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

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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)<sup>2</sup> averaging 44.93cm long. The lengths of the strips as arranged by Prof. Li are delineated in the following chart:

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

<sup>1</sup> See Chen et al. “嚴重朽蝕飽水竹簡的真空冷凍乾燥研究” in *Sciences of Conservation and Archaeology*; Vol. 11 No.1, May 1999.

<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this report, the numbers of the strips will be as published in the Shanghai Museum publication.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

6	14.4	30.3	44.7 <sup>6</sup>	Upper binding strap	49
7	34.8	10.3	45.1	Lower section	47
8	34.5	10.7	45.2	Lower section	49
9	23.7	-	23.7	Midpoint; lower half missing	25
10	-	-	45.1	--	42
11	34	10.6	44.6	Lower section	41
12	34.2	10.6	44.8	Lower section	48
13	34	11.1	45.1	Lower section	49
14	34	11.1	45.1	Lower section	48
15	21.2	23.5	44.7	Midpoint	46
16	-	-	44.7	--	41
17	14.7	30.2	44.9	Upper binding strap	48
18	34.5	-	34.5	Lower section; missing end	38+1=
19	23.7	-	23.7	Midpoint; lower half missing	28+1=
20	23.9	-	23.9	Midpoint; lower half missing	24
21	-	10.6	10.6	Lower section; missing top $\frac{3}{4}$	11
22	-	24.3	24.3	Midpoint; missing upper half	27
HK	-	9.7	9.7	Lower section; missing top $\frac{3}{4}$	11

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 44.94cm, 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):<sup>7</sup> 13.9-14.7cm from the top (strips 2, 3, 5, 6 and 17), 23.5-24.2cm from the bottom (strips 2 and 15) and 10.3-11.1cm from the bottom (strips 1, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 21, with the 9.7cm-long strip from the Chinese University of Hong Kong only 0.6cm 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

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> This strip is also described as intact by Prof. Li. Lengths for the two sections are estimated based upon strips 3 and 17.

<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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

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<sup>8</sup> 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<sup>9</sup> (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:



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<sup>9</sup> 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 :



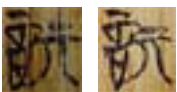
Prof. Li transcribes 興 with the 止 below it as 興, and says by phonetic extension can also be read as 憎 or 懼. He noted that these are opposites, so the correct graph is based on what is understood from the context; it was his opinion that 興 was probably best here.<sup>10</sup>



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 謀, 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.

<sup>10</sup> Discussion with Li Ling, November 1, 2007.

Strip 4 :



(東) 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.

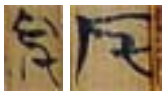


Prof. Li does not transcribe this graph; I agree with Chen Wei, who makes the case that it should be read as 疏, transcribing the right side as 疋, not 疋.

Strip 5 :

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

Strip 6 :



宅 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.



慮 Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 慮; 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 膂.

Strip 7 :



Prof. Li reads this graph as 限 based on his transcription of it as 堇. 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 京 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 饗, saying that “滔皇” should be read as “饗皇”, 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 虛.

Strip 9 :



衿 : 錦 (Li) -- Fan Changxi would like to read it as 衲 (meaning “monocolored clothing”), which might help resolve Chen Wei’s dispute over 袒 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 變 in the next line.



Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 敵 but does not attempt to resolve its meaning. I follow Chen Jian here as well, who reads it as 圉 or 圉: “改圉” meaning “改變禁止”. In

strip 17,  圉 is also read as 圉.





Prof. Li transcribes these graphs as 焚古護 but does not attempt to explain them. Liu Guoshang reads 焚 as 煩, meaning “difficulty”, then 古護 as 姑嫂 in parallel with 父兄 in the next line, reading the 婁 component as 叟. 護 read as 樓 is my own preference, as 護 meaning 誣護 “vague or aimless speech” doesn’t really seem to make any sense in this context (though an argument could be made for 焚古護 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  and  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 愜, thus meaning 愜 or 愜 by extension. Fan Changxi wants to read it as 適, 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 淵, 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, 壽 and 耆, 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 :




(𡗗) 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 惹 as found in the Guodian *Laozi* A text, 恚 as found in the Guodian manuscript “Yu CongYi” text 〈語叢一〉, strip 46, and 安 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 誨 “teaching” or “instruction” may be a better reading.<sup>11</sup> Chen Jian has

transcribed it as 悔. This graph is also found in strip 20: .



