

ISSN 1598-2661 (Print)
ISSN 2586-0380 (Online)

SUNGKYUN JOURNAL OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES

VOL.19 No.2

OCT. 2019



Academy of East Asian Studies
Sungkyunkwan University

Popularization of the *Analects of Confucius* in Western Han and the Discovery of the *Qi Lun*: With a Focus on the Bamboo Slips Unearthed from the Haihunhou Tomb

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ABSTRACT

Through an examination of copies of the *Analects* excavated since the 20th century, particularly the materials unearthed from the Haihunhou 海昏侯 Tomb, this paper attempts to understand the popularization of Confucianism in the Western Han and explore the possibility of the existence of a *Qi Lun* 齊論 (Qi version of the *Analects*). Archaeological findings have shown that during the reigns of Emperors Xuan and Yuan (74–49 BC and 48–33 BC), the *Analects* was popularized throughout the territory of the empire and read widely by different social groups, from members of the royal family to local bureaucrats. Moreover, the discovery of the chapter “Zhi Dao” 智道 in the Haihunhou *Analects* provided conclusive evidence for the existence of the *Qi Lun* mentioned in the *Hanshu* 漢書. The contents of the same chapter also appear on slip 73EJT22:6 in the *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* 肩水金關漢簡, indicating that the *Qi Lun* had not been lost. Furthermore, my analysis of the contents of the excavated manuscript of the *Qi Lun* sheds new light on the study of variant versions of the *Analects*, and new terms such as *zhi dao* 知道 and *ziai* 自愛 found in the text will stimulate new academic research on this work.

Keywords: *Analects*, *Qi Lun* 齊論, Haihunhou Tomb 海昏侯墓 (Tomb of the Marquis of Haihun), “Zhi Dao” 知道, *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* 肩水金關漢簡, Confucianism

Introduction

Confucianism is an indispensable aspect of East Asian society, and thus research into Confucianism, Confucian culture, and related subjects have long occupied an important place in the field of East Asian studies. Founded by Confucius two thousand years ago, Confucianism has constantly been re-interpreted throughout history, and innovative perspectives on Confucianism are still of value to students of East Asian cultures today. Although continuously confronting historical challenges, including the Qin-Han transition, the introduction of Buddhism into China, and the upheavals in the social order triggered by imperialism in the 20th century, Confucianism has maintained a dominant role in Chinese society. During the “Cultural Revolution,” Confucianism was criticized and regarded as a synonym for the “landlord class,” but it has been partially revived in response to modern political and social demands.

During the modernization processes in East Asia in the early 20th century, Confucianism was regarded by some as an “extinct tradition” which deserved to be relegated to the museum. Nevertheless, after China’s “*Gaige kaifang zhengce*” (改革开放政策 reform and opening-up) policy was implemented in 1978, Chinese Confucianism started to promote traditional culture and contribute to shaping a modern socialist civilization. A new form of Confucianism thus emerged. Such modern transformations of Confucianism are in line with its development throughout history. After its emergence in the late Spring and Autumn period, from the years of the Qin to the early Han (roughly 221–142 BC), Confucianism confronted official suppression but successfully managed to become the ruling ideology under the aegis of Emperor Wu (汉武帝, r. 141–87 BC). Subsequently, over the long term, Confucianism gradually gained political and academic ascendancy. Among various classics the *Analects* had become a major text that over time attracted the attention of many Chinese and Western scholars, and myriads of studies were carried out from various perspectives.¹ The origin, contents, authorship, transformations of versions, and annotations of the *Analects* have been the foci of studies in the field of philology (Tang 2005, 16–20; Tang 2009; Asano and Ozawa 2012, 215–228).² In the era of “reform and opening up,” study of concepts found in the *Analects* like the “rule of virtue” and “ritual,” have been closely adapted to fit the needs of modern Chinese politics so as to construct a modern socialist civilization with “Chinese characteristics” and to build a harmonious society. Furthermore, it has been pressed into service as a buffer against Western European capitalist influence on China (Hu 1995, 109–115).

Against such an academic and social background, discoveries of an *Analects* manuscript in Dingzhou City 定州 in Hebei Province 河北省 in 1973 (Els, 2009; Hebeisheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo, 1981 and 1997), and that in Chǒngbaektong 貞柏洞 in Pyongyang in 2009 (although its official excavation report remains unpublished) (Lee, Yun, and Kim, 2009; Kim, 2011; Els, 2018), represent a turning point for research on the *Analects* and highlight the importance of unearthed materials. Unlike previous studies, which limited their focus to philological aspects of, and the philosophical thought of the *Analects*, this paper will concentrate on the excavated texts unearthed since the 20th century³ and investigate the popularization of Confucianism and the social changes that resulted from it. If we consider that Confucianism was rejected by the Qin court and that the Han had to recompile the text, it is easy to see that the unearthed manuscripts will provide important clues in understanding the transmission process and the circulation of different editions of the *Analects*.

¹ Guo’s article (2007) introduces Chinese research on the *Analects* since the 20th century. For research in the West, see Ames and Rosemont (1998), Slingerland (2003), Els (2009; 2018), Makeham (1996; 2003; 2006; 2011), Richter (2011), and Hunter (2011). Research on the *Analects* quoted in this paper is mainly based on the “excavated” *Analects*.

² Authoritative annotated translations of the *Analects* in Western languages include Legge (1973), Lau (1992), and Slingerland (2003).

³ See Kim (2011) and Els (2009; 2018).

In addition, the unearthed edition of the *Analects* was in circulation during the mid-Western Han period (roughly 140–8 BC) in Hebei Province, the Hexi 河西 commanderies in the northwest periphery, including Juyan 居延 and Dunhuang 敦煌 (Hu and Zhang, 2001; Gansu Jiandu Baohu Yanjiu Zhongxin, 2011–2015); Pyongyang in the north of the Korean peninsula (Lelang Commandery in the Han Dynasty); and the Haihunhou Tomb 海昏侯墓 (Tomb of the Marquis of Haihun) on the outskirts of Nanchang, Jiangxi Province. The Haihunhou version of the *Analects* has recently begun to be published (Jiangxisheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2016; Jiangxisheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo Shoudu Bowuguan 2016; Kim 2017 and 2018; Yang, Wang, and Xu 2016; Wang 2017; Wang, Xu, and Yang 2016). By dating the excavated texts and analyzing their spatial distribution, we can infer the process of the popularization of Confucianism in Western Han and the relevant social changes. Moreover, titles of chapters that are related to the lost *Qi Lun* 齊論 (the “Qi version” of the *Analects*) have been found on bamboo slips unearthed from the Haihunhou tomb, which will provide new breakthroughs in understanding the different versions of the *Analects*.

