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MOUTON

Edward L. Shaughnessy

CHINESE ANNALS IN THE WESTERN OBSERVATORY

AN OUTLINE OF WESTERN STUDIES OF
CHINESE UNEARTHED DOCUMENTS

饒宗頤國學院漢學堂
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Edward L. Shaughnessy

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An Outline of Western Studies of Chinese Unearthed
Documents

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Dedicated to the memory of

LI Xueqin 李學勤 (1933-2019)

南山有杞，北山有李。

樂只君子，德音不已。

On South Mountain is a willow,

On North Mountain is a plum tree.

Such joy has the noble-man brought,

Sounds of virtue never ending.

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PREFACE TO THE CHINESE EDITION

This book was conceived in December, 2009, when Professor LIU Zhao 劉釗, director of the Center for the Study of Unearthed Documents and Paleography (Chutu wenxian yu guwenzi yanjiu zhongxin 出土文獻與古文字研究中心) of Fudan University 復旦大學, invited me to that center to give a series of three lectures. According to the invitation, the topics of two of the lectures were to be of my own choosing, but one lecture should be an overview of western studies of Chinese unearthed documents or paleography. I resisted this suggestion, preferring to talk only about my own scholarship. However, Professor Liu was insistent, and in the end I had to acquiesce, presenting a lecture entitled “The History of Western Studies of Bronze Inscriptions” (*Xifang jinwen xue shi* 西方金文學史; 15 December 2009). The lecture, delivered extemporaneously based on a PowerPoint presentation, received an unexpectedly warm response, with both Professor Liu and also Professor QIU Xigui 裘錫圭 suggesting that I turn the PowerPoint presentation into a formal publication. I resisted this suggestion as well. Some time later I received similar invitations to speak at Wuhan University 武漢大學 and at Tsinghua University 清華大學, where I received similar responses from the attendees, and where CHEN Wei 陳偉 and LI Xueqin 李學勤 similarly encouraged me to write a history of the field. It was only after that time that I finally decided to write a book on the history of western studies of Chinese unearthed documents and paleography.

I initially intended for the book to cover only the twentieth century. However, as the process of collecting materials and writing the book extended ever further into the twenty-first century, a period that brought accelerated development of the respective fields, I determined that it would be necessary to include coverage of contemporary scholarship as well. Nevertheless, while scholarship develops continuously, there needed to be an end point to this particular book. In the end, I determined that the end of 2015 would be that end point. I am happy to leave scholarship after this date to the next generation of scholars.

In the process of writing this book, I have received encouragement and help from numerous friends. Among western friends and scholars, my friend and colleague at the University of Chicago CAI Fangpei 蔡芳沛 corrected my Chinese in the Preface, a favor that he has done for me for thirty years now. Other colleagues advised me of Chinese translations of their own publications; I should mention in particular Sarah ALLAN of Dartmouth College and Ken'ichi TAKASHIMA of the University of British Columbia who sent me extensive lists of their translations. I should also express my

gratitude to Paul Rakita GOLDIN of the University of Pennsylvania, whose bibliographies available on-line served as the starting point for my own specialized bibliographies of this field. Chinese scholars have given me even more help. CHEN Wei, director of the Centre for the Study of Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts (Jianbo yanjiu zhongxin 簡帛研究中心) of Wuhan University; HAN Wei 韓巍 of the Department of History of Peking University 北京大學; LI Xueqin, director of the Center for the Study and Preservation of Unearthed Documents (Chutu wenxian yanjiu yu baohu zhongxin 出土文獻研究與保護中心) of Tsinghua University; LIU Zhao, director of the Center for the Study of Unearthed Documents and Paleography of Fudan University; QIU Xigui, of that same Center; SHEN Jianhua 沈建華 of the Center for the Study and Preservation of Unearthed Documents of Tsinghua University; and ZHU Fenghan 朱鳳瀚 of the Department of History of Peking University all gave me various sorts of encouragement. LI Tianhong 李天虹 of the Centre for the Study of Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts of Wuhan University edited an early version of Chapter One “An Outline of Western Studies of Chinese Paleography” and published it in the journal *Jianbo* 簡帛 (Bamboo and silk studies). SONG Zhenhao 宋鎮豪, of the Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, published Chapter Two “An Outline of Western Studies of Oracle-bone Inscriptions” in that institute’s journal *Jiaguwen yu Yin Shang shi* 甲骨文與殷商史 (Oracle-bone inscriptions and Yin-Shang history). BAI Yulan 白於藍 of China Eastern Normal University 華東師範大學 thoroughly revised Chapter Three “An Outline of Western Studies of Bronze and Stone Inscriptions,” and ZHU Yuanqing 朱淵清 of Shanghai University 上海大學 edited Chapter Four “An Outline of Western Studies of Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts.” I should especially like to thank five junior scholars who contributed much of their precious time to this project: ZHI Xiaona 鄧曉娜 of the Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, assisted with Chapter Two on oracle-bone inscriptions; HUANG Jie 黃傑 of the Centre for the Study of Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts of Wuhan University helped with Chapter Three and also reviewed the translations of all titles in all four bibliographies; JIANG Wen 蔣文 of the Center for the Study of Unearthed Documents and Paleography of Fudan University, and ZHOU Boqun 周博群 of the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago both corrected my Chinese throughout the manuscript; and SUN Xiaxia 孫夏夏, then a graduate student in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago, provided various kinds of help, including producing the two indexes of author’s names (western and Chinese names) as well as the list of scholarly journals. Finally, I should also like to thank Ms. ZHANG Yali 張亞莉 of Shanghai Ancient Texts Publishing House 上海古籍出版社, who worked diligently on all three sets of galleys produced in the course of publishing this book. To all of these many friends, I offer my deepest appreciation.

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

The “Preface” to the Chinese edition of this book has already recounted how the book was conceived and the many debts that I incurred in the process of writing that book. The story of this English translation can be shorter. In the summer of 2016, I agreed to join with CHEN Wei 陳偉 and LI Tianhong 李天虹 of the Centre for the Study of Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts (Jianbo yanjiu zhongxin 簡帛研究中心) of Wuhan University 武漢大學 to launch a new journal entitled *Bamboo and Silk*, which would be based primarily on the journal *Jianbo* 簡帛 (Bamboo and silk studies), of which they are the editors. Despite my objections, both Professors Chen and Li insisted that a translation of my article “An Outline of Western Studies of Chinese Paleography,” originally published in *Jianbo*, should be included in the first issue of that new journal. Since I could not dissuade them from this decision, I determined that it would be best simply to translate the article myself. Later, in March, 2017, during a visit to Hong Kong, after I had recounted this story to Professors CHEN Zhi 陳致 and Adam SCHWARTZ of the Jao Tsung-i Academy of Sinology 饒宗頤國學院 of Hong Kong Baptist University 香港浸會大學, they both encouraged me to translate the other three chapters as well, offering to publish the book in the Academy’s monograph series. Later my wife, Elena Valussi, convinced me that there may be western scholars outside of the field of Early China studies who might also be interested in the history of this field, but who would not invest the time to read a 650-page Chinese book. So I determined to do it. Fortunately, I was able to do most of the work while I was correcting the proofs of the Chinese edition late in 2017 and early 2018, the work of translating ensuring that I pay close attentions to the galleys.

The book was originally intended for a Chinese readership, an intention which manifests itself in numerous places throughout this English translation. It is no doubt backwards that I, a western scholar, should have written the book first in Chinese and then only after that book was finished did I translate it into English. Strange but true, such has been the process. One of the scholars that de Gruyters invited to evaluate the present book has justly criticized this orientation, and has suggested that I should not have simply translated the book, but should also revise it with a western readership in mind. In an ideal world, I should like to do this. But deadlines loom, and other projects beckon. Aside from removing a few gratuitous references to “Chinese readers,” I simply do not have the heart to undertake a wholesale revision of the book. One of these references to Chinese readers in the original Chinese edition comes at the end of the “Preface,” where I expressed the wish that Chinese readers might learn of discoveries and scholarly developments in the West about which they may not have known. I have revised

that sentence to extend that wish to western readers as well. In addition, I should also like to express the fervent wish that scholars of all nationalities and backgrounds will feel free to correct mistakes that I have made and to provide information about any scholarship that I may have neglected.

CONVENTIONS

The word “Western” in the sub-title to this book refers to the language in which the scholarship reviewed herein was published; it is unrelated to the nationality or ethnicity of the author. The bibliographies in this work include publications in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, including works written in these languages by Chinese, Japanese or Korean scholars. However, they do not include works in Russian or other Eastern European languages. For the sake of completeness, western translations of works originally published in Chinese are also included in the bibliographies. However, I generally do not discuss them in the scholarly narratives.

The word “Studies” in the sub-title refers primarily to works that have been formally published, as well as doctoral dissertations, which are included in the bibliographies. However, the bibliographies do not include reference to M.A. theses, nor do they refer to unpublished conference papers or privately published works.

The term “Unearthed Documents” in the sub-title refers primarily to oracle-bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions, stone inscriptions, and bamboo and silk manuscripts from the pre-Qin and Han periods, as well as overviews of paleography and general studies of paleographic materials, whether the materials were scientifically excavated or not. It does not include materials from after the Han dynasty, such as stone inscriptions or Dunhuang manuscripts.

The word “Outline” in the sub-title is meant to indicate that it has not been possible to discuss in the scholarly narratives each and every title that is listed in the bibliographies, with discussion limited to only the most representative scholarship.

Aside from the Preface, this book is divided into chapters devoted to the following four topics: Paleography and the Study of Unearthed Documents, Oracle-Bone Inscriptions, Bronze and Stone Inscriptions, and Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts. Each chapter is divided into three sections: a scholarly narrative, brief biographies of eminent scholars, and a bibliography.

The scholarly narratives are generally arranged chronologically, but occasionally diverge from chronological development when considering in more detail certain specific topics. Within these narratives, at the first mention of an individual scholar, the surname is written in capital letters. For scholars who are deceased, years of birth and death are included in parentheses. Mention of any work that is listed in the bibliographies indicates only the entry number within

the bibliography (for which, see below) and year of publication (unless this is clear from the discussion). For works not included in the bibliographies, full bibliographic details are included in a footnote.

Each chapter includes brief bibliographies of four eminent scholars, the primary criterion of selection being the scholarly influence of the individual scholar, though as a matter of principle scholars still active and teaching have not been included.

Each chapter includes a bibliography of scholarly works, organized first of all according to year of publication, and then, within each year, alphabetically by surname of author or lead author. Each work, whether a monograph or article within a book or periodical, is listed according to the following format:

1881

100010 HOPKINS, Lionel C. *The Six Scripts or the Principles of Chinese Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1881.

1934

100280* KARLGREN, Bernhard. "Word Families in Chinese." *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquity* 5 (1934): 9-120.

"1881" and "1934" indicate the year of publication, which is listed only once regardless of how many works were published in any given year. Note that the bibliographies conclude with the year 2015, and no notice is given in the narratives to works published after that date.

Each work is accorded a six-digit identifier, such as "100010." The first digit, either 1, 2, 3 or 4, indicates the section of the book to which the work pertains; i.e., "1" indicates studies of paleography and unearthed documents in general, "2" indicates studies of oracle-bone inscriptions, and so on. The last digit is generally "0," left as a place holder to accommodate future insertions. The middle four digits, beginning from 0001 and running through 0656 (in Section Four), simply indicate sequence within a section, and are intended only as a convenient reference. Scholarly works the contents of which pertain to two or more sections of this book are listed in only a single bibliography, in principle that to which they make the greatest scholarly contribution. Some entry numbers include an asterisk ("*"), such as the second example above. This indicates that the work has a published Chinese translation, which is listed in Appendix 1: "Bibliography of Chinese Translations of Western Studies of Chinese Unearthed Documents." In principle, these do not include works that were originally published in Chinese and only subsequently translated into English.

Within a given year, the bibliographies are arranged alphabetically by surname of author or lead author. This is followed by the title of the work, given in the original language. Monographic works or chapters in books indicate place of

publication, publisher, and year of publication. For chapters within books, beginning and ending page numbers are given after the year of publication. Articles in periodicals indicate the title of the periodical, issue number, year, and beginning and ending page numbers.

Appendix 1, “Bibliography of Chinese Translations of Western Studies of Chinese Unearthed Documents,” is retained as in the Chinese edition. It is arranged according to the six-digit entry number for the original western-language publication. The name of the original author is given first by the author’s Chinese name (if available), followed in parentheses by the author’s western-language name. All other information is given only in Chinese.

Appendix 2 is an alphabetical index to authors, indicating—by the six-digit reference numbers—works listed in the bibliographies. Because they may be of interest to some readers, the names of these authors are followed, in parentheses, by their Chinese names, when these are known.

INTRODUCTION

Shortly after western missionaries first reached China, they had already begun to take notice of Chinese unearthed documents. In 1625, a farmer digging in the soil in the western suburbs of Xi'an 西安 (perhaps in Zhouzhi 周至 county, Shaanxi) discovered an ancient stone stele. On the top of the stele was engraved in large characters: "Stele Commemorating the Entry Into China of the Greater Qin Outstanding Religion" (*Da Qin Jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo bei* 大秦景教流行中國碑); beneath this heading there was a much longer inscription (1780 characters), also in Chinese. "Greater Qin" 大秦 is the ancient Chinese name for Rome, or more particularly, for areas of the Middle East now part of Syria. The "Outstanding Religion" (*Jingjiao* 景教) is the Chinese name for Nestorianism, a Christian sect popular throughout the Eastern Roman Empire beginning in the fifth century. Aside from the Chinese text, the foot and two sides of the stele had other inscriptions in both Syriac and Chinese. The inscription had been carved in the 2nd year of the Jianzhong 建中 reign era of the Tang dynasty (i.e., 781), and recounts Nestorianism's 146 years of history in China to that point, as well as its central teachings. However, sixty some years later, in 845, when the emperor Wuzong of Tang 唐武宗 (r. 840-846) proscribed Buddhism, Nestorianism was linked with it and persecuted as well; the Nestorian Stele must have then been buried at that time, not to re-surface until more than seven hundred years later.

By the late Ming dynasty, when the stele was unearthed, the religious situation had changed considerably and Christianity had already gained a foothold in China. The *Nestorian Stele*, as the stele is now usually called, quickly attracted the attention of Christians elsewhere in China, and a rubbing of the inscription was sent to LI Zhizao 李之藻 (1571-1630), a prominent literatus and Christian living in Hangzhou 杭州. Li, in turn, introduced the contents of the inscription to the Portuguese missionary Alvaro SEMEDO (1585-1658; known by the Chinese names XIE Wulu 謝務祿 or ZENG Dezha0 曾德昭). According to Semedo's own account, in 1628 he went to Xi'an to inspect the stele personally. He then translated the inscription into Portuguese, sending the translation back to Lisbon.

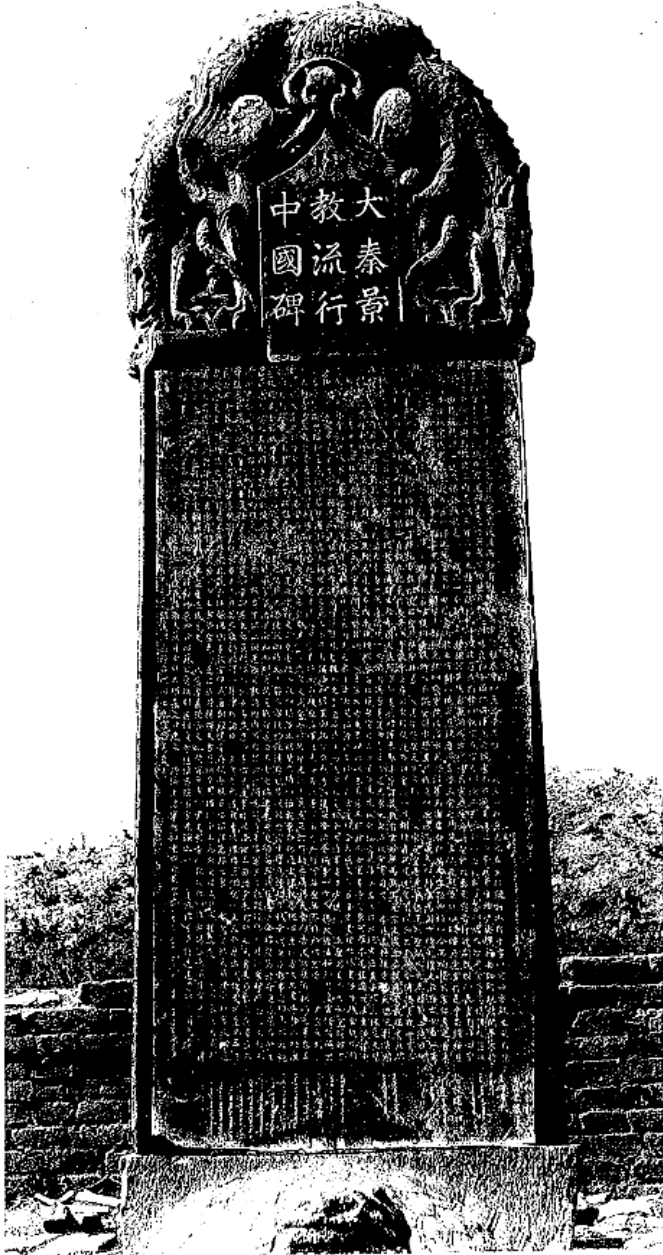


Fig. 1: Photo of the Nestorian Stele (大秦景教流行中國碑), c. 1892; Henri Havret, *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou* (Chang-hai: Mission catholique, 1895-1902)

Sometime before 1631, the Portuguese translation had already reached the Jesuit headquarters in Rome, where it was then translated into Latin. In 1636, the young Jesuit polymath Athanasius KIRCHER (1602-1680) included a description of the stele in his book *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus*. Later, he included two different translations of the inscription in his book *China Illustrata* (published in 1678). From this well-known book, scholars all over Europe learned of the *Nestorian Stele*. Those who have made translations into other languages include such notable figures as Alexander WYLIE (1815-1887), James LEGGE (1815-1897) and Paul PELLIOU (1878-1945).¹

1 Alexander WYLIE, "On the Nestorian Tablet at Se-gan Foo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 5 (1855-56): 275-336; James LEGGE, *The Nestorian Monument of Hsi-an Fu* (London: Trübner, 1888); Paul PELLIOU, *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-Ngan-Fou*, Antonino FORTE ed. (Kyoto: Scuola de Studi sull'Asia Orientale; Paris: College de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1996).

Recently another Nestorian stele has been unearthed at Luoyang 洛陽; see ZHANG Naizhu 張乃燾, "Yijian Tangdai Jingjiao shike" 一件唐代景教石刻, *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中國文物報 11 October 2006, p. 7; ZHANG Naizhu 張乃燾, "Ba Henan Luoyang xin chutu de yijian Tangdai Jingjiao shike" 跋河南洛陽新出土的一件唐代景教石刻, *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 2007.1: 65-73; LUO Zhao 羅焯, "Luoyang xin chutu Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan zhiben jing ji chuangji shichuang de jige wenti" 洛陽新出土大秦景教宣元至本經及幢記石幢的幾個問題, *Wenwu* 文物 2007.6: 30-4; GE Chengyong 葛承雍 ed., *Jingjiao yizhen: Luoyang xin chutu Tangdai Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu* 景教遺珍: 洛陽新出土唐代景教經幢研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009); Michael KEEVAK, *The Story of a Stele: China's Nestorian Monument and Its Reception in the West, 1625-1916* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 2008); Matteo NICOLINI-ZANI, "The Tang Christian Pillar from Luoyang and Its *Jingjiao* Inscription: A Preliminary Study," *Monumenta Serica* 57 (2009): 99-140.

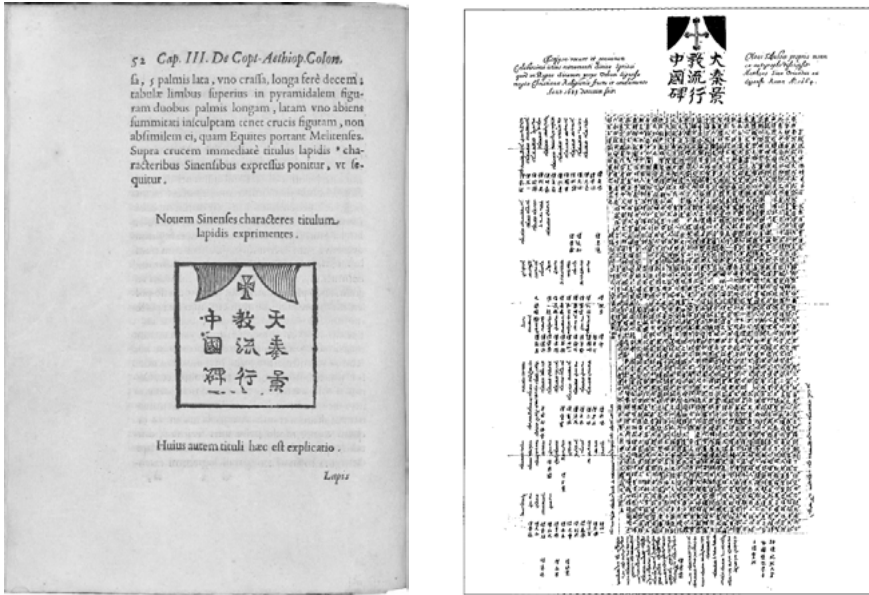


Fig. 2: L. The first mention of the Nestorian Stele in Europe; Athanasius KIRCHER, *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus* (Rome, 1636); R. The first published version of the inscription in Europe; Athanasius KIRCHER, *China Illustrata* (Amsterdam, 1667)

Paul Pelliot was one of the foremost Sinologists of the first half of the twentieth century. His name became forever linked with Chinese paleography after his visit to Dunhuang 敦煌 in 1908 and his purchase there of thousands of silk and paper manuscripts from the Mogaoku 莫高窟 caves. The picture of him sitting in the cave at Dunhuang examining the manuscripts by candlelight has inspired much interest in early manuscripts. However, ironically, aside from his interest in the *Nestorian Stele* and the Dunhuang manuscripts, Pelliot did not have any sustained interest in other sorts of documents that were being unearthed in China in his own day, almost never mentioning them in his writings.



Fig. 3: Paul PELLIOT (1878-1945) examining manuscripts in the cave at Dunhuang

A second name indelibly linked with western scholarship's first engagement with Chinese unearthed documents is that of the Hungarian-English explorer Marc Aurel STEIN (1862-1943), who had arrived in Dunhuang even before Pelliot. In the course of his three expeditions to Central Asia, not only did Stein purchase a great number of Dunhuang manuscripts, which he brought back to London and where they are still in the collection of the British Library, but he was also the first to publish a report of still earlier Chinese texts, these written on wooden strips.² Despite the importance of his discoveries of ancient Chinese textual materials, Stein could not read them, thus limiting the contribution that he himself could make to their understanding. Fortunately, as we will describe in this book, others

² Marc Aurel STEIN, *Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan: Personal Narrative of a Journey of Archaeological and Geographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1903).

have followed in his footsteps and have made considerable contributions to that understanding.



Fig. 4: Marc Aurel STEIN (1862-1943) in the course of his Third Expedition to Central Asia

Quite by chance, the first scholarly study of Chinese unearthed documents by a westerner came in the very year that Stein was at Dunhuang, but on the other side of China. In 1906, Frank H. CHALFANT (1862-1914), a long-time resident of north China as a protestant missionary, gave a public lecture at the Carnegie Library of his hometown Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in which he opened for the western scholarly world an entirely new field of study. In the lecture, which was subsequently published as *Early Chinese Writing* (100050), Chalfant began rather traditionally by giving a detailed discussion of the six types of Chinese characters according to the *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字 (Discussing pictographs and explaining compound graphs), but he then went on also to cite two different types of paleographic materials. One was the inscription on the bronze vessel *San shi pan* 散氏盤. This was the first time that a western scholar had made use of a bronze inscription as evidence for historical linguistics. The second type of paleographic material was even newer: Chalfant introduced oracle-bone inscriptions that had been discovered just a few years before his lecture. In the pamphlet *Early Chinese*

Writing, he included more than a dozen line drawings of oracle bones that he had himself collected.

TRANSLATION.

Confirmation of the vast territory ²⁹ San-I, ³⁰ being the domain now enjoyed by the said San. Beginning at the Haien and T'ao Rivers, thence south to the Ta Ku River, a land-mark; ³¹ thence down stream by two land marks to a row of willows; again down the T'ao and Haien rivers to Yü Ch'a ³² and (?) Mei; ³² thence west, bounded by Po ³³ Ch'eng (city) to an apple tree; thence

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|---|-----------------|--|
| 以 | 柳 | 沽 | 竟 | 用 | |
| 西 | 復 | 一 | 自 | 大 | |
| 表 | 洮 | 表 ³¹ | 瀨 | 蔽 ²⁹ | |
| 于 | 瀨 | 以 | 洮 | 散 | |
| 敵 ³³ | 降 | 降 | 以 | 邑 ³⁰ | |
| 城 | 雩 ³² | 二 | 南 | 迺 | |
| 杜 | 戲 | 表 | 至 | 即 | |
| 木 | (?) ³² | 于 | 于 | 散 | |
| 表 | 隳 | 于 | 大 | 用 | |
| 于 | | 邊 | | 田 | |

Fig. 5: Hand-copy, transcription and translation of the opening portion of the *San shi pan* 散氏盤 inscription; Frank H. CHALFANT, *Early Chinese Writing* (Pittsburgh: The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1906), p. 22

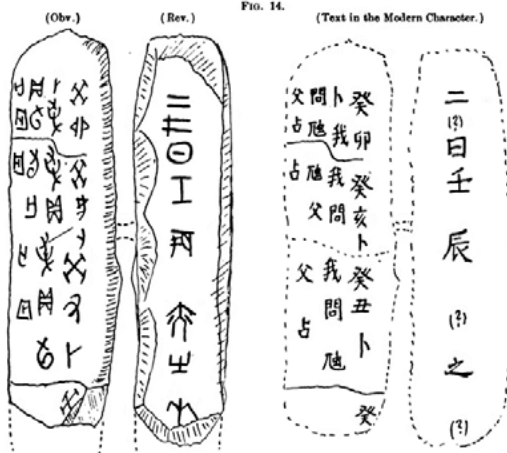


FIG. 14. Inscribed bone, with lower end missing. The obverse has three separate sentences differing only in the dates. The rendering is: "[Date] divination. I ask the Serpent-father to enquire." It appears that at least four enquiries are recorded, inasmuch as the sign 占 at the bottom begins what was probably the same formula with a new date. Liu T'ie Yün interprets "Serpent-father" as a mystic title of the soothsayer. The reverse records a date (壬辰) and undeciphered signs. This fragment shows discoloration from fire. (Actual size.) (Original in R. A. Soc. Museum, Shanghai.)

Fig. 6: Hand-copies, transcriptions and translations of oracle bones inscriptions in Chalfant's personal collection; see Frank H. CHALFANT, *Early Chinese Writing* (Pittsburgh: The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1906), p. 33

From the vantage point of a century later, we could find many mistakes in Chalfant's understanding of the *San shi pan* inscription and the oracle-bone inscriptions. Nevertheless, by opening this exciting new field of inquiry, he made an undeniable contribution to western Sinology, a contribution well worth remembering. The present book will survey the work of the scholars who have come after Chalfant. While the book will include some discussion of China's earliest stone inscriptions, I regret that it will not be possible to say anything more about the inscription on the *Nestorian Stele* or the thousands of other stele inscriptions from after the Han dynasty. Nor will it be possible herein to address the manuscripts that Stein and Pelliot recovered from Dunhuang. Even though these texts have inspired much important work from numerous western scholars, this work is far outside of my own limited field of expertise. However, the book will provide a full account of studies of both oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions, as well as an account of the field of bamboo and silk manuscript studies that was opened by Stein. It is my hope that readers everywhere will join me in marveling at the many great discoveries and great advances in the understanding of all of these fields that have taken place over the course of century since his time.

1 AN OUTLINE OF WESTERN STUDIES OF CHINESE PALEOGRAPHY

The purpose of this book is to give a relatively comprehensive survey of western Sinologists' studies of Chinese unearthed documents from the pre-Qin through Han periods. By "Chinese unearthed documents," I intend oracle-bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions, bamboo and silk manuscripts, as well as various types of inscriptions on stone down through the Han dynasty. I must draw the reader's attention to the temporal limits of this survey. Given my own scholarly limitations, "Chinese unearthed documents" will not include such important topics as Dunhuang 敦煌 silk and paper manuscripts, nor will it include such stone inscriptions as tomb epitaphs after the Han dynasty, much less will it include the numerous non-Chinese language documents found in Gansu and Xinjiang. Oracle-bone inscriptions, bronze and stone inscriptions, and bamboo and silk manuscripts will each have one chapter devoted to them, with each chapter divided into two sections, one section providing a narrative (including brief biographies of individual prominent scholars) and one section comprising a bibliography. However, aside from specialized studies of these three fields, western Sinologists have also produced studies of Chinese writing in general. This chapter will give a general overview of these studies.

This chapter will differ from the following three chapters in two important respects. First, I make no claim that the bibliography appended to this chapter is comprehensive. Although I cannot guarantee that the bibliographies devoted to the fields of oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions and bamboo and silk manuscripts will not have occasional gaps, still they should all be quite comprehensive. By contrast, the bibliography appended to this chapter includes only the most representative and influential works. Second, the narratives devoted to studies of oracle-bone inscriptions, bronze and stone inscriptions, and bamboo and silk manuscripts will be structured chronologically, more or less describing the development of those fields. This chapter will be different. Since there is no way that I can hope to introduce all western studies of Chinese paleography or writing, I will restrict the presentation to just the following topics: general discussions of Chinese paleography and/or unearthed documents; the origins of Chinese writing and its social functions; the nature of Chinese writing; methodo-

logical studies of paleography; and reference works. I should especially emphasize that I will not attempt to introduce studies of ancient Chinese grammar and phonology, notwithstanding their intimate relationship with Chinese writing.¹

1.1 General Discussions of Chinese Paleography and/or Unearthed Documents

As mentioned in the “Preface” to this book, early reports by western missionaries produced great excitement among western scholars in many different areas, but perhaps the most exciting of all was with respect to the nature of Chinese writing. Just at that time, western scholars were also beginning to study Egyptian hieroglyphics, to which they naturally compared Chinese writing. With the departure of Jesuit missionaries from China, although European scholars continued to study traditional Chinese literature and history, the fields of linguistics and grammar did not see continued progress. After protestant missionaries arrived in

¹ For studies of Chinese grammar, see Georg von der GABELENTZ (1840-1893), *Chinesische Grammatik, mit Ausschluß des niederen Stils und der heutigen Umgangssprache* (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1881; rpt. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1960); W.A.C.H. DOBSON (1913-1982), *Early Archaic Chinese: A Descriptive Grammar* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); Ulrich UNGER (1930-2006), *Einführung in das klassische Chinesisch* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985); Christoph HARBSMEIER, *Aspects of Classical Chinese syntax*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, No. 45 (London and Malmö; Curzon Press, 1981); Edwin G. PULLEYBLANK (1922-2013), *Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995); Redouane DJAMOURI, *Collected Essays in Ancient Chinese Grammar*, Collection des Cahiers de linguistique: Asie orientale 6 (Paris: Centre de Recherches Linguistiques sur l'Asie Orientale, 2001). All of these studies have considerable scholarly merit, but only Dobson's *Early Archaic Chinese* is more or less concerned with unearthed documents. It describes the grammar of the language of the Western Zhou period partially on the basis of chapters of the *Shang shu* 尚書 that are generally accepted to date from that period, and partially on the basis of fourteen important Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. Although the grammatical analysis given in this work is now more or less out of date, it had considerable influence on studies of bronze inscriptions.

Western scholars beginning with Bernhard KARLGREN (1889-1978) have long been interested in Chinese phonology, which it will not be possible to introduce here. For a concise introduction to this important field, see Zev J. HANDEL, “A Concise Introduction to Old Chinese Phonology,” in James A. MATISOFF ed., *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction*, University of California Publications in Linguistics 135 (Berkeley, 2003), pp. 543-74. For one important reconstruction, see William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart, *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

China at the beginning of the nineteenth century, their interests were more practical than scholarly, such that linguistic study focused on the *Kangxi Dictionary* 康熙字典 and the *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字. By the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, this field began to undergo a great change. In 1881, **Lionel C. HOPKINS** (1854-1952; see the biography appended to this chapter) translated the book *Rationale of the Six Types of Script* (*Liu shu gu* 六書故) by the Song scholar Dai Tong 戴侗 (1241 *jinshi*); this was published as *The Six Scripts or the Principles of Chinese Writing* (100010). Hopkins would go on to become a renowned expert on oracle-bone inscriptions. Already at this time, even before any oracle bones had been discovered, he was already paying great attention to the analysis of the “six scripts” or six types of characters (*liushu* 六書) and their historical evolution. As I will describe in the following chapter, after oracle bones were discovered, Hopkins would devote many decades to the study of their inscriptions and to Chinese writing in general, publishing almost fifty articles, including especially the series of articles entitled “Pictographic Reconnaissances: Being Discoveries, Recoveries, and Conjectural Raids in Archaic Chinese Writing,” published between 1917 and 1928 (100110, 1917; 100120, 1918; 1001130, 1919; 1001140, 1922; 100150, 1923; 100180, 1924; 100190, 1926; 100210, 1927; 100220, 1928). Beginning in 1906, after having read Frank H. CHALFANT’s (1862-1914) *Early Chinese Writing* (100050; 1906), Hopkins struck up an epistolary friendship with Chalfant. Chalfant’s work was western scholars’ first introduction to oracle-bone inscriptions, pointing out in particular the pictographic shapes of the characters. Although Hopkins and Chalfant were both amateur scholars, they both made important contributions to the study of Chinese paleography, establishing the foundation on which western scholarship was to build.

The year before Hopkins began to publish “Pictographic Reconnaissances,” the French Jesuit missionary Léon WIEGER, S.J. (1856-1933), who had long resided in China, published his *Caractères chinois: etymologie, graphies, lexiques* (100100; 1916) there. This work won high praise from **Édouard CHAVANNES** (1865-1918; see the biography appended to this chapter), who recommended it for the Prix Julien, France’s highest Sinological award. In addition to *Caractères chinois*, Wieger published more than ten other books, including *Bouddhisme chinois: Extraits du Tripitaka, des commentaires, tracts, etc.* (1910), *Taoïsme* (1911), *Histoire des croyances religieuses et des opinions philosophiques en Chine* (1917), and *La Chine à travers les âges* (1924),² giving detailed introductions to many dif-

2 Léon WIEGER, S.J., *Bouddhisme chinois. Extraits du Tripitaka, des commentaires, tracts, etc.* (Sienhsien [Hokienfu]: Impr. De la Mission catholique, 1910); *Taoïsme* (Sienhsien [Hokienfu]:

ferent aspects of Chinese life and history. In *Caractères chinois*, in addition to describing the traditional “six types of characters” analysis of the Chinese script, Wieger also considered evidence from bronze and stone inscriptions. His remarks on stone inscriptions are unproblematic, but his translations of bronze inscriptions are consistently marred by elementary mistakes, revealing the very low state of western scholars’ understanding of Chinese paleography at the time.

At the time that Wieger was writing *Caractères chinois*, **Bernhard KARLGRÉN** (1889-1978; see the biography appended to this chapter) was just finishing his doctoral dissertation in Paris: *Études sur la phonologie chinoise*. With the completion of this thesis, Karlgren immediately became one of the most prominent western Sinologists. In addition to essentially establishing the modern field of phonology, over the course of sixty years Karlgren also published outstanding studies in such diverse fields as textual criticism and bronze studies. His doctoral dissertation was translated into Chinese by the prominent Chinese linguists Y.R. CHAO (ZHAO Yuanren 趙元任, 1892-1982), LUO Changpei 羅常培 (1899-1958) and F.K. LI (LI Fanggui 李方桂; 1902-1987), and many other of his works have also been translated into Chinese. There is no need here to introduce his work on Chinese phonology. His other most important contributions were probably his two dictionaries *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (100160; 1923) and *Grammata Serica Recensa* (100460; 1957). *Grammata Serica Recensa*, in particular established the analysis of word families; it will be introduced in the section on Reference Works below. Similarly, his studies of bronze vessels and bronze inscriptions will be introduced in Chapter Three below. In addition to these specialized studies, Karlgren also authored several introductions to the Chinese language, such as *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* (100170; 1923), *Philology and Ancient China* (100200; 1926), and *The Chinese Language: An Essay on Its Nature and History* (100430; 1949). All of these works include at least some mention of paleography.

There are several other works concerned with paleography and unearthed documents that are worthy of mention. The earliest is “An Introduction to Chinese Palaeography” (101380) by CH’EN Meng-chia (CHEN Mengjia 陳夢家; 1911-1966). This was based on the lecture notes for a course on Chinese paleography that he gave while a visiting professor at the University of Chicago between 1945 and 1947. Unfortunately, this work was not published until 2006, and did not

Impr. De la Mission catholique, 1911); *Histoire des croyances religieuses et des opinions philosophiques en Chine* (Sienhsien [Hokienfu]: Impr. De la Mission catholique, 1917); *La Chine à travers les âges* (Sienhsien [Hokienfu]: Impr. De la Mission catholique, 1924).

even circulate before that time. In fact, most scholars did not even know that Professor Ch'en had written this book, which was representative of the finest level of scholarship in the 1940s. If it had been published at that time, it surely would have had great influence. However, given the advances of scholarship over the intervening sixty years, the 2006 publication should be seen as having primarily just historical significance.

Another professor at the University of Chicago who authored a work on Chinese paleography and unearthed documents is **Tsuen-hsui TSIEN** 錢存訓 (1909-2015; see the biography appended to this chapter). Professor Tsien arrived at the University of Chicago in 1947, becoming the director of the university library's East Asian Collection. Thereafter, while working full-time in the library, he also undertook graduate studies with **Herrlee Glessner CREEL** (1905-1994; see the biography appended to Chapter Three). He was awarded a Ph.D. in 1957 for a dissertation entitled "The Pre-Printing Records of China: A Study of the Development of Early Chinese Inscriptions and Books." Upon revision, this dissertation was published by the University of Chicago Press in 1962 as *Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions* (100490). The book includes nine chapters: "Introduction," "Records on Bones and Shells," "Inscriptions on Metals and Clay," "Engravings on Stone and Jade," "Documents on Bamboo and Wood," "Silk As Writing Material," "Paper and Paper Manuscripts," "Implements and Tools for Writing," and "Conclusion"—and serves as an excellent summation of the unearthed documents available at the time of its publication. The book had an immediate influence on western Sinology, being reprinted three times already in the first years after its publication. However, in the 1970s with the great increase in archaeological discoveries taking place in China, Professor Tsien was no longer able to keep abreast of new materials and for many years the third printing in 1969 was the final edition. In 2004, when Professor Tsien was already 95 years old, together with his colleague at the University of Chicago Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, it was finally possible to publish a revised edition (101280). Although the original structure of the book could not be changed, it was possible at least to make mention of the many great discoveries of the 1970s and 1980s. Shaughnessy added a "Afterword" (101270) that surveyed contributions that other western scholars had made to these respective fields in the interval.

In 1997 Shaughnessy also edited *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts* (100970), bringing together some of the leading scholars of that period to address China's unearthed textual record. The book included an Introduction by Shaughnessy (100960), and the following chapters:

- David N. KEIGHTLEY, “Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions” (202980)
 Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, “Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions” (302140)
 Gilbert MATTOS (1939-2002), “Eastern Zhou Bronze Inscriptions” (302120)
 Susan WELD, “The Covenant Texts from Houma and Wenxian” (302160)
 Michael LOEWE, “Wood and Bamboo Administrative Documents of the Han Period” (402400)
 A.F.P. HULSEWÉ (1910-1993), “Qin and Han Legal Manuscripts” (402380)
 Donald HARPER, “Warring States, Qin, and Han Manuscripts Related to Natural Philosophy and the Occult” (402370)
 William G. BOLTZ, “Manuscripts with Transmitted Counterparts” (402350)

Because the book was intended to serve as a handbook for this field, each chapter includes numerous translations of unearthed texts, so that readers can study for themselves how to use the texts in their own research.

The final chapter of this *New Sources of Early Chinese History* was written by William G. BOLTZ. In 1994, he published a monograph entitled *The Origin and Development of the Chinese Writing System* (100780). The book includes three parts: “Prolegomena,” “The Shang Formation,” and “The Ch’in-Han Reformation.” In the book, Boltz paid special attention to both the origin of Chinese writing and also the nature of the script, two topics that will be the focus of special attention below; for now, I will just mention the book.

Gilbert MATTOS (1939-2002), another contributor to *New Sources of Early Chinese History*, also produced another important contribution at the time. Together with Jerry NORMAN (1936-2012), he translated QIU Xigui’s 裘錫圭 *Wenzixue gaiyao* 文字學概要, under the title *Chinese Writing* (101130; 2000). Chinese readers will all be familiar with this extremely important book by Professor Qiu, so there is no need to describe its contents. However, it is noteworthy that the translation includes several advantages over the original work. First of all, although the translation was based on the original 1988 Beijing Commercial Press edition of the work, it was also collated against the 1994 Taiwan Wanjuanlou edition as well. Since the Wanjuanlou edition includes numerous corrections made by Professor Qiu himself, it is a marked improvement over the original edition. However, because the Wanjuanlou edition was published in Taiwan, it systematically converted all simplified characters to traditional forms, including also numerous characters for which Professor Qiu intended the simplified form to illustrate points. Thus, it is still necessary when using this work also to consult the original edition. Professors Mattos and Norman were both good friends of Professor Qiu, and were able to consult with him throughout the translation process, during which Qiu introduced still further corrections to his own work, corrections not

reflected in either of the Chinese editions. Moreover, because the original *Wenzixue gaiyao* included over one thousand archaic character forms for which there were then no available fonts, the Chinese editions were both handwritten. The English edition of *Chinese Writing*, on the other hand, is completely typeset, including all of the archaic character forms, rendering them easier to see. Finally, and perhaps even more important, the English translation also includes two different indices. One is a bilingual glossary for the very technical vocabulary that Qiu employed in his book, such as *ban jihao ban biaoyizi* 半記號半表意字, translated as “semi-sign semi-semantograph,” *zuming jinwen* 族名金文, translated as “clan emblem,” and so forth. The second index provides references to every individual character discussed in the text. With this index, it is possible to gain control over the entire contents of *Chinese Writing*. This translation was not just a great contribution to western Sinology, but is also considered a standard in all fields of paleography and linguistics.

A work similar in scope to Qiu Xigui's *Chinese Writing* is *The Orthography of Early Chinese Writing: Evidence from Newly Excavated Manuscripts* (101400; 2006) by Imre GALAMBOS. A native of Hungary, Galambos studied at the University of California at Berkeley, being awarded a Ph.D. in 2002, with a doctoral dissertation on variant characters in the Houma 侯馬 covenant texts. After graduating, Galambos first worked at the British Library editing the Dunhuang manuscripts in its collection. He is now teaching in the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the University of Cambridge. *The Orthography of Early Chinese Writing* addresses unearthed documents of the Warring States period, especially the Houma covenant texts, examining the variant forms of characters, and demonstrating that prior to the Han (in actuality, prior to the Eastern Han) most characters did not yet have a “correct” form; not only could they be written with different forms at different times and in different places, but even a single scribe might use different forms of a character in a single document. The first chapter of this book also introduces prior scholars' work on the question of correct forms and variant forms, paying special attention to the views of **Noel BARNARD** (1923-2016; see the biography appended to Chapter Three), **CHENG Te-k'un** (ZHENG Dekun 鄭德坤; 1907-2001), **William G. Boltz**, the Japanese scholar **MATSUMARU Michio** 松丸道雄, and also Qiu Xigui. In evaluating the work of these scholars, Galambos adopts a compromise view, pointing out both good and bad points. His basic premise is that characters are simply symbols of language, and any given word could be represented by any number of characters; in the case of ancient China, rather than using such terms as “correct character” and “mistaken character,” it would be preferable to use a statistical method to determine the incidence with which different forms of characters were written.

The most recent publication by the western scholarly world addressing Chinese paleography and unearthed documents is *Writing & Literacy in Early China; Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar* (101530), edited by LI Feng and David Prager BRANNER, and published by the University of Washington Press in 2011. This book is a collection of essays first presented at the Columbia University Early China Seminar. There are eleven essays in all, all revolving around the topic of writing and literacy in early China. Most of the essays have at least some bearing on the topic of paleography. They are presented in the following order:

David W. PANKENIER, “Getting ‘Right’ with Heaven and the Origins of Writing in China” (101540)

William G. BOLTZ, “Literacy and the Emergence of Writing in China” (101510)

David Prager BRANNER, “Phonology in the Chinese Script and Its Relationship to Early Chinese Literacy”

Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA, “Literacy to the South and East of Anyang in Shang China: Zhengzhou and Daxinzhuang” (203770)

Adam Daniel SMITH, “The Evidence for Scribal Training at Anyang” (203750)

Matthias RICHTER, “Textual Identity and the Role of Literacy in the Transmission of Early Chinese Literature” (405740)

Lothar von FALKENHAUSEN, “The Royal Audience and Its Reflections in Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions” (303390)

LI Feng, “Literacy and the Social Contexts of Literacy in the Western Zhou” (303400)

Constance A. COOK, “Education and the Way of the Former Kings” (303380)

Robin D.S. YATES, “Soldiers, Scribes, and Women: Literacy among the Lower Orders in Early China” (405790)

Anthony J. BARBIERI-LOW, “Craftsman’s Literacy: Uses of Writing by Male and Female Artisans in Qin and Han China” (405520)

The individual authors are all leading authorities on paleography and unearthed documents, and the essays all underwent repeated discussion and editing. Although there are certainly different viewpoints represented among them, they more or less represent the state of the field in western scholarship. In the following section devoted to the origin of Chinese writing, I will have occasion to introduce the views of William G. Boltz, while many of the other essays will be introduced in the following chapters on oracle-bone inscriptions, bronze and stone inscriptions, and bamboo and silk manuscripts.

1.2 The Origin of Chinese Writing and Its Social Functions

From the earliest scholarly publications to the most recent, the origin of writing in China has always been a topic of great interest to western scholars. For present purposes, we can probably disregard the pan-Babylonian theories of early missionaries and scholars, including some who regarded the Chinese people as a lost tribe of Israel, such as A. Terrien de LACOUPEL (1844-1894), who in 1887 and 1888 published *The Languages of China before the Chinese: Researches on the Languages Spoken by the Pre-Chinese Races of China Proper Previously to the Chinese Occupation* (100020) and *The Old Babylonian Characters and Their Chinese Derivates* (100030). Perhaps in the greater western world there are still people who accept these sorts of notions, but in the scholarly world they are viewed as being without any basis. The only exception might be the articles “The Chinese Cyclical Signs as Phonograms” (100540), “The *Ganzhi* as Phonograms and Their Application to the Calendar” (100730) and “The Historical and Prehistorical Relationships of Chinese” (100820) by Edwin G. PULLEYBLANK (1922-2013), which argue that the ten “heavenly stems” (*tiangan* 天干) and twelve “earthly branches” (*dizhi* 地支) were primitive syllables, possibly related—either directly or indirectly—to the Phoenecian alphabet. This theory has not won much support either, and is usually treated separately from Pulleyblank’s other scholarship, such as his work on Chinese grammar and on linguistic relations between China and peoples living on its periphery. For this scholarship, see his articles “The Chinese and their Neighbors in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times” (100570) and “Early Contacts between Indo-Europeans and Chinese” (100910). Pulleyblank was a very careful scholar, originally an historian, but later changing course and working on linguistic topics, making very important contributions to the phonetic reconstruction of ancient Chinese. His suggestions regarding relations between ancient Chinese and other languages are quite persuasive in the cases of certain words, demonstrating that people living in the area of modern China had definite relationships with their neighbors.

Although the great majority of western scholars no longer accept theories regarding the diffusion of writing to China from western Asia, with most people agreeing that there were four indigenous inventions of writing in the ancient world (Mesopotamia, Egypt, China and Meso-America), this is by no means to say that western scholars are now all agreed regarding the origins of writing in China. Just as in China, there are two main schools of thought regarding this question, one espousing a relatively long development process, and one arguing for sudden invention. In the book *The Origins of Chinese Civilization*, published in 1983, CHEUNG Kwong-yue 張光裕 contributed an article entitled “Recent Archaeological Evidence Relating to the Origin of Chinese Characters” (100550), in which he

surveyed marks found on neolithic pottery. Cheung argued that many of these marks reflect connections with the writing of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions and suggested they should be viewed as the origin of writing in China. This viewpoint has received little support among western scholars, most of whom hold that isolated symbols cannot be treated as writing. Most of these scholars insist that only when there is a stable character form, pronunciation, and meaning, and especially multiple graphs used in a context showing grammar, is it possible to talk about writing. According to this view, the earliest writing in China remains the oracle-bone inscriptions of the late Shang dynasty.

Of course, this is not necessarily to say that the Shang oracle-bone inscriptions were the first writing in China, but only that they are the earliest surviving evidence. For instance, Robert BAGLEY of Princeton University has recently argued for a long-term process of development. In his study “Anyang Writing and the Origin of the Chinese Writing System” (101230) published in 2004, he argued that the language of the Shang oracle-bone inscriptions was already quite mature, and as such should be seen as the crystallization of a long-term process. This study was published in a book entitled *The First Writing: Script Invention as History and Process*, which provided surveys of the inventions of all of the world’s major writing systems. Bagley made considerable use of the evidence for writing in the Ancient Near East in arguing for this developmental process. Western scholars, including also western sinologists, have always paid attention to the evidence of writing in the Ancient Near East, which is to say Mesopotamian cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphics. There is now clear evidence that the invention and development of cuneiform took place over a rather long period of time. Already in circa 3400 BCE in the third and fourth phases at Uruk, there are pottery sherds with proto-cuneiform writing that record the number and type of such goods as foodstuffs, oil, alcohol, and domesticated animals, as well as a certain number of names indicating the owner and/or type of the product. The characters depicting the goods are all pictographic in nature. The proper nouns are also essentially pictographic, but they are more abstract than the characters used for products, rather resembling the clan signs found on Chinese bronze vessels of the Shang and Zhou dynasties. The numbers are more abstract still, counting from a certain number of dots. Later, the pictographs gradually became formulaic, and then through the rebus principle came to represent ever more words. There is evidence to suggest that this development extended over the course of six or seven hundred years before cuneiform writing finally reached its mature phase. Bagley hypothesized that the development of writing in China must have undergone a similar process. According to him, since the Shang inscriptions had already reached a relatively mature stage, there must have been a long period of

development prior to them, but that the evidence for it was written on some sort of perishable material that has not survived in the archaeological record.

Related to this question is the role that early writing played. In Mesopotamia, the earliest writing was clearly used for administrative purposes, as accounting records made by scribes at the royal court. The early uses of writing in Egypt and Meso-America are not as clear as those in Mesopotamia, but they too seem to be accounting records. For this reason, Bagley argued that this should be seen as a universal phenomenon, to which China should of course not be an exception. He speculated that these sorts of accounting records would have been written on perishable materials that have not survived. As Bagley often says, the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. He expects that in the future it is very likely that evidence of writing earlier than the oracle-bone inscriptions will be found.

Holding a very different viewpoint from that of Bagley is William G. Boltz, professor of Chinese at the University of Washington. Over the last two decades, he has published a series of studies such as *The Origin and Development of the Chinese Writing System* (100780; 1994), “Early Chinese Writing” (100870; 1996), “The Invention of Writing in China (101040; 2000),” and “Literacy and the Emergence of Writing in China” (101510; 2011), arguing that it is very possible that writing in China was invented in Anyang itself, or not very much before the time of the late Shang kings who ruled there. Boltz also compares writing in China to that of Mesopotamia and Egypt, but as a linguist he does not pay much attention to archaeological evidence. As I will discuss in more detail below, he frequently resorts to linguistic principles, arguing that marks must represent shape, sound and meaning before they can be termed writing. Of these qualities, the most important is sound. According to Boltz, a symbol such as 𠄎 cannot be regarded as writing since different readers could use different sounds to read it, such as “Use of cell phones is not permitted,” “Please turn off cell phones,” or “Use of cell phones prohibited.” Only under the rather limited condition that any given reader would use one and the same sound to characterize the symbol should it be regarded as writing. For example, when speakers of Mandarin Chinese see the mark 人, they all conventionally read it as *ren* with the meaning of “human being”; this is writing.

According to Boltz, primitive writing always featured one phenomenon: polyphony. He argues that Shang dynasty oracle-bone inscriptions also reflect this feature. For instance, he says that the graph 卜 is usually read as *bu* meaning “to divine.” However, he says that the same graph could occasionally also be read as *wai* with the meaning “outside.” Similarly, he says that the oracle-bone graph 禾, which is usually read as *he* meaning “grain,” could also occasionally be read as *nian* and mean “year.” This evidence of polyphony in the oracle-bone inscriptions suggests that Shang dynasty writing was still in its earliest stages, not very

distant from its origins. Because of this, Boltz surmises that Shang oracle-bone inscriptions do in fact represent the earliest writing in China; even if there were some writing before this, it could not be from very much before.

Boltz's article "Literacy and the Emergence of Writing in China" was published in 2011 in the volume *Writing & Literacy in Early China: Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar* mentioned above. Included in the same volume was an article by Adam SMITH entitled "The Evidence for Scribal Training at Anyang" (203750). This article also touched on the question of the origin of writing in China. At the beginning of the essay, Smith posited two scenarios concerning writing at Anyang. One scenario envisioned a thousand or more people in the society, both at Anyang and in its environs, who could read and write. These people primarily would have had administrative responsibilities: for the craft industries in the capital as well as for the feeding of the people, registering people from outside of the city, provisioning the army, etc. A very different scenario proposed by Smith holds that there may have been as few as a dozen people at Anyang who could read and write, all of them working at the royal court in charge of recording divination results. According to Smith, the first scenario is in line with the long duration evolution of writing proposed by Bagley, who argued for a more or less widespread literacy based on comparisons with teaching materials found in Level 2 at Uruk in Mesopotamia. Smith's own understanding, first presented in his doctoral dissertation "Writing at Anyang: The Role of the Divination Record in the Emergence of Chinese Literacy" (203660), holds that there is very little evidence for how diviners and scribes at Anyang learned to read and write. He suggests that Bagley's comparison of Mesopotamia and Anyang is unfair, that Level 2 at Uruk was more than a thousand years after the first writing in Mesopotamia, so that by then there were certainly many people who were literate. Smith suggests that a fairer comparison would be between Uruk 2 and the Chinese case in the Han dynasty, similarly a thousand or so years after the first attested writing in China.

Smith notes that the oracle-bone inscriptions occasionally mention a character that can be read as either *xue* 學 "to study" or *jiao* 教 "to teach." Although this word can be read as either a noun or a verb, there is no evidence to suggest that it meant either a place or an activity where students were taught to read and write. For example, *Heji* 3250 can be transcribed as follows:

多子其延學疫，不邁大雨

If the Many Children continue practicing X, they will not run into heavy rain.³

³ Adam Smith, "The Evidence for Scribal Training at Anyang," in LI Feng and David Prager BRANNER ed., *Writing & Literacy in Early China; Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), p. 179.

Although the meaning of *yi* 疫, usually meaning something like “epidemic,” is not entirely clear, it is certainly the grammatical object of the verb “to study.” Therefore, there is no reason to think that this inscription has anything to do with learning to write. Similarly, there are several inscriptions from Huayuanzhuang dongdi 花園莊東地 that read “*Duo zi xue shang*” 多子學商 or “The many sons will study Shang.” According to SONG Zhenhao 宋鎮豪, *shang* 商 here is the name of a dance, so that what the “many sons” were studying was a type of dance and not anything to do with learning to read.⁴ Smith also examines in detail “practice inscriptions” (*xi ke* 習刻) at Anyang, and argues that many of the students who created them were just learning how to do divinations. This suggests that these students did not already know how to read and write, merely learning the technical vocabulary of divination, but rather that they were novice writers entirely. For this reason, Smith hypothesizes that writing at Anyang was restricted just to the cult of divination, a function very different from the administrative purposes to which it was put in Mesopotamia.

These scholars all adduced quite a bit of evidence in favor of their very different viewpoints, but all of them admit that based on present evidence both viewpoints can only be tentative. Most western sinologists prefer to wait for more evidence before coming to any conclusion about this problem.

A topic intimately related to the origin of writing in China is its earliest social uses. Quite a few scholars have expressed opinions about this topic, which can also basically be divided into two radically opposed views: administrative versus religious uses. Bagley and his student Haicheng WANG note the relatively complete evidence for the administrative uses of writing in the Ancient Near East.⁵ In Mesopotamia, the earliest uses of writing are clear; it was originally a form of accounting notation. Although, as noted above, evidence for a similar role is lacking in China, Bagley and Wang both argue that the organization of Anyang’s military and craft industries would have required written records; however, these records must have been written on either wood or bamboo, both of which are unlikely to have survived. It is only an accident of preservation and discovery that oracle bones and inscribed bronze vessels have managed to survive as the only manifestations of writing. According to Bagley and Wang, these artifacts have

4 SONG Zhenhao 宋鎮豪, “Cong jiaguwen kaoshu Shang dai de xuexiao jiaoyu” 從甲骨文考述商代的學校教育, in WANG Yuxin 王宇信, SONG Zhenhao 宋鎮豪 and MENG Xianwu 孟憲武 ed. *2004 nian Anyang Yin Shang wenming guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 2004 年安陽殷商文明國際學術研討會論文集 (Beijing: Shehui kexue chubanshe, 2009), pp. 224-25.

5 See Haicheng WANG, *Writing and the Ancient State: Early China in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

exerted more influence in the modern scholarly world than they ever did in the ancient world.

Tao WANG 汪濤 holds a similar view. In 1995, together with Nicholas POSTGATE and Toby WILKINSON, two archaeologists of the ancient world, he published in the influential journal *Antiquity* an article entitled “The Evidence for Early Writing: Utilitarian or Ceremonial?” (100810), in which they provided a survey of writing in the four civilizations in which it was independently invented. The authors noted that in each of these ancient civilizations, ritual records were inscribed on high prestige artifacts, whereas practical administrative records were normally written on disposable materials. Because the prestige goods were comparatively durable, the records of ritual have survived. On the other hand, the supports carrying the administrative records were usually disposed of as soon as they were no longer needed, and most of them have simply decomposed. Only in the exceptional circumstance of Mesopotamia, in which practical records were impressed into clay, have they survived. Wang and his two co-authors hypothesize that China also had many administrative records, and suggest that the written records that have been found there to date are but “the tip of a much larger iceberg of (principally) utilitarian texts written on less durable substances.”⁶

This viewpoint is not universally held by any means. Numerous western scholars point to oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions as evidence that the invention and early use of writing in China was intimately related with religious rituals. They hold that the primary motivation for the ancients to invent writing was to communicate with their ancestors. Perhaps the most influential proponent of this view is Mark Edward LEWIS. At the outset of his book *Writing and Authority in Early China* (101020), he offered the followed remarks concerning the invention of writing:

Some scholars speculate that these earliest script forms had been developed for use in daily activities, but that the evidence of this has vanished with the perishable materials to which such writings were committed. In fact, the early graph forms are clearly tied in form and significance to divination through the reading of lines, the brief formulae of the early inscriptions are a radically simplified form of a natural language, and the development of graphs can be directly traced to their role in religious cult. Whatever other roles writing played in Shang times, it was in the inscription of the religious activities of the rulers that

⁶ Nicholas POSTGATE, Tao WANG, and Toby WILKINSON, “The Evidence for Early Writing: Utilitarian or Ceremonial?” *Antiquity* 69 (1995), p. 474.

the graphs found their definitive import, and it was their dual function as link to the spirits and emblem of royal power that first placed them at the center of Chinese civilization.⁷

Other scholars have also emphasized that almost all evidence of writing in the Shang dynasty was limited to ritual uses, especially directed at communication with the ancestors. Recently, the renowned French sinologist Léon VANDERMEERSCH has published a book entitled *Les deux raisons de la pensée chinoise: Divination et idéographie* (101640; 2013), which is the summation of more than forty years of research on related issues. In this book, he argues that the invention and early uses of writing were exclusively related to the practice of divination. It is important to note that Vandermeersch's methodology is quite different from that of Mark Edward Lewis, based on his view that Chinese writing is a sort of natural language. Nevertheless, on the question of the ritual uses of writing, the two scholars' views are similar.


It is generally agreed that by the time of the Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, writing in China had already reached a relatively mature stage. However, because before this time there is no evidence of earlier stages of writing, it seems impossible to determine which of these two views described above regarding the early use of writing is correct. Indeed, it would seem that proponents of both views have been rather too extreme. It is to be hoped that future discoveries may turn up the sprouts of writing prior to the time of Anyang.

1.3 The Nature of Chinese Writing

For more than a century, western sinologists have vigorously debated the nature of Chinese writing. Simply put, the two sides of the debate have involved epigraphers and linguists (though these terms are of course broad generalizations). Epigraphers tend to emphasize the importance of the “shape” of Chinese characters, while linguists emphasize “sound.” It is well known that most current Chinese characters are phonograms (*xingshengzi* 形聲字), which is to say composed of a signfic and a phonetic component. Linguists assert that the phonetic component is the essential feature. However, epigraphers—and especially paleographers (i.e., those who study the ancient forms of characters)—tend to look to the time at which writing was invented, which is to say the oracle-bone inscriptions of the Shang dynasty, arguing that the writing system we see today underwent considerable development after this time. For this reason, they argue that one

⁷ Mark Edward LEWIS, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), p. 15.

ought not use the mature writing system in place since the time of the Han dynasty to characterize the earliest stages of the script.

The first western scholar to publish a study of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions was Frank CHALFANT, who, as noted above, published the pamphlet *Early Chinese Writing* (100050) in 1906. This was the first time that a tracing of an oracle-bone inscription appeared in the western scholarly literature. In this article, Chalfant gave a relatively complete description of Chinese writing, introducing the “six types of characters” of the *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字. However, because he was particularly interested in the just discovered oracle-bone inscriptions, he paid greatest attention to the category of “pictographs” (*xiangxingzi* 象形字) among Chinese characters. Much of his article consisted of a table presenting 403 different characters, including their present graphic shape, the signfic, the seal-script form, any more ancient form, as well as the “probable original form” of the graph. The great majority of these graphs are of animals and natural phenomena, the pictographic nature of which is rather easy to see; however, there are also not a few characters the analysis of which is faulty based on present paleographic standards. Some of these mistakes are based on the *Shuo wen*, such as saying that *zhi* 志 “will” is a combined semantograph (*huiyizi* 會意字) meaning “what the heart expresses.” Others are even more problematic, such as his saying that the archaic character , transcribed as *chang* 𪛗, means “the strange shape of a ghost.” However, in general, this essay of Chalfant’s reflected considerable paleographic expertise. Nevertheless, shortly after it was published, the young **Henri MASPERO** (1882-1945; see the biography appended to Chapter Four) published a review very pointedly critical of it (100070), saying that Chalfant had completely overlooked the phonetic component of Chinese characters. Maspero argued that language refers only to speech, and that speech requires sound and meaning, but does not necessarily require writing. Because of this, writing can only be regarded as secondary, the representation of language. Chalfant did not respond. In fact, he never published another article; having been very seriously injured in a traffic accident in Tianjin 天津 in 1912, he passed away in 1914 at the young age of 52. For his part, Maspero went on to become one of the most famous sinologists, making very important contributions to the study of Chinese linguistics, among several other fields.



As mentioned above, the facsimiles of oracle-bone inscriptions that Chalfant published attracted the interest of Lionel C. HOPKINS. Hopkins was a member of the British foreign service, and by the time he came to know of Chalfant’s oracle bones had already served in China for several decades. Already in 1881 he had published a translation of DAI Tong’s 戴侗 (fl. 1241) *Liu shu gu* 六書故 or *Rationale of the Six Types of Script* (100010). After the two men had become acquainted,

Hopkins purchased numerous oracle bones from Chalfant, and they exchanged a great many letters discussing various points regarding the transcription of the characters in them. Hopkins proved to be much more long-lived than Chalfant, living to the ripe old age of 98; as late as 1947, at the age of 92, he was still publishing articles on oracle-bone inscriptions.⁸ He published no fewer than 43 articles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* alone, most of them having to do with oracle-bone studies and other topics in paleography. This does not even take into account articles that he published in other journals, including especially the series of nine articles entitled “Pictographic Reconnaissances” that he published between 1917 and 1928, and that were mentioned above. In these articles, he presented detailed analyses of 240 different characters. As the title of the series indicates, he emphasized the pictographic nature of characters. Despite the impressionistic title of the series, it should be noted that Hopkins’ paleography was by no means uninformed. In fact, in the first installment of this series, published in 1919, he correctly pointed out on the basis of oracle-bone and early bronze inscription forms of the graph *tian* 天 “heaven,” i.e., 天, that the round head is actually the character *ding* 丁, which simultaneously depicts the human head and also serves as the phonetic component for the character. This is a very impressive insight regarding an important word and character, which even today is misunderstood by many paleographers.

In 1908, after retiring from the British foreign service, Hopkins returned to his native England, living in the English countryside with very little contact with the outside world—the very epitome of the amateur English scholar. His writing style was also quite different from that of professional scholars. For this reason, there are quite a few people who have discounted the quality of his scholarship. For example, the famous French sinologist Paul PELLIOT (1878-1945) was the long-time editor of the important journal *T’oung Pao*, and was known for his comments on the work of others. In 1922, he published a review of the first issue of the journal *Asia Major*, remarking on every article in the issue. With respect to Hopkins’ article “The Royal Genealogies on the Honan Relics and the Record of the Shang Dynasty” (200150), he wrote caustically: “I am quite embarrassed to mention this article; even if some of its contents are not certainly wrong, I do not believe in the texts that the author uses.”⁹

⁸ Lionel C. HOPKINS, “A Cryptic Message and a New Solution,” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 79.3-4 (1947): 191-98.

⁹ Paul PELLIOT, “Un nouveau périodique oriental: *Asia Major*,” *T’oung Pao* 22.5 (1923): 354-76; see especially pp. 357-58.

One of the most famous debates in western sinology also revolves around the nature of Chinese writing, and also appeared—at least for the most part—in the journal *T'oung Pao*. In 1936, Herrlee Glessner CREEL returned from several years of study in China to take up a teaching position at the University of Chicago. In that year, he published in *T'oung Pao* an article entitled “On the Nature of Chinese Ideography” (100290). In that same year, Creel published his famous *The Birth of China: A Survey of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization* (200420), introducing western readers to the civilization that was just then being unearthed at Anyang, including especially inscribed oracle bones. In “On the Nature of Chinese Ideography,” Creel used these oracle-bone inscriptions to argue that the original forms of a great many Chinese characters were directly related to their meaning. He also argued that this was true not only of the period of the oracle bones, but has continued to characterize Chinese writing throughout its long history. Because of this, no matter what Chinese dialect a person might speak, as soon as she sees a Chinese character she can understand its meaning. In fact, this holds true for Korean and Japanese people as well. In the writing of the three different languages—Chinese, Korean and Japanese—the pronunciations of characters are very different, but readers can still understand their meaning. Creel enthusiastically praised the pictographic nature of early Chinese writing and termed the characters “ideographs.” He held that in the course of the development of the script different characters were invented to express different related meanings, but that it is still possible to recognize the ideographic core binding them together. For instance, he pointed out that the original shape of the graph *wei* 韋 was . The square in the middle of this character originally expressed a “citadel,” and the two opposed “feet” (*zhi* 止) around it represented guards marching around it. Creel noted that there is a set of words that all represent extensions of this meaning; adding a *wei* 口 “enclosure” around the outside of the graph (i.e., *wei* 圍) gives the meaning “to surround”; adding a *xing* 行 “road” signific (i.e., *wei* 衛) gives the meaning “escort”; adding a *men* 門 “gate” signific (i.e., *wei* 闢) gives the meaning “watchtower”; adding a *jin* 巾 “cloth” signific (i.e., 幃) gives the meaning of a protective curtain. It is easy to see the relationship among these different characters and words. Even the word *wei* 違 featuring the locomotion signific *chuo* 辵, and meaning “to disobey, to contravene,” may well be related, deriving from the two feet in the original character  moving in different directions. A similar explanation might even be given for the character *wei* 緯 which means the “warp” threads of a woven textile, and thus, the threads that “go against” the main thread of the textile, though he admitted in this case that the relationship with the core character is not as easy to discern.

The year after Creel published this article, Peter A. BOODBERG (1903-1972), then professor of Chinese at the University of California at Berkeley published an article entitled “Some Proleptical Remarks on the Evolution of Archaic Chinese” (100320) in the newly established *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, in which he severely criticized Creel’s approach to the study of writing. Boodberg opened his article by dismissing the oracle-bone inscriptions for understanding Chinese writing, terming them an “obstacle” rather than aid to its understanding. He said that epigraphers typically emphasize the form of characters, but that this misses the crucial feature of writing, which is their sound. His own writing was very pointed, as can be seen from the second paragraph of the article:

The investigation of the corner-stone problem of Chinese epigraphy, the relation of graph to vocable, has indeed been rather retarded than advanced by the new finds. Most students in the field have chosen to concentrate their efforts on the exotically fascinating questions of ‘graphic semantics’ and the study of the living tissue of the *Word* has almost completely been neglected in favor of that of the graphic integument encasing it. As to the later (Chou) forms of the Chinese written language, they continue to be interpreted according to the principles laid down by native didactic and classificatory works, while less orthodox sources and evidence bearing chiefly on the ‘phonetic’ aspects of the script are consistently disregarded.¹⁰

Using the vocabulary of linguistics, Boodberg began with the premise that language refers to speech, and that writing is only secondary. He argued that Chinese writing was probably similar to the early writing of Mesopotamia in beginning with pictographs, but such pictographs that do not express their pronunciation cannot be considered as writing. Boodberg pointed to the graph 二 to explain this point. Not only in Chinese but in many other writing systems, this graph expresses the meaning “two.” However, if it does not carry a pronunciation (Boodberg reconstructed the archaic pronunciation of 二 as **nyɪ*), how would we know that this is not a symbol meaning something like “parallel” or “above and below”? It is not only now that we have to read the graph as *er* before we can understand it as “two,” but it would have been the same for readers in the Shang period. Otherwise, this would not count as “reading.” Because there were many words that could not be expressed pictographically, this period cannot be regarded as having true writing. Before long, writing in China—as did writing in Mesopotamia—discovered the basic principle of writing, which is to use pronun-

10 Peter BOODBERG, “Some Proleptical Remarks on the Evolution of Archaic Chinese,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 2 (1937), p. 329.

ciation to express the word; in other words, to use the pronunciation of some pictograph to express a different word that had the same sound but a different meaning. This is what studies of writing in China refer to as “loan characters” (*jiajiezi* 假借字). After discovering this basic principle of writing, Chinese writers—just as writers did in Mesopotamia as well as in all other civilizations in which writing was independently invented—very quickly invented an even more advanced method of creating characters, which was to use one component to represent the basic meaning and to use another component to represent the sound of the word. In studies of Chinese writing, these are termed the “signific” (or “radical”) and the “phonetic,” and the combined character is referred to as a “phonogram” (*xingshengzi* 形聲字). It was only by using loan characters and these phonograms that the sounds of words could be represented, and thus only then that speech (which is to say “language”) could be written down. Only when writing had reached this stage could it be termed true writing.

The year after Boodberg’s article was published, Creel published another article in *T’oung Pao*, this one entitled “On the Ideographic Element in Ancient Chinese” (100330; 1938). In this article, Creel admitted that the overwhelming majority of Chinese characters found in dictionaries are phonograms. However, he continued to maintain that pictographs represent the core of Chinese writing. He used a statistical method to demonstrate that in terms of incidence of characters used in traditional Chinese literature, pictographs made up a very high percentage. Furthermore, Creel noted that in addition to pictographs, Chinese writing also included a great number of semantographs (*huiyizi* 會意字), which are formed by combining two semantic components to create a new character. These characters, like pictographs, also do not represent the pronunciation. Creel invited Arno POEBEL (1881-1958), an expert on Sumerian language working at the University of Chicago’s Oriental Institute, to provide evidence for similar features in the Ancient Near East, showing that much writing there did not represent the sounds of words, which is to say that it could not directly represent speech.

Two years later Boodberg published, this time also in *T’oung Pao*, yet another rebuttal entitled “‘Ideography’ or Iconolatry?” (100340; 1940) in which he ridiculed Creel’s knowledge of linguistics, and said that not only Chinese semantographs, but also the Mesopotamian semantographs suggested by Poebel, did not exist. He insisted that many of the characters analyzed in Chinese studies of writing as semantographs actually also represent the sound of the word. After four years of extremely bitter back-and-forth debate (especially in the case of Boodberg’s criticism of Creel), the then editor of *T’oung Pao*, Paul Pelliot added an ed-

itorial note to Boodberg's article saying that the debate had already moved beyond the scholarly competence of *T'oung Pao*, and therefore *T'oung Pao* would not continue to publish similar articles. For him, the debate was finished.

In this editorial comment, Pelliot did not express his own views concerning this debate, though many readers assume that since Boodberg had the final word it is clear that Pelliot supported him. In his own scholarship, it is true that Pelliot always stressed the evolution of sounds within a language, and certainly would have had reservations concerning Creel's two essays. In a short note entitled "Brèves remarques sur le phonétisme dans l'écriture chinoise" appended after Creel's 1936 article, Pelliot said that the reason he had accepted that article for publication in *T'oung Pao* is because of its "real scientific merit."¹¹ He also said that because Creel had used the most recent archaeological evidence, his conclusions would not only replace the traditional explanations based on the *Shuo wen jie zi*, such as those of DAI Suiliang 戴遂量's *Zhongguo wenzi* 中國文字, but could even correct some mistakes in Bernhard Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (100160; 1923). Nevertheless, he still regarded Creel's discussion as insufficiently comprehensive, and so felt the need to add his own explanation. Creel had criticized Karlgren for saying that 90% of Chinese characters are phonograms, including both a signfic and a phonetic, and said that based on his analysis of characters used in literature, the actual percentage of phonograms did not surpass 44%. Pelliot noted that the two scholars' statistics were based on different materials, Karlgren analyzing dictionary entries while Creel surveyed literature. In reality, based on all characters, including those not found in dictionaries, he said that the incidence of phonograms (which he referred to as "phonosemantic characters") should be well above 90%. However, Pelliot also pointed out that the real question is just what sort of character a phonogram is.

But what seems to me to be lacking especially in Creel's article is a precise definition of what we mean by a character composed of a radical and a phonetic, or as I would abbreviate it, a phonosemantic character. It is evident that heretofore this term has covered two very different categories.¹²

In one category, the phonetic contributes only the sound of the word but nothing to the meaning. For example, 賴 *lai* "to rely upon," serves purely as a phonetic in 癩 *lai* "scabies," or 簫 *lai* "type of flute." Pelliot urged that in this category, the sound and the meaning of the word were not at all related, the signfic supplying

¹¹ Paul PELLIOT, "Brèves remarques sur le phonétisme dans l'écriture chinoise," *T'oung Pao* 32.2/3 (1936): 162-66.

¹² PELLIOT, "Brèves remarques sur le phonétisme dans l'écriture chinoise," 162.

only semantic information for the word. On the other hand, traditional analyses of Chinese writing also term another type of character as phonograms. These characters also have both a signfic and a phonetic, but the phonetic component obviously also contributes to the basic meaning of the word, while the signfic only limits its definition. Pelliot pointed to the series of words based on *wei* 韋 that Creel had cited in his article. The problem with this, said Pelliot, is that with a word such as *wei* 關, Creel denied that the 韋 component provided the pronunciation. This is clearly mistaken. Unfortunately, Pelliot's essay was very short, and he did not subsequently pursue this line of analysis, nor did the essay gain much attention.

When Paul Pelliot announced that *T'oung Pao* would not continue to publish further articles on this topic, it seemed to signal that the debate was over. Scholars inclined toward linguistics all believe that Boodberg was the winner of the debate. This was especially true of Boodberg's own students, while Creel essentially had no students to support him. It was not until several decades had passed that people began to take up the debate again. In the 1980s, the prominent scholar of Chinese linguistics John DeFRANCIS (1911-2009) published two books in which he set out to introduce the Chinese language and Chinese writing. The first of these books was published in 1984: *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy* (100580), at the beginning of which he provided the following definition:

Take the word "language." Linguists—not polyglots but scholars concerned with linguistics, the science of language—generally use the term in the restricted meaning of speech. In their view language must be clearly distinguished from writing. Speech is primary, writing secondary. ... The attempts by linguists to reserve the term "language" as a designation solely for speech is part of their persistent but largely unsuccessful battle against the confusion resulting from the popular use of the term to encompass diverse forms of communication without distinguishing the properties specific to each.¹³

In his *Visible Speech: The Diverse Oneness of Writing Systems* (100680), published in 1989, he announced:

The primacy of speech and the primacy of the graphic principle based on speech need to receive the categorical support of scholars concerned with the nature of writing and the progress of linguistic science.¹⁴

13 John DeFRANCIS, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), p. 37.

14 John DeFRANCIS, *Visible Speech: The Diverse Oneness of Writing Systems* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), pp. 217-18.

According to DeFrancis, and also to the majority of scholars of linguistics, this debate has already been settled; there is no need for further discussion. However, DeFrancis's hardline linguistic approach seems to have awakened those scholars who understand Chinese characters as "ideographs" (*biaoyi wenzi* 表意文字). Within a few years, this debate suddenly exploded again, this time on the pages of the *Journal of Asian Studies*. Chad HANSEN, a scholar of Chinese intellectual history, published an essay entitled "Chinese Ideographs and Western Ideas" (100750; 1993). He said that for fifty years linguists had refused to allow the use of the term "ideograph," but from his own standpoint as a philosopher, traditional Chinese theories of writing were not unrelated to western philosophy. Hansen pointed out that certain scientific experiments had shown that some Japanese readers who had suffered strokes variably lost their ability to read either *kanji* or *kana*, suggesting that these kinds of writing are processed in different parts of the brain. This would demonstrate that shapes and sounds are differentiated. After this article was published, it immediately drew a "letter to the editor" from J. Marshall UNGER (100770; 1993), a professor of Japanese linguistics at Ohio State University, criticizing the editors of the *Journal of Asian Studies* for having published this "creationist" essay, saying that the nature of Chinese writing had already been settled, that language is speech and that writing is nothing more than a means for expressing speech. Thereupon, Hansen gave his own reply (100760; 1993), saying that linguists and philosophers had two radically different approaches, and it was almost as if there was not a common language between them. He quoted the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 to the effect that two people engaged in a debate would find it very difficult to agree upon a standard of evidence.¹⁵

既使我與若辯矣，若勝我，我不若勝，若果是也，我果非也邪？我勝若，若不吾勝，我果是也，而果非也邪？其或是也，其或非也邪？其俱是也，其俱非也邪？我與若不能相知也，則人固受其黷闇。吾誰使正之？使同乎若者正之？既與若同矣，惡能正之！使同乎我者正之？既同乎我矣，惡能正之！使異乎我與若者正之？既異乎我與若矣，惡能正之！使同乎我與若者正之？既同乎我與若矣，惡能正之！然則我與若與人俱不能相知也，而待彼也邪？

Suppose you and I have had an argument. If you have beaten me instead of my beating you, then are you necessarily right and am I necessarily wrong? If I have beaten you instead of your beating me, then am I necessarily right and are you necessarily wrong? Is one of us right and the other wrong? Are both of us right or are both of us wrong? If you and I don't know the answer, then other people are bound to be even more in the dark. Whom shall we get to decide what is right? Shall we get someone who agrees with you to decide? But if he

15 Chad HANSEN, "A Reply to Unger," *Journal of Asian Studies* 52.4 (1993): 954-957. The translation of *Zhuangzi* here is taken from Burton WATSON, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 48.

already agrees with you, how can he decide fairly? Shall we get someone who agrees with me? But if he already agrees with me, how can he decide? Shall we get someone who disagrees with both of us? But if he already disagrees with both of us, how can he decide? Shall we get someone who agrees with both of us? But if he already agrees with both of us, how can he decide? Obviously, then, neither you nor I nor anyone else can decide for each other. Shall we wait for still another person?

It would seem from this that if two people hold different views, then there is no standard with which to settle the debate. However, Hansen did not quote the entirety of this passage from the *Zhuangzi*. As is often the case in the *Zhuangzi*, this passage continues with an ironic twist. The irony is hard to understand, but it is certainly the case that Zhuangzi was not being negative, that as long as one “lodges in no-man’s land” it is possible to reach a suitable conclusion.

化聲之相待，若其不相待。和之以天倪，因之以曼衍，所以窮年也。何謂和之以天倪？曰：是不是，然不然。是若果是也，則是之異乎不是也亦無辯；然若果然也，則然之異乎不然也亦無辯。忘年忘義，振於無竟，故寓諸無竟。

But waiting for one shifting voice [to pass judgment on] another is the same as waiting for none of them. Harmonize them all with the Heavenly Equality, leave them to their endless changes, and so live out your years. What do I mean by harmonizing them with the Heavenly Equality? Right is not right; so is not so. If right were really right, it would differ so clearly from not right that there would be no need for argument. If so were really so, it would differ so clearly from not so that there would be no need for argument. Forget the years; forget the distinctions. Leap into the boundless and make it your home.¹⁶

The final manifestations of this debate came shortly after Hansen and Unger’s exchange in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, in the form of two books: William G. Boltz’s *The Origin and Development of the Chinese Writing System*, published in 1994, and the translation of Qiu Xigui’s 裘錫圭 book *Wenzixue gaiyao* 文字學概要, *Chinese Writing*, which was published in 2000. These have certainly been the most in-depth studies concerning this topic. Boltz had also been involved in the debate over the origin of Chinese writing, described above. He was Peter Boodberg’s last student, and has completely accepted Boodberg’s theories regarding writing. He has espoused these theories in numerous articles, but his most mature expression of them, as well as his most pointed expression of them, can be seen in this book *The Origin and Development of the Chinese Writing System*.

In the Preface to *The Origin and Development of the Chinese Writing System*, Boltz says that he hoped to adopt a “linguistic view of writing,”¹⁷ which is to say

¹⁶ WATSON, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁷ William G. BOLTZ, *The Origin and Development of the Chinese Writing System* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1994), p. 17.

a viewpoint that does not consider anything other than how writing expresses speech. Thus, he was not concerned with such topics as the supports for writing or its social context. In the first half of the book, Boltz discussed the origin of writing, arguing that the invention of writing proper should have taken place very rapidly. As do other scholars, Boltz hypothesized that it originated with pictographic symbols, but—like Boodberg—he insisted that these symbols cannot be considered writing. Once the pictographic symbols came to have definite sounds attached to them, they would have very quickly reached the mature stage of true writing—which is phonograms. Boltz also hypothesized based on the numerous phonetic loans found in the Mawangdui manuscripts that during the Han dynasty Chinese writing had almost reached a turning point, at which time it might have turned away from the use of signifiacs and become an entirely phonetic writing system. However, he suggested that the reason Han writers did not do away with traditional characters is probably due to their conservative worldview.

In Boltz's detailed analysis of writing, he elaborated Peter Boodberg's core viewpoint, which is that Chinese writing does not have semantograms (i.e., *huiyizi*), that any character made up of multiple components must have at least one component that indicates its pronunciation. In this respect, he very easily pointed out the error of the *Shuo wen jie zi* example of analyzing *xin* 信 "sincere" as a semantogram (the *Shuo wen* defines the word as *cheng ye, cong ren cong yan, huiyi* 誠也。从人从言。會意 "sincerity, from 'man' and from 'word', a semantogram"). It is true that joining "man" and "word" together might give the notion of "sincerity," but we could also imagine many other meanings that such a combination might represent, such as "lecture," "criticize," "linguist," etc. Thus, it seems hard to imagine that "from man, from word" could efficiently represent "sincerity." Boltz further pointed out that *xin* is actually a phonogram, that its *yan* 言 "word" component not only has a pronunciation in the *yuan* 元 rhyme class, but the *Ji yun* 集韻 also contains a pronunciation for it in the *wen* 文 class, and it also has contact with words that rhyme in the *zhen* 真 class. *Xin* itself rhymes in the *wen* class, so that *yan* could serve as its phonetic.

With respect to other multiple component characters that are not so easy to analyze in this way, Boltz developed Boodberg's notion of polyphony. For instance, the *Shuo wen* defines the graph *ming* 名 "name" as "to command oneself, from 'mouth' and from 'evening'; in the evening, it is dark, and in the darkness you do not see each other and therefore you use your mouth to name yourself" (*ming zi ming ye, cong kou cong xi; xi zhe, ming ye; ming bu xiang jian, gu yi kou zi ming* 自命也。从口从夕。夕者，冥也。冥不相見，故以口自名). Although the *Shuo wen* does not specify the character as a semantogram, most scholars analyze it as such. However, Boltz argues that the component 口 is a polyphonic graph;

in addition to its normal pronunciation of *kou*, it has another pronunciation, which is *ming*. For this reason, in the characters *ming* 鳴 and *ming* 命, which both include a 口 component, it is that 口 component that serves as their phonetic.

Different from Boltz, Qiu Xigui maintained the traditional semantogram explanation in his *Chinese Writing*. To give just one example, he notes that three different characters are composed of the component *dao* 刀 “knife” and one other component, and that they should all be semantograms: a “knife” combined with *zi* 自 “nose” (written as 𠄎 in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions) gives the character *yi* 劓 “to cut off the nose (as a punishment)”; a “knife” with *ce* 冊 “bamboo strips” gives the character *shan* 刪 “to excise; to erase” (written as 𠄎 in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions); and a “knife” and *yu* 魚 “fish” gives the character *ji* 劓 “to clean fish” (written as 𠄎 in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions). Qiu could also have added the character *yue* 剕 “to cut off the leg (as a punishment)” to this list; although the character is now a phonogram, it was certainly originally a semantogram, the oracle-bone form being 𠄎. In all four of these cases, the pronunciation of the word written as a multi-component character has nothing to do with any of the components, at least at the earliest stage of the language; it is unreasonable to imagine that the single component 刀 could have had four different pronunciations associated with it, and it is also unlikely that any of the pairs *zi* 自 and *yi* 劓, *ce* 冊 and *shan* 刪, *yu* 魚 and *ji* 劓, or *da* 大 and *yue* 剕 could have any phonetic relationship. According to Qiu’s discussion, although Chinese writing began mainly with pictographs (perhaps including pictographic functions), after it had matured, this pictographic function almost never came into play again, and almost all newly created characters were phonograms.

Now, twenty years later, it seems that western scholars have still not reached consensus regarding the nature of Chinese writing. Linguists emphasize the pronunciation of Chinese words, and epigraphers emphasize the shapes of the characters used to write them. In my opinion, perhaps the most reasonable discussion has been given by David B. LURIE, a scholar of Japanese writing, in his article “Language, Writing, and Disciplinarity in the Critique of the ‘Ideographic Myth’: Some Proleptical Remarks” (101420; 2006). Lurie points out that many scholars’ disciplinary background and their scholarly impulses are intimately related. He takes a middle-road attitude, recognizing the relationship between language and speech, but also points to special characteristics of writing. He points to a simple example taken from contemporary Chinese writing: no one would deny that *ta* 他 “he” and *ta* 她 “she” are a single word (not to mention *ta* 它, “it,” *ta* 祂 “He” [i.e., god], etc.), and there is no way to distinguish them in speech, but in writing they are easily differentiable. In the study of Chinese writing, there are numerous similar examples. For instance, in oracle-bone inscriptions the graphs 牢 and 宰 are

commonly seen. As far as can be determined based on present evidence, these two graphs were not pronounced differently, and they were both eventually written with the single character *lao* 牢. In the oracle-bone inscriptions, both graphs refer to “penned animals,” but it is obvious that 牢 referred to a penned ox and 宰 referred to a penned sheep, the form of the graph providing important information. If linguists and epigraphers could cooperate in the future, we might expect important advances with respect to this debate.

1.4 Paleographic Method

Western scholarship has had a long history in studying Ancient Near Eastern archaeology and paleography, and has developed any number of commonly accepted research methods. Because these disciplines developed very early and there was no way for them to make use of mechanical means to reproduce the paleographic records (and this was especially so in the case of the wall inscriptions on Egyptian temples), the paleographers involved developed standards for making precise drawings, striving to record every single graph in exact detail, neither adding nor deleting a single stroke. When western scholars began to study Chinese paleographic materials, they naturally absorbed considerable influence from these Ancient Near Eastern practices; from the outset, they too emphasized the uses of line drawings.

As I will describe in the following chapter, when oracle bones were discovered western scholars began to collect them. Other than Frank Chalfant and Lionel Hopkins, mentioned above, **James Mellon MENZIES** (1885-1957; see the biography appended to Chapter Two) also made significant contributions to this new field of study. In publishing the oracle bones, and especially their inscriptions, western scholars used a different methodology from that of Chinese scholars. Chinese scholars had studied inscriptions on bronze vessels for several hundred years, and for at least one hundred years were experienced in making ink-squeezes or rubbings of the inscriptions. When these Chinese scholars encountered the inscribed oracle bones, they naturally employed the same technique to reproduce the inscriptions. Western scholars, who did not have the same control over this technique, employed instead the line drawing technique that was familiar to them from western paleographic studies. Even though they employed it to a rather high standard, with the development of the field of oracle bone studies in China, rubbings quickly became the accepted method of reproducing inscriptions. However, scholars now recognize that the ideal way of presenting these materials is to use both rubbings and line drawings, as done, for instance, in the



recent *Yinxu Huayuanzhuang dongdi jiagu* 殷墟花園莊東地甲骨, edited by the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.¹⁸ As I will introduce in Chapter Two of this book, the westerners who collected oracle bones were, for the most part, amateur scholars, and never made explicit the scholarly methods that they used. Professional scholars in the West have long held these amateur scholars in disdain, and so it was not until after the Second World War that scholars began to put forth an explicit paleographic methodology.

The first scholar to insist on paleographic methods was **Noel BARNARD** (1922-2016; see the biography appended to Chapter Three). One of the first scholarly articles that he published was entitled “New Approaches and Research Methods in Chin-Shih-Hsüeh” (300620; 1959). In it, he stated that the greatest problem encountered in the study of bronze and stone inscriptions was the widely scattered nature of their publications, and especially their uneven standards of publication; he suggested the need for a unified system of registration. He was just then in the course of collecting these sorts of materials, and this essay was his first attempt to impose standards. Furthermore, he emphasized that every inscription should be published not only in the form of a rubbing, but also that it should be supplied with an extremely strict transcription. In this article, he used the then just unearthed *Yi Hou Ze gui* 宜候矢簋 inscription (referred to by Barnard *I Hou Nieh kuei*, i.e., *Yi Hou Nie gui*) as an example. The figures below are taken from Barnard’s article: that on the left a rubbing of the inscription, and that on the right Barnard’s own transcription.

¹⁸ Zhongguo Shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 ed., *Yinxu Huayuanzhuang dongdi jiagu* 殷墟花園莊東地甲骨 (Kunming: Yunnan Renmin chubanshe, 2003).



Fig. 7: Rubbing of *Yi Hou Ze gui* 宜侯矢簋 inscription (left) and Noel Barnard's transcription of it (right); from Noel Barnard, "New Approaches and Research Methods in Chin-Shih-Hsüeh," *Tôyô kenkyûjo kiyô* 東洋文化研究所紀要 (Tokyo) 19 (1959), pp. 11 and 9.

In Barnard's discussion, he insisted that the graph  ought not be transcribed as *yang* 揚 "to raise up," as is customary in Chinese paleographic studies, but rather should be transcribed literally as . Otherwise, one runs the risk of departing too far from the original context of the script. However, Barnard's work also presents one rather curious anomaly in this respect: he insisted that the transcription should be supplied with an explicit punctuation, saying "I fully realize, of course, that once a Chin Shih Hsüeh specialist starts punctuating inscription texts, he commits himself to the interpretations that result. He becomes open to criticism if his punctuation is not accepted by his colleagues. However, I think you will agree that the time has passed for scholars of ancient texts to hide their ignorance in unpunctuated transcriptions."¹⁹ This is certainly different from standard western paleographic practice.

In "New Approaches and Research Methods in Chin-Shih-Hsüeh," Barnard also espoused what he termed the "principle of constancy of character structure" in studying the script. It was this principle by which he determined that the famous *Mao Gong ding* 毛公鼎 and many other bronze vessels that had appeared prior to the time of modern archaeological reportage were forgeries. Based on his

¹⁹ Noel BARNARD, "New Approaches and Research Methods in Chin-Shih-Hsüeh," *Tôyô kenkyûjo kiyô* 東洋文化研究所紀要 (Tokyo) 19 (1959), pp. 15-16.

own line drawings, Barnard said that the character *zhui* 隹 “it is” of the *Mao Gong ding* reveals the following different structures:

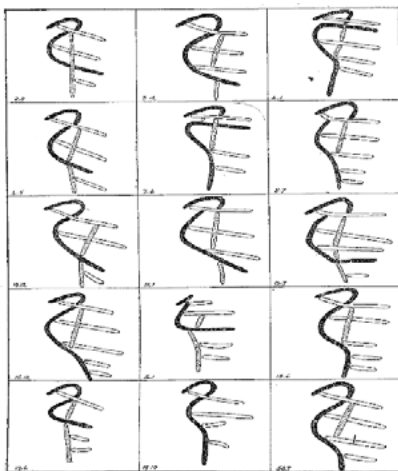


Fig. 8: Hand-drawings of the character *zhui* 隹 “it is” of the *Mao Gong ding* 毛公鼎; from Noel Barnard, “New Aoriaches and Rsearch Methods in Chin-Shih-Hsüeh,” *Tōyō kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 (Tokyo) 19 (1959), pp. 30.

Barnard said that this sort of inconstancy is never seen in inscriptions on vessels that have been archaeologically excavated, and it was because of this that he determined the *Mao Gong ding* to be a forgery. In Chapter Three of this book, in which I will discuss the achievements of western scholars in the field of bronze and stone inscriptions, I will have occasion to consider further Barnard’s views on the authenticity of bronze vessels. For now, it will suffice to say that his methodology was grounded in the established western tradition of using line drawings to study paleography.

At the same time that he published this article, Barnard was also pursuing research on the Chu Silk Manuscript (Chu *boshu* 楚帛書). In 1958, he published the first results of this research: “A Preliminary Study of the Ch’u Silk Manuscript—A New Reconstruction of the Text” (400310). In this study, he criticized the quality of the line drawing done by JIANG Xuanyi 蔣玄侁 (1903-1977), which

at that time was regarded as the best reproduction of the manuscript.²⁰ The diagram below compares the transcriptions done by Jiang and by Barnard, with each line written twice, that on the right being Barnard’s transcription and that on the left Jiang Xuanyi’s. Based on Barnard’s understanding, Jiang Xuanyi erred in viewing the original characters through the lens of later standard orthography, and because of this often added strokes to his transcription.

Fig. 9: Diagram comparing transcriptions of the Chu Silk Manuscript done by Noel BARNARD (to the right of each double column) and by JIANG Xuanyi 蔣玄怡 (to the left of each double column); from Noel BARNARD, “A Preliminary Study of the Ch’u Silk Manuscript—A New Reconstruction of the Text,” *Monumenta Serica* 17 (1958): following p. 8.

