

**CITATIONS OF THE *SHIJING* IN EARLY CHINESE TEXTS:  
AN ANALYSIS WITH THREE EXAMPLES**

by

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**A Dissertation**

**Submitted for the Degree of Master of Philosophy**

**School of Oriental and African Studies**

**University of London**

**July, 1995**



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## ABSTRACT

Citations of the *Shijing* in Early Chinese Texts:

An Analysis with three Examples

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1995

This dissertation deals with *Shijing* citations in early Chinese texts, such as *Zuozhuan*, *Mengzi*, *Xunzi*, *Liji*, *Lushi chunqiu*, *Huainanzi*, and *Hanshi waizhuan*. The *Shijing* citations are important materials which can bridge the gap between the end of the Chunqiu period (770-447 B.C.) to the early Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.).

The first chapter includes introductory remarks which contain a brief description of the development of *Shijing* scholarship and the process of interpretation from the origin of the *Shijing* poems to the establishment of its classical status. It also introduces the three basic functions of quotation by Stefan Morawski: authority, erudition, and ornament. His theory is applied throughout this dissertation to analysing the citations from the point of "maintenance of cultural continuity."

The second chapter concerns three example lines from the *Shijing* which are frequently cited: "其儀一兮，心如結兮" (鴉鳩, 152) "嗟我懷人，寘彼周行" (卷耳, 3) and "溥天之下，莫非王土。率土之濱，莫非王臣" (北山, 205). I analyse

the meaning of the lines and their potential for change of meaning when placed in contexts different from the original poem. Because the *Shijing* had been sanctified by the Confucian tradition, the lines of the *Shijing* poems had the authority of that tradition. However in the citations, they borrowed their meaning from the context. Thus, each example of citation had the function of maintaining a sense of tradition, but the same lines generated different meanings according to context, the intent of the citer, and the change of meaning of the words over time. The third chapter is a brief conclusion concerning the function of the *Shijing* citations.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During two years of studying under the supervision of Sarah Allan, she has guided and encouraged me like a close friend whenever I experienced difficulty or discouragement. All my thanks, first of all, must be given to her without hesitation. Dr. Paul Thompson and Tao Wang were always kind to me in devoting their time when I needed it.

Most of the works on the *Shijing* which have been extremely useful and time-saving in the course of writing the dissertation, were collected with the help of Dr. Qingzhang Lin in Taiwan. My English has benefited greatly from the judicious criticism of my Korean friends, H. J. Park, S. H. Shin who have read all the drafts.

To my parents who support me, brother and sisters, and my wife and two daughters who need my concern and time but have received less than I would have liked to have given them, no words are adequate to express my feelings of gratitude and love for them.

Man-jong Ou

London

July 19

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## Chapter 1: From an Anthology to a Classic

The *Shijing* 詩經 is an anthology of ancient Chinese poems. Its three hundred and five extant poems cover various subjects. Arthur Waley classifies them into seventeen groups, such as courtship, marriage, warriors and battles, agriculture, blessings on gentle folk, welcome, feasting, the clan feast, sacrifice, music and dancing, dynastic songs, dynastic legends, building, hunting, friendship, moral pieces, and lamentations<sup>1</sup>. This material is divided into four major sections in the Mao text which is the only complete commentary version of the *Shijing* to have come down from the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.). The four sections are Feng 風 (poems of states), Xiaoya 小雅, Daya 大雅, and Song 頌. The first section of the *Shijing*, called Feng or Guofeng, includes one hundred and sixty popular songs with local tunes from fifteen different states. These songs are mostly expressions of individual lives, genuine feelings, farming, feasting and above all, love. The second and third sections, Xiaoya and Daya, comprise one hundred and five poems which have the history of the Zhou dynasty, political complaints and satires, royal ceremonies, feasts and hunts as their subjects. The last section, Song, comprising forty poems, is divided into Zhou Song 周頌, Shang Song 商頌, and Lu Song 魯頌. These are largely dynastic hymns and ceremonial pieces, possibly connected with the ancestral sacrifices of the royal houses of Zhou 周, Lu 魯, and Song 宋.

It is uncertain how and when the poems in the *Shijing* were gathered and compiled. Records in the *Hanshu* 漢書 by Ban Gu (32 -92 A.D.) give the explanation that there were officers (music masters) of the Zhou court whose task

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<sup>1</sup> See Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs*, Contents.

was to collect poems, which were used by the king to see whether or not the customs were good, and whether or not his reign was successful<sup>2</sup>. If this account is accurate, some folksongs were gathered specially by the masters of music of the Zhou court. Some of the *Shijing* poems are also believed to have been written by the officers of the Zhou court. Some poems themselves give evidence of their authors, such as "Jia Fu has made this poem," 家父作誦 (節南山, Mao #191), "the eunuch Mengzi has made this poem," 寺人孟子，作為此詩 (巷伯, Mao #200), "Ji Fu has made this poem," 吉甫作誦 (崧高, Mao #259, 烝民, Mao #260). Furthermore, some of the local court poems are believed to have been presented by local governments to the royal court.

In order to explain the original features of the *Shijing* poems, most *Shijing* scholars from the beginning of this century have discarded the traditional commentaries on the *Shijing* when they interpret the poems. Instead, they have regarded the references of the commentaries as a main cause in preventing the understanding of the poems' original meaning. Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, Hu Shi 胡適 in China, Marcel Granet in the West have started to investigate the popular origin of the poems, particularly in the Guo Feng, and their original association with music. Later scholars, Chen Shixiang 陳世驥 and Zhou Cezong 周策縱, in tracing the root meaning of the word *shi* 詩 maintain that the primary etymon of the word *shi* is related to a particular action in a sacrifice accompanied by certain sign, music, songs, and dance<sup>3</sup>. C. H. Wang's research on the oral-formulaic characteristics of the *Shijing* poems is also an attempt to see their origin in songs<sup>4</sup>. These studies show that most of the *Shijing* poems might have had their origin in dance and music.

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<sup>2</sup> See Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書, P. 1708.

<sup>3</sup> See Chen Shixiang, "The *Shijing*: Its Generic Significance in Chinese Literary History and Poetics," PP. 8-41, and Zhou Cezong, "Early History of the Chinese Word *Shi* (Poetry)," PP. 151-209.

<sup>4</sup> See C. H. Wang, *The Bell and the Drum*, PP. 1-34.

Although most modern scholars believe that most of the *Shijing* poems originated from dance and music, traditional commentators did not see them as popular songs, but as pieces of instruction. They were convinced that moral lessons could be learned as a benefit of studying the poems. This traditional view can be traced to Confucius. The *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語), a collection of the deeds and sayings of Confucius and his disciples, includes several passages describing the views of the Confucian tradition concerned with the *Shijing*. In one passage, Confucius described the representative meaning covering the whole of the *Shijing* poems: "The Master said, 'As for the three hundred poems, if one saying can cover them, it would be unswerving in thought (*si wu xie* 思無邪) (*Analects* 2.2)<sup>5</sup>. This statement gives a moral standard for his followers when reading the *Shijing*. This is to say that the authors' 'not swerving in thought' should be appreciated by the reader. Other references to the *Shijing* in the *Analects* advocate the study of the *Shijing* (17.9). If you do so, your moral education can be stimulated (8.8), and you can learn how to serve father and lord, and be familiar with good and useful rhetorical phrases and the names of animals and plants (17.9), also that you may become a competent politician and eventually achieve the ideal personality (13.5). All these aspects of meaning emphasised by Confucius might have attracted the interest of his immediate followers.

Following Confucius' emphasis on the study of the *Shijing*, Xun Kuang 荀況 was an important figure who served as a successor in developing and institutionalizing Confucius' teachings. In his endeavour to establish the Confucian tradition, Xun Kuang insisted that all the *Shijing* poems are

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<sup>5</sup> The meaning of the phrase "si wu xie" which appears in Jiong 頌 (Mao # 297) has been argued. The first character of the phrase, *si*, in the poem is commonly understood to be a meaningless particle or exclamation, but in the *Analects* it could be used as the original meaning of the word itself, "thought" or "to think." So Confucius' meaning of the phrase in the *Analects* might be "unswerving in the thoughts."

incarnations of the ancient sages' intentions (*Xunzi*, Ruxiaopian 儒效篇)<sup>6</sup>.

Though today many of the *Shijing* poems are regarded as originating in folksongs, Xun Kuang's attribution of the authorship of the *Shijing* to the sages well reflects how it was considered at the time. As John Knoblock observes, the *Shijing* might have been conceived as "wonderful allegories containing the most sublime thoughts on the art of government, on the practice of self cultivation, and on the nature of the Way and its Power<sup>7</sup>." The eighty two citations of the *Shijing* in the *Xunzi* can illustrate how Xun Kuang used the lines of the poems in various philosophical contexts.

Apart from his appreciation of the value of the *Shijing*, Xun Kuang played an important role in the transmission of it. Because of the burning of the Confucian books in the Qin dynasty (221-207 B.C.), the *Shijing* appeared in four different versions in the Han dynasty. This was possible because the rulers encouraged the study of them. The four versions are the *Lushi* 魯詩, *Qishi* 齊詩, *Hanshi* 韓詩, and *Maoshi* 毛詩. They are different from one another in text and interpretation. Xun Kuang's influence covers the three schools of Lu, Han, and Mao. He had a direct influence on the Lu school through Shen Pei 申培, who founded that school of interpretation and who had studied the *Shijing* under Fuqiu Bo 浮丘伯. The influence on the Han school can be recognised by the fact that many of the passages which cite the *Shijing* in the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 are similar to passages in the *Xunzi*.<sup>8</sup> Xun Kuang's influence on the *Maoshi* was through his student Mao Heng 毛亨 and Mao's son Mao Chang 毛萇 who provided the glosses for the commentary of the Mao version, *Maoshi guxunzhuan* 毛詩詁訓傳

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<sup>6</sup> See John Knoblock, tr. *Xunzi*, vol. II, PP. 76-77.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* vol. I, P. 43.

<sup>8</sup> John Knoblock calculates the number and says that the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 has passages in common with 18 of the 32 books of the *Xunzi* and quotes the work in 54 of its 304 paragraphs. See *ibid.* P. 44.

or *Maozhuan* 毛傳 in abbreviation. This Mao version has become the standard text of the *Shijing* throughout the history of later *Shijing* scholarship.

Apart from the genealogical explanation that the *Maoshi* followed the school of Xun Kuang, textual research on the quotations of the *Shijing* in the *Xunzi* also supports this transmission. Bernhard Karlgren examines all the quotations (except repetitions and quotations from lost poems) and draws the conclusion that of the four Shi versions, Mao's has most in common with the *Xunzi*. He further states that "out of our 61 quotations in *Xunzi* there are 18 cases where Mao follows *Xunzi*, against other versions which deviate from him." Karlgren also gives examples of ten references to *Xunzi* in the *Maozhuan*.<sup>9</sup> These explanations are sufficiently verifiable for us to accept that Mao's commentaries come to a certain extent from *Xunzi*.

The present Mao version includes the *Preface* (*Shixu* 詩序) which was an originally individual work but was later arranged in sequence with the poems of the *Shijing*. The *Preface* appended to the *Guanju* 關雎 (first poem in the *Shijing*), commonly called the Great Preface (*Daxu* 大序), reflects existing scholarship on the *Shijing* by Confucian scholars probably pre-dating the Han dynasty. It maintains that poetry has transformative power like wind blowing over grass. It also says that poetry is the expression of the author's thoughts in words. As for the social function of the *Shijing*, the Great Preface says that poems could be used by superiors to transform those below or for those below to admonish superiors, but it should stop within the boundaries of propriety and righteousness. The relationship between poetry and politics, as described in the Great Preface, is one in which the subject and tone of the poems are closely related to the success and failure of government. When the political situation is stable, the poems tend to be

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<sup>9</sup> See Bernhard Karlgren, "The Early History of the Zhouli and Zuozhuan Texts," pp. 26-35. I have converted the romanisation used by B. Karlgren to Pinyin. This will be done throughout this dissertation whenever scholars who use other systems of romanisation are quoted.

positive portrayals; but when it is chaotic, the poems become satirical and bitter. Its summary of poetic theory is further expressed in terms of six artistic devices which are applied to the *Shijing*: Feng 風, Ya 雅, Song 頌, Fu 賦, Bi 比, and Xing 興. The first three (Feng, Ya, and Song) are types of poetry and the last three (Fu, Bi, and Xing) are rhetorical devices.

The prefaces to individual poems explain their historical backgrounds and subject matter. Sometimes the preface helps the reader to understand the poem better. However, more often it is too far-fetched to be believable. The preface to the poem, Guanju, is a good example of this. Guanju is regarded by modern scholars as a love-song about a beautiful and good-natured lady. But the preface places it in a specific historical context and says that the poem is about "the virtue of *houfei* 后妃," who was thought to be Wen Wang's wife (the founder of the Zhou dynasty) by the *Shijing* scholars who follow the Mao commentaries. Thus, a simple love-song is put into a historical context with an ethical idea. All the other prefaces to individual poems have more or less similar explanations. The historical and ethical interpretations of the *Shijing* in these prefaces are clearly related to the Confucian tradition of moral ideas.

