

Shirley Chan, Daniel Lee

***Shendu* and *Qingdu*: Reading the Recovered Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts**

Abstract The terms *du* (獨) and *shendu* (慎獨) frequently appear in transmitted texts, notably, among others, the *Xunzi* and *Liji*. Drawing reference from the poetry of “Shijiu” (鴟鳩) (Ode 152) and “Yanyan” (燕燕) (Ode 28) in the *Book of Odes* (詩經), the recovered texts of “Wuxing Commentary” (五行說) and “Confucian Poetics” (孔子詩論) have provided new material for re-shaping our current understanding of the concepts of *du* and *shendu*. This study will briefly survey the semantic ranges of these terms within the exegetical tradition and explore their meaning with regard to the poetry from which they are contextualized. In the final analysis *du* can be understood as the ontic quality of the heart-mind within the broad sense of *cheng* (誠 sincerity), or devout love, whereas *shendu* can be regarded as a process of moral cultivation. To some extent the re-interpretation of these terms finds commonality with, rather than subverts, the semantic ranges established by traditional glosses. The recovered texts have enhanced our understanding of these terms, in particular the concepts of heart-mind and emotion in early China.

Keywords *qing*, *shendu*, “Kongzi Shilun,” “Wuxing,” *Shijing*

1 Introduction

Du (獨) and *shendu* (慎獨) are popular tropes in pre-Qin (先秦) and Han texts (Liao 2004, 48). The aphorism *junzi shen qi du ye* (君子慎其獨也) can be found in the received tradition, most notably among other classical texts, the *Xunzi* (荀

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Shirley Chan (✉), Daniel Lee

Chinese Studies, Department of International Studies, Macquarie University Sydney, NSW 2109, Australia

E-mail: shirley.chan@mq.edu.au

子), *Liji* (禮記), *Daxue* (大學) and *Zhongyong* (中庸).¹ *Shendu* has been traditionally interpreted in these texts as 閒居獨處 (living at leisure and/or in solitude), from which other meanings have been extended (Liang 2004, 51) and upon which criticisms have been launched. Over the centuries Chinese scholars have been renegotiating the meaning of *du* and *shendu*, establishing wide semantic ranges for these terms. With the recent recovery of bamboo and silk manuscripts scholars have been inspired to re-negotiate the meaning of these notions in terms of the new material.

Du is a concept propounded in two recovered texts drawing reference from two poems in the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經). Educued from the couplets of “Shijiu” (鳴鳩) (Ode 152) and “Yanyan” (燕燕) (Ode 28), the idea of *shendu* is an ellipsis of the aphorism *junzi shen qi du ye*, which is found in “Five Conducts” (“Wuxing” 五行, hereafter WX). On the other hand *qingdu* (情獨) is abbreviated from *Yanyan zhi qing yi qi du ye* (燕燕之情以其獨也), which is a comment on “Yanyan” in “Confucian Poetics” (Kongzi Shilun 孔子詩論, hereafter KZSL). Both WX and KZSL are bamboo manuscripts dateable to the mid-to-late Warring States period (circa 300 BCE).² Another version of WX written on silk was discovered in 1973 in a Han (漢) (202 BCE–220 CE) tomb at Mawangdui (馬王堆), Changsha in Hunan Province. This silk version differs from the bamboo text, now designated as the canon (*jing* 經), mainly in having a commentary (*shuo* 說) in parallel. The commentary is known as the Mawangdui “Wuxing Commentary” (Wuxing Shuo 五行說, hereafter WXS).

The poems cited in WX and KZSL—“Shijiu” and “Yanyan”—come from the “Airs of the States” (Guofeng 國風) section of the *Shijing*. These poems are rich in multivalent allusions lending themselves wide open to different interpretations (Gu 2005, 134–35). Poetry was frequently quoted out of context during the Spring and Autumn (772–481 BCE) and the Warring States periods for expressing personal opinions or supporting normative points. By drawing on the

¹ *Shen qi du* (慎其獨) also appears in the *Wenzi* (文子) and *Huainanzi* (淮南子). We have deliberately refrained from following the standard editorial practice of putting the original texts in the footnote and providing in-text translations at this stage, as such translations will pre-empt the discussions that are to follow and become foregone conclusions.

² The WX bamboo manuscript was discovered in 1993 in a tomb located at Guodian, Jingmen City in Hubei Province, whilst KZSL was acquired in 1994 by the Shanghai Museum on the Hong Kong antique market. The corpora are thus known as *Guodian Chujian* (郭店楚簡) and *Shangbo Chujian* (上博楚簡, The Shanghai Museum Collection of Chu Bamboo Slips) respectively. Though unprovenanced, KZSL has been scientifically dated to about 300 BCE. The authorship of KZSL is attributed to unknown follower(s) of Confucius whose direct quotations in the commentary are not necessarily those of the historical Confucius. This paper assumes that KZSL is of the vintage and authenticity as claimed. Ethical considerations concerning the study of unprovenanced artifacts (Goldin 2013, 153–60) is a topic outside the scope of this paper.

avian imagery in the poems, *du* has been explicitly or implicitly edified in WX and KZSL. Scholars have reinterpreted the concepts of *du* and *shendu* largely through the dialectics of the traditional and recovered texts, but it appears that few have explored their meaning through the poetry that has contextualized them. This paper will explore the concepts of *shendu* and *qingdu* through a synoptic reading of the poems and the recovered texts.

