

DE GRUYTER

*Jeffrey R. Tharsen*

# CHINESE EUPHONICS

PHONETIC PATTERNS, PHONORHETORIC  
AND LITERARY ARTISTRY IN EARLY CHINESE  
NARRATIVE TEXTS



WELTEN OSTASIENS  
WORLDS OF EAST ASIA  
MONDES DE L'EXTRÊME ORIENT



DE  
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Jeffrey R. Tharsen  
**Chinese Euphonics**

# **Welten Ostasiens / Worlds of East Asia / Mondes de l'Extrême Orient**



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## **Volume 29**

Jeffrey R. Tharsen

# Chinese Euphonics

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Phonological Patterns, Phonorhetoric and Literary  
Artistry in Early Chinese Narrative Texts

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

As written Chinese has always utilized a logographic rather than a phonetic script, the rapid pace of phonetic variation and change has resulted in many of the euphonic patterns in ancient texts becoming completely obscured, to the point that most ancient Chinese rhyming poetry no longer rhymes and the subtle phonological patterns in our most hallowed works of ritual and history have been lost for millennia.<sup>1</sup> While very general categories of rhyme and correlations between characters based on ancient rhyming poetry have been proposed by Chinese scholars throughout the ages, the application of historical linguistics to pre-modern Chinese over the past century has enabled linguists to begin to more precisely estimate the sounds of this ancient language. Coupled with recent advances in computer database technology, digital texts and digital tools, scholars can now efficiently employ a wide variety of phonological data for ancient Chinese (from ancient dictionaries to modern systems for reconstructed pronunciations) to provide empirical documentation and analysis of the lost euphony and phonorhetorical features of these ancient works.

The methodological foundation for this volume is a tripartite framework I propose for philological inquiry, grounded in the equal consideration of the semantics, metrics and acoustics of a given text. In general, over the past two millennia, most Chinese philological studies have focused upon detailed exegeses of the semantics of a word, passage or text. Metrical features and sentence prosody have also received some attention, as various forms of literary expression in Chinese have been governed by conventions of style and form; this is particularly true of poetry, but also of patterned and parallel prose. However, analyses of the phonological patterns in a text must play a significant role in any significant philological study, as it is the analysis of acoustic devices in concert with metric and semantic structures that reveals much of the breadth, depth and beauty of literary expression.<sup>2</sup> An em-

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1 For an outstanding overview of the history and development of the Chinese script, see Zev Handel, *Sinography* (2019), 28–61.

2 There are two areas of Chinese philology in which analyses of acoustic features have played major roles:

- 1) Homophonic variation between individual graphic forms is a well known phenomenon stretching back as far as we have written records, so much so that many “loan characters” (*jia jie zi* 假借字 [also called *tong jia zi* 通假字], one of the traditional *liu shu* 六書, the six categories of graphic analysis) are primarily phonetic in nature; many scholars have used the high numbers of phonetic loans in early Chinese texts to argue for orality as a primary form of textual transmission.

phasis on acoustics represents a methodological shift in Chinese philology; until recently it was extremely difficult to accurately assess phonological and acoustic structures in premodern Chinese texts, and this was particularly true for compositions from the distant past. Now thanks to digital texts and computational platforms like the *Digital Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* 古漢語詞源字典, any scholar can easily and efficiently evaluate the acoustic structures of any Chinese text with as much accuracy as the aggregate of available phonological evidence can provide and thereby gain a more complete understanding of its acoustic constitution, its aesthetic and performative features, and the more subtle aspects of literary artistry which informed its composition and transmission.

This study combines results on three distinct levels: paleography, phonology and stylistics. Paleographic analyses of ancient Chinese characters (particularly early forms in inscriptional corpora) provide indications of the meanings and sounds designated by those characters. These sounds, in turn, have been organized into systems by various schools of phonology seeking to establish probable pronunciations for specific Chinese words at specific times in the past. Recurrent patterns of rhyme, repetition, alliteration, phrase length, cadence and emphasis enable us to delineate the stylistic devices used by ancient rhetors and writers. The results on each level are independent and do not have to be absolutely assured in order for regularities to be noted; these results add up to an overall pic-

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2) As noted above and as will be discussed below in great detail, it has long been common in philological studies of Chinese poetry to note rhyme words and their phonological features (primarily the *yun bu* 韻部 or “rhyme group” of the graphs in rhyme position), and in the modern era, some scholars have conducted phonological analyses of specific poems (Tang 唐 dynasty regulated poetry in particular has long been a focus of extensive phonological and tonal analyses), or quotations of poetry. In some instances more complete analyses of prose featuring rhyme have been conducted, but these are nearly always limited to short passages or rhyming couplets with only the sounds of the rhyme words indicated; to the best of this author’s knowledge, the only previous scholar to publish analyses detailing the phonology of every graph in an early Chinese text was Wolfgang Behr in his masterwork *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung* (2008).

As Paul Kroll notes in the introduction to his 2017 dictionary: “Too often we read premodern Chinese texts as though just decoding a semantic puzzle. But the sound of a word is important as well as its sense, and having even a rough idea of the actual sound of a word in earlier times, not just its pronunciation in Modern Standard Chinese, is always worthwhile. This is especially, though not only, the case when reading literary texts that are most keenly attuned to the conscious blending of sound and sense.” See Kroll, *A Student’s Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese* (2017), xii. A recent dissertation by Gian Rominger also highlights the importance of paying attention to developments in sound-based recurrences when reading Chinese texts from the third to first centuries BCE; see Rominger, “Aural Texts and the Association of Sound and Meaning in Early China” (Ph.D. diss., 2023).

ture of regular, predictable, and presumably effective devices used in early Chinese oratory and literary artistry.

The goal of this volume is to provide initial and tentative answers to two main questions. First, what are the specific defining features and characteristics of acoustic patterns in early Chinese narrative prose, and can one empirically establish patterns of convention defined by the commonalities and differences evidenced in diverse corpora of early Chinese texts? For example, what do the similarities in euphonic patterning yet marked differences in the metrical structures and registers of vocabulary within the opening section of the first speech preserved in the inscription on the Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎 compared to the opening section of the speech by Zitaishu 子大叔 preserved in the “Duke Zhao 25<sup>th</sup> Year” chapter of the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* 《春秋左傳·昭公二十五年傳》 indicate regarding developments in early Chinese prose and/or oratory?<sup>3</sup>

Second, given the euphonic patterns and literary devices established in the answer to the first question, can one discern potential rationales for the use of these types of patterns in rhetoric and oratory based upon the specific contexts in which they were ostensibly delivered? Naturally, this assumes there were conscious or subconscious reasons for the authors of these compositions to choose the specific patterns, styles and forms employed therein, and any conclusions must be derived in part from comments by contemporaneous and later writers on links between structures creating harmony in governance and in rhetoric/oratory. To provide a solid foundation for this work, let us begin with a general overview of studies of euphony, phonological patterning, and literary aesthetics in early Chinese prose.

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<sup>3</sup> Varieties of end-rhyme comprise the predominant phonorhetorical device we find throughout these works; the evidence shows a greater diversity in the finals for the rhyme words and in the rhetorical forms preserved in the *Classic of Documents* and the speeches of the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* when compared to the rhyme words and rhetorical patterns in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptional corpus. More importantly, the methods proposed in this study are designed to provide a relatively empirical and reproducible framework to enable the identification, elucidation and comparison of the acoustic, metric and rhetorical devices used in these texts, or in any text. Cf. Jeffrey Tharsen, “Comparative Phonorhetorical Analyses of Speeches in the *Zuo Commentary* and the *Discourses of the States*” in the *Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture* 6.2 (2019).



## Chapter 2

# Euphony, Phonological Patterns, and Literary Aesthetics in Early Chinese Texts

In Chinese as in English there are many literary styles: the archaic, the poetic, the plain, the ornate. There are period styles, individual styles, and styles peculiar to specific literary genres. The essential quality of style is something easier to recognize than to isolate and describe. It has obviously to do with the ordering and choice of words, and yet the simple ordering of words to create a style in prose is of that order of subtlety and complexity which made the Wheelwright despair of transmitting the mysteries of his own craft.

– James Robert Hightower, “Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose” (1965)

Euphony, from the Greek εὐφωνία, simply means “the quality of having a pleasant sound.”<sup>4</sup> Like prosody, euphony is primarily based on the aesthetic qualities of acoustics, and is intimately linked with the field of music as well as literary theory.<sup>5</sup> However, unlike in music, in literature euphony is regulated by the rules

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4 In Greek, εὐφωνία [*euphōnía*] comes from εὐφωνος [*éuphōnos*]: the prefix εὐ- [*eu-*] “good” or “pleasant” plus φωνή [*phōnḗ*] “voice” or “sound.” See “euphony,” *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2008).

5 Prosody is a large conceptual term which is often used to describe the phonaesthetic and phonorhetorical structures in texts. (Technically, this is “literary prosody” as opposed to “tonal prosody”, discussed below.) In modern poetics, prosody is the study of meter and forms of versification. When applied to prose texts, “literary prosody” then refers not only to “poetic” forms but also to metric and acoustic devices and structures: the “music” of a text, including its phonetic, rhythmic, metric and syntactic patterns. (In classical Greek, προσῳδία [*prosōidiā*] was a song, usually sung to musical accompaniment, from πρὸς [*prós*] “to[ward]” + ᾠδή [*ōidḗ*] “song” or “ode”.) Unfortunately, the problem with using the term “prosody” in analyses of pre-Qin 秦 Chinese is that prosody most commonly indicates pitch in music theory and tonal features in language; its standard usage in Chinese linguistics is to describe Middle Chinese and later tonal systems, as in W.A.C.H. Dobson, “The Origin and Development of Prosody in Early Chinese Poetry” (1968). While tonality is a critical aspect of studies of poetics and the use of language, Old Chinese, as far as modern studies have shown, featured different types of tonality than Middle Chinese (represented mainly by codas and post-codas in the reconstructions used in this study). Old Chinese possibly did have variations in vowel length and/or quality, and for these types of features, particularly when used in regular patterns, the term “prosody” would be most appropriate. Thus, to avoid confusion and as our primary focus is on more general acoustic patterns and functions of language in rhetoric (and despite the close relationship between prosody and musicality, which ties in well with early Chinese conceptions of patterned language, see the discussion at the end in this section), throughout this work I will use the term “euphony” rather than “prosody”. See Zhengzhang Shangfang, *Shang gu yin xi* 《上古音系》 [tr. Sagart as *The Phonological System of Old Chinese*] (2003), 50–51; Sergej Starostin, *Rekonstrukcija drevnekitajskoj fonologičeskoj sis-*

which govern the expression of language and all its constituent elements, including grammar, semantics and syntax. As far back as we have written records, the logographic nature of the Chinese language wherein each graph represents a single metric foot (usually equivalent to a single syllable) has lent itself to particularly intricate and elegant syntactic constructions, often parallel or repetitive in structure. When combined with phonaesthetic devices, Chinese literary artistry was most commonly expressed as forms of verse, usually featuring end-rhyme, and cadenced prose.<sup>6</sup>

Because of the close association of phonological patterning with poetic forms and the exalted status of poetry in traditional Chinese literary theory and cultural practices, studies of euphony in ancient Chinese have tended to focus first and foremost on the rhyme words in early anthologies of poetry, with particular emphasis on the poems collected in the anthology which came to be known as the *Classic of Poetry*, or *Shi jing* 《詩經》. The first to systematically document euphony in Chinese prose was the eminent Qing phonologist Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735–1815), who added to his lists of rhyme words in the *Classic of Poetry* the rhyme words in passages from the Chinese classics of ritual, philosophy and history (collectively called the *qun jing* 群經). Duan was followed shortly thereafter by Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744–1832), who included rhymed phrases from the early anthology of poetry *Songs of Chu* 《楚辭》 along with those from the *Classic of Poetry* and selected Chinese classics, and half a century later by Jiang Yougao 江有誥 (d. 1851), who independently compiled his own lists of rhymed phrases from the above corpora and from a variety of other early texts, including Tang 唐

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*temy* (1989), 105; William Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (1992), 302–42; and William Baxter and Laurent Sagart, *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction* (2013), 68–76.

6 In Baxter and Sagart's 2014 *Old Chinese*, they argue for the existence of a “presyllable” in early Chinese morphology: an unstressed “minor syllable” preceding the stressed major syllable. The Baxter-Sagart preinitial is comprised of a preinitial consonant (without a preinitial vowel, this results in a preinitial consonant cluster), and potentially a preinitial vowel (\*ə). As the existence of a preinitial vowel would result in disyllabic words/graphs in Old Chinese, the theory should be considered tentative until fuller study of the phenomenon can be achieved. In terms of metrics, Baxter and Sagart claim a disyllabic word would also comprise a single metric foot in Chinese poetics, so it's unclear whether these minor syllables, if they existed as Baxter and Sagart have proposed, would have had any effect on the metric structures, rhythms or cadences of a text. Baxter and Sagart, *Old Chinese*, 50–53. For a general discussion of enclitic particles (*xuci* 虛詞) in early Chinese literary works and their influence on metrical patterns, see He Leshi 何乐士, *Gu dai Han yu xuci tongshi* 古代汉语虚词通释 (1985); for their use in the *Classic of Poetry* see Wang Jinfang 王金芳, *Shi jing xuci yanjiu* 「诗经」虚词研究 (2018), and for their use in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, see Fang Lina 方麗娜, “Xi Zhou jinwen xuci yanjiu” 西周金文虚词研究 (M.A. thesis, 1985) and Cui Yongdong 崔永東, *Xi Zhou jinwen xuci yanjiu* 西周金文虚词研究 (1994).

dynasty poetry.<sup>7</sup> In the modern era, major studies of euphony in early Chinese prose include Bernhard Karlgren's study of the *Lao zi* 《老子》 and the analyses performed by Wang Guowei 王國維, Guo Moruo 郭沫若 and Wolfgang Behr on patterns of rhyme in Zhou 周 dynasty inscriptions on bronze vessels.<sup>8</sup> Each of these studies is discussed in detail below, with particular attention paid to their insights into the works analyzed in chapters five, seven and eight.

However, these outstanding works by extraordinary scholars all share two critical shortcomings when evaluated as analyses of euphony.<sup>9</sup> As the focus of each of these works is the documentation of rhyming graphs within proximate lines of text, there is scant attention paid to metric or syntactic structures, contextual frameworks or the use of other literary devices in the texts, and thus these works are best considered as analyses of rhyme and rhyme words rather than as comprehensive studies of euphony, prosody, rhetoric or literary artistry.<sup>10</sup> The dominant phonaesthetic device noted in the studies above is perfect rhyme in parallel construction, and the widespread use of other euphonic and phonorhetorical devices in these classic texts has long remained unacknowledged, such as repetitive patterns featuring half-rhyme (primarily consonance, as in *homoioleuton*), assonance and alliteration, repetition (*anaphora*, *epistrophe*, *epanalepsis*, *epimone*) and other acoustic devices and forms of literary artistry.<sup>11</sup>

7 The 1962–63 updates to Jiang Yougao's lists in "Xian-Qin sanwen zhong de yunwen" 〈先秦散文中的韻文〉 by Long Yuchun 龍宇純 are based upon twenty-four pre-Qin texts, but the *Classic of Documents*, *Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals* and Zhou bronze inscriptions are not included in his analyses. See Long Yuchun 龍宇純. "Xian Qin sanwen zhong de yunwen" 先秦散文中的韻文 in *Chongji xuebao* 崇基學報 2.2 (1962), 137–169; 3.1 (1963), 55–87.

8 See Bernhard Karlgren, "The Poetical Parts in Lao-Tzi" (Göteborg: Elanders boktryckeri aktiebolag, 1932); Wang Guowei, "Liang Zhou jinshiwen yundu" 〈兩周金石文韻讀〉 (1968); Guo Moruo, "Jinwen yundu bu yi" 〈金文韻讀補遺〉 (1931) 1–32, 127–128; and Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften* (2008).

9 Beyond phonaesthetic considerations, the considerable phonological and methodological shortcomings of each of these works is discussed at length below in chapter six.

10 Karlgren and Behr are the primary exceptions to this, but as noted below, Karlgren's analyses are often incorrect and are certainly insufficient for a full analysis (Karlgrén himself notes that his article simply presents examples of a few of the phonaesthetic patterns which occur in the *Lao zi* and other early texts, without any attempt to document or analyze them in a more comprehensive manner) while Behr's structures are so focused on patterns of rhyme that they ignore/eschew many natural grammatical structures and obscure the natural metric patterns which provide evidence of the more likely phonaesthetic and phonorhetorical patterns in the texts.

11 "Half-rhyme" is normally referred to as *he yun* 合韻 or *tong yun* 通韻 in Chinese studies of rhyme. Most modern linguists view repetition of the final consonant with disaccord in the medial vowels (*he yun*) as a form of consonance, and repetition of the medial vowel with disaccord in

This volume thus provides evidential analyses of the euphonic, phonological and phonorhetorical structures employed within a representative selection of the earliest Chinese narrative prose texts. Rather than focus on limited examples of true rhyme or other rhetorical patterns which have already been documented, the texts chosen for case studies in this volume were intentionally selected as

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the final consonant (*tong yun*) as a form of assonance. Duan, Wang and Jiang all acknowledge that *he yun* and *tong yun* exist in ancient texts, but their examples of these phenomena are extremely limited and non-systematic, usually only noted when a series of perfectly-rhyming graphs is interrupted by a graph which does not fall into the same rhyme group (*yun bu* 韻部). A systematic analysis of *he yun* and *tong yun* for Old Chinese works was compiled by Wang Li 王力; for analyses of these patterns in the *Classic of Poetry*, see Wang Li, *Shi jing yun du* 《詩經韻讀》(1980), 28–36.

Sequences of final consonance (which it must be noted can include perfect rhyme, but more precisely refers to any form featuring identical final consonants) were termed *ἁμοιοτέλευτον* [*homoioteleuton*] (meaning “similar ending”) by the ancient Greeks, and while its use is based mainly on repetition of similar or identical case endings in Western languages, patterns from Greek and Latinate texts show striking similarities to the patterns analyzed in this study. (It must also be noted that *homoioteleuton* can also refer to the practice of scribal errors in which a scribe miscopies a case ending from the end of one line to a succeeding line; such a mistake would be virtually impossible to make in Chinese.) For specific examples of *homoioteleuton* in ancient Greek literary contexts, see Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* (Book III, Section 9) and the works of Gorgias of Leontini; more modern sources include Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa: Vom VI. Jahrhundert V. Chr. Bis in Die Zeit Der Renaissance* (1983), Eva Guggenheimer, *Rhyme Effects and Rhyming Figures: A Comparative Study of Sound Repetitions in the Classics with Emphasis on Latin Poetry* (1973), Shackleton Bailey, *Homoeoteleuton in Latin Dactylic Verse* (1994), and the best analogue to this study, W. B. Stanford, *The Sound of Greek: Studies in the Greek Theory and Practice of Euphony* (1967). A sampling of Stanford’s comments on rhyme and repetition from his fourth chapter entitled “Euphony in Practice” are worth including here: “The Greeks used rhyme—*homoioteleuton* as they called it—much more sparingly than Western European poets, probably because the frequent similarities of the case-endings made rhymes in the end-syllables of words less noticeable to them than to us. Double or triple rhymes do seem to be employed with deliberate stylistic intention at times . . . In sound patterns of this kind there is utility as well as pleasant hearing. Phrases that have end-rhymes are easy to remember. So, too, phrases with initial assonances such as ‘waste not, want not’, ‘look before you leap’, ‘penny wise, pound foolish’. Obviously, too, equivalence of rhythm helps the mnemonic effect, as in the examples cited, and equivalence of pitch-accent is often enlisted as a memory aid. Here we can see very simply and clearly how the three main factors in euphony—timbre-quality, pitch-accent, and rhythm—combine to arrest and impress the mind of any hearer . . . A simple kind of sound-patterning for euphonic effect is the repetition of whole words within a phrase or succession of phrases. The Greek rhetoricians recognized several distinct types . . . Most emphatic of all types of repetition is the full refrain, that is, a whole line repeated at calculated intervals . . . One can appreciate its effect more in terms of being hit several times by a stick than of observing an abstract mathematical series. We feel the effect of repetition rather than think it, as we feel an increase in the temperature of the air or in the weight of a bundle of books.” Stanford, *Sound of Greek*, 84–89.

they were designated by the Qing dynasty scholars named above as containing no rhymes or acoustic patterns, and even when the more nuanced euphonic patterns proposed by Karlgren and Behr are taken into account, these analyses prove insufficient and oftentimes provide incorrect renderings of the euphonic structures when viewed in their full context. When one performs full analyses of the phonological systems of these texts, a range of complex and striking euphonic, acoustic and phonorhetorical patterns become readily apparent.

Finally, it must be acknowledged that a single volume of this size and depth cannot hope to provide documentation of every euphonic and phonaesthetic device employed in early Chinese literature, or even of the texts represented in the case studies below; at best, it represents an initial starting point from which further and more penetrating analyses may be conducted as scholars begin to build a more nuanced and more comprehensive understanding of the development of phonaesthetics and literary artistry in early China.

Forms of phonological and phonetic patterning, euphony, phonaesthesia, rhetoric and literary artistry have long been a primary focus of intense study in the fields of literary criticism, philology, semiotics, linguistics, neurology and psychology; a full recounting of all the contributions within these widely varied fields is well beyond the scope of this volume. However, there are a few studies of acoustic devices in literary prose which are directly relevant to their analysis in the ancient Chinese narrative works included in the case studies in chapters five, seven and eight.<sup>12</sup> We will begin with a pair of works from the field of modern literary criticism: first, a study of phonaesthetic devices in modern French and

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<sup>12</sup> There has been much discussion in recent years on the question of “silent reading” and whether patterns of sound in texts are “heard” by the reader. The article “How Silent Is Silent Reading? Intracerebral Evidence for Top-Down Activation of Temporal Voice Areas during Reading” (2012) by Marcela Perrone-Bertolotti et al in the *Journal of Neuroscience* is perhaps the most well-regarded recent study of this issue; the authors state that “. . . silent reading often involves an imagery speech component: we can hear our own ‘inner voice’ pronouncing words mentally. Recent functional magnetic resonance imaging studies have associated that component with increased metabolic activity in the auditory cortex, including voice-selective areas . . . our results demonstrate that the multimodal mental experience of reading is in fact a heterogeneous complex of asynchronous neural responses, and that auditory and visual modalities often process distinct temporal frames of our environment at the same time.” Marcela Perrone-Bertolotti et al., “How Silent Is Silent Reading? Intracerebral Evidence for Top-Down Activation of Temporal Voice Areas during Reading” (2012), 17554. For the question of whether texts would have been read silently or recited aloud in the ancient period, Jesper Svenbro’s 1993 study entitled *Phrasikleia: An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece* declares that “Writing could not do without a voice . . . the internalization of the voice in silent reading corresponds to the metaphor of ‘letters that speak,’ which became current at the point where silent reading began to be more or less commonly practiced. For anyone reading in silence, as Theseus does in Euripides’ *Hippolytos*, the

English literary prose, followed by a study of early Chinese “parallel prose” (*pian wen* 駢文), and finally, undertake a review of the primary evidence of early Chinese conceptions of euphony in literary artistry and the significance of acoustic patterning in early Chinese rhetoric and style.

The work most directly analogous to the analyses in this volume comes from the field of modern literary criticism: Adam Piette’s 1996 study of phonaesthetic patterns in prose, centered on the works of Stéphane Mallarmé, Marcel Proust, James Joyce and Samuel Beckett.<sup>13</sup> In his work Piette explores the mimetic relation between “key-word sound clusters” and memory, in which the rhythmic repetition of semantic and phonetic elements functions as an “acoustic alerting-device,” adding stress to certain elements, initiating emotional and psychological effects and serving as a trigger for memory in the mind of the reader.<sup>14</sup> Piette documents numerous examples of interior rhyme-strings (“rimes intérieures”), as in the lines from Proust’s *Du côté de chez Swann*, “la forme minuscule d’une promeneuse—la petite phrase venait d’apparaître, lointaine, gracieuse”; examples of assonance, as in Joyce’s *Portrait of a Young Man*, “Listen: a fourworded wave-speech: seesoo, hrss, rsseeiss, oos. Vehement breath of waters amid seasnakes, rearing horses, rocks. In cups of rocks it slops: flop, slop, slap”; and examples of alliteration and repetition, as in Beckett’s *Malone Meurt*, “Me montrer maintenant, à la veille de disparaître, en même temps que l’étranger, grâce à la même grâce, voilà que ne serait pas dépourvu de piquant. Puis vivre, le temps de sentir, derrière mes yeux fermés, se fermer d’autres yeux.” Most directly relevant to the study of phonorhetoric is Piette’s argument that the effects of repetitive sounds in prose, including half-rhyme and other phonaesthetic devices, fulfill a similar function to the use of full rhyme in verse:

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letters ‘speak’, they ‘cry out’ or even ‘sing’. The eye sees the sound.” Jesper Svenbro and Gregory Nagy, *Phrasikleia: An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece* (1993), 4–5.

13 Outside of the four authors mentioned here, Piette does not analyze euphonic or phonetic patterns in other writers’ works but there are several other studies worth mentioning here, such as John Ruskin, *Elements of English Prosody* (1880); George Saintsbury, *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (1912); Jean Mourot, *Le Génie d’un style: Chateaubriand, rythme et sonorité dans les Mémoires d’outre-tombe* (1960); Kathleen McCluskey, *Reverberations: Sound and Structure in the Novels of Virginia Woolf* (1986); Vincent Cheng, “The Twining Stresses, Two by Two’: The Prosody of Joyce’s Prose” (2009): 391–399; and William Martin, *Joyce and the Science of Rhythm* (2012). On a structural level, David Masson provided a detailed taxonomy of sound-repetitions in prose; see Masson, “Sound-Repetition Terms,” in *Poetics: International Conference on Work-in-Progress Devoted to Problems of Poetics*, ed. D. Davie (1961), 189–199.

14 Piette defines these “key-word sound clusters” as “prose rhymes,” essentially a type of prosodic device primarily based on repetitive phonetic patterns. Adam Piette, *Remembering and the Sound of Words: Mallarmé, Proust, Joyce, Beckett* (1996) 43–44.

the abstract properties of verse rhymes are analogous to the effects sound-repetitions in prose. In other words, rhyme in a poem establishes comparison, settles the accent of the stresses, initiates memory, makes play with the senses of the words, joins the disparate to create a tertium aliquid. The key-word stress-lines that prose rhymes create have similar purposes—they line up as stress-markers (perhaps contrary to the sense), they as motifs ‘remember’ previous contexts, make out comparisons and create new matter by syntheses, alter the senses of the words with the different order of their sounds. These analogous effects are for the most part figurative in the sense that the accents and memory they imitate are often emotional and psychological rather than purely technical . . . sound-resemblances become prose rhymes as such only when they are marshalled by the coordinating presence of strong acoustic and/or conceptual elements. The strength will vary according to how far down a leitmotif-chain those elements appear. As there are reasons for the ‘rhymes’ being there in prose, there must also be reasons for looking for the rhymes in the first place.<sup>15</sup>

Piette’s statement on coordination between acoustic and conceptual elements is particularly important as it provides the final piece of a theoretical structure which combines the three main features of the conceptual framework outlined above:

- 1) acoustics (“prose rhymes,” which represent the aural or euphonic quality of repeated phonemes; in Piette’s study, these serve as stress markers),
- 2) metrics (“lines of stress” created by the order of sounds and patterns of phonemes and governed by rules of grammar and syntax), and
- 3) semantics (“conceptual elements” and leitmotifs, whose significance is further emphasized by context).

This tripartite conceptual framework can then be extended by Piette’s main argument, which is that ordered series of acoustic, metric and semantic elements in prose serve to initiate memory and spark emotional and psychological effects.<sup>16</sup> Although his evidence comes from modern French and English literary prose,

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 44–5.

<sup>16</sup> This discussion encroaches upon the fields of semiotics and cognitive linguistics; a discussion of the emotional and psychological effects of language (or simply of poetry and/or prose, for that matter) is well beyond the scope of this study. However, a few comments by Roman Jakobson in his famous 1958 “Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics” are worth bearing in mind when considering the relationship between sound, form and semantics: “The emotive function, laid bare in the interjections, flavors to some extent all our utterances, on their phonic, grammatical and lexical level . . . No doubt, verse is primarily a recurrent ‘figure of sound.’ Primarily, but never uniquely. Any attempts to confine such poetic conventions as meter, alliteration or rhyme to the sound level are speculative reasonings without any empirical justification . . . Whatever the relation between sound and meaning in different rhyme techniques, both spheres are necessarily involved.” Roman Jakobson, “Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics.” in Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., *Style in Language* (1960), 350–377.

given the parallels to the types of patterns outlined in the case studies below, his framework could equally be applied to the forms and effects of these constructions in early Chinese literary works. As Wen Yiduo 聞一多 noted in *Mythology and Poetry* 《神話與詩》, the mnemonic qualities of early Chinese rhyming poetry were a critical component in its ability to be recalled and recited from memory and thus instrumental in its transmission down through the ages, serving as both an expression of cultural tradition and a record of important historical events from ages before record-keeping and textual transmission became sufficiently reliable.<sup>17</sup>

Indeed, what evidence do we have from early China that they were acutely aware of the powerful psychological effects of the combination of acoustic, metric and semantic elements? As Wen Yiduo noted, the most obvious answer lies in the extensive corpora of early Chinese rhyming poetry, in which acoustic and semantic elements are combined in extraordinarily regular metric patterns and which has comprised the core of the Chinese literary canon for at least two millennia.<sup>18</sup> For early Chinese prose, the most revealing analyses of the coordinative effects of

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17 The mnemonic value of the repetitive phrasing and euphonic patterns in early Chinese poetry has been discussed by many scholars throughout the ages. Wen Yiduo frames his discussion around the relationship between the word “poetry” (*shi* 詩 \*s.tə) and the word “will” (*zhi* 志 \*tə-s), which he states has three meanings: “to remember” *jiyi* 記憶, “to record” *jilu* 記錄 and “to cherish” *huaibao* 懷抱; Wen argues the graphs were interchangeable in early Chinese. While the argument that they were interchangeable is difficult to substantiate, there is good evidence that they were homophonous, as ancient Chinese manuscripts show direct phonological links between these two critical terms. The best example comes from the Shanghai Museum manuscript “Confucius’s Essay on the Poetry” 《孔子詩論》 where the graph *shi* 詩 is simply written with *zhi* 之 (as phonetic) over *yan* 言, and *zhi* 之 is the phonetic above *xin* 心 in many early forms of *zhi* 志; see Imre Galambos, *Orthography of Early Chinese Writing: Evidence from Newly Excavated Manuscripts* (2006) for a range of examples.

Stephen Owen and Kenneth Brashier have also noted the connection between these two terms and the transmission of history via oral poetry; Owen’s comment on the famous line “Poetry speaks of aims, songs intone the words.” 「詩言志，歌永言。」 from the *Classic of Documents* is “The statement probably referred originally to ‘intoning’ [reading *yong* 永 as *yong* 詠], stretching out the words in the act of singing. But commentators play on the meaning ‘lasting long’ [*yong* 永], transferring it to another aspect of song, its ability to be preserved, carried afar, and transmitted. Through the patterning of song, a text becomes fixed and repeatable. Unlike speech, which disappears as soon as it is uttered, song is one of the earliest examples of the fixed text; and that repeatability is a miracle.” Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (1992) 28–9, and Kenneth Brashier, “Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Stelae” in Martin Kern, ed., *Text and Ritual in Early China* (2005) 259–68.

18 Naturally, Wolfgang Behr’s documentation of the widespread rhyming in the bronze inscriptions of the Western Zhou also provide particularly outstanding *prima facie* examples of the use of phonaesthesia in early China. See Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften* (2008).



acoustics, metrics and semantics come from the field of early Chinese literary criticism, and in particular, studies of the early Chinese literary form known as *pian wen* 駢文 “parallel prose” or *pian ti wen* 駢體文 “parallel style prose.”

In 1959, James Robert Hightower published an article entitled “Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose” in which he detailed a series of literary devices common to compositions which are generally recognized as examples of the early Chinese parallel prose style as an introduction to his translations of “Proclamation on North Mountain” 〈北山移文〉 by Kong Zhigui 孔稚珪 (447–501 C.E.) and the “Preface to *New Songs from the Jade Tower*” 〈玉臺新詠序〉 by Xu Ling 徐陵 (507–583 C.E.).<sup>19</sup> In that article, the three general categories of parallelism which

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The most famous quotes on the primacy of poetry come from Confucius’ *Analects*, in particular the lines “If you do not study the Poetry, you will be unable to speak [eloquently].” 「不學詩，無以言。」 (16.13) and “Poetry can be used to arouse, to observe, to express congeniality, and to express resentment.” 「詩，可以興，可以觀，可以群，可以怨。」 (17.9) More apropos than these comments from the *Analects*, however, is a line from the third strip of the Shanghai Museum manuscript “Confucius’s Essay on the Poetry” 《孔子詩論》，which neatly describes the “Airs of the States” 〈國風〉 section of the *Classic of Poetry*:

“The ‘Airs of the States’: The things (=subjects) it includes are broad, one can observe human customs in it, and there is a great collection of material therein. Its words are eloquently patterned, its sounds are pleasant.”

「〈邦風〉，其納物也溥，觀人俗焉，大斂材焉。其言文(文)，其聖(聲)善。」

Describing the poems in the ‘Airs of the States’ section of the *Classic of Poetry* as *wen* 文 “eloquently patterned” makes very good sense, as those poems are in general the most repetitive in structure in the *Poetry*. Most relevant to the current study is that in this passage artistic expression in language (“eloquently patterned” words) is discussed side-by-side with “good sounds”; the composer of the Essay has highlighted that in the ‘Airs of the States’ the use of language and the use of sound go hand-in-hand and has singled these out as its most important attributes.

19 According to Hightower, the literary style *pian ti wen* 駢體文 or “parallel prose” is found no earlier than the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 C.E.), and he focuses on its use during the “period notorious for its almost exclusive dedication to this style of writing,” the Southern and Northern Dynasties era (420–589 C.E.). Hightower notes that parallel prose (or similar forms) continued to be used “at least as late as the Tang dynasty” (618–907 C.E.) and shares many characteristics with the poetic form known as the “rhapsody” (*fu* 賦); he describes the “greater metric irregularity” of parallel prose as the primary distinction between these two genres. That said, Hightower acknowledges that “during the period when Parallel Prose exists as a style of writing used for other purposes than the *fu*, the *fu* has acquired a much greater degree of regularity than it had possessed during the Former Han,” and thus in the earliest periods of their use, the dividing line between these two literary forms, with the *fu* generally viewed as a poetic form and parallel prose designated as prose (or “rhyme-prose”), is much less clear. See Hightower, James Robert, “Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose,” (1965), 108–9.

Hightower argues distinguish early Chinese parallel prose are extremely analogous to those which I have put forth above and thus serve as a prime comparative example for the framework for this volume, though the texts he discusses post-date the works featured herein by several hundred years. Hightower's three general categories are "Metrical Parallelism," "Grammatical Parallelism" and "Phonic Parallelism," and he provides specific criteria for each category, reviewed in detail below. Most relevant to the study of phonorhetoric are his descriptions of how acoustic devices function in parallel prose, as several of these devices harken remarkably closely to those employed in the ancient texts detailed in the case studies in this volume.<sup>20</sup>

According to Hightower, "Metrical Parallelism" in parallel prose is marked by use of the couplet as the basic structural unit, and while occasional isolated single lines do occur (he describes these as "paragraphing devices," as they usually signal the introductory or concluding line of a paragraph), groupings of three, five or seven lines are relatively rare. Hightower notes that in his studies of parallel prose he has found no examples of six lines in succession which share the same metrical or grammatical structures. While couplets can be composed of anywhere from three to seven "beats" (graphs), lines of four or six characters in length tend to predominate, but even among these units there is great variety in their structure: some couplets are ten graphs long (comprised of grammatical units of four plus six, or six plus four) while other couplets are seven graphs long, and there seems to be no larger organizing metric principle within any specific series. As

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<sup>20</sup> Joachim Gentz has written eloquently on the topic of the "marked orderliness" and parallel phrasing within early Chinese texts: "[In Chinese] the use of tonal and graphic structures or their combination in graphically-marked phonetic parallelism (based on etymological relationships within *xiasheng*-series) allow an additional level of expression of parallelism in a variety of phonetic and graphic recurrences, such as alliteration, patterns of reduplicated tonal sequences and rhyme, as well as by using unified classes of characters or graphemes with the same graphic (content-associated) element. [In Chinese] this can be more easily introduced in parallelistic structures and is also less obtrusive than in syllable-distinct, polysyllabic and alphabetically written languages. Rhyme is consistently applied not only in poetry, but also in parallel prose (*pian ti wen* 駢體文)." ("Die Verwendung tonaler und graphischer Strukturen oder deren Kombination in graphisch markierten phonetischen Parallelismen (etymologische *xiasheng*-Verwandtschaftsserien) als zusätzliche Ausdrucksebene von Parallelismen ermöglichen eine Vielfalt phonetischer und graphischer Wiederholungen als Alliteration, Ton-Reduplikation Tonsequenzmuster und Reim sowie als einheitliches Klassenzeichen oder Graphem mit gleichem graphischem (inhaltlich assoziierten) Element. Dadurch können parallelistische Strukturen leichter eingebracht werden und ragen dadurch ebenfalls weniger heraus als in silbendistinkten polysyllabischen und alphabetisch verschriftlichten Sprachen. Reim wird nicht nur in Dichtung, sondern auch in Parallelprosa (*pian ti wen* 駢體文) konsistent angewendet."). See Gentz, "Zum Parallelismus in der chinesischen Literatur" (2007) 243.

Hightower notes: “Metrical parallelism, then, gives parallel prose its characteristic distinction from prose which is not parallel: Parallel prose is rhythmic, but the rhythms are continuously varied, and even when it uses rhyme, it is not likely to be confused with verse.”<sup>21</sup>

“Grammatical Parallelism” (or “Lexical Parallelism”) is similarly present in both the ancient texts analyzed in this volume and the later genre of parallel prose, but differs greatly in degree. As Hightower notes, parallel prose exploits parallelism in grammatical construction “to the last degree,” whereby the order of words in the first line of a couplet is matched in grammatical function by the words in the second line, reinforcing the metrical repetition. In this volume examples of this type of parallelism can be seen occasionally (as in the Da Yu *dīng* sections 2.2, 2.5 and 5, the Dong *fāngdīng* II section 2, the *Classic of Documents* “Announcement to Kang” section 6 and “The Numerous Regions” sections 2.3 and 4.2, and in the speech by Fu Chen from the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) but in none of the early texts analyzed in the chapters below is grammatical parallelism as ubiquitous or as regular as in many later works of parallel prose.

Hightower’s “Phonic Parallelism” (his category analogous to my “acoustic patterning”) in parallel prose can be divided into three subcategories: repetitive and consistent end-rhyme within discrete passages, binomial alliteration and phonemic repetition, and tonal patterning. Most modern phonologists believe that Old Chinese did not feature tonality akin to the tonal systems of either Middle Chinese or modern Chinese, and thus Middle Chinese tonality has not been included in the analyses. Extensive examples of the first and second subcategories, however, can be found throughout the texts analyzed below with many similarities to their uses in parallel prose. Symmetrically structured parallel use of alliterative phrases and rhyming binomes occur throughout works composed in the parallel prose style, much as it features regularly in early Chinese poetry. In the case studies below, parallel alliterative constructions are most typically found in the inscriptions on bells from the Western Zhou, but are also employed in the *Classic of Documents* (see sections 2, 5 and 6 in the “Announcement to Kang” and the couplet at the beginning of section 3.2 in the “Numerous Regions”) and in the parallel phrases in the speeches recorded in the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

The predominant feature of acoustic patterning in the texts detailed in this volume is end-rhyme. As Hightower notes: “End-rhyme is not an invariable feature of Parallel Prose, but when it occurs it is used consistently and regularly, just

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21 Within the poetic form of most Han era rhapsodies (*fu* 賦), four-character lines tend to dominate (though as noted above, there are certainly many exceptions). As Hightower notes, the metric regularity of most *fu* clearly differentiates the genre from the far less consistent metric structures in most works of parallel prose. Hightower, “Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose”, 108–110.

as it is in verse . . . with one exception, the change [in rhyme] always coincides with a change in paragraph, though not with changes in meter. There is no case of a rhyme being continued through a paragraph division, and it looks as though an important function of rhyme is to reinforce the logical divisions of the piece, as indeed it does in the *fu*.”<sup>22</sup> In the ancient texts analyzed in this volume, end-rhyme is employed in consistent and regular patterns, and just as in parallel prose, it seems to be directly linked to the semantics and syntactic structures in the texts, wherein changes in the phonological pattern usually mark changes in topic or theme. These divisions are particularly evident in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, so much so that in many cases the acoustic patterns can be used to divide an inscription into rhetorical and thematic sections. As the acoustic patterns in the *Classic of Documents* are much less regular than those of the bronze inscriptions (and the texts as a whole are far less formulaic), the uses of phonetic patterning to divide sections of a speech are less obvious in that corpus, though there are still many places where they do seem to indicate thematic divisions and highlight rhetorical flourishes (as in sections 11–13 of the “Announcement to Kang,” for example, or sections 3.1 and 3.3 in the “Numerous Regions”). In the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the use of acoustic patterning in concert with parallel syntactic and grammatical patterns is a regular feature of many of the speeches, though in these examples, the phonetic patterning may well be best viewed as ornamental rather than conscious attempts to employ acoustic patterns to create and emphasize semantic divisions.

As Hightower notes in the quote which opens this section, when viewed through the tripartite framework for acoustic, metric and semantic features, the “essential quality of style” which marks these works reveals the extraordinarily high levels of literary artistry and virtuosity required of their composers. As Hightower opines at the end of his article, “Parallel Prose is as untranslatable as poetry, and for the same sort of reason: its excellencies are verbal, linguistic; they do not work their magic in another medium.” This description could be applied to many forms of literary excellence, but the “magic” is especially clear in these types of texts; an understanding of parallel prose thus provides deeper context for understanding the analyses and translations provided in the case studies below, and a sense of the depths of complexity which makes them such extraordinary examples of the literary arts.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>23</sup> As Haun Saussy noted in “The Career of Rhyme”: “. . . fixed patterns of rhyme were part of an international system of communication that included ritual, writing, and music. Connections to such a system reinforce the idea that poetry was an elite attainment performed with a strong awareness of rules and norms. . . . frequencies [of rhyme in the Western Zhou bronze inscrip-

What evidence from ancient China also points to an understanding of (or at least a predilection for) the psychological effects of combining acoustic, metric and semantic elements? In the final part of this section, we will review the primary evidence from early China on the inherent power of the marriage of sound, form and meaning, working chronologically backward from the earliest systematic work of literary criticism, the *Wen xin diao long* 《文心雕龍》.

The *Wen xin diao long*, written by Liu Xie 劉勰 at about the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E., provides significant insights into the foundations of Chinese literary criticism and early Chinese genre theory.<sup>24</sup> As it was written hundreds of years after the texts in the case studies below were composed, it is an imperfect lens through which to view the literary devices and aesthetic features of these most ancient texts, but just as comparisons with later forms of prose can inform our understanding of early textual practices, the comments in the *Wen xin diao long* are valuable for their unique and valuable perspective on early Chinese conceptions of literary artistry.

In the chapter entitled “*Zhi yin*” 〈知音〉, Liu Xie provides a concise summation of his six most important features to consider when studying a literary work:<sup>25</sup>

When one wants to study the literary appeal of a text, one must first pay attention to six aspects: the first is its genre and style, the second is its wording and rhetoric, the third is its adherence to or departure from [established models], the fourth is its deviation from or conformity to [established models], the fifth is its factual or intellectual content, the sixth is its

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tions] seem to indicate that the origin of the rhyme-system lay in semantics, and that its purpose was to create lingering harmonies that would spread the effect of the magical parts of a solemn utterance over the whole.” Haun Saussy, “The Career of Rhyme: A Tentative Comparative Ethnographic Investigation” (2004, unpublished), 13.

For an outstanding example of the rhetorical intricacy and complexity which was employed in early Chinese texts, see Rudolf Wagner, “The Impact of Conceptions of Rhetoric and Style upon the Formation of Early *Laozi* Editions: Evidence from Guodian, Mawangdui and the Wang Bi *Laozi*,” *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 44 (1995), 32–56. Bernhard Karlgren’s study of rhyme and phonaesthesia in the *Laozi* is reviewed in detail in Section 1.2.A below.

<sup>24</sup> The title of this work was translated as *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* in Vincent Shih’s 1983 complete translation of the work.

<sup>25</sup> The title of this chapter is extremely difficult to render in English, as it’s an allusion to the well-known tale of bosom companions Bo Ya 伯牙 and Zi Qi 子期, who “knew [each other’s] tone” (the literal translation) and basically means “to know one another completely” (Bo Ya and Zi Qi were both masters of the zither, or *qin* 琴, and the line comes from the ability to immediately recognize the other solely by the sound of his musical “tone”). Shih opts to translate the title as “An Understanding Critic,” but this elides the underlying nuances of the term.

musicality. Once these techniques [=technical aspects] have been established, then the merits and faults [=superior and inferior qualities] are clearly apparent.

是以將閱文情，先標六觀：一觀位體，二觀置辭，三觀通變，四觀奇正，五觀事義，六觀宮商。斯術既行，則優劣見矣。

Liu's second, fifth and sixth attributes are roughly analogous to the metric, semantic and acoustic categories discussed above, further expanded to specifically include genre and style and the relationship of the work to previously established literary forms. As establishing precise definitions for the abundant and relatively newly-established literary genres of the time is one of Liu's stated objectives for writing the *Wen xin diao long*, it is not surprising to see his emphasis on the various genres and styles and their relationship to previous canonical models. Most directly relevant to the current discussion is his mention of "musicality," represented in the above quote by the term *gong shang* 宮商, which are the first two notes in the pentatonic scale most commonly used by ancient Chinese musicians, and reflects Liu's implicit assertion that the acoustic qualities of a literary work are best rendered using terminology from the field of music. As will become apparent below, in early Chinese conceptions of literature the parallels between literary theory and musical theory are well-established and many centuries old at this point: as Liu notes, the patterns of acoustic elements in the language of a text were considered an essential aspect of any literary work.

The clearest examples of Liu's understanding of the importance of the acoustic qualities of a piece of literature come in his chapter entitled "*Sheng lü*" 聲律),<sup>26</sup> in which he discusses how well-wrought diction will "tinkle like resonant jade" 「玲玲如振玉」 and its "stylistic power is fully manifested in harmony and rhyme" 「風力窮於和韻」. Liu provides precise definitions for the critical terms "harmony" (*he* 和) and "rhyme" (*yun* 韻) in the next two parallel phrases, noting that rhymes will fit a fixed pattern which is relatively easy to arrange, while the harmony can "rise or fall" and is much more difficult to establish.<sup>27</sup> His critical

26 Literally meaning "rules for sound," when referring to literary works *sheng lü* 聲律 is most commonly translated as "prosody." Shih translates the term as "musicality" here. *Lü* also means proportion, as in a mathematical ratio, which directly relates to music.

27 As the "*Sheng lü*" 聲律 chapter of the *Wen xin diao long* describes it: "The beauty or ugliness of sounds and pictures [acoustics and semantics] becomes apparent in recitation; literary qualities flow into the next line, and style is fully manifested via harmony and rhyme. Harmony is different tones in juxtaposition, rhyme is based on correspondences of the same sounds. Rhyme has a fixed pattern, and it is comparatively easy to arrange the sounds to fit the pattern, but with harmony the parts are sometimes low and sometimes high, so it can be difficult to set the tones. Wielding a pen is relatively easy, but it is difficult to create harmony; attaining the essence of great literature is difficult, while it is quite easy to rhyme. Although

summation comes in the final line of the chapter: “The tones are used to regulate the writing, could one ever disregard them?” 「音以律文，其可忽哉！」<sup>28</sup>

The final important distinction which Liu makes in the *Wen xin diao long* is the relationship of rhymed to non-rhymed literary works, and which texts are included under the umbrella terms used for these types of texts: *wen* 文 and *bi* 筆. Liu states:

Nowadays there is a current statement which says that [among literary writings] there is *wen* and there is *bi*; those which do not employ rhyme are *bi*, and those which employ rhyme are *wen*. The *wen* is sufficient for [representation of] speech, and in principle includes both the *Poetry* and the *Documents*; their separation into two categories is a recent invention.

今之常言，有『文』有『筆』，以為無韻者『筆』也，有韻者『文』也。夫文以足言，理兼《詩》、《書》，別目兩名，自近代耳。<sup>29</sup>

The central concept in the above quote is *wen* 文, generally understood here and in similar contexts to represent “patterned” or “ornamented” writing.<sup>30</sup> Most im-

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the subtle aspects and delicate nature of rhyme and harmony are difficult to describe, these are the main principles.”

「是以聲畫妍蚩，寄在吟詠，滋味流於下句，風力窮於和韻。異音相從謂之和，同聲相應謂之韻。韻氣一定，則餘聲易遣；和體抑揚，故遺響難契。屬筆易巧，選和至難，綴文難精，而作韻甚易。雖纖意曲變，非可縷言，然振其大綱，不出茲論。」《文心雕龍·聲律》

28 The term *wen* 文, which I have simply rendered as “writing” usually indicates a literary work, and here could also be translated as “eloquence”; its full connotations and semantic nuances are discussed in footnote 28 below.

29 《文心雕龍·總術》 Stephen Owen claims that even by the Song dynasty (960–1279 C.E.), Chinese discourse on literature did not “distinguish perfectly between the semantic aspect of language and the purely formal (phonic, syntactic—though exceptions exist in rhyme and tonal balance).” This citation demonstrates that Liu Xie was already acutely aware of differences between rhymed and non-rhymed compositions and generic boundaries, and although many of his criteria rely upon formal characteristics of language, it is unclear whether he conceived of them as “purely formal” (as Owen defines the term); further, we do not know whether the sensitivity to written forms of language that he expresses was widespread at the time or particular to Liu (I suspect the latter). See Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (1992), 415–16.

30 As Uffe Bergeton discusses at length in his recent doctoral dissertation, while the term *wén* 文 later takes on a wide range of connotations, such as “writing,” “literature” and “culture,” its original meaning was “pattern,” specifically “(a) as a word referring to concrete decorative patterns on physical objects, (b) as a word referring to rank-indicating embroidered emblems on garments and flags and (c) as a word meaning ‘awe-inspiringly beautiful’ and used in expressions referring to ancestors and in posthumous titles.” The use of *wén* to indicate decorative patterns on garments (the word in modern Chinese normally for this connotation is *wén* 紋, with the addition of a “silk” determinative) is supported by paleographic forms of the graph, which depict a person wearing a breastplate adorned with cross-hatching or patterning. Bergeton draws a parallel with the English term “decorated,” as one might describe “a decorated soldier,” a similar use

portantly, Liu's use of rhyme as the critical marker of the *wen*-ness of a piece of writing speaks to the importance of the acoustic aspects of a literary text in the Chinese tradition. As both poetry and prose are expressly defined as *wen*, the most likely connotation for *wen* here is "patterned" without specifying a precise type of patterning: it could be metric, grammatical, rhetorical, generic or most likely, a combination of some or all of these.<sup>31</sup> However, given the close proximity to his comment on rhyme as a key evaluative component of literary forms, it is important to consider whether phonaesthetic patterning is also playing a significant part in Liu's understanding of *wen*. Given the patterns indicated in the case studies presented below (particularly those presented for the *Classic of Documents*), *wen* as defined in this passage seems to indicate literary artistry featuring phonaesthetic patterning and the rigorous organization of images and ideas, in prose as well as poetry.

The "Great Preface" 〈大序〉 to the Mao 毛 recension of the *Classic of Poetry*, traditionally attributed to Confucius' disciple Zi Xia 子夏 (or to Confucius himself),<sup>32</sup> is widely considered the greatest single work of early Chinese literary criticism related to poetics and contains a famous passage which outlines the relationship between *wen* and the acoustic attributes of a text:

The emotions emerge in sounds; when those sounds are put into *wen* (=patterns), they are called 'tones'. Therefore, the tones of a well-ordered age are calm and express joy, its government is harmonious. The tones of an age of disorder are resentful and full of anger, its government is perverse. The tones of a state which is perishing are mournful and contemplative, its people endure hardships.

情發於聲；聲成文，謂之音。是故治世之音安以樂，其政和。亂世之音怨以怒，其政乖。亡國之音哀以思，其民困。

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of a visual term extended to indicate high rank or status. See Uffe Bergeton, "From Pattern to 'Culture'?: Emergence and Transformations of Metacultural *Wén*" (Ph.D. diss., 2013), 108.

31 Liu uses *shu* 書 here, which I have taken as parallel to *shī* 詩 to mean the *Classic of Documents*, but like the term *shi*, *shu* was a blanket term for prose writings at the time, normally indicating official records, accounts, annals and histories, as in the categorizational term *shu lei* 書類. Similarly, while I have taken Liu's reference to *shi* to be indicating the poems in the *Classic of Poetry*, he could equally be indicating poetic works in general, *shī* standing in for *shī lei* 詩類.

32 The attribution to Zi Xia, which became the orthodox view by the Tang dynasty and is still widely used today, can be traced back to the "Chronology of the Poems" *Shi pu* 《詩譜》 by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, the renowned Eastern Han scholar. Others, however, attribute the Prefaces (or at least their compilation) to Wei Hong 衛宏, a scholar of the Mao recension of the *Poetry* who was active during the Eastern Han. As Steven Van Zoeren noted, "Theories concerning the authorship of the *Preface* are, in the words of the editors of the *Qing Complete Library in Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu*), 'confused and disorderly, a host of conflicting opinions.'" See Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China*. (1991), 90–91.



As the “Great Preface” defines it, it is the “tones,” the acoustic patterns in a text, which provide the critical indications of the state of the social order.<sup>33</sup> The opening section to the “Record of Music” 〈樂記〉 chapter of the *Record of Ritual* 《禮記》 from the Western Han dynasty uses extremely similar language to describe the patterns inherent in music and their effects upon the individual, with a critical final affective caveat:

All tones which arise come from the human heart (=mind). When the human heart is moved, something has caused it. Stirred by something into movement, it takes on form in sound. When sounds respond to each other, changes arise; when these changes have *wen* (=patterning), they are called ‘tones’. Setting the tones side-by-side and making music from them, with shield and axe [for martial dances] or feathers and banners [for civil dances], this is called ‘music’. Music is that which is created from tones. Its root lies in the stirring of the human heart by something. Thus, when a heart which is sorrowful is stirred, its sounds are vexed and anxious; when a heart which is happy is stirred, its sounds are relaxed and leisurely; when a heart which is delighted is stirred, its sounds pour out and scatter; when a heart which is wrathful is stirred, its sounds are crude and harsh; when a heart which is respectful is stirred, its sounds are upright and pure; when a heart which is in love is stirred, its sounds are harmonious and yielding. These six [conditions] are not in one’s innate nature, they are set in motion only after being stirred by something. Therefore, the former kings exercised caution in that which they used to stir [the emotions]. For this reason we have rites in order to guide the will, music in order to harmonize the sounds, gov-

33 There is also a related passage from the *Lie zi* 《列子》 which relates the story of how Yao learned of the prevailing sentiments and state of order in the realm by going out into the countryside and hearing a rhyming stanza from the *Poetry* (which in the passage is called a “children’s ditty,” *tong yao* 童謠) recited by a child, but in the story the connection between the acoustic harmony of the poem and harmony among the people is not stated explicitly, as it is in the “Great Preface” and the “Record of Music”:

“When Yao had been governing for fifty years, he did not know the state of order in his realm, or if he had the support of the multitudes. He turned to ask his courtiers, but they did not know. He inquired outside the court, but those outside the court did not know. He inquired outside the city, but outside the city they did not know either. Yao then wandered in disguise along the highway, where he heard a child reciting a rhyme, saying: ‘You raised us up, the thronging peoples; this is nothing but your doing. Not trying to be clever or knowing; you follow the Lord’s precepts.’ Yao was delighted, and asked, ‘Who taught you this saying?’ The child said, ‘I heard it from an official.’ Yao asked the official, who said, ‘It is an old poem.’ Yao returned to the court, summoned Shun, and abdicated his rulership. Shun did not decline, and accepted.” (The first two lines are from the poem “Mighty Are You” in the *Classic of Poetry*, Mao #275, and the second two lines are from “Sovereign Might,” Mao #241; *ji* 極 \*N-kək and *ze* 則 \*ts’ək would have formed a perfect rhyme in Old Chinese.)

「堯治天下五十年，不知天下治歟，不治歟？不知億兆之願戴己歟，不願戴己歟？顧問左右，左右不知。問外朝，外朝不知。問在野，在野不知。堯乃微服游於康衢，聞兒童謠曰：『立我蒸民，莫匪爾極。不識不知，順帝之則。』堯喜問曰：『誰教爾為此言？』童兒曰：『我聞之大夫。』問大夫，大夫曰：『古詩也。』堯還宮，召舜，因禪以天下。舜不辭而受之。」《列子·仲尼》

ernment in order to unify actions, and punishments in order to prevent transgressions. Rites, music, government and punishment are ultimately one and the same: a means to unify the hearts of the people, and to correctly execute the Way. All tones are created from the human heart; the emotions are moved within and take form in sounds.

凡音之起，由人心生也。人心之動，物使之然也。感於物而動，故形於聲。聲相應。故生變；變成方，謂之音。比音而樂之，及干戚羽旄，謂之樂。樂者，音之所由生也，其本在人心之感於物也。是故其哀心感者，其聲噍以殺；其樂心感者，其聲嘽以緩；其喜心感者，其聲發以散；其怒心感者，其聲粗以厲；其敬心感者，其聲直以廉；其愛心感者，其聲和以柔。六者，非性也，感於物而后動。是故先王慎所以感之者。故禮以道其志，樂以和其聲，政以一其行，刑以防其姦。禮樂刑政，其極一也，所以同民心而出治道也。凡音者，生人心者也。情動於中，故形於聲。<sup>34</sup>

The “Record of Music” follows this statement with precisely the same words used in the passage quoted above from the “Great Preface,” beginning with “when those sounds have patterning, they are called ‘tones.’”

These critical distinctions are of paramount importance to the framework for this volume and help provide an initial answer to the question: Why were acoustic patterns in language and music so important during these periods in early China? As these passages reveal, the sounds of an age, whether expressed in language or in music, directly express and reflect the sentiments of the people and indicate the state and quality of their government. The “Record of Music” states explicitly that the great kings of old were therefore extremely careful in the ways they stirred the emotions of the people and would have expressed themselves in a manner so as to both reflect and promote a harmonious society. The analyses in the case studies below suggest that the acoustic and phonaesthetic patterns in the speeches of those great kings reflect a strategy of rhetoric and thus of governance: patterns of euphony in the speeches were very likely a tactic to attempt to foster a sense of harmony in the relationship between speaker and listener, between the governors and the governed. As the “Record of Music” states: “Rites, music, government and punishment are ultimately one and the same: a means to unify the hearts of the people, and to correctly execute the Way.” Having explored the relationship between phonaesthetic devices in early Chinese prose and poetry, the literary arts and music, let us now turn to the study of rhetoric and phonorhetoric as it applies to euphony and acoustic patterns in early Chinese literature.

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<sup>34</sup> See also Stephen Owen’s discussion of this passage in Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 51.

## Chapter 3

# Early Chinese Rhetoric and Phonorhetoric

In general, scholars of ancient texts must read out loud, sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly, following the self-apparent durations (=rhythms) of the text. If one merely reads silently, then until the end of one's life one will remain an amateur [scholar].

大抵學古文者，必要放聲疾讀，又緩讀，祇久之自悟。若但能默看，即終身作外行也。

– Yao Nai 姚鼐, from “A Letter to Master Chen” 〈與陳碩士書〉

All human societies have more than one level of discourse, used in different situations. These probably derive from the basic distinction of speech and song. ‘Formal language,’ required in ceremonial or official contexts, often has poetic features and often seems archaic. Archaism certifies the authenticity of the message by suggesting its conformity with beliefs of the past. Use of formal language has to be learned and is not available to everyone; it thus exercises social power of a conservative sort.

– George Kennedy, *Comparative Rhetoric*, p.216–17

Most modern scholars of early Chinese rhetoric (*xiucixue* 修辭學) begin their studies with Confucius’ *Analects* and other early Chinese works of philosophy, such as the *Mencius* 《孟子》, the *Mo zi* 《墨子》 and the *Han Fei zi* 《韓非子》, disregarding the forms of rhetoric and phonorhetoric found in earlier works, such as the *Classic of Documents* and Zhou-era bronze inscriptions. However, there have been a few Western and Chinese scholars who have analyzed the use of acoustic patterning as a rhetorical device in these and other ancient Chinese literary works.<sup>35</sup> Scholars such as Chen Jiebai 陳介白, Chen Wangdao 陳望道, Jin Zhaozi 金兆梓, Karl Kao, Ursula Heidbüchel and Ulrich Unger have largely followed Greek and Latinate concepts of rhetoric, while others such as Fu Lipu 傅隸樸, Xing Lu and George Kennedy have framed their discussions within the rich traditions of studies of Chinese thought (*sixiangxue* 思想學) and the wide variety of rhetorical practices in classical Chinese literary works, including poetry.<sup>36</sup> Most

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35 As poetry is the primary foundation of the Chinese literary canon and the effective use of quotation from canonical poems held an exalted position in early argumentation and oratory, Chinese scholars have long included poetry (which generally features the consistent use of end-rhyme along with parallelism, alliteration and other acoustic devices) and rhyme-prose in their basic conceptions of rhetoric; phonaesthetics have tended to have a much higher profile in Chinese studies than in those which rely upon Greek or Latin conceptions of rhetoric.

36 The prototypical model for Greek and Latinate rhetorical concepts was established by Aristotle in his *Ῥητορική* [*Rhetoric*]. Under “antithesis” (*ἀντιθεσις*, meaning “juxtaposition”) Aristotle discusses the device of acoustic repetition (*παρομοίωσις* [*paromoeosis*], technically a combination of isocolon and assonance), and his examples feature alliteration, consonance and *homoioteleu-*

recently, the concept of “Chinese phonorhetoric” (*hanyu yuyin xiucixue* 漢語語音修辭學) has been employed by a few current scholars such as Li Weiqi 李維琦, Huang Yuezhou 黃岳洲 and Sun Sujie 孫書杰 in their analyses of phonaesthesia in early Chinese literature. The first half of this section discusses the work of scholars of rhetoric working in the United States and Europe, while the second half is dedicated to Chinese scholarship on rhetoric and the acoustic devices and effects featured therein.

The first systematic treatise on the development of rhetoric in China produced by a scholar in the West was published by Karl S. Y. Kao in 1986.<sup>37</sup> In the article, Kao claims that “rhetoric as a discipline has never been clearly established in China.”<sup>38</sup> He also argues for a “distinction between persuasive rhetoric and ‘ornamental’ rhetoric,” wherein ornamental rhetoric is represented by the genres of the rhapsody (*fu* 賦) and “parallel prose” (*pian wen* 駢文, discussed in detail in the previous section). Kao dates the rise of both of these styles to the Han dynasty and makes the argument that forms of rhetoric prior to the Han fall under the category of “persuasive discourse”:

The earliest examples of persuasive discourse are found in the speeches attributed to the Shang and Chou rulers and their military commanders, such as their charges against the enemy and the exhortations to their own troops. These speeches as preserved in the *Shu-ching* 書經 are either forensic or deliberative in nature. During the Warring States period a highly rhetorical form of oratory was practiced by political counsellors and diplomatic agents. Such speeches survive only in later recreations, and it is uncertain whether the original oratorical models were delivered extempore or were planned compositions (written or memorized). As in the West, rhetorical persuasion became one primary model of political discourse.<sup>39</sup>

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*ton*, but compared to concepts like metaphor and enthymeme (syllogism), these devices are given relatively little emphasis in Western studies of rhetoric. See Aristotle, *Rhetoric* (Book III, Chapter 9), Theodore Buckley, *Aristotle's Treatise on Rhetoric* (1853), 232–34 and Edward Cope, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, vol. 3 (1877), 104–5.

37 Karl S. Kao, “Rhetoric,” in William Nienhauser, ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (1985), 121–37. Previous Western works discussing forms of Chinese rhetoric include Angelo Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* (1879); Evan Morgan, *A Guide to Wenli Styles and Chinese Ideals* (1931); E.R. Hughes, *The Art of Letters, Lu Chi's “Wen Fu,” A.D. 302* (1951); and Friedrich Bischoff *Interpreting the fu: A Study in Chinese Literary Rhetoric* (1976), but none of these works represent a comprehensive, systematic study of Chinese rhetoric.

38 *ibid.*, p.122. This is a very debatable comment, as there seems to be much evidence that rhetoric under the term *xiucixue* 修辭學 has been well-established in China for at least eighty years now, and certainly seems to constitute a true “discipline” (a “branch of learning or knowledge,” as the *OED* defines it) in Chinese studies.

39 Kao, “Rhetoric”, 121.

As the texts analyzed in the case studies below are precisely those which Kao mentions above, and the evidence shows that even Kao's "persuasive" forms of discourse made use of acoustic patterning and literary ornamentation, one must question whether a strict distinction between these two larger categories of rhetoric is an accurate model for the early Chinese case. Kao alludes to this distinction in his claim that of the "eight factors of style" put forth by Yao Nai 姚鼐, which Kao translates as "spirit, reason/argument, air/entelechy, flavor, figures, rules, sound/rhythm, color/diction" 「神、理、氣、味、格、律、聲、色」, the first four are "the stylistic use of language and hence not rhetoric," while the second four, including sound, "about the compositional cause and choice of figures in the process, are rhetorical."<sup>40</sup> Despite this comment, in the thirty types of rhetorical structures Kao details at the end of his essay, no mention is made of rhyme or acoustic patterning as a rhetorical device (even under "antithesis," which is where Aristotle defines it in his *Rhetoric*), with the sole exception being three types of "phonological punning" 「諧音」: homonymic puns, phonetic spellings and reversed order in single words or two-graph compounds.<sup>41</sup>

In contrast to Kao's article, in the early 1990's a pair of German scholars produced detailed works on early Chinese rhetoric, and both describe rhyme and acoustic patterning as important features of these types of texts. Ursula Heidbüchel's 1993 *Rhetorik im Antiken China* focuses upon rhetorical styles in the *Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals* (see the analyses in chapter eight below) and includes a section detailing six short passages which feature perfect end-rhyme in metrically regular patterns. As Heidbüchel notes in her introduction: "In a study of ancient rhetoric, not only the grammar and lexicon of ancient Chinese must be taken into consideration; the contemporary phonetic form of the words must also be noted. This is particularly evident in the treatment of *figura etymologica*, paronomasia (punning), wordplay and rhyming passages."<sup>42</sup>

Shortly thereafter, in his 1994 *Rhetorik des Klassischen Chinesisch*, Ulrich Unger included a section on "Acoustic Devices" (*Akustische Kunstmittel*) in which he describes two rhetorical features of early Chinese texts directly related to

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40 *Ibid.*, 124.

41 "Phonological punning" is Kao's translation of *xie yin* 諧音, which literally means "acoustic harmony" or "euphony." His limited consideration of acoustic devices in rhetoric is apparent in this extremely narrow definition of *xie yin*. *Ibid.*, 135.

42 "Bei eine Untersuchung der antiken Rhetorik sind nicht nur Grammatik und Lexik des Altchinesischen zu berücksichtigen; auch die zeitgenössische lautliche Form des Wortes muß beachtet werden. Dies wird besonders bei der Behandlung der *Figura etymologica*, der Paronomasie, des Wortspiels und der reimenden Passagen deutlich." Ursula Heidbüchel, "Rhetorik im Antiken China: eine Untersuchung der Ausdrucksformen höfischer Rede im *Zuo Zhuan*, Herzog Zhao" (Ph.D. diss., 1994), 20–21.

acoustic patterning: “Rhythm” (metrics) and “Assonance and Rhyme,” which details uses of assonant, consonant and alliterative pairs of graphs (specifically the types of compounds called *shuang sheng* 雙聲 “paired sounds” and *die yun* 疊韻 “reduplicated rhymes” in Chinese), end-rhyme in metrically regular patterns, and “tonality” (tonal prosody). Unger’s examples in this section are taken from a wide range of early Chinese sources: under Rhythm, he cites lines from the *Records of the Warring States* 《戰國策》, the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü* 《呂氏春秋》, the *Sun zi* 《孫子》 and the *Mencius* 《孟子》; under the heading “Accordance with the models *shuang shen* and *die yun*” he cites the *Zhuang zi* 《孟子》, the *Mencius* and the *Lao zi*; under End-Rhyme he cites the Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, the Han Fei zi 《韓非子》, the *Lao zi* and the *Shi zi* 《尸子》; and under Tonality, Unger provides three examples from the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü* and details regular patterns of “high” or “even” (*ping* 平) and “low” or “oblique” (*ze* 仄) tones in four works from the *Classical of Poetry*.<sup>43</sup> Most directly relevant to this study are Unger’s remarks on the close relationship between poetics and rhetoric, in which he notes that despite the fact that each contains aspects which would seem to be able to serve as individual markers, when one attempts to separate the two forms, the border immediately blurs, as those precise individual markers are also present in the other:

. . . there are generally, and particularly in Chinese, an integration of poetics and rhetoric, and each of these with grammar. Poetry has its own forms, and ‘artistic prose’ [*Kunstprosa*] as well. However, once one seeks to designate them as separate entities, the borders blur. One would consider metrics and rhyme as specific to poetry, possibly developed in and for it, but these are also found in artistic prose; certain figures, such as chiasmus and antimetabole, create a marked rhetorical impression, and they are then specifically called rhetorical figures and treated as such, but one finds them also in poetry.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Unger uses Middle Chinese for the phonological reconstructions and tones in his analyses, but as noted above, most linguists feel Middle Chinese is not completely accurate for early works such as these; the Middle Chinese tonal system was not in widespread use until the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–589 C.E.) period.

<sup>44</sup> Here is the full quote: “The conscious design of the language with the aim to make it smoother, more accurate and vivid leads to the creation of special forms of expression in poetry and in ‘artistic prose’ [*Kunstprosa*]. These forms generally belong to their own level of organization in language, a higher-level grammar. They are the object/theme/topic/subject of poetics and of rhetoric. Nevertheless, there are generally, and particularly in Chinese, an integration of poetics and rhetoric, and each of these with grammar. Poetry has its own forms, and artistic prose as well. However, once one seeks to designate them as separate entities, the borders blur. One would consider metrics and rhyme as specific to poetry, possibly developed in and for it, but these are also found in artistic prose; certain figures, such as chiasmus and antimetabole, create a marked rhetorical impression, and they are then specifically called rhetorical figures and

In the late 1990's, several scholars began to call for a reevaluation of Chinese rhetoric, away from traditional European models and rooted more in understandings of systems of thought and discourse specific to early China. In 1998, Xing Lu published *Rhetoric in Ancient China: Fifth to Third Century B.C.E.*, in which she argues that rather than *xiuci* 修辭, the better term for understanding early Chinese rhetorical practices is “argumentation” (*bian* 辯 or *ming bian* 名辯, which she describes as “argumentation based on logic”).<sup>45</sup> Lu’s work on rhetoric includes sections on argumentation strategies in the Western Zhou dynasty and in the *Classic of Documents*, *Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Classic of Poetry*, focused upon logical and semantic structures and devices within the texts. In her section on the speeches of the Zhou dynasty, Lu comments that on “rhetorical occasions” elaborate and persuasive forms of discourse were required and “poetic expression could no longer satisfy the rhetorical need,” though she does not specifically address the effects of rhyme and acoustic structures, types of ornamental rhetoric, or directly link literary techniques common to the poetic tradition with Zhou-period developments in oratory and rhetoric.<sup>46</sup>

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treated as such, but one finds them also in poetry . . . .Artistic prose is inconceivable without rhetoric. In the broadest sense, rhetoric is to the art of prose what poetics is to poetry.”

