Early China 20

1995

Dedicated to David N. Keightley

Contributors iv

David Noel Keightley vi

DNK—Some Recollections, in Celebration
DAVID JOHNSON vii

The Works of David Noel Keightley xi

ARTICLES

Abstracts xix

Ritualized Pigs and the Origins of Complex Society:
Hypotheses Regarding the Hongshan Culture
SARAH M. NELSON 1

Qijia and Erlitou: The Question of Contacts with Distant Cultures
LOUISA G. FITZGERALD HUBER 17

On the Meaning of *Shang* in Shang Dynasty
KWANG-CHIH CHANG 69

The Ghost Head Mask and Metamorphic Shang Imagery
ELIZABETH CHILDS-JOHNSON 79

The Pivot: Comparative Perspectives from the Four Quarters
NANCY THOMPSON PRICE 93

The Cosmo-political Background of Heaven's Mandate
DAVID W. PANKENIER 121

An Interpretation of the "Shao Gao"
DAVID S. NIVISON 177

The *Ru* Reinterpretation of *Xiao*
KEITH N. KNAPP 195

The Origin of an *Yijing* Line Statement
EDWARD L. SHAUGHNESSY 223

Scribes, Cooks, and Artisans: Breaking Zhou Tradition
CONSTANCE A. COOK 241

Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums
in Early China: The *Wu* Officials in the *Zhou Li*
LOTHAR VON FALKENHAUSEN 279

Do Not Serve the Dead as You Serve the Living: The *Lüshi chunqiu*
Treatises on Moderation in Burial
JEFFREY RIEGEL 301

State Control of Bureaucrats under the Qin:
Techniques and Procedures
ROBIN D.S. YATES 331

The "Basic Considerations on the *Commentaries*
of the Silk Manuscript *Book of Changes*
LI XUEQIN 367

The Bellows Analogy in *Laozi* V and Warring States Macrobiotic Hygiene
DONALD HARPER 381

Textual Criticism *More Sinico*
WILLIAM G. BOLTZ 393

Wise Man of The Wilds: Fatherlessness, Fertility, and the Mythic Exemplar, Kongzi
LIONEL M. JENSEN 407

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shigaku Zasshi Summary of Japanese Scholarship for 1995
SUZUKI ATSUSHI 鈴本敦 and
WATANABE SHIN'ICHIRŌ 渡邊這一郎 439

Dissertation Abstracts. 471

Annual Bibliography 484

Contributors

Suzuki Atsushi 鈴本敦
Society for the Promotion of Japanese Academic Research
Kyoto, Japan

William G. Boltz
Dept. of Asian Languages and Literature
U. of Washington
Seattle WA 98195

Chang Kwang-chih
Department of Anthropology
Harvard University
Cambridge MA 02138

Elizabeth Childs-Johnson
531 East 88th St., Apt. 4B
New York, NY 10128

Constance A. Cook
Department of Modern Foreign Languages
Lehigh University
Bethlehem PA 18015

Lothar von Falkenhausen
Department of History of Art
University of California, Los Angeles
Los Angeles CA 90024

Magnus Fiskesjö
Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations
University of Chicago
Chicago IL 60637

Louisa G. Fitzgerald Huber
John King Fairbank Center for East Asian Research
Coolidge Hall 308
Harvard University
Cambridge MA 02138

Enno Giele
Ostasiatischen Seminar
Freie Universät
Berlin, Germany

Donald Harper
Deptartment of East Asian Studies
University of Arizona
Tucson AZ 85721

Lionel Jensen
Department of History
University of Colorado at Denver
Campus Box 182
P.O. Box 173364
Denver CO 80217-3364

David Johnson
Department of History
University of California
Berkeley CA 94720

Keith N. Knapp
Department of History
The Citadel
171 Moultrie Street
Columbia SC 29409

Li Xueqin 李學勤
Institute of History
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
6 Ritan Lu
Beijing 100020 China

Sarah M. Nelson
Department of Anthropology
University of Denver
Denver CO 80208

David S. Nivison
1169 Russell Ave.
Los Altos CA 94022

David Pankenier
Department of Modern Foreign Languages
Lehigh University
Bethlehem PA 18015

Nancy Thompson Price
Department of Anthropology
University of California, Davis
Davis Ca 95616

Jeffrey Riegel
Department of Oriental Languages
University of California
Berkeley CA 94720

Edward L. Shaughnessy
Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations
University of Chicago
Chicago IL 60637

Watanabe Shin'ichirō
渡邊這一郎
Faculty of Letters
Kyoto Municipal University
Kyoto, Japan

Robin D.S. Yates
Department of East Asian Studies
McGill University
3434 McTavish Street
Montreal PQ H3A 1X9
Canada

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DNK—SOME RECOLLECTIONS, IN CELEBRATION

David Johnson

I first met David in Taipei's old International House, late in the summer of 1965. We were about to begin what turned out to be two years of study at the Stanford Center. Both of us started studying Chinese history in graduate school after having majored in something else in college, both of us had married recently, and we both were in Taiwan for the first time. We were pretty green, though David was somewhat wiser in the ways of the world (and would remain so), since he had spent ten years in publishing in New York before deciding that Chinese history was too important to be left entirely to others. That single decision tells you all you need to know about David Keightley's self-confidence and fundamental seriousness.

