

A New Discovery of Ancient Chinese Bamboo Slips

—The Bamboo Books of the Chu Dynasty collected in the Shanghai Museum—

Lee Sung-Ryule (Research Fellow at Sungkyunkwan University)

I

For the past 30 years, there has arisen a new trend of worldwide studies on Ancient Chinese culture and thought. This new trend is indeed about excavated materials. In ancient China, they had a custom such that, when people died, they were buried with the articles they had used in order to commemorate the dead. And these articles included such literary material as bamboo slips, wood slips, silk books, etc. ‘The excavated material’ here is a general name for all the literature and, in particular, ‘*chujian*楚簡’ is an abbreviated word for the bamboo slips excavated in the Chu楚 area of the Warring States period.

When we examine the content of the material, we can see that it is very old.¹⁾ Modern studies of this material have only begun in the 20th century. Under this circumstance, the excavation (1994) and the announcement (1998) of ‘the bamboo slips from the tomb of the Chu Dynasty郭店楚墓竹簡’ (hereafter, *Guodianchujian*郭店楚簡) were a brilliant decoration for the late 20th Century, and the examination of the material provides a decisive opportunity to increase the understanding of the life and literature during the Chu Dynasty of the Warring States period. However, another artifact for the studies of bamboo slips has been recently discovered. It is called *Zhanguochuzhushu*戰國楚竹書 (hereafter, *Shangbochujian*上博楚簡) and is currently being filed in the Shanghai Museum. Also, some of the slips are published by the Shanghaiguji publishing company

1) In the *Yiwenzhi*芸文志 of the Han Dynasty, the oldest bibliographical book in China, it is recorded that a number of old works such as *Shangshu*尚書, *Liji*禮記, *Analects*論語, and *Xiaojing*孝經 written in old Chinese characters were found at the time of destroying Kongzi’s residence at the end of Wudi’s武帝 ruling (ruling period: 142 B.C.–87 B.C.) of Earlier Han前漢 (“武帝末, 魯共王壞孔子宅, 欲以廣其宮, 而得古文尚書及禮記·論語·孝經凡數十篇, 皆古字也”). Also, a copy of each of the lost works such as *Yi*易, *Li*禮, *Shangshu*尚書, etc. was discovered at the time of Xuandi宣帝 (ruling period: 73 B.C.–49 B.C.) of the Earlier Han (『論衡』正說篇), whereas tens carts of bamboo slips (this is called later on *Jizhongshu*汲冢書) were excavated from the old tomb of Jijun汲郡古墓 at the time of Wudi武帝 (ruling period: 265–289) of Western Jin西晉. The latter included *Zhushujinian*竹書紀年, *Mutianzizhuan*穆天子傳, etc. (This is according to the *Shuxizhuan*束皙傳 of the Jin Dynasty and the *Wenshizhuan*文士傳 quoted in the note by Yaliang雅量 in the *Shishuoxinyu*世說新語.) There are also other reports of the discovery of wood slips and bamboo slips in Southern Dynasties, Northern Zhou, Northern Song, and Southern Song. Among these, *Shangshu*尚書, *Liji*禮記, *Analects*論語, and *Xiaojing*孝經 written in old Chinese characters found in Kongzi’s residence and *Zhushujinian*竹書紀年, *Mutianzizhuan*穆天子傳, etc. excavated from the old tomb of Jijun汲郡古墓 provide important information for the studies of ancient Chinese thought, culture, and history.

under the title of *Shanghaibowuguanzangzhangguochuzhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書(一) (hereafter, *Shanghaiujiben* 上海古籍本). For this reason, the impression is that scholarly interest in the studies of bamboo slips is being transferred from *Guodianchujian* to *Shangbochujian*.

As noted, the *Guodianchujian* refers to about 800 bamboo slips with the old Chu scripts, that were discovered in Guodian county, Jingmen city, Hubei Sheng, China in 1993 in the process of excavating the first tomb of the Chu 楚 Dynasty at Guodian county (郭店1號楚墓) which was supposed to be constructed in the late Warring States period. This has become the core interest of numerous scholars in the field of ancient Chinese History of Thought, since it was reported in newspapers in 1994. This is one year after the discovery of the oldest version of *Lao-Zi* 老子 and some of the lost Confucian writings of the Warring States period. In May 1998, they were officially published by the Wenwu publishing company under the title of the *Guodianchumuzhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡. It has been vigorously studied since. However, even before it was exhaustively studied, other bamboo slips whose number was much more than that of *Guodianchujian* were discovered and some of which were published.

