

Sage King Yu 禹 and the Bin Gong xu 鬲公盪

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A corrosion covered *xu*-style tureen was purchased by representatives of the Baoli Museum in Beijing from a Hong Kong antiquities shop in 2002. It was missing a lid and is slightly non-standard when compared to other *xu* vessels that have been excavated or are preserved in collections.¹ Even so, as Louisa Fitzgerald-Huber has shown, the vessel shared enough features with a Ying Hou *xu* excavated in Pingdingshan M 84 in Henan² to confirm authenticity as well as a dating to around the early ninth century BCE or later. Some of these features, the horizontal ribbed décor on the body, the animal handles,³ and the long-tailed birds worked into a flat register of design under the rim can be found in the Ying Hou vessels in George Fan's collection which Ed Shaughnessy dates to the Late Western Zhou period.⁴ Liu Yu, Li Feng, and others date the Bin Gong *xu* to the Late Western Zhou period.⁵

While the manufacturing of the Bin Gong *xu* shares features with the Ying bronzes, there is aside few scribal details little other in common. While the staff of the Shanghai Museum worked on cleaning the vessel up, they discovered a 98 character inscription that mentioned a Bin⁶ Gong. Liu Yu shows how the vessel shares features with other vessels inscribed by a king of Bin and other vessels by “kings” of various local regions suggest a network of old families

¹ The first set of scholarly discussions are published in the Chinese report *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2002.6; The first scholarly opinions in the West were published after a conference at Dartmouth University in 2003 and found in “Xing Wen, ed. “The X Gong Xu 鬲公盪: A Report and Papers from the Dartmouth Workshop,” A Special Issue of *International Research on Bamboo and Silk Documents: Newsletter* (Dartmouth College, 2003). For a discussion on the non-standard nature of the vessels see Louisa G. Fitzgerald-Huber, “Xing Wen, ed., 2003, pp. 34-43 and Ifan Cheng, “A Royal Food Container and its Discontents,” Xing Wen, ed., 2003, pp. 44-48. For comments on the lateness of the language in the inscription, see Cook in the same volume.

² See Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo & Pingdingshan shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, “Pingdingshan Ying guo mudi bashisi hao mu,” *Wenwu* 1998. 9: 4-16.

³ I have yet to see a clear photo of the handles on the Bin Gong *xu*. From available photos they seem quite unusual, in that they are at a slant to a vessel.

⁴ “Newly Discovered Bronzes,” pp. 21-4.

⁵ Ed Shaughnessy follows the Shanghai Museum assessment that it may date as early as the first half of the ninth century BCE (“The Bin Gong Xu Inscription and the Origins of the Chinese Literary Tradition,” in *Books in Numbers: Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Harvard-Yenching Library, Conference Papers*, ed. Wilt Idema (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2007), p. 9.

⁶ The graph 鬲 can be transcribed by the modern graph 鬲 (*sjanʔ). The “fire” 火 and “mountain” 山 elements were frequently confused in the Western Zhou period. For early debates on the reading of this graph, see Li Xueqin, Qiu xi gui, Zhu Fenghan, and Li Ling's comments in and others in the *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* report and Liu Yu in the *International Research on Bamboo and Silk Documents: Newsletter*. Liu Yu is the primary proponent of the reading of Bin and most scholars have followed that henceforth. For a further analysis, see Chen Yingjie 陈英杰, “Bing Gong *xu* mingwen zaikao” 鬲公盪铭文再考 (2007 ms posted on www.gwz.fudan.edu.cn, accessed October 2010).

linked to the Zhou.⁷ In historical legend, Bin was settled by Gong Liu 公劉 and made into a state by the short-lived son, Qing. Gong Liu shares many attributes with reputed Zhou spirit founder, the agricultural deity Houji 后稷, In fact, the primary notary aspect of the Gong Liu legend is that he followed the path of *de* (virtue or accumulated merit) set by Hou Ji. In other words, he symbolized the organizing of local peoples to support an agricultural life-style. In the *Shiji* account of Zhou history, he plows, plants, travels, and crosses rivers to put this into effect.