Fifteen years after this article was published, Barnard published the definitive, comprehensive results of his study of the Chu Silk Manuscript: *The Ch’u Silk Manuscript: Translation and Commentary* (400570; 1973). Because his methodol-

²⁰ JIANG Xuanyi 蔣玄怡, *Changsha: Chu minzu ji qi yishu* 長沙：楚民族及其藝術 (Shanghai: Meishu kaogu xueshe, 1949).

ogy seemed to be very scientific, it was quite influential in western scholarly circles. However, a basic problem with it is that it is almost impossible to make sense of his translation; from it, it would seem that the contents of the Chu Silk Manuscript were originally more or less a hodge-podge, without any meaning. In 1986, when LI Ling 李零 published his study *Changsha Zidanku Zhanguo Chu boshu yanjiu* 長沙子彈庫戰國楚帛書研究 (Study of the Chu Silk Manuscript from Zidanku, Changsha), it was finally possible to make sense of the manuscript, the contents of which turned out not to be mysterious at all.²¹

Other than Barnard, the western scholar who has made the greatest contribution to paleographic method is doubtless William G. Boltz. In a long series of articles, he has advocated a very strict methodology similar to that of Barnard. The clearest exposition of this methodology is probably to be found in his contribution entitled “The Study of Early Chinese Manuscripts: Methodological Preliminaries” (402780; 2000) to a volume stemming from the May, 1998 conference convened to discuss the then just published Guodian 郭店 *Laozi* 老子, and subsequently published in the conference proceedings: *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*. He wrote:

[M]anuscripts should be transcribed so as to reveal the exact form of what is written as precisely and unambiguously as possible without introducing any interpolations, alterations or other extraneous material based on assumptions, biases or subjective decisions of the scholar-transcriber or of anyone else. In a nutshell, this means that the transcription should reflect exactly what is written and nothing more.²²

Differing with this, Li Ling, Professor of Chinese at Peking University, has suggested that there are Chinese “reading practices,” such that Chinese scholars have traditionally used “exploded readings” (*po du* 破讀) to interpret texts, by which he means that they freely interpret characters that are written with related characters that they regard as being the intended word, and that these are not at all restricted just to the written word. In his words:

The ancient texts that we read originate from the Han dynasty, and especially the Eastern Han. The Eastern Han texts were amalgams of the modern script and ancient script texts, but regardless of whether they were modern or ancient, they were transcribed into modern

21 LI Ling 李零, *Changsha Zidanku Zhanguo Chu boshu yanjiu* 長沙子彈庫戰國楚帛書研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986).

22 William G. BOLTZ, “The Study of Early Chinese Manuscripts: Methodological Preliminaries,” in Sarah ALLAN and Crispin WILLIAMS ed., *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*, Early China Special Monograph Series 5 (Berkeley, 2000), pp. 39-40.

script, which is to say the clerical script of the Han dynasty that had evolved out of the Qin script. The ancient texts of that time, which is to say the Warring States texts) were also distinct from the practices of the editors, but they did not have the sorts of parenthetical notes that we use, so no matter what the original text looked like, and no matter how many different texts they joined together, what has been transmitted to today is in all cases a direct joining and a direct transliteration.²³

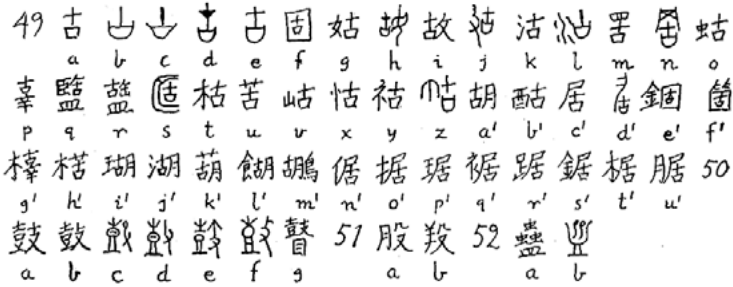
Among those western scholars who have directly discussed these topics, there is probably no one who would agree with Li Ling's viewpoint; they feel that not only do transcriptions based on such a broad "exploded reading" not reflect the exact nature of the original text, but that it is also often marked by subjective interpretations. Especially with regard to manuscripts written on bamboo and silk, they would argue that these "reading practices" are based on the premise that traditional Chinese interpretations from the Han dynasty on are correct; if the Warring States manuscripts differ from these traditional interpretations, it is acceptable, indeed even necessary, to use traditional texts to correct the readings of the manuscripts. The great majority of western scholars doubtless hold just the opposite premise, that if a manuscript and its traditional counterpart contain different readings, the manuscript—as the earliest witness we have for the text—should be regarded as more reliable. Apart from the above-mentioned study "The Study of Early Chinese Manuscripts: Methodological Preliminaries," Boltz has expressed the same idea in several other studies, especially those concerned with the textual tradition of the *Laozi*, such as "Textual Criticism and the Ma Wang Tui *Lao tzu*" (401240; 1984) and "The Fourth-Century B.C. Guodiann Manuscripts from Chuu and the Composition of the *Laotzyy*" (402600; 1999). Other scholars, such as Harold ROTH, Matthias RICHTER and XING Wen 邢文 have expressed more or less the same ideas, as can be seen in Roth's "Some Methodological Issues in the Study of the Guodian *Laozi* Parallels" (402980; 2000), Richter's "Handschriftenkundliche Probleme beim Lesen altchinesischer Manuskripte" (404120; 2005) and "Towards a Profile of Graphic Variation: On the Distribution of Graphic Variants within the Mawangdui *Laozi* Manuscripts" (404130; 2005), and Xing's "Towards a Transparent Transcription" (404200; 2005).

23 LI Ling 李零, "Guodian Chu jian yanjiu zhong de liangge wenti: Meiguo Damusi xueyuan Guodian Chu jian Laozi guoji xueshu taolunhui ganxiang" 郭店楚簡研究中的兩個問題: 美國達慕斯學院郭店楚簡老子國際學術討論會感想, in Wuhan daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiuyuan 載於武漢大學中國文化研究院 ed., *Guodian Chu jian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 郭店楚簡國際學術研討會論文集 (Wuhan: Hubei Renmin chubanshe, 2000), pp. 49-50.

1.5 Paleographic Reference Works Produced by Western Scholars

Chinese scholarship in general has always held reference works in high regard, and the fields of paleography and unearthed documents are certainly no exception to this. Chinese scholars have invested considerable time and energy in producing various dictionaries, concordances and bibliographies, which have been great assets to the scholarly world at large. To a very great extent, the advances that have been made in these fields today are based in large part on these contributions made by past scholars. The conditions under which western scholars and Chinese scholars work are radically different, especially since most of the paleographic materials themselves are physically stored in China. Thus, foreign scholars do not have the primary responsibility to publish these materials. Moreover, there is essentially no market for such reference works in the West, so that there has been relatively less work of this nature. However, it cannot be said that the past decades have been without noteworthy results. Western scholars have edited several specialized dictionaries, of which the most important are doubtless Bernhard Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (100160; 1923), and his *Grammata Serica* (100360; 1940) and *Grammata Serica Recensa* (100460; 1950), all already mentioned above. To this day, most western scholars continue to use *Grammata Serica Recensa* on a regular basis. This dictionary is different from most other dictionaries in that it is not arranged according to individual characters, but rather is based on word families. Its major organization centers on thirty-eight different rhyme categories into which Karlgren divides these word families. Each rhyme category is further sub-divided according to word families. The diagram below is taken from a single page of *Grammata Serica Recensa*. The groupings of characters include such paleographic features as the oracle-bone and bronze inscriptional forms, all of which were hand-written by Karlgren himself.

BERNHARD KARLGREN: GRAMMATA SERICA RECENSA



v'-y'. *id.* Shuowen says: take (no text) x. is Yin bone (A 5: 37,5, name); y' is Chou I (inscr. 54, sense of particle).

47 a. *ziã / ja / y e place name (Meng); loan for *id.* interrogative particle (Yi); loan for *dzjã / zja / sie awry, crooked (Sün); deflected, deprived (Shi); loan for 82 p. *dzjo / zjo / s ü slow (Shi). Gl. 114. The Seal has 'tooth' and 'city'. — b. vulgar form of the preceding (Tso). — c. *id.* oblique, perverse (Chouli), s. w. as a. above: phonetic abbreviated.

48 a—b. *sjã / sjã / s h ê lodging-house (Chouli); to rest in, stop (Shi); to halt, resting-place, encampment (Tso), a day's stage (Tso); to put down, deposit (Tso); loan for *sjã / sjã / s h ê put away, set aside, leave (Shi); let off (Shi); give, bestow (Tso); b. is Chou I (inscr. 148). The graph is a drawing. Gl. 223, 563. c. *sjã / sjã / s h ê give up, let go (Kuoyü), cf. the preceding.

49 a—e. *ko / kuo: / k u ancient (Shi). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 7,7, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 56), d. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of i. below), e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 329, sense of i.). The graph has 'ten' and 'mouth'. f. *ko / kuo- / k u fortified, secure (Li); securely, make sure (Shi); strong, firm (Shu); obstinate (Lunyü); mean (Lunyü); rude (Tso); old-established (Meng); certainly (Lunyü). Gl. 1800. g—h. *ko / kuo / k u father's sister (Shi); mother-in-law (Tso); loan for *id.* now, temporarily, for the present (Shi). h. is Chou I (inscr. 92). i—j. *ko / kuo- / k u fact, phenomenon, matter (Meng); cause, reason (Shi); because of (Shi); old intercourse (Shi); old (as opp. to new) (Yi). j. is Chou II/III (inscr. 255). k—l. *ko / kuo / k u name of a river (inscr. 147); loan for *id.* to buy, sell (Lunyü); for *ko / kuo: / k u summarily, careless (Li). l. is Chou II (inscr. 147). m—n. *ko / kuo: / k u net (Yi); loan for p. (Shi). Gl. 651. n. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328). o. *ko / kuo / k u cricket (Chuang). — p. *id.* guilt, crime (Shi). q. *ko / kuo: / k u salt (Chouli); salty marsh (Tso); loan for *id.* slack, remiss, defective (Shi). Gl. 301. — r—s. *id.* a kind of vessel (inscr. 165). s. is Chou II (inscr. 165, rad. 22 instead of 108 and 121; many scholars read this archaic char. as fu, which is not admissible because of the initial in the phonetic).

Fig. 10: Bernhard KARLGREN, *Grammata Serica recensa* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1972), p. 33.

As the diagram shows, the word family based on the character *gu* 古 “ancient” also includes such related words as *gu* 固 “fortified, secure,” *gu* 姑 “father’s sister,” *gu* 故 “fact, phenomenon, matter,” *gu* 沽 “name of a river,” *gu* 罟 “net,” *gu* 蛄 “cricket,” and *gu* 辜 “guilt, crime,” all of which occur in pre-Qin literature.²⁴ Every character’s form is written as a, b, c, etc., under which Karlgren provides, a reconstruction of the archaic pronunciation and the basic meaning, also listed as a, b, c, etc. In cases of special meanings, he also indicates in what works these meanings are found; *Shi* indicates the *Shi jing* 詩經, *Li* indicates *Li ji* 禮記, *Shu* indicates *Shu jing* 書經, etc. The structure of the 1957 *Grammata Serica recensa* is the same as that of the 1940 *Grammata Serica*, but the definitions Karlgren gave are often quite different. It was only after he edited *Grammata Serica* that he undertook his well-known translations of the *Shi jing* and *Shang shu*, on which he worked for many years. Not only did he produce English translations of these important works, but he also published his own notes, in which he surveyed and evaluated the work of the great Qing-dynasty evidential scholars.²⁵ Karlgren himself pointed out that these notes were all incorporated in *Grammata Serica recensa*, and thus that this latter work marks a great advance over the previous *Grammata Serica*.

Although *Grammata Serica recensa* continues to be used by the great majority of scholars working on ancient Chinese texts, it has never been very convenient to use. Unlike most Chinese dictionaries, which are based on signific (radical) and stroke number, or most western dictionaries, which are based on the alphabet, as noted above the organization of *Grammata Serica recensa* is based on traditional rhyme classes. Moreover, although the subsequent published form of the dictionary includes an index, the index is by no means complete, basically only listing the head character of any word family. If you want to find the character *gu* 辜 “guilt, crime,” you have to recognize that it belongs to the word family based on the character *gu* 古, and is listed under that character.

Moreover, over the last sixty years, studies of ancient Chinese phonology have undergone great advances. Although Karlgren was one of the founders of this field, subsequent scholars have pointed out problems in his phonetic reconstructions, and many contemporary scholars would no longer use them. Because of this, in 2006 and 2009 Axel SCHUESSLER edited two different dictionaries that

²⁴ The definitions given here are those given in *Grammata Serica recensa*.

²⁵ Bernhard KARLGREN, “Glosses on the Kuo feng Odes” (100380; 1942); “Glosses on the Siao ya Odes” (100400; 1944); “Glosses on the Da ya and Sung Odes” (100410; 1946); “Glosses on the Book of Documents” (100420; 1948); “Glosses on the Book of Documents II” (100440; 1949).

have received an enthusiastic welcome from contemporary scholars: *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* (101440), and *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa* (101490). Already in 1987, Schuessler had published *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese* (100630), in which he used evidence from oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions as well as traditional Chinese texts (especially the *Shi jing* and *Shang shu*) to produce this dictionary specialized on the language of the Western Zhou period. This dictionary already marked a breakthrough in our understanding of the history of Chinese. However, given the limitations at the time he published that dictionary (all of the materials of which were collected by Schuessler himself) and of the publishing world (the English text was typed by Schuessler himself, and he hand-wrote all of the Chinese characters), this dictionary could only be regarded as an experiment.

The materials included in *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* and *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese* are far more extensive than those in Karlgren's *Grammata Serica recensa*, taking full advantage of discoveries from the fifty years between their respective dates of publication, and it is also far easier to consult; not only is its basic organization alphabetical, but it also has an "English index" that indexes every word's English meanings and which can therefore serve as a sort of English-Chinese dictionary. In addition, the dictionary also boasts a more than 100-page long preface that provides an overview of linguistics, divided into the following chapters: "Old Chinese and Etymology," "Morphology and Word Derivation," "M[iddle] C[hinese] and Their Old Equivalents," "Initial Consonants," "Final Consonants," as well as four chapters that survey linguistic contacts between archaic Chinese and neighboring languages. Although this preface makes use of technical linguistic terminology, the discussion is quite clear throughout, easily understandable to all readers. *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa* was also conceived of as a companion to the *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*. Like Karlgren's *Grammata Serica recensa*, this handbook is also organized according to thirty-eight different rhyme categories, and presents only a word's modern Chinese, middle Chinese, Han Chinese and archaic Chinese pronunciations, but does not include any meanings at all. Therefore, to find both a word's reconstructed pronunciation and its meaning, it is necessary to consult both *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese* and *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*. *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese* also includes two appendices, one a comparison table of the entry numbers used for characters in this work and in *Grammata Serica recensa*, and one a pinyin index of all of the words included in the work, making it a very handy dictionary.

1.6 Conclusion

Western scholars have had long experience working with Ancient Near Eastern paleography and unearthed documents, especially with Egyptian hieroglyphics and Egyptian temple and stele inscriptions, and have developed a clear methodology for dealing with these materials. Western sinologists have also produced pioneering research in Chinese linguistics, to the extent that they still stand in the first rank of this field. They have also had over one hundred years of experience researching Chinese paleography and unearthed documents. Although the results of this work cannot be compared with those of Chinese paleographers in terms of either quantity or quality, they have not been negligible by any means. As the following chapters will show, in the various fields of oracle-bone inscriptions, bronze and stone inscriptions, and bamboo and silk manuscript studies, western scholars have made important contributions, spurring Chinese scholars to reconsider many of their traditional notions and methods. With respect to the study of Chinese paleography *per se*, perhaps the most important contribution has been western scholars' insistence on methodology. Unlike Chinese paleographers, who have often been content to accept a traditional notion of "reading practices," western paleographers have emphasized the need for strict transcription of the original text. Chinese scholars often assume that later Chinese orthography represents the "standard" form of characters, and that the archaic forms of the characters seen in unearthed documents merely reflect an incipient stage, the "sprouts" of these standard characters. Perhaps because western scholars have not undergone the same training as Chinese scholars with respect to Chinese writing, they have never had a particularly fixed notion of standards, and consider it natural that different periods can have different standards. Indeed, it is not at all clear that prior to the Han dynasty there was anything like a "standard" way of writing, each different area and each different social group being free to write in its own style, such that copyists at two different times or working under two different conditions might write an individual character very differently. This view entails important consequences for the understanding of paleography itself, but even more so for the understanding of unearthed documents. If unearthed documents differ from received texts, Chinese scholars often seek to smooth the differences, treating them as but two different versions of a single text. They believe that the traditional readings that have developed since the Han dynasty were based on an unbroken transmission, so that they are well grounded. If unearthed documents reveal differences with traditional texts, the traditional texts should be seen as the standard with which they can "correct" the unearthed text. Western scholars who do not share this basic premise of a standard text emphasize instead the value of the unearthed text itself. Needless to say, this difference

should not be exaggerated: Chinese paleographers have very often also used unearthed documents to correct problems in received texts, and western scholars have also often based their readings of unearthed documents on the received tradition. It is just to say that, in general, the two different scholarly backgrounds and methodologies more or less reveal this sort of difference. Of course, there are advantages and disadvantages to both methodologies, and the contributions of Chinese scholars cannot be denied. However, western scholars have also not been without important contributions, and the spirit of western scholarship is certainly to be admired. In the following chapters, we will examine in detail these contributions to the fields of oracle-bone inscriptions, bronze and stone inscriptions, and bamboo and silk manuscript studies.

AN OUTLINE OF WESTERN STUDIES OF CHINESE PALEOGRAPHY: BIOGRAPHIES

Émmanuel-Édouard CHAVANNES (1865–1918)



Émmanuel-Édouard CHAVANNES was born on October 5, 1865 in Lyon, France. He received a classical elementary and secondary school education there, studying Latin and Greek. In 1885, he was accepted into the *École normale supérieure* in Paris, where he studied philosophy. After graduating in 1888, he began his study of Chinese. In 1889, he was sent to work in the French embassy in Beijing, where he remained for four years. In 1893, he returned to France, where he was appointed as professor of Chinese at the *Collège de France*. There he trained some of France's most prominent Sinologists, including Paul PELLIOT (1878-1945), **Henri MASPERO (1883-1945)**; see the brief biography appended to Chapter Four), and Marcel GRANET (1884-1940). As the most eminent Sinologist in France, he served as secretary of the *Société Asiatique* from 1895 until 1910, and from 1904 until 1916 he also served as co-editor of the authoritative journal *T'oung Pao*. Moreover, in 1915, he was elected to be president of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. He was equally renowned outside of France, including in China, where from 1906 on he served as an honorary member of the Shanghai Oriental Association (Shanghai dongyang xuehui 上海東洋學會). Unfortunately, his career was interrupted first by the outbreak of World War I in 1914, and then before the end of the war by his premature death, on January 29, 1918. He was only 52 years old.

At the end of the nineteenth century, France had already had a long tradition of Sinology, even though at the time most Sinologists were still amateur scholars, not having undergone specialized training in Chinese studies. Chavannes had initially wanted to study Chinese intellectual history, in line with his university training. However, since James LEGGE (1815-1897) had already translated the Four Books and the Five Classics, on the advice of Henri CORDIER (1849-1925) he switched his focus to Chinese history. Cordier recommended that he translate one of the twenty-four standard dynastic histories, and Chavannes decided to translate the first of them, the *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the historian) of SIMA Qian 司馬遷 (145-c. 89 B.C.). Upon arriving in China in 1889, he immediately set himself to this work, and in the following year published a translation of one chapter, the “Feng shan shu” 封禪書 (Treatise on the *feng* and *shan* rituals).¹ He continued his work on the *Shi ji* translation for fifteen years, in all translating forty-seven chapters in five large volumes (1895, 1897, 1899, 1901 and 1905).² Although the translation was never completed, it is still regarded as marking the highest standards of scholarship.

Even before publishing the first volume of his *Shi ji* translation, Chavannes had already published other scholarship. His first two books, published in 1893 and 1894, set the direction that his subsequent research would take. The first book was entitled *La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine au temps des deux dynasties Han*, a description of stone carvings in Shandong, and especially of the famous Wu Liang shrine 武梁祠. The second book, *Voyages des pèlerins bouddhistes: Les Religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les Pays d'Occident, mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang par I-tsing, traduit en français*, was a translation of the *Da Tang xiyu qiu Fa gao seng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 by the Tang-dynasty Buddhist monk YIJING 義淨 (635-713),³ which included an in-depth study of Central Asia. With this second book, Chavannes won the first of his two Prix Stanislas Julien, awarded to the finest work of Sinology. In addition to his translations, his research largely concerned archaeology and religion. In 1907-08, he returned to China, exploring archaeological sites across north China, and made specially intensive investigation of the religious pilgrimage site of Taishan 泰山 in Shandong. After returning to Paris, he published his renowned

1 Édouard CHAVANNES, “La Traité sur les sacrifices Fong et Chan de Se ma Ts'ien traduit en français,” *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society* 1890, xxxi-95.

2 Édouard CHAVANNES, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1901, 1905).

3 Édouard CHAVANNES, *Voyages des pèlerins bouddhistes: Les Religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les Pays d'Occident, mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang par I-tsing, traduit en français* (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1894).

study *Le T'ai chan: essai de monographie d'un culte chinois*,⁴ which provides a comprehensive account of the 252 temples and shrines on the mountain, with translations of both inscriptions and also all relevant historical documents. This work remains a classic of western Sinology, really the first work in historical archaeology. Chavannes maintained his interest in the religious significance of famous mountains throughout his life. One of his posthumous publications was a study entitled “Le Jet des dragons,” which examined the ancient and medieval Chinese custom of “throwing dragon slips” (*tou long jian* 投龍簡)—the inscribing of prayers on stone and metal slips and throwing them into mountain caves. Among his many other publications was also a translation of *Tai shang Lingbao yu gui ming zhen da zhai yan gong yi* 太上靈寶玉匱明真大齋言功儀 (Retreat of the sworn alliance with the True, from the Jade case of the Divine Jewel), by DU Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933), which marked western scholarship’s first use of the *Dao zang* 道藏 (Daoist canon).⁵

Not only did Édouard Chavannes study China’s famous mountains, he also recorded and studied stele inscriptions of all periods from throughout China,⁶ including also the Tang-dynasty Nestorian stele (*Da Qin Jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo bei* 大秦景教流行中國碑, which had so long fascinated western scholars.⁷ Most of the steles studied by Chavannes date to the Tang and Song periods, or even to the Qing dynasty, and thus are outside the purview of the current book. However, worthy of note is his early study “Les inscriptions des Ts’in” (300020; 1893), which was a lengthy study of the ten inscribed steles erected by Qin Shi Huangdi after his unification of China in 221 B.C. Although Chavannes was only 28 years old at the time that he published this article, and had been studying Chinese for only five years, nevertheless it still stands as one of the finest western studies of Chinese paleography.

Chavannes’s contribution to the study of Chinese paleography was by no means limited to his translations of stone inscriptions. He also made important contributions to the study of records written on wooden slips. Already in 1905,

4 Édouard CHAVANNES, *Le T'ai chan: essai de monographie d'un culte chinois* (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1910).

5 Édouard CHAVANNES, “Le Jet des dragons,” *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale* 3 (1919): 53-220.

6 Attached to Henri CORDIER’s obituary of Chavannes is a still incomplete bibliography of his publications, listing 75 books and articles and more than 100 books reviews; see Henri CORDIER, “Necrologie,” *T'oung Pao* 18 (1917): 114-147; see also H. CORDIER, “Édouard Chavannes,” *Journal Asiatique*, 11.11 (1918): 197-248.

7 Édouard CHAVANNES and P. PELLLOT, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine,” *Journal Asiatique*, 10.18 (1911): 499-617; 10.20 (1913): 99-199, 261-392.

his 70-page long study “Les livres chinois avant l’invention du papier” (100040) included an appendix in which he introduced to the scholarly world the Han-dynasty wooden slips that Marc Aurel STEIN (1862-1943) had collected on the first of his expeditions into Xinjiang. When Stein formally published his account of this expedition in 1907 (400080), he invited Chavannes to edit the slips written in Chinese: “Appendix A: Chinese Documents from the Sites Dandân-Uiliq, Niya and Endere Translated and Annotated by Eduard Chavannes” (400090). When Stein collected even more wooden slips during his second expedition in 1906-07, the British Library formally invited Chavannes to write the report on them, which he published in 1913 as *Les Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan Oriental* (400120). Not only this, but also in 1911 he introduced western scholars to the newly discovered oracle-bone inscriptions, publishing an article “La divination par l’écaille de tortue dans la haute antiquité chinoise (d’après un livre de M. Lo Tchen-yu)” (200010) in the journal *Journal Asiatique*.

Among western scholars, it is still quite rare to find one who has made contributions to all of the different sub-fields of Chinese excavated texts covered in the current book: paleography, oracle-bone inscriptions, bronze and stone inscriptions, and bamboo-and-silk manuscripts. The work of Édouard Chavannes is found at the head of every chapter. Already at the time when oracle-bone inscriptions and wooden slip manuscripts were first discovered in China, Chavannes recognized their great scholarly significance; not only did he establish a firm foundation on which western studies of these sources could build, but he also had an important influence on the development of the fields in China. Unfortunately, he did not live to see the many great paleographic discoveries that continued to take place in China throughout the twentieth century.

Lionel Charles HOPKINS (1854-1952)



Lionel Charles HOPKINS was born on March 20, 1854, in what was then the London suburb of Hampstead. His father Manley HOPKINS was a businessman and amateur poet, his elder brother Gerard Manley HOPKINS (1844-1889) was one of the great English poets of the nineteenth century, and the life and work of all seven of his other siblings also revolved around language and poetry. Aside from managing his own insurance company, his father also served for a period as England's consul-general in Hawaii, which may also have had a formative influence on young Lionel. In 1871, Lionel also entered the English foreign service, and in 1874 was dispatched to Beijing, where he served as a translator at the English embassy. He would go on to serve in Beijing and various treaty ports for the next thirty-four years: in 1895, he was appointed vice-consul in Shanghai, in 1897 he was consul-general in Qufu 曲阜, and in 1901 became consul-general in Tianjin 天津. In 1908, he retired from the diplomatic service, on account of ill health, and returned to England. Already in 1886, his family had moved from their home in Hampstead to the small village of Haslemere in southeastern Surrey. Lionel joined two of his sisters there, from which he would very rarely venture forth for the next almost half century. The local inhabitants of the village recounted that his time was split between his library and his garden. The only trip he would take, once a year, was to London to attend the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he long served as the vice-president. Also, almost on an annual basis, he published at least one article, and often two, in the journal of the society. Despite his early retirement on the grounds of ill health, he proved to be extremely long-lived and clear-minded to the end, continuing his family's passion

for language and poetry (he particularly enjoyed writing limericks). He finally passed away on March 11, 1952, just before his 98th birthday.

From the beginning of his study of China, Lionel Hopkins was always fascinated with Chinese writing. Already in 1881, he translated the *Liu shu gu* 六書故 (Rationale of the six types of script) of DAI Tong 戴侗 (*jinsi* 1241) of the Song dynasty, adding a preface of his own in which he explained the rationale behind the writing system. In 1889, he published a very different type of book: *Guan hua zhinan* 官話指南 (Directions for Mandarin). This was a Chinese-language primer that had been prepared for Japanese living in Beijing, edited in 1881 by WU Qitai 吳啟太 and ZHENG Yongbang 鄭永邦, who were interpreters at the Japanese embassy in Beijing. After Hopkins translated it into English, it was adopted for use by most of the diplomatic corps in Beijing. In the 1895 issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, he published his first scholarly article: “On the Origin and Earlier History of the Chinese Coinage.”¹ Although this article hinted at Hopkins’ work that would come in the field of Chinese paleography, it would be almost twenty years before he published another article.

In 1906, he learned that Frank H. CHALFANT (1862-1914) had just published a study entitled *Early Chinese Writing* (100050). Hopkins thereupon wrote to Chalfant, the letter primarily concerning ancient Chinese coins, for which Chalfant shared Hopkins’ interest. In return, Chalfant sent Hopkins a copy of his *Early Chinese Writing*. In 1908, just before he was about to retire to England, Hopkins visited the Anglo-Chinese University (Ying Hua daxue 英華大學) in Tianjin, and saw there twenty-five oracle bones that WANG Zonglie 王崇烈 (d. 1918), the son of WANG Yirong 王懿榮 (1845-1900), had donated to the university. The university invited Hopkins to write an article in English, introducing these artifacts to the alumni of the school. His essay was included in that year’s issue of the school’s *College Echoes*. Faced with character shapes that he had never before encountered, Hopkins drew to a considerable extent on Chalfant’s *Early Chinese Writing*. From this time, these two men began an exchange of letters that would continue for several years, even after Hopkins had returned to England. Bit by bit, Chalfant also arranged for Hopkins to purchase oracle bones; in all, Hopkins would purchase about 900 pieces, which he eventually bequeathed to the University of Cambridge in England.²

1 L.C. Hopkins, “On the Origin and Earlier History of the Chinese Coinage,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, April 1895: 317-78.

2 See LI Xueqin 李學勤, QI Wenxin 齊文心 and AI Lan 艾蘭 (Sarah ALLAN) ed., *Yingguo suocang jiagu ji* 英國所藏甲骨集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985, 1991).

After returning to England, Hopkins began his paleographic researches in earnest. In 1911, he published the first of his forty-three articles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: “Chinese Writing in the Chou Dynasty in the Light of Recent Discoveries” (100090). In this article, he introduced some of the oracle-bone inscriptions in his own collection. Although both SUN Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848-1908) and Frank Chalfant had already pointed out that the oracle bones dated to the Shang dynasty, and the year before LUO Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940) had already traced them to Anyang, nevertheless in this first scholarly study Hopkins wrote of them as Zhou-dynasty artifacts. The next year he published “The Chinese Bronze Known as the ‘Bushell Bowl’ and Its Inscription” (300090), a study of the Victoria and Albert Museum’s *Jin Hou pan* 晉候盤, better known in the West as the “Bushell Bowl,” and its 538-character long inscription. From the standpoint of what we now know about ancient Chinese bronze vessels, it is easy to see that this vessel and its inscription is a forgery. Although Hopkins’ first two scholarly efforts were thus not very successful, this did not stop him from continuing to publish. In just the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* alone, he published forty-three separate articles in all, the last one coming in 1947, when he was already 93 years old: “A Cryptic Message and a New Solution” (200780).

The research of Lionel Hopkins was not always correct, but it was always extremely entertaining. He had a playfulness of expression that is not at all easy to characterize, but which is well on display in the final paragraph of “A Cryptic Message and a New Solution,” his last published article.

De minimis non curat lex. Does this dictum hold good elsewhere than in Courts of Law? Is my hypothetical battle between the Pro-batrachians and the Pro-arachnids perhaps one of such minims? Will the contest be adjudged as of Lilliputian dimensions and as an inadequate criterion of archaeological or even epigraphic values? However the verdict may go, there will remain the old proverb counseling the cobbler to stick to his last, and that counsel I may claim to have observed to the last.

Hopkins did indeed “observe to the last” his fascination with Chinese writing, and especially the oracle-bone inscriptions of the Shang dynasty.

Bernhard KARLGREN (1889-1978)



Klas Bernhard Johannes KARLGREN was born on October 15, 1889 in Jönköping, Sweden. An eminent Sinologist, paleographer and linguist, he is particularly noted for his contributions to the reconstruction of ancient Chinese phonology. At the age of 18, he entered the University of Uppsala, initially studying Russian. However, in the course of his studies he encountered the great phonologist J.A. Lundell (1851-1940), who suggested to him that he should switch his focus to Chinese instead. Because Sweden was lacking in a professor of Chinese at that time, after graduating from Uppsala Karlgren went to St. Petersburg to study with the Russian Sinologist A.I. IVANOV (1878-1937). In 1910, he then went to China, first living in Taiyuan 太原, Shanxi, and then after the fall of the Qing dynasty moving to Beijing. During his time in China, he split his time between studying modern Chinese and doing research on Chinese dialects. He also assiduously collected material that would be useful for his future research (for instance, while visiting Xi'an 西安 he obtained a complete set of rubbings of the Tang-dynasty classics engraved on the steles housed at the Forest of Steles 碑林). According to one account, he alternately taught French and English to supplement the income from his research fellowship, demonstrating as well his command of modern languages. In 1912, he returned to Europe to pursue his graduate studies, first studying with Lionel GILES (1875–1958) in England and then afterwards going to Paris to study with the two great Sinologists Édouard CHAVANNES (1865–1918); see the brief biography appended to this chapter) and Paul PELLIoT (1878–1945), as well as the Indologist Sylvain LÉVI (1863–1935). In 1915, he completed a four-volume dissertation entitled *Études sur la phonologie chinoise*, which offered a reconstruction of the sounds of medieval Chinese. In the very next year, this dissertation won the Prix

Stanislaus Julien, awarded for the finest work in western Sinology. In 1918, he received an appointment as professor at the University of Gothenburg in his native Sweden, where he remained until 1939, when he became director the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm. He remained in that position until 1959, when upon reaching the mandatory retirement age of 70 he was required to step down. However, even after retirement, he continued to pursue his research. He passed away in Stockholm on October 20, 1978, at the age of 89.

Karlgren's renown came early through his research on ancient and medieval Chinese phonology, and his contributions in this field are well known to everyone interested in the Chinese language. Already in 1930 his doctoral dissertation was translated into Chinese by three of the leading young linguists of that day: Y.R. CHAO 趙元任 (ZHAO Yuanren; 1892-1982), LUO Changpei 羅常培 (1899-1958) and F.K. LI 李方桂 (LI Fanggui; 1902-1987).¹ After this, many of his other scholarly works were also translated into Chinese, including *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* (1923)² and *Philology and Ancient China* (1926).³ His *Grammata Serica*, which established the foundation for the study of Chinese word families, was also translated into Chinese.⁴ While editing *Grammata Serica*, Karlgren also made substantial use of paleographic evidence, including both oracle-bone and bronze inscriptional forms of characters. Although he never devoted himself to the study of paleography, he was not uninterested in the topic, publishing in the 1936 issue of the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* a short piece entitled "On the Script of the Chou Dynasty" (300310). From this time through the end of the 1950s, he was also the western world's leading scholar of ancient Chinese bronze vessels, publishing numerous catalogs and studies, such as "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions" (300240; 1934), "On the Date of the Piao-Bells" (300250; 1934), "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes" (300300; 1936), "Huai and Han" (300390; 1941), "Bronzes in the Hellström Collection" (300490; 1948), "Some Bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities" (300510; 1949), "Some New Bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities" (300560; 1952), and "Bronzes in the Wessén Collection" (300610; 1958). Most of these studies and catalogs were published in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, and many of them were well over a

1 GAO Benhan 高本漢, *Zhongguo yinyunxue yanjiu* 中國音韻學研究, ZHAO Yuanren (Y.R. CHAO) 趙元任, LUO Changpei 羅常培, and LI Fanggui 李方桂 tr. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1930); Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan 1994; Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2007).

2 GAO Benhan 高本漢, *Zhongguo yu yu Zhongguo wen* 中國語與中國文, ZHANG Shilu 張世祿 tr. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933).

3 GAO Benhan 高本漢, *Zhongguo yuyanxue yanjiu* 中國語言學研究, HE Changqun 賀昌群 tr. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934).

4 GAO Benhan 高本漢, *Han wen dian* 漢文典, PAN Wuyun 潘悟雲 *et al* tr. (Shanghai Shanghai Cishu chubanshe, 1997).

hundred pages long. At the same time, he also turned his attention to ancient Chinese texts, producing heavily annotated translations of several important texts, including especially the *Shangshu* 尚書 (Elevated scriptures) and *Shi jing* 詩經 (Classic of poetry). These works have also all been translated into Chinese.⁵

Prior to passing away, Karlgren was fortunate enough to see the publication of the Mawangdui *Laozi* 老子, the text of which he was just then translating. However, he did not get to make much use of these manuscripts. In the 1930s, the Swedish archaeologist Sven HEDIN (1865-1952) invited Karlgren to edit the Han-dynasty wooden slips that he had discovered at Juyan 居延. Hedin's long letter to Karlgren has been translated by Lothar von FALKENHAUSEN, and is full of human and scholarly interest. Falkenhausen has also translated Karlgren's reply. Karlgren turned down this invitation, saying on the one hand that his teaching duties were too heavy, and on the other hand that his health at the time was not ideal. However, he claimed that the main reason for declining to undertake this sort of editorial work was because he felt that his paleographic skills were not up to it. He wrote:

As concerns the assignment, then, I will tell you clearly and honestly right away that I am certainly not the best person for it. My production, after all, lies essentially in the domain of pure historical linguistics, and that would be something completely different. While I am convinced that I can bang just as loudly as any other European (except for Pelliot and possibly Maspero, I can never in any way compare to a decent Chinese expert on writing when it is a question of interpreting the devilish cursive script (grass writing). Chavannes, who translated Stein's first and second shipments, had incompetent collaborators, which is why that large book belongs among his worst things. Luo Zhenyu has had to revise his readings thoroughly. Conrad's readings are quite good, but he would never in his life have been able to get them straight if he had not had the assistance of the latterly famous Cai Yuanpei, who by a quirk of fate was just then enrolled at Leipzig.⁶

For his ability to recognize his own limitations, as well as for all of his many contributions, Bernhard Karlgren can surely serve as a model of scholarship.⁷

5 GAO Benhan 高本漢, *Gao Benhan Shi zhushi* 高本漢詩注釋, DONG Tonghe 董同龢 tr. (Taipei: Zhonghua congshu bianshen weiyuanhui, 1960); *Gao Benhan Shu jing zhushi* 高本漢書經注釋, CHEN Shunzheng 陳舜政 tr. (Taipei: Zhonghua congshu bianshen weiyuanhui, 1970).

6 Lothar von FALKENHAUSEN, Review of *Bernhard Karlgren: Ett Forskarporträtt*. Svenska Akademiens Minnesteckningar; Svenska Akademiens Handlingar, vol. 21 by Göran Malmqvist, *China Review International* 8.1 (SPRING 2001): 26.

7 For a detailed biography of Bernhard Karlgren, see Göran MALMQVIST, *Bernhard Karlgren: Ett Forskarporträtt*. Svenska Akademiens Minnesteckningar; Svenska Akademiens Handlingar, vol. 21 (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1995), or Malmqvist's own English-language translation: *Bernhard Karlgren: Portrait of a Scholar* (Bethlehem, Penn.: Lehigh University Press, 2011).

Tsuen-hsui TSIEN 錢存訓 (1909-2015)



Tsuen-hsui (T.H.) TSIEN 錢存訓, who was born in 1909 in Taixian 泰縣, Jiangsu, lived a very long and very eventful life. Before ever entering university, he had already participated as a soldier in the Nationalist government's Northern Expedition. With that experience behind him, in 1928 he entered Jinling University 金陵大學 (the current Nanjing University 南京大學), where he studied with LIU Guojun 劉國鈞 (1887-1978), attending his courses "The History of Chinese Books" and "Library Classifications." After graduating in 1932, he worked first at the Jiaotong University 交通大學 library in Shanghai, and then at the Nanjing Project Reference Department (at that time, the Nanjing subsidiary of the Peiping Library), of which he subsequently became director. With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the National Library of China made plans to ship 30,000 rare books to the United States for safekeeping, and T.H. Tsiens was put in charge of this task. At the beginning of December 1941, late at night he personally oversaw the loading of the books on an American naval destroyer. Just days later, Japanese forces attacked the American base at Pearl Harbor, bringing about war between Japan and the United States. However, by then the American destroyer with the Chinese rare books was already at sea, and the books eventually arrived safely in Washington, where they were stored at the American Library of Congress. Tsiens later recounted that if the Japanese authorities in Shanghai had known what he was doing, he would certainly have been shot for it. Fortunately, not only did he himself survive this adventure, but he lived to an extremely old age, working well past the age of 100. In 2011, at the age of 102, he published his last book:

Collected Writings on Chinese Culture.¹ On April 9, 2015, he passed away in Chicago at the age of 106.

In 1947, T.H. Tsien was sent to the United States to oversee the repatriation of the Chinese rare books. Unfortunately, just at that time, the Chinese political situation deteriorated, and the Republic of China government determined that the books should remain in the United States for the foreseeable future. Tsien himself also had to remain in the United States. At that time, **Herrlee G. CREEL** (1905-1994; see the brief biography appended to Chapter Three) of the University of Chicago, who was pursuing research at the Library of Congress at the time and had come to know Tsien there, invited him to come to Chicago to bring order to the great number of books he had bought in China. Tsien accepted this invitation, and at Chicago split his time between directing the Chinese library and studying as a graduate student, earning an M.A. degree in 1952 with a thesis on Chinese translations of western works, and then a Ph.D. degree in 1957 with a dissertation entitled “The Pre-Printing Records of China: A Study of the Development of Early Inscriptions and Books.” Five years later, in 1962, a revised version of this dissertation was formally published as *Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions* (100490). This book provided a comprehensive overview of all Chinese writings down to the invention of printing in China, touching on all the different topics in paleography known at the time. Tsien demonstrated a vast knowledge not only of traditional Chinese literature, but also of all the relevant archaeological discoveries known at the time. Although the University of Chicago Press, the publisher of the book, had initially been reluctant to publish it, regarding it as overly specialized, the book became an instant classic, quickly selling out three printings. In 2004, at the age of 95, Tsien issued a revised and expanded second edition, in which he was able to take account of the remarkable archaeological discoveries that had been made between 1960 and 2000. Thus, this book has provided a foundation in Chinese paleography for several generations of western students. The first edition of the book was translated numerous times into Chinese (in both traditional and simplified character versions), Korean and Japanese, and the second edition was also immediately translated into Chinese.²

1 Tsuen-hsuin Tsien 錢存訓, *Collected Writings on Chinese Culture* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2011).

2 QIAN Cunxun (TSIEN Tsuen-hsuin) 錢存訓, *Shu yu zhu bo: Zhongguo gudai de wenzi jilu* 書于竹帛：中國古代的文字記錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2004).

Tsuen-hsui Tsien's contributions to the history of Chinese books is by no means limited to just this one book. In 1978, when he reached the mandatory retirement age of 70 at the University of Chicago Library, he accepted another invitation, this time from Joseph NEEDHAM (1907-1995), to author the volume on paper and printing for Needham's monumental *Science and civilisation in China*. Over the next six years, Tsien devoted himself to this task, publishing volume 5.1 of *Science and civilisation in China* in 1984, the first volume that did not appear under Needham's own name, but had only the name Tsuen-hsui Tsien on the title page.³ As with *Written on Bamboo and Silk* before it, this volume too not only won widespread praise from reviewers, but was also one of the top selling books of Needham's series.

³ Tsuen-hsui TSIEN, *Science and civilisation in China*, Vol. 5.1: *Paper and Printing* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1984).

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2 ENGRAVED IN SHELL AND BONE: NARRATIVE

From their very inception, western oracle-bone studies have developed in tandem with those in China. However, there are also a few peculiarities deserving of introduction. No sooner were oracle bones discovered than did several western missionaries and consular officials stationed in north China begin to collect them and publish them, men like Frank H. CHALFANT (1862-1914), Samuel COULING (1859-1922), **James Mellon MENZIES** (1885-1957; see the biography appended to this chapter), **Lionel Charles HOPKINS** (1854-1952; see the biography appended to Chapter One), and Harry E. GIBSON. These amateur scholars were extraordinarily enthusiastic, and were the leading force of western oracle-bone scholarship through the conclusion of the Second World War. Although the professional Sinologists of that time, such as **Édouard CHAVANNES** (1865-1918; see the biography appended to Chapter One), Paul PELLIOT (1878-1945), Marcel GRANET (1884-1940), **Henri MASPERO** (1882-1945; see the biography appended to Chapter Four), and **Bernhard KARLGREN** (1889-1978; see the biography appended to Chapter One), paid some attention to oracle-bone inscriptions, none of them devoted any in-depth research to them, some of them even maintaining a skeptical attitude. With the end of the war, the era of the amateur scholar passed as well. At that time, the political situation within China was extremely unstable, so that the scholarly world there was not very active, and western scholarship on oracle bones also passed through a period of neglect. In the course of the twenty-five years from 1946 until 1969, there were only twenty articles published in this field. Of these, only the studies of astronomy and chronology by Homer H. DUBS (1892-1969), then professor of Chinese at Oxford University, made much of a scholarly contribution. However, with the onset of the 1970s, western oracle-bone studies experienced a great development. The next three decades could be said to be the Golden Age of western oracle-bone scholarship, during which the bulk of the work done by **Paul L-M SERRUYS** (1912-1999; see the biography appended to this chapter), **David N. KEIGHTLEY** (1932-2017; see the biography appended to this chapter), and **Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA** (see the biography appended to this chapter) was completed. During this time, there were more than two hundred studies published, encompassing virtually every aspect of oracle-bone studies, from linguistics to theology, and from political history to chronology. Especially important were Fr. Serruys's "Studies in the Language of the Shang Oracle Inscriptions" (201210, 1974) and David Keightley's *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (201490, 1978), which to this day remain

western scholarship's most important contributions to this field. Since 2000, western scholarship on oracle-bone inscriptions has entered into another period of relative quiet. On the one hand, this has been due to the preceding generation of scholars retiring without leaving behind a cohort of students working in the field, and in part, too, to developments within China, where the “fever for bamboo and silk manuscripts” has caused many western Sinologists to focus on the later Warring States, Qin and Han periods. This trend has also developed in tandem with that in China. In the following survey of more than one hundred years of western oracle-bone studies, I will be able to discuss in any detail only the most important and most representative of the more than 350 publications listed in the bibliography appended to this chapter. In addition, I will provide brief biographies of the leading scholars, Menzies from the early years, and Serruys, Keightley and Takashima from the Golden Age of western oracle-bone studies.¹

2.1 Frank H. CHALFANT

Just three years after Liu E 劉鶚 (1857-1909) had published *Tieyun cang gui* 鐵雲藏龜 (Tieyun's collected turtles), Frank H. Chalfant introduced the western scholarly world to these new inscriptions with his pamphlet *Early Chinese Writing* (100050; 1906). Chalfant was an American Presbyterian missionary, then living in Suixian 濰縣, Shandong. The pamphlet was the text of a report that he made to the Carnegie Museum of his native Pittsburgh, which he was visiting on home leave. According to Chalfant's report, when the peasants in Anyang, Henan discovered writing on the oracle bones at the very end of the nineteenth century, they originally thought to take them to Beijing to sell. However, just at that time, Beijing was under siege during the Boxer Rebellion, so the peasants decided instead to take their wares to Suixian, which was a well-known center of the antiques market. In Suixian they sold the oracle bones to Chalfant and his friend Samuel Couling, an English Baptist missionary who was also living there.

¹ In the course of writing this chapter, I consulted Tao WANG's article “Oracle Bones and Western Sinology” (203350, 2001). After the first draft of the chapter had been published, I was able to consult ZHU Yanmin 朱彥民, *Yinxu kaogu fajue yu jiaguwen yanjiu (xia)* 殷墟考古發掘與甲骨文研究（下） (Beijing: Huamulan wenhua chubanshe, 2012), and especially the section in that book entitled “Euro-American Scholars' Studies of Oracle-Bone Inscriptions” (“Ou-Mei xue-zhe de jiaguwen yanjiu” 歐美學者的甲骨文研究; pp. 374-430), which provides an extremely detailed analysis, in some cases overlapping with the discussion provided here.

In *Early Chinese Writing*, Chalfant was mainly concerned with introducing western readers to the traditional six types of Chinese characters, but he also appended hand copies of a dozen or so of the pieces that he had purchased, providing preliminary transcriptions and translations of the inscriptions. Unfortunately, because of the incipient stage of knowledge of oracle-bone inscriptions at the time, many of Chalfant's explanations were quite wrong. For instance, his figure 14, which is presented in the Preface to this book, is an ox scapula bone on which are inscribed four simple "weekly" divinations of the sort found in thousands of inscriptions (one of which is quite fragmentary), as he notes, differing only in the date of the divination. The top-most of these reads: "Crack-making on *guimao* (day 10), Zheng divining: In the next ten-day week there will be no misfortune" (*guimao bu Zheng zhen: xun wang huo* 癸卯卜爭貞旬亡禍). Chalfant's rendering reads: "(Date) divination: I ask the Serpent-father to enquire." Although his pamphlet incited a blistering critique from Henri Maspero (100070; 1908), who at the time was still an unknown young scholar, but who would go on to become the most famous early China scholar of the 1920s and 30s, one should say that Chalfant's explanation of the nature of Chinese writing was generally accurate, despite the misinterpretation of this oracle-bone inscription. Maspero argued that Chalfant had overlooked the relationship between writing and language, a complaint that has continued to characterize debates between linguists and paleographers among western Sinologists, and which has already been explored in Chapter One above.

According to *Fifty Years of Studies in Oracle Inscriptions* by TUNG Tso-pin (i.e., DONG Zuobin 董作賓 [1895-1963]; 200950; 1964), Chalfant began to collect oracle bones already in 1904, and by 1908 he and Couling had already collected 1678 pieces, although a fairly considerable portion of those were fakes. Both Couling and Chalfant did quite a bit of research on the pieces in their own collections. Unfortunately, in 1912 Chalfant was involved in a traffic accident in Tianjin 天津, which left him paralyzed and unable to work any longer. When he passed away two years later, his *Early Chinese Writing* was the only thing that he had written. His friend Samuel Couling was quite well known in China. Not only was he the editor of the *New China Review*, but he was also the author of the *Encyclopaedia Sinica*.² However, even the prolific Couling published only a single article on oracle-bone inscriptions: his "The Oracle Bones from Honan" (200080; 1914), which was the text of a talk that he gave in Shanghai and which provides a reminiscence of his and Chalfant's collecting activities.

² Samuel COULING, *Encyclopaedia Sinica* (1917; rpt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

Although Chalfant and Couling did not publish their own collections of oracle bones, they were eventually published in the 1930s by Roswell S. BRITTON (1897-1951), an American who was then living in Shanghai: *Yin Bone Photographs* (200310; 1935), *Seven Collections of Inscribed Oracle Bone* (200600; 1938), and *The Hopkins Collection of Inscribed Oracle Bone* (200630; 1939). Even though by this time, Chalfant had already been dead for over twenty years, Britton very generously listed him as co-author of the latter two books, indeed even placing Chalfant's name first. Britton made a great effort to confirm the authenticity of the pieces published in these three catalogs, which mark the end of the first western encounter with oracle bones and their inscriptions.

2.2 James Mellon MENZIES

The Canadian missionary James Mellon MENZIES came to his interest in oracle bones slightly later than did Couling and Chalfant, but his contribution to the study of these inscriptions was much greater. Menzies arrived in China in 1910, and shortly thereafter was posted to what was then called Zhangde fu 彰德府, the present-day Anyang 安陽. One day in 1914, riding his horse through the village of Xiaotun 小屯 near Anyang, he noticed the local peasants digging up what they referred to as “dragon bones.” He immediately started collecting these for himself, and three years later published 2,369 pieces in his *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin* (200110; 1917). At this time, Canada was engaged in World War I, and Menzies was drafted into the Canadian army. He served in France as an interpreter for the Chinese expeditionary labor force posted there. Thus, his collecting activities in China were interrupted. However, in 1920 he returned to Anyang, and in 1924, 1926 and 1927 purchased great quantities of oracle bones from local persons, the bulk of which were included in his *Yinxu buci houbian* 殷虛卜辭後編, which he completed in 1928 (but which was not formally published until 1972).³ It is unclear just how many oracle bones Menzies collected at this time. HU Houxuan 胡厚宣 (1911-1995) counted 31,516 pieces, but it is likely that the total number was still greater than this. In 1928, when the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica began formal archaeological excavations at Anyang, Menzies often

³ In 1928 Menzies edited *Yinxu buci houbian* 殷虛卜辭後編, but the oracle bones that he had collected in it were not formally published until 1972; see MING Yishi 明義士 (James M. MENZIES), XU Jinxiong (HSŪ Chin-hsiung) 許進雄 ed., *Yinxu buci houbian* 殷虛卜辭後編 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1972).

visited the excavation sites, and became acquainted with all of the principal archaeologists, in particular striking up a friendship with DONG Zuobin 董作賓 (1895-1963); these two friends would continue to exchange letters throughout their lives. In 1932, Menzies accepted an appointment as professor in the Chee-Loo University (Qi-Lu daxue 齊魯大學) in Jinan 濟南, Shandong, where he would continue to teach until 1937. In 1933 he published a book in Chinese, *Jiagu yanjiu chubian* 甲骨研究初編 (First edition of oracle bone studies), providing detailed accounts of the discovery and collecting of oracle bones, as well as adding his own in-depth studies of their inscriptions and the culture of the Shang dynasty.⁴ In 1937, he returned to Canada for a year of home leave. While he was there, the Japanese occupied north China. With no way for him to return to China, Menzies entered the University of Toronto graduate school, serving as a student assistant to William Charles WHITE (1874-1960), who was the professor of ancient Chinese culture there as well as the curator of the Chinese artifacts in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. In 1942, Menzies received a Ph.D., with a dissertation entitled “The Bronze Age Culture of China and ‘Shang Ko’” (200701). After completing his studies, the political situation in China made it impossible for him to return to China. Most of the oracle bones that he had collected there remained in China, subsequently entering into three different museum collections (2,390 pieces in the Nanjing Museum, 8,168 pieces in the Shandong Provincial Museum, and 20,364 pieces in the Palace Museum in Beijing). He had taken 5,170 pieces with him to Canada, where they remain in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, and were finally published in the 1970s under the editorship of James Chihsiung HSÜ (XU Jinxiong 許進雄).

2.3 Lionel Charles HOPKINS

Lionel C. HOPKINS was an English consular officer, first arriving in China in 1874, and serving as an interpreter at the British embassy in Beijing. He remained in China for 35 years, serving in various treaty ports. Although he retired from the foreign service in 1908 ostensibly on account of his health, after returning to England he lived to the ripe old age of 98. Not only was he long-lived, but he continued to work throughout his life, publishing his last paper in 1947, at the age of 92. He was fascinated with Chinese writing, publishing his first study—a translation of the *Liu shu gu* 六書故 or *Reasons of the six types of script* by the Song dynasty

4 MING Yishi 明義士 (James M. MENZIES), *Jiagu yanjiu chubian* 甲骨研究初編 (Jinan: Qi-Lu daxue jiangxue shiyinben, 1933; rpt. Jinan: Qi-Lu shushe, 1996).

scholar DAI Tong 戴侗 (*jinsi* 1241)—as early as 1881. In 1908, before returning to England, he visited the Anglo-Chinese University (Ying-Hua daxue 英華大學) in Tianjin, where he met WANG Chonglie 王崇烈 (d. 1918), the son of WANG Yirong 王懿榮 (1845-1900), famed as the discoverer of the inscriptions on oracle bones, and where he saw the twenty-five pieces of oracle bone that Wang Chonglie had donated to the university. From this time on, Hopkins gave all of his attention to the study of oracle-bone inscriptions. He was an amateur scholar, living in the English countryside, with very little relations with the outside world. Nevertheless, throughout his life, even in retirement, he remained in communication with the Chinese scholarly world. On the one hand, he corresponded with Frank Chalfant, the two men exchanging a great number of letters; on the other hand, he purchased all of the books on paleography that were published in China. From 1911, when he published “Chinese Writing in the Chou Dynasty in the Light of Recent Discoveries” (100090), until 1947, when he published his final study, “A Cryptic Message and a New Solution” (200780), he published 43 articles in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, the articles running the gamut from “Dragon and Alligator” (200060; 1913), to the genealogy of the Shang royal house (“The Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty, B.C. 1766-1154” [200090; 1917] and “The Royal Genealogies on the Honan Relics and the Record of the Shang Dynasty” [200150; 1922]), to mythology and astronomy (“The Dragon Terrestrial and the Dragon Celestial: A Study of the *Lung* 龍 and the *Ch'en* 辰”; published in two parts in 1931 and 1932: 200210, 200230), to agriculture (“The Cas-Chrom V, the Lei-Su: A Study of the Primitive Forms of Plough in Scotland and Ancient China” [200370; 1935] and 200440; 1936)), to the hunts engaged in by the Shang kings (“Miscellaneous Communications: Records of David’s Deer as Hunted by Shang-Yin Sovereigns” {200650; 1939}), to the dances of shamans (“The Shaman or Chinese Wu: His Inspired Dancing and Versatile Character” [200730; 1945]), he was interested in all aspects of Shang culture. Perhaps the most famous of his articles was his nine-part study “Pictographic Reconnaissances: Being Discoveries, Recoveries, and Conjectural Raids in Archaic Chinese Writing,” published between 1917 and 1925 (100110, 100120, 100130, 100140, 100150, 100180, 100190, 100210, 100220), in which he analyzed 160 different characters seen in oracle-bone inscriptions. As the title of this series suggests, Hopkins was particularly interested in the pictographic aspects of the earliest Chinese writing, but his analyses were not naive in the least. He had a very strong paleographic foundation, that extended from the oracle-bone inscriptions themselves through the Kangxi dictionary (*Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典). Indeed, although his own writing is characterized by a certain literary playfulness (his brother was the famous English poet Gerard Manley HOPKINS [1844-1889], he was careful to

cite the most up-to-date scholarship from China; in his “Pictographic Reconnaissances” he made full use of the inscriptions published by LUO Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940) in 1913 (*Yinxu shuqi qianbian* 殷墟書契前編), 1914 (*Yinxu shuqi jinghua* 殷墟書契菁華) and 1916 (*Yinxu shuqi houbian* 殷墟書契後編), and in the articles he published during the 1930s he also regularly cited the work of Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978).

Through the end of the Second World War, western scholarship on oracle-bone inscriptions is represented almost entirely by Hopkins. Chalfant died in 1914 before he could make any real contributions to the field, and although Menzies was very active while he was still in China, after his return to Canada he essentially never again published any scholarship. Moreover, the professional Sinologists did not show much interest in the oracle bones. From the scholarly standards of today, Hopkins work may seem immature, but based on the standards of his own time many of his viewpoints were path-breaking, and his scholarly spirit remains inspiring. Aside from Hopkins, the most prolific publisher of research on oracle bones was Harry E. GIBSON, an American who lived in Shanghai during the 1930s. In *The China Journal of Sciences & Arts* and the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, both published in Shanghai, he published more than a dozen articles. Many of the titles are similar to the articles of Hopkins: “The Picture Writing of Shang” (200290; 1934), “Divination and Ritual during the Shang and Chou Dynasties” (200350; 1935), “Agriculture in China During the Shang Period from Information Collected from the Inscribed Shang Bones” (200550; 1937), “Hunting During the Shang Period” (200570; 1937), “Music and Musical Instruments of Shang” (200580, 1937), “Domesticated Animals of Shang and their Sacrifice” (200610; 1938), etc. However, the level of Gibson’s scholarship was far beneath that of Hopkins, the articles all being very short and of a popularizing nature. Although Gibson was living in Shanghai and was the curator of archaeology at the Shanghai Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society, in particular responsible for the ancient coins in the collection of that museum, he made virtually no use of Chinese sources in his scholarship, most of which was quite impressionistic. Nevertheless, his articles found a certain readership among the expatriate missionaries and businessmen then living in China.

2.4 Édouard CHAVANNES and Henri MASPERO

In the first thirty years after the discovery of oracle-bone inscriptions, virtually all western contributions to their study came from missionaries such as Frank Chalfant, Samuel Couling and James Menzies or from those such as Lionel Hop-

kins and Harry Gibson who had long worked in China, but who were not professional Sinologists. True, in 1911 Édouard Chavannes, then the most eminent Sinologist in the West, published a short essay entitled “La divination par l’écaille de tortue dans la haute antiquité chinoise (d’après un livre de M. Lo Tchen-yu)” (200010). Both the main title and the sub-title of this essay are significant: the first part of the essay provides a brief survey of the practice of turtle-shell divination in ancient China, but limited to anecdotes in received literature. The second part of the essay introduces Luo Zhenyu’s *Yin-Shang zhenbu wenzi kao* 殷商貞卜文字考 (A study of the Yin-Shang divination characters). However, at that time, both in China and in the West, oracle-bone inscriptions had received only the most preliminary attention, and so Chavannes’ account was extremely cursory, barely touching on the contents of the inscriptions. As mentioned above, three years before Chavannes’ essay was published, his own student Henri Maspero had published a review of Frank Chalfant’s *Early Chinese Writing*. Maspero’s main purpose was to criticize Chalfant’s paleography, arguing that he had committed a basic error in confusing language and writing. In the final section of the review, since Chalfant’s pamphlet had cited a dozen or so oracle bones, providing hand copies and translations, Maspero discussed the historiographical uses to which oracle-bone inscriptions could be put, but in doing so he was profoundly skeptical of them. Twenty years later, in another book review he again touched on the historical significance of oracle-bone inscriptions. The review, published in the *Journal Asiatique* (200190; 1927), was of the work *Recherches sur les os du Ho-Nan et quelques caractères de l’écriture ancienne* by TCHANG Fong (i.e., Zhang Feng 張鳳; 1887-1966), which was Tchang’s doctoral dissertation at the University of Paris. Maspero insisted that the genealogy of Shang kings seen in the oracle-bone inscriptions was considerably at variance with that contained in the *Shi ji* 史記 (*Records of the historian*). According to Maspero, the inscriptions mentioned only eighteen of the thirty-one Shang kings in the *Shi ji*. What is more, the names of two of these, Xiao Ding 小丁 and Zu Wu 祖戊, were different from the names given in the *Shi ji*. Maspero suggested that this would come as no surprise to western historians, who were familiar with such sources as Manetho’s third century B.C. history of Egypt or Berosus’s history of Babylon; paleographic sources available at that time had already shown that the traditional sources contained numerous errors and omissions. Maspero suggested that the historiographical situation in China would not be exceptional, and that historians should strictly differentiate between the evidence found in unearthed documents from that in traditional sources. This attitude was quite different from the attitude of many contemporary Chinese historians, and particularly that of WANG Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927),

who had just issued his famous “dual-evidence methodology” (*erchong zhengjufa* 二重證據法).

In the 1933 issue of the *Journal Asiatique*, Maspero published reviews of three different books dealing with oracle-bone studies. The first discussed DONG Zuobin’s *Xin huo buci xieben* 新獲卜辭寫本 (Newly obtained divination versions) (200250), while the second addressed two books by GUO Moruo 郭沫若: *Jiagu wenzi yanjiu* 甲骨文字研究 (Research on oracle-bone characters) and *Zhongguo gudai shehui yanjiu* 中國古代社會研究 (Research on ancient China’s society) (100260). Maspero’s review of Dong’s book was very short, saying merely that Dong’s “newly obtained inscriptions” did not add much to what was already known about oracle bones. His review of Guo’s two books was rather longer, and his criticism more pointed. On the one hand, Maspero praised Guo for adopting theoretical approaches from sociology and anthropology to address ancient Chinese history. However, on the other hand, he suggested that Guo was too creative, both books lacking a solid evidentiary basis. Three years later, these two reviews were translated into Chinese and published in the journal *Wenxue nianbao* 文學年報 (*Annals of literature*), together with a response by Guo Moruo.⁵

2.5 Homer H. DUBS

After the Second World War, the state of oracle-bone studies underwent a considerable change. The amateur scholars such as Lionel Hopkins and Harry Hopkins left the scene (Gibson’s last article was published in 1939: “The Evolution of Chinese Characters Beginning from Shang Pictographs” (200640), while, as already mentioned above, Hopkins’ last article, “A Cryptic Message and a New Solution,” was published in 1947, just five years before he died). Their successors in oracle-bone studies were, on the one hand, professional Sinologists such as Homer H. DUBS (1892-1969), and on the other hand, Chinese scholars such as TUNG Tso-pin (DONG Zuobin), WU Shih-ch’ang (WU Shichang 吳世昌; 1908-1986), LI Chi (LI Ji 李濟; 1896-1979), and CHENG Te-k’un (ZHENG Dekun 鄭德坤; 1907-2001), who in some cases wrote in English themselves, and in other cases had others translate their work from Chinese (such as YANG Lien-sheng 楊聯陞 [1914-1990], who translated Dong Zuobin’s work). Like many Sinologists at the time, Dubs was the son of missionary parents. He was born in the United States, but went to China

5 MA Bole 馬伯樂 (Henri MASPERO), “Ping Guo Moruo jinzhu liangzhong” 評郭沫若近著兩種, *Wenxue nianbao* 文學年報 2 (1936): 61-71; GUO Moruo 郭沫若, “Da Ma Bole xiansheng” 答馬博樂先生 *Wenxue nianbao* 文學年報 2 (1936): 1-4.

at a young age and spent his entire youth there, living in Hunan. After attending university in the United States, he returned to China as a missionary in his own right. However, after just a few years in China, he returned again to the United States, and entered the University of Chicago Divinity School as a graduate student, where he received his doctoral degree in 1925. For the next twenty years, he taught in several different American colleges and universities. Then in 1947 he was appointed to be the professor of Chinese at the University of Oxford, where he taught until 1959, when he reached the mandatory retirement age of 67. After retirement, he continued to live in Oxford throughout the remainder of his life. Like most professional historians, Dubs was particularly concerned with problems of chronology, and published several studies of the dates of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions. Inspired by Dong Zuobin's just published study *Yin li pu* 殷曆譜 (*Calendar of the Yin*), he explored lunar eclipse records in the inscriptions. However, he pointed out that the canon of eclipses used by Dong was faulty (a point acknowledged by Dong), and therefore published in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* his own such canon: "A Canon of Lunar Eclipses for Anyang and China, 1400 to 1000" (200770; 1947). Later, he published two further studies in the journal *T'oung Pao*: "The Date of the Shang Period" (200800; 1951) and "The Date of the Shang Period: A Postscript" (200810; 1953). In his *Yin li pu*, Dong Zuobin had cited five different records of lunar eclipses found in the Bin 賓-group inscriptions of the time of Shang king Wu Ding 武丁:

1. 「癸未」卜爭貞：翌甲申易日。之夕月又食。 (《合集》11483)

Crack [on *guiwei* (day 20)], Zheng divining: "On the next day *jiashen* (day 21), it will give sun." That evening the moon was eaten (i.e., eclipsed). (*Heji* 11483)

2. 己丑卜賓貞：翌乙未泰登于祖乙。王占曰：又崇「不」其雨。六日「甲」午夕月又食。 (《合集》11484)

Crack on *jichou* (day 26), Bin divining: "On the next day *yiwei* (day 32), there will be a great raising up to Zu Yi." The king prognosticated and said: "There is a curse; it will [not] rain." On the sixth day [*jia*]-*wu* (day 31), in the evening the moon was eaten (i.e., eclipsed). (*Heji* 11484)

3. 七日己未 𠄎庚申月又食。 (《英藏》886b)

On the seventh day *jiwei* (day 56) cleaving into *gengshen* (day 57), the moon was eaten (i.e., eclipsed). (*Yingcang* 886b)

4. ... 旬壬申夕月又食。 (《合集》11482)

... ten-day week, on *renshen* (day 9), in the evening the moon was eaten (i.e., eclipsed). (*Heji* 11482)

5. 癸未卜爭貞：旬亡禍。三日乙酉夕月又食。聞。八月。 (《合集》11485)

Crack on *guiwei* (day 20), Zheng divining: "In the next ten-day week there will be no misfortune." On the third day *yiwei* (day 22) in the evening the moon was eaten (i.e., eclipsed). It was heard. Eighth month. (*Heji* 11485)

Dong Zuobin had identified these five different eclipse records with lunar eclipses that had taken place in the years 1282, 1278, 1279, 1373 or 1325, and 1311 B.C. respectively, suggesting that the late fourteenth through early thirteenth century B.C. would be the probable span of years for the reign of King Wu Ding 武丁. Dubs proposed a completely different chronology from that of Dong, identifying four of the records with eclipses that occurred in 1189 (the first record), 1227 (the third record), 1229 (the fourth record), and 1192 (the fifth record); he did not identify the second eclipse record. On the one hand, these identifications were based on the canon of eclipses that he himself had published a few years before. On the other hand, they were based on two major premises: first, that the Shang day began at midnight; and second, that the character 𠄎 in eclipse records such as “*jiwei* 己未 (day 56) 𠄎 *gengshen* 庚申 (day 57)” referred to a period in the middle of the night between two successive days. Dubs was not a specialist in the language of the oracle-bone inscriptions, but his explanation of the function of the character 𠄎 has since been accepted by the great majority of oracle-bone scholars, and is almost certainly correct. Nor was he an astronomer. Nevertheless, his premise that the Shang day began with midnight has also been accepted by most historians of astronomy. What is more, the identifications that he proposed for these eclipses agree in large measure with the dates proposed by the recent *Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng* 夏商周斷代工程 (Xia Shang Zhou Chronology Project), which has given the dates 1189, 1201, 1181, 1198 and 1192 B.C. for the five eclipses. Dubs made no other contributions to the study of oracle-bone inscriptions, but these three articles of his marked a great advance in our understanding of the chronology of the late Shang period.

2.6 Tsung-tung CHANG

During the 1950s and 1960s, there were no other important developments in western scholarship with respect to the study of oracle bones; indeed, there were very few publications in this field. However, there was a dramatic change in this situation in the 1970s. In 1970 itself, CHANG Tsung-tung 張聰東 (1931-2000), a Chinese-German professor of Chinese at the University of Frankfurt published *Der Kult der Shang-Dynastie im Spiegel der Orakelinschriften: Eine paläographische Studie zur Religion im archaischen China* (201050). The Table of Contents gives a good sense of the contribution of this book.

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Introduction: The Methodology of Studying Oracle-Bone Inscriptions

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2. Homophonic Loan Characters and Parallel Sentences
3. Seeking the Meaning from Context
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1. Why the Dead Caused Illness with Curses
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15. The Powers of Di
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Appendix:

1. The *Ganzhi* 干支 Table

2. The Genealogy of the Shang Dynasty
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- A: Catalogs of Oracle-Bone Inscriptions
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Indices

- Index of Oracle-Bone Characters Based on Number
- Index of Oracle-Bone Characters Based on *Kaishu* 楷書 Equivalents
- Grammatical Particles of Oracle-Bone Inscriptions
- Index of Topics

Chang Tsung-tung graduated from Taiwan University in 1953, with a degree in Economics. From 1970 until 2000, he was professor of Chinese and chair of the Faculty of Chinese at the University of Frankfurt. The title *Der Kult der Shang-Dynastie im Spiegel der Orakelinschriften* describes well the contents and nature of Chang's book. Not only does the book provide a detailed account of various topics in the study of Shang religion, but its Introduction also provides a concise account of how to read oracle-bone inscriptions. In addition to this, the book has several other special features. First, all of the quotations of oracle-bone inscriptions are given in a direct hand-copy of the original oracle-bone characters, without any *kaishu* transcription; this is, to be sure, inconvenient for a casual reading, but it makes for a more direct encounter with the original inscriptions, and makes it easier for the reader to learn the oracle-bone forms of characters. Second, for every new character encountered in an inscription, Chang provides a note giving the definition of the word in the *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字 (*Discussion of pictographs and analysis of component characters*), and tries to use the *Shuo wen* to explain the oracle-bone form of the character. Third, the book provides two indices for oracle-bone characters, the first based on a number generated by the oracle-bone form of the character, and the second based on the *kaishu* form of the character; these are a great convenience for the reader to find discussions of individual characters within the book.

2.7 Paul L-M SERRUYS, C.I.C.M.

After Chang Tsung-tung published *Der Kult der Shang-Dynastie im Spiegel der Orakelinschriften*, he more or less left the field of oracle-bone studies; after this time, his only publication related to this field was an article entitled “A New View of King Wuding” (202170) that he published in 1986. Nevertheless, his book proved to have a considerable influence over western studies of oracle-bone inscriptions. The main reason for this is that after the book was published, **Fr. Paul L-M SERRUYS** (1912-1999; see the biography appended to this chapter), professor of ancient Chinese at the University of Washington, wrote two different book reviews of it. The first review was published in 1972 in the *Journal of Asian Studies* (201130). Fr. Serruys used to joke that the reason the *Journal of Asian Studies* asked him to write the review was that he was the only Sinologist in America who could read German. This first review was very short; aside from summarizing the contents of the book, it only offered a little criticism of Chang’s methodology in reading the inscriptions. However, two years later, Serruys published a much longer review (over one hundred pages) in the journal *T’oung Pao*: “Studies in the Language of the Shang Oracle Inscriptions” (201210). This review is very possibly the finest contribution to the study of oracle-bone inscriptions ever produced by a western scholar. In it, Serruys explored at least two features that marked real breakthroughs in our understanding of the language of the inscriptions. First, he argued that the inscriptions themselves were not questions, but rather statements. Second, he demonstrated that the word *qi* 其 often seen in the paired inscriptions of the reign of King Wu Ding had a distinct modality. Almost all western scholars since the time of this review have accepted these two viewpoints; indeed, they could be said to be the foundation on which all western understanding of the inscriptions is based.

“Studies in the Language of the Shang Oracle Inscriptions” is divided into five parts:

Dating and Periodization

Transcription of the Texts

Identification of the Characters

Grammar and Syntax of the Bone Inscriptions

Graphic Analysis

Serruys had little to say about “Dating and Periodization,” and only a few theoretical points concerning “Transcription of the Texts” and “Identification of the Characters,” though he did devote a bit more space to this latter topic. However, the core of the article is definitely the section entitled “Grammar and Syntax of the Bone

Inscriptions,” which comprises about three-quarters of the entire article. This section is further sub-divided into five sub-sections: the meaning of the words *bu* 卜 and *zhen* 貞; the sentence-final particles *hu* 乎 and *bu* 不; the copulas *zhui* 隹 (i.e., *wei* 惟) and *hui* 惠; the character *qi* 其; and the negatives. Serruys’s starting point was that the divination statements are not questions at all, which he demonstrated in his translations of more than one hundred inscriptions. However, he did not explain very clearly his reasoning behind this interpretation, merely pointing out that the verbs *bu* 卜 (which he routinely translates nominally as “divination”) and *zhen* 貞 (which he translates as “tests [the proposition]”) do not have the meaning “to ask” (even though the *Shuo wen* defines *zhen* as *bu wen ye* 卜問也 “to ask through crack-making”), and noting that the sentence final particles *hu* 乎 and *bu* 不, which occur very rarely, almost certainly do not serve as interrogative particles. He devoted considerably more space to the distinction between the copulas *wei* 隹 and *hui* 惠, noting that whereas the negative of *wei* 隹 is *bu wei* 不佳, the negative form of *hui* 惠 is *wu hui* 勿惠 (this discussion is found in his section on “The Negatives”; p. 74); this shows that *hui* has a distinct modality. With regard to the negatives, his main emphasis was to show the difference between the usage of *bu* 不 and *fu* 弗; whereas *bu* negates stative, intransitive or passive verbs, *fu* negates active-transitive verbs.

The discussion of *qi* 其, in its turn, then takes up more than half of the entire section on “Grammar and Syntax of the Bone Inscriptions” (pp. 25-59). Serruys’s discussion here is extremely complicated, the most important point involving the use of *qi* in the so-called *duizhen* 對貞 or “paired divination” statements. As is widely known in oracle-bone studies, the Bin-Group inscriptions are routinely presented in contrasting pairs, one positive and one negative. Since almost all of Serruys’s examples were drawn from the catalog *Xiaotun dierben: Yinxu wenzi, Bingbian* 小屯第二本：殷墟文字丙編, edited by ZHANG Bingquan 張秉權 (1919-1997),⁶ all the inscriptions of which belong to this one group, he paid particular attention to this feature, noting that *qi* is usually found in only one of the contrasting sentences, as in the following examples (presented with Serruys’s transcriptions and translations, changing only his romanization):

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 我隹胄 | 我弗其隹胄 |
| We shall destroy Zhou. | We shall not destroy Zhou. |
| 我其有禍 | 我亡禍 |
| We shall have disastrous (evil) influence. | We shall not have evil influence. |

6 ZHANG Bingquan 張秉權 ed., *Xiaotun dierben: Yinxu wenzi bingbian* 小屯第二本：殷墟文字丙編 (Nangang: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, 1957, 1959, 1962, 1965, 1967, 1972).

雀其死
Que will die.

我受黍年
The Wo (we?) will receive millet harvest.

疾齒龍
Having a toothache, it will get better

求于上甲受我又
Do pray to Shang Jia (and he) will hand over to us (his) assistance.

帝佳其冬茲邑
God will (lit. As to God, it is that he will) bring to end this city.

雀不死
Que will not die.

我弗其受黍年
The Wo (we?) will not obtain (good) millet harvest.

不其龍
It will not get better.

勿求于上甲不我其受又
Do not pray to Shang Jia (and he) will not give us assistance.

帝弗冬茲邑
God will not bring to end this city.

Serruys noted that in these paired inscriptions, *qi* can be used in both the grammatically positive and grammatically negative sides. However, in all cases it appears in the portion that is least desired. For instance, in the charge “We shall destroy Zhou” (*wo zai Zhou* 我栽胄), which is to say the side without the *qi*, “we” (*wo* 我) is the first-person plural pronoun indicating the Shang themselves, “destroy” (*zai* 栽) is the predicate meaning something like “to defeat,” and Zhou 胄 is the name of an enemy state. In divining about attacking an enemy state, it is obvious that the Shang would want to defeat them and would not wish for a negative result. On the other hand, in the charge “Que will die” (Que *qi si* 雀其死), in which the word *qi* appears, Que 雀 is one of the important ministers of the Shang king; the Shang diviners would certainly not want him to die. This valence is indicated by the presence of *qi* in this grammatically positive charge, whereas the negative counterpart does not include *qi*: “Que *bu si*.”

The modal use of *qi* is intimately related with the question of whether oracle-bone charges should be read as statements or questions. Ever since the first discovery of the oracle-bone inscriptions, it had been standard practice to read them as questions, such that inscriptions such as *wo zai Zhou* 我栽胄 would be read as “Will we destroy Zhou?” while the grammatically negative counterpart would be understood as “Will we not destroy Zhou?” The paired charges were thought to be like the common modern Chinese way of forming a question by stating both positive and negative possibilities: *hao bu hao* 好不好 “is it good or not good?” However, this sort of grammar would not explain such compound charges as “Do pray to Shang Jia (and he) will hand over to us (his) assistance (*qiu yu Shang Jia shou wo you* 求于上甲受我又) and “Do not pray to Shang Jia (and he) will not give us assistance” (*wu qiu yu Shang Jia bu wo qi shou you* 勿求于上甲不我其受又). As

Fr. Serruys explained, these charges both reflect the Shang diviners' desires, hoping that the high ancestor Shang Jia would give the Shang spiritual aid. Since this study was published, this viewpoint has become increasingly influential, even in China.⁷

After publishing "Studies in the Language of the Shang Oracle Inscriptions," Fr. Serruys published only another three articles concerning the language of the oracle-bone inscriptions: "Basic Problems Underlying the Process of Identification of the Chinese Graphs of the Shang Oracular Inscriptions" (201840) and "Towards a Grammar of the Language of the Shang Bone Inscriptions" (201841), both published in 1982, and "Notes on the Grammar of the Oracular Inscriptions of Shang" (202070), published in 1985. These three articles introduce refinements in Serruys's reading of certain inscriptions, but they do not go much beyond his contribution in "Studies in the Language of the Shang Oracle Inscriptions." Despite having so few publications, another reason that Serruys had such an out-sized influence in the western study of Chinese linguistics and paleography is because while at the University of Washington he trained a group of students who would go on to be prominent scholars in their own right. This group included the linguist TING Pang-hsin 丁邦新, the oracle-bone scholar Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA, the bronze inscription specialist Gilbert MATTOS (1939-2002), and the phonologists W. South COBLIN and Axel SCHUESSLER. After Fr. Serruys retired from Washington, he moved to Taiwan, hoping to work at the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica and to translate *Xiaotun dierben: Yinxu wenzi, Bingbian*, on which most of his analyses of oracle-bone inscriptions were based. Unfortunately, due to various reasons, he was never able to complete this grand project. However, in 2010 his student Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA finally published a complete translation, in two very substantial volumes: *Studies of Fascicle Three of Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins* (203730). Although almost all of the work in this final publication is properly that of Takashima himself, he very graciously listed Serruys as a co-author.

7 See QIU Xigui 裘錫圭, "Guanyu Yinxu buci de mingci shifou wenju de kaocha" 關於殷墟卜辭的命辭是否問句的考察, *Zhongguo yuwen* 中國語文 1988.1: 1-20. For an English translation of this article, which served as the lead article of the "Early China Forum" in the 1989 issue of the journal *Early China* 14 (1989) see QIU Xigui, "An Examination of Whether the Charges in Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions are Questions" (202390). In addition to the translation of Qiu's article, the Forum also included David S. NIVISON, "The 'Question' Question" (202380), together with discussions by FAN Yuzhou 范毓周, JAO Tsung-i 饒宗頤, David N. KEIGHTLEY, Jean A. LEFEUVRE, LI Xueqin 李學勤, Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, as well as QIU Xigui and NIVISON's responses.

2.8 Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA

As mentioned above, **Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA** 高嶋謙一 (see the biography appended to this chapter), was a student of Fr. Serruys at the University of Washington, earning his Ph.D. with a dissertation entitled “Negatives in the King Wu-tung Bone Inscriptions” (201160; 1973), a dissertation clearly influenced by the work on the language of the Shang inscriptions that Serruys was doing at the time. Since that time, Takashima has published a long string of articles on oracle-bone inscriptions, and particularly on their grammar, beginning with his study “Subordinate Structure in Oracle-Bone Inscriptions: With Particular References to the Particle *Ch’i*” (201390), published in 1977. Thereafter, over the course of the next thirty-five years, he would publish a substantial study almost every year, and in some years more than one; just the most important of these studies would include “Decipherment of the Word *Yu* 𠄎/𠄎/有 in the Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions and in Pre-Classical Chinese” (201530; 1978), “The Early Archaic Chinese Word *yu* 有 in the Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions: Word-Family, Etymology, Grammar, Semantics and Sacrifice” (201670; 1980), “Noun Phrases in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions” (201990; 1984), “Nominalization and Nominal Derivation with Particular Reference to the Language of the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions” (202100; 1985), “Settling the Cauldron in the Right Place: A Study of 鼎 in the Bone Inscriptions” (202230; 1987), “An Emphatic Verb Phrase in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions” (202310; 1988), “Morphology of Negatives in Oracle-Bone Inscriptions” (202320; 1988), “A Study of the Copulas in Shang Chinese” (202500; 1990), “The Modal and Aspectual Particle *Qi* in Shang Chinese” (202730; 1994), “Toward a New Pronominal Hypothesis of *Qi* in Shang Chinese” (202900; 1996), “Focus and Explanation in Copulative-Type Sentences in a Genuine Classical Chinese Text” (203020; 1997), “The So-Called ‘Third’-Person Possessive Pronoun *Jue* 𠄎 (: 厥) in Classical Chinese” (302290; 1999), “Toward a More Rigorous Methodology of Deciphering Oracle-Bone Inscriptions” (203180; 2000), “Some Ritual Verbs in Shang Texts” (203380; 2002), “How to Read Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions: A Critique of the Current Method” (203460; 2004), “Placement of Inscriptions on Oracle-Bone Plastrons as a Guide to Decipherment” (203490; 2005), “*Jisi* 祭祀: A Reconstruction of the *Ji* Sacrifice and the *Si* Ritual in Ancient China” (203690; 2009), “A Reconstruction of Shang Joint Rituals” (203720; 2010), and “Literacy to the South and East of Anyang in Shang China: Zhengzhou and Daxinzhuang” (203770; 2011).

The summation of this more than thirty years of scholarship was presented in Takashima’s 2010 translation of *Xiaotun dierben: Yinxu wenzi, Bingbian: Studies of Fascicle Three of Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins* (203730). As noted there, this complete English translation of one of the most important corpuses of oracle-

bone inscriptions, unearthed by Academia Sinica in 1936, and published over the course of the next thirty years, was initiated by Fr. Serruys in 1981. Serruys moved to Taiwan in 1983 in the expectation of working on the translation, but had to give up the project as early as 1985 due to health problems. In 1986, Takashima took up his teacher's dream, and by 1988 had already submitted a first draft of the translation to Academia Sinica. That draft was accepted for publication in 1990, but the referees' reports pointed out various corrections that they would like to see made. Just at this time, Takashima returned to his native Japan to join Matsumaru Michio 松丸道雄 in editing a major conspectus of oracle-bone scholarship: *Kōkotsu moji jishaku sōran* 甲骨文字字釋綜覽 (*A Conspectus of Interpretations of Oracle-Bone Characters*).⁸ At this point, he no longer had time to revise the translation of *Bingbian*. According to Takashima's own account, after *Kōkotsu moji jishaku sōran* was published, he himself discovered numerous places in the *Bingbian* translation that needed correction, corrections that occupied him over the next twelve years. More important, he also added extremely detailed notes to the translation, such that it was not until 2010 that the book could finally be formally published. This massive work comprises two volumes. The first volume bears the sub-title "General Notes, Text and Translations," while the second volume is subtitled "New Palaeographical and Philological Commentaries." The two volumes together come to more than 1,500 pages. The first volume has a 90-page Introduction divided into the following topics:

- A. The Objectives
- B. The Problem of Dating and Related Issues
- C. *Bingbian* as a Source Material with a Guide to How to Use This Work
- D. The "Question" Question
- E. The Reconstruction of Old Chinese and Its Word Formation
- F. Writing System

Then over more than 700 pages, it presents an English translation of the 632 discrete pieces in *Bingbian*. For the first 259 of these pieces, Takashima preserves the original translation done by Fr. Serruys, and then adds his own translation below that. From piece 260, there is only Takashima's translation. The translation is based on the transcription found in the original *Bingbian* publication and Takashima usually accepts the reading of that work's editor ZHANG Bingquan 張秉權. The second volume presents extremely detailed notes to the translation; the

⁸ MATSUMARU Michio 松丸道雄 and TAKASHIMA Ken'ichi 高嶋謙一, *Kōkotsu moji jishaku sōran* 甲骨文字字釋綜覽 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1994).

notes to just the first piece are 46 pages long. After the notes, there are also two appendices, the first entitled “Note on the Word for Helmet (*zhou* 冑)” and the second “Notes on the Words for Plough (*li* 犁).” After these appendices, there are seven tables: “Table 1: List of the Duplicated and Fuller Plastrons in *BB* [*Bingbian*],” “Table 2: *BB* and *HJ* [*Heji*] Correspondence,” “Table 3: *HJ* and *BB* Correspondence,” “Table 4: *Yibian*, *BB*, *Yibian* Registration Numbers and Pit Locations,” “Table 5: *BB*-*Yibian* Registration Numbers,” “Table 6: List of the Inscriptions Translated (Other than *BB*),” “Table 7: List of all the Inscriptions Translated (in *HJ* and Other Collections.” Finally, there is a bibliography and index.

Takashima’s more than forty years of study of the oracle-bone inscriptions was clearly inspired by his teacher Fr. Serruys, as seen not only in the joint authorship of *Studies of Fascicle Three of Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins*, but indeed seen throughout the scores of articles that he has published over the years, many of which are elaborations of points made originally by Serruys in “Studies in the Language of the Shang Oracle Inscriptions.” This is especially true of his understanding of negatives, of the particle *qi*, and that oracle-bone charges should be read as statements and not questions. Reading through the translations of these two scholars that are included in *Studies of Fascicle Three of Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins*, one can see that their interpretations are largely similar. Serruys’s translations are usually simpler and more direct, while Takashima’s invariably add wording that he regards as implicit in the text. The two men’s grammatical analyses display the same difference: Serruys concerned himself with whether verbs were active or passive, and also paid special attention to the use of grammatical particles. Takashima, on the other hand, regularly emphasizes the modality of verbs, and especially whether he views the verb as controllable or not controllable by the subject of the sentence. Takashima’s analyses are generally quite complicated, indeed in numerous places to the point of being opaque. This may well be because he conceived of his work as contributing to the field of linguistics, and not necessarily to the study of paleography.

2.9 David N. KEIGHTLEY

During the same forty years that Takashima has worked, another giant in the field of oracle-bone studies was **David N. KEIGHTLEY** (1932-2017; see the biography appended to this chapter). Keightley completed his Ph.D. at Columbia University in 1969, with a dissertation entitled “Public Work in Ancient China: A Study of Forced Labor in Shang and Western Chou” (201030), which as the title suggests was a study of labor management during the Shang and Western Zhou dynasties.

After his graduation from Columbia, he was appointed as a professor of History at the University of California at Berkeley, which he turned into a particularly vibrant center for the study of ancient China. Especially important in this regard was his founding in 1975 of the Society for the Study of Early China, which publishes the journal *Early China*, of which Keightley was the first editor. At this time, he also regularly attended scholarly conferences, invariably contributing to them lengthy studies. Among these studies, perhaps the most important was the very first, presented to the conference Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast and held in Monterey, California in June, 1972: “*Shih Cheng* 釋貞: A Hypothesis Concerning the Nature of Shang Dynasty Divination.” Although this essay has never been formally published, it has been extremely influential. Keightley and Serruys at very much the same time proposed that oracle-bone inscription charges ought not to be read as questions, but rather should be statements expressing a certain desire. As discussed above, Serruys had investigated the linguistic evidence in the inscriptions themselves, especially the modality of the word *qi* in the Bin-Group inscriptions of the reign of King Wu Ding. By contrast, Keightley undertook a more synoptic study, examining not only oracle-bone inscriptions, but also considered the evidence in traditional texts, such as accounts of divination in the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 and also ZHENG Xuan’s 鄭玄 (127-200) glosses on the various ritual texts. Serruys and Keightley had different strengths: Serruys rarely wrote anything, and published even less; when he did publish, it was very hard to follow the logic of his argument, which was essentially presented through the translation of numerous example sentences. Keightley, on the other hand, was a fluent writer, though his essays were also always well supported with evidence. It is very hard to say whose idea it was first to read the oracle-bone inscription charges as statements instead of questions. Keightley’s essay was the first to make this point publicly, read already at the 1972 conference; Serruys’s review of Chang Tsung-tung’s book was not published until 1974. However, Serruys’s student Gilbert Mattos once told me that Serruys had been teaching this interpretation to his graduate students already in the late 1960s, whereas in Keightley’s doctoral dissertation, completed in 1969, every oracle-bone inscription cited in the text was still translated as a question, complete with an explicit question mark. In fact, to be quite honest, although this interpretation is doubtless the greatest contribution western scholarship has made to the study of oracle-bone inscriptions—in addition to the work of Serruys and Keightley, it has also been taken up in the work of such other scholars as **David S. NIVISON** (1923-2014; see the biography appended to Chapter Three), Jean A. LEFEUVRE (1912-2010), and Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY among others—but the first person to suggest this idea was actually JAO Tsung-i 饒宗頤

(1917-2018). In his *Yindai zhenbu renwu tongkao* 殷代貞卜人物通考 (*Comprehensive study of Yin-dynasty diviners*), published in 1959, he twice mentioned this idea. On p. 2 of the Preface, he said: “As far as syntax is concerned, scholars invariably add a question mark at the end of each sentence regardless of whether it is a divination or not; in this book out of caution I just place periods.” Also, in a paragraph devoted to the “Meaning of the word *zhen* 貞,” after surveying past attempts to explain the word, he concluded by saying: “The old idea of always putting a question mark after the word *zhen* 貞 is usually not correct (p. 71).” Indeed, in not one of the thousands of inscriptions quoted throughout the book is there a question mark, so that credit for this insight really should go to Jao Tsung-i.⁹

In 1978, Keightley published the most important work of his career: *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (201490). This handbook is not particularly long, but it provides a complete overview of oracle-bone studies. It is divided into five chapters: “Shang Divination Procedures,” “The Divination Inscriptions,” “Deciphering the Inscriptions,” “Dating the Inscriptions: Relative Chronology,” and “The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions as Historical Sources,” with an additional five appendices, 33 line drawings and 38 tables. Virtually every page is filled with lengthy footnotes, not only pointing out the sources cited on the page, but also giving detailed appraisals of different viewpoints. One of the characteristics of Keightley’s scholarship was his ability to consider different points, weighing their strengths and weaknesses, before coming up with his own conclusion. Since the time of its publication, not only has *Sources of Shang History* been essential reading for all western scholars interested in oracle-bone studies, but indeed has become a model of western paleography and historiography.

In the Preface to *Sources of Shang History*, Keightley wrote that he was undertaking research on a wide variety of topics in Shang history, including the status of the diviners, the theology of divination, how to determine the auspiciousness of oracular cracks, why oracle bones were inscribed and stored, Dong Zuobin’s notion of an Old School and New School, and the absolute dates of the Shang period, which he planned to publish in a companion volume to be entitled *Studies of Shang Divination*. This companion volume was never published, at least in the format initially envisioned by Keightley. However, over the course of the next thirty years he published numerous articles on these topics and many more in

9 JAO Tsung-i (RAO Zongyi) 饒宗頤, *Yindai zhenbu renwu tongkao* 殷代貞卜人物通考 (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 1959), pp. 2, 71.

addition, a listing of just the most important of which will give some sense of the breadth of his scholarship:

- “The Religious Commitment: Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture” (201470; 1978)
- “The Shang State as Seen in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions” (201580; 1979)
- “The Late Shang State: When, Where, and What?” (201910; 1983)
- “Late Shang Divination: The Magico-Religious Legacy” (201970; 1984)
- “Shang Divination and Metaphysics” (202260; 1988)
- “The Origins of Writing in China: Scripts and Cultural Contexts” (100690; 1989)
- “Shamanism, Death, and the Ancestors: Religious Mediation in Neolithic and Shang China (ca. 5000-1000 B.C.)” (203090; 1998)
- “At the Beginning: The Status of Women in Neolithic and Shang China” (203070; 1999)
- “Theology and the Writing of History: Truth and the Ancestors in the Wu Ding Divination Records” (203110; 1999)
- “The Diviners’ Notebooks: Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions as Secondary Sources” (203270; 2001)
- “The ‘Science’ of the Ancestors: Divination, Curing, and Bronze-Casting in Late Shang China” (203280; 2001)
- The Making of the Ancestors: Late Shang Religion and Its Legacy” (203430; 2004)
- “Marks and Labels: Early Writing in Neolithic and Shang China” (101410; 2006)
- “Sacred Waste: Theirs or Ours?” (203540; 2006)

These articles are all characterized by the same attention to detail, eloquence of expression, logic of presentation, as well as reasonable conclusions as seen in *Sources of Shang History*, and all of them are also essential readings for anyone interested in Shang history.

In addition to these specialized studies of Shang history, Keightley also published three different comprehensive studies of Shang history and civilization: “The Shang: China’s First Historical Dynasty” (203100; 1999), *The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China (ca. 1200-1045 B.C.)* (203160; 2000), and *Working for His Majesty: Research Notes on Labor Mobilization in Late Shang China (ca. 1200-1045 B.C.), as Seen in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions, with Particular Attention to Handicraft Industries, Agriculture, Warfare, Hunting, Construction, and the Shang’s Legacies* (203780; 2012). The first of these was the chapter on Shang history in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*:

From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.,¹⁰ and like the other chapters in that book, it too was very lengthy, almost a book in its own right. A listing of just its main sections gives only a cursory sense of its contents: “Sources,” “Chronology,” “Time and the Calendar,” “Royal Shang Religion,” “The Dynastic State,” “Political and Military Developments,” and “The Legacy of Shang.” The sub-sections are much more numerous. Just the section “The Dynastic State” includes the following sub-sections: “The Political and Cultural Landscape,” “The Royal Lineage,” “Non-Royal Lineages,” “Local Officers, Chiefs, and Rulers,” “King List and Polity,” “Royal Succession and Temple Names,” “The Royal Women,” “Political Geography,” “Agriculture,” “Tribute Offerings and Service,” “Dependent Labor,” “Mobilization and Warfare,” “Slave Society,” and “Personnel Decisions and Incipient Bureaucracy,” and this list does not even include the many sub-sub sections into which many of these sub-sections are further sub-divided.

