Early China 35–36
2012–13

Dedicated to LI Xueqin on the occasion of his eightieth birthday
Guest editor: XING Wen

Contributors ix
Abstracts xi

ARTICLES

The Life of a Chinese Historian in Tumultuous Times: 
Interviews with Li Xueqin
Part One: sarah allan 1
Part Two: WANG tao 36

The Period V Ritual Postface: Prospective or Retrospective?
DAVID N. KEIGHTLEY 57

Sage King Yu 禹 and the Bin Gong Xu 遂公盨
CONSTANCE A. COOK 69

The Suigong Xu 遂公盨 Calligraphy and Inscription:
A Contextual Reconstruction and Translation
XING WEN 105

Collected Interpretations of the X Gong Xu
CHEN SHU 135

The Classical Daoist Concept of Li 理 (Pattern) and Early
Chinese Cosmology
HAROLD ROTH 157

The Cultural History of the Giant Panda (Ailuropoda melanoleuca)
in Early China
DONALD HARPER 185

Curing the Incurable
JEFFREY RIEGEL 225

Dating the Houma Covenant Texts: The Significance of Recent Findings from the Wenxian Covenant Texts
CRISPIN WILLIAMS 247
The Political Implications of the Minority Policy in the Qin Law
YAU SHUN-CHIU

The Qin Slips and Boards from Well No. 1, Liye, Hunan: A Brief Introduction to the Qin Qianling County Archives
ROBIN D.S. YATES

The Notion of “Shi 式” and Some Related Terms in Qin-Han Calendrical Astrology
MARC KALINOWSKI

Han Yuandi, Reigned 48 to 33 B.C.E. and His Advisors
MICHAEL LOEWE

A Short History of Chinese Numismatics in European Languages
HELEN WANG

REVIEWS

The Mozi: A Complete Translation, by Ian Johnston
MOSS ROBERTS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shigaku Zasshi Summary of Japanese Scholarship for 2010:
Shang, Zhou, Spring and Autumn
KAKUDÔ RYÔSUKE 角道亮介
Eno Compton IV, trans.

Shigaku Zasshi Summary of Japanese Scholarship for 2010:
Warring States, Qin and Han
KAKINUMA YÔHEI 柿沼陽平
Eno Compton IV, trans.

Dissertation Abstracts
Margaret Wee Siang Ng, comp.

Annual Bibliography
Margaret Wee Siang Ng, comp.
Contributors

Sarah Allan 艾蘭
6191 Bartlett Hall
Dartmouth College
Hanover, N.H. 03755, USA
Sarah.Allan@Dartmouth.EDU

CHEN Shu 陳舒
Sacramento City College
Learning Resources Center–Library
3835 Freeport Blvd.
Sacramento, CA 95822, USA
chens@scc.losrios.edu

Constance A. Cook 柯鶴立
Modern Languages and Literature Department
Lehigh University
9 W. Packer Ave.
Bethlehem, PA 18015, USA
Cac8@lehigh.edu

Donald Harper 夏德安
Dept. of East Asian Languages and Civilizations
The University of Chicago
Weiboldt 301, 1050 E. 59th St.
Chicago, IL 60637, USA
dharper@uchicago.edu

KAKINUMA Yōhei 柿沼陽平
Faculty of Letters, Arts and Sciences
School of Humanities and Social Sciences
Faculty of Letters
Waseda University
Nishi Waseda 1-6-1, Shinjuku-ku,
Tokyo 169-8050, JAPAN
yoheyo806@aoni.waseda.jp

KAKUDŌ Ryōsuke 角道亮介
Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology
Faculty of Letters
University of Tokyo
7-3-1 Hongo, Bunkyo-ku
Tokyo 113-0033, JAPAN

Marc Kalinowski 馬克
27, rue Faidherbe
75011 Paris, FRANCE
marc-kalinowski@orange.fr

David N. Keightley 吉德煒
490 Vermont Ave.
Berkeley CA 94707, USA
keightle@berkeley.edu

