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in memoriam

Derk Bodde (1909–2003)
Ōba Osamu 大庭脩 (1927–2002)

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OBITUARIES

DERK BODDE (1909–2004)

Professor Derk Bodde passed away peacefully in his sleep on November 3, 2003, in his home in Germantown, Pennsylvania. He was 94 years old. Active intellectually and socially until the very end, his death represents a great loss to the academic community and particularly to the field of Chinese studies. Many colleagues and students benefited from his broad learning, his wise counsel, and his friendly demeanor. He had kept up a meaningful relationship with all of them long after his retirement in 1975.

From his early years, Professor Bodde was committed to scholarly learning and writing, passions that remained with him to the end. From the age of fourteen, he contributed beautifully-written field reports, diaries, and essays in his school journal, the *St. Nicholas Magazine*, texts that are still well worth reading today. His travel diaries of visits to the Borubudur Buddhist temple, to the Bromo volcanoes on the Island of Java, and of several trips inside China (published 1923–1927), demonstrate his pristine literary qualities—terseness, conciseness, attention to concrete detail, logical strength, mastery of literary composition. These writing qualities reached their maturity in his later sinological studies. It comes as no surprise that he majored in literature at Harvard University and that his first major research project as an undergraduate student dealt with a problem of literary criticism, namely, “Shakspere and The Ireland Forgeries” (1930), a published Honors Thesis which was reprinted several times.

As a boy, from 1919 to 1922, Professor Bodde had the good fortune of spending three years in China, when his father was invited to teach physics at Nanyang College near Shanghai (now called Jiaotong daxue or College of Communications). While he was studying at Harvard, the founding of the Harvard-Yenching Institute in 1928 may have awakened reminiscences of his childhood experiences in China. Professor Bodde was among the first few students who registered in the new and well-funded Chinese program. A year later, he obtained a two-year fellowship to study in China, renewable for four years, and which he managed to extend to six years (1931–1937).

Professor Bodde’s last fellowship years in Peking were very eventful and productive. In 1935 he married Galia Speshneff, who had immigrated to China from Russia after the Russian Revolution. He published an an-

notated translation of Tun Li-chen's *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking, As Recorded in the Yenching Sui-shih-chi* (1936) as well as the first volume of Fung Yu-lan's bulky *A History of Chinese Philosophy* (1937). During that period he also wrote most of his dissertation, entitled *China's First Unifier: A Study of the Ch'in Dynasty as Seen in the Life of Li Ssü (280?-208 B.C.)*. While there, he met Professor J. J. L. Duyvendak, chairman of the Department of Chinese Studies at Leiden University in the Netherlands. At his invitation, Professor Bodde went to Leiden in the fall of 1937, where he obtained his Ph.D. in 1938. His dissertation was published that same year by E.J. Brill.

Starting in the fall of 1938, Professor Bodde began a long and outstanding career as Professor of Chinese Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, a career that ended with his retirement in 1975. During his tenure, he set up the teaching program and the Chinese library at the University. Under his directorship, the undergraduate and graduate programs became (and still are) one of the foremost departments of East Asian Studies (Chinese and Japanese) in the United States. Although carrying progressively heavier teaching and administrative loads, Professor Bodde managed to keep up his research and publication pace. He produced some one hundred articles and more than a dozen monographs on a variety of subjects relating to China: philosophy, language, literary criticism, mythology, feudalism, law, festivals, science and technology, social and political history, religion, and so on. His research approach represented a well-balanced blend of philology, history and sociology, with substantial translations of primary Chinese sources. For Professor Bodde, understanding China's historical development was a *sine qua non* to understanding contemporary China. The best path to China's past was the intelligent and informed reading of its written tradition, not only philosophical, but also social, political, and religious. One aspect of Professor Bodde's learning that always amazed me was that he always knew exactly where to find the sound relevant information in both Chinese and Western sources on any sinological question. Being well read in several Western languages, particularly French and Russian (in this case, he had inside help), it is as if he had classified all the information he ever read in an orderly and ready-to-use format.