The *Analects* on Unearthed Western Han Manuscripts

The discovery of the *Analects* and related records can be traced back to the later years of Emperor Wu. According to historical records, when Liu Yu 劉餘, Prince Gong of Lu 魯共王 (?–128 BC), attempted to expand his palace by tearing down Confucius’s old residence, ancient versions of the *Venerated Documents* (*Guwen Shangshu* 古文尚書), the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), the *Analects* and the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經) were retrieved from inside walls.⁴ Another representative example is the discovery of the *Manuscripts from the Tomb at Ji* (*Jizhongshu* 汲冢書). Bu Zhun 不準, a grave robber, broke into the tomb of King Xiang of Wei 魏襄王 (?–296 BC) in the second year of the Taikang 太康 reign period of Emperor Wu of Western Jin 晉武帝 (281 CE). There he discovered a corpus of ancient bamboo slips, including the *Annals* (*Jinian* 紀年, 13 chapters), the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經, 2 chapters), the *Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu* 國語, 3 chapters), and texts similar to the *Book of Rites*, the *Literary Expositor* (*Erya* 爾雅), and the *Analects* (Zhu 2001, 29–32).⁵ These records only focused on the discovery of the manuscripts but remained rather laconic about their contents. Under these circumstances, research on the *Analects* was naturally concentrated on the philosophical thought of Confucius and his followers. However, in the 20th century, more systematic and scientific research methods have been applied to the study of the philosophy of Confucianism. Furthermore, the discovery of bamboo and wooden manuscripts has made it possible to incorporate the unearthed texts into the study of the *Analects*. The earliest discovery of the text in the 20th century came from the site of Lop Nur 羅布淖爾烽燧遺址, which was excavated from 1930 to 1934 and yielded

⁴ “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。” *Hanshu*, vol. 30, *Yiwenzhi* 藝文志 (*Treatise on literature*), 1706.

⁵ “初，太康二年，汲郡人不準盜發魏襄王墓，或言安釐王冢，得竹書數十車。紀年十三篇……易經二篇……國語三篇……似禮記，又似爾雅、論語。” *Jinshu* 晉書, vol. 51, *Shuxichuan* 束皙傳, 1432–1433.

remnants of the *Analects* chapter “Gongye Chang” 公冶長, dated to the reign of Emperors Xuan and Yuan of the Western Han (Huang 1948, 209–10).⁶ But due to its poor condition, the text did not attract much attention in academia. After 1949, Chinese researchers applied more systematic and scientific approaches to excavate and compile bamboo and wooden slips. Especially after the 1970s, archaeological excavations were carried out extensively throughout China, and a large number of manuscripts came to light in many parts of the country (Li 2008, 126; Kim 2010, 336–41).⁷ In 1973, more than 660 Dingzhou *Analects* bamboo slips were unearthed from Tomb No. 40 in Bajiaolang Village 八角廊村, Dingzhou City 定州市, Hebei Province, thereby opening up a new chapter in research on the *Analects*. The tomb occupant was Liu Xiu, Prince Huai of Zhongshan 中山國懷王劉修, who died in the third year of Wufeng of Emperor Xuan (五鳳三年, 55 BC). The Dingzhou *Analects* was possibly a text owned by the highest-ranking political elites of the time. Due to the disasters triggered by the Tangshan Earthquake 唐山大地震, the initial excavation report was not published until the 1980s (Hebeisheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1981, 1–10; 1987, 11–12),⁸ and annotations and collations against the current version of the *Analects* were published in 1997.⁹ According to the initial report, the Dingzhou *Analects* measured 16.2 cm long and 0.7 cm wide, with braided marks on both ends and middle parts of the slips, and each slip contained around 19 to 23 characters. Comparable to the Dingzhou *Analects*, the Lelang *Analects* unearthed from Tomb No. 364 in Chôngbaektong in Pyongyang in the early 1990s also drew attention, though the official excavation report on the burial site and the bamboo slips remains unpublished. One photo of the slips was collected by Professor Tsuruma Kazuyuki 鶴間和幸 of Gakushuin University, Japan, while another photo was published in the *Kôkurikai kaihō* 高句麗會報 (2001). Thanks to these two photos, it was possible to analyze the general contents of the Lelang *Analects*. (Yi, Yun, and Kim 2009, 131; Kim 2011, 61–67). Believed to have been owned by a low-ranking bureaucrat, these slips were similar to the Dingzhou slips in terms of length, width, number of graphs, and script style (Yi, Yun, and Kim 2009; Yun 2011, 39–51; Kim 2011). In December 2009, a photo of the slips was released, and scholars could ascertain that they were parts of the “Xianjin” 先進 and “Yan Yuan” 顏淵 chapters of the *Analects* (Yu 1992, 2). In terms of their physical traits, clear braid marks could be found on the ends and the middle parts of the bamboo slips, and there were ten characters each in the upper and lower parts, which is almost identical to the Dingzhou slips. Moreover, the Lelang *Analects* was found together in the same tomb with a wooden tablet that was carved with the words “樂浪郡初元四年縣別戶口多少□簿” (Son 2006, 30–33; Yun, 2007 and 2009, 263–99),

⁶ The *Analects* slip from Lop Nur is 7.8 cm long, 0.7 cm wide, and 0.2 cm thick, with damage at the top. The contents are “[...] 亦欲毋加諸人子曰賜非.”

⁷ Li Ling 李零 stated that “after the 1970s, more and more unearthed materials were accumulated. It is necessary to make a summary” (七十年代後, 出土日增, 材料山積, 很有必要做重新總結).

⁸ Ding xian han mu zhu jian zheng li xiao zu 定縣漢墓竹簡整理小組, “Ding xian si shi hao mu chu tu zhu jian jian jie” 定縣四十號墓出土竹簡簡介, *Wenwu* 文物, 1981, no. 8: 11–12.

