

The Rite of *Yinzhi* (Drinking Celebration) and Poems Recorded on the Tsinghua Bamboo Slips

清華簡中所見古飲至禮及古佚詩試解

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This paper is based on a series of articles regarding the Tsinghua bamboo slip (hereafter TBS) texts published on *Wen wu* and *Guangming daily* from late 2008 to August 2009.<sup>1</sup> Although not intended for specialists, Li Xueqin's 李學勤 article on August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2009 introduces a TBS text entitled “Qi du” 耆(旨)夜, which details a wine celebration immediately after King Wu's military campaign against the state of Li 黎 in the eighth year of his reign.<sup>2</sup> The conquest of the state of Li, alternatively written as *qi* 耆, as stated in the chapter “Xi Bo kan Li” 西伯戡黎 of Old-text *Shangshu* was traditionally attributed to King Wen.<sup>3</sup> According to Li Xueqin, the bamboo text records of the wine celebration after the conquest of the state of Li called together many leading figures in early Zhou history, such as the duke of Zhou

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<sup>1</sup> In writing this paper, I have consulted *Chutu Wenxian Yanjiu yu Baohuzhongxin jianbao* 出土文獻研究與保護中心簡報, No. 1(15 December 2008):2-21, which contains six reports regarding the discovery, content and significance of the TBS: Xie Weihe 謝維和, “Fakanci” 發刊詞, 2; “Qinghua Daxue rucang Zhanguo zhujian” 清華大學入藏戰國竹簡, 3-4; “Qinghua Daxue suocang zhujian jiandinghui jianding yijian” 清華大學所藏竹簡鑒定意見, 4-5; Li Xueqin, “Chushi Qinghuajian” 初識清華簡, 7-10; Zhao Guifang 趙桂芳, “Qinghua Daxue rucang baoshuijian de qingxi yu baohu” 清華大學入藏飽水簡的清洗與保護, 11-12; Shen Jianhua 沈建華, “Kongbi zhong shu yu Jizhong jinian” 孔壁中書與汲冢紀年, 12-15. I also consulted the following reports and articles: Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Qinghuajian yanjiu chujian chengguo: jiedu Zhou Wenwang yuyan” 清華簡研究初見成果：解讀周文王遺言, *Guangming daily*, 13 April 2009; “Qinghuajian Baoxun zhong de jige wenti” 清華簡保訓的幾個問題, *Wen wu*, 6, 2009:77; Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Qinghuajian Qi du” 清華簡旨夜, *Guangming Daily*, 3 August 2009. I would like to thank Professor Shen Jianhua for providing many of these articles to me. On September 1, 2009, upon the request from *Mingpao monthly*, I conducted a telephone interview with Professor Li Xueqin, and learnt more about the TBS, for which I am very grateful. The interview will be published in *Mingpao daily* in late 2009. Jeffery Hung has read this English draft and made many corrections. Any errors remaining in this article, however, are solely of my own responsibility.

<sup>2</sup> Li Xueqin, “Qinghuajian Qi du” 清華簡旨夜, *Guangming Daily*, 3 August 2009.

<sup>3</sup> See William H. Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's Records* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 1.58-9; Hsu and Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 91, and Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 61-2, n. 100.

周, the duke of Shao 召, the duke of Bi 畢, the duke of Xin 辛, Jiang Shang 姜尚, and Zuoce Yi 作策(冊)逸 (recorded as Shi Yi 史佚 or Yin Yi 尹佚 in transmitted documents).<sup>4</sup> It was reported in Li Xueqin's article that there are four poems in the style of *Shi jing* written in the bamboo slips. Since the pictures of the bamboo slips have yet to be published, I can only provide my understanding of these poems based on Li Xueqin's interpretation of them.

## 1. The conquest of the state of Qi and the *Yinzhi* rite

### 1.1 The state of Qi:

The reason that the state of Li was identified as Qi that the name of the Chapter “Xi Bo kan Li” 西伯戡黎 in *Shang shu* is written “Xi Bo kan Qi” 西伯戡耆 in *Shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大傳, a Han text attributed conventionally to Fu Sheng 伏勝, who initiated the modern-text transmission of *Shang shu*. Three chapters of *Shi ji* also recount this story of the conquest and identifies “Xi Bo” 西伯, literarily the Lord of the West, with King Wen.

The conquest of the state of Li by Xi Bo is clearly stated in “Zhou benji” 周本紀 (The Basic Annals of Zhou) of *Shi ji*. It is recorded that:

明年，伐犬戎。明年，伐密須。明年，敗耆國。殷之祖伊聞之，懼，以告帝紂。紂曰：「不有天命乎？是何能為！」明年，伐邶。明年，伐崇侯虎。而作豐邑，自岐下而徙都豐。明年，西伯崩，太子發立，是為武王。<sup>5</sup>

The next year the Lord of the West chastised the Ch'u-an-jung 犬戎 (Quanrong). The year after that he chastised Mi-hsu 密須 (Mixu). The year after that he defeated the state of Qi 耆. Tsu-yi 祖伊 (Zu Yi) of the Yin court heard of it and was frightened. He reported (the defeat) to Emperor Chow. Emperor Chow said, “Do I not have the heavenly mandate? What can this person do? The year after that the Lord of the West chastised Yu 邶. The next year he chastised Hu, the Marquis of Ch'ung, and built the city of Feng 豐. He moved his capital from the foot of [Mount] Ch'I 岐 to Feng. The next year the Lord of the West passed away. His Heir, Fa 發, was enthroned. This was King Wu 武 [of Chou (r. c. 1073-1068 B.C.)].<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, “Yin benji” 殷本紀 (The Basic Annals of Yin) of *Shi ji* also records, when the Lord of the West (King Wen) destroyed the state of Ji 饑, Zu Yi remonstrated to Zhou 紂, the King of Shang, yet he was heeded. King Wu then

<sup>4</sup> *Shi ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1959), 4.118.

<sup>5</sup> *Shi ji*, 4.126.

<sup>6</sup> Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, 1.58-9.

succeeded the throne and overthrew the Shang dynasty.<sup>7</sup> Both chapters of *Shi ji* inform us that it was King Wen, the father, who had conquered the state of Qi 耆, and the state name was also written as Ji 饑, Ji 隹 or Li 黎, according to Xu Guang 徐廣 and Zhang Shoujie 張守節.<sup>8</sup> The “Song Wei Zi shijia” of *Shi ji*, the state name Ji 隹 is corrupted into Qi 隹, and both Xu Guang and Sima Zhen 司馬貞 identify it with the state of Qi 耆 or Li 黎.<sup>9</sup> Modern scholars unanimously associate Xi Bo (Lord of West) with Ji Chang 姬昌, King Wen of Zhou. According to Cho-yun Hsu and Katheryn M. Linduff, King Wen conquered this state immediately after his conquest of the state of Mi 密,<sup>10</sup> which apparently follows the account of “Zhou benji” of *Shi ji*. Li Feng also adopts “Zhou benji” to associate the conquest of the states of Qi and Yu to King Wen.<sup>11</sup> However, according to Li Xueqin’s report, the TBS text states that the conquest happened in the eighth year of King Wu, immediately before the battle of Muye 牧野:

武王八年，征伐郚（耆），大<sup>今</sup>戡（戡）之。還，乃飲至於文大室。

In the eighth year of King Wu, (King Wu) led an expedition against the state of Qi (Li), and obliterated it. Upon his return, (King Wu) had a rite of *yingzhi* (drinking celebration) at the Grand Chamber of King Wen.