Michael Loewe 魯惟一
Clare Hall
Herschel Road
Cambridge CB3 9AL, UK
manl100@cam.ac.uk

Margaret Wee-Siang Ng 黃薇湘
Dept. of History and Classical Studies
McGill University,
Montreal, Quebec, CANADA
margaret.ng@mail.mcgill.ca

Early China is pleased to acknowledge the assistance of David Goodrich in the design and production of this issue.
Jeffrey Riegel 王安國
School of Languages and Cultures
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Rm 510 MacCallum Building A18
The University of Sydney
Sidney NSW 2006, AUSTRALIA
jeffrey.riegel@sydney.edu.au

Moss Roberts 羅慕士
East Asian Studies
New York University
41 East 11th Street, 738
New York, NY 10012
mr4@nyu.edu

Harold Roth 羅浩
Department of Religious Studies
Brown University, Box 1927
Providence RI 02912, USA
Harold.Roth@Brown.edu

Helen Wang 汪海嵐
Dept. of Coins and Medals
The British Museum
London WC1B 3DG, UK
hwang@britishmuseum.org

WANG Tao 汪濤
Tao Wang
Dept. of Chinese Works of Art, Sotheby’s
1334 York Avenue, New York, NY 10021
wangtao48@me.com

Crispin Williams 魏克彬
University of Kansas
Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures
Wescoe Hall 2118
1445 Jayhawk Blvd
Lawrence, Kansas, 66045, USA
clw@ku.edu

XING Wen 邢文
6191 Bartlett Hall
Dartmouth College
Hanover, N.H. 03755, USA
Wen.Xing@Dartmouth.EDU

Robin D.S. Yates 葉山
Depts. of East Asian Studies and History and Classical Studies
McGill University
3434 McTavish Street
Montreal, Quebec H3A 0E3, CANADA
robin.yates@mcgill.ca

YAU Shun-chiu 游順釗
CRLAO – EHESS
131 bvd Saint-Michel
75005 Paris, FRANCE
yaushunchiu@gmail.com
Abstracts

David N. Keightley 吉德煒
The Period V Ritual Postface: Prospective or Retrospective?
五期祭祀卜辭的後辭: 預言抑或追記?
This article argues that the Period V ritual postface associated with the five-ritual cycle in oracle bone inscriptions is prospective in nature.
本文認為，與五種周祭關聯的第五期卜辭的後辭，是預言的性質。

Constance A. Cook 柯鶴立
Sage King Yu 禹 and the Bin Gong Xu 頤公盨
新近發現的公元前九世紀的豳公盨，其獨特的銘文尊奉大禹為具有神性的先祖，使學者們重新開始討論有關神話人物的歷史性。與此不同，本文側重分析大禹在周代社會中的神秘角色，同時認為該銘文應讀為一首對禹具有感恩性質的詩頌。本文認為，大禹在東周之前也可能像傳統的周代祖神后稷一樣，具有雙重角色，既為祖神又為地神，但後來其地位與重要性均為后稷所掩。

Xing Wen 邢文
The Suigong Xu 遂公盨 Calligraphy and Inscription: A Contextual Reconstruction and Translation
遂公盨的書法與銘文: 關聯性復原及其譯文
This article discusses some of the major issues that arise in the reconstruction and interpretation of the Suigong Xu inscription, including
a discussion of the authenticity issue from the perspective of Western Zhou calligraphy, and provides a contextual reconstruction of the bronze inscription as well as an English translation. The author argues that the Suigong xu calligraphy is consistent with the typical calligraphic style of the late Western Zhou bronze inscriptions represented by the Sanshi pan and Maogong ding rather than with the style of the middle Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, in particular, those dated to the reign of King Gong. It also argues that the main body of the Suigong xu inscription consists of two paragraphs that end with the two exclamatory sentences jue wei wei de 厥亹唯德 and with (jue) hungou yi wei xie tian (厥) 婚媾亦唯協天 respectively, and that both sentences share the same sentence structure jue厥唯……wei唯……
Crispin Williams 魏克彬

