

Confucius' Sayings Entombed: On Two Han Dynasty Bamboo *Analects* Manuscripts¹

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*Note: This is a pre-publication version.
Please refer to published book for the final version.*

Introduction

As one of the foundational texts of Chinese culture, the *Analects* 論語 was copied throughout the centuries and in all corners of the Chinese empire, from the capital city to the very edges of the sinosphere. The text was inked on bamboo, silk, paper, and wood, and durably engraved in stone. Some age-old manuscripts have made it to modern times. Until the final quarter of the twentieth century, the earliest extant version of the *Analects* was one of the so-called Stone Classics of the Xiping era 熹平石經. These canonical Confucian texts were engraved in stone in Luoyang 洛陽, the seat of government during the Eastern Han dynasty 東漢, around the year 175 CE. Several decades ago, however, archaeologists discovered two handwritten copies of the *Analects* in tombs that had been closed around 50 BCE. Well over two centuries older than the stone carvings, these handwritings on strips of bamboo now rank as the earliest *Analects* ever found.

The two bamboo manuscripts have come to be known as the Dingzhou *Analects* 定州論語 and P'yōngyang *Analects* 平壤論語, after the respective locations of the tombs in which they were found. Yet while they were unearthed decades ago, news about their spectacular discoveries has only gradually trickled out into the academic world. As a result, studies of the excavated manuscripts are few and far between.²

This paper is intended as a gateway to both two-thousand-year old manuscripts. The first two sections discuss the tombs, discoveries, and analyses of the manuscripts. They describe characteristic features of the bamboo strips and the texts inked thereon, and they mention notable differences between these and other *Analects* versions. In these sections, I also critically evaluate present-day *Analects* studies, offering alternative hypotheses when theirs leave room for debate. The third and final section of the paper discusses what I consider the most fascinating (and most complex) issue regarding the manuscripts: their

provenance. In that section, I examine when, where, and why the *Analects* was copied onto the bamboo strips. The ultimate goal of this paper is to present a nuanced understanding of the two bamboo manuscripts that conveys the fascinating insights they offer yet also explores the limitations of what these manuscripts can actually tell us.

1. The Dingzhou *Analects*

This section discusses the Dingzhou *Analects*, from its entombment long ago and its discovery in modern times, to its analysis by archaeologists and paleographers, and finally its study by other scholars in the field.

1.1 Tomb and Excavation

In the Western Han dynasty 西漢, the area south of present-day Beijing 北京 was known as Zhongshan 中山. In the year 55 BCE, the ruler of Zhongshan, Liu Xiu 劉脩, passed away.³ Posthumously known as King Huai of Zhongshan 中山懷王, Liu Xiu was buried near Lunu 廬奴, the capital city of Zhongshan, in a wooden tomb under a large burial mound surrounded by an earthen wall. Clothed in a precious suit made of jade tesserae sewn together with gold thread, he was laid to rest in a nested coffin and accompanied by a wealth of funerary objects (including jade ware, gold ware, bronze ware, and lacquer ware), and a number of texts written on strips of bamboo.⁴ While his tomb had been fitted with every conceivable posthumous comfort, the king's afterlife was far from peaceful. Not long after his burial, robbers entered the wooden tomb construction. Yet before they could plunder many of the valuable objects within, they inadvertently sparked a fire with their torches and set the place ablaze, thus forced to make a quick escape.⁵ While the flames saved numerous objects from the bandits' hands, an unknown number of artifacts and manuscripts went up in smoke and many of those remaining were scorched and scattered. After the fire, no one is known to have entered the tomb for another two millennia, until 1973.



Figure 1: Bamboo Fragment from the Dingzhou Tomb⁶

In 1973, a team of Chinese archaeologists excavated the tomb, located in what is now the village of Bajiaolang 八角廊 near Dingzhou (a city built on the soil that once was Lunu) in Hebei Province 河北省. Eight months of work were required to complete the excavation. The excavated materials were sent to the National Cultural Relics Bureau 國家文物局 in Beijing, where specialists analyzed the bamboo strips that had been severely damaged by the tomb fire.⁷ With the help of the renowned paleographer and historian Li Xueqin 李學勤 and other scholars, they assigned consecutive numbers to the bamboo strips and transcribed legible graphs onto note cards, one strip per card. Sadly, in 1976 the devastating Tangshan 唐山 earthquake toppled the storage boxes in which the ancient manuscripts were contained, causing further damage to the strips. The tomb fire, the earthquake, and spectacular discoveries elsewhere (Mawangdui 馬王堆, Zhangjiashan 張家山, Guodian 郭店, and so on) delayed further analysis of the excavated objects. In 1981, the research team published a brief excavation report and a short introduction of the disinterred bamboo strips.⁸ This is

when the world first learned that, in fact, eight distinct texts had been found in the king's tomb:

- *Sayings of the Scholars* 儒家者言
- *Wenzi* 文子
- *Analects* 論語
- *The Grand Duke's Six Secret Teachings* 太公六韜
- *Duke Ai Inquires about the Five Ways of Righteousness* 哀公問五義
- *Biography of the Grand Tutor* 保傅傳
- *Hemerologies – Divination* 日書•占卜
- *Record of the King of Lu'an's Visit to the Imperial Court in the First Month of the Second Year of the Five Phoenixes Reign* 六安王朝五鳳二年正月起居記

In a later publication the research team mentioned *en passant* that one more text, a memorial by the prominent Han dynasty statesman Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 (circa 114–46 BCE), had also been discovered in the same tomb.⁹ To date, four of the texts have been published in transcription: *Sayings of the Scholars* (1981), *Wenzi* (1995), *Analects* (1997), and *The Grand Duke's Six Secret Teachings* (2001). The long intervals between these publications and the apparent dormancy of the project since 2001 have done little to enhance academic awareness of the tomb and its discovery. This is regrettable, because the tomb yielded impressive objects and texts, including the oldest handwritten copy of the *Analects* ever found, and their function and significance will not be fully understood without an in-depth study of all the tomb's contents.¹⁰

1.2 Tracings and Transcriptions

As mentioned, the Dingzhou *Analects* was discovered in 1973, but a description of the manuscript was not published until eight years later, in the August 1981 issue of the Chinese academic journal *Wenwu* 文物.¹¹ Another 15 years later, a transcription of select bamboo strips was published in the May 1997 issue of *Wenwu*, accompanied by tracings, notes on the

transcription, and an explanatory essay by the research team responsible for arranging the Dingzhou bamboo strips, written by the leader of the team Liu Laicheng 劉來成.¹² The same year also witnessed the publication of the full transcription of the Dingzhou *Analects* as a separate monograph.¹³

Compared to other manuscripts, such as those unearthed in Guodian or those purchased by the Shanghai Museum 上海博物館, which are published in sumptuous books replete with magnificent pictures, the publication of the Dingzhou *Analects* (and other manuscripts from the same tomb) leaves much to be desired. There are only a handful of tracings, which are neither accompanied by photographs nor by explanations as to why these few bamboo fragments were selected for tracing. Without photographs or a complete set of accurate tracings, those who wish to study the bamboo *Analects* must rely solely on its transcription. Sadly, the transcription is not flawless.

Due to the fire that once raged in the tomb, surviving bamboo fragments were found in disorder. Since it is impossible to know their original order, the transcription presents them in the order of corresponding passages in the received text, which does not necessarily reflect the original order.

Due to the Tangshan earthquake, numerous bamboo fragments were destroyed or damaged to the point that the graphs on them are no longer legible. The graphs from these fragments, therefore, survive only as transcriptions on cards made prior to the natural disaster. Because these graphs can no longer be verified against the original manuscript, they appear between square brackets in the published transcription.

The transcription was published in modern regular script 楷書 in simplified characters. This is a methodological flaw. A general methodological rule, in Boltz' words, is that manuscripts

should be transcribed so as to reveal as precisely and unambiguously as possible the exact form of what is written, without introducing any interpolations, alterations, or other extraneous material based on assumptions, biases, or subjective decisions of the scholar-transcriber or of anyone else. In a nutshell, this means that the transcription should reflect exactly what is written and nothing more.¹⁴

Boltz' argument also applies here: the change to regular script is an alteration of the manuscript, and even more so is the change to simplified characters. This violates the

principle of structural consistency, which, Boltz explains, entails that the transcription of a graph “should not deviate from the actual structural form of the graph in the manuscript.”¹⁵

To facilitate reading, the transcription also contains modern punctuation marks. While helpful, this extraneous material (Boltz’ terminology) is uncalled for in a methodologically correct transcription, because it forces an interpretation of the text that may limit the possibilities offered by unpunctuated transcription. The reader should have the opportunity to see exactly what the ancient scribe wrote, not what the modern editor thinks the scribe intended to write.¹⁶

These are just a few issues with the transcription of the bamboo *Analects*. Other issues are outlined in a four-page article by Sun.¹⁷ I emphatically note that the purpose of pointing out these problematic aspects of the transcription is not to criticize Chinese colleagues who faced the unenviable task of making sense of the unpromising heap of charred pieces of bamboo (see Figure 1 in this paper), and whose professional facilities may have left much to be desired by international standards. However, these problems do highlight the need for especially careful treatment of ancient manuscripts, and this includes the publication of transcriptions. Moreover, the problems emphasize that the transcription must be used with caution. When using the transcription in research, scholars rely heavily on choices made by editors several decades ago, with no opportunity to verify the accuracy of their work. Hence, any study that involves the Dingzhou *Analects* should ideally contain a disclaimer stating that its results are tentative.