Prof. Li transcribes this graph as 隴 and by extension 墮. Read as 隨 “to follow”<sup>12</sup> by Wang Lan, based upon the phonetic reading, seems to make more sense than 墮 “to neglect” based upon the context.



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

<sup>11</sup> Discussion with Li Ling, November 1, 2007.

<sup>12</sup> Wang Lan quotes the *XuKaiXi*: “徐鍇繫傳：‘隨，從也。從辵，隋聲。’”

Strip 14 :



This reduplicated graph is read as 繩繩 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 繩 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 慮 based on orthographic similarity. Scott Cook reads it as 諸 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 必 and by phonetic extension 匹 by Prof. Li. I follow Fan Changxi's reading of it as 糝, which is phonetically similar to 必.

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 初 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”).



 獅 貌：獅貌 (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.



龍

: 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.<sup>13</sup>


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”.



畏

Prof. Li does not transcribe this character. Chen Jian reads it as 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.



贈

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

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<sup>13</sup> Discussion with Li Ling, November 1, 2007.

Strip 22 :



𠄎 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 關 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 “𠄎” 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<sup>14</sup> 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 :

Strip #	Lengths of Rhyming Lines	Rhymes	Rhyme Sequence
1	Lines 1-6: 3x3 字 + 3x4 字	之部, 之部, 職部 + 之部, 職部, 之部	A A a + A a A
2	Lines 4-7: 4 字, 5 字, 4 字, 5 字	? 部, 之部, 魚部, 之部	? A X A
5	Lines 3-6: all 4 字	質部, 陽部, 元部, 陽部	X A X A
	Lines 7-9: all 4 字	脂部, 鐸部, 脂部	A X A
	Lines 9-12: 3 字, 4 字, 3 字, 4 字	之部, 之部, 之部, 之部	A A A A
6	Lines 1-4: all 4 字	之部, 職部, 之部, 之部	A a A A
	Lines 5-8: 5 字, 4 字, 4 字, 4 字	真部, 魚部, 元部, 魚部	X B X B
7	Lines 3-4: both 4 字	陽部, 陽部	A A
	Lines 7-11: 4 字, 4 字, 5 字, 4 字, 4 字	陽部, 陽部, 陽部, 陽部, 陽部	A A A A A
8	Lines 2-3: both 4 字	魚部, 魚部	A A
	Lines 4-5: 4 字, 5 字	鐸部, 鐸部	B B
	Lines 6-7: both 4 字	魚部, 魚部	A A
	Lines 9-10: both 4 字	陽部, 陽部	C C
11	Lines 4-7: 4 字, 4 字, 5 字, 5 字	侵部, 元部, 真部, 元部	X A X A
12	Lines 2-5: 5 字, 4 字, 4 字, 4 字	脂部, 魚部, 緝部, 魚部	X A X A
	Lines 6-9: all 4 字	幽部, 歌部, 鐸部, 幽部	B X X B
13	Lines 1-4: 3 字, 4 字, 4 字, 3 字	幽部, 陽部, 職部, 陽部	X A X A
	Lines 7-8: both 4 字	職部, 職部	B B
14	Lines 4-5: both 4 字	月部, 月部	A A
	Lines 6-7: both 4 字	魚部, 鐸部	B b

<sup>14</sup> 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*.

	Lines 8-9: both 4 字	文部, 文部	C C
18	Lines 1-2: both 4 字	魚部, 魚部	A A
19	Lines 1-4: 3 字, 4 字, 5 字, 6 字	蒸部, 蒸部, 質部, 蒸部	A A X A
	Lines 5-6: 4 字, 5 字	耕部, 耕部	B B
20	Lines 1-2: both 4 字	微部, 微部	A A
	Lines 3-5: all 4 字	之部, 屋部, 之部	B X B
HK	Lines 1-3: 3 字, 4 字, 4 字	之部, 之部, 之部	A A A
SN	Lines 2-3: both 4 字	月部, 月部	A A

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:

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

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

<sup>15</sup> “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 “忌而不忘，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*,<sup>16</sup> 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 文部-rhyme character,

