A Brief Description of the Anhui University Shi Jing Manuscript

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Abstract

In 2015, Anhui University acquired a valuable batch of bamboo manuscripts from the Warring States period. The Anda slips have received wide attention both abroad and in China, in particular the Shi Jing manuscript contained therein. This article discusses the sequence, number, and variants of the songs, titles, wording, and phrasing in the Shi Jing manuscript. The final section of this article introduces the philological value of this find.

Keywords

Anda slips – Shi Jing – variants – philological value

摘要

安大簡《詩經》略說

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安大簡《詩經》抄本是2015年入藏安徽大學的一批珍貴的戰國文獻資料，引起海內外學術界的關注。《詩經》抄本是這批竹簡中最引人矚目的發現之一。本篇對《詩經》抄本國風的排序與異名，國風的篇序、篇數和章次，字、詞、句異文進行討論，最後介紹安大簡《詩經》的文獻學價值。
The Anda manuscripts are a cache of extremely valuable Warring States texts that Anhui University received in 2015. Following in line with the Shanghai Museum and Tsinghua University, these bamboo slips are yet another new discovery of pre-Qin documents, and have attracted the attention of scholars throughout the world. I have already published an article specifically introducing the acquisition, date and main contents of these slips.\(^1\) The manuscript of the *Shi jing* 詩經 *Classic of Poetry* is one of the most notable of these discoveries, and has already been formally published in 2019 as the first volume of *Anhui daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡 *Warring States Bamboo Slips in the Collection of Anhui University*.\(^2\)

Complete slips of the *Shi jing* manuscript are 48.5 cm long and 0.6 cm wide. They were bound with three binding straps, and show preparation grooves on the backs of the slips. The tops and bottoms of the slips were left blank, though at the bottom of the slip there is a sequence number, from “1” to “117.” Based on these sequence numbers, it is clear that the manuscript originally had at least 117 slips. After our basic editing, we found that 24 slips were missing (18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 30, 56–58, 60–71, and 95–97), so that there are actually only 93 slips. The contents correspond to several section of the *Airs of the States* (Guo feng 國風) section of the *Shi jing*, with 57 poems in all, though some of these are incomplete because of missing slips. The writing on the slips is clear and the orthography standard, though the distance between characters is not uniform, with between 27 and 38 characters on a single slip.

The *Shi jing* is one of the pre-Qin classics, the textual history of which is recorded in the “Yiwen zhi” 藝文志 “Record of Arts and Letters” chapter of the *Han shu* 漢書 *Han History*.\(^3\) During the Han dynasty, there were three New Text schools of the *Poetry* that were recognized in the imperial academy: Lu 魯, Qi 齊 and Han 韓. However, because of differences in the oral transmission of the text, the different schools “perhaps taking from the *Chunqiu* or from various sayings did not entirely reflect the basic meaning” (或取《春秋》，採雜說, ...
咸非其本義), their explanations already showed manifest differences. The Ancient Text Mao Shi 毛詩 was submitted by Prince Xian of Hejian 河間獻王, but at that time it had not yet been recognized at the imperial academy. In his Jingdian shiwen 經典釋文 (Explanation of the Texts of the Classics), Lu Deming 陸德明 of the Tang dynasty analyzed the differences among the texts of the Lu, Qi, Han and Mao schools, pointing out that “the Qi Shi had long been lost, that the Lu text was restricted to the Jiangdong 江東 area (i.e., from southern Shandong to Nanjing), and that although the Han Poetry was still in existence it was no longer being transmitted. Only the Mao Shi together with the commentary of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 was placed in the national academy and prized at the time.”

The Mao Shi was the only “old text of the pre-Qin Ancient Text” transmission. Based on collections of variants among the four schools, scholars have concluded that the Mao Shi “does not have any great differences with the New Text texts.” Nevertheless, on the basis of the newly unearthed Haihun Hou 海昏侯 text of the Lu Shi, there are quite a lot of differences. The Anda manuscript is the earliest text presently known, showing the appearance of (a portion) of the pre-Qin Shi jing, so it goes without saying that it is extremely important for the study of the Shi jing.