公劉雖在戎狄之間，復修后稷之業，務耕種，行地宜，自漆、沮度渭，取材用，行者有資，居者有畜積，民賴其慶。百姓懷之，多徙而保歸焉。周道之興自此始，故詩人歌樂思其德。

Even though [Gong Liu] lived among the Rong and Di tribes, he repeated and cultivated the (inherited) job of Hou Ji, serving [the goal] with plowing and planting, and traveling the land making everything set-up correctly. From Qi and Ju river area,⁸ he crossed the Wei River and took materials for use so that those travelers had stored goods (for trade) and the residents had domestic animals and stores (thus causing) the people to rely on his awards. The aristocrats embraced [his leadership], many of them moving (to assigned areas) and guaranteeing to pay him back. This was the beginning of the Zhou Way, what the poets sing of and make music about when they think of his *de* [handed-down merit, virtuous deeds].⁹

Unlike most Western Zhou bronze inscriptions that eulogize the Zhou founder kings, Kings Wen and Wu, the founding of the Zhou nation (*zuo bang* 作邦), or the continuing push to control the Four Regions (*sifang* 四方), this inscription begins with the creation myth linked to the sage king Yu 禹¹⁰ and ends with an oath by the Lord or Patriarch of Bin, Bin Gong. Curiously, there is no reference to a royal calendar or a link to the Zhou court. If Bin Gong was a member of an ancient and relatively independent Zhou family, then there would be no need to

⁷ Liu Yu 劉雨, "Bin Gong kao" 鬲公考, Xing Wen, ed., 2003, pp. 6-16.

⁸ Li Feng locates the Qi River near the Jing River in Shaanxi about 4.5 kilometers west of the modern Bin Country. *Landscape and Power in Early China* (Cambridge Univ., 2006), pp. 161-2. The Ju River must be nearby.

⁹ "Zhou benji" *Shiji*. According to the "Liu Qing Shu Sun Tong lie zhuan," Liu Gong was chased to Bin by Jie, the evil last king of Xia. In another account, it was the Di who chased him there. The *Shiji* passage was certainly inspired by a version of the *Shijing* ode "Gong Liu" (Mao no. 250).

¹⁰ The only other inscriptions that mention Yu are dated to Chunqiu period and were made by the states of Qin and Qi. See my discussion in Xing Wen, ed., pp. 27-8, and Ma Chengyuan et al comp., *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwenxuan* Vol. 4, p. 610 & nos. 848, 546; G. Mattos, "Eastern Zhou Bronze Inscriptions," in E. Shaughnessy ed., *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts*, U.C., Berkeley, Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, 1997, p. 114; D. Doty, "The Bronze Inscriptions of Ch'i: an Interpretation," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1982, Pt. 1, p. 280.

legitimize their power, like the Wei or Shan family members in the Shi Qiang *pan* and Lai vessels from Meishan.

Many bronze inscriptions begin with invocations to the vessel owner's ancestral spirits. In the case of invoking the Zhou founders, the founding of the state might be referred to. In the Bin Gong *xu* begins with the myth of Yu founding the world, using language that many scholars have shown mirrors passages in the *Shangshu* (and somewhat in the *Shijing*).¹¹ By the time of the *Shangshu*'s collation, Yu was firmly associated with the founding of the Xia Dynasty—a polity that many scholars associate with the Erlitou Culture in Henan. In other legends documented during the pre-Qin era, Yu helped shape the world, control the floods, exorcize bad spirits, and was a model of frugal living and piety. While there is no reference to a Xia time, place, or people in this inscription, it does document that Yu, like the Zhou founder King Wen in Zhou myth, received the “mandate” directly from Heaven.

Scholars suggest that perhaps the name Bin which was also written 邠, (**prjən*) may link to the Fen River 汾河 area in neighboring Shanxi province closer to the Erlitou Cultural heartland and then was moved to the Xunyi District of Shaanxi. The narration of the creation myth of Yu's people and the birth of “our king” confirms a belief on the part of the family in Bin of their descent from Yu. Sarah Allan has pointed out that Hou Ji was commemorated in the “Bi gong” ode of the *Shijing* as “continuing the work of Yu.”¹² It would seem then that the legendary lineage of the Bin people was traced from Bin Gong to Yu. If we understand Bin Gong as a legendary ancestor,¹³ such as Gong Liu, then Yu (and perhaps Gong Liu as well) would serve the same function as Hou Ji, an earth god.¹⁴ The worship of Gong Liu during a harvest ceremony is suggested by many of the *Shijing* odes associated with Bin or Gong Liu such as “Qi Yue” 七月

¹¹ The implications for the dating of passages in these texts or the texts as a whole has been discussed by many scholars; for a recent summary of the extensive Chinese scholarship see Chen Yingjie.