During the war years, Professor Bodde, like many of his colleagues in Chinese studies, was asked to work for the Office of Strategic Services' Research Division as well as for other government agencies, to provide background information for American policy towards China. Some of this research was published in the form of short papers (*Leaflets*) on language, society, communications, religions, and so on.

In 1948, Professor Bodde was among the first recipients of the new

Fulbright Fellowships Program for Study in China. Accompanied by his wife and child (Theodore), he spent an eventful year in Peking from the summer of 1948 to the summer of 1949, witnessing the gradual collapse of the Nationalist government and the occupation of Peking by the Red Army. This was the subject of his best known publication, *Peking Diary: A Year of Revolution* (1950). He also published in 1950 with Galia Speshneff a study of China's influence on Tolstoy, entitled *Tolstoy and China* (Princeton University Press, 1950). But the main purpose of his stay in Peking was to finish the annotated translation of the second volume of Fung Yu-lan's *History of Chinese Philosophy*, which he completed amidst the turmoil, and which was published by Princeton in 1953. The two-volume set became standard reading for generations of undergraduate and graduate students of Chinese philosophy.

In the following years, Professor Bodde became more and more concerned with, and critical of, American policy toward China and Vietnam. With the beginning of United States military involvement in Vietnam (1963), he publicly voiced his opposition to the initiatives several times in the Philadelphia media and in the *New York Times* and he participated in several gatherings of concerned scholars. His commitment to social issues, with their many ramifications especially after the McCarthy era, did not distract him, however, from his main task of research and teaching; quite the contrary. He published major studies on "Harmony and Conflict in Chinese Philosophy" (1953), "Feudalism in China" (1956), "Myths of Ancient China" (1961), as well as full-length monographs on original topics, such as *Law in Imperial China: Exemplified by 190 Ch'ing Dynasty Case translated from the Hsing-an hui-lan*, with Clarence Morris (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967) and *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances during the Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.–A.D. 220* (Princeton University Press, 1975).

Professor Bodde had a long-standing interest in the multi-volume project of Dr. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge University Press, 1951–present). The two scholars corresponded with each other and Dr. Needham traveled several times to Philadelphia. On his retirement in 1975, Professor Bodde spent three years in Cambridge, England, to work with Dr. Needham. The result of this research, one of Professor Bodde's last major sinological projects, was published in 1991 as *Chinese Thought, Society, and Science: The Intellectual and Social Background of Chinese Science and Technology* (University of Hawaii Press). The book represents a kind of summing up of the author's understanding of China's intellectual development, a topic he had broached several times during his career in published articles such as those on "Chinese science" and "Laws of nature".

As the foremost Western scholar on the Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.) and the First Emperor, Professor Bodde contributed “The Ch’in State and Empire” chapter in the first volume of *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (1986).

An important part of Professor Bodde’s scholarly output was in the guise of book reviews. During his academic career, one could hardly find one important work published in his wide-ranging field of specializations that he did not comment upon. His incisive reviews, both critical and helpful, showed that he had read the book thoroughly and done *ad hoc* research on the topic in order to write his review and had not sought simply to add another title to his impressive list.

Professor Bodde’s outstanding contribution to the field of sinology as a researcher, professor, teacher, writer, and administrator was publicly acknowledged on several occasions. Among other honors, he was elected President of the American Oriental Society, was chosen as the first Dr. Sun Yat-sen Distinguished Visiting Professor of Chinese Studies at Georgetown University (1980–1981), and was the first recipient of the Distinguished Scholarship Award of the Association for Asian Studies (Philadelphia, 1985).

As I think back on the many years I knew Professor Bodde as a teacher, a mentor, and as a friend, I am sure that I will continue now as before to feel his stimulating and critical presence every time I sit at my keyboard to write about China: “Charles, you should check this”. His granddaughter Jennifer said it best: “One is Professor Bodde’s graduate student for life.” This is perhaps the best way not to miss him too much.