Han scholars seem to have accepted the explanations of the Mao text with the *Preface* as more faithful in its explanations of the original, compared with the three schools of Lu, Han, and Qi. This is probably the reason that it survived through the contentious disputes surrounding the Old-Text 古文 and New-Text 今文 in the Han dynasty. In the later years of the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 A.D.), Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 made supplementary annotations. Although they are based on the Mao text, Zheng's annotations often refer to the three other versions. In this sense, Zheng's work on the Mao text became the most important commentary in the history of the studies on the *Shijing* as one of Chinese classics.

Above, I have discussed the process of the establishment in the Confucian tradition of *Shijing* scholarship from the origin of the *Shijing* to the Han dynasty. However, it is still necessary to ask how the *Shijing* poems were used during that time. As we have observed in the preceding discussion, the *Shijing* poems originated in music, dance, and folk-songs. Their use is also related to their musical function. The references concerning the *Shijing* in the *Analects* reflect this. Steven Van Zoeren classifies them into three types. The passages which he regards as from the early tradition treat the poems as the musical accompaniment to ritual. The second group includes the quotations from the *Shijing* by Confucius or other figures. The third group consists of passages concerned with the advocacy of the study of the *Shijing*. He suggests that these three types of expression in the *Analects* may well show a chronological progression in attitudes toward the *Shijing*: from the *Shijing* as music, to rhetoric and to texts for study.<sup>10</sup> Some different uses of the *Shijing* from the Spring and Autumn to the Han dynasty can be explained by those three progressions of attitude toward the *Shijing* in the *Analects*.

In the *Zuozhuan*, the *Shijing* poems appear to have been used in patterns related to music: singing (*ge* 歌), reciting (*fu* 賦), and chanting (*song* 誦). According to Susan Schor Ko, the cases of singing in the *Zuozhuan* occur when professional musicians perform the music of the *Shijing*. The cases of recitation, which also involved musical accompaniment, are usually reserved for higher status individuals, officials and rulers. The chanting cases are recitations by lower status individuals and musicians and sometimes indicate composition as well.<sup>11</sup> Examples of recitation are seen only in the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* (國語 Discourses of the States) and not in texts such as the *Analects*, *Mencius*, and *Xunzi* amongst others. This fact may imply that the music of the *Shijing* poems had been

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<sup>10</sup> See Steven Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality*, P. 48.

<sup>11</sup> See Susan Schor Ko, *Literary Politics in the Han*, P. 59.

lost before the time when the latter books were written. The reason for the loss of the music of the poems is well explained by Steven Van Zoeren. He said that "[a]lthough traditions concerning the ritual uses and function of music continued to be taught, these teachings [teachings of the *Shijing*] became increasingly speculative and abstract as they had fewer and fewer practical applications."<sup>12</sup> As the function of music of the *Shijing* went out of use, the importance of its rhetorical use increased.

As for the rhetorical use, a large number of lines from the *Shijing* poems were cited (*yin* 引) in early Chinese texts. The number of citations in each text are: the *Zuozhuan* more than 180 times, *Guoyu* about 20 times, *Lunyu* 6 times, *Liji* 禮記 103 times, *Mengzi* 36 times, *Xunzi* 82 times. Other books like *Lushi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, *Huainanzi* 淮南子, *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, *Lienuzhuan* 烈女傳, etc. also have many *Shijing* citations<sup>13</sup>. These citations are introduced mainly by the words *shiyue* 詩曰 or *shiyun* 詩云. They are important *Shijing* materials preserved in the texts. The materials can bridge the gap in the *Shijing* scholarship between the end of the Chunqiu period (770-477 B.C.) to the early Han dynasty.

It is necessary to ask what these citations imply. These frequent quotations of the *Shijing* lines mean that the *Shijing* was a text with which intellectuals were at least familiar. They were used in order to deliver the citers' intentions or as rhetorical ornament in political banquets, diplomatic missions and philosophical texts. According to "The Basic Functions of Quotation" by Stefan Morawski, quotation has mainly three functions: firstly, it appeals to authority; secondly, it shows erudition; thirdly, it has the function of ornament. These functions can be

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<sup>12</sup> See Steven Van Zoeren, op. cit. P. 49.

<sup>13</sup> I refer for the numbers to Yu Peilin 余培林, *Qunjing yinshikao* 群經引詩考, and Xia Tiesheng 夏鐵生, *Zuozhuan Guoyu yinshi fushi zhi bijiao yanjiu* 左傳國語引詩賦詩之比較研究.

summed up as "maintenance of cultural continuity." In other words, all quotations have a sense of tradition.<sup>14</sup> If we accept this theory, we may ask what sorts of cultural continuities have been maintained in the *Shijing* citations.

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<sup>14</sup> See Stefan Morawski, "The Basic Functions of Quotation," PP. 690-96.

## Chapter 2: Citations in the Early Chinese Texts

In this chapter, some *Shijing* citations are analysed. This chapter focuses on distinguishing the different meanings of the same *Shijing* lines when reproduced in different contexts. We shall see that the lines themselves had the authority of tradition which the citers borrowed, but they used these lines to deliver a different meaning, despite of the original context of the lines. Furthermore, as the *Shijing* lines were cited repeatedly in early Chinese texts, this citation process itself added to their authority in the Confucian tradition. Meanwhile, the *Shijing* itself became more and more authoritative. However, in the *Shijing* citations the meaning is not strictly limited to that of the original. Thus, we shall see that although Morawski's analysis of the function of quotation is apt, the maintenance of cultural continuity did not restrict the development of new interpretation.

Three examples of lines from three different poems will be treated below. My analysis is intended to show the function of the *Shijing* lines in the context of later citation. When the lines are taken from the original poems and placed in different contexts, we will see that their meaning changes. This change in meaning is not simply due to the passage of time, but is directly affected by the context. Although the change of meaning happens because the lines are used in different contexts, the cited lines themselves represent or maintain a sense of tradition because of the authority of the work from which they are taken.

A. 其儀一兮，心如結兮

Shijiu 鴉鵲(152)

鳴鳩在桑    **The Shijiu<sup>15</sup> is in the mulberry tree,**  
其子七兮    **Its young ones are seven.**  
淑人君子    **The good man, my lord,**  
其儀一兮    **His deportment is perfect.**  
其儀一兮    **His deportment is perfect,**  
心如結兮    **His mind is like in the state of condensation.**

鳴鳩在桑    **The Shijiu is in the mulberry tree,**  
其子在梅    **Its young ones are in the plum tree.**  
淑人君子    **The good man, my lord,**  
其帶伊絲    **His belt is made of silk.**  
其帶伊絲    **His belt is made of silk,**  
其弁伊騏    **His cap is made of mottled deer skin.**

鳴鳩在桑    **The Shijiu is in the mulberry tree,**  
其子在棘    **Its young ones are in the jujube tree.**  
淑人君子    **The good man, my lord,**  
其儀不忒    **His deportment is faultless.**  
其儀不忒    **His deportment is faultless,**  
正是四國    **He corrects the four quarters of the states.**

鳴鳩在桑    **The Shijiu is in the mulberry tree,**  
其子在榛    **Its young ones are in the hazel tree.**  
淑人君子    **The good man, my lord,**  
正是國人    **Corrects the people of the states.**  
正是國人    **He corrects the people of the states,**  
胡不萬年    **May he continue for ten thousand years!**

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<sup>15</sup> Scholars vary in rendering the Shijiu 鳴鳩, such as Legge as turtle dove, Waley as cuckoo.

In the first verse of the first stanza, the bird *shijiu* cannot be identified accurately. The character *jiu* alone literally means turtledove. However, *shi* as a modifier for *jiu* does not specify any type of bird. According to the Mao text, when the two characters are put together, the combined term *shijiu* can be identified as another bird called *jieju* 桔鞠. *Shijing* scholars, such as Zhu Xi 朱熹, Chen Huan 陳奐, Arther Waley, etc. regard this bird as *bugu* 布穀 or cuckoo.<sup>16</sup> However, it is hardly possible to link the cuckoo's characteristic of laying their eggs in other birds' nests to the following human situation in which the gentleman's deportment is perfect. One possible interpretation, disregarding the characteristics of the cuckoo, is an abstract one, simply that the scene of the bird perching in the mulberry tree with its seven young ones gave the poet a natural scene of perfection. This may be associated with the image of a perfect gentleman.

It is by no means certain what sort of image the poet, in fact, drew from the scene in each stanza. However, Mao's commentary states that the scenery of the first stanza evokes the image of equal distribution of the *shijiu* in feeding its young (如一). This image of equal distribution can be symbolized by giving of food in one order in the morning, and in the opposite order in the evening.<sup>17</sup> This interpretation is based on the *xing* 興 (one of three rhetorical devices). It apparently tries to impose a meaningful relationship between an image and a situation. Some scholars dismiss this explanation as far-fetched because they regard the function of the *xing* as formal and auditory and not as semantic.<sup>18</sup>

In the second verse, "its young *shijius* are seven", the number "seven" may have a specific meaning. However, we cannot ascertain this meaning from the context

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<sup>16</sup> See Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Shijizhuan* 詩集傳, P. 89, Chen Huan, *Shimaoshi zhuan*, P. 356, and Arther Waley, *The Book of Songs*, P. 174.

<sup>17</sup> See Chen Huan, *Shimaoshi zhuan*, P. 355-6.

<sup>18</sup> See Gu Xiegang, "Qi xing" in the third volume of the *Gushi bian* ed. by GuXiegang, P. 672-7.

of the following lines. If we examine other poems of the *Shijing*, the same number of seven, appears in two cases. One case is "*piao you mei, qi shi qi xi*" or "dropping are the plums, but there are seven left" in the poem *Piao you mei* 標有梅 (No. 20). The number seven here may not indicate the actual amount of fruits, but rather seventy percent of them, which suggests a large amount.<sup>19</sup> The other is "*you zi qi ren, mo wei mu xin*" or "we are seven sons, but none of us can console our mother's heart" in the poem *Kai feng* 凱風 (No. 32). Even though we are not sure whether or not the number seven in the expression has any substantial significance, in fact, it gives an impression of a large number. In these cases the number seven is used to convey a degree of amount rather than a factual number. Within the context of the poem *Shijiu*, however, the number seven does not seem to imply the meaning of a specific number. It seems to have no special implication with regard to the "seven" except for the purpose of rhyming with *yi* — in the poem.

In the third line "*shu ren jun zi*", the terms "*shuren*" and "*junzi*," which can both be references to the same man, are repeated. The former plays a substantial role of modifying the latter. So its translation is "the good man, my lord". The exact same line occurs in the poem *Guzhong* in the *Xiaoyia* section (No. 208). Because drums and bells appear in the poem and the user of these musical instruments would have been of high status in the *Shijing* period<sup>20</sup>, the *junzi* must have been of noble status. From the poem *Shijiu*, we can also find clues to interpreting the *junzi* as having a high status. The clues are the girdle made of silk and the cap made of deer skin which high officials wore as they attended the court.<sup>21</sup> The *junzi* as a noble rank is depicted through each stanza of *Shijiu* as an ideal character who had a condensed-like mind internally, a good demeanour

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<sup>19</sup> See James Legge, tr *The Shijing*, P. 31.

<sup>20</sup> See Qu Wanli, *Shijing shiyi*, P. 280.

<sup>21</sup> See Kong Yingda, ed. *Maoshi zhengyi*, P. 271.

externally, an influence over the states politically, and social power to correct the people. From the above two facts, we can see that the term "*junzi*" represents both a hierarchical rank and a degree of personal cultivation. The influence of political responsibility and moral development are correlated in the characteristics of the *junzi*. It can be said that the term "*junzi*" in the *Shijing* period was used to represent social status rather than the moral sense of later use.

In the fourth line "*qi yi yi xi*", the term *yi* 儀 is rendered by Legge and Karlgren as deportment, which implies external demeanour excluding the sense of internal mind. The etymology of *yi* 儀 derives from ancient rituals which may have generated the meaning of the demeanour in ritual for this term in later texts. In the *Shijing* period *yi* 儀 was still used with this ritual connotation. A line of the poem *Chuci* 楚茨 (No. 209), which describes ritual activities, is a good instance of this meaning. The line is "*li yi zu du*" 禮儀卒度 which Waley interprets as "[e]very custom and rite is observed." This meaning of ritual demeanour for *yi* 儀 gradually extended to imply a general human one. In other *Shijing* poems, *yi* 儀 occurs with this meaning in contrast to the term *de* 德 or internal virtue. The cases are:

敬慎威儀， Be careful of your demeanour，  
以近有德。 so to become virtuous.

(大雅，民勞, No. 253)

抑抑威儀， A dignified demeanour，  
維德之隅。 is an indication of the inner virtue.

(大雅，抑, No. 256)

穆穆魯侯， Reverent is the Lord of Lu，  
敬明其德， he reverently makes his virtue bright，  
敬慎威儀， and is also careful of his demeanour，  
維民之則。 he is a model to his people.

(魯頌，泮水, No. 299)

The usage of *yi* 儀 and *de* 德 in these three examples demonstrates their relationship. The first and second examples suggest an idea that virtue (*de*) results from cultivating demeanour (*yi*). The third depicts a model gentleman who possesses both external demeanour and internal virtue. These two terms are complementary in their role. So it is tenable to say that the term *yi* in the *Shijing* period was used to indicate external demeanour.