In this study WXS as published in *Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書 will be adopted as the primary text (rather than the WX canon alone) by reason of its more detailed context in which *shendu* has been explicated. KZSL will be based on the text published in *Shanghai Bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* (1) (上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書) (一).³ As for the odes, James Legge's edition of the *Maoshi* (毛詩) will be adopted; his translation will also be used but with modification where appropriate.⁴

2 *Du, Shen and Qing—Historical Overview*

It is not the intention of this study to review the vast literature concerning the metaphysical import of *du*, *shen* and *qing*, but to highlight the key glosses that make up their semantic ranges as the backdrop for further investigation. However, it is outside the purview of this paper to compare and contrast possible differences, as this requires revisiting the contexts in which the traditional meanings appear with any new found meaning.⁵

Etymologically, the *Shuowen Jiezi* (說文解字) glosses *du* by way of the example of dog-fight, contrasting its meaning of solitariness to characterize the dog as a loner with the sheep that gather together in herds.⁶ In pre-Qin texts *du*

³ Wherever possible contemporary words will be used instead of the ancient Chu graphs.

⁴ It is not within the purview of this paper to debate the issues raised by Martin Kern, who has expressed grave concern over the integrity of the *Maoshi* for the study of KZSL, claiming that the odes had been constructed according to tendentious glosses of the Mao tradition. Kern's studies produce evidence of textual variances (Kern 2007, 135–36), which, at best, demonstrate different interpretations of the verses affected, but he has yet to identify which words of the *Maoshi* are of problematic construction so as to vouch for the historical and moral reading of the Mao commentaries. On the other hand, Kern acknowledges the fact that the *Maoshi* is the only extant text available for readers of the *Shijing* after the third century CE (Kern 2007, 142). In contrast to Kern's assertion other scholars have propounded that the odes, particularly those from the "Airs of the States," are characterized by their hermeneutic openness (e.g. multivalent signifying elements, open-ended structuring etc), see Gu (2005, 154).

⁵ For a clear and concise trajectory of the traditional concept of *shendu* see Liao (2004). Also see Liang (2004 and 2005), which argue that the traditional glosses have misinterpreted the concept.

⁶ “犬相得而鬪也 ... 羊為羣，犬為獨也” (Dogs confront each other and fight ... Sheep gather in herds, a dog is a loner.)

basically means “loneliness” or “singularity” (including their grammatical forms in translation).⁷

Du as it appears in transmitted texts has been extended to assume other meanings. The Han scholar Zheng Xuan (鄭玄 127–200) defines *du* as “sparing” or “economical” (*shao* 少) within the context of “*liqi*” (禮器) of the *Liji*: “the economical display of rites is to be held at high esteem; what matters is [the intention] at heart.”⁸ On 是故君子慎其獨也, Zheng notes: “the outward display of ritual formalities should be economical, therefore [in the practice of economy] the *junzi* should treat it with extreme respect and care.”⁹ Zheng’s explication of *shendu* in “Zhongyong” is similar: on 莫見乎隱, 莫顯乎微 “what is hidden can be seen, what is minute is manifest.” On 故君子慎其獨也, his annotation is 慎獨者, 慎其閒居之所為 “the *junzi* should be scrupulous with his conduct whilst living in solitude” (i.e. not under public scrutiny) (Zheng 1999, 1422).

It appears that Zheng understood *shendu* differently from what Xunzi had in mind. In the *Xunzi* the word *du* is closely related to *cheng* (誠 sincerity) when Xunzi asserts that “if one is not sincere, one is not focused. Without focus one’s morality cannot be formed. If morality is not formed, despite one’s intention in the heart, one’s explicit expressions and words, the people will not be compliant. Even if they are compliant they still have doubts.”¹⁰ We believe that in this context the rhetoric is a parallel construction and the collocation of *cheng* and *du* clearly indicates that qualitatively they have much in common as *sine qua non* for completing the cultivation of morality.¹¹

In glossing *shendu* in “Daxue” and “Zhongyong,” Zhu Xi (朱熹 1130–1200) does not venture outside the exegetical frameworks of leisure or solitary living (閒居獨處) and sincerity propounded by Zheng Xuan and Xunzi respectively. However, Zhu is more specific in defining *du* as what is only known to oneself

⁷ Numerous examples can be found, but typically, *Analects* 12.5: “人皆有兄弟, 我獨亡” (Other men all have their brothers, I only have not); *Mencius* 1B1: “獨樂樂” (to enjoy music by yourself alone); *Mencius* 1B5: “老而無子曰獨” (the old and childless, or solitaries); *Mencius* 7B36: “姓所同也, 名所獨也” (The surname is shared whilst a personal name is not); “Li Yun” in *Liji*: “人不獨親其親” (men did not only love their parents).

