was not just writing ‘to fly’. By adding the signifier 'bird' to it, the writer further evoked the image of orioles in flight. Similarly, the writer did not just write the sound ‘*rih rih’ to
represent the chirping of orioles gathered in the trees, but continued to evoke the imagery of chirping through the addition of yet another ‘bird’ signifier in the graph that wrote out their sound.\textsuperscript{42} Examples of this sort can be found throughout the “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” (and in much of the Ān Dà Shī more generally).

As they add to their meaning in significant ways, so too do the graphs on the slips often go beyond, or at least differ from, their modern equivalents in terms of meaning and connotation. Because this was done with such care, reflecting a strategy on the part of those who wrote out the songs, we have opted not to follow the standard form of text representation, where a direct transcription precedes the interpretative transcription using modern equivalents, as in 黃鳥 于（飛）集于樁木亓（其）鳴烈喲（咧咧）.\textsuperscript{43} This would have meant distorting the text in such a way that we, for our part, would have had to invent a text which the writer of the Ān Dà Shī did not mean to produce. (For “Zhōu Nán”\textsuperscript{2}, it would have meant taking some ‘birds’ out of the lyrics, so to speak.) Hence, we have simply maintained the direct transcription of what the writer wrote. With this in mind, we shall return briefly to the horse with- and without legs in “Zhōu Nán”\textsuperscript{3}.

Subsequent to the first stanza, which serves as a form of preamble situating “Zhōu Nán”\textsuperscript{3} emotionally and contextually, three stanzas describe a progression of decline on the part of the travelling male as imagined, and voiced, by the lone female singer, his lover:

Ascending that high ridge, my horse (holes) has turned dark yellow.
I now ladle into that rhinoceros horn cup, it is thus my pain shall last.

Ascending that craggy height, my horse (holes) is on the verge of collapse.
I now ladle from the bronze bucket, it is thus my yearning will last.

Ascending that slippery slope, my horse (holes) is at a crawl.
and as for my humble servant, there is nothing more to say!

The horse is the one repeating feature in the image programme of the song,\textsuperscript{44} and it serves to stand metaphorically for the pains of the male traveller as imagined by his suffering woman, who places herself in the narrative perspective

\textsuperscript{42} For more information, the reader may wish here to consult “Zhōu Nán”\textsuperscript{2}, stanza 1, annotation 5 (pp. 70–71).

\textsuperscript{43} Richter 2013:48 supplies a prescriptive account of such transcription format.

\textsuperscript{44} We borrow the idea of ‘image programme’ from Schwartz’ 2018 studies of the Yijing. We understand the precise semantic, lexical content in a song’s lyrics to be an image, and the intersection of images in a song’s lyrics as an image programme. We have chosen
of her lover. The progressive decline of the horse is emblematic for that of the male traveller and his companion. First, the horse has ascended a high ridge and the writer shows that its strong legs are moving forward. Second, the writer has changed the position of, and inverted, the horse’s once-strong, forward-striding legs to show the result of it being pushed to ascend a rocky height. By the third stanza, the traveller’s horse is literally finished. As it slows to a crawl, it appears as though it has no legs to stand on while trying to make its way up a slippery slope, a situation observed and emotively commented upon by the writer of the song.

Had this visualisation been one of a handful of examples, we would not emphasise it and declare it a chance coincidence. But this is not so. Close analysis of songs of the “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” shows that a layer of meaning was regularly added through careful execution of the writing, including the binomes, and that this was an important means of visually expressing what was occurring in the songs. There are of course many graphs in the Ān Dà Shī where this aspect is lacking, but key terms in the songs are marked with striking consistency. We here cite but a few examples:

“Zhōu Nán” 1 (Máo 1) establishes an image programme centred on a male osprey seeking his prey as a metaphor for a male seeking a lithe and beautiful female of his desire. The female is referred to, sportively, as an ‘adversary’, that is, the object of his desire, and the graph writing this word chóu, is written 戡, with the phonophore zǎo 棗 ‘jujube (*tsû?)’, which the writer specified by adding a ‘dagger-axe’戈 signifier. This was a common way of writing the word in Warring States Chǔ script, and is the same word used in the Lǔ (followed by Zhèng Xuán) and Hán recensions (written with the graph 仇). It forms a

the word ‘programme’ because of its association with systematic application and system-based learning. A song’s images form a series of instructions that control the operation of the song’s meaning. Note that semantic content refers not only to the words signified by graphs but also, and sometimes crucially, to the use of signifiers in the structure of the graphs and their significance.

This observation is on a surface level diametrically opposed to Kern’s (2010: 45) finding that ‘the individual graphs in these binomes are utterly irrelevant; as has long been noted’ (Kern is citing Kennedy 1959: 193–198 and Knechtges 1987: 3–12), ‘such descriptive rhyming, alliterative, or reduplicative binomes cannot be decoded based on the meaning of each character’. But in his studies Kern was largely working with different commentarial traditions. While we admit that the graphs chosen had to agree to the productive mould, as we call it, of the Shī, and thus they were guided by prescriptive rhyming and alliteration principles set by this mould, we cannot exclude the possibility that the various textual communities chose them with great care and for the meanings they represent, and that their choices may well conflict with those of other groups. On this point, the reader should please consult our discussion of 要翟 in “Zhōu Nán” 1, stanza 1, annotation 3 (pp. 54–56).
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semantic bracket with the words lán-lán (*rôn-rôn) 閒閑 ‘enter recklessly’ (into someone’s space), before it, and liú 流 ‘flow around [like water]’, qiú 求 ‘seek’, fú 服 ‘subdue; cause to obey; give up’, cáì 采 ‘pluck’, yòu 有 ‘obtain’, and jiào 敎 (效) ‘handpick’, after it, to produce a reading that is decidedly different from what its counterpart, qiú 求, ‘mate, companion’, means in the Máo recension.

“Zhōu Nán” 2 (Máo 2) describes a woman’s joy as she enters into marriage. Orioles (huáng niǎo 黃鳥 ‘yellow birds’), chirping, carry forth the happy news. We have already mentioned the added signifier ‘bird’ for the orioles in flight, and in their chirping of the happy news. The Ān Dà manuscript text also differs from the Máo recension in where the birds alight. The chirping orioles gather in the Ān Dà Shī on ‘trees with yellow blossoms’, quán mù 權木, the colour yellow symbolising the female and serving as a metaphor for marriage, whereas in the Máo recension they alight, more prosaically, on ‘bushes’, guàn mù 灌木. While the sound—and thus the prescriptive sound mould—of quán and guàn is the same (both are written with the phonophore guàn (*kôn) 雚 ‘heron’), the repeated occurrence of the graph 灌 later in the manuscript text's lyrics (stanza 3), where it writes the word guàn in its primary meaning ‘pour out; rinse’ (contra Máo: huǎn 澗 ‘wash’), demonstrates that great care was taken by the writer of this song when choosing the appropriate signifier—without compromising its sound mould.

“Zhōu Nán” 3 (Máo 3) has the above-mentioned ‘horse’ in emotive postures that change along with the progression of the song. The male subject of the song is imagined to be in the mountains in stanzas 2 to 4, and six of the fifty-one words are written with ‘mountain’ signifiers.46 When describing the man’s horse as it moves through the mountains, graphs with a ‘movement’ signifier express exactly that movement—which differs from the graphs chosen in Máo—and with them the song’s image programme, while keeping the sound mould intact.47 There is also a discernible pun in the writing of the word shāng

46 In the Máo recension, eight words are written with graphs using a ‘mountain’ or ‘hill’ signifier.

47 The first instance is a rhyming binome in Ān Dà Shī: 阮遺, which corresponds to Máo: huǐ-tuí 鬼隕. Even though the word is the same, the difference between the two is that in the Ān Dà Shī the second syllable of the binome is written with a ‘movement’ signifier, adding further signification and depicting the movement of the ‘horse’, whereas in Máo it is written with a ‘hill’ signifier, adding another layer of signification to the ‘mountain’ images serving as the background for the man’s travails, and thus responding to the different image programme in Máo. The second instance is the use of 徒 in Ān Dà Shī, again written with a ‘movement’ signifier, which corresponds to 疾 in Máo, written with a ‘sickness’ signifier. Thus, the Ān Dà text maintains consistency in describing the horse's belaboured movement with a ‘movement’ signifier. (See “Zhōu Nán” 3, stanza 3, annota-
‘pain’ (Máo: 傷) with the graph 觔 (觴) ‘cup of horn’. The writer added an extra layer of signification to the word ‘pain’ by writing it, hardly unintentionally, with the very ale cup that the subject was going to use to prolong that pain. Reading 觌 as a simple phonetic loan for 傷 is, of course, possible. But this presents a much weaker reading, one that ignores the song’s image programme and thus misses the ingenuity of how the writing is employed; more fundamentally, it potentially nullifies further associations and the feelings it evoked when encountered in the song.