Pedicabs were still common in Taipei then, though motorbikes and motorcycles were rapidly increasing in number, heralds of a new age. There were a few Datsun taxicabs, too, usually painted an odd shade of pink that always made me think of nail polish. Finding ways to get their drivers to slow down, or stop, was one of the earliest challenges to our language skills. At that time a graduate student couple on an NDFL stipend could rent an entire house, hire a live-in servant, and have money left over to buy furniture and take pedicabs or even taxis instead of the bus. But beyond the essentials there was little enough to buy, even of pirated books. The maelstrom of commerce that is today's Taipei was undreamed of; the buildings of the central business district were still almost entirely two- or three-story structures dating from the Japanese period. There was always the "noodle circle" for nighttime adventures, but the most exciting night out for most of the young married couples was dinner at the MAAG (Military Assistance Advisory Group) compound, just down Hsin Yi Lu from International House, where we could get as much middle-American chow as we cared to eat for next to nothing.

The memory of those years will never fade, but the neighborhood

where we lived has changed beyond recognition. International House has been demolished; Hsin Sheng Nan Lu, in those days two narrow lanes separated by a big drainage ditch, is now a six- or eight-lane boulevard packed with cars; and the Niu-jou Mien Ta Wang, whose shack with its oil-drum stoves supporting tall stacks of little bamboo steamers was located smack in the middle of Hsin Yi Lu, has long since been swept away by the tidal wave of change. David says that the last time he visited the neighborhood only half of his old house was still standing, the rest having been replaced by a large apartment building. The very *lane* on which I lived for two years has vanished.

Memories come crowding back: the hard work and camaraderie of the Stanford Center; the never-solved mystery of how to deal with our amahs; expeditions into the countryside, above all to O-luan-pi, at the southern tip of the island, the site of a U.S. military radar installation at whose "hostel" American students could stay for a few nights if they knew how to ask. It was on a promontory a half-mile or so uphill from the lighthouse. From it you could see to the horizon in almost every direction, and there was a view up the empty, rugged southeast coast that went on and on. The sky was immense, the sun dazzling, the air humid but exhilarating. From the cluster of little buildings a steep path ran down to some sheltered beaches on the west coast, where our little group of young couples swam (always with a careful eye out for sharks), hunted for shells, and tried to find shade for our picnics. It was a hard place to leave.

After Taiwan David went back to Columbia, and I to Berkeley. He finished his dissertation in time to be considered for the position in Chinese history at Berkeley that came open when Woodbridge Bingham retired. I can recall explaining to Joe Levenson just how good I thought this fellow Keightley was as we walked through Faculty Glade one day when the search was still on. I don't think the department had made an offer yet, and it amuses me sometimes to imagine that my enthusiasm had some slight effect on the outcome. In due course David, Vannie, and Stephen arrived in Berkeley, were taken to favorite picnic spots and restaurants, and were advised on apartments and cars. (An elderly light grey Mercedes that I strongly recommended became the Keightley family albatross for a while.) The next year I finished up, and got a job at Columbia.

We proceeded on parallel courses for about ten years, during which time David published *Sources of Shang History*, founded *Early China*, and laid the deep foundations of his later work. Then another position in Chinese history opened up at Berkeley, and our paths rejoined. I have

always assumed David had a substantial role to play in that decision (which kept me from having to leave the profession in the great crunch of the early 1980s), but he is too much of a *chün-tzu* to have ever brought it up.

This will not surprise anyone who knows him, since David plays by the rules. The most important of those rules, I think, is the one that dictates hard work, on his own behalf and on behalf of his department, his university, and his profession. However, David also just plays: he is the greatest master of conversational repartée I have known; he is a devotee of Gilbert and Sullivan and has written (often in collaboration with Jim Cahill) numerous skits of the Savoyard persuasion for campus festivities; and he is a passionate bicyclist, leader of a group of fellow enthusiasts known fondly (to themselves, at least) as the Yuppie Bikers. But work or play, everything is approached with intensity and focus; David Keightley tries not to waste his time.

This book is a tribute to David as a scholar, and so I will venture away from nostalgia for a while to say something under that heading, even though I obviously cannot speak as an insider. I take a certain amount of pride in having introduced David to the saying attributed to Aby Warburg that "God is in the details." He made this motto his own, as his students and colleagues can attest, and it does sum up an important part of his scholarly credo. I think that it was not just the lure of origins that pulled him back to earlier and earlier periods; I suspect that the very scarcity of data in early history, where every fact is endlessly scrutinized and every interpretation is constructed of such facts, also made it appealing. Concrete evidence, especially the tangible, nonverbal details that are the archeologists' stock in trade, is deeply appealing to him. He is of course interested in words as well as things, and in interpretive schemes as well as technical detail, and is in fact extremely good at finding large themes and writing about them with precision and elegance. Yet it seems to me that his instincts always pull him back from the general to the specific, from the broad generalization to the concrete particular. To want rock-solid answers to broad questions sets up a substantial tension, one that is I think visible in much of his work.

I see less of David than I would like, though the advent of e-mail has made it easier to keep in touch. Perhaps that is why I remember some telephone calls with particular vividness. One was to tell me the thrilling news that he had been awarded a MacArthur Fellowship. Another came one evening a year or so ago. He was calling from a local hospital, where he had been ordered by his doctor that day after an EKG showed a dangerous blockage in a coronary artery. A few hours later, while at

the hospital, he had a heart attack, which he told me all about in a call the next morning. David is a careful and foresighted man; it is entirely in character that he would have his coronary in a cardiac-care unit. Still, the experience shows that foresight can only extend so far: he had been cycling a hundred miles a week, eating carefully, and was as lean as a whippet when he went down.