The other term *yi* 一 used here is in itself one of the most ineffable terms. Its meaning in the poem may be understood in relation to the meaning of *yi* 儀. *Yi* 一 as a numerical term is the beginning of the number sequence "one", and as a conceptual term is used to represent the various concepts of demeanour, mind and way etc.. In the line "*qi yi yi xi*" 其儀一兮, *yi* 一 is descriptive of *yi* 儀. However, it is still vague what *yi* 一 implies in this context. The subsequent line gives a crucial hint to understanding its contextual meaning. The next line reads "*xin ru jie xi*" 心如結兮, "his mind is as though in a state of condensation." The state of condensation of his mind is due to "the *yi* 一 of his demeanour" in the previous line. So the two words *yi* 一 and *jie* 結 have the relation of cause and effect. If we note the logical structure of the lines of the first stanza, we find a syllogistic expression which has no conclusion. The sense of the expression may be that 'my lord has a perfect demeanour.' The condensation of his mind is due to his perfect demeanour. [So my lord has a condensed-like mind.] So it can be said that the implication of a condensed-like mind is the state of the mind sticking to one's perfect demeanour. This formula of syllogistic expression is used throughout the following stanzas and many vague meanings of particular words might better be understood by considering the logic of the expression.

The first stanza stresses the condensed-like mind of a lord which is due to his perfect demeanour. The second stanza focuses on the features of the lord by depicting two conspicuous items of clothing: belt and cap. The third stanza depicts the lord's ability to rectify the wrongs of the four quarters of the states. This ability comes from his infallible deportment. The fourth stanza refers to another ability of the lord, to correct the people. These two kinds of ability seem to be the extension of his inner cultivation of mind. This poem begins by stressing the inner cultivation of a lord's mind and extends to its outer influence. The result of this is that the lord is worthy of praise for his longevity.

From the above analysis, we can draw three points about the poem *Shijiu*. First, this poem is a eulogy which praises a lord in a high position. Secondly, it is by no means clear what message the natural objects can give, even though traditional commentators suggest a far-fetched interpretation. Thirdly, this poem uses syllogistic expressions throughout its stanzas.

Some lines of this poem are cited in later texts. I will deal with these in the following. The first stanza of the poem appears in the chapter "Exhortation to Learning" or 勸學 (1.6)<sup>22</sup> in the *Xunzi*. In the Confucian tradition, "xue" 學 or learning is an important matter. For Confucius, the aim of learning is not only to improve oneself (*Analects*, 14/24), but also to transmit one's cultural legacy (*Analects*, 3/14). He also emphasised enthusiasm for learning (*Analects*, 7/8) without seeking official salary (*Analects*, 2/18). So learning itself would be a pleasure throughout one's life (*Analects*, 1/1).

The chapter "Exhortation to Learning" of the *Xunzi* begins with a saying that 'the gentleman says: "learning must never be stopped" 學不可已.' Learning

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<sup>22</sup> I will use hereafter the Knoblock's number of Book and paragraph for the *Xunzi* which is used in his translation with the title *Xunzi, a Translation and Study of the Complete Works*.

without stopping relates to two aspects of its practice, which are steadfast purpose and accumulating effort. Whether the aim of learning succeeds or not relies on these two factors. Thus, a paragraph of the "Exhortation to Learning" reads:

If you accumulate enough earth to build up a high hill, rain and wind will flourish because of it. If you accumulate enough water to fill a chasm, dragons and scaly dragons will be born within it. If you accumulate enough good to make whole your inner power, a divine clarity of intelligence will be naturally acquired and a sagelike mind will be fully realised. Accordingly, if you do not accumulate paces and double paces, you will lack the means to reach 1,000 *li*, and if you do not accumulate small streams, you will have no way to fill a river or sea. Even a famous thoroughbred like Qiji cannot cover ten paces in a single stride. But in ten yokings even a worn-out nag can. Its achievement consists in its not giving up. If you start carving but give up, you can not cut even a rotting piece of wood in two. Yet if you carve away and never give up, even metal and stone can be engraved. Though the earthworm has neither the advantage of claws and teeth nor the strength of muscles and bones, it can eat dust and dirt above ground and drink from the waters of the Yellow Springs below, because its mind is fixed on a constant end. The crab has eight legs and two claws; still if there is no hole made by an eel or snake, it will have no safe place to live, because its mind moves in every direction at once. For these reasons, if there is no dark obscurity in purpose, there will be no reputation for brilliance; if there is no hidden secretiveness in the performance of duties, there will be no awe-inspiring majesty in achievements. If you attempt to travel both forks of a road, you will arrive no where, and if you attempt to serve two masters, you will please neither. The eye cannot look at two objects and see either clearly; the ear cannot

listen to two things and hear either distinctly. The wingless dragon has no limbs, but it can fly; the flying squirrel has five talents, but it is reduced to extremity. An Ode says: "The ring dove is in the mulberry tree, its young ones are seven. The good man, my lord, his bearing is constant, his bearing is constant, as though his mind were tied". Thus, the gentleman is tied to constancy.<sup>23</sup> (積土成山，風雨興焉。積水成淵，蛟龍生焉。積善成德而神明自得，聖心備焉。故不積跬步，無以至千里。不積小流，無以成江海。騏驥一躍，不能十步，駑馬十駕。功在不舍。鍥而舍之，朽木不折。鍥而不舍，金石可鏤。螾無爪牙之利，筋骨之強，上食埃土，下飲黃泉，用心一也。蟹六跪而二螯，非蛇鱸之穴，無可寄託者，用心躁也。是故無冥冥之志者，無昭昭之明，無惛惛之事者，無赫赫之功。行衢道者不至，事兩君者不容。目不能兩視而明，耳不能兩聽而聰。騰蛇無足而飛，梧鼠五技而窮。詩曰，鴉鳩在桑，其子七兮。淑人君子，其儀一兮。其儀一兮，心如結兮。故君子結於一也。(PP. 113-6)

**In this paragraph, the expressions of accumulating enough earth to build up a high hill causing rain and wind, accumulating enough water to fill a chasm leading to begetting dragons, accumulating enough good to make the inner power whole resulting in acquiring a sagelike mind, accumulating paces to reach 1,000 *li*, and accumulating small streams to fill a river, give an image of constant effort. Other expressions, such as Qiji's inability to cover ten paces in a single stride; not being able to cut in two a piece of rotten wood if you give up the effort; an earthworm without either claws and teeth or the strength of muscles and bones being able to eat dust and dirt above ground and drink from the waters of the Yellow Springs below; a crab with eight legs and two claws still living in an eel or snake's hole; taking both forks in a road and not reaching a destination; serving two masters and pleasing neither; looking at two objects and seeing neither**

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<sup>23</sup> I use Knoblock's translation for this paragraph. ( 1988: PP. 138-9)

clearly; and listening to two things and hearing neither distinctly, are all metaphoric images suggesting the need for steadfast purpose. All these expressions are proverbial ones which were probably popular in Xunzi's time<sup>24</sup>. Xunzi arranged and probably embellished them and added some concluding remarks. In the above paragraph his concluding remarks are "*sheng xin bei yan*", "*yung xin yi ye*", and "*gu jun zi jie yu yi ye*". The key concept encompassed in these concluding remarks is "*xin yi*" 心一 or "constant mind". The two topics of this paragraph, constant effort and steadfast purpose, are based on this "constant mind".

Xun Kuang placed his citation of the first stanza of *Shijiu* at the end of the paragraph. It is not obvious what the natural objects in the first two lines of the stanza, *shijiu* and its young ones and the mulberry tree, mean in this context. For example, in Mao's commentary the interpretation of *shijiu*'s equal distribution of food to its young ones, and the cuckoo's characteristic (if *shijiu* is a cuckoo), of laying its eggs in other birds' nests, do not have any relation to the key concept "constant mind". However, we can relate the meaning of the following lines of the stanza to this key concept. Here, the image drawn from the cited poem can be equivalent to the constant mind as discussed in Xunzi's paragraph. In the original poem I translate *yi* 一 as "perfect" rather than "invariable" or "constant" as the description of a lord's demeanour since the former covers a broader meaning. In the Xunzi, however, the two main topics are constant effort and steadfast purpose. So the term *yi* 一 is better rendered as "constant" rather than "perfect". The term *jie* 結 is translated as "condensation" in the original poem. However, in the Xunzi's paragraph it is rendered as a verbal form translated by Knoblock as "to tie" because the following sentence, "*gu jun zi jie yu yi ye*", illuminates the usage of the term as a verb.

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<sup>24</sup> According to Knoblock, all these expressions are regarded as proverbial ones. See *ibid.* PP. 169-70, notes 29, 31.

Summing up the above arguments, the first stanza of the poem Shijiu can be interpreted as praising a lord's perfect demeanour and condensed-like mind. However, the *Xunzi*'s citation draws a message of constant mind from the stanza in a context which describes two aspects of learning, which are constant effort and steadfast purpose. We can see that the same stanza of the poem, when it is cited in a different context, delivers a different message from the original one. By placing the lines in a specific philosophical context, as Xunzi has done in this paragraph, the meaning of particular terms is specified and changed. By citing from the *Shijing* at the end of the paragraph, Xunzi also uses its authority to deliver his own philosophical message.

In the chapter, *Ziyi* (緇衣) or Black Robe of the *Liji* 禮記<sup>25</sup>, two lines of the same stanza of the poem Shijiu, are cited. The paragraph reads:

The master<sup>26</sup> said "if when an officer serves his lord, his body is not correct and his words are not trusted, then the officer's righteousness is regarded as keeping no uniformity, and his conduct is regarded as keeping no pattern". The master said that "the words have to have validity and the conduct has to follow the right rule. Because of this, when alive the will can not be deprived and after death the name can not be deprived. Thus, though a gentleman has broad learning, he sieves and keeps it.

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<sup>25</sup> The *Liji* is a very miscellaneous collection of documents, brought together in the first century B.C.. It is a mine of information on many subjects, and undoubtedly incorporates many valid traditions handed down from early times. But the documents of which it is composed very often show unmistakable evidence that they were written, or at least edited, not earlier than the Warring States period. See Creel, Appendix A "The Sources" in the *The Origins of Statecraft in China*, 1970, P. 486.

<sup>26</sup> Chinese scholars, traditionally, have thought the character *zi* 子 in the usage of "*zi yue*" 子曰 as indicating Confucius. However, critical scholar, such as Sarah Allan, notes with regard to the *Laozi* that "[t]here was a fashion in the late fourth to third centuries B.C. for giving texts this type of mysterious and anonymous authorship." See the introduction to the *Daode Jing* tr. by D.C. Lau, 1994, P. XVI.

Though his will is various, he sieves and is familiar with it. Though his wisdom is meticulous, he reflects and acts." The chapter, Junchen, [in the *Shangshu*] says: "going out and coming in, seek opinions from the people and reach general agreement." A poem says: "the good man, my lord (officer), his deportment is circumspect." (子曰，下之事上也，身不正言不信，則義不壹行無類也。子曰，言有物而行有格也，是以生則不可奪志，死則不可奪名，故君子多聞質而守之，多志質而親之，精知略而行之。君陳曰，出入自爾師虞，庶言同。詩云，淑人君子，其儀一也。) (十三經注疏, 禮記, 933-4)

This paragraph consists of two anonymous sayings and two citations from the *Shangshu* and *Shijing*. Most of this chapter Ziyi is structured by a pattern, "the master said" 子曰 and citation, without any author's or editor's comments. The sayings of this master might have been collected to express the author's line of thought, which is then supported by the citations from the *Shangshu* and *Shijing*.

What is the logic of this paragraph? The first saying speaks about the attitude of officials in serving their lord. Officials are required to cultivate a correct body (demeanour) and to speak trustworthy words so that their righteousness retains a standard of uniformity and their conduct adheres to a pattern. In the context of the second saying, the subject should be the officials of the first saying. Therefore, the term *junzi* can be read as standing for officials. The expression of the officials' attitude continues in the second saying. Their words have to have validity and their conduct has to follow the right rules. So officials with broad learning have to sieve their knowledge and strictly follow what is sieved through; those with various wills have to sieve their wills and be familiar with what is sieved through; and those with meticulous wisdom have to reflect and then act.

The image these two sayings generate is one of officials who are careful in their attitude, speech and demeanour. The citation from the *Shangshu* suggests this image by referring to an attitude of seeking opinions from the people and reaching general agreement. In the citation from the *Shijing*, the term *junzi* can be replaced by officials. Thus in this context the line "*qi yi yi xi*", the term *yi* 一 is rendered as "circumspect" even though the original term does not have this meaning at all. These two lines can be understood as the "officials' attitude is circumspect" which shares common ground with the previous sayings. Thus, the lines acquire a meaning which is different from that of the lines in the original poem.

