

Righting, Riting, and Rewriting the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing*): On “Filling out the Missing Odes” by Shu Xi

Thomas J. MAZANEC
*University of California, Santa Barbara*¹

A series of derivative verses from the late-third century has pride of place in one of the foundational collections of Chinese poetry. These verses, “Filling out the Missing Odes” by Shu Xi, can be found at the beginning of the lyric-poetry (*shi* 詩) section of the *Wenxuan*. This essay seeks to understand why such blatantly imitative pieces may have been held in such high regard. It examines how Shu Xi’s poems function in relation to the *Book of Odes*, especially their use of quotation, allusion, and other intertextual strategies. Rather than imitate, borrow, or forge, the “Missing Odes” seek to bring the idealized world of the *Odes* into reality by reconstructing canonical rites with cosmic implications. In so doing, they represent one person’s attempt to stabilize the chaotic political center of the Western Jin in the last decade of the third century. The “Missing Odes” reveal that writing, rewriting, ritualizing, and anthologizing are at the heart of early medieval Chinese ideas of cultural legitimation.

Introduction

If one were to open the *Wenxuan* 文選, the foundational sixth-century anthology compiled by Crown Prince Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531), and turn to the section on *shi*-poetry 詩 in hopes of understanding early medieval lyricism, the first pages would present one with a curious series of six poems, different in style and tone from the more famous works that follow. This set of tetrametric verses by Shu Xi 束皙 (ca. 263–302 CE)² claim that they are “Filling out the Missing Odes” (“Buwangshi” 補亡詩,

¹ Portions of this study were presented at the American Oriental Society’s 2013 Western Branch Meeting in Victoria, B.C., and as part of the “Intertextuality as Time Travel” panel at the 2016 Princeton Early Text Cultures Workshop. My thanks to Ping Wang, David Knechtges, Yegor Grebnev, Leon Grek, Haun Saussy, and others who offered suggestions for improvement in various circumstances.

² I follow the dates established by Cao Daoheng 曹道衡 and Shen Yucheng 沈玉成, *Zhonggu wenxue shiliao congkao* 中古文學史料叢考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 153, and reaffirmed by

henceforth “Missing Odes”). Modeled on portions of the canonical *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經), they are not, as modern readers might expect, expressions of an author-figure’s inner life. Rather, they are texts which reconstruct supposedly lost lyrics to songs at the center of a solemn ceremony—namely, the “Rite of the District Symposium” (“Xiangyinjiu li” 鄉飲酒禮), a ritual which symbolized the proper running of the cosmos, recorded in two of the six Confucian classics. As we will see, this ritual, and thus the “Missing Odes” at its center, was part of the Western Jin dynasty’s 西晉 (265–316) attempts to establish its cultural and political legitimacy.

In addition to this project of empire-building, the very foundation of classical Chinese poetry is at stake in the “Missing Odes.” As the first works of *shi*-poetry in the *Wenxuan*, the compiler Xiao Tong gave them a long life, turning them into some of the most orthodox poems outside of the *Book of Odes*. The *Wenxuan* was arranged deliberately, placing those works which “got it right” (*zheng* 正), politically and literarily, at the fore. In this way, Shu Xi’s “Missing Odes” have pride of place, providing a sense of continuity between what we might call lowercase-“s” *shi* 詩 as a kind of lyric poetry and capital-“S” *Shi* 詩 as the canonical *Odes*.³

In this essay, after situating Shu Xi’s work in the cultural context of the Western Jin dynasty, I will examine how these poems function in relation to the *Book of Odes*. More specifically, I will look at the poems’ intertextual relations with their canonical forebear, especially through their use of quotation, allusion, and other intertextual strategies. Rather than imitate, borrow, or forge, the “Missing Odes” seek to bring the idealized world of the *Odes* into reality by reconstructing canonical rites. In so doing, they represent one person’s attempt to stabilize the chaotic political center of the Western Jin in the last decade of the third century. Beyond that, the “Missing Odes” reveal that writing, rewriting, and anthologizing are at the heart of medieval Chinese ideas of cultural legitimation.

The Role of the Missing Odes

Shu Xi’s “Missing Odes” are written to fill two conspicuous gaps in the *Book Of Odes*. In the “Lesser Elegantiae” (“Xiaoya” 小雅) section, between Odes 170 and 171, and between Odes 172 and 173, there appear the titles of six pieces (two sets of three),

David Knechtges and Taiping Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide* (3 vols., Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2:948–52. However, there is no consensus among scholars on Shu Xi’s precise dates.

³ This point has also been made by David Knechtges, “Culling the Weeds and Selecting Prime Blossoms: The Anthology in Early Medieval China,” in *Culture and Power in the Reconstitution of the Chinese Realm*, ed. Scott Pearce, Audrey Spiro, and Patricia Ebrey (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 224–25. For more on the social and political context of the compilation of the *Wenxuan*, see Ping Wang, *The Age of Courtly Writing: Wen xuan Compiler Xiao Tong (501–531) and His Circle* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

along with their Mao-school 毛傳 prefaces, without any further text.⁴ Numbering them according to the order in which they appear in the *Book of Odes*, they read:

I. 南陔，孝子相戒以養也。

Southern Slope. Filial sons admonish each other about caring for their elders.

II. 白華，孝子之絜白也。

White Blossom. The filial son's spotless purity.

III. 華黍，時和歲豐，宜黍稷也。

Budding Millet. The season is harmonious and the year is abundant, befitting the millet.

IV. 由庚，萬物得由其道也。

Following along the Path. The ten thousand creatures follow along their Way.

V. 崇丘，萬物得極其高大也。

High Hills. The ten thousand creatures reach their greatest loftiness and grandeur.

VI. 由儀，萬物之生，各得其儀也。

According with What is Proper. At the birth of the ten thousand creatures, each achieves what is proper to it.⁵

In the prefaces, these Odes demonstrate supremely orthodox behavior and its result, a world in harmony. Humanity, like nature, follows its proper course. Abundant grain is harvested by filial sons. It is no wonder Prince Xiao Tong would have opened the *Wenxuan's* section on poetry with them, since they demonstrate poetry's proper outlook. But not all is in perfect order: as the Mao notes tell us, "They have topics but lack lyrics" 有其義而亡其辭。

Given the *Odes'* place at the fountainhead of all Chinese poetry, it is remarkable how infrequently modern critics have commented on these missing lyrics. Of the important English translations of the *Odes*, Arthur Waley and Bernhard Karlgren completely ignore these titles, while James Legge offers a quick but dense analysis of their status, summarizing the views of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200).⁶ In modern Chinese

⁴ For quotations from the *Shijing*, I refer to the standard number from the received Mao version, without citing a specific edition.

⁵ I have translated these titles and prefaces according to Shu Xi's understanding of them. Certain scholars, such as Ma Ruichen 馬瑞辰 (1782–1853), believe that Shu Xi completely misunderstood their titles, for which see *Maoshi zhuanjian tongshi* 毛詩傳箋通釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 17.529 and 18.534.

⁶ See Waley, *The Book of Songs: The Ancient Chinese Classic of Poetry*, ed. Joseph R. Allen (New York: Grove Press, 1996); Karlgren, *The Book of Odes: Chinese Text, Transcription, and Translation* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950) and *Glosses on the Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1964); and Legge, *The She King, or the Book of Poetry*, rev. ed. (rpt. Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1991), 267–69. See also Bruce Rusk, *Critics and Commentators: The Book of Poems as Classic and Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012), 42–44, for a reception history of the *Shijing* which does mention the missing Odes, but does not discuss them in detail.

editions of the *Odes*, the situation is no better.⁷ Previous generations of scholars, however, did not dismiss the missing pieces so quickly.

These poems were not read for the sake of aesthetic pleasure. Nor were they mere rhetorical flourishes, capping an otherwise complete argument. Rather, they were integral components of ritual banquets described in the *Book of Etiquette and Ceremony* (*Yili* 儀禮) as part of “The Rite of the District Symposium” and “The Banquet” (“Yan li” 燕禮). The former was the more significant of the two, with a whole chapter devoted to it in the *Record of Ceremony* (*Liji* 禮記). The significance of the District Symposium may at first blush seem entirely political. In the middle of the chapter there is a quotation attributed to Confucius: “When I observe the districts, I know the easy flow of the Way of the kings” 吾觀於鄉，而知王道之易易也。⁸ The districts are where real governance happens, beyond the flatterers and toadies at court. The District Symposium, like the folk songs collected by the music bureau, is a window onto the mind of the people. The *Xunzi*’s “Discourse on Music” (“Yue lun” 樂論), which quotes this saying as well, praises in great detail the way the District Symposium makes social hierarchies clear,