“Die bewußte Gestaltung der Sprache mit dem Ziele, sie geschmeidiger, treffsicherer und anschaulicher zu machen, führt zur Schaffung besonderer Formen des Ausdrucks, in der Poesie und in der Kunstprosa. Diese Formen gehören grundsätzlich einer eigenen Organisationsebene der Sprache an, einer der Grammatik übergeordneten. Sie sind Gegenstand der Poetik und der Rhetorik. Nichtsdestoweniger bestehen generell, und besonders beim Chinesischen, enge Verflechtungen der Poetik mit der Rhetorik, und jeder der beiden mit der Grammatik. Die Poesie hat eigene Formen, und ebenso die Kunstprosa. Sobald man jedoch eindeutige Zuordnungen versucht, verwischen sich die Grenze schon. Metrik und Reim möchte man für Specifica der Poesie halten, womöglich in ihr und für sie entwickelt, aber finden sich auch in der Kunstprosa; bestimmte Figuren, wie Chiasmus und Antimetabole, machen einen ausgesprochen rhetorischen Eindruck, und sie werden denn auch speziell als rhetorische Figuren bezeichnet und behandelt, aber man trifft sie wohl auch in der Poesie an . . . .Kunstprosa ist ohne Rhetorik nicht denkbar. Im weitesten Sinne also ist Rhetorik für die Kunstprosa das, was für die Poesie die Poetik ist.” Ulrich Unger, *Rhetorik des Klassischen Chinesisch* (1994), xii–xvi.

<sup>45</sup> The *míng* 名 from *míng bian* 名辯 in Lu’s argument, which she renders as “logic,” comes from its use in the Confucian doctrine “Rectification of Names” *zheng míng* 正名, defined by Warren Steinkraus as the concept that “things in actual fact should be made to accord with the implications attached to them by names, the prerequisites for correct living and even efficient government and that all classes of society should accord to what they ought to be.” See Warren Steinkraus, “Socrates, Confucius, and the Rectification of Names,” in *Philosophy East and West* 30 (1980): 261.

<sup>46</sup> Lu Xing, *Rhetoric in Ancient China: Fifth to Third Century B.C.E.* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 58. The full quote on speechmaking in the Zhou reads: “In the Zhou

Finally, the recent outgrowth of comparative studies of rhetorical traditions as in the work of George Kennedy deserves mention, as these studies include discussions of how the ornamental aspects of rhetorical language, even in its persuasive modes, are directly linked to features of song and speech.<sup>47</sup> In the quote which opens this section, Kennedy describes the “formal language” of rhetorical discourse as exhibiting both poetic and archaistic features. Linking rhetoric to oratory, he comments that “rhetoric was conceptualized in ancient China and terminology was created to describe features of invention or style, but speech was not studied as a separate discipline; it was always thought of as a part of political and moral philosophy.”<sup>48</sup> In comments which echo Unger’s description of the interconnected nature of poetry and rhetoric, Kennedy notes that while Confucius seemed to view poetry as primarily a medium for moral instruction, “many songs . . . have the characteristics of ‘formal language’ as found elsewhere,” and feature the use of rhyming verse akin to “religious poetry in nonliterary societies

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dynasty, with the popularity of poems as essential means of realistic and moral communication and demands for speeches for the purpose of political persuasion, self-consciousness in the art of discourse increased and people began to be aware of the power of words in changing human perceptions and actions. Rulers often gave speeches at public events, and ministers were frequently consulted on state affairs. On these rhetorical occasions elaborate and persuasive forms of discourse were required. Making ethical, emotional, psychological, and rational appeals, the culturally honored forms of poetic expression could no longer satisfy the rhetorical need. Speeches characterized by persuasive intent and the development of ideas, which were accompanied by illustrations, became a more effective form of communication. With the establishment of an official culture and the increased use of historiographers, more speeches were being recorded.” Lu does mention that the poems in the *Poetry* would have been sung and danced, but even in discussing the *Poetry*, she does not directly connect their semantic content to phonaesthetics or ornamental devices. For Lu, elegance and artistry in rhetorical language is logical or semantic; see her comments on *ci* 辭 on pages 77–8.

47 David Schaberg presents a similar argument, but specific to early China: “. . . what is notable about early Chinese song is how in every respect it is founded on a devotion to historical memory. . . . Unlike more formal discussions of history and the methodology of historical investigations, however, the songs are the products of an aesthetically engaged and creative habit of commemoration. They invite the listener to hear in the space of a rhyme or two the essence of an epoch; and in their connection with heroes, they personalize history, at the same time filtering it through a set of generic conventions that belong to song.” David Schaberg, “Song and the Historical Imagination in Early China” in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 59 (1999), 357–59.

48 George Kennedy, *Comparative Rhetoric: An Historical and Cross-cultural Introduction* (1998), 166.



and in magical formulas.”<sup>49</sup> In his concluding chapter, Kennedy further describes the close links between styles of speech and song and the formal language used in political discourse:

Comparative study reveals that human societies all over the world recognize a variety of different styles of speech in their native languages, styles that are regarded as appropriate for certain occasions or subjects. Probably the oldest distinction is between the styles of speech and song, followed by a development of styles of formal speech, which often borrow vocabulary or compositional devices from song: for example, rhythm, alliteration, and assonance. The more formal and serious the occasion, the more formal the language should be; the most extreme elevated language is that of religious ritual, which may be incomprehensible to all except those initiated into it. Formal political deliberation usually requires the use of some degree of formal language.<sup>50</sup>

The early 1930’s were a foundational period in modern Chinese studies of rhetoric and Chinese scholars produced several works which would remain influential for decades: the 1931 *Xiucixue* 《修辭學》 by Chen Jiebai 陳介白, followed by *Xiucixue fajan* 《修辭學發凡》 by Chen Wangdao 陳望道 and *Shiyong guowen xiucixue* 《實用國文修辭學》 by Jin Zhaozi 金兆梓 in 1932. Perhaps due to his focus on parallels between premodern Chinese and ancient Greek and Latin rhetorical styles, outside of a few general comments on “harmony” (*xiehe* 諧和), Jin provides little comment on acoustic devices in early Chinese rhetorical construc-

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 145. On the subject of phonaesthesia in early Chinese magical formulas, Donald Harper has analyzed a range of texts on the sexual arts and found that many are comprised of a combination of verse, prose and rhyming phrases. The verse sections of some of these texts are three graphs per line, rhyming on the final graph, followed by sections of non-rhymed prose which serve to clarify the content and procedure. Harper provides examples of what he describes as “examples of cryptic verse on physical cultivation” and notes: “The use of verse as a mnemonic device should also be considered. Techniques and formulae were often committed to verse as an aid to memorization.” Donald Harper, “The Sexual Arts of Ancient China as Described in a Manuscript of The Second Century B.C.” in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 47 (1987), 560–66.

Paul Copp, in his work on early Chinese Buddhist spells and *dhāraṇī*, states that “*dhāraṇīs* are filled with assertions that the only way to invoke the powers of a spell is to properly pronounce it,” and that when spells in Indic texts were transliterated into Chinese, the original sounds must be reproduced as accurately as possible for the spell to work, even if the result was essentially nonsensical to the practitioner. Paul Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (2014), 4.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p.227. It is worth noting that Kennedy parallels Kao and dates the beginnings of epideictic rhetoric to the Han period rhapsodies (which he describes as “poetic prose”) and states that literary and aesthetic criticism akin to Western practices began in China only in the early centuries of the common era, but this ignores passages of Xunzi and Sima Qian (among others) which provide Chinese analogues to Greek traditions of aesthetic criticism.

tions, but the works by the two Chens contain valuable observations on the role of acoustics in rhetoric.<sup>51</sup>

Chen Jiebai's *Xiucixue* was the first major modern work on rhetoric in Chinese.<sup>52</sup> In his comments on “harmony,” under the section heading “linguistic charm”<sup>53</sup> he discusses the great importance of acoustics in rhetoric and comments on the close connection between sound and meaning in literary artistry: “. . . all these [examples] are the use of words with “illustrative acoustics” to cause a feeling of mutual harmony between pronunciation and meaning, providing a feeling of greater aesthetic pleasure when compared to common speech.”<sup>54</sup> Chen follows with a discussion of “style and form” (*gelü* 格律) and “tone of voice” (*kou tiao* 口調), ending the section with the trenchant quote from the Qing dynasty literary scholar Yao Nai 姚鼐 featured at the head of this chapter. Chen later takes up the topic of rhyme and rhyme schemes, and his definitions and examples in this subsection are taken from the field of Chinese poetics. He notes that in poetry, rhyme schemes and rhyme words are primarily employed to separate semantic units,

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51 As rhyming poetry did not become common in European literary traditions until the Middle Ages, Greek and Latin definitions of rhetoric generally include little discussion of rhyme, except as a form of antithesis (as in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*) paired with alliteration and *homoioioteleuton*. In his section entitled “Harmony” (*xiehe* 諧和) Jin discusses metric parallelism, figures of repetition of the same word or phrase (under the term *jiuchan* 糾纏) and the use of reduplicated binomes in classical Chinese prose. Most interestingly, in his comments on “tone and pitch” (*tiaoyinjie* 調音節, meaning patterns of “level” (*ping* 平) and “oblique” (*ze* 仄) tones in the tonal systems of the Southern and Northern Dynasties period through the Song dynasty), Jin notes that tonal patterning is not solely found in “rhymed writings” but also in prose: “In fact, what Zhang refers to as ‘intonation’ are the natural syllables in speech that occur with varying speed and pitch, which are also the natural syllables in written language and what the ancients called ‘the sounds of nature.’ This is not only found in poetry, but is also not absent in prose.” 「其實張氏所謂聲調，即吾人語言中疾徐抑揚間自然之音節，亦即文字上疾徐抑揚自然之音節，而古人之所謂天籟也。是固非惟韻文有之，散文亦莫或能缺是。」 Jin Zhaozi 金兆梓, *Shiyong guowen xiucixue* 《實用國文修辭學》(1938), 112.

52 Throughout *Xiucixue*, Chen Jiebai repeatedly comments that “No one has written on this before” or “No scholar has paid attention to this,” underscoring the groundbreaking nature of his work.

53 The term Chen Jiebai uses is *yu qu* 語趣, something like “linguistic allure,” a term from Chinese poetics which indicates interesting, charming or alluring use of language. Much of this section relies on terminology and examples from poetic works; Chen describes Chinese poetic forms and styles as particularly exemplary forms of rhetoric.

54 「這都是象物音的字用來使字音和字義相洽的情味，比之其他普通語言更覺有味。」 Chen Jiebai 陳介白, *Xiucixue* 修辭學 (1931), 38. The term *zi yu* 自悟 is a technical term in Buddhist logic and basically means “a new insight or understanding one reaches oneself.” Yao is saying here that the rhythms of a text become apparent while reading aloud, in and of themselves.

with rhymes marking the end of every line, every other line, or simply in regular sequence.<sup>55</sup> Later in the work, at the end of the “Distinctive Features of Spoken Language” (*yanyu de tezhen* 言語的特徵) subsection of his chapter entitled “On Genres” (*wenti lun* 文體論), Chen returns to the topic of rhyme in order to differentiate “prose style” (*santi* 散體), “parallel prose style” (*pianti* 駢體), “rhymed writings” (*yunwen* 韻文) and “spoken style” (*yuti* 語體).<sup>56</sup> His description of the use of rhyme mirrors his definition of rhyme schemes, with several important additional comments on phonaesthetic devices:

Rhymed writings are the initial origins of literature, constantly reside at the head of the literary arts, and their defining characteristic is the use of rhyme. The role of rhyme is the use of similar sounds in distinct intervals and arrangements, drawing on musical temperaments, to express grief or increase pleasure. They can console, they can give rise to sympathy for others. In song, rhyme is most crucial, and thus lyric poetry, songs, song lyrics, rhapsodies, admonitions, inscriptions, eulogies and encomia all contain rhyme. The function of rhyme lies in harmonizing the emotions and changing the mood; when the reader arrives at a rhyme word, s/he can pause slightly and feel at ease, feel deep meaning and significance. If the rhyming is extensive, then one perceives the semantics as relaxed; if the rhyming is dense, then the semantics become urgent; if the rhyme shifts then the meaning shifts. Rhymed writings are short yet dynamic, the meaning is plain and clear, the intonation is harmonious and moves people; these are its characteristics.

韻文為最初發生的文學，常居文藝之首，其性質為用韻。韻的作用，就是以相類的音，間隔安置，假音樂的情趣，而發舒悲慨或增加快感。可以安慰自己，可以引起別人同情。在歌詠體中，韻最緊要，所以詩、歌、詞、辭、賦、箴、銘、頌、贊等均多含韻。韻之作用，在於調節感情，轉換語氣；使讀者至有韻處，可以稍得休息而情一舒，且覺意味深長而有趣。韻寬則覺語意和緩；韻密則語意迫切；韻轉則語意緩轉。韻文字句短少而勁達，意義質樸而顯明，音調和諧而感人，是其特點。<sup>57</sup>

Most Chinese scholars regard the 1932 *Xiucixue fajan* 《修辭學發凡》 by Chen Wangdao 陳望道 as the seminal work by a Chinese scholar in the field of rhetoric. Chen Wangdao’s conceptions of the role of acoustics in rhetoric closely parallel Chen Jie-

55 Chen Jiebai defines the term *yun jiao fa* 韻腳法 (literally “rhyme position method,” analogous to “rhyme scheme”) simply as: “The use of similar sounds, in accordance with fixed intervals and arrangements, is the function of a rhyme scheme.” 「以類似的音，依一定的間隔安置而使其和諧，是韻腳法的功用。」 *Ibid.*, 40.

56 Chen Jiebai begins by noting that the language(s) of different countries are all quite different, and thus literary genres will naturally be different from language to language, each bound up with its own history, geography, styles, intentions and conceptions of musicality (which are themselves differentiated by time and place), and all of these are the bases of artistic sensibilities. Chen’s main conclusion here is that Chinese literary styles should be judged solely by Chinese conceptions of language and literary artistry.

57 *Ibid.*, 195.

bai's work, with a few significant departures. Chen Wangdao's second chapter, entitled "A Synopsis of Spoken Language and Diction" (*shuo yuci de genggai* 說語辭的梗概), includes short sections on both "Spoken Language" (*shengyinyu* 聲音語, which he defines as "the structural combination of sound and meaning", remarking that language "cannot exist without sound, and cannot be established without meaning") and "Sound" (*shengyin* 聲音), in which he provides general outlines of the import of acoustics in language and rhetoric. In "Sound and Language," Chen begins with the comment, "In rhetoric, one must primarily pay attention to spoken language" and argues that spoken language is the main tool used to produce "thought" (*sixiang* 思想), albeit in an indirect fashion, as communication is mediated by language and the sounds used to produce it.<sup>58</sup> He ends the "Sound and Language" section with a long citation from the Book of Genesis, and after discussing the functions of written language as the primary medium for language and ideas, provides an overview of the role of "sound," presenting the phonetic aspects of speech production and its principal function as conduit between speaker and listener.<sup>59</sup>

Most relevant to the current volume, in a later section entitled "Intonation in Rhetoric" (*ci de yindiao* 辭的音調), Chen Wangdao divides the acoustic function into two categories: 1) the "symbolic" (*xiangzheng* 象徵), representing the effects of words or phrases in homonymic or parallel usage, and 2) the "ornamental" (*zhuangshi* 裝飾), focused on the aesthetic use of acoustics in rhyme schemes and in the rhythms of language. His definitions of "rhyme schemes" (*yunlü* 韻律, which can also be translated as "rules for the use of rhyme") and "syllabic units" (*yinjie* 音節, which includes uni-, bi- or polysyllabic phrases and can also indicate full acoustic and rhythmic structures) read as follows:

The use of rhyme schemes, like the use of rhyme, is especially stressed in literary styles and forms: poetry, drama, and so on. However, it is also proper to investigate it in ordinary language and diction, as in proverbs and aphorisms . . . this then is natural (use of) rhyme, easy to articulate and recite, smooth and relaxing to the ear. Of course, selecting phrases which employ rhyme is absolutely not only pursuant to language and diction, intonation and form, it also serves to express one's thought (*sixiang*) and feelings. The coordination of syllabic units, as in the cadences of phrasal intonation, urgent or slow, sparse or dense and so on, in the speech patterns of expressive reading or performances of poetry and song, cer-

58 As Chen states: 「聲音語是由聲音和意義兩個因素的結合構成的，自然離了聲音便不能存在，缺了意義也不能成立。」 and 「修辭上最要注意的是聲音語。」 Chen Wangdao, *Xiucixue fayan* 修辭學發凡 (1979), 24.

59 The citation is from Genesis 11:1–9, the famous "Tower of Babel" passage on the dispersal and disarray of what was originally one common language into a variety of human languages; this passage provides a remarkable insight into Chen Wangdao's scholarly background and conceptions of language.

tainly is quite worth investigating. Further, one also must pay attention to the harmony of the syllabic units and fluency in one's manner of speaking in ordinary diction as well.

韻律的運用，譬如押韻，這為詩詞、戲曲等類特殊的文藝體式所尤其注重；而在一般的語辭上也適當地有所講究，如許多諺言、格言。。。。。就是自然押韻，上口易誦，流暢適耳。當然，選詞用韻也決不單是語辭音調形式上的追求，它是為表達思想感情服務的。音節的調協，譬如句調的抑揚頓挫，緊慢疏密等等，在詩歌的朗誦和戲劇的話白上當然是很考究的；而一般的文辭也須注意音節的諧和、語氣的暢達。<sup>60</sup>

After a discussion of the roles of how acoustic rhythms also serve to emphasize metric structures (specifically in the service of punctuation and grammatical structures), Chen ends this section with the same quote from Yao Nai included above, and follows with the statement that in rhetoric one must closely analyze intonation in language and diction, as rhetoric is not simply the study of what is appealing to the eye in written forms of language, but necessarily also includes the study of language as spoken aloud by the mouth and heard by the ear.

While most subsequent works on rhetoric in Chinese have generally followed the frameworks established by Chen Jiebai and Chen Wangdao, there have been a few works on rhetoric and acoustics in ancient Chinese literature which are particularly relevant to the discussion at hand. First, in his 1964 *Zhongwen xiucixue* 《中文修辭學》，under the heading “syllabic units” (*yinjie* 音節), the Chinese literary scholar Fu Lipu 傅隸樸 provides a penetrating discussion of the development of rhyme and acoustic patterning in classical Chinese literature, followed by citations from twelve classic works, both prose and poetry. Fu states that in the beginning:

Human literary works originated from songs and poems; these songs and poems originally used spoken language as their primary source. Such rhymed works not only employed tone of voice and smooth intonation, but their rhythms were pleasing to the ear and made them easy to remember, so they were also effective for knotted-cord record-keeping and written contracts on bamboo strips. Therefore, ancient government decrees, as in the commands of Yao and Shun . . . constantly used rhymed language in their expression.

人類文章，源於詩歌，詩歌者，固以音語為第一義者也。蓋音韻之文，不徒口吻調利，節奏悅耳，且復易於記憶，視結繩書契為簡而有效。是以古之政令，如堯舜相命之辭。。。。。恆以韻語出之。<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 236–237.

<sup>61</sup> Fu Lipu 傅隸樸, (Xingzhou: Youlian chubanshe, 1964).

After discussing the role of rhyme in early works related to divination,<sup>62</sup> Fu then argues that with the rise of written recordkeeping and historiography, a generic differentiation between prose and poetry took hold, resulting in an overall decline in the general use of phonaesthetic devices in non-poetic literary works. He states that as the high profile of poetry continued to influence concepts of eloquence and style, phonaesthetic devices can be found interspersed within unadorned prose, but by the Qin-Han periods, the use of rhyme in rhetorical writings had “fallen ever more into disuse.”<sup>63</sup> Most importantly, at the end of the section, Fu states that if one recites historical works out loud, one can easily detect the phonaesthesia and cadences within the prose:

Historical prose, although not as esteemed as writings which employ rhyme, was influenced by rhymed writings and relatively heavily cadenced. Therefore, if one recites them out loud, one can feel and follow the sounds as one reads. The beauty of the ancients’ venerated literary works is described as ‘chirping metal and singing jade’; as these literary works stressed acoustic rhythm, it is not difficult to detect it.

至歷代散文，雖不尚音韻，而在韻文影響之下，亦頗重抑揚頓挫之節，故誦之輒能情隨聲見，昔人譽文章之美者謂戛金鳴玉，則文章重音節之一斑，不難於此窺見矣。<sup>64</sup>

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62 Rhyme is particularly evident in what are generally referred to as the “omen-verses” (*yaoci* 繇辭) preserved in the records related to divination procedures in the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and many of the line statements of the *Classic of Changes* 《易經》 (or *Zhou Changes* 《周易》). Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 and Lu Kanru 陸侃如 were two of the first prominent scholars to comment on the rhymes in the *Changes*, followed by Li Jingchi 李鏡池, “Zhouyi shici xukao” 〈周易筮辭續考〉 in his *Zhouyi tanyuan* 《周易探源》 (rpt. 1982). The most comprehensive study to date is Richard Kunst, “The Original *Yijing*: a Text, Phonetic Transcription, Translation, and Indexes, with Sample Glosses” (PhD diss., 1985), in particular the section on “Rhyme”, pages 51–56; see also Edward Shaughnessy, *I Ching* (1997), 8–13, and for examples of rhyme in the *Gui cang* manuscript, see Shaughnessy, *Unearthing the Changes* (2014), 152 and 164–66.

63 Given what we now know about the use of phonaesthesia in Warring States era manuscripts, this comment by Fu seems inaccurate. See Scott Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian: A Study and Complete Translation* (2012) and *A Multi-Perspective Survey of Lost Warring States Texts among the Shanghai-Museum and Other Chu Manuscripts* 上博等楚簡戰國逸書縱橫覽 (2018), Rens Krijgsmann, *Early Chinese Manuscript Collections* (2023) and Jeffrey Tharsen, “Rhetorical Structures in the Shanghai Museum Manuscript ‘San de’ 〈參德〉” and “Rhyme, Repetition and Rhetoric: An Examination of the Recently Discovered ‘Fan wu liu xing’ 〈凡物流形〉 Texts” (M.A. theses, 2011, unpublished).

64 “Chirping metal and singing jade” is an expression referring to the sounds generated by two main types of ancient musical instruments: metal bells and jade chimestones. Fu uses the phrase here to emphasize the direct link between the acoustic phenomena in eloquent language and early Chinese music and musical theory. Fu, *Zhongwen xiucixue*, 87–88. Fu’s complete discussion in this section is worth including here, as he provides a succinct yet penetrating overview of the development of rhyme and other phonaesthetic devices in early Chinese literary forms:

Second, over the past two decades, a few scholars in China have published articles discussing “phonorhetoric” as a characteristic of early Chinese texts. The term “phonorhetoric,” which I employ throughout this work, is a direct translation of the Chinese term *yuyin xiucixue* 語音修辭學. *Yuyin* 語音 is “phonetics” or “pronunciation” (from its literal meaning, “the tones [=sounds] of language”), and thus “phonorhetorical studies” are those which focus upon the use of acoustic and phonaesthetic patterns in rhetorical contexts.<sup>65</sup>

The foundations for phonorhetoric as a discipline were laid in large part by Li Weiqi 李維琦, who dedicated his entire first chapter of his 1986 *Xiucixue* 《修辭學》 to “The Rhetoric of Rhyme” (*yinyun xiuci* 音韻修辭). The subsections of Li’s chapter cover acoustic repetition and imitation (*sheng de moni* 聲的模拟), phonetic correspondence (*yin de zuhe* 音的組合), rhyme (*yayun* 押韻), alliterative binomes (*shuangsheng dieyun* 雙聲疊韻), phonetic parallelism (*fuchong* 複重), rhythm and cadence (*jiezou* 節奏), interjection and exclamation (*qiou* 奇偶), and irregular phonetic patterning (*cuoluo* 錯落). Virtually all of Li’s discussion and examples are geared toward analyses of phonorhetorical devices and patterns in poetry with the exception of his comments in the sections on “rhythm and cadence” and “irregular phonetic patterning.” Under “rhythm and cadence,” he notes that classical prose employs similar rhythms and cadences to those found in poetry, cites a passage

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「人類文章，源於詩歌，詩歌者，固以音語為第一義者也。蓋音韻之文，不徒口吻調利，節奏悅耳，且復易於記憶，視結繩書契為簡而有效。是以古之政令，如堯舜相命之辭曰：『天之歷數在爾躬，允執厥中，四海困窮，天祿永終。』恆以韻語出之。至於卜筮繇辭，所以垂世戒，警人心者，尤多叶韻之語。周易一書，顧炎武嘗有易本音之作矣，然其書成於周代，時屬中古，至於左傳僖公四年所引卜繇曰：『專之渝，攘公之瑜，一薰一蕕，十年尚猶有臭。』則其辭之所自，當遠在周前。速記事之文興，詩文異製，音韻之用於文者漸少；然書、禮、春秋之韻語，猶時夾見，蓋遠古之習，未盡泯也。迄國策史漢之文，去古日遠，音韻遂廢，故沈約倡為四聲八病之說，謂自靈均以來，此秘未覩。夫聲韻之效，古人非不見，惟四聲之分限，不如後世之嚴耳。唯其四聲之分不如後世之嚴，故其用韻寬緩，無害於義。所以雖為純韻文之詩歌，亦罔不元氣淋漓，渾然天成。自四聲八病之說起，舉手窒網羅，投足入淵井，文格遂拘窘卑凡，無復古人渾樸厚重之致矣。然事有困難而見巧者，如唐之律賦律詩，宋之詞，元之曲，均在此種嚴格聲韻限制之中誕生成長，更使中國韻文如奇葩敷榮，遠駕並世各國之上，此其功過之足以相掩者也。至歷代散文，雖不尚音韻，而在韻文影響之下，亦頗重抑揚頓挫之節，故誦之輒能情隨聲見，昔人譽文章之美者謂戛金鳴玉，則文章重音節之一斑，不難於此窺見矣。」

65 In the Chinese edition of R.R.K. Hartmann’s *Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, the term *yuyin xiucixue* 語音修辭學 is defined as “phonostylistics”; *xiucixue* is given as the Chinese translation for both headwords “rhetoric” and “stylistics.” In the English edition, the definition for phonostylistics reads: “That branch of stylistics which investigates the expressive function of sounds, e.g. the use of onomatopoeia in poetry.”; in the Chinese, 語音修辭學 is defined as 「修辭學的一個分支，它研究語音的表達功能，如研究詩歌中似聲法的運用。」 See R.R.K. Hartmann, *Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (1972), 175 and *Yuyan yu yuyanxue cidian* 《語言與語言學詞典》(1981), 265, 300 and 336.

containing features of regular acoustic patterning from the *Lüshi chunqiu* 《吕氏春秋》 and remarks that in prose, as statements tend to be longer than those in poetry, the important factor is the relationship between the two (or more) phrases which exhibit phonological correspondence. He also notes that the words marking acoustic breaks tend to come at the end of a phrase or sentence, and if they fall within a line of text, then they are used to emphasize the semantic weight of the terms which correspond phonetically. Following his second citation, taken from the *Records of the Warring States*, Li states that acoustically corresponding phrases tend to occur in groups of two or three, and that five or more in succession is rare, as the composition would then become overly monotonous. Finally, he comments on the early history of these patterns in prose: “It is evident that people emphasized [rhythm and cadence] in prose during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. Over time, more and more paid attention to it. Outside the attention paid to the length and regularity of the phrases, they mainly paid attention to the appropriate use of function words to harmonize the rhythms of the phrases and the commensurate arrangement of sound patterns.”<sup>66</sup>

The term “phonorhetoric” (*yuyin xiuci* 语音修辞) was perhaps best defined in the 1987 article entitled “The Eminent Source for the Theory of Chinese Ancient Phonorhetoric: Reading the ‘Sheng lü’ chapter of Liu Xie’s *Wen xin diao long*” 〈中国古代语音修辞学理论的卓越篇章—读刘勰《文心雕龙·声律》〉 by Chen Guanglei 陈光磊 and Li Xingjie 李行杰. This article presents a detailed analysis of Liu’s terms “harmony” and “rhyme” in the “Sheng lü” chapter (discussed in the previous section) and provides examples explaining how phonetic patterns and tonality underlie rhetorical forms in classical Chinese poetry. The authors connect “harmony” and “rhyme” to literary artistry, and provide a concise definition for the concept of phonorhetoric: “In the ‘Sheng lü’ chapter, in particular the use of phonetic forms which inform the creation of rules for ‘beautiful language’, Liu demonstrates an exemplary understanding of language and rhetoric and provides lessons for today’s scholars on the development and establishment of the study of modern rhetoric and diction . . . Scholarship designed to discern the rules for the use of phonetics is a branch of the field of the study of rhetoric: ‘phonorhetoric’.

66 「散文到了春秋战国时代,人们对此已有了明显的注意。越到后世就越加讲究。除了讲究句子的长短参差之外,主要讲究虚词的恰当使用,以调节句子的节奏,合理安排音顿。」Li Weiqi 李维琦, *Xiucixue* 修辞学 (1986), 52. His comments in the “metrically irregular phonological patterning” section are geared primarily toward Middle Chinese examples of level/oblique tonal patterns, but after analyzing a prose passage from Jia Yi 贾谊, at the very end he states: “This is not to say that all prose is like this, but analyses of the beauty of phonetics and rhyme in literary compositions invariably show rhythmic characteristics, which are indisputable.” 「不是说所有散文都能如此,但讲究音韵美的文章,总是具有抑扬顿挫的特点,这是没有疑问的。」*Ibid.*, 52.



The main arguments in Liu Xie's 'Sheng lü' chapter belong precisely to this category. The fundamental element and essential requirement for the formation of beautiful language is beautiful sound."<sup>67</sup>

In 1996, Huang Yuezhou 黄岳洲 published a short article entitled "The Rhetorical Functions of Ancient Chinese Phonetics" 〈古汉语语音的修辞功能〉 in which he focuses primarily on poetics but also includes examples of alliteration in the *Classic of Documents*, noting that the four phonaesthetic aspects of early Chinese texts are sound (*sheng* 聲), rhyme (*yun* 韻), intonation (*diao* 調) and "syllabic units" (*yinjie* 音節), and that these qualities are found in prose as well as poetic works: "Within the foundation of ancient Chinese expression, monosyllabicity and morphological isolation produced ease and flexibility and provided the musical beauty of rhetoric, evoked in syllabic units. This bears not only upon poetry, but also prose (including the rhapsody)."<sup>68</sup> At the very end of his article, Huang declares that our knowledge and methodologies are constantly expanding and developing, and we can now use "scientific methods" in our analyses of rhetorical functions in Chinese phonetic structures (which perhaps indicates a data-driven, or even a computationally-based methodology, though Huang does not make clear what specifically he would have considered to be "scientific methods").<sup>69</sup>

Finally, in 2003, a student in the linguistics department of Hebei University named Sun Shujie 孙书杰 published a master's thesis entitled "An Analysis of The Rhetorical Functions of Ancient Chinese Phonetics" 〈古汉语语音的修辞功能探析〉 in which he examines the acoustic structures in classical Chinese poetry

67 「其中《声律》一篇，专就语音形式的运用方面来探求创造语言美的规律，提供了关于语言修辞的卓越见解，很可以作为我们今天开发和建设现代语音修辞学的借鉴。。。。。。探明声韵的运用规律的学问，是修辞学的一个分支学科“语音修辞学”。刘勰《声律》篇所论证的课题就正是属于这个范畴。语音美是形成语言美的基本要素和必要条件。」 Chen Guanglei 陈光磊 and Li Xingjie 李行杰, "Zhongguo gudai yuyin xiucixue lilun de zhuoyue pianzhang—du Liu Xie Wen xin diao long: Shenglü" 〈中国古代语音修辞学理论的卓越篇章—读刘勰《文心雕龙·声律》〉 in Chen, *Xiuci lun gao* 修辞论稿 (2001), 221–223. Unfortunately, Chen and Li do not further specify what would constitute "beautiful" in these contexts; this study hopes to surpass these types of vague (and possibly tautological) definitions in favor of a more empirically-based analysis to attempt to ascertain what might have been considered aesthetically pleasing to the composers and audiences of the time.

68 「古汉语的词语的基本上的单音节性、孤立性产生了简易、灵活和具有修辞的音乐美，在音节上也是耐人寻味的。这不仅关乎诗歌，也关乎散文(包括赋)。」 Huang Yuezhou 黄岳洲, "Gu hanyu yuyin de xiuci gongneng" 〈古汉语语音的修辞功能〉 in *Xiucixue xi* 修辞學習 6 (1996), 4. As in the passages cited above, Huang is using the term *yinjie* 音節 here to represent the larger metric and syllabic units in a piece which feature rhyme or other acoustic and phonaesthetic patterns.

69 「时代在发展,认识在飞跃,方法在更新。今天我们可以通过科学方法充分阐述汉语语音的修辞功能了。」 *Ibid.*, 5.

from a rhetorical standpoint, focusing on the ways that sound and meaning complement each other in “artistic rhetoric” and literary composition. While his work is focused exclusively on poetry, in his introduction Sun provides a valuable overview of the import of phonorhetoric as a discipline:

Phonorhetoric places particular emphasis on the mixing and combining of pronunciations; most important is the perfect combination of sound and meaning. Regarded as the outer shell of language, pronunciation is not merely form; at times there is a certain kind of marvelous relationship between sound and meaning. Therefore, phonorhetoric is not simply ornamental form and playful technique, its goal lies in establishing the musical beauty of language, creating an appropriate acoustic environment for linguistic expression and strengthening language’s expressive power, so as to achieve the artistic effect of ‘mutual correspondence in sound and emotion’.

当然语音修辞与语义修辞也不是截然分开的, 因为语音的选择、组合和调配, 同时也是对语义的选择、组合和调配, 二者是同步进行的。语音修辞侧重于语音的组合调配, 注重音义的完美结合。作为语言的物质外壳, 语音不只是单纯的形式, 有时它与语义之间具有某种奇妙的关系。因此, 语音修辞也不是纯形式的装饰和玩弄技巧, 它的目的在于构成语言的音乐美, 创造适合语言表达的语音环境, 增强语言的表现力, 以达到『声情相切』的艺术效果。<sup>70</sup>

It is precisely this “marvelous relationship” between acoustic, semantic and metric elements that the study of phonorhetoric hopes to bring to light. Having established the import of phonaesthesia in the fields of Chinese rhetoric and phonorhetoric, let us now turn to specific analyses of phonological patterns, euphony and phonorhetoric in early Chinese excavated and transmitted texts by scholars modern and ancient, western and eastern.

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<sup>70</sup> Sun Shujie 孙书杰, “Gu hanyu yuyin de xiuci gongneng tanxi” 古汉语语音的修辞功能探析 (M.A. thesis, 2003), 1.

## Chapter 4

# On Euphony and Phonorhetoric in Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions

The existence of rhyming passages in the inscriptions cast upon Chinese bronze vessels from the Western Zhou 西周 dynasty (1045–771 B.C.E.) that form the earliest corpus of datable Chinese narrative texts has been well known since Wang Guowei 王國維 published “Rhymed passages in bronze and stone of the Western and Eastern Zhou” 〈兩周金石文韻讀〉 in 1917, in which he indicated rhyming graphs in a total of 37 fully-transcribed inscriptions from nine different types of vessels. Figure 1 below provides an excerpt from this work: Wang’s first example text, in which he outlines the rhyme words in the Zong Zhou 宗周 bell inscription. There are clear stylistic parallels in the format of the analyses by Jiang Yougao and Wang Guowei, including circles around the rhyme words (though Wang places square outlines around cross-rhyming graphs and around graphs which rhyme but are subsumed within a different dominant rhyme pattern) and inter-linear comments which provide notations of rhyme group(s), whether the rhyming is perfect or imperfect, and even if the section features no rhyming at all. (Wang consistently employs the term *he yun* 合韻 to indicate cross-rhyming, and the term *wu* 無 to mark non-rhymed sections.) This example demonstrates that a century ago Wang was already aware of two of the important concepts this volume seeks to elucidate: 1) There are patterns of final consonance featuring the consonant \*-ŋ in the bronze inscriptions of the Western Zhou (in the example in Figure 1 below Wang has noted a *he yun* cross-rhyme between the *yang* 陽 and *dong* 東 rhyme groups; four of the thirty-seven inscriptions include passages featuring \*-ŋ *he yun*), and 2) These inscriptions regularly feature rhymed sections interspersed with sections which feature no discernable acoustic patterning whatsoever, and thus the inscriptions are often divisible on phonological stylistic criteria as well as traditional formulaic, grammatical and semantic grounds.

Further research and discoveries led to the 1954 article “Additional rhymes in bronze inscriptions” 〈金文韻讀補遺〉 by Guo Moruo 郭沫若, in which Guo provided rhyming graphs found in another 40 inscriptions. Figure 2 below shows the pages of this work in which Guo marks the rhymes he has adduced for the Da Ke 大克 *ding*-tripod. Rhymes are marked by a small circle or triangle to the right of the rhyming graph, with a notation of the rhyme group(s) at the end of the rhymed section. In these notations, Guo also marks *he yun* cross-rhymes and which graphs belong to which rhyme group. As the study also includes detailed paleographic and semantic exegeses of these texts, there are notations for his endnotes and comments

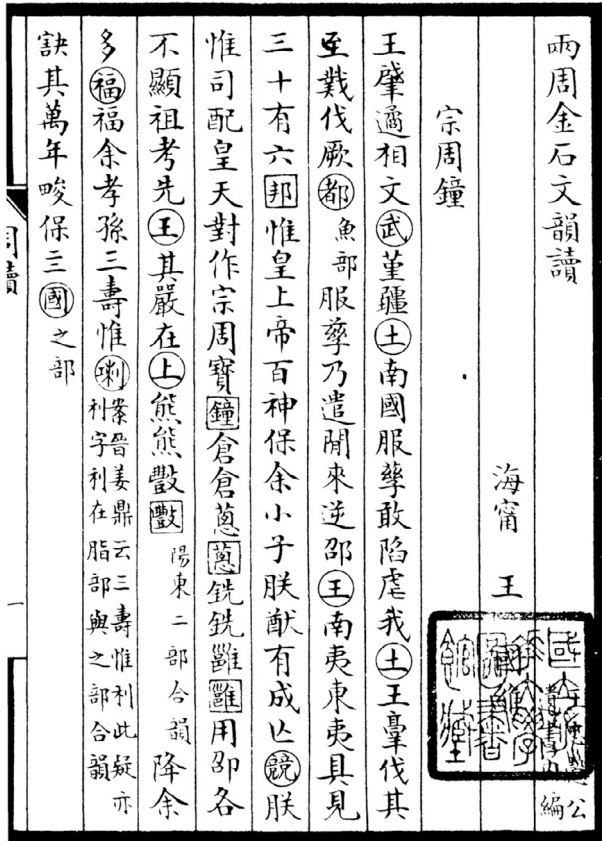


Figure 1: First page of “Liang Zhou jin shi wen yun du” (兩周金石文韻讀) by Wang Guowei 王國維.

included to the right of the graphs in line with the symbols marking the rhyme words. One important aspect is that Guo only includes a discrete section for some of the inscriptions, and in those cases (as we have here), his study has limited use for determining larger patterns of alternating rhymed and non-rhymed sections. (For example, Wolfgang Behr has argued that there are several other rhyme patterns in the *Da Ke ding* inscription, but these are not from the section which Guo has included, comprised of only of the first two-fifths of the full inscription).

In 1979 and 1981, Chen Shihui 陳世輝 published a pair of articles, “Compilation of rhymes in bronze inscriptions of the Western and Eastern Zhou” (兩周金文韻讀合編) and “Supplementary collection of rhymes in bronze inscriptions” (金文韻讀續輯), the first of which detailed 58 new inscriptions from sixteen different types of vessels and the second combined and updated the lists

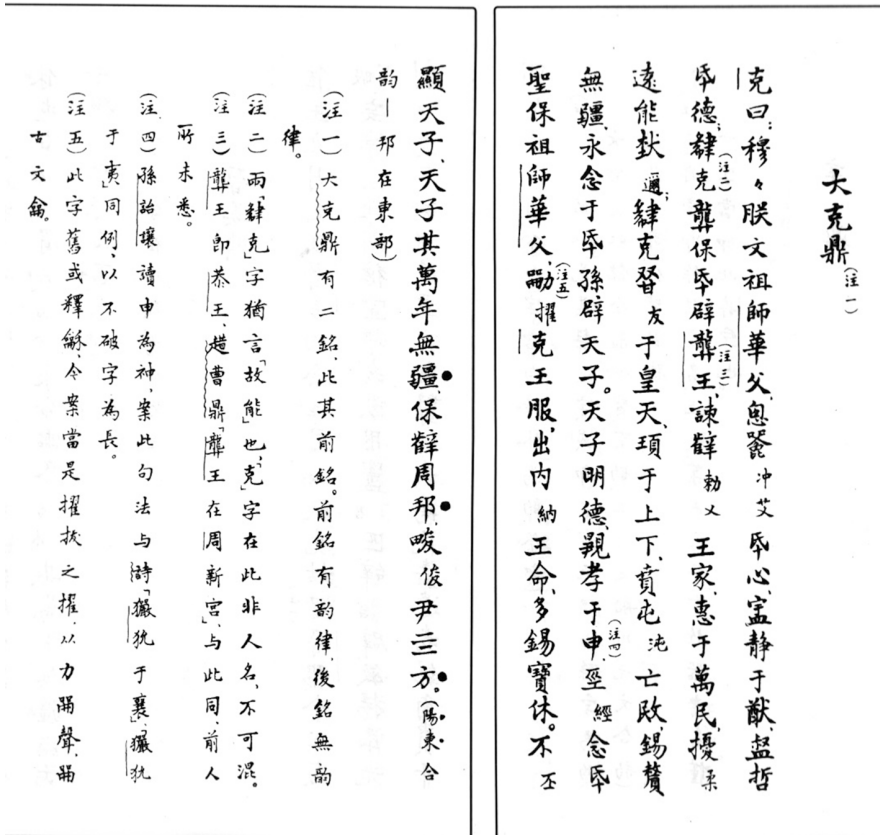


Figure 2: Pages from “Jinwen yun du buyi” (金文韻讀補遺) by Guo Moruo 郭沫若.

from Wang and Guo, for a total of 130 inscriptions known to contain rhymed passages at the time. Figure 3 shows the first page of Chen’s collection; as in Guo Moruo’s notations, rhyme words are marked by circles or triangles placed to the right of the graph with a notation at the end of each rhyming passage of the rhyme group to which they belong. It is worth noting that Chen’s third example, marked by the red arrow, is one of the bells from the Liang Qi 梁其 bell set, the full inscription for which is analyzed in detail in chapter five, but the inscription as presented here is incomplete.

In 1980, Yu Naiyong 余迺永 proposed a new reconstruction system for Old Chinese based in large part upon the rhymes in these inscriptions for his doctoral dissertation “An investigation of the phonological system of bronze inscriptions of the

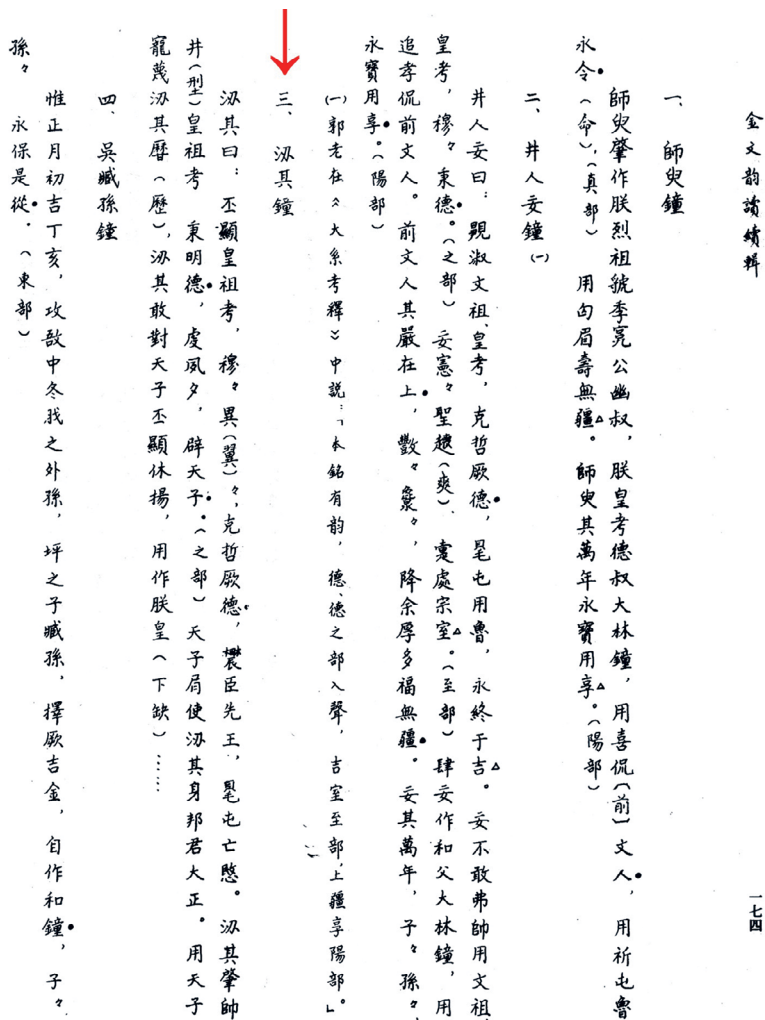


Figure 3: The first page of “Jinwen yun du xuji” (金文韻讀續輯) by Chen Shihui 陳世輝.

Western and Eastern Zhou” (兩周金文音系考).<sup>71</sup> In 1997, Wolfgang Behr’s excellent doctoral dissertation entitled “Rhyming bronze inscriptions and the emergence of Chinese end-rhyme versification” (“Reimende Bronzainschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung”), based primarily upon Chen Shihui’s work

71 Yu’s dissertation was revised and published in book form in 1985 as *Shanggu yinxi yanjiu* 《上古音系研究》.

along with the 61 inscriptions detailed in the 1984 article “Additional compilation of rhymes in bronze inscriptions of the Western and Eastern Zhou” (《兩周金文韻讀輯遺》) by Chen Banghuai 陳邦懷, for the first time provided tables with reconstructed pronunciations for the rhyme words, full transcriptions and translations into German including alphabetic notations for the updated rhyme schemes, and a proposed “meter” for each inscription, detailing 112 inscriptions from the Western Zhou and 85 inscriptions from the Eastern Zhou 東周 period (771–256 B.C.E.).

Finally, in 1999 Luo Jiangwen 羅江文 published an article entitled “On the characteristics of cross-rhyming in Western and Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions” (《談兩周金文合韻的性質》). It includes six types of cross-rhyming found in the Zhou bronze inscriptional corpus, four of which feature *he yun* cross-rhymes based on a common final consonant \*-ŋ (rhyme groups *dong* 東 – *yang* 陽, *dong* 東 – *dong* 冬, *dong* 冬 – *yang* 陽 and *zhen* 真 – *geng* 耕), along with a group with common final consonant \*-n (*zhen* 真 – *wen* 文) and a somewhat unorthodox group cross-rhyming words featuring a final \*-ə (the *zhi* 之 rhyme group) with the final \*-iu (the *you* 幽 rhyme group). For each type of cross-rhyming, Luo includes a series of short example sentences from the inscriptional corpus with rhyme words indicated by a small circle or triangle underneath the graph. Each series contains from six up to eleven example sentences, taken from a wide variety of types of vessels found in and originating from a range of geographic locations. Luo’s stated intent behind the study was to see if these types of cross-rhyming were specific to more southern areas during the Zhou period (this is called the “Chu tones” (Chu *yin* 楚音) hypothesis, originally put forth by Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 and Jiang Yong 江永, who argued the types of cross-rhyming in the *Songs of Chu* 《楚辭》 and *Lao Zi* marked a specific “southern” style). Luo concludes that as the various types of cross-rhyming can be found throughout the corpus, it seems to be a style based on phonetic proximity rather than a regional variation: “We thus support the view that *he yun* cross-rhyming is caused by phonetic similarity and mutual correlations between adjacent rhyme groups.”<sup>72</sup>

This volume is thus the next step in this century-old line of inquiry, yet instead of simply attempting to document where the rhymes fall, it proposes a more comprehensive approach to address questions of how rhyming, cross-rhyming, acoustic structures and rhetorical devices function in these inscriptions, and provides an efficient method to document their underlying euphony. It was prompted in part by a comment Wolfgang Behr makes in the latter part of his

72 「我們仍堅持合韻是音近所致，是鄰近韻的互相通押。」 See Luo Jiangwen 羅江文, “Tan liang Zhou jinwen de heyun xingzhi—jianji shangu ‘Chu yin’” (《談兩周金文合韻的性質—兼及上古‘楚音’》) in *Chuxiong shizhuan xuebao* 楚雄師專學報 14.4 (1999): 76.

dissertation, where he notes that with a few remarkable exceptions, the rhyming parts of the early Chinese bronze inscription corpora generally do not match the metric patterns found in the earliest corpora of Chinese rhyming poetry.<sup>73</sup> To resolve the issue of irregular meter, Behr concludes that Chinese meter was not in its early stages based on single-graph single-syllable structures, but accent- or *ictus*-counting,<sup>74</sup> and adds: “All texts, with the exception of the Shi Qiang *pan* inscription, which has clear strophic patterns, are stichitic, or lack tangible criteria by which the verse lines suggested by the rhymes could be divided into stanzas.”<sup>75</sup>

73 These vessels include the Shi Qiang *pan* 史牆盤 (YZJJ #10175), Tianwang *gui* 天亡簋 (YZJJ #4261), Dou Bi *gui* 豆閉簋 (YZJJ #4276) and the Qingshu *yi* 慶叔匜 / Mengjiang *yi* 孟姜匜 (YZJJ #10280).

74 The full quote reads: “Quite obviously, Chinese meter was not in its early stages syllabic-, but accent- or *ictus*-counting. In any event, due to acceptance of the representation of Late Middle Chinese gradations, those which rely upon an Old Chinese language distinction, possibly as regards expected quantifiable syllable structures, are left wholly unaccounted for. An accent-counting meter would also be more in line with the observation that languages with relatively simple syllable structures tend to use syllable-counting meters, whereas languages with which the *ictus*-carrying vocalic nucleus may be associated, as in ancient Chinese with its fairly complex consonant clusters, tend to form isochronic structures.” (“Ganz offenbar war die chinesische Metrik in ihren Anfängen nicht silben-, sondern akzent- oder iktenzählend. Die bei Akzeptanz der Abbildung der spätmittelchinesischen Gradabstufung auf eine altchinesische Längendistinktion möglicherweise zu erwartenden quantifizierenden Silbenstrukturen lassen sich in den Inschriften jedenfalls nicht ausmachen. Ein akzentzählendes Metrum stünde auch eher im Einklang mit der Beobachtung, daß Sprachen mit relativ einfachen Silbenstrukturen zur Verwendung silbenzählender Metren neigen, während Sprachen, in denen der iktentragende vokalische Nukleus wie im Altchinesischen mit recht komplexen Konsonantenclustern assoziiert sein kann, tendentiell eher isochronische Strukturen ausbilden.”) See Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften*, 382.

However, the rigid structure of early Chinese poetic forms and the repetitive, parallel constructions found throughout early Chinese literature indicates rather that the Chinese language has long relied on the principle of “one graph, one syllable,” as most scholars have assumed throughout Chinese history. (As Karlgren described it in 1949: “[Chinese] is monosyllabic, i.e. every single (noncomposite) word consists of one single syllable.” or as Axel Schuessler states in his 2009 *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese*: “OC [Old Chinese] and MC [Middle Chinese] were monosyllabic languages (one word = one syllable = one graph), notwithstanding bisyllabic expressives (like Engl. ding-dong) and a few other words, notably names for insects . . .”) I feel this may be a bit of wishful thinking on Behr’s part, in the hope that these texts could be read as poems in regular, consistent meter, when (as demonstrated below) the evidence indicates they are more likely irregularly-metered prose, occasionally featuring short passages in verse. See the discussion in footnote 7 below, as well as Bernhard Karlgren, *The Chinese Language: An Essay On Its Nature and History* (1949), 6 and Axel Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa* (2009), 3.

75 “Alle Texte, mit Ausnahme der shǐ Qiáng pán-Inschrift, die ein deutliches strophisches Muster aufweist, sind überdies stichisch, bzw. es fehlen faßbare Kriterien, nach denen die durch das Reimschema nahegelegten Verszeilen in Strophen gegliedert werden könnten.” Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften*, 382.



However, when one reviews the complete acoustic, rhetorical, syntactic and semantic structure of each text with special attention to the phonological, lexical and syntactic stylistic devices employed, these texts can be shown to contain clear, text-internal tangible criteria by which the sections suggested by the acoustic structures can be divided.<sup>76</sup> Given the structural parallelism and relatively strict meter and rhyme patterns found in most early Chinese poetry, it is the view of this author that irregular meter featuring identical codas but disagreement in the nucleus (final-consonant consonance and main vowel disharmony) points more toward a unique style of literary artistry and cadenced prose rather than Behr's contention that these inscriptions should be viewed as "*Endreimdichtung*" ("end-rhyme poetry") or verse, if verse is defined as a succession of words arranged according to metrical and semantic rules as a unit.<sup>77</sup> This volume is thus the first demonstration of the euphonic and phonorhetorical features of these inscriptions.

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76 Complete, detailed analyses of phonological, semantic, syntactic and rhetorical structures, like those featured in this study, have rarely been published for any early Chinese text, either excavated or transmitted. In addition, while the concept that these inscriptions contain separate parts, or sections, is now generally agreed upon (though Lothar von Falkenhausen and Edward Shaughnessy differ somewhat on what types of divisions exist – see Lothar von Falkenhausen's review of Shaughnessy's *Sources of Western Zhou History*: "Issues in Western Zhou Studies: A Review Article" in *Early China* 18 (1993), 139–226), this is the first time textual divisions have been paired with the phonology in order to build a more complete picture of the rhetorical structures.

77 Behr supports his argument by pointing out that seven "poems" from the "Hymns of Zhou" (Zhou song 周頌) section, generally considered to be the oldest works anthologized in the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shi jing* 詩經), show stylistic parallels to the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and do not rhyme throughout in any regular syllabic meter (which sets them apart from the vast majority of the poems in the *Classic of Poetry*). However, Behr does not mention that because of their unorthodox composition, these works from the "Hymns of Zhou" are generally considered outliers in the corpus: the "Hymns of Zhou" section is the source for all of the non-rhyming poems in the Mao 毛 recension of the *Classic of Poetry* (see Chen Dehong 陳德宏, "Shishuo 'Zhou song – Qing miao' de yayun" 試說《周頌·清廟》的押韻) in *Gu hanyu yanjiu* 古漢語研究 3 (1998): 9–10 and Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften*, 333), and as such, it is this author's opinion that the non-rhyming "Hymns of Zhou" may be best understood not as typical *shi* 詩, as if they were analogous to other works in the *Classic of Poetry* or to the other poems in the section which employ regular meter and rhyme, but like the bronze inscriptions, should be classified as their own type of poetic form, more akin to cadenced prose, occasionally containing relatively short, discrete sections in irregularly-metered and cross-rhyming verse. Corroboration for this view comes from two of the most eminent scholars of early Chinese texts, Wang Guowei and Fu Sinian 傅斯年, who agree that the "Hymns of Zhou" are stylistically different as they have a more unregulated prosody than the other compositions anthologized in the *Classic of Poetry*, which Wang believes derives from ancient ceremonial practice (this seems very reasonable and would provide support for the conclusions drawn in this study); both also state the Hymns are not prose compositions. See Wang Guowei 王國維, "Zhou 'Da wu' yue zhang kao" 周《大武》樂章考 in *Guantang jilin* 觀堂集林 (1956) 48–50 and Fu Sinian 傅斯年, "Zhou song shuo:

The four texts featured in the following chapter have been carefully chosen as they provide a series of examples, arranged in chronological order, evidencing the wide range of phonorhetorical features, devices, styles and forms employed in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptional corpus. The case studies demonstrate that full analyses of the acoustic composition of these texts can not only provide a far more nuanced understanding of the previously-adduced rhyme schemes and the phonological, syntactic and metric structures than any previous study has presented, but also that this type of analysis can indicate with far greater precision the complex euphonic and rhetorical structures employed by and in these works.<sup>78</sup> Most importantly, these types of highly granular phonorhetorical textual analyses can reveal the various ways that meaning, sound and form fulfill complementary roles in the composition of early Chinese texts, with direct implications on studies of later Chinese textual corpora.<sup>79</sup>

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fu lun Lu Nan liang di yu Shi Shu zhi lai yuan” 〈周頌說—附論魯南兩地與詩書之來源〉 in *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 歷史語言研究所集刊 1 (1938): 95–112.

The use of final-consonant consonance and vowel disagreement in modern poetry is well-known, particularly in the works of Emily Dickinson; rhymes in this style are termed “half rhymes,” “near rhymes” or “slant rhymes.” Wang Li 王力 has noted that there are fifteen cases where this type of rhyming (he terms these “*yun wei xiang tong he yun* 韻尾相同合韻,” “identical rhyme-final cross-rhymes”) can potentially be found in the *Classic of Poetry*, but all of these feature a final \*-p, \*-t, \*-k or \*-n, and in virtually all cases the stanza contains a dominant rhyme with a sole cross-rhyming graph (see Wang, *Shijing yundu*, 18). As will be seen below, this is quite different from the acoustic structures found in most Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.

78 As Martin Kern has noted: “The bronze inscriptions of mid- and late Western Zhou times show conscious efforts toward poetic form. Especially in the wake of the ritual reforms, a greater number of inscriptions were guided by the same principles of rhyme and meter familiar from the Songs. The great majority of Western Zhou inscriptions include just a few graphs, but the two longest known bronze texts so far come close to 500 characters, and others contain from several dozen to 200–300 characters. All these more extensive texts fall into the range of length of the transmitted hymns. While rhyme and tetrasyllabic meter occur already among the earliest Western Zhou inscriptions, these features become increasingly regular from the periods of kings Gong and Yi onward, as do the calligraphy and overall visual layout (linear arrangement, spacing between graphs, etc.) of the inscriptions. The linguistic regularity never reaches that of the ‘Major court hymns,’ but the overall tendency toward an increased aesthetic control and more rigidly standardized, and hence narrowed, expression is unquestionable. Furthermore, the inscriptions seem to prefer largely the same rhyme categories that also dominate the ritual pieces of the Songs. In my opinion, it is not inconceivable that the euphonic features of these inscriptions were brought to life through recitation.” See Kern, “Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shijing* and the *Shangshu*: The Evolution of the Ancestral Sacrifice during the Western Zhou” in *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC-220 AD)* eds. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (2009), 194.

79 As noted above, this would include analyses of the chapters of the *Classic of Documents*, generally believed to have been composed during roughly the same period as these inscriptions; see chapter six below.

## Chapter 5

# Analyses of Euphony and Phonorhetoric in Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions

When considering the uses of the texts inscribed on Western Zhou bronze vessels, Edward Shaughnessy points out in *Sources of Western Zhou History* that “these inscriptions were intended merely to commemorate positive events” and quotes a passage from the *Record of Ritual* (*Li ji* 禮記) which declares that one’s purpose in creating this type of vessel is to “extol the beauty of his ancestors and illuminate his descendants.”<sup>80</sup> Jessica Rawson, in her article “Western Zhou Archaeology” from *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, goes further into the rationales for casting bronze vessels, stating “bronzes were memorials of political events and social relationships essential to the structure of Zhou government and society. . . . inscriptions were thus ways of presenting to the Zhou themselves their own society, as well as its changes, practices and beliefs.” She follows by translating the Tianwang *gui* 天亡簋 inscription, then states: “Possibly the most striking feature of this and many other inscriptions is the immediate, dramatic form in which a concrete situation is presented. It almost seems as if the texts were meant to be read aloud, repeating as a story or drama in such detail that the events and the accompanying words might be seen and heard. Possibly such a presentation, employing recorded speech and describing specific actions and places, reflected quite closely the actual ceremony in which the honor took place.”<sup>81</sup> Thus, if one of the uses of rhyme and other rhetorical and literary devices is to give words a sense of power in order to enthrall the listener in ways unadorned prose cannot, then in these inscriptions we find not only epics of great deeds and virtuous actions by the caster of the vessel and his or her forebears, but also a ritualized method for the retelling and preservation of these narratives.<sup>82</sup> While the inscriptions presented here should not be

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**80** See Edward Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (1991), 176.

**81** See Jessica Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, eds. Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy (1999), 368.

**82** In a 2009 article Martin Kern cites Jan Assmann on the preservation of cultural memory and poetic language: “It can be taken as general knowledge that poetic formation serves primarily the mnemotechnical purpose of putting identity-securing knowledge into a durable form.” Kern concludes, citing Stanley Tambiah: “The question of meaning extends beyond the verbal utterances to the entire ritual performance; meaning is constituted not ‘in terms of “information”’ but in terms of pattern recognition and configurational awareness.” The repetitive cadences of the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions thus seem to simultaneously fulfill both roles, supplying historical information while providing a ritually-significant method employing phonorhetorical pat-

seen as representative of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions as a whole, these analyses clearly demonstrate an advanced facility with a variety of poetic and literary techniques; the composers imparted a sense of power and grandeur to their words as a means to ensure that generations of descendants would be enthralled by both the recounting of the heroic deeds of their forebears and the intricate array of styles and forms employed in their telling.

## Early Western Zhou: Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎 (*The Larger Cauldron of Yu*)<sup>83</sup>

The Da Yu *ding* is one of the most treasured and important of all Western Zhou vessels due to its relatively early date and long inscription. It was cast to commemorate the enfeoffment of Yu 盂 during the twenty-third year of King Kang 康王 (r. 1005–978 B.C.E.), thus 981 B.C.E. The vessel was unearthed in the 1820's in Qishan 岐山 county, Shaanxi 陝西 province, along with a second vessel, the Xiao Yu *ding* 小盂鼎 (*Smaller Cauldron of Yu*), which disappeared during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Taiping rebellion (currently only a poor quality rubbing of the Xiao Yu *ding* 390-graph inscription remains). The Da Yu *ding* passed through private collections until being donated to the Shanghai Museum in 1951 and is currently housed in the National Museum of China in Beijing. The 286-graph inscription (including five two-character compound graphs) on the basin of the vessel is the longest extant inscription from the early Western Zhou period.

As the structure of the inscription indicates (see the transcription-phonology-translation below), the beginning and end sections of the inscription feature short *mise en scène* prose sections providing the date, the place and the participants in the events depicted. These short passages bookend four speeches in succession; each speech is prefaced by “*wang yue*” 王曰 “the king said” (in the first instance a more complete phrase is used: “*wang ruo yue*” 王若曰: “the king approved of saying,” see the discussion of Section 2.1 below), and these speeches thus ostensibly represent direct address from the king to Yu, the caster of the vessel.<sup>84</sup>

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terns functioning in concert to preserve cultural memory. See Kern, “Bronze inscriptions, the *Shangshu*, and the *Shijing*”, 180–182.

83 YZJJ #2837. See also Shirakawa Shizuka 白川靜, *Kinbun tsushaku* 金文通釋 (1984), 647–81 and *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan* 商周青銅器銘文選 (1986), 37–41.

84 The speech markers “the king said” are the only empirical indications of where one speech ends and the next begins; it can be generally assumed that the entirety of these sections are direct speech from the king to Yu based on the repeated use of the second-person pronoun “you” (*ru* 汝 \*na) in the address. Whether these speeches are actually the king’s words taken verbatim, or a contemporane-

The first speech is a long, cadenced historical soliloquy in which he provides a moral rationale for the fall of the Shang dynasty and the rise of the Western Zhou. The second speech is a short charge to Yu to emulate his late grandfather, Nan Gong 南公. The third speech provides a detailed inventory of the investiture. Finally, the fourth speech is a short exhortation for Yu to remain morally upright and uphold the king's command.

### The Da Yu *ding* Inscription: Rubbing, Transcription, Phonology and Translation



Figure 4: Rubbing of the Da Yu *ding* 大孟鼎 Inscription.

ously composed idealized version thereof, or a hybrid in which the king's original speeches were edited and embellished after the fact, is an irresolvable question; regardless, the great care taken in the crafting of the phrases along with the speeches' complex phonological patterns provide tangible indications that these remarks were composed with the intent to emphasize the grandeur of the occasion and the great service that Yu had rendered to the Zhou king.

**Table 1:** Transcription, Phonology and Translation of the Da Yu ding Inscription.**Section 1: Opening Phrase: Relative Date, Location**

隹(唯) 九 月 ,

\*tur (\*wjiŋ (S)) \*ku? \*ŋʷat

It was in the ninth month;

王 才(在) 宗 周 , 令 孟 。

\*gʷaŋ \*dzʰə (\*dzʰə) \*tsʰuŋ \*tiw , \*riŋ-s \*gʷa

The king was at Zong Zhou, and commanded Yu.

**Section 2.1: Speech 1, Part 1: Historical Contextualization / Moral Admonition 1**

王 若 曰 :

\*gʷaŋ \*nak \*gʷat

The King approved of saying:

孟 , 不(丕) 顯 / 玟(文) 王 ,

\*gʷa \*pə (\*pʰrə) \*qʰen? (\*mən) \*gʷaŋ

“Yu! Illustrious **King Wen**

受 天 有(佑) 大 令 ;

\*du? \*ʃin \*gʷə? (\*gʷəʔ-s) \*ʃat-s \*riŋ

received Heaven’s blessings, the great **mandate**;

在 珣(武) 王 嗣 玟(文) 乍(作) 邦 ,

\*dzʰə? (\*maʔ) \*gʷaŋ \*sə.lə-s (\*mən) \*dzʰrak-s (\*tsʰak) \*pʰroŋ

then King Wu succeeded Wen and created the **state**,

開(闢) / 畢(厥) 匿 匍(敷) 有 四 方 ,

(\*bek) (\*kot) \*nrək \*bʰa (\*pʰa) \*gʷə? \*s.liŋ-s \*C.paŋ

opened up the hidden [lands], extended [the state] to the four **quarters**,

畹(峻) 正 畢(厥) 民 。

(\*tsjuns (S)) \*teŋ-s (\*kot) \*miŋ

governed and **set aright** their **peoples**.

**Section 2.2: Speech 1, Part 2: Historical Contextualization / Moral Admonition 2**

在 季(于) 卣(御) 事 獻 / 酉(酒) ,

\*dzʰə? (\*gʷa) (\*ŋa-s) \*m-s-rəʔ-s \*tsrâ (S) \*m.ruʔ (\*tsuʔ)

When engaged in ceremonial affairs involving wine,

無 敢 醜(醜) ;

\*ma \*kʰam? (\*ʃrəm-s)

there was no drinking to excess;

有 髡(崇) 彝(蒸) 祀 ,

\*gʷəʔ \*C.dzʰre (\*təŋ) \*s-gəʔ

when preparing food for the sacrificial rites,

無 敢 醜(醜)[柔] 。

\*ma \*kʰam? (壽:\*duʔ-s)[\*nu]

there was no drunkenness.

Table 1 (continued)

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**Section 2.3: Speech 1, Part 3: Historical Contextualization / Moral Admonition 3**


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古(故)      天      異(翼)      臨      /      子      ;  
 \*k'a? (\*k'a-s)    \*!in    \*gək-s (\*grəp)    \*rəm      \*tsə?

Thus Heaven distinguished and watched over [kings Wen and Wu's] sons;

灑(法)      保      先      王      ,  
 (\*p.kap)    \*p'u?    \*s'ər    \*ɣwəŋ  
 greatly protected the former **kings**,

□ 有(佑)      四      方      。  
 \*ɣwə? (\*ɣwəʔ-s)    \*s.lij-s    \*C.paŋ  
 . . . blessed the four **quarters**.

---

**Section 2.4: Speech 1, Part 4: Historical Contextualization / Moral Admonition 4**


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我      聞      殷      述(墜)      令      :  
 \*ŋ'aj?    \*mun    \*ʔər    \*Cə-lut (\*m.lrut-s)    \*riŋ

We have heard how Yin dropped [Heaven's] command:

隹(唯)      /      殷      邊      侯      、      田(甸)  
 \*tur (\*wjiŋ (S))      \*ʔər    \*p'en    \*g'o      \*!iŋ (\*!iŋ-s)

it was as the Yin borderland lords and suburban administrators

季(與)      殷      正      百      辟      ,  
 (\*C.gəʔ)    \*ʔər    \*teŋ-s    \*p'rak    \*pek  
 along with Yin's many central officials,

率      肆      于      酉(酒)      ,  
 \*s-rut-s    \*ləts    \*ɣwə    \*m.ru? (\*tsu?)  
 were led into the practice of drinking wine,

古(故)      喪      /      自(師)      。  
 \*k'a? (\*k'a-s)    \*s-m'əŋ-s      (\*sriŋ)  
 and thus lost their armies.

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**Section 2.5: Speech 1, Part 5: Yu is Lauded for his Service**


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已      !      女(汝)      妹(昧)      辰(晨)      又(有)      大      服      。  
 \*s-gəʔ    nra? (\*naʔ)    \*C.m'ət-s (\*m'ut-s)    \*dər (\*dər)    \*ɣwəʔ-s (\*ɣwəʔ)    \*!at-s    \*bək

Enough! You, from dusk to dawn, have performed great **service**.

余      隹(唯)      即  
 \*la      \*tur (\*wjiŋ (S))    \*tsik

When I was **engaged in**

朕      小      學      ,  
 \*!rəm?    \*sew?    \*m-k'ruk  
 my youthful **studies**,

---

Table 1 (continued)

女(汝) / 勿 毳(克) 余 乃 辟 一 人 。

\*nra? (\*na?) \*mut (\*kʰək) \*la? \*nʰə? \*pek \*ʔit \*niŋ

you did not restrain me, your sovereign, the singular **man**.

今 我 佳(唯) 即

\*krəm \*ŋʰaj? \*tur (\*wjiŋ (S)) \*tsik

Now, we are **engaged in**

井(型) 窻(宣/稟) 于 玟(文) 王 / 正 德 。

\*C.tseŋ? (\*ɣʰeŋ) (\*p.rimʔ) \*ɣʷa (\*mən) \*ɣʷaŋ \*teŋ-s \*tʰək

taking as model and inheritance King Wen's upright **virtue**,

若 玟(文) 王 令 二 三 正 。

\*nak (\*mən) \*ɣʷaŋ \*riŋ \*niŋ-s \*srum \*teŋ-s

and approve King Wen's commands to the numerous **officials**.

### Section 2.6: Speech 1, Part 6: The Command to Yu, Part 1

今 余 佳(唯) 令

\*krəm \*la \*tur (\*wjiŋ (S)) \*riŋ-s

Now, I am **commanding**

女(汝) 孟 。

\*nra? (\*na?) \*ɣʷa (\*draw-s) (\*N-qʷreŋ)

you, Yu, to help by **honorably**,

芴(敬) 離(雍) 德 烝(經) 。

(\*kreŋ-s\*) (\*ʔoŋ) \*tʰək \*k.lʰeŋ (\*k.lʰeŋ)

respectfully, **harmoniously** and virtuously **continuing** [this work].

### Section 2.7: Speech 1, Part 7: The Command to Yu, Part 2

敏 朝 夕 入 譟(諫) 宮(享)

\*mrənʔ / \*mrəʔ \*taw \*s-N-rak \*nəp (\*kʰranʔ-s) (\*qʰaŋʔ)

Assiduously, from morning to night, remonstrate and **make offerings**,

奔 走 。

\*pʰur \*tsʰoʔ \*ʔuj-s \*ʰin \*ʔuj-s (\*ʔuj)

officially serving, **in awe** of Heaven's **awesome power**."

### Section 3: Speech 2: Yu is Commanded to Emulate his Ancestor/Grandfather

王 曰 。

\*ɣʷaŋ \*ɣʷat

The king said:

而 。

\*nə \*riŋ-s \*nra? (\*na?) \*ɣʷa \*C.tseŋ? (\*ɣʰeŋ)

"Further, I command you, Yu, to **take as model**



Table 1 (continued)

乃 嗣 且(祖) 南 公 。  
 \*nʰəʔ \*sə.lə-s \*tsa (\*tsʰaʔ) \*nʰəm \*C.qʰoŋ  
 your hereditary deceased-grandfather Nan **Gong**.”

