

## 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* 鬲公盃

大禹與鬲公盃

The recent discovery of an unusual ninth century B.C.E. bronze inscription dedicated to Yu as a founder deity has reopened discussions regarding the historicity of legendary figures. This article examines the occult role of this figure in Zhou society and suggests that the inscription be read as a song used in a harvest ceremony of thanksgiving to Yu. The author suggests that Yu once functioned along the same lines as Houji, as both ancestral founder and earth deity, but was eventually suppressed in favor of Houji. 新近發現的公元前九世紀的鬲公盃，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* 遂公盃 Calligraphy and Inscription:  
A Contextual Reconstruction and Translation

遂公盃的書法與銘文: 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* 厥豐唯德 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 . . . *wei* 唯 . . .

本文討論遂公盨銘文的復原與闡釋中出現的若干主要問題，從西周金文書法的角度進行了辨偽探討，並對該銘文作了關聯性復原與英文翻譯。作者認為遂公盨銘文的書法風格，與西周中期尤其是恭王時期的金文書法不合，而與以散氏盤、毛公鼎為代表的西周晚期的金文書法風格相合。文章認為遂公盨銘文的主體由兩段文字構成，這兩段文字分別以“厥豐唯德”與“(厥) 婚媾亦唯協天”這兩個感嘆句結束，而這兩個感嘆句使用的都是“厥……唯……”的句式結構。

Chen Shu 陳舒

### Collected Interpretations of the X Gong Xu

#### X 公盨銘集釋

This article aims at providing a Chinese-English reference source for researchers studying the inscription on a bronze vessel published in 2002, sometimes called the X Gong *xu* because the name of lord (*gong*) is transcribed by some scholars as Sui 遂 and by others as Bin 鬲. It is a compilation of the transcriptions and interpretations of each character in the inscription by nineteen scholars in the field. It also provides transcriptions and English translations of the inscription in its entirety. 本文旨在為學者提供研究 X 公盨 (或釋作遂公盨、或釋作鬲公盨) 銘的中英文對照參攷資料。文章匯集了 2002 年盨銘發表以來各家學者提供的譯釋註解，收集了 19 位中外學者對銘文的逐字詮釋，併提供了銘文的全文譯釋和英文翻譯。

Crispin Williams 魏克彬

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

由溫縣盟書最新研究成果再談侯馬盟書的年代問題

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.

本文根據溫縣盟書中的新發現重新考察侯馬盟書的年代問題。判斷侯馬盟書年代的主要根據是侯馬盟書中能夠與歷史記載相關聯的一些人名和地名。這些名字包括盟書中被召監督參盟人的神的名稱以及盟主的名字。本文推測該神非晉國的某位先君，而是一位叫做“岳公”的山神，因而對推測侯馬盟書的年代不構成限制。此外，根據溫縣盟書中可確認為盟主人名的例子，可以推測侯馬盟書中的“嘉”字應該就是指趙嘉（趙桓子）。根據清華簡《繫年》中關於趙嘉的記載，本文進一步推測趙嘉在公元前442年左右已經是趙氏的族長，比《史記》中記載趙嘉424年即位早十幾年。根據這些分析，侯馬盟書中有的盟書應該與公元前五世紀初的趙午事件有關，但是那些提到趙嘉的盟書的年代大概在公元前442到424年之間。

Harold Roth 羅浩

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

中國古典道家“理”的概念及古代中國宇宙觀

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 *Lüshi 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

干預。對於秩序和結構，早期儒家著作關注的是其較抽象的、衍生性的特質。考察了儒家的方式之後，我們注意到，《呂氏春秋》中可能屬於楊朱學派的學者，回到玉之紋理的本喻，將之引申到人體中“氣”之循環的脈絡上。

接著我們可以看到，在古典道家文獻中，理的喻意是如何擴展到人體之外，成為自然的準則，存在於一切現象之中，並引導著它們在宇宙中的一切運動。在現象中，這些準則包括各種形式，比如人類情感的產生和表達模式，比如庖丁解牛時所循的脈絡。在道家內修的文獻中，聖人正是遵循了這些模式，所以他們率性而行，而與宇宙中的大能完全和諧。惟有經過長時間難以言傳的冥想式的修煉，包括全神貫注於自己的呼吸，空虛所有的意念，聖人才能達到“無為而無不為”的目標。因之“理”的概念作為自然準則，能夠解釋為什麼古典道家的“無為”格言在世上能夠行之有效。

最終，《淮南子》將“理”的概念作為自然模式和準則，收錄了對其最為精密和持久的使用方法，聲稱對它們的遵循是真正自得生活的關鍵。

Donald Harper 夏德安

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

古代中國大熊貓 (*Ailuropoda melanoleuca*) 文化史

Since the 1970s scholars in China have identified *mo* 貘 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“獾”為大熊貓 (*Ailuropoda melanoleuca*) 的古名。本文認為這是正確的。現代漢語用“獾”作馬來獾 (*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——獾有象鼻、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，都說獾是類似熊的動物。白居易受了中古文化對獾的新觀念的影響，所以無法用其描寫來說明古代中國稱為“獾”的動物。由於雷慕沙的誤解被西方動物學界接受，“獾”字本義佚失而成為現代漢語和日語中馬來獾的名稱。本文考證傳世文獻和動物考古學的資料，確定獾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獾，但在歷史時期中國並沒有馬來獾的痕跡。

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，並借鑒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

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》記述的有關晉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” (*Fali 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.

本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 jian du 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

of the problems in those two publications, the nature of the documents; dating issues; military logistics; the Qin legal system as revealed in the documents, especially those relating to fines and punishments, rewards, rations for convicts, status distinctions and the purchase of rank, forms for writing up documents, and Qin ordinances (*ling* 令); and materials relating to the religious activities of local officials in Qianling County. It concludes by offering a speculation on why the documents were thrown into the well as the Qin dynasty began to crumble.

本文介紹了湖南里耶(秦代遷陵縣) 1 號井第 5、6、8 層出土的秦代文書。2012 年出版的《里耶秦簡(壹)》及陳偉主編的《里耶秦簡牘校釋(第一卷)》，發表了這些文書的圖片和釋文。另外，本文也包括了在里耶秦簡博物館展出的部分文書。本文討論了上述兩部新書中出現的一些問題，包括文書性質及斷代、軍事後勤以及這些文書所反映的秦代法制體系，特別是分析了與獎懲、囚犯配額、等級劃分及購買爵位、文件書寫形式、秦令，以及與遷陵地方官員的宗教活動有關的文獻。作者還對些文書被投入井中以及秦代瓦解等問題的原因進行了推測。

Marc Kalinowski 馬克

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

#### 秦漢星曆學中“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* 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* 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* 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*, 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，儘管迄今出土的“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鎖鑰，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，得出結論如次：(1) 儘管傳世文獻多主張“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，仍有著長遠的影響意義。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，并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。