Prosody, Paratext, Content and Form in the Tsinghua *Rui Liangfu bi* Manuscript

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*Rui Liangfu bi
芮良夫毖 manuscript
(Recto)

• Acquired in 2008
• Large cache (7 vols and counting, ~2300 items)
• Dated approx. 300 BCE
• 28 Bamboo slips
• Writing contains a long text in end-rhyming verse, with Rui Liangfu 芮良夫 as the protagonist
*Rui Liangfu bi
芮良夫毖
manuscript (Verso)

• Zhou Gong zhi
song shi 周公之
頌志（詩）
(scraped off)

• Named by
editors on the
basis of content
*Rui Liangfu bi*

Rui Liangfu bi

manuscript

(Verso)

- Binding strings decomposed
- Verso slips are numbered
- Relatively uncontroversial reconstruction
The Rui Liangfu *legend* in skeletal form

- The bad guy: King Li of Zhou 周厲王 (r. 853-829), an evil/inept last King of the W. Zhou.
- The good guy: Rui Liangfu 芮良夫 “The Good Man of Rui” (aka “The Earl of Rui” 芮伯) remonstrates openly, giving voice to widespread dissatisfaction.
- King won’t listen (in some versions actively suppresses criticism).
- W. Zhou lapses into interregnum, King is forced into exile at zhi 贽

As imagined by Xuehua News
https://www.xuehua.us/2018/03/02/%E5%91%A8%E5%8E%8B%E6%8C%A5%E9%9C%8D%E5%BA%93%EF%BC%8C%E8%B4%A4%E8%87%A3%E8%8A%AE%E8%89%AF%E5%A
Transmitted sources of the Legend of Rui Liangfu

• "Poetry/Shi": *Shijing* 詩經 *Sang rou* 桑柔 (Soft Mulberries)
  • Attribution to Rui Lliangfu in *Zuo zhuan* 左傳
  • Attribution in the *xiaoxu* 小序 of the Mao edition of the *Shijing*: “[In] Soft Mulberries, Rui Bo criticizes King Li” 桑柔芮伯刺厲王

• "History/Shu": *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (Remnant documents of Zhou) “Rui Liangfu” 芮良夫 chapter.

• *Guoyu* 國語 *Zhouyu xia* 周語下: Rui Liangfu remonstrates King Li against employing Rong Yigong and against silencing critics

• Bamboo Annals *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年: King Li’s eighth year [846 BCE] : The first investigation of critics. Liangfu, the Earl of Rui, cautioned the hundred officers at court. 八年，初監謗。芮伯良夫戒百官于朝
Grievances or exhortations shared by most sources of the Rui Liangfu narrative

Dear King Li,

You (foolishly) do not listen to the advice of your wise subordinates.
You fail to employ good people in government.
You lack concern for the good of the people.
You fail to prepare for disaster.
You ignore the lessons of history.
(You favor Duke Yi of Rong 荣夷公, who monopolizes profit/resources)

I exhort you to:

Attend to your *de* 德 (virtue)
model your actions on the wise rulers of the past, and
correct the faults listed above.

Etc.

Sincerely, Uncle Rui 芮伯
What might the *Rui Liangfu bi 芮良夫毖 be?

- A musical *shige 詩歌 “poem” (Tsinghua editorial group)
  - An ironic/critical/turned *ya poem 變雅 (Tang Pui Ling 鄧佩玲)
  - A [presumably musical but] non-operatic *shi-poem (Li Xueqin 李學勤)
  - A written, *cifu 辭賦 –style non-musical poem (Cao Jianguo 曹建国)
  - Exemplar of a long lost genre of *shi-poetry encompassing many structural forms (Ma Fang 馬芳)
- Not poetry at all: a *shu 書 historical document (Chen Pengyu 陳鵬宇; Zhao Pingan 趙平安)
- Adjudicate by examining:
  - Structure/form/prosody
  - Unusual content (mostly unremarked)
*Rui Liangfu bi
Structural overview

• **Paratext**: text structure
• **Paratext**: how to read/understand the songs
  • Preface/ introduction
    • Historicizing, like *xiaoxu* prefaces
  • Song punctuation: (“the second [song] began, saying...” 二啟曰)
• **Text**: two rhyming texts, Rui Liangfu’s songs.
• Two other collections of *shi*-poetry in the Tsinghua corpus have this structure
The *Rui Liangfu bi, contextualized (1)

1 1 周邦驟有禍 The Zhou State had repeatedly suffered misfortune,

2 寇戎方進 and the marauding Rong were entering.