In this paper, I shall briefly introduce the *Shangbochujian* 上博楚簡 and point out some problems with the methodology used in the studies of the excavated material. In having done so, we shall come up with an appropriate method for the study of approximately two hundred thousand bamboo slips.²⁾

II

The discovery of the *Shangbochujian* was peculiar. In general, excavated articles are discovered with other burial accessories in the process of grave robbery or of construction on a large scale. However, in the case of the *Shangbochujian* it was discovered in an antique market in Hong Kong. The first discoverer is known to be Professor Zhang Guang-Yu 張光裕 who currently teaches as a faculty member of Chinese Literature at Xianggangzhongwen College. The detailed story about this discovery can be found in Ma Cheng-Yuan's 馬承源 introduction to the *Shanghaiujiben* 上海古籍本, 'Introduction: The protection and arrangement of the bamboo books in the Chu Dynasty of the Warring States period (前言: 戰國楚竹書的發現保護和整理)'.

In his Introduction, Ma Cheng-Yuan, the former curator of the Shanghai Museum, writes about the discovery of the *Shangbochujian* in chronological order. This can be summarized as follows. In the Spring of 1994, he first heard from Professor Zhang Guang-Yu about the existence of the 1,200 bamboo slips sold and bought in the antique

2) According to the report by the *Wenhui* 文匯報 (July 15th, 2002), about 20,000 bamboo slips with daily necessities buried in the Qin period were discovered at Liye 里耶 of Longshanxian 龍山縣 in Hunan 湖南省, on the border between Hunan 湖南省 and Sichuan 四川省. The buried material seems to be continuously excavated, but the studies of it are not sufficient yet. It is thus required to study it systematically and, also, to discuss how to study it.

market in Hong Kong and purchased them in a hurry. In the Autumn and Winter of the same year, the existence of 497 bamboo slips whose features and states were the same as those discovered in the Spring was again reported. This time, those who are acquainted with the Shanghai Museum donated them. In 1995, after the basic filming of them, the Museum asked Professor Li Ling李零 of Beijing University to classify, and comment on, them several times. In 1997, all the slips were dehydrated and decolorized. In October 1998, the experts in China were invited to the conference for the appraisal, i.e. 嚴重朽蝕飽水竹簡的真空冷凍乾燥研究. In the Summer of 1997, small groups were organized to take part in classifying, and commenting on, the content and characters of the *Shangbochujian*; from this point on, the classification, and comment on, the content of the bamboo slips has officially begun. In October 2000, Ma Cheng-Yuan presented a paper on the *Kongzi-shilun*孔子詩論 in the International Conference for the newly excavated Bamboo Slips新出土簡帛國際學術研討會 held at Beijing University.³⁾ In November 2000, it was published under the title of *Shanghaibowuguanzang-zhanguochuzhushu*上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書(一).

The discovery and publication of the *Shangbochujian* occurred roughly as illustrated above. As can be conjectured, we do not know where and when the *shangbochujian* was excavated. It is only said to have been excavated in the area of Hubei湖北. This is a serious obstacle to estimating when the *Shangbochujian* was transcribed. According to the introduction前言, the examination of a sample of the *Shangbochujian* through scientific methods shows that it was transcribed in the late Warring States period戰國晚期.⁴⁾ Moreover, among the *Shangbochujian* there are the bamboo slips containing part of two *fus*賦 (odes). And, since Xun-zi's荀子 *fupian*賦篇 and Qu-Yuan's屈原 *lisaipian* were mostly written in the late Warring States period戰國晚期, the ode of the *Shangbochujian* must belong to this period, too. Thus, considering these facts and a comparison of it with the *Guodianchujian*, it is concluded that the *fu*賦 of the *Shangbochujian* is an article buried before Chu楚 transferred its capital 'Ying郢'. However, it is not possible to know exactly when is the late Warring States period. 'Before Chu楚 transferred its capital' is perhaps 278 B.C. which is recorded in Si Ma-Qian's司馬遷 *Shiji*史記. However, since the date of the *Guodianchujian* is still uncertain⁵⁾ and the result of the scientific examination has not come out, we are not ready to determine the date of the *Shangbochujian*.

III

3) About the details of this symposium, see 池田知久・近藤浩之, 『中國、北京大學で開催された「新出土簡帛國際學術研討會」』, 『東方學』101, January 2001.

4) According to the 'introduction前言', this conclusion is based on an examination by the Shanghai Museum, 上海博物館竹簡樣品的測量證明, and annual reports at Chinese Science Institute, 中國科學院 上海原子核所).

5) As for the problems concerning the date of the *Guodianchujian*, see the preface to my PhD thesis 『郭店楚墓竹簡の儒家思想研究—郭店楚簡研究序論—』, 東京大学, February 2001.

