

## Vestiges of the Oral Dimension: Examples from the *Shih-ching*\*

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Strictly speaking, all discussions of the oral dimension of poetry, in particular, the oral stage of primitive poetry, are necessarily inferential. Oral events are to be participated as they are being actualized in performances; any record of these in writing will necessarily destroy the immediacy and other improvisational qualities inherent in the oral act. And yet, except in rare cases, our discussions of primitive poetry, quite often, have to proceed from written records, and, as far as they are written records, we cannot easily avoid the risk of their being changed or even distorted in the treatment, through modification or abstraction, by artistic poets and anthropologists. How can we reach back to the period of unwritten songs to re-experience and to re-participate in the rites of their compositional reality and to re-construct from them, however tentative, a working model for the imaginative dimensions of the earliest people? How much can we allow poet-critics, armed with specialized and sophisticated systems of rhetoric and poetics, to come to these songs and impose upon them alien forms of expressions and horizons of meaning?

Ideally, the task should be taken up by a sort of creative literary anthropologist of a cross-cultural breed, who not only has direct access to certain existing tribal societies in which oral compositions are still active, but is able to master at once poetic matters from two or three literary systems and the cultural models of different tribes and races from their indigenous perspectives. He must be able also to divest himself of all the preconceptions his own tradition has burdened him with and be ready to see his substance

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\* Except otherwise noted, all the translations of the *Shih-ching* poems are mine. The number within brackets at the end of each poem refers to the traditional Mao edition.

with a truly "ignorant eye." Not being such an ideal investigator, what we can offer here will consist, therefore, mainly of perspectives culled from existing scholarship and documents through which a primary mode to respond to the external world and to human nature could perhaps be established. We will try to project such a mode from records of primitive ritualistic utterances by comparison and contrast with examples from the written tradition, always taking care, to be sure, to relate it to the fuller cultural contexts provided for us by the anthropologists.

The present investigation must be viewed as exploratory rather than final, since there are still too many "absences" in the prehistory of China. Thus, instead of taking the "vestiges" discovered herein as distinctive features of the *Shih-ching*, we rather want them to supplement the understanding of the larger oral dimension still to be fully defined.

## II

The songs in the *Shih-ching* collection are considered the earliest record of Chinese poetry, but they are hardly examples of our "original" models; this becomes obvious when they are compared to other primitive forms of compositions. What was the embryonic form of Chinese poetry like? Quite possibly, it could very much be like the unwritten songs of native American Indians, African ritualistic dance songs and chants, or Oceanic gesture poems. Witness the following ancient description in the *Book of Documents*:

Poetry expresses one's sense of things; song intones expression; notes keep pace with intonation; rhythm harmonizes notes. The eight sounds accomplish tunefulness, none outplaying the other. Gods and men are thereby in harmony. K'uei said, "Yü! I beat the stones and clap them and all the animals follow one another onto dance."<sup>1</sup>

This account, together with many studies of primitive songs, confirms the regulative and exorcive nature of early poetry. As C. M. Bowra puts it, "In late Paleolithic times dances were often magical rites connected with man's desire to exert his will over animals and thereby to kill them."<sup>2</sup>

The magical, regulative and exorcive power of poetry is prevalent in much primitive poetry, as can be illustrated by these titles: "Magic Formula to kill a snake," "Charm to restore a dying man," "Charm against the demon who unlooses the snares of hunters," "Priests' chant to usher in the dawn,"

etc. Many of these poems are used to dispel evil spirits such as this simple Australian song sung by the children to drive away a devil star:

kandanga daruarungu manangga gilbanga  
 [star – falling – at-night-time – you (star) go away]<sup>3</sup>

Quite often, these songs do not exist independently, but instead, they are part of a larger ritualistic event in which poem, music, and dance go together in choric arrangement, as, for instance, in this celebrative “Song of the Animal World” from Africa:

SONG OF THE ANIMAL WORLD

Refrain

SOLOIST: The fish goes . . . . .	CHORUS: Hip!
The bird goes . . . . .	Viss!
The monkey goes . . . . .	Gnan!

SOLOIST [mimicking]:  
 I jump to the left,  
 I turn to the right,  
 I'm being the fish  
 That slips through the water, that slips,  
 That twists, that springs!  
 Everything lives, everything dances, everything chirps. . . .

The fish . . . . .	Hip!
The bird . . . . .	Viss!
The monkey . . . . .	Gnan!

SOLOIST [mimicking]:  
 The bird flies away,  
 Flies, flies, flies,  
 Goes, comes back, passes  
 Rises, floats, swoops,  
 I'm being the bird:  
 Everything lives, everything dances, everything chirps. . . .

The fish . . . . .	Hip!
The bird . . . . .	Viss!
The monkey . . . . .	Gnan!

SOLOIST [mimicking]:

The monkey — from branch to branch  
 He runs, hops, jumps,  
 With his wife and his brat,  
 His mouth stuffed full, his tail in the air.  
 Here's the monkey, here's the monkey!  
 Everything lives, everything dances, everything chirps. . . .

The fish . . . . .	Hip!
The bird . . . . .	Viss!
The monkey . . . . .	Gnan! <sup>4</sup>

Poetry in its embryonic stage was never a separate, independent entity, but a complementary part of a total art form involving simultaneously music and dance in a simple dramatic setting in which music, dance and poetry help to accentuate one another. Testimony of this fact can be witnessed from many anthropological findings such as the following descriptions on such activities in Ifluk Atoll, in Mangareva and in Africa:

gesture song, combining the arts of poetry, music and dance<sup>5</sup>

Singing and dance went together. The vocal part with the words received its distinctive name according to theme. The accompanying movements varied in extent and energy. Some songs were sung by singers sitting on the ground, movements being restricted to the arms. . . . When, however, the performers stood up to sing, and movements of the body and feet were made, the performance became a dance.<sup>6</sup>

Singing, clapping, dancing and drumming are not separate entities, but may be said to constitute *one homogeneous art form*.<sup>7</sup>

It is relatively easy for us to find echoes to these descriptions in ancient Chinese poetic criticism. The "Great Preface" to the *Shih-ching* begins exactly along these lines:

Poetry is the movement of the sense of things in the heart;  
 In the heart: the sense of things;  
 Expressed in words: poetry.  
 Feeling moves inwardly and is revealed in words.  
 When words are insufficient, then come sighs and exclamations.  
 When sighs and exclamations are insufficient, then one bursts into

song.