⁷ As in, for example, Cheng Junying 程俊英 (1901–1993), *Shijing zhuxi* 詩經注析 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), and Yao Jiheng 姚際恆 (1647–1715), *Shijing tonglun* 詩經通論 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958). However, the poems are occasionally discussed by modern *Wenxuan* scholars in the context of Shu Xi’s pieces, for which see, for example, Wang Yao 王瑤, “Nigu yu zuowei” 拟古与作伪, in *Zhongguo wenxueshi lun* 中古文学史论 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1986), 200–01; Hu Dalei 胡大雷, *Wenxuanshi yanjiu* 文选诗研究 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2000), 13–17; Zhou Xunchu 周勋初, “Lun Wenxuan zhong de siyanshi” 论《文选》中的四言诗, in *Wenxuan yu Wenxuan-xue: Diwuji Wenxuanshixue guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 文选与文选学：第五届文选学国际学术研讨会论文集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2003), 210–12; and Cao Xinhua 曹辛华, “Lun Zhongguo shige de buwang jingshen – yi Wenxuan Buwangshi wei li” 论中国诗歌的补亡精神——以《文选》补亡诗为例, *Wen shi zhe* 文史哲 2004.3: 34–36. They are also discussed briefly as part of the prehistory to the practice of writing *ci* 詞 (song lyrics) in Robert Ashmore, “The Banquet’s Aftermath: Yan Jidao’s *Ci* Poetics and the High Tradition,” *T’oung Pao* 88.4/5 (2002): 223–27, and as part of Western Jin intellectual history in Dominic Declercq, *Writing Against the State: Political Rhetorics in Third and Fourth Century China* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 77. The only previous translation of the “Missing Odes” into a western language is Erwin von Zach, *Die Chinesische Anthologie: Übersetzungen aus dem Wen hsuän*, ed. Ilse Martin Fang (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 1:268–71. The most thorough treatments of Shu Xi’s “Missing Odes” to date are Zhang Baosan 張寶三, “Shu Xi ‘Buwangshi’ lunkao” 束皙補亡詩論考, in *Diyijie jingxue xueshu taolunhui wenji chouyinben* 第一屆經學學術討論會文集抽印本, ed. Guoli Taiwan Shifan Daxue guowenxi 國立臺灣師範大學國文系 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1994), 131–86; and Zhou Yanliang 周延良, “Shijing ‘Liushengshi’ yishuo yu Xi Jin buwang ‘Liushengshi’ kao” 《詩經》“六笙詩”遺說與西晉補亡“六笙詩”考, in *Zhongguo zhonggu wenxue yanjiu: Zhongguo zhonggu (Han–Tang) wenxue guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 中國中古文學研究——中國中古（漢—唐）文學國際學術研討會論文集, ed. Zhao Minli 趙敏俐 and Sato Toshuyuki 佐藤利行 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2005), 343–60.

⁸ *Liji* 禮記, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, ed. Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), (rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 61.1683.

and then makes this image of harmony stand out in even sharper relief by contrasting it with a depiction of the social and musical laxity of a “chaotic age” (*luanshi* 亂世).⁹

The conclusion of the *Record of Ceremony’s* chapter on the Rite of the District Symposium, however, makes it clear that it is also much more than this, extending the ritual’s meaning into the heavens.

The significance of the District Symposium is this: A guest is designated to figure the heavens. A host is designated to figure the earth. Their attendants figure the sun and moon. Three other guests are designated to figure the three bright stars. In their creation of this rite, the ancients wove it together with the heavens and the earth, tied it together with the sun and moon, and united it with the three bright stars. It is the root of governance and instruction.¹⁰

鄉飲酒之義，立賓以象天，立主以象地，設介僕以象日月，立三賓以象三光。古之製禮也，經之以天地，紀之以日月，參之以三光，政教之本也。

The rite is still political, but in the grandiose, cosmic sense of the ancient bureaucratic cult. The system—represented by the symposium itself—unites heaven, earth, and the heavenly bodies in a cosmic harmony. The District Symposium is the microcosm, the universe the macrocosm, and the kingdom in between them the mesocosm. The enactment of this ritual according the proper script is a way of announcing perfect order on earth, above it, and below it. And no ceremony is complete without the performance of the Odes required therein.

The relevant section of “The District Symposium” reaffirms the importance of these missing Odes by describing in detail their presentation, juxtaposing them with some of the most revered extant Odes.

The band leader first ascends, and stands to the east of the western steps. Then the musicians ascend by the western steps, and sit down with their faces to the north, their guides sitting facing east, handing the zithers (*se* 瑟) to the players, and going down the steps again. The musicians then sing “The Deer Bells,” “Four Steeds,” and “Glorious, Glorious are the Blossoms.” [...]

The *sheng*-players then enter the court below the hall to the south of the musical stones, and stand facing north. They play “Southern Slope” (I), “White Blossom” (II), and “Budding Millet” (III). [...]

Then the two companies perform in turns. The musicians sing “Fish in the Trap,” and the *sheng*-players play “Following along the Path” (IV). The musicians sing “Barbels in the South,” and the organists play “High Hills” (V). The musicians sing

⁹ See *Xunzi* 荀子 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1979), 20.466–69; English translation in John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works* (3 vols., Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 3:85–87.

¹⁰ *Shisanjing zhushu*, 61.1684. English translation adapted with modifications from Michael David Kaulana Ing, *The Dysfunction of Ritual in Early Confucianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 25.

“Nutgrass on the Southern Hills,” and the *sheng*-players play “According with What is Proper” (VI).

Then they unite to play the songs of “South of Zhou”:¹¹ “*Guan-guan* the Ospreys,” “The Cloth-Plant Spreads,” and “Cocklebur,” as well as the songs of “South of Shao”:¹² “The Magpie’s Nest,” “Plucking Aster,” and “Plucking Duckweed.” Then the senior of the musicians, without rising, proclaims to the band leader: “The proper songs are complete.” The band leader proclaims this to the guests and then descends the steps.¹³ 樂正先升，立於西階東。工入，升自西階。北面坐。相者東面坐，遂授瑟，乃降。工歌《鹿鳴》、《四牡》、《皇皇者華》[.] 笙入堂下，磬南，北面立，樂《南陔》、《白華》、《華黍》。[.] 乃閒歌《魚麗》，笙《由庚》；歌《南有嘉魚》，笙《崇丘》；歌《南山有臺》，笙《由儀》。乃合樂：周南·《關雎》、《葛覃》、《捲耳》，召南《鵲巢》、《採芣》、《採蘋》。工告於樂正曰：「正歌備。」樂正告於賓，乃降。

At this feast, there are two groups of players: 1) the musicians (*gong* 工), comprised of people with zithers (*se* 瑟) who are described as singing (*ge* 歌) their songs, and 2) the *sheng*-players (*sheng* 笙), who are described as playing their songs on their mouth organs (*sheng* 笙 used as a verb). The first group plays songs from the Lesser Elegantiae (Odes 161, 162, 163, 170, 171, and 172) on their own, then the second group plays our missing Odes (I–VI) on their own, and finally the two groups unite to play suites of songs from the first two sections of the *Book of Odes* (namely, Odes 1, 2, 3, 12, 13, and 15). We must recall that the titles of the missing Odes are found between 170 and 171, and between 172 and 173 in the Mao ordering of the text, and note that, in this feast, the Odes surrounding the missing ones are played alongside their absent brethren. Furthermore, we should bear in mind that the Mao interpretation of the Odes is a latecomer which did not become mainstream until the first century CE,¹⁴ and that the other three schools of interpretation (as reconstructed by Wang Xianqian 王先謙 [1842–1917]) make no mention of these missing Odes.¹⁵ Therefore, it is possible that the missing Odes were not part of the canon in its earlier iterations, and were added only in the Han dynasty, when a member of the Mao school noticed a discrepancy between the collected Odes and the titles mentioned in these ritual handbooks, and decided to include these titles where they seemed best, near the other Odes mentioned in the same

¹¹ The very first suite of the “Airs of the States” (“Guofeng” 國風), the first section of the *Book of Odes*, traditionally considered the most orthodox of all.

¹² The second suite of the “Airs of the States.”

¹³ *Shisanjing zhushu*, 9.985–86. Translation adapted from John Steele, *The I-li, or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* (London: Probsthain, 1917), 61–63. Cf. Séraphin Couvreur, *Cérémonial* (Hsien Hsien: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1916), 86–87.

¹⁴ On this point, see *Hanshu* 漢書, comp. Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE), annot. Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), “Treatise on Arts and Letters” (“Yiwen zhi” 藝文志), 30.1707–08.

¹⁵ See Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842–1917), ed. *Shi sanjia yi jishu* 詩三家義集疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 15.597.

context. However, since the history of both texts before the Han is tenuous and conjectural at best, we must advance such a hypothesis with caution.

To further investigate the relationship between the Odes and the rite, we must look at the verbs used to describe the performance of the missing Odes versus those used to describe the performance of the extant Odes. While the extant pieces are “sung,” the missing ones are “played on the mouth organ.” Elsewhere, missing Odes I–III take the generic verb *zou* 奏 (“performed,” “presented”).¹⁶ This discrepancy has led some commentators, the most famous being Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), to believe that the missing Odes never had lyrics.¹⁷ Moreover, as Fang Yurun 方玉潤 (1811–1883) notes, the Mao prefaces to the missing Odes say nothing that could not be inferred from their titles. That is to say, these prefaces were likely composed without hearing the lyrics, whether they ever existed or not.¹⁸ This casts further doubt on the Mao commentary’s credibility, and could help support the hypothesis that someone in the Mao school simply pasted the missing Odes’ titles into a pre-existing canon. Perhaps, then, this gap is not a gap at all, or at least not one meant to be filled.

