Some Minor Insights from Reading the Anhui University Warring States Bamboo Slips of the Classic of Poetry

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Abstract

This article discusses three topics. First, it discusses the line “I could not fill my slanting basket” 不盈頃筐 in the poem “Juan er” 卷耳. The Anhui University Bamboo Slip version’s qing 頃 (slanting) is written 倾. This, as with the Chu Silk Manuscript character, should be explained as qi 傾 (lopsided). Second, regarding the line “Do you not understand me?” 不諒人只 in the poem “Bai zhou” 柏舟 of the Yong Airs 鄉風 section, the Anhui University Bamboo Slip version of liang 諒 (understanding) is written 强. This character should be understood as 强 in the sense of “coerce/force”. In the line “Supporting King Wu” 涼彼武王 in the poem “Da ming” 大明 of the Major Elegantiae 大雅, liang 涼 is similarly explained as 强 in the sense of “coerce” 威強. These two characters have always been traditionally glossed as either “trust” 信 or “assist” 佐. Third, regarding the line “… it cannot be recited” 不可讀也 of the poem “Qiang you ci” 牆有茨, du 讀 (reciting) in the Han Poetry 韓詩 is glossed in the sense of “record and narrate” 記述, which is superior to the traditional gloss.

Keywords

摘要

本文討論者凡三事，一論〈卷耳〉「不盈頃筐」，安大竹簡本「頃」字作「□」，此與楚帛書「□」字，並當釋為「欹」字。其二，《鄘風·柏舟》「不諒人只」，安大竹簡本「諒」字作「京」，此字應訓為「強」，為「強迫」之意；《大雅·大明》「涼彼武王」，「涼」字同訓「強」，為「威強」之意。此二字歷來舊解，一訓為「信」，一訓為「佐」，胥失其旨。其三，〈牆有茨〉「不可讀也」，「讀」字《韓詩》作「牘」，解為「記述」之意，此較舊解義長。

關鍵詞

安大竹簡本《詩經》、〈卷耳〉、《鄘風·柏舟》、〈牆有茨〉

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In 2017, Professor Huang Dekuan 黃德寬 published “Anhui daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian gaishu” 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡概述 (Summary of the Anhui University Warring States Bamboo Slips) in Wenwu 文物. The article mentioned that in the spring of 2015, among Anhui University’s collection of Warring States bamboo slips, there was the Classic of Poetry in 97 slips. The ordering of the poems is not exactly the same as the Airs of the States in the Mao Poetry. The order of the airs and poems also displays some differences vis-à-vis the received Poetry in the number of poems. To our knowledge, this Classic of Poetry is the earliest version and academia has long awaited its publication. Between autumn and winter of last year, it was published in Shanghai, so I visited my Aunt Su 蘇 to borrow it from my dear friends to read for a few days. Early in the following year, I borrowed it once more from my friend, Professor Yen Shih-hsuan 颜世鉉 and read it. Though the candlelight was dim, I could still make out some of it. At present, I have selected three points to slightly rectify in order to inspire critical discussion among the masters of the Major Elegantiae. 08/04/2020

1 “Juan er” 卷耳—“I could not fill my slanting basket” 不盈頃筐

In “Juan er” 卷耳 in the Zhou Nan 周南, the first stanza reads:

采采卷耳，不盈頃筐。嗟我懷人，寘彼周行。2

2 Mao Shi zhushu 毛詩注疏 (Nanchang: Nanchang xuefu, 1815/1816), ch. 1 (2), 7.
Gathering the cockleburs, I could not fill my slanting basket. Sighing for he whom I hold [dear], I placed it there on the main road.

Regarding the line 不盈頃筐, the Mao Commentary 毛傳 states: “The 'slanting basket' is of the ben 簋 (wicker) type, an easily fillable vessel.” Lu Deming’s 陸德明 (556–627) Jingdian shiwen 經典釋文 (Explanation of Words in the Classics) states:

_Qing_ 傾 is pronounced qing 傾. The fanqie pronunciation of _kuang_ 筐 is _qi_ 起 and _kuang_ 狂. The Mao Commentary reads: “A slanting basket is of the wicker/woven type.” The Han Poetry 韓詩 reads: “A slanting basket is a slanting basket欹筐.”

According to this, in both the Mao Poetry 毛詩 and Han Poetry 韓詩, this text is written as “slanting basket” 傾筐. The Anhui University Warring States Bamboo Slips version of the Classic of Poetry (hereafter abbreviated as Anda Shijing) 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡 (一) contains this poem. This line is written 不騰筐. The editors claimed that 筐 is a variant of 傾, explaining:

Regarding the character 筐, the slip text is written 傾. Compared with the Chu Silk Manuscript’s 傾, should be taken as the same character. With signific 矢 and 血, it is a variant of 傾. The Shuowen jiezi’s 說文解字 (Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Characters) 矢 heading has: “矢 is the head component of 傾.” The 人 heading has: “傾 is _ze_ 仄 (narrow/tilted),” while the 厂 heading gives: “仄 is ‘inclining to one side’ 側傾.” 傾 and 仄 are mutual glosses, therefore 傾 uses the signific 矢 to indicate the meaning of 傾. Regarding 血, which is the base for 筐, it is probably a simplification of _yi_ 益. 4 In Old Chinese pronunciation, _yi_ 益 and _qing_ 傾 were similar, therefore 筐 can have _血_ (益) as its phonetic. 5 Regarding “Into my slanted basket I gathered them” 傾筐塈之 in the Poetry, in the Shao Nan 召南, the manuscript version of 傾 is 傾筐, which can be written 傾 in clerical script with the signific 是 and phonetic 血 (益). 傾 could also be a miswriting of 筐. 6

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3 Lu Deming 陸德明, Jingdian shiwen 經典釋文 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1985), ch. 5, 3.
4 Zhu Dexi 朱德熙, “Changsha boshu kaoshi (Wu pian)” 長沙帛書考釋 (五篇), In Zhu Dexi guwenzi lunji 朱德熙古文字論集 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1995), 203–205.
5 Xu Zaiguo 徐在國 and Guan Shuqiang 管樹強, “Chu boshu ‘qing’ zi bushuo” 楚帛書‘傾’字補說, Yuyan kexue 語言科學 2018.17 (3), 244–249.
The editors claim this 矽 character is the same as the two 矽 characters in the lines “the high mountains all collapsed” 山陵備 and “if it is not the case that the nine heavens greatly collapse ...” 非九天則大 in the Chu Silk Manuscript 楚帛書. This is correct. Regarding the Chu Silk Manuscript’s 矽 character, the explanations are not unanimous. According to Chu boshu gulin 楚帛書詁林 (Forest of explanations of the Chu Silk Manuscript), which collects various philological perspectives, Shang Chengzuo 商承祚 transcribed it as 矽, claiming it was the same as the character 侐, meaning “tranquil and quiet.” Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 agreed. Yan Yiping 嚴一萍 transcribed the character as 盛. Gao Ming 高明 then transcribed it as 嵒, explaining it as “range as in a mountain range.” Chen Banghuai 陳邦懷 transcribed 矽, claiming, “Signific 血, phonetic 夭; it is pronounced yao 妖.” He glosses it as wu 惡 in the sense of “to harm.” Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫 of Japan originally transcribed this character as 矽, saying it is similar to xu 即, and glossing it as you 憂 (anxious). He Linyi 何琳儀 also transcribed it as 矽, claiming “it is a variant of xu 侐,” understood as xu 即 in the sense of “destroyed.” Li Jiahao 劉信芳 also transcribed 矽, claiming it is a loan for chi 弛 in the sense of “collapse.” Lian Shaoming 連劭名 similarly transcribed it as 矽, claiming “it is read as ze 仄 (slanting),” “in the sense of being turned on its side.” Therefore, there is already a consensus in academia that this character is to be transcribed as 矽. Moreover, the meaning “collapsed/toppled,” “turned on its side,” or “slanting to one side” allows us to understand the meaning fully.

Recently, Wang Ning 王寧 wrote “Shi Chu boshu zhong de ‘qing’” 釋楚帛書中的‘傾’ (Interpreting 傾 in the Chu Silk Manuscript) and directly transcribed this character as qing 傾. Xu Zaiguo and Guan Shuqiang then wrote “Chu boshu ‘qing’ zi bushuo,” citing the Anda Shijing’s 傾 character in “Juan er” in order to prove his argument. The interpretation cited above is based on this. Their argument at first glance seems to be correct, but it is actually incorrect.

7 Xu Zaiguo 徐在國, ed., Chu boshu gulin 楚帛書詁林 (Hefei: Anhui daxue, 2010), 366–370. Apart from the arguments of these various experts, there are others who transcribe 矽, saying it is like the character fu 膚 (skin/shallow), or else they claim “it is read as bi 逼 (exhort).” These kinds of unconventional arguments are not worth mentioning and at present I do not draw upon them.

8 Wang Ning 王寧, “Shi Chu boshu zhong de ‘qing’” 释楚帛書中的‘傾’ (Interpreting 傾 in the Chu Silk Manuscript) and directly transcribed this character as qing 傾. Xu Zaiguo and Guan Shuqiang then wrote “Chu boshu ‘qing’ zi bushuo,” citing the Anda Shijing’s 傾 character in “Juan er” in order to prove his argument. The interpretation cited above is based on this. Their argument at first glance seems to be correct, but it is actually incorrect.
Compared to manuscript texts having the character 傾, it does not have the same structure as the character 倾. Among the Shuihudi Qin slips, in Qin lü shiba zhong 秦律十八種 (Eighteen Varieties of Qin Statutes), it is written 傾. In Wei li zhi dao 為吏之道 (The Way of Being an Official), it is written 傾, so the character is also different from these. Xu Jun 徐君 and others directly relied on the Mao Poetry to explain this character as 傾, but there is still some doubt about this.

Now in deliberating over this character, it should be transcribed as 斜, with 矢 as the signific. All the experts transcribe the right-hand component as 血, so that it has the structure of qi 斜 as in qi qi 斜器 (slanting vessel). According to Huilin’s慧琳 (fl. 810) Yiqiejing yinyi 一切經音義 (Sound and Meaning of All Sutras), the line on 自斜 in Chapter 90 states:

It is pronounced qi 斜. The Han Poetry states: “斜 is qing 傾 (slanting).” The Yupian 玉篇 (Jade Volume) states: “斜 is ce 傾 (on its side). It has signific 支 and phonetic 奇.”