According to the preface序 and the introduction to the *Shanghaijiben*上海古籍本, the number of the *Shangbochujian* discovered this time is 1,200 slips and the total number of characters is 30,000. The writings are mostly by the Confucian School and partly by the Taoist School, the Yin Yang School, etc. And philosophy, literature, history, religion, military, education, politics, music, calligraphy, etc are included in them. Since the slips are still being filed, we are not sure about the number of works that can be classified into the same volume; it is conjectured that they may be classified into 100 volumes⁶⁾ and, among them, those that can be compared with the extant material are only less than 10 volumes. We can see the difficulty with the classification of the bamboo slips from the fact that, since the characters on the slips are too small to see with bare eyes, they purchased the super-digital electron microscope and confirmed the characters one by one.

Among the 100 volumes, three of them are known to public, i.e. *Kongzi-shilun*孔子詩論, *A-yi*衣, and *Xingqinglun*性情論. We can easily see that the *Shanghaijiben*上海古籍本 was structured for the reader's convenience in many respects. It is composed of *tuban*圖版 and *shiwenkaoshi*釋文考釋. The *tuban* is composed of enlarged photos of some of the original bamboo slips and one of the whole bamboo slip. It is very rare to publish enlarged photos of bamboo slips; but, in this case, even color photos are enclosed so that one can see the details of transcription. Furthermore, the notes釋文 are written beside the photos for the reader's convenience. Such a careful consideration for the reader can be also found in the *shiwenkaoshi*. Each and every bamboo slip for the three volumes is arranged altogether with photos and notes, and so one need not go back and forth to compare the related photos and notes. In particular, in the case of *A-yi*, and *Xingqinglun*, there is an appendix for each of them called *Shangbojian-Ayi-yu-Guodianjianzixing-duizhaobiao*上博簡《A衣》與郭店簡字形對照表 and *Shangbojian-xingqinglun-yu-Guodianjianzixing-duizhaobiao*上博簡《性情論》與郭店簡字形對照表, and so one can easily compare the similarity and the difference between the two.

In general, the excavated material is classified into the three types in relation to the extant literary material. ① There are extant texts whose content is the same as that of the excavated material, though there is a difference between the two. And the excavated material is one of the oldest text. ② There are no extant texts whose content is the same as that of the excavated material. But the excavated material can be compared with a text listed in the oldest bibliographical book, the *Yiwenzhi*藝文志 of the Han Dynasty. ③ There are no extant texts whose content is the same as that of the

6) Xing Wen in *Jianboshidai: huhuanxinshijidedashi*簡帛時代: 呼喚新世紀的大師 (國際簡帛研究通訊, 第1期, October 1999) said that the *Shangbochujian*上博楚簡 includes about titles such as *Yijing*易經, *Shilun*詩論, *Ziyi*緇衣, *Zigao*子羔, *Kongzi-xianju*孔子閑居, *Pengzu*彭祖, *Yaoli*堯禮, *Zengzi*曾子, *Wuwangjianzuo*武王踐阼, *Fu*賦, *Zilu*子路, *Hengxian*恒先, *Caomozhichen*曹沫之陳, *Fuzidashiliuwen*夫子答史留問, *Sidierwang*四帝二王, *Zengzilixiao*曾子立孝, *Yanyuan*顏淵, *Yaoshu*堯書, *Boshu*卜書, etc.

excavated material. And the excavated material cannot be compared with any text listed in the oldest bibliographical book.

In the case of ①, one can make a textual criticism of the same extant works or explains the process of their writings through the study of the excavated works such as *Zhouyi*周易, *Shijing*詩經, *Liji*禮記, *Lao-Zi*老子, etc.

In the case of ②, one can review many ancient writings which were said to exist, but which are not extant, and restore many aspects of ancient cultures such as philosophy, history, religion, language, literature, etc. through the study of the excavated works such as *Ningyue*寧越, *Huangdineijing*黃帝四經, *Sunbinbingfa*孫臏兵法, etc.

In the case of ③, one can bring attention to those which are not extant and whose existence was not considered at all through the study of the excavated works such as *Wushing*五行, *Wushierbingfang*五十二病方, and *Guizang*歸藏.⁷⁾

The *Kongzi-shilun* and the *Xingqinglun* belong to the case of ③, whereas *A-yi* belongs to the case of ①. To sum up, the studies of the excavated material is an absolutely necessary field to be studied closely in understanding Chinese ancient thoughts and cultures. The following is a brief introduction to the content of the three volumes.

(1) *Kongzi-shilun*孔子詩論

The *Kongzi-shilun* does not have any original title. The title is an arbitrary one given by the Shanghai Museum. According to the ‘explanation說明’ of the *Shanghaiujiben*, this volume is composed of 29 bamboo slips including damaged ones. Among them, there is only one relatively complete bamboo slip and the rest are damaged. Even the relatively complete bamboo slip has three holes on the right side and, moreover, there is also a sign of stitches. There is a difference in the number of characters in each bamboo slip, between 54 and 57 characters; and the total number of the characters is 1,006. The length of the relatively complete bamboo slip is 55.5cm, five of them are over 50cm, and eight of them are over 40cm. Both sides of the bamboo slip are rounded.