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<sup>16</sup> 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 “蒼 ■”, and 蒼 (along with 各 and 格) is a 鐸部 character, which would better match the rhyme pattern and structure continued from strip 6.<sup>17</sup>

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，大饑乃來。” 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 ■ 必喪其糶 ■ 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，必喪其糶。奪之以水事，是謂籥，喪以繼樂，四鄰來虛。奪之以兵事，是謂厲，禍因胥歲，不舉銓艾。”

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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<sup>17</sup> 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，禍因胥歲，不舉銓艾。” 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 毋 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 “多其賅 ■ 而” when continued by the top of strip 14 “寡其憂 ■” would create a rhyming couplet of a three-graph line ending in 賅, 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 〈東大王泊旱〉 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:

<u>Strip #</u>	<u>References</u>
2	天神，皇天，上帝
6	上帝
7	皇天，上帝
8	皇天，上帝，上帝
9	高陽
10	皇后
19	皇天，后帝
20	鬼神
HK	上帝

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.<sup>18</sup> 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 “狻麿” in the 〈爾雅〉: “狻麿如虬貓，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。”

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<sup>18</sup> 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，人得其治，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.<sup>19</sup> 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

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<sup>19</sup> 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

簡號

1	天供時 ■	Heaven supplies the time.
1	地供材 ■	Earth supplies the material.
1	民供力 ■	The people supply the power.
1	明王無思	The illumined king need give it no thought
1	是謂參德	This is called the “Triad of Powers”
1	卉木須時	Grasses and trees require time [to grow]
1	而後奮 ■	And afterward, flourish.
1	天惡如欣 ■	Heaven’s hating [things] is like [it] delights in [things].
1	平旦毋哭	[At] level dawn, does not weep
1	晦毋歌 ■	[In] the night, does not sing.
1	弦望齋素	At the half-moon and full moon, abstinence and purification [precede the sacrifices]
1	是謂順天之常 ■	This is called obeying Heaven’s constancy.
2	敬者得之 ■	The respected obtain it.
2	怠者失之 ■	The idle lose it.
2	是謂天常 ■	This is called the constancy of Heaven.
2	天神之 X	The ... of Heaven and the spirits
2	X X X X	...
2	皇天將興之 ■	August Heaven will cause it to arise.
2	毋為偽詐	Don’t be deceitful
2	上帝將憎之 ■	The Lord Above will detest it.
2	忌而不忌	[If] what is to be avoided is not avoided
2	天乃降災 ■	Heaven will then bring down disaster.
2	已而不已	[If] what is to be desisted from is not desisted from
3	天乃降異 ■	Heaven will then bring down ominous events.
3	其身不沒	Its body does not expire
3	至於孫子	Lasting until descendants
3	陽而幽 ■	[Are in] light and darkness.
3	是謂大感 ■	This is called great suffering.
3	幽而陽	Darkness and light
3	是謂不祥 ■	These are called ill-omened.
3	齊齊節節	In [proper] order and succession
3	外內有辨	[When] the outer and inner have separation
3	男女有節	Men and women have integrity
3	是謂天禮 ■	This is called the ritual of Heaven.
3	敬之敬之	Honor it, honor it
3	天命孔明 ■	Heaven’s mandate is greatly brilliant.
4	如反之	If [one acts] contrary to this
4	必遇凶殃 ■	One must encounter misfortune and disaster.
4	毋詬政卿	Don’t revile high officials
4	於神次 ■	to the spirit ranks.
4	毋享逸安 ■	Don’t enjoy leisure and comfort
4	求利 ■	Seeking profit.
4	殘其親 ■	Maiming one’s parents.
4	是謂罪 ■	This is called criminality.

