The Paleography, Rhetorical Structure and Content of the Shanghai Museum
Chu Bamboo Manuscript “San de” 〈參德〉

By
Jeffrey R. Tharsen

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I. Physical State of the Manuscript

The text entitled “參德” “San de” was published in the fifth volume of the

Shanghai Bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書, the official
publication of three collections of bamboo strips purchased from the Hong Kong antiquities market in 1994 and restored by the Shanghai Museum. According to the museum’s restoration report, many of the strips were saturated with water and encased in mud, while others had been received already cleaned (ostensibly so that potential buyers could see the writing on the strips clearly) but also damaged by this initial cleaning process. The museum put the strips through a lengthy restoration and freeze-drying process, then produced the three separate sets of photographs seen in the publication. The head of the Shanghai Museum restoration and associated publication was Dr. Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, and the lead scholar for the transcription and discussion of the “San de” was Prof. Li Ling 李零 of Beijing University. As noted in the publication, the text includes one fragment discovered by the Art Museum of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (given the strip number “HK” in this study).

There are three unbroken strips of nearly identical length in the text (strips 4, 10 and 16) averaging 44.93cm long. The lengths of the strips as arranged by Prof. Li are delineated in the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strip #</th>
<th>Length s.1 (cm)</th>
<th>Length s.2 (cm)</th>
<th>Total Length (cm)</th>
<th>Placement of break</th>
<th>[2]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>45^4</td>
<td>Lower section</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>Upper section, missing center</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>Above upper binding strap</td>
<td>45+5=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>45^5</td>
<td>Upper binding strap</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 For the purposes of this report, the numbers of the strips will be as published in the Shanghai Museum publication.
3 The second number in this column refers to the number of reduplication marks in the text, thus the total number of characters is best viewed as these two figures added together.
4 Prof. Li claims this strip is intact despite the visible crack in the lower section. All lengths when estimated will be listed in italics; the lengths for the two sections of this strip are estimates based upon strip 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Length1 (cm)</th>
<th>Length2 (cm)</th>
<th>Length3 (cm)</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>Upper binding strap</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>Lower section</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>Lower section</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>Midpoint; lower half missing</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>Lower section</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>Lower section</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>Lower section</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>Lower section</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>Midpoint</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>Upper binding strap</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>Lower section; missing end</td>
<td>38+1=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>Midpoint; lower half missing</td>
<td>28+1=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>Midpoint; lower half missing</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>Lower section; missing top ¼</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>Midpoint; missing upper half</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HK</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>Lower section; missing top ¼</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above chart, certain general physical characteristics of the manuscript become apparent. First, the average length of all the broken and rejoined strips is 44.94 cm, nearly identical to the average length of the three whole strips. In addition, it can be observed that fourteen of the strips (the thirteen rejoined and strip eighteen which has both binding marks) broke in one of three places (strip 2 as reconstituted has two of these breaks with the center section missing):\(^7\) 13.9-14.7 cm from the top (strips 2, 3, 5, 6 and 17), 23.5-24.2 cm from the bottom (strips 2 and 15) and 10.3-11.1 cm from the bottom (strips 1, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 21, with the 9.7 cm-long strip from the Chinese University of Hong Kong only 0.6 cm shorter). Strips 9, 19 and 20 have only one apparent binding mark; no true determination can thus be made about whether or not they match the rejoined strips, but it is worth noting that these three strips broke in nearly the

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\(^5\) This strip has broken at the top binding strap but is listed as intact by Prof. Li. The lengths for the two sections are estimated based upon strips 3 and 17.

\(^6\) This strip is also described as intact by Prof. Li. Lengths for the two sections are estimated based upon strips 3 and 17.

\(^7\) Since the bottom edge on strip 22 seems consistent with the bottoms of the other strips, it seems to match the break on strips 2 and 15, but this cannot be empirically verified.
same location and do not match any of the three breakpoints in the rejoined strips. The
tops of strips 9 and 20 are noticeably jagged: the top of strip 20 breaks in the middle of a
graph, while the very top of strip 9 has been effaced with a faint line across the strip,
bringing into question whether the published alignment of these strips is accurate. In
addition, the measurements for strip 12 do not seem to exactly match the relative
dimensions of the strips in the photographs on pages 11-12 of the official publication,
reproduced in Appendix I (strip 12 should be longer than strip 11 but is noticeably shorter
in the photograph). This should serve as a warning: using the photographs for
comparisons of physical attributes is likely problematic as elements within the images are
not always to the same scale, even within the same photograph. Finally, based on the
above information, the pieces of the strips can be rearranged in numerous different ways,
but any arrangement will always include large missing sections.

Viewing the publication’s set of enlarged photographs of the text, the fine
brushlines in most of the graphs are clear and distinct. The tops of the first graph on each
strip start right under the very top edge, then the characters are consistently spaced down
the strip with generous space left for the two binding cords and a small margin left at the
bottom of each strip. The style of the calligraphy, marked by thick lines and relatively
heavy brushstrokes, is similar but not identical to other Shanghai Museum texts,
supporting Prof. Li’s assertion that this text has no direct counterparts among those
published thus far by the museum.\textsuperscript{8} Individual paleographic idiosyncrasies will be
discussed in Section II.