The received version of the Mao Poetry does not have the character qi 斜. This 不盈頣筐 in the Han Poetry is written 斜筐 斜 being glossed as 傾, different from the character in the Mao Poetry but meaning the same. In Gu Yewang’s顧野王 (519–581) original version of the Yupian, under qi 斜, it states:

The fanqie pronunciation of qi 斜 is qiu 丘 and zhi 知. The Shuowen states: “斜 is qu 䧢 (slanted/askew).” Yewang notes: When 斜 is full it capsizes. When half [full] it is upright. This is the case. The Han Poetry takes it as 斜, which means capsize and not upright.

Gu Yewang states, “The Han Poetry takes it as qi 斜,” so for this poem’s不盈頣筐 and the “Piao you mei” 摘有梅 poem’s “Into my slanted basket I gathered them”頣筐塈之, the Han Poetry writes 斜. Huilin’sYinyi cites the Han Poetry stating, “斜 is 傾.” The two can precisely attest one another. The Shuowen states: “斜 is 障. It has the signific 危 and phonetic 支.” Duan Yucai’s段玉裁 (1735–1815) Shuowen jiezi zhu 說文解字注 (Commentary to the Shuowen) states: “Under 障 of the 阜 heading, it states: ‘It is 斜,’ and with this they are

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9 Shi Huilin 釋慧琳, Yiqiejing yinyi 一切經音義 (Taipei: Datong, 1970), ch. 90, 20. The 支 heading of the received Shuowen reads: “Qi 斜 is chi qu 持去 (carry away).” Duan Yucai 段玉裁, Shuowen jiezi zhuzhu 說文解字注 (Suzhou: Jingyun lou, 1815), ch. 3B, 21.

10 Gu Yewang 顧野王, Yuanben Yupian canjuan 原本玉篇殘卷 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1985), 469.
mutually explanatory characters. The *Guangyun* 廣韻 (Extended Rhymes) states: ‘敧 means not upright’... the *yousuo* 僥坐 (admonition for the throne) vessel is called a *qiqi* 欹器 (lopsided vessel). When empty, it is lopsided; when half full it is upright; when full it capsizes. Today it is commonly written *敧* and also erroneously as �欹.”

The *Shiwen* cites, “The *Han Poetry* reads: ‘頃筐 is �欹筐.’” This is probably Lu Deming’s error. Therefore, if this character had been written 頃（傾）筐, it would have been easily understood and not required the obsolete meaning 敹筐 as a gloss. It is easy to demonstrate that this was an error on Lu Deming’s part. In the *Jingdian shiwen*, when he cites the *Han Poetry*, he carelessly relied on memory, so that sometimes there are errors. For example, the poem “Zhen wei”溱洧 in the *Airs of Zheng* 鄭風 reads “The men and women now bring the boneset flowers”士與女方秉蕳兮. The *Jingdian shiwen* singles out jian xi商兮 (boneset flowers), claiming “the *Han Poetry* reads lian 蓮 (lotus).” In fact, the character 蕳 in this text should be glossed as lan 薰 (orchid) as in the *Mao Commentary*. The gloss 蓮 should refer to “there are rushes and bonesets”有蒲與蕳 in the poem “Ze bei”澤陂 of the *Airs of Chen* 陳風. Lu mistakenly quoted the poem “Zhen wei.” Another example is the poem “Wu”武 in the *Liturgies of Zhou* 周頌, which reads: “[Oh King Wu,] you conquered the Yin and ended the slaughter, vengefully establishing your merit”勝殷遏劉, 賢定爾功. The *Jingdian shiwen* reads “According to the *Mao* pronunciation, qi 貅 means zhi 致. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 [(127–200)] notes the *fanqie* pronunciation is ju 巨 and yi 移, meaning lao 老 (old). The *Han Poetry*’s pronunciation is the same as Zheng’s, reading wu 惡 (to hate).” Ma Ruichen (1782–1835) claimed that qi 貅 being glossed as wu 惡 should come from the line “the earthen on high hated