4	君無主臣	A lord without officials
4	是謂危■	This is called danger.
4	邦家其壞■	The state and the family each have their breakdowns.
4	憂懼之間■	Hidden worry and dread.
4	疏達之次■	The sequence of departing from and reaching to.
4/5	毋謂之「不敢」■	Don't call it "not daring".
5	毋謂之不然	Don't call it "not so"
5	故常不利■	Therefore constantly engaging in the unprofitable.
5	邦失幹常	The state loses its trunk and constancy
5	小邦則剗	Small states are thus wiped away
5	大邦過傷■	Great states have disasters and become damaged.
5	變常易禮	Change constancy, alter ritual
5	土地乃坼	The land is then torn asunder
5	民乃夭死■	The people then die young.
5	善哉善哉	Great! Great!
5	參善哉	The Triad is Great!
5	唯福之基■	Such is the foundation of Fortune.
5	過而改	Disaster and change...
22	>	...
22	之「罍」未可以遂■	of ... can not be used to pursue [it].
22	君子不慎其德	The lord is not cautious with his virtue
22	四荒之內	Within the four remote areas
22	是帝之關■	This is the enclosure of the Lord.
22	臨民以仁■	He approaches the people using righteousness.
22/6	民莫弗「親」■	[Among] the people, none are not intimate with him.
6	興興民事■	Thriving are the people's affairs.
6	行往視來■	Follow what goes away and look for what comes.
6	民之所喜■	He whom the people favor.
6	上帝是祐■	The Lord Above assists him.
6	凡「度」官於人	In all cases, the regulations place the people [properly] within the government
6	是謂邦固■	This is called the stabilization of the state.
6	「度」人於官	Regulating the people within the government
6	是謂邦「呂」■	This is called the organizing principle of the state.
6	建五官弗措	Establish the five official government [ranks] with no error
6	是謂反逆■	This is called "contrary to receiving".
6	土地乃坼■	The land is then torn asunder.
6/17	民人乃「蒼」■	The people then...fall.
17	敬天之「罔」	The sustainment of revering Heaven
17	興地之「弦」■	The strength of the prosperity of the land
17	恆道必「基」	The constant way must <i>be the foundation</i> .
17	天哉人哉	Heaven! Humankind!
17	凭何親哉■	Rely upon what familial relations?!
17	沒其身哉■	The death of their bodies!
17	知天足以順時■	Knowing Heaven is enough to accord with [the laws of] time.
17	知地足以「固」材■	Knowing the Earth is enough to stabilize the [supply of] material.
17	知人足以會親■	Knowing the people is enough to assemble one's intimates.
17	不修其成■	[If one] does not refine one's achievements.
17/15	而「聽」其營	And [does not] pay heed to one's management
15	百事不遂	[Then] the hundred affairs do not progress
15	「慮」事不成■	The contemplation of the affairs will not be completed.
15	仰天事君	Lift the head toward Heaven to serve the lord

15	嚴恪必信■	Solemn praise must be trustworthy.
15	俯視地理	Look down to see the patterns of the land
15	務農敬戒■	Strive at agriculture with reverence and probity.
15	毋不能而為之■	Don't do what you are not able to do.
15	毋能而易之■	Don't change from what you are able to do.
15	驟奪民時■	Repeatedly stealing the people's time.
15	天飢必來■	Heaven's famines must come.
16	奪民時以土攻	Stealing the people's time through [building] earthworks
16	是謂稽■	This is called calculating.
16	不絕憂恤■	[If] sadness and worry are not cut off.
16	必喪其糝■	[Then there] must be loss of satiation.
16	奪民時以水事	Stealing the people's time through [building] waterworks
16	是謂順■	This is called obedience.
16	喪以繼樂■	Death comes via a severing of happiness.
16	四方來囂■	[To all] the four directions comes turmoil.
16	奪民時以兵事■	Stealing the people's time through military actions
16/SN	是□調厲	This...is called duress
SN	禍因胥歲	Disaster, difficulty with all harvests
SN	不舉銜艾	Not raising the sickle [to cut] the wormwood
7	喪■	...death.
7	喜樂無期度	Happiness without temporal limits
7	是謂大荒■	This is called "great emptiness".
7	皇天弗諒	August Heaven trusts it not.
7	必復之以憂喪■	[Heaven] must return it using sadness and loss.
7	凡食飲無量計■	In all cases, [where] eating and drinking are unmeasured.
7	是謂滔皇	[And] this is called fulfilling the august
7	上帝弗諒■	[Then] the Lord Above trusts it not.
7	必復之以荒■	[It] must return it through emptiness.
7	上帝弗諒■	The Lord Above trusts it not.
7	以祀不享■	Use sacrifices, not pleasure.
8	邦四益	The state's four riches
8	是謂方華	These are called the "glories of the lands".
8	雖盈必虛■	In the end, richness must become ruins.
8	宮室過度■	[If] the palace is decadent [to a great] degree.
8	皇天之所惡■	This is what august Heaven hates.
8	雖成弗居■	Ultimately, complete [great works] with no delay.
8	衣服過制	Clothing excessively made
8	失於美	Loses its beauty
8	是謂違章■	This is called disregarding the regulations.
8	上帝弗諒■	The Lord Above trusts it not.
8	鬼神禋祀■	[With] spirits, worship and sacrifices.
8	上帝乃怡	The Lord Above is thus happy
8	邦家	The state and families...
10	皇后曰	The august lord says:
10	立,毋為角言■	Stand [upright], do not be of crooked speech.
10	毋為人倡■	Do not be an actor.
10	毋作大事■	Do not engage in great affairs.
10	毋害常■	Do not harm constancy.
10	毋壅川■	Do not block up rivers.
10	毋斷洿■	Do not cut off or stop water [from flowing].