3 厥辟御事 The ruler(s) and his (their) master(s) of affairs

4 各營其身 each fended for themselves.

5 恆爭于富 They struggled constantly with each other for wealth,

6 莫治庶難 and none of them governed the many disasters.

7 莫卹邦之不寧 None concerned themselves with the disquiet of the state.

8A 芮良夫乃 Rui Liangfu thus

8B 作毖再終 made this admonition in two [musical] sections.

2 9A 曰 He said:
Oh, be warned of this, My Lord(s):

Heaven can indeed be feared!

Oh be warned, My Lord(s)!

Awaken to your fall and change your course.

Respect the might of Heaven—

Uphold the course that listens to the people.

Discriminate what’s right from wrong

to deem yourselves scandalous and ruined.

Seek and promote sages

to extend your strategic plans.

Do not be ashamed to inquire about the [proper] course

And your rule will be without blame!
Reasons *Rui Liangfu bi* might be compared to a model *shi*-poem

- Preface tells us the *Rui Liangfu bi* is a *song* composed in two sections 歌再終
- We suspect Rui Liangfu is an author of a *shi*-poem (*Sang rou*).
- We know two other similar manuscripts in the Tsinghua corpus that contain material we know from the *Shijing*.
- Careful reading shows the language borrows a lot from the poetry of complaint in the *Shijing*
  - *Lord-Parry* analysis show formulaic phrases borrow most closely from the *ya sections* in the *Shijing* (which contain many of the explicit poems of complaint; Chen Pengyu 陳鵬宇, 2014).
  - Lyrical gestures/ stock phrases: eg. “Oh how troubled is this heart” 心之憂矣!
  - Limited reduplication and borrowing of poetic devices/lines
Efforts to Parse the *Rui Liangfu bi* into verses
*Rui Liangfu bi 芮良夫毖

**Rui Liangfu bi** is prosodically and structurally very atypical of *Shijing* poems

- Length: approx. twice as long as any *Shijing* poem, e.g. *Sang rou*
- Irregular meter: (72%) tetrasyllabic vs. (Shao Min 召民 85%; *Sang rou* 99%)
- Irregular rhyme—lots of cross-rhyming
- Very irregular verse length and structure
- Could not have been performed to music anything like that of the *Daya*
- Also, direct mode of address and lengthy exposition are very unlike *Shijing* poetics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Rhyme</th>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Rhyme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>XABABaaBä</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 A</td>
<td>A#B A#c#B c#AB</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>XA[?]äXAAAXA[.]AXA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>XCcCX[?]</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>AaXAXAXAXAXA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>XccXcCXCDcDCD</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>A###ABAaAβAβ[?]BAbAb[?]BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BβBAβAβAβ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>ABABXbXBb#pBbB</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>AABBAXAbAAAcCBX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>AXABXBABAaB</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>ABABA#BA#pBA#pCCBABBABA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>XAXAXaXaXAXAAAXAXA</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>X[A]AAXAä[A]XaAa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>AbBaBä[.][..]CBXCB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>[..][.]XAXAXAääXa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sang rou 桑柔 (Mao #257)*

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>ABABBBBB</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>ABAXB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>ABABABAaB</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>#B#BXB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>AXBABAaB</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>XBAXBXB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>ABABXBaB</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>XBaBAb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>aBABAaBB</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>AAAAXA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>ABaBCCDD</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>XBAXBXB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>bBABABAB</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>BAbBAb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>AbXBABBBB</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>AXAAXA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reasons *Rui Liangfu bi* might seem like a *shu* 書 historical document

- Preface sets the stage for a *shu*-style announcement.
- Language is direct and expository. No *xing* 興 but some simile/metaphor.
- We know Rui Liangfu’s remonstrance against King Li from a *shu* 書 document, the *Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” chapter.
- There is one other example of a *shu*-document that contains rhyming remonstratory songs, the *Wuzi zhi ge* 五子之歌, found only in the old-text *Shang shu*. 
*Rui Liangfu bi* is prosodically very atypical of *Shu* documents

- Rhymed throughout, little or no prose, even in the preface.
- Lyrical exclamations never present in *shu* proclamation
- Few or no stock phrases of *shu* documents

*Yi Zhou shu* “Rui Liangfu” is an outlier in that it rhymes (60% tetrasyllabic), and still...

