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CAI YONG'S 蔡邕 READING OF THE *ODES*, AS SEEN FROM HIS *QINCAO* 琴操 AND HIS "QINGYI FU" 青衣賦

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Abstract

Cai Yong 蔡邕 (132–192) was one of the most erudite scholars of the Eastern Han. A major project of his was the so-called "Stone Classics of the Xiping era" (Xiping Shijing 熹平石經) project first commissioned by Emperor Ling in 175 C.E., for which Cai Yong wrote the texts of the court-sanctioned Classics in his own calligraphy. For the text of one of these Classics, the *Odes* (*Shi* 詩), he is known to have used the so-called Lu 魯 version, which was the dominant interpretative line for the *Odes* classic in his time. However, the question of whether Cai Yong's literary writings also evince a preference for the Lu reading of the *Odes* has not yet received much scholarly consideration. In my study, the *Qincao* 琴操, a collection of anecdotes and song texts relating to pieces played to the accompaniment of the zither *qin*, a work that may also be assigned to Cai Yong but has also mostly been neglected so far, will be analyzed in relation to the Lu interpretive line, as will the "Qingyi fu" 青衣賦 (Rhapsody on a Grisette), one of Cai Yong's rhapsodies.

Introduction

Cai Yong 蔡邕 (132–192), style Bojie 伯喈, was, as Michael Loewe once remarked in a private conversation with me, certainly one of the most outstanding scholars of the Eastern Han dynasty. As we can see from his biography in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 and from his collected works,[1] Cai Yong left behind more than a hundred works, among them epitaphs,

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1. The biography appears in *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1965), 60B.1979–2008. Many thanks to Michael Nylan, Achim Mittag, Billy French, and two anonymous readers for their insightful comments and inspiring suggestions. The collected works appear in *Cai Zhonglang ji* 蔡中郎集, in *Cai Zhonglang ji zhuzi suoyin* 蔡中郎集逐字索引 (Hong Kong: Shangwu, 1998).

essays, and poems, and about a dozen of rhapsodies (*fu* 賦). Yet, only a small part of his literary oeuvre has been studied in depth to date.[2]

Between 172 and 177,[3] Cai Yong worked by order of Han Emperor Ling 漢靈帝 (r. 168–189) in the Eastern Lodge (*Dongguan* 東觀), preparing the source materials for the *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記, a history of Eastern Han. Certainly his most famous project was that of editing seven Classics for the court,[4] a commission he shared with three of his colleagues. The collated version, the so-called Xiping 熹平 Stone Classics, was then carved in Cai's calligraphy onto forty-six stone slabs, by imperial decree, in the years 175–183.[5] According to Loewe, "as a student of scriptural works, [Cai Yong] became aware of the prevalence of a number of discrepancies, and along with others suggested (175) that authentic versions should be engraved on stone, as permanent record of the approved text."[6] Longstanding disputes among scholars promoting rival manuscript versions of the Classics were thus ended by fixing a definitive standard.

Though it is widely known that for his stone slab project, Cai had used the text of the so-called Lu 魯 version of the *Odes*[7] (*Shi* 詩),[8] the question

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2. For a translation and study of several of Cai's rhapsodies, along with those of other Han poets, see Gong Kechang, *Studies on the Han Fu*, translated and edited by David R. Knechtges, with Stuart Aque, Mark Asselin, Carrie Reed, and Su Jui-lung (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1997); for a critical biography of Cai Yong, see Gong's "Cai Yong pingzhuan" 蔡邕評傳, in his *Hanfu yanjiu* 漢賦研究 (Jinan: Shandong wenyi, 1990), 273–304, and Asselin's translation in Gong, *Studies on the Han Fu*, 339–89; for a monograph on Cai Yong's *fu* and those of some of his contemporaries, see Mark Laurent Asselin, *A Significant Season: Cai Yong (ca. 133–192) and His Contemporaries* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2010). For a recent comparison of Cai Yong's biography with those of Zhang Heng and Ma Rong, see Hans van Ess, "Literary Works and Allusion in Three Biographies of the *Hou Hanshu* and Their Purpose: Zhang Heng (78–139), Ma Rong (79–166) and Cai Yong (132–192)," *Monumenta Serica* 67.1 (2019), 111–26.

3. All dates are C.E. unless otherwise noted.

4. These seven Classics comprised *Zhou Yi* 周易 (Classic of Changes), *Shang shu* 尚書 (Book of Documents), *Yi li* 儀禮 (Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial), *Lun yu* 論語 (Analects), *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Annals), *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 (Gongyang Tradition of the Annals), and *Lu shi* 魯詩 (Odes, also called the Classic of Songs, in the Lu version). For a short survey on the Han Stone Classics, see Hong Qianyou 洪乾祐, *Handai jingxue shi* 漢代經學史 (Taizhong: Guozhang, 1996), 1571–77.

5. *Hou Han shu* 60B.1990.

6. Michael Loewe, *Faith, Myth and Reason in Han China* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1982), 216.

7. Hereafter, the term "Odes" will be written in italics with its initial capitalized whenever the Classic, also known as the *Songs* (*Shi* 詩), is meant; when a single piece drawn from that compilation is meant, or when referring to the time prior to the compilation of *Odes* classic, the term will be lower-cased and not written in italics ("the ode", "odes").

8. The Lu version was probably named so because Shen Pei 申培 (219–135 B.C.E.), who is regarded as the "Patron" of the Lu reading of the *Odes*, had taught in the

of whether Cai in his own literary writings also used and interpreted the *Odes* according to the Lu version has to my knowledge not much been discussed. This is probably because there seems to be no explicit reference to such an adherence in early Chinese sources.[9]

In a monograph published in 2010 Mark Laurent Asselin provided an annotated translation and analysis of five of Cai Yong's rhapsodies. But, already in 1997, Asselin had published an article entitled "The Lu-School Reading of 'Guanju' as Preserved in an Eastern Han *Fu*." There he analyzed Cai Yong's "Qingyi fu" 青衣賦 (rendered by Asselin as "*Fu* on a Grisette") together with a *fu* written by Zhang Chao 張超 (precise life data unknown), with the title "Qiao qingyi fu" 誚青衣賦 (rendered by Asselin as "Reproaching the '*Fu* on a Grisette'"). While one might have expected Asselin to adduce Cai Yong's *fu* as his key example attesting a Lu reading of the *Odes*, instead he styles Zhang Chao's *fu* as such,[10] and since Asselin takes Zhang Chao's *fu* as a critical response to Cai Yong's *fu*, a reader might conclude that, in Asselin's view (and Zhang Chao's), Cai Yong's *fu* had favored a different reading.[11]

I wonder if Asselin would have treated Cai Yong's "Qingyi fu" differently, had he considered the *Qincao* 琴操, a collection of narratives relating to fifty-odd pieces played to the accompaniment of the zither qin, equipped with a preface by Cai Yong. Instead, Asselin dismissed the *Qincao* as "probably a later work," since the *Qincao* is not included in the

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kingdom of Lu. For a "genealogy" of scholars adhering to a Lu reading of the *Odes*, see Hong Qianyou, *Handai jingxue shi*, 659–83, and table, 716. The first patron listed there is Fuqiu Bo 浮丘伯. Note that unlike the readings attached to the *Odes* in other interpretive lines, those of the Mao 毛 school have been preserved, in what became the sole authorized version. Note, too, that many scholars consider a text by the Ming scholar Feng Fang 豐坊 (1492–1563), which claims to be Shen Pei's lost *Shishuo* 申培詩說 (Shen Pei's Sayings on the *Odes*), to be a forgery, so my analysis will omit reference to this text. For a general overview over the various readings of the *Odes*, and especially, the Han readings, see the still relevant article by Robert James Hightower, "The *Han-shih wai-chuan* and the San Chia Shih," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 11 (1948), 241–310.

9. In a small study, Zhao Debo 趙德波 suggested a close relation between the "Luming cao" of the *Qincao* and texts drawing on the Lu interpretive line of the *Odes*. See his "Cai Yong *Qincao*, 'Luming' kaolun" 蔡邕《琴操　鹿鳴》考論, *Xueshu jiaoliu* 學術交流 193 (2010), 141–45.

10. Mark Laurent Asselin, "The Lu-School Reading of 'Guanju' as Preserved in an Eastern Han *Fu*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117.3 (1997), 430.

11. In *A Significant Season*, 358 n. 5, Asselin refers to Wang Xianqian as someone who assumed that Cai followed the Lu interpretive line of the *Odes*, but I did not find a clear statement by him regarding his view on Cai Yong's possible adherence to any particular reading of the *Odes*. For more on this, see my discussion in the last part of this study.

Cai Zhonglang ji,[12] while a poem entitled "*Qin* fu" 琴賦 ("*Fu* on the Qin"), now only in fragments, can be found there.[13]

However, the *Qincao*, which is not only a collection of anecdotes relating to the *qin* zither, but also a literary piece of great sophistication, comports well with what the transmitted sources have to say about Cai Yong's talents both as a scholar and as a musician.[14] From his biography we learn that he was not only an accomplished player of the *qin* zither, but that he even made his own instrument.[15] According to the preface of his "Shu xing fu" 述行賦 ("*Fu* Describing a Journey"), Cai Yong was first summoned to the court in Luoyang in 159, when Xu Huang 徐璜 (?–164), a eunuch who was then important at the court of Emperor Huandi 桓帝 (r. 147–168), ordered him to travel to Luoyang to give a *qin* recital at the palace.[16]

Only a few specialists on the *Odes* have so far envisioned the *Qincao* as a text of possible relevance to the various extant readings of the *Odes*. One of the few Chinese scholars to treat the narratives in the *Odes* section of the *Qincao* as representing the Lu reading of the *Odes* was Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842–1918), who meticulously distinguished what he called "Lu shuo" 魯說 (explanations based on the Lu interpretive line) from those of the Qi 齊 and Han 韓 traditions in his own compilation.[17]

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12. See Asselin, *A Significant Season*, 55f. n. 6. The *Cai Zhonglang ji* comprises more than a hundred works ascribed to Cai Yong, among them epitaphs, essays, poems, and other writing. The reason why the *Qincao* was not selected for the compilation is unclear, but this omission is probably due to a debate among musicologists over the authorship of the *Qincao*: was it compiled by Cai Yong, by Huan Tan 桓譚 (c. 43 B.C.E.–28 C.E.), roughly two centuries before Cai Yong, or by Kong Yan 孔衍 (268–320), who lived a century or so after Cai Yong? As I have shown in my forthcoming book on the *Qincao*, Cai Yong is the only candidate among the three to whom the *Qincao* can be plausibly attributed. Cai was not only an active *qin* player and an accomplished classical scholar, but the manner in which the *Qincao* narratives are written points clearly to Cai Yong as author (and not merely as compiler, as has often been suggested). See Schaab-Hanke, *Ein Kanon für Qin-Spieler: Das* Qincao 琴操 *des Cai Yong* 蔡邕 *(133–192)* (Gossenberg: Ostasien, scheduled for 2023) which contains a full annotated translation and analysis of the *Qincao*.