---

**Section 4.1: Speech 3, Part 1: Command to Yu**


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王 / 曰 :  
 \*ɣʷaŋ \*ɣʷat

The king said:

孟 , 廼 饗(紹) 夾 死 嗣(司) 戎 ,  
 \*ɣʷa \*dziu (S) (\*dauʔ (S)) \*C.kʰep \*sijʔ (\*s-lə) \*nuŋ  
 \*Yu, assist and stand beside me in managing affairs of **war**,

敏 諫 罰 訟 ;  
 \*mrənʔ / \*mrəʔ \*tshok (S) \*bat \*s.ɣoŋ-s

assiduous toward debts, punishments and **legal disputes**;

夙(夙) 夕 饗(召) / 我 一 人  
 (\*suk) \*s-N-rak (\*dawʔ) \*ŋʰajʔ \*ʔit \*niŋ  
 morning to night, help me, the singular **man**,

登(烝) 四 方 ,  
 (\*təŋ) \*s.lij-s \*C.paŋ  
 in governing the four **quarters**,

季(于) 我 其 遙 省 先 王 ,  
 (\*ɣʷa) \*ŋʰajʔ \*gə \*ɣʷit \*seŋʔ \*sʰər \*ɣʷaŋ  
 as we will tour and **inspect** how the former **kings**

受 民 受 / 疆(疆) 土 。  
 \*duʔ \*miŋ \*duʔ \*gaŋ (\*kaŋ) \*tʰsaʔ  
 received the **people**, received the **borderlands** and [inner] lands.

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**Section 4.2: Speech 3, Part 2: Gift List**


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易(賜) 女(汝) 鬯 一 卣 、  
 \*lek-s (\*s-lek-s) \*nraʔ (\*naʔ) \*tʰraŋ-s \*ʔit \*juʔ (S)  
 I grant you sacrificial wine, one pot;

冏(冕) 衣 、 市 、 舄 、 車 馬 。  
 (\*mranʔ (S)) \*ʔəj \*pət (S) \*s.qʰak \*t.qʰa / \*C.qa \*mʰraʔ  
 ceremonial cap and jacket; knee pads; slippers; and a chariot with horses.

易(賜) 乃 / 且(祖) 南 公 旂 , 用 遷(適)。  
 \*lek-s (\*s-lek-s) \*nʰəʔ \*tsa (\*tsʰaʔ) \*nʰəm \*C.qʰoŋ \*C.gər \*m.loŋ-s (\*s.tu-s)  
 I grant your deceased-grandfather Nan Gong's pennant, to use on procession.

易(賜) 女(汝) 邦 嗣(司) 四 白(伯) ,  
 \*lek-s (\*s-lek-s) \*nraʔ (\*naʔ) \*pʰroŋ \*s-lə \*s.lij-s \*bʰrak (\*pʰrak)  
 I grant you four elders as estate officials,

---

Table 1 (continued)

人 鬲 自 / 駿(馭) 至 于 庶 ,  
 \*niŋ \*C.qʰik / \*k.rʰek \*S.bit-s (\*ŋah (S)) \*tit-s \*ɣwa \*s-tak-s  
 and servants, from charioteers down to commoners,

人 六 百 又 五 十 又 九 夫 。  
 \*niŋ \*k.ruk \*pʰrak \*ɣwəʔ-s \*C.ŋʰaʔ \*t.gəp \*ɣwəʔ-s \*kuʔ \*pa  
 six hundred fifty-nine of them.

易(賜) 尸(夷) 鬲(司) 王 / 臣 十 又 三 白(伯) ,  
 \*lek-s (\*s-lek-s) \*laj (\*laj) (\*s-lə) \*ɣwan \*gin \*t.gəp \*ɣwəʔ-s \*srum \*bʰrak (\*pʰrak)  
 I grant thirteen elders as royal border officers,

人 鬲 千 又 五 十 夫 。  
 \*niŋ \*C.qʰik / \*k.rʰek \*s.ŋiŋ \*ɣwəʔ-s \*C.ŋʰaʔ \*t.gəp \*pa  
 and servants, one thousand fifty of them.

亟(亟) 遷 [竅] 自 / 畢(厥) 土 。  
 (\*kʰək-s) [\*hwək (S)] \*tsʰar \*S.bit-s (\*kot) \*tʰʰaʔ  
 Urgently move [them] from their current lands.”

#### Section 5: Speech 4: Admonition to Yu not to Disregard the King's Command

王 曰 :  
 \*ɣwan \*ɣwat  
 The king said:

盂 , 若 芻(敬) 乃 正(政) ,  
 \*ɣwa \*nak (\*kreŋ-s) \*nʰəʔ \*teŋ-s (\*teŋ-s)  
 “Yu, approvingly respect [=be attentive to] your **governance**,

勿 瀆(廢) 朕 令 。  
 \*mut (\*pap-s) \*lɾəmʔ \*riŋ  
 and do not disregard my **command**.”

#### Section 6: Dedication

盂 用 / 對 王 休 ,  
 \*ɣwa \*m.loŋ-s \*tʰəp-s \*ɣwan \*qʰu  
 Yu thereby in response to the king's munificence,

用 乍(作) 且(祖) 南 公 寶 鼎 。  
 \*m.loŋ-s \*dzʰrak-s (\*tsʰak-s) \*tsa (\*tsʰaʔ) \*nʰəm \*C.qʰoŋ \*pʰuʔ \*tʰeŋʔ  
 thereby made for his deceased-grandfather Nan Gong a treasured *ding*-cauldron.”

#### Section 7: Closing: Year Notation (Relative Date)

隹(唯) 王 廿 又 三 祀 。  
 \*tur (\*wjiŋ (S)) \*ɣwan ?? \*ɣwəʔ-s \*srum \*s-ɣəʔ  
 It was the king's twenty-third ritual cycle.

## Analysis of the Da Yu *ding* Inscription<sup>85</sup>

### Section 1

The opening of this inscription, like most Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, begins with a notation of the date. Here, only the month of the lunar year is provided; this is a minimal form of this type of notation. The second line contains the main actor in the inscription, simply called “the king” (*wang* 王), followed by the place notation. This is an opening commonly found in Western Zhou inscriptions, and the name of this place, Zong Zhou 宗周, is recorded in twenty-seven different inscriptions. Zong Zhou is most likely another name for Haojing 鎬京, the part of the Zhou capital on the eastern side of the Feng river 灃河 which was the primary seat of the early Zhou kings.<sup>86</sup> The final statement before the first speech sets the situation for the inscription: “[the king] commanded Yu,” meaning the king issued a formal command (or award/enfeoffment) to Yu. As is common in opening date-place notations in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, there is no rhyming or other discernible phonorhetorical device in this section.

### Section 2.1

The opening words in this section, “the king approved of saying” (*wang ruo yue* 王若曰 \*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ \*nak \*G<sup>w</sup>at) mark this inscription as belonging to a specific subgenre of Western Zhou texts. While inscriptions which contain ostensibly direct speech by the reigning king are not uncommon, this precise phrase is invariably followed by a long speech, usually among the longest examples of direct speech by the king in the corpus; any subsequent speeches by the king are then introduced by “the king said” (*wang yue* 王曰 \*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ \*G<sup>w</sup>at), just as in this inscription.<sup>87</sup> (*The Classic of Docu-*

<sup>85</sup> This inscription is not included in the lists of vessels containing rhyming graphs by Chen Shihui or any previous Chinese scholar; it was translated by W.A.C.H. Dobson in *Early Archaic Chinese* (1962), 221–26, and detailed in Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften*, 152–61.

<sup>86</sup> For an outstanding discussion of the various capitals of the Western Zhou era, see Maria Khayutina, “Western ‘Capitals’ of the Western Zhou Dynasty: Historical Reality and Its Reflections Until the Time of Sima Qian” in *Oriens Extremus* 47 (2008), 25–65.

<sup>87</sup> The shortest of these speeches is thirty-three graphs in length (in the 趯簋, YZJJ #4266), and the longest well over one hundred graphs (though as there is no punctuation, without the mention of a change in speaker it is often difficult to judge precisely where the king’s direct speech is supposed to end). The five inscriptions from the Western Zhou corpus which feature this style of multi-speech composition (followed by the length of their inscriptions and their catalogue number in the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*) are: 毛公鼎, 479(又重文9.合文9), YZJJ #2841; 四十三年逃鼎,

ments follows this same convention: there are twenty instances of “*wang ruo yue*,” in nearly all cases marking the first speech by the king in the chapter,<sup>88</sup> versus fifty-three uses of “*wang yue*”; see the discussions of these constructions in the “Announcement to Kang” and “Numerous Regions” in chapter 7).

The king’s speech then begins with two couplets of equal meter followed by a final tetrasyllabic coda, in the metric structure 5-5-7-7-2-2 graphs per phrase. The final graph in each, as Behr and others have noted, does not only not come from the same rhyme group, but are from groups which Wang Li 王力 has shown do not cross-rhyme at all in the *Classic of Poetry*.<sup>89</sup> However, these graphs do all share the same final consonant (this final consonant is called the *yun wei* 韻尾, or “rhyme tail” in Chinese phonology). While it is not impossible that at the time, perhaps due to dialect or convention, these graphs did rhyme perfectly (though this is somewhat unlikely, as it would mean the phonology of the Western Zhou period is not accurately reflected in either the *Classic of Poetry* nor Middle Chinese), I think it is far more reasonable to accept that the vowels in the words at the

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318, YZJJ #NA0747; 牧簋, 219 (又重文 2), YZJJ #4343; 師匄簋, 210 (又重文 3), YZJJ #4342; 師克盥, 141 (又重文 3), YZJJ #4467 and #NA1907 (the *gai* 蓋, #4468, contains the same inscription). The phrase “*wang ruo yue*” 王若曰 is also found in fourteen Western Zhou vessels’ inscriptions which contain only one speech by the king: 克鼎, 281 (又重文 7, 合文 2), YZJJ #2836; 虢簋, 80, YZJJ #4266; 揚簋, 104 (又重文 3), YZJJ #4294; 魯伯或簋蓋, 109 (又重文 2, 合文 1), YZJJ #4302; 師頴簋, 110 (又重文 2), YZJJ #4312; 師寰簋(蓋), 蓋 111 (又重文 2), 器 115 (又重文 2), YZJJ #4313; 師虎簋, 121 (又重文 3), YZJJ #4316; 匄簋, 131 (又重文 2), YZJJ #4321; 師夔簋, 138 (又重文 4), YZJJ #4324; 莘伯歸斧簋, 149 (又合文 1), YZJJ #4331; 蔡簋, 157 (又重文 1), YZJJ #4340; 四十二年逯鼎, 282, YZJJ #NA0745; 逯盤, 372, YZJJ #NA0757; 殷簋, 82, YZJJ #NA0840.

88 The three exceptions to this rule come in the “Kang gao” 康誥, “Duo shi” 多士 and “Duo fang” 多方 chapters: the “Kang gao” has a final line of speech by the king which includes the *ruo*, and in the two “Duo” chapters the phrase is used twice (though as the “Duo fang” states “周公曰:王若曰” this is actually Duke of Zhou quoting the king, rather than the king himself speaking).

89 The existence of cross-rhyming among groups with identical final consonants was well-documented by Wang Li in his 1980 *Shi jing yun du* under the section on *he yun* 合韻 (Wang, *Shi jing yun du*, 31–36), but he also shows, and as Baxter corroborates in his 1990 *Handbook*, that no poem in the anthology contains cross-rhyming between the \*-aŋ *yang* 陽 rhyme group, \*-oŋ *dong* 東 rhyme group, \*-uŋ *dong* 冬 rhyme group, \*-əŋ *zheng* 蒸 rhyme group or the \*-iŋ *geng* 耕 rhyme group. There exists one possible exception to this rule: the poem “Renowned and Gracious” 烈文 from the “Hymns of Zhou” section (Mao 毛 #269) contains the lines: “烈文辟公、錫茲祉福。惠我無疆、子孫保之。無封靡于爾邦、維王其崇之。念茲戎功、繼序其皇之。” If the word *jiang* 疆 (\*kaŋ, *yang* 陽 rhyme group) in the second line is supposed to be phonologically parallel to *gong* 公 (\*C.qoŋ, *dong* 東 rhyme group) in the first line, *bang* 邦 (\*pʰroŋ, *dong* 東 rhyme group) in the third and *gong* 功 (\*kʰoŋ, *dong* 東 rhyme group) in the fourth line, then this would constitute the only example of cross-rhyming between these groups. However, given the irregular structure of “Renowned and Gracious” (see the discussion of the “Hymns of Zhou” above), whether this is a case of cross-rhyming or not remains in doubt.

end of each phrase were indeed different, as all evidence suggests, and that what we are seeing here is simply repeated consonance between final consonants.<sup>90</sup> If this is accurate, then this passage (and many others throughout this corpus) demonstrate not rhyming verse as reflected in early Chinese poetry anthologies, but cadenced, metrically-regular prose featuring consonance (*homoioteleuton*).

The semantic weight of the final graph in each paired phrase speaks in support of this argument: “king” (*wang* 王 \**gʷaŋ*) and “mandate” (*ming* 命 \**riŋ*), “state” (*bang* 邦 \**pʰroŋ*) and “[four] quarters” (*fang* 方 \**C.paŋ*), and lastly “set aright” (*zheng* 正 \**teŋ-s*) coupled with “the people” (*min* 民 \**min*). These are all positive terms, full of power and prestige, and it seems natural that the composer of the passage would want to highlight them. It would also be natural to assume that these words were intentionally chosen both for their semantic import and their final-consonant \*-ŋ consonance,<sup>91</sup> so that the combination of meaning and sound would create an increased feeling of strength and importance, especially when used right at the very beginning of a long speech.

## Section 2.2

This section is more resistant to analysis than the preceding, both in terms of paleography and phonosyntactic structures, and except for the parallel construction, it seems likely that there are no phonorhetorical devices employed. Whether the phrases should be parsed 4-5-4-3 (following Behr), or in the 6-3-4-3 arrangement I have given above, neither contains any acoustic regularity or verse structure. What the phrases do exhibit is parallelism in the form “. . . 無敢X” (“do not dare to X”), and this seems to be the main reason that the editors of the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* punctuated the text 6-3-4-3, with each 3-graph line as “無敢X.”

<sup>90</sup> Credit for noting this structure in poetry must be given in part to W.A.C.H. Dobson, as in his 1968 article “The Origin and Development of Prosody in Early Chinese Poetry” he states: “Rhyming, during its first five hundred years of development, passes from the relatively simple device of a single rhyme maintained throughout an entire piece with the rhyming lines occurring at indeterminate intervals, to the regular and predictable occurrence of rhymes in a variety of mixtures: from a beginning with imperfect rhyme, tolerating such rhyme-fellows as \*-əŋ, \*-iəŋ and \*-iəŋ, to the maintenance of perfect rhyme.” See Dobson, “The Origin and Development of Prosody in Early Chinese Poetry”, 233. While the consonance found in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions as documented in this study might argue against his chronology, there is no doubt that his description of imperfect rhyme (derived from the “Hymns of Zhou” section of the *Classic of Poetry*) is extremely analogous to the patterns documented in this study.

<sup>91</sup> Lothar von Falkenhausen notes the sonorous effects of repeated words with \*-ŋ finals in bell inscriptions in *Suspended Music*; see the discussion of the Liang Qi *zhong* later in this chapter.

Behr argues that because there is evidence of cross-rhyming between the final \*-ə zhi 之 rhyme group and the final \*-u you 幽 rhyme group in two poems in the *Classic of Poetry*<sup>92</sup> the phonological structure of this section should be as follows (Behr's transcription, Behr's reconstructed pronunciation and rhyme group provided for the final graph of each phrase):

4 graphs: 在羣(于) 卬(御) 事, 事: \*fsrəs, zhi 之 rhyme group  
 5 graphs: 戲酉(酒) 無敢醜(醜); 醜: \*tūm, qin 侵 rhyme group  
 4 graphs: 有髭(崇) 葦(蒸) 祀, 祀: \*zə(k)ʔ, zhi 之 rhyme group  
 3 graphs: 無敢醜(酬)。 酬: \*du, you 幽 rhyme group  
 5 graphs: 古(故) 天異(翼) 臨子。 子: \*tsəʔ, zhi 之 rhyme group

Behr's reading is certainly plausible, but I think the following structure is likely more correct (with 2012 Baxter-Sagart reconstructions and rhyme group provided for each phrase-final graph):

6 graphs: 在羣(于) 卬(御) 事戲 酉(酒): \*m.ruʔ (\*tsuʔ), you 幽 rhyme group  
 3 graphs: 無敢醜(醜); 醜: \*lrəm-s, qin 侵 rhyme group  
 4 graphs: 有髭(崇) 葦(蒸) 祀, 祀: \*s-ǝʔ, zhi 之 rhyme group  
 3 graphs: 無敢醜(醜)。 醜(醜): \*duʔ-s, you 幽 rhyme group

This reading is based on four factors: 1) As noted above, the repeated “無敢 X” is syntactically the strongest part of the section, so these would be best read as completely parallel phrases; 2) Ending the first line with *you* 酉 \*m.ruʔ (read as *jiu* 酒 \*tsuʔ), a word in the *you* 幽 rhyme group, maintains a similar acoustic structure with *you* 幽 rhyme group and *zhi* 之 rhyme group graphs at the end of each phrase; 3) The *zai* 在 \*dzʰəʔ and *you* 有 \*ǝʔ at the beginning of the non-“無敢 X” phrases are both *zhi* 之 rhyme group words, creating an acoustic parallel in the initial position; and 4) Behr's fifth line, beginning with *gu* 古 \*kʰaʔ (read as *gu* 故 \*kʰa-s), seems to fit better semantically as an introduction to the couplet in verse which follows it, as it provides the subject for those phrases. Finally, as both graphs following “無敢” are relatively obscure and have no direct transliteration in later Chinese, these analyses would be enhanced by further study.

In terms of content, this section is remarkable as it provides a clear moral admonition against alcohol and drunkenness, particularly as regards drinking

92 See Wang, *Shi jing yun du*, 34.

during solemn ritual occasions; as will be seen in Section 2.4 below, the king will point specifically to overindulgence in drink as a contributing factor in the fall of the Shang dynasty, and thus this section is best read as a direct warning to Yu and to any others who would have heard or read these words.

### Section 2.3

This section provides the first of two couplets composed of perfectly metered and rhyming tetrasyllabic verse in the inscription. The introductory phrase beginning with *gu* 古(故) “thus” continues the thread from the moral admonition against drunkenness in Section 2.2, “Thus Heaven sheltered and watched over its children,” and ends with the couplet:

灋(法) 保 先 王 ,  
 (\*p.kap) \*p<sup>h</sup>u? \*s<sup>h</sup>ər \*g<sup>w</sup>aj

provided models for and protected the former **kings**,

□<sup>93</sup> 有 四 方 。  
 \*g<sup>w</sup>əʔ \*s.lij-s \*C.paj

. . . possessed the four **quarters**.

Just as above, the words which are phonologically most important (featuring perfect rhyme between two words in the final \*-aj *yang* 陽 rhyme group) are also those which carry the greatest lexical weight: “king” and “[four] quarters.” The couplet directly mirrors several of the poems in the “Greater Elegantiae” (*Da ya* 大雅) section of the *Classic of Poetry*; while *wang* 王 and *fang* 方 are used as rhyme-words within stanzas in several poems in the anthology,<sup>94</sup> there are two tetrasyllabic couplets, in the poems “Oak Clumps”<sup>95</sup> 棫樸 (Mao #238) and “The Jiang and the Han” 江漢 (Mao #262), which feature these terms in direct conjunction (although in 262 their order is reversed):

93 This graph is completely unreadable, as the bronze has been damaged in this spot.

94 See poems “Major Bright” 大明 (Mao #236), “Sovereign Might” 皇矣 (Mao #241) and “Our People Are Exhausted” 民勞 (Mao #253). The English translations of the titles of all poems from the *Classic of Poetry* are taken from Waley, *The Book of Songs*.

95 The translations of these lines are adapted from Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 234 and 280.

“Oak Clumps” 〈械樸〉：

勉 勉 我 王 、  
\*mranʔ (S) \*mranʔ (S) \*ŋʰajʔ \*Gʷaŋ

Ceaseless are the labors of our **king**,

綱 紀 四 方 。

\*kʰaŋ \*kəʔ \*s.lij-s \*C.paŋ

Fashioning the network to the four **quarters**.

“The Jiang and the Han” 〈江漢〉：

經 營 四 方 、

\*k-lʰeŋ \*Gʷeŋ \*s.lij-s \*C.paŋ

They secure the frontiers to the four **quarters**,

告 成 于 王 。

\*kʰuk-s \*m-deŋ \*Gʷa \*Gʷaŋ

They tell of their victory to the **king**.

Unlike in the inscription, the speaker in the lines from the *Classic of Poetry* is not the king, yet addresses a similar theme: creating order throughout the land, extending to the “four quarters.” Based on this evidence, it is not possible to say whether any of these were the source or inspiration for any other, but the stylistic correlations are so striking that they should not simply be dismissed as coincidence.<sup>96</sup> The short verse sections also provide evidence that the composer(s) of the speeches could write in “poetic” tetrasyllabic rhyming verse identical to the forms most common to the *Classic of Poetry*, and made the conscious choice to compose the speech as we find it here, preserved for posterity in bronze.

<sup>96</sup> It is also interesting to note that the initial graphs in the tetrasyllabic lines from the *Classic of Poetry* ending in “*si fang*” 四方 both feature the final consonant \*-ŋ; unfortunately, in the inscription this graph cannot be read, so there is no way to know if there is a stylistic correlation on this point as well. As Ed Shaughnessy remarked: “It has often been noted that the poem ‘The Jiang and Han [Rivers]’ 江漢, the composition of which is traditionally dated to the reign of King Xuan of Zhou (r. 827/25–782 BCE), is similar in both structure and phrasing to some late Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.” See Shaughnessy, “Unearthed Documents and the Question of the Oral versus Written Nature of the Classic of Poetry” (2015), 360–73.



## Section 2.4

The final historically-based section of the speech opens with one metrically-regular couplet of two lines of five graphs, then an interim line which does not rhyme, and ends with a potentially cross-rhyming tetrasyllabic couplet featuring the *zhi* 之 and *you* 幽 rhyme groups, similar to the structure seen above in Section 2.2. While there do exist rhyming five-graph couplets in the *Classic of Poetry*,<sup>97</sup> this section, like those above, reads more like cadenced prose than an attempt at deliberate poetry, as the lines run 5-5-5-4-4 and would feature a relatively unorthodox rhyme scheme of AAXBb.<sup>98</sup>

In terms of content, this section features the most interesting historical anecdote in the inscription, as the Shang losing the mandate of Heaven is directly attributed to the upper levels of the royal Shang hierarchy drinking wine (ostensibly to excess, as alluded to in section 2.2), and thus, they lost their armies (martial power) and their sacrificial rites (spiritual power). This is one of the most commonly-cited passages supporting the argument that the leaders of the Western Zhou had a distaste (or at least a great respect) for liquor and its adverse effects.<sup>99</sup>

## Section 2.5

In this section of the speech, the king addresses Yu directly and describes their shared personal history, lauding Yu for his service and guidance when the king was younger. After the introductory line, the section is structured around a past-present parallel construction, featuring repetitive final \*-k consonant words within the body of the lines and a graph with an final \*-ŋ consonant at the end of each passage. While this does not constitute “poetic” construction or versification per se, especially as the meter runs 6-3-3-8-4-7-7 graphs per line and would result

97 See Dobson, “The Origin and Development of Prosody in Early Chinese Poetry,” 237.

98 It is also worth pointing out that in the two cases Wang Li indicates in the *Classic of Poetry* where a graph in the *zhi* 之 rhyme group is in direct rhyming position with a graph in the *you* 幽 rhyme group (poems “Great Dignity” 〈思齊〉 (Mao #240) and “Shao is Foreboding” 〈召旻〉 (Mao #265) from the “Major Odes” 〈大雅〉 section, see Wang Li, *Shi jing yun du* (1990), 31), the meter in the *Classic of Poetry* is quite different from the construction here: octosyllabic (i.e. the rhyme words come on the eighth graph) in “Great Dignity” and an eight graph-twelve graph combination in “Shao is Foreboding,” whereas in the inscription the lines are 3-4 in 2.2 and a tetrasyllabic 4-4 couplet in 2.4.

99 See the discussion of the “*Jiu gao*” 〈酒誥〉 chapter of the *Classic of Documents* in chapter seven, and in Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 128.

in an A-a-α-B-a-A-b rhyme scheme,<sup>100</sup> there is enough homophony between the consonants which end each syntactic unit that the passage exhibits a regular, repetitive acoustic cadence. Since this type of composition would likely have been composed to fit these specific circumstances, it is not surprising that it isn't in verse, but the care taken in choosing words at the end of each phrase which have final consonance reflects a high level of literary artistry.

### Section 2.6

The penultimate section of the speech is the second section featuring metrically-regular versification, and the second tetrasyllabic perfectly-rhyming couplet. The first of the three four-graph lines ends in *ling* 令 \*riŋ or \*riŋ-s, which while not constituting a perfect rhyme with the following couplet, as there are two examples of *zhen* 真 rhyme group words rhyming with *geng* 耕 rhyme group words in the *Classic of Poetry*,<sup>101</sup> it is quite possible that the vowels in these words at the time were close enough to rhyme, or at the very least form a cross-rhyme.

Even if the first line is not considered, as noted above, the following two lines would form a perfect tetrasyllabic rhyming verse couplet; the other possibility is that the twelve graphs in this section form a series of disyllabic pairs featuring final-consonant consonance in the pattern AB-Ab-βb: *yu* 余 \*la and *yu* 盂 \*ɣwa form the “A” pair, with *ling* 令 \*riŋ-s (B) and *rong* 榮 \*N-qʷreŋ (b), followed by *yong* 雝 \*ʔoŋ (β) and *jing* 罍 \*k.lʰeŋ (read as *jing* 經 \*k.lʰeŋ) (b) as the “B” rhymes. Whether this constitutes a perfect rhyme in tetrasyllabic verse or simply represents a great deal of repeated final-consonant consonance, the high degree of acoustic correspondence throughout the section is unmistakable.

<sup>100</sup> Additionally, the parallel phrasing and potential inner rhyming described here would feature repetition of the graph *ji* 卽 \*tsik, translated here as the verb “to engage (in),” but as this word carries a much lower lexical weight than most of those used in phrase-final positions throughout the inscription, these short, parallel phrases may not form an individual syntactic unit but would instead be the first part of a larger unit.

<sup>101</sup> In the “Lesser Elegantiae” (Xiao ya 小雅) section, “High-Crested Southern Hills” (節南山) (Mao #191), *ling* 領 \*reŋʔ forms a rhyming couplet with *cheng* 騁 \*ʃreŋʔ, and in “Diminutive” (小宛) (Mao #196), *ling* 令 \*riŋ/\*riŋ-s rhymes with *ming* 鳴 \*m.reŋ, *zheng* 征 \*teŋ and *sheng* 生 \*sreŋ. See Wang Li, *Shi jing yun du*, 12.

### Section 2.7

The final statement in the speech, in which the king commands Yu to serve him assiduously and “in awe of Heaven’s awesome power,” contains only one small rhetorical device, though as it comes in the very ultimate line, it should not be ignored: the repetition of the same graph (though the semantic interpretations differ slightly, these graphs are written identically on the bronze vessel). This device clearly accentuates the end of the phrase, though it is unclear what the effect on the listener (or reader) might have been, and while there are disyllabic poetic phrases found in the *Classic of Poetry*, this seems to be more a phonorhetorical device rather than versification.

### Section 3

The second of the four speeches in this inscription is only one line long, but it is notable as it contains a metrically-regular structure featuring final consonance; as will be seen below, all four speeches employ this identical device in the construction of their opening section. Thus it cannot be coincidence, but was a stylistic choice by the composer(s) of the speeches.

Interestingly, both words in the introductory two graphs, “the king” (*wang* 王 \*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ) and “said” or “spoke” (*yue* 曰 \*G<sup>w</sup>at) contain identical initials and main vowels. As noted above, this is a phrase which features prominently in many early Chinese texts; assuming this is correct,<sup>102</sup> the phrase is highly alliterative and would very likely have been noticed by a listener of the time, though we cannot know the exact effect it might have had.

The speech is not truly two lines, but syntactically more of a single unit; the reason one might break it into two lines of five graphs is solely due to the high degree of acoustic correspondence: *er* 而 \*nə and *nai* 乃 \*n<sup>ə</sup>? in the first position, *nü* 女 \*nra? (read as *ru* 汝 \*na?) and *qie* 且 \*tsa (read as *zu* 祖 \*ts<sup>ə</sup>a?) in the third position, and *jing* 井 \*C.tseŋ? (read as *xing* 型 \*G<sup>ə</sup>en) and *gong* 公 \*C.q<sup>ə</sup>oŋ in the final position all feature identical finals (though as noted above, there is only final-consonant consonance and not rhyme between the two final graphs in the phrases). As this is an extraordinary level of acoustic correspondence, it seems highly unlikely that it could simply be coincidental.

<sup>102</sup> As initial consonants are generally the most difficult parts of the Chinese word to reconstruct, any claim of alliteration should be viewed with some skepticism. However, in this case, the two words in this phrase have identical initial consonants and main vowels in the reconstructed pronunciations by William Baxter, Wang Li, Zhengzhang Shangfang 鄭張尚芳, Axel Schuessler, Bernhard Karlgren and Li Fang-kuei 李方桂, thus we can assume that the initials and main vowels are very likely identical here.

### Section 4.1

The third speech is not as long as the first, but as mentioned above, it also features /ŋ/ final-consonant consonance in the last graph of each phrase in its opening section. Similar in style to section 2.1 in the first speech, the meter is quite irregular and there seems to be little apparent attempt at “poetic” versification; rather, based on the syntax, cadenced prose is once again the most likely structure.

Following the final-consonant consonance and the syntactic units, the most likely meter is 7-4-6-3-5-2; 2-2-1 (graphs per phrase). Based on the syntax, we can speculate that the section could have been read as consisting of two parallel phrases, with the two opening phrases the longest and then each phrase containing one less graph (thus one less syllable) than the phrase before it in sequence, until a phrase-length of two graphs is reached, after which the section ends with a final 2-2-1 coda. Indeed, the strangest aspect of the section is that the very last graph, *tu* 土 \*tʰsʰaʔ, although perfectly natural lexically,<sup>103</sup> neither rhymes nor corresponds phonologically with *any* of the other words in the section; phonologically, it could be functioning akin to a final exclamation,<sup>104</sup> but what exact purpose it might be serving here, standing phonologically more or less on its own, will have to await further research.

In terms of content, this section is very similar to the opening section of the first speech, and even employs several of the same words in phrase-final position, most notably “king” and “four quarters,” but whether this was consciously created or is simply the result of lexical convention must remain an open question.

### Section 4.2

As the “gift list” sections in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions contain long lists specific to each situation, they do not usually show any acoustic parallelism or literary devices at all. Interestingly, when this section of the text is divided in accordance with the grammar and syntax (each phrase begins with either the graph

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<sup>103</sup> As “borderlands” (*jiang tu* 疆土) is a relatively common compound in early Chinese, the use of *tu* 土 here could well be simply due to lexical convention, but as there are many examples from the *Classic of Poetry* and other texts of *jiang* 疆 functioning on its own, especially in phrase-final position in order to rhyme with other *yang* 陽 rhyme group words, the intent behind the use of *tu* 土 here remains obscure.

<sup>104</sup> Linguists have tended to reconstruct most interjections in early Chinese texts as *yu* 魚 rhyme group words ending in \*-a; the use of *tu* 土 \*tʰsʰaʔ in phrase-final position here could potentially have had a similar phonological effect.

“I grant you” *yi* 易 \*lek-s, read as *ci* 賜 \*s-lek-s, or the graph “people” *ren* 人 \*niŋ), the final graph in each phrase always either rhymes or cross-rhymes with the others in the same position (each graph is either a final \*-a *yu* 魚 rhyme group word, a final \*-ak *duo* 鐸 rhyme group word, or a final \*-u *you* 幽 rhyme group word). This structure employs highly irregular meter (of 5-6-8 6-7 9-9-7-6 graphs per line) and a rhyme scheme of ABA CC BCBB (though as noted above, Wang Li has shown that these rhyme groups can cross-rhyme in certain circumstances, so one could argue the rhyme scheme could be read as AaA aa aaaa). Thus, despite the acoustic patterning, this section reads more like cadenced prose, employing words featuring repetitive sounds in similar syntactic positions and inconsistent meter.

### Section 5

The composition of this final, short speech, is very much like the second speech. Once again we find the alliterative preface “the king said” followed by two phrases which break syntactically at words featuring final-consonant consonance, but not rhyme. The difference here is that these lines have different lengths (five graphs followed by four graphs), though as the punctuation suggests, one could separate out the name of the vessel patron from the beginning of the first phrase, leaving a tetrasyllabic couplet. Once again, the final word in each phrase bears the heaviest lexical weight: *zheng* 正 \*teŋ-s (read as “governance” *zheng* 政 \*teŋ-s), and “command” *ling* 令 \*riŋ. As this final comment by the king is a direct command to Yu, it would be reasonable to expect that these words would have been acoustically structured in this way to add power and gravitas to the words, similar to the end of the first speech (see section 2.7).

### Section 6

We can assume that the king has now finished speaking, as the first word in this section indicates a change of actor: Yu is now responding in praise of the king’s munificence, and the person to whom the vessel is dedicated is listed in a standard construction extremely common to Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. Behr believes that there is an intentional cross-rhyme here between *xiu* 休 \*qʰu (*you* 幽 rhyme group) and *si* 祀 \*s-gəʔ (*zhi* 之 rhyme group),<sup>105</sup> the final graph in the inscription, but as this does not fit the syntax well, requiring a thirteen-graph interim between the cross-rhyming words, it seems more reasonable to assume there are no intentional rhymes nor use of any acoustic device in either of these final sections.

<sup>105</sup> As discussed above, Wang Li notes two examples of a *zhi* 之 rhyme group word in direct parallel rhyming position with a *you* 幽 rhyme group word in the *Classic of Poetry*.

## Section 7

This final line simply provides the king's ritual cycle number, indicating of the date of these events (assuming one ritual cycle per year), similar to its use in the seven other known Western Zhou bronze vessels featuring a “唯王 [number] 祀” notation at the very end of the inscription.<sup>106</sup>

### General Comments on the Da Yu ding Inscription

As the above analysis demonstrates, the Da Yu ding inscription contains a remarkable amount of phonological patterning, with a particular emphasis on final consonance (*homoioteleuton*) based on phrase-final words featuring a final \*-ŋ in sections 2.1, 2.6, 4.1, 4.2 and 5. In addition, there are at least two instances (sections 2.3 and 2.6, and perhaps section 5) where the rhetorical pattern exactly matches tetrasyllabic couplet forms just like those found throughout the *Classic of Poetry*. This indicates that the composer of the Da Yu ding inscription chose to employ both poetic verse and acoustically cadenced prose forms in irregular meter in order to add grandeur and eloquence to the rhetoric of the speeches; the overall language of the inscription reflects forms of literary artistry more akin to those in artistic prose than in verse. Indeed, my extended research indicates that similar use of final consonance can be found in several other early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions that employ rhyme as a stylistic device; the following table provides a short list of vessels from the period whose inscriptions feature similar structures.

**Table 2:** Other Early Western Zhou Vessels with Phonologically Patterned Inscriptions.

Vessel Name	Number of Graphs in Inscription	YZJJ ID No.
小盂鼎	390 (estimated)	2839
麥尊 (麥方尊)	164 (重文 3)	6015
沈子它簋蓋 (也簋)	149 (重文 1)	4330
作冊矢令簋	107 (重文 2, 合文 1)	4300
天亡簋	77 (合文 1)	4261
效尊	57 (重文 3, 合文 3)	6009

<sup>106</sup> These are the 五祀𩇑鐘, YZJJ #358; 衛鼎, YZJJ #2832; 小盂鼎, YZJJ #2839; 𩇑簋, YZJJ #4317; 𩇑尊, YZJJ #6014; 𩇑觶, YZJJ #6516; 吳方彝蓋, YZJJ #9898; and the 寢孳鼎, YZJJ #NA0924.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the Da Yu *ding* inscription is its early date, which allows the origins of this literary form to be traced back to the earliest periods of the Western Zhou dynasty; as will be shown below, these inscriptions may have provided the model for the development of the style throughout the mid-Western Zhou, and for the subsequent rise in its use during the late Western Zhou.

## Mid-Western Zhou: Dong *fangding* 夔方鼎 II (Dong's Cauldron #2)

The Dong *fangding* II was excavated in 1975 from the famous tomb complex at Zhuangbai village 莊白村 in Fufeng 扶風 county, Shaanxi 陝西, and is mainly known as part of a set of thirteen bronze vessels which were all unearthed from the same tomb: three *ding* 鼎, two *gui* 簋, two *hu* 壺, two *jue* 爵, one *pan* 盤, one *yan* 甗, one *gu* 觚 and one *he* 盒.<sup>107</sup> One of the *ding* from the cache carries an inscription of 63 graphs and there is also a *gui* with a very long inscription of 132 graphs, both of which recount military victories by units led by Dong; the rest of the vessels contain very short inscriptions of three or five graphs. This vessel is often referred to as the “Dong *fangding* II” to differentiate it from the others, contains a long inscription of 113 graphs, and currently resides in the Fufeng County Museum.

Although there is no date listed in the inscription, scholars believe the vessel was cast during the reign of King Mu 穆王 (r. 956–918 B.C.E.) due to a correlation between the attack by the Huai Yi 淮夷 at Luo 洛 described on the Dong *gui* and the Dong *fangding* I and the record in the *Bamboo Annals* 《竹書紀年》 for the thirteenth year of King Mu's reign.<sup>108</sup> As this same group is listed on this inscription (as the Huai Rong 淮戎, or “Huai belligerents”) and these vessels were all found in the same tomb, it stands to reason that the caster of the vessel was the same individual in all these cases.

The Dong *fangding* II inscription features two speeches by Dong, followed by a final dedication. Each of the speeches is prefaced by “Dong said” (Dong *yue* 夔曰), indicating direct speech, and the final section also begins with Dong as the subject, bowing before the king. The first speech records a short comment by the king venerating Dong's grandfather, while the second records Dong's veneration of his parents; in the final section, he will dedicate the vessel to his mother.

The Dong *fangding* II Inscription: Rubbing, Transcription, Phonology and Translation

107 YZJJ #2824; See the official site report: *Wenwu* 《文物》 1976.6, 51–60.

108 See Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 249–51.



Figure 5: Rubbing of the Dong *fangding* 或方鼎 II Inscription.

Table 3: Transcription, Phonology and Translation of the Dong *fangding* II Inscription.

Section 1: Speech 1						
或 [冬]	曰	:				
[*tʰuŋ]	*ɣʷat					
Dong said:						
烏	虘 (乎)	!				
*ʔa	(*ɣʰa)					
“Wu-hu!						
王	唯	念	或 [冬]			
*ɣʷaŋ	*wiji (S)	*nʰim-s	[*tʰuŋ]			
The king remembers Dong’s						
辟	刺 (烈)	/	考	甲	公	,
*pek	*rʰat (*rat)		*khu? (S)	*kʰrap	*C.qʰoŋ	
elder valorous deceased-father Jia Gong;						
王	用	肇 (肇)	事 (使)	乃	子	或 [冬] /
*ɣʷaŋ	*m.loŋ-s	(*drau? (S))	*m-s-rəʔ-s (*s-rəʔ)	*nʰəʔ	*tsəʔ	[*tʰuŋ]
the king thereby sent out his son Dong						



Table 3 (continued)

率 虎 臣 御 (禦) 雜 (淮) 戎 。

\*s-rut-s \*qʰsra? \*gin \*ŋa-s (\*m-qʰa?) (\*gʷsrij) \*nun

to lead the Tiger soldiers to repulse the Huai **belligerents.**”

## Section 2: Speech 2

董 曰 :

[\*tʰuŋ] \*gʷat

Dong said:

烏 虜 (乎) ! /

\*ʔa (\*gʷa)

“Wu-hu!

朕 文 考 甲 公 、

\*lram? \*mən \*khu? (S) \*kʰrap \*C.qʰoŋ

My decorated deceased-father, Jia **Gong**,

文 母 曰 庚 ,

\*mən \*mæ? / \*mʰo? \*C.nit \*kʰraŋ

decorated mother, Ri **Geng**,

弋 (式) 休 / 則 尚 (常) ,

\*læk (\*ʃæk) \*qʰu / \*tsʰæk \*dan-s (\*dan)

models of munificence and standards of **constancy**,

安 永 宕 乃 子 彳 [冬] 心 ,

\*ʔan \*gʷraŋ? \*dāŋh (S) \*nʰə? \*tsə? [\*tʰuŋ] \*səm

peacefully, eternally firm within your child Dong’s **heart**,

安 / 永 襲 (襲) 彳 [冬] 身 ,

\*ʔan \*gʷraŋ? (\*sə-ləp) [\*tʰuŋ] \*ŋŋ

Peacefully, eternally bequeathed to Dong’s **person**,

𠄎 (厥) 復 高 (享) 于 天 子 , /

(\*kot) \*m-puk (\*qʰaŋ?) \*gʷa \*ʃin \*tsə?

he in return makes an offering to Heaven’s **Son**,<sup>109</sup>

唯 𠄎 (厥) 事 乃 子 彳

\*wjiŋ (S) (\*kot) \*m-s-rəʔ-s \*nʰə? \*tsə? [\*tʰuŋ]

and it is he who serves, your child **Dong**,

萬 年 辟 事 / 天 子 ,

\*C.man-s \*C.nʰiŋ \*pek \*m-s-rəʔ-s \*ʃin \*tsə?

for ten thousand years serves Heaven’s **Son**,

<sup>109</sup> In this inscription I translate *tianzi* 天子 as “Heaven’s Son” instead of “Son of Heaven” to highlight how the graph “son” *zi* 子 \*tsə? is used in positions where it features in the repetitive euphonic and phonorhetorical structure.

Table 3 (continued)

母(毋)	又(有)	眈[尤]	于	昏(厥)	身	。
*məʔ / *m'ɔʔ (*mo)	*ɣwəʔ-s (*ɣwəʔ)	[*wə (S)]	*ɣwa	(*kot)	*ŋiŋ	
with no regard for his own <b>person</b> ."						
<b>Section 3: Dedication and Closing</b>						
彘	拜	/	顛	首	,	
[*t'ɔŋ]	*C.p'rot-s		*khiʔ (S)	*luʔ		
Dong bowed, touching his head [to the ground],						
對	揚	王	令(命)	,		
*t'əp-s	*laŋ	*ɣwəŋ	*riŋ (*mə-riŋ-s)			
and responded, extolling the king's command,						
用	乍(作)	文	母	/	日	庚
*m.loŋ-s	*dz'rak-s (*ts'ak)	*mən	*məʔ / *m'ɔʔ		*C.nit	*k'raŋ
thereby making for his decorated mother Ri Geng						
寶	隣(尊)	鬯	彝	,		
*p'uʔ	(*ts'un)	*lihaŋ / *hjaŋ (S)	*ləj			
a treasured sacrificial giant vessel						
用	穆	穆	夙(夙)	夜	/	
*m.loŋ-s	*miwk	*miwk	(*suk)	*N.rak-s		
to use reverentially morning to night						
隣(尊)	鬯(享)	孝	妥(綏)	福	;	
(*ts'un)	(*q'əŋʔ)	*q'u-s	*ŋ'ojʔ (*s.nuj)	*pək		
to perform the sacrifices and make offerings in filial piety for appeasement and blessings;						
其	子	子	孫	孫		
*gə	*tsəʔ	*tsəʔ	*s'un	*s'un		
may his childrens' children and grandchildren' grandchildren						
永	寶	茲(茲)	刺(烈)	。		
*ɣwraŋʔ	*p'uʔ	(*tsə)	*r'at (*rat)			
forever treasure his valor.						

## Analysis of the Dong *Fangding* II Inscription<sup>110</sup>

### Section 1

The first section of the contains the shorter of the two speeches recorded in the inscription. After “Dong said” (Dong *yue* “*戎曰*”), the speech begins with one of the most common exclamations found in ancient Chinese texts: “*Wu-hu!*” (here 烏乎, often written 嗚呼; \*ʔʰa–\*ɣʰa).<sup>111</sup> The four lines of the speech contain no obvious attempt at versification, but when divided syntactically, the ends of the two main phrases both end in the consonant \*-ŋ, a similar type of final-consonant consonance to that seen in the Da Yu *ding* inscription (see II.1.B above). If one divides these two main phrases at the name of the vessel patron, the section reads in the format of a metrically irregular 4-5-7-6 (graphs per phrase) Aaaa rhyme scheme, one of the most common rhyme schemes found in the *Classic of Poetry*.

### Section 2

The second section is comprised of the second speech attributed to Dong; once again beginning with “Dong said” and “*Wu-hu!*,” it is composed of nine lines which once again feature a great deal of final-consonant \*-ŋ consonance (yet vowel disharmony) when divided syntactically in accordance with the transcription provided in the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*, in the format 5-4-4-7-5-6-6-6-6 graphs per phrase. While Behr believes the second and third lines which form a perfect tetrasyllabic *yang* 陽 rhyme group couplet are an indication of intentional verse, since these lines are quite different in content (the first line features the name of Dong’s mother while the second line begins the epithets praising her and his father), I believe they are better read as simply part of the longer, cadenced prose which comprises the rest of the speech.

<sup>110</sup> This inscription is included in Chen Banghuai 陳邦懷, “Liang Zhou jinwen yundu jiyi” 〈兩周金文韻讀輯遺〉 in *Gu wenzi yanjiu* 9 (1984), 452. Chen breaks the lines in the second section at *an* 安, claiming a cross-rhyme with *shen* 身, and notes the repetition of *zi* 子, though without breaks or other rhymes; his claim for cross-rhyming in the final section is discussed in the analysis below. The inscription is also detailed without translation in Behr, “Reimende Bronzeinschriften,” 186–87; he follows Chen’s arrangement in most respects, though he disagrees with Chen’s analysis of the final section.

<sup>111</sup> In later works, “*Wu-hu!*” is most often employed as a means to express profound grief; in works dated to the Western Zhou, it seems to serve as a more general exclamation, perhaps roughly analogous to “Hark!” in English.

There are two additional peculiarities with the acoustic structure of the speech. First, the fourth line ends with *xin* 心 \*səm, a word in the *qin* 侵 rhyme group, and despite the fact that /m/ and /ŋ/ have a good deal of phonological similarity, the only cross-rhymes in the Classic of Poetry between final \*-əm *qin* 侵 rhyme group words and any other rhyme group is with the final \*-əŋ *zheng* 蒸 rhyme group (though there are three of these<sup>112</sup>), so it is difficult to determine if this line should be considered among those exhibiting final-consonant consonance.

Second, the last five lines in the speech that would most naturally break syntactically at 5-6-6-6-6 graphs per line have the following graphs in phrase-final position: *shen* 身 \*ŋjŋ, *zi* 子 \*tsəʔ, *Dong* 𡇗 \*tʰuŋ, *zi* 子 \*tsəʔ and *shen* 身 \*ŋjŋ. The regularity of the meter with “son of Heaven” (天子 \*ʃin \*tsəʔ) repeated in phrase-final position is striking, and does not match any known examples of verse in this era; the author of the text seems to be employing repetition of the same powerful term in the same position (*epistrophe*) as a rhetorical effect.

### Section 3

The final section in the inscription is the dedication, and while Chen Banghuai has suggested that the graphs *yi* 彝 \*ləj, *fu* 福 \*pək and *ci* 刺 \*rʰat (read as *lie* 烈 \*rat) should form a series of cross-rhyming graphs,<sup>113</sup> I agree with Wolfgang Behr that there is no clear euphony or other literary device at work in this section, and that it is best viewed as simply unadorned prose.

General Comments on the Dong *fangding* II Inscription:

The two speeches in the Dong *fangding* II inscription, like those in the Da Yu *ding* inscription analyzed above, employ extensive final consonance featuring phrase-final words ending in \*-ŋ. While there are no obvious tetrasyllabic verse sections in this inscription, the use of a consistent metric pattern in the second speech with alternating lines ending in the same graph indicates a high level of intricate euphony and rhetorical structure. The fact that in this inscription identical graphs are employed provides an irrefutable example of identical sounds repeated in regular patterns and supports my contention that these patterns constitute a significant phonorhetorical feature of these inscriptions. At the same time, despite the regular meter, these patterns are demonstrably dissimilar to those found in the *Classic of Poetry*, in which repetition of the same graph in phrase-final position is nearly non-

112 See Wang, *Shi jing yun du*, 32

113 See Chen Banghuai, “Liang Zhou jinwen yundu jiyi”, 452.

existent. This inscription thus simply provides another example of how cadenced, artistic prose was used for rhetorical effect during the Western Zhou dynasty.

As noted above, the mid-Western Zhou period predates the increase in euphonic structures found in vessels dating to the late Western Zhou. However, there are seven other vessels from the period which contain long inscriptions featuring similar literary devices:

**Table 4:** Other Mid-Western Zhou Vessels with Phonologically Patterned Inscriptions.

Vessel Name	Number of Graphs in Inscription	YZJJ ID No.
史牆盤 (史牆盤)	276 (重文 5, 合文 3)	10175
牧簋	219 (重文 2)	4343
衛鼎 (五祀衛鼎)	201 (重文 5, 合文 1)	2832
衛鼎 (九年衛鼎)	191 (重文 1, 合文 3)	2831
善鼎 (宗室鼎)	110 (重文 1, 合文 1)	2820
泉伯或簋蓋	109 (重文 2, 合文 1)	4302
癸鐘	100 (重文 4)	247

### Late Western Zhou: Liang Qi *zhong* 梁其鍾 (*The Bells of Liang Qi*)<sup>114</sup>

A total of ten inscribed vessels bearing the name of Liang Qi 梁其 were discovered in 1940 in Fufeng county, Shaanxi province, including six *zhong* 鐘 bells, two *gui* 簋, one *xu* 盨 and one *ding* 鼎. The inscriptions on these vessels are all somewhat extensive, the shortest being twenty-nine graphs on the *xu*, and the longest on the bells. The four largest bells each contain about half of a long, nearly identical inscription of 137 graphs, written across the upper central and lower left faces, while the smaller bells contain only part of the inscription, written around the central motif on the front; the version of the inscription used in this volume comes from the largest pair of bells.

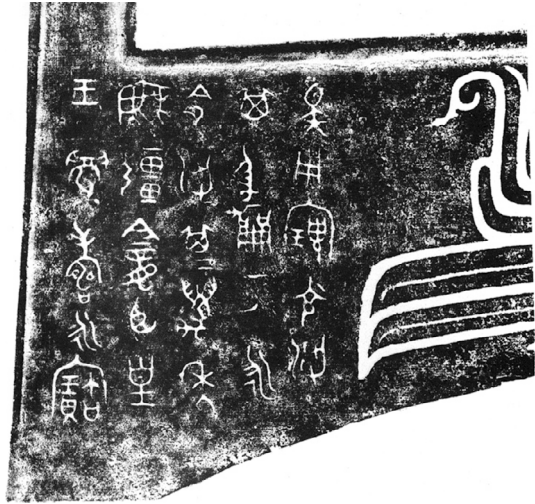
As there is no year notation recorded in any of the Liang Qi vessels' inscriptions, the primary method for dating them has been art historical criteria and correlations with other vessels bearing the name of Liang Qi; the *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan* lists these bells as dating to either the reign of King Yi 夷王 (r. 865–858 B.C.E.) or King Li 厲王 (r. 857–842 B.C.E.); Shizuka Shirakawa placed them in the reign of King Li.

<sup>114</sup> YZJJ #187 and #188. See also Shirakawa Shizuka 白川靜, *Kinbun tsushaku* 金文通釋 vol. 26 (1984), 388–400 and *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan* 商周青銅器銘文選 (1986), 273–74.





**Figure 8:** Rubbing of the Liang Qi zhong 梁其鍾 bell #2, Upper Central Section.



**Figure 9:** Rubbing of the Liang Qi zhong 梁其鍾 bell #2, Lower Left Section.

**Table 5:** Transcription, Phonology and Translation of the Liang Qi *zhong* Inscriptions.**Section 1: Opening Section: Introduction to Dedictees**

汭(梁) 其 曰 :  
 (\*raŋ) \*gə \*ɣʷat

Liang Qi said:

丕(丕) 顯 皇 且(祖) 考 ,  
 \*pə (\*pʰrə) \*qʰʰen? \*ɣʷaŋ \*tsʰa? (\*tsʰa?) \*khu? (S)  
 “Illustrious august deceased-grandfather and deceased-father,

穆 穆 異(翼) 異(翼) , /  
 \*miwk \*miwk \*ɣək-s (\*ɣrək) \*ɣək-s (\*ɣrək)  
 reverential and dignified, solemn and **sheltering**,

克 質(哲) 卬(厥) 德 ;  
 \*kʰək \*tip-s / \*t-lit (\*Cə.lin-s) (\*kət) \*tʰək  
 capable, wise and **virtuous**;

農 臣 先 王 ,  
 \*nʰoŋ \*gin \*sʰər \*ɣʷaŋ  
 vigorously served as ministers to the former **kings**,

得 屯(純) / 亡 敗[民] 。  
 \*tʰək \*dʰun (\*dun) \*maŋ \*mun? (S)[\*min]  
 attaining purity without **flaw**.

**Section 2: Liang Qi Extols his Father, Grandfather and the King**

汭(梁) 其 肇(肇) 帥 井(型) 皇 且(祖) 考 /  
 (\*raŋ) \*gə (\*drau? (S)) \*s-rut-s \*C.tseŋ? (\*ɣʰeŋ) \*ɣʷaŋ \*tsʰa? (\*tsʰa?) \*khu? (S)  
 Liang Qi thus follows the models of his august deceased-grandfather and father,

秉 明 德 ,  
 \*praŋ? \*mraŋ \*tʰək  
 [who] possessed bright **virtue**,

虔 夙 夕 ,  
 \*gran \*suk \*s-N-rak  
 pious morning to **night**,

辟 天 子 ;  
 \*pek \*ʰin \*tsə?  
 royal officials to Heaven's **Son**;

天 子 肩[月] // 事 汭(梁) 其 身 ,  
 \*ʰin \*tsə? [\*ŋʷat] \*m-s-rəʔ-s (\*raŋ) \*gə \*ŋiŋ  
 Heaven's Son appointed to service Liang Qi **himself**,



Table 5 (continued)

邦 / 君 大 正 ;  
 \*p'roŋ \*C.qur \*l'at-s \*teŋ  
 the lords of the state and the high **officials**;  
 用 天 / 子 寵 ,  
 \*m.loŋ-s \*l'in \*tsə? \*roŋ?  
 by Heaven's Son's **favor**  
 蔑 汾(梁) 其 / 曆(曆) 。  
 \*m'et (\*raŋ) \*gə (\*r'ek)  
 does Liang Qi succeed in his achievements.”

### Section 3: Dedication

汾(梁) 其 敢 對 / 天 子  
 (\*raŋ) \*gə \*k'am? \*t'əp-s \*l'in \*tsə?  
 Liang Qi dares in response to the son of Heaven  
 不(丕) 顯 休 / 揚  
 \*pə (\*p'hrə) \*q'h'en? \*q'u \*laŋ  
 to illustriously beneficently **extol** [his munificence]  
 用 乍(作) 朕(朕) 皇 ///  
 \*m.loŋ-s \*dz'rak-s (\*ts'ak-s) \*lram? \*G'raŋ  
 and thereby make for his **august**  
 且(祖) 考 穌 鐘 。  
 \*ts'ha? (\*ts'a?) \*khu? (S) \*wâi (S) \*toŋ  
 deceased-grandfather and deceased-father harmonizing **bells**.

### Section 4: Sound of Bells Chiming

鎗[倉] 鎗[倉] 總[聰] 總[聰] ;  
 \*ts'h'aŋ \*ts'h'aŋ \*ts'h'oŋ \*ts'h'oŋ  
 Bang-bang, bong-bong;  
 鍼 鍼 鏗[誰] 鏗[誰] !  
 \*s.t'h'iwk \*s.t'h'iwk \*ʔoŋ (S) \*ʔoŋ (S)  
 tock-tock, gong-gong!

### Section 5: Intended Use of the Bells

用 卻 各(格) 喜 / 侃 前 文 人 ;  
 \*m.loŋ-s \*dauh (S) \*k'ak (\*k'arak) \*q'hə? \*khân? \*dz'ien \*mən \*niŋ  
 [The bells] will be used to summon the prior decorated men to come enjoy the harmonies;  
 用 旂(祈) 甸 康 霽(娛) 屯(純) / 右(祐) ,  
 \*m.loŋ-s \*C.gər \*kât (S) \*k-l'aŋ / \*k'h'aŋ (\*ŋwa (S)) \*d'un (\*dun) \*G'wə? (\*G'wə?)  
 [the bells] will be used to pray for health, happiness and pure blessings,

Table 5 (continued)

蕪(綽) 縮[官] 通 泉(祿) 。  
 (\*tʰawk) [\*kʷan] \*ʃoŋ \*pə.rʰok (\*rʰok)  
 ample, extensive and penetrating fortune.

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**Section 6: Closing: Prayer for Blessings and Fortune**


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皇 且(祖) 考  
 \*ɣʷaŋ \*tʃaʔ (\*tʃaʔ) \*khuʔ (S)  
 August deceased-grandfather and deceased-father,

其 嚴 / 才(在) 上 ,  
 \*gə \*ŋram \*dzʰə (\*dzʰəʔ) \*daŋʔ-s  
 may the majesty of your exalted position above

黼[豐] 黼[豐] 泉[泉] 泉[泉] 。  
 [\*pʰoŋ] [\*pʰoŋ] [\*s-N-ɣʷar / \*dzwan (S)] [\*s-N-ɣʷar / \*dzwan (S)]  
 be bounteous and ever-springing.

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**Section 7: Closing: Prayer for Blessings and Fortune**


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降 余大 魯 福 亡 // 昊(斲) ,  
 \*kʰruŋ-s \*la \*ʃat-s \*rʰaʔ \*pək \*maŋ (\*lak / \*lâkh (S))  
 Send down upon me great felicitous blessings without cease,

用 璃(寓) 光 汾(梁) / 其 身 ,  
 \*m.loŋ-s (\*ŋo-s) \*kʷaŋ (\*raŋ) \*gə \*ŋiŋ  
 thereby to reside within and glorify Liang Qi **himself**,

勳(樂) 于 永 / 令(命) ;  
 \*râuk / \*ŋrâukh (S) \*ɣwa \*ɣʷraŋʔ \*riŋ-s (\*mə-riŋ-s)  
 with joy and long **life**;

汾(梁) 其 , 其 萬 年 / 無 疆(疆) ,  
 (\*raŋ) \*gə \*gə \*C.man-s \*C.nʰiŋ \*ma \*gaŋ (\*kaŋ)  
 Liang Qi, may you for ten thousand years without **limit**

龠[今] 臣 皇 / 王 ,  
 [\*krəm] \*gin \*ɣʷaŋ \*ɣʷaŋ  
 serve the **august king**,

躋(眉) 壽 永 寶 。  
 (\*mrər) \*duʔ-s / \*N-tuʔ \*ɣʷraŋʔ \*pʰuʔ  
 Complete in **longevity** and eternally **treasured**.

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## Analysis of the Liang Qi *zhong* Inscriptions<sup>115</sup>

### Section 1

The opening section of the inscription announces the speaker, followed by a line of five graphs introducing the dedicatees and then two tetrasyllabic couplets recounting their virtues. The speaker is the vessel patron, and the dedicatees are his father and grandfather, both referred to using the standard nomenclature for deceased ancestors.

The first couplet is in perfectly rhyming tetrasyllabic verse, featuring a reduplicated identical rhyming binome in the first line,<sup>116</sup> the second of which likely rhymed perfectly with *de* 德 \*tʰək at the end of the second line (while *yi* 異 \*gək-s would unequivocally be a perfect rhyme, Baxter reconstructs *yi* 翼 with two possible finals, \*-əp and \*-ək, the latter as a dialectical variant but the more likely option here). The second couplet mixes two rhyme groups (*wang* 王 \*ɣwɑŋ is a graph in the *yang* 陽 rhyme group, and *min* 民 \*miŋ is in the *zhen* 真 rhyme group), and as noted previously, there are no apparent cross-rhymes between these rhyme groups in the *Classic of Poetry*, but as documented above, this style of final consonance is relatively common to Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.<sup>117</sup>

115 This inscription is included in the lists of vessels containing rhyming graphs by Chen Shihui, “Jinwen yundu xuji” p.174, who notes only the graphs *de* 德 (twice) and *zi* 子 (which are cross-rhymes, and separated by several lines of text); it was more fully detailed in Behr, “Reimende Bronzeinschriften,” 249–253, though the meter and rhymes presented differ substantially from my own in all except the binomial and final sections. A short study of the second bell inscription and several other Liang Qi vessels can be found in Chen Peifen 陳佩芬, “Pan you, Zou ding, Liang qi zhong mingwen quanshi” 〈繁卣、馮鼎及梁其鐘銘文詮釋〉 in *Shanghai bowuguan jikan* 上海博物館集刊 2 (1982), 20–22; the most extensive study to date of the bells can be found in Noel Barnard and Cheung Kwong-yue 張光裕, *The Shan-fu Liang Ch'i Kuei and Associated Inscribed Vessels* (1996), 37–71.

116 A two-graph reduplicated identical binome is known as a *dieyinci* 疊音詞 or *dieyun* 疊韻 in Chinese, and can be found throughout early Chinese literature, most notably in the *Classic of Poetry*. These specific binomes can be found therein multiple times: there are five poems containing *mu-mu* 穆穆 and ten containing *yi-yi* 翼翼, though none occur in the same poem.

117 It is also worth considering whether the raw percentage of graphs ending in \*-ŋ in the Western Zhou phonetic inventory would have played a role in these inscriptions, especially given the relatively high numbers of graphs we find in phrase-final position that feature \*-ŋ finals. Using the Baxter-Sagart 2011 Old Chinese reconstructions as a rough guide, 15.75% of the 4,087 graphs in that dataset end in \*-ŋ finals; following this distribution, one would normally expect about 3 in every 20 lines would end in a word with an \*-ŋ final. In the Liang Qi *zhong* inscription, 16 of the 32 lines end in a graph with an \*-ŋ final, a remarkable 50% of the total. (Even if one would argue that using the Baxter-Sagart 2011 reconstructions is not a suitable metric for this evaluation, it seems well outside any reasonable estimation that anywhere near 50% of the total graphs

## Section 2

While there are no perfectly rhyming lines in the second section, there are two separate constructions in metrically regular patterns which deserve mention. The first is the three lines of epithets for Liang Qi's father and grandfather, each of which is only three graphs long, and each of these ends in a graph from a rhyme group different from the others, but as the first two feature a final \*-k (*de* 德 \*tʰək, followed by *xi* 夕 \*s-N-rak) and the last three-graph phrase ends in *zi* 子 \*tsəʔ, it is possible that the syntactic and acoustic structure here indicates an intentional rhetorical device. Wang Li has documented that there are two examples in the *Classic of Poetry* of an \*-ə final *zhi* 之 rhyme group graph cross-rhyming with an \*-ək final *zhi* 職 rhyme group graph, but as there are no cases of \*-ək and \*-ak finals or \*-ak and \*-ə finals cross-rhyming, these lines most likely simply represent a case of phonologically correspondant metrically-regular phrasing with no cross-rhyming intended.<sup>118</sup>

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in the Western Zhou phonetic inventory available to the composer of this inscription would have featured \*-ŋ finals.)

118 This section is potentially complicated by the fact that there are thirty-eight graphs (two with reduplication marks) missing from a section of the inscription on one of the smaller bells (YZJJ #192): the phrase “虔夙夕” is directly followed by Section 4 (the section comprised of the four rhyming binomes) and the first two graphs of Section 5; thus this final line, the rest of Section 2 and Section 3 all do not appear on that bell. (Thankfully as corroborating evidence there are two nearly identical versions of the “full” inscription running across two large bells, though in slightly different arrangements: the last three of the first four graphs on the second bell in the first pair of two large bells, SJZZ #187-188, are included on the first bell in the second set, SJZZ #189-190, and the first graph on the second bell in the first pair, *qie* 且 (read as *zu* 祖) is missing, thus they are only “nearly” identical.)

However, in my opinion the text on YZJJ #191 more likely than not represents the thirty-eight graphs missing from the inscription on YZJJ #192, though the final two graphs on YZJJ #191 (“Liang Qi,” the name of the caster) are spurious and were mistakenly added here instead of being placed at the very beginning of the inscription on YZJJ #192 where they should have been placed and are missing. (The discussion in Barnard and Cheung notes the omission but fails to accurately show how the text can be rearranged to form a complete version of the inscription. See Barnard and Cheung, *Shan-fu Liang Ch'i Kuei and Associated Inscribed Vessels*, 67–71, including their somewhat tortuous graphic attempt to resolve these textual problems on page 68.) If it is the case that YZJJ #191 and YZJJ #192 were originally followed by one or two bells from the set which are no longer extant, if one rearranges the text slightly then they do comprise a complete inscription perfectly matching the first four sections of the full inscription as found on the largest bells; the following is my proposed rearrangement of the text on the smaller bells:

#191 final 2 spurious graphs (“Liang Qi”)

+ #192 first 34 graphs (two with reduplication marks)

The second passage in the second section worthy of comment is the final four lines, which the editors of the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* break syntactically into four lines of 7-4-4-4 graphs per phrase; the first three of these show clear \*-ŋ final consonance, though the final line does not seem to follow this pattern (assuming the phonophoric in this final graph is *li* 秣 \*lək). At a minimum, the middle 4-4 pair forms a tetrasyllabic couplet ending in \*-ŋ final consonants: *zheng* 正 \*teŋ and *chong* 寵 \*rɔŋʔ, but as noted above, there are no \*-ŋ final cross-rhymes in the *Classic of Poetry*, so this section seems to simply show repetition of final consonants for rhetorical purposes rather than any type of intentional versification.

### Section 3

The third section is the dedication, which follows a formula extremely similar to the dedicatory sections found in most Western Zhou bronze inscriptions:<sup>119</sup> Liang Qi “in response to” the king (referred to as the *tianzi* 天子, “Son of Heaven”) venerates him, and thereby uses the occasion to commission a bronze vessel, dedicated to his august ancestors.<sup>120</sup> In this inscription, it also employs a syntactic pattern mirroring the form used in the first two sections, with an introductory line followed by several lines in metrically regular rhyming verse.

In this section, it bears noting that the perfectly rhyming couplet in tetrasyllabic verse is followed by a third tetrasyllabic line<sup>121</sup> which features a final graph

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+ #191 full inscription of 40 graphs (six with reduplication marks), except for the final 2 spurious graphs “Liang Qi,” and the first graph, *bi* or *pi* 辟, is not indicated at all in the *YZJJ* transcription of #191 but close observation clearly reveals the remnants of a graph where it was (though it is now illegible).

+ #192 remaining six graphs (four with reduplication marks), ending in “用郛”

+ one or two currently non-extant bells containing the final 58 graphs (including two reduplicated graphs).

119 See Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 83–85. As Shaughnessy notes: “The dedicatory portion of the inscription is usually extremely formulaic and . . . is often composed of short rhyming phrases.” *Ibid.*, 84.

120 In some cases, the “response” to the king can also be read as gratitude to the king for choosing the vessel patron to carry out the assignment listed in the inscription, as well as his magnanimity, as cash and other valuable items were regularly bestowed by the king upon its completion (though there is no gift list in this inscription), thus providing the occasion and ample funds for the casting of a bronze vessel; during the Western Zhou dynasty, the commissioning of such a vessel had great ritual significance and was a direct testament of the close relationship between the vessel’s patron and the king.

121 As noted above, the first graph of this line is missing from the otherwise identical inscription on the second pair of bells, *YZJJ* #189-90.

with an \*-ŋ final (*zhong* 鐘 \*toŋ, which is unequivocally in the *dong* 東 rhyme group), but does not rhyme with the preceding couplet which features *yang* 揚 \*laŋ and *huang* 皇 \*ɣ<sup>w</sup>aŋ from the *yang* 陽 rhyme group in the phrase-final position. Thus, the evidence here indicates that either the couplet in perfect tetrasyllabic verse should be read as separate from the final line, or more likely, that the composer is intentionally using final consonance but not “perfect” rhyming in the composition of this section. If the latter conclusion is correct, this section can be seen as a microcosm of the form featuring final consonance but not “true” rhyming documented throughout this volume and which seems to be by far the most common rhetorical form in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptional corpus.

#### Section 4

This short onomatopoeic section comprised of four graphs, each followed by a reduplication mark, is unique to bell inscriptions; Lothar von Falkenhausen notes that there are variations on these words found in “a number of Western Zhou bell inscriptions”,<sup>122</sup> this precise eight-graph construction as well as much of the following two sections is mirrored exactly in the Hu (?) *zhong* 馱鐘 bell inscription (YZJJ #260) and the Qiu 逖 / Lai 逖 *zhong* bell inscriptions (YZJJ #NA0772-74), indicating that these sections likely made up at least part of a set formula used in this type of inscription during this period.

These rhyming binomes are usually interpreted as reflecting the sounds of chiming bells, here they clearly comprise a perfectly-rhymed verse couplet. Addi-

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122 See Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime-bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China* (1993), 101–02. Later in this work, von Falkenhausen discusses the connections between rhyming binomes and musical quality: “Though but imperfectly approximating the instruments’ musical quality, the onomatopoeic renderings of their sound in some Western Zhou bell inscriptions quite accurately imitates what happens when a bell is struck: the initial consonants render the *Schlagton* produced by the mallet hitting the bell surface; and the subsequent vocal-nasal clusters suggest the long, drawn-out tone produced by the vibrating bells.” *Ibid.*, 199. My own searches have not turned up any other uses of these specific binomes in any Western Zhou bronze inscriptions outside the three parallel sets listed here, though there are several bell inscriptions from the Spring and Autumn period which include some of them (but never all four at once; see the following sets of vessels: 秦公鐘 (YZJJ #263-70), 者減鐘 (YZJJ #197-98) and 黻鐘 (YZJJ #NA482-96). As von Falkenhausen notes, *cang-cang* 鎗鎗 and *yong-yong* 雝雝 also occur in the *Classic of Poetry*, describing chariot-bells (*luan* 鑾), or the sound of birdsong. On the other hand, the set phrase “豐馱馱馱” which appears in Section 6 below, can be found in a number of Western Zhou bell inscriptions.

tionally, the binome *qi-qi* 鍤鍤<sup>123</sup> \*s.t<sup>h</sup>siwk-s.t<sup>h</sup>siwk is a particularly interesting choice to represent bell sounds, which one would normally think of as sonorous (the repeated final \*-k is actually somewhat jarring when compared with the final \*-ŋ in the other words); the precise sounds or musicality that this construction represents must remain an open question for now.

### Section 5

This section does not seem to contain any distinct euphonic devices, though one could argue that the first two lines could be broken into a 4-4-4-3 structure which would create an ABbA rhyme scheme, but as this would break apart the syntactic units and neither would match the final line (even in a cross-rhyme), it is probably best to consider this section to be metrically-regular yet otherwise unadorned prose.<sup>124</sup>

### Section 6

This section also features an introductory phrase followed by a tetrasyllabic couplet, in this case which cross-rhymes on the graphs *shang* 上 \*danʔ-s (in the *yang* 陽 rhyme group) and 龔, the phonophoric of which is *quan* 泉 (this graph is in the *yuan* 元 rhyme group, and Baxter's new reconstruction argues it should end in \*-ar, while Schuessler and most phonologists reconstruct the rhyme as \*-an); Wang Li has shown that there is one *yang-yuan* cross rhyme in the *Classic of Poetry*.<sup>125</sup> As noted above, this last line featuring two rhyming binomes (again written as single graphs with reduplication marks) is relatively common in late Western Zhou inscriptions, and can be found in thirteen unique inscriptions or sets of inscriptions, including on ten sets of bells, one *xu* 盨 (the 膳夫克盨, YZJJ #4465) and two recently-discovered sets of *ding* 鼎 (the two 四十二年逌鼎 / 逌鼎 and ten 四十三年逌鼎 / 逌鼎, YZJJ #NA0745-56).