- No verse structure at all, “Sections”
- **Prose/identical rhyme disjunctions**
- **Rui bo ruo yue** 芮伯若曰

### Yi Zhou shu 逸周書 “Rui Liangfu” (no verse structure)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Rhyme</th>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Rhyme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>{AAa}</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>XBbbABabBBXXbB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>XaA#AA#XA#XaAABBXX</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>XbBXBBX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aA#XA#acc</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>XbbBaAbbAXBX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>b#Xb##aa</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>BBbXXXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>#Xa##a#A##a</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>XB#BB#bbAbAbAbAbAaXXXAaDD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Rui Liangfu bi 芮良夫毖

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<tr>
<td>1.0</td>
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<td>X</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>XAXAXaXaXAXAXAXAXA</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ABaBäB[.]..CBXCB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>[...]XAXAXAääXa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>ABaBäB[.]..CBXCB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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- **Rui bo ruo yue** 芮伯若曰
Content: Unique concerns of the *Rui Liangfu bi*

- Extended exposition on the *techniques* of proper governance—great resemblance to technical literature. Primarily in two conceptually parallel sections in the second song-text
- Opposition and balancing of *de* 徳 (virtue) and *xing* 行 (punishments), concepts important astro-calendrical correlates in Warring States technical literature. Mechanistic conceptions characteristic of late pre-imperial texts
- Regulation of human realm intertwined with concerns about the movement of celestial bodies—language of the seasonal ordinances 時令.
- (Celestial *du* 度 (position) as correlated with the *du* 度 (rule/order) of the ruler.)
Structurally parallel expository sequences in the second song-text

- Phrases opposing *de* 德 and *xing* 刑 appear mostly but not entirely in the second song text

- Parallel sequences describe:
  - Normative order in technical governance and correspondingly in the cosmos
  - Loss of order and unwinding of the cosmos
### *Rui Liangfu bi* exposition on technical art of governing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Character</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>約結絆腸</td>
<td>The ‘double ties’; the ink-line and plumb—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>民之關閉</td>
<td>these are the crux of [governing] the people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>如關扃扃管</td>
<td>Like the horizontal and vertical door brace, the bolt and the key</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>絆既正</td>
<td>Just as the ink-line and plumb are perfectly straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>而五相柔比</td>
<td>the five ministers fall yieldingly into line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>逼易兇心</td>
<td>compliantly their evil thoughts are transformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>研甄嘉惟</td>
<td>they analyze and devise great strategic plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>救和庶民</td>
<td>fostering and harmonizing the populace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>政命德刑</td>
<td>Governance and the mandate, virtue and punishments—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>各有常次</td>
<td>each possessed its regular sequence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>邦其康寧</td>
<td>The state was thus peaceful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>不逢庶難</td>
<td>and did not encounter the many disasters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>年穀紛成</td>
<td>The yearly grain harvest was abundant and ripe;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>風雨時至</td>
<td>the wind and rain came at their proper times.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Consequences of the collapse of the prescribed order

| 154 | 如關楗不閉 | If the horizontal and vertical door braces are not latched, | A |
| 155 | 而繩膊失揆 | and the ink-line and plumb have lost their proper position, | A |
| 156 | 五相不彊 | the five ministers are not firm, | B |
| 157 | 岌胥獻言 | nor are they willing to speak up. | B |
| 158 | 人訟扞違 | Men accuse and violate each other, | A |
| 159 | 民乃噂囂 | and the people clamor and howl. | X |
| 160 | 靡所屏依 | There is no place to hide and nothing to rely on. | A |
| 161 | 日月星辰 | The sun moon and stars | b |
| 162 | 用交亂進退 | thus advance and retreat in tangled chaos, | A |
| 163 | 而莫得其次 | such that none takes its proper station. | A |
| 164 | 歲廼不度 | The Year-star then loses its rule | c |
| 165 | 民用戾盡 | and thereby the folk become thoroughly perverted | b |
| 166 | 咎何其如 | Oh, what can be done about such misfortune?! | c |
| 166B | 台哉 | | X |
Also floating in the Primordial soup: *Sui* 岁 text, section A of the *Zidanku Chu boshu* 子彈庫楚帛書 (Zidanku Silk Manuscript #1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese Characters</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Romanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>惟□□四月</td>
<td>It is (?) (?) fourth month,</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>則贏絀</td>
<td>then if the [intercalary] augmentation or abatement</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>不得其當</td>
<td>does not achieve its proper place,</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>春夏秋冬</td>
<td>Spring Summer Fall Winter</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□有□常</td>
<td>(will not?) have (?) regularity,</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>日月星辰</td>
<td>the sun moon, planets and stars</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>亂逆其行</td>
<td>deviate chaotically from their movement,</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>贏絀逆亂</td>
<td>If the augmentation or abatement are chaotic and deviant,</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>奔木無常</td>
<td>plants and trees lose regularity.</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>是謂妖，</td>
<td>This is called an omen,</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>天地作殃</td>
<td>Heaven and Earth are creating disasters.</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Heaven’s trigger mechanism
天之發機, a Warring States technology?