Dating the Houma Covenant Texts: The Significance of Recent Findings from the Wenxian Covenant Texts

This paper reconsiders the dating of the Houma covenant texts in light of new findings from the Wenxian covenant texts. Dating of the Houma covenants has focused on matching certain names found in the Houma covenants to names and events in historical texts. These include the name of the sanctioning spirit invoked in the covenants, and that of the covenant lord overseeing the covenants. I argue that the sanctioning spirit is not, as is often proposed, a former lord of Jin, but a mountain spirit called Lord Yue, and, as such, has no bearing on the dating of the texts. I further argue that the use of the personal name of a Han lineage leader in the Wenxian covenants strongly supports the identification of the figure referred to as jia 嘉 in the Houma texts as the historical Zhao Jia (Zhao Huan Zi). I suggest that the mention of Zhao Jia in the recently published Chu-slips Xinian implies that Zhao Jia came to the leadership of the Zhao lineage around 442 B.C.E., well before 424 B.C.E., the date of his single-year reign reported in the Shi ji. I conclude that the Houma covenants include materials that may be linked to the Zhao Wu incident of the early fifth-century B.C.E., but that those materials in which Zhao Jia is named as the covenant lord probably date to sometime between 442 and 424 B.C.E.
Harold Roth 羅浩

The Classical Daoist Concept of Li 理 (Pattern) and Early Chinese Cosmology

This study traces the origins and development of the concept of Li 理 (Pattern) in early Chinese Cosmology, locating its foundation in the root metaphor derived from the natural lines or veins along which a block of jade can be split by a skilled artisan. From this relatively concrete image, li comes to eventually represent in Daoist cosmology the more abstract quality of the natural patterns or structures within the universe along which all phenomena move and interact with one another without the interference of human beings. After examining how early Confucian works emphasize the more abstract and derivative qualities of order and structure, we see that the likely Yangist authors in the Liushi chunqiu return to the original metaphor of veins in jade but, instead, apply this to the veins through which the qi circulates through the human body.

We then see how this metaphor is expanded beyond the human body in the classical Daoist texts to come to represent the natural guidelines both within all phenomena and those that guide their movements within the cosmos. Within phenomena these include such varied things as the structures for the generation and expression of emotions within human beings as well as the natural lines along which the butcher’s chopper passes in order to cleave oxen. In Daoist inner cultivation literature it is these patterns with which sages accord so that their spontaneous actions are completely in harmony with the greater forces of the cosmos. Only after long practice of the apophatic contemplative methods that include concentrating on one breathing and emptying out the normal contents of consciousness can the sage be able to accomplish this goal of “taking no action yet leaving nothing undone.” Thus the concept of li as these natural guidelines comes to serve as an explanation for why this classical Daoist dictum is effective in the world.

Finally, the Huainanzi contains the most sophisticated and sustained usages of the concept of li as the natural patterns and guidelines in the cosmos arguing that complying with them is the key to a genuinely contented life.

本研究追溯了古代中國宇宙觀中“理”概念的起源和發展，基於玉可為巧匠按其自然脈絡而雕琢為本喻。源起於這個相對具體的形象，在道家的宇宙觀中，“理”最終體現了宇宙自然模式和結構中更為抽象的本質。一切現象都沿著它運轉，並且互相之間發生關係，而並無人類的
干预。对于秩序和结构，早期儒家著作关注的是其较抽象的、衍生性的特质。考察了儒家的方式之后，我们注意到，《吕氏春秋》中可能属于杨朱学派的学者，回到玉之纹理的本喻，将之引申到人体中“气”之循环的脉络上。

接著我们可以看到，在古典道家文献中，理的喻意是如何扩展到人体之外，成为自然的准则，存在于一切现象之中，并引导著它们在宇宙中的一切运动。在现象中，这些准则包括各种形式，比如人类情感的产生和表达模式，比如庖丁解牛时所循的脉络。在道家内修的文献中，圣人正是遵循了这些模式，所以他们率性而行，而与宇宙中的大能完全和谐。惟有经过长时期难以言传的冥想式的修炼，包括全神贯注于自己的呼吸，空虚所有的意念，圣人才能达到“无为而无不利”的目标。因之“理”的概念作为自然准则，能够解释为什么古典道家的“无为”格言在世上能够行之有效。