“Zhōu Nán” 5 (Máo 5) centres around locusts and their various sounds and movements as a metaphor for the continuity of a lord’s line, coming forth in multitudes. Unlike in Máo, the writer preserves an evocative and striking intimacy between ‘locusts’ and ‘people’, equating them through intersecting parallelisms in the writing of the graphs. The first two lines of each stanza are about the locusts, while the third and fourth lines are each about the lord’s descendants. But where the song talks about locusts, it uses graphs with humans-related signifiers; where it talks about people, the writing uses graphs with the insect signifier. This parallelism begins with the song’s very first word, zhòng ‘multitudes’, and ends with its final word, shéng/mín ‘to spring up ceaselessly’. In the opening sentence, the one about ‘locusts’, the graph used to signify the word contains ‘three people’—眾 (眾)—whereas in the song’s final sentence, about the lord’s ‘descendants’, the graph used to write the reduplicative binome modifying them is composed with an ‘insect’ signifier, 蝉 (蝉) (with the reduplication mark repeating, in fact ‘doubling’, the ‘insect’: 蝉). “Zhōu Nán” 7 (Máo 7) centres on the image of a rabbit net 兔網 (*lhâh-tsha)—the materiality of its composition, its construction, and its placement in several key positions—as part of a phonetically-driven metaphor for the martial man 武夫 (*maʔ-pa) and his disposition in properly serving his lords, the Gōng and the Hóu. Similar to how the imagery of humans and locusts intersects in “Zhoū Nán” 5, in this song the martial man and the rabbit net are braided together using reduplicative binomes written with a ‘silk’ signifier that is absent in the Máo recension.

In “Shào Nán” 6 (Máo 17), the song is sung in the voice of a woman who suffers from ongoing harassment, and litigation, by a man she presumably wishes to divorce. When the song arrives at the part about litigation in stanzas 2 and 3,
two specialised forms in Ān Dà—𤶬 and 𧫷, which correspond to the word sù 迅 ‘beckon, invite, urge on’ (but also ‘rapid, quick’) in Máo—add meaning through the use of ‘sickness’ and ‘speech’ signifiers. While the same phonophore makes it certain that all three graphs write the same word, we propose that 𤶬 captures the ‘rapid’ onset of illness, with the underlying sense that this is akin to forcing litigation upon the female defendant. As for 𧫷, which is listed in the Shuōwén jiězì as a Warring States gùwén form of sù 迅, the addition of the signifier ‘words, speak’ suggests yet another specialised form, and thus signify ‘to speak’ or ‘call forth to speak’, in this case at trial.

“Shào Nán” 13 (Máo 24) celebrates the offspring of King Píng (r. 770–720 BC) and the Hóu of Qí, as one of the royal princesses is married to an elite family in the east. The writer of the song visibly intended to sublimate the image of flora and fruit in abundance through a sustained use of graphs written with floral signifiers, and as a way of adding meaning to the metaphor of beautiful royal females and their many anticipated offspring. Of the thirty-seven graphs still legible on the slips, eight are written with the floral signifiers: ‘grass’ 艸/艹; ‘tree’ 木; and ‘plant (of grains)’ 禾. In the song’s final stanza, the metaphor changes from royal females and their descendants as beautiful flora and abundant fruit to a silk fishing line. This is also reflected in the song’s written instantiation as three of the stanza’s remaining eleven words, including the song’s final word, ‘grandchildren’, sūn 孫 (*sûn), are written with a ‘silk’ signifier.

These few examples (we discuss these and other cases in more depth in the philological annotations of the songs) show that the written graphs in the Ān Dà Shī serves to develop its image programme, and thus the songs’ meanings. This is not an argument for a fundamentally written tradition of the Songs (or as it is often put, their ‘written nature’). But it shows how the writer of the Ān Dà Shī either expressed the feelings which the Shī invoked in them as they wrote down their version, or how they voiced, in written form, what they felt the Songs expressed. In any case, the writer(s) made the Songs more profound through the careful execution of written graphs. It thus appears that by around the mid-fourth century BC, both the phonetic texture and image programme were integral elements in Shī iterations, at least in this case, thus demonstrating extensive knowledge of tradition, and transmission, on the part of the writer of the Ān Dà Shī.

The Shī lend themselves to such forms of meaning construction through the written graph in the build-up of an image programme in ways other genres, with the exception of the Yi (Changes), might not.48 In so many ways the Shī

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48 Note that this observation is not necessarily at odds with the findings of Galambos 2006, but it draws different conclusions. Based on covenant texts from the fifth century BC, but
are more evocative due to metre, regulated words per line, sound moulds, and the tradition's emphasis on prompting feelings through sound and imagery, which might explain this facet. Many of the examples we have cited add meaning to the songs through the use of signifiers associated with nature, like 'grass', 'wood', 'mountain', 'avian', 'animal', and 'insect'. This is not without precedence though. The writer of this iteration of the Shī placed importance on how to write key terms, including binomes (sometimes by using semantically-charged phonophores), so as to add meaning to the songs, or to reveal a connection between the songs of a given state. The Ān Dà Shī, with its discernible care regarding how sounds were written out, enables us to revisit the value of the written graphs in other iterations of the Shī, including the Máo recension, and in other genres.

confirmed by wider selections of manuscript texts, Galambos traces a general instability of a graph's signifier in manuscript writing. While such instability is apparent in the Ān Dā Shī, signifiers were not chosen without consideration; see, for example, the comments of Shaughnessy 2021: 24–25 on the consistent use of 'mouth' signifiers to write out the song lyrics of "Yōng" 2 (Máo 46 "Qióng yōu cì" 墙有茨 'On the outer wall there is three-horned vine'). (The lesson of the song, if read through the "Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn [slip 28], is an admonition to be 'be tight-lipped so that others do not know of [one's] words' [慎密而不知言]; not doing so is cause for gossip which, in turn, leads to 'humiliation', 'perpetuation', and 'disgrace' that cannot be 'bundled up', 'removed', or 'brushed away', as per Máo; we discuss the song in Meyer and Schwartz forthcoming 2023–2024.) See also Schwartz 2018b: 1189–1193, who discusses signifier exchange in the Yi traditions in a specific case study centred on trigram Gèn. Xià Hányí (Edward Shaughnessy) 2012 also pointed out possible correlations between the Shī and Yi traditions.

As Kǒngzǐ put it: [Through the study of Shī one] 'becomes more knowledgeable about the names of birds, animals, plants, and trees' 多識於鳥獸草木之名; Lúnyǔ "Yáng Huò" 陽貨 17.9.

While the addition, or accumulation, of signifiers writing a single grapheme is not at all new to the study of Chinese palaeography, the systematic use of certain signifiers that add meaning, either to a discrete, literary text, or across a genre produced at approximately the same time and in the same geographical location, is an issue of Warring States-Western Hán studies of excavated materials that only became more widely recognised (but not necessarily accepted!) after the discoveries of the Mǎwángduī (1973) and Guōdiàn (1993) manuscripts and the Zhōngshān (1977) bronzes. Discussing the Mǎwángduī *Wǔ xíng manuscript, for instance, Csikszenmtihalyi 2004:169 notes a peculiar way of writing shēng 聲 'sound' as shèng 聰 'sagacious' which, he hypothesised, was not just a phonetic loan but an 'unstated philosophical argument'. Scholars who work with excavated Warring States inscriptions and manuscripts are aware of an interpretive tradition that sees significance in the relatively large number of graphs composed with a xīn 心 'heart' signifier in the Zhōngshān bronze inscriptions, and in the philosophical manuscript texts produced during the latter half of the fourth century BC; see Liú Xiáng 1996; Páng Pǔ 2000, 2011; and Liú Bǎojùn 2020. Jao Tsung-i 2005 calls attention to the frequent use of words in the "Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn written with a 'heart' signifier, and associates them, collectively, with 'the range
We would like to stress, once more, that the aspect we have just described says nothing about the nature of the Songs in general. But it shows the limitations of using isolated, external sources—for instance, contemporaneous philosophical texts—to then conclude that the Songs must have been exclusively oral. Contemporaneous texts might follow the Songs’ phonetic textures, but specific semantic elements such as those in Máo are, at best, secondary. Rather, we posit that the different ways philosophical texts relate to the Songs demonstrates how different conceptual communities during the Warring States period would have used the Songs for their own ends. We thus gain information about conceptual user communities and their requirements, not about the Songs themselves. Likewise, the writer of the songs in Ān Dà Shì executed the calligraphy with such care that it produced an extra layer of significance, but this does not imply a characteristic of the Songs during the Warring States period in general. Rather, it shows that in this written instantiation of the Songs, the process of writing and the written graphs were important to the textual community that produced them (or, just possibly, to one writer). Writing was a tool used to evoke images to further stimulate the reader, and to enhance the meanings of the songs in ways they saw fit. This shows an aspect of the Songs that has, until now, been abstruse. By moving beyond philosophical texts we have gained insight into how the Songs were used by real communities in the Warring States period.

