A Study of Excavated Bamboo and Wooden-strip Analects: The Spread of Confucianism and Chinese Script

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ABSTRACT

Previous research on ancient East Asian bamboo and wooden strips used for writing has focused on the similarities of their shapes or format, which have been useful in disclosing their chronology. Nevertheless, such work does not explain the influence of Chinese characters on ancient East Asian culture. Since the bamboo-strip Analects were excavated from Pyeongyang in North Korea and a variety of sites in Japan, which were estimated to be from the first century BC to the late eighth century AD, it has been possible to study their connection with the introduction of Chinese characters into far-away regions throughout East Asia, as a way to properly understand ancient East Asian society and culture. In this paper, I examine the role of ancient bamboo and wooden-strip editions of the Analects in terms of the introduction of Chinese script-based bureaucracy and culture and their influence on ancient East Asian countries. For this study, various wooden and bamboo-strip versions of the Analects excavated from Korea, Japan, and China, dated from approximately the Han dynasty period to around the eighth century AD, will be compared. In particular, the Nangnang bamboo-strip version of the Analects, discovered in 2009, provides critical clues supporting new interpretations that better explain the spread of Chinese script and Confucianism in East Asia. It is to be noted that the wooden and bamboo-strip Analects unearthed from East Asian countries have certain similarities not only in their shape, but also in their active usage in document-based administration, which was closely connected to the establishment of Chinese-style legal systems and a ruling ideology based on Confucianism.

Keywords: Analects, Nangnang (Lelang), Chinese script, Bamboo strips, Wooden strips, Confucianism, document-based administration

Introduction

The East Asian region is often defined as the realm of “Chinese script” and “Confucian culture.” This is mainly due to the geographical proximity of the countries in this region and the cultural tradition they subsequently share. It has generally been agreed that Chinese script, Confucianism, written laws guiding political and administrative systems, and Buddhism are the common cultural assets and values shared by East Asian countries, including China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam (Nishijima 2002, 67). Of course, these features did not originate independently from within each country, but instead systematically spread out from ancient China to its neighbors. The introduction of Chinese characters is an example of such diffusion.
However, it is not reasonable to emphasize the introduction of Chinese characters merely as the result of cultural influence because Chinese language is completely different from languages of neighboring countries in terms of linguistic structure.

Communication without using a written language was not easy, including in ancient China. For example, Xu Shen stated in the Guide for Explaining Single-component Graphs and Analyzing Compound Characters (Shuowenjiezi) that, "Languages sound different and characters are also written differently." Similarly, the Dialects (Fangyan), a collection of a variety of languages from all over ancient China, written by Yang Xiong at the end of Western Han dynasty, states that soldiers drafted from the same towns were usually assigned to the same unit to facilitate communication, as they each spoke different dialects (Takamura 2008, 380-422). Recognizing the difficulty caused by the fact that people in ancient China spoke different languages, the "Shuihudi Qin Bamboo Manuscripts (Shuihudiqinjian)" and "Mixed Statutes of Neishi (Neishizalü)" describe how "reports submitted to senior officers must be in the form of written documents," as a unified written language based on the Chinese script enabled people who spoke different dialects to communicate with one another.

The existence of texts written on ancient bamboo and wooden strips in the Qin and Han periods provides evidence that frontier officials had knowledge of Chinese characters and that such knowledge was important in determining one's rank within the government. From them we know that local civil servants were divided into 'officials' (shi) or 'non-officials' (bushi) in accordance with their ability to write Chinese characters, showing the importance of this skill at that time (Tomiya 2009, 191-224).

Document-based administration became an important means for efficient rule in border areas, as Chinese empires expanded their territory. Accordingly, ancient Chinese dynasties consistently focused on the use of 'unified Chinese characters' in order to communicate efficiently and maintain their rule.

For ancient China, as an agricultural rather than nomadic society, the expansion of the empire meant absorbing its neighboring countries and then placing them under its system of commanderies and prefectures, which necessarily led to the introduction of Chinese culture (Lee Sung-kyu 2003, 60-62). In reality, this meant that neighboring countries that fell under the empire's sway were forced to use Chinese characters as a unified communication tool, even though the structure of their languages were different from Chinese (Oonishi and Miyamoto 2009, 267-77).

Most previous research on ancient East Asia, by focusing on the four common cultural features mentioned above (Chinese characters, Confucianism, laws for political and administrative systems, and Buddhism), has been limited to discussion of how ancient China influenced neighboring countries through the tribute system. However, a new approach has recently been proposed (Kim Kyung-ho 2010a).

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1 Xu Shen 許愼, Shuowenjiezi 說文解字 (2003). The original text reads "言語異聲文字異形."
2 Shuihudi qinmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu, Shuihudi qinmu zhujian 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 (The Shuihudi Qin Bamboo Manuscripts Unearthed in Yunneng) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), 62.
3 Miyamoto describes a variety of changes in local languages resulting from the introduction of Chinese characters (2009).
which contends that the introduction of Chinese characters to neighboring countries was closely related to the establishment of a governing system of commanderies and prefectures and the subsequent formation of ancient states, rather than the acceptance of advanced Chinese culture. In fact, Chinese characters were first introduced through documents or books used for maintaining this system. The ancient bamboo and wooden strips, excavated from various areas in East Asian countries, are important materials for explaining how Chinese characters were distributed and accepted during the ancient period.

These ancient strips can be classified as ‘documents’ and ‘books.’ Most of those excavated from South Korea and Japan are estimated to be from the sixth to eighth centuries AD, during which time these two countries were developing centralized governments. In this paper, I examine the role of ancient bamboo and wooden-strip versions of the Analects in terms of their role in the introduction of Chinese characters and their influence on ancient East Asian countries. For this study, the bamboo and wooden-strips Analects excavated from Korea, Japan, and China and estimated to be from the Han dynasty period to around the eighth century, will be compared. In particular, the Nangnang bamboo-strip Analects, discovered in 2009 (Lee Sung-si, Yun Yong-gu, and Kim Kyung-ho 2009), provide critical clues supporting new interpretations that better explain the spread of a Chinese text-based bureaucracy and Confucianism throughout ancient East Asia.

In Section Two, I describe how Chinese characters were introduced into the neighboring East Asian countries by comparing the Nangnang bamboo-strip Analects with the Dingzhou Analects excavated from Dingzhou, Hebei Province in China (Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo 1997). In Section Three, I investigate the writing styles and contents of the other wooden-strip Analects excavated from Korea and Japan in order to explain the role of Chinese characters in the establishment of document-based administration and a ruling ideology based on Confucianism for consolidating an efficient governing system.