When song is insufficient, unconsciously hands begin to move and feet to dance.<sup>8</sup>

Again, both this inseparability of poetry, music and dance and the fact that they arise together from what we might call the inner drive of our breath propelled either by surging emotions or by physical labor are embedded in the making of two Chinese characters closely related to the poems in the *Shih-ching*, i.e., the character for poetry, *shih* 詩, and the character for the mode of expression called *hsing* 興. In the authoritative etymological analysis by the late Professor Chen Shih-hsiang, these characteristics announce themselves most clearly:

... the root meaning of the Chinese word for poetry, *shih*, derived from and remained closely associated with the concept of beating rhythm with the foot on the ground, as graphically represented by the archaic character 𠂔. The beating of rhythm with the foot clearly indicates the primordial art of dance, with which both music and song were embryonically at one.<sup>9</sup>

[The mode of expression, *hsing*, derived from] the ancient graph of 𠂔 as such an illustration, with hands joined around a central object, the *p'an* 𠂔, which in its dynamic sense. . . . suggests the circling movement of the dance. Furthermore . . . the original sense of *hsing* has been traced to a primitive interjection, like a "heave-ho," semanticized with the meaning of "start," "rise," or "raise." This meaning has remained ever since in the later highly developed Chinese vocabulary, but still most often artistically would connote high-spirited uprising, joyous, auspicious beginning and emotional uplifting, so spontaneous as if from inspiration, uplifting, indeed, both of body and spirit, is the all-evocative epithet when we try to picture the birth of the primordial dance and song.<sup>10</sup>

The original formation of the second character suggests a further dimension of early poetry, namely, the embryonic song growing out of simple interjections occasioned by the exertion of physical labor. This is what has been referred to as power songs by a contemporary advocate of primitive poetry, Gary Snyder. Together with ritualistic chants, hymns, prayers, magical incantations, charms, healing songs, trance-inspired utterances, etc., power songs form the fabric and texture of tribal life.

Now, turning from these preliminary notions of the primitive poetic world to consider the poems in the *Shih-ching*, we are apt to ask these questions: To what extent can the 300-odd songs in that collection fit these notions? More specifically, how many of them show traces of magical and exorcive structure and function? To what degree can they be identified as ritualistic in origin, in spite of the fact that there are many etymological proofs that they must have been so?<sup>11</sup> Are there any power songs, the high-spirited mode of expression consisting of normally one or two interjections plus one simple outburst of emotion or idea? One can perhaps easily name a few dozens of poems from the *Feng* Section, that is, "Airs of Different States," as communal in origin, all of them being once compositions growing out of spring festivals — as have been convincingly proved by the studies of Marcel Granet and Sun Cho-yün.<sup>12</sup> We will have occasion to return to this important aspect. Meanwhile, we must say that, strictly speaking, few of the songs in the *Shih-ching* can be considered ritualistic in structure, magical and exorcive in function. Professor Chen Shih-hsiang once singled out a dozen songs and characterized them as being related to rituals. A closer examination will reveal that they are somewhat removed from the products of the embryonic tribal rituals, the exact nature of which we will outline presently. These songs carry definite marks of an institutionalized hierarchical society as can be witnessed from the following two examples:

We bring our offerings  
 Our bulls and sheep  
 May Heaven bless them!  
 Our ritual is patterned  
 On the rules of King Wen  
 Daily we bring peace to frontier lands  
 See, King Wen bless us;  
 He has approved and accepted.  
 Now let us day and night  
 Fear Heaven's worth  
 And thus be shielded.<sup>13</sup>

(No. 272)

May Heaven guard and keep you,  
 Cause there to be nothing in which you do not rise higher  
 Like the mountains, like the uplands,  
 Like the ridges, the great ranges,  
 Like a stream coming down in flood;  
 In nothing not increased.

Lucky and pure as your viands of sacrifice  
 That you use in filial offering,  
 Offerings of invocation, gift-offerings, offering in dishes and  
     offering of first-fruits.  
 To dukes and former kings.  
 Those sovereigns say, "we give you  
 Myriad years of life, days unending. . . ."<sup>14</sup> (No. 166)

King Wen was the model ruler of the feudal Chou Dynasty. Even though the first example here might be literally recited during the ritual, it does not seem to have the improvisational character of the magical rituals of tribal communities in which the composition, quite often, becomes part of the morphology of the ritual itself, requiring a larger participatory creative activity on the part of the members of the tribe who might be totally caught up emotionally in a sort of trance or frenzy. The present example, which no doubt retains the rhetorical devices of early rituals, somehow betrays a much stronger degree of objectivity, control and distance. The second example given above, with offers to dukes and former kings, is definitely hierarchical and the poem is more a form of description than a direct address to the spirits. The difference between these institutionalized ritual utterances and embryonic ritual expressions will become clearer later when we have a chance to examine some more examples from pristine ritualistic situations.

We have no doubt about these poems being wedded to music at some early stage, but it is more difficult to trace the impact of dance upon these songs as we can easily do with many of the gesture or miming songs of the primitive people, with the exception of perhaps the following two songs which might be products of actual dance situations:

Pluck, pluck plantains  
 Come, pluck them  
 Pluck, pluck plantains  
 Come, collect them

Pluck, pluck plantains  
 Come, pick them  
 Pluck, pluck plantains  
 Come, nip them

Pluck, pluck plantains  
 Come, hold them full lapel  
 Pluck, pluck plantains

Come, wrap them full waist

"Airs of Chou Nan," 8. (No. 8)

Withered leaves, withered leaves

Winds blow upon you

Uncles, brothers

You lead, we sing.

Withered leaves, withered leaves

Winds flutter you

Uncles, brothers

You lead, we echo to the end.

"Airs of Cheng," 11. (No. 85)

The first poem could have been originally improvised verses and dance gestures before or during the collection of plantains by girls picking and singing at the same time, and this poem might have been later adopted to be re-enacted in a ceremonial rite. The second poem, like the English nursery rhyme, "London Bridge is falling down," or "Here we go round the mulberry bush," is one in which song, singing and circling dance movements, often cued through verbal expressions, become one. These two poems are definitely different from the next two poems; the first being a *description* of dance, not an integral part of an actual dance situations; and the second being a poem *on* dance and music.

So grand, so tall

He is just going to do the Wan dance,

Yes, just at noon of day,

In front of the palace, on a high place,

A big man, so warlike,

In the duke's yard he dances it.

He is strong as a tiger,

He holds chariot reins as though they were ribbons,

Now in his left hand he holds the flute,

In his right, the pheasant-plumes;

Red is he, as though smeared with ochre.

The duke hands him a goblet.

'On the hills grows a hazel-tree;

On the low ground the liquorice.

Of whom do I think?

Of a fair lady from the West  
That fair lady  
Is a lady from the West'.<sup>15</sup>

"Airs of Pei," 13 (No. 38)

The first two stanzas are an observation of a dance, not a song intended to accompany the movement. Only the last stanza could perhaps be considered the dance-song body. As for this poem from the "Airs of Wang."

My lord is all a-glow  
In his left hand, he holds the reed-organ  
With his right he summons me to make free with him.  
Oh, the joy!

My lord is carefree.  
In his left hand he holds the dancing plumes.  
With his right he summons me to sport with him.  
Oh, the joy!<sup>16</sup>

"Airs of Wang," 3 (No. 67)

Again, this is a description of dance, though with an intense lyrical expression. Can we perhaps take the two stanzas as a narrative chorus in a dance? Some of the poems had been referred to as mime-dance poems such as the following:

Clear and glittering bright  
Are the ordinances of King Wen  
He founded the sacrifices  
That in the end gave victory  
That are the happy omens of Chou.<sup>17</sup> (No. 268)

But the relationship of this to mime-dance is truly doubtful; it certainly has no distinguishing features of the kind we find, say, in the African example, "Song of the Animal World" quoted earlier.