The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China (ca. 1200-1045 B.C.) was written at virtually the same time as the *Cambridge History of Ancient China* chapter, and some of its contents overlap with those of that chapter. However, it covers other topics as well, and has a very different structure. It is divided into eight major chapters: “Climate,” “Agriculture,” “Time: Days, Nights, and Suns,” “Time: Calendrical Structures,” “Space: Center and Periphery,” “Space: Cosmos and Orientation,” “Community: The Land and Its Inhabitants,” and “Cosmologies and Legacies: The ‘Winds’ of Shang.” This book is not lengthy (only 200 pages), and although its points are fully documented, still it can serve as an easy-to-read introduction to Shang civilization.

Working for His Majesty could be said to be the formal publication of Keightley’s 1969 doctoral dissertation. That dissertation had been entitled “Public Work in Ancient China: A Study of Forced Labor in Shang and Western Chou,” the first part of which was devoted to the Shang and the second part to the Western Zhou. Through forty years of research on topics in Shang history, Keightley had long since discontinued work on the Western Zhou. Nevertheless, this book, focusing on just the Shang, is more than 500 pages long, giving an extraordinarily detailed account of the topic of work. The evidence on which the study is based is mainly oracle-bone inscriptions, with 285 different inscriptions translated throughout the book. However, this figure is not really representative, since many of these inscriptions contain multiple charges; a more complete tabulation would approach something like 400 translations. The book includes eighteen chapters, the

10 Michael LOEWE and Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, ed., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

titles similar to the “The Dynastic State” section of *The Cambridge History of Ancient China* chapter and the chapters of *The Ancestral Landscape*, but the contents are much more detailed. Appended to the main text are two very lengthy appendices. The first is entitled “Inscription Glosses” and the second “A Glossary of Shang Terms and Phrases.” These glossaries, arranged alphabetically beginning with *bi* 比, *bi* 妣, *bin* 賓, *bin yu* 賓于, etc., explain the uses of terms seen in the oracle-bone inscriptions, and can serve as a sort of dictionary of the oracle-bone language, a great aid to beginning students. Throughout the last period of his life, Keightley was in bad health. In the Preface to *Working for His Majesty*, in addition to the usual recognition of a great many scholars, he especially expressed his gratitude to the doctors of Kaiser Permanente Hospital, without whom this final book of his might never have been completed.

2.10 Oracle Bone Editorial and Publishing Work of the 1970s and 1980s

Just as the 1970s and 1980s saw important editions and publications of catalogs of oracle-bone inscriptions in China, so too did scholars in the West publish oracle bones in collections outside of China. The first of these publication projects was undertaken by James Chin-hsiung HSÜ (XU Jinxiong 許進雄), who was then working at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. As related above, James Menzies collected tens of thousands of oracle bones between the years 1914 and 1932, a portion of which he took back to his native Canada. At the beginning of the 1970s, James Hsü moved from Taiwan to Toronto, working concurrently as a graduate student at the University of Toronto and as curator of the oracle bones in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum. In 1974, he completed his Ph.D., with a dissertation entitled “Scapulimancy Techniques and Periodic Classification” (201180). Even before he had completed the doctoral dissertation, Hsü had already edited the oracle bones in the collection of the museum: *The Menzies Collection of Shang Dynasty Oracle Bones, Volume I: A Catalogue* (201120; 1972). According to the Preface to this catalog, the museum’s basic collection consisted of 4700 discrete pieces, but rejoining more than one thousand of these pieces resulted in 3,176 pieces included in the *Catalogue*. In addition to this basic collection, he discovered almost four hundred other pieces in the museum, some of which were doubtless also collected by James Menzies (since some of these could be rejoined with pieces in the basic collection), whereas the provenance of the others is wholly unknown. In all, the *Catalogue* includes 4,359 pieces, 1,554 of them of turtle shell and 2,805 of ox bone. The great majority of the pieces are quite fragmentary, but there are several score of pieces that are relatively complete and

quite important. After Hsü completed his Ph.D., he continued to work at the Royal Ontario Museum. In 1977, he published a transcription of the pieces in the *Catalogue: The Menzies Collection of Shang Dynasty Oracle Bones*, Volume II: *The Text* (201320), and then two years later edited also the oracle bones in the museum that had been collected by William Charles White while he had been the Anglican bishop of Anyang: *Oracle Bones in the White and Other Collections* (201570). The Royal Ontario Museum remains the most important repository of oracle bones in North America.

At the same time that James Hsü was working at the Royal Ontario Museum, Hung-hsiang CHOU 周鴻翔 had begun teaching at UCLA. Chou had obtained a Ph.D. degree in 1968 at Australia National University in Canberra, with a doctoral dissertation entitled “Some Aspects of Shang Administration: A Survey Based Solely on the Evidence Available in the Oracle Bone Texts” (201010); his adviser was **Noel BARNARD** (1922-1016, see the biography appended to Chapter Three). In 1976, Chou edited a book entitled *Oracle Bone Collections in the United States* (201250), which included over 700 pieces from fifteen different American museums and universities. Most of the pieces came from four different collections: 413 from the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh (being part of the collection of Frank Chalfant), 120 from Princeton University, 67 from Columbia University, and 120 from the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. *Oracle Bone Collections in the United States* includes a brief Preface as well a table entitled *Meiguo suo cang jiagulu* 美國所藏甲骨錄 (Table of Oracle Bones in American Collections), indicating the provenance of the various pieces; this is of considerable interest for the early history of collecting oracle bones. However, the book includes only rubbings of the pieces, without any transcriptions, and so is of limited use to most readers.

Also in 1976, the French Jesuit priest Jean Almire LEFEUVRE (1912-2010) published a single oracle bone: “An Oracle Bone in the Hong Kong Museum of History and the Shang Standard of the Center” (201270). Fr. Lefevre had arrived in China immediately after the end of the Second World War and began to work as a missionary. Jesuits are noted among Catholic missionaries as intellectuals and scholars, and Lefevre was no exception. After he had studied Chinese in Beijing, he entered the Department of Philosophy at Peking University, becoming good friends with WANG Taiqing 王太慶 (1922-1999), the Chinese translator of Descartes and Plato. In 1949, he moved from Beijing to Shanghai, where he studied theology. Two years after moving to Shanghai, he was expelled from China together with all other missionaries, going first to the Philippines. In 1955 he reached Taiwan, where for the next sixteen years he served as student chaplain at various

universities around the island. In 1971, he moved to the Jesuit Aurora Center (*Fudan zhongxin* 復旦中心) in Taipei, where he lived for the next forty years, until passing away on September 24, 2010, at the age of 88.¹¹

Fr. Lefevre published his first article on oracle bones in 1975, a history of their discovery and first publications: “Les inscriptions des Shang sur carapaces de tortue et sur os: Aperçu historique et bibliographique de la découverte et des premières études” (201240). This essay was quite lengthy, and is a real contribution to the historiography of the field. After this first publication, his own research on oracle bones would be confined to just a pair of studies of individual words: “Rhinoceros and Wild Buffaloes North of the Yellow River at the End of the Shang Dynasty: Some Remarks on the Graph X and the Character 兕” (202490; 1990) and “La graphie 寶 et ses variantes dans les inscriptions oraculaires et son évolution dans les inscriptions sur bronze” (203290; 2001). However, his main contribution to the field came in a pair of catalogs publishing oracle bones in collections first in France and then elsewhere in Europe: *Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in France* (202030; 1985) and *Several Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium* (203000; 1997). These catalogs are extremely convenient, divided between presentations of the pieces themselves and transcriptions, and both of them are also provided with various appendices, including concordances of all characters occurring in the inscriptions. Another convenient feature of the catalogs is that they are both multi-lingual; *Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in France* is presented in Chinese, French and English, while *Several Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium* is presented in only Chinese and English. As a special courtesy to Chinese readers, in both catalogs Lefevre put his Chinese text first, followed by the western language(s). *Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in France* includes 59 pieces held by six different universities, museums and private collections. The catalog proper presents all of the pieces with photographs and hand copies of both the front and back of the piece (unless the back was uninscribed, in which case a hand copy of that side is omitted), along with a Chinese transcription and both French and English translation of the inscriptions. The “Transcription” portion of the catalog begins with an essay exploring the nature of divination and linguistic features of the inscriptions, followed by detailed discussions of each of the individual pieces including its provenance and the meaning of each and every character. Another special feature of this catalog is that most of the

¹¹ For accounts of Fr. Lefevre, see Thierry MEYNARD, *Jean Lefevre: Jésuite et Sinologue* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2007); Edmund RYDEN SJ, “The Thunder God, *Lei Gong* 雷公: The Story of Fr. Jean Lefevre SJ,” *Early China* 33-34 (2010-2011): v-viii.

oracle bones in French collections are rather large pieces, the 13 pieces in the Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, the 8 pieces in the Musée Guimet and the 10 pieces in the Cernuski Museum being especially important. The format of *Several Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium* is the same as that of *Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in France*, with the exception that there is no French translation. The number of oracle bones included in it is considerably greater, with 225 pieces in all, though most of these are only fragments. Of interest is that the 140 pieces in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Köln were originally part of the collection of LIU E 劉鶚 (1857-1909), which had been dispersed after the publication of his *Tieyun cang gui* 鐵雲藏龜 in 1903. Also, the 70 pieces in the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel, Switzerland were originally collected by the famous German Sinologist Richard WILHELM (1873-1930), and were given by him to that museum already in 1913.

The last publication of oracle bones during the 1980s was the collection of forty-four pieces in the Smart Gallery (now the Smart Museum) of the University of Chicago. These pieces were collected by **Herrlee Glessner CREEL** (1905-1994; see the biography appended to Chapter Three) while he was in China between 1932 and 1936. In 1936 Creel was appointed to a professorship at the university, and periodically used the oracle bones and also some bronzes that he acquired in China to teach his students; however, they were never published during his tenure at the university. After he had retired from teaching in 1973, the pieces were stored in the basement of the university's Oriental Institute, and almost no one even knew of their existence. Finally, in 1986, Creel donated them to the Smart Gallery, and the broader scholarly world finally got to see them. In 1989, Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, a professor at the university, published forty of the pieces (four others were deemed to be forgeries) in a catalog edited by the Smart Gallery: *Ritual and Reverence: Chinese Art at the University of Chicago* (202420). Each piece was supplied with only a photograph of the front face of the piece, as well as a transcription and an English translation. Because this catalog was not widely distributed, available only to visitors to the gallery, Shaughnessy separately published a Chinese version of the oracle-bone collection; in addition to a brief introduction to the collection and transcriptions of all the pieces, it also included hand copies of all the pieces.¹²

12 XIA Hanyi 夏含夷 (Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY), *Zhijiage daxue suocang Shangdai jiagu* 芝加哥大學所藏商代甲骨, in MA Tai-loi 馬泰來 ed., *Zhongguo tushu wenshi lunwenji* 中國圖書文史論文集 (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1991), pp. 197-207; (Beijing: Xiandai chubanshe, 1992), pp. 231-42.

Other than the more than 5,000 pieces of oracle bone in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, the next biggest collections in the West are in Great Britain, most of which were collected by Frank Chalfant and Samuel Couling, and which are now in the collections of the University of Cambridge Library, the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh, and in the British Museum in London. There are some pieces that had belonged to Lionel Hopkins, which he bequeathed to the University of Cambridge upon his death; they too are in the University Library there. In 1985, **Sarah ALLAN** (see the biography appended to Chapter Four) of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) of the University of London, together with LI Xueqin 李學勤 and QI Wenxin 齊文心 of the Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, edited *Yingguo suo cang jiagu ji* 英國所藏甲骨集 (*Oracle Bone Collections in Great Britain*), published in China in two installments in 1985 and 1991.¹³ This catalog presented a comprehensive edition of 2,674 pieces in these three collections. Since this catalog was published in China, two of the three editors being Chinese, and the book is very well known to Chinese scholars, there is no need to provide any introduction to it here.

2.11 Research Results of the 1980s

The entirety of the 1980s brought numerous studies of oracle-bone inscriptions and Shang cultural history. The very first year of the decade saw the publication of two important monographs: *Shang Civilization* by Kwang-chih CHANG (1931-2001) (201610), and *The Language of Yin Inscriptions* by Mikhail V. KRYUKOV (201630). Chang was a famous archaeologist and anthropologist who needs no introduction here. As the title indicates, *Shang Civilization* was a comprehensive introduction to Shang civilization. In the book's Preface, Chang spoke of five "gates" to the study of this civilization: traditional literature, bronze vessels, oracle-bone inscriptions, archaeological evidence, and theoretical models. Even though Chang was not an oracle-bone scholar in his own right, David Keightley praised this book as perhaps "if not the Bible for the field, at least the New Testament."¹⁴ Chang was the author of numerous archaeological studies; especially well-known is his *Archaeology of Ancient China*, which went through four editions

¹³ LI Xueqin 李學勤, QI Wenxin 齊文心 and AI Lan 艾蘭 (Sarah ALLAN), ed., *Yingguo suocang jiaguji* 英國所藏甲骨集 (*Oracle Bone Collections in Great Britain*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985, 1991).

¹⁴ David N. KEIGHTLEY, "Shang China is Coming of Age: A Review Article," *Journal of Asian Studies* 41.3 (1982): 549-57, see p. 549.

between 1963 and 1986, each edition providing an overview of the most recent archaeological discoveries in China. However, he did not have much to say about oracle-bone inscriptions. Perhaps his best known study in this field was published in 1978: “*T’ien kan: A Key to the History of the Shang*” (201410), in which he proposed that Shang society was organized around ten separate lineages, each of which was identified with one of the ten “heavenly stems” (*tiangan* 天干). He further argued that these ten lineages were organized into two separate moieties, one based on the Jia 甲 and Yi 乙 lineages, and one based on the Ding 丁 lineage, which shared power in alternating generations. This would explain the alternation between kings Wu Ding 武丁, Zu Jia 祖甲, Kang Ding 康丁, Wu Yi 武乙, Wen Ding 文丁, and Di Yi 帝乙 over the course of the last several generations of Shang kings at Anyang. This theory of Chang’s was first published in Chinese in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology of Academia Sinica* in 1963,¹⁵ and was also reflected in his 1976 English-language book *Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives*.¹⁶ Another argument Chang made with respect to oracle-bone inscriptions was that the Shang kings had both political and religious powers, and that they should be understood as a sort of shaman. This viewpoint was given its fullest expression in his *Art, Myth and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China* (201890; 1983). He also later devoted a specialized study to just this topic: “Shang Shamans” (202640; 1994).

Mikhail Kryukov is an esteemed Russian anthropologist and Sinologist. His *The Language of Yin Inscriptions* is really just a pamphlet, only sixty pages long, but presents a relatively in-depth introduction to the language of the oracle-bone inscriptions. The bibliography to the book includes works in Chinese from both mainland China and also Taiwan, as well as Russian, Japanese, German and English scholarship. However, in the main text, the author never refers to the work of any other scholar. Only in his chapter “The History of Investigations into the Language of Yin Inscriptions” does he briefly introduce the work of HU Guangwei 胡光燾 (1888-1962), YANG Shuda 楊樹達 (1885-1956), GUAN Xiechu 管燮初 and CHEN Mengjia 陳夢家 (1911-1966). Although he does mention Paul L-M Serruys’s “Studies in the Language of the Shang Oracle Inscriptions,” the only scholarship to which he makes any real reference is that of the early Soviet scholar G.W. BOUNACOFF. Bounacoff entered the Marr Institute of Language and Mentality of

15 ZHANG Guangzhi 張光直 (CHANG Kwang-chih), “Shang wang miaohao xinkao” 商王廟號新考, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Minzuxue yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院民族學研究所輯刊 15 (1963): 65-95.

16 K.C. Chang, *Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives*, Harvard-Yenching Monograph Series 23 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976).

the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1932, and from 1935 to 1937 published several articles, the most representative of them being his *The Oracle Bones from Honan, China*,¹⁷ published in Russian in 1935 but supplied also with an English-language summary. Bounacoff also published a pair of articles in English: “New Contributions to the Study of Oracle Bones” (200400; 1936) and *An Yang Finds and American Sinology: On Methods of Publication of Oracle Inscriptions in Connection with the Works of Roswell S. Britton* (200500; 1937), in the latter of which he made use of Nicholas Yakovlevich MARR’s (1864-1934) “Japhetic theory” of linguistic paleontology to give a linguistic analysis to 199 inscribed oracle bones in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg.¹⁸ Kryukov deemed this study rather suspect. Unfortunately, Bounacoff was killed during the German siege of St. Petersburg during the Second World War, and was never able to develop his scholarship.

Also in 1980, the Metropolitan Museum of New York hosted an exhibition entitled “The Great Bronze Age of China.” At the time of the opening of the exhibition, the museum also organized a scholarly conference, inviting four scholars from the People’s Republic of China: XIA Nai 夏鼐 (1910-1985), MA Chengyuan 馬承源 (1927-2004), ZHANG Zhenglang 張政烺 (1912-2005) and Zhang Changshou 張長壽. After the conference at the Metropolitan Museum, these four Chinese scholars traveled to the San Francisco Bay Area, where they attended another conference held at the University of California, Berkeley. This was the first time after the Chinese reforms of the late 1970s that Chinese scholars participated in a scholarly conference in America devoted to ancient Chinese civilization.

17 Бунаков Ю. В. Гадательные кости из Хэнани (Китай), М.- Л, 1935. G.W. BOUNACOFF, *The Oracle Bones from Honan, China* (Moscow: Marr Institute of Language and Mentality of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, 1935).

18 For oracle bones held in the former Soviet Union, see HU Houxuan 胡厚宣, “Sulian Guoli Aimitashi bowuguan suocang jiagu wenzi” 蘇聯國立愛米塔什博物館所藏甲骨文字, *Jiaguwen yu Yin Shang shi* 甲骨文與殷商史 3 (1991): 1-5.



Fig. 11: June, 1980 ZHANG Changshou 張長壽 (l.), MA Chengyuan 馬承源, ZHANG Zhenglang 張政煒 and XIA Nai 夏鼐 visiting The Golden Gate Recreation Area in San Francisco. At far right is Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY

In September, 1982, Kwang-chih Chang, David N. Keightley and Hung-hsiang Chou convened a much larger scholarly conference: International Conference on Shang Civilization, held at the East-West Center at the University of Hawai'i in Honolulu. Forty-eight scholars in all attended the conference, including scholars from mainland China (AN Jinhui 安金槐 (1921-2001), GAO Zhixi 高至喜, HU Houxuan 胡厚宣 (1911-1995), LIN Yun 林澐, QIU Xigui 裘錫圭, WANG Guimin 王貴民, XIA Nai 夏鼐 [1910-1985], YANG Xizhang 楊錫璋, YIN Weizhang 殷璋璋, ZHANG Zhenglang 張政煒, and ZHENG Zhenxiang 鄭振祥), Taiwan (CHANG Ping-ch'üan [ZHANG Bingquan 張秉權; 1919-1997], CHANG Kwang-yuan [ZHANG Guangyuan 張光遠], JUNG Bor-sheng [ZHONG Bosheng 鍾柏生], KAO Ch'ü-hsün [GAO Quxun 高去尋; 1910-1991], and TU Cheng-sheng [DU Zhengsheng 杜正勝]), JAO Tsung-i 饒宗頤 from Hong Kong, and from the United States in addition to the organizers Kwang-chih Chang, David N. Keightley, and Hung-hsiang Chou, there were also such senior scholars as Paul L-M Serruys and David S. Nivison, James Chin-hsiung Hsü and Ken-ichi Takashima from Canada, Jean Lefevre from France, Tsung-tung Chang from what was then still West Germany, Noel BARNARD from Australia, and AKATSUKA Kiyoshi 赤冢忠 (1913-1983) and ITÔ Michiharu 伊藤道治 from Japan.¹⁹ Thirty-one scholars presented papers at the

¹⁹ For a report on the conference, see Lothar von FALKENHAUSEN, *International Conference on Shang Civilization* (20180; 1986).

conference, exploring such aspects of Shang civilization as the location of the capital, the social organization, the political order, the periodization of bronze vessels, and various topics in oracle-bone studies, concerning which there were sixteen papers in all (listed here in alphabetical order of the author):

- AKATSUKA Kiyoshi 赤冢忠, “The Cosmological Meaning of the Ten *Gan* and the Twelve *Zhi* in Shang Civilization”
- CHANG Kwang-yuan 張光遠, “An Experiment in Making Late Shang Oracle Bones”
- CHANG Ping-ch’üan 張秉權, “On the Fu Hao Inscriptions” (202160; 1986)
- CHANG Tsung-tung 張聰東, “Translation of Some Oracle Inscriptions Unearthed at the Plain of Zhou with a Consideration of their Dating and Origin”
- CHOU Hung-hsiang 周鴻翔, SHEN Jianhua 沈建華, and Lisa Heyes, “Statistical Analysis of Shang Meteorology”
- HSÜ Chin-hsiung (James C.H. Hsü), 許進雄, “An Epigraphic Interpretation of Historical Stages in Ancient Chinese History”
- HU Houxuan 胡厚宣, “An Interpretation of the Oracle-Bone Inscription Phrase ‘The Sun and Moon Eclipsed’”
- ITÔ Michiharu 伊藤道治, “The Character of *Xuci* as Seen in the Oracle Inscriptions”
- JAO Tsung-i 饒宗頤, “The *Yi-kua* in the Shang Dynasty and Various Problems Pertaining to Divination”
- JUNG Bor-sheng 鍾柏生, “Agricultural Geography in Oracle Inscriptions of the Yin Dynasty”
- Jean A. LEFEUVRE, “Some Remarks on the Graph X and the Character 兕” (202490; 1990)
- David S. NIVISON, “The ‘Question’ Question” (202380; 1989)
- QIU Xigui 裘錫圭, “An Observation on the State Functionaries *Tian*, *Mu*, and *Wei* in Oracle-Bone Inscriptions and the Origins of the Princes *Hou*, *Dian*, *Nan* and *Wei*”
- Paul L-M SERUUYIS, “Graphic Identification, Semantic Interpretation, and Phonological Implications in the Oracle Writing of Shang”
- Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA, “Noun Phrases in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions”
- ZHANG Zhenglang 張政烺, “A Brief Discussion on Fu Hao” (202130; 1986)

Of these papers, ZHANG Zhenglang’s “A Brief Discussion on Fu Hao” (202160) and CHANG Ping-ch’üan’s “On the Fu Hao Inscriptions” (202160) were both included in a selection of papers from the conference edited by Kwang-chih Chang and published in 1986 as *Studies of Shang Archaeology: Selected Papers from the*

International Conference on Shang Civilization,²⁰ which included eleven papers in all from the conference, most of which were concerned with Shang archaeology.

During the 1980s, the journal *Early China* organized three different “Forums” to discuss topics in oracle-bone studies, the format being like the “pen-chats” (*bitan* 筆談) frequently seen in Chinese journals. These forums all featured one (or possibly two) papers that served as the focus of the discussion, for which various other scholars were invited to contribute viewpoints, to which the author of the original paper or papers could then provide a final response. The first of these forums appeared in *Early China* 9-10 (1983-1985), the feature article being David N. Keightley’s “Reports from the Shang: A Corroboration and Some Speculation” (201920), which proposed that the traditional understanding of the crack notation *shang ji* 上吉 (highly auspicious), should in fact be read as *er gao* 二告 (two reports or second report), as had become customary more recently in China. Keightley further proposed that the diviners would have used the sound that the bone or shell made as it was cracking to determine the auspiciousness of the divination, instead of using the shape of the crack as traditionally thought. He also proposed another possibility: that “two reports” (i.e., two sounds emitted) would have marked an auspicious divination. Sarah ALLAN, David S. NIVISON, Edward SHAUGHNESSY, Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA, and Leon VANDERMEERSCH contributed to the discussion, all agreeing that this crack notation should indeed be read as *er gao* 二告, but not agreeing that the diviners would have determined the auspiciousness of the divination on the basis of the sound emitted instead of on the basis of the shape of the crack. In his response to these contributions, Keightley took a large step backward, admitting that his hypothesis was lacking in any evidentiary basis; the final sentence of his rejoinder well illustrates the flavor of his writing: “It is clear that, before we fully understand the meaning of the *erh kao* crack notation, more reports are needed.”

The second of the *Early China* “Forums” during the 1980s to deal with oracle-bone inscriptions focused on a review article by Edward L. Shaughnessy: “Western Zhou Oracle-Bone Inscriptions: Entering the Research Stage?” (202080), published in *Early China* 11-12 (1985-87). This was a lengthy review of the book *Xi Zhou jiagu tanlun* 西周甲骨探論 (Explorations in Western Zhou oracle bones) by WANG Yuxin 王宇信.²¹ Differing from Wang Yuxin, who argued in his book that the Zhouyuan 周原 inscriptions H11:1 and H11:82 were not produced by the Zhou at

²⁰ K.C. CHANG ed., *Studies of Shang Archaeology: Selected Papers from the International Conference on Shang Civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

²¹ WANG Yuxin 王宇信, *Xi Zhou jiagu tanlun* 西周甲骨探論 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui kexue chubanshe, 1984).

all, Shaughnessy argued that all of the Zhouyuan inscriptions were products of the Zhou. H11:1 records that the Zhou were sacrificing to the Shang king Wenwu Di Yi 文武帝乙, which would not necessarily be inconsistent with the custom expressed in the *Zuo zhuan* (9th year of Duke Xi 僖) that “the spirits did not appreciate abnormal offerings, and the people do not sacrifice to other clans” (*shen bu xin fei lei, min bu si fei zu* 神不歆非類, 民不祀非族) since according to traditional texts the Zhou and Shang royal houses were related by marriage.” With respect to H11:82, which includes the phrase, “*ce* Zhou *fang bo X*” 冊周方伯某, Wang read the character 𠄎 as 齎, and understood it as a type of sacrifice. Differing from this, Shaughnessy argued that such a reading was inconsistent with the grammar of the Zhouyuan inscriptions. This character is not very clear and is very hard to transcribe, but Shaughnessy suggested that it should be read as *zhou* 齎, which according to traditional texts was the name of the Zhou ancestor Taigong Zu Gan 太公組紺. Taigong Zu Gan was one generation prior to Gu Gong Danfu 古公亶父, the great-grandfather of King Wen of Zhou 周文王, and thus an appropriate recipient of a *ce* 冊 sacrifice. This *Early China* Forum included contributions from Wang Yuxin himself, as well as from LI Xueqin 李學勤 and FAN Yuzhou 范毓周, as well as the rejoinder “Extra-Lineage Cult in the Shang Dynasty: A Surrejoinder” (202090) by Shaughnessy, giving evidence of extra-clan sacrifice in the Shang oracle-bone inscriptions.

The third *Early China* Forum concerning oracle-bone inscriptions centered on the question of whether oracle-bone charges should be read as questions or as statements, a topic that was introduced above in the discussion of the scholarship of Paul L-M Serruys and David N. Keightley. After western scholars had proposed their interpretation to Chinese scholars during several international conferences, especially the “Second International Conference on Shang Civilization,” held in Anyang in 1987, QIU Xigui 裘錫圭 took up the topic in a lengthy study entitled “*Youguan jiagu buci de mingci shifou wenju de kaocha*” 有關甲骨卜辭的命辭是否問句的考察, published in the journal *Zhongguo yuwen* 中國語文 (Chinese language).²² Considering all of the charges in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, Qiu concluded “given that there definitely were charges that could not possibly be questions, and given that there is no basis by which to determine whether or not the great majority of charges are questions, and since it would be a much more serious error to place a question mark after a statement than to place a period after a question, I propose that in citations of oracle-bone inscriptions we should

22 QIU Xigui 裘錫圭, “*Youguan jiagu buci de mingci shifou wenju de kaocha*” 有關甲骨卜辭的命辭是否問句的考察, *Zhongguo yuwen* 中國語文 1988.1: 1-20.

not add question marks but, rather, uniformly use periods at the end of sentences.” At that time, Shaughnessy was the editor of *Early China*, and he translated Qiu’s article into English as “An Examination of Whether the Charges in Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions are Questions” (202390), and paired it with the article “The ‘Question’ Question” (202380) that David S. Nivison had presented to the 1982 “International Conference on Shang Civilization, but which had not yet been formally published, as the topics of that year’s Forum discussion. He invited such oracle-bone scholars as FAN Yuzhou, JAO Tsung-i, David N. KEIGHTLEY, Jean LEFEUVRE, LI Xueqin, David S. NIVISON, Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, and WANG Yuxin to submit discussions, with responses from Qiu Xigui and David Nivison. Aside from Fan Yuzhou and Wang Yuxin, who both held firmly to the traditional view that “divination is to resolve doubts; if you do not doubt, what need is there to divine?,” and thus insisted that oracle-bone inscriptions be read as questions, all of the other participants in this Forum tended to support the new theory that the charges should not be read as questions. As ZHU Yanmin 朱彥民 has said in his state of the field review of oracle-bone studies, “Because this question touches on the contents and nature of oracle-bone inscriptions, its correct interpretation has very great scholarly significance; this Forum brought discussion of this topic to a greater depth.”²³

In addition to the articles that Serruys, Takashima and Keightley continued to publish throughout the 1980s, the papers from the 1982 “International Conference on Shang Civilization, *Studies of Shang Archaeology: Selected Papers from the International Conference on Shang Civilization* edited by K.C. Chang, and the three *Early China* Forum features, the 1980s saw quite a bit of other scholarship that deserves to be mentioned. For example, in 1982, CHAO Lin 趙林, who had once been David Keightley’s teacher of oracle-bone studies and thereafter went on to be a researcher in the Institute of Three Principles of the People (*Sanminzhuyi yanjiusuo* 三民主義研究所) of Academia Sinica published *The Socio-Political Systems of the Shang Dynasty* (201780). Already in 1970, Chao had published *Marriage, Inheritance, and Lineage Organizations in the Shang-Chou China* (201060), and then in 1972 completed his Ph.D. dissertation “Shang Government” (201110) at the University of Chicago. Chao was concurrently a professor at various universities in Taiwan, and also published a number of articles in Chinese on oracle-bone inscriptions, such as “Shangdai zongjiao xinyang de duixiang ji qi chongbai tixi” 商代宗教信仰的對象及其崇拜體系 (The targets of Shang dynasty religious belief and its system of veneration), “Lun Shangdai de fu yu zi” 論商代的父與子

23 ZHU Yanmin 朱彥民, *Yinxu kaogu fajue yu jiaguwen yanjiu (Xia)* 殷墟考古發掘與甲骨文研究 (下), p. 401.

(On Shang dynasty fathers and sons), “Lun Shangdai mu yu nü” 論商代母與女 (On Shang dynasty mothers and daughters), “Shang wang Wu Ding fa Bafang” 商王武丁伐巴方 (The Shang king Wu Ding attacks the Bafang), and “Lun Shangdai de hunyin zhidu ji qi qinshu jiegou zhi xingtai” 論商代的婚姻制度及其親屬結構之形態 (On the Shang dynasty’s marital system and the nature of its family structure),²⁴ and others too numerous to mention here.

Also in 1982, Kwok-ching CHOW 周國正, a student of Ken-ichi Takashima at the University of British Columbia, completed his doctoral dissertation entitled “Aspects of Subordinative Composite Sentences in the Period I Oracle Bone Inscriptions” (201790). Later, another student of Takashima’s, Vernon K. FOWLER also submitted a doctoral dissertation on oracle-bone inscriptions: “An Analysis of the Uses of the Various Forms of the Human Figure in the Shang Script” (202340); both students obviously were much influenced by their teacher’s linguistic theories. Chow went on to be a professor at Hong Kong Baptist University, where he published several articles on the grammar of classical Chinese, but he did not continue his research on oracle-bone inscriptions. As for Fowler, already when he was a graduate student he published a translation of Qiu Xigui’s “On the Burning of Human Victims and the Fashioning of Clay Dragons in Order to Seek Rain as Seen in the Shang Dynasty Oracle-Bone Inscriptions” (201960; 1983),²⁵ but in his case too his doctoral dissertation seems to have been his last work on oracle-bone inscriptions.

In 1987, Redouane DJAMOURI submitted his doctoral dissertation “Etudes des formes syntaxiques dans les écrits oraculaires graves sur os et écailles de tortue” (202200) to the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. Over the course of the decade between 1992 and 2001, Djamouri would go on to publish numerous articles on the grammar of oracle-bone inscriptions, such as “Un emploi particulier de *you* [有] en chinois archaïque” (202590; 1992), “Emploi des déictiques *zi* [茲] et *zhi* [之] dans les inscriptions des Shang (202660; 1994), “L’emploi des signes numériques dans les inscriptions Shang” (202670; 1994), “Les

24 ZHAO Lin (CHAO Lin) 趙林, “Shangdai zongjiao Xinyang de duixiang ji qi chongbai tixi” 商代宗教信仰的對象及其崇拜體系, *Guoli Zhengzhi daxue xuebao* 國立政治大學學報 72 上 (1996): 1-20; “Lun Shangdai de fu yu zi” 論商代的父與子, *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 21.1 (2003): 1-22; “Lun Shangdai mu yu nü” 論商代母與女, *Zhongguo Wenhua daxue Zhongwen xuebao* 中國文化大學中文學報 10 (2005): 1-22; “Shang wang Wu Ding fa Bafang” 商王武丁伐巴方, *Zhongguo Wenhua daxue Zhongwen xuebao* 中國文化大學中文學報 16 (2008): 5-17; “Lun Shangdai de hunyin zhidu ji qi qinshu jiegou zhi xingtai” 論商代的婚姻制度及其親屬結構之形態, *Zhongguo Wenhua daxue Zhongwen xuebao* 中國文化大學中文學報 20 (2010): 1-52.

25 QIU Xigui 裘錫圭, “Shuo buci de fen wu wang yu zuo tu” 說卜辭的焚巫尪與作土, *Jiaguwen yu Yin Shang shi* 甲骨文與殷商史 1 (1983): 21-35.

syntagmes prépositionnels en *yu* 於 et *zai* 在 en chinois archaïque” (202950; 1997), “Evolution of *zhi* in Archaic Chinese” (203040; 1999), “Études grammaticales des inscriptions Shang: Résultats acquis” (203220; 2001), “Markers of Predication in Shang Bone Inscriptions” (203230; 2001) and “Système des pronoms démonstratifs en chinois basarchaïque” (203240; 2001). In 2001, Djamouri also edited a volume of essays entitled *Collected Essays in Ancient Chinese Grammar* (203250), which included his own study “Système des pronoms démonstratifs en chinois basarchaïque” (203240), as well as studies by Chrystelle MARÉCHAL (“La désignation du terme générique pour couleur en chinois” [203300]) and Edwin G. PULLEYBLANK (“Syllable Structure and Morphology in Old Chinese” [203310]) that also touched on topics in oracle-bone studies. Unfortunately, after this time Djamouri too seems to have moved on to different topics in his research.

2.12 Scholarly Achievements in France during the 1990s

During the 1990s, a group of French scholars became the leading current of western oracle-bone studies. As noted just above, Redouane Djamouri published numerous studies concerning the grammar of oracle-bone inscriptions. Aside from specialized studies of grammar, he also published several articles with rather broader content, such as “Écriture et langue dans les inscriptions chinoises archaïques (XIV^e-XI^e siècle avant notre ère)” (202940; 1997) and “Écriture et divination sous les Shang” (203030; 1999). Other studies of the language of Shang inscriptions were published by Alain PEYRAUBE: “On the History of Chinese Locative Prepositions” (202710) and “Problems Relating to the History of Different Copulas in Ancient Chinese” (202720), both published in 1994. Five years later, Peyraube would edit together with SUN Chaofen 孫朝奮 a collection of essays dedicated to their teacher Mei Tsu-lin 梅祖麟: *Studies on Chinese Historical Syntax and Morphology: Linguistic Essays in Honour of Mei Tsu-lin*,²⁶ which included Redouane Djamouri’s study “Evolution of *zhi* in Archaic Chinese.” Another edited volume on paleography, that also included studies of oracle-bone inscriptions, was published in 1995 by Shun-chiu YAU 游順釗: *Écriture archaïques, systèmes et déchiffrement* (202840).

²⁶ Alain PEYRAUBE and SUN Chaofen ed., *Studies on Chinese Historical Syntax and Morphology: Linguistic Essays in Honour of Mei Tsu-lin*. Collection des Cahiers de linguistique: Asie orientale 3. Paris: Centre de Recherches Linguistiques sur l’Asie Orientale, 1999.

One of the articles on oracle-bone inscriptions was by Françoise BOTTÉRO, her first published article: “Les trente premières années du déchiffrement des inscriptions oraculaires (1903-1933)” (202750). The next year, Bottéro published her doctoral dissertation, *Sémantisme et Classification dans l’Écriture Chinoise: Les Systèmes de Classement des Caractères par Clés du Shuowen jiezi au Kangxi zidian* (100880), that she had submitted to the Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises of the Collège de France. Since this time, she has published many articles on the *Shuo wen jie zi* and linguistic topics, which have been introduced in Chapter One. In the first decade of the 2000s, she also published several studies of oracle-bone inscriptions, such as “Variantes graphiques dans les inscriptions sur os et écailles” (203210; 2001) and “Writing on Shell and Bone in Shang China” (203400; 2004). Bottéro now works at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in Paris.

Another article on oracle-bone inscriptions published in Shun-chiu Yau’s *Écriture archaïques, systèmes et déchiffrement* was by Olivier VENTURE, also his first scholarly publication: “Texte et organization graphique dans les inscriptions Shang sur os et carapaces” (202830; 1995). Venture completed his Ph.D. at Université Paris 7 in 2002, with a dissertation that addresses both oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions: “Étude d’un employ rituel de l’écrit dans la Chine archaïque (XIIIe-VIIIe siècle avant notre ère)—Réflexion sur les matériaux épigraphiques des Shang et des Zhou occidentaux” (302540). Since then he has published numerous articles on both of these topics, as well as on bamboo and silk manuscripts; his articles primarily on oracle-bone inscriptions include “Quelques observations au sujet de la mise en page des textes de divination sur plastron” (203340; 2001) and “L’écriture et la communication avec les esprits en Chine ancienne” (101200; 2002).

In 1992 and 1999, the most eminent scholar of ancient China in France, Léon VANDERMEERSCH, published two articles on oracle-bone studies: “L’imaginaire divinatoire dans l’histoire en Chine” (202600; 1992) and “Entre divination et écriture: Essai de clonage d’un texte des *Annales sur bamboo*” (203130; 1999). Vandermeersch was born in 1928, and studied Chinese and Vietnamese, as well as philosophy and law at university. In 1951, after graduating from university, he went to Vietnam, which was then still a French colony, to be a teacher and museum researcher. At this time, he edited his first scholarly publication: *Les miroirs de bronze du Musée de Hanoi*.²⁷ After leaving Vietnam in 1958, he studied first in

²⁷ Léon VANDERMEERSCH, *Les miroirs de bronze du Musée de Hanoi* (Hanoi: Musée Louis Finot, 1960).

Kyoto, Japan, and then in Hong Kong. In Hong Kong, in particular, he was a student of Jao Tsung-i, and the two men developed a close relationship that lasted until Jao's death in 2018. It was with Jao Tsung-i that Vandermeersch began to study oracle-bone inscriptions. In 1966, he returned to France, where he established the study of Chinese at the Faculté des lettres d'Aix-en-Provence. In 1973, he moved to Paris to take up a professorship at the École Pratiques des Hautes Études. Shortly thereafter, he published his doctoral dissertation as *Wangdao ou la voie royale: Recherches sur l'esprit des institutions de la Chine archaïque* Tome 1: *Structures culturelles et structures familiales* (201400; 1977), which has become a classic of western Sinological literature. In 1993, after reaching French retirement age, Vandermeersch retired from teaching, but has remained very active in scholarship, first publishing a volume of his scholarly essays, *Etudes sinologiques*, in 1994.²⁸ In 1997, the renowned French Sinologist Jacques GERNET and Vandermeersch's own student Marc KALINOWSKI edited another volume of essays in honor of Vandermeersch, with the appropriate title *En suivant la Voie Royale: Mélanges offerts en hommage à Léon Vandermeersch*.²⁹ This volume includes studies of oracle-bone inscriptions by Sarah ALLAN ("Tian as Sky: The Conceptual Implications" [202930]) and by Jean Lefeuvre ("Grands et petits territoires" [202990]). In 2013, Vandermeersch published another book of his own: *Les deux raisons de la pensée chinoise: Divination et idéographie* (101640), in which he proposed a very audacious notion, that divination was the basis of knowledge in ancient China, and was inextricably linked with writing. This is an idea that Vandermeersch has been emphasizing for many years now, first seen already in his 1974 article "De la tortue à l'achillée" (201220). *Les deux raisons de la pensée chinoise* marks the crowning glory of Vandermeersch's many decades of scholarship.

The most important event in French oracle-bone scholarship of recent decades took place December 1-3, 1999, when a large international conference was convened in Paris to celebrate the centennial of the discovery of oracle bones. The organizer of the conference was YAU Shun-chiu. Before organizing this conference, Yau had already been quite active in French scholarship on ancient Chinese linguistics and paleography. As mentioned above, in 1995 he edited a volume of essays entitled *Écriture archaïques, systèmes et déchiffrement*, and in the two years before that had published two articles of his own on oracle-bone studies: "A Linguistics for the Chinese Writing System: With Special Reference to Its

²⁸ Léon VANDERMEERSCH, *Etudes sinologiques* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1994).

²⁹ Jacques GERNET and Marc KALINOWSKI ed., *En suivant la Voie Royale: Mélanges offerts en hommage à Léon Vandermeersch*, Études thématiques 7 (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1997).

Paleography” (202630; 1993) and “Le roi et moi: ou le role motivateur des objets manufactures dans la formation des idéo-pictogrammes chinois” (202740; 1994). The 1999 conference brought together oracle-bone specialists from mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, France, England, Canada, and the United States, presenting papers in three different languages: Chinese, French and English. These papers were subsequently edited by Yau and his student Chrystelle MARÉCHAL and published in 2001 as *Actes du Colloque international commémorant le centenaire de la découverte des inscriptions sur os et carapaces* (203360). The volume is exceptionally rich in scholarship and can serve as something of a milestone for the first one-hundred years of western scholarship on oracle bones. The papers by the western scholars who attended the conference include the following:

- William G. BOLTZ, “The Structure of OBI Characters” (203200)
 Françoise BOTTÉRO, “Variantes graphiques dans les inscriptions sur os et écailles” (203210)
 Redouane DJAMOURI, “Études grammaticales des inscriptions Shang: Résultats acquis” (203220)
 David N KEIGHTLEY, “The Diviners’ Notebooks: Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions as Secondary Sources” (203270)
 Jean A. LEFEUVRE, “La graphie 寶 et ses variantes dans les inscriptions oraculaires et son évolution dans les inscriptions sur bronze” (203290)
 Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA, “A Cosmography of Shang Oracle-Bone Graphs” (203320)
 Léon VANDERMEERSCH, “La filiation chéloniomantique de l’achilléomancie” (203330)
 Olivier VENTURE, “Quelques observations au sujet de la mise en page des textes de divination sur plastron” (203340)
 WANG Tao 汪濤, “Oracle Bones and Western Sinology” (203350)

Not only do these essays include scholarship by such senior scholars as David N. Keightley, Jean Lefevre, Ken-ichi Takashima and Léon Vandermeersch, but also introduced such younger scholars as Olivier Venture and WANG Tao 汪濤, as well as the co-editor of the volume Chrystelle MARÉCHAL, all of whom have gone on to produce excellent scholarship in this field.

Aside from the important developments in oracle bone studies in France, the 1990s saw quite a few research results elsewhere in the West as well; here I can mention only the most representative among them. In chronological order, the following works are deserving of mention: Robert ENO’s “Was There a High-God *Ti* in Shang Religion?” (202460; 1990); Sarah ALLAN’s *The Shape of the Turtle:*

Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China (202530; 1991); WANG Tao's doctoral dissertation "Colour Symbolism in Late Shang China" (202620; 1993); David W. PANKENIER's "The Cosmo-Political Background of Heaven's Mandate" (202820;1995); Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY's "Micro-Periodization and the Calendar of a Shang Military Campaign" (202880; 1996); and two works by CHEN Zhi 陳致, both published in 1999: "A New Reading of 'Yen-yen'" (203050) and "A Study of the Bird Cult of the Shang People" (203060). Also in 1999, David N. Keightley published several different articles: in addition to his chapter "The Shang: China's First Historical Dynasty" in the *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, which has already been mentioned above, he also published the following three articles: "At the Beginning: The Status of Women in Neolithic and Shang China" (203070), "Shamanism, Death, and the Ancestors: Religious Mediation in Neolithic and Shang China (ca. 5000-1000 B.C.)" (203090), and "Theology and the Writing of History: Truth and the Ancestors in the Wu Ding Divination Records" (203110), the diversity of these topics showing well the breadth of Keightley's scholarship.

2.13 Research Published Since 2000

The beginning of the twenty-first century was particularly auspicious for oracle-bone studies in the West. Not only did the year 2000 see the publication of David Keightley's *The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China (ca. 1200-1045 B.C.)*, already introduced above, but it also saw the publication of Aihe WANG's *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China* (203190), a book that surveyed ancient Chinese political philosophy from the Shang through the Han periods, rather resembling in flavor the great work of the French Sinologist Marcel GRANET (1884-1940), but taking full advantage of all of the most recent archaeological discoveries. Despite these early advances, and the work of Keightley, Takashima and the young French scholars Françoise Bottéro and Olivier Venture, it was not until 2007 that oracle-bone scholarship took its first of three new great paces forward, in the form of three different doctoral dissertations. In that year, Haicheng WANG 王海城 completed his doctoral dissertation at Princeton University: "Writing and the State in Early China in Comparative Perspective" (101460), a comprehensive comparison of the early uses of writing in the four civilizations where it was independently invented: Mesopotamia, Egypt, China and Meso-America, arguing that in all of these civilizations writing developed in tandem with the needs of government, as is well attested in Mesopotamia. This dissertation was subsequently published as a book by Cambridge University Press (101660; 2014). The year after Haicheng Wang's dissertation was completed

brought yet another important doctoral dissertation: Adam Daniel SMITH's "Writing at Anyang: The Role of the Divination Record in the Emergence of Chinese Literacy" (203660; 2008). This dissertation has yet to be formally published, with only some portions of it published as separate articles, as for instance "The Evidence for Scribal Training at Anyang" (203750) and "The Chinese Sexagenary Cycle and the Ritual Foundations of the Calendar" (203760), both published in 2011, and also "Are Writing Systems Intelligently Designed?" (203840; 2013). Smith's doctoral dissertation was a study of the Huayuanzhuang dongdi 花園莊東地 oracle bones, and particularly the question of how the Shang dynasty scribes were trained to write. The dissertation has an extremely strong theoretical stance, not only comparing how people in various ancient societies learned to write, but also examining such related questions as the role of the nervous system in how small children acquire literacy; it is enlightening in many respects. The third of these three doctoral dissertations on oracle-bone studies, just completed in 2013, is also a study of the Huayuanzhuang dongdi oracle bones. Strangely enough it is also by a young scholar named Adam, in this case Adam SCHWARTZ: "Huayuanzhuang East I: A Study And Annotated Translation Of The Oracle Bone Inscriptions" (203820). Although the two Adams' dissertations both focus on the Huayuanzhuang dongdi oracle bones, which were discovered in 1990, the format and content of the dissertations are starkly different. As mentioned, Adam Smith's dissertation is heavily theoretical, whereas that of Adam Schwartz is an extremely thoroughly annotated complete translation of these oracle-bone inscriptions. Schwartz is fully abreast of all of the latest oracle-bone research that has been published in China, and his dissertation serves as an excellent integration of the best work by both Chinese and western scholars.

ENGRAVED IN SHELL AND BONE: BIOGRAPHIES

James Mellon MENZIES (1885-1957)



James Mellon MENZIES was born on January 23, 1885 in the Canadian town of Clinton, Ontario. From 1903 to 1907 he studied engineering at the University of Toronto, and worked as a land surveyor after his graduation. However, after just a short time he decided to become a missionary. He attended the Presbyterian divinity school, where he studied Hebrew and Greek. After graduating from the seminary in 1910, he was sent to China as a missionary. Upon his arrival in China, he was first stationed in Wu'an 武安 in northern Henan, and then in 1912 was transferred to Anyang 安陽, where he was stationed long-term. In 1913, he married Annie Belle MENZIES, with whom he had four children, the second of whom, Arthur (1916-2010), would go on to become the Canadian ambassador to China from 1976 to 1980.



Fig. 12: Left: Wedding picture of James Mellon MENZIES and Annie Belle MENZIES; Right: Arthur MENZIES (1916-2010)

In 1917, with the entry of Canada into World War I, Menzies was drafted into the Canadian army and dispatched to France, where he served as an interpreter for the Chinese Labour Corps. The great majority of Chinese workers in the Chinese Labour Corps came from Shandong; they were sent from Tianjin across the Pacific to British Columbia, and then sent by train across Canada, before finally crossing the Atlantic to reach France. This experience further solidified Menzies' relationship with China, and he would develop a special relationship with Shandong in later decades. In 1921, he returned to China, once again stationed in Anyang, where he would remain for another six years. In 1927, at the time of the Nationalist government's Northern Expedition, the unsettled conditions in north China made it impossible for Menzies to continue his missionary work in Anyang; his only recourse was to go to Peiping (Beijing), where he received an appointment as an instructor in the North China Union Language School. In 1929, he returned to Canada for a year of home leave, during which time he also traveled to Jerusalem to study archaeology. In 1930, he again returned to Anyang, where he lived for another two years. Just at this time the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica was conducting archaeological excavations at the village of Xiaotun 小屯 near Anyang. Since Menzies' home was quite near the village, he was a frequent visitor to the excavation site and became well acquainted with most of the archaeologists; he became especially good friends with DONG Zuobin 董作賓 (1895-1963). In all, Menzies lived in Anyang and its vicinity for nearly twenty years. However, in 1932 he moved to Jinan 濟南, Shandong, where he was appointed to be a professor at that city's Cheeloo University 齊魯大學, where, teaching in Chinese, he taught oracle-bone inscriptions and archaeology. He was also instrumental in establishing the university's museum, most of the original artifacts coming from Menzies' personal collection. In 1937, he again returned to Canada, expecting to be there for just one year. However, just as he was to return to China, the Japanese army occupied northern China, making it impossible for Menzies to return. Stranded in Canada, he enrolled once again in the University of Toronto, studying with the famous missionary and Sinologist William Charles WHITE (1873-1960), who had been the Anglican bishop of Henan. In 1941, Menzies submitted a doctoral dissertation entitled "The Bronze Age Culture of China," but it was not approved. The following year, he re-submitted just the second half of this thesis, now entitled "Shang Ko," and was awarded a Ph.D.¹ This thesis proposed a typology for the 177 Shang-dynasty *ge* 戈 dagger-axes in the collection of

1 This doctoral dissertation was published posthumously as *Shang Ko: A Study of the Characteristic Weapon of the Bronze Age in China in the Period 1311-1039 B.C.* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1967).

the Royal Ontario Museum. Unfortunately, Menzies's relationship with Bishop White soured and he determined not to remain in Toronto after his graduation. With World War II raging, he went to the United States, where he worked, first in San Francisco and then later in Washington, as a China specialist in the Office of Information. At the end of the war, Menzies retired to Toronto, suffering from heart disease. He died on March 16, 1957, never having been able to return to China.

Shortly after Menzies arrived in Anyang in 1912, he was riding on his white horse in the near-by village of Xiaotun when he saw children of the village digging in the ground. Asking the children what they were doing, he was told that they were digging for "dragon bones." From this moment, he too began collecting oracle bones. In 1917, he published the first fruits of his collecting activities: *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin* (200110),² which included 2,369 pieces. In 1920, when he returned to Anyang from his war service in France, he continued his missionary work, but now devoted himself more and more to his archaeological and paleographic interests. Between 1924 and 1927, he purchased a great many oracle bones, many of which were included in a book that he published in 1928: *Yinxu buci houbian* 殷虛卜辭後編 (Latter edition of Yinxu divination statements).³ The years from 1930 to 1932, when he moved to Jinan to take up his professorship at Cheeloo University, coincided with the archaeological work conducted by the Institute of History and Philology. We know from Dong Zuobin's reports, that in addition to the official archaeological excavations going on at this time, private individuals continued to dig in the vicinity, and Menzies presumably also continued to collect oracle bones. Whether he continued to do so after his move to Jinan is hard to say, but he amassed a very considerable collection. According to calculations by HU Houxuan 胡厚宣 (1911-1995), Menzies's collection totaled 31,516 pieces, which were subsequently dispersed to four separate institutions: 2,390 pieces went to the Nanjing Museum, 8,168 pieces entered the Shandong Provincial Museum, 20,364 pieces went to the Palace Museum in Beijing, and 5,170 went with Menzies to the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, though another five pieces are in the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria in Victoria, Canada.⁴ Menzies had intended to take his entire collection back to China, in 1947 writing to his son: "How I would have liked to finish my work in Cheeloo, if it only meant handing

2 MING Yishi 明義士 (James Mellon MENZIES), *Yinxu buci* 殷虛卜辭 (Added English title: *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin*) (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1917; rpt. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1972).

3 This book was not formally published until 1972: MING Yishi 明義士 (James M. Menzies), *Yinxu buci houbian* 殷虛卜辭後編, XU Jinxiong 許進雄 (HSÜ Chin-hsiung) ed., (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1972).

4 See *Chinese Art from the Rev. Dr. James M. Menzies Family Collection* (Victoria, British Columbia: The Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1989).

things over to the university in a proper way, so that archaeology would have its settled place in the curriculum of studies.”⁵ Unfortunately, with the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, with which Canada did not have any formal diplomatic relations, it was not possible at that time to fulfill Menzies’ wish. After his death in 1957, his family sold the pieces he had in Canada to the Royal Ontario Museum, which finally published them in 1972 and 1977 as *The Menzies Collection of Shang Dynasty Oracle Bones*, Volume I: *A Catalogue* (201120) and *The Menzies Collection of Shang Dynasty Oracle Bones*, Volume II: *The Text* (201320). These two volumes were edited by James Chinghsung HSÜ 許進雄, who was concurrently working on his Ph.D. at the University of Toronto and also serving as curator at the Royal Ontario Museum. In addition to these two volumes, Hsü also edited a new edition of Menzies’ *Yinxu buci houbian*, which he published in Taiwan in 1972.⁶

James Menzies is best known for his collecting activities, but this was not his only contribution to the study of oracle bones. Not only did he establish the museum of Chee-loo University, but he also published articles in virtually every issue of that university’s scholarly journal, the *Qilu daxue jikan* 齊魯大學季刊, from his “Shangdai wenhua” 商代文化 (Shang culture) in the first issue to the fifth issue’s “Zhongguo gudai zhi shangdi” 中國古代之上帝 (Ancient China’s god), written just before he left China in 1936. In his book *Jiagu yanjiu chubian* 甲骨研究初編 (First edition of studies of oracle bones),⁷ published in 1933, he provided a comprehensive account of the history of oracle-bone collecting from their first discovery in 1899 until the beginning of scholarly excavations in 1928, said by WANG Yuxin 王宇信 to be the “most accurate, complete and authoritative” account of these activities.⁸ More than this, Menzies also offered his own research on the genealogy of the Shang kings, which was virtually identical to that offered by GUO Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978) in his famous book *Buci tongzuan* 卜辭通纂, which was published in the same year. After his return to Canada in 1936, even though Menzies received a Ph.D., it proved difficult for him to continue to do research on oracle-bone inscriptions. He left behind a large number of unfinished studies:⁹

“Introduction to the Study of Oracle Bones” (1934 draft)

“The Genealogy of Kings and Queens of Shang Dynasty” (1934 printed)

⁵ Quoted at Linfu DONG, *Cross Culture and Faith: The Life and Work of James Mellon Menzies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 232.

⁶ XU Jinxiong 許進雄, ed., *Yinxu buci houbian* 殷墟卜辭後編 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1972).

⁷ MING Yishi 明以士, *Jiagu yanjiu chubian* 甲骨研究初編 (Mimeograph: Jinan: Qi-Lu daxue, 1933; pub. Jinan: Qi-Lu shushe, 1996).

⁸ WANG Yuxin 王宇信, *Jiaguxue tonglun* 甲骨學通論 (Beijing: Shehui Kexue chubanshe, 1989), p. 40.

⁹ For this listing, see DONG, *Cross Culture and Faith*, p. 195.

- “Later Collection of Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin” (n.d.; “ready for publication”)
- “A Comparative Study of All the Extant Oracle Bone Sentences” (1936; “in process”)
- “The Wars of the Shang Dynasty in the Oracle Bones” (1935; “research partially done”)
- “The Shapes of Shang Dynasty Vessels” (1935; “materials collected”)
- “The Early Art of China” (1935; draft)
- “A Dictionary Index of the Characters in the Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin” (card index completed)
- “A Translation with Commentary of the *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin*” (commentary incomplete)
- “The Religious Conception of the Shang Dynasty” (1936; in process)

In addition to these scholarly studies, he did complete a card catalog index to characters in oracle-bone inscriptions, which however was never published. In his *Jiaguxue tonglun* 甲骨學通論 (Comprehensive discussion of oracle-bone studies), Wang Yuxin provided the following appraisal of James Menzies’ contributions to oracle-bone studies:

Menzies pioneered the use of archaeological methods to explore the periodization of oracle bones, by which he obtained important results. It is unfortunate that this great contribution of his has been largely forgotten, which is unjust.¹⁰

From his arrival in China in 1910, James Menzies devoted his entire life to China. In fact, even after his death, his family members continued this dedication to China and Chinese studies. In 1957, they sold his collection of oracle bones to the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, using the proceeds of the sale to establish a fellowship for students of Chinese studies in Canada. What is more, in 1999, his descendants donated his personal library, including his personal notes and manuscripts to Shandong University, the successor institution to Cheeloo University, where he had taught, and in the year 2000, FANG Hui 方輝, professor of archaeology at Shandong University, published a detailed account of Menzies’s life.¹¹

10 WANG Yuxin, *Jiaguxue tonglun*, p. 159.

11 FANG Hui 方輝, *Ming Yishi he tade cangpin* 明義士和他的藏品 (Jinan: Shandong daxue, 2000). See too Linfu DONG, *Cross Culture and Faith: The Life and Work of James Mellon Menzies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

Paul L-M SERRUYS, C.I.C.M. (1912-1999)



Paul L-M SERRUYS, C.I.C.M. was born on November 19, 1912, in the village of Heule-Watermolen in West Flanders, Belgium. In 1931, after graduating from the Catholic university of Louvain, he and his brother Henry SERRUYS, C.I.C.M. (1911-1983) entered the seminary of the order of *Congratiō Immaculati Cordi Mariae*; he was ordained as a priest in 1936. The next year, he was sent as a missionary to China, first studying Chinese for one year in Beijing, and then in 1938 going to the village of Xicetian 西册田 in northern Shanxi province (halfway between Datong 大同 and Hunyuan 渾源). In 1943, he was arrested by the Japanese army, and was interned for half a year in a Japanese concentration camp in Shandong. He spent the period from August, 1943 until the end of the war under house arrest in Beijing. With the end of the war, he returned to Shanxi, this time to the village of Zhangguantun 張關屯, where he lived for two years. From 1947 until 1949, he studied at Furen University 輔仁大學 in Beijing. However, with the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, all Belgian missionaries were withdrawn from the country, so that Serruys was compelled to return home. Afterwards, both he and his brother Henry were sent by their order to the United States for graduate study, Henry going to Columbia University in New York where he studied Mongolian, and Paul going to the University of California at Berkeley, where he studied ancient Chinese philology with Peter BOODBERG (1903-1972), Y.R. CHAO 趙元任 (ZHAO Yuanren; 1892-1982), CH'EN Shih-hsiang 陳世驥 (CHEN Shixiang; 1912-1971) and Wolfram EBERHARD (1909-1989). He completed his Ph.D., in 1956, with a dissertation on the Han-dynasty text *Fangyan* 方言; it was

formally published three years later as *The Chinese Dialects of Han Time According to Fang Yen* (100480). In 1962, he was appointed as professor of Chinese at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., moving in 1965 to the University of Washington in Seattle, where he would remain until his mandatory retirement in 1981. After retiring from the University of Washington, Serruys went to Taiwan for four years, working at the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica. However, at the end of this time, he returned to the United States for a number of years, before finally returning to Belgium in 1994. He passed away in August, 1999, while living at the C.I.C.M. retirement home at Kessel-lo, on the outskirts of Louvain. He was 87 years old.

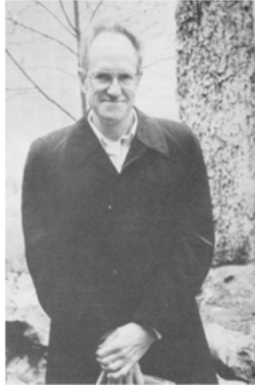
Serruys middle school curriculum included mandatory courses in French, German, Greek and Latin. In addition, he grew up in the Flemish speaking part of Belgium, and always thereafter insisted on the importance of Flemish. Given this linguistic background, it is not surprising that during his time as a missionary in Shanxi he was particularly interested in dialects, or that his doctoral dissertation should be on this topic. It was not until he began teaching at Georgetown University in the mid-1960s that he first turned his attention to excavated texts. He himself joked that his interest in oracle-bone inscriptions was entirely a matter of chance. In 1970, the *Journal of Asian Studies* was looking for someone to review the book *Der Kult der Shang-Dynastie im Spiegel der Orakelinschriften: Eine paläographische Studie zur Religion im archaischen China* by CHANG Tsung-tung,¹ and he was the only paleographer who could read German. He published a short review in the *Journal of Asian Studies* (201130), but then two years later published a second, much longer review in the journal *T'oung Pao*: "Studies in the Language of the Shang Oracle Inscriptions" (201210; 1974). This was presented as a book review, but it was essentially Serruys's own research on oracle-bone inscriptions. It included at least two major innovations in the reading of these inscriptions. First, Serruys for the first time argued that oracle-bone inscriptions should be read as statements, and not as questions. This has been accepted by virtually all western scholars of oracle bones, as well as by many of the leading scholars in China. Second, he pointed out the modal use of the particle *qi* 其 in oracle-bone inscriptions, arguing that in paired inscriptions of the reign of King Wu Ding it invariably appears on the side of the pair that is not desired. These two insights marked a great breakthrough in the reading of oracle-bone inscriptions, and should be regarded as the most important western contributions to their study.

¹ CHANG, Tsung-tung, *Der Kult der Shang-Dynastie im Spiegel der Orakelinschriften: Eine paläographische Studie zur Religion im archaischen China* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970).

Throughout his life, Paul Serruys published only very rarely,² and the studies that he did publish were never very easy to read or understand. However, they were invariably filled with insightful explanations of ancient Chinese. What is more, in the 1960s and 1970s, he trained a cohort of students at the University of Washington who would go on to be the leading scholars in various fields of Chinese linguistics and paleography; these included Ting Pang-hsin 丁邦新, Gilbert MATTOS (1939-2002), **Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA** 高嶋謙一 (see the brief biography appended to this chapter), W. South COBLIN and Axel SCHUESSLER.

² Aside from his studies of oracle-bone inscriptions, Serruys also published several book reviews and articles in the field of Chinese grammar, such as: "(Review of) W.A.C.H. Dobson, *Late Archaic Chinese*," *Monumenta Serica* 22 (1963): 256-96, "Remarks on the Nature, Functions and Meanings of the Grammatical Particle in Literary Chinese," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 96 (1976): 543-69, "The Function and Meaning of *yün* in *Shih ching*: Its Cognates and Variants," *Monumenta Serica* 29 (1970-71): 264-337; "Studies in the Language of the *Shih-ching*, I: The Final Particle *Yi*," *Early China* 16 (1991): 81-168.

David N. KEIGHTLEY (1932-2017)



David Noel KEIGHTLEY was born on October 25, 1932 in London, England, the son of an English mother and an American father, for which reason he had American citizenship. After the conclusion of the Second World War, the family returned to America, where Keightley completed his high school education at Evanston High School in the suburbs of Chicago. He then attended Amherst College, graduating in 1955. The following year, he earned an M.A. in Modern European History from New York University. Thereafter, from 1956 to 1962 he worked as an editor in the publishing world of New York.

Having decided to study Chinese history, in 1962 he entered the graduate school of Columbia University. He originally intended to study modern Chinese history, but midway through his studies he decided to change his focus to ancient history. This was spurred in large part by the book *Oriental Despotism* by Karl A. WITTFOGEL (1896-1988),¹ which at that time was a topic of vigorous debate among western Sinologists. It was Wittfogel's thesis that the Ancient Near Eastern states (Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia), as well as India and China were "hydraulic societies," in which the masses of people were pressed by the state into great hydraulic projects. In large measure, Keightley's doctoral dissertation, "Public Work in Ancient China: A Study of Forced Labor in Shang and Western Chou" (201030; 1969), was a response to this thesis. From 1965 to 1966, Keightley

¹ Karl August WITTFOGEL, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957).

went to Taiwan to study. While there he met CHAO Lin 趙林, who was a graduate student at the University of Chicago, working on his own dissertation entitled “Shang Government” (201110; 1972), which was based in large part on Shang oracle-bone inscriptions. It was from Chao that Keightley learned the basics of oracle-bone studies. When he returned to the United States to write his own dissertation, he based himself on Shang oracle-bone inscriptions and Western Zhou bronze inscriptions to refute Wittfogel’s main thesis. In his abstract, Keightley stated: “It should be noticed that the large-scale mobilization of labor for warfare and agriculture, and the existence of a proto-bureaucracy to administer it, far precedes any hydraulic role by the government. Historical reasons, rather than the theories of the geographical determinists, explain the development of Shang public work and its continuance by the Chou. The survival of both dynasties, surrounded by hostile tribes, depended upon strong military forces, which in turn required efficient manpower conscription and weapons production. The Shang were the first group to organize their subjects in this way because they were the first group in China to possess the indispensable bureaucratic tool—a written language.”² After completing his dissertation in 1969, Keightley accepted an appointment as professor of ancient Chinese history at the University of California at Berkeley, where he would continue to work for almost thirty years, focusing throughout on oracle-bone inscriptions and Shang history.

Different from most American scholars, Keightley did not immediately publish his doctoral dissertation. He said that in order to understand fully the major historical issues, it was necessary first to make explicit the historiographical premises. Because of this, he spent the first decade of his career at Berkeley studying the basic questions of oracle-bone studies. Finally in 1978 he published his monumental *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (201490), which provided a comprehensive introduction to the field. This book was David Keightley’s most important work, a model of scholarship that has served as the foundation for virtually all subsequent western study of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions.³ After publishing *Sources of Shang History*, over the next decade or so Keightley went on to publish at least one major article almost every year, the contents

2 David Noel KEIGHTLEY, “Public Work in Ancient China: A Study of Forced Labor in Shang and Western Chou” (Ph.D. diss.: Columbia University, 1969), Abstract, n.p.

3 *Sources of Shang History* received a great many book reviews, all of them giving it the highest praise; see J.A. LEFEUVRE, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 40.3 (May 1981): 588-90; Henry ROSE-MONT Jr., *Philosophy East & West* 30.2 (April 1980): 277-78; K.C. CHANG, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41.2 (Dec. 1981): 633-40; E.G. PULLEYBLANK, “Review: Divination Records as Sources for the History of Bronze Age China,” *History of Religions* 20.3 (Feb. 1981): 287-89; Lester BILSKY, *The American Historical Review* 84.5 (Dec. 1979): 1448-9; Stanley L. MICKEL II, *Journal*

covering virtually every topic in Shang history, including religion (“The Religious Commitment: Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture” [201470; 1978], geography (“The Late Shang State: When, Where, and What?” [201910; 1983], archaeology (“Archaeology and Mentality: The Making of China” [202220; 1987], technology (“Craft and Culture: Metaphors of Governance in Early China” [202350; 1989], and many more. During this time, some of his articles were also translated into Chinese and published in Chinese scholarly journals, such as “Zhongguo zhi zheng shi zhi yuanliu: Shang wang zhanbu shifou yiguan zhengque” 中國之正史之源流：商王占卜是否一貫正確 (The origin of China’s standard histories: Were the Shang king’s divinations always correct?), published in 1986 in the journal *Guwenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究 (Paleographic studies), “Cong kaogu qiwu kan Zhongguo siwei shijie de xingcheng” (Using archaeological artifacts to see how the Chinese intellectual world formed) published in 1988 in the journal *Zhongguo wenhua yu Zhongguo zhexue* 中國文化與中國哲學 (Chinese culture and Chinese philosophy), and “Zhongguo gudai de jiri yu miaohao” 中國古代的吉日與廟號 (Ancient Chinese lucky days and temple names) published in 1989 in the inaugural issue of the journal *Yinxu bowuyuan yuankan* 殷墟博物院院刊 (Bulletin of the Yin museum). 1 (1989 年). Despite this, most of Keightley’s scholarship is still largely unknown to Chinese readers.



Fig. 13: David Keightley attending the 1984 “Yinxu bihui” at Anyang, flanked by the great oracle-bone scholars HU Houxuan 胡厚宣 (l.) and ZHANG Zhenglang 張政烺 (r.)

of the American Oriental Society 102.3 (1982): 572-73; Sarah ALLAN, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44.1 (1981): 195-96; Rémi MATHIEU, *T'oung Pao* 67.1/2 (1981): 116-18; William G. BOLTZ, *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 3.1 (1981): 159-63.

During just the three years from 1999 to 2001, in the prime of his career Keightley published a number of important scholarly works, including “Shamanism, Death, and the Ancestors: Religious Mediation in Neolithic and Shang China (ca. 5000-1000 B.C.)” (203090; 1999); “The Shang: China’s First Historical Dynasty” (203100; 1999), which was a chapter in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*; “Theology and the Writing of History: Truth and the Ancestors in the Wu Ding Divination Records” (203110; 1999); “At the Beginning: The Status of Women in Neolithic and Shang China” (203070; 1999); *The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China (ca. 1200-1045 B.C.)* (203160; 2000); “The Diviners’ Notebooks: Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions as Secondary Sources” (203270; 2001); and “The ‘Science’ of the Ancestors: Divination, Curing, and Bronze-Casting in Late Shang China” (203280; 2001). Unfortunately, just at this time, he began to have health problems, which influenced his ability to work. Nevertheless, he persevered, and after nearly ten years of work, in 2012 published the book *Working for His Majesty: Research Notes on Labor Mobilization in Late Shang China (ca. 1200-1045 B.C.), as Seen in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions, with Particular Attention to Handicraft Industries, Agriculture, Warfare, Hunting, Construction, and the Shang’s Legacies* (203780), which on the one hand was the formal publication of his doctoral dissertation more than forty years earlier, but on the other hand also marked the culmination of his life’s work.

Aside from his own scholarship, David Keightley made many other contributions to western Sinology. Certainly the most important of these contributions was the journal *Early China*, which he founded in 1975 and of which he served as the first editor. *Early China* has earned the respect of all western scholars, and to a great extent this is due to the efforts of David Keightley. In addition to *Early China*, Keightley was also a dedicated reviewer of the work of others, publishing nearly a score of important book reviews, in all of which he displayed the highest standards of scholarly criticism.⁴

4 See “[Review of] Shima Kunio 島邦男, *Inkyo bokuji sōrui* 殷虛卜辭綜類” (201040; 1969); “Ping-ti Ho and the Origins of Chinese Civilization” (201340; 1977); “Review of Hsü Chin-hsiung: *Ming Yi-shi shou-tsang chia-ku shih-wen pien. The Menzies Collection of Shang Dynasty Oracle Bones*, Volume II (Toronto: The Royal Ontario Museum, 1977)” (201620; 1980); “Akatsuka Kiyoshi and the Culture of Early China: A Study in Historical Method” (201800; 1982); “[Review of] Wang Yü-hsin, *Chien-kuo yi-lai chia-ku-wen yen-chiu*” (201810; 1982); “Shang China is Coming of Age: A Review Article” (201820; 1982); “Oracle-Bone Collections in Great Britain: A Review Article” (202360; 1989); “[Review of] *Fa-kuo so-ts’ang jia-ku lu* 法國所藏甲骨錄, *Collections d’inscriptions oraculaires en France; Collections of Oracular Inscriptions in France* by Jean A. Lefevre” (202370; 1989); “Sources of Shang History: Two Major Oracle-Bone Collections Published in the People’s Republic of China” (202480; 1990); “Graphs, Words, Meanings: Three Reference Works for Shang Oracle-Bone Studies, with an Excursus on the Religious Role of the Day or Sun” (202970; 1997).

Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA 高嶋謙一

Ken-ichi TAKASHIMA 高嶋謙一 was born in 1939 in Tokyo, Japan. He attended Sophia University in Tokyo, studying Chinese, English and German, as well as comprehensive phonology. After two years there, he transferred to the University of Washington in the United States, where he received B.A. (1965), M.A. (1967), and Ph.D. degrees (1973). His Ph.D. dissertation was entitled “Negatives in the King Wu-ting Bone Inscriptions” (201160). Even before he had completed his Ph.D. degree, he already began teaching, in 1971 being appointed to teach in the East Asian Languages department of the University of Arizona. In 1973, he transferred to the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada, where he would remain throughout his career, except for several years (1985-1989) when he had a concurrent appointment at the Institute of Oriental Culture (東方文化研究所) at the University of Tokyo 東京大學. In 1989, he was promoted to full professor at both institutions. In 2014 he retired from the University of British Columbia, returning to Japan, where he has continued his research.

Takashima published his first scholarly article in 1977, and almost every year since then has published lengthy studies of linguistic issues concerning oracle-bone inscriptions. He has intensively studied the oracle bones discovered in June 1936 in pit YH 127 at Anyang, all of which date to the reign of the Shang king Wu Ding. During the 1950s and 1960s, scholars at the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica made great efforts in reconstructing the original turtle plastrons, piecing together the 17,000 fragments into which these plastrons had broken, publishing a series of catalogs entitled *Xiaotun: Yinxu wenzi, Bingbian* 小

屯：殷墟文字，丙編 (Xiaotun: Inscriptions from the Waste of Yin, Third Volume).¹ Takashima has argued that what makes the inscriptions on these plastrons particularly valuable for scholarly research is that they all stem from a single period of time, and thus can represent the linguistic usage of that single time, which can then serve as a benchmark for subsequent changes in the language. Throughout his career, he has been steadfastly interested in the morphology of the oracle-bone inscriptions, particularly the negatives and also the particle *qi* 其. In this he has been heavily influenced by the work of his teacher **Paul L-M SERRUYS** (1912-1999, see the brief biography appended to this chapter), but he has also developed these ideas much further. In 1981, upon his retirement from teaching at the University of Washington Serruys went to Taiwan, where he began to translate *Xiaotun: Yinxu wenzi, Bingbian*. However, when, in 1985, he was forced to discontinue this project because of health issues, Takashima agreed to complete it. According to his own account, he had already submitted a preliminary draft of the translation to the Institute of History and Philology in 1988, and in 1990 that Institute agreed to publish it. However, due to various reasons, this translation was finally published only twenty years later as *Studies of Fascicle Three of Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins* (203730; 2010). This finished translation incorporated substantial revision from the original draft, all the work of Takashima himself. Nevertheless, he very generously retained Fr. Serruys's name as co-author.

Takashima visited mainland China for the first time in 1981, to attend the conference of the Association for the Study of Chinese Paleography. At this conference, he presented a paper entitled “Wen ‘ding’” 問「鼎」 (Asking about ‘cauldron’; later published in English as “Settling the Cauldron in the Right Place: A Study of 鼎 in the Bone Inscriptions” [202230; 1987]), which was subsequently published in the journal of the association, *Guwenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究 (Paleographic studies).² From this time on, he frequently visited China, and has been a visiting professor at both East China Normal University 華東師範大學 and Anhui University 安徽大學. In 2005, together with ZHANG Deshao 張德劭 of East China Normal University, he co-edited the handbook *Jiaguwen jin yi leijian (Han Ying duizhao)* 甲骨文今譯類檢 (漢英對照) (A conspectus of modern translations of

1 ZHANG Bingquan 張秉權 ed., *Xiaotun dierben: Yinxu wenzi, Bingbian* 小屯第二本：殷墟文字，丙編 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1957, 1959, 1962, 1965, 1967, 1972).

2 GAODAO Qianyi 高嶋謙一 (TAKASHIMA Ken-ichi), “Wen ‘ding’” 問「鼎」, *Guwenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究 9 (1984): 75-96.

oracle-bone inscriptions [Chinese and English compared]).³ After this, in 2013 Anhui University Press published a four-part collection of translations of Takashima's own studies: *Anhui daxue Han yuyan wenzi yanjiu congshu: Gaodao Qianyi juan* 安徽大學漢語言文字研究叢書：高嶋謙一卷 (Anhui University collectanea of studies on Chinese linguistics and writing: Takashima Ken-ichi volume). The studies in this collection are divided into four major topics in Oracle-Bone Studies: "Methodology," "Syntax and Grammar," "Etymology and Word Roots," and "Copulas and Other Words and Culture."⁴ The contents provide a good summation of Takashima's scholarship over the preceding forty years (here listed according to the titles of the original English-language publications):

Part One: Oracle-Bone Studies: Methodology

- "Toward a More Rigorous Methodology of Deciphering Oracle-Bone Inscriptions" (203180; 2000)
- "How to Read Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions: A Critique of the Current Method" (203460; 2004)
- "Placement of Inscriptions on Oracle-Bone Plastrons as a Guide to Decipherment" (203490; 2005)
- "The Use of the Synchronic Evidence Method: Reconstructing the Shang Mat-ing Sacrifice"

Part Two: Oracle-Bone Studies: Syntax and Grammar

- "An Emphatic Verb Phrase in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions" (202310; 1988)
- "On the Quantitative Complement in Oracle-Bone Inscriptions" (202000; 1984)
- "The Structure of Words with 「乍」 and with 「史」 Components"
- "Morphology of Negatives in Oracle-Bone Inscriptions" (202320; 1988)

Part Three: Oracle-Bone Studies: Etymology and Word Roots

³ GAODAO Qianyi 高嶋謙一 (TAKASHIMA Ken-ichi) and ZHANG Deshao 張德劭 ed., *Jiaguwen jin yi leijian (Han Ying duizhao)* 甲骨文今譯類檢 (漢英對照) (Guizhou: Guangxi Jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005).

⁴ HUANG Dekuan 黃德寬 ed., *Anhui daxue Han yuyan wenzi yanjiu congshu: Gaodao Qianyi juan* 安徽大學漢語言文字研究叢書：高嶋謙一卷 (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2013).

“A Few Morphological Functions of the Suffix *-s in Shang Chinese” (203850; 2013)

“*Jisi* 祭祀: A Reconstruction of the *Ji* Sacrifice and the *Si* Ritual in Ancient China” (203690; 2009)

“Etymology and Palaeography of the Yellow River *hé* 河” (203800; 2012)

“Two Competing Interpretations: *Cóng* 从 or *Bì* 比 in Oracle-Bone Inscriptions” (203910; 2014)

Part Four: Oracle-Bone Studies: Copulas and Other Words and Culture

“A Study of the Copulas in Shang Chinese” (202500; 1990)

“Some Ritual Verbs in Shang Texts” (203380; 2002)

“The Graph  in Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions” (203550; 2006)

“The Graph for the Word ‘Time’ in Zhou Bronze Inscriptions” (303050; 2006)

“Literacy to the South and East of Anyang in Shang China: Zhengzhou and Daxinzhuang” (203770; 2011)

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3 CAST IN BRONZE AND STONE: NARRATIVE

3.1 Studies of Bronze Inscriptions before 2000

Western studies of bronze and stone inscriptions, and especially of bronze inscriptions, underwent considerable progress from its earliest efforts through the last decades of the twentieth century. However, this progress was not always smooth. Research often seemed to take one step forward, only to be followed by a step backward. In all, one would have to say that especially the earliest stages of this progress were not very promising.

The first inscribed bronze vessel to attract the attention of western scholars was the *Jin hou pan* 晉侯盤 (see Fig. 14), with an inscription of 538 characters. Stephen Wootton BUSHELL (1844-1908) purchased this vessel in Beijing in 1870, for which reason it was originally known in the West as the “Bushell Bowl.” According to Bushell’s own account, the vessel was originally in the collection of Z Aidun 載敦 (1827-1890), a Manchu prince to whom Bushell was introduced by his friend the Mongolian nobleman Yang Lishan 楊立山 (1843?-1900).

Bushell had arrived in Beijing in 1868, serving as the doctor to the English embassy. He lived there for thirty years until his retirement in 1899, ostensibly due to ill health, at which time he returned home to Great Britain. During his time in Beijing, he developed a passion for Chinese culture, and in his spare time collected a great number of antiques. He was especially interested in Chinese ceramics, and even became interested in ancient Chinese inscriptions. As early as 1873, he published an article in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* on the Stone Drums of Qin (Qin shi gu 秦石鼓): “The Stone Drums of the Chou Dynasty” (300010). By this time, he had already collected quite a few bronze vessels. In 1874, he returned to England on home leave, and at that time gave thirty-five of his pieces as a loan to the then just established Victoria and Albert Museum, where they were put on display. According to Bushell’s account, the *Jin Hou pan* was the most important of these pieces. In 1898, the museum purchased Bushell’s entire collection of bronze vessels; the price was four hundred pounds.

After retiring from the British foreign service, Bushell devoted himself to the study of Chinese art, and in 1904 and 1906 published a sumptuous two-volume

study entitled simply *Chinese Art*.¹ *Chinese Art* was published by the Victoria and Albert Museum, and many of the pieces illustrated were in the collection of that museum. The second volume contained a chapter on bronze vessels, introducing the thirty-five pieces that Bushell had collected, including especially the *Jin Hou pan*.²



Fig. 14a: *Jin Hou pan* 晉侯盤 Vessel



Fig. 14b: *Jin Hou pan* 晉侯盤 Inscription

According to Bushell's own description, the inscription on the *Jin Hou pan* commemorated an award to Lord Wen of Jin 晉文侯 (i.e., the famous prince Chong'er 重耳 of the state of Jin 晉) by King Xiang of Zhou 周襄王 (r. 650-619 B.C.), appointing him as hegemon (*ba* 霸) among all of the states. After *Chinese Art* was published, the famous French Sinologists Édouard CHAVANNES (1865-1918; see the biography appended to Chapter One) and Paul PELLIOT (1878-1945) both immediately wrote reviews of the book, both of them pointing out that they suspected that the *Jin Hou pan* was not authentic.³ They suggested two different reasons for this: first, the Chinese scholarly world had taken absolutely no notice of this piece, which would be very strange for a piece with such a lengthy inscription unless they regarded it as a forgery; second, in traditional Chinese literature, Chong'er was always referred to as Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公 (r. 636-628 B.C.),

1 S.W. BUSHELL, *Chinese Art* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, Board of Education, 1904, 1906).

2 BUSHELL, *Chinese Art*, Vol. II, pp. 71-107.

3 Édouard CHAVANNES, "S.W. Bushell: *Chinese Art*, Vol. 1," *T'oung Pao* ser. 2.6 (1905): 118-22; Paul PELLIOT, "Chine: Stephen W. Bushell: *Chinese Art*," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 5 (1905): 211-17.

whereas Lord Wen of Jin (r. 780-746 B.C.) referred to the ruler of Jin at the time of the transfer of the Zhou capital from the area of modern Xi'an 西安 to that of Luoyang 洛陽, the transition from Western Zhou to Eastern Zhou. Chavannes suggested that this sort of anachronism is impossible to reconcile. Pelliot, for his part, stated that while he had never seen the piece, and so had no basis on which to determine whether it was a forgery or not, the lack of interest in it by Chinese scholars made him think that at least the inscription must have been added to the vessel at some recent time. *Chinese Art* was reprinted in 1909. This second edition carried Bushell's own response to the criticisms of Chavannes and Pelliot. Bushell recounted that after he had bought the piece in Beijing, he had shown it to PAN Zuyin 潘祖蔭 (1830-1890), an expert paleographer of the time, and Pan had not only not raised any doubts about the piece but even arranged to have a rubbing made of the inscription.

Another western scholar who contributed to the discussion of the *Jin Hou pan* was Edward H. PARKER (1849-1926). Parker had served at the British embassy together with Bushell, though Parker was a foreign service officer. After returning to England in 1895, he was appointed professor of Chinese at the University of Manchester. In 1909, he published two separate articles discussing the *Jin Hou pan*: "The Ancient Chinese Bowl in the South Kensington Museum (I)" (300030) and "The Ancient Chinese Bowl in the South Kensington Museum (II)" 300040). The "South Kensington Museum" in the title of these two articles refers to the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the "Ancient Chinese Bowl" is none other than the *Jin Hou Pan* or *Bushell Bowl*. In the articles, Parker provided a detailed account of the history of the state of Jin, and argued as well that the historical account in the inscription was more reasonable than that available in the *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the historian). From this, he concluded that the vessel and its inscription should be authentic. Nevertheless, he argued that the "Jin Hou" 晉侯 of the inscription referred neither to Lord Wen of Jin nor to Duke Wen of Jin, but rather very possibly referred to yet another lord of Jin: Duke Jing of Jin 晉景公 (r. 599-581 B.C.). In addition, Parker provided a complete English translation of the inscription, and the first installment of the study also contained a Latin translation done by Pierre HOANG (i.e., Huang Bolu 黃伯祿; 1830-1909), a missionary living in Shanghai.

After Parker had published these two installments of his article, **Lionel Charles HOPKINS** (1854-1952; see the biography appended to Chapter One), another former British foreign service officer who had gone on to develop a passion for Chinese paleography, published "Chinese Writing in the Chou Dynasty in the Light of Recent Discoveries" (300060; 1911), which discussed the *Jin Hou pan*. In the article, Hopkins recounts that he had personally inspected the vessel, on the

basis of which he had determined that the vessel was not made of bronze at all, but rather was pure copper. He also noted that the patina on the vessel was not natural, but rather had been added to it by someone recently. Nevertheless, Hopkins expressed no doubts at all about the authenticity of the inscription. In the same year (1911), Herbert Allen GILES (1845-1935), the professor of Chinese at the University of Cambridge, paid a visit to the Victoria and Albert Museum to view the vessel, and then published an article that was completely at odds with that of Hopkins. Interestingly, Giles too had long been an English consular official, and had initially been on very good terms with Edward Parker. However, after the two men returned to England and took up professorships at different universities, their personal relations turned sour, which frequently manifested itself in scholarly attacks on each other. As had Hopkins, Giles also provided a description of the *Jin Hou pan* and its patina, and also noted that the inscription appeared to be incised into the metal, different from the inscriptions on most vessels, which are cast into the metal. Moreover, like Chavannes and Pelliot, Giles wondered why no Chinese scholar had paid attention to such an ostensibly important vessel, which he too regarded as highly suspicious. Based on this, he argued that the *Jin Hou pan* was a forgery. The following year, both Giles and Hopkins published new articles, Giles's article entitled "The Chinese 'Bronze Bowl' in the Victoria and Albert Museum" (300070) and Hopkins's article entitled "The Chinese Bronze Known as the 'Bushell Bowl' and Its Inscription" (300090), in which both men insisted on their previous views. In addition to providing a more or less detailed response to Giles's earlier article, Hopkins also provided a hand-copy of the inscription and its 538 characters, all of which he identified also with *kaishu* 楷書 equivalents. He also presented a table in which, for each of the characters, he gave the shape of the character in such different scripts as small seal script, the Qin Stone Drums script, the Zhou script (Zhou *wen* 籀文; essentially the "large seal script"), the ancient script (*guwen* 古文), and oracle-bone inscription script (see Fig. 15). For his part, Giles further compared the shape of the vessel and its décor with authentic ancient Chinese bronze vessels, and pointing out the manifest differences insisted again that the vessel could be nothing more than a forgery of the Song or Ming period.

| Modern | B. B. | L. S. | Other forms | Modern | B. B. | L. S. | Other forms |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------------|----------------|-------|-------|-------------|
| 1. 惟 wei | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 𠄎 | 20. 親 kin | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 𠄎 |
| 2. 王 wang | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 𠄎 | 21. 明 ming | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 𠄎 |
| 3. 一 yi | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 22. 堂 tang | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 4. 月 yueh | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 23. 遂 sui | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 5. 辛 xin | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 24. 享 xiang | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 6. 酉 yu | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 25. 周 chou | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 7. 晉 tsun | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 26. 廟 miao | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 8. 侯 hou | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 27. 庸 yung | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 9. 告 kao | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 28. 以 yi | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 10. 平 ping | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 29. 九 kiu | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 11. 戎 jung | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 30. 服 fu | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 12. 既 ki | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 31. 之 chi | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 13. 親 kin | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 32. 命 ming | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 14. 于 yu | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 33. 若 sho | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 15. 三 san | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 34. 日 yuen | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 16. 勞 lao | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 35. 叔 shu | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 17. 垠 yin | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 36. 父 fu | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 18. 國 kwo | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 37. 懋 mo | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |
| 19. 宗 chung | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 38. 故 tau | 𠄎 | 𠄎 | 𠄎 |

Fig. 15: The first page of Lionel HOPKINS's table comparing different script form of characters found in the *Jin Hou pan* 晉侯盤 inscription, the so-called *Bushell Bowl*.

The debate over the authenticity of the *Jin Hou pan* vessel and its inscription eventually attracted the attention of John Calvin FERGUSON (1866-1945), whose study would bring at least this stage of the debate to a conclusion. Ferguson was

originally an American Protestant missionary, who went to China in 1887. However, shortly after arriving there, he gave up his missionary work, and went to work instead for the Chinese government, first that of the Qing dynasty, and thereafter for the Republican government. Ferguson was fluent in Chinese and was also very sociable, enjoying an easy rapport with numerous Chinese intellectuals and art collectors, including such important figures as the Manchu prince DUANFANG 端方 (1861-1911). He himself also developed a deep knowledge of the history of Chinese art. In 1915, he published an article entitled “The Bushell Platter or the Tsin Hou P’an” (300100), an objective discussion of the vessel in which he pointed out numerous suspicious points about the inscription. He also noted that many of the characters and expressions in the inscription resemble those in the famous *San shi pan* 散氏盤, which may have served as a model for the forger. Despite his doubts about the inscription, Ferguson still felt that the vessel itself may well be a genuine product of the Zhou dynasty.

Throughout the remainder of the twentieth century, the *Jin Hou pan* or *Bushell Bowl* was all but forgotten. However, recently Nicholas Pearce, presently professor in the Department of Art of the University of Glasgow revisited this early debate. As he points out, it is not the case that Chinese scholars had taken no notice of the *Jin Hou pan*. Already in the early Qing, FENG Hao 馮浩 (1719-1801) had already pointed out that both the vessel and its inscription were suspicious, pointing out as well that the opening phrase of the inscription, *wei wang yi yue* 佳王一月 (it was the king’s first month), is problematic, since the first month of the year is usually indicated in bronze inscriptions of the time as *zheng yue* 正月 and not as *yi yue* 一月. Later, NIU Shuyu 鈕樹玉 (1760-1827) also pointed out that the inscription includes characters of several different script styles, with characters even deriving from the “New Appendix” (*Xin fu* 新附) to the edition of the *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字 edited by XU Xuan 徐鉉 (916-991) in the Song dynasty.⁴ In 1933, well after the time of this debate in the western scholarly world, the Chinese scholar SHANG Chengzuo 商承祚 (1902-1991) remarked of the *Jin Hou pan* “that a forgery such as this could fool only a foreigner.”⁵

By the 1920s, western scholars and collectors had made considerable advances in their understanding of Chinese antiquities. In 1923, W. Percival YETTS (1878-1957) demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that the *Jin Hou pan* is a

4 See RONG Geng 容庚, *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao* 商周彝器通考 (Beijing: Harvard-Yenching Academy, 1941 年), Vol. I, pp. 206-208.

5 SHANG Chengzuo 商承祚, “Gudai yiqi weizi yanjiu” 古代彝器偽字研究, *Jinling xuebao* 金陵學報 3.2 (1933): 290.

forgery. In the 1980s, the Victoria and Albert Museum undertook a research project to determine how that piece had been produced.⁶ By now, this piece that had once excited such great interest among western scholars remains only as a historiographical curiosity. However, it bears noting that while Bushell, Parker and Hopkins were all mistaken about the authenticity of the piece, they were not at all ignorant regarding the reading of the inscription. In fact, already in his *Chinese Art* Bushell had quite a bit right to say about how to read it.

Shortly after the conclusion of this debate on the authenticity of the *Jin Hou pan*, the western scholarly world made manifest advances in the study of bronze inscriptions. 1916 saw the publication of two studies, both of which served as overviews of the field.

Léon WIEGER, S.J. (1856-1933) was a French Jesuit who was a long-time resident of the Jesuit community in present-day Hejian 河間 county, Hebei. He published numerous books on various topics in traditional Chinese culture, among which the most important may well have been *Caractères chinois: etymologie, graphies, lexiques* (100100; 1916). In the original French edition of this work, there is a chapter almost one hundred pages long that presents many of the bronze inscriptions included in the *Jigu zhai zhongding yiqi kuanzhi* 積古齋鐘鼎彝器款識 (Inscriptions on bronze vessels in the Studio of Collecting Antiquity) of RUAN Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), each of which was paired with a translation into French. Unfortunately, Wieger's understanding of the inscriptional language was not all that it should have been; even for the level of scholarship at the beginning of the twentieth century, it is hard to accept the sort of basic mistakes that mar many of his pages. To give just one example, consider his translation of the following perfectly standard inscription.

𠄎乍且乙寶尊彝

Moi fils encore armé du couteau, en présence de l'ancêtre, j'offre viande crue, libation, objets précieux, vin, filasse.⁷

We can overlook the impressionistic rendering of the name 𠄎 as “my son armed with a sword,” since that character has still today not been adequately explained. However, Wieger's understanding of *zha* 乍 (i.e., *zuo* 作) as “in the presence of,” *yi* 乙 as “to offer,” *zun* 尊 as “wine,” and *yi* 彝 as “rami,” shows that he did not understand the basic structure of even the simplest bronze inscriptions, or the meanings of some of the most common words. Fortunately, this was not representative of the level of all western scholars at the time.

⁶ Rose KERR, *Later Chinese Bronzes* (London: Bamboo Publishing, 1990), p. 73.

⁷ WIEGER, *Caractères chinois*, p. 433.

In the same year of 1916, the influential French journal *Journal Asiatique* published a long article by M.R. PETRUCCI (1872-1917), entitled “L'épigraphie des bronzes rituels de la Chine ancienne” (300110). This article was also based on Ruan Yuan's *Jigu zhai zhongding yiqi kuanzhi*, from which it selected twenty-one important inscriptions from the Shang, Zhou, Qin and Han periods, including inscriptions on such vessels as the *Wuhui ding* 無惠鼎 and *Song ding* 頌鼎, for all of which Petrucci gave accurate translations into French and also provided copious notes to explain each expression and even many individual characters.

In the 1920s, western scholarship on bronze inscriptions once again took a great step forward. However, we have to admit that at the same time, it also took a step back. The initial progress was stimulated by an important archaeological discovery made at the beginning of the decade. Late in 1923, peasants in Xinzheng 新鄭 county, Henan opened a large ancient tomb, unearthing several tens of ancient bronzes. Although the initial reports identified this tomb as that of Duke Zhuang of Zheng 鄭莊公 (r. 743-701 B.C.), WANG Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927) subsequently demonstrated that the bronzes included pieces by YING Qi 嬰齊, who had been *lingyin* 令尹 of the state of Chu 楚, and thus that the tomb should date to the first half of the sixth century B.C. This discovery attracted great attention in the West as well as in China, prompting studies by Paul Pelliot and also Carl W. BISHOP (1881-1942), who would go on to be the director of the Smithsonian Museum in Washington.