Comparing corresponding poems in the manuscript with those of the received text, analysis of the variants between them gives us a number of new ways to think about the formation and transmission of the text of the Shi jing, the reading of its words and the meaning of the poems, making it possible to arrive at new ways to resolve a number of questions that have long existed in the study of the Shi jing. In conjunction with the editorial work on the manuscript, we have already published a number of specialized studies related to the text of the manuscript. With the publication of the manuscript, numerous scholars throughout the world have also published studies, discussing relevant topics. Here I will just introduce several important questions that we encountered in the course of editing the Shi jing manuscript.

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4 Lu Deming 陸德明, Jingdian shiwen 經典釋文 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2013), 39.
5 Jiang Boqian 蔣伯潛, “Mao Shi gailun” 毛詩概論 in his Shisan jing gailun 十三經概論 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1983), 183–4. The Shi jing found in the Haihun hou tomb is possibly the Lu Shi; based on the preliminary editorial work by Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚, there are manifest differences between the Lu Shi and the Mao Shi. See Zhu Fenghan ed., Haihun hou jiantu chulun 海昏侯簡牘初論 (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2020), Ch. 5.
6 The great majority of these studies have been included in Anda jian Shi jing yanjiu 安大簡《詩經》研究 (Hefei: Anhui daxue Hanzi fazhan yu yingyong zhongxin, 2019), which includes fifty articles written by members of the editorial team, twenty-nine of them published prior to August, 2019, and twenty-one still awaiting publication.
The Manuscript’s Sequence and Different Names

The manuscript contains “Airs” of six different states, after each of which is added a section-ending hook-mark, the name of the state, and the number of poems; for example: “Zhou Nan, 11” and “Hou, 6.” Some of these records also indicate the name of the first poem, as for example: “Yong, 9 ‘Bo zhou’,” or “Wei, 9 ‘Ge ju’.” Compared with the Mao Shi, these section-ending records include “Zhou Nan,” “Hou,” “Yong,” and “Wei,” and we were able to augment the names “Shao Nan” and “Qin” in the course of editing. Between the “Qin” and “Hou” Airs, there is a lacuna of 11 slips (numbers 61–71), the missing poems very likely pertaining to the Airs of Chen 陳. Thus, the 117 slips originally would have included Airs of seven different states.

The manuscript’s sequence of the seven Airs of the states is: Zhou Nan 周南, Shao Nan 召南, Qin 秦, ? (perhaps Chen 陳), Hou 侯, Yong 甬 (鄘), and Wei 魏 (Tang 唐). This sequence is not entirely similar to either those of the Mao Shi, the Zuo zhuan 左傳 (29th year of Lord Xiang 襄), or Zheng Xuan.8

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8 The sequence of Airs in the Mao Shi is: Zhou Nan 周南, Shao Nan 召南, Bei 北, Yong 郸, Wei 衛, Wang 王, Zheng 鄭, Qi 齊, Wei 魏, Tang 唐, Qin 秦, Chen 陳, Kui 陲, Cao 曹, and Bin 郓. The Zuo zhuan (29th year of Lord Xiang) records the sequence of Airs sung by the Music Master as: Zhou Nan, Shao Nan, Bei, Yong, Wei 衛, Wang, Zheng, Qi, Bin, Qin, Wei 魏, Tang, Chen, Hui, and Cao; see Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi 春秋左傳正義, in Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980). The sequence in the Shi pu 詩譜 of Zheng Xuan is: Zhou Nan, Shao Nan, Bei, Yong, Wei 衛, Kuai, Zheng, Qi, Wei 魏, Tang, Qin, Chen, Cao, Bin, and Wang, Zheng Xuan said: “The Zhou eastern capital Wangcheng had an area of 600 square li ... Because of the disturbance surrounding King Ping, he transferred to the eastern capital Wang Cheng, and thereafter his prestige was no different from that of the many lords, his...
Other than Zhou Nan and Shao Nan, the sequence of which is the same as the *Mao Shi*, the manuscript puts Qin, Chen?, and Hou between Shao Nan and Yong, followed immediately by Wei (Tang). Scholars throughout the ages have not had any satisfying rationale for whether the sequence of the *Mao Shi* reflects the original composition of the *Shi jing*. That the manuscript provides a sequence for a part of the Airs of the States enriches the evidence available to consider this question.