He was not down for long, fortunately. He immediately set about learning all he could about blood chemistry, diet, exercise, and all the rest, and turned his full attention to getting better. In a couple of weeks he was back teaching again and carrying out his responsibilities as chairman of the History department. Now he seems to be as busy as he ever was—teaching, serving on committees, keeping up an extensive correspondence with scholars all over the world, and, most important, finishing his book on Shang religion. In the midst of all this activity, when he looks back at his career, it must give him great satisfaction to see that the field to which he has contributed so much is continuing to develop, often along lines he first laid out, and that *Early China* is thriving. I am sure all his friends and colleagues join me in congratulating David on a job well done, and in wishing him a calm sea and prosperous voyage for the rest of the journey—and may it be a long one!

Berkeley
May 28, 1995

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Abstracts

Sarah M. Nelson 南莎娜

Ritualized Pigs and the Origins of Complex Society: Hypotheses Regarding the Hongshan Culture
儀式化了的豬及複雜社會的起源 —— 有關龍山文化的假設

Pigs are prominent in the ceremonial and ritual iconography of the Hong-shan culture, including jade pig-dragons found in high-status burials, a life-sized pig statue made of unbaked clay, and a mountain that resembles a pig. To attempt to link real pigs with the iconography, the place of actual pigs in the society is examined. Continuity of artifact types from sites 7000–3500 B.C. allows the assumption that pigs were initially important in the subsistence base. I suggest that pig iconography implies pig rituals, and that the pig rituals may have aided in the formation of an elite class. The elite are archaeologically manifested in the elaborate tombs, and their existence can also be inferred by the need for managers in creating the tombs and the artifacts within, as well as in procuring jade and possibly copper.

豬在龍山文化禮儀祭祀中佔有顯著地位, 諸如在社會顯要之墓葬中發現的玉石豬龍, 以生粘土製成的真實尺寸的豬塑像, 以及類似豬的山形圖像等都反映了這一點. 為了把真實豬與祭祀圖像聯係起來, 本文對豬在社會生活中的實際地位進行了考察, 找到了幾個可以對豬圖像進行解釋的原因. 從公元前 7000 年到 3500 年遺址中出土器物類型的連續性證實了豬對先民得以存活下來的重要性. 在本文中筆者試圖證明豬的圖像暗示了豬崇拜儀式的存在, 而豬的崇拜儀式則很可能對上層階級之形成不無助益. 從考古學的角度看, 精致的墓冢表明了死者的特殊身份, 而上層階級之存在也可以從墓冢的修築, 隨葬器物的製作, 玉石和銅的採集都需要有組織者來組織管理這一點上得到印證.

Louisa G. Fitzgerald-Huber 胡博

Qijia and Erlitou: The Question of Contacts with Distant Cultures
齊家和二里頭: 關於遠距離文化的接觸問題

This paper investigates the relationships between the Early Metal Age cultures of the Inner Mongolia and Gansu-Qinghai area with the Erlitou culture of the Central Plains region, and addresses the issue whether specific metal objects characteristic of these cultures may have their source of inspiration in areas as remote as southern Siberia and present-day Afghanistan and southern Turkmenistan. The proposal that China at the very beginning of its Bronze Age may have been affected by long-distance cultural transmissions depends upon recent re-evaluations of the early history of the Eurasian steppe, in particular the advent of nomadic pastoralism and horse riding, and upon newly re-calibrated carbon dates ascertained for specific Siberian sites and for the Bactrian-Margiana complex."

本文考查了內蒙古和甘青地區早期金屬時代文化與中原地區二里頭文化的關係, 探討這些文化中幾種金屬器的特徵是否曾受到遠至西伯利亞南部 、阿富汗和南土庫曼斯坦等地區文化的啟發. 根據最近對歐亞大平原早期歷史的重新評估 —尤其是對騎馬和遊牧畜獵出現的討論 —, 並依據西伯利亞幾處遺址以及貝克特里亞 —瑪基安納文化群的最新碳十四校正年代, 作者認為中國早在青銅時代濫觴期即已受到異域文化的影響.

K.C. Chang 張光直

On the Meaning of *Shang* in the Shang Dynasty
論商朝時 "商" 字的意義

For nearly a century scholars have debated the meaning of the oracle-bone graph *shang* 商 used by the Bronze Age theocracy in reference to itself and one of its settlements. Since the Zhou, the word *shang* has borne a political significance as the term for a ruling power group, yet there is no agreement as to the graph's meaning or why it stood as the eponym of China's first historic civilization. Following from Wang Guo-wei's 1923 contention that *shang* was first a place name—a claim attested to in inscriptions in the common phrase *dayi shang* (great settlement Shang), the present essay finds that this place was the hallowed site of the ancestral sacrifices of the Zi clan, and offers philological and artifac-

tual evidence that the graph *shang* first depicted a rite performed before an ancestral image. Over the course of several centuries, the original, literal meaning of *shang* as the graphic depiction of the telling ritual, *gao* 告, was generalized and extended to refer to the ancestral temple, the city where the temple was located, and finally to the Shang dynasty itself.

近一個世紀以來, 學者們一直在辯論甲骨文中商人用來自稱或指其城邑的 "商" 字的意義究竟何在. 遠自周朝起, "商" 即用來指有統治權勢的一族因而帶有很強的政治含義, 但對該字之本義以及其如何成為中國歷史上第一個王朝的名字學者們尚未達成共識. 王國維在 1923 年指出 "商" 原為地名, 從第一到第五期的卜辭都證實這一說法是有根據的. 本文以為該地原為子族祭祀先祖的神聖之地, 並以語文學及器物上的證據證明 "商" 的字形原為對在祖先像前舉行某種祭祀活動之描繪. 在其後的幾百年中, "商" 字的原始及字面意義從描繪舉行 "告" 禮而逐漸一般化, 擴大化到可以用來指宗廟, 宗廟所在的都邑, 最後以至商王朝本身.