Above in the discussion of the *Jin Hou pan*, we had occasion to mention John C. Ferguson. He also contributed to the study of the Xinzheng bronzes. Ferguson had developed very close relations with a number of Qing and Republican government officials through whose offices he was able regularly to purchase Chinese antiquities, including bronze vessels, for American museums. For instance, in 1912, he purchased on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of New York the *Qi Hou pan* 齊侯盤 and *Qi Hou dui* 齊侯敦, as well as an *yi* 匜—ewer and a *ding* 鼎—caldron that had been unearthed in Yixian 易縣, Hebei; these four pieces are still in the museum's collection. In 1924, Ferguson also acquired for the Metropolitan Museum a set of twenty vessels, complete with an altar stand, that had belonged to Duanfang; these vessels, which had been unearthed in 1901 in Baoji 寶雞, Shaanxi, are among the most important early Western Zhou finds of all time. It bears noting that before Ferguson had these vessels sent to America, he published a catalog and description of them in Beijing: *A Bronze Table with Accompanying Vessels* (300130; 1924). All of these Zhou-dynasty bronzes attracted great attention from both collectors and scholars in the West.

If there was indeed a step backwards in bronze studies at this time, it was due to **Henri MASPERO** (1882-1945; see the biography appended to Chapter Four), by

this time the western scholarly world's foremost authority on ancient China. After his teacher Édouard Chavannes had died in 1918, Maspero succeeded him at the Collège de France as professor of Chinese cultural history. The courses that Maspero offered in the 1920s centered on research that he was then doing for what would be his most famous book, *La Chine antique*, which was published in 1927.⁸ Indeed, after this book was published, Maspero was referred to as “l'homme de *Chine antique*.” Although the first chapter of that book introduced the history of the Shang dynasty, and Maspero cited the oracle-bone inscriptions, which at that time had only recently been discovered, his second and third chapters, on the Western Zhou period, made absolutely no use of bronze inscriptions from that period; indeed, he never mentioned them at all. This neglect of the inscriptional record was quite intentional on his part. In the same year that *La Chine antique* was published, Maspero wrote a lengthy review of paleographic work published by the Japanese Sinologist Takata Tadasuke 高田忠周 (1861-1946): Review of “Takata Tadasuke, *Kou Tcheou P'ian*” (300160; 1927). In his review, Maspero launched a critique of Takata's use of bronze inscriptions. According to Maspero, the incidence of forgery among bronze vessels was extremely high, and therefore they should not be used as historical sources. It goes without saying that there are many forgeries among bronze vessels that have been transmitted from earlier times, as for instance, the *Shi Dan ding* 師旦鼎, given by Maspero as one such example. The *Shi Dan ding* was first illustrated in the *Zhong ding kuanzhi* (Inscriptions on bells and caldrons) of WANG Houzhi (1131-1204), and later was included in both Ruan Yuan's *Jigu zhai zhong ding yiqi kuanzhi* and also the *Jungu lu jinwen* 攬古錄金文 (Bronze inscriptions in the Jungu [Studio]) of WU Shifen 吳式芬 (1796-1856).⁹ The inscription on the *Shi Dan ding* purports to be by the Duke of Zhou 周公, made for his mother Tai Si 太姒; Maspero pointed out that the piece is a forgery, but suggested that Chinese scholars express no suspicion about it. It is true that the *Shi Dan ding* is almost certainly a forgery. However, since the beginning of the twentieth century, very few Chinese scholars have ever regarded it as authentic.¹⁰ Maspero regarded a number of other vessels as suspicious as well, including such important inscribed vessels as the *Guoji Zibai pan* 虢季子白盤,

⁸ Henri MASPERO, *La Chine antique* (Paris: Histoire du monde, 1927). For an English translation, see *China in Antiquity*, Frank A. KIERMAN, Jr. Tr. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978).

⁹ WANG Houzhi 王厚之, *Zhongding kuanzhi* 鐘鼎款識, 10; RUAN Yuan 阮元, *Jigu zhai zhongding yiqi kuanzhi* 攬古齋鐘鼎彝器款識, 4.20; WU Shifen 吳式芬, *Jungu lu jinwen* 攬古錄金文, 3/2.12.

¹⁰ As far as I know, only WU Qichang 吳其昌, *Jinwen lishuo shuzheng* 金文曆朔疏證 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 1.1 cites it as an authentic vessel, but no subsequent scholars cite it.

Wu Hui ding 無惠鼎 and *Yuan pan* 袁盤. He concluded by saying that without conducting in-depth studies of these vessels, none of them should ever be cited. Maspero's insistence that bronze inscriptions ought not to be used for fear of making use of forgeries was clearly unreasonable. Even in the time Maspero was writing, the incidence of forgeries among the bronzes he cited was much lower than he suggested. However, it is also worth noting that due to Maspero's authority among western scholars at the time, his skeptical attitude was quite influential.

Moving into the 1930s, western scholars' study of Chinese bronzes and bronze inscriptions again advanced by at least one or two steps, but again also retreated by at least one small step. From the perspective of today, it is clear that the most important development of the period was the "International Exhibition of Chinese Art" held at Burlington House in London in 1935-36. That exhibition, often referred to simply as the Burlington Exhibition, exhibited pieces from throughout Chinese history, beginning with Neolithic pottery and extending down to Ming and Qing paintings. Many of the most important pieces had originally been in the collection of the Qing emperors, stored in the Forbidden City in Beijing, and were loaned to the exhibition by the Republican government. The first hall of the exhibition, labeled "Pre-History, Yin-Shang Dynasty, Early (Western) Chou [Zhou] Period, Ch'un-ch'iu [Chunqiu] Period, and Warring States Period," contained 376 pieces, most of which were bronzes (there were 5 Neolithic pottery pieces, about 250 bronzes, and about 125 jades). One hundred of these pieces had been loaned by the Chinese government, with another 150 or so on loan from various museums in the western world.¹¹ Thus, this exhibition was truly an "international exhibition of Chinese art." Since it was the first time that this art had been brought together in a single exhibition such as this, it was of very great importance to the western awareness of and understanding of Chinese art, opening a new window on to that art.

¹¹ 1935-36 *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1935-6); see: <http://www.racollection.org.uk/ixbin/indexplus?record=VOL6234>.



Fig. 16: 1935-1936 Burlington House International Exhibition of Chinese Art and Some of Its Bronze Vessels

Not only did the Burlington Exhibition bring together thousands of Chinese artistic masterpieces for the first time in the West, but the organizers also arranged numerous scholarly activities to accompany it, including a series of lectures by noted scholars to comment on the pieces in the exhibition. The first such lecture, on 4 December 1935, was by the eminent Swedish Sinologist **Bernhard KARLGREN** (1889-1978; see the biography appended to this chapter), whose lecture title was “Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes.” In the scholarly world of that time, probably only Karlgren could match the renown of the French Sinologists Pelliot and Maspero. Since 1915, when he had presented his doctoral dissertation, Karlgren was universally recognized as the western world’s pre-eminent authority on the Chinese language. Although his early renown came from his work on phonology, by the 1930s his interests had already expanded to include ancient Chinese bronze vessels. The year before he went to London to present the Burlington Exhibition lecture, Karlgren had already published an article entitled “Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions” (300240) in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*. In this article, he presented carefully annotated translations of 257 bronze mirror inscriptions, dating from the Han through the Wei-Jin periods. Two years after he had returned to Stockholm from London, he published the formal version of the Burlington Exhibition lecture: “Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes” (300300), again in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*. This article had a considerable influence on western studies of Chinese bronze vessels. It began from the premise that the first order of business in the study of ancient bronzes is to differentiate between Yin (i.e., Shang) and early Chou (i.e., Zhou) bronzes. Deeply skeptical of archaeological evidence (which he said was often unreliable), Karlgren suggested that only the inscriptions on the bronzes

could serve as definitive evidence. He insisted that vessels inscribed with the characters *ya* 亞 (or with a *ya*-shaped cartouche), *xi zi sun* 析子孫 and *ju* 舉 were definitely Shang bronzes, whereas only inscriptions that explicitly mentioned Zhou proper names (whether of persons or places) could be regarded as dating to the Zhou (i.e., prior to 900 B.C.). He suggested that aside from these criteria there was no certain way to differentiate between Shang and Zhou bronzes, for which reason, he dated the great majority of these bronzes simply as “Yin-Early Chou.” He also undertook a typological analysis of the décor on these “Yin-Early Chou” bronzes, dividing them into his well-known “A” and “B” types (also proposing a “C” type, which was transitional between these other two types, or which included aspects of both). In his view, this typology could not be used as a criterion of periodization, but rather reflected the styles of two different workshops that persisted for three or four hundred years.

From the great many articles that Karlgren published on this subject, it would seem that he never wavered in his own viewpoint,¹² even though there were already at that time several other scholars who pointed out criticisms of it. It is worth noting that in his linguistic studies, Karlgren had always made use of a statistical methodology that others found particularly convincing, and so when he used a similar methodology in his study of bronze vessels scholars again viewed it as a scientific method. To cite just one example, in the 1960s, when Kwang-chih CHANG (1931-2001) formulated his famous theory of a dualistic social structure in the Shang dynasty,¹³ he was inspired to a very great extent by Karlgren’s bronze studies. However, just as this notion of Chang’s never gained the support of the great majority of scholars, so too did Karlgren’s “scientific” method leave room for doubts.

Actually, even in the same year that Karlgren published “Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes,” there were already two young scholars who published critical reviews of his methodology. The first was Max LOEHR (1903-1988). At that time,

12 Karlgren later continued to publish a series of articles and catalogs; although he later changed some details, his basic viewpoint never wavered; see “The Dating of Chinese Bronzes” (300340; 1937), “New Studies on Chinese Bronzes” (300350; 1937), “Huai and Han” (300390; 1941), “Bronzes in the Hellström Collection” (300490; 1948), “Some Bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities” (300510; 1949), etc.

13 ZHANG Guangzhi (CHANG Kwang-chih) 張光直, “Shang wang miaohao xinkao” 商王廟號新考, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Minzu yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院民族學研究所集刊 15 (1963): 65-95; “Yin li zhong de erfen xianxiang” 殷禮中的二分現象, in *Qingzhu Li Ji xiansheng qishi sui lunwenji* 慶祝李濟先生七十歲論文集 (Taipei: Qinghua xuebaoshe, 臺北: 1965), pp. 358-378; “Guanyu ‘Shang wang miaohao xinkao’ yiwen de buchong yijian” 關於「商王廟號新考」一文的補充意見, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan minzu yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院民族學研究所集刊 19 (1965): 53-70.

Loehr had just completed his doctoral dissertation at the Ludwig-Maxilians Universität in Munich, which he published in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* as “Beiträge zur Chronologie der älteren chinesischen Bronzen” (300320). Loehr employed an art historical methodology in his periodization of Chinese bronzes, for which reason it attracted Karlgren’s attention. The second young scholar was **Herrlee Glessner CREEL** (1905-1994; see the biography appended to this chapter). Creel had just completed three years of post-doctoral research in Beijing, where he had studied paleography with LIU Jie 劉節 (1901-1977), the director of the “Paleographic Section” of the National Library of Peiping. In 1936, Creel returned to the United States to take up a professorship in Chinese at the University of Chicago. In that same year, he published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* an article entitled “Notes on Professor Karlgren’s System for Dating Chinese Bronzes” (300290), in which he pointed out a number of counter-examples to the inscriptional evidence that Karlgren had used in his dating of ancient bronzes. As pointed out above, Karlgren had argued that inscriptions in which the graphs *ya* 亞 (or which had a *ya*-shaped cartouche), *xi zi sun* 析子孫 and *ju* 舉 should all date to the Shang period. However, Creel noted that there are a few bronzes that are certainly Zhou vessels and in the inscriptions of which occur either *ya* (or a *ya*-shaped cartouche) or *xi zi sun*. For this reason, these terms ought not to be regarded as definitive criteria for periodization. Creel also pointed out that Shang and Zhou bronze inscriptions reflect a distinct development in terms of both linguistic usage and shapes of characters, and thus it is possible to make use of character shape to date bronze vessels. In response to Creel’s criticism, in 1937, Karlgren published, also in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, a biting response: “The Dating of Chinese Bronzes” (300340). He viewed with scorn Creel’s knowledge of paleography, concluding his response by saying “It is unnecessary to continue. Sufficient light has been shed on the nature and value of the remarks made by Mr. Herrlee Glessner Creel.”¹⁴

In 1936, Creel also published a study entitled “Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Chou Dynasty as Historical Documents” (300280). At the beginning of this article, Creel singled out Karlgren for criticism for having said in his *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* (100170; 1923) that “A number of bronzes are preserved, but their inscriptions—where these exist—are meagre and unilluminating.”¹⁵

¹⁴ Bernhard KARLGREN, “The Dating of Chinese Bronzes,” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (1937): 325.

¹⁵ Herrlee G. CREEL, “Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Chou Dynasty as Historical Documents,” p. 337 citing Bernhard KARLGREN, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), pp. 9-10.

Creel argued that this under-estimation of the importance of bronze inscriptions as historical sources “puts the case much too strongly.” Noting that of the 219 bronze inscriptions that he used as historical sources, no fewer than 24 included more than one hundred characters, Creel argued that bronze inscriptions were very important historical sources in their own right. More than this, since they had not been subject to changes by later copyists, they could serve as well as an excellent yardstick for the linguistic uses seen in transmitted literature. Creel noted that although some scholars think that bronze inscriptions do not reflect the literary style of the time of their creation, he did not agree with this view. Instead, he argued that the inscriptions were the “command documents” (*ming shu* 命書) composed by scribes at the Zhou royal court, the originals of which were written on bamboo strips and which were presented to the patrons of the bronze vessels in the course of their investiture ceremonies; the inscriptions cast into the bronze vessels should be seen as quotations of these original command documents.¹⁶ New evidence that has come forth in recent decades shows that Creel’s view of the way in which bronze inscriptions were composed was quite right.

Coming to the war years of the 1940s, western studies of bronze inscriptions, just as so many other fields of western scholarship, essentially came to a standstill. During this time, the great French Sinologists Marcel GRANET (1884-1940), Paul Pelliot and Henri Maspero all passed away, Maspero dying in the Nazi concentration camp at Buchenwald on March 17, 1945, just weeks before the end of the war. Herrlee Creel, then in the prime of his life, entered the American army, and did not return to his scholarship at Chicago until 1947.

Only Karlgren, living in the neutral Sweden, was able to avoid the worst of World War II. He devoted most of those years to his translations and commentaries on the *Shi jing* 詩經 (*Classic of poetry*) and *Shang shu* 尚書 (*Elevated Scriptures*), though he also continued his study of bronze vessels. In 1945, he published “Some Weapons and Tools of the Yin Dynasty” (300430). Although the title of this article would seem to have nothing to do with bronze inscriptions, in fact it had a very great impact on the study of ancient Chinese cultural history. There are two reasons for this. First, this was the first study in which Karlgren mentioned that “Northern”-style bronzes should derive from China proper, and that it was only after the Shang dynasty had fallen that they diffused to Siberia. Second, he spent the bulk of this article discussing the date of the Zhou conquest of Shang; relying on the so-called “Ancient Text” (*Guben* 古本) *Bamboo Annals*

¹⁶ Creel did not specify the name of this bronze vessel, merely citing it as being in *Jungu lu jinwen* 攬古錄金文, and even his citation seems to be off by one page, but it seems clear that he intended the *Song ding* 頌鼎.

(*Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年), he argued that the date should be 1027 B.C. Both of these conclusions would exert a lasting influence over western scholarship on ancient China. In the same year, 1945, CHEN Mengjia 陳夢家 (1911-1966) published his own study of Western Zhou chronology: *Xi Zhou niandai kao* 西周年代考, which advanced the same conclusion as that of Karlgren.¹⁷

The Chinese scholar Chen Mengjia merits discussion in this context because in late 1944, he left his wartime home in Kunming 昆明 to go to America, where he proposed to finish the editing of a major catalog of Chinese bronze vessels in collections outside of China: *Haiwai Zhongguo tongqi tulu* 海外中國銅器圖錄 (An illustrated catalog of Chinese bronze vessels overseas).¹⁸ Chen spent the next three years at the University of Chicago working on this catalog. Writing under the name Ch'en Meng-chia, he published three separate articles in English during his time at Chicago:

“Style of Chinese Bronzes” (300420; 1945)

“The Greatness of Chou (ca. 1027-ca. 221 B.C.)” (300440; 1946)

“Malcolm’s K’ang Hou Kuei and Its Set” (300480; 1948)

In addition, he also joined together with Charles Fabens KELLEY (1885-1960), curator of Asian Art at the Art Institute of Chicago, to publish a catalog of the bronzes in that collection: *Chinese Bronzes from the Buckingham Collection* (300460), published in 1946. Although Chen was active in this way in publishing scholarship, his main efforts were still focused on collecting materials for his major catalog of overseas Chinese bronzes. Having completed the draft of this catalog, together with a several-hundred page long introduction, which was really a handbook of bronze inscription studies in its own right, he submitted the draft to the Harvard-Yenching Institute in August 1947 just before leaving the United States to return to China; it was to be called *Chinese Bronzes in American Collections: A Catalogue and Comprehensive Study of Chinese Bronzes*. Unfortunately, although the Harvard-Yenching Institute had agreed to publish the catalog, due to various reasons not only was the catalog not published, but even Chen’s original draft copy submitted to the press was eventually lost. For more than sixty years, the only trace of Chen’s great work on this project was a truncated catalog published in 1962 as *Mei diguozhuyi jielüe*

¹⁷ CHEN Mengjia 陳夢家, *Xi Zhou niandai kao* 西周年代考 (Chongqing: Shangwu yishuguan, 1945).

¹⁸ Before Chen Mengjia arrived in America, he had already collected a considerable number of resources, which were published in *Haiwai Zhongguo tongqi tulu, Diyi ji* 海外中國銅器圖錄, 第一集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1946).

de wo guo Yin Zhou tongqi jilu 美帝國主義劫掠的我國殷周青銅器集錄 (A collected catalog of our country's Yin and Zhou bronzes stolen by the American imperialists),¹⁹ which did not even mention Chen's name, the authorship being credited to Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Sciences. Not until about 2005, while collecting materials for the "Collected Works of Chen Mengjia" (*Chen Mengjia zhuzuoji* 陳夢家著作集), Chen having then been posthumously restored to the good graces of the communist state, did the Institute of Archaeology "accidentally" discover Chen's own copy of the English draft of this great work. It is a bittersweet pleasure that we can now read Chen's original work. Although at the time that he was writing in the 1940s, Chen set the scholarly standard for the study of bronze vessels and especially bronze inscriptions, by today's standards, after more than sixty years of discovery of new vessels and progress in their study, his work has long since been superseded, now being of only historical interest. However, if Chen's study had been published promptly when it was written, it surely would have spurred great advances in the field of bronze inscription studies. As it turned out, not only did the western scholarship of the immediately following years not advance, but in some ways it took a great step backwards.

Another loss of the 1940s occurred vis-à-vis Max Loehr. In 1940, just as World War II was erupting around the world, Loehr was stationed in Beijing as the head of the German Institute of Culture there. Although Beijing was then already occupied by the Japanese, since Germany was an ally of Japan, Loehr enjoyed relative freedom there until the end of the war. Unfortunately, there was very little culture to speak of in wartime Beijing, and since Loehr was not consumed with official duties, he could use the war years to continue his research on Shang and Zhou bronze vessels. In 1944 and 1946 he published a lengthy two-part study entitled "Bronzentexte der Chou-Zeit, Chou I" (300410, 300470). Each part of this article addressed five different early Zhou-dynasty bronze vessels, the first part taking up the *Chen Chen he* 臣辰盃, *Lü ding* 旅鼎, *Tai Bao gui* 太保簋, *Shen you* 鬲卣, and *Zuoce Da ding* 作册大鼎; the second part, in turn, took up bronzes associated with the figure Bo Maofu 伯懋父: the *Lü Xing you* 吕行壺, *Shi Lü ding* 師旅鼎, *Xiaochen Lai gui* 小臣來簋, *Xiaochen Zhai gui* 小臣宅簋, and *Yuzheng Wei gui* 御正衛簋. For all of these vessels, Loehr provided an historical analysis and complete annotated translations that reflected the highest standards of philology, in many ways suggestive of the studies that the Japanese scholar SHIRAKAWA Shizuka 白川靜 (1910-2006) would publish in the 1960s and 70s in his series *Kimbun tsūshaku* 金

19 Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所, *Mei diguozhuyi jielie de wo guo Yin Zhou qingtongqi jilu* 美帝國主義劫掠的我國殷周青銅器集錄 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1962).

文通釋 (Comprehensive interpretations of bronze inscriptions). However, for two reasons Loehr's studies did not have the impact that they deserved: first, the first part was published in occupied Beijing, and so did not enjoy international circulation; and second, although the second part was published in the internationally renowned journal *Monumenta Serica*, amidst the destruction of the war and the immediate post-war reconstruction, much scholarship went unnoticed. Moreover, Loehr's two-part article was written in German. Even at that time, many western Sinologists were unable to read German, a situation which has only grown progressively worse. Because of this, Loehr's article has never had the influence that it should have had. Seven years after the publication of the second installment of his article on Zhou bronzes, Loehr would finally find the readership that he deserved for his study of the typology of Shang dynasty bronzes,²⁰ but he would never return to complete his earlier study, which he had entitled just as Part I.

Other than the continuation of Bernhard Karlgren's studies of bronze vessels,²¹ the first part of the 1950s saw almost no scholarship devoted to bronze inscriptions. However, there was a pronounced change in this situation toward the end of the decade. In 1958 and 1959, **Noel BARNARD** (1922-2016; see the biography appended to this chapter) burst onto the scene, publishing three separate articles: "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of Western Chou Date" (300600; 1958), "New Approaches and Research Methods in Chin-Shih-Hsüeh" (300620; 1959), and "Some Remarks on the Authenticity of a Western Chou Style Inscribed Bronze" (300630; 1959). The first article was primarily a study of the *Yi Hou Ze gui* 宜侯矢簋 (Barnard referred to this vessel as *Yi Hou Nieh Yi* 宜侯矢彝),

20 In 1953, Loehr published "The Bronze Styles of the Anyang Period," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 7 (1953): 42-53. Although this article was very short, its influence has been considerable. The article completely overturned Karlgren's "A" and "B" typology, and proposed its own quite reasonable developmental sequence. By the 1960s, with advances in Chinese archaeology, Loehr's stylistic system was shown to be correct. In 1949, he had published the article "Weapons and Tools from Anyang, and Siberian Analogies," *American Journal of Archaeology* 53.2 (1949): 126-44, in which he criticized Karlgren's "Some Weapons and Tools of the Yin Dynasty" (300430*; 1945). Karlgren was of the view that bronzes with "Northern Style" characteristics should have been produced in China itself, and only subsequently exported to Siberia. Loehr argued that Karlgren had overlooked the Siberian archaeological evidence, which proves quite the opposite conclusion. The so-called "Northern Style" characteristics originally came from Siberia (or even further west), and were transmitted to China during the YinXu period. This view was also subsequently confirmed with joint advances in both Chinese and Siberian archaeology.

21 See KARLGREN, "Some Bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities" (300510; 1951), *A Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred F. Pillsbury Collection* (300550; 1952), and "Bronzes in the Wessén Collection" (300610; 1958).

which had been excavated just four years before, in 1954. The second article addressed inscriptions on two separate *Xi Jia pan* 兮甲盤 vessels, while the third article argued that one of the bronze vessels included in Bernhard Karlgren's "Bronzes in the Hellström Collection" (300490) was a forgery. In fact, all three of these articles revolved around this topic of forgery, which would continue to be central to Barnard's scholarship for the next fifty years. This was announced already with the opening sentences of the very first article:

Archaeological discovery in China during the last few years has progressed remarkably and accounts of the more important finds are gradually being published and are now becoming available to foreign students. Scientifically excavated inscriptions are slowly growing in numbers with the result that systematic research based on dependable documents will soon lead to a better understanding of ancient China while the sometimes fanciful accounts of forgers concealed amongst unattested materials will soon no longer be able to distort the picture. Hitherto, scholars have had to work with inscribed vessels the majority of which lack any record of provenance; the few with some sort of testimony are vaguely and insubstantially authenticated. With material of this kind reliable research has not been possible, while those who have studied the inscriptions have seldom considered the possibility that a serious proportion of the bronze texts they have consulted are merely the products of unscrupulous craftsmen of recent centuries.²²

This viewpoint characterized much of Barnard's scholarship. In 1959, Barnard also published two book reviews that were ostensibly on oracle-bone studies, but which in fact also touched on bronze inscriptions. The first of these was a review of *Yin-Shang diwang benji* 商殷帝王本紀 (The basic annals of the Yin-Shang kings) by CHOU Hung-hsiang (ZHOU Hongxiang 周鴻翔) (200900), while the second reviewed the *Yindai zhenbu renwu tongkao* 殷代貞卜人物通考 (A comprehensive examination of Yin dynasty diviners) by JAO Tsung-i 饒宗頤 (200910). In the review of Chou's book, Barnard devoted a great deal of his discussion to the chronology of the Western Zhou, arguing that because the question was especially complicated and all of the proposals that had been put forward up to that time were problematic for various different reasons, the best policy would be simply to continue using the traditional chronology produced in the Han dynasty by LIU Xin 劉歆 (46 B.C.-A.D. 23), which held that the Zhou conquest of Shang took place in 1122 B.C. With respect to Jao's book, Barnard concluded his review by espousing a methodology of his own related to forgery studies that we have already had occasion to explore in Chapter One above:

²² Noel BARNARD, "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of Western Chou Date," *Monumenta Serica* 17 (1958): 12.

I note that Jao occasionally seeks parallels, mainly in phraseology, between the oracle-bone texts and numbers of bronze inscriptions amongst which I have come across the Mao Kung Ting 毛公鼎, the San Shih P'an 散氏盤, and some others concerning which I shall present in a later paper what I believe to be substantial proofs of their being merely clever forgeries. The inscriptions concerned exhibit alarming evidence of 'inconstancy' in character structures and upon this basis alone they may be concluded spurious - there are, however, various other features which support the calligraphic proof.²³

Over the course of the 1960s, Barnard would go on to publish the "later paper(s)" that he promised in this conclusion. In 1965, he published a 150-page long review of the third volume of *Archaeology in China* by CHENG Te-k'un 鄭德坤 (1907-2001; 300710), and then followed this in 1968 with the article "The Incidence of Forgery amongst Archaic Chinese Bronzes: Some Preliminary Notes" (300770), which despite being billed as but "Preliminary Notes" still ran to over 70 pages. The review of Cheng Te-k'un's book featured an in-depth discussion of Barnard's theory of "constancy of character structure," which he had only mentioned in previous scholarship. This theory has already been introduced in Chapter One above, and so need not detail us further here. "The Incidence of Forgery amongst Archaic Chinese Bronzes: Some Preliminary Notes" was not at all preliminary, but was, in fact, a very detailed presentation of his views on forgery. Barnard began with an overview of bronze vessels recorded in various traditional catalogs, concluding that more than half of the vessels recorded therein are fake. Then on the basis of his own translation of sections of the *Dong tian qing lu* 洞天清錄 by ZHAO Xigu 趙希鵠 (c. 1231) of the Song dynasty related to methods to determine the authenticity of ancient vessels,²⁴ Barnard described styles of forgery in the Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. Barnard was especially suspicious of one of nineteenth-century China's greatest collectors of and authorities on ancient bronze vessels—CHEN Jieqi 陳介祺 (1813-1884), accusing him of having arranged for the forgery of many vessels, including the famous *Mao Gong ding* 毛公鼎, which was in Chen's possession. There can be no doubt that the *Mao Gong ding*, presently in the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, is an authentic Western Zhou vessel. That museum contains two other "treasures" among its bronze vessels: the *San shi pan* 散氏盤 and the *Zongzhou zhong* 宗周鐘 (now generally referred to as the

²³ Noel BARNARD, Review of *Yin-tai cheng-pu jen-wu t'ung-kao* "Oracle Bone Diviners of the Yin Dynasty" 2 vols. by Jao Tsung-i, *Monumenta Serica* 19 (1960): 486.

²⁴ Noel BARNARD, "The Incidence of Forgery amongst Archaic Chinese Bronzes," p. 100. In this article, Barnard mistakenly refers to ZHAO Xigu 趙希鵠 as Chao Hsi-ku 趙希鳴, and also miswrites *Dong tian qing lu* 洞天清錄 as 洞天清錄集. Mistakes such as these do not interfere with the reader's understanding, but I note them here because of Barnard's own penchant for criticizing similar mistakes on the part of others. For instance, on the very page where these mistakes appear, he criticized Herbert A. GILES for committing a number of such mistakes.

Hu zhong 馱鐘). Already in his earliest publications, Barnard had cast aspersions on all three of these “three treasures.” Especially in his 1965 review of Cheng Te-k’un’s *Archaeology in China*, he provided a lengthy and detailed discussion of his views on the authenticity of the *Mao Gong ding*, pointing out seven features of it that he regarded as suspicious.

1. “Character structures exhibit inconstancy”
2. “Name-title combination, Fu-Yin, is an impossible one”
3. “Faulty context and incorrect character usage”
4. “Copying from the ‘Wen-hou chih ming’ and the Shih P’ei kwei is obvious”
5. “Casting is very unsound, contraction cracking, numerous repairs and fillings of blow-holes and contraction cavities—latter occurring along mould-joins.”
6. “Relievo graphs at rears of legs—a feature unique to the Mao Kung Ting.”
7. “The Y-shaped pattern of relievo lines between the legs assumes a triangular form unique to this vessel and inconsistent with the function of this feature.”

Barnard’s suspicions regarding the authenticity of the *Mao Gong ding* and the other two treasures of the National Palace Museum elicited a resolute response from staff members at that museum; CHANG Kuang-yuan 張光遠, in particular, published an article entitled “Xi Zhou zhongqi Mao Gong ding” 西周重器毛公鼎 (The important Western Zhou vessel *Mao Gong ding*), in which he rebutted each of the seven points raised by Barnard.²⁵ Barnard, in his turn, then published a still more detailed sur-rejoinder: his 1974 study *Mao Kung Ting: A Major Western Chou Period Bronze Vessel—A Rebuttal of a Rebuttal and Further Evidence of the Questionable Aspects of Its Authenticity* (300880). I do not propose to try to evaluate here all of the evidence that Barnard and Zhang Guangyuan gave in their various studies. For more than twenty years after publishing his sur-rejoinder, Barnard did not revisit this topic, shifting much of his research interests to the technology used in casting vessels.

However, in 1996, in a book that he co-authored with Alex CHEUNG Kwong-yue 張光裕, *The Shan-fu Liang Ch’i Kwei and Associated Inscribed Vessels* (301990), Barnard once again insisted upon his theory of “the constancy of character structure.” Not only this, but he again returned to the question of forgery among bronze vessels, arguing yet again that a great many of the most important Western Zhou inscribed vessels are in fact forgeries, including not only the “three treasures” *Mao Gong ding*, *San shi pan* and *Hu zhong*, but also such other vessels as *Guoji Zibai pan* 虢季子白盤, *Shi Li gui* 師釐簋, *Ran fangding* 冉方鼎 and *Ming*

25 ZHANG Guangyuan 張光遠, “Xi Zhou zhongqi Mao Gong ding” 西周重器毛公鼎, *Gugong jikan* 故宮集刊 7.2 (1972): 1-70.

Gong gui 明公簋, which the overwhelming majority of scholars who study bronze vessel have long accepted as authentic. Although he denied that he had ever said that many bronze vessels are forgeries, in an appendix to this book he listed at least forty-seven other vessels that he regarded as fake. I myself had occasion in 1991 to point out that one of these vessels, the *Ran fangding*, which is in the collection of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, reveals that it was cast with chaplets or “spacers,”²⁶ a feature that proves that it was cast in a piece-mold and so could not be a forgery from the time when this casting method was unknown. In his book, Barnard added a long note, saying that he “probably” wouldn’t change his view that the *Ran fangding* is a forgery, but then at the end of the note added a postscript dated December 1995 saying that he had just received X-rays of the vessel from the Asian Art Museum and thus “I have since received copies of radiographs of the Jan Hsien-steamer; revision of certain of my earlier views may be needed; space is insufficient to detail here.”²⁷

Ever since 1958, when Barnard began to publish scholarship on bronze inscriptions, his contributions to the field cannot be denied. However, it also has to be said that his repeated attacks on the authenticity of vessels and other aspects of his scholarship had a negative effect on western progress in the field.

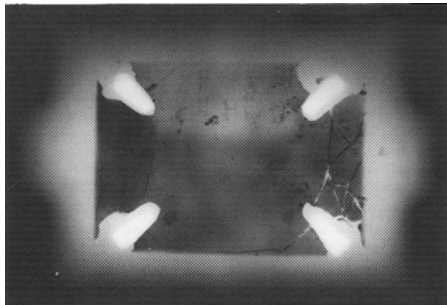


Fig. 17: X-ray of the *Ran fangding* 冉方鼎 in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco clearly showing spacers located around the inscription area

There was another western scholar publishing scholarship on bronze inscriptions in the 1960s, but unfortunately very few people know of him or his work

²⁶ Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 61.

²⁷ Noel BARNARD and CHEUNG Kwong-yue 張光裕, *The Shan-fu Liang Ch'i Kuei and Associated Inscribed Vessels* (Taipei: Chengwen shuju, 1996), p. 367 n. 168.

outside of his native Germany. This was **Ulrich UNGER** (1930-2006; see the biography appended to this chapter). Unger completed his habilitation dissertation in 1962; entitled “Prolegomena zur Datierung der West-Chou-Inschriften aufgrund formaler Kriterien,” this giant two-volume work displayed the highest standards of scholarship. Unfortunately, not only was it written in German, which by then increasingly fewer scholars were able to read, but even more important, the work was never formally published, and most scholars do not even know of its existence. Unger did publish two articles on bronze inscriptions in 1964 and 1965: “Chinesische epigrafische Studien” (300700; 1964) and “Chou-König oder Usurpator?” (300720; 1965), however after this time his only other formal publication on a bronze inscription was his 1976 article on the *Tai Bao gui* 太保簋 inscription: “Die t'ai-pao-kuei-Inschrift” (301010). After this time, Unger continued to pursue research on related topics, and wrote a great many articles, but he did not formally publish these, preferring instead to circulate mimeographed copies to his students and friends under the general title “Hao gu” 好古 (Love of antiquity); these studies were little known outside of this circle of friends.

Toward the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, there were several other notable works of scholarship related to bronze inscriptions. One of these was a formally published book, while several others were doctoral dissertations. The book was Herrlee Creel's *The Origins of Statecraft in China, Volume One: The Western Chou Empire* (300800), published in 1970. As the title indicates, Creel intended this to be just the first volume in a multi-volume study of “statecraft” in China. In the Preface, he explained that his original plan called for the Western Zhou to be the topic of just the first chapter of his study. However, when he returned to the work that he had done on Western Zhou bronze inscriptions in the 1930s, he found it hard to restrain himself from going ever deeper into the subject, and ended up writing this substantial book which explores all aspects of the Western Zhou government. Although Creel had studied paleography with Liu Jie in the 1930s, he was neither a paleographer nor a scholar of bronze vessels, but rather was a historian, pure and simple. Nevertheless, his history of the Western Zhou was based to a very great extent on bronze inscriptions, most of his sources deriving from the *Liang Zhou jinwen daxi tulu kaoshi* 兩周金文辭大系圖錄考釋 (Great collection of bronze inscriptions from the two Zhou dynasties, illustrated and annotated) by Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978), which had been published in 1935. Although Creel did take account of inscribed bronze vessels that had been discovered in the intervening years, especially the *Yi Hou Ze gui*, which was unearthed in 1954, and also Chen Mengjia's monumental *Xi-Zhou tongqi duandai* 西周銅器斷代 (Periodization of Western Zhou bronze vessels), published in 1955

and 1956, nevertheless it has to be said that Creel's scholarship was very much rooted in the 1930s. With respect to western scholarship on bronzes that had been published up to his time, he took account only of Noel Barnard's discussions of authenticity. Expressing reservations about the far-reaching nature of Barnard's claims, he suggested that even if a few of the inscriptions in his corpus turned out to be forgeries, it would not affect his over-all conclusions. This view was surely correct, but Creel did not present any research of his own on this topic, and his book did not play much of a role in developing the field of bronze inscription studies.

In 1969, **David N. KEIGHTLEY** (1932-2017; see the biography appended to Chapter Two) submitted his doctoral dissertation "Public Work in Ancient China: A Study of Forced Labor in Shang and Western Chou" (201030). That dissertation was very influential vis-à-vis oracle-bone studies, and that aspect of it has already been introduced in Chapter Two above. It is less well known that the Western Zhou portion of the dissertation was based to a very great extent on bronze inscriptions. Nevertheless, since it did not have much of an impact on bronze studies, I will not say more about it here. The year after Keightley's dissertation, 1970, Virginia C. KANE also completed her doctoral dissertation, "Chinese Bronze Vessels of the Shang and Western Chou Periods" (300810), at Harvard University. Although Kane was trained as an art historian (her teacher being Max Loehr), and mainly used artistic criteria in her periodizations of bronze vessels, still she emphasized the formal evolution of bronze inscriptions proper, and so made a real contribution to the study of bronze inscriptions. Both of these dissertations met the highest standards of scholarship in their day. However, both of them were deeply influenced by Noel Barnard's skeptical attitude regarding the authenticity of bronze vessels, with both of them arguing that many important vessels were forgeries. After receiving his Ph.D., Keightley specialized on oracle-bone inscriptions, while Kane would go on to teach for thirty years (from 1969-1998) at the University of Michigan. Early in her career, she published two important articles regarding bronzes inscriptions: "The Chronological Significance of the Inscribed Ancestor Dedication in the Periodization of Shang Dynasty Bronze Vessels" (300850), published in 1973, and "Aspects of Western Chou Appointment Inscriptions: The Charge, the Gifts, and the Response" (301210), published in 1982. The second of these articles in particular has attracted quite a bit of attention from western scholars for its discussion of the nature and significance of investiture inscriptions.

In 1973, Gilbert L. MATTOS (1939-2002) submitted a dissertation at the University of Washington entitled "The Stone Drums of Ch'in" (300860). Mattos was

a student of **Paul L-M SERRUYS** (1912-1999; see the biography appended to Chapter Two), from whom he had received a solid foundation in paleography, especially with regard to Eastern Zhou bronze and stone inscriptions. Unfortunately, after his graduation, Mattos was not immediately able to find scholarly employment, and spent many years pursuing another career. However, in the first several years after completing his degree he did publish several articles: “Two Major Works on Bronze Vessels and Bronze Inscriptions” (301000; 1976), “Supplementary Data on the Bronze Inscriptions Cited in *Chin-wen ku-lin*” (301020; 1977), and “The Time of the Stone Drum Inscriptions: An Excursion in the Diachronic Analysis of Chou Script” (301030; 1977). Finally, in 1988, his doctoral dissertation was formally published as *The Stone Drums of Ch'in* (301490); this work will be discussed in the section on Stone Inscriptions below. Another student of Fr. Serruys was PANG Sunjoo 方善柱, a Korean national. Also in 1973, he submitted an M.A. thesis entitled “Tung-I Peoples According to the Shang-Chou Bronze Inscriptions” (300870). After this, he moved to Canada, where he completed his Ph.D. in 1977 at the University of Toronto with a dissertation entitled “A Study of Western Chou Chronology” (301050). This dissertation was full of stimulating ideas regarding the chronology of the Western Zhou dynasty, including the suggestion that the reign of King Xuan of Zhou 周宣王 did not begin in 827 B.C., as traditionally assumed, but rather began in 825 B.C. This suggestion has subsequently been corroborated—at least in part—by a whole series of discoveries of inscribed bronze vessels, including most importantly the 42-Year *Qiu ding* 四十二年逯鼎 and the 43rd-Year *Qiu ding*. Unfortunately, this Canadian dissertation was never formally published, nor was it readily available to the scholarly world, for which reason it is little known. Nevertheless, in 1975, Pang published an article in Chinese in the authoritative Taiwanese journal *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 (Continental magazine), in which he introduced some of the most important points of his dissertation: “Xi-Zhou niandai xue shang de jige wenti” 西周年代學上的幾個問題 (Some problems in the chronology of the Western Zhou period).²⁸ Another insight of Pang, fully explored in this article, is that the “*Tian zai dan yu Zheng*” 天再旦于鄭 (The heavens dawned twice in Zheng) solar eclipse notation recorded in the *Bamboo Annals* for the first year of King Yih of Zhou 周懿王 should be identified with a solar eclipse that took place in 899 B.C. This suggestion was subsequently “corroborated” by the Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project. In the same year that he completed his dissertation, 1977, Pang also published an article “The Consorts of King Wu and King Wen in the Bronze Inscriptions of Early China” (301040) in

28 FANG Shanzhu (PANG Sunjoo) 方善柱, “Xi Zhou niandaixue shang de jige wenti” 西周年代學上的幾個問題, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 51.1 (1975): 15-23.

the prestigious journal *Monumenta Serica*. However, after this time, Pang returned to his native South Korea and seems not to have published any further scholarship.

In sum, the doctoral dissertations of this decade held promise of opening a new path forward for the study of bronze inscriptions in the West. However, all four of the scholars introduced above, for various reasons, did not subsequently follow this path, and they were not able to achieve any breakthroughs in this field.

Throughout the whole of the 1970s, other than the scholarship by Noel Barnard, there was very little other scholarship formally published by western scholars. However, there were several articles written in English by Asian scholars. For instance, in 1971 CHOU Fa-kao 周法高 (1915-1994) published “Chronology of the Western Chou Dynasty” (300820) in the *Journal of Chinese Studies* of the Institute of Chinese Culture, Chinese University of Hong Kong, while in 1976 CHANG Kuang-yuan 張光遠, CHEUNG Kwong-yue 張光裕, and JAO Tsung-i 饒宗頤 all published essays in the volume *Ancient Chinese Bronzes and Southeast Asian Metal and Other Archaeological Artifacts* (300950) edited by Noel Barnard. This book of Barnard’s was a multi-disciplinary study of ancient bronzes that had a rather considerable impact on the scholarly world for its methodology.



Fig. 18: *The Great Bronze Age of China* catalog

1980 was a banner year for the western study of ancient Chinese bronze vessels. In this year, the Metropolitan Museum of Art organized a massive exhibition entitled “The Great Bronze Age of China: An Exhibition from the People’s Republic of China” that had much the same effect on the scholarship of its period as did the 1935-36 Burlington Exhibition on the scholarly world of the 1930s. This exhibition began in New York, then moved to the Field Museum of Chicago, and ended its tour at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. It was accompanied by scholarly conferences at both the opening and closing venues as well as a catalog that was a major work of scholarship in its own right: *The Great Bronze Age of China: An Exhibition from the People’s Republic of China* (301130). This catalog, edited by the curator of Chinese art at the Metropolitan Museum Wen C. FONG 方聞, together with three other younger scholars: Robert W. BAGLEY, Jenny F. SO and Maxwell K. HEARN, did much more than just illustrate the pieces in the exhibition; it provided an excellent description of the various stages of the cultural history of China’s Bronze Age. As the sub-title of the catalog makes clear, the exhibition on which it was based featured exclusively artifacts that had recently been discovered in China. The Chinese donors of the pieces dispatched four prominent scholars to participate in the conference that opened the exhibition in New York: XIA Nai 夏鼐 (1910-1985), ZHANG Zhenglang 張政烺 (1912-2005), MA Chengyuan 馬承源 (1927-2004) and ZHANG Changshou 張長壽. On their return to China from New York, these four scholars, together with several of the other participants from the Metropolitan Museum conference, stopped in the San Francisco Bay Area, where they participated in another conference at the University of California, Berkeley, and also toured the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. This was the first time after the founding of the People’s Republic of China that Chinese scholars had participated in an American conference, an event that left a lasting impression on all of the participants, Chinese and western alike.



Fig. 19: ZHANG Zhenglang 張政烺 (l.), MA Chengyuan 馬承源, ZHANG Changshou 張長壽, Edward SHAUGHNESSY, and Rene Yvon Lefebvre d'ARGENCE (then director of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco) inspecting bronze vessels in the museum's storage area.

When “The Great Bronze Age of China” exhibition reached Los Angeles, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art organized another scholarly conference to mark the occasion. George Kuwayama, curator of Asian Art there, edited the papers from the conference in a volume entitled *The Great Bronze Age of China: A Symposium* (301270; 1983). This volume contained papers by ten of America and Canada’s leading scholars of all aspects of Chinese Bronze Age culture. The titles are suggestive, even if only one of the papers properly dealt with inscriptions.

K.C. CHANG: “The Origin of Shang and the Problem of Xia in Chinese Archaeology”

Louisa G. Fitzgerald HUBER: “Some Anyang Royal Bronzes: Remarks on Shang Bronze Décor”

David S. NIVISON: “Western Zhou History Reconstructed from Bronze Inscriptions”

George KUWAYAMA: “The Cultural Renaissance of Late Zhou”

Jenny F. SO: “*Hu* Vessels from Xinzheng: Toward a Definition of Chu Style”

Robert L. THORP: “An Archaeological Reconstruction of the Lishan Necropolis”

Emma C. BUNKER: “Sources of Foreign Elements in the Culture of Eastern Zhou”

- Ursula Martius FRANKLIN: “The Beginnings of Metallurgy in China: A Comparative Approach”
- W.T. CHASE: “Bronze Casting in China: A Short Technical History”
- Pieter MEYERS and Lore L. HOLMES: “Technical Studies of Ancient Chinese Bronzes: Some Observations”

Aside from the paper “Western Chou History Reconstructed from Bronze Inscriptions” (301290) by **David S. NIVISON** (1923-2014; see the biography appended to this chapter), the other nine papers all dealt with archaeological and technological topics, but they serve well to show the multi-faceted interest stimulated by “The Great Bronze Age of China” exhibition.

Nivison’s research on Western Zhou history essentially revolved around the chronology of the period. According to the Preface to his late-in-life book *The Riddle of the Bamboo Annals* (405060; 2009), one Sunday evening in November 1979, as he was preparing for a seminar to be held the following evening, he suddenly discovered evidence showing that the “Current Text” (*Jinben* 今本) *Bamboo Annals* (*Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年), generally thought to be a Ming-dynasty forgery, could not be a forgery, at least not in its entirety, and that indeed at least a considerable portion of the work was based on reliable historical sources. According to this reminiscence, the seminar on the following day was scheduled to discuss the then recently excavated Wei 微-family bronzes. One of these bronzes, the *Xing xu* 癸盥 (dated by Nivison to the latter part of mid-Western Zhou), contained the exact date “fourth year, second month, after the growing brightness, *wuxu*” (*wei sinian eryue jishengba wuxu* 隹四年二月既生霸戊戌), and also contained records that “the king was in the Zhou Captain Lu Palace” (*wang zai Zhou Shi Lu gong* 王才周師录宮) and that a Sima Gong 司馬共 was serving as the *youzhe* 右者 (the guarantor standing to the right of the investee). In addition to this *Xing xu*, Nivison noted that three other late mid-Western Zhou vessels also contained records that the king was in the Zhou Captain Lu Palace and that Sima Gong was serving as *youzhe*. What is more, all three of these vessels also contained full date notations. These three vessels were the *Shi Yu gui* 師觶簋, with a date notation of “third year, third month, first auspiciousness, *jiaxu*”; the *Shi Chen ding* 師晨鼎, with the same date notation; and the *Jian gui* 諫簋, dated “fifth year, third month, first auspiciousness, *gengyin*.” Nivison determined that these four vessels should all have been produced during the same reign, the most likely candidate for which would be the reign of King Yi of Zhou 周夷王. He found that the dates of the *Shi Yu gui*, *Shi Cheng ding* and *Jian gui* could all be accommodated on the calendar of one such reign beginning in the year 867 B.C., and also that this calendar was consistent with the chronology given in the *Bamboo Annals*. However, this

left one major problem remaining. No matter how it might be interpreted, the date of the *Xing xu* was inconsistent with this regnal calendar, for which reason the Japanese scholar Shirakawa Shizuka had surmised that there must have been a mistake in the casting of the vessel. Nivison, on the other hand, posited what he later termed “a bold hypothesis”: that King Yi of Zhou had employed two different regnal calendars, one beginning in 867 B.C. and one beginning two years later, in 865 B.C. To explain this point, Nivison found considerable other evidence to show that such a “dual first-year” of reign was quite common throughout the Western Zhou. In sum, beginning on that Sunday evening, Nivison began his quest to unravel the chronology of ancient China. Aside from the article “Western Chou History Reconstructed from Bronze Inscriptions” mentioned above, about the same time he also published two other articles expressly discussing Western Zhou chronology: “The Dates of Western Chou” (301280; 1983) and “1040 as the Date of the Chou Conquest” (301230; 1982). Of course, all of his work on chronology was brought together in his 2009 book *The Riddle of the Bamboo Annals*.

In the 1980s, David Keightley, Paul Serruys, Noel Barnard and David Nivison, by then all senior scholars, remained the western world’s foremost authorities on Chinese paleography. However, for research on bronze inscriptions, this decade might be referred to as the “age of the students.” In the seminar that Nivison was teaching and for which he spent that Sunday evening preparing, there were only two students formally enrolled: David W. PANKENIER and Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY. Both of these students published the term papers that they prepared for that course, Shaughnessy’s “‘New’ Evidence on the Zhou Conquest” (301150; 1980) and Pankenier’s “Astronomical Dates in Shang and Western Zhou” (301170; 1981). Both of these papers were inspired in different ways by Nivison’s interest in Western Zhou chronology. After this time, Shaughnessy would continue to pursue research on bronze inscriptions, publishing his first paper in this field already in 1983: “The Date of the ‘Duo You *Ding*’ and Its Significance” (301300). Moreover, at almost the same time, a Chinese version of this article was published in the journal *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物.²⁹

In 1982, Darrel Paul DOTY completed his doctoral dissertation entitled “The Bronze Inscriptions of Ch’i: An Interpretation” (301200), which as the title suggests was an exhaustive philological analysis of inscribed bronze vessels from the Eastern Zhou state of Qi 齊. Doty was a student of Paul Serruys, and his dissertation clearly reflects his teacher’s style. In 1984, Noel Barnard’s student

29 XIA Hanyi 夏含夷, “Ceding Duo You ding de niandai” 測定多友鼎的年代, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1985.6: 58-60.

YEUNG Ching-kong 楊靜剛 also completed his doctoral dissertation: “Some Aspects of Royal and Princely Administrative Interrelationship in Western Zhou: A Preliminary Investigation Based upon the Evidence as Recorded in Inscribed Bronzes of the Period” (301320), which made use of bronze inscriptions to study the history of the Western Zhou government. In 1985, Gilbert Mattos published both “The Restoration of the Stone Drum Inscriptions 石鼓文” (301350) and a review of CHOU Fa-kao’s, *Chin-wen ku-lin-pu* 金文詁林補 (301360). At this time, two other students of Max Loehr, Jenny SO 蘇芳淑 and Robert Bagley began to publish their research on ancient Chinese bronze vessels, with Bagley’s *Shang Ritual Bronzes in the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (301430) being particularly noteworthy. In 1988, K.C. Chang’s foremost student Lothar von FALKENHAUSEN submitted his doctoral dissertation “Ritual Music in Bronze Age China” (301460). This 1600-page long dissertation explored every aspect of ancient Chinese bells, including the inscriptions found on many of them.

As far as studies of bronze vessels and their inscriptions are concerned, the 1990s got off to an auspicious start. In the first year of the decade, Constance Anne COOK, who had been a student of Paul Serruys, completed her doctoral dissertation “Auspicious Metals and Southern Spirits: An Analysis of the Chu Bronze Inscriptions” (301540; 1990), which provided a broad-based analysis of bronze vessels from the southern state of Chu 楚. In the same year, Jessica RAWSON’s major work *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (301580) was published. This sumptuous catalog was divided into two volumes, the first a synoptic study of Western Zhou bronzes, and the second the catalog proper; it can truly be called the crowning glory of the preceding fifty or sixty years of western scholarship on Chinese bronzes. 1991 saw the appearance of Edward Shaughnessy’s *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (301670). Both nominally and in actuality, that book was intended to be a sequel to David Keightley’s *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (201490; 1978), this book providing a systematic introduction to Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. The book is divided into five chapters: “A Brief History of Bronze Inscription Studies,” “The Casting of an Inscribed Bronze Vessel, With Remarks on the Question of Authenticity,” “How to Read a Western Zhou Bronze Inscription,” “The Periodization of Inscribed Western Zhou Bronze Vessels,” and “Further Historiographical Questions Regarding Inscribed Western Zhou Bronze Vessels.” It also includes three lengthy appendices: “Textual Notes to the Translation of the Inscription on the ‘Shi Qiang Pan’,” “The ‘Ling Yi’ and the Question of the Kang Gong,” and “The Absolute Chronology of the Western Zhou Dynasty.”

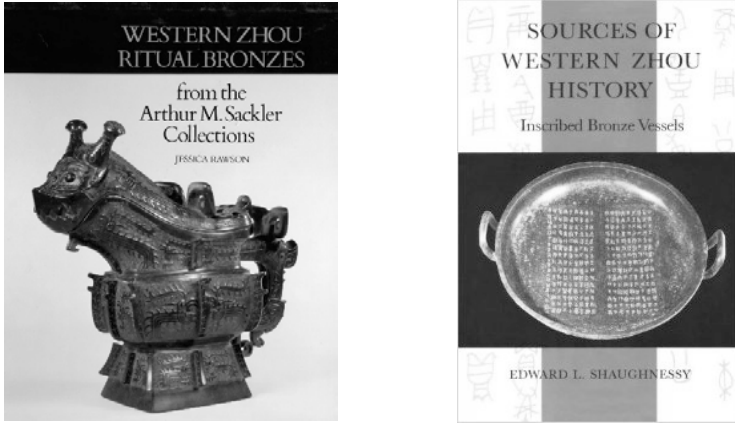


Fig. 20: Left: Jessica RAWSON, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*; Right: Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels*

In 1993, Rawson and Shaughnessy's books were the subject of an 88-page long review article: Lothar von Falkenhausen's "Issues in Western Zhou Studies: A Review Article" (301790). Falkenhausen's review raised a great many points of methodology in the study of bronze vessels and their inscriptions, the first sentence of which stated: "It is refreshing to note that, after a half-century of comparative neglect, the classical basis of Chinese civilization is once again beginning to receive the attention it deserves from Western Sinologists." His review featured an extremely clear organizational structure, divided into two major parts, the first devoted to Shaughnessy's *Sources of Western Zhou History* and the second to Rawson's *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*. Each of these major parts was divided into a great many topics, many of which were further sub-divided into yet more topics. The organizational structure will give some sense of the contents:

- 1 The Nature and Dating of Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions
 - 1.1 *Sources of Western Zhou History: Appearance and Organization*
 - 1.2 The Nature of Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions
 - 1.2.1 The Ritual Context
 - 1.2.2 The Structure of the Inscription Texts
 - 1.2.3 Modes of Announcements of Merit

- 1.2.3.1 The Documentary Mode
- 1.2.3.2 The Subjective Mode
- 1.2.3.3 Abbreviated Modes
- 1.2.3.4 Discussion

- 1.2.4 Recording Conventions
- 1.2.5 The Historical Value of Bronze Inscriptions

- 1.3 Dating the Inscriptions
 - 1.3.1 Calendrics
 - 1.3.2 Dating Based on Names
 - 1.3.2.1 Royal Names
 - 1.3.2.2 Genealogical Evidence
 - 1.3.2.3 References to Dateable Historical Figures
 - 1.3.2.4 Networks of Personal Names

 - 1.3.3 Discussion

- 1.4 Deciphering and Translating the Inscriptions

- 2 Advances in the Study of Bronze Typology and Ornamentation
 - 2.1 *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections: Characteristics and Orientation*
 - 2.1.1 Appearance
 - 2.1.2 Nature and Orientation of the Work

 - 2.2 Characterization of Western Zhou Bronzes
 - 2.2.1 Early Western Zhou Flamboyant Styles
 - 2.2.2 Middle Western Zhou Developments
 - 2.2.3 The Late Western Zhou Transformation
 - 2.2.4 Problems of Chronology

 - 2.3 Reflections on the Nature of Stylistic Change

- 2.3.1 Changes Internal to the Production of the Bronzes
- 2.3.2 Extra-Artistic Influences
- 2.4 Non-Zhou Elements in Western Zhou Bronzes
 - 2.4.1 The Impact of Earlier Traditions
 - 2.4.2 Regional Cultures Contemporary with the Zhou
- 2.5 Describing and Dating the Bronze Vessels
 - 2.5.1 The Scope of the Catalogue
 - 2.5.2 Uses of Epigraphic Data
 - 2.5.3 Stylistics and Typology
 - 2.5.4 Dating by Archaeological Context
- 2.6 Final Reflections on Language and Format

As this structure shows, this “review” is extraordinarily rich, especially for its insights into the methodology of bronze studies. However, in the midst of all of these riches, it is section 1.2 “The Nature of Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions” and especially 1.2.1 “The Ritual Context,” with their pronounced anthropological perspective, that have attracted the most attention from western readers. Falkenhausen argues that bronze vessels were ritual artifacts, and their use was entirely intended for the ancestral temple; the inscriptions on them were likewise solely intended to seek good fortune from the ancestors. On the basis of this, Falkenhausen suggests that the content of the inscriptions reflects a distinct subjective viewpoint, and they were not originally intended as historical records. Because of this, Falkenhausen criticizes Shaughnessy’s use of the inscriptions as “historical sources,” arguing that the bronze vessels and their inscriptions can only be treated as religious sources. In the same year (1993), Falkenhausen’s doctoral dissertation was formally published as *Suspended Music: The Chime-Bells of the Chinese Bronze Age* (301800), providing a complete introduction to the cultural background of chime bells.

Aside from these two major works by Falkenhausen, 1993 brought several other studies of bronze vessels and their inscriptions. In that year, Noel Barnard also published a lengthy review (75 pages long) of Jessica Rawson’s *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (301750). Barnard used the first part of his review to point out a number of “short-comings” (including a lengthy note criticizing Rawson’s use of *pinyin* Romanization instead of Barnard’s

preferred Wade-Giles Romanization). The rest of the review revolved around three questions: bronze casting technique, how to read inscriptions, and the question of the authenticity of bronze vessels. The main focus was on the first of these questions, which had been the focus of Barnard's research for much of the preceding two decades; since this discussion is only tangentially related to paleography, I will not enter into it here. With respect to the discussion of how to read inscriptions, this was essentially a recapitulation of Barnard's theory of the constancy of character structure, first announced nearly forty years before. Nor was the discussion of authenticity much different from what he had published numerous times before. In a lengthy note appended to this review, Barnard said that when he was younger he had been much interested in the incidence of forgery among vessels that had long been known, but since the 1970s, when archaeologists in China scientifically excavated a great number of inscribed bronze vessels, his interest had begun to shift to these new vessels. As for his past views of forgery, he now said:

Taking up the challenge once more, the large corpus of unprovenanced inscribed bronzes, not unexpectedly, is seen to manifest many new and earlier unnoticed features of possible significance amongst individual inscriptions that may well have appreciable relevance when new assessments of their status as historical documents are more fully undertaken. Such undertakings will, nonetheless, still require strict application of the basic historical research methods as advocated, and practiced, throughout my writings.³⁰

It is very hard to say whether this should be read as a negation or confirmation of his past studies.

For her part, Jessica Rawson published the article "Ancient Chinese Ritual Bronzes: The Evidence from Tombs and Hoards of the Shang (c. 1500-1050 B.C.) and Western Zhou (c. 1050-771 B.C.) Periods" (301830) in 1993. This article emphasizes the different roles played by vessels that were put into hoards (also referred to as caches) as opposed to those that had been put into tombs, with some anthropological considerations of their different values. Although this article is quite short, like so much of Rawson's scholarship it is full of interesting insights. 1993 also saw publications by two younger scholars. Constance Cook published two articles: "Myth and Authenticity: Deciphering the Chu Gong Ni Bell Inscription" (301760) and "Ritual Feasting in Ancient China: Preliminary Study I" (301770). These two articles both combined studies of bronze inscriptions with anthropological theories to study ancient Chinese cultural history, in which Cook

³⁰ Noel BARNARD, "Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections: A Review Article," *T'oung Pao* 79.4/5 (1993): 273 n. 15.

presented many of her own ideas. She subsequently published several other similar articles, such as “Scribes, Cooks, and Artisans: Breaking Zhou Tradition” (301910), published in 1995, “Wealth and the Western Zhou” (302080; 1997), and “The Ideology of the Chu Ruling Class: Ritual Rhetoric and Bronze Inscriptions” (302190; 1999). Ten years after this 1999 article, she would also publish a study entitled “Ancestor Worship during the Eastern Zhou” (303210; 2009), which provided a comprehensive overview of all of these related issues. Returning to articles published in 1993, Ulrich LAU, originally of East Germany, published “Die Inschriften des Qiu Wei: Dokumente zur Wirtschafts- und Rechtsgeschichte Chinas” (301820). This was part of Lau’s doctoral dissertation, which was formally published in 1999 as *Quellenstudien zur Landvergabe und Bodenübertragung in der westlichen Zhou-Dynastie (1045?-771 v. Chr.)* (302240). This work, the fruit of a traditional German philological training, is largely devoted to the study of individual bronze inscriptions; it presents in-depth studies of thirty-one different inscriptions, including such important inscriptions as those on the *Kang Hou gui* 康侯簋, *Yi Hou Ze gui* 宜侯矢簋, *Shi Qiang pan* 史牆盤, *Duo You ding* 多友鼎, *Fifth-Year Qiu Wei ding* 五祀裘衛鼎, and *Hu ding* 盨鼎. Each of these inscriptions is furnished with an annotated translation, as well as a complete discussion of its historical significance.

In 1995, Jenny SO completed the project of publishing the bronzes in the Arthur M. Sackler collection, with her volume *Eastern Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (301960). As with Robert Bagley’s volume on the Shang bronzes and Jessica Rawson’s volume on the Western Zhou bronzes, this third volume also meets the highest standards of scholarship and publication. These three volumes taken together mark the summa of late twentieth-century western scholarship on ancient Chinese bronze vessels. In the twenty years since its publication, no scholarship has superseded this volume.



Fig. 21: Left: Robert W. BAGLEY, *Shang Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*; Right: Jenny SO, *Eastern Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*.

The years 1994 and 1996 brought three more doctoral dissertations on topics relating to bronze inscriptions. Two of these were studies of Western Zhou law and legal thought as seen primarily in inscriptions: Lutz SCHUNK's "Dokumente zur Rechtsgeschichte des alten China: Übersetzung und historisch-philologische Kommentierung juristischer Bronzeinschriften der West-Zhou-Zeit (1045-771 v. Chr.)" (301880; 1994), and Laura A. SKOSEY's "The Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou (1045 B.C.E.-771 B.C.E.)" (302030; 1996). Unfortunately, neither of these dissertations has ever been formally published, and neither scholar was able to continue to pursue scholarship in this field. The third of these dissertations was Wolfgang BEHR's "Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung" (302000; 1996). This work made use of phonological reconstructions to study the use of rhyme in bronze inscriptions. Not only did it provide phonological reconstructions of 115 Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and 82 Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions, but it also provided complete translations of such important inscriptions as *Li gui* 利簋, *He zun* 何尊, *Da Yu ding* 大盂鼎, *Ban gui* 班簋, *Ke xu* 克盥, *Liang Qi zhong* 梁其鐘, *Hu gui* 猷簋, *Yue Wang zhong* 越王鐘, and *Wangsun Yizhe zhong* 王孫遺者鐘. For five more inscriptions, on the *Tian Wang gui* 天亡簋, *Shu you* 叔卣, *Fu Ren xu* 甫人盥, *Luan Shu fou* 繚書缶 and *Biao zhong* 鏹鐘, Behr added detailed notes and discussion to his complete translations. This study was formally published in 2009 as *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung* (303190).

In 1997, the volume *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts* (100970), edited by Edward Shaughnessy, included two different chapters devoted to bronze inscriptions: Shaughnessy's own "Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions" (302140) and Gilbert Mattos's "Eastern Zhou Bronze Inscriptions" (302120). In addition, the book also included a chapter on stone inscriptions of the period: "The Covenant Texts from Houma and Wenxian" by Susan R. WELD (302160). The chapters in this book provided comprehensive introductions to their respective sources, very convenient for use by students.

3.2 Studies of Stone Inscriptions

Above we have taken a simple look back at research results in the field of bronze inscription studies during the twentieth century. Below, we will turn our attention to work done by western scholars on ancient Chinese stone inscriptions. As noted in the Preface to this book, this study goes back to the earliest years of western contact with China; when the "Stele Commemorating the Entry Into China of the Greater Qin Outstanding Religion" (*Da Qin Jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo bei* 大秦景教流行中國碑) stele was unearthed in 1625, during the Ming dynasty, it immediately attracted the attention of western missionaries in China. By 1628 the inscription on the stele had already been translated into Portuguese. When a Latin translation of the inscription was published in Rome in 1636, it was immediately circulated throughout Europe, and excited interest among intellectuals of all types there. Thereafter, many other European missionaries in China continued to be interested in stele inscriptions. However, since most of these steles date to after the Sui and Tang dynasties, and thus do not fall under the purview of the current book, I will not introduce studies of them here.

Ancient stone inscriptions also attracted the early interest of western Sinologists. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the very first western scholarly study in this field was Stephen Bushell's "The Stone Drums of the Chou Dynasty" (300010), published as early as 1873 in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Bushell not only gave a detailed account of the history of the Qin Stone Drums (Qin *shi gu* 秦石鼓), but he also translated four of the inscriptions, those with the poems "Wu che" 吾車 (Our chariots), "Jian ye" 汧戩 (The Jian River), "Tian che" 田車 (Hunting chariots), and "Luan che" 鑾車 (Belled chariots), the translations showing a definite scholarly standard. Unfortunately, the article did not attract much notice in the western scholarly world, and it would be more than a hundred years before we would see the publication of another article concerning these important inscriptions, Gilbert Mattos's 1985 study

“The Restoration of the Stone Drum Inscriptions 石鼓文” (301350). Mattos’s study was based on his 1973 doctoral dissertation “The Stone Drums of Ch’in” (300860). In 1988, that dissertation was formally published as *The Stone Drums of Ch’in* (301490). It provides a comprehensive account of the Qin Stone Drums, divided into three major parts. The first part includes four chapters: “General Description,” “The Discovery and Transmission of the Stone Drums,” “The Stone Drum Inscriptions: Their Gradual Loss and Partial Recovery,” and “Dating of the Stone Drums: The Key Issues in Review.” The second part presents a systematic exploration of the inscriptions on the ten drums, including a history of the scholarship on each of them, reconstruction of the texts, transcriptions (both direct transcriptions and “exploded” transcriptions into modern Chinese), reconstructions of the ancient phonology, their rhymes, and annotated translations. The third part presents a detailed discussion of the date of the Qin Stone Drums. Based on comparisons with inscribed bronze vessels, and especially with the *Qin Gong gui* 秦公簋 and the *Qin Wu Gong zhong* 秦武公鐘, the latter of which was unearthed only in 1978, Mattos demonstrated that the drums should date to the latter part of the early Warring States period, roughly about 400 B.C. This conclusion is similar to that reached by TANG Lan 唐蘭 (1901-1979),³¹ and is now generally accepted by Chinese scholars working in this field. By the end of the twentieth century, with constant discoveries being made by Chinese archaeologists and given the great increase in unearthed texts, the Qin Stone Drums no longer excite much interest on the part of scholars, whether Chinese or western. However, Mattos’s *The Stone Drums of Ch’in* stands as a model for all future scholarship in this field.

The second western scholarly study of stone inscriptions after the publication of Bushell’s article on the Qin Stone Drums had much in common with that first study. This was by Édouard CHAVANNES. Chavannes arrived in China in 1889, serving in the French embassy in Beijing. Four years later he published his first scholarly paper: “Les inscriptions des *Ts’in*” (300020; 1893). This was a comprehensive study of the *Zu Chu wen* 詛楚文 (Imprecation against Chu), a Qin weight-measure (Qin *quan* 秦權),³² and six different stele inscriptions credited to Qin Shi huangdi, the First Emperor of Qin: the 28th-year Yishan 嶧山, the 28th-year Taishan 泰山, the 28th-year Langya 琅琊, the 29th-year Fushan 罍山, the 32nd-year

31 TANG Lan 唐蘭, “Guanyu Shiguwen de shidai da TONG Shuye xiansheng” 關於石鼓文的時代答童書業先生, *Wenshi zhouban* 文史週刊 13 (1948.02.06); TANG Lan 唐蘭, “Shigu niandaikao” 石鼓年代考, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 1 (1958): 4-34.

32 The Qin weight-measure cited by CHAVANNES is from RUAN Yuan 阮元, *Jigu zhai zhongding yiqi kuanzhi* 積古齋鐘鼎彝器款識 (1804), j. 9.

Jieshimen 碣石門, and the 37th-year Kuaijishan 會稽山 inscription. This study provided both historical background to the eight inscriptions as well as complete translations, as well as also pointing out the rhymes used in the inscriptions. The latter half of the article also provided an introduction to Qin pottery inscriptions. As with all of Chavannes' other scholarship, this study provided a systematic textual analysis grounded in a detailed study of the historical background.

There is another respect in which Chavannes' study of the Qin Shi Huangdi stele inscriptions is similar to Bushell's study of the Qin Stone Drums inscriptions: in this case too, it would be more than one hundred years before another western scholar would publish research on these inscriptions. In this case, it was Martin KERN, who in the year 2000 published the monograph *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation* (302340). In the Preface to this book, Kern recounts that one day in the spring of 1997 he was chatting with the University of Washington professor David KNECHTGES, when Knechtges asked him whether the Qin stele inscriptions might not be the model for the early Western Han Anshi fangzhong ge 安世房中歌 and the Emperor Wu of Han-period Jiaosi ge 郊祀歌 songs; Kern admitted that he did not know of the Qin inscriptions, but thereafter devoted all of his energy to their research, and within several months completed the first draft of this book. The first half of the book presents complete and heavily annotated translations of the seven Qin stele inscriptions, while the second half of the book explores such earlier Qin inscriptions as those on the bronze *Qin Gong bo* 秦公罇, *Qin Gong gui* 秦公簋 and *Qin Gong zhong* 秦公鐘, as well as the inscription on the stone chimes unearthed from a large Qin tomb in 1976, in all cases again providing annotated translations. On the basis of these translations, Kern also discussed the inscriptions' rhymes as well as the ritual background behind their composition, suggesting that the rhymes reflect that the ritual activities were intimately connected with oral culture, the written form of the inscriptions being only secondary.³³ This is a topic to which Kern would frequently return in subsequent publications addressing bronze inscriptions and other paleographic sources.

It should be noted that between the time of Bushell and Chavannes at the end of the nineteenth century and Mattos and Kern at the end of the twentieth century, western scholars did not abandon entirely research on ancient stone inscriptions. However, in general, this field remained relatively underdeveloped. As far as I am aware, the only related article published in the entire first half of the twentieth century was Hellmut WILHELM's (1905-1990) 1948 very short study "Eine Chou-

33 Martin KERN, *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation*, American Oriental Series 85 (New Haven, 2000), p. 102.

Inscription über Atem-technik” (300500), which provided a brief introduction to the *Xing qi yuban* 行氣玉板 (Circulating breath jade-plate) inscription included in the *Sandai jijin wencun* 三代吉金文存 (Repository of texts on auspicious bronzes of the three dynasties) of LUO Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940). Even after this, we would still have to wait another thirty years for the next article to appear; this was “An ‘Old Rubbing’ of the Later Han *Chang Ch’ien pei*” (301100; 1978) by Kenneth STARR (1922-2011).

Starr received his Ph.D. from the Department of Anthropology of Yale University in 1953, and then immediately began working at the Field Museum of Chicago, where he would continue to work for almost twenty years. In 1970, he was appointed director of the Milwaukee Museum of Art. While he was at the Field Museum, Starr discovered that the museum collection included almost 4000 rubbings of Chinese inscriptions, the great majority of these being from stone steles. Thereafter, his research to a great extent revolved around these inscriptions. In 1981, together with his Field Museum colleague Hoshien TCHEN 陳和銑 (1893-1988), Starr published 2014 of these rubbings in their *Catalogue of Chinese Rubbings from Field Museum* (301180), the first set of rubbings in the book being of none other than the Qin Stone Drums. The book includes a total of 14 Zhou-dynasty inscriptions (including stamps [*fengni* 封泥] and pottery inscriptions in addition to the complete set of the Qin Stone Drums inscriptions), 5 Qin inscriptions (including the Qin Shi Huangdi Langya 琅琊 stele inscription, as well as inscriptions on tiles and bricks), and 213 Han-dynasty rubbings, including three complete sets of rubbings of the Wu Liang ci 武梁祠 shrine engravings; this is certainly the most important collection of Chinese rubbings outside of China. In 2008, Starr also published the book *Black Tigers: A Grammar of Chinese Rubbings* (303170), of which Michael Nylan professor of Chinese history at the University of California at Berkeley, began her review of the book by saying:

In the case of truly spectacular books, reviewers can find it difficult to know how best to begin singing the requisite praise-songs. *Black Tigers* is one such book.³⁴

34 Michael Nylan, “Review of *Black Tigers: A Grammar of Chinese Rubbings* by Kenneth Starr,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 128.4 (2008): 745.



Fig. 22: Left: *Catalogue of Chinese Rubbings from Field Museum Rubbings*; Right: *Black Tigers: A Grammar of Chinese*.

Since Starr was neither a paleographer nor a historian, it is natural that his interest in the rubbings was primarily in their form and in techniques for producing them, rather than in their historical content (though it was not the case that he was entirely uninterested in this). However, two historical studies based on Han-dynasty stele inscriptions were both published in 1980, just after Starr's first article. These were "Eastern Han Inscriptions and Dynastic Biographies: A Historiographical Comparison" (301110) by Hans BIELENSTEIN (1920-2015), and "Later Han Stone Inscriptions" (301120) by Patricia EBREY. Ebrey's article was particularly influential, since it was published in the prestigious *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. In fact, a book that Ebrey published two years prior to this article, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China: A Case Study of the Po-ling Ts'ui Family*, had already made considerable use of stele inscriptions.³⁵ After this time, she would continue to pursue this line of research, publishing "Local Cults: Three Stone Inscriptions Describing Shrines Erected to Honor Various Deities" (301780) in 1993. However, most of her research was on the period from the Tang to the Song dynasties, outside of the purview of the present book. Another renowned Sinologist who has also published a study of Han-dynasty inscriptions is Kristofer SCHIPPER, who in 1997 published the article "Une stèle taoïste des Han Orientaux récemment découverte" (302130). A few years after this, his student

³⁵ Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China: A Case Study of the Po-ling Ts'ui Family*. Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

Marianne BUJARD followed this with the similar study “Célébration et promotion des cultes locaux: Six stèles des Han Orientaux” (302330; 2000).³⁶

During the last twenty years, more and more western scholars have made use of stele inscriptions in their research. Most encouraging is that many of these have been younger scholars, who have incorporated this work in their doctoral dissertations, as well as in some of the work that they have published thereafter. In this regard, we might note especially the work of Tiziana LIPPIELLO, an Italian student of the renowned Sinologist Eric ZÜRCHER (1928-2008) at the University of Leiden; although the primary focus of her work is on the Six Dynasties, Sui and Tang periods, she has also looked at Han-dynasty stele inscriptions, as for instance in her 1995 article “Le pietre parlano: Il valore dell’epigrafia come fonte storica per lo studio della società Han orientale” (301940). This article appeared in a book entitled *Atti del Convegno: Le fonti per lo Studio della Civiltà Cinese*,³⁷ published by the University Cafoscari in Venice, where Lippiello now teaches. The same book also included the study “Epigrafia e storiografia: come le iscrizioni su pietra rivelino aspetti della società cinese antica ignorati dagli storiografi di corte” (301950) by her Venice colleague Maurizio SCARPARI.

In the section on bronze inscriptions above, I mentioned the book *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts*, which was published in 1997. This book included a chapter by Susan WELD on “The Covenant Texts from Houma and Wenxian” (302160), which was based to a great extent on her 1990 Harvard University doctoral dissertation “Covenant in Jin’s Walled Cities: The Discoveries at Houma and Wenxian” (301610). Weld was a student of K.C. CHANG, and her dissertation includes archaeological and historical considerations, as well as paleographic studies. Crispin WILLIAMS also produced a doctoral dissertation on the covenant texts, though focusing in particular on those from Wenxian 濫縣, Henan: “Interpreting the Wenxian Covenant Texts: Methodological Procedure and Selected Analysis” (302880; 2005). This doctoral dissertation was submitted to the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, where Williams was a student of Sarah ALLAN (see the biography appended to Chapter Four). In the same year

³⁶ Note should also be taken of Bujard’s book *Le Sacrifice au Ciel dans la Chine ancienne: Théorie et pratique sous le Han Occidentaux*. École française d’Extrême-Orient monographie, no. 187 (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2000), which surveys evidence for the *jiao* 郊 “suburban sacrifice” in Han-dynasty texts.

³⁷ Maurizio Scarpari ed., *Atti del Convegno: Le fonti per lo Studio della Civiltà Cinese* (Venezia: Cafoscarina, 1995). Also of interest in this regard is Lippiello’s book *Auspicious Omens and Miracles in Ancient China: Han, Three Kingdoms, and Six Dynasties* (Sankt Augustin, Germany: Monumenta Serica Institute, 2001).

that he submitted his doctoral dissertation (2005), Williams also published the article “A Methodological Procedure for the Analysis of the Wenxian Covenant Texts” (302890). In the years since then, Williams, who is now a professor at the University of Kansas in the United States, has published several more articles on paleographic aspects of the covenant texts; these include “Ten Thousand Names: Rank and Lineage Affiliation in the Wenxian Covenant Texts” (303280; 2009), “Early References to Collective Punishment in an Excavated Chinese Text: Analysis and Discussion of an Imprecation from the Wenxian Covenant Texts” (303420; 2011), and “Dating the Houma Covenant Texts: The Significance of Recent Findings from the Wenxian Covenant Texts” (303490; 2012).

Another scholar whose doctoral dissertation focused on the covenant texts from Houma 侯馬 and Wenxian is Imre GALAMBOS. His 2002 dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley, was entitled “The Evolution of Chinese Writing: Evidence from Newly Excavated Texts (490–221 BC)” (101190). This dissertation used the covenant texts to draw more general conclusions regarding early Chinese paleography, for which reason it was already introduced in Chapter One above. Curiously, Galambos’s career track has been the reverse of that of Crispin Williams, who moved from England to the United States. For his part, after completing his degree in the United States, Galambos moved to England, working first at the British Library, where his research focused on the Dunhuang manuscripts in the library’s collection, and then moving on to the University of Cambridge, where he currently teaches.

A classmate of Galambos during his graduate study at the University of California, Berkeley was Miranda BROWN, who also in 2002 presented a doctoral dissertation on Han-dynasty stone inscriptions: “Men in Mourning: Ritual, Human Nature, and Politics in Warring States and Han China, 453 BC – AD 220” (302470). Brown, who is currently a professor of Chinese history at the University of Michigan, has also continued to publish related research, including the articles “Mothers and Sons in Warring States and Han China” (302570; 2003) and “Han Steles: How To Elicit What They Have to Tell Us” (303080; 2008), as well as her 2007 book *The Politics of Mourning in Early China* (303010).

Prior to Crispin Williams and Imre Galambos, there was another scholar who personified the special relationship between England and America. Despite being American, Kenneth BRASHIER did his graduate study at the University of Cambridge in England, where he too completed a doctoral dissertation focused primarily on Han-dynasty stele inscriptions: “Evoking the Ancestor: The Stele Hymn of the Eastern Han Dynasty” (302070). Like Miranda Brown, Brashier also used the stele inscriptions as source material for his more general interest in Han society and ritual. After completing his degree, he returned to the United States,

where he is professor of Chinese at Reed College in Oregon. Over the last fifteen years, he has become a leading scholar in this field, publishing several articles and two important books. A chronological listing of this scholarship will suffice to show its importance.

“The Spirit Lord of Baishi Mountain: Feeding the Deities or Heeding the *Yinyang*?” (302380; 2001)

“Symbolic Discourse in Eastern Han Memorial Art: The Case of the Birchleaf Pear” (302810; 2005)

“Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Stelae” (302820; 2005)

“Eastern Han Commemorative Stelae: Laying the Cornerstones of Public Memory” (303200; 2009)

Ancestral Memory in Early China (303360; 2011)

Public Memory in Early China (303550; 2014)

Although western scholarship on stone inscriptions still cannot be said to be sufficiently developed, nevertheless the present trends are encouraging. Under the leadership of these scholars, now reaching the prime of their scholarly careers, it can be anticipated that this field will see important developments in the future.

3.3 Studies of Bronze Inscriptions since 2000

In contrast to the late development of studies of stone inscriptions, by the year 2000 western scholarship on bronze inscriptions was already quite developed. Compared with the same field fifty years before, the progress is particularly clear. During the 1950s and 1960s, there was essentially only Noel Barnard undertaking research on bronze inscriptions, and although he published a great deal, his influence was in some ways counter-productive. Barnard’s insistence that a great many of the bronze vessels that had been known prior to the advent of modern archaeology were forgeries was a disincentive for scholars in such related fields as paleography and history to make use of bronze inscriptions as sources for research, concerned as they were about being misled by inauthentic evidence. By the 1970s, with the great advance in scientifically excavated bronze vessels, this situation changed dramatically, and studies of bronze inscriptions in the West became almost hot. By the 1990s, under the impetus of the “Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project,” bronze studies advanced still further. From the year 2000 on, almost every year was marked by new discoveries, and these stimulated ever

more research. In the following summary of western scholarship on bronzes during this period, it will be impossible to introduce all of the many studies; instead I will be able to introduce only the most representative results.

In the year 2000 itself, LI Feng 李峰 completed his doctoral dissertation “The Decline and Fall of the Western Zhou Dynasty: A Historical, Archaeological, and Geographical Study of China from the Tenth to the Eighth Centuries B.C.” (302350). After receiving an M.A. from the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Li, a native of Baoji 寶雞, Shaanxi, went to Japan, where he studied for two years with the bronze inscription specialist MATSUMARU Michio 松丸道雄. After this, he then emigrated to the United States, studying at the University of Chicago. The sub-title of his dissertation describes well the contents of the dissertation: it is truly “a historical, archaeological, and geographical study of China from the tenth to the eighth centuries B.C.” Originally trained as an archaeologist, Li was personally also long interested in geography. After leaving China, he studied paleography with Matsumaru. By the time he arrived in America he was determined to add history to his skills. He has now combined all of these disciplines in his own work on Western Zhou cultural history, especially in his use of inscribed bronze vessels. After receiving his Ph.D., Li was appointed as professor of Chinese at Columbia University, where he established the “Early China Seminar,” which has served as a forum to foster scholarship on Early China throughout the East Coast of the United States. Since beginning his career at Columbia, he has published scholarship almost every year, in many years publishing more than one article. A chronological listing of just the most important of these during the first years that he taught there would include:

“‘Offices’ in Bronze Inscriptions and Western Zhou Government Administration” (302400; 2001)

“Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders: Evidence from the Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Zhou Period (1045-771 B.C.)” (302500; 2002)

“‘Feudalism’ and Western Zhou China: A Criticism” (302610; 2003)

“Succession and Promotion: Elite Mobility during the Western Zhou” (302690; 2004)

“Textual Criticism and Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions: The Example of the Mu Gu” (302700; 2004)

In 2006, Li’s doctoral dissertation was formally published as *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045-771 B.C.* (302940). Two years later, he followed this with a second book entitled *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou* (303130; 2008).

While his research centers on the cultural history of ancient China, he also often makes use of comparison with ancient Rome. This combination of a firm empirical basis with a strong comparative viewpoint has provoked considerable discussion within the western scholarly world. In 2010, the authoritative journal *Early China* organized a “Forum” to discuss his first book *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045-771 B.C.*, with Maria KHAYUTINA, Yuri PINES, Katheryn M. LINDUFF, Constance COOK, and CHEN Zhi 陳致 all contributing appraisals. In western scholarship, it is rare to see this sort of interest for a first book, reflective of the considerable stature that Li Feng has already achieved. In 2012, his student Paul Nicholas VOGT completed a doctoral dissertation entitled “Between Kin and King: Social Aspects of Western Zhou Ritual” (303480), making considerable use of inscribed bronze vessels to trace the evolution of ritual over the course of the Western Zhou period. Vogt is now a professor of Chinese at Indiana University in the United States.

Above, in Part One, I already mentioned Wolfgang BEHR’s doctoral dissertation “Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung” (302000; 1996). However, it was not until 2005 and 2006 that Behr began to publish related scholarship: “The Extent of Tonal Irregularity in Pre-Qin Inscriptional Rhyming” (302800; 2005), and “Spiegelreflex: Reste einer Wu-Überlieferung der *Lieder* im Licht einer Bronzeinschrift der späten Han-Zeit” (302900; 2006). Although still to this day he has not formally published many articles, he has been extraordinarily active, especially presenting numerous important papers at scholarly conferences; as of November 18, 2016, his web-site at Academia.edu featured 8 books, 22 articles, and 133 conference presentations, most of them related to topics in linguistics and paleography. Currently the professor of Sinology at the University of Zurich, he has an important position within western Sinology, and is also well known both in China and in Russia within the fields of paleography and linguistics. In 2009, his doctoral dissertation was formally published as *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung* (303190).

Another European authority on Chinese paleography is Olivier VENTURE, who teaches at the École Pratique des Hautes Études of the Université Paris 7. In his doctoral dissertation, “Étude d’un employ ritual de l’écrit dans la Chine archaïque (XIIIe-VIIIe siècle avant notre ère)—Réflexion sur les matériaux épigraphiques des Shang et des Zhou occidentaux” (302540), completed at the same school in 2002, he provided a comprehensive analysis of both Shang oracle-bone inscriptions and Shang and Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. Because of his teaching responsibilities, in recent years his research has tended toward War-

ring States, Qin and Han manuscripts, but he still pays attention to bronze inscriptions, as in his study “Le Shan ding: Un vase en bronze inscrit de l’époque des Zhou occidentaux (1050-771 av. notre ère)” (302760), published in 2004.

Chrystelle MARÉCHAL, another scholar working in Paris, is a researcher in the section on Linguistics of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS). In 2001, she joined her teacher Shun-chiu YAU in editing *Actes du Colloque international commémorant le centenaire de la découverte des inscriptions sur os et carapaces* (203360), introduced in Chapter Two above. Her own work has included not only studies of oracle-bone inscriptions, but also several studies of bronze inscriptions, as in her contribution to that volume: “La conservation formationnelle des caractères chinois: Une source de vitalité de l’écriture révélée au travers de *bao* 寶 ‘précieux’” (302410), as well as the following articles: “Idiomatic Acceptability and Graphic Identification in Bronze Inscriptions of the Spring and Autumn Period” (302720; 2004 年) and “Graphic Modulation in the Ancient Chinese Writing System” (302950; 2006), all of which present interesting ideas concerning paleographic method.

Maria KHAYUTINA, mentioned in connection with the *Early China* “Forum” discussion of Li Feng’s book *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045-771 B.C.*, is a Russian scholar who now lives in Munich, Germany, though she writes primarily in English. Since 2002, she has published many articles on Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, Western Zhou history, and archaeology, many with a pronounced anthropological perspective:

- “Studying the Private Sphere of the Ancient Chinese Nobility through the Inscriptions on Bronze Ritual Vessels” (302480; 2002)
- “Host-Guest Opposition as a Model of Geo-Political Relations in Pre-Imperial China” (302490; 2002)
- “The Sacred Space of an Aristocratic Clan in Zhou China (11th-3rd Centuries B.C.) under Transformation: An Attempt at Interpretation” (302590; 2003)
- “Welcoming Guests—Constructing Corporate Privacy? An Attempt at a Socio-Anthropological Interpretation of Ancestral Rituals Evolution in Ancient China (ca. XI-V cc. B.C.)” (302600; 2003)
- “Die Geschichte der Irrfahrt des Prinzen Chong’er und ihre Botschaft” (302930; 2006)
- “Western ‘Capitals’ of the Western Zhou Dynasty: Historical Reality and Its Reflections Until the Time of Sima Qian” (303110; 2008)
- “Royal Hospitality and Geopolitical Constitution of the Western Zhou Polity” (303310; 2010)

“Marital Alliances and Affinal Relatives (*Sheng* and *Hungou*) in the Society and Politics of Zhou China in the Light of Bronze Inscriptions” (303580; 2014)

“King Wen, A Settler of Disputes or Judge? The Yu-Rui Case in the *Historical Records* and Its Historical Background” (303640; 2015)

From the titles of these articles, it is easy to see the pronounced anthropological perspective that Khayutina brings to her research.

There are two other mid-career scholars of early Chinese cultural history who were originally German but now work in the United States and who have made unique contributions to the study of bronze vessels and their inscriptions. Above I have already had occasion to discuss in some detail Lothar von FALKENHAUSEN, the successor to K.C. Chang as the western world’s leading authority on Chinese archaeology. Falkenhausen is interested in all aspects of the Chinese Bronze Age. In 2006, he published *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000-250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (302910). This book is a collection of articles that he had published over the years, slightly revised and woven together into an integral whole; its three sections address the Western Zhou, Springs and Autumns, and Warring States periods. The Western Zhou portion, in particular, makes use of bronze inscriptions. Falkenhausen has a rather unusual view of the Wei 微-family bronzes and its famous *Shi Qiang pan* 史牆盤, which is routinely dated to the reign of King Gong of Zhou 周共王. Instead, Falkenhausen argues that the vessels in this cache made for Xing 癸 should date to the late Western Zhou, and since Xing was the son of Shi Qiang 史牆, the patron of the *Shi Qiang pan*, it stands to reason that the *Shi Qiang pan* cannot date any earlier than the reign of King Xiao of Zhou 周孝王, two kings later than the vessel’s generally accepted date. In the same year that he published this book (2006), he also published a similar analysis of the Shan 單-family bronzes that had just been discovered at Yangjiacun 楊家村, Shaanxi three years before: “The Inscribed Bronzes from Yangjiacun: New Evidence on Social Structure and Historical Consciousness in Late Western Zhou China (c. 800 BC)” (302920). In this article, he suggested that the *Qiu pan* 逯盤 inscription, which like the *Shi Qiang pan* inscription carries a genealogy of both the Zhou royal family and also the patron’s family, is dubious, since there are only eight generations of ancestors in the Shan family as opposed to twelve generations of Zhou kings. Falkenhausen argues that from the time of King Wen of Zhou until that of King Xuan of Zhou, there was at least 250 years. For eight generations, this would give an average length of generation of 31.25 years, far longer than we might expect in antiquity, when the average life expectancy was much lower than it is today. For this reason, he suggests that the Shan-family genealogy presented in the inscription cannot possibly be complete, and

indeed may well be partly or wholly fictional. It bears noting here that when Falkenhausen suggests that this inscriptional is fictional, he is not calling the vessel or its inscription a forgery in the sense used by Noel Barnard. Rather, Falkenhausen claims that the inscription is not a true account of the family's history:

I cannot help but suggest, at this juncture, that the whole sequence of ancestors as given in the *Qiu-pan*—or at least its early portion down to Qiu's "Subordinate Ancestor" Yi Zhong (Ancestor no. 6)—is a more or less arbitrary hodge-podge. This does not necessarily mean that the ancestors enumerated are non-historical; but it does seem distinctly possible that the inscription's author, or authors, haphazardly placed various dimly remembered prestigious figures from different branches of the Shan lineage into a sequence without much regard for their actual genealogical relationships among one another.³⁸

This suggests that by the end of the Western Zhou, a prominent family such as the Shans did not have an accurate memory of their own ancestors, and so essentially invented a genealogy to pair with that of the Zhou royal family.

In a subsequent article entitled "The Royal Audience and Its Reflections in Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions" (303390; 2011), Falkenhausen presented yet another viewpoint regarding bronze inscriptions quite different from that commonly accepted. He suggested that the "command document" (*ming shu* 命書) that serves as the basis for most investiture inscriptions ought not to be regarded as deriving from the Zhou king or his royal court, but rather should have been written by the investee himself as a way of recounting his own accomplishments. Basing himself on a description of a court reception in the "Jin li" 覲禮 (Rites of the Royal Audience) chapter of the *Yi li* 儀禮 (Ceremonies and rites), in which the investee enters into the court and then makes an oral report to the king, Falkenhausen suggests that when inscriptions such as those on the *Qiu pan* and *Qiu zhong* 逖鐘 begin by saying "Qiu said" (*Qiu yue* 逖曰), this is meant to introduce this oral report. When the inscription goes on to say "*wang ruo yue*" 王若曰, it means that the king approved of the investee's report and grants him the command document. These suggestions of Falkenhausen's vis-à-vis the historicity of bronze inscriptions command great respect in the western scholarly world.

Another scholar who often argues for the oral nature of ancient Chinese culture is Martin Kern, mentioned above for his book *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation* (302340;

38 Lothar von FALKENHAUSEN, "The Inscribed Bronzes from Yangjiacun: New Evidence on Social Structure and Historical Consciousness in Late Western Zhou China (c. 800BC)," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 139 (2006): 267.

2000). Kern is also German by birth and training, but after receiving his Ph.D. degree there, he went to the United States, first to pursue post-doctoral research at the University of Washington in Seattle, and then staying on in the United States for work. He is currently professor of Chinese at Princeton University. In recent years, he has published several articles on bronze inscriptions, such as “The Performance of Writing in Western Zhou China” (303020; 2007) and “Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shijing* and the *Shangshu*: The Evolution of the Ancestral Sacrifice during the Western Zhou” (303220; 2009). The title of the first of these articles emphasizes that rituals at the royal court were a type of performance, of which the bronze inscriptions are only a secondary record, an echo, so to speak.

Before concluding this survey of western studies of bronze inscriptions, I should like to point out some of my own views regarding the “Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project.” As noted above, beginning already in the late 1970s, David Nivison made studies of ancient chronology a central part of his research agenda, in 1983 publishing the seminal article “The Dates of Western Chou” (301280). Nivison’s students David PANKENIER and Edward SHAUGHNESSY both also published related scholarship around the same time. Most of these articles were translated into Chinese and are well known to the Chinese scholarly world. Somewhat later, the “Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project” drove forward new research on this topic, and attracted a great deal of notice at the time. The publication of that Project’s *Brief Report* in 2000 also prompted a considerable response in the West.³⁹ For instance, in 2002 the *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* devoted a special issue to the topic, with articles by LI Xueqin 李學勤 (“The Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project: Methodology and Results”; 302510), David S. NIVISON (“The Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project: Two Approaches to Dating”; 302520) and SHAO Dongfang 邵東方 (“Controversy over the ‘Modern Text’ *Bamboo Annals* and Its Relation to Three Dynasties Chronology”; 302530) all evaluating the Chronology Project from different points of view. Ten years after the completion of the Project, Edward SHAUGHNESSY published “Chronologies of Ancient China: A Critique of the ‘Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project’” (303250; 2009), a Chinese version of which was subsequently published, vehemently criticizing the Chronology Project.⁴⁰ Shaughnessy argued that the conclusions presented by the

39 Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng zhuanjiazu 夏商周斷代工程專家組, *Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng 1996-2000 nian jieduan chengguo baogao (jianben)* (簡本), (Beijing: Shijie tushu chubanshe, 2000).

40 XIA Hanyi 夏含夷, “‘Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng’ shinian hou zhi pian: Yi Xi Zhou zhuwang zaiwei niandai wei li” [夏商周斷代工程]十年後之批判: 以西周諸王在位年代為例, in *Chutu cailiao yu xin shiye: Disijie Guoji Hanxue huiyi lunwenji* 出土材料與新視野: 第四屆國際漢學會議論文集 (Taipei: Zhongyuan yanjiuyuan, 2013), pp. 341-379.

Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project ought not to be regarded as final conclusions. That western scholars have contributed in important ways to this research is a sign of just how mature the western study of Chinese bronzes has become. On the basis of very careful research, western scholars have been able to present conclusions that differ from those of Chinese colleagues, many of these being quite influential in the related fields. This too reflects the high standards that western scholarship has now attained in the study of bronze vessels and their inscriptions.

CAST IN BRONZE AND STONE: BIOGRAPHIES

Herrlee Glessner CREEL (1905-1994)



Herrlee Glessner CREEL was born in Chicago, Illinois on January 19, 1905 and died in the Chicago suburbs on June 1, 1994; aside from a few years of life in China and other years of military service in Washington, D.C. during the Second World War, he spent almost his entire life in Chicago. All of his higher education came at the University of Chicago: A.B. in 1926; M.A. in Theology in 1927; and a Ph.D. in Chinese philosophy in 1929. After completing his degree and teaching for one year at Lombard College in the vicinity of Chicago, he went to Harvard University for post-doctoral study. In 1932, he received a Harvard-Yenching Fellowship to go to Beijing (then called Peiping), where he remained for almost four years (1932-1936). In 1936, he returned to the University of Chicago, accepting an appointment as an Instructor of Chinese History. In 1943, he entered the United States military, serving in army intelligence, rising to the rank of colonel. After his release from the military, he remained in Washington, conducting research at the Library of Congress, returning to Chicago only in the autumn of 1947. In 1949, he was promoted to the rank of professor, in 1964 was named the Joseph Regenstein Professor of Chinese Thought, and in 1974 retired from the university.

From the time of his M.A. thesis, the title of which was “Chinese Divination as Indicated by the *Lun-heng*,” until he completed his doctoral dissertation, Creel’s main area of research was ancient Chinese intellectual history. His doctoral dissertation, formally published in 1929 as *Sinism*, was deeply indebted to

the scholarship of the French scholar Marcel GRANET (1884-1940). However, Creel subsequently publicly repudiated this work. During the time that he was living in China, he came to know many of the young scholars of ancient Chinese cultural history who would go on to be the most authoritative scholars of the century, and became especially close friends with DONG Zuobin 董作賓 (1895-1963). Creel visited Anyang 安陽 several times, observing the archaeological work that was just then going on there. In 1936, his popularizing book *The Birth of China: A Survey of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization* (200420) was based to a considerable extent on his experiences in China, though also including information from traditional Chinese literature.¹ His 1937 work *Studies in Early Chinese Culture* (200530) was a more in-depth study of early Chinese literature and of the role of writing in ancient China. In the same year that *The Birth of China* was published, Creel also published several articles in prominent journals on various other topics in early Chinese cultural history, such as “Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Chou Dynasty as Historical Documents” (300280; 1936) and “Notes on Professor Karlgren’s System for Dating Chinese Bronzes” (300290; 1936). In this year and the years immediately following, he was also involved in one of the most famous debates in the history of western Sinology, this between himself and Peter A. BOODBERG (1903-1972), a professor of Chinese at the University of California at Berkeley. Creel’s contributions to this debate were his articles “On the Nature of Chinese Ideography” (100290; 1936) and “On the Ideographic Element in Ancient Chinese” (100330; 1938).

After the Second World War, Creel increasingly focused on Chinese intellectual history, publishing two books that were quite influential in their day: *Confucius, the Man and the Myth*, published in 1949,² and *Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tsê-tung*, published in 1953.³ Toward the end of his career, he returned to his early interest in unearthed documents. In 1970, he published *The Origins of Statecraft in China, Vol. 1: The Western Chou Empire* (300800), which was a comprehensive study of the Western Zhou state and particularly its government,

1 When *The Birth of China* was published, Creel was only 30 years old. In 1986, to celebrate his eightieth birthday and also the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of this important work, the Society for the Study of Early China invited Creel to publish his reflections on the writing of this book; this was published as Herrlee G. CREEL, “On the Birth of *The Birth of China*,” *Early China* 11/12 (1985-1987): 1-5.

2 Herrlee Glessner CREEL, *Confucius, the Man and the Myth* (New York: John Day Co., 1949).

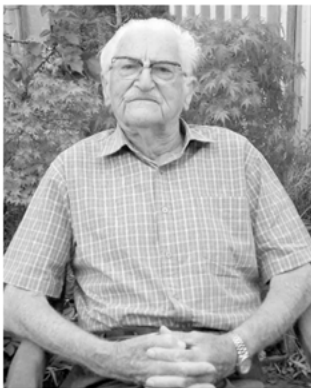
3 Herrlee Glessner CREEL, *Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tsê-tung* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

based largely on bronze inscriptions. In the same year, he published the collection of essays *What is Taoism? and Other Studies in Chinese Cultural History*,⁴ and in 1974 followed this with the book *Shen Pu-hai: A Chinese Political Philosophy of the Fourth Century B.C.*⁵

Creel had worked as a reporter already when he was still a high school student, to which experience he credited the fluency of his writing. While his books were based on solid research, they were also written in a style that made them accessible to a broader reading public. He spent his entire career at the University of Chicago. The most famous of his relatively few students was HSŪ Cho-yun 許倬雲, who went on to a long career of his own at the University of Pittsburgh. In 2006, upon the centennial of Herrlee Creel's birth, the University of Chicago established the "Creel Center for Chinese Paleography," which is now one of America's leading centers for the study of early Chinese cultural history.

⁴ Herrlee Glessner CREEL, *What is Taoism? and Other Studies in Chinese Cultural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

⁵ Herrlee Glessner CREEL, *Shen Pu-hai: A Chinese Political Philosophy of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

Noel BARNARD (1922-2016)

Noel Barnard was born on February 22, 1922 in Haweru, Talanaki, New Zealand, where he attended elementary and middle school. Two events during his youth would prove to have a lifelong effect on him. First, from birth he had ear problems and was essentially deaf. Second, from a very young age he was interested in the Chinese language, and by middle school had already studied Cantonese for several years. When the Second World War broke out, he entered the New Zealand military, but because of his hearing problems he was unfit for combat duties. However, because of his linguistic abilities, he was assigned to be an interpreter at the prisoner of war camp at Featherstone. From 1942 until the end of the war in 1945, not only was he responsible for interrogating Japanese prisoners, but he was also in charge of all Japanese written documentation. With the close of the war, he entered Victoria University in Wellington, where he studied history and geography. Graduating in 1949, Barnard moved to Australia, studying first at the University of Sydney. He originally intended to study both Chinese and Japanese, but because that university had just cancelled its Chinese program, he was forced to focus only on Japanese. In 1952, after receiving his M.A. degree, he transferred to the then newly established Australia National University in Melbourne, where he undertook doctoral studies. In 1957, he became that university's first recipient of a PhD. degree in the field of Chinese history. From this time on, Barnard never left Australia National University, serving as a researcher there from 1957 until his formal retirement in 1988. Even after retirement, he continued to live and work in Melbourne, passing away in his sleep on February 14, 2016, at the age of 94.

Throughout his career, Barnard's research focused on Chinese excavated sources. In 1958, the year after finishing his Ph.D. degree, he already published two important articles in the fields of bronze inscription studies and bamboo-and-silk manuscript studies: "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of Western Chou Date" (300600) and "A Preliminary Study of the Ch'u Silk Manuscript—A New Reconstruction of the Text" (400310). From this time on, much of his effort was directed at inscribed bronze vessels, and particularly the question of their authenticity. Already in 1959, he published two more articles in which he expressed great doubts over the authenticity of some vessels: "New Approaches and Research Methods in Chin-Shih-Hsüeh" (300620) and "Some Remarks on the Authenticity of a Western Chou Style Inscribed Bronze" (300630). These doubts crystallized in two more studies published during the 1960s and 1970s arguing that the famous *Mao Gong ding* 毛公鼎, now housed in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, is a forgery: "The Incidence of Forgery amongst Archaic Chinese Bronzes: Some Preliminary Notes" (300770; 1968) and *Mao Kung Ting: A Major Western Chou Period Bronze Vessel—A Rebuttal of a Rebuttal and Further Evidence of the Questionable Aspects of Its Authenticity* (300880; 1974). Because of the importance of the *Mao Gong ding*, researchers at the National Palace Museum engaged Barnard in a long and vigorous debate over the vessel's authenticity, a debate that attracted attention to Barnard from all quarters of the international Chinese Studies community.

In making his case against the authenticity of the *Mao Gong ding*, Barnard developed a new criterion of authenticity, which he termed the "principle of constancy of character structure." He first articulated this principle in a 150-page long review article published in 1965: "Chou China: A Review of the Third Volume of Cheng Te-k'un's *Archaeology in China*" (300710). According to this principle, any given character or even a component of a character that occurs two or more times throughout a single document should always have the same structure in that document; if the character reveals two different ways of writing, this would serve to demonstrate that the document is a forgery. This principle prompted another debate in which Barnard faced off against Chinese scholars, who pointed out that traditional Chinese calligraphic practice required different forms of characters within single works. Barnard responded that researchers should only base their study on "documents excavated under conditions of control." This principle is discussed in many of Barnard's numerous publications, but probably its most detailed presentation is to be found in the article "The Nature of the Ch'in 'Reform of the Script' as Reflected in Archaeological Documents Excavated under Conditions of Control" (100520) published in 1978.

In the early 1960s, Barnard joined with a group of prominent historians of Chinese art to produce a catalog of Chinese bronze vessels housed in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C. Barnard was primarily responsible for the inscriptions on these vessels. However, at this time, he began to be interested also in questions of technology, and especially of how bronze vessels were cast. Already in 1961, he explored this topic in detail in his *Bronze Casting and Bronze Alloys in Ancient China* (300650). From this time on, his research would always emphasize technical concerns. Whether in terms of bronze casting,¹ metallurgy,² or the Chu Silk Manuscript,³ Barnard's many studies were always marked by an innovative approach.

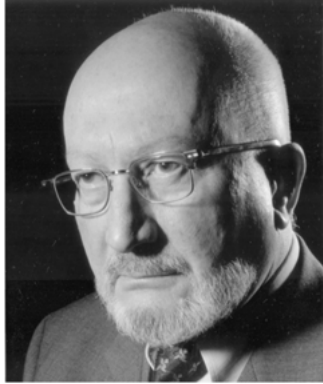
Another scholarly contribution of Noel Barnard's was his attention to sources and his collection of materials. With respect to unearthed documents, his great contribution in this regard must count as his *Rubbings and Hand Copies of Bronze Inscriptions in Chinese, Japanese, European, American, and Australasian Collections* (301080; 1978), edited together with his associate CHEUNG Kwong-yue 張光裕. This collecting work continued throughout his life. At the time of his death, he was in the final stages of producing a giant three-volume catalog of more than 700 bronze inscriptions from the states of Jin 晉 and its successor states, Zhongshan 中山 and Yan 燕. Although this book was not published during his lifetime (and indeed seems still not to have been published), and although his scholarship was often marked by contentiousness, especially with respect to Chinese colleagues, that Noel Barnard continued to work on such projects well into his 90s is a testament to his scholarly spirit.

1 See the article that he authored together with WAN Chia-pao 萬家保 (WAN Jiabao) "The Casting of Inscriptions in Chinese Bronzes—With Particular Reference to Those with Relievo Grid-Lines" (300960; 1976), as well as his own "The Entry of *Cire-Perdue* Investment Casting, and Certain Other Metallurgical Techniques (Mainly Metalworking) into South China and Their Progress Northwards," in F. David BULBECK and Noel BARNARD ed., *Ancient Chinese and Southeast Asian Bronze Age Cultures* (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Books, 1996-97), vol. 1, pp. 1-94; "Chinese Bronze Vessels with Copper Inlaid Décor and Pseudo-Copper Inlay of Ch'un-ch'iu and Chan-kuo Times—Part Two," in the same book, pp. 176-272.

2 See Noel BARNARD, *The First Radiocarbon Dates from China* (300900; 1975) and Noel BARNARD and SATÔ Tamotsu 佐藤保, *Metallurgical Remains of Ancient China* (300920; 1975).

3 Aside from "A Preliminary Study of the Ch'u Silk Manuscript—A New Reconstruction of the Text" (400310; 1958), Barnard's definitive studies of the Chu Silk Manuscript were *Scientific Examination of an Ancient Chinese Document as a Prelude to Decipherment, Translation, and Historical Assessment – The Ch'u Silk Manuscript. Studies on the Ch'u Silk Manuscript, Part 1* (400540; 1972) and *The Ch'u Silk Manuscript: Translation and Commentary* (400570; 1973).

Ulrich UNGER (1930-2006)



Ulrich UNGER was born on December 10, 1930 in Leipzig, Germany. In 1948, he enrolled in the Karl Marx University of that city, studying ancient Egyptian and ancient Chinese, as well as Sumerian and Sanskrit. After graduating in 1952, he proceeded directly to graduate studies, completing his Ph.D. in 1956, with a dissertation entitled “Die Negationen im Shi-king—Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des vorklassischen Chinesisch.” In that same year, Unger left East Germany, moving to Freiburg in West Germany, where he received an appointment as Instructor of Chinese at the University of Freiburg, establishing that university’s program in Chinese. In 1964, he completed his habilitation dissertation, a giant seven-volume translation and chronology of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.¹ In 1966, he was appointed as Professor of Chinese at the University of Münster, serving also as chair of the department; he would remain at Münster throughout the remainder of his career, retiring in 1996. After his retirement, he continued to work on topics in ancient Chinese philology until he passed away on December 16, 2006, at the age of 76.

Unger is one of the most unknown of all illustrious Sinologists, at least outside of his native Germany and certainly in China. Part of the reason for this is that he never visited China (indeed, he left Europe only once, visiting the United States in 2001, which he viewed as bittersweet, personally preferring that he

¹ This work was never published, and even the copy preserved at the Unger household seems to be incomplete.

could live his entire life without leaving home). However, another reason is that he published very little of his scholarship, and all of it in German. Although he did publish four books (*Einführung in das klassische Chinesisch*,² *Glossar des klassischen Chinesisch*,³ *Rhetorik des klassischen Chinesisch*,⁴ and *Grundbegriffe der altchinesischen Philosophie: ein Wörterbuch für die klassische Periode*⁵), but these were mainly in the nature of reference works. Otherwise, he formally published only about twenty articles. Nevertheless, his scholarly output was actually quite prodigious. For instance, his habilitation dissertation concerning Western Zhou bronze inscriptions was some 3,600 pages long; unfortunately, very few people have ever seen this. This is not to say that he did not make efforts to circulate his work to colleagues in the field.

From 1982 until 2002, Unger wrote 75 studies under the title of “Hao-ku 好古.” “Hao-ku 好古” was never formally published. Instead, he personally reproduced these studies and mailed them to friends and students. Although many of these studies were only a few pages long, they were invariably marked by great insight and were full of new solutions to age-old problems in such fields as ancient Chinese grammar and phonology, Sino-Tibetan, paleography, and intellectual history. Just in 1982 alone, his “Hao-ku 好古” included, among other topics, the following titles: “Der schreinde König” (19 July 1982), which argues that the character 𠄎 in bronze inscriptions, usually transcribed as *hu* 乎 and meaning “to cry out,” ought to be transcribed as 平 and read as *ping* 倂 meaning “to cause”; “Zur Person des shan-fu K’èh” (20 August 1982), arguing that Zhong Yifu 仲義父 and Shanfu Ke 膳夫克 are one and the same person, “Ke” 克 being his personal name and “Zhong Yifu” being his cognomen (*zi* 字); “Die Frauennamen vom Typ X-mu 某母” (15 September 1982); “Verlesen?” (2 November 1982), which suggested that the character 𠄎 in the *Shi Tangfu ding* 師父鼎 inscription should be transcribed as “Tang” 湯; and “Die Namen des Tao: Lao ts’i XXV” (1 December 1982), etc. The titles of these studies, given on the following pages, can only hint at their detailed contents. A more detailed account of their contents is available in *Und folge nun dem, was mein Herz begehrt: Festschrift für Ulrich Unger zum 70.*

2 Ulrich UNGER, *Einführung in das klassische Chinesisch* 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1985).

3 Ulrich UNGER, *Glossar des klassischen Chinesisch* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1989).

4 Ulrich UNGER, *Rhetorik des klassischen Chinesisch* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1994).

5 Ulrich UNGER, *Grundbegriffe der altchinesischen Philosophie: ein Wörterbuch für die klassische Periode* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000).

Geburtstag,⁶ a festschrift dedicated to Unger, edited by his students and colleagues Reinhard EMMERICH, Hans STUMPFELDT, Monique NAGEL-ANGERMANN, and Enno GIELE. Almost all German Sinologists who work on ancient China contributed to this 670-page volume, giving some indication of the esteem in which Ulrich Unger's compatriots held him. As Wolfgang BEHR said in his obituary of Ulrich Unger in the journal *Early China*, "Sinology has lost one of its greatest scholars: a true philologist, if there ever was one."⁷

Hao ku 好古

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| 19 | Nochmals „Musik“ und „Freude“ | 1983.1.5 | 148 |

6 Und folge nun dem, was mein Herz begehrt: Festschrift für Ulrich Unger zum 70. Geburtstag. Ed. Reinhard EMMERICH, Hans STUMPFELDT, Monique NAGEL-ANGERMANN and Enno GIELE. 2 vols. Hamburger Sinologische Schriften 8 (Hamburg: Hamburger Sinologische Gesellschaft, 2002).

7 Wolfgang Behr, "Ulrich Unger (1930-2006)," *Early China* 30 (2005-2006): vi. I would like to express my gratitude to Wolfgang Behr who read and corrected this short biography.

Hao ku 好古

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| 20 | Zur Morphologie des altchinesischen Verbs | 1983.3.28 | 155 |
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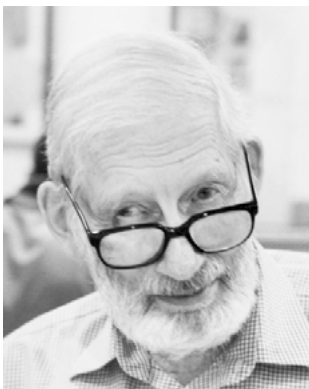
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David S. NIVISON (1923-2014)



David S. NIVISON was born on January 23, 1923 in the small American town of Farmingdale, Maine. In 1940, he entered Harvard University, intending to study classics. However, after the outbreak of the Second World War, he switched to the study of East Asian languages. In 1943, he left school to enter the military, serving as a translator of Japanese. In 1946, he was discharged from the army and returned to Harvard, where he earned B.A. (1946), M.A. (1948) and Ph.D. (1953) degrees. His Ph.D. dissertation, “The Literary and Historical Thought of Chang Hsiueh-Ch’eng, 1738-1801,” was subsequently published as *The Life and Thought of Chang Hsiueh-ch’eng (1734-1801)*, winning the Prix Julien for the finest work of Sinology in the year 1967.¹ Already before completing his dissertation, Nivison began teaching in the Philosophy and Asian Languages departments at Stanford University, where he would remain until his retirement in 1988. Retirement did not bring his scholarly work to a close by any means; after this time, his work centered to a great extent on the chronology of ancient China. In 1996, his student P.J. IVANHOE edited a volume entitled *Chinese Language, Thought, and Culture: Nivison and His Critics*, which contained studies by twelve of Nivison’s students and friends, as well as Nivison’s own responses to each of the studies.² This book

¹ David S. NIVISON, *The Life and Thought of Chang Hsiueh-ch’eng (1734-1801)* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1966).

² P.J. IVANHOE ed., *Chinese Language, Thought, and Culture: Nivison and His Critics* (Chicago: Open Court Press, 1996).

also contains a short biography of Nivison, as well as a bibliography of his publications through the year 1994. David Nivison passed away on October 16, 2014, at the age of 91, continuing to work until just two weeks before his death.

David Nivison's research interests were extremely broad. Beginning with his work on ZHANG Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738-1801), he then traced philosophical concerns back first to WANG Yangming (1472-1529), and then to Song dynasty philosophy, and finally to the work of MENCIUS 孟子. Studying the *Mencius*, he encountered linguistic problems that led him to explore Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, which he then spent several years studying. His work on oracle-bone inscriptions concerned two major topics: intellectual history, and particularly the notion of "virtue" (*de* 德), as in his study "Royal 'Virtue' in Shang Oracle Inscriptions" (201520; 1978); and linguistics, for which he discussed in particular the meanings of the words *qi* 其 and *you* 又, as in the studies "The Pronominal Use of the Verb *Yu* (GĪŪG): 出, 有, 有 in Early Archaic Chinese" (201380; 1977) and "[Response to] K. Takashima, 'Towards a New Pronominal Hypothesis of *qi* in Shang Chinese'" (202870; 1996). This latter study was part of a long debate between him and **Ken'ichi TAKASHIMA** (see the brief biography appended to Chapter Two) over the meaning and function of this particle, a debate joined in also by **David N. KEIGHTLEY** (see the brief biography appended to Chapter Two). Nivison also engaged in western oracle-bone scholars' discussion of whether oracle-bone charges should be understood as questions or as statements, publishing one of the more influential studies of this question: "The 'Question' Question" (202380; 1989).

Well into his 60s, Nivison's research took a decisive turn in a different direction, moving from oracle-bone studies to studies of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. This was stimulated at first by his interest in the concept of "virtue," for which he found evidence in the famous *Mao Gong ding* 毛公鼎 inscription. In line with this, he also joined in the vigorous debate over the authenticity of the *Mao Gong ding*, pointing out linguistic reasons why its inscription could not possibly be a forgery. In 1979, while teaching a seminar on bronze inscriptions at Stanford, he discovered evidence that the chronology contained in the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (*Bamboo annals*) was at least in part consistent with the chronology of some Western Zhou kings required by fully-dated bronze inscriptions. From this time on, he devoted himself to the study of ancient chronology and to the authenticity of the *Bamboo Annals*, publishing numerous studies of these questions, beginning with "1040 as the Date of the Chou Conquest" (301230; 1982) and "The Dates of Western Chou" (301280; 1983). Many of these studies have been translated into Chinese and are relatively well known within China. Nivison continued his work on the authenticity of the *Bamboo Annals* for over thirty years, culminating in his

2009 book *The Riddle of the Bamboo Annals* (405060). A Chinese translation of this book was published in 2013 by the Shanghai Guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.³ Compared with the original English version of the book, published just four years earlier, this translation included numerous revisions introduced by Nivison himself, showing well his scholarly commitment to producing ever more refined work.

3 NI Dewei 倪德衛 (David S. NIVISON), *Zhushu jinian jie mi* 竹書紀年解謎 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2013).

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- 303580 KHAYUTINA, Maria. "Marital Alliances and Affinal Relatives (*Sheng* and *Hungou*) in the Society and Politics of Zhou China in the Light of Bronze Inscriptions." *Early China* 37 (2014): 39-99.
- 303590 SCHWERMANN, Christian. "Composite Authorship in Western Zhōu Bronze Inscriptions: The Case of the Tiānwáng *guī* 天亡簋 Inscription." In Christian SCHWERMANN and Raji C. STEINECKED ed. *That Wonderful Composite Called Author: Authorship in East Asian Literatures from the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 2014. Pp. 30-57.
- 303600 SHAUGHNESSY, Edward L. "The *Mu tianzi zhuan* and King Mu Bronzes." *Bulletin of the Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology* 1 (2014): 55-75.
- 303610 TANG, Wei (湯威) and Jinzhong CHEN (陳盡忠). "The Zhengzhou Museum Collections of Inscribed Bronzes of the Shang and Zhou Dynasties." *Chinese Cultural Relics* 1.1 (2014): 303-308.
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4 WRITTEN ON BAMBOO AND SILK: NARRATIVE

Western scholars had already begun to make contributions to the study of bamboo and silk manuscripts by the very beginning of the twentieth century, just as in China itself. However, until about 1970 the wider scholarly world paid little attention to it. In the 1970s, especially after the discovery of the Mawangdui 馬王堆 Han-dynasty silk documents, scholars began to take greater notice. Some simple statistics will illustrate this trend. As of 1969, western scholars had published 48 different books and articles on topics concerning bamboo and silk manuscripts (including 13 articles dealing with the Jizhong 汲冢 bamboo-strip documents that had been unearthed in the third century A.D.). From 1970 until 1999, this number was increased by 223 publications, and then from 2000 until 2015 still further with another 380 studies. As a rate of publication per year, this output is even more striking. The first period, until 1969, saw 0.5 publications per year (excluding the 13 publications concerning the Jizhong documents); the second period (from 1970-1999) brought 5.45 publications per year, while in the most recent period this increased to 25.33 publications per year. As another indication, whereas the entire period leading up to 1969 saw 35 studies in total (again excluding the 13 studies concerning the Jizhong documents), there were 39 studies published in the single year 2005. Of course, this is related to the development and expansion of western Sinology in general, and especially to the proliferation of scholarly journals, but the trend is unmistakable nonetheless. During the seventy years of the first period, most western Sinologists could completely disregard ancient Chinese documents on bamboo and silk. By the second period, Sinologists concerned with ancient Chinese cultural history—and especially intellectual history—would at least acknowledge the importance of these materials, even if they may not pay much attention to their original nature. However, today the situation is quite different. Scholars of all periods recognize the important role that bamboo and silk documents play, and every year more and more young scholars enter into this field of study.

Given the special nature of the contents of this chapter, my discussion of the history of the field will be somewhat different from the strict chronological narrative given in chapters Two and Three above. This chapter will be organized primarily on the basis of the sites (or organizations responsible) where these documents were unearthed, in the sequence when these sites were excavated (or when the documents were published). I will consider together all scholarship published on the respective site, regardless of when that scholarship was published.

If a given site produced different types of documents, I will introduce each document or type of document separately. However, there have also been many general studies not devoted to a single site or document. These will be introduced toward the end of the chapter, divided into the following eight general topics: history, warfare, religion, philosophy, law, medicine, science and technology, and methodology. Of course, many studies have multi-disciplinary significance, and are not easily categorized even under these topics. Still, this has seemed to me to be the best approach to introduce the breadth of the field. The bibliography attached to this chapter is again arranged chronologically, and from it readers will be able to gain a better sense of the field's historical development.¹

There is one special case that I should note at the outset. China's earliest discoveries of ancient bamboo-strip documents were those said to come from the wall of Confucius's home when it was renovated in the Western Han dynasty, and then the Jizhong tomb-robbing of the Western Jin dynasty. Western scholars seem not to have made any special study of the Confucius-wall documents, and so I will not discuss those here. However, the Jizhong documents have attracted considerable attention from western scholars. This is especially true of the *Bamboo Annals* (*Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年) and the *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳, with numerous studies of their nature and especially of their authenticity. Since these texts have been in the public record, so to speak, for 1700 years, I had originally thought to treat them as received literature and so not to include them within the purview of this chapter. However, numerous readers of early drafts of this chapter encouraged me to treat them as the unearthed documents that they originally were. Therefore, I have added a separate section to the chapter introducing studies of these texts, placed after the narrative for the first period through 1969, and before the great discoveries of the 1970s. Readers should be advised that this placement is simply an organizational convenience and has no special historical significance.

1 FENG Yicheng 風儀誠 (Olivier VENTURE) and MA Ke 馬克 (Marc KALINOWSKI), "Xi wen Qin dai jiandu yanjiu gaiyao" 西文秦代簡牘研究概要, *Jianbo* 簡帛 6 (2011): 193-223, provides a survey of western studies of Qin-dynasty bamboo and wooden strip texts, including those from Shuihudi 睡虎地, Liye 里耶, Fangmatan 放馬灘, and Wangjiatai 王家台. The article includes a bibliography with 57 titles, and gives an informative abstract of each of the studies. LI Junming 李均明, LIU Guangsheng 劉光勝, LIU Guozhong 劉國忠 and WU Wenling 鄔文玲, *Dangdai Zhongguo jianboxue yanjiu* 當代中國簡帛學研究: *Contemporary Studies on Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts in China (1949-2009)* (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui kexue chubanshe, 2011) gives a detailed account of Chinese research in this field; despite the English-language portion of the title, the book contains almost no mention of western scholars' contributions.

4.1 Western Scholarship on Bamboo and Silk Documents between 1900 and 1970

Toward the end of 1900 and the beginning of 1901, the Anglo-Hungarian explorer Aurel STEIN (1862-1943) first discovered ancient documents written on wood in the Teklamakan desert. Conducting archaeological excavations at the site of Dandān-Uiliq 丹丹烏里克 in the ancient kingdom of Khotan 和田, he unearthed numerous precious artifacts. Among these, those attracting the greatest notice were documents written in various languages, including Tibetan and Persian, as well as a few documents in Chinese. After this, Stein continued his excavations in the area of the Niya 尼雅河 River corridor, turning up even more written documents, including numerous wooden strips written in Chinese from the Wei and Jin dynasties (3rd-4th centuries A.D.). Stein returned to London in 1901, and in the following year introduced his discoveries to the International Congress of Orientalists meeting in Hamburg, Germany. The manuscripts attracted great interest. In 1903, he published *Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan: Personal Narrative of a Journey of Archaeological and Geographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan* (400060), a popular account of his expedition, which attracted a wide readership even outside of scholarly circles. Also in 1901, the Swedish geographer Sven HEDIN (1865-1952), exploring ancient sites in the Lop-nor Desert, discovered numerous manuscripts, including 120 wooden strips and 36 fragments of paper documents. Since some of these documents bore the words Loulan 樓蘭, Hedin determined that this was the site of the lost city of Loulan. Since western scholars were then greatly interested in the origin and diffusion of Indo-European languages, Stein and Hedin's discoveries were of very great interest.



Fig. 23: Aurel STEIN (1862-1943) in Xinjiang



Fig. 24: Sven HEDIN (1865-1952) in the Lop-nor Desert

In 1905, the eminent French Sinologist **Édouard CHAVANNES** (1865-1918; see the brief biography appended to Chapter One) published a seventy-page long study entitled “Les livres chinois avant l’invention du papier” (100040), in which he drew on traditional Chinese literature to describe the nature of the earliest Chinese writing supports and documents. He appended to this article a brief account of Stein’s discoveries in Central Asia, as well as a photograph of the wooden-strip documents. In 1907, Stein himself published his formal archaeological report on his excavations at Dandān-Uiliq and Niyā 尼雅, which was his famous *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (400080). This report was divided into two parts, the first being the report and seven appendices, and the second illustrations. The appendices were of greatest interest to paleographers. Four of them were written by the leading European scholars of the day, providing introductions and translations of the manuscripts found there. The first of the appendices was written by Chavannes: “Appendix A: Chinese Documents from the Sites Dandān-Uiliq, Niya and Endere Translated and Annotated by Édouard Chavannes” (400090).²

In 1907, Stein undertook his second expedition into Central Asia, during which time he discovered several hundred wooden-strip documents along the

² Appendix Two was by L.D. BARNETT and A.H. FRANCKE introducing the ancient Tibetan manuscripts and colophons to murals at Endere, and Appendix Five was by F.W. THOMAS providing a comprehensive overview of Tibetan materials. Appendix Three, by D.S. MARGLIOUTH, addressed the Persian documents found at Dandān-Uiliq 丹丹烏里克. Because these materials lie outside the purview of this book, I do not attempt to describe them here.

Han-dynasty defense walls at Dunhuang 敦煌. It was also at this time that he purchased more than ten-thousand ancient manuscripts that the Daoist monk Wang Yuanlu 王圓籙 had discovered in the Buddhist caves at Dunhuang. The discovery of these manuscripts is a story well known to everyone interested in China's traditional history, and so there is no need to repeat it here. The scholarly world is also well familiar with the story of how Paul PELLIOT (1879-1945), after hearing the news of the Dunhuang manuscripts, immediately went there in March, 1908, and purchased many thousands more manuscripts. There is also no need to recount this story here. However, there is one point that bears emphasis here. In 1909, Pelliot and Chavannes were in Beijing and showed photographs of these manuscript discoveries to LUO Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940) and WANG Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927), two of the greatest names in modern Chinese scholarship. Especially in the case of Wang Guowei, after learning of these "true texts of the ancients," he changed his scholarly focus and devoted the rest of his life to excavated texts. Thus, this meeting between Pelliot and Chavannes on the one hand and Luo and Wang on the other hand was of very great significance to the course of modern Chinese historiography. In 1912, Wang Guowei published his famous study *Jiandu jianshu kao* 簡牘檢署考 (An examination of bamboo and wooden strips and their forms),³ which described the forms of ancient documents primarily on the basis of traditional accounts, though with occasional supplements from unearthed artifactual evidence. In actuality, this study of Wang's bears more than a passing resemblance to Chavannes's 1905 study "Les livres chinois avant l'invention du papier," except that Chavannes's study was considerably more detailed.

Since Stein was not able to read Chinese, he invited Chavannes to edit the Chinese documents that he acquired in the course of these first two expeditions. As noted above, in the 1907 book *Ancient Khotan*, Chavannes had already contributed an appendix introducing the documents that Stein had discovered on his first expedition. In 1913, Chavannes published *Les Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan Oriental* (400120), a definitive study published by Oxford University Press, that included all of the Chinese manuscripts discovered by Stein, including both wooden strips and also paper fragments. The presentation was divided into three major types: "Han-Dynasty Documents," "Jin-Dynasty Documents," and "Tang-Dynasty Documents." Most of the Han-dynasty documents, which fall within the purview of the present book, were unearthed in the vicinity of Dunhuang, and included 705 wooden strips and

3 WANG Guowei 王國維, *Jiandu jianshu kao* 簡牘檢署考, HU Pingsheng 胡平生 and MA Yuehua 馬月華 ed. and comment (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2004).

three fragments of paper. Chavannes divided the wooden-strip documents into twenty-four different categories, the first of which concerned the ancient text *Jijiu pian* 急就篇, for which there were eight strips. At the beginning of each category, Chavannes provided a general introduction, explaining the historical background and the contents of that category. This was followed by transcriptions and translations into French, together with extremely detailed notes. There then come photographs and line drawings of each of the documents. The original transcriptions of the documents collected by Stein were done by JIANG Xiaowan 蔣孝琬 (d. 1922), a member of his expedition. In Paris, Chavannes was helped by WU Jinxun 吳勤訓 and WEI Huai 魏懷, two members of the Chinese embassy in France. Nevertheless, most of the editing was done by Chavannes himself. There were numerous problems that he had to overcome. First, the scholarly world had never seen such materials, so there were many new paleographic and historical issues. Second, Chavannes's working conditions were far from ideal: the condition of the strips themselves was quite poor, in addition to which the strips themselves were in London while Chavannes was in Paris, necessarily working from photographs. Because of this, it is understandable that there were numerous mistakes in the transcription. After the book was published, Chavannes sent copies to Luo Zhenyu and Wang Guowei. After they had a chance to see the photographs, they selected 588 wooden strips and paper documents for their own study, which they published in 1914 as *Liusha zhujian* 流沙墜簡 (Lost strips from the floating sands).⁴ This book was then the beginning of bamboo and silk studies in China itself.

4 LUO Zhenyu 羅振玉 and WANG Guowei 王國維 *Liusha zhujian* 流沙墜簡 (1914; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993).

LES DOCUMENTS CHINOIS

DÉCOUVERTS PAR AUREL STEIN DANS
LES SABLES DU TURKESTAN ORIENTAL

PUBLIÉS ET TRADUITS PAR

ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES

MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT, PROFESSEUR AU COLLÈGE DE FRANCE

OXFORD

IMPRIMERIE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ

1913

Fig. 25: Édouard CHAVANNES, *Les Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan Oriental* (400120) title page

DOCUMENTS DE L'ÉPOQUE DES HAN

I. Fragments littéraires / FRAGMENTS DU *Ki-tsiou p'ien*

N° 1.—T. XLIII. j. 014.

1

Fiche prismatique.

1^{re} face: 第十三。承庭戶備條縱縱。鏡敘述比各有工。黃蒸脂〔粉〕膏澤滑。2^{re} face: 沐浴闢穢寡合同。豫飭刻畫無等雙。係臂琅玕琥珀〔龍〕。3^{re} face: 辟碧珠璣玫瑰露。玉瑛環佩靡從容。射騎辟邪〔驅〕除群兇。

Paragraphe 14 du *Ki tsiou p'ien* 急就篇 tout entier: les trois lignes se suivent sans lacune. Ce paragraphe est le 15^e des éditions actuelles dont le paragraphe 7 est une addition postérieure aux Han (voir CHAVANNES, *Documents*, p. 4). La fiche est remployée: elle a été grattée pour permettre de copier le *Ki tsiou p'ien*; il reste quelques traces de l'ancien texte: à la 1^{re} face, des traces de caractère demi-effacé sous le caractère 十 donnent à celui-ci l'apparence d'un caractère 册; à la face 3, le caractère 驅 est parfaitement lisible.

VARIANTES. Le texte ci-dessus présente quelques variantes par rapport au texte des éditions modernes. Face 1: 敘 actuellement 叙; 速 actuellement 速; 有 actuellement 異; 實 actuellement 芬; 蒸 actuellement 蒸. Face 2: 闢 actuellement 擯; 豫 actuellement 豫. Face 3: 辟 actuellement 璧; 騎 actuellement 魁; le caractère 驅 que j'ai mis entre guillemets est à demi effacé et appartient en réalité au texte ancien gratté.

Cette fiche, qui est analogue à celles que Chavannes a publiées, est un fragment d'un 4^e exemplaire. Grâce à ces 4 exemplaires, nous pouvons nous faire une idée exacte de l'aspect des éditions originales du *Ki tsiou p'ien* et en général de l'aspect des livres d'étude au temps des Han. Chaque paragraphe du *Ki tsiou p'ien* se compose de 9 phrases de 7 caractères, en tout 63 caractères, et chaque paragraphe occupant une fiche entière, l'ouvrage était une collection de 31 fiches prismatiques contenant chacune un des 31 paragraphes du livre, chaque fiche étant numérotée mais restant indépendante des autres. Comme le début de l'ouvrage même faisait l'éloge des fiches prismatiques, c'est bien cette forme que l'auteur avait voulu lui donner. Cela le rendait extrêmement incommode et encombrant, mais c'était un ouvrage d'étude pour l'enseignement des caractères et cette disposition était évidemment destinée à permettre la lecture de chaque fiche séparément.

N° 2.—T. XXII. d. 013.

2

Copeau de bois, brisé en haut et en bas, retallé à droite, complet à gauche. Hauteur: 75 mm.; largeur: 12 mm.

程忠信吳仲星許終〔右買友倉〕

Fin de la section 3 du *Ki tsiou p'ien*.

ARTICLES DU CODE DES HAN

N° 3.—T. XLIII. h. 016

3

Fiche complète. Hauteur: 225 mm.; largeur: 10 mm.

律曰。諸使而傳不名取卒甲兵。不豫簿者皆勿敢擅之。

La loi dit: (1) Tous les messagers qui ne sont pas désignés nominativement dans la fiche sont pris parmi les miliciens et les soldats armés de cuirasses.

(2) Les grains qui sont enregistrés, que nul ne se permette d'en donner de sa propre autorité.

傳=符; les deux caractères s'échangent fréquemment au temps des Han. Les messagers *che-tchô* 使者 ou simplement *che* 使 étaient ceux qui étaient chargés de porter les ordres. Mais ils étaient de rang plus ou moins élevé. Il y avait d'une part des personnages chargés spécialement d'une mission par l'empereur et de l'autre les simples courtiers de la poste impériale. Les uns et les autres étaient appelés simplement des messagers, *che*, ou de façon plus officielle des chargés de messages *fong-che-tchô* 奉使者. Ceux de la première classe étaient chargés de missions de toute sorte: aller demander des nouvelles d'un haut fonctionnaire malade, lui porter des remèdes impériaux, représenter l'empereur à ses funérailles, remplacer l'empereur à certains sacrifices; porter les messages de l'empereur aux feudataires; porter leur brevet à de hauts fonctionnaires, ambassadeurs, etc. C'étaient ordinairement des *ye-tchô* 謁者 qui en étaient chargés, mais on envoyait aussi d'autres fonctionnaires de la Cour, de plus ou moins haut rang suivant l'honneur qu'on voulait faire à celui à qui était adressé le message.

Un édit *ling* 令 donnait à tous les messagers 諸使, le droit de prendre la "route cavalière", *teh'e-tao* 馳道: c'était sur les routes créées par Ts'in Che-houang qui avaient cinquante pas de large, l'espace de trente pieds de large (*Ts'ien Han*

Fig. 26: A sample transcription of the Han-dynasty *Jijiu pian* 急就篇 from CHAVANNES'S *Les Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan Oriental*

At the same time that Chavannes was editing the documents collected by Aurel Stein, the eminent German Sinologist August CONRADY (1864-1925) was also at work editing the paper and wood-strip documents collected by Sven Hedin in the Lop-nor Desert. This editorial work had initially been entrusted to Karl HIMLY (1836-1904), but he died shortly after beginning work, so that Conrady, professor of Chinese at the University of Leipzig, was invited to take over. Conrady met with

many of the same difficulties as Chavannes. While Conrady himself was in Leipzig, the original documents were in Sweden. However, he did have one great advantage. During the year 1910-11, when he was primarily engaged in the editorial work, the famous Chinese scholar CAI Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940) was visiting Leipzig, and the two men worked together on the editing of Hedin's documents. By the time that Cai had to return to China, all of the preliminary editing was finished. Unfortunately, shortly thereafter World War I broke out, and almost all scholarly work in Europe came to a halt. Moreover, since Germany was at war with France, it was not until 1918 that Conrady finally got a chance to see Chavannes's 1913 book *Les Documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan Oriental*. Even more unfortunately, just as the war was ending, Chavannes passed away at the very young age of 53. With the war over, Conrady finished his work, publishing *Die Chinesischen Handschriften und sonstigen Klein-funde Sven Hedins in Lou-lan* (400130) in 1920. This book has a very long preface providing a general overview of Central Asia and its written documents, after which comes the main portion of the book, "Documents and Translation." This is divided into two principal parts: "Paper Documents" (35 in all) and "Wood-strip Documents" (121 in all). As did Chavannes's book, this one too includes full transcriptions and translations, though these are into German. Conrady's annotations were not at all as detailed as those of Chavannes, but he compensated for this by appending two appendices to his book, one discussing the historical geography of Loulan and the other providing a history of Chinese relations with Central Asia; both of these appendices were based on extensive research by Conrady. The second half of the book comprises photographs of the documents, which were of the highest standards of the day and still appear extremely clear.

DIE CHINESISCHEN
HANDSCHRIFTEN- UND SONSTIGEN
KLEINFUNDE SVEN HEDINS
IN LOU-LAN

HERAUSGEGEBEN, ÜBERSETZT UND UNTER BENUTZUNG
VON KARL HIMLYS HINTERLASSENEN VORARBEITEN

BEHANDELT VON

AUGUST CONRADY, *ed.*

MIT 53 TAFELN

STOCKHOLM
GENERALSTABENS LITOGRAFISKA ANSTÄLT

1920

Fig. 27: August Conrady, *Die Chinesischen Handschriften und sonstigen Kleinfunde Sven Hedins in Lou-lan* (400130) title page

During World War I, Aurel Stein was already over fifty years old and so did not have to serve in the military. Thus, he was free from 1913 until 1916 to undertake his third expedition into Central Asia, during which time he explored five different sites: Dunhuang, Loulan, Turfan 吐魯番, the Teklamakan Basin 塔里木盆地, and Kharakhoto. At these sites, he unearthed 920 different written documents, including 219 wooden strips from the Han through Jin periods, and 711 fragments of paper documents from the Jin through Yuan dynasties. In 1921, he

published the formal archaeological report of this expedition: *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (400170), as well as a separate brief introduction to the Chinese documents: “Notes on Ancient Chinese Documents” (400180). Since Stein did not read Chinese and was not at all expert in Chinese literature or history, in 1920 he invited Chavannes’s student and successor at the College de France **Henri MASPERO** (1882-1945; see the brief biography appended to this chapter) to edit the Chinese documents collected in the course of this third expedition. Maspero began the work at once, in all spending some sixteen years on it. He finally finished it in 1936, sending a 628-page manuscript to Oxford University Press. Maspero adopted the same principles of organization that Chavannes had used, arranged according to sites of discovery, for the archaeological and historical background of each of which he provided detailed introductions. He also discussed various historical problems arising from the documents, such as the Han-dynasty system of “military farms” (*tuntian zhidu* 屯田制度), horse raising during the Tang-dynasty, as well as providing tables correlating Chinese and indigenous names for places mentioned in Central Asia. After this introduction came the transcription and French translation of the documents, together with detailed notes. Unfortunately, this manuscript went through a tortuous process before it was ever formally published. Shortly after Maspero submitted it to press, World War II broke out, and the manuscript was set aside before any editorial work had even begun. Even more unfortunately, in 1945 Maspero was arrested by the German Gestapo, and he was sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp, where he died on March 17, 1945, just six weeks before the German army surrendered, bringing the war in Europe to an end. Maspero was only 62 years old.

With the end of the war, things should have taken a turn for the better. However, in 1947 Oxford University Press sent the manuscript to the British Museum, hoping that the museum would assist in the editing. The museum discovered that the copyright for the documents belonged to the British India Office, but just then India declared independence from England the British India Office was abolished; therefore, no one held the copyright, and so the museum did not dare to proceed with publication. In 1949, Maspero’s widow asked her English friend Bruno SCHINDLER (1882-1964) to approach the museum to assist with editing Maspero’s work. Through the efforts of many friends, the manuscript’s editorial work was brought to a conclusion and in 1953 the book was finally published as *Les documents chinois de la troisième expedition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale* (400250). In 1949, Schindler reviewed this editorial process in the journal *Asia Major*, of which he was the editor: “Preliminary Account of the Work of Henri Maspero Concerning the Chinese Documents on Wood and Paper Discovered by

Sir Aurel Stein on His Third Expedition to Central Asia” (400240). After the work was published, L.C. GOODRICH translated a portion of the Dunhuang documents into English, which were published in the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*: “Documents Issuing from the Region of Tun-huang” (400290; 1956) and thereafter YANG Lien-sheng 楊聯昇 published a detailed introduction in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*: “Notes on Maspero’s *Les Documents Chinois de la troisième expedition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*” (400350; 1959). In this way, Maspero’s great work was finally brought to the attention of the scholarly world.

LES DOCUMENTS CHINOIS

DE LA TROISIÈME EXPÉDITION DE
SIR AUREL STEIN EN ASIE CENTRALE

EDITED BY THE LATE
HENRI MASPERO

Published by
THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
LONDON · 1953

Fig. 28: Henri MASPERO, *Les documents chinois de la troisième expedition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale* (400250) title page

DOCUMENTS DE L'ÉPOQUE DES HAN

I. Fragments littéraires / FRAGMENTS DU *Ki-tsieou p'ien*

N° 1.—T. XLIII. j. 014.

1

Fiche prismatique.

1^o face: 第十三。承塵戶幃幃縱。鏡斂速比各有工。賈薰脂〔粉〕膏澤箭。2^o face: 沐浴臨城察合同。豫劬刻畫無等變。係臂琅玕瓊魄〔龍〕。3^o face: 辟珠珠環玫瑰華。玉瑛環佩靡從容。射騎睥耶〔麟〕除群兇。

Paragraphe 14 du *Ki-tsieou p'ien* 急就篇 tout entier: les trois lignes se suivent sans lacune. Ce paragraphe est le 15^e des éditions actuelles dont le paragraphe 7 est une addition postérieure aux Han (voir CHAVANNES, *Documents*, p. 4). La fiche est remplacée: elle a été grattée pour permettre de copier le *Ki-tsieou p'ien*; il reste quelques traces de l'ancien texte: à la 1^o face, des traces de caractère demi-effacé sous le caractère 十 donnent à celui-ci l'apparence d'un caractère 卅; à la face 3, le caractère 麟 est parfaitement lisible.

VARIANTES. Le texte ci-dessus présente quelques variantes par rapport au texte des éditions modernes. Face 1: 斂 actuellement 斂; 速 actuellement 速; 有 actuellement 異; 賈 actuellement 芬; 薰 actuellement 薰. Face 2: 臨 actuellement 臨; 豫 actuellement 豫. Face 3: 辟 actuellement 辟; 麟 actuellement 麟; le caractère 麟 que j'ai mis entre guillemets est à demi effacé et appartient en réalité au texte ancien gratté.

Cette fiche, qui est analogue à celles que Chavannes a publiées, est un fragment d'un 4^e exemplaire. Grâce à ces 4 exemplaires, nous pouvons nous faire une idée exacte de l'aspect des éditions originales du *Ki-tsieou p'ien* et en général de l'aspect des livres d'étude au temps des Han. Chaque paragraphe du *Ki-tsieou p'ien* se compose de 9 phrases de 7 caractères, en tout 63 caractères, et chaque paragraphe occupant une fiche entière, l'ouvrage est composé de 31 fiches prismatiques contenant chacune un des 31 paragraphes du livre, chaque fiche étant numérotée mais restant indépendante des autres. Comme le début de l'ouvrage même faisait l'éloge des fiches prismatiques, c'est bien cette forme que l'auteur avait voulu lui donner. Cela le rendait extrêmement incommode et encombrant, mais c'était un ouvrage d'étude pour l'enseignement des caractères et cette disposition était évidemment destinée à permettre la lecture de chaque fiche séparément.

N° 2.—T. XXII. d. 013.

2

Copeau de bois, brisé en haut et en bas, retailé à droite, complet à gauche. Hauteur: 75 mm.; largeur: 12 mm.

程忠信吳仲皇許 終〔古買友倉〕

Fin de la section 3 du *Ki-tsieou p'ien*.

ARTICLES DU CODE DES HAN

N° 3.—T. XLIII. h. 016

3

Fiche complète. Hauteur: 225 mm.; largeur: 10 mm.

律曰。諸使而傳不名取卒甲兵。禾稼穡者皆勿敢擅之。

La loi dit: (1) Tous les messagers qui ne sont pas désignés nominativement dans la fiche sont pris parmi les miliciens et les soldats armés de cuirasses.

(2) Les grains qui sont enregistrés, que nul ne se permette d'en donner de sa propre autorité.

傳=符; les deux caractères s'échangent fréquemment au temps des Han. Les messagers *che-tchō* 使者 ou simplement *che* 使 étaient ceux qui étaient chargés de porter les ordres. Mais ils étaient de rang plus ou moins élevé. Il y avait d'une part des personnages chargés spécialement d'une mission par l'empereur et de l'autre les simples courriers de la poste impériale. Les uns et les autres étaient appelés simplement des messagers, *che*, ou de façon plus officielle des chargés de messages *song-che-tchō* 奉使者. Ceux de la première classe étaient chargés de missions de toute sorte: aller demander des nouvelles d'un haut fonctionnaire malade, lui porter des remèdes impériaux, représenter l'empereur à ses funérailles, remplacer l'empereur à certains sacrifices; porter les messages de l'empereur aux feudataires; porter leur brevet à de hauts fonctionnaires, ambassadeurs, etc. C'étaient ordinairement des *ye-tchō* 謁者 qui en étaient chargés, mais on envoyait aussi d'autres fonctionnaires de la Cour, de plus ou moins haut rang suivant l'honneur qu'on voulait faire à celui à qui était adressé le message.

Un édit *ling* 令 donnait à tous les messagers 諸使, le droit de prendre la "route cavalière", *teh'e-tao* 馳道: c'était sur les routes créées par Ts'in Che-houang qui avaient cinquante pas de large, l'espace de trente pieds de large (*Ts'ien Han*

Fig. 29: Portion of Henri MASPERO, *Les documents chinois de la troisième expedition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale* (400250) concerning the Han-dynasty manuscript of *Jijiu pian* 急就篇

In the same year, 1959, that Yang Lien-sheng provided this general introduction to Maspero's work, **Michael LOEWE** (see the brief biography appended to this chapter) published his first scholarly article: "Some Notes on Han-Time Documents from Chüyen" (400340). This article was based on Loewe's doctoral dissertation, which in turn was a study of the Han-dynasty wooden strips discovered in the 1930s in the Juyan 居延 region of Gansu by the Sino-Swedish Expedition under the leadership of Folke BERGMAN (1902-1946). Since this expedition was

conducted under contract with the Chinese government, by the terms of the contract all artifacts recovered had to remain in China and work on them had to be conducted by Chinese scholars. As is very familiar to scholars of unearthened manuscripts in China, this work was carried out by LAO Gan 勞幹(1907-2003) under extremely trying circumstances, published in 1943 by Academia Sinica's Institute of History and Philology as *Juyan Han jian kaoshi* 居延漢簡考釋 (The Juyan Han strips explained); this work requires no introduction here. Loewe himself had entered the University of Oxford in 1941, intending to study classics and languages. However, before the first term had even finished, Japan attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbor; since England and America were allied by treaty, when America declared war on Japan, England did so as well. With this, Loewe entered the English army, assigned to the Intelligence Section, and was trained in Japanese; throughout the war, his responsibility was to monitor Japanese coded transmissions. When the war ended, Loewe remained in the military and did not return to Oxford. Nevertheless, he began to take evening classes at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) of the University of London, and in 1951 that school granted him a university degree in light of the contributions he had made during the war. He continued as a graduate student at SOAS, eventually writing his doctoral dissertation on the Juyan Han strips. After publishing that first scholarly article in 1959, Loewe would go on to publish further articles nearly every year, many of which are mentioned in the appended brief biography. That biography will give a better sense of the scholarly contributions that Michael Loewe has made, so that there is no need here to recount them one by one. His most important early contribution was the 1967 book *Records of Han Administration* (400470*), which in two big volumes provided a consolidated introduction to the Juyan strips. Loewe is a consummate historian and made use of the wooden strip material to study various aspects of Han-dynasty (and especially Western Han) history, especially the Han government administration and military organization. After *Records of Han Administration* was published, Loewe's interest shifted from the Han involvement in Central Asia; nevertheless, his interest in ancient manuscripts never waned, and indeed became ever stronger. He is now 95 years old, and continues to work every day, paying close attention to the latest archaeological discoveries in China, and making use of them in his own scholarship, such as in his article "The Laws of 186 BCE" (405360) published in 2010.

Two other scholars also began publishing scholarship at just about the same time as Loewe: **A.F.P. HULSEWÉ** (1910-1993; see the brief biography appended to this chapter) and **Noel BARNARD** (1922-2016; see the brief biography appended to Chapter Three). Since this book contains biographies of both Hulsewé and Barnard, there is no need to recount their careers here. Hulsewé, like Loewe,

was a pure historian and also focused almost exclusively on the Han dynasty, especially Han-dynasty law. His first scholarly publication was the 1957 article “Han-Time Documents: A Survey of Recent Studies Occasioned by the Findings of Han Time Documents in Central Asia” (400300). He subsequently published many similar articles, such as “Texts in Tombs” (400440; 1965), “Contracts of the Han Period” (400750; 1978), “The Ch’in Documents Discovered in Hupei in 1975” (400760; 1978), “A Lawsuit of A.D. 28” (400870; 1979), “The Recently Discovered Ch’in Laws: A Brief Report” (400880; 1979), “The Legalists and the Laws of Ch’in” (401030; 1981), “Supplementary Note on *li ch'en ch'ieh* 隸臣妾” (401040; 1981), “Weights and Measures in Ch’in Law” (401050; 1981), “Some Remarks on Statute Labour in the Ch’in and Han Period” (401250; 1984), and “The Influence of the ‘Legalist’ Government of Qin on the Economy as Reflected in the Texts Discovered in Yunmeng County” (401290; 1985), as well as many others. However, his most important contribution in this regard is his book *Remnants of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the Ch'in Legal and Administrative Rules of the 3rd century B.C. Discovered in Yün-meng Prefecture, Hu-pei Province, in 1975* (401300), published in 1985. This work gives a complete introduction to the 1975 discovery of bamboo strips at Shuihudi 睡虎地在 Yunmeng 雲夢, Hubei, and also translates all of the documents pertaining to law. It remains to this day the foundation for western studies of Chinese legal history.

Barnard’s biography has been given in Chapter Three: “Cast in Bronze and Stone.” As explained in that chapter, although his main focus was generally on bronze vessels and their inscriptions, he also made numerous other contributions to the study of Chinese excavated manuscripts, including to the topic of this chapter, bamboo and silk documents. His very first scholarly article, published in 1958, was “A Preliminary Study of the Ch’u Silk Manuscript—A New Reconstruction of the Text” (400310), which, as the title suggests, was a simple introduction to the Chu Silk Manuscript (Chu *boshu* 楚帛書), which has subsequently come to be well known to the scholarly world. He followed this with several other studies published in the 1970s: “Rhyme and Metre in the Ch’u Silk Manuscript Text” (400510; 1971), “The Ch’u Silk Manuscript and Other Archaeological Documents of Ancient China” (400530; 1972), and *Scientific Examination of an Ancient Chinese Document as a Prelude to Decipherment, Translation, and Historical Assessment – The Ch’u Silk Manuscript. Studies on the Ch’u Silk Manuscript, Part 1* (400540; 1972). His most important contribution to the study of the text proper came with his 1973 book *The Ch’u Silk Manuscript: Translation and Commentary* (400570). As with so many of Barnard’s other scholarly publications, this book too was published by Australian National University, where he worked; all major western university libraries would have copies of it, but it was not widely sold

elsewhere, which limited its influence. Also like Barnard's publications concerning bronze inscriptions, in this book he adopted a very strict principle of transcription. For instance, he resisted using standard Chinese characters to transcribe the text of the document, insisting on transcribing all characters just as they were written, even in cases for which simple transformations are readily evident. Because of this, when many Sinologists looked at his transcription, they thought that Chu script was quite different from later standard Chinese script, and thus was virtually unintelligible to them. Barnard's English translation was also based on this strict transcription principle, and is thus very difficult to make sense of in its entirety. The Chu Silk Manuscript was originally stored at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and is now in the collection of the Sackler Museum in Washington, D.C. Nevertheless, very few American scholars have devoted much research to it, which may well owe in some measure to Barnard's influence. Aside from Barnard, other western-language studies of the Chu Silk Manuscript include "The Twelve Gods of the Chan-kuo Period Silk Manuscript Excavated at Ch'ang-sha" (405550) by HAYASHI Minao 林巳奈夫 (1925-2006) and "Some Aspects of the Calendar, Astrology, and Religious Concepts of the Ch'u People as Revealed in the Ch'u Silk Manuscript" (405560) by JAO Tsung-i 饒宗頤, both of which were included in a volume edited by Barnard: *Early Chinese Art and Its Possible Influence in the Pacific Basin*.⁵ Jao Tsung-i also published "The Calligraphic Art of the Chu Silk Manuscript" (401420; 1987), which provided a popular introduction to the manuscript. After this, Constance A. COOK and John S. MAJOR in 1999 co-edited a volume entitled *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China* (402610), in which an appendix carries a translation of the Chu Silk Manuscript by LI Ling 李零 (translated in turn into English by Cook). Aside from this, after the publication of Barnard's translation, the only other study of the Chu Silk Manuscript published by a western scholar was William G. BOLTZ's 2009 article "Is the Chuu Silk Manuscript a Chuu Manuscript?" (404910). The title of this article seems rather strange, but Boltz's argument is that just because the Chu Silk Manuscript was unearthed in the region of the old state of Chu 楚 and was written in Chu script does not necessarily mean that it was originally authored (as opposed to copied) by someone from Chu. Boltz notes several points of evidence in support of this suspicion. For example, the names of the twelve months mentioned in the manuscript are similar to the names said by the *Erya* 爾雅 to have been used in the state of Qin 秦, and are different from the names used in such Chu documents as those found at Baoshan 包山. Although this article is purely

5 Noel BARNARD ed., *Early Chinese Art and Its Possible Influence in the Pacific Basin*, 3 vols. (New York: Intercultural Arts Press, 1972).

hypothetical, it is not without provocative interest. His viewpoint resembles somewhat that of LI Xueqin 李學勤, who, for much the same reason, has intentionally termed the Tsinghua 清華 bamboo-strip manuscripts as “Warring States bamboo documents” (Zhanguo *zhu shu* 戰國竹書) as opposed to calling them “Chu bamboo documents” (Chu *zhu shu* 楚竹書).

4.2 The Jizhong Bamboo Documents

“Jizhong Bamboo Documents” refers to a large cache of ancient documents all written on bamboo strips that were unearthed in A.D. 279 (or perhaps 280 or even 281) when a Warring States tomb in Ji jun 汲郡 (present-day Jixian 汲縣, Henan) was robbed by tomb-robbers. According to reports from the time, when the Western Jin court received news of this discovery, it immediately dispatched officials to the site of the tomb to collect the bamboo strips, which are said to have filled “several tens of cartloads.” When the bamboo strips arrived at the capital in Luoyang 洛陽, the emperor commanded XUN Xu 荀勗 (d. 289), who was then Superintendent of the Secret Documents (*bishu jian* 秘書監; essentially equivalent to the director of the national library) to head a committee to handle the documents, and especially to transcribe the Warring States script in which they were written into the standard clerical script of the time. In A.D. 282, Xun Xu and his team had already completed the editing of at least one of these texts, which he called *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of Son of Heaven Mu). In his preface to this work, Xun Xu provided the following description of the documents:

As a Preface to the ancient script *Biography of Son of Heaven Mu*, a text that people of Jixian got when they illicitly opened an ancient tomb in the second year of the Taikang period (A.D. 280); all of them were written on bamboo strips and were bound with silk. Based on my calculations of ancient measures, the strips were two feet four inches long, written with black ink, and with forty characters per strip.

Xun Xu’s editorial team seems to have brought its work to a conclusion within five or six years; there is evidence that by the time he was promoted to Commandant of the Exalted Documents (*shangshu ling* 尚書令) in A.D. 287, the preliminary editing was already finished.

Shortly after this time, Xun Xu died (in A.D. 289), and then in the next year so did the emperor (Emperor Wu of Jin; r. 265-290). Emperor Hui (r. 291-306) succeeded his father. When Emperor Hui assumed power, he immediately re-organized the Secretariat, appointing the well-known paleographer WEI Heng 衛恆 (d. 291) to be Keeper of the Exalted Documents (*bishu cheng* 秘書丞). However,

shortly thereafter Wei Heng was implicated in a court scandal and committed suicide. About this time, his friend SHU Xi 束皙 (261-300) was appointed as an Assistant Recorder Worthy (*zuo zhuzuo lang* 佐著作郎). Records of the time indicate that both Wei Heng and Shu Xi were quite unsatisfied with the editorial work that Xun Xu and his team had done on the Jizhong documents, and set about producing new editions of the texts. The most detailed description of these texts is to be found in Shu Xi's biography in the *Jin shu* 晉書 (History of Jin), dividing the seventy-five scrolls of bamboo strips into some eighteen different documents.

At first, in the second year of Taikang (A.D. 281), men of Ji Commandery 汲郡 illicitly opened the tomb of King Xiang of Wei 魏襄王, or some say it was the tomb of King Anli 安厘王, obtaining several tens of cartloads of bamboo texts. Their *Annals* 紀年, in thirteen scrolls, records events from the Xia until when the Quanrong 犬戎 killed King You of Zhou 周幽王, and then follows it with affairs when the three families divided [Jin 晉], continuing until the twentieth year of King Anli. It is doubtless a history of the state of Wei 魏, more or less corresponding with the *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋. In it there are some major differences with both the classic and its commentary (i.e., *Zuo zhuan* 左傳), such as saying that the Xia was longer than the Shang; that Yi 益 arrogated the position of Qi 啟, and that Qi killed him; that Tai Jia 太甲 killed Yi Yin 伊尹; that Wen Ding 文丁 killed Ji Li 季曆; that from Zhou's receipt of the mandate until King Mu 穆王 was one hundred years, not that King Mu lived to be one hundred years old; and that after King You [sic] was killed, Gongbo He 共伯和 exercised the affairs of the Son of Heaven, not that the two advisors were jointly harmonious. Its *Yi jing* 易經 in two scrolls, the same as the two scrolls of the *Zhou Yi* 周易. An *Yi zhou yinyang gua* 易繇陰陽卦 (Changes oracles of yinyang hexagrams), more or less the same as the *Zhou Yi* but with different oracle statements. A *Gua xia Yi jing* 卦下易經 (Sub-trigram Classic of Changes) in one scroll, similar to the *Shuo gua* 說卦 (Discussion of trigrams), but different. A *Gongsun Duan* 公孫段 in two scrolls, in which Gongsun Duan 公孫段 and Shao Zhi 邵陟 discuss the *Changes*. A *Guo yu* 國語 (Sayings of the states), in three scrolls, talking about Chu 楚 and Jin affairs. A *Ming* 名 (Names), in three scrolls, similar to the *Li ji* 禮記 (Record of ritual), and also similar to the *Er ya* 爾雅 (Approaching eloquence) and *Lun yu* 論語 (Analects). A *Shi Chun* 師春 (Master Chun), in one scroll, recording the many divinations in the *Zuo zhuan*; "Master Chun" seems to be the surname of the person who created the book. A *Suo yu* 瑣語 (Trifling sayings), in eleven scrolls, a document with many divinations about dreams and oddities. A *Liang Qiucang* 梁丘藏, in one scroll, which first narrates the generations of Wei and then follows this by talking of its treasury affairs. A *Jiao shu* 繳書 (Fowling document), in two scrolls, discussing the art of fowling. A *Sheng feng* 生封 (Enfeoffments), in one scroll, where emperors and kings were buried. A *Da li* 大曆 (Great calendar), in two scrolls, which is Zouzi 鄒子 talking about the categories of Heaven. A *Mu tianzi zhuàn* 穆天子傳 (Biography of Son of Heaven Mu), in five scrolls, speaking of King Mu of Zhou traveling throughout the four seas, visiting Di tai 帝台 and Xi Wang Mu 西王母. A *Tu shi* 圖詩 (Pictures and poetry), in one scroll, which belongs to the category of painting comments. There were also nineteen scrolls of miscellaneous documents: *Zhou shi tian fa* 周食田法 (Zhou method of food fields), *Zhou shu* 周書 (Zhou documents), *Lun Chu shi* 論楚事 (Discussing Chu affairs), and *Zhou Mu wang meiren Sheng Ji si shi* 周穆王美人盛姬死事 (The affair of the death of Sheng Ji, the lover of King Mu of Zhou). In all, there are seventy-five

scrolls, seven scrolls being so broken and damaged that they cannot be named. From the tomb was also obtained one sword, two feet five inches long. The lacquer documents were all written in tadpole script. At first those who opened the tomb burned the strips to illuminate the treasured goods. By the time that the officials received them, many of the strips were burned and broken, with the writing destroyed, so that they could not be explained or put in order. Emperor Wu 武帝 gave the documents to the Secret Documents to edit and arrange, to prepare a guide of them, and to transcribe them into modern characters. Xi, being in the secretariat got to see the bamboo texts and consequently had doubts about their divisions and interpretations, for all of which he had discussions and evidence. He was transferred to be a Secretariat Worthy.⁶

Unfortunately, under the rule of Emperor Hui and his successor Emperor Huai (r. 307-312), the Jin state fell into serious decline and there were two different popular uprisings, during which the imperial library was burned. It is doubtless at this time that the original Jizhong bamboo strips were lost. Fortunately, both Xun Xu's and Shu Xi's editions of at least some of the documents were already circulating beyond the capital, and were frequently quoted in medieval encyclopedias and commentaries to other texts. By the Southern Song dynasty, most of these Jizhong documents had already been lost. According to standard accounts, the only one of these texts that has survived to the present is the *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of the Son of Heaven Mu). In fact, there are many problems with the editing and editions of the *Mu tianzi zhuan*, but these will have to be the topic for a different study. Toward the end of the Ming dynasty, an edition of the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (Bamboo annals) appeared. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, textual scholars began to use a scissors-and-paste method to reconstitute lost ancient texts, and of course the Jizhong documents—and especially the *Bamboo Annals*—were among those that they hoped to restore. These textual critics discovered that medieval quotations were often different from the Ming dynasty edition of the *Bamboo Annals*, from which they determined that the Ming edition—now generally known as the “Current” (*Jinben* 今本) *Bamboo Annals* was a forgery. Even though it might have preserved some fragments of the original text, historians have subsequently preferred to use only the text reconstituted on the basis of medieval quotations—the so-called “Ancient” (*Guben* 古本) *Bamboo Annals* as the original version of the tomb text.

The *Mu tianzi zhuan* was the first of these texts to excite interest in the West. Toward the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, there was a rather pervasive “pan-Babylonian” theory, which held that the Su-

6 *Jin shu* 晉書 (Zhonghua shuju ed.), 51 (“Shu Xi zhuan” 束皙傳), p. 1433.

merian civilization of Mesopotamia had diffused out to influence all other civilizations of the world, including that of China. These views are very much on display in the translation done by E.J. EITEL (1838-1908) in 1888: *Mu T'ien-tzu chuan* (400050). Eitel suggested that the Western Queen Mother (Xi Wang Mu 西王母) was possibly the Queen of Sheba of western mythology. In 1904, the German Sinologist Alfred FORKE (1867-1944) published a lengthy study evaluating this theory: “Mu Wang und die Königin von Saba” (400070). Between the time that these two studies were published, there appeared another surprising theory: in the general introduction to the second volume of his translation of the *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the historian), Édouard Chavannes suggested a wholly original interpretation of the *Mu tianzi zhuan*. He suggested that the “Son of Heaven” (*tianzi* 天子) Mu 穆 of the text was not King Mu of the Western Zhou 周穆王 (r. 956-918 B.C.), as all other readers had always assumed, but rather was Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 (r. 659-621 B.C.). Chavannes argued that the *Records of the Historian* included no mention of any travels undertaken by King Mu. Moreover, he said that the placenames mentioned in the *Mu tianzi zhuan* are mainly located within the Spring and Autumn-period domains of Qin 秦 and Zhao 趙, and that the inhabitants of these two states were largely Turkic peoples, consistent with the description given in the *Mu tianzi zhuan*. He further argued that the state of Qin had been intimately connected with horse-breeding ever since the time of its founder Zaofu 造夫, all of which suggests that the *Mu tianzi zhuan* should be a sort of history of the state of Qin.

Chavannes was already the most important Sinologist in France, and indeed in all of Europe. At this time, the influential journal *T'oung Pao* had a custom of being co-edited by one scholar from France (Paris) and one from the Netherlands (Leiden). Chavannes was of course the French editor, while Leopold de SAUSSURE (1866-1925) was the Dutch editor. While Chavannes was alive, Saussure did not discuss this topic. However, shortly after Chavannes died in 1918, Saussure published an article in *T'oung Pao* explicitly repudiating Chavannes's argument; this article was entitled “Le Voyage de roi Mou et le hypothese d'É. Chavannes” (400150; 1920). Later, Saussure published a second article “La Relation des voyages du Roi Mou (au Xe siècle avant J.-C.)” (400160; 1921) arguing that the Son of Heaven Mu was indeed King Mu of Zhou. Even before these two articles, Saussure had already used calendrical records in the *Mu tianzi zhuan* to attempt to reconstruct the calendar of King Mu's reign: “The Calendar of the Muh T'ien Tsz Chuen” (400160; 1920). Although this first article of his is quite short, and not at all without problems, it is very stimulating. After Chavannes had died, his student Paul Pelliot succeeded him as co-editor of *T'oung Pao*. In 1922, Pelliot authored a brief note evaluating Chavannes's and Saussure's viewpoints regarding the *Mu tianzi*

zhuan entitled “L’Étude du *Mou t’ien tseu tchouan*” (400190), in which he acknowledged that Saussure’s criticisms were valid. However, he predicted this would not be the final word. Indeed, the last sentence of this short piece reads: “We have need to point out that the real study of the *Mu tianzi zhuan* has not even yet begun.”⁷

In the first fifty years after Pelliot penned this line, the study of the *Mu tianzi zhuan* in the West did not make any discernable progress. Then in 1978, the first French translation of the text was published: Rémi MATHIEU’s *Le Mu tianzi zhuan, Traduction annotée, étude critique* (400790). Although this translation claims to be annotated and with a critical edition, this editorial work could only be said to be very preliminary, as pointed out in a review article by William H. NIENHAUSER, Jr. entitled “Review of *Le Mu tianzi zhuan, Traduction annotée, étude critique* by Rémi Mathieu” (401170; 1982). In the years following this, two other scholars devoted considerable attention to the *Mu tianzi zhuan*, both of them advancing still other new ideas. In 1993 and 1996, Deborah Lynn PORTER published first an article and then a book discussing the text: “The Literary Significance of K’un-lun Mountain in the *Mu T’ien-tzu chuan*” (402020) and *From Deluge to Discourse: Myth, History, and the Generation of Chinese Fiction* (402300). Porter argued that the travels recounted in the *Mu tianzi zhuan* were not terrestrial travels at all, but rather were a mythological story set in the heavens. This argument seems not entirely unrelated to the pan-Babylonian theories of the late nineteenth century. Shortly after this time, Manfred FRÜHAUF published the first of a series of articles discussing various topics related to the *Mu tianzi zhuan*, including the date and authenticity of the text and also the mythology of the “eight steeds” (*ba jun* 八駿).

“Einige Überlegungen zur Frage der Datierung und Authentizität des *Mu tianzi zhuan*” (402510; 1998-99)

“Tribut und Geschenke im *Mu tianzi zhuan*” (403710; 2004)

“Die acht edlen Rosee des Zhou-Königs Mu im *Mu tianzi zhuan* (Mu wang ba jun).” (404340; 2006)

“Mythologie und Astronomie im *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳” (406420; 2015)

With Frühauf’s contributions, western Sinology’s study of the *Mu tianzi zhuan* can now finally be said to have entered a new phase, and Pelliot’s evaluation that “the real study of the *Mu tianzi zhuan* has not even yet begun” is no longer valid.

7 Paul PELLIOT, “L’Étude du *Mou t’ien tseu tchouan*,” *T’oung Pao* 21 (1922): 102.

From a very early date, western Sinologists had already noted the importance of the Jizhong documents, which stimulated various very enthusiastic discussions; the most recent of these are perhaps the most deserving of introduction here. Among these discussions, probably the most important concerns the authenticity of the *Bamboo Annals*. In 1841, the French engineer turned Sinologist Édouard BIOT (1803-1850) had already translated the *Bamboo Annals* into French: “Tchou-chou-ki-nien: Pt. 1” (400010) and “Tchou-chou-ki-nien: Pt. 2” (400020). Some twenty years later, the Scottish missionary-scholar James LEGGE (1815-1897) published an English translation, which remains to this day the most frequently consulted translation.⁸ The authenticity of the *Bamboo Annals* has long been under debate. Although Chinese historians and textual critics have a relatively strong consensus that the received text of the *Bamboo Annals* (i.e., the “Current” *Bamboo Annals*) is a Ming-dynasty forgery, western scholars have not so unanimously accepted this view, arguing that the question deserves further inquiry. In his translation of the *Records of the Historian*, Édouard Chavannes wrote at considerable length about this question, devoting a special section of the last volume of his translation to it: “De L’Authenticité des ‘Annales Écrites sur Bambou’ (*Tchou chou ki nien* 竹書紀年)” (400040; 1905). He essentially held that the “Current” *Bamboo Annals* has historical value. In 1956, the Polish scholar Aleksy DEBNICKI authored a monograph on the topic: *The Chu-Shu-Chi-Nien as a Source to the Social History of Ancient China* (400280), in which he argued that not only is the “Current” *Bamboo Annals* authentic, but it is an extremely valuable historical source. This book was published in Poland, which at the time was closed off behind the “Iron Curtain,” and so did not come to the attention of many readers. Only the prominent Czech scholar Jaroslav PRŮŠEK (1906-1980) wrote a review of it (400500), pointing out that Debnicki had not consulted any contemporary Chinese scholarship on the text, but instead had based himself largely on the Marxist historiography then popular in Eastern Europe. According to Prusek, Debnicki’s book was not at all convincing.

Toward the end of the 1970s, the American oracle-bone scholar **David N. KEIGHTLEY** (see the brief biography appended to Chapter Two), then still in the early stages of his career, published an article entitled “The *Bamboo Annals* and Shang-Chou Chronology” (400770; 1978) in the influential journal *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. In this study, Keightley argued that while it went without saying that the “Current” *Bamboo Annals* was a late forgery, even the “Ancient” *Bamboo Annals* did not have very much historical value, at least for the Shang

⁸ James LEGGE, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 3: *The Shoo King, or Book of Historical Documents* (London: Henry Frowde, 1865), Chapter Four: “The Annals of the Bamboo Books,” pp. 105-183.

period. According to Keightley, the *Bamboo Annals* was originally a product of Warring States political thought, and since the Warring States period was already seven hundred years removed from the time of the Shang dynasty, the historians of that period would not have had any reliable records at their disposal. Since Keightley already had a reputation as an extremely careful historian, and since the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* counts as western Sinology's most authoritative journal, this view immediately gained the approval of the great majority of western Sinologists.

Despite this, in the year immediately following the publication of Keightley's article, **David S. NIVISON** (1923-2014; see the brief biography appended to Chapter Three), while working on Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, discovered that the *Bamboo Annals* preserves some important information regarding the chronology of the Western Zhou dynasty. Not only this, he also suggested that in some respects the "Current" *Bamboo Annals* is more important than the "Ancient" *Bamboo Annals*. He first presented this viewpoint in two articles both published in 1983: "The Dates of Western Chou" (301280*) and "Western Chou History Reconstructed from Bronze Inscriptions" (301290). From this time forward, this question became the main focus of Nivison's research, presenting it in a number of formally published articles and also providing detailed explanations in even more conference presentations that have still not been published. The climax of this research was Nivison's 2009 book *The Riddle of the Bamboo Annals* (405060*). Even after this book was published, he continued to revise his ideas, intending to incorporate them in a planned Chinese translation. Unfortunately, he did not live to see this work published. He passed away in the autumn of 2014, continuing to work on the book until just weeks before he died. With his death, he could no longer revise his work, and so the Chinese translation was finally published by Shanghai Guji chubanshe in early 2015. With this, Chinese readers finally had a chance to read Nivison's work on the *Bamboo Annals*.

Nivison's student Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY has also long been interested in the *Bamboo Annals*. As with Nivison, Shaughnessy's interest in the *Bamboo Annals* was originally sparked by work on the chronology of the Western Zhou dynasty. In his 1986 article "On the Authenticity of the *Bamboo Annals*" (401370*), he argued that one passage found in the annals of King Wu of Zhou 周武王 and bearing entries for 15th, 16th and 17th years seemed superfluous there; on the other hand, the annals of King Cheng of Zhou 周成王 were supplied with records for every year from the 1st year to the 18th year except for the 15th, 16th and 17th years. He also noted that there is good evidence that the events recounted in the annals of those three years actually took place during the reign of King Cheng, and not that of King Wu. Because of this, he suggested that the placement of this passage

was the result of a misplaced bamboo strip. He further noted that this passage contains 37 characters; however, if one were to add blank spaces left between the annals of each year, this would bring the passage to 40 characters exactly. This coincides with what Xun Xu had said of the Jizhong texts: “Based on my calculations of ancient measures, the strips were two feet four inches long, written with black ink, and with forty characters per strip.” According to Shaughnessy, a misplaced passage such as could only occur in the course of editing the original bamboo strips; once the text had been transcribed onto paper, it would not be possible to shift blocks of text in this way. And if this passage really is the result of a misplaced bamboo strip, this could only have taken place at the time that Xun Xu and his editorial team were at work on the bamboo strips; it would have been transmitted faithfully from that time until the received text was printed in the Ming dynasty. This forty-character passage is only preserved in the “Current” *Bamboo Annals*, which would seem to suggest that at least this one passage of the received text has been transmitted from the third century A.D. without the addition or loss of even a single character, and thus at least this one passage cannot be a Ming-dynasty forgery, but should reflect the actual appearance of the tomb text. He further argued that if the “Current” *Bamboo Annals* preserves even a single passage such as this from the original bamboo-strip text, then perhaps it is possible that other portions of the received text are also authentic. According to Shaughnessy, it is necessary to reconsider Chinese scholars’ received wisdom that the “Current” *Bamboo Annals* is a forgery. A Chinese translation of this article was published in China long ago and is well known to Chinese scholars, so there is no need to introduce it further here.

Twenty years after Shaughnessy’s “On the Authenticity of the *Bamboo Annals*” was first published, he returned to the subject of the *Bamboo Annals* and indeed all of the Jizhong documents in his book *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (404440*). This book is divided into two parts. The first part introduces research on recently discovered bamboo and silk manuscripts, and especially the editorial work done on the bamboo strips discovered at Guodian 郭店 as well as those housed in the Shanghai Museum. Shaughnessy noted that the formal publication of these documents immediately excited a great deal of scholarly discussion; scholars not only argued about different interpretations and transcriptions of individual characters, but also suggested different arrangements of the sequence of the bamboo strips themselves. The second part of Shaughnessy’s book surveyed the discovery of the Jizhong documents as well as the editorial work done on them by Xun Xu and Shu Xi, paying special attention to their scholarly background at the Western Jin court. He noted that that the editorial work of these two

men definitely did not take place at the same time: whereas Xun Xu had completed his work by 287, Shu Xi did not begin his work until 291 at the earliest. Shaughnessy also provided a comprehensive accounting of all medieval quotations of the Jizhong texts, noting that the quotations differ systematically, and that these differences seem to reflect the different editorial strategies of different editors, just as we see different scholars transcribing recently discovered manuscripts in different ways. Shaughnessy suggested that the manifest differences in these quotations reflect two different editorial efforts, one of which ought to be traced back to Xun Xu and the other to Shu Xi's re-edition. Finally, he examined the *Bamboo Annals*, and especially the "Current" *Bamboo Annals*, and found considerable evidence—including another example of a passage resulting from a "misplaced strip"—showing that the "Current" *Bamboo Annals* could not possibly be a late forgery. The "Current" *Bamboo Annals* is quite disordered, to be sure. However, this disorder is similar to the kind of disorder that we see in the first editions of recently discovered bamboo-strip documents. Different editors today propose different transcriptions and also different sequences of strips. This is not only true of our experience today, but must have been true of editors in traditional times as well. For this reason, Shaughnessy again suggested that current scholars ought to re-examine the editing and the authenticity of the Jizhong documents from the standpoint of what they have now learned from editing recently discovered Warring States bamboo-strip documents.

In *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, in addition to this close study of the *Bamboo Annals*, Shaughnessy also provided a comprehensive introduction to all other Jizhong texts. He pointed out, for instance, some new ideas concerning the *Mu tianzi zhuan* and also translated and studied all of the quotations of another lost Jizhong text: the *Suoyu* 瑣語 (Trifling sayings). This followed from the article "Die Fragmente des So-Yü" (400920; 1979) by **Ulrich UNGER** (1930-2006; see the brief biography appended to Chapter Three), one of western Sinology's very few notices of this text. Both Unger and Shaughnessy suggest that the *Suoyu* played an influential role in the development of Chinese literature, and especially of the "records of the strange" (*zhiguai* 志怪) genre that arose during the Six Dynasties period.

4.3 Western Sinology's Contributions to Bamboo-and-Silk Studies after 1970

In the study of ancient Chinese cultural history, the 1970s mark an important milestone. Regardless of whether one considers such archaeological discoveries

as the terracotta warriors unearthed near the tomb of the First Emperor, the mummified corpse found in Mawangdui tomb 1, or the tomb of Fu Hao 婦好 discovered at Anyang 安陽, or discoveries of such bamboo and silk documents as the Han-dynasty strips found at Yinqueshan 銀雀山, Linyi 臨沂, Shandong, the silk manuscripts and bamboo strips excavated from tomb 3 at Mawangdui 馬王堆, Changsha 長沙, the Qin strips found at Shuihudi 睡虎地, Yunmeng 雲夢, Hubei, or the Han strips unearthed at Shuanggudui 雙古堆, Fuyang 阜陽, Anhui, these ten years completely changed the study of ancient Chinese history, and especially the study of its unearthed documents. After this time, within China the study of unearthed documents experienced a very rapid development, such that there would be no way to compare the field prior to and after this time.

Outside of China, the field did not develop nearly as fast as within China; nevertheless, there were also notable developments. The first of these developments came from Michael Loewe and A.F.P. Hulswé, both of whom had already made substantial contributions in the years preceding the 1970s. In 1977, Loewe published in *T'oung Pao* a detailed overview of recent bamboo and silk developments in China: "Manuscripts Found Recently in China: A Preliminary Survey" (400720). The next year, Hulswé published, also in *T'oung Pao*, a similar introduction to the Shuihudi documents: "The Ch'in Documents Discovered in Hupei in 1975" (400760). These two articles cannot really be considered as original research, but they laid a foundation for future work by western scholars. Also at this time, two younger scholars published a similar overview of the Mawangdui texts: Donald J. HARPER and Jeffrey K. RIEGEL's "Mawangdui Tomb Three: Documents" (400670; 1976), published in the initial issue of the journal *Early China*. These two scholars, and especially Donald Harper, would go on to publish many more studies of bamboo and silk documents. Below I will introduce the work done by them and by others, arranged according to the date at which the sites were excavated.

4.3.1 1972: The Han Tombs 1 and 2 at Yinqueshan, Linyi, Shandong

In April, 1972, the Shandong Provincial Museum and the Linyi Cultural Unit excavated two Han-dynasty tombs at Yinqueshan 銀雀山, Linyi 臨沂, Shandong, both of which contained a large number of fragments of bamboo and wooden strips; tomb 1 contained over 7,500 pieces, as well as a few wooden strips and other wooden fragments. Most of these were of ancient texts, especially military texts, including texts corresponding to the received texts of the *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子

(The art of war of Sunzi), *Weiliaozi*尉繚子, *Yanzi*晏子, and *Liu tao*六韜 (Six quivers), as well as a great number of lost texts, the most important of which was the *Sun Bin bingfa*孫臏兵法 (The art of war of Sun Bin). Unfortunately, most of these strips were extremely fragmentary. Tomb 2 produced 32 relatively well preserved strips constituting a calendar for the first year of the Yuanguang 元光 reign era of the reign of Emperor Wu of Han. This was the first important discovery of ancient bamboo strips made in the heartland of central China, and attracted widespread attention, especially since several of the texts in it, such as the *Weiliaozi* and the *Liu tao*, had been suspected of being late forgeries ever since the beginning of the iconoclastic trend in Chinese historiography during the mid-Qing dynasty. This discovery demonstrated that these texts were already in circulation no later than the mid-Western Han dynasty, and marked the first important counter attack against the iconoclastic trend.

The discovery of the Yinqueshan strips immediately attracted the attention of western scholars. In 1974, David D. BUCK published a brief introduction, “Discovery of Pre-Han Texts at Lin-I (Shantung)” (400600), in the *Newsletter for the Study of Pre-Han China*, which was the precursor to the journal *Early China*. Thirty years later, Mark Edward LEWIS provided a comprehensive overview of the military texts found in the tomb: “Writings on Warfare Found in Ancient Chinese Tombs” (404040; 2005). Just as in China, these military texts, and especially the *Sunzi* and the *Sun Bin bingfa*, excited a great deal of interest.

Sunzi bingfa* and *Sun Bin bingfa

In 1993, Roger T. AMES published a new translation of the *Sunzi bingfa* said to be based on the portion of the text unearthed from tomb 1 at Yinqueshan: *Sun-tzu: The Art of Warfare. The First English Translation Incorporating the Recently Discovered Yin-ch'üeh-shan Texts* (401900). Shortly thereafter, the *Sun Bin bingfa* manuscript was translated not once, but twice, first by Ralph D. SAWYER: *Military Methods of the Art of War: Sun Pin* (402190; 1995), and then again by Roger Ames: *Sun Pin: The Art of Warfare: A Translation of the Classic Chinese Work of Philosophy and Strategy* (402220; 1996). These two men both produced series of

translations of both received and excavated texts, Ames focused mainly on philosophical texts,⁹ and Sawyer working on military texts.¹⁰ Since many of these translations are not directly related to unearthed documents, I will not introduce all of them here.

Robin D.S. YATES has produced a series of notable studies of the Yinqueshan military texts: first with 1988's "New Light on Ancient Chinese Military Texts: Notes on Their Nature and Evolution, and the Development of Military Specialization in Warring States China" (401520), and then followed by "Texts on the Military and Government from Yinqueshan: Introductions and Preliminary Translations" (403850) and "Early Modes of Interpretation of the Military Canons: The Case of the *Sunzi bingfa*" (404220), published in 2004 and 2005 respectively. Yates's doctoral dissertation was a study of the military chapters of the *Mozi* 墨子 and Warring States military history,¹¹ and he subsequently authored the volume on warfare in Joseph NEEDHAM's (1900-1995) *Science and civilisation in China*.¹² The first of these three studies was devoted to the *Sunzi* and *Weiliaozi* manuscripts found at Yinqueshan, as well as some fragments from the *Mozi*, done in

9 Aside from his translations of the *Sunzi bingfa* and the *Sun Bin bingfa*, Ames has translated a number of other texts: *The Art of Rulership* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), which is a translation of the "Zhu shu xun" 主術訓 chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子; *Yuan Dao: Tracing Dao to Its Source* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1998), a translation of the Mawangdui manuscript *Yuan dao* 原道; *The Analects of Confucius: A Philosophical Translation* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1998); *Focusing the Familiar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), a translation of the *Zhong yong* 中庸; *Dao De Jing: "Making this Life Significant": A Philosophical Translation* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2003); and *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence: A Philosophical Translation of the Xiaojing* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

10 Sawyer has published a great number of books, many of them with overlapping content. These include *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), which is a translation of the "Wu jing qi shu" 武經七書 (Seven books of military classics); *The Art of War* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), a translation of the *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法; *Ling Ch'i Ching: A Classic Chinese Oracle* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), a translation of the *Ling qi jing* 靈棋經; *The Complete Art of War* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), which includes both the *Sunzi bingfa* and also the *Sun Bin bingfa*; *The Six Secret Teachings on the Way of Strategy* (Boston: Shambhala Books, 1997), which is a translation of the *Liu tao* 六韜; *The Tao of War: The Martial Tao Te Ching* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), which includes a portion of the *Dao de jing* 道德經; *Strategies for the Human Realm* (N.p. 2012), a translation of the *Tai bai yin jing* 太白陰經.

11 Robin D.S. YATES, "The City Under Siege: Technology and Organization as Seen in the Reconstructed Text of the Military Chapters of the *Mo-tzu*" (Ph.D. diss.: Harvard University, 1980).

12 Joseph NEEDHAM and Robin D. S. YATES, with Krzysztof GAWLIKOWSKI, Edward McEWEN, and WANG Ling, *Science and Civilisation in China. Volume 5, Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 6: Military Technology: Missiles and Sieges* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

preparation for writing the *Science and civilisation in China* volume. He has subsequently always maintained his interest in this topic.

Yin-Yang Texts

Robin Yates's work on unearthed documents has by no means been restricted just to military texts. His interests are very broad, and have included also the "Yin-Yang Texts" from Yinqueshan. In the 1994 issue of *Early China*, he published a lengthy study entitled "The Yin Yang Texts from Yinqueshan: An Introduction and Partial Reconstruction, with Notes on their Significance in Relation to Huang-Lao Daoism" (402120), the title of which describes well the contents. In this article, Yates pointed out that the original transcription by Wu Jiulong 吳九龍: *Yinqueshan Han jian shiwen* 銀雀山漢簡釋文 (Transcription of the Yinqueshan Han-dynasty bamboo strips), often made no sense at all, such that one could not read it. For this reason, Yates rearranged the contents, arguing that the Yinqueshan "Yin-Yang texts" were originally constituted of perhaps as many as eighty-five different texts. He divided these into three major categories: sixty texts on government and warfare; twelve Yin-Yang, Seasonal Orders, and divination texts; and thirteen "other" texts. He also selected representative texts from these different categories to present in transcription and translation; these include *Di dian* 地典 and *Master Cao's Yin and Yang* (*Cao shi yin yang* 曹氏陰陽) from the "government and warfare" category, and *Prohibitions* (*Jin* 禁) and *The Thirty Seasons* (*Sanshi shi* 三十時) from the "Yin-Yang" category. Yates also pointed out that the Yinqueshan texts and the so-called Huang-Lao 黃老 texts from Mawangdui are intimately related, several of which he also translated in this study. After this time, Yates also published a more or less popular book, which included systematic translations of all of these texts: *Five Lost Classics: Tao, Huang-Lao, and Yin-yang in Han China* (402440; 1997).

4.3.2 1973: The Han-Tomb 40 at Dingxian, Hebei

The Han-dynasty tomb 40 unearthed in 1973 at Bajiaolang 八角廊, Dingxian 定縣, Hebei has been an extraordinarily unfortunate discovery. This tomb was originally extremely well furnished with antiquities, including numerous bamboo-strip texts, such as the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects), *Rujia zhe yan* 儒家者言 (Sayings of the Ru), *Wenzi* 文子, *Tai gong* 太公 (The grand duke), etc. It also included a text called by the excavators *Liu An wangchao Wufeng ernian zhengyue qijuji* 六安王朝五鳳二年正月起居記 (Record of events in the first month of the second year of the Five Phoenixes year of the Liu An court), as well as daybooks (*rishu* 日書) and

various types of divination records. The tomb was robbed shortly after it had been sealed. In the course of the burglary, the tomb chamber caught on fire, and many of the artifacts in it were severely damaged, especially the many bamboo and wooden strips. The misfortunes of this tomb were not at all restricted just to antiquity; the tomb's modern fate has not been much better. After the tomb was excavated, in the summer of 1974 the bamboo strips were sent to Beijing for safe-keeping. Unfortunately, July of 1976 brought the great Tangshan 唐山 earthquake, and many of the bamboo strips were again damaged. Not only this, for various reasons the teams of editors originally assigned to work on these documents were unable to do their work, and the bamboo strips sat for more than twenty years with no one to put them in order. Indeed, there is still no formal archaeological report of this excavation, for which reason this discovery has never attracted the attention of western scholars that it deserves. The only published study of the discovery has been Paul van ELS 2009 article "Dingzhou: The Story of an Unfortunate Tomb" (404950), which gives a detailed introduction to the excavation work. There have also been a few other scholars who have addressed individual texts from Dingxian, such as the *Lunyu* and *Wenzi*, as I will introduce below.

***Lunyu* 論語**

The Dingxian *Lunyu* includes 620 strips or fragments, and of course attracted widespread attention. Similar to his translation of the Yinqueshan *Sunzi*, Roger AMES made a "philosophical translation," done in collaboration with Henry ROSEMONT: *The Analects of Confucius, A Philosophical Translation: A New Translation Based on the Dingzhou Fragments and Other Recent Archaeological Finds* (402460; 1998). This translation cannot count as the result of sustained research on the Dingxian manuscript. Although the sub-title says that it is "a new translation based on the Dingzhou fragments and other archaeological finds," in fact the influence of the Dingxian *Lunyu* is little to be seen. What is more, this translation is again a "philosophical translation," and contributes little to the history of *Lunyu* exegesis. Similarly, most other western scholars who have done research on the *Lunyu* or who have offered new translations of it have not made much use of the Dingxian manuscript.