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11 Duan Yucai, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, ch. 9B, 23.
13 *Mao Shi zhushu*, ch. 4 (4), 12.
14 *Ma Ruichen’s* 馬瑞辰 *Mao Shi zhuhan jian tongshi* 毛詩傳箋通釋 reads: “As for the poem ‘Zhen wei’溱洧, the *Shiwen* cites the *Han Shi zhuhan* 韓詩傳 (Commentary to the *Han Poetry*) stating: ‘jian 蕳 is lian 蓮 (lotus).’ He is precisely explaining ‘there are rushes and lotuses’有蒲與蕳 in the poem ‘Ze bei’澤陂, becoming the base for Zheng Xuan’s Annotations. The *Shiwen* mistakenly transfers it to ‘Zhen wei’ and that is all. The *Taping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial Reader of the Taiping Era) cites the *Han Poetry* stating: ‘bing 乘 is zhi 執 (carry).’ 蕳 is lan 薰 (orchid). This understands that ‘carries orchids’乘薰 in ‘Zhen wei’ in the *Han Poetry* is also glossed as lan 薰 (orchid). Similarly with the *Mao Poetry*, it has never been regarded that 蕳 is lian 蓮 (lotus).” Ma Ruichen 馬瑞辰, *Mao Shi zhuhan jian tongshi* 毛詩傳箋通釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1989), 423.
them” 上帝耆之16 in the poem “Huang yi” 皇矣 of the Major Elegantiae. His argument is correct. Regarding my examination of Huilin's Yinyi, Chapter 82 cites the Han Poetry which states, “耆 is da 大 (great).”17 This gloss of 大 is just an explanation of “vengefully establishing your merit” 奉定爾功. These are all examples of the Jingdian shiwen misremembering when it claims to cite the Han Poetry. Transposing the Han Poetry's 攮筐 with 偽筐 in “Juan er” is another example.

Based on the above investigation, in the Han Poetry, this section should have been written as qi kuang 攮筐. In the manuscript, ço should be transcribed as qi 敛. 夭 is the signific. The Shuowen says: “殤 is a ‘tilted head’ (傾頭).”18 As for the Chu Silk Manuscript text, it should also be transcribed as 敛, reading, “After one thousand one hundred years, the Sun and the Moon were born on the same level. The nine regions were not level, and the high mountains all collapsed” 千有百歲, 日月夋（允）生。九州不坪（平），山陵備攮. Bei qi 備攮 is similar to jin qi 竭攮 (all collapsed). As for the clause “if it is not the case that the nine heavens greatly collapse, then do not dare gaze at Heaven’s powers/commands” 非（彼）九天則大攮, 則毋敢叡天霝（令）, it means, “lest these nine heavens should greatly collapse, do not dare go against Heaven’s commands.” This is how to take the Han Poetry and compare it against the Anda Shijing. Since this character is 敛 in the Chu Silk Manuscript, that transcription is preferable to qing 傾 here as well.

2 “Bai zhou” 柏舟—“Do you not have faith in me?” 不諒人只

The poem “Bai zhou” 柏舟 in the Airs of Yong 鄉風 reads:

汎彼柏舟，在彼中河。髧彼兩髦，實維我儀。之死矢靡它，母也天只，不諒人只。
汎彼柏舟，在彼河側。髧彼兩髦，實維我特。之死矢靡慝，母也天只，不諒人只。19

16 Ma Ruichen's Mao Shi zhuan jian tongshi reads: “The Han Poetry has, ‘Qi 耆 is e 恐 (hate).’ It should be the line ‘thearch on high hated them’ 上帝耆之 in the Huang yi poem. Hence, the Mao Poetry and Han Poetry have the same meaning and the Shiwen mistakenly cites it as being part of this poem. It is also just like the version of the line ‘蕳 is 蓮’ in ‘Ze bei’ of the Han Poetry and the Shiwen mistakenly citing it as being part of the ‘Zhen wei’ poem.” Ma Ruichen, Mao Shi zhuan jian tongshi, 1090.
17 Shi Huilin, Yiqiejing yinyi, ch. 82, 8.
18 Duan Yucai, Shuowen jiezi zhu, 10B, 8.
19 Mao Shi zhushu, ch. 3 (1), 1–3.
Afloat that cypress boat, there in the middle of the river. His long hair in two bangs, truly he will remain my partner. Until my death, I vow to have no other. Mother, oh Heaven, do you not have faith in me?

Afloat that cypress boat, there beside the river. His long hair in two bangs, truly he will remain my only one. Until my death, I vow to not have wicked desires. Mother, oh Heaven, do you not have faith in me?

The text of this poem in the Anda Shijing is significantly different from the received Mao Poetry. As opposed to the two lines “Until my death, I vow to have no other” 之死矢靡它 and “Until my death, I vow not to have wicked desires” 之死矢靡慝, the manuscript does not have the zhi 之 (until/going), and te 懿 (wickedness) is written as弋. The line “do you not have faith in me?” 不諒人只 is written 不京人氏 in the manuscript, of which the editors say:

**Jing** 京 is to be read as liang 諒 (understand) of which the Mao Commentary notes “ 諒 is xin 信 (trust/faithfulness).” The Jingdian shiwen writes liang 亮 and says: “Originally it was also written 諒.” This version was the Han Poetry. The Taiping yulan 太平御覽 (Imperial Reader of the Taiping Era) quotes it as liang 涼. 諒 is the regular form and 亮 and 涼 are both phonetic loans (see Yuan Mei’s Shijing yiwen huikao bianzheng 詩經異文彙考辨證 [A compendium of variants in the Classic of Poetry discriminated and demonstrated]).20

Accordingly, the three characters 諒, 亮 and 涼 were used interchangeably. In old books, this is commonplace and easily observable. For example, Lunyu’s 論語 (the Analects) “Xian wen” 憲問 chapter has: “Zizhang 子張 [(b. 503 BCE)] said the Documents say ‘Gaozong 高宗 faithfully observed seclusion for mourning …’” (高宗諒陰),21 while the Shangshu 尚書 (Venerated Documents) “Wuyi” 無逸 chapter writes “faithfully observed seclusion for mourning” (亮陰),22 and the Hanshu 漢書 (Book of Han) “Wu xing zhi” 五行志 (Monograph on the Five Phases) says: “Gaozong arose in spite of shabby conditions. He fully observed the seclusion of the mourning”23 (涼陰). The present editors, basing their argument on the received Mao Poetry, claim that the manuscript’s 京 should be read as liang 諒 and that this is the regular form.