In summary, we have already noted that as our working hypothesis, our *gedankenexperiment*, we consider the Ān Dà Shì to be non-Máo. Yet, with this proposition in mind, we do not insist it must have been pre-Máo. Methodologically, this choice to treat the Ān Dà Shì as non-Máo enables us to read the songs of the Ānhuī University Manuscripts on their own terms, as given representation on slips by a community who afforded meaning to the Songs. By comparing the various representations of the Songs in texts from the Warring States period, as well as those in the Máo recension, we conclude that by this time the Shī had formed a matrix, through their form, structure, and phonetic value. Conceptual communities followed this matrix, but nonetheless had some liberty when choosing how to inform in the precise semantic content of the Shī, within sound moulds that in turn conformed to the expectations of the various textual communities of the time.

51 Martin Kern and Edward Shaughnessy have launched a sometimes heated debate about whether the Songs were ‘oral’ or ‘written’ in nature. We do not wish to partake in it. As this written instantiation of the Songs shows, there were clearly also written songs circulating among groups who may equally have been guided by oral primacy.
4 Bringing to Life the Sound Moulds of Shi Production

The Ān Dà Shī were not mindlessly penned. Certainly for the “Zhōu Nán” and the “Shào Nán”, the calligraphy was executed with care and served as an additional and meaningful element of signification. This includes the addition of signifiers or phono-semantics to certain graphs, and often binomes, so as to add clarity to what was said in the song and to further evoke its imagery; to comment on it in an ‘instructive’ way; or as a means to connect songs and themes into larger clusters of signification. In this regard, the discovery of a Warring States instantiation is nothing short of a momentous event for early Shī studies because, with the Ān Dà Shī, we realise for the first time how the songs were not just received only through an appeal to the ears, but also to the eyes: a literate community gave voice to songs through a writing-supported text performance in which the written word was not secondary, but played a significant, and to some extent primary, role.

Of course, this observation does not deny the vital aural element of the songs. They are, after all, songs. In this book we describe how sound moulds function in a Shi tradition where units of signification were not just created through rhyme, but were distinctive phonetic textures that bound the songs into tight units, and yet may be filled with diverging but meaningful content, as revealed by comparisons between the Ān Dà Shī and the Máo recension. Whether these sound moulds demonstrate the oral prevalence of the songs is not for us to say. Rather, we believe that sound moulds confirm the aural significance of the songs, carried not just by rhyme but by distinctive phonetic textures, and that they produce containers for the songs’ contents. These contents need to be made explicitly, something we believe would not work well without a written element. The Ān Dà Shī manuscript thus shows how Shī worked on the ground during the Warring States period, that is, within different textual communities who responded to the sound moulds of individual songs according to their own biases and requirements.

Sound moulds carry a song’s words, and thus they define the individual songs of the Shī phonetically. But as our term ‘mould’ suggests, during the Warring States period they also served as containers that could be filled, to an extent, with semantically malleable content deemed appropriate by the community in question. As long as the sound of the chosen graph did not violate the prescriptive mould into which it was placed, the writer, who, by virtue of writing the

52 The model of a writing-supported text performance is laid out in Meyer 2021: 15. We further comment on this later on in the Introduction.

53 It is at this stage not possible to state how close a match was required for a chosen word to
song was also commenting on it—and thus laying claim to it—was at some liberty to apply a group’s consistent reading of the song.

Huáng Dékuān and Edward Shaughnessy have already commented on linguistically variable word choices in the Ān Dà Shī vis-à-vis the Máo recension, where the phonetic value of a word remains intact while rendering a different meaning. Both commentators focus on the example of “Shào Nán” 14 (Máo 25 “Zōuyú”騶虞). The Ān Dà Shī writes cóng hū 從虎 *dzoŋ-*hâ ‘after them’ or zòng hū 縱虎 ‘release them’ where Máo has zōu yú騶虞(*tsro-*ŋwâ). The latter is notoriously difficult to interpret. Although the difference between the two versions is phonetically sound, Huáng Dékuān insists that this does not necessarily present an innocent phonetic loan—the words may just as well show two different readings of the song.56

While we agree with this assessment, we go one step further. Spurred by our reading of “Yǒng”甬1 (Máo 45 “Bǎizhōu”柏舟 ‘Cedar boat’), we realised that such variances need not be selective, let alone arbitrary, but apply to the expressions of Shī more profoundly, going beyond the odd graph or binome in a song. Something quite systematic occurred during the Warring States period when communities voiced Shī through the written word. In the case of “Yǒng”甬1, we see meaningful variance that stretches consistently over entire lines, such that they alter—sometimes dramatically—the overall character of the song, while keeping intact its phonetic value.

The ‘Two Nán’ show similar characteristics. A case in point is “Zhōu Nán”3 (Máo 3 “Juǎn ěr”卷耳 ‘Cocklebur’).58 Stanza 3 reads as follows:

be phonetically acceptable, as this may also have differed from one Warring States-period community to another. However, a close reading of the Ān Dà text against the texts of the Hán traditions, of which Máo is dominant, indicates at least minimal adherence, at the word level, to a pre-existing rule about the agreement of the vowel sound(s).

54 Huáng Dékuān 2018; Shaughnessy 2021.
55 See our notes on “Shào Nán”14, stanza 1, annotation 1 (193).
56 Huáng Dékuān 2018:73.
57 “Yǒng”甬1 in the Ān Dà version is composed in *two stanzas, each stanza in seven lines, each a line of four words. Whereas line 3 of each stanza in Ān Dà writes 水皮兩髪 ‘Submerging are those two wild ducks’, the corresponding line in Máo is 髮彼兩髪 ‘Falling down are those two tufts of hair’ (said of a young man). A comparison between the two shows that the phonetic value is largely stable, but that there is a drastic difference in the selection of its written words; these selections, in turn, significantly affect the songs’ overall meaning—not in their aurality, but in how the written instantiations express and produce meaning. Employing philological methods to try and equate the two sentences—and thus the two versions of the song—is unwarranted, and doing so negates the ingenuity of the Shi communities that produced them. We discuss the song in more detail in Meyer and Schwartz 2022/2023.
58 On this song see also above, “Writing the Image Programme of the Songs".
陟彼砠矣,我馬瘏矣。
我僕痡矣,云何吁矣。

Ascending that slippery slope, my horse is at a crawl.
and as for my humble servant, there is nothing more
to say!

The *Máo* version has the following:
陟彼砠矣，我馬瘏矣。
我僕痡矣，云何吁矣。

I was ascending that flat-topped height, but my
horses became quite disabled.
And my servants were [also] disabled. Oh! how great
is my sorrow!\(^{59}\)

In the even-numbered line (2), the *Máo* recension has *tú* 瘏 (*dâ*) ‘fatigued, ill’
where the Ān Dà Shī writes *tú* 徒 (*dâ*) ‘on foot, walk’. Phonetically they are
identical and so one might dismiss this difference as a simple phonetic loan.
However, both renderings each provide systematically stable readings. In the
Ān Dà Shī we see the steady decline of the horse, to the point where it can no
longer walk (it is ‘at a crawl’), while the *Máo* recension lays stress on how the
horse is increasingly unwell. This situation continues into the next lines where
the iterations focus on different aspects in accordance with their image pro-
grammes. In one case it is the ‘humble servant’ of whom ‘there is nothing more
to say’. In the other case, it is the ‘servant’ who, just like the horse, is ‘disabled’,
leading to the self-pitied exclamation ‘how great is my sorrow!’ To ignore such
differences means to miss the opportunity of seeing how the sound moulds
allowed different communities to construct meaning variously.

As these examples show, a song might display different word choices, but
aural correspondence remains largely intact between their various iterations,
be it *Máo*, Ān Dà Shī, or another. As we discuss more fully in our annotations
to the songs, this is especially true of the keywords and the rhyming words,\(^{60}\)
although there are also instances of disparity that are perhaps best explained

\(^{59}\) Legge 1961: 8.

\(^{60}\) Of the ten songs of the “Zhōu Nán” extant in the Ān Dà Shī, seven have exactly the same
rhymes as those in *Máo*; these are “Zhōu Nán” 1–5, 9, and 11. Songs 6 and 8, each composed
in three stanzas, show rhyme disparity only in the final stanza, but the disparity in “Zhōu
Nán” 6 is minimal and the vowel is still the same (the rhyme in *Máo* is in *-in*; in Ān Dà, it
is in *-/in*). Due to the inconclusive identification of one of the rhyming words in stanza
2 of song 7 (*Máo* 7) we are unable, at present, to use this in our tabulation; rhymes in the
other two stanzas however, like those in songs 6 and 8, agree with the sound moulds in
*Máo*. Song 10 (= *Máo* 10) is missing, as is stanza 1 in song 11. Thus, of the total number of
stanzas in the Ān Dà “Zhōu Nán”, words in prescriptive rhyming moulds agree with *Máo*
in twenty-eight of the twenty-nine instances, or 97% (note that this count parses “Guān
as reflecting linguistic features of Chǔ regional dialects, and how local writers accommodated them.\textsuperscript{61} A comparison between the \textit{Máo} and Ān Dà versions sees significantly less lexical variation in the songs of royal states, the ‘Two Nán’, than in the songs of the other four ‘common’ states. This fidelity indicates an intimate reception of the royal songs and, for late Warring States-Western Hán users of the Shī, a reverence for their exalted pedigree.\textsuperscript{62} That \textit{Máo} and the Ān Dà \textit{Shī} both adhere to the same sound moulds also suggests the tradition they follow was much older. And that by the time when the Ān Dà \textit{Shī} was voiced in writing, these moulds were fundamentally stable. The Shī are characterised by an aural primacy, but that does not extend to semantic fixity.\textsuperscript{63} Taking note of the productive sound moulds in Shī iterations might not just prove useful when discussing new finds of manuscript texts in the future; it might also serve as a suitable tool when revisiting the major traditions of the Western Hán period, the foremost of which is \textit{Máo}.