最终，《淮南子》将“理”的概念作为自然模式和准则，收录了对其最精密和持久的使用方法，声称对它们的遵循是真正自得生活的关键。

Donald Harper 夏德安

The Cultural History of the Giant Panda (Ailuropoda melanoleuca) in Early China

古代中国大熊猫 (Ailuropoda melanoleuca) 文化史

Since the 1970s scholars in China have identified mo 鼬 as the ancient name for the giant panda (Ailuropoda melanoleuca). I concur with this identification and I trace the source of the modern misidentification of mo as the Malayan tapir (Tapirus indicus) to the article by Jean Pierre Abel-Rémusat published in 1824. Abel-Rémusat based his identification on woodblock drawings of the mo depicted as the quadripartite animal first described by Bo Juyi in the ninth century: elephant trunk, rhinoceros eyes, cow tail, tiger paws. Xu Shen (ca. 55–ca. 149) in the Shuowen jiezi compared mo to the bear, as did all descriptions of mo before Bo Juyi. Bo Juyi’s description reflects new ideas about mo in medieval culture, and cannot be used as evidence of the animal named mo in early China. As a consequence of Abel-Rémusat’s mistaken identification – which was immediately accepted in Western zoology – the word mo lost its original meaning and became the word for tapir in modern Chinese and Japanese. Examination of textual and zooarchaeological evidence confirms the giant
panda as the original referent of mo. Although the tapir inhabited the region of China in prehistory there is no evidence of the tapir in China in historical times.

自上世紀七十年代起，中國學者證明了“貘”為大熊貓 (Ailuropoda melanoleuca) 的古名。本文認為這是正確的。現代漢語用“貘”作馬來貘 (Tapirus indicus) 的名稱是一種誤解，這種誤解源於 1824 年法國學者雷慕沙 (Abel-Rémusat) 的研究。雷慕沙的依據是中國的木刻版畫，而該版畫依據的是九世紀白居易的描寫——貘有象鼻、犀目、牛尾、虎足。但是白居易以前的記載，從一世紀許慎《說文解字》開始，都說貘是類似熊的動物。白居易受了中古文化對貘的新觀念的影響，所以無法用其描寫來說明古代中國稱為“貘”的動物。由於雷慕沙的誤解被西方動物學界接受，“貘”字本義佚失而成為現代漢語和日語中馬來貘的名稱。本文考證傳世文獻和動物考古學的資料，確定貘字原來就是大熊貓的名稱。雖然在史前時代中國地區即有馬來貘，但在歷史時期中國並沒有馬來貘的痕跡。

Jeffrey Riegel 王安國

Curing the Incurable

救治不可治者

This paper compares how ancient Chinese sources discussed the causes and treatment of ailments suffered by the elite. It focuses on the Zuozhuan account of the long-term illness of Duke Ping of Jin (r. 557–532 B.C.E.) but contextualizes this passage by introducing as well other examples of stories—found in transmitted literature as well as in recently excavated manuscripts—about sick rulers who consulted with a sage in search of a cure for their troubles. The Zuozhuan passage is also viewed in the light of the Yin shu, an excavated text written on bamboo strips that is concerned with the treatment of elite ailments. A comparison of the two sources suggests that the claim in the Zuozhuan that Duke Ping’s illness was “incurable” was not simply based on the medical knowledge and practices of the day.