There are two exceptions to the above general state of the bamboo strips. 1) The
lower section of strip eight is badly discolored in all three photographs, making it

\textsuperscript{8} From Li Ling’s lecture at the University of Chicago, Oct. 15, 2007.
virtually impossible to read the graphs. However, traces of the ink are still visible, and as
Prof. Li gives a transcription of the characters, we can assume the graphs were clearly
legible at some point or that via special treatment (for example, the use of oxalic acid or
infrared radiation) the exact shapes of the graphs were able to be determined. 2) The
partial strip from the Chinese University of Hong Kong has a much darker coloring than
those published by the Shanghai Museum, but this may simply be due to different
methods of conservation, storage or photographic rendering; since the orthography of the
graphs on this partial strip matches the Shanghai Museum strips\(^9\) (and the markings and
content are also similar), there seems no reason to exclude it on this basis.

II. Paleography

There are seventy-seven marks or symbols found throughout the “San de” text,
relatively consistent in size and appearance, in form extremely similar to reduplication
marks. The marks seem to have been made with a single brushstroke, running left to
right, often beginning a bit below the main stroke. There seems to have been a distinct
intent in their placement, despite the large number of them found throughout the text.
Further discussion of the functions they may be performing in the text will be provided in
Section III. For now, here are thirteen samples of the marks/symbols:

\(^9\) Specifically, that the calligraphy and orthography of the graphs時, 喜 and 災 all match the Shanghai
Museum strips seems to confirm that this partial strip should be included with the text.
For the reading of each graph which scholars and paleographers have rendered differently than Prof. Li’s transcription in the official publication, including those left unexplained, I have given an image of the graph from the largest photographs of the strips, the initial transcription, my preferred reading of it and its source. All additional published readings of the graphs are included as well. For ease of reference, all graphs discussed in this section are colored blue in the transcription and translation in Section V of this study.

Strip 1:

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 忻; as the standard meanings for 忻 do not seem to fit here, I agree with Yan Changgui, who reads it as 欣.

This graph is transcribed as 平 by Prof. Li. Wang Lan prefers to read it as 再 by phonetic extension, but I agree with the original transcription which reads it as the first graph in the standard compound “平旦”.

While this graph can be read as 明 as Prof. Li does in his transcription, I believe Yan Changgui’s reading of it as 晦 is better based upon the context and to differentiate it from the 明 written with a 示 beneath it which occurs earlier in the strip. Fan Changxi reads it as 暝 based on a graph found on strip 37 of the “Rong Cheng Shi” 〈容成氏〉.

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 句 and by extension 後. This is disputed by Wang Lan and Hu Meijing, who argue that the correct reading is 句.
The transcription of 奮 by Prof. Li is similarly disputed by Wang and Hu, who argue it should be read as 發 to create the compound “句發”.

Prof. Li, in his transcription notes from the publication, allows that the graph 齊 can be read as 齋 and 宿 can be read as 素.

Strip 2:

Prof. Li transcribes 興 with the 止 below it as 興, and says by phonetic extension can also be read as 憎 or 憴. He noted that these are opposites, so the correct graph is based on what is understood from the context; it was his opinion that 興 was probably best here.¹⁰

偽 transcribed as 偽 by Prof. Li. This graph generated a great deal of discussion over whether or not it represents a new character, meaning “to do [something] with heart” or “wholeheartedly”, but the current general consensus is that the character 偽 can relatively accurately represent the meaning the graph seems to have here.

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 詐; Chen Wei believes it should be read as 慮 or 作.

This graph is transcribed by Prof. Li as 諏, which the Shuo Wen Jie Zi 《說文解字》defines as “欺也”; based on this, I agree with Yan Changgui’s reading of it as 忌.

¹⁰ Discussion with Li Ling, November 1, 2007.
Strip 4:

Transcribed by Prof. Li as 祇; I agree with Chen Wei’s opinion that it should be read as the phonologically similar 次 in the two places it occurs on this strip.

Prof. Li does not transcribe this graph; I agree with Chen Wei, who makes the case that it should be read as 疏, transcribing the right side as 疣, not 定.

Strip 5:

Li Tianhong reads 嘘 as 夭, which seems to fit the context best here. Strip 16 also has this graph, and the reading 嘘 seems to fit the context better in that case.

Strip 6:

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 宅 or 托; Chen Wei reads it as the phonetically similar 度, which seems to fit the meaning best both here and in strip 7.

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 蓼; Hu Meijing reads it as 亂 based on Chen Wei’s opinion that it represents a form of 慮; I agree with Chen Wei’s opinion that it is likely a phonological extension of 慮: 吕 or 脅.

Strip 7:

Prof. Li reads this graph as 限 based on his transcription of it as 堍. He Youzu reads it as 謹. I most agree with Meng Fengsheng, who reads it as 期 based on the
couplet “期度” on strip 10 of the “Jing Jian Nei zhi”《競建內之》from Vol.5 of the Shanghai Museum publication; he also notes that “限度” and “堇度” do not fit the context.

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 亖 and by extension 諒. It occurs 3 times in strip 7 and once in strip 8. Chen Wei reads it as 就, but I agree with the original transcription.

Prof. Li transcribes 滔 as 饕, saying that “滔皇” should be read as “饕皇”, but I agree with Yang Zesheng who leaves it as 滔. Prof. Li also consistently reads 康 as 荒.

Strip 8:

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 芋, without giving further explanation. I believe He Youzu’s reading of it as 華 the most suitable based upon the context, forming a rhyming couplet with 虚.

Strip 9:

衿：錦 (Li) -- Fan Changxi would like to read it as 絳 (meaning “monocolored clothing”), which might help resolve Chen Wei’s dispute over 袆 below.