A paragraph from the chapter Quanyanxun 詮言訓 of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子<sup>27</sup> cites some lines of the first stanza of the poem *Shijiu*. The paragraph reads:

If your business deals with too many items, this may cause you to be poor. If your craft requires too many skills, this may hinder you in being an expert. This is because your mind is not engaged in one thing. Thus when a tree is big its branches are susceptible to damage, and when a river is large it diminishes its depth. You have wisdom but do not have the technique to rule. Though you work intensively, you can not have a clear understanding. You have learned one hundred kinds of skills and are not aware of a penetrating Dao or principle among them. Though you gain every skill, you cannot keep them. Thus a poem says: "The good man, my gentleman, his deportment has a principle (*dao*). His deportment has a

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<sup>27</sup> *Huainanzi* is one of three major treatises written at the court of Liu An (180- 122 B.C.), the second king of Huainan and the grandson of Liu Bang, the founder of the Han dynasty. This book is a collection of twenty-one essays whose subjects cover a wide range of topics from cosmology, astronomy, and geography to the nature of human beings and the societies they create, the conduct of the ruler, and the essentials of military affairs. The cosmology of the book embodies the insights of the classical works of Taoism, the "Laozi" and the "Zhuangzi." See Roth, *The Textual History of the Huainanzi*, 1992, P. 12.

principle, as though his mind is tied to it." Thus the gentleman is tied to the principle." (賈多則貧，工多技則窮，心不一也。故木之大者害其條，水之大者害其深。有智而無術，雖鑽之不通。有百技而無一道，雖得之弗能守。故詩曰，淑人君子，其儀一也，其儀一也，心如結也。君子其結於一乎。) (卷十四：十)

This paragraph includes three topics which are represented by three key characters. They are mind (*xin*), technique (*shu*), and principle (*dao*). The first topic is the need for a person to engage his mind in one thing, whatever he does. The second is that without technique your wisdom cannot reach a clear understanding. The third is that having learned a hundred kinds of skills, one cannot keep them without being aware of a penetrating principle common to all the skills. In the cited lines of *Shijiu*, the term "*yi*" 一 can be said to have a meaning which corresponds to the mind engaged in one thing, technique, and to the penetrating principle. So the citer here added the remark that "the gentleman is tied to *yi* 一". This added remark which appears in a style little changed from the *Xunzi*'s citation may also show the *Xunzi*'s influence on the *Huainanzi*.

The three key characters, mind (*xin*), technique (*shu*), and principle (*dao*), mixed in one paragraph of the *Huainanzi* were serious topics for Confucians, Legalists, and Daoists respectively in pre-Han times. The character *xin* (mind / heart) was an important topic in terms of discussing what the function of mind is. According to Mencius, our mind has four functions which are compassion (*ceyin* 惻隱), shame (*xiuwu* 羞惡), courtesy and modesty (*zunjing* 尊敬), and right and wrong (*shifei* 是非). These four aspects of mind are named in turn as the sources of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom. (II, A, 6) For Mencius realising these four functions of mind makes human-beings what they should be. So he said that "who exhausts the mind knows human nature." (VII, A, 1)

Because human nature can be known through the mind (heart), Mencius says that "the human nature which a gentleman follows (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom) is rooted in his heart." Therefore Mencius' theory that human nature is good depends on the goodness of the heart.<sup>28</sup> Another function of mind for Mencius is thinking or reflection (*si* 思). He discriminates between the organ of heart which is able to think and the organs of ear and eye which are not. So "the organ of heart will find the answer [benevolence, righteousness etc.] only if it does think. Otherwise, it will not find the answer." (VI, A, 15) This thinking function is the source of heart (mind) because human nature is recognised as good.

However, Xun Kuang regards human nature as evil. This is because "when each person follows his inborn nature and indulges his natural inclinations, aggressiveness and greed are certain to develop. This is accompanied by violation of social class distinctions and throws the natural order into anarchy, resulting in a cruel tyranny." (23. 1a) So human nature needs to be guided and transformed by the Way of ritual principles and the moral duties invented by the sage kings. (23. 1b) Xun Kuang also says that the mind is the artisan and manager of the Way (22. 3f) and is able to differentiate between pleasure and anger, sorrow and joy, love and hate, and desire. (22, 2d) Therefore, the function of the mind for Xun Kuang is a means to transform human nature by differentiating emotions and managing the Way. This way which the sage kings invented in the *Xunzi* is represented by *li* or ritual principles, which is not the way of Tian or earth but the way of mankind. (8. 3)

In the *Analects*, Zengzi is quoted as saying that the unity which pervades Confucius's Dao (吾道一以貫之) is to be true to the principles of our nature

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<sup>28</sup> See Fu Peirong, *The Concept of Tian in Ancient China*, P. 150.

(*zhong* 忠) and to be benevolent in the exercise of our principles to others (*shu* 恕). (4. 15) In the *Mencius*, the pervading unity (*yi* 一) is described as benevolence (*ren*). (6. b6) In the *Zhongyong*, the term *dao* appears to stand for the Nature (*xing* 性) which Heaven confers. The following passage from the *Zhongyong* shows this concept well. It says that "what heaven confers is called Nature; in accordance with this Nature is called the Dao; the cultivation of this Dao is called Learning." (1. 1) As we see from the above instances, in the Confucian tradition the pervading unity (*yi* 一) of the Dao is understood as various concepts, such as *zhong*, *shu*, *ren*, and *xing*.

In the *Laozi*, the Dao or the Way is the ultimate concept which is applicable to all that exists. Its reality is beyond what is perceptible. It is regarded as the origin of all beings. The Dao begets everything, and is everywhere. In relation to the Dao as the origin of all beings, Laozi says: "Dao produced the Oneness. The one produced Two. Two produced Three. Three produced the thousands of things." (42) Another line reads: "the thousands of things in the world are born of Being (*you*, 有). Being is born of Nothing (*wu*, 無)." Comparing these two passages, we may see Dao and Nothing, Oneness and Being as the same stage of the process of the formation of the world. Dao is the name of a conceptualized ultimate reality from which the thousands of things come. Oneness, as the next stage is going to divide into two but not yet. So it is not yet far from the state of Dao. Oneness can be replaced with Dao in the *Laozi*.<sup>29</sup> All things come from Dao and Oneness, and Dao gives them life and resides in them. (51)

The term *shu* 術 or technique is one of the Legalist's three cardinal precepts which are *fa* 法 (penal law), *shi* 勢 (strategic advantage/ political purchase), and *shu* 術 (art/ technique of rulership)<sup>30</sup>. In the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, the terms, *fa* and

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<sup>29</sup> See Xu Fuguan, *Zhongguo renxing lunshi*, P. 333.

<sup>30</sup> See Roger T. Ames, *The Art of Rulership*, P. 65.

*shu*, are understood as essential ruling instruments required by the emperor. The *shu*, in particular, is a requisite device for the emperor because without it he will be deceived.<sup>31</sup>

In the *Hanshi waizhuan*, the same lines of the same stanza of Shijiu are cited. The paragraph reads:

In general the most direct way to control the breath and nourish the mind is to follow ritual principles (*li*); the most important thing is to get a teacher; the most prudent thing is to unify one's likes. Unifying one's likes results in concentration<sup>32</sup>, concentration in expertise, expertise in spirituality, spirituality in transformation. Thus a gentleman makes an effort to unify his mind. The poem reads: "The good man, the gentleman, his deportment is unified to what he likes. His deportment is unified to what he likes, as though his mind is tied to what he likes." (凡治氣養心之術，莫徑由禮，莫優得師，莫慎一好。好一則搏，搏則精，精則神，神則化。是以君子務結心乎一也。詩曰，淑人君子，其儀一兮，其儀一兮，心如結兮。)(1993: 68-9)

The first part of this paragraph comes from the chapter II (Xiushen Pian) of the *Xunzi*. In the *Xunzi* the method of controlling the breath and nourishing the mind relies on three factors. These three factors are following ritual principles, obtaining a good teacher, and unifying one's likes. In the *Hanshi waizhuan* the method of unifying one's likes is extended further in the explanation of its different stages. This method is also related to the "unified mind." The reason for

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<sup>31</sup> See *ibid.* P. 131.

<sup>32</sup> Hightower renders the word 博 as breadth. (1952: 72) However, Wei Dachun regards the word 博 as 搏 which is read as 專. (1993: 69) Considering the context of the meaning, I prefer the latter to the former.

citing the lines of Shijiu is to draw this meaning from the lines "*qi yi yi xi, xin ru jie xi.*"

As we have seen from the above examples of citations, the meaning given to the lines of the poem *Shijiu* by the citers differs in each context. In the *Xunzi*, the message of the lines is "constant mind" which implies constant effort and steadfast purpose in learning. In the *Liji*, it is an official's circumspect attitude. In the *Huainanzi*, it is the mind engaged in one thing, technique, and the penetrating principle. In the *Hanshi waizhuan*, it is the unified mind which controls the breath and nourishes the mind.

The same lines are cited in the text of Mawangdui *Wuxing Pian*. This text, written on silk, was unearthed from an early Han dynasty tomb, at Mawangdui, near Changsha in Hunan Province in 1973. It is one of four lost texts attached to the *Laozi Jia Text*. The paragraph which cites these lines reads:

"The Shijiu is in the mulberry tree, its young ones are seven. The good gentleman, his deportment is virtuous (one)." One who is able to become virtuous (one), then can be called a gentleman. So a gentleman is watchful of himself when alone. .... The line "尸(鴟) (鳩)在桑" is a direct description. As to the line "其子七也," the bird Shijiu has only two young ones, but the line says seven because it is the expression of the *xing* 興. As to the lines "[淑人君子]，其[儀一兮]," "[淑]人者" means □. "[儀]者" means righteousness (*yi* 義). These lines express that a righteous demeanour is due to a virtuous mind. As to "能為一然筍(後)能為君子," "能為一者" means the capability of being one (*yi* 一) through many (*duo* 多). "以多為一也者" means the capability of being one through these five

(仁義禮智信<sup>33</sup>). As to "君子慎其蜀(獨)," "君子慎其蜀(獨)也者" means that a gentleman discards these five and is watchful of the mind. When a man is alone, he can be one. What oneness means can be obtained when these five become □ mind. Oneness indicates virtue. Virtue corresponds to *Tian*, *Tian* itself represents virtue.

尸(鳩) (鳩)在桑，其子七氏(兮)。叔(淑)人君子，其宜一氏(兮)。能為一然筍(後)

能為君子，君子慎其獨[也]。.....尸(鳩) (鳩)在桑，直之。其子七也，尸(鳩) (鳩)二子耳，曰七也，與<興>言也。□□□其□□□□□人者□□者義也。「[淑人君子]，其[儀一兮]。[淑]人者□，[儀]者義也。」言其所以行之義之一心也。能為一然筍(後)能為君子，能為一者，言能以多[為一]；以多為一也者，言能以夫[五]為一也。君子慎其蜀(獨)，君子慎其蜀(獨)也者，言舍夫五而慎其心之胃(謂)□。□『[也]。[獨]』然筍(後)一，一也者，夫五夫為□心也，然筍(後)德(得)之。一也，乃德已。德猶天也，天乃德已。(據《馬王堆漢墓帛書壹》，文物出版社，一九八〇年三月第一版) \* 凡例：異體字假借字加 ( ) 標誌，錯字用 < > 表示，缺字用 □ 代替，補文以 【 】 標出。

This paragraph consists of two parts, main text and commentary. The crucial point of the main text is "becoming *yi* 一." How can a gentleman become *yi*? It states that a gentleman who wants to become *yi* should be watchful of himself when alone. As an exemplary expression of this meaning, the lines of the poem *Shijiu* which include the expression "the gentleman's demeanour is *yi*" are cited. However, in the context of this paragraph there is vagueness in the meaning of the term *yi* 一 and in the relation of "becoming *yi*" to "being watchful of oneself when alone."

<sup>33</sup> According to Pang Pu, the number "five" indicates benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and belief, and also called *Wuxing* 五行. See Pang Pu, *Boshu wuxingpian zhi yanjiu*, P. 53.

In the commentary, the commentator states that the term *yi* — indicates virtue (*de* 德), and virtue corresponds to Heaven (*Tian*) which itself represents virtue. So it can be said that "becoming *yi*" means both "realising virtue" and "representing Heaven (*Tian*)." "Realising virtue" and "representing Heaven" can be obtained by practicing "being watchful of oneself when alone" (*shendu* 慎獨). The substantial action of "being watchful of oneself when alone" is understood by the commentator as discarding (*she* 舍(捨) ) *wuxing* 五行 (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and belief), and being watchful of one's mind. In order to "become *yi*" or "realise virtue", one has to start discarding *wuxing* and be watchful of one's mind. "*Yi* —" is interpreted as virtue, and "being watchful of oneself when alone" is the beginning of the "realisation of virtue". Therefore, the quoted line "the gentleman's demeanour is *yi*" can be interpreted as "the gentleman's demeanour is one of virtue which can be obtained in practicing being watchful of oneself when alone."