13. For these fragments, see *Cai Zhonglang ji*, 14.9–12/76–7.

14. Among his "disciples" was certainly his own daughter, Cai Yan 蔡琰 (177–ca. 250), style 昭姬 (aka Wenji 文姬) who is known to have been a poet, a composer, and an accomplished *qin* player. See her biography in *Hou Han shu* 84.2800–3.

15. See the anecdote in *Hou Han shu* 60B.2204, regarding the supposed origins of the designation "singed-tail" (*jiaowei* 焦尾) for the lower end of the *qin*.

16. See Cai Yong's preface to his "Shu xing fu," in *Cai Zhonglang ji* 11.3/58; cf. Asselin, *A Significant Season*, 302.

17. See his *Shi sanjia yi jishu* 詩三家義集疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987), which draws upon the *Sanjia shi yishuo kao* 三家詩遺說攷 (On the Fragmentary Sayings of the Three Lines for the Odes) by Chen Shouqi 陳壽祺 (1771–1834) and Chen Qiaocong 陳喬樅

Two modern scholars, Chen Tongsheng 陳桐生 and Martin Kern, have briefly discussed the *Qincao* in its relation to the Lu readings of the *Odes*,[18] but without going into detail.

One important purpose of my study is thus to take a closer look at the narratives of the *Qincao*, in the hope of gaining some insight into the work's exegetical approach and inclinations. Given that its narratives mirror or reflect the Lu reading of the *Odes*, another question that will arise is whether Cai Yong was merely the compiler or indeed the primary author of this set of narratives. A third question is this: was there only one "Lu reading" of the *Odes* in existence or were there changes or tendencies within the corpus of readings assigned to Lu? The results of my discussion will then be applied on Cai Yong's "Qingyi fu" and the question of its exegetical inclinations.

Cai Yong's Readings of the *Odes* in Narratives of the Section *Shige*

According to Cai Yong's preface to the *Qincao*, the treatise comprised narratives (and partly songs) in four sections: (1) five pieces in the section *Shige* 詩歌 (i.e., Songs of the *Odes*); (2) twelve pieces in the section *Cao* 操; (3) nine pieces in the section *Yin* 引, and (4) twenty-one pieces in the category *Hejian zage* 河間雜歌, a set of folksongs purportedly collected during Western Han by King Xian of Hejian (河間獻王).[19] Of course, the decision to divide this collection into four parts will immediately

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(1809–1859). See n. 56, for references to the respective pieces of the *Qincao*. The *Sanjia shi yishuo kao* is included in the collection Huangqing jingjie xubian 皇清經解續編, whose main editor was Wang himself. Chen Qiaocong's (1840) preface to his *Lushi yishuo kao* 魯詩遺說考 (On the Teachings of the Lu Line), draws a "genealogical line" from the *Xunzi* via Shen Pei to the *Shi ji* and the works of Liu Xiang, as noted in Hightower, "The *Han-shih wai-chuan* and San Chia Shih," App. 2 (279–86). Hightower himself, however, expresses his doubts about the reliability of strict assignments to the one or other interpretive line. See ibid., 252n26.

18. Chen Tongsheng's study focused on tracing various readings of the *Odes* in the *Shi ji* 史記, in which process he adduced the *Qincao* as a text evidencing the Lu readings. See his *Shi ji yu Shi jing* 史記與詩經 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 2000), 21. In a study tracing the continuity of the Lu *Odes* readings after the Han, Martin Kern cites a comment by Li Shan 李善 (630–689) on the Jin poet Xi Kang's 嵇康 (223–262) "Qinfu" 琴賦, which summarizes the narratives of the *Qincao*. See Kern, "Beyond the *Mao Odes*: *Shi jing* Reception in Early Medieval China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127.2 (2007), 133. As Kern suggests, Li Shan might have had in mind that Xi Kang interpreted that *qin* piece according to the Lu reading of the *Odes*.

19. 古琴曲有詩歌五曲 […]；又有一十二操 […]；又有九引 […]；又有河間雜歌二十一章. *Qincao*, in Duhua zhai congshu 讀畫齋叢書, compiled by Gu Xiu 顧修 (Tongchuan: Gushi kan, 1799; available online via mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11129316–4), 1.1b–2a. The King of Hejian was said by some to be an adherent of the Lu reading of the *Odes*, but at that time there was still no

recall to attentive readers the four-part division of the *Odes* classic, into *Guofeng* 國風 (Airs of the Kingdoms), *Xiaoya* 小雅, *Daya* 大雅 (Lesser and Greater Court Hymns), and *Song* 頌 (Hymns). Notably, in the *Odes*, the four-part sequence starts with what were construed as vernacular songs and ends with pieces used during solemn temple rituals, while the order of the pieces presented in the *Qincao* seems to be the reverse, moving as it does from pieces from the "classical" to vernacular songs, following what Han readers would have assumed was a chronological order. After all, it starts from songs whose composition is attributed to people of Western Zhou times, then moves on to pieces attributed to composers who supposedly lived during Chunqiu (*cao* and *yin*), and ends with the *Hejian zage*, songs said to have been composed during the Han dynasty, even if some protagonists of these songs in this section can be dated to earlier eras.

A consistent rendering of the terms *cao* 操 and *yin* 引 is not straightforward. In later times, these terms were both used to denote musical pieces without song texts, i.e. melodies or preludes, respectively.[20] In Han times, the two terms seem to have acquired more specific meanings: in Han scholarship related to the *qin* zither, *cao* came to denote a specific discipline or strategy by which a *qin* player managed to keep his inner balance in disorderly times or during personal misfortunes, so that the rendering of *cao* with "principle" or "discipline" seems justified, even if the term may best be left untranslated in the titles of pieces.[21] Similarly, the term *yin* 引 came to designate a special discipline by which the *qin* player's virtue is advanced and his or her practices refreshed and enlarged.[22] With regard to the *Yin* section of the *Qincao*, since most of the protagonists of the narratives are women or men bewailing their fates, I prefer to render them as "Laments," on the understanding that the character *yin* 引 may have been used as a loan for *yin* 吟.[23]

Academician's chair for teaching the Lu sayings, so far as we know. See Hong Qianyou, *Handai jingxue shi*, 659.

20. According to Guo Maoqian's 郭茂倩 (1041–1099) *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979), 61.884, there were eight genres of musical pieces that all arose in the time after the Zhou House had fallen into decay, the *cao* and *yin* being two of them.

21. My favored rendering of the title of *Qincao* would be "Qin Exercises." For more on this topic, see Schaab-Hanke, "Qin Pieces Made by Gentlemen in Misery: Reconsidering the Meaning of *Cao* in Cai Yong's *Qincao*," *minima sinica*, 30.2 (2018), 23–40.

22. See the "Qinlun" 琴論 (probably mixed up with Huan Tan's "Qindao" 琴道, a chapter of his *Xinlun* 新論), as referred to in *Yuefu shiji* 57.822: 引者進德修業申達之名也.

23. However, not all of the nine pieces in the *Yin* section of the *Qincao* are of a sad character.

The five pieces that Cai Yong selected for the *Shige* section in the *Qincao* refer to *Odes* 161 (“Lu ming” 鹿鳴, The Deer Call), 112 (“Fa tan” 伐檀, Cutting Hardwood), 25 (“Zouyu” 騶虞, The Zouyu),[24] 12 (“Quechao” 鵲巢, Nest of the Magpie), and 186 (“Boju” 白駒, White Colt), in that order. Each of the narratives relating to these pieces adds the word *cao* 操 to the ode title, e.g., “Lu ming *cao*” 鹿鳴操, “Fatan *cao*” 伐檀操, probably in order to distinguish the *Qincao* piece from the respective ode.

To only the first of these five pieces is a song text added, namely the first stanza of a total of three in *Ode* 161, “The Deer Call.” This was probably meant to instruct a reader that all five *cao* of the first category should be played while reciting or chanting the respective odes that the titles refer to. With the fourth of these pieces, related to Ode 12, only the title has been preserved in the transmitted *Qincao* text. It seems, however, that Cai Yong in his preface to the *Qincao* has added short summaries supplying the contents of each of his *Qincao* narratives included in the first three sections, since a passage quoted in the *Yueshu* 樂書 (Writings of Music) by the Song scholar Chen Yang 陳暘 (1064–1128), first published in 1101, gives a summary of all five pieces of the section of the *Odes* as they are contained in the *Qincao*. This is what the passage says:

> 其歌詩一曰《鹿鳴》，周大臣傷時在位而作也；二曰《伐檀》，魏國女閔傷怨曠而作也；三曰《騶虞》，召國女傷失嘉會而作也；四曰《鵲巢》，召國男悅正女而作也；五曰《白駒》，衰世失朋友而作也。
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> As for the sung *Odes*,[25] the first is “The Deer Call”: A high-ranking Zhou official was grieved about those in power at the time and so he composed this. The second is “Cutting Hardwood”: A woman from Wei, in deep sorrow, gave free expression to her resentment and so composed this. The third is “The Zouyu”: A woman from Shao, in deep sorrow that she had missed a promising match, composed this. The fourth is “Nest of the Magpie”: A man from Shao was pleased with an upright woman and so composed this. The fifth is “White Colt”: Someone lost a friend in an era of decline and so composed this.[26]

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24. Since a Zouyu is a mythical animal whose exact appearance nobody can know, I prefer to leave the term untranslated, as Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs*, ed. Joseph R. Allen and Stephen Owen (New York, NY: Grove, 1996), 22, did in his translation.