交 (Li) read as 絞 (Chen Wei).

袒：裼(Li) -- though Chen Wei says this type of clothing would not be appropriate for burial rituals, without giving another reading.
This is the first of three graphs in this text which have no resolution as yet.

Strip 10:

This graph is transcribed as 察 by Prof. Li. Yan Changgui believes it should be read as 撲 as in 撲伐 or 剪 as in 剪伐. I agree with Ji Xusheng, who is quoted by Li Tianhong as reading it as 刈 and by extension 害.

Prof. Li does not even attempt a transcription of this graph, as he says it is unclear. I follow Chen Jian, who reads it as 改 on the basis that it should parallel 収 in the next line.

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 敗 but does not attempt to resolve its meaning. I follow Chen Jian here as well, who reads it as 圍 or 圍: “改圍” meaning “改變禁止”. In strip 17, 敗 is also read as 圍.

Prof. Li transcribes these graphs as 焚古讙 but does not attempt to explain them. Liu Guoshang reads 焚 as 煩, meaning “difficulty”, then 古讙 as 姑嫂 in parallel with 父兄 in the next line, reading the 娼 component as 娉. 讙 read as 樓 is my own preference, as 讙 meaning 謡譁 “vague or aimless speech” doesn’t really seem to make any sense in this context (though an argument could be made for 焚古讙 meaning
“don’t burn ancient books with no apparent value”), and I don’t believe that this line necessarily parallels the line which follows it.

Strip 11:

I follow Prof. Li’s transcription of this graph as 羞. Zhao Pingan states this graph should be read as similar to the graphs 疑 and 疑 found in the Guodian text “Yu Cong Yi” 〈語叢一〉 strips 50 and 110, meaning 疑.

I agree with Prof. Li, who transcribes this graph as 怯, thus meaning 情 or 懶 by extension. Fan Changxi wants to read it as 适, making the argument that it is phonetically similar to 折.

Strip 12:

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 岸. It is also found in the Shanghai Museum Vol.3 manuscript of the Zhou Yi and is 干 in the received text, thus 岸 (via the 古文 form of岸, 衍). He Youzu transcribes the graph as 淵 and reads it as 澗, which makes sense but in my opinion is less appropriate for the context than 岸.

As only the top is visible, Prof. Li does not give an official transcription for this graph, saying only that the top should be read as 出. Fan Changxi notes that several graphs from Guodian and Baoshan texts have this form for the upper part, such as 老, 孝, 寿, and 善, and believes it is best read as 嗜, thus “嗜好” meaning
“enjoy” or “delight in”. Unfortunately, without the lower section of the graph, none of these are empirically verifiable.

Strip 13:

This graph occurs twice in this text, but is not explained by Prof. Li.

I follow Fan Changxi, who believes it is graphically similar to as found in the Guodian Laozi A text, as found in the Guodian manuscript “Yu CongYi” text〈語叢一〉, strip 46, and as found on strip 3 of the Cong Zheng〈從政〉B text from Vol.2 of the Shanghai Museum publication, all of which are transcribed as 怒.

Prof. Li originally transcribed this graph as 謀 “plot”, but when I asked him about it, indicated that 謨 “teaching” or “instruction” may be a better reading. Chen Jian has transcribed it as 悔. This graph is also found in strip 20:

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 隨 and by extension 堕. Read as 隨 “to follow” by Wang Lan, based upon the phonetic reading, seems to make more sense than 堕 “to neglect” based upon the context.

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 喜. I follow Ji Xusheng, who explains 贓 is an 異體 form of 救 and also functions as a cross-rhyme with 憂.

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11 Discussion with Li Ling, November 1, 2007.
12 Wang Lan quotes the XuKaiXi: “徐鍇繫傳：‘隨，從也。從是，隋聲。’”
Strip 14:

This reduplicated graph is read as 紡織 by Prof. Li. Fan Changxi reads this as 混混, based on [虫虫] as the original form of 昆蟲 and used for 混 in the Guodian manuscripts. As a secondary consideration, 混 rhymes with 隕 (both 文部 rhymes), whereas 紡 does not rhyme.

Strip 15:

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 且. I agree with Chen Wei and Chen Jian, who both argue it should be read as 處 based on orthographic similarity. Scott Cook reads it as 論 or 庶 based on rhyme, though to me this seems like a less valid reason to change the reading for the character.

Strip 16:

Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 絕. Fan Changxi reads this graph as 斷, which is actually more similar to the original graph, but based on context, 絕 seems a better fit.

This graph is transcribed as 繼 and by phonetic extension 匹 by Prof. Li. I follow Fan Changxi's reading of it as 数, which is phonetically similar to 繼.

Strip 17:

This is the second of the three as yet unresolved graphs in the text; Prof. Li handwrote it in the publication. I would like to offer the suggestion that it should be read
as 基 based on the context, but there are 2 issues which seem to argue against it. 1) The standard form of 基 in bronze inscriptions and manuscripts consists of 其 above a 土; the 其 in nearly every case has the “ears” and cross lacking in this version. 2) 基 already exists in the text in strip 5 in this form:  

I follow Prof. Li’s transcription of this graph as 古 and by extension 固.

However, Qin Shaohua makes a valid argument that this graph is more similar to 由 as seen in the Guodian text “Cheng zhi wen zhi” (成之聞之), strip 28, than 古, and thus by extension, should be read as 育.