\section{Sounding the Image Programme of the Songs}

Within a song, accumulation and layering of sound moulds produces a ‘phonetic texture’ regarding how certain elements are linked. And as with written forms, phonetic textures can evoke meaning and contribute to mounting image programme of a song.

We find a variety of strategies by which meaning is evoked through sound. Consider “Shào Nán”\textsuperscript{8} (\textit{Máo} 19 “Yǐn qí lèi” 殷其靁 “Qin” sounded the thunder’). Here, just as in other songs of the “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán”,\textsuperscript{64} we can see how the writer in question filled in a prescriptive sound mould using just enough variation to show meaning. We argue that this does not show a degree of indifference to the semantic content, but rather corresponds with how the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{61} Huang Dékuān 2018: 71.
\item \textsuperscript{62} The songs of “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” are said to be ‘where sages are’ in Jiāo Gòng’s 藺恭 (Western Hán) \textit{Yì lín} 易林; see Shàng Bǐnghé (AD1870–1953) 2005: 7.499. Songs of the ‘common’ states are never referred to in such terms.
\item \textsuperscript{63} Note that the point about the aural primacy of the Songs must not be confused with deliberations about whether the Shī were primarily oral or written. Rather, we assert that the purpose of writing the Shī during the Warring States period would not be for ‘memorisation’, but rather for interpretation: for providing semantic fixity to the already fixed aural forms.
\item \textsuperscript{64} We discuss the various cases in our philological commentary on the songs.
\end{itemize}
writer (or the community of which the writer was a part) saw it fit to detail the content of the song. The song is highly repetitive, with just the last word of lines 2 and 4 changing. The sound of the song is carried by the dominant vowels *-e-, -ə-, and -a-, which characterise all three stanzas. Only two elements break away from the phonetic pattern, the repeated sounding of the thunder, 鶸八轇 (*ʔin *ɡo *rui), marked by *-i- and the pharyngealised *-û-, and the ‘so quaking is the lord’ 君 (*tən-*tən *kun), which takes up these sounds, albeit weaker and not pharyngealised. These two sounds thus form a phonetic bracket which links the two choses words (or ‘images’) into a meaningful unit, a technique we encounter in many other songs of the ‘Two Nán’.65

“Shào Nán” 8 contains two consistent rhymes, which is consistent with Máo. It is in the voice of the narrative ‘I’ of a female speaker, lamenting her lord’s departure as soon as the thunder sounds. The song is highly repetitive and, as such, it is predictable. So too is its message. We consider this not to be a coincidence, but rather suggest that it is part of the song’s image programme. As the thunder (*rui) sounds (*ʔin), the narrative ‘I’ of the female voice knows her lord (*kun) will be prompted into action (*tən). As the speaker’s experience predictable, so too is the repetitive structure of the song and the texture of its sound moulds.

Something different occurs in “Zhōu Nán” 8 (Máo 8 “Fúyí” 苋苣 ‘Plantain’), a song in four stanzas which describes the monotonous work of plucking the plantain. The rhythmic and repetitive nature of the song, with its continued stress of glottal stops, beautifully captures this monotony. Just like “Shào Nán” 8, on a phonetic level the song thus reduplicates its semantic content:

\[
\begin{align*}
&tshəʔ-tshəʔ puʔ-laʔ, *bâk-ŋan \textit{rhyme word}.^1 \text{ tə} \\
&tshəʔ-tshəʔ puʔ-laʔ, *bâk-ŋan \textit{rhyme word}.^1 \text{ tə}; \\
&tshəʔ-tshəʔ puʔ-laʔ, *bâk-ŋan \textit{rhyme word}.^2 \text{ tə} \\
&tshəʔ-tshəʔ puʔ-laʔ, *bâk-ŋan \textit{rhyme word}.^2 \text{ tə}; \\
&tshəʔ-tshəʔ puʔ-laʔ, *bâk-ŋan \textit{rhyme word}.^3 \text{ tə} \\
&tshəʔ-tshəʔ puʔ-laʔ, *bâk-ŋan \textit{rhyme word}.^3 \text{ tə};
\end{align*}
\]

65 Take for instance “Zhōu Nán” 7 (Máo 7 “Tù jū” 兔罝 ‘Rabbit net’), a highly formulaic song of three stanzas. The song’s ‘rabbit net’ stands allegorically for the martial man, trapping the Gōng and the Hóu. The association of the rabbit net with the martial man is made explicit phonetically: 兔罝 *lhâh *tsa rhymes with 武夫 *maʔ *pa, creating the crucial link between them, thus marking them as a unit.
Or one might consider “Shào Nán” (Máo 17 “Xíng lù” 行露 ‘Walking in the dew’). This sings of a woman who suffers ongoing harassment by, presumably, her former husband. In highly accessible visual terms, which parallel her husband’s actions with how a sparrow forces its way through a roof, the song describes how the man encroaches upon female space. This threat is captured, phonetically, by the *-ôk and -ok endings of the rhyme which reproduce the hacking sound of the ‘beak’ (jiǎo 角 [*krôk]) and thus invokes a sense of threat.

6 Receiving the Shī

As both the visual and aural information are relevant when constructing the image programme of a song, questions arise as to how Shī were transmitted and received. Based on the consistency and attention to detail in how an image programme was established, through carefully executed writing within the existing sound moulds of Shī production, we disagree with interpretations that regard the written song lyrics of this selection of Shī as minimal notations of sounds, heard through second-or third-party recitation. A contemplated transcription from self-recitation strikes us as conceivable for thus instantiation, as might written transmission from a pre-existing source text. Particularly applicable to our reading is the model of a writing-supported text performance. This describes the enabling, and execution, of a complex utterance (text) through the support of the written word. The enabling of a text’s iteration through a writing-supported text performance implies certain constraints, genre-specific or otherwise. In the case of the Shī, this would be the sound moulds within a prescribed phonetic texture. Such frameworks ensure that the expectations held by the different groups as to what constitutes a valid instantiation would be met, within respectively defined boundaries: a text is accepted within a given genre; an idea is considered good and an argument sound within a particular discourse; and with the Shī, a song is received, and voiced in writing, within the accepted confines of its sound moulds and phonetic texture.

66 Jiāng Wén 2021 reaches this conclusion.
67 Note this model differs from Nagy’s 1996: 40 concept of ‘textualisation’, which he understands as ‘composition-in-performance’.
The Significance of the Royal Zhōu and the Royal Shào

For the most part, the songs of the “Zhōu Nán” and the “Shào Nán” display a marked stability vis-à-vis Máo. Even though at times the order of the stanzas differs, as mentioned, structurally complete songs are generally characterised by their consistency. One reason for this stability was almost certainly the permanency of the sound moulds and phonetic texture they produce. Thanks to the acquisition of the Ān Dà Shī we can conclude that by the time of the mid-fourth century BC, at the latest, phonetically the songs of the “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” were largely stable. Not one of the songs of “Zhōu Nán” or “Shào Nán” is particularly long, and each has a clear rhyme scheme that further eases reproduction in different contexts, which certainly helps their stability in the long term. That the image programmes of many of these songs differ, sometimes spectacularly, from Máo should not come as a revelation. Different versions simply speak to different communities and their specific needs. In those cases where we see a different sequence in the order of the stanzas compared with Máo, we often feel that the sequence in an Ān Dà song is intuitively more appealing than that in Máo, as it generally follows a clear progression, temporally or otherwise, sometimes following a prelude that sets the song’s mood or context. It is often in Máo, not in the Ān Dà Shī, that this progression appears to be interrupted.68

But what about the macro-consistency of an entire state (guó/bāng)? How is it that the sequence of the first twenty-five songs, the songs of the “Royal Zhōu” and the “Royal Shào”, is so stable between the Ān Dà Shī and Máo, much more so than for any of the other states?

To answer this question, we scrutinised the image programme of each song and searched for possible connectors from one song to the next. In many cases, though not all, we were able to discern connectors that produce a ‘distant reading’ of the songs, which ties them together in a stable sequence across a state. Connectors may vary in type. They include correspondences in the narrative voice between two or more songs, images that run across the different songs, calligraphic connectors (as we call them) that tie two or more graphs together across songs, and distinctive sound patterns such as phonetic brackets or coded phrases, which are marked by phonetic exceptions that are repeated across the certain songs. But more often than not we found a combination of

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68 This observation would confirm a later date for Máo, suggesting some form of conceptual obstruction in the transmission of the relevant songs from one community to another. However, this is not the concern of this book and so we leave it as a footnote to be taken up at a later time.
these and other literary devices that produced a macro-matrix of Shī-organisation within the states.69

The other reason for stability lies in the special status of “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” as a conceptual pair. Pre-Hàn texts usually refer to the “Zhōu Nán” in conjunction with “Shào Nán”. Certainly by the mid-Spring and Autumn period they were considered a unit and, at least structurally, a comparatively stable one. This is because unlike any other state, the songs of the “Royal Zhōu” and the “Royal Shào” are ultimately linked to the two paragons of Chinese civility, Zhōu Gōng and Shào Gōng, if only by tradition rather than fact. Moreover, the “Zhōu Nán” and the “Shào Nán” formulate a normative claim to carry the songs of old royal states, as marked by their programmatic title nán 南.