By making these statements, we do not intend to dissociate these poems, often considered the oldest and earliest form of Chinese poetry, from their folk and oral origins and from their possibly primitive ritualistic relationships. But it is a fact that these poems are sometimes too sophisticated in their structure to be primitive poetry proper, and that most of the traces characteristic of other tribal compositions are largely absent or subdued. In

spite of the efforts of the Ch'ing scholars such as Fang Yu-jun to vindicate the poems from the heavily utilitarian and didactic functions later Confucian scholars had imposed upon them, by calling them flatly folk songs,<sup>18</sup> there are at least two famous rejoinders: (1) Chu Tung-jun, "Some Doubts about the Folk Origins of the Kuo Feng Poems in the *Shih-ching*"<sup>19</sup> and Chü Wan-li, "On Kuo Feng Poems Retaining No Longer the Original Appearances of Folk Songs."<sup>20</sup> What Chu Tung-jun did was to prove, by a sort of statistical computation of official titles and ranks found in these poems and concluded that these poems were penned by poets of a ruling class. While we are not ready to agree with him, we must admit that these traces are there, reflecting a hierarchical structure rather than a simple tribal society. It is interesting and intriguing to find that C. H. Wang in his *The Bell and the Drum, Shih-ching as Formulaic Poetry in an Oral Tradition* (Berkeley, 1974) using statistic computation also, but of formulaic expressions, came to a conclusion diametrically opposed to Chu's. The frequency of these formulaic expressions must necessarily indicate, according to Wang, that they are folk and oral, compositionally speaking.<sup>21</sup>

How are we to explain the polarity between Chu and Wang? One easy thesis could be made here: these poems must at one time possess a form, a simple set of working dynamics, quite related to the pristine form of oral poetry, but as they passed from mouth to mouth during different times and responding to different occasions and needs, and, particularly as they were recorded, they got formalized, and, partly under the pressure of music, partly determined by social attributes of the time, they got modified and amplified incrementally to a form which embraces both the more recent attributes of a certain cast of people and their own embryonic features in structure. The problem remains: What was their embryonic model like? In that embryonic stage, in so far as they were poetic utterances, what could have been some of their primary occasions for oral delivery or composition? If we should say, with C. H. Wang, that these poems were, in essence, oral compositions, we should also define the occasions under which such utterances were made or performed. Only then can the formulaic expressions become meaningful.

Marcel Granet and Sun Cho-yün, referred to earlier, attempt to reconstruct such an occasion for the *Feng* Section. Briefly, these poems "happened" in spring festivals held after the rice-planting alongside rivers such as the Chen and the Wei, social gatherings both for the rites of purification and marriage consummation for young men and women. The crossing of the rivers, with skirts tucked-up, and the orchid-picking could be

related to purification; they were also part of the activities leading to courting and mating. These poems "happened," according to Granet, in a series of verbal poetic contests:

These songs were composed by means of themes which originated in an assembly devoted to traditional improvisation. This was carried on by alternating choirs of young men and young women who engaged with one another in a contest in the course of the seasonal festivals of ancient peasant communities. . . . The earliest poems are nothing but a sequence of distichs and the distich is the elementary form of poetry. In reality, in order to express their sentiments, the actors who face each other gradually outline them with the help of such vocal gestures as accompany a figure in a ballet: thus they work out two symmetrical designs.<sup>22</sup>

In theory, these conclusions might well be true, but the physical existence of these poems as they have come to us contains little or no trace of choreographic and ritualistic structure or choric arrangement of the kind we find in much primitive poetry, although some of the poems have tempted us to rework them into such a setup, as, for example, this air from the "Airs of Cheng," 21 (No. 95):

[Poem as we have it now]

The Chen and the Wei are brimming.  
Boys and girls go orchid-picking.  
Let's go and see, she says.  
I already did, answers he.  
So what, go again.  
Beyond the Wei is fun, a full plain.  
Men and women  
Make merry  
And give each other a peony.

The Chen and the Wei run clear.  
Boys and girls, a blooming spree.  
Let's go and see, she says.  
I already did, answers he.  
So what, go again,  
Beyond the Wei is fun, a full plain.

Men and women  
 Make merry  
 And give each other a peony.

[Poem Recast]

Chorus: The Chen and the Wei are brimming.  
 Boys and girls go orchid-picking.

Girl : Let's go and see.

Boy : I already did.

Girl : So what, go again.

Chorus: Beyond the Wei is fun, a full plain.

Men and women

Make merry

And give each other a peony.

(with miming and dancing)

Second stanza: same rearrangement.

All in all, however, ceremonial chants, magical incantations, charms, healing songs and trance-inspired vocalizations so commonly found in tribal poetry seem to be totally absent in the *Shih-ching*. It is instructive, therefore, to project the *Shih-ching* poems into the larger imaginative framework of the oral stage of primitive poetry to see the extent to which they are still related to or removed from the pristine model.

### III

It may be tentatively argued that in the pristine beginning there was poetry in action, but no conception of poetry. Poetry was part of speech as speech was part of the necessity of life, just as ritual was part of the necessity of life. Ritual was life without the performers being totally conscious of the rules of the game. There was nothing artificial about it. The beginning of poetry, like the beginning of religion *before* it was institutionalized, was a sense of totality — life, man, nature in one integrated action, undifferentiated. Religion institutionalized becomes a system, a human-rationalized entity, separated from the integrated sense of art-life totality. In an institutionalized religion, the participants become fully aware of the rules of the game. Original poetry was direct and fairly spontaneous expression of life's events and actions without clearly delineated rules of composition.

According to C. M. Bowra, the development from prehistoric ritualistic, magical dances to songs and to written poems consists of the following stages. Accompanying the exorcive dances were perhaps incantations made up of meaningless sounds chanted to music such as, for example, *mas-las-ta-xai-na-sa* (Bowra, 58). These incantatory sound sequences were often repeated, developing into formulaic patterns, with incremental emotional pitches and emphases. Later, in order to clarify the purpose of the ritual, particularly for later participants, meaningful words replaced these sound sequences and, thus, gave birth to the embryo of a song. These earliest songs often retained the incantatory functions and the formulaic repetitions of the sound sequences. Like the incantations, these early songs were only secondary to the ritualistic dance. Bowra cited an example from the Eskimo weather-incantations:

Clouds, clouds  
 Clouds, clouds down below  
 Clouds, clouds,  
 Clouds, clouds down below        (Bowra, 58)

in which the repetitions must be understood as possessing incantatory powers and should not be judged in terms of the poetic art formulated by later artistic poets. If these same lines were written by poets nowadays, they would probably be criticized for being superficial and redundant. One can see that the stimuli, the texture, and the fluctuations of the emotional impact of these lines are to be found in the musical emphases given to these words in the process of chanting.

Similar and yet different, the following song in the Pawnee ceremony affords us a glimpse into the intermediate stage between the oral song and the written poem:

Ho-o-o!  
 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tiráa;  
 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tiráa;  
 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tiráa;  
 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tiráa;  
 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tiráa;  
 Kakati chiri wakari pirau Tiráa.<sup>23</sup>

The power of this song is entirely dependent upon the incremental emotional

itches the performer gives it as he chants this line repeatedly six times. When this song was translated into English by Alice Cunningham Fletcher, she was faced with the difficulty of repeating the same line six times without boring the modern reader, and so she varied the lines in the following manner:

I know not if the voice of man can reach the sky;  
 I know not if the mighty one will hear as I pray;  
 I know not if the gifts I ask will all granted be;  
 I know not if the word of old we truly can hear;  
 I know not what will come to pass in our future days.  
 I hope that only good will come, my children, to you.<sup>24</sup>

Even with the variations, which are not really sanctioned, the translated song fails to exert the same power on us as the original was supposed to have on the Pawnees. This is so partly because we have been cut off from the cultural power, or the power of a universal communal belief that originally supported these lines.