10	毋滅宗■	Do not destroy ancestral temples.
10	毋虛牀■	Do not ruin the strong.
10	毋改圍■	Do not change prohibitions.
10	毋變事■	Do not change affairs.
10	毋焚古樓	Do not burn down ancient buildings.
10/11	毋□恥父兄■	Do not...disgrace your father or older brothers.
11	毋羞貧■	Do not be shameful or covetous.
11	毋笑刑■	Do not mock corporal punishment.
11	毋揣深■	Do not estimate the depths [of water].
11	毋度山■	Do not measure [the height of] mountains.
11	毋逸其身	Do not hide your self.
11	而多其言■	[Though] many speak about it.
11	居毋惰■	When resting, be not lazy.
11	作毋荒■	In action, be not remote.
11	善勿滅■	Be great, do not destroy.
11	不祥勿為■	[Make] no ill omens.
11	入墟毋樂■	When entering ruins, show no happiness.
11/12	登□丘毋歌■	When climbing [hills] among tombs, do not sing.
12	所以為天禮■	This is what is regarded as the ritual of Heaven.
12	臨川之都■	Capitals facing rivers.
12	冥岸之邑■	Cities on the banks of seas.
12	百乘之家■	Families with one hundred chariots.
12	十室之造■	The works of ten families.
12	宮室汙池■	Palaces with pools and ponds.
12	各慎其度■	Each careful with its measurements.
12	毋失其道■	Do not lose this Way.
12	嗜欲殺人	Delighting in killing people
12	不飲■	Not drinking.
12	不食■	Not eating.
12	秉之不固■	The instability of the harvest.
20	弛之不威■	Not fearing discarding [things].
20	至刑以哀■	Arrival at corporal punishment through grief.
20	矰去以誨■	The arrow flies as it is instructed.
20	民之所欲■	That which the people desire.
20	鬼神是祐■	The spirits will assist [the achievement of it].
20	慎守虛[言+?]	Be cautious when managing ruins...
20	>	...
13	怒為首■	Resentment is first.
13	身且有病■	The body also becomes sick.
13	惡菜與食■	Hates food and eating.
13	邦且亡■	The state is then lost.
13	惡聖人之誨■	The teachings of evil sages.
13	室且棄■	The family is also disregarded.
13	不隨祭祀■	Not following the sacrifices.
13	唯怒是服■	These are the habits of resentment.
13	凡若是者	In all cases, it is like this
13	不有大禍	[If there is] not great calamity
13	必大恥■	[Then there] must be great shame.
13	天之所敗	That which Heaven destroys
13	多其賂■	Many are their bribes.
13/14	而□寡其憂■	Yet be alone in sadness