On the other hand, this is not how early and medieval commentators such as Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), Lu Deming 陸德明 (ca. 550–630), and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) thought of the missing Odes. In trying to explain the presence of their titles and lack of lyrics, Zheng Xuan concocts a rather fanciful story about how the poems themselves were lost during the first Qin emperor’s 秦始皇 (r. 221–210 BCE) burning of the books, but the titles and interpretations of the Mao school were preserved in a separate volume.¹⁹ The same explanation is repeated in Lu Deming’s commentary from the early Tang.²⁰ In the medieval period, then, the belief that the missing Odes once had lyrics seems to have been more common, and hence the practice of “filling out what was missing” (*buwang*) would have been more than a mere literary exercise, but a ritual necessity, required to properly carry out the ancient feasts described in the orthodox *Book of Etiquette and Ceremony*. To get them right, there can be no voids.

Introductory Materials

But we are interested in how Shu Xi understood these missing Odes—where does he come down on all of this? As preserved in the *Wenxuan*, Shu Xi’s rendition of these Odes contains two introductions, one by Shu Xi himself, titled “Preface to ‘Filling out the Missing Odes’” (“Buwangshi xu” 補亡詩序), the other from a fragment of Wang

¹⁶ That is, when they are mentioned in “The Banquet” (“Yan li”) section of the *Yili*.

¹⁷ Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Shi jizhuan* 詩集傳 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), 9.109, who seems to have drawn on a theory proposed by Liu Chang 劉敞 (1019–1068). See Zhou Yanliang, “*Shijing* ‘Liushengshi’ yishuo,” 347–48.

¹⁸ Fang Yurun 方玉潤, *Shijing yuanshi* 詩經原始 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1960), 9.349–50.

¹⁹ *Shisanjing zhushu*, 419–20.

²⁰ Lu Deming 陸德明, *Jingdian shiwen huijiao* 經典釋文彙校, comp. Huang Zhuo 黃焯 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 174.

Yin's 王陰 *History of the Jin* 晉書 (not to be confused with the official *History of the Jin* compiled in the Tang). The two present Shu Xi and his motivations in subtly different ways.

Preface

The "Preface to 'Filling out the Missing Odes'" says: I, Shu Xi, performed the Rite of the District Symposium with my colleagues and peers.²¹ However, for some of the Odes that we chanted, there were topics but no lyrics, and the music and rhythm was lacking, incomplete. Therefore, fixing our thoughts on what had come before, and setting our minds upon the past, we filled out the words in order to stitch together the old institutions.

《補亡詩序》曰：哲與同業疇人肆脩鄉飲之禮，然所詠之詩，或有義無辭，音樂取節，闕而不備，於是遙想既往，存思在昔，補著其文，以綴舊制。

Biographical Introduction

The *History of the Jin* by Wang Yin says: "Shu Xi, cognomen Guangwei, from Yanggan in Pingyang. His father Hui was governor of Pingyi. His brother Can was as well-known as Shu Xi himself. He often looked through the old Odes, regretting that they were not filled out, so he made poems to fill them out. [Later,] Jia Mi asked him to serve as his Editorial Director."²²

²¹ This translation follows the text given in Lu Qinli 逯欽立, ed., *Xian-Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 639. A variant in many other sources, including Shanghai guji's widely used modern edition of the *Wenxuan*, gives *siye* 司業 ("royal tutor") for *tongye* 同業 ("colleagues"), for which see Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531), ed. *Wenxuan* 文選, annot. Li Shan 李善 (630–689) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986 [henceforth "Shanghai *Wenxuan*"]), 19.905. However, most early extant editions give *tongye*, including the 1158 revised version of the Mingzhou 明州 printing of the Six Ministers 六臣 edition, reissued as *Riben zuli xuexiao cang Songke Mingzhouben Liuchen zhu Wenxuan* (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2008), 292; the 1162 Ganzhou 贛州 printing of the Six Ministers edition, reissued as *Zengbu Liuchen zhu Wenxuan* 增補六臣註文選 (Taipei: Huazheng shuju, 1974), 353; the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition (based on the 1195–1200 Jianzhou 建州 printing); and the Zhushu tang 珠樹堂 edition of 1760. Versions based on the Five Ministers 五臣 edition—such as Chen Balang's 1161 printing, reissued as *Wenxuan sanshijuan* 文選三十卷 (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1981)—lack this preface entirely. The fragment of this poem found in Dunhuang manuscript Φ242 contains only the end of the poem and hence no preface. For more on the various *Wenxuan* editions and the scholarship surrounding them, see Fu Gang 傅剛, *Wenxuan banben yanjiu* 文選版本研究 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), and David Knechtges, "Wenxuan Studies," *Early Medieval China* 10–11.1 (2004): 8–20.

²² Some of this contradicts Shu Xi's biography in the official *Jinshu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 51.1427–28. Pingyang is clearly a mistake for Yangping 陽平, as corroborated by Liu Xiaobiao's 劉孝標 (462–521) annotations to Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444), *Shishuo xinyu jianshu* 世說新語箋疏 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 6.379, which quotes the now-lost "Biographies of Literati" ("Wenshi zhuan" 文士傳). The *Jinshu* also states that his father's given name is Kan 龕, not Hui 惠, and his brother's name is Qiu 璆, not Can 璨. See Zhang Baosan, "Shu Xi 'Buwangshi' lunkao," 132–34.

王隱《晉書》曰：東皙，字廣微，平陽陽平人也。父惠，馮翊太守；兄璨，與皙齊名。嘗覽古詩，惜其不補，故作詩以補之。賈謐請為著作郎。

In both introductory materials, Shu Xi feels a lack in the *Odes*, and is then spurred on to compose his own. Whether or not these poems originally had lyrics, Shu Xi believed that they should. In Shu Xi's own preface, he describes the songs without lyrics as "lacking, incomplete," and in the biographical introduction, he "regrets that they are not filled out." In both cases, he looks back to past for guidance, and then proceeds to fill in the gap in the *Odes*.

But the similarities between the two introductory materials end there. In the preface, we find a much greater emphasis on the ritual importance of these Odes, tying them directly to a performance of the Rite of the District Symposium. The performative aspect is then underlined by all of the aural words used: the Odes are "chanted" and their "music and rhythm" are mentioned. The purpose of filling out these missing Odes is to rectify the ritual system, to "stitch together the old institutions" (*zhui jiuzhi* 綴舊制) by performing the ceremonies properly. The biographical introduction, on the other hand, stresses textuality. Here the Odes are first encountered through reading (*lan* 覽), and Shu Xi laments their fragmentary status. Though these two introductions are not contradictory, they contextualize Shu Xi's work in different ways: the preface portrays Shu Xi as the good classicist, dutifully attempting to patch up the holes in one of the canonical rituals, while the biographical introduction makes him the sensitive, individualized poet, the voracious reader who feels a twinge of regret when he comes across the missing Odes, a sense of loss which he then channels into artistic creation.

Both introductions' portrayals of Shu Xi accord well with his biographical portrait in the official *History of the Jin*, as well as his various other literary works. The dutiful classicist of the preface, trying to make things right in a world gone astray, is the persona we encounter in Shu Xi's hypothetical discourse (*shelun* 設論) called "Apology for Living in Seclusion" ("Shi xuanju" 釋玄居). This piece was a kind of versified "open letter" implying that the author's refusal to take office was due to the leadership of Empress Jia Nanfeng 賈南風 (257–300), who had, in 291, staged a palace coup and killed Shu's dear friend Wei Heng 衛恆 (?–291). In it, Shu Xi takes the moral high ground, drawing upon all of the classic precedents of sages and worthies who refused office, despite their genuine concern for the state.²³ The erudite, sensitive reader of the biographical introduction, on the other hand, is precisely the persona we find in Shu Xi's "Fu on Reading" ("Dushu fu" 讀書賦). In this short, expository verse, which many take to be autobiographical, a fictional "Master Rapt-in-the-Way" (Dandao xiansheng 耽道先生) is portrayed reciting various Odes in perfect accordance with their intended effects as described in the Mao prefaces. He proudly proclaims the benefit of reading,

²³ For a translation of "Apology for Living in Seclusion" and a discussion of its political context, see Dominik Declercq, "The Perils of Orthodoxy: A Western Jin 'Hypothetical Discourse,'" *T'oung Pao* 80.1/3 (1994): 27–60, especially 36–37.

citing six illustrious predecessors who also devoted themselves to the *Odes*.²⁴ In this way, both introductions are plausible and entirely harmonious accounts of Shu Xi's motivations to write his "Missing Odes." There is no opposition between text and ritual. The text, like a musical score or an architectural blueprint, is a lifeless notation, awaiting its realization in the performance of the ritual.

The Practice of "Filling out Gaps"

Shu Xi was not the only poet to attempt to complete the *Odes*. Early medieval texts tell us of two other literati who wrote their own missing Odes, which were highly praised in their own time.²⁵ In chapter 30 of the outer section of the Daoist polymath Ge Hong's 葛洪 (283–343) *Baopuzi* 抱朴子, one paragraph describes works by Xiahou Zhan 夏侯湛 (243–291) and Pan Yue 潘岳 (247–300), both of whom were lauded for their efforts.