## 1.2 Wen Dashi 文大室 (The Grand Chamber of King Wen)

The Grand Chamber of King Wen is recorded in many inscriptions on Western Zhou bronze vessels, such as Lu 呂 *fangding* (*Jicheng*, 2754), Lie 刺 *ding* (*Jicheng*, 2776), Qinian Juecao 七年趙曹 *ding* (*Jicheng*, 2783), Shi X-fu 師奭父 *ding* (*Jicheng*, 2813), Ma 馮 *ding* (*Jicheng*, 4261), and numerous other mid and late-Western Zhou bronze. Tianwang 天亡 *gui* (*Jicheng*, 2815), known also as Da

<sup>7</sup> Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, 1.51.

<sup>8</sup> *Shi ji*, 3.108, n.1; 4.118, n.3. Xu Guang 徐廣 identifies the state name Qi 耆, as phonetically corrupted from Ji 饑 and Ji 隹, whereas Zhang Shoujie 張守節 equates it as Li 黎. Zhang also quotes from Kong Anguo 孔安國 to locate this state to the northeast of Shangdang 上黨, and *Kuodi zhi* 括地志 to locate it to Licheng 黎城 County of Prefecture Lu 潞州 of Tang dynasty, which is approximately 100 miles northeast of modern Loyang. See Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集, 1.17, and Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, 1.58, n. 40.

<sup>9</sup> *Shi ji*, 38.6107, 6108, n.3.

<sup>10</sup> See Hsu and Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization*, 91.

<sup>11</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and power in early China*, 61-2.

Feng 大豐 *gui*, which is attributed to King Wu, records that the king made sacrifices at Tianshi 天室, which might have been the original name of the Dashi 大室 inscribed on the mid and late-Western Zhou bronzes. In another early-Zhou bronze He *zun*, the word *jingshi* 京室, sometimes written as *Jing dashi* 京大室, might also refer to the grand chamber of King Wen. Tang Lan 唐蘭 suggests that *jingshi* was an ancestral temple of the Zhou founding fathers to offer sacrifices to Tai Wang, Wang Ji, King Wen and King Wu. It was located in Haojing 鎬京, the capital of the Zhou during the reigns of Kings Wen and Wu, and the Western Zhou dynasty.<sup>12</sup>

武王即位，以六師伐殷，六師未至，以銳兵克之於牧野。歸，乃薦俘馘于京太室，乃命周公為作《大武》。

When King Wu succeeded the throne, (he) sent the Six Troops to conquer Yin. The Six Troops had yet to arrive, (King Wu) sent crack troops to defeat (the Yin troops) at Muye. On his return, (he ordered to) present the captured and the cut-off ears at the grand chamber of Jing, and ordered the duke of Zhou to create the dance of grand Wu.

In early-Zhou, this *Jing taishi* most possibly refers to the Wen Dashu in the TBS writing. In the chapter “Luo gao” 洛誥, of *Shang shu*, it is also recorded that “the king entered the Grand Chamber to have a libation” 王入太室裸.<sup>13</sup> This Grand Chamber is likely the so-called “Wen dashu” where King Wu and his grand subjects had the wine celebration. On the other hand, the term *dashi* also appears on a Shang bronze Zihuang 子黃 *zun* (*Jicheng* 6000), thereby indicating that it may have been a generic term referring to a grand hall.

### 1.3 The rite of Yinzhi:

The rite of *yinzhi* 飲至 is recorded in many occasions in *Zuo zhuan* 左傳. In the fifth year of Duke Yin (718 B.C.), *Zuo zhuan* records:

五年春，公將如棠觀魚者，臧僖伯諫曰：「凡物不足以講大事，其材不足以備器用，則君不舉焉。君將納民於軌、物者也。故講事以度軌量謂之軌，取材以章物采謂之物。不軌不物，謂之亂政。亂政亟行，所以敗也。故春蒐、夏苗、秋獮、冬狩，皆於農隙以講事也。三年而治兵，入而振旅。歸而飲至，以數軍實。昭文章，明貴賤，辨等列，順少長，

<sup>12</sup> See Tang, "He *zun* mingwen jieshi" 何尊銘文解釋, *Wen wu* 文物, 1, 1976:63.

<sup>13</sup> *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義, 15.105, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1981), 217.

習威儀也。<sup>14</sup>

Legge translates this passage as follows:

(In the spring of the fifth year of Duke Yin), The duke being about to go to T'ang (Tang), to see the fishermen, Tsang He-pih (Zang Xi Bo) remonstrated with him, saying. "All *pursuit* of creatures in which the great affairs *of the State* are not illustrated, and when they do not supply materials available for use in its various requirements, the ruler does not engage in. Into the idea of a ruler it enters that he lead and help the people on to what should be observed, and all the ramifications thereof. Hence the practice of exercises in admeasurement of the degrees of what should be observed is called fixing the rule, and the obtaining the materials supplied thereby for the ornament of the various requirements *of the State*, is *the guiding principle* to show what creatures should be pursued. Where there are no such admeasurement and no such materials, the government is one of disorder; and the frequent indulgence in a government of disorder is the way to ruin. In accordance with this there are the spring hunting, the summer hunting, the autumn hunting, and the winter hunting:--all in the intervals of husbandry, for the illustration of *one great business of States*. **Then every three years, there is the *grand military review*; when it is over, the troops are all led back; and their return is announced by the cup of spirits in the temple: --all to take reckoning of the accoutrements and spoils;** to display the various blazonry; to exhibit the noble and the mean; to distinguish the observance of order and ranks; to show the proper difference between the young and the old; to practice the various observances of discipline.<sup>15</sup>

In the summer of the sixteenth year of Duke Huan 桓 (696 B.C.), the duke united the states of Song 宋, Wei 衛 and Cai 蔡 to send an expedition against the state of Zheng 鄭. On their return from the successful campaign in the seventh month, the duke had a *yinshi* ceremony with his fellow feudal lords, the duke of Song, the marquis of Cai, and the marquis of Wei, and his subjects.<sup>16</sup> In the twenty-eighth year of Duke Xi 僖 (632 B.C.), the Jin troops had a triumphal wine celebration after the

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<sup>14</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 3.24, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1726.