I will show that the bamboo and wooden-stripe Analects unearthed from the East Asian countries have certain similarities not only in their shape and writing style, but also in their active usage in document-based administration, which was closely connected to the establishment of Chinese administrative legal systems and a ruling ideology based on Confucianism. Therefore, they are empirically fundamental materials for explaining the influence of Chinese characters and Confucianism in that period, and thus, for the proper understanding of ancient East Asian society.

The Standardization of Documents: Census Records and Bamboo-Strip Analects

In this section, I shall examine various census records and different bamboo-strip Analects in order to reveal the introduction of document-based administration and Confucianism into Ancient East Asian countries. In 2009, the photos of wooden tablets excavated from Tomb 364 in the neighborhood of Chǒngbaek, Pyŏngyang City became available for study. These tablets, entitled “Household Registration of Nangnang Commandery in the Fourth Year of Chuyuan” (Nangnang-gun Chowŏn Sanyŏn Hyŏnbŏl Hogo Taso □ Bu 樂浪郡初元四年縣別戶口多少□簿), recorded
information on the households and population of the 25 Prefectures (xian) in Nangnang Commandery (Son Yong-jong 2006, 30-3; Yun Yong-gu 2007 & 2009, 281-4; Kim Byung-joon 2008 & 2009). The Nangnang Census wooden tablets, composed of 3 pieces, and having the title “Household Registration of Nangnang Commandery in the Fourth Year of Chuyuan” in the first line, describe in detail the increase or decrease in the number of households and population of the 25 prefectures of the Commandery. The eighth to ninth columns from the right side on the right tablet summarize the total number of households and people, following the format of the “Geography (Dilizhi)” section of the Official History of Western Han (Han Shu). The following are two selections taken from these tablets:

<Title> 業浪郡初元四年縣別戶口多少口簿

<Text A> 朝鮮戶九千六百七十(八)多前九十三口(五)萬六千八百九十(多)前千八百六十二

<Text A> describes the change in the number of households and population in one of the 25 prefectures. Translated, it reads, “The number of households in Josŏn Prefecture was 9,670 (or 9,678), which is 93 more than the previous year. The population of the district was calculated at 16,890, which indicates a rise of 1,862 over the previous year.”

Figure 1. Wooden tablets excavated from the ancient Nangnang site. Image from Archaeology of Chosŏn (Pyŏngyang: Institute of Social Science, North Korea, 2008)

4 Refer to Yun Yong-gu for more details about the shapes and format of the Nangnang wooden tablets (2009).
5 The symbol □ indicates the fact that we can see the vestige of a character, but are unable to identify it.
6 This was written on the first column on the right side of the central tablet.
7 This was written from the second column on the right side of the middle tablet through the entire left tablet until the words “fuzu prefecture” seen on the right side of the seventh column on the right tablet.
This section gives statistics on the whole of the Nangnang Commandery. The first sentence reads, “The approximate number of households is 43,835, which is 584 more than the previous year. The population stands at 280,361.” The following sentence is only a fragment that reads, “The number of those households (It is not quite clear what “其” (those) refers to in the phrase “those households”) were 37,口 34 and the population is 242,口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口”). The phrase “increase and decrease (duoshao 多少),” that appears in the Nangnang Census, indicates the change of households and population in quantity, while the phrase, “more than the previous year (duoqian 多前)” refers to the increase in population compared to the preceding year. This kind of notation on the Nangnang Census is found not only in the excavated materials from the frontier regions, but also in material from the inland China. For example, the collected accounts (jibu) in the “Han Wooden Tablets of Yinwan (Yinwanhanjian)” (Lianyungang shi Bowuguan et al., 1997), discovered in Donghai Commandery and estimated to be from the end of Emperor Cheng’s reign in Western Han (BC 16 to BC 9), contains characters such as “ruqian 如前” and “duoqian 多前”. The “Tianchang Han Tomb Wooden Tablets (Tianchang hantu mudu)” excavated from Tianchang City in Anhui Province (Tianchangshi Wenwu guanlisuo et al., 2006), include phrases such as “The number of households was approximately 9,169, which was a decrease from the previous year. The population also decreased to 40,970.” Expressions such as “more than the previous year (duoshao),” “same as the previous year (ruqian),” and “less than the previous year (shaoqian)” in those contexts describing household and population changes in the Commandery are exactly the same as the expressions used in the Nangnang Census. As seen in the “jibu” of the Han wooden tablets of Yinwan, terms like “shaoqian,” “duoqian,” and “ruqian” are used to represent the length of local boundaries, the number of agricultural fields (kentian), and the number of trees (chunzhongshu) along with the number of households and the size of the population. An identical writing style is presented in the following sentences from the “Western Han Bamboo Strips” found on the Huxi Mountain, “The area of [land] was 95, 8 This was written on the eighth to ninth columns from the right side on the right tablet. 9 户凡九千一百六十九少前口四萬九百七十少前 10 “Xihu 戶息户” and “Haohu 耗戸” are also used for denoting the increase and decrease of the number of households and population (texts related to Wooden Tablet 48 excavated from Hubeisheng Jingzhou Jiexi Sheng Songbaicun, 荆州市荆州区荆南路松柏村, and dated to the beginning of Emperor Wu’s reign of the Western Han, at the end of 2004). For more details see Peng 2009. 11 Hunan sheng Wenwu Kaogu yanjiusuo 湖南省文物考古研究所 (Hunan Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology), et al., 2003. 1. The bamboo strips excavated from the first Marquis of Yuanling, Wu Yang’s (吳陽) tomb, who died at Hou Yuan in the second year (後元二年, BC 162) of Emperor Wen of Western Han’s reign, are divided into three sections: ‘Huangbu 黃簿’, ‘Rishu 日書’, ‘Meishifang 美食方’, ‘Huangbu’ is composed of 241 pieces. 120 strips, 14 cm in length, 0.7 cm in width, and 0.1 cm in thickness, with binding marks on upper and lower parts, and written in clerical script style (lishu 隸書) have been recovered. According to a brief report (jianbao 簡報), the Huangbu gives a detailed description of the social life of the Marquisate of Yuanling during the time of the Western Han.
which was the same as the previous year”12; “The roster of the labor force included 170 persons, which showed a rise of 4 over the previous year due to 4 newborn babies.”13 Accordingly, the writing style for household and population in this period was standardized in such sentence patterns as ‘household (户) + household number (户数) + [少前，多前，如前] + NID/population (口) + population number (人口) + [少前，多前，如前] + NID.’ (NID: Number indicating the Increase or Decrease of households and population)

The physical length of the document was also standardized at one chi (9 inches) during the Han period. In the case of the “Han wooden tablets of Yinwan,” with one exception among the 24, the strips are close to one chi long. The 34 wooden strips of the strips excavated from the “Tianchang Han Tomb” are also between 8.7 and 9 inches long. The reconstructed wooden tablets of the Nangnang Census are each 10.4 inches long, which is close to the Han period standard of one chi. Moreover, the “List of Officials Belonging to the Donghae Commandery (Donghai Jun xiaxia zhangli mingji)” contained in the “Han wooden tablets of Yinwan,” follows the standard uniform shape of that period, as seen in the Nangnang census. But the fact that they had been broken and had to be re-assembled made them appear to be longer than they originally were.