Elizabeth Childs-Johnson 江伊莉

The Ghost Head Mask and Metamorphic Shang Imagery
鬼面具與商代之人獸變形形象

The meaning of Shang ritual imagery has long baffled scholars. Art historians and anthropologists have wrestled with its meaning every since 1928 when bronzes began to be excavated at Anyang, the Late Shang capital. It is now possible to explore various data to identify the religious significance of Shang ritual art. From an art historical point of view, it is evident that certain standard modes of representation were designed to symbolize the theme of metamorphosis from the human to the animal spirit realm. This symbolism also helps to explain why the ubiquitous animal image in Shang art is conceived as a mask. Epigraphical data support the interpretation that Shang religion was based on the belief of metamorphosis as represented in art, and that the Shang king once acted as shaman-priest, chief-in-charge of invocation and a mask wearing rite. This interpretation depends on data provided by key terms in Shang bone inscriptions, such as *gui* 鬼, usually translated spirit ghost and others, directly related, such as the unpronounceable  and zhu 祝. My intention is to elucidate why spirit ghosts of ancestors,

gui were envisioned as anthropomorphized animal masks and how this conception is connected with the shamanic foundation of Shang religion. Although bone inscriptional data indicates that there is a dramatic shift away from exorcistic practices of shamanic origin to cult worship focused on dead royal ancestors, the combined evidence from art and epigraphy strongly argues for a Shang religion founded on the belief in metamorphosis and the king as shaman-priest.

自從 1928 年商晚期青銅容器於安陽出土以來, 藝術史家和考古學家一直在為探索銅器上的動物紋飾之意義而煞費苦心, 但至今尚未見到能使學界較為滿意的解釋. 本文試圖通過對幾種新的甲骨文字材料及藝術史上的材料進行分析, 以探討禮器傳統中如饕餮紋飾的宗教意義. 從藝術史的觀點看, 筆者認為青銅紋飾中的某些典型設計在宗教方面具有將人變成動物神祇之象徵作用, 這也有助於解釋殷商藝術中之動物紋飾為甚麼總是呈一面具狀. 甲骨中的關鍵字更為這種解釋提供了旁證, 如 "鬼" 字與、"祝" 等字密切相關. 在這篇論文中, 筆者試圖解答何以宗先的亡靈 —— 鬼會以人格化了的動物面具呈現, 及以這種觀念是如何與作為商朝宗教信仰中基礎之薩滿教相繫聯的. 雖然甲骨文字材料表明宗先崇拜早已取代了早期薩滿教中之祓除儀式, 不過器物與文字上的證據還是強烈表明商人的宗教信仰是建立在 "形變" 之上而商王與薩滿教教主之職能毫無二致.

Nancy Price

The Pivot: Comparative Perspectives from the Four Quarters
自四隅觀中樞

The fixity of urban centers has been deeply implicated in models of political development from chiefdom to the state and early empire. For this reason, both Western and Chinese scholars have neglected the importance of non-permanent or shifting ceremonial centers or capitals like China's in the evolution of complex society. A brief examination of the touchstone cultures of early Mespotamia and Classical Greece, to which China is compared, demonstrates how narrowly conceived and exclusive the Euro-American view of complex society constructed by archeologists and historians has been on the issue of mobility and the relation of ruler and polity to territory. The Chinese case, like those of India and South Asia, suggests that the moving center should be recog-

nized as a common variant in the process of socio-political development and change. The integration of the Asian state and early empires into the comparatist project seeks to analyze the formative relations between religious and cosmological conceptions and social, political and economic development.

都邑中心固定不遷移已深深地含括在從部落制發展到邦國與早期帝國的政治發展理論模式中. 正是由于這個原因, 東西方學者一向忽略了像古代中國之非永久性的, 或曰移動性的都城在向複雜社會發展過渡過程中所起到的重要作用. 中國 (或其他文明) 的這種 "獨特性" 暗含著從一種更為標準的型態中離異出來的意味. 然而, 如把中國與一些所謂的 "典型" 文化, 諸如早期美索不達米亞以及古希臘文明作一些簡略的比較, 即可看出在對都邑遷移問題和對統治者 、政體與領土關係上, 一般考古學家和歷史學家所持的是何種狹隘而又清一色的歐美複雜社會觀觀念. 更確切地說, 所謂中國的 "特例" 以及印度與東南亞等地的一些實例提醒我們: 不斷遷徒的都邑中心在社會政治的發展與變遷中應被視為一種常見的變例. 本文將亞洲的邦國與帝國早期放在一起, 以綜合比較的方法, 試圖能從更廣的角度來對宗教與宇宙觀; 社會 、政治 、經濟的發展與變遷等問題加以分析研究.