The content of the volume is roughly divided into the four types. The first type consists of bamboo slips that have an empty space on the upside of the first one and on the downside of the third one. Since it is very peculiar that there is an empty space either on the upside or the downside, they are distinguished from other bamboo slips. These slips are not specifically about poetry詩, but explains *song*訟, *daixia*大夏(雅), *shaoxia*少(小)夏(雅), *bangfeng*邦風 (now, *guofeng*國風), etc.

The second type discusses the verses of poetry in each volume, once or more. The method of arrangement in the *Kongzi-shilun* is different from that in the *Moashi*毛詩. But the bamboo slip containing *song*訟 does not contain *daixia*, *shaoxia*少, etc.

7) See 池田知久, 『馬王堆漢墓帛書五行篇研究』, 汲古書院, 1993, pp. 1-3 and 池田・近藤, *op. cit.* p. 167.

The third type consists of those that belong to *bangfeng*.

The fourth type consists of those which have both the content of *bangfeng* and *daixia* or *bangfeng* and *shaoxia*.

The first type is a preface to poetry. The first bamboo slip is badly damaged. And the second bamboo slip briefly discusses in turn *song*, *daixia*, *shaoxia*, and *bangfeng*. This shows that the name of each part of poetry existed already in the Warring States period and that the method of arrangement of each part of the *Maoshi* 毛詩 was different. The filer of the Shanghai Museum arranges the 29 bamboo slips of the *Kongzi-shilun* in accordance with the method of arrangement of poetry 詩 in the first type.

One more thing to be noted is that, according to the appendix (附一: 竹書本與今本詩篇名對照表) of the *Shanghaigujiben*, there appears seven titles which were not mentioned in the *Maoshi*. Of course, we need more substantial ground for claiming that they are the titles of *shi* 詩. At any rate, its significance is that there existed in the Chu Dynasty the poetry 詩 of a different structure from that in the *Maoshi*.

As mentioned, many of the bamboo slips of the *Kongzi-shilun* are damaged and the *Kongzi-shilun* begins with “行此者, 丌(其)又(有)不王B(乎), C”. Thus, it can be easily assumed that the 29 bamboo slips did not originally compose a complete volume. Moreover, there is no extant literature that can be compared with the content of the *Kongzi-shilun* and so there is a possibility that the bamboo slips are not correctly arranged. Indeed, due to the damage or loss of the bamboo slips, the story is not smoothly read. Thus we cannot rule out the possibility that the 29 bamboo slips did not originally compose a single volume, but many.

For reference, since, according to the *Shanghaigujiben*, the shapes of characters, the length of bamboo slips, and the shapes of both sides in the case of the *Kongzi-shilun*, the *Zigao* 子羔, and the *Lubangdaihan* 魯邦大旱 are identical, they can possibly be arranged in the same volume. However, since the *Zigao* 子羔 includes the questions and answers about *sanwangzhezhi* 三王者之乍(作) between Zigao and Kongzi 孔子, whereas the *Lubangdaihan* includes Kongzi's discussion of the serious drought in the Lu Dynasty and the ruler's punishment and virtue, they are surely different from the *Kongzi-shilun* which only discusses poetry.

(2) *A-yi* A衣

This volume, like the *Kongzi-shilun*, does not have the original title, either. The ‘explanation 說明’ of the *Shanghaigujiben* shows that the origin of the title was because of the feature of ‘A衣’ in the first bamboo slip.

There is a section of the *Liji* 禮記 called *Ziyi* 緇衣篇. And a number of bamboo slips that contain the content similar to it discovered at the first tomb of the Chu 楚 Dynasty at Guodian county (郭店1號楚墓) in 1993 surprised the scholarly world and they are now being actively studied.⁸⁾ In the meanwhile, other bamboo slips contain content similar to

the *Ziyi* section. The name of the bamboo slips of the *Guodianchujian* is called *Ziyi* 緇衣 on the basis that there are *Ziyi* 茲衣 characters on the first bamboo slip and that the whole content is similar to that of the extant *Ziyi* section. Thus, there is a difference in the characters, i.e. 茲 and A, between the *Guodianchujian* and the *Shangbochujian*. However, this is not a serious problem. Viewing the two characters from the perspective of the studies on ancient calligraphy, the sounds of *zi* 茲 (*jingmuzhibu* 精母之部) and *zi* 緇 (*zhuangmuzhibu* 莊母之部) are identical and so the adoption of one for the other is possible. Also, in the *Shuowenxiejie* 說文解字, Duan Yu-Cai notes that ‘A’ is an old way of writing ‘*zi* 緇’.⁹⁾ At any rate, it is a remarkable fact that the discovery of two kinds of material which can be compared with the extant of the *Ziyi* section. Hereafter, the *Ziyi* 緇衣 of the *Guodianchujian* will be called *Ziyi* 緇衣 and the A-yi of the *Shangbochujian* A-yi.