<sup>123</sup> von Falkenhausen reads the right side of this graph as *zhe* 者 \*taʔ, following Wu Shiqian 伍士謙, but Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 (1994, 1999) argues the better reading is *shu* 尗 \*s.tuk (= *qi* 戚 \*s.t<sup>h</sup>siwk).

<sup>124</sup> Behr also indicates no rhyming in this section.

<sup>125</sup> Wang Li references the poem "Grave" 〈抑〉 (Mao #256) from the "Major Odes" section, wherein *yan* 言 \*ŋan is in direct rhyming position with *hang* 行 \*gʰan. Wang Li, *Shi jing yun du*, 32.

### Section 7

The closing section of this inscription, like most of the other sections, features an introductory non-rhyming line followed by a rhyming section, again featuring couplets. The structure here is somewhat unique, however: there are two perfectly rhyming couplets in an irregular meter of 6-4 (graphs per line) followed by 7-4, and a final 2-2 perfectly-rhyming couplet ends the inscription. Because of the meter, rather than versification these lines seem to represent cadenced prose, as there are enough examples of perfectly metered perfectly-rhyming verse in this inscription to support the argument that its composer could likely have written these lines in perfect verse had he chosen. It should also be noted that in Old Chinese, “august king” (*huang wang* 皇王 \*G<sup>w</sup>ʰaŋ \*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ) at the end of the third line forms a rhyming pair and is extremely alliterative.

The very last line deserves special mention, as it seems to form a perfectly rhyming couplet of two graphs per phrase, and features words from a rhyme group (the *you* 幽 rhyme group) which is not used in the phrase-final position anywhere else in the inscription, making these final phrases stand out as a particularly strong acoustic and euphonic construction.

### General Comments on the Liang Qi *zhong* Inscriptions

The inscriptions found on bells from the Western Zhou have long been known to feature extensive amounts of acoustic and literary devices; *zhong* bell inscriptions are listed first in most of the catalogues of inscriptions with rhymed passages provided at the beginning of this chapter. The Liang Qi bell inscription is thus both representative and yet preserves a remarkably wide range of different literary techniques, including perfectly rhymed tetrasyllabic verse passages in regular meter, lines of pairs of reduplicated rhyming binomes, and also final-consonant consonance much like that found in the other inscriptions featured in this volume. In addition, the bells provide evidence of compositional structure: how sections featuring rhyming, cross-rhyming or acoustic patterning were interspersed with sections of unadorned prose employing no apparent literary devices at all.<sup>126</sup> As a similar style of composition became extremely popular in later Chinese literature, particularly in

<sup>126</sup> For a more thorough discussion of the use of sections of unadorned prose interspersed with sections exhibiting rhyme in early Chinese narrative texts, see Tharsen, “早期中国散文中作为文本构建工具的音韵修辞和音韵模式” [“Phonorhetoric and Phonological Patterns as Text-Structuring Devices in Early Chinese Prose”] in *Studies in Prosodic Grammar* 《韻律語法研究》 (2019).



Buddhist texts and the *bianwen* 變文 “transformation texts” of the Tang dynasty, this inscription may well be a direct ancestor of later literary styles and forms.

Along with the Mid-Western Zhou Xing *zhong* 夔鐘 inscription noted above, there are several other Western Zhou *zhong* bell inscriptions which show similar uses of acoustic and rhetorical devices; like the Liang Qi *zhong*, these all date to the late Western Zhou.

**Table 6:** Other Mid-Western Zhou *zhong* Bells with Phonologically Patterned Inscriptions.

Vessel Name	Number of Graphs in Inscription	YZJJ ID No.
猷鐘 (宗周鐘)	111 (重文 9, 合文 2)	260
五祀猷鐘	89	358
南宮乎鐘	67	181
士父鐘	56 (又重文 4)	145–148

### Late Western Zhou: Shanfu Shan *ding* 善夫山鼎 (Provisioner Shan's Cauldron)<sup>127</sup>

The Shanfu Shan *ding* was also discovered in the 1940's in Fufeng 扶風 county, Shaanxi 陝西 province,<sup>128</sup> and has received a good deal of attention as the year notation in its inscription, “the thirty-seventh year (of the king's reign)” was the highest year notation in the entire corpus of Western Zhou bronzes until the recent discovery of the two sets of Qiu 逯 / Lai 逯 *ding* in 2003.<sup>129</sup> As the style of the vessel and the calligraphy match that found in datable vessels from the late Western Zhou<sup>130</sup> and there are only two reigns of this length during the period, King Li 厲王 and King Xuan 宣王, it should date to either 842 or 791 B.C.E., or the inscription must be in error. However, as the *geng-xu* 庚戌 day notation given in the inscription would not fall under the “first auspiciousness” (*chu ji* 初吉) period of the month in either of these two years, Shaughnessy argues that the best solution is to accept David Nivison's two-year calendrical shift theory, which would result in a date for the vessel of 789 B.C.E., a year in which *geng-xu* would fall

127 YZJJ #2825.

128 See the site report and discussion of the vessel by Zhu Jieyuan 朱捷元 and Hei Guang 黑光, *Wenwu* 《文物》 7 (1965), 17–22.

129 The inscriptions on these vessels record being cast in the reigning king's forty-second and forty-third years, and most scholars place them in the reign of King Xuan 宣王.

130 The vessel's style and decor matches other late Western Zhou *ding*, such as the Ci *ding* 此鼎.

upon the first of the month.<sup>131</sup> If the vessel does date to the reign of King Xuan, it would be chronologically one of the very last known inscriptions from the Western Zhou period.

The Shanfu Shan *ding* inscription can be divided into five sections: two opening sections set the scene and describe the actions of the principal participants, followed by a short speech by the king (in direct address), after which Shan receives the *ce* 冊 “record tablet” of his award and exits. The final response and dedicatory section is the only part of the inscription showing obvious phonaesthetic devices, wherein Shan extols the king, dedicates the vessel to his father, Shu Shuofu, and prays for longevity.

The Shanfu Shan *ding* Inscription: Rubbing, Transcription, Phonology and Translation



Figure 10: Rubbing of the Shanfu Shan *ding* 善夫山鼎 Inscription.

<sup>131</sup> See the discussion in Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 148–151. Shirakawa Shizuka argues that this vessel belongs to the reign of King Yi 夷王, though this would require us to reconsider the length of this reign, traditionally assumed to be quite short (about seven years); see Shirakawa, *Kinbun tsushaku* 金文通釋 (1984), 362–67.

**Table 7:** Transcription, Phonology and Translation of the Shanfu Shan ding Inscription.**Section 1: Introductory Section: Date, Location**

隹(唯) 卅 又 七 年 ,  
 \*tur (\*wjiŋ (S)) \*ɣwəʔ-s \*tshit \*C.n'iŋ \*C.teŋ

It was the thirty-seventh year,

正 月 , 初 吉 , 庚 / 戌 ,  
 \*teŋ-s \*ŋwat \*tsh'ra \*C.qit \*k'raŋ \*s.mit

first month, first auspiciousness, day *geng-xu*;

王 才(在) 周 。  
 \*ɣwəŋ \*dz'ə (\*dz'əʔ) \*tiw

the king was at Zhou.

**Section 2: Participants, *mise en scène***

各(格) 圖 室 ,  
 \*k'ak (\*k'rak) \*d'a \*s.tit

He came to the map chamber,

南 宮 乎 / 入 右 善(膳) 夫 山 。  
 \*n'əm \*kuŋ \*ɣ'a \*nəp \*m-qwəʔ / \*ɣwəʔ \*genʔ \*pa \*s-ŋrar / \*srân (S)

Nangong Hu entered at the right of Provisioner Shan.

入 門 , 立 中 廷 , / 北 鄉(嚮) ,  
 \*nəp \*m'ən \*k.rəp \*truŋ \*leŋ (S) \*p'ək \*q'həŋ-s (\*q'həŋ-s)

[They] entered the gate and stood in the middle of the hall, facing north.

王 乎(呼) 奉[弁] 史 冊 令(命) 山 。  
 \*ɣwəŋ \*ɣ'a [\*hwəiʔ \*s- \*tshrêk \*riŋ-s (\*mə-riŋ-s / \*s-ŋrar /  
 (\*q'h'a) (S)] rəʔ (S) \*mreŋ-s) \*srân (S)

The king called out to Scribe Hui, and in writing commanded Shan.

**Section 3: The King's Command to Shan**

王 / 曰 :  
 \*ɣwəŋ \*ɣwat

The king said:

山 , 令 女(汝) 官 嗣(司)  
 \*s-ŋrar \*riŋ-s \*nraʔ (\*nraʔ-s) \*k'w'an (\*s-lə)

Shan, I command you to govern and supervise

飲(飲) 獻 人 于 / 晷(克) ,  
 (\*qəmʔ) \*s-ŋ'ar / \*ŋ'ar-s \*niŋ \*ɣwa (\*k'h'ək)

the Libation Presenters at Ke,

用 乍(作) 審(憲) 司 貯(賈) ;  
 \*m.loŋ-s \*dz'rak-s (\*ts'ak-s) \*hjans (S) \*s-lə (\*C.q'aʔ)

therewith serving as a model and supervising the tribute;

Table 7 (continued)

母(毋) 敢 不 善 。 /  
 \*məʔ / \*mʰoʔ (\*mo) \*kʰamʔ \*pə \*genʔ  
 do not dare not to be good.

## Section 4: Investiture

易(賜) 女(汝) 玄 衣 黼 屯(純) 、  
 (\*s-lek-s) (\*naʔ) \*ɣwʰin \*ʔəj \*triʔ / \*traiʔ (S) (\*dun)  
 I award you a black jacket with brocaded hem,

赤 市 、 朱 黃(衡) 、 / 纛(纛) 旂 。  
 \*t-qʰak \*pət (S) \*to (\*gʷraŋ) \*mæ.rʰon \*C.gər  
 red kneepads, a scarlet demi-circlet, and a pennant with bells.”

## Section 5: Shan Makes Obeisance and Prepares to Exit

山 拜 首 ，  
 \*s-ŋrar \*C.pʰrot-s \*ʔuʔ

Shan bowed his head to the ground,

受 冊 ， 佩 自(以) / 出 。  
 \*duʔ \*tshrək (S) \*bʰək-s (\*ləʔ) \*t-kʰut

received the record-tablet and attached it to his girdle in order to exit.

## Section 6: Response to the King, Vessel Dedication

反(返) 入(納) 堇(瑾) 章(璋) ；  
 \*Cə.panʔ (\*Cə.panʔ) \*nəp (\*nʰəp) \*grər \*taŋ

In return, he submitted a jade **tablet**;

山 敢 對 揚  
 \*s-ŋrar \*kʰamʔ \*tʰəp-s \*laŋ

Shan dares in response to **extol**

天 / 子 休 令 ，  
 \*ʃin \*tsəʔ \*qʰu \*riŋ-s

the son of Heaven's munificent **command**,

用 乍(作) 朕 皇  
 \*m.loŋ-s \*dzʰrak-s (\*tsʰak-s) \*lɾəmʔ \*ɣwʰaŋ

herewith making for my **august**

考 弔(叔) 碩 / 父 隳(尊) 鼎 ，  
 \*tʰewk \*tʰewk-s (\*s-tiwk) \*dak \*N-paʔ (\*tsʰun) \*tʰeŋʔ

deceased-father Shu Shuofu a sacrificial **ding-cauldron**,

用 膺(祈) 勻 鬯(眉) 壽 彝(綽) / 綰[官] ，  
 \*m.loŋ-s \*gəi (S) \*kât (S) (\*mrər) \*duʔ-s / \*N-tuʔ \*tʰawk [\*kʰwʰan]

herewith to entreat long life and expansiveness,



#### Section 4

This investiture section, although it falls neatly into binomial semantic units and could be split metrically into two hexasyllabic couplets, like most investiture sections throughout the Western Zhou inscriptional corpus, shows no evidence of rhyming or other acoustic devices.

#### Section 5

Although there is vowel agreement between the final words in these two phrases, Wang Li notes that in the *Classic of Poetry* there are no examples of a final \*-u (you 幽 rhyme group) word cross-rhyming with a final \*-ut (*wu* 物 rhyme group) word, and given the extremely irregular meter, this section seems to be simply a prose statement describing Shan's actions.

#### Section 6

The reason this inscription has been included among those in this volume is to provide an example of how the response and dedicatory sections during the late Western Zhou had evolved to often include consistent rhyme, cross-rhyme, final consonance and/or regular meter, and likely provided the foundation for the further development of phonorhetorical styles and forms during the Eastern Zhou. As will be further discussed below, inscriptions from the late Western Zhou show a dramatic increase in the use of phonorhetorical devices, particularly when compared against their relative paucity during the Mid-Western Zhou period.<sup>134</sup>

The structure of this section is remarkable in that the first four lines would seem to form a perfect stanza of tetrasyllabic AAaA rhymed verse, yet the seman-

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134 It could be argued that we have simply discovered more vessels from the late Western Zhou which show evidence of the use of these types of phonorhetorical devices, but given the sheer numbers of inscribed vessels from all three periods which have now been discovered as well as the conclusions drawn by Jessica Rawson, Li Feng, Wu Hung, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Edward Shaughnessy and Paul Vogt on shifts in ritual practices as related to the developments seen in bronze vessels during the middle-to-late Western Zhou, the argument for ritual shift seems well-supported. See Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (1990), 93–110; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BC* (2006), 102–40; Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (1995), 53–63; von Falkenhausen, “Late Western Zhou Taste” in *Études chinoises* 18.1 (1999), 160–76; Shaughnessy, *Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics* (1997), 184–87 and Vogt, “Between Kin and King: Social Aspects of Western Zhou Ritual” (PhD diss., 2012).

tic and grammatical structure indicates the subsection cannot stand on its own. Subdividing the section based on the grammar and syntax could result in the first three lines forming a tetrasyllabic AAa unit, followed by a subsection beginning with the graph *yong* 用 of 4 and then 5 graphs per phrase, and then the inscription would end with a final coda of 7-4-7 graphs per phrase, also beginning with *yong*. The first subsection would then be formed of two perfectly rhymed tetrasyllabic phrases followed by a non-rhyming tetrasyllabic phrase (albeit showing final consonance). However, as the final graph of each phrase in the entire section indicates a similar type of final consonance to that discussed in the other inscriptions above, the best reading is likely to take the entire section as a single rhetorical unit, albeit in an irregular meter of 4-4-4-4-6-7-4-7 (graphs per phrase), for there is simply no way to read any pair of lines in the section as an individual piece of perfectly-rhymed verse unless one divides it at points contrary to the natural grammatical and semantic breaks.<sup>135</sup>

A detailed explanation is warranted: the final graphs in the first three tetrasyllabic phrases are *zhang* 章 \*taŋ (read as *zhang* 璋 \*taŋ, in the *yang* 陽 rhyme group), *yang* 揚 \*laŋ (yang 陽 rhyme group) and *ling* 令 \*riŋ-s (*zhen* 真 rhyme group). *Huang* 皇 \*G<sup>w</sup>saŋ (yang 陽 rhyme group) falls at the end of the next four graphs, but as *huang* is functioning here as an adjective describing Shan's father, syntactically the phrase must continue onto the next line, which ends with *ding* 鼎 \*t'eŋʔ. The end graphs of the final three phrases are *wan* 綰 \*k<sup>w</sup>saŋ (a word in the *yuan* 元 rhyme group), *dong* 冬 \*t'uŋ (read as *zhong* 終 \*tuŋ, in the *dong* 冬 rhyme group) and then *yong* 用 \*m.loŋ-s (*dong* 東 rhyme group) ends the final phrase of the inscription. While none of these graphs rhyme or belong to groups which cross-rhyme in the *Classic of Poetry*, the final consonants are identical in the last two phrases and extremely similar in the other, thus this section clearly provides yet another example of repeated phrase-final final consonance.

The second-to-last line also deserves special mention, as it features four graphs in succession (“永令(命)霽(靈)冬(終)”) which have this same final \*-ŋ

135 It is worth considering here whether (as Wolfgang Behr argues in his *Reimende Bronzeinschriften*) there was a conscious stylistic choice in these inscriptions to feature intralinear rhyming, in which longer phrases include rhyming in regular patterns that yet do not fit neatly with the text's natural grammatical and semantic breaks. Traditional Celtic and Germanic poetry made regular use of this type of rhyming, as does modern hip-hop, rap and spoken word poetry, among other traditions; see James Travis, “Intralinear Rhyme and Consonance in Early Celtic and Early Germanic Poetry” (1943) 138–40, and Adam Bradley, *Book of Rhymes: The Poetics of Hip Hop* (2017) 58–83.

consonant, though only the second and third graphs rhyme perfectly. While not necessarily important to the larger rhetorical structure of the inscription, repeated use of identical final consonants, particularly \*-ŋ, would have added a great deal of sonorance and emphasis to the phrase. It is worthwhile to note that this exact phrase is also found in final dedication and prayer sections which employ rhyme and final consonance in inscriptions on three other *ding* vessels from the late Western Zhou: the 史顛鼎 (YZJJ #2762), the 微縑鼎 (YZJJ #2790), and the set of six nearly identical vessels known as the 小克鼎 (YZJJ #2796-2802).

### General Comments on the Shanfu Shan *ding* Inscription

While this inscription, unlike the others in this volume, features neither a particularly large amount of acoustic patterning nor exceptional rhetorical flourishes, the final section is notable for its construction: it includes several tetrasyllabic lines which rhyme perfectly with each other, which one would normally think of as sections of verse, yet which cannot stand apart syntactically. The evidence thus suggests that rhyme and regular meter was simply used as a literary device within these texts at the time without necessarily connoting any direct connection to canonical poetry.<sup>136</sup>

As noted above, the use of rhyme and cross-rhyme in the dedicatory and prayer sections of the bronze inscriptions becomes increasingly formulaic and relatively common by the late Western Zhou.<sup>137</sup> Rhyme and other phonorhetorical devices will come to be featured to an even greater degree in Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions, and thus the evidence points to the late Western Zhou as a turning point in the forms and frequency of these devices. In the following table are listed vessels of this period whose inscriptions are longer than fifty graphs and feature phonorhetorical devices (primarily rhyming or final consonance) in phrase-final positions in the dedicatory and prayer sections; some of these vessels' inscriptions feature these devices in more than one section.

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<sup>136</sup> This section is also not marked as direct speech, which could potentially indicate these lines could have been based on the cadenced rhetorical patterns employed in the speeches of the time, and they also do not seem to be quotations, drawn or adapted from another source.

<sup>137</sup> See Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 84.



**Table 8:** Other Late Western Zhou Vessels with Phonologically Patterned Inscriptions.

Vessel Name	Number of Graphs in Inscription	YZJJ ID No.
毛公鼎	479 (重文 9, 合文 9)	2841
逯盤 (逯盤)	372	NA0757
禹鼎	204 (重文 3)	2833
蔡簋 (龙簋)	157 (重文 1)	4340
盪盪 (寅簋)	151 (重文 2, 合文 1)	4469
頌簋	150 (重文 2)	4332
頌壺	149 (重文 2)	9731
不嬰簋	148 (重文 2)	4328
此鼎	110 (重文 1)	2821
大簋蓋	105 (重文 2)	4299
虢季子白盤	106 (重文 4, 合文 1)	10173
諫簋	100 (重文 2)	4285
膳夫克盃	100 (重文 2)	4465
南宮柳鼎	77 (重文 2)	2805
小克鼎	70 (重文 2)	2796
師察簋 (弭叔師簋)	70 (重文 2)	4253
戠簋 (京叔彝、戠敦)	70 (重文 2)	4255
楚簋	69 (重文 2)	4246
微繇鼎	63 (重文 1)	2790
史頌鼎	61 (重文 2)	2787
史頌簋	60 (重文 2, 合文 1)	4229
伯公父簋	59 (重文 2)	4628
鬲簋	56 (重文 2)	4215

## Euphony and Phonorhetoric in the Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptional Corpus

The above analyses of inscriptions on bronze vessels from the Western Zhou dynasty provide evidence of a variety of ways acoustic structures and rhetorical devices were employed by their composers. According to the evidence, phonological patterns can clearly be seen to mirror semantic patterns, particularly in the words chosen to fall at the end of each phrase. These acoustic patterns and shifts create a text-internal method through which the texts can be analyzed and divided into subsections and also represent rhetorical and literary techniques which can be found in multiple inscriptions, thus indicating styles and forms intrinsic to this very specific and special genre of early Chinese narrative text. Several of the bronze inscriptions detailed above show obvious and tangible stylistic parallels with other ancient Chinese works, primarily the poems in the anthology

known as the *Classic of Poetry*, including the use of tetrasyllabic verse in perfect rhyme, parallelism and repetitions of rhyming binomes in regular patterns.

There is also a great deal of evidence for considering the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions as their own genre, as they show distinct phonological patterns unique among all early Chinese texts, including the repeated use of phrase-final final consonance (often featuring vowel dissonance, which means these sections neither rhyme nor cross-rhyme in the patterns well-known from early Chinese poetry) in regular and irregular metric structures, as well as the technique of alternating sections featuring these patterns with sections showing no evidence of phonorhetorical devices, and occasionally also with sections comprised of metrically regular and perfectly rhyming verse. Some subsections of these inscriptions feature single-line introductory phrases unadorned by any phonorhetorical devices at the beginnings of sections showing regular phrase-final phonological patterning, which may have been an early form of the introductory phrases found in many later Chinese verse and prose texts.

The widespread use of these techniques indicates that the authors of these ritually significant Western Zhou bronze inscription texts felt free to draw from a wide range of rhetorical and literary devices in their compositions, and that the artistry of these inscriptions is best judged solely upon its own genre-internal merits. In this way, the literary forms and phonorhetorical devices and patterns they employed may be most clearly analyzed and appreciated.

It must be acknowledged that one potential reason for these conclusions is that there are simply substantial differences between the language in which these bronze inscriptions were written (particularly the nuclear vowels of phrase-final words) and phonological reconstructions of early Chinese based primarily upon the traditional rhyme groups derived from the *Classic of Poetry* and Middle Chinese rhyme dictionaries that form the core of these systems, but as noted above, this seems extremely unlikely as such an argument would run counter to the preponderance of evidentiary scholarship conducted over the past millennium. Far more reasonable, I believe, is to accept that the data laid out in the case studies in this volume provides not a perfect view of all the uses of euphony in these inscriptions, but simply a general rendering of the larger phonorhetorical patterns employed by their authors and/or transmitters.<sup>138</sup>

Having now built a foundation for understanding some of the ways phonorhetorical devices and euphonic structures were employed in the Western Zhou

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**138** For a discussion of specific aspects of the language used in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, including phonology, metric arrangements and syntax, see Behr, “The Language of the Bronze Inscriptions” in *Imprints of Kinship: Studies of Recently Discovered Bronze Inscriptions from Ancient China* (2017), ed. Edward Shaughnessy, 9–32. See also Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 63–64.

bronze inscriptional corpus, we can begin to compare these structures with those found in other early Chinese texts. As the inscriptions often feature one or more than one part which is indicated as direct speech, other texts which feature similar attributions would likely provide the best basis for comparison. The seventh chapter in this volume provides similar analyses of what are believed to be the chronologically oldest chapters from the *Classic of Documents* 《書經》 (or *Shang shu* 《尚書》) in order to provide evidence of some of the ways the phonorhetorical patterns evidenced therein are similar and dissimilar to the phonorhetorical patterns documented in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.

## Chapter 6

# On Euphony and Phonorhetoric in Early Chinese Transmitted Texts

As with many ancient texts of paramount importance, the commentarial histories of the *Classic of Documents* and *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* are extremely rich and almost overwhelmingly vast. One might then expect that studies of the euphony and phonological patterns therein would fill many volumes, but this is not at all the case. Over the past two and a half millennia, scholars of the highest order have compiled detailed exegeses and deep textual analyses of the semantics of these texts, explicating, interpreting and reinterpreting the historiography, political philosophy and argumentation, and use of archaic language and grammatical constructions, but despite the voluminous scholarship and close attention paid to these texts, outside of a discrete passages featuring perfect rhyme, relatively few have noticed the intricate euphonic structures which underlie the words.<sup>139</sup> Even in recent years, linguists focusing upon early Chinese phonological patterns and poetics have generally eschewed the *Classic of Documents* and *Zuo Commentary* in order to focus upon the *Classic of Poetry* 《詩經》 and *Songs of Chu* 《楚辭》.<sup>140</sup>

In the *Classic of Documents* there are no mentions of “rhyme” (there are no examples of the term *yun* 韻 that predate the Han dynasty) but there are a few general discussions that touch upon the topic: the term “poetry” (*shi* 詩) occurs a

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**139** In the *Zuo Commentary*, as Zeng Qinliang 曾勤良 has exhaustively demonstrated, there are over a hundred quotations from the *Classic of Poetry*, the majority of which are directly indicated as citations in the text. However, the euphonic patterns in the speeches from the *Zuo Commentary* analyzed in chapter eight of this volume are not included in Zeng’s work nor in the work of any other scholar I have discovered, as will be discussed below. See Zeng Qinliang, *Zuozhuan yinshi fushi zhi shijiao yanjiu* 《左傳引詩賦詩之詩教研究》 (1993).

**140** As Mark Lewis notes, “. . . men of the Warring States and early imperial periods argued that poetry was a uniquely powerful mode of speech because of its ability to stimulate and guide emotions. With its musical rhythms and graphic images, poetic language stirred people to action in a way that intellectual persuasion could never manage. Several anecdotes in the *Zuo zhuan* contrast the weakness of reasoned persuasion with the power of verse. The scholastic theories of poetry likewise emphasized its relation to music, with its emotional resonances, and on the power of moral judgments couched in proper words.” Mark Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (1999), 157–58. While it makes sense that Warring States and later writers would have held the view of poetry as particularly evocative, analyses of patterned prose dating to the Zhou dynasty indicate that euphonic patterns in prose may well have fulfilled an evocative function in the earlier periods of Chinese literary history, similar to that of poetry in later periods.

single time, and there are several mentions of “songs” (*ge* 歌).<sup>141</sup> The passage discussing poetry is from the “Canon of Shun” 〈舜典〉 chapter, and contains perhaps the most famous single line in the entire text:

Poetry speaks of aims, songs are the prolonged utterance of speech; sounds accompany the prolonged utterances, piping harmonizes the sounds. The eight tones are thus able to be in accord, so that one does not overwhelm or interfere with the other, and the spirits and people are thereby brought into harmony.

詩言志，歌永言；聲依永，律和聲。八音克諧，無相奪倫，神人以和。

From the quote it is clear that at least by the time of the composition of the “Canon of Shun,” most likely sometime during the last centuries of the Zhou dynasty, the authors of the passage were keenly aware of the powerful link between “aims” (or “will,” *zhi* 志), speech (*yan* 言), poetry, song and musicality, and believed that it was via their harmony that spirits and people can be brought into concord. Outside of the above quote, the best examples from the *Documents* on the import of music and lyricism come from the “Yi and Ji” 〈益稷〉 chapter, which contains two short discussions of musical harmony and its effects, primarily as a reflection of the feelings of the people and thus also as a method to critique the shortcomings of the emperor and his governance. The final section of the chapter contains the only passages explicitly featuring euphonic devices within the *Documents*, as it states that “The thearch thereupon made a song” (*Di yong zuo ge* 「帝庸作歌」) and quotes a few lines of rhymed verse, to which the minister Gao Yao 皋陶 “replies in song-verse” (*yang yue* 颺曰) with three rhyming lyrics of his own.<sup>142</sup> At the end of the passage, the emperor concludes the repartee with a final line of song-verse in perfect rhyme with the others. The ties between music, song and social harmony are here made explicit; harmony in speech and song reflects and promotes harmony among the people.<sup>143</sup>

141 The other word which could indicate euphony and/or rhyming in the *Documents* is *yin* 音, but of the four times the term is used, three are in reference to the “eight musical instruments” (*ba yin* 八音), and the last also refers to music and comes in the “Song of the Five Sons” 《夏書·五子之歌》 chapter from the “Old Text” version of the text which most scholars now date to the early fourth century C.E.

142 For a discussion of rhyme in the “Canon of Yao” 〈堯典〉 and “Counsels of Gao Yao” 〈皋陶謨〉 chapters of the *Classic of Documents*, see Martin Kern, “Language and the Ideology of Kingship in the ‘Canon of Yao’” in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)*, eds. Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer (2017), 27–31.

143 While many commentators discuss musicality and the use of “song” as the chosen method of persuasion in the “Yi and Ji” chapter, unfortunately, no early commentary I have found discusses the intricate euphonic construction nor mentions the unique and curious style of rhyming in this passage; the best discussion of its structure and content is in Wolfgang Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschri-*

The earliest quotations of passages from the *Classic of Documents* can be found in the *Analects* 《論語》, the *Mencius* 《孟子》, the *Mo zi* 《墨子》, the *Xun zi* 《荀子》 and the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, but none of the comments on the *Documents* in these works provide any discussion of its acoustic patterns or euphony. In the *Shang shu da zhuan* 〈尚書大傳〉, attributed to Fu Sheng 伏勝 (fl. 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E.), while its later subcommentaries contain wonderfully extensive discussions of types of dance, music and song, including quotations of several short tetrasyllabic rhyming song lyrics, the “Canon of Yao” 〈堯典〉 chapter contains the sole extant mention of poetry in the work itself. Here again, the utility of poetry as a mirror for the feelings of the people is directly evoked: “Command the great officials to gather poetry in order to view the moods and customs of the people; command the markets to receive merchants in order to view the likes and dislikes of the people.” 「命大師陳詩，以觀民風俗；命市納賈，以觀民好惡。」<sup>144</sup> The *Shang shu zhu* 〈尚書注〉 by the Late Han dynasty scholar Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, the prefaces and commentaries in the *Gu wen shang shu* 《古文尚書》 attributed to Kong Anguo 孔安國 (as noted above, which almost certainly date to the 4<sup>th</sup> century C.E.) and the *Shang shu zheng yi* 《尚書正義·疏》 (published in 653 C.E., nominally written by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 but actually composed by Wang Deshao 王德韶 and Li Ziyun 李子雲) contain no comments at all on rhyme, euphonic constructions or phonological patterns within the text, even for the few passages which were clearly known to be in rhyming verse, such as the final section of the “Yi and Ji” 〈益稷〉 chapter mentioned above.

For the *Zuo Commentary*, there are similarly no examples of the term “rhyme” (*yun* 韻), but the term “poetry” (*shi* 詩) occurs dozens of times, mainly in reference to the *Classic of Poetry* and the extensive and well-known practices of quotation and

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ten, 36 (reviewed in detail below in Section I.2.B). Two sources which most likely date to the Warring States period echo these themes on the direct link between harmony in music and proper governance of the people. First, the *Rituals of Zhou* 《周禮》 states that the duties of a Great Minister of Rites (*da zong bo* 大宗伯) include: “With rites and music unify the transformations of Heaven and Earth and the production of the hundred material things, in order to serve the ghosts and spirits, in order to bring accord to the ten thousand peoples, and in order to cause the hundred material things to arrive.” 「以禮樂合天地之化、百物之產，以事鬼神，以諧萬民，以致百物。」 The second source is the “Record of Music” 〈樂記〉 chapter of the *Record of Ritual* 《禮記》, discussed at length above in section I.1.B, in which this theme is sounded several times.

**144** The histories record Fu Sheng as having saved a copy of the *Documents* from the Qin book-burning purges by hiding the pages within the wall of his house. However, the *Shang shu da zhuan* may well be best viewed as a completely separate and very valuable text in its own right rather than the earliest commentary upon the text of the *Documents*. Manuscript copies of the *Shang shu da zhuan* existed until the Song dynasty, but the only version that survives today is a Qing dynasty reconstruction from quotations in earlier works.

recitation within argumentation and rhetorical discourse which most scholars call “quoting the *Poetry*” (*yinshi* 引詩) or “reciting the *Poetry*” (*fushi* 賦詩); as one might expect, many of these quotations are perfectly-rhymed couplets.<sup>145</sup> Most notably, there is a famous passage in the “Duke Xiang 29<sup>th</sup> Year” 〈襄公二十又九年〉 chapter which provides an extensive description of a performance of works from the *Poetry* replete with music and dance. The honored guest, Prince Ji Zha 公子札 of the state of Wu 吳, responds to each piece in turn, and he includes a few comments on the acoustic aspects of the performance, though his comments seem directed at the harmonic elements in the music rather than at the euphony in the words of the poems themselves.<sup>146</sup> There is also an echo of the famous “Poetry speaks of aims” from the

145 It is worth noting that many of the citations of the *Poetry* do not feature rhyme. The best description of these practices comes from within the *Zuo Commentary* itself; in the “Duke Xiang 28<sup>th</sup> Year” chapter, Lupu Gui 盧蒲癸 states: “When reciting the Odes, one breaks off a stanza.” 「賦詩斷章」 As Van Zoeren remarks in *Poetry and Personality*, 38–39: “As depicted there [in the *Zuo Commentary*], the *Odes* were chanted by various figures—princes, ministers, a palace lady—as a means to elegant or persuasive expression. Very likely the practice was associated with banquets and diplomatic missions; it may have served a function roughly analogous to the toasts or speeches made at diplomatic functions today. As with toasts and speeches generally, the messages delivered by the recitation of the *Odes* would have tended toward polite compliments and expressions of hospitality and solidarity, although there was room for the subtly veiled threat as well.” In his 1975 doctoral dissertation, Koo-yin Tam outlines 79 total cases of *fushi* where one or more stanzas from the *Classic of Poetry* are recited (or chanted), including 3 “lost odes” (*yishi* 遺詩) and 13 poems quoted more than once. Koo-yin Tam, “The Use of Poetry in *Tso Chuan*: An Analysis of the ‘Fu-shih’ Practice” (Ph.D. diss., 1975). For further discussions and examples of the *yinshi* and *fushi* practices, see Zeng Qinliang, *Zuozhuan yinshi fushi zhi shijiao yanjiu* 《左傳引詩賦詩之詩教研究》 (1993); Yang Xiangshi 楊向時, *Zuozhuan fushi yinshi kao* 《左傳賦詩引詩考》 (1972); David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography* (2001), 72–80 and 234–243; and Jeffrey Tharsen, “Poetic Diplomacy: The Practice of *Fu-shi* 賦詩 in Parallel Passages from the *Zuo zhuan* 《左傳》 and *Guo yu* 《國語》” (MA thesis, 2011, unpublished).

146 The prince makes repeated mention of how parts of the performance illustrate the concept of “virtue” (*de* 德), especially as exemplified by the great kings of antiquity; one particularly rich example of this type of comment is his remarks on the “Hymns” (*song* 頌): “When they sang the Hymns for him, he said, ‘This is the ultimate! Direct but not arrogant, winding but not crooked, intimate but not pressing, distant but not remote, shifting but not licentious, repetitive but not boring, melancholy but not aggrieved, joyous but not unbridled, employing but not depleting, expansive but not demanding, giving but not wasteful, collecting but not coveting, staying in place but not stuck, progressive but not flowing away. The five notes are in harmony, the eight airs are evenly balanced. Movements with measure, constraints with order; these are the commonalities of grand virtue!’” 「為之歌《頌》，曰：『至矣哉！直而不倨，曲而不屈；邇而不偏，遠而不攜；遷而不淫，復而不厭；哀而不愁，樂而不荒；用而不匱，廣而不宣；施而不費，取而不貪；處而不底，行而不流。五聲和，八風平，節有度，守有序。盛德之所同也。』」 For a thorough examination of Ji Zha and a translation of this full passage, see Olivia Milburn, *Cherishing Antiquity* (2013), 1243–47 as well as the complete translation of the *Zuo Commentary* by Wai-ye Li, Stephen Durrant and David

*Documents* in the “Duke Xiang 27<sup>th</sup> Year” 〈襄公二十又七年〉 chapter: “Poetry is used to articulate aims” 「詩以言志」.<sup>147</sup>

Despite the fact that comments on poetics and the *Poetry* in the *Zuo Commentary* do not directly touch on phonaesthesia, there are a number of passages in which music and the effects of acoustic harmony are directly linked to practices of good government by the great kings of old, very similar to the concept as discussed above.<sup>148</sup> In the “Duke Zhao 20<sup>th</sup> Year” 〈昭公二十年〉 chapter, it states: “As the ancient kings established [the doctrine of] the ‘five flavors’, they harmonized the ‘five sounds’ (=notes) in order to make their hearts (=minds) equable and to perfect their government.” 「先王之濟五味，和五聲也，以平其心，成其政也。」<sup>149</sup> In the “Duke Xiang 31st Year” 〈襄公三十又一年〉 chapter, King Wen 文王, the founder and premier culture hero of the Western Zhou dynasty, is presented as the highest model for meritorious behavior, which when applied to the conduct of a gentleman, include “delightful sounds” and “ordered speech”:

All under heaven chanted, sang and danced their praise of the achievements of King Wen, this is called ‘making him a model’. To the present day the acts of King Wen are laws, this is called ‘imitating him’, having might and dignity. Thus when a gentleman is in office, he is to be held in awe; when bestowing gifts, he is generous; coming in and going out, he is well-regulated; when he performs rituals, he is a model for others; in his expressions and movements, he is to be observed; in his management of affairs, he follows the laws; in his virtuous conduct, he is imitable; in his sounds and airs, he is delightful; his movements and

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Schaberg, *Zuo Traditions: Zuozhuan, Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (2016), [PAGES].

147 Other roughly contemporaneous textual examples of the relationship between “poetry”(shi 詩) and “aims” or “intention” (zhi 志) can be found in the *Records of the States*: “Poems are that by which one synthesizes intentions, song is that by which one intones the poems.” 「詩所以合意，歌所以詠詩也。」《國語·魯語下》；the “Yu cong yi” manuscript from Guodian, “Poetry is that by which one brings together the aims of the ancient and the contemporary.” 「詩，所以會古今之志也者。」《郭店楚墓竹簡語叢一》；the *Xun zi*, “The Sages were the channel of the way . . . the Odes express their aims.” 「聖人也者，道之管也。 . . . 詩言是其志也。」《荀子·儒效》；the “Great Preface” to the Mao recension of the *Classic of Poetry*: “Poetry is that which goes out from the will; in the heart it is will, expressed in words it is poetry.” 「詩者，志之所之也，在心為志，發言為詩。」《毛詩序》；and the 1<sup>st</sup>-century C.E. *Shuo wen jie zi* dictionary: “Poetry is will.” 「詩，志也。」《說文解字·詩》。

148 While the term “tones” (yin 音) is used seventeen times, mainly in reference to the sounds made by musical instruments (though five of these refer to “virtuous tones” *de yin* 德音, mainly in citations from the *Poetry*), it is in several of the passages which discuss “sound(s)” (sheng 聲) and “song(s)” or “singing” (ge 歌) where we find larger commentary on the power of musical euphony and harmony.

149 The “five sounds (=notes)” are the five notes of the pentatonic scale used by the ancient Chinese, specifically *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jiao* 角, *zhi* 徵 and *yu* 羽, which roughly correspond to *do* (C), *re* (D), *mi* (E), *sol* (G) and *la* (A).



motions are patterned; his speech and language are well-ordered. He thereby oversees those below him, this is what it means to ‘have might and dignity’.

文王之功，天下誦而歌舞之，可謂則之，文王之行，至今為法，可謂象之，有威儀也，故君子在位可畏，施舍可愛，進退可度，周旋可則，容止可觀，作事可法，德行可象，聲氣可樂，動作有文，言語有章，以臨其下，謂之有威儀也。

The other early work which would have been an excellent source for discussions of the phonological structures within the *Documents* is the *Jingdian shiwen* 《經典釋文》 by the early Tang dynasty scholar Lu Deming 陸德明 (556?-630). Lu provides phonetic *fanqie* 反切 annotations for a range of graphs in the *Documents* alongside more traditional exegeses, but his phonological annotations seem to have been solely for those few graphs whose pronunciations were obscure or difficult (Lu’s preface indicates he was aware of the great amount of diachronic change in Chinese from the language used in the ancient classics to the Tang) and in no section are his phonological glosses extensive or systematic enough to be used on their own to provide evidence for rhyming, cross-rhyming or other type of acoustic patterning. Similarly, for the *Zuo Commentary*, in the *Jingdian shiwen* under the section heading “Tones and Glosses in Master Zuo’s *Spring and Autumn [Annals]*” 〈春秋左氏音義〉, Lu provides a number of sound glosses, but just as in his work on the *Documents*, he seems to have made no systematic attempt to document rhymes or other euphonic patterns, even in passages which clearly feature rhyme, such as the “omen verses” (*yaoci* 謠辭).

Despite the near-complete omission of discussions of acoustic structures and euphony within the *Documents* and the *Zuo Commentary* in classical scholarship, a number of more recent scholars have discussed phonological patterns evident in discrete passages. First among these is the great Qing philologist and phonologist Duan Yucai 段玉裁: at the very end of his 1775 *Liu shu yin yun biao* 《六書音韻表》 in a chapter entitled “Qun jing yun fen shiqi bu biao” 〈羣經韻分十七部表〉, Duan lists a number of rhymed passages in classical works classified under each of his seventeen rhyme groups; among these are twenty-three citations from the *Classic of Documents* and sixty-one from the *Zuo Commentary*.<sup>150</sup> In each case, Duan provides simply the rhyme words in sequence (cross-rhymes are indicated by a circle around the graph), followed by a short note giving the textual context

150 Duan’s “Qun jing yun fen shiqi bu biao” 〈羣經韻分十七部表〉 is based in large part on his earlier “Qun jing yun biao” 〈羣經韻譜〉 and notes rhymed passages in a number of prominent prose and poetic works, including the *Zhou Changes* 《周易》 and its *Xici* commentary 〈繫辭傳〉, the *Songs of Chu* 《楚辭》 anthology, the *Analects* 《論語》, the *Mengzi* 《孟子》 the *Record of Ritual* 《禮記》 and a few other prominent ancient works alongside those from the *Documents* and the *Zuo Commentary*. See Duan Yucai 段玉裁, “Qun jing yun fen shiqi bu biao” 〈羣經韻分十七部表〉 in *Liu shu yin yun biao* 《六書音韻表》 (1829).

and often the type of phrase (such as *tong yao* 童謠, *bu ci* 卜辭, *yao ci* 謠辭 or *shi yin* 詩引) to help the reader identify the passage. While the twenty-three examples from the *Documents* are drawn from throughout the work and across nearly all the rhyme groups, it should be noted that over half of Duan's listings come from the "Great Plan" (周書·洪範) (fourteen citations in all); additionally, he lists three rhymed passages each in the "Canon of Yao" (虞書·堯典) and "Counsels of Gao Yao" (虞書·皋陶謨), two in the "Oath of Tang" (商書·湯誓), and a single example from the "Oath at Gan" (夏書·甘誓).<sup>151</sup> From the *Zuo Commentary*, the sixty-one examples are drawn from throughout the work, and most of these mark citations of poems from the *Poetry*.

To illustrate how Duan annotated his "Qun jing yun fen shiqi bu biao" (羣經韻分十七部表), Figure 11 shows the second and third pages of his "rhyme group number ten" section (「第十部」, analogous to the modern *yang* 陽 \*-aŋ rhyme group). The red arrow indicates the rhyming graphs Duan adduced from a short passage in the "Great Plan" chapter of the *Documents*. He provides a full citation marker in the first of the entries, with each subsequent entry contextualized by the opening four graphs in the rhyming lines followed by "and so on" (*yi xia* 以下). It is important to note that the three entries in this example are actually out of sequence when one compares them to the text itself.<sup>152</sup> From this we can tentatively conclude that Duan was mainly focused on documenting the rhyme words and did not necessarily consider it important to indicate how the lines which featured rhyme were situated within the larger context. Duan seems to assume the reader would have known the text (or could look it up), as he provides no indication of the metrics of each line, nor does he indicate the total length of each rhymed passage or

<sup>151</sup> Along with use of rhyme, from a structural standpoint the "Great Plan" is also the most exhaustively organised portion of the *Documents*: it includes nine discrete, enumerated sections and also contains a relatively high level of verbal and rhetorical parallelism and antithesis. In *The Shifting Center*, Michael Nylan describes the use of different rhetorical devices in these sections as "stylistic variation" and argues that the chapter is a "pastiche of various works"; see the discussion below. Nylan, *The Shifting Center: The Original "Great Plan" and Later Readings* (1992).

<sup>152</sup> The full passage reads: 「五、皇極：皇建其有極。斂時五福，用敷錫厥庶民。惟時厥庶民于汝極。錫汝保極：凡厥庶民，無有淫朋，人無有比德，惟皇作極。凡厥庶民，有猷有為有守，汝則念之。不協于極，不罹于咎，皇則受之。而康而色，曰：『予攸好德。』汝則錫之福。時人斯其惟皇之極。無虐鰥獨而畏高明，人之有能有為，使羞其行，而邦其昌。凡厥正人，既富方谷，汝弗能使其有好事而家，時人斯其辜。于其無好德，汝雖錫之福，其作汝用咎。無偏無陂，遵王之義；無有作好，遵王之道；無有作惡，尊王之路。

無偏無黨，王道蕩蕩；無黨無偏，王道平平；無反無側，王道正直。會其有極，歸其有極。曰：皇極之敷言，是彝是訓，于帝其訓，凡厥庶民，極之敷言，是訓是行，以近天子之光。曰：天子作民父母，以為天下王。」《尚書·洪範》 Duan's rhyme words are in boldface type; the boxes show the passages he indicates.

the presence of any non-rhyming lines in between the rhyming lines. (For example, there is at least one interim non-rhyming line which falls before the final rhyming line in two of the three entries Duan provides; see the passage in footnote 78.)



Figure 11: Pages from the “Qun jing yun fen shiqi bu biao” (羣經韻分十七部表) by Duan Yucai 段玉裁.

Following close on the heels of Duan’s groundbreaking work, as support for his competing system of twenty-one rhyme groups Wang Niansun 王念孫 compiled and published the *Mao shi qun jing Chu ci gu yun pu* 《毛詩羣經楚辭古韻譜》, in which he lists rhymed and cross-rhymed passages from the Mao recension of the *Classic of Poetry*, a variety of classical prose sources and the *Songs of Chu*, providing the context and often also the number of rhymed lines (*ju* 句) under each example.<sup>153</sup> Wang includes about twice the number Duan had cited, with a total of fifty-two examples from the *Classic of Documents* and one hundred from the *Zuo Commentary*. Similar to Duan, for the *Documents* half of Wang’s examples come

<sup>153</sup> Wang also makes a further division of four subcategories within each group based on the four tones: *ping* 平, *shang* 上, *qu* 去, and *ru* 入, though naturally not all groups contain all four subdivisions.

from the “Great Plan” (twenty-six citations alone), plus an additional ten rhymed passages from the “Counsels of Gao Yao”, eight examples from the “Tribute of Yu” 〈夏書·禹貢〉, four examples from the “Canon of Yao”, and a single example each from the “Oath at Gan”, the “Oath of Tang”, the “Announcement on Drunkenness” 〈周書·酒誥〉 and the “Metal-Bound Coffers” 〈周書·金縢〉. Wang’s examples from the *Zuo Commentary* are taken from throughout the work and are of the same types of phrases as found in Duan’s lists.

Figure 12 provides an example for comparison with Duan’s study. Taken from the fifth rhyme group of Wang’s *Mao shi qun jing Chu ci gu yun pu* 《毛詩羣經楚辭古韻譜》 (similarly analogous to the modern *yang* rhyme group), the red arrow indicates Wang’s adduced rhyme words from the same passage from the “Great Plan” chapter discussed above. Wang has correctly ordered the rhyming lines and added a rhyme word which Duan missed or chose not to include: *xing* 行 in the first entry. It is also worth noting that Wang has used a method nearly identical to Duan’s to indicate where the passage featuring rhyme begins but has included the entire first line rather than only its four graphs. Wang’s total number of rhymed lines (*ju* 句) for each passage provide some interesting insights into his methodology, as he lists some *ju* with more than one rhyme word. For example, in the third entry in this sequence, “行光王,” Wang has indicated three rhyme-words falling within two *ju*: the *ju* are thus comprised of ten and twelve graphs, respectively, and each *ju* contains two clauses, the first of which features an internal rhyme and the second a non-rhymed clause followed by a clause whose final graph rhymes with the final graphs of the previous *ju*, resulting in an AA-XA rhyme structure. Like Duan, Wang provides no indication of the overall length of each passage nor whether it includes interim non-rhyming lines.

Following shortly after Duan and Wang, in his *Qun jing yun du* 《群經韻讀》 Jiang Yougao 江有誥 lists sixty-four rhymed passages from the *Documents*. He notes cross-rhymes (all of which are marked as *tong yun* 通韻), provides *fanqie* notations when the rhyme word featured an unorthodox pronunciation, notes whether the tonality of the rhyme words was consistent according to the *Guan-gyun* rhyme dictionary, and places circles around the rhyme words in each passage. Like Duan and Wang, Jiang’s collection of rhyming phrases in the “Great Plan” contains by far the most rhymed passages of any chapter (sixteen in all), and the works from the *Documents* analyzed below are similarly not represented in Jiang’s lists. For the *Zuo Commentary*, he lists sixty-seven passages which feature rhyme, following the same notational conventions as he did for the *Docu-*

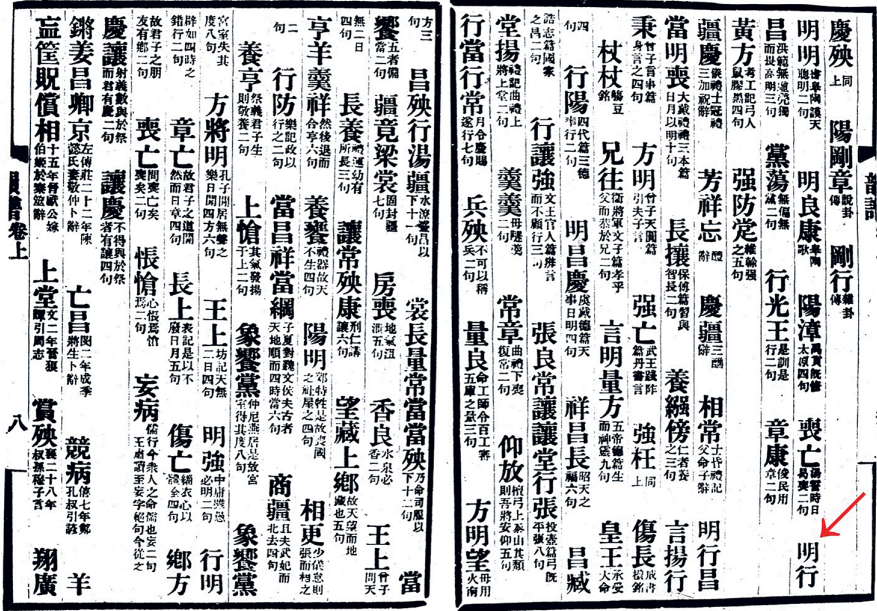


Figure 12: Pages from the *Mao shi qun jing chu ci gu yun pu* 《毛詩羣經楚辭古韻譜》 by Wang Niansun 王念孫.

ments, and once again, like Duan and Wang, none of the passages which I review in my studies of the *Zuo Commentary* are included.<sup>154</sup>

Jiang's method for analyzing the phonological and phonoretic content of these texts diverged radically from the lists of rhyme words Duan and Wang produced, and his study is significantly more sophisticated in terms of philological analysis. Figure 13 shows the section of his *Qun jing yun du* in which he documents the rhymes he identified in the "Great Plan" chapter of the *Documents*, with red arrows marking the three phrases cited by Duan and Wang. The critical difference lies in the fact that rather than simply provide the rhyme words, Jiang has reproduced the entire passages: rhymed phrases are marked by circles around the

154 The 1963 article "Xian Qin sanwen zhong de yunwen" (先秦散文中的韻文) by Long Yuchun 龍宇純 mentioned above features "corrections" (*bu zheng* 補正) to Jiang's *Xian Qin yun du* 《先秦韻讀》, but Long mainly follows Jiang's selection of rhymed passages, and the *Documents* and *Zuo Commentary* are not included.

Duan's *Guwen Shangshu zhuan yi* 《古文尚書撰異》 is an extensive exegesis of the *Classic of Documents*, but I have found no discussions of rhyme or phonological patterning therein.

rhyme words, with an interlinear notation of the dominant rhyme group at the end of each discrete rhymed passage. Jiang also indicates whether the rhyme words would form a perfect rhyme or not (cross-rhyming graphs are all specifically marked as *tong yun* 通韻) and even includes occasional notations for nonstandard pronunciations of rhyme words and the tone of the rhyme word. By following Jiang's method, the reader gets an immediate sense of the larger contextual framework and where shifts in rhyme occur, and can even begin to sense the metrical frameworks which underlie each line, phrase and passage.

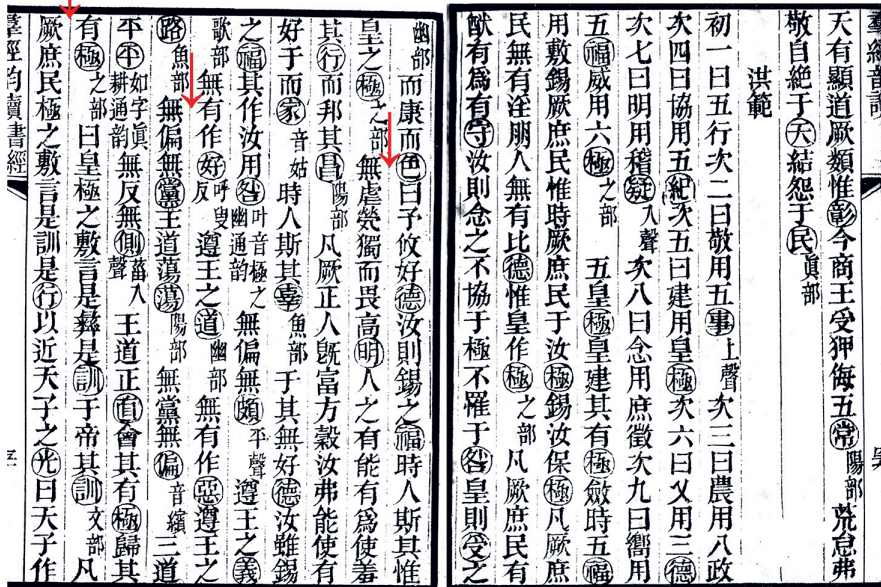


Figure 13: Pages from the *Qun jing yun du* 《群經韻讀》 by Jiang Yougao 江有誥.

In sum, these eminent scholars' work on the *Documents* and *Zuo Commentary* demonstrates that they were keenly aware that rhyme words occur in regular patterns within discrete passages in these classic works. Framing his study around textual content rather than rhyme groups, Jiang Yougao's work further provides initial indications of shifts in rhyme within the larger context and even provides a method by which the metrics for each line within passages featuring rhyme could be determined. However, these aspects of the texts would not receive systematic, focused study until later generations would return to them driven by more contemporary philological methodologies and purposes.

In fact, the pioneering work on rhyming passages within the *Classic of Documents*, *Zuo Commentary* and other ancient prose classics by Duan, Wang and Jiang would not be revisited for the next century and a half, until Bernhard Karlgren's 1932 study of rhyming passages within the *Lao zi* entitled "The Poetical Parts in Lao-Tzī." At the very end of this well-known article, as supporting evidence for his system of phonological reconstruction and analysis of rhyming in the *Lao zi*, Karlgren provides a series of tables of proposed rhyme words in rhymed and cross-rhymed passages from eight other prominent works of early Chinese prose: the *Classic of Documents*, the *Zhuang zi* 《莊子》, the *Sun zi* 《孫子》, the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 《呂氏春秋》, the *Guan zi* 《管子》, the *Han Fei zi* 《韓非子》 and the *Yi Zhou shu* 《逸周書》 (the *Zuo Commentary* is not included).<sup>155</sup> For the *Classic of Documents*, Karlgren indicates a total of 111 rhymed passages taken from throughout the work. Most directly relevant to this volume, eleven of these are noted in the "Announcement at Kang" and two in the "Numerous Regions"; these rhyming sets from Karlgren's list are noted by a superscript "K" next to the graph in the Phonology and Translation tables below and discussed in greater detail in the analyses.

Figure 14 below provides the first page of Karlgren's tables; the rhyme words he adduces from the "Great Plan" chapter of the *Documents* are entries 49 to 74. I have underlined in red the two entries which match those proposed by Duan, Wang and Jiang. It is interesting to note that Karlgren has omitted one of the entries previously proposed: the lines featuring the graphs *ming* 明, *xing* 行 and *chang* 昌 (as in Wang and Jiang; Duan's list omits *xing*). Unfortunately, Karlgren provides no commentary on this line, even in his commentaries and translation of the *Documents*. This case provides a prime example of why, as valuable as these studies are, a more comprehensive method of phonological and phonorhetorical analysis which can be specifically tailored to specific examples may be of some value.

Particularly relevant to the subject of forms of rhyme and euphony within early Chinese texts, in his article Karlgren states that based on his analyses there was a much greater "rime freedom" and "vocalism" (his term for patterns of final-consonant consonance) in the *Lao Zi* than evidence based solely on the *Classic of Poetry* and *Songs of Chu* would suggest, and he argues for a direct link between these patterns in the *Lao Zi* with those found in the other works of early Chinese prose texts.<sup>156</sup> In his 1935 article on the phonological patterns in the "Hymns of

155 Karlgren notes: "The rime lists given are not meant to be exhaustive, they are intended merely as examples." Karlgren, "The Poetical Parts in Lao-Tzī", 5.

156 In the third paragraph of "The Poetical Parts in Lao-Tzī," Karlgren notes that the rhymes indicated by his system often contradict the rhyme system derived exclusively from early poetic works (and the work of Duan Yucai and Jiang Yougao based thereupon) and derides the "scant attention" paid to rhyming passages found in many other early Chinese works: "There are two

The rimes in the tables I—VIII are drawn from the following chapters:

I Shu king: 1—4 Yao tien; 5—9 Shun tien; 10, 11 Kao Yao mo; 12—27 I Tsi; 28—39 Yü kung; 40, 41 Kan shih; 42—44 T'ang shih; 45—48 P'an Keng; 49—74 Hung fan; 75—85 K'ang kao; 86—88 Wu I; 89, 90 To fang; 91—109 Lü hsiang; 110, 111 T'ien shih.

II Chuang-tsi: 1—5 Shao yao yü; 6—21 T'ai Wu lun; 22—24 Yang sheng chu; 25—42 Jen kien shih; 43—53 T'ê ch'ung fu; 54—82 Ta tung shih; 83—90 Ying ti wang; 91—93 P'ien mu; 94—100 Ma ti; 101—104 K'ü k'ü; 105—133 Tsai yü; 134—159 P'ien ti; 151—158 T'ien tao; 159—173 T'ien yü; 174—182 K'o I; 183—196 T'ai shuei; 197—202 Chi lo; 203—211 Lo Ta sheng; 212—224 Shan mu; 225—228 T'ien tsai-fang; 229—241 Chi pei yü; 242—250 Keng Sang-ch'u; 251—256 Sü Wu-kuei; 257—269 Tsé yang; 270 Wai wu; 271—273 Yü yen; 274 Jang wang; 275—285 Tao Ch'i; 286—290 Shiao kien; 291—304 Yü yü; 305—313 L'ê Yü-k'ou; 314—341 T'ien hia.

III Sün-tsi: 1—12 K'ian hie; 13—18 Sün shen; 19—22 Po kou; 23—36 Jung ju; 37—42 P'ai shang; 43—52 P'ai shi er tai; 53, 54 Chung-ni; 55—68 Ju hiao; 69—75 Wang ch'i; 76—81 Fu kuo; 82—84 Wang pa; 85—90 Kün tao; 91—94 Ch'en tao; 95—97 Chi shi; 98—101 I ping; 102—116 T'ien lun; 117—124 Cheng lun; 125—130 Lü lun; 131, 132 Kie pi; 133, 134 Cheng ming; 135—143 Ta hie; 144 Yü tao; 145—147 Pa hsiang; 148—153 Ai kung; 154—157 Yao wen.

IV Lü shi ch'un ts'ui: 1—4 Meng ch'un ki; 5, 6 Chung ch'un ki; 7—15 Ki ch'un ki; 16, 17 Tsin shu; 18—22 Sien ki; 23 Meng hia ki; 24 K'uan hie; 25, 26 Tsun shi; 27—32 Chung hia ki; 33—42 Ki hia ki; 43, 44 Yin ch'u; 45 K'ia shi; 46—51 Chung ts'ui ki; 52—54 Meng tung ki; 55—57 Chung tung ki; 58 Ki tung ki; 59—61 K'ian hün; 62—65 Hwei kuo; 66 Lo ch'eng; 67—78 Shen fen; 79, 80 Jen shu; 81 Fu er; 82 Chung yen; 83, 84 Shang té; 85—87 Shi jung lun; 88 Wu ta; 89—94 Shang nung; 95—110 Jen ti; 111—134 P'ien 'ü.

V Kuan-tsi: 1—20 Ma min; 21—29 Hing I; 30—36 K'ian shu; 37, 38 Ts'i fa; 39—50 Fan fa; 51—58 Wu fu; 59—77 Chou ho; 78—94 Ch'u yen.

VI Han Fu-tsü: 1—3 Ch'u hien Ts'in; 4—11 Ai ch'en; 12—26 Chu tao; 27, 28 Yü tai; 29—38 Yang K'uan; 39, 90 Shi sie; 91—99 Kie Lao; 100—108 Ta t'i; 109—110 Kie ch'i; 111 Wai ch'u shuo tao shang; 11 Wai ch'u shuo tao hia; 113—117 Wai ch'u shuo yü shang; 118, 119 Wai ch'u shuo yü hia; 120—122 Shuo I; 123 Kuei shi; 124 Pa shuo.

VII Huan-tan-tsi: 1—103 Yüan tao; 104—154 Shu chen; 155—165 T'ien wen; 166—176 Chuei hsiang; 177—205 Shi té; 206—228 Lan ming.

VIII Yi Chou shu: 1 Tu hün; 2 Ming hün; 3—9 Wen chu; 10—15 Wu ch'eng; 16—21 Yin wen; 22—31 Ta wu; 32—38 Ta ming wu; 39—43 Shao ming wu; 44, 45 Ta k'ung; 46, 47 Ch'eng tien; 48—56 Feng pao; 57 Shao k'ai; 58, 59 Wen king; 60, 61 Wen chuan; 62—66 Jou wu; 67 Ta k'ai; 68—81 Pao tien; 82, 83 Wu king; 84—88 Ho wu; 89—91 Wu wu; 92—94 K'o Yin; 95—103 Wen cheng; 104 Ta tsü; 105 Wu k'uan; 106—112 Ch'eng k'ai; 113—116 Huang men; 117—119 Ta k'ie; 120—136 Shi hün; 137—160 T'ai tsai Tsin; 161—166 Wang pei; 167—209 Chou shu; 210, 211 Wu ki.

I															
1	德	族	睦	姓	明	3	邦	雍	4	傲	享	6	守	朝	6
功	庸	7	業	飢	8	稷	穀	9	親	遜	10	放	翼	11	人
民	12	戴	木	食	海	13	止	直	志	休	14	臣	邦	15	日
16	方	象	17	贈	承	18	功	庸	19	讓	應	20	傲	好	21
22	長	功	23	鼓	敵	24	陪	成	25	喜	起	26	照	27	明
良	康	27	勝	隋	28	陽	漳	29	中	從	30	作	服	31	31
絲	條	32	略	33	×	藝	34	豬	35	天	高	36	從	37	同
37	旅	鼠	野	38	岳	屋	石	39	同	正	壤	40	行	41	行
正	命	41	祖	杜	汶	42	白	力	43	邑	協	44	喪	亡	45
白	服	46	命	寧	命	47	烈	孽	48	邑	業	49	居	敘	50
行	政	51	事	紀	極	德	疑	極	52	直	革	53	福	54	鹹
54	酸	辛	55	德	福	極	穀	56	家	孽	57	德	福	58	營
道	59	限	60	義	60	惡	路	61	薰	蕩	62	偏	平	63	側
64	言	訓	65	訓	民	言	66	行	先	王	67	德	直	克	福
國	68	成	明	章	康	69	成	明	章	星	70	而	夏	71	壽
富	德	72	寧	命	73	折	友	80	夏	惡	弱	75	魄	76	會
77	周	治	78	封	王	79	寤	81	寤	冒	休	81	王	82	82
敘	土	83	忱	心	84	德	猷	85	封	常	享	命	86	度	國
87	外	位	88	羅	寧	邦	89	政	享	莖	王	政	丞	莖	狂
90	事	德	91	命	荒	方	92	訓	亂	民	度	93	賦	充	靈
刑	96	禁	信	96	盟	上	97	獸	德	98	民	典	99	種	功
中	100	上	方	101	壽	威	102	獄	牧	迎	103	民	人	104	罰
105	休	德	之	106	刑	慶	永	107	偏	解	享	108	刑	慶	108
極	110	暨	難	111	有	思	有	好	○						

Figure 14: Table from "The Poetical Parts in Lao-Tzi" by Bernhard Karlgren.

Zhou) 〈周頌〉 section of the *Classic of Poetry* entitled "The Rimes in the Sung Section of the Shi King," Karlgren provides a more concise summation of this specific

objections that may be made to my identifications of the rimes. On the one hand it may seem astonishing that many sentences start in prose, then continue with a couple of rhythmical and arised lines, and then, again, wind up with a line or two in prose. On the other hand many of my rimes go – as I have already said – clean against the well-defined rime rules of the Shī king and the Ch'u ts'ī and may therefore seem to be dubious. In order to meet both these objections I shall give extensive extracts of rimes from other archaic texts, which share in both the said peculiarities of Lao-tsi's verse. It is a remarkable fact that whereas the Shi, Ch'u ts'ī and Yi king rimes have been diligently studied by Chinese authors, and also occasional rimed sentences in other king classics, only scant attention has, as a rule, been paid the very rich rime material that is to be found – cropping up in the most casual and insidious way here and there in the middle of prose chapters – in a whole series of didactic works from Chou, Ts'in and Han times. The contempt for this material has been so great that Tuan Yü-ts'ai when registering some rimes out of the Shu king, gives only such as agree with the Shī rime system and disregard those that deviate from this system! Kiang Yu-kao in his T'ang yün s'i sheng cheng (in the Hsieh shu ts'ung pien) has added some rimes from the said didactic authors, but in very limited numbers and without any systematical analysis." *Ibid.*, 4



argument and proposes that there were two different styles of rhyming in ancient Chinese texts: one “strict and uniform” and one “free, careless and variable”; Karlgren notes that Jiang Yougao was the first scholar to recognize “frequent rime connections between words with different principal vowels but identical finals, e.g. ang; eng; ong; ung” and further argues that Jiang did not go sufficiently far in his analyses, eliding a number of cases where rhyme was intended.

The evidence that Karlgren uses to support his views on “rime freedom,” “vocalism” and a “free, careless and variable” system of rhyme centers upon the relationships between the specific rhyme groups he highlights: firstly, those which feature final \*-ŋ consonants, and secondly, upon the series of “entering tone” (*ru sheng* 入聲) rhyme groups which end in \*-p \*-t and \*-k. Karlgren claims the words in these two series of rhyme groups often share a “free interchange.” As the first is precisely the rhyme series which figures most prominently in this volume’s analyses of phonorhetorical patterns based on phrase-final final consonance (though the second series is likely overly broad without main vowel agreement), Karlgren must thus be credited with being the first scholar to describe this phenomenon. That said, Karlgren did not provide analyses of its use in euphonic and phonorhetorical patterns outside the *Lao Zi*, and in many of the rhyming sequences he proposes (reviewed in detail in chapter six), his patterns of rhyming and consonance are difficult to defend and in a few cases seem simply incorrect. Karlgren also states definitively that these phonological patterns represent “true rhymes,” though his defense of this argument relies on circular logic: “That the Lao-Tsi rhymes adduced here, which go contrary to the rime rules of the Shi, are nevertheless true rhymes and meant to be such, is confirmed by similar rimes in the other archaic authors mentioned above.”<sup>157</sup> Rather than rely upon distinctions of “free” or “strict”

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157 Karlgren’s “other archaic authors mentioned above” refers to his lists of rhymed passages within the eight prominent works of early Chinese prose. See Karlgren “The Poetical Parts in Lao-Tzi”, 21–22.

In the afterword to his 1987 work *Zhuang zi zhexue ji qi yanbian* 《庄子哲学及其演变》, Liu Xiaogan 劉笑敢 revisited the rhymes in the *Lao zi* as part of his analysis of the *Zhuang zi*, noting tetrasyllabic phrasing, intensive repetition of words or sentences, and rhyme as attributes shared by both the *Lao zi* and the *Classic of Poetry*. See Liu Xiaogan 劉笑敢, *Zhuang zi zhexue ji qi yanbian* 《庄子哲学及其演变》 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1987). In his 1998 article “Situating the Language of the Lao-Tzu: The Probable Date of the Tao-te-ching,” William Baxter reviewed Liu’s arguments in detail and noted significant discrepancies with the *Classic of Poetry*, commenting that “. . . the rhymed passages of the *Lao-tzu* are often closely integrated with the unrhymed portions of the text . . . the *Lao-tzu* is not simply a collection of rhyming poems with prose sprinkled around them; it represents a genre in its own right, quite different from the traditions found in either the *Shih-ching* or the *Ch’u-tz’u*, in which semantic parallelism plays a major role. The first characteristic feature of this genre is, as we have seen, that both rhyme and

rhyming patterns as direct indicators of prose or verse, it would be more productive to assume that early Chinese writers had a spectrum of literary techniques at their disposal (from strict meter and perfect rhyme at one extreme and barely perceptible meter or phonological correlations at the other) and were able to intensify or relax their adherence to these patterns as they desired, varying their approach from passage to passage as they saw fit.

As a final note on Karlgren's work on the *Classic of Documents*, in 1948–49 Karlgren published two extensive commentaries entitled “Glosses on the Book of Documents,” followed in 1950 by a full translation of the ‘New Text’ chapters entitled *The Book of Documents*. Interspersed with his glosses and exegetical commentary, Karlgren includes phonological reconstructions of many of the lines; among these are a couple of short passages in which the lines are laid out in sequence to show how they constitute poetic verse. Unfortunately for our purposes, none of these short passages are taken from the works discussed herein, and the lines for which he provides phonological reconstructions are too few to use to perform analyses of the larger phonological patterns or euphony.

Karlgren also produced two major articles discussing the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*: his 1926 “On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan” and 1931 “The Early History of the Chou Li and Tso Chuan Texts.” In “Authenticity and Nature,” Karlgren provides a comparison of the types and functions of seven categories of grammatical particles in the *Zuo Commentary* versus the *Analects* and the *Mencius*, concluding that the *Zuo Commentary* is an authentic pre-Qin text and that Confucius could not have been its author.<sup>158</sup> While he does not directly discuss rhyme or phonaesthetic patterns in the sections of the article focused on the particles, he does make one broad argument in the introductory section which is directly relevant to the methodology employed in this volume:

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semantic patterning are used as poetic devices; the vast majority of the *Lao-tzu* text shows either one or the other or both.” Baxter also noted that the *dong* 東 and *yang* 陽 rhyme groups are used to rhyme with each other in the *Lao zi* (these patterns were first elucidated by Dong Tonghe 董同龢 in 1938), which further supports the argument that the phonorhetorical patterns in the *Lao zi* (and potentially also similar patterns in the *Guan zi* 《管子》, to which Baxter alludes several times in the article) are indeed extremely analogous to the patterns analyzed in this study. See William Baxter, “Situating the Language of the Lao-Tzu: The Probable Date of the Tao-te-ching” in *Lao-tzu and the Tao-te-ching*, Livia Kohn and Michael LaFarge, eds. (1998), 231–53.

<sup>158</sup> Karlgren calls his analysis of grammatical particles a “grammatical physiognomy”; he then further compares the *Zuo Commentary* and *Analects* / *Mencius* against examples of grammatical particles drawn from the *Classic of Documents*, *Classic of Poetry*, the *Zhuang zi* and the *Records of the States*. Bernhard Karlgren, *On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan* (1926), 49–63.