The tight organisation of the songs within the two states and their special, normatively royal status may well have worked in tandem, one driving and strengthening the other. Mutual enforcement might have lent them a special place, not just in the collection of ‘The States’, the “Fēng”, but in the Shī more generally.70 One can only hypothesise whether the two states were also passed on as one unit, separate from the other states.71

69 We believe this is what is also addressed in the following entry in the Zuò zhuan “Xiāng” 16.1: 王侯與諸侯宴于溫，使諸大夫舞，曰：「歌詩必類。」齊高厚之詩不類。荀偃怒，且曰：「諸侯有異志矣。」 “The Hóu of Jìn and the many princes were feasting at Wēn when the Hóu made the high officers dance. He said: ‘The Songs ought to be sung according to their type. The song by Gāo Hòu of Qí is not in type’. Xún Yǎn was angered and said: ‘it is clear, the many princes are not of one mind with us’. Durrant at al. 2016: 1039, however, translates the speech as ‘The ode sung has to match the right order. The ode by Gao Hou of Qi did not match the right order’, to which they note (462): ‘the “right order” ... refers to the correspondence between the music and the dance or to the connection between the performance and the proper intent (zz 33-573)’. This may also include political hierarchy and ritual propriety. This is not tenable. Rather, confirmed by the matrices we see from the An Dà Shī and “Kōngzǐ Shīlùn, we believe that the songs had to be ‘in type’ as they were performed and could not be disarrayed.

70 See Jīn Róngquán 2012.5: 165–168.

71 Throughout the Yìlì (“Xiāng yín jiǔ lǐ 鄉飲酒禮 14; “Xiāng shè lǐ 鄉射禮 11; “Yān lǐ 燕禮 21) the songs of the pair are thus referred to as the ‘proper songs’ (正歌). In Shi-traditions, starting no later than its representation in the Máo “Preface”, they are referred to as the ‘proper winds’ (正風), as opposed to the other thirteen states’ songs as ‘deviating winds’ (變風); the Máo “Preface” glosses the meaning of “Fēng”-songs paronomastically as ‘wind’—meaning ‘instruction’—and, employing bi-directional wordplay, understands the songs of the ‘Two Nán’, the proper, royal songs, as having a transformative power, while the ‘non-royal’ songs are understood to be satirical (fěng 讽); see Máo Shī gǔxùn zhuan 1.6–7; Mǎ Ruíchén 1.9–10. Although the songs of “Bīn” 邑, a state located north of Zhōu and Shào, are associated with pre-dynastic Zhōu ancestors, they are still considered ‘non-royal’ in the Shī tradition more broadly (Fāng Yùrùn 2017: 29), and their nature as ‘pure’ “Fēng”-songs (as opposed to a hybrid style containing “Yǎ” elements) is contested (Fāng
This is why we chose to focus closely on this conceptual pairing from antiquity, examining their shared features and stable sound moulds, and highlighting their importance to the different conceptual communities of the Shi.

Accordingly, we review the ‘Two Nán’ of the Songs during the Warring States period from an emic perspective, and relate them to what we can reconstruct from the transmitted literature. We shall take a take a small—but informed—leap of faith and claim that, in the sixth century BC, the word 南, when used in combination with 雅, referred to the songs of the “Zhōu Nán” and the “Shào Nán”. This does not imply there was a precise match between sixth-century “Nán” and the first twenty-five songs of the Máo recension and the Ān Dà Shī. But a substantial overlap, certainly with regard to the sound moulds of the songs, however many they were, seems most likely.

8 What Does ‘Nán’ Mean?

We have no intention of revisiting the wealth of interpretations regarding to the meaning of the two-word combinations ‘Zhōu Nán’ and ‘Shào Nán’. Too much has been written about it already, as nearly every commentator who works on the Shī feels obliged, by tradition, to take a position on the issue, which nonetheless remains controversial. The problem is the function and meaning of 南 and its relationship to the state-names ‘Zhōu’ and ‘Shào’. No other subsection carries this, or any other, designation, instead being only known by state name.

Chen Zhi has, in more than fifty pages, engaged in a detailed discussion of the dispute concerning 南, and we could not have written this section without his important contribution to the topic. The 1983 discovery of a set of bells, the *Shèngliù-zhōng, in Dāntū, Jiāngsū, is vital as they show an interesting overlap with the song “Gǔ zhōng” 鼓鐘 ‘Beating the drums’ of the “Yǎ” section of Máo (Máo 208). The Ān Dà Shī further informs the way we understand the concept of ‘Nán’, which differs from existing scholarship.

Zhōu and Shào are state-names; this is certain. But ever since (at least) the Western Hàn, their exact location has been debated. Zhōu and Shào were probably neighbouring states with an east-west relationship. With the exception of Qin, which was farther west, they were to the west of other states. To locate the

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Yùrùn 2017: 48–49). Since these songs do not occur in the Ān Dà Shī-selection, we shall not address them further in this book.

72 Chen Zhi 2007: 193–244.
two, then, partly depends on how one understands the data of the songs, which is a controversial issue, and how one understands *nán* 南.

As Hán commentators suggested, we think of *nán* as a directional term—‘south’, or ‘southern’ vis-à-vis the ‘northern’ positions of Zhōu and Shào. Since it is well-accepted in Western Zhōu oracle bone and bronze studies that Zhōu was located just south of Mount Qí 岐山, it seems justified to locate it broadly there, and this in turn implies that Shào was somewhere nearby. We have placed them accordingly on our map (Fig. 1). We thus disagree with hypotheses which locate them between modern-day Nányáng in Hénán province and Jingzhōu in Húběi, or which suggest that ‘Zhōu Nán’ was in Luòyáng, and that Shào, accordingly but awkwardly, was to its west.

The notion that the designation *nán* means ‘southern’ has led to a push in scholarship to locate Zhōu and Shào yet further south. As one can see from the map, no state occupied the expansive stretches of territory ranging from the ancient locations of Zhōu and Shào all the way south to the Jiāng river, and southeast into the western bank of the Rǔ and the Huá river valley.

As is apparent from the Ān Dà Shī manuscripts, when compared with *Kǒngzí Shīlùn*, the Shī were a well-structured entity by the time of the Warring States

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75 Wáng Yinglín (AD 1223–1296) 2011: 1:185–186, 191–192; Chen Zhi 2007: 194–196. Cf. *Máo* 262 “Jiāng Hán” 江漢 ‘The Jiāng and Hán Rivers’, which says, “On the banks of the Kēang (Jiang) and the Han, the king had given charge to Hoo (Hu) of Shaou (Shao): ‘Open up the whole of the country; make the statutory division of my lands there ... as far as the southern sea’”, and then, once he had accomplished the charge and was bestowed the gift of a libation cup and aromatic ale in the king’s presence, the king declared, ‘And [I] confer on you hills, lands, and fields. In [K'e-] (Qi) chow shall you receive investiture, according as your ancestor received his.’ (Legge 1961: 553f). (Note that Karlgen 1950: 233–234 comes to a different understanding of this passage.) The ‘ancestor’ mentioned here, if following Legge’s translation, might refer to Shào Gōng Shì. An early Western Zhōu jade dagger recording that ‘Tai Bāo’ 太保 (i.e., Shào Gōng Shì) received a command (likely from King Chéng of Zhōu) to ‘visit the southern states’ was discovered in this area in 1902; see Lǐ Xuéqín 1997: 135–141.

76 Wáng Xiānqiān 2020: 1.1–2, citing a Lǔ Shī explanation, and *Shìjì*; see also Chen Zhi 2007: 221–222. In Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions the Zhōu’s eastern capital at Luòyáng was called *Xīnyì* 新邑 ‘The New Settlement’, *Chéng Zhōu* 成周 ‘Completed Zhōu’, and Wáng chéng 王城 ‘The City of Kings’, the latter of which just might be the referent for the ‘state’-name “Wáng” 王 (lit. ‘King(s)’) in Shī traditions. The songs of “Wáng”, absent in the Ān Dà Shī-selection, are dated in the Máo tradition to the beginning of the ‘Eastern’ Zhōu (circa 770 BC), when King Píng moved the Zhōu seat east to Luòyáng; see *Máo Shī gǔxūn zhuan* 4.117. The hypothesis that “Zhōu Nán” was in, or subsumed, Luòyáng is diminished if “Wáng” was also located in this area, although again it depends on how one dates the songs.
period, with loose ends perhaps, but ends that have no bearing here.\textsuperscript{77} Texts such as the archaeologically-obtained \textit{Zī yī} show that, by the fourth century BC, Shī were referred to by section, not just individual songs, which further confirms their stable organisation at the time.\textsuperscript{78} The \textit{Zuǒ zhuàn}, admittedly retrospectively, considers the ‘Two Nán’ to have had organisational stability by the sixth century BC, and assumes it to be common Warring States knowledge that they were a conceptual unit.\textsuperscript{79} It is evident, therefore, that the dates of the individual songs must be substantially earlier, else it would be difficult for a community to conceive, understand, and refine these traditions. It seems not exaggerated, therefore, to push their composition, broadly and with at least one exception,\textsuperscript{80} to some time during the Western Zhōu period (1045–771 BC). We cannot however rule out the possibility that more songs—not just “Shào Nán”\textsuperscript{13}—were composed in the early Eastern Zhōu (770–256 BC), but we are here arguing on the basis of sound moulds and phonetic textures, not the precise semantic rendering of the songs.