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21 Lunyu zhushu 論語注疏 (Nanchang: Nanchang xuefu, 1815/1816), ch. 14, 16.
22 Shangshu zhushu 尚書注疏 (Nanchang: Nanchang xuefu, 1815/1816), ch. 16, 10.
23 Hanshu 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 1410.
They gloss it as *xin* 信 (trust/faithfulness), which everyone to date has adopted. However, if we examine this in detail, there is some doubt.

For the poem's "truly he will remain my partner" 實維我儀 and "truly he will remain my only one" 實維我特, the *Mao Commentary* glosses both of the two characters *yi* 儀 and *te* 特 as *pi* 匹, meaning a "marriage partner" 匹偶. "His long hair in two bangs" 髧彼兩髦 speaks of the one who has captivated this girl's affections. "Until my death, I vow to have no other" 之死矢靡它 and "Until my death, I vow not to have wicked desires" 死矢靡弋(慝) are her promises, similar to "I swear on my life to have no other" 誓死無他 and "I swear on my life to not renounce my pledge" 誓死不渝.24 The poem’s flavor is such that the girl herself is expressing that her heart already belongs to someone and, in spite of her parents seeking to force her to wed another, the girl promises that she will not waver. The *Mao Commentary* explains the two lines of “Mother, oh Heaven ...” 母也天只, stating, “Liang 論 is *xin* 信 (faithfulness). ‘Mother, Heaven, you still do not have faith in me.’ Heaven refers to the father.” Zhu Xi’s 朱熹 (1130–1200) *Shijizhuan* 詩集傳 (Collected Commentaries on the Poetry) also states “Liang 論 is *xin* 信,” explaining the final line as “How do you not trust my heart?”25 Regarding the character *liang* 論 being explained as *xin* 信, though it is the common gloss in old books, this girl still makes a solemn vow, adamantly refusing to marry another, so how could her father and mother not trust in her sincerity?

The deeper meaning shows that the manuscript’s 京 and the *Mao Commentary’s* 論 should both be read as *qiang* 彊 (unyielding). According to the *Shuowen*: “*jing* 鯨 (whale) is a large fish of the sea. The signific is *yu* 魚 (fish) and *jiang* 畣 is the phonetic.” The character is also written 鯨, of which the *Shuowen* states: “鯨 is 鯨, which sometimes has the phonetic *jing* 京.”26 Thus, whether written with 畣 or 京, the pronunciation and meaning are similar. Elsewhere, the *Shuowen* states: “*jing* 倞 (robust/strong) is *qiang* 彊. The signific is 人 and the phonetic is 京.”27 Furthermore the *Zhuangzi*’s 莊子 "Da zong -shi" 大宗師 chapter states: “Yujiang 禹強 obtained it and established it in the northern extremity.” The *Jingdian shiwen* states: “The Jianwen 简文 [Emperor of Liang (503–551)] stated ‘As for the god of the northern sea, one of his names

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24 I note that for “Until my death, I vow to not have wicked desires” 之死矢靡慝, the *Mao Commentary* has: “*te* 憾 is *xie* 邪 (wickedness).” This gloss is not certain. This text’s 憾 character is written 特 in the manuscript, both loans for *te* 特. The *Shuowen* has: “*te* 特 is *geng* 更 (change/renew).” It is similar to her promising that until death she will not change. For the detailed argument, see Ma Ruichen, *Mao Shi zhuan tongshi*, 167.


was Yujing 禹京.”28 All of this proves that in ancient times characters written with 京 and 畈 were pronounced similarly, and their meaning was interchangeable. 京 has the onset j- as in jian 見 and rimes -iang as in yang 陽. 畈 has onset l- as in lai 來 and also rimes -iang. 強 has onset q- as in qun 羣 and also rimes -iang. The ancient pronunciation is similar in each case. The Shuowen has: “Qing 前 is qiang 強 (powerful). The Chunqiu [Zuo] Commentary 春秋傳 says: ‘a powerful rival’ 前敵之人.”29 Elsewhere it has: “彊 means a bow has force.” Duan Yucai’s Commentary has: “By extension it is a way of saying ‘all powerful’ It is also a loan for qiang 強 in qiangpo 強迫 (forcefully coerce).30 Hence, 前 and 聯 are the same in pronunciation and meaning. They are in fact the same word, similar to the present qiang 強 in qiangdi 強敵 (force an enemy/powerful rival) and qiangpo 強迫 (coerce).