1.3 Chapters, Sections, and Graphs

The Dingzhou *Analects* consists of 620 bamboo strips, most of which are fragments with one or both ends broken off. Only a handful of strips are complete. When they were placed in the tomb two millennia ago, the strips were probably 16.2 cm long and 0.7 cm wide, with 19 to 21 graphs per strip. Three binding threads joined these bamboo strips at the top, middle, and bottom, respectively. The threads did not survive, but their imprints are still visible on the excavated bamboo fragments. On those fragments, 7,576 graphs have been discerned, which amounts to just under half the length of the received *Analects*. The graphs were written in a mature, highly rectilinear Han dynasty clerical script 隸書, in which the graphs are square to

wide in shape, with wavelike flaring of major strokes, as is shown on these tracings:

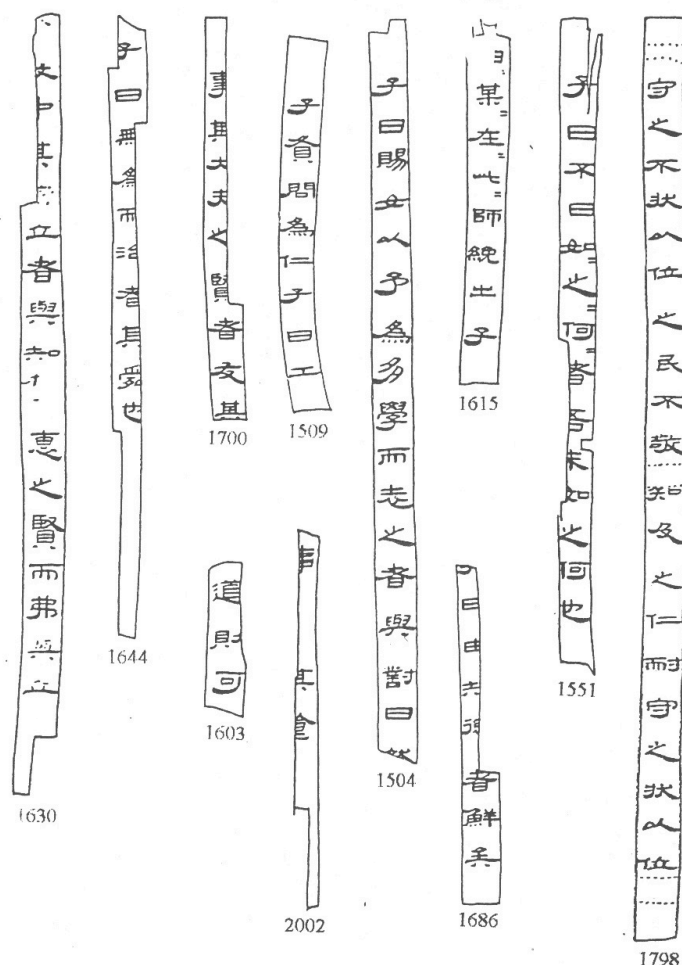


Figure 2: Tracings of the Dingzhou *Analects*¹⁸

There are notable differences between the bamboo manuscript and the received text in terms of their (1) chapters, (2) sections, and (3) graphs, as discussed below.

(1) Chapters. The bamboo manuscript appears to have been a complete version of the *Analects* when it was placed in the tomb, as corresponding bamboo fragments have been found for all 20 chapters in the received *Analects*. However, the degree of survival differs markedly per chapter, from as few as 20 graphs (about 4% of the chapter total) for chapter 1 to as many as 694 graphs (about 77%) for chapter 15. I think the different degrees of survival are coincidental and not due to an inherent feature of the manuscript, as the opening chapter was probably positioned at the outer edge of the roll of bamboo strips and therefore most susceptible to destruction by the tomb fire.

The manuscript does not mention chapter titles or chapter numbers. It does, however, mention the number of sections and graphs within coherent textual units that we would probably call chapters. Ten excavated bamboo fragments list such information, and Chen Dong explored likely counterparts in the received text for each of them. Here is the list:

Strip	Manuscript Text & Translation	Received Text
0612	• 凡二章 [凡三百廿二字] • In all, 2 sections. A total of 322 graphs.	Chapter 20 堯曰 3 sections, 341 graphs ¹⁹
0613	• 凡卅七章 • In all, 37 sections	Chapter 7 述而 37 sections
0614 [章] 五百七十五字sections 575 graphs.	Chapter 2 為政 581 graphs
0615	凡[卅六]章 • 凡九百九十字 In all, 36 sections. • A total of 990 graphs.	Chapter 17 陽貨 26 sections, 1020 graphs
0616	• 凡卅章 • 凡七百九十字 • In all, 30 sections. • A total of 790 graphs.	Chapter 9 子罕 30 sections, 812 graphs
0617	• 凡[卅]四章 • In all, 44 sections	Chapter 14 憲問 44 sections
0618	[• 凡卅七章] [□□百八十一字] • In all, 47 sections. {XX}51 graphs.	Chapter 15 衛靈公 49 sections, 900 graphs
0619	• 凡十三章 • In all, 13 sections.	Chapter 16 季氏 14 sections
0620	[凡十]三章 • In all, 13 sections. •	Chapter 11 先進 23 sections ²⁰
0621	• 凡廿八章 [• 凡八百五十一字] • In all, 28 sections. • A total of 851 graphs.	Chapter 5 公冶長 28 sections, 871 graphs

Table 1: Possible Matching Chapters in Bamboo Manuscript and Received Text²¹

Five of these transcribed bamboo fragments display the total number of graphs in the textual unit to which they belong. In each case, the number is lower than that of the corresponding chapter in the received text. This could potentially indicate that the handwritten copy is a condensed version of the *Analects*. More likely, in view of what we know from other manuscripts, it shows that the growth of the *Analects* at that time was still in progress. The Former Han dynasty was a time of textual fluidity, when texts were susceptible to change. In this particular case, it seems that despite attempts to secure the number of sections and graphs, the *Analects* slightly increased in size after the manuscript was placed in the tomb.

(2) Sections. Specialists managed to determine the division of sections in the manuscript, because at the end of each section the ancient scribe left the remainder of the bamboo strip empty, starting the next section on a new bamboo strip.²² There are some differences in the division of sections in the manuscript and the received text. A single section in the Dingzhou *Analects* may correspond to two or more sections in the received *Analects*. Conversely, one section in the received *Analects* may appear as two sections in the Dingzhou *Analects*. Most differences are fairly inconsequential. For instance, chapter 10 in the *Analects* describes how Confucius acted in different situations, such as “when there was a sudden clap of thunder or a violent wind, he invariably assumed a solemn attitude” 迅雷風烈必變 or “when climbing into a carriage, he invariably stood squarely and grasped the mounting-cord” 升車必正立執綏.²³ In the received text, these sentences occur in consecutive sections. In the manuscript, the second sentence immediately follows the first, suggesting they belong to one section.

There is one noteworthy variation in sections. In the received text, the concluding chapter of the *Analects* contains three sections. In the bamboo manuscript, it contains two sections written in regular-sized graphs, followed by two small dots, followed by the third section written in two columns and in half-sized graphs. In other words, the third section is squeezed onto the very same bamboo strip that contains the last sentence of the second section. Liu Laicheng suggests that the small graphs were added to the manuscript after it had already been completed.²⁴ His evidence is bamboo fragment 0612, which mentions “2 sections” and “322 graphs” (see Table 1) and likely refers to the concluding chapter. The third section then must have been added after the total number of sections in this textual unit had been written down. If Liu’s hypothesis holds up, it allows us to infer that this copy of the *Analects* was not made specifically for the burial, but was used (and modified) in the lifetime of the deceased. In this scenario, whoever used this particular copy was apparently aware of at least one other *Analects* version, and felt the need to tally the division of sections and chapters with that other version.²⁵ Another possibility is that the third section was already known at the time when the text was copied onto the bamboo strips, but was not considered canonical. In that scenario, it was included with the text for the sake of completeness, in smaller graphs to mark its inferior status. This is where a photograph or an accurate transcription of the bamboo strip would come in handy, for it could possibly reveal if the

third section was written by the same hand as the other sections.