⁹ For translation and the major contents, see Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 河北省文物研究所 (1997).

which indicated that the manuscripts can be dated to no later than the fourth year of Chuyuan (初元四年, 45 BC), which is roughly contemporary with the Dingzhou *Analects*. As such, it is even possible that during the reigns of Emperors Xuan and Yuan, a standard version of the *Analects* had been popularized nationwide. The Dingzhou and Lelang *Analects*, being written on bamboo slips, were, in terms of material, different from the wooden slips of the northwestern borders and the paper versions of later periods. This difference offers invaluable insights into the *physical* changes of different editions of the *Analects*.

The Xuanquanzhi *Analects* on wooden slips 懸泉置木簡論語, which were dated to the period from the mid-Western Han to the early Eastern Han (approx. 116 BC–107 AD), were unearthed from the Dunhuang Xuanquanzhi Site 敦煌懸泉置遺址 V92dxt1812② on the northwestern border. It contained fragments of the *Analects* chapter “Zi Zhang” 子張. Slip No. 119, measuring 23 cm long and 0.8 cm wide, was equivalent to the standard length for a Han wooden slip *yichijian* 一尺簡 (Hu and Zhang 2001, 174).¹⁰ Slips Nos. 215 and 314, unearthed from the same site, were originally a single slip that was broken into three fragments and scattered to several locations. It was estimated to be a 23 cm long, which was typical for slips used in the northwestern region (Yun 2011, 54–55).

The fact that some fragments related to the chapter “Gongye Chang” 公



Figure 1. Distribution of bamboo and wooden manuscripts of the *Analects* in the reigns of Emperor Xuan and Yuan of Western Han

¹⁰ The transcription of the excavated text is as follows: “乎張也，難與並而爲仁矣。·曾子曰，吾聞諸子，人未有自致也者，必也親喪乎。·曾子曰，吾聞諸子，孟莊子之孝，其它可能也，其不改父之臣與父之。”

治長 of the *Analects* was found among the remnants at the Lop Nur site proved that the *Analects* had spread into the northwestern region during the Western Han. However, the *Analects* unearthed there were different from the bamboo slips excavated in Dingzhou and Lelang. When the *Analects* was transmitted from the center to the northwestern region where bamboo was not grown, poplar, pine, and other woods were used instead to produce the manuscripts. But regardless of whether they were made of bamboo or wood, the slips throughout the center and periphery followed a shared set of standards. The discovery of the *Analects* manuscripts in this region suggests that as early as the middle and late Western Han, Confucian texts had spread into the border regions. The popularity of Confucianism as represented by the *Analects* was not only widespread geographically, but also penetrated all the way down to the lower-echelons of the bureaucracy. Confucian ideas had become a dominant principle. The spatial distribution of the “unearthed” *Analects* described above is mapped in Figure 1.

The Possibility of Recovering the Lost Text of the *Qi Lun*

In the preceding section, we have reviewed previous scholarship on unearthed manuscripts of the *Analects*. Without additional excavated materials or excavation results, there will not likely be any momentous breakthroughs from research into them. Moreover, the general focus of research has been limited to comparisons between the unearthed texts and the current transmitted version of *Analects*, and there were few if any implications for the Han versions of the *Qi Lun* (Qi version) and *Gu Lun* 古論 (“Old Text” version), or chances to appraise the three major systems of the *Analects* recorded in received literature.

The *Yiwen zhi* 藝文志 (Treatise on Literature) in the *Hanshu* 漢書 (Book of Han), and *Jingji zhi* 經籍志 (Treatise on Classics) in the *Suishu* 隋書 (Book of Sui), describe the different versions of the *Analects* as follows:

1. The *Gu Lun* contains twenty-one chapters. Two of its chapters were each entitled “Zi Zhang” 子張. It was discovered in the wall of Confucius’s old residence. The *Qi Lun* contains twenty-two chapters, with two extra chapters titled “Wen Wang” 問王 and “Zhi Dao” 知道. The *Lu Lun* contains twenty chapters, with an additional nineteen chapters of “chuan” 傳 in this version. (《論語》古二十一篇。出孔子壁中，兩《子張》。《齊》二十二篇。多《問王》、《知道》。《魯》二十篇，《傳》十九篇)¹¹
2. When the Han dynasty rose [to power], there were the Qi and Lu versions of the *Analects*. The scholars who circulated the *Qi Lun* were Wang Ji 王吉 the Zhongwei 中尉 of Changyi 昌邑; Song Ji 宋畸 the Shaofu 少府; Gong Yu 貢禹 the Yushidafu 御史大夫; Wulu Chongzong 五鹿充宗 the Shangshuling 尚書令; and Yong Sheng 庸生 in Jiaodong 膠東, while only Wang Yang 王陽 was a famous expert. Scholars who studied and circulated the *Lu Lun*, included Gong Fen 龔奮 the Douwei of Changshan 常山都尉; Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝 the Zhangxinshaofu 長信少府; Wei Xian 韋賢 the Chengxiang 丞相; Lu Fuqing 魯扶卿; Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 the Qianjiangjun 前將軍; and Zhang Yu 張禹

¹¹ *Hanshu*, vol. 30, *Yiwenzhi*, 1716.

the Anchanghou 安昌侯. They were all famous scholars at the time. Although the last of them all, Zhang Yu, was the most popular. (漢興，有齊、魯之說。傳齊論者，昌邑中尉王吉、少府宋畸、御史大夫貢禹、尚書令五鹿充宗、膠東庸生，唯王陽名家。傳魯論語者，常山都尉龔奮、長信少府夏侯勝、丞相韋賢、魯扶卿、前將軍蕭望之、安昌侯張禹，皆名家。張氏最後而行於世)¹²

3. Zhang Yu 張禹 studied the *Lu Lun* originally, and studied the *Qi Lun* when he became older. Later, he combined the two and examined them, and to reduce superfluity, he removed the two chapters “Wen Wang” 問王 and “Zhi Dao” 知道 in the *Qi Lun*, and edited the *Lu Lun* as twenty chapters. The book was named *Zhanghou Lun* 張侯論 and was highly valued at the time. (張禹本授《魯論》，晚講《齊論》，後遂合而考之，刪其煩惑，除去《齊論》〈問王〉，〈知道〉二篇，從《魯論》二十篇爲定，號《張侯論》，當世重之)¹³