This graph is transcribed by Prof. Li as 矩. Chen Jian extends this graph to read it as 矩 “carpenter’s square” or “legally correct”, but I believe it fits the context better as Prof. Li originally transcribed it, meaning “strength”.

Strip 18:

Transcribed as 杲 and by extension 刃 by Prof. Li, I follow Chen Jian’s reading of it as 梁, meaning “place of comparatively shallow water” (“水比較淺的地方”).

貌 : 貌 (Li): While not contentious, this pair of graphs is the only existing mention of a “lion” in manuscript texts. Historically, the Asiatic lion was found throughout Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (see Appendix II), so its mention here
provides a new and interesting addition to the Warring States lexicon and Chinese cultural history. This animal is discussed further at the end of Section IV.

: Prof. Li doesn’t transcribe this graph in the publication, but he agreed it could be read the same as its counterpart in the Shanghai Museum Zhou Yi manuscript, with the extended reading 蒙.13

Strip 20:

This graph is particularly problematic as it comes at the top of a strip which has broken and thus is missing much of the upper portion. It is transcribed as 付 by Prof. Li, though he does not provide an official reading. I follow Yuan Jinping’s reading of it as 弛, meaning “舍棄” “abandon”.

Prof. Li does not transcribe this character. Chen Jian reads it as 畏 with the extended meaning 威 based on the graph in the Guodian text “Tang Yu zhi Dao” (“唐虞之道”), strip 13.

Prof. Li does not attempt to resolve this character. I follow Chen Jian’s argument that it is best read as 僦.

13 Discussion with Li Ling, November 1, 2007.
Strip 22:

This is the third of the three graphs which have not been resolved yet. It is not discussed by Prof. Li in the publication; Cao Feng believes it could be an 異體 form of 夏, but he gives no clear rationale and provides no secondary examples to back up this claim.

This graph is also not transcribed by Prof. Li because it is “unclear”. He Youzu reads it as 閭; I believe Fan Changxi’s reading of it as 閭 seems to best fit the context.

III. Rhetorical Structure, Strip Order and Content

The content of the “San de” is its most fascinating, and at the same time, most mystifying feature. It features a wide array of advanced stylistic and rhetorical devices, such as structural and semantic repetition, lines of identical lengths (as divided by the “punctuation” marks or symbols) and extensive rhyming. This text seems to have undergone a great deal of refinement, the result of a skilled guiding hand or possibly many hands in its production and/or transmission.

The best examples of the use of repetition in the text are the first three lines in strip 1 (as arranged in my transcription), lines 7-9 in strip 17 (“知 A 足以 B”) and the long section running from strips 10 to 11 made up of mainly three-character lines beginning with “毋” and ending with a mark. The widespread use of rhyme throughout the text is a bit more difficult to pin down, as there seem to be some sections virtually
without a rhyme structure, others which rhyme in regular 3- or 4-graph patterns, and still
others which rhyme in variable meter. Many of the rhymes are not “true rhymes”
(rhyming graphs from the same rhyme group) as well: involving cross-rhymes\textsuperscript{14} and
occasionally characters seeming to rhyme with themselves (a well-known prohibition in
early Chinese poetic style). Probable rhyming structures (limited to those without
repetitive phrasal structures, with cross-rhymes indicated by lowercase letters) and their
relative line lengths within each strip (rhymes which seem to run from one strip to the
next are detailed in the lower section on strip order) are outlined in the following table,
and can be verified using the tables of reconstructed pronunciations and rhyme groups in
Appendix III:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strip #</th>
<th>Lengths of Rhyming Lines</th>
<th>Rhymes</th>
<th>Rhyme Sequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lines 1-6: 3x3 字 + 3x4 字</td>
<td>之部, 之部, 職部 + 之部, 職部, 之部</td>
<td>A A a + A a A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lines 4-7: 4 字, 5 字, 4 字, 5 字</td>
<td>?部, 之部, 魚部, 之部</td>
<td>? A X A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lines 6-9: all 4字</td>
<td>質部, 陽部, 元部, 陽部</td>
<td>X A X A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lines 6-9: all 4字</td>
<td>財部, 鎮部, 財部</td>
<td>A X A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lines 12: 3 字, 4 字, 3 字, 4 字</td>
<td>之部, 之部, 之部, 之部</td>
<td>A A A A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lines 1-4: all 4字</td>
<td>之部, 職部, 之部, 之部</td>
<td>A a A A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lines 5-8: 5字, 4字, 4字, 4字</td>
<td>真部, 魚部, 之部, 魚部</td>
<td>X B X B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lines 3-4: both 4字</td>
<td>陽部, 陽部</td>
<td>A A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Lines 7-11: 4字, 4字, 5字, 4字</td>
<td>陽部, 陽部, 陽部, 陽部</td>
<td>A A A A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lines 2-3: both 4字</td>
<td>魚部, 魚部</td>
<td>A A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lines 8-10: both 4字</td>
<td>魚部, 陽部</td>
<td>B B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lines 4-7: 4字, 4字, 5字, 5字</td>
<td>侵部, 之部, 真部, 元部</td>
<td>X A X A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lines 2-5: 5字, 4字, 4字, 4字</td>
<td>財部, 魚部, 職部, 魚部</td>
<td>X A X A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Lines 6-7: both 4字</td>
<td>魚部, 鎮部</td>
<td>B b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{14} See Wang Li 王力, *Shi jing yun du* 《詩經韻讀》, p.28-40, for a thorough explanation of cross-rhymes
(tong yun 通韻 and he yun 合韻) in the *Shi jing*. 
The order of the strips as presented in my transcription differs quite a bit from the original publication. Including Prof. Li, five scholars have offered different versions of the proper order for the strips. Their arrangements and my own are laid out in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Proposed Order of Strips (all numbers follow the official publication)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>李零</td>
<td>1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-HK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>王蘭</td>
<td>2-3-1-10-11-12 上-HK-8 下-9-4-5;13-14-19-12 下-20-22-6-7-8 上-21-18-17-15-16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>顧史考</td>
<td>1,2-3-4-5,22-6-17-15-16,7,8,9,10-11-12 上,HK,12 下-20,13-14,19,21,18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>1-2-3-4-5,22-6-17-15-16,7,8;10-11-12 上,HK,9-12 下-20,13-14-19,21-18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>曹峰</td>
<td>1-2-3,4-5,22-6-7-8-17,15-16-SN^{15}-HK-9;9 下-10-11-12 上,12 下-20-13-14-19-21-18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tharsen</td>
<td>1-2-3,4-5,22-6-17-15-16-SN,7-8,10-11-12-20,13-14-19,19,9,21,18.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for Prof. Li, the scholars who published an order for the strips as presented in the table broke the text up into discrete sections. In the table, these are delineated using commas for small breaks in the flow of the text and semicolons for places where they believed the text should be divided into larger sections. In a few cases, Cao Feng, Scott Cook and Wang Lan have also split the text at the physical breaks in the strips (see Section 1): Cao Feng broke up the text in strips 9 and 12, Scott Cook broke up the text in strip 12, and Wang Lan broke up the text in strips 12 and 8. I have resisted doing so as I believe the nature of the text is too fragmentary to allow for this type of judgment about