Charles Le Blanc

ŌBA OSAMU (1927–2002)

Shortly before losing Gilbert L. Mattos, the early China field unfortunately lost another most respected member: On November 27th, 2002, Professor Ōba Osamu 大庭脩 died of acute leukemia.¹

Ōba Osamu was born in Ōsaka, Japan, in 1927. In 1950, he graduated from the East Asian History program at the Faculty of Letters of Ryūkoku University 龍谷大學 in Kyōto. His first work experience as a teacher was gained at the Sanda gakuen 三田學園 high school in Hyōgo兵庫 Prefecture, central Japan, and as assistant professor at the University of the Sacred Heart (Seishin joshi daigaku 聖心女子大學) in Tōkyō. From 1960, he taught at Kansai University 關西大學, from 1965 onwards as full professor and member of the Institute for Oriental and Occidental Studies (Tōzai gakujutsu kenkyūjo 東西學術研究所). This was to remain his place of employment until he retired in 1997. In the meantime, he consecutively served in the positions of Dean of the Faculty of General Education, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and Director of the University Library. His last position was that of the Director of the Institute for Oriental and Occidental Studies. Even after his official retirement from Kansai University and during his subsequent teaching at the Kōgakkan University 皇學館大學 in Tōkyō, Ōba continued the relationship with his old institute, now as honorary professor.

Besides fulfilling his functions at the university, Ōba was, from 1994, Director of the Chikatsu Asuka Museum 近つ飛鳥博物館 near Ōsaka. This shows not only his extraordinary energy and drive, but also and in particular his academic interests and knowledge that spanned cultural divides. While the majority of Ōba's publications deal with the history of early imperial China, the modern and well worth visiting museum is mainly devoted to a section of the early history of Japan—the Asuka period.

The bridging of Chinese and Japanese culture was a predominant

1. The German original of this obituary was published in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde Ostasiens / Hamburg* 173–174 (2003), 19–34, and included a list of selected publications of the deceased (25–34). The pronunciation of a few names and terms has been rectified here. I would like to thank Professor Reinhard Emmerich and Dr. Yū Hong 于宏 for their comments on the original manuscript.

concern in Ōba's academic efforts from early in his career. Trend-setting in this respect were his first two published monographs, *Edo jidai ni okeru Tōsen mochiwatashisho no kenkyū* 江戸時代における唐船持渡書の研究 (Studies on the Scriptures Brought to Japan on Chinese Ships during the Edo Period) (1967)² and *Shingi Waō* 親魏倭王 (The Wo Queen who was Close to the Wei) (1971).³ The first study discusses the transmission of Chinese culture through manuscripts, prints, paintings, and so on, that were smuggled on Chinese junks into Japan in the Edo period (1603–1868), during which time the country had officially closed its borders to the outside world. The second study deals with the circumstances and the impact of Chinese emperors enfeoffing and awarding official titles to Japanese rulers, particularly the enfeoffing of the Yamatai 邪馬台 Queen Himiko 卑彌呼 by the Wei 魏 state of the Sanguo 三國 period. Especially in the field of Chinese-Japanese contacts during the Edo period, Ōba continued to contribute his learned opinions also in later years. In 1986, another monograph on the subject—*Edo jidai ni okeru Chūgoku bunka juyō no kenkyū* 江戸時代における中國文化受容の研究 (Studies on the Acceptance of Chinese Culture during the Edo Period) (1984)⁴—earned him an award from the Japanese Academy of Sciences. In 1997, when he retired, and for this occasion, a list of his publications on early modern Chinese-Japanese contacts was prepared, which was already four pages long.⁵

Most representative of Ōba's work, however, were his studies on the institutional history of the Han dynasty, especially as reflected in the manuscript texts written on wooden slips—the so-called *Han jian* 漢簡 or, in Japanese, *kankan*—that were discovered during the early days of the 20th century. As he himself confessed in the epilogue to his dissertation,⁶ he chose the Han period as his field of study because not only one but two of his teachers had quoted the famous historian Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 as stating that the Han period was a good starting point to begin diachronic historical studies, wherever these were eventually headed back or forth in time.

2. Ōsaka: Tōzai gakujuutsu kenkyūjo, 1967.

