

SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture
Edited by David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames

BEFORE CONFUCIUS

*Studies in the Creation
of the Chinese Classics*

Edward L. Shaughnessy

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK PRESS

Published by
State University of New York Press, Albany

© 1997 State University of New York

All rights reserved.

Permission to reprint the following material has been generously granted by the following publishers: "Marriage, Divorce and Revolution: Reading between the Lines of the *Book of Changes*" is reprinted from *The Journal of Asian Studies* 51.3 (August, 1992): 598-599. Copyright © 1992 by the Association for Asian Studies, Inc., Ann Arbor, MI. Excerpts from "New Evidence on the Zhou Conquest" are reprinted from *Early China* 6 (1980-91): 55-81. "On the Authenticity of the *Bamboo Annals*" is reprinted from the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46.1 (June 1986): 149-80. Copyright © 1986 by the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, MA. "The Duke of Zhou's Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Ministerial-Monarch Debate in Chinese Political Philosophy" is reprinted from *Early China* 18 (1993): 41-72. "The Role of Grand Protector Shi in the Consolidation of the Zhou Conquest" is reprinted from *Ars Orientalis* 24 (1989): 51-77. Copyright © 1990 by the Department of the History of Art, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI. "From Liturgy to Literature: The Ritual Contexts of the Earliest Poems in the *Book of Poetry*" is reprinted from *Hanxue Yanjiu* 漢學研究: Chinese Studies 13.1 (1995): 133-164. Excerpts from "The Composition of 'Qian' and 'Kun' Hexagrams of the *Zhouyi*" are reprinted from Edward L. Shaughnessy, "The Composition of the *Zhouyi*." Copyright © 1983 by Edward Louis Shaughnessy.

Printed in the United States of America.

No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission. No part of this book may be stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means including electronic, electrostatic, magnetic tape, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise without the prior permission in writing of the publisher.

For information, address State University of New York Press,
State University Plaza, Albany, N.Y. 12246

Production by Cathleen Collins
Marketing by Anne Valentine

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Shaughnessy, Edward L., 1952-

Before Confucius : studies in the creation of the Chinese classics

/ Edward L. Shaughnessy.

p. cm. — (SUNY series in Chinese philosophy and culture)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-7914-3377-3 (alk. paper). — ISBN 0-7914-3378-1 (pb. : alk. paper)

1. Chinese classics—history and criticism. 2. China—

Civilization—To 22. B.C. I. Title. II. Series.

PL2461.Z6S46 1997

895.1'109—dc21

97-2449

CIP

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

PL
2461
Z6
S438
1997

845.109

Sh 25.1

pp. 2

~~Asian~~

ZAS Ref.

Contents

To my parents

Introduction	1
Chapter 1	15
Chapter 2	35
Chapter 3	55
Chapter 4	75
Chapter 5	95
Chapter 6	115
Chapter 7	135
Chapter 8	155
Chapter 9	175
Chapter 10	195
Chapter 11	215
Chapter 12	235
Chapter 13	255
Chapter 14	275
Chapter 15	295
Chapter 16	315
Chapter 17	335
Chapter 18	355
Chapter 19	375
Chapter 20	395
Chapter 21	415
Chapter 22	435
Chapter 23	455
Chapter 24	475
Chapter 25	495
Chapter 26	515
Chapter 27	535
Chapter 28	555
Chapter 29	575
Chapter 30	595
Chapter 31	615
Chapter 32	635
Chapter 33	655
Chapter 34	675
Chapter 35	695
Chapter 36	715
Chapter 37	735
Chapter 38	755
Chapter 39	775
Chapter 40	795
Chapter 41	815
Chapter 42	835
Chapter 43	855
Chapter 44	875
Chapter 45	895
Chapter 46	915
Chapter 47	935
Chapter 48	955
Chapter 49	975
Chapter 50	995

Contents

List of Illustrations	ix
Introduction	1
1. Marriage, Divorce and Revolution: Reading between the Lines of the <i>Book of Changes</i>	13
2. "New" Evidence on the Zhou Conquest	31
3. On the Authenticity of the <i>Bamboo Annals</i>	69
4. The Duke of Zhou's Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Minister-Monarch Debate in Chinese Political Philosophy	101
5. The Role of Grand Protector Shi in the Consolidation of the Zhou Conquest	137
6. From Liturgy to Literature: The Ritual Contexts of the Earliest Poems in the <i>Book of Poetry</i>	165
7. The Composition of "Qian" and "Kun" Hexagrams of the <i>Zhouyi</i>	197
8. How the Poetess Came to Burn the Royal Chamber	221
Selected Bibliography of Secondary Works	239
Index	247

Introduction

The Master said: "As for the rites of Xia, I can speak about them but [the state of] Ji is not sufficient to attest to them. As for the rites of Yin, I can speak about them but [the state of] Song is not sufficient to attest to them. This is because the literary documents are insufficient. If they were sufficient, then I would be able to attest to them."

Analects 3/9

The Master said: "Zhou mirrored itself in the Two Dynasties. So manifold, indeed, in literature; I follow Zhou."

Analects 3/14

The Master said: "I transmit but do not create. I am faithful to and delight in antiquity, presuming even to compare myself to our Old Peng."

Analects 7/1

For two thousand years or more, China's received wisdom held that Confucius established the classical canon by selecting, editing, and, in some cases, commenting upon the literary legacy of the Xia, Shang, and especially the Western Zhou dynasties. The preeminence within the Chinese intellectual tradition of the *Zhouyi* or *Zhou Changes* (also known as the *Yijing* or *Classic of Changes*), the *Shangshu* or *Venerated Documents* (also known as the *Shujing* or *Classic of Documents*), and the *Shijing* or *Classic of Poetry* is due in some measure—apart from their own very considerable intrinsic virtues—to their presumed pedigree of having been created in the first place by the sages of the Three Dynasties of high antiquity and then subsequently having been transmitted by Confucius himself.

The first concerted assault on this received wisdom did not come until the dying days of China's imperial age, when nativist "New Text" scholars seeking a savior for China's traditions consolidated all of the creative effort in the single person of Confucius.¹ The great irony, of course, was that to gain a savior they had to sacrifice a good part of the tradition. It was not long before other scholars—infused with the iconoclastic spirit of the twentieth century—saw fit to sacrifice Confucius himself, not only rebuking the "New Text" critics