Despite this, there is another discovery of a *Lunyu* manuscript very similar to that of Dingxian that deserves to be introduced here. In 2009, the scholarly world first got the chance to see photographs of wooden strips that had been excavated from tomb 364 in the North Korean village of Chǒngbaek 貞柏, P'yŏngyang 平壤. In 2011, the South Korean scholar KIM Kyung-ho 金慶浩 published an article in English introducing this site and its strips: "A Study of Excavated Bamboo and

Wooden-strip *Analects*: The Spread of Confucianism and Chinese Script” (405690). During the Western Han period, this site was located within Lelang Commandery 樂浪郡, and the tomb included a wooden board with the title “A record of the number of households in different counties of Lelang Commandery in the fourth year of Chuyuan reign era” (Lelang *jun Chuyuan si nian xian bie hukou duoshao .. bu* 樂浪郡初元四年縣別戶口多少口簿), dating this tomb to around the fourth year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign era, which was a reign era during the reign of Emperor Yuan of Han corresponding to 45 B.C. Thus, the date of this tomb was also very similar to that of the Dingxian tomb. From this wooden board we learn that Lelang Commandery then contained twenty-five counties; it also contained information concerning the population of these counties, divided into records of “households” (*hu* 戶) and “household numbers” (*hushu* 戶數), with further records indicating that the population was “less than before” (*shao qian* 少前), “more than before” (*duo qian* 多前) or “as before” (*ru qian* 如前), very similar to contemporary documents unearthed within China at Yinwan 尹灣, Jiangsu and also Huxishan 虎溪山, Hunan. Aside from these population records, this tomb also contained chapters 11 and 12, “Xian jin” 先進 and “Yan Yuan” 顏淵 of the *Lunyu*. Kim Kyung-ho’s article appended a photograph of thirty-nine of these strips (see the illustration below). Kim pointed out that the physical characteristics of the Lelang *Lunyu* are also very similar to those of the Dingxian *Lunyu*. Based on scholars’ reconstruction, complete strips of the Dingxian *Lunyu* would have been 14.7 cm long (seven Han inches), and were bound with three binding straps, with ten characters written above the middle binding strap and ten characters below it. The Lelang *Lunyu* was somewhat longer, at 23 cm (one Han foot), but as in the case of the Dingxian *Lunyu*, each strip also bore twenty characters, also divided ten and ten above and below the middle binding strap, as can be seen in the photograph below. As pointed out by Kim Kyung-ho, both the similarity of the Lelang population records to those from Yinwan and Huxishan and also the similarity of its *Lunyu* to that of the Dingxian *Lunyu* reflect a trend toward political and intellectual unification that was taking place during the Han dynasty. In addition to Kim Kyung-ho’s English article, there are also Korean and Japanese articles reporting on this discovery.¹³

13 KIM Byung-Joon 金秉駿, “Nangnang-gun ch’ogi ūi pyŏnho kwachŏng kwa hohan ch’obŏl” 樂浪郡初期의編戶過程과『胡漢稍別』, *Mokkan gwa munja* 木簡과文字 1 (2008): 139-86; KIM Byung-Joon 金秉駿, “Rakurogun shoki no henko katei” 樂浪郡初期の編戶過程, *Kodai bunka* 古代文化 61.2 (2009): 59-80; KIM Kyung-ho 金慶浩, “Hanjungil Tongasea samguk ūi ch’uld omunja jaryo ūi hyŏnhwang kwa yŏn’gu” 韓中日東亞世亞 3 國의 出土文字資料의 現況과 研究, *Han’guk kodaesa yŏn’gu* 韓國古代史研究 59 (2010): 329-63; LEE Sung-si 李成市, YUN Yong-gu 尹龍九 and KIM Kyung-ho 金慶浩, “P’yŏngyang Chŏng-baek-dong 364 kobun ch’uldo chukkan

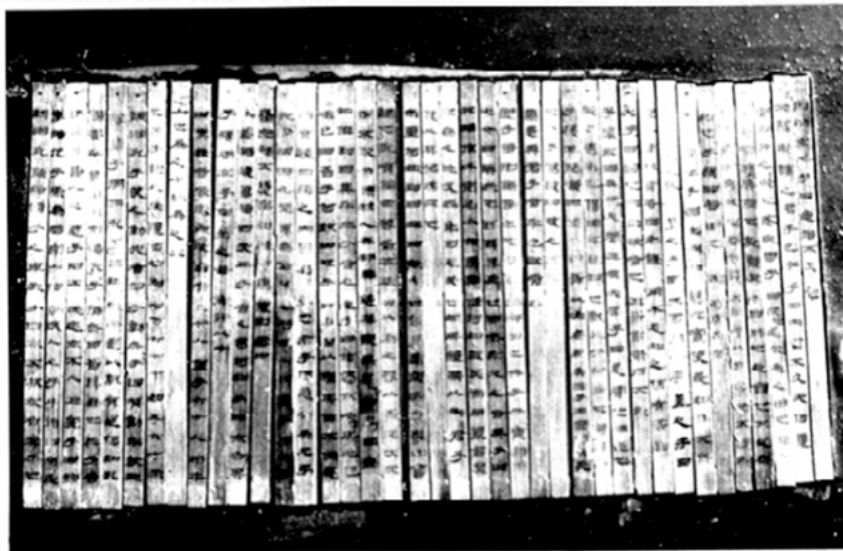


Fig. 30: 39 wooden strips from tomb 364 at Chǒngbaek 貞柏, P'yŏngyang 平壤, North Korea; from KIM Kyung-ho 金慶浩, "A Study of Excavated Bamboo and Wooden-strip *Analects*: The Spread of Confucianism and Chinese Script," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 11.1 (2011): 66.

nonŏ e taehayŏ" 平壤貞柏洞 364 古墳出土竹簡論語에 대하여, *Mokkan kwa munja* 木簡과文字 4 (2009): 127-66.



Fig. 31: Photograph and Line-drawing of strips of *Lunyu*, from tomb 364 at Chǒngbaek 貞柏, P'yǒngyang 平壤, North Korea. From KIM Kyung-ho 金慶浩, "A Study of Excavated Bamboo and Wooden-strip *Analects*: The Spread of Confucianism and Chinese Script," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 11.1 (2011): 64.

Wenzi 文子

Aside from the *Lunyu*, the Dingxian tomb also contained several sections corresponding to the received text of the *Wenzi*. This is particularly valuable evidence with which to evaluate the authenticity of this text, which has been under debate for centuries. The *Wenzi* was the topic of Paul van ELS doctoral dissertation,

which he presented at Leiden University in 2006: “The *Wenzi*: Creation and Manipulation of a Chinese Philosophical Text” (404470). According to van Els’s research, the Dingxian *Wenzi* shows that the received text of the *Wenzi* was forged on the basis of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子. A similar conclusion is also to be seen in Charles LE BLANC’s 2000 monograph *Le Wen zi à la lumière de l’histoire et de l’archéologie* (402870).

4.3.3 1973: Tomb 3 at Mawangdui 馬王堆, Changsha 長沙

From December, 1973 through the beginning of 1974, archaeologists from the Hunan Provincial Museum excavated tombs 2 and 3 at the site of Mawangdui, Changsha. As noted above, the discovery of tomb 3 at Mawangdui marks a particularly important milestone for the study of early Chinese cultural history; the bamboo and silk texts in it included two versions of the *Laozi* 老子, a copy of the *Zhou Yi* 周易 (Zhou Changes) as well as other texts related to the *Zhou Yi*, the *Zhanguo zongheng jiashu* 戰國縱橫家書 (Document of the Warring States experts of vertical and lateral [alliances]), the *Chunqiu shiyu* 春秋事語 (Stories of the Spring and Autumn period), astronomical prognostications, a lost text concerning horse physiognomy, various types of medical texts, three different lost texts of “punishment-and-virtue” (*xing de* 刑德), two lost texts concerning yin-yang and the five phases, diagrams of calisthenics, two different types of maps, as well as various texts of prognostications, all of which have attracted great notice in the scholarly world. It goes without saying that, like Chinese scholars, western scholars have also definitely recognized the importance of the Mawangdui manuscripts.

Immediately after the excavation of Mawangdui tombs 2 and 3, the initial issue of the journal *Early China*, published in 1975, included a report on this discovery, written by Jeffrey RIEGEL: “A Summary of Some Recent *Wenwu* and *Kaogu* Articles on Mawangdui Tombs Two and Three” (400660). As noted above, the year after this, *Early China* published a comprehensive summary of the Mawangdui manuscripts, written by Riegel and Donald HARPER: “Mawangdui Tomb Three: Documents” (400670). At this time, there were also a number of other introductions to this discovery, such as JAN Yün-hua’s “A Short Bibliography of the Silk Manuscripts (*Po-shu*)” (400680; 1976) and Yves HERVOUET’s “Découvertes récentes de manuscrits anciens en Chine” (400690; 1977). After this time, western scholars began to publish more specialized studies of individual manuscripts, which I will review below.

Western scholars have paid little attention to the historical context of the Mawangdui tombs, most scholars content to accept the standard viewpoint of the Chinese archaeologists. Since the excavation of tomb 3, the consensus view has been that the deceased was the son of LI Cang 李倉, the king of Changsha. Recently, Michael FRIEDRICH of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures of Hamburg University has published a study in which he discusses the identity of this person: “Wer war der Grabherr von Ma-wang-tui 3?” (404960; 2009), in which he proposes two other individuals: LI Xi 利豨 and LI De 利得, though in the end he does not come to a decision between them.

Laozi 老子

The *Laozi* is said to be the world’s second-most frequently translated book (after the *Bible*), with more than 200 different translations just in western languages. When the world learned that there were two different early Han-dynasty manuscripts of the *Laozi* in the tomb at Mawangdui, this of course excited great anticipation. Based on a preliminary survey, there have already been at least six different translations of the Mawangdui manuscripts into western languages, which I list below according to their date of publication.

Lionello LANCIOTTI, *Libro della Virtù e della Via. Il Te-tao-ching secondo il manoscritto di Ma-wang-tui* (401070; 1981)

D.C. LAU, *Chinese Classics: Tao Te Ching* (401150; 1982)

Robert G. HENRICKS, *Te-Tao Ching: A New Translation Based on the Recently Discovered Ma-wang-tui Texts* (401570; 1989)

Victor MAIR, *Tao Te Ching: The Classic Book of Integrity and the Way* (401690; 1990)

Hans-Georg MÖLLER, *Laotse, Tao Te King: Die Seidentexte von Mawangdui* (402180; 1995)

Ansgar GERSTNER, “Eine Synopse und kommentierte Übersetzung des Buches Laozi sowie eine Auswertung seiner kritischen Grundhaltung auf der Grundlage der Textausgabe Wang Bis, der beiden Mawangdui-Seidentexte und unter Berücksichtigung der drei Guodian-Bambustexte” (403090; 2001).

These translations all have different features. D.C. LAU (1921-2010) had already published a translation of the received text of the *Laozi* in 1963, which has always been much read by western readers. In this 1982 volume, he based himself on the two Mawangdui manuscripts to produce a new translation. This version was of course somewhat different from that which he had published twenty years before. However, on the whole, the differences are not manifest. Two years after

Lau's book was published, William G. BOLTZ published a more or less critical review of it in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*: "Textual Criticism and the Ma Wang Tui *Lao tzu*" (401240; 1984). Aside from Boltz's review, Lau's new translation has never garnered much attention from readers (perhaps because it was published in Hong Kong), and it has never replaced the 1963 edition, which was published by Penguin Books in England.

The 1989 translation by Robert HENRICKS has been more influential, at least in America. Henricks was then a professor in Dartmouth College, his scholarly specialization being medieval Chinese religion. His translation of the Mawangdui *Laozi* was based on a series of articles that he had previously published, which include the following titles (in chronological order, including one article published much later).

- "Examining the Ma-wang-tui Silk Texts of the *Lao-tzu*: With Special Note of their Differences from the Wang Pi Text" (400840; 1979)
- "The Ma-wang-tui Manuscripts of the *Lao-tzu* and the Problem of Dating the Text" (400850; 1979)
- "A Note on the Question of Chapter Divisions in the Ma-wang-tui Manuscripts of the *Lao-tzu*" (400860; 1979)
- "A Complete List of the Character Variants in the Ma-wang-tui Texts of *Lao-tzu*" (401020; 1981)
- "On the Chapter Divisions in the *Lao-tzu*" (401140; 1982)
- "Chapter 50 in the *Laozi*: Is it 'Three out of Ten' or 'Thirteen'?" (402640; 1999)

Henricks's research generally follows the work of Chinese scholars; in any event, his methodology does not diverge significantly from that used by most Chinese scholars. His translation is also quite consistent with traditional Chinese commentaries, without many radical new ideas in it. The discussion that he gives in the introduction concerning the textual history of the *Laozi* is also quite traditional; most Chinese readers would have no trouble accepting it.

Among these translations, the most peculiar is surely that by Victor MAIR. Mair has long been a professor of Chinese at the University of Pennsylvania. He was originally a scholar of Tang-dynasty literature, having done considerable research on the "transformation texts" (*bianwen* 變文) from Dunhuang 敦煌. It has long been his view that the introduction of Buddhism into China brought radical changes to China's cultural history, not only in the realm of religion, but also extending to the contents and form of literary works. For example, he has argued that both the idea of and form of "fiction" in China was brought from India. In translating the Mawangdui *Laozi*, Mair also discovered many Indian elements in

it, arguing that there are many similarities between the *Laozi* and the Indian classic *Bhagavad gita*. He said that these similarities could not have occurred by chance, but must attest to significant cultural contact between China and India as early as the second (or even third) millennium B.C. He also argued that many of the basic terms in the *Laozi* are related to Indo-European languages. For instance, he says that *dao* 道, usually translated as “way,” is cognate with the English words “track” and “trek”; *de* 德, usually translated as “virtue,” is cognate with the English word “doughty”; *de* 得, usually translated as “to get, to obtain,” is “integrity”; and *jing* 經, usually translated as “classic” (though well known originally to be the woof filament in weaving) is cognate with English “filament” or “file.” He also says that the word *pu* 樸, much used in the *Laozi* and often translated as “block,” was originally pronounced as *phluk, and thus is also cognate with the English word “block” (according to Mair, this word “probably” derives from Indo-European bhelk, and gives rise to English “beam”).¹⁴ He says that Chapter 52 of the *Laozi* has a very heavy flavor of Indian yoga. The chapter and Mair’s translation read as follows:

天下有始，以為天下母。既知其母，復知其子。既知其子，復守其母。沒身不殆。塞其兌、閉其門，終身不勤。開其兌、濟其事，終身不救。見小曰明，守柔曰強。用其光，復歸其明，無遺身殃，是謂習常。

Everything under Heaven has a beginning
Which may be thought of as the mother
Of all under heaven.
Having realized the mother,
You thereby know her children.
Knowing her children,
Go back to abide with the mother.
To the end of your life,
You will not be imperiled.
Stopple the orifices of your heart,
Close your doors;
Your whole life you will not suffer.
Open the gate of your heart,
Meddle with affairs;
Your whole life you will be beyond salvation.
Seeing what is small is called insight,
Abiding in softness is called strength.

¹⁴ Because Mair’s translation was done for a general readership, it was not supplied with notes. The discussion of the etymology of these words was provided in a subsequent article: Victor H. MAIR, “[The] File [on the Cosmic] Track [and Individual] Dough[tiness]: Introduction and Notes for a Translation of the Ma-wang-tui Manuscripts of the *Lao-tzu*” (401680; 1990).

Use your light to return to insight,
 Be not an inheritor of personal calamity.
 This is called "following the constant."¹⁵

Mair suggests that this chapter reflects a direct quotation of the *Bhagavad gita* on the part of the *Laozi*, and that the "author" of the *Laozi* had a copy of the *Bhagavad gita* in hand, which he simply translated into Chinese. He says that both works underwent the same sort of development, being transmitted orally. How was this knowledge transmitted from India to China? Orally. Mair even says: "Those who take the trouble to read attentively the early Indian texts just cited, particularly the classical *Upanisads*. will realize that they adumbrate the entire philosophical, religious, and physiological foundations of Taoism, but not its social and political components which are distinctively Chinese."¹⁶

Mair's theory of the Indian origin of Chinese civilization is regarded as peculiar even among western scholars. However, his view regarding the oral creation and transmission of the *Laozi* is quite representative of many western scholars. According to Mair, in the sixth century B.C. (toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period), there began to be people who collected proverbs to use in their oral teaching. In the fifth century B.C., some disciples turned against Confucius's teachings and then also turned against the teachings of Mozi 墨子, for which reason they adapted some anti-Confucian, anti-Mohist notions into their teaching. It was only much later, sometime around 300 B.C., after some anonymous author had written the *Zhuangzi*, that a disciple of Laozi was inspired to write down his teaching. Mair concludes: "The codification of the *TTC* [*Tao Te Ching*] was probably essentially finished by the middle of the third century and the first written exemplars must have appeared by about that time."¹⁷

I have already mentioned above William BOLTZ's lengthy review of D.C. Lau's 1982 translation of the Mawangdui *Laozi* manuscripts. This review was but one of a long series of studies regarding textual criticism of the *Laozi* that Boltz published over the course of fifteen or more years, which I list here in chronological order:

- "The Religious and Philosophical Significance of the 'Hsiang erh' *Lao Tzu* 想爾老子 in the Light of the *Ma-wang-tui* Silk Manuscripts" (401120; 1982)
 "Textual Criticism and the Ma Wang Tui *Lao tzu*" (401240; 1984)

15 Victor MAIR, *Tao Te Ching: The Classic Book of Integrity and the Way* (New York: Bantam Books, 1990), p. 21.

16 MAIR, "[The] File [on the Cosmic] Track [and Individual] Dough[tiness]," p. 34.

17 MAIR, "[The] File [on the Cosmic] Track [and Individual] Dough[tiness]," p. 17.

“The *Lao tzu* Text That Wang Pi and Ho-shang Kung Never Saw” (401270; 1985)

“Textual Criticism *More Sinico*” (402130; 1995)

“Manuscripts with Transmitted Counterparts” (402350; 1997)

In these studies, Boltz consistently employed an extremely rigorous textual criticism to explain the original meaning of the *Laozi*. His methodology was more or less similar to traditional Chinese textual criticism, but he himself would trace the roots of his methodology to that of the nineteenth century German scholar Karl LACHMANN (1793-1851), who is famous for using textual filiation, which Boltz follows him in terming “*stemma codicum*,” to study ancient Greek texts. Lachmann used “textual tree” diagrams to show the filiation between a manuscript or edition and other related manuscripts or editions. On the basis of these textual trees, Boltz presented a style of textual criticism that is almost mathematical in its rigor: in the rules below, “A” represents one branch of a textual tree, in this case the Mawangdui A (i.e., *Jia* 甲) manuscript; “B” represents another branch, in this case the Mawangdui B (i.e., *Yi* 乙) manuscript; “R” represents the received text (“*textual receptus*”), and “X” represents the putative original.

1. If A = B, then X also = A and B;
- 2a. If A ≠ B, and A = R, then X = A;
- 2b. If A ≠ B, and B = R, then X = B;
3. If A ≠ B, and A and B both ≠ R, then X can only be decided on the basis of other evidence, or perhaps cannot be decided.

A simple example of his methodology can be seen with respect to the first chapter of the received *Laozi*. Both Mawangdui manuscripts read *heng ming ye* 恆名也 “constant name,” while the received text reads *chang ming* 常名 “eternal name.” In order to determine the original reading, Boltz employs the following quasi equation.

A, B : 恆名也 :: R : 常名

According to rule 1 above, since A = B, then we can decide that the original should be *heng ming ye* 恆名也 “constant name.” Boltz says that this is simply a matter of logic and common sense. However, if A ≠ B, traditional western textual criticism has another standard technique to determine the putative original, referred to by Boltz in the Latin question “*utrum in alterum arbiturum erat*” (which variant is more likely to change into the other?), with the answer expected to be “*difficilior lectio potior*” (the word harder to read has priority). This is because we can easily imagine a scribe changing a word difficult to write or understand into another

word that was easier to write or understand, but it would be very hard to imagine a scribe doing the reverse—converting a simple word into a particularly difficult word to write or understand. To demonstrate this rule, Boltz referred to the phrase *ju shan di xin shan yuan* 居善地心善淵 found in Chapter 8 of the received text of the *Laozi*:

- A: 居善地心善瀟
 B: 居善地心善淵
 R: 居善地心善淵

Boltz suggests that A: 瀟:: B: 淵 is a classic case of the rule *difficilior lectio potior*. The graph 瀟 is not seen elsewhere in pre-Qin texts, but it occurs three times in the Mawangdui A manuscript. What is more, it is also seen in the *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字 (Discussing pictographs and explaining compound graphs), in which it is defined as *yuan shen qing ye* 瀟深清也 “瀟 means deep and clear.” The graph *yuan* 淵 seen in both the Mawangdui B manuscript and also in the received text is seen ubiquitously throughout pre-Qin literature in the sense of “whirlpool,” though it also has an extended meaning of a “deep pool” (*shen chi* 深池). According to Rule 2B in the list of rules given by Boltz, it would seem that this graph *yuan* 淵, seen in both the Mawangdui B manuscript (“B”) and also the received text (“R”) should be the original reading of the *Laozi*. Probably for this reason, in D.C. Lau’s consolidated recension of the Mawangdui manuscripts, he writes the text as “淵” (and translates it into English as “depth”). Despite this, Boltz suggests on the basis of the rule *difficilior lectio potior*, it is more likely that 瀟 was the character used in the original *Laozi*. It is easy to imagine that a scribe unfamiliar with the rare and difficult to write 瀟 might transcribe it into the common and easy to write 淵, but it is very difficult to imagine the reverse. In each of his studies, Boltz employs this sort of very sharp textual criticism. His theorems can sometimes seem overly rigid, but his suggestions are often quite inspiring.

Before and after 1990, several German scholars also published studies of the Mawangdui *Laozi* manuscripts. Aside from the 1990 translation by Hans-Georg MÖLLER and the 2001 doctoral dissertation by Ansgar GERSTNER, both listed above, the following studies should be noted (again listed in chronological order).

Wolfgang OMMERBORN, *et al*, “Exemplarische Bearbeitung der Lao Zi-Seidenmanuskripte (Version A und B) von Mawangdui anhand des tradierten Kapitels 39” (401510; 1988)

- Hans-Georg MÖLLER, “Verschiedene Versionen des *Laozi*. Ein Vergleich mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des 19. Kapitels” (402700; 1999)
- Michael FRIEDRICH, “Zur Datierung zweier Handschriften des *Daode jing*” (402230; 1996)
- Konrad WEGMANN, “*Laozi*-Textversionen im Vergleich. Das Problem der historischen und inhaltsbezogenen, computergestützten strukturellen Darstellung” (402740; 1999)
- Jörn JACOBS, *Textstudium des Laozi: Daodejing — Eine komfortable Referenzausgabe mit Anmerkungen sowie Anhängen für die praktische Arbeit* (403150; 2001)
- Matthias RICHTER, “Handschriftenkundliche Probleme beim Lesen altchinesischer Manuskripte” (404120; 2005)
- Matthias RICHTER, “Der Alte und das Wasser: Lesarten von *Laozi* 8 im überlieferten Text und in den Manuskripten von Mawangdui” (404420; 2006)

Among these articles, those by Matthias RICHTER propose an extremely rigorous paleographic methodology for dealing with variants within the Mawangdui *Laozi* manuscripts, with numerous implications for the writing and reading of all manuscripts.

The *Wu Xing* 五行

Wu xing 五行 (Five Paces), found on the same piece of silk as the Mawangdui A manuscript, is an extremely valuable lost text. Whether considered in the context of intellectual history, of its nature as a commentary, or because of its relationship with the subsequently discovered *Wu xing* manuscript at Guodian 郭店, this text has attracted the attention of numerous scholars. The most in-depth study of this text by a western scholar is that of Mark CSIKSZENTMIHALYI. In 1994, he submitted a doctoral dissertation at Stanford University entitled “Emulating the Yellow Emperor. The Theory and Practice of Huanglao, 180-141 B.C.E.” (402060). Ten years later, he published this formally as the monograph *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China* (403660; 2004). This book includes complete translations of both the Mawangdui and Guodian manuscripts. Aside from Csikszentmihalyi, there have been several other scholars who have discussed various aspects of the philosophical value of the *Wu xing* manuscript. These include:

- HUANG Chün-chieh (黃俊傑), “On *Five Activities* from Ma-wang-tui: The Mind-Body Unity and Its Manifold Significance” (401810; 1991)

- Jeffrey K. RIEGEL, "Eros, Introversion, and the Beginnings of *Shijing* Commentary" (402420; 1997)
- Scott COOK, "Consummate Artistry and Moral Virtuosity: The 'Wu xing' 五行 Essay and Its Aesthetic" (402800; 2000)
- CHENG Chung-ying, "On Internal Onto-Genesis of Virtuous Actions in the *Wu Xing Pian*" (405270; 2010)
- Roger T. AMES, "Human 'Beings' or Human 'Becomings'? Another Look at the *Wuxingpian*" (405510; 2011)
- CHEN Lai (陳來), "A Study of the Bamboo 'Wuxing' Text and Zisi's Thought" (405570; 2011-2012)
- XING Wen (邢文), "The Title and Structure of the *Wuxing*" (405780; 2011-2012)

Many of these articles were originally written for a Chinese readership. For instance, the last two were originally written in Chinese and then were translated into English, so that they cannot really count as works of western scholarship. HUANG Chün-chieh 黃俊傑 was a professor at Taiwan University, CHENG Chung-ying 成中英 is an American scholar of Chinese descent who has long taught in the Philosophy Department at the University of Hawai'i but whose primary field of research is Chinese philosophy. Even the essay here by Roger AMES was originally produced as part of a project in Hong Kong. However, there are two articles that have been particularly influential in the context of western scholarship.

Below I will pay special attention to the work of Scott COOK, especially with respect to his contributions to the study of the Guodian manuscripts. His article "Consummate Artistry and Moral Virtuosity: The 'Wu xing' 五行 Essay and Its Aesthetic," published in 2000, was the first article that he published in a scholarly journal concerning intellectual history. In 1995, he had already published his Master's thesis "*Yue Ji* 樂記: *Record of Music*: Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Commentary,"¹⁸ which not only linked Chinese aesthetics and moral philosophy, but also laid the groundwork for his subsequent scholarship, which is always marked by a very close reading of original manuscripts. Ten years later, in his work on the Guodian manuscripts, he would again use the "Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Commentary" format.

The second important work on the Mawangdui *Wu xing* manuscript has attracted even more attention. This is Jeffrey RIEGEL's 1997 study "Eros, Introversion, and the Beginnings of *Shijing* Commentary," which was published in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, and which used different sections of the *Wu*

18 Scott COOK, "*Yue Ji* 樂記: *Record of Music*: Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Commentary," *Asian Music* 26.2 (1995): 1-96.

xing text to propose a new notion concerning the early exegesis of the *Shi jing* 詩經. The *Wu xing* text cites the *Shi jing* poems “Guanju” 關雎 and “Yanyan” 燕燕 as illustrations, stating that these two poems treat “sex” (*se* 色) as an analogy for “ritual” (*li* 禮). Ten years after publishing this article, Riegel returned to the same topic, but taking up the Shanghai Museum manuscript *Kongzi Shi lun* 孔子詩論, arguing that the *Kongzi Shi lun*’s understanding of at least the “Guanju” poem was similar to that of the *Wu xing* text; this latter article is entitled “A Passion for the Worthy” (404840; 2008). In the latter article, Riegel also begins with the saying in Book One (“Xue er” 學而) of the *Lunyu* “*xian xian yi se*” 賢賢易色, which he translates as “in treating the worthy as worthy he replaces those he finds sexually alluring with them,” and goes on to argue that this reflects the same notion of aesthetics and morality, that “sexuality” is a basic human attribute, which can cause people to do bad things, but which people can also change by way of ritual and emulating worthies. These two studies of Riegel’s are full of interesting ideas not only regarding the *Wu xing* and the *Kongzi Shi lun*, but also for understanding the *Shi jing*.

Other Texts Written together with the *Laozi B* Manuscript

At the head of the silk scroll carrying the *Laozi B* manuscript, there are four ancient lost texts: *Jing fa* 經法 (The model of the classic), *Shiliu jing* 十六經 (Sixteen classics), *Cheng* 稱 (Attributions), and *Dao yuan* 道原 (The source of the way). The Chinese scholarly world routinely refers to these as the “Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor” (*Huang di si jing* 黃帝四經). Shortly after the initial report of the discovery was published, two scholars in particular, TU Wei-ming (杜維明) and JAN Yün-hua (冉雲華) emphasized the importance of these four texts. Beginning in 1977 and continuing over the course of almost fifteen years, Jan Yün-hua published a long series of articles discussing them and explaining their significance within Huang-Lao 黃老 thought.

“The Silk Manuscripts on Taoism” (400700; 1977)

“Tao Yuan or Tao the Origin” (400970; 1980)

“Tao, Principle, and Law: Three Key Concepts in the Yellow Emperor Taoism” (400980; 1980)

“The Change of Images: The Yellow Emperor in Ancient Chinese Literature” (401060; 1981)

“Political Philosophy of the *Shih-liu ching* Attributed to the Yellow Emperor Taoism” (401200; 1983)

“Human Nature and Its Cosmic Roots in Huang-Lao Taoism” (401640; 1990)

“Taoist Silk Manuscripts and Early Legalist Thought” (401830; 1991)

The 1977 article “The Silk Manuscripts on Taoism” was a preliminary and very simple introduction to the idea of the “Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor.” While this article cannot really be regarded as original research, it did contain a nearly complete translation of the text *Dao yuan*. This translation was completed and refined in the 1980 article “Tao, Principle, and Law: Three Key Concepts in the Yellow Emperor Taoism.”

Tu Wei-ming only published a single article on these texts, “The ‘Thought of Huang-Lao’: A Reflection on the Lao Tzu and Huang Ti Texts in the Silk Manuscripts of Ma-wang-tui” (400910; 1979). However, because it was published in the important journal *Journal of Asian Studies*, it had great visibility and has subsequently been cited by numerous scholars. In this article, Tu first provided an overview of the excavation of tomb 3 at Mawangdui and of the documents unearthed from it, and then he especially introduced the *Laozi* manuscripts and other “Daoist” texts. Like many scholars in China, he regarded these texts as “Huang-Lao” classics. However, he also argued that the traditional labels of “Legalism,” “Daoism” and “Confucianism” were over-drawn. According to Tu, we should view these as three mutually influencing ways of thought, with all texts incorporating elements of all three. After this time, many western scholars would hold to this syncretic notion of early Chinese thought. Indeed, not a few of them insist that there was neither a “Daoism” nor “Confucianism” in the pre-Qin and Western Han periods, and that these names should be dispensed with.

Building on the foundation laid by Tu Wei-ming and Jan Yün-hua, in the late 1990s four different scholars or pairs of scholars published complete translations of one or all of these four texts.

Edmund RYDEN, *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons: A Literary Study and Edition of the Text from Mawangdui* (402430; 1997)

Robin D.S. YATES, *Five Lost Classics: Tao, Huang-Lao, and Yin-yang in Han China* (402440; 1997)

Leo S. CHANG and Yu FENG 馮禹, *The Four Political Treatises of the Yellow Emperor* (402480; 1998)

D.C. LAU and Roger T. AMES, *Yuan Dao: Tracing Dao to Its Source* (402570; 1998)

Robin YATES's book has already been introduced above in the section on the Yinqueshan manuscripts, and so there is need to repeat that discussion here. Edmund RYDEN is a Catholic priest affiliated with the Ricci Institute in Taiwan; he has been particularly interested in traditional Chinese notions of morality. His book employs a systematic textual criticism to translate all four of these so-called

“Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor.” Leo S. CHANG and Yu FENG 馮禹 are professors at the University of Hawai’i, affiliated with that institution’s famous East-West Center. As had Jan Yün-hua, they emphasize the role of Huang-Lao thought in the pre-Qin period. D.C. LAU and Roger AMES have also both been introduced in different sections above. Lau was Ames’s doctoral dissertation supervisor, and the two men continued to work together. Lau of course had a very extensive textual background, while Ames’s hallmark has been his hope to get western philosophers to take Chinese traditional thought seriously, and his translations are always marked by a very strong philosophical bent. He has published translations of numerous texts, such that he has essentially created a school of thought. The cooperation of these two scholars should be regarded as a work of considerable scholarly interest.

There have also been numerous other scholars who have treated these lost texts found on the Mawangdui *Laozi B* scroll, which can be listed as follows:

A.C. GRAHAM, “A Neglected Pre-Han Philosophical Text: Ho-kuan-tzu” (401560; 1989)

A.C. GRAHAM, “The Way and the One in *Ho-kuan-tzu*” (401920; 1993)

Michael LOEWE, “Huang-Lao Thought and the *Huainanzi*: A Review Article” (402100; 1994)

Attilio ANDREINI, “Evoluzione delle teorie individualiste nella Cina classica: L’eredità di Yang Zhu nei testi Huang-Lao e nel *Lüshi chungiu*” (402340; 1997)

Paola CARROZZA, “A Critical Review of the Principal Studies on the Four Manuscripts Preceding the B Version of the Mawangdui *Laozi*” (403270; 2002)

A.C. GRAHAM (1919-1991) was the pre-eminent historian of traditional Chinese thought in the western world in the period after the Second World War; he made particularly notable contributions to the study of the *Mozi* 墨子 and the *Mencius* 孟子, studies that are still considered as required reading for students of the field. Unfortunately, before he died he was able to see only the Mawangdui manuscripts, and was not even able really to digest those manuscripts, not to mention the many more manuscripts that have been discovered over the last thirty years. His only contribution in this field was to make use of the so-called “Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor” to discuss the authenticity and intellectual background of the *Heguanzi* 鶡冠子. His research built on work by several Chinese scholars and also was just in its beginning stages, but its influence has been substantial nonetheless. Aside from the two articles by Graham, the article by Michael LOEWE also deserves attention. Loewe’s main field of interest has always been the Western Han government, but he has also long had considerable interest in

intellectual history more broadly conceived and was of course very much interested in the Mawangdui manuscripts.

Attilio ANDREINI is a professor of Chinese intellectual history at the Università Ca' Foscari in Venice, Italy; he had previously worked with Roger Ames at the University of Hawai'i and, like Ames, he adopts a philosophical perspective in his treatment of unearthed manuscripts. Andreini has published quite a few articles in this field, many of which will be introduced in other sections below.

Among the so-called "Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor," the text *Jing fa* 敬法 is of great interest for what it says about law, and this has attracted the attention of several western scholars, the most important of whom are Karen TURNER and Randall P. PEERENBOOM, both of whom have published series of articles and books. From 1989 until 1993, Turner published four articles in such prestigious journals as *Early China*, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* and *Journal of Chinese Law*, all of them devoted to the Mawangdui manuscript *Jing fa*.

"The Theory of Law in the *Ching-fa*" (401590; 1989)

"Rule of Law in Early China?" (401880; 1992)

"The Law of Nature in Early China" (402030; 1993)

"Rule of Law Ideals in Early China?" (402040; 1993)

In her 1993 *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* article "The Law of Nature in Early China," Turner discussed several texts from the Warring States, Qin and Han periods, including texts having to do with philosophy, history and law, in all cases interrogating the boundary between law and warfare. She held that especially under the condition that the size of armies expanded dramatically over the course of the Warring States period, warfare precipitated the advancement of notions of law. According to Turner, in order to organize the populace to fight, rulers needed to give them a sort of fair government. By the time of the Han dynasty, virtually all thinkers adopted a commonly held view that government needed to treat the people fairly. She also said that the *Jing fa* was not at all written for the average reader, but rather was directed at the ruler, for which reason her final conclusion was: "But in the end, Chinese natural law theories seem more dedicated to defining the responsibilities of officials and rulers than to supporting the inherent right of ordinary people to act as agents in the process of creating, implementing and judging law."¹⁹

¹⁹ Karen TURNER, "The Law of Nature in Early China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53.2 (1993): 324.

In 1990, Randall PEERENBOOM submitted his doctoral dissertation “Law and Morality in Ancient China: The Silk Manuscripts of Huang-Lao” to the University of Hawai‘i. Around this time, he published three different articles: “Confucian Jurisprudence: Beyond Natural Law” (401740) and “Natural Law in the *Huang-Lao Boshu* (401760), both published in 1990, the same year as completing his dissertation; followed by “*Heguanzi* and Huang-Lao Thought” (401840; 1991), published in the journal *Early China*. Then in 1993, he revised this research and published it as the book *Law and Morality in Ancient China: The Silk Manuscripts of Huang-Lao* (402000). It is especially noteworthy that he took inspiration from A.C. Graham in seeing a relationship between the so-called “Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor” and the *Heguanzi* and suggested that already in the pre-Qin period Huang-Lao thought had developed a sort of natural legal theory that was grounded in a “foundational natural philosophy.” In this book, he discussed the thought and background of each chapter of the *Heguanzi*, going far beyond the work that Graham had done.

Zhou Yi 周易

Western scholars have done very little work on the Mawangdui *Zhou Yi* 周易 (Zhou changes) and related texts. However, in 1996, two complete translations were published.

Dominique HERTZER, *Das Mawangdui-Yijing: Text und Deutung* (402260)

Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, *I Ching: The Classic of Changes. The First English Translation of the Newly Discovered Second-Century B.C. Mawangdui Texts* (402310)

Aside from these two translations, there have only been a few specialized articles published, most of them by Asian scholars writing in English or French, such as JAO Tsung-i 饒宗頤, “Note sur les ‘Principes’ du *Yijing* de Mawangdui” (402680; 1999), KONDÔ Hiroyuki 近藤浩之, “The Silk-Manuscript *Chou-i* from Ma-wang-tui and Divination and Prayer Records in Ch’u Bamboo Slips from Pao-shan: A Tentative Study of the Formation of the *Chou-i* as Seen from the Pao-shan Ch’u Bamboo Strips” (403160; 2001), and XING Wen 邢文, “Hexagram Pictures and Early Yi Schools: Reconsidering the *Book of Changes* in Light of Excavated Yi Texts” (403600; 2003). Studies of the *Yi jing* remain underdeveloped in the West.

Zhanguo zongheng jia shu 戰國縱橫家書

In 1989, Yumiko Fukushima BLANFORD submitted a doctoral dissertation entitled “Studies of the ‘Zhanguo Zonghengjia Shu’ Silk Manuscript” (401530) to the University of Washington. Her advisor was William Boltz, and in her work on the *Zhanguo zongheng jia shu* 戰國縱橫家書 (Document of the Warring States experts of vertical and lateral [alliances]) she adopted the same sort of textual criticism that he had used to study the *Laozi*. In the dissertation, Blanford used Boltz’s methodology to give complete translations of chapters 4, 5, 15, 16 and 18-24 of *Zhanguo zongheng jia shu*. Afterwards, she published articles in *Early China* and the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*: “Textual Approach to ‘Zhanguo zonghengjia shu’: Methods of Determining the Proximate Original Word Among Variants” (401790; 1991) and “Discovery of Lost Eloquence: New Insight from the Mawangdui ‘Zhanguo zonghengjia shu’” (402050; 1994). Unfortunately, after publishing these articles, she left the field and no other western scholar has given any attention to the *Zhanguo zongheng jia shu*.

Chunqiu shiyu 春秋事語

Chunqiu shiyu 春秋事語 (Stories of the Spring and Autumn [period]) is not one of the Mawangdui manuscripts that has attracted much attention within China. ZHANG Zhenglang 張政烺 once said that it was “a textbook written by a teacher who had not received a very good education.” Perhaps because of this, it has not received much attention in the West either, being discussed in only two articles, the latter of which addresses only one section of the text.

Yuri PINES, “History as a Guide to the Netherworld: Rethinking the *Chunqiu shiyu*” (403550; 2003)

Eric HENRY, “A Note on Chūn/Chyōu Shr-yw 春秋事語 Item 5” (405320; 2010)

Yuri PINES proposed a reading of *Chunqiu shiyu* rather different from most other readings. He suggested that this text is not primarily a work of political philosophy, but rather should be viewed as a guidebook to the dead as they make their way through the Yellow Springs. Pines noted that although all of the stories in *Chunqiu shiyu* pertain to treachery and political intrigue, the author has no moral viewpoint at all. According to Pines, *Chunqiu shiyu* is very different from other Mawangdui manuscripts; the reason that it was placed in the tomb was to serve a magical purpose, reminding the deceased of the ill effects of these sorts of stories.

Astronomical Prognostications

Not all Mawangdui manuscripts were texts of the sort described above; there were also numerous technical texts and documents. Several of these have to do with astronomy and with astral prognostications, and these have always been of great interest to many western scholars. As early as 1979, both Donald HARPER and KU T'ien-fu had already introduced the text *Tianwen qixiang zazhan* 天文氣象雜占 (Miscellaneous astronomical and meteorological prognostications): “A Summary of the Contents of the Ma-wang-tui Silk-scroll Book ‘Assorted Astronomical and Meteorological Prognostications’” (400830), and “A Summary of the Contents of the Ma-wang-tui Silk-Scroll Book ‘Assorted Astronomical and Meteorological Prognostications’” (400890). Somewhat later, Michael Loewe synthesized various Mawangdui manuscripts to discuss first Han notions of comets and then of clouds and winds, and prognostications based on them: “The Han View of Comets” (401220; 1983), and “Oracles of the Clouds and of the Winds” (401500; 1988). Loewe was particularly interested in the religious significance of these comet and cloud prognostications. Different from this, Christopher CULLEN, former director of the Needham Research Institute at the University of Cambridge, used the same manuscripts to examine Han-dynasty scientific knowledge, in 2011 publishing two different articles: “Understanding the Planets in Ancient China: Prediction and Divination in the *Wu Xing Zhan*” (405610) and “*Wu Xing Zhan* 五星占 ‘Prognostics of the Five Planets’” (405620). In 2013, Daniel MORGAN submitted his doctoral dissertation “Knowing Heaven: Astronomy, the Calendar, and the Sagecraft of Science in Early Imperial China” (406100) to the University of Chicago; the first chapter of this dissertation gives an extremely detailed examination of the Mawangdui manuscript *Tianwen zazhan*, showing the textual sources and social uses of the manuscript.

Medical Texts

The Mawangdui medical texts have also received considerable study. Shortly after the preliminary reports of these texts were published, both AKAHORI Akira 赤堀昭 and Paul U. UNSCHULD published introductions to them: “Medical Manuscripts Found in Han-Tomb No. 3 at Ma-wang-tui” (400810; 1979) and “Die Bedeutung der Ma-wang-tui-Funde für Chinesische Medizin- und Pharmaziegeschichte” (1983). About the same time, Unschuld and YAMADA Keiji 山田慶兒 also used the new information in the Mawangdui medical texts to reconsider old problems in the history of Chinese medicine. In 1979, Yamada published a study concerning the sources of the *Huang di nei jing* 黃帝內經 (Inner classic of the Yellow Emperor) and the process of its formation). “The Formation of the *Huang-ti Nei-ching*” (400930). Three years later Unschuld used these sources to discuss

the early history of Chinese *materia medica*: “Ma-wang-tui *Materia Medica*—A Comparative Analysis of Early Chinese Pharmaceutical Knowledge” (401190; 1982). These were all preliminary contributions; afterwards there would be much more specialized study.

***Wushier bingfang* 五十二病方**

Donald HARPER submitted his doctoral dissertation “The ‘Wu-shih-erh ping fang’: Translation and Prolegomena” (401130) to the University of California at Berkeley in 1982. As the title indicates. The bulk of this dissertation was an annotated English translation of the Mawangdui manuscript *Wushier bingfang* 五十二病方 (Fifty-two Prescriptions). After this time, Harper would continue to be the most prominent scholar studying the Mawangdui and other medical literature, publishing a long series of articles such as:

“The Sexual Arts of Ancient China as Described in a Manuscript of the Second Century B.C.” (401390; 1987)

“The Conception of Illness in Early Chinese Medicine as Documented in Newly Discovered 3rd and 2nd Century B.C. Manuscripts” (401600; 1990)

“Tekhnê in Han Natural Philosophy: Evidence from Ma-wang-tui Medical Manuscripts” (401610; 1990)

“Physicians and Diviners: The Relation of Divination to the Medicine of the *Huangdi neijing* (*Inner Canon of the Yellow Thearch*)” (402620; 1999)

“Iatromancy, Diagnosis, and Prognosis in Early Chinese Medicine” (403100; 2001)

“Iatromancie” (403470; 2003)

“Ancient and Medieval Chinese Recipes for Aphrodisiacs” (403950; 2005)

Harper's research culminated in his 1998 monograph *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* (402530). This book is not only an extraordinary contribution to the study of Chinese medicine, but it is the most important western contribution to any of the Mawangdui manuscripts. As in the case of Harper's doctoral dissertation, this book is also divided into two parts: a preface and translations. The preface is unlike the unusual prefaces found in most books, which simply introduce the contents and nothing more. It is a 200-page long comprehensive history of early Chinese medicine. Not only this, Harper's research purview is extremely broad-ranging, including consideration of the creation and transmission of virtually all early Chinese technical knowledge. In the book, he advances any number of unique viewpoints, especially about the habits shared in common between society's upper and lower classes, the mutual

influence of the hundred schools of thought and the experts in *shushu* 數術 (numbers and techniques) thought, the writing of knowledge, and so on. In addition to this, the core of *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* is, of course, the complete translation of all Mawangdui medical manuscripts. Unlike Harper's doctoral dissertation, which addressed only the one text *Wushier bingfang*, this book includes translations of all the Mawangdui medical manuscripts. Not only this, the annotations to the translations provide an exhaustive accounting of all Chinese, Japanese, American and European contributions to their study. What is more, the book also includes various indices, among which an index to technical terms used in the manuscripts is especially valuable. For many readers this index serves as a dictionary of early Chinese medicine. However, it is also necessary to point out that for various reasons the book has not received the attention that it deserves from the wider scholarly world. Western critics have of course given the book an extremely favorable reception, and Chinese and Japanese experts are also well acquainted with it. However, the book has never been translated into Chinese, and even in the West it is often viewed as nothing more than a narrow specialized study. Perhaps this is because readers have assumed that it is just a technical translation of medicine; or perhaps it is because it was published by England's Wellcome Trust, with an extremely high price, so that it has not received the attention it deserves. We can imagine that if the book's preface had been published on its own, it would have had very great influence on all aspects of pre-Qin and Han cultural history and textual history.

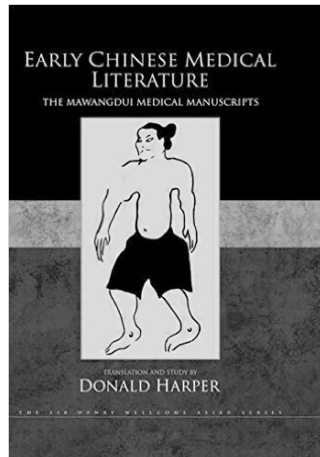


Fig. 32: Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*

***He Yin Yang* 《合陰陽》**

Among the medical texts from Mawangdui, it is those concerning sexual techniques (*fangzhong shu* 房中術), and especially the one text entitled *He Yin Yang* 合陰陽, that have attracted the greatest attention from western scholars. Harper's 1987 *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* article "The Sexual Arts of Ancient China as Described in a Manuscript of the Second Century B.C." attracted great attention to this text. Afterwards, several other scholars also published related studies. Among them, the most important is surely the article "The Content and Terminology of the Mawangdui Texts on the Arts of the Bedchamber" (401850) by LI Ling 李零 and Keith McMAHON, which was published in the 1992 issue of *Early China*. This article was originally written in Chinese by Li Ling, and translated into English by McMahan. However, because a translation such as this was not very consistent with the demands of western scholarly practice, the editor of *Early China* requested that the author and translator re-arrange the contents and style, and also add some other discussion. This revision took more than two years, during which time Li Ling, McMahan and the editor of *Early China* all undertook a great amount of work. The final product still bore the unmistakable stamp of Li Ling's authorship, for instance, his insistence that sexual techniques were essentially a form of bodily cultivation and were not for the purpose of pleasure. However, the final format was quite different from many articles in China on the same topic, with Keith McMahan making contributions far exceeding the work of translation. For this reason, when the piece was finally ready to be published, Li Ling agreed to add McMahan's name as co-author. At just about the same time as Li Ling and McMahan's article was finally being published, Douglas WILE's monograph *Art of the Bedchamber: The Chinese Sexual Yoga Classics, Including Women's Solo Meditation Texts* (401890) was also published by SUNY Press. From the title, it would seem that Wile's viewpoint is more or less similar to that of Li Ling, that the purpose of these sexual techniques was for bodily cultivation, with Wile terming them a sort of "yoga." However, a careful reading of the two works reveals a major difference, with Wile arguing that Chinese sexual techniques aimed at increasing sexual pleasure, especially that of the female partner. Of course, this viewpoint garnered widespread attention.

In 1997, the Swiss scholar Rudolf PFISTER published an article entitled "Sexuelle Körpertechniken in den medizinischen Manuskripten aus Mawangdui" (402410). Over the next ten years, he published a long series of books and articles, some of them in German, others in English. Unlike Donald Harper, who is interested in all aspects of early Chinese cultural and intellectual history, PFISTER's interest is resolutely directed toward a few very technical questions, for which his

articles provide detailed examinations. The titles of these books and articles are all very long, and more or less suggest their contents:

“Some Preliminary Remarks on Notational Systems in Two Medical Manuscripts from Mawangdui” (403370; 2002)

Der Beste Weg Unter dem Himmel: Sexuelle Körpertechniken aus dem Alten China, zwei Bambustexte aus Mawangdui (403540; 2003)

Sexuelle Körpertechniken im alten China: Seimbedürftige Männer im Umgang mit Lebens-spenderinnen: Drei Manuskripte aus Mawangdui: Eine Lektüre (404080; 2005)

“The Jade Spring as a Source of Pleasure and Pain: The Prostatic Experience in Ancient and Medieval Medical and Daoist Texts” (404380; 2006)

“The Production of Special Mental States within the Framework of Sexual Body Techniques—As Seen in the Mawangdui Medical Corpus” (404390; 2006)

“Der Milchbaum und die Physiologie der weiblichen Ejakulation: Bemerkungen über Papiermaulbeer- und Feigenbäume im Süden Altchinas” (404640; 2007)

In the context of Rudolf Pfister’s work, I should also mention the article “Der poetische Körper von Mawangdui: Texte zur Lebenspflege aus dem 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.” (404360) published by Gudula LINCK in 2006.

***Xing De* 刑德 and *Yin Yang Wu Xing* 陰陽五行 Texts**

The Mawangdui manuscripts include two different *Xing de* 刑德 (Punishment and virtue) texts that have attracted considerable attention within China from both scholars of *shushu* techniques and also from historians of religion. I have already mentioned above the book *Five Lost Classics: Tao, Huang-Lao, and Yin-yang in Han China* by Robin YATES, which translated into English the Mawangdui “Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor” and the Yinqueshan Yin Yang texts, and which also included a portion of the Mawangdui *Xing de* texts. In 2005, Yates also published “The History of Military Divination in China” (404230), in which he based himself on these Mawangdui *Xing de* texts to provide an overview of ancient Chinese military prognostications. This article is by no means limited to military history, but is also intimately related to the study of Chinese *shushu* techniques. However, the western scholar who has contributed the most sustained and deepest research to the study of Chinese *shushu* techniques is Marc KALINOWSKI, professor of Chinese religions at the École française d’Extrême-Orient. In the 1998 issue of *Early China*, he published a lengthy article entitled “The *Xingde* 刑德

Texts from Mawangdui” (402560*), in which he discussed the historical background, the contents, and the relationship between the two manuscripts, as well as their significance for early Chinese cultural history. The last portion of this article provides a detailed study of the religious significance of the manuscripts, which also introduced to English-language readers much of Kalinowski's wide-ranging work on early China's *shushu* and religious practices. Many of Kalinowski's articles have also been translated into Chinese, and the Chinese scholarly world is well familiar with his work, so that there is no need here to discuss each and every one of them.

***Daoyin tu* 導引圖, *Yin shu* 引書, *Bi bing tu* 避兵圖, and *Sang fu tu* 喪服圖**

One of the most important types of manuscripts included in the Mawangdui corpus features those with illustrations. At the time that tomb 3 was excavated, there was a generally accepted notion that these sorts of illustrated manuscripts were characteristic only of silk scrolls. Now, after the discovery of many more, and many different types of bamboo strips, we know that illustrations were not at all restricted just to silk supports, but that texts on bamboo and wooden strips could also be supplied with drawings and tables. Nevertheless, it is the case that the illustrated manuscripts from Mawangdui have attracted the most widespread attention and the greatest amount of study. This has been true of western scholarship as well, with several articles exclusively studying different aspects of these illustrations:

Michael LOEWE, “The Han View of Comets” (400990; 1980)

Ute ENGELHARDT, “*Daoyin tu* und *Yinshu*: Neue Erkenntnisse über die Übungen zur Lebenspflege in der frühen Han-Zeit” (403080; 2001)

LAI Guolong, “The Diagram of the Mourning System from Mawangdui” (403500; 2003)

Catherine DESPEUX, “La gymnastique *daoyin* 導引 dans la Chine ancienne” (403700; 2004)

Donald HARPER, “Communication by Design: Two Silk Manuscripts of Diagrams (*tu*) from Mawangdui Tomb Three” (404570; 2007)

Joachim GENTZ, “Ein Augenblick Unsterblichkeit: Das Bildprogramm von Mawangdui-Banner und *Xiuzhen tu*” (404980; 2009)

Most of these articles are introductory discussions. However, the articles “The Diagram of the Mourning System from Mawangdui” by LAI Guolong and “Communication by Design” by Donald HARPER both present important viewpoints concerning ancient reading practices. Lai Guolong first reconstructed the original

appearance of the *Sang fu tu* 喪服圖 (Mourning diagram), filling in various portions that are no longer extant. He then linked this to the mourning system of the Warring States, Qin and Han periods. He believes that the system which this illustration depicts is essentially the same as the mourning system described in the *Yi li* 儀禮 (Ceremonies and rituals), albeit with some differences. Lai's reconstruction of the diagram differs in important respects from that produced by CAO Xuequn 曹學群: "Mawangdui Han mu *Sang fu tu* jianlun" 馬王堆漢墓喪服圖簡論 (A brief discussion of the Mawangdui Han tomb's *Sang fu tu*).²⁰ Cao Xuequn held that this diagram was for the exclusive use of the deceased in the Mawangdui tomb, while Lai Guolong argues that it is a type of popular manuscript that circulated widely. One of the more peculiar aspects of Lai's presentation is his belief that in this illustration the color red represents *yin*, while black represents *yang*, which is diametrically opposed to how these colors are usually understood. Finally, Lai says that many of the symbols of the *Sang fu tu* have cosmological significance, representing different levels of time within the mourning system, and can be said to represent the march of "cosmological time."

Donald Harper also suggested that the *Tianwen qixiang zazhan* 天文氣象雜占, which he translates as "Assorted astrological and meteoromantic divination," presents a system of representational symbols. He said that this manuscript is not merely a realistic depiction of astronomical or meteorological phenomena, but rather should be seen as a type of prognostication system. He divides the scroll into two different texts, which he calls the "Diagrams of Heaven's Patterns" (*Tianwen tu* 天文圖) and "Diagrams of the Images of Mantic Figures" (*Gua xiang tu* 卦象圖), the latter of which is his main concern. He says that this text brings together more than one hundred different images, all of which were used on banners and tokens. For this reason, Harper prefers to call this part of the text "Diagrams of Banner Tokens" (*Fanxin tu* 幡信圖), and says that these constitute the earliest evidence for "talismans" (*fu* 符), which were intended for magico-religious purposes. He concludes, "By the late Warring States it was widely accepted among the elite that the world manifested itself in ways that were convertible to systematic notation. Both the Warring States conception of writing and the cosmological system formed from the lines of the *Zhouyi* trigrams are evidence of this idea."²¹

²⁰ See CAO Xuequn 曹學群, "Mawangdui Han mu *Sang fu tu* jianlun" 馬王堆漢墓喪服圖簡論, *Hunan kaogu jikan* 湖南考古輯刊 6 (1994).

²¹ Donald HARPER, "Communication by Design: Two Silk Manuscripts of Diagrams (*tu*) from Mawangdui Tomb Three," in Francesca BRAY *et al* ed., *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 172.

Maps

The Mawangdui manuscripts also include two different maps, which at the time of their discovery were the earliest maps known in China, for which reason they of course attracted considerable attention. Shortly after the first reports of these maps were published, there appeared several introductory articles:

AKIO Funakoshi 昭生船越, “Some New Lights on the History of Chinese Cartography” (400620; 1975)

Mei-Ling HSU, “The Han Maps and Early Chinese Cartography” (400740; 1978)

CHANG Kuei-sheng, “The Han Maps: New Light on Cartography in Classical China” (400820; 1979)

Rafe de CRESPIGNY, “Two Maps from Mawangdui” (400950; 1980)

More recently, Hsin-mei Agnes HSU and Anne MARTIN-MONTGOMERY have teamed together to publish the study “An Emic Perspective on the Mapmaker’s Art in Western Han China” (404580) in the 2007 issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. They make use of GIS and computer imaging to compare with the Mawangdui maps, so that it is possible to gain a better understanding of the maps’ original appearance and use.

4.3.4 1974: The Jiaqu Houguan 甲渠侯官 Wooden Strips from Juyan 居延, Gansu

Between 1972 and 1974, 19,700 Han-dynasty wooden strips were unearthed from the sites of Jiaqu Houguan 甲渠侯官, Jiaqu sai Tower #4 甲渠塞第四燧, and Jianshui Jinguan 肩水金關 in Juyan 居延, Gansu. Among western scholars, only Michael LOEWE and A.F.P. HULSEWÉ have produced studies of these materials. In 1986, Loewe published an introductory piece: “Han Administrative Documents: Recent Finds from the North-West” (401360). Hulsewé had a more sustained interest in the materials, especially those related to legal topics, publishing several articles over the course of more than a decade.

“A Lawsuit of A.D. 28” (400870; 1979)

“Han China—A Proto “Welfare State”? Fragments of Han Law Discovered in North-West China” (401400; 1987)

“The Long Arm of Justice in Ancient China: A Warrant for the Arrest of a Slave Dated 52 B.C.” (401820; 1991)

The first of these articles concerns the case of KOU En 寇恩, who was accused by the *houguan* 候官 or company commander of Jiaqu of not repaying money that he owed him. The third article addresses a copy of the “Warrant of the Chancellor and Grandee Secretary for the Second Year of the Ganlu Reign Era” (*Ganlu ernian chengxiang yushi lüling* 甘露二年丞相御史律令), a case that took place in the Han heartland in 52 B.C. but was transmitted throughout the empire; this copy was unearthed at Jinguang 金關 pass within the Jianshui 肩水 company. In both cases, Hulsewé provides a full annotated translation. Although he published various articles on these newly discovered Juyan documents, shortly after this time Hulsewé’s attention was diverted to the legal documents unearthed at Shuihudi, Yunmeng, Hubei, which thereafter would become his main research interest.

4.3.5 1975: Qin Tomb 11 at Shuihudi 睡虎地, Yunmeng 雲夢, Hubei

In December of 1975, the Hubei Provincial Museum as well as the local cultural units in the village of Shuihudi 睡虎地, Yunmeng 雲夢 county, Hubei excavated twelve tombs dating from the late Warring States period through the Qin period. Among these, tomb #11 produced a large number of grave goods, the most important of which were 1,155 bamboo strips. The contents of these strips were particularly rich, and included an annals (*Biannian ji* 編年紀), two separate “day-books” (*rishu* 日書), a text entitled *Weili zhi dao* 為吏之道 (The way of being an officer), as well as various legal documents, all of which have been highly esteemed by the western scholarly world. It goes without saying that A.F.P. HULSEWÉ has made the most outstanding contribution to the study of these legal materials, and so will be introduced first here.

Qin lü shiba zhong 秦律十八種, *Xiao lü* 效律, *Qin lü zachao* 秦律雜抄, *Falü dawen* 法律答問, and *Fengzhen shi* 封診式

As soon as the Shuihudi preliminary report was published, Hulsewé immediately published a very lengthy overview of the documents: “The Ch’in Documents Discovered in Hupei in 1975” (400760; 1978). Over the next several years, he published five more articles one after the other; some of these were also introductory in nature, while some of them addressed a single topic.

“The Recently Discovered Ch’in Laws: A Brief Report” (400880; 1979)

“The Legalists and the Laws of Ch’in” (401030; 1981)

“Supplementary Note on *li ch’en ch’ieh* 隸臣妾” (401040; 1981)

“Weights and Measures in Ch’in Law” (401050; 1981)

“The Influence of the ‘Legalist’ Government of Qin on the Economy as Reflected in the Texts Discovered in Yunmeng County” (401290; 1985)

However, Hulsewé's most in-depth, most systematic research on the Shuihudi legal texts came in his 1985 monograph *Remnants of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the Ch'in Legal and Administrative Rules of the 3rd century B.C. Discovered in Yün-meng Prefecture, Hu-pei Province, in 1975* (401300). This book, which followed upon his 1955 study *Remnants of Han Law*,²² not only provided complete translations of the *Qin lü shiba zhong* 秦律十八種 (Eighteen types of Qin statutes), *Xiao lü* 效律 (Statute on checking), *Qin lü zachao* 秦律雜抄 (Miscellaneous copies of Qin statutes), and *Falü dawen* 法律答問 (Questions and answers regarding law) texts, but he also provided a preface and various appendices and an index (the first appendix provided a complete translation of the “Statute on Agriculture [*Nong lü* 農律] discovered at Qingchuan 青川, Sichuan), explaining the importance of the Shuihudi documents. This book has enticed quite a few western scholars to enter the field of legal history. Although some of these have raised certain criticisms of Hulsewé's work, everyone recognizes that his work is the foundation upon which all subsequent scholars have built. Indeed, after publishing this book, Hulsewé himself pointed out various elaborations and corrections. In the 1990s, he prepared his final published paper, “Qin and Han Legal Manuscripts” (402380*; 1997), which was published in the book *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Study of Inscriptions and Manuscripts* (100970*) edited by Edward SHAUGHNESSY. Unfortunately, Hulsewé passed away before this book could be published. Fortunately, the book has now been translated into Chinese, so that Chinese readers can sample for themselves Hulsewé's scholarly spirit.

22 A.F.P. HULSEWÉ, *Remnants of Han Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1955).

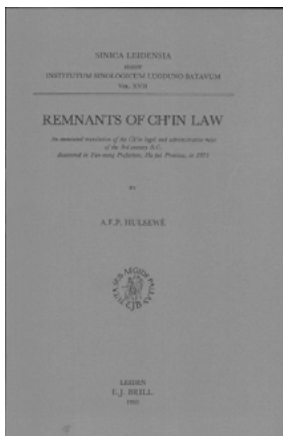


Fig. 33: A.F.P. Hulswé: *Remnants of Ch'in Law*

After Hulswé published *Remnants of Ch'in Law*, Robin YATES published a lengthy review article, providing a detailed discussion of the translation, as well as various corrections: “Some Notes on Ch'in Law: A Review Article of *Remnants of Ch'in Law* by A.F.P. Hulswé” (401330; 1985). Even before *Remnants of Ch'in Law* had been published, Yates and Katrina C.D. McLEOD had published in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* an English translation of the *Feng zhen shi* 封診式 (Models for sealing investigations) text: “Forms of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the *Feng-chen shih*” (401090; 1981). In 1987, writing again in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Yates discussed the rights of commoners in the Qin empire: “Social Status in the Ch'in: Evidence from the Yün-meng Legal Documents. Part One: Commoners” (401460). This article was also based primarily on the Shuihudi documents. It was his plan at the time that this article was to be the first installment of a comprehensive political history of the Qin empire. This plan was never realized in full, but his 1995 article “State Control of Bureaucrats under the Qin: Techniques and Procedures” (402210) should be viewed as the second installment. I will introduce this work in the discussion of the text *Wei li zhi dao* below.

An article similar in scope to Yates's 1987 article “Social Status in the Ch'in: Evidence from the Yün-meng Legal Documents. Part One: Commoners” is YAU Shun-chiu 游順釗's “The Political Implications of Minority Policy in Qin Law” (405960), published in the 2012 issue of *Early China*. Yau's early work was on linguistic issues in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, and this was the first time he had turned his attention to bamboo-and-silk studies.

In 1982, Derk BODDE (1909-2003) published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* an article entitled “Forensic Medicine in Pre-Imperial China” (401110), which was a translation of four cases in the *Feng zhen shi* dealing with medicine: “Death by Murder” (*Zei si* 賊死), “Death by Hanging” (*Jing si* 經死), “Miscarriage” (*Chu zi* 出子), and “Leprosy” (*Li* 癘). Bodde also appended a discussion of the history of leprosy in China. Based on his research, leprosy originated in India, and was transmitted to the Mediterranean area toward the end of the fourth century B.C. by Alexander the Great’s returning Macedonian army. It is likely that it was also at this time that it was transmitted eastwards toward China. I should note here that Derk Bodde was one of the twentieth century’s great scholars of Chinese intellectual history, very much on a par with A.C. Graham, who was mentioned above. As early as the 1930s, when he was living in Beijing, he became acquainted with FENG Youlan 馮友蘭 (FUNG Yu-lan; 1895-1990) and subsequently translated Feng’s *Zhongguo zhexue shi* 中國哲學史 (History of Chinese philosophy) into English. This translation had an enormous influence on western Sinology. In fact, many people say that Bodde’s translation was more important than Feng’s original book; in any event, it was certainly harder to do. Feng liberally quoted from hundreds of original works, without necessarily providing any indication as to how these passages were to be understood. Regardless of how Feng Youlan may have understood the passages, it is likely that many readers could not understand the classical Chinese of the original. Bodde, translating the entire work into English, could not avoid this difficulty, and had to translate the entire work, including each and every quotation as well as Feng’s interpretation. Bodde taught throughout his career at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1991, he published his final scholarly work, a book entitled *Chinese Thought, Society, and Science: The Intellectual and Social Background of Science and Technology in Pre-Modern China*.²³ Unfortunately, aside from the 1982 article on the *Feng zhen shi*, he was not able to comment on any of the great archaeological discoveries of the last decades of the twentieth century.

Aside from the translations and research done by Hulsewé, Yates and Bodde, other western scholars have also produced studies on the Shuihudi legal texts:

W.J.F. JENNER, “The Ch’in Legal Texts from Yunmeng: A First Reading” (400710; 1977)

Bernard Paul SYPNIEWSKI, “The Use of Variables in the *Remnants of Qin Law*” (403820; 2004)

²³ Derk BODDE, *Chinese Thought, Society, and Science: The Intellectual and Social Background of Science and Technology in Pre-Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1991).

Miranda BROWN and Charles SANFT, “Categories and Legal Reasoning in Early Imperial China: The Meaning of *Fa* in Recovered Texts” (405540; 2011)

Ernest CALDWELL, “Social Change and Written Law in Early Chinese Legal Thought” (406210; 2014)

Perry Ernest CALDWELL IV, “Writing Chinese Laws: The Form and Function of Statutes in Qin Legal Culture” (406220; 2014)

Among these studies, Ernest CALDWELL’s “Writing Chinese Laws: The Form and Function of Statutes in Qin Legal Culture” merits special consideration. This is his doctoral dissertation, which was submitted to the University of Chicago in 2014. Caldwell was originally trained in Chinese paleography, and in this same year also published a study in the journal *Early China* on the Shanghai Museum manuscript *Cao Mie zhi zhen* 曹蔑之陳 (Cao Mie’s formations) (406200), which will be introduced below in the section on those manuscripts. During the time that he was in graduate school, he also completed a degree in law, and is now teaching Chinese law at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London. In his doctoral dissertation, Caldwell used theories in legal history to demonstrate how Shuihudi statutes, and particularly the “Statute on Checking” (*Xiao lü* 效律) were written, together with a full discussion of why they were written in this way. It is extremely interesting.

Daybooks (*Ri shu* 日書)

While the Shuihudi legal texts have no doubt garnered the widest attention from the scholarly world, they do not represent the greatest number of strips in that corpus. The largest number of strips belongs to the category of “daybooks” (*ri shu* 日書), of which there are two complete manuscripts, which are usually referred to simply as “Daybook A” and “Daybook B.” As of 1975, this was the first time this sort of text had been seen (or at least the first time it had been recognized as an integral text). However, after this time many tombs from the Warring States, Qin and Han periods have also produced similar texts, and now the Daybook category is reasonably well understood, an understanding that is due to the work of a number of scholars. Among western scholars, Marc KALINOWSKI, Michael LOEWE, and Donald HARPER have done the most work on these texts. Loewe published the first study, but it was just a preliminary introduction. Kalinowski has published two lengthy studies documenting the notion of time within the Daybooks. Harper has also written two studies, which essentially present translations of portions of the Daybooks, together with very detailed annotations. Aside from these three scholars, the Japanese scholar KUDŌ Motoo 佐藤武敏 has published an ar-

title in English discussing the relationship between the Daybooks and Qin Legalism, and more recently Daniel SOU has also published a specialized study. These studies are as follows, arranged chronologically.

- Donald HARPER, “A Chinese Demonology of the Third Century B.C.” (401280, 1985)
 Marc KALINOWSKI, “Les traités de Shuihudi et l’hémérologie chinoise à la fin des Royaumes-Combattants” (401350; 1986)
 Michael LOEWE, “The Almanacs (jih-shu) from Shui-hu-ti: A Preliminary Survey” (401490; 1988)
 KUDÔ Motoo 佐藤武敏, “The Ch’in Bamboo Strip *Book of Divination (Jih-shu)* and Ch’in Legalism” (401670; 1990)
 Donald HARPER, “Spellbinding” (402240; 1996)
 Marc KALINOWSKI, “Les livres des jours (*ri shu*) des Qin et des Han: La logique éditoriale du recueil A de Shuihudi (217 avant notre ère)” (404780; 2008)
 Daniel SOU, “Living with Ghosts and Deities in the Qin 秦 State: Methods of Exorcism from Jie 詰 in the Shuihudi 睡虎地 Manuscript” (406510; 2015)

Harper’s “A Chinese Demonology of the Third Century B.C.,” published in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, addressed the “Spellbinding” (*Jie* 詰) section of Shuihudi Daybook A. Although this section is very short, only 37 characters long, Harper was able to connect it with a whole range of texts stretching from Warring States stories about ghosts to Six Dynasties Daoist texts. He makes abundant use of the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 and of the *Baize tu* 白澤圖 (White marsh diagram) diagrams to explain the purpose of the Daybooks. This is an excellent example of how Harper studies excavated texts from the perspective of religion. In 2013, Daniel Sou submitted to the University of Pennsylvania a doctoral dissertation entitled “In the Government’s Service: A Study of the Role and Practice of Early China’s Officials Based on Excavated Manuscripts” (406130); it provides a comprehensive overview of the political thought in the Shuihudi documents. In 2015, he also published the more specialized article focused on the Shuihudi Daybooks that is listed above: “Living with Ghosts and Deities in the Qin 秦 State: Methods of Exorcism from Jie 詰 in the Shuihudi 睡虎地 Manuscript.” Like the two studies by Donald Harper, this one too addresses the section “Spellbinding”; also like Harper’s studies, Sou also considers the broader religious significance of this text.

There are two other studies that make use of material in the Daybooks to study other issues:

- Roel STERCKX, “An Ancient Chinese Horse Ritual” (402320; 1996)

Joachim GENTZ, “Zur Deutung früher Grabbefunde: Das *Renzi pian* aus Shuihudi” (404350; 2006)

Roel STERCKX is originally from Belgium. In 1997, he received his Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge, studying with Mark Edward LEWIS, who was then teaching at Cambridge. His doctoral dissertation was a comprehensive study of the conception of animals in early China. After completing his degree, he first taught for several years in the United States, and then in 2002 returned to Cambridge, where he is now Joseph Needham Professor of Chinese History, Science and Civilization. “An Ancient Chinese Horse Ritual,” which was published in *Early China*, combined his interest in animals with Lewis’s anthropological approach to ritual to examine a type of ritual activity that has been rather overlooked by Chinese scholarship. Joachim GENTZ is originally from Germany, and is now the professor of early Chinese intellectual history at the University of Edinburgh, interested primarily in the Warring States masters. The article noted above relates the *Renzi pian* 任子篇 of the Shuihudi manuscripts to wider religious customs of the time; it too is of interest for its anthropological approach.

The most recent contribution to the study of the Daybooks comes in the form of a doctoral dissertation by Ethan HARKNESS, which was completed in 2011 at the University of Chicago: “Cosmology and the Quotidian: Day Books in Early China” (405660), which constitutes a comprehensive examination of all Daybooks unearthed from Warring States, Qin and Han tombs. Harkness was a student of Donald Harper, whose influence can be seen in the dissertation.

***Biannian ji* 編年記**

Among the Shuihudi documents, another particularly important historical text is the *Biannian ji* 編年記 (Annalistic record), which consists of records for every year between the first year of King Zhao of Qin 秦昭王 (r. 305-251 B.C.) until the thirtieth year of the “Present” king (i.e., Qin Shi Huang; r. 246-210 B.C.; i.e., 217 B.C.). Most of these records, and especially those for the reign of King Zhao, are concerned with events in the history of the state of Qin (and especially with military events); however, there are also occasional records of a more private nature. Because of these private records, we know that the person interred in this tomb was named Xi 喜, that he was born in the 34th year of King Zhao (262 B.C.) and he died in the 30th year of Qin Shi Huang (217 B.C.), tremendously important information with which to understand the Shuihudi tomb and its contents. Western scholars have not paid sufficient attention to this text, with only Achim MITTAG and Edward SHAUGHNESSY having discussed its form and historiographical significance. Mittag published two separate articles in 2003, one in German and one in

English: “Historische Aufzeichnungen als Grabbeigabe—Das Beispiel der *Qin-Bambusannalen*” (403520) and “The *Qin Bamboo Annals* of Shuihudi: A Random Note from the Perspective of Chinese Historiography” (403530). He argues that the records that the *Biannian ji* contains should have come from a “Military Record” (*jun zhi* 軍志) that was promulgated by the Qin court and circulated throughout the realm. On the basis of the form of the *Biannian ji*, he also proposes a bold idea concerning the development of annals in general. He suggests that the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn annals) may well have been abridged from the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (Zuo tradition), which is to say that the *Zuo zhuan* preceded the *Chunqiu*. In 2015, Shaughnessy published an article entitled “The Qin *Bian Nian Ji* 編年記 and the Beginnings of Historical Writing in China” (406490*), in which he argues that the annalistic genre was quite widespread in pre-Qin China, with not just the *Chunqiu* and the *Biannian ji*, but with virtually all states having their own annals. He further suggests that the earliest annals may have existed already during the Western Zhou period.

Neither in China nor in the West has the Shuihudi *Biannian ji* provoked very much specialized research. However, there is one article that deserves to be introduced in more detail. This is B.J. MANSVELT BECK's “The First Emperor's Taboo Character and the Three Day Reign of King Xiaowen: Two Moot Points Raised by the Qin Chronicle Unearthed in Shuihudi in 1975” (401430), published in 1987 in *T'oung Pao*. Mansvelt Beck was then teaching at Leiden University in the Netherlands, having succeeded A.F.P. Hulswé, also with a specialization on Qin and Han history. In this article, he discussed a record at the bottom of strip #3 of the *Biannian ji*: “56th year, the latter ninth month, Zhao died. In the first month Su was born” (*wushiliu nian hou jiuyue Zhao si, zhengyue Su chan* 五十六年後九月昭死正月遯產), and suggested that it has two points of very great historiographical interest. First, as is well known, the *Biannian ji* was finished and buried while Qin Shi Huang was still alive. We also know that Qin Shi Huang's personal name was Zheng 政, so that it is commonly assumed that this character, as well as other characters that include *zheng* 正 were all tabooed, and replaced by the word *duan* 端. However, from the use of *zhengyue* 正月 in this record, as well as in several other Shuihudi texts, we can see that there was certainly no universal prohibition against the use of these characters. Mansvelt Beck also showed in traditional literature that the Qin custom was not to taboo characters until after the death of the individual ruler. For this reason, the use of the term *duanyue* 端月 for “first month” should not have begun until Ershu Huangdi 二世皇帝 succeeded his father. Beck's second point is even more important. Following this record on the bottom of strip #3, the bottom of strip #4 carries the record “Filial King Wen first year was established and immediately died” (*Xiao Wen Wang yuannian li ji si* 孝

文王元年立即死). Since the *Biannian ji* referred to the deaths of kings with the ordinary word *si* 死, and did not use such specialized words as *beng* 崩 or *hong* 薨 or *zhong* 終, the first record on strip #3 that “Zhao died” (Zhao *si* 昭死) could only refer to King Zhao’s death in 251 B.C. According to the *Biannianji*, in the year following this year his son Filial King Wen succeeded his father. The “Qin *benji*” 秦本紀 (Qin Annals) chapter of the *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the historian) contains the following record concerning Filial King Wen’s succession, suggesting that he was in power only three days:

五十六年秋，昭襄王卒，子孝文王立。尊唐八子為唐太后，而合其葬於先王。韓王衰經入弔祠，諸侯皆使其將相來弔祠，視喪事。孝文王元年，赦罪人，修先王功臣，褒厚親戚，弛苑囿。孝文王除喪，十月己亥即位，三日辛丑卒，子莊襄王立。

In the autumn of the 56th year, King Zhaoxiang (i.e., King Zhao) died, and his son Filial King Wen was established. Esteemed Tang bazi was the queen mother, and was buried together with the former king. The king of Han led the mourners at the Shrine of Sympathy, the many lords all sending their generals and advisers to come to the Shrine of Sympathy to view the funeral affairs. In the first year of Filial King Wen, he pardoned the guilty, cultivated the past king’s meritorious ministers, richly commended the relatives, and enlarged the gardens. Filial King Wen excluded the funeral, and in the tenth month on *jihai* assumed position. On the third day *xinchou* he died, and his son King Zhuangxiang was established.

According to most understandings, Qin employed a civil calendar that began the year in the *hai* 亥 month, which was the tenth month of the agricultural calendar. If we understand this passage on the basis of this understanding, King Zhao’s death in the “latter ninth month” (*hou jiuyue* 後九月) should refer to an intercalary month after the ninth month, which would also be the last month of the civil year. Then, according to the “Qin *benji*,” King Wen “in the tenth month on *jihai* assumed position. On the third day *xinchou* he died.” It would seem that this “tenth month” should refer to the first month of the following year. In this way, King Zhao of Qin would have died at the very end of his fifty-sixth year of reign, and the following “tenth month” would refer to the beginning of King Wen’s first year, meaning that King Wen “assumed power” and died less than two full months after King Zhao died. However, as Mansvelt Beck argues, this sort of calendar is inconsistent with the historical events said to have taken place. First, he adduces considerable evidence to show that during King Zhao’s reign Qin had not yet begun using a civil calendar beginning the year with the *hai* month, which was only established after Qin Shi huang had united the other states. The “Qin Shi huang *benji*” 秦始皇本紀 chapter of the *Shi ji* for the 26th year of Qin Shi huang, which corresponds to 221 B.C., has the following clear record:

始皇推終始五德之傳，以為周得火德，秦代周德，從所不勝。方今水德之始，改年始，朝賀皆自十月朔。

Shi Huang advanced the succession of the cycle of the five virtues, understanding that since Zhou had the virtue of fire and since Qin had replaced Zhou's virtue, it should follow that which is not conquered. Since this was the beginning of Water's virtue, he **changed the beginning of the year, with the court blessings starting from the beginning of the tenth month.**

Second, King Zhao's 56th year corresponds to 251 B.C., and the "latter ninth month" would correspond with the lunation from October 17 until November 15 of 251 B.C. According to traditional theories, the next lunation would be the first month of the following year, and thus the first year of the following year. However, based on Mansvelt Beck's analysis, this month did not include either of the days *jihai* or *xinchou*. Thus, Qin at this time could only have been employing a civil year starting the year with the normal *yin* month, which is to say from the first month through the twelfth month of the agricultural calendar. In this way, the "tenth month of the following year would correspond with the lunation from November 8 through December 8 of 250 B.C., a period that does include both days *jihai* and *xinchou*, on November 8 and 10.

His third reason is even more important. According to the "Qin benji," after King Zhao died, there was a whole series of funerary rituals:

尊唐八子為唐太后，而合其葬於先王。韓王衰經入弔祠，諸侯皆使其將相來弔祠，視喪事。

The concubine Tang was (posthumously) honored with the title Queen-dowager Tang, and was (re-)buried together with the former king (i.e., King Zhao). The King of Han led the mourners to enter the mourning shrine, and all of the lords sent their generals and chancellors to come to the mourning shrine to observe the funeral activities.

These activities not only include a reburial of the already deceased queen-dowager, but also the King of Han leading mourners from all of the other states to conduct ceremonies in the mourning shrine. If the "latter ninth month" of King Zhao was the last month of his 56th year, there would have been no time for all of these events to take place before the end of that year. However, if after this "latter ninth month" there were another three months of the civil year, these funeral activities could have taken place in that year. King Wen would have "succeeded" (*li* 立) in the first month of the following year, but he would not yet have officially "assumed place" (*ji wei* 即位). According to Mansvelt Beck's thesis, King Wen ought not to have officially assumed power before he had completed the mourning rituals for his father. However, because his father had been in power for fifty-six years, King Wen himself was already quite old by this time, and perhaps by the "tenth month" of the following year was sick. If he did not officially "assume place," he would not be placed into the ancestral temple. For this reason, although

he had not completed the requisite three years of mourning, he could only accelerate his “assuming place.” Three days after doing so, he passed away. The death of King Wen would have occurred almost a full year after the death of his father King Zhao, not just “three days” later. If Mansvelt Beck’s argument is not mistaken, the Shuihudi *Biannian ji* provides extremely important information concerning the ancient ritual of China’s succession practices.

***Wei li zhi dao* 為吏之道 and *Nan jun Teng zhi shu* 南郡騰之書**

The Shuihudi Qin bamboo strips also include two documents that describe Qin officials’ activities and responsibilities: *Wei li zhi dao* 為吏之道 (The way of being an official) and *Nan jun Teng zhi shu* 南郡騰之書 (Letter from Teng of South commandery). I have already mentioned above that Robin YATES had planned to produce a comprehensive study of the Qin government structure, publishing the first installment of this in 1987 with his “Social Status in the Ch’in: Evidence from the Yün-meng Legal Documents. Part One: Commoners” (401460). In the 1995 issue of *Early China*, he published the second installment: “State Control of Bureaucrats under the Qin: Techniques and Procedures” (402210). On the basis of the *Nan jun Teng zhi shu*, this article discussed such questions about Qin officials as regulations concerning appointments, age and other qualifications, length of appointment, guarantees of service, reports, methods of inspection, pay, etc. Based on the information then available, this article constituted a very probing study of these topics, and also provided a partial translation of the *Nan jun Teng zhi shu*. Yates’s comprehensive study has still not been completed, but the book that he edited in 2014 together with Yuri PINES, Lothar von FALKENHAUSEN and Gideon SHELACH, *Birth of an Empire: The State of Qin Revisited* (406280), does provide extensive analysis of these topics.

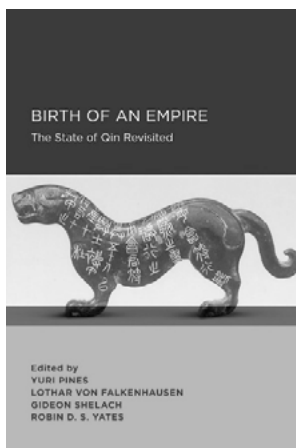


Fig. 34: Yuri PINES, Lothar von FALKENHAUSEN, Gideon SHELACH and Robin D.S. YATES ed., *Birth of an Empire: The State of Qin Revisited*

Above, I have already mentioned Daniel SOU's 2013 University of Pennsylvania doctoral dissertation "In the Government's Service: A Study of the Role and Practice of Early China's Officials Based on Excavated Manuscripts" (406130). In the same year, he also published a lengthy study entitled "Shaping Qin Local Officials: Exploring the System of Values and Responsibilities Presented in the Excavated Qin Tomb Bamboo Strips" (406140) in *Monumenta Serica*. To some extent, these two studies constitute a realization of Yates's original plan.

4.3.6 1977: Shuanggudui 雙古堆, Fuyang 阜陽, Anhui

Shuanggudui 雙古堆 tombs 1 and 2, excavated in 1977 in Fuyang 阜陽, Anhui, constituted the second great discovery of Han dynasty tombs after the excavation of the Mawangdui tombs earlier in the decade. The tombs were originally furnished with such important texts as the *Zhou Yi* 周易 (Zhou changes), *Shi jing* (Classic of poetry), *Cang jie pian* 倉頡篇, annals (*nianbiao* 年表), *Zhuangzi* 莊子, as well as an extremely important diviner's board (*shi pan* 式盤). Unfortunately, shortly after the tombs had been closed they were robbed, and artifacts in them were severely damaged; for instance, when the tombs were excavated, almost all of the bamboo strips were already broken into small pieces, making it very difficult for the excavators to reconstitute them. Even the fragments of the *Zhou Yi*,

which were the best preserved of all the strips, took twenty years for them to publish, while other texts have still not been published. It is not surprising that the texts from this discovery have not attracted the attention they deserve from western scholars. Despite this, all of these texts have generated at least one or two studies, while the diviner's board has been the focus of fairly considerable discussion. Below I will introduce these by topic.

Zhou Yi 周易

The *Zhou Yi* is the text best preserved among the Fuyang strips, with 752 fragments in all. Although there is not a single complete strip among these fragments, the editors were able to reconstruct much of their original appearance. Each hexagram of the *Zhou Yi* began at the head of a new strip with the hexagram picture and the hexagram name, followed thereafter by the hexagram statement and the line statements. However, unlike the received text of the *Zhou Yi*, after each hexagram and line statement, there come one or more prognostications, such as “divining: a son will be born but he will not be filial” (*bu zi chan bu xiao* 卜子產不孝), “divining: there will be a guilty one, ominous” (*bu you zuizhe xiong* 卜有罪者兇), “divining: if the sick one does not die then he will heal” (*bu bingzhe bu si nai chong* 卜病者不死乃瘳), etc. These prognostications are particularly revealing for the understanding of the *Zhou Yi*, and especially of its early composition. In Edward SHAUGHNESSY's 1983 Stanford University doctoral dissertation “The Composition of the *Zhouyi*,” he had already noted the importance of the Fuyang *Zhou Yi*,²⁴ and afterwards continued to pay attention to it and related texts. The *Zhou Yi* manuscript was finally formally published in 2000, and in the very next year he published a study introducing the text to western readers: “The Fuyang *Zhou Yi* and the Making of a Divination Manual” (403200). Later, in his 2014 book *Unearthing the Changes: Recently Discovered Manuscripts of the Yijing (I Ching) and Related Texts* (406340), he devoted two chapters to this manuscript, the first detailing the process of its excavation as well as the significance of the contents for the development of the *Zhou Yi*, and the other chapter providing a complete English translation of the *Zhou Yi* fragments (excluding divination phrases that could not be attached to a particular hexagram or line statement). This book of Shaughnessy's also introduced the Shanghai Museum manuscript of the *Zhou Yi* as well as the Wangjiatai 王家台 Qin-strip *Gui cang* 歸藏, both of which will be introduced below in their respective places.

²⁴ Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, “The Composition of the *Zhouyi*” (Ph.D. diss.: Stanford University, 1983).

***Shi jing* 詩經**

Although the Fuyang *Shi jing* is very fragmentary, its original appearance can also be reconstituted, at least more or less. Based on the reconstruction of its editors, this text of the *Shi jing* included a single verse of each poem on a single strip, with the characters written in different sizes so as to fit on the strip. Unfortunately, since each verse thus constituted a single strip, none of which was complete and, moreover, all of which were in a jumble, there was no way to reconstruct the original sequence of the poems. Nevertheless, based on the calligraphy, the editors argued that this manuscript represents neither the *Mao Shi* 毛詩, nor any of the other three Han dynasty-texts (*sanjia Shi* 三家詩), but rather represents yet another text of the poetry. Among western scholars, only Martin KERN has touched on this manuscript, in his 2005 study “The *Odes* in Excavated Manuscripts” (404000*), but the main topic of this study is the Shanghai Museum manuscript *Kongzi Shi lun* 孔子詩論 (Confucius’s discussion of the Poetry), and not the Fuyang text.

***Cang Jie pian* 倉頡篇**

According to Han-dynasty records, the *Cang Jie pian* was created by the Qin-dynasty Chancellor LI Si 李斯 (280-208 B.C.) as a textbook and sort of dictionary for the use of Qin officials. Although this Fuyang manuscript is also extremely fragmentary, it still attracted considerable attention. Among western scholars, the only study exclusively devoted to it is by Roger GREATREX: “An Early Western Han Synonymicon: The Fuyang Copy of *Cang Jie pian*” (402070; 2007).

***Annals (Nianbiao)* 年表**

According to a report by the editor HU Pingsheng 胡平生, the Fuyang strips include two different types of annals, one organized on a year-by-year basis, and one grouping events together according to different states, as do the annalistic tables in the *Shi ji*. In 1988, Hu presented a paper entitled “Guanyu Fuyang faxian de Han jian *Jinian* de zhujie” 關於阜陽發現的漢簡《紀年》的注解 (Notes on the Han strip *Annals* discovered at Fuyang) to the 1988 meeting of the Chinese Paleography Association. In the following year, an English translation, by Deborah PORTER, of this paper was published in the journal *Early China*: “Some Notes on the Organization of the Han Dynasty Bamboo ‘Annals’ Found at Fuyang” (401580; 1989). As far as I know, the original paper has never been formally published, so that the English translation of Hu Pingsheng’s paper is the most authoritative study of the Fuyang *Annals*.

Diviner's Board (*Shi pan* 式盤)

Aside from the textual materials, Tomb 1 at Fuyang also contained what is referred to as a “Liu Ren Diviner's Board” (*Liu Ren shi pan* 六壬式盤), a cosmological model that was used by diviners. This board has attracted widespread interest among western scholars. Soon after the initial reports were published, Donald HARPER immediately published a study in the 1978 issue of the journal *Early China* introducing the historical background and significance of the diviner's board: “The Han Cosmic Board (*Shih* 式)” (400730). In his discussion, Harper made use of a 1939 study by Henri MASPERO: “Les Instruments Astronomiques des Chinois au Temps des Han” (400230). Two years later, *Early China* also published a response to this piece, written by Christopher CULLEN, with pointed criticisms of Harper's discussion and some of his terminology: “Some Further Points on the *Shih*” (400940; 1980). The same issue of *Early China* also carried Harper's response: “The Han Cosmic Board: A Response to Christopher Cullen” (400960), responding in kind to Cullen's criticism. The next year's *Early China* carried yet another sur-rejoinder, this time by Cullen: “The Han Cosmic Model: A Rejoinder to Donald Harper” (401010; 1981). The two scholars' differences are grounded in their different approaches to ancient Chinese cultural history; Harper begins from a textual background, and is primarily interested in intellectual and religious history; Cullen comes out of a scientific background, and is interested in astronomy and mathematics. Of course, their interests are not as simple as this, Harper also having a sustained interest in the history of science, and especially medicine, while Cullen has also worked on the classical masters and especially Han-dynasty intellectual history. However, the differences between them are that Harper viewed the diviner's board as being of only symbolic significance, while Cullen argued that it was a type of real model of the universe. The two men both presented reasonable evidence. This type of heated debate did have some good consequences. The debate attracted great attention to Han-dynasty material culture.

Marc KALINOWSKI did not participate in this debate, but in 1983 he published a lengthy article discussing the diviner's board and the “Six Ren” type of divination: “Les instruments astro-calendériques des Han et la méthode *liujen*” (401210). Later, this article was incorporated in his monumental study *Cosmologie et divination dans la Chine ancienne. Le Compendium des cinq agents* (Wuxing dayi, *VIe siècle*), which focused on divination practice in medieval China.²⁵ Thirty years later, he returned to this topic in an English-language article: “The Notion of ‘Shi 式’ and Some Related Terms in Qin-Han Calendrical Astrology” (405890;

25 Marc KALINOWSKI, *Cosmologie et divination dans la Chine ancienne. Le Compendium des cinq agents* (Wuxing dayi, *VIe siècle*) (Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1991).

2012), which was published in *Early China*. Kalinowski's viewpoint is rather similar to that of Donald Harper, but ought not to be viewed as contradictory to that of Christopher Cullen.

4.3.7 1983 Zhangjiashan 張家山, Jiangling 江陵, Hubei

In 1983, archaeologists unearthed a great number of Han-dynasty bamboo strips from tomb 247 at Zhangjiashan 張家山, Jiangling 江陵, Hubei. These included a great many texts having to do with law. This was the second great discovery of texts dealing with ancient Chinese law, following after the 1975 discovery of Qin documents at Shuihudi, also in Hubei. Apart from texts related to law, the Zhangjiashan strips also included a number of mathematical texts, the first time in the history of Chinese archaeology that such texts had been found. This attracted widespread attention. The bamboo strips were formally published in 2001 as *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian (247 hao mu)* 張家山漢墓竹簡「二四七號墓」(The Zhangjiashan Han tomb bamboo strips [Tomb 247]).

Han Legal Documents

In 2001, when Michael LOEWE was about to turn eighty years old, his students and friends published a collection of essays to celebrate his birthday. Just at this time, the Zhangjiashan strips were published, so that several friends took the opportunity to introduce them. Those writing essays were all Asian scholars: LI Xueqin 李學勤 and XING Wen 邢文 jointly authoring “New Light on the Early-Han Code: A Reappraisal of the Zhangjiashan Bamboo-slip Legal Texts” (403170) and the Japanese scholar ÔBA Osamu 大庭脩 (1927-2002) writing “The Ordinances on Fords and Passes Excavated from Han Tomb Number 247, Zhangjiashan” (403190). Ôba's article was jointly translated by several other scholars: David SPAFFORD, a professor of Japanese history, undertook the major part of the translation, with Robin YATES, Enno GIELE and Michael NYLAN also contributing. Ôba Osamu was the foremost Japanese expert on Han-dynasty China, and was also a close friend of Michael Loewe. This article of his addressed only the single Zhangjiashan ordinance on fords and passes (*jin guan ling* 津關令), but the significance of it was not about the extent of the research so much as an expression of these two scholars' friendship. Moreover, that scholars such as Yates, Giele and Nylan would participate in the translation work is also an expression of their respect for Michael Loewe.

Michael Nylan subsequently used the Zhangjiashan strips in an article entitled “Notes on a Case of Illicit Sex from Zhangjiashan: A Translation and Commentary” (404070; 2005), which translated the case of the wife He Jian (*Furen He Jian* 夫人和奸), and also included a discussion of the rights of women during the Han dynasty. Loewe himself has also published a study of the Zhangjiashan strips: “The Laws of 186 BCE” (405360; 2010). This study was published in the book *China’s Early Empires: A Re-appraisal* (405400) that he co-edited with Michael Nylan. This book is a sequel to the *Cambridge History of China: The Ch’in and Han Empires* that Loewe had co-edited with Denis TWITCHETT (1925-2006) in 1986, and was intended to introduce the many archaeological discoveries that had been made since that time. The strange thing is that only this study by Loewe really introduces excavated texts, most of the other contributors simply using some new ideas to discuss received texts from the Han.

The most in-depth research on the Zhangjiashan legal documents has come from two teams of researchers, one German and one from North America. The German team was comprised of Ulrich LAU and Michael LÜDKE, who produced a German translation. Lau had originally studied Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, especially inscriptions pertaining to land transactions. Since these inscriptions had some bearing on the earliest Chinese notions of law, when the Zhangjiashan legal documents appeared, he was naturally drawn to them. His first publication in this field was the 2002 study “Die Rekonstruktion des Strafprozesses und die Prinzipien der Strafzumessung zu Beginn der Han-Zeit im Lichte des *Zouyanshu*” (403330). Thereafter, he and Lüdke collaborated for ten years, finally publishing *Exemplarische Rechtsfälle vom Beginn der Han Dynastie: Eine kommentierte Übersetzung des Zouyanshu aus Zhangjiashan/Provinz Hubei* (405920) in 2012; this was a complete translation of the Zhangjiashan *Zouyanshu* 奏讞書 (Document of presented court cases). This translation is the result of great research, and is equipped with very detailed annotations. However, there are two features that have limited its influence. First, it is written in German. Formerly, many western scholars were able at least to read German, but such scholars are becoming fewer and fewer. Second, the book was published in Japan by the Institute of Oriental and African Languages of Tokyo University of Foreign Languages (Tokyo gaikokkugo daigaku 東京外國語大學), and had very limited sales, so that even readers of German have not necessarily been able to see the book.