David W. Pankenier 班大為

The Cosmo-Political Background of Heaven's Mandate
天命論的宇宙–政治背景

A preoccupation with cosmology and the correlation of celestial events with terrestrial activity dates back to the very beginnings of Chinese civilization. The existence of such a mindset is shown by archeological discoveries from the Neolithic as well as the early Bronze Age. The belief in heaven-dwelling high gods like Shang Di and Tian also had antecedents in the pre-Shang period. In addition, analysis of scientifically verifiable accounts of planetary massings from the second millennium B.C. suggests that important cosmological and astrological notions took shape much earlier than previously thought. On the basis of this evidence it now appears likely that such conceptions are intimately connected both with influential later beliefs about a Mandate of Heaven,

which asserted heavenly intervention as the cause of change in temporal governance, and with later Five Elements speculative schemes, which claimed to discern a preordained phenomenological pattern in the dynastic succession. The cosmicization of experience in the archaic period to which the evidence points and the vehement reassertion of Heaven's Mandate by the Zhou dynasty founders together confirm the epoch-making historical role of the Shang-Zhou transition in decisively reaffirming "patterning oneself in Heaven's image" (*xiang tian* 象天) as the fundamental metaphor in Chinese political legitimation.

對宇宙論的重視和把天命與人間事件相繫聯的傾向可以追溯到中國文明的早期. 這種思想傾向的存在已為新石器時代及青銅器時代早期的考古發現所證實. 對像 "上帝" 和 "天" 這種居住於天堂的神的信仰在商代以前就已存在. 先民在公元前兩千年至一千年間已對一系列星聚現象作過觀測並加以記載, 其中不少已為現代科學所證實. 通過對這些記載所做的分析表明, 宇宙論和星占學之主要概念形成的時間比過去專家所假定的要早得多. 基於這個事實, 這些概念似乎與後來一些非常有影響的有關天命論和五行交替理論的信仰有密切的關係. 天命論主張上天的干預是世俗統治改朝換代的原因, 而較晚的五行交替理論則聲稱能夠辨識王朝更替的某種冥中已定的現象模式. 已為事實所證明的中國古代用宇宙現象解釋人世經驗和周代統治者對天命論的不遺餘力的重申均進一步證實了: 商周兩代王權的更替在強化中國古代政治立法中以 "象天" 為其基本的比喻象徵中所起到的劃時代的歷史作用.

David S. Nivison 倪德衛

An Interpretation of the "Shao Gao"
《召誥》解

This article presents a new translation of the "Shao gao" chapter of the *Shang shu*. Contrary to the views of Edward Shaughnessy in *Early China* 18, the author argues 1) that the main speaker is the Duke of Zhou, not the Duke of Shao; 2) that the political philosophy expressed is consistent with other texts ascribed to the Duke of Zhou; and 3) that the Duke of Zhou did not die in disgrace or in exile. The author dates the Duke of Zhou's death to the twenty-first year of King Cheng's reign, either 1017 or 1015 B.C.

倪德衛的論文 "《召誥》解", 重新為《尚書》第三十二章作了解釋, 其觀點正與夏含夷發表於《早期中國》第十八期中的文章意見相左. 倪文認為: (1)《召誥》主要的誥人是周公, 而不是召公; (2)《召誥》中的政治觀點和其他文獻中所記載的周公之政治觀點是完全一致的; (3) 周公並非被貶斥或被放逐而客死他鄉. 倪教授認為周公是在成王二十一年故逝的, 也就是說他是在公元前 1017 或是 1015 年死去的.

Keith N. Knapp 南愷時

The *Ru* Reinterpretation of *Xiao*
孝的演變

Scholars have often treated the concept of *xiao* as an unchanging notion with a transparent meaning. In the West, the translation "filial piety" has reinforced this tendency. By endeavoring to ascertain the precise meaning of the term in pre-Qin texts, this paper shows that *xiao* had multiple meanings and was constantly being reinterpreted to suit new social and political circumstances. In the Western Zhou, it was intimately related to the cult of the dead and its recipients extended well beyond one's parents or grandparents. The *ru* of the Warring States emphasized that it meant obedience and displaying respect, and made parents the sole recipients of *xiao*. By the late Warring States, *ru* recast *xiao* not only as obedience to one's parents, but also as obedience to one's lord. Filial sons were reinvented as loyal retainers to meet the needs of the newly emerging bureaucratic state.

孝道在古代中國社會佔有重要的地位, 然而研究中國歷史的學者通常只簡單地認為自古至今 "孝道" 的含義是恆一的. 其實由于政治與社會環境不斷地演變, 孝順的對象與其具體內容亦隨之而異. 西周時孝道基本上是以酒食祭祀過世已久的祖先 、宗室 、朋友或姻親. 到了戰國, 儒家提昇了父母的地位, 強調孝道最重要的是尊敬和服從父母, 而不是祖宗. "三年之喪" 在戰國時成為孝道極重要的組成部份. 到了戰國晚期, 儒家更把孝道和忠君的觀念結合起來. 孝道從此不再只是服從父母, 亦包括了對君主的服從.

Edward L. Shaughnessy 夏含夷

The Origin of an *Yijing* Line Statement
《易經》爻辭的起源

This essay begins by examining divination records from the Zhou dynasty (such as those from Zhouyuan and Baoshan, as well as records in traditional texts) showing that the topic of divination was invariably announced in the form of a "charge" indicating the desire of the person for whom the divination was being performed. Next, other accounts of turtle-shell divination (in the *Shiji*, *Guo yu* and *Zuo zhuan*) are examined to determine how the results of the divinations were interpreted. The author shows that the diviner was responsible for producing a *yao* 繇 or "omen-text" that was composed of three lines of four characters, the first describing the crack in the shell (i.e., the omen), followed by a couplet linking this omen to the announced topic of the divination, similar to the way in which the nature evocations of the *Shijing* are linked to events in the human realm. Finally, the author shows that this omen-text is formally identical to the most developed form of the line statements of the *Yijing*, and proposes that from this form can be discerned the divinatory context that originally produced these line statements.