Not only is the sequence of the manuscript not entirely similar with that of the received text, it also contains the name Hou 侯. This has never before been seen in any other literary source, though the six poems in it are included in the Airs of Wei in the *Mao Shi*. In the received text, the Airs of Wei includes seven poems, beginning with “Ge ju” 葛屨 followed by the six poems included in the manuscript’s Airs of Hou, the names and contents of which are the same in the two texts, though the sequences are different. Based on the contents, the easiest explanation is that Hou corresponds to Wei. However, the group of poems following the Airs of Yong in the manuscript has a notation “Wei, 9: Ge lou 葛屨 (i.e., *ju* 屌).” According to this record, this group is the Airs of Wei, with nine poems in all (though there are actually ten poems in the group), the first of which is “Ge ju.” Compared with the *Mao Shi*, aside from “Ge ju,” which is also the first poem in this section of the received text, the other poems all belong to the Airs of Tang, which has twelve poems in the received text. These nine poems are the same, though in a different sequence; the manuscript does not include “Di du” 扉杜, “Ge sheng” 葛生 and “Cai Ling” 採苓. Based on the manuscript, not only does the Airs of Tang belong to Wei, what is more it is integrated into Wei (including “Ge ju”). How should we think of this phenomenon? To what exactly does Hou refer? Why is Tang called Wei? It is difficult to give convincing answers to these questions. In the formal publication of the manuscript, we gave some hypotheses, suggesting that because the manuscript’s scribe mistakenly placed the six poems of Wei after Hou, this caused him to confuse Wei and Tang. At the same time, I suspect that Hou is a different name for poems no longer sung, and therefore they were disesteemed; these are called the ‘changed Airs’ of the kingdom” (周東都王城畿內方六百里之地 ...... 平王以亂故，徙居東都王城，於是王室之尊與諸侯無異，其詩不能復雅，故貶之，謂之王國之變風); see *Mao Shi pu* 毛詩譜, included in Xia Chuancai 夏傳才 ed., *Shi jing yaqi jicheng* 詩經要籍集成 (Rev. ed.; Beijing: Xueyuan, 2015), vol. 3, 239. The latter two sequences are slightly different from that of the *Mao Shi*. See Hong Zhanhou 洪湛侯, *Shi jing xue shi* 詩經學史 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2002), vol. 1, 26–8.

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10 Huang and Xu ed., *Anhui daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* (Yi), 115–25.
Concerning the Manuscript’s Sequence, Number of Poems and Sequence of Stanzas

Aside from the questions of the sequence of Airs and their different names, a comparison of the manuscript with the *Mao Shi* also reveals numerous differences in the sequence, number of poems and sequence of stanzas of the poems.

Although the manuscript does not record the names of individual poems, from the post-placed records “Bai zhou” after Yong and “Ge ju” after Wei, we can infer that the poems were named at the time of the manuscript’s copying, and that the names were essentially the same as those of the *Mao Shi*. The poems of a single Airs section were continuously copied, with small black squares marking the end of a poem; the poems have no consistent indication of stanzas, some poems having small black marks, but this is not at all consistent.