3. Tōkyō: Gakuseisha, 1971; reprinted 2001.

4. Kyōto: Dōhōsha, 1984. A Chinese translation was published by Hangzhou University in 1998.

5. "Tōsen mochiwatashisho no kenkyū no genjō to tenbō" shiryō (teinen taishū kinen kōenkai de haifuku) 「唐船持渡書の研究の現状と展望」資料 (定年退休記念講演会で配付) (Materials on "The Present State and Future Prospects of Research Concerning Scriptures Brought to Japan on Chinese Ships"—Distributed at the Valedictory Lecture on the Occasion of Regular Retirement), *Kansai daigaku Tōzai gakujuutsu kenkyūjo kiyō* 關西大學東西學術研究所紀要 30 (1997).

6. (1982), 673; for further information, see below.

One of those teachers, Ishihama Juntarō 石濱純太郎, had himself, however, not followed the advice of the famous role model. Perhaps he shied away because of the relative scarcity of source materials for the study of the early imperial period. Therefore, he placed all further responsibility for his more ambitious graduate student in the hands of Mori Shikazō 森鹿三. This was the man who in 1952 established and headed a working group at Kyōto University for studying the so-called Juyan *Han jian* 居延漢簡 that had been found twenty years earlier along the Edsen-gol (Inner Mongolia-Gansu), and was thereby launching the most vigorous modern Japanese research on wooden slips manuscripts. Between 1953 and 1955, the members of this working group—Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, Yoneda Kenjirō 米田賢次郎, Ōba Osamu, as well as, a little later, Nagata Hidemasa 永田英正 among them—published more research than was coming out of China during the same time.⁷

After those three years, the interest of academic circles in these manuscript materials temporarily subsided and most members of the working group continued to build a reputation in other subjects. But the youngest members of the group, Ōba Osamu and Nagata Hidemasa, remained loyal to this subject throughout their entire academic careers. The discovery of the first Japanese wooden slips manuscripts (dating to the 8th century) in 1961 provided a renewed interest, this time also among the general public. Although Ōba hardly ever wrote substantial studies on the Japanese manuscripts, he did, much later, try to bridge the gap between China and Japan in this area, too, by co-editing and co-authoring a work that presents a balanced overview of Japanese as well as Chinese wooden slips to an interested general public.⁸

Back in the 1950s and 1960s, Ōba at first distinguished himself by putting forward numerous articles on the history of administration and law in the Qin and Han periods. As was conventional at that time in Japan, these articles were put together and submitted in 1979, with only a limited number of additions, as the author's doctoral dissertation. This was published in 1982 under the title *Shin Kan hōseishi no kenkyū* 秦漢法制史の研究 (Studies on the History of Law in the Qin and Han Periods).⁹ This work, certainly the most voluminous and perhaps also the best Ōba ever published in this area of study, draws extensively on manuscript sources, though these—unlike in Ōba's later publications—do not figure in the title of the work. How much Ōba's respective research was appreciated even internationally can be gathered from the fact that not

7. See *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 12.3 (1953) and 14.1–2 (1955).

8. See note 14 below.

9. Tōkyō: Sōbunsha, 1982. This contains—partly revised—articles that were originally published between 1953 and 1981.

only his dissertation but also many of his later contributions have been translated into Chinese.¹⁰

After having established himself academically, Ōba followed the example of his teacher Mori and dedicated much of his time and efforts to the education of the next generation of students in the field of Chinese manuscript sources. At more or less regular intervals, he wrote and updated introductory works. The first of these was *Mokkan* 木簡 (Wooden Slips) (1979)¹¹ followed by the less well known *Mokkangaku nyūmon* 木簡學入門 (Introduction to the Study of Wooden Slips) (1984),¹² then by *Kankan kenkyū* 漢簡研究 (Studies on Han Slips) (1992)¹³—for the main part a collection of his articles of the 1980s that can also be read as a sequel and update to his dissertation—and finally *Mokkan: Kodai kara no messeiji* 木簡——古代からのメッセージ (Wooden Slips: A Message from the Past) (1998).¹⁴ Moreover, he, too, like his teacher Mori, organized a working group together with younger scholars, with whom he published some useful reference works on manuscript sources.¹⁵ Despite the fact that by now it was technically possible to present this data in digital format—a format that Ōba and his group in fact did make use of—the group quite purposefully decided to publish these reference materials in the conventional form of a book.