<sup>15</sup> James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 5, *The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen*, 18-19.

<sup>16</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 7.56. James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 5, *The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen*, 66.

famous battle at Chengpu 城濮 against the state of Chu. As *Zuo zhuan* records:

城濮之戰，晉中軍風于澤，亡大旆之左旃。祁瞞奸命，司馬殺之，以徇于諸侯，使茅茷代之。師還。壬午，濟河。舟之僑先歸，士會攝右。秋七月丙申，振旅，愷以入于晉，獻俘、授馘，飲至、大賞，徵會、討貳。殺舟之僑以徇于國，民於是大服。<sup>17</sup>

At the battle of Shing-puh (Chengpu), the cattle of the army of Tsin (Jin) ran in heat, into a marsh, *and were lost*; (as a result) the left flag, belonging to the great banner, was lost; --through K'e Mwan's (Qi Man) disobeying of orders. The provost-marshal put him to death *in consequence*; the punishment was declared to all the assisting princes; and Maou Fei (Mao Fa) was appointed in his place. On the return of the army, they crossed the Ho on Jin-woo. Chow Che-k'eaou (Zhou Zhiqiao) had deserted earlier, and Sze Hwuy (Shi Hui) was temporarily made the Spearman on the Right. In autumn, the 7<sup>th</sup> month, on Ping-shin, the troops in triumphal array entered the capital of Tsin (Jin). The spoils were presented, the left ears that had been cut off *from the soldiers of Ts'oo* (Chu) were set forth, *in the temple. There the marquis* drank the cup of return; and distributed great rewards, publishing the summons for *another assembly of the States*, and punished those who wavered in their adherences. Chow Che-k'eaou (Zhou Zhiqiao) was put to death, his doom declared throughout the State, and the people awed into great submission.<sup>18</sup>

A similar event occurred in the third year of Duke Xiang 襄 (570 B.C.), when Zizhong 子重, the military commander of the state of Chu, was defeated by the Wu army, held the rite of *yinzhi* for three days to “celebrate” his pyrrhic victory.<sup>19</sup>

*Zuo zhuan* details the rite of the drinking celebration:

凡公行，告于宗廟；反行，飲至、舍爵、策勳焉，禮也。<sup>20</sup>

Legge here translates:

Upon setting out on any expedition, the duke announced the movement in the ancestral temple. Upon his return, he drank in celebration (飲至) in the temple; and when he put down the cup, he had the transaction entered in

<sup>17</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 16.124-5.

<sup>18</sup> Modified from James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 5, *The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen*, 212.

<sup>19</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 29.288.

<sup>20</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 5.41.

the tablets; --this was the rule.<sup>21</sup>

Based on this account from *Zuo zhuan*, *Kong congzi* 孔叢子 also records that, in response to the King of Chen's 陳 questions about military rites, the grand music master says: "With accomplishments, (the king) would put down the cups and have merits recorded on the tablets in the ancestral temple. This is called *yinzhi*. It is the rite of the Son of Heaven when he leads the expedition himself." (有功，於祖廟舍爵策勳焉，謂之飲至。天子親征之禮也。)

The documents cited above demonstrates that the rite of *yinzhi* is a drinking celebration usually held by a superior (a military commander, king or feudal lord) in ancestral temples to bestow an order of merit after returning from a triumphal campaign. In later documents like *Jiaoshi Yilin* 焦氏易林, it appears that the rite of *yinzhi* was sometimes held after returning from a successful fishing or hunting expedition, and the tradition was maintained till as late as the Han dynasty.

For the origins of this military rite, Li Xueqin points out that an early Zhou bronze tripod called Ran 鬯 *fangding* (*Jicheng* 2739) has inscriptions depicting the rite of *yinzhi*, where the term appears as *yinzhen* 飲秦 and is interchangeable with *yinzhi* 飲至.<sup>22</sup> The character *qin* or *zhen* 秦, which refers originally to reaping, is also written as 秦 (*Jicheng* 468, 4315, 4616) on Zhou bronze inscriptions, with the upper part indicating a pestle and the lower part as crops. Ma Xulun 馬紱倫 equates this character to *zhi* 錘 in the "Chen gong" 臣工 (Mao 276), and the *zhi* 捏 in the "Liang si" 良耜 (Mao 291) of the *Book of Songs*, which means "to husk rice in a mortar and pestle."<sup>23</sup> *Zhen* and *zhi* are interchangeable because their initials are the same, and the vowels belong to the rhyme categories that can be *duizhuan* 對轉 (literally, juxtaposing turns). Baxter's reconstruction of *zhi* 至 is *tjits*, *zhi* 捏 as *trjit* and *zhen* 臻 as *tsrjin*.<sup>24</sup> *Zhen* 臻 belongs to the *zhen* 真 category of the finals, and *zhi* 至 belongs to the *zhi* 脂 category of the finals.

二七三九 鬯方鼎（周公東征鼎）

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<sup>21</sup> Modified slightly James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 5, *The Ch'un Ts'ew*, with the *Tso Chuen*, 40.

<sup>22</sup> Li Xueqin's idea that *yinzhen* 飲秦 in Ran *fangding* refers to *yinzhi* has yet published. It will be published in my interview with Li Xueqin on *Mingpao monthly*, late this year.

<sup>23</sup> Ma Xulun, *Shuowen jiezi liushu shuzheng* 說文解字六書疏證, Vol.13, in *Guwenzi gulin* 古文字詁林 (Shanghai: Shanghai Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1999-), 6.658.

<sup>24</sup> William Baxter, *A handbook of old Chinese phonology* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 809, 810.



佳周公于征伐東夷。豐白。尊古。咸<sup>戔</sup>。公歸<sup>樂</sup>于周廟。戊辰。

禽秦禽。公賞<sup>樂</sup>貝百朋。用乍<sup>隣</sup>鼎。

It was when the duke of Zhou was on a campaign attacking the Eastern Yi, the Elder of Feng, and Pugu, all of which (he) destroyed. (When) the duke returned and *chui*-sacrificed in the Zhou temple. On *wu-chen* (day five), he drank *qin*-grain wine. The duke awarded Ran cowries, one hundred strands, (who) herewith makes (this) sacrificial *ding*-caldron.<sup>25</sup>