⁸ “禮之以少為貴者, 以其內心者也。”

⁹ Our translation of 既外迹應少, 故君子用少而極敬慎也 (1999, 734); likewise for other passages unless otherwise stated.

¹⁰ 不誠則不獨, 不獨則不形, 不形則雖作於心, 見於色, 出於言, 民猶若未從也; 雖從必疑。

¹¹ See *Xunzi* 3.9 荀子·不苟. Knoblock translates *du* as “uniqueness” (see Knoblock 1988, 1: 177–78). No doubt here Xunzi is explicating the formation of morality in a chain argument. However, the question is: how does being unique help one to form one’s morality? Masayuki Sato translates *du* as the “integration of morality.” Having said this he quotes Pang Pu’s interpretation of *shendu*—“concentration on in one’s mind”—as if to clarify what is meant by “integration of morality” (Sato 2003, 292). We are more inclined to adopt Pang Pu’s view.

and not others (Zhu 1776, 6),¹² by which he refers to one's demeanour, personal desires and hidden agenda. Thus for Zhu, *shendu* is to be conscious of indecent impulses and one should curb their germination.¹³ Zhu takes *shen* to mean “to admonish” (*jie* 戒) and “to be cautious” (*jin* 謹). In his discourse with interlocutors (the *Zhuzi Yulei* 朱子語類) *shendu* has been repeatedly discussed around the concepts of *gongfu* (功夫 moral cultivation), *zhizhi* (致知 extending one's knowledge) and *chengyi* (誠意 making one's will sincere), particularly the idea of “the latent quality of sincerity manifest truly as outward appearance” (*cheng yu zhong, xing yu wai* 誠於中, 形於外) (see The Chinese Text Project 中庸一). Within the traditional glosses expounded by Zheng and Zhu variations and extensions of *du* and *shendu* have evolved. For instance, Ming scholars such as Sun Shenxing (孫慎行 1565–1636) have philosophized about *shendu* on the poiesis of emotions; Liu Zhongzhou (劉宗周 1578–1645) promotes *shendu* as the praxis of moral cultivation that threads through the doctrines of *Daxue* and *Zhongyong*. However the Zheng-Zhu exegeses remain the key elements of the semantic ranges of these terms.

On the question of *shen* Liao Mingchun points out that the word should not be glossed as 誠 or 謹 but as *zhenzhong* (珍重, to treasure, cherish). Liao's case has been convincingly supported by philological arguments with the conclusion that *shendu* can only be glossed as “forsaking superficiality but cherishing the heart-mind” (Liao 2004, 51–52).¹⁴ Liao's study clarifies the meaning of *shen* but does not subvert the current understanding of *shendu*; rather his assertion indirectly endorses its meaning of *cheng*. In the final analysis cherishing the heart-mind is not taking heed of the materialistic and superficial, but being sincere at heart and be true to oneself.

Finally, *qing* is glossed as 人之陰氣有欲者 “humans' latent *qi* of desire” in the *Shuowen Jiezi*. The Chinese concept of *qing* conflates many semantic elements into one word (Eifring 2004, 2), whilst the Western concept of its closest translation—“emotions”—cannot express the full meaning of *qing* without engaging different words.¹⁵ *Qing* in Chinese subsumes the meanings of facts, genuineness (Graham 1990, 59–65); reality response (Hansen 1995, 195); basic dynamic factors, sentiments and responses, basic instincts or propensities, sensibilities and sentiments, basic motivation and attitude (Harbsmeier 2004, 71). Bockover asserts that an emotion has cognitive content, intentionality and

¹² 獨者，人所不知而已所獨知之地也。

¹³ 慎獨，察其私意起處防之。See The Chinese Text Project, 大學二、大學三。

¹⁴ 慎獨就是不重外表，只重內心。

¹⁵ Eifring quotes Weirzbicka who asserts that emotions comprise three elements: thoughts, feelings and bodily events or processes. For example, hunger lacks a cognitive element (thought) and cannot be counted as an emotion. See Eifring (2004, 3–4).

direction “*about* something” (Bockover 1995, 164). Where *qing* is meant to be sensibilities and sentiments, it denotes passions, desires, emotions, love, Eros, pathos, sentiments, cravings, feelings, and sensuality etc. In the context of KZSL the *qing* of “Yanyan” refers to its sentiments; other choices such as facts or basic instincts would obviously be awkward collocations with the meaning of the poem.