While the sequence and number of poems in the separate Airs, as well as their stanzas, are largely similar between the manuscript and the *Mao Shi*, there are also differences, which can be enumerated as follows:

- The eleven poems in the Zhou Nan (slips 1–20) and the fourteen poems in the Shao Nan (slips 21–41) in the manuscript have the same sequence and number of poems as in the *Mao Shi*.
- In the Airs of Qin (slips 42–59), “Wei yang” 滇陽 comes after “Huang niao” 黃鳥 and before “Chen feng” 晨風.
- The missing section (Chen?; slips 60–70) copied the Airs of another state, but it is now missing.
Hou (slips 71–83) includes six poems that belong to the Airs of Wei in the Mao Shi, but aside from the different name of the section and missing the first poem “Ge ju,” the sequence of poems is also different from that of the Mao Shi, with “Zhi hu”陟岵 placed before “Yuan you tao”園有桃, and “Shi mou zhi jian”十畝之間 placed at the very end.

- The sequence of the nine poems of Yong (slips 84–99) is similar to that of the Mao Shi, though the Mao Shi Airs of Yong has ten poems, the manuscript not including “Zai chi”載馳.

- As for the nine poems of Wei (slips 100–117), aside from the first poem, “Ge ju,” which is also found in the Airs of Wei of the Mao Shi, the nine poems included in this section of the manuscript belong to the Airs of Tang in the Mao Shi; adding “Ge ju” there are actually ten poems in this section. The Airs of Tang in the Mao Shi has twelve poems, the manuscript lacking “Di du,” “Ge sheng,” and “Cai ling.” The manuscript also places “Yang zhi shui” 扬之水 before “Shan you shu”山有樞, and “You di zhi du”有杕之杜 before “Gao qiu”羔裘, and “Wu yi”無衣 before “Bao yu” 鴇羽. According to the sequence of the Mao Shi, Wei and Tang are connected, so that the manuscript's combining “Ge ju,” the first poem of the Airs of Wei, with the neighboring Airs of Tang and writing “Wei: 9” might have been the result of miscopying, though of course it cannot be discounted that it reflects a different sequence from that of the Mao Shi.

The sequence and number of poems in the manuscript's Zhou Nan and Shao Nan are the same as in the Mao Shi, while the sequence of its Yong is the same except that it is missing the last piece. Sections in which the sequence is different are Qin, Hou (Wei), and Wei (Tang), while sections that have different numbers of poems are Qin, Yong, Hou (Wei), and Wei (Tang). The similarity or difference of the sequence and number of poems is one of the new problems raised by the appearance of the Anda manuscript. This bears on the composition and transmission of the Shi jing, though whether it provides any new evidence concerning the relevant poems still awaits further research.

Compared with the Mao Shi, another question deserving of attention concerns differences in the sequence of stanzas. Fourteen poems have different sequences of stanzas:

- “Juan er”卷耳 and “Zhong si”螽斯 in the Zhou Nan,
- “Yin qi lei”殷其雷 and “Jiang you si”江有汜 in the Shao Nan,
- “Che lin”車鄰, “Si tie”騶騶, “Xiao rong” 小戎 and “Huang niao”黃鳥 in the Airs of Qin,
- “Shuo shu”碩鼠 in the Airs of Hou,
- “Qiang you ci”墙有茨 and “Ding zhi fang zhong”定之方中 in the Airs of Yong,
- “Xishuai”蟋蟀, “Choumou”絹繆, and “Bao yu” 鴇羽 in the Airs of Wei (Tang).
This shows that about one-quarter of the manuscript’s poems have a different sequence from that of the *Mao Shi*, though the internal structure of each poem’s stanzas are stable. Whether the difference in the stanzas’ sequence has any bearing on the meaning of the poems is another question that warrants further research. Aside from this, there are a few poems that have a different number of stanzas, such as “Zouyu” 驪虞, for which the manuscript has one more stanza than does the *Mao Shi*.

3 Concerning Variants in Characters, Words and Phrases

Compared with the *Mao Shi*, variants in the manuscript’s characters, words and phrases are particularly apparent. Examination of variants in the *Shi jing* has long been an important topic in *Shi jing* studies, with numerous notable achievements. Some of the variants in the manuscript coincide with variants in the four texts of the *Poetry* or with the Fuyang 阜陽 Han manuscript or other unearthed documents, while others have never before been seen. These newly appearing variants concern characters (zi 字), words (ci 詞), and phrases (ju 句), and so are extremely valuable for such different topics as linguistic studies, the reading of the *Shi jing*, and for textual criticism. Because of this, research on these variants has always been a central concern of our editorial work on the manuscript.