(3) Graphs. Many graphs on the bamboo strips are written differently than the graphs in modern regular script to which they are said to correspond. The report of the Dingzhou research team mentions no less than 700 variants, which amounts to 10% of the received text.²⁶ In a meticulous analysis of these variants, Ma Yumeng groups them into various categories and shows that the manuscript contains, among others, graphs that are now written with an added semantic element (such as 立, now written with an additional 亻 “man” element on the left: 位 *wei* “place, location”); graphs that are now written with the same phonetic element but a different semantic element (such as 功, now written with a 攴 “beat, strike” element on the right: 攻 *gong* “to attack”); or graphs with a similar pronunciation but no shared structural components (such as 葆, now written 寶 *bao* “treasure”).²⁷ Most of these variants are what we have come to expect from a Han dynasty manuscript: loan words, alternative writings, or mere slips of the brush. Such variants are frequently found in other manuscripts of that period. They show that the text was inked on bamboo before the gradual process of standardization of Chinese script had come to completion.²⁸ Finally, Ma also notes that the manuscript contains mistakes, such as 曰, which should have been 由 *you* “You [name of a disciple]”, or 君, which should have been 居 *ju* “to reside”.²⁹

1.4 Textual Differences

The *Analecets* was transmitted over a period of 2,000 years. In the course of its transmission, the text naturally underwent changes, whether by accident or on purpose. The Dingzhou manuscript, by contrast, spent all this time under layers of soil, unaffected by changes above the ground. One major theme in post-Dingzhou *Analecets* scholarship is the comparison of the bamboo manuscript and the received text, often to clarify contested passages in the latter.

A primary difference, as noted by Ma, concerns the use of grammatical particles.³⁰ Generally speaking, the manuscript is much less inclined to use function words than the received text. For example, there are over 60 instances where modal particles (e.g. 乎 *hu*, 矣 *yi*), auxiliary words (e.g. 之 *zhi*, 者 *zhe*), and sentence connectives (e.g. 則 *ze*, 而 *er*) are used in the received text but not in the bamboo version. Conversely, the manuscript

version contains over two dozen function words, mostly sentence final modal particles, that are absent in the received text. Based on the latter observation, Ma suggests that the bamboo manuscript has a rather colloquial flavor and may have been copied from oral recitation, as opposed to being copied from another written version of the *Analects*. While tempting, this does not harmonize with the former observation of the many cases where the manuscript has fewer modal particles than the received text. Moreover, some of the mistakes in the manuscript appear to be visual, rather than aural.³¹ Hence, it seems to me that it may be difficult to come up with one coherent explanation that covers all differences in the use of grammatical particles. On the one hand, these words without a lexical meaning can sometimes be left out without changing the meaning of the text. On the other hand, grammatical particles can be added to sentences to clarify grammatical relationships between words. As such, the variation in the use of grammatical particles simply means that the manuscript contains a unique reading of the text.

In addition to function words, there are other noteworthy differences between the bamboo manuscript and the received text. Here is an amusing example, noted by Zhao Jing, from section 7.1 in the received *Analects*:³²

子曰：「述而不作，信而好古，竊比於我老彭。」

The Master said: “I transmit but do not innovate. I am truthful in what I say and devoted to antiquity. One could, perhaps, compare this to our Old Peng.”³³

No one knows who this Old Peng was. Some commentators suggest he was an intimate of Confucius, given the atypical grammatical construction with the word 我 *wo* “I, my, we, our” placed immediately before Old Peng’s name, which suggests familiarity and forces the translation “our Old Peng”.³⁴ Interestingly, bamboo fragment 0138 has a different word order:

[而不作，信而好古，竊比]我於老彭。」

but do not innovate. I am truthful in what I say and devoted to antiquity. One could, perhaps, compare me to Old Peng.

The bamboo manuscript leaves the question of Old Peng’s identity unresolved, but the different word order opens up possibilities for someone outside the group of Confucius’ intimates.

One final textual difference between the bamboo manuscript and the received text concerns the designations “Master Kong” 孔子 and “the Master” 子, that both introduce statements ascribed to Confucius. Scholars have used these designations for centuries to date different portions of the text, the underlying rationale being that “the Master” displays greater intimacy (and hence an earlier date) than the more distant “Master Kong”. However, the validity of these designations as a dating criterion is questionable, as Weingarten persuasively shows.³⁵ Moreover, as Yang, Liang, and Weingarten point out, the usage of these designations in the bamboo manuscript differs from the received text.³⁶ There are two sections where the received text reads “Master Kong” and the manuscript has the shorter “the Master”. Conversely, there are five sections where the received text reads “the Master” and the manuscript has the fuller “Master Kong”. Interestingly, four of these five sections occur in chapter 11 of the *Analects*. It therefore seems that this chapter ascribed more statements to “Master Kong” in the Han dynasty than it does now (see also Section 2). Apart from this conspicuous chapter, there does not appear to be a clear trend or a strict system in the *Analects* for using these designations. They obviously differ in different versions of the text and cannot be meaningfully used as a dating criterion. Thus other criteria must be used in dating the *Analects*, as I shall explain in the third part of this paper.

2. The P’yōngyang *Analects*

The P’yōngyang *Analects*, also known as Lelang *Analects* 樂浪論語, is a bamboo manuscript that was unearthed in the early 1990s. Quite astonishingly, its discovery is still shrouded in mystery. No official report of the discovery has been released, nor have official tracings or transcriptions of the manuscript been published. All we have are two photographs, with partly overlapping content, which were made public through the relentless efforts of a small number of scholars. This section discusses the P’yōngyang *Analects*, based on the information that has been made available.

2.1 Tomb and Discovery

About a decade after the Dingzhou tomb was closed, a high official passed away in Lelang Commandery 樂浪郡, an administrative unit in the far northeastern corner of the Han empire. The official was buried with a number of texts, including a copy of the *Analects* written on bamboo strips and a household register 戶口簿 inked on wooden tablets. The register lists increases and decreases in the number of households and inhabitants of the prefectures that constitute Lelang Commandery.³⁷ The text states that it was drawn up in the fourth year of the Chuyuan 初元 period, or 45 BCE. In all likelihood this was done under the auspices of the high official, who presumably died not long after the population census was completed.³⁸

Two thousand years later, the location of the official's posthumous abode has become known as the Chōngbaek-tong 貞柏洞 neighborhood, which is part of the Nakrang-kuyōk 樂浪區域 district in P'yōngyang, the capital city of North Korea. In the early 1990s, most probably in the year 1992, the tomb was excavated by North Korean archaeologists, who today preserve its contents at the North Korean Academy of Social Science. The excavated texts probably would have remained unknown to the rest of the world if not for the efforts of Japanese and South Korean scholars. From the 1990s to the early 2000s, teams of Japanese scholars repeatedly visited North Korea to gather material for their study of the ancient Koguryō 高句麗 culture. The teams included the renowned archaeologist Egami Namio 江上波夫, the equally famous painter Hirayama Ikuo 平山郁夫, and the acting director of the Koguryō Society 高句麗会 Itō Toshimitsu 伊藤利光. During one of their visits, they participated in the celebrations of Kim Il-sōng's 金日成 birthday and were even granted an audience with the North Korean leader. In 2003, perhaps in part due to their acquaintance with Kim Il-sōng, they received a large batch of photographs depicting excavations of ancient tombs in North Korea, including 152 color photos and 3,400 black-and-white photos. Itō, as the head of the Koguryō Society, preserved the photographs. He kept the color photos, gave two albums of black-and-white photos to Tsuruma Kazuyuki 鶴間和幸, professor at Gakushūin University 学習院大学, and donated the remaining black-and-white photos to an unspecified research institute in Ōsaka 大阪. One of the black-and-white photos shows bamboo strips on which parts of the *Analects* are written. In 2003, the South Korean scholar Yi Sōng-shi 李成市 learned of the P'yōngyang *Analects* after its discovery had been

mentioned at a conference. He applied for permission to visit North Korea, which he received in 2005. Regrettably, the person responsible for the *Analects* manuscript was not in P'yŏngyang at the time, so Yi returned home having been unable to view it. After a three-year lull, he happened to visit Tsuruma in Japan, who showed him a photo of the *Analects* bamboo strips. With his South Korean colleagues Yun Yong-gu 尹龍九 and Kim Kyŏng-ho 金慶浩, Yi then set out to study the P'yŏngyang *Analects* based on the photo he saw in Tsuruma's office. In the process, the three South Koreans discovered that a similar photo had already been published as early as in 2001 in the *Bulletin of the Koguryŏ Society* 高句麗會會報 (issue 63), so they used both images for their analysis. In 2009, the North Korean Academy of Social Science gave Yi, Yun, and Kim permission to show Tsuruma's photo to the wider academic world. Hence, thanks to the three South Korean scholars and to the cooperative spirit of North Korean and Japanese scholars and institutions, the world now finally has a chance to learn about the P'yŏngyang *Analects*.