The \textit{Máo “Preface”} asserts that the “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” were ‘tied’ to Zhōu Gōng Dàn and Shào Gōng Shì.\textsuperscript{81} This association, if only in its reception, seems uncontroversial.\textsuperscript{82} It reinforces the notion of the songs having a royal ‘air’.\textsuperscript{83} As crucially established in the Warring States text *\textit{Kǒngzǐ Shīlùn}, the appearance of ‘Shào Bó’ (i.e. Shào Gōng Shì/Shào Kāng Gōng) in “Shào Nán”...
Introduction

5 (Máo 16 “甘棠”甘棠 ‘Sweet pear tree’) confirms this association as an
emic reading during the latter half of the first millennium BC.\(^{84}\) It might also
be the remaining clue needed to associate the songs of “Zhōu” with Zhōu Gong
Dàn—albeit indirectly, since his name does not occur anywhere in them.\(^{85}\)

The Máo “Preface” further understands the songs collected under “Zhōu
Nán” as ‘northern’ songs, that is Zhōu compositions, and takes the word nán
南 as a noun meaning ‘south’. However, this was in reference to the ‘southern’
states that were orientated, spatially, to the ‘south’ of Zhōu. The songs collected
as “Shào Nán” were explained as the ‘“Fēng”-songs of regional lords, taught
by the former kings’.\(^{86}\) It is left unstated whether this means the songs were
composed in outlying states to the south of Shào and made their way north, or
whether, as with Zhōu, they were composed in Shào. We feel that the latter is
the more likely scenario.

Lyrics which mention place-names of the south are often used as evidence
that the word nán denotes the spatial orientation, ‘south’, which, in the geo-
political setting of the time means ‘the southern states’.\(^{87}\) This strikes us as
somewhat difficult to reconcile with the songs. The names of three southern
rivers—Jiāng 江, Hàn 漢, and Rǔ 汝—occur in just three of the twenty-five
songs,\(^{88}\) while two songs with an overlapping theme (“Zhōu Nán” 4 and 9) sing
of the tall trees ‘in the south’. That just four of twenty-five songs sing of the
south is hardly convincing evidence to warrant the argument that the songs
are from ‘the south’.\(^{89}\) That a song mentions a distant location, or perhaps even

\(^{84}\) See our discussion on pp. 155–156.

\(^{85}\) The word zhōu 周 occurs but once, in “Zhōu Nán” 3, and means either the state or the
kingdom.

\(^{86}\) Máo Shī gǔxǔn zhūàn 1.8.

\(^{87}\) Wáng Yinglín 2011: 1.187–195. There is of course a larger problem: what precisely do we
mean when we speak of the ‘southern states’ during the Western Zhōu? Following the
parameters suggested by Lǐ Xuéqín 2010c and 2010d (also 1997: 138), whose studies are
based on contemporary bronze inscriptions and supported by later historical sources (i.e.,
Zuǒ zhūàn ‘Zhāo’ 9), ‘southern states’ might refer to any number of polities, from modern
Chéngdū, Sichuān to the west to modern Cháoxiān, Ānhuī, in the east, and even as far
south as northern Húnán.

\(^{88}\) “Zhōu Nán” 4 mentions the Jiāng and Hàn; (Cf. Máo 204 “Sìyuè”四月 ‘Fourth month’: 湓濇
江漢，南國之紀 ‘So torrentially flow the Jiāng and the Hàn, regulators of the southern
states!’) “Zhōu Nán” 10 mentions the ‘banks of the Rǔ’; “Shào Nán” 11 mentions ‘tributaries
of the Jiāng’. Hàn and Rǔ, however, do not necessarily imply a southern location, as both
rivers extend into Zhōu strongholds.

\(^{89}\) To date, Shi scholarship, starting (at least) in the Sòng, reads the word hé 河 ‘River’ in
“Zhōu Nán” 1 as referring to the Yellow River; see Wáng Yinglín 2011: 1.187.
uses words with a southern tinge, does not reveal it to be a ‘southern’ composition. Since from at least the time of King Chéng of Zhōu 周成王 (1042/35–1006 BC), the Zhōu engaged with the southern regions through its military and through hunts, but also socio-economically and culturally,\textsuperscript{90} including the relocation of élite northern lineages, some of them royal, to conquered lands in the south. It should come as no surprise that Zhōu élites sung of ‘the south’, even though it never served as a uniform concept during the Western Zhōu period. Based on later descriptions, to them it was a land of strange things,\textsuperscript{91} infused with fecundity, and blessed with lush, moist terrain. Singing of the south might therefore show, in a “Fēng”-style of composition, the differences between different cultural spheres, while revealing, from a royal perspective, hegemonic claims over it. The “Yǎ”—also old royal songs—overwhelmingly express the latter, and usually in a distinctively strong tone. From the Sòng dynasty (AD 960–1279) onwards, scholars studying the 

\textit{Shījīng} therefore began to suggest that the word \textit{nán} meant ‘southern music’;\textsuperscript{92} but this, too, remains tied to the vocabulary of a minority of the songs.

Commensurate with this, some scholars argue that the graph 南 depicts the image of a suspended bell.\textsuperscript{93} The problem with this hypothesis is that there are no early inscriptions in which the graph can be found writing this word. It occurs in oracle bone and bronze inscriptions, but only for different words, most frequently as a rebus to write the word ‘south’ and, less frequently, as a phonetic loan to write the word ‘piglet’ (hù 豬). In trying to make a case for reading \textit{nán} 南 as ‘southern-style music’ or a type of musical instrument (a ‘bell’), scholarship about the Songs calls attention to the “Yǎ”-song “Gǔ zhōng” and the inscription on the *Shèngliù-zhōng, as well as a passage from the “Wén wáng shízǐ” 王世子 chapter of the \textit{Lǐ jì}. We read these sources quite differ-

\textsuperscript{90} Take for example the late Western Zhōu (King Xuān) inscription on the *Xi Jiǎ-pán 兮甲盤 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jìchéng 10174) that mentions economic issues stemming from southern lineages in the Huái river valley failing to provide Zhōu markets with silk.

\textsuperscript{91} For instance, an early Western Zhōu bronze discovered in Xiàogǎn, Húběi, in 118, *Zhōng-fāngdǐng 中方鼎 (*Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jìchéng 2751), which records the capture of a live phoenix in the mountainous area of modern-day Zīguī, also in Húběi, and its delivery to King Zhào. The king was at the time northwest of modern-day Suízhōu, again in Húběi, preparing for war against the ‘violating Tiger territory’, presumably further south and outside of Zhōu control (*Zhōng-zhì 中觶, *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jìchéng 6514); see Lǐ Xuèqín 2006: 210–219.

\textsuperscript{92} This argument appears to stem from a fictional account collected in the \textit{Lù shì Chūnqū “Yǐn chú” 2}, that ends by stating “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” songs were influenced by southern ‘sounds’; see Zhèng Zhìqiáng and Zhōu Yǐng 2004: 82–87; Chen Zhi 2007: 198–200; 243; Wáng Yinglín 2011: 1.186.

\textsuperscript{93} Chen Zhi 2007: 201–208.
ently and propose instead that, in all three instances, the word *nán* 南 refers neither to a type of music nor to an instrument, but to “Fēng”-songs of Zhōu and Shào.\(^94\)

The inscription on the bell (*Shèngliù-zhōng*) is presented in Figure 2 as a rubbing. Below we provide a transcription and translation to further the discussion.

唯王正月，初吉丁亥，舒王之孫，尋楚缺之子聖邗，擇厥吉金，作鑄龢鐘，以享于我先祖。鑄謬是擇，允唯吉金，作鑄龢鐘，我台（以）夏台（以）南，中鳴媞好，我台（以）樂我心，它=已=，子=孫=，永保用之。

It being the king’s first month, first auspicious [day], Dinghai, the grandson of King Shū and son of Fǔ of Xún-Chǔ, Shèngliù, selected his finest metal to cast harmonious bells, in order to present offerings to our former ancestors. Having selected two pure metals, which indeed are fine metals, harmonious bells were cast. We use them to intone [songs of] the Xià (> Yǎ) and the Nán, and they (the bells) have a balance of sounds that are truly pleasant, which thus cause our hearts to be joyous, all the way until the end. [May] son’s sons and grandson’s grandsons safeguard and use them in perpetuity.