The number of characters in each strip is also uniform. The “List of officials belonging to Donghae Commandery” is written with about 20 characters in each column, except the fifth column (23 characters) and sixth column (25 characters) of the first piece, ninth column (22 characters) of the second piece, and thirteenth column (27 characters) and fifteenth column (25 characters) of the third piece. Similarly, the Nangnang Census contains about 23 characters in each column except the title (9 characters). As seen

Figure 2. A selection from the Nangnang bamboo-strip Analects

Figure 3. A selection from the Dingzhou bamboo-strip Analects

including information on the administrative system, number of officials, household and population, tax, number of livestock and fruit trees, military boats, traffic, etc. A careful investigation of this source might help develop a greater understanding of official prefecture documents during the Western Han.

12 □□方九十五. 如前 (M1T: 43-97).
13 复算百七十, 多前四, 如前子故 (M1T: 43-98).
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above, it is very difficult to find any differences in the terms used to record the number of households and size of population between the Nangnang Census wooden tablets excavated from the Chongbaek-Dong Tomb Number 364 and the wooden tablets found in other mainland Chinese commanderies. Judging from this, it is probable that the writing style of documents following the reign of Emperor Wu in the Western Han dynasty were more or less standardized despite distance, as verified in the case of the Nangnang Census.

Having seen how a comparison of the formats of census records can tell us much about the standardization of writing and diffusion of Chinese culture, I shall now discuss what a comparison of early editions of the Analects shows. I will first compare the two most famous bamboo-strips Analects found up until now, the Dingzhou Analects, which constitute a part of the "Bamboo Strips of Dingzhou Han Tomb" (Hebeisheng Wenwu yanjiusuo 1981) of the Western Han period, excavated from the tomb of Liu Xiu, King Huai of Zhongshan, at Dingzhou in Hebei province in 1973, and the Nangnang bamboo strips of the Nangnang Commandery period, excavated from Chongbaek-Dong Tomb Number 364 in Pyongyang, where the Nangnang Census wooden strips mentioned above were also found (Lee Sung-si, Yun Yong-gu, and Kim Kyung-ho 2009). The Dingzhou bamboo-strip Analects consists of 620 fragments, and constitutes the earliest extant edition of the Analects, and is estimated to have been produced in the Western Han Dynasty, before the third year (BC 55) of Emperor Xuan. The length and the width of the strips are 6.3 inches (about 0.7 chi) and 0.2 inches respectively. The edges of both the sides and middle parts have marks that indicate that they had once been bound together. The number of characters written on each strip is between 19 and 21, with 10 characters each on both the upper and lower part respectively (see Fig. 3. Originally published by Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 2008).

The Nangnang bamboo-strip Analects (hereafter, the Nangnang Analects), which consists of parts of chapter 11, “Xian jin 先進” and chapter 12, “Yan yuan 颜渊” (Yu Pyunghung 1992), is similar in style and shape to the Dingzhou bamboo-strip Analects (hereafter, the Dingzhou Analects) in such characteristics as the traces of binding on the edges of both sides and middle part of each strip, and the 10 characters appearing on both the upper and lower parts. Considering that the Nangnang Analects is from the same site as the Nangnang Census in which the year is clearly written as the fourth of Emperor Yuan (BC 45), it is probable that the unified edition of the Analects was introduced empire wide from the Chinese interior to the frontier districts no later than during the time of Emperors Xuan and Yuan. This is evidence that the Qin and Han dynasties standardized the format of documents. It is likely the case that the empires used the standardized formats even with bamboo strip versions of the Analects, a document not directly connected to the administrative or military control of border districts. Why then did the Analects appear in a format identical to government documents during the Emperors Xuan and Yuan period?

There is no doubt that from the third year of Emperor Xuan (BC 55) to the fourth year of Emperor Yuan (BC 45) of the Western Han, Confucianism played a critical role in ancient Han government and society. The Analects were central to learning about and practicing Confucianism. Historical records indicate that "during
the Emperor Xuan period, there were scholars well versed in the *Book of Odes* (*Shi*), the *Book of Documents* (*Shu*), the *Book of Rites* (*Li*), the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*), and the *Book of Changes* (*Yi*) and government officials who managed their activities” (Fukui 2005, 205-29), that Emperor Xuan had studied the *Analects* since childhood,14 and Emperor Yuan highly respected Confucius.15 Such records indicate the spread of Confucianism as an official ideology at the time. Accordingly, the advent of the

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14 *Han shu* (Official History of Western Han), vol. 8, “Xuandi ji” 宣帝紀, 238.
15 *Han shu*, vol. 9, “Yuandi ji” 元帝紀, 298.
Dingzhou Analects and the Nangnang Analects should be understood in the milieu of Chinese rulers’ heightened efforts to spread Confucianism throughout the empire.

It is interesting that the bamboo strip Analects were found in frontier areas such as Zhongshan State in present-day Hebei Province, and the Nangnang Commandery outside China proper. During the Emperor Wu period, Gongsun Hong, deploring that the Way (dao, in other words, Confucianism) was declining, memorialized to the throne that “in order to civilize people, we should build a good model in the center of the empire so that it can be spread out from the interior (nei) to the frontier (wai).”16 In addition, it is recorded that national schools teaching Confucianism were founded in each commandery in that period. These facts support the argument that Confucian education spread out from the center (jingshi) to the border (bianjing). During the Emperor Yuan period, the empire focused on recruiting masters of the Classics who were exempted from mandatory military or labor service and dispatched to the frontier commanderies as government officials responsible for teaching the Five Classics.17 Accordingly, the occupant of Chŏngbaek-Dong Tomb Number 364, from which the Nangnang Analects was excavated, may have been among the government officials responsible for teaching the Five Classics, or the local officials who managed such administrative work as maintaining records on households and population.