¹² “Some Preliminary Comments on the 邠公盃,” in Xing Wen, ed., p. 22.

¹³ Allan and others suggest that Bin Gong might not be a living person.

¹⁴ See Ding, Shan 丁山, “Houtu Houji Shennong Jushou kao (shang)” 后土后稷神農蓐收考 (上) *Wenshi* No. 55 (2001.2):1-13, (xia) (下). No. 56 (2001. 3): 1-16 and Kominami Ichirō, “Rituals for the Earth,” in John Lagerwey & Marc Kalinowski, ed., *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC- 220 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 228-34.

in the Bin Feng section¹⁵ and “Gong Liu” in the Da Ya section.¹⁶ Further links between Bin musical performances and agricultural deities are suggested by an entry in the “Chun guan, Zong Bo, 3” section of the *Zhouli*:

籥章：掌土鼓、豳籥。中春，晝擊土鼓、吹<豳>詩，以逆暑。中秋，夜迎寒，亦如之。凡國祈年于田祖，吹<豳>雅，擊土鼓，以樂田畷。國祭蜡，則吹<豳>頌，擊土鼓，以息老物。

“The Officer of Panpipe Melodies manages the “earth drum” and the Bin pipes. In mid-Spring, strum the earth drum in the morning and play Bin odes on the pipes so as to welcome warm weather. In mid-Autumn, they are likewise played in the evening to welcome cold weather. Generally, when states pray for a good year from the Field Ancestor, they play Bin *ya* (=xia 夏) style Bin odes and strum the earth drum to entertain the farmers. When states perform the harvest sacrifice, they play *song* style Bin odes and strum the earth drum to give everything old a rest.”¹⁷

We can interpret the Bin Gong *xu* inscription within the context of Bin music and harvest festivals celebrating spiritual ancestral founders. The inscription (or song) provides strong hints of what in later times would become seasonal *di* 禘 ceremonies which typically celebrated ancestral and natural spirits.¹⁸ First, just as with Hou Ji or Gong Liu legends, Yu’s first act of *de* is invoked, that his making the world fit for human habitation and agriculture and the people’s appreciation and conversion to the way of *de*. A self-reference to the initiation of the feasting sacrifice, the use of the *xu* vessel itself in this celebration of the generative abundance of the people, their creation of a “king” (possibly Liu Gong or his son), and Heaven’s continued award of their people for loyally maintaining the initial *de*. Bin Gong or his personator then announced to the spirits the successful cultivation of *de*.

This type of ceremony is reflected in a number of Western Zhou inscriptions which describe the “grasping” (*bing* 秉) of ancestral *de* by descendants through a process of “opening”

¹⁵ According to the Kong Yingda commentary on a passage in the *Zuozhuan* (remarking how the grand music of the songs of Bin, being joyful but not loose make one think of Zhou Gong’s mission to the East) notes the connection of Bin music to the tale of how Hou Ji’s descendant, Gong Liu, settled among the Rong and Di peoples in Bin and how that paralleled Zhou Gong’s going off to the east to continue the agricultural work of Hou Ji and the Xian Gong (Gong Liu). Kong claimed that the difficulties he ran into there led to the ode “Qi Yue” (*Shisanjing zhushu* 6, p. 669).

¹⁶ Mao nos. 154 & 250. According to “Qi yue” the harvest feast was held in the tenth month beginning in the threshing ground with alcohol and feast being prepared and a lamb is slaughtered. Then all troupe up to the Gong tang 公堂 to raise their drinking cups in toasts and wish the Gong a long life.

¹⁷ *Shisanjing zhushu* 3, p. 368. Kong Yingda notes that both ceremonies were to agricultural deities. The earth drum was a hand-held earthenware funnel shaped drum with both ends covered with leather.