In the above five examples of cited lines, I have tried to discover what different messages the citers might have derived from them. In the cited lines, the verse "his deameanour is *yi*" is crucial in causing different messages. The word *yi*, in particular, not only is ineffable in itself, but was also used by the ancient Chinese philosophers for naming a fundamental or entire principle among philosophical concepts, such as being true to the principles of our nature (*zhong* 忠), the benevolent exercise of them to others (*shu* 恕), benevolence (*ren* 仁), Way (*dao* 道). For this reason, it is possible to draw various messages from the word *yi*. Messages we have seen from the above instances of the quoted lines are "constant mind in learning" in the *Xunzi*, "official's circumspect attitude" in the *Liji*, "the mind engaged in one thing, technique, and the penetrating principle" in the *Huainanzi*, "unified mind" in the *Hanshi waizhuan*, and "realising virtue" in the *Wuxing pian*. From these various messages obtained from the same lines, we may

see that the messages drawn from the lines change, according to the citers' different concerns. As the understanding of some characters like *yi* and *xin* changes, the messages delivered by the lines also differ. Changes are not simply due to the development of the language, but also due to the different contexts in which the citations are placed.

The same lines from Shijiu poem generate several meanings when they are cited in different contexts. We may surmise that the reason the citers quoted the same lines but delivered different meanings was that the poem itself was considered to have authority because it had been sanctified by the Confucian tradition. The repeated use of Shijiu lines in later texts such as these might have added to this authority. In this example the lines, in generating a variety of potential meanings, maintained the image of the ideal person, but the image of the ideal person changed according to context. It was also affected by the change in the understanding and purpose of those who cited them. Thus, we can say that when the citers repeatedly quoted the lines of Shijiu, they invoked the authority of the *Shijing*, but they produced new meanings for them according to their own needs. The meaning is not static but changes with context. In this sense, this kind of citation of the *Shijing*, if regarded as a metaphor, is not dead but alive.

**B. 嗟我懷人，寘彼周行**

**Juaner 卷耳(3)**

采采卷耳，      **Gathering and gathering the *juaner* plant,**  
不盈頃筐。      **But it does not fill my slanting basket.**  
嗟我懷人，      **I sigh as I think of my man,**  
寘彼周行。      **I place it on the road of Zhou.**

陟彼崔嵬，      **I climb the rocky mountain,**  
我馬虺隤。      **My horse is sick.**  
我姑酌彼金罍，      **I, for a while, drink some from the *lei* vase of gold (bronze),**  
維以不永懷。      **In order not to keep thinking long.**

陟彼高岡，      **I climb the high ridge,**  
我馬玄黃。      **My horse is black and yellow.**  
我姑酌彼兕觥，      **I, for a while, drink some from the *gong* vase of rhinoceros' horn,**  
維以不永傷。      **In order not to be sorrowful long.**

陟彼砠矣，      **I climb the rock-earth mountain,**  
我馬瘠矣。      **My horse is sick.**  
我僕痡矣，      **My servant is sick,**  
云何吁矣。      **How sorrow I am !**

**This poem of Juaner consists of four stanzas. Because it is difficult to say whether a man or woman is the speaker in the poem, several interpretations are possible.**

If a woman is the speaker, the second, third, and fourth stanzas are supposed to come from her imagination. If it is a man, the first stanza is supposed to come from his imagination. The interpretation of the *Mao Text* is an example of the former. The Preface of the poem attached to the *Mao Text* states that Juaner shows the mind of the queen. As she should assist her husband, the queen seeks out worthy men and places them in the right offices, and recognises the officials' arduous labours. She has the will to introduce worthy men, but not a mind for speaking harmful words or speaking for selfish demands. Morning and evening she thinks of the matter, until she is painfully anxious about it.<sup>34</sup> According to the Preface, the queen (*houfei*) speaks in the poem. In the first stanza, the first two verses "I gather and gather the *juaner* plant but cannot fill my slanting basket" which the commentators define as a *xing* expression of rhetorical technique, simply delivering the message of the worrying mind of the queen rather than depicting the substance of the affair. The next two verses "alas ! I think of worthy men, I place them in the ranks of Zhou," are what the queen worries about. The other three stanzas are considered to be the expressions of the queen's recognition, in her imagination, of the officials' arduous labours. The weakness of this interpretation lies in the difficulty of keeping the meaning consistent between the first stanza and the rest. In the first stanza the queen longs for worthy men to place them in the ranks of Zhou. In the second stanza it is uncertain who climbs the rocky mountain. If the queen is supposed to climb it, it is not proper conduct for her to drink wine to stop thinking.

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<sup>34</sup> The Preface of "Juaner" in Chinese runs: "卷耳，后妃之德也。又當輔佐君子，求賢審官，知臣下之勤勞。內有進賢之志，而無險詖私謁之心，朝夕思念，至於憂勤也。" For the translation I refer to Legge, *The Shijing*, Appendix I, P. 37, and Granet, *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China*, P. 111.

Some modern scholars like Yuan Mei, Mi Wenkai, Pei Puxian, and Zhu Shouliang<sup>35</sup> etc. regard the theme of this poem as a wife's worry for her husband who is away on forced-labour service. The manner of their interpretation is the same as Mao's in that they take a woman as the poem's speaker. However, they substitute the wife of a commoner for the queen. The first stanza depicts a wife longing for her husband. The other three stanzas, understood as the wife's imagination, are about her husband's tiresome journey. This interpretation has difficulty in explaining the reason for the husband's drinking in order not to think long after climbing the mountain, as part of its context.

Therefore, some other modern scholars like Qu Wanli and Gao Heng<sup>36</sup> hold that this poem Juaner is the nostalgic expression of a husband who is away on forced-labour service. From their point of view, since the second, third, and fourth stanzas are the words of a husband, the first stanza must be an expression of his imagination. This interpretation may be regarded as the most reasonable one because it can properly relate the meaning of the first stanza to the others. If we read the first stanza from this view, its interpretation would be: "my wife gathers and gathers the *juaner* plant. But it cannot fill the slanting basket. Alas ! she thinks of her husband. She places it on the road of Zhou." As we have seen so far, the interpretation of this poem can differ according to different views.

Now, I turn to deal with the first Stanza of the poem which is cited in the *Zuozhuan*, *Xunzi*, and *Huainanzi*. The first two verses of the first stanza read as "cai cai juan er, bu ying qing kuang" or "I gather and gather the juaner plant, but I cannot fill my slanting basket." The Mao commentary states; "stimulus (*xing*) about a worrier" 憂者之興也. Chen Huan makes a further annotation

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<sup>35</sup> See Yuan Mei 袁梅, *Shijing yizhu* 詩經譯注, P. 83, Mi Wenkai 糜文開, Pei Puxian 裴普賢, *Shijing xinshang yu yanjiu* 詩經欣賞與研究, P. 17-18, and Zhu Shouliang 朱守亮, *Shijing pingshi* 詩經評釋, P. 45.

<sup>36</sup> See Qu Wanli, *Shijing shiyi*, P. 28, and Gao Heng, *Shijing jinzhu*, P. 5.

that the meaning of "stimulus about a worrier" refers both to a substantive fact, that is, gathering plants, and to something beyond the substantive fact, that is, a worrying mind (即事以言興和離事以言興).<sup>37</sup> So according to them, the message of the two verses could be the gatherer's worrying mind drawn from the fact that he cannot fill even a slanting basket.<sup>38</sup>

Apart from the possibility of various interpretations concerning the theme of the poem, the last two lines "*jie wo huai ren, zhi bi zhou xing (or hang)*" of the first stanza may have several different interpretations owing to the different themes reflecting the various views. The line "*jie wo huai ren*" can be interpreted in two ways. One is the structure "interjection + subject + verb + object" in which case the line could mean "alas ! I think of him (or them)." The other is the structure "verb + pronoun + adjective + noun" in which case it could mean "sighing for my beloved one." In the case of the Mao interpretation in which there is a woman-speaker, the former is plausible. If the speaker is a man, the latter is more plausible.

In the other line "*zhi bi zhou xing (or hang)*," the character *zhi* 寘 is glossed as "to put" or "to place" by most *Shijing* scholars, while a few modern scholars like Gao Heng claim that it is used for the character *chi* 徃 meaning "to go"<sup>39</sup>. The other two characters "*zhou xing (hang)*" have been interpreted variously as imposing a meaning on them according to each scholar's point of view. Mao comments that *zhou* is the name of a dynasty and *hang* (with the pronunciation of *xing*, it means "to go as verb and road or way as noun") is a rank; together they

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<sup>37</sup> See Chen Huan, *Shimaoshi zhuanshu*, P. 23.

<sup>38</sup> There are similar expressions delivering the gatherer's worrying mind in the *Shijing*. The poem "Cailu" 采綠 (226) reads: 終朝采綠，不盈一掬 or the whole morning gathering *lu* plant, it does not fill my handful amount, and 終朝采藍，不盈一襜 or the whole morning gathering the indigo plant, it does not fill my skirt.

<sup>39</sup> See Gao Heng, *Shijing jinzhū*, P. 5.

mean the rank of Zhou.<sup>40</sup> The Lu 魯 and Han 韓 schools interpret *zhou* as *bian* 遍 meaning "everywhere or all" so that the meaning of *zhouhang* could be "every (all) rank(s)."<sup>41</sup> Most modern scholars who view this poem as the expression of a wife or a husband worrying, read the characters 周行 with the pronunciation *zhouxing* which could mean either "the road of Zhou" or "everywhere along the road." There are two instances of the use of the term *zhouxing* (or *hang*) in the other *Shijing* poems. One appears in the poem *Luming* (161) and the other in the poem *Dadong* (203). The lines run:

人之好我 The man who loves me,  
示我周行 He shows (teaches) me the ways of Zhou. (*Luming*)

佻佻公子 Slight and elegant gentlemen,  
行彼周行 Walk on the road of Zhou. (*Dadong*)

The term "zhouxing" in *Luming* does not make sense as the physical road of Zhou. It rather means the metaphysical ways of Zhou. So Karlgren renders it as "the manners of [Z]hou."<sup>42</sup> In the case of *Dadong* the term is used as with the meaning of the physical road of Zhou. From these two examples we can see the character *xing* in the *Shijing* period was used with both physical and metaphysical meanings.

However, in the poem under consideration the use of the character *zhou* is uncertain. It could mean either "the name of the state" or "an adjective

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<sup>40</sup> See Chen Huan, *Shimaoshi zhuanshu*, P. 23.

<sup>41</sup> See Wang Xianqian, *Shisanjiayi jishu*, in the *Shisanjiayi jishu dengerzhong*, ed. by Yang Jialuo, P. 16.

<sup>42</sup> See Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, P. 104.

indicating a wide road<sup>43</sup>." One of meanings "wide" for the character *zhou* could be derived from the meaning of *bian* 遍 "everywhere." The term *zhoudao* 周道 which may be compared with the term *zhouxing*, appears six times in the *Shijing*. Because the characters *xing* and *dao* both have the meaning of "road," the two terms could be used in the same manner. The uses of *zhoudao* in the *Shijing* are:

顧瞻周道 Looking back at the road of Zhou,

中心怛兮 My heart is sad within. (Feifeng 匪風, 149)

四牡駢駢 The four steeds run unceasingly,

周道倭遲 The road of Zhou is winding. (Simu 四牡, 162)

踽踽周道 Even is the road of Zhou,

鞠為茂草 But it is covered with rank grass. (Xiaopan 小弁, 197)

周道如砥 The road of Zhou is like a whetstone,

其直如矢 It is straight like an arrow. (Dadong 大東, 203)

有棧之車 There are box-carts,

行彼周道 They march on the road of Zhou. (Hecaobuhuang 何草不黃, 234)

In the poem of Feifeng, the term *zhoudao* which appears twice with the same meaning is interpreted as "the road of Zhou." Because the state Kuai 檜 to which this poem belongs (Kuaifeng) is located in the east of Zhou, the last two verses of the third stanza state "who will go to the west, he has to keep in mind good

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<sup>43</sup> Zhu Xi comments the term *zhouxing* as *dadao* meaning "big road." See *Shijizhuan*, P. 3. Karlgren argues that Zhu's commentary has no valid proof to support his view. See Karlgren "Glosses on the Guo Feng Odes" P. 90, and Dong Tonghe, tr. *Gaobenhan shijing zhushi*, P. 11-12.

words about him<sup>44</sup>" (誰將西歸，懷之好音). It is quite apparent that the character *zhou* here indicates the name of the dynasty. In the other instances we cannot find any clue to relate the character *zhou* to the name of the dynasty, although these poems were written during the Zhou period and traditional commentaries like that of the *Mao Text* annotate the character as the name of the dynasty. Karlgren states that all the uses of the term *zhoudao* and *zhouxing* should be translated as "the road of Zhou." However, Qu Wanli argues that *zhoudao* and *zhouxing* mean the Zhou state's road (*guodao* 國道), and they are used with the meaning "big road" in the poems.<sup>45</sup> Qu's view is reasonable because we can translate all the examples which use the term *zhoudao* and *zhouxing* into "the big (or wide) road" without changing the meaning of the poems.

Above, I have analysed the first stanza of the poem of Juaner in order to find out its original meaning. That the theme of the poem is the expression of worry of a wife or a husband may be accepted. This stanza is cited in later works, such as *Zuozhuan*, *Xunzi*, and *Huainanzi*. An analysis of these citations throws a new light on the understanding of the *Shijing* in their time. The earliest citation of the first stanza of the poem Juaner appears in the Fifteenth year of the Duke of Xiang (558 B.C.) in the *Zuozhuan*. The paragraph reads:

A gentleman says that Chu was able to put the right men in the right offices. The allotment of offices is an urgent necessity of a state. If it is done properly, people do not want anything more than they are able to get. A poem says; "alas ! I think of the men, who can be placed in all the ranks of offices." This refers to being able to give offices to the proper men. A king and dukes,

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<sup>44</sup> Legge and Karlgren see these two verses' subject as different, so they translate them as "who will go..., I cherish... for him." However, I think it would be better to see the subject as same. For their translation, see Legge, *The Shijing*, P. 218, and Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, P. 94.