According to the ‘explanation’ of the *Shanghaiyujiben*, among the 1,200 bamboo slips that are being filed in the Shanghai Museum, 24 of them belong to A-yi 衣 and there are 978 characters, ten of which are duplicated and eight of which are united. There are only eight of the 24 bamboo slips which are well preserved. Their length is about 54.3cm and their width is about 0.7cm. Considering that the length of the *Ziyi* of the *Guodianchujian* is 32.5cm, they are about 20cm longer. Thus, the reason that, despite the fact that the number of the *Ziyi* of the *Guodianchujian* is 47, the total number of characters in the two cases is more or less the same, except for lost words, is due to the length of bamboo slips. In the case of A-yi, relatively complete bamboo slips have three holes on the right side and a sign of stitching, as in the case of the *Kongzi-shilun*. The length between the top and the first hole, and the bottom and the third hole, is 9cm, and that between the first hole to the second, and the second to the third is 18.1cm. Both sides of the bamboo slips have a trapezoidal shape which is identical with the *Ziyi* of the *Guodianchujian*. The greatest number of characters on a bamboo slip is 57.

It seems that there is no problem with regarding the A-yi and the *Ziyi* as the same literature. Although there is a difference in the number of characters (the *Ziyi* has 1156 characters, whereas the A-yi has 978 characters), it can be ignored since there are many lost words in the case of the *Guodianchujian*. However, their structure and content are very different from those of the extant *Ziyi* section. We can summarize the similarities between the two types of bamboo slips, and their difference from the extant *Ziyi* section as follows:

Firstly, both types are composed of 23 chapters in total. Except for invisible parts due to the damage on the bamboo slip, both of the types show signs of divided chapters at

8) I have previously co-commented on this. See 『郭店楚墓竹簡『緇衣』譯註』(上)·(下), 池田知久監修, 『郭店楚簡の思想史的研究』第三・四卷, 『古典學の再構築』東京大學郭店楚簡研究會編, 東京大學文學部中國思想文化學研究室, January and June 2000. This will be corrected and printed in 『郭店楚簡儒教研究』(汲古書院, forthcoming).

9) 古文緇字, 或作糸旁才。

the end of each chapter and then begin with the phrase of ‘Ziyue子曰.’ Thus, the original transcriber appears to regard the part beginning with the phrase as the starting point of each chapter; it appears 23 times. Therefore, we can conclude that both types are composed of 23 chapters and, moreover, this conclusion is affirmed by the phrase of ‘二十又(有)三’ on the last bamboo slip of the *Guodianchujian*. Although we cannot see this phrase in the case of the *Shangbochujian*, the top and the bottom of the last bamboo slip were cut off and we cannot say for sure that there was no such phrase on it. On the contrary, in the extant *Ziyi* section we can see the chapters begging with the phrase of ‘Ziyue子曰 (or Ziyanzhiyue子言之曰)’ 25 times.

Secondly, the first, sixteenth, and eighteenth chapters of the extant *Ziyi* section cannot be found in the *Ziyi* and, also, there are no such chapters in the *A-yi*, either. This proves that the three chapters are newly inserted later on. Considering that the total number of the characters in the extant *Ziyi* section is 1549, there are other inserted phrases except for the three chapters.

Thirdly, the structuring orders of each chapter in both types are identical, but the extant section is clearly different.¹⁰ As for the structuring order of each chapter, the bamboo slips are more logical than the extant work.

Fourthly, the method of quotation from poetry詩 or book書 is the same in both types of bamboo slips, but different in the case of the extant work. For example, there is a quotation from the *Luxing* in the 13th chapter of both types; it is recorded as “D(播)E(刑)之迪” in the *Ziyi* and “F(播)G(刑)之由(迪)” in the *A-yi*, but “播刑之不迪” in the extant work. This is once again affirmed by the fact that Zheng Xuan’s鄭玄 comment on the word ‘bu不’ in front of ‘di迪’ that “不，衍字耳” also appears in the *A-yi*.