3 Reading Shendu in “Shijiu”

In WXS the couplets quoted from “Shijiu” serve to introduce the concept of *shendu*:¹⁶

鳴鳩在桑、其子七氏。淑人君子、其宜一氏”¹⁷ ... 能為一，然後能為君子，君子慎其獨也。

In the *Maoshi*, the word 氏 (*shi*) is written as 兮 (*xi*) whereas 宜 (*yi*) as 儀 (*yi*). Both are pairs of loan words; 氏 or 兮 are exclamations of no particular meaning, but the words 宜 or 儀 are crucial to the meaning of the poem as well as the concept of *du*. Based on the original WXS, Csikszentmihalyi translates 其宜一氏 as “[w]hat is suitable is unified” (Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 321). Most commentators on the *Shijing* consider *yi* (儀) to be “deportment,”¹⁸ taking this poem as praising the virtuous man who is true to form, without dissemblance or deception (Huang 2004, 210). James Legge’s translation reads: “The virtuous man ... /Is uniformly correct in his deportment.” However, Wen Yiduo notes that Zheng Xuan has glossed 儀 as 匹 *pi* (mate) in the verse 實為我儀: “He was my mate” in “Baizhou” 柏舟 of “Yongfeng” 墉風, thus 儀 in 其儀一氏 should likewise mean “partner” (Wen 2004, 292). Reading 儀 as mate or partner is more convincing as it is a parallel to 子 (offspring). The above passage can thus be translated to read:

The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree, /And her young ones are seven. /The virtuous man, the princely one, /He is truthful to one partner... Being unified [in purpose] is prerequisite to becoming a *junzi*. The *junzi* is conscious of his single-mindedness. (Legge [1935] 1994)

¹⁶ Citations of all bamboo and silk texts will be in modern characters as transcribed by the editors, unless otherwise stated.

¹⁷ The *Maoshi* version of 其儀一也 is 其儀一兮 which does not affect textual meaning.

¹⁸ The idea of deportment is probably supported by the second stanza which describes the elegant attire of the *Junzi*.

In contrast to the turtle dove which has to divide its attention to seven young ones, the *junzi* has his mind focused on virtue as if being loyal or truthful to one partner. As WXS puts it, only when one is able to unify one's mind (能為一) can one become a *junzi*. Thus it is essential for the *junzi* to be conscientiously single-minded. WXS continues to explicate *du*:

...慎其獨也者，言舍夫五而慎其心之謂也。獨然後一，夫五為[一]心也，然後得之。¹⁹

To be conscious of one's single-mindedness is to transcend the five (conducts) and be conscious [of it] in one's mind. Only when one is single-minded can one attain unity; when the five [virtues] converge in one mind, then can one's mind be unified. (Our translation)

Csikszentmihalyi interprets 慎其獨 as “attending to one's solitude” (Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 322). It would appear that so far “solitude” is a foreign idea to the context of the discourse, which advocates unity (為一) rather than isolation. The five conducts here refer to benevolence, wisdom, righteousness, ritual propriety and sagemess (仁智義禮聖) as discussed at the beginning of the WX text in which *shendu* is explained in terms of *shen xin* (慎心) or cherishing the heart-mind. Liang Tao asserts that these five conducts have to be unified in the heart-mind (*wu wei yixin* 五為一心), thus *du* practically subsumes meanings of focused attention, wholeheartedness or single-mindedness (Liang 2004, 48). This notion is implied in the poem: when the chicks have moved around the plum tree, the jujube tree and the hazel tree (as described in the opening couplets of the second to fourth stanzas: 鳴鳩在桑、其子在梅 ... 其子在棘 ... 其子在榛), the turtle dove stays put in the mulberry tree, as if unperturbed by what is happening around it. The imagery alludes to the steadfastness of the *junzi* who is focused on virtues irrespective of changes in external circumstances or conditions. In the contexts of WXS and “Shijiu” *shendu* refers to moral cultivation which aligns with Zhu Xi's concept of *gongfu* and *du* (a state of unified mind, 五為一心)²⁰, in other words the ontology of the *xin* (heart-mind 心之本體).

¹⁹ [] denotes an originally missing word, see Liang (2004, 48).

²⁰ The notion of *yi* (一 oneness) emphasizing unity appears to be a popular concept not only in received texts (The *Mencius*, *Daodejing* etc.) but also in other recovered manuscripts, for example, “all things are flowing in form” (*fan wu liu xing* 凡物流形) in the *Shangbo Chujian*: 心之所貴唯一 “what the heart-mind esteems alone is oneness”; 能察一，則百物不失 (when he is able to examine the [principle of] oneness, he will not lose any of the hundred things), etc. A detailed examination in this respect would entail a separate study. See Chan (2013).