In recent times, both Xiahou Zhan and Pan Anren [Pan Yue] composed poems titled "Filling out the Missing Odes," such as "White Blossom" (II), "Following along the Path" (IV), "Southern Slope" (I), and "Budding Millet" (III). Many who appreciated literature, who were well-read in the classics and highly talented, felt that among the three hundred ancient *Odes* there were none that could match the works of these two worthies.²⁶

近者夏侯湛、潘安仁竝作《補亡詩》：《白華》、《由庚》、《南陔》、《華黍》之屬，諸碩儒高才之賞文者，咸以古詩三百，未有足以偶二賢之所作也。

Here Shu Xi's contemporaries, also well-connected officials who had had their own run-ins with Empress Jia's government,²⁷ composed missing Odes so masterful that many thought they surpassed even the *Book of Odes* itself. The *New Account of Tales of*

²⁴ For translations and discussions of the "Fu on Reading," see Jack W. Chen, "On the Act and Representation of Reading in Medieval China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129.1 (2009): 61–63, and Robert Ashmore, *The Transport of Reading: Text and Understanding in the World of Tao Qian (365–427)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), 4–9. Besides the "Apology for Living in Seclusion" and the "Fu on Reading," the only other piece by Shu Xi that has been translated into English is his "Fu on Wheat Foods" ("Bingfu" 餅賦), for which see David R. Knechtges, "A Literary Feast: Food in Early Chinese Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106.1 (1986): 59–63.

²⁵ I have listed only the two examples most relevant to Shu Xi's context. For a more complete list of attempts to rewrite the missing Odes (at least through the Ming dynasty [1368–1644]), see Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709), *Dianjiao buzheng Jingyi kao* 點校補正經義考, annot. Xu Weiping 許維萍 et al. (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, 1997), 274.253–67.

²⁶ Ge Hong 葛洪, *Baopuzi waipian jiaojian* 抱朴子外篇校箋, annot. Yang Mingzhao 楊明照 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 30.75. For an alternative English translation, see Jay Sailey, *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity: A Study of the Philosopher Ko Hung, A.D. 283–343* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1978), 165–66.

²⁷ On Xiahou Zhan's official career, see Declercq, *Writing Against the State*, 206–48.

the World (*Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, mid-fifth century) elaborates on how these works were composed:

When Xiahou Zhan had finished composing his “Odes of Zhou” [his own missing Odes], he showed them to Pan Anren. Pan said: “These are not just empty geniality, but in their own right reveal the quality of filial devotion and brotherly submission.” Inspired by these, Pan proceeded to compose his “Odes of Familial Instruction” [Pan’s missing Odes].²⁸

夏侯湛作《周詩》成，示潘安仁。安仁曰：「此非徒溫雅，乃別見孝悌之性。」潘因此遂作《家風詩》。

Where the *Zhulin yeshi* goes on to provide an explicit description of the positions that the pair assumed and the number of times that they had sex, Feng Menglong concludes with an ironical remark, highlighting Lord Ling’s stupidity and arrogance. This prepares the reader for the next scene in the narrative, derived from the *Zuozhuan*, in which his lordship is berated by Grandee Xie Ye. In both the erotic novel and the *Xin lieguo zhi*, there is a counterpoint between the character of Lady Xia Ji and the minister Xie Ye, both of whom are portrayed sitting in judgment upon Lord Ling of Chen. Lady Xia Ji privately weighs up Lord Ling on personal grounds and finds him wanting; Xie Ye, thinking of the public good, also finds Lord Ling lacking in moral fibre and unworthy of the high office that he holds and expresses this opinion openly. Although it is unlikely that they would have agreed on any other point, on this they are as one. Lord Ling is so stupid that he cannot think of any way of dealing with the criticism short of murdering the critic and hence Xie Ye, who has voiced his opposition at court, dies. While both episodes also occur in the *Zhulin yeshi*, Feng Menglong’s presentation of these events within a framework of highly critical comments means that at each of his reappearances in the narrative, Lord Ling is shown in a yet more unpleasant light.

In the *Xin lieguo zhi*, the list of Lady Xia Ji’s victims is kept to a strict minimum. Unlike the *Zhulin yeshi*, which functions as a kind of parable in which every single one of Lady Xia Ji’s sexual partners suffers a hideous fate, in Feng Menglong’s novel, a number of the lovers killed off in the erotic novel are either said to have survived the experience or she is absolved from any blame for the circumstances of their demise. For example Lady Xia Ji is said to have conducted an affair with the Honorable Man in the *Xin lieguo zhi*, but the matter is glossed over in a couple of lines and his death might be assumed to have been the result of natural causes:

When she was living at home before getting married, Lady Xia Ji engaged in an incestuous relationship with Lord Ling of Zheng’s older half-brother, born to a junior

²⁸ Liu Yiqing, *Shishuo xinyu jianshu* 世說新語箋疏, 4.253 (“Wenxue” 文學, no. 71); translation adapted from Richard Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yu: A New Account of Tales of the World*, second ed. (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, 2002), 138. Declercq dismisses Xiahou’s poems as “a learned patchwork of archaic phrases that says more about Xiahou Zhan’s zest for puzzling with words than about his preoccupation with the duties of filial piety” (*Writing Against the State*, 247).

wife: the Honorable Man. Within three years the Honorable Man was dead at a young age (XLGZ, p. 592).

在國未嫁，先與鄭靈公庶兄公子蠻兄妹私通。不勾三年，子蠻夭死。

The *New Account's* story relates how these poems were composed in the spirit of friendly competition. Pan Yue and Xiahou Zhan were, after all, the best of friends, so close that people referred to them as “linked jade disks” (*lianbi* 連璧).²⁹ It is fitting, then, that in such a brotherly atmosphere they should compose poems which manifest the virtue of brotherly submission, and that Pan Yue, a writer with many works in the *Wenxuan*, should have his greatness reaffirmed, getting the last word.

Conspicuously absent from all of this is any mention of the Rite of the District Symposium, which featured so prominently in Shu Xi's preface and in commentators' attempts to come to terms with the missing Odes. The *New Account* account may lead us to believe that these efforts to fill out the missing Odes were but a literary game. But this would be mistaken. All three of our poet-officials were writing in the tumultuous Western Jin era (265–316), after the Sima household had successfully wrested power from the Cao family in 265, right around the time of Empress Jia's palace coup in 291. The writing of literature had high stakes in this period, and how much more so when one sets one's sights on the canon. Composing a set of missing Odes was a highly charged political act.

This sense of the poems' gravity as part of the District Symposium is reflected in the historical records. The official *History of the Jin* contains an account of the ceremony's history since the end of the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1046–220 BCE).

In the *Record of Ceremony*, there are writings about the schools of the “Sustaining the Elders” rites from the Three Dynasties. The institution of the Rite of the District Symposium had fallen into disrepair by the end of the Zhou dynasty.

In the second month of Yongping 2 in the reign of Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty [April 59 CE], the emperor began to lead his ministers in personally Sustaining the Three Elders and Five Seniors at Biyong³⁰ and performed the Ceremony of Great Archery.³¹ In the prefectures, states, counties, and circuits they performed the District Symposium in the schools. All offered sacrifices to the Former Sage and the Teacher—the Duke of Zhou and Confucius—offering livestock in the grand cattle sacrifices. The did the same as well in the first month of winter.

²⁹ Liu Yiqing, *Shishuo xinyu jianshu*, 14.609; Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*; 332.

³⁰ Biyong: In pre-imperial China, state sacrifices to Heaven were held in the Bright Hall (Mingtang 明堂). Biyong referred to the circular moat that surrounded it, located in Luoyang. The structure was rebuilt by Emperor Guangwu of the Han dynasty (r. 25–57 CE). Later, “Biyong” became a more generic term to encompass the ritual and educational training institutions associated with these grounds. See Lillian Tseng, *Picturing Heaven in Early China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011); Ming-chong Hwang, “Ming-tang: Cosmology, Order, and Monuments in Early China” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard, 1996); and Zhang Yibing 張一兵, *Mingtang zhidu yanjiu* 明堂制度研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005).

³¹ Another important rite outlined in the *Yili*, *juan* 13–14.

In Ganlu 2 in the reign of District Duke Gaogui of the Wei [257],³² the Emperor personally led the administrators in a performance of the ceremony of paying respects to his elders. In this performance, Wang Xiang [185–269] acted as the three elders and Zheng Xiaotong [193–258] acted as the five elders. Their notes on the ritual did not survive, but the rites of the Han did.

In the twelfth month of Taishi 6 in the reign of Emperor Wu [January 271], the emperor, upon surveying Biyong, performed the Rite of the District Symposium. He proclaimed: “Though the ritual has long been in disrepair, today we shall practice it again according to the old canons.” He bestowed on the Chamberlain for Ceremonials one hundred bolts of silk, and on his assistants, erudites, and students he bestowed cattle and ale for the sacrifices.

In Xianning 3 [277] and Yuankang 9 in the reign of Emperor Hui [299], the ceremony was performed again.³³

《禮》有三王養老膠庠之文，饗射飲酒之制，周末淪廢。漢明帝永平二年三月，帝始率羣臣躬養三老五更于辟雍，行大射之禮。郡、國、縣、道行鄉飲酒于學校，皆祠先聖先師周公、孔子，牲以太牢。孟冬亦如之。及魏高貴鄉公甘露二年，天子親帥羣司行養老之禮。於是王祥為三老，鄭小同為五更。其儀注不存，然漢禮猶在。武帝泰始六年十二月，帝臨辟雍，行鄉飲酒之禮。詔曰：「禮儀之廢久矣，乃今復講肄舊典。」賜太常絹百匹，丞、博士及學生牛酒。咸寧三年，惠帝元康九年，復行其禮。

The overall narrative in this passage is a common one in early medieval China: the cultural institutions of antiquity gradually fell into decline until they were totally lost just before or during the unification of the empire under the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE), and it was only the subsequent Han who began to bring them back. It is easy to see how this narrative served the purposes of dynastic legitimation. Unlike the brutal Qin, the Han was a worthy ruling house because they revived the orthodox ceremonies of the former sages. In the above account, this logic goes one step further: the Western Jin improved upon the Han by bringing back the District Symposium as well as the rite of Sustaining the Elders. The key to political legitimation is the proper performance of orthodox rites.