Considering the fact that both the census tablets, evidencing the reality of the commanderies system, and the Analects, reflecting the ruling ideology of that time, with an emphasis on “changing manners and customs (yifengyisu),” were discovered in the same tomb, we can presume that the Nangnang bamboo strips are essential to understanding the reality of the governing system in frontier regions during the Han Dynasty. Moreover, the features of the Nangnang Census, identical with the “Han Wooden tablets of Yinwan” and with the “Wooden Tablets of the Han Tomb of Songbai” (Jingzhou Bowuguan 2008) in the method of calculating household and population – recording them for each prefecture and using a regular format such as ‘household (hu 戶) + household number (hushu 戶數) + [shaoqian 少前, duoqian 多前, ruqian 如前] + NID/population (kou 口) + population number (koushu 口數) + [shaoqian 少前, duoqian 多前, ruqian 如前] + NID,’ confirm that a document-based administration and standards in document format were already established in the governing system of each commandery (Kim Kyung-ho 2010b). In addition, the fact that the Nangnang and Dingzhou Analects are similar in size and shape implies that the ruling mode of the Han Dynasty had spread to the frontier regions in a relatively uniform manner.

Ancient documents introducing Confucianism to the frontiers during the Emperor Xuan and Yuan periods were not only found in the Nangnang Commandery but have also been unearthed in other regions. Fragments of Chapter 19, “Zi Zhang 子張” of the Analects and some cracked strips related to Confucianism were found among the Han wooden strips excavated at Dunhuang Xuanquanzhi (Dunhuang Xuanquanzhi hanjian). The main texts are as follows:

16 Shiji 史記 (Historical Records), vol. 121, “Rulinliezhuan” 儒林列傳, 3119.
17 Han shu, vol. 88, “Rulinxuzhuan” 儒林傳, 3696.
“Grand, indeed, is Chang, so much so that it is difficult to work side by side with him at the cultivation of benevolence.” Zengzi said, “I have heard the Master say that on no occasion does a man realize himself to the full, though, when pressed, he said that mourning for one’s parents may be an exception.” Zengzi said, “I have heard the Master say that other men could emulate everything Meng Chung Tzu did as a good son with the exception of one thing: he left unchanged both his father’s officials and his father’s policies, and this was what was difficult to emulate.”

Zi Zhang said, “How can a man be said either to have anything or not to have anything who fails to hold on to virtue with all his might or to believe in the Way with all his heart.” Zi Xia’s disciples asked Zi Zhang about friendship. Zi Zhang said …

The wooden strips of <Text 1> are 1 chi (9 inches) long, and 0.7 inches in width. There are black dots between sentences that mark spaces. The content is from the “Zi Zhang” chapter of the Analects. Comparing this version of Analects with the “Thirteen Classics with Annotations and Commentaries (Shisanjing zhushu),” the standard edition of today (hereafter referred to as the “Standard Edition”), we can see several differences. The character “er 而” is included in the strips but not in the newest edition. Similarly, “Wuwenzhuzi 吾聞諸子,” which appears in the Dunhuang Xuanquanzhi wooden strips, is written as “Wuwenzhufuzi 吾聞諸夫子,” in the Standard Edition. Likewise, “ta 他” in the Dunhuang Xuanquanzhi version is “ta 它” in the standard (Zhang and Hao 2009, 268). The Standard Edition has an additional character “ye 耶” at the end of “Mengzhuangzizhixiao 孟莊子之孝.” The wooden strips of <Text 2> are 5.7 inches long, and 0.3 inches wide, and use a black dot in the same way to mark when a sentence begins. Compared with the Standard Edition, the Dunhuang Xuanquanzhi wooden strips has “zhidebuhong 执德不弘” instead of “xindebuhong 信德不弘.” It should also be noted that the wooden strips of <Text 2> played an important role in recovering the text of the Analects of the mid or late Western Han period as this section is not found in the “Zi Zhang” Chapter of the Dingzhou Analects.

The Han wooden strips of Dunhuang Xuanquanzhi also include some materials which are similar in content to other chapters of the Analects: “A person in...”

18 Hu Ping-sheng 胡平生 and Zhang De-fang 張德芳, 174
20 Zhang De-fang 張德芳 and Hao Shu-sheng 郝樹聲, 268.
21 Confucius, 191.
22 Li Xue-qin 李學勤, Shi san jing zhu shu 十三經注疏 (Thirteen Classics with Annotations and Commentaries), (1999).
poor dress is called ‘unworthy’ while when dressed well he is regarded as acting ‘inappropriately.’” A gentleman should lead his life without worrying about poverty…” (之祚責，惡衣謂之不肖，善衣謂之不適，士居固有不憂貧者乎。孔子曰：”本子來… (II 0114(5): 71); “You should not indulge your desires, but be satisfied with few possessions. Tuan (彖), said ‘you should not accumulate possessions at home. If you indulge in excessive luxury and break regulations, you will certainly fall into poverty and contempt later. You should find fault with yourself and eat less than you need as well.” (欲不可為足輕財，彖曰: 家必不屬，奢大過度，後必窮辱，責其身而食身，又不足 (A 十二 (B) (II 0314(3): 14) (Hu and Zhang 2001, 176).

In light of this evidence, we can assume that Confucianism was introduced, along with the Analects, to the Hexi area from the mid or late Western Han period to the end of the Eastern Han period (25 BC- 220 AD). Evidence for this can be found in the following texts:

<Account 1> “Several disciples presented 5,000 hú of rice to the occupant of the tomb on the fourth day of the fourth month of the He Ping era.”

<Account 2> “Schools were built and officials responsible for managing them were assigned. The children of lower officials were required to go to school and were therefore exempted from mandatory military or labor services. They were appointed [to government posts] upon the completion of their studies. Thus each commandery has within it masters of Confucian learning.”

<Account 1>, which is a part of the “Wuwei Han Strips” (Wuweihanjian), is estimated to be from the He Ping era (BC 28 to 25) of Emperor Cheng of the Western Han. It describes how the occupant of the tomb was given 5,000 hú of rice by his disciples. It is reasonable to believe that he was one of the masters of the Confucian Classics. This confirms that Confucianism was introduced into the Wuwei Commandery during the Western Han period. <Account 2> is from the section describing Ren Yan, a governor of Wuwei, who built schools during the Jianwu era (AD 25 to 55). Of importance is the fact that the children of local officials in that area were expected to receive an education. They had to learn how to read and write in order to be exempted from mandatory labor and military duties. After completing their education, they were appointed as government officials. This implies that the empire considered the role of local elites important in order to maintain their rule over other ethnic groups, such as the people of the Hexi area. Drawing commandery officials from among the local people was a common policy in

24 Hou han shu 後漢書 (Official History of the Eastern Han), vol. 76, “Renyanzhuan” 任延傳, 2463.
25 Gansu Province Wuwei prefectures Mozuizi tomb 6 甘肅省武威縣磨咀6號墓, the 469 pieces of 儀禮 Yili wooden tablets, especially the shixiangjianzhili 士相見之禮 (Ritual Rules for Noble Men or Officials to abide by in Seeing Each Other), show that Confucianism was introduced into this region.
that period (Hamaguchi 1966, 787-807; Lee, Sung-kyu 1998). A record of the Four Commanderies of the Han Dynasty states that when Emperor Wu established commanderies in the Xuantu and Nangnang areas, “officials from the Liaodong Commandery were appointed at the beginning (chu).”26 The term, “beginning” means the time before establishing institutions such as the schools mentioned in the above account.