Fifthly, we can take the first chapter of the two types of bamboo slips and the second chapter of the extant *Ziyi* section as an example to show their difference as follows:

① 夫子曰，好H(美)女(如)好茲(緇)衣，亞(惡)亞(惡)女(如)亞(惡)I(巷)白(伯)，則民J
 <咸> K(服?)，而L(刑)不屯(蠹)。M(詩)N(云)，O(儀)L(刑)文王，萬邦乍(作)孚。■
 (郭店楚簡『緇衣』)

② 子曰，P(好)Q(美)女(如)P(好)A(緇)衣，亞(惡)亞(惡)女(如)亞(惡)R(巷)白(伯)，則民S
 <咸> T(服?)，而G(刑)不U(蠹)。V(詩)W(云)，X(儀)G(刑)文王，Y(萬)邦Z(作)a(服?)。■
 (上博楚簡『A衣』)

③ 子曰，好賢如緇衣，惡惡如巷伯，則爵不瀆，而民作愿，刑不試，而民咸服。大雅曰，儀
 刑文王，萬國作孚。

10) Cf. Wang Jin-ling, 『《禮記·緇衣》今本與郭店、上博楚簡比論』(清華大學思想文化研究所·輔仁大學文學院聯合主辦，廖名春編，『新出楚簡與儒學思想國際學術研討會論文集(續)』，清華大學，(March 31~April 2, 2002)，『二 今本與郭店簡、上博簡<緇衣>章次對照表』，p. 57.

As seen from the above sentences, ① and ② are almost identical except for some characters. On the contrary, ③ is clearly different from ① or ②. The obvious difference is that the characters 'haomei好美' in ① and ② are replaced with 'haoxian好賢' in ③. Also, there is the new phrase of “爵不瀆，而民作愿” in ③ which cannot be found both in ① and ②. In the case of 'haomei好美,' the characters are contrasted with 'wuwu惡惡' in ① and ②. And it was, of course, quite general to contrast 'mei美' with 'wu惡' in the pre-Qin period先秦時代. Thus, the replacement of 'mei' with 'xian賢' does not look natural. However, what is more important is the ideology contained in the two cases. In the case of 'haomei' and 'wuwu,' 'meiwu美惡' signifies the good and the bad of things, and ethical or moral value is dealt with as a central matter. On the contrary, in the case of 'haoxian' and 'wuwu,' 'xian賢' means a sage賢者 and so, naturally, 'wu' means an ordinary man. In consequence, the subject matter is about the liking or disliking of a sage or an ordinary man. Of course, this does not mean that the usage in ① and ② is closer to the original making them right and ③ is wrong.

The studies of the *Ziyi* in the bamboo slips turns to a new phase thanks to the discovery of the *Shangbochujian*. In particular, the *Shangbochujian* helps to read the phrases and characters which were regarded as unreadable and to reinterpret them. Moreover, the discovery of literary material that is nearly identical with the *Ziyi* of the *Guodianchujian* helps to restore the *Ziyi* to its original form as it was read in the Warring States period. Also, we can perhaps give an answer to the question of how or through what processes it was included in the first chapter of the *Liji*禮記.

(3) *Xingqinglun*性情論

The *Xingqinglun* of the *Shangbochujian* (hereafter, *Xingqinglun*) is a lost Confucian work written in the pre-Qin period. A literature similar to it is the *Xingzimingchu*性自命出 of the *Guodianchujian* (hereafter, *Xingzimingchu*). None of the *Xingzimingchu* and the *Xingqinglun* are their original titles. The title '*Xingzimingchu*' originates from '*Shengzimingchu*書(性)自命出' on the second bamboo slip. In the case of *Xingqinglun*, there is a similar phrase, but, unfortunately, the upper side of 'zi自' is cut off and so there is no way to determine whether there was the character of '*sheng*書(性)'. Perhaps, for this reason and following the representative concept of '*xing*性' and '*qing*情,' they are so entitled.

According to other sources, there were six theories of nature性 in the pre-Qin period先秦時代: ① The section of the Yanghuo陽貨篇 of the *Analects*論語 containing the clause that 'the Master said that by nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart (子曰，性相近也，習相遠也),' ② Gaozi's告子 theory that 'Nature has neither goodness nor non-goodness (性無善無不善說 or 性無記說),' ③ somebody's theory that 'Nature has goodness and non-goodness (性有善不善說)'. According to the section

of the Benxing 本性篇 of the *Analecs*, Shinshuo 世碩 in the Warring States period or Kongzi's disciples such as Mi Zi-Jian 宓子賤, Qi Diao-Kai 漆雕開, Gongsun Ni-Zi 公孫尼子 etc. maintained this theory, ④ somebody's theory that 'Nature has both goodness and non-goodness (性有善有不善說),' (②, ③, and ④ are based on the Section of the Gaozi (Part I) of the *Mencius* 孟子), ⑤ Mencius's theory of the goodness of human nature (性善說), and ⑥ Xunzi's 荀子 theory of the badness of human nature (性惡說). In addition to these, the discovery of the *Xingzimingchu* and the *Xingqinglun* enabled us to know that the discussion of human nature in the pre-Qin period, in particular, in the Warring States period was significantly more profound and varying than we previously thought.