167 論惟沖人 I am but a child,
168 則如穀之 and like a stalk of grain
169 非穀哲人 I am no seed-bearing

170 吾靡所 援 I am not someone
171 我之不言 [But] if I myself don’t say

172 則畏天之 then I fear Heaven’s
173 我其言矣 [and] once I myself have

174 則逸者不 then the negligent ones
Neither *shi* poetry nor *shu* document, nor the work of Rui Liangfu?

• The concerns and verse form of the *Rui Liangfu bi* are echoed in Warring States texts that might be classified as technical literature, like calendrical texts.
  • Perhaps because of the focus on its relation to transmitted texts (*shi* and *shu*), this has gone neglected.

• Many of these texts are rhyming expositions. If we wish to consider the *Rui Liangfu bi* a poem, or even as a historical document that contains a poem, should we consider texts like the Zidanku *Sui* text to be poetry?

• What about *Jiaoshi Yilin* 焦氏易林? Peking University *Jing jue* 荊決 and *Yinyangjia yan* 陰陽家言, and other such texts that share prosodical features of poetry?
If the *Rui Liangfu bi is neither poetry nor history, what is it?

• We have seen that there are problems classifying the *Rui Liangfu bi as a shi or a shu, at least prototypically, so what is it?

• Tentatively call it a “historically conscious song-book”
  • “Verse album?”
  • “Verse plasmid?”

• Defined on the basis of structure
  • Verse structure
  • Text-paratext structure
Other historically conscious songbooks (1) Zhou Gong zhi qinwu 周公之琴舞

- Tsinghua Zhou Gong zhi qinwu (v.3)
  - Shaded purple is narrative paratext (NP)
    - “The Duke of Zhou made [for] the many nobles warnings and cautions, [accompanied by] zither and dancing in nine sui (refrains/units of performance) 周公作多士儆毖，琴舞九遂”
  - Similar for King Cheng 成王

- Unshaded punctuates songs (P)
  - “The first entrance said:” 元入啟曰
  - “The [Xth verse] said: [再、三、四…九]啟曰
  - “The luan 亂 says:” 亂曰
Other historically conscious songbooks (1)