Experience from the ancient literatures of the West shows that textual philology cannot do without the help of linguistics, and this ought to be all the more so in the case of Chinese. For the textual critique of ancient Chinese documents however, linguistic methods have never seriously been applied, as far as I am aware. The Chinese critics certainly have often intimated that the 'language' of such and such documents 'does not make a truly ancient impression', and in some cases isolated vocables have been adduced as proofs that a text is not so old as had been supposed earlier. Thus Wang An-shi is said to have indicated in his lost work a few expressions (titles) in the *Tso chuan* which according to him did not exist before the Ts'in period. Facts of this order, however, can only prove, at most, that isolated passages are interpolated or have been tampered with. What is needed is a linguistic examination of the text as a whole.<sup>159</sup>

While the analyses of acoustic patterns in selected speeches preserved in the *Zuo Commentary* in this volume do not fulfill Karlgren's request for a comprehensive evaluation of the text, he would likely recognize the methods employed herein as a similar attempt to make conclusions based upon linguistic features and thus provide reliable evidence which one could use in concert with his analyses.<sup>160</sup> Finally, his stated objective for "The Early History of the Chou Li and Tso Chuan Texts" was to "vindicate the value of the Chou li and Tso chuan texts as truly archaic Chinese writings"; his analyses are based on historiography and intertextuality, and he makes no mention of the euphonic or phonaesthetic devices employed in the *Zuo Commentary*.<sup>161</sup>

In recent years, a few noteworthy Western and Chinese publications have appeared which review rhymed passages and phonological patterning within the *Classic of Documents* and the *Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals*.<sup>162</sup>

159 *Ibid.*, 51.

160 As Karlgren stated in his 1929 article "The Authenticity of Chinese Texts": "We are unfortunately unable to lay our hands on differences in pronunciation in the ancient dialects, owing to the Chinese script. Just as today the dialectal differences of *jī, ze, ör, niat* etc. are hidden behind the ideograph 日, so it is in the ancient language. We have reasons for assuming the existence of considerable differences in pronunciation, but we have not yet been able to prove them. It is, however, of paramount importance, especially to paleography, to know whether this assumption is true or not (whether in our researches in connection with the phonetic compounds we can reckon upon finding a uniform archaic language or not); and for our present problem – the dialectal interpretation of the grammatical divergences – it is equally important . . . we have shown that the Chou period language varied dialectally, not only in grammar and vocabulary, but also in pronunciation. I have, therefore, I think, every reason to adhere to my explanation of the grammatical peculiarities in the *Tso chuan* as being dialectal; and hence they remain an important criterion of authenticity." Bernhard Karlgren, "The Authenticity of Chinese Texts" in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 1 (1929), 181–83.

161 Bernhard Karlgren, *The Early History of the Chou Li and Tso Chuan Texts* (1932), 59.

162 Unfortunately, the otherwise excellent *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* 《先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩》 compendium by Lu Qinli 逯欽立 contains only a single reference to poetry in the *Clas-*

For the *Documents*, Michael Nylan's 1992 *The Shifting Center: The Original "Great Plan" and Later Readings* on the "Great Plan" 〈洪範〉 (the rhymed sections of which were first outlined by Duan Yucai) includes a short but pertinent discussion of the overall structure of the text. Nylan states: "Stylistic variation increases the likelihood that the 'Plan' is a pastiche of various works and intent. Not only does prose alternate with rhyme, but there are also abrupt breaks in the rhythm of the piece." Most importantly, she notes that the rhyme groups that cross-rhyme in the "Great Plan" all feature nasal finals (the *geng* 耕 rhyme group, the *yang* 陽 rhyme group and the *dong* 東 rhyme group) and that these groups also regularly cross-rhyme in the inscriptions on bronze vessels from the Eastern Zhou period (771–256 B.C.E.).<sup>163</sup>

Wolfgang Behr's 1996 doctoral dissertation contains a short section entitled "Rhymed fragments in transmitted literature ascribed to the early period" ("Der Frühzeit zugeschriebene Reimfragmente in der tradierten Literatur") which includes a discussion of a number of prose sources featuring rhyme, including the end of the "Yi and Ji" chapter of the *Classic of Documents* mentioned above. Behr presents a table neatly laying out the phonorhetorical structure of the section in five subsections, interspersed by short notations of changes in speaker, and includes William Baxter's reconstructed Old Chinese pronunciations for the thirteen rhyming lines as well as a non-rhymed translation into German. For the purposes of the current study, Behr's subsequent comment on the *Kunstprosa* ("artistic prose") in this section of the *Classic of Documents* is most relevant, as he echoes Karlgren's dualistic definition of early Chinese euphonic style:

The completely non-narratively structured *Classic of Documents* passage, however, seems like an early form of the artistic prose that was frequently used as exemplified in later historiographical works, in which the historiographers of court officials presented their critiques and eulogies . . . . All these examples show that there was a series of traditions of rhyme outside the *Classic of Poetry*, which are still within reach in revised and falsified variations scattered throughout mainly Warring-States and Han period texts.<sup>164</sup>

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*sic of Documents*: the "song" lyrics (*ge* 歌) at the end in the "Yi and Ji" chapter discussed above. See Lu Qinli 逯欽立, *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* 《先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩》 (1983).

**163** Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 125 and 130. She also remarks on the use of rhymed passages interspersed with non-rhymed prose in the "Great Plan": "In the second part of section 5, theory gives way to a series of rhyming couplets extolling the virtues of impartiality. The third part, partly in prose, partly in rhyme, sketches the perfect community forged by the ruler's successful implementation of *huang-chi*: The good ruler acts in compliance with the High God (*ti* 帝) below, he is the focus of the people's adoration." *Ibid.*, 18–19.

**164** "Die ganz und gar nicht narrativ strukturierte Shangshu-Passage mutet hingegen wie eine Frühform jener auch in der späteren Geschichtsschreibung häufig belegten Kunstprosa an, in der die Historiographen die Hofbeamten ihre Einwände und Lobesreden vortragen lassen . . . . All diese Beispiele zeigen, daß es eine Reihe von Traditionen des Reims außerhalb des Shijing

It should be noted, however, that nearly all of Behr's work focuses on end-rhyming and "poetic" formulations akin to the style of the poems in the *Classic of Poetry* rather than comprehensive analyses of the phonological patterning or phonorhetorical structures in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.

Behr's comments on the *Zuo Commentary* are similarly focused on a few discrete examples of perfect rhyme. Behr notes that the "omen verses" (*yaoci* 謠辭) feature end-rhyme, and he starts his third chapter with what he describes as "the oldest surviving representation of an authentic, rhymed inscription," providing a full translation of the passage preserved in the "Duke Zhao 9<sup>th</sup> Year" 〈昭公九年〉 chapter which quotes a perfectly-rhymed inscription (specified in the text as an "inscription from a bronze *ding* vessel," *ding ming* 鼎銘), but he makes no further comment on the euphonic patterns in either the citations or the speeches preserved in the *Zuo Commentary*.

Returning to the concept of phrase-final final consonance, David Schaberg deserves special mention for his 2005 article entitled "Command and the Content of Tradition"; in his discussion of the term "command" (*ming* 命 \*mə-rɨŋ-s) he notes there exist phonological patterns based on words with the final consonant \*-ŋ in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and the chapters of the *Classic of Documents* conventionally dated to the Western Zhou, and argues that these patterns exemplify a specific "royal style" and "language of command":

The placement of words with these *finals* (not only these rhymes), at the ends of phrases (more than anywhere else) associated an utterance with the royal style and the style of command. It is one prosodic feature of the language of command, and possibly of all Western Zhou ceremonial language, that words with *-ng* finals, whatever their main vowels, form patterns by being placed at the ends of consecutive or proximate phrases . . . This is not rhyme, but consonance (i.e. alliteration of finals); the pattern is the repetition of common phrases and *-ng* finals. Words ending in *-n* were apparently drawn into this pattern as well: \**C-rjŋg(s)* 令 is matched in near-rhyme with words of the *zhen* 真 rhyme group (OC \*-in) in several bronze inscriptions . . . All of the *Shu* chapters that are generally dated to the Western Zhou make multiple references to *ming*; most of these references are at phrase-ends and contribute to consonance patterns in *-ng*.<sup>165</sup>

Thus, while Schaberg does not actually present any direct evidence for how this system might have worked nor does he lay out the euphonic and phonorhetorical patterns he proposes, he should be credited as the first to publish a description of

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gegeben hat, die in überarbeiteten oder schlichtweg gefälschten Varianten verstreut über die zumeist Zhanguo- oder Han-zeitlichen Texte noch hier und da greifbar sind." Behr, *Reimende Bronzainschriften*, 35–36.

165 See David Schaberg, "Command and the Content of Tradition" in *The Magnitude of Ming*, Christopher Lupke, ed. (2005), 37–41.

these specific phonaesthetic devices, and that they are common to the main corpora of Chinese texts consistently dated to the Western Zhou: the bronze inscriptions, the earliest chapters of the *Classic of Documents* and the “Hymns of Zhou” section of the *Classic of Poetry*. Most importantly, he comments on how these patterns constitute a “prosodic feature of the language of command,” that the phrases employed for this effect could be either consecutive or “proximate,” and he also mentions the *zhen* 真 rhyme group (in particular the related subset of graphs reconstructed as ending in \*-in) that Karlgren neglected in his proposed rhymed sequences.<sup>166</sup>

Contrary to his work on the *Documents*, David Schaberg’s extensive studies of the *Zuo Commentary* include a great deal of discussion of grammatical, semantic and rhetorical features of the text, but remarkably little on euphony or acoustic patterns, even when discussing the citations from the *Poetry*, the *yao* 謠 (which he calls “divination rhymes”), patterning as a rhetorical device or the attributes of early Chinese oral transmission practices. The closest he comes is in his discussion of the linguistic patterns in the speeches, as he notes:

narration is almost devoid of repetition, parallelism, and patterned phrasing. Speeches, on the other hand, employ all these techniques, with the result that they stand out from the surrounding material as conspicuous structures. These examples of verbal art, which clearly cost their authors more time and effort than the narrative passages did, are the jewels of the text. They invite the reader to delight in linguistic pattern both for its own sake and for the sake of what it represents. Well-worked language is a pleasure to contemplate: the symmetries of a speech, with its parallel phrases and orderly progressions, bring the joys of architecture or geometry to a linguistic performance. But these joys are not without purpose. The meaning of the form here is decreed by content, namely by the theme of *wen*, which . . . relates good speech and the beautiful manipulation of language to the cultural legacy of the premier Zhou culture hero. Since the speech serves to bring together observed details of reality and learned principles of knowledge, rhetoric acquires a hortative force . . . Lying behind Confucius’ theory of the ‘correct use of names’ (*zhengming*) is a large corpus of anec-

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166 Schaberg also notes prosodic similarities between the *Documents*, Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and other poems in the *Classic of Poetry*: “Given the thematic and prosodic continuities that link quoted speech in bronze inscriptions and in chapters of the *Shu*, it is not surprising that the three texts that Shaughnessy identifies as received counterparts to investiture inscriptions—“Wen hou zhi ming,” “Jiang Han” and the *Zuozhuan* command to Duke Wen—all show signs of consonance in *-ng* and *-k* /-?. What has attracted too little attention is the way these patterns develop in texts that correspond less precisely to investiture records. Several *Shi* songs, all of them quoting royal speech as *ming* 命, use consonance patterns and rhymes to draw the particular circumstances of a command into contact with the standard themes and sounds of commanding.” *Ibid.*, 41. On the topic of “parallel phrases and orderly progressions” along with other literary devices evidenced withing the speeches of the *Zuo Commentary*, see also the introduction to chapter six.

notes in which admired speakers show how linguistic order corresponds to moral behavior and administrative practice.<sup>167</sup>

Several recent articles published in China have also discussed several different styles of euphony and phonological patterning found in the *Classic of Documents*. In 2006, Cui Liannong 崔煉農 published an article entitled “Records of Song Lyrics in Pre-Qin Texts” 〈先秦文献中的歌辞记录〉 in which he cites two passages from the “Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice to Gao Zong” 〈商書·高宗彤日〉 and “Earl of the West’s Conquest of Li” 〈商書·西伯戡黎〉 chapters and proposes eleven separate types of cross-rhymes (*he yun* 合韻), mainly between the *yang* 陽, *zhen* 真, *geng* 耕 and *dong* 東 rhyme groups, linking the final graphs of each phrase therein.<sup>168</sup> In his comments thereafter, Cui notes that these rhyming lines follow a type of “free rhythm” (variable meter), made up of “natural syntax” that “can be considered a common type of rhymed language.”<sup>169</sup>

<sup>167</sup> See Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 49–50. In line with his argument on rhetoric as hortatory, Schaberg declares: “Whereas a Greek rhetoric such as Aristotle’s can justifiably concern itself not only with the construction of a speech but also with the manipulation of the audience and the self-preservation of the speaker, the framing of Eastern Zhou historiographical speeches in narrative tends to make successful persuasion a secondary consideration: a speech can be good even when it fails to convince. For these speeches, erudition and structural elegance are paramount, both as they serve to import knowledge into the text and as they illuminate the qualities of the speaker.” *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>168</sup> Shaughnessy notes that these two chapters, along with the “Prince of Wei” 〈微子〉 chapter, “all appear to be written by a single hand, probably as late as the Warring States period, although they do seem to be based on records of actual events.” (See Edward Shaughnessy, “Shang shu 尚書 (Shu ching 書經),” in Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (1993), 378.) As such, whether these passages can be viewed as constituting examples of Western Zhou prosody must be left in considerable doubt. Cui’s use of the term *he yun* 合韻 here also deserves special mention, as the term has several common connotations in discussions of literary discourse; in this case, Cui is following a definition of *he yun* meaning “cross-rhyming based on final consonant consonance but vowel dissonance,” such as that defined by Wang Li: 「在元音相同的情况下,可以互相对转。这就是通韵。」 See Wang Li, *Shijing yun du*, 29.

<sup>169</sup> The full quote reads: “It is clear that the vast majority of sentences end in rhymes and use rhymed language. This type of rhymed language, whether for narrating events or recording dialogues, features sentences of varying lengths and ‘free rhythm’ (variable meter). Furthermore, it adheres closely to context without being structured as independent paragraphs, without rigidly fixing terms in order to employ them, following the natural syntax of the prose . . . it is apparent that this kind of rhymed language represents common rhyming practices in pre-Qin prose, and can be considered a common type of rhymed language.”

“显而易见,绝大多数句子句末用韵,属于韵语。这类韵语或叙述事件,或记录对话,其句式均长短不一,节奏相当自由。并且与上下文联系紧密,既未形成相对独立的章段结构,亦无固定名目以为统摄,遵循着散文的自然句法。 . . . 可见这类韵语代表了先秦散文早期用韵的普遍情形,可以视为一般性的韵语。” Cui Liannong 崔煉農, “Xian Qin wenxian zhong de geci jilu” 〈先秦文献中的歌辞记录〉 in *Xinan minzu daxue xuebao (renwen sheke ban)* 西南民族大學學報 27 (2006), 192.

In 2008, Zhu Yan 朱岩 published a doctoral dissertation entitled “A Study of Genre in the *Classic of Documents*” 〈《尚书》文体研究〉 in which he proposes certain “‘general conventions’ of *Shangshu* stylistics” (*Shangshu yuti de ‘changgui’* 《尚书》语体的「常规」). Zhu states that the general convention for the *Classic of Documents* is not to rhyme, but that there are also sections in rhyme which constitute a “phonetic divergence” (“*Wu yun wei changgui, you yun wei yuyin pianli.*” 「无韵为常规,有韵为语音偏离」), and that this juxtaposition of non-rhymed and rhymed passages creates a type of “melodious feeling” and has an “artistic effect.” Most important for our purposes, Zhu notes the prevalence of cross-rhyming (*he yun*) within the *Classic of Poetry* and argues that rhyming (in which he includes cross-rhyming) within the *Documents* is extremely widespread but does not follow the standard forms as exemplified by the poems in the *Poetry*. Zhu then provides a table listing a single cross-rhyming phrase from each of the twenty-four chapters of the *Documents* (each example includes only two cross-rhyming rhyme groups, but taken in sum, nearly all the rhyme groups are represented) and concludes that these examples show the use of rhyme can be found throughout and this special style is a distinguishing characteristic of the text.<sup>170</sup>

In 2009, Lü Shengnan 吕胜男 published a short article entitled “A Study of Rhyme in the ‘New Text’ *Classic of Documents*” 〈今文《尚书》用韵研究〉, in which he provides a cursory overview of the different types of euphonic constructions of rhymed passages within the text, including sections on *tong yun* 通韻 and *he yun* 合韻 cross-rhyming.<sup>171</sup> He comments on *he yun* cross-rhymes between words in the *yang* 陽, *dong* 東 and *geng* 耕 rhyme groups; as this type of construction also occurs in the *Laozi* and *Songs of Chu*, he states that “many believe” this type of cross-rhyming may have been a feature of early southern Chinese dialects.<sup>172</sup>

170 “这种无韵与有韵的对立,使得《尚书》语体于古朴中别生一种悠扬之感,其营造的艺术效果,与后代散文相比自有其特殊魅力。。。。《尚书》用韵很普遍,只是没有形成《诗经》那样的规范。但《尚书》中的韵例已经足以说明韵律偏离的存在。。。。此处所举,尚不是《尚书》文本中用韵的全部,籍此可见《尚书》的语体韵律方面特色。” Zhu Yan 朱岩, “Shang shu wenben yanjiu” 〈《尚书》文体研究〉 (Ph.D. diss., 2008), 76–78. Following this discussion, Zhu proceeds to discuss the portion of the “Great Plan” which rhymes consistently using phrase-final *zhi* 職 rhyme-group words as a special example of rhyming within the text phonologically similar to but metrically divergent from the phonological patterns found in the *Classic of Poetry*.

171 Lü follows Wang Li’s definition of *tong yun* 通韻 as cross-rhymes in which the main vowel is identical but the final consonant differs, but Li’s work shows these patterns exist only in specific cases (e.g. a null final \*-∅ can usually rhyme with a \*-k final if the vowels agree) and must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. See Wang Li, *Shijing yun du*, 29–31.

172 See Lü Shengnan 吕胜男, “Jinwen Shang shu yong yun yanjiu” 〈今文《尚书》用韵研究〉 (Ph.D. diss., 2009), 38.



For the *Zuo Commentary*, the most comprehensive study of citations and quotations from the *Classic of Poetry* to date is the 1993 *Zuozhuan yinshi fushi zhi shijiao yanjiu* 《左傳引詩賦詩之詩教研究》 by Zeng Qinliang 曾勤良. In his introduction, Zeng details many aspects of oral transmission and didactic uses of the *Poetry* throughout the early Chinese traditions of recitation and rhetoric, but makes virtually no mention of the euphonic and phonorhetorical aspects of the poems or the *Zuo Commentary* itself.<sup>173</sup>

Shortly thereafter, in 1997 Zhu Chengping 朱承平 published a very short article entitled “Phrase-Initial Rhyming in Rhymed Phrases in Pre-Qin and Han Prose” 〈先秦兩漢散文韻語中的句首韻〉. In each of his three sections, on phrase-initial rhymes, rhymes which fall in the middle of phrases, and rhymes at the ends of phrases, he includes two examples from the *Zuo Commentary*, and lists the rhyme groups for the rhyme words; all except one form perfect rhymes. In his conclusion, Zhu states that these devices are common to pre-Qin prose texts, and possess special acoustic and rhetorical effects:

Within two linked sentences featuring terse syntax and reduplicated characters, the significance [of rhyme] as stress marker is very clear . . . phrases which feature phrase-initial rhyming cause the beginnings and ends of the phrases to work in concert, linking the front and rear; the poetic meter is circular, and pleasing to the ear. They thus form a perfect acoustic unit and possess a general poetic appeal . . . in consideration of the importance of oral recitation practices in the pre-Qin and Han periods, the application of these phrase-initial rhymes in prose has a special rhetorical effect which cannot be replaced by other rhetorical devices.<sup>174</sup>

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173 Zeng does not even indicate the specific rhyme words (or their rhyme groups) for the poems he discusses. The closest he comes is when he restates part of the “Great Preface” on the united origins of song, music and dance: “Poetry speaks of aims: in reality one recites and chants ones feelings and emotions. Poetry, music and dance: their origins are the same . . . songs were written down, taken and combined with music, energized with sounds and voices, set to music and made into tunes; instrumental music propagated and was combined with dance, and music gradually became meaningful after that. Little by little, music and dance became more common; subsequently, with the vocations of music and dance, there was song. This is the evolution of the relationship between poetry, music and dance.” 「詩言志，實吟詠性情也。詩樂舞，其源一矣。 . . . . . 至寫定之歌，取以入樂，精於聲音，譜之為調，器樂繁生，繼以舞蹈，則為有意之樂，漸在其後者矣。寔假樂舞頻煩，遂為樂舞之事而有歌。凡此，皆詩樂舞關係之演化也。」 (Zeng notes he is in part citing the 1954 “Shi yue lun” 〈詩樂論〉 by Luo Zhuohan 羅倬漢 in this section.) Zeng, *Zuozhuan yinshi fushi zhi shijiao yanjiu*, 4–5.

174 「两个相连的句子，句式简短，用字重复，强调的意味十分明显。 . . . . . 这些句子使用句首韵，可以使句子首尾呼应，前后相衔，韵律回旋，悦耳动听，从而在音响上形成一个完美无缺的整体，具有诗歌一般的内在吸引力。 . . . . . 在以口授耳记诵读为主的先秦两汉时期，散文句子中句首韵的应用确实有其特殊的修辞效果，是其它修辞方式所不能替代的。」 Zhu Chengping

Finally, in 2006 Hu Ping 胡萍 published a short article entitled “An Analysis of Rhyming in the Song and Verse of the *Zuo Commentary*” 〈《左传》歌讴谣诵用韵分析〉, in which she details the types of rhyming found in the phrases specifically marked as “songs” (*ge* 歌), “folk songs” (*ou* 讴), “omen-verses” (*yao* 谣) and “recitations” (*song* 诵) in the text. She documents the rhyme words in five of the thirty-nine songs, in two folk songs, two omen-verses and four of the ten “recitations.” In her conclusion, Hu notes that the thirteen examples of these forms of song and verse she discusses in her article come from a range of chapters in the *Zuo Commentary* and conform to exactly the same types of rhyming patterns and general adherence to a single rhyme group exemplified by studies of rhyme in the *Classic of Poetry*.

The study of acoustic patterns and euphony within the *Classic of Documents* and *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* has thus had a relatively short history, with particularly fruitful analyses emerging over the past century. Despite the recent increase in attention paid to these aspects of the *Documents*, however, there are as yet no comprehensive studies of phonaesthetic, euphonic or phonorhetorical devices and structures within the text (the closest remains Karlgren’s chart), and most scholars seem to believe that there are no overt acoustic patterns in most of the text (with the clearly rhymed sections in the “Yi and Ji,” “Great Plan” and “Counsels of Gao Yao” chapters as the main exceptions). For the *Zuo Commentary*, Zeng Qinliang has compiled an outstanding collection of the widespread use of quotations from the *Poetry*, but he did not attempt to document the phonaesthetic features of those citations or incorporate them into the larger textual framework. As the analyses in the case studies below illustrate, the scholars discussed above who noticed discrete examples of phrase-final consonantal consonance were in fact documenting parts of much larger euphonic and acoustic patterns, a closer examination of which will allow for a greater understanding of how these structures contribute to and inform the overall construction of these texts and provide insights into their composition and transmission.

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ing 朱承平, “Xian Qin Liang Han san ju yunyu zhong de ju shou yun” 〈先秦两汉散句韵语中的句首韵〉 in *Jiangxi shehui kexue* 江西社会科学 9 (1997): 55.

## Chapter 7

# Analyses of Euphony and Phonorhetoric in the *Classic of Documents* 《尚書》

The chapters of the *Classic of Documents* (*Shu jing* 《書經》 or *Shang shu* 《尚書》), the earliest and preeminent work of prose literature in the Chinese canon, have traditionally been purported to date from great antiquity through the Spring and Autumn period. However, in the mid-eighteenth century, Qing scholars were able to provide evidence that much of the ‘Old Text’ (*gu wen* 古文) recension was composed during the early fourth century C.E. (though it may have drawn on earlier material), and some of the twenty-eight (or twenty-nine) ‘New Text’ (*jin wen* 今文) chapters have been shown to postdate the Western Zhou.<sup>175</sup> Despite the significant difficulties inherent in the dating of early Chinese transmitted texts, there are ten chapters which scholars now generally agree were likely originally composed during the Western Zhou, very possibly during the reign of King Cheng (r.1042/35-1006 B.C.E.): the five “Announcement” (*gao* 誥) chapters, the “Great Announcement” 〈大誥〉, “Announcement to Kang” 〈康誥〉, “Announcement on Drunkenness” 〈酒誥〉, “Announcement of Shao” 〈召誥〉 and “Announcement at Luo” 〈洛誥〉, along with “Catalpa Timber” 〈梓材〉, “Numerous Officers” 〈多士〉, “Prince Shi” 〈君奭〉, “Numerous Regions” 〈多方〉 and “Testamentary Command” 〈顧命〉.<sup>176</sup>

## “The Announcement to Kang” 《尚書·康誥》

### Introduction to Euphony and Phonorhetoric in “The Announcement to Kang”

The results of my detailed phonological analyses of the five “Announcement” chapters in the *Classic of Documents* reveal that four of these chapters contain

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175 The demonstration that the ‘Old Text’ chapters were forgeries from about the fourth century C.E. (a position subsequently maintained by most scholars) is best rendered in the works from the early Qing dynasty which presented the first definitive comparative studies of the differences between the ‘New Text’ and ‘Old Text’ chapters. See Yan Ruoku 閻若璩 (1636–1704), “Gu wen Shang shu shu zheng” 〈古文尚書疏證〉 (published posthumously in 1745) in *Shangshu leiju chujī* 尚書類聚初集 vol. 5, ed. Du Songbo 杜松柏 (1984), 311–571; Hui Dong 惠棟 (1697–1758), “Gu wen Shang shu kao” 〈古文尚書考〉 in *Congshu jicheng xibian* 叢書集成續編 vol. 5 (1986); and Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞, *Jinwen Shang shu kaozheng* 今文尚書考證 (1989).

176 See Shaughnessy, “Shang shu 尚書 (Shu ching 書經)” in Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts* (1993) 376–89 for a full discussion of the transmission and dating of the various parts of the *Classic of Documents*.

relatively few obvious euphonic devices, but the “Announcement to Kang” chapter has several short sections which are extremely similar to the types of phonological structures and euphony seen in the Da Yu *ding* Western Zhou bronze inscription (analyzed above in chapter V), and similar to those found in other Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.

The chapter is structured around fourteen discrete sections, comprised of an introductory passage followed by (at least) thirteen separate speeches. The speeches are ostensibly all direct addresses from King Cheng of Zhou 周成王, eldest son of King Wu 周武王 to his uncle, Feng 封 (ninth son of King Wen), also known as Kang *shu* 康叔 (as the preface to the chapter attributed to Kong Anguo 孔安國 states), delivered by the regent for the young king, Zhou *gong* Dan 周公旦 (in English, generally known as the “Duke of Zhou”). The occasion which prompts the speeches is Feng’s being sent to govern the lands of the former Shang 商 (in this text called the Yin 殷) people, who had recently rebelled against the Zhou and had been defeated for a second time. As will be discussed further in the following chapter, whether the preface is correct, or whether these speeches were composed by King Wu and delivered by the Duke of Zhou, or composed by the Duke “in the name of” the young king Cheng has been debated by Chinese scholars for centuries. In this chapter, in the first line of the first speech, Feng is called “younger brother” (*di* 弟), and toward the end of the first speech, King Wu is referred to as “older brother” (*xiong* 兄); as both of these would have been improper appellations by the young king Cheng of his uncle and father, it seems most likely that the composer of at least the first speech must have been either the Duke of Zhou or King Wu.<sup>177</sup>

The division marker between speeches is the alliterative notation “The king said” (*wang yue* 王曰 \*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ \*G<sup>w</sup>at, with two minor exceptions which will be discussed at length below), though there are also a few markers of continued speech or subquotations within the thirteen speeches, so one could separate out as many as twenty total discrete sections within the chapter.

In general, the speeches discuss the enlightened use of punishments by former kings to encourage the people, with King Wen held up as a supreme model for good governance. They also contain repeated exhortations to be diligent, use the punishments properly to encourage the people, and rely upon moral “virtue” (*de* 德) and “tranquility” (*kang* 康). The king also repeatedly notes that Feng should not feel free to follow his own inclinations when deciding when and how to use punishments but must always follow royal standards and directives.

177 For a more thorough discussion of these issues see the outstanding 1957 article by Chen Mengjia 陳夢家, “Zhou *shu* zhong de wang ruo yue” (《周書》中的王若曰) in *Shang shu tonglun* 尚書通論 (1957).

**Table 9:** The “Announcement to Kang”: Phonology and Translation.**Section 1: Date Notation and *Mise-en-scène***

惟 三 月 哉 生 魄<sup>K1</sup> ,  
 \*ɣwij \*srum \*ŋwat \*tsʰə \*sreŋ \*pʰrak

In the third month, in the growing brightness,

周 公 初 基 作 新 大 邑 于 東 國 洛<sup>K1</sup> ,  
 \*tiw \*C.qʰoŋ \*tsʰra \*kə \*tsʰak-s \*C.sin \*lʰat-s \*qəp \*ɣwa \*tʰoŋ \*kʷək \*g-rak (S)

The Duke of Zhou began the foundations and built a new great city in the eastern states: Luo.

四 方 民 大 和 會<sup>K2</sup> 。  
 \*s.lij-s \*paŋ \*miŋ \*lʰat-s \*ɣʰoj \*m-kʰop-s

The people from the four quarters assembled in great harmony.

侯 、 甸 、 男 邦 、 采 、 衛<sup>K2</sup> ,  
 \*ɣʰo \*lʰiŋ-s \*nʰəm \*pʰroŋ \*m-sʰrəʔ \*ɣwat-s

The lords, suburban administrators, suburban officials, the selected and the guardians,

百 工 播 民 和 ,  
 \*pʰrak \*kʰoŋ \*pʰarʔ-s \*miŋ \*ɣʰoj

All the hundred officials spread the people’s harmony,

見 士 于 周<sup>K3</sup> 。  
 \*m-kʰen-s \*m-s-rəʔ \*ɣwa \*tiw

And introduced them to the business there was for Zhou.

周 公 咸 勤 ,  
 \*tiw \*C.qʰoŋ \*ɣʰrəm \*gər

The Duke of Zhou encouraged all to diligence,

乃 洪 大 誥 治<sup>K3</sup> 。  
 \*nʰəʔ \*gōŋ (S) \*lʰat-s \*kʰuk-s \*C.lrə

And made a great announcement on governance.

**Section 2: Speech 1: Examples of good governance by King Wen**

王 若 曰 :  
 \*ɣwəŋ \*nak \*ɣwat

The king approved of saying:

「 孟 侯 , 朕 其 弟 小 子 封<sup>K4</sup> 。  
 \*mʰraŋ-s \*ɣʰo \*lʰrəmʔ \*gə \*lʰəjʔ \*sewʔ \*tsəʔ \*poŋ

Most honored Lord, my younger brother, little child Feng:

惟 乃 丕 顯 考 文 王<sup>K4</sup> ,  
 \*ɣwij \*nʰəʔ \*pʰrə \*qʰʰenʔ \*khuʔ (S) \*mən \*ɣwəŋ

It was your illustrious deceased-father King Wen,

克 明 德 慎 罰 ,  
 \*kʰək \*mraŋ \*tʰək \*Cə.lin-s \*bat

Able to be greatly brightly virtuous and careful in the use of punishments,

Table 9 (continued)

不 敢 侮 鰥 寡<sup>K5</sup> ,  
 \*pə \*k'am? \*mo? (S) \*k'w'ɾən \*C.k'w'ra?  
 Who did not dare to treat with contempt the unmarried or widowed,

庸 庸 , (祗) [ 祗 ] (祗) [ 祗 ] ,  
 \*loŋ (S) \*loŋ (S) (\*k.de) [ \*ti (S) ] (\*k.de) [ \*ti (S) ]  
 Employed the employable, revered the reverent,

威 威 , 顯 民 。  
 \*ʔuj \*ʔuj \*q'h'en? \*miŋ  
 Awe-inspiring in his awesome might, who made illustrious the people.

用 肇 造 我 區 夏<sup>K5</sup>  
 \*m.loŋ-s \*drau? (S) \*Cə.dz'u? \*ŋ'aj? \*q'o \*ɣ'ra?  
 [He] thereby founded our ancestral districts,

越 我 一 二 邦 ,  
 \*ɣ'at \*ŋ'aj? \*ʔit \*nij-s \*p'roŋ  
 Extended beyond our one or two states,

以 修 我 西 土 。  
 \*ləʔ \*s-liw \*ŋ'aj? \*s-n'ər \*t'h'a?  
 In order to build up our western lands.

惟 時 怙 冒<sup>K6</sup> ,  
 \*ɣ'ij \*də \*gâ? (S) \*m'uk-s  
 It was then that [all] relied upon his **bravery**,

聞 于 上 帝 ,  
 \*mun \*ɣ'wa \*daŋ?-s \*t'ek-s  
 His fame reached up to the **Lord** on high,

帝 休<sup>K6</sup> 我 。  
 \*t'ek-s \*q'hu  
 And the Lord approved.

天 乃 大 命 文 王<sup>K7</sup> ,  
 \*ʃ'in \*n'əʔ \*l'at-s \*mə-riŋ-s \*mən \*ɣ'wəŋ  
 Heaven then gave the great command to **King Wen**,

殪 戎 殷 , 誕 受 厥 命<sup>K7</sup> ,  
 \*ʔits (S) \*nuŋ \*ʔər \*lân? (S) \*du? \*kot \*mə-riŋ-s  
 To exterminate the belligerent Yin, and to grandly receive its **command**,

越 厥 邦 厥 民 。  
 \*ɣ'at \*kot \*p'roŋ \*kot \*miŋ  
 To extend it beyond its **states** and its **people**.

惟 時 敘<sup>K8</sup> ,  
 \*ɣ'ij \*də \*s-m-ta?  
 It was then that they were put in order,

Table 9 (continued)

乃 寡 兄 勗 ,  
 \*nʰəʔ \*C.kʷraʔ \*m̥raŋ \*hok (S)

Then our older brother exerted himself,

肆 汝 小 子 封  
 \*s-ləp-s \*naʔ \*sewʔ \*tsəʔ \*poŋ

Thus it is that you, my little child, Feng,

在 茲 東 土<sup>K8</sup> 。

\*dzʰəʔ \*tsə \*tʰoŋ \*tʰaʔ

Are here in these Eastern lands.

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### Section 3: Speech 2: Exhortation to follow King Wen and the former wise kings

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王 曰 :

\*ɣʷaŋ \*ɣʷat

The king said:

「嗚 呼 !

\*ʔa \*qʰa

*Wu-hu!*

封 , 汝 念 哉 !

\*poŋ \*naʔ \*nʰim-s \*tsʰə

Feng, you must bear this in mind!

今 [治] 民 將 在 (祗) [祗] 遙 乃 文 考 ,  
 \*krəm [\*lɾə-s] \*miŋ \*tsaŋ \*dzʰəʔ (\*k.de) \*ɣʷit \*nʰəʔ \*mən \*khuʔ (S)

Now, your [governing] of the people will depend on your reverently following your decorated deceased-father,

紹 聞 衣 德 言 。

\*draw-s \*mun \*ʔəj \*tʰək \*ŋan

Carry out what you have heard, wrap yourself in his virtuous **words**.

往 敷 求 于 殷 先 哲 王 ,

\*ɣʷaŋʔ \*pʰa \*gu \*ɣʷa \*ʔər \*sʰər \*trat \*ɣʷaŋ

Wherever you go, seek among Yin's former wise **kings**,

用 保 乂 民 。

\*m.loŋ-s \*pʰuʔ \*ŋat-s \*miŋ

Use it to protect and regulate the **people**.

汝 丕 遠 惟 商 耆 成 人 ,

\*naʔ \*pʰrə \*C.ɣʷanʔ \*ɣʷij \*s-taŋ \*kôʔ (S) \*m-deŋ \*niŋ

You must more remotely study the Shang elder accomplished **men**,

宅 心 知 訓 。

\*m-tʰak \*səm \*tre \*|un-s

Establish your heart and know how to **instruct** [the people].

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Table 9 (continued)

別 求 聞 由 古 先 哲 王 ,  
 \*pret \*gu \*mun \*lu \*k'a? \*s'ər \*trat \*ɣʷaŋ  
 Judiciously seek what is to be learned from antiquity's former wise **kings**,

用 康 保 民 。  
 \*m.loŋ-s \*k-ɬaŋ \*p'u? \*miŋ  
 Use it to make tranquil and protect the **people**.

弘 于 天 , 若 德 裕 ,  
 \*ɣʷəŋ \*ɣʷa \*ɬin , \*nak \*t'ək \*lokh (S)  
 Enlarge [your thoughts] to be as Heaven, in you let virtue be richly displayed,

乃 身 不 廢 在 王 命 。」  
 \*n'ə? \*ŋiŋ \*pə \*pap-s \*dz'ə? \*ɣʷaŋ \*mə-riŋ-s  
 And you will not fail the **king's command**.

**Section 4: Speech 3: Exhortation on diligence**

王 曰 :  
 \*ɣʷaŋ \*ɣʷat  
 The king said:

「 鳴 呼 !  
 \*ŋ'a \*q'h'a  
 Wu-hu!

小 子 封 ,  
 \*sew? \*tsə? \*poŋ  
 Little child Feng,

恫 (矜) 乃 身 , 敬 哉 !  
 \*thōŋ (S) (\*k.rin) \*n'ə? \*ŋiŋ \*kreŋ-s \*ts'ə  
 It is as if some disease has come upon you, be respectful!

天 畏 斐 忱<sup>K9</sup> ,  
 \*ɬin \*ʔuj-s \*pəi? (S) \*t.ɬəm  
 Heaven is awesome, but helps the sincere,

民 情 大 可 見 。  
 \*miŋ \*dzeŋ \*ɬat-s \*k'h'aj? \*k'ien-s  
 The people's feelings can greatly be discerned.

小 人 難 保 ,  
 \*sew? \*niŋ \*n'ar \*p'u?  
 Mean people are difficult to protect,

往 盡 乃 心<sup>K9</sup> ,  
 \*ɣʷaŋ? \*Cə.dzin? \*n'ə? \*səm  
 Go forth and exhaust your heart,



Table 9 (continued)

無 康 好 逸 豫 ，  
\*ma \*k-ŋaŋ \*qʰu? \*lit \*laʔ-s

Have no tranquility or love of idleness and pleasure,

乃 其 乂 民 。

\*nʰəʔ \*gə \*ŋat-s \*miŋ

As such you will regulate the people.

我 聞 曰 ：

\*ŋʰajʔ \*mun \*ɣʷat

I have heard it said:

『怨 不 在 大 ， 亦 不 在 小 ；  
\*ʔor-s \*pə \*dzʰəʔ \*lʰat-s \*gak \*pə \*dzʰəʔ \*sewʔ

Resentment is not caused by great things, and also not by small,

惠 不 惠 ， 懋 不 懋 。

\*ɣʷijj-s \*pə \*ɣʷijj-s \*môh (S) \*pə \*môh (S)

[but it is one's] observance or non-observance of principle, diligence or non-diligence.'

已 ！

\*ɣəʔ

Enough!

汝 惟 小 子 ，  
\*naʔ \*ɣʷijj \*sewʔ \*tsəʔ

It is you, my little child,

乃 服 ， 惟 弘 王 ，  
\*nʰəʔ \*bək \*ɣʷijj \*ɣʷʰəŋ \*ɣʷaŋ

Your business, it is to make great the **king**,

應 保 殷 民 。

\*ʔəŋh (S) \*pʰuʔ \*ʔər \*miŋ

Harmoniously protect the Yin **people**.

亦 惟 助 王 宅 天 命 ，  
\*gak \*ɣʷijj \*Cə.dzra-s \*ɣʷaŋ \*m-tʰak \*lʰin \*mə-riŋ-s

It is also to help the king establish the Heavenly **command**,

作 新 民 。

\*tsʰak-s \*C.sin \*miŋ

And renew the **people**.

王 曰 ：

\*ɣʷaŋ \*ɣʷat

The king said:

Table 9 (continued)

「嗚呼！封，  
\*ʔa \*qʰa \*poŋ

“Wu-hu! Feng,

敬明乃罰。  
\*kreŋ-s \*mraŋ \*nʰəʔ \*bat

Make respectfully intelligent your punishments.

人有小罪非眚(省)，  
\*niŋ \*ɣwəʔ \*sewʔ \*Cə.dzʰujʔ \*pəj (\*seŋʔ)

If people commit lesser crimes, which are not calamities,

乃惟終，自作不典，  
\*nʰəʔ \*ɣwij \*tuŋ , \*N-tsit-s \*tsʰak-s \*pə \*tʰəʔ

Then ultimately, if they go against the statutes,

式爾，有厥罪小，  
\*ʃək \*neʔ , \*ɣwəʔ \*kot \*Cə.dzʰujʔ \*sewʔ

On purpose, although their crimes are small,

久不可不殺。  
\*nʰəʔ \*pə \*kʰəʔajʔ \*pə \*sat

Then one cannot not put them to death.

乃有大罪非終，  
\*nʰəʔ \*ɣwəʔ \*lʰat-s \*Cə.dzʰujʔ \*pəj \*tuŋ

And there are greater crimes, which are not purposed,

乃惟眚(省)災，  
\*nʰəʔ \*ɣwij (\*seŋʔ) \*tsʰə

But mischance and misfortune,

適爾既道極厥辜，  
\*tek \*neʔ \*kət-s \*lʰuʔ-s \*N-kək \*kot \*kâ (S)

Accidental, yet if they fully confess their guilt,

時乃不可殺。」  
\*də \*nʰəʔ \*pə \*kʰəʔajʔ \*sat

Then you cannot put them to death.”

**Section 6: Speech 5: Use of punishments is the role of the king**

王曰：  
\*ɣwaj \*ɣwat

The king said:

「嗚呼！  
\*ʔa \*qʰa

“Wu-hu!

Table 9 (continued)

封，有敘時，乃大明服，  
 \*pɔŋ \*ɣwəʔ \*s-m-taʔ \*də \*nʰəʔ \*lʰat-s \*mraŋ \*bək  
 Feng, when there is order, and you are greatly intelligent in your service,

惟民其勅懋和。  
 \*ɣwɨj \*miŋ \*gə \*rhək (S) \*môh (S) \*ɣʰoj  
 It is the people who are thereby made diligent and harmonious.

若有疾，惟民其畢棄咎。  
 \*nak \*ɣwəʔ \*dzit \*ɣwɨj \*miŋ \*gə \*pit \*kʰit-s \*guʔ  
 Just as with disease, it is the people who will accomplish the removal of their faults.

若保赤子，惟民其康乂。  
 \*nak \*pʰuʔ \*t-qʰak \*tsəʔ \*ɣwɨj \*miŋ \*gə \*k-lʰaŋ \*ŋat-s  
 Just as when protecting an infant, it is the people who are made tranquil by regulations.

非汝封刑人殺人，  
 \*pəj \*naʔ \*pɔŋ \*ɣʰeŋ \*niŋ \*sat \*niŋ  
 It is not you, Feng, who **inflicts harsh punishments upon people and executes people,**

無或刑人殺人。  
 \*ma \*ɣwʰək \*ɣʰeŋ \*niŋ \*sat \*niŋ  
 Do not **inflict harsh punishments upon people or execute people.**

非汝封，  
 \*pəj \*naʔ \*pɔŋ  
 It is not you, Feng,

又曰剕(刖)〔刖〕人，  
 \*ɣwəʔ-s \*ɣwat [ \*ŋwʰat ] \*niŋ  
 Who can call for **inflicting mutilating punishments upon people,**

無或剕(刖)〔刖〕人。』  
 \*ma \*ɣwʰək [ \*ŋwʰat ] \*niŋ  
 Do not **inflict mutilating punishments upon people.**”

---

**Section 7: Speech 6: Set appropriate standards and take time when adjudicating cases**


---

王曰：  
 \*ɣwəŋ \*ɣwat  
 The king said:

「外事，  
 \*ŋwʰat-s \*m-s-rəʔ-s  
 “In external matters,

汝陳時臬，  
 \*naʔ \*lɨn \*də \*ŋrat (S)  
 You must array correct standards,

---

Table 9 (continued)

司 師 ，  
\*s-lə \*srij

Supervise your officers;

茲 殷 罰 有 倫 。」  
\*tsə \*ʔər \*bat \*ɣwəʔ \*run

These are Yin’s punishments, properly ordered.

又 曰 ：  
\*ɣwəʔ-s \*ɣwat

Furthermore, he said:

「要 囚 ， 服 念 五 六 日 ，  
\*ʔew-s \*sə.lu \*bək \*nʼim-s \*C.ŋʼaʔ \*k.ruk \*C.nit

‘In criminal cases, think on the matter for five or six days,

至 于 旬 時 ，  
\*tit-s \*ɣwa \*s-ɣwɪn \*də

Extending to weeks or seasons,

丕 蔽 要 囚 。」  
\*pʰrə \*pet-s \*ʔew-s \*sə.lu

So as to munificently pass judgment in criminal cases.’

---

**Section 8: Speech 7: Institute morality using Yin’s standards, beware of criminality**

---

王 曰 ：  
\*ɣwaŋ \*ɣwat

The king said:

「汝 陳 時 臬 事 ，  
\*naʔ \*lɪn \*də \*ŋrat (S) \*m-s-rəʔ-s

You must array timely (=appropriate) standards for works,

罰 蔽 殷 彝 ；  
\*bat \*pet-s \*ʔər \*ləj

Punish and judge by Yin standards;

用 其 義 刑 義 殺 ，  
\*m.loŋ-s \*gə \*ŋaj-s \*ɣʼeŋ \*ŋaj-s \*sat

Use them for proper harsh punishments and proper executions,

勿 庸(用) 以 次 汝 封 。  
\*mut \*loŋ (S)(\*m.loŋ-s) \*ləʔ \*s-ŋij-s \*naʔ \*pon

Do not let them be warped in order to agree with your own inclinations, Feng.

乃 汝 盡 遜 ，  
\*nʼəʔ \*naʔ \*Cə.dzinʔ \*sũns (S)

Then, when you have exhaustively instituted morality,

---

Table 9 (continued)

---

曰 時 敘 ；

\*ɣʷat \*də \*s-m-taʔ

You will say ‘All is timely (=appropriately) ordered.’

惟 曰 未 有 遜 事 。

\*ɣʷij \*ɣʷat \*mət-s \*ɣʷəʔ \*sûns (S) \*m-s-rəʔ-s

Yet also say, ‘We have not yet instituted morality in all things.’

已 ！ 汝 惟 小 子 。

\*ɣəʔ \*naʔ \*ɣʷij \*sewʔ \*tsəʔ

Enough! You are a little child,

未 其 有 若 汝 封 之 心 。

\*mət-s \*gə \*ɣʷəʔ \*nak \*naʔ \*poŋ \*tə \*səm

Yet there has never yet been one with a heart like yours, Feng;

朕 心 朕 德 惟 乃 知 。

\*lramʔ \*səm \*lramʔ \*tʰək \*ɣʷij \*nʰəʔ \*tre

My heart, my virtue, these are known to you.

凡 民 自 得 罪 。

\*brom \*miŋ \*N-tsit-s \*tʰək \*Cə.dzʰujʔ

All peoples who of themselves commit **crimes**,

寇 攘 姦 宄 。

\*kʰo-s \*naŋʔ \*kʰran \*kuh (S)

Robbing and stealing, villany and treachery,

殺 越 人 于 貨 。

\*sat \*ɣʷat \*niŋ \*ɣʷa \*qʰhʰaj-s

Killing people to take their **property**,

啓 不 畏 死 。

\*munʔ (S) \*pə \*ʔuj-s \*sijʔ

Reckless and fearless of **death**,

罔 弗 慙 。

\*C.maŋʔ \*put \*dûih (S)

None of these are not **abhorred**.”

---

### Section 9: Speech 8: On filiality as a model for governance

---

王 曰 ：

\*ɣʷaŋ \*ɣʷat

The king said:

「封 元 惡 大 慙 。

\*poŋ \*ŋon \*ʔʰak-s \*lʰat-s \*dûih (S)

Feng, chief criminals are greatly abhorred,

---

Table 9 (continued)

矧 惟 不 孝 不 友 。

\*hin? (S) \*ɣwij \*pə \*q<sup>h</sup>u-s \*pə \*ɣwə?

And how much more [abhorrent] are the unfilial and unfriendly.

子 弗 (祗) [祗] 服 厥 父 事 ，

\*tsə? \*put (\*k.de) [\*ti (S)] \*bək \*kot \*N-pa? \*m-s-rə?-s

From the son who does not revere and uphold his father's deeds,

大 傷 厥 考 心 ；

\*lʰat-s \*laj \*kot \*khu? (S) \*səm

But greatly injures his deceased-father's heart;

于 父 不 能 字 厥 子 ，

\*ɣwa \*N-pa? \*pə \*nʰəŋ \*mə-dzə-s \*kot \*tsə?

To the father who is unable to nurture his son,

乃 疾 厥 子 。

\*nʰə? \*dzit \*kot \*tsə?

And causes his son to suffer.

于 弟 弗 念 天 顯 ，

\*ɣwa \*lʰaj? \*put \*nʰim-s \*lʰin \*q<sup>h</sup>en?

To the younger brother who does not think on Heaven's illustriousness,

乃 弗 克 恭 厥 兄 ；

\*nʰə? \*put \*k<sup>h</sup>ək \*koŋ \*kot \*mraŋ

And cannot be respectful to his older brother;

兄 亦 不 念 鞠 子 哀 ，

\*mraŋ \*gak \*pə \*nʰim-s \*kuk (S) \*tsə? \*ʔaj

The older brother does also not think on the hardships of rearing children,

大 不 友 于 弟 。

\*lʰat-s \*pə \*ɣwə? \*ɣwa \*lʰaj?

Greatly unbrotherly toward his younger brother.

惟 弔 茲 ，

\*ɣwij \*tʰewk \*tsə

Our charge is this:

不 于 我 政 人 得 罪 ，

\*pə \*ɣwa \*ŋʰaj? \*teŋ-s \*niŋ \*tʰək \*Ca.dzʰuj?

[If we] do not [act] toward our governmental officers who have committed crimes,

天 惟 與 我 民 彝 大 泯 亂 。

\*lʰin \*ɣwij \*C.ga? \*ŋʰaj? \*miŋ \*ləj \*lʰat-s \*min \*rʰon-s

Heaven will throw the standards of our people into great disorder and chaos.

曰 ：

\*ɣwat

It is said:

Table 9 (continued)

---

乃	其	速	由	文	王	作	罰	,
*nʰəʔ	*gə	*sʰok	*lu	*mən	*ɣwəŋ	*tsʰak	*bat	
Deal speedily with such parties according to the punishments made by King Wen,								
刑	茲	無	赦	。				
*ɣʰeŋ	*tsə	*ma	*qʰak-s					
Harsh punishments like these cannot be pardoned.								
不	率	大	夏	,				
*pə	*s-rut	*lʰat-s	*kʰrik					
[As for those who] do not follow the great laws,								
矧	惟	外	庶	子	、	訓	人	,
*hinʔ (S)	*ɣwij	*ŋwʰat-s	*s-tak-s	*tsəʔ		*lun-s	*niŋ	
How much more so will the officers who instruct the people,								
惟	厥	正	人	、	越	小	臣	、
*ɣwij	*kot	*teŋ-s	*niŋ		*ɣwat	*sewʔ	*gin	*ta
*tsʰik								
The heads of the official departments, extending to the lesser officers and the various officials,								
乃	別	播	敷	,				
*nʰəʔ	*pret	*pʰarʔ-s	*pʰa					
Then spread and disseminate,								
造	民	大	譽	;				
*Cə.dzʰuʔ	*miŋ	*lʰat-s	*m-qa-s					
Attaining the people's great praise,								
弗	念	弗	庸	,				
*put	*nʰim-s	*put	*loŋ (S)					
Without thinking about it, without using it to								
□(矜)	厥	君	,					
(*k.rin)	*kot	*C.qur						
Show respect for their sovereign,								
時	乃	引	惡	,	惟	朕	慙	。
*də	*nʰəʔ	*linʔ-s	*ʔak		*ɣwij	*lramʔ	*dúih (S)	
Then [the people] will be led into evil deeds; this is an abomination to me.								
已	!	汝	乃	其	速	由	茲	義
*gəʔ		*naʔ	*nʰəʔ	*gə	*sʰok	*lu	*tsə	*ŋaj-s
*s-rut	*sat							
Enough! You then in accordance with righteousness, will put them to death.								
亦	惟	君	惟	長	。			
*gak	*ɣwij	*C.qur	*ɣwij	*traŋʔ				
And so you will be sovereign, you will be the elder.								
不	能	厥	家	人	,			
*pə	*nʰeŋ	*kot	*kʰra	*niŋ				
If you cannot manage your own family members,								

---

Table 9 (continued)

越 厥 小 臣 、 外 正 。

\*ɣʷat \*kot \*sewʔ \*gin \*ŋʷʳat-s \*teŋ-s

Extending to your lesser officers and lesser **officials**,

惟 威 惟 虐 ， 大 放 王 命 ；

\*ɣʷij \*ʔuj \*ɣʷij \*ŋawk \*lʳat-s \*paŋ-s \*ɣʷaŋ \*mə-riŋ-s

But by awe and by violence, greatly setting aside **the king's command**,

乃 非 德 用 乂 。

\*nʳəʔ \*pəj \*tʳək \*m.loŋ-s \*ŋat-s

Then contrary to virtue will you regulate your state.

汝 亦 罔 不 克 敬 典 ；

\*naʔ \*gak \*C.maŋʔ \*pə \*kʰək \*kreŋ-s \*tʳəʔ

You also cannot not respect the statutes,

乃 由 裕 民 ；

\*nʳəʔ \*lu \*lokh (S) \*miŋ

From them enrich the **people**;

惟 文 王 之 敬 忌 ；

\*ɣʷij \*mən \*ɣʷaŋ \*tə \*kreŋ-s \*m-kə-s

It is the respectful caution of King Wen,

乃 裕 民 。

\*nʳəʔ \*lokh (S) \*miŋ

That enriches the **people**.

曰 ：

\*ɣʷat

It is said:

『我 惟 有 及 』 。

\*ŋʳajʔ \*ɣʷij \*ɣʷəʔ \*m-k-rəp

‘If we can only attain [them].’

則 予 一 人 以 懌 。

\*tsʳək \*laʔ \*ʔit \*niŋ \*ləʔ \*lak (S)

Then I, the one man, will thereby rejoice.”

### Section 10: Speech 9: Exhortation to use virtue and tranquility

王 曰 ：

\*ɣʷaŋ \*ɣʷat

The king said:

「封 ！ 爽 惟 民 迪 吉 康 。

\*poŋ \*sraŋʔ (S) \*ɣʷij \*miŋ \*liûk (S) \*C.qit \*k-ʃaŋ

“Feng! It is clear it is the people who [you shall] guide to fortune and tranquility.



Table 9 (continued)

---

我	時(是)	其	惟	殷	先	哲	王	德	,
*ŋʰaj?	*də(*deʔ)	*gə	*gʷij	*ʔər	*sʰər	*trat	*gʷaŋ	*tʰək	
I consider the virtue of the former wise kings of Yin,									
用	康	乂	民	作	求	。			
*m.loŋ-s	*kʰaŋ	*ŋat-s	*miŋ	*tsʰək	*gu				
Who used tranquility to regulate the people, and rouse myself to realize it.									
矧	今	民	罔	迪	不	適	,		
*hinʔ (S)	*krəm	*miŋ	*C.maŋʔ	*liūk (S)	*pə	*tek			
Moreover, now the people are sure to follow your guidance,									
不	迪	則	罔	政	在	厥	邦	。	」
*pə	*liūk (S)	*tsʰək	*C.maŋʔ	*teŋ-s	*dzʰəʔ	*kot	*pʰroŋ		
Not guiding them is thus not governing their state.”									

---

## Section 11: Speech 10: Heaven as final judge

---

王	曰	:							
*gʷaŋ	*gʷat								
The king said:									
「	封	,	予	惟	不	可	不	監	,
*poŋ	*laʔ		*gʷij	*pə	*kʰajʔ	*pə	*kʰram		
Feng, I cannot not <b>supervise</b> [you],									
告	汝	德	之	說	于	罰	之	行	。
*kʰuk	*naʔ	*tʰək	*tə	*ʃot	*gʷa	*bat	*tə	*gʰraŋ-s	
And declare to you virtuous instructions on punishments' <b>implementation</b> .									
今	惟	民	不	靜	,				
*krəm	*gʷij	*miŋ	*pə	*dzeŋ (S)					
Now, the people are not <b>quiet</b> ,									
未	戾	厥	心	,					
*mət-s	*rʰet-s	*kot	*səm						
Have not stilled their <b>hearts</b> ;									
迪	屢	未	同	;					
*liūk (S)	*C.roʔ-s	*mət-s	*lʰoŋ						
My repeated guidance has not yet been <b>assimilated</b> .									
爽	惟	天	其	罰	殛	我	,		
*sraŋʔ (S)	*gʷij	*ʃin	*gə	*bat	*kək (S)	*ŋʰajʔ			
Clearly, it is Heaven whose punishments kill us,									
我	其	不	怨	。					
*ŋʰajʔ	*gə	*pə	*ʔor-s						
We do not resent this.									

---

Table 9 (continued)

惟 厥 罪 無 在 大 ， 亦 無 在 多 ，  
 \*gʷij \*kot \*Cə.dzʷujʔ \*ma \*dzʷəʔ \*lʷat-s \*gak \*ma \*dzʷəʔ \*t-lʷaj

It is their crimes, no matter how great and no matter how many;

矧 曰 其 尚 顯 聞 于 天 。」  
 \*hinʔ (S) \*gʷat \*gə \*daŋ-s \*qʰenʔ \*mun \*gʷa \*lʷin

How much more will this be said, when the esteemed report [of my deeds] is sent up to Heaven.”

**Section 12: Speech 11: Exhortation to use good standards, virtue and long-range plans**

王 曰 ：

\*gʷaŋ \*gʷat

The king said:

「嗚 呼 ！

\*ʔa \*qʰa

*Wu-hu!*

封 ， 敬 哉 ！

\*poŋ \*kreŋ-s \*tsʰə

Feng, have respect!

無 作 怨 ， 勿 用 非 謀 非 彝 ，

\*ma \*tsʰak-s \*ʔor-s \*mut \*m.loŋ-s \*pəj \*mə \*pəj \*ləj

Have no resentment, do not use bad counsels and bad standards,

蔽 時 忱 ， 丕 則 敏 德 。

\*pet-s \*də \*t.ɕəm \*pʰrə \*tsʰək \*mrənʔ \*tʰək

When you judge **sincerely**, greatly imitate penetrating **virtue**.

用 康 乃 心 ， 顧 乃 德 。

\*m.loŋ-s \*k-lʷaŋ \*nʰəʔ \*səm \*kʷaʔ-s \*nʰəʔ \*tʰək

Use this to make tranquil your **heart**, and examine your **virtue**.

遠 乃 猷 裕 ，

\*C.gʷanʔ \*nʰəʔ \*ju (S) \*lokh (S)

From far off make your plans for enrichment,

乃 以 民 寧 ，

\*nʰəʔ \*ləʔ \*miŋ \*nʰeŋ

And thereby the people will be at **peace**,

不 汝 瑕 殄 。

\*pə \*naʔ \*gʷra \*dʰənʔ

Let it not be your fatal flaw or **destruction**.

**Section 13: Speech 12: Warning to follow the king's command**

王 曰 ：

\*gʷaŋ \*gʷat

The king said:

Table 9 (continued)

---

「	嗚	呼	！			
	*ʔ <sup>h</sup> a	*q <sup>h</sup> a				
	<i>Wu-hu!</i>					
肆	汝	小	子	封	。	
*s-ləp-s	*na?	*sew?	*tsə?	*poŋ		
Thus it is for you, small child <b>Feng</b> ,						
惟	命	不	于	常	；	
*ɣ <sup>w</sup> ij	*mə-riŋ-s	*pə	*ɣ <sup>w</sup> a	*daŋ		
Command is not <b>constant</b> ;						
汝	念	哉	！	無	我	殄
*na?	*n <sup>i</sup> m-s	*ts <sup>h</sup> ə		*ma	*ŋ <sup>h</sup> aj?	*d <sup>h</sup> ən?
Remember this! Do not <b>destroy</b> us.						
享	明	乃	服	命	，	
*q <sup>h</sup> aŋ?	*mraŋ	*n <sup>h</sup> ə?	*bək	*mə-riŋ-s		
Be reverent and bright, is your <b>command</b> ,						
高	乃	聽	，			
*Cə.k <sup>h</sup> aw	*n <sup>h</sup> ə?	*l <sup>h</sup> en-s				
Exalt what you have <b>heard</b> .						
用	康	乂	民	。	」	
*m.loŋ-s	*k-l <sup>h</sup> aŋ	*ŋat-s	*miŋ			
Use [it] to tranquilize and regulate the <b>people</b> .”						

---

## Section 14: Speech 13: Final exhortation

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王	若	曰	：		
*ɣ <sup>w</sup> aŋ	*nak	*ɣ <sup>w</sup> at			
The king approved of saying:					
「	往	哉	！	封	，
	*ɣ <sup>w</sup> aŋ?	*ts <sup>h</sup> ə		*poŋ	
Go! Feng,					
勿	替	敬	典	；	
*mut	*ŋ <sup>h</sup> it-s	*kreŋ-s	*t <sup>h</sup> ər?		
Do not disregard the respected statutes,					
聽	朕	告(誥)	汝	，	
*l <sup>h</sup> en-s	*lram?	*k <sup>h</sup> uk(*k <sup>h</sup> uk-s)	*na?		
Harken to what I have declared to you,					
乃	以	殷	民	世	享
*n <sup>h</sup> ə?	*lə?	*ʔər	*miŋ	*l <sup>h</sup> ap-s	*q <sup>h</sup> aŋ?
And thereby the people of Yin for generations shall revere [you].”					

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## Analysis of the “Announcement to Kang”

### Section 1

Whether or not this prefatory section belongs to this chapter has been a matter of debate for some time; David Nivison claims it in fact represents an “alternate preface to the ‘Shao gao’ chapter.”<sup>178</sup> Most striking about its composition is how the opening line provides the date, including the month and the part of the month designated by the phase of the moon; a similar construction is commonly found in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and also in the opening sections of three of the other chapters in the *Classic of Documents*: “Announcement of Shao” 〈召誥〉, “The Successful Completion of the War” 〈武成〉 and “The Testamentary Charge” 〈顧命〉. A short *mise en scène* follows, providing the occasion as the Duke of Zhou’s founding of the eastern Zhou capital at Luo 洛 and describing the assembly of officials from throughout the kingdom. The final line provides the context for the speeches which follow, stating that the Duke of Zhou made a “great announcement on governance.”

The prefatory date sections of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, even those featuring extensive acoustic patterning, usually do not include any phonological devices or phonorhetorical patterns. However, Karlgren viewed the two opening lines as being an example of “rhyming” within the text, as “brightness” 魄 \*p<sup>h</sup>s<sup>r</sup>ak would indeed rhyme perfectly with “Luo” 洛 \*g-rak, even though the metric pattern is somewhat uneven (the opening line is of six graphs and the second of twelve, and does not break well at 6-6). Particularly indicative of the reliability of Karlgren’s rhyme schemes for the *Classic of Documents* are his two other proposed rhyme pairs from this section: “assemble” 會 \*m-k<sup>s</sup>op-s paired with “guardians” 衛 \*G<sup>w</sup>at-s, and “Zhou” 周 \*tiw paired with “governance” 治 \*C.l<sup>r</sup>ə (the “C” represents an unknown initial consonant in the Baxter-Sagart reconstruction), both of which are extremely difficult to defend based on more recent reconstructions.<sup>179</sup>

178 Nivison is likely correct about this. See *The Riddle of the Bamboo Annals*, §8.1 (2009).

179 Both pairs not only have main vowel disagreement but also problems with agreement in the finals; Karlgren seems to have thought that most *ru sheng* 入聲 words could cross-rhyme even when the final consonants were different. In some cases words which originally had a \*-p(s) final did change to a \*-t(s) final within a specific rhyme group (see Baxter, *Handbook*, 309–311, 318 and 398–399), but positing this across rhyme groups is probably an error on Karlgren’s part.

## Section 2

The second section features the first of the thirteen speeches which make up the chapter, directly indicating the originator of the speech as the king. As noted previously in the discussion of the *Da Yu ding* Section 2.1, *ruo* 若 (“approved of”)<sup>180</sup> is inserted in between “the king” and “said”; Chen Mengjia 陳夢家 has argued that the presence of *ruo* indicates the speech was presented by an official rather than the king himself (see the “Numerous Regions” chapter below for a discussion of the clearest indication of this convention in the *Documents*).<sup>181</sup> This construction is most commonly found designating the first speech in a long composition containing multiple speeches, and yet in this chapter, *ruo* 若 is also included in the opening phrase for the thirteenth speech; this could indicate that the thirteenth speech is a late or spurious addition, or for some reason deserved extra emphasis. Beginning with this second section, each section is probably best viewed as an individual and unique speech, as each begins with the same alliterative phrase indicating the

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**180** What *ruo* 若 precisely means in these constructions in the *Classic of Documents* has vexed readers and commentators for millennia. I believe the best way to understand its use in this and similar phrases is as the antecedent to the term *nuo* 諾: “to approve of” or “to accord with” (and later, by extension, “to promise”). In his article “The Duke of Zhou’s Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Ministerial-Monarch Debate in Chinese Political Philosophy,” Shaughnessy notes that this is the normal sense of *ruo* 若在 the Shang oracle bones, and argues this is also the meaning of *ruo* in two phrases in the “Announcement of Shao” 〈召誥〉: “I make presentation to the royally-approved duke” (*lü wang ruo gong* 旅王若公) and “to face and fathom Heaven’s approval” (*mian qi tian ruo* 面稽天若). See Shaughnessy, “The Duke of Zhou’s Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Ministerial-Monarch Debate in Chinese Political Philosophy” in *Early China* 18 (1993), 60–61. This sense of *ruo* in the text is also preferred by David Nivison, who in his 1995 article “An Interpretation of the ‘Shao Gao’” argues that *wang ruo gong* 王若公 should be understood as “Heaven-favored Duke”; see Nivison, “An Interpretation of the ‘Shao Gao’,” *Early China* 20 (1995): 180 and 183.

A final potential piece of supporting evidence comes from two Mawangdui 馬王堆 manuscripts, in which the term *nuo* is written as *ruo* (simply omitting the *yan* 言 determinative). The first example comes from the badly-damaged *Laozi* B 〈老子·乙〉 text: in strip 26, the line “夫輕諾必寡信” from chapter 63 in the received edition begins “夫輕若. . .,” though the rest of the line is unreadable. A better example comes from the “Jing fa” 〈經法〉 manuscript, which contains the lines: “若(諾)者,言之符也,己者言之絕也。己若(諾)不信,則知(智)大惑矣。己若(諾)必信,則處於度之內也。” As indicated in the transcription, most commentators have understood the *ruo* in these lines as *nuo*, as *nuo* seems to be the most appropriate fit within the context. Assuming this is correct, these examples then provide *prima facie* evidence that the word *nuo* was at times written as *ruo* in early Chinese paleography. On the whole, this is unsurprising as many determinatives are dropped from graphic forms in early orthography, but it is worth noting that here we would have a specific example of this practice regarding these words.

**181** See Chen Mengjia, “*Zhou shu zhong de wang ruo yue*” (1957), 183–89.

speaker: “the king said” (*wang yue* 王曰 \*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ \*G<sup>w</sup>at), the only exception being the introductory line to the final speech, which adds the marker *ruo*.

The most interesting euphonic elements in the first half of the speech are the three repeated binomes in the bisyllabic lines “庸庸, 祗〔祗〕祗〔祗〕, 威威, 顯民。” Similar phonological patterns are found in a variety of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, in particular the onomotopoetic passages found upon many *zhong* 鐘 bells, where they will usually form a perfect rhyming couplet; however, in this passage the reduplicated binomes are not onomotopoeia but semantically significant, and in terms of content, these lines are very different from any known similar euphonic constructions found in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. Further, in these lines the fourth graph *qi* 祗 \*k.de (read as *zhi* 祗 \*ti) does not rhyme at all with the eighth graph *min* 民 \*min, so it is difficult to construe this passage as poetic verse akin to any known construction.

In the second half of the speech, there are two clear cases of parallel *he yun* 合韻, or phrases which show consonance among final consonants. The first is a tetrasyllabic couplet with phrase-final words ending in \*-k, followed by a non-rhyming two-graph phrase:

惟	時	怙	冒	,
*G <sup>w</sup> ij	*də	*gâʔ (S)	*m <sup>ʰ</sup> uk-s	

It was then that [all] relied upon his **bravery**,

聞	于	上	帝	,
*mun	*G <sup>w</sup> a	*danʔ-s	*t <sup>ʰ</sup> ek-s	

His fame reached up to the **Lord** on high,

帝	休	。
*t <sup>ʰ</sup> ek-s	*q <sup>h</sup> u	

And the Lord approved.

Wang Li does not provide any examples of cross-rhyming in the *Classic of Poetry* between these two rhyme groups (“bravery” 冒 \*m<sup>ʰ</sup>uk-s is a *jue* 覺 rhyme group word, and “Lord” 帝 \*t<sup>ʰ</sup>ek-s is a *xi* 錫 rhyme group word). However, as Haun Saussy has noted, there exist “groupings or families of rhyme words” with \*-k finals found in the older sections of the *Classic of Poetry*, and as such this couplet could potentially indicate a \*-k final cross-rhyme, but further examples of this type of consonantal consonance are needed before any type of systematization

can be proposed. There are no other examples of final \*-k consonance in the chapters of the *Classic of Documents* analyzed in this volume.<sup>182</sup>

Secondly, there are three lines that feature the same type of phrase-final \*-ŋ consonantal consonance as seen in many Western Zhou bronze inscriptions (as discussed above in chapter II) and many of the speeches in this chapter:

天 乃 大 命 文 王 ，  
\*ʃin \*nʰəʔ \*ʃat-s \*mə-riŋ-s \*mən \*gʷaŋ

Heaven accordingly gave the great command to **King Wen**,

殪 戎 殷 ， 誕 受 厥 命 ，  
\*ʔits (S) \*nuŋ \*ʔər \*lânʔ (S) \*duʔ \*kot \*mə-riŋ-s

To exterminate the belligerent Yin, and to grandly receive its **command**,

越 厥 邦 厥 民 。  
\*gʷat \*kot \*pʰroŋ \*kot \*miŋ

To extend it beyond its **states** and its **people**.

The final graph in the first line does not rhyme with the perfectly-rhyming words at the end of the second and third lines, nor would it constitute a cross-rhyme as found in the *Classic of Poetry* (in accordance to the standards established by Qing phonologists and later refined by Wang Li). Along with the consonantal consonance, they do, however, match both the type of construction (with line lengths varying by a graph or two throughout) and the use of alliterative words with special semantic import in phrase-final position: “king” 王 \*gʷaŋ, “command” 命 \*mə-riŋ-s, “peoples” 民 \*miŋ; the sonorance in the final line is doubly emphasized due to the bisyllabic repetition of “its” (*jue* 厥 \*kot) followed by a word ending in \*-ŋ. As discussed above, this type of phonorhetorical patterning seems to be a feature of this style of prose, using repetition to underscore and emphasize the power of the phrase.<sup>183</sup>

**182** Saussy notes the \*-k series centers primarily on “virtue” 德 \*tʰək and “to serve” 服 \*bək; he calls these “rhyme clusters” and notes the \*-ŋ series forms another such cluster, though in nearly all cases in the *Poetry* the series is made up of words which rhyme perfectly, rather than being examples of the type of final-consonant consonance seen here. See Haun Saussy, “Repetition, Rhyme, and Exchange in The Book of Odes” in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57.2 (1997), 539–41.