本文比較了傳世典籍對春秋戰國時代患病貴族的病因及其治療方法的記載，著重分析了《左傳》所記晉平公 (公元前 557–532 年在位) 受痼疾困擾的故事，並借鑑其它資料豐富了該故事的背景信息——這些資料分別來自傳世的文學作品和新近出土的文獻，記述的都是疾病纏身的統治者們如何向聖賢求醫問病的事跡。文中對《左傳》的分析，也
Abstracts

比較了漢簡《引書》所見醫學資料。對這兩種不同資料的比較表明，《左傳》記述的有關晋平公所患疾病無法被治癒的觀點，並不是簡單地依據當時的醫學知識和行醫經驗得出的。

YAU Shun-chiu 游順釗

The Political Implications of the Minority Policy in the Qin Law

秦律中所見的民族政策的政治內涵

Among the 190 articles in the so-called “Answers to questions about the Qin Laws/Statutes” (Falü dawen 法律答問) written on bamboo strips excavated from a tomb at Shuihudi in Yunmeng County, Hubei Province, the one concerning Qin’s citizenship particularly attracts my attention. It says: “What is the meaning of a ‘Xia child’? (A child born of a) father from a vassal state, and a Qin mother.” (可 [何] 謂夏子? 臣邦父、秦母謂也). In this paper, I argue that this article, which is perhaps surprising in regard to the patriarchal mentality dominating the Chinese world, can be explained by the historical, political and military context of the Qin state in the 3rd Century B.C.E. and by its global strategy of infiltrating and “nibbling at” its protectorates.

中文重點討論睡虎地秦簡《法律答問》律文: “可 (何) 謂夏子? 臣邦父、秦母謂也。” 雖然從中國父權傳統角度看，這條律文頗令人感到詫異, 然而要正確釋讀並深入分析它的政治內涵，必須瞭解秦國歷史的背景和當時境內境外的形勢以及秦王室的企圖和心態。這條律文的制訂，是秦國為實現入主中原大業長遠統籌策略的一個重要環節，此中還隱藏着滲透邦國的伏線, 企圖藉通婚滲進臣邦王室內部，以配合秦國的蠶食策略。

Robin D.S. Yates 葉山

The Qin Slips and Boards from Well No. 1, Liye, Hunan: A Brief Introduction to the Qin Qianling County Archives

湖南里耶 1 號井出土秦簡牘: 關於秦代遷陵縣文書檔案的簡介

This essay introduces the newly published Qin documents from levels 5, 6, and 8 of Well no. 1, Liye, Hunan province, the ancient Qianling County of the Qin dynasty, as presented in two 2012 works, Liye Qin jian (yi) 里耶秦簡 (壹) and Liye Qin jiandu jiaoshi (di yi juan) 里耶秦簡牘校釋 (第一卷), ed. Chen Wei 陳偉, together with some of the documents on display in the Liye Qin jian bowuguan (Liye Museum of Qin Slips). It discusses some
Marc Kalinowski 马克

The Notion of “Shi 式” and Some Related Terms in Qin-Han Calendrical Astrology

秦汉星曆學中“式”之概念及相關術語

The discovery in 1977 at Fuyang (Anhui province) of several mantic instruments dating from the beginning of Western Han (ca. 165 B.C.E.) marked a decisive change in modern studies of early Chinese science, divination, and religion, many of which now regard the shi 式 as the material basis for modes of thought in Warring States, Qin, and Han culture. While the examples of devices discovered to date have provided a valuable interpretative key to early Chinese schematic cosmography, the meaning of the term shi 式 remains a source of perplexity as its connotations are imprecise and can vary from one author to the next. Whether this change is an accurate representation of ideas about the shi 式 in pre-Han and Han is precisely the issue at stake in the present paper. The following conclusions are drawn: (1) the existence during the Han of several instruments of the shi 式 type no longer permits the use of the term to refer to a singular and unique device, even though evidence drawn from the received texts tends to show the contrary; (2) the multiple meanings of the term shi 式, as well as the gradual shift between its strict sense as mantic device (shipan 式盤) and its broad sense as calendrical astrology (shizhan
式占) give rise to serious misunderstandings when it is used alone; (3) since these mantic devices are primarily offshoots of pre-Han and early Han astrographic and calendrical theories, the patterns and designs that appear on their surface (shitu 式圖) need to be considered within the larger scope of the spatial representations of calendrical time cycles, of which the excavated texts and artifacts now offer numerous examples; (4) the widespread use of the term shi-method (shifa 式法) in modern studies when referring to some mantic techniques described in the manuscripts raises the interesting question of how to delineate boundaries between the early developments in calendrical astrology and the hemerological practices in general.