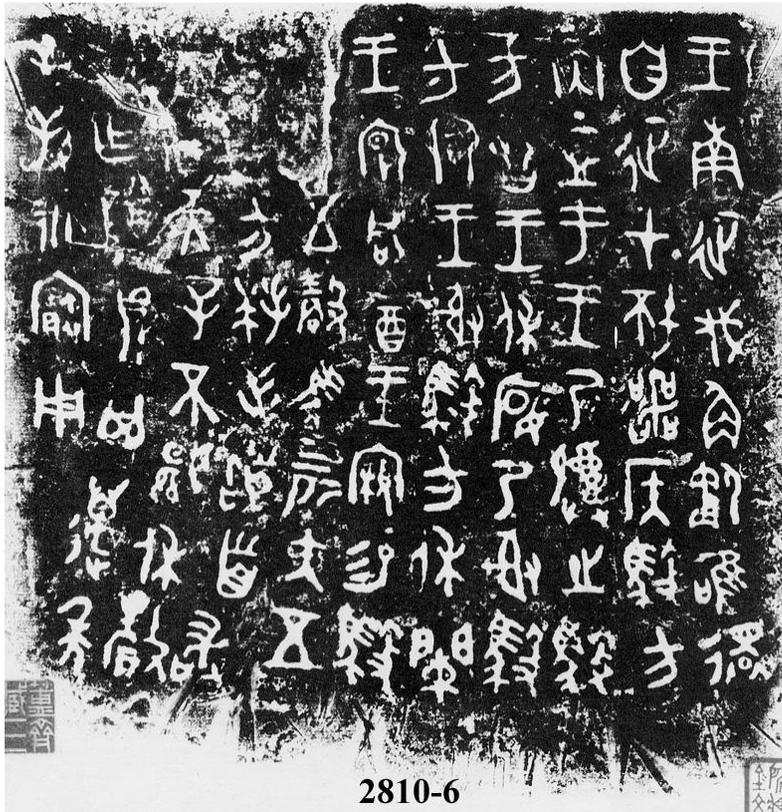
Shaughnessy translates *yinqinyin* as “drank *qin*-grain wine.” If Li Xueqin is correct, we may have to translate the relevant passage as “On *wu-chen* (day five), (the duke of Zhou) had a wine celebration. After a toast, the duke awarded Ran cowries,

<sup>25</sup> Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou history*, 48.

one hundred strands.” The rite of *yinzhi* can be traced back therefore to as early as pre-dynastic Zhou times.

Throughout the eight hundred years of the Zhou dynasty, the *yinzhi* wine celebration had been adopted whenever the Zhou troops succeeded in a military campaign. Some of the events are recorded on bronze inscriptions without mentioning the term itself. For example, E Hou Yufang *ding* (*Jicheng*, 2810), which is dated to the reign of King Yih 懿 (889-873 B.C.), details a military campaign against the Southern barbarians led by the king. En route to his return, the king passed by a place in the territory of the state of E, and had a feast with the marquis of E with a drinking celebration. The inscription depicts some details of the *yinzhi* ceremony, though the term *yinzhi* does not appear.

二八一〇 噩侯鼎（西周晚期）



王南征，伐角僑。唯還自征，才不力。噩侯馭方內壺于王，乃裸之。

馭方侑王。王休宴，乃射，馭方鄉，王射。馭方休闌，王宴，咸畷。王親易馭方玉五穀，馬四匹，矢五束。馭方拜手稽首，敢對揚天子不顯休釐。用乍鬯鼎，其邁年，子孫永寶用。

The king campaigns against (the) South, attacking Jiaojin. Upon his

return from the campaign, (he)stationed at X. Yufang, the duke of E presented a utensil to the king, and performed the *guan* rite. Yufang urged the king to drink. The king left the banquet, and started shooting (arrows). Yufang was served (with food and drinks). The king (remained) shooting. Yufang briefly halted from feasting. The king (then) rejoined the banquet. Both of them started to drink. Thus the king himself granted Yufang five strands of cowries, four horses, (and) five bundles of arrows. Yufang bowed and touched his head to the ground, venturing to extol the grand beneficence of the son of Heaven, hence making this sacrificial vessel, hoping that for ten thousand years his descendants will treasure and use.

## 2. Overseeing drinking:

According to Li Xueqin, some of the TBS texts reads:

畢公高為客，召公保(奭)為夾(即介)，周公叔旦為命，辛公(甲)為位，作策(冊)逸為東堂之客，郟(呂)上(尚)甫(父)命為司政(正)，監飲酒。

Gao, the duke of Bi, was the guest, Bao Shi, the duke of Shao, was the *jia* (Jie, the commissioner), Shu Dan, the duke of Zhou, issued edicts, the duke of Xin arranged seating, Zuoce Yi was the guest of the East Hall, and Lü Shangfu was ordered to be superintendent, overseeing drinking.

The name of Gao, the duke of Bi can be found in a number of chapters of *Shang shu*, such as “Guming” 顧命, “Kangwang zhi gao” 康王之誥, and “Bi ming” 畢命, as well as “Hewu jie” 和寤解 and “Ke Yin jie” 克殷解 of the *Yi Zhou shu*. The Hereditary Household of Wei of *Shi ji* identifies him to be the ancestor of Bi Wan 畢萬, a grand subject of Duke Wen 文 of Jin, and therefore the forefather of the royal family of the state of Wei during the Warring States era. Gao himself also belongs to the royal family of Zhou, most likely the son of King Wen, and adopted his surname from his enfeoffment to a place where King Wen was buried.<sup>26</sup> Li Xueqin suspects that he led the expedition to the state of Qi, and hence was treated as a honorable guest in the wine celebration. Jia, the duke of Xin, is sometimes referred as Xin Jia 辛甲, as shown in the fourth year of Duke Xiang 襄 of *Zuo zhuan*, the Hereditary Household of Zhou of *Shi ji*, the modern text of *Bamboo Annals*. These sources inform us that Xin Jia was previously a vassal of Yin, and became a subject of Zhou in the 37<sup>th</sup> year of Zhou 紂, the last Shang king. Zuoce Yi 作策逸 is identified as Yin Yi 尹佚, Yin Yi 尹逸 in “Ke Yin jie” 克殷解 of *Yi Zhou shu*, and Shi Yi 史逸 in different chapters in *Yi Zhou shu*, *Zuo zhuan*, *Guo yu* and *Li ji*. In the “Luo gao” 洛誥

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<sup>26</sup> Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's records*, 1.59, n.52.

chapter of *Shang shu*, a paragraph details:

戊辰，王在新邑，烝祭歲。文王駢牛一，武王駢牛一。王命作冊。逸祝冊，惟告周公其後。王賓，殺、禋，咸格，王入太室裸。王命周公後，作冊，逸誥。<sup>27</sup>

On the day Mow-shin (wuchen), the king in the new city performed the annual winter sacrifice, offering a red bull to King Wan (Wen), and the same to King Woo (Wu). He then commanded a declaration to be prepared, which was done by Yih (Yi) in the form of a prayer, and it simply announced the remaining behind of the duke of Chow (Zhou). The king's guests, on occasion of the killing the victims and offering the sacrifice, all made their appearance. The king entered the grand apartment, and poured out the libation. The king charged the duke of Chow to remain, and Yih, the preparer of the document, made the declaration; --all in the 12<sup>th</sup> month. Then the duke of Chow greatly sustained the decree which Wan and Woo had received, through the space of seven years.<sup>28</sup>

In the following passage: 王命作冊。逸祝冊，惟告周公其後, Karlgren translates as follows: “The king gave order to make a brevet, and Yi recited the brevet and announced (sc. To the Spirits) that Chou Kung (would be succeeded ) was to have a successor (sc. in Lu).” Both Legge and Karlgren apparently adopted the punctuation and interpretation of the traditional commentaries, which treat *zuoce* as a verb-object, and Yi as a personal name. The TBS text, however, suggests that *zuoce yi* in this context should be one word referring to same person attending the wine celebration as stated in “Qi du” of TBS text. The above sentence from “Luo gao” should be read as: “王命作冊逸祝冊，惟告，周公其後,” and my proposed translation is: “The king ordered Zuoce Yi to make a brevet. Yi (made the brevet and) announced to the spirits that the duke of Zhou would be succeeded.”