His far-reaching international contacts, his chairing of international

10. Lin Jianming 林劍鳴 et al., *Qin Han fazhi shi yanjiu* 秦漢法制史研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1991). For later articles see, *inter alia*, Jiang Zhenqing 姜鎮慶 in *Jiandu yanjiu yicong* 簡牘研究譯叢, ed. Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan Lishi yanjiu suo Zhan-guo Qin Han shi yanjiu shi 中國社會科學院歷史研究所戰國秦漢史研究室, 2 (1987). On the other hand, a very critical, polemical response to Ōba's results was formulated by Liao Boyuan 廖伯源, "Ping Da Tingxiu zhu 'Han dai guanli de qinwu yu xiuji' ji qi Zhongyi ben" 評大庭脩著〈漢代官吏的勤務與休假〉及其中譯本 (Review of Ōba Osamu, "The Duties and Vacation of Officials in the Han Period" and its Chinese Translation"), *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 12.2 (1994), 359–78; cf. also Liao Boyuan, "Han dai guanli xiuji, sushe ruogan wenti zhi bianxi" 漢代官吏休假、宿舍若干問題之辨析 (Analysis of Some Problems Concerning the Vacation and Lodging of Officials in the Han Period), *Chūgoku shigaku* 中國史學 4 (1994), 61–72.

11. Tōkyō: Gakuseisha, 1979. This was actually a monograph reprint of a series of articles that Ōba had published between 1977 and 1978 in the periodical *Nihon bijutsu kōgei* 日本美術工藝 under the title "Mokkan no hanashi" 本簡のはなし (Talking about Wooden Slips).

12. Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1984.

13. Kyōto: Dōhōsha, 1992. A Chinese translation of this work has recently been published by Guangxi shifan daxue, Guilin (2001).

14. Ōba et al., ed., Tōkyō: Taishūkan, 1997.

15. *Kyoen Kankan sakuin* 居延漢簡索引 (Index of the Han Slips from the Edsen-gol) (Suita: Kansai University, 1995); *Kankan no kisoteki kenkyū* 漢簡の基礎的研究 (Basic Studies on Han Slips) (Kyōto: Shibunkaku, 1999).

conferences,¹⁶ the editing of a new folio edition of the wooden manuscripts from Dunhuang with a set of specially produced photographs,¹⁷ as well as generous financial assistance to Chinese publications in the field,¹⁸ definitely transformed Ōba into a kind of doyen of international wooden slips research. And he was certainly well aware of this situation, as one immediately recognized from his bearing. Ōba Osamu was a generous, open-minded, but also energetic and representative scholar. In an academic field that has induced others to indulge in time-consuming bean-counting, he was the one who got things done. This trait was responsible for not a few original explanations of complex historical phenomena that have invited others to continue in the direction pointed out by Ōba. Particularly groundbreaking was his early completion of the reconstruction of an imperial edict of the year 61 B.C.E., which he published several times.¹⁹ He liked to accomplish work himself. In one of his last manuscripts,²⁰ he still regretted with unimpeded energy—as well as, perhaps, a kind of gloomy anticipation as far as his own premature demise was concerned—that many caches of manuscripts discovered years ago are still not yet published, so that the joy of studying these documents and texts must be reserved for the next generation.

On the occasion of Ōba's retirement on March 31st, 1997, an anthology of his most recent articles and lecture notes as well as a volume with personal recollections was published.²¹ He will be greatly missed, but his published work will remain valuable in the years ahead for its meticulous attention to historical detail as well as for its insight into broader historical issues. On its foundation, future generations will be able build their own interpretations.

Enno Giele

16. See *Kankan kenkyū no genjō to tenbō. Kankan kenkyū kokusai shinpojūmu '92 hōkokusho* 漢簡研究の現状と展望——漢簡研究國際シンポジウム '92 報告書 (Present State and Prospects of the Research on Han Slips: Proceedings of the International Symposium for Han Slips Research, 1992) (Tsuita: Kansai University, 1993).