¹⁸ See Cook, “Ancestor Worship during the Eastern Zhou,” in John Lagerwey & Marc Kalinowski, ed., *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC- 220 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 262-71.

or “broadening” their hearts. While such expressions might be taken as simple oaths of loyalty to the ancestral way, the style of the inscriptions suggest also a musical performance. They often beginning with the invocation of the Zhou founder kings and the ancestors and end with oaths or prayers by the owner of the vessel (who often described himself as someone still in mourning, a “youth,” *xiaozhi* 小子). The founders are likewise lauded for “matching” (*pei* 配) Heaven’s pattern . The vessel owners themselves describe the merit they accrued through military or ritual deeds for the Zhou court as part of the ceremonial process for legitimatizing their advancement in the Zhou court, often taking up their ancestor’s position.

If we read the Bin Gong *xu* inscription as a ode, one that should include rhyme and rhythm, this may help decipher some of the sentences which are otherwise often awkwardly punctuated.¹⁹

| | |
|--|--|
| 天命禹尊（敷）土 l [˥] in m-reŋ(-s) ²⁰ ɡ ^w aʔ p ^h a t ^h aʔ | 隨（墮）山濬川， l [˥] oʔ ²¹ s-ŋrar s-q ^{wh} in-s t. l [˥] un |
| 迺差方設征（政） n [˥] ərʔ ts ^h raj paŋ ɟet teŋ | 降民堅德， k [˥] ruŋ-s miŋ k [˥] in t [˥] ək |
| 迺自作配饗 n [˥] ərʔ S. bit-s ts [˥] ak-s p ^h əj-s q ^h aŋʔ | 民成父母， miŋ deŋ N-paʔ məʔ |
| 生我王作臣 sreŋ ŋ [˥] ajʔ ɡ ^w aŋ ts [˥] ak ɡin | 厥味惟德 kot m [˥] ət-s ɡ ^w ij t [˥] ək |
| 民好明德 miŋ q ^h uʔ-s mraŋ t [˥] ək | 食（飩）在天下 s-m-lək-s dz [˥] əʔ l [˥] in Cə-m-k [˥] raʔ |
| 用厥邵（昭）好 mə-loŋ-s kot daw-s q ^h uʔ-s | 益敬懿德 qek kreŋ-s qik-s t [˥] ək |
| 康亡不懋 k-l [˥] əŋ maŋ pə mus | 孝友孟（訏）明 q ^h ⟨r⟩u-s ɡ ^w əʔ q ^{wh} a mraŋ |

¹⁹ The following reconstruction was mostly provided by William Baxter drawing from the Baxter-Sagart reconstruction (Baxter, p.c.)

²⁰ < m-riŋ(-s)

²¹ W. dial. *l[˥]- > x

經齊好祀

k^ɕɛŋ dz^ɕəj q^hu^ɿ-s s-gəʔ

無期心好德

ma gə səm q^hu^ɿ-s t^ɕək²²

婚媾亦惟協

m^ɕun k^ɕo-s gak g^wij g^ɕɛp

天釐用考神

l^ɕin rə mə-ləŋ-s k-r^ɕuʔ Cə. liŋʔ

復用祿

N-pruk-s mə-ləŋ-s b^ɕot r^ɕok

永御于寧

g^wraŋʔ ŋaʔ-s q^{wh}a n^ɕiŋʔ²³

爰公曰：“民惟克用茲德亡侮。”

prən koŋ wot miŋ g^wij k^ɕək mə-ləŋ-s tsə t^ɕək maŋ

Heaven charged Yu to spread the earth, collapsing mountains and deepening rivers,²⁴

So he distinguished the Regions and set up the governing (structures),²⁵

descending among the people and checking on their *de*

So from this (Yu) created the sacrificial feast matching (his behavior to Heaven's pattern of *de*) and the people became parents,