25. Note the difference of the term used here (“*geshi*” 歌詩) compared with that in the (received) Duhua zhai congshu edition of the *Qincao* (“*shige*” 詩歌).

26. See “*Yueshu*” *dianjiao* 《樂書》點校, ed. Zhang Guoqiang 張國强 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou, 2019), 143.728–29; the passage also gives summaries of all pieces of the sections *Cao* and *Yin*, the latter being also included in Cai Yong’s *Qincao*. Because of the congruent summaries for the pieces of the *Cao* and *Yin*, it seems quite plausible to me that the *Yueshu* author Chen Yang had taken this passage from a reliable source in

Already these short summaries alert readers to two remarkable features of these five narratives in the *Qincao* in relation to the *Odes*. Firstly, the protagonists of these stories are described as composers of the respective odes; secondly, they are depicted as singing them to the accompaniment of the *qin* zither. In other words, all five odes have newly been interpreted as regards their background of origin. Two of the pieces—Ode 161 and 186—belong to the *Lesser Court Hymns* said to have originated at the Zhou court.[27] The composer of the *cao* of "The Deer Call" is thus a high official of the Zhou, and the composer of the piece (*cao*) of "White Colt" must likewise have been a Zhou official bewailing his lost friend. The three other pieces belong to songs said to have been composed by people residing in the various kingdoms, for Ode 112, said to have been composed by a woman from Wei, is the sixth piece of the "Airs of Wei" (Weifeng 魏風); and Ode 25 is the last and Ode 12 the first piece of the "Shaonan" 召南 section, whose composers are attributed in the *Qincao* narratives to a man and a woman from Shao.

Another noteworthy fact about the stories related to the four pieces in the *Shige* section of the *Qincao* is that they are thought to convey warnings of a declining age already in Western Zhou. The only exception conveying a positive picture is the summary composed for *Ode* 12, "Nest of the Magpie."

An attentive reader may ask why Cai Yong chose these particular five odes from the collection of 305 odes that comprises the transmitted *Odes* classic. Did he intend to emulate Confucius' role as a compiler of the *Odes* classic, who is said to have selected 305 pieces from among more than 3,000, and then sang them to the accompaniment of strings, by several sources?[28] Or may we trust a much later source, the *Qinshi* 琴史, by Zhu Changwen 朱長文 (1039–1098), which says that these five odes were the only ones that could still be sung during Han times?[29]

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which that part of Cai Yong's preface had been preserved. The *Yueshu* passage is also quoted in *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2011), 137.4185, where the text relating to the fourth piece has *zhennü* 貞女 (virtuous woman) instead of *zhengnü* 正女 (upright woman).

27. For the idea that the odes assigned to the *Ya* 雅 sections of the Classic—the court songs—supply "a pattern and a model" rather than "hailing the legitimate state power of the true kings of Early Western Zhou," see Michael Nylan, *The Five Confucian Classics* (New Haven: Yale University, 2001), 84–87 ("The Court Songs and Hymns").

28. See, e.g., *Shi ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959), 47.1936. This gains credence, since he divided the *Qincao* text into four parts, by analogy with the *Odes* classic.

29. See *Qinshi*, in Lianting cangshu shi'er zhong 楝亭藏書十二種, compiled by Cao Yin 曹寅. (Yangzhou shiju, 1706), 6.8a ("Lun yin" 論音); cf. Luca Pisano, *The Qinshi* 琴史 *(History of the Qin) by Zhu Changwen* 朱長文 *(1041–1098)* (Gossenberg: Ostasien, scheduled for 2023). According to *Jinshu* 22.684–685, in the late Eastern Han only four

Among the five pieces in this first section of the *Qincao*, the narrative related to the first one, "The Deer Call," is the one which is quoted most often in later sources.[30] In order to illustrate how the *qin* narrative relates to the original ode, the passage will be quoted in full:

> 鹿鳴操者，周大臣之所作也。王道衰，君志傾，留心聲色，內顧妃后，設旨酒嘉殽，不能厚養賢者，盡禮極歡，形見於色。大臣昭然獨見，必知賢士幽隱，小人在位。周道凌遲，必自是始。故彈琴以諷諫，歌以感之，庶幾可復歌。「呦呦鹿鳴/食野之芹/ 我有嘉賓/鼓瑟吹笙/ 吹笙鼓簧/承筐是將/ 人之好我/示我周行。」此言禽獸得美甘之食，尚知相呼，傷時在位之人不能，乃援琴而刺之，故曰《鹿鳴》也。
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> The composer of the piece 'The Deer Call'" was a high Zhou official. The Kingly Way had declined, and the ruler's will had deviated [from the highest principles of good governance]. He [the king] tarried only over music and female beauties and looked in the inner chambers of the palace for his concubines and wife. Delicious wines and tasty dishes were being served, but the worthy men could not be nourished adequately [by their salaries]. Maximal service to the rites or utmost devotion to casual delights—this can be seen in facial expressions. The minister alone saw this plainly, and certainly he knew that the worthy men were being forced into seclusion, while petty men had attained court positions. The destruction of the Way of the Zhou must have originated with this. This is why he played the zither in order to remonstrate indirectly, and he sang in order to express his emotions. It is now time to reprise it:
>
> > *You*, *you*, cry the deer,
> > Nibbling the black southernwood in the fields.
> > I have honorable guests,
> > *Se* zithers are plucked, mouth-organs are blown.
> > Baskets with offerings are presented.
> > Here are men that love me
> > And will show me the way of the Zhou.[31]

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odes could be reconstructed for performance by Du Kui 杜夔, the music master taken captive by Cao Cao, namely "Luming," "Zouyu," "Fa tan," and "Wenwang." I owe this information to Achim Mittag.

30. One often finds references to "Cai Yong's *Qincao*" in literature anthologies, such as the *Wenxuan* 文選, or in encyclopedias, such as the *Chuxue ji* 初學記, the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚, and the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽.

31. The text included here is that of the first stanza of *Ode* 161 of the Classic. For the translation, see Arthur Waley, *Book of Songs*, 133.

> This ode speaks of animals who take care to call to the others when they find delicious and sweet food. Full of grief because those in high office at the time found themselves unable to do this, he took his *qin* in hand to criticize this. Thus the piece is called "The Deer Call."[32]

By the *Zuo Tradition* (*Zuo zhuan* 左傳), this piece, the first ode of the section *Lesser Court Hymns*, was played on the occasion of diplomatic receptions in Lu kingdom. An account dated to the fourth year of Duke Xiang of Lu (569 B.C.E.) refers to a visit by a diplomat from Lu at the court of Jin. Music was played, and the envoy is reported to have only bowed when hearing the ode "The Deer Call." When questioned by the Jin duke about his behavior, the envoy explains that "The Deer Call" is the only piece that honors an envoy like him and hence his bow in response.[33] Perhaps the fact that "The Deer Call" served as a piece of music used to welcome envoys from other kingdoms explains why the ode's ritual meaning was so widely known throughout the Zhou *oikumene*, albeit the Lu envoy is clearly depicted in the *Zuo* account as the one more familiar with the rules of etiquette than his host.

Another entry, dated to that same duke's twenty-ninth year (544 B.C.E.), is no less remarkable in that it reveals that already at a very early time the individual pieces in the *Lesser Court Hymns* section might have been perceived, at least in part, as odes conveying a critical tone. The entry records that a prince of Wu, far to the southeast, traveled to Lu on a diplomatic mission and asked there to be introduced to the music of the Zhou. The court musicians of Lu were then ordered to present such classical songs for him. Coming to the songs belonging to the *Lesser Court Hymns*, the prince is recorded to have reacted on the presentation as follows:

> 為之歌小雅。曰：「美哉！思而不貳，怨而不言，其周德之衰乎？猶有先王之遺民焉！

> When they sang the *Lesser Court Hymns* for him, he said, "How beautiful! They are mindful and not rebellious; they have complaints but do not speak them. This would be the waning of the Zhou's virtue. There are still remaining adherents of the former kings there."[34]

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32. *Qincao* 1.2b–3a; cf. *Shi sanjia yi jishu* 14.552.

33. See *Zuo zhuan*, in *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhuzi suoyin* 春秋左傳逐字索引 (Hong Kong: Shangwu, 1995), Xiang 4.3/232/17; cf. Stephen Durrant, Wai-yee Li, and David Schaberg, trans., *Zuo Tradition/ Zuozhuan*: *Commentary on the "Spring and Autumn Annals"* (Seattle: University of Washington Press), 911.

34. *Zuo zhuan*, "Xiang" 29.13/303/10; cf. Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition*, 1245; cf. Kenneth J. DeWoskin, *Music for One or Two: Music and the Concept of Art in Early China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1982), 21–27; cf. David Schaberg, *A Patterned*

What is called here the "waning of the Zhou's virtue" is, as we will soon see clearly, precisely one of the key elements that distinguish the Lu readings of the *Odes* from other readings that view these songs as laudatory pieces composed during the "Golden Age" of Western Zhou. Possibly the earliest passage in which the view that the odes belonging to the *Lesser Court Hymns* section were composed by men or women who were dissatisfied with the rulers of their eras is formulated in the *Xunzi* 荀子, where we read,

> 小雅不以於汙上，自引而居下，疾今之政以思往者，其言有文焉，其聲有哀焉。
>
> The *Lesser Court Hymns* [were composed by people] who were not used by vile superiors, but withdrew of their own accord and dwelt among the humble people. Angry over the sick government of their day, they were filled with remembrance of days gone by. Their language had such perfect expressive form, and their music, such a plaintive air.[35]

As previously argued by some scholars, the *Xunzi* text might even be seen as the origin of that *Odes* reading that came to be called the Lu reading, in view of Xunzi's connections with Lu.[36]

The idea that the *Odes* of the *Lesser Court Hymns* section had already been composed with a critical intent is even more clearly expressed in the *Shi ji* 史記, whose references to the *Odes* also may be assigned, at least partly, to the Lu interpretive line.[37] One *Shi ji* passage insists that the origin of at least part of the *Odes* cannot be the Golden (early) Age of Western Zhou, but must rather be a later stage of these Western Zhou

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Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2001), 87–89.