Given this remarkable background, research on the P'yŏngyang *Analects* is still in its infancy. Yi, Kim, and Yun co-authored an article in Korean, published in 2009, in which Yi details how they came to study the photographs of the manuscript, Kim describes typical features of the manuscript and provides an annotated transcription, and Yun discusses the historical value of the *Analects* manuscript.³⁹ Their article has since been updated and translated into Japanese, and again updated and translated into Chinese.⁴⁰ Kim also discusses the manuscript in his English article on the spread of Confucianism and Chinese script.⁴¹ Furthermore, the Chinese scholar Shan Chengbin, who has also worked on the Dingzhou *Analects*, has an unpublished conference paper on the topic.⁴² Since no official report or transcription has been published by the North Korean Academy of Social Science, the writings of Yi, Yun, Kim, and Shan are currently the only sources of information regarding the P'yŏngyang *Analects*. Particulars about the bamboo manuscript in the present paper are drawn from their work, to which I am deeply indebted.

2.2 Features of the Manuscript

The photograph from Tsuruma's collection (Figure 3) shows 39 bamboo strips. Of these, 31 strips correspond to chapter 11 in the received *Analects* and 8 strips to chapter 12.

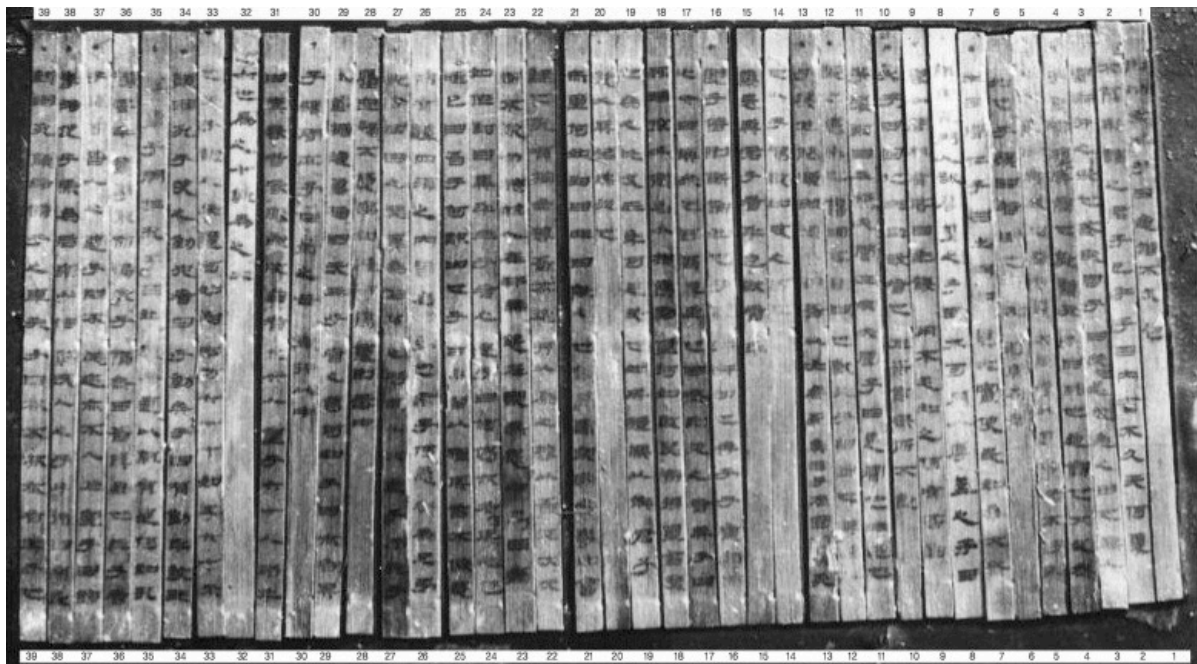


Figure 3: Photograph of the P'yŏngyang *Analects* (Tsuruma Collection)⁴³

The photo that was published in the *Bulletin of the Koguryŏ Society* (Figure 4) shows the same bamboo strips as the Tsuruma photo, plus an additional bunch of strips on the right, 14 of which are legible.

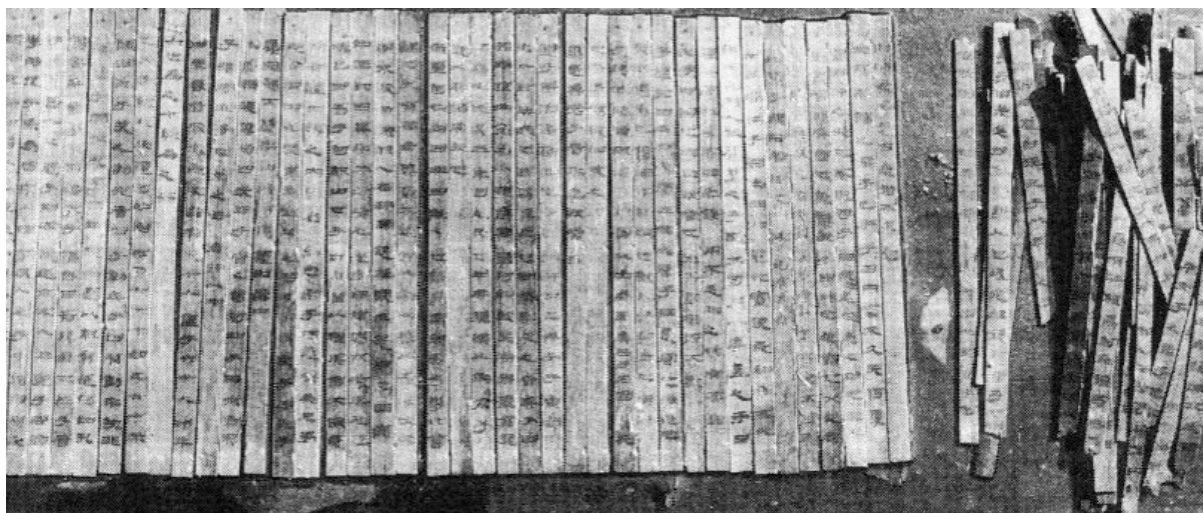


Figure 4: Photograph of the P'yŏngyang *Analects* (Bulletin of the Koguryŏ Society)⁴⁴

The two photos show that three binding threads originally joined the bamboo strips at the top, middle, and bottom, respectively. The threads did not survive, but they did create

discoloration across the width of the strips and indentations of uneven size at the right-hand side of each strip. If the manuscript was created specifically for the burial, Kim reasons, one would expect indentations of fairly similar shape.⁴⁵ Their unequal shapes may suggest that the manuscript was repeatedly rolled and unrolled for reading, allowing the binding threads to cut deeper into some strips than others. If Kim's hypothesis holds, this could potentially make the P'yöngyang manuscript the earliest *Analects* copy, depending on how long it had been in use prior to its entombment.

The graphs are neatly written between the binding threads. One way of explaining this, as Kim does, is that the bamboo strips were joined into a bundle before the text was copied on them.⁴⁶ Another possibility, I would add, is that the scribe marked the position of the binding threads before copying the text onto the bamboo strips and bundled the strips only after the text was fully copied on them. At present, our knowledge of the process of text copying in early China is insufficient to make conclusive statements in this regard, and for the P'yöngyang *Analects* we would moreover need more and higher quality photographs.

The medial binding thread divides the text on the strips into two halves. Bamboo strips corresponding to chapter 11 of the *Analects* contain 10 graphs above the medial thread and 10 graphs below, totaling 20 graphs per strip. Bamboo strips corresponding to chapter 12 of the *Analects* contain nine graphs above and nine graphs below, totaling 18 graphs per strip.

Each section in the P'yöngyang *Analects* starts on a new bamboo strip, and is preceded by a black dot to mark the beginning of the section. Similar to the Dingzhou *Analects*, when a section ends before the end of a strip is reached, the remainder of the bamboo is left uninscribed.

The manuscript contains some amusing textual peculiarities, clearly revealing a scribe at work. For instance, some graphs are written small and squeezed in between other graphs. Kim plausibly suggests that they were initially forgotten and inserted later, as is common in manuscripts of that period.⁴⁷ Furthermore, on some bamboo strips the scribe decreases the spacing between graphs so as to fit a section onto a strip without having to waste an extra strip for the last couple of graphs of the section. Finally, foreseeing that the end of a strip would be reached sooner than the end of the section, the scribe occasionally omits words from the text so as to fit the section onto the strip. Omitted words are mostly grammatical particles. This feature is noted by Kim, who observes that some bamboo strips contain fewer particles than the equivalent text in the received *Analects*, particularly when a section covers

the entire length of the strip.⁴⁸ Hence, it seems that the physicality of the writing material bears some influence on the content of the text.⁴⁹

2.3 Differences with the Received *Analects*

One notable textual difference between the P'yŏngyang *Analects* and the received text is that the manuscript fairly consistently attributes statements to “Master Kong” rather than to “the Master”, particularly on bamboo strips corresponding to chapter 11. Take, for instance, bamboo strip #27:⁵⁰

- 孔子曰由之瑟奚爲於丘之門門人不敬子路孔子
- Master Kong said: “What is You’s zither doing inside my gate?” His other disciples ceased to treat Zilu [= You] with respect. Master Kong

In section 11.15 of the received *Analects* we find the same passage, in identical wording, but with quotations ascribed to “the Master”. As we saw earlier, the Dingzhou *Analects* likewise prefers “Master Kong” on bamboo strips related to chapter 11. Judging by the two manuscripts, then, chapter 11 contained more attributions to “Master Kong” in the Han dynasty than it does now. The implications of this observation are unclear, for there are no apparent intrinsic differences between attributions to “Master Kong” or “the Master”.