Giving birth to Our King and acting as his servants,

²² Baxter suggests that this line may have rhymed: “even though 祀 MC ziX would normally be reconstructed with *-əʔ to account for the Middle Chinese -iX, this word does frequently rhyme as if it were *-ək in the Shijing (209.1, 209.4, 212.4, 239.4, 281.1; but as if it were *-əʔ in 245.6, 245.8). You might compare the language of the inscription with some of these poems to see if there are any similarities.” (p.c.). Mao 209 is the “Chu ci” a Xiaoya ode in the “Gufeng” group which has been studied Martin Kern as an example of ode sung by multiple voices. The ode describes the preparation and performance of a sacrifice in which the founder and other ancestral spirits are entertained with grain dishes, meats, drink, and music. Ode 212 “Da Tian” in the Xiaoya “Futian” section has similar language to “Chu ci” and is a farming song also involving grain sacrifices and drinking to the spirit of the Field Ancestor. Ode 239 is a song for 福祿 to descend and also involves a sacrifice in honor of the spirits “labor.” Ode 281 is “Qian” in the “Chen gong” section of the Zhousong. It sings about sacrificing fish from the Qi and Zu rivers, rivers that are caught up in the Gong Liu legend. There are common or similar phrases in all the songs.

²³ Baxter suggests this line may also have rhymed.

²⁴ See similarities with language in “Yu gong,” Xia shu, *Shangshu (Shisanjing zhushu)* and “Shun dian,” Yu Shu, *Shangshu (Shisanjing zhushu)*. In “Shuxu” of the *Shangshu*: “Yu separated the Nine Continents, following the mountains and deepening/penetrating the rivers.” The phrase *fu tu* is found in “Yu Gong”: “Yu set out the land, following mountains and cutting wood, settling high mountains and big rivers.” Note that *pu (fu) you sifang* “spread (Heaven’s charge) to the Four Regions” is a rhetorical phrase recited on bronze inscriptions when the king is eulogizing the merit of founder kings Wen and Wu, see the Da Yu *ding*.

²⁵ Follow Li Xueqin. This eulogy to founder deity Yu’s setting up of government might be compared to a line from the eulogy to founder king Wen found on the roughly contemporary Xing bells and Shi Qian basin inscriptions: 曰古文王，初盤蘇于政，上帝降懿德大粵，匍有四方，受萬邦 “It is said that in antiquity King Wen first brought harmony to government so that the High God sent down Refined Power and Grand Protection encompassing the Four Regions and convening and receiving (the submission of) the ten thousand nations.” The Western Zhou meaning of *yi* 懿 is no doubt lost to us. Han scholars explain it as something that that becomes “beautiful” after a long time or “deep” (see Wang Li, *Wang Li gu Hanyu zidian*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000, p. 339; Zhou Fagao et al comp. *Jinwen gulin*, Vol. 11, *juan* 110-11, no. 1354, pp. 6108-12). Since *de* was the product of merit and wealth (awarded for merit) accumulated over time, I translate the adjective *yi* as “refined.”

they being unenlightened²⁶ as to the nature of *de*.

The people cared for (his) luminous *de* and provided food for All Under Heaven.²⁷

Employing it to glorify and care for (Yu's way of *de*) and to abundantly pay their respects to (his) refined *de*,²⁸

Happy none but were hardworking, they behaved in filial and collegial manners,²⁹

 is understood as consisting of 日 on top of 水 on the left and 頁 on the right. Li Ling reads 昧. Li Xueqin and Liu Yu read it as 貴.

²⁷ This phrase is full of problems. The only inscription with the term *tianxia* “all under Heaven” is the late Warring States period Zhongshan bronze *fangding* inscription “protect (in) all things under heaven” 開 (開) 於天下之物矣. The original graph was composed of 頁(*ljep) with 食(*ljaks) underneath and is read as 憂(*ʔju) “anxiety, concern” (see Shaughnessy, p. 18-19, n. 10) or 優 by Chen Jieying in the sense of widespread harmony (following Mao 304; support can also be found in the “Gaozi, xia” in *Mengzi* in the line 好善優於天下). While convenient neither interpretation works with either element in the original graph phonetically. A weak case could be made for 開(*gren) if we assume fluidity in the element 食 as all commentators have done so far to try to interpret this graph. Is 食 really a mistake for the graphically similar phonetic 含(*gəm) and the original graph 頤 (“the jaw,” “lower the head” in *Zuozhuan*) or 頤(*ɣans “bald”) both read *hàn* and possible loans for 開 or 捍 (both read *gans) for 開 “to protect, bar against trespass.”