So important was the Rite of the District Symposium to the Western Jin’s claims to succeed the Han as the right rulers of the land that it was performed even more frequently than the official histories say. A stele inscription, erected in 278 and unearthed in the early twentieth century, literally writes in stone a whole series of performances of multiple rituals from the *Book of Etiquette and Ceremony*.³⁴ Combining

³² District Duke Gaogui: Cao Mao 曹髦 (241–260), fourth emperor of the Wei who took the throne at the age of three and made several failed attempts to wrest power back from the regents of the Sima clan.

³³ *Jinshu*, 21.670.

³⁴ The full title of the stele is “With the Rise of the Great Jin Dragon, the Emperor Thrice Oversaw [the Rite of the District Symposium] at the Biyong Academy, and the Heir Apparent Again Oversaw It a Second Time: A Hymn and Stele for Their Grand Prosperity and Abundant Virtue” 大晉龍興皇帝三臨辟雍皇太子又再蒞之盛德隆熙之頌碑, and it is recorded as having been erected on the twentieth day of the tenth month of Xianning 4 咸寧四年十月廿日 (November 21, 278). For

the records on this stele with those found in the *History of the Jin*, it becomes clear that the Rite of the District Symposium was carried out four or five times in a 32-year period (an asterisk * indicates those performances mentioned on the stele):

1. November 267*
- 2a. November 270*
- 2b. January 271
3. December 277*
4. [winter] 299

Numbers 2a and 2b likely refer to the same performance, giving a little bit of leeway for error between different types of records. The fact that the Rite of the District Symposium was performed so many times, and that those performances were written in stone for future generations, underscores just how serious Shu Xi's task was.³⁵ It was a ceremony on par with a coronation or presidential inauguration.

Shu Xi would have participated in the fourth performance listed above, in 299, after he had been lured back to civil service upon the death of Shi Jian 石鑿 (ca. 214–294), and after he had been quickly promoted to the top of the bureaucratic ladder by Zhang Hua 張華 (232–300). By this time, Shu Xi had become one of Zhang Hua's successors and was willing to cooperate with Empress Jia's government, which had named Zhang to the high position of Minister of Works. This was the height of Shu Xi's career, just before Zhang Hua was put to death for refusing to support Sima Lun's 司馬倫 (d. 301) coup against Empress Jia.³⁶ The "Missing Odes" could be considered his crowning achievement. It was his way of serving the young Jin empire, of trying to set things right amid the chaos of Empress Jia's reign and Sima Lun's plot to overthrow her. If the Western Jin rulers would not fall in line with orthodoxy, perhaps Shu Xi's "Missing Odes" could make them do so.

Shu Xi's rewriting of the missing Odes for a new performance of the Rite of the District Symposium was part of a much larger movement of recovering the past during the late third and early fourth centuries. The ministers at the top of the Jin dynasty,

the inscription, see Gu Tinglong 顧廷龍, "Da Jin longxing huangdi sanlin Biyong huangtaizi you zai li zhi shengde longxi zhi songba" 大晉龍興皇帝三臨辟雍皇太子又再蒞之盛德隆熙之頌跋, *Yanjing xuebao* 清華學報 10 (1931): 2147–60. For an extensive philological study of the stele, see Yu Jiayi 余嘉錫, "Jin Biyong bei kaozheng" 晉辟雍碑考證, in *Yu Jiayi lunxue zazhu* 余嘉錫論學雜著 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 133–73.

³⁵ The performances were commemorated in other ways as well. For example, the emperor commissioned Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217–278) to compose a *fu* celebrating one such occasion. Titled "A *Fu* on the District Symposium at Biyong" 辟雍鄉飲酒賦, part of it has been preserved in the compendium *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), 38.690, and later collected in Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762–1843), *Quan Jin wen* 全晉文, in *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han sanguo liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 45.1715.

³⁶ See *Jinshu*, 4.96; 70.1074; 59.1599; and the English summary of these events in Knechtges and Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature*, 3:2158.

desperate to establish their own legitimacy, embarked on the mission of restoring orthodoxy. Shu Xi himself was named one of the writers of official history under Zhang Hua, and in 298 was given the special assignment of editing a set of bamboo manuscripts that had been unearthed in 279.³⁷ The previous generation, which saw the beginning of the Western Jin, was that of Xun Xu's 荀勗 (d. 289) painstaking attempts to recover the precise sounds of orthodox music.³⁸ Less than two decades after Shu Xi, Mei Ze 梅賾 (fl. 317–322) “discovered” the so-called “Old Text” version of the *Book of Documents* 古文尚書.³⁹ Although the actors in these three moments used different methods to recover the past, all three agreed that authority rests with sagely antiquity, and that the cultural projects of the present could access that antiquity.

This brings us, full circle, to the *Wenxuan*, and Xiao Tong's choice to open the section on *shi*-poetry with Shu Xi's “Filling out the Missing Odes.” Doing so gave an air of political and literary orthodoxy to this section of the anthology, and allowed Xiao Tong to include in his collection a part of the *Book of Odes* (even though he had said he was going to exclude the classics), and to demonstrate his thorough knowledge of the ritual system. The anthology's proper attitude would then stand in synecdochally for his own—a useful attitude to portray for Xiao Tong, the heir apparent of China's major dynastic power.

To sum up: in the version of the “Missing Odes” we are reading, there are at least three layers of legitimation: 1) The Rite of the District Symposium as presented in the ritual classics, attributed to remote antiquity, figuring cosmic harmony; 2) Shu Xi's “Missing Odes” written in an attempt to stabilize the Western Jin in 299; and 3) Prince Xiao Tong's placement of the “Missing Odes” at the forefront of the lyric poetry section of the *Wenxuan* in the early sixth century. In each case, literary performance and political justification go hand in hand. The “Missing Odes,” tied to the Rite of the District Symposium, are always attempts to announce or enact a world of orthodoxy.

Shu Xi's Method

To reconstruct supposedly lost canonical texts is to take risks. If the new work does not adhere close enough to the style and content of the existing canon, it may be rejected as inauthentic or not recognized at all. If it adheres too closely and borrows material

³⁷ These texts were known as the “Ji Tumulus texts” (“Jizhong shu” 濟冢書), written in “tadpole characters” (*kedou zi* 科斗字). See *Jinshu*, 51.1433; Edward Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 151–53.

³⁸ On this cultural-political project, see Howard Goodman, *Xun Xu and the Politics of Precision in Third-Century AD China* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). For an overview of the literary movements of the Western Jin, see Satō Toshiyuki 佐藤利行, *Seishin bungaku kenkyū: Riku Ki o chuūshin to shite* 西晉文學研究：陸機を中心として (Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 1995).

³⁹ See Michael Nylan, *The Five “Confucian” Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 130–32.

wholesale, it risks becoming pastiche.⁴⁰ If it exaggerates the features of the canon, it descends into the realm of caricature. If it does not clearly state its aims, it could be mistaken for forgery.⁴¹

Shu Xi's set of "Missing Odes" does not fall into any of these categories. It was not the sort of ludic transformation discussed in so many theories of intertextuality, nor was it the sort of marked homage discussed in scholarship on medieval Chinese imitations.⁴² It falls into a different space, one between forgery, criticism, pastiche, and imitation. The "Missing Odes" are best understood as "actualizations" of the orthodox outlook of the *Book of Odes*. Like other early tetrametric poems, they realize the golden age depicted in the *Odes'* most proper sections (the Elegantiae and Hymns) by translating them into a later time, demonstrating the writer's erudition and moral rectitude.⁴³ This concept fits well with the interpretations of several Chinese scholars, who maintain that "gap-filling" (*buwang*) could be considered a major method of literary composition in the late Han and Western Jin periods.⁴⁴ The distinction in value between an original, creative work of literature on the one hand and a derivative imitation or forgery on the other must be abandoned in order to understand Shu Xi's poems on their own terms. The "Missing Odes" are attempts to concretize the proper beliefs, practices, and literary styles that would and should have been passed down to their author, had history been more kind to the old institutions.

The "Missing Odes" are successful in their aims. They indeed read like the *Odes*: they are short (14–26 lines apiece), composed in tetrameter, employ reduplicative phrases (*dieci* 疊詞), contain much natural imagery, and depict the harmonious world of a legendary, sagely past. They strain toward orthodoxy: "Southern Slope" ends with an "auspicious phrase" (*guci* 嘏辭), a feature typical of many of the more archaic-sounding Odes and shared with a large number of ritual bronze vessels.⁴⁵ But with such

⁴⁰ On the art of pastiche poetry in more recent times, see Marjorie Perloff, *Unoriginal Genius: Poetry by Other Means in the New Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

⁴¹ My categories of intertextuality are adapted from Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 28. On the origin and development of the critical framework of intertextuality, see Mary Orr, *Intertextuality: Debates and Contexts* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003). For a survey of forgery and its relationship to genuine attempts to revive the past, see Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (London: Collins and Brown, 1990).