In the process of editing the variants in the manuscript, we first met with a question of principle in dealing with variants: on what basis should we accept or reject different variants? We decided that the manuscript is the earliest evidence of the *Shi jing* currently available, and so should have a privileged place vis-à-vis the evidence of the four texts of the *Shi* and also other unearthed documents. In all cases in which the variant seen in the manuscript could produce a smooth reading, we tried to adopt it; at the same time, we sought to explain how these variants might have been produced. Only in those cases in which we could not give a reasonable explanation for the variant, while other variants could be shown to be superior to that of the manuscript, did we choose

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12 Among studies of variants in the *Shi jing*, representative works in pre-modern times would include Lu Deming, *Jingdian shiwên*; Wang Yinglin 王應麟, *Shi kao* 詩考; Feng Dengfu 馮登府, *San jia Shi yìwen shuzheng* 三家詩異文疏證; Chen Qiaocong 陳喬樅, *Shi jìng sì jia Shi yìwen kao* 詩經四家詩異文考; and Li Fusun 李富孫, *Shi jìng yìwen shì* 詩經異文釋, and in recent times Yuan Mei 袁梅, *Shi jìng yìwen huikào bianzheng* 詩經異文彙考辨證 (Jinan: Qi-Lu, 2013), and Cheng Yan 程燕, *Shi jìng yìwen jikao* 詩經異文輯考 (Hefei: Anhui daxue, 2010).
to adopt the other variant. The treatment of variants in the final publication of the manuscript essentially reflects our understanding of this matter.

Variants in the manuscript pertain to such different features as orthography, diction, and poetic wording, each of which is also multi-faceted. The manuscript preserves many archaic forms of characters, which assisted us in resolving a number of paleographic problems. For example, in the poem "Zouyu," the character茁 is a variant, the structure of which can be compared with the archaic character and the oracle-bone form ofzhui.RestController,13 or the characteryi刈 in the phrase是刈是獲 in the poem "Ge tan"葛覃 reflects Chu楚script,14 while the variantsdan鬨 andmao髦 in the line鬨彼两髦 of "Bo zhou"柏舟 explain the difficult Chu-script characterschen湛(沈) andmiao杪,15 and so on. As for diction, the manuscript can help to explain several difficulties that have long perplexed the explication of theShi ling, such as the termszhonggou中穀 in the poem "Qiang you ci," zouyu騶虞 in the poem "Zouyu"騶虞, orxiehou邂逅 in the poem "Choumou"綢繆. The manuscript's variants中穀, from乎, and邢侯 provide crucial evidence with which to resolve these longstanding problems.16 Also, variants in particles or phrases in some of the manuscript's poems help with the understanding of the poems' meaning, being manifestly superior to the received text or to other variants. For example, in the lines上慎旃哉, 猶来無止 of the poem "Zhi hu"陟岵, the manuscript writes上尚as尚 andyou猶asyun允, both of which better reflect the prayerful language of the poem's context. Similarly, for the line於我乎, 夏屋渠渠 in the poem "Quan yu"權輿, the manuscript writes始也於我 instead of於我乎,shi ye始也 corresponding withjin ye今也 in the following line今也每食無餘; whether from the overall structure of the poem or the meaning of "Quan yu," the text of the manuscript is smoother and the meaning clearer, so that there is no doubt that it preserves the original form of the poem. There are also a few

14 Xu Zaiguo徐在国,"Shi Zhou Nan Ge tan ‘shi yi shi huo’ jie”《詩·周南·葛覃》“是刈是獲”解, Anhui daxue xuebao (Zhexue Shehui kexueban)安徽大学学报（哲学社会科学版）2017.5, 83–86.
other poems that contain either more or fewer lines, or in a different order, which are also variants worthy of our attention.