^{15} “SN” represents a section of the “Shang Nong” chapter of the *LüShi ChunQiu* 《呂氏春秋・上農》 as discussed further below
which sections might compose a distinct subsection. In addition, I believe there are already enough lacunae and partial strips in the text which break up the content, and adding artificial breaks to these does not seem to clarify the meaning of the text.

In my opinion, the following sequences of strips can be established as follows (the marks/symbols which divide the text are represented by “

Strip 2 followed by strip 3: Strip 2 ends with the phrases “忌而不忌, 天乃降災  已而不已” and the first phrase on strip 3 is “天乃降異”, which would exactly parallel the “天乃降 x” structure.

4→5: Strip 4 ends with “毋謂之” and strip 5 begins with “不敢毋謂之不然”, which would create a nice parallel structure, 敢 and 然 possibly creating a rhyming couplet: 敢 is a 談部 rhyme and 然 is 元部; thus, they would not be direct rhymes but cross-rhymes. However, 談部*-am and 元部*-an, while phonetically similar, are not found as cross-rhymes in the Shi jing, meaning that if these characters do indeed rhyme here, this would be an indication that their reconstructed pronunciation is incorrect or does not accurately reflect the vocalization of these two graphs at the time of or in the area (assumed to be the state of Chu) where this manuscript was written, or that the rhyme groups as understood by Wang Li and Baxter do not accurately reflect the time and/or dialect used in this manuscript.

22→6: Strip 22 ends with “臨民以 仁  民 莫 弗”; as 仁 is a 非部-rhyme character,

\[\text{\footnote{16 See Wang Li 《詩經韻讀》, p.}}\]
6→17: The last three full lines on strip 6 “建五官弗措，是謂反逆 □ 土地乃坼 □ 民人
乃” end in 措, 逆, 坼: all 鐸部 rhyming graphs. Strip 7 begins “喪 □”, and 喪 is
a 陽部 character, whereas strip 17 begins “茗 □”, and 茗 (along with 各 and 格)
is a 鐸部 character, which would better match the rhyme pattern and structure
continued from strip 6.17

17→15: The last line of strip 17 ends “不修其成 □ 而”, which when paired with the
beginning of strip 15 “聽其營，百事不遂，慮事不成 □” creates a set of four
lines of four characters, rhyming A A X A, as 成, 營 and 成 are all 耕部 rhyme-
group graphs; the prohibition on graphs rhyming with themselves can be avoided
if the first 成 is ignored in the rhyme scheme and the structure is assumed to be
simply two eight-character couplets.

15→16→SN: The order of these three strips relies upon a parallel found in the received
version of the “Shang Nong” (SN) chapter of the LüShi ChunQiu 《呂氏春秋·
上農》. Strip 15 ends with “驟奪民時 □ 天飢必來 □” which seems to exactly
parallel the line “數奪民時，大飢乃來。” from the〈上農〉. Strip 16 would
then begin with the parallel text which immediately precedes this line:

Strip 16: “奪民時以土攻，是謂稽 □ 不絕憂恤 □ 必喪其秕 □ 奪民時以水事，
是謂順 □ 喪以繼樂 □ 四方來囂 □ 奪民時以兵事 □ 是…”
LüShi ChunQiu: “奪之以土功，是謂稽，不絕憂唯，必喪其秕。奪之以水事，
是謂籥，喪以繼樂，四方來囂。奪之以兵事，是謂厲，禍因胥歲，不舉銍艾。”

These texts are remarkably similar; the few discrepancies between them would
not seem to be significant enough to discount the contention that, most likely,

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17 This argument is explained in detail by Chen Jian in “《三德》竹簡編聯的一處補正”.

they are both based upon similar sources, or, less likely, one text is quoting the other. The problematic issue then is the fact that strip 16 ends before the end of the same section in the received text. I would like to offer the suggestion that the final ten graphs in the received text “謂厲，禍因胥歳，不舉銍艾。” should be read as the top of the next strip. Unfortunately, no such strip exists in the Shanghai Museum text. While the existence of a missing strip is not directly verifiable, there are several fragments (strips 21 and the Hong Kong fragment, or strip 20 if repositioned) which would have plenty of space for these ten graphs in the missing top section of the strip.