**183** In his article “Speaking of Documents: *Shu* Citations in Warring States Texts” David Schaberg calls these constructions “repeatable, gnomic statements” and compares them to the types of phonorhetoric evidenced in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions: “Far more than the typical bronze inscription, ‘Kang gao’ is occupied with repeatable, gnomic statements that many participants in

For this section, Karlgren proposed five rhymed passages, all of which indicate possible acoustic patterns, but none represent the same exact type of tight sequences of phrase-final final consonance documented throughout this volume. The opening pair of “Feng” 封 \*poŋ and “king” 王 \*Gʷaŋ is indeed a good potential example of final-consonant consonance, but the lines are of eight and seven graphs each, making them very long for this type of consonance. The second pair does rhyme perfectly, and would create a type of AXXA “frame rhyme” around the lines featuring repeated binomes discussed above, but as they represent a 5-4-4-6 metric structure within a longer comment, the overall acoustic pattern would be quite a bit looser here than seen in other sections, and may well be better viewed as continuous throughout the nine lines in this passage, as the final word in every line except the line of binomes either ends in a final \*-ŋ or employs /\*a/ as the main vowel; “king” 王 \*Gʷaŋ, notably, has both. Karlgren’s proposal of “build up” 修 \*s-liw, “bravery” 冒 \*mʷuk-s and “approve” 休 \*qʰu as a rhyming sequence is most likely simply incorrect, though his subsequent indication of “king” 王 \*Gʷaŋ and “command” 命 \*mə-riŋ-s as consonant seems accurate, albeit once again comprising only a small part of the larger pattern. His final proposed AXXA frame rhyme featuring “put in order” 敘 \*s-m-taʔ and “lands” 土 \*tʰsaʔ is also possible, but like the similar construction above, represents a very loose standard for this type of phonorhetorical pattern, and should probably be best viewed as tentative.

### Section 3

This speech is the first of those in the chapter which feature extensive final-graph consonantal consonance, though as is common to these types of constructions in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, the lines are of uneven lengths (in number of graphs) and there are several different rhyme groups represented, none of which cross-rhyme in the poems of the *Classic of Poetry*. Six of the eleven lines feature final graphs ending in \*-iŋ (*zhen* 真 rhyme group) or \*-aŋ (*yang* 陽 rhyme group), with the same words as used in the preceding section: “king” 王 \*Gʷaŋ, “command” 命 \*mə-riŋ-s and “people” 民 \*miŋ, plus “men” 人 \*niŋ. The most intriguing part of the construction of this section are the two phrase-final words which end in \*-n: “words” 言 \*ŋan, and “instruct” 訓 \*ḷun-s. Words with \*-n finals

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Zhou power would have found useful.” See Schaberg, “Speaking of Documents: *Shu* Citations in Warring States Texts” in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)* (2017), eds. Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer, 339.



would not normally form part of this type of euphonic construction, but given their position in these lines and the very close phonetic proximity between \*-n and \*-ŋ, I think it is very possible that in this text the composer intentionally used them in the phrase-final position as counterparts to the \*-ŋ final words.<sup>184</sup> Indeed, in section 8 (speech 7) the word “destruction” 殄 \*dʰənʔ seems to be part of the euphonic construction, and in section 11 (speech 10) there are two words with \*-m finals interspersed with words with \*-ŋ finals in the phrase-final position, so there is a very real possibility that the composer has chosen to use a wider phonetic range than simply \*-ŋ final words in this text in those sections featuring acoustic patterning.

#### Section 4

Most of this section shows no use of phonorhetorical devices, but the final four lines employ the same words with \*-ŋ finals in phrase-final position as seen in sections 2 and 3: “king” 王 \*Gʷaŋ, “people” 民 \*miŋ and “command” 命 \*mə-riŋ-s. As the lines are of differing lengths, this seems to be simply another example of patterned prose featuring final consonance.

In this section Karlgren has proposed another relatively loosely-structured AXXA frame rhyme; while the words “sincere” 忱 \*t.əəm and “heart” 心 \*səm would rhyme perfectly, this may actually be another indication of what was actually a larger cross-rhyming phonorhetorical pattern: AXXAa (in a 4-5-4-4-5-4 graph metric structure); “people” 民 \*miŋ at the end of the final line would thus conclude the pattern of consonance, just as it clearly ends the passage semantically.

#### Section 5

This speech is the first of the three in this chapter that seems to employ no phonorhetorical devices or acoustic patterning. This is possibly because the content centers upon the specific use of punishments for greater or lesser crimes, as opposed to the larger discussion of the king and government’s relationship to the people that has dominated the text to this point.

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<sup>184</sup> According to Wang Li, there is one occurrence of an \*-an final *yuan* 元 rhyme group word cross-rhyming with an \*-aŋ final *yang* rhyme group word in the *Classic of Poetry*, but no examples of \*-un final *wen* 文 rhyme group words cross-rhyming with \*-uŋ final *dong* 冬 rhyme group words. See Wang, *Shi jing yun du*, 28–36, and Baxter, *Handbook*, 255, 257, 299 and 423.

### Section 6

The phonological patterning and phonorhetorical structure featured in the last five lines of this section is more empirically reliable than anywhere else in the text, as it features the exact same word, “people” 人 \*niŋ, in phrase-final position for four of the five lines. There is a great deal of parallel construction and repetition in this final subsection, with “It is not you, Feng” (非汝封 \*pəj \*naʔ \*poŋ) at the beginning of the first and third lines (*anaphora*), the highly consonant “inflict harsh punishments upon people and execute people” (刑人殺人 \*ɕʰeŋ \*niŋ \*sat \*niŋ) closing the first and second lines (*epistrophe*), and “do not of yourself” (無或 \*ma \*ɕʰwək) beginning lines two and five (*anaphora*). The ending two lines are both tetrasyllabic and grammatically parallel, ending with the same compound, “[inflict] slicing punishments upon people” (劓人 \*ŋʷət \*niŋ, another example of *epistrophe*), mirroring the repeated phonological pattern in the first and second lines. As the second graphs in these parallel tetrasyllabic lines seem to have the same initial as well, 曰 \*ɕʰwat in line one and 或 \*ɕʰwək in line two, the repetitive phonorhetorical effects employed throughout these lines would have been quite powerful.<sup>185</sup>

### Section 7

This speech is the second of the three in this chapter which seems to employ no overt acoustic patterning in terms of end-rhyme; that said, the final line could be viewed at potentially containing an alliterative binome (丕蔽 \*pʰrə \*pet-s) followed by two near-rhyming graphs (要 \*ʔew-s and 囚 \*sə.lu traditionally fall into different rhyme groups but have proximate medial vowels). As discussed briefly above and in Appendix 2, a relative lack of solid evidence for the reconstruction of Old Chinese initials means that we should be particularly cautious when attempting to evaluate alliterative patterns.

<sup>185</sup> For a discussion of repetition and its use as a rhetorical intensifier in the *shi* 誓 chapters of the *Classic of Documents*, see Kern, “The ‘Harangues’ (*Shi* 誓) in the *Shangshu*” in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)* eds. Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer (2017), 291–2.

### Section 8

Whether or not this speech is employing a phonorhetorical device via the final graphs in its last five lines is one of the more intriguing questions this text raises. The lines are 5-4-5-4-3 graphs long; the final graphs in lines 1, 3, 4 and 5 are:

“crimes”	罪	*Cə.dz <sup>s</sup> uj?
“property”	貨	*q <sup>whs</sup> aj-s
“death”	死	*sij?
“abhor”	慙	*dúih (reconstructed pronunciation from Schuessler)

As is immediately evident, each of these words features the same final phoneme \*-j (in Schuessler’s system, \*-i is essentially equivalent to Baxter’s \*-j), even though the medial vowels are different. In addition, with the exception of “property,” each of these words represents something negative. As there has been speculation that ranges of words featuring final consonants and similar lexical weights formed a type of “poetic vocabulary” in early Chinese texts (for example, words with \*-ŋ finals tend to be words of power and grandeur while words with \*-k finals often center on the keyword “virtue” 德 \*tʰək and others with similarly positive connotations), this section may well indicate a similar group of words with \*-j finals, but centered on negative connotations.<sup>186</sup>

### Section 9

This very long section is comprised of three speeches (assuming the 曰 \*G<sup>wat</sup> “it is said” marks a new speech and not a quote within the previous speech), mainly focused on the disorder caused to society by those who commit crimes and act in amoral ways. In the final section of the second speech, however, the speech returns to the role of the king’s command in guiding the people toward morality and righteousness, and in most of these lines the final word has an \*-ŋ final: “elder” 長 \*traŋ?, “people” 人 \*niŋ, “upstanding” 正 \*teŋ-s (here designating of a type of high-ranking official),<sup>187</sup> “command” 命 \*mə-riŋ-s and “peoples” 民 \*miŋ.

<sup>186</sup> It is worth noting, however, that when one looks at the rhyme words from the *yang* 陽 rhyme group in the *Classic of Poetry*, while there are many words in these series with unambiguously positive connotations, there are many occurrences (at least twenty-five, by my count) of words in rhyme position with negative connotations, such as *shang* 傷, *wang* 亡, *wang* 忘, *sang* 喪 and *kuang* 狂.

<sup>187</sup> In the *Shang shu zheng yi* 《尚書正義》 *wai zheng* 外正 is glossed as “外正官”; following Hucker, this would refer to a Zhou-period “First Class Administrative Official” with an appoint-

There are four additional points of interest regarding the euphonic devices at work in these speeches. First, in the section featuring words with \*-ŋ finals in the phrase-final position, in two of the three lines that do not end with a word with an \*-ŋ final, the word “respect” 敬 \*kreŋ-s falls in the penultimate position; whether this graph would then constitute part of the repetitive \*-ŋ euphonic effect in these lines, even though it is not the final graph in the line, is worth consideration. Secondly, the word “statute” 典 which falls at the end of the sixth line in this sequence is reconstructed as \*tʰərʔ in the 2011 Baxter-Sagart system, but has previously always been reconstructed with the final \*-ən, and thus (as in section 3) might well constitute part of the euphonic pattern. Third, there are two tetrasyllabic lines midway through the second speech which end in words with \*-a finals, “disseminate” 敷 \*pʰa and “praise” 譽 \*m-qa-s; they form a perfectly rhyming couplet identical in construction to those featured throughout the *Classic of Poetry*, but as the lines also fit well within the larger context, they are most likely best viewed as an elegant phonorhetorical flourish within the text rather than an independent bit of poetry. Lastly, in this passage there are two runs of three graphs that would likely have had identical initial consonants (克恭厥 \*kʰsək \*koŋ \*kot and 別播敷 \*pret \*pʰarʔ-s \*pʰa) and thus potentially provide evidence of the intentional use of alliteration; there are a number of these cases throughout the *Documents*, but our overall lack of evidence for the initials makes it unwise to attempt to draw empirical conclusions from these types of patterns at this point. It is the hope of this author that further research into acoustic patterns like these will allow us to both better substantiate the initials and to begin to discern how widespread the use of alliteration and similar acoustic devices was during these formative periods.

### Section 10

This speech is the last of the three in this chapter which seems to employ no phonorhetorical devices nor acoustic patterning.

### Section 11

In this speech we have the reverse of what has been the normal pattern, as rather than the ending lines, here three of the opening five lines feature words with \*-ŋ

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ment outside the palace. See Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (1995), 122 and 559.

finals: “implementation” 行 \*gʳraŋ-s, “quiet” 靜 \*dzeŋ and “assimilate” 同 \*ʔoŋ. The real question, as indicated above, is whether the other two lines, both of which have words with \*-m finals in the phrase-final position, also constitute part of the euphonic pattern. According to Wang Li, there are several examples of \*-əm final *qin* 侵 rhyme group words cross-rhyming with \*-əŋ final *zheng* 蒸 rhyme group words in the *Classic of Poetry*, as well as examples of \*-am final *dan* 淡 rhyme group words cross-rhyming with \*-aŋ final *yang* 陽 rhyme group words, so there is a good possibility that all the words with sonorant final consonants are being employed for similar euphonic effect in this text.

### Section 12

This short speech contains another example of the use of the same word in two parallel septasyllabic lines in phrase-final position (“virtue” 德 \*tʰək), and is thus another relatively empirically verifiable euphonic device. As the grammatical breaks at the fourth word in the first line and the third graph in the second line also end in words which rhyme perfectly, “sincerely” 忱 \*t.ɣəm in the first line and “heart” 心 \*səm in the second, the euphony in these lines should perhaps be viewed as an ABAB 4-3-3-4 construction instead of simply as a septasyllabic perfectly rhymed couplet.

A different issue concerns the final two lines, where (as in section 3 above) a word ending in \*-eŋ (“peace” 寧 \*nʰeŋ) is juxtaposed against a word ending in \*-ən (“destruction” 殄 \*dʰənʔ), and though the lines are tetrasyllabic, whether (as discussed above) this is intentional euphony or not remains unclear. That said, the construction of the next section may help resolve the situation. Karlgren’s proposal that “virtue” 德 \*tʰək and “plan” 猷 \*ju form a rhyming pair here is most likely simply an error.

### Section 13

In this speech, every line except for one ends with a word ending in \*-ŋ, providing the clearest example of consistent phrase-final final consonance in the text, and is also the second series in this text which seems to have been correctly identified by Karlgren. The one word which does not have an \*-ŋ final is “destruction” 殄 \*dʰənʔ (Karlgren preferred a perfect rhyme here based on the following word 享 \*qʰaŋʔ, though this seems difficult to support based on the grammar), which in the previous section falls in parallel position in a tetrasyllabic couplet with a word with an \*-ŋ final, and given the high number of \*-n final words placed in phrase-final position throughout this text, it seems relatively clear that this line (and the other lines like it) very likely do make up part of an intentional euphonic construction.

### Section 14

There are two elements in this final speech which mark it as unconventional when compared with texts which employ the type of phrase-final consonantal consonance detailed in this volume. First, the opening line repeats the *ruo* 若 (“approved of”) in *wang ruo yue* 王若曰 \*G<sup>w</sup>aj \*nak \*G<sup>w</sup>at (“the king approved of saying”) as seen in the first speech. The use of *ruo* is normally reserved for only the first indication of the main speaker (usually the king in these texts), and immediately sets this speech apart from those which precede it. Secondly, there are no obvious euphonic devices nor acoustic patterns here at all, which by itself wouldn’t indicate anything remarkable, except that in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, the overwhelming majority feature phonological patterning and phrase-final consonantal consonance in the final coda. As such, this final section stands as an intriguing coda to the chapter, phonorhetorically distinct from the sections which precede it, yet in terms of content relatively consistent with the rest of the chapter and a fitting conclusion to the text.

### General Comments on the “Announcement to Kang” 〈康誥〉

As the above analyses demonstrate, the “Announcement to Kang” employs a wide variety of phonorhetorical devices. Similar to the patterns in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, sections featuring phrase-final final consonance are interspersed with sections which have no apparent acoustic patterning, and on occasion non-consonant lines occur within the discernable phonological patterns as well. Again, much like in the bronze inscriptions, the main type of pattern is the repetition of \*-ŋ final words in phrase-final position; these occur in eight of the fourteen sections. (Words in phrase-final position which end in the sonorants \*-n and \*-m may also have contributed to the patterns of consonance due to their phonetic proximity to \*-ŋ.) While most of the words in phrase-final position featuring final sonorants have great import and are often associated with royal power and grandeur, it must be noted that this is not true of all terms, nor of the rhymed passages employing final glides or a final \*-a (as in Section 8 and the couplet midway through Section 9); whether there was truly a “language of command” centered on these terms remains debatable. There are also potential sequences of final consonance based on the final \*-k (Sections 2 and 12) and the final glide \*-j (Section 8) but their use in this chapter is relatively sparse and it is difficult to come to any definitive conclusions about their acoustic function.

Along with the larger euphonic patterns, the chapter includes a few lines of perfectly rhyming tetrasyllabic poetry, so it can be inferred that a true “poetic” construction (akin to that found in the *Poetry*) was likely known to the composer(s) of these speeches. Finally, in a construction not found in the Western Zhou bronze

inscriptions, the “Announcement to Kang” features a few occurrences of entire phrases repeated for rhetorical effect (*anaphora*, *epistrophe* and refrain/*epimone*); this specific euphonic structure will be further discussed at length in the analyses of the next chapter, the “Numerous Regions.”

### “The Numerous Regions” 《尚書·多方》

Of the ten chapters in the *Classic of Documents* that were most likely composed during the Western Zhou, outside the five “Announcement” (*gao* 誥) chapters, the “Numerous Regions” contains the most extensive examples of clearly-identifiable phonorhetorical structures and euphony. Its phonorhetorical patterns are generally similar to those in the “Announcement to Kang,” though again, there are significant divergences between these patterns and those documented above from the Western Zhou bronze inscriptional corpus.

Like the “Announcement to Kang,” this chapter is divided into speeches at the marker “the king said” (*wang yue* 王曰 \*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ \*G<sup>w</sup>at), with *ruo* 若 interjected in both the first and second speeches (as discussed above in the analyses of the “Announcement to Kang” Section 2, this potentially indicates a composite construction or a repeated emphasis on these first two compositions). After the introductory section, the opening speech provides a bit of historiography concerning the rise and fall of the Xia and Shang dynasties, and its final section describes how appropriate use of punishments can serve as a primary motivator to encourage the people. The second speech is comprised of two main parts: the first half recounts the moral turpitude which caused the fall of the Xia and Shang dynasties, while the second half is filled with rhetorical flourishes and repeatedly states the need to follow Heaven’s command, ending with a short description of previous (failed) attempts by the Zhou to bring the Shang people to moral rectitude. The third speech begins the formal announcement, urges harmony and promises to reward diligence and service. The final speech is a warning of the punishments for noncompliance, and at the very end, a call for a “new beginning.”

**Table 10:** The “Numerous Regions”: Phonology and Translation.

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**Section 1: Date and *mise-en-scène***

---

惟 五 月 丁 亥 ，

\*ɣʷij \*C.ŋʰa? \*ŋʷat \*tʰeŋ \*gʰəʔ

It was the fifth month, day *dinghai*;

王 來 自 奄 ，

\*ɣʷaŋ \*rʰək \*S.bit-s \*ʔomʔ

The king came from Yan

至 于 宗 周 。

\*tit-s \*ɣʷa \*tsʰuŋ \*tiw

And arrived at Zongzhou.

---

**Section 2.1: Speech 1, Part 1: Narrators named, opening announcement**

---

周 公 曰 ：

\*tiw \*C.qʰoŋ \*ɣʷat

The Duke of Zhou said,

「王 若 曰 ：

\*ɣʷaŋ \*nak \*ɣʷat

“The king approved of saying:

『猷 ！

\*ju (S)

‘Hark!

告 爾 四 國 多 方 ，

\*kʰuk-s \*neʔ \*s.lij-s \*kʰwək \*t-lʰaj \*C.paŋ

I announce to you, the four states and numerous **regions**,

惟 爾 殷 侯 尹 民 。

\*ɣʷij \*neʔ \*ʔər \*gʰo \*m-qurʔ \*miŋ

It is you who were Yin’s lords and administrators of the **people**.

我 惟 大 降 爾 命 ，

\*ŋʰajʔ \*ɣʷij \*lʰat-s \*kʰruŋ-s \*neʔ \*mə-riŋ-s

It is I who greatly sent down your **commands**,

爾 罔 不 知 。

\*neʔ \*C.maŋʔ \*pə \*tre

You must all take heed.

---



Table 10 (continued)

## Section 2.2: Speech 1, Part 2: How Xia and Shang lost “Heaven’s command”

洪 惟 圖[鄙]<sup>188</sup> 天 之 命 ,  
 \*gōŋ (S) \*gʷij \*dʰa[\*prəʔ] \*ʃin \*tə \*mə-rin-s

Greatly scorned was Heaven’s command,

弗 永 寅 念 于 祀 。  
 \*put \*gʷraŋʔ \*gər \*nʰim-s \*gʷa \*s-gəʔ

[The king] did not eternally abide by and consider it in the sacrifices.

惟 帝 降 格 于 夏 ,  
 \*gʷij \*tʰek-s \*kʰruŋ-s \*kʰrak \*gʷa \*gʰraʔ

It was the Lord who sent it down to Xia;

有 夏 誕 厥 逸 ,  
 \*gʷəʔ \*gʰraʔ \*lânʔ (S) \*kot \*lit

The Sovereign of Xia extended his indolence,

不 肯 感 言 于 民 ;  
 \*pə \*khəŋʔ (S) \*s-tʰiʷk \*ŋan \*gʷa \*miŋ

And did not harken to the greivances from the people;

乃 大 淫 昏 ,  
 \*nʰəʔ \*lʰat-s \*N.rəm \*ŋʰun

He was greatly licentious and confused,

不 克 終 日 勸 于 帝 之 迪 ,  
 \*pə \*kʰʰək \*tuŋ \*C.nit \*C.qʷhʰar-s \*gʷa \*tʰek-s \*tə \*liùk (S)

And could not in the end encourage the Lord’s guidance,

乃 爾 攸 聞 。  
 \*nʰəʔ \*neʔ \*liw \*mun

Thus you have heard about it.

厥 圖[鄙] 帝 之 命 ,  
 \*kot \*dʰa[\*prəʔ] \*tʰek-s \*tə \*mə-rin-s

As he scorned the Lord’s command,

不 克 開 于 民 之 麗 ;  
 \*pə \*kʰʰək \*kʰʰəj \*gʷa \*miŋ \*tə \*rʰe-s

He could not provide what the people deserved;

188 Throughout this chapter, the graph *tu* 圖 “to plan” is read as *bi* 鄙 “to despise/scorn” following the paleographic analysis by Yu Xingwu 于省吾; see Yu, *Shuangjianchi Shang shu xin zheng* 《雙劍謄尚書新證》 (Reprint: Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), 146–147.

Table 10 (continued)

---

乃	大	降	罰	,					
*nʰəʔ	*lʰat-s	*kʰruŋ-s	*bat						
[The Lord] greatly sent down punishments,									
崇[重] <sup>189</sup>	亂	有	夏	。					
*dzuŋ [*m-troŋ]	*rʰon-s	*ɣwəʔ	*ɣʰraʔ						
Repeatedly disordered was the sovereign of Xia.									
因	甲	于	內	亂	,				
*ʔin	*kʰrap	*ɣwa	*nʰəp-s	*rʰon-s					
Primarily because of the internal chaos,									
不	克	靈	承	于	旅	,			
*pə	*kʰək	*rʰeŋ	*dəŋ	*ɣwa	*raʔ				
He could not enlightenedly hold onto the people,									
罔	丕	惟	進	之	恭	,			
*C.maŋʔ	*pʰrə	*ɣwij	*tsin-s	*tə	*koŋ				
Was not great at promoting the respected,									
洪	舒	于	民	。					
*gōŋ (S)	*ʃa	*ɣwa	*miŋ						
Or greatly caring toward the people.									
亦	惟	有	夏	之	民	叨	愼	,	
*gak	*ɣwij	*ɣwəʔ	*ɣʰraʔ	*tə	*miŋ	*thâu (S)	*təts (S)		
Also, it was the sovereign of Xia's people who felt his cruelty and resented him,									
日	欽	劓〔刖〕	割	夏	邑	。			
*C.nit	*khəm (S)	[*ŋʷat]	*Cə-kʰat	*ɣʰraʔ	*qəp				
Daily were issued slicing and cutting punishments in the Xia cities.									
天	惟	時(是)	求	民	主	,			
*ʃin	*ɣwij	*də(*deʔ)	*gu	*miŋ	*toʔ				
Heaven for this [reason] searched for a new ruler for the people,									
乃	大	降	顯	休	命	于	成	湯	,
*nʰəʔ	*lʰat-s	*kʰruŋ-s	*qʰenʔ	*qʰu	*mə-riŋ-s	*ɣwa	*deŋ	*ʃaŋ	
And greatly sent down the beneficent command to Cheng Tang,									
刑	殄	有	夏	。					
*ɣeŋ	*dʰənʔ	*ɣwəʔ	*ɣʰraʔ						
Punishing and destroying the sovereign of Xia.									

---

189 Qu Wanli 屈萬里 notes “to worship” *chong* 崇 means “to repeat” *chong* 重 according to the *Er ya* 《爾雅》; following most reconstructions, however, they would not have been homonyms. Here it probably means something like “time and again.” See Qu Wanli 屈萬里, *Shang shu ji shi* 尚書集釋 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1983), 214–215.

Table 10 (continued)

---

惟	天	不	畀	純	，			
*ɣwij	*ʃin	*pə	*pik-s	*dun				
It was Heaven which did not give [the sovereign of Xia] <b>purity</b> ,								
乃	惟	以	爾	多	方	之	義	民
*nʰəʔ	*ɣwij	*ləʔ	*neʔ	*t-lʰaj	*C.paŋ	*tə	*ŋaj-s	*miŋ
And even by using your numerous regions' righteous <b>peoples</b>								
不	克	永	于	多	享	。		
*pə	*kʰək	*ɣwraŋʔ	*ɣwa	*t-lʰaj	*qʰaŋʔ			
[The sovereign of Xia] could not eternally maintain the numerous <b>ritual sacrifices</b> .								
惟	夏	之	恭	多	士			
*ɣwij	*ɣraʔ	*tə	*koŋ	*t-lʰaj	*m-s-rəʔ			
Even Xia's numerous diligent officers								
大	不	克	明	保	享	于	民	，
*ʃat-s	*pə	*kʰək	*mraŋ	*pʰuʔ	*qʰaŋʔ	*ɣwa	*miŋ	
Greatly could not brightly protect the receipt [of Heaven's commands] by the <b>people</b> ,								
乃	胥	惟	虐	于	民	，		
*nʰəʔ	*sa (S)	*ɣwij	*ŋawk	*ɣwa	*miŋ			
And all tyrannized the <b>people</b> ,								
至	于	百	為	，				
*tit-s	*ɣwa	*pʰrak	*ɣwaj					
Extending to hundreds of <b>acts</b> ,								
大	不	克	開	。				
*ʃat-s	*pə	*kʰək	*kʰəj					
So great that they were unable to be <b>released</b> .								

---

### Section 2.3: Speech 1, Part 3: How Cheng Tang and the previous Shang kings used punishments

---

乃	惟	成	湯	克	以	爾	多	方	，
*nʰəʔ	*ɣwij	*deŋ	*ʃaŋ	*kʰək	*ləʔ	*neʔ	*t-lʰaj	*C.paŋ	
Then it was Cheng Tang who was able to use your numerous regions,									
簡	代	夏	，						
*kʰrenʔ	*ʃək-s	*ɣraʔ							
Removed and replaced the Xia,									
作	民	主	。						
*tsʰak-s	*miŋ	*toʔ							
And was made the people's ruler.									
慎	厥	麗	、	乃	勸	，			
*Cə.lin-s	*kot	*rʰe-s		*nʰəʔ	*C.qʰar-s / *khwans (S)				
Careful with his legal justice, [Cheng Tang] <b>encouraged</b> [the people],									

---

Table 10 (continued)

厥 民 刑(型) 、 用 勸 ，  
 \*kɔt \*miŋ \*g'eŋ \*m.loŋ-s \*C.q<sup>wh</sup>ar-s

His people served as models, and were thereby **encouraged**,

以 至 于 帝 乙 。  
 \*ləʔ \*tit-s \*g<sup>w</sup>a \*t<sup>ʰ</sup>ek-s \*qrət

Extending down to [the reign of] Di Yi.

罔 不 明 德 慎 罰 ，  
 \*C.maŋʔ \*pə \*mraŋ \*t<sup>ʰ</sup>ək \*Cə.lin-s \*bat

None [after Cheng Tang] were not brightly virtuous and careful in using punishments,

亦 克 用 勸 。  
 \*gak \*k<sup>h</sup>ək \*m.loŋ-s \*C.q<sup>wh</sup>ar-s

**They also were able thereby to encourage [the people].**

要 囚 ，  
 \*ʔew-s \*sə.lu

In criminal cases,

殄 戮 多 罪 ，  
 \*d<sup>ʰ</sup>ənʔ \*riwk \*t-l<sup>ʰ</sup>aj \*Cə.dz<sup>ʰ</sup>ujʔ

Destroyed and executed were numerous criminals,

亦 克 用 勸 。  
 \*gak \*k<sup>h</sup>ək \*m.loŋ-s \*C.q<sup>wh</sup>ar-s

**They also were able thereby to encourage [the people].**

開 釋 無 辜 ，  
 \*k<sup>h</sup>əj \*l<sup>ʰ</sup>ak \*ma \*kâ (S)

Set free were the innocent,

亦 克 用 勸 。  
 \*gak \*k<sup>h</sup>ək \*m.loŋ-s \*C.q<sup>wh</sup>ar-s

**They also were able thereby to encourage [the people].**

今 至 于 爾 辟 ，  
 \*krəm \*tit-s \*g<sup>w</sup>a \*neʔ \*pek

Now, when it comes to your sovereign,

弗 克 以 爾 多 方  
 \*put \*k<sup>h</sup>ək \*l<sup>ʰ</sup>aʔ \*neʔ \*t-l<sup>ʰ</sup>aj \*C.paŋ

He could not use your numerous **regions**

享 天 之 命 。  
 \*q<sup>h</sup>aŋʔ \*l<sup>ʰ</sup>iŋ \*tə \*mə-riŋ-s

And enjoy Heaven's **commands**.'

Table 10 (continued)

## Section 3.1: Speech 2, Part 1: Moral grounds for the fall of Xia and Shang

嗚 呼 ！

\*ʔa \*qʰa

*Wu-hu!*

王 若 曰 ：

\*ɣwəŋ \*nak \*ɣwat

The king approved of saying:

『誥〔告〕 爾 多 方 』，

\*kʰuk-s [ \*kʰuk-s ] \*neʔ \*t-lʰaj \*C.paŋ

'I announce to you, those of the numerous regions,

非 天 庸 釋 有 夏 』，

\*pəj \*ʃin \*loŋ (S) \*ʃak \*ɣwəʔ \*ɣʰraʔ

It was not Heaven which abandoned the sovereign of Xia,

非 天 庸 釋 有 殷 。

\*pəj \*ʃin \*loŋ (S) \*ʃak \*ɣwəʔ \*ʔər

It was not Heaven which abandoned the sovereign of Yin.

乃 惟 爾 辟 』，

\*nʰəʔ \*ɣwɨj \*neʔ \*pek

It was your sovereign,

以 爾 多 方 』，

\*ləʔ \*neʔ \*t-lʰaj \*C.paŋ

Using your numerous **regions**,

大 淫 圖〔鄙〕 天 之 命 』，

\*fət-s \*N.rəm \*dʰa[\*prəʔ] \*ʃin \*tə \*mə-rin-s

Who was greatly licentious and scorned Heaven's **command**,

屑 有 辭 。

\*N.rit \*ɣwəʔ \*sə.lə

And in many small ways was criticized.

乃 惟 有 夏 圖〔鄙〕 厥 政<sup>K1</sup> 』，

\*nʰəʔ \*ɣwɨj \*ɣwəʔ \*ɣʰraʔ \*dʰa[\*prəʔ] \*kot \*ten-s

It was the sovereign of Xia who scorned its **governance**,

不 集 于 享<sup>K1</sup> 』；

\*pə \*dzəp \*ɣwa \*qʰaŋʔ

And did not properly order the **ritual sacrifices**;

天 降 時(是) 喪<sup>K1</sup> 』，

\*ʃin \*kʰruŋ-s \*də(\*deʔ) \*s-mʰaŋ-s

Heaven sent down this **ruin**,

Table 10 (continued)

有 邦 間 之 。

\*ɣwəʔ \*pʰroŋ \*N-kʰren \*tə

And a ruler of [another] state took his place.

乃 惟 爾 商 後 王<sup>K1</sup> 逸 厥 逸(偷) ，

\*nʰəʔ \*ɣwij \*neʔ \*s-taŋ \*ɣoʔ-s \*ɣwaŋ \*lit \*kot \*lit(\*ʰo)

Thus it was your last king of Shang who was extreme in his leisure,

圖[鄙] 厥 政<sup>K1</sup> ，

\*dʰa[\*prəʔ] \*kot \*teŋ-s

Scorned his **governance**,

不 灋 絜<sup>K1</sup> ，

\*pə \*kwən (S) \*təŋ

And did not with purity perform the **sacrifices**;

天 惟 降 時(是) 喪<sup>K1</sup> 。

\*ʰin \*ɣwij \*kʰruŋ-s \*də(\*deʔ) \*s-mʰaŋ-s

Heaven it was which sent down this **ruin**.

**Section 3.2: Speech 2, Part 2: Moral grounds for the fall of Xia and Shang, part 2**

惟 聖 罔 念 作 狂<sup>K1</sup> ，

\*ɣwij \*ʰeŋ-s \*C.maŋʔ \*nʰim-s \*tsʰak \*k-ɣwaŋ

*The sage who does not think deeply will become a **fool**,*

惟 狂 克 念 作 聖<sup>K1</sup> 。

\*ɣwij \*k-ɣwaŋ \*kʰʰək \*nʰim-s \*tsʰak \*ʰeŋ-s

*The fool who can think deeply will become a **sage**.*

天 惟 五 年 須 暇 之 子 孫 ，

\*ʰin \*ɣwij \*C.ŋʰaʔ \*C.nʰiŋ \*s-no \*gʰra-s \*tə \*tsəʔ \*sʰun

Heaven for five years waited patiently for [Cheng Tang's] descendent

誕 作 民 主 ；

\*lânʔ (S) \*tsʰak \*miŋ \*toʔ

To become great and made the people's ruler;

罔 可 念 聽 。

\*C.maŋʔ \*kʰʰajʔ \*nʰim-s \*ʰeŋ

But never was he able to consider this or follow [Heaven's command].

天 惟 求 爾 多 方 ，

\*ʰin \*ɣwij \*gu \*neʔ \*t-ʰaj \*C.paŋ

Heaven searched throughout your numerous regions,

大 動 以 威 ，

\*ʰat-s \*Cə-m-tʰoŋʔ \*ləʔ \*ʔuj

Greatly moving [the people] by means of its awesome power,

Table 10 (continued)

開 厥 顧 天 。

\*Nə-kʰəj \*kot \*kʷaʔ-s \*ʃin

Inspiring those who looked up to Heaven.

惟 爾 多 方 罔 堪 顧 之 。

\*ɣwij \*ne? \*t-lʰaj \*C.paŋ \*C.maŋ? \*kʰəəm \*kʷaʔ-s \*tə

Of your numerous regions, none could look up to it.

惟 我 周 王 靈 承 于 旅 ，

\*ɣwij \*ŋʰaj? \*tiw \*ɣwaŋ \*rʰeŋ \*dəŋ \*ɣwa \*ra?

Our king of Zhou enlightenedly held onto the people,

克 堪 用 德 ，

\*kʰək \*kʰəəm \*m.loŋ-s \*tʰək

Able to make use of virtue

惟 典 神 天 。

\*ɣwij \*tʰər? \*Cə.lin \*ʃin

And the statutes for [sacrifices to] the spirits and Heaven.

天 惟 式 教 我 用 休 ，

\*ʃin \*ɣwij \*ʃək \*kʰraw \*ŋʰaj? \*m.loŋ-s \*qʰu

Heaven regulated and taught us using munificence,

簡 畀 殷 命 ，

\*kʰren? \*pik-s \*ʔər \*mə-riŋ-s

Removed [from Shang] and bestowed [upon Zhou] Yin's **command**,

尹 爾 多 方 。

\*m-qur? \*ne? \*t-lʰaj \*C.paŋ

To rule over your numerous **regions**.

### Section 3.3: Speech 2, Part 3: On the need to follow Heaven's command

今 我 曷 敢 多 誥 ？

\*krəm \*ŋʰaj? \*gʰat \*kʰam? \*t-lʰaj \*kʰuk-s

Now, why dare I to make these numerous announcements?

我 惟 大 降 爾 四 國 民 命 。

\*ŋʰaj? \*ɣwij \*ʃat-s \*kʰruŋ-s \*ne? \*s.lij-s \*kʰək \*miŋ \*mə-riŋ-s

I greatly sent down your four states' peoples' **commands**.

爾 曷 不 忱 裕 之 于 爾 多 方 ？

\*ne? \*gʰat \*pə \*t.ɣəm \*ʃokh (S) \*tə \*ɣwa \*ne? \*t-lʰaj \*C.paŋ

Why are you not sincere in making prosperous your numerous **regions**?

爾 曷 不 夾 介 乂 我 周 王 ，

\*ne? \*gʰat \*pə \*C.kʰep \*kʰrep-s \*ŋat-s \*ŋʰaj? \*tiw \*ɣwaŋ

Why do you not assist and aid the governance of our **kings** of Zhou,

Table 10 (continued)

---

享	天	之	命	?						
*qʰaŋʔ	*ʃin	*tə	*mə-riŋ-s							
And enjoy Heaven's <b>command</b> ?										
今	爾	尚	宅	爾	宅	,	畋	爾	田	,
*krəm	*neʔ	*daŋ-s	*m-tʰak	*neʔ	*m-tʰak		*ʃin-s	*neʔ	*ʃiŋ	
Now, you still dwell in your dwellings, cultivate your fields;										
爾	曷	不	惠	王	熙	天	之	命	?	
*neʔ	*gʰat	*pə	*ɣʷiŋ-s	*ɣʷaŋ	*qʰə	*ʃin	*tə	*mə-riŋ-s		
Why do you not help the king to broaden Heaven's <b>command</b> ?										
爾	乃	迪	屢	不	靜	,				
*neʔ	*nʰəʔ	*liûk (S)	*C.roʔ-s	*pə	*dzeŋ (S)					
You go around repeatedly causing unrest,										
爾	心	未	愛	,						
*neʔ	*səm	*mət-s	*qʰəp-s							
Your hearts have not yet love;										
爾	乃	不	大	宅	天	命	,			
*neʔ	*nʰəʔ	*pə	*ʃat-s	*m-tʰak	*ʃin	*mə-riŋ-s				
You do not greatly dwell in Heaven's <b>command</b> ,										
爾	乃	屑	播	天	命	。				
*neʔ	*nʰəʔ	*lit (S)	*pʰarʔ-s	*ʃin	*mə-riŋ-s					
You discard as trifling Heaven's <b>command</b> .										
爾	乃	自	作	不	典	,				
*neʔ	*nʰəʔ	*N-tsit-s	*tsʰak	*pə	*tʰarʔ					
You yourselves are lawless,										
圖[鄙]	忱	于	正	。						
*dʰa [ʰprəʔ]	*t.ɣəm	*ɣʷa	*teŋ-s							
Scorning sincerity towards what is correct.										

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**Section 3.4: Speech 2, Part 4: Recounting of previous attempts to rectify the Shang people**

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我	惟	時(是)	其	教	告	之	,	
*ŋʰajʔ	*ɣʷij	*də(*deʔ)	*gə	*kʰraw	*kʰuk	*tə		
I in this have instructed and declared to you,								
我	惟	時(是)	其	戰	要	囚	之	,
*ŋʰajʔ	*ɣʷij	*də(*deʔ)	*gə	*tar-s	*ʔew-s	*sə.lu	*tə	
I in this have battled and imprisoned you,								
至	于	再	,	至	于	三	。	
*tit-s	*ɣʷa	*tsʰə-s		*tit-s	*ɣʷa	*srum		
Extending to a second time, extending to a third.								

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Table 10 (continued)

乃 有 不 用 我 降 爾 命 ,  
 \*nʰəʔ \*ɥwəʔ \*pə \*m.loŋ-s \*ŋʰajʔ \*kʰruŋ-s \*neʔ \*mæ-riŋ-s

[If you] do not **make use of** my **conferred-upon-you commands**,

我 乃 其 大 罰 殛(極) 之 。  
 \*ŋʰajʔ \*nʰəʔ \*gə \*lʰat-s \*bat \*kək (S)(\*N-kək) \*tə

I will greatly punish or execute you for it.

非 我 有 周 秉 德 不 康 寧 ,  
 \*pəj \*ŋʰajʔ \*ɥwəʔ \*tiw \*praŋʔ \*tʰək \*pə \*k-lʰaŋ \*nʰeŋ

It is not that I, sovereign of Zhou, hold virtue **unpeacefully**,

乃 惟 爾 自 速 辜 。 』  
 \*nʰəʔ \*ɥwij \*neʔ \*N-tsit-s \*sʰok \*kâ (S)

It is only you yourselves who accelerate your crimes.

#### Section 4.1: Speech 3, Part 1: Formal announcement and a warning

王 曰 :  
 \*ɥwəŋ \*ɥwat

The king said:

『 嗚 呼 ! 猷 !  
 \*ʔʰa \*qʰʰa \*ju (S)

‘*Wu-hu!* Hark!

告 爾  
 \*kʰuk \*neʔ

I announce to you,

有 方 多 士 ,  
 \*ɥwəʔ \*C.paŋ \*t-lʰaj \*m-s-rəʔ

the regions’ **numerous officers**,

暨 殷 多 士 ,  
 \*grəp-s \*ʔər \*t-lʰaj \*m-s-rəʔ

And Yin’s **numerous officers**,

今 爾 奔 走 臣 我 監 五 祀 。  
 \*krəm \*neʔ \*pʰur \*tsʰoʔ \*gin \*ŋʰajʔ \*kʰram-s \*C.ŋʰaʔ \*s-ɥəʔ

Now, you have been rushing about, serving as ministers to my supervisors for five years.

越 惟 有 胥 伯 小 大 多 正 ,  
 \*ɥwat \*ɥwij \*ɥwəʔ \*sa (S) \*pʰrak \*sewʔ \*lʰat-s \*t-lʰaj \*C.teŋ

Further, there are the lower officials and elders, the lesser and greater numerous officials,

爾 罔 不 克 臬 。  
 \*neʔ \*C.maŋʔ \*pə \*kʰʰək \*ŋrat (S)

Among you, none shall not abide by the laws.

Table 10 (continued)

**Section 4.2: Speech 3, Part 2: Repeated phrases urging harmony**

自 作 不 和 ，

\*N-tsit \*tsʰak- \*pə \*ɣʰoj

-s s

You yourselves have created disharmony,

爾 惟 和 哉 ！

\*ne? \*ɣʰij \*ɣʰoj \*tsʰə

**You [should] be harmonious!**

爾 室 不 睦 ，

\*ne? \*s.tit \*pə \*mruk

Your homes are not at peace/concordant,

爾 惟 和 哉 ！

\*ne? \*ɣʰij \*ɣʰoj \*tsʰə

**You [should] be harmonious!**

**Section 4.3: Speech 3, Part 3: Promise to reward diligence and service**

爾 邑 克 明 ，

\*ne? \*qəp \*kʰək \*mraŋ

Your cities can be resplendant,

爾 惟 克 勤 乃 事<sup>K2</sup> ；

\*ne? \*ɣʰij \*kʰək \*gər \*nʰə? \*m-s-rəʔ-s

[if] you are diligent in your works;

爾 尚 不 忌 于 凶 德<sup>K2</sup> ，

\*ne? \*daŋ-s \*pə \*m-kə-s \*ɣʰa \*qʰoŋ \*tʰək

You should not envy the wicked,

亦 則 以 穆 穆 在 乃 位 。

\*gak \*tsʰək \*lə? \*miwk \*miwk \*dzʰə? \*nʰə? \*ɣʰrəp-s

And also use dignity and respect in your positions.

克 闕 于 乃 邑 、 謀 介 ，

\*kʰək \*lot \*ɣʰa \*nʰə? \*qəp \*mə \*kʰrəp-s

If you can make inspections of your cities, work for and assist [me],

爾 乃 自 時(是) 洛 邑 ，

\*ne? \*nʰə? \*N-tsit-s \*də(\*de?) \*g-rak (S) \*qəp

You then may [live long] from this Luo city,

尚 永 力 畋 爾 田 。

\*daŋ-s \*ɣʰraŋ? \*k.rək \*lʰiŋ-s \*ne? \*lʰiŋ

May you eternally exert yourselves in cultivating your fields.

天 惟 畀 矜 爾 ；

\*lʰin \*ɣʰij \*pik-s \*k.rin \*ne?

Heaven will grant favor to you;

Table 10 (continued)

我 有 周 惟 其 大 介 賚 爾 ,  
 \*ŋʰaj? \*ɕwə? \*tiw \*ɕwij \*gə \*fʰat-s \*kʰrep-s \*rʰək-s \*ne?

I, sovereign of Zhou, shall greatly bestow gifts unto you,

迪 簡 在 王 庭 ;  
 \*liü̯k (S) \*kʰren? \*dzʰə? \*ɕwaj \*lɛ̃ŋ (S)

Lead you to come to the royal court;

尚(上) 爾 事 ,  
 \*danʰ-s(\*danʰ-s) \*ne? \*m-s-rəʔ-s

Raise up your work,

有 服 在 大 僚 。 』  
 \*ɕwə? \*bək \*dzʰə? \*fʰat-s \*rʰew

And take up service among the great officials.’

#### Section 5: Speech 4: Warning of punitive measures for noncompliance or indolence

王 曰 :  
 \*ɕwaj \*ɕwat

The king said:

『 嗚 呼 ! 多 士 ,  
 \*ʔʰa \*qʰʰa \*t-lʰaj \*m-s-rəʔ

‘*Wu-hu!* Numerous officers,

爾 不 克 勸 忱 我 命 ,  
 \*ne? \*pə \*kʰʰək \*C.qʰʰar-s \*t.gə̃m \*ŋʰaj? \*mə-rɿŋ-s

[If] you cannot diligently have a care toward my commands,

爾 亦 則 惟 不 克 享 ;  
 \*ne? \*gək \*tsʰək \*ɕwij \*pə \*kʰʰək \*qʰajʔ

You thus will be unable to enjoy [Heaven’s favor];

凡 民 惟 曰 不 享 。  
 \*brom \*min \*ɕwij \*ɕwat \*pə \*qʰajʔ

All peoples will say “You shall not enjoy [Heaven’s favor].”

爾 乃 惟 逸(偷) 惟 頗 ,  
 \*ne? \*nʰə? \*ɕwij \*lit (\*lʰo) \*ɕwij \*phâi (S)

You who will be indolent, will be crooked,

大 遠 王 命 ;  
 \*fʰat-s \*C.ɕwan? \*ɕwaj \*mə-rɿŋ-s

Greatly distant from the royal command,

則 惟 爾 多 方 探 天 之 威 ,  
 \*tsʰək \*ɕwij \*ne? \*t-lʰaj \*C.paŋ \*lʰə̃m \*lʰin \*tə \*ʔuj

Your numerous regions will thus bring upon yourself Heaven’s might,

Table 10 (continued)

我 則 致 天 之 罰 ，  
 \*ŋʰajʔ \*tsʰək \*trit-s \*ʃin \*tə \*bat

I shall thus cause to be visited upon you Heaven’s punishments,

離 遯 爾 土 。 』  
 \*raj \*thêk (S) \*neʔ \*tʰʰaʔ

Separate and remove you from your lands.’

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**Section 6: Speech 5: Final announcement: A new beginning and a final warning**

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王 曰 ；  
 \*ɣʷaŋ \*ɣʷat

The king said:

『我 不 惟 多 誥 ，  
 \*ŋʰajʔ \*pə \*ɣʷij \*t-ʰaj \*kʰuk-s

‘I do not make many announcements,

我 惟 祇 告 爾 命 。 』  
 \*ŋʰajʔ \*ɣʷij \*ti (S) \*kʰuk-s \*neʔ \*mə-rin-s

I therefore respectfully announce to you my commands.”

又 曰 ；  
 \*ɣʷəʔ-s \*ɣʷat

Further [the king] said:

『時(是) 惟 爾 初 ；  
 \*də(\*deʔ) \*ɣʷij \*neʔ \*tsʰra

This is your beginning;

不 克 敬 于 和 ，  
 \*pə \*kʰək \*kren-s \*ɣʷa \*ɣʰoj

If you cannot respect harmony,

則 無 我 怨 。 』  
 \*tsʰək \*ma \*ŋʰajʔ \*ʔor-s

Then against me have no resentment.”

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## Analysis of the “Numerous Regions”

### Section 1

The opening section begins, as in several chapters of the *Classic of Documents*, with a date notation; here the month and the *ganzhi* 干支 day are given, though in this case, unlike in the “Announcement to Kang” analyzed above, neither the year nor lunar phase are listed. This is followed by a short *mise-en-scène* noting the king’s journey from Yan 奄 to Zong Zhou 宗周 (a common appellation for

the Western Zhou capital at Hao 鎬), which also functions here as a form of “great event” notation, similar to the notations found at the head of several other chapters.<sup>190</sup> In this case, the event was King Cheng 周成王 returning from successfully quelling the rebellion against the Zhou by the state of Yan and several other minority groups in the fifth year of his reign, or 1037 B.C.E.

As with virtually all opening sections of this type, there are no discernable acoustic devices or phonorhetorical patterns.

### Section 2.1

The opening line of this section provides an insight into the one of the most intriguing issues surrounding these chapters: Who composed these speeches? Since the Duke of Zhou 周公 is directly specified as the speaker, the chapter is thus comprised of speeches either A) composed by the young reigning King Cheng and delivered by the Duke, or, as some scholars have argued, B) composed and delivered by the Duke “in the name of” the king.<sup>191</sup>

The introductory phrases to this first speech and the opening to the second speech (see Section 3.1 below) provide direct indications that the term *ruo* 若 introduces orations spoken by a subordinate (the Duke of Zhou in this case) on behalf of the ruler.<sup>192</sup> In this opening speech, the phrase “The Duke of Zhou said” (Zhou *gong yue* 周公曰) is followed directly by “The king approved of saying” (*wang ruo yue* 王若曰); this is the only example of a “[person A] 曰 [person B] 若 曰” construction in any early Chinese text, excavated or transmitted, and as such, Chen Mengjia considered this section an important key to the meaning of *ruo* in these texts. Chen notes that this construction (along with a grammatically similar passage in the introductory section of the “Numerous Officers” 〈多士〉) provides the only explicit evidence that *ruo* is to be understood as indicating that subordinate is delivering a formal set of royal decrees (*ming shu* 命書) on behalf of the king.<sup>193</sup> Similarly, in the second speech below, the exclamation “*wu-hu!*” 嗚呼 precedes the line “the king thusly spoke” and the speech which follows; this contrasts

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190 Events of some renown or import which would have been familiar to readers of the time were often used in early Chinese texts, both excavated and transmitted, to indicate a precise date or period of time based on their historical context.

191 See Chen Mengjia, “*Zhou shu zhong de wang ruo yue*” (1957).

192 On this use of the term *ruo* 若 (which I translate as “approved of”), see the discussion above in the “Announcement to Kang” Section 2 and in chapter six.

193 See Chen Mengjia, “*Zhou shu zhong de wang ruo yue*”, 183–97.

with its placement in the third and fourth speech in this chapter and in all other examples from early Chinese texts, where “*wu-hu!*” directly follows the notation of the main speaker. With the anterior placement of the opening exclamation, the second speech in this chapter must also be read as having been spoken by the Duke of Zhou and not by the king.

From a phonorhetorical perspective, the most striking aspect of this first speech is the opening four lines. After the initial exclamation, the speech opens with three lines in parallel hexasyllabic meter featuring phrase-final words all ending in final *\*-ŋ* and main vowel disharmony. This phonological pattern precisely matches the patterns of consonantal consonance seen repeatedly in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and seven of the fourteen sections in the “Announcement to Kang” discussed above. The words employed for this rhetorical effect are also consistent with the other texts: “regions” 方 *\*C.paŋ*, “people” 民 *\*min* and “commands” 命 *\*mə-riŋ-s*.<sup>194</sup> The final tetrasyllabic line does not follow the acoustic pattern (ending in the verb “to know” 知 *\*tre*), but this is not atypical; as seen above, in some cases the final line will serve as a type of coda, standing out precisely because it breaks the regular acoustic pattern of the lines which precede it.<sup>195</sup>

## Section 2.2

This section is the first of several to evoke the perpetual theme of historical analogies centered on the Xia and Shang dynasties, focused in particular on the failings

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<sup>194</sup> The term “command” 命 is most often translated in these contexts as “mandate,” especially when the initiator of the command is Heaven 天. I have chosen to consistently use “command” to translate *ming* throughout this study for two reasons: 1) The king also uses the term *ming* 命 when referring to his personal commands to his subordinates, and while “the king’s mandate” would not be incorrect in English translation (as the mandate comes from Heaven and is engaged through the reigning king and his commands), when it is used in cases (as in this section) where the king calls it “爾命,” specifically “the commands I sent down to you,” wherein “mandate” seems to confuse the issue rather than make it explicit; and 2) in order to emphasize the repeated euphonic function of the term, as Heaven’s 命 (the Heavenly mandate/right to command) is often set against the king’s 命 (commands) in phrase-final position in this chapter, albeit never in direct juxtaposition in the same section.

<sup>195</sup> As noted above, this phonorhetorical structure is mirrored in many other ancient traditions (for example, in Sumerian, Hebrew and other ancient Near Eastern forms). In this rhetorical structure, lines which employ repeated phonological patterning (most often employing identical or rhyming phrase-final words) are followed by a concluding line which breaks the preceding acoustic pattern; this final line is usually a phrase which sums up or provides a moral context to the preceding patterned lines. Just as in this case, the distinction creates a feeling of increased emphasis upon the ultimate line, in parallel with the semantic construction.

which led to the loss of Heaven's favor and therefore to their decline and fall. Throughout this middle part of the speech there are very few clear phonorhetorical devices at work. The only lines which seem to follow the pattern of final consonance come at the end of the section and feature a short subsection of 5, 9, 6, 6, 8 and 6 graphs per line, wherein four of the six lines (lines two, three, five and six) end in graphs with \*-ŋ finals. It's worth noting that the final section of the speech employs the repetition of the same graph, "people" 民 \*miŋ, three times in phrase-final position as a primary feature of the phonorhetorical structure; the first line could possibly also be part of the pattern, as the \*-n final in the word "purity" 純 \*dun from the *wen* 文 rhyme group could be functioning in a similar way to the pattern discussed in section 3 of the "Announcement to Kang" above, but the final word in the fourth line, "officers" 士 \*m-s-rəʔ, is clearly a break in the consonantal consonance and *epistrophe*.

The tetrasyllabic couplet that comes at the end of this subsection should also be mentioned, for along with a parallel meter it features the \*-j final words "acts" 為 \*Gʷaj (*ge* 歌 rhyme group) and "to release" 開 \*kʰəj (*wei* 微 rhyme group) in phrase-final position. According to Wang Li, there are no cross-rhymes between these two rhyme groups in the *Classic of Poetry*, but as he does document cross-rhymes between both these groups and the third \*-j final rhyme group (the *zhi* 脂 rhyme group), it is relatively likely that these lines also formed a cross-rhyming tetrasyllabic couplet.<sup>196</sup> In addition, as these words are generally positive, unlike the negative words with \*-j finals analyzed above in Section 8 of the "Announcement to Kang," this couplet lends support to the argument that these structures were not necessarily based upon semantic word groupings but were primarily employed simply as acoustic devices.

### Section 2.3

This section is dominated by a type of euphonic construction which has not been previously documented in this volume but is well-known from its widespread use in both early Chinese poetry and prose: the repetition of the same phrase for rhetorical effect (as a type of refrain/*epimone*) with a line or lines interspersed between the identical repeated statements. This precise technique will be discussed

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<sup>196</sup> This construction is technically a *he yun* cross-rhyme, based on the parallel final glide \*-j, identical to that documented and analyzed in Section 8 of the "Announcement to Kang" above.

below, as it is employed again in the third speech.<sup>197</sup> In addition to the subsection below featuring repetition, the repeated phrase-final word is introduced in the two opening pentasyllabic lines in phrase-final position and in grammatically parallel construction.

The graph which occurs five times in this section in parallel phrase-final position (*epistrophe*) is *quan* 勸 \*C.q<sup>wh</sup>ar-s, “to encourage,” a particularly important term in early Chinese discussions of government. Outside of this section, *quan* is used seven times in the *Classic of Documents*, in each case to mean “to encourage” or “to persuade,” normally with “the people” as its object.<sup>198</sup> Phonologically, the Baxter-Sagart reconstruction includes this word as part of the subset of the *yuan* 元 rhyme group which featured a final \*-ar (rather than the standard \*-an, \*-en or \*-on finals), but as noted above, the composition of this subset is still hotly debated, and the graph may well instead have had an \*-an final in accordance with its traditional analysis: \*khwans, in Schuessler’s reconstruction. Regardless, the graph does not seem to cross-rhyme with any of the other phrase-final graphs in the section, and thus the phonorhetorical pattern relies solely upon the repetition of the word, and the phrase.

The tetrasyllabic line repeated three times as a refrain throughout the section is:

亦 克 用 勸  
\*gak \*k<sup>h</sup>sək \*m.loŋ-s \*C.q<sup>wh</sup>ar-s

They also were able thereby to encourage [the people].

In this phrase, “they” represents the unstated subject and refers to the rulers of the people, introduced at the head of the section, and the term “thereby” (literally, “making use of,” from *yong* 用 \*m.loŋ-s) refers to the methods described in the intervening line(s) directly preceding each repeated instance of the phrase. The intervening lines are composed of six, six and four graphs, so the metric consistency is slightly varied: 6-4, 6-4 and 4-4. The repeated line also features a bit of internal consonance, as the first half of the phrase is comprised of 亦 \*gak 克

<sup>197</sup> As far as I am aware, this type of construction is not found at all in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions; one might argue this is due to their general brevity and terse phrasing, but even in long inscriptions (such as documented in chapter five) the use of repetition of identical phrases as a rhetorical device is unprovenanced.

<sup>198</sup> As far as my searches have revealed, the graph *quan* 勸 does not exist in any Western Zhou bronze inscription. However, this is not particularly surprising, as those compositions extremely rarely contain anything approaching didactic rhetoric on what constitutes good government akin to the discussions of political philosophy which dominate these speeches from the *Classic of Documents*.



\*kʰsək, but whether this type of consonance would have had a noticeable effect is difficult to estimate. The penultimate graphs also all have \*-k finals in each of the non-repeated lines which precede the repeated line (graph four of six in the first and second couplets, and graph two of four in the third couplet); taken in sum, the phonorhetorical patterning throughout the section is extensive and would have created a very strong euphonic effect.

### Section 3.1

In this section begins the second of the five speeches which make up the bulk of the chapter. As discussed above, the *ruo* 若 in the opening line here likely lends a special distinction to this second speech. Stylistically, there is a consistent use of words in phrase-final positions with \*-ŋ final consonants throughout the entire speech, and thus the four-part division here is based as much on rhetorical divisions as acoustic patterns; Karlgren also correctly noted that most of these words form a pattern which extends into the following section.

In this section, a few new words with \*-ŋ finals in phrase-final position are included along with the words “regions” 方 \*C.paŋ, “peoples” 民 \*miŋ and “commands” 命 \*mə-riŋ-s used in the first speech: “governance” 政 \*teŋ-s, “ruin” 喪 \*s-mʰaŋ-s and “sacrifices” 蒸 \*təŋ. Of the fifteen lines in this section, nine end in words with an \*-ŋ final consonant, creating a somewhat metrically irregular but consistent acoustic refrain, consistent with the other sections in this volume which feature this euphonic device. There are also two metrically regular couplets with perfect rhymes in this section, but both seem to be integral parts of the larger composition rather than freestanding phrases. The first is the tetrasyllabic couplet which falls in the middle of the following four lines:

乃 惟 有 夏 圖[鄙] 厥 政 ,  
 \*nʰə? \*Gʷij \*Gʷə? \*Gʰra? \*dʰa[\*prə?] \*kot \*teŋ-s

It was the sovereign of Xia who scorned its **governance**,

不 集 于 享 ;  
 \*pə \*dzəp \*Gʷa \*qʰaŋ?

And did not properly order the **ritual sacrifices**;

天 降 時(是) 喪 ,  
 \*ʃin \*kʰruŋ-s \*də(\*de?) \*s-mʰaŋ-s

Heaven sent down this **ruin**,

有 邦 間 之 。

\*Gwəʔ \*pʰron ʔ \*N-kʰren \*tə

And a ruler of [another] state took his place.

The interior tetrasyllabic couplet features rhyming *yang* 陽 rhyme-group words at the end of each phrase. However, these rhymed lines do not complete the thought; an encapsulation comes in the final (non-rhyming) line. This final line clearly does not comprise part of the rhyming sequence nor even of the more common pattern of final consonance, but it does seem analagous to the other sections which make use of this stylistic device; see Sections 2 and 9 in the analyses of the “Announcement to Kang” and Sections 2.1, 3.1 and 4.1 in the “Numerous Regions.”

The second perfectly rhyming couplet is trisyllabic, featuring two of the three new terms used in this section in phrase-final final consonance. The couplet also seems to represent the continuation of a longer thought rather than function as an independent textual unit:

乃 惟 爾 商 後 王 逸 厥 逸(偷) ，

\*nʰəʔ \*Gwɨj \*neʔ \*s-taŋ \*Gʰoʔ-s \*Gwaŋ \*lit \*kot \*lit(\*lʰo)

Thus it was your last king of Shang who was extreme in his leisure,

圖[圖] 厥 政 ，

\*dʰa[\*prəʔ] \*kot \*teŋ-s

Scorned his **governance**,

不 蠲 絜 ，

\*pə \*kwen (S) \*təŋ

And did not with purity perform the **sacrifices**;

天 惟 降 時(是) 喪 。

\*lʰin \*Gwɨj \*kʰruŋ-s \*də(\*deʔ) \*s-mʰaŋ-s

Heaven it was which sent down this **ruin**.

As in the previous example, the interior trisyllabic couplet fits particularly well with the lines preceding and following it; the preceding line provides the subject, and the following line provides the direct effect of these actions. Thus, rather than reading them as a form of “poetry,” they seem best viewed simply as examples of a type of particularly elegant phonological device employed to support the rhetorical structure.

Finally, it bears noting that the words in phrase-final position are once again especially weighty terms not dissimilar to those encountered before, such as “gov-

ernance” 政 \*teŋ-s and “sacrifices” 蒸 \*təŋ. For the first time, one of the terms is unambiguously negative: “ruin” 喪 \*s-m<sup>5</sup>aŋ-s. Its use here, along with the use of “fool” 狂 \*k-g<sup>5</sup>aŋ in the first line of the next section, provides further indication that the words in these phonorhetorical patterns were chosen primarily for their acoustic effect, regardless of their semantic connotations.

### Section 3.2

The second part of the speech continues the now-familiar pattern of consonance, as six of the fifteen lines end in a word with a \*-ŋ final (with one additional word ending in \*-n). Noticeably, half of these are words which have not been used in the chapter before this section, such as “fool” 狂 \*k-g<sup>5</sup>aŋ and “sage” 聖 \*l̥eŋ-s from the opening lines, and “follow” 聽 \*l̥seŋ at the end of the fifth line in the section.

In terms of rhetoric, the opening couplet presents an excellent example of a recursive maxim (as can be found throughout many early works of Chinese philosophy), here employing metrically-regular hexasyllabic lines in parallel rhetorical structure (the first, fourth and fifth graphs are the same in both lines, and the second and sixth graphs are switched), and also features the type of final consonance highlighted throughout this volume:

惟 聖 罔 念 作 狂 ，  
\*G<sup>w</sup>ij \*l̥eŋ-s \*C.maŋ? \*n<sup>5</sup>im-s \*ts<sup>5</sup>ak \*k-g<sup>5</sup>aŋ

The sage who does not think deeply will become a **fool**,

惟 狂 克 念 作 聖 。

\*G<sup>w</sup>ij \*k-g<sup>5</sup>aŋ \*k<sup>h</sup>sək \*n<sup>5</sup>im-s \*ts<sup>5</sup>ak \*l̥eŋ-s

The fool who can think deeply will become a **sage**.

It bears repeating that this clever turn of phrase should be viewed as neither strictly rhyming nor cross-rhyming, if one uses the *Classic of Poetry* as the standard for what constituted a rhyme in ancient Chinese. This couplet stands as the best single piece of evidence that final consonance with medial vowel disharmony was clearly considered an acceptable phonorhetorical structure during this early period; in poetic and later prose compositions, this type of final consonance seems to have been largely eschewed for “true” rhyming.<sup>199</sup>

199 For example, the Shanghai manuscripts from ancient Chu 楚 “San de” 《參德》 and “Fan wu liu xing” 《凡物流形》, both didactic texts dating to the late Warring States period (ca. 350 B.C.E.), use “true rhyming” (in which phrase-final words generally come from the same rhyme

In the final couplet in this section we have a similar example, as it features two tetrasyllabic lines ending in words with \*-ŋ finals and different medial vowels, making it another example of final consonance rather than rhyming poetry akin to the works in the *Classic of Poetry*:

簡 畀 殷 命 ,  
 \*kʰrenʔ \*pik-s \*ʔər \*mə-riŋ-s  
 [Heaven] selected and bestowed Yin's **command**,

尹 爾 多 方 。  
 \*m-qurʔ \*neʔ \*t-lʰaj \*C.paj  
 Ruled over your numerous **regions**.

### Section 3.3

In this third part of the speech, the phrase-final \*-ŋ consonantal consonance becomes the dominant phonorhetorical structure; ten of the thirteen lines end in words with an \*-ŋ final consonant (along with one, *dian* 典 \*tʰərʔ / \*tʰnʔ (S), which very possibly had an \*-n final). Such an overwhelming amount of consonantal consonance in phrase-final position is rare in the *Classic of Documents*, but here it is achieved by repetition (*epistrophe*) of several of the words used previously (“command” 命 \*mə-riŋ-s by itself is in phrase-final position in five of the thirteen lines), along with three terms not previously used in the chapter: “fields” 田 \*lʰiŋ, “quiet” 靜 \*dzeŋ (S), and “correct” 正 \*teŋ-s.

In terms of metrical structure, this section seems to feature lines of nine graphs in the first half (five of the seven lines are nine graphs long), and six graphs in the second half (three of the six lines are six graphs long). Line by line, the metric counts for these two passages are: 6 (non-consonant); 9; 10; 9; 4; 9 and 9, followed by 6; 4 (non-consonant); 7; 6; 6 (\*-n final) and 4. Because of the high degree of irregularity in the metrical structure, despite the recurring consonance, this section reads much more like patterned prose than any type of known early Chinese poetry.

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group, or are taken from rhyme groups known to cross-rhyme in the *Classic of Poetry*) throughout, without much evidence of this type of final consonance. See Cook, “Chu jian yunwen fenlei tanxi” 〈楚簡韻文分類探析〉 in *Chutu wenxian yu guwenzi yanjiu* 出土文獻與古文字研究 4 (2011): 215–258, and Tharsen, “Rhetorical Structures in the Shanghai Museum Manuscript ‘San de’ 〈參德〉” and “Rhyme, Repetition and Rhetoric: An Examination of the Recently Discovered ‘Fan wu liu xing’ 〈凡物流形〉 Texts” (M.A. theses, 2011, unpublished).

One final rhetorical flourish in this section is worth mentioning: the initial graphs for seven of the thirteen lines fall into two distinct regular patterns. The first pattern comes in lines three, four and seven (all in the first half of the section as divided above) and is comprised of an *anaphora* of three graphs meaning “Why do you not . . .”: 爾曷不 \*ne? \*gʰat \*pə. The second repeated initial structure (*anaphora*) comes in lines one, three, four and five of the second half, is comprised of the highly alliterative two graphs 爾乃 \*ne? \*nʰəʔ, to simply introduces each phrase with the comment “You (then) . . . .” Taken alone, neither of these introductory phrases would be seen as uncommon (爾乃 \*ne? \*nʰəʔ is used twice again to begin lines in separate sections below), but their extraordinarily repetitive anaphoric use in this section serves to emphasize the parallel rhetorical structure, and when read in concert with the phonological structures, lays bare the intricate euphony which the composers of these texts were consciously employing to lend power and elegance to the rhetorical phrasing.

### Section 3.4

The fourth and final section of this speech contains far less of the phrase-final final consonance than the previous three parts, as only two of the seven long lines end in words with the now familiar \*-ŋ final consonant. That said, it would not be correct to say that there is no acoustic patterning nor euphony whatsoever at work here, as the two lines which do end in words with a final \*-ŋ consonant also feature intralinear repetitions of words with \*-ŋ finals. In each case, the intralinear words with final \*-ŋ consonants are not used anywhere in the chapter as phrase-final words, and so this type of euphonic construction could simply be subconscious rather than intentional. The first of these lines uses alternating words with \*-ŋ finals:

乃 有 不 用 我 降 爾 命  
 \*nʰəʔ \*Gwəʔ \*pə \*m.loŋ-s \*ŋʰaj? \*kʰruŋ-s \*ne? \*mə-rin-s  
 [If you] do not **make use of** my **conferred-upon-you commands** . . .

while the second of these lines pairs two words with \*-ŋ finals at the end of the phrase:

非 我 有 周 秉 德 不 康 寧  
 \*pəj \*ŋʰaj? \*Gwəʔ \*tiw \*pranʔ \*tʰək \*pə \*k-lʰaŋ \*nʰeŋ  
 It is not that I, sovereign of Zhou, hold virtue **unpeacefully** . . .

### Section 4.1

This first section of the third speech features a new type of consonance, with three perfectly-rhyming *zhi* 之 rhyme group words coming at the end of the first three of the five lines. The metric structure is highly irregular (as is common throughout the *Classic of Documents*); the three lines which rhyme are comprised of six graphs, four graphs and nine graphs. In each case, the phrase-final words are “numerous officers” (多士 \*t-lʰaj \*m-s-rəʔ) repeated at the end of the first two lines (yet another example of *epistrophe*) and “sacrifices” (祀 \*s-gəʔ, here meaning “years”) in the third line. The section is employing a relatively loose form of euphony, and the consonance here could well have been subconscious rather than a conscious choice by the composer.

### Section 4.2

The four lines in this section mark the second place in this chapter where we see repetition of an entire tetrasyllabic line (as a refrain, or *epimone*) for rhetorical effect. With four tetrasyllabic phrases and the repeated lines, this section mirrors the poetic form found in the second half of the opening stanza of one of the poems from the *Classic of Poetry*, “Plucking Bracken” 〈采薇〉 in the “Minor Odes” 〈小雅〉 section (Mao #167).<sup>200</sup> However, in “Plucking Bracken,” the final graphs in the odd lines do rhyme, whereas here the odd lines neither rhyme nor cross-rhyme. Thus, what we have in this section is simply a repetition of a tetrasyllabic line describing a negative, followed by the repeated command to “be harmonious!”, with the same structure repeated in a type of refrain, creating a powerful acoustic and rhetorical effect.

### Section 4.3

The third section of this speech provides potential evidence for final consonance between the *ji* 緝 rhyme group (represented here by “position” wei 位 \*ɣʷrəp-s and “city” yi 邑 \*qəp, which come at the ends of the fourth and sixth lines respectively), and potentially also including the word “reliable” 介 \*kʰrəp-s at the end of the fifth line. The perfect rhyme between words in phrase-final position in the fourth and sixth lines is unquestionable, though the meter is a bit irregular (the

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<sup>200</sup> Most poems in the *Classic of Poetry* repeat odd lines rather than even following an ABAB structure where the A lines are identical and the B/b lines rhyme or cross-rhyme; “Plucking Bracken” is the only poem in the anthology to feature an ABAB structure identical to what we see here.

lines in this section contain 4, 6, 7, 8, 7 and 6 graphs, respectively). The more difficult question surrounds the graph 介: in the Baxter-Sagart reconstruction it is given as \*kʰrep-s, which would place it in the *he* 盍 rhyme group and provide another example of final consonance with medial vowel disharmony, but this reconstruction is at odds with the traditional understanding of the graph, as it is normally reconstructed as being part of the modern *yue* 月 rhyme group (descended from the *guai* 怪 rhyme group in the *Guangyun* via the *Qing ji* 祭 rhyme group), and Schuessler, following this tradition, reconstructs its OC pronunciation as \*krê(t)s. In his *Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, Baxter describes how some \*-ps and \*-ts finals merged early on in Old Chinese, and Wang Li notes that there is one cross-rhyme in the *Classic of Poetry* between the *wu* 物 rhyme group (\*-ət finals) and the *ji* 緝 rhyme group (\*-əp finals);<sup>201</sup> therefore, it is very possible that the fifth line cross-rhymes and should also be considered as part of the phonorhetorical structure of this section.