<sup>45</sup> See Qu Wanli, *Shijing shiyi*, P. 29 and 181.

marquises, earls, viscounts, knights, and the lords of *dian, cai, wei* occupy their places due to their status. This is what "all the offices" means.<sup>46</sup>

君子謂，楚於是乎能官人。官人，國之急也。能官人，則民無覩心。詩云，嗟我懷人，寘彼周行。能官人也。王及公、侯、伯、子、男，甸、采、衛大夫，各居其列，所謂周行也。(左傳，襄公，15年)

This paragraph immediately follows the records of the allotments to office of several Chu dukes. The author of *Zuozhuan*<sup>47</sup> presents his opinion on this in the form of an abstract third person: "*junzi wei*."<sup>48</sup> He wants to emphasise the importance of well allotted offices in the government of a state by taking the state of Chu as an example. So he states that it is an urgent necessity that the state's offices are well distributed to proper people. If this act is done properly, the people are content with the present situation without having excessive desires. In order to substantiate his point of view he cites two lines of the first stanza of *Juaner*. The translation of the two lines could be that "alas ! I think of the men, who could be placed in all the ranks of offices." This translation is based on the author's own comment that "the two lines deliver the message of the ability to allot offices, and the term *zhouhang* indicates all the ranks of offices."

As I have noted in the previous paragraph, the author of *Zuozhuan* conveys his message in the form of a speech in the third person. Because the citation of the

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<sup>46</sup> I refer to Legge's translation with minor amendments. See Legge tr. the Chinese Classics volume V, *The Chunqiu with the Zuozhuan*, P. 469.

<sup>47</sup> The author of *Zuozhuan* is traditionally ascribed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 of Lu. However, from Tang dynasty scholars like Zhao Kuang 趙匡 and Dan Zhu 啖助 etc. this view has been argued on the ground that Zuoshi 左氏 is not Zuo Qiuming to whom Confucius looks up in the chapter "Gongyehang" of the *Analects*. Zhang Gaoping classifies later scholars' views into four different authors, Liu Xin 劉歆 by Liu Fenglu 劉逢祿 and Kang Youwei 康有為, Wu Qi 吳起 by Yao Nai 姚鼐 and Guo Dingtang 郭鼎堂, Zi Xia 子夏 by Wei Juxian 衛聚賢, and Zhang Cang 張蒼 or his followers by Hong Ye 洪業. He stands in the defence of traditional view. See Zhang Gaoping, *Zuozhuan daodu*, PP. 29-58.

<sup>48</sup> Some scholars like Liu Fenglu and Gong Zizhen claim that the expressions starting with third person's speaking like "*junziwei*" or "*junziyue*" were falsified by Liu Xin. However, Zhang Gaoping argues that the expressions are added by the author to comment. See *ibid.* PP. 111-17.

two lines of Juaner is in this form, the comment on them reflects adequately the author's attitude towards the interpretation of the *Shijing*. Here, the author relates the poem to contemporary political affairs which the poem originally would have had nothing to do with. The properly assigned offices of Chu might have been a political success at the time in which the author of *Zuozhuan* made his comments. However, the original meaning of the poem, as we have traced it above, may be a wife or a husband's worry which is far from the meaning sought by the author of the *Zuozhuan*. When the author cited the two lines, his attitude of interpretation was to find the sort of meaning in the poem which he needed for his own context, rather than to seek the original one. Furthermore, we find the same commentaries on the same lines of the poem in the *Mao text*. This shows the influence of the *Zuozhuan* on the Mao commentary.

In the chapter Jiebi of the *Xunzi* the first stanza of the poem Juaner is quoted. The paragraph which cites the stanza is about the function of the human mind (*xin* 心). If we read it carefully, we see how the citer makes a different interpretation. The paragraph reads:

The mind is the lord of the body and master of the spiritual intelligence. It issues commands but does not receive commands. On its own authority, it forbids or orders, renounces or selects, initiates or stops. Thus, the mouth can be forced to be silent or to speak. The body can be forced to crouch down or stretch out. But the mind cannot be forced to change its ideas. If the mind thinks something right, it will accept it; but if it thinks something wrong, then it will reject it. Therefore, it is said that the state of mind has no prohibitions in its selections. If it must perceive on its own, its objects are diverse and extensive. When it has perfect concentration, it is not divided in purpose. A poem says: "I pick and pick the *juaner* plant, but it will not fill my slanting basket. Alas ! I think of the men, I place them in the ranks of

Zhou." A slanting basket is easy to fill. *Juaner* plants are easy to obtain.

Nonetheless, she could not fill the basket because she was divided in purpose over the ranks of Zhou. Therefore, it is said: if the mind goes astray, it will lack knowledge. If it is deflected, it will not have unity of purpose. If it is divided in purpose, it will be filled with doubts and delusions. But through using it to test things, the myriad things can be known in their entirety.<sup>49</sup>

心者形之君也，而神明之主也，出令而無所受令。自禁也，自使也，自奪也，自取也，自行也，自止也，故口可劫而使墨云，形可劫而使誦申，心不可劫而使易意。是之則受，非之則辭，故曰，心容其擇也無禁，必自見其物也雜博，其情之至也不貳。詩云，采采卷耳，不盈頃筐。嗟我懷人，寘彼周行。頃筐，易滿也。卷耳，易得也。然而不可，以貳周行。故曰，心枝則無知，傾則不精，貳則疑惑，以贊稽之，萬物可兼知也。（荀子，解蔽，P. 652-54）

The dominance and independence of the mind and its cognitive function are the topic of this paragraph. The mind dominates the body and spiritual intelligence. It independently issues orders without receiving them. It, on its own, also forbids or orders, renounces or selects, initiates or stops. The mind in its decision of discriminating right and wrong does not change its intentions by force. As the cognitive function it has no prohibition in its selections and it perceives diverse and extensive objects. So when it reaches the paramount function of its recognition, it is said that the mind is not divided at all. If the mind does not go astray, is not deflected, is not divided, it can recognise the myriad things with the help of its verification.

The mind exerts its best function when it is not divided. Then the citation follows that "I pick and pick the *juaner* plant, but it will not fill my slanting basket; alas !

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<sup>49</sup> I refer to Knoblock's translation with minor amendments. See *Xunzi*, volume III, P. 105-6.

I think of the men in order to place them in the ranks of Zhou or (who are placed in the ranks of Zhou, according to Yang Jing's commentary)." In the context of the *Xunzi* the reason for not being able to fill even the slanting basket, as the comment says, is that the picker's mind is divided by thoughts of placing suitable men in the ranks of Zhou when he (or she) is picking. The "picker's divided mind" is the main idea drawn from the stanza to explain the cognitive function of the mind for Xunzi. It is apparent that Xunzi, in interpreting the stanza, has a different understanding of the lines than that obtained by interpreting them in the context of the poem. He tries to seek a psychological reason for not being able to fill the slanting basket, while the theme "a wife or husband's worry" in the context of the poem concerns his (or her) anxiety to place the proper men in the ranks of Zhou.

The major feature of the Xunzi's citation here is that he uses his own context to give a new meaning to the lines, thus opening a new way of understanding the poem in his time. Although his understanding is based on the *Zuozhuan's* interpretation of the last two lines of the stanza of the poem Juaner, he derives another meaning, the divided mind, suitable to his own context.

In the chapter Chuzhenxun of the *Huainanzi*, the same first stanza of the poem Juaner is cited. The paragraph, with the citation, is about the sages' fate in relation to their nature. The paragraph runs:

Ancient sages' keeping harmony, happiness, calmness, and composure represent characteristics of their nature. Whether or not their wills are achieved and their ways are realised depends on their fate. Thus, it can be said that nature is realised only when it encounters fate. Fate is known only when it coordinates nature. Even a good bow made of "Wuhao" mulberry and a good bow made in the state "Xizi" are not used to shoot arrows

without a string on them. Even Yue and Shu's small boats cannot float without water. Now arrows tied to a string are allowed to shoot towards the air above and nets are set on the earth below. So although birds want to hover, how can they do so? Thus, a poem says: "I gather and gather the *juaner* plant, I cannot fill my slanting basket. Alas ! I think of the men, who are placed in the ranks of Zhou." From this, we can say that they admired past generations when sages lived.

古之聖人，其和愉寧靜性也，其志得道行命也。是故性遭命而後能行，命得性而後能明。烏號之弓，谿子之弩，不能無弦而射，越舸蜀艇，不能無水而浮。今罾繳機而在上，罟罟張而在下，雖欲翱翔，其勢焉得。故詩云，采采卷耳，不盈頃筐。嗟我懷人，寘彼周行。以言慕遠世也。(淮南子，傲真訓，卷二)

The nature of the ancient sages is characterised by harmony, happiness, calmness, and composure. The achievement of their will and the realisation of their way rely on fate. Therefore, nature can only be realised when it encounters fate and fate is known only when it coordinates nature. The bow and boat, as metaphor, correspond to nature and the string and water to fate. The circumstance that arrows are allowed to be shot in the air and nets are set on the earth, may also be the metaphoric expression of the author's social situation. Then, the citation of "I think of the men, who are placed in the ranks of Zhou (or I place them in the ranks of the Zhou)" in this context, according to the comment of the author, expresses admiration for generations of long ago when sages lived.

From the author's comment, we may declare two points: the author understood the lines as expressing an ancient circumstance where sages were well placed in the ranks of Zhou. This understanding is based on the interpretation of *Zuozhuan*, but it ascribes it to an ancient time when sages lived.

The three cases of the citations of the poem *Juaner* give us several points which are worth noticing. First, the case of the *Zuozhuan* draws the meaning of the ability to place the proper men in the official ranks from the lines. The case of *Xunzi* derives the meaning of the divided mind. The meaning of admiration for an ancient generation is derived by the case of *Huainanzi*. Each case may understand the literal meaning of the lines more or less in the same manner as "I gather and gather the *juaner* plant, but it will not fill even a slanting basket. Alas ! I think of the men, who are placed in the ranks of Zhou (or I place them in all the official ranks)." On the basis of this understanding, each case derives different messages from the lines, according to the requirements of their particular contexts. Because the lines had authority, they were quoted in different contexts with the potential for change of the message.

Secondly, the Preface of the *Mao Text* to this poem *Juaner* is that "it shows us the mind of the queen. It shows also how she felt that she ought to assist her husband; to seek out men of talents and virtue, and carefully place them in office; to recognize the arduous labours of officers....<sup>50</sup>" From this, it is obvious that the content of the Preface was influenced by the interpretations provided by later writers who cited it. *Zuozhuan's* message of "the ability of placing proper men in the offices," *Xunzi's* message of "divided mind," and *Huainanzi's* message of "the admiration of a generation from long ago," all probably played a certain role in the establishment of the content of the Preface.

C. 溥天之下，莫非王土。率土之濱，莫非王臣

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<sup>50</sup> Legge's translation is used here. See *The Shijing*, Appendix 1, P. 37.

Beishan 北山 (205)

溥天之下， Under the Heaven,  
莫非王土。 There is no earth which does not belong to the king.  
率土之濱， Far to the coast of the earth,  
莫非王臣。 None who is not the king's servant.  
大夫不均， The great officers are unfair,  
我從事獨賢。 I alone am wise in the service of the king.