The line ‘我台（以）夏台（以）南’ corresponds with ‘以雅以南’ in the song “Gǔ zhōng” of the “Yǎ” section in Máo (Máo 208), and it is perfectly clear that the two lines say the same thing. The Shī line informs our reading of xià 夏 in the bell-inscription as 雅. This is not only based on their phonetic proximity (夏: ocm *grâɁ; 雅: ocm *ŋrâɁ), but also by the *Kǒngzǐ Shīlùn, which writes the word yǎ—as in the “Yǎ”-songs of the Máo Shī—as 夏. The progression of the inscription makes it apparent that the line in question speaks to how the set of ‘harmonious bells’ (龢鐘) were used, not that the donor was informing his descendants of the specific types of instruments that had been cast (or, even less
so, that it meant the descendants ought to sound the bells, in general). In any case, the use of 夏（雅）for a type of bell is unattested, which severely weakens, if not totally undermines, a reading of 南 in its so-called primary sense.95

The Máo commentary understands the word 南 in “Gǔ zhōng” as a type of ‘southern’-style dance, but this too is not persuasive as it also takes no account of 雅. Some scholars have therefore suggested to read 夏 in the

95 Chen Zhi 2007: 212 cites Zhèng Xuán, who says a word signified with the graph 雅 meant a ‘drum’, which we find dubious; either way, it is not a bell, which is the object carrying the inscription.
inscription as it is written, and to take the pair of words 夏 and 南 as referring to the ‘music of the central [states] and southern [states]’. We acknowledge the plausibility of this reading, but cannot resolve to accepting its vagueness. Instead, like Yáo Jihéng, we take 雅 and 南 in “Gǔ zhōng” as referring to songs of the Shi, namely its “Yǎ” and “Nán” songs. We think this also applies to the bell inscription.

This reading allows us to go one step further in speculating about nán. It seems significant that an élite family in sixth-century BC Jiāngsū, a southern state (‘Shū’ 舒’ on the map, Fig. 1), used bells to set the “Yǎ” and the “Nán” to music. This indicates more than just the cultural dominance of the Zhōu across a wider area: it confirms the conceptual stability of the core sections of the Shī at the time. We know of the Zuó zuàn story, retrospectively dated to 544 BC, which relates how an official from the southern state of Wǔ, Ji Zhá, upon visiting the northern state of Lǚ to observe (and learn) Zhōu music, witnessed a selection of Shī songs in performance. But what else happened during his stay? Did he just listen to a single concert and leave? Was he able to learn it and take it back with him, or even request a copy of the sheet-music and lyrics? Upon his return, would he not have reported his achievement and relate to his lord what he had learned? Would his lord then not have called his music masters so they could learn from him? That Ji Zhá requested to observe Zhōu songs demonstrates knowledge of these Shī songs in the south. Shènglìù and his family too knew of the songs. He commissioned a large set of bells to share his joy in them with his ancestors, some of whom, being kings, would also have known them. Our reading therefore suggests that members of the aristocratic élite who were resident in ‘the south’ at around 500 BC knew of the “Nán”, and had them performed to music.

In summary, we recognise that the “Nán” songs of “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” display striking organisational consistency between Ān Dà Shī and Máo: “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” come first in both versions; the sequence of these songs is identical; and their sound moulds are fully stable. This is unlike any other state recorded in the Ān Dà Shī, and suggests that the two states and their songs were afforded special status by at least the fourth century BC. Transmitted literature moreover confirms that by the sixth century BC, “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” were regarded as a conceptual pair. Texts of the time would not normally speak of either “Zhōu Nán” or “Shào Nán” in isolation, and later texts would

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96 Chen Zhì 2007: 211.
98 Zuó zuàn “Xiāng” 29 (544 BC).
99 For a comparable example in Hán Fēizǐ “Shí guò” 十過, see Chén Zhì 2016: 9.
express this ancient notion as the ‘Two Nán’ 二南. As confirmed moreover by *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn and Zǐ yì, the Shī were structurally stable, in four sections, by the second half of the first millennium BC. The “Nán” held a special status, and the consistent evidence for that status leads us to infer that the inscription of the *Shèngliù-zhōng speaks not of nán-music, but of putting to music the Shī songs of the “Nán” and the “Yǎ”.

This reading is validated by the close parallels between the inscription and song 208 of the Máo recension. In particular “Yǎ”, “Sòng” (of the Zhōu), and the ‘Two Nán’ represent, time-honoured royal songs. As such, it is little wonder that they were named, generically and as a pair, in a bell dating to the late Spring and Autumn period. It shows that ‘Nán’ in “Zhōu Nán” and “Shào Nán” cannot mean music, let alone a musical instrument. These were geographical designations, and their special status is indicated because no other state carries ‘Nán’ as a qualification.

Zhōu and Shào were northern states. Their regional qualification as ‘south’ (nán) strikes us as unconvincing, unless it means ‘the songs south of Zhōu and Shào’, and so, ‘the songs (of Zhōu and Shào) extending south’ (to the Zhōng nán mountains, lit., ‘End of the South Mountains’). This reading might seem plausible, but it is difficult to reconcile with the special place afforded to the “Nán” in the Shī as a conceptual pair, especially when juxtaposed with the old royal songs of “Yǎ”. As such, we suggest reading nán in a normative sense as ‘south-facing’. Conceptually, nán signifies the position of a ruler and reaffirms the royal status of the songs. In claiming royalty, the “Nán” thus affirm the asserted cultural dominance of the Zhōu and Shào over the south. This reading, insofar it is accepted, resolves contradictions that other readings are unable to avoid.

9 The Significance of the Ān Dà Shī

As mentioned, correspondences with Shī in other Warring States texts abound, particularly in philosophical texts. But rather than being isolated support material for arrangements in other contexts, the Ān Dà manuscript is the earliest extant iteration of the Songs. This is significant. The manuscript offers a unique glance on the standing of Shī during the Warring States period. Again, this does not imply that the Ān Dà manuscript shows ‘the’ Shī of the time. It may not

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100 *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn, which is no longer intact, mentions only three sections for certain: the “Bāng Fēng” 邦風 ‘Airs of the States’, “Dà Xià” 大夏, viz., “Dà Yǎ” 大雅 ‘Great(er) Eleg- antiae’, and the “Sòng” 訴, viz., 頌 ‘Hymns’. However, citations of Shī in Warring States versions of Zì yì confirm the existence of “Yǎ”-songs in two sections, ‘lesser’ and ‘greater’, that is the “Xiǎo Yǎ” and the “Dà Yǎ”, as per Máo; see for example Shànghǎi 1, slip 18.
even be representative. But it was certainly one instantiation of the Shī, and so shows how at least one conceptual community—the Warring States textual community involved with the production and reception of this manuscript—engaged with the text.

Perhaps it is to be expected that by the fourth century BC the Songs also circulated in writing—at least its core parts, such as the ‘Two Nán’ that served as the conceptual normative royal pair as early as the second half of the first millennium BC. These carry, among others, the single most influential song of the entire history of China: “Guān jū” (“Zhōu Nán” i). After all, this was the time when China’s manuscript cultures matured, when ever more texts were put into writing, and when philosophical cogitation became a written exercise, at least in part, as complex transmitted texts such as the Xúnzǐ or the manuscript texts from a tomb at Guōdiàn, Húběi, forcefully show. Traditions of Yì and Shū were written down, as was historical knowledge. We see short philosophical aperçu, long disquisitions on music and dance, prayers, and literary compositions with verse. Why should the Shī form a striking exception and not exist in written form? They would not. And yet it is only now, with the physical actuality of the Ān Dà manuscript, that we can be more assertive about the Songs and their use during the Warring States period. The earliest extant collection of the Songs forces us to rethink some of the assumptions we may have long held dear, but which can no longer be maintained under closer scrutiny.

Prior to the acquisition of the Ān Dà Shī, the earliest copy of Shī was from the first half of the second century BC (no later than 165 BC). But this copy, excav-

101 Lúnyǔ “Yáng Huò” 17.13; Zuǒ zhuan “Xiāng” 29 (544 BC).
105 See Pines 2020 on *Xi nián 繫年 from the Qīnghuá manuscripts.
106 See Harbsmeier 2015 on *Yǔ cónɡ 語叢 from the Guōdiàn manuscripts.
109 See Kern 2019 on Qīyè 耆夜 from the Qīnghuá manuscripts.
110 Preliminary reports state that from July 2014 to January 2015 archaeologists excavated sites at Xiàjiātái 夏家台 and Liújiātái 劉家台. Tomb 106 at Xiàjiātái, which dates to the Warring States period, is reported to have included songs of Bèi fēng 邶風 (see Húběi rìbào, 28 January 2016). No transcription of the songs has been published yet, so we cannot comment on this reported instantiation of Shī.
ated from the Western Hán tomb of Xiàhóu Zào at Shuānggǔduì, is extremely fragmented and poorly preserved. It has limited value as a text. The Fùyáng 阜陽 Shi shows how the Songs were organised during the Western Hán, in the sense that individual songs in this manuscript are recorded with titles and word counts. The macro-organisation of the Ân Dà text confirms this tradition of collecting songs under the rubric of states, arranging them in a sequence, and tabulating their total. That the first song in two of the Ân Dà ‘state’ sub-sections are named further implies that other songs in the manuscript text may have had names too. Alternatively, these names might refer to the respective groups of songs in a section, perhaps in a given order, but because “Zhōu Nán” does not list the title of its first song, the songs association with that section do not appear to have relied on the name of its initial one. This complements the picture gained from *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn, which slightly pre-dates the Ân Dà Shī, and which identifies its songs by title.