In other words, this evidence implies that the local people in the Four Commanderies of the Han Dynasty were appointed as administrative officials once the commandery was stabilized. In the case of the Nangnang commandery, one record states that the Defender of the Eastern Section (dongbuduwei 東部都尉) was abolished in the Eastern Han Dynasty in 60 AD in favor of local officials (qushuai 棄帥) recruited from the prefectures, that a marquisate (houguo 侯國) was established instead of a prefecture, and that local elites were appointed as lower administrative officials.27 This is evidence that the local people participated in the ruling class in the commandery system even though no records have been found regarding schools or education in the Hexi area.

That Confucianism thrived in the Hexi area can be seen in the fact that each commandery had “masters of Confucianism” within it. This led to the appearance of great masters during the Eastern Han period from frontier areas, such as Hou Jin28 and Gai Xin.29 More evidence to attest to this fact is found in the features of the 49th tomb, discovered in the Wuwei area (Gansusheng bowuguan 1972). This tomb measures 4.19m by 1.88m and it is assumed to have been occupied by landlords or others of the ruling class, likely during the middle part of the Eastern Han period (Emperors Xun, Chong, and Zhi). Among the burial accessories, there are two interesting components. The first is a lacquer-painted cap, which means that Confucian clothing made in accordance with the Houhanshu (Official History of Eastern Han) was in use there.30 The second is a wooden stamp with the characters “sensisin □ 森印” carved on the front and “chen Sen 臣森 (?)” on the back. Therefore, the lacquer-painted cap suggests that the emergence of Confucian scholars was preceded by the establishment of schools in the area which contributed to the dissemination of Confucianism.

Although the installation of schools in local areas and the recruiting of local people for official positions were intended to contribute to government stability in those areas (Li Da-long 1996; Kobayashi 1989 & 1993; Okayasu 1993), it would have ultimately been ideal to encourage local people to conform their culture and mores to the standards of their Han rulers. During the reigns of Emperors Jing and Wu, Wen Weng who was prefect (taishou) of Shu province had taught people how to read books

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26 Han shu, vol. 28, “Dilizhi” 地理志, 1658.
27 Sanguozhi 三國志 (Three Kingdoms), vol. 30, Weishu 魏書, Dongyizhuan 東夷傳, dongwoju 東沃沮, 846.
30 Hou han shu, “Yufuzhi” 輿服志, 3666.
and about public laws in order to indoctrinate them. Although imposing the central government’s laws conflicted with the policy of ruling through local customs (xiāngsu), it was considered natural to do so by the government in order to suppress different traditions and customs considered to be at odds with centralized administration, and by doing so, realize the unification of rule by universal laws as seen in the “Shuihudi Qin Bamboo Manuscripts.” The existence of this policy of requiring the learning and enforcement of the central government’s laws in local areas can be confirmed in the fact that local officials had among their duties, “writing documents, managing accounting, governing people, and acknowledging laws” (Gansusheng wenwu yanjiusuo, Juyan xinjian 1990, 152), as seen in the contents of the “New Documents from Juyan (Juyanxinjian)” (E.P.T. 50: 10).

What did Wen Weng teach the people? “Cangjie” and “Jijiu,” two text books for learning about Chinese characters, were discovered among the Han-era strips excavated from the Hexi area (Hu 1996). And as mentioned above, document writing skills were considered in government promotions as seen in the division of civil servants into the categories of “Shi 史 (officials) and “Bushi 不史 (non-officials).” In the “Monographs on Bibliographies (yiwenzhì),” Han Shu Chapter 30, there is an article related to school tests stating that those people who memorized more than 9,000 characters would be appointed as “Shi.” The “Statutes of Officials (Shi lù)” found in the “Statutes of the Second Year of the Lü Reign (Er nian Lü ling)” provides guidelines for appointing students — the children of local elites such as “officials (shi),” “fortune tellers (hu),” and “shamans (zhu)” to administrative positions in commandery system. These regulations stated that sons of “shi” were appointed as “shi” if they learned more than 5,000 characters in three years, and the best student among them was appointed head officer in the prefecture.

It is therefore clear that the government wanted to train officials who could manage document-based administration and were cognizant of the related rules. Therefore, the contents that Wen Weng taught in the schools were related to the ruling ideology of that period of ‘changing customs and mores’ rather than simply teaching the Classics as liberal arts. This argument is further supported by the following two facts: in the third year of Emperor Ping (AD 3), schools were built in each commandery and district, and a master of the Classic of Filial Piety (Xiaojing) was placed in each “Xiang 庠 and “Xu 序 as well. Song Xiao, Inspector of Liang Province made

31 Han Shu, vol. 28, “Dilizhi”地理志, 1645.
32 The Shuihudi Qin Bamboo Manuscripts 睡虎地秦簡 (1990), Weilizhidao 為吏之道, 281-88; Lishichunqiu呂氏春秋 (The Annals of Lu Büwei), huaihong 玄龍 of Mengqiuji 孟秋紀.
33 The Shuihudi Qin Bamboo Manuscripts (1990), 15.
34 Juyanxinjian (1990), E.P. T 51.4, 171.
35 Zhangjiashan ersiqihao hanmu zhujian zhenglixiaozu 張家山二四七號漢墓竹簡整理小組 (Subcommittee for Arranging the Zhangjiashan Bamboo Strips Excavated from the 247th tomb of the Han Dynasty) (2001), 203.
36 Han shu, vol. 12, “Pingdi ji”平帝紀, 355.
each household copy the *Classic of Filial Piety*. Therefore, Wen Weng’s civilizing methods in the frontier regions consisted of the institution of document-based administration and the introduction of ruling ideology through the teaching of short and easy-to-read textbooks such as the *Classic of Filial Piety* and the *Analects*.