In the formal publication of the manuscript, we provided the best explanation that we could for each of the variants, some of them even being the topic of specialized articles, which I will not detail here. In sum, the manuscript's variant characters, diction and phrases are all of very great significance, for which there is much room for further research.

4 The Literary Value of the Shi Jing Manuscript

The manuscript provides important new evidence with which to reconsider such questions as the composition and transmission of the Shi jing, and the textual origin and value of the Ancient Text Mao Shi.

First, in terms of composition and transmission, that the number and sequence of poems in the various Airs of the states of the manuscript is essentially similar to those of the Mao Shi shows that the source-text from which the early Warring States Chu-script manuscript was copied was not at all very different from that of the Mao Shi. Based on such texts as the Lunyu 論語 and Zuo zhuan 左傳, it is clear that there was already a fixed text of the Shi jing in circulation by the Spring and Autumn period. The discovery of the manuscript is concrete evidence that the Shi jing was in circulation in the early Warring States-period state of Chu, which is of tremendous significance for the date of the composition of the Shi jing and for its transmission.

Next, the variants of the manuscript show that even though there was a fixed text of the Shi jing by the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, its transmission was not through a single school, and that there were many hands involved in its copying. In the course of its transmission, because different individuals had different understandings of the poems, and also due to different writing systems in different regions or occasional copying errors, variants in the texts came about. The manuscript reflects the characteristics of Chu orthography and vocabulary, so that its differences vis-à-vis the Mao Shi in wording and stanza sequence or number should reflect a concrete record of the Shi jing in the area of Chu.

Third, the manuscript includes only some of the Airs of the states, showing that the copying of the Shi jing at that time could be selective based on different purposes and needs, and that it was not at all necessary to copy the entire text. We can imagine that copying the entirety of the Shi jing would be a very great undertaking, so that if it were only for the purpose of teaching or some
other purpose ordinarily it would not have been necessary to copy the entire text. If the copyist were making selections from the Shi jing, he would have had to leave out certain sections, which with respect to the complete text of the Shi jing would objectively represent a re-edition or an abbreviation. In this process, each text might be deliberately re-arranged, or even inadvertently mistaken. The mix-up between the manuscript’s Hou (Wei) and Wei (Tang) sections is very possibly such a result. If these hypotheses have any merit, they can contribute to our understanding of the transmission of the Shi jing in the pre-Qin period.

Fourth, the manuscript shows once again that the Ancient Text Mao Shi is a reliable text. According to the record of the “Yiwen zhi” chapter of the Han shu, the Mao shi was an Ancient Text text in circulation prior to the Qin “burning of the books.” Comparing the manuscript and the Mao Shi, the texts are mainly similar, the differences being of only secondary importance. This proves that the Mao Shi really is a pre-Qin Ancient Text text. It is worth noting that the Mao Shi has a number of transmission errors, the reasons for which can be demonstrated through analysis of the manuscript. This also shows that the Mao Shi is actually the copy of an ancient text. Of course, the differences between the manuscript and the Mao Shi show that the two texts did not derive from the same source-text transmission, but that it is more likely that they represent two different ancient texts of the Shi jing. Because the transmission of the Mao Shi was such a long process, it could have undergone any number of mutations, and therefore it is not very likely that it is the form of the ancient text. Therefore, in treating the variants between the manuscript and the Mao Shi, I suggest that we ought to especially value the evidence of the manuscript.

The several points above show that the discovery of the Anda manuscript is extremely significant for the study of the formation and transmission of the Shi jing. I am confident that with further research the value of the Anda Shi jing manuscript will gradually become ever more manifest.

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17 According to reports, a copy of the Airs of Bei 邳風 was discovered in 2015 from Tomb 106 at Xiajiatai 夏家壹, Jingzhou 荆州, Hubei; this would also be the Airs of just one state.
18 Ban Gu, Han shu, 10.1708.
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