4 Reading *Shendu* in “Yanyan”

“Yanyan” is a much more complicated poem than “Shijiu” in terms of its form and content, particularly in the possible historical interpretations from which the concepts of *shendu* and *qingdu* evolve. The entire poem is cited here together with James Legge’s original translation, which will need to be modified later as further discussions will reveal more plausible readings. “Yanyan” comprises four stanzas as follows:

燕燕于飛、差池其羽。
之子於歸、遠送於野。
瞻望弗及、泣涕如雨。

The swallows go flying about,
With their wings unevenly displayed.
The lady was returning [to her native state],
And I escorted her far into the country.
I looked till I could no longer see her,
And my tears fell down like rain.

燕燕於飛、頡之頡之。
之子于歸、遠於將之。
瞻望弗及、佇立以泣。

The swallows go flying about,
Now up, now down.
The lady was returning [to her native state],
And far did I accompany her.
I looked till I could no longer see her,
And long I stood and wept.

燕燕於飛、下上其音。
之子於歸、遠送于南。
瞻望弗及、實勞我心。

The swallows go flying about;
From below, from above, comes their twittering.
The lady was returning [to her native state],
And far did I escort her to the south.
I looked till I could no longer see her,
And great was the grief of my heart.

仲氏任只、其心塞淵。
終溫且惠、淑慎其身。

先君之思、以勸寡人。
 Lovingly confiding was lady Zhong;
 Truly deep was her feeling.
 Both gentle was she and docile,
 Virtuously careful of her person.
 In thinking of our deceased lord,
 She stimulated worthless me.

“Yanyan” depicts a farewell scene but the cameo can be interpreted differently. Legge’s translation as above follows the interpretation of the Mao preface, which identifies the personae in the poem as Zhuang Jiang (莊姜), the widow of Duke Zhuang of Wei (衛莊公) (circa 700 BCE) escorting Zhongshi (仲氏 Lady Zhong), a concubine of the duke, returning to her native state (Legge 1994, 4:41). This historical reference is found in “The Third and Fourth Years of Duke Yin” (隱公三、四年) in the *Zuo Zhuan*. Zhuang Jiang bore no son for Duke Zhuang, and had adopted concubine Daigui’s (戴媯) son Wan (完) as her own (Daigui is purportedly referred to as Lady Zhong in the poem). Wan succeeded to the dukedom as Duke Huan (衛桓公) but was later assassinated by Zhouyu (州吁), an illegitimate child of Duke Zhuang. The poem depicts Daigui returning to her native state after the tragic event, escorted by Zhuang Jiang. However, Daigui’s homecoming is not recorded in the *Zuo Zhuan*. The WXS may or may not have been influenced by the Zhuang Jiang story as no explicit reference to it has been made. The relevant WXS passage reads:

燕燕于飛，差池其羽，之子於歸，遠送於野。瞻望弗及、淚涕如雨。… 其言相送海也。方其化，不在其羽矣 … 能差池其羽，然後能致哀。言至也。差池者言不在衰經，不在衰經也然後能至哀。夫喪，正經修領而哀殺矣。言其至內者之不在外也，是之謂獨，獨也者，舍體也。君子慎其獨也。

“The swallows go flying about, /With their wings unevenly displayed. /The lady was returning [to her native state], /And I escorted her far into the country. /I looked till I could no longer see her, /And my tears fell down like rain.” This speaks of one seeing the other off. In mourning, one’s attention is not on the order of the feathers. Only when one is able to “disorder one’s feathers” may one accomplish bereavement. This is the point. “Disorder” refers to paying no attention to one’s worn hemp mourning sash. If one does not pay attention to one’s hemp mourning sash, only then may one culminate in grief. Now, if one adjusts one’s hemp mourning sash and fixes one’s collar at a funeral, then one stifles grief. This points to the fact that the culmination of one’s interior (state) is to not pay attention to one’s exterior (state). This is what is called “single-mindedness.” Single-mindedness means the transcendence of corporeal forms. The *junzi* is conscious of such single-mindedness. (Our translation, modified after consulting Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 320–23; Liang

2005)

Chao Fulin claims that Daigui conspired with Zhuang Jiang to overthrow Zhouyu the usurper by returning to her native state of Chen (陳) in the south to find help. The imagery of the swallows point to Zhuang Jiang escorting Daigui on that trip. Chao asserts that the verse 差池其羽 means the swallow extending its wings and tail; 頡之頡之 means the swallow stretching its head, both describing the swallow's swift flight. The verse 下上其音 refers to the secretive discussions between Zhuang Jiang and Daigui about their plan. In this regard Chao reads *hai* 海 (sea) as *hui* 誨 (to instruct), which is extended to mean the ladies conferring with each other. Furthermore Chao reads 能差池其羽, 然後能致遠 instead of 致哀, glossing 致遠 as (Daigui's) personal effort to strive for success in the face of sorrow and hardship. Chao concludes that *shendu* means to cherish one's ontic inner quality which can only be attained by forsaking external formalities (舍體) (Chao 2004, 121–27).