Karlgren's proposal that “works” 事 \*m-s-rəʔ-s and “virtue” 德 \*tʰək (here employed as the second graph in a compound meaning “evil virtue” or “wickedness”) by themselves represent a rhyming pair is likely erroneous, but considering that the final graph in four of the six lines in this section have the medial vowel /\*ə/, there may be a larger phonorhetorical pattern here based on vowel quality rather than based upon these words' diverse final consonants.

The final section of the third speech contains a somewhat strange arrangement in which it is difficult to ascertain whether or not there is conscious euphony at work. The phrase-final graphs of the first four lines are “fields” 田 \*lʰiŋ, “you” 爾 \*ne? (or \*ne(j)?), 爾 again and finally “court” 庭 \*lêŋ, which (despite the irregular 6-5-9-5 metric structure) could indicate a type of ABBA “frame rhyme” at work, especially as the first and fourth lines follow the familiar \*-ŋ consonance seen in the sections analyzed above. That said, the word “you” 爾 \*ne? (or \*ne(j)?) makes for a somewhat unique choice for a phrase-final rhyme; similar to its use here, it's found dozens of times in the *Classic of Poetry* as the standard second person pronoun, but only once as a potential rhyme word, in the first stanza of the famous poem “Wayside Reeds” 〈行葦〉 of the “Major Odes” 〈大雅〉 section (Mao #246).

As a final note on this section, there is a bit of additional final consonance in the two graphs at the end of the fourth line, the “royal court” 王 \*gʷaŋ 庭 \*lêŋ (S), which will be echoed in the following speech by the more commonly-occurring

<sup>201</sup> See Baxter, *Handbook*, 398 and Wang, *Shi jing yun du*, 33; the graph *jie* 介 is not used in rhyming position in any poem in the *Classic of Poetry*, so we have no direct evidence for the value of its final consonant in this case.

combination “royal command” 王 \*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ 命 \*mə-riŋ-s; it’s not clear what effect this type of consonance might have had, but as there are also double final \*-ŋ compounds of this type in sections 3, 6 and 7 above, these may well represent subtle nuances within the more obvious euphonic structures.<sup>202</sup>

### Section 5

In this section, the penultimate speech of the chapter, the phonorhetorical structure returns to the familiar pattern of phrase-final words featuring final \*-ŋ consonantal consonance, as this device is used in lines one, two, three and five (half of the eight total lines of the speech). After a short opening naming the “numerous officers,” the first full line of seven graphs concludes with “commands” 命 \*mə-riŋ-s, followed by another septasyllabic line ending in the verb “to perform the sacrificial rites” 享 \*q<sup>h</sup>aŋʔ, then a line of six graphs also ending in 享 \*q<sup>h</sup>aŋʔ, and after a non-consonant line of six graphs, the final line in this part of the speech is tetrasyllabic and ends with the compound “the royal command” 王 \*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ 命 \*mə-riŋ-s. The three final lines in the speech seem to employ no euphonic patterning whatsoever.

### Section 6

This final, short two-part speech (split by an interjection) is remarkable simply in that, like in the final speech in the “Announcement to Kang,” it is the only section of this chapter which seems to employ no phonorhetorical devices nor phonological patterning at all. In terms of content, it is not substantively different from other short sections within these speeches (except that these words are clearly meant as a final warning to the assembled audience to follow the king’s commands), and certainly seems to serve as an appropriate conclusion to the speeches which precede it, so one can only speculate on why this ultimate section would be completely devoid of the patterns seen repeated so often in the above sections.<sup>203</sup>

<sup>202</sup> A further consideration along these lines is whether the ubiquitous phrase “Heavenly command” (more commonly translated as “Heavenly mandate”) 天 \*t<sup>h</sup>iŋ 命 \*mə-riŋ-s is also employing a form of this type of consonance; although the finals are close but not identical: \*-n and \*-ŋ. As discussed above, these final consonants may have been close enough to have functioned in a similar manner as double \*-ŋ compounds.

<sup>203</sup> The final speeches in these two chapters, lacking any discernable phonorhetorical patterning, may well be serving a similar function as the non-rhyming line which concludes a section of



### General Comments on the “Numerous Regions”

While euphonicly similar to the “Announcement to Kang,” the “Numerous Regions” also features some significantly different uses of phonorhetorical devices. Once again, the obvious phonological pattern centers on the repetition of \*-ŋ final words in phrase-final position (occurring in 8 of the 13 sections). Along with this now-familiar pattern, this chapter also includes short instances of potential final consonance based on the finals \*-j (Section 2.2), \*-ə (Sections 4.1 and 4.2) and \*-əp (Section 4.3).

As in the “Announcement to Kang,” in the “Numerous Regions” we see the repetition of entire tetrasyllabic lines, but here the lines are often interspersed with non-rhyming lines in an XAXA format (Sections 2.3 and 4.2). Additionally, there is a single example here of a recursive maxim (Section 3.2) which features final consonance, and its well-wrought construction should serve as a strong indication that at least some of these patterns were intentional on the part of the composer, and not subconscious or coincidental.

Finally, on the topic of vocabulary, this chapter features a few words in phrase-final consonant position that are unequivocally negative: “ruin” 喪 \*s-mʰaŋ-s and “fool” 狂 \*k-gʷaŋ. Thus, if one is to accept David Schaberg’s argument that these patterns of words made up a type of phonetically similar critical vocabulary, the evidence here indicates that that vocabulary must be expanded to include both words of royal grandeur and great destruction. The analyses of phonorhetoric in the *Classic of Documents* thus indicate that these patterns were more likely constructed primarily as acoustic devices, and only secondarily (if at all) as a marker of some type of phonologically consonant “language of command.”

### Euphony and Phonorhetoric in the *Classic of Documents*

Detailed analyses of these works provide evidence of both parallels between the euphonic styles and forms found in the longer inscriptions upon bronze vessels from the Western Zhou dynasty and also significant innovations in style and form. While such parallels are certainly not conclusive evidence for dating the transmitted texts to the same period by themselves (mimicry of earlier textual styles and literary forms was common throughout early Chinese literary history),

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patterned phrases (as discussed at several points above; compare the euphonic structure in Sections 2 and 9 in the analyses of the “Announcement to Kang” and Sections 2.1, 3.1 and 4.1 in this chapter), wherein it is precisely a lack of cadence and the breaking of the established pattern which draws greater attention to the ultimate line/section.

they could well be a major key as we build a more robust and detailed picture of how euphony and literary forms developed during these earliest periods of Chinese narrative textual history.

Finally, let us return to the famous quote from the “Canon of Shun” on the uses of poetry and music quoted in the introduction to this chapter and look closely at the phonorhetorical patterning it employs:

詩 言 志 ，

\*s.tə \*ŋan \*tə-s

Poetry speaks of aims,

歌 永 言 ；

\*kʰaj \*Gʷraŋʔ \*ŋan

Songs are the prolonged utterance of speech;

聲 依 永 ，

\*lɛŋ \*ʔəj \*Gʷraŋʔ

Sounds accompany the prolonged utterances,

律 和 聲 。

\*rut \*Gʰoj \*lɛŋ

Piping harmonizes the sounds.

八 音 克 諧[皆] ，

\*pʰret \*qəm \*kʰəʔək [\*kʰrij]

The eight tones are able to be in accord,

無 相 奪 倫 ，

\*ma \*saŋ \*Cə.lʰot \*run

One does not take the place of the other,

神 人 以 和 。

\*Cə.lin \*niŋ \*ləʔ \*Gʰoj

And the spirits and people are thereby brought into harmony.

The opening set of four trisyllabic lines each bears many of the earmarks of the type of euphony and phonological patterning documented throughout this chapter: phrase-final words featuring final consonance and vowel disharmony juxtaposed in the third and fourth lines, preceded by a line ending in \*-n, and an initial line

which does not seem to comprise part of the acoustic pattern. The second part, comprised of three tetrasyllabic lines, features a different type of final consonance in its first and third lines (\*-ij and \*-oj, respectively), while the final graph of the second line ends in \*-n and thus does not rhyme at all (but may be subtly harkening back to the consonance in the opening quatrain).

These patterns could certainly be coincidental, or at best subconscious to the composer, unintentionally repeated throughout this passage and in the early chapters from the *Classic of Documents*. However, their appearance in overwhelming numbers and consistency in placement seems to indicate otherwise; indeed, it may well be that we are one step closer to understanding how the intricate euphony and acoustic patterns underscored, emphasized and beautified the words transmitted to us in this most eminent and ancient text, and can hopefully contribute to a more detailed understanding of how harmony and euphony in these ostensibly prose speeches from ancient China likely played a similar role to music and poetry in an attempt to foster harmony between the governors and the governed.

## Chapter 8

# Analyses of Euphony and Phonorhetoric in Selected Speeches from the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* 《春秋左傳》

The phonorhetorical analyses in the previous case studies have featured examples of royal speech, orations by or on behalf of the Zhou king, but in the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* 《春秋左傳》 royal speeches are few in number and relatively cursory.<sup>204</sup> However, long and eloquent speeches by royal ministers and high officials are a regular feature of the *Zuo Commentary*, and some of these speeches feature acoustic patterns and phonorhetorical devices. As Ron Egan noted in his 1976 doctoral dissertation:

it should be noted that there is one type of passage [in the *Zuo Commentary*] in which the typical conciseness of language is largely absent: the long, moralizing speeches. In these, the prose is considerably smoother than in other passages. The single words of the dialogue and narrative passages are expanded into synonymous binomes, and phrases are longer and are often metrically balanced. We find just the kind of padding and parallelism which are lacking elsewhere in the text. It has been suggested that some of these longer speeches may be later additions to the text, and it might be tempting to find support for this possibility in the fact that they are stylistically distinct from the bulk of the work. However, as noted earlier, these speeches do perform a necessary function: they help to indicate the author's perception of the right and wrong of a particular situation. Furthermore, they preserve all the grammatical peculiarities of the rest of the text. Thus, instead of arguing on the basis of style that these speeches had an origin different from that of most of the work, it seems preferable to view their stylistic distinctions as a result of the natural tendency of the language to form into longer and more smoothly matched units when used for rhetorical purposes.<sup>205</sup>

The point Egan makes about these speeches potentially being later additions to the text is important for this study's goal of documenting representative forms of euphony and phonorhetoric in the earliest strata of Chinese narrative works, as

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**204** There is a single example of a comment preceded by “the king approved of saying” (*wang ruo yue* 王若曰), in the “Duke Ding 4<sup>th</sup> Year” 〈定公四年傳〉 chapter, but it is simply a list of names taken from a covenant (*zai shu* 載書): 「其載書云:『王若曰,晉重、魯申、衛武、蔡甲午、鄭捷、齊潘、宋王臣、莒期。』」 Remarks by the Zhou king throughout the *Zuo Commentary* tend to be extremely cursory, and none feature any discernable phonological patterns or phonorhetorical devices.

**205** See Ronald Egan, “Selections from Tso chuan: Translation and Analysis.” (PhD. diss., 1976), 328–329.

there is the potential that the speeches preserved in the *Zuo Commentary* might have been composed during a later era. However, as Egan notes, these speeches “preserve all the grammatical peculiarities of the rest of the text,” and are consistent with the larger narratives within the text. Therefore, it seems best to simply acknowledge that while there are distinct differences in the phonorhetorical and euphonic devices employed by the composers of the speeches in the *Zuo Commentary* when compared with the earlier styles of prose and phonorhetoric explored in the previous chapters, there is no firm basis on which to determine precisely when these speeches were composed.

As discussed at length in chapter six, David Schaberg has recently produced several exemplary studies of the *Zuo Commentary*. Despite his stated thesis that “it is impossible to date pre-Han texts with any accuracy” (which we can assume mainly applies to transmitted texts, as excavated texts often have a well-established *terminus ante quem* which can greatly assist with dating) Schaberg then provides an excellent piece of evidence for dating at least some parts of the *Zuo Commentary*: “The current consensus . . . holds that the contents of the *Zuozhuan* were in existence by the end of the fourth century B.C.E. The strongest evidence has come from predictions attributed to characters within the text; the composers of these predictions seem not to have known of events during the last century of the Warring States period.”<sup>206</sup> If Schaberg is correct and these speeches are not later interpolations to the text, then the speeches presented below must have been composed in at least the fourth century B.C.E., if not actually upon the dates that the *Zuo Commentary* places them. Given the similarities between the euphonic, rhetorical and phonorhetorical devices documented in the *prima facie* excavated materials from the Western Zhou dynasty (analyzed in detail in chapter five) and the speeches preserved in the *Zuo Commentary*, the composers (and/or editors and transmitters) of these speeches certainly seem to have been influenced by the literary styles and forms which flourished during the Western Zhou. That said, the evidence we have *in toto* still appears insufficient to provide a conclusive resolution for the date of their composition.

On the literary qualities of the speeches in the *Zuo Commentary*, in addition to his comments discussed in chapter six on the repetitive linguistic patterns, parallelism and “beautiful manipulation of language” which underlie these speeches, Schaberg also makes a number of insightful comments about the principles of *taxis* and rhetoric involved in their composition. As part of his evaluation of the uses of literary artistry within the speeches of the *Zuo Commentary*, Schaberg addresses the close connections between oratory, ritual and rhetoric:

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206 See Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 315–316.

The ritual system not only included texts among its paraphernalia but has itself come down to us in textualized form. Much of what we know of it comes from texts, and specifically from the most highly patterned and self-consciously crafted portions of texts, the speeches of historiography. Ritual practice cannot be separated from the rhetoric of good order in which it is described and defended. The symmetrical rhetorical forms one finds in well-made speeches on ritual and other subjects are not simply the results of faithful representation; they exploit the grammatical, semantic, and rhetorical resources of the language. By the same token, the marked orderliness of ritual practices as they are represented in the speeches cannot be a fiction perpetrated for its rhetorical advantages. Ritual practices and the spoken or written discourse describing them worked together and influenced each other; ritual practice was informed by writing (or at least by orderly language), and certain types of discourse, including many of the speeches recorded in historiography, were ritualized.<sup>207</sup>

The examples provided in this chapter support the argument that the speeches in the *Zuo Commentary* represent a very different genre from the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and the chapters of the *Classic of Documents* analyzed above. These speeches are primarily concerned with the importance of virtue and ritual in governance; two of the three are framed as direct remonstrances by a high official to his superior, the sovereign of the state. While performing detailed phonological analyses of all the speeches of over fifty graphs in length in the *Zuo Commentary* I noted that most of the longer speeches, and many of those which feature regular use of phonorhetorical devices, come in the last four chapters of the work and seem to be a hallmark of the “Duke Zhao” 昭公 chapter in particular. As Ursula Heidbüchel notes in her *Rhetorik im Antiken China*, discussed at length above, the Duke Zhao chapter comprises approximately one-fifth of the entire text and contains a far greater ratio of discursive-to-narrative passages than any of the other chapters.<sup>208</sup>

In order to provide as broadly representative a view of the types of euphony, phonorhetorical styles and literary techniques employed in the longer speeches

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207 *Ibid.*, 64.

208 “This part of the text, which for simplicity’s sake is called *Zhao gong* in the present study, accounts for approximately one-fifth of the total of the *Zuo Zhuan*. For the purpose of a representative rhetorical analysis it is suitable not only for its large size, but also because in this chapter the relation of narrative passages to the discursive is far in favor of the latter. In the text parts that describe the reign periods of the other dukes, the discursive passages are far less extensive.” (“Dieser Textteil, der in der vorliegenden Untersuchung der Einfachheit halber als *Zhao gong* bezeichnet wird, macht etwa ein Fünftel des gesamten *Zuo zhuan* aus. Für eine repräsentative rhetorische Analyse ist er nicht nur wegen seines großen Umfangs geeignet, sondern auch deshalb, weil in ihm das Verhältnis der narrativen Textpassagen zu den diskursiven bei weitem zugunsten letzterer überwiegt. Bei den Textteilen, die der Regierungszeit der meisten anderen Herzöge beschreiben, sind die diskursiven Textpassagen weit weniger umfangreich.”) See Heidbüchel, *Rhetorik im Antiken China*, 8.

preserved in the *Zuo Commentary*, the case studies below focus upon three exemplary speeches by high-ranking ministers: the first comes from the “Duke Huan 2<sup>nd</sup> Year” chapter (the second year of the reign of Duke Huan of Lu would have been 708 B.C.E., postdating the fall of the Western Zhou capital by 63 years), the second speech is taken from the “Duke Xi 24<sup>th</sup> Year” chapter (which reports events of 645 B.C.E.), and the final speech occurs in the “Duke Zhao 25<sup>th</sup> Year” chapter (and outlines events of 517 B.C.E.). Each of these speeches employs a number of distinct euphonic and phonorhetorical patterns and literary devices, such as regular meter (often tetrasyllabic), perfect rhyme, *he yun* 合韻 consonance and *homoioteleuton*, repetition and parallelism, phrase-internal rhyming and cross-rhyming, and quotation and citation. However, these speeches are by no means overly formulaic: each speech employs a unique combination of techniques in service to the specific rhetorical goals of its composer, governed predominantly by the events which dictated the time and place of its delivery.

### Speech by Zang Aibo 臧哀伯 in the “Duke Huan 2<sup>nd</sup> Year” 〈桓公二年傳〉 Chapter

The entries in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* for the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Duke Huan (708 B.C.E.) describe a series of tumultuous events in the state of Song 宋 and their residual effects upon the state of Lu 魯. The *Annals* states:

二年，春，王正月，戊申，宋督弑其君與夷，及其大夫孔父。

In the second year, in spring, in the king’s first month, on the day *wushen*, Du of Song assassinated his lord Yuyi, and also the high official Kongfu.

滕子來朝。

Teng Zi came to court.

三月，公會齊侯，陳侯鄭伯于稷，以成宋亂。

In the third month, the Duke [of Lu] assembled the Marquis of Qi, the Marquis of Chen and the Earl of Zheng in Ji in order to deal with the chaos in Song.

夏，四月，取郟大鼎于宋，戊申，納于大廟。

In summer, in the fourth month, [Duke Huan of Lu] acquired the large ding-tripod of Gao in Song; on day *wushen*, he deposited it in the Grand Temple.

The *Zuo Commentary* then provides further information about these events:

二年，春，宋督攻孔氏，殺孔父而取其妻，公怒，督懼，遂弑殤公，君子以督為有無君之心，而後動於惡，故先書弑其君，會于稷，以成宋亂，為賂故，立華氏也，宋殤公立，十年十一戰，民不堪命，孔父嘉為司馬，督為大宰，故因民之不堪命，先宣言曰，司馬則然，已殺孔父而弑殤公，召莊公于鄭而立之，以親鄭，以郟大鼎賂公，齊陳鄭皆有賂，故遂相宋公。

In the second year, in spring, Du of Song attacked the Kong clan, killed Kong Fu and carried off Kong's wife. The Duke was furious and Du was afraid, so [Du] subsequently assassinated Duke Shang [of Song]. The princes believed Du was of a mind to have no lord [above him] at all and that Du would continue his evil deeds, thus the text states first that he assassinated his lord (and secondly that he murdered Kong). At the assembly in Ji to deal with the chaos in Song, due to bribery the Hua clan was established [as the rulers of Song]. After Duke Shang had been established as ruler of Song, in ten years they had fought eleven wars, and the people could not bear such a [high level of] conscription. Kong Fu Jia had been Minister of War and Du had been Premier; thus, due to the people's inability to bear the conscription, [Du] first made a proclamation saying the Minister of War was at fault, and afterward killed Kong Fu and assassinated Duke Shang. Duke Zhuang [of the Shao clan] was brought from Zheng and established [as Duke of Song] in order to create ties with Zheng. [Du] used the great *ding*-cauldron of Gao to bribe the Duke [of Lu] and Qi, Chen and Zheng all received bribes, therefore [Du] was subsequently made Prime Minister to the Duke of Song.

Following this narrative, the *Zuo Commentary* repeats the final line from the *Spring and Autumn Annals* included above (beginning with “In summer . . .”), and then presents the speech by Zang Aibo analyzed below, in which Zang remonstrates with Duke Huan over accepting the bribe of the *ding*-tripod. The main foci of the speech are the benefits and hallmarks of a virtuous ruler; Zang argues that accepting and prominently displaying the vessel received as a bribe from Song will have negative effects on the Duke's ability to govern the officials under him and curtail corruption.

In terms of phonorhetoric, the most intriguing aspect of Zang Aibo's speech is the repetition of words with \*-k finals in phrase-final position. Of the twenty-three lines which comprise the midsection of the speech, at least seven (and very likely nine) of the predominantly tetrasyllabic lines (two lines are bisyllabic) end in final \*-k. In the previous analyses above, the dominant final is overwhelmingly \*-ŋ; in some sections words with \*-ŋ finals comprise the overwhelming majority of the words which end phrases, and this specific euphonic device is also clearly in evidence here, but the emphasis upon words which end in \*-k is even greater. Secondly, the adherence to regular tetrasyllabic meter within this highly euphonic section is worth noting, especially as the other speeches in this chapter also use this form, albeit to a more limited degree. As the meter employed in the case studies focused on the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and early chapters of the *Classic of Documents* is much more variable and features only limited use of tetrasyllabic forms, the use of regular meter within the speeches in the *Zuo Commentary* seems to be a significant hallmark of this style of prose in particular.



**Table 11:** Zang Aibo's Speech in the "Duke Huan 2<sup>nd</sup> Year" Chapter: Phonology and Translation.**Section 1: Quotation from *Annals*, *Mise-en-scène*, Speaker Named, Main Topic Declared**

「夏，四月，取郟大鼎于宋，  
 \*g'ra \*s.lij-s \*ŋwat \*ts'ho? \*k'uk \*l'at-s \*t'ɛŋ? \*ɣwa \*s'uŋ-s

"In summer, in the fourth month, [Duke Huan of Lu] acquired the large *ding*-tripod of Gao in Song;

戊申，納于大廟。」  
 \*muʔ-s \*jin \*n'əp \*ɣwa \*l'at-s \*mraw-s

On day *wushen*, he deposited it in the Grand Temple."

非禮也，臧哀伯諫曰：  
 \*pəj \*r'ij? \*laj? \*ts'an? \*ʔəj \*p'rak \*k'ran? \*ɣwat

[This act of the Duke] was ritually improper, and Zang Aibo remonstrated [with the Duke], saying:

「君人者，  
 \*C.qur \*niŋ \*ta?

"One who rules people

將昭德塞違，  
 \*tsaŋ-s \*taw \*t'ək \*s'ək \*ɣwəj

leads by clearly illustrating virtue and hindering impropriety,

以臨照百官，  
 \*lə? \*rəm \*taw-s \*p'rak \*k'wan

thereby overseeing the illumination of the hundred officials.

猶懼或失之，  
 \*gu \*g'wa-s \*ɣw'ək \*lit \*tə

Still, he is afraid that some may neglect this,

故昭令德以示子孫。  
 \*k'a-s \*taw \*riŋ-s \*t'ək \*lə? \*s-gijʔ-s \*tsə? \*s'un

therefore he clearly illustrates fine virtue in order to guide his descendants.

**Section 2: Description of the Attributes and Appearance of a Virtuous Ruler of People**

是以：  
 \*de? \*lə?

This is why

清廟茅屋，  
 \*ts'ɛŋ \*mraw-s \*C.m'ru \*q'ok

his ancestral temple has a thatched **roof**;

大路越席，  
 \*l'at-s \*Cə.r'ak-s \*ɣwat \*s-dak

his grand chariot has woven **grass mats**;

大羹不致，  
 \*l'at-s \*k'raŋ \*pə \*trit-s

his grand stews are not elaborate;

Table 11 (continued)

粢 食 不 斲 ,

\*tsij \*s-m-lək-s \*pə \*dzʰawk

his sacrificial grain is **unstrained**;

昭 其 儉 也 。

\*taw \*gə \*gram? \*laj?

[these] illustrate his **frugality**.

袞 、 冕 、 黻 、 珽 ,

\*kûn? (S) \*mror? \*pət (S) \*lhêŋ? (S)

His robe, official’s cap, knee pads, and **jade tablet**;

帶 、 裳 、 幅 、 舄 ,

\*C.tʰat-s \*daŋ \*pək \*s.qʰak

his sash, skirts, buskins, and **slippers**;

衡 、 紕 、 紃 、 紼 ,

\*gʰraŋ \*têm? (S) \*gwrêŋ (S) \*lan (S)

the crosspiece of his cap, its fringe, its straps, and its **hanging tassels**;

昭 其 度 也 。

\*taw \*gə \*dʰak-s \*laj?

illustrate his **measuredness**.

藻 、 率(紼) 、 鞞 、 鞞 ,

\*tsʰaw? \*rut \*pe?/\*pêŋ? (S) \*pôn? (S)

His pencolored threads, his binding-cords, his scabbard and **quillon**;

鞶 、 厲(礪) 、 游 、 纆 ,

\*bân (S) \*rat-s \*N-ru \*ʔeŋ

His belt, whetstone, streamers and **cap-ties**;

昭 其 數 也 。

\*taw \*gə \*s-ro?/\*s-rok<sup>209</sup> \*laj?

illustrate his **orderliness**.

209 The word *shù* 數 (OC \*s-roʔ), which usually means “number” or “to enumerate,” has the alternate pronunciation *shùo* (OC \*s-rok); its pronunciation with a \*-k final for this word is represented by the *fanqie* spelling 「所角」 in the *Guangyun* dictionary and is also noted several times in the late 6<sup>th</sup>-century *Jingdian shiwen* 《經典釋文》 by Lu Deming 陸德明. When pronounced *shùo*, it usually means “repetition” or “frequent” (note that I have rendered the concept of “in proper repetition” as “orderedness” in my translation). In this passage, if one reads it as phonologically parallel to *dù* 度 (OC \*dʰak-s), it should probably be read as *shùo* and pronounced with a \*-k final, but the range of connotations for *shù* (meaning something like “numerically proper”) could also fit this context.

Table 11 (continued)

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火、龍、黼、黻，  
 \*q<sup>w</sup>hʰəj? \*mə-roŋ \*pa? (S) \*pət (S)

The flames, dragons, axes and symbols of distinction [on his robes];

昭其文也。  
 \*taw \*gə \*mən \*laj?

illustrate his **decorations**.

五色比象，  
 \*C.ŋʰa? \*srək \*pij-s \*s-dəŋ?

The five colours arrayed in **appearance**,

昭其物也。  
 \*taw \*gə \*C.mut \*laj?

illustrate his accoutrements.

錫、鸞、和、鈴，  
 \*laŋ \*rʰon \*ɣʰoj \*rêŋ (S)

His horses' chanfron-bells, his yoke-bells, his handle-bar bells, and his **carriage bells**,

昭其聲也。  
 \*taw \*gə \*leŋ \*laj?

illustrate his **sounds**.

三辰旂旗，  
 \*srum \*dər \*C.gər \*gə

The three orbs on his flags and banners,

昭其明也。  
 \*taw \*gə \*mraŋ \*laj?

illustrate his **enlightenment**.

---

### Section 3: The Effects of a Virtuous Official

---

夫德、  
 \*ba \*tʰək

Such **virtue**,

儉而有度，  
 \*gram? \*nə \*ɣ<sup>w</sup>ə? \*dʰak-s

**frugal** and **measured**,

登降有數；  
 \*tʰəŋ \*kʰruŋ-s \*ɣ<sup>w</sup>ə? \*s-ro?/\*s-rok

**ascending** and **descending in proper order**:

文、物以紀之，  
 \*mən \*C.mut \*lə? \*kə? \*tə

his **decorations** and accoutrements thereby give signs,

---

Table 11 (continued)

聲、明以發之，  
\*lɛŋ \*mraŋ \*ləʔ \*Cə.pat \*tə

his sounds and enlightenment are thereby manifested,

以臨照百官。  
\*ləʔ \*rəm \*taw-s \*pʳak \*kʷan

in order to oversee the illumination of the hundred officials.

百官於是乎戒懼，  
\*pʳak \*kʷan \*ʔa \*deʔ \*ɣʰa \*kʳək-s \*gʷa-s

The hundred officials are thereupon warned and fearful,

而不敢易紀律。  
\*nə \*pə \*kʰamʔ \*lek-s \*kəʔ \*rut

and do not dare to treat lightly his signs and statutes.

#### Section 4: Remonstrance and Historical Precedent

今滅德立違，  
\*krəm \*met \*tʰək \*k.rəp \*ɣʷəj

Now, you extinguish virtue and establish impropriety,

而寘其賂器於大廟，  
\*nə \*ke-s \*gə \*rʰak-s \*kʰrət-s \*ʔa \*lʰat-s \*mraw-s

and place this bribed vessel in the Grand Temple,

以明示百官，  
\*ləʔ \*mraŋ \*s-gijʔ-s \*pʳak \*kʷan

in order to openly display it to the hundred officials,

百官象之，其又何誅焉？  
\*pʳak \*kʷan \*s-danʔ \*tə \*gə \*ɣʷəʔ-s \*gʰaj \*tro \*ʔan

if the hundred officials imitate this, how can you then punish them?

國家之敗，由官邪也。  
\*kʷək \*kʰra \*tə \*N-pʳat-s \*lu \*kʷan \*sə.ɡa \*lajʔ

The ruin of kingdoms and families comes from the wickedness of officials;

官之失德，寵賂章也。  
\*kʷan \*tə \*lʰit \*tʰək \*tʰonʔ \*rʰak-s \*taŋ \*lajʔ

officials' loss of virtue is manifested in favoritism and bribes.

郜鼎在廟，章孰甚焉？  
\*kʰuk \*tʰenʔ \*dzʰəʔ \*mraw-s \*taŋ \*duk \*t.ɣəmʔ-s \*ʔan

How could anything manifest this more plainly than the *ding*-tripod of Gao in the temple?

武王克商，  
\*maʔ \*ɣʷaŋ \*kʰʰək \*s-taŋ

After King Wu defeated Shang,

Table 11 (continued)

---

遷 九 鼎 于 雒 邑 ，  
 \*tshar \*ku? \*t'eŋ? \*ɣwa \*râk (S) \*qəp

he moved the nine tripods to Luo city.

義 士 猶 或 非 之 ，  
 \*ŋaj-s \*m-s-rə? \*gu \*ɣwək \*pəj \*tə

Among the righteous officers, some opposed it.

而 況 將 昭 違 亂 之 賂 器 於 大 廟 ，  
 \*nə \*m̄aŋ-s \*tsaŋ-s \*taw \*ɣwəj \*r'on-s \*tə \*r'ak-s \*k'rat-s \*ʔa \*l'at-s \*mraw-s

But how much more will it illustrate impropriety and chaos for a bribed vessel to be in the Grand Temple?

其 若 之 何 ？ 』  
 \*gə \*nak \*tə \*g'aj

How would that be?"

---

## Analysis of Zang Aibo's Speech in the "Duke Huan 2<sup>nd</sup> Year" Chapter

### Section 1

The opening section of the speech, in which Zang Aibo explicitly states his main theme, that a "ruler of people" should use virtuous conduct to impart virtuous conduct to one's subordinates, contains no overt acoustic patterns nor phonorhetorical devices. The metric regularity of the second, third and fourth lines might lead one to propose a cross-rhyme between "officials" (*guan* 官 \*k<sup>w</sup>ʃan) at the end of the third line and "grandchildren" (*sun* 孫 \*s<sup>ʃ</sup>un) at the end of the final line, but as the final line is eight graphs long, this must be viewed as extremely tentative, and it seems to this reader more likely that there is no intended euphonic patterning here.

### Section 2

The second section of the speech includes a rhetorical device which in the final centuries before the common era would become a regular feature of Chinese prose and poetry: a list (most often of items or attributes) is simply enumerated, and then the list is capped by a resumptive statement which describes its larger import and/or connotations. Section 2 of this speech contains seven of these units, each of which describes specific characteristics of a virtuous ruler and concludes with the statement "... illustrate his X" (*zhao qi X ye* 昭其X也), in which the "X" is always a positive attribute. In all seven cases, the lines which are simply composed of lists of items and the final statement can be evenly divided into lines of four graphs each (and thus the entire section can be read in perfect tetrasyllabic meter, mirroring the met-

ric structure of many of the poems in the *Classic of Poetry*) and as will be discussed in detail below, exhibit a regular acoustic pattern based upon the pronunciation of every fourth graph, imparting a highly euphonic cadence to the entire section.

After the first two graphs which form the introductory phrase “This is why,” the overall structure here is four tetrasyllabic lines followed by the repeated concluding statement, three lines followed by the concluding statement, two lines followed by the concluding statement, and then four series of a single line followed by the concluding statement, for a total of twenty cadenced tetrasyllabic lines in succession. Each of the units employs slightly different forms of acoustic patterning: in the longer units, there is clear use of rhyme and/or cross-rhyme within the list section, but in the units with only one “list” line, the main phonorhetorical emphasis seems to be on the variable “X” word in the concluding statement. As these are the most semantically important words in the pattern, the use of euphony would thus have served as a device to further emphasize these terms within the overall repetitive acoustic pattern. The seven “X” words in succession are: “frugality” (*jian* 儉 \*gramʔ), “regulations” (*du* 度 \*dʰak-s), “orderedness” (*shu/shuo* 數\*s-roʔ/\*s-rok), “decoration” (*wen* 文 \*mən), “accoutrements” (*wu* 物 \*C.mut), “sounds” (*sheng* 聲 \*ʃen) and “enlightenment” (*ming* 明 \*mran). The phonological correlations between “regulations” and “etiquette” and between “sounds” and “enlightenment” are clear; “frugality” and “decoration” are phonologically a bit more distant, though both feature nasal finals. While “accoutrements” does not seem to fit the pattern, this could be because the final eight lines form a Xa-AX-aa-XA tetrasyllabic cross-rhyming passage, in which the first line is always a list of four items followed by a concluding statement.<sup>210</sup>

Within the longer lists there is also a good deal of obvious rhyming and cross-rhyming (final consonant consonance), based on phrase-final words which feature a final \*-k in the first list and a final \*-ŋ (with one \*-n) in the second and third lists. In the first list, the phrase-final words “roof” (*wu* 屋 \*qʰok, from the *wu* 屋 rhyme group), “grass mat” (*xi* 席 \*s-dak, from the *duo* 鐸 rhyme group) and “unstrained” (*zao* 鑿 \*dzʰawk, also from the *duo* rhyme group) form a four-line tetrasyllabic perfect aAXA rhyming set (though it must be noted that according to Wang Li there are no cross-rhymes between the *wu* and *duo* rhyme groups in the

<sup>210</sup> The AXAA rhyme scheme is extremely rare in the *Classic of Poetry*, though poems such as “The Zhen and Wei” 〈溱洧〉 feature an XAXAA structure at the end of each stanza. As “accoutrements” in this section breaks the standard rhyme scheme (in early Chinese poetry the graph at the end of the second line nearly always rhymes with the final graph in the fourth line), these lines may well best be viewed as four parallel but independent units.

*Classic of Poetry*). When divided into lines of four graphs each, the phrase-final words in the second list are “jade tablet” (*ting* 珽 \*lhêŋ?), “slippers” (*xi* 屣 \*s.qʰak) and “hanging tassels” (*yan* 纒 \*lan), and the phrase-final words in the third list are “quillon” (*beng* 鞞 \*pôŋ?) and “cap-ties” (*ying* 纓 \*ʔeŋ). While none of these form perfect rhyming couplets, the consonance in the third list is clear, and it is possible there was also a more loose form of consonance at work here between the words ending in \*-n and \*-ŋ.

The variable “X” words in the parallel concluding statements for the second and third lists, “measuredness” (*du* 度 \*dʰak-s, from the *duo* rhyme group) and “orderedness” (*shu/shuo* 數 \*s-roʔ/\*s-rok, from the *hou* or *wu* rhyme group) form a type of cross-rhyming pair of their own, echoing the rhyme words with \*-k finals featured in the first list. If a \*-k final is correct for “orderedness” here, the overall euphonic structure for these two lists would be **ABaB-aAb** (the concluding statements marked in bold). Despite the perfect metrical consistency and parallel grammatical structure, the euphonic pattern here would probably not have been regular enough to be considered “poetry” (as defined by the highly consistent euphonic patterns represented in the *Classic of Poetry*), but the overall phonological correspondences are so numerous and overt that it seems highly unlikely that it was merely coincidence that the words in the passage were arranged in this order.

### Section 3

As the opening five lines of this section repeat many of the same key terms seen in the previous section, it comes as little surprise that they seem to echo the euphonic patterns discussed in detail above. The main phonorhetorical device connecting the phrase-final words in the first three lines is the same type of cross-rhyme using words featuring \*-k finals (“virtue,” “regulations” and “etiquette”) as seen in section 2. More interesting to this reader is the choice of words which begin the parallel couplets in lines 2–3 and 4–5, “frugality” (*jian* 儉 \*gram?), “ascending” (*deng* 登 \*tʰəŋ), “decorations” (*wen* 文 \*mən) and “sounds” (*sheng* 聲 \*ʃeŋ), particularly as the second line employs a word which is not drawn directly from the preceding passage. Were these four words to fall at the ends of the four phrases, they would form a perfect aAaA rhyme scheme; in the initial position, they form a phonorhetorical device not often encountered and which has received relatively little attention in studies of early Chinese prose. Given the perfectly parallel grammar of the two couplets, there can be little doubt that these words (“ascending” *deng* 登 \*tʰəŋ in particular) were chosen for their acoustic as well as their semantic value, in order to add a sonorant emphasis to these lines as Zang Aibo shifts from his lengthy descriptions of the attributes of a virtuous ruler to the final section, in which he will detail his specific grounds for remonstrance with the Duke of Lu.

#### Section 4

This final section of the speech is a personalized attack by Zang Aibo on his lord's decision to accept the bribe of the *ding*-cauldron of Gao and enshrine it in the Great Temple. As Zang's comments are tailored specifically to the situation at hand (he repeatedly refers directly to the “bribed vessel” and its placement in the Grand Temple) it is perhaps not surprising that there are no discernable euphonic patterns nor phonorhetorical devices in this section.

#### General Comments on Zang Aibo's Speech in the “Duke Huan 2<sup>nd</sup> Year” Chapter

The norm within the speeches of the *Zuo Commentary* seems to be that only discrete sections of the speech were acoustically patterned. As in this speech, these patterned sections tend to feature regular meter (almost always tetrasyllabic) and consistent use of parallel grammatical structures, causing them to stand out from the rest of the speech. These sections have a similar feel to the more repetitive poems in the *Classic of Poetry* and some ancient Chinese aphorisms, in which much of the framework features similar (or even identical) form and content, and the emphasis thus naturally falls upon the words or phrases which vary within the overall pattern.

In addition, the repeated use of phrase-final consonance (*homoioteleuton*) featuring the final consonants \*-k and \*-ŋ closely mirrors the patterns analyzed in the previous chapters from the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and the *Classic of Documents*. It seems reasonable to assume that the composers of these speeches were heavily influenced by previous phonorhetorical and literary conventions as they developed new forms and styles, though further research is needed to determine how widespread these conventions might have been and whether composers of other contemporaneous texts made use of similar acoustic patterns and devices. As the following two case studies indicate, the speeches preserved in later chapters of the *Zuo Commentary* also demonstrate an increased emphasis on repetition, parallelism and use of formulaic structures in oratory and argumentation, providing further evidence and additional insights into the ways literary styles and forms developed during this formative period.



## Speech by Fu Chen 富辰 in the “Duke Xi 24<sup>th</sup> Year” 〈僖公二十四年傳〉 Chapter

The *Zuo Commentary* to the entry in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* for the 24<sup>th</sup> year of Duke Xi (635 B.C.E.) records the events which preceded the attack on Zheng 鄭 by the Di 狄 listed in the *Annals*: King Xiang of Zhou 周襄王 had recently interceded on the side of the small states of Wei 衛 and Hua 滑 against Zheng, which had invaded them and then withdrawn. Having protected Wei and Hua, the king was now debating about invading Zheng using a force primarily made up of Di warriors. The king’s advisor Fu Chen 富辰 advises against such an action, citing the long-standing ties between the Zhou royal house and the leaders of the state of Zheng, arguing that to turn their back on Zheng and ally with the Di was morally equivalent to a brother allying himself with criminals and going to war against his brother. In the end, however, the king ignores Fu Chen’s argument and proceeds with the attack.

The dramatic quality of the scene is heightened by the repetitive phonorhetorical phrasing throughout the midsection of Fu Chen’s long speech. Long prose sections which begin and end the speech bookend five short sections composed of rhyming prose featuring a variety of euphonic and rhetorical constructions. These passages exhibit similar patterns as those documented in the previous analyses in this volume, including a mix of phrase-final perfect rhyme, *he yun* 合韻 cross-rhyme and *homoioteleuton*, repetitive and parallel rhetorical structures and phrase-internal euphony based on phrase-initial words or those which immediately precede phrase-final rhyme words.

**Table 12:** Fu Chen’s Speech in the “Duke Xi 24<sup>th</sup> Year” Chapter: Phonology and Translation.

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### Section 1: *Mise-en-scène*, Speaker Named; Historical Narration, Quotes *Classic of Poetry*

---

王 怒 ， 將 以 狄 伐 鄭 。

\*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ-s \*n<sup>h</sup>a? \*tsaŋ \*lə? \*f<sup>h</sup>ek \*m-pat \*drenh (S)

The king was furious, and was going to use the Di to invade Zheng.

富 辰 諫 曰 ：

\*pək-s \*dər \*k<sup>h</sup>ran? \*G<sup>w</sup>at

Fu Chen remonstrated with him, saying,

「不 可 。

\*pə \*k<sup>h</sup>aj?

“This is not acceptable.

臣 聞 之 ：

\*gin \*mun \*tə

Your servant has heard,

---

Table 12 (continued)

大 上 以 德 撫 民 ，  
\*lʰat-s \*daŋʔ-s \*ləʔ \*tʰək \*pʰaʔ \*miŋ

The highest technique uses virtue to soothe the people.

其 次 親 親 ，  
\*gə \*s-nij-s \*tsʰin \*tsʰin

The next best method is to favor one’s relatives,

以 相 及 也 。

in order to reach others.

昔 周 公 弔 二 叔 之 不 咸 ，  
\*sak \*tiw \*C.qʰoŋ \*tʰewk-s \*nij-s \*s-tiwk \*tə \*pə \*gʰrəm

In ancient times, the duke of Zhou, aggrieved by the disharmony created by Guanshu and Caishu,

故 封 建 親 戚 以 蕃 屏 周 。

thus enfeoffed his relatives [as rulers of smaller states] to thereby act as bulwarks for Zhou.

管 、 蔡 、 邲[成] 、 霍 、 魯 、 衛 、  
\*kʰonʔ \*s.rʰat-s [\*deŋ (S)] \*hwâk (S) \*r.ŋʰaʔ \*gʷat-s

[The rulers of] Guan, Cai, Cheng, Huo, Lu, Wei,

毛 、 聃 、 郤 、 雍 、 曹 、 滕 、  
\*C.mʰaw \*nhâm (S) \*kʰuk \*ʔoŋ (S) \*N-tsʰu \*ləŋ (S)

Mao, Dan, Gao, Yong, Cao, Teng,

畢 、 原 、 鄆[豐] 、 郇[旬]， 文 之 昭 也 。

Bi, Yuan, Feng, and Xun were all [King] Wen’s sons.

邠[于] 、 晉 、 應 、 韓 ， 武 之 穆 也 。

Those of Yu, Jin, Ying, and Han were [King] Wu’s progeny.

凡 、 蔣 、 邢[刑] 、 茅 、 胙 、 祭 ，  
\*brom \*tsaŋʔ (S) [\*gêŋ (S)] \*C.mʰru \*dzʰak-s \*tset-s

Those of Fan, Jiang, Xing, Mao, Zuo, and Zhai

周 公 之 胤 也 。

were the Duke of Zhou’s descendants.

召 穆 公 思 周 德 之 不 類 ，  
\*dawʔ \*miwk \*C.qʰoŋ \*sə \*tiw \*tʰək \*tə \*pə \*rut-s

Duke Mu of Shao considered Zhou’s virtue to be defective;

故 糾 合 宗 族 于 成 周  
\*kʰa-s \*kiwʔ \*m-kʰop \*tsʰuŋ \*dzʰok \*gʷa \*deŋ \*tiw

thus assembled all the members of the lineage in Chengzhou,

Table 12 (continued)

而 作 詩 ， 曰 ：

\*nə \*tsʰak \*s.tə \*ɣʷat

and composed the poem which says:

『常 棣 之 華 ，

\*dɑŋ \*N.rʰəp-s \*tə \*qʷhʰra

'The flowers of the cherry tree,

鄂 不 韓(韓) 韓(韓) 。

\*ŋâk (S) \*pə (\*wəi (S)) (\*wəi (S))

Are they not **truly splendid**?

凡 今 之 人 ，

\*brəm \*krəm \*tə \*niŋ

Of men that now are,

莫 如 兄 弟 。

\*mʰak \*na \*m̩raŋ \*lʰəjʔ

Nothing equals a **brother**.<sup>211</sup>

其 四 章 曰 ：

\*gə \*s.lij-s \*taŋ \*ɣʷat

Its fourth stanza says:

『兄 弟 鬪 于 牆 ，

\*m̩raŋ \*lʰəjʔ \*ŋʰek \*ɣʷa \*dzaŋ (S)

'Brothers may quarrel within the walls,

外 禦 其 侮(務) 。

\*ŋʷat-s \*m-qʰaʔ \*gə \*moʔ (S) (\*mo-s)

But outside they defend one another from insult.'

## Section 2: Remonstrance on Brotherhood

如 是 ，

\*na \*deʔ

As such,

則 兄 弟 雖 有 小 忿 ，

\*tsʰək \*m̩raŋ \*lʰəjʔ \*s-qʷij \*ɣʷəʔ \*sewʔ \*phənʔ (S)

though brothers may have **petty resentments**,

不 廢 懿 親 。

\*pə \*pap-s \*ʔits (S) \*tsʰin

[they] will not disregard their closest **kin**.

211 All translations from the *Classic of Poetry* are adapted from Waley, *The Book of Songs*.

Table 12 (continued)

今 天 子 不 忍 小 忿  
 \*krəm \*ʃin \*tsə? \*pə \*nən? \*sew? \*phən? (S)

Now, Your Majesty, unable to bear **petty resentments**,

以 棄 鄭 親 ,  
 \*lə? \*kʰit-s \*dreŋh (S) \*tshin

thereby discards Zheng’s **kinship**,

其 若 之 何 ?  
 \*gə \*nak \*tə \*gʰaj

what is this like?

### Section 3: The greatest virtues, evils and calamities

庸 勳 、 親 親 、  
 \*loŋ (S) \*hwən (S) \*tshin \*tshin

Employing the **meritorious**, fostering close kinship with one’s **kin**,

暱(昵) 近 、 尊 賢 ,  
 \*nik(\*nrit) \*gər? / \*gən? (S) \*tsʰun \*gʰin

keeping close ties with **those near at hand**, revering the **worthy**:

德 之 大 者 也 。  
 \*tʰək \*tə \*ʃat-s \*ta? \*laj?

these are the greatest of virtues.

即 聾 、 從 昧 、  
 \*tsik \*C.rʰoŋ \*dzoŋ \*mʰut-s / \*mən? (S)

Approaching the **deaf** and following the **blind**,

與 頑 、 用 嚚 ,  
 \*C.ga? \*ŋrōn (S) \*m.loŋ-s \*ŋrən (S)

joining with the **wayward** and employing the **stupid**:

姦 之 大 者 也 。  
 \*kʰran \*tə \*ʃat-s \*ta? \*laj?

these are greatest of evils.

棄 德 、 崇 姦 ,  
 \*kʰit-s \*tʰək \*dzoŋ \*kʰran

Discarding virtue and honoring **evil**,

禍 之 大 者 也 。  
 \*gōi? (S) \*tə \*ʃat-s \*ta? \*laj?

this is the greatest of calamities.

### Section 4: Zheng is our close ally

鄭 有 平 、 惠 之 勳 ,  
 \*dreŋh (S) \*Gwə? \*breŋ \*Gwʰij-s \*tə \*hwən (S)

Zheng performed **meritorious service** for [kings] Ping and Hui,

Table 12 (continued)

又 有 厲、宣 之 親，  
 \*gʷəʔ- \*gʷəʔ \*rat- \*s- \*tə \*tsʰin  
 s s qʷar

and **was as kin** to [kings] Li and Xuan;

棄 嬖 寵 而 用 三 良，  
 \*kʰit-s \*pʰek-s \*ʔoŋʔ \*nə \*m.loŋ-s \*srum \*raŋ

[Zheng] discarded its favoured heirs and [instead] has been employing the ‘three **good ministers**’;

於 諸 姬 為 近，  
 \*ʔa \*ta \*kə \*gʷaj \*gərʔ / \*gənʔ (S)

of all the states ruled by the Ji clan it is **closest** [to us],

四 德 具 矣。  
 \*s.lij-s \*tʰək \*go-s \*qəʔ

the four virtues it possesses completely.

#### Section 5: Parallel statements on moral character

耳 不 聽 五 聲 之 和 為 聾，  
 \*C.nəʔ \*pə \*ʔeŋ \*C.ŋʰaʔ \*ʔeŋ \*tə \*gʰoj-s \*gʷaj \*C.rʰoŋ

He whose ear does not hear the harmony of the five sounds is **deaf**;

目 不 別 五 色 之 章 為 昧，  
 \*C.muk \*pə \*pret \*C.ŋʰaʔ \*srək \*tə \*taŋ \*gʷaj \*mʰut-s/\*mənʔ (S)

he whose eye does not distinguish the hues of the five colours is **blind**;

心 不 則 德 義 之 經 為 頑，  
 \*səm \*pə \*tsʰək \*tʰək \*ŋaj-s \*tə \*k-l'eŋ \*gʷaj \*ŋrôn (S)

he whose mind does not accord with the principles of virtue and righteousness is **wayward**;

口 不 道 忠 信 之 言 為 瞞。  
 \*kʰoʔ \*pə \*ʔuʔ-s \*truŋ \*s-niŋ-s \*tə \*ŋan \*gʷaj \*ŋrən (S)

he whose mouth does not speak the words of loyalty and faith is a **stupid chatterer**.

#### Section 6: The Di are evil, not like the Zhou

狄 皆 則 之，  
 \*ʔek \*kʰrij \*tsʰək \*tə

The Di all are like this,

四 姦 具 矣。  
 \*s.lij-s \*kʰran \*go-s \*qəʔ

the four evils they possess completely.

周 之 有 懿 德 也，  
 \*tiw \*tə \*gʷəʔ \*ʔits (S) \*tʰək \*ʔajʔ

When Zhou had admirable virtue,

猶 曰 『 莫 如 兄 弟 』，  
 \*gu \*gʷat \*mʰak \*na \*ŋraŋ \*ʔajʔ

it was still said that ‘Nothing equals a **brother**,’

Table 12 (continued)

---

故 封 建 之 。

\*kʰa-s \*poŋ \*kan-s \*tə

and thus enfeoffed [them] to rule the states.

---

**Section 7: To follow the Di would be “the way of all evil”**

---

其 懷 柔 天 下 也 ，

\*gə \*gʰruj \*nu \*ʔin \*gʰra? \*laj?

While [Zhou] was gently cherishing all under Heaven,

猶 懼 有 外 侮 ；

\*gu \*gʷa-s \*ɣwə? \*ŋwʰat-s \*mo? (S)

it was still afraid there would be insult from outside;

扞 禦 侮 者 ，

\*m-kʰar-s \*m-qʰa? \*mo? (S) \*ta?

to defend against and resist insulters,

莫 如 親 親 ，

\*mʰak \*na \*tsʰin \*tsʰin

nothing equals fostering close kinship with one’s kin,

故 以 親 屏 周 。

\*kʰa-s \*lə? \*tsʰin \*bʰeŋ \*tiw

Thus [Zhou] thereby made its relatives a bulwark to its domains.

召 穆 公 亦 云 。

\*daw? \*miwk \*C.qʰoŋ \*gak \*ɣwər

Duke Mu of Shao also stated this.

今 周 德 既 衰 ，

\*krəm \*tiw \*tʰək \*kət-s \*sruj

Now, Zhou’s virtue has already declined;

於 是 乎 又 渝 周 、 召 ，

\*ʔa \*de? \*ɣʰa \*ɣwəʔ-s \*lo \*tiw \*daw?

now moving even further from [the ways of] Zhou and Shao,

以 從 諸 姦 ，

\*lə? \*dzoŋ \*ta \*kʰran

in order to follow the many evils,

無 乃 不 可 乎 ？

\*ma \*nʰə? \*pə \*kʰaj? \*ɣʰa

how would this be?

民 未 忘 禍 ，

\*miŋ \*mət-s \*maŋ \*gôi? (S)

The people have not yet forgotten [recent] calamities,

---

Table 12 (continued)

---

王	又	興	之	，
*ɣʷaŋ-s	*ɣʷəʔ-s	*qʰəŋ	*tə	

[and you] king, further arouse them;

其	若	文	、	武	何	？	」
*gə	*nak	*mən		*maʔ	*gʰaj		

how is this like [the ways of kings] Wen and Wu?

---

### Section 8: Zuo narrative resumes, the king joins with the Di and attacks Zheng

---

王	弗	聽	，
*ɣʷaŋ-s	*put	*lʰeŋ	

The king did not listen to this advice,

使	頽	叔	、	桃	子	出	狄	師	。
*s-rəʔ	*dūi (S)	*s-tiwk		*C.lʰaw	*tsəʔ	*t-kʰut	*fɛk	*srij	

and dispatched Tui Shu and Tao Zi to send out the Di army.

---

## Analysis of Fu Chen's Speech in the "Duke Xi 24<sup>th</sup> Year" Chapter

### Section 1

The opening narrative section to this speech provides the background for Fu Chen's remonstrance (*jian* 諫): the Zhou king wishes to ally the royal army with the Di 狄 and use them to attack the neighboring state of Zheng. Fu Chen openly disagrees with him, and provides historical examples of the use of virtue (*de* 德) and kinship (*qin* 親) in order to both foster harmony within the state and support the alliances with other states which served as bulwarks against outside aggressors. As support for his argument that the tradition of strong, traditional familial ties between states should be maintained, at the very end of this long prose section, Fu Chen quotes two lines from the poem "Cherry Tree" 〈常棣〉 (Mao #164) from the "Lesser Odes" 〈小雅〉 section of the *Classic of Poetry*.

The quotation from the poem is the first instance in this speech where we see acoustic patterning at work, and it seems to serve as a formal prelude to the cadenced, repetitive phonorhetorical lines which make up the midsection of the speech. Most interestingly, the first citation that Fu Chen quotes is an entire stanza (the opening line is not necessary to make his point) composed of four tetrasyllabic, perfectly rhyming lines in an XAXA format. The second citation, taken from the fourth stanza of the poem, contains only the opening two (nonrhyming) lines. This second example is by far the most typical way quotes from the *Classic of Poetry* are employed in the *Zuo Commentary*, selected solely on the basis of their semantic and historical relevance and connotations; entire rhyming stanzas

are only provided in rare instances, and in general, the lines of poetry do not rhyme and thus are not employed as acoustic devices.

## Section 2

In the second section, Fu Chen employs paired parallel lines for rhetorical effect, similar in construction to early Chinese aphorisms. The meter is repeated as well as the final graph(s) in each line: a 7-graph line ending in “petty resentments” (*xiao fen* 小忿 \*sew? \*phən?) is followed by a tetrasyllabic line ending in “affection” (*qin* 親 \*ts<sup>h</sup>in), and after this structure is repeated, the fifth line ends the section in a non-rhyming tetrasyllabic rhetorical question. The two phrase-final graphs do not constitute a true rhyme (*fen* is in the *zhen* 真 rhyme group and *qin* is in the *wen* 文 rhyme group), but as Wang Li noted, there are examples of cross-rhyming using these two rhyme groups in the *Classic of Poetry*, so we can assume they would likely have been considered phonetically close enough to rhyme in this case.<sup>212</sup> In addition, these words indisputably mirror the type of consonance most commonly found in the texts detailed in this volume, so whether or not they can be considered to be rhyme-words, their acoustic effect cannot be ignored. Finally, the initial graph in the second and fourth lines of this section also serve to underscore the parallel construction: the finals of the graphs *bu* 不 \*pə and *yi* 以 \*lə? are echoed in the first and third graphs of the final tetrasyllabic line, *qi* 其 \*gə and *zhi* 之 \*tə, and produce a significant repetitive phonorhetorical effect.

## Section 3

This section is comprised of three short comments: the first two include a rhyming couplet followed by a third line ending with the comment “is the greatest of X” (*X zhi da zhe ye* 之大者也), ending with a non-rhyming line and the comment repeated for a final time. While the rhetorical structure of the section is clear, much less clear is its phonological composition: the first couplet clearly rhymes perfectly in an ABAB bisyllabic structure, but the second couplet seems instead to employ an ABaB near-rhyming bisyllabic form. Most intriguing is the use of the word “blind” (normally reconstructed as *mei* 昧 \*m<sup>h</sup>ut-s) in the second couplet: in his *Jingdian shiwen* 《經典釋文》, Lu Deming 陸德明 provides the gloss “昧, 舊音勿, 亡粉切。” and thus the pronunciation of the graph 昧 is most likely \*mən? here (to use Schuessler’s reconstruction). The “A” and “a” rhymes in these lines

212 See Wang Li, *Shi jing yun du*, 33.



are particularly intriguing as they would comprise a rhyme between “deaf” (*long* 聾 \*C.r<sup>o</sup>ŋ) in the *dong* 東 rhyme group) and “wayward” (*wan* 頑 \*ŋrôn) in the *yuan* 元 rhyme group, and thus provide further evidence for the practice of near-rhyming using words ending in proximate nasal consonants (in this case with vowel agreement) documented above. Their use in rhyme position in section 5 below as well adds support for this conclusion. Finally, while not rhyming per se, it should be noted that the single line before the final “is the greatest of X” repetition ends in the word “evil” (*jian* 姦 \*k<sup>h</sup>ran, the final consonant of which matches the other non-repeated lines, and thus it may be echoing the patterns of consonance seen in the other sections of the speech.

#### Section 4

In this short section Fu Chen’s phonorhetorical structure changes again, as we are presented with four lines of six, six, seven and five graphs each in an AaA rhyme scheme. Similar to the previous section, the *he yun* cross-rhyming words which fall in phrase-final position employ nasal final consonants (“intimate” *qin* 親 \*ts<sup>h</sup>in and “good men” *lang* 良 \*raŋ), and thus provide another example of phrase-final final consonance (or *homoioteleuton*) precisely as detailed in the other texts analyzed above. Also similar to the patterns in this and some of the other case studies is the use of a final, non-rhyming line in this section, which seems to function as a type of coda and summation of the argument.

#### Section 5

This section provides the most obvious parallel rhetorical construction in the speech, with four lines of nine graphs each in which the second, sixth and eighth words are the same in each line, forming the repeated syntactic pattern: “The [body part] which does not [verb of the sensory function of the body part] [four-graph ‘XX of Y’ attributive phrase] is [negative adjective].” In terms of euphony, these four lines form a perfectly-rhymed aAaA poetic stanza featuring the phrase-final words “deaf” (*long* 聾 \*C.r<sup>o</sup>ŋ), “blind” (*mei* 昧 \*mən?), “wayward” (*wan* 頑 \*ŋrôn) and “stupid chatterer” (*yin* 嚚 \*ŋrən). As the phrase-final words in the first and third lines also cross-rhyme with the words in the second and fourth lines, this section serves as an outstanding specific example of how ancient Chinese authors were able to effectively utilize a combination of literary devices in concert: euphony and rhetoric, regular meter, and grammatical and semantic parallelism and juxtaposition.

### Section 6

This is the final section of the speech which employs obvious acoustic patterning, but here, these patterns are quite different from the phonological structures in the other sections. The five lines which comprise this section fall into an AABbA metric pattern of 4-4-6-6-4 graphs per line, wherein the first, second and fifth tetrasyllabic lines rhyme perfectly with each other, while the inner hexasyllabic lines seem to cross-rhyme with each other, and do not cross-rhyme with the tetrasyllabic lines. This passage employs a type of phonorhetorical device not previously documented in this volume: with the exception of the fourth line, which is a direct quote taken from the *Classic of Poetry*, the phrase-final words are all particles (*zhuci* 助詞) rather than words with significant semantic weight; the tetrasyllabic lines end in *zhi* 之 (\*tə) in the first and fifth lines, and *yi* 矣 (\*qə?) ends the second line. In the *Classic of Poetry*, these particles normally form binomial rhyming patterns where the main rhyme word precedes the particle, but this is clearly not the case here. In the inner sextasyllabic couplet, the emphatic particle *ye* 也 \*1aj? (from the *ge* 歌 rhyme group) forms a cross-rhyme with the word “brothers” *di* 弟 \*1ʔəj? (from the *zhi* 脂 rhyme group) at the end of the quote; as Wang Li notes there are examples from the *Classic of Poetry* where a *ge* rhyme group word cross-rhymes with a *zhi* rhyme group word, we can assume these two lines were phonetically proximate enough to form an interior cross-rhyming couplet and reinforce the different metrics and grammar.<sup>213</sup>

### Section 7

As far as this reader can discern there are no obvious further attempts at acoustic patterning throughout the rest of Fu Chen’s speech. This section serves as a reiteration of the arguments he has presented, focusing upon historical precedent and warning against turning his back on his relatives in order to ally the royal house with foreigners of low moral character.

### Section 8

In this final line to this part of the narrative, the narrator of the *Zuo Commentary* notes that the king does not heed Fu Chen’s advice and sends two of his high-ranking officers along with the army of the Di to attack Zheng. This is a stratagem which will have positive short-term effects (Zheng is defeated) yet disastrous

213 *Ibid.*, 33.

long-term ramifications, as the Di will thereafter turn on the Zhou king and overthrow the royal capital, and Fu Chen's eloquent words of warning will be proved accurate. This follows the general emplotment of the *Zuo Commentary*, in which the exquisitely-crafted rhetoric of noble men is consistently disregarded by their superiors, with inevitably disastrous results. These eloquent orations thus include connotations of both sageliness and tragedy, dramatic renderings of the degraded times in which no good counselor can get a fair hearing, leaving it to the reader coming centuries after the events to recollect and fully appreciate the perspicuity of these speeches, and to choose more wisely when presented with a similar situation.

### **General Comments on Fu Chen's Speech in the "Duke Xi 24<sup>th</sup> Year" Chapter**

In Fu Chen's remonstrance, we find a few sections of patterned speech coming between long prose sections, a form not unlike that employed by the composers of the other speeches analyzed in this volume. His repeated use of parallel rhetorical structures and emphasis upon "true rhyming" (phrase-final rhyme-words from the same rhyme group, sharing identical medial vowels and final consonants), however, seems to indicate a more refined style than that employed in the texts analyzed in the previous case studies; while there are discernable patterns of consonance among the final consonants in these sections, vowel disharmony seems to be playing a lesser role here. While this could be due to phonetic shifts in the language of the time, it seems rather to represent a conscious stylistic choice. As Fu Chen quotes the *Classic of Poetry* twice in his remarks, he could be actively using the patterns established in that text as a guideline for patterned speech rather than relying upon Western Zhou models of rhetoric and oratory. As will be seen in the final example text in this chapter, extensive use of parallelism, consistent meter and rhyme schemes analogous to the familiar patterns of the *Poetry* seem to have been increasingly conventionalized over the final centuries of this formative period.

## Speech by Zitaishu 子大叔 in the “Duke Zhao 25<sup>th</sup> Year” 〈昭公二十五年傳〉 Chapter

Zitaishu 子大叔, a prominent minister from the small state of Zheng 鄭, appears over twenty times in the *Zuo Commentary*. He is mentioned in eight of the Duke Xiāng 襄公 chapters, in twelve of the Duke Zhāo 昭公 chapters, and in two of the Duke Ding 定公 chapters, always in the role of the wise minister, speaking eloquently on matters of ritual (*li* 禮) and proper deportment (*yi* 儀). His speech in the “Duke Zhāo 25th Year” (517 B.C.E.) chapter is perhaps his most outstanding single appearance in the text, as he cleverly explains how through ritual Heaven-sent models can be effectively transmitted to influence the emotional state of the common people, a concept central to the functioning of the aesthetic state and the foundation of the relationship between the people and their rulers in early China.

The speech begins with a question from Zhao Jianzi 趙簡子, a minister of the state of Jin 晉, who asks Zitaishu, “What are we to understand by [the term] ‘ritual?’” (*he wei li* 何謂禮). In response, Zitaishu provides a wide-ranging explanation of actors involved in the cosmological framework which provides the model for ritual, including Heaven (*tian* 天) and Earth (*di* 地), the six atmospheric conditions (or six aethers, *liu qi* 六氣), the five phases (or five elements, *wu xing* 五行), five flavors (*wu wei* 五味), five colors (*wu se* 五色) and five notes (of the pentatonic scale used in ritual music, *wu sheng* 五聲). Zitaishu explains that these all are supported by ritual to create love and hatred, pleasure and anger, grief and joy, each in its proper context. Ultimately, he says, by creating proper rituals, “one can be in harmony with Heaven and Earth’s innate nature, and thereby will long endure.” (「乃能協于天地之性, 是以長久。」)

**Table 13:** Zitaishu’s Speech in the “Duke Zhao 25<sup>th</sup> Year” Chapter: Phonology and Translation.

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### Section 1: *Mise-en-scène*, Speakers Named, Sources of Ritual in Nature

---

子 大 叔 見 趙 簡 子 ,  
\*tsə? \*fʰat-s \*s-tiwk \*kʰen-s \*diâu? (S) \*kʰren? \*tsə?

Zitaishu met with Zhao Jianzi;

簡 子 問 揖 讓 周 旋 之 禮 焉 ,  
\*kʰren? \*tsə? \*C.mun-s \*ts(r)əp (S) \*naŋ-s \*tiw \*s-gʷen \*tə \*rʰij? \*ʔan

Jianzi asked him about the rituals of bowing, yielding precedence and socializing amongst people.

對 曰 , 「 是 儀 也 , 非 禮 也 。 」  
\*tʰəp-s \*gʷat \*de? \*ŋaj \*laj? \*pəj \*rʰij? \*laj?

[Zitaishu] replied, saying, “These are matters of deportment, and not of ritual.”

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Table 13 (continued)

簡 子 曰 ， 敢 問 何 謂 禮 ，  
 \*k'ɿren? \*tsə? \*ɣwat \*k'ɿam? \*C.mun-s \*g'ɿaj \*ɣwət-s \*r'ij?  
 Jianzi said, “May I ask, what are we to understand by [the term] ritual?”

對 曰 ，  
 \*t'ɿəp-s \*ɣwat  
 [Zitaishu] replied, saying:

「吉 也 。 聞 諸 先 大 夫 子 產 曰 ；  
 \*C.qit \*laj? \*mun \*ta \*s'ɿər \*l'at-s \*pa \*tsə? \*s-ŋrar? \*ɣwat  
 “Auspicious. I heard the former high official Zichan say,

『 夫 禮 、  
 \*ba \*r'ij?  
 ‘As for ritual,

天 之 經 也 ，  
 \*l'in \*tə \*k-l'ɿŋ \*laj?  
 it is the **standard** of Heaven,

地 之 義 也 ，  
 \*l'ej-s \*tə \*ŋaj-s \*laj?  
 it is the righteousness of the Earth,

民 之 行 也 。 』  
 \*miŋ \*tə \*g'ɿraŋ-s \*laj?  
 and it is the **conduct** of the **people**.’

天 地 之 經 ，  
 \*l'in \*l'ej-s \*tə \*k-l'ɿŋ  
 [As ritual is] the **standard** of Heaven and Earth,

而 民 實 則 之 。  
 \*nə \*miŋ \*mə.lit \*ts'ək \*tə  
 the people model themselves on it.

則 天 之 明 ，  
 \*ts'ək \*l'in \*tə \*mraŋ  
 Thus Heaven’s **illumination**,

因 地 之 性 ，  
 \*ʔin \*l'ej-s \*tə \*sɿŋ-s  
 in accordance with Earth’s **innate qualities**,

生 其 六 氣 ，  
 \*sreŋ \*gə \*k.ruk \*k'əp-s  
 produces its six aethers,

用 其 五 行 。  
 \*m.loŋ-s \*gə \*C.ŋ'ɿə? \*g'ɿraŋ-s  
 and employs its five **phases**.

Table 13 (continued)

氣 為 五 味 ，  
\*kʰəp-s \*ɣʷaj \*C.ŋʰa? \*mət-s

The aethers are the five flavors,

發 為 五 色 ，  
\*Cə.pat \*ɣʷaj \*C.ŋʰa? \*srək

manifested as the five colors,

章 為 五 聲 。

\*taŋ \*ɣʷaj \*C.ŋʰa? \*leŋ

patterned as the five notes.

淫 則 昏 亂 ，  
\*N.rəm \*tsʰək \*ŋʰun \*rʰon-s

With excess, then disorder and chaos ensue,

民 失 其 性 。

\*miŋ \*lit \*gə \*seŋ-s

and the people lose their innate qualities.

### Section 2: Lists of enumerated items to support the various aspects of ritual

是 故 為 禮 以 奉 之 ；  
\*de? \*kʰa-s \*ɣʷaj \*rʰij? \*lə? \*m-pʰoŋ? \*tə

For this reason, rituals were created in order to uphold it:

為 六 畜 、 五 牲 、 三 犧 ，  
\*ɣʷaj \*k.ruk \*qʰuk-s \*C.ŋʰa? \*srjeŋ (S) \*srum \*ŋaj

There are the six domestic animals, the five victims, and the three sacrifices,

以 奉 五 味 ；  
\*lə? \*m-pʰoŋ? \*C.ŋʰa? \*mət-s

in order to uphold the five flavors.

為 九 文 、 六 采 、 五 章 ，  
\*ɣʷaj \*ku? \*mən \*k.ruk \*m-sʰrə? \*C.ŋʰa? \*taŋ

There are the nine [emblematic] decorations, the six hues, and the five methods of display,

以 奉 五 色 ；  
\*lə? \*m-pʰoŋ? \*C.ŋʰa? \*srək

to uphold the five colors.

為 九 歌 、 八 風 、 七 音 、 六 律 ，  
\*ɣʷaj \*ku? \*kʰaj \*pʰret \*prəm \*tsʰit \*qəm \*k.ruk \*rut

There were made the nine songs, the eight airs, the seven tones, and the six pitches,

以 奉 五 聲 。

\*lə? \*m-pʰoŋ? \*C.ŋʰa? \*leŋ

to uphold the five notes.

Table 13 (continued)

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為 君 臣 上 下 ，

\*ɣʷaj \*C.qur \*gin \*danʔ-s ɡʻraʔ

There were made rulers and ministers, high and low,

以 則 地 義 ；

\*lǝʔ \*tsʻək \*lʻej-s \*ŋaj-s

in order to imitate Earth's righteousness.

為 夫 婦 外 內 ，

\*ɣʷaj \*pa \*mə.bəʔ \*ŋʷat-s \*nʻəp-s

There were made husbands and wives, interiority (=the home) and exteriority (=the outside world),

以 經 二 物 ；

\*lǝʔ \*k-lʻeŋ \*nij-s \*C.mut

in order to regulate these two spheres.

為 父 子 、 兄 弟 、 姑 姊 、

\*ɣʷaj \*N-paʔ \*tsəʔ \*mŋraŋ \*lʻəjʔ \*k'a \*tsiʔ (S)

There were made fathers and sons, elder brothers and younger brothers, aunts and sisters,

甥 舅 、 昏 媾 、 姻 亞 ，

\*s.reŋ \*guʔ \*mŋun \*k(r)os (S) \*ʔjin (S) \*ʔrak-s

maternal uncles and aunts, relations by marriage, and in-laws,

以 象 天 明 ，

\*lǝʔ \*s-danʔ \*lʻin \*mraŋ

in order to resemble Heaven's illumination.