Songs of this kind, as we have said, are born of a communal, tribal need either to exert power over some invisible life forces, or, by tapping the superhuman world, to supplicate for assistance to remove some unknown afflictions plaguing the tribe. Almost none of these songs display any explosion of individual emotion or soul-cry. These songs "happen" at different stages of a ritualistic attempt to communicate with the plant, the animal and the superhuman worlds, and, consequently, they emerge in various forms of expression.

A ritual, according to Victor W. Turner in his *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago, 1969), consists of briefly these stages:

1. Victim afflicted (individual or tribe)
2. Seclusion of victim from the profane world (Rite I)
3. Seclusion of victim from the secular world (Rite II)
4. Festive dance to celebrate removal of the shade's interdiction (dance songs)

In the first and second phases, invocations to different spirits to enlist help are made (e.g., African tribes often make invocations to a certain tree before cutting down the bark for medicine). These could come in the form of prayers, often incantatory in nature, or in the form of exorcive songs, often

choric in arrangement, or in a vein of blessing, involving such ritualistic movements as sprinkling water or medicine upon the victim. When the shade's interdiction is removed, ceremonial chants and festive dances would be performed as a gesture of thankfulness to the superhuman power. In the case of women's fecundity, lively uninhibited ribald songs, often in the form of Contest of Sexes (Turner, 55) would be allowed. They are absolutely high-spirited eroticism. Here are a few lines:

*Kamushindi ilomu*

I will rub your penis,  
*yowu iyayi, yowu iyayi!*

Mother, O mother!

*Mpang'a yeyi yobolong'a chalala*

Your swollen scrotum stimulates the vulva indeed  
*murtaku wakala nilomu dakola*

A strong vulva, and a strong penis,

*Kamana yowana neyi matahu,*  
*wuchi wawatowala sunji yakila*

How it tickles like grass! Copulation is like sweet honey.

*Ilomu yatwahandang'a*

The penis is making me strong

*Eyi welili neyi wayobolong'a, iwa mutong'a winzesumu*

You did something when you played with my vulva,

here is the basket to fill it.

(Turner, 55)

These lines, within their original context, had an absolutely innocent ring and should never be taken as pornography.

Intriguingly, we have almost no Chinese counterparts of similar early ritualistic forms of expression in the *Shih-ching*, not to mention the last-quoted example of outspoken eroticism.<sup>25</sup> Whether Confucius did or did not select these 300-odd songs, someone, possibly a Confucian, must have made some kind of screening. And how many literary documents had been destroyed by Ch'in Shih Huang's (221-206 B.C.) drive to burn all the books nobody can now ascertain. One thing is clear: Of the many great books of ancient China, few contain examples of ritualistic verses of the embryonic kind, except perhaps "The Nine Songs" in *Ch'u Tz'u*, if we approved the reconstructed sequence of ritualistic events by Wen I-to and others.<sup>26</sup> How many of the oracle bone inscriptions can be considered recorded ritualistic monologues and dialogues remains to be studied, although they contain a rich

reservoir of ritualistic material.<sup>27</sup> A quick survey of these inscriptions (supplications for rain, supplications for successful hunting etc.) often reveals the following three-part structure: (1) subject or theme of supplication, (2) actual supplication, and (3) verification, as, for instance, this example:

1. The day *keng-tzu*: Pu-cheng divines: Second day, day of *hsin-chou*: shining?
2. Divines: Second day, day of *hsin-chou*: not shining?
3. Judgment: To-night, rain. To-morrow, shine.
4. That night: granted rain. *Hsin-chou* day: shine.<sup>28</sup>

Strictly speaking, only the actual supplication, "Shine?" "Not shine?" given in interrogative forms can be said to resemble the simple embryonic ritualistic expressions.<sup>29</sup>

A better way to approach the question of orality of the *Shih-ching* poems is not to measure them against a static model of the embryonic song, but to locate them between a whole spectrum of oral lyrics (ranging from a simple outburst to a full-scale choric drama, including performable narratives like emergence songs<sup>30</sup>) and the written poems by artistic poets. What might have happened is this: As the simple ritualistic songs developed, the incantatory repetitions and formulaic expressions, through a process of thinning down or modification, slowly became more formalized, dictated partly by the demands of music and dance movements, partly by the growing complexity of the institutionalization of these tribal societies. In this process, stanzaic divisions emerged. When all this happened, the simple, improvisational quality of oral songs gave place to a form of artistic sophistication that is characteristic of artistic poets. In these poems, we still find traces of oral and primitive poetry, both in expressive formulation and content, but they are no longer oral or primitive poetry in the sense Bowra describes it.

The songs from the *Shih-ching* could be said to have developed beyond the intermediate stage. They have retained most of the characteristic of oral, folk poetry. From line to stanza to the buildup of stanzas: elementary procedures of reduplications, repetitions, variations and symmetry; within the poem, ready-made phrases, borrowed lines and even stanzas, stock images and situations; thematically, instead of individualistic sentiments, we find communal events presented in an impersonal manner showing little or no soul-cry of the ego, no deliberate, premeditated threads of development such as those we find in sophisticated poetry.

Take the first song from the *Shih-ching* "*Kuan-kuan*, the Ospreys" and compare it to the "Song of Wild Ginger" of the Semang:

Song of the Wild Ginger

The stems bend as the leaves shoot up  
 The leaf-stems sway to and fro  
 To and fro they sway in divers ways  
 We rub them and they lose all their stiffness  
 On Mount Inas they are blown about  
 On Mount Inas, which is our home  
 Blown about by the light breeze  
 Blown about is the fog, blown about is the haze  
 Blown about are the young shoots  
 Blown about in the haze of the hills  
 Blown about by the light breeze  
 It nods upon the hills  
 It nods upon the hills of Inas  
 Hills of Beching, hills of Siong  
 Hills of Malar, hills of Kuwi  
 Hills of Manton, hills of Lumu  
 Upon every mountain is our home. (Bowra, 71)

*Kuan-kuan*, the ospreys  
 On the river's isle.  
 Delicate, a good girl:  
 A gentleman's fit mate.

Long and short, duck weeds.  
 Fetch some — left and right.  
 Delicate, a good girl.  
 Waking, sleeping: seek her.

To seek her and possess not —  
 Waking, sleeping: think of her.  
 So distant, so deep:  
 Toss and turn in bed.

Long and short, duck weeds.  
 Pluck some — left and right,  
 Delicate, a good girl:  
 With music to befriend her.