Apart from these conspicuous differences, major trends are hard to observe when comparing the P'yŏngyang *Analects* to other *Analects*. Detailed analyses by Kim and Shan show that the P'yŏngyang and Dingzhou manuscripts sometimes share a textual variant that is not found in other *Analects* versions, while at other times the P'yŏngyang manuscript resembles the received text, when the Dingzhou manuscript has a textual variant, and then there are occasions where the two manuscripts and received editions are all different.⁵¹

3. Provenance of the Manuscripts

One important issue in present-day *Analects* scholarship is the position of the Han dynasty bamboo manuscripts among the various *Analects* versions. The issue is normally discussed in a conceptual framework that dates back to the Han dynasty. Historiographical sources of that

period, such as *History of the Han* 漢書, mention three *Analects* versions circulating in the Western Han dynasty: (1) the so-called “Lu *Analects*” 魯論, a version in 20 chapters from an exegetical tradition in the ancient state of Lu 魯; (2) the so-called “Qi *Analects*” 齊論, a version in 22 chapters from an exegetical tradition in the ancient state of Qi 齊; and (3) the so-called “Ancient Script *Analects*” 古文論語, or “Ancient *Analects*” 古論 for short, a version in 21 chapters that was allegedly copied in the Warring States era and hidden in a wall of Confucius’ former mansion, where it was discovered in the Former Han dynasty (or so the story goes), by which time its script had become outdated (hence “ancient”).⁵² To which of these three versions are the two excavated manuscripts affiliated? Liu Laicheng suggests that the Dingzhou *Analects* is probably a copy of the Lu *Analects*.⁵³ Shan Chengbin concurs and provides further support for this claim.⁵⁴ Li Xueqin, however, notes the manuscript’s chapter division and considers the likelihood of a connection with the Qi *Analects* somewhat higher.⁵⁵ Sun Qinshan, on the other hand, suggests that it resembles the Ancient *Analects*.⁵⁶ The problem with these hypotheses, as Li Ruohui perceptively points out, is that all modern *Analects* editions are conflation.⁵⁷ Since no one has ever seen an actual Qi, Lu, or Ancient *Analects*, how are we to associate the excavated manuscripts to any one of these lineages? Accordingly, a growing number of scholars nowadays subscribe to the idea of the bamboo manuscripts as independent copies of the *Analects* that existed alongside the three main lineages, and may have been related in one way or another to one or more of those lineages, though the exact nature of the relationship can no longer be ascertained.⁵⁸ The differences between the two manuscripts and other versions of the *Analects* suggest that a discussion of a Han dynasty manuscript within the Lu/Qi/Ancient *Analects* framework is likely to be ineffective, and that excavated materials ought to be studied in their own right. To gain a better understanding of the two excavated manuscripts, I propose to study them from the perspective of three interrelated questions: when, where, and why were the *Analects* copied onto the bamboo strips?

3.1 When Were the Manuscripts Copied?

The inscribed bamboo strips were found in tombs dating from the mid-first century BCE, but how old were the two manuscripts when they were placed in their tombs? Let us start with

the Dingzhou *Analects*. Scholars nowadays chorus “early Han dynasty” 漢初 as the date of the manuscript.⁵⁹ In fact, this date is so firmly accepted in present-day *Analects* studies, that only one scholar felt the need to support it with evidence. In his study of taboo characters in the Dingzhou *Analects*, Chen Dong observes that the manuscript avoids mentioning the personal name of Liu Bang 劉邦 (r. 202–195 BCE), founder of the Han dynasty. There are over a dozen instances where the received text contains the word 邦 *bang* “state”, which is written as 國 *guo* “realm” in the bamboo manuscript.⁶⁰ Chen also notes that the manuscript does not avoid the personal names of later emperors. This leads him to conclude that the text was copied before the names of the later emperors were tabooed, in other words, before these men became emperors. Whether explicitly supporting Chen’s hypothesis or not, many scholars now maintain that the Dingzhou *Analects* dates from the very beginning of the Han dynasty. What does this date imply? How persuasive is the evidence?

One implication is that at the beginning of the Han dynasty, the *Analects* already existed as a text that closely resembles its current form. The vast majority of present-day *Analects* scholars will have no problem with this.⁶¹ They concur that the *Analects* was, as Tang Minggui puts it, “basically formed as a book within 100 years following the death of Confucius” 在孔子去世後 100 年之內已基本成書, which is long before the founding of the Han dynasty.⁶² The scholarly concord is perplexing, as is this date. Let us look at the basic facts. The two excavated manuscripts, the earliest representations of the *Analects* that we have, reveal that the text had by and large acquired its current form when the bamboo strips were placed in their respective tombs, around 50 BCE. To postulate that the *Analects* had already acquired this form a full three centuries earlier is quite a stretch, one which requires solid evidence. Surprisingly, claims that the *Analects* was created within a hundred years after Confucius’ death are scarcely ever supported by evidence, let alone evidence from archaeological finds. It seems to me that the bamboo may have added an air of ancientness and authenticity to the *Analects*, which reinforced preconceived notions about the text’s date. In actual fact, the excavated manuscripts in no way prove or even remotely hint at a date close to the passing of the Master. If, hypothetically, the *Analects* did exist that early, then given Confucius’ renown we would reasonably expect to find references to the *Analects*, or to the Master’s sayings contained therein, in texts reliably dated between the mid-fifth century BCE (when Confucius crossed the great divide) and the mid-first century BCE (when the two

tombs were closed). Scholars who have scrutinized those writings, such as Makeham and Hunter, astonishingly conclude that no pre-Han dynasty texts and few Western Han dynasty texts mention the *Analects* and that statements attributed to Confucius in pre-Han and Western Han texts differ markedly from those attributed to Confucius in the *Analects*. They therefore situate the formation of the *Analects* well into the Han dynasty, perhaps even as late as 140 BCE, even though it may consist in part of pre-Han dynasty material.⁶³

Another implication is that the manuscript was transmitted for a century and a half between its inception (around 200 BCE under Liu Bang) and its interment (around 50 BCE). This scenario, (implicitly) supported by many scholars in the field, leads to many other fascinating questions. Was it common practice in those days to hand down bamboo manuscripts over such an extensive period? What would be the underlying rationale? Did people have a penchant for antiques? Did they treasure their books and pass them onto their offspring as heirlooms? Would people actually read these antique books? Would it not have been more practical to create new copies from time to time? If the bamboo manuscript was indeed kept in the family of the King of Zhongshan for all this time, why then was it taken out of circulation by putting it in his tomb? And why did the manuscript not accompany an earlier holder into his grave? Such questions may not be answerable, but in my opinion they should at least be explicitly reflected upon when proposing an early Han date.

One possibility, proposed by Ho Yung-chin, is that the bamboo manuscript is a copy (of a copy of a copy) of an *Analects* version that dates from the foundational years of the Han dynasty. In other words, not the actual bamboo strips but the text on them was transmitted from the time of Liu Bang.⁶⁴ While tempting, this view is flawed. If the archetype of this *Analects* lineage was copied and recopied since the early Han dynasty, copyists faithfully observed the tabooed name of Liu Bang, but readily ignored taboos introduced after his reign, which essentially invalidates taboo observance as a criterion for dating texts.

The early Han dynasty date for the bamboo *Analects* manuscript rests solely on one piece of evidence: taboo observance. How persuasive is this? It is indeed clear that the scribe makes a conscious attempt to avoid the tabooed name of the dynasty's founder, but does that necessarily mean the manuscript, or its archetype, dates from his reign? It is also clear that the manuscript does not avoid the personal names of later emperors, but does that mean the manuscript could not have been copied during or after their reign? What if, for instance, the manuscript was copied in a time or place where taboos for emperors other than the dynasty's

founder were not strictly observed? Of course, this is mere speculation, but it does indicate that the taboo theory may not be watertight and that prudence is in order when applying the taboo criterion in the dating of texts. In this context, Lundahl aptly notes that taboo practices “differed not only between different dynasties, but even between different periods of a single dynasty.”⁶⁵ In his analysis of name tabooing in the Han dynasty, Adamek notes “many instances of not avoiding taboo in inscriptions and writings,” which can be explained, among others, “by a lax attitude toward tabooing at the time.”⁶⁶

In view of this ambiguity in taboo practices, I propose to approach the manuscript’s date from a different angle, namely by looking at the structural form of graphs. The structural form of Dingzhou *Analects* graphs can be seen on the tracings of bamboo fragments that were published with their transcription. Admittedly, the quantity and quality of the tracings and photographs may not be optimal, but let us see what the materials at hand tell us.