An alternative reading is proposed by Jeffrey Riegel based on the folklore surrounding the portentous birds: one swallow is accompanying another on its macabre flight (the phrase “方其化” in which *hua* [化 transforms] euphemistically stands for “dies”) to the sea. Riegel takes this as an allegory of an anonymous ruler who mourns the death of a warm and kind girl. Grief-stricken, he pays no attention to his disorderly mourning dress. Not heeding what is external or superficial, the mourner/*junzi* is then able to be mindful of his innermost self, “[heeding] his own thoughts and not the world around him” (君子慎其獨也; See Riegel 1997, 160–62). Riegel interprets *sheti* (舍體) as the transcendence of corporeal forms by focusing on one's internal state and not paying attention to one's exterior state, a conclusion that is supported by either of the above readings. Within the contexts of WXS and “Yanyan” *du* can also be understood as the ontic quality of the heart-mind.

5 Reading Qingdu in “Yanyan”

“Yanyan” depicts profound *qing* or emotion, fulfilling the criteria propounded by Bockover noted earlier in having a cognitive content (in this case, sorrow), intentionality (farewell) and direction (about one's beloved). The formal complexity of “Yanyan” lies in the fact that the first three stanzas are similar in structure but the fourth stanza seems to be out of line with the rest. Scholars including Li Xueqin and Chao Fulin suggest that the fourth stanza could have belonged to Ode 199 “He Ren si” (何人斯) purportedly entitled “Zhongshi” (仲氏)

mentioned in KZSL (Chao 2003, 18).²¹ However, “Yanyan,” with or without the fourth stanza, is found to express deep and devout love according to KZSL.

Interpreting KZSL through the WX text and Zhuang Jiang’s story can be seen as problematic. Chen Zhi points out that Wang Zhi (王質 1135–1189) has already argued that according to the *Shiji* Daigui died before Wan became the heir apparent, therefore Daigui’s journey home after Wan’s murder is fictitious (Chen 1998, 8). Second, in reading this poem as a macabre flight of the swallows, it focuses on one verse (差池其羽 “the disarray of feathers”) at the expense of the others, and that the poem depicts the flight of the swallows to the countryside and the woods,²² not to the sea as WX has suggested. Lastly, there appears to be no linguistic congruity between the texts of WX and KZSL: the concept of *shendu* in WX is an introvertive moral discipline (that is, *sheti*, transcending the materialistic or somatic) within the intrapersonal framework of the *junzi*, but KZSL focuses on the theme of an emotion (燕燕之情) whose intentionality is an interpersonal response. Whilst we agree to read *du* as “single-mindedness,” the interpretation needs to be re-stated.

In his detailed study Chen Zhi adduces historical and archaeological materials that point to Wu Geng (武庚), the son of King Zhou (紂) and the last prince of the Shang (商) House as the author of “Yanyan.” The fourth stanza, identifying the poet as *guaren* (寡人), reveals his nobility. Chen asserts that the motif of the swallows betrays Wu Geng’s reminiscence of his lost state, as the bird was symbolic of the fallen domain according to the Shang totemic culture. The bride Zhongshi Ren (仲氏任) refers to the second daughter of the Ren clan from Zhi 摯, a subject state of Shang. The Rens had their daughters married to the princes of Zhou, as can be read from “Da Ming” (大明) (Ode 236) and the *Guoyu* (國語).²³ Furthermore this poem originated from Wu Geng’s fiefdom, the state of Bei (邶),²⁴ which was his power base and refuge after his failed attempts at resistance against Zhou (周). Bei was located about 190 kilometres northeast of

²¹ The seventh stanza of “He Rensi” reads: 伯氏吹壎、仲氏吹篪 ... and is found to pair with “仲氏任只、其心塞淵 ...” Chao reads 伯氏 and 仲氏 as brothers (Chao 2003b, 20).

²² The verses 遠送于野 and 遠送于南. Wen Yiduo sees 南 as a loan word of 林 (Wen 1948, 2:166).

²³ “Da Ming” 大明: 摯仲氏任, 自彼殷商, 來嫁于周, 曰嬪于京。乃及王季, 維德之行。大任有身, 生此文王。“Ren, the second of the princesses of Zhi, /From [the domain of] Yin-shang, /Came to be married to the prince of Zhou, /And became his wife in his capital /Both she and king Ji, /Were entirely virtuous. / [Then] Da-ren became pregnant, /And gave birth to our king Wen” (Legge 1994, 4:433). *Guoyu* (國語): 摯疇二國任性 ... 姜氏任氏之女, 世為王嬪妃也 (The states of Zhi and Chou had the surname Ren. The daughters of the [Jiang] and Ren houses were the wives and consorts of the Zhou kings for generations; cited in Chen (1999, 17).

²⁴ Wu Geng was known as Wangzi Lufu (王子祿父 Prince Lufu) in the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書. He was enfeifed at Bei by the Zhou (his conqueror) to rule the Shang people (Chen 1999, 21).