Long and short, duck weeds.  
 Pick some — left and right.  
 Delicate, a good girl:  
 With bells and drums to meet her. (No. 1)

In both poems, repetitions and connectives are used to join and advance the poem; this is characteristic of extemporaneous oral poetry. Both proceed in a simple and direct manner, but the degree of artistic manipulation in the *Shih-ching* example is much greater than that in the Semang song. In the latter, repetitions functioning as connectives are spontaneous and lack obvious signs of design. One line picks up either the beginning or the ending of the previous line with slight but easy variations. This is typical of most oral, formulaic compositions. The *Shih-ching*, however, still retaining similar repetitive function, is more formalized; special care is given to the making of stanzaic divisions (even though in the original they are not laid out spatially as such), and contrapunctual correspondences, done so apparently to keep pace with the rhythmic design of the accompanying music. In other words, the workmanship upon a distinctively oral material is obvious in the *Shih-ching*. Hence, we can only talk about the degree of orality of these poems and cannot take these poems as paramount examples of folk songs as such. However, to proclaim flatly that these poems were not folk songs like Chu Tung-jun is to miss the historicity of the formative and compositional reality of these poems. It is exactly the concern of this formative and compositional reality that has brought an earlier commentator of these poems, Ku Chieh-kang, to conclude that the stanzaic structures of these songs must be the result of the expansion of an originally simple folk song. Ku's example is instructive. Let us lay out the poem in word-for-word annotations with archaic pronunciations reconstructed according to Kalgren.

月	出	皎	兮
ngiwāt	t̄iwat	kiog	rieg
moon	rise	bright	<i>expletive</i>
佼	人	僚	兮
kǒg	n̄jēn	liog	rieg
beautiful	person	good-looking	<i>expletive</i>

舒 sio release	竊 iog knotted-feelings	糾 kiög grievous	兮 rieg <i>expletive</i>
勞 log effort	心 siam heart	悄 tsiog grievous	兮 rieg <i>expletive</i>
月 ngiwät moon	出 fiwat rise	皓 kög white-bright	兮 rieg <i>expletive</i>
倏 kög beautiful	人 niën person	憐 liög good	兮 rieg <i>expletive</i>
舒 sio release	懷 iog possessed	受 diög grief	兮 rieg <i>expletive</i>
勞 log effort	心 siam heart	慟 tsög sorrowful	兮 rieg <i>expletive</i>
月 ngiwät moon	出 fiwat rise	照 fiog shining	兮 rieg <i>expletive</i>
倏 kög beautiful	人 niën person	燦 liog brilliant	兮 rieg <i>expletive</i>
舒 sio release	天 iög seizing-sorrowful-desire	緇 diög	兮 rieg <i>expletive</i>
勞 log effort	心 siam heart	慘 ts'am unrest	兮 rieg <i>expletive</i>

Ku argues that the words 皎 (*kiog*, bright), 皓 (*kôg*, white) and 照 (*t̄iog*, shining) or 僚 (*liog*, good-looking), 憫 (*l̄iôg*, good) and 燦 (*l̄iog*, brilliant), etc., are different only phonetically; their meanings remain essentially the same. They were introduced for variations occasioned by the demands of musical compositions. One of the tropes or stanzas was perhaps the original song as existed in its oral status.<sup>31</sup> While this argument does not always apply to the other poems in the *Shih-ching* (e.g., the first song discussed earlier), it affirms one fact: These songs had been worked over, sometimes with meticulous care, by poet-musicians whose sophistication belied the extemporaneous quality of the embryonic poem.

## IV

Almost all the readers of the *Shih-ching*, Chinese and Westerners alike, would be struck by the intriguingly rich use of paratactical structures in many of these poems. This paratactical presentation, normally occurring in the first two couplets of each stanza, has been designated by traditional Chinese critics as the *hsing*-mode which offers an indeterminate relation between scene and theme, image and idea, environment and event. Here are some examples:

*Kuan-kuan*, the ospreys.  
On the river's isle.  
Delicate, a good girl,  
A gentleman's fit mate (No. 1)

In the wilds, creeping weeds  
Dabbled with heavy dew.  
There is a beautiful person  
With clear eyes beaming.  
No planning, we meet.  
To my heart's desire, so fit. (No. 94)

By the swamp's brim,  
Reeds and lotus grow.  
There is a beautiful person.  
Woe! woe! How to tell?  
Walking, sleeping, doing nothing,  
And tears flood, tears flow. (No. 145)

Swallows, swallows they fly.

Uneven stir their wings.  
 A good girl is going home.  
 We see her to the plains.  
 Until far beyond our ken.  
 Tears, tears drip like rains. (No. 28)

Floating, a cypress boat  
 In the midst of the river.  
 Two locks hang over the brow —  
 Truly my companion!  
 Till death no other lover!  
 O mother O heaven!  
 How not to believe this man! (No. 45)

One seems to feel that there is some thematic link between, say, the ospreys' cry and the consort between the gentleman and the girl, and yet, the unstated relation and, in some cases, the obvious lack of any relation, gives us a flash of interest not easily explainable by the mental habits of intellectually oriented poets. Can we say, for instance, that the activities of the ospreys are symbolic of those of the gentleman and the girl about to join hands in the marriage? Perhaps, but what about the case of the dew-dabbled weeds and the beautiful person? If analogy were *intended*, in what way did the scenery (dew-dabbled weeds, in one case, and waterside reeds and lotus in the other), prepare for two different types of emotional situations (elation and sorrow)? Can we say the uneven flight of the swallows suggests the curve of emotion of the good girl's departure, and the somewhat unstable cypress boat floating in the middle of the river, associations of the uncertainties of the love in question? Perhaps, but when we understand the spontaneous way in which image and ideas are joined in oral compositions, symbolism or *intended* symbolism of the kind that we find in sophisticated poets is possible, but not frequent. This indeterminate paratactical relationship has greatly troubled traditional commentators. Many definitions have been advanced, calling it *pi* when the comparison is obvious and *hsing* when it is hidden as if their operative dynamics are nothing more than the distinction between simile and metaphor. A truer sketch of this perceptual reality should be projected into the wider mental horizon of the early peoples as revealed in primitive and tribal poetries.

It seems that the early people, still maintaining their natural measure with things, tend to view things in their directness and concreteness, focusing

on the thingness of things, believing in their innate completeness. This life-harmony with nature in which everything they see is related in one way or another to their life and in which there is a continuous affinity among one another, provides for a unique consort, a subterranean relationship, as we might so call it, between and among the human, the natural and the superhuman realms of activities. These early people notice the immediate environment around them, select an object, without too much deliberation, whose features account most directly for what they see or feel. An Australian song (entire poem) consists of only these prominent concrete details:

Windmill turning turning goes rrr. . . rrr. . .<sup>32</sup>

And a Paiute Ghost Dance song gives us only the surface manifestations of a dynamic process:

Fog! Fog!  
Lightning! Lightning!  
Whirlwind! Whirlwind!<sup>33</sup>

And when they are expressing the emotive side of an experience, they instinctively seize upon the most immanent aspect of their predicament and give it forth in its most direct and naked form, often unexplained. An invocation made by a Vedda to his ancestor contains only these words:

My departed one, my departed one, my god!  
Where are thou wandering?<sup>34</sup>

As C. M. Bowra aptly observed, "Nothing is said of the purpose . . . the notion of help. . . the words are a summon crouched in affection, need and anxiety, that is all that matters."<sup>35</sup> This heightening and sharpening of the stimulus of an emotion or an object by an unpremeditated assertion of a condition instinct with it — no cluttering of analytical exposition nor discussion of an emotion or state, such as a sophisticated artist would do — remains to be an essential quality with which we describe a lyric.