First, let us compare the handwriting of the Dingzhou *Analects* (Figure 2) to the handwriting of other manuscripts discovered in the same tomb (Figures 5–7). The Dingzhou research team published tracings of three other manuscripts: *Sayings of the Scholars*, *Wenzi*, and *Six Secret Teachings*. Here are some cutouts:

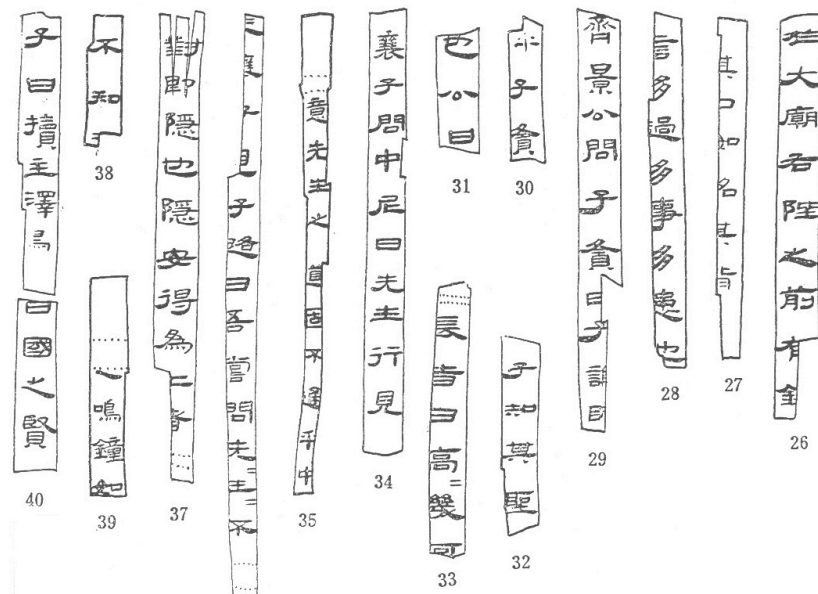


Figure 5: Select Tracings of *Sayings of the Scholars*⁶⁷

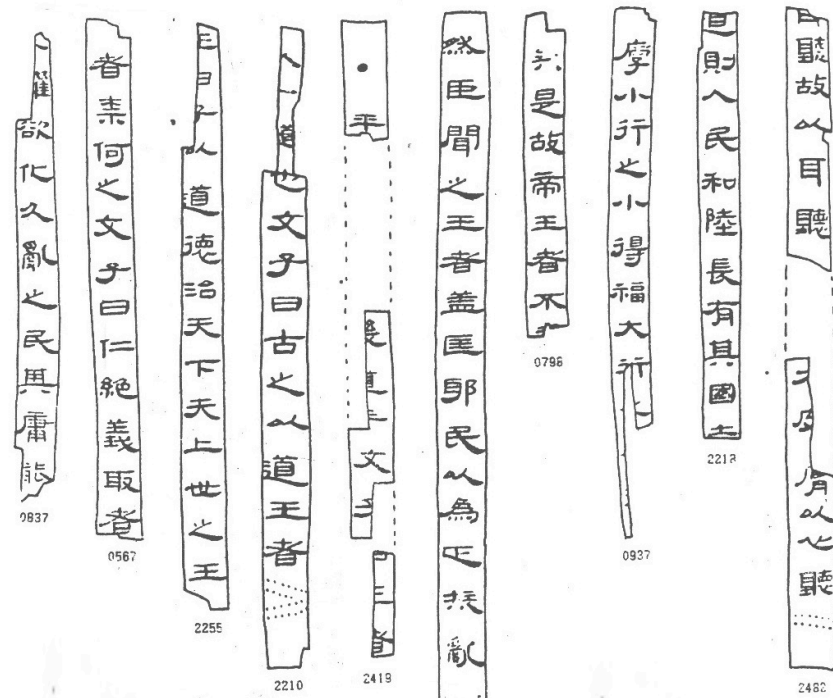


Figure 6: Select Tracings of *Wenzhi*⁶⁸

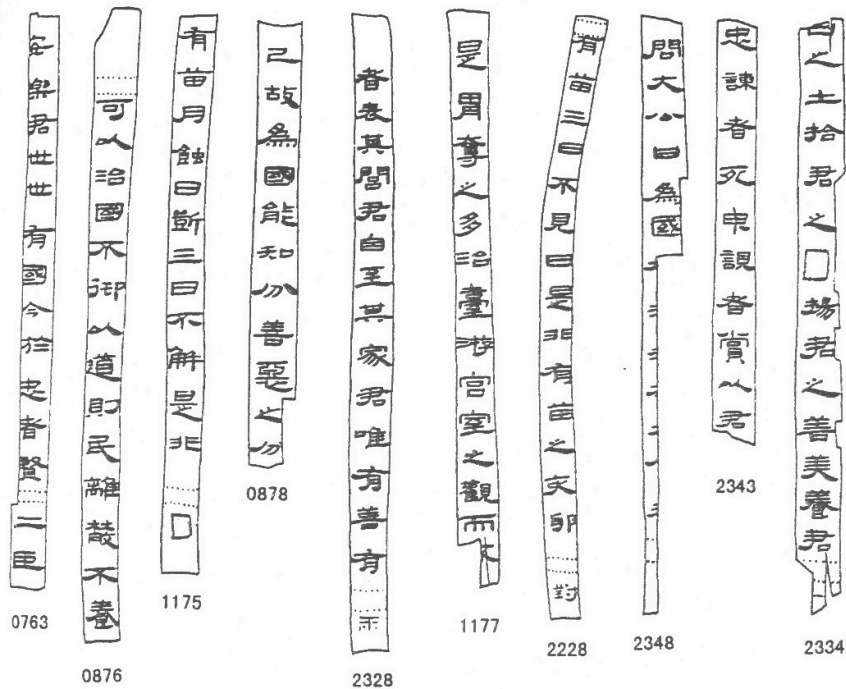


Figure 7: Select Tracings of *Six Secret Teachings*⁶⁹

The handwriting on all these manuscripts is remarkably similar. Still, a few differences can be observed. For instance, the graphs of the *Six Secret Teachings* appear to be slightly thicker than the graphs of the other manuscripts, which could be due to a thicker brush or more

pressure on the brush in the process of copying. If we zoom in, minute differences can be observed between individual graphs. For example:

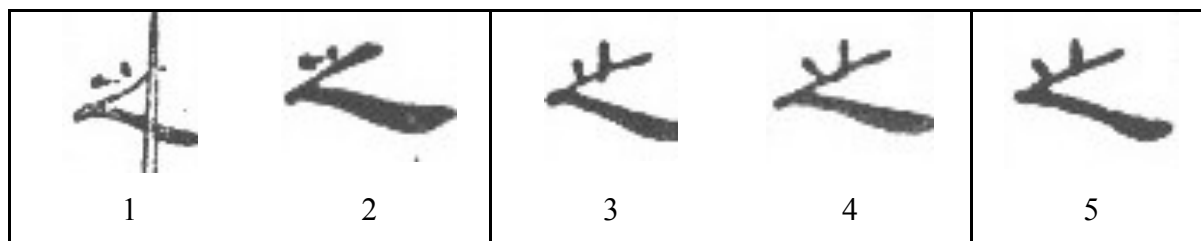


Figure 8: The graph 之 in Dingzhou manuscripts

In the manuscript *Sayings of the Scholars* (#1 and #2 in Figure 8), the upper-left stroke is a dot with a little horizontal “tail” to the right, where the brush was lifted from the bamboo. In the *Analects* (#3 and #4) and the *Wenzi* (#5) manuscripts, the upper-left stroke is written downwards. If the tracings are accurate and the small sample is representative, these subtle differences may reveal different hands at work. What is most striking about the tracings, however, is that, apart from minute differences, the handwriting on all tracings of Dingzhou strips is remarkably similar—especially when compared to other manuscripts.