本文先從考查周代卜筮之記載 (諸如周原卜辭、包山楚簡以及各種傳統文獻) 入手, 顯示無論為何種卜筮, 卜筮的主題均是以「命辭」來表明卜筮者的願望. 其後筆者檢核其他文獻有關貞卜之記載以判定這些結果是如何被詮釋的. 筆者並指出卜人在獲兆之後都要給出一段「繇」詞, 其型式是固定的: 共為三行, 每行四字. 首行描述龜甲上的裂痕 (亦即兆徵), 二三行對仗並有韻, 將兆徵與「命辭」繫聯起來並討論其意義, 這與《詩經》中"興"的用法很相似. 最後筆者指出這種「繇」的型式與《易經》裏的爻辭完全相同, 並論證從爻的型式即可推知《易經》原本功用在於占卜.

Constance A. Cook 柯鶴立

Scribes, Cooks, and Artisans: Breaking Zhou Tradition
突破周代傳統的文書, 廚師與手工藝匠人

Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Zhou period show how ritualists were once dedicated to maintaining the ritual apparatus supporting the divine authority of the royal Zhou lineage. Bronze and bamboo texts of

the Eastern Zhou period reveal, on the other hand, that ritualists able to manipulate local rulers reliant on their knowledge subsequently subverted power into their own hands. Ritualists such as scribes, cooks, and artisans were involved in the transmission of Zhou "power" through the creation and use of inscribed bronze vessels during feasts. The expansion and bureaucratization of their roles in the Chu state provided economic and ultimately political control of the state. This was particularly the case as the Chu, like the Zhou before them, fled east to escape western invaders.

西周銅器銘文顯示了當時參與儀式者是如何盡心竭力地維護象徵周天子神聖統治的禮器的. 而東周時期的銅器銘文和竹帛文書則記載了當時的儀式主持者如何仰仗於其對早期禮儀方面的知識而有能力控制操縱地方統治者, 從而將權力掌握在自己的手中. 這些儀式的參與者, 諸如文書, 廚師和手工藝匠人, 通過製作及在盛宴中使用這些帶有銘文的青銅禮器而參與了周王朝 "德" 的交替變換. 他們的作用在周王朝滅亡之後而強盛起來的楚國得到了進一步的擴張和官僚化, 形成了對楚國政權在經濟上, 最終以致在政治上的控制力量. 特別是當楚國踵周王朝之前例東遷以避西方入侵之敵時, 更是如此.

Lothar von Falkenhausen 羅泰

Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China: The *Wu* Officials in the *Zhou Li*
論中國早期巫者的政治功能:《周禮》的巫官及其他

Through close analysis of the traditional hermeneutics of the *Zhou li* sections on the *Si wu* (Manager of the Spirit Mediums), *Nanwu* (Male Spirit Mediums), and *Nüwu* (Female Spirit Mediums), this article attempts to reconstruct the classical image of spirit mediums during the Zhou dynasty. It shows that spirit mediums, though grouped under the "bureaucratic" hierarchy of the *Zhou li*, have traditionally been assumed to be distinct in function and activities from the officials with whom they interacted duringceremonies. As specialized religious virtuousi capable of communicating with the supernatural forces, they apparently continued to play a distinguished role in political ritual—possibly derived from Shang court shamanism, and undoubtedly ancestral to the function of mediums in late traditional popular religion.

根據對《周禮》『春官』「司巫」、「男巫」、「女巫」三條經

文各家注疏的仔細分析, 此文試圖對周代巫者的概念與作用進行初步的復原. 這些巫者雖然被置於《周禮》的理想化了的"官制"之中, 但學者傳統上一直認為他們在職能、行動上皆與其在各種儀式裏經常接觸到的行政官員有異. 巫者因能與「鬼」、「神」交往而成為宗教活動中所必不可少的專職人員. 由于他們參加的儀式均俱有濃厚的政治色彩, 所以巫者在《周禮》成書時期仍然有一定的重要性. 他們的此種職能很可能是從商代的宮廷巫制承繼下來的, 並在晚期的民間宗教裏尚可看到其痕跡.

Jeffrey Riegel 王安國

Do Not Serve the Dead as You Serve the Living:
The *Lüshi Chunqiu* Treatises on Moderation in Burial
毋事死如事生——《呂氏春秋》有關喪禮節儉的論述

The dispute over whether burial rites should be frugal or lavish is a prominent feature of late Zhou philosophical literature. It originated with Mozi's attack on ritual and then continued unabated as the *Ru* and *Mo* schools argued the issue and hurled epithets at each other. The two *Lüshi chunqiu* chapters "Jiesang" and "Ansi" represent the arguments in favor of moderation in the middle of the third century B.C. While the chapters clearly owe their overall position to their Mohist forebears, they nonetheless ignore or reject several arguments that are central to the *Mozi*. Nowhere in them do we see, for example, Mozi's urgent call for the conservation of resources. On the other hand, they embrace Ruist concepts, most prominently the innate feeling of loyalty and concern that the *Mengzi* claims mourners have for their deceased relatives. The *Lüshi chunqiu* justifies its arguments by pointing to changing social realities, most notably an uncontrollable epidemic of grave robbery. Other features of style of disputation in the *Lüshi chunqiu* can be traced to the text's attempts to blend together harmoniously what were originally conflicting points of view. None of the sources in the debate provides much insight into ancient conceptions of death and the afterlife. The elaborate architecture and rich furnishings of tombs excavated in the last several decades are not so much a contradiction of arguments in favor of moderation as they are testimony of a system of religious belief not at all reflected in philosophical literature.