The excerpts above demonstrate that the different editions of the *Analects* could be categorized into three systems (Chen 1983, 75–80). According to excerpt 3, Zhang Yu edited the contents of the *Lu Lun* into the *Zhanghou Lun* 張侯論, using the *Qi Lun* as a basis. Before the discovery of the materials related to the *Qi Lun* and the *Gu Lun*, it was nearly impossible to examine the structure of the *Zhanghou Lun*.¹⁴ In 1973, the Gansu Juyan archaeological team 甘肅居延考古隊 excavated wooden slips of the *Analects* at the Jinshui Jinguan site 肩水金關遺址 in the northern part of Jinta County 金塔縣, Gansu Province. The excavation process and translations of the texts are included in the five volumes of *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* 肩水金關漢簡 (Gansu Jiandu Baohu Yanjiu Zhongxin et al. 2011–2015).¹⁵ The contents of the *Analects* in the *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* can be summarized as follows:

The *Analects* in *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* was excavated together with other manuscripts that recorded the reign years of Emperor Xuan (74–49 BC), such as Benshi 本始 (73–70 BC), Dijie 地節 (69–66 BC), Yuankang 元康 (65–62 BC), Shenjue 神爵 (61–58 BC), Wufeng 五鳳 (57–54 BC), and Ganlu 甘露 (53–50 BC).¹⁶ It was clear that by the later reign periods of Emperor Xuan, the *Analects* was circulating in the Hexi region. Moreover, while nos. 1–5 in Table 1 are consistent with passages in the current *Analects*, their contents make it clear that nos. 6–13 are also related to Confucian thought (the following section will discuss this in detail). Accordingly, these slips provide a new opportunity for the study of the *Analects* of the Qin-Han period, which was nearly impossible previously.

¹² *Hanshu*, vol. 30, *Yiwenzhi*, 1717.

¹³ *Suishu* 隋書, vol. 32, *Jingjizhi* 經籍志 (Treatise on Classics), 939.

¹⁴ *Hanshu*, vol. 30, *Yiwenzhi*, 1717. “張氏最後而行於世。”

¹⁵ The contents of the *Analects* in Table 1 can be divided into two groups: Nos. 1–5 are those that can be found in the current version of the *Analects*, while Nos. 6–13 do not appear in the current version.

¹⁶ The reign years can be seen in Volume 1, such as Benshi 本始 (73EJT1:125A, 73EJT1:155), Dijie 地節 (73EJT1:124, 126, etc.), Yuankang 元康 (73EJT1:123, etc.), Shenjue 神爵 (73EJT3:113, 4:98, 7:70, etc.), Wufeng 五鳳 (73EJT2:44, 9:87, etc.), and Ganlu 甘露 (73EJT5:68A, 6:169, etc.). The years continue without disruption.

Table 1. Contents of the *Analects* as seen in *Jianshui Jinguang Hanjian*, vols. 1–5

Sequence	Number of Bamboo Slip	Translation	Chapter of <i>Analects</i>	Source
1	73EJT31:75	遷怒不試過不幸短命死矣今	雍也	3:221
2	73EJT31:77	☐於齊冉子爲其母請粟	雍也	3:221
3	73EJT15:20	子曰大伯其可☐	泰伯	2:18
4	73EJT24:802	☐毋遠慮必有近憂☐	衛靈公	3:27
5	73EJT24:833	☐曰天何言哉四時行焉萬物生焉☐ 年之喪其已久矣君子三	陽貨	3:29
6	73EJT22:6	·孔子知道之易也易=云省三日子曰此道之美也☐		2:94
7	73EJT31:139	·子曰自愛仁之至也自敬知之至也☐		3:227
8	73EJC:607	·子贛曰九變復貫知言之纂居而俟合憂心操念國之虐子曰念國者操呼衡門之下		5:244
9	73EJT14:7	·子曰必富小人也貧小人也必貴小人也賤小人		2:9
10	73EJC:180	☐敬其父則子說敬其兄則弟說敬其君則☐		5:193
11	73EJT9:58	·子曰君子不假人君子樂☐☐		1:203
12	73EJT24:104	☐何以復見乎子贛爲之請子曰是☐		2:290
13	73EJH1:58	☐之方也思理自外可以知☐		4:255

In 2011, a tomb on Guodun Mountain 鄒墩山, located in Xinjian District, 60 kilometers northeast of Nanchang 南昌 in Jiangxi Province, was looted, and relevant departments of Jiangxi Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology immediately undertook salvage excavations. It was later found that the main tomb belonged to Haihunhou 海昏侯 Liu He 劉賀, who had been formerly the Prince of Changyi 昌邑王 and the dethroned Han emperor (Jiangxisheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo et al., 2016).¹⁷ More than 10,000 artefacts were found.¹⁸ According to the excavation report, there was a lacquer screen with the characters 叔梁紇 (Shuliang He, the name of Confucius's father), “.自齊多來學焉。孔子弟子顏回、子.”, “凡☐六十三, 當此亡☐周室☐王”, “.夷吾.”, and some expressions related to Confucius's life, such as “魯昭公六年, 孔子盖卅矣”;¹⁹

¹⁷ The archaeological report was released on April 2016. There were over 10,000 cultural relics, including gold, bronze, jade, lacquer, and wooden tablets. Most of them are directly related to the tomb occupant, Liu He. Most of the bronze objects were carved with the names of the craftsman, size, weight, production date, and other such things. The characters “昌邑” appear frequently. For instance, there are twenty-four groups of texts on a tripod unearthed from M1, with “昌邑籍田銅鼎十升重四十八斤第二” (M1: 959) being the most representative. Moreover, there are characters like “昌邑九年” (M1:46-⑧-44) written on remnants of painted wooden and bamboo relics, as well as inscriptions such as “二年、十年、十一年.” In particular, a painted lute 漆瑟 has a vermilion inscription that reads “第一廿五弦瑟禁長二尺八寸高七寸昌邑七年六月甲子禮樂長臣乃始令史臣福瑟工臣成臣定造,” which means that it was a lute made in the seventh year of Changyi 昌邑七年. Furthermore, among 500 pieces of jade objects, jade seals with the inscriptions “大劉記印” (M1:1639) and “劉賀” (M1:1878-23) prove that Liu He was the occupant of the tomb.