35. *Xunzi* 荀子, in *Xunzi zhuzi suoyin* 荀子逐字索引 (Hong Kong: Shangwu, 1996), 27/135/8–9; for the (slightly modified) translation, see John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works. Vol. III: Books 17–32*. (Stanford: Stanford University, 1994), 230–31.

36. Hightower, "The *Han-shih wai-chuan* and the San Chia Shih," 251, writes that Shen Pei had studied the *Odes* with Fuqiu Bo (cf. n. 7) "who is elsewhere mentioned as a disciple of Xunzi." This interesting information is also mentioned by Achim Mittag, "Odes Scholarship in Its Formative Stage," in *The Homeric Epics and the Chinese Book of Song: Foundational Texts Compared*, edited by F.-H. Mutschler (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2018), 137n79.

37. According to Chen Tongsheng, *Shi ji yu Shi jing*, 21, the Lu reading is even the primary reading of the *Odes* in the *Shi ji*. According to Sima Qian's autobiographical remarks preserved in the last chapter of the *Shi ji*, he had received training in both the capitals of Qi and Lu, the most important centers for classical scholarship in early to mid-Western Han. See *Shi ji*, 130.3293: 講業齊魯之都.

when the "Kingly Way" was already claimed by some to have been in decline. The lines say:

> 周道缺，詩人本之衽席，關雎作。仁義陵遲，鹿鳴刺焉。
>
> When the Way of Zhou declined, the poets found the roots [of disorder] in bedding and mat, and "Calling Ospreys" was composed. When humanity and morality were devasted, [the ode] "The Deer Call" criticized this.[38]

A second *Shi ji* passage dates the origin of both of these odes, in the *Lesser Court Hymns* and *Airs of the Kingdoms* sections, even more concretely:

> 至幽厲之缺，始於衽席，故曰「關雎之亂以為風始，鹿鳴為小雅始，[…]。
>
> The shortcomings of kings You and Li began with the bedding and mat. And so, they say that the [description of] disorder in "Calling Ospreys" opens the *Airs of the Kingdoms*, and "The Deer Call" opens the *Lesser Court Hymns* section … .[39]

While both passages contain the expression *renxi* 衽席, rendered as "bedding and mat," the first passage informs the reader only in quite general terms of a Zhou "decline," whereas the second passage dates this decline specifically to the reigns of Kings You 幽 and Li 厲. When the Zhou kings were in virtual exile from the capital,[40] King You felt the need to move his capital to Luoyang.[41] Both passages consistently claim that these reigns represented the time of decline that began already during the Western Zhou, when these, and probably other pieces in the *Airs of the Kingdoms* and *Lesser Court Hymns* sections, were

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38. See *Shi ji*, 14.509. This ode, of course, is "Guanju" 關雎.

39. See *Shi ji*, 47.1936. According to a further passage recorded in the *Shi ji*, which one of the journal's anonymous readers has pointed out to me, the songs of the *Airs of the Kingdoms* section were "sensual, but not lascivious," while the songs of the *Lesser Court Hymns* "complained about slander but were not rebellious." See *Shi ji*, 84.2482: 國風好色而不淫，小雅怨誹而不亂.

40. Due to his bad rule, King Li 厲王 (trad. r. 877–841 or 857–842) was forced to live in exile at Zhi, a site along the banks of the Wei River (modern Shanxi province) from c. 842 B.C.E. until his death. King You 幽王 (r. 781–771) was forced to move his capital to Luoyang from its first base in the Guanzhong basin.

41. The chronological order of these kings is reversed here, the correct order being King Li as the tenth king of the Zhou, reigning 857/53–842 B.C.E., and King You as the twelfth king of the Zhou reigning from 781–771 B.C.E. For these dates, see Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins to 221 B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), 331, 348.

supposedly composed, and the ode "The Deer Call" explicitly ties this political decline to a moral decline, namely, the destruction of "humanity and morality" (*renyi* 仁義). And there is a second remarkable claim to appear in the second passage that concerns the intentional placement of both odes as the first odes in their respective sections, in the overall arrangement of the *Odes*.

Very much in contrast to the above-discussed Lu reading is that offered in the Mao 毛 interpretive line, which became, mainly through the commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), the officially acknowledged reading of the *Odes* in the post-Han period.[42] According to the so-called "Little Preface" (*xiaoxu* 小序), the ode is to be understood as a laudatory piece. It says,

> 鹿鳴，燕群臣嘉賓也。既飲食之，又實幣帛筐篚，以將其厚意，然後忠臣嘉賓，得盡其心矣。
>
> "The Deer Call" is a festal song, proper entertainment at feasts for all officials and dignitaries. When the ruler had fed them with food and drink, he also presented them with hampers of silk, to express his generosity, so that in future loyal officials and dignitaries would do their utmost for him.[43]

By this Mao reading, the ode describes the festive occasions when a good ruler honors his worthy guests by feasting them and giving them gifts. This is, as it happens, precisely the positive picture that the content of the ode seems to convey, since the ode speaks of a ruler's merry invitation to his worthy guests, as well as his delight that these men appreciated him and will guide him correctly in his government.

If one compares these two concurring interpretations with the content of the ode "The Deer Call" proper, one will probably be inclined to think that the Mao reading comes closer to what is actually said in the ode itself. In contrast, the Lu reading requires some kind of exegetical training, assuming that the situation described in the ode text is only an ideal against which the *de facto* situation of the times should be read.

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42. For the question of how it came to the division between the *Xiaoxu* 小序 (Little Prefaces) and their relation to the *Daxu* 大序 (Great Preface), see Steven van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1991), 90–95; for the historical development from Confucius's disciple Zixia 子夏 (Bu Shang 卜商, the alleged author of these prefaces), to Master Mao and Zheng Xuan, see Allen's Postface to Waley, *Book of Songs*, 348f.

43. See *Mao shi*, "Xiaoxu" 小序, in *Mao shi zhuzi suoyin* 毛詩逐字索引 (Hong Kong: Shangwu, 1995), 161/71/5–6.

Let us now turn to look at how the *Qincao* introduces the second piece in its *Shige* section:

> 《伐檀操》者，魏國女之所作也。傷賢者隱避，素餐在位，閔傷怨曠，失其嘉會。夫聖王之制，能治人者食於人，治於人者食於田。今賢者隱退伐木，小人在位食祿，懸珍奇，積百穀，並包有土，德澤不加百姓。傷痛上之不知，王道之不施，仰天長嘆，援琴而鼓之。
>
> The composer of the piece "Cutting Hardwood" was a woman from Wei kingdom. It hurt her that worthy men had gone into seclusion and it was officials "eating the bread of idleness" who had attained court positions. In deep sorrow, she gave free expression to her resentment, having forfeited chances of an auspicious meeting (a marriage?). Now, by the rulings of the sage kings, those who can rule others are fed by them, while those who are ruled by others make their livings from farming. But in the present age, the worthy men are in hiding and have retreated, cutting wood, while petty men in their posts live off their salaries. They suspend from their walls precious and rare items; they accumulate all sorts of grain, and they take all the land for themselves, extending no gracious favors to the common people. In sorrow and pain that superiors are so uncomprehending and the Kingly Way is not carried out, she looked up to heaven, uttered a long sigh, and took her *qin* in hand, to strum it.[44]

Bemoaning that "people who eat the bread of idleness had attained positions" (*sucan zai wei* 素餐在位), the protagonist of the *Qincao* narrative, this woman from Wei, directly refers to the original "Cutting Hardwood" ode where, at the end of each of its three stanzas, the exclamation is made, "O that noble man! He would not eat the bread of idleness!" (彼君子兮，不素餐兮); the same ode includes the couplet: "You sow not, nor do you reap/So how is it that you've acquired the produce of those three hundred farms?" (不稼不穡，胡取禾三百億兮).[45] Similarly, by formulating "They suspend from their walls precious and rare items; they accumulate all sorts of grain, they take the land all for themselves, and no gracious favors are extended to the common people" (懸珍奇，積百穀，並包有土，德澤不加百姓), the *Qincao* text takes up the verse line in the ode saying, "You sow not, nor do you reap,/ So how is it that you get the produce of those three hundred farms? You do not follow the chase. So how is it that [the pelts of] badgers are hung up in your courtyards?" (不稼不穡，胡取禾三百廛兮。不狩不獵，胡瞻爾庭有縣貆兮).

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44. *Qincao* 1.3a; cf. *Shi sanjia yi jishu* 7.407.
45. *Mao shi*, 112/49/5; cf. Waley, *Book of Songs*, 87f.

In this case, the Mao reading does not differ much from the Lu reading, judging from its "Little Preface":

> 伐檀，刺貪也。在位貪鄙，無功而受祿，君子不得進仕爾。
>
> The "Cutting Hardwood" criticizes greed. Those in office were covetous and mean, taking their salaries but performing no meritorious service. Meanwhile, noble men could not gain employment.[46]

Another remarkable facet of the narrative with which Cai Yong has introduced this piece is the calling into question that people who—abstractly speaking—do not do physical labor but instead live from others who do this work for them, expressed in the words, "Now, according to the regulations of the sage kings, those who rule others are fed by them, while those who are ruled by others should make their livings from the farming land" (夫聖王之制，能治人者食於人，治於人者食於田). Cai Yong here seems to have in mind the dialogue recorded in the *Mengzi* 孟子 text, between Meng Ke 孟軻 (372–289 B.C.E.) and Gongsun Chou 公孫丑, one of his disciples, where the expression "bread of idleness" of Ode 112 is also explained:

> 公孫丑曰：「詩曰『不素餐兮』，君子之不耕而食，何也？」孟子曰：「君子居是國也，其君用之，則安富尊榮；其子弟從之，則孝弟忠信。『不素餐兮』，孰大於是？」
>
> Gongsun Chou said, "The *Odes* say that '[a noble man] will not eat the bread of idleness.' How is it, then, that noble men receive their bread without tilling the land?" Mencius said, "When a noble man dwells in this domain and his ruler will make use of him, then [the noble man] will make him secure, rich, and honored, and if his disciples follow him, then he will make them dutiful to their parents and elders, conscientious in their work, and faithful to their word. Could there be a better example of 'a noble man not eating the bread of idleness'?"[47]

Gongsun Chou uses the ode to question whether it is justified for a "noble man" (*junzi* 君子) who did no hard physical labor in the fields to earn his daily food, and Mengzi explicitly affirms that even without tilling the land, by educating people a noble man will also not "eat the bread of idleness." In an anecdote preserved in the *Kongcongzi* 孔叢子

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46. *Mao shi*, 112/49/5; cf. James Legge, *The She King, or, The Book of Ancient Poetry* (London: Trübner, 1871), Proleg., 55.