Considering that many Han strips that have been excavated contain material for learning Chinese characters and classify many local representatives of the state as “bushi” (non-officials), it is likely the case that the comprehension level of Chinese characters in frontier regions was low, indicating that it might not have been easy to teach people the various Classics. Thus, the distribution of Classics focused on the *Classic of Filial Piety* and the *Analects* as major textbooks, as they were relatively easy to read. The “Eastern Han Monthly Instructions for the Four Classes of People (*Sîmin yueling*)” states that children should attend elementary schools to learn the *Classic of Filial Piety* and the *Analects* in the first, eighth, and eleventh months, while older students had to attend a more advanced academy in the first and tenth months to learn the Five Classics. Emperor Xuan, who declared the acceptance of both the “way of the true king (*wangdao*) and the way of the hegemon (*badao*)” as the combined ruling ideology, was said to have learned the *Book of Odes*, the *Analects*, and the *Classic of Filial Piety* before turning 18. These records support the contention that the *Classic of Filial Piety* and the *Analects* were widely diffused throughout Han society. In fact, it is highly possible that the Nangnang *Analects* and the Dingzhou *Analects* were part of an empire-wide distribution of texts in that period.

**The Wooden-strips *Analects* and the Introduction of Chinese Characters to East Asian Society**

Other forms of wooden-strip *Analects*, written from between the sixth and eighth centuries, when both wood and paper were used to make books were excavated from South Korea and Japan. They were discovered in the Ponghwang neighborhood of Kimhae City in 1999 (Busan Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan 2007), and in Kyeyang Mountain Fortress of Kyeyang-gu in Inchon City in 2005 (Sŏnmun Taehakkjo Kogo yŏng’uso and Inchon Kyeyang-gu 2008). They have in common the fact that they were both found in local districts, not in the seat of the central government. The main contents of each strip are from chapter five, “Gongyechang 公冶長” of the *Analects* (Hashimoto 2007b).

The version of the *Analects* found in Kimhae is inscribed with the following quotations from chapter five:

37 *Hou han shu*, vol. 58, “Gaixunzhuan” 蓋勳傳, 1880.
39 *Han shu* 漢書, vol. 8, “Xuandi ji” 宣帝紀, 238.
40 For the related pictures of wooden tablets, see Kongip changwŏn munhwajae yŏng’uso (Changción National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, 2004).
A Study of Excavated Bamboo and Wooden-strip Analects: The Spread of Confucianism and Chinese Script

Figure 6. Wooden-strip Analects, Ponghwang-dong, Kimhae City

Figure 7. Wooden-strip Analects, Kyeyang Mountain Fortress, Inchon City

<Text a> × 不欲人之加諸我吾亦欲無加諸人子 × (front)

Zi gong said, "While I do not wish others to impose on me, I wish not to impose on others either." The Master [said . . . ]

<Text b> × 文也子謂子産有君子道四焉其 × (left side)

Why was Gong Wenzı̄ called 'wen'? The Master said of Zi Chan that he had the way of the gentleman on four counts . . .

<Text c> × 已□□□色舊令尹之政必以告新 × (back)

[Neither did he give any appearance of displeasure when he was removed from office three times.] He always told his successor what he had done during his term of office. What do you think of him?"44

<Text d> × 違之何如子曰淸矣 □□□曰未知 × (right side)

… he again left. What do you think of this? The Master said, "He can, indeed, be said to be pure." "[Can he be said to be] benevolent" He cannot even be said to be wise. [How can he be said to be benevolent]!45

The date of the wooden strips is estimated to be from the late sixth to the beginning of the seventh centuries based on the type of pottery unearthed at the same

41 The symbol ‘x’ indicates that the part of the wooden tablet is broken.
42 Confucius, 41.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid., 43.
45 Ibid.
stratum (Busan Taehaggyo Pangmulgwan 2007). Initially, it was proposed that the strips were used for writing practice (Tono 2003). However, at present, it is widely believed that they must have been used for study instead, as wooden tablets used for that purpose found in China and Japan repeat the same characters over and over, rather than having complete phrases (Lee Sung-Si 2009, 129). The contents of the Kyeyang Mountain Fortress Analects also contain passages from chapter five on each of the five extant sides.

The stone axis of the well where the wooden strips were excavated, had fixed upon it an intricate title engraved “Jubuto,” confirming that this commandery had existed from the Koguryŏ to the Unified Silla era (37 BC to 935 AD). Also, a pot with the round bottom and short neck characteristic of Paekche pottery of the fourth to fifth centuries AD, was found near the strips, leading some to argue that they also date from the same era. However, the date of the wooden strips has yet to be determined conclusively, but hopefully will be in the future. The characteristics of the two

46 Ibid., 37.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid., 39.
49 The symbol of ‘[ ]’ indicates that there must have been some characters that are now indecipherable.
50 Confucius, 39.
51 Lee Hyeong-gu, See Sŏnmun taehakkyo logo yŏng'uso and Inch'ŏn Kyeyang-gu Office, Kye-yangsansŏng palgul pogosŏ (2008). In his opinion, it is likely the case that the writing styles of the wooden strip Analects excavated from Kye-yangsansŏng are closely related to Sakyungche（寫經體, one of the writing styles) which was popular in the Wei-Jin period. Chronologically, it is dated to between the fourth and fifth centuries, and thus from the same time-period as the pot with the features of a round bottom and short neck （短頸壺） excavated along with the Analects wooden slips.” In addition, he focuses on the fact that “the scientifically estimated age of wooden materials collected from the same layer (VII layer) with the Analects wooden stripes matched with the archaeological period.” Therefore, this version of the Analects is thought to date to the fourth to fifth centuries.
52 Inch'ŏn Kyeyang-gu Office (The Provincial Office of Kyeyang, Inch'ŏn), (2009, 29). According to this report, the pottery and tile are estimated to be from the Silla-Unified Silla period and the beginning
wooden-strip Analects excavated from South Korea indicate that they were not used for
writing practice, as they lack the repetition of characters found on wooden strips from
the Han dynasty in China which were used for that purpose, and therefore appear to
be copies of the “Gongyechang” chapter of the Analects intended for reading and study.

Wooden-strip Analects have been excavated in Japan as well. However, they are
different from the Korean ones described above. The number of the places where
wooden strips have been found in Japan is 115, 101 of which belong to the ancient
period with the remaining 14 being from medieval and modern times. They have been
found even in local government districts as well as central cities (Terasaki 2006) and
their suburbs (Hirakawa 2003; Watanabe 2009, 93). Among these writing practice
strips, 29 have been identified as relating to the Analects and have been found not only
in the capital region, but throughout the country.53 Among the excavated wooden
strips from Japan, (Examples of Refined Usage (Erya), the Collected Annals of Wangbo
(wangboji), the Thousand-Character Classic (Qianziwen), the Spring and Autumn Annals
(Chunqiu), Book of Documents (Shangshu), Collected Commentaries of Bencao (Bencaojizhu)
were copied from the ClassicalRecords (Dianji). However, the overwhelming majority of
the wooden strips were copied from the Analects and the Thousand-Character Classic
(Watanabe 2009, 96-103). In addition, the scholar Hasimoto Shigeru has divided these
versions of the excavated Analects into two categories according to their purposes: one
group was for studying the contents of the Analects and the other for practicing to write
the characters of the work (Hashimoto 2007a). In addition, according to Hashimoto, the
excavated wooden strips can be further divided into two other categories. One category
contains the repetition of identical phrases without chapter titles while the other
contain titles, such as “Shu 序,” “Xueer 學而,” “Weizheng 爲政,” “Bayi 八佾,”
“Gongyechang 公冶長,” “Yaoyue 堯曰” without the repetition of phrases. <Table 1>
gives the characteristics of these wooden-strip Analects which were used for writing
practice.