If we cut the lines of Beishan "溥天之下，莫非王土。率土之濱，莫非王臣" off from the poem, they denote the idea of the king's absolute rule as their literal meaning. These lines may be rendered as "under Heaven there is no earth which does not belong to the king. Far to the coast of the earth, there is none who is not the king's servant." This implies that the king has unlimited sovereignty. This expression is quoted in the *Mencius*. The paragraph reads:

Xianqiu Meng asked (Mengzi) and saying; "The saying tells, "A man of great virtue cannot be treated as a subject by his sovereign, nor can he be treated as a son by his father. Shun stood facing south, and Yao emerges facing north at the court as leading feudal lords. Gusou (Shun's father) also appears facing north at the court. When Shun saw Gusou, his countenance became discomposed. Confucius said, "The world was in great danger."" I wonder if this saying is authentic." Mencius answered, "No. This is not a gentleman's argument at all but words of a village pedant from eastern Qi. It was actually the time when Yao was old that Shun acted as regent. The Yaodian (a chapter of Shangshu) said, 'After twenty-eight years, Fang Xun (Yao) died. the people mourned for him as if their parents had died. For three years all kinds of music ceased everywhere within boundaries of the

four seas.' Confucius said, 'Just as there cannot be two suns in heaven, there cannot be two kings for the people.' If Shun had already become emperor, and mourned three years for him (Yao) with leading all the feudal lords, this would have meant two emperors." Xianqiu Meng said, "The point that Shun did not treat Yao as a subject, I already understand well. However, a poem says, 'Under the wide Heaven, all land is the King's. Right up to the frontier all are his subjects.' Then, after Shun became emperor he did not treat Gusou as a subject. May I ask why he did not?" [Mencius] answered, "This is a poem which is not speaking of it. It concerns the labour of the king's business so as not to be able to serve one's parents. So the poet is saying that nothing is not the king's business, but I alone am hardworking. Therefore, in interpreting a poem one should not deviate from the meaning of the sentence owing to the meaning of the words and also not deviate from the intended meaning of the poem owing to the meaning of the sentences. It can be said to be understanding the poem when the reader meets the intended meaning of the author with his intention. In the case of only taking sentences, the poem Yunhan says, 'Of the remaining people of Zhou, not a single man survived.' If the literal meaning of the sentence is believed, it would mean that there was not a man left in Zhou."<sup>51</sup>

咸丘蒙問曰，語云，盛德之士，君不得而臣，父不得而子。舜南面而立，堯帥諸侯北面而朝之，瞽瞍亦北面而朝之。舜見瞽瞍，其容有蹙。孔子曰，於斯時也，天下殆哉岌岌乎，不識此語誠然乎哉。孟子曰，否，此非君子之言，齊東野人之語也。堯老而舜攝也。堯典曰，二十有八載，放勳乃徂落，百姓如喪考妣。三年，四海遏密八音。孔子曰，天無二日，民無二王。舜既為天子矣，又帥天下諸侯以為堯三年喪，是二天子矣。咸丘蒙曰，舜之不臣堯，則吾既得聞命矣。詩云，普天之下，莫非王土。率土之濱，莫非王臣。而舜既為天子矣。敢問瞽瞍之非臣，如何。曰，是詩也，

<sup>51</sup> For this translation I have referred to D.C. Lau, *Mencius*, PP. 141-42, and W.A.C.H. Dobson, *Mencius*, PP. 96-8.



非是之謂也，勞於王事而不得養父母也。曰，此莫非王事，我獨賢勞也。故說詩者，不以文害辭，不以辭害志，以意逆志，是為得之。如以辭而已矣，雲漢之詩曰，周餘黎民，靡有子遺。信斯言也，是周無遺民也。(萬章上4)

The controversy between Xianqiu Meng and Mencius concerns Confucian doctrines like virtue, loyalty, and filial piety. The story of Yao and Shun, and Shun and Gu Sou are debated with regard to the implications underlying these doctrines. The topic regarding Yao and Shun in this paragraph is why Shun became a king while Yao was alive. Xianqiu Meng doubts that Yao could not have treated Shun as a subject because he had great virtue. So Shun became a king while Yao faced north as a subject. As to the question of Xianqiu Meng, Mencius responds that it was not the case. It was because Yao was old and Shun acted as a regent. The other point Xianqiu Meng makes is that if Shun became a son of Heaven, why did he not treat his father Gu Sou as a subject. This question is based on the content of the lines of the *Shijing* poem that "under the wide Heaven, all land is the King's. Right up to the frontier all are his subjects." Xianqiu Meng cites these lines as evidence that everyone in the empire, including the king's father, must be subordinate to the king. This supports the point that Shun as a king could justly treat his father as a subject. This also reflects that Xianqiu Meng puts priority on sovereignty over filial piety.

However, Mencius argues that the meaning of the lines quoted is different from that of the context of the original poem. The theme of the original poem as a whole, he insists, is that to labour on the king's business results in not being able to serve one's parents. Mencius further paraphrases the meaning of the whole stanza quoted as "nothing is not the king's business, I alone am hardworking." It could be said that this paraphrase well expresses the theme of the stanza since the two lines of the rest of the quoted stanza go: "the ministers are unfair, I alone am

hardworking in my duties."<sup>52</sup> From his argument, it is apparent that the his opposition lies in the way in which Xianqiu Meng uses the lines cut from the poem without regard to this original meaning. In Mencius' view the lines, even though they are broken off from the poem, must be understood not simply in terms of their literal meaning, but also in terms of their contextual meaning in the original poem.

Mencius continues to explicate his view on the interpretation of the *Shijing*. His view is that in interpreting the *Shijing* poems we must not be deflected by the words (*wen* 文) in understanding the sentence (*ci* 辭), and also not deflected by the sentence in understanding the intended meaning of the author (*zhi* 志). when the reader meets the intended meaning of the author with his intention (*yi* 意), it can be said to be understanding the meaning of the poem.<sup>53</sup> It is apparent that Mencius opposes Xianqiu Meng's use of the *Shijing* poem because he breaks off some lines from the poem to suit the need of the moment. Xianqiu Meng's manner of reading poems, called "breaking off the lines and deriving meanings (斷章取義)," prevailed in Mencius time, as we can see from various examples in the *Zuozhuan* and the *Lunyu* (*Analects*). Mencius thinks that Xianqiu Meng is misled by this way of reading and so he thinks Shun should have treated his father Gu Sou as a subject. In Mencius' reply, he not only refutes Xianqiu Meng's misunderstanding of the quoted lines, but also tries to prove Shun's way of filial piety is the best.

In spite of Mencius' refutation, Xianqiu Meng's quotation still has a certain power in the argument because the literal meaning of the lines quoted may

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<sup>52</sup> Karlgren translates this two lines "大夫不均，我從事獨賢" as "the dignitaries are iniquitous, I alone, in my attending to the service, am wise." He renders the character *xian* as wise in its literal meaning. However, Qu Wanli renders it as labour (*lao* 勞) in reference to the *Jingyi shuwen* 經義述聞. Wang Yinzhi's commentary is based on the *Mencius*. See Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, P. 158, Qu Wanli, *Shijing shiyi*, P. 276, and Wang Yinzhi, *Jingyi shuwen*, PP. 737-38.

<sup>53</sup> This translation is based on the commentary of Zhu Xi. See *Shijizhuan*, PP. 327-28.

suggest a truth which was generally accepted at Mencius' time. As Arthur Waley observes in a note in his translation of the poem, the lines might have been a proverbial saying.<sup>54</sup> Although we cannot be sure that the expression of the lines were a proverbial saying before the poem was written, this expression did become a proverbial saying after it was written. The reason for this is that the lines were quoted from time to time in later texts as a ready expression which may have delivered a fundamental theory of the king's rule.

The same lines are quoted in the *Zuozhuan*. The paragraph reads:

When the viscount of Chu was chief minister of the state, he had a royal flag made for himself which he used in hunting. The Yu-director, Wu Yu, broke [the staff of ] it, saying, "Two rulers in one state, who can endure it." When the chief minister became king, he built the palace of Zhanghua, and recalled exiles to fill [the offices in] it. Among them was a janitor of Wu Yu. Wu Yu tried to seize him, but the [king's] officers would not give him up, saying, "It is a great offense to seize a man in the royal palace." With this they seized [Wu Yu, and carried him] to lay the matter before the king. The king was about to fall to drinking, and Wu Yu defended himself, saying, "The dominion of the Son of Heaven extends everywhere; the princes of states have their own defined boundaries. This is the ancient rule. Within the state and the kingdom, what ground is there which is not the ruler's? What individual of all whom the ground supports is there that is not the ruler's subject? Hence, one poem says, 'Under the wide Heaven all is the king's land. Along the coasts of the land all are the king's servants.' The day has its ten divisions of time, and of men there are the ten classes; so it is that inferiors serve their superiors, and that superiors perform their duties to the

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<sup>54</sup> See Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs*, P. 320.

spirits. Hence, the king makes the duke (the prince of the state) his servant; the duke, the great officer; the great officer, the [simple] officer; the officer, the licitor; the licitor, the crowd of underlings; the underling, the menials; the menial, the labourer; the labourer, the servant; the servant, the helper.

There are also grooms for the horses, and shepherds for the cattle; and thus there is provision for all things. Your officers say, 'why do you seize a man in the king's palace?' but where else should I seize him? A law of king Wen of Zhou say, 'Make great inquisition for fugitives;' and it was thus he got the kingdom. Our former ruler king Wen made the law of Puqu, which says, 'He with whom the thief conceals his booty is as guilty as the thief;' and it was he who extended his boundary to the Ru. If we are to accept what your officers say, we shall have no means of apprehending runaway servants; if we are to let them go without trying to apprehend them, we shall have no servants at all. There is surely some misconduct of your majesty's affairs here.<sup>55</sup>

楚子之為令尹也，為王旌以田。芋尹無宇斷之，曰，一國兩君，其誰堪之？及即位，為章華之宮，納亡人以實之。無宇之闖入焉。無宇執之，有司弗與，曰，執人於王宮，其罪大矣。執而謁諸王，王將飲酒，無宇辭曰，天子經略，諸侯正封，古之制也。封略之內，何非君土？食土之毛，誰非君臣？故詩曰，普天之下，莫非王土。率土之濱，莫非王臣。天有十日，人有十等。下所以事上，上所以共神也。故王臣公，公臣大夫，大夫臣士，士臣阜，阜臣輿，輿臣隸，隸臣僚，僚臣僕，僕臣臺。馬有圉，牛有牧，以待百事。今有司曰，女胡執人於王宮？將焉執之？周文王之法曰，有亡，荒閱，所以得天下也。吾先君文王，作僕區之法，曰，盜所隱器，與盜同罪，所以封汝也。若從有司，是無所執逃臣也。逃而舍之，是無陪臺也，王事無乃闕乎？(左傳，昭公7年)

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<sup>55</sup> I have used Legge's translation here. See *The Chunqiu with the Zuozhuan*, The Chinese Classics Vol. V, PP. 615-16.

In this paragraph the same lines are used by a minister of Chu 楚, Wu Yu 無宇, who speaks for himself to the king of Chu. After the king built the palace of Zhanghua, he filled the offices of it by recalling exiles including the janitor of Wu Yu. Wu Yu wanted to seize his janitor, but the king's officer would not hand him over and took Wu Yu to the king. Then Wu Yu started his defending speech with compliments. He, first of all, fully agreed with the idea that within the boundary of the kingdom everything is the king's. He also quoted the lines of the poem Beishan which might have played a certain role in releasing the tension between them. Then, Wu Yu argued that his janitor who had run away had to be caught, for two reasons. One is that although the janitor belonged to the king, he also belonged to Wu Yu. The other is that seizing fugitives was one of the main businesses of the king, as the law of king Wen of Zhou indicates "making great inquisition for fugitives."

That Wu Yu substantially undermined the power of the king in his admonition is implied by his citation. When the king of Chu was the chief minister, Wu Yu broke the royal flag which the chief minister had made for his hunting. Wu Yu also seized his runaway janitor in the palace of the king. From these two facts, we can see the weakened power of the king. In fact, this does not correspond to the meaning of the lines quoted. We may say, in other words, that the concept expressed in the lines was not accepted at face value at the time.

The same lines are seen in the *Xunzi*. The paragraph runs:

That the Son of Heaven has no mate states that there is no man who can be his peer. That within the four seas there are no ceremonies which treat him as a guest states that there is no one to match him. Although he is able to walk by foot, he awaits his assistants before he moves. Although he can speak with his mouth, he awaits his officers before he gives instructions. He

does not look yet sees, does not listen yet hears, does not speak yet is trusted, does not ponder over things yet knows, does not move yet accomplishes. He has only to make announcements, and all is brought to perfect fulfillment. One who is a Son of Heaven has the position of greatest power and authority, a body that enjoys total leisure, and a heart that is perfectly contented. There is nothing to which his will must unwillingly submit, nothing that will bring weariness to his body, and nothing that is superior to his honoured position. An Ode says: 'Under the vastness of Heaven, there is no land that is not the king's land. To the far shores of the earth, none are not the royal servants.' This expresses my meaning.<sup>56</sup>

天子無妻，告人無匹也。四海之內，無客禮，告無適也。足能行，待相者然後進，口能言，待官人然後詔。不視而見，不聽而聽，不言而信，不慮而知，不動而功，告至備也。天子也者，執至重，形至佚，心至愈，志無所詘，形無所勞，尊無上矣。詩曰，普天之下，莫非王土。率土之濱，莫非王臣，此之謂也。(荀子，君子，第24)

This paragraph develops a theory about the son of Heaven's status. The son of Heaven has no mate because nobody can be his peer. He does not observe any guest's rules within the four seas because there is no one to match him. Nothing can be compared with his royalty. This supreme and unique status of the son of Heaven is well explicated in the lines of the poem Beishan.

The same lines are cited in the *Lushi chunqiu*. The paragraph goes:

When Shun was ploughing and fishing, he made the stupid wise the same as the son of Heaven did. When he did not come to office, he tilled the earth, used water for irrigation, weaved the stem of cattails and reeds, weaved nets,

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<sup>56</sup> This is based on Knoblock's translation. See *Xunzi*, Vol. III. PP. 164-65.

as an ordinary person, so that the calluses on his hands never became soft. Then, he was free from the worry of cold and hunger. When Shun met the right time, he ascended to the position of the Son of Heaven and worthy men converged around him, myriad people praised him, men and women were pleased with him. Shun himself wrote a poem, which said, "Under the vastness of Heaven, there is no land that is not the king's land. To the far shores of the earth, none are not the royal servants." This shows that Shun possessed everything [under Heaven]. That Shun possessed everything does not increase his worthiness (*xian* 賢), that he possessed nothing does not diminish his worthiness. It is the time (*shi* 時) which caused it to be so.