Directness, concreteness and concentration characterize most of the short embryonic poems. Here is a South African Zulu love song:

I walk alone.<sup>36</sup>

Of all the possible emotional surges and fluctuations we are given *in one line* the apex in a concrete dramatic episode that most suggests them. Similar method of abbreviation (that is, using a suggestive instant to cover the entire spectrum of the situation) can be found in some simple songs in the *Shih-ching* (provided we believed with Ku Chieh-kang that one of the three tropes must be the original song in its oral status):

She who picks dolichos —  
One day without seeing her  
Is like three months!

She who picks artemesia —  
One day without seeing her  
Is like three autumns!

She who picks wormwood —  
One day without seeing her  
Is like three years!

(No. 72)

Those thriving reeds!  
One shot, five boars!  
Wow! What a Chou-yü!

Those thriving reeds!  
One shot, three hogs!  
Wow! What a Chou-yü!

(No. 25)

In many of these early poems we find not only concentration of action into one suggestive or luminous moment, but also a leap across detailed linear progression, an abbreviation of the context of a big event into absolute essentials, such as these old war songs from the Tuareg of Africa and the Sioux Indians:

1. I shoulder my sword,  
Spears pierce.  
The brave fall.  
Mothers wail.<sup>37</sup>

(Tuareg)

2. Soldiers  
You fled  
Even the eagle dies.<sup>38</sup>

(Sioux)

Or, as in this legendary ancient Chinese poem 古彈歌,<sup>39</sup> there is the attempt to arrest the immediate and main features of an experience:

斷竹	(break/bamboo)
續竹	(join/bamboos — i.e. to make a bow)
飛土	(fly or fling/earth-clods)
逐宍	(chase/flesh — abbreviated for chasing animals away from eating the flesh of dead parents' corpses).

In the above cases, three or four phases of an event are captured in four verbal equivalents that embrace between them a larger chord of experience. In the hands of a sophisticated epic or narrative poet, these phases (such as the Tuareg War Song) could be expanded into poems of substantial length, providing background details, rationalizations of the motivations of actions and amplification of the emotional apexes that are implicit between the lines. Compare the original anonymous folk *Yüeh-fu* (song-ballads collected by the Music Bureau of the Han Dynasty) of "Lord, don't cross the river" with Li Po's literary *Yüeh-fu* of the same title, the difference is obvious:

公無渡河	Lord/no/cross/river
公竟渡河	Lord/did after all/cross/river
墮河而死	Fall into/river/and/die
當奈公何	Alas! What can I do or say?

Li Po's *yüeh-fu* of the same title runs:

黃河西來決崑崙	The eastward Yellow River burst open Mount K'un-lun
咆哮萬里觸龍門	Roaring a million miles butting Dragon Gate.
波滔天	Waves struck at the sky.
堯咨嗟	Emperor Yao grieved and sighed.
大禹理百川	Grand Yü, to regulate the hundred rivers,
兒啼不窺家	His children crying, would bypass his own house.
殺湍堙洪水	Torrents and the flood contained,
九州始蠶麻	Entire earth then resplendent with mulberry and hemp
其害乃去	And catastrophe ended.
茫然風沙	In boundless windblown sand,
披髮之叟狂而癡	A dishevelled old man, wild and mad,

清晨徑流欲奚爲？	Came to the river: what is he going to do?
旁人不惜妻止之，	Others cared not; his wife tried to stop him.
公無渡河苦渡之。	“Lord, don’t cross”; he did, to his misery.
虎可搏，	Tigers you can fight.
河難馮，	Rivers are hard to wade.
公果溺死流海湄。	Lord ended up drowned in the river.
有長鯨白齒若雪山，	A huge whale at the sea, White teeth like snow-peaks,
公乎公乎挂胃於其間	Lord O Lord caught in them.
筮篋所悲竟不還。	The ancient lute mourned: O O no return!

Li Po provides the occasion, descriptions of the legendary and historical background of an actual occurrence, commentary and consequences of the originally abbreviated song of essentials.

These early anonymous poets phase out experience so as to let it stand out prominently as if by this spatial mimesis we can better relive the moment. Take for instance, these three Kunapipi songs:

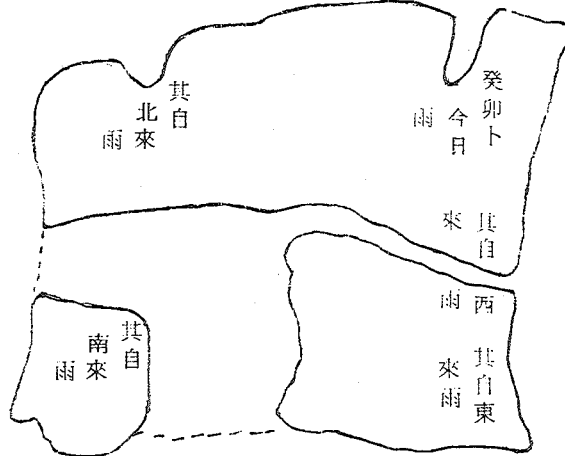
- |                              |                                                           |                                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1. kanggarara<br>fire        | diji: nbili: nbili<br>flame                               | kanggarara<br>fire                          |
|                              | diju: ndju: nlagu<br>ashes                                |                                             |
| 2. go: ngwanduwandu<br>flame | djeiamili<br>the flare                                    | reidji: gai'gandi: nja<br>sparks flying out |
| 3. kanggarara<br>fire        | reidji: gai'gandi: nja <sup>40</sup><br>sparks flying out | furawanduwandu<br>singeing hair             |

In a similar vein, spatial awareness is re-enacted in the Chinese piece from the oracle bone inscriptions:

On *kuei-mao*, to divine  
 Today: rains.  
 Rains, from the west?  
 Rains, from the east?

Rains, from the north?  
Rains, from the south?

The original appearances of this piece was spatially laid out as follows:<sup>41</sup>



A proverbial folk *yüeh-fu*, "South of the Yangtze," written in a similar format, gains dramatic spatial expansion by naively yet concretely observing the directional phases of the fish's activities:

江南可採蓮，	South of the river: to pluck lotus.
蓮葉何田田。	Lotus-leaves drift, drift.
魚戲蓮葉間。	Fish sport, midst of lotus-leaves.
魚戲蓮葉東，	Fish sport, east of lotus-leaves.
魚戲蓮葉西，	Fish sport, west of lotus-leaves.
魚戲蓮葉南，	Fish sport, south of lotus-leaves.
魚戲蓮葉北。	Fish sport, north of lotus-leaves.

Abbreviation, condensation and concrete visualization seem to characterize much of the imaginative dynamics of the early people. This embryonic activity can also be found in other oracle bone inscriptions: For example this cryptic lines: 乙卯允酒明霍 (霧) "I-mao (day)/sanction/wine/Bright (ness)/Fog." In which 明 (bright-ness) indicates both the time around dawn and the state of being, and fog, the environment and weather condition of the day. The lack of explanatory connectives that specify the occasion and the relation between these conditions is typical of the kind of indeterminate and

yet comprehensive form of recording experience of early people. Here is an example of extreme condensation: 我舞雨 (I/dance/rain). This must not be read as "I dance in the rain." Dancing and raining are two separate activities happening simultaneously and yet they are one because it is the ritualistic dance that brings in the good grace of rain from the superhuman world, the communion between man and nature.