Zhou Gong zhi qinwu 周公之琴舞
PN周公作多士儆毖，琴舞九遂

P元納啟曰：無侮享君，罔墜其孝，享惟ڔ市，孝惟型市。
P
PN成【一】王作儆毖，琴舞九遂。

P元納啟曰：敬之敬之，天惟尙市，文非易市。毋曰高高在上，陟降其事，卑監【二】在茲。
P
P亂曰：遹我夙夜，不逸儆之，日就月將，警其光明。弼持其有扃，告予顯徳之行。
P再啟【三】曰：假哉古人，夫明思慎，用仇其有辟，允丕承丕顯，思攸亡麁。
P
P亂曰：已，不造哉！思型之，【四】思恑懼之，用求其定，欲彼熙不落，思慎。
P參啟曰：德元惟何？曰渾亦抑，嚴余不懽，乗乘畏【五】忌，不易威儀。在言，惟克敬之！
P
P亂曰：非天僃徳，繄莫肯造之，夙夜不懈，懋敷其有悅，裕其【六】文人，不逸監余。
P四啟曰：文文其有家，保監其有後。孺子王矣，丕寧其有心。孳孳其在位，顯于【七】上下。
P
P亂曰：遹其顯思，皇天之功，畫之在視日，夜之才在視辰。日入暮舉不寧，是惟宅。
P五啟曰：鳴【八】呼！天多降徳，滂滂在下，攸自求悅，諸子多子，逐思忱之。
P
P亂曰：桓稱其有若，曰享答余一人，【九】思輔余于艱，瞻視惟民，亦思不忘。
P六啟曰：其余沖人，服才在清廟，惟克小心，命不夷歇，對【一〇】天之不易。
P
P亂曰：弼敢荒在位，寵威在上，警顯在下。鳴呼！式克其有辟，用容輯余，用小心【一一】待惟文人之若。
P七啟曰：思有息，思憙在上，丕顯其有位，右帝在落，不失惟同。
P
P亂曰：遹余恭【一二】害怠，孝敬非怠荒。咨爾多子，篤其諫劭，余逯思念，畏天之載，勿請福之愆。
P八啟曰：佐事王【一三】聰明，其有心不易，威儀謹謹，大其有謀，匄澤恃徳，不畀用非雍。
P
P亂曰：良徳其如台？曰享人大【一四】……罔克用之，是墜于若。
P九啟曰：鳴呼！弼敢荒徳，德【一五】非僃市，純惟徳市，文非勛市，不墜修彥。
P
P亂曰：遹我敬之，弗其墜哉，思響其復，惟福思【一六】用，黃耇惟盈。【一七】
Other historically conscious songbooks

(2) Qiye 輿夜

- Recounts a drinking party celebrating the defeat of Qi (or Li 黎)

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

- [Narrative Paratext:] The King offered up his chalice, toasting the Duke of Bi, and made a song in one zhong 終(part), called “Joyful joyful, the tasty brew”...
Tai Kang occupied the throne like a personator of the dead. By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his virtue, till the black-haired people all wavered in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any self-restraint. He went out to hunt beyond the Luo, and a hundred days elapsed without his returning. (On this) Yi, the prince of Qiong, taking advantage of the discontent of the people, resisted (his return) on (the south of) the He. The (king’s) five brothers had attended their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the north of the Luo; and (when they heard of Yi’s movement), all full of dissatisfaction, they related the Cautions of the great Yu in the form of songs. (Tr. Legge)

Preface: 太康失邦，昆弟五人須于洛汭，作《五子之歌》。

**Shang shu: Wuzhi zhi ge** 尚書·五子之歌:

PN 太康尸位，以逸豫滅厥德，黎民咸貳，乃盤遊無度，畋于有洛之表，十旬弗反。有窮后羿因民弗忍，距于河，厥弟五人御其母以從，奚于洛之汭。五子咸怨，述大禹之戒以作歌。

P 其一曰：皇祖有訓，民可近，不可下，民惟邦本，本固邦寧。
予視天下愚夫愚婦一能勝予，一人三失，怨豈在明，不見是圖。
予臨兆民，懍乎若朽索之馭六馬，為人上者，柰何不敬？

P 其二曰：訓有之，內作色荒，外作禽荒。甘酒嗜音，峻宇彫牆。有一于此，未或不亡。

P 其三曰：惟彼陶唐，有此冀方。今失厥道，亂其紀綱，乃厎滅亡。

P 其四曰：明明我祖，萬邦之君。有典有則，貽厥子孫。關石和鈞，王府則有。荒墜厥緒，覆宗絕祀！

P 其五曰：嗚呼曷歸？予懷之悲。萬姓仇予，予將疇依？郁陶乎予心，顏厚有忸怩。弗慎厥德，雖悔可追？
Concluding thoughts and remaining questions regarding the *Rui Liangfu bi*

- Language full of archaisms but intellectual content unlikely to predate the Warring States
  - What layers can be identified in the text?
- Rui Liangfu bi can’t have been a song anything like the Sang rou, and may not have been sung at all
  - What will applying similar prosodic analysis to the other songbooks reveal?
  - What precedents are there for vestigial markers of musicality in other poetry traditions? *Chengxiang 成相* and *fu 赋* in the *Xunzi 荀子*.
- Thinking in terms of *shi* and *shu* categories modeled by transmitted texts does not necessarily reflect the genre-awareness or practices of early manuscript users.
  - How did the *Wuzi zhi ge 五子之歌* become a *shu* document? Perhaps the forgoing would have convinced Karlgren to include it in his *Shang shu* translation?