47. *Mengzi*, in *Mengzi zhuzi suoyin* 孟子逐字索引 (Hong Kong: Shangwu, 1995), 13.32/70/23–26; cf. D. C. Lau, *Mencius* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 277f (slightly mod.).

(Kong Family Masters' Anthology),[48] Kongzi commented laconically, "From 'Cutting Hardwood,' I see that a worthy man will first perform his service and only later eat" (於伐檀見賢者之先食後食也).[49] We may thus safely conclude that, with this ode, all extant comments deem its message a critical one.

Let us now see how the third piece, relating to "The Zouyu," is introduced in the *Qincao*:

> 《騶虞操》者，邵國之女所作也。古有聖王在上， 君子在位，役不踰時，不失嘉會，內無怨女，外無曠夫。及周道衰微，禮儀廢弛，強凌弱，眾暴寡，萬民騷動，百姓愁苦，男怨於外，女傷其內，內外無主，內迫性情，外逼禮義。欲傷所讒，而不逢時，於是援琴而歌。
>
> The piece "The Zouyu" was composed by a girl from Shao. Formerly, when sage kings were on the throne, superior men had court positions and the (military) services did not exceed the (proper) seasons. Auspicious meetings [for marriage] were not missed; inside [domiciles] there were no worried women; outside there were no unmarried men. But then the Way of Zhou declined; rites and music became lax; the majority oppressed the minority; the common people became restless; and the hundred families were worried and full of bitterness. Men bemoaned [the situation] outside the home, while inside women were full of sadness. In neither place was there any master. Inside, oppressed were one's character and emotions, while outside rites and morality were endangered. She wanted to object to being slandered, but she was living in the wrong age for redress. Thus she took the *qin* and sang.[50]

The two stanzas of the text of the ode consist of three verse lines with four characters each. In Waley's translation the text of the first stanza reads as follows:

> 彼茁者葭，壹發五豝，于嗟乎騶虞！ 彼茁者蓬，壹發五豵，于嗟乎騶虞。
>
> Strong grow the reeds;
> At one shot I kill five swine.
> Alas for the Zouyu![51]

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48. In Ariel's translation *K'ung-Ts'ung-tzu: The K'ung Family Masters' Anthology: A Study and Translation of Chapters 1–10, 12–14* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1989), Wang Su 王肅 (195–256) is cautiously identified as the compiler, which does not preclude the possibility that the text included earlier traditions.

49. *Kongcongzi*, in *Kongcongzi zhuzi suoyin* 孔叢子逐字索引 (Hong Kong: Shangwu, 1996), 1.3/7/27; cf. Ariel, *K'ung-Ts'ung-tzu*, 91 (slightly mod.).

50. See *Qincao* 1.3ab; cf. *Shi sanjia yi jishu* 2.18.

51. Cf. Waley, *Book of Songs*, 22.

The "Little Preface" in the Mao reading says this about the ode:

> 《騶虞》，《鵲巢》之應也。《鵲巢》之化行，人倫既正，朝廷既治，天下純被文王之化，則庶類蕃殖，蒐田以時，仁如騶虞，則王道成也。
>
> "The Zouyu" is the proper sequel to "Nest of the Magpie." The transforming influence indicated by "Nest of the Magpie" having been carried out, social relations were promptly rectified, and once the court became well-ordered, the whole kingdom was blanketed by the influence of King Wen. Vegetation grew luxuriantly; hunting was conducted at the proper seasons; the princes' benevolence was comparable to that of the "White Colt"; and royal government was fully realized.[52]

Again we see that, whereas the introductory story of the *Qincao* bespeaks decline and bad government, the Mao school casts the "Nest of the Magpie" in diametrically opposed ways, as a laudatory piece full of praise for the good government of King Wen of Zhou.

Of the fifth and last piece belonging to the *Shige* section, the *Qincao* has this to say:

> 《白駒操》者，失朋友之所作也。其友賢，居任也，衰亂之世，君無道，不可匡輔，依違成風，諫不見受。國士詠而思之，援琴而長歌。
>
> The piece "White Colt" was composed by someone who had lost friends and allies. His friend was a worthy man who had gone into retirement. In a disorderly world filled with turmoil, with a ruler who upheld no principles and who could not be put straight, the composer expressed indirect criticism, hoping to reach the ruler, but his criticism was not accepted. An excellent statesman praised and remembered him, and took his *qin* and sang with stretched voice.[53]

According to the "Little Preface," the ode was written by a high minister who criticized King Xuan of the Zhou 周宣王 (827–782 B.C.E.).[54] The first stanza of the ode reads, in Arthur Waley's translation,

> 皎皎白駒，食我場苗。縶之維之，以永今朝。所謂伊人，於焉逍遙。
>
> Unsullied the white colt
> Eating the young shoots of my stack yard.
> Keep it tethered, keep it tied
> All day long.
> The man I love
> Here makes holiday.[55]

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52. *Mao shi*, 25/11/24–25; cf. Legge, *The She King*, Proleg., 41.
53. See *Qincao* 1.3b–4a; cf. *Shi sanjia yi jishu*, 16.645.
54. 白駒，大夫刺宣王也。 *Mao shi*, 186/85/11; cf. Legge, *The She King*, Proleg., 67.
55. Cf. Waley, *Book of Songs*,159.

Comparing the *Qincao* narrative with the ode itself and its Lu interpretation one gains the impression that the friend mentioned in the *Qincao* as the composer of the piece is inspired by the older reading—that the ode was written when thinking of a friend and fellow officer who had abandoned public life and gone into retreat. His friend, perhaps the "excellent statesman" (*guoshi* 國士), composed this piece to keep his friend's memory alive.

Strikingly, all four extant narratives in the *Shige* section in the *Qincao* refer to composers who take the *qin* and sing to express their criticisms, so it is not difficult to imagine that the fifth piece, the piece (*cao*) "Nest of the Magpie," likewise would have been ascribed to a protagonist who had composed the piece in a mood of criticism, had it been preserved. Judging from the four extant *Qincao* narratives in the first section, we gain thus a rough impression of the difference between the so-called Lu interpretive line and the other scholastic traditions attached to the transmitted Classic. While it is not always easy to distinguish between the different exegetical lines, the dominant narrative in the *Shige* section of the *Qincao* seems clear enough, namely that many of the odes were composed at the very end of the Western Zhou, in order to comment on the decline that allegedly had occurred by then, and this assertion seems to have served as the basis of Wang Xianqian's decision to assign all four of the extant *Shige* narratives in the *Qincao* to the Lu reading, and to give them a prominent place in his *Shi sanjia yi jishu*, as possibly the purest expression of what he calls "Lu sayings" (*Lushuo* 魯說).[56]

Apart from this exegetical aspect of the way Cai Yong wrote his narratives in the *Shige* section, there is another which is, in my view, quite remarkable, namely the way he assigns the composition of these pieces to composers. As "The Deer Call" belongs to the *Lesser Court Hymns*, the composer of the piece (*cao*) of "The Deer Call" is said in the *Qincao* to have been a high minister of the Zhou; as "Cutting Hardword" belongs to the *Odes of Wei*, the composer of the piece (*cao*) of "Cutting Hardwood" is introduced in the *Qincao* to be a woman from Wei. Thus, what Cai Yong does in his *Qincao* narratives is to turn the (for the most part anonymously composed) odes into pieces composed by a specific person reacting to a particular situation with strong emotions such as sorrow, resentment, grief, or even anger (for example, an official of the Zhou court or women hailing from one kingdom or another); these compilers then sing the lyrics of the *Odes* to the accompaniment of the *qin*

56. See his references to the *Qincao* narratives in *Shi Sanjia yi jishu*, 14.552 ("Lu ming"), 7.407 ("Fa tan"), 2.18 ("Zouyu"), and 16.645 ("Boju").

zither.[57] That makes the protagonists of these selections from the *Odes* role models for the *qin* player, who in a way "reenacts" the inner emotions evoked by the protagonist's story while singing and playing the zither.[58] This technique, perhaps not coincidentally, parallels that found in several texts describing scenes of instruction that feature Kongzi as a *qin* player and *qin* teacher who uses the instrument also as part of his education.[59] I suggest that this special approach of Cai Yong as seen from his *Qincao* can be understood as a kind of "exegesis by empathy."

Cai Yong's Digest of Other Authors' Readings of the *Odes* in his *Qincao*

While the narratives belonging to the first section of the *Qincao* directly refer to the *Odes* classic, those in the other three sections also relate to the Classic in various ways. One important feature whose description lies beyond the limits of this present study is the frequent quotation of verse lines from the *Odes* in the song texts included in the *Qincao* sections *Cao*, *Yin*, and *Hejian zage*, not to mention Cai's many indirect references to the *Odes* that take the form of digests—and occasionally re-readings—of anecdotes supplied by earlier sources that seek to apply verses from the *Odes* in order to illuminate a moral lesson. The *Qincao* shares close parallels with three works: the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 (Outer Commentary on the Han School Text of the *Classic of Songs*, trans. Hightower),[60] a text generally attributed to Han Ying 韓嬰 (early second century B.C.E.),[61] and Liu Xiang's 劉向 (77–6 B.C.E.) *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳

57. Cai Yong's act to create persons out of previously anonymous song text may perhaps be compared with the *Shi ji* author's decision to create biographies of persons of whom only texts were preserved. This is, e.g., explicitly stated in the historiographer's personal remark at the end of chap. 84, as the wish to see what kind of person the statesman and poet Qu Yuan 屈原 (c. 340–278 B.C.E.) had been. See *Shi ji*, 84.2503.