⁴² See, for example, Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, 1992), 24–29; Stephen Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 261–97; and Nicholas Morrow Williams, *Imitations of the Self: Jiang Yan and Chinese Poetics* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

⁴³ See Zeb Raft, "The Beginning of Literati Poetry: Four Poems from First-century BCE China," *T'oung Pao* 96 (2010): 88–91.

⁴⁴ See Cao Xinhua, "Lun Zhongguo shige de buwang jingshen," 35, for a list of other early medieval attempts to restore missing lyrics; see also Wang Yao, "Nigu yu zuowei."

⁴⁵ On this point, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Issues in Western Zhou Studies: A Review Article," *Early China* 18 (1993): 146–56. On *guci* generally, see Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒, "Jinwen guci

classical propriety, Shu Xi's imitations make for bland poetry. Everything is too evenly balanced, metrically and thematically: there is no creative tension. The error here is the same as in John Milton's *Paradise Regain'd*: descriptions of perfection are inhuman, uninteresting.

This will to orthodoxy belies the creative ways in which Shu Xi appropriated the text of the *Odes*. Most conspicuously, the "Missing Odes" uniformly employ tetrameter throughout, since this four-beat rhythm is one of the qualities that readers associate with the *Book of Odes*. While it is generally true that the *Odes* employ tetrameter far more than any other meter, nonetheless, the canon employs a wide variety of meters, from two to eight characters in length. Looking through the entirety of the *Mao Odes*, 682 out of a total 7,227 lines (roughly 9%) are of a length other than four characters, and in the "Lesser Elegantiae" section specifically, in which Shu Xi's imitations are supposed to fit, 93 of 2,278 lines (4%) are non-tetrametric.⁴⁶ By contrast, none of the 114 lines of Shu Xi's imitations are metrically irregular. To have a ratio that corresponds to the *Odes* as a whole, Shu Xi's "Missing Odes" should have 10 or 11 irregular lines altogether; to have one that corresponds to the "Lesser Elegantiae," 4 or 5 irregular lines. Shu Xi's pieces make uniform the *Book of Odes'* regular use of tetrameter. This is typical of all imitation, and one of its paradoxical qualities: in order to be recognizable as an imitation, it must exaggerate the unique qualities of the original. But in so doing, it betrays the original. A recognizable imitation does not closely resemble its base text, but a passable imitation (a good forgery) would not be easily recognized as imitative.

This same point holds true with regard to reduplicatives. To look at the bare numbers, in the *Book of Odes*, there are 686 appearances of reduplicatives (357 different characters used) in a total 7,227 lines, or slightly more than 9% of all lines.⁴⁷ In Shu Xi's "Missing Odes," there are 24 appearances of reduplicatives (23 different characters used) in a total 114 lines, or roughly 21% of all lines. Just as with metrical regularity, exaggeration is the key to a recognizable attempt at restoration.

But the use of reduplicatives in Shu Xi's poems is not as directly imitative of the *Odes* as they might appear to be. Shu Xi, after all, was writing in the late third century, after the reduplicative-heavy *fu* had become a well-established and productive literary genre. These echoic phrases were simply part of the literary atmosphere. As can be seen in Table 1, which lists all reduplicatives appearing in Shu Xi's six poems in the order

shili" 金文嘏辭釋例, *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 6.1 (1936): 1–44.

⁴⁶ These numbers come from Shi Yuzhi, "Parallelism, Irregularity and Structural Compensation in *Shi Jing*: A Statistical and Structural Analysis," *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 3 (2002): 87. George Kennedy has a slightly different count but roughly the same ratio for the entirety of the *Odes* (689:7293, also about 9%), for which see George A. Kennedy, "Metrical 'Irregularity' in the *Shih Ching*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 4.3/4 (1939): 284.

⁴⁷ Statistics on reduplicatives come from Chou Fa-kao, "Reduplicatives in the *Book of Odes*," in *Papers in Chinese Linguistics and Epigraphy* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1986), 9–46.

they appear (the poem's number given in parentheses), exactly half of the reduplicatives used by Shu Xi appear nowhere in the received version of the *Odes*. Furthermore, Li Shan's commentary will sometimes quote other sources to explain the reduplicatives, even when they appear in the Mao *Odes*, demonstrating that, at least for Li Shan, these phrases held wider associations than just the *Book of Odes*.

Reduplicative	Pinyin	Appearances in the <i>Odes</i>	Source of Li Shan's Glosses
油油 (I)	youyou	0	<i>Shiji</i> 史記; <i>Liji</i> 禮記, Zheng Xuan commentary
嗷嗷	aoao	1	(No gloss)
粲粲 (II)	cancan	1	<i>Book of Odes</i>
蒨蒨	qianqian	0	(No source given)
甕甕	weiwei	2	<i>Book of Odes</i> , Mao commentary
堂堂	tangtang	0	<i>Analects (Lunyu 論語)</i>
黪黪 (III)	dandan	0	(No source given)
輯輯	jiji	0	<i>Book of Odes</i> , Mao commentary ⁴⁸
奕奕	yi yi	2	<i>Book of Odes</i> , Zheng Xuan commentary
濛濛	mengmeng	0	<i>Book of Odes</i> , Mao commentary ⁴⁹
芒芒	mangmang	2	(No source given)
參參	shenshen	0	(No source given)
翼翼	yi yi	10	<i>Guangya</i> 廣雅
蕩蕩 (IV)	dangdang	1	<i>Shangshu</i> 尚書
蠢蠢	chunchun	0	<i>Book of Odes</i> , Mao commentary ⁵⁰
愔愔	yinyin	0	<i>Zuozhuan</i> 左傳
藹藹 (V)	aiai	2	(No source given)
漫漫	manman	0	(No gloss)
回回	huihui	0	(No gloss)
恢恢	huihui	0	<i>Laozi</i> 老子
芒芒	mangmang	2	<i>Zuozhuan</i> ⁵¹
肅肅 (VI)	susu	13	<i>Erya</i> 爾雅
明明	mingming	4	<i>Erya</i>
振振	zhenzhen	9	(No gloss)

⁴⁸ This gloss equates *jiji* 輯輯 (which does not appear in the *Odes*) with *xixi* 習習 (which does).

⁴⁹ The character *meng* 濛 appears on its own in the text of the *Odes* (three times in "Eastern Hills" [Dongshan 東山], Ode 156), but is redoubled in the Mao commentary.

⁵⁰ *Chun* 蠢 as a single character is glossed in both the Mao and the Li Shan commentaries.

⁵¹ *Mangmang* is listed twice in this chart because it is used on two different occasions in Shu Xi's "Missing Odes."

Table 1: Reduplicatives in the “Missing Odes”

The “Missing Odes” use many reduplicatives not found in the *Book of Odes*. Moreover, Li Shan’s glosses to the reduplicatives used in the “Missing Odes” cite not just the *Odes*, but many kinds of texts, revealing that the words resonated with other parts of the classical tradition.

In Li Shan’s commentary, only 6 out of 24 reduplicatives are glossed with references to the *Book of Odes*. To at least one erudite reader of Shu Xi’s missing Odes, these words resonated as much with other parts of the classical tradition as with the canonical *Odes*. There are several other ways these allusions are more complicated than they appear at first. For example, *zhenzhen* 振振 appears nine times in the *Odes*, and thus it seems that Shu Xi’s deployment of it is clearly an allusion. However, the two sources use it in entirely different ways. In the *Odes*, *zhenzhen* is used seven times to describe great people (as in “*zhenzhen junzi*” 振振君子: “noble, noble is the gentleman”), and only twice to describe a flock of birds (both in the same poem, “*You bi*” 有駉, Ode 298). This latter sense is what Shu Xi draws upon, and even there we find considerable differences: Ode 298 uses it in a three-character line to describe the birds themselves (“*zhenzhen lu*” 振振鷺: “Flocking, flocking go the egrets”), whereas Shu Xi uses it in a four-character line to describe the sound the birds make (“*zhenzhen qi yin*” 振振其音: “Manifold, manifold are their sounds”). The two poems take the same term to mean very different things.

But the table obscures in the other direction, too: it masks some of the similarities shared between Shu Xi and the *Odes* in their use of reduplicatives. The phrase *qianqian* 蒹蒹 appears in Shu Xi’s line, “*qianqian shizi*” 蒹蒹士子 (“Hardy, hardy—the scholar-son”), but is nowhere to be found in the *Odes*. However, in Ode 205, “The Northern Hills” (“*Beishan*” 北山), we find the close parallel “*xiexie shizi*” 偕偕士子 (“Strenuous, strenuous—the scholar-son”). In both cases, we have a reduplicative phrase followed by *shizi*, describing a young man’s robustness. The reduplicatives, some have speculated, may not have denotative meaning in the *Book of Odes* at all, but may simply act as onomatopoeic ornament.⁵² Therefore, the two lines, if not quite interchangeable, are practically so, and demonstrate how closely Shu Xi sometimes followed the *Odes* as his model.

Another way he demonstrated fidelity to the structure of the *Odes*, especially the “*Elegantiae*” sections (in which the “*Missing Odes*” are supposed to fit), was through the use of the “*AXAY*” formula, in which the same grammatical particle (*xuci* 虛詞) is used in the first and third positions in a line. As Martin Kern has demonstrated, this pattern is common to the *Odes*’ “*Elegantiae*” and “*Hymns*” (*song* 頌) sections but is rare in the “*Airs of the States*.”⁵³ Shu Xi uses four such patterns.