The name of Shi Yi in the TBS text is Zuoce Yi 作策逸. In the “Bi ming” chapter of *Shang shu*, and the Hereditary Household of Zhou of *Shi ji*, *zuoce* 作冊 is also written *zuoce* 作策.

Lü Shang fu 郤上甫 in the TBS text is obviously identified with Lü Shang fu 呂尚父, the founding father of the state of Qi, since *lü* 郤 and *lü* 呂, *shang* 尚 and *shang* 上, *fu* 父 and *fu* 甫 are interchangeable in ancient texts.

In the wine celebration, Lü Shang is responsible for overseeing drinking, which is also a part of the *yinzhi* ceremony. A late Western Zhou bronze bears the

<sup>27</sup> *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義, 15.105, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1981), 217.

<sup>28</sup> Legge, *The Shoo King*, in *The Chinese Classics*, 3.451-2.

inscriptions of King Xuan of Zhou ordering Shan, the executive chef of the Zhou court, to oversee drinking in a feast. His responsibilities are documented in detail on the inscriptions.

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王曰：山，命女司飲，獻人于<sup>冕</sup>，用乍憲司賈，毋敢不善。

The king said: Shan, I ordered you to oversee drinking, and to perform offering at X. (You) Make the rules and decide on the values. Do not dare to have dereliction of duty.

According to the “Shaoyi” 少儀 chapter of *Li ji, xianren* 獻人 is a rite to offer wine, dried meat, and sacrificial-domesticated animals to a superior. Legge translates the relevant passage from this chapter as follows: “In giving (to an inferior) or offering to a superior, four pots of spirits, a bundle of dried meat, and a dog, (the

messenger) put down the liquor, and carried (only) the dried meat in his hand, when discharging his commission, but he also said that he was the bearer of four pots of spirits, a bundle of dried meat, and a dog.”<sup>29</sup>

Acting as a superintendent, Shan, the chief chef, was responsible for supervising the *xianren* sacrifice, making rules, setting values and urging people to drink.

In *Book of Songs*, a poem “Bin zhi chuyan” in the “Xiao Ya” (Lesser Elegantiae) section, conventionally attributed to Duke Wu 武 of Wei 衛, has a stanza reading:

Bin Zhi Chu Yan (Mao 220)	Bernhard Karlgren (1889-1978): <i>The Book of Odes</i> (1946), pp. 172-174 "Pin chī ch' u yen"	Arthur Waley (1889- 1966): <i>The Book of Songs: The Ancient Chinese Classic of Poetry</i> (1937), pp. 207-209 "The Guests Are Taking Their Seats"
(57) 凡 此飲酒	(57) Of all these who drink wine,	(57) It is always the same when wine is drunk;
(58) 或 醉或否	(58) some are drunk, some are not;	(58) Some are tipsy, some are not.
(59) 既 立之監	(59) (therefore) one has appointed an inspector,	(59) So we appoint a master of ceremonies,
(60) 或 佐之史	(60) and perhaps also given him for assistant a scribe;	(60) Or choose someone as recorder.
(61) 彼 醉不臧	(61) when those drunken ones are (not good =) misbehaving,	(61) “That drunk man is not behaving nicely;
(62) 不 醉反恥	(62) those who are not drunk are ashamed:	(62) He is making the sober feel uncomfortable.

The whole poem depicts a rite of wine celebration, which I believe is the *yinzhi* ceremony. This stanza demonstrates that in a rite of *yinzhi*, an inspector is appointed to oversee every detail and the processes of the ceremony.

### 3. The four poems in TBS texts:

Li Xueqin’s article informs readers of four poems in the “Qi du” text of the TBS.

#### 3.1 A poem by King Wu to the duke of Bi:

王夜（吒）爵醕畢公，作歌一終，曰《樂樂旨酒》

The king prepared *jue* and proposed a toast to the duke of Bi, singing one section of a song, which is called “How pleasant are we, with the fine wine”.

<sup>29</sup> See Legge, *Li chi: Book of Rites, an Encyclopeida of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds, and Social Institutions* (New York: New Hyde Park, 1967), 75-76.

1. 樂樂旨酒		How pleasant are we, with the fine wine
2. 宴以二公	<i>kong</i>	To feast my two dukes.
3. 紆（任）仁兄弟		Truly benevolent are my brothers
4. 庶民和同	<i>dong</i>	The civilians of all states are harmonized.
5. 方壯方武		Being strong, and being valiant
6. 穆穆克邦	<i>prong</i>	Magnificent is my state!
7. 嘉爵速飲		Your grand cups are drunk up
8. 後爵乃從	<i>dzjong</i>	Other cups are following

If we cross reference this poem with some of the drinking poems in *Shi jing*, such as “Lu ming” 鹿鳴 (Mao 161), “Changdi” 常棣 (Mao 164), “Nan you jiayu” 南有嘉魚 (Mao 171) and “Kuibian” 頍弁 (Mao 217), in the “Lesser Elegantiae”, and “Xingwei” 行葦 (Mao 246), “Jizhui” 既醉 (Mao 247), “Fuyi” 鳧鷖 (Mao 248), in the “Great Elegantiae,” there are many shared features between them: such as singing about brotherhood, prosperity of the state, harmony of civilians, and offerings at the sacrifice. The drinking song-texts in the *Book of Songs* also varies in terms of their functions and suitability in different ritual occasions. For example, the poem of “Kuibian” 頍弁 (Mao 217), is primarily used for the capping ceremony, as compared with song texts preserved in “Shiguanli” 士冠禮 of *Yi li*. The poem “Bin zhi chuyan” 賓之初筵 (Mao 220) and “Panshui” 泮水 (Mao 299) are most likely drinking songs for the *yinzhi* ceremony. Some of the poems are primarily personal complaints, such as “Zhengyue” 正月 (Mao 192), but even in these poems the “xiongdi” 兄弟, (literally, the brotherhood), and “hunyin” 婚姻 (the marriage) of the state are important concerns.