¹⁸ The official excavation report for Haihunhou Tomb is unpublished. The relevant description of the tomb can be seen in Jiangxisheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 江西省文物考古研究所 (Jiangxi Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology) et al. (2016). Plates of the unearthed relics can be seen in Jiangxisheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shoudu Bowuguan 首都博物館 (Capital Museum, China) et al. (2016).

¹⁹ Zhongguo qingnian wang 中國青年網, “Haihunhoumu chutu de pingfeng xianshi kongzi hanjian shiji” 海昏侯墓出土的屏風顯示孔子罕見事迹, http://d.youth.cn/shrgch/201512/t20151230_7477629_1.htm (accessed July 6, 2019).

and a dressing mirror frame with images of Confucius (Wang, Xu, and Yang, 2016). Apart from these, more than 5,000 slips were excavated, including the *Analects*, the *Book of Changes*, the *Liji*, and some books related to esoteric methods (*fangshu* 方術), well-being (*yangsheng* 養生), medical texts pertaining to the art of lovemaking (*fangzhongshu* 房中術), and prose-poems (*fu* 賦) that describe the tomb.²⁰ The *Analects* unearthed revealed contents not seen in previous excavated versions of the text. The long-lost “Zhi Dao” 知道 chapter from the *Qi Lun* was also found in the Haihunhou Tomb. Part of its contents was similar to the *Analects* in the *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* (“•孔子知道之易也易=云省三日子曰此道之美也□,” no. 6 in Table 1), which has yet to be confirmed as belonging to the *Qi Lun*. These two materials have now laid the foundation for the study of the *Qi Lun*, which was lost for more than 1,800 years (Yang, Wang, Xu 2016, 75; Kim 2017; 2018).

The *Analects* from the Haihunhou Tomb and its Significance

The *Analects* unearthed from the Haihunhou Tomb would have been circulated at least seventeen years before the Dingzhou *Analects* and the Lelang *Analects*, which are dated to the reigns of Emperors Xuan and Yuan (from the fourth year of Yuankang 元康四年 to the fourth year of Chuyuan 初元四年, 62–45 BC). Some published contents of the Haihunhou *Analects* are as follows:

4. The Master said, “Yong could be given the seat facing south.”
(子曰：「雍也可使南面。」)²¹
5. Ziyu was the steward of Wu Cheng. The Master said, “Have you found any exceptional people there?”
(子游爲武城宰。子曰：「女得人焉耳乎？」)²²
6. The wise find joy in water; the benevolent find joy in mountains. The wise are active; the benevolent are still. The wise are joyful; the benevolent are long-lived.
(智者樂水，仁者樂山。智者動，仁者靜。知者樂，仁者壽。)²³

Nos. 4–6 are analogous with the contents of the Chapter “Yong ye” 雍也 in the *Analects*. The lower part of no. 6 is partially broken and the text inside the brackets is missing. However, it is likely that the two corpora of bamboo slips mentioned above and the *Analects* unearthed from the Haihunhou Tomb belong to the same system. In particular, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), the prominent scholar from the end of the Han Dynasty, mentions that he commentated on the chapters

²⁰ “Jingguang shanshan zhiwai de haihunhoumu” 金光閃閃之外的海昏侯墓, 2016-3-11, <http://history.sohu.com/20160311/n440086704.shtml> (accessed July 6, 2019); Souhu wenhua 搜狐文化, “Haihunhoumu kaogu lingdui yangjun: zai wan yitian muzang jiu bei xijie” 海昏侯墓考古領隊楊軍：再晚一天墓葬就被洗劫, 2015-12-17, <http://cul.sohu.com/20151217/n431658593.shtml> (accessed July 6, 2019).

²¹ The English translation is based on Lau (1992), Book VI, 47.

²² Lau (1992), Book VI, 51.

²³ Jiangxisheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shoudou Bowuguan 首都博物館 (2016, 186). The spacing and contents inside the brackets are based on the current version of the *Analects* (Lau 1992, Book VI, 53).

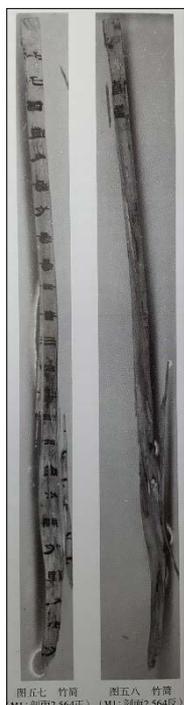


Figure 2.

of the *Lu Lun* by referring to the *Qi Lun* and *Gu Lun* (Li 1999, 5).²⁴ In light of this, the bamboo slips of the *Analects* found in the three regions—Dingzhou, Lelang, and the northwest frontier—should be classified under the *Lu Lun* system. At that time, discrepancies existed in chapters and paragraphs among the *Lu Lun* versions.²⁵ However, the facts that the versions of the *Lu Lun* circulating at the time differed only in the sequencing of chapters and graphical variants (*yiwen* 異文), and that the contents were consistent (Tang 2009, 102), indicate that ancient canonical texts like the *Analects* were originally derived from a single ancient version. But variant graphs appeared during the transcription and transmission process, generating different interpretations.²⁶ These different versions of the *Analects* are referred to as the *Qi Lun*, *Lu Lun*, and *Gu Lun*. The difference in contents between nos. 7 and 8 (see below) and nos. 4 through 6 (both sets were unearthed from the Haihunhou Tomb) substantiates this argument (Jiangxisheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo et al. 2016, 7; see Figure 2).