58. For the excellent formulation that the task of a *qin* player is the "reenacting and thus reliving of the emotional processes of the person described in a given tune," see DeWoskin, *Music for One or Two*, 176.

59. For a closer analysis of what I have proposed to call "empathy training" in early Confucian texts, see Schaab-Hanke, "Empathietraining im Alten China: Texte zur Schulung des Einfühlungsvermögens und ihr Verhältnis zur konfuzianischen Lehre," *Orientierungen* 30 (2018), 17–42.

60. See Robert Hightower, trans., *Han shi wai chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Applications of the Classic of Songs. An Annotated Translation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1952).

61. Two stories of the *Cao* section and three stories of the *Yin* section of the *Qincao* show such close parallels with the *Hanshi waizhuan*.

(Categorized Biographies of Women, trans. Kinney)[62] and *Shuoyuan* 說苑 (Garden of Eloquence, trans. Henry).[63] Even though scholars may disagree whether these works should be understood as exegetical works or as anecdote collections serving argumentative and rhetorical purposes, what these texts have in common is a propensity to apply verses from the *Odes* to sum up their protagonists' moral character, and hence the moral lessons to be derived from their lives, a feature found also in the *Qincao* narratives.[64]

That Cai Yong was the author, rather than merely the compiler, of the *Qincao* should be clear from the quite individual formulations chosen for each of these narratives, which show close parallels to the aforementioned texts but still differ from them in significant if subtle ways.[65] Take, for example, the narrative of the first piece of the *Yin* section of the *Qincao*, "Lienü *yin*" 列女引 ("Lament by a Principled Woman"), which says:

> 《列女引》者，楚莊王妃樊姬之所作也。莊王愛幸樊姬，不敢專席，飾眾妾使更侍王，以廣繼嗣。
>
> The "Lament by a Principled Woman" was composed by Fan Ji, consort of King Zhuang of Chu. Fan Ji was that king's favorite lady, but she did not dare to keep him wholly for her own. So she gave a group of back-palace ladies her adornments and encouraged them to serve the king, instead of her. In doing so, she enlarged the number of potential heirs to the throne.
>
> 莊王一日罷朝而晏，樊姬問故，王曰：「與賢相語」。姬問為誰，曰：「虞丘子」。樊姬曰：「妾幸得侍王，非不欲專貴擅愛也，以為傷王

62. For a full modern translation of the *Lienü zhuan*, see Anne Behnke Kinney, *Exemplary Women of Early China: The Lienü Zhuan of Liu Xiang* (New York: Columbia University, 2014).

63. Four stories of the *Cao* section have close parallels with anecdotes in the *Shuoyuan* and at least one with the *Xinxu*, and four stories of the *Yin* section are closely parallel with stories of the *Lienü zhuan*. For the *Shuoyuan*, see the new translation by Eric Henry, *Garden of Eloquence: Shuoyuan* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2022).

64. That stories often circulate, accumulating new protagonists, has also been shown in Jens Østergaard Petersen, "What's in a Name? on the Sources concerning Sun Wu," *Asia Major*, Third Series, 5.1 (1992), 1–31.

65. For the view confirming mine on Cai Yong's role as author rather than merely compiler of the *Qincao*, that Liu Xiang did not merely compile previous narratives but should be regarded as author of the narratives contained in the *Shuoyuan*, *Lienü zhuan*, and *Xinxu*, see Christian Schwermann, "Anecdote Collections as Argumentative Texts: The Composition of the *Shuoyuan*." In: Between Philosophy and History: Anecdotes in Early China. Ed. by Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen (Albany: State University of New York, 2017), 147–192, esp. p. 148. This opinion had already been expressed by Du Jiaqi 杜家祁 in his *Liu Xiang bianxie Xinxu, Shuoyuan yanjiu* 劉向編寫《新序》、《說苑》研究, Ph.D. dissertation (Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1999).

之義，故所進與王同位者數人矣。今虞丘子為相，未嘗進一賢，安得為賢？」明日，王以樊姬語告虞丘子，稽首辭位而進孫叔敖。樊姬自以諫行志得，作《列女引》曰：「忠諫行兮，正不邪，眾妾誇兮，繼嗣多。」

One day, King Zhuang held his morning audience at a time later than usual. When Fan Ji asked him for the reason, he replied, "I have been talking with a worthy minister." Ji asked who this was, and he said, "Sir Yuqiu."[66] Fan Ji said, "I feel privileged to be allowed to serve your Majesty. Certainly, I would have been happy to monopolize your affections, but this would be detrimental to your majesty's sense of duty. This is why I have brought several women of equal rank into your presence. Now Yuqiu is your chancellor, but never once has he proposed another worthy man for an office. How can he possibly in this way acquire wor-thy advisors for you?" The next day, the king talked to Master Yuqiu about what Fan Ji had said. Yuqiu kowtowed, withdrew from office, and proposed that Sunshu Ao take his place.[67] After Fan Ji had success-fully expressed her criticism of (the minister's) behavior, she composed the "Ode of the Principled Woman," which says,

I admonished out of loyalty,
Was upright, not depraved.[68] /
Let all the concubines vie with each other,
So the number of princes will increase![69]

This same story appears in both the *Hanshi waizhuan*[70] and *Lienü zhuan*.[71] A comparison of all three stories shows the protagonists to be the same, namely King Zhuang 莊王 (r. 613–591 B.C.E.) of Chu, Fan Ji, Yuqiu (sometimes known as Prime Minister Shen, Shen ling 沈令), and Sunshu Ao. In all narratives, Fan Ji chides her ruler, King Zhuang of Chu, for coming too late in the morning for his formal court audience. In both the *Hanshi waizhuan* and *Lienü zhuan*, Fan Ji's efforts are recorded by a

66. Master Yuqiu 虞丘子 was another name of Shen Zhu 沈竺, style Zijing 子椓.

67. Soon after having been appointed to the office of counselor, Sunshu Ao 孫叔敖 is said to have supported King Zhuang of Chu 楚莊王 (r. 613–591) in becoming one of five hegemons.

68. Probably alluding to the verse "In your thoughts there should be nothing depraved" 思無邪 from Ode 297, "Jiong" 駉, as well as to the same formulation in *Lun yu* 2.2.

69. *Qincao* 1.9b–10a.

70. *Hanshi waizhuan*, in *Hanshi waizhuan zhuzi suoyin* 韓詩外傳逐字索引 (Hong Kong: Shangwu, 1992), 2.4/7/28–8/7; cf. Hightower, *Han shi wai chuan*, 41–43.

71. See *Lienü zhuan*, "Chu Zhuang Fan Ji" 楚莊樊姬, 2.5/15/9–28; in *Gu Lienü zhuan zhuzi suoyin* 古列女傳逐字索引 (Hong Kong: Shangwu, 1993), 2.5/15/11–28; cf. Kinney, *Exemplary Women*, 31f.

scribe of Chu, who traces Chu's attainment of hegemon status to Fan Ji's efforts (楚之霸樊姬之力).[72] And while the *Hanshi waizhuan* account ends with verses from *Ode* 54 ("Zaichi" 載馳), saying, "The hundred plans you think of/ Are not equal to the course I was going to take,"[73] the *Lienü zhuan* cites verses from two different *Odes*, namely *Ode* 57 ("Shuoren" 碩人), where it is said, "Early retire, ye great officers,/ And do not make the ruler fatigued!," and *Ode* 301 ("Na" 那), with the verses "Be mild from morning to night,/ And reverent in discharging service."[74] Different from the *Hanshi waizhuan* version, the *Lienü zhuan* version then ends with an appraisal of Fan Ji, saying, "Fan Ji was humble, yielding and without jealousy. She recommended and advanced beauties who were ranked as her peers. She criticized Master Yuqiu for blocking the path of the worthy. King Zhuang of Chu applied these lessons, and his efforts soon made him hegemon."[75]

The moral message of the Fan Ji narrative in all three versions is more or less the same,[76] namely that King Zhuang should not listen to only one of his ministers, but instead lend his ear to as many counselors as possible, just as Fan Ji, as a responsible mate took care to provide the potential for many princelings on behalf of the king's ruling line. Yet there is one important detail in which the *Qincao* differs from both the *Hanshi waizhuan* and the *Lienü zhuan*: here, in the Fan Ji story in the "Lament" (*Yin*) section, the *Qincao* narrative depicts Fan Ji herself as the composer of the song and lets her explain her behavior and her emotions to the reader who will then play that *qin* piece inspired by them.

Another interesting piece in that section is "Si gui *yin*" 思歸引 ("Lament on Longing to Return"). The *Qincao* narrates the related story as follows:

> 《思歸引》者，衛女之所作也。衛侯有賢女，邵王聞其賢而請聘之，未至而王薨。太子曰：「吾聞齊桓公得衛姬而霸，今衛女賢，欲留。」大夫曰：「不可。若女賢，必不我聽，若聽，必不賢，不可取也。」太子遂留之，果不聽，拘於深宮。思歸不得，心悲憂傷，遂援琴而作歌曰：「涓涓泉水，流及於淇兮，有懷於衛，靡日不思。執節不移兮，行不詭隨，坎坷何辜兮，離厥菑。」

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72. *Hanshi waizhuan*, 2.4/8/86f; *Lienü zhuan* 2.5/15/21.

73. *Hanshi waizhuan*, 2.4/8/6–7.

74. Both works make the ties to the Fan Ji story explicit, via the respective *Odes* verses.

75. *Lienü zhuan*, 2.5/15/9.

76. That said, the *Lienü zhuan* formulations are more closely related to those in the *Qincao* than to the *Hanshi waizhuan*.