The Japanese wooden-strip Analects have been discovered around shrines (jinja)
or temples (tera), which played pivotal political and ideological roles in society, as well
as palaces such as Heijō Palace (Heijō-kyū). Strips excavated from these areas have
shown the repetitive duplication of the same characters. Considering the respected
nature of the excavated areas at the time these strips were written, it can be assumed
that this repetitiveness must be much more than just doodling. Rather, it indicates a
willingness to learn and the possession of a certain skill in writing.

It has been argued that the Analects came into ancient Japan when ten copies of
that work, along with one copy of the Thousand-Character Classic, copied by Wanikishi
(Wan) on the orders of King Chogo of Paekche, as described in the “Ojintenno
(Emperor Ojin)” Chapter of the Kojiki (Records of Ancient Affairs). This record is
mistaken in this case because the Thousand-Character Classic itself was not compiled
until the beginning of the sixth century by Zhou Xingsi of China’s Liang dynasty to

of the Koryŏ period, respectively.

help beginning scholars learn Chinese characters. It could not therefore have come into Japan during the time of the Ojin Emperor as he reigned in the early fifth century.

Therefore, the following questions may be raised: When were the wooden-strip Analects used and by whom? With respect to this question, the strips of Naganoken Yashiro #35 that contain the phrase 子曰學是不思 meaning “The Master said, “If one leans from others but does not think, one will be bewildered.”54 and that of #45 that contain the phrase 亦樂乎人不知而不 meaning “Is it not a joy [to have like-minded friends come from afar? Is it not gentlemanly not to take offence] when others fail to appreciate [your abilities]?”55 which date from the late seventh century and were discovered in a local area far from palace sites, seem to provide a clue to answering these questions, especially when considered along with the four-sided Analects excavated from Tokushimaken Kannō-ji. The Kannō-ji Analects contain the following selection from that work:

<Text> 子曰學而習時不孤乎□乎自朋遠方來□時樂不知□不憤

The Master said, “Is it not a pleasure, having learned something, to try it out at due

54 Confucius, 15.
55 Confucius, 3.

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intervals? Is it not a joy to have like-minded friends come from afar? Is it not gentlemanly not to take offence when others fail to appreciate your abilities?°°

These extracts were used by people who were practicing writing the contents of the “Xueer” chapter of the Analects, as is also the case with the strips found in Naganokken Yashiro. However, the Analects was not simply a book from which to copy and so learn how to write. It was a serious object of study since the seventh century when Chinese culture started to be imported by Japanese students and monks returning from abroad, as well as by exiled aristocrats from Paekche. As ancient Japan began to organize systematically by accepting document-based administration and laws from abroad, even more organized administrative documents were required in order to operate and maintain a centralized bureaucracy throughout the realm. The acceptance of administrative documents means that the use of Chinese characters had diffused widely throughout the provincial bureaus (Koku Fu or Gun Ka) as well as the central government (Sato 2006). These facts can be confirmed through the wooden strips found in the Hakaza site of Hyōgo prefecture.

°° Confucius, 3.
differences between the wooden strips excavated in Japan and South Korea, those found at Kannō Temple of Tojushima prefecture in Japan are very similar to the wooden strips excavated from the Ponghwang neighborhood in Kimhae in South Korea in terms of their polyhedral shape. Also, it was noted that the Analects was one of the required subjects for the system of “Employment of Officials in Three Ranks (Toksŏ samp’umje)” of Silla’s National School (kukhak) to determine the qualifications officials needed to serve in a particular office. Therefore a possible conclusion with regard to the Kimhae wooden-strip Analects is that a person possessing Bone rank (Kolp’um, an aristocratic rank in Silla), who moved to the secondary capital of Kŭmgwan (Kŭmgwan sogyŏng), was able to gain promotion to an administrative post by successfully passing the Analects test (Hashimoto 2004; Lee Sung-si 2009). This is very similar to the way Japan accepted and used the wooden-strip Analects. A study points out that the wooden-strip Analects referred to in the Japanese Statutes of Study (gakuryo) and the practice of learning the Wenxuan (Anthology of Literature) is a close Japanese counterpart of what was practiced in Silla’s National School (Tono 1977). This fact confirms that wooden strips found at the site of the Kannō Temple in Japan and Kimhae Ponghwang-Dong in South Korea are closely related. The other evidence supporting this similarity is that Japan’s National School had also been established in the same period as Silla’s, and, like its Silla counterpart, was a place where local gentry, after studying the wooden-strip Analects found in the Kannō Temple, could advance their careers by passing the examinations.

In Han China even low-ranking representatives of the state were categorized into two classes, shi and bushi based on their knowledge of characters, as shown in their evaluation remarks such as in the case of one man, who was referred to as “not an official in the past, but having become an official in the present (gubushijinshi 故不史今史)” (Wu, Rengxiang et al., eds., 122). As mentioned above, study of the Analects allowed officials to be promoted to administrative posts and sufficiently high results on a test of the Analects were a standard requirement for graduation from Silla’s National School as seen in the system of “Employment of Officials by Three Ranks.” Thus, it can be assumed that learning the text and the characters from the Analects must also have been a basis for gaining promotion to administrative posts in Japan as well. This standard indicates a difference in the purposes of wooden strip Analects; as important texts to be read and memorized, and as a model from which to copy and practice characters.

Conclusion

Previous research on ancient East Asian bamboo and wooden strips has focused on the similarities of their shapes and format and was useful for describing how they changed and developed over time. Nevertheless, these studies did little to explain the influence of a Chinese text-based bureaucracy on the development of ancient East Asian culture.

57 Samkugagoi 內閣史記 (History of Three Kingdoms), vol. 34, “Jiliji” 地理志, Kŭm gwan sogyŏng 金官小京.

58 Yorogakuryo 養老令令 6, kyoyuseigyo 教授正業条.
(Lee Sung-si 2002, 15; Abe 2007; Mikami 2007). However, the ancient bamboo and wooden strips recently found in Korea and Japan, such as the Nangnang Analects, make it possible to study them comparatively to see what they can tell us about the introduction of Chinese characters throughout the East Asian region. Hence, these bamboo and wooden artifacts have been seen as providing important clues for a deeper understanding of ancient East Asian society and culture (Tomiya ed., 2009, 155-252; Takata eds., 2009, 87-180).