In this poem, the term “xiongdi” might also refer to clan brothers attending the ceremony, who had been enfeoffed to different territories that the Zhou people increasingly acquired. .

### 3.2 A poem made by the duke of Zhou singing to the duke of Bi

1. 英英戎服	<i>bjik</i>	How masculine you are in war clothes!
2. 壯武赳赳	<i>g(r)jiw?</i>	Stout-hearted and valiant!
3. 毖精謀猷	<i>ju</i>	Cautious and sophisticated were your plan and strategy.
4. 裕德乃究	<i>kjuwH</i>	Your copious virtue was extended.

5. 王有旨酒	<i>tsju?</i>	The king has good wine
6. 我弗憂以浮	<i>b(r)ju</i>	I would drink it without worry.
7. 既醉又侑	<i>wji(k)s</i>	Being drunk we are again encouraged.
8. 明日勿修	<i>sljiw</i>	Nothing to care about tomorrow.

Line 3: *Mouyou* 謀猷, sometimes written *mouyou* 謀猶 (“Xiao min” 小旻 Mao 195), *huiyou* 誨猷 (Wangsun Yizhe *zhong* 王孫遺者鐘, *Jicheng* 261). On the inscriptions cast on the Wangsun Yizhe *zhong*, a set of bells are attributed to the state of Chu in the sixth century, it is stated:

肅愨聖武，惠于政德，怒于威義（儀），誨（謀）猷不（丕）飭（飭），  
闡闡（簡）蘇鐘，用匱（宴）台（以）喜。

(I) am reverent, wise, sagacious, and valiant. Being kind in (my) administrative demeanor and being proper in (my) sense of decorum, (my) strategies and plans are greatly prudent. Oud and strong is this harmonizing bell. (I) will use (it) in feasting to rejoice.<sup>30</sup>

### 3.3 A poem made by the duke of Zhou singing to King Wu:

周公或（又）**祀**（吒）爵醕王，作祝誦一終，曰《明明上帝》：

The duke of Zhou proposed again a toast to the king, making a song of eulogy, which is called “Bright is God on High”.

1. 明明上帝	<i>teks</i>		Bright is God on High
2. 臨下之光	<i>kwang</i>	A	Shedding light below on earth
3. 丕顯來格	<i>krak</i>		Amply illustrious is he to visit us
4. （歆）是禋明（盟）	<i>mrjang</i>	A	Delight in such a sacrificial rite
5. 於……			Alas!
6. 月有城(盛)(缺)	<i>kwhjat</i>		The moon is waxing and waning
7. 歲有(歇)行	<i>gang</i>	A	The Jupiter is stopping and moving
8. 作茲祝誦	<i>zljongs</i>		I made this ode
9. 萬壽亡疆	<i>kjang</i>	A	Hurray for a longevity of our lord!

Line 1, and the preface:

Comparing the preface and line 1 of this poem with a passage from *Yi Zhou shu*, we

<sup>30</sup> This translation is completely from Gilbert L. Mattos, “Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions”, in Shaughnessy, ed. *New Sources of Early Chinese history: an introduction to the reading of inscriptions and manuscripts* (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1997), 89.

see that this poem might be the musical work that the latter refers to:

甲寅，謁戎殷于牧野，王佩赤白旂。籥人奏武，王入，進萬，獻。明明三終。乙卯，籥人奏崇禹生開，三鍾，終，<sup>31</sup>王定。<sup>32</sup>

On the jiyin day, inspecting the Yin troops on the fields of Muye, the king had a red and a white pennant in ornamentation. The *yüeren* (flutist) played the music of *Wu*. The king entered. The *wan* dance was presented. [The captives of Shang] advanced in front. The three sections of the ode initiated with the performance of "Mingming." On the day of yimao, the *yüeren* played the "Great Yü gave birth to Kai 開 (Qi 啟)," starting with three different bells in turn. When the music was finished, the king was seated.

This musical performance and the presentation of the captives were held immediately after the decisive battle of Muye, approximately one year after the conquest of the state of Qi. Apparently the poem of "Mingming" was played again by the Zhou musicians to eulogize another triumph to overthrowing the Shang dynasty. The song starting with "Ming-ming" was extant in the Mao edition *Shih-ching* in the poem "Daming" 大明 (Mao 236), which opens with the line "Mingming zai shang" 明明在上 and is preserved in the section of "Great Elegantiae," celebrating the virtue of King Wen, the loss of the Heavenly Mandate on the part of Yin, and the wedding of daughters of the royal family of Yin with Chou royalty. Before the discovery of this poem, I suspected that "Daming" was the musical work played in the occasion stated in *Yi Zhou shu*.<sup>33</sup> But now it seems more likely to be the poem found in the TBS text.

3.4 A poem by the duke of Zhou which is variegated from the "Xishuai" in the "Airs of Tang" section of the *Book of Songs* in Mao edition.

The preface of the poem in the TBS text reads:

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<sup>31</sup> Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1868-1936) suspects that this 三鍾終 should originally read 鍾三終. Some other scholars believe that the character 鍾 is interpolative. However, I would argue that the *zhong* here refers to the *yong* bells, which were used by the Shang nobles usually in sets of three. Therefore, an alternative punctuation and translation of this passage would read as it appears here.

<sup>32</sup> Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, *Yi Zhou shu huijiao jizhu* 逸周書匯校集注 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1995), 454-5.

<sup>33</sup> Chen Zhi, *The Shaping of the Book of Songs: From Ritualization to Secularization* (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica monograph series, 52), 165-166.

周公秉爵未飲，蟋蟀造降於堂

The duke of Zhou was holding a *jue* and was yet to drink. A cricket came and fell into the Hall.

Li Xueqin points out that the preface of this poem in TBS differs drastically from the thematic explanations of “Xishuai” preserved in the four extant schools of the *Shi jing*, transmitted from as early as the Han dynasty to modern days. The “new texts” of the Lu and Qi schools indicate that it was a poem made by a gentleman to satirize a lord being filthy on the expense of neglecting ritual practices.<sup>34</sup> Master Mao, representing the “old text”, refers this satire specifically to Duke Xi 僖 of Jin. The “Kongzi Shilun” 孔子詩論 of the Shanghai Museum Bamboo writings has a brief statement of the theme of poem: “Xishuai, zhinan” 七(蟋)銜(蟀)智(知)難, which probably make the theme of the poem more enigmatic.<sup>35</sup>

Let us take a look at the transmitted version of the poem in comparison to the TBS version with three representative English translations, as listed in the following table:

Xishuai (Mao 114)	The second stanza of Xishuai In TBS writings	Bernhard Karlgren (1889-1978): <i>The Book of Odes</i> (1946), p. 74, "Si so"	Arthur Waley (1889-1966): <i>The Book of Songs: The Ancient Chinese Classic of Poetry</i> (1937), pp.90-91, "Cricket"	James Legge (1815 - 1897): <i>The Chinese Classics, vol.4, The King or the Book of Poetry</i> (Hong Kong, 1871), pp. 174-175. "Sih-tsub"
(1) 蟋蟀在堂	蟋蟀在□ (席)	(1) The cricket is in the hall,	(1) THE FEASTERS: The cricket is in the hall,	(1) The cricket is in the hall,
(2) 歲聿其莫	歲喬(聿) 員(云)落	(2) the year draws to a close;	(2) The year is drawing to a close.	(2) And the year is drawing to a close.
(3) 今我不樂	今夫君子 不喜不樂	(3) if we do not now enjoy ourselves,	(3) If we do not enjoy ourselves now,	(3) If we do not enjoy ourselves now,

<sup>34</sup> Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Shi sanjia yi jishu* 詩三家義集疏 (Taipei: Mingwen Shuju, 1988), 414.