Given the late nature of many phrases in the inscriptions, if we review similar usages in the transmitted literature for 在天下 we find an example in the “Li dong ji” of the *Lushi Chunqiu* (repeated in the “Yueling” of the *Liji*) concerning the providing of supplies for the mid-winter sacrifices by the peoples of the Nine Continents Under Heaven (凡在天下九州之民者，無不咸獻其力，以供皇天上帝社稷寢廟山林名川之祀). This would suggest that the verb we are looking for might have something to do with providing for or presenting sacrifices, a concept that would fit with the overall theme of this inscription. Suggestions that would work phonetically might include 餽(*zljaks) “to feed,” 餽(*ljə) “to send” (variant 饋), 饌(*thjəs) “cooked sacrificial food” or perhaps 飭(*zljaks) “to govern.”

²⁸ This line is somewhat similar in intent to the middle Western Zhou period Zu chime bell inscription: “use (the bell) to follow and express filial love for Elder Ji, use (it) to present mortuary offerings in the Great Ancestral Temple, use (it) to entertain and care for guests, may Zu and Cai Ji treasure it forever and use (it) to glorify (the ancestral spirits in) the Great Temple” 用追孝己伯，用享大宗，用樂（樂）好賓（賓），虞罪蔡姬永寶，用邵（昭）大宗（*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* no. 88）. The verb *hao* seems to be associated both with presenting sacrifices and with entertaining guests and friends with music. This is confirmed by the use of *hao* on Chunqiu period inscriptions (especially bells) and on a Late Western Zhou period *xu*, the Du Bo *xu*: “Elder Du made a treasured tureen. May he use it to present mortuary offerings and express filial piety to the Brilliant Spirits, Ancestors, and Deceased Father and to bring about care for friends and colleagues; use it to pray for long life, a plead for eternal life; may he for ten thousand years forever treasure and use it” 杜伯作寶盥，其用享孝于皇神祖考、于好棚（朋）友，用壽、勻永令（命），其萬年永寶用（*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* no. 4448).

²⁹ Chen Yingjie reads 亡 as 無 as a loan for 娛 which seems unlikely, however his reading 不 as 丕 in bronze inscriptions finds lots of support in the inscriptions. The line is somewhat reminiscent of the admonitions to the heir Feng 小子封 in the “Kang gao” of the *Shangshu* where Feng is warned to use his heard in dealing with the people so that he governs “without being happy” 無康 caring only for idleness that he must be generous without seeming to be generous and encouraging without seeming to be encouraging (懋不懋) (*Shisanjing zhushu* 1, p. 202). In the case where the people and not the king is the subject, Shaughnessy’s reading of “diligent” or perhaps “energetic” is probably better—the sense being that they are diligent in performing the sacrifices (see also Chen Yingjie). In this case, I would read 亡 more like 罔 as in the *Shangshu* “Duofang” 罔不明德慎罰 or the “Lu xing” 罔不惟德之勤.

The term *xiaoyou* also appears in the Shi Qiang *pan* possibly in reference to Shi Qiang’s father. The graph for *you* on the Shi Qiang *pan* and on the Bin Gong *xu* are written with double 又. The idea of taking both words as verbal (rather than as a term referring to a particular person) is strengthened by the use of the verbal combination *xiaodi* “to behave in a filial manner (to one’s parents) and a fraternal manner (to one’s brothers)” in the *Lunyu* 1.2. These two behaviors are paralleled once again in *Lunyu* 2.21 except that instead of the verb *di*, the action is

enlarging and illuminating (Yu's way of *de*),³⁰
Practicing purification,³¹ they took care with the annual sacrificial performance,
(performing these) without limit³² the people take care of (Yu's) *de*.
Relations are likewise all harmonious and Heaven's gift are used for Deceased-father
spirits,
For repeated expelling (of bad fortune)³³ and (gaining of) wealth, and (so the spirits)
eternally direct³⁴ (the people) towards tranquility.

described as “to behave in a collegial manner to one's brothers.” See also a similar phrase in the *Shijing* “Liu yue,” (noted by Li Ling 2003, p. 38) and in later ritual texts. In the *Zhouli* “Chun guan Tongbo, 3” for example, *xiaoyou* is one of the virtues (*de*) that the Dasi Le 大司樂 officers taught elite children through music.