If the Dingzhou *Analects* dates from the beginning of the Han dynasty, as is now commonly assumed, one would expect it to resemble other manuscripts from that period. Let us have a look at images and tracings of manuscripts that were placed in tombs in the first century of the Han dynasty. The manuscripts come from tombs located at:

- Mawangdui 馬王堆 (tomb date: 168 BCE)
- Fuyang 阜陽 (tomb date: 165 BCE)
- Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山 (tomb date: 156–141 BCE)
- Yinqueshan 銀雀山 (tomb date: 140–118 BCE)

There are major differences between manuscripts from these tombs and manuscripts from the Dingzhou tomb. Note, for instance, how 道 *dao* “the Way” is written in the various manuscripts:



Figure 9: The Graph 道 in Han Dynasty Manuscripts⁷⁰

In manuscripts from Mawangdui (#1), Fuyang (#2), and Yinqueshan (#3), the graph is written with two distinct elements: a 辵 *chuo* “go” component on the left and a 首 *shou* “head” component on the right. In the Dingzhou manuscripts (#4, #5), by contrast, the 辵 component is simplified to 辵 and occupies the left and bottom parts of the graph, with the 首 component resting on top of its final stroke. Here is another example:

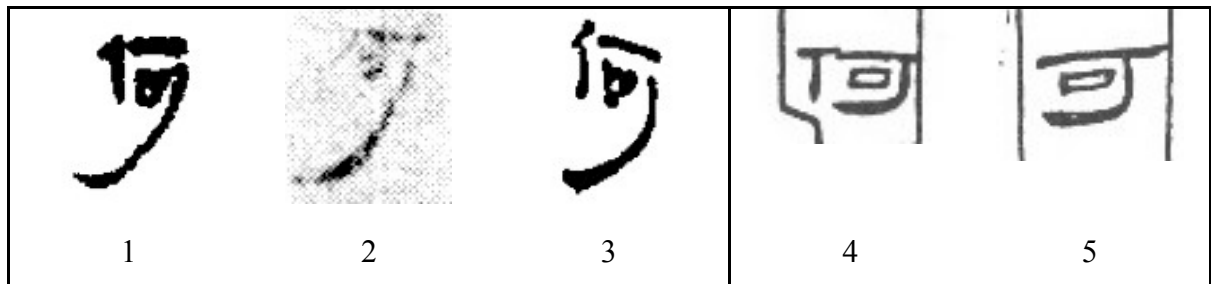


Figure 10: The Graphs 何 and 可 in Han Dynasty Manuscripts

In manuscripts from Mawangdui (#1), Fenghuangshan (#2), and Yinqueshan (#3), the graphs 何 *he* “what” and 可 *ke* “possible” are normally written with a long elongated final stroke that gradually curves from the upper right corner to the lower left corner. In all Dingzhou manuscripts (#4, #5), by contrast, the final stroke of these graphs is written with a sharp hook to the left. Of course, this may reflect regional variation, or scribal preference, but the Dingzhou manuscripts’ rectilinear style which demands the final stroke to bend to the left rather than to the bottom, more likely signals a development over time, and hence a later date.⁷¹

Now let us have a look at the P’yöngyang *Analects*, the manuscript that was placed in

a tomb in 45 BCE. On those bamboo strips, the graphs 何 *he* “what” and 可 *ke* “possible” are written as follows:



Figure 11: The graphs 何 and 可 in the P’yōngyang *Analects*

Regrettably, to date high-resolution photographs have not been made available. That said, even these blurry images make it clear that, much like with the Dingzhou handwriting, the final stroke ends horizontally to the left.

To be sure, these select comparisons are not ironclad proof. They do, however, highlight how similar the Dingzhou and P’yōngyang manuscripts are to each other, and how distinct they are from manuscripts dating from the first century of the Han dynasty. If the calligraphic style of the two *Analects* manuscripts is unlike any manuscript from the first century of the Han dynasty, scholars who argue that they were copied under Liu Bang would have to account for this discrepancy. In sum, while evidence is scarce, I would argue that, contrary to the prevailing sentiment in *Analects* studies, the two bamboo manuscripts date from the mid-first century BCE.

3.2 Where Were the Manuscripts Copied?

The two *Analects* manuscripts were discovered in tombs located in present-day Dingzhou and P’yōngyang, but that does not necessarily mean the texts were copied onto the bamboo strips at these locations. If we examine where the manuscripts could have been produced, the two most likely possibilities are at places that were either central (at the imperial court in Chang’an) or local (at the seats of power in Zhongshan and Lelang). There is something to be said in favor of both possibilities but none of the arguments are particularly persuasive.

In favor of a local manuscript production, one could point to the differences between

the two *Analects*, such as the different ways in which they ascribe quotations to “Master Kong” or “the Master”, as discussed earlier. A centralized reproduction would likely yield more homogeneous results, so a local reproduction could explain the heterogeneity. That said, the differences between the manuscripts could also be explained as temporal (copied in different periods) or even personal (preferences of different scribes).

In further favor of a local manuscript production, one could point to the fact that the tomb in P’yōngyang yielded a household register in addition to the *Analects*. The data for such a document must have been gathered in Lelang Commandery, and it would therefore be odd if the text were not composed at the local level. However, the argument that both the *Analects* and the household register were produced locally would only hold up if their manuscripts had similar physical features. This is not the case, if only because the household register was inked on wooden tablets, while the *Analects* was written on bamboo. The different writing materials could reflect different values attached to these documents, cheaper wood used for practical administrative documents and bamboo reserved for venerated canonical texts. Yet it could equally reflect different provenances, the wooden document produced locally and the bamboo document sent from elsewhere, perhaps from the capital city.

In favor of a central manuscript production, one could point to two documents found in the Dingzhou tomb that must have come from elsewhere. The first document, *Record of the King of Lu’an’s Visit to the Imperial Court*, is said to tell of the journey made by Liu Ding 劉定, King Miu of Lu’an 六安繆王 (r. 73–50 BCE), to Emperor Xuan’s court, undertaken in 56 BCE. In this travelogue, King Miu mentions the places he passed through and the distances between them, and describes the court activities he witnessed or participated in. One could imagine that King Miu sent copies of the travelogue to his peers for them to enjoy. One could also imagine that the document was copied in the capital city and distributed to all kings as a model for their dealings with the emperor (a sort of “Audiences with the Emperor for Dummies”). Regrettably, to date a transcription of the document has not yet been published, so its precise contents are unknown. The second document, also unpublished, is a memorial written by Xiao Wangzhi, the tutor of the imperial crown prince and a known transmitter of the *Analects*.⁷² Xiao was a senior scholar at the imperial court who spent most of his adult life in the capital city, and since his memorial was directed to the imperial throne, the document was in all likelihood drawn up in Chang’an and,

for whatever reason, taken to Zhongshan as a copy. If these two documents were sent to Zhongshan from the capital city, one could speculate as to whether the same might hold true for the *Analects*.

Given the lack of materials available to us, all we can do, unfortunately, is speculate. We have only a limited number of manuscripts from the Dingzhou and P'yöngyang tombs, and only two of them are *Analects*. Furthermore, what is true for the one manuscript need not necessarily be true for the other, as we saw in the case of the household register and the *Analects* of P'yöngyang. Even if the handwriting is strikingly similar, as is the case with the Dingzhou manuscripts, that still does not mean all manuscripts have the same provenance, for it could simply mean that the various scribes who copied the manuscripts were trained in the same place.⁷³

3.3 Why Were the Manuscripts Copied?

In his article on Confucius and the *Analects* in the Han dynasty, Csikszentmihályi mentions renewed interest in the canonical text in the 50s and 40s of the first century BCE.⁷⁴ This vogue, Csikszentmihályi explains, may have something to do with the shift that Loewe observed from a modernist to a reformist ideology, that is, from an expansionist and extravagant rule, to a more sober, humane, and inward-looking style of government.⁷⁵ The *Analects* provided the moral foundation for this new government, and was actively promoted for this purpose by emperors Xuan and Yuan.

In his article on the spread of Confucianism and Chinese script, Kim formulates it a little more strongly. He argues that the two documents discovered in the P'yöngyang tomb testify to the growing influence of a Chinese script-based bureaucracy and culture. The one document, the household register, uses formulaic expressions (such as “more than the previous year” 多前) that were also used in similar inventories of households and populations elsewhere in the Han empire, thus showing a standardized bureaucratic language throughout the empire.⁷⁶ The other document, the *Analects*, resembles the canonical text discovered in the Dingzhou tomb. Since both tombs are located far away from the Han dynasty capital city of Chang'an, Kim argues that the two *Analects* “should be understood in the milieu of Chinese rulers' heightened efforts to spread Confucianism throughout the

empire.”⁷⁷

It is a well-attested fact, Nylan shows, “that certain emperors, empresses, and ministers were anxious to promote Confucian values”, but that does not mean Confucianism existed as a well-defined, uniform state ideology.⁷⁸ It also does not necessarily mean, I would add, that copies of the *Analects* were distributed from Chang’an to be read as a vessel of that ideology. Two tomb manuscripts simply do not provide enough evidence for that. The limitations of the evidence obtained from the two tombs demand that we be cautious in our formulations. Yet it is probably safe to say that the two unearthed *Analects* copies bear witness to the renewed interest in the canonical text in the mid-first century BCE. The documents may have informed the political views of the occupants of the tombs, and hence played a part in their political life. Then again, the deceased may also have read the *Analects* for personal moral self-cultivation. They may have cherished the text for being part of the education they received in the early years of their lives or, since the *Analects* was in vogue at the time, placing a copy in the tomb may have simply showed that the tomb owner was *au courant* with his social echelon.