7. Confucius knows that it is easy to [practice] the way of [the king].
 What is meant by “easy,” is that one [examines himself critically] for three days. Confucius said, “The way of [the king] is beautiful, why isn’t it practiced?” (孔子智道之易也易易云者三日子曰此道之美也莫之御也)

8. “Knowing the Way”
 (智道)

Nos. 7 and 8, respectively, are the obverse and reverse of the bamboo slip unearthed from the main tomb (M1) (Fig. 2, M1:564 obverse/reverse). No. 7 is written on the front while no. 8 is on the reverse, which should be the title of this section. In the phrases “智者樂水” and “智者動” quoted in no. 6, the characters “智” and “知” are interchangeable. “智道” in no. 8 can be read as “知道” (knowing the way). Thus, “智道” of no. 8 should serve as the chapter title, and there are two related records:

9. The *Qi Lun* has twenty-two chapters, with 問王 and 知道 as the extra chapters.
 (齊二十二篇。多問王、知道)²⁷

²⁴ “漢末，大司農鄭玄就魯論篇章考之《齊》，《古》，爲之註。”

²⁵ *Hanshu*, vol. 81, *Zhangyuchuan* (張禹傳), 3352. “始魯扶卿及夏侯勝、王陽、蕭望之、韋玄成皆說論語，篇第或異。”

²⁶ Cf. Shenjian 申鑒, *Shishipian* (時事篇). “仲尼作經，本一而已，古今文不同，而皆自謂真本經。古今先師，義一而已，異家別說不同，而皆自謂古今。”

10. *Qi Lun* has two chapters 問王 and 知道, which is more than the *Lu Lun*.
(齊論有問王知道, 多於魯論二篇)²⁸

According to nos. 9 and 10, “Zhi Dao” 知道 is the title of a chapter in the *Qi Lun*. As stated in no. 10, the *Qi Lun* has twenty-two chapters, including the two extra chapters 問王 and 知道, which is more than the *Lu Lun*. Though the character “智” in no. 7 of the Haihunhou *Analects* is different from “知” of no. 9, during the Han Dynasty these two characters were interchangeable (Yang Jun, Wang, and Xu 2016, 72). For instance, the Dingzhou *Analects*, which belonged to the *Lu Lun* system, frequently interchanges these two graphs (Wang 1998, 467).²⁹ Furthermore, the *Analects* in the Xiping Stone Classics 熹平石經 dated to the period of Eastern Han Emperor Ling (fourth year of Xiping 熹平四年 to fifth year of Guanghe 光和五年, 175–182 AD), which also belonged to the *Lu Lun* system, show the same graph as “知” (Ma 2014, 56).³⁰ This fact shows that starting from the mid-Western Han, the character “智” was gradually integrated as “知” into the *Lu Lun* system, which can be proven by the contents of other wooden tablets unearthed from the Haihunhou Tomb. Most of them were official *qianpai* 簽牌 (inscribed label tablets) and *zoudu* 奏牘 (memorials to the throne), and one contained the *Analects*, which was called “海昏侯劉賀墓出土《論語》書牘圖” (abbreviated as 書牘圖 below). According to the excavation team, these are assumed to be Liu He’s casual notes that he wrote during his studies (Wang, Xu, and Yang 2016, 70). The main contents can be introduced as follows (Wang 2017).³¹

Column 1: 孔子曰衛公子蒯善居室始曰苟合矣少有曰苟完富苟美△子□□

Column 2: 孔子曰吾有知乎我母知有鄙夫問乎吾空=如也扣其兩端而竭△子罕篇

Column 3: 孔子曰吾自衛反於魯然後樂正邪頌各得其所 ●孔子曰中庸之為德也其至矣乎民鮮△子罕篇

Column 4: 孔子曰善人為國百年亦可以勝殘去殺誠哉是言也 ●知. . . △子路篇

To facilitate the understanding of the contents above, the texts can be compared with the current version of the *Analects* as follows (For comparison purposes, the original text is quoted first followed by the translation, and the textual differences are indicated in bold):

Column 1: 子謂衛公子蒯, 「善居室。始有曰:『苟合矣』少有, 曰:『苟完矣。』富有, 曰:『苟美矣。』」

²⁷ *Hanshu*, vol. 3, *Yiwenzhi*, 1716.

²⁸ Li (1999), 4.

²⁹ Wang 王素 (1998) defined the Dingzhou *Analects* as an earlier version mixed with characteristics of the *Zhangzhou Lun*, based on the *Lu Lun* and influenced by the *Qi Lun*. (“與《張侯論》相比, 是時期較早的融合本, 既與《張侯論》相似, 也是以《魯論》為藍本的, 又是《齊論》的比較本”)

³⁰ “石經之所刻確為魯論。”

³¹ This is based on and directly quoted from the translations of Wang Gang 王剛 (2017). The “□” symbol indicates missing text, and “.” in the texts mark passages that are hard to distinguish as noted by Wang. Symbols “●” and “△” exist on the original wooden slip.

(The Master commented on Prince Xing of Wei. “He was adept at managing the household. When he first owned the family fortune, he said, ‘It is more or less adequate.’ When he had extended it somewhat, he said, ‘It has more or less everything.’ When it had become sumptuous, he said, ‘It is more or less grand enough.’”)³²

Column 2: 子曰：「吾有知乎哉？無知也。有鄙夫問於我，空空如也，我叩其兩端而竭焉。」

(The Master said, “Do I possess knowledge? No, I do not. A rustic put a question to me and [even though] he [may be] ignorant I raise both ends of the question to [answer] exhaustively.”)³³

Column 3: 子曰：「吾自衛反於魯，然後樂正，邪頌各得其所。」

(The Master said, “After my return from Wei to Lu, music was put right, with the *ya* and the *song* being assigned their proper places.”)³⁴

Column 4: 子曰：「善人為邦百年，亦可以勝殘去殺矣。誠哉是言也。」

(The Master said, “How true is the saying that after a state has been ruled for a hundred years by good men it is possible to edify the cruel and abolish capital punishment.”)³⁵

The following points become apparent after comparison. First of all, “△子□□” in the first column from the text of Haihunhou Tomb corresponds to “△子路篇” of the current version. Compared with the 書牘圖, the current version of the *Analects* uses particles such as “矣” and “焉.” Moreover, although the contents of the third column are the same as the current version, 書牘圖 includes additional contents after the phrase “●孔子曰. . . .” Another difference is that “吾有知乎？我母知” in the second column and “●知” in the fourth column have used the character “知,” which is different from the chapter title “智道” seen on no. 8. Although it cannot be strongly asserted, as the entirety of the Haihunhou *Analects* remains unpublished, judging from the available examples, only “智” was used in the Haihunhou *Analects*, as seen in “智者” in no. 6 and “智道” in no. 8.