According to the 'explanation' of the *Shanghaigujiben*, the total number of characters in the *Xingqinglun* is 1,256, 13 of which are duplicated and 2 of which are united. Those that can be arranged according to the context are 40 bamboo slips, whereas those that cannot be arranged or read because of the damage are 5 bamboo slips. And the third and the fourth bamboo slip of the *Xingqinglun*, on which there might have been 38 characters are missing. There are seven relatively complete bamboo slips including the 1st (41 characters), the 8th (32), the 9th (31), the 10th (31), the 20th (33), the 24th (34), and the 28th (34). The length of the bamboo slips is about 57cm (the length of the *Xingzimingchu* is 32.5cm) being the longest one of those which were purchased in Hong Kong.

There is no substantial difference of the sentences or content between the *Xingzimingchu* and the *Xingqinglun*. The greatest difference is in their method of dividing chapters. Firstly, from the 1st to the 20th, from the 23rd to the 26th, and from the 30th to the 40th of the *Xingqinglun* are sections identical with those of the *Xingzimingchu*. However, on the 21st bamboo slip between 'ye 也' and 'fan 凡' where there is a *mojie* 墨節 (i.e. a black square sign which shows the division of chapters and sections), the order of sentences is completely different from the *Xingzimingchu*. This means that the order of the *Xingzimingchu* must be rearranged in accordance with the order of the *Xingqinglun*. In addition, the 27th and the 29th of the *Xingqinglun* also have a different order of sentences. Moreover, it is sometimes the case that the sentences that do not appear in the *Xingqinglun* can be found in the *Xingzimingchu* (the 27th and the 28th bamboo slip) or vice versa (the 22th bamboo slip). We cannot say for sure because of the damage on the bamboo slips, but it seems that there were at least two different versions of the same work in the Warring States period. Thus, we might conclude that the *Xingzimingchu* and the *Xingqinglun* were not written in such a stable period as the *Ziyi* and the *A-yi*.

Despite their difference, the two types of bamboo slips are compensatory for each other. For example, it was once assumed that there was a lost character under 'shanbu 善不' on the damaged bottom of the 4th bamboo slip of the *Xingzimingchu*. There were two claims concerning what character(s) should be added. One adds 'shanxingye 善性也' to it and should be read as "shanbushan xingye (善不善, 性也),"¹¹ and the other adds

‘shanyiye善義也’ and should be read as “shanbushan yiye (善不善, 義也)”.¹²⁾ And the discovery of the *Xingqinglun* confirmed that the lost character in the middle is not ‘yi 義,’ but ‘sheng 膏(性).’ Thus, whether the lost character is ‘yi,’ or *xing* is not only a matter of the difference in characters, but also a matter that determine the direction of the idea in the whole work.

IV

We have briefly seen three volumes among the *Shangbochujian* 上博楚簡 which is still in the process of classification. It is needless to discuss their significance, in particular, that of the *Kongzi-shilun* whose existence is known, on the discovery of the different versions of works such as the *A-Yi* and the *Xingqinglun* which have identical or similar content. This shows that they were significant to contemporary scholars for whatever reason and which cannot be proved by anything other than the excavated material.

Finally, I would like to point out some problems with the methodology of studying bamboo slips in the case of the *Guodianchujian* 郭店楚簡.

‘One man and one opinion; ten men and ten opinions; one hundred men and one hundred opinions (一人一義, 十人十義, 百人百義):’ this is my impression about all the articles and books on the *Guodianchujian* published in China and in other countries for the four years since the existence of the *Guodianchujian* was known. This also applies to the case of the *Shangbochujian*; however, this is only superficially. As for the important and, also, difficult problem with the status or significance of the *Guodianchujian* and the *Shangbochujian* in the history of thought, Chinese researchers’ opinions seem to converge on one point, i.e. ‘one hundred men and one opinion (百人一義)’.

It seems to me that such an attitude is due to the following reasons: one is a matter of prejudice in the case of estimating the date of the excavated material and the other is a matter of reading the characters. The former seems to be related to the current academic atmosphere of ‘trusting the old’. In particular, the *Guodianchujian* has been considered to be a good basis for the academic discussions. This consideration is based on two points: ① the burial date of the *Guodianchujian* and ② the nature of the thought, in particular, of the confucian works such as *Ziyi* 緇衣, *Lumugongwenzisi* 魯穆公問子思, *Wushing* 五行, *Xingzimingchu* 性自命出, etc. The date of the *Guodianchujian* is estimated on the basis of chronology in the literature excavated from the tomb, the

11) Cf. 張光裕主編, 『郭店楚簡研究 第一卷 文字編』, 藝文印書館, 1999; 劉昕嵐, 『郭店楚簡《性自命出》箋釋(上)』, 『北京大學研究生學志』 1999-1, April 1999; 趙建偉, 『郭店竹簡《忠信之道》、《性自命出》校釋』, 『中國哲學史』 1999-2, May 1999; 李零, 『郭店楚簡校讀記』, 陳鼓應主編, 『道家文化研究 郭店楚簡專號』 17, 三聯書店, August 1999; 劉昕嵐, 『郭店楚簡《性自命出》箋釋』, 武漢大學中國文化研究院等主辦, 『郭店楚簡國際學術研討會論文集』 1, October 1999.