The manuscript’s 不京（諒）人只 is similar to “Do not force me.” The two lines of “Mother, oh Heaven” are precisely her appealing to her father and mother to not compel her to wed another. A gloss like this closely corresponds with the aforementioned words of promising “Until my death I vow to have no other” and “Until my death I vow not to have wicked desires.” 京 being understood as qiang 強 (to force) can also be confirmed by the final stanza of the poem “Da ming” 大明 of the Major Elegantiae:

牧野洋洋，檀車煌煌，駟騵彭彭。維師尚父，時維鷹揚。涼彼武王，肆伐大商，會朝清明。31

The wildnesses of Muye, so vast, so vast; The sandalwood chariot, so bright, so bright; The quadrigae of bays, so majestic, so majestic; Verily the grandmaster Shangfu 尚父, was on this occasion indeed an eagle as- cending. He assisted King Wu 武王, who punished and struck down the Great Shang. Met with the morning, it was clear and bright.

“Da ming” writes of the entire Zhou 周 realm accepting Heaven’s command to succeed the Shang 商. The final stanza specifically writes of the renowned magnificence of King Wu’s 武王 war chariots and the story of how on the morning of jiazi, at Muye, in one blow he felled the Shang and vanquished King Zhou 紂. These events are gathered in the complete poem. Regarding the line “He assisted King Wu” 湧彼武王, the Jingdian shiwen states: “Liang

28 Lu Deming, Jingdian shiwen, ch. 26, 21.
29 Duan Yucai, Shuowen jiezi zhu, ch. 13B, 52.
30 Duan Yucai, Shuowen jiezi zhu, ch. 12B, 58.
31 Mao Shi zhushu, ch. 16 (2), 9–10.
涼 (assist) was originally written 諒. It is the opposite of ‘force,’ instead meaning ‘assist.’ The *Han Poetry* writes liang 亮 claiming ‘it means mutually assist.” Thus, the *Mao Poetry* writes 涼 understood as liang 諒, and the *Han Poetry* writes 亮. The *Mao Commentary* glosses 涼 as zuo 佐 (assist), while the *Han Poetry* glosses it as xiang 相 (mutually assist). The two words have the same meaning, both meaning “to assist.” Zhu Xi’s *Shi jizhuan* states: “As for 涼, the *Hanshu* writes ‘亮 means to assist.” The meanings are the same. Indeed, this interpretation follows from the line “He supported King Wu” 涼彼武王 to “Verily the grandmaster Shangfu.” The subject is Shangfu 尚父, hence Zheng Xuan’s *Annotations* (箋) explain this saying: “Shangfu was called Lü Wang 呂望 ... He supported King Wu, acting as his general.” Kong Yingda’s *Sub-commentary* (疏) relates Mao and Zheng’s meaning, explaining this stanza by stating:

The wildernesses of the lands of Muye were vast, very spacious and broad. In this vast place was an array of sandalwood war chariots. So bright, they were all brightly shining. Furthermore, they were steering the sturdy horses of the ‘quadrigae of bays.’ So majestic, they were all strong and magnificent. Verily there was the grandmaster Shangfu who indeed was brave and cunning like an eagle ascending in flight. He himself was the commander-in-chief, and on this occasion assisted King Wu. The chariots and horses were fresh and forceful and the commander was valiant, seizing upon these [advantages] to hurriedly venture forth and conquer the Great Shang. Upon encountering the morning of jiazi, it did not reach the end of this morning before they had felled and slayed the cruel [King] Zhou. All under Heaven was then greatly clear and bright and there was no longer turbid and chaotic governance.

According to this explanation, Shangfu majestically becomes this campaign’s commanding general. This is then an inevitable case of a guest stealing the host’s thunder. Accordingly, 涼 here should instead be glossed as 強, with 涼彼武王 having the same kind of sentence structure as “expansive as to the southern hills” 信彼南山. Liang 涼 is a word used to describe King Wu, meaning "mighty and strong." “Strong King Wu” 涼彼武王, is the subject of the two lines “punished and struck down the Great Shang. Met with the morning, it was clear and bright.” These three lines summarize the whole poem, writing

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34 *Mao Shi zhushu*, ch. 16 (2), 10.
of Heaven's time having arrived. King Wu's commander felled and vanquished Zhou of Shang. The entire nation conformed to fate by succeeding and rising. The prior five lines in this stanza describing in detail the robustness of the Zhou war chariots and the martial bravery of the deputy commander are all meant to enshrine the greatness of King Wu's martial might and prestige. Thus, on the jiazi day, he faced his foe and “met with the morning, it was clear and bright” (the Mao Commentary's words). Since the time of Mao and Zheng, the traditional gloss for 諒 has been “assist” and “mutually assist,” in both cases missing the correct meaning.