Similarly, the word “智” was used in the *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 (Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998), which date to the middle and late Warring States Period; for instance, “不智足” (111), “天下皆智” (112), “智天” (113), and “智足不辱, 智止不怠” (113) in *Laozi Jia* 〈老子·甲〉; “莫智其瓦” (118) in *Laozi Yi* 〈老子·乙〉, and “子曰。爲上可望而智也” (129) in *Ziyi* 〈緇衣〉. However, a difference from the *Guodian* bamboo slips is that the *Laozi jiyiben* 《老子》甲、乙本 unearthed from the Mawangdui Tomb 馬王堆漢墓 used only the character “知.” Therefore, some scholars have pointed out that “知” was not used in the Warring States Period (Xu 2007, 103), while the presence of “智” in no. 6 and no. 8 in the Haihunhou *Analects*, and “知” in column 2 and 4 in the 書牘圖 indicate that the two characters were both in usage in the *Lu Lun* system after the mid-Western Han. Later they were further integrated and it is assume that “知” was used exclusively. Therefore,

³² Lau (1992), Book XIII, 123.

³³ Lau (1992), Book IX, 79

³⁴ Lau (1992), Book IX, 81.

³⁵ Lau (1992), Book XIII, 125.

it is highly likely that nos. 7 and 8 mentioned above belonged to the well-known *Qi Lun*, which was lost for more than 1,800 years (Jiangxisheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo et al., 2016, 61). Although there was only one “canon,” this proves that different versions were circulated at the time (Guo 1990, 34–42).³⁶

The contents of “Zhi Dao” 智道 in nos. 7 and 8 in the Haihunhou *Analects* also appear in the *Analects of Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* (see Table 1 below). To facilitate the discussion, they will be quoted once more as follows:

- Ⓐ 孔子智道之易也易易云者三日子曰此道之美也莫之御也/ 智道
(Haihunhou *Analects*)
- Ⓑ •孔子知道之易也易=云省三日子曰此道之美也☐
(*Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian*, 73EJT22:6)

Through the comparison of these two slips, it is certain that the 智道 of No. 6 in Table 1 is from the “Zhi Dao” 知道 chapter of the *Qi Lun*, and the possibility that nos. 7–13 in Table 1 also belonged to the *Qi Lun* cannot be denied. Consequently, a re-examination of the contents of nos. 7–13 in Table 1 is required. These are from the *Analects* seen in the *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* (Table 1). From the comparison of the two slips containing the chapter name “Zhi Dao” 知道, the following observations can be made. First, “知” and “智” are interchangeable. Second, as for “易=” and “易易,” “易” should be read as “易” meaning “easy” (Xiao, Cong, and Zhao 2014, 184). “=” is the marker indicating repetition used to avoid writing the same graph twice, so “易=” should be read as “易易.” Third, the difference between “省” and “者:” originally, the character in the *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* 73EJT22:6 was read as “省,” but after a close examination of the photo it was re-transcribed as “者.” Thus, this part of the two versions of the *Analects* is actually the same.³⁷ Fourth, slip Ⓐ (same as nos. 7–8 above) records the chapter title as “智道” on the reverse, but slip Ⓑ did not record the title separately. Although there are a few minor differences between the two slips as noted above, it is obvious that slips Ⓐ and Ⓑ show the same contents and belong to the identical version of the *Analects*, which is the *Qi Lun*.

Apart from the linguistic features of slips Ⓐ and Ⓑ, both texts start with the phrase “孔子知/智道. . . .” The disyllabic word “知/智道” that comes after “孔子” is identical to the chapter title on the rear side of slip Ⓐ, and must be the chapter title. It should be noted that the marker “•” on slip Ⓑ also appears in the Lelang *Analects*, and there has the function of dividing each chapter. As such, after the mid-Western Han, it is likely that the “•” marker was used to distinguish

³⁶ Guo Yi 郭沂 has pointed out that “first, although the contents of the *Gu Lun* and the *Lu Lun* are basically the same, the contents of the *Qi Lun* differ greatly from the *Gu Lun*. Second, compared with the *Gu Lun* and the *Lu Lun*, the *Qi Lun* has two more chapters. Third, they were used separately in the regions of Qi and Lu.” (第一, 雖然《古論》與《魯論》的內容基本一致, 但《齊論》與《古論》的內容相去甚遠。第二, 《齊論》與《古論》、《魯論》相比, 篇數多兩篇。第三, 各自用於齊、魯之地。) He proposes that there were two sources for the *Analects*. The author does not agree with this point of view.

³⁷ In *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* 肩水金關漢簡, vol. 2 (Gansu Jiandu Baohu Yanjiu Zhongxin 甘肅簡牘保護研究中心 and Gansusheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所, et al. [ed.], 2012), the characters “者” and “省” in Slip EJT22:21A (96) and Slip EJT23:200① (137) are different in form.

chapters; or “孔子○○. . . .” was written on the front side of the slip while the “○” was put separately on the back to act as the chapter title. Section nos. 6–13 in Table 1 cannot be identified with any sections in the current *Analects*. However, similar phrases can be found in texts related to the Confucian tradition, which are presented as follows:

Table 2 Relevant Literature related to the *Analects* Slips in Table 1

Table 1 Content of <i>Analects</i> in Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian		Relevant Literature	
No.	Transcriptions	Related Contents	Sources
6	●孔子知道之易也易=云省三日子曰此道之美也☐	孔子曰吾觀於鄉而知王道之易易也	<i>Liji Zhengyi</i> 禮記正義, Chapter 61
		吾觀於鄉而知王道之易易也	<i>Xunzi Jijie</i> 荀子集解, Chapter 14 “Lelun” 樂論
		孔子謂顏回曰人莫不知此道之美而莫之御也莫之爲也何居爲聞者蓋曰思也夫	<i>Kongzi Jiayu</i> 孔子家語, “Yan Hui” 顏回
7	●子曰自愛仁之至也自敬知之至也☐	自愛, 仁之至也;自敬, 禮之至也	<i>Fayan</i> 法言, “Junzi” 君子
		子路入子曰由智者若何仁者若何子路對曰智者使人知己仁者使人愛己. . . 顏淵入子曰回智者若何仁者若何顏淵對曰智者自知仁者自愛子曰可謂名君子矣	<i>Kongzi Jiayu</i> 孔子家語, Chapter 2 “Sanshu” 三恕/ <i>Xunzi Jijie</i> 荀子集解, Chapter 20 “Zidao” 子道
8	●子贛曰九變復貫知言之寡居而俟合愛心操念國之慮子曰念國者操呼衡門之下	九變復貫, 知言之選	<i>Hanshu</i> 漢書, “Wudi ji” 武帝紀
9	●子曰必富小人也貧小人也必貴小人也賤小人		
10	☐敬其父則子說敬其兄則弟說敬其君則☐		
11	●子曰君子不假人君子樂☐☐		
12	☐何以復見乎子贛爲之請子曰是☐		
13	☐之方也思理自外可以知☐	總理自外, 可以知中, 義之方也;	<i>Shuowen jiezi</i> 說文解字, “yubu” 玉部