7→8: Strip 7 ends with “上帝弗諒 以祀不享”， so we would expect the strip following to begin with a new phrase, which strip 8 does. More compelling, strip 7 has the line “上帝弗諒” twice, and this phrase also exists in the lower section of strip 8, so it can be inferred that the same topic is continued from strip 7 to 8.

10→11: Strip 11 continues the dominant “毋 …” structure from strip 10 as noted above in the section on repetition.

11→12: The structure of the final three lines of strip 11, “善勿滅 不祥勿為 入墟樂 登” would be completed by “丘 勿 歌” found at the top of strip 12; 為 and 歌 are both 歌部-rhyming graphs, creating the standard rhyme structure X A X A.

12→20: The “x之不x” structure of the last line of strip 12 “秉之不固” is mirrored by the top line in strip 20, “弛之不威”.
13→14: The last section of strip 13 “多其賕而” when continued by the top of strip 14 “寡其憂而” would create a rhyming couplet of a three-graph line ending in 賕, a 幽部 graph, and a four-graph line ending in “憂”, also a 幽部 graph.

14→19: The 蒸部 rhyming couplet at the head of strip 19 would best be begun by a single graph to create two lines of four graphs, thus the end of strip 14 read as “爲不善禍，乃感之，俾” seems to best fit this structure.

There are several intriguing references to possible gods or spirits found in the “San de”. The most remarkable is “上帝”, found six times throughout the text, making this the only published excavated manuscript which explicitly mentions this term. (However, Strip 6 of the 〈柬大王泊旱〉 text as published in Vol.4 of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts contains the term “帝=”, generally understood as “上帝” in the line “帝=鬼神高明”). The table below shows the references and their locations in the text:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strip #</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>天神, 皇天, 上帝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>上帝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>皇天, 上帝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>皇天, 上帝, 上帝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>高陽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>皇后</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>皇天, 后帝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>鬼神</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HK</td>
<td>上帝</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The line “上天有下政” in strip 19 seems to indicate that the “San de” is describing a cosmic governmental hierarchy, and the above references thus likely reflect
the deities in that hierarchy. The lone exception might be “高陽”, found in strip 9: “高
陽 曰，毋凶服以享祀 ■”. As this is the sole use of “曰” in the “San de” and given that
the speech of deities is not commonly found in Warring States manuscripts, I believe it is
most likely that “高陽” is the name of a text, or possibly the name of a contemporaneous
personage or school of thought.18 The other reference found in the text comes in strip 1,
line 4, which reads “明王無思”; from this and the fact that the text seems to be
describing methods of good government on the state level, I believe the intended
audience for the text can be inferred to be the king (“王”).

The other intriguing reference, also mentioned in the paleography section, is the
name of the animal in strip 18 which “eats tigers”: “狻猊食虎 □”. As mentioned above,
this animal is generally agreed to be the Asiatic lion, “狻猊” being the transliteration that
Prof. Li associates with a name for the lion brought in from a foreign language. In my
opinion, the most compelling argument comes from the statement in the Han period text
〈郭璞〉 which is virtually identical to the line in the “San de”: “狻猊，獅子，亦食虎
豹”, and the definition of “狻麑” in the 〈爾雅〉: “狻麑如虦貓，食虎豹”.

The title of the text comes from strip 1, line 5, which seems to be describing the
“triad of powers” laid out in lines 1-3. The concept of “三德” is also defined in two
major received works, the Shang Shu and Zhou Li, though these definitions are somewhat
different than the triad found in the Shanghai Museum manuscript:

《尚書•洪範》：“三德：一曰正直，二曰剛克，三曰柔克。”

18 Zhou Fengwu 周鳳五 agreed with my argument that “高陽” likely represents the name of a text due to
the use of “曰”, from Dr. Zhou’s Warring States Manuscripts seminar at 國立臺灣大學, Spring 2006.
《周禮·地官·師氏》：“以三德教國子，一曰至德，以為道本；二曰敏德，以為行本；三曰孝德，以知逆惡。”

However, there are also quite a few examples from received literature which discuss the concept of a trinity of heaven, earth and humankind in very similar ways to those found in the “San de”:

《大戴禮記·四代》：“公曰：「所謂民與天地相參者，何謂也？」子曰：
「天道以視，地道以履，人道以稽。」”

《天論》：“天有其時，地有其財，人有其治，夫是之謂能參。舍其所以參，而願其所參，則惑矣。”

《鶡冠子·泰鴻第十》：“天、地、人，事三者復一也，立置臣義，所謂四則。”

《淮南子·兵略訓》：“故上將之用兵也，上得天道，下得地利，中得人心。”

《文子·自然》：“故能法天者，天不一時，地不一材，人不一事，故緒業多端，趨行多方。”

《官子·內業》：“天主正，地主平，人主安靜。”