舜之耕漁，其賢不肖與為天子同。其未遇時也，以其徒屬，掘地財，取水利，編蒲葦，結罟網，手胼胝不居，然後免於凍餒之患。其遇時也，登為天子，賢士歸之，萬民譽之，丈夫女子，振振殷殷，無不戴說。舜自為詩曰，普天之下，莫非王土。率土之濱，莫非王臣，所以見盡有之也。盡有之，賢非加也，盡無之，賢非損也，時使然也。(呂氏春秋，慎人)

The image of Shun characterised by this paragraph is one of his worthiness (*xian* 賢). This feature of worthiness merits being the son of Heaven. When he was an ordinary person, his influence was no less than that of the son of Heaven. When he became the son of Heaven, he was able to make worthy men converge around him and all people pleased with him. Then, he can be called "having everything under Heaven." The lines of the poem Beishan are used to describe Shun's becoming the son of Heaven. One point we have to note is that the authorship of the poem was attributed to Shun by the writer of the *Lushi chunqiu*. It is accepted that Shun was a mythical figure in Chinese prehistory and the *Shijing* poems were written during the time from the early Western Zhou to the middle of the Chunqiu period. The writer of the *Lushi chunqiu* mixes them together. This may reflect that in his time the meaning of the lines was considered to be an expression of a general truth.

All the above examples of the lines quoted from Beishan have the function of giving authority because they come from the *Shijing* as did the examples from the other poems already discussed. However, these lines from Beishan also represent a generally accepted truth as a proverbial saying. In the controversy between Xianqiu Meng and Mencius, the citation of a proverbial saying gave a certain authoritative power so that Mencius had to make his argument in terms of the meaning of the entire poem. In the *Zuozhuan*, *Xunzi*, and *Lushi chunqiu*, the lines were used to give a definition of the son of Heaven's status according to their literal meaning. In sum, when the lines were cited in different contexts, they were regarded as an expression which implied a fundamental theory of the king's rule like a proverb. For example, in the proverb "Spare the rod, spoil the child," we can see that it represents a basic principle in educational theory which was accepted through generations. The cited lines 普天之下，莫非王土。率土之濱，莫非王臣 might also have had the similar function in the sense of giving the idea of the king's absolute rule at the time.

If the theme of the original poem is about "labouring on the king's business so that one cannot serve his parents" as Mencius insists, the lines themselves are hardly related to this meaning when they are cut off from the original context. Because the lines taken by themselves have a clear literal meaning, "the idea of the king's absolute rule," the citers borrowed this meaning to use within their own contexts. This kind of citation is different from the others discussed because it simply uses the traditional literal meaning rather than generating a new meaning for the line which borrows from the new context.

### Chapter 3: Conclusion

The *Shijing* citations in early Chinese texts between the end of the Chunqiu period and the early Han dynasty, are important materials in *Shijing* scholarship. Previous studies of the citations mainly collect the entries of the *Shijing* lines from texts and explain the words of the lines in comparison with the *Shijing* text. This study which is based on this previous scholarship analyses the different manners in which the *Shijing* lines are used in different contexts. The three examples discussed each represent a different manner in which citation from the *Shijing* may function.

In the Shijiu 鴈鳩 case, the cited lines 淑仁君子，其儀一兮。其儀一兮，心如結兮 give an image of the ideal person at the time. The term *yi* 一 or oneness has been understood as having various meanings in Confucian, Daoist, and Legalist texts. Therefore, this study has focused on the differences of each citation with regard to the meaning of the term *yi* 一. The method in which the citations from Shijiu were used is that because the term *yi* is ineffable, the citers derived different meanings according to their own purpose by placing the lines in their own contexts. (See Figure 1)

In the case of Juaner 卷耳, three examples of the citations are analysed. Each example takes the literal meaning of the lines more or less in the same manner as "I gather and gather the *juaner* plant, but it will not fill even a slanting basket. Alas ! I think of the men, who are placed in the ranks of Zhou (or I place them in all the official ranks)." However, the term *zhouhang* 周行 in the lines 采采卷耳，不盈頃筐。嗟我懷人，寘彼周行 in relation to the first two lines (采采卷耳，不盈頃筐) of *xing* 興 use, can be interpreted in several ways. The interpretation of

this relationship causes different interpretations in each citation. Thus, this study has analysed various citations of these terms in order to trace the differences in meaning in each case, and their influence on later *Shijing* interpretations. The method used in this case is that the citers borrowed different meanings from the lines caused by the several possible interpretations of the term *zhouhang* in relation to the *xing* lines. (See Figure 2)

In the Beishan 北山 case, the cited lines 普天之下，莫非王土。率土之濱，莫非王臣 themselves have a clear meaning. This meaning suggests a fundamental idea of the king's sovereignty, and the lines functioned like a proverb. For example, in the proverb "Spare the rod, spoil the child," we can see that it represents a basic principle in educational theory which was accepted through generations. The cited lines 普天之下，莫非王土。率土之濱，莫非王臣 might also have had the similar function in the sense of giving an idea of the king's absolute rule. The method used in this example, which is different from the others discussed, is that the citation simply borrows the literal meaning from the past and does not generate a new meaning for the line. (See Figure 3)

As I mentioned in the first chapter, according to Stefan Morawski, quotation has three basic functions: authority, erudition, and ornament. As quotation has these functions, it, also, represents a sense of tradition by maintaining cultural continuity. The meaning of the lines from the *Shijing* poems had potential for change when they were placed in contexts different from the original poem, and the citer was free to make use of this potential. The lines themselves had authority because of their origin, the *Shijing*, which was sanctified by the Confucian tradition. Thus, the lines were cited repeatedly even though the same lines generated different meanings according to context, the intent of the citer, and the change of the meaning of the words over time.

The citers derived different meanings from the original poem in their own contexts. However, each example of citation had the function of maintaining a sense of tradition. In delivering different meanings, the lines of Shijiu maintained the image of the ideal person at the time despite the change of its image in the original poem. The lines of Juaner represented the admiration for the ancient period when sages lived. The lines of Beishan, as a proverbial expression, were cited repeatedly where there was a need for the idea of absolute sovereignty. The citations of the *Shijing* lines in these aspects functioned as the maintenance of a sense of traditional ideas, though they did not restrict the development of new interpretation.

As we have seen in the above three cases, the same *Shijing* lines reproduce different meanings in different contexts. Besides these examples, there are many other *Shijing* lines used in similar ways<sup>57</sup>. All these citations may reflect, more or less, the function of appealing to the *Shijing*'s authority in argument, of showing citers' erudite knowledge, and of rhetorical ornament. The large number of the *Shijing* citations with these functions contributed in making the anthology one of the Classics in Chinese scholarship.

This study analysed only three example lines of the *Shijing* citations. A great number of examples remain unresearched. Apart from studying the function of the citation, rhetorical skills in terms of metaphoric meaning and the influence of the meaning of the *Shijing* citations on the Mao text's commentary can be good topics for further researches on the *Shijing* citations. The former may shed new light on the understanding of metaphoric meanings of the *Shijing* poems. The latter may provide clues in tracing the genealogy of the Mao text's commentary.

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<sup>57</sup> The book *Shushu guxun* 詩書古訓 by Ruan Yuan 阮元 can be referred to seeing these examples.

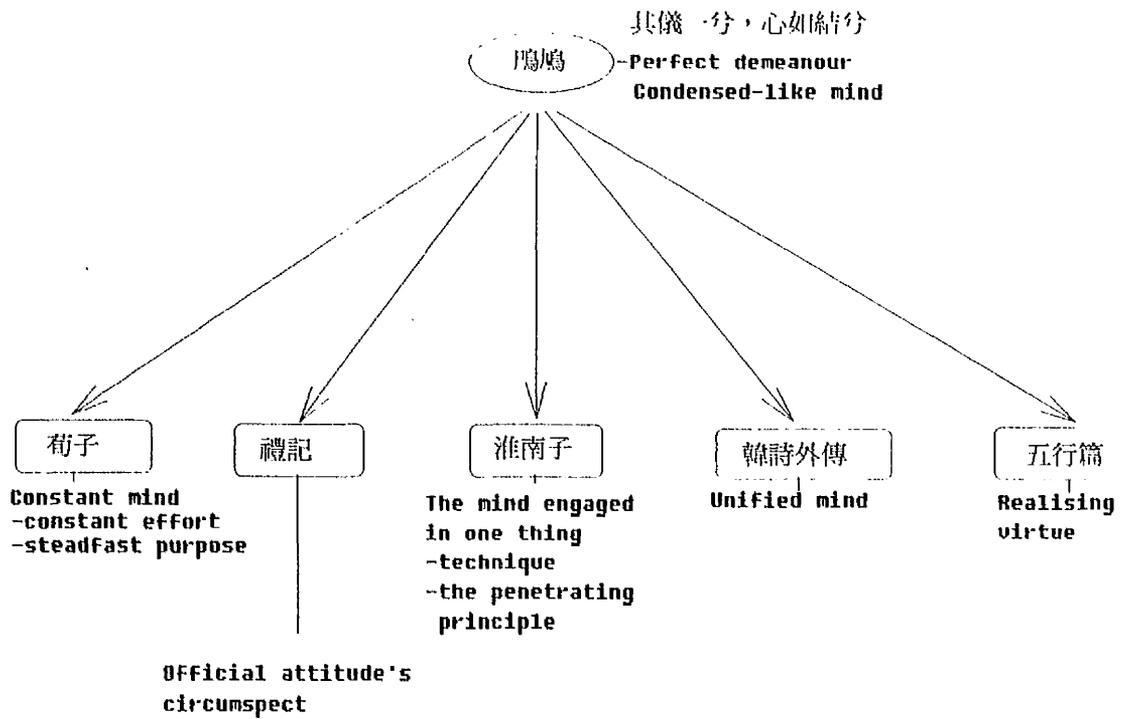


Figure 1

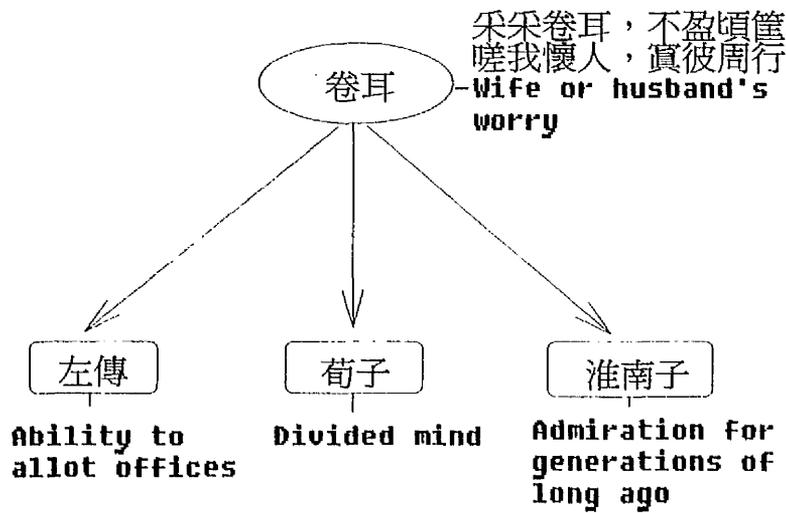


Figure 2

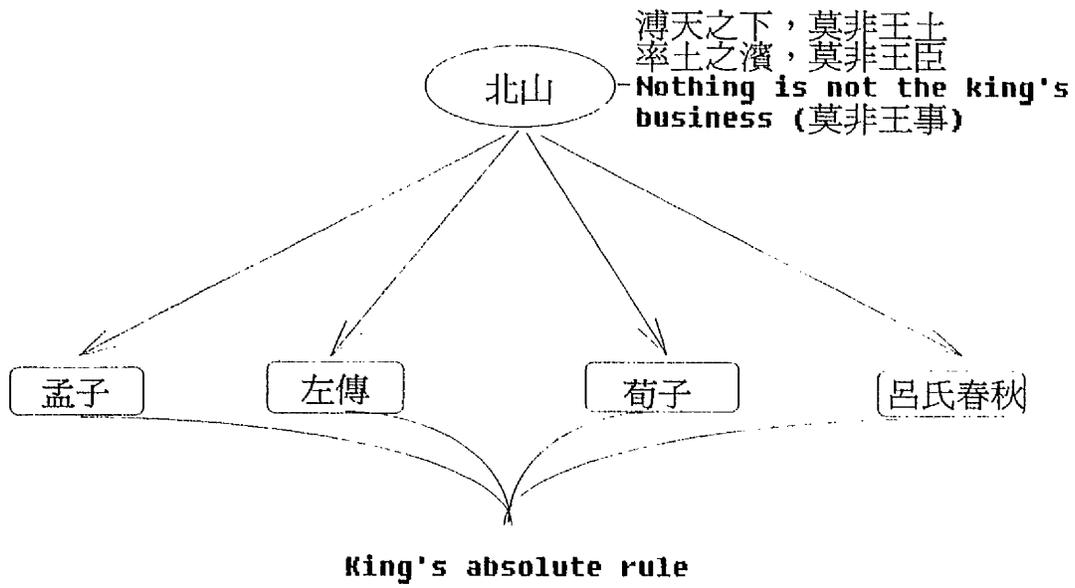


Figure 3

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