<sup>35</sup> See Ji Xusheng 季旭昇, ed. Chen Lingqing 陳霖慶, Zheng Yushan 鄭玉姍, Zou Junzhi 鄒濬智, *Shanghai Bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (1) duben* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書(一)讀本 (Taipei: Wanjuanlou, 2004), 52-3.

(4) 日 月其除	日月其蔑 (邁) 從朝及夕	(4) the days and months will be passing by;	(4) The days and months will have slopped by.	(4) The days and months will be leaving us.
(5) 無 已大康	毋已大康	(5) but may we not be too joyous,	(5) THE MONITOR: Do not be so riotous	(5) But let us not go to great excess;
(6) 職 思其居	則終以作	(6) may we only think of our positions;	(6) As to forget your homes.	(6) Let us first think of the duties of our position;
(7) 好 樂無荒	康樂而毋 忘(荒)	(7) in our love of pleasure, may we not go to excess;	(7) Amuse yourselves, but no wildness!	(7) Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment.
(8) 良 士瞿瞿	是惟良士 之思(懼)	(8) the good gentleman is circumspect.	(8) Good men are always on their guard.	(8) The good man is anxiously thoughtful.
(9) 蟋 蟀在堂		(9) The cricket is in the hall,	(9) THE FEASTERS: The cricket is in the hall,	(9) The cricket is in the hall,
(10) 歲 聿其逝		(10) the year is passing by;	(10) The year draws to its end.	(10) And the year is passing away.
(11) 今 我不樂		(11) if we do not now enjoy ourselves,	(11) If we do not enjoy ourselves now,	(11) If we do not enjoy ourselves now,
(12) 日 月其邁		(12) the days and months will have gone by;	(12) The days and months will have gaone their way.	(12) The days and months will have gone.
(13) 無 已大康		(13) but may we not be too joyous,	(13) THE MONITOR: Do not be so riotous	(13) But let us not go to great excess;
(14) 職 思其外		(14) may we only think of our (exterior => decorum;	(14) As to forget the world beyond.	(14) Let us first send our thoughts beyond the present;
(15) 好 樂無荒		(15) in our love of pleasure, may we not go to excess;	(15) Amuse yourselves, but no wildness!	(15) Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment.
(16) 良 士蹶蹶		(16) the good gentleman is alert.	(16) Good men are always on the watch.	(16) The good man is ever diligent.
(17) 蟋 蟀在堂		(17) The cricket is in the hall,	(17) THE FEASTERS: The cricket is in the hall,	(17) The cricket is in the hall,

(18) 役 車其休		(18) the war-service carriages are at rest;	(18) Our field-wagons are at rest.	(18) And our carts stand unemployed.
(19) 今 我不樂		(19) if we do not now enjoy ourselves,	(19) If we do not enjoy ourselves now,	(19) If we do not enjoy ourselves now,
(20) 日 月其悵		(20) the days and months will have passed away;	(20) The days and months will have fled away.	(20) The days and months will have gone by.
(21) 無 已大康		(21) but may we not be too joyous,	(21) THE MONITOR: Do not be so riotous	(21) But let us not go to an excess;
(22) 職 思其憂		(22) may we only think of our anxieties;	(22) As to forget all cares.	(22) Let us first think of the griefs that may arise;
(23) 好 樂無荒		(23) in our love of pleasure,	(23) Amuse yourselves, but no wildness!	(23) Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment.
(24) 良 士休休		(24) may we not go to excess; the good gentleman is sedate.	(24) Good men are always demure.	(24) The good man is quiet and serene.

Line 8: The written form of the character *ju* 患 (懼) is the same as the one in the *De jing* 德經 text of the earlier version (A) of *Lao zi* and other relatively early manuscripts unearthed in Mawangdui 馬王堆 in 1974, such as *Chunqiu shi yu* 春秋事語, *Zhanguo zonghengjia shu* 戰國縱橫家書, which can be dated before 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. In the later version (B), this character is written as 瞿. In the *Shi jing* poems, the term *ququ* 瞿瞿 appears twice, and again appears in “Dongfang weiming” 東方未明 (Mao 100) of “Airs of Qi”. Ma Ruichen 馬瑞辰 points out that *qu* is a loan word from *qu* 瞿, which is explained by *Shuowen jiezi* as *zuoyou shi ye* 左右視也 (to watch left and right with deliberation).<sup>36</sup>

The rhyme structure of the poem, in comparison with the “Xishuai” in Mao edition can be seen in the following table:

The first stanza of “Xishuai”	Reconstruction of rhyme words in the poem	The second stanza of “Xishuai”	Reconstruction of rhyme	The second stanza	Reconstruction of rhyme words in	The third stanza	Reconstruction of rhyme words in the

<sup>36</sup> Ma Ruichen 馬瑞辰, *Maoshi zhuanjian tongshi* 毛詩傳箋通釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2004), 301.