在晚周哲學文獻中, 薄葬與厚葬的爭論佔有突出的地位. 這個爭論

從墨子抨擊“禮”開始, 儒墨兩家後來就一直環繞這一問題而相互攻訐. 《呂氏春秋》中的“節喪”和“安死”兩章可以代表公元前三世紀中葉崇尚喪禮節儉的觀點. 這兩章雖然承繼了墨家的基本立場, 卻忽略甚至摒棄了墨子學說中的幾個觀點. 例如墨子所大聲疾呼的反對浪費資財的主張. 不僅如此, 這兩章還接受了某些儒家的觀點, 特別是孟子所求的那種死者親屬對於死者的真誠.《呂氏春秋》以當時一些處於轉化中的社會現象來證明其論點, 最重要的依據是當時無法制止的盜墓之風.其論述的特點是把兩個本來對立的觀點相互調合. 這些觀點還不足以使我們了解當時人對死和死後的觀念和看法. 如要了解這一點, 就必須借助考古的發現和研究. 最近幾十年間, 發掘古墓時所見到的精巧建築和奢華的陪葬品與其說更進一步證實了當時之所以會有人針砭時弊, 提倡所謂“節喪”, 不如說使我們認識到當時尚有一套完全不見於哲學文獻的宗教信仰體系存在.

Robin D.S.Yates 葉山

State Control of Bureaucrats under the Qin:
Techniques and Procedures
秦國與秦朝政府的官員管理體制: 技術與程序

This essay studies seven aspects of administration in the Qin state and empire in the light of the texts found at Shuihudi written on bamboo strips: rules for appointment of officials; age and other limitations; length of tenure in office; guarantees of performance; reports; methods of checking an official's performance; and salaries. The evidence is compared with that drawn from traditionally transmitted historical and philosophical texts. In addition, these administrative techniques are situated within the metaphysical and cosmological framework that guided actual Qin bureaucratic practice.

作者以出土於睡虎地秦墓的竹簡為據, 對秦國與秦朝管理體制的七方面進行了研究與分析: 委任官員的準則; 年齡及其他限制; 任期; 履行職責之擔保; 報表與報告之提交; 對官員履行職責情況之檢核方法; 薪俸. 作者將簡文與傳世的傳統歷史哲學文獻進行了比較. 此外, 作者亦指出, 這些管理技術均包含在一套指導秦國與秦朝政府立法施政之形而上學與宇宙哲學的框架內.

Li Xueqin 李學勤

Basic Considerations on the *Commentaries* of the Silk Manuscript *Book of Changes*
對帛書《易傳》的幾點基本認識

The silk manuscript texts of the *Yijing* and *Commentatires*—"Xici," "Yizhiyi," "Yao," and "Ersanzi Wen"—though excavated more than twenty years ago were published, albeit incompletely, for the first time in 1993. The physical state and the organization of these versions of the classic and commentaries were described by Edward Shaughnessy in *Early China* 19 ("A First Reading of the Mawangdui *Yijing* Manuscript"), and it is my intention in this article to begin to explore in some depth the differences between the silk manuscript *Commentaries* and the received text of the *Xici* to determine what they tell us about our understanding of the *Zhou yi* tradition. Even with our partial scholarly understanding of these texts it is possible to venture some preliminary judgments on the structure of the *Commentaries*, on the differing content of the silk manuscript version, on the enigma of the recurring phase "*Zi yue*," and on the date of its composition. Three main differences can be identified: discrepancies in characters, in sentences, and in chapter sequence. Nevertheless, the structure of the silk manuscript *Xici* and that of the received *Commentaries* are largely in agreement and what differences are in evidence, such as the scattering of certain parts of the received *Xici* in the heretofore unknown *Yizhi Yi* and *Yao* commentaries, may be explained by Qin discrimination against *ru* tradition following the conquest of Chu in 278 B.C. One of the principal discoveries resulting from comparison of the excavated and received texts is the presence of numerous loan graphs in the silk manuscript text, and it is through a better understanding of the function of such loans that a satisfactory explanation of the age-old enigma of "*Zi yue*" that occurs frequently and in the same places in both texts may be obtained.

三年以前, 學界企盼已久的帛書《周易》以及《繫詞》, 《易之義》, 《要》, 《二三子問》等四篇易傳終於發表了. 盡管已發表之文字尚非出土帛書《周易》的全貌, 卻還是能使我們對這部經典有不少新的認識. 在《早期中國》19 期中, 夏含夷教授已對墓本帛書《周帛》經傳的狀況及組織等作了一番介紹, 本文擬對帛書《易傳》與傳本《繫詞》進行比較, 看看我們對《周易》所作的傳統之解釋究竟有何得失. 雖然對帛書《周易》的研究還有一段漫長的路要走, 筆者認為根據本人最近的研究分析, 至少應能對以下幾個方面得出

一些初步的結論: (一)《易傳》的結構; (二) 帛書本所包含之不同的內容 (三) 傳本與帛書《易傳》中的 "子曰" 究竟何所指; (四) 成書的年代. 帛書與傳本的主要差別在於用字, 語句, 以及章次的安排等三方面. 不過帛書《繫詞》與傳本的易傳大體是吻合的. 其不同之處諸如傳本《繫詞》中的部分文字散亂在前後的段落之中;以及向所未曾聞見的《易之義》,《要》皆可從紀元前 278 年秦破楚之後對儒家學說採取排斥的態度中得到解釋. 帛書中用了為數眾多的不同於今本的通假字, 正是通過對通假字的分析與研究, 筆者能對傳本中 (亦見於帛書本) 歷來使人感到困惑的 "子曰" 作出較為滿意的解釋.