1997年安徽阜陽出土了多件西漢早期的占卜工具。這一發現引發了漢代宗教、占卜及相關科學等研究領域的決定性變革。自此，在對戰國至秦漢時代的文化研究中，此類被稱為“式”的占卜工具也被視為該時代思維模式的重要實證。問題在於，盡管迄今出土的“式”一類的占卜工具確實為我們考察古代中國的宇宙論模式提供了有效的解釋學鑰鑰，但我們對“式”這一術語所包含的確切意義仍然不甚明了。本文考察了近三十年來對先秦與漢代真正與“式”相關的研究，得出結論如下：(1) 尽管傳世文獻多主張“式”是指一種特定的占卜工具，但漢代考古所見多種“式”的存在表明，這一傳統說法其實名不副實，已不再適用於今日的研究。 (2) 由於“式”這一術語具有多義性，尤其是在作為狹義占卜工具的“式盤”和作為廣義星曆學體系的“式占”之間存在着漸進式的轉化，因此在研究中如果不加區別地使用這一術語，就會產生嚴重的誤解。 (3) 作為占卜工具，多種不同的“式”其實是先秦與漢初天文曆法理論派生出來的產物，而“式圖”則是表達這一理論表象的圖式。因此，對“式圖”的研究也就必須深入到更為深廣的、作為不同曆法周期的空間象征這一背景之中進行考察，而業已出土的器物與文獻則為我們提供了相當數量的佐證。 (4) “式法”一詞目前已越來越多地被用來界定秦漢簡帛文獻所描述的某些占卜方式，但由此也提出了另一個問題，即如何對星曆學的早期發展與一般意義上的擇日術進行區分。這是一個有待深入研究的課題。
Michael Loewe 魯惟一

Han Yuandi, Reigned 48 to 33 B.C.E. and his Advisors

漢元帝 (公元前 48–33 年在位) 及其公卿

While Yuandi’s reign is not known as a period of imperial expansion, discussions of the major questions of the concept of imperial government and the administrative problems of the day were to be of long-lasting influence. The views put forward by scholars and officials such as Xiao Wangzhi, Gong Yu, Wei Xuancheng, Kuang Heng, Liu Xiang and Yi Feng led the way to the open adoption of Zhou as the ideal which Wang Mang and subsequent emperors claimed to follow. Yuandi himself played little part in government; his advisors raised matters of religious cults, economic practice, the standards of officials, the extravagance of the palace, relations with non-Han leaders, and the value of holding outlying parts of the empire.

雖然漢元帝的統治並不是一個帝國擴張的時期，但對帝國統治觀念的主要問題以及當時管理問題的討論，仍具有長遠的影響意義。諸如蕭望之、貢禹、韋玄成、匡衡、劉向、翼奉這些學者及官僚所提出的觀點，使得周制被視作理想的體制被公開採納。王莽及其以後的皇帝也聲稱改從周制。元帝本人在政治上無甚建樹；關於宗廟制度、經濟措施、官制標準、朝廷的奢侈浪費、與胡人首領的關係，以及拓邊護疆的價值等問題，都是由其公卿提出的。

Helen Wang 汪海嵐

A Short History of Chinese Numismatics in European Languages

西文所見中國錢幣學的簡史

This paper is a preliminary attempt at a history of the western world’s interest in Chinese currency and numismatics. It focuses on Western language publications of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and pays particular attention to the backgrounds of the authors of those publications on the grounds that they were the first people to shape the field in Europe and the USA.

西方如何開始了解中國的貨幣和中國的錢幣學？本文對此問題做出初步研究。作者着重介紹在歐洲、美國十八世紀和十九世紀出版的書和文獻，並特別注意這些出版物的作者的背景，因為西方對中國貨幣和中國錢幣學的知識和了解是由它們決定的。