While the Ân Dà Shī clearly differs—sometimes spectacularly so—from the received Máo recension in terms of its image programme, and often even semantically, the organisation of the songs and the close matches of their corresponding sound moulds suggests that both versions originated from another, and likely earlier but definitely independent, source. The *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn, which confirms the existence of Shī in sections during the latter half of the fourth century BC—“Bāng Fēng”, “Xià (that is, Yǎ)”, and “Sòng”—records fifty-eight songs, a mere 19 per cent of the 305 said to have been selected by Kǒngzǐ and included in Máo. Amongst these, there are thirty songs from twelve states, with one song of uncertain affiliation. As mentioned, the Ân Dà has songs from six states;

112 The Fùyáng Shī also contains some significant graphical and lexical variation unknown from other recensions, and so attests to the diversity of early Shī.
113 How closely these names, if they existed, might have corresponded with Máo, is yet another matter.
114 Whether the formula ‘state, number of songs, song title’, as in “Yǒng” and “Wèi”, represents the creation of a retrospective anthology, by claiming certain songs for some states, is something we explore in our discussion of the ‘common states’.
115 The fact that *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn never speaks of ‘Nán’ but lists the songs of the “Zhōu Nán” and the “Shào Nán” along with other “Fēng” songs by title, concurs with our hypothesis that nán during the Warring States period cannot refer to a type of music, but rather that in Shī it is a normative, directional, term.
116 The *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn mentions one state, Bèi (邶), and this implies that other songs also had state affiliations, as per the fifteen states in Máo. The *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn does not, however, mention songs from the states of Wèi, Qin, and Bīn. As mentioned, songs from Táng were classified as songs of Wèi in Ân Dà, and this leaves open the possibility, if reading the *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn through the Ân Dà Shī, that at least two songs mentioned
fifty-seven in total. Twelve songs of *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn overlap with the Ān Dà. Conservatively we can therefore say that during the Warring States period at least these twelve songs were conceived as belonging to the tradition named Shī by Máo, and by at least two different communities. More likely, however, is the scenario in which there were no fewer than seventy-five Shī “Songs of the States”, and perhaps as many as 103 Shī songs circulating—also in written form—in the fourth century BC. Whether—and if so, why—the Ān Dà Shī thus presents a ‘selection’ from a larger corpus of Shī is open to question. The *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn strongly suggests this larger compendium closely resembled the Máo recension in organisation, and may also have contained many of the songs recorded there. Whether they also resembled each other linguistically, we do not know. However, what is clear from *Kǒngzǐ Shī lùn glosses is that the main themes of the songs correspond closely. We are therefore confident enough to assert the following:

During the latter half of the fourth century BC, Shī were understood widely as partitioned into the sections known from the Máo recension; the Ān Dà Shī represents a selection—reasoned or not—from a larger corpus of Shī; third, there were also written instantiations of Shī-selections circulating during the second half of the fourth century BC.

The exact relationship between this manuscript and its historical owner remains unknown. We have no information about the provenance of the manuscript, and, at the time of writing, only a preliminary report about what else was in the owner’s possession has been published.¹¹⁷ That someone owns a Shī manuscript—among other texts—at a minimum suggests an interest in the subject matter, whether that was generated by the manuscript, or the manuscript was acquired for that reason. But it does not mean that the person necessarily ‘studied’ the Shī to acquire an advanced level of proficiency in the text or its tradition. If we suppose the punctuation marks in the manuscript were introduced by the holder, then we have every reason to think that the owner and user of the manuscript were the same person, with the implication that they read at least parts of the text closely. But what if the punctu-

¹¹⁷ Huáng Dékuān 2017. This includes texts about Chǔ 楚 history (440+ slips, in two groups), thought (276+ slips, in nine groups), physiognomy (22 slips), divination (11 slips), and more poetry (50/51 slips, in two groups).
Ation marks, or some of them, were not introduced by the owner? In that case, we posit, there were Shī texts circulating as ‘reader’s editions’, however preliminary they might have been. This too is significant; it indicates an interest in, and market for, Shi manuscripts for reading with textual support provided. But was the owner simply reading the Shī? Or were they having them intoned for whatever performative purpose? Or else, was this manuscript just something someone planned to read but never actually did? Was the text of the manuscript an attempt at establishing a new ‘recension’? Is it a verbatim copy of a pre-existing one? Or is it an idiosyncratic rendering of the Shī in writing? We can only muse on these and other questions.

Thus, the Ān Dà Shī manuscript returns us to the heart and mind of studying the Shī. It forces us to rethink questions we had long thought settled (or perhaps we had merely thought as futile to revisit). From an emic perspective, centred on Warring States use of the Shī, it makes us rethink how the Shī worked on the ground, within a community; it makes us rethink how writing and the sound texture can be complementary and serve a song’s image programme, and how they fit within the sound moulds of Shī production; it made us rethink, as we were writing a book about the songs of the “Zhōu Nán” and the “Shào Nán”—the old royal songs—about what 南 nán actually means.

Since at least Jiǎ Kuí 賈逵 (AD 30–101), scholars have paid close attention to variations in Shī recensions. Before the Ān Dà, this mainly focused on texts from four Shī ‘schools’ or traditions during the Western Hàn, but for which only Máo is complete and has any real value as a text. Although the Ān Dà Shī only contains songs from the ‘states’, the kinds of variation seen in this manuscript increases our knowledge and understanding of Shī traditions pre-Qín, for which, aside from names and affiliations, we knew very little.

Important questions remain. A controversial issue is perhaps what the Ān Dà manuscript actually is. What was its purpose? To whom did it speak? Here we can only speculate. It seems clear, however, that the precise execution of the graphs served as an additional layer of meaning, and demonstrates the writer’s close familiarity with the text—a text perhaps passed on from teacher to student, with explicitness expressed in the written word, in many ways exaggerating, but never ridiculing, the image programme of the songs. The result is

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118 While the general assumption is that text production and text reception in antiquity was a male activity, we cannot conclude with certainty that females had no access these texts.


120 王先謙 2020; 长언 2010.

121 王鷻麟 2011:160–162.
a unique mode of Shī instruction, embedded into the text proper, that transmits principles of interpretation and conveys how the community for whom the text was written understood the deeper levels of its meaning. The Ān Dà Shī therefore signifies the Shī reception of a particular conceptual community. We reiterate that this does not mean it was the dominant, let alone sole, articulation of the Songs as a recension within that community. Just like a good reader of poetry today can violate the rhythm of a poem as they stage it, an attentive student in antiquity may have seen different connections with the songs than they learned from their teacher, and passed them on accordingly. Yet variant texts still remain part a community. Different versions of the Shī might—and in all likelihood did—exist within a given community, with the Ān Dà manuscript articulating just one of its instantiations.

10 The Songs of the Royal Zhōu and the Royal Shào: Conventions

We offer translations of the first twenty-five songs of the Ān Dà Shī, the songs of the “Zhōu Nán” and the “Shào Nán”; the old royal songs. For reasons outlined in our Introduction, we do not provide an interpretative transcription of the graphs, but instead render them as closely as possible to what was produced on the bamboo. For purposes of comparison—and this is for the modern reader, not due to our methodology—we also reproduce the text of the Máo recension. We only translate the songs of Ān Dà Shī. Indeed, we only translate the extant text of the Ān Dà manuscript. If a slip is corrupted due to material loss or other factors, we do not attempt to reconstruct the missing text on the basis of Máo.

We take the edition of Ānhuī University Manuscripts as our base text and justify in our comments where we deviate from the choices made by its editors. The translations are accompanied by a brief description of the song as it occurs on the slips, together with a portrayal of its phonetic texture, and a short summary of its image programme.

We also provide the necessary philological apparatus from which to defend our reading. We do this per stanza, as we see them. We close each song with a brief commentary.

Where, as in “Zhōu Nán” 9, a song is listed as one song in Máo but appears as two in the Ānhuī University Manuscripts, we differentiate them with a superscript ‘A’ and ‘B’, to maintain consistency with subsequent songs in Máo. Note, however, that this is for convention, not because we believe in a primacy of the Máo recension.

Some further remarks on our representation of features of the manuscript: a forward-slash or reverse solidus (\) indicates the beginning of a slip broken at
the top; a back-slash or solidus (/) marks the end of a slip whose tail is missing; a vertical line (|) marks the beginnings and ends of complete slips; a full-stop in bold with a larger point-size (.) reduplicates the reading mark found at the right side of the slip; reduplication marks are provided as an equals sign (=); and the marker for the end of a song is reproduced as a black square (■).