Donald Harper 夏德安

The Bellows Analogy in *Laozi* V and
Warring States Macrobiotic Hygiene
《老子》第五章與戰國的養生

The bamboo-slip medical manuscript entitled *Yinshu* (Pulling Book) from Zhangjiashan tomb 247, Hubei (burial dated ca. mid-second century B.C.), includes a passage that uses the analogy of the bellows attested in received literature in *Laozi* V. In *Yinshu* the analogy is placed at the head of a macrobiotic technique. This article discusses the technique and argues that the bellows analogy most likely developed as part of the Warring States medical tradition of macrobiotic hygiene; that is, the bellows analogy in *Laozi* V was borrowed from medicine.

張家山 247 漢墓 (公元前二世紀中期墓葬) 出土的竹簡醫書《引書》有一段提到 "天地猶橐籥" 的比喻. 傳世文獻中以橐籥為喻首見於《老子》第五章. 在《引書》中, 橐籥的比喻是置一養生術之前. 在本文中, 筆者探討了《引書》的養生方法, 並且推斷以橐籥為喻極可能源於戰國醫學的養生傳統而後為《老子》所借用.

William G. Boltz

Textual Criticism *More Sinico*
中國的校勘

Textual transmission is viewed in the West typically as a destructive process that results in ever greater corruption and error in a text, and

the enterprise of textual criticism in correspondingly seen as the task of restoring the damaged text to a form as close to its original as possible. In China such a negative view of the process of textual transmission does not normally obtain, and textual criticism therefore does not carry the image of being primarily a rehabilitative procedure.

An important part of the reason for the different perception of the con-sequences of textual transmission and of the goals of textual criticism lies with the nature of the writing systems involved. Western texts in alphabetic scripts directly reveal errors at the level below that of the word, e.g., spelling errors, grammar errors, pronunciation errors, etc., for which no interpretation is available save that of seeing them as mis-takes. Orthographic errors in Chinese texts, written in logographic script, are not prone to such immediate identification as mistakes. All variants in a text written in a logographic script have the potential to be meaningful and therefore are perceived as *different*, but are not stigmatized automatically as *wrong*.

西方人多半把版本流傳看作是一錯訛不斷增累的帶有破壞性的過程, 同時以修正傳本中的訛誤, 使之盡可能地接近原本為校勘的終極目標. 在中國, 人們通常對版本的傳流過程沒有這種消極的看法, 因而校勘亦不常以恢复版本的原始面貌為其主要宗旨. 中西之所以對版本的流傳及校勘的目標看法不一主要是因為二者使用的文字系統在性質上截然不同. 西方以字母表音的拚音文字能直接顯示低於詞一層之錯誤. 諸如拚寫 、語法 、以及發音之錯誤, 這些錯誤顯而易見, 除了把其視為錯誤外別無其他的解釋. 而用漢字書寫的文字中如有訛誤則不易馬上被覺察, 當某一漢字為其同音字所替代時, 常有可能在意義上講得通, 因此在中國人看來, 該字僅是不同而已, 並不一定就是錯誤的.

Lionel M. Jensen 詹啟華

Wise Man of the Wilds: Fatherlessness, Fertility, and the Mythic Exemplar, Kongzi
來自荒野的聖人: 孔子的出身和家世 —— 神話還是歷史

There is no more salient figure in early Chinese literature than Kongzi and yet he remains a figure about whose beginnings we know very little. The present essay explores this paradox of bibliographic salience and biographic silence through an in-depth examination of the principal

narratives of the Kongzi legend from the *Shiji* and the *Kongzi jiayu*, paying particular attention to the language of their respective accounts of the birth of the sage. Finding a distinct lack of fit between the form and content of these these stories, I propose a narrative alternative drawn from the early Han *weishu* accounts of Kongzi's beginnings. Finding in this alternative a more coherent fit between language and narrative structure as well as recurrent themes such as divine visitation, infertility, *jiaomei* sacrifice, and cranial disfigurement, vestiges of which are also found in the accounts of Wang Su and Sima Qian, the essay suggests that the *weishu* texts preserve a fuller popular legend of fertility sacrifice by the childless coordinated with the winter solstice also present in the very name Kongzi and resonating with the charter myth of the Zhou, "Sheng min." The evident implication of this finding is that the historicity of Kongzi is arguable. The name is more like a mythic literary fiction and probably began, as did that of Hou Qi, as a symbolic deity that was made historical in one of its many Warring States incarnations, that one transmitted to us exclusively through the normative biographical tradition.

中國文學中最為著名的人物莫過於孔子. 可是關於他的出身家世我們知道得微乎其微. 本文詳細考查了《史記》、《孔子家語》以及漢朝緯書中有關孔子出生的故事. 筆者認為漢朝的緯書對"婦人無子而於冬至郊禖"這一通俗傳說保留得最為完整. 故事中不但直接提到孔子的名子, 從其事跡亦可以隱約看到《大雅》"生民"神話的遺跡. 本文的結論是孔子的歷史真實性是大可爭議的. 這一名子很可能與周的始祖后稷一樣, 最先亦是源於神話傳說, 到了戰國時期才演化成歷史人物. 並如真實的歷史人物一樣被地寫入了傳記. 此後人們所見到的便無不是這一經過歷史化了的孔子了.