Conclusion

We are fortunate to have two Han dynasty *Analects* manuscripts at our disposal. They offer a fascinating glimpse into the manuscript culture of the Western Han dynasty, and they bear witness to the popularity of the *Analects* in that period. While the manuscripts provide valuable insights, the current state of the manuscripts, the shortcomings of official publications, and the limitations of the field of early Chinese manuscripts at large, force us to be careful in our analyses. Hence, this paper explores many different possibilities and offers more questions than positive conclusions. We can only hope that, as the study of early Chinese manuscripts advances and more high-quality publications of the two *Analects* manuscripts are published (with color photos and methodologically accurate transcriptions), we can come to more persuasive conclusions. Meanwhile, rather than building shaky hypotheses on scanty premises, it may be preferable to clearly delineate the boundaries of our present state of knowledge. While this may be somewhat disappointing, it is consonant with the views of Confucius, who is believed to have said “to recognize what you know as what

you know, and recognize what you do not know as what you do not know, this is true knowledge” 知之為知之，不知為不知，是知也。⁷⁹

Legend

List of symbols used in the transcription of the Dingzhou *Analects*.

- Represents an illegible graph on the bamboo strip. Rendered as {X} in the English translation.
- Represents a sequence of illegible graphs on the bamboo strip.
- Represents a black dot on the bamboo strip.
- [] Represents graphs on the bamboo strip that were transcribed onto notecards before the Tangshan earthquake, but have become illegible after the forces of nature destroyed the part of the bamboo strip on which they were written. These graphs now exist only on the notecards. The accuracy of their transcription can no longer be confirmed. For esthetic reasons, square brackets are omitted in the English translation.

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NOTES

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- 2 The Dingzhou *Analects* was discovered in 1973, but its transcription was not published until 1997. Since then, the bamboo manuscript has been mentioned in a dozen or so publications. Ames & Rosemont [1998: 271–277] in their *Analects* translation devote an appendix to the manuscript; Csikszentmihályi [2002: 146–147] discusses it in his book chapter on Confucius and the *Analects* in the Han dynasty; and Makeham [2003: 367–368] offers a brief description in his essay on the development of the early commentarial tradition on the *Analects*. Other scholars mention the Dingzhou *Analects* in passing, while translators note differences between the bamboo manuscript and the received text in their translations. Specialized studies focusing entirely on the Dingzhou *Analects* have appeared only in Chinese. For details, see the bibliography at the end of this paper and Tang [2007] for a helpful overview of Chinese post-Dingzhou *Analects* research. The P’yōngyang *Analects* was discovered in 1992. Since access to the manuscript was (and still remains) highly restricted, no academic study on it was published until 2009. The only relevant publications to date are by Yi, Yun, and Kim (see bibliography).
- 3 Van Els [2009: 916–919] reflects on the exact year of the king’s death and on the likelihood of Liu Xiu being the person buried in the Dingzhou tomb.
- 4 Hebei sheng bowuguan [1976] and Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1981] provide detailed information about the jade suit and the excavated grave goods.
- 5 Hebei sheng bowuguan [1976: 57].
- 6 Photograph by Paul van Els [2002].
- 7 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1995: 38–39] has a detailed report of the analysis of the bamboo strips.
- 8 Guojia wenwu ju et al. [1981a].
- 9 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1997a: 61].
- 10 Van Els [2009] provides more information about the Dingzhou tomb and its unfortunate fate.
- 11 Guojia wenwu ju et al. [1981a].
- 12 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1997a].
- 13 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1997b].
- 14 Boltz [1999: 596].
- 15 Boltz [1999: 597].
- 16 Richter [2003] and Xing [2005] discuss methodological issues concerning the transcription of excavated early Chinese manuscripts.
- 17 Sun [2007].
- 18 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1997a: 50].
- 19 Chen [2003: 8] explains that the number of graphs here refers exclusively to the first two sections of chapter 20 in the received text. The third section is often considered spurious. See also further on in this paper.
- 20 Chen [2003: 8] suspects that the bamboo strip actually mentions 23 sections, which the modern editors of the transcription mistakenly transcribed as 13.
- 21 This table is based on Chen [2003: 8]. The transcribed text of the Dingzhou *Analects*, here and elsewhere in this paper, corresponds to Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1997b]. For a list of symbols used in the transcription of the Dingzhou *Analects*, see the legend at the end of this paper.
- 22 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1997a: 49].
- 23 Translations by Lau [1979: 105].
- 24 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1997a: 59].
- 25 Csikszentmihályi [2002: 147, 157] also makes this point.
- 26 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1997a: 59–60].
- 27 Ma [2010]. For an equally meticulous analysis of the variants, see Xu [2006].
- 28 Galambos [2006] describes this process.
- 29 Ma [2010: 70].
- 30 Ma [2010: 73ff].

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- 31 Compare: 曰 *g^wat vs. 由 *lu or 君 *C.qur vs. 居 *ka. Old Chinese reconstructions, marked by an asterisk, are by Baxter & Sagart [2011].
- 32 Zhao [2005: 176].
- 33 Cf. the translation by Lau [1979: 86].
- 34 With reference to this very passage in the *Analects*, the *Grand Dictionary of Chinese Characters* 漢語大字典 explicitly states that 我 wo “I, my, we, our” can be used to express intimacy.
- 35 Weingarten [2009: 37–48].
- 36 Yang [2003], Liang [2005], Weingarten [2009].
- 37 Kim [2011: 61–63].
- 38 Yi, Yun, Kim [2011: 163].
- 39 Yi, Yun, Kim [2009].
- 40 Yi, Yun, Kim [2010, 2011].
- 41 Kim [2011].
- 42 Shan [2011].
- 43 Yi, Yun, Kim [2009: 131].
- 44 Yi, Yun, Kim [2009: 131].
- 45 Yi, Yun, Kim [2011: 171].
- 46 Yi, Yun, Kim [2011: 170].
- 47 Yi, Yun, Kim [2011: 168].
- 48 Yi, Yun, Kim [2011: 168].
- 49 See Richter [2011] on the influence of book format on text structure.
- 50 Yi, Yun, Kim [2011: 177].
- 51 Yi, Yun, Kim [2011]; Shan [2011].
- 52 Makeham [2003: 363–377] offers a detailed description of these *Analects*.
- 53 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1997a: 61].
- 54 Shan [2002: 124].
- 55 Li [2001: 422].
- 56 Sun [1998: 4].
- 57 Li [2006: 20].
- 58 These scholars include Chen [2003], Li [2006], Tang [2007], and Ma [2010]. In a similar vein, Makeham [2003: 368] suggests it may be a hybrid text.
- 59 These scholars include Chen [2003], Tang [2007], Zheng [2007], and Ma [2010].
- 60 Chen [2003]. In fact, the graph 邦 *bang* “state” is mentioned only once on the surviving bamboo fragments. Chen explains this single occurrence as a mistake by the modern editors of the transcription.
- 61 There are, as usual, scholars with alternative views, such as Zhao [1961] and Zhu [1986].
- 62 Tang [2007: 50]. In his critical overview of various contemporary Chinese perspectives on the composition and date of the *Analects*, Makeham [2011] discusses the gradual development of a Chinese hypothesis about a large proto-*Analects* corpus, compiled by Confucius’ disciples.
- 63 Makeham [1996]; Hunter [2011].
- 64 Ho [2007: ii].
- 65 Lundahl [1994: 181].
- 66 Adamek [2012: 131].
- 67 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1981: 7].
- 68 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1995: 28].
- 69 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [2001: 79].
- 70 Graphs from Mawangdui, Fuyang, Fenghuangshan, and Yinqueshan are taken from Chen et al. [2001], Hu & Han [1988], Jilin daxue etc [1976], and Pian [2001], respectively. Dingzhou graphs are taken from the tracings provided with the transcriptions of the various manuscripts.
- 71 My use of the word “style” is based on Richter’s [2006] typology of handwriting, which distinguishes three levels: types, styles, and hands. Style, the middle level, refers to the fashion in which a certain type of script is executed. In Richter’s understanding, a style can be typical of a certain school of scribes or even of an entire region or period.
- 72 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo [1997a: 61]. See Loewe [2000: 606–608] for a biography of Xiao Wangzhi.
- 73 I thank Ken-ichi Takashima [personal communication] for this observation.
- 74 Csikszentmihályi [2002: 146].
- 75 Loewe [1986: 198].

76 Kim [2011: 63].

77 Kim [2011: 67].

78 Nylan [1999].

79 *Analects* 2.17. Translation based on Slingerland [2003: 13].