> The "Lament on Longing to Return" was composed by a woman from Wei. The Lord of Wei had an excellent daughter. The King of Shao, hearing of her fine qualities, invited her [to his court]. But before she arrived there, the king died. The crown prince said, "I have heard that Duke Huan of Qi, when he got Ji of Wei for his wife, became hegemon. Now the woman is said to be excellent, so I would like to detain her [meaning, marry her myself]." The court secretary said, "This is not possible. If the woman is truly worthy, she will not obey, and if she will obey, she is not worthy. You must not take her." But the crown prince immediately detained her, and since she did not obey, he locked her up in the hidden recesses of the palace. So much did she wish to return home, but was not allowed to, that her heart brimmed with sorrow and grief, and so she took the *qin* and composed [this] song, which says,
>
> "Clear and sparkling are the waters of the fountain,
> They flow down to the Qi, alas!
> I am longing for Wei, no day I wouldn't think of it.
> I upheld the rules, did not deviate, alas!
> My behavior was never compromised.
> What brought me into such misery?
> I wish I could evade this!"[77]

No parallel story appears in the *Hanshi waizhuan*, but the *Lienü zhuan* has a very similar episode, according to which the daughter of the Marquis of Qi was married to the ruler of Wei, who died the very moment she arrived at the Wei city gates. Her governess suggested she return to Wei, but she would not listen. Instead, she proceeded to the deceased ruler's house and there observed three years of mourning.[78] After the end of the mourning period, the deceased king's younger brother, who had ascended the throne, asked her to marry him, but she refused, even after her own brothers tried to persuade her to make this marriage alliance. She, too, is mentioned as the composer of verses that are part of Ode 26 in the *Odes* classic, where she is finally given praise for her decision to remain true to her betrothed. The central message of the narrative in both the *Lienü zhuan* and the *Qincao* is the same, namely that it would run counter the rituals that a woman who has been married to a ruler, even if she is widowed, should not accept a second offer of marriage, no matter how highly placed the suitor.

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77. *Qincao*, 1.11b–12a. The first two lines of the lyrics are almost verbatim quotations; the third and fourth verse lines are verbatim quotations from *Ode* 39.

78. *Lienü zhuan*, 4.3/33/14–26, "Wei gua furen" 衛寡夫人; cf. Kinney, *Exemplary Women*, 70–71.

Roughly the same motive is thematized in a further story in the *Lienü zhuan*, which seems to me of special interest, as it contains an indication of how Liu Xiang in his *Lienü zhuan* approached the "Guanju" (Calling Ospreys) ode, the first ode of the *Airs of the Kingdoms*, which figures prominently in Cai Yong's "Qingyi fu." The story is entitled "The Old Woman of Quwo in Wei."[79] The reference to the ode is part of a long instructive speech that this old woman, the mother of Ru Er 如耳, a high minister of the Wei, gives to King Ai of Wei 魏哀王, whose reign began c. 296 B.C.E.[80] King Ai had selected a bride for his heir apparent, Prince Zheng of Wei, but when she had arrived in Wei, she turned out to be of such a spectacular beauty that the king decided to take her for himself. Ru Er's mother at first begged her son to admonish the king, because his wishes so clearly violated ritual propriety, but because he soon took off on a diplomatic mission, his mother decided to admonish the king herself. Her speech opened with the forthright words, "I have heard that the separation of sexes is an important principle of the realm." (妾聞男女之別，國之大節也).[81] After this followed a long historical survey, claiming that "from antiquity the sage kings always had felt the need to take the utmost care to rectify their consorts of every rank" (自古聖王必正妃匹妃),[82] and then she proceeded to use the mirror history, showing how realms flourished when a virtuous and wise woman was at the ruler's side and perished through interventions by women of the wrong sort. She then referred to the exemplary King Kang of the Zhou. saying:

> 周之康王夫人，晏出朝關雎起興，思得淑女以配君子。
>
> 夫雎鳩之鳥，猶未嘗見乘居而匹處也。
>
> [The ode] "Calling Ospreys" takes the wife of King Kang, who had left her late for his morning audience, as an allegory. (The Ode) expressed the wish to obtain a pure woman as a mate for the noble man, very much like ospreys, which never couple indiscriminately during the time of breeding.[83]

The tale of the Quwo woman ends with her success in remonstrating against her king: upon hearing her, the king gave up his plans, redirected his focus to court affairs, and thus prevented the mighty King of Qin from daring to raise troops against Wei.

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79. *Lienü zhuan*, 3.14 /30/22–31/9, "Wei Quwo fu" 魏曲沃負; cf. Kinney, *Exemplary Women*, 62–64.

80. The reign dates for King Ai are not entirely clear, but we know when his father, King Xiang 襄王 reigned (318–296 B.C.E.).

81. *Lienü zhuan*, 3.14/30/27.

82. *Lienü zhuan*, 3.14/30/30–31/1.

83. See *Lienü zhuan*, 3.14/31/2–3.

What makes this episode so interesting is that it explicitly addresses two topics: "transgression of rules by sexual desires" and the palpable fear that a ruling line is jeopardized by the intervention of palace women of loose morals. Nonetheless, by his decision to put the advice addressed to the ruler of Wei into the mouth of a woman, Liu Xiang adopted the Lu reading of the "Guanju" ode, transforming a message about the pernicious women into a pedagogical lesson celebrating worthy women, just as in the previous case, where Fan Ji admonishes King Zhuang of Chu.

Even these few selections show Cai Yong following very much in Liu Xiang's footsteps in terms of transforming an era of decline into a morality play featuring exemplary leaders. Even the trope where a worthy protagonist composes one or another ode is already attested in the *Lienü zhuan*.[84] What is really new in the *Qincao* stories is, however, how much space is devoted to delineating the emotions of the protagonist, who then takes up the *qin* and composes a song, hoping thereby to console himself or herself or to vent his or her anger.

In the *Qinshi*, in a section entitled "Shengge" 聲歌 ("Songs Set to Music"), we find a reverberation of the idea expressed in the *Qincao* that strong emotions can be best expressed by singing accompanied by playing the *qin*:

> 古之所傳十操、九引之類，皆出於感憤之志，形之於言，言之不足，故永歌之，永歌之不足，於是援琴而鼓，此作歌以配弦也。
>
> As for the ten *cao* and the nine *yin* transmitted from antiquity, they all have their origins in deeply-felt resentment, which then took shape in their wording. When words do not suffice, there is singing; and when singing does not suffice, the *qin* is taken up and strummed. This is what is meant by the phrase "composing songs to the accompaniment of strings."[85]

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84. See, e.g., in the above-mentioned story of the widowed woman of Wei, *Lienü zhuan*, 4.3/33/18.

85. *Qinshi*, 6.7b; cf. Pisano, *The Qinshi*. The reason why Zhu Changwen speaks of only ten instead of twelve *cao* is probably because the Tang poet Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) wrote a cycle of poems entitled "Qincao, shi shou" 琴操十首. See *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1960), 336.3760–3. According to Liao Yi zhong 廖瑩中 and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), the last two pieces of the *Qincao* were supposedly composed by Boya after he met with immortals, which was not acknowledged by all classicists. See *Han Changli quanji* 韓昌黎全集 (Shanghai: Guoxue zhengli she, 1935), 1.11. For more on Han Yu's reception of the *Qincao*, see Schaab-Hanke, "Das Stück ‚Orchidee' – fünffach beschworen: Zur Bedeutung lyrischer Narrative in der Qin-Tradition," *minima sinica* 33 (2021) (forthcoming).

Of course, an attentive reader will immediately be reminded of a very similar sequence relating to *zhi* 志 (disposition), from which derives *qing* 情 (emotion) and its expression in action, found in what is nowadays called the "Great Preface" (*Daxu* 大序) to the *Odes*, starting from the disposition of the heart-mind (*xin* 心), which becomes an ode (*shi* 詩) when it takes shape in words, followed by the idea that emotion (*qing* 情) so moves the person, that he or she may sing them, and if singing proves to be still not enough, the person's hands will start to dance and feet to tap out the rhythm.[86] Though this early theory of emotions has traditionally mostly been attributed to the Mao reading of the *Odes*, Cai Yong has apparently not hesitated to transpose this key concept of *Odes* exegesis into the world of *qin* playing.

Cai Yong's "Qingyi fu" as an Example of his Reading of the *Odes*

Having traced Cai Yong's reading of the *Odes* in the "Shige" section and his exegetical attitude in three pieces of the "Yin" section of his *Qincao*, I will now turn to the question raised at the outset of this study, namely of the relation between Cai Yong's "Qingyi fu" and Zhang Chao's "Qiao qingyi fu," the latter of which directly follows Cai Yong's *fu* in two Tang encyclopedias.[87] According to Asselin (who follows Gong Kechang 龔克昌),[88] Zhang Chao's *fu* was meant to be a critical response to Cai Yong's *fu*. Asselin writes, "Zhang Chao excoriates Cai Yong for his use of elegant language to depict the beauty of a lowly maidservant, and for expressing unseemly sentiments toward her."[89] Asselin next proceeds to show how Zhang Chao's *fu* represents the Lu reading of the *Odes*, and more specifically, the Lu reading of the "Guanju" 關雎 (Calling

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86. 詩者，志之所之也，在心為志，發言為詩。 情動於中而形於言，發言為詩，言之不足故嗟歎之，嗟歎之不足故永歌之，永歌之不足，不知手之舞之足之蹈之也。 *Mao shi*, "Daxu," 1/1/6–8; cf. Steven van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1991), 140–41, and Allen in his Postface to Waley, *Book of Songs*, 365. Mittag, "Odes scholarship," 132–36, interprets the "Great Preface" as the confluence of the "'aim'-oriented" and the "'emotions'-centered" approaches of early *Odes* exegesis. Van Zoeren has decided to keep the term *zhi* in his rendering untranslated; Mittag, "Odes scholarship," 133, renders *zhi* in the "Daxu" passage with "disposition," which is in my view the term that also fits the above rendered *Qinshi* passage best.

87. See *Chuxue ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 19.465; *Yiwen leiju* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1965), 35.635–36 (the latter, however, strongly deviating from the version of the *Chuxue ji* starting with line 9); *Guwen yuan* 古文苑 (Taibei: Dingwen, 1973), 6.12b–15a.

88. See Gong, "Cai Yong pingzhuan," 301, cf. Asselin's translation in Gong, *Han Fu*, 381.

89. Asselin, *A Significant Season*, 51.

Ospreys), the first piece in the transmitted text of the Classic.[90] Here is an example of how Zhang Chao's poem conveys such a view.