The second translation team was made up of Anthony BARBIERI-LOW, a professor of Chinese history at the University of California at Santa Cruz, and Robin YATES. They also published their first results in Japan: “Translating the Zhangjiashan Legal Texts into English: Methodologies and Challenges” (405210; 2009). However, the final translation came out in 2015 as the giant two-volume *Law*,

State, and Society in Early Imperial China: A Study with Critical Edition and Translation of the Legal Texts from Zhangjiashan Tomb No. 247 (406400). It was published by the Dutch publishing house Brill Academic Publishers, but is written in English and should be of interest to the great majority of readers. This too attests to the growing internationalization of the academic world.



Fig. 35: Ulrich LAU and Michael LÜDKE, *Exemplarische Rechtsfälle vom Beginn der Han Dynastie: Eine kommentierte Übersetzung des Zouyanshu aus Zhangjiashan/Provinz Hubei*

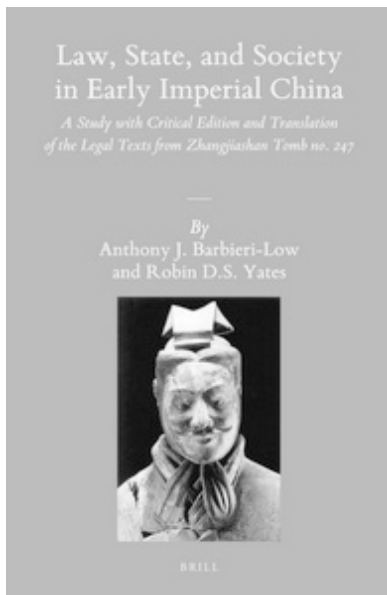


Fig. 36: Robin D.S. YATES and Anthony BARBIERI-LOW, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China: A Study with Critical Edition and Translation of the Legal Texts from Zhangjiashan Tomb No. 247*

***Suan shu shu* 算數書**

The second extremely important document from Zhangjiashan is the *Suan shu shu* 算數書 (Document of calculating numbers), an extraordinary discovery in the history of Chinese mathematics that has gained the attention of historians of mathematics all over the world. In the West, this work has essentially been carried out by two scholars: Christopher CULLEN and Joseph W. DAUBEN. As already pointed out above, Cullen is the former director of the Needham Research Institute at the University of Cambridge, and had previously done considerable work on Chinese astronomy. In 2004, he published the book *The Suan shu shu 'Writings on Reckoning': A Translation of a Chinese Mathematical Collection of the Second Century BC, with an Explanatory Commentary* (403670) in the newly established monograph series Needham Research Institute Working Papers. After this time, he also published an article in the journal *Historia Mathematica* with the express purpose of bringing this manuscript to the attention of the wider scholarly world: "The *Suàn shù shu* 算數書, 'Writings on Reckoning': Rewriting the History of Early Chinese Mathematics in the Light of an Excavated Manuscript" (404560; 2007).

Joseph Dauben is a professor of the history of mathematics at City University of New York (CUNY). Prior to the discovery of the Zhangjiashan *Suan shu shu*, he had not published on the early history of Chinese mathematics. However, between 2004 and 2008 he published four articles, the last of them being a complete annotated translation of the *Suan shu shu*. These articles are:

“The *Suan shu shu* (A Book on Numbers and Computations). Preliminary Investigation” (403680; 2004)

“Three Multi-Tasking Problems in the *Suan shu shu*, the Oldest Yet-Known Mathematical Work from Ancient China” (403910; 2005)

“*Suan Shu Shu* (A Book on Numbers and Computation): Two Problems in Collating, Interpreting and Translating the *Suan Shu Shu*” (404320; 2006)

“算數書 *Suan Shu Shu: A Book on Numbers and Computations: English Translation with Commentary*” (404680; 2008)

According to Dauben's own explanation, before doing his translation of the *Suan shu shu*, he intentionally refrained from looking at Cullen's 2004 translation in order to maintain his own scholarly independence. Given my own scholarly limitations, I am not equipped to evaluate these two different English translations of the *Suan shu shu*. However, that western scholars could produce two such annotated translations of this manuscript within a span of less than five years is a testament to the increasing maturity of this field.

Gai Lu 蓋蘆

The *Gai Lu* 蓋蘆 is yet another Zhangjiashan manuscript, this one being a military text. In 2010, Olivia MILBURN, who is a professor of Chinese at Seoul National University in South Korea, published in *Early China* the article “*Gai Lu: A Translation and Commentary on a Yin-Yang Military Text Excavated from Tomb M247, Zhangjiashan*” (405380), being a complete annotated translation of the text, as well as discussion of its place in early Chinese military history. Milburn's doctoral dissertation, done at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies in 2003, had been an annotated translation of the *Yue jue shu* 越絕書, and this was formally published in 2010 as *The Glory of Yue: An Annotated Translation of the Yuejue shu*.²⁶ Since the *Yue jue shu* recounts the story of Gai Lü 闔閭, the king of the state of Wu 吳 at the end of the Spring and Autumn period, and the

²⁶ Olivia MILBURN, *The Glory of Yue: An Annotated Translation of the Yuejue shu* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

Gai Lu also concerns this story, it was natural that she would turn her attention to it. Her translation and notes meet the highest standards in the field of Sinology.

4.3.8 1986 Fangmatan 放馬灘, Tianshui 天水, Gansu

The Qin-dynasty strips excavated in 1986 at Fangmatan 放馬灘, Tianshui 天水, Gansu have never attracted much attention from western scholars, with a grand total of only three articles devoted to them:

Mei-Ling HSU, “The Qin Maps: A Clue to Later Chinese Cartographic Development” (401940; 1993)

Donald HARPER, “Resurrection in Warring States Popular Religion” (402080; 1994)

Marc KALINOWSKI, “Theorie musique et harmonie calendaire à la fin des Royaumes Combattants: Les livres des jours de Fangmatan (239 avant J.-C.)” (405670*; 2011)

Mei-Ling HSU had earlier published an in-depth study of the Mawangdui maps. The date of the Fangmatan maps is at least fifty years earlier than that of the Mawangdui maps, so it of course attracted her attention. HARPER and KALINOWSKI have always been leaders in the field of *shushu* 數術 thought, with virtually every new discovery prompting a new study from them. Thus, it is not at all strange that the Fangmatan strips should have been of interest to them. Harper translated the Fangmatan story about the death and resurrection of the man Dan 丹, also discussing its literary and historical interest. According to him, by the end of the fourth century B.C., the place of the dead was already conceived of as a bureaucratic office, with which all communication had to take the bureaucratic forms known in the living world. He suggested that between the time of the Baoshan divination records (316 B.C.) and Fangmatan, we can see an important transition, which is to say that this transition coincides with the manifest expansion of all of the great states at this period, and the considerable development of bureaucratic government. Kalinowski’s article focuses on the Fangmatan Daybooks, which followed upon his study of the Shuihudi Daybooks. He and Harper

have also edited a major collection of essays studying all Warring States, Qin and Han Daybooks, published in 2017.²⁷

4.3.9 1987 Baoshan 包山, Jingmen 荊門, Hubei

The excavation in 1987 of tomb 2 at Baoshan 包山, Jingmen 荊門, Hubei opened yet another new phase in the study of bamboo and silk documents. The bamboo and silk documents unearthed in the early 1970s all stemmed from the Han dynasty. True, the Qin strips unearthed at Shuihudi in 1975 date to 217 B.C., prior to the Han dynasty, but still they date to after Qin Shi Huang's unification of the empire in 221 B.C. Nevertheless, they do date to a few years before his famous "burning of the books," and so satisfied some of the scholarly desire to see what documents looked like prior to this time. Still, many scholars wanted more than this; they hoped to see documents from the Warring States period, the time of the classical masters. When tomb 2 at Baoshan was excavated, the archaeologists dated the artifacts in it to the time between the mid and late Warring States period. Paleographers then were able to use information on the bamboo strips found in the tomb to date its closing to 316 B.C., almost exactly a hundred years earlier than the Shuihudi tomb and right at the most active time of the Warring States masters, contemporary with the time of Mencius 孟子, Xunzi 荀子 and Zhuangzi 莊子. The Baoshan tomb included numerous legal documents, divination records, and funeral inventories (*qiance* 遷冊). Although the tomb did not include any literary texts, still it satisfied many of the desires of that time to see Warring States texts. For this reason, this discovery immediately attracted widespread attention both within and outside of China.

In the West, the Baoshan discovery has been the focus of two doctoral dissertations and also two books. The doctoral dissertations were by LAI Guolong 來國龍 and GUO Jue 郭珏, while the books were by Constance A. COOK and LAI Guolong. Lai's doctoral dissertation was submitted in 2002 to the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA): "The Baoshan Tomb: Religious Transitions in Art, Ritual, and Text During the Warring States Period (480-221 BCE)" (403320). Since completing his degree, he has been a professor of Chinese art at the University of Florida. In 2015, he published his book, entitled *Excavating the Afterlife: The Ar-*

²⁷ Donald Harper and Marc Kalinowski, *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China: The Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin, and Han*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 4 China Volume 33 (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

chaecology of Early Chinese Religion (406460). Lai's scholarly method is to integrate archaeology, textual studies, art history, and anthropology, often producing new ideas about ancient cultural history that are outside the norm for the field. Both his dissertation and his 2015 book manifest this tendency. Guo Jue's doctoral degree was awarded in 2008 at the University of Wisconsin for a dissertation entitled "Reconstructing Fourth Century B.C.E. Chu Religious Practices in China: Divination, Sacrifice, and Healing in the Newly Excavated Baoshan Manuscripts" (404710). She is primarily concerned with textual studies and the history of religion, and so was naturally interested in the Baoshan divination records. She now teaches ancient Chinese thought at Barnard College, continuing to do research on Warring States, Qin and Han intellectual history. Because both of these professors received their undergraduate training in China and both of them frequently participate in scholarly conferences in China, they are very well known to the Chinese scholarly world and need no further introduction here. The second book to be mentioned was published by Constance Cook in 2006: *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey* (404310). Cook's own doctoral dissertation was a study of bronze inscriptions from the state of Chu, in which she displayed a distinct anthropological approach. Based on this, it was of course natural that she too should be interested in the Baoshan tomb. Like the work of Lai Guolong and Guo Jue, her book also integrates archaeological, literary and anthropological evidence to produce a comprehensive viewpoint.

Divination Records

Lai Guolong, Guo Jue and Constance Cook have all pursued research on the Baoshan divination records. Aside from them, many other scholars have also published western-language studies of these records, which we can list chronologically as follows:

LI Ling 李零, "Formulaic Structure of Chu Divinatory Bamboo Slips" (401680; 1990)

KONDÔ Hiroyuki 近藤浩之, "The Silk-Manuscript *Chou-i* from Ma-wang-tui and Divination and Prayer Records in Ch'u Bamboo Slips from Pao-shan: A Tentative Study of the Formation of the *Chou-i* as Seen from the Pao-shan Ch'u Bamboo Strips" (403160; 2001)

Lisa RAPHALS, "Notes on the Baoshan Medical Divinations" (403800; 2004)

Lisa RAPHALS, "Divination and Medicine in China and Greece: A Comparative Perspective on the Baoshan Illness Divinations" (404400; 2006)

Marc KALINOWSKI, "La divination sous les Zhou Orientaux (770–256 avant notre ère). Textes transmis et découvertes archéologiques récentes" (404770; 2008)

Marc KALINOWSKI, “Diviners and Astrologers under the Eastern Zhou: Transmitted Texts and Recent Archaeological Discoveries” (405010*; 2009)

LI Ling 李零's 1990 article was published on the basis of the preliminary report of the Baoshan discovery. At that time, he was living in Seattle, Washington, the Chinese original of his study being translated into English by William BOLTZ, a professor at the University of Washington in Seattle. Boltz also re-arranged the article to make it more acceptable to western readers. One of the more important features of this study was Li Ling's ability to integrate both Chinese and western viewpoints, arguing that Chinese divination (*zhen* 貞) was basically a form of ritual expressing a desire, and not an objective inquiry into future events. This viewpoint was later incorporated into Li Ling's influential book *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方術考 (A study of Chinese mantic practices).²⁸

KONDÔ Hiroyuki 近藤浩之 is a professor of Chinese at Japan's Hokkaido University 北海道大學, where he has long been interested in the early history of the *Zhou Yi*. In this article, he examined the relationship between the Baoshan divination records and the *Zhou Yi*, and made several very unique points. For example, he suggested that the pairs of six-line graphs found on the Baoshan strips ought not to be understood as two facing hexagrams, but rather should be viewed as sets of four trigrams.²⁹ He also suggested that the prognostication was based on the line differences in the top trigram and the bottom trigram. This suggestion was unprecedented at the time, and yet from the evidence of the recently published Tsinghua University manuscript *Shi fa* 筮發 (The method of divination), it may very well be correct. He also pointed out that the Baoshan divination records show no trace of the *Zhou Yi* line statements, suggesting that these line statements may have been written after the date at which the Baoshan tomb was closed, 316 B.C. This suggestion is similarly quite different from what one usually hears. Kondô's article was published in 2001. Although news of the Shanghai Museum manuscript of the *Zhou Yi* had already circulated, it had not yet been formally published at that time. According to the standard interpretation, the date of the Shanghai Museum manuscript should be rather close to the time of the

²⁸ LI Ling 李零, *Zhongguo fangshu kao (Xiuding ben)* 中國方術考 (修訂本) (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2000), pp. 282-283, though Li's Chinese exposition is somewhat confused in this regard, sometimes defining the word *zhen* 貞 as *ding* 定 “to settle,” and sometimes defining it as *wen* 問 “to ask.”

²⁹ According to KONDÔ, HIRASE Takao 平勢隆郎, “*Sa den no shiryô hihan teki kenkyû*” 左傳の史料批判的研究, *Tôkyo daigaku tôyo bunka kenkyujô kiyô* 東京大學東洋文化研究所紀要 1998 was the first suggestion of this relationship between the *Zhou Yi* and the *Zuo zhuan*.

Baoshan tomb. But Kondô argued that this is not the case. He said that the Shanghai Museum manuscript can only demonstrate that the *Zhou Yi* was in existence by the end of the Warring States period. He also argued that quotations of the *Zhou Yi* found in the *Zuo zhuan* were all inserted by later editors, and that both the *Zhou Yi* and *Zuo zhuan* date to about the same time, sometime near the end of the fourth century B.C.

Lisa RAPHALS is a professor of Chinese at both the University of California at Riverside and also in the Department of Philosophy at National University of Singapore; she has long been interested in comparisons between ancient China and ancient Greece. The two articles of hers listed above were both written in preparation for her 2013 book *Divination and Prediction in Early China and Ancient Greece*.³⁰ Raphals takes a very broad view in looking at ancient Chinese intellectual history. Since divination in ancient Greece was also often concerned with health, she presents many illuminating comparisons.

The two articles by KALINOWSKI listed above also take a macro approach, examining all of the evidence during the Eastern Zhou period concerning prognostication, including both received literature such as the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guo yu* 國語, and also unearthed manuscripts. He regards the Baoshan divination records as the key to these many different types of evidence, and therefore addresses much of his discussion to them. His understanding of these records is quite similar to that of Li Ling.

Legal Cases

In the book *Baoshan Chu jian* 包山楚簡 (Baoshan Chu strips), the legal cases come at the beginning of the book, with the divination records following them, and in China most discussions of the texts would follow this sequence. However, since western scholars have not paid sufficient attention to the legal cases, I have reversed the sequence. Of course, in their overviews of the historical significance of the Baoshan tomb, Lai Guolong, Guo Jue and Constance Cook have all considered the legal cases and Zuoyin Tuo 左尹它's administrative position, but the only article that has addressed the form and significance of the legal cases exclusively is Susan WELD's "Chu Law in Action: Legal Documents from Tomb 2 at Baoshan" (402750; 1999). Weld has training in both law and also Chinese archaeology, her doctoral dissertation being a detailed examination of the Houma 侯馬 covenant texts (*mengshu* 盟書). After completing her degree, she has taught in the law

³⁰ Lisa RAPHALS, *Divination and Prediction in Early China and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

schools of Harvard University and Georgetown University, where she now teaches. In this interesting article, she viewed Zuoyin Tuo's activities from the standpoint of a lawyer.

4.3.10 1992 Xuanquan 懸泉, Dunhuang 敦煌, Gansu

Although documents from China's western regions first attracted attention from western scholars, by the end of the twentieth century the early scholars who had worked on these materials had all passed away and a new generation of younger scholars were just in the process of being trained. What is more, the great majority of scholars interested in unearthed documents had turned their attention to the great discoveries being made in central China, and very few people were working on documents found in the west. Even Michael Loewe was no longer working on these documents. Fortunately, there are a few young and middle-aged scholars who have now taken up this line of research. The most prominent of these is the German scholar Enno GIELE; he studied in Taiwan at the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica, where he was trained in the study of bamboo and silk documents—and especially the wooden strip documents from this region. He is now professor of Chinese at the University of Heidelberg, and has already published many scholarly studies; those bearing directly on materials from the west include the following:

“Using Early Chinese Manuscripts as Historical Source Materials” (403450; 2003)

“Excavated Manuscripts: Context and Methodology” (405300; 2010)

“Evidence for the Xiongnu in Chinese Wooden Documents from the Han Period” (405630; 2011)

One of the traits of Giele's scholarship is his insistence on methodology and bibliographic control, which doubtless derives from his training in Taiwan.

Another such scholar is Charles SANFT, originally an American but one who was educated in Germany; he is now back in America teaching at the University of Tennessee. In the 2008 issue of *Early China*, he published a lengthy study of the “Four Seasons Monthly Ordinances” (*Siji yuelinglü*) that was discovered at Xuanquan 懸泉, Dunhuang 敦煌, Gansu: “Edict of Monthly Ordinances for the Four Seasons in Fifty Articles from 5 C.E.: Introduction to the Wall Inscription Discovered at Xuanquanzhi, with Annotated Translation” (404860). In this study, he provided a complete translation and a full discussion of the text's historical significance. After Sanft published this article, YANG Jidong 楊繼東 also

published a comprehensive study of these same materials entitled “Transportation, Boarding, Lodging, and Trade along the Early Silk Road: A Preliminary Study of the Xuanquan Manuscripts” (406560).

4.3.11 1993 Yinwan 尹灣, Lianyungang 連雲港, Jiangsu

In the history of bamboo and silk studies, the year 1993 holds a very special place; there were at least three major discoveries in this year: Han-dynasty bamboo strips unearthed at Yinwan 尹灣, Lianyungang 連雲港, Jiangsu; Qin-dynasty strips unearthed at Wangjiatai 王家台, Jiangling 江陵, Hubei; and Warring States Chu strips found at Guodian 郭店, Jingzhou 荊州, Hubei. There was also another great discovery at this time, but it came as a result of tomb robbing: these are the Warring States Chu strips housed at the Shanghai Museum. The first of these discoveries came at Yinwan. Toward the end of February, 1993, archaeologists excavated a Han tomb with bamboo strips. Western scholars have authored several studies of these strips. Above, I mentioned that for the last thirty years Michael LOEWE has turned his attention away from documents found in China’s western areas. This is certainly not to say that he has stopped working on the unearthed documents of the Han dynasty. Almost every year he publishes new scholarship on the latest discoveries, but he now tends to focus increasingly on discoveries in central China that bear on the organization and administration of the central government of the Western Han. In the book that he co-edited with Michael NYLAN in 2010, *China’s Early Empires: A Re-appraisal* (505400), his own contribution was entitled “The Operation of the Government” (405370), which was a comprehensive introduction to and analysis of the Yinwan bamboo-strip evidence.

Interest in the Yinwan strips is not at all restricted to its population and tax records. A description of the game *liubo* 六博 (six tiles) and a very interesting poem entitled *Shen wu fu* 神烏賦 (Prose-poem of the divine crow) have also both attracted the attention of western scholars. Lillian Lan-ying TSENG is now professor of Chinese art at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World (ISAW) of New York University. In 2002, she penned a study of the Yinwan *liubo* narrative: “Divining from the Game Liubo: An Explanation of a Han Wooden Slip Excavated at Yinwan” (403410). Tseng’s main area of focus is Han-dynasty murals, in which she has combined artistic and religious approaches; her study of the *liubo* text follows the same approach. Hans VAN ESS is professor of traditional Chinese culture at the Ludwig-Maximilians Universität in Munich, Germany, and has done research on many different topics across the breadth of Chinese history, though his primary field of interest has long been the Han dynasty. In 2003, he published

in the journal *Monumenta Serica* a study of the *Shen wu fu* poem from Yinwan: “An Interpretation of the *Shenwu fu* of Tomb No. 6, Yinwan” (403580).

4.3.12 1993 Wangjiatai 王家台, Jiangling 江陵, Hubei

The second great discovery of 1993 came in the village of Wangjiatai 王家台, Jiangling 江陵, Hubei, where a Qin tomb produced such different texts as the *Gui cang* 歸藏 (Returning to be stored), *Xiao lü* 效律 (Ordinance on checking), a day-book (*ri shu* 日書, and various other prognostication texts. The most important of these texts is doubtless the *Gui cang*, which is of very considerable significance for both the history of Chinese thought and also for textual studies. The authors of the initial report of this discovery, published in the January, 1995 issue of the journal *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural relics), had not yet recognized the nature of this text, and simply described it as “similar to the *Changes* (*Yi*).” After this initial report was published, Constance COOK quickly published an article in the *Journal of Chinese Religion* introducing it: “Myth and Fragments of a Qin *Yi* Text: A Research Note and Translation” (402490; 1998). Cook too did not recognize the text as the long-lost *Gui cang*, and therefore presented a few ideas that turned out not to go very far. After this time, she published two further studies correcting these mistakes.

“Omens and Myth: Thoughts on the *Guicang* Manuscript” (403640; 2004)
 “From Bone to Bamboo: Number Sets and Mortuary Ritual” (404300; 2006)

The second of these articles is a very long survey, suggesting some rather unique viewpoints, such as that the eight trigrams were originally groups of numbers on funerary goods, that the use of solid and broken lines to symbolize yang and yin probably began when “Five Phases” (*wuxing* 五行) theories were popular, or that a text such as the *Yi jing* was based on this later system of thought. She also suggests that numerical hexagrams can probably be traced to a system of sacrificial music. This system would have had no relationship with the yin-yang theory, but would have been related with the divination statements with poetic forms of later times.

Shortly after Cook's first article on the Wangjiatai texts was published, Edward SHAUGHNESSY published an article discussing the relationship between the *Gui cang* and the *Zhou Yi*: “The Wangjiatai *Gui cang*: An Alternative to *Yijing* Divination” (403400; 2002). By the time of that article, the scholarly world had already compared the Wangjiatai strips with medieval quotations of the *Gui cang*,

and Shaughnessy was able to base his work on this identification to suggest some preliminary ideas. In 2014, he published a book addressing unearthed texts related to the *Zhou Yi: Unearthing the Changes: Recently Discovered Manuscripts of the Yijing (I Ching) and Related Texts* (406340). As mentioned above in the discussion of the Fuyang *Zhou Yi*, this book introduces three major discoveries of *Zhou Yi* or *Zhou Yi*-related material: the Shanghai Museum manuscript of the *Zhou Yi*, the Wangjiatai *Gui cang*, and the Fuyang *Zhou Yi*. The section dealing with the *Gui cang* is, like that on the Fuyang *Zhou Yi*, divided into two separate chapters, one discussing the excavation, the nature of the strips and their historical significance; and a second chapter presenting an English translation of all of the strips published to date. In the first of these two chapters, Shaughnessy provides a comprehensive overview of the Wangjiatai *Gui cang*, suggesting that the *Gui cang* system of divination may well have died out already by the Han dynasty, and that the text too may no longer have been preserved. In the Western Jin period, when the Jizhong bamboo strips were unearthed, they are said to have included a text that the “Shu Xi zhuan” of the *Jin shu* refers to as *Yi zhou yin-yang gua* 易繇陰陽卦. Shaughnessy suggests that this text was very possibly what was later quoted as the *Gui cang*. When the Jizhong texts were first unearthed, ZHANG Hua 張華 (232-300) had already quoted in his *Bo wu zhi* 博物志 (Record of things at large) passages that are virtually identical with the Wangjiatai text, but unlike his practice with regard to other quotations in the *Bo wu zhi*, in these cases he did not supply a name as the source of the quotation. It was only at the beginning of the Eastern Jin, in GUO Pu’s 郭璞 (272-324) commentaries to the *Shan hai jing* 山海經 (Classics of the mountains and seas) and *Mu tianzi zhuan* that similar quotations were said to come from the *Gui cang*. After this time, similar quotations in encyclopedias and commentaries from the Six Dynasties through the Southern Song dynasty consistently identified this text as the *Gui cang*. Shaughnessy suggests that what we now identify as the *Gui cang* was originally the text unearthed at Jizhong. As early as GUO Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978), Chinese scholars had already suggested this idea,³¹ so that Shaughnessy’s suggestion probably would not bring much resistance. However, he goes a step further than this to suggest that not only did the earliest editors of the Jizhong bamboo strips not recognize the text as the *Gui cang*, but even the great Zhang Hua did not recognize it as such, suggesting that no one at the time knew what the *Gui cang* really looked like. Later, after Guo Pu connected the text with the name *Gui cang*, he may well have just been choosing a name from among the possibilities mentioned in ancient Chinese texts. Of course, the Jizhong strips have long since disappeared, and

31 GUO Moruo 郭沫若, *Qingtong shidai* 青銅時代 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1957), p. 2.

there is no sign of what the edited text looked like, so there is no evidence with which to determine this. In fact, it probably makes no difference. For all intents and purposes, the scholarly world has agreed that the Wangjiatai text and the medieval quotations are the *Gui cang*. End of story.

4.3.13 1993 Guodian 郭店, Jingzhou 荊州, Hubei

The third major discovery of 1993 is not like the first two in eliciting contributions from just one or two western scholars. In October, 1993, after archeologists from the Jingzhou Museum received news that tomb robbers had disturbed a tomb in a cemetery at the village of Guodian, they formally excavated the tomb, discovering that it was a Chu tomb from the transition period between the mid and late Warring States period (i.e., c. 300 B.C.), and that it contained over 700 bamboo strips with writing on them. The nature of the writing on these strips was quite different from any Chu strips that had been discovered theretofore. Most Chu strips discovered theretofore were occasional records, such as the Baoshan court cases and divination records. The Guodian strips were different from this in that they were entirely literary texts, what Martin KERN has termed “texts with a history” (see the “Methodology” section below for a discussion of this notion). The initial reports of this discovery indicated that it included a mid-Warring States manuscript of the *Laozi*. This had almost the effect of an atomic explosion on international Sinology, attracting widespread attention both within and outside of China. When *Guodian Chu jian* 郭店楚簡 (Guodian bamboo strips) was formally published in May, 1998, Dartmouth College in the United States immediately convened an international conference to discuss the significance of the Guodian strips. Thereafter, other international conferences were held in China, with many western scholars attending all of them. By now, Chinese scholars have published thousands of books and articles devoted to various topics concerning the Guodian strips, and western scholars have also published a great deal of scholarship. Based on my incomplete tally, they have already published more than eighty works of scholarship. Just concerning the Guodian *Laozi* manuscript (or perhaps we should say the “three manuscripts”), there have already been more than twenty publications, more than has been published on the Mawangdui manuscripts over the course of forty years.

In 2013, William BOLTZ published an article entitled “Why So Many *Laozi*-s?” (405970). The question in the title is of course related to the context of the Warring States period, but in the same vein we can also ask why the contemporary

scholarly world has produced so many *Laozis*. The answer would probably require a separate book, so that there is no way to discuss it adequately here. In fact, since western scholars have produced so much scholarship on the Guodian Chu strips, the discussion below can only be quite superficial, discussing only the most important results, and simply listing other publications.

General Discussions

As of 215, there had already been published three books devoted to the Guodian strips.

Kenneth W. HOLLOWAY, *Guodian: The Newly Discovered Seeds of Chinese Religious and Political Philosophy* (405000; 2009)

Dirk MEYER, *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China* (405930; 2012)

Scott COOK, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian: A Study and Complete Translation* (405860; 2012)

These books are all quite different in format. Kenneth W. HOLLOWAY completed a Ph.D. degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 2002 with a dissertation entitled “The Recently Discovered Confucian Classic “The Five Aspects of Conduct” (403300), and subsequently published such other studies of the Guodian manuscripts as ““The Five Aspects of Conduct’ 五行: Introduction and Translation” (403960; 2005) and “How Guodian and Received Texts Use Humanity and Righteousness Differently” (404720; 2008). He is now a professor at Florida Atlantic University. His 2009 book *Guodian: The Newly Discovered Seeds of Chinese Religious and Political Philosophy* was the first western monograph devoted to the Guodian manuscripts, and thus attracted no little attention. However, the book is very brief, with the contents not going much beyond Holloway’s doctoral dissertation, leaving readers rather disappointed. Therefore, I will not introduce it further.

Dirk MEYER teaches classical Chinese intellectual history at the University of Oxford. His 2011 book *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China* was also based on his doctoral dissertation, in this case presented in 2008 at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands. Meyer argues that the Guodian manuscripts are the first products of philosophical thought in the Chinese tradition. He divides them into two major categories. The first he terms “argument-based texts,” for which he gives *Zhong xin zhi dao* 忠信之道 (The way of loyalty and fidelity), *Qiong da yi shi* 窮達以時 (Failure and success are based on timing), *Wu xing* 五行 (Five phases), *Xing zi ming chu* 性自命出 (The inner-nature

comes from the mandate) and *Tai Yi sheng shui* 太一生水 (Tai Yi gives birth to water) as examples. He calls the second category “context-dependent texts,” for which he cites the *Laozi* 老子 and *Zi yi* 緇衣 (Black jacket) as examples. According to Meyer, it is only in “argument-based texts” that we can discern an author’s intentions, and only these should be considered as true philosophical works. Different from this, “context-dependent texts” imply a type of corporate creation, typically produced in an oral context, without a definite text or author. “Context-dependent texts” would include not only the Guodian *Laozi* and *Zi yi* manuscripts, but also such received texts as the *Lunyu*. According to Meyer, these texts ought not be regarded as philosophical works. This viewpoint is intimately related with the western emphasis on oral culture. Meyer says that ancient China was essentially an oral culture. Even though there was writing as early as the Shang dynasty, most communication was oral. The creation and circulation of knowledge was no exception, mainly by way of dialogue between teacher and student, with written records playing little or no role. However, by the late Warring States period, two factors caused changes to this oral culture. First, society became increasingly complex, and because of new governmental needs, a new intellectual class arose to satisfy those needs. Second, at this time there became available abundant lightweight writing supports: bamboo strips. According to Meyer, prior to this time, most written records were recorded onto “hard” media, such as the turtle plastrons and ox bones of oracle-bone divinations or the bronze of bronze inscriptions, which were extremely inconvenient for widespread usage. It was only after bamboo strips began to be popularly used that true texts could be found. Meyer has propounded the same viewpoint in several other articles published in recent years, too many to be introduced here one by one.

Scott COOK is a scholar well known to the Chinese scholarly world, and especially to those scholars who work on bamboo and silk manuscripts. He is now professor of traditional Chinese intellectual history at the newly established joint venture between Yale University and Singapore National University. Cook regularly attends conferences in China, and both his spoken and written Chinese are excellent, such that the number of Chinese essays he has published is probably greater than that of his English essays.³² For this reason, there is no need to provide an extended introduction of him here. His 2012 book *The Bamboo Texts of*

³² Many of Scott Cook’s early Chinese essays were collected in his book *GU Shikao 顧史考, Guodian Chu jian xian-Qin Ru shu hongweiguan 郭店楚簡先秦儒書宏微觀* (Macro and Micro-views of the Guodian Chu Bamboo-strip Pre-Qin Confucian Texts) (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 2006). After this time, most of his scholarly essays focused on questions regarding the Shanghai Museum Chu strips; the only subsequent Chinese studies that concern the Guodian strips are

Guodian: A Study and Complete Translation was the culmination of more than a decade of painstaking research. This giant two-volume work is more than a thousand pages long; its bibliography alone stretches for 70 pages, most of the titles in it being in Chinese, though it also includes work in Japanese and various western languages. It can be said that Cook examined everything that was published in the fourteen years between the initial publication of *Guodian Chu jian* and the publication of Cook's own book. The sub-title of the book, *A Study and Complete Translation*, well describes the contents of the book. "Study" refers to the 185-page long Introduction which introduces the discovery of the Guodian strips and discusses their background in Warring States intellectual history. This introduction bears a distinct resemblance to the "Prolegomena" to Donald Harper's *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts*; it is not just a preface to the book, but rather is a sort of intellectual history of the Warring States period. "Complete Translation" includes not only the translation proper, but also extremely detailed notes. Every sentence and virtually every word is provided with a note surveying just about everything that has been published on the text in question. His translation is by no means just a compilation of the work of others, but represents his own considered judgment of how a text is to be understood. I doubt that there is anyone else who has given the Guodian texts this sort of complete study, whether in the West or in China. Scott Cook's *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian: A Study and Complete Translation* will serve well into the future as a foundation for western studies of Chinese bamboo and silk manuscripts.

Laozi A, B and C 老子甲、乙、丙

As already noted above, the Guodian manuscripts first excited interest because of initial reports that they included a manuscript of the *Laozi*. Throughout the twentieth century, the nature and date of the *Laozi* had been a hotly debated topic. The scholarly world was avidly looking forward to new evidence that might be able to throw new light on this topic. After the publication of *Guodian Chu jian*, scholars learned that the so-called *Laozi* manuscript was quite different from the received text of the *Laozi*. In fact, the Guodian *Laozi* includes three different manuscripts, referred to in the West as "A", "B" and "C", all of which contain only a portion of the received text, the three manuscripts together making up only about

"Guodian Chu jian *Yu cong si pian yundu xinjie sanzhe*" 郭店楚簡《語叢四》篇韻讀新解三則 (Three new studies of rhymes in the Guodian Chu strips *Yu cong 4*), *Jianbo* 簡帛 1 (2006): 59-71, and "Guodian Chu jian *Zun de yi pian jianxu xin'an*" 郭店楚簡《尊德義》篇簡序新案 (A new thesis concerning the sequence of the Guodian Chu strip *Zun de yi*), *Taida Zhongwen xuebao* 臺大中文學報 36 (2012): 117-156.

a third of the received text. For this reason, scholars who maintain that the *Laozi* was written at an early date (regardless of whether they think it was written by Laozi or the product of some other authorial process) believe that the Guodian manuscripts support their position: that the Guodian *Laozi* is just a synopsis of the complete *Laozi* (whether of 81 chapters or not), and shows that there was certainly a complete *Laozi* in existence prior to the late fourth century B.C. On the other hand, scholars who believe that the *Laozi* is a late text see evidence in the Guodian *Laozi* that by the late fourth century B.C. there was still no complete text of the *Laozi* in existence, and that the final redaction of the text (whether in 81 chapters or not) came about only later.

As early as May, 1998, Dartmouth College convened an international conference to discuss questions related to the Guodian *Laozi*. In short order thereafter, Sarah ALLAN and Crispin WILLIAMS jointly edited a volume of conference proceedings: *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998* (402760*; 2000), publishing some of the papers from the conference as well as a digest of the discussion. While it is of course difficult to derive any distinctions between Chinese and western scholarship on the basis of a single conference (which, moreover, I did not attend), nevertheless WANG Bo 王博, professor of philosophy at Peking University was left with a very deep impression, which he described as follows:

Because the attendees came from different countries and different regions, it went without saying that their scholarly backgrounds and methods were different. For many of the western scholars, some of the conclusions reached by Chinese scholars were doubtless extremely bold and lacking in a critical spirit. On the other hand, Chinese scholars were also troubled by some of the ideas of the western scholars. Probably five years before, I had attended a “*Laozi* Conference” in Germany. One evening chatting in a bar, Christoph HARBSMEIER, from Scandanavia, raised this sort of question: since QIAN Mu 錢穆 long ago already proved that the *Zhuangzi* was written before the *Laozi*, why do you (Chinese scholars) still believe that the *Laozi* is earlier? At first, I thought this was just an isolated viewpoint. But later I found that it is very widespread among western Sinologists. From this you can see that the *Gu shi bian* 古史辯 movement of the 1920s is still very much a foundation of western Sinology, whereas in contemporary Chinese scholarship it is largely viewed as of historical interest only. A volume by LI Xueqin 李學勤 entitled *Walking Out of the Iconoclastic Period* (*Zouchu yigu shidai* 走出疑古時代) is rather representative of this. To a very great extent the reason that we can walk out of the iconoclastic period is because of the foundation provided by the discoveries of bamboo strips like those at Guodian.³³

33 WANG Bo 王博, “Meiguo Damusi daxue Guodian *Laozi* guoji xueshu yantaohui jiyao” 美國達慕斯大學郭店《老子》國際學術研討會紀要, *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究 17 (1999): 10-11.

In 2005, Edward SHAUGHNESSY published “The Guodian Manuscripts and Their Place in Twentieth-Century Historiography on the *Laozi*” (404160*), saying that this sort of debate is a classic case of the glass being half full or half empty, with neither side being able to convince the other. Shaughnessy suggests that there is still no way to come to a firm conclusion based on presently available evidence, and that we can only await still more new discoveries. Despite this, the scholarly world is not very patient, and definitely wants to make use of the evidence presently available to come up with new ideas. This is true of both Chinese scholarship and also western scholarship. In the years since *Guodian Chu jian* was published, there have already appeared numerous studies, including two different translations of the *Laozi* material: Robert G. HENRICKS’ *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching: A Translation of the Startling New Documents Found at Guodian* (402850*; 2000) and Roger T. AMES and David L. HALL’s *Dao De Jing: “Making This Life Significant.” A Philosophical Translation, Featuring the Recently Discovered Bamboo Texts* (403430; 2003), as well as two monographic studies: Paulos HUANG’s *Guodian No. 1 Chu Tomb and the Earliest Bamboo Slip Manuscript Versions of the Laozi & the Tai yi sheng shui* (402660; 1999) and Attilio ANDREINI’s *Laozi: Genesis del «Daodejing»* (403620; 2004), as well as at least twenty different articles. These are too numerous to introduce in detail, so I can only list them here in the chronological order of their publication.

Stephan Peter BUMBACHER, “The Earliest Manuscripts of the *Laozi* Discovered to Date” (402470; 1998)

William G. BOLTZ, “The Fourth-Century B.C. Guodiann Manuscripts from Chuu and the Composition of the *Laotzyy*” (402600; 1999)

Paulos HUANG, “The Guodian Bamboo Slip Texts and the *Laozi*” (402650; 1999)

Rudolf G. WAGNER, “The Impact of Conceptions of Rhetoric and Style upon the Formation of Early *Laozi* Editions: Evidence from Guodian, Mawangdui and the Wang Bi *Laozi*” (402730; 1999)

Attilio ANDREINI, “Analisi preliminare del *Laozi* rinvenuto a Guodian” (402770; 2000)

Harold D. ROTH, “Some Methodological Issues in the Study of the Guodian *Laozi* Parallels” (402980*; 2000)

Edmund RYDEN, “Edition of the Bamboo-Slip *Laozi* A, B, and C, and *Tai Yi Sheng Shui* from Guodian Tomb Number One” (402990*; 2000)

Ansgar GERSTNER, “Eine Synopse und kommentierte Übersetzung des Buches *Laozi* sowie eine Auswertung seiner kritischen Grundhaltung auf der Grundlage der Textausgabe Wang Bis, der beiden Mawangdui-Seidentexte und unter Berücksichtigung der drei Guodian-Bambustexte” (403090; 2001)

- Attilio ANDREINI, “Aporie di un classico taoista: L'esempio del *Laozi* di Guodian” (403230; 2002)
- LIU Xiaogan, “From Bamboo Slips to Received Versions: Common Features in the Transformation of the *Laozi*” (403510; 2003)
- ZHANG Guohua, “Une nouvelle interpretation du philosophie du Lao Zi a la lumiere des textes sur des tiges de bambou decouverts dans le tombeau #1 de Guodian” (403610; 2003)
- Attilio ANDREINI, “Il Dao 道 ‘si congeda’ o ... cosa? Marginalia sulla stanza 25 del *Laozi* 老子” (403870; 2005)
- William G. BOLTZ, “Reading the Early *Laotzy*” (403900; 2005)
- Maurizio SCARPARI, “‘*Laozi*’ 64 e dintorni” (404150; 2005)
- Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, “The Guodian Manuscripts and Their Place in Twentieth-Century Historiography on the *Laozi*” (404160*; 2005)
- E. Bruce BROOKS, “Probability and the Gwōdyèn Daù /Dv Jīng” (405250; 2010)
- Jennifer Lundin RITCHIE, “The Guodian *Laozi* and *Taiyi shengshui*: A Cognitive Science Reading” (405940; 2012)
- William G. BOLTZ, “Why So Many *Laozi*-s?” (405970; 2013)

***Tai Yi sheng shui* 太一生水**

Whether *Tai Yi sheng shui* 太一生水 (The Great One gives birth to water) should be regarded as a separate text or as part of the Guodian *Laozi C* manuscript is a rather difficult problem. It is written on fourteen bamboo strips, of which some unfortunately are fragmentary and with other strips missing, so that it is hard to read in its entirety. The form of the strips as well as the calligraphy are entirely the same as the *Laozi C* manuscript, almost certainly copied by a single hand and very possibly originally bound together with it. Whether *Tai Yi sheng shui* and the *Laozi C* should be regarded as a single text or as two separate texts depends to a certain extent on one's position vis-à-vis the debate over the composition of the *Laozi*. Since the *Tai Yi sheng shui* is not included in the received text of the *Laozi*, those scholars who hold that the received text of the *Laozi* dates to before the mid Warring States period regard the *Tai Yi sheng shui* as a separate text, unrelated to the *Laozi*. However, those who believe that the *Laozi* did not come together until the late Warring States period hold that originally there may have been quite a lot of material like the *Tai Yi sheng shui* that was part of a proto-“*Laozi*” tradition (here using quotation marks to differentiate between this proto-“*Laozi*” and the received *Laozi* in order to indicate that it had not yet taken the form of an independent text), but later was not included in the final *Laozi* redaction. This too would seem to be a glass half full and half empty question, which is hard to decide on the basis of the evidence currently available. Nevertheless, *Tai Yi sheng*

shui presents a very interesting cosmology, and has attracted considerable attention from scholars. Below I will again list these studies, some of which were also included in the list of studies concerning the Guodian *Laozi*. It is worth noting that William BOLTZ's 1999 article "The Fourth-Century B.C. Guodiann Manuscripts from Chuu and the Composition of the *Laotzyy*" (402600) carried a complete translation of the *Tai Yi sheng shui* that has been quite influential vis-à-vis subsequent western scholarship. Dirk Meyer's 2012 book *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China* (405930) also includes a complete translation of *Tai Yi sheng shui*, together with a detailed discussion of it.

Donald HARPER, "The Nature of Taiyi in the Guodian Manuscript *Taiyi sheng shui*: Abstract Cosmic Principle or Supreme Cosmic Deity?" (403110; 2001)

HIRASE Takao 平勢隆郎, "The Ch'u Bamboo-Slip *T'ai-i sheng shui* from Kuo-tien Considered in Light of the Emerging Debate about T'ai-sui" (403120; 2001)

Sarah ALLAN, "The Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*: New Light from Guodian" (403420*; 2003)

Albert GALVANY, "Estudio preliminar de un manuscrito taoísta hallado en China: *Tai yi sheng shui* 太一生水" (403440; 2003)

Paul R. GOLDIN, "The Myth That China Has No Creation Myth" (404700; 2008)

Again, it is of course not possible to introduce each and every one of these studies, but it is important at least to say something about Sarah ALLAN's "The Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*." This article was published in the authoritative journal *T'oung Pao* and provided a detailed study of both the text of the *Tai Yi sheng shui* and also of its cosmological and mythological background. Like many other scholars, Allan asserts that *Tai Yi sheng shui* constitutes a cosmology. However, different from others, she links this cosmology to the *Laozi*, saying that the *Laozi*'s reference to a "model" (*shi* 式) should be understood as a reference to the "diviner's board" (*shi pan* 式盤), which was a model of the universe. Another notable viewpoint of hers is that Tai Yi 太一 was a goddess. Based on work by GE Zhaoguang 葛兆光, she notes that Tai Yi was the god of the Northern Dipper,³⁴ and she quotes the *Ling shu jing* 靈樞經 (The classic of the numinous pivot) saying that "at the beginning Tai Yi was the mother of heaven and earth" (*Tai Yi shi wei tiandi zhi mu* 太一始為天地之母) to show that it was a goddess. Allan also presents a broader hypothesis, suggesting that the original meaning of the word *dao*

34 GE Zhaoguang 葛兆光, "Zhong miao zhi men: Beiji yu Tai Yi, Dao, Tai Ji" 眾妙之門: 北極與太一、道、太極, *Zhongguo wenhua* 中國文化 3 (1990): 46-63.

道 (way) was not a “road” but rather a “watercourse.” Since the *dao* was intimately related with Tai Yi, the “watercourse” of the Dao could only refer to the Milky Way that originates in the Northern Dipper. Finally, Allan also relates this cosmology to the practices of divination and bodily cultivation, saying that the use of the diviner’s board influenced this notion of cosmology, and that the belief in Tai Yi developed out of the use of the diviner’s board. In using the diviner’s board to prognosticate, Tai Yi was located in the center of the board, unmoving, the pivot of the heavens, which was also related to practices of bodily cultivation.

***Wu xing* 五行**

The Mawangdui manuscript *Wu xing* 五行 (Five phases) was the subject of considerable scholarship both in China and in the West, the latter of which was already introduced above. The special feature of the Mawangdui manuscript was that it included both a main text, usually referred to as the “classic” (*jing* 經) and also a “commentary” (*zhuan* 傳), the two parts being differentiated quite clearly. After it had been discovered, many scholars argued that the “classic” portion must have been a Warring States text, possibly related to the thought of Zi Si 子思 and Mengzi 孟子. This is usually referred to as the “School of Si and Meng.” These hypotheses have now been confirmed by the Guodian manuscript *Wu xing*, which is essentially identical with the “classic” portion of the Mawangdui manuscript, but which does not have the “commentary” portion at all. Since the date of the Guodian manuscript is at least 130 years earlier than that of the Mawangdui manuscript, and is quite close to the time of Mengzi, there is no doubt that *Wu xing* was a Warring States text. On the other hand, it is not certain that the Guodian text reflects the “School of Si and Meng,” a topic that has generated a good deal of discussion. The *Wu xing* text remains the key to this discussion, with both Scott COOK and Keneth HOLLOWAY publishing articles about it. There has also been a special issue of the journal *Contemporary Chinese Thought* with several articles about it translated from Chinese into English, especially four separate articles by CHEN Lai 陳來, all testifying to the importance of the topic. These articles are as follows, in order of the date of publication:

- Scott COOK, “Consummate Artistry and Moral Virtuosity: The ‘Wu xing’ 五行 Essay and Its Aesthetic” (402800; 2000)
- XING Wen 邢文, “The ‘Wanzhang’ Chapter in the *Mencius* and the Bamboo Slip *Wu Xing*” (403050; 2000)
- Kenneth W. HOLLOWAY, “The Recently Discovered Confucian Classic ‘The Five Aspects of Conduct’” (403300; 2002)

- Kenneth W. HOLLOWAY, “The Five Aspects of Conduct’ 五行: Introduction and Translation” (403960; 2005)
- CHEN Lai 陳來, “A Study of the Bamboo ‘Wuxing’ Text and Zisi’s Thought” (405570; 2011-12)
- CHEN Lai 陳來, “A Study of the Philosophy of the Silk ‘Wuxing’ Text Commentary Section and a Discussion of the Silk ‘Wuxing’ Text and Mencius’s Philosophy” (405580; 2011-12)
- CHEN Lai 陳來, “Arguing for Zisi and Mencius as the Respective Authors of the ‘Wuxing’ Canon and Commentary Sections, and the Historical Significance of the Discovery of the Guodian ‘Wuxing’ Text” (405590; 2011-12)
- CHEN Lai 陳來, “Brief Notes on the Bamboo ‘Wuxing’ Sections and Sentences” (405600; 2011-12)

Scott Cook originally had a background in music; he is a pianist in his own right, and was an undergraduate music major in college. It was only after he began graduate school that he shifted his focus to Chinese studies, but even then he maintained his early interest in music, writing his Master’s thesis on the “Yue ji” 樂記 (Record of music) chapter of the *Li ji* 禮記 (Record of ritual), giving both a translation of the text and also a probing discussion of it. After this time, in 1995 he presented his doctoral dissertation “Unity and Diversity in the Musical Thought of Warring States China.”³⁵ Since the Mawangdui manuscript *Wu xing* makes considerable use of music as an analogy for the process of self cultivation, it was natural that it should attract his attention. Thus, in 2000 he published “Consummate Artistry and Moral Virtuosity: The ‘Wu xing’ 五行 Essay and Its Aesthetic,” which is a detailed examination of both the Mawangdui and Guodian texts of *Wu xing*. In this study, he also touched on how the *Analects* and the *Mencius* use music to explain human morality. Cook points out that prior to that time most scholarship on the *Wu xing* text was based on the commentary portion of the Mawangdui manuscript to explain the thought in the text. He viewed this as rather problematic, emphasizing that with the Guodian manuscript we can now understand the relationship between the two parts of that text. He also said that not only is the date of the “classic” portion of the text earlier than the time of Xunzi 荀子, but it is also earlier than Mengzi.

35 Scott Bradley COOK, “Unity and Diversity in the Musical Thought of Warring States China” (Ph.D. diss.: University of Michigan, 1995).

Zi yi 緇衣

The *Zi yi* 緇衣 (Black jacket) is a chapter in the *Li ji* 禮記, traditionally thought to be one of four chapters authored by Confucius's grandson Zi Si 子思; the other three chapters are “Zhong yong” 中庸 (Doctrine of the mean), “Biao ji” 表記 (Record of signs) and “Fang ji” 坊記 (Record of dams). The “Zhong yong” is of course very well known as one of the “Four Books,” but the “Zi yi” had never attracted much attention. After *Guodian Chu jian* was published in 1998, this neglect changed immediately. The Guodian strips contained a complete text of the *Zi yi*, basically the same as that of the received text except for one important difference: the order of the twenty-three (or twenty-four) chapters are completely different. Seen from one angle, the two texts are but two versions of a single text. But from another angle, they are two completely different texts. Later, this interest in the text increased when the first volume of *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 (Warring States Chu texts in the collection of the Shanghai Museum) was published in 2001 with yet another manuscript of the *Zi yi*, basically the same as the Guodian manuscript. Some scholars were interested in comparing the two tomb texts with the received text of the “Zi yi,” while others were more interested in the form of the texts, and still others used the contents of the text to discuss further the notion of a “School of Si and Meng.” Western scholars also contributed several studies, which are of interest.

William G. BOLTZ, “*Lijih* ‘Tzy i’ and the Guodiann Manuscript Matches” (403250; 2002)

Martin KERN, “Quotation and the Confucian Canon in Early Chinese Manuscripts: The Case of ‘Zi yi’ (Black Robes)” (404010*; 2005)

Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (404440*; 2006)

Shirley CHAN, “The Ruler/Ruled Relationship in the *Ziyi* (Black Robe) Contained in the Newly Excavated Guodian Chu Slip-Texts” (404940*; 2009)

HUANG Kuan-yun, “A Research Note on the Textual Formation of the ‘Ziyi’” (405880; 2012)

Martin KERN's “Quotation and the Confucian Canon in Early Chinese Manuscripts: The Case of ‘Zi yi’ (Black Robes)” is a classic example of his scholarship. Kern was born in Germany. After finishing his education there, he went to the United States to take up a post-doctoral fellowship, remaining in America thereafter; he is now professor of Chinese literature at Princeton University. Kern is an extremely industrious scholar, in the last twenty years or so publishing several score of articles, most of which have already been translated into Chinese. Throughout his work he has maintained an overriding scholarly viewpoint,

which is that even though ancient China from an early date had written records, the culture remained essentially an oral culture. Of course, the records from the period that we can see are all written records, but Kern says that the oral background of these written records can still be seen. He says that the form of the *Zi yi* shows this. Discussing the background of the creation of unearthed texts, he says: “Needless to say, such poetic diction—if I now may use the word in its broadest sense to refer to a particular mode of aesthetically organized, intensified speech (or “language under stress”)—is fundamentally a phenomenon of oral utterance and reception. This is not to say that texts like “Wu xing,” “Zi yi” or “Min zhi fumu” were circulating only in oral form; but it does mean that even with written versions available, or readily prepared, the requirement and practice of recitation and memorization was part of the very identity of these texts. Moreover, it means that the poetic form of oral diction exerted considerable force on the philosophical argument proper: As the texts under discussion show, the particular patterns of syntactical and rhythmic structure were inextricably interlocked with the logic in which the argument was able to unfold. And finally, even in an early culture replete with manuscript writing (something we may assume only with some caution), the practice of recitation and memorization that is inscribed into the textual structure must also have ruled into the processes of circulation and transmission, engendering both formal continuity and a general lexical stability.”³⁶

Martin Kern’s theory of orality is quite different from the view of Edward SHAUGHNESSY, who has also studied the *Zi yi* manuscripts. In his 2006 book *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, Shaughnessy devoted one chapter to the *Zi yi*, paying particular attention to the differences between the two *Zi yi* manuscripts (those of Guodian and the Shanghai Museum) and the received text found in the *Li ji*. According to him, the different sequence of chapters found in the received text could not very likely have come about as a result of oral transmission, and can only be explained as a result of an editor editing a text under certain conditions. Since the various manuscripts are written on bamboo strips, he hypothesizes that the source text available to the *Li ji* editor was also written on bamboo strips. However, if this source text did not resemble the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts in being written continuously (i.e., one chapter following another on the same bamboo strip), but rather was like a number of other bamboo-strip manuscripts, such as the Dingxian *Lunyu* or the Shanghai Museum *Zhou yi*, in starting new chapters on a new bamboo strip (which is to say that the twenty-three chapters of the *Zi yi* would have each begun on a new bamboo strip),

³⁶ Martin KERN, “Quotation and the Confucian Canon in Early Chinese Manuscripts: The Case of ‘Zi yi’ (Black Robes)” (404010*; 2005), pp. 327-28.

and if the binding straps of this source text had become undone and the bamboo strips had become disordered (as is the standard situation with unearthed manuscripts), then the editor would only have been able to use his own understanding of the text to put it back in order. According to Shaughnessy's theory, the Handynasty editor would surely have been influenced by the intellectual context of the Han dynasty, and this would have had important differences from the time of the Warring States period.

The different scholarly viewpoints of Kern and Shaughnessy can be seen not only with respect to the transmission of the *Zi yi*, but are also apparent with respect to how they view a number of other different issues. These two scholars both have considerable influence in the western scholarly world, with people supporting both of the scholarly views. We can only await still further archaeological discoveries to help decide between the two views.

***Lu Mu Gong wen Zi Si* 魯穆公問子思**

Aside from Scott COOK's translation in his 2012 book *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian: A Study and Complete Translation*, the Guodian text *Lu Mu Gong wen Zi Si* 魯穆公問子思 (Duke Mu of Lu asked Zi Si) has not received much attention from western scholars. The only study in a western language has been by the Korean scholar YI Sŭng-ryul 李承律, who published "The View of Loyal Ministers in the Ch'u Bamboo-Slip *Lu Mu-kung wen Tzu-ssu* from Kuo-tien" (403220) in 2001. Since Yi teaches at Seoul National University in Korea and is thus outside of the context of western Sinology, I will just mention his article here.

***Qiong da yi shi* 窮達以時**

The Guodian manuscript *Qiong da yi shi* 窮達以時 (Failure and success depend on timing) has also not attracted much attention from western scholars, the only study devoted to it being Dirk MEYER's 2005 article "Structure as a Means of Persuasion as Seen in the Manuscript *Qiong da yi shi* 窮達以時 from Tomb One, Guodian" (404060). This article was published before Meyer had even completed his doctoral dissertation, but it already displayed his scholarly approach. Since this study was incorporated in his book *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China*, which has already been discussed above, I will not repeat the discussion here.

***Tang Yu zhi dao* 唐虞之道**

The manuscript *Tang Yu zhi dao* 唐虞之道 (The way of Tang [i.e., Yao 堯] and Yu [i.e., Shun 舜]) espouses the notions of "esteeming the worthy" (*shang xian* 尚賢)

and abdication (*chanrang* 禪讓), which were both extremely popular during the Warring States period, and has therefore prompted a good deal of research both within and outside of China. In the West, there have been three scholars—Carine DEFOORT, Yuri PINES and Sarah ALLAN—who have published four different articles on this text. Allan’s article was also subsequently incorporated in her 2015 book *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-slip Manuscripts* (406380).

Carine DEFOORT, “Mohist and Yangist Blood in Confucian Flesh: The Middle Position of the Guodian Text ‘Tang Yu zhi Dao’” (403690; 2004)

Yuri PINES, “Disputers of Abdication: Zhanguo Egalitarianism and the Sovereign’s Power” (404090*; 2005)

Yuri PINES, “Subversion Unearthed: Criticism of Hereditary Succession in the Newly Discovered Manuscripts” (404100; 2005-06)

Sarah ALLAN, “The Way of Tang Yao and Yu Shun: Appointment by Merit as a Theory of Succession in a Warring States Bamboo-Slip Text” (404250*; 2006)

Sarah ALLAN, *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-slip Manuscripts* (406380; 2015)

Carine DEFOORT is a professor of traditional Chinese intellectual history at the University of Leuven in Belgium, and is a specialist on the intellectual history of the Warring States period. However, aside from this single article, she has not devoted any research to the unearthed manuscripts of the period. In this article, Defoort points out that the notion of abdication was not at all unique to Confucian thought, but was perhaps first espoused by Mohists. In fact, she says that the author of *Tang Yu zhi dao* very possibly was Zi Mo 子莫, who was criticized by Mengzi for “holding to the middle” (*zhi zhong* 執中). She also emphasizes that the idea of “Benefitting all under heaven but not benefitting it” (*li tianxia er fu li* 利天下而弗利) found in the manuscript is consistent with the views of Yang Zhu 楊朱. For this reason, she agrees with the notion of GU Jiegang 顧頌剛 in his famous study *Chanrang chuanshuo qi yu Mo jia kao* 禪讓傳說起於墨家考 (That the legend of abdication began with the Mohists) that the tradition of abdication began with the Mohists.³⁷

Yuri PINES is professor of ancient Chinese thought at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Israel. Like Carine Defoort, he too is a specialist in the intellectual history and political systems of the Warring States period, though unlike Defoort,

37 GU Jiegang 顧頌剛, “Chanrang chuanshuo qi yu Mo jia kao” 禪讓傳說起於墨家考, *Gu shi bian* 古史辨 7 Xia 下 (1936; rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 107.

he has devoted quite a lot of attention to unearthed manuscripts, already publishing many lengthy articles with quite important insights. The two articles listed above are based on *Tang Yu zhi dao* as well as the Shanghai Museum manuscripts *Zi Gao* 子告 and *Rong Cheng shi* 容成氏, and provide a comprehensive discussion of the historical background of the Warring States notion of abdication. Since I will consider this below in the section devoted to the *Rong Cheng shi* manuscript, and especially with regard to his article “Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy in the *Rong Cheng shi* Manuscript” (405420; 2010), I will simply mention it here.

***Zhong xin zhi dao* 忠信之道**

Zhong xin zhi dao 忠信之道 (The way of loyalty and fidelity) is like the text *Qiong da yi shi* in eliciting only a single specialized study by any western scholar; this is Dirk MEYER's 2005 article “A Device for Conveying Meaning: The Structure of the Guodian Tomb One Manuscript ‘Zhong xin zhi dao’” (404050). This article was also incorporated into his 2012 monograph *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China* and so need not be repeated here.

***Cheng zhi wen zhi* 成之聞之**

Western scholars have also produced only a single study of the manuscript *Cheng zhi wen zhi* 成之聞之 (Completing it and hearing it): a paper “*Chengzhiwenzhi* in Light of the *Shangshu*” (402790) presented by Anping CHIN at the International Conference on the Guodian Manuscripts held in 2000 at Wuhan University. Chin is a professor in the Department of History at Yale University, and is especially interested in the *Lunyu* and Confucian thought. When the Guodian manuscripts were published, she turned her focus to the field of unearthed manuscripts. Since this paper was initially delivered to a conference in China and was subsequently published in China, Chinese scholars are already well familiar with it.

***Xing zi ming chu* 性自命出**

Aside from the *Laozi*, *Xing zi ming chu* 性自命出 (Inner nature comes from the mandate) is probably the Guodian manuscript that has generated the most interest among western scholars, with at least eleven different articles devoted to it, as well as several other articles that touch indirectly on the manuscript and its intellectual context.

Paul R. GOLDIN, “Xunzi in the Light of the Guodian Manuscripts” (402830; 2000)

- Michael PUETT, “The Ethics of Responding Properly: The Notion of *Qing* 情 in Early Chinese Thought” (403790; 2004)
- YAN Zhonghu 顏鐘祜, “A Study of *Xing* (Human Nature) in *Nature Comes from the Decreed*, A Recently Discovered Confucian Text at Guodian” (404210; 2005)
- Attilio ANDREINI, “The Meaning of *qing* 情 in Texts from Guodian Tomb No. 1” (404260; 2006)
- Erica F. BRINDLEY, “Music and ‘Seeking One’s Heart-Mind’ in the ‘*Xing Zi Ming Chu*’” (404270; 2006)
- Erica F. BRINDLEY, “Music, Cosmos, and the Development of Psychology in China” (404280; 2006)
- Sándor P. SZABÓ, “Xunzi’s Theories on Human Nature in the Light of a Recently Discovered Manuscript” (404460; 2006)
- Johanna LIU, “Music [yue] in Classical Confucianism: On the Recently Discovered *Xing zi ming chu*” (404800; 2008)
- Ulrike MIDDENDORF, “Again on *qing* 情: With a Translation of the Guodian *Xing zi ming chu*” (404830; 2008)
- Shirley CHAN, “Human Nature and Moral Cultivation in the Guodian 郭店 Text of the *Xing Zi Ming Chu* 性自命出 (404930; 2009)
- Franklin PERKINS, “Motivation and the Heart in the *Xing zi ming chu*” (405130; 2009)
- Franklin PERKINS, “Recontextualizing *xing*: Self-Cultivation and Human Nature in the Guodian Texts” (405410; 2010)

Paul R. GOLDIN is a professor in the Department of East Asian Languages at the University of Pennsylvania. He first came to prominence with a doctoral dissertation on the thought of Xunzi, which was published in 1999 as *Rituals of the Way: The Philosophy of Xunzi*.³⁸ When the Guodian manuscripts were published, the first interpretations were that they mainly reflected the “School of Zi Si and Mengzi.” Disagreeing with this, in the 2000 issue of *Early China* Goldin published the article “Xunzi in the Light of the Guodian Manuscripts” pointing out that much of the content of *Xing zi ming chu* is consistent with the thought of the Xunzi. For instance, Goldin notes that Mengzi and Xunzi had very different understandings of human nature (*xing* 性). For Xunzi, human nature was shared in common by all people, whereas Mengzi differentiated among the human natures of different types of people. According to his reading, the view of human nature seen in the Guodian manuscripts is similar to that of Xunzi. He says that *Xing zi ming chu* holds that man’s human nature basically is neither good nor evil, but draws from

38 Paul Rakita GOLDIN, *Rituals of the Way: The Philosophy of Xunzi* (Chicago: Open Court, 1999).

its environment. This too is consistent with Xunzi's view of morality. Goldin states that he had originally thought that Xunzi had created this theory. However, since it is already on display in the Guodian manuscripts, these ideas must have been in circulation already at the time in which they were written. He also says that quite a number of other ideas in the *Xunzi* must either have drawn from the Guodian manuscripts or else both the *Xunzi* and the Guodian manuscripts were drawing from yet another source. This evaluation of Goldin's seems to have been accepted by many western scholars, and it would seem that there is a similar tendency within China. It is worth mentioning here that in 2005 Goldin also published a collection of studies entitled *After Confucius: Studies in Early Chinese Philosophy* (403940), much of the contents having to do with unearthed manuscripts.

Erica F. BRINDLEY is a professor of ancient Chinese thought at Pennsylvania State University. Like Scott Cook, she has been much interested in music, especially emphasizing the role music plays in Confucian notions of self cultivation. Her unique feature is her synthesis of three different notions: music, the universe, and the soul. In the first of her articles mentioned above, Brindley focuses on the role that music plays in self cultivation as seen in *Xing zi ming chu*. In the second article, she adopts a broader perspective to compare *Xing zi ming chu* with the "Yue lun" 樂論 (Essay on music) chapter of the *Xunzi* and the "Yue ji" 樂記 (Record of music) chapter of the *Li ji*. Like Paul Goldin, she too finds considerable intellectual similarity between *Xing zi ming chu* and the *Xunzi*.

Franklin PERKINS had long been a professor in Department of Philosophy at Depaul University in Chicago, but has recently moved to the Department of Philosophy at Nanyang Technical University in Singapore. His specialization is ancient Chinese intellectual history and the thought of seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe, especially the relationship between the thought of Gottfried Wilhelm LEIBNIZ (1646-1716) and China, in which regard he has authored two separate books.³⁹ In his work on Chinese intellectual history, aside from the two articles listed above on *Xing zi ming chu*, in 2010 he also joined together with Chungying CHENG to co-edit a special issue of the *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* devoted to unearthed manuscripts: *Chinese Philosophy in Excavated Early Texts* (405271). Thereafter he also published several studies of Shanghai Museum manuscripts, such as "The Spontaneous Generation of the Human in the *Heng xian*" (406110;

³⁹ Franklin PERKINS, *Leibniz and China: A Commerce of Light* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Franklin PERKINS, *Leibniz: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007). *Leibniz and China: A Commerce of Light* has been translated into Chinese; see Fang Fengsheng 方嵐生, *Hu zhao: Laibunici yu Zhongguo* 互照：萊布尼茨與中國 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2013).

2013) and “*Fanwu liuxing* 凡物流行 (‘All Things Flow into Form’) and the ‘One’ in the Laozi” (406481; 2015), both rather influential among western scholars of Chinese philosophy.

***Yu cong* 語叢**

The editors of *Guodian Chu jian* have termed the last three texts in the collection *Yu cong* 語叢 (Thicket of sayings) A, B and C. The three texts have more or less the same form, which is a collection of individual sayings. Whether or not this is in fact the format of all three of these manuscripts is still an open question. Unfortunately, the western scholarly world has not devoted much research to these texts, with only four English-language articles having been published, one of these authored by the Japanese scholar IKEDA Tomohisa 池田知久.

Yuri PINES, “Friends or Foes: Changing Concepts of Ruler-Minister Relations and the Notion of Loyalty in Pre-Imperial China” (403380; 2002)

IKEDA Tomohisa 池田知久, “The Evolution of the Concept of Filial Piety (*xiao*) in the *Laozi*, the *Zhuangzi*, and the Guodian Bamboo Text *Yucong*” (403750; 2004)

Christoph HARBSMEIER, “A Reading of the Guodian 郭店 Manuscript *Yucong* 語叢 1 as a Masterpiece of Early Chinese Analytic Philosophy and Conceptual Analysis” (405650; 2011)

Rens KRIJGSMAN, “Traveling Sayings as Carriers of Philosophical Debate: From the Intertextuality of the **Yucong* 語叢 to the Dynamics of Cultural Memory and Authorship in Early China” (406240; 2014)

According to Yuri PINES, the Guodian manuscripts taken altogether are concerned with the political position of ministers, and the three *Yucong* manuscripts represent the most extreme statement of this position. Pines uses these sayings to investigate the development of political thought from the Spring and Autumn period through to the Warring States period. Although this article begins with the *Yu cong*, he very quickly moves on to broader topics, and does not seem to take a pronounced position vis-à-vis the *Yu cong*.

Christoph HARBSMEIER was professor of Chinese at the University of Oslo in Oslo, Norway. He came to prominence in the field as the author of the volume on *Language and Logic* in Joseph Needham’s monumental *Science and civilisation in*

China.⁴⁰ He has never displayed much interest in unearthed texts, such that this study of the *Yu cong* texts caught the attention of many readers. Despite this, Harbsmeier's methodology here is rather hard to understand. He says that the title given to these texts by the editors of *Guodian Chu jian* is problematic. “*Yu cong*” 語叢 was intended to imitate the “*Tan cong*” 談叢 (Thicket of conversations) chapter of the *Shuo yuan* 說苑 (Garden of sayings), which collected a number of “conversations” (*tan* 談). However, according to Harbsmeier, the *Yu cong* are neither “sayings” (*yu* 語) nor a “thicket” (*cong* 叢), but rather resemble the logic chapters of the *Mozi*. The problem is that the logic that Harbsmeier sees in the text seems to be supplied by him. He has rearranged the order of the strips, but doing so without stating any methodological principles of his own.

Other Studies of the Guodian Manuscripts

Western scholars have also published a number of studies that can only be characterized as general discussions of the Guodian manuscripts or discussions that make use of evidence in the manuscripts to consider other issues. Because of the diverse nature of the topics discussed in these articles, many of which are concerned with larger problems in Warring States thought, it is difficult here either to present a general introduction or to introduce them one by one. Some of the authors have already been discussed above, so that there is no need to say more about them. Below I simply list the titles in the order of date of publication.

Constance A. COOK, “The Way(s) of the Former Kings: Guodian Notes” (404290; 2006)

WONG Kwan Leung, “Early Confucianism: A Study of the Guodian Confucian Texts” (404490; 2006)

Annping CHIN, “Understanding *yangong* (言公) in Two Ways: Lessons from the *Xunzi* and Guodian Bamboo Texts” (404550; 2007)

Kenneth W. HOLLOWAY, “How Guodian and Received Texts Use Humanity and Righteousness Differently” (404720; 2008)

Dirk MEYER, “Meaning-Construction in Warring States Philosophical Discourse: A Discussion of the Palaeographic Materials from Tomb Guodiàn One” (404810; 2008)

Edward SLINGERLAND, “The Problem of Moral Spontaneity in the Guodian Corpus” (404870; 2008)

⁴⁰ Christoph HARBSMEIER, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Volume 7, Part 1: *Language and Logic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Dirk MEYER, “Texts, Textual Communities, and Meaning: The Genius Loci of the Warring States Chu Tomb Guodian One” (405050; 2009)

Franklin PERKINS, “Recontextualizing *xing*: Self-Cultivation and Human Nature in the Guodian Texts” (“405410; 2010)

Shirley CHAN, “Cosmology, Society, and Humanity: *Tian* in the Guodian Texts (Part 1)” (405550; 2011)

Shirley CHAN, “Cosmology, Society, and Humanity: *Tian* in the Guodian Texts (Part 2)” (405840; 2012)

4.3.14 1994 Shanghai Museum Collection of Warring States Chu Texts 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書

In August 1993, when tomb robbers opened a shaft into a tomb in the cemetery at Guodian (which would subsequently be labeled Guodian Tomb 1), as soon as local archaeologists received word of the attempted burglary they went to the cemetery to investigate. Finding that the tomb robbers had not been able to disturb the coffin chamber, the archaeologists decided to fill the robbers’ shaft and not excavate the tomb. In the same year, tomb robbers again struck the same tomb, this time making it into the tomb chamber and causing a considerable amount of damage to the funerary goods and to the surroundings of the tomb. When archaeologists from the Jingzhou City Museum arrived on the scene, this time they excavated the tomb, the result being that they discovered the more than 700 bamboo strips that have been introduced above. This is a relatively positive outcome. However, at just about the same time there was another case of tomb robbing that had a much less positive outcome. This took place at about the same time as the Guodian tomb was being excavated, and was very possibly in the same cemetery or in an adjoining cemetery. The tomb robbers opened another Chu tomb, but they were never discovered and so were able to empty the tomb of its furnishings. Later, at the beginning of 1994, reports surfaced in Hong Kong that a batch of bamboo strips was available on the antique market.

After several months of examination, the Shanghai Museum bought the bamboo strips, which were then sent to Shanghai. After the strips arrived at the museum, curators at the museum began the process of putting them into order. This result was perhaps not a worst-case scenario, though it certainly was not ideal either. Not only was the original archaeological information all lost (indeed, even today archaeologists at Jingzhou City Museum have not specified which tomb was robbed). What is more, in the course of the robbery and then the subsequent transport to Hong Kong, the bamboo strips suffered a certain amount of damage

and loss. Nevertheless, this situation was not without some good results. The Shanghai Museum organized a team of experts to handle the bamboo strips, and they have now worked on them for over twenty years, publishing to date nine sumptuous volumes with extremely valuable photographs, thus saving many Warring States Chu texts from oblivion; these are the *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 (Warring States Chu bamboo documents in the collection of the Shanghai Museum).⁴¹ The publication of each new volume has been met with a most enthusiastic response in China, and there has also been a definite influence on western scholarship. Below I will introduce the western scholarship on these documents in the order in which they have been published by the Shanghai Museum.

Kongzi Shi lun 孔子詩論

The first volume of *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Cu zhushu* contained a document composed of twenty-seven bamboo strips which the editors titled *Kongzi Shi lun* 孔子詩論 (Confucius's essay on the Poetry), and which purports to include Confucius's explanations of poems in the *Classic of Poetry*. The title was chosen intentionally by the Shanghai Museum editors, suggesting a certain understanding of the contents and significance of the manuscript. It incited a good deal of discussion within China, which need not detain us here. In the West, the notice given to the *Kongzi Shi lun* has been much less than that in China, there having been only two or three articles devoted to it, as well as several articles by Martin KERN and translations of articles by JIANG Guanghui 姜廣輝. These are listed below by year of publication.

Martin KERN, "Early Chinese Poetics in the Light of Recently Excavated Manuscripts" (403490; 2003)

Vincent SHEN, "Wisdom in Poetry: On the Newly Discovered *Confucius on the Book of Odes*" (403810; 2004)

Martin KERN, "Excavated Manuscripts and Their Socratic Pleasures: Newly Discovered Challenges in Reading the 'Airs of the States'" (404600; 2007)

JIANG Guanghui 姜廣輝, "A Modern Translation of *Confucius's Comments on the Poetry (Kongzi Shilun)*" (404740; 2008)

Thies STAACK, "Reconstructing the *Kongzi shilun*: From the Arrangement of the Bamboo Slips to a Tentative Translation" (405460; 2010)

41 MA Chengyuan 馬承源 ed.-in-chief, *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2001-2012).

Martin KERN, “Speaking of Poetry: Pattern and Argument in the ‘Kongzi Shilun’” (406440; 2015)

Above in the discussion of the Guodian manuscript of the *Zi yi*, I introduced Martin Kern’s viewpoint regarding early Chinese literature, saying that the *Zi yi* was produced and transmitted within an oral culture. According to Kern, this is even more true of the *Shi jing* 詩經 (Classic of poetry). Since I have already introduced this viewpoint, there is no need to repeat it here.

The most detailed study of the *Kongzi Shi lun* among western scholars is certainly that of Thiess STAACK, whose 2010 article provided a complete and very objective discussion of the textual sequence of the manuscript. He also contributed a complete English translation. Although he suggested in his title that this was only a “tentative” contribution, in fact it is based on very deep research. Staack is a professor of Chinese at the University of Heidelberg in Germany, having received his habilitations degree from the University of Hamburg in 2015 for a dissertation entitled “Reconstructing Early Chinese Bamboo Manuscripts: Towards a Systematic Approach Including Verso Analysis” (406520). In his study of the *Kongzi Shi lun*, Staack not only examined the contents of the text vis-à-vis the corresponding poems in the *Shi jing*, but he also used the physical features of the manuscript (and especially diagonal lines on the backs of the strips) to propose a new ordering of the strips. Because the text is lacking an indeterminate number of strips, it is very difficult to arrive at a convincing ordering, but Staack’s conclusion seems to be quite persuasive.

Zi Gao 子羔

The Shanghai Museum manuscript *Zi Gao* 子羔 was originally bound together with the *Kongzi Shi lun*, the two texts written consecutively, the *Zi Gao* first and then followed by the *Kongzi Shi lun*. In the West, there has only been a single study devoted to the *Zi Gao* manuscript, Sarah ALLAN’s 2009 article “Not the *Lun yu*: The Chu Script Bamboo Slip Manuscript, *Zigao*, and the Nature of Early Confucianism” (404900), which was subsequently included in her 2015 book *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-slip Manuscripts* (406380). As mentioned above, as early as her 1974 doctoral dissertation, Allan was particularly interested in the question of abdication in ancient China.⁴² Below, in my discussion of the Shanghai Museum manuscript *Rong*

⁴² Sarah ALLAN, “The Heir and the Sage: Dynastic Legend in Early China” (Ph.D. diss.: University of California, Berkeley, 1974). This dissertation was subsequently published under the same

Cheng shi 容成氏, I will have further occasion to introduce her work in this regard. This study of the *Zi Gao* manuscript is also based on the same viewpoint, suggesting that the Confucian thought to be found in unearthed manuscripts has certain definite differences from that of received sources, which is a viewpoint surely worthy of further consideration.

Heng Xian 恆先

Heng Xian 恆先 is a text included in the second volume of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts. Like the Guodian manuscript *Tai Yi sheng shui*, it too presents a type of cosmology, for which it has attracted attention, especially from those interested in intellectual history and mythology. The most important introduction to this text in the western scholarly world has been a special issue of the journal *Dao* published in 2013; this was edited by Erica BRINDLEY, Paul R. GOLDIN and Esther S. KLEIN, who together published what they called a “philosophical” translation. The articles in this issue were originally presented as papers to a small conference organized by Brindley at Pennsylvania State University. It was only after extensive discussion with the editors and then further revision that the papers were published. Other than the translation done by the editors, this special issue of *Dao* included six articles, most of them concerning the cosmological views of *Heng Xian*.

ERICA F. BRINDLEY, PAUL R. GOLDIN and Esther S. KLEIN, “A Philosophical Translation of the *Heng Xian*” (405990; 2013)

ERICA F. BRINDLEY, “The Cosmos as Creative Mind: Spontaneous Arising, Generating, and Creating in the *Heng xian*” (405980; 2013)

Constance A. COOK, “The Ambiguity of Text, Birth, and Nature” (406040; 2013)

PAUL R. GOLDIN, “*Heng xian* and the Problem of Studying Looted Artifacts” (406050; 2013)

Andrei GOMOLINE, “Permanence, Something, Being: The Cosmogonic Argument of the *Heng xian*” (406060; 2013)

Esther S. KLEIN, “Constancy and the *Changes*: A Comparative Reading of *Heng xian*” (406070; 2013)

Franklin PERKINS, “The Spontaneous Generation of the Human in the *Heng xian*” (406110; 2013)

title as *The Heir and the Sage: Dynastic Legend in Early China* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1981).

Aside from these articles in the special issue of *Dao*, western scholars have published only one other article concerning the manuscript *Heng Xian*; this was Donald Harper's article "Philology and Cosmological Discourse in Early China: Reading the *Heng Xian* from the Shanghai Museum Bamboo Slips from Chu" (404990) published in 2009. There have also been two translations of articles originally published in Chinese:

QIANG Yu 強昱, "The Philosophies of Laozi and Zhuangzi and the Bamboo-Slip Essay *Hengxian*" (405170; 2009)

WANG Zhongjiang 王中江, "The Construction of the View of the Cosmos and the Human World in *Hengxian*" (405190; 2009)

***Min zhi fumu* 民之父母**

Another text in the second volume of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts has been named *Min zhi fumu* 民之父母 (The parents of the people) by the editors. In fact, this text shares considerable content with the "Kongzi xian ju" 孔子閑居 (Confucius at leisure) chapter of the *Li ji* and also the "Lun li" 論禮 (Discussing ritual) chapter of the *Kongzi jia yu* 孔子家語 (Family sayings of Confucius). Although there are some differences of wording and also different sequences, these three texts could certainly be said to be just different versions of a single text. As of now, there has only been a single western scholar to publish research on *Min zhi fumu*, but this research is very important. In 2013, Matthias L. RICHTER published the book *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts* (406120), which is entirely concerned with *Min zhi fumu*. Richter is an extremely careful scholar who not only considers the form of every character in the text but also pays attention to the calligraphy and all of the paratextual features of a text. What he means by an "embodied text" is to emphasize that our reading habits ought to take account of all of the physical features of a text. This is a topic that has been of concern to Richter throughout his career, and he has already published a long series of articles on similar topics, just the most representative of which would include the following:

"Towards a Profile of Graphic Variation: On the Distribution of Graphic Variants within the Mawangdui *Laozi* Manuscripts" (404130; 2005)

"Der Alte und das Wasser: Lesarten von *Laozi* 8 im überlieferten Text und in den Manuskripten von Mawangdui" (404420*; 2006)

"Faithful Transmission or Creative Change: Tracing Modes of Manuscript Production from the Material Evidence" (405180*; 2009)

“Textual Identity and the Role of Literacy in the Transmission of Early Chinese Literature” (405740; 2011)

There will be further opportunity in the section on Methodology below to introduce Richter's scholarship more fully.

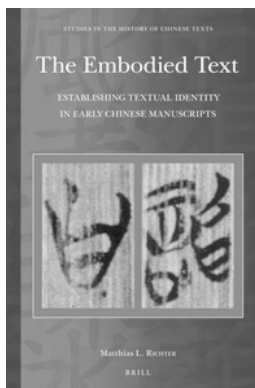


Fig. 37: Matthias Richter, *The Embodied Text*

Zhou Yi 周易

Volume Three of *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* included primarily a manuscript of the *Zhou Yi* 周易, which of course was a very important event in the history of *Yi jing* studies. Edward SHAUGHNESSY has been concerned with the early history of the *Zhou Yi* for more than thirty years now, and so when this manuscript was published in 2004 he immediately introduced it to readers of *Early China* in an article entitled “A First Reading of the Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of the *Zhou Yi*” (404170). Later, he also devoted two chapters of his book *Unearthing the Changes: Recently Discovered Manuscripts of the Yijing (I Ching) and Related Texts* (406340) to this manuscript.

Aside from Shaughnessy, Haeree PARK has also worked on the Shanghai Museum *Zhou Yi* manuscript, in 2009 submitting a doctoral dissertation entitled “The Shanghai Museum *Zhouyi* Manuscript and the Warring States Writing System” (405110) to the University of Washington. Park was a student of William Boltz, and is exclusively concerned with paleography and linguistics, but not so much interested in the *Yi jing per se*. In her doctoral dissertation, she focused in particular on variants between the Shanghai manuscript and the received text of the *Zhou Yi*, arguing that most of these derived from different writing traditions

in different geographical areas of China; she gives quite a careful examination to the writing of the state of Chu.

Rong Cheng Shi 容成氏

The third volume of the Shanghai manuscripts also included a manuscript entitled *Rong Cheng shi* 容成氏, a lengthy narrative of early Chinese mythology and history. Since this manuscript is not only related to history but also reflects Warring States thought, the question of how Warring States thinkers adapted ancient history to present their own political philosophy is one that has interested many western scholars, and so this text has attracted considerable attention.

Vera V. DOROFEEVA-LICHTMANN, “Comparative Analysis of Early Accounts of the ‘Nine Provinces’ (*Jiu zhou*)” (404330; 2006)

Sarah ALLAN, “Abdication and Utopian Vision in the Bamboo Slip Manuscript, *Rongchengshi*” (405230; 2010)

Vera V. DOROFEEVA-LICHTMANN, “The *Rong Cheng shi* 容成氏 Version of the ‘Nine Provinces’: Some Parallels with Transmitted Texts” (405290; 2010)

Yuri PINES, “Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy in the *Rong Cheng shi* Manuscript” (405420; 2010)

Sarah ALLAN, *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-slip Manuscripts* (406380; 2015)

PINES’s 2010 article included a complete annotated translation of the *Rong Cheng shi* manuscript. He holds that one of the most interesting features of the text is that it does not include any early history of the state of Chu, suggesting that already by the Warring States period the upper social strata of the different states of China had already accepted a notion of political unity for the country. He says that this political notion was different from the different social customs that could be found in different regions. For example, the bamboo strips from Geling 葛嶺, Xincai 新蔡 or from Baoshan all exhibit a very pronounced local culture, which is fundamentally different from that of the *Rong Cheng shi*. Pines has long been interested in the topic of abdication in ancient China, which he has discussed in at least three other articles:

“Friends or Foes: Changing Concepts of Ruler-Minister Relations and the Notion of Loyalty in Pre-Imperial China” (403380; 2002)

“Disputers of Abdication: Zhanguo Egalitarianism and the Sovereign’s Power” (404090; 2005)

“Subversion Unearthed: Criticism of Hereditary Succession in the Newly Discovered Manuscripts” (404100; 2005-06)

These three articles were all published in prominent journals, the first in *Monumenta Serica*, the second in *T'oung Pao*, and the third in *Oriens Extremus*, and all three of them have gained widespread notice.

The article that Sarah ALLAN published in 2010 is also a facet of her long-time interest in the topic of abdication in ancient China. She says that the purpose of *Rong Cheng shi* was not at all to provide a historical narrative, but rather to articulate a political philosophy. She holds that its main ideas concern “honoring the worthy” and abdication.

Two of the articles on *Rong Cheng shi* have been published by Vera V. DOROFEEVA-LICHTMANN. She was originally from Russia, but subsequently moved to France where she now works at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS). Her interest in *Rong Cheng shi* is rather different from that of either Yuri Pines or Sarah Allan. Whereas they are primarily concerned with Warring States political philosophy, Dorofeeva-Lichtmann's main concern has long been with ancient Chinese notions of geography, for which she adopts an anthropological approach, interpreting the symbolic significance of ancient maps. For example, since 1995, she has published several articles concerning the *Shan hai jing* 山海經 (Classic of mountains and seas),⁴³ and now has used a similar approach to treat the *Rong Cheng shi*.

43 Vera V. DOROFEEVA-LICHTMANN, “Conception of Terrestrial Organization in the *Shan hai jing*,” *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 82 (1995): 57-110; “Mapping a ‘Spiritual’ Landscape: Representing Terrestrial Space in the *Shan hai jing*,” in Nicola di COSMO and Don WYATT ed., *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History* (London: Curzon-Routledge, 2003), pp. 35-79; “Text as a Device for Mapping a Sacred Space: A Case of the *Wu zang shan jing* (Five Treasuries: The Itineraries of Mountains),” in Michael DICKHARDT and Vera DOROFEEVA-LICHTMANN ed., *Creating and Representing Sacred Spaces*. Göttinger Beiträge zur Asien-forschung 2-3 (2003): 147-210; “Formation and Evolution of the Conception of the ‘Nine Provinces’ (*Jiu zhou*): A Critical Evaluation of the Early Sources,” in GAO Xuan, Hans-Ulrich VOGEL and Christine MOLL-MURATA ed., *Studies on Ancient Chinese Scientific and Technical Texts* (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), pp. 1-23; “Mapless Mapping: Did the Maps of the *Shanhai jing* Ever Exist?” in Francesca BRAY, Vera DOROFEEVA-LICHTMANN and Georges MÉTAILLIÉ ed., *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 217-294; “Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space (Warring States-Early Han),” in John LAGERWEY and Marc KALINOWSKI ed., *Early Chinese Religion. Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC - 220 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 595-644.

***Jian Da Wang Bo Han* 簡大王泊旱**

The Shanghai Museum manuscripts include several texts that touch on divination. One of these is entitled *Jian da wang bo han* 簡大王泊旱 (The great king Jian suppresses the drought), which is found in the fourth volume of *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*. It describes how when King Jian of Chu 楚柬 (簡) 王 met with a great drought, he proposed to use divination to alleviate the problem. Western scholars have not paid much attention to this manuscript, but Marc KALINOWSKI did touch on it in a long review of Eastern Zhou examples of divination: “Diviners and Astrologers under the Eastern Zhou: Transmitted Texts and Recent Archaeological Discoveries” (405010; 2009). Kalinowski is an expert on all mantic arts from the Warring States, Qin and Han and even extending into medieval China, and here provides an extremely detailed discussion of the theory and practice of prognostication. The article begins with examples of divination in the *Zuo zhuan*, and then moves on to the Baoshan divination records and the Jiudian 九店 Daybook, before finally coming to the *Jian da wang bo han* manuscript, of which he provides a partial English translation.

***Cao Mie zhi zhen* 曹蔑之陳**

Volume Four of *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* also contains a manuscript entitled *Cao Mie zhi zhen* 曹蔑之陳 (Cao Mie’s battle formations), which on the surface seems to be a work of military philosophy. Ernest CALDWELL has published a pair of studies of it, first in *Early China* entitled “Promoting Action in Warring States Political Philosophy: A First Look at the Chu Manuscript *Cao Mie’s Battle Arrays*” (406200; 2014), and then in a volume on ancient warfare “Opportune Moments in Early Chinese Military Thought: The Concept of *ji* 機 in the Warring States Period Manuscript *Cao Mie’s Battle Array*” (406401; 2015). In these studies, he argues that an even more important aspect of this manuscript is to promote a type of political philosophy. The first of the two articles not only includes a complete English translation, but also a thorough description of the physical and codicological features of the manuscript.

***Gui shen zhi ming* 鬼神之神**

Volume Five of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts includes a text entitled *Gui shen zhi ming* 鬼神之神 (The brightness of ghosts and spirits). Erica BRINDLEY published a study of it in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*: “The Persepicuity of Ghosts and Spirits’ and the Problem of Intellectual Affiliations in Early China” (404920; 2009). Brindley began with a complete translation, and then discussed the intellectual background of the text. In China many studies have argued

that this manuscript can be seen as a product of the school of Mohism. According to Brindley, this view cannot necessarily explain the background and purpose of the text. In fact, she questions whether it is even appropriate to talk of “schools” (*jia* 家) in ancient China.

***Tianzi jian zhou* 天子建州**

Volume Six of *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* contains two separate versions of a manuscript that the editors entitle *Tianzi jian zhou* 天子建州 (The son of heaven establishes the regions). Given two different versions of the same text, the careful comparisons that Matthias RICHTER brings to his examinations of manuscripts is especially fruitful. In 2009 he published “Faithful Transmission or Creative Change: Tracing Modes of Manuscript Production from the Material Evidence” (405180) in which he subjected these two manuscripts of *Tianzi jian zhou* to a thorough comparison, demonstrating that the second manuscript was copied from the first. In other words, the first manuscript was the source text for the second. Not only is the content of the two manuscripts almost exactly alike, but their use of punctuation is also identical. Nevertheless, the two manuscripts were certainly copied by two different scribes, exhibiting two very different styles of calligraphy. These manuscripts constitute a powerful challenge to theories of oral literature.

***Wu Wang jian zuo* 武王踐阼**

Volume Seven of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts includes *Wu Wang jian zuo* 武王踐阼 (King Wu treads the stairs). Like the *Min zhi fumu* manuscript, this text too has a counterpart in the received text of the *Li ji*. Unfortunately, it has not attracted much attention in the West, the only published study of it being Yuri PINES’s “Confucian Irony? ‘King Wu’s Enthronement’ Reconsidered” (405140; 2009). As with all of Pines’s work, this article combines a careful reading of the text with a broader intellectual perspective.

***Fan wu liu xing* 凡物流行**

Fan wu liu xing 凡物流行 (All things circulate) is another text in Volume Seven of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts. Like *Tianzi jian zhou*, it too is found in two separate versions, and these too have been studied by Matthias RICHTER. In his article “Faithful Transmission or Creative Change: Tracing Modes of Manuscript Production from the Material Evidence” in which he primarily discussed *Tianzi jian zhou*, Richter also discusses these two *Fan wu liu xing* manuscripts. Other than Richter, Franklin PERKINS has also published “*Fanwu liuxing* 凡物流行 (‘All

Things Flow into Form’) and the ‘One’ in the Laozi” (406481; 2015), in which he compares the cosmogonic notions found in this manuscript and in other Warring States texts.

4.3.15 1996 Zoumalou 走馬樓, Changsha 長沙, Hunan

In 1996, an ancient well in Zoumalou 走馬樓, Changsha 長沙, Hunan was excavated, and archaeologists found tens of thousands of bamboo strips from the third century A.D., most of them being documents of the Sun Wu 孫吳 government. Unfortunately, although the first publication of the strips came already in 1999, they have not attracted any attention among western scholars. Not only has there not been a single article devoted to them, it is rare even for anyone to have mentioned them.

4.3.16 2000 Kongjiapo 孔加坡, Suizhou 隨州, Hubei

The Kongjiapo 孔加坡 cemetery is located in the northeastern part of Suizhou 隨州 county, Hubei. From 1998 through 2000, archaeologists excavated sixteen different tombs there. Of these, tomb 8, excavated in 2000, was relatively well preserved, and the archaeologists found two large batches of bamboo strips in the coffin chamber, the strips being divided between Daybooks and a calendar (*libiao* 曆表). The calendar provides a definite date for the tomb, being the second year of the Houyuan 後元 reign era (143-141 B.C.) of Emperor Jing of Han (r. 157-141 B.C.), which corresponds to 142 B.C. The bamboo strips were published in 2006, in a volume entitled *Suizhou Kongjiapo Han mu jiandu* 隨州孔加坡漢墓簡牘 (Bamboo documents from the Han tomb at Kongjiapo, Suizhou).⁴⁴ Neither has this discovery attracted much attention from western scholars, but it was the topic of a doctoral dissertation by the University of Chicago student Ethan HARKNESS: “Cosmology and the Quotidian: Day Books in Early China” (405660; 2011). This dissertation constituted a careful study of the Kongjiapo Daybooks, together with a comprehensive comparison of other daybooks found in other tombs.

⁴⁴ Hubei sheng Wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所 and Suizhou shi Kaogudui 隨州市考古隊 ed., *Suizhou Kongjiapo Han mu jiandu* 隨州孔加坡漢墓簡牘 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006).

4.3.17 2002 Liye 里耶, Hunan

In 2002, another ancient well was excavated, this one in Liye 里耶, Hunan, with archaeologists excavating more than 37,400 Qin dynasty bamboo and wooden strips. This was one of the most important archaeological discoveries of the beginning of the twenty-first century. The great majority of the strips are related to the administration of Liye commandery, and provide invaluable information concerning the actual working of ancient Chinese government. News of the Liye discovery immediately gained the interest of scholars both in China and abroad, especially after the first installment of the strips was published as *Liye Qin jian* 里耶秦簡 (Liye Qin strips) in 2012. Although western scholars have still not had time to do any in-depth study of this discovery, there have already appeared several articles discussing it:

Maxim KOROLKOV, “Arguing about Law: Interrogation Procedure under the Qin and Former Han Dynasties” (405700; 2011)

Olivier VENTURE, “Caractères interdits et vocabulaire officiel sous les Qin: L’apport des documents administratifs de Liye” (405770; 2011)

Maxim KOROLKOV, “‘Greeting Tablets’ in Early China: Some Traits of the Communicative Etiquette of Officialdom in Light of Newly Excavated Inscriptions” (405910; 2012)

Robin D.S. YATES, “The Qin Slips and Boards from Well No. 1, Liye, Hunan: A Brief Introduction to the Qin Qianling County Archives” (405950; 2012)

Charles SANFT, “New Information on Qin Religious Practice from Liye and Zhoujiatai” (406320; 2014)

Maxim KOROLKOV, “Convict Labor in the Qin Empire: A Preliminary Study of the ‘Registers of Convict Laborers’ from Liye” (406450; 2015)

In 2011 the French journal *Études chinoises* already published two articles discussing different aspects of the Liye strips; these were by Maxim KOROLKOV and Olivier VENTURE. The next year, 2012, Korolkov published further specialized research in *T’oung Pao*, exploring the “greeting tablets” (*ming ye* 名謁) found there. In the same year, Robin YATES published a comprehensive introduction to the discovery in the journal *Early China*, and two years later Charles SANFT published another article in *Early China* discussing the religious significance of the find. In 2015, Korolkov published yet another article, discussing the legal system of the Qin period. Korolkov is a Russian scholar who originally studied in the Department of History at Peking University, where he was awarded a Masters degree. Afterwards, he went to Columbia University in the United States, where he is a

doctoral candidate. Still a graduate student, he is a very promising young scholar. Although there has not yet been scholarship devoted to the Liye strips, it will surely be of great interest to western scholars in the future.