為 政 事 、 庸 力 、 行 務 ，

\*ɣʷaj \*teŋ-s \*m-s-rəʔ-s \*loŋ (S) \*k.rək \*Cə.ɡʻraŋ \*mo-s

There were made government and administration, services and works, actions and measures,

以 從 四 時 ；

\*lǝʔ \*dzon \*s.lij-s \*də

in order to accord with the four seasons.

為 刑 罰 威 獄 ，

\*ɣʷaj-s \*ɣʻeŋ \*bat \*ʔuj \*ŋrok

There were made made punishments and penalties, and the awesome power of **legal proceedings**,

使 民 畏 忌 ，

\*s-rəʔ \*miŋ \*ʔuj-s \*m-kə-s

causing the people to be awestruck and fearful,

以 類 其 震 曜 殺 戮 ；

\*lǝʔ \*rut-s \*gə \*tər-s \*lew-k-s \*sat \*riwk

in order to simulate the deadly **forces** of thunder and **lightning**.

為 溫 慈 惠 和 ，

\*ɣʷaj \*ʔun \*dzə \*ɣʷij-s \*ɣʻoj

There were made mildness and gentleness, kindness and harmony,

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Table 13 (continued)

以 效 天 之 生 殖 長 育 。

\*lǎ? \*m-k'raw-s \*l'in \*tə \*sreŋ \*N-tək \*Cə-N-traŋ \*m-quk

in order to imitate Heaven's **propagation** and long-lasting **care**.

民 有 好 惡 、

\*miŋ \*Gwə? \*q'hu? \*ʔ'ak

The people had love and **hatred**,

喜 怒 、 哀 樂 ，

\*q'ə? \*n'a? \*ʔ'əj \*r'awk

pleasure and anger, grief and **joy**,

生 于 六 氣 。

\*sreŋ \*Gwa \*k.ruk \*k'həp-s

produced by the six aethers.

### Section 3: Rationale for Regulation of the “Six Passions”

是 故 審 則 宜 類 ，

\*de? \*k'a-s \*s.t'əm? \*ts'ək \*ŋaj \*rut-s

This is the reason why we take care to imitate what is proper and suitable,

以 制 六 志 。

\*lǎ? \*tet-s \*k.ruk \*tə-s

in order to regulate the six passions.

哀 有 哭 泣 ，

\*ʔ'əj \*Gwə? \*k'ok \*k-rəp

To grief belongs crying and tears;

樂 有 歌 舞 ，

\*r'awk \*Gwə? \*k'aj \*kə.ma?

to joy belongs song and dance;

喜 有 施 舍 ，

\*q'ə? \*Gwə? \*laj \*la?

to pleasure belongs bestowal and beneficence;

怒 有 戰 鬪 ；

\*n'a? \*Gwə? \*tar-s \*dôh (S)

to anger belongs conflict and struggle.

喜 生 於 好 ，

\*q'ə? \*sreŋ \*ʔa \*q'hu?

Pleasure is born of love,

怒 生 於 惡 。

\*n'a? \*sreŋ \*ʔa \*ʔ'ak

anger is born of hatred.



Table 13 (continued)

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**Section 4: Justifications for “Regulating Life and Death” to Create Harmony**


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是 故 審 行 信 令 ，  
 \*de? \*k'a-s \*s.t'həm? \*g'raŋ-s \*s-niŋ-s \*riŋ-s

For this reason we must take care in **instituting trustworthy commands**,

(行)<sup>214</sup> 禍 福 賞 罰 ，  
 (\*g'raŋ-s) \*gōi? (S) \*pək \*s-taŋ? \*bat

(instituting) calamity and blessings, rewards and punishments,

以 制 死 生 。

\*lǎ? \*tet-s \*sij? \*sreŋ  
 in order to regulate death and **life**.

生 、 好 物 也 ，  
 \*sreŋ \*q'h'u? \*C.mut \*laj?

Life is a good **thing**,

死 、 惡 物 也 。

\*sij? \*ʔ'ak \*C.mut \*laj?

death is an evil **thing**.

好 物 ， 樂 也 ；

\*q'h'u? \*C.mut \*r'awk \*laj?

Good **things** are joyous,

惡 物 ， 哀 也 。

\*ʔ'ak \*C.mut \*ʔ'əj \*laj?

evil **things** are sorrowful.

哀 樂 不 失 ，

\*ʔ'əj \*r'awk \*pə \*lit  
 \*n'ə? \*n'ə \*gêp (S) \*ɣ'a \*l'in \*l'ej-s \*tə \*seŋ-s

then one can be in harmony with Heaven and Earth's **innate nature**,

是 以 長 久 。

\*de? \*lǎ? \*traŋ? \*k'wə?  
 and thereby will long endure.”

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214 This graph is found in the Tang dynasty stone classics version of the text but is not included in other manuscripts.

## Analysis of Zitaishu’s Speech in the “Duke Zhao 25<sup>th</sup> Year” Chapter

### Section 1

The opening section provides the context for Zitaishu’s long explanatory speech on ritual via the figure of Zhao Jianzi, who asks him about “the rituals of bowing, yielding precedence and socializing amongst people.” Zitaishu tells him that these are aspects of deportment (*yi* 儀), not ritual (*li* 禮), setting the stage for Zhao Jianzi to ask the main question which the speech will answer: “What are we to understand by [the term] ‘ritual’?” Zitaishu opens by quoting the minister Zichan 子產 of Zheng, one of the most erudite officials portrayed in the *Zuo Commentary*:

『夫禮、  
\*ba \*rʰij?  
‘As for ritual,

天之經也、  
\*lʰin \*tə \*k-lʰeŋ \*laj?  
it is the **standard** of **Heaven**,

地之義也、  
\*lʰej-s \*tə \*ŋaj-s \*laj?  
it is the righteousness of the Earth,

民之行也。』  
\*min \*tə \*gʰraŋ-s \*laj?  
and it is the **conduct** of the **people**.’

In this quote the *he yun* cross-rhyming consonance based on the final consonant \*-ŋ is employed to emphasize the key terms “standard” (*jing* 經 \*k-lʰeŋ) and “conduct” (*xing* 行 \*gʰraŋ-s), very much akin to how it is used in many early Chinese texts, including those analyzed in the case studies in previous chapters. In this quote, the first graphs in the cross-rhyming phrases, “Heaven” (*tian* 天 \*lʰin) and “the people” (*min* 民 \*min) also make up part of the overall phonorhetorical structure (as well as being semantically significant, these words are perfectly assonant and fall in direct rhyme position in two poems in the *Classic of Poetry* – see the discussion in chapter one, section I.3.B), and thus the second and fourth lines here feature a particularly resonant and perfectly parallel euphonic pattern. (It is worth pointing out that the semantically important words in the first and

third lines all end in \*-j glides, and would likely have added additional weight to the repetitive acoustic pattern, even though they would not have rhymed.)

Zichan's quote is also important for this speech as it introduces the pattern of \*-ŋ *homoioteleuton* and *he yun* cross-rhyming that will ring through the rest of this opening section. With the exception of the second line, which contains five graphs (and ends in the particle *zhi* 之), each of the lines is tetrasyllabic. The overall rhyme scheme is: A-X; a-A-X-a; X-X-A; X-A. Capital "A" indicates words from the *geng* 耕 rhyme group and lowercase "a" indicates words from the *yang* 陽 rhyme group; semicolons mark the ends of each grammatical unit, and each discrete phrase. The euphony and acoustic pattern, particularly as it is combined with tetrasyllabic metrics, is similar to many poems anthologized in the *Classic of Poetry*. The rhyming graphs in phrase-final position are also some of the most semantically important words in the passage: "standard" (*jing* 經 \*k-lʰeŋ), "illumination" (*ming* 明 \*mraŋ), "innate qualities" (*xing* 性 \*seŋ-s), "conduct" (*xing* 行 \*gʷraŋ-s), "notes" (*sheng* 聲 \*leŋ) and "innate qualities" (*xing* 性 \*seŋ-s) again.

Secondary to the rhymes, the graphs in the third position in each line also repeat, with *zhi* 之 \*tə coming three times in the first five lines, then *wu* 五 \*C.ŋʰaʔ four times in a row; *qi* 其 \*gə, the final word in the third position, would have rhymed perfectly with *zhi*. Finally, the words which come in the first position of each line tend to be semantically weighty, particularly the seven out of the eleven which end in nasals. Taken in sum, the repetitive phonological patterning and high overall degree of regular euphony within this section provide an excellent example of how early Chinese orators used repetitive acoustic structures to emphasize certain terms and impart a sense of order and congruity within their rhetoric. It is worth considering that in this section Zichan is describing the organization of the cosmos (a highly systematic representation of the powers of Heaven and Earth manifested in the world) and his use of extremely repetitive, cadenced and patterned language was very likely a rhetorical tactic in which ordered speech is intentionally designed to mirror the organized patterns of the cosmos and to impart a sense of order to his audience, the "well-ordered tones" of highly-patterned *wen* 文 literary expression.

## Section 2

The lists which make up the midsection of this speech seem to have no discernable acoustic patterning until the final passage, which discusses "punishments and penalties" (*xing fa* 刑罰). From this point on, five of the final eight lines end in graphs which feature a final \*-k, and the two longest lines feature a repeated pattern with a word featuring a final \*-k in the word two places before the

phrase-final graph as well. Four of these words with \*-k finals have negative connotations (“legal proceedings” *yu* 獄 \*ŋrok, “lightning” *yao* 曜 \*lewks, “[deadly] force” *lu* 戮 \*riwk and “hatred” *è* 惡 \*ʔak) and three have positive connotations (“propagation” *zhi* 殖 \*N-tək, “care” *yu* 育 \*m-quk and “joy” *le* 樂 \*rʔawk), so it’s not clear if there is any direct semantic link between these words. The initial five lines feature vowel disagreement, creating a *he yun* cross-rhymed pattern of consonance, but in the final three tetrasyllabic lines, the first two form an initial couplet which would have rhymed perfectly (“hatred” and “joy” are both in the *duo* 鐸 rhyme group):

民 有 好 惡 、  
 \*min ʔ \*Gwəʔ \*qʰuʔ \*ʔak  
 The people had love and **hatred**,

喜 怒 、 哀 樂 ，  
 \*qʰəʔ \*nʔaʔ \*ʔəj \*rʔawk  
 pleasure and anger, grief and **joy**,

生 于 六 氣 。

\*sreŋ \*Gwa \*k.ruk \*kʰəp-s  
 produced by the six aethers.

### Section 3

Despite the repetitive parallel grammatical structures that run through this section, the composer seems to have employed no discernable acoustic patterns nor overt phonorhetorical devices.

### Section 4

In the final section to the speech, there seems to be a resumption of the phonorhetorical device used in the opening section: the use of words featuring \*-ŋ finals in phrase final positions, as they occur in three of the outer six lines which frame the parallel tetrasyllabic lines ending in *ye* 也 in the middle of the passage. The metric structure is highly irregular, so the use of these semantically weighty words (“commands” *ling* 令 \*riŋ-s, “life” *sheng* 生 \*sreŋ, and “innate nature” *xing* 性 \*seŋ-s) in phrase-final position may simply have been to add further emphasis to these final phrases. Indeed, the opening line of the section ends in three words which feature \*-ŋ finals in succession, “instituting trustworthy commands” (*xing* 行 \*gʰraŋ-s *xin* 信 \*s-niŋ-s *ling* 令 \*riŋ-s). As the last two words would also have

formed a perfect rhyme, they would have likely lent a resonant sonority to this phrase, underscoring the main topic in this final passage.

A final note on the parallel phrases in the midsection of this passage is warranted: as noted above, the final graph in each of the four tetrasyllabic lines is a copula (也 也 \**laɣʔ*), and the word “thing” (*wu* 物 \**C.mut*) occurs in the third position in both lines of the first couplet and in the second position in both lines of the second couplet. As these are precisely the same graphs repeated in the same positions, while it does not necessarily make for good poetry, the euphonic and phonorhetorical power of this type of repetition would have been unmistakable and would likely have been the same regardless of what these words actually sounded like at the time.

### General Comments on Zitaishu’s Speech in the “Duke Zhao 25<sup>th</sup> Year” Chapter

One of the more striking aspects of Zitaishu’s speech is his use of an opening quotation by Zichan which employs regular phonological patterning in the *he yun* cross-rhyming style featuring nasal final consonants, just as we have seen in the texts analyzed in the case studies in the previous chapters, followed by a section of his own composition which further exploits the same phonorhetorical device. In the opening section we also see the use of tetrasyllabic meter and true rhyme, directly evoking the style of the poems in the *Classic of Poetry*. After a short list section of roughly parallel enumerations which seems not to be acoustically patterned, Zitaishu then employs the use of a relatively rare form of *he yun* cross-rhyming featuring the final consonant \**-k* over the section’s final eight lines, and he once again includes a perfectly-rhymed couplet right at the end. After a section on the “six passions” (*liu zhi* 六志) which seems to have no acoustic patterning, the final section returns to the pattern of *he yun* consonance featuring the final consonant \**-ŋ*. It bears noting that in this final section, it is the lines which are not parallel which contain the phonorhetorical device, perhaps representing an intentional tactic designed to set the two metrically and grammatically diverse parts to this final passage apart from each other and add emphasis to these lines, which otherwise would have been much less distinct.

Overall, as in the previous speeches, Zitaishu displays his erudition and eloquence by using a combination of parallel grammatical and metric structures, words with deep and meaningful semantic connotations, and highly euphonic patterned language. He employs highly organized phonorhetorical structures through-

out his speech in order to replicate the systematic order of the cosmos in patterned literary expression.

## **Euphony and Phonorhetoric in the Speeches of the *Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals***

The speeches preserved in the *Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals* have long been renowned for their eloquence and erudition; as David Schaberg notes, “. . . because it is in the speech that theoretical reflection becomes explicit, the rhetorical and structural habits that distinguish the speech as a literary form leave their mark on all enunciations of thought within this historiography.”<sup>215</sup> The rhetorical and structural forms in these speeches demonstrate an ever-greater propensity for repetition and parallelism when compared with the orations preserved in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and the *Classic of Documents*. This in itself is not enough to establish a timeline for the development of style and form in early Chinese narrative prose, but when combined with penetrating analyses of the use of sound and euphonic devices in these texts, there does seem to be solid evidence for a significant shift from the literary language of the early centuries of the first millennium before the common era and the language and rhetorical styles preserved in the *Zuo Commentary*.

Despite the fact that the great Qing phonologists included passages from the *Zuo Commentary* in their studies of Chinese linguistics and literature, no previous scholar has attempted to document the full extent of acoustic patterning and phonorhetorical devices in the speeches presented above. Given the regular parallel and metrically regular phrasing, the high overall degree of euphony, and the sheer number of phonological structures and devices they exhibit (which, it bears repeating, are clear no matter which system for presenting the sounds of early Chinese one would choose), these passages provide specific examples of how ancient Chinese orators used highly patterned language and “artistic prose” to express deep truths, and to persuade others. These works demonstrate that phonaesthesia clearly played a prominent role in early Chinese literary aesthetics, not only in the well-known phonological patterns in the poetry of the era, but also in prose. It is by closely studying the intricate marriage of metrics, semantics and acoustics in these works that we may well be able to come one step closer to hearing the eloquent

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215 Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 22.

words of the ancients as they did. Through this work we can begin to better understand the full power of this ancient language, how high levels of literary and rhetorical artistry may have been used to move audiences of the time, and the role that this artistry might have played in their preservation and transmission down through the centuries.

## Chapter 9

# Conclusions and Further Research into Euphony and Phonorhetoric in Early Chinese Texts

The primary goal of this volume has been to elucidate the various forms of euphony and phonorhetorical features preserved in the most ancient strata of Chinese narrative prose texts, both excavated and transmitted. The main tools that have made this work possible are the phonological reconstructions of Old Chinese established over the past century and the *Digital Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, a suite of digital tools I developed that facilitates large-scale lexical research into the sound systems of premodern Chinese. In an attempt to improve upon previous linguistic and philological studies, this endeavor draws on a range of subfields for methodological support, including modern and classical literary studies, rhetoric and phonorhetoric, poetics, historical linguistics and comparative literature. In this concluding chapter I will begin by providing synopses of the results from each of the case studies in chapters five, seven and eight and offer the insights I have gleaned from these analyses. In the final section I offer my own views on further research, new tools and new methods that would further enhance and develop the findings in this volume.

The fifth chapter provides analyses of the types of euphony and phonorhetorical devices found in the inscriptions preserved on bronze vessels dating to the Western Zhou dynasty (1045-771 B.C.E.). The chapter focuses upon four carefully-selected inscriptional texts: a long investiture inscription containing four speeches by the Zhou king preserved on a *ding* cauldron dating to the Early Western Zhou, an inscription which presents ancestor-praise speeches by a high official and military leader preserved on a square *fangding* cauldron from the Mid-Western Zhou, an inscription preserved on a set of *zhong* bells featuring dedicatory and prayer speeches by a high-ranking minister to the Zhou king from the Mid-Western Zhou, and an investiture and dedicatory inscription preserved on a *ding* cauldron dating to the final decades of the Late Western Zhou. Each of these inscriptions employs a variety of phonorhetorical devices and patterns, including perfect rhyme, cross-rhyming and final consonance (*homoioteleuton*) in discrete sections. Some phonologically patterned passages are metrically regular and some irregular, though none of the passages with irregular metrics in this volume diverges by more than three graphs from line to line.

In the Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎 inscription, seven passages employ consistent phrase-final *homoioteleuton* featuring the final consonant \*-ŋ). Two of these sections (a two-line couplet and three-line tercet) are in tetrasyllabic meter, one is in pentasyllabic



meter, and two are in irregular meter. There is also one passage composed of seven lines in highly variable meter featuring a mix of phrase-final words ending in \*-k and \*-ŋ.<sup>216</sup> As many of the words in phrase-final position are also of significant semantic importance, such as “king” (*wang* 王 \*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ), “command” (*ling* 令 \*riŋ), “state” (*bang* 邦 \*p<sup>r</sup>oŋ), “the people” (*min* 民 \*miŋ), “[four] quarters/regions” (*fang* 方 \*C.paŋ), “honorable” (*rong* 榮 \*N-q<sup>w</sup>reŋ), “to abide by” (*jing* 經 \*k.l<sup>f</sup>eŋ), “to take as model” (*xing* 型 \*G<sup>s</sup>eŋ), “man” (*ren* 人 \*niŋ), and “governance” (*zheng* 政 \*teŋ-s), the euphonic patterns appear designed to emphasize these terms within the overall rhetorical structure.<sup>217</sup> Interspersed between the sections which employ phonorhetorical patterning are sections in which there is no discernable pattern. This compositional structure would perhaps have heightened the effect of the text overall as the speaker (ostensibly the king, or potentially a designated official speaking on behalf of the king) moved between highly patterned language and acoustically unpatterned oratory.

Similar in composition to the phonorhetorical patterns employed in the Da Yu *ding*, the Dong *fangding* 夔方鼎 II inscription from the Mid-Western Zhou is comprised of three sections, two of which (of four and nine lines respectively) similarly employ regular *homoioleuton* featuring phrase-final words ending in \*-ŋ, though its final section contains no discernable phonological patterns. Also dating to the Mid-Western Zhou, the inscription on the Liang Qi *zhong* 梁其鐘 bell set is highly euphonic: of the seven sections in the text, three sections (including an onomatopoeic couplet, a tercet and a couplet) employ regular tetrasyllabic meter with phrase-final words ending in \*-ŋ, while two sections comprised of eight and six lines employ series of tetrasyllabic couplets (and one trisyllabic couplet) featuring phrase-final words ending in \*-k and/or \*-ŋ. As in the other inscriptions, the text on the Liang Qi *zhong* bells also contains an interim section which seems to feature no overt acoustic pattern.

Finally, from the Late Western Zhou period, the Shanfu Shan *ding* 善夫山鼎 contains a rhetorical structure common to many Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, in which only the final dedicatory portion of the inscription is phonorhetorically patterned. In the Shanfu Shan *ding*, this final passage is comprised of eight lines, the first four of which form a perfectly-rhymed tetrasyllabic AAaA

216 The phrase-final words in this section feature the final consonant \*-k in the first three lines (of six, three and three graphs each), followed by a line of eight graphs which ends in \*-ŋ, then two lines (of four and seven graphs each) again end in phrase-final words with the final consonant \*-k, with a final line of seven graphs ending in \*-ŋ.

217 It's worth noting that these graphs also feature prominently in the “elegantiae” (*ya* 雅) and “hymns” (*song* 頌) sections of the *Classic of Poetry*, particularly in poems centered on dynastic or administrative themes.

stanza (the final graphs in the three “A” lines end in \*-aŋ and the “a” line ends in a graph with an \*-iŋ final), while the second half of the passage is comprised of lines of six, seven, four and seven graphs and features phrase-final words ending in \*-eŋ, \*-an, \*-uŋ and \*-oŋ(-s), analogous to forms of *homoioleuton* found throughout the Western Zhou bronze inscriptional corpus.

These four examples were specifically selected because their euphonic and phonorhetorical patterns are generally representative of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions that employ acoustic patterning; at the end of the analyses of each inscription I have included short lists of contemporaneous vessels which employ similar literary and phonological devices. This use of euphonic patterning (in particular the inclusion of discrete sections featuring *homoioleuton* based on phrase-final words ending in \*-ŋ) appears to have been a common feature of many longer inscriptions preserved on bronze dating to the Western Zhou dynasty. It is important to note that this literary form contrasts with the types of phonological patterns found within the *Classic of Poetry* (the 305 poems of which many scholars have argued date to roughly the same era) that tend to feature consistent patterns of perfect rhyme throughout each poem and far greater metric regularity than seen in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptional corpus. This does not mean that the poems necessarily date to a different era, but the great differences in style and form between these corpora indicate that the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions are a genre and feature a literary style which is demonstrably very different than that of the earliest poetry in the Chinese canon.

Chapter seven provides analyses of the euphonic and phonorhetorical patterns in two of the chronologically earliest chapters of the *Classic of Documents*. These chapters feature literary styles and phonorhetorical patterns highly similar to those of the longest Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. The “Announcement to Kang” 〈康誥〉 contains thirteen separate speeches, six of which contain passages employing *homoioleuton* based on words with \*-ŋ finals. Within these euphonic passages, two also feature cross-rhyming couplets (based on words with \*-k and \*-ŋ finals respectively), and four of the last five lines of one passage feature phrase-final words ending in the glide \*-j. There is one tetrasyllabic perfectly rhymed couplet (with phrase-final words ending in \*-a) and one section which employs repetition of identical short phrases (of four and two graphs) as a rhetorical device. As in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, six of the speeches *in toto* and large parts of three others appear to contain no euphonic patterns, and these non-patterned speeches and passages are interspersed between patterned sections. It is important to note that within the phonologically-patterned passages many of the words which fall at the end of phrases are particularly semantically important and are similar or identical to those in the Da Yu *ding* inscription discussed above: “king” (*wang* 王 \*G<sup>w</sup>aŋ), “command” (*ming*

命 \*mə-rin-s), “the people” (*min* 民 \*min), “men”/“people” (*ren* 人 \*nin), “elder” (*zhang* 長 \*traŋʔ), and “official” (*zheng* 正 \*teŋ-s).

The “Numerous Regions” 〈多方〉 chapter of the *Classic of Documents* contains five speeches, the first three of which are relatively long followed by two shorter orations. Four of the five speeches contain a range of euphonic and phonorhetorical devices similar to those employed in the “Announcement to Kang.” Nine discrete passages (of three, six, two, twelve, eight, two, twelve, four and five lines respectively) utilize the same form of *homoioteleuton* as discussed above, featuring phrase-final words which consistently end in \*-ŋ. Many of these phrase-final words are the same as in the “Announcement to Kang”: “[many] regions” (*fang* 方 \*C.paŋ), “the people” (*min* 民 \*min), “command” (*ming* 命 \*mə-rin-s), “[many] ritual sacrifices”/“to enjoy [Heaven’s favor]” (*xiang* 享 \*qʰaŋʔ), “governance” (*zheng* 政 \*teŋ-s), “ruin” (*sang* 喪 \*s-mʰaŋ-s), “to follow [Heaven’s command]” (*ting* 聽 \*lʰeŋ), “sacrifices” (*zheng* 烝 \*təŋ), “kings” (*wang* 王 \*ɣwɑŋ), “fields” (*tian* 田 \*lʰin), “tranquility” (*jing* 靜 \*dzeŋ), and “correct” (*zheng* 正 \*teŋ-s). The speeches in this chapter also contain sections that feature repetition of identical words or phrases (there are several examples of *anaphora*, *epistrophe*, and *refrain/epimone*) along with a few relatively rare euphonic patterns: tetrasyllabic couplets ending in \*-ə and in the glide \*-j, and a passage wherein three lines in succession end in words with \*-p finals: “positions” (*wei* 位 \*ɣwɛp-s), “assist” (*jie* 介 \*kʰrep-s), and “city” (*yi* 邑 \*qəp). One of the characteristics of the sections composed in *homoioteleuton* is their irregular metric composition and protracted line length (many of the phrases contain six to ten graphs); this format lends the chapter a strong feeling of cadenced prose (as opposed to that of poetry, if the highly regular 305 poems preserved in the *Classic of Poetry* represent a standard for poetic metrics in pre-Qin China).

The eighth chapter, containing case studies of three speeches preserved in the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, reflects the orations ascribed to high ministers rather than to the king (or his designee). The euphonic patterns and phonorhetorical devices employed in the *Zuo Commentary* are similar to those found in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and the older chapters of the *Classic of Documents*, yet demonstrate an increasing emphasis on parallelism and repetition, metric regularity (including regular tetrasyllabic phrasing in phonologically patterned sections) and perfect rhyme. In the first of the three speeches included in this chapter, the main phonorhetorical pattern centers upon twenty tetrasyllabic lines in succession, fifteen of which feature words ending in

a final \*-k or final \*-ŋ in phrase-final position (or preceding a final particle).<sup>218</sup> This euphonic pattern is highly reminiscent of the patterns within the Da Yu *dīng* inscription and “Announcement to Kang,” albeit with far greater metric regularity. Within the patterned section of this speech there is extensive emphasis on parallel grammatical formulations, particularly within couplets or discrete passages. Outside the euphonic section of the speech, grammatical constructions and metrics vary widely, there is little obvious parallelism, and no distinct acoustic patterns are evident; as noted above, the shift from highly patterned oratory to unpatterned prose potentially served to emphasize the eloquence of the midsection of the speech.

In the second of the three speeches selected for this chapter, there are two direct quotations from a poem later anthologized in the *Classic of Poetry*, indicating the composer likely had direct knowledge of the styles and forms of the poetry of the time and may have been emulating them in this speech. Bookended by long prose sections at the beginning and end, this speech also features a central section in consistent meter (much of which is tetrasyllabic) containing a series of parallel and repetitive phonorhetorical phrases. In this section, two rhyming couplets employ perfect rhyme (the first couplet ends in words with \*-in finals and the second ends in words with \*-ən finals) and a single line ending in a word with an \*-an final; each couplet and the final line are followed by the identical refrain “this/these are greatest of X” (“X 之大者也”), where “X” is “virtues,” “evils” and “calamities,” respectively, resulting in a highly repetitive phonorhetorical pattern throughout the section. After five interim lines in slightly irregular meter (the first four lines of which end in words with \*-ən, \*-in, \*-aŋ and \*-ən finals) comes the most highly-patterned single passage in the speech and an outstanding example of an ancient Chinese maxim which effectively utilizes a combination of literary devices in concert: euphony, regular meter, and grammatical and semantic parallelism and juxtaposition. In the four lines of this highly-patterned passage, the nine-graph-per-line highly repetitive syntactic pattern features an aAaA rhyme scheme (the phrase-final words are “deaf” (long 聾 \*C.r<sup>o</sup>ŋ), “blind” (mei 昧 \*mən?), “wayward” (wan 頑 \*ŋrōn) and “stupid chatterer” (yin 瞢 \*ŋrən); each line follows the syntactic pattern “The [body part] which does not [verb of the sensory function of the body part] [four-graph ‘X of Y’ attributive phrase] is [negative adjective]”, a 3-4-2 grammatical structure and metric pattern in which the second, sixth and eighth graphs are identical and all other components are semantically parallel).

<sup>218</sup> Three of the five lines which seem to diverge from the larger pattern end in words with a final \*-t and the other two lines end in words with a final glide, represented by \*-j.

In the final example from the *Zuo Commentary*, much of the opening section of the speech is comprised of fourteen parallel and tetrasyllabic phrases in succession, in which nearly every other line (eight in total) features a phrase-final word ending in \*-ŋ. The second section appears to contain no euphonic pattern until the last eight lines, five of which end in words with \*-k finals. The third section is in regular tetrasyllabic meter but no acoustic patterning is evident. The final section of the speech employs a mix of words with \*-ŋ finals in phrase-final position, framing two parallel couplets.

In sum, the common phonorhetorical characteristics among these three ancient corpora of Chinese narrative texts include:

- 1) When the texts are punctuated in accordance with standard grammatical conventions, there is clear evidence of discrete passages featuring consistent phrase-final final consonance (also known as *he yun* 合韻 cross-rhyming or *homoioteleuton*), most often based on the finals \*-ŋ and \*-k. In most cases, euphonic sections are interspersed with sections that contain no discernable acoustic patterns.
- 2) A wide range of terms is featured in phrase-final position within phonologically patterned passages; terms of significant weight or grandeur and virtuous conduct related to governmental affairs are most often employed in this position (such as “mandate” or “command”, 命 \*mə-riŋ-s or 令 \*riŋ-s; “virtue” 德 \*tʰək; “the king” 王 \*gwaŋ; “the state” 邦 \*pʰroŋ; and “the people” 民 \*miŋ or “persons” 人 \*niŋ). The overall diversity of finals is higher in the *Classic of Documents* and in the speeches preserved in the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* than we find in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.
- 3) There is evidence of use of both regular and irregular meter in phonologically patterned passages in these corpora. In many cases tetrasyllabic meter is employed; this style is a particular hallmark of the euphonic sections of the speeches of the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. In the many passages which feature irregular metrics, divergences of more than three graphs are found only in very rare circumstances.
- 4) There is no evidence for repetition of entire phrases or parallelism as a rhetorical device in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, but both techniques are used in the earliest chapters of the *Classic of Documents* and to an even greater extent in the speeches preserved in the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

The findings above are generally consistent with the characterizations of euphonic and phonorhetorical styles and forms in early Chinese narrative prose works by scholars such as Jiang Yougao 江有誥, Bernhard Karlgren, Fu Lipu 傅隸樸, James

Hightower, Luo Jiangwen 羅江文, Cui Liannong 崔煉農, Wolfgang Behr and David Schaberg. The analyses of the acoustic and rhetorical characteristics of the early Chinese texts in this volume corroborate many of the theories put forth by these scholars. Further, the development of the *Digital Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* now provides a platform for any scholar to replicate the analyses provided in this volume and conduct independent phonorhetorical analyses of any premodern Chinese text. The 2011 Baxter-Sagart phonetic reconstructions of Old Chinese employed throughout the case studies represent only one of several possible systems currently available for these analyses, but the findings outlined above hold true with minimal variation no matter which reconstruction system is used for the analyses. Our hope is that now other scholars will perform their own analyses of texts within these corpora and others, and that through our combined efforts we will be able to build a more refined picture of both the phonological characteristics of the Chinese language(s) of the era and the wide range of literary styles and forms that the authors of these venerated texts employed during this formative period in the development of the literary arts in China.

Finally, having established some of the specific defining features and characteristics of acoustic patterns in these corpora of early Chinese narrative prose, we can ask if there are discernable rationales for the use of these types of patterns in rhetoric and oratory. The best answer to this question comes from two sources: the high level of commonality in the vocabulary used in phrase-final positions, and the high levels of repetition and parallelism in phonologically patterned sections, particularly evident in the speeches of the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Metrically regular rhetorical patterns featuring euphony based on a relatively common, semantically weighty vocabulary seems to indicate an intentional attempt to craft forms of oratory (or “artistic prose”) that would both reflect a highly ordered universe and generate feelings of harmony and order in one’s target audience. As these speeches reflect ritual oratory at the very highest levels of the state, delivered by participants who had a vested interest in the social order and were tasked with fostering harmony between the governors and the governed, the use of highly euphonic, repetitively patterned and regularized forms of language would seem an appropriate tactic to attempt to reflect and/or advance “the tones of a well-ordered age.”

As noted in chapter one, a study of this size and depth cannot document every euphonic and phonaesthetic device employed in early Chinese literature, or even every device employed in the corpora represented in the case studies. However, this work represents a potential starting point for three very different avenues of future research: 1) comparative phonological analyses at the textual level, 2) phonorhetorical and literary analyses based upon the use of acoustics, metrics and semantics in concert, and 3) the development of digital tools and specialized software

designed to harness the power of new computational approaches and our ever-increasing corpora of digital texts.

Primarily based upon the field of Old Chinese phonology and the life's work of countless linguists and phonologists, the methodology employed in this volume may provide new opportunities for refining our understanding of the sounds of words which are used in parallel constructions and comprise systems of rhyme and cross-rhyme. It is widely believed that most ancient Chinese poetry rhymed in regular patterns, but scholars have encountered significant difficulties when attempting to systematize discrete series of rhyming graphs, and there are a number of poems in early Chinese corpora that do not seem to rhyme at all. By applying a wide variety of phonological reconstruction systems to these texts, a systematic comparative methodology could potentially be established to better define 1) the specific contexts in which specific words seem to rhyme or cross-rhyme, and 2) cases of graphic variation based on phonetic associations (in Chinese, these are generally referred to as *tongjia* 通假 or *jiajie* 假借 “borrowings”). Systematization of correspondences between graphs within large corpora would allow scholars to build a far more nuanced picture of phonetic associations between early Chinese words than exists at present. Secondly, as much of early Chinese phonology relies upon educated guesswork based on dictionaries of rhyming graphs compiled in later eras as corroborated by rhyme patterns in texts, detailed studies of systems of phonological correspondences would help refine our understanding of early Chinese linguistic phenomena (such as vowel shift, pharyngealization, palatization, diphthongization and rhotacization) and allow scholars to begin to establish conventions of phonological usage (for example, in which contexts consonants could be dropped for euphonic purposes, and which vowels might have been considered proximate enough for purposes of rhyme or cross-rhyme, depending upon the phonaesthetic and literary conventions of the time).<sup>219</sup>

Secondly, there is much we can learn from detailed analyses of the ways sound (phonology and acoustic elements), structure (metrics and grammar) and meaning (semantics) work in concert within literature and literary aesthetics. Phonorhetorical and philological analyses in particular would benefit most di-

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219 Studies of semantics and intertextuality are areas where increased systematization and large-scale digitization may also be of assistance. Stephen Owen has argued that there are “lexical registers” (low and high) apparent in early Chinese poetry; detailed analyses of themes, tropes, motifs and practices of borrowing and transmission could be performed alongside and in concert with phonological analyses. See Stephen Owen, *The Making of Classical Chinese Poetry* (2006), 18; see also Jeffrey Tharsen and Clovis Gladstone, “Using Philologic For Digital Textual and Intertextual Analyses of the *Twenty-Four Chinese Histories* 二十四史” in *The Journal of Chinese History* 4.2 (2020), 558–63.

rectly from using this type of tripartite framework, but insights gleaned from combinatory analyses could provide secondary insights to studies focused on only one of these areas of analysis or to studies of texts for other reasons (historical, linguistic, anthropological or sociocultural studies, for example). Additionally, as this volume proposes a system based on detailed tripartite phonetic-metric-semantic analysis of each graph, any and all premodern Chinese texts and corpora not addressed herein form a natural extension to more fully test the methodological framework (for example, famous historiographic and literary works, the philosophical volumes of the “hundred schools of thought” 諸子百家, and the ever-growing corpora of premodern excavated manuscripts). Naturally, these extensions are not limited to premodern Chinese poetry and prose, as studies of prosody, euphony and rhetoric in many traditions regularly incorporate combinations of style, form, acoustics and semantics within their analyses; the establishment of a common methodology and framework for empirical philological research across all traditions will ultimately allow for a more reliable basis for cross-cultural and cross-temporal comparative studies.

Finally, the development of the *Digital Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* has provided insights into ways that digital lexicography and digital tools can begin to effectively harness the power of computational approaches to our ever-increasing corpora of digital texts. The main advantage to digitization is scale: database technologies and specialized software permit a virtually unlimited variety of data to be automatically associated with any digital source material; interfaces linking digital texts and digital dictionaries (or encyclopedia) and the automated detection of intertextual correspondences have already been realized for many discrete textual corpora.<sup>220</sup> Within the next decade or so these systems will become nearly comprehensive in scope; online digital toolkits and specialized multi-modal models for linguistic, cultural, archaeological and historical analyses built from massive datasets will become part of the standard arsenal for every scholar and student, enabling free and direct access to a wide range of advanced data scientific tools and methodologies. As we develop our technological prowess, it is our hope that these systems will become standardized and democratized to the point that any scholar or student can readily develop extensive personal digital toolkits and analytical frameworks. Only when we have reached that point will we begin to realize the potential envisioned by our nascent digital and computational approaches to textual, linguistic and cultural analysis.

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220 See the discussion in Tharsen and Gladstone (2020).





# Appendix 1: Tools for a Digital Age: *The Digital Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese 1.0*

One of the greatest hurdles to the study of euphony and acoustic structures in early Chinese literature has always been the arduous task of performing full phonological analyses by comparing data from early rhyme dictionaries, rhymes in early Chinese poetry, and the reconstructions and detailed linguistic research which has comprised the life's work of many outstanding linguists and phonologists. As linguists tend to reconstruct individual "words" (or graphs and graphemes, in the Chinese case), their work does not tend to lend itself to larger textual analyses, except in limited comparison of rhyme words in parallel poetic constructions. As such, even the outstanding work by Qing phonologists such as Duan Yucai, Wang Niansun and Jiang Yougao along with more recent studies of euphony by linguists like Bernhard Karlgren tend to primarily be concerned with documenting rhymes and rhyme words, to the exclusion of larger analyses of euphony and sequences of graphs with phonological correspondences that do not figure into the rhyme sequences.

This work is largely made possible by a digital suite of lexical tools that I designed, the first method by which the hurdles to efficient large-scale Chinese lexical spadework in the service of phonological and euphonic analysis can be overcome: *The Digital Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* 古漢語詞源字典 (*Digital EDOC*). While no resource approaching the scale or range of functions that the *Digital EDOC* provides has ever been developed before, the concept of using digital lexicography and database systems to support phonological and philological analysis is certainly not original to this study. William Baxter and Wolfgang Behr both expressed their support for the project in its nascent stages in 2003; they told me they were working with databases and hoping to develop something along the lines of the *Digital EDOC* but lacked the programming skills to bring it to fruition. The only true forerunner to the *Digital EDOC* is David Branner's *Yintong* website, created in 2004 by Weng Yi 翁翌 and based upon Branner's digital version of the *Guangyun* rhyme dictionary. Branner's site includes functions called "Transcription of Poetry" and "Prosody Analysis," in which a user can enter a string of Chinese graphs and then links to entries from the database (including Branner's phonological transcription) are provided for each graph. Most recently, a similar parsing function to the one I developed for the *Digital EDOC* was created for the dictionary associated with the Chinese Text Project (ctext.org) and provides definitions, variant graphic forms, the standard modern *pinyin* pronunciations and references to modern lexica for each graph in the input string.

The origins of the *Digital Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* are relatively simple: in 2003, while taking a course on Western Zhou bronze inscriptions from Edward Shaughnessy at the University of Chicago, I became interested in inscriptions which employed rhyme and euphony, and set out to document the complete phonological composition of a few of these inscriptions. As I had a background in linguistics and poetics, the work was a natural fit. However, I was very surprised to find that there had been extremely few studies of euphony in early Chinese texts and that no scholar had ever published a full phonological (let alone phonorhetorical) analysis of any early Chinese work. As discussed at length above, Qing phonologists and their intellectual descendants had published lists of rhyme-words from most of the famous early Chinese texts (occasionally with brief annotations), Bernhard Karlgren's study of the *Laozi* discusses poetic and euphonic devices, and Wolfgang Behr had included metric counts of line lengths along with the rhymes in his work on rhyming inscriptions on Western Zhou bronzes, but not even these exceptional examples provided complete analyses of all the words as they appear *in situ*; documenting the full range of euphonic structures and devices in the texts was largely overshadowed by analyses of the rhyme schemes and rhyme words. I thus undertook the task of going character by character through the eight inscriptions I'd chosen and entered the lexical data from several dictionaries and phonological resources for each character by hand. As this was such an extremely tedious and arduous task, I felt there must be a better way to do the lexical spadework, and that if the process could be automated, it would make comprehensive acoustic analysis realizable on a textual scale, applicable to virtually any text.

As I have a background in computer science and software engineering, converting my handwritten datasheets into a relational database was a relatively simple procedure. The first version of the *Digital EDOC* and its tools was written in 2007 in Access and Visual Basic; in 2009, moving toward a web-based platform, I rewrote the applications in PHP (using the wide range of multibyte character encoding functions available) and converted the data to a fully Unicode-compliant MySQL database.

The current version of the *Digital EDOC* (generously hosted by the University of Chicago at [edoc.uchicago.edu](http://edoc.uchicago.edu)) returns lexical data for user-entered strings of traditional Chinese characters from three fully proofed Unicode databases: 1) the *Qieyun* and *Guangyun* rhyme dictionaries; 2) Axel Schuessler's *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*; and 3) the 2011 Baxter-Sagart Old Chinese reconstruction (Version 1.00, 20 Feb. 2011). Conversion and incorporation of the complete data from the *Shuowen jiezi* 《說文解字》, the *Fang Yan* 《方言》, the *Jingdian shiwen* 《經典釋文》, Axel Schuessler's *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa* and Edwin Pulleyblank's *Lexicon*

of *Reconstructed Pronunciation* to Unicode-compliant graph database format is currently in process, and these and a number of other resources will be included with the release of the 2.0 version of the online *Digital EDOC*. The final toolkit we envision is a series of speech synthesizers by which the phonological data from the *Digital EDOC* can be employed so that any premodern Chinese text can be “spoken” aloud by the computer in a variety of forms of Chinese (temporally and geographically) but this will take a number of years to architect and test.

Having successfully created and beta-tested the *Digital EDOC* databases and initial toolkits, I began to assemble the digital texts which I planned to include in this study. For the chapter on the bronze inscriptions, I first extracted and proofed transcriptions of all the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions with lengths of over 50 graphs, 190 inscriptions in total, retrieved from the Academia Sinica bronze inscriptions database (the *Yin Zhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliaoku* 殷周金文暨青銅器資料庫, based primarily on the 18-volume print edition of the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 《殷周金文集成》).<sup>221</sup> For the chapters on the *Classic of Documents* and the *Zuo Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, I retrieved the digital versions of the texts from the Chinese University of Hong Kong’s Chinese Ancient Texts database (CHANT, <http://www.chant.org>) and proofed them against print editions. Punctuation, symbols and text markers from the original sources were preserved for the sake of consistency. I then processed the texts using the *Digital EDOC*, creating extensive tables with the head text running top-to-bottom along the left-hand side and the entire complement of phonological data from the databases extending left-to-right alongside (essentially the same output as one can return using the “Linear Output” function in the current *Digital EDOC*). This output allowed me to read the texts in a novel way, informed by the full complement of lexical and phonological data in the databases, and begin the analyses of their acoustic structures and euphony that comprise the case studies in chapters five, seven and eight of this volume.

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221 The Academia Sinica bronze inscriptions database is accessible at [bronze.asdc.sinica.edu.tw/qry\\_bronze.php](http://bronze.asdc.sinica.edu.tw/qry_bronze.php).



## Appendix 2: Old Chinese Phonology and Current Reconstruction Systems

What is now commonly referred to as “Old Chinese” can be roughly defined as the forms of the Chinese language as evidenced in classical texts traditionally dated from great antiquity through about the first century of the common era.<sup>222</sup> The roots of its analysis and reconstruction lie with the groundbreaking efforts of Ming and Qing dynasty phonologists (the most famous being Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, Jiang Yong 江永, Chen Di 陳第, Duan Yucai 段玉裁, Wang Niansun 王念孫 and Jiang Yougao 江有誥) to document the rhyme systems of the *Classic of Poetry* and other early texts, and to refine the rhyme groups of the *Qieyun* and *Guangyun* rhyme dictionaries to reflect earlier versions of Chinese.<sup>223</sup> It is not an understatement to say that these scholars laid the critical foundation for all subsequent studies of Old Chinese phonology, and every modern system of reconstruction and phonological analysis owes a great debt to their work. However, as William Baxter notes in his 1992 *Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, in retrospect one can identify five main shortcomings to the systems devised by the Qing scholars: 1) Lack of a consistent method for phonological notation; 2) Minimal understanding of regular sound change, particularly as evidenced in other language families; 3) A general ignorance of languages other than Chinese (with Sanskrit as the main exception); 4) Minimal understanding of systems of early Chinese paleography (especially when compared with paleography based on the discoveries of the past century); and 5) Minimal use of statistical analysis when inferring rhyme groups from textual corpora. The greatest shortcoming when compared with more recent scholarship seems to have been the Qing scholars’ analyses of which word pairs constituted perfect rhymes, which pairs evidenced cross-rhyming and

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<sup>222</sup> There is now a general consensus on the dating of Old Chinese (also often called “Archaic Chinese”), though slight discrepancies exist as to when it ends and Middle Chinese begins. See Baxter and Sagart, *Old Chinese*, 12; Alain Peyraube, “Recent Issues in Chinese Historical Syntax” in James Huang, *New Horizons in Chinese Linguistics* (1996), 164; and Chou Fa-ko 周法高, “Stages in the Development of the Chinese Language” in *Zhongguo luwen luncong* 《中國語文論叢》 (1963), 432–438.

<sup>223</sup> As Baxter wrote in his 1992 *Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*: “Even with our concordances and, eventually, computerized access to the texts, we will not be able to match the erudition of a Duan Yucai or Wang Niansun. The works of these scholars are a seemingly inexhaustible source of insightful ideas and observations which continue to enrich modern work. It is quite right that we should view these forebears with respect and even awe.” William Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (1992), 139. For the best overview of historical developments in Old Chinese phonology from Song dynasty “harmonizing rhymes” (*xieyun* 叶韻) theory through the Ming and Qing dynasty phonologists mentioned here, see Baxter, *Handbook*, 150–71.

which words did not rhyme despite falling in places where one might expect rhyme; as the wide variety in euphonic and poetic form in the *Classic of Poetry* and other early Chinese texts attests, determining exactly which words rhymed and to what degree remains an extremely difficult question and is one of the main issues studies such as this are designed to help address.<sup>224</sup>

Therefore, determining which system one should employ for the reconstruction of Old Chinese phonology is by no means an easy task. A full review of the systems for reconstructing Old Chinese which have been developed is beyond the scope of this study, but an overview of the rationale behind the choice of the 2011 Baxter-Sagart system as the source of the phonological reconstructions provided in the case studies at the end of this volume is in order.

When discussing Old Chinese phonology, it is useful to refer to the standard onset-nucleus-coda (ONC) phonetic structure of Chinese as it is believed to have existed for as long as we have records.<sup>225</sup> The primary reason to prefer the 2011 Baxter-Sagart system is based on the new methodology behind the reconstruction of the onsets; as the authors note in *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction*:

Earlier reconstructions of Old Chinese initial consonants—including our own—did not use the traditional comparative method of historical linguistics; rather, they relied primarily on a *sui generis* method based on combining the distinctions of Middle Chinese with those that could be inferred from *xiasheng* connections. The present reconstruction both incorporates and goes beyond previous scholarship by systematically integrating into the reconstruction of Old Chinese onsets the phonological distinctions found in Proto-Min and in the early Chinese loans to Proto-Hmong-Mien and Vietic. We show that these independent bodies of data provide convergent evidence for onset distinctions not attested in Middle Chinese, and not detectable from the study of phonetic series . . . . By establishing sound correspondences

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<sup>224</sup> As Baxter notes, the inadequacies in the traditional analyses of rhyme groups come when scholars either claimed rhyming pairs/groups where subsequent analyses have demonstrated the words did not rhyme, or more commonly, that there were rhymes between words which in fact did not rhyme (though sometimes these words did cross rhyme, see Wang, *Shi jing yun du*, 28–36); both types of errors led to widespread corruption within the proposed rhyme groups. In general, more recent scholarship has demonstrated that there was far greater complexity within rhyming systems and that there were far more rhyme distinctions within rhyme groups than traditional analyses allowed for.

<sup>225</sup> In general, in an ONC structure, the nucleus usually refers to the medial vowel, while the onset and coda are represented by a variety of types of consonantal morphemes (including the null  $\emptyset$  morpheme). In the 2011 Baxter-Sagart system, there are also two potential postcodas, and the onsets are defined as: “1. any presyllabic material that may be present, which can contain up to two consonants, including prefixes, with or without the vowel \*ə; 2. the initial of the main syllable; and 3. medial \*-r- (which in some cases is an infix, if present.” See Sun Duanmu, *The Phonology of Standard Chinese* (2007) and Shen Zhongwei, *A Phonological History of Chinese* (2020) for a full discussion of the ONC structure, and Baxter and Sagart, *Old Chinese*, 69 and 194–197.

among Middle Chinese, Proto-Min, and the earliest loans to Hmong-Mien and Vietic, we bring the reconstruction of Old Chinese onsets closer to standard comparative practice.<sup>226</sup>

Baxter and Sagart note that all previous reconstructions, essentially beginning with the pioneering work of Bernhard Karlgren, were based primarily on distinctions in Middle Chinese and connections between phonophoric elements in the graphs. It was Karlgren's work on Chinese phonology which culminated in his 1940 *Grammata Serica* (and its 1957 revised edition, the *Grammata Serica Recensa*) that laid the groundwork for most subsequent reconstructions: he reconstructed 1,235 “phonetic series” (known as *xiesheng* 諧聲 series in Chinese) in which graphs share a common phonetic component, further ordered by his proposed initial consonant (based on the principle of homorganic consonants, or consonants which share a common point of articulation) following the arrangements of rhyming graphs in the *Qieyun* rhyme dictionary from 601 C.E.<sup>227</sup> While eminent phonologists such as Dong Tonghe 董同龢, Li Fang-kuei 李方桂, Wang Li 王力, Zhou Fagao 周法高, Edwin Pulleyblank, Jerry Norman, Sergei Starostin, Zhengzhang Shangfang 鄭張尚芳 and Axel Schuessler have all contributed greatly to our understanding of Middle and Old Chinese (primarily in their work on distinctions within Middle Chinese, and on parallel word families in potential sister languages, such as Proto-Tibeto-Burman, Proto-Min and the Austronesian languages), in fact, all reconstruction systems share a great number of similarities; as Axel Schuessler noted in his 2009 *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese*: “. . . superficially scholars [working on Old Chinese] do not seem to agree on much, because they debate unclear issues and not the many features of OC on which there is a tacit consensus.”<sup>228</sup> This is not to say that any of these systems represents a reconstruction of any synchronic state of the Chinese language; many of the notations used by the above phonologists are simply representative of distinctions preserved in the various phonological traditions, or revealed through comparative study.

That said, when one speaks in linguistic terms of the “rimes” of Old Chinese (referring to the nucleus and the coda, forming the basis for the “rhyme”), most

<sup>226</sup> Baxter and Sagart, *Old Chinese*, 83–84.

<sup>227</sup> The *xiesheng* series was originally developed by Duan Yucai, following his famous maxim: “[characters] with the same phonetic element are always in the same rhyme group” (*tong sheng bi tong bu* 同聲必同部). Karlgren's work on the initial consonants within *xiesheng* series was based in large part on the work of Qian Daxin 錢大昕 and other Qing phonologists who used inductive methods to analyze compounds and contacts in series of graphs. Along with the 1,235 *xiesheng* series in his *Grammata Serica Recensa*, Karlgren included another twenty-five series in which “the explanation of the graphs is obscure,” and have no common phonetic component.

<sup>228</sup> Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese*, ix.



of the primary evidence used for the reconstructions is common to all the systems and employed in a consistent fashion across methodologies, so using any one of the reconstructions by any of the phonologists mentioned above would result in similar conclusions about acoustic patterning and euphony based on the forms and patterns of rhyme. As Baxter and Sagart stated in *Old Chinese*:

We reconstruct rhymes primarily on the basis of rhymes in Old Chinese poetry, distinctions in Middle Chinese, and *xiesheng* evidence (especially from recently excavated documents). In principle, we should also systematically include correspondences with Min and other dialects, and with early loans to Vietic, Hmong-Mien, and Kra-Dai, as we did in reconstructing syllable onsets . . . We do use some evidence from these sources: they support the reconstruction of the coda \*-r, for example. But so far, modern dialects and early loanwords have told us relatively little about rhymes that we did not already know from other evidence.<sup>229</sup>

That said, there are a few cases where the final consonant diverges in the new Baxter-Sagart reconstruction system from previous reconstructions. One of these is the word *min* 民, which occurs prominently in the euphonic analyses in the case studies below, and therefore in the following section I present an analysis of much of the data which inform its reconstruction in order to better assess the reliability of the reconstructed pronunciations proposed by Baxter and Sagart.

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229 Baxter and Sagart, *Old Chinese*, 194.

## Appendix 3: Layout and Notation

As noted above, the transcriptions for the inscriptions detailed in this volume are taken from the 2007 edition of the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 《殷周金文集成》 (hereafter abbreviated *YZJJ* in the notes). Syntactic divisions and punctuation have also been preserved in order to provide the study with an impartial assessment of the grammatical structures within each inscription, and to limit what might have been unnatural divisions within the text (for example, breaks which would divide names of people or places, or compound words). As these phonological patterns tend to complement rhetorical and syntactic divisions, I chose to pursue a relatively conservative approach to the intratextual structures and generally follow the semantic and grammatical breaks proposed by the editors of the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* so as to provide the most reliable foundation possible for the work.

By using reconstructions of Old Chinese provided by contemporary linguists, we can begin to attempt to lay out the phonological patterns and cadences in the inscriptions; these in turn provide keys to the rhetorical structure and clues to the ways the inscriptions would potentially have been heard (and/or read) by the ancients. In this volume I have chosen to include the reconstructions published by the team of William Baxter and Laurent Sagart,<sup>230</sup> generally considered one of the most comprehensive phonological systems for the period antedating 221 B.C.E. and based on a wide range of textual and linguistic resources.<sup>231</sup> It should be noted that in this system of reconstruction, pronunciations occasionally will contain a final \*-ʔ glottal stop indicator or final \*-s, neither of which affects the part of the final indicating the rhyme. Additionally, the finals and rhymes in the reconstructed pronunciations are notably more stable and verifiable than the initials and proposed medials (such as \*-r-, \*-j- and \*-rj-), and so phonorhetorical techniques such as alliteration and parallelism employing these elements will be indicated as tentative.

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**230** The data was taken from the “Baxter-Sagart Old Chinese Reconstruction,” Version 1.00, Feb. 20, 2011: <http://crlao.ehess.fr/document.php?id=1217>.

**231** Foremost among the sources used by Baxter-Sagart are the rhyming graphs in the poems the *Classic of Poetry* correlated with the extensive Middle Chinese rhyme dictionaries *Qieyun* 《切韻》 and *Guangyun* 《廣韻》, and further compared with words and word families in sister languages and dialects, such as Proto-Tibeto-Burman and Proto-Min, which show evidence of interlingual borrowing. See Baxter and Sagart, *Old Chinese*, 83–84.

Tables for the inscriptions in this volume are presented in the following format:

### 1) Transcription

The top line of graphs in Chinese, taken from the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*, include punctuation marks which indicate syntactic divisions and single slashes “/” indicating physical divisions for the vertical lines of text on each vessel. For the bell inscription, a double-slash “//” indicates the division between the two inscripational areas on the bronze, and a triple-slash “/” indicates the division between the two bells themselves, as the text runs continuously from one vessel to the next. When a graph different and extended from the graph actually written in the inscription is understood to be the word meant in the inscription, the extended graph and its phonological data are provided in parentheses:( ). In a few rare cases, when the pronunciation of the graph written in the inscription is based solely on its phonetic component (phonophoric) and the pronunciation of the graph as written is unclear, the phonetic component and its phonology are provided in brackets:[ ]. Graphs which comprise part of the phonorhetorical patterning and which are discussed in the subsequent analyses are indicated by boldface type.

### 2) Phonological Reconstructions

The majority of the phonological data comes directly from the “Baxter-Sagart Old Chinese Reconstruction,” Version 1.0. In a few instances, the pronunciation of the graph in question is not included in the “Baxter-Sagart Old Chinese Reconstruction” database, and the phonological data derived from Baxter’s earlier reconstruction system is provided from Axel Schuessler’s *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* or *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese* dictionaries;<sup>232</sup> in rare instances, Schuessler’s “Minimal Old Chinese” (OCM) reconstruction has been included to indicate a possible alternate pronunciation of the word; in both these cases, the reconstruction is followed by “(S).” Graphs which comprise part of the phonorhetorical patterning discussed in the subsequent analyses are indicated by boldface type.

As noted above, while I have chosen to include the 2011 Baxter-Sagart system for reconstructed pronunciations in the case studies below, the larger conclusions

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<sup>232</sup> See Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese* (2009), x: “The Introduction outlines basic issues in OC phonology since *GSR* [Karlgren’s *Grammata Serica Recensal*], and the rationale for OCM, a relatively simple form of OC, a minimum on which most investigators may agree, and which shows that OC is not quite as enigmatic and complex as it often appears. The OCM forms are “minimal” in several respects: they incorporate only the more widely accepted insights into OC gained since *GSR* was published, but leave out more speculative proposals with their often complex OC reconstructions . . . OCM is to a large extent a mechanical transcription of Karlgren’s OC into Baxter’s 1992 system with some mostly notational changes.”

the evidence provides on the use of rhyme, half-rhyme, alliteration and assonance, forms of repetition and other acoustic and phonorhetorical devices can be established using any system for early Chinese phonology, whether one relies on reconstructed pronunciations, the rhyme groups and data from the *Qieyun* and *Guangyun*, or modern Chinese notation systems for ancient pronunciations; in all cases, the results (and thus the euphonic structures they indicate) are extremely similar. As several systems and datasets for early Chinese phonology are included in the online *Digital Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* and were consulted in the analyses performed in the case studies below; any user may freely go to the site, enter the same content, and then review the data to verify the results.

### 3) Translation

A translation into modern English for each passage is provided in the third row, designed so as to adhere as closely as possible to the syntactic arrangement of the original Chinese, while yet maintaining an accurate and natural semantic translation. No rhyming or acoustic patterning in the English mirroring the patterns in the Chinese has been attempted. Translations of words which comprise part of the phonorhetorical patterning featured in the subsequent analyses are indicated by boldface type, so as to allow connections between semantic and phonological structures to be easily identified. The translations in this work are informed by the work of other scholars, translators and commentators, to whom I owe an immense debt of gratitude; all errors therein are solely my own.



## Appendix 4: A Comparative Analysis of the Phonology of the Word *min* 民 in Old Chinese

The word *min* 民 figures prominently in ancient Chinese texts and can be dated paleographically as far back as the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. It is most commonly used as a collective noun referring to a group of people and will often indicate a specific group of people who reside in a discrete geographical area (in many cases, a descriptor will precede the word which further identifies the group along geographical boundaries or some other identifying criterion; for example, in early texts, the collective noun which commonly refers to the Chinese people as a group is *li min* 黎民, the “black[-haired] people”).<sup>233</sup> In the table below I have laid out the primary lexical resources for phonology that have informed our understanding of its pronunciation, followed by the reconstructions put forth by prominent linguists over the past century.

The table below provides an excellent example of how the reconstructions of Old Chinese words are often strikingly similar regardless of the scholar doing the reconstructing. Previously, the main issue with the word *min* 民 was the question over the presence or absence of a medial glide (represented by the medial \*-i- in Karlgren and Wang Li’s reconstructions and the medial \*-j- in the others), with the most recent reconstructions from Starostin, Zhengzhang Shangfang and Schuessler preferring to omit it. However, the 2011 Baxter-Sagart reconstruction makes a radical new claim: the final consonant for *min* 民 in Old Chinese should be \*-ŋ, not \*-n. (Despite the change in final, the rhyme group stays the same, as words which end in \*-in and \*-iŋ are both in the *zhen* 真 rhyme group.) In many cases, a shift from an alveolar nasal consonant to a velar nasal consonant could be seen as a relatively inconsequential difference, but in light of the preponderance of patterns in the case studies below which feature repetitive final \*-ŋ (but final \*-n only on rare occasion), this specific case warrants a fuller investigation.

As one might expect, the best evidence for the pronunciation of *min* 民 during the early period comes from its use as a rhyme word in Old Chinese poetry, one of the primary criteria employed in all reconstruction systems for premodern

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<sup>233</sup> As Karlgren noted, the word *li* 黎 comes originally from the word *qi* 漆, meaning “lacquer,” “varnish” or “dark in color,” with a three-stroke knife signific 力 alongside.

**Table 14:** Rhyme Groups, *fanqie* spellings and Old Chinese reconstructions for the word *min* 民.

Source	Rhyme group 韻部	<i>fanqie</i> 反切	Reconstructed OC pronunciation
<i>Qieyun</i> 《切韻》	真		
<i>Guangyun</i> 《廣韻》	真	彌鄰	
Gu Yanwu 顧炎武	真		
Jiang Yong 江永	真	彌鄰	
Duan Yucai 段玉裁	真		
Wang Niansun 王念孫	真		
Jiang Yougao 江有誥	真	彌鄰	
Bernhard Karlgren	457		*mjän / *mjǎn
Li Fang-kuei 李方桂	真		*mjín
Wang Li 王力	真		*mien
Zhou Fagao 周法高	真		*mjǎn > *mín
Edwin Pulleyblank			mjin (EMC)
Sergei Starostin			*mín
Zhengzhang Shangfang 鄭張尚方	真1部		*mín
Axel Schuessler (1987)			*mjǎn / *mjín
William Baxter (1992)			*mjín
Axel Schuessler (2007, 2009)			*mín
Baxter-Sagart (2011)			*mĩŋ

Chinese. In the *Classic of Poetry*, there are two poems where *min* 民 occurs in a rhyming position, and in both poems, it rhymes directly with the word *jin* 矜 (which I have translated here as “to distress”).<sup>234</sup>

234 For consistency's sake I have rendered *jin* 矜 in these poems as “to distress,” as it has been glossed as “to be separated from one from one's wife,” “to put in danger” or “to make pitiful” in different early contexts. In “What Plant is Not Faded” 〈何草不黃〉, the Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 commentary glosses *jin* 矜 in this line as “無妻曰矜” (“to be without one's wife”), which is the source for Waley's translation: “taken from his wife” and makes very good sense. Unfortunately, this reading does not seem to fit its use in “The Mulberry's Tender Leaves.” In the Mao 毛 and Zheng Xuan glosses for “Leafy Willow-Tree” 《詩·小雅·苑柳》 (Mao #224), Mao reads “凶矜” as “危” (“to imperil” or “to put in great danger”): 「毛傳: “矜, 危也。”」 and Zheng Xuan has “凶危” for “凶矜”: 「鄭玄箋: “居我以凶危之地。”」. In his commentary to the “Great Oath” chapter of the *Classic of Documents* Kong Yingda 孔穎達 provides the reading “憐” (“to pity” or “to make pitiful”): 《書·泰誓上》: “天矜于民。” 孔傳: “矜, 憐也。”, which I feel is close to the larger sense of the word as used in these poems. All translations adapted from Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs* (New York: Grove Press, 1996).

“What Plant is Not Faded” [Mao 毛 #234] 《詩經·小雅·何草不黃》, 2<sup>nd</sup> stanza:

何 草 不 玄 ， 何 人 不 矜 。

\*gʰaj \*tshʰu? \*pə \*Gʷʰin<sup>235</sup> \*gʰaj \*niŋ \*pə \*kriŋ

What plant is not wilting, what man is not **distressed**?

哀 我 征 夫 ， 獨 為 匪 民 。

\*ʔəj \*ŋʰaj? \*teŋ \*ba \*dʰok \*Gʷaj \*pəj? \*miŋ

Alas for us soldiers, forsaken as if we were not **people**.

“The Mulberry’s Tender Leaves” [Mao 毛 #257] 《詩經·大雅·桑柔》, 1<sup>st</sup> stanza:

菀 彼 桑 柔 ， 其 下 侯 旬 。

\*ʔon? (S) \*paj? \*sʰaŋ \*nu \*gə \*m-gʰraʔ-s \*gʰo \*s-gʷin<sup>236</sup>

Profuse are the mulberry’s tender leaves, under them spreads an even shade.

捋 采 其 劉 ， 痍 此 下 民 。

\*rʰot \*m-sʰrə? \*gə \*mə-ru \*māk (S) \*tshʰe? \*m-gʰraʔ-s \*miŋ

But when picked there are only tatters torment comes to the **people** here left, below.

不 殄 心 憂 ， 倉 兄 填 兮 。

\*pə \*dʰən? \*səm \*təp (S) \*tshʰaŋ \*mraŋ \*dʰin \*gʰe

Their hearts are filled with endless grief, sorrow is forever upon them.

倬 彼 昊 天 ， 寧 不 我 矜 。

\*trâuk (S) \*paj? \*gû? (S) \*ʃin \*nʰeŋ \*pə \*ŋʰaj? \*kriŋ

Glorious is mighty Heaven, why does it **distress** us?

235 *xuan* 玄 \*Gʷʰin is a graph in the *zhen* 真 rhyme group, and although Baxter includes it in the rhymes for this poem (See Baxter, *Handbook*, Appendix B, p.694) it is not in direct rhyme position, and thus might or might not be a rhyme here (though it would at least cross-rhyme). Unfortunately, nowhere in the *Classic of Poetry* does *xuan* come in direct rhyme position, and thus it is extremely difficult to reliably reconstruct its final consonant in OC.

236 Like *xuan* 玄, *xun* 旬 \*s-gʷin is also in the *zhen* 真 rhyme group, but as it only occurs one other time in the *Classic of Poetry* and is not in rhyme position in that poem. Although Baxter proposed that it and *tian* 填 in the third line would form part of the rhymes for this poem, whether it was a perfect rhyme (*xun* certainly would have been at least a cross-rhyme) is impossible to determine from the available evidence.



*Jin* 矜 here is reconstructed with a \*-ŋ final, which accords well with its presentation in the *Qieyun* and *Guangyun* rhyme dictionaries, both of which include it in the *zheng* 蒸 (\*-əŋ) rhyme group. However, this would not result in a perfect rhyme with the medial vowel (\*i) in *min* 民. The best answer to the problem was provided by Duan Yucai in 1815, as he argued that the phonetic element on the right side in *jin* 矜 should be *ling* 令 \*riŋ, not *jin* 今 \*krəm:

In all editions [of the *Shuowen jiezi*], the seal graph is written *jin* 矜. The explanation states, '*jin* 今 is the phonetic.' Now, relying on the *Analects* from the Han stone classics, the Lishui Education Official stele and the Succession List of Wei [stele], all these write *jin* 矜, which is correct.

各本篆作矜。解云今聲。今依漢石經論語，溧水校官碑，魏受禪表皆作矜正之。<sup>237</sup>

Duan's reading has been further corroborated by recently excavated manuscripts of the *Lao zi*; in both of editions of the text found at Mawangdui 馬王堆, the graph *jin* 矜 in the line 「果而勿矜」 is written as 矜 (矜), and in the same line in the Guodian A text of the *Lao zi*, the graph is written 矜 with *ming* 命 as the phonetic component on the right (*ling* 令 \*riŋ-s and *ming* 命 \*mə-riŋ-s were not only homonymous and synonymous, but were even used interchangeably in some early Chinese texts).<sup>238</sup>

With this evidence, we should ask why the values for the final in *min* 民 were consistently rendered as \*-n in early rhyme dictionaries, with *lin* 鄰 given as the final for the rhyme in all *fanqie* spellings? The answer lies in our developing understanding of sound change related to palatalization in Old Chinese; as Baxter noted in his 1992 *Handbook*: “. . . there is some confusion between [codas \*-n and \*-ŋ] after front vowels \*i and \*e.”,<sup>239</sup> and reiterated by Sagart in his 1999 *The Roots of Old Chinese*: “Baxter assumes that Old Chinese rhymes \*-iŋ and \*-ik had their velar endings palatalized under the influence of the preceding vowel, merging with \*-in and \*-it.”<sup>240</sup> Sagart further notes that external comparisons to sister languages reveal original velar endings on words which seem to have undergone similar phonetic changes, such as *nian* 年 “year” (\*s-niŋ in Proto-Tibeto-Burman and \*hnengC in Proto-Yao) and *xin* 薪 “firewood” (*xin* can also mean to “wood” (or “tree”), and is reconstructed as \*siŋ in Proto-Tibeto-Burman and \*sjəŋ in

237 See *jin* 矜 in Duan Yucai 段玉裁, *Shuo wen jie zi zhu* 《說文解字注》 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1964). The full name of the first stele is the 「漢溧陽長潘乾校官碑」 and it dates to 181 C.E.; the second stele dates to the first year of the Cao Wei 曹魏 dynasty, 220 C.E.

238 See Wang Li 王力, *Tongyuan zidian* 同源字典 (1982), 329, and Baxter and Sagart, *Old Chinese*, 237–238.

239 Baxter, *Handbook*, 199.

240 Laurent Sagart, *The Roots of Old Chinese* (1999), 50–52.

Proto-Yao).<sup>241</sup> Finally, in their most recent publication, Baxter and Sagart have come to the more nuanced conclusion that “our Middle Chinese sources seem to show at least three different treatments of \*-iŋ in nonpharyngelized syllables:

*C.iŋ > *-in > -in	dialect where *-iŋ > *-in
*C.iŋ > *-eŋ > -jeng	dialect where *-iŋ > *-eŋ
*C.iŋ > -ing	conservative dialect that retains *-iŋ <sup>242</sup>

A final piece of evidence comes from the words listed as cognate to *min* 民 in Karlgren’s *Grammata Serica Recensa*, *xiesheng* groups 457, 742 and 841.<sup>243</sup>

	457	742	841
“people”	<i>min</i> 民 *miŋ	<i>mang</i> 氓 *mraŋ (with *-r- infix)	-
“confused”	<i>min</i> 泯 *min	<i>mang</i> 茫 *māŋ (S)	<i>ming</i> / <i>mian</i> 瞑 *mêŋ / *mêns (S)
“shut the eyes” / “sleep”	<i>mian</i> 眠 *min (S)	-	<i>ming</i> / <i>mian</i> 瞑 *mêŋ / *mêns (S)

Thus, in the case of *min* 民, the effects of sound change due to palatalization following medial vowel \*-i- along with connections in rhyming poetry to other words which exhibit -in finals in Middle Chinese resulted in the assumption that the MC final in this word was correct for OC as well, rather than Baxter and Sagart’s current and likely more accurate rendering of the final consonant as \*-ŋ.<sup>244</sup> This is a natural part of our still-developing understanding of Old Chinese phonology; as Baxter and Sagart wrote in *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction*:

In our view, a linguistic reconstruction is a set of hypotheses about the linguistic past. Hypotheses are not simply summaries of observations; crucially, while they are based on existing observations, they also make testable predictions about future observations. This is the deductive part of the approach. Hypotheses cannot be proved, but they can be tested empirically. If the predictions they make are false, hypotheses can be disproved, and in that case it is the scientist’s job to revise or replace them.<sup>245</sup>

<sup>241</sup> Benedict 1972 and Coblin 1986 corroborate the data from early Tibetan; Axel Schuessler also noted other sister languages which preserved the final \*-ŋ in these words. Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* (2007), 72–77.

<sup>242</sup> The “C” in these lines (as in “\*C.iŋ”) refers to an unknown initial consonant. See Baxter and Sagart, *Old Chinese*, 237.

<sup>243</sup> See Sagart, *Roots*, 135–136.

<sup>244</sup> The effects of palatalization have possibly affected other words in this category as well, such as *tian* 天 and *qin* 臻, both of which fall in direct rhyming position with *jin* 矜 in the poem “Leafy Willow-Tree” 《詩·小雅·菀柳》 in the *Classic of Poetry*.

<sup>245</sup> Baxter and Sagart, *Old Chinese*, 5.



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