³⁰ The word *yu* written with a “heart” semantic and the phonetic 孟 (**wja*) and is read as *yu* 訏 “big, ample, to enlarge” by most scholars and as found in a number of odes in the *Shijing* (in mao no. 245, “Shengmin,” for example, it describes infant Houji's loud crying). Chen Jieying suggests *xu* 卣 (**swjit*) in the sense of “take care with” (the rites, etc.) (p.8) but that ignores the phonetic 于. There is a late Chunqiu bronze inscription from Yan with *yu* 訏 as a stative verb: the vessel maker used (metal) to make a fine wine vessel, to eulogize his own merits, having already expressed care (for his ancestors, family), amply providing for those with many or few (relations). He used the vessel to wine and dine them in the family hall. 吾以為弄壺。自頌既好，多寡不（丕）訏。吾以饗（宴）飲，盱（于）我室家 (the Da Shi hu, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* no. 9715). Interestingly, the concepts of happiness through music (*kang* 康), expressing caring for friends and relatives at a feast with music (*hao* 好), and the singing of eulogies *song* 頌, are combined on the late Chunqiu period Cai pan (*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* no. 10171).

³¹ Purification, likely involving the washing of the exposed parts of the body such as hands and face with grain infused liquids (as perhaps originally put in *xu* vessels), was necessary before entering ancestral temples. Mencius noted that purification through fasting and washing was necessary before performing the rites to Shangdi (“Lilou, xia,” *Shisanjing zhushu* 8, p. 152). For a discussion of the purification ritual in pre-Qin China, see Ke Heli (C. Cook), “Gudai Zhongguo de zhai yishi yu shensheng kongjian gainian” 古代中國的齋意識与神聖空間概念, *Disijie guoji Zhongguo guwenzixue yantaohui lunwenji*, Chinese University of Hong Kong, October 2003 and Cook, “Moonshing and Millet: Feasting and Purification Rituals in Ancient China,” in Roel Sterckx, ed. *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 9-33.

³² Following Shaughnessy, “The Bin Gong Xu,” p.19, n. 12 for the reading of 無期 but following the prosody of line structure, I place it at the beginning of the following phrase instead of after 好祀. Shaughnessy's point that 無期 is found after the main verbs is absolutely correct, however, given the parallelism between 好祀 and 好德 perhaps we need to understand that case that 無期 modified all the virtuous behaviors of the previous two 4-character phrases 孝友、訏明、經齊、好祀 which were nurtured in the hearts of the people. Even so the prosody of 4-character phrases is suddenly broken suggesting perhaps that 無期 was read together as a single word or that the 無 was sung more lightly like perhaps the 亦 and 用 in the following 5-character phrases.

³³ W. Baxter pointed out that 祓 *b⁵ot* 祓 can not be a loan for 福 *pək* 福, the preferred reading among scholars (p.c.). On the other hand, 福祿 is a common combination in bronze inscriptions, see also n. 22 above.

³⁴ Given the link between Sage King Yu and exorcism rituals clearly evident by the end of the Warring States period, one is tempted to translate *yu* as “to exorcise,” the earliest meaning of this word. The combination 御于 appears in the “Siji” ode of Daya in the *Shijing* (mao no. 240) in the sense of “to control, direct, guide” owns home and country by means of model behavior. On the other hand, The Xiaoya ode “Fu tian” (Mao no. 211, an ode celebrating the Earth Spirit and the Field Ancestor with music and a feast, the zithers and drums were used to *yu* the Field Ancestor. Chu Wangli explains that *yu* here means “to welcome” the spirit of the first farmer (*Shijing shiyi*, Taipei: Huagang, 1977, p. 183, n. 12). The “Jifa” in the *Liji*, on the other hand, clearly states that when the sage kings were arranging the sacrifices, they performed an exorcism ritual when beginning to plow. In this passage, the earth spirit Houtu is credited with evening out (平) the Nine Continents and institute the *she* rites. Yu was noted as simply continuing Gun's work controlling the floods (*Shisanjing zhushu* 5, 802). Compare to “Lu xing” in the *Shangshu* where Yu evens out (平) rivers and lands, naming the mountains and rivers, followed by Ji (Houji) who “sent down” (降) sowing so that farmers (or the Farmer? Nong) could cultivate the grains.

Bin Gong said: “The people are able to employ this *de* without harm.”