The above exposition of this paratactical presentation does not imply to say, however, that narrative connections are not part of the expressive phenomenon of these early people. On the contrary, large paragraphs of narrative procedures are often employed, for instance, in emergence songs. What is being done here is to affirm a unique aspect of this primitive imagination common to all peoples of the first harmony. This mental horizon has been well used by certain poets attempting to revive a second harmony and has helped to shape and condition poets of certain cultures, Chinese among them, not to go over-board to get spent by indulging in excessive analytical exposition.

The art of attention of the early people being such, it is necessary for us to return to the question of correspondences and connections they make between scene and theme, image and idea, environment and event. Chuang Tzu, once described the consciousness of the ancient people as follows:

At first, they did not know that there were things. This is the most perfect knowledge; nothing can be added. Next, they knew that there were things, but they did not yet make distinctions between them. Next they made distinctions between them, but they did not yet pass judgements upon them. When judgements were passed, Tao was destroyed.<sup>42</sup>

In another passage, this consciousness is described as the free-flow correspondence with the world of objects, in a sort of cooperative design.

The people have their constant instinctive nature: to weave for clothing, to till the field for food. This is their shared virtue, one, total, undivided and is called the Free Flow of Nature. Therefore, in a time of perfect virtue, people move slowly, their gaze one-minded. In such a time, mountains have no paths, lakes no boats or bridges. A million things emerge simultaneously, one region joining another in a continuum. Birds flock, animals herd; grass and trees flourish. You can tie a cord to birds and animals

to lead them along or climb up and peer over the nests of crows and magpies. In this age of perfect virtue, men live co-extensively with birds and animals, group side by side with a million thing.<sup>43</sup>

To say that all ancient people have such a consciousness would be overstating the case, but it is true, proven by anthropological discoveries, that on the whole they were more tuned in with the things around them and they were more ready to receive the appeal of their beings and see correspondences between and among them without any hesitation or doubt, such as those entertained by post-Socratic Western men. It was relatively easy for the early people to associate with them as if for every object there existed its appointed relationship. An Eskimo would ask that we tune in with the cosmic energy:

Day arises  
From its sleep.  
Day wakes up  
With the dawning light.  
Also you must arise,  
Also you must awake  
Together with the day which comes.<sup>44</sup>

Either nature or man is part and parcel of the same process.

In a Snuqualmi love song, the singer finds the sunrise an adequate object through which she or he expresses her or his love:

It rises the sun I think of my love  
It rises the sun I think of my love *ade*  
my love *ade*<sup>45</sup>

One can argue here that the texture of the emotion must have been projected into this one bare object through musical (or vocal) and dance (gestural) emphases. True, but there is little doubt also that the sun here, without any deliberate manipulation of symbolism, embraces all that the singer wants to express. Such a trust in the elemental power of the natural objects and in the total awareness of the full associations of these objects made possible by the communal sense of togetherness, allows them to reach out for familiar objects around them and establish correspondences and connections (to us hidden and subdued as it were) with surprising appropriateness. Let us look closely

at a love song from Africa:

The sky darkens with the deep blue of Guinea-cloth.  
 The mist drops a dew of fresh milk;  
 The hyena roars, the Elder of the Brush (Lion) answers. . .  
 It is time when it is good to be with a light-skinned lover,  
 whispering.<sup>46</sup>

Is the choice of *sky/mist* and *deep-blue/fresh milk* from the natural world intended symbolism of the human relationship? Does the roar and answer between hyena and lion mean to contrast and so to enhance the loveliness of the subdued correspondences between the lovers? How does the atmospheric aspects of nature — the color-play of “mist-against-sky” and “dew-white-against-blue-cloth” bring out the charm of the “light-skinned lover”? These questions are here asked from the viewpoint of a sophisticated mode of reading modern poetry, particularly that of the Imagist school — such as the way the New Critics would read much of the poetry of both ancient and modern times. It is important to realize that the anonymous poet of this poem did all this without any *tour-de-force*, using little or no intellectual deliberation of balancing image and idea, of building up a suggestive complex as most modern poets would do. He simply used the objects most directly related to his life and experience and arrested the prominent features that he instinctively connected to his personal situation.

A similar creative activity is found in this Chinese folksong from the Southern *yüeh-fu*:

開門白水	Open door: white water.
側近橋梁	Upon it a bridge is laid.
小姑所居	Little Miss lives alone.
獨處無郎	Alone without a mate.

This is light emerging out of darkness followed by possible connection suggested by a bridge when such prospect is undercut by the fact that the little Miss is without a mate: the natural belies the human condition. Again, these interesting points of interplay in contrapuntual and paratactical relations are achieved relatively easy. There is no manipulation of conceits, that is, no elaborate metaphors of the Metaphysical and Symbolist side of modern poetry.

Returning to the first song in the *Shih-ching*, “*Kuan-kuan*, the Ospreys,”

the correspondence between the ospreys answering one another on the river's isle and the good girl being fit mate of a gentleman has the same flash of interest of the African song, deriving its source of power by responding, with an act of faith, to the objects in the immediate environment in which the poet finds himself. Similarly, to ask whether and how the "dew-dabbled weeds" are symbolic of the "clear-eyed beaming beauty" would miss the point totally. If there is symbolism, it is incidental and not deliberate; it is on the level of spontaneous connections and correspondences. The wilds where the singer found the dew-dabbled weeds must have been a familiar meeting place of young men and women. Scene and theme, image and idea, environment and event are juxtaposed not in terms of one being the metaphor of another, but rather as simultaneous presences, environment and event both being concrete parts of their total experience. Again, if some metaphorical function should arise from this juxtaposition, it is achieved instinctively rather than worked out with any conscious manipulation.

At this juncture, it would be interesting to recapitulate a few native views this mode of by recent commentators:

Chu Tzu-ch'ing:

The psychology of the early man is simple. It does not rely on links of intellectual thought, but on sensory links. The *hsing* lines often have no connection with the meaning of the lines that follow, i.e., without any logical links; they are joined phonetically by rhymes.<sup>47</sup>

Liu Ta-pai:

Briefly, the *hsing* - mode is a manner of beginning a poem by way of the poet's sensory contact (color, sight, smell, taste, touch) with things. . . . In other words, the poet uses the things he happens to encounter through his senses to start a poem. This beginning may have some sort of correspondence with the rest of the poem and it may not have any at all.<sup>48</sup>

Hsü Fu-kuan:

The relation between the objects started by the *hsing*-mode and the poem's theme is not linked together through logic the way the *pi*-mode operates, but directly joined by emotion. Or rather we should say they are "infected by a sort of immersion". . . by which an atmosphere, a mood, a

rhythmic sense, a color-play is formed. . . without any definable meaning. . . the *hsing*-mode of expression is a sort of strike-and-spark.<sup>49</sup>

In spite of their illuminating observations of this embryonic imaginative activity, Chu, Liu and Hsü, each in his own way, seems to be overburdened by the emotionalist theory of poetry. They have perhaps overstated the anti-logical vein of this mental horizon and have missed the wider circumference and meaning of this compositional reality. For the early man, it seems that his full sentient being had never been divided, differentiated and parceled out into individually isolated and sophisticated relations with his environment. He lived, as it were, with all his senses coordinated (i.e., with both what we call intuitive and intellectual senses unseparated) in a sort of simultaneous and continuous intercourse with all the beings around him, as if they were literary extensions of his own organism. It is this sense of totalism that has made it possible for him to come to the objects concretely which at once point directly to themselves as objects closely related to his life environment and yield spontaneously an aura of intimate relationships and correspondences without any deliberate effort. It is only after we have grasped this perspective of totalism that the conclusions of Chu, Liu and Hsü can become meaningful.