No. 6 with the title “知道” and other previously unseen sections listed in table 1 (nos. 7–13) are vital in restoring the contents of the lost *Analects*. Not only do they grant the opportunity to reconsider Confucian thought on rituals and music, as well as political ideologies related to the way of the king (*wangdao* 王道), they also shed new light on the interpretation of Confucius’s concept of “self-love” 自愛 and “self-respect” 自敬. Through the Jianshui Jinguan *Analects* produced in the reign of Emperor Xuan, it can be confirmed that, at least in the Hexi region, the popularization of various versions of the *Analects*, including the *Qi Lun*, fostered the spread of Confucian thought during and after the reign of Emperor Xuan.

Concluding Remarks: On the Popularization of Confucianism

The *Analects* unearthed from the Haihunhou Tomb in Nanchang, Jiangxi Province, is not only a document that reflects its popularization in Western Han, but also demonstrates the spread of Confucianism under the reigns of Emperors Xuan and Yuan. On November 4, 2015, I heard the news of the official excavation of Liu

He's tomb and eventually learned more details through the related cultural relics exhibited in the Capital Museum in Beijing 北京首都博物館 in March of 2016. The artefacts on display at the exhibition included mainly Confucian-related materials, such as the bamboo slips that were yet to be compiled and the lacquer screen with an image of Confucius.

Examining the materials unearthed from the Haihunhou Tomb, this paper explored the following in detail. First, though the complete set of bamboo slips has yet to be published, this paper attempted to understand the popularization of Confucianism in the middle of Western Han through the examination of different “excavated” editions of the *Analects*. Bamboo slips unearthed from the Haihunhou Tomb must have been popular among the royal family at that time. In light of the bamboo and wooden manuscripts of *Analects* unearthed in the Western Han border regions, it is believed that after the reign of Emperor Wu, the *Analects* became more readily available and was enjoyed widely by different social groups, from members of the royal family who occupied the highest echelon to local bureaucrats residing in the border regions, as borne out by recent archaeological excavations. The popularity of the *Analects* was geographically widespread, and excavations evince that, after the mid-Western Han, the text was distributed throughout the entire empire: from the Zhongshan Kingdom 中山國 (current-day Hebei Province), the Changyi Kingdom 昌邑國 (current Jiangxi Province 江西省), and the Four Commanderies in the Northeast (Lelang) to the Four Commanderies along the Hexi Corridor (Dunhuang, Juyan). The manuscripts of the *Analects* dated to the reigns of Emperors Xuan and Yuan show that Confucian Classics, as represented by the *Analects*, began to be popularized on a large scale. Indeed, the spread of Confucianism corresponded to the changing social atmosphere. By dismissing schools of other thought, exclusively revering the Confucian Classics, establishing the Imperial Academy (*taixue* 太學),³⁸ and restricting the teaching of non-Confucian classics, Emperor Wu created an institutionalized milieu for promoting Confucianism as official doctrine, and thus Confucianism gradually gained ascendancy in various political fields. During the period of Emperor Cheng, such historical events as Liu Xin's 劉歆 proclamation of the “refusal to implement policies in violation of the Five Classics” and the supportive attitude of Li Xun 李尋 (?-?),³⁹ reflect the fact that Confucianism had come to occupy a dominant position in society from the mid-Western Han.

The Five Classics were officially recognized by Emperor Wu, but the official erudites for each of the texts were only installed after the establishment of Emperor Xuan (Fukui 2005, 222–223). As such, it was in the reign of Emperor Xuan that the interpretation of the classics started to be dominated by the state. It was in this context that the Dingzhou *Analects*, the Lelang *Analects*, and the recently unearthed Haihunhou *Analects* were widely distributed throughout the empire, and they are invaluable sources that manifest the spread of Confucianism originating from the

³⁸ *Hanshu*, vol. 6, *Wudiji* (武帝紀, *Annals of Emperor Wu*), 212. “孝武帝初立卓然罷黜百家表章六經... 興太學。”

³⁹ *Hanshu*, vol. 75, *Lixun zhuan* 李尋傳, 3192. “歆以爲不合五經不可施行而李尋亦好之。”

center—the capital Chang’an. In addition to Hebei and the northeastern border regions (Zhongshan, Changyi, and Lelang), the Jianshui Jinguan *Analects* and remnants of the *Analects* “Zi Zhang” 子張 chapter excavated from the Dunhuang Xuanquan site 敦煌懸泉置 also indicate that during the reigns of Emperors Xuan and Yuan the Confucian classics, as represented by the *Analects*, were popularized in the northwestern frontier region.

Moreover, the restoration of the contents of the *Qi Lun*, which had been lost for more than 1,800 years, has also now become possible. In the excavated Haihunhou edition of the *Analects*, the discovery of sections relevant to the *Qi Lun* provides decisive evidence for understanding the version and contents of the *Qi Lun* mentioned in the *Hanshu*. The speculation that slip 73EJT22:6 in the *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* belonged to the *Qi Lun* was also corroborated. These unearthed materials not only reflect the popularization of the *Analects*, but also provide new opportunities to examine the various versions and their contents. The discovery of the chapter “Zhi Dao” 知道 proves that the *Qi Lun* was not lost. Furthermore, the analysis of the written contents that will ensue from the excavation and the compilation of the *Qi Lun* will also shed new light on the philological study of the *Analects*; moreover, studies of new philosophical terms such as *zhi dao* 知道 and *ziai* 自愛 found in the text will stimulate further academic research on the *Analects*.

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