This meaning can be further supported by the poem “Chun zhi benben” 鶉之奔奔 of the Airs of Yong. In the poem, the manuscript writes the line “the magpies [battled] fiercely” 鵲之強強 as “contended [fiercely]” 競競,35 the ancient pronunciations of jing 競 and qiang 強 also having onset q- and -iang rimes. They were homophones in common use. The poem “Yì”抑 of the Major Elegantiae has: “[How can the realm] not be powerful [if] maintained by [worthy] men. In the four directions, they will instruct them” 無競維人，四方其訓之. Zheng Xuan's Annotations similarly explain this as: “競 is qiang 彊 (powerful).”36 The “Shi gu” 釋詁 section of the Guangya 廣雅 (Enlarged approaching eloquence) has: “倞 is qiang 強.” Wang Niansun's 王念孫 (1744–1832) Guangya shuzheng 廣雅疏證 (Notes and Corrections to the Guangya) states: “The Erya 爾雅 has: ‘競 is qiang 彊；競 and 強 all being similar.”37 This explanation can precisely support making this correction.

Now, compared with the two poems “Da ming” and “Chun zhi benben,” this poem's 不京 (諒) 人氏 should be explained as “Do not force me.” There should be no doubt as to the meaning.38

3 “Qiang you ci” 牆有茨—“... it cannot be recited” 不可讀也

The poem “Qiang you ci” 牆有茨 of the Airs of Yong reads:

35 Huang Dekuan and Xu Zaiguo ed., Anhui daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian: Yi, 133.
36 Mao Shi zhushu, ch. 18 (1), 9.
38 The Shangshu 尚書 has: “Gaozong faithfully observed seclusion for mourning” 高宗亮陰. Lunyu's 論語 “Xian wen” chapter has: “How could this be like the enacting of faithfulness of a common man or woman...” 豈若匹夫匹婦之為諒也. These liang 亮 and liang 諒 characters should also be glossed as qiang 強. See my “Gaozong liang yin’ kao” ‘高宗諒陰’考, Tōhō gakuhō 東方学報 2019-94, 584–614.
On the wall, there is the tribulus vine, which cannot be swept away.

The words of the inner chamber cannot be spoken. As for what would be told, they are the most shameful of words.

On the wall, there is the tribulus vine, which cannot be uprooted. The words of the inner chamber cannot be recounted. As for what would be recounted, they are the longest of words.

On the wall, there is the tribulus vine, which cannot be bundled. The words of the inner chamber cannot be recited. As for what would be recited, they are the most disgraceful of words.

The Anda *Shijing* has two relatively major differences from the *Mao Poetry*. First, in the slip version, the *ci* 茨 (caltrop/tribulus) of “On the wall there is the tribulus” 牆有茨 is written 蕾 in all three stanzas. The *Mao Commentary* reads: “茨 is jili 萄藜 (tribulus/red-headed centipede).” These two use different graphs but the meaning is the same. The second difference is that the first stanza of the received poem corresponds to the third stanza of the manuscript and the third stanza of the received poem corresponds to the first stanza of the manuscript.

As for the line “... it cannot be recited” 不可讀也, in the manuscript 得 (recite) is written 譜, the 貝 component written instead as 牛. The editors claim:

譜 has the signific 言 (speak/words) and 穀 is the abbreviated phonetic. The *Mao Commentary* has: “讀 means chou 抽 (to express).” The *Shi jizhuan* has: “讀 means songyan 誦言 (to recite).” The *Shuowen* has: “讀 means to recite a document” and “Song 誦 means feng 諷 (to recite).” The “Dasiyue” 大司樂 (Great Executer of Music) section of the “Chun guan” 春官 chapter of the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of Zhou) has “recite, sound out, narrate, recount” 諷, 誦, 言, 語 and Zheng Xuan’s *Annotations* has: “Reciting a text from memory is called 諷. Sounding it out is called 誦.”

This draws from traditional arguments to conclude that 譜 is probably similar in meaning to dusong 讀誦 (recite aloud). Thus, regarding “The words of

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the inner chamber cannot be spoken" 中薀之言, the Mao Commentary has: "Zhonggou 中薀 is neigou 内薀 inner chamber." Zheng's Annotations discusses the meaning, stating: "The ‘words of the inner chamber’ refers to words of finding amusement in the inner chamber of the palace and [engaging] in licentiousness with the ladies." Hanshu’s "Wen san wang zhuan" 文三王傳 (Biographies of the three kings of [Emperor] Wen) has: “Do not peer into the privacy of another’s bedchamber or listen to the words of the inner chamber.” Yan Shigu 頭師古 (581–645) commenting on 中薀, cites “Jin Zhuo 晉灼 [(265–316)] saying the Lu Shi 魯詩 (Lu Poetry) regards it as ‘midnight.’” The Jingdian shiwen cites “The Han Poetry reads 中薀 as midnight, referring to words of licentiousness.” Thus, the Lu Poetry, Han Poetry and Zheng’s Annotations all take 中薀之言 as “licentious private words at midnight.”