14	興而起之■	Rise and raise it up.
14	思蹟而勿救■	Let it fall and don't save [it].
14	方營勿伐■	Orient towards management, don't attack.
14	將興勿殺■	Have enthusiasm, don't kill.
14	將齊勿剗■	Have balance, don't destroy.
14	是逢凶朔■	This [causes one to] encounter ill fortune and eclipses.
14	天災混混	Heaven's disasters [come] in darkness
14	弗滅不隕■	Not destroying it, not destroying.
14	為善福乃來■	[It] is great fortune thus arriving.
14	為不善禍	[If there] is not greatness [but] disaster
14	乃感之	Then be moved by it
14/19	俾□牆勿增■	Cause the walls not to be increased.
19	廢人勿興■	Defeated people will not be raised up.
19	皇天之所棄■	That which August Heaven discards.
19	而后帝之所憎■	And what the Lord hates.
19	晦曰冥冥	The day of the new moon is called "darkness"
19	上天有下政■	The Lord Above has an administration below
19	晝	Daytime...
19	>	...
HK	懈於時■	...neglectful of time.
HK	上帝喜之	The Lord Above likes it
HK	乃無凶災	Then there are no bad omens and disasters...
9	保乃無凶災■	Defend, and have no ill fortune and disasters.
9	高陽曰	<i>Gao Yang</i> says :
9	毋凶服以享祀■	Do not use pleasure and sacrifices for evil tasks.
9	毋錦衣絞袒■	Do not embroider clothing or weave breastplates
9	[人+奚]子是謂忘神	... children, this is called "forgetting the spirits"
9	>	...
	>	
21	諒■	...trust.
21	竿之長	The length of a bamboo staff
21	枸株覆車	Citrus tree root for the chariot roof
21	善游者	Benefits the traveler...
18	死於梁下■	Death in shallow water.
18	狻猊食虎■	Lions eat Tigers.
18	天無不從■	There is nothing Heaven does not attend to.
18	好昌天從之■	Loving beauty, Heaven attends to it.
18	好旺天從之■	Loving brightness, Heaven attends to it.
18	好蒙天從之■	Loving the hidden, Heaven attends to it.
18	好長天從之■	Loving length, Heaven attends to it.
18	順天之時	When Heaven is obeyed
18	起地之	The ... of the land arises...
	>	...

> = Strip broken at this point



## VI. Selected Bibliography

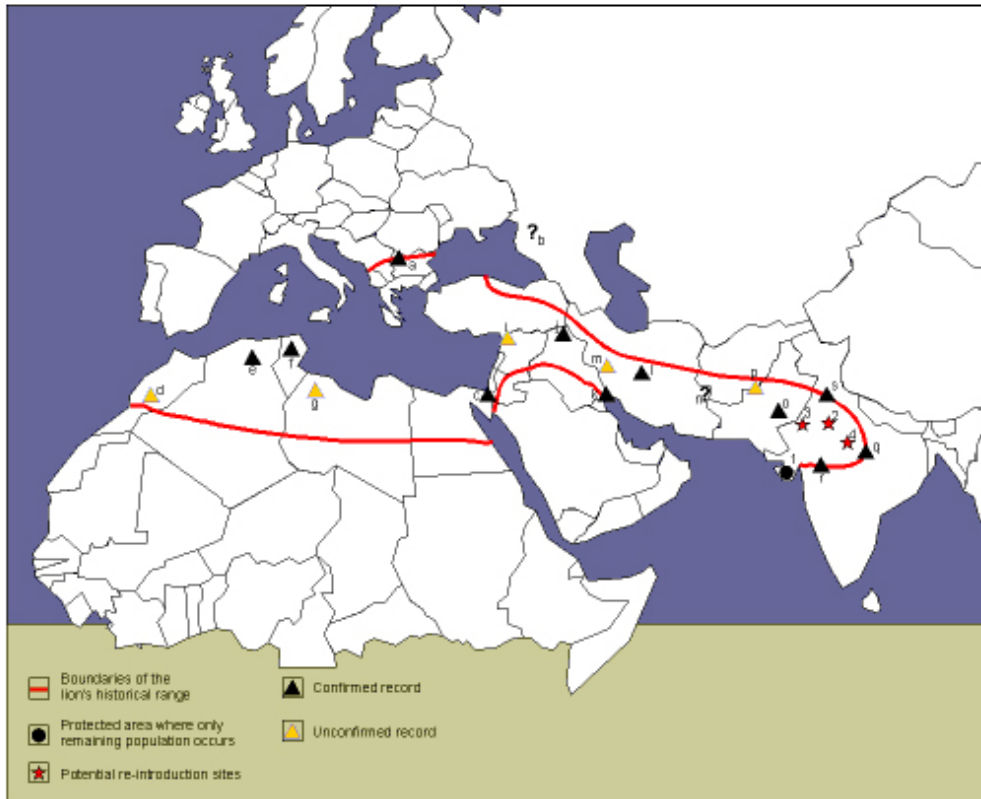
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Appendix I : Photographic Overview of the Text



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



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