⁵² George A. Kennedy, “A Note on Ode 220,” in *Selected Works of George A. Kennedy*, ed. Tien-yi Li (New Haven: Far Eastern Publications, 1964), 463–76.

⁵³ Martin Kern, “*Shi jing* Songs as Performance Texts: A Case Study of ‘*Chu ci*’ (Thorny Caltrop),” *Early China* 25 (2000): 107–09.

AXAY pattern	Appearances in the <i>Odes</i>
有 X 有 Y (I)	26
如 X 如 Y (II)	30
無 X 無 Y (II)	15
何 X 何 Y (VI)	2

Table 2: AXAY patterns in the “Missing Odes”

The “Missing Odes” use rhetorical patterns typical of the “Elegantiae” and “Hymns” sections of the *Odes*.

And these are only the patterns with repeated particles. If we were to search Shu Xi’s poems for other oft-occurring formulas from the *Odes*, we could find plenty more. The double negative pattern of Shu Xi’s Poem III, “mi X bu Y” 靡 X 不 Y, appears nine times throughout the *Odes*; “he X bu Y” 何 X 不 Y of Poem V can be found ten times in the *Odes*; and “X zhi Y yi” X 之 Y 矣 of Poem VI appears a total of fifty-six times throughout the entire *Book of Odes*.⁵⁴

Yet for all of the ways in which Shu Xi relies upon the patterns of the *Book of Odes*, he almost never borrows wholesale from it.⁵⁵ In only one of the “Missing Odes” do we find an entire line lifted directly from the *Odes* and dropped into a new poem, without alteration. This is a rather innocuous line from Poem I, “On the banks of the river” 在河之涘, which can be found in Ode 71. Much more frequently, Shu Xi borrows two or three characters from an existing line, such as in the second line of Poem I: “I pluck thoroughwort” 言采其蘭. In the *Odes*, the speakers pluck the following plants:

- “fern-shoots” 言采其蕨 (Ode 14),
- “bracken-shoots” 言采其薇 (Ode 14),
- “toad-lilies” 言采其虻 (Ode 54),
- “sorrel” 言采其莫 (Ode 108),
- “mulberry-leaves” 言采其桑 (Ode 108),
- “water-plantain” 言采其薺 (Ode 108),
- “dockleaf” 言采其蔞 (Ode 188),
- “pokeweed” 言采其藟 (Ode 188),
- “boxthorn” 言采其杞 (Ode 205),
- “cress” 言采其芹 (Ode 222),

but never thoroughwort.⁵⁶ In Poem V, when Shu Xi declares that “None die before their time” 人無道夭, he echoes the language (but not the meaning) of Ode 119’s “When a

⁵⁴ I am not suggesting that these patterns are fixed formulae or that they are evidence in favor of the Lord-Parry oral-formulaic hypothesis, as did C. H. Wang in *The Bell and the Drum: Shih ching as Formulaic Poetry in an Oral Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

⁵⁵ In what follows, I underline the characters shared between Shu Xi’s “Missing Odes” and the original *Book of Odes*.

⁵⁶ Translations of these plant names come from Waley, *The Book of Songs*.

man is without brothers, why not help him?" 人無兄弟，胡不飲焉 by introducing his line with *ren wu* 人無. In Poem IV, when Shu Xi writes that "Beasts abide in the grasses / Fish leap with the current" 獸在于草，魚躍順流, he cleverly describes the actions of the beasts with a phrase from the *Odes* that is used to describe fish: Ode 192 tells us that "Fish abide in the pond" 魚在于沼, and Ode 184 tells us variously that "Fish plunge into the pool / Or abide on the shoals" 魚潛在淵，或在于渚 and "Fish abide on the shoals / Or plunge into the pool" 魚在于渚，或潛在淵. Shu Xi's employment of fishy vocabulary in the service of describing beasts helps to create tight correspondences in his poem's depiction of the natural world. Like anyone who would attempt to restore an absent original, Shu Xi knows to borrow just enough to re-create the feeling of the original, but does not overdo it, lest readers take his new work to be nothing but a pastiche of the old.

Yet in dutifully avoiding full-on quotation of the *Odes*, Shu Xi in fact betrays one of the classic's key features: its extensive internal borrowing. The *Odes* steals from itself, again and again. Shu Xi, being the later imitator, does not have license to do the same, and therefore always changes a word or two here and there. This can best be illustrated with the most obviously formulaic of lines in the "Missing Odes": the "auspicious phrase" (*guci*) at the end of Poem I, introduced by "yijie" 以介, "And add to/increase..." In the *Odes*, there are three variations of this phrase:

Phrase	Translation	Number of Appearances
以介我稷黍	And increase our millet	1 (Ode 211)
以介眉壽	And increase longevity	2 (Odes 154, 283)
以介景福	And increase glorious fortune	5 (Odes 209, 212, 239, 246, 281)

Table 3: Auspicious Phrases in the "Missing Odes"

The auspicious phrases used in the "Missing Odes" closely reflect, but never completely repeat, those found in the *Book of Odes*.

None of these correspond precisely with Shu Xi's "And increase great blessings" 以介丕祉. What is most remarkable is how often the third variant, "And increase glorious fortune" 以介景福 appears word-for-word the same in five of the *Odes*, nearly all of which occur in the "Elegantiae" sections.⁵⁷ Such wholesale plundering within this high-register, archaizing section of the *Odes* is common practice: "To the gentleman a myriad years" 君子萬年 is another example, appearing ten times in Odes 213, 216, and 247. So is "A myriad-year span without limit" 萬壽無疆, which can be found a total of six times in Odes 154, 166, 172, 209, 210, and 211. Therefore, we can see that, by trying to add variation to old clichés, Shu Xi's "Missing Odes" reveal themselves to be latter-day gap-fillers. To make his *Odes* indistinguishable from the original *Odes*, he would have to

⁵⁷ The close parallel "[May they] increase, thy glorious blessings" 介爾景福 appears twice more (in Odes 207 and 247), also among the *Elegantiae*.

have stolen entire lines from it. Direct repetition would have made for the most accurate imitation.

Conclusion

The “Missing Odes” were a cornerstone of the Western Jin dynasty’s project of empire building, one built upon a poetics of ritual and imitation. Like the rewritten missing Odes of Xiahou Zhan and Pan Yue, they must have been celebrated in their own time, considered on par with the originals. Clearly, Shu Xi’s reconstructed “Missing Odes” served their purpose: by extensively borrowing (but never fully plundering) phrases, patterns, structures, imagery, and titles from the *Book of Odes*, he was able to contribute to a performance of the Rite of the District Symposium, and thereby call forth the sagely world of the *Odes* in a politically tumultuous time. Or, to put it more pithily: he was rewriting to right the rites. Surrounded by cruel rulers and scheming ministers, the noble literatus, in his guise as a worthy classicist and as an avid reader, had no other way to harmonize the world. A correct execution of the scholar’s ceremonies was no mere game of imitation, pastiche, or forgery, but his only hope to actualize the spirit of antiquity, which would ripple outward and put the world back on its proper track. His poems aimed to fill the glaring gap in the middle of the *Odes* and restore it.

In early medieval China, unoriginality was one of the highest forms of composition, attained only through years of study. Textual borrowing was precisely what constituted authority, the possibility of actualizing prelapsarian antiquity in the fully lapsed modern world. It is for this reason that two hundred years after Shu Xi wrote his “Missing Odes,” a crown prince of China’s major dynastic power would find these poems and give them pride of place amongst lyric poetry in his anthology. In this way, they came to be considered exemplary adaptations of the *Odes*, sufficient to lend Xiao Tong an air of orthodoxy and to substitute for the *Odes* themselves in his famed anthology.

The case of the “Missing Odes” highlights one significant way in which the early medieval concept of *shi* was radically different from the post-*Wenxuan* concept of *shi*, and even further removed from our modern, western concept of “poetry.” The “Missing Odes” were not expressions of an author-figure’s inner life, but tools with which a state official could build or sustain an empire. They were central to the cosmic rituals used to legitimate the Jin dynasty. They were actualizations of a long-forgotten golden age that might help to contain the chaos unleashed by a series of violent rulers. They were expressions of an orthodoxy that bridged the canonical *Odes* and its *shi* descendants. They were the back door through which Xiao Tong could smuggle the classics into his literary anthology. The “Missing Odes” was all this and more, but never precisely what the Tang literatus or the modern academic consider to be lyric poetry.

*Appendix: Translation of "Filling out the Missing Odes"*Filling out the Missing Odes: Six Poems⁵⁸

補亡詩六首

I

Southern Slope. Filial sons admonish each other about caring for their elders.

南陔，孝子相戒以養也。

	循彼南陔	Along that southern slope,
	言采其蘭	I pluck thoroughwort.
	眷戀庭闈	Thinking fondly on their private dwelling,
4	心不遑安	My heart does not rest easy.
	彼居之子	O son dwelling there, ⁵⁹
	罔或游盤	Leave off recreation.
	馨爾夕膳	Make fragrant thy evening meal,
8	絜爾晨飧	Purify thy morning fare.

	循彼南陔	Along that southern slope,
	厥草油油	The grasses are lush, lush.
	彼居之子	O son dwelling there,
12	色思其柔	Let your countenance soften.
	眷戀庭闈	Thinking fondly of their private dwelling,
	心不遑留	My heart does not rest contented.