17. *Dai Ei toshokan zō Tonkō Kankan* 大英圖書館藏敦煌漢簡 (The Han Slips from Dunhuang in the British Library) (Kyōto: Dōhōsha, 1990).

18. Cf. *Juyan Han jian: Jiaqu houguan* 居延漢簡——甲渠候官, ed. Gansu sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 甘肅省文物考古研究所 et al., 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1994), preface, 4.

19. First in the journal *Shisen* 史泉 26 (1963), then in 1982, 1990, 1992, etc.

20. Published posthumously in *Asia Major* 14.2 (2001, published 2004), 119–41.

21. *Zō to hō to 象と法と* and *Shōwa gannen umaretachi* 昭和元年生まれ達. For both works, see the summary by Ukai Masao 鵜飼昌男 in *Chūgoku shutsudo shiryō kenkyū* 中國出土資料研究 2 (1998), 256–59.

Abstracts

Alan K.L. Chan 陳金樑

Zhong Hui's *Laozi* Commentary and the Debate on Capacity and Nature in Third-Century China 鍾會老子注與魏初才性之辯

Zhong Hui (A.D. 225–264) was a major, albeit neglected figure in third-century Chinese intellectual history. Author of a *Laozi* commentary and a treatise on the relationship between “capacity” (*cai*) and “nature” (*xing*), Zhong Hui played a significant role in the development of *xuanxue* (Learning of the Mysterious Dao), which came into prominence during the early Wei dynasty and dominated the Chinese intellectual scene well into the sixth century. This essay presents a reconstructed version of Zhong Hui's *Laozi* commentary and compares Zhong's approach with Wang Bi's. Zhong Hui's work on “capacity and nature” (*caixing*) captures a major debate in early *xuanxue* philosophy and will be scrutinized also in this discussion.

鍾會可以說是一位被遺忘的玄學家。在他生活的歷史舞台上，鍾會卻是一個有相當份量，極為時人所器重的人物。如果不是因為他謀反司馬氏政權失敗，歷史對他的態度也可能不會這樣冷漠。鍾會著作包括有《老子注》和《才性四本論》，現已失傳。本文以現存鍾會《老子注》文字為根據，嘗試討論鍾會的《老》學，與王弼比較，並對魏初才性之辯作初步探討。

Robert Eno 伊若泊

The Background of the Kong Family of Lu and the Origins of Ruism 魯國孔氏家族背景與儒家的起源初探

While it is generally believed that Confucius's devotion to the Zhou ritual system was, in part, a product of his background as a countryman of the traditionalist Zhou state of Lu, this study suggests that Confucius was raised in and influenced by the cultural sphere of a non-Zhou people, the region associated with the state of Zhulou, to which his mother's family belonged. Evidence from the *Zuo zhuan* lends support to the *Shi ji* account of Confucius's family background, which has long been questioned. This

evidence suggests that Confucius's father was a privileged associate of a leading Lu grandee household, the Zang clan, charged with defending the southern border of Lu, an area of Zhulou culture occupied by Lu in the century before Confucius's birth. Accounts of the Zang clan indicate an unusual family stature, involving ritual expertise and hereditary possession of the Lu office of minister of Crime. Shortly before his death, he himself having moved north with the Zangs, Confucius's father took a concubine from the Yan clan of Zhulou, who remained with her family to raise his orphan, Confucius. Evidence suggests that Confucius and his early followers, including members of the Yan clan, displaced, in some critical respects, the role formerly played in Lu by the Zang clan, after the leadership of that clan was exiled from Lu. Tensions between Zang and Yan clan elements appear to have left significant traces in the corpus of early Confucian texts, and to have played a role in the formation of the Ruist school.