12) 末永高康, 『『性』即『氣』—郭店楚簡『性自命出』の性說』, 『鹿兒島大學教育學部研究紀要』 51 別冊, March 2000, pp. 20-21.

second tomb of Baoshan包山2號墓 in the Chu Dynasty. Also, it is said that the *Guodianchujian* was buried later than the *Baoshanchujian*包山楚簡, which was at about the late middle of the Warring States period戰國中期偏晚說. Also, the *Guodianchujian* contained the works by the Simeng思孟 School, whose date is in general said to be earlier than Mencius. Furthermore, it is said to be a work by Kongzi or his disciple, Zisi子思.

However, as noted, the inscription of the sexagenary cycle that appears in the literature of chronology excavated from the tomb (包山2號墓) in the Chu Dynasty is wrongly recorded. Also, the date of burial is said to be 323 B.C.~292 B.C., 316 B.C., 303 B.C., 292 B.C., 284 B.C. or the like.¹³⁾ There is no agreed conclusion on this point. Thus, it is very dangerous to conjecture the date of burial on the basis of a doubtful estimation. A more scientific and objective examination is still required.

The unshakable prejudice of the burial date to be the late middle of the Warring States period influences the question of ② the nature of the thought and, also, the thought of the *Guodianchujian* is said to be that of the representative of Confucianism at the time, Mencius, or even that of the founder of Confucianism, Kongzi, whose theory is focused on the spiritual enlightenment道統說. This seems to be justified by the discovery of such material as the *Ziyi* and the *Wushing* that is said to be related to Zisi子思 and, also, the discovery of the *Lumugongwenzisi* in which the name of Zisi appears. In particular, the *Ziyi* of the *Guodianchujian* has merit in that it can be compared with the extant literary material. The study is focused on the similarities of the former to, but not its differences from, the latter. Nonetheless, it is not questioned why it should be so. Moreover, although the date and the author of the *Zisizi*子思子 or the *Zicongzi*孔叢子 is still controversial, they are regarded as the works by Zisi or his disciple. This sort of prejudice, though there is a small exception, restricts the *Guodianchujian* to the small range of the thought of Kongzi, Zisi, or Mencius and obstructs the consideration of it in relation to a larger range of scholars in the pre-Qin period.

As for the matter of reading the characters, the *Guodianchujian* characters can only be understood in relation to the study of characters of the Six Dynasties in the Warring States period. This is a common problem that arises in relation to all the excavated material leaving a possibility of danger that the misunderstanding or misinterpretation of one character can lead to the misunderstanding of the whole text. Fortunately, the *Guodianchumuzhujian*郭店楚墓竹簡 by the Wenwu publishing company and the *Shanghaibowuguanzangzhanguochuzhushu*上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書(一) by the Shanghaijiben publishing company includes notes by the filer and corrections by the expert allowing us to see the current development of the study of characters.

As mentioned earlier, some of the works contained in the *Guodianchujian* and the

13) Cf. 王葆玟, 『試論郭店楚簡各篇的撰作時代及其背景—兼論郭店及包山楚墓的時代問題』, 『郭店楚簡研究 中國哲學』 20, 遼寧教育出版社, January 1999, p. 367.

Shangbochujian are comparable with other extant works and some are not. It is needless to say that the reading of those which can be compared with others are a lot easier than those which cannot. Nonetheless, a thoughtless reading of the characters in the *Guodianchujian* and the *Shangbochujian* might lead to the identification of the content of the two types of bamboo slips and, in the end, to keeping their distinctive features in dead storage.

In particular, in the case of those that do not have any extant material to be compared with, the problem of reading is more serious. The method adopted to solve the problem is to consider the development of characters in relation to the inscription on bones and tortoise carapace or the gilt letters, to view it from the perspective of phonology, to compare it with other bamboo slips or silk books, and to judge it from its context or the like. But it is still difficult. In particular, when we judge from the context, there is a possibility of arbitrariness and, also, there is room for the prejudice to influence our judgement. The influence from prejudice in reading the characters of newly discovered bamboo slips can also influence the whole meaning of the literature and, as a result, it will be difficult to determine the status or the nature of the newly discovered writings in question. The consequence is that those, including myself, who research into the excavated material must bear these points in mind and try to find a more effective and reliable method of study. (tr. by Dr. Weon-Ki Yoo)