> 周漸將衰/ 康王晏起;/ 畢公喟然/ 深思古道/感彼《關雎》/德不雙侶。/ 得願周公/妃以窈窕/防微消漸/諷諭君父/孔氏大之/列冠篇首。
>
> As Zhou gradually neared decline,/ King Kang was late in rising./ The Duke of Bi, repining with sighs,/ Deeply pondered the Way of old./ He was moved by the "Calling Ospreys,"/ It is their virtue not to go together in pairs./ He hoped to get a Duke of Zhou,/ Who'd make a consort of a coy and comely lady,/ To prevent degeneracy and reproach its progress,/ He tactfully criticized and admonished the lord, his father./ Master Kong thought it great,/ so he arranged it to cap the head of the work.[91]

There is, of course, no doubt that Zhang Chao's *fu* outlines in these verse lines basic elements of the Lu reading of the *Odes*. The "Guanju" is explicitly addressed here, and also the important message that "it is their virtue not to go together in pairs," meaning, they forego any sexual intercourse if the relationship is illicit. Equally obviously, the "Guanju" is the focus of Cai Yong's "Qingyi fu," as well, for an explicit quotation is found in lines 25–26, which I render as, "The purity of the 'Calling Ospreys' is such that one does not act perversely or contrary to ritual propriety" (關雎之潔，不蹈邪非).[92] Indeed, Cai's whole poem may be understood as a "reenactment" of the main topic of the "Guanju," namely a young man falls in love with a beautiful young woman, whose status is, however, inferior (as indicated already in the metaphors in the poem's first lines), so that a sexual relationship with her would be illicit. Cai's verse lines depicting the object of his love ("Ah, this coy and comely one" [歎茲窈窕]; "An engaging smile and animated eyes, a fair beauty" [盼倩淑麗]; "A pure maid, lovely and lithe" [窈窕淑女]) directly quote from the "Guanju" ode. Moreover, the male protagonist's desire to be intimate with that woman is expressed in the ode's verse lines ("Seeking but not getting her, awake and asleep, I desire her" [求之不得・寤寐

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90. Asselin, "Lu-School Reading of 'Guanju,'" 427; *A Significant Season*, 211.

91. Based on the version of Zhang Chao's *fu* in *Chuxue ji*, I am rendering *de* 德 as "virtue," while Asselin translates as "by nature," based on *Guwen yuan* 6.14a, which has *xing* 性 instead. Cf. Asselin, "Lu-School Reading of 'Guanju,'" 441f, 442, fn. 27; *A Significant Season*, 381–82.

92. Asselin ("Lu-School Reading of 'Guanju,'" 439; *A Significant Season*, 381–82) has rendered these verse lines with "With the purity of the 'Calling Ospreys,' / She does not act perverse or contrary." In my view, however, it is important to make clear in the translation that what is expressed here with regard to the ode is the idea of how something should be ideally rather than describing the status quo.

思服]; and "Oh, the yearning, the yearning, the tossing and turning from side to side" [悠哉悠哉・輾轉反側])[93] are transported into Cai Yong's own poem, where he writes, "I wheel and stagger, stumble and fall" (展轉倒頹); "Muddled, rash—muddled, rash—/ My longing cannot be dispelled" (矇冒矇冒，思不可排); and "I think about you, muse about you,/ Aching for satisfaction, I'm utterly famished" (思爾念爾，愁焉且饑). Indubitably, the "Qingyi fu" is an ardent love poem. Indeed, the erotic character of Cai's *fu* caused Gong Kechang to identify the "Qingyi fu" as the beginning of erotic literature in China and to quote the modern scholar Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, who described Cai as possibly "the originator of pornographic literature" (然則謂蔡氏為淫媒文字始作俑者，無不可也).[94]

One may well wonder how Cai Yong would feel, were he alive today and read such discussions. I think he would defend himself by recommending that blame be placed on the original "Guanju" ode, but not on his writing the "Qingyi fu." After all, the erotic character not only of the "Qingyi fu" but also of other pieces assigned to the *Airs of the Kingdoms* section of the *Odes* classic is mentioned already in the *Xunzi* text, where we read,

> 國風之好色也，傳曰：「盈其欲而不愆其止。其誠可比於金石，其聲可內於宗廟。」
>
> Of the eroticism of the *Airs of the Kingdoms*, the Commentary says: "They give satisfaction to the desires men have but do not err in their stopping point. Their authenticity can be compared to metal and stone, whose sounds are permitted [even] within the ancestral temple."[95]

For Xunzi, the decisive point in reading "Guanju," the first ode in the *Airs of the Kingdoms* section, and apparently other pieces of this section as well, is this: despite the male's ardent desire, he knows when and where to stop, and this is exactly what the "I voice" of the poem says: "I make ready my carriage, hastily pack my bags,/ About to abandon you

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93. For the translation of that passage in the "Guanju," see Jeffrey Riegel, "Eros, Introversion, and the Beginnings in *Shi jing* Commentary," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57 (1997), 149.

94. Gong Kechang, "Cai Yong pingzhuan," 301. The idea that Cai Yong was the originator of pornographic literature in China, is dismissed by Gong, *Han Fu*, 383, however, and likewise by Asselin, *A Significant Season*, 184.

95. See *Xunzi* 27.135/7–9; cf. Knoblock, *Xunzi*, vol. III, 230. For the information that Xun Qing 荀卿 (c. 313–238) was the teacher of Shen Pei who taught in the kingdom of Lu and after whom the designation "Lu interpretive line" was coined, see also n. 36, above.

and depart" (飭駕趣嚴，將舍爾乖).[96] Seen from this perspective, Cai Yong's *fu* very much follows the *Xunzi*'s reading of the *Odes*, insofar as eroticism is permitted within certain confines, and though Cai may have interpreted these confines more broadly than most, his rhapsody should still be regarded as an exegetically correct endeavor.

When Asselin claims that Zhang Chao's *fu* was "outraged at the liberties he sees Cai Yong taking in this poem,"[97] he is misled, I believe, because I am convinced that Cai Yong as author of the "Qingyi fu" cannot simply be equated with the protagonist of that *fu*. Truly, if the male "I voice" is so much taken with the female beauty he desires as to prompt Zhang Chao's outrage, well, that is not the precise problem of the Han exegetical adherents to the Lu reading. In my view, Zhang Chao did not intend a critical response to Cai; rather, Zhang adduced all these metaphors characteristic of the Lu reading in his *fu*, to comment on the powerful message that the first poem in the *Odes* conveys. In other words, in formulating his own *fu*, Cai Yong resorted to "exegesis by empathy," whereas Zhang Chao seems to register his own alarm at the way he felt himself succumbing to the erotic mood of the "Guanju" ode. Lest my surmise seem too farfetched, let us recall the famous anecdote in which Cai Yong himself grew alarmed at a friend's house, where a *qin* player performed a tune that took such a sudden turn toward the aggressive that Cai feared that someone in the house was planning an attack on his host. Cai duly informed his host as to his fears and was later told that the *qin* player confessed that, during the performance, he had witnessed a praying mantis preparing an attack on a cicada, and that anticipation of violence had permeated his music.[98]

Such a reading that constructs Zhang Chao's *fu* as a comment, rather than critique, of Cai Yong's *fu* would also force a reconsideration of Asselin's title for Zhang Chao's *fu*. As Asselin admits, there is a grammatical problem with his decision to render the title "Qiao qingyi fu" as "Reproaching the '*Fu* on a Grisette,'" because normally the last word in the Chinese title of a *fu* should be the genre title *fu*. Still, if Zhang Chao had indeed intended to write his criticism of Cai Yong's *fu* into the title, no *fu* is left to denote Zhang Chao's own *fu*.[99] An alternative rendering of the title "Qiao qingyi fu," namely as "Rhapsody on Reproaching a Grisette," would make not Cai Yong's *fu*, but the female protagonist of

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96. Asselin, "Lu-School Reading of 'Guanju,'" 438, lines 47–48.

97. Asselin, "Lu-School Reading of 'Guanju,'" 429.

98. For this anecdote, see Cai Yong's biography in *Hou Han shu*, 60B.2004–2005.

99. Asselin does not seem to have a problem with what I call the missing *fu* 賦, as he merely notes in *A Significant Season*, 204, "the work may be considered a *fu* though the presence of that word in the title equally refers to Cai Yong's *fu*."

Cai Yong's *fu*, the grisette (*qingyi*), the butt of Zhang Chao's ire, opening a space for the idea that Zhang Chao perhaps wrote his own *fu* very much on the same exegetical grounds as Cai Yong wrote his "Qingyi fu," namely, both based on the Lu reading.

In this study, I have tried to show that Cai Yong's reading of the *Odes* favored the exegesis associated with Lu, at least as far as his *Qincao* and one of his rhapsodies is concerned. To my knowledge, the "Qingyi fu" has not yet been interpreted in light of its exegetical preoccupations. As I have also tried to show, Cai Yong in his *Qincao* and in this rhapsody applied a specific voice in exegesis, which I propose to call "exegesis by empathy." By reading the narratives of the *Qincao* and Cai Yong's "Qingyi fu" together in this way I have tried to trace one facet of Cai Yong's personality which may be surprising to some, especially if compared to other parts of his oeuvre, but which may turn out as one that is worth to be reconsidered in further approaches.

蔡邕讀《詩經》：以《琴操》和《青衣賦》為視角的審讀

沙敦如

提要

作為東漢最博學的學者之一，蔡邕（132–192 年）最重要的成就之一便是其在熹平四年（公元 175 年）受漢靈帝之命所親筆書刻的《熹平石經》。眾所周知，蔡邕在諸多《詩經》版本中選用了彼時傳授最廣的《魯詩》。然而，蔡邕自己的文學作品是否也表現出對《魯詩》的偏愛，這點尚未得到學術界的廣泛關注。本研究以迄今為止在很大程度上被忽視的琴曲軼事集合《琴操》和他的《青衣賦》為核心，將它們與《魯詩》置於同一視角加以分析，以此考察蔡邕解讀《詩經》的視角。

Keywords: Cai Yong, *Qincao*, "Qingyi *fu*", *Odes* exegesis, Lu readings of the *Odes*, Xiping Stone Classics
蔡邕, 琴操, 青衣賦, 詩經註釋, 魯說, 熹平石經