從前人多認為孔子凭魯國盛行的周民禮俗成為周代文化代表人物。此文提議孔子出生於鄰近魯國的邾婁民族文化區，而或頗受其東夷文化影響。最近，學者多懷疑史記所述的孔子家族背景是凭空無據，不接受孔子的父親是叔梁紇，母親是顏氏女。而實在左傳中有可以作旁證的資料，暗示紇蓋為孔父，明史記所述不可舍棄。按左傳所錄，紇是魯國世襲司寇官位的臧氏貴族的主要家臣。當初臧族封地蓋在魯國南境，占領離邾婁以前國都陬邑不遠的防山，為了魯防禦邾婁國的侵略，後或因戰敗移封到魯內地。叔梁紇跟着臧家搬，然還到邾婁文化區的陬邑去娶妾於邾婁貴族顏家。紇早死而跟他“野合”的顏氏女留在魯外原家地養孔子。按文獻，臧氏家主被放逐到齊國後，孔子與早期從者，即所謂“先進野人”，包括些顏氏親戚，代替臧氏在魯所扮演的角色。臧，顏兩家爭鳴的遺迹文獻上還看得出，而對儒家的早期成黨或有相當重要的影響。

Guolong Lai 來國龍

The Diagram of the Mourning System from Mawangdui
馬王堆喪服圖考

This article is a preliminary study of the silk diagram of the mourning system excavated from Mawangdui tomb three (dated to 168 B.C.E.) in 1973. Although it is the earliest precisely dated document of one of the most enduring social institutions in Chinese history, this mourning diagram has received little scholarly attention. Through analyzing its

structure, inscriptions, kinship terms, and cosmological symbolism, and comparing it with relevant Warring States and contemporary Han sources, the author has reconstructed the diagram based strictly on evidence internal to the diagram itself. The author then explains the cosmological and numerological significance of the Mawangdui mourning system, and, through rereading passages in *Lun yu* 17/21, the “Sannian wen” chapter in the *Li ji*, the “Li lun” in the *Xunzi*, and the testamentary decree of Emperor Wen (d. 157 B.C.E.), he discusses the multiple ways of justifying mourning practices during the Warring States and early Han periods and the changing interpretations of the cosmological/numerological basis of the mourning system by later text-based scholars, such as Zheng Xuan and Wang Su. Finally, the author discusses the nature and function of the diagram as the source of ritual diagrams illustrating a text in the Chinese classical exegetical tradition. This Mawangdui diagram is a schematic representation of the mourning system with its basic numerological principles and cosmological significance. As a kinship chart, it illustrates the five degrees of mourning, which characterize the scope of close kinship in early Han China. It depicts a mourning tradition similar to those recorded in the *Yi li* and the *Li ji*, but represents differently in degrees of mourning that people, especially married-out daughters and their children, were obligated to observe for the death of a relative. It is thus invaluable for us to understand the historical formation of the Chinese mourning tradition and subsequent ritual manuals and legal codes, and it provides new materials for the sociological study of issues concerning Han family structure, the nature of descent groups, women’s position, and patrilinealism.

本文是對 1973 年馬王堆三號漢墓出土的喪服圖所作的初步研究。儘管此圖是現存有關喪服制度年代有明確紀年的最早的考古材料，喪服制度又是中國史上歷時最久的社會制度之一，這幅圖卻少有學者問津。作者通過分析該圖的結構、題識、親屬稱謂、宇宙論上的象徵意義，並且和戰國及漢代有關文獻比較，首先依據此圖本身的內在線索謹慎地復原了此圖。其次，作者解釋了此圖所見喪服制度的宇宙論和數術的基礎，重新解讀了《論語·陽貨·宰我問喪》、《禮記·三年問》、《荀子·禮論》及漢文帝遺詔。作者接著討論了戰國秦漢間對喪服習俗的多種合理化解釋，以及後來鄭玄、王肅等學者對喪服制度的宇宙論和數術基礎的誤解。最後，作者討論此圖的性質和功用，並視該圖為後代經典注釋傳統中禮書圖解的淵源。此圖概要呈現了喪服制度及其數術原則和宇宙論意涵。該圖上親屬表圖示了喪服的五種

等級，而這五等正代表中國傳統近親的範圍。此圖所見的喪服制度與《儀禮》、《禮記》所載傳統相似，但在具體（尤其是出嫁的女子及其所出的）服喪等級上有所出入。因此，該圖對於瞭解中國古代喪服制度的形成過程及其對後世家禮法規的影響有莫大助益，同時也為漢代家庭結構、宗族性質、婦女地位、父系制度等社會研究議題提供了嶄新資料。