It is apparent that the administrative system of ancient China played a critical role in other East Asian countries as they developed centralized governments. Document-based administration spurred the establishment of such governing systems in frontier districts as well as central China. In addition, the introduction of Confucianism as a ruling ideology helped East Asian countries to develop ‘ancient states’. Since these two critical elements – the establishment of document-based administration and the introduction of Confucianism were based on Chinese characters – it was essential for local officials to obtain a certain level of literacy so that they could read, and to study conventional Chinese Classics such as the Analects and the Classic of Filial Piety (Xiaojing), which were closely related to the ruling ideology of the ancient Chinese empires. Therefore, the ancient bamboo and wooden-strip Analects are empirically fundamental materials for explaining the influence of Chinese characters and Confucianism on the East Asian region.

Only three examples of wooden or bamboo strip Analects have been discovered on the Korean peninsula: the Nangnang bamboo strips excavated from Chŏngbaek-Dong Tomb Number 364 in P'yŏngyang; the Ponghwang wooden-strip Analects unearthed in Kimhae; and the Kyeyang Mountain Fortress wooden strips found at Inch'on. The number of strips is much fewer than what has been excavated from both China (such as the Dingzhou bamboo strips and Dunhuang wooden strips) and Japan, where 29 strips containing phrases from the Analects have been found.

The Nangnang Analects, being in the form of a book, are very similar to the Dingzhou Analects in terms of their shape and writing style. In particular, the other two versions of the Analects from Kimhae and Inch'on, estimated to be from around the seventh century and containing phrases from the “Gongyechang” chapter of the Analects, were not merely the results of writing practice but of learning (memorizing) the text. This argument can be supported by the fact that the Silla Kingdom founded the National School in AD 682 for the purpose of training government officials and the Analects was one of the required text books. Upon the completion of study, students were appointed to low-ranking official positions such as Daenama 大奈麻 or Nama 奈麻.

The Analects excavated from Japan are likely to be different from the ones in Korea as they are categorized into two types, one for study and learning, the other for

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59 Lee defines the wooden strips excavated from Suangsan Mountain Fortress in Haman City of South Korea as an intermediate stage between ancient China and Japan. He explains the similarity of the ancient wooden slips excavated from China, Japan, and Korea with the following formula, “Mainland China (A)→Korean Peninsula (A→B)→Japan (B→C),” in his observations on the introduction, acceptance, and transformation of ancient wooden strips in the East Asia region.
writing practice. Nevertheless, the wooden-strips Analects excavated from Kannō Temple in Japan are almost identical to the ones from Korea in terms of their shape and writing style. In fact, the distribution of the Analects in Japan was likely meant to consolidate a ruling ideology based on Confucianism as in Silla.

Another feature of the Japanese wooden-strip Analects is that they lack continuity between the front and rear side in both appearance and contents, conveying the dual functions of officials engaging in the consolidation of document-based administration in the government system, as well as the establishment of a ruling ideology based on Confucianism.

In conclusion, the bamboo and wooden strips found in ancient East Asia, that is, Korea, Japan, and China, have certain similarities not only in their shape but also in writing style, suggesting their use for document-based administration, which itself was closely connected to the establishment of legal administrative systems and the spread of the ruling ideology. Therefore, they should be recognized as source materials providing clues to a deeper understanding of the interconnections among ancient East Asian societies.

**GLOSSARY**

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<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>English</th>
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| Hyōgo        | 兵庫         | shi/ bushi | 史/不史         |
| Inchon       | 仁川         | shu        | 書             |
| jibu         | 集簿         | shu        | 蜀             |
| jingshi      | 京師         | Silla      | 新羅          |
| Jinja        | 神社         | Simin yueling | 四民月令 |
| Jiiu         | 忽就         | Songhai    | 松柏           |
| Jubuto       | 主夫吐       | Song Xiao  | 宋孝         |
| Juyanxinjian | 居延新簡     | Shuhuadiqinjian | 睡虎地秦簡 |
| Kenbu        | 鶴符         | Shi Lü/ Er nian la ling | 史律/二年律令 |
| Koguryo      | 高句麗     | Tianchang hanmu mu | 天長漢墓木牘 |
| Kojiku       | 古事記       | 它/他      |                |
| Koku Fu/ Gun Ka | 國府/郡家   | ta        | 太守          |
| Kolp`um      | 骨品        | taishou    | 它/他          |
| kou/ koushu  | 口/口數     | Tianzi    | 天子          |
| kubuk        | 國學        | Tokushimaken kannoji |               |
| Kungwan sogyŏng | 金官小京 | 德鳥縣觀音寺 |                |
| Kyeyang      | 桂陽        | Wangboji   | 王勃集         |
| li           | 里          | wangdao/ badao | 王道/霸道 |
| liangzhouchi | 涼州刺史    | Wanikishu/Wani | 和邇吉師/王仁 |
| Liu Xiu      | 劉脩        | Weizheng   | 爲政          |
| Mengzhuzhixiao | 孟莊子之孝 | Wen Weng | 文翁          |
| Nagamokken yashiro | 長野縣屋代 | Wenzuan | 文選          |
| Nangnang (Lelang) | 樂浪 | Wuwing | 五經          |
| Nangnang-gun Chowon Sanvŏn | | Wuweihanjian | 武威漢簡 |
| Hyeonbŏl Hoguadoso □□ | 樂浪郡初元四年縣別戶口多少□□ | Wuwenzhuzi | 吾聞諸夫子 |
|              |              | Wuwenzhuzi | 吾聞諸子 |
| Neishizalü   | 內史雜律    | Xiang/ Xu | 序/序          |
| nei/ wai     | 內外        | Xian Jin  | 先進          |
| Ojintenno    | 應神天皇    | xiaoli    | 小吏          |
| Paelsche     | 百濟        | xindebuhong | 信德不弘, |
| Ponghwang-dong | 鳳凰洞     | Xu        | 序            |
| Pyöngyang    | 平壤        | Xueer     | 學而          |
| Qihu         | 其戶        | Yang Xiong | 揚雄          |
| qitakenengye | 其它可能也 | Yan yuan  | 斐澤          |
| Qianziwen    | 千字文      | Yaoyue    | 咸曰          |
| Ren Yan      | 任延        | yifengisu | 移風易俗       |
| ruqian       | 如前        | Yinwanhanjian | 尹灣漢簡 |
| shaqian      | 少前        | Yiwenzhi  | 藝文志       |
| Shi          | 詩          | Zhou xingsi | 周興嗣   |

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