This last reference to the “Nei Ye” chapter of the Guanzi includes another interesting textual parallel. The “Nei Ye” is rhetorically similar to the “San de”, including rhyming lines of both consistent and varying lengths and an overall paratactic structure: commentary followed by a terse definition in the form of “是謂…” . While the overall content of the “Nei Ye” is about cultivation of individual qi 氣 and the “San de” is about governance in accordance with heaven’s will, the fact that they have such a similar style and rhetorical structure might be grounds for the argument that they represent a style or genre of narrative which may have been more widely used than the
traditional Chinese canon would otherwise indicate. Indeed, similar paratactic structures are evident in the *ShuiHuDi* “Wei Li zhi Dao” manuscript (睡虎地·秦墓竹簡·為吏之道) which contains text with interspersed commentary and similar uses of rhyming, and the Chu Silk Manuscript, which seems mainly to be a list of calendrical notations, but also contains proscriptive language much like that seen in the “San de”. Cao Feng has also noticed thematic and stylistic parallels between the “San de” and the “Huangdi Sijing” (《黃帝四經》) text, arguing that there are broad parallels in philosophical content regarding the roles of heaven and the people (or the sage, in the “Huangdi Sijing”).

The final question I will address in this study is: What role do the “punctuation” marks/symbols play in the “San de”? As the marks are generally consistent in size and shape, I have transcribed them all as the single symbol “▄”. They do not seem to follow the rhyme patterns in the text, thus their function does not seem intended to separate rhetorical structures (see the tables of rhymes and reconstructed pronunciations in Appendix III). Prof. Li indicated to me that there are two possible ways such marks would most likely be used: 1) As breaks or pauses in the rhetorical structure, much like in musical notation and the diacritic marks in ancient Greek texts meant to assist with reading aloud; and 2) As semantic markers to divide sections of text whose meaning might otherwise be confused if there was no mark to delineate where the syntactic structure should stop.19 Unfortunately, as there are no examples of musical notation from early China, the former contention is unsupportable. The latter idea has merit, as there does seem to be a consistent use of the marks after phrases which seem to “sum up” the previous content; however, there are also many places where the marks would likely not

19 Discussion with Li Ling, November 1, 2007.
be necessary as the structure of the text seems to be clear (e.g. lines 1-3 in strip 1), yet they are still there. I would like to add two other possible ways these marks might be functioning in the text: 1) The text may simply be a skillfully compiled list of aphorisms, and each mark would then serve to separate each individual source, or 2) The marks represent a place where commentary, either oral or written, could be inserted in order to further explain the concept(s) described in the text which precedes it, or, as seen in the “Wei Li zhi Dao” and the Shanghai Museum “Heng Xian”〈恆先〉manuscript, this commentary may in fact be the line or lines which directly follow the mark.

IV. Remarks on the General Content of the “San de”

This long and complex text discusses the trinity of heaven, earth and the people with special emphasis on the power of heaven and the necessity of obeying its mandate. Both good and bad causes and results are mentioned, often in the form of a warning or a prohibition, and by extension create definitions for what causes good or bad things to happen. Therefore, the text should most likely be viewed as a sort of instruction manual or list of rules for a king (or great lord) to follow.

Particularly apparent in the “San de” is the dynamic role of deities when punishing the bad and rewarding the good, giving a sense that one’s actions are being adjudicated by an active cosmological system; an established heavenly hierarchy of gods, spirits and ghosts is mentioned as well. As both “king” (王) and “lord” (君子) are mentioned directly, it can be inferred that the intended audience for the text is the ruler of a state. The relationship between the ruler and the people thus becomes critically
important, as the ruler is in charge of ensuring both spiritual and material sustenance to
the people, and as the text clearly dictates, should the ruler fail, this will result in the loss
of heaven’s mandate and the destruction of the state.
V. “San de” <參德> Transcription and Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>簡號</th>
<th>意思</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>天供時■ Heaven supplies the time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>地供材■ Earth supplies the material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>民供力■ The people supply the power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>明王無思 The illumined king need give it no thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>是謂參德 This is called the “Triad of Powers”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>卉木須時 Grasses and trees require time [to grow]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>而後奮 And afterward, flourish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>天惡如欣 Heaven’s hating [things] is like [it] delights in [things].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>平旦毋哭 [At] level dawn, does not weep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>晦毋歌 [In] the night, does not sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>弦望齋素 At the half-moon and full moon, abstinence and purification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[precede the sacrifices]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>是謂順天之常■ This is called obeying Heaven’s constancy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>敬者得之■ The respected obtain it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>懶者失之■ The idle lose it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>是謂天常■ This is called the constancy of Heaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>天神之 X The … of Heaven and the spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>X X X X X …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>皇天將興之■ August Heaven will cause it to arise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>毋為偽詐 Don’t be deceitful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>上帝將憎之■ The Lord Above will detest it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>忌而不忌 [If] what is to be avoided is not avoided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>天乃降災■ Heaven will then bring down disaster.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>已而不已 [If] what is to be desisted from is not desisted from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>天乃降災■ Heaven will then bring down ominous events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>其身不沒 Its body does not expire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>至於孫子 Lasting until descendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>陽而幽 [Are in] light and darkness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>是謂大慼■ This is called great suffering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>雅而陽 Darkness and light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>是謂不祥■ These are called ill-omened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>齊齊節節 In [proper] order and succession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>外內有辨 [When] the outer and inner have separation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>男女有節 Men and women have integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>是謂天禮■ This is called the ritual of Heaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>敬之敬之 Honor it, honor it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>天命孔明 Heaven’s mandate is greatly brilliant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>如反之 If [one acts] contrary to this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>必遇凶殃 One must encounter misfortune and disaster.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>毋詬政卿 Don’t revile high officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>於神次 to the spirit ranks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>毋享逸安 Don’t enjoy leisure and comfort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>求利■ Seeking profit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>殘其親■ Maiming one’s parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>是謂罪■ This is called criminality.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
君無主臣          A lord without officials
是謂危          This is called danger.
邦家其壞          The state and the family each have their breakdowns.
憂懼之閒          Hidden worry and dread.
転之次          The sequence of departing from and reaching to.
毋謂之不 敢          Don’t call it “not daring”.
毋謂之不 然          Don’t call it “not so”
故常不利          Therefore constantly engaging in the unprofitable.
邦失幹常          The state loses its trunk and constancy
小邦則剗          Small states are thus wiped away
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邦家          The state and the family each have their breakdowns.
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Solemn praise must be trustworthy.