(Mao 114)	following Baxter's transcriptions (Baxter, <i>A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology</i> , 627)	In TBS writings	words in the poem followi ng Baxter' s transcri ptions	of “Xishu ai” (Mao 114)	the poem following Baxter's transcriptio ns (Baxter, A <i>Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology</i> , 627)	of “Xish uai” (Mao 114)	poem following Baxter's transcriptio ns (Baxter, A <i>Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology</i> , 627)
(1) 蟋蟀在堂	<i>dang</i> A	蟋蟀在□ (席)	<i>zljAk</i> B	(9) 蟋 蟀在堂	<i>dang</i> A	(17) 蟋蟀 在堂	<i>Dang</i> A
(2) 歲聿其莫	<i>maks</i> B	歲喬(聿) 員(云)落	<i>g-rak</i> B	(10) 歲聿其 逝	<i>djats</i> B	(18) 役車 其休	<i>x(r)ju</i> B
(3) 今我不樂	<i>g-rawk</i>	今夫君子 不喜不樂	<i>tsji?</i> <i>g-rawk</i> B	(11) 今我不 樂	<i>g-rawk</i>	(19) 今我 不樂	<i>g-rawk</i>
(4) 日月其除	<i>lrjas</i> B	日月其蔑 (邁) 從朝及夕	<i>mek</i>  <i>z(l)jAk</i> B	(12) 日月其 邁	<i>mrats</i> B	(20) 日月 其慆	<i>hlu</i> B
(5) 無已大康	<i>khang</i> A	毋已大康	<i>Khang</i> A	(13) 無已大 康	<i>khang</i> A	(21) 無已 大康	<i>khang</i> A
(6) 職思其居	<i>k(r)ja</i> B	則終以作	<i>Tsak</i> B	(14) 職思其 外	<i>ngwats</i> B	(22) 職思 其憂	<i>?(r)ju</i> B
(7) 好樂無荒	<i>hmang</i> A	康樂而毋 忘(荒)	<i>Mjang</i> A	(15) 好樂無 荒	<i>hmang</i> A	(23) 好樂 無荒	<i>hmang</i> A
(8) 良士瞿瞿	<i>gw(r)jas</i> B	是惟良士 之慄(懼)	<i>K(r)jak</i>  <i>s</i> B	(16) 良士蹶 蹶	<i>gwrjats</i> B	(24) 良士 休休	<i>x(r)ju</i> B

As the table shows above, the Mao version of “Xishuai” rhymes every other line,

with odd-numbered lines rhyming with the traditional *yang* 陽 vowel category throughout the poem, and the even-numbered lines rhyming with the *yu* 魚 and *duo* 鐸 categories in the first stanza, the *yue* 月 category in the second and the *you* 幽 category in the third. The TBS version is obviously less regulated in terms of rhyme structure. With the same core text, the different rhyme structure may lead us to speculate on the nature of the TBS version, which may have been transmitted orally in both literate and illiterate societies for a period of time before it was written down.

The textual variants of the TBS version of “Xishuai”, as well as its less regulated nature, i.e., the rhyming and diction, suggest that it might be another version derived from a tradition other than the Mao school, and the core text was not necessarily solely transmitted by replication.

The theme of the “Xishuai” poem remains questionable since the preface of the poem in the TBS text suggests it was written by the duke of Zhou in the drinking celebration before the Zhou conquest of the Shang, which contradicts interpretations from early Han times. Questions remain as to whether the TBS represents another tradition other than the Han schools, or whether it was an earlier written version of the Han texts. The former suggests that this lineage of textual development may have been interrupted by the fire of Qin. If the latter is true, then from the time of the TBS (305 B.C.) to early Han, the subject and theme of the poem were reinterpreted by later *Shi jing* scholars to fit into the Warring States’ Ruist values, and hence the diction and rhyme structure were also modified to become seemingly more poetic, so as to appease the trends of the era.

Hence, as I can see, there are three possibilities that can explain the differences between the TBS and the Mao version of “Xishuai”:

1. One may postulate that the TBS version of “Xishuai” is an earlier written version before the Mao version, and the textual variants were generated in the process of replication. If that is the case, either a certain degree of inaccuracy occurred in the oral transmission, or there was dramatic editing of the TBS version. It will also lead us to assume that the “three hundred poems,” which Confucius himself edited and read, was a different rendition of what we inherited from the Han scholars.
2. The Mao version as an earlier version of the TBS, where the changes of the rhyme structure, wording, and textual variants were generated from its dissemination from the Central States to the state of Chu. A certain extent of error in the oral transmission would have also occurred, as hand replication would not add sentences, such as in lines 3 and 4 in the above table.
3. The TBS and Mao versions are parallel, i.e. they may have developed from their respective earlier written versions, originally taken down from mutually independent oral traditions. If this is the case, the TBS version must have

descended from an edition circulated in the Central States before Confucius if the Mao version is indeed faithful to the one that Confucius used in teaching.

These three possibilities are logically equivalent, hence the relationships between these two texts may compose a perpetual dilemma to modern readers without further discovery of new evidence.

If the TBS version indeed predates the Mao version, how far back could it date? Is it a poem originally composed in pre-dynastic Zhou, which became an *Urtext* via centuries of oral transmission? Martin Kern has a discussion of variegated versions of the *Book of Songs*, saying:

My own recent work on textual variants of *Odes* quotations in a series of six excavated manuscripts had led me to assume such a more fluid state of various, mutually independent written instantiations of what is essentially the same—i.e., in its wording largely stable—text. I suggest that while all these versions go back to an *Urtext* that can no longer be recovered, their various written forms do not stem from a single model; strictly speaking, there is no single written original behind the different versions. This is not meant to rule out the possibility that the unrecoverable *Urtext* was initially composed in writing. It only suggests that after the composition, the text was not continuously transmitted along the genealogical lines of the *stemma codicum*. I thus differ from the view that in early China, textual lineages of single works were assigned high prestige first and foremost *as writings* and were primarily transmitted through the process of copying.<sup>37</sup>

Is “Xishuai” an *Urtext* written down by the duke of Zhou himself, or a scribe who attended the ceremony personally? Li Xueqin’s report shows that he believes that the TBS texts are authentic to early Zhou documents, and the “Xishuai” is the original song composed by the duke of Zhou. However, in Li Ling’s recent article discussing the character *zhong* 中 in the TBS text “Bao xun” 保訓, he argues that the TBS “Bao xun” text could likely be forged by a Warring States author attempting to imitate the style of the texts of *Shang shu*, judging from its persona and diction.<sup>38</sup> It appears to me that from the above reading, the TBS poem 3.3 could be an early Zhou creation alluded to by the “Shifu” chapter of *Yi Zhou shu*, but how faithful this written text to the original song sung by the duke of Zhou remains debatable. Poems 3.1 and 3.2 increasingly resemble the poems related to drinking in the sections of the “Great

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<sup>37</sup> Martin Kern, “Methodological reflections on the analysis of textual variants and the modes of manuscript production in early China”, *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4, nos.1-4 (2002) 149-150.

<sup>38</sup> Li Ling, “Shuo Qinghua Chujian Baoxun pian de zhong zi” 說清華楚簡保訓篇的中字, *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中國文物報, 22 May 2009.

Elegantiae” and “Lesser Elegantiae” in the extant Mao edition, which can be dated to no earlier than late-Western Zhou. “Xishuai”, poem 3.4 of the TBS text, was a creation sometime between late Western Zhou and Warring States times, judging from its rhyme structure and wording features.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> I have an article discussing in detail about the shaping of the quasi-syllabic poetry in Mid-Western Zhou from my reading of the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. See Chen Zhi 陳致, “Cong Zhou song yu jin wen zhong cheng yu laikan si yan shi ti de xing cheng” 從周頌與金文中成語來看四言詩體的形成, in Chen Zhi ed. *Kua xue ke shi ye xia de Shi jing yan jiu* 跨學科視野下的詩經研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2010 (forthcoming)).