Chengzhou (成周), the new Zhou capital established by the Duke of Zhou for overseeing the Shang remnants. This provides the geographic evidence of the journey heading south (Chen 1999, 19; 21).²⁵ Chen asserts that the poet of “Yanyan” is likely to be Wu Geng, and “the only lady with the surname Ren other than Da Ren (大任, the mother of King Wen) who came from the domain of Shang to marry a prince of Zhou was the wife of the Duke of Zhou” (Chen 1999, 19). Chen claims that “Yanyan” was Wu Geng’s poem sending Zhong shi Ren off to marry the conqueror, which, to a fallen prince, was an occasion of disenchantment rather than celebration. At the same time, Wu laments his succumbed domain and reminisces about his forefathers in the poem (Chen 1999, 18; 21).

Although Chen Zhi’s proposition is based on indirect evidence, it has been more convincingly argued than the Mao preface. Though to some extent Chen’s reading justifies the placement of the fourth stanza within “Yanyan,” their incoherent textual structure still points to an uncomfortable pastiche, and without rejecting Chen’s interpretation the two parts may still be read as different poems.

The ahistorical perspective of KZSL has licensed interpretations that are textually based and aesthetically inspired. By letting the text speak, “Yanyan” is voicing the grief of the poet in seeing his/her/their loved one off to her wedding: they may be the parent(s), a brother or sister, a lover, or even a close friend of the bride. According to ancient rites, a father should bid the bride farewell in the main hall of the family mansion; a mother, not beyond the door of the family shrine; brothers and sisters should stop at the gate of the bastion.²⁶ We are inclined to be more liberal in treating the escort and bride as lovers as far as the text can demonstrate support for such a reading. For the time being it is assumed that the fourth stanza is not part of “Yanyan,” for reasons to be explained later.

Each of the three stanzas of “Yanyan” opens with vivid imagery of the flying swallows. The swallows are flying, but their movements do not seem to be coordinated or in any way harmonious, as implied by the binomes *chachi* (差池, uneven), *xiehang* (頡頏, flying up/down) and *xiashang* (下上, below/above) which are binary oppositions. In the first stanza their wings are unevenly displayed, in the second stanza, one swallow is flying up high and the other low down. In the third stanza, one tweets from above and the other below. These

²⁵ 遠送於南—As noted previously Wen Yiduo glosses 南 as 林 and if he is right then “a journey to the south” is untenable.

²⁶ Our translation, cited by Wen Yiduo (Wen 1982, 2.167). See the *Guliang Zhushu, Shisanjing Zhushu* 十三經注疏·穀梁注疏: 禮送女, 父不下堂, 母不出祭門, 諸母兄弟不出闕門 ... 送女踰竟非禮也。

images, when deconstructed, convey the idea of discordance in their apparent togetherness, premonishing a parting of ways.²⁷ Then the purpose of the journey is revealed: 之子於歸—instead of adopting Legge’s translation of 歸 as “returning home,” the conventional meaning of a girl getting married is considered more appropriate in the present context. The escort is said to be accompanying the bride far into the countryside (遠送于野 ... 遠于將之 ... 遠送于南); the word 遠 does not only denote physical distance, but also implies emotional severance and remoteness. The poem does not provide any clues as to the size of the bridal retinue, or any more information about the journey, but it is clear that there is no communication between the escort and the bride. Could it only mean that he is accompanying her closely in person? It is quite possible that in accompanying her he is keeping a distance from her and her entourage; his looking on till he can no longer see her (瞻望弗及) suggests that he may be virtually “seeing” (in the true sense of the word) her off (*musong* 目送). Readers are at liberty to speculate: they might have been secret lovers, in which case it would be improper for him to be part of the retinue. He could be a palace guard or a lowly manorial servant and she a lady of high station, in which case he could be part of the bridal entourage, but their love violates the rules of propriety. In any case their romantic affair, let alone the public display of their emotions, is taboo. Or, it could be clandestine and unrequited love: she does not know he loves her or even who he is, or that he is stealthily seeing her off. Of course, no hugs and kisses in public are expected from an *au revoir* ancient Chinese style, but the lack of communication between the escort and the bride in the face of such profound love is discomfiting; they cannot even exchange words of farewell. The poem also suggests that there is more to their emotional separation than the physical. The author’s comment is 燕燕之情以其獨也, in which 獨 can be understood to be devout love, or it can assume its basic meaning of loneliness. It is more than just the poet’s feeling of loneliness; his love for her (or their mutual love) will be kept secret (in isolation as 獨), as required by the rules of propriety, or forever buried in memory now that she is someone else’s wife. In the cruel silence of the wilderness, broken only by the occasional chirping of the swallows, the poet’s emotional tension builds up and then bursts—not being able to catch a glimpse of her anymore he bursts into tears that fall like rain (泣涕如雨).