Look down to see the patterns of the land

Strive at agriculture with reverence and probity.

Don’t do what you are not able to do.

Don’t change from what you are able to do.

Repeatedly stealing the people’s time.

Heaven’s famines must come.

Stealing the people’s time through [building] earthworks

Stealing the people’s time through [building] waterworks

Stealing the people’s time through military actions

This is called duress

Disaster, difficulty with all harvests

Not raising the sickle [to cut] the wormwood

Happiness without temporal limits

This is called “great emptiness”.

August Heaven trusts it not.

[Heaven] must return it using sadness and loss.

In all cases, [where] eating and drinking are unmeasured.

[And] this is called fulfilling the august

[Then] the Lord Above trusts it not.

[It] must return it through emptiness.

The Lord Above trusts it not.

Use sacrifices, not pleasure.

The state’s four riches

These are called the “glories of the lands”.

In the end, richness must become ruins.

This is what august Heaven hates.

Ultimately, complete [great works] with no delay.

Clothing excessively made

Loses its beauty

This is called disregarding the regulations.

The Lord Above trusts it not.

[With] spirits, worship and sacrifices.

The Lord Above is thus happy

The state and families…

The august lord says:

Stand [upright], do not be of crooked speech.

Do not be an actor.

Do not engage in great affairs.

Do not harm constancy.

Do not block up rivers.

Do not cut off or stop water [from flowing].
Do not destroy ancestral temples.

Do not ruin the strong.

Do not change prohibitions.

Do not change affairs.

Do not burn down ancient buildings.

Do not disgrace your father or older brothers.

Do not be shameful or covetous.

Do not mock corporal punishment.

Do not estimate the depths [of water].

Do not measure [the height of] mountains.

Do not hide your self.

[Though] many speak about it.

When resting, be not lazy.

In action, be not remote.

Be great, do not destroy.

Make no ill omens.

When entering ruins, show no happiness.

When climbing [hills] among tombs, do not sing.

This is what is regarded as the ritual of Heaven.

Capitals facing rivers.

Cities on the banks of seas.

Families with one hundred chariots.

The works of ten families.

Palaces with pools and ponds.

Each careful with its measurements.

Do not lose this Way.

Delighting in killing people

Not drinking.

Not eating.

The instability of the harvest.

Not fearing discarding [things].

Arrival at corporal punishment through grief.

The arrow flies as it is instructed.

That which the people desire.

The spirits will assist [the achievement of it].

Be cautious when managing ruins…

Resentment is first.

The body also becomes sick.

Hates food and eating.

The state is then lost.

The teachings of evil sages.

The family is also disregarded.

Not following the sacrifices.

These are the habits of resentment.

In all cases, it is like this

[If there is] not great calamity

[Then there] must be great shame.

That which Heaven destroys

Many are their bribes.

Yet be alone in sadness
Rise and raise it up.
Let it fall and don’t save [it].
Orient towards management, don’t attack.
Have enthusiasm, don’t kill.
Have balance, don’t destroy.
This [causes one to] encounter ill fortune and eclipses.
Heaven’s disasters [come] in darkness
Not destroying it, not destroying.
[It] is great fortune thus arriving.
[If there] is not greatness [but] disaster
Then be moved by it
Cause the walls not to be increased.
Defeated people will not be raised up.
That which August Heaven discards.
And what the Lord hates.
The day of the new moon is called “darkness”
The Lord Above has an administration below
Daytime…
…neglectful of time.
The Lord Above likes it
Then there are no bad omens and disasters…
Defend, and have no ill fortune and disasters.
Gao Yang says:
Do not use pleasure and sacrifices for evil tasks.
Do not embroider clothing or weave breastplates
… children, this is called “forgetting the spirits”
…
The length of a bamboo staff
Citrus tree root for the chariot roof
Benefits the traveler…
Death in shallow water.
Lions eat Tigers.
There is nothing Heaven does not attend to.
Loving beauty, Heaven attends to it.
Loving brightness, Heaven attends to it.
Loving the hidden, Heaven attends to it.
Loving length, Heaven attends to it.
When Heaven is obeyed
The … of the land arises…

> = Strip broken at this point
VI. Selected Bibliography


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Appendix I: Photographic Overview of the Text
Appendix II: Past and Present Distribution of the Asiatic Lion

Past and present distribution of the lion in North Africa and Southwest Asia

Reproduced from 'Wild Cats - Species Survey and Conservation Action Plan', IUCN Publications

From: The Asiatic Lion Information Centre

www.asiatic-lion.org