## Notes

1. *Shang-shu t'ung-chien* 尚書 (Shanghai, 1925), Chüan 1, p. 96. 詩言志，歌永言，聲依永，律和聲，八音克諧，無相奪倫，神人以和。夔曰：於！予擊石拊石，百獸率舞。
2. C. M. Bowra, *Primitive Song* (London, 1962), pp. 262-3.
3. Bowra, p. 268.
4. Willard R. Trask, ed., *The Unwritten Song* (London, 1966), I, 66.
5. E. G. Burrows, *Flowers in My Ear: Arts and Ethos of Ifaluk Atoll* (Seattle, 1963), p. 7.
6. Peter H. Buck, *Ethnology of Mangareva* (Honolulu, 1938), p. 396.
7. Lord Hailey, ed., *An African Survey* (London, 1957), p. 67.
8. Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (127-200), ed., *Mao-shih chu-shu* 毛詩註疏 with subcommentary by K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達 in *Shih-san Ching chu-shu* 十三經註疏 (Nanching, 1815), 1. 5a-b. 詩者，志之所之也，在心爲志，發言爲詩，情動於中而形於言，言之不足故嗟嘆之，嗟嘆之不足故永歌之，永歌之不足，不知手之舞之足之蹈之也。
9. Chen Shih-hsiang, "The Shih-ching: Its Generic Significance in Chinese Literary History and Poetics," in *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*, ed. Cyril Birch (Berkeley, 1974), p. 15.

10. Chen, see Birch, pp. 23-4.
11. Chow Tse-tung has, for instance, illuminated us, in an essay in the forthcoming issue of *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, with the analysis of the word *sung* (頌), a word used to designate one of the three major categories in the *Shih-ching*. *Sung* 頌, according to Chow, consists of the picture of a man holding a ritualistic vessel in the process of a dance.
12. Marcel Granet, *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China* [Tr. from the French by E.D. Edwards] (London, 1932); Sun Cho-yün 孫作雲, "Shih-ching lien-ko fa-wei" 詩經戀歌發微, *Wen-hsüeh i-ch'an tseng-k'an* 文學遺產增刊 (Peking, 1957), V, 1-24.
13. The translation is Arthur Waley's. See *Book of Songs* (London, 1937), p. 229. 清廟之升, "我將."
14. Waley, p. 175. 鹿鳴之升, "天保."
15. Waley, p. 221. 北風 13, "簡兮"
16. Waley, p. 89. 王風 3, "君子陽陽."
17. Waley, p. 227. 清風之升, "維清."
18. Fang Yü-jun 方玉潤, *Shih-ching yuan-shih* 詩經原始, rpt. in *Yün-nan ts'ung-shu* 雲南叢書 (Taipei, 1950).
19. Chu Tung-jun 朱東潤, "Kuo-feng ch'u-yü min-chien Lun chih-i" 國風出於民間論質疑, *Wu-han ta-hsüeh wen che chi-k'an* 武漢大學文哲季刊, 5, No. 1 (Nov. 1935), 99-151.
20. Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里, "Lun Kuo-feng fei min-chien ko-yao pen-lai mien-mu" 論國風非民間歌謠本來面目, *Chung-yang yen-chü-yüan Li-shih yü-yen yen-chü-so chi-k'an* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, 34(Feb. 1963), 477-504. This essay is also collected in Ch'ü Wan-li's *Shu-yung lung-hsüeh chi* 書傭論學集 (Taipei, 1963).
21. Wang, p. x and pp. 46-47.
22. Granet, pp. 207-8, 209-10.
23. A Grove Day, *A Sky Clears* (Lincoln, Nov., 1964), p. 25.
24. Day, p. 25.
25. The "Airs of Cheng" have an echo with this eroticism, but they have been hooded with all kinds of moralistic and political interpretations, and hence the authentic voices of these songs have been masked.
26. See Wen I-to 聞一多, "Chiu ko' ku ko-wu-chü hsüan chieh" 九歌古歌舞劇懸解, *Wen I-to ch'uan-chi* 聞一多全集 (Shanghai, 1948), I, 305-34.
27. For example, in the ritual for rain, many graphs we find in the oracle bone inscriptions show a close relationship between rain and dance, between prayer to the mountains and rain, between rain and the burning of firewoods or shamans. See Chapter on rain-ritual in Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家, *Yün hsü pu-tz'u tsung shu* 殷墟卜辭綜述 (Peking, 1956).
28. (1) 庚子卜貞羽辛丑罔 ?  
(2) 貞羽辛丑不其罔 ?  
(3) 王固曰：今夕其雨 ? 羽辛丑罔 ?  
(4) 之夕允雨，辛丑罔 ?
29. We suspect that in the actual rituals the shaman divining with the oracle bones must have made all kinds of utterances resembling those we have seen in other tribal rituals. Among the numerous inscriptions available, there are many long recorded passages in the form of questions and answers, but we are not certain whether they were all from *one* ritualistic event, and whether they were recorded in the correct

- sequential order. We certainly do not want to rule out the possibility of these passages being authentic records of ritualistic utterances, but at this stage, before the occasion and the condition as well as the procedures of the recording process are made fully clear, we cannot use them as solid evidence with which we can compare with the choric arrangement of ritualistic events of other tribal societies.
30. Emergence songs are songs of creation re-told or re-enacted before other tribesmen; they normally recount the history of how the world has come to be what it is. Ch'ü Yüan's "Heavens: Questions" 天問, which contains mostly questions half-speculating, half-affirming the origins of this earth, could have developed from a tribal emergence song.
  31. Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛, *Ku Shih Pien* 古史辨 (rpt., Hong Kong, 1963), III, 616-17.
  32. Trask, I, 243.
  33. J. Bierhorst, ed., *In the Trail of the Wind, American Indian Poems and Ritual Orations* (New York, 1971), p. 172.
  34. Bowra, p. 267.
  35. Ibid.
  36. Trask, I, 80.
  37. Trask, I, 132.
  38. Bierhorst, p. 63.
  39. Though believed to be written by later poet, it still points toward the fact that a similar structure must have existed at some earlier stage.
  40. Jerome Rothenberg, ed., *Technicians of the Sacred* (New York, 1968), p. 364.
  41. Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若, *Pu-Tzu t'ung-ts'uan*, 卜辭通纂 (Shanghai, 1931), No. 375, p. 77.
  42. Kuo Ch'ing-fan 郭慶藩, ed., *Chuang-tzu chih-shih* 莊子集釋 (Taipei, 1974), p. 74.
  43. *Chuang-tzu Chih-shih*, p. 334-6. This passage, believed to be written by later Taoists, is fully in keeping with Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu's teachings.
  44. Trask, I, 3.
  45. Trask, II, 220.
  46. Trask, I, 41.
  47. *Ku Shih Pien*, III, 684.
  48. *Ku Shih Pien*, III, 686.
  49. Hsü Fu-kuan 徐復觀, *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh lun-chi* 中國文學論集 (Taipei, 1974), p. 100.