²⁷ Chen Zhi observes that treating swallows as the traditional poetic allusion of parting may have come from the misreading of “Yanyan” (Chen 1999, 6). Despite this, the folklore that swallows fly to the sea to die would equally validate such an allusion (see the “Wuxing” bamboo text as discussed earlier). Irrespective of these opinions, a sense of farewell and parting comes strongly through the text of “Yanyan.”

The inclusion of the fourth stanza as part of “Yanyan” complicates the structure and the theme of the poem. Stanzas that have been purportedly misplaced in the wrong poems are not uncommon, and a number of examples have been identified by scholars over the years (Lu 2002, 403–19).²⁸ “Yanyan” may well be added to the list. Arguments for or against such readings are by no means conclusive. Chen Zhi’s interpretation of the poem (without excising the fourth stanza) reveals complex motifs of farewell, lamentation and remembrance as discussed earlier. Whilst the author of KZSL has not confirmed or denied the placement of the fourth stanza in “Yanyan,” his reading of single-mindedness, sincerity, unreserved devotion and even mental and physical isolation as the theme of the poem does not seem to accommodate divided attention to lost love, lost domain and lost forefathers.

Our interpretation of the first three stanzas is an attempt to uncover the emotions expressed in “Yanyan.” Legge’s translation of 之子於歸 may be modified to read “The lady was on her way to get married” and 遠送于南 (林), “And far did I escort her to the woods.” Within the contexts of KZSL and “Yanyan” *du* signifies sincerity, whole-heartedness and devout love. As such it is not a process or heart-mind ontology, but an emotion with cognitive content, intentionality and direction.

6 Conclusion

Etymologically, *du* means “loneliness” or “singularity,” meanings which are commonly found in classical texts. Prominent exegetes such as Zheng Xuan and Zhu Xi have extended *du* to mean “sparing” or “economical,” while *shendu* means the act of exercising utmost respect and care as well as being scrupulous with one’s conduct in privacy. It is Xunzi who collocates *du* with sincerity or truthfulness. Zhu Xi is more specific in delineating *du* as “what is only known to oneself and not others.” For Zhu, *shendu* is a process of moral cultivation, in that one should be conscious of indecent thoughts and curb them as they germinate. Liao Mingchun has clarified from a philological point of view that *shen* means “to treasure” or “to cherish,” concluding that *shendu* means “forsaking superficiality but cherishing the heart-mind.” This can be interpreted as reinforcing the meaning of *shendu* as cherishing sincerity and truthfulness. The Zheng and Zhu glosses of *du* and *shendu* remain the archetypal elements of the semantic ranges on which variations and extensions of other *shendu* ideology are based.

²⁸ Lu lists five odes that are believed to have stanzas misplaced in the poems: “Juen’er” (卷耳) (Ode 3), “Xinglu” (行露) (Ode 17), “Huanghuang zhihua” (皇皇者華) (Ode 163), “Du ren shi” 都人士 (Ode 225) and “Juan A” (卷阿) (Ode 252).

The recently recovered texts of WX, WXS and KZSL have challenged our current understanding of *du* and *shendu* by drawing on two poems from the *Shijing*, namely “Shijiu” and “Yanyan.” Through synoptic reading of the recovered texts and the poetry, these terms appear to assume new shades of meaning. The avian imagery which both poems engage is hermeneutically open to different interpretations. Based on WXS and “Shijiu” *shendu* is to unify the virtues in the *xin*, and *du* can therefore be extrapolated to mean “single-mindedness” or “whole-heartedness” as the ontic quality of the heart-mind. In the context of “Yanyan,” *shendu* is understood as *sheti*, a process of moral cultivation through forsaking external formalities (the superficial and materialistic).

KZSL provides new material for understanding *du* from a literary angle through poetry, supplementing the grand mass of philosophical (received and recovered) texts and commentaries in which the concept appears. “Yanyan” is a poem of complex form and content. In exploring what is meant by *qingdu* in KZSL, this study has explored possible historical readings, such as Zhuang Jiang escorting Daigui to return to her home state, as recorded in the *Zuo Zhuan*, or as the Shang Prince Wu Geng sending a damsel named Zhong shi Ren off to marry a Zhou prince. If an ahistorical reading of the poem is adopted, it is found to evince deep emotions of love from which *du* is understood as “whole-heartedness” and “devout devotion.”

The concepts of *du* and *shendu* espoused in the recovered texts are not (as espoused in traditional scholarship) concerned with “sparing” or “economical,” nor “leisure/solitary living.” However, it would be rash to substitute the established glosses with the re-interpreted meanings without analyzing the linguistic contexts of the texts in which the terms appear. In the final analysis *du* can be understood in terms of the heart-mind ontology within the broad sense of *cheng*, or devout love, whereas *shendu* can be regarded as a process of moral cultivation. To some extent the re-interpretation of these terms finds commonality with, rather than subverts, the semantic ranges established by traditional glosses.

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