Yuelu Academy Qin Strips 嶽麓書院藏秦簡

In December 2007, the Yuelu Academy 嶽麓書院 of Hunan University purchased a cache of Qin-dynasty bamboo strips on the antique market of Hong Kong. In all, they registered 2,098 strips, with more than 1,300 of them relatively intact. Then in August 2008, some anonymous collector in Hong Kong donated another 76 fragments to the Academy, bringing its total number of strips to 2,174. The contents of these strips are particularly rich. As of 2015, the Yuelu Academy had already published three volumes entitled *Yuelu shuyuan cang Qin jian* 嶽麓書院藏秦簡 (Qin strips in the collection of the Yuelu Academy). The first volume contained three texts: *Zhi ri* 質日 (Event calendars), *Wei li zhi guan ji qinshou* 為吏治官及黔首 (For serving as an official and the black-headed ones) and *Zhan meng shu* 占夢書 (Document prognosticating dreams). The second volume had several types of mathematical texts, and the third volume contained texts dealing with law: *Zou yan shu* 奏讞書 (Document for considering cases), *Qin li za chao* 秦律雜抄 (Miscellaneous copies of Qin statutes) and *Qin ling zachao* 秦令雜抄 (Miscellaneous copies of Qin laws).

One characteristic of the Yuelu Academy is that the editing of these strips has been very open, with numerous foreign scholars contributing ideas to the initial transcriptions. According to the preface of the second volume, three foreign scholars even participated in the editing of the mathematical texts: Christopher CULLEN and Joseph DAUBEN, both of whom have already been introduced above, and also Karine CHEMLA of the CNRS in Paris. Both the editing and the transcription in the third volume was conducted by Arnd Helmut HAFNER, better known by his Chinese name TAO An 陶安. Although he is German, his higher education and his current teaching have all been in Japan, where he is currently a professor in the Tokyo University of Foreign Languages. Most of his published scholarship has been written in either Japanese or Chinese, and as far as I know he has never yet published in a western language, for which reason his name does not appear in the bibliographies of this book.

To date, there has been only a single article published concerning these documents: Thies STAACK's "The *Wei li zhi guan ji qianshou* Manuscript from the Yuelu Academy Collection: A New Reconstruction based on Verso Lines and Verso Imprints of Writing" (406350; 2014). As the sub-title of this article indicates,

it makes use of lines carved into the backs of the strips as well as imprints of writing from other strips to propose new ways of putting the strips into sequence; this is a methodology with important implications for other finds as well.

Qinghua Warring States Bamboo Documents 清華戰國竹書

In 2008, a then anonymous alumnus of Beijing's Tsinghua University 清華大學 donated a very large cache of bamboo strips to the university. The university subsequently established the Tsinghua University Center for the Study and Preservation of Unearthed Documents (Qinghua daxue chutu wenxian yanjiu yu baohu zhongxin 清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心), led by the eminent scholar LI Xueqin 李學勤. The Center immediately set about editing the documents, publishing its first volume in 2010: *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡 (Warring States bamboo documents in the collection of Tsinghua University), and by 2015 had already published five volumes. The first, third and fifth volumes all contain a number of different documents, while the second and fourth volumes were devoted to a single document (or in the case of the fourth volume, one primary document with two other subsidiary documents). By the time that these strips are completely published, they will certainly enjoy the same status as the Guodian and Shanghai Museum strips, and indeed may very well be regarded as even more important. However, because these strips have only just begun to be published, scholars have hardly had the chance to digest them. Especially for the western scholarly world, in which publication tends to take much longer than it does in China, there have not yet been many articles published on these texts. Based on what I have been able to see in the last few years, through the end of 2015 there appeared the following articles, as well as one book by Sarah ALLAN and an English-language translation of a book by LIU Guozhong 劉國忠, one of the Tsinghua editors:

Sarah ALLAN, "What Is a *Shu* 書?" (405500; 2011)

Sarah ALLAN, "On *Shu* (Documents) and the Origin of the *Shang Shu* (Ancient Documents) in Light of Recently Discovered Bamboo Slip Manuscripts" (405810; 2012)

Shirley CHAN, "*Zhong* 中 and Ideal Rulership in the *Baoxun* 保訓 (Instructions for Preservation) Text of the Tsinghua Collection of Bamboo Slip Manuscripts" (405850; 2012)

Dirk MEYER, "Bamboo and the Production of Philosophy: A Hypothesis about a Shift in Writing and Thought in Early China" (406270; 2014)

Sarah ALLAN, *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-slip Manuscripts* (406380; 2015)

Sarah ALLAN, “‘When Red Pigeons Gathered on Tang’s House’: A Warring States Tale of Shamanic Possession and Building Construction Set at the Turn of the Xia and Shang Dynasties” (406390; 2015)

LIU Guozhong 劉國忠, *Introduction to the Tsinghua Bamboo-Strip Manuscripts* (40647; 2015)

LUO Xinhui 羅新慧, “Omens and Politics: The Zhou Concept of the Mandate of Heaven as Seen in the *Chengwu* Manuscript” (406480; 2015)

Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY, “Unearthed Documents and the Question of the Oral Versus Written Nature of the *Classic of Poetry*” (406500; 2015)

Sarah ALLAN has for a long time had a particularly close relationship with LI Xueqin, the director of the Tsinghua University Center, and so she has regarded the Tsinghua strips as particularly important. Already in 2011 and 2012, she published articles regarding texts in the first volume of *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhushu* 清華大學藏戰國竹書, which contained several texts that correspond with chapters in the *Shang shu* 尚書 (Venerated documents) and *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (Leftover Zhou documents). Li Xueqin himself has written many articles discussing these texts, and Allan’s viewpoint is much the same as Li’s. In 2015 she published an article on a text in the third volume of these strips, *Chi hu zhi ji Tang zhi wu* 赤鷺之集湯之屋 (Red pigeons gathered on Tang’s roof), and in the same year she also published a monographic study that included several other studies that she had published in recent years. One of the articles concerned the text *Bao xun* 保訓 (Precious instruction), which had been published in the first volume.

Shirley CHAN has also published a study of the *Bao xun*. She is a professor of ancient Chinese intellectual history at Macquarrie University in Australia, and in recent years has published a great number of articles on topics in bamboo and silk studies, most of which view the manuscripts from the point of view of intellectual history. She has discussed such topics as moral cultivation, the relationship between rulers and ministers, and also the notion of “Heaven” (*tian* 天).⁴⁵ A simple listing of these articles would include:

“Human Nature and Moral Cultivation in the Guodian 郭店 Text of the *Xing Zi Ming Chu* 性自命出 (Nature Derives from Mandate)” (404930; 2009)

“The Ruler/Ruled Relationship in the *Ziyi* (Black Robe) Contained in the Newly Excavated Guodian Chu Slip-Texts” (404940; 2009)

⁴⁵ In 2014, CHAN (CHEN Hui 陳慧) edited together with LIAO Mingchun 廖名春 and LI Rui 李銳 a volume of studies entitled *Tian ren xing: Du Guodian yu Shanghai bowuguan cang zhujian* 天、人、性：讀郭店簡與上海博物館藏竹簡 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2014).

“Cosmology, Society, and Humanity: *Tian* in the Guodian Texts (Part 1)” (405550; 2011)

“Cosmology, Society, and Humanity: *Tian* in the Guodian Texts (Part 2)” (405840; 2012)

In discussing work on the Guodian documents above, I have already introduced the scholarship of Dirk MEYER, and especially his 2012 book *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China* (405930). After publishing this book, Meyer turned his interest to the *Shang shu*, organizing conferences on this topic at the University of Oxford and also training a group of students, most of whom are working on topics in the *Shang shu* and *Yi Zhou shu*. In this respect, Meyer has already published an article on the Tsinghua manuscript of the *Jin teng* 金滕 (Metal-bound coffer), which corresponds to the *Shang shu* chapter of that title.

Edward SHAUGHNESSY has written on the Tsinghua manuscripts *Qi ye* 耆夜 (The night of Qi) and *Zhou Gong zhi qin wu* 周公之琴舞 (The Duke of Zhou’s zither dance), considering them together with other unearthed documents to discuss the composition and transmission of the *Shi jing* 詩經 (Classic of poetry). Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the theory of oral literature has held a prominent place in western studies of ancient literature, with the case of Chinese literature—and especially the transmission of the *Shi jing*—being no exception. Shaughnessy argues that this view is open to debate, pointing out that there is considerable evidence of the *Shi jing* being transmitted from the Spring and Autumn through the Qin and Han periods by a process of copying from one written text to another. Although there are no written texts of the *Shi jing* from the Western Zhou period, this is not evidence that there was no written version extant at that time.

4.4 General Studies

Above I have introduced studies devoted to individual discoveries or individual texts. However, there have also been many studies of a more general nature that cannot be limited to one site or one text, or even to just one period of time. These works of course also deserve to be introduced, even if many of them are very difficult to categorize. Some of them use rather complicated types of evidence or argument which cannot be explained in just a sentence or two. Thus, there is no way to discuss each and every one of them. Given the limits of space here as well as the limits of my own knowledge of these topics, I can only introduce them according to certain general topics, such as history, geography, law, intellectual

history, religion, etc., and basically just list the achievements in these respects. I will provide further discussion for only those works that have been particularly influential or particularly controversial. I trust that the reader will be understanding of these limitations.

4.4.1 History

The study of ancient Chinese history is decidedly underdeveloped in the West. This is especially so for the study of the history of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. For the Han period, we could of course point to Michael LOEWE's scholarship that has unfolded over the course of more than fifty years. Loewe has always made considerable use of unearthed documents of all kinds. However, since his work has been introduced above and also in the appended biography, I will not discuss it further here. There have been three other scholars in particular who have followed Loewe in producing significant studies of ancient Chinese history.

Michael NYLAN, a student of Loewe, who like him has also specialized in the history of the Han dynasty, but who has not made much use of excavated texts in her work.

Mark Edward LEWIS, who wrote the chapter on Warring States history for the *Cambridge History of Ancient China* and who has also written a separate monograph on Qin and Han history,⁴⁶ but who has also not made much use of excavated texts.

Robin D.S. YATES, who, like Loewe, for several decades has consistently incorporated the results of archaeological discoveries in his work on Warring States, Qin and Han history. His achievements in this regard have been particularly notable, with many specialized titles already having been introduced above. Among his more general works should be mentioned his 1995 *Early China* article "State Control of Bureaucrats under the Qin: Techniques and Procedures" (402210), in which he made use of various texts from Shuihudi to discuss the organization and functioning of the Qin government administration. Also worthy of mention is the book *Birth of an Empire: The State of Qin Revisited* (406280) that Yates edited together with Yuri PINES, Lothar

⁴⁶ Mark Edward LEWIS, *The Early Chinese Empires: Qin and Han* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).

von FALKENHAUSEN and Gideon SHELACH, and which was published in 2014 by the University of California Press.

One of the co-editors of Yates's book is Yuri PINES, many of whose specialized articles on the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts have also been introduced above. In the last ten years or so, Pines has been one of the most active scholars in the West working on ancient Chinese history, publishing a long series of articles and monographs. He has been particularly interested in the history of the state of Qin, both before and after its unification of the other states, though he has also touched on many other topics in early Chinese history. The list below is just a few of the more general studies that he has published on topics related to excavated texts,⁴⁷ most of which have been published in authoritative journals such as *Monumenta Serica*, *T'oung Pao* and *Early China*.

“Friends or Foes: Changing Concepts of Ruler-Minister Relations and the Notion of Loyalty in Pre-Imperial China” (403380; 2002)

“The Question of Interpretation: Qin History in Light of New Epigraphic Sources” (302730; 2004)

“Disputers of Abdication: Zhanguo Egalitarianism and the Sovereign's Power” (404090; 2005)

“Subversion Unearthed: Criticism of Hereditary Succession in the Newly Discovered Manuscripts” (404100; 2005-06)

Envisioning Eternal Empire: Chinese Political Thought of the Warring States Era (405150; 2009)

Of these publications, the last is a book that takes a broad view of Warring States political thought, which argues that the Qin state established the basis for the following two thousand years of Chinese dynastic rule. Pines says that Chinese scholars have long been influenced by the polemics of the Han-dynasty successors to Qin and thus have failed to credit the Qin for its accomplishments. This same scholarly attitude is also to be seen in his 2004 article “The Question of Interpretation: Qin History in Light of New Epigraphic Sources.” Because this study

⁴⁷ Aside from these publications, Yuri PINES has also published two other books that have provided comprehensive discussions of the political philosophy of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods: *Foundations of Confucian Thought: Intellectual Life in the Chunqiu Period, 722-453 B.C.E.* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002) and *The Everlasting Empire: Traditional Chinese Political Culture and Its Enduring Legacy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012).

focused on the historical background of the inscription on the *Qin Yin yu ban* 秦駟玉板 (Qin Yin jade plaque), it was included in the bibliography appended to Chapter Three “Engraved on Bronze and Stone,” but the methodology and basic historical viewpoint is similar to the other studies mentioned in the present chapter. Pines argues that the Qin rulers were the successors to the Zhou kings, and not only were they not uncivilized barbarians, as the Han polemicists suggested, but they should be viewed as having been a very conservative historical force.

I have already introduced above the scholarship of Enno GIELE with respect to documents from the western regions of China. In addition to this work, Giele has also published several articles that discuss the use of bamboo and wood documents as historical sources:

“Early Chinese Manuscripts: Including Addenda and Corrigenda to *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts*” (402520; 1998-99)

“Using Early Chinese Manuscripts as Historical Source Materials” (403450; 2003)

“Excavated Manuscripts: Context and Methodology” (405300; 2010)

The first of these articles was published as a review of *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts* (100970), which was edited by Edward SHAUGHNESSY and published in 1997. More than a book review, Giele’s review was an overview of the bamboo and silk sources for Warring States, Qin and Han history, constituting a comprehensive database for these materials that were current through that time. Giele has also been particularly concerned with questions of historiographical method, doubtless related to his early training in Taiwan.

Another more general historical work that deserves to be mentioned is Charles SANFT’s 2014 book *Communication and Cooperation in Early Imperial China: Publicizing the Qin Dynasty* (406310), which advances a new view of Qin governmental administration. Like the work of such other western scholars as Robin Yates, Yuri Pines and Martin Kern, Sanft also argues that later Chinese historians have always been subject to the prejudices of Han-dynasty writers. According to Sanft, the Qin government was certainly bureaucratic, but was not at all evil.

Another young to middle-aged scholar who has made a notable contribution to Qin and Han history is Anthony BARBIERI-LOW. Above I introduced the translation and study of the Zhangjiashan legal texts that he collaborated on with Robin Yates: *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China: A Study with Critical Edition and Translation of the Legal Texts from Zhangjiashan Tomb No. 247*

(406400), published in 2015 by Brill. In 2007, Barbieri-Low had published his own book *Artisans in Early Imperial China*,⁴⁸ which was a multi-faceted investigation of Qin and Han handicraft production. The book won numerous scholarly prizes. Barbieri-Low's original scholarly training was in art history and archaeology, and he did not have any specialized training in paleography. Despite this, in addition to the work that he did with Yates translating the Zhangjiashan documents, in 2011 he also published a pair of articles that offered a new view of reading and writing during the Qin period, both of which are extremely interesting.

“Craftsman’s Literacy: Uses of Writing by Male and Female Artisans in Qin and Han China (405520; 2011)

“Model Legal and Administrative Forms from the Qin, Han, and Tang and Their Role in the Facilitation of Bureaucracy and Literacy” (405530; 2011)

In the second of these articles, Barbieri-Low examines the Shuihudi *Feng zhen shi* and the Juyan *Bing zu mingji* 病卒名籍 (Name register of sick soldiers), pointing out that even common soldiers and craftsman had at least a basic literacy.

4.4.2 Geography

The study of the geography of ancient China is another field that has long been neglected in the West, with only Vera DOROFEEVA-LICHTMANN conducting a broad range of related research. Her 2010 study “The *Rong Cheng shi* 容成氏 Version of the ‘Nine Provinces’: Some Parallels with Transmitted Texts” (405290) is one example of her interests, which followed on her earlier study “Comparative Analysis of Early Accounts of the ‘Nine Provinces’ (*Jiu zhou*)” (404330; 2006). I have mentioned other studies of hers above, and so will not repeat that information here.

Other than Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, Charles SANFT has also recently published several articles that also relate to geographical topics.

“Environment and Law in Early Imperial China (Third Century BCE-First Century CE): Qin and Han Statutes Concerning Natural Resources” (405440; 2010)

“Law and Communication in Qin and Western Han China” (405450; 2010)

48 Anthony J. BARBIERI-LOW, *Artisans in Early Imperial China* (Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 2007).

“Debating the Route of the Qin Direct Road (Zhidao): Text and Excavation” (405750; 2011)

These three articles are of interest both for the study of geography and also for history.

Another interesting geographical study is TANIGUCHI Mitsuru’s 谷口満 “Ch’u Bamboo Slips from the Warring States Period and the Historical Geography of the Ch’u State” (403210; 2001). Taniguchi argues that past studies of early Chinese geography have been based on received texts from the Qin and Han periods, which he views as a fundamental historiographical mistake. Instead, he suggests that new research should rely primarily on unearthed documents. In this article, he makes use of the Baoshan bamboo strips to examine the geography of the state of Chu. According to what he terms “dated strips” (*shou qi jian* 受期簡), he argues that the placename E 噩 ought not to be identified with Western E 西 噩 near Nanyang 南陽, as it has long been assumed in traditional studies of geography, but rather should be located in the mid-course of the Han River 漢水, and that this mistake has brought about fundamental misunderstanding of Chu geography.

4.4.3 Law

Since the 1950s when Anthony HULSEWÉ published his study of fragments of Han law, the study of law has always been an important topic among western sinologists. Above, I have introduced the work that Hulsewé, Robin YATES, Ulrich LAU, Karen TURNER, Randall PEERENBOOM and Susan WELD have published on the Mawangdui Huang-Lao documents, the Shuihudi Qin strips, Zhangjiashan Han texts and Baoshan Chu legal texts, to which readers interested in law can return. Here I will address only studies of law with broader significance, while narrower studies can be found in the bibliography. As I have done throughout this chapter, I will discuss this work chronologically, though I will organize it according to the work of individual scholars, listing all of their work together.

Terry KLEEMAN, “Land Contracts and Related Documents” (401260; 1984)

Most of Terry KLEEMAN’s work has focused on Song-dynasty Daoism, but he also has very broad interests in early Chinese cultural history. This article was based on early research that he did, providing an overview of land contracts (*tudi qi yue* 土地契約) that have been unearthed from ancient tombs. These are of interest

both for the study of law and for religion. Unfortunately, this article was included in a monograph published in Japan, and is not well known in the West.

A.F.P. HULSEWÉ, “Ch’in and Han Law” (401340; 1986)

A.F.P. HULSEWÉ, “Law as One of the Foundations of State Power in Early Imperial China” (401410; 1987)

Above I have already introduced A.F.P. Hulsewé’s numerous contributions to the study of ancient Chinese law, and will not repeat the comments on his more specialized studies. However, the two essays listed here are of rather broader significance. The first was Hulsewé’s chapter in the *Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 1: *The Ch’in and Han Empires*, which provided a comprehensive overview of the legal system of the time. The second article, too, is rather different from his usual specialized approach, in that it takes a very broad theoretical view of this topic.

J.L. KROLL, “Notes on Ch’in and Han Law” (401660; 1990)

J.L. KROLL is a Russian sinologist, who has made numerous contributions to the study of Han history, with particularly important contributions to the study of the *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the historian), *Han shu* 漢書 (History of Han) and the *Yan tie lun* 鹽鐵論 (Debates on salt and iron). The essay listed here was his contribution to a volume celebrating the eightieth birthday of A.F.P. Hulsewé, a rare conjunction of the work of two eminent scholars.

Randall P. PEERENBOOM, “Confucian Jurisprudence: Beyond Natural Law” (401740; 1990)

Randall P. PEERENBOOM, “Law and Religion in Early China” (403360; 2002)

Peerenboom’s specialized studies of the Mawangdui Huang-Lao texts have also already been introduced above. These two articles are broader in scope, the first taking a philosophical viewpoint and the second a religious viewpoint. After Peerenboom completed his Ph.D., he then pursued a degree in law and subsequently practiced as a lawyer, no longer having much contact with the scholarly world. As far as I am aware, his only subsequent article dealing with unearthed documents is the second article here, which was published in 2002.

Hugh T. SCOGGIN, Jr., “Between Heaven and Man: Contract and State in Han Dynasty China” (401770; 1990)

Hugh SCOGGIN was originally a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History of the University of Chicago, a student of Ping-ti HO 何秉棣 (1917-2012). He too transferred to law school, subsequently becoming a professor of law at the University of Southern California, with a specialization in contract law. The article here was the only result of his scholarly research on unearthed documents. Published in 1990, it is an overview of land contracts seen in unearthed documents that were available through that time, such as those from Juyan and Shuihudi. Of special interest, he included numerous contracts engraved on stone and lead plates. This work is an interesting view from the perspective of a scholar interested in practical law.

Anne Behnke KINNEY, “Infant Abandonment in Early China” (401950; 1993)

Anne KINNEY is a professor of early Chinese literature at the University of Virginia. She is particularly interested in the history of women and children. In this article, she uses Shuihudi and Zhangjiashan legal documents to discuss the illegal nature of the practice of infant abandonment.

Ulrich LAU, “Vom Schaf zur Gerechtigkeit—Der sakrale Hintergrund einiger frühchinesischer Rechtstermini” (402390; 1997)

Ulrich LAU, “The Scope of Private Jurisdiction in Early Imperial China: The Evidence of Newly Excavated Legal Documents” (404030; 2005)

Above I have already introduced the work of Ulrich LAU and Michael LÜDKE’s German translation of the Zhangjiashan *Zouyanshu* 奏讞書. Lau’s scholarship is marked by a fine sense of detail. However, these two essays adopt a comparatively broad-based standpoint to discuss ancient Chinese law. The first piece suggests that the origins of Chinese law can be traced to the ancient ritual system. The second article is a relatively complete survey of unearthed documents.

Bret HINSCH, “Women, Kinship, and Property as Seen in a Han Dynasty Will” (402540; 1998)

Bret HINSCH is a professor of history in Taiwan’s Foguang 佛光 University, and has for a long time focused his research on Chinese women’s history and queer studies. This essay presents a translation and discussion of the contract unearthed from the Han tomb 101 at Xufu 胥浦, Yizheng 儀征, Jiangsu, arguing for the economic rights of women during the Han period.

Susan WELD, “Guodian and Baoshan: Legal Theories and Practices” (403030; 2000)

Susan WELD, “Grave Matters: Warring States Law and Philosophy” (403590; 2003)

Above I have also introduced Susan WELD’s many contributions to the study of Chinese law, especially those concerning the Houma covenant texts and the Baoshan legal cases. These two essays take a relatively macroscopic approach to the study of ancient Chinese law. The first essay was originally delivered to an international conference held at Wuhan University in 1999, and was subsequently published in China. The second piece takes up views of law seen in Warring States philosophical texts.

Geoffrey MacCORMACK, “Mythology and the Origin of Law in Early Chinese Thought” (403180; 2001)

Geoffrey MacCORMACK, “The Transmission of Penal Law (*lü*) from the Han to the T’ang: A Contribution to the Study of the Early History of Codification in China” (403780; 2004)

Geoffrey MacCORMACK, “The Hard Labour Punishments in Ch’in and Han Dynasties of China” (404610; 2007)

Geoffrey MacCORMACK, “From *Zei* 賊 to *Gu Sha* 故殺: A Changing Concept of Liability in Traditional Chinese Law” (404620; 2007)

Geoffrey MacCORMACK, “On the Relationship between Law and Religion in Early China: Some Issues” (404630; 2007)

Geoffrey MacCORMACK is a professor in the Law School of the University of Aberdeen, in Aberdeen, Scotland. Beginning in 2001, he has published a series of studies of ancient Chinese legal history, several of them published in the newly established *Journal of Asian Law*. Many of these studies argue for mythological and religious origins of Chinese law. Since all of the secondary sources are in western languages, it is not clear to what extent MacCormack is able to use Chinese materials. However, his work has had a definite impact within the international study of legal history.

Robin D.S. YATES, “Law and the Military in Early China” (405200; 2009)

I have already introduced Robin YATES’s many contributions to all aspects of early Chinese cultural history, so that there is no need to repeat that here. However, this article is very worthy of mention since it combines Yates’s decades long

study of military history with the study of law, pointing out a very unique view-point.

Miranda BROWN and Charles SANFT, “Categories and Legal Reasoning in Early Imperial China: The Meaning of *Fa* in Recovered Texts” (405260; 2010)

Miranda BROWN and Charles SANFT are both very active mid-career American scholars. Brown’s research on Han-dynasty stele inscriptions was introduced in Chapter Three above. Sanft has published a great deal of scholarship already on Qin and Han history and historical-geography. This jointly authored essay is somewhat of a departure from their usual work, taking up a rather broad topic and has attracted considerable interest on the part of readers.

4.4.4 Intellectual History

The various sections above have already introduced so many contributions to the intellectual history of individual unearthed texts that it would not be possible to summarize them all here. For instance, in the discussion of the Guodian manuscripts above, I have provided a detailed description of Scott COOK’s *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian: A Study and Complete Translation* (405860). Shortly after the Guodian manuscripts first became available, Cook published an article entitled “The Debate over Coercive Rulership and the ‘Human Way’ in Light of Recently Excavated Warring States Texts” (403650) in the 2004 issue of the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, in which he discussed the attitude of these texts on the topics of “government by virtue” (*de zheng* 德政) versus “government by punishment” (*xing zheng* 刑政), as well as materials related to this topic in such texts as the *Guanzi* 管子, *Xunzi* 荀子 and *Lü shi chunqiu* 吕氏春秋. He argued that the Guodian manuscripts should be seen as a comparatively early expression of this political philosophy, with the received texts all more or less reflecting the privileged position of the state of Qin in the debate. Whereas Cook’s early work mainly centered on topics such as this in political philosophy, his later work gradually switched to topics in paleography and unearthed manuscript studies.

Paul GOLDIN is a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, who since the 1990s has been very active in the study of Chinese intellectual history, publishing

many books and articles.⁴⁹ His scholarship mainly concerns large topics in the studies of received literature, so that there is no need to introduce that work here. However, he has also addressed unearthed manuscripts in some of his work. One of the characteristics of Goldin's scholarship is his penchant for correcting various misperceptions on the part of past western scholars. For instance, in his 2008 study "The Myth That China Has No Creation Myth" (404700), he used the Guodian manuscript *Tai Yi sheng shui* 太一生水 and the Shanghai Museum manuscript *Heng xian* 恆先 to rebut a widespread viewpoint that China had no creation myths. The most important presentation of this methodology is probably to be seen in his 2005 book *After Confucius: Studies in Early Chinese Philosophy* (403940), which includes several related essays.

Maurizio SCARPARI and Attilio ANDREINI are both professors at the Università ca' Foscari in Venice, and they both work on early Chinese intellectual history with particular attention to the importance of unearthed texts. Both of them have published general surveys of these texts, such as Scarpari's essay "Riscrivere la storia e la cultura della Cina antica: Credenze religiose, correnti di pensiero e società alla luce delle recenti scoperte archeologiche" (403000), published in 2000, and Andreini's 2005 essay "Nuove prospettive di studio del pensiero cinese antico alla luce dei codici manoscritti" (403880). Andreini has produced in-depth studies of the Mawangdui and Guodian *Laozi* manuscripts, which have already been introduced above. Scarpari's work has all been published in Italian, whereas Andreini writes in both Italian and in English.

Maurizio SCARPARI, "Riscrivere la storia e la cultura della Cina antica: Credenze religiose, correnti di pensiero e società alla luce delle recenti scoperte archeologiche" (403000; 2000)

Maurizio SCARPARI, "Sulle origine della scrittura cinese: Teorie e metodi" (101160; 2001-02)

Maurizio SCARPARI, "Aspetti formali e tecniche di recupero dei codici manoscritti cinesi antichi" (404140; 2005)

Maurizio SCARPARI, "Tra manoscritti e tradizione: La produzione del testo scritto nella Cina antica" (404430; 2006)

⁴⁹ Other than the above mentioned *After Confucius: Studies in Early Chinese Philosophy*, GOLDIN has also published such other books as *Rituals of the Way: The Philosophy of Xunzi* (Chicago: Open Court Press, 1999) and *The Culture of Sex in Ancient China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002). More recently, he has joined with Yuri PINES and Martin KERN to edit *Ideology of Power and Power of Ideology in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

- Attilio ANDREINI, “Evoluzione delle teorie individualiste nella Cina classica: L’eredità di Yang Zhu nei testi Huang-Lao e nel *Lüshi chunqiu*” (402340; 1997)
- Attilio ANDREINI, “Scrivere, copiare, inventare: La trasmissione testuale nella Cina antica” (403630; 2004)
- Attilio ANDREINI, “Cases of ‘Diffraction’ and *lectio difficilior* in Early Chinese Manuscripts” (403860; 2005)
- Attilio ANDREINI, “Nuove prospettive di studio del pensiero cinese antico alla luce dei codici manoscritti” (403880; 2005)

4.4.5 Religion

Intellectual history of course also includes the study of religion. However, in western scholarship, religion is a highly developed specialized field of study and deserves to be discussed in its own right. Marc Kalinowski and Donald Harper have long been the leaders of this field in the West, but there has also been much other scholarship that deserves mention. Among the earliest contributions in this domain were three articles by Anna SEIDEL (1938-1991):

- Anna SEIDEL, “Tokens of Immortality in Han Graves” (401180; 1982)
- Anna SEIDEL, “Geleitbrief an die Unterwelt: Jenseitsvorstellungen in de Graburkunden der späteren Han Zeit” (401310; 1985)
- Anna SEIDEL, “Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts Found in Tombs” (401450; 1987)

Seidel was German by birth, but she was educated in France and long resided in Kyoto, Japan, where she studied Daoism and was particularly interested in the origins of Daoism. For this reason, she published research on many aspects of Han-dynasty religion. In “Geleitbrief an die Unterwelt: Jenseitsvorstellungen in de Graburkunden der späteren Han Zeit,” she translated into German examples of *zhenmuwen* 鎮墓文 (tomb-quelling texts) and also discussed the importance for Daoism of these texts and their background in Han-dynasty law. In “Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts Found in Tombs” she again discussed *zhenmuwen* and also first used the term “common religion” to describe the set of beliefs and practices subscribed to by both the upper and lower strata of society. This concept has since been very influential among western scholars of traditional Chinese religion.

Marc KALINOWSKI has published many studies concerning ancient China and ancient Chinese religion, especially about divination and astrology. His work

on the Mawangdui *Xingde* 刑德 manuscripts and the Shuihudi daybooks (*Ri shu* 日書) has already been introduced above, and there is no need to repeat that here. There have been numerous other articles with a wider focus, most of them written in French but some others either originally written in English or translated into English; a chronological listing would include the following:

Marc KALINOWSKI, “Astrologie calendaire et calcul de position dans la Chine ancienne: Les mutations de l’hémérologie sexagésimale entre le IVe et le IIe siècles avant notre ère” (402270; 1996)

Marc KALINOWSKI, “Mythe, cosmogénèse et théogonie dans la Chine ancienne” (402280; 1996)

Marc KALINOWSKI, “The Use of the Twenty-Eight *Xiu* as a Day-Count in Early China” (402290; 1996)

Marc KALINOWSKI, “Fonctionnalité calendaire dans les cosmogonies anciennes de la Chine” (403760; 2004)

Marc KALINOWSKI, “Technical Traditions in Ancient China and *Shushu* Culture in Chinese Religion” (403770; 2004)

Marc KALINOWSKI, “Time, Space and Orientation: Figurative Representations of the Sexagenary Cycle in Ancient and Medieval China” (404590; 2007)

Marc KALINOWSKI, “La divination sous les Zhou Orientaux (770–256 avant notre ère). Textes transmis et découvertes archéologiques récentes” (404770; 2008)

Marc KALINOWSKI, “Divination and Astrology: Received Texts and Excavated Manuscripts” (405330; 2010)

Donald HARPER is also one of the western world’s leading authorities on early Chinese religion, with a special interest in *shushu* 術數 culture. Much of his work has also been introduced already. Here, I would like to mention just three general articles:

Donald HARPER, “Warring States, Qin, and Han Manuscripts Related to Natural Philosophy and the Occult” (402370*; 1997)

Donald HARPER, “Warring States Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought” (402630; 1999)

Donald HARPER, “Contracts with the Spirit World in Han Common Religion: The Xuning Prayer and Sacrifice Documents of A.D. 79” (403730; 2004)

The 1997 study was a chapter in the book *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts* (100970*), edited by Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY; that book has now been translated into Chinese,

which is a convenience for Chinese readers. The 1999 study was a chapter in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and by Shaughnessy; this chapter provided a comprehensive survey of *shushu* materials that were available at that time. The chapter has had considerable influence. Although there have been new discoveries since that time, the chapter is still very much worth consulting. The 2004 article “Contracts with the Spirit World in Han Common Religion” focuses on the “Xuning Prayer” (*Xuning daoshen jian* 序寧禱神簡) in the possession of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, but also gives a more general discussion.

Aside from Kalinowski and Harper, POO Mu-chou 蒲慕州 has also published many articles dealing with religion; a chronological listing would include:

POO Mu-chou 蒲慕州, “Popular Religion in Pre-Imperial China: Observations on the Almanacs of Shui-hu-ti” (402010*; 1993)

POO Mu-chou 蒲慕州, *In Search of Personal Welfare: A View of Ancient Chinese Religion* (402590*; 1998)

POO Mu-chou 蒲慕州, “How to Steer through Life: Negotiating Fate in the *Daybook*” (404110; 2005)

POO Mu-chou 蒲慕州, “Ritual and Ritual Texts in Early China” (405160; 2009)

POO Mu-chou 蒲慕州, “Preparation for the Afterlife in Ancient China” (405730; 2011)

Poo Mu-chou was born in Taiwan, but received his graduate education in the United States, which resulted in a doctoral dissertation on ancient Egyptian religion. After completing his Ph.D. degree, he returned to Taiwan and worked for a long time at the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica. He now teaches in the Department of History of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. His 1993 article “Popular Religion in Pre-Imperial China: Observations on the Almanacs of Shui-hu-ti” was published in the important journal *T'oung Pao*; it is essentially an English translation of the article “Shuihudi Qin jian *Ri shu de shijie*” 睡虎地秦簡日書的世界 (The world of the Shuihudi Qin strip *Day Books*) that he had previously published in the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*.⁵⁰ In this article, he used the term “popular religion,” which is quite similar to the notion “common religion” coined by Anna Seidel. However, the two terms also have important differences. Seidel’s “common religion” referred to the religious practices that the upper and lower strata of ancient Chinese society shared in

50 POO Mu-chou (Pu Muzhou) 蒲慕州, “Shuihudi Qin jian *Ri shu de shijie*” 睡虎地秦簡日書的世界, *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 歷史語言研究所集刊 62.4 (1991): 1-53.

common, whereas Poo's "popular religion" only refers to the religion of the lower strata, arguing that this was a phenomenon that was held everywhere throughout the different regions of ancient China. According to Poo, the beliefs and practices of the lower classes of Chu 楚 and Yan 燕, for instance, were basically similar. On the other hand, the lives of the lower and upper classes of Chu, just to take an example, were markedly different. Poo noted that although the customs of this "popular religion" were rather mechanistic, still it was essentially optimistic. There were numerous ghosts and spirits, but the common people also had many means by which to control their evil influences. Poo Mu-chou's most important English publication remains his 1998 book *In Search of Personal Welfare: A View of Ancient Chinese Religion*. This book was published by SUNY Press and so reached a very wide readership; it was reviewed very positively.

In the presentation above concerning research devoted to the Baoshan tomb, I already noted the doctoral dissertations of LAI Guolong 來國龍 and GUO Jue 郭珏, as well as Lai's recently published book, all of which provide comprehensive discussions of the importance that this tomb holds for the study of Chu religion. Already in 2005, Lai had published in the influential journal *Asia Major* an article entitled "Death and the Otherworldly Journey in Early China as Seen through Tomb Texts, Travel Paraphernalia, and Road Rituals" (404020) in which he made an in-depth study of early Chinese conceptions of "death." He first addressed the "Prayer to Wu Yi" 武夷 from Jiudian 九店, and then went on to discuss the Day Books and also the maps of the tombs of the Zhongshan 中山 kings, as well as the maps from Fangmatan and Mawangdui, arguing that many of the tomb furnishings were intended for the continued use of the deceased.

Guo Jue also made a specialized study of the notion of "death" in the Han dynasty in her article "Concepts of Death and the Afterlife Reflected in Newly Discovered Tomb Objects and Texts from Han China" (405640; 2011). The characteristic feature of her research is her ability to blend textual and artifactual evidence, to which she also often brings the perspective of western studies of religion, with quite striking results.

4.4.6 Medicine

Ever since the excavation of Tomb 3 at Mawangdui, the study of medicine has occupied an important position within the study of Chinese excavated documents; it has also attracted specialized study on the part of western scholars. The most important contribution to this study has come from Donald HARPER. In the discussion of the Mawangdui medical texts above, I have already had occasion to

mention Harper's doctoral dissertation, which focused on the text *Fifty-two Recipes* (Wushier bingfang 五十二病方). Thereafter, in 1998 Harper published the book *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* (402530), in which he translated and studied all of the Mawangdui medical manuscripts. This book is an essential book for all students of Chinese medicine. Aside from his doctoral dissertation and the book *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, Harper has published many other studies of Chinese medicine, some of them fairly general, others quite specialized, some focused on unearthed materials, others treating also received literature, but all of his work being grounded in a firm textual basis. A listing of his work on medicine would include:

Donald HARPER, "The Conception of Illness in Early Chinese Medicine as Documented in Newly Discovered 3rd and 2nd Century B.C. Manuscripts" (401600; 1990)

Donald HARPER, "Physicians and Diviners: The Relation of Divination to the Medicine of the *Huangdi neijing* (*Inner Canon of the Yellow Thearch*)" (402620; 1999)

Donald HARPER, "Iatromancy, Diagnosis, and Prognosis in Early Chinese Medicine" (403100; 2001)

Donald HARPER, "Iatromancie" (403470; 2003)

Donald HARPER, "Ancient and Medieval Chinese Recipes for Aphrodisiacs" (403950; 2005)

Harper's 1990 article "The Conception of Illness in Early Chinese Medicine as Documented in Newly Discovered 3rd and 2nd Century B.C. Manuscripts" is not merely a discussion of the Mawangdui medical manuscripts, but also introduces the medical documents from Fangmatan 放馬灘, Shuanggudui 雙古堆 at Fuyang 阜陽, and Zhangjiashan 張家山. One feature of Harper's work on medicine is his insistence on studying the social context of illness, and especially various religious considerations such as ghosts and spirits. Although the *Huang di nei jing Su wen* 黃帝內經素問 (Yellow Emperor's inner classic: Basic questions) states "with those who cling to ghosts and spirits, it is not possible to talk about highest virtue" (*ju yu guishenzhe, bu ke yu yan zhide* 拘於鬼神者，不可與言至德), the Mawangdui medical manuscripts show that other Han dynasty medical practitioners took seriously the effects of ghosts and spirits and employed various rituals and magic to control them. In this way, Han-dynasty religion had much in common with the "common religion." According to Harper, science and religion cannot be separated, and were always influencing each other.

Aside from Harper, Paul U. UNSCHULD and Vivienne LO have also made important contributions to the study of medicine. Unschuld was a long-time professor of the history of medicine at the Ludwig-Maximilians Universität in Munich. Shortly after the Mawangdui medical manuscripts were first published, he had already published two separate articles: “Ma-wang-tui *Materia Medica*—A Comparative Analysis of Early Chinese Pharmaceutical Knowledge” (401190; 1982) and “Die Bedeutung der Ma-wang-tui-Funde für Chinesische Medizin- und Pharmazie-geschichte” (401230; 1983). These two articles both addressed the development of pharmacology.

Vivienne LO is a professor of Chinese medicine at the University of London, and is herself a practicing doctor of Traditional Chinese Medicine, so that she combines both the theory and practice of Chinese medicine in her research. Her first article in this field was co-written with HE Zhiguo 何志國 and published in the influential journal *Early China*: “The Channels: A Preliminary Examination of a Laquered Figurine from the Western Han Period” (402250; 1996). Afterwards, she also contributed a chapter to the book *China’s Early Empires: A Re-appraisal* edited by Michael Nylan and Michael Loewe: “Manuscripts, Received Texts and the Healing Arts.” (405340; 2010), in which she provided a comprehensive survey of Qin and Han medical manuscripts.

Different from these sorts of comprehensive studies of medicine, Robin YATES has published a very specialized study of one aspect of medicine: “Medicine for Women in Early China: A Preliminary Survey” (404240; 2005), in which he provided a survey of medicine for women as seen in documents stretching from the Warring States period all the way to the Tang dynasty. Yates rather resembles Donald Harper in examining both the scientific aspect of medicine, especially pharmacology, and also its social background, and especially its ritual customs. For instance, with respect to pregnancy and birth, Yates says many procedures drew from Buddhism, Daoism and popular traditions. Although most of this article concerns the period from the Six Dynasties through the Sui and Tang dynasties, there are also presentations of material from the Warring States through the Qin and Han.

4.4.7 Science

In the presentation of the Mawangdui astronomical manuscripts, the Fuyang “diviner’s board” (*shipan* 式盤) and the Zhangjiashan manuscript *Suan shu shu* 算數書, I have already introduced many western contributions to the study of early Chinese science, and will not repeat those introductions here. For instance, I have

discussed the debate between Donald HARPER and Christopher CULLEN concerning the Fuyang “diviner’s board.” Put simply, Harper emphasizes the divinatory use of the “diviner’s board,” while Cullen adopts a scientific viewpoint to discuss its astronomical background and use. This debate attracted wide attention, the two scholars’ different viewpoints well representing two different approaches to the history of science within the western scholarly world, one emphasizing the cultural background and the other its scientific aspect.

One of the most important discoveries for the history of Chinese science has been the Zhangjiashan manuscript *Suan shu shu*, which has also drawn studies and a translation by Christopher Cullen. In addition, there was a second translation by Joseph DAUBEN, as well as several specialized studies by him, all of which have been introduced above in the section on Zhangjiashan. In 2010 Cullen also published a comprehensive article entitled “Numbers, Numeracy and the Cosmos” (405280) which was included in the book *China’s Early Empires: A Re-appraisal*. This study also addressed the *Suan shu shu* and especially emphasized its relationship with the *Jiu zhang shuanshu* 九章算術 (Calculating techniques in nine chapters).

4.4.8 Methodology

Western scholars are particularly concerned with the methodology of paleography and how to apply it to the study of unearthed documents, suggesting a series of methods and principles. For example, at the 1998 Dartmouth conference to discuss the Guodian manuscripts, several western scholars presented papers about methodology, including William G. BOLTZ, Harold ROTH and P.M. THOMPSON. In Chapter One above, as well as in the presentation concerning the Mawangdui *Laozi* 老子 in the present chapter, I introduced several of Boltz’s ideas on these matters. Because he has repeatedly published these ideas on methodology, and because they have won widespread approval from other western scholars, it seems appropriate here to introduce them more fully. In the proceedings of the Dartmouth conference, *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*, Boltz published a chapter entitled “The Study of Early Chinese Manuscripts: Methodological Preliminaries” (402780*; 2000), at the beginning of which he proposed the following principles.

The general rule is this: manuscripts should be transcribed so as to reveal the exact form of what is written as precisely and unambiguously as possible without introducing any inter-

polations, alterations or other extraneous material based on assumptions, biases or subjective decisions of the scholar-transcriber or of anyone else. In a nutshell, this means that the transcription should reflect exactly what is written and nothing more.⁵¹

Boltz says that this sort of transcription is but the first step, only after which can scholars begin to “read” the manuscript. The key problem in reading is loan characters. Boltz suggests that there are two different types of variants: “graphic variation” and “lexical variation.” He uses examples from two different editions of Shakespeare’s plays to illustrate what he means by these variations. In two different editions of *Hamlet*, we read of his:

“too, too solid flesh”
 “too, too sullied flesh” (I,2,129)

Although “solid” and “sullied” are obviously similar in pronunciation, they are completely different in meaning; this constitutes an example of Boltz’s second type of variant, a lexical variant. Different from this, in the first act of *Richard III*, one edition reads “sour,” while another edition reads “sowre.”

“that sour ferry-man”
 “that sowre Ferry-man”

Since “sowre” is simply a different spelling of “sour” and doesn’t have any independent meaning, all readers would be able to tell that this is but a graphic variant, without any influence on the meaning.⁵² However, in the Chinese case, since in theory any Chinese character can have its own meaning, any variant can potentially be a lexical variation. In one of Boltz’s several reviews of D.C. LAU’s translation of the Mawangdui manuscripts of the *Laozi*, he used variants seen in the 41st chapter of the *Laozi* to illustrate this feature. The Heshang Gong 河上公 edition of the *Laozi* reads:

上士聞道勤而行之

Different from this, the Mawangdui *Laozi* reads:

51 William G. BOLTZ, “The Study of Early Chinese Manuscripts: Methodological Preliminaries,” in Sarah ALLAN and Crispin WILLIAMS ed., *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*, Early China Special Monograph Series 5 (Berkeley, 2000), pp. 39-40.

52 BOLTZ, “The Study of Early Chinese Manuscripts,” p. 43.

上 道堇能行之

The variants are 勤 as opposed to 堇 and 而 as opposed to 能. Boltz pointed out that these two variants can potentially give four different meanings, following Lau in reading 堇 as standing for *jīn* 僅 “barely”:

qín er xīng zhī “he assiduously practices it”
jīn er xīng zhī “he barely practices it”
qín nēng xīng zhī “he is assiduously able to practice it”
jīn nēng xīng zhī “he is barely able to practice it”

Although it would be a simple matter to view the variation between 勤 and 堇 as just graphic variation, both characters standing for the word *qín* “assiduous,” Lau proposed a totally different interpretation based on the Mawangdui manuscript text, reading *jīn* 堇 as standing for *jīn* 僅 “barely.” On the other hand, whereas it would seem that the difference between 而 and *nēng* 能 should be lexical, 而 standing for the word *er* “then” and 能 standing for the word *nēng* “able” and meaning “able,” Lau pointed out that the two characters are often used in early literature as loan characters, both meaning *er* “then.” For this reason, Lau read the Mawangdui manuscript in this way. According to Boltz’s judgment, although Lau’s reading is but a hypothesis, nevertheless it may very well be correct.⁵³

Harold ROTH’s “Some Methodological Issues in the Study of the Guodian *Laozi* Parallels” (402980*) employs what he terms “textual methodologies,” “literary methodologies,” “philosophical methodologies” and “religious methodologies” that have developed in the study of western classics and the *Bible* to address questions of Chinese manuscripts. With respect to the relationship between Guodian *Laozi* and the 81-chapter received text of the *Laozi*, which he terms the “ancestral *Laozi*,” he points out three different models:

The “Anthology” model, in which the Guodian *Laozi* constitutes extracts from the ancestral *Laozi*

The “Source” model, in which the Guodian *Laozi* would be one of the sources of the ancestral *Laozi*

The “Parallel Text” model, in which the Guodian *Laozi* represents a unique text

Through this methodology, Roth argues that the first model is all but impossible and that the Guodian *Laozi* can only reflect that by the late fourth century B.C., the 81-chapter *Laozi* was not yet in existence and that there were only

53 BOLTZ, “Manuscripts with Transmitted Counterparts,” pp. 260-61.

some sayings circulating, sayings that were later collected into the received *Laozi*.

Thompson’s “On the Formal Treatment of Textual Testimony” (403010*) subjected chapter 66 of the *Laozi* to a tabular comparison, similar to that used by many other western textual critics. This type of comparison is now beginning to be used as well in China. The following represents just one portion of Thompson’s analysis.

A Collation of Zhang 2 of Series 1 of the "A" Bamboo Manuscript of the Laozi from a Chu Tomb at Guodian, Hubei
郭店楚墓竹簡老子甲篇第一系列第二章的校讎

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | Points 22 | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----------------------|------------|----------------|--|
| A | 江 | 海 | □ | 所 | 以 | □ | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | □ | ， | 以 | 其 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 下 | □ | ； | 是 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 郭甲 2 | 2 海； 9, 18, 27 案 9, 27 沿 9, 27 沿 |
| B1 | ■ | 海 | 之 | 所 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 者 | ， | 以 | 其 | 善 | 下 | 之 | □ | □ | □ | ； | 是 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 馬甲 61 | |
| B2 | 江 | 海 | □ | 所 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 者 | ， | 其 | ■ | 下 | 之 | □ | □ | 也 | ； | 是 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 馬 203A | | |
| C1 | 江 | 海 | □ | 所 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 者 | ， | 以 | 其 | □ | 下 | 之 | □ | □ | □ | ； | 故 | □ | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 殷墟 | |
| D1 | 江 | 海 | □ | 所 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 者 | ， | 以 | 其 | 善 | 下 | 之 | □ | □ | 也 | ； | 故 | □ | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 傅奕 | |
| D2 | 江 | 海 | □ | 所 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 者 | ， | 以 | 其 | 善 | 下 | 之 | □ | □ | 也 | ； | 故 | □ | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 加碑 | |
| D3 | 江 | 海 | □ | 所 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 者 | ， | 以 | 其 | 善 | 下 | 之 | □ | □ | 也 | ； | 故 | □ | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 王本 | |
| E1 | 江 | 河 | □ | 所 | 以 | 能 | 長 | 百 | 谷 | 者 | ， | □ | □ | 能 | 下 | 之 | □ | □ | 也 | ； | 是 | 以 | 能 | 上 | 之 | □ | □ | 漢帝陵 L p925 | 長字前有天指前下之五字 | |
| E3 | 江 | 海 | □ | 所 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 者 | ， | 以 | 其 | 善 | 下 | 之 | □ | □ | 也 | ； | 是 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 郭書治案 | |
| G1 | 江 | 海 | □ | 所 | 以 | □ | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 者 | ， | 以 | 其 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 下 | □ | ； | 是 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | Characters: 22 | |
| G2 | 江 | 海 | □ | 所 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 者 | ， | 以 | 其 | 善 | 下 | 之 | □ | □ | 也 | ； | 是 | 以 | 能 | 為 | 百 | 谷 | 王 | 23 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Equivalent points: 5 | | | |

* 漢 帝 陵 漢 帝 陵 漢 帝 陵 *

3 □AB'CD : 之 B'

20 □AB'CD : 也 B'C'

6 □A : 能 BCD

22 是以 AB : 故 CD

11 □AD' : 者 B'CD' : [■B']

15 能 A(E)' : 善 B'CD' : □C' : [■B']

16 為百谷下 A : 下之 BCD

Guodian Laozi A1.2 (zhang 66), Ju 1: Sample Collation. P.M.Thompson

Fig. 38: P.M. Thompson, “On the Formal Treatment of Textual Testimony,” in *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*, p.102

After introducing the studies by Boltz, Roth and Thompson in *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*, it is relevant to note a review of this book by Scott COOK: “Review of Allan and Williams. *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*” (403280; 2002). Cook takes a rather conservative approach to the relationship between unearthed manuscripts and traditional received texts, explaining that if we were to adopt a variant seen in a manuscript we might completely overturn the meaning of a text. Since the editors of the received literature lived closer to the time of the original text’s writing and doubtless had more resources available to them than we do today, unless we can make no other sense of the text than by emending it, we ought not lightly adopt a variant from a manuscript. Cook also expressed doubts about the conclusions

reached by Harold Roth, saying that it is very possible that the Guodian *Laozi* is but an abridgement of the 81-chapter *Laozi*.

Although Cook raised various doubts about the methods of Boltz, Roth and Thompson, the great majority of western Sinologists approve of their viewpoints; similar methods inform all of the following essays:

Robert H. GASSMANN, “To Emend or Not to Emend? On Determining the Integrity of Some Ancient Chinese Texts” (403290; 2002)

Matthias RICHTER, “Suggestions Concerning the Transcription of Chinese Manuscript Texts—A Research Note” (403560; 2003)

Attilio ANDREINI, “Scrivere, copiare, inventare: La trasmissione testuale nella Cina antica” (403630; 2004)

Attilio ANDREINI, “Cases of ‘Diffraction’ and *lectio difficilior* in Early Chinese Manuscripts” (403860; 2005)

William G. BOLTZ, “The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts” (403890; 2005)

Maurizio SCARPARI, “Aspetti formali e tecniche di recupero dei codici manoscritti cinesi antichi” (404140; 2005)

XING Wen, “Towards a Transparent Transcription” (404200; 2005)

Maurizio SCARPARI, “Tra manoscritti e tradizione: La produzione del testo scritto nella Cina antica” (404430; 2006)

Most of these studies employ a methodology more or less similar to that of Boltz, with only that of XING Wen 邢文 being slightly different. Xing Wen terms Boltz’s transcription method a “Direct Transcription.” In contrast to this, he proposes a “Transparent Transcription,” which is essentially an interpretive transcription. He says that the reason that Boltz’s method of transcription needs to be revised is because a “Direct Transcription” can sometimes result in misinterpretation. He points out that some archaic characters exactly resemble modern Chinese characters, but actually represent different words. For instance, in the Chu script, the word for “three” is often written 晶. If one were to transcribe this directly as “晶,” readers might be led to believe that it was the modern word *jing* “crystal.” Therefore, Xing suggests when “Direct Transcription” would lead to this sort of misunderstanding, his “Transparent Transcription” would more adequately reflect the original. This suggestion, of course, is reasonable. However, although Boltz says that a “transcription should reflect exactly what is written and nothing more,” he also notes that this sort of transcription is but the first step in the process of textual criticism; the second step of course involves the editor’s own interpretation. Moreover, Xing Wen never states very clearly on what principles his “Transparent Transcription” is based. If it is simply to propose a suitable transcription, then

this is something with which all scholars would agree, but they would not necessarily agree with the standards of “suitability.”

In 2005 Boltz published an article entitled “Reading the Early *Laotzy*” (403900), in which he reflected on his own methodology, pointing out several of his own problems. It warrants extensive quotation.

The natural inclination for some scholars and students was to be skeptical of both extremes and to look instead for textually sound interpretations of whatever implication. The catch here was that knowing how to judge competing explanations of the textual differences and how to assess the respective competing claims about the meaning of the text was unfamiliar territory for most of us. Identifying and classifying what kinds of differences there might be, what their impact was, both individually and in the aggregate, deciding which of these might be significant, and even knowing how to define “significance,” were experiments in textual criticism that, for many of us, were completely new. Not only were we largely untrained in the theory and methods of textual criticism, the field of textual criticism itself had in most respects not been explicitly developed or elucidated in any systematic or comprehensive way in western scholarship on early Chinese texts. There was, in short, very little recognized scholarly method for the study of early Chinese manuscripts in comparison with what had been established in the course of more than a century of philological and textual research in the world of classical Mediterranean or ancient Near Eastern texts.

As study progressed, the question of how to assess the significance of these manuscripts received increasing attention. Did the value of the newly discovered manuscripts lie in their capacity to correct the received text, providing alternative readings that in the aggregate gave different interpretations to the text, or did these manuscripts with their apparent differences serve instead to validate a traditional understanding based on the received text? Or, possibly, is there a kind of “middle road” that recognizes the difference between these two extremes, allowing the traditional understanding of the received text to stand and yet establishing alternative readings of the seemingly same text, based on the manuscript evidence? Do variants reflect competing “schools” or doctrinal differences or are they simply the consequences of careless and poorly informed textual transmission? Or some of both? Is it the job of the editor to use the manuscripts only to correct details of the received text, or conversely to show from the evidence of the received text the errors of the manuscripts and thus to explain away as many of the variants as possible? Or should the primary goal be to try to establish through comparison of the manuscripts with the received text a version of the original as close as possible to what the author first wrote? In what sense can we, in fact, even talk about an “original” text and an “author”? To adopt these terms uncritically from other textual traditions might actually blind us to some of the most interesting implications that could arise from studying these manuscripts.

In order to find other than just impressionistic ways to answer questions such as these, we need above all to be able to say what textual variants are significant and what ones are not. A variant is significant if it reflects a different wording, and therefore *sensu stricto* a different meaning, from one version of the text to another. Variants of this kind are often called substantives in western textual criticism, as opposed to accidentals, which are variations in the transient graphic forms of the words of the text. We can usually pay less attention to the latter, the accidentals, because they are merely orthographically different ways of writing

the same thing, though those may be interesting for other reasons, and we pay more attention to the substantives, which by definition involve differences in meaning. In either case, we have to know how to recognize which is which, how to tell, in other words, the lexical variants from the graphic variants. This means knowing when a textual variant in version A writes a different word from its match in version B and when it writes the same word as in B, but in a different way. This might at first glance seem a fairly easy assignment. But, among other things, it means that we must know not only how to recognize one word from another in their various written guises, but still more fundamentally what a word is in the first place. And these things may not be as obvious as we might think.⁵⁴

Although these questions have no definite answer, they are very important to ask.

The scholar who has most emphasized the material aspects of texts is Matthias RICHTER. In a lengthy series of articles, he has subjected both transmitted texts and unearthed documents to extremely detailed investigation.

Matthias RICHTER, “Handschriftenkundliche Probleme beim Lesen altchinesischer Manuskripte” (404120; 2005)

Matthias RICHTER, “Towards a Profile of Graphic Variation: On the Distribution of Graphic Variants within the Mawangdui *Laozi* Manuscripts” (404130; 2005)

Matthias RICHTER, “Tentative Criteria for Discerning Individual Hands in the Guodian Manuscripts” (404410*; 2006)

Matthias RICHTER, “The Fickle Brush: Chinese Orthography in the Age of Manuscripts: A Review of Imre Galambos’s *Orthography of Early Chinese Writing: Evidence from Newly Excavated Manuscripts*” (101450; 2007)



Matthias RICHTER, “Faithful Transmission or Creative Change: Tracing Modes of Manuscript Production from the Material Evidence” (405180*; 2009)

Matthias RICHTER, “Textual Identity and the Role of Literacy in the Transmission of Early Chinese Literature” (405740; 2011)

Matthias RICHTER, *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts* (406120; 2013)

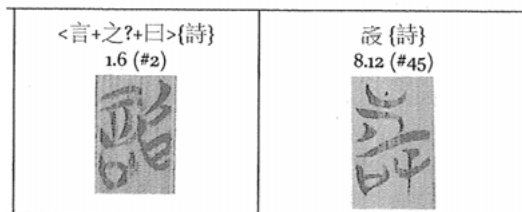
In the two articles that were published in 2005, Richter examined the textual variants in the two Mawangdui *Laozi* manuscripts, saying that from the variants we can tell how the manuscripts were produced and can also recognize the different scribal tendencies of the different scribes. For example, he points out that in the *Laozi* B manuscript, the character *zhu* 主 has two distinct forms, one where the

⁵⁴ William G. BOLTZ, “Reading the Early *Laotzyy*,” *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 59.1 (2005): 213-214.

top stroke is a dot (“”) and one where it is a horizontal line (“”). Richter says that at the beginning of the manuscript, these two forms are differentiated very clearly. However, toward the end of the manuscript, only the latter form appears. In his 2009 article “Faithful Transmission or Creative Change,” Richter addresses the two manuscripts of *Tianzi jian zhou* 天子建州 in the Shanghai Museum. He says that from features of the characters *ye* 也, *fan* 凡, *you* 友, *yu* 語, *bi* 辟, *xiong* 兄, and *lin* 臨, it is possible to tell that the *Tianzi jian zhou* A manuscript was copied from the B manuscript. Moreover, although one would not say that the copyist of the B manuscript was entirely inexperienced and probably understood the contents of the text that he was copying, nevertheless his calligraphy is not at all good, in some cases not even knowing how to write certain characters. By contrast, the scribe of manuscript A had beautiful calligraphy, but he did not necessarily understand the contents of what he was copying. Richter says that we ought not under-estimate the scribe of manuscript A. It is possible that for a scribe aesthetic ability was more important than knowledge. In fact, how an individual character was written may not necessarily have been very important. Richter says that readers did not necessarily rely on the manuscript in front of them to “read” the contents of a text. The reader probably already knew the contents through other methods, such as a teacher’s introduction, so that the contents were already fixed in his memory. The manuscript simply reminded him how it was to be read. Since the purpose of a manuscript was not to transmit knowledge, its appearance was extremely important.

Richter’s most important contribution has been his 2013 book *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts*, in which he provides a detailed study of the Shanghai Museum manuscript *Min zhi fumu* 民之父母. As the title of this book indicates, Richter again emphasizes the physical appearance of the text. He points out that there are multiple variants between the Shanghai Museum manuscript and corresponding passages in the “Kongzi xian ju” 孔子閑居 (Confucius residing at rest) chapter of the *Li ji* 禮記 (Record of ritual) and the “Lun li” 論禮 (Discussing ritual) chapter of the *Kongzi jia yu* 孔子家語 (Family sayings of Confucius), and that these variants reflect two (or even three) different historical contexts of the text. One of the most important differences between these different historical contexts concerns the prestige and use of the *Shi jing* 詩經 (Classic of poetry). According to Richter, by the Han period the prestige of the *Shi jing* had risen to the point that it had become the main Confucian textbook. Although *Min zhi fumu* contains many passages from the *Shi jing*, the character *shi* 詩 “poetry” actually occurs in the manuscript only twice. Moreover, these two occurrences display different forms of the graph. The first occurrence is when Zi Xia 子夏 asks Confucius: “*Shi* says: ‘How fraternal is the lord-son, The

father and mother of the people” (*Shi yue: Qidi junzi, min zhi fumu* 詩曰幾弟君子民之父母), and the second occurrence coming after Zi Xia and Confucius exchange three questions and answers and Confucius exclaims “Fine indeed is Shang; I will be able to teach him *shi*” (*Shan zai Shang ye, jiang ke jiao shi yi* 善哉商也將可教詩矣). In the first of these occurrences, the character *shi* is composed of the three elements 言+之+曰, whereas in the second occurrence it is composed of 之+口+又.



According to Richter, both of these characters are definitely the word *shi* “poetry,” but the two different written forms should reflect different meanings. He suggests that the first form, i.e., the one with 言+之+曰 (to the left above), should be understood as the name of the poetry collection, which is to say *Poetry*, while the second form, 之+口+又 (to the right above), simply indicates the generic word “poetry.”⁵⁵ This analysis has not yet attracted a great deal of attention, nor can it be regarded as conclusive. Nevertheless, Richter’s methodology of examining how individual characters are written is certainly worthy of respect.⁵⁶

Many of Matthias Richter’s views are similar to those held by Martin KERN; this is especially true of his understanding of the scribes’ social background and the use of manuscripts. In his article “Methodological Reflections on the Analysis of Textual Variants and the Modes of Manuscript Production in Early China” (403310*) published in 2002, Kern provided an extremely systematic discussion of these points. Because his viewpoints are rather different from those held by many Chinese scholars, they deserve detailed presentation here. According to Kern, unearthed manuscripts can be divided into two types, what he terms “texts

55 Matthias L. RICHTER, *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 119.

56 A similar treatment can be seen in Robert H. GASSMANN, “To Emend or Not to Emend? On Determining the Integrity of Some Ancient Chinese Texts” (403290), pointing out that in the Guodian strips the word *yu* 欲 has three different written forms: “谷,” “欲” and “雛.” According to Gassmann’s grammatical analysis, these three different forms reflect three different grammatical uses: “谷” is a noun, “欲” is a verb, and “雛” is the agent of an action.

with a history” and “texts without a history.” “Texts without a history” refers to those texts that were restricted to just one time and one place, such as inventory lists for tombs (*qiance* 遷冊), administrative commands, or divination records. By contrast, “texts with a history” refers to those texts that were transmitted (not necessarily corresponding to what Robert GASSMANN meant by transmitted texts). Kern says that “texts with a history” could be transmitted in writing, but not necessarily; they could also be transmitted orally, or more likely still by some combination of written and oral transmission. He says: “Texts with a history were neither necessarily stable in their wording nor graphic appearance nor always fixed in their borders. They may have circulated in fragments, with different internal orders, or integrated with other texts; their different versions may have been reduced or extended; they may have adopted diverging choices of style, grammar, and vocabulary.”⁵⁷ For instance, Kern argues that the Guodian *Tai Yi sheng shui* and *Laozi C* should be regarded as a single text, showing that at the time of their copying the *Laozi* was still in the process of formation and that there was still not a definitive text.

Kern expresses doubt about William Boltz’s use of Karl LACHMANN’s *stemma codicum* to analyze textual transmission, saying that this type of analysis has two basic problems: first, it assumes that there is only a single *urtext*; and second, that the process of transmission was continuous. Different from this, Kern proposes that many different versions of a text could circulate simultaneously, and these different texts did not necessarily circulate in writing. It is very possible that they were composed and transmitted by some oral means. Because the *stemma codicum* is only able to address written texts, and cannot incorporate oral texts, therefore its use—at least for the early period—is very limited. The *urtext* determined by the *stemma codicum* could only refer to the earliest written text and would not include any oral predecessors.

In this article, Kern examined six different manuscripts that contain texts or quotations of the *Shi jing* 詩經: the Mawangdui manuscript *Wu xing* 五行, the Guodian manuscript 五行, the Guodian manuscript *Zi yi* 緇衣, the Shanghai Museum manuscript *Zi yi* 緇衣, the Shanghai Museum manuscript *Kongzi Shi lun* 孔子詩論, and the Fuyang manuscript of the *Shi jing* itself. His conclusion is that although the wording is basically stable, the written forms of the characters are very often different. The Mawangdui *Wu xing* quotations contain 158 characters, of which 50 differ from the received text of the *Shi jing*; in the Guodian *Wu xing*, 18 of 50 characters differ; in the Guodian *Zi yi*, 70 of 193 characters differ; in the Shanghai Museum *Zi yi*, 67 of 157 characters differ; in the Shanghai Museum

57 KERN, “Methodological Reflections,” p. 351.

Kongzi Shi lun, 26 of 64 characters differ; and in the *Fuyang Shi jing*, 329 of 820 characters differ. He says, “I suggest that while all these versions go back to an *Urtext* that can no longer be recovered, their various written forms do not stem from a single model; strictly speaking, there is no single *written* original behind the different versions. This is not meant to rule out the possibility that the unrecoverable *Urtext* was initially composed in writing. It only suggests that after the composition, the text was not continuously transmitted along the genealogical lines of the *stemma codicum*. I thus differ from the view that in early China, textual lineages of single works were assigned high prestige first and foremost as *writings* and were primarily transmitted through the process of copying.”⁵⁸

Kern also points out that almost one-third of the *Shi jing* quotations and passages in the the six different manuscripts that he analyzes are variants vis-à-vis the received text, and that most of these variants are phonetically identical or similar loan characters; only one-tenth of the variants reveal no phonetic relationship. Given this sort of textual model, Kern hypothesizes that a text could only be transmitted within a “defined social framework,” “most likely a master-disciple(s) structure of face-to-face teaching and learning.”⁵⁹ Since the copyist of the Mawangdui *Wu xing* certainly never saw the Guodian manuscript of the *Wu xing* (which had long been buried in the tomb at Guodian), and similarly the editor of the received text of the *Li ji* had never seen either the Guodian or the Shanghai Museum manuscripts of the *Zi yi*, Kern proposes another type of transmission, which is that the reproduction of “texts with a history” did not at all rely on a written process but rather relied on oral transmission. “The result is a text controlled by tradition but written in a form that was guided by local conventions and the individual experience and predilections of the scribe.”⁶⁰

For the western scholarly world, the questions of orality raised by Matthias Richter and Martin Kern are extremely important. A related question concerns the degree of literacy in ancient China. In 2011, LI Feng and David Prager BRANNER edited a collection of studies entitled *Writing & Literacy in Early China; Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar* (101530). As the sub-title suggests, these studies were originally delivered to the Columbia University “Early China Seminar.” However, after this, they all underwent a long editorial process before the volume was finally published. The essays in it concerning oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions have already been introduced in Chapters Two and Three above. There are three other essays that concern manuscripts on bamboo and

58 KERN, “Methodological Reflections,” pp. 149-50.

59 KERN, “Methodological Reflections,” p. 164.

60 KERN, “Methodological Reflections,” p. 167.

silk: Matthias RICHTER's "Textual Identity and the Role of Literacy in the Transmission of Early Chinese Literature" (405740), Robin YATES's "Soldiers, Scribes, and Women: Literacy among the Lower Orders in Early China" (405790), and Anthony BARBIERI-LOW's "Craftsman's Literacy: Uses of Writing by Male and Female Artisans in Qin and Han China" (405520). Richter's study adopts the same viewpoint discussed above, arguing that in the Warring States period society literacy was quite limited. By contrast, Yates argues that most soldiers in Warring States-period armies needed to have a basic literacy. He also notes that in the military chapters of the *Mozi* 墨子, there are frequent mentions that all citizens of a city were required to be able to read. Similarly, Barbieri-Low says that Qin and Han craftsmen needed to be able at least to write their own names, and many of them also needed to provide information in writing required by the government. We can look forward to future discoveries that will provide more information on the types and levels of reading and writing in ancient China.

In many of his studies, Donald HARPER has presented a viewpoint similar to those of Yates and Barbieri-Low. For instance, in his article "The Textual Form of Knowledge: Occult Miscellanies in Ancient and Medieval Chinese Manuscripts, Fourth Century B.C. to Tenth Century A.D." (405310), published in 2010, Harper says that from the Warring States period all the way down to the Tang dynasty knowledge was regularly transmitted in writing. This viewpoint is fundamentally different from that of the many people who say that knowledge was transmitted in an oral context of teachers and disciples. Since we are still lacking adequate evidence, it is quite natural that different scholars should have different notions about this. However, the textual evidence with which Harper works is certainly objective and would seem to be quite persuasive.

Finally, for the sake of completeness, let me mention several other studies that relate to the topic of methodology.

Jean-Pierre DRÈGE, "La lecture et l'écriture en Chine et la xylographie" (401800; 1991)

Jean-Pierre DRÈGE, "La matérialité du texte: Préliminaires à une étude de la mise en page du livre chinois" (402360; 1997)

Marc KALINOWSKI, "Bibliothèques et archives funéraires de la Chine ancienne" (403480; 2003)

Marc KALINOWSKI, "La production des manuscrits dans la Chine ancienne: Une approche codicologique de la bibliothèque funéraire de Mawangdui" (403990; 2005)

Olivier VENTURE, "La question des 'écritures chinoises' à l'époque des Royaumes combattants" (404480; 2006)

Olivier VENTURE, “Looking for Chu People’s Writing Habits” (405220; 2009)

Robert H. GASSMANN, “The Study of Chinese Manuscripts: Searching for the Genius Loci” (404970; 2009)

Haeree PARK, “Linguistic Approaches to Reading Excavated Manuscripts” (405110; 2009)

XING Wen, “Paleographic, Historical, and Intellectual History Approaches to Warring States Manuscripts Written on Bamboo Slips: A Review Article” (405480; 2010)

Jean-Pierre DRÈGE is a professor at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in France, and has long been concerned with books and libraries in China’s middle period. Although he has not done much research on unearthened documents from ancient China, his scholarship is similar to that of Donald Harper in suggesting that evidence from the Tang dynasty can help to answer some questions concerning earlier periods. Above I have already introduced Marc KALINOWSKI’s work on Shuihudi and Mawangdui *shushu* texts, and need not repeat that here. However, the two articles of his listed above have brought to the fore a new term, “codicology,” which emphasizes the material form of texts. Many other scholars have now begun to use this term. Olivier VENTURE was a student of Kalinowski’s, and is now also a professor at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. His original field of studies focused on oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions, but in recent years he has shifted his attention to the study of manuscripts. Venture’s Chinese is excellent and he has already published numerous articles in Chinese, making his work available to Chinese readers. Robert H. GASSMANN was the professor of Chinese at the University of Zurich in Switzerland, but has now retired. His article “The Study of Chinese Manuscripts: Searching for the Genius Loci” raised another new term: “Genius Loci,” which in his use emphasizes the local characteristics of manuscripts. Haeree PARK 朴慧莉 did her graduate work at the University of Washington, where she wrote a doctoral dissertation on the Shanghai Museum manuscript of the *Zhou Yi* 周易, which has already been introduced above. She was a student of William Boltz, and so was of course very interested in the linguistic aspects of unearthened documents. The article “Paleographic, Historical, and Intellectual History Approaches to Warring States Manuscripts Written on Bamboo Slips: A Review Article” by XING Wen provides a comprehensive overview of Warring States unearthened documents.

WRITTEN ON BAMBOOK AND SILK: BIOGRAPHIES

Henri MASPERO (1882-1945)



Henri MASPERO was born on December 15, 1882 in Paris, France, the son of the renowned Egyptologist Gaston MASPERO (1846-1916). At university he studied history and literature. After graduating in 1905, he went to Egypt to study, where he published his first work of scholarship: *Les Finances de l’Égypte sous les Lagides*.¹ In 1907 he returned to Paris, earning a diploma in law, but at the same time also beginning his studies of Chinese with **Édouard CHAVANNES** (1865-1918; see the biography appended to Chapter One). In 1908, he went to Hanoi, Vietnam, then a French colony, where he was a researcher with the *École française d’Extrême-Orient* (EFEO), being appointed as a professor in 1911. During this time, he visited the various French colonies in Southeast Asia, which had a definite influence on his later scholarship. With the death of Édouard Chavannes in 1918, Maspero returned to France to succeed his teacher as the professor of Chinese at the *Collège de France*. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Maspero published a series of brilliant studies in such varied fields of traditional Chinese civilization as ancient history, linguistics, religion and literature, and was selected to be a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*,

¹ Henri MASPERO, *Les Finances de l’Égypte sous les Lagides* (Paris, Nogent-le Rotrou, impr. Daupeley-Gouverneur, 1905).

akin to China's Academia Sinica. In 1940, after Germany occupied France, French academic circles were greatly diminished. At this time, in addition to his own courses at the Collège de France, Maspero also substituted for Marcel GRANET (1884-1940) at the Sorbonne, teaching Chinese religion at the École Pratique de Hautes Études. In 1944, as the Allied armies were advancing through France, the French Underground intensified its resistance to the Nazi occupation. Because Maspero's 19-year-old son Jean MASPERO (1925-1944) was a member of the resistance, the German Gestapo arrested Maspero himself, sending him to the notorious concentration camp at Buchenwald. On March 17, 1945, less than two months before the end of the war, Henri Maspero died at Buchenwald, just 62 years of age.

Already during his lifetime, Maspero was called *l'homme de Chine antique*, a sobriquet taken from his most famous book: *La Chine antique*, which was published in 1927.² Both before and after writing *La Chine antique*, Maspero's research focused on all topics in the cultural history of pre-Qin China, publishing as well specialized studies on the myths included in the *Shang shu* 尚書 (Venerated documents),³ the biography of Su Qin 蘇秦 and how his life was represented in the *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the historian) of SIMA Qian (145-c. 89 B.C.),⁴ the logic of Mozi 墨子 and his school,⁵ chronology,⁶ astronomy,⁷ the date of the composition of the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳,⁸ ancient religion,⁹ and many other topics. In addition to his work on the cultural history of ancient China, Maspero also published in-depth studies of Chinese linguistics, even revising some problems in the phonetic reconstructions of **Bernhard KARLGREN**

2 Henri MASPERO, *La Chine antique* (Paris: Histoire du monde, 1927). For an English translation, see *China in Antiquity*, tr. Frank A. KIERMAN, Jr. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978).

3 Henri MASPERO, "Légendes mythologiques dans le *Chou king*," *Journal Asiatique* 204 (1924): 1-100.

4 Henri MASPERO, "Le roman de Sou Ts'in," *Études Asiatiques* 2 (1925): 127-41.

5 Henri MASPERO, "Notes sur la logique de Mo-tseu et de son école," *Toung Pao* 25 (1928): 1-64.

6 Henri MASPERO, "La chronologie des rois de Ts'i au IV^e siècle avant notre ère," *Toung Pao* 25 (1928): 367-86.

7 Henri MASPERO, "L'astronomie Chinoise avant les Han," *Toung Pao* 26 (1929): 267-356.

8 Henri MASPERO, "La composition et la date du Tso tchouan," *Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 1 (1931-32): 137-215.

9 Henri MASPERO, "Le Ming-T'ang et la crise religieuse chinoise avant les Han," *Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 9 (1948-51): 1-71. For a complete listing of works by Henri Maspero, see Paul DEMIÉVILLE, "Nécrologie: Henri Maspero (1883-1945)," *Journal Asiatique* 234 (1943-45, 1947), 245-80, and "Complements à la bibliographie des oeuvres d'Henri Maspero," *Hommage à Henri Maspero 1883-1945* (Paris: Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1983), 69. A selection of Maspero's works has been translated into Chinese: see XUAN Xiaodi 佘曉笛 and SHENG Feng 盛豐, tr. *Ma Bole Hanxue lunzhu xuanyi* 馬伯樂漢學論著選譯 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014).

(1889-1978; see the biography appended to Chapter One).¹⁰ Beginning in about 1930, his research turned increasingly toward questions in later religion, especially Daoism, for which it could be said that he created a wholly new field of scholarship, even if much of his research at the time was published only after his death.¹¹

Maspero never specialized in the study of Chinese paleography, but he was always very interested in the newest discoveries. His first Sinological effort was a review (100070) of Frank H. CHALFANT's (1862-1914) *Early Chinese Writing* (100050), which had introduced to the western world the then just discovered oracle-bone inscriptions. In later decades, he published reviews of such other books concerning oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions as TCHANG Fong's 張鳳 (ZHANG Feng) *Recherches sur les os du Ho-Nan et quelques caractères de l'écriture ancienne* (200190; 1927); Takata Tadasuke's 高田忠周 *Kou Tcheou P'ian* (*Gu Zhou pian* 古籀篇) (300160; 1927); and KUOU Mo-jo's (GUO Moruo 郭沫若), *Tchong-kuou kou-tai che-houei yen-kiou* 中國古代社會研究 [*Recherches sur la société de l'antiquité chinoise*] (100260; 1933). Beginning in the 1930s, he also followed Chavannes in editing the Chinese wood and paper manuscripts that Aurel STEIN (1862-1943) had recovered from his expeditions in Xinjiang and Gansu. Although this work was completed in 1936, its publication was delayed by the outbreak of World War II and other causes until 1953, when it was finally published as *Les documents chinois de la troisième expedition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale* (400250).¹² After the publication of this work, other of Maspero's studies of Dunhuang manuscripts, such as "Documents Issuing from the Region of Tun-huang" (400290; 1956), were also published posthumously. Although Maspero was neither a paleographer nor a dedicated researcher of unearthed documents, nevertheless he made a very great contribution to the early development of this field in the West. It is a great shame that his life was cut short by Nazi oppression, and much of his scholarly effort only became available after his death.

10 Henri MASPERO, *Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang* (Hanoi: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1920); *Préfixes et dérivation en chinois archaïque* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1930); "La langue chinoise," *Conférences de l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Université de Paris* (1933): 33-70.

11 Henri MASPERO, *Le Taoïsme et les religions chinoises* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971). This book has been translated into English as *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, tr. Frank A. Kierman, Jr. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981).

12 For the background of the effort to have this great work published, see Bruno SCHINDLER, "Preliminary Account of the Work of Henri Maspero Concerning the Chinese Documents on Wood and Paper Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein on His Third Expedition to Central Asia" (400240; 1949), and for an appraisal of the scholarship, see YANG Lien-sheng, "Notes on Maspero's *Les Documents Chinois de la troisième expedition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*" (400350; 1959).

A.F.P. HULSEWÉ (1910-1995)

Anthony François Paulus HULSEWÉ was born on January 31, 1910 in Berlin, Germany. When he was very young, he was sent to Amsterdam, Holland to be out of harm's way during World War I. In 1919, his entire family emigrated to Holland, and Hulsewé adopted Dutch citizenship. In 1928, he entered the University of Leiden, where he began the study of Chinese with the renowned Sinologist J.J.L. DUYVENDAK (1889-1954), specializing in the study of Chinese legal history. After graduating in 1931, he joined the Dutch diplomatic service; over the next fifteen years, he was destined to live a very eventful life. In 1932, he was sent to China, where he took advanced courses in Chinese (his teacher of classical Chinese was LIANG Qixiong 梁啟雄 [1900-1965], the younger brother of LIANG Qichao 梁啟超 [1873-1929]), and at this time he translated the “Xingfa zhi” 刑法志 (Monograph on crime and punishment) of both the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New Tang history) and *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old Tang history). After living in Beijing for nearly two years, in 1933 he was transferred to Kyoto, Japan, where he served in the Dutch consulate. He lived in Japan for just over one year, and then was again transferred, this time to the Dutch colony of Indonesia, where he was in charge of the Southeast Asia section of the Dutch foreign affairs office. Beginning in 1939, he was assigned to be censor of Japanese nationals residing in Indonesia. By his own account, during this period he read some 25,000 letters, attesting to the high level of fluency he had achieved in Japanese. In 1942, when the Dutch East Indies surrendered to Japan, Hulsewé served as the interpreter for the surrender to the Japanese army, after which time he himself was imprisoned as a prisoner of war,

from 1944 until August 1945 being incarcerated at the notorious Changi 樟宜 prisoner of war camp in Singapore. There is a legend that it was during his internment in the prisoner of war camp together with English officers that Hulsewé learned English; there is no doubt that his English proficiency must have improved during this time (especially in terms of slang and curse words), but as a diplomat in the Dutch foreign service, his English was certainly already excellent before this time. After the conclusion of the war with Japan, Hulsewé was once again arrested during the Indonesian war of independence from the Netherlands, from which he was rescued by the English army. In 1946, he retired from the foreign service and returned to Holland.

The next year, 1947, he accepted Duyvendak's invitation to become an assistant professor of Chinese at the University of Leiden. Since most of Duyvendak's students were focusing on topics in Han-dynasty cultural history, Hulsewé shifted his focus to the legal history of the Han, writing his doctoral dissertation on the "Xingfa zhi" of the *Han shu* 漢書 (Han history). He completed his dissertation, entitled *Remnants of Han Law*, in 1955.¹ In 1956, he was appointed as professor of Chinese, and also director of the Institute of Chinese Studies. In addition to these responsibilities, he also continued a long-time tradition whereby the professor at Leiden and a professor in Paris served as the co-editors of the journal *T'oung Pao*; almost every year he published probing studies of Han law and institutional history. A characteristic trait of his scholarship is that from a very early date he was interested in unearthed documents. Already in 1957, he published an article entitled "Han-Time Documents: A Survey of Recent Studies Occasioned by the Findings of Han Time Documents in Central Asia" (400300), and followed this with the 1965 article "Texts in Tombs" (400440). This interest in Central Asia led to a collaboration between Hulsewé and his friend **Michael LOEWE** (see the biography appended to this chapter). In 1975, the two scholars published *China in Central Asia: The Early Stage, 125 B.C.-A.D. 23: An Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, which is a translation of the two chapters "Zhang Qian-Li Guangli zhuan" 張騫李廣利傳 (Biographies of Zhang Qian and Li Guangli) and "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Biography of the western lands).² In the same year, having reached the mandatory retirement age of 65, Hulsewé retired from his position at Leiden and moved to Switzerland. Although he was no longer in the Netherlands, his Dutch students and colleagues

1 A.F.P. HULSEWÉ, *Remnants of Han Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1955).

2 A.F.P. HULSEWÉ and Michael LOEWE, *China in Central Asia: The Early Stage, 125 B.C.-A.D. 23: An Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of The History of the Former Han Dynasty* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975).

maintained their utmost respect for him; in 1990, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, they published a monumental festschrift in his honor: *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*.³ He passed away, at the age of 85, in Switzerland in 1995.

In the year that he retired, 1975, Hulsewé's scholarship entered into an entirely new phase. In that year, a large cache of bamboo strips was unearthed from a tomb at Shuihudi 睡虎地, in Yunmeng 雲夢 county, Hubei. Since this cache included many important legal documents, Hulsewé was naturally attracted to it, and in the very next year published an article in *T'oung Pao* introducing it to western readers: "The Ch'in Documents Discovered in Hupei in 1975" (400760; 1976). From this time on, there came an outpouring of scholarship on these documents: "A Lawsuit of A.D. 28" (400870; 1979), "The Legalists and the Laws of Ch'in" (401030; 1981), "Weights and Measures in Ch'in Law" (401050; 1981), "Some Remarks on Statute Labour in the Ch'in and Han Period" (401250; 1984), "The Influence of the 'Legalist' Government of Qin on the Economy as Reflected in the Texts Discovered in Yunmeng County" (401290; 1985), "Ch'in and Han Law" (401340; 1986), "Law as One of the Foundations of State Power in Early Imperial China" (401410; 1987), "The Wide Scope of *Tao* 盜, 'Theft,' in Ch'in-Han Law" (401480; 1988), "Fragments of Han Law" (401620; 1990), "The Long Arm of Justice in Ancient China: A Warrant for the Arrest of a Slave Dated 52 B.C." (401820; 1991), but the most important of all of his work was his 1985 book *Remnants of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the Ch'in Legal and Administrative Rules of the 3rd century B.C. Discovered in Yün-meng Prefecture, Hu-pei Province, in 1975* (401300). Even after he passed away in 1995, some of his work was still being published ("Qin and Han Legal Manuscripts" [402380; 1997]), attesting to the unwavering dedication that he brought to his study of ancient Chinese law.

3 W.L. IDEMA and E. ZÜRCHER ed., *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990).

Michael A.N. LOEWE



Michael A.N. LOEWE was born on November 2, 1922, in Cambridge, England, where his father was a professor of Hebrew at the University of Cambridge. In the autumn of 1941, Loewe entered the University of Oxford, intending to study classics. However, when the Japanese attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, he left school and joined the English military, being assigned to the Intelligence Service at Bletchley Park, where he deciphered intercepted Japanese communications. At the end of the war, he remained in the military and, in that capacity, made his first visit to China. After returning to England, while still serving in army intelligence, he also began graduate studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) of the University of London (having been awarded an undergraduate degree for his service in the military during the war). Loewe has recalled with humor that when he proposed to his teacher the linguist Walter SIMON (1893-1981) that he wished to concentrate on the Han dynasty, Simon, whose own interests were in the classical period, told him that reading Han-dynasty texts would be like reading yesterday's newspaper. Nevertheless, Loewe persisted in his interest. In 1963, he completed his doctoral dissertation on the wooden slips from Juyan 居延 in Central Asia; he was particularly interested in questions of the administration of the troops stationed there. Upon graduation, he first served as an instructor at SOAS, and then subsequently transferred to Cambridge, where he remained throughout his career, retiring in 1990 at the mandatory retirement age of 68. Although he retired from teaching, Loewe has not at all retired from his scholarly work; indeed, his research only accelerated with his retirement. From 1990 until 2012, he published ten different

books, as well as many tens of scholarly articles (which number does not even take account of the nine major books that he published before his retirement).¹ Among these books are several that are found on almost all western Sinologists bookshelves, such as *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (1993), *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* (1999), *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Han and Xin Dynasties* (2000), and also *China's Early Empires: A Re-appraisal* (405400; 2010). Several of his books have already been translated into Chinese, and his work is well known to Chinese paleographers and historians.²

From the time of his doctoral dissertation, Loewe has always been interested in unearthed documents. His first scholarly publication, in 1959, was “Some Notes on Han-Time Documents from Chüyen” (400340). For the next several years, he published articles at the rate of almost one a year, many of them using the evidence in unearthed documents to discuss topics in Han administration; these include “The Orders of Aristocratic Rank of Han China” (400370; 1960), “The Measurement of Grain during the Han Period” (400390; 1961), “Some Notes on Han Time Documents from Tun-huang” (400420; 1963), “Some Military Despatches of the Han Period” (400430; 1964), and “The Wooden and Bamboo Strips Found at Mo-chü-tzu (Kansu)” (400450; 1965). After Cambridge University Press, in 1967, published his doctoral dissertation as the two-volume *Records of Han*

1 The ten books that Loewe published during this period are: *The Pride that Was China* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1990); *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993); *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); *The Cambridge History of Ancient China* (edited together with Edward L. SHAUGHNESSY) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Han and Xin Dynasties* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000); *The Men Who Governed China in Han Times* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004); *The Government of the Qin and Han Empires 221 BCE-220 CE* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 2006); *China's Early Empires: A Re-appraisal* (edited together with Michael NYLAN) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); *Bing: From Farmer's Son to Magistrate in Han China* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 2011); *Dong Zhongshu, A “Confucian” Heritage and the Chunqiu fanlu* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2011).

2 For a translation of Loewe's 1967 book *Records of Han Administration*, see YU Zhenbo 於振波 and CHE Jinhua 車金花 tr., *Han dai xingzheng jilu* 漢代行政記錄 (Guizhou: Guangxi Shifan daxue chubanshe, 2005), for his *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, see LI Xueqin 李學勤 *et al* tr., *Zhongguo gudai dianji daodu* 中國古代典籍導讀 (Shenyang: Liaoning Jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997); for *The Cambridge History of China, Volume I: The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.-A.D.220*, which he edited together with Denis TWITCHETT, see YANG Pinquan 楊品泉 *et al* tr., *Jianqiao Zhongguo Qin Han shi* 劍橋中國秦漢史 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992).

Administration (400470), Loewe was widely acknowledged as the western scholarly world's leading expert on Chinese manuscripts. In the 1970s and 1980s, Loewe invariably introduced that period's great discoveries of Qin and Han bamboo and silk documents to the western scholarly world, usually in the pages of *T'oung Pao* or other leading journals: "Manuscripts Found Recently in China: A Preliminary Survey" (400720; 1977), "Wooden Documents from China and Japan: Recent Finds and Their Value" (401000; 1980), "The Manuscripts from Tomb Number Three Ma-wang-tui" (401080; 1981), "Han Administrative Documents: Recent Finds from the North-West" (401360; 1986), "The Almanacs (jih-shu) from Shui-hu-ti: A Preliminary Survey" (401490; 1988), "The Study of Han Wooden Documents: Recent Developments" (401960; 1993), and "Wood and Bamboo Administrative Documents of the Han Period" (402400; 1997).

Michael Loewe's scholarship has been both broad and deep, his attitude toward scholarship always very serious, a true scholar's scholar. And yet, as a person he is extremely relaxed, especially when together with younger scholars. Whenever students make a request of him, he is always only too happy to help. Now approaching 97 years of age, he is still hard at work. Indeed, in 2013, at the age of 91, he flew from England to China on his own, traveling to Shaanxi to inspect some archaeological sites. This surely shows his inexhaustible intellectual curiosity and vigor.

Sarah ALLAN



Sarah Meyers ALLAN was born in 1945 in Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A. After attending the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) for university, she then did her graduate work at the University of California at Berkeley, studying with the Sinologist Peter A. BOODBERG (1903-1972) and the Sociologist Wolfram EBERHARD (1909-1989). She completed her Ph.D. degree in 1974, and her doctoral dissertation was subsequently formally published as *The Heir and the Sage: Dynastic Legend in Early China*.¹ Even before graduating from Berkeley, she received an appointment at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London, where she joined the famous Sinologists A.C. GRAHAM (1919-1991), D.C. LAU (1921-2010) and Paul THOMPSON (1931-2007) to make SOAS the western world's most important center for the study of early Chinese literature and cultural history during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1995 Allan left SOAS to return to the United States, becoming professor of Chinese at Dartmouth College. In 1998, she hosted a major international conference at Dartmouth to discuss the then just published Guodian 郭店 *Laozi* 老子; the proceedings of the conference were published in both English and Chinese, making Dartmouth an important center for the study of early China. Allan retired from teaching in 2016, but has remained active in her scholarship, continuing in her role as editor of the prestigious journal *Early China*.

¹ Sarah ALLAN, *The Heir and the Sage: Dynastic Legend in Early China* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1981).

Already in the 1980s, Allan had begun to make important contributions to the study of Chinese paleography, joining together with LI Xueqin 李學勤 and QI Wenxin 齊文心 of the Institute of History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to edit the volume *Yingguo suo cang jiagu ji* 英國所藏甲骨集 (Oracle-bone collections in Great Britain). Of 2674 oracle bones in Part 1 (1985), 1025 had not previously been published in any form.² Part 2 (1991), included another 61 pieces, 47 of which had not been previously published. This work also included the authors' transcriptions of all of the oracle bone inscriptions, essays, finding lists, an index, etc. This catalogue, published by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 in Beijing, is quite useful. After completing this project, the same three scholars also produced a similar catalog of the oracle bone housed in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm: *Oracle Bone Inscriptions in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden* (203120; 1999). During this period, Allan and Li Xueqin also published a catalog of some of the most important bronze vessels in European collections,³ in which Allan also provided an overview of the history and present state of bronze collections in the West. Aside from these editorial and publication projects, Allan also published her own scholarship on oracle-bone inscriptions and bronze vessels, including her 1991 book *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China* (202530). This book has also been translated into Chinese complete with an introduction by Li Xueqin, in which he praises the book with the following statement: "I truly believe that all readers interested in early Chinese cultural history will find stimulation and instruction in Allan's book." The other book for which she is especially well known is: *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue*.⁴ This book is an exploration of the root metaphors of early Chinese philosophical thought.

After Sarah Allan convened the Guodian *Laozi* conference at Dartmouth, her scholarly focus shifted to the study of Warring States bamboo-strip manuscripts; she subsequently edited two collections of essays, helping to develop this field. The first collection was the proceedings of the 1998 conference: *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*

² LI Xueqin 李學勤, QI Wenxin 齊文心 and AI Lan 艾蘭 (Sarah ALLAN), ed., *Yingguo suo cang jiagu ji* 英國所藏甲骨集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985, 1991).

³ LI Xueqin 李學勤 and AI Lan 艾蘭 (Sarah ALLAN) ed., *Ouzhou suocang Zhongguo qingtongqi yizhu* 歐洲所藏中國青銅器遺珠 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995).

⁴ Sarah ALLAN, *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1997).

(402760; 2000), of which a Chinese translation has also been published.⁵ The second volume, published in China, was also the proceedings of an international conference, this one held at Peking University: *Xinchu jianbo guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji* 新出簡帛國際學術研討會文集 (Essays from the international conference on newly unearthed bamboo and silk manuscripts).⁶ She also published her own studies on related topics, such as “The Great One, Water, and the *Laozi*: New Light from Guodian” (403420; 2003), “The Way of Tang Yao and Yu Shun: Appointment by Merit as a Theory of Succession in a Warring States Bamboo-Slip Text” (404250; 2006), and “Not the *Lun yu*: The Chu Script Bamboo Slip Manuscript, *Zigao*, and the Nature of Early Confucianism” (404900; 2009). In 2015, she combined the last two of these essays with studies of the manuscripts *Rongchengshi* 容成氏 of the Shanghai Museum and *Bao xun* 保訓 of Tsinghua University in the book *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-slip Manuscripts* (406380), which has already attracted considerable attention in western scholarly circles.

Allan has also gained great prominence in China, much of her work having been translated into Chinese and published in China, the Chinese web-site Baidu baike 百度百科 hosting a detailed introduction to her life and work.

5 Ai Lan 艾蘭 (Sarah ALLAN) and WEI Kebin 魏克彬 (Crispin WILLIAMS) ed., *XING Wen* 邢文 tr., *Guodian Laozi: Dong xi fang xuezhe de duihua* 郭店老子：東西西方學者的對話 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2002).

6 Ai Lan 艾蘭 (Sarah ALLAN) and XING Wen 邢文 ed., *Xinchu jianbo guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji* 新出簡帛國際學術研討會文集 (Essays from the international conference on newly unearthed bamboo and silk manuscripts) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004).

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