The Mao Commentary has: “讀 means 抽.” Duan Yucai’s Mao Shi guxun zhuan dingben xiaoqian 毛詩故訓傳定本小箋 (Minor annotation on the fixed text of the ancient glosses and comments of the Mao Poetry) says:

抽 should be written zhou 篆 (recite aloud). The Shuowen has: “篆 is to recite a document.” The meaning of 篆 is explained as 抽 and the Shuowen’s postface reads: “... memorize and recite the writings of nine thousand characters.” This is correct. Master Mao and the Fangyan方言 [(Regional Speech)] both take 抽 as 篆. 抽 and 篆 were ancient and new Han graphs. Sometimes 篆 was borrowed in place of 篆.43

Duan Yucai extended Mao’s meaning, claiming 抽 should be understood as zhou song 篆誦 (to recite). Hu Chenggong’s 胡承珙 (1776–1832) copy of Zheng’s Annotations refers to Duan’s argument, claiming this 讀 character is similar to the meaning “elaborate upon it” 抽繹而出之. Hu also analyzed the differences in connotations of the three characters dao 道 (to speak), xiang 詳 (to recount) and 讀 in the poem’s three stanzas:

Therefore, 道 means to talk sparingly about it. 詳 means to talk excessively about it. 讀 is to talk repeatedly about it. The poem’s meaning is indeed that even talking sparingly about it is unacceptable. What then

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41 Hanshu, 2216–2217.
42 Lu Deming, Jingdian shiwen, ch. 5, 15.
43 Duan Yucai 段玉裁, Mao Shi guxun zhuan dingben xiaoqian 毛詩故訓傳定本小箋 (Suzhou: Jingyun lou ed.), ch. 4, 2.
of talking excessively about it? What then of talking repeatedly about it? The three stanzas themselves have a sequence.44

As for “reciting” (zhousong 瑪誦) or “elaborating” (chouyi 抽繹) the licentious and private words of the inner chamber, ultimately there is the sense that the meaning is not yet harmonized. Moreover, Hu infers that “the three stanzas themselves have a sequence.” Now that the manuscript’s first and third stanzas are exchanged, do we now know which argument to follow? This line is explained as 讀誦 and Zheng Xuan’s sense of the meaning is already somewhat unsettled, so Zheng’s Annotations generalized saying: “抽 is like chu 出 (express/reveal).” Kong Yingda described the meaning stating:

This is dusong 讀誦, having the same general meaning. The Annotations certainly regard it as 抽, meaning that 讀誦 does not mean “to expose.” The [Mao] Commentary glosses it as 抽 and the Annotations extend 抽 to mean 出.45

Zheng Xuan suggests that the meaning of chou 抽 should be extended to mean chu 出. He further suggests that chu 出 be extended to mean xuanlu 宣露 (expose). As such, he glosses 讀 as ‘expose’ in a roundabout way. Ma Ruichen’s Mao Shi zhuan jian tongshi 毛詩傳箋通釋 (Comprehensive interpretations of the Mao Poetry’s Commentary and Annotations) proposes another argument:

Note that the Guangya has: “讀 is shuo 說 (to speak/laud).” “Cannot be recited” should be explained as “cannot be lauded” 不可說, like the preceding stanzas’ “cannot be spoken” and “cannot be praised” 不可揚.46

Based on the Guangya, Ma explains “cannot be recited” as “cannot be lauded.” The meaning is simple and easily understood. It is just that 不可說 and 不可道 are redundant, so there is still a gap.

Chapter 31 of Huilin’s Yiqiejing yinyi cites the Han Poetry: “Du 牘 means to pick up a brush and write on a wooden tablet.”47 Now, the Classic of Poetry does not have the character 牘; hence the Han Poetry must have written du 牘 (wooden tablet) for this poem’s “cannot be recited.” The “pick up a brush and write on a wooden tablet” is similar to the meaning “record an account”

44 Hu Chenggong 胡承珙, Mao Shi hou jian 毛詩後箋 (Hefei: Huangshan, 1999), 236–237.  
45 Mao Shi zhushu, ch. 3 (1), 4.  
46 Ma Ruichen, Mao Shi zhuan tongshi, 169.  
47 Shi Huilin, Yiqiejing yinyi, ch. 31, 23.
Based on this, the first stanza of this poem in the manuscript should be understood as “cannot be recorded,” and the second stanza as “cannot be praised.” The *Mao Poetry* writes 詳 and the *Jingdian shiwen* cites: “The *Han Poetry* writes yang 揚, which is similar to 道.” This 揚 should mean “to spread around” (播揚). The third stanza says “cannot be spoken” which is similar to “cannot be discussed.” The meaning in each third stanza is different. The *Mao Commentary* and Zheng’s *Annotations* would seem to be superior. As for this meaning of the *Han Poetry*, of Fan Jiaxiang’s 范家相 *Sanjia Shi shiyi* 三家詩拾遺 (The three schools of the *Poetry* redacted), Song Mianchu’s 宋綿初 *Han Shi neizhuan zheng* 韓詩內傳徵 (The Inner Tradition of the *Han Poetry* demonstrated), Zang Yong’s 陳壽庸 *Hanshi yishuo* 韓詩遺說 (Leftover sayings of the *Han Poetry*), Chen Qiaocong’s 陳喬樅 (1809–1869) *Han Shi yishuo kao* 韓詩遺說考 (Study of Leftover sayings of the *Han Poetry*) and Wang Xianqian's 王先謙 (1842–1918) *Shi sanjia yi jishu* 詩三家義集疏 (Collected sub-commentaries on the meaning of the three school of *Poetry*), none support citing it, nor have any contemporary persons said anything like this about the *Classic of Poetry*. At present I have simply pointed this out in order to provide one meaning.

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