⁵⁸ The text of the poems can be found in Shanghai *Wenxuan*, 19.905–12. Stanza divisions indicate rhyme changes. My interpretations generally follow those presented in Li Shan's commentary, so I have left my annotations to a minimum. An early manuscript edition of the final section of the last poem (from "Bright, bright, the sovereign" 明明后辟 on), probably from the mid-seventh century, exists in the Dunhuang manuscript Φ242. The annotations in this version are curiously distinct from the two main commentarial traditions, of Li Shan and of the Five Ministers (Wuchen 五臣). See Fu Gang, *Wenxuan banben yanjiu*, 276–94.

⁵⁹ Several later commentators believe *ju* 居 ("dwelling") is a transcription error for *qi* 其 (a grammatic particle) since the phrase "bi qi zhi zi" 彼其之子 ("O son over there") is widespread in the *Book of Odes* (found 14 times total in Odes 68, 80, 108, 117, and 151). Although Shu Xi's "Missing Odes" borrow extensively from the *Book of Odes*, it is not simply a collage of quotations, so I agree with Zhang Baosan that the emendation of *ju* to *qi* is unnecessary ("Shu Xi 'Buwangshi' lunkao," 147–8). For the proposed emendation see He Zhuo 何焯 (1661–1722), *Emen dushu ji* 義門讀書記 (*Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 ed.), *juan* 46; and Zhu Jian 朱珔 (1769–1850), *Wenxuan jishi* 文選集釋, 1836, rpt. in *Xuanxue congshu* 選學叢書 (Taipei: Guangwen shuju), vol. 8–10, *juan* 16.

- 馨爾夕膳
16 絜爾晨羞
有獺有獺
在河之涘
凌波赴汨
20 噬魴捕鯉
嗷嗷林鳥
受哺于子
養隆敬薄
24 惟禽之似
勗增爾虔
以介丕祉
- Make fragrant thy evening meal,
Purify thy morning food.
There's an otter, there's an otter
On the banks of the river—
On rising waves, crossing the waters
Swallowing bream, catching carp.
Cheep-cheep, a bird in the woods
Is caught by the son.
Care is esteemed, respect is thin,
Just as with the beasts.
May it increase, thy devotion,
And add to thy great blessings.

II

White Blossom. The filial son's spotless purity.

白華，孝子之絜白也。

- 白華朱萼
被于幽薄
粲粲門子
4 如磨如錯
終晨三省
匪惰其恪
白華絳趺
8 在陵之陬
蓊蓊士子
涅而不渝
竭誠盡敬
12 亶亶忘劬
- White blossom, red calyx
Strewn over a secluded thicket,
Dapper, dapper—their temple-gate son,⁶⁰
Well-polished and smooth.
All morning, he examines himself thrice,
Not skimping in rigor.⁶¹
White blossom, crimson stem,
At the base of the hills,
Hardy, hardy—their scholar-son
Tainted but unchanged,
Who pours out sincerity, gives all reverence,
Diligent, forgets exhaustion.

⁶⁰ Temple-gate son (*menzi* 門子): the inheriting son, generally born of the first wife. The "temple" here is the ancestral temple, where the filial son would make sacrifices to his forefathers.

⁶¹ See *Analects* 1.4: "Zengzi said: 'I examine myself thrice daily. Have I been loyal or not in my dealings with others? Have I been trustworthy or not in my relations with friends and associates? Have I practiced or not what has been passed down to me?' 曾子曰：吾日三省吾身：為人謀而不忠乎？與朋友交而不信乎？傳不習乎？"

- | | | |
|----|------|---|
| | 白華玄足 | White blossom, dark root, |
| | 在丘之曲 | In the crook of a hillock, |
| | 堂堂處子 | Grand, grand—their retiring son |
| 16 | 無營無欲 | Has no plans, has no desires. ⁶² |
| | 鮮侔晨葩 | Fresh as morning buds, |
| | 莫之點辱 | Nothing smirches or shames him. |

III

Budding Millet. The season is harmonious and the year is abundant, befitting the millet.

華黍，時和歲豐，宜黍稷也。

- | | | |
|----|------|---|
| | 黪黪重雲 | Gloaming, gloaming, the stacked clouds, |
| | 輯輯和風 | <i>Wisk-wisk</i> , harmonious airs. |
| | 黍華陵巔 | Millet buds atop a mound, |
| 4 | 麥秀丘中 | Wheat flowers on a hillock. |
| | 靡田不播 | No field unsown, |
| | 九穀斯豐 | The nine grains are abundant there. |
| | 奕奕玄霄 | Radiant, radiant, the darkened nimbus, |
| 8 | 濛濛甘霽 | <i>Swish-swish</i> , the sweet showers. |
| | 黍發稠華 | Millet opens, buds in clusters, |
| | 亦挺其秀 | And its flowers extrude. |
| | 靡田不殖 | No field unseeded, |
| 12 | 九穀斯茂 | The nine grains are luxuriant there. |
| | 無高不播 | Nothing on high unsown, |
| | 無下不殖 | Nothing below unseeded. |
| | 芒芒其稼 | Teeming, teeming their kernels, |
| 16 | 參參其穡 | Great, great their ears. |
| | 穡我王委 | We gather our ruler's supply, |

⁶² Zhang Baosan sees in this line the influence of Daoism, as the late third century was a time of great interest in “Arcane Studies” (*xuanxue* 玄學). His argument is that the avoidance of desire was not seen as a virtue in the world of the *Odes* (“Shu Xi ‘Buwangshi’ lunkao,” 152–3). However, individual desire had long been recognized as selfish in China. In Ode 244, for example, King Wen 文王 is praised for “not rushing to fulfill his desires / But pursuing the filial piety which had come down to him” 匪棘其欲，遙追來孝 in his establishment of the kingdom. It seems clear to me that Shu Xi’s “filial son” is subordinating his personal plans and desires to the needs of his parents and ancestors, not attaining a state of Daoistic indifference here.

	充我民食	We store up our people's food.
	玉燭陽明	The jade torch is bright as the sun,
20	顯猷翼翼	The illustrious path is fulgent, fulgent.

IV

Following along the Path. All things follows along their Way.
由庚，萬物得由其道也。

	蕩蕩夷庚	Mighty, mighty, the everlasting path,
	物則由之	And thing follow along it.
	蠢蠢庶類	The wriggling wriggings of the many classes of beings—
4	王亦柔之	The ruler placates them.
	道之既由	When the Way has been followed
	化之既柔	And transformation is pacified,
	木以秋零	Trees wither in autumn,
8	草以春抽	Grasses are plucked in spring.
	獸在于草	Beasts abide in the grasses,
	魚躍順流	Fish leap with the current.

	四時遞謝	The four seasons follow in succession,
12	八風代扇	The eight winds replace each other.
	織阿案晷	Xian A examines their orbits, ⁶³
	星變其躔	The stars change their tracks.

	五是不逆	The five realities cannot be opposed,
16	六氣無易	The six <i>qi</i> do not change.
	愔愔我王	Stable, stable is our king,
	紹文之跡	Continuing the tracks of Wen.

V

High Hills. All things reach their greatest loftiness and grandeur.
崇丘，萬物得極其高大也。

	瞻彼崇丘	Lift your eyes to the high hills,
--	------	-----------------------------------

⁶³ Xian A 織阿 is the mythical charioteer of the sun, described as a beautiful woman. She appears in Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 "Fu on Sir Fantasy" ("Zixu fu" 子虛賦), for which see Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145–ca. 86 BCE), *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 57.3010.

	其林藹藹	Their woods thick, thick,
	植物斯高	The vegetation so tall,
4	動類斯大	The animals so great.
	周風既洽	The airs of the Zhou are gentle,
	王猷允泰	The path of the king full of peace.

	漫漫方輿	Vast, vast, the square floor,
8	回回洪覆	Broad, broad the sweeping ceiling. ⁶⁴
	何類不繁	What creatures do not abound?
	何生不茂	What vegetation does not flourish?
	物極其性	Things fulfill their nature,
12	人永其壽	Men extend their lives.

	恢恢大圓	Endless, endless, the great circle,
	芒芒九壤	Extensive, extensive the nine landmasses.
	資生仰化	The people look up and are transformed — ⁶⁵
16	于何不養	How could they not be nurtured?
	人無道夭	None die before their time:
	物極則長	With things fulfilled, they grow.

VI

According with What is Proper. At the birth of the ten thousand creatures, each achieves what is proper to it.

由儀，萬物之生，各得其儀也。

	肅肅君子	Staid, staid the gentleman
	由儀率性	Accords with propriety, follows his nature.
	明明后辟	Bright, bright the sovereign
4	仁以為政	Governs by benevolence.

	魚游清沼	Fish swim in clear ponds,
	鳥萃平林	Birds gather on flatland groves.
	濯鱗鼓翼	Shimmering scales, beating wings
8	振振其音	Manifold, manifold their sounds.
	賓寫爾誠	Vassals pour out their loyalty,
	主竭其心	Rulers exhaust their hearts.

⁶⁴ The “floor” (*yu* 輿) and the “ceiling” (*fu* 覆) refer to the earth and the sky, respectively.

⁶⁵ That is, they look up to the heavens (“the great circle,” *dayuan* 大圓), another figure for the ruler.

	時之和矣	Oh the harmony of the seasons!
12	何思何脩	Could one think it? Could one extend it?
	文化內輯	Cultural renewal brings harmony within